Filippo Carlà-Uhink
The “Birth” of Italy

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Filippo Carlà-Uhink

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The Institutionalization of Italy as a Region,
3rd-1st Century BCE

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Contents

Introduction

The Unification of Italy: A Topic and Its History

On March 17, 2011, Italians celebrated the 150th anniversary of the foundation of the united State of Italy, which was born as a result of the upheaval of the Risorgimento movement after the Second Independence (or Franco-Austrian) War and the Expedition of the Mille led by Garibaldi. The celebration, attributed a central political relevance by the main institutional organs of the country, offered a moment of reflection upon a nation that has, even as perceived by its inhabitants, often been considered lacking in self-consciousness and common identity.[1]

Once again, as in the 19th century, the problem of "Italian identity" was center stage. Once again, the resulting discussion was conducted with reference to ancient times and to the Roman Republic as the period when Italy had been united for the first time and a form of "Italian" common identity was widely perceived to have been developed.[2] Both the nature and the role of this identity, if it was "unaccomplished" as an important article by Andrea Giardina claimed,[3] were relevant to the debate. As with any other historical topic, the study of the "unification" of Italy in Roman republican times is always a product of the specific historical circumstances of the period in which the historian operates, as well as their own personal convictions. Scientific production from the 17th to the early 19th century predominantly underlined the nature of Roman Italy "as a federation of autonomous communities",[4] with a strong exaltation of local and regional specificities (compatible with

1 See e.g., among others, Galli della Loggia (1998), pp. 139–165, recognizing the origin of the weakness of Italian modern national identity in the genesis of the national State itself and in the structurally overwhelming role of the political field inside it; Barberis (2004), pp. 3–10, claiming that the sense of belonging to a common nation applies in Italy only on very seldom occasions and a more diffused sense of a national community would be advantageous to the future development of Italian society; De Francesco (2013), pp. 1–14, strongly criticizing Galli della Loggia's approach.

2 Identity is always understood in this work in the sense of collective identity, as opposed to personality, as "individuals' identification with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant": Díaz-Andreu/Lucy (2005), pp. 1–2. Through the entire work, the word "Italian" will be used only in reference to the modern Italian state; the peoples living in the peninsula in ancient times will be always identified as "Italic", in order to differentiate more clearly the ancient ethnicities and the modern perceptions and projections connected to the national State established in 1861.

3 Giardina (1994).

4 Terrenato (1998a), pp. 20–21. See Cristofani (1983), in particular pp. 137–142; M. Torelli (1999), pp. 1–2. On the history of historiography of pre-Roman Italy in the 18th century see also Firpo (2008). On the use of Italic antiquity in intellectual and political discourse from the French Revolution onwards, see De Francesco (2013), in particular pp. 51–83 on Micali and the image of the "plural Italy". De Francesco (2013) shows in general that the exaltation of the Roman unification of Italy was cer-

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the contemporary political situation) and the idea of a strong continuity between pre- and post-Roman regionalism.[5] From the time of Risorgimento, and culminating in the period of Fascism, the accent was gradually shifted from the different communities onto the resulting "unity" and the fact that, in a deterministic way, such unity had to be the "natural" result of interaction between communities operating in the geographical space of the Italian peninsula.[6]

The enormous success of this model of interpretation, which described the gradual and linear process of "unification" between the 3rd and the 1st centuries BCE in a teleological way,[7] was nonetheless not primarily due to the Italian historical production of the 19th century, but rather to its adoption by another country that was also passing through a process of national unification during the same period. The foundation of the German Northern Confederation in 1867, and subsequently of the German Empire following the French-Prussian War in 1870, created the conditions for the development of such ideas. The rest was achieved by the extraordinary role played by the most significant ancient historian of that time, Theodor Mommsen,[8] by imposing a paradigm that would survive for around a century.[9] Examples of the adoption of such a theory cannot be listed extensively as they are extremely numerous, cross national and disciplinary boundaries, and stretch themselves over many decades;[10] for example, the "Making of Roman Italy" is still represented as a "progress narrative" in Salmon's influential monograph published in 1982.

Even studies concerning the different cultures that developed on Italic territory during the Iron Age, despite their steady development, remained dominated by this paradigm. E.T. Salmon's *Samnium and the Samnites*, published in 1967, is a perfect example of a portrait of an Italic population drawn almost entirely using a strongly positivistic approach from Latin literary sources (predominantly Livy's description of the Samnites as *montani atque agrestes*).[11] This is in spite of the fact that its aim

tainly not the only interpretation of the history of ancient Italy present in the Risorgimento period. According to the different political programs and ideas, the exaltation of local identities, or of the autochthony of pre-Roman Italic peoples, continued to be widely practiced in the scientific literature of the 19th century.

5 Blake (2014), pp. 6–7.

6 On this, see Mouritsen (1998), pp. 2–4; Terrenato (1998a); Mouritsen (2006a), pp. 25–29; De Francesco (2013), pp. 159–180, particularly dealing with the figure of Ettore Pais and his importance in shaping Italian historiography; Stek (2013), p. 341.

7 Ancient sources never raise the question of "Italian unification": Mouritsen (2006a), pp. 23–24.

8 E.g. Mommsen (1888[8]), p. 15, where he claims that the Roman domination over Italy is rather the unification of all the Italics into one State. Coherently, Mommsen divided his history into two periods: the history of Italy before the unification and the history of the Italic domination over the world.

9 See Linderski (1984).

10 E.g. Frank (1921), pp. 298–302; McDonald (1944); Walbank (1972); Gabba (1998).

11 Liv. 9.13.7. See Dench (1995), pp. 126–127.

was to identify and understand the Samnites "in themselves", shifting between the opposite poles of representation of barbarism (a barbarism that is also presented as geographically determined, since the "rugged mountains" of the region are presumed to generate the strength of the Samnite people)[12] and the myth of the "good savage".[13]

Since the 1970s, new developments in historical research have allowed attention to be focused on single regional issues in a way that could overcome such traditional "local histories", and set regional stories in the broader context of Roman expansion and Romanization. It was noted that an improvement of previous scholarship should be sought "nell'inquadratura dei dati", i.e. using and offering parallels with other areas and realities: "se si abbandona una prospettiva da commercio antiquario o da valorizzazione turistica, ogni dato sugli insediamenti, sulle necropoli, sulla loro distribuzione in rapporto all'epoca, sugli aspetti economici che rivelano, diventa di primaria importanza se non resta isolato e può essere utilizzato per ricomporre, con tutti i dati compagni, un quadro d'insieme articolato in senso diacronico e sincronico".[14] This made completely obsolete Oakley's statement (which was already anachronistic when published in 1993) that: "it is hard to find many works devoted primarily to the dynamics of the conquest of Italy before the First Punic War".[15]

The monograph *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, published by William V. Harris in 1971, was paradigmatic in this sense. The book, which complained in the introduction about the scarce attention dedicated to the single Italic realities until that point in time,[16] presented these two Italic areas as paradigmatic examples of Roman policies and the processes of adoption of Roman culture, opening new ways to the analysis of single areas and pleading for a differentiated approach to each "pre-Roman" Italic population. Harris, in line with the then dominant historical tradition, still dedicated almost no attention to the archaeological and epigraphic materials (discovered and/or published in increasing amounts since the 1970s) that – together with the development of ever more refined archaeological techniques – helped to recover data on societies that provide us with very few (and extremely complicated)

12 Salmon (1982), p. 14.

13 "Salmon is inclined to see the destructive force of Rome at hand anywhere, hell-bent on the elimination of these admirable simple peasants, and is reluctant to propose alternative explanations for social and cultural change": Dench (1995), p. 5. Salmon's approach is in this sense not very distant from that of the 19th century, as e.g. in Mommsen (1888[8]), pp. 139–144.

14 Letta (1972), pp. 1–2.

15 Oakley (1993), p. 9.

16 Harris (1971), p. 1: "The Roman conquest of Italy and subsequent Roman policies in Italy constitute an important chapter in the history of Roman imperialism. Most existing accounts, however, even when they do not neglect the period after the military victory, deal summarily with Italy in general, neglecting the local conditions to which Roman policy had to respond".

written texts.[17] His approach was followed, always in application to Etruria, by the collective work *Studies in the Romanization of Etruria*, published by the Finnish Institute in Rome, and while this concentrated more on archaeological material, it still looked for the reasons behind the "disappearance" of the Etruscans.[18]

The underlying idea of these studies was essentially that being subjected to a political center (in this case Rome) could lead to a homogenization of culture, i.e. that the communities in the "periphery" (the rest of Italy) would passively adopt central influences while losing their specificity and distinction, becoming imitations or smaller versions of the center itself. Such an assumption, also known as the "myth of inevitable conformity", has been strongly criticized in sociological literature since the 1980s.[19] Furthermore, new approaches have become widespread since the 1990s thanks to the development and application of postcolonial studies, also in ancient history; this is particularly the case with studies of Roman imperialism, also in reference to the Italic peninsula.[20] Through the abandonment of the nation as an unavoidable point of reference for understanding state forms, and thus of "methodological nationalism" as a dominating methodology,[21] as through the development of research in the field of ethnogenesis and the following critiques to it, the debate on Romanization brought about many innovative studies. These concentrated on analyzing the local communities, their specificities, their eventual integration into the broader context of Roman Italy, their original contribution to the development of "Roman culture", etc.[22]

Thus the "belief in Italy as a solid cultural block" was first brought into discussion by underlining the regional differences that still existed long after the Social War.[23] It must be underlined that this development was also a product of contemporary political circumstances, particularly of the huge explosion of interest in regions and regionalism that – particularly in the 1990s – mined the discourses and constructed identities of the European nations from within, often moving in the direction of the recovery of local specificities and traditions.[24] For examples, one can think of Spain, the United Kingdom, Italy, and of course of the former Yugoslavia or the "Velvet Revolution" of 1989.

17 Curti/Dench/Patterson (1996), p. 189.
18 Bruun/Hohti/Kaimio/Michelsen/Nielsen/Ruoff-Väänänen (1975).
19 A.P. Cohen (1985), p. 36. For its application in ancient history, see Mattingly (2011), p. 38.
20 In general, on this shift in post-colonial studies dealing with ethnicity, see S. Jones (1997), pp. 52–53.
21 Paasi (1998), pp. 69–70.
22 See Wulff Alonso (2011) for a synthesis of historiography on this topic since Mommsen. For the history of the debate on "culture", "identity" and their "negotiation" see now Wallace-Hadrill (2008), pp. 3–37.
23 Terrenato (1998a); Terrenato (2001), pp. 1–2.
24 Galsterer (1994), p. 306.

There followed the publication of a series of flourishing, thorough analyses of single Italic regions.[25] A good example of this approach can be found in the articles collected in the volumes *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy*, edited in 1997 by Tim Cornell and Kathryn Lomas, *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*, edited in 2001 by Simon Keay and Nicola Terrenato, and *Ancient Italy: Regions without Boundaries*, edited in 2007 by Guy Bradley, Elena Isayev and Corinna Riva, as well as in the monumental synthesis on *Les peuples de l'Italie préromaine* published by Stephane Bourdin in 2012. Such a process also suggested a "rediscovery" of the Greek communities of Southern Italy, which had generally attracted very little attention, firstly as they were considered entirely different to the rest of the peninsula, and also because the history of their "inclusion" within Roman Italy had been interpreted according to the category of "decadence".[26]

This "revolution" in studies parceled up the peninsula, countering the traditional argument of a strong "homologation" with the image of a "mosaic" or "patchwork".[27] However, this happened during a period when it was still taken for granted that Italic regions provide a sure starting point and could be "recognized", albeit if with great difficulty.[28] The explicit aim was often indicated to be a shift from the study of etic (i.e. Greek or Roman) description and terms to the understanding of Italic (i.e. Samnite, Umbrian etc.) self-representation and self-perception,[29] in a general move away from "Romanocentric" perspectives, which were considered colonialist in nature and thus not to correspond with the "historical reality" of life in Republican Italy (and additionally as not "politically correct").[30]

However, the new questions concerning Romanization, ethnicity, ethnogenesis and identity led not only to such regional studies, but also to more differentiated approaches that are easily demonstrated, once again, by the example of the Samnites. In an important article on *La nozione storica dei Sanniti nelle fonti greche e romane* in 1984, Domenico Musti attempted to critically analyze Greek and Latin sources on the Samnites, aiming to identify the "nucleus" of truth with the conviction that Greeks and Romans interpreted the same "ethnic" (and socio-political) "reality" from different perspectives (i.e. the latter differentiating among many pop-

25 E.g. Guidobaldi (1995); Bradley (2000a); Isayev (2007a); Sisani (2007); Sisani (2009).

26 Lomas (1993).

27 Terrenato (1998b), p. 94: "Recent local work in various parts of Italy now strongly suggests the need to consider each area, almost each *civitas*, individually, leaving aside for the moment overarching models based on insufficient data"; Isayev (2007b), pp. 1–3. See also Bispham (2007a), pp. 39–40: "One has to choose, in effect, between the broadbrush, 'overpixelated' history of the peninsula, or the miniaturist, 'hi-resolution', study of a region".

28 As underlined by Roth (2012), pp. 17–19 and, even more explicitly, by Isayev (2016), pp. 2–4.

29 E.g. Bradley (1997).

30 E.g. Burgers (1998), pp. 22–32.

ulations, the former unifying them in the common definition Σαυνῖται).[31] Thirty years after Salmon's book (in 1995) was published Emma Dench's *From Barbarian to New Men: Greek, Roman and Modern Perception of Peoples of the Central Apennines*. The title clearly shows that the focus had by now moved from "faith" in a possible reconstruction through Greek and Roman literary sources of the "realities" of the Samnite peoples, to an analysis that was strongly based on discourses and their productions, and of the "images" (in plural) of the populations who inhabited the central Apennines and were variously identified and defined by the Romans.[32]

Rafael Scopacasa's 2015 *Ancient Samnium: Settlement, Culture, and Identity between History and Archaeology*, which has a "Samnitocentric" approach, begins with these programmatic words: "By drawing together a range of written sources, both literary and epigraphic, I investigate the changing scope of the ethnic 'Samnite' in classical accounts, and discuss what these different descriptions tell us about how communities in Samnium may have defined themselves differently through time. The general picture of various levels of community affiliation is confirmed by the epigraphic and numismatic material, which shows that people could include themselves in broader central Italic networks, while emphasizing their sense of belonging to individual towns and settlements".[33]

This shift away from the local "ethnic realities" to an analysis of Roman discourses and their meanings has been brought forward even more systematically by Mathilde Simon, in her study dedicated to the reconstruction of Roman perceptions of Magna Graecia.[34] Meanwhile, studies on the ethnic structures of the pre-Roman peoples of Italy have had to greatly refine their methodologies, moving away from Greek and Roman literary sources, as is the case with the recent *Social Networks and Regional Identity in Bronze Age Italy* by Emma Blake.[35]

A second consequence of the postcolonial approach to Roman history was an extension to Italy of the critiques being expressed towards the concept and model of Romanization.[36] The concept of Romanization was not born with reference to Italy,[37]

31 Musti (1988), pp. 197–216: "In latino vi è la predisposizione ad una distinzione, che è in primo luogo un modo più autentico di riflettersi della realtà; mentre in greco vi è piuttosto la tendenza a far prevalere l'omogeneità sulla distinzione: ma è la stessa realtà riflessa in due specchi diversi" (p. 201).

32 See also Tagliamonte (2005[2]), pp. 5–6; Mahé-Simon (2008). On the etic representation of "native groups" in ancient sources, see also Herring (2000), pp. 48–55. For a history of the British studies concerning the Samnites, see Dench (2004). More generally, on the literary sources regarding the pre-Roman peoples of Italy, see Bourdin (2012), pp. 18–44.

33 Scopacasa (2015), p. 15.

34 Simon (2011).

35 Blake (2014).

36 Curti/Dench/Patterson (1996), pp. 181–188. Mattingly (2011), pp. 38–41, offers a synthesis of all the reasons why the term "Romanization" can be criticized. In spite of all problems the term has been defended with good arguments by Alföldy (2005), and, from a purely archaeological perspec-

but has very often been applied to the peninsula in a deterministic sense, supporting the idea of a progressive approach of all Italic peoples to Rome. A perfect example of this can be found in Jean-Michel David's highly successful historical *La Romanisation de l'Italie*, which has been translated into many languages and, in spite of its publication date (1994), still shows no sign of the described change in methodological approach.[38] Such a model and concept is clearly now an entirely outdated historiographical construction.[39]

This meant that greater attention was paid to Millett's model of "Romanization from below" – suggesting that Italic populations voluntarily adopted the "Roman model", connected to what was presumed to be a political and cultural superiority – and in this sense Rome had previously been considered the political and cultural leader that introduced Hellenism to the peninsula.[40] At the same time this paved the way for a greater consideration of the influences exercised on the Italic and Roman culture from "outside", as well as regional and local specificities.[41] Roman culture was also changed through contact with other peoples, while not all change occurring in the 3rd or 2nd century BCE among Italic peoples can be traced back to Roman influence.[42] This led to the introduction of the concept of "glocalization" in the analysis of local forms of adaption to Roman culture, which further underlines the adaptation and adoption of "Roman" models, even with the impossibility of pursuing this line of research more thoroughly due to the sheer lack of sources, and the individual choices in the selection of the adopted models.[43]

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tive, by Versluys (2014). See also Schörner (2005); Carlà-Uhink (2016), p. 237. Nonetheless, as underlined by Stek (2014a), p. 34, the studies of Italy were touched by postcolonial tendencies in a particular way, since they concentrated on the pre-Roman, rather than on the Roman, period.

37 Mouritsen (1998), p. 74.

38 But David himself, even if sticking to a concept of Romanization as complete homologation and unification of Italy under the effect of the Roman model, invites the reader, for example, to distinguish very carefully between the cultural and the political aspects of this phenomenon: David (1994), p. v.

39 Mouritsen (1998), pp. 60–61. For a synthesis, see Stek (2014a).

40 Zanker (1976), p. 14; Salmon (1982), p. 100; Morel (1989), p. 515; Wallace-Hadrill (2012[2]), p. 377. The importance of Hellenization as homologating factor in the peninsula is stressed also by David (1994), p. 25. This position is now untenable: see Wallace-Hadrill (2008), in particular pp. 96–103; Stek (2013), pp. 340–341. Also the processes of "Hellenization" have been reconsidered as movements "from below": see Blake (2014), pp. 4–5.

41 Isayev (2007b), p. 13: "The focus has shifted from prioritizing external agents of change to recognizing the diversity of local responses, and the active role of internal mechanisms in initiating transformation".

42 Bradley (2000a), p. 156: "Grouping all changes that take place in this period under the title of Romanization, such as urbanization or decline in use of rural sanctuaries, prevents us judging the true influence of Rome".

43 See e.g. Häussler (2013), pp. 305–321.

The repercussions of this evolution in the historiography of Republican Italy are particularly visible in studies dedicated to the Social War,[44] "the event that more than any other helped to make Italy Roman"[45] and which – according to a recent formulation – even made Italy "akin to a territorial state of Roman citizens, possessing features analogous with the nation states that would emerge 1,800 years later".[46] Its most extreme variant, proposed by De Sanctis, connects the aforementioned model of a "natural unification of the Italians"[47] with the idea that the aim of the rebels would have been the creation of a pan-Italic national state, a high ideal – in the words of the scholar – which would die on this occasion, since the Romans did not follow the "national principle" in their state formation, to enjoy its rebirth only twenty centuries afterwards in the Risorgimento.[48]

Even without these modernistic and nationalistic excesses, according to what was until the 1990s the dominant paradigm, represented by Keaveney's *Rome and the Unification of Italy* (1987), the Italic peoples, who had become more and more integrated into the Roman State during the course of the 2nd century BCE – and had therefore also felt more and more part of it through an evolution that has even been described as "psychological" – perceived the exclusion from full "Romanness" more and more as an act of pure violence.[49] In particular, the *lex Licinia Mucia* of 95 BCE, which strengthened the rules against those who had usurped citizen rights, was a cause of huge resentment according to a statement by Asconius.[50] Members of the Italic elite, who wanted full citizenship and did not find friendly ears in Rome, end-

44 For a summary on the history of the historiography of the Social War, see Dart (2014), pp. 9–21.
45 Salmon (1982), p. 128.
46 Dart (2014), p. 3.
47 This idea was already present in Mommsen (1888[8]), p. 15, where is e.g. argued, following ancient sources and their teleological interpretive frame, that the Samnite Wars must be understood as the conflict that decided who would unify Italy, a final result that would have been in any case unavoidable. Coherently, the Samnites and their allies, defined "Italics", are moved by a real national ideology (pp. 451–452; 459; 468–470).
48 Ga. De Sanctis (1976), pp. 41–42; 67. See also Polverini's observations at the pp. xxv–xxvi. De Sanctis' work on the Social War, which represents part of the never published fifth volume of his *Roman History*, was composed in around 1945 and published posthumously in 1976: see pp. xxii–xxiii.
49 See e.g. McDonald (1944), p. 11; Ga. De Sanctis (1976), pp. 7–10 and Laffi (1990), pp. 299–300, which particularly insists on the "spontaneous" character of this assimilation. According to Afzelius (1942), pp. 146–147, a work deeply influenced by the historical circumstances in which it was written, by the 4th century BCE the Italic peoples already looked sympathetically on the growth of a strong power in Latium that could defend them all, and voluntarily entered the sphere of control of such a power.
50 Ascon., *In Corn.* pp. 67–68 Clark, says that this law was one of the main reasons for the Social War. See below, pp. 356–357.

ed up rebelling against the *Urbs* with the aim of becoming fully integrated, also on a juridical level. This constituted the natural end of the homogenization of Italy.[51]

Even if some forms of discontent with this narrative had already been expressed,[52] in this context a revolution was represented by the 1998 publication of Henrik Mouritsen's *Italian Unification*, in which the author reconstructed how the historiographical tradition of the Social War, based mostly on Appian, neglected secondary traditions present in ancient sources. These sources represented the war as a struggle against Roman domination aimed at obtaining freedom, real power-sharing (as opposed to a simple enfranchisement) and even the destruction of Roman rule.[53] In this way, he attempted to dismiss the traditional reconstructions that had postulated an important process of spontaneous aggregation in the 2nd century BCE, and which were supported by post-Augustan perspectives, as in the famous *quorum* [the Italics] *ut fortuna atrox, ita causa fuit iustissima: petebant enim eam civitatem, cuius imperium armis tuebantur* of Velleius Paterculus.[54] It must be indeed considered that Velleius himself later presents the Samnite Pontius Telesinus who, during the war with Rome, encourages his soldiers to destroy the city, metaphorically described as the woods in which the wolves robbing Italy of its freedom could hide.[55] However, reevaluating the existence of a different historiographical tradition and denying any form of deterministic development in the process that during the 2nd century BCE led to the Social War and the concession of citizenship for the peoples of the entire Italic peninsula do not necessarily have to lead to the categorical denial of the possibility that the request of citizenship, so preeminently represented in ancient sources,[56] could have been one of the principal motives for the beginning of the war, if not the central one.

When the latest publications on the Social War are taken into consideration, two of which, generally critical of Mouritsen's theories, appeared as monographs in recent years,[57] it is just as necessary to evaluate the "traditional theory", as well as Mouritsen's (which has not been very enthusiastically received among broad sectors of the scientific community),[58] from a different perspective, with greater emphasis

51 E.g. Kiene (1845), pp. 120–123; Gabba (1973), pp. 208–218; Gabba (1978), pp. 15–17; Keaveney (1987), in particular p. 8 and pp. 17–18; Laffi (1990), pp. 302–304.

52 Already Bernardi (1944/1945), pp. 60–61; Galsterer (1976), pp. 165–166 and Laffi (1980), pp. 185–186, had underlined, even if with some differences, that the desire for Roman citizenship could not be postulated as identical among all Italic communities: see below, pp. 335–345.

53 Mouritsen (1998), pp. 5–6. See also Keaveney (1987), pp. 120–127.

54 Vell. Pat. 2.15.2.

55 Vell. Pat. 2.27.2: ...*vociferabatur eruendam delendamque urbem, adiiciens numquam defuturos raptores Italicae libertatis lupos, nisi silva, in quam refugere solebant, esset excisa*.

56 Dart (2014), p. 11.

57 Kendall (2013); Dart (2014).

58 See, for example, Galsterer (2006), p. 299; Wallace-Hadrill (2008), p. 81; Tweedie (2011), pp. 582–583.

on aspects connected to the construction of identities, their selection and adoption, their contextualization in social and political contexts, and the general frame in which the "Italic question" was embedded, as well as from the perspective of the *longue durée*.[59]

Identity, Space and Region in Republican Italy

The new approaches have quite rightly underlined the role of the inhabitants of different regions, the specificities of their culture, and the fact that "Romanness" was not something given and imposed from above, but always the product of negotiation. Most importantly, they have demonstrated that Italy in the 1st century BCE was not a culturally unified territory, and that local specificities continued to exist even after the concession of Roman citizenship to the entire peninsula.[60] But even while it must be kept in mind that "the challenge to the scholar working on this material is to take due account of the specific local situation within the area under study, while at the same time not losing sight of the broader historical frameworks into which the detailed analysis must be set",[61] these approaches have systematically neglected Rome's "Romanocentric" perspective on the conquered and administrated areas; and this constitutes a different but no less relevant historical problem. As Hanson wrote in 1997 in reference to the imperial period, it is important not to swing the pendulum too far, nor forget that Rome had a pro-active role in "international" policies.[62]

The center not only perceived what was happening in its surroundings, and how the different regions and populations that entered the Roman sphere of power reacted, but also developed strategies to control and influence these reactions and the evolution of the identities and sense of belonging of its subjects. The question of how Romans considered and perceived Italy, when they developed a "sense of peninsular unity" and how they expressed this in political activity and cultural production (e.g. in literary texts)[63] is extremely important to better understand Roman activities and interventions in the centuries of the Mid-Republic. As Isayev has recently highlighted, "the spread of Roman hegemonic power was not itself responsible for the creation of an entity called Italy":[64] this required much more. While the Romans could clearly recognize the variety and difference of cultural and historical

59 See below, pp. 330–366.
60 Terrenato (1998a), pp. 22–23; Terrenato (1998b), pp. 112–114.
61 Curti/Dench/Patterson (1996), p. 172.
62 Hanson (1997), p. 78. See also Stek (2013), p. 343; Stek (2014a), p. 31.
63 Curti (2001), pp. 18–19.
64 Isayev (2016), p. 2.

forms that continued to exist in the peninsula even after the Social War,[65] they were also operational – as will be shown – on a cultural and discursive level in the production of narrative devices, myths and historical reconstructions that could explain such differences by returning to a substantial homogeneity and unity. From this perspective, and with a broad reconstruction of the different territorial, symbolic, and discursive elements that were introduced from the Roman side in order to compose an image of Italy, it will be possible once again to confront the problematic issue of Italic identity before the beginning of the Social War.

It is true that the Romans perceived the *res publica* as a partnership of citizens, and that they did not separate the geographical aspect of statehood from the people inhabiting it. It is also the case that the "territorial principle" was not determinant in the juridical definition of citizenship;[66] however, this does not mean that identity issues were completely separated from spatial and territorial aspects. The names of the populations were also used to metonymically indicate the geographical region inhabited by them, with a particular emphasis on territory, which has sometimes been interpreted as a product of Etruscan influence.[67] Attachment to one's own land also formed an integral aspect of identity (one needs only to consider Camillus' speech against the proposal of transferring the entire city of Rome to Veii after the Gallic Sack of 390 BCE, as presented by Livy).[68] Even if it did not develop any form of "parochialism" in a modern sense, and never completely substituted the belonging per descent through a belonging per geographical area,[69] Roman culture thus did know forms of self-ascription based on territory and the historical, familiar, ethnical, and affective ties to it.

During the Republican period, the Romans conceived strategies that enabled them to interfere with identities, and developed policies aimed at influencing local identities, the best-known example being the division of Macedonia after the Third Macedonian War in which four independent Republics were not allowed to trade with one another, even though they followed pre-existing territorial organizations under the Macedonian kings. Aside from the economic and military motivations, such a measure also had the clear function of destroying the inhabitants' sense of

65 Dench (2005), pp. 165–166.
66 Y. Thomas (1996), pp. 181–191.
67 Catalano (1978), pp. 510–512.
68 Liv. 5.54. This "sentimental" relation to the geographical area, which is understood as the focus of one's own life and of their cultural and historical references, has been defined by Tuan (1976), who analyzed it mostly in reference to Roman and ancient Chinese examples, "geopiety", to differentiate it from modern nationalism and patriotism. On this, see below, pp. 167–168.
69 This substitution is one reason behind the success of modern nationalism according to Paasi (1996), p. 81.

common identity.[70] Whilst the best-known example of such an action, it was far from unique. Roman success in transforming the (human) landscape, which "deliberately altered the appearance of the world by their manipulation of subject peoples", can be perceived as an important instrument of Roman imperialism.[71] To quote another example set in Italy, we may remember how in 268 BCE, after the war with the Picentes, a new *ager Picentinus* was founded in a completely different area, to which many Picentes were brought in order to break down the ties binding local identity, territory and landscape and thus remove key parts of Picentine identity.[72]

Since the 1980s the "spatial turn", with its implications of a new vision of space, renewed importance of geography in the general balance of academic disciplines, its insistence on the strong connections between spatial structures and social order, and its opening to humanities and social sciences,[73] has also provided historians with conceptual instruments and analytic devices that have enabled the reanalysis and reinterpretation of identity issues and their territorial aspects in the ancient world in a new light. This has meant until now, when applied to ancient Rome, that mostly the "Roman" way of organizing space has been analyzed, as materialized on the ground through the practices of *limitatio* and *centuriatio*. These marked, in Roman eyes, the foundation of territorial order and its integration within the cosmic order, the removal of the newly divided territories from "primordial chaos" and their introduction into the sphere of "history"; they also implied a transformation of the areas subject to such divisions and a radical change in their landscape, a physical expression of their insertion into a "Roman world".[74] However, aside from these forms of intervention on the land and "marking" of the territory, which were connected to ideas of imposing order, eliminating chaos and "expanding" civilization (the passage from chaos into history is indeed defined by the institutions of boundaries and boundary stones, which delimit land, construct space and establish social

70 Diod. Sic. 31.8.8–9; Liv. 45.29.5–14. That the Roman measures adopted in Macedonia included also a reduction of mobility between the republics has been now doubted by Daubner (2014).

71 Clarke (1999), pp. 294–295.

72 See below, pp. 233–234.

73 See Cosgrove (2004), pp. 57–58.

74 E.g. Gargola (1995), pp. 39–50; J.H.C. Williams (2001), pp. 210–211; Gargola (2004), pp. 136–145; Gargola (2005); Matz (2005); Gros (2007), pp. 98–99. A similar idea was shared also by the Etruscans, according to whom with the reign of Jupiter, through the invention of private property, history began: see Massa-Pairault (1988). The division of land and its organization seems to have been intended also in Etruscan culture as a consequence of Jupiter's division of the elements of the cosmos: see Liébert (2006), pp. 297–298. The Etruscan influence on the development of these Roman perspectives could therefore have been relevant, but a thorough discussion of this completely escapes the limits of this work.

order),[75] other forms of Roman tampering with space and territories have attracted much less attention.

Essential to the enlargement of studies on Roman "spatial politics" is first to overcome the idea of space as a passive background for human action, instead identifying it as a social product that, as a support of symbolic action, is expressed in the form of mental images and perceived and valorized by the persons inhabiting it.[76] As such, symbolically loaded space can be the object of identity politics of place and of spatialized politics of identity:[77] "all spatialities are political because they are the (covert) medium and (disguised) expression of asymmetrical relations of power".[78] When interpreting territory through this lens, it is first necessary to reject Lefebvre's historicism, with its consequent spatial immanentism that ends up recognizing one "true reading of any specific landscape involved in the mediation of identity".[79] However, it is also important not to fall into the opposite – spatial relativism – for which every reading of a landscape always has the same validity.[80] In a landscape (meant as a symbolically charged territory), "multiple enunciations of distinct forms of space"[81] are always present at the same time. Through this difference and the interactions of these enunciations emerges identity, ever an incomplete process, steadily changing and reaffirming itself in this dynamic context.[82] In this sense it is

75 The invention of boundary stones is attributed often to Jupiter, underlining the role of the god as author of the passage from the mythical age preceding the beginning of history to an organized world; his rule is conceived in opposition to the world of Saturn, when boundary stones did not exist: for example, Tibull. 1.3.43–44; Sen., *Phaedr.* 527–529. Vergil's Turnus shows his complete wildness at the end of the *Aeneid* by eradicating a boundary stone and using it as a weapon: Verg., *Aen.* 12.896–901. See Gi. De Sanctis (2005/2006); Willis (2011), pp. 105–106. All this is in the best way expressed in Vegoia's book, the main nucleus of which probably dates back to the Republican period: *Grom. Vet.* 350–351 Lachmann. See Gebert (1910), pp. 172–173; Piccaluga (1974), pp. 147–153; Macbain (1982), p. 76; Gargola (1995), p. 32; Terrenato (1998b), pp. 111–112; Gi. De Sanctis (2005/2006), pp. 97–99 (and 80–81 on Jupiter's role in the creation of boundaries). Vegoia's book claims an Etruscan origin which is possibly true (and is particularly underlined as such e.g. by Terrenato), but this does not change anything regarding the fact that the Romans perceived in the same way the division of lands as the beginning of history: on the problems connected to the "Etruscity" of Vegoia's book and its chronology, see Harris (1971), pp. 31–40. The boundary stone is therefore necessary and substantially positive for mankind, even if connected by many authors to the loss of the Golden Age: see Piccaluga (1974), pp. 168–169. See also Carlà-Uhink (2016), p. 234.

76 Claval (1978), pp. 20–21.

77 Keith/Pile (1993a), p. 2. On the centrality of territory both in the constitution of nations and of ethnicities, see A.D. Smith (1991), p. 40.

78 Keith/Pile (1993b), p. 38. See also Elden (2013), p. 13 and p. 17: "Territory is not simply an object: the outcome of actions conducted toward it or some previously supposed neutral area. Territory is itself a process, made and remade, shaped and shaping, active and reactive".

79 Keith/Pile (1993a), p. 6; Keith/Pile (1993b), pp. 24–25. See also Koselleck (2000), pp. 88–89.

80 Keith/Pile (1993a), p. 6; Keith/Pile (1993b), p. 25.

81 Keith/Pile (1993a), p. 6.

82 Keith/Pile (1993b), pp. 27–28.

necessary to understand the importance of the role played by "top-down" political measures, which are not merely a sort of foam floating on the surface of more important social processes, to use an image introduced by Keith and Pile. On the contrary, they penetrate deeply within singular consciences and singular abilities to elaborate knowledge from the surrounding social world.[83]

Central importance is given in this context to the concept of "territoriality", as developed largely by Robert David Sack in his seminal monograph *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*. This is "a spatial strategy to affect, influence or control resources and people, by controlling area; and, as a strategy, territoriality can be turned on and off. In geographical terms it is a form of spatial behavior",[84] or in other words "an attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence or control people, phenomena and relationships by delimiting a geographical area and asserting control over it".[85] As a geographic strategy and geographical expression of social power that controls people by controlling space, territoriality is "the means by which space and society are interrelated".[86] By delimitating a territory and controlling it, an individual or group can not only influence the lives of people inhabiting it and social relationships constructed within it,[87] but territoriality, which is always socially constructed, can also develop normative consequences.[88] In this way, the relationship between controller and controlled is obscured, the impression of a natural order is created,[89] and territory is thus presented as the end, rather than the means, of social and political control,[90] a process of "reification" and "objectification" that is the basis of many modern nationalistic myths.

Löw's "relational" concept of space is derived from the presupposition of a space constituted and constructed socially but which, being perceived, influences human actions and therefore its own subsequent re-construction (and change), in full accordance not only with Sack's territoriality, but also with the most recent models of space sociology. It implies

> eine relationale An(Ordnung) von Körpern, welche unaufhörlich in Bewegung sind, wodurch sich die (An)Ordnung selbst ständig verändert. Das bedeutet, Raum konstituiert sich auch in der Zeit. Raum kann dennoch nicht der starre Behälter sein, der unabhängig von den sozialen und materiellen Verhältnissen existiert, sondern Raum und Körperwelt sind verwoben. Durch den Begriff der „(An)Ordnung" mit der hier gewählten Schreibweise wird betont, dass Räumen

83 A.D. Smith (1991), pp. 26–27; Keith/Pile (1993b), p. 31.
84 Sack (1986), pp. 1–2.
85 Paasi (1996), p. 68.
86 Sack (1986), p. 5.
87 Sack (1986), p. 19.
88 Sack (1986), p. 26.
89 Sack (1986), p. 32.
90 Sack (1986), p. 39.

> sowohl eine Ordnungsdimension, die auf gesellschaftliche Strukturen verweist, als auch eine Handlungsdimension, das heißt der Prozess des Anordnens, innewohnt.[91]

This aspect had already been identified by Atteslander and Humm: "Eine allgemeine Theorie der menschlichen Siedlung fehlt bis heute. Wir wissen relativ wenig über die Beziehung zwischen Raumgestalt und Sozialverhalten. Dies ungeachtet der Tatsache, dass menschliche Siedlungsformen Gegenstand von Beschreibungen, wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen und ideologischer Kritik waren, seit der Zeit, in der wir Geschichtsschreibung kennen".[92] The suggested solution was the *Siedlungssoziologie* founded by the two quoted authors, which since the 1970s defined as its aim the analysis of the interactions of spatial organization, social structures and institutions, to understand "die Raumbezogenheit der Gesellschaft".[93] From this conceptual background, Anssi Paasi has developed in a series of publications, culminating in his book *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness* (1996), a model of the institutionalization of regions and the development of regional identity.[94] Paasi's model of the institutionalization of regions integrates the approach of the *Siedlungssoziologie* by grounding it in a strong geographical basis. By defining the regions as territorial entities that are not simply parts of "space" but products of spatial construction (on both a material and symbolic level), the model concerning the genesis of such institutionalized territories is a good response (from a geographical perspective) to the theoretical deficit that characterized *Gemeindesoziologie*, urban and regional sociology.[95]

Paasi aims to overcome the usual dichotomy between geography (static, spatial and concerning "the present") and history (dynamic, related to time and concerning "the past"), which is strengthened by the idea that while previous periods, particularly the 19th century, were "obsessed" with time, the main character of postmodernity would be the dissolution of the temporal dimension into the spatial one, insisting on superposition and simultaneity.[96] This dichotomy, in part faced and already denied by the historians of the *Annales* school (in particular Febvre and Braudel), attracted the attention of many other philosophers and epistemologists. Particularly

91 Löw (2001), p. 131. For a summary of Löw's relational concept of space, see pp. 224–230.
92 Atteslander/Hamm (1974), p. 11.
93 Atteslander/Hamm (1974), pp. 15–16.
94 Institutionalization can be intended here also in the meaning attributed to it by German space sociology (*Institutionalisierung*), i.e. as routinized, repeated and recognizable form of space construction (Löw (2001), pp. 162–164), when this repetition is intended as applied in time always to the same space, thus confirming the social meaning expressed (p. 166) and not as a repetition of similar forms in different spaces (as in the stations, cemeteries, and supermarkets presented by Löw as examples).
95 See Löw (2001), pp. 53–54.
96 Jameson (1991), p. 16.

meaningful is the synthesis provided by Michel Foucault in an interview about geography:[97]

> A critique could be carried out of this devaluation of space that has prevailed for generations. Did it start with Bergson, or before? Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile. Time, on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic. For all those who confuse history with the old schemas of evolution, living continuity, organic development, the progress of consciousness or the project of existence, the use of spatial terms seems to have the air of an anti-history. If one started to talk in terms of space that meant one was hostile to time.[98]

Paasi's position thus contributed to the theoretical movement that, starting in the 1980s, refused to couple space-being with time-becoming and insisted on the dynamic nature of space itself,[99] moving towards what Elden calls "the project of a spatial history".[100] Region is thus "one expression of time-space specific relations and structures of society, being formed through the development of society" that can be understood only in its historical and cultural context.[101] As is the case with all territories, regions require continuous attention not only to be established, but also maintained.[102] In this sense, the appearance of a region within a specific territory necessarily means the deconstruction of the previous ones occupying the same geographic extension, according to the Simmelian principle of the exclusivity (*Ausschließlichkeit*) of space.[103] This must be intended in a relative, not an absolute sense.[104] Nonetheless, for one community, sharing the same concepts of territorial articulation, only one territory of a specific category can occupy a precise space at a given moment. Brooklyn as a quarter cannot be part of two different cities, and Alabama as a federal state cannot exist within two different nations. The main point of this is to understand exactly whether a territory, which constitutes a region, is generally recognized as being "occupied" by that region or filled with other communities (which might eventually inhabit it, but react against top-down imposed models) with competing territorial entities.

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97 For a summary of Foucault's ideas about space see Löw (2001), pp. 147–150; Elden (2002), pp. 111–119.
98 Foucault (1976a), p. 70.
99 Löw (2001), p. 65.
100 Elden (2002), p. 3: "We need to both historicize space and spatialize history. [...] We need to recognize how space, place and location are crucial determining factors in any historical study. This is the project of a spatial history".
101 Paasi (1986), p. 120.
102 Sack (1986), p. 19.
103 Simmel (1968[5]), pp. 462–463.
104 A same area can be occupied by many concurrent phenomena of space construction: Löw (2001), p. 245.

Territorialization, intended here exclusively in its literal meaning as a process defining or sharpening the boundaries of a territory (and therefore a community), is generally a central mechanism in the creation of "assemblages" – a concept introduced to contrast essentialism, which insists that space can be understood as a sociological category when considered as the result of a historical process of construction. By simply focusing on this process it is possible to avoid reification,[105] which stabilizes identity and increases the degree of homogeneity.[106] "Territorializing processes are needed not only historically to produce the identity of assemblages at each spatial scale, but also to maintain it in the presence of destabilizing processes of de-territorialization".[107] Regions defined in this way are thus the product of a process (of territorialization) and are understandable as "assemblages". As such, they are highly unstable, since they can at any moment be the object of not only change, but also de-territorialization and division.[108] The possibility of division is in any case intrinsically present within spatial entities, which are always formed, on the other side, through the "unification" of different areas.[109] Such regions can be also intended as "structures" in a sense loaned from Giddens: as spatial structures they are social constructs; but they constitute a system of rules and resources (e.g. in the form of identities) that influence human action. This in turn recursively reproduces the spaces constructed in this way, confirming their validity but also eventually introducing change.[110] In this sense, a historical and cultural approach can be utilized, the necessity of which is strongly underlined by Paasi.[111] Only this kind of perspective, which overcomes the traditional separation of "history" and "geography", enables an understanding of the processes (which, as such, happen in time) that lead to the formation, institutionalization and successive disappearance of such regional forms.

The word "region" is not intended to generalize, as in Giddens' perspective, a spatial-temporal unity characterized by the availability of presence, i.e. the possibility of meeting. More specifically, the term is used by Paasi to indicate an intermediate geographical reality, collocated within a wider political context whilst embracing different smaller entities in a broader and more complex context of territoriali-

105 Sturm (2000), p. 183.
106 De Landa (2006), pp. 12–13.
107 De Landa (2006), p. 39.
108 De Landa (2006), p. 28. But is important to underline that De Landa (p. 105) uses the term "region" to define the material, physical context in which particular assemblages are placed, which provides them with "a range of objective opportunities and risks". On the interpretation of territories as assemblages, see Elden (2013), p. 17.
109 Löw (2001), p. 110.
110 Löw (2001), p. 178. See also Atteslander/Hamm (1974), p. 25.
111 Paasi (1991), p. 240.

ty.[112] Regions, as the identities with which they are deeply interconnected, are not static, but rather the result of a never-ending process of negotiation.[113] Exactly as identities, regions must therefore be understood from a "constructivist" perspective as social creations that become deep-rooted in consciousness. In referring to regional identity as a form of collective identity, it is necessary to confront a historical study of it. As has already been claimed many times in both historical and sociological literature: "we need to reconstitute the notion of collective cultural identity itself in historical, subjective and symbolic terms. Collective cultural identity refers not to a uniformity of elements over generations but to a sense of continuity on the part of successive generations of a given cultural unit of population, to shared memories of earlier events and periods in the history of that unit and to notions entertained by each generation about the collective destiny of that unit and its culture".[114]

According to this methodology, regional belonging constitutes a central element of a multilevel system of "citizenships" and segmentary identities as organizations – and identities – emerge from the interactions of their components and members.[115] Individuals and groups can form parts of different networks, groups and organizations, while simultaneously maintaining different identities (it is also important to underline that "none of this suggests a simple Russian-doll relation").[116] A typical example is the stratification moving from the family through the community, the city, the region, and the nation State.[117] Each of these institutions and networks generates a form of identity (or better self-identification), which can be more or less expressed according to the circumstances and specific belongings of the momentary interlocutors. This is also true of the ancient world:

> In no way were such collective identities exclusionary; nor can we point to *a priori* hierarchies among them. For example, the collective identity of a citizen of ancient Syracuse could be articulated as "Syracusan", "Corinthian colonist", "Siceliot" (a Greek living in Sicily, of whatever origin), "Dorian" and "Greek". These identities would find expression according to the circumstances. In his political and civic relationship to other citizens of Syracuse he (women shared ethnicity but not full citizenship) was a Syracusan. In terms of international relations the Syracusan's Corinthian affiliation and Dorian identity were meaningful. In terms of cult practices he or she shared Dorian nomima and dress. In relation to the native populations of Sicily and

112 Sack (1986), p. 34.
113 Paasi (1986), p. 106; Paasi (1991), pp. 242–243.
114 A.D. Smith (1991), p. 25.
115 Paasi (2003), p. 477. On segmentarity and segmental involvement see still Cohen (1974), in particular p. 54 and, in a historical application to identity, Sahlins (1989), pp. 110–113. See also Cohen (1985), pp. 29–30, and the concept of multiplexity there adopted.
116 De Landa (2006), pp. 33–34. See also, among many others, Roosens (1989), pp. 15–16; Hogg/Abrams (1988), pp. 24–25; Mennell (1994), p. 177; Jenkins (1997), pp. 40–41; Díaz-Andreu/Lucy (2005), p. 11. The image of the Russian doll is also used by Jenkins (1997), p. 85, in order to immediately state that "it can never really be anything like this simple".
117 See Sahlins (1989), pp. 110–113; Jenkins (1997), pp. 40–43.

> to the menacing Phoenicians, as well as to Greeks of the mainland, a Syracusan was primarily a Siceliot. In relation to Olympia (where the prominence of western Greek dedications has been noted) or to the Persian wars (e.g., Gelon's claim to supreme command), Syracusans were Greek.[118]

As in the modern world, "a range of possible identities were usually available to an individual" in the ancient world.[119] Italy in the Roman period constitutes a good example of this, inserted within the broader context of the Roman State while at the same time embracing a system of towns and ethnic identities.[120] Therefore, instead of concentrating on a debate focused on the "replacement" of a local with a Roman or Italic identity, and on the eventual "success" of such an identity, which is mostly conceived in an essentialistic way, it seems useful to analyze the entire set of data concerning Italy in the Roman Republic. In this way, we consider its complexity and eventual "homogeneity" against the background of the entire imperial structure on the one side, and the multiplicity of administrative and social realities within it on the other.[121] It is in this sense that the concept of "region" applied to Italy in the Roman Republic can help in overcoming the antitheses in which the debate has remained substantially stuck until now, and it is from this perspective that Paasi's model seems particularly apt to provide original hermeneutic instruments for the reopening of such a debate.

Constructions of identities cannot therefore be intended as singular affiliations, not even in modern nationalism. It is simply not possible to understand the consequences of Romanization and the Social War as the switching of a previous local identity for a Roman one, as was assumed in most literature until the 1990s, as if such identities were mutually exclusive.[122] But such preconceptions die hard, and can be seen at work even in recent historical studies which – while underlining the similarities between the Roman conquest of Italy with its organization as a group of "protected clients", and similar processes of state-building in modern European states – speak of the creation of an "identity" that is not better specified or differentiated in its sub-components and in the end appears very similar to a modern "national identity".[123] Such modernizing constructs must therefore be abandoned for a model of multiple, and even "discrepant identities", a concept that has in recent years been used to correct that of Romanization[124] – "the key to any investigation of Roman Italy must surely lie in the articulation of these multiple identities – nation-

118 Malkin (2001), p. 3. See also Wallace-Hadrill (2012[2]), pp. 368–369.
119 Bradley (1997), p. 54. See also Derks/Roymans (2009), pp. 6–7.
120 See below, pp. 279–287.
121 See also Stek (2013), pp. 346–347.
122 David (1994), p. ix; Bradley (2000a), p. 200.
123 Eich/Eich (2005), pp. 14–15.
124 Mattingly (2011), p. 214.

al, regional and local; social, political and ethnic".[125] But it is important to note that a better understanding of the "segmentarity" of identity does not automatically mean excluding the possibility that some components interacting within this complex system can be the result of top-down policies,[126] and are not always spontaneous bottom-up processes. It is crucial, as will be explained, that identities "enforced" or simply "proposed" from above must somehow be accepted to allow the production of a sense of belonging on an individual level, as well as one of the local/regional community.[127]

Studying Italy during the Roman Republican period as a region, and investigating its emergence, discursive construction, territoriality, and role in shaping ethnic identities on the basis of the methodological and theoretical background provided by the framework presented can eventually assist not only in the understanding of the processes of "Italic unification" from a more substantial and less essentialistic perspective, but also in the avoidance of the opposite excess of an exaggerated "decentralization", placing the accent concretely on both the Roman construction of territory and its perception by the inhabitants of Italy.

Questions of region are in the end questions about their origin, emergence, change and disappearance[128] – in this work, mostly the first two aspects, in connection with Roman Italy. This process continuously forms and changes what can be defined as "regional identity" or "consciousness", made up of the identification by the inhabitants with the regional community and the region itself.[129] Regional identity must in turn be clearly distinguished from the "identity of region", i.e. the sum of cultural, natural, and historical elements that are used in the construction of discourses about the region, shape "structures of expectation", and also, steadily changing as a result of political and social negotiations, provide the "building blocks" of regional identity.[130]

The establishment of a "regional identity" that, as with all processes involving the individual, is "the product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces",[131] which can be identified in consciousness and social action, and is then reproduced through individual and institutional prac-

125 Witcher (2000), p. 215.

126 As made clear by Derks/Roymans (2009), p. 1, "ethnic identities are always constructed in close association with political systems. It is politics that define ethnicity, not vice versa". This position must be relativized in the sense that already constructed identities can intervene strongly in political discourse and influence further political decisions.

127 See below, pp. 279– 280.

128 Paasi (1986), p. 120.

129 Paasi (1986), p. 133.

130 Paasi (1986), p. 132; Paasi (1996), p. 35; Paasi (2003), p. 478.

131 Foucault (1976a), p. 74.

tices, can be defined as the "institutionalization of a region":[132] "institutionalisation is a sociospatial process in which a territorial unit emerges as part of the spatial structure of the society concerned, becomes established and identified in various spheres of social action and consciousness, and may eventually vanish or deinstitutionalise in regional transformation".[133]

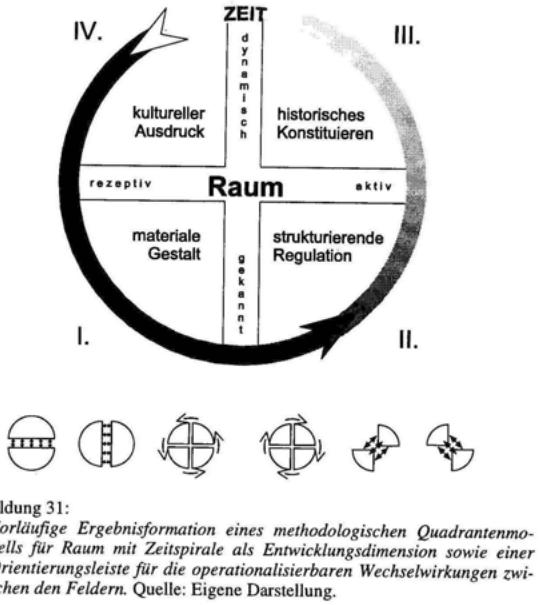

Fig. 1: From Sturm (2000), p. 199.

The institutionalization of a region would therefore be situated in the "upper sector" of the "methodological quadrant model" developed by G. Sturm to analyze space [Fig. 1], i.e. in the quadrants of "historical constitution" and "cultural expression" – the latter being the part that directly concerns the genesis of identities.[134] Both activities lie within the sector identified as "dynamic", and therefore in a constant state of change, though the construction of space is "active", while cultural expression is the product of a receptive activity. It is important to underline this, because if the

132 Paasi (1986), p. 110; Paasi (1996), pp. 32–33: institutionalization is "the process during which specific territorial units – on various spatial scales – emerge and become established as parts of the regional system in question and the socio-spatial consciousness prevailing in society".

133 Paasi (1991), p. 243.

134 Sturm (2000), pp. 185–207.

historical constitution of space is an active process, it implies identifiable actors. These actors change according to the kinds of space constructed, but in the case of "regions" they are to be identified in terms of persons and groups that retain social and political power to intervene in the territorial and administrative organization of communities – in the case of Roman Italy, Roman political actors.

The existence and relevance of an "active" component in Roman (re)-organization of space was also known to the ancient sources. Particularly relevant in this sense is Appian's reflection on the Roman intervention in Illyria, which reveals the construction – and institutionalization – of a new region:

> These peoples, and also the Pannonians, the Rhaetians, the Noricans, the Mysians of Europe, and the other neighbouring tribes who inhabited the right bank of the Danube, the Romans distinguish from one another just like the various Greek peoples are distinguished from each other, and they call each by its own name, but they consider the whole of Illyria as embraced under a common designation. Whence this idea took its start I have not been able to find out, but it continues to this day, for they farm the taxes of all the nations from the source of the Danube to the Euxine Sea under one head, and call it the Illyrian tax.[135]

The process of institutionalization is therefore not a spontaneous "bottom-up" development, but is rather deeply connected with communication, and groups that control the communication also dominate "the reproduction of consciousness and ideas concerning the nature of the socio-spatial reality".[136] This has also been highlighted by Sack, according to whom territoriality requires three elements: a form of classification by area, a form of communication by boundary and a form of enforcement of control.[137] However, if "communication" and "enforcement" provide the "identity of a region" from the "top-down", then in order for this to become a "regional identity", it is necessary that a complementary "bottom-up" movement accepts and elaborates on this message. This generates mechanisms of identification (or eventually of resistance and identification with another, alternative model provided by another authority): "the key question in understanding regional identity is not how the individual and the social are integrated in space, but how can the sociospatial be conceptualized in the 'production' of the individual/collective and vice versa. This 'dialectics' introduces action that stems from two intertwined con-

135 App., *Rom.* 10.1.6; transl. H. White. See also Strab. 13.4.12: "The parts situated next to this region towards the south as far as the Taurus are so inwoven with one another that the Phrygian and the Carian and the Lydian parts, as also those of the Mysians, since they merge into one another, are hard to distinguish. To this confusion no little has been contributed by the fact that the Romans did not divide them according to tribes, but in another way organised their jurisdictions, within which they hold their popular assemblies and their courts"; transl. H.L. Jones.

136 Paasi (1986), p. 114.

137 Sack (1986), p. 28.

texts: 'from above' in the form of territorial control/governance and 'from below' in the form of territorial identification and resistance".[138]

The core of the problem is represented by what Foucault would have called "tactics and strategies of power", on whose terms the formation of discourses must be analyzed: "tactics and strategies deployed through implantations, distributions, demarcations, control of territories and organizations of domains".[139]

The process of institutionalization of a region therefore requires, according to Paasi, four stages, which generally take place contemporarily,[140] and which reveal themselves in discourse as well as in their influence on action and political decisions. They are worth presenting in detail:

1. The genesis of a territorial shape.[141] The first thing a region requires is a clear territorial definition. As mentioned above, Sack made clear that territoriality needs a classification "by area" and not "by type" as well as a boundary as a form of communication, which reifies power, making it visible, and depersonalizes social relations, helping in the process of "naturalization" of territorial order.[142] The divisibility of space, its second quality according to Simmel, enables this creation of territorial units and sub-units.[143] A region requires, as an element of its identity, a clear image of its geographical extension, and therefore of its border, meant as an institution and a symbol,[144] the point where it ends and meets other geographical entities. This practice "refers to the localization of social practices through which regional transformation takes place and a territorial unit achieves its boundaries and becomes identified as a distinct unit on some scale of the spatial structure".[145]

2. The genesis of a conceptual (symbolic) shape.[146] A region needs a symbolic system that helps in constituting, legitimating and reproducing it. This form of cultural construction, which can assume the form of Hobsbawm's "invention of tradition",[147] can manifest itself in the development of identity narratives, which found the identity of the region in discourse: "the construction of boundaries at all scales and dimensions takes place through narrativity".[148] On the one hand, such narratives imply the spatialization or territorialization of the community, underlying the

138 Paasi (2003), p. 476.
139 Foucault (1976a), p. 77.
140 Paasi (1986), p. 121; Paasi (1991), p. 243; Paasi (1996), p. 33; Paasi (2002), p. 140.
141 Paasi (1986), pp. 124–125; Paasi (1991), pp. 244–245; Paasi (1996), p. 34.
142 Sack (1986), p. 32. The importance of territory has been underlined, in this sense, also in the birth of national identities: A.D. Smith (1991), p. 117.
143 Simmel (1968[5]), p. 465.
144 Paasi (1998), p. 72.
145 Paasi (1996), p. 34.
146 Paasi (1986), pp. 125–126; Paasi (1991), p. 245; Paasi (1996), p. 34.
147 Hobsbawm (1982).
148 Newman/Paasi (1998), pp. 195–196.

territorial aspect and the connection of the community with that particular territory and landscape, thus accentuating the role of the boundaries.[149] In this sense, the appearance of discourses frequently legitimates the extension of the region defined in (1) as "natural" and deterministically imposed by geographical features, such as rivers.[150] This "naturalization" of territoriality is a product of the depersonalization identified by Sack as central to the construction of an order that shifts attention from the controller/controlled mechanisms.[151] At the same time, narratives and memories of the past are developed, which insist on common traditions and a past of shared belonging, thus also implying a temporalization of the community. Such narratives and discourses allow the birth of a "cultural territoriality",[152] and are at the same time confirmed and reinforced by it.

3. Emergence of institutions.[153] The institutionalization of a region receives an important consolidation from above and in the dynamics of communication through the establishment of institutions (as is clear to Appian, when he defines the role of the "Illyrian tax"), which represent it as a single unit and distinguish it from other regions.

4. Established role as part of the regional system and of regional consciousness.[154] The fourth aspect corresponds to the passage from the "identity of the region" to the "regional identity": the region receives an identity which is not only a "material basis" but also a "mental sphere". This implies not only, as in the first three points, the recognition of the region "from above", but also the acceptance of it by its inhabitants, who develop a sense of regional consciousness and thus recognize "their" region, to which they show a sense of belonging, as a part of the regional system of the broader political community and as distinct from the other "regions" that compose the system. This established role is continuously repeated and re-established, and represents a purely historical phenomenon.

This model offers a very precious tool for understanding the birth and development of the perception of Italy as a unified territory, and of an Italic identity during the years of the Roman Republic. It is possible, as will be demonstrated, to interpret this complicated period from the perspective of the progressive institutionalization

149 Paasi (1998), p. 75; Paasi (2001), p. 20.

150 There is no need here to summarize the huge amount of literature existing about the non-existence of natural boundaries and the artificiality of every form of limitation of space, even when conducted following geographical elements (particularly effective is Simmel's observation that the boundary is not a spatial element with sociological effects, but a sociological element which forms itself spatially: Simmel (1968[5]), p. 467). See also below, pp. 37–39.

151 Sack (1986), p. 32.

152 Paasi (1996), pp. 90–91.

153 Paasi (1986), pp. 126–129; Paasi (1991), pp. 245–246.

154 Paasi (1986), p. 130; Paasi (1991), pp. 246–247.

of the Italic peninsula as a "region", recognized and shaped as such by Rome and distinguished from/opposed to the provinces.

As required by Sack's and Paasi's models, it is first necessary to identify the territorial, symbolic and institutional characters attributed to Italy as a region by Rome, in order to analyze the "establishment" of the role of Italy in the Roman republican system and in the consciousness of its inhabitants. To use Keaveney's term, "Panitalianism" was in any case a Roman creation,[155] derived from Rome's "proprietorial behaviour" towards Italy, as expressed by Dench.[156] If "the main Roman problem was that of how to subjugate, in the span of few decades, diverse and distinct people – Campanians, Daunians, Samnites, Messapians, Iapygians, Lucanians, Bruttii, Sicilians, Picentes, Umbri, Etruscans, peoples of Magna Graecia etc. – and how to re-structure these individual areas within the Roman state that was being created",[157] the "institutionalization" of the region of Italy was a very important part of the solution to that problem.

In the introduction to a seminal volume published in 2006 and bearing the meaningful title *Herrschaft ohne Integration? Rom und Italien in republikanischer Zeit*, Martin Jehne and Rene Pfeilschifter underlined how the Italic alliance system in the Roman Republic – before the Social War – was not held together by common rituals (which could shape identity and give a sense of common belonging), and thus asked how this "community" was bound together and even whether "ein recht weitreichendes, gegenseitiges Desinteresse von Römern und Italikern" was the secret of Rome's success in the peninsula.[158] An approach such as that proposed by Paasi, using the model of the institutionalization of Italy as a region, can perhaps help to answer this question by showing how the sense of belonging to the same "geographical" area with an identifiable territorial and symbolic shape could, independent of the existence of specific rituals and mostly through discursive constructions (common defense, consanguinity etc.) be steered from afar by Rome, and thus assist in holding together a "mosaic" of peoples within a common "project".

In this sense, in reference to the Social War, understanding what conflicting historical traditions existed, and whether the rebels aimed to achieve freedom from Rome rather than merely obtain equal status, cannot be the main or only aim of historical research. What also assumes a central importance, is the fact that the rebels, whatever their purpose, presented themselves as "Italics", implicitly accepting the "regional consciousness" that had been developed during the previous decades, and thus showing that they had internalized it sufficiently to use it as a form

155 Keaveney (1987), p. 28.
156 Dench (2005), p. 166.
157 Curti/Dench/Patterson (1996), p. 185.
158 Jehne/Pfeilschifter (2006), pp. 9–11.

of opposition to Roman power.[159] Using a comparison that has already been proposed, the Social War can be understood more or less as Frankenstein's monster rebelling against him.[160]

Attention will be concentrated here on aspects connected with the "birth" and "consolidation" of Italy as a regional structure, i.e. on the period from the 3rd to the 1st century BCE. As will be shown, the 3rd century is the first moment when traces of the institutionalization of Italy as a region can be identified. The 1st century has been chosen as a closing point, partly because the most important sources available for studying the Roman Republic were composed at this time, but also because the 1st century represents the high point of this process. The Social War is of course a crucial element of the story to be told, but the following use of Italy and its unity as a propagandistic weapon during the years of Cicero and then Octavian should not be neglected. The reorganization of the peninsula under Augustus, in particular the foundation of the eleven Augustan regions (but also the formal new juridical institute called *ius Italicum*, another proof of a final "institutionalization" of Italicness and its formal characters, even if this institute was also applied to colonies on provincial territory) will form the final point of the analysis.

What will not be discussed, however, is the "disappearance" of Italy: the gradual deconstruction of its specificity in the context of the Roman Empire and its loss of "institutionalism" as a region, even whilst maintaining a symbolic meaning, as *omnium terrarum alumna eadem et parens*,[161] which will fade away very slowly. Even if the final point of this process is represented by the assimilation of Italy into the provincial land and by the subdivision of the peninsula into provinces during the age of Diocletian, the process began much earlier.[162] Already in the early Principate, and in particular during the time of Claudius, it is possible to see how the central political power lost interest in differentiating Italy from the rest of the Empire, favoring an always more complete integration into the Empire – and into Roman citizenship – for the inhabitants of the provinces.[163]

Structure of This Work

In the following chapters, the "four steps" presented by Paasi will be analyzed separately, while attempting to adhere as closely as possible to his geographical model. It is in any case obvious that these aspects are not truly independent of one another, as narratives concerning the territorialization of the community are a source of in-

159 See below, pp. 373–386.
160 Keaveney (1987), p. 35.
161 Plin., *HN* 3.39.
162 On this process, see Giardina (1986).
163 Giardina (1994), pp. 3–10. See also Walbank (1972), pp. 153–154.

formation for the birth of the territorial definition itself. A certain amount of crossing over between the aspects that, in a theoretical model, can be presented separately, is therefore to be assumed from the beginning.

This is mostly a consequence of the nature of the sources that can be used for such a study. The first problem is represented by the fact that our main sources, literary texts, provide us with information that is deeply embedded in discourse and in narrative constructions. Trying to "disembed" pieces of information in order to, for example, better define the institutions in their simplest, most mechanical aspects is often very difficult. This difficulty is increased by the well-known, highly problematic nature of the sources concerning the Republican period. While scholars such as Tim Cornell may consider the available documents on the 4th century BCE to be quite reliable, and the historical documentation for the period after 330 BCE (with the only exception of a "hole" corresponding to the years 293–264 BCE) as substantially complete,[164] such an optimistic view is not shared by most other scholars. Even if one wanted to share this optimism, it could only be applied to the possibility of reconstructing the history of events, and not that of mentalities. What is available are much later sources, often written centuries after the events, and which were therefore already the product of a difficult historical reconstruction. The almost complete loss of Latin historiography before Sallust (and of Roman historiography in the Greek language from the 3rd and 2nd century BCE) – in particular, for the topic here proposed, the loss of all but a few fragments of Cato's *Origines* – is simply impossible to remedy. Livy provides a huge amount of material, though this must be taken into consideration with great care, as with all sources written even later, in the course of the Principate or even in Late Antiquity. In many cases, authors such as Servius, who widely used Republican texts, which for us are lost, can provide useful information.

A different kind of problem is presented by Greek sources – even those contemporary to the period here analyzed – and this is true of Polybius. It is always necessary to keep in mind the possibility that they filtered mentalities and identities in order to fit them into the frames provided by their own culture of origin, and by their personal political visions.[165] Particularly problematic is the necessity of fitting Italic history into the scheme of Greek mythology and chronology, for example when dealing with questions of ethnogenesis, migration, and cultural belonging. Nonetheless, a systematic use of all available sources, attention to cross-references with Roman texts, and careful reflection on their sources, purposes and narrative structures, allow to use them to draw some conclusions regarding the institutionalization

164 Cornell (1995a), p. 17.

165 On Polybius' approach to Rome and Roman imperialism, for instance – a widely debated theme in literature – see Baronowski (2011), in particular pp. 5–13 for a summary of the scientific debate up to that moment.

of Italy as a region during the Republican period, and in particular on Roman activity in providing Italy with the elements that, combined, formed the identity of the region.

Even more difficult is an analysis of the Italic reactions, as well as the establishment of Italy as a region in the local consciousness. We have no literary texts produced by indigenous Italic authors, and even (fragmentary) works produced by later writers with Italic origin, such as Varro, can be suspected of representing only the Roman points of view regarding identity and ethnicity, and therefore as essentially useless for a reconstruction of the possible Italic adhesion to the proposed identity (or more generally of the perception of their own ethnicity and belonging).[166] In this context, the greatest relevance is given to scattered epigraphic and numismatic evidence, an attentive evaluation of which will constitute the central part of the last chapter.

Leading up to this point will be three chapters dedicated to the first three "steps" of Paasi's model. The territorial shape of Italy in Roman eyes will first be defined, together with the chronology of its introduction and imposition on the peninsula. The symbolic shape of the region of Italy will then be analyzed, starting with the adoption of the name itself, before continuing on to theories concerning the autochthony and migration of the different Italic peoples and therefore the tradition of Italic *consanguineitas*, before finally dealing with the literary representation of the Italic landscape in the genre known as *laudes Italiae*. The fourth chapter will discuss the institutional aspects by which Rome imposed a regional unification and homogenization from above. The definition of Italy on a religious level, to allow the correct practice of rites, assumes a central importance, together with the direct political interventions regarding the territory, such as the foundation of colonies or the development of "devices" that helped to homogenize the Italic population, such as the army or the "control" of migration. The last part of the chapter will be dedicated to the system of the Augustan regions. Finally, as already hinted at, the fifth chapter will pose the question of the development of an Italic identity, its "success" or its "incompleteness", to quote again Giardina's definition, and of its eventual "adoption" and interiorization "from below", all questions which will be answered – hopefully in a convincing way.

166 See Dench (1995), pp. 176–177 for some methodological observations on this point. An example is provided by Bradley (1997), p. 58, where it is underlined how Sarsina, undoubtedly belonging to the Umbrian community, was treated by the Romans as a separate entity because of the different time and modalities of conquest.

Terra Italia

The Extension of Roman Hegemony over Italy

According to the model presented in the introduction, the first point of analysis is the genesis of the territorial shape of Italy. The development of the concept of Italy in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, as well as its geographical extension, have been the object of many scientific works and have been most systematically discussed by Massa.[1] The biggest problem with such publications is represented by the fact that, without setting the evolution of the concept of Italy against a background of space construction, regional formation and identity, they tend substantially to trace through it once again the traditional theory of a progressive homologation of the Italic region to Rome and a progressive adhesion to the Roman cause, which led (after the disappointment of refused citizenship) to the Social War.[2]

Two central questions must be asked in order to overcome this evolutionary model, and to center, as it is the purpose of this book, a new interpretation around Roman perceptions and discourses: how was the territory of this region limited? When were its borders defined, and *Italia* appeared as a clearly recognizable territorial extension from a Roman perspective? This will first be analyzed from a geographical perspective, investigating the Roman definition of areas and boundaries connected with the concept of Italy, and later, in special reference to the case of Cisalpina, from the perspective of administration. As will be demonstrated, the geographical and political-administrative definitions of Italy did not always coincide.

Rome had been conquering, colonizing and expanding into the Italic peninsula since the 5th century BCE. Throughout the Samnite Wars in the second half of the 4th century, a significant part of the peninsula had been brought under Roman control. Italy was undoubtedly the focus of Roman hegemony, a real sphere of influence, by the 3rd century BCE. Evaluating the evidence provided by the 306 BCE Treaty of Philinus between Rome and Carthage – which should have clearly indicated the spheres of influence of the two cities, dictating that the Romans could not intervene in Sicily, or the Carthaginians in Italy[3] – is extremely problematic. The existence of this treaty was denied by Polybius, as well as by many modern scholars.[4] If authentic, it may provide proof that by the end of the 4th century, the Romans had begun to consider Italy to be within their sphere of influence. A passage in Servius speaks, with-

1 Massa (1996).

2 See above, pp. 8–9.

3 Polyb. 3.26.1–7.

4 For the authenticity of the treaty, among others: Meister (1970); Mitchell (1971), pp. 634–636; Scardigli (1991), pp. 135–153; Russo (2012b), pp. 67–70. Against the authenticity: Albert (1978); Badian (1980), pp. 164–169; Hoyos (1985).

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out any clear chronological definition, of the *litora Romanorum* as opposed to the *litora Carthaginiensium*.[5] This means that the definition of Italy as the "core" of Roman interest could be contemporary, consequent and opposed to the clear definition of Sicily as an area of Carthaginian hegemony and expansion; but even if this should be accepted, it does not at all imply that the Romans had already claimed to rule Italy so early on.[6]

Nonetheless, a definition of spheres of competence in this sense seems confirmed by Justin when he writes that during the Tarentine War, Mago went to Rome to express his solidarity for the fact that the Romans had to face such problems in Italy – their region – and to offer Carthaginian help. Later, he also visited Pyrrhus with the aim of avoiding problems in Sicily, which was the direct interest of Carthage, and therefore of Mago.[7] Polybius confirms this view, clearly stating that after the Tarentine War the Romans considered Italy theirs, while only later, following the Second Punic War, did they develop the idea of universal dominion.[8] During the Pyrrhic War, according to later historiographical traditions, Appius Claudius said that Rome would never come to terms with an army on Italic territory.[9] "This detail, if authentic, gives an interesting glimpse of how the Romans now saw themselves in relation to Italy", wrote T. Cornell.[10] It is probable that this detail concerning Appius Claudius is not authentic, but constructed on later ideas and materials, at a time when Italy had gone from being an area of Roman "influence" to being perceived as the central core of Roman power. This "consolidation" of the idea of a closed Italic territory – which became absolutely clear, as will be shown, after the Second Punic War – could then be "backdated" to the other time that a foreign army crossed the Italic peninsula, causing various Italic allies to desert[11] – the Pyrrhic War. The im-

5 Serv., *Ad Aen.* 4.628. Scardigli (1991), pp. 150–152, claims that Servius refers here to the Treaty of Philinus. But see Hoyos (1985), pp. 98–99, who claims that Servius' expression is a clumsy fusion of the terms of the first two Roman-Carthaginian treaties. See also Russo (2010), p. 83.

6 See Mitchell (1971), pp. 642–643; Russo (2010), p. 78; Russo (2012b), pp. 66–67, who generally argues for a high relevance in diplomacy of the concept of Italy since the late 4th century BCE. Such a position had already been held by Nissen (1883), p. 67, according to whom Italy indicated for the Romans since at least 241 BCE the entire peninsula. See also Simon (2011), pp. 86–89.

7 Iust. 18.2.1–5. See Russo (2010), pp. 88–89; Russo (2012b), pp. 78–80.

8 Polyb. 1.6.6–8. See Russo (2010), pp. 97–99. The idea of Roman sovereignty over the peninsula after the Tarentine War, which appears in Polybius to be a Roman projection, has been overevaluated in modern historiography by "traditional" readings which claim that by this time a cultural and political unity of Italy (as reconstructed in the Risorgimento) had already been reached: see e.g. Frank (1921), p. 67. Also in modern historiography, the Tarentine War assumes as a consequence a central role in the teleological reconstruction of the Italian unification: according to other scholars, by this time the Roman hegemony over the peninsula would have been a fact, which required only the accomplishment of the conquest. See e.g. Bernardi (1973), p. 77.

9 E.g. *FGH* 839 F 1 (*Ineditum Vaticanum*); App., *Rom.* 3.10.2.

10 Cornell (1995a), p. 364. See also Simon (2011), pp. 90–92.

11 Livy in particular seems to have insisted on these desertions: see Liv., *Per.* 12.5 and 13.12.

portance of the Tarentine War in the construction of Roman cultural memory so early on is nonetheless demonstrated by the fact that the sixth book of Ennius' *Annales*, as made clear by the finds in Herculaneum, surely represented a close unity that dealt with precisely this war and portrayed it with particular pathos,[12] presenting the military confrontation as a transcendent battle between order and chaos.[13] By the 2nd century BCE, the Pyrrhic War had thus been credited with a central role in shaping and constructing Roman perceptions of power and territory.

Valerius Antias, for example, writing at the time of Sulla, insisted that Pyrrhus was "in Italy" (*in terra Italia*), and that "most of Italy" (*pleraque Italia*) cooperated with him.[14] The same attitude can later be seen in Pompeius Trogus/Justin, who not only repeated that it was a war within and about Italy,[15] but also underlined how the king was called by the Tarentines, the Samnites and the Lucanians, but eventually decided to organize his expedition *non tam supplicum precibus quam spe invadendi Italiae imperii*.[16] After Pyrrhus' first victory, the narration of the war refers to the defection of many Italic allies,[17] and it was again the *Italici socii* who called him back from Sicily.[18]

By the beginning of the First Punic War, the idea of a zone of influence comprising the Italic peninsula – or at least the central and southern part of it, as opposed to Carthaginian Sicily and Sardinia – had probably already been developed. Indeed, it must be observed that if the Tarentine War brought the entire Southern part of the peninsula, bordered by the sea, under Roman control, it was in the northern part that the biggest problems regarding the "fixation of a boundary" would appear even later.[19]

Modern scholars, such as Salmon, have stressed the importance of the events of 268 BCE following the last rebellions after the battle of Sentinum and the end of the Tarentine War, as well as the foundation in that year of the colony of Ariminum, when identifying the moment at which the Romans felt they were controlling or rather going to control the whole peninsula.[20] In this they substantially agree with

12 Suerbaum (1995), pp. 32–35; Fisher (2014), p. 87. On the representation of the Pyrrhic War in Ennius, see also Barnes (2005), pp. 23–25; Fabrizi (2012), pp. 125–150.

13 Fisher (2014), pp. 54–55.

14 Gell. 3.8.1. This of course does not mean that Valerius Antias shared a restricted vision of Italy, limited to its Southern part, as Massa (1996), pp. 17–18, claims. The expression *terra Italia* recurs, for example, also in Liv. 42.29.1.

15 Iust. 18.2.2; 5; 23.3.7–12.

16 Iust. 18.1.1.

17 Iust. 18.1.8.

18 Iust. 23.3.5.

19 Detlefsen (1886), p. 498.

20 Salmon (1982), p. 67. Mommsen (1888[8]), p. 511, argued that by means of the Tarentine War and its aftermath, and more precisely by the year 270 BCE, the conquest of Italy had been achieved. The idea that the conquest of Italy had been completed by this time was held also, for example, by

ancient sources in identifying a turning point in the Roman perception of the peninsula and their rule over it by around 270 BCE – but this still does not mean that Italy had by this time been identified and constructed as a region with a clear territorial and symbolic shape.

Italy must rather be considered an entity whose territorial organization and perception since the mid-3rd century was more complex:

1) On the one hand, the institutional patchwork defined it as a sort of "mosaic",[21] inside which areas of direct Roman control (Roman colonies, *praefecturae*) were flanked by theoretically autonomous communities under Roman hegemony,[22] such as allied towns, Latin colonies, and *municipia*.[23] Forms of control and submission followed different models, which Theodora Hantos, for example, has classified into five types, subdivided into three groups: I) Rome replaced the earlier institutions, either with A) complete annexation (as in Veii), or B) in a "territorially integrative indirect" way (the Latin colonies); II) Rome integrated the earlier institutions, intact, into the Roman State (*municipia*); III) Rome left the earlier institutions intact and either A) partially integrated the territory directly into the Roman political system (*civitas sine suffragio*), or B) it remained at the level of a partially integrated, indirectly controlled entity (*socii*, contractual form of the *foedera*).[24] These local communities were bound to Rome by forms different from those used for other political realities (for example, no Italic town or people ever entered Roman *amicitia*),[25] and Roman rule expressed itself here, according to Polybius, in the form of the δυναστεία.[26] In particular, unless one or both consuls received *Italia* as their field of action during a specific year, no Roman magistrate could interfere in the internal politics of the allied communities if they had not formally asked for help.[27] These communities did not form any kind of federation or *Gemeinschaft*, as has often been written, simply because they were singularly bound to Rome, and not formally con-

Toynbee (1965), vol. 1, p. 161, who dated the end of this process to 266 BCE. See also Russo (2012b), pp. 93–94.

21 E.g. Lintott (1981), pp. 56–57; Braund (1984), p. 84; Dyson (1985), pp. 73–74.

22 Badian (1958), pp. 142–143, particularly underlined this aspect; see also Mouritsen (1998), p. 39.

23 For a list of the *municipia* which existed before the Social War, see Bispham (2007a), pp. 462–470.

24 Hantos (1983), pp. 9–10. Whether all Italic communities, except those enjoying Roman or Latin citizenship, were bound to Rome by individual *foedera* or other forms of bond, such as *deditio* or *dicio*, were possible, is a matter that is irrelevant to the topic dealt with here: see Rich (2008). What is clear is that the *foedera* could assume different forms and conditions established with every single community and could therefore vary greatly.

25 Dahlheim (1968), p. 138, explained this using the idea of a *Wehrgemeinschaft,* which dominated diplomatic relations in Italy.

26 For example, Polyb. 2.13.6. On the meaning of δυναστεία in Polybius see Carlà-Uhink (2016), pp. 234–236.

27 Cassola (1991), p. 41.

nected to one another.[28] The territories of colonies, cities and peoples bound to Rome by *foedera*, etc. were intermingled with the parts annexed as *ager Romanus*, which had undergone incredible growth during the time of the expansion, amounted by the beginning of the First Punic War to more than 20,000 square km,[29] and spanned from Ostia to Sena Gallica and the Caudine Forks.[30]

2) On the other hand, the necessity of clearly defining the "core" of the Roman world, and, by the end of the 3rd century, the birth of the provincial administration, required an exact definition of the extent, prerogatives and characters of Italic territory. In this sense, Italy had already begun during this period to be perceived as a delimited and defined region,[31] in discourses that "suffocate" this internal lack of homogeneity and suggest the idea of a homologation under Roman leadership. Italy was a bundle of boundaries (defining the single cities, the external limit of Rome itself, the colonies, and the parts of *ager Romanus*), and it is important to define when this mosaic was subsumed into a "higher" geographical entity that defined the entire peninsula and included this collection of different territorial extensions.

According to different circumstances and necessities, one aspect or the other could be particularly emphasized or underlined. Some examples will suffice: in 91–90 BCE, when proposing the *lex Varia de maiestate* to institute a tribunal to judge persons accused of rallying allies against Rome,[32] Q. Varius Hybrida made a speech on the war the Romans were fighting against the Italic peoples. It was important, from his perspective, to stress the autonomy and "freedom" the allies enjoyed before the Social War; geographically, only the possibility of contentions *de finibus* between different communities (which had fixed boundaries) was mentioned.[33] The *socii*, said Hybrida, were used to fighting for the Roman *imperium*. He also made clear that their territories were delimited ones, along with neighboring cities, with whom they could fight over boundary problems. It is obvious that Rome would never accept a war in Italy in order to solve a territorial dispute, and in these cases arbitration – a Roman arbitrate – was used to find a solution.[34]

28 Gabba (1998), pp. 15–16.

29 23226 km^2 according to Beloch's calculation: Beloch (1926), pp. 620–621. Also similar are other esteems of the extension of *ager Romanus*: Afzelius (1942), pp. 133–134, counted, for example, 25615 km^2 in 225 BCE.

30 Oakley has suggested that this insertion of huge extensions of *ager Romanus* into Italic territory also had the function of separating other territories and can therefore be taken as an example of a *divide et impera* policy: Oakley (1993), p. 12. But a clear position against the existence of a consistent strategy of this kind had already been expressed by Göhler (1939), pp. 3–13.

31 See also De Libero (1994), pp. 322–323.

32 See below, p. 355.

33 *Rhet. Her.* 4.13. Mouritsen (1998), pp. 134–136.

34 Badian (1958), pp. 146–147. See also Mouritsen (1998), p. 43; Migliario (2002), p. 65.

We know of many such cases of arbitrates, which reveal Roman control of the administration of space. Q. Fabius Labeo, consul in 183 BCE, is remembered for an act of treachery during his arbitrage between Naples and Nola, which led him to claim as *ager publicus* a strip of land dividing the two communities.[35] In 168 BCE, the Senate sent a commission of five to investigate a boundary dispute between Pisa and Luni.[36] Though some might consider this case irrelevant owing to Luni being a Roman colony (what could explain the Roman intervention), this is not the case for example in the intervention of the proconsul Lucius Caecilius in defining the border between Patavini and Atestini in 141 (or, less probably, in 116) BCE,[37] that of proconsul Sextus Atilius Serranus in 135, when he fixed the boundary between Ateste and Vicentia,[38] or of the *sententia Minuciorum* of 117 BCE.[39] In each case, the controversies were discussed in the Senate. A *senatus consultum* then assigned to specific people the job of solving the question directly "in the field", which is compatible with the Polybian information that the cases of διάλυσις in Italy were a matter for the Senate.[40] In this way, it was made clear that the Italic communities were not subject to direct Roman domination/administration, but were rather allies with some amount of autonomy under Roman hegemony.[41]

Other authors, however, have stressed the complete integration of Italy into Roman rule. In his description of the Gallic invasions of central Italy at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, Polybius used the word ἐπαρχία.[42] This term, later used to define the Roman provinces, always indicates in his work territories over which direct control is exercised.[43] In 184 BCE, in the prologue to his last comedy, the *Casina*, Plautus referred to Apulia as *hic in nostra terra in <terra> Apulia*. Since he was of Umbrian origin and the comedy was performed in Rome, it has been suggested that this could have implied an already strong recognition of the Apulian region as part of an "Italic community" recognized by the Romans as "Us".[44] The author could thus

35 Val. Max. 7.3.4a. See Scuderi (1991), pp. 372–374. In the historiographical tradition, a Roman arbitrage between Ardea and Aricia is registered for the year 446 BCE (Liv. 3.71–72; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 11.52), but this episode is surely not historical: Scuderi (1991), pp. 371–372.

36 Liv. 45.13.10–11. Scuderi (1991), pp. 374–376.

37 *CIL* 1^2.633–634: Buonopane (1992), in particular pp. 216–219: "Una attiva ingerenza politica assai simile, nella sostanza, se non nella forma, al protettorato". Scuderi (1991), pp. 377–378; but unacceptable is the consideration that this was, in the 2nd century BCE, provincial territory, as it will be shown below, pp. 47–50.

38 *CIL* 1^2.636. Bandelli (1985), pp. 25–27; Scuderi (1991), pp. 378–379.

39 *CIL* 1^2.584. Scuderi (1991), pp. 380–382. See also Williamson (2005), pp. 168–170; 201–202; Bispham (2007a), pp. 139–141.

40 Polyb. 6.13.4. See below, pp. 196–197.

41 Laffi (1990), pp. 294–295.

42 Polyb. 2.19.2.

43 Carlà-Uhink (2016), pp. 242–243.

44 Plaut., *Cas.* 72.

be revealing the perception of his own times, and insist on the "Italic unification".[45] It is difficult to accept this conclusion with absolute security, since the *persona* speaking in the prologue, in the dramatic fiction is not Plautus himself, who is referred to in the third person,[46] and could actually be an *Apulus*.[47] Nonetheless it cannot be overlooked that the insertion of a *dramatis persona* of Apulian origin speaking before a Roman public of "our land" could hint at the existing and widespread idea, in Roman minds, of Italy as a territory controlled by Rome.

The birth of the territorial shape of a region, its diffusion and fixation in general perception, is not a sudden phenomenon and requires a long period in which the region, in this case the Italic peninsula, be consistently perceived as always more homogeneous and unitary. As the following pages will show, it seems clear that the period stretching from the second half of the 3rd to the beginning of the 1st century BCE witnessed precisely this sort of fixation of a territorial shape – a clear sign of the progressive institutionalization of Italy as a region. The creation of the province of Gallia Cisalpina, whilst provoking a clear-cut administrative distinction between Northern Italy and the rest of the peninsula and causing a separation of the geographic and the political-administrative definition of Italy, did not endanger the stability of the former, nor the general perception of Italy as a region that stretched from the Alps to the Mediterranean. This "rupture" would heal as a result of the "deprovincialization" of Cisalpina under the Second Triumvirate, thus leading the "territorial shape" of the region in its geographic meaning to coincide with its administrative function.

… *muri vice tuebantur Italiam*: The Alps as the Boundary of Italy

The definition of Italy's territorial shape is, in its Southern part, quite unproblematic. Given the geographical nature of the peninsula, the region's boundary is quite clearly represented by the coast itself. Small islands near the coast can also be considered parts of Italy, but this does not occur with larger islands (such as Sicily)[48] or those lying further away. It is the fixation of Italy's northern border that has been the object of doubt and negotiation, and which showed, at the moment of its realization, the attribution to the "Italic region" of a clear territorial shape. This occurred

45 Massa (1996), pp. 77–78.

46 Plaut., *Cas*. 33–34; 65.

47 Plaut., *Cas*. 77, if the *mea causa* is understood to mean that the possible Apulian referee is identical with the speaker or shares with him the origin.

48 Sicily was not considered part of Italy in the Greek culture, and this continued to be the case until Diocletian's inclusion of the island in the *dioecesis Italiciana*. Also the islands lying "between Sicily and Italy", as they are famously described in the peace treaty made at the end of the First Punic War (Polyb. 1.63.3), do not belong to Italy.

as a result of a fixation through Roman discourse of Italy's northern limit at the Alps. The mountainous barrier started to be perceived as the peninsula's "natural" boundary, with an "ontological" and unavoidable nature. The ensuing territorial definition, the importance of which did not diminish during the following periods, appears many times in modern justifications of Roman expansion,[49] and continued to be used as a propagandistic tool well into the 20th century.[50]

The Alps as the limit of Italy must have been regarded, in Roman thought, as a broad strip, sometimes extending into the Alpine valleys, sometimes limited to the piedmont area. In no way did the identification of the Alps as a "border" imply the identification of a "linear boundary".[51] A more precise definition of the limit of Italy as the watershed of the Alps – which assumed major importance only during the modern period – or better, as the highest peaks of the mountains, is attested only in Velleius Paterculus,[52] while other authors exclude the Alpine valleys from the peninsula.[53] The Alps, which thus formed not a linear boundary but rather a wide strip of land marking a separation, could indeed also assume an "eerie" character, as often occurred with such strips in ancient and post-ancient culture,[54] thus being perceived as a place of myth or eventually of barbarity and wildness. This was also the case of Posidonius of Apamea, chronologically extremely relevant to the period here discussed, who brought the geographical "separation" of Italy to an extreme level by placing within the Alps the Hyperboreans,[55] a mythical population which in Greek tradition marked the edge of the *oikoumene*.

It must be conclusively assumed that this definition of Italy's border was open to adjustments and interpretations of its precise extension. Even following the Augustan reorganization, the Alpine districts could be included (by virtue of their particular administration) or excluded (since they were not part of the Italic regions)

49 For example, Nissen (1883), p. 73; Salmon (1982), p. 154: "Its Alpine ramparts and the surrounding seas make the country a natural and largely self-contained geographical unit"; David (1994), p. 167, states that with the deprovincialization of Cisalpina the political definition of Italy had reached its natural borders.

50 See e.g. Whittaker (2004), p. 183.

51 The conception of a linear boundary was extraneous to the Roman mentality: see Carlà-Uhink (2016), pp. 225–231.

52 Vell. Pat. 2.109.4: *...a summis Alpium iugis quae finem Italiae terminant...* The concept of the watershed as a possible border was already known in Roman culture: see Sic. Flacc., *De cond. Agr.* 163.21–22 Lachmann. See De Laurenzi (2001/2002), pp. 8–10.

53 See, for example, App., *Rom.* 10.3.15, in which the populations inhabiting the summits of the Alps are defined as plundering "the neighbouring country of Italy" (τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὡς γείτονα); transl. H. White. It is unclear whether or not the Alps are included in the definition of Italy as the peninsula enclosed by the Alps, the Tyrrhenian and the Ionian Sea in Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.10.1.

54 Gehrke (1999), p. 28.

55 *FGH* 87 F 103. The sometimes proposed identification of the Hyperboreans with Gauls is to be rejected: see Malkin (1998), pp. 248–249.

from the peninsula. It will thus not appear problematic if the trophy of La Turbie does not include the Alpine populations in Italy, and Strabo does not include the mountains in his conception of Italy, in contradiction with Velleius, who substantially introduced a possible divarication of the geographic and administrative definition of the peninsula[56] – something which, as has already been hinted at and will be shown, was neither new nor unusual.[57] This is likely in direct reference to the definition of the peninsula as composed by the Augustan *regiones*, nor are the Alpine regions included in Italy, for example, in Ptolemy' work.[58]

"Naturality" is a category that is not only applied to the description of boundaries in order to identify those which coincided with geographic elements such as rivers or mountains. In order to avoid the word "natural", so loaded as it is with essantialistic connotations,[59] boundaries that coincide with geographical features such as rivers are often defined as "physiographic".[60] A "natural border" was rather intended either as a "scientific" one, carefully chosen to obtain the maximum strategic strength (this was the dominating definition in Victorian England)[61] or as the predetermined, predestined limit of the expansion of a particular community. This meaning had already appeared by the 18th century, when Philippe Buache defined the "natural borders" of France to create the shape of the "French hexagon" that would have a very long tradition.[62] Similar approaches continued throughout the 19th century, when they proved particularly congenial to nation States, and the first half of the 20th century, especially in the theories of the German *Geopolitik* as developed by Friedrich Ratzel and Albrecht Haushofer.[63] According to Ratzel's definition, a boundary is a sequence of points marking the place where an organic movement has come to a stop.[64] In connection to his idea of the State as a living organism,

56 The status of the Alpine *praefecturae* does not seem always to be unproblematic in the perception of the authors of the Augustan period: see De Laurenzi (2001/2002), pp. 34–35.

57 *CIL* 5.7817; e.g. Strab. 4.1.3, discussing the boundaries of the *Alpes Cottiae* and underlining that Excingomagus was already in Italy. See Detlefsen (1886), pp. 522–523.

58 Detlefsen (1886), pp. 528–529.

59 Minghi (1963), p. 410.

60 Broek (1941), p. 8. Boggs (1940), pp. 25–28, spoke of "physical types", "boundaries which follow some feature marked by nature", as opposed to "geometrical types", "straight lines, arcs of circles, and similar types that disregard the physical geography", "anthropogeographic types, related to human occupancy of the land" and "complex or compound boundaries", resulting from a mixture of the first three types. In more recent times, adopting a term derived from topological and ontological studies, "geometrical" boundaries are sometimes defined as *bona fide* boundaries.

61 Whittaker (2000), p. 293; Newman (2003), p. 126. Holdich (1916), p. 147, claimed that "natural" borders are more "scientific" than "artificial" ones, particularly in a military sense, because they are easier to defend, as also Curzon (1907), pp. 10–23, had suggested. See also Broek (1941), pp. 11–17.

62 Febvre (1928), pp. 33–35.

63 Gehrke (1999), pp. 29–30.

64 Ratzel (1923[3]), pp. 387–390; 434–435.

additionally, he thought that a particular group or nation expands progressively, with the aim of reaching its "natural boundaries",[65] in order to attain its predetermined *Lebensraum*, which constitutes its full historical realization.[66] This led to even more dangerous exaggerations, such as Haushofer's "empiric" theory of boundaries, which allowed him to speak of "biologically correct boundaries".[67] Such conceptions of "natural" borders have been strongly criticized since 1940 and the opportunity to use such vocabulary is therefore now strongly denied.[68]

That such descriptions and definitions are no longer accepted – the pure social and political nature of boundaries had already been demonstrated by Febvre contemporarily to Ratzel's works[69] – does not immediately imply rejecting an analysis of how, culturally, some borders could have come to be understood and represented in discourse as "natural". This question is particularly interesting, especially from a historical perspective, as such a definition attributes to these boundaries a "transcendent" value – an "objectivity" that assumes important functions in determining, explaining and justifying actions and political choices.[70] "The naturalization – in substance – implies a deterministic emphasis on nature as the real basis of international relations and boundaries, an emphasis that eclipses their historical and social character".[71] If "naturality" does not exist as an intrinsic quality of a border, which is always a social construct, it can be used in discourse to justify the position of a boundary, and contribute to its ideologization, as already Hartshorne has shown.[72] In this sense the identification of the Alps in Roman culture as the "natural" limit of Italy,[73] and their ideologization in this sense, implied the perception of the necessity of such a border, while also embedding such a necessary extension of

65 Ratzel (1923[3]), pp. 404–405; 418–419.

66 Ratzel (1923[3]), pp. 1–16. See the critics by Hartsthorne (1938), pp. 164–165, and also S.B. Jones (1959), pp. 249–250; Guichonnet/Raffestin (1974), pp. 21–22 and 29–31; Anderson (1996), pp. 28–29; Ebeling (1997), pp. 77–78.

67 Haushofer (1939), pp. 99–105. A further consequence of this line of thought was Montijn's idea of boundaries that should be corrected continuously, at regular intervals, according to the number of births in the different States.

68 See Ancel (1938), pp. 80–81; Boggs (1940), pp. 21–25; Broek (1941), pp. 8–9; Minghi (1963), pp. 408–409.

69 Febvre (1928); Ancel (1938), pp. 66–79; Broek (1941), pp. 9–11; Pounds (1954), pp. 51–53; S.B. Jones (1959), p. 248; Guichonnet/Raffestin (1974), p. 19; Prescott (1987), p. 109; Sahlins (1989), pp. 186–188; Foucher (1991[2]), pp. 91–96; Whittaker (1994), pp. 60–61; Anderson (1996), pp. 3; 20–23; Scattola (1997), pp. 61–69; Gehrke (1999), pp. 31–32.

70 Gehrke (1999), p. 32.

71 Paasi (1996), p. 192. See also Steiner (1941), p. 71.

72 Hartshorne (1938), p. 164; Kristof (1959), pp. 275–276; Foucher (1991[2]), p. 42; Gallusser (1994), pp. 382–383; Newman/Paasi (1998), p. 201. See also Willis (2011), pp. 16–17.

73 Cic., *Prov. Cons.* 34: "The Alps, not without the favour of heaven, were once raised high by nature as a rampart to Italy"; transl. R. Gardner. Polybius had already defined the Alps as the "acropolis" of Italy, see below, n. 85.

the Italic region into political and historiographic discourse – something that would be done in exactly the same way during the time of the Risorgimento, and which is also often accepted by modern scholars.[74]

Servius mentions that Cato (as would Cicero, and then Livy) had already defined the Alps as a "wall" protecting Italy – *muri vice tuebantur Italiam*.[75] In 183 BCE, this theory found the support of the Senate itself, which proclaimed that passing the mountains meant entering Italy, and that the Alps separated the peninsula from Gallic tribes, *prope inexsuperabilem finem*.[76] This decision was taken following the passage from the regions on the other side of the mountains into Venetia of groups of Gauls, who tried to found a city near the spot where the Romans would later found the colony of Aquileia. The Senate sent legates to the groups' tribes of origin (which stated that they had not authorized any such movement), thus revealing the already existing idea of hegemony over the entire peninsula up to the Alps.[77] According to the information provided by the Senate to their ambassadors,

> neither had they acted properly when they came into Italy and attempted to build a town on others' land, without the permission of any Roman magistrate who was in charge of that province; nor did it please the senate to despoil men who had surrendered. Accordingly, the senate would send with them ambassadors to the consul who would direct him, on condition that they would return whence they had come, to give back all their property, and who would then cross the Alps and warn the Gallic tribes to keep their population at home.[78]

A similar episode was recorded four years later in 179 BCE.[79] In 171 BCE, Longinus' decision to leave Aquileia and march to Macedonia was criticized because it would have, by removing the legions, "opened the way to Italy to so many populations".[80] The reaction to this case, as described by Livy, clearly demonstrates that Aquileia was undoubtedly considered a part of Italy.[81] Another fragment from Cato's *Origines*, also quoted by Servius, whilst stating that "almost all of Italy" was under Etruscan

74 See, for example, Salmon (1969), p. 65: "It was perhaps inevitable that Rome should seek to extend her control of Italy as far as the Alps, since these mountains must have seemed as if designed by nature herself for the true boundary of the country". In the same way Holdich (1916), pp. 292–293, underlined that the Alps should always form the boundary of Italy.

75 Cat., *Orig.* 4.10 Chassignet = Serv., *Ad Aen.* 10.13. See also Cic., *Prov.* 34; Mela 2.4.58; Sicul. Flacc., *De cond. agr.* 135.26–136.1 Lachmann. See Degrassi (1954), pp. 11–12; Badian (1966), pp. 905–906 (no longer acceptable in every detail); Dahlheim (1977), pp. 57–58; Braccesi (1986), pp. 37–40; De Libero (1994), pp. 304–306; Massa (1996), pp. 18–20; J.H.C. Williams (2001), pp. 55–56 and 132–133; Humm (2010), pp. 57–58.

76 Liv. 39.54.12. See Dyson (1985), pp. 64–65; Massa (1996), p. 22; Ando (2016), pp. 279–280.

77 Liv. 39.22.6–7; 39.45.6–7; 39.54.

78 Liv. 39.54.10–11; transl. E.T. Sage.

79 Liv. 40.53.5–6.

80 Liv. 43.1.9.

81 Liv. 43.1.8.

domination, also implies again that Cisalpina (and thus Etruria Padana) was included in the definition of *Italia*.[82] More than a third of the existing fragments from the second book of the *Origines* refer to Cisalpina, as Heurgon has highlighted.[83] As in Cato's time Roman administration was far from having reached this barrier (this wouldn't happen until the reign of Augustus), Whittaker has concluded that Cato defined a sort of sphere of influence that would later be organized, as would the rest of the peninsula, through alliances, buffers, and hegemonic power intermingled with areas of direct administration.[84]

Polybius also shares this idea of the relationship between the Alps and Italy, which remains "in the relation of a citadel to a city".[85] This Polybian expression is particularly relevant, because in identifying the Alps as the acropolis of Italy, he implicitly attributes to the entire peninsula the character of a *polis*, thus underlining the homogeneity and unity of the "region" of Italy. Polybius not only defines the Alps in this way, but is also the first author who tries to systematize a description of Italy by adopting the typical device of assimilating it to a geometrical (or in general a recognizable and "closed") shape – another common discursive strategy underlin-

82 Serv., *Ad Aen.* 11.567. See J.H.C. Williams (2001), pp. 132–133; other fragments from Cato's *Origines*, which have been used to demonstrate the contemporary existence of an "alternative" image of Italy, finishing with the Apennines, are either amended or unclear in their meaning, so cannot be used against the Servian ones, which are extremely clear in their geographical significance.

83 Heurgon (1974), p. 231. This is seen as a sort of contradiction by Dench (1995), pp. 18–19, who underlines Cato's interest in Cisalpina even whilst claiming that for him "*Italia* apparently continued to be bound by the northern Apennines", an observation that contradicts all existing sources. On Cato's treatment of Cisalpina, see Chevallier (1983), pp. 319–320; J.H.C. Williams (2001), pp. 48–58.

84 Whittaker (1994), p. 26. See also Letta (1984), p. 418. It is important to avoid envisaging Northern Italy during this period as a "frontier" in the American sense. After a brief mention of Italy in this sense in Mommsen (1888[8]), p. 680, MacKendrick (1957) proposed to draw a parallel between Turner's American frontier and Roman Italy during the Republic, seeing in the conquest and foundation of colonies a perfect example of the phenomenon of frontier expansion and identifying even Cato the Elder, Marius and Cicero as having responded to "pioneer" types. But the "pioneer type" is only a cultural construct, specific to the American case. MacKendrick sees the frontier, in accordance with the historical and geographical models proposed by Turner (who tried to define the specificity of the American frontier) and by Ratzel, as a provisional factor, the area of a progressive (and predetermined) conquest and assimilation, and this makes his interpretation unacceptable today. This image of the frontier is also applied to Cisalpina by David (1994), p. 62.

85 Polyb. 3.54.2: οὕτως γὰρ ὑποπεπτώκει τοῖς προειρημένοις ὄρεσιν ὥστε συνθεωρουμένων ἀμφοῖν ἀκροπόλεως φαίνεσθαι διάθεσιν ἔχειν τὰς Ἄλπεις τῆς ὅλης Ἰταλίας; transl. W.R. Paton. See also Prontera (1998), pp. 6–7. The other sources previously quoted demonstrate that Polybius was not the first to identify the Alps as the border of Italy, and as such it cannot be supposed that this territorial extension of Italy was adopted in Greek use before it was in Roman, as stated by Heisterbergk (1881), p. 13.

ing the unity and homogeneity of a territory and "naturalizing" its territorial shape as "pre-defined" and eternal:[86]

> Italy as a whole has the shape of a triangle of which the one or eastern side is bounded by the Ionian Strait and then continuously by the Adriatic Gulf, the next side, that turned to the south and west, by the Sicilian and Tyrrhenian Seas. The apex of the triangle, formed by the meeting of these two sides, is the southernmost cape of Italy known as Cocynthus and separating the Ionian Strait from the Sicilian Sea. The remaining or northern and inland side of the triangle is bounded continuously by the chain of the Alps which beginning at Marseilles and the northern coasts of the Sardinian Sea stretches in an unbroken line almost to the head of the whole Adriatic, only failing to join that sea by stopping at quite a short distance from it. At the foot of this chain, which we should regard as the base of the triangle, on its southern side, lies the last plain of all Italy to the north. It is with this that we are now concerned, a plain surpassing in fertility any other in Europe with which we are acquainted.[87]

When at the very end of the 2nd century BCE the Cimbri crossed the Alps, they were unmistakably represented as having invaded Italy, in spite of the fact that they never managed to cross the Po; Marcus Aemilius Scaurus apparently also stated in front of the Germans that they should not cross the mountains, showing a perception of the Alps as border of the "core" of Roman power, before being killed.[88] It is not necessary to quote all the sources confirming the Alps as the border of Italy from the Augustan age onwards, when this territorial extension had already been established. For example, Strabo opens his fifth book concerning Italy with the phrase "at the foot of the Alps commences the region now known as Italy";[89] in Velleius Paterculus it is said that *a summis Alpium iugis, quae finem Italiae terminant initium huius* [scil. *Marobodui*] *finium haud multo plus CC milibus passuum abesset*.[90]

The idea of the Alps as the boundary of Italy is therefore a good example of a successful narrative construction of boundaries and of the role of boundaries in the "discursive landscape of social power, control and governance".[91] Even if the idea of the Alps as the limit of Italy, which is, as shown, clearly attested at least around the mid-2nd century BCE (a *terminus ante quem* being provided at the latest by the time of

86 This device is adopted by other authors, even if they replace the triangle with other shapes. Strab. 5.1.2 defines Italy as a quadrilateral figure, Plin., *HN* 3.43 as an oak leaf. This rhetorical strategy and the necessary simplification it implies does not allow us to follow Detlefsen (1901), p. 7, when he says that the description of Italy as an oak leaf must have been born before Cisalpina belonged to *Italia*, and must therefore be derived from a source preceding the time of Caesar. On the general tendency of ancient geography to adopt schemata to define and visualize territories of different extension, see Cordano (1992), pp. 193–199.

87 Polyb. 2.14.4–7; transl. W.R. Paton. See Simon (2011), pp. 136–137.

88 E.g. Liv., *Per*. 67.1; 68.6.

89 Strab. 5.1.1; transl. H.C. Hamilton.

90 Vell. 2.109.

91 Newman/Paasi (1998), pp. 195–196.

Cato's death in 149 BCE), could have been born from strategic considerations (in particular in connection to Hannibal's crossing of the mountains),[92] it clearly quickly assumed a much stronger ideological value. The Alps define not only a physical boundary for Italy; by way of this process, they received – at least in the aftermath of the Hannibalic War – a symbolic value connected to the protection they offer, which perfectly responds to what generally happens in similar phenomena of institutionalization: "during institutionalisation, nature is normally transformed from being merely a basis for material production to a more abstract manifestation in the form of a landscape with a symbolic (aesthetic) role. Landscapes can acquire symbolic values transcending the day-to-day life and concrete processes that mediate the relation between people and nature".[93]

Including Cisalpina: History of a Complicated Province

Setting Italy's northern border at the Alps implied considering Cisalpina part of this "region" – a constitutive part of the peninsula. The inclusion of Cisalpina within Italy was therefore completed and assured with the fixation of this border.[94] As already noted, more than a third of surviving fragments from Cato's second book of the *Origines*, which concerns the northern part of Italy, Latium included, actually refer to Cisalpina.[95] In the same way, it is certain that Coelius Antipater, in his seven books on the Second Punic War, considered Cisalpina a part of Italy.[96]

In Polybius, Cisalpina is always considered part of Italy, as is evident from the previously quoted general geographic description provided by the author (the Po Valley is without doubt geometrically inside the triangle) and from the definition of "Celts of Italy" assigned by the historian to the populations inhabiting the southern side of the Alps[97] – the Insubres thus become an ἔθνος Ἰταλικόν.[98] The fact that in another passage he refers to this region as Γαλατία, alluding to its ethnical composition,[99] does not contradict the overwhelming number of *loci* in which the Po plain is

92 Letta (1984), p. 417; Dench (1995), p. 19; Hantos (1998), pp. 118–119. Mommsen (1888[8]), pp. 671–672, rather thought that this idea emerged between the First and the Second Punic Wars. On the role of the Hannibalic War in the construction of Italy, see also below, pp. 107–110.

93 Paasi (1991), p. 244. On the discursive construction of an Italic landscape, in the form of the *laudes Italiae*, see below, pp. 164–174.

94 Cassola (1991), pp. 41–42.

95 See n. 83.

96 Massa (1996), pp. 42–43.

97 Polyb. 1.6.6–8; 1.13.4; 2.13.7; 2.15–19. Italy is, according to Polyb. 1.6.4, inhabited by Romans, Latins, Etruscans, Samnites and Celts. After passing through the Alps, Hannibal would have been in Italy: Polyb. 3.39.10. See also 3.61.3; 3.86.2. See Massa (1996), pp. 80–81.

98 Polyb. 16.50.4.

99 Polyb. 3.40.3. On this term and its use in Appian, see Gabba (1973), pp. 546–550.

unmistakably a part of the peninsula. Through the passage of the Alps, the Carthaginian commander "burst into Italy";[100] when he is crossing the Alpine chain he encourages his men by showing them Italy, which lies at the foot of these mountains;[101] as Hannibal and Scipio are both in the Po plain they are both in Italy;[102] the siege of Turin takes place in Italy.[103] Rimini is placed there, where "the Gallic plains touch the rest of Italy".[104] There are many other potential examples, but these are not necessary – the point is clear enough. Γαλατία is also not the only "subregion" of Italy that Polybius mentions when describing the military events of the Second Punic War. He also often refers to Τυρρηνία, to Σαυνῖτις or to Ἰαπυγία,[105] territorial units sprouting from ethnical names that generally correspond to Roman definitions such as Tuscia and Apulia. The fact that these sub-regions were considered part of Italy cannot be doubted in any way. The text, related by Polybius, of the alliance treaty of 215 BCE between Philip V and Hannibal, introduces a clear distinction between Italy, Liguria and *Keltia*[106] – evidently three different regions: but this does not correspond to the Roman definitions. The text is a translation of a document that was drawn from a Carthaginian archive and informs us of Punic geography and maybe of Greek perceptions, and has no relevance in understanding the Italic and Roman approach.[107]

For military reasons Cisalpina was sometimes assigned separately from the rest of Italy to the consuls as a specific *provincia*,[108] especially during the wars against the local Celtic populations. Nonetheless, the "sub-region", often defined territorially as Gallia,[109] was not considered to be outside Italy, but part of it. This is made clear, for example, by the assignment of the consular *provinciae* of 207 BCE. In the words of Livy: "their provinces were not districts bordering upon each other, as in former years, but quite separate, in the remotest confines of Italy. To one was decreed Bruttium and Lucania, to act against Hannibal; to the other Gallia, to act against Hasdrubal, who, it was reported, was now approaching the Alps".[110] His presentation of the consular provinces for 192 BCE is also extremely explicit: "Gnae-

100 Polyb. 3.47.5.
101 Polyb. 3.54.3.
102 Polyb. 3.57.1. According to Liv. 21.53.5 the consul Sempronius should have reminded the soldiers that they were *in media Italia* before the Battle of Trebbia.
103 Polyb. 3.61.6.
104 Polyb. 3.86.2.
105 E.g. Polyb. 3.77.1; 88.3; 92.1.
106 Polyb. 7.9.6–7. See J.H.C. Williams (2001), pp. 133–134.
107 On the contrary, Plut., *Fab. Max.* 2.1 includes Cisalpina in Italy when dealing with campaigns of 233 BCE; but it is impossible to know whether this corresponded to the use in the 3rd century BCE, of Plutarch's sources or of Plutarch himself.
108 For example, Liv. 34.54.1.
109 For example, Liv. 34.22.1.
110 Liv. 27.35.10; transl. C. Edmonds.

us Domitius received from the lot a province outside Italy, wherever the senate should decree; to Lucius Quinctius fell Gallia and the holding of the elections".[111] It is clear from these passages that Livy refers to Gallia Cisalpina and not to Transalpina, precisely because he stresses it belongs to Italy.[112]

The consular province was additionally sometimes identified with Gallia,[113] and sometimes with Liguria (with this name it was assigned to a consul for many consecutive years between the Syrian and the Third Macedonian War),[114] depending on the populations against which war had to be waged, which demonstrates that there was, as of that moment, no clear territorial unit defined as "Cisalpina", and that both were understood only as sub-partitions of the Italic territory.

It is important to remember that during this phase other areas of Italy were also assigned, just as Gallia was, as *provinciae* to consuls or to praetors, who were sometimes left in the region longer as propraetors, without raising in modern scholarship the suspicion that such regions were provincialized. In 191 BCE, for example, a praetor was assigned Bruttium,[115] while in 190 BCE both Etruria on one side, and Apulia and Bruttium on the other, were praetorian provinces.[116] In 188 BCE, *Pisae cum Liguribus* was, together with Gallia, a consular province[117] (a situation repeated in 167 BCE),[118] while in the following year Gallia was assigned to a praetor together with Tarentum.[119] This last *provincia* also appears on different occasions during the 2nd century, sometimes defined after the town, sometimes as Apulia,[120] once in 181 BCE with the addition of Histria to fight against pirates.[121] In 175 BCE the consul Marcus Aemilius Lepidus received the town of Padua as a province, where he had to stop an internal stasis.[122]

When an area was specifically assigned to one consul (or sometimes to a praetor) and separated from the rest of Italy, it was therefore a provisional solution, dictated by the exigencies of the moment,[123] but much more often, they were a part

111 Liv. 35.20.7; transl. E.T. Sage.

112 See Díaz Fernández (2015), p. 252.

113 For example, Liv. 43.1.4; 45.17.2.

114 From 186 to 172 BCE: Liv. 39.20.1; 39.38.1; 39.45.3; 40.1.1; 40.18.3; 40.36.7; 40.44.3; 42.1.2; 42.10.11. This province was also sometimes split into Liguria and Pisae, as also occurred in the eastern sector with Gallia and Ariminum (see n. 125). See Ausbüttel (1989), pp. 173–174.

115 Liv. 36.2.6.

116 Liv. 37.2.1; 37.57.3.

117 Liv. 38.35.8.

118 Liv. 45.16.3.

119 Liv. 38.42.5–6.

120 Liv. 39.29.8 (185 BCE); 39.41.6 (184 BCE); 40.19.9 (181 BCE); Plut., *Flamin.* 1.5.

121 Liv. 40.18.4.

122 Liv. 41.27.3.

123 Liv. 38.35.8 records, for example, that the consuls of 188 BCE received two provinces, both located in Italy, Gallia and *Pisae cum Liguribus*; in the following year Gallia was assigned as prov-

of the *provincia Italia*.[124] This is, for example, explicitly made clear by Livy when describing the competences of the consuls of 210 BCE:

> The Senate decreed that Italy and the war with Hannibal should be the province of one consul, that the other should have the fleet which Titus Otacilius had commanded and Sicily as his province, with Lucius Cincius, the praetor. To the consuls were assigned the two armies which were in Etruria and Gaul; these were four legions. The two city legions of the previous year were to be sent into Etruria; the two which Sulpicius had commanded as consul, into Gaul. Gaul and its legions were to be under the command of the man appointed by the consul whose province was Italy.[125]

An obvious complication thus arose when Gallia Cisalpina was organized, during the Late Republican era, as a province in the "newer", territorial sense of the word. As is well known, the term *provincia* passed through a complex change of meaning during the time of the Republic. Originally, it indicated the sphere of activity of a magistrate and when it comprised a geographic area, it necessarily defined the territorial extension of such a responsibility.[126] In this sense, the first meaning of the word could also have had a strong territorial value, indicating the extent of an area in which the *imperium* of the magistrate was valid.[127] In a Livian passage concerning the year 192 BCE, for instance, the expression "*provinciae* of the praetors" is used to indicate all the different praetorian roles assigned for the year, including the urban praetorship and that of the judgements between citizens and foreigners (which did not thus have a territorial value), one as commander of the fleet, which would have later sailed to wherever the Senate would decide, and then Bruttium, Sicily, Sardinia, and *Hispania Ulterior*, for which the territorial value is very clear.[128]

This explains the evolution of the term, which led to its new definition as an "administrative district". It is clear that the creation of the first provinces also required a clear definition of the extension of the power of the magistrates to whom

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ince to a praetor (Liv. 38.42.5–6). See Laffi (1992), p. 5. Chilver (1941), p. 8, also expressed this idea: "but it must be emphasized that the reason for this militarization was purely military".

124 In 200 BCE, G. Aurelius Cotta received, for example, the *provincia Italia* (Liv. 31.6.1), even if he then concentrated most of his efforts in Cisalpina, and Ennius could thus write *Graecia Sulpicio sorti data, Gallia Cottae* (Enn., *Ann.*, Fr. 10.2 Skutsch). See Cassola (1991), p. 34. For a list of the consuls active in this area, see Brunt (1981[2]), pp. 567–568.

125 Liv. 26.28.3–5; transl. F.G. Moore. See also Liv. 32.1.1–5, in which the consul for 199 BCE, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, is assigned the *provincia Italia*, the praetor Gnaeus Baebius Ariminum; the latter must keep his legions until the consul arrived in Gallia, to then dismiss most of them. Also in Liv. 32.28.8–9 both consuls for 197 BCE are assigned the *provincia Italia*, to fight against the Galli Cisalpini. Liv. 41.8.3 speaks of the assignation to two praetors of Gallia, divided into two provinces, probably again Gallia in general terms and Ariminum.

126 Nicolet (1988), p. 205; Richardson (2011), pp. 3–6.

127 See Koehn (2010), p. 304; Strobel (2011), pp. 217–218.

128 Liv. 35.41.6.

they were assigned, though this does not imply automatically a shift in meaning of the word *provincia*.[129] The ensuing evolution from a delimitation of the *imperium* of a magistrate to a territorial entity to which detainers of *imperium* are regularly sent, which fixes the borders of their powers (a province in the later sense),[130] is easy to understand. The separation between these two concepts should therefore not be pushed too far.[131]

The later administrative-technical meaning of "province" – a territory subject to Roman administration and under the control of a governor – is the only one that appears in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*.[132] The chronology of this semantic evolution shows thus its progressive character, as well as the continuous intermingling of the "older" and "newer" meanings. The territorial aspect seems to have been already determined in the *lex Porcia* of 101 BCE, which dictated that governors could not, without explicit permission, leave their province;[133] it must therefore be broadly stated that the shift in the technical significance of the word can be traced back at least to the passage from the 2nd to the 1st century BCE.[134] However, the original significance was never entirely lost during the Late Republican period, and even Cicero, for example, uses the term in both senses.[135] The two different meanings are particularly clear in the distinction between consular and praetorian *provinciae*, the latter being always the defined territorial entities that we call provinces.[136]

The references to a *provincia* of Gallia Cisalpina throughout the whole of the 2nd century BCE are therefore not to be read according to the "territorial" meaning of the word, but seem to have simply referred to the "older" sphere of action of the magistrates.[137] During the 2nd century Cisalpina was, as a part of Italy, under the control of the consuls in charge, and not assigned to an ex-consul or ex-praetor to govern. Only occasionally was it possible to find within this area prorogated magistrates,

129 Richardson (2008), pp. 27–30. But, as will be made clear, once it has been accepted that these limits were geographical, Richardson's theory that they marked the boundary between holders of *imperium* and not territory of the Empire seems too subtle to be acceptable.

130 Dahlheim (1977), pp. 74–76; Radke (1980), pp. 34–36; Richardson (1986), pp. 4–7; Nash (1987), p. 93; Crawford (1990), p. 91; Richardson (2011), pp. 2–3. On the evolution of the meaning see also Karlowa (1896), pp. 33–43.

131 As e.g. Richardson (2011), p. 6, did.

132 Braunert (1977), p. 208.

133 Lintott (1981), p. 54; Lintott (1993), p. 23.

134 Nicolet (1988), pp. 204–206.

135 E.g. *Verr*. 2.5.38; *Mur*. 18 for the "elder" meaning, *Verr*. 2.3.217; 224; 226; 2.4.6; 8; 9–10; 25; 66; 113; 143; 2.5.22; 29; 39; 60; 62; 67; 80; 94; 136–137; 157; 170; 179; *Mur*. 33; 42; 53; *Sest*. 55; 69; 84 for the "newer". See Richardson (2008), pp. 79–86; Richardson (2011), pp. 8–9. Koehn (2010), pp. 309–310, argues that Pompey in 67 BCE, when fighting against the pirates, could have obtained Italy as *provincia*.

136 Giovannini (1983), pp. 65–72.

137 See Heisterbergk (1881), p. 20.

under the orders of the consul or the Senate, as in the case of the proconsuls that were involved in local territorial disputes. In the case of the *sententia Minuciorum*, in 117 BCE, a *senatus consultum* deliberated that the Minucii brothers, who were not proconsuls (they received for the occasion a specific charge, which is unknown to us) should be sent to Liguria to take care of a dispute. Had Cisalpina already been a province, it would be surprising that its governor was not mentioned, and that the Minucii had to be charged with this duty, most likely in consideration of their bonds with the region formed during Q. Minucius Rufus' military activity there in 197 BCE. The other two examples known also refer to people active in territorial disputes under a specific disposition of the Senate, through which they were charged with this duty and not due to their rule as "governors" of the area.[138] Not only would the governors later bear the responsibilities in most cases without any involvement of the Senate (exceptions are represented by just a few cases, in imperial times, in which a *legatus* was sent directly by the Emperor),[139] but it was also very common to attribute to ex consuls and ex praetors the duty of founding colonies and therefore also the partition of lands and boundary disputes.[140] The people involved were in every probability those who, as consuls or in some other role, had already been active in the region, making them the best possible individuals to concretely apply decisions taken by the Senate.

Still Cisalpina would later become a "normal" territorial province, with all the institutional characteristics of the other extra-Italic ones. Rosalia Marino's idea that Cisalpina was never provincialized[141] is not at all convincing, and has consequently been refuted by Umberto Laffi.[142] Such an idea, that in the case of northern Italy the term *provincia* is always intended in its "older" meaning, has met no acceptance owing to the many sources that, at least regarding the years after Sulla, cannot be misunderstood. If Granius Licinianus' statement that *data erat et Sullae prov[inci]a Gallia Cisal[pina* could still be open to discussion,[143] the possibility that by this time Cisalpina was not yet a province seems to disappear when we consider the fact that Sertorius was sent there as a *quaestor* in 91 BCE.[144] Additionally, we can be in no

138 Gargola (1995), p. 34.

139 On the solution of boundary disputes within Roman provinces and on the governor's role in these questions, see Burton (2000), in particular pp. 199–204; Elliott (2004), pp. 41–48; Talbert (2005), pp. 94–95.

140 Gargola (1995), p. 107.

141 Marino (1984), pp. 176–182.

142 Laffi (1992), pp. 6–11. See in particular pp. 14–16 for a critique of Marino's idea that a province of Cisalpina never actually existed.

143 Gran. Licin. 36.11.

144 Plut., *Sert.* 4.1. Cic., *Prov. Cons.* 36 offers a good example of a passage in which Gallia Cisalpina, together with Transalpina and Syria, are presented as "territorial provinces".

doubt of Brutus' later governance of Cisalpina in 77 BCE,[145] or even more importantly of Sallust's fragment referring to 75 BCE, according to which "the consuls divided among them the provinces defined by the Senate: Cotta had the Nearer Gallia, Octavius Cilicia".[146] However, it is also impossible to follow Laffi when he claims that it was normal to organize a territory as a province many decades after its conquest, and that in this sense Gallia Cisalpina was no different from many other areas.[147] Indeed, it is absolutely clear that by the end of the 3rd century its geographical area belonged to Italy.

The chronology of the institution of the province itself is nonetheless anything but settled with complete certainty. Many different theories have been advanced: according to the most widespread, which dates back to Mommsen, it was Sulla who decided to create a new province in the north of the peninsula.[148] But as with Marino's theory, it seems difficult to understand why Cisalpina, if founded later or even never made a province, was left untouched by the law *de civitate* that extended Roman citizenship to the entire peninsula at the end of the Social War[149] – a problem that has generated arbitrary answers such as the lack of Romanization or the exclusion of the inhabitants of this area from the *formula togatorum* regulating Roman recruitment.[150] A second possibility, defended mainly by Ursula Ewins, is that the creation must be moved back about ten years to 89 BCE, recognizing in Pompeius Strabo the founder of Gallia Cisalpina and identifying the *lex Pompeia* with the *lex provinciae*.[151] The idea that Cisalpina had been instituted as a province only in 59 BCE, when it was assigned to Caesar (so Mansuelli),[152] enjoyed almost no success at all.

145 Liv., *Per*. 90.4.

146 Sall., *Hist*., Fr. 2.16. See Luraschi (1979), pp. 180–181.

147 Laffi (1992), p. 14.

148 Mommsen (1889[8]), pp. 425–426. So Luraschi (1979), pp. 179–189; Laffi (1992), pp. 12–13. The creation of the province has also been attributed to Pompey and moved to 78 BCE by Chilver (1941), p. 8.

149 See below, pp. 370–371.

150 Brunt (1981[2]), p. 169. On the *formula togatorum*, see below, pp. 205–206.

151 Ewins (1955), pp. 75–76; Watkins (1972), pp. 79–84. But it is important to underline that a *lex provinciae*, or better *formula provinciae*, was not necessary to found a province; many provinces received it afterwards, some perhaps never had one: see Hoyos (1973); Kallet-Marx (1995), pp. 18–20; Wesch-Klein (2008), pp. 44–47 (but Strobel (2011), p. 218, still claims that a *lex provinciae* was necessary until Caesar's time). Salmon (1982), p. 134, is content with indicating the foundation of the province "around that time". Against the idea of the *lex Pompeia* as *lex provinciae*, with solid arguments, Marino (1984), pp. 171–174. Häussler (2013), pp. 116–117, still defends Ewins' theory, no longer recognizing in the *lex Pompeia* a *lex provinciae*, but supposing that "the necessary administrative reorganization [...] might have necessitated the constant presence of a Roman magistrate with *imperium*". Alternatively, he suggests again Mommsen's theory of a provincialization under Sulla.

152 Mansuelli (1962), p. 60. See also Ausbüttel (1989), pp. 186–188.

A further hypothesis suggests a much earlier creation, at the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 2nd century BCE: Livy provides the information, used as *terminus ante quem*, that G. Livius Salinator, consul in 188, had obtained Cisalpina as a consular province.[153] It has therefore been supposed, following a suggestion by Ferrua, that the *lex Pompeia* simply awarded Latin citizenship to the province already in existence.[154] Carcopino then dated the institution of the province to the 3rd century BCE – an unacceptable reconstruction when considering the previously listed assignations of this area, as with other parts of Italy, as a province in the "older" sense. The hypotheses of Chevallier (189–181 BCE) and Peyre (185–184 BCE) share the same problem.[155]

Cassola proposed a different reconstruction, dating the institution of the province to an unknown time between 143 and 95 BCE. The earlier date is given by Dio, according to whom Transpadana was already a part of Italy, and thus not a province.[156] For the entire period up to 95 BCE it is impossible to draw any conclusion,[157] but during that year L. Licinius Crassus received Cisalpina as a "regular" province, since he fought there against people who *excursionibus et latrociniis infestam provinciam redderent*,[158] an expression in which the "traditional" meaning of the term *provincia* would not properly fit and the "territorial-administrative" term seems far more apt. Cassola's theory then argues for a possible foundation of the province around 100 BCE, in direct connection with the invasions of the Cimbri and Teutons.[159] The fact that it was sometimes assigned together with Transalpina (most famously in Caesar's case, but this was not the only instance)[160] responds to these military events.[161] Plutarch's information concerning Sertorius' quaestorship may also reinforce this argument. Appian seems to imply that Cisalpina was, during the

153 Liv. 38.35.7–10. But see Bandelli (1986), pp. 43–44, who shows that Salinator also received the province in its "older" meaning.

154 Ewins (1955), pp. 76–81, moved critic observations against this interpretation, but they cannot be accepted.

155 Bloch/Carcopino (1940), pp. 466–467; Chevallier (1979), p. 54; Peyre (1979), p. 51. See Cassola (1991), pp. 30–31.

156 Dio, Fr. 74.1. Cassola (1991), p. 37.

157 Cassola (1991), pp. 37–39.

158 Cic., *De inv*. 2.111.

159 Cassola (1991), pp. 39–40. See also Badian (1966), pp. 907–908.

160 Caesar received the provinces of Cisalpina and Transalpina together with Illyricum: Plut., *Caes.* 14.10. See Badian (1966), pp. 906–917. According to Díaz Fernández (2015), pp. 264–265, Cisalpina was part of a Gallic province that included both Cisalpina and Transalpina (which in his opinion was instituted in the time of Marius), and was then "separated" from Transalpina and assigned as a consular province to Cotta as a result of some military threat. This would not represent, if accepted, a contradiction of the argument put forward here.

161 A parallel case might be seen, four decades later, in Cilicia, a province "re-arranged" in 56 BCE responding to the military necessities caused by pressure from the Parthians, as highlighted by Syme (1939), pp. 120–126.

80s BCE, a part of Italy, and it even seems possible that there was no boundary between Cisalpina and the rest of Italy (though the passages do not seem so clear in their meaning as Ewins believed). This should in any case not be over-interpreted: the disrespect of the boundary may be a consequence of the Civil War, and "the distinction made by Appian himself suggests a real difference between the cities of Cisalpine Gaul and those of north-central Italy".[162]

However, the consequence of the foundation of the province was a separation between the geographical definition of Italy (always including Cisalpina) and its administrative definition (which had to exclude the northern part of the peninsula).[163] As a province, Cisalpina was automatically (from an administrative perspective) distinct from the Italic political territory, even if it had already been recognized as geographically belonging to the peninsula. The use of the word *Italia* in the *lex Plautia Papiria* of 89 BCE, for example, recognizing Roman citizenship at the end of the Social War for those who *in Italia domicilium habuissent* and appeared in front of the praetor within sixty days,[164] utilizes the term in its political and administrative meaning. The only peculiarity that characterized Cisalpina was its being inhabited not by *peregrini* but, from 89 BCE, by Latin citizens (even if it is not clear whether the *lex Pompeia* applied to the entire population or only to the inhabitants of urban centers),[165] and from 49 BCE by Roman citizens (through a *lex de Gallia Cisalpina*, sometimes identified with the *lex Rubria* quoted in the table from Veleia or with the *lex Roscia* mentioned in the fragment from Este).[166] This would eventually lead to its necessary de-provincialization in 42 BCE (and to the transformation of the so-called 'fictitious' Latin colonies, instituted in 89 BCE without the addition of new citizens, in *municipia*).[167] This model would be followed during Caesar's times in Sicily, which in turn received the *ius Latii* under the dictator.[168]

162 Ewins (1955), p. 76.

163 So Plut., *Caes*. 25.2 can write that Caesar received three legions from Italy, among which one was formed of soldiers recruited in Gallia Cisalpina. See Heisterbergk (1881), pp. 61–62.

164 Cic., *Arch*. 3. See pp. 371–372.

165 For a partial extension of Latin citizenship: Bandelli (1986), pp. 47–49. For a total extension: Luraschi (1979), pp. 156–168. It has long been believed, following Plin., *HN* 3.138, that the law also foresaw the *adtributio* of the area's populations to some *municipia*. This idea must be rejected, since it is still impossible to talk of *municipia* in this region before the de-provincialization of 42 BCE, and it has been shown, with very strong arguments, that the *lex Pompeia* mentioned by Pliny should not be identified with the one of 89 BCE, but dated instead to the Augustan period: see Luraschi (1979), pp. 189–207. Even if the Plinian *lex Pompeia* should be identified with that of 89 BCE, Pliny's text does not provide any further information relevant to the topics addressed here.

166 Dio 41.36.3. Against the identification of this measure with the *lex Rubria* and the *lex Roscia*, see Laffi (1986), pp. 10–17. According to Dio 37.9.3, by 65 BCE, Crassus should have tried without success to enfranchise Cisalpina by according to it Roman citizenship.

167 App., *Civ*. 5.1.3. See Laffi (1992), pp. 11–12. Laffi (1986), pp. 16–17, identifies the *lex Roscia* with the law disposing the abolition of the province of Gallia Cisalpina, and since it is known from the

It is important to underline the fact that this change in the administration of northern Italy did not modify the idea of the territorial extension of Italy as a region during the last century BCE. Evidence of this can be drawn from Suetonius, who wrote about the rhetor G. Albucius Silus, from Novara, who lived during the Augustan period. Whilst defending a cause in Milan, as the lictors were trying to silence the people, he complained from a Milanese perspective about Italy's situation, *quasi iterum in formam provinciae redigeretur*.[169] This not only shows without a doubt that a province had existed within the region, but also hints at the fact that during the time of its provincial status, it was still conceived to be part of Italy.[170] This was substantially the basis of the *causa Transpadanorum*, as defined by Cicero:[171] the political debate concerning the concession to Cisalpina of Roman citizenship, a similar form of which never existed in any other province. The concession of Roman citizenship to Italy through the *lex Julia* during the Social War, and of Latin citizenship to Cisalpina (thus in any case differentiated from the other provinces) through the *lex Pompeia*, marked the pinnacle of the institutional differentiation between the two regions. With the concession of Roman citizenship to the province in 49 BCE, this difference would be reabsorbed.

It is well known that between 49 and 42 – more precisely in 44 BCE – Cicero presented what he still called *provincia Gallia* as *flos Italiae*, revealing perfectly this tension between the "geographical", "regional" perspective and the "administrative", "institutional" one.[172] Also relevant is Catullus' first *carmen*: although the poet's entire life (ca. 84–54 BCE) falls within the period in which Cisalpina was administered as a province, he describes Cornelius Nepos, who came from this region (more precisely from Hostilia), as the only Italic (*unus Italorum*) who dared to write the entire history of mankind.[173] Further contemporary sources confirm this explicitly. Cicero writes in the *pro Sestio* (56 BCE) that Caesar, through the assignation of Gallia Cisalpina and of three legions *erat at portas, erat cum imperio, erat in Italia eius exercitus*.[174]

Este fragment that the law was rogated in March, this shifts it to 41 BCE. See also Bandelli (1986), p. 61; Zaccaria (1986), pp. 67–68.

168 Interestingly, Cicero seems to have been a strong supporter of the de-provincialization of Cisalpina, but a radical opponent of any proposal to disenfranchise Sicily, as he saw this as a first step towards a general extension of Roman citizenship to the provinces: on this, see Carlà-Uhink (2017b), pp. 272–273.

169 Suet., *Rhet*. 6.

170 Chilver (1941), pp. 10–11; Laffi (1992), pp. 15–16.

171 Cic., *Off*. 3.88. See Carlà-Uhink (2017b), p. 273.

172 Cic., *Phil*. 3.13. In this period, Brutus was governor of Gallia Cisalpina: Plut., *Brut*. 6.10–11, calling it explicitly "Gallia on this side of the Alps".

173 Catull. 1.5–7.

174 Cic., *Sest*. 41. See also *Sest*. 40.

Dio, who refers to the de-provincialization of Cisalpina, could appear to state the contrary when, describing the year 41 BCE, he writes of "Gallia Togata, which had been included by this time in the district of Italy in order that no one else, under the plea of ruling that province, should keep soldiers south of the Alps".[175] But what the translator has expressed here with the term "district" is in the original text *nomos* – a political and administrative, not a geographic consideration, and Dio stresses only the fact that in 42 BCE Gallia Cisalpina finally received the same juridical status as the rest of Italy, and was therefore demilitarized.[176]

Servius, writing four centuries later, seems to contradict the idea that Cisalpina was considered part of Italy during the 1st century BCE. Explaining why Vergil considered Aeneas the first to travel from Troy to Italy, while at the same time accepting Antenor's travel to Venetia (a contradiction that the anonymous author of the *Origo gentis Romanae* solved by understanding *primus* as *princeps*, "most important" and not as "first" in a chronological sense),[177] the Late Antique commentator believed that Venetia was not part of Italy when Vergil was writing, since the border of Italy was then marked by the Rubicon river. Venetia was therefore Gallia Cisalpina.[178] However, in trying to explain what seems to him a logical contradiction, Servius introduces an even greater error, since Vergil's poetic activity took place years after the de-provincialization of Italy. Vergil, who through his epic poem managed, as will be made clear,[179] to "officialize" most of the mythical traditions concerning Italy and Italic peoples, could have simply introduced into poetic use a passage that was not necessarily of consequence. Better still, he could have referred to a "historical" concept of *Italia* that did not exist within his lifetime, but during the mythical times of Aeneas, when Venetia was not inhabited by Italic communities (the Veneti are not presented as autochthonous communities, but as descendants of the Trojans). Under no circumstances can this statement be considered relevant towards an exclusion of Cisalpina from the geographical concept of Italy during the period of provincial administration.

Therefore, even if the "geographical" Italy ended with the Alps, it was necessary during those years to draw a clear border that would mark the end of "Roman Italy" and the beginning of the province. Such a border must have existed from the moment the province was founded, since a clear definition of a territorial extension is necessary in the development of a *provincia* in the newer sense. The genesis of a "double" Italy, and therefore of a double boundary, is expressed poetically, for example by Lucan, when, in describing Caesar's march against Rome, he details first

175 Dio 48.12.5; transl. E. Cary. See also Dio 41.36.3. The Gallia Togata is undoubtedly part of Italy also according to Mela 2.4.59. On the definition Togata, see below, p. 325.

176 Chilver (1941), pp. 9–10.

177 *Orig. Gent. Rom.* 1.4–9.

178 Serv, *Aen.* 1.1.

179 See below, p. 147.

his crossing of the Alps, and then his approaching the Rubicon, where the image of the *trepidans patria*, Rome, appears to him.[180]

Literary sources indicate that two rivers were adopted at different times to function as a border of the province, first the Aesis, and then the Rubicon:

> Now the boundary (*horion*) of all this country which we call Cisalpine Celtica – I mean the boundary (*horos*) between it and the remainder of Italy – was once designated by that part of the Apennine Mountains which is beyond Tyrrhenia, and also by the river Aesis, but later on by the Rubicon; both these rivers empty into the Adriatic.[181]

If we accept the idea that Gallia Cisalpina became a province before Sulla's dictatorship (around 100 BCE), we can conclude that Sulla shifted the boundary from the Aesis to the Rubicon, although we can only be certain that the river marked the boundary of Italy by 58 BCE. Mommsen, in spite of having attributed the foundation of Gallia Cisalpina to Sulla, proposed that he also moved the border of Italy to the Rubicon, followed by Detlefsen, according to whom this shift would have allowed Sulla to claim having enlarged Italy and therefore to move the *pomerium*.[182] But this idea, also put forward by Bandelli,[183] cannot be accepted because it would imply that before the provincialization, and therefore from the mere geographic expression, what was included in Italy was marked by the Aesis and not by the Alps, contrary to all the sources previously discussed. If this were the case, it would be necessary to suppose that the dictator chose the Aesis and that this border was later (before 58 BCE) moved to the Rubicon, which came to mark the limit (*limes*) between the *Gallica arva* and the *Ausonii coloni*, as Lucan wrote.[184] After Sulla, such a border was also connected with the necessity of dismissing the legions before crossing it – as Caesar refused to do in 49 BCE, an action which sparked the Civil War, and afforded the Rubicon a prominent role in Western cultural memory.

Probably during the first half of the 1st century CE, Pomponius Mela again defined *Italia* as the region that begins at the Alps and proceeds southwards stretching forward into the sea, including the Gallia Togata. Mela asserted that this region

180 Lucan. 1.183–187.

181 Strab. 5.1.11; transl. H.L. Jones. See also Strab. 5.2.10.

182 Detlefsen (1886), p. 499.

183 Bandelli (1986), p. 45. See also Degrassi (1954), p. 12. Also similar is the position expressed by Brunt (1981[2]), p. 167, according to whom the Aesis marked the boundary of the *ager Gallicus* distributed by Flaminius and the Rubicon the one of the province, which he maintains was founded by Sulla.

184 Lucan. 1. 213–216. Willis (2011), pp. 62–63. See also App., *Civ*. 2.5.35, defining the Rubicon as the boundary of Italy, obviously in an administrative sense, and Ariminum as the first town in Italy after leaving Cisalpina; see also App., *Civ*. 2.5.32: here Ravenna is said to be "contiguous to Italy", obviously in the administrative sense, since it lies near the Rubicon. Plut., *Caes*. 20.1; 32.6 states that the Rubicon divided the province from "the rest of Italy".

extended down to Ancona, and had its border at the river Aesis.[185] Detlefsen has stated that the situation described here must have been in place before Sulla's time,[186] but there is no need to be so radical. Mela wrote during a time in which the inclusion of Cisalpina within Italy could no longer be doubted. Nevertheless, his terminology could provide further evidence of the fact that during the existence of the province, Gallia Togata was still conceived geographically as belonging to an *Italia* that reached the Alps.

The situation would be even more complicated if, as the "traditional" historiographical interpretation proposes, the *lex Pompeia* had conceded the *ius Latii* only to the communities north of the Po (Transpadana), while the inhabitants of areas of the province between the Rubicon and the Po had already received Roman citizenship in the context of the Social War,[187] thus inserting a further boundary. This would imply the existence of an additional differentiation that would confirm the extremely particular and presumably "provisional" nature of the province. However, there is no reason to believe that the Po came to assume such value as a border. On the *lex Pompeia*, only one source is available: Asconius, who referred to Transpadana simply by following Cicero's definition of the later concession of Roman citizenship as *causa Transpadanorum*.[188] But this does not seem to be a "technical" formulation, and could derive from the fact that most of the communities involved were located on the other side of the river Po, and that such an expression of a geographical entity marked by a relevant boundary was instrumental to Cicero's approach to the de-provincialization. When the latter happened, it definitely regarded the communities both north and south of the river Po. The *lex de Gallia Cisalpina*, rearranging the region after its change of status (in spite of Dio's reference to the Gauls between the Alps and the Po)[189] not only consistently refers to the area of interest by this name, but has additionally been found in Veleia, on the southern side of the river.[190] Surely, the Po is an extremely relevant marker in the landscape of northern Italy and could therefore situationally assume a meaning in defining territory: Caesar and Livy use the expressions *cis Padum* and *trans Padum* as geographical markers;[191] Catullus defines himself *Transpadanus*, in opposition to Sabinus,

185 Pomp. Mel. 2.57 and 2.64.

186 Detlefsen (1886), pp. 498 and 521–522.

187 For example, Mommsen (1889[8]), pp. 288–289; Bernardi (1973), pp. 120–121; Ga. De Sanctis (1976), pp. 93–94; Ausbüttel (1989), pp. 185–186; Häussler (2013), p. 113; Dart (2014), p. 182; Elster (2014), pp. 203–204.

188 Cic., *Off.* 3.88.

189 Dio 41.36.3.

190 Problems that could possibly arise if the use of this expression should be considered meaningful to define the date of the law, which would then have been released before 42 BCE, are not relevant here: see Laffi (1986), pp. 11–12.

191 *Cis Padum*: Liv. 5.35.4; 32.29.7; *trans Padum*: Caes. 5.24.4; Liv. 5.33.10; 42.22.5.

Tiburs, Umber, Etruscus and Lanuvinus.[192] Still, these occurrences do not testify to an institutional characterization of the Po as a border, but to its relevance in the discursive construction of the territory of Northern Italy.

Pompeius Strabo formally instituted new Latin colonies in Transpadana without the addition of new colonists,[193] but to assume that only Transpadana was touched by this decision and that the Po marked a clear boundary of application is excessive.[194] Alba Pompeia – which lies south of the Po and bears in its name a clear reference to the acquisition of colonial status through the *lex Pompeia* – was a Latin colony, and explaining this while maintaining a strictly Transpadan application of Pompeius Strabo's provision requires complicated arguments.[195] Ravenna and Genua also provide difficulties for such an interpretation, as revealed by Luraschi in 1979.[196] It is easier to suppose that the province of Cisalpina already existed in 90–89 BCE, but was excluded from the *lex Julia de civitate* while touched upon in its entirety by the *lex Pompeia*. As Luraschi – who argues that the "Transpadan" definition originated from purely quantitative causes (which perfectly explains the aforementioned use of the word by Cicero, who – it is important to highlight – was the only author to adopt it in this sense)[197] – perfectly underlined, the Po never assumed the value of an administrative boundary in Republican times.[198] Only with the institution of the Augustan regions would it assume such a function, and Transpadana would become the name of the eleventh region.[199]

192 Catull. 39.10–13.

193 Ascon., *Pis.* 3: *Transpadanas colonias deduxerit*. These might be the *Transpadanae coloniae* mentioned by Caes., *BC* 3.87.4, clearly localized in *Citerior Gallia*.

194 Many scholars, as Gabba (1990), p. 71, or David (1994), p. 7, recognize the value, in Roman mentality, of the Po as a clear delimitation between a "more" and a "less Romanized" area (with the exclusion of the Venetic area) already in the moment of the foundation of Placentia and Cremona, in 218 BCE. This would have constituted the reason of the differentiation, in 90 BCE, between a Cispadana receiving Roman citizenship and a Transpadana subject to the *lex Pompeia*. Galsterer (1995), pp. 87–91, on the contrary, recognizes that the Po had never assumed an important value as an administrative or political border, but still thinks it received this importance in 90–89 BCE.

195 Häussler (2007), pp. 70–71: "We have to assume that peregrine communities in hardly urbanized Piedmont and Liguria were treated like those in the Transpadana". The possibility, admitted by Luraschi (1979), pp. 209–210, that the town owned its name to Quintus Pompeius Rufus seems unacceptable.

196 Luraschi (1979), pp. 150–154.

197 Cic., *Off.* 3.88; *Phil.* 10.10; *Att.* 5.2.3 (51 BCE); 5.11.2 (51 BCE); 7.7.6 (50 BCE); *Fam.* 2.17.7 (50 BCE); 8.1.2 (51 BCE); 12.5.2 (43 BCE); 16.12.4 (49 BCE).

198 Luraschi (1979), pp. 147–156. It is important in any case to underline that Luraschi does not believe that in this moment the province of Gallia Cisalpina had already been constituted. See also Peyre (1979), pp. 66–67. See Bispham (2007a), p. 173: "It conferred not Latin citizenship, but *ius Latii*, creating fictive Latin colonies in Cisalpine Gaul, mainly in the Transpadana".

199 Plin., *NH* 3.123. *Transpadani* became also, according to Plin., *NH* 3.130, a "nickname" for the inhabitants of *Forum Iulii*. Pliny uses the term also to indicate in general the region, according to its

It therefore appears that Laffi's conclusion – that in 42–41 BCE Gallia Cisalpina became part of Italy[200] – can be accepted only from an administrative and institutional point of view, as in the general geographic perception the region had already been considered part of Italy for at least 150 years. As Cassola wrote, from at least the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, this territory, as well as Liguria, was part of *Italia*.[201] It is therefore essential to differentiate, during the 1st century BCE, between a geographical concept of Italy, which since the late 3rd century BCE had comprised the entire peninsula south of the Alps, and an administrative concept, which would be distinguished from the first between about 100–42 BCE. However, this would never shed doubt on the fact that the territory now administered in a provincial way, due to the current military situation, was to be recognized as belonging to the peninsula.[202]

It would also be necessary to consider the possibility, keeping in mind the clear geographical inclusion of Cisalpina within Italy and that its provincialization could have been decided under the particular circumstance of Cimbrian military pressure, that perhaps such a measure could have been conceived from the very beginning as provisional, thus generating the *causa Transpadanorum* after the reasons for the provincial government had disappeared and such an institution seemed to last too long. Unfortunately, the sources offer no direct hint in this direction. It must nevertheless be remembered that Appian, whose reliability on this point is uncertain, presents the de-provincialization of Cisalpina as the result of it being too close to Rome to host legions under a governor,[203] which may again hint at the provisional nature of such a form of administration. Appian further stresses the peculiarity of this province when compared to others, claiming in particular (while paraphrasing Polybius) that the Senate considered it its own ἀκρόπολις.[204]

What can be traced in the years between 89 and 49, the so-called *causa Transpadanorum*, should not be considered as a shift to a complete equalization with the rest of the peninsula because of a particular level of Romanization, nor a specific social or political movement.[205] It is, on the contrary, a call for the reinstatement of what was already clear: that Cisalpina was a part of Italy, that its administration as a province, made necessary by military circumstances, was considered provisional, and was called to an end. The fact that Appian refers to the deprovincialization as

Augustan meaning: Plin., *NH* 3.138 highlights thus that in 225 BCE the *Transpadani* were not part of Italy, yet. See also Plin., *NH* 17.49; 18.127; 18.205; 37.44.

200 Laffi (1992), p. 23. See also Detlefsen (1886), p. 500.

201 Cassola (1991), p. 26.

202 This seems to be implied also by De Libero (1994), p. 303. See also Chilver (1941), pp. 13–14; Klingner (1965[5]), pp. 16–18; Gabba (1978), p. 12.

203 App., *Civ*. 3.4.30.

204 App., *Civ*. 3.4.27.

205 Bandelli (1986), p. 53.

ἐλευθεροῦν – "freeing" – should be interpreted with this in mind.[206] The de-provincialization of Cisalpina once again caused the geographical and administrative ideas of Italy to coincide.[207]

This also helps to explain a widely-discussed passage in Pliny the Elder. The river Formio, says Pliny, was the *antiquus auctae Italiae terminus, nunc vero Histriae*. If the river formed the border of the "enlarged" Italy, this means that the territorial area identified as Italy was smaller and had been expanded due to an official decision, which also implied the fixation of a boundary. This must clearly refer to the political-administrative idea of Italy rather than its geographical representation, which did not require any official *augmentum*, nor the same precision in the definition of borders as an administrative partition, and must therefore refer to the years 43–42 BCE, when as a result of de-provincialization the river Formio became the border of the "enlarged Italy".[208] During Pliny's time, the river only marked the border of Histria, as this territory had been annexed for Italy by Augustus between 18 and 12 BCE, with the consequent identification of the river Arsia as the limit of Italy.[209] The Formio thus became merely the border between two "sub-regions" of Italy.

It is possible, though not probable, that by awarding Latin citizenship to Sicily, Caesar also intended to start a process to incorporate the island into Italy.[210] This would have been achieved by means of a completely different procedure than that implemented in the case of Cisalpina, implying not the re-absorption of a region that had been geographically considered – at least since the Punic Wars – part of the peninsula, but a true extension "from above" of the geographical concept itself.[211] This would even confirm Caesar's apparent "disrespect" for the special role of Italy in the general context of the Empire. Nonetheless, the project was blocked by Octavian, who on the contrary had a very clear idea of the boundaries of Italy and of the character of the peninsula. The complete homologation and institutionalization of Italy as a region becomes indeed clear during the Augustan age,[212] when the peninsula not only emerged politically as a protagonist, but achieved its final definition

206 App., *Civ*. 3.4.30; 5.3.22.
207 Gabba (1978), p. 21.
208 Plin., *NH* 3.129. Degrassi (1954), pp. 46–53; Bandelli (1986), p. 63; Zaccaria (1986), p. 66. Detlefsen (1886), pp. 514–515. More recently De Laurenzi (2001/2002), pp. 6–8, attributed this enlargement to Caesar, at the time of the concession of citizenship in 49 BCE. This contradicts Detlefsen's statement (p. 525), according to which Pliny intended Italy as a "geographical expression" and not as an administrative entity.
209 Detlefsen (1886), p. 516; Detlefsen (1901), p. 5; Degrassi (1954), pp. 54–60; Zaccaria (1986), p. 72; De Laurenzi (2001/2002), p. 8; Migliario (2002), p. 66; Strobel (2011), p. 202.
210 Frank (1927), pp. 153–154.
211 This might explain Cicero's hostility to such a project: see Carlà-Uhink (2017b), pp. 272–276.
212 Gabba (1978), pp. 22–23.

through the conquest and reorganization of the entire Alpine region, as celebrated in the previously mentioned monument of La Turbie.

The roughly 50 years of differentiation between geographical perception and administrative division also help us to understand the treatment reserved for the Alps. Once again, the administrative division was clear, and marked the point at which Italy finished and other territories – later the Alpine districts – began. The Alpine districts were instituted by Augustus after the "de-provincialization" of Cisalpine Gaul as part of the formalization and final definition of Italy's external borders, as well as their systematization.[213] This means that Braccesi's idea that the Augustan conquest of the Alpine regions brought Italy's "physical" ("natural") and political boundaries to coincide should be corrected.[214] Rather, the wars conducted in the Alps that led to the creation of the Alpine districts helped to clearly define the limits of the Italic region from an administrative perspective, and did so by bringing under a more direct Roman administration a territory that was earlier identified as an area of Roman influence.[215]

The Definition of Italy and Its Territorial Shape: Chronological Aspects

The establishment and diffusion of such discourses cannot be conceived of as immediate, or instantaneous. The attribution of a territorial shape – its precise definition, acceptance and consolidation in common consciousness – must be understood as a gradual process. Rather than identifying the "moment" at which the Alps became defined as the barrier of Italy, it is more productive to look for time spans and events that may have influenced such a process, clarifying the fact that Italy became territorially "closed" during the period stretching from the first half of the 3rd to the mid-2nd century BCE. Radke proposed that the concept of Italy was introduced by the Romans as a propagandistic instrument against Carthage during the First Punic War – a theory that is probably acceptable, and fits within the context of a step forward from the definition of Italy as an area of Roman hegemony which, as shown, already existed before the war.[216] Within this context would fit, if it is not the product of a later elaboration, the text of the Sibylline oracle that describes the rites to be cele-

213 Migliario (2002), p. 59.

214 Braccesi (1986), pp. 36–37.

215 Not by chance, as Braccesi also notes, Augustus speaks in his *Res Gestae* of a "pacification" of the area: *Res Gest.* 26.3.

216 Radke (1967b). One of the conditions of the Treaty of Lutatius' was, according to Appian, that the Carthaginians could not recruit mercenaries in Italy, thus underlining the symbolic character of the peninsula as "Roman territory": App., *Rom.* 6.2.2. Only during the Mercenary War were they allowed to use Italic mercenaries: App., *Rom.* 6.2.3; 8.1.5.

brated at the *ludi saeculares* of 249 BCE. This claims, in keeping with Polybius' idea of the Roman attitude after the Pyrrhic War, that Roman control should extend over all the Italics – something that in the text seems to have not yet been acquired.[217]

Radke's idea has recently been challenged by Russo, who attributes to the threat that a Carthaginian occupation of Messana would represent for a possible future invasion of Italy the biggest role for the beginning of the war (even if it is unclear whether he means this as a "real" fear, or only as a "discursive", "propagandistic" one), thus attaching to the concept of Italy a deeper significance already consolidated by 264 BCE.[218] Purcell, as Salmon,[219] sees in the foundation of Ariminum in 268 BCE not the mark of a complete conquest of Italy, but rather the first step towards "a consciousness of the whole Italian peninsula as a single entity" – an entity that would find its final boundary in the Alps, at the latest in connection with the Second Punic War.[220] The literary elaboration concerning the First Punic War underlined indeed the fear that if the Carthaginians had conquered Messana, they could have invaded Italy as a reason for the conflict. However, all the testimonies date from after the Second Punic War, during which an invasion of Italy had indeed taken place, and could simply have been influenced and shaped *ex post* by the experience of the Hannibalic War. After the war, however, the new structure of the Roman State and the birth of the first provinces made it necessary to define Italy administratively and juristically *ex differentia*, as M. Crawford has noted.[221]

It has been claimed that this perception of Italy as the territory stretching to the Alps already formed the basis of the political decisions made by G. Flaminius, who by constructing the *via Flaminia* in 220 BCE,[222] as well as his activity in the area of Rimini (by means of *the lex Flaminia de agro Piceno et Gallico viritim dividundo* of 232 BCE), would have aimed to consolidate a basis for further action in the Po valley in

217 *FGH* 257 F 37 (Phlegon of Tralles); Zos. 2.6.1. See Russo (2012a), pp. 45–48; Russo (2012b), pp. 95–107.

218 Russo (2012a), in particular pp. 44–45; Russo (2012b), pp. 59–64. See also Russo (2010), pp. 77–78, although his idea that by this time Sicily might also have been part of *Italia* doesn't stand up to scrutiny. The sources always clearly separate the peninsula and the island, and Sicily was perceived as dangerous in Carthaginian hands because of the menace it could have represented to Italy. His further argument, that the Romans could thus justify – even in the eventual presence of the Treaty of Philinus – their intervention in Messana by claiming that it was "Italy" is not acceptable, and unnecessarily complicates the clear distinction between Italic territory and Italic ethnicity used by the Romans to justify the beginning of the war.

219 See above, pp. 31–32.

220 Purcell (1990), pp. 10–11. Previous interpretations (for example, Sherwin-White (1973[2]), p. 159), according to which the term *Italia* only came to identify the entire peninsula up to the Alps in 42 BCE, are to be rejected.

221 Crawford (1990), pp. 94–95. See also Rüpke (1990), p. 53. *Italia atque provinciae* appears as a synecdoche for the Roman State in Sall., *Ep*. 1.8.4.

222 Radke (1969), pp. 377–378.

order to reach the Alps.[223] This position may attribute too broad and systematic a plan to Flaminius, greatly transcending what is known of his actual political activity. Independent of possible further military plans or aims however, it is clear that there was a deep connection between the construction of the road and the distribution of land in the area.[224] It is therefore evident that at that particular time no clear geographical distinction was made between the *ager Picenus* and the *ager Gallicus*, which were dealt with together.

Next to Carthage, a second enemy was key in determining the definition of Italy as a region, and the region whose military defense was crucial to Rome: the Gauls, against whom Rome fought in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. Their role in shaping constructions of identity in the Italic peninsula cannot be underestimated, considering the effect these wars also had on the development of Roman cultural memory, and particularly the "naturalization" of the Alpine boundary, connected to military activity not only against Hannibal, but first and foremost against these populations. The menace emanating from the Boii in 237 BCE contributed to the development of the recognition of the importance of the Po Valley as an integral part of the Italic peninsula from the perspective of defensive necessities. In addition, the Gallic War of 225 seems, if we believe Polybius, maybe deriving from Fabius Pictor,[225] and later writers such as Pliny, to have also strengthened the idea that the peninsula as a "common homeland" was at risk.[226] The Alps were perceived as a barrier with clear physical and military significance;[227] but this conceptualization did not require the entire area to be under Roman control (as yet it was not), but that it was perceived by Rome as an area belonging to Italy to be brought under control: "the importance Rome attached to control of Cisalpina is indicated by the number of colonies founded there"[228]. In particular, the foundation of the twin colonies of Placentia and Cremona in 218 BCE has been understood as part of "a strategy to forge a political unit out of those disparate territories",[229] but can also be read in geographical terms, since during this period the only area touched by colonization was what was recognized by the Romans as Italic territory.[230]

It will not escape attention that the central part of this "construction period" was occupied by the time of the Hannibalic War, which played a very important role in increasing awareness of the role of Italy in relation to Rome and its defense, and

223 Radke (1969), p. 368.
224 See below, p. 70.
225 Oros. 4.13.6–7: *itaque permoti consules totius Italiae ad praesidium imperii contraxere vires*, in a passage that later explicitly quotes Fabius Pictor as the source.
226 Polyb. 2.23.12–13; Plin., *HN* 3.138; Plut., *Marc*. 1.5. See below, pp. 106–107.
227 Dyson (1985), pp. 53–54.
228 Hoyos (1976), pp. 54–55.
229 Curti (2001), p. 19.
230 See below, pp. 230–232.

in determining the institutionalization of Italy as a region.[231] Equally important however, is that the conflict also identified the Alps, the crossing of which plays a central role in the narratives of Hannibal's expedition, as the "real" limit marking the entrance to the deeper Roman "core".[232] In Livy's narration, Hannibal motivates his soldiers before crossing the mountains by stating that they were in front of the Alps, the other side of which belonged to Italy.[233] During the march, Hannibal shows to his soldiers from the mountains the landscape on the Italic side ("Italy and the plains surrounding the Po"), stating that in crossing the mountains they would cross the walls of Italy and of Rome itself.[234] Due to their geographic features and subsequent military and strategic value, the mountains came to be perceived as an "obstacle" protecting the peninsula – and therefore the *Urbs*. Their passage became adventurous "proof" of having entered Italy.[235]

Livy's narration of the war surely demonstrates that, at least in his reconstruction of this event, Italy already stretched across the entire peninsula. The fact that *Italia* after the Battle of Lake Trasimeno is said to have been *occupatam armis Punicis*,[236] an idea that had already appeared in an oration by Cato sometime after 151 BCE,[237] is not particularly relevant in understanding where the borders of Italy lay. Much more important is the passage in which Livy describes the deeds of G. Claudius in 207 BCE, making clear that the extension of the concept of Italy referred to the Second Punic War:

> That man now on horseback in the space of six days had traversed the whole length of Italy, men kept saying, and had fought, standards against standards, with Hasdrubal in Gaul on a day on which Hannibal had believed the consul had his camp established facing his own in Apulia. Thus a single consul in defence of both regions of Italy had confronted two armies and two generals, here with his strategy and there in person.[238]

231 See, for example, the emotional strength of the idea of an invasion of Italy or of the presence of the enemy on Italic soil in Liv. 31.7, in particular 3–5. See Badian (1958), pp. 141–149; Salmon (1982), pp. 83–84; Massa (1996), pp. 9–10; Simon (2011), pp. 98–99; Russo (2012a), pp. 44–48. Göhler (1939), p. 33, assigned to the Second Punic War the major role in the construction of the idea of an "Italic community".

232 Humm (2010), p. 57.

233 Liv. 21.30.5: *in conspectu Alpes habeant quarum alterum latus Italiae sit*.

234 Liv. 21.35.8–9. In Livy's narrative Scipio also underlines the Alps' function in the protection of Rome itself: Liv. 21.41.15.

235 Massa (1996), p. 43. A fragment of Coelius Antipater (Fr. 13 Peter), describing the Alps and placed most probably at the beginning of Hannibal's expedition, also seems to fit within this picture.

236 Liv. 22.8.5. See also 25.7.4: *hostis in terra Italia*.

237 Gell. 2.6.7.

238 Liv. 28.9.12–13; transl. F.G. Moore.

The connection between the Hannibalic War and the general perception of Italy is therefore very strong in Roman sources, and Livy emphasizes that fact that the entire region had been militarily invaded and menaced.[239] The fact that in the next chapter Livy lists regions directly crossed by the Carthaginian army that, correspondingly to Hannibal's movements in that year, were in central Italy,[240] does not disprove this. In no way does the historian try to suggest that the list is a form of explanation of the geographical concept that recurrently appears in all his work, including the famous chapter regarding the *coloniae maritimae*, whose exemption from furnishing recruits was cancelled during the Second Punic War (with the sole exception of Ostia and Antium) *cum in Italia hostis esset*.[241]

The war, which remained deeply rooted as a sort of "collective trauma" in Roman cultural memory until Late Antiquity,[242] was fought and dealt with on both sides with great attention to the "core" of the enemy's power. As the Carthaginians marched into Italy to strike Rome at its center, they tried for as long as possible to prevent the Romans from sending an expedition to Africa. When this finally happened, it brought the war to an end. In spite of the defections, most famously Capua's,[243] what ultimately saved the Romans was the fact that the bulk of the Italic allies remained loyal.[244] The biggest threat they faced was the possibility that the Italic allies could revolt. Hannibal knew this, as did his Roman opponents, and the authors of all later literary sources that deal with the history of the war. It was not by chance that in 203 BCE, when Hannibal had left the peninsula, a dictator was entrusted with the task of investigating which Italic communities had betrayed Rome, and for what reasons.[245] After 201 BCE, no Roman could have had any doubts that the very survival of Rome rested on the definition, borders, and "fidelity" of the

239 This recurs in later sources, see, for example, Plut., *Marc*. 24.2.

240 Liv. 22.9. So Letta (1984), p. 418.

241 Liv. 27.38.1–5.

242 E.g. App., *Rom*. 8.20.134, but most of all the epic elaboration of the war in Silius Italicus' *Punica*, continuously insisting on the importance of the Italic community in the outcome of the war (see e.g. 4.216–229) and clearly reducing the importance of the other war stages, e.g. Spain, Sicily or Africa. See Laffi (1990), pp. 285–287.

243 Liv. 23.2–7. On Capua's defection, see Fronda (2010), pp. 103–126.

244 As Mommsen (1888[8]), pp. 751–753; 759–760, had already concluded. See Fronda (2010), in particular pp. 48–49. The number of allies who had rebelled and joined Hannibal by 212 BCE has been quantified by Lazenby (1996), pp. 44–46, in about 40%. To this figure must be added the defections of Roman citizens (even *sine suffragio*), such as the Campanians. No Latin colonies defected though their loyalty was sometimes questionable to say the least. All in all, the majority of the allies remained loyal to the Romans, particularly the Etruscans and Umbri, and even those who defected did not wholeheartedly support Hannibal: on Hannibal's "mistakes" in this sense, see Fronda (2010), pp. 288–300. Roman cultural memory later also elaborated on the topic of the Carthaginian *perfidia*, claiming that ultimately Hannibal behaved cruelly even towards the Italics who had switched to his side: see, for example, Val. Max. 9.6.ext.2.

245 Liv. 30.24.4. See also Liv. 28.10.4–5; 29.36.10–12.

Italic peninsula[246] – and this meant the entire region south of the Alps. After the war, the Romans intensified their control over Italy, placing great emphasis on its military security, thus strengthening not just the contact between different parts of the peninsula,[247] but also its construction as the *Hinterland* of Rome.

Livy refers to the consultation of the Sibylline books that took place during the war and which led, in 205 BCE, to the transportation to Rome of the black stone of the Great Mother of Ida from Pessinus:

> The state was at this time suddenly occupied with a question of a religious nature, in consequence of the discovery of a prediction in the Sibylline books, which had been inspected on account of there having been so many showers of stones this year. It ran thus: "Whensoever a foreign enemy should bring war into the land of Italy, he may be driven out of Italy and conquered, if the Idaean Mother should be brought from Pessinus to Rome (*quandoque hostis alienigena terrae Italiae bellum intulisset eum pelli Italia vincique posse si mater Idaea a Pessinunte Romam advecta foret*)".[248]

It is extremely plausible that the text of the oracle was diffused, if not during the war, then during the period directly afterwards, and thus can be considered a reliable example of the use of Italy – already perceived as a "unity" – in the territorial sense by the end of the 3rd century BCE. In this sense, it is a pity that no information is available regarding the extension assigned to Italy as a region.[249] A fragment from an oration by Quintus Caecilius Metellus, probably composed in 201 BCE,[250] describes the Hannibalic War as a *transitus Italiae*, whilst Coelius Antipater was the first Roman author to refer to the story of "Hannibal's dream", present also in Silenus, in which Hannibal's military activities are clearly represented as having caused the devastation of Italy (*vastitas Italiae*).[251]

Lucilius, in his 29th book, presented a Hannibal "beaten back by force and hurled out of all Italy (*tota Italia*)".[252] This consideration surely implies that assistance was provided by the Italic allies,[253] but is also still of a geographical nature.

246 Laffi (1990), p. 287.

247 Fronda (2010), pp. 307–324.

248 Liv. 29.10.4–5; transl. C. Edmonds. See Macbain (1982), p. 41. Italy appears as a geographical reference once again in a consultation of the Sibylline books during the dictatorship of Fabius Maximus: Plut., *Fab. Max.* 4.6.

249 On the "inclusion" of Italy in Roman religious life and in particular in oracular activity, see *infra*, pp. 189–193.

250 *ORF*³ 6.II.3.

251 Cic., *Div.* 1.49; Val. Max. 1.7.ext.1. See also Cic., *De or.* 3.153, another fragment of Coelius Antipater remembering that the "Carthaginian came to Italy".

252 Lucil., Fr. 29.825 Marx = 29.951 Warmington; transl. E.H. Warmington.

253 Massa (1996), pp. 45–56, believes that Lucilius' insistence on the entire peninsula's role aimed to diminish the importance of the passage to Hannibal of Southern Italic communities. This cannot be demonstrated, and it is important to stress that the satirical poet was using what had already

Hannibal was ambiguously expelled by Italy as a community and from Italy as a territory. Italy's role in saving Rome from the Carthaginian invader became a relevant issue in Roman cultural memory, and from here the idea of a unitary support within Italy as necessary for saving Rome – and therefore also the need of greater control over the other Italic communities – was swift. By 200 BCE, according to Livy, the consul P. Sulpicius Galba, when trying to convince the *comitia centuriata* to vote for the war against Macedonia, had simply to present to the assembled people the possibility of a future military confrontation on Italic territory: *utrum in Macedoniam legiones transportetis an hostes in Italiam accipiatis*.[254] The fear of an invasion of Italy was also used by Livy when presenting Hannibal's speech at Antiochus' court, in which he expressed his opinion on the way the war against Rome should be organized[255] (while Antiochus himself, according to Diodorus Siculus, would have underlined that Italy comprised the Roman sphere of interest, and Asia his).[256] This was the last plan developed before death by Philip V: to lead the Bastarnae in an invasion of Italy from the Julian Alps.[257] Similar menaces existed throughout the 2nd century, as Eumenes' speech against Perseus, who was ready to invade Italy, highlights.[258]

The projection of this idea onto a symbolic plan did not have to wait long, either. The soldiers who had defected in the aftermath of Cannae were, according to Plutarch, sent to Sicily and forbidden from returning to Italy until the end of the war.[259] Certainly, in 190 BCE Aetolian ambassadors were forced by the Senate to leave Rome within a day, and Italy within fifteen.[260] The same happened the following year, and Perseus' representatives met a similar fate in 171 BCE, when they were granted ten days on the first occasion, and a month on the second, to leave the pen-

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become a *topos* in Roman historical memory. On the other hand, Simon (2011), pp. 119–125, speculatively presumes that Lucilius referred only to the Southern part of the Italic peninsula. This interpretation is not supported by any textual element and conflicts with the contemporary usage of the term, as it is shown.

254 Liv. 31.7.2. Galba's speech should not be considered authentic, but it is probable that Livy used, for its formulation, actual topics and themes that had been the focus of political debates accompanying the beginning of the Second Macedonian War: Eckstein (2008), pp. 254–255.

255 Liv. 34.60.3–4; Liv. 36.7.16–17. See also Iust. 31.3.7: *Sed Hannibal, cui nota Romana virtus erat, negabat opprimi Romanos nisi in Italia posse*; App., Rom. 11.2.7.

256 Diod. Sic. 28.12.

257 Liv. 40.57.6–7.

258 Liv. 42.13.10–11. On the Roman fear of an invasion of Italy during the first half of the 2nd century BCE, see Brizzi (1987), pp. 47–51. This idea of a possible invasion of Italy on the Hannibalic model was falsely applied by Appian to Mithridates during the last days of his rule, even if after the Social War, in consideration not only of the rebellion of the Italic allies during the Second Punic War but also of the Social War itself: App., *Rom.* 12.16.109.

259 Sil. It., *Pun.* 10.654–656; Plut., *Marc.* 13.6.

260 Liv. 37.49.7.

insula.[261] When Eumenes II landed in Brundisium after the Third Macedonian War, he was asked whether he had urgent matters to discuss with the Senate. If not, he should avoid travelling to Rome and leave Italy (of which Brundisium was obviously part) as soon as possible.[262] The same happened with an embassy from Ptolemy V in 161 BCE, which had to leave Italy within five days,[263] whilst ambassadors sent by Jugurtha after the fall of Cirta were also given just ten days in which to leave the peninsula.[264] In 139 BCE, the praetor Cornelius Hispanus ordered, in a similar way, all astrologers to leave Italy within ten days.[265] *Italia* was therefore clearly identified not just as a region surrounding the *Urbs*, and strategically necessary for its defense, but also as the symbolic "core" of Roman rule, in which embassies from political powers considered unfriendly were simply not allowed to stay. Clearly, it was identified as a place, with a distinct territorial extension and borders, which could be reached or abandoned.[266]

During the Syrian War, according to Antisthenes the Peripatetic, a general Publius began to give oracles, during one of which he ominously prophesized that if the Romans had plundered Asia, Ares would avenge the action by moving the war to Italy and Sicily.[267] Such oracular texts may contain, as Baronowski proposed,[268] elements from the 2nd century BCE re-elaborated and re-actualized during the 1st century BCE, when Antisthenes was active, in the context of Mithridates' politics. However, it is clear that Italy, accompanied here by Sicily owing to its Greek population, its geographical proximity and its status as the first province, is presented as the nucleus of the Roman State, which must be invaded by armies in order to strike at the very heart of Rome.

This conception of Italy was well established by the 130s BCE. By this time, the Gracchan rhetoric underlined the role of Italy as the core of Roman rule, insisting on its territorial and regional qualities. Plutarch, whose sources were very friendly towards the Gracchi and referenced topics and elements used in their "propaganda", insisted on the fact that Italy was full of slaves and prisoners of war during the

261 Polyb. 27.6.3; Liv. 42.36.7; 42.48.3; Diod. Sic. 30.1; App., *Rom*. 9.7.9. See Pina Polo (2011), p. 78.

262 Polyb. 29.6.4; 30.19.7–9. Brundisium appears many times to have been the first or last town of Italy for people travelling from or to the East: e.g. Liv. 45.41.3.

263 Diod. Sic. 31.23.

264 Sall., *Iug*. 28.3. Jugurtha himself was sent away from Italy due to a decision by the Senate, following the murder of Massiva: Sall., *Iug*. 35.9.

265 Val. Max. 1.3.3.

266 On the treatment of foreign embassies in Italy, see Coudry (2006), pp. 544–547. Also Ispala's request, after the denunciation of the Bacchanalia, to be sent out of Italy, should be understood in this sense: Liv. 39.13.6.

267 *FGH* 257 F 36.7.

268 Baronowski (2011), pp. 32–33.

time of Tiberius Gracchus, whilst almost no free workers remained.[269] Afterwards he quoted a passage from a speech by Tiberius:

> "The wild beasts that roam over Italy", he would say, "have every one of them a cave or lair to lurk in; but the men who fight and die for Italy enjoy the common air and light, indeed, but nothing else; houseless and homeless they wander about with their wives and children. And it is with lying lips that their imperators exhort the soldiers in their battles to defend sepulchres and shrines from the enemy; for not a man of them has an hereditary altar, not one of all these many Romans an ancestral tomb, but they fight and die to support others in wealth and luxury, and though they are styled masters of the world, they have not a single clod of earth that is their own".[270]

Certain points need to be stressed, primarily that Italy appears as "something" you fight and die for – a "fatherland" which required protection from invaders, a conceptualization that implies a territorial form. Clearly, Italy is meant here in its territorial extension, and not "ethnically" as the sum of the peoples identified as "Italics" – as the people who were fighting and dying for the peninsula are unmistakably qualified as Romans. Tiberius Gracchus who, as even the latest research has shown, did not reserve much attention or sensibility for the "Italic problem" and did not, as his brother later did, propose any stronger integration of the Italics within Roman citizenship (on the contrary, the Italic elites seem to have been the groups that were most disadvantaged by his agrarian reform)[271] referred only to Roman citizens – no Italics are mentioned, only the peninsula as a territory. But Italy was the center of these citizens' power; it formed their geographical reference point, an area in which they should be able, eventually, to occupy land. From the Roman perspective, the definition of the peninsula as a region – and as the central region of their power – had already been consolidated. This is confirmed in a phrase by Scipio Aemilianus, referenced by Velleius Paterculus (if this used reliable sources from the Republican time): the conqueror of Numantia and Carthage should have defined the supporters of the Gracchan movement as Italy's (and not Rome's!) step-children, in opposition to the "real" sons of Italy, the Senators and their supporters.[272] The extension of the region was implied by Velleius shortly afterwards when, commenting on Gaius' project of extending citizenship to the whole of Italy, he stated that this would have been extended *paene usque Alpes*.[273]

269 Plut., *Tib. Gracch.* 8.4.
270 Plut., *Tib. Gracch.* 9.4–6; transl. B. Perrin.
271 On Tiberius' attitude towards the Italics, which must have been one of non-consideration if not of hostility, see pp. 338–341.
272 Vell. Pat. 2.4.4: *... qui possum vestro moveri, quorum noverca esset Italia?*
273 Vell. Pat. 2.6.2.

This perception of Italy as the "core" of Roman power is also demonstrated by the common simplification, present not only in modern historiography[274] but also in ancient sources, that the Romans would have first conquered Italy and then the rest, starting from their central point. This structure is not only to be found within the work of later authors, such as Strabo, who defined Italy as a ὁρμητήριον πρὸς τὴν σύμπασαν ἡγεμονίαν,[275] but also in that of Polybius, who, in spite of his clear definition of Italy as the entire peninsula up to the Alps,[276] emphasizes many times how the Romans, having unified Italy, conquered Sicily, the first territory outside the peninsula in which they set foot.[277] The creation of this model of concentric expansion is extremely relevant, since it considers Italy a unitary entity (and the Polybian choice of the verb συνίστημι is in this sense particularly meaningful) and sets it, next to Rome, in a "geometrically" central position. The "centrality" of Italy is therefore determined not only by its geographical position, but also by the chronology of its "unification" – even if Polybius, who visited Cisalpina, knew very well that this simplification did not correspond to reality: when the Romans conquered Sicily, northern Italy was still far from being under Roman control, and Polybius was therefore adhering to a discursive construction that shaped a narrative of Roman expansion to exalt the role of Italy.

A clear definition of Italy as the "region" surrounding Rome and sharing its centrality is therefore not only a product, as for example believed by Whittaker, of the Late Republic.[278] On the contrary, both the fixation of its territorial extension to the Alps and the presentation of the region's homogeneous and united character, as well as its presentation as the area of the first Roman expansion and the core of its power, were already well formed by the mid-2nd century BCE. This was the result of a process that, parallel to the definition of its symbolic shape, as will be shown in the next chapter, must be read against the background of the wars of the 3rd century (mostly the Gallic and Punic Wars) and the birth of the provincial system after 227 BCE. When Claudius, in his most famous speech, said that Italy had pushed its boundaries to the Alps so that not just individuals, but entire regions and peoples could unite,[279] he was of course not stating the absolute truth, as Salmon believed,[280] but using a rhetorical device. Nonetheless, this device was based on a geographical perception that was by then more than two centuries old and could be widely understood, shared and approved of by the Senate, at which the speech was directed.

274 E.g. Mommsen (1888[8]), p. 15.
275 Strab. 6.4.2; see also 17.3.24.
276 See above, pp. 40–41.
277 E.g. Polyb. 1.5.2; 1.12.7; 2.1.1; 2.71.7.
278 Whittaker (1994), p. 32.
279 Tac., *Ann.* 11.24.
280 Salmon (1982), pp. 1–2.

Pictorial and Cartographic Representations of Italy

It would be extremely useful, in this context, to know more about cartographic representations of Italy in the period analyzed here. Unluckily, only one piece of information is available, and it is extremely difficult to interpret correctly. In the second half of the 1st century BCE, Varro referred to the existence, in the temple of Tellus in Rome, of a representation of Italy (*picta Italia*).[281] When exactly this map, about which we have no further information, was created is the subject of wide debate. A few further elements can help clarify the context. In 174 BCE Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus dedicated a map of Sardinia in the temple of Mater Matuta;[282] additionally, it has been suggested that maps of Italy already existed when Cato wrote the *Origines*, which seem to presuppose a visual representation of the peninsula in front of the author.

The "traditional" hypothesis claimed that the map was created in 268 BCE, when the temple was constructed by Publius Sempronius Sophus,[283] in order to celebrate "the conquest of Italy".[284] This was based on the aforementioned idea that during this year, after the successful conclusion of the Tarentine War and subsequent to the foundation of the colony of Ariminum, the Romans could finally conceive of themselves as controlling the entirety of Italy,[285] or even as having a "natural right" to it as the dominant force within the Italic community.[286] The fact that, as has been noted, at that time the Romans could barely claim to have conquered Italy, and only with difficulty think of offering such a map after successful wars,[287] is not relevant. At stake is not the "reality" of the Roman conquest of Italy, but the Romanocentric perspective of the peninsula as their "influence zone" – an idea which, according to Polybius, the Romans developed in concomitance with the war against Pyrrhus.[288] It is nonetheless impossible to attribute to this map, even accepting such a date of realization, a precise value for the reconstruction of the history of Italy's "territorial shape". The extension of the region to the Alps valid in Varro's time has been attested with surety, as has been shown, since the final years of the 3rd century

281 Varr., *RR* 1.2.1. See Nicolet (1988), p. 110; Simon (2011), pp. 141–148. Guilhembet (2005)'s idea, that in the temple of Tellus there could be a map of the entire *oikoumene* (p. 54), is based only on the fact that Varro dealt with Italy in relation to its temperate climate and does not convince in the face of Varro's clear statement, as Le Bris (2007), pp. 76–77, has successfully shown.

282 Liv. 41.28.10. See Palombi (1997), p. 167.

283 On the temple, Ziolkowski (1992), pp. 155–162.

284 So J.H.C. Williams (2001), p. 37; Bispham (2007a), p. 57; Fronda (2010), p. 24. See also Russo (2010), pp. 104–105, who connects this representation with the importance assumed by the concept of Italy during the course of the 3rd century, from the Treaty of Philinus to the First Punic War.

285 See pp. 31–32.

286 Humm (2010), p. 56.

287 Le Bris (2007), p. 76.

288 See pp. 30–31. Bispham (2007a), pp. 55–56.

or the first half of the 2nd century BCE, but cannot be automatically backdated to such an early point in time – this would have been the relevant information, had Varro provided us with it. To presume that the peninsula was here represented in its "entirety" up to the Alps because Varro defines it as "Italy" according to his later standards would represent a simple *argumentum e silentio* of very low value.

On the other hand, dating the creation of the map to 56–54, when Cicero renovated the temple (as has recently been proposed)[289] also creates problems, mostly due to the fact that the dramatic date of Varro's dialogue is placed before the reconstruction of the temple.[290] However, another critic has disputed this theory, claiming that at this time a representation of Italy alone would have been reductive and would not have represented the aims and principles of Roman imperialism.[291] This cannot be accepted, since Italy's relevance as the center and core of Roman power, even in Cicero's political arguments, would have perfectly justified the choice of representing only the peninsula in a temple dedicated to the goddess of the Earth.[292]

The question must therefore remain open. During the Late Republic, this map surely showed Italy in figurative form as a defined region, with a clear role in the general balance of the Empire, and could also have been made one hundred years before Varro's mention of it. If the map was created during the first half of the 3rd century BCE, this could show that by this time Italy already had a fixed "territorial shape", which could have been acceptable to Varro during Caesar's time and therefore extended to the Alps during the period preceding the Punic War. A later date for its creation would still provide an extremely important indication of the symbolic role assigned to the peninsula in the balance of Roman power, as the core of the Roman Empire. If, as has also been suggested, what was represented in the temple of Tellus was not a map, but a personification of Italy,[293] the modern unanswered questions about the territorial extension of *Italia* would have remained unanswered even if the representation had been preserved. Nonetheless, this would not change anything regarding its symbolic relevance. The ideological meaning of Italy would have been perfectly expressed, both during the first half of the 3rd or in the 1st century BCE.

289 Guilhembet (2005); Le Bris (2007).
290 Russo (2010), pp. 103–104; Russo (2012b), pp. 91–93.
291 Palombi (1997), p. 167.
292 Le Bris (2007), p. 77. On the role of Italy in Cicero's arguments see below, pp. 110–111, and Carlà-Uhink (2017b), in particular pp. 278–279.
293 Brodersen (1995), pp. 152–155.

Italy and the Road System

Part of the definition of a region's territorial shape is, besides that of its borders, the creation of infrastructures that help in the "unification" of the territory considered, in particular in generating its perception as a "unit". Among these must be counted the Roman roads. These infrastructures were generally built in response to practical needs, but they also had clear consequences in the construction of space and the production of regional territory. Roman roads had a very important impact on the transformation of the landscape in the towns and settlements touched by them, and the recurrence of the *via Postumia* as a relevant marker in the *sententia Minuciorum* is a perfect example of this.[294] The deep connection between roads and the division and organization of territory in the process of *centuriatio* is well known. A link between the construction of the *via Flaminia* and the law regarding the distribution of land in the territories reached by road in the *ager Gallicus* is, for example, perfectly visible[295]. Roman roads should thus be analyzed not only in the context of the space in which they were built, but also the space that their construction created, as well as their dialectic relationship with social and cultural structures:[296]

> The road was the fundamental element for the production of territorial space in the creation of Roman Empire. The road caused places to become unified that were at distance, for example, Rimini and Rome. The road structured the Roman view of space that was linear and emphasised the connectivity between cities (places of local government). Equally, the road altered the nature of space by connecting places that were divided by range of mountains and also simply by avoiding contact with former rivals to Rome such as Veii. In this sense, the road was a mechanism of Roman power that physically reshaped the landscape after Roman control had initially been asserted through military intervention. The ability to alter the nature of space and to produce a cultural form that emphasised the interconnection between cities created a new viewpoint of territory that was no longer fragmented or divided. The emphasis on Rome as the centre of the road system assured the city's cultural and political dominance over the places on the roads themselves.[297]

The Roman Republican road system was composed, as the proverb still claims, of a series of roads which all led to Rome, highlighting the centrality of the *Urbs*. Whittaker wrote that if Rome's global centrality was supported by geographical theories and chorographic itineraries, this network of roads played a major role in achieving a concrete demonstration of such centrality. Even "the names of places they united, what has been called in modern colonial times 'dispossession through naming', illustrated the relations between center and periphery, and that in turn enhanced

294 *CIL* 5.7749. See Laurence (1999), pp. 82–84; Cera (2000), p. 10.
295 See above, pp. 59–60. Ashby/Fell (1921), pp. 126–127; Radke (1969), p. 368; Chevallier (1972), pp. 132–134; Herzig (1974), pp. 620–621; Laurence (1999), pp. 21–23.
296 Witcher (1998), pp. 60–62.
297 Laurence (1999), p. 197. See also Purcell (1990), p. 12.

the rhetoric of control".[298] At the same time, the territory connected to the center – which in Republican times, as will be shown, mostly comprised Italy – became more interconnected and uniform as a result of the roads, through a process that has the character of a progressive homogenization. An example of this process – in Italy as in the rest of the Empire – are the toponyms that developed in close connection with the roads and their structures, either because of numerals connected to distance or in relation to *stationes*, *mansiones*, *mutationes* etc.[299] Vogt's formulation, according to which Rome developed the road system as a *Raumorgan*, showing on the territory the "emittance" (*Ausstrahlung*) of Roman power,[300] can be accepted, but must be integrated with its consequences in generating regional "territorial shapes".[301] This is evident in Republican Italy, which became defined and enclosed by the road system but also, as will be made clear, differentiated from the provincial territory.

The Roman road system was not built with the principal purpose of defining and structuring the Italic territory – rather the construction of each road was motivated by specific political and military circumstances. In this way, they aided the construction of the *imperium* from a military, political[302] and economic perspective by easing control, the circulation of armies, and provisioning, assisting in the organization and exploitation of the conquered zones, and connecting Rome with the colonies,[303] in the process becoming objects of admiration, as evident in Strabo's work.[304] However, the practical and eventually political reasons that brought about the construction of those roads, and which were in their details different in each case, nonetheless unavoidably underlined that politically, economically, and militarily, the transport fluxes relevant to the Roman State were those flowing in and out of Rome, imposing upon the Italic peninsula a network of interconnectedness.

Generally important from this perspective is the network of main public roads, the *viae publicae*, that were built following the proposal of a censor, consul or praetor and ran along public ground.[305] The problem of precisely defining the compe-

298 Whittaker (2004), p. 78. See also Corradi (1968[2]), p. 57.
299 Chevallier (1972), pp. 143–147.
300 Vogt (1942a), p. 179. See also Rüpke (1990), pp. 53–54. On the roads as factors of Romanization: Chevallier (1972), pp. 236–238; Cassola (1991), p. 24.
301 See Kolb (2006), pp. 313–316.
302 Roads could also have had, through their very structure, a function in self-representation, as was clear, for example, to Joseph., *AI* 8.187
303 Hinrichs (1967), pp. 165–168; Chevallier (1972), pp. 233–236; Herzig (1974), pp. 615–617; Kolb (2006), pp. 324–329. The direct connection between the construction of roads and colonial policies has been shown by Coarelli (1988), but see Bradley (2014), pp. 66–69, reducing the importance of this connection and arguing for a possible demagogic meaning of road construction. The matter of the balance of military, political and economic interests is not central here.
304 Strab. 5.3.8.
305 Isid., *Etym.* 15.16.5 suggest a rather complicated definition of *via publica*: *publica est quae in solo publico est, qua iter, actus populo pater. Haec aut ad mare aut ad oppida pertinet. Privata est*

tences of individual magistrates has a long history within literature. Radke tentatively proposed that only censors built roads on the *ager Romanus*, which was not organized as private property, while consuls and praetors (who had the *ius publicandi*, i.e. the right to alienate the land through which the road would pass and make it public due to their detaining *imperium*)[306] could build on all other sorts of land.[307] However, this theory appears too rigid and has been abandoned, along with Pekáry's proposal that the censors never built roads (not even Appius Claudius, on whom the sources are univocal).[308] This problem has subsequently been solved as a result of studies by Hinrichs, Wiseman and Herzig, who helped identify a far more flexible situation that was connected not to formal legal issues but rather to the funding of construction.[309] The responsibilities of the individual magistrate thus do not particularly contribute to the understanding of the role of specific roads that shaped the Italic territory.

However, the fact that such roads were, at least in Italy,[310] built on public property (and with public money, as a famous inscription from Rome proves)[311] is not

quae vicino municipio data est. See Herzig (1974), pp. 612–614; Eck (1995), p. 297; Kolb (2007), p. 170; Pina Polo (2011), p. 137.

306 An exchange between private and public land aimed at constructing roads could be referred to in the *lex agraria* of 111 BCE (Crawford (1996), vol. 1, n. 2, ll. 26–27, p. 116): see Lintott (1992), pp. 229–230.

307 Radke (1964b), pp. 208–218; Radke (1973), pp. 1433–1438. This last publication, together with Radke (1967a), pp. 225–226, stresses the fact that, contrary to what had previously been believed, censors built roads only in exceptional cases. See also Mazzarino (1968), pp. 174–175.

308 Pekáry (1968), pp. 46–53.

309 Hinrichs (1967), pp. 166–168; Wiseman (1970), pp. 125–126 and 140–144; Herzig (1974), pp. 598–601. On the role of the consuls in particular, see Pina Polo (2011), pp. 136–142.

310 Rathmann (2003), pp. 7–8.

311 *CIL* 6.31603 = *ILS* 5799. The inscription, of the Republican period, relates to the reconstruction of an otherwise unknown *via Caecilia*, which was a variant of the *via Salaria*. It is here not necessary to discuss in detail its course, debated since Persichetti (1898): Barbetta (2000) proposes to see in it a ramification of the *Salaria* from Interocrium to Amiternum in contrast with the traditional theory that it reached Amiternum leaving the *Salaria* at Trebula Mutuesca. Radke (1973), pp. 1649–1653, had proposed, without success, to interpret it as a prolongation of the *Salaria* from Ascoli to Castrum Novum and Hadria. A *miliarium* from S. Omero (*CIL* 1^2.661 = 9.5953 = *ILS* 5810 = Donati (1974), n. 49) mentions the consul Lucius Caecilius Metellus, generally identified with the Diadematus, consul in 117 BCE: see Wiseman (1970), pp. 134–136. The mention of the father's name (*Quinti filius*) does not allow us to see in this Caecilius anyone other than Diadematus or Calvus (consul in 142): Donati (1974), p. 210; Guidobaldi (1995), pp. 293–294. This allows us to believe that the *Caecilia* proceeded from Interocrium in the direction of Hadria (founded in 289 BCE). From here, according to Hülsen, a secondary branch would have led to Teramo and S. Omero (even if the possibility that the stone was moved there, for example from Teramo, should not be completely excluded): Guidobaldi (1995), pp. 301–313. The inscription could additionally refer to the works mentioned on the Roman stone (earlier tendentially dated to the Sullan period), as Guidobaldi (2000), pp. 280–281, has shown, and would therefore not be connected with the construction of the road, which is

irrelevant.[312] First of all, it means they were constructed on *ager publicus*, which had either remained public since the conquest or had been the product of specific confiscations.[313] Sections of the *ager publicus* lying alongside main roads were presumably assigned in possession (it seems less likely that they were given in quiritary ownership) to private individuals who would, in return, take responsibility for the maintenance of the roads.[314] These *viarii* or *viasii*, as they were defined in the *lex agraria* of 111 BCE,[315] were either colonists sent to the regions where the roads were being built, or members of the local community who were required to build stronger relationships with both Roman infrastructures and magistrates.[316] In this way, the roads provided a further instrument of homogenization.[317]

Pre-existing differences in the dimensions and importance of individual towns influenced the construction of the roads, which were also structured in a hierarchical system of bigger or smaller, and more or less important paths.[318] Once these roads had come into existence, they in turn influenced the continued development of the regions they crossed by reinforcing the centrality of the towns along the major paths and at crossroads, thus determining the success of smaller centers strung along important roads.[319] Exemplar is the colony of Dertona, founded around 120 BCE on the spot of a previous Ligurian village, and situated at the point where the

supposed to have taken place much earlier. The theory that connected it with Diadematus (for example, Hinrichs (1967), p. 169; still to be found in Pina Polo (2011), p. 141) has in many works been rejected in favor of an attribution to Lucius Caecilius Metellus Denter, consul in 284 BCE (so Wiseman (1970), pp. 135–136; Guidobaldi (1995), pp. 310–311; Barbetta (2000), pp. 55–56; Guidobaldi (2000), pp. 286–287; Cappelli (2003), pp. 51–52). This dating is not completely convincing as the construction might have better fitted the situation after 268 BCE when, following the rebellion of the Picentes, a huge part of the territory became *ager Romanus* and it may have been advisable to build the road as an instrument of further control and penetration. It does, however, solve the problem of the connection with the "reconstruction" dealt with in the Roman inscription, and connects the construction of the road with the conquests following the Third Samnite War and the extension of *ager Romanus* to the Adriatic, with the following separation of Northern from Southern "enemies" of Rome, which could have become even more evident as a result of the public road.

312 Guidobaldi (1995), pp. 297–301; Guidobaldi (2000), pp. 282–286. On the costs of road building, see Pekáry (1968), pp. 93–97; Wiseman (1970), pp. 144–149; Herzig (1974), pp. 601–602.

313 Cassola (1991), p. 25.

314 To this could refer Cat., *Agr.* 2.2.

315 *CIL* 1^2.585 = *FIRA* 1^2.8.11–12 = Crawford (1996), vol. 1, n. 2, p. 114, ll. 11–12.

316 Hinrichs (1967), pp. 175–176; Wiseman (1970), pp. 148–149; Radke (1973), pp. 1445–1446; Burckhardt (1989), pp. 16–19; Sacchi (2006), pp. 239–250; Lapyrionok (2012), pp. 107–115. Pekáry (1968), pp. 117–119, denied acknowledging the existence of this group; but his position did not find much success, also due to the lack of any possible alternative explanation.

317 Cassola (1991), pp. 25–26.

318 E.g. Sic. Flacc., *De cond. agr.* 146 Lachmann. See Palma (1982), pp. 874–876. On the hierarchy of roads, see Chevallier (1972), pp. 68–70; Herzig (1974), pp. 604–612; Laurence (1999), pp. 59–62.

319 Strab. 5.3.9. See Chevallier (1972), pp. 130–131, but also Chilver (1941), pp. 32–33.

via Postumia crossed the *via Aemilia Scauri*.[320] Following the construction of at least the first road, the colony assumed the character of an important crossroads,[321] and quickly developed as a result. Outside of Italy, Strabo observed that the city of Lyon was already in the center of Gaul, both because of its rivers and its proximity to all parts of the country; "and it was on this account, also, that Agrippa began at Lugdunum when he cut his roads", thus further increasing the centrality of the city within its region.[322]

In this way, the roads served to emphasize pre-existing geographical structures, particularly the regional centrality of the localities connected by them, placing them in direct contact with other centers, as well as Rome. The *miliaria* that alleviated the tiredness of travelers (as noted by Quintilian)[323] mostly served to mark the distances from these centers, and operated as markers of the spatial structures constructed and defined by the roads. Plutarch insisted on the fact that Gaius Gracchus provided his roads with milestones,[324] identifying the importance of such elements and the role they played in defining the landscape: "this view of distance from Rome created a distinctive geography in Italy that was structured according to the position of a person or place relative to the public road system".[325] This was also true of the milestones that did *not* reveal the distance from Rome, but only a position in relation to the different local centers. An inscription from the *via Postumia*, made in 148 BCE, thus indicates the distances from Genua and Cremona; as the road proceeded to Aquileia,[326] the role of Cremona as "regional center" was affirmed by its mention on the stone.[327] A republican *miliarium* from Porchiano (dating from the second half of the 2nd century BCE) mentions a *Cn(aeus) Statius M(ani) f(ilius) praif(ectus)* and a distance of three miles, which perfectly fits with the distance from Asculum.[328] This

320 It has been said that a third road, the *via Fulvia* (from Placentia to Turin or Ocelum), crossed the other two at Dertona. The existence of this road has been supposed by Fraccaro (1953), pp. 885–888; Radke (1964a), p. 305; Radke (1973), pp. 1599–1601, and Chevallier (1983), p. 9, only on the basis of the existence of *Forum Fulvii*. Hinrichs (1967), p. 169, dates the road to 154 or 125 BCE. Wiseman (1970), p. 139, showed that a *via Fulvia* probably never existed, but its construction around 125 BCE is still accepted by Häussler (2007), pp. 62–63, and (2013), pp. 95–96.

321 Corradi (1968^2), p. 43; Cera (2000), pp. 75–87.

322 Strab. 4.6.11; transl. H.L. Jones. See Kolb (2007), p. 178.

323 Quint., *Inst. Or.* 4.5.22. On milestones see Hirschfeld (1907); Wiseman (1970), pp. 151–152; Chevallier (1972), pp. 36–46; Radke (1973), pp. 1447–1455; Friggeri (1991); Rathmann (2003), pp. 58–59.

324 Plut., *C. Gracch.* 7.

325 Laurence (1999), p. 84. On milestones and their temporal dimension, see also Witcher (1998), p. 66; Kolb (2007), pp. 171–174. See also Sterpos (1970), pp. 105–107.

326 As confirmed by *CIL* 1^2.2197 = *CIL* 5.8313 = *ILS* 5366. See Bandelli (1988a), p. 82.

327 *CIL* 5.8045 = *ILS* 5806. Some *miliaria*, even those very far away from the *Urbs*, indicate the distance from Rome: see, for example, *ILS* 5803–5804 (187 BCE), 5809, 5810 (142 or 117 BCE), from S. Omero (= *CIL* 1^2.661 = Donati (1974), n. 49), or 5811 from Mondragone. See Laing (1908), pp. 15–24; Degrassi (1962), p. 509.

328 *AE* 2000, 476.

was a *via publica*, built under the supervision of one of the *praefecti* sent by the urban prefect to judicially administer Picenum during this period.[329] This road played an important part in the organization of the region – as shown by the fact that the Romans became involved in its construction – and identified the *civitas foederata* Ascoli as a regional center.[330] Inscriptions marking various possible roads from a particular point could even mark centrality bi-dimensionally, revealing the nature of crossing of the inscription's position.[331] Even where Roman roads were superimposed onto pre-existing paths, their technologically superior construction, along with the creation of the infrastructures and milestones, attributed to them an entirely different and far more defined role in the construction and definition of space in comparison to the pre-Roman paths.

It is thus important to define the chronology of this *Raumerschließung* of Italy. The Romans structured the space around their city by building roads beginning with the areas surrounding the *Urbs*.[332] The most archaic paths do not bear the name of any magistrate who ordered their construction, but rather reflect Roman access to other cities or to resources.[333] Paths such as the *via Salaria*,[334] *via Ostiensis*,[335] *via Campana*,[336] *via Amerina*,[337] *via Laurentina*,[338] *via Collatina*,[339] *via Nomentana* (earlier

329 On the *praefecturae*, see below, pp. 200–202.

330 Paci (2000). But Paci's idea that the construction of the road could have been perceived as an "invasion" by the town's inhabitants, and could have contributed to building the dissatisfaction which caused the participation of Asculum to the Social War, appears excessive.

331 E.g. *ILS* 5839. See Chevallier (1972), pp. 52–54; Hänger (2001), pp. 99–101; Kolb (2006), pp. 316–319.

332 Movements were also possible before the construction of the *viae publicae*, and these must have sometimes followed previously existing paths. Their exact relation to pre-Roman roads is difficult to evaluate, as in the case of the eventual importance of Etruscan road systems, the role of which has been underlined, for example, by Ward Perkins (1957), p. 143.

333 This naming insists on the connection between Rome and the destination "compressing the distance between them" (Witcher (1998), p. 65), i.e. indicating by way of the name the "reachability" of the population, town or resource.

334 Radke (1973), pp. 1644–1657; Quilici (1990), pp. 69–71; Quilici (1994).

335 Radke (1973), pp. 1486–1487; Herzig (1974), pp. 619–620; Quilici (1990), pp. 41–44; Pellegrino (1991).

336 The *via Campana* led to the *campus Salinarum*. A Republican inscription from Coppito (*ILS* 3480 = *CIL* 9.4321) mentions a *via poplica campana*, which could have been a part of it or its prosecution in the Sabine area: Barbetta (2000), p. 55. See also Radke (1973), p. 1479; Quilici (1990), pp. 89–90.

337 The *via Amerina* was, according to many scholars, constructed in around 240 BCE along pre-existing paths, but the sources are lacking, and proposals to date it to the 4th century (ca. between 329 and 312 BCE) seem quite convincing. See Ward Perkins (1957), p. 142; Harris (1971), p. 163; Radke (1973), pp. 1643–1644; Witcher (1998), pp. 63–65; Sisani (2007), pp. 117–121; Amann (2011), pp. 311–312.

338 Radke (1973), pp. 1485–1486; Quilici (1990), pp. 44–46.

339 Radke (1973), p. 1482; Quilici (1990), pp. 61–62.

Ficulensis),[340] *via Tiburtina*,[341] *via Labicana*,[342] *via Gabina* (later *Praenestina*),[343] *via Lavinatis*, *via Ardeatina*,[344] *via Satricana*, and the first tract of what would become the *via Appia*,[345] reveal the progressive organization of the territory of central Italy between the 7th and 4th centuries BCE. The construction of the *via Latina* seems to presuppose the existence of the *Latium Novum*, and was presumably traced after 328 BCE.[346] What appears up to this point is a radial system, centered around Rome, that highlighted the city's centrality within an always greater region, extending from Southern Etruria to the Adriatic Sea and Campania.[347]

The construction concept is broadly similar for the *via Appia*, the first road to bear the name of a censor,[348] Appius Claudius Caecus, who in 312 BCE was responsible for its construction (as the sources clearly state and archaeological finds confirm).[349] This road connected Rome with Capua and was bound to the military activities against the Samnites as well as the political relations between the two cities.[350] The *via Valeria*, which continued the *via Tiburtina* to Corfinium, might have been

340 Radke (1973), pp. 1480–1481; Quilici (1990), pp. 65–69; Quilici Gigli (1994).
341 Radke (1973), pp. 1481–1482; Quilici (1990), pp. 62–65.
342 Radke (1973), pp. 1483–1484; Quilici (1990), pp. 57–58.
343 Radke (1973), pp. 1482–1483; Quilici (1990), pp. 59–60.
344 Radke (1973), pp. 1484–1485; Quilici (1990), pp. 46–47.
345 Quilici (1990), pp. 12–13; Humm (1996), p. 734.
346 Quilici (1990), p. 14; Quilici (1991), pp. 17–19. Coarelli (1988), pp. 40–41, proposed a date between 334 and 327 BCE which is, as such, difficult to accept, but falls within the same time span. A previous date was proposed by Uggeri (1990), p. 21, relying on literary information regarding fast movements between Rome and Capua. On the *via Latina*: Wiseman (1970), p. 139; Radke (1973), pp. 1487–1494; Quilici (1990), pp. 52–56.
347 Radke (1973), p. 1424; Purcell (1990), p. 12.
348 Humm (1996), p. 735.
349 Liv. 9.29.5–6; Diod. Sic. 20.36.2; Frontin., *Aq*. 5.1; Proc., *BG* 1.14.6–11; Suid., s.v. *Appia odos*. *Vir. Ill.* 34.8 wrongly attributes to the first phase the construction of the road to Brundisium. See Coarelli (1988), pp. 37–38; Humm (1996), pp. 696–709. Around the mid-3rd century BCE the milestone of Mesa, probably the oldest surviving milestone, was chiseled on the *via Appia*: *CIL* 1^2.21; see Buonopane (2011).
350 Chevallier (1972), pp. 150–151; Uggeri (1990), p. 21; Humm (1996), pp. 709–718; Laurence (1999), pp. 13–21. Radke's theory, that the road was originally built in 316 by Popillius Laenas, and then reconstructed by Appius Claudius during his censorship, but only as far as Formiae, and to Capua during his consulate of 307 BCE and praetorship of 295 BCE (Radke (1964b), pp. 215–216; Radke (1973), pp. 1495–1501), on the basis of the position of *Forum Appi*, has been discarded in consideration of the literary sources: see Wiseman (1970), pp. 130–131. Pekáry's theory, according to which Appius Claudius was not responsible for the construction of the road (coherently with his idea about the role of the censors) and in his time perhaps a first path could have been traced, but not to Capua, has also been discarded: Pekáry (1968), p. 45. Macbain (1980), pp. 361–363, argues for a different motivation at the origin of the construction, i.e. "a competition [mostly with the Fabii] for the *clientela* of both Romans and Campanians". This point is only of marginal relevance here.

built by M. Valerius Maximus in 307 BCE.[351] The *via Clodia*, which led from Rome along the coast of the Lago di Bracciano and then "up through Tuscania to the ancient Saturnia and the hill country of central Etruria",[352] might have been constructed in 287 or 285 BCE, presumably upon pre-existing Etruscan paths.[353] Meanwhile, in the first half of the 3rd century, a new branch detached from the *via Salaria* in Reate, running alongside Lake Velino before reaching Interamna Nahars. Its name, *via Curia*, connects it with Manius Curius Dentatus, who, in 272 BCE, was responsible for the drainage of the lowlands in this area.[354]

In the second half of the 3rd century, however, in correspondence with the birth of Italy as a clearly identified geographical region, an important change became apparent regarding the construction of roads, and not only in the new political dimension as roads become an important means of aristocratic self-representation through name-giving. They also became longer, partially dispensing with the image of perfect radiality, not only due to the generally elongated form of Italy but also as they were built in order to connect Rome with towns further away (Ward Perkins spoke of "long-distance character")[355] rather than providing a direct connection

351 Liv. 9.43.25. Pekáry (1968), p. 128; Wiseman (1970), pp. 139–140; Quilici (1990), pp. 62–63. The road was extended from Corfinium to Pescara by the Emperor Claudius in 48–49 CE. Radke (1964b), p. 233, and Radke (1973), pp. 1657–1658, exclude the possibility that the *via Valeria* was built by the censor in 307, as according to his reconstruction of the responsibilities of building roads he cannot accept the construction of a censorial path in the area before the foundation of the colonies of Alba Fucens and Carsioli. He therefore proposed to attribute the road to M. Valerius Maximus, but during his consulates, in 289 or 286 BCE. This road did not yet reach, in his opinion, Corfinium, but led to Marruvium.

352 Ward Perkins (1957), p. 139; Ward Perkins (1962), pp. 397–398. See also Wiseman (1970), p. 137; Radke (1973), pp. 1630–1636; Hemphill (1975), pp. 149–151; Quilici (1990), pp. 80–83.

353 Ashby (1929), pp. 175–177, proposes dating the construction of the road to the end of the 4th century BCE, shortly after the *via Appia*. Hemphill (1975), p. 155, on the contrary, suggests dating the construction of the road to the end of the 3rd century BCE, while Harris (1971), pp. 166–167, dates it to 183 BCE.

354 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.14.4. This road was attributed by Radke to Atilius Calatinus during his censorship of 247 BCE, according to a possible emendation of Dionysius' text, since a *via Calatina* is mentioned at 1.14.5: Radke (1959); Radke (1973), pp. 1646–1647. See also Montero Herrero (1980); Hermon (2001), pp. 186–187; Sisani (2007), p. 122.

355 Ward Perkins (1962), p. 398; Sterpos (1970), p. 9. Gianfrotta (1989), p. 303, rather believes that this change had already taken place by the end of the 4th century, along with the construction of the *via Appia*. It has already been explained why this road seems rather, from a geographical perspective, to belong to the "radial" roads of the first period, whilst Gianfrotta's position seems connected to the fact that the *via Appia* was the first to be named after its constructor. See also Purcell (1990), pp. 12–13 (who proposes a change in two steps, from the radial system to the "strategy of boxing the regions between radial roads" and then to "viewing the world as a series of geometric spaces which can be crossed from one to another by journeys which fit them together into a coherent network", an attitude which the author recognized for the first time in the *via Postumia*. This interpretation cannot be fully accepted because it does not sufficiently highlight the importance the roads had in

between Rome and particular resources. In doing so, they became one of the spatial constructions that structured and defined the Italic territory as a unitary region; according to Michael Fronda, the roads of the 2nd century BCE were "tangible reminders to the Italics of Rome's virtual stronghold on the peninsula" [Fig. 2].[356]

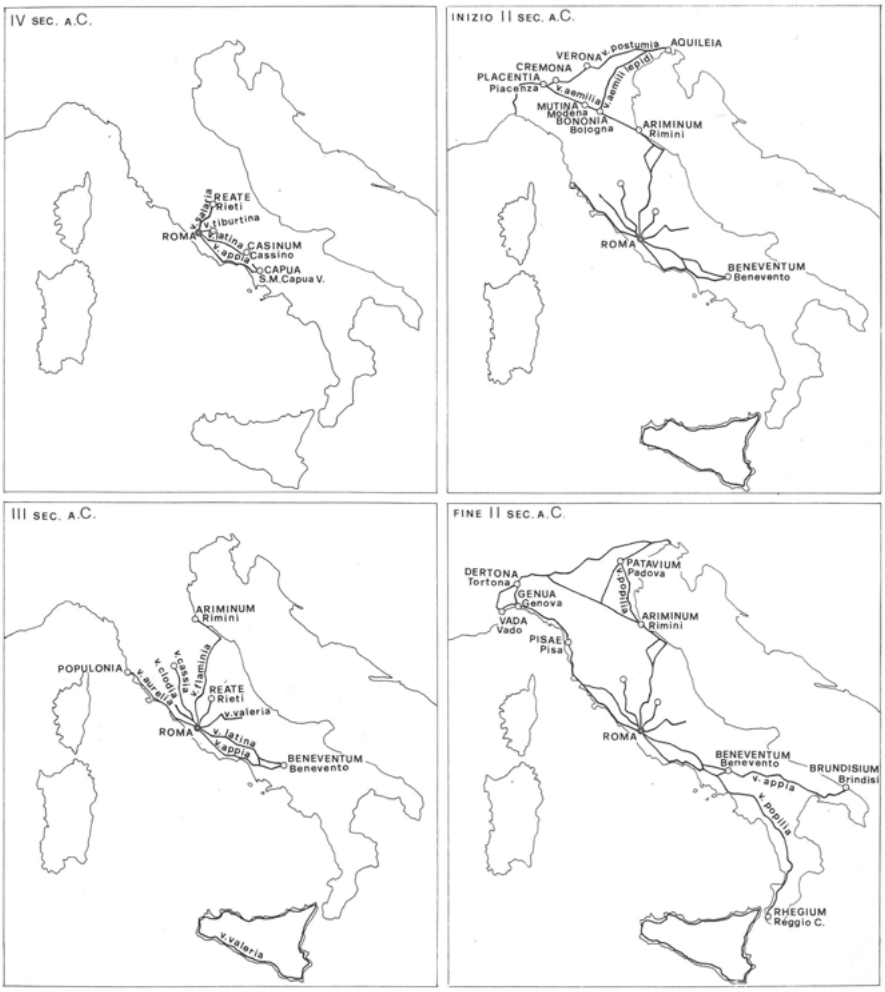

Fig. 2: From Quilici (1990), p. 15.

shaping the Italic region, and seems to anticipate an attitude that was developed later, with the construction of complex road systems on provincial territory). On the direct connection between roads and colonial foundations see Coarelli (1988), pp. 41–42.

356 Fronda (2010), pp. 310–311.

The system of roads that emerged in the 2nd century functioned predominantly as a connective system for Roman and Latin colonies which were being founded in different parts of the peninsula. This resulted in a network that was still clearly centered on Rome, but also extended to other towns and was thus characterized by the presence of other "secondary centers", which assumed a regional or local relevance at the most important crossroads (the role of Dertona, for example, has already been mentioned), and "main arteries".[357] An example of this network is provided by the *via Quinctia*, built by a T. Quinctius Flamininus,[358] probably the consul of 123 BCE, continuing the *via Cassia* and the *via Flaminia minor* to Pisa.[359] In this sense, it should not be forgotten that the choice of Corfinium as capital of the rebels during the Social War was also a result of the road system. Corfinium was at the crossing point between the *via Valeria* and the *via Minucia*, probably built in 110 BCE by M. Minucius Rufus, which connected Corfinium with Brundisium and therefore with the *via Appia*.[360]

The "new" spatial concept underlying the construction of roads during this period is further evidenced by structures such as the *via Postumia*, which connected Genua to Placentia and Cremona, then to Verona and Aquileia, the name and date of which (148 BCE) are certain as they are epigraphically attested.[361] Aside from the possibility that the road followed previous trade routes,[362] it is important to emphasize the way in which its West-East course – from Genua to Aquileia, always on *ager publicus*, and touching the nodal points of Placentia and Cremona,[363] the relevance of which regarding the definition of "Italy" has already been mentioned[364] – assumed a central function and strong symbolic meaning in defining the Po plain and Cisalpina as "Italic" territory.[365]

Existing roads were extended to reach other towns further away, as was the case with the *via Appia*, which was first extended to Beneventum and subsequently to

357 Ward Perkins (1962), p. 398: "The existence of these trunk roads inevitably exercised a strongly disruptive influence on the old pattern of settlement".

358 *ILS* 5808.

359 Mosca (1992), pp. 93–100.

360 Hinrichs (1967), p. 170; Chevallier (1972), p. 158; Ga. De Sanctis (1976), pp. 42–44. On the geographical advantages of the site of Corfinium as capital of the rebels, see Isayev (2011), p. 213. Wiseman (1970), p. 131, proposed that the *via Minucia*, described by Cicero (*Att*. 9.6.1), Horace (*Ep*. 1.18.20) and Strabo (6.3.7) as leading to Brundisium and perhaps Alba Fucens, was built by the consul of 221 BCE, M. Minucius Rufus.

361 *ILS* 5806. See Corradi (1968²), pp. 20–21; Radke (1973), pp. 1601–1606; Grilli (1979), pp. 243–247.

362 Dyson (1985), p. 116; Cera (2000), pp. 136–137. Cera (2000), pp. 139–140, thus supposes that the road did not attract the foundation of new communities along its course so much as it generated a re-organization of preexisting centers.

363 Cassola (1991), p. 25; Cera (2000), p. 20.

364 See above, p. 60.

365 Salmon (1982), p. 99; Chevallier (1983), pp. 8–9.

Venusia, Tarentum and Brundisium (also built along the path of the later *via Traiana*, now maybe called *via Minucia*) in the South.[366] Brundisium had been reached by 191 BCE.[367] An Aemilius, perhaps the Aemilius Lepidus consul of 187 BCE, added another branch to the road, leading from Beneventum to Herdonia.[368] Other roads were built entirely from scratch,[369] such as the famous *via Flaminia* that was constructed between Rome and Ariminum in 220 BCE and connected to the land distribution in the *ager Gallicus*. This was the first road that led to a location in Rome other than the *Forum Boarium*, where all previous roads had finished.[370]

The *via Aurelia*, which should be attributed to G. Aurelius Cotta, censor of 241 BCE (as archaeological research has confirmed),[371] may also have belonged to the category of "longer roads", if it did not initially end at Cosa.[372] The hypothesis that the original *Aurelia* reached Pisa (or at least Vada Volaterrana) seems more convincing.[373] An inscription from Vulci mentions a *co[nsol]*, Aurelius Cotta, and cannot

366 In 285 BCE according to Wiseman (1970), p. 131, but this date seems too early. The tract to Beneventum could have been built in 268 BCE, when the colony was deducted (sometime later on according to Radke (1973), p. 1429). Uggeri (1990), p. 22, stated not only that the road had already been extended by this time to Tarentum, connecting the new colony on both sides, but also that the position of the colony itself was chosen to be midway along the planned road from Rome to Tarentum.

367 See Strab. 6.3.7. See Quilici (1990), pp. 47–48. The extension to Brundisium is dated by Radke (1973), pp. 1503–1504, to 221 BCE. A *terminus post quem* is the deduction of the colony in 244 BCE: Uggeri (1990), p. 23.

368 Pina Polo (2011), pp. 138–139.

369 This of course does not mean that the road did not cover paths previously used by the local population, a situation that is particularly obvious with the mountain passes and is clear, for example, in the case of the the *via Flaminia*: Ashby/Fell (1921), p. 126. But Ward Perkins (1962), p. 398, pointed out the way in which the *via Flaminia* did not in many places take into consideration the preexisting patterns of settlement. Whilst he admitted the incorporation of previous paths, he rightly considered this "purely incidental".

370 Liv., *Per*. 20; Cassiod., *Chron*., a. 534 a.u.c. Only Strabo (5.1.11) erroneously attributed the road to the G. Flaminius consul of 187 BCE, which is impossible since it presupposes that the *via Flaminia* and the *via Aemilia*, its prolongation, were built simultaneously. See Ashby/Fell (1921); Radke (1964a), p. 299 (although he considered that initially the road led only to Sena Gallica and not to Ariminum); Wiseman (1970), p. 138; Chevallier (1972), p. 152; Radke (1973), pp. 1539–1575; Quilici (1990), pp. 72–78; Sisani (2007), p. 122–126; Amann (2011), pp. 312–314. Other theories, which do not respect the literary sources, have been completely abandoned.

371 Corradi (1968[2]), pp. 19–20 (see also pp. 71–82); Wiseman (1970), pp. 133–134; Wiseman (1971b), pp. 27–29; Radke (1973), pp. 1614–1615; Coarelli (1988), pp. 42–48.

372 So, for example, Hinrichs (1967), p. 164; Quilici (1990), p. 85; Ciampoltrini (1991), p. 188 (but it seems difficult to understand why the road should have ended up at the town's northern gate, crossing it in its entirety to the opposite side, if according to the original plan it had to finish here). In this case, the *via Aurelia* would rather have belonged during the first phase to the "first category" of shorter, radial, Roman roads.

373 Fentress (1984), pp. 75–76 (who attributed the road to Aurelius Cotta in 200 BCE). Wiseman (1970), p. 133, stated that the road reached maximally Vada Volaterrana, whilst going on to claim in

therefore have referred to the censor of 241. However, the inscription does not necessarily refer to the first construction of the road,[374] as it can be presumed that L. Aurelius Cotta (consul in 144 BCE) or L. Aurelius Cotta (consul in 119 BCE)[375] reconstructed it.[376] The so-called *via Aurelia nova*, an inland parallel path,[377] could have been built by L. Aurelius Cotta during the course of this work,[378] and the inscription from Vulci may have referred to this road.[379]

In 115 BCE, the *via Aurelia* was once again the site of important work under the consulship of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus. He was responsible, as the anonymous *De viris illustribus* suggested (and was subsequently verified by an inscription discovered in 1983)[380] for the continuation of the *via Aurelia nova* after Cosa, constructing new tracts that ran parallel to the older *Aurelia* but not along the coast, presumably up to Pisa, where the old road likely ended.[381] His road, known as the *via Aemilia Scauri*, also led further than the old *Aurelia*, reaching Vada Sabatia, which it then linked to Dertona, where it connected to the *via Postumia*, as described by Strabo.[382] It is generally believed that this section was built some years later, when Aemilius Scaurus was censor, in 109 BCE (as stated by the *De viris illustribus*), but this is perhaps not the case, as it is possible that a unique plan was in place in 115.[383] Additionally, it is obvious that the entire extension from Cosa could have been named

the following pages that it surely ended at Cosa. Radke (1973), p. 1617, proposed that the road reached Salebro, on the river Pecora, and that it continued from there in the form of the *via Aemilia Scauri*, to rescue his theory about the existence of a (supposed) *forum* halfway between Salebro and Dertona). Coarelli (1988), p. 48, implies that the road must have reached Pisa.

374 *ILS* 1071. Degrassi (1962), pp. 509–510; Di Vita (1963), pp. 482–484; Herzig (1970), pp. 60–65.

375 Coarelli (1988), pp. 43–45, who connected this inscription with the construction of the variant known as *Aurelia Nova*. That the G. Aurelius Cotta, consul in 200 BCE, is to be excluded, has been set out by Herzig (1970), pp. 61–62. Harris (1971), pp. 163–165, who attributed to 144 BCE the construction of the entire *via Aurelia*, rejecting the traditional date of 241 BCE.

376 Ciampoltrini (1991), p. 188; Pina Polo (2011), p. 140.

377 De Rossi (1968), pp. 154–155. Herzig (1970), p. 65, attributed this path to imperial times, and more precisely to Antoninus Pius, claiming that since Cicero seemed to know only one *Aurelia* (Cic., *Cat*. 2.4.6), the alternative path must have been built later. This scholar has also shown that in the ancient world it was not normal to distinguish different parts of a road with different names. Much more often in fact, the entire road was called after the name it had in the tract nearest to Rome (underlining once more the centrality of the capital): Herzig (1970), pp. 51–54. On the "instability" of road names see Radke (1967a), p. 228.

378 Wiseman (1971b), pp. 27–29.

379 De Rossi (1968), pp. 154–155; Wiseman (1970), p. 133.

380 *Vir. Ill.* 72.8; *AE* 1986, 232. Previous ideas, that the *via Aurelia nova* should have reached Populonia (Wiseman (1970), p. 134), were thus contradicted.

381 Fentress (1984), pp. 72–75.

382 Strab. 5.1.11. See Radke (1964a), p. 307; Corradi (1968[2]), pp. 26–27; Wiseman (1971b), pp. 29–32; Fentress (1984), p. 75; Ciampoltrini (1991), p. 188.

383 See Pina Polo (2011), p. 167.

after Aemilius (as suggested, for example, in the *De viris illustribus*, which defined it as *via Aemilia*).[384] This did not, however, alter the fact that the name *via Aurelia* would eventually predominate and indicate the entire road, even further than Vada, perhaps also in order to avoid confusion with the more famous *via Aemilia*.[385]

This was clearly attributed by Livy and Strabo to M. Aemilius Lepidus during his consulate of 187 BCE,[386] and there is no need to criticize their attributions.[387] This road continued the *via Flaminia* from Rimini to Piacenza, where it crossed the *via Postumia*, leading to Genua on one side and Aquileia on the other. Livy clearly described its military function, which must be understood in relation to the great importance attributed to the colony of Placentia, which obtained thus better connections to Rome as well as to important harbors on both seas.[388] In this sense, it unmistakably belonged to the "new" kind of road, which "linked the colonies together and created a unity between them, even though they were distant from one another".[389]

Probably the most debated Italic road of the Republican period was that running from Capua to Rhegium, identified from a very well-known inscription (the *miliarium Popillianum*).[390] Its name is not related by any source, and is generally referred to as *via Popillia*. The inscription, from Polla, does not give the name of the person who built the road but describes how he, as praetor in Sicily, arrested 917 runaway slaves, let the pastors recede in front of the farmers on the *ager publicus* and built a *forum* and temples "here". He has, however, been widely recognized since Mommsen as P. Popillius Laenas, who is believed to have built the road during his time as consul in 132 BCE.[391] This identification is based on both the career of the consul (who had been praetor in Sicily in 135 BCE) and the fact that the inscription

384 Fentress (1984), p. 76.

385 Radke (1964a), p. 307; Fentress (1984), p. 76. *Via Aurelia* has generally been considered the further prosecution of this road in Transalpine Gaul, built during the Augustan period: see Grenier (1934), pp. 30–32.

386 Strab. 5.1.11. The name M. Aemilius Lepidus has also been confirmed by epigraphical data: *CIL* 1^2.617–619 = *CIL* 11.6641–6642; 6645 = *ILS* 5803–5804 = *ILLRP* 450.

387 Radke (1964a), pp. 302–304; Radke (1973), pp. 1575–1581, followed by Chevallier (1983), p. 8, claimed that Aemilius built only the road from Placentia to the Silarus in 187 BCE, while the path from the Silarus to S. Vito had already been constructed by G. Livius Salinator, consul 188 BCE. Aemilius would have then rebuilt the roads during his second consulate of 175 BCE. See Wiseman (1970), pp. 126–128; Cassola (1991), p. 24; Pina Polo (2011), pp. 138–139.

388 Liv. 39.2.10. Laurence (1999), pp. 24–25. Chevallier (1972), p. 154, has supposed that the path followed a previous Etruscan road and could also have had important commercial implications.

389 Laurence (1999), p. 25. See also Brizzi (1979), pp. 387–390.

390 *CIL* 1^2.638 = *CIL* 10.6950; *ILS* 23. See Susini (1984), pp. 107–109, for an epigraphical analysis of the inscription.

391 The person mentioned in the inscription must have been consul during the year of the redaction of the text: Burckhardt (1989), pp. 7–8.

comes from an area where in antiquity there was, according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Anonymus Ravennas*, a *forum Popilli*. More problematic is another inscription from S. Onofrio in Calabria (thus on the same road)[392] that was discovered in 1953, which mentions a *T(itus) Annius T(iti) f(ilius) pr(aetor)*, probably the Titus Annius Rufus who was praetor in 131 and consul in 128 BCE. This led Wiseman to identify him as the constructor of the road, which would have been built a year later, in 131.[393] Another possibility is Titus Annius Luscus, praetor in 156 and consul in 153 BCE, known for his opposition to the Gracchi.[394] This was suggested by Bracco, the first scholar to call the road a *via Annia* rather than a *Popillia*.[395]

The identification of this road as a *via Annia* does not explain the existence of *forum Popilli*, although Sallust also mentioned a *forum Anni* in more or less the same region.[396] Bracco's idea that the *forum*'s name was subsequently changed or mistaken by later geographers is not convincing,[397] and it seems preferable to believe that there were two *fora*.[398] The problem of the *fora* on the public roads, both in terms of their position and their names, is nevertheless too far-reaching to be dealt with here. It will suffice to mention that their connection to roads and their homonymy with them was far less recurrent and mechanical than previously thought, and that their names do not discredit the identification of the roads.[399] However, an attribution to Annius Rufus is flawed for two major reasons. Firstly, it is not at all certain that his praetorship was in Sicily, and the *miliarium* from S. Onofrio seems somewhat in-

392 This is confirmed by the coincidences in the indications of distances, as demonstrated by La Torre (1990), pp. 161–163.

393 Wiseman (1969), pp. 88–91.

394 Liv., *Per*. 58.5–6; Plut., *Tib. Gr*. 14.5; Fest., *s.v. satura* 416 Lindsay.

395 Bracco (1954), pp. 24–30; Bracco (1960).

396 Sall., *Hist*., Fr. 3.66.

397 Bracco (1954), pp. 18–22; Bracco (1960), pp. 160–161. A possible attribution to Annius Luscus was almost immediately discarded by Ferrua (1955), pp. 239–241; Degrassi (1962), pp. 511–512. Bracco's opinion was shared by Luzzatto (1962), pp. 382–384; Radke (1964b), pp. 231–233, and, without extreme conviction, by Susini (1984), p. 110. According to Radke, Popillius, the person mentioned in the inscription from Polla, should have extended Annius Luscus' road from the Metauro, where it ended, to Rhegium: Radke (1973), pp. 1509–1510. His argument is based only on the position of the *fora*.

398 Ferrua (1955), pp. 241–243; Hinrichs (1969), p. 254.

399 According to Radke, who followed a suggestion by Beloch (1880), pp. 108–109, the *fora* were always built at the precise mid-point of the new roads: Radke (1964a), pp. 311–312; Radke (1964b), pp. 213–216; Radke (1967a), pp. 229–230; Radke (1973), pp. 1465–1472. This theory has meanwhile been widely discarded (see Ruoff-Väänänen (1978), pp. 11–15); nonetheless the presence of a *forum* along the path of a road can provide a hint regarding the name of the road's constructor. See Wiseman (1970), pp. 123–124; Herzig (1974), pp. 602–604. On *fora* in Republican Italy see also Laurence (1999), 27–38; Pina Polo (2011), pp. 181–186.

compatible with such a hypothesis.[400] Even more troubling, however, is the fact that an Annius would be named as a praetor on the milestone from S. Onofrio, and as an ex-praetor and presumably consul on that from Polla;[401] the eventual chronological distance between the two inscriptions thus requires explanation. Other suggestions for the identification of the aforementioned ex-praetor are no longer taken into consideration.[402]

As Degrassi has already suggested, it could simply be that the road was constructed in 132 by Popillius Laenas, and completed the following year by the praetor Annius Rufus.[403] This could have led him to found a *forum* in his name, and could also have been the reason that the road was later at least partially known as *via Annia*,[404] if this name ever truly referred to this road. The name is attested in only two Roman inscriptions, which mention it together with the *Appia Traiana* (which could have been two different roads) under Caracalla,[405] and again at a different time with the *via Appia*, perhaps the *via Traiana* (though the name is integrated only

400 Hinrichs (1969), pp. 253–254; Verbrugghe (1973), p. 32; Burckhardt (1989), p. 7. Bracco (1954), pp. 36–37, supposes, in reference to Annius Luscus, that he started building the road as a praetor (in Sicily!) and finished it as a consul.

401 Hinrichs (1969), p. 253; Susini (1984), p. 105.

402 Before Mommsen the general attribution was to Manius Aquillius, consul in 101 BCE, but he fought the Second Servile War in Sicily with the titles of consul and proconsul, not of praetor. Verbrugghe (1973), for example, proposed that Appius Claudius Pulcher may have been the anonymous constructor. Pulcher had *Italia* as *provincia* for his consulate in 143 BCE, but at this time was fighting in the North against the Salassi. Additionally, Verbrugghe seemed untroubled by the fact that the consulship took place ten years before the participation in the triumvirate instituted by Tiberius Gracchus, but after the praetorship; the order of events mentioned in the inscription would therefore be strange, to say the least. Verbrugghe's observation that Popillius Laenas, as praetor during the First Servile War, would not have brought back to Italy the fugitive slaves, but would have crucified them (p. 27) is irrelevant, since it was quite usual to leave the punishment of runaway slaves to their owners. Augustus, for example, would have done the same, crucifying only the slaves whose owners could not be found: Dio 49.12.4. For a complete refutation of Verbrugghe's interpretation see Burckhardt (1989), pp. 4–6. Canali De Rossi (2007), pp. 234–235, proposed that the person honored in this inscription might have been Pompey, considering that he fought in Sicily "in a position similar to that of a praetor" in 82 BCE, that he distributed lands in Campania after the *lex Julia agraria* and that there was a *via Pompeia* in Sicily. The name would have been lost because of a *damnatio memoriae*. But Pompey was not a praetor in Sicily, and of course never had to face a *damnatio memoriae*. The road in Sicily is in no way relevant to determining the date or name of a road in Italy. The other points touched upon by Canali de Rossi are at least disputable and generally make this interpretation absolutely impossible.

403 Degrassi (1954/1955), pp. 261–262; Degrassi (1962), p. 511, but see the observations of Wiseman (1964), p. 21. This hypothesis was also accepted by Hinrichs (1967), pp. 168–169; Hinrichs (1969); Donati (2009), pp. 76–78; Donati (2011).

404 Hinrichs (1969), p. 255.

405 *CIL* 6.31338a.

through a confrontation with the other inscription) and the *Aurelia nova*.[406] The presence of the *via Aurelia* in this second inscription makes it particularly clear that the *via Annia* mentioned here did not necessarily have to have been in Southern Italy, as Bracco and Wiseman thought,[407] since an *Aurelia* (and even less a *nova*) in the Southern regions is otherwise not attested.

A *via Annia* existed indeed in Northern Italy, and was restored by Augustus. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to believe that the inscription for Caracalla should refer to this, since another parallel dedication to the same Emperor was made by *mancipes et iunctores iumentarii* (the same groups responsible for the first dedication) from Histria, Venetia and Transpadana.[408] This *via Annia* should therefore have fallen under their competence, and it is more reasonable to believe that the area involved was geographically homogenous, even if perhaps referring to a larger region than Bracco and Wiseman presumed. Ferrua proposed to identify the region touched by these reconstructions as Etruria,[409] and we are thus forced to consider the arguments against the attribution of the road to Rhegium to Popillius Laenas to be inconclusive at the very least.

The entire problem is only of marginal relevance here, once it is acknowledged that a road from Capua to Rhegium was built during the 130s BCE at the very latest, that along it distances were calculated from Capua, where it connected to the *via Appia* and thus to the rest of the road network, eventually leading to Rome. This was clear to Strabo, who wrote that: "there is also a third road, which runs from Rhegium through the countries of the Brettii, the Leucani, and the Samnitae into Campania, where it joins the Appian way".[410] It is also known that the name *via Appia* was sometimes extended to this road.[411]

The problem is mirrored, however, in an analogous situation in North-Eastern Italy, where Popillius Laenas should have built another road from Rimini to Adria (and perhaps further to Altinum),[412] where a *miliarium* bearing his name has been found.[413] The main problem is the lack of examples of anyone engaged in the construction of two roads at opposite ends of the peninsula within the same year. A *via Annia* is also epigraphically attested next to the *via Popillia*, in inscriptions from the

406 *CIL* 6.31370, probably from the time of Severus Alexander.
407 Bracco (1954), pp. 14–17; Wiseman (1964), pp. 32–33.
408 *CIL* 6.31339.
409 Ferrua (1955), pp. 243–244. The existence of a *via Annia* in Etruria (see, for example, Radke (1973), pp. 1643–1644), had to be admitted by Wiseman, who had originally denied it: Wiseman (1970), p. 152.
410 Strab. 6.3.7; transl. H.L. Jones.
411 Radke (1973), pp. 1506–1509.
412 Frassine (2010), p. 115; Rosada (2010), p. 132.
413 *CIL* 5.8007 = *ILS* 5807 = *ILLRP* 453.

Augustan period.[414] However, this seems to have been a different road from the *Popillia*, and the northern *via Annia* has often been attributed to T. Annius Luscus, and therefore dated to 153 BCE, and identified as the road connecting Aquileia to Altinum and Concordia, before continuing to Adria, Padua and Bologna.[415]

However, the validity of the previous tentative attribution to T. Annius Rufus, who according to Degrassi should have been (here as in the South) the continuator of Popillius' building activity,[416] was strengthened by the discovery at the end of the 1990s in Codrigoro, 30 km south of Adria and therefore along the route of the *via Popillia*, of a *miliarium* of *T. Annius T. f. cos.* very similar to that of S. Onofrio, though carved in local stone.[417] To complicate matters further, this milestone denotes a distance of 250 miles (additionally the product of a correction and re-inscription), which is completely incompatible with its position and has even led researchers to think that it was wrongly copied from a model "imported" from Southern Italy.[418] This problem, the solution to which is of course connected with the identification of the Annius active in Southern Italy, was discussed in depth by Rosada,[419] who did not exclude the possibility that the *via Annia* was constructed in 153 BCE, the *Popillia* in 132, and that this *miliarium* refers to the completion in 128 BCE of the *via Popillia*, independent of the *via Annia* already in existence. But Donati is probably correct in claiming that this document clearly states the identification of both the "Northern" and the "Southern" epigraphic Annii with Annius Rufus.[420] It is, however, much more difficult to follow her when she claims, once again, that the distinc-

414 *CIL* 5.7992 and 7992a.

415 Wiseman (1964), pp. 23–29; Wiseman (1969), pp. 82–86; Grilli (1979), p. 242; Frassine (2010), pp. 107–111. It would therefore have been the same road that Radke (1973) describes at the pp. 1597–1599, even if he assumes that the existence of this road should have been a precondition for the construction of the *via Aemilia*, and therefore also tentatively attributes this road to the second consulate of M. Aemilius Lepidus in 175 BCE. Radke then proposes (pp. 1599 and 1606–1608) to see in the *via Annia* in northern Italy the same construction history as he presumed for the one in Calabria: Annius Luscus should have built in 153 BCE a shorter road, which was reconstructed and extended in 132 BCE by Popillius Laenas.

416 E.g. Degrassi (1954/1955), pp. 263–265; Ferrua (1955), p. 241.

417 Donati (2009); Donati (2011).

418 Rosada (2010), pp. 137–139.

419 Rosada (2010), pp. 132–137.

420 The identification of both Annii with Annius Luscus, admitted by Rosada (2010), p. 136, as another possibility, seems unacceptable because of the problems generated by such a theory in the Southern sector, as have already been described. Donati (2009), pp. 81–83, adds how *AE* 1996, 685, an Aquileian inscription carved later (end of the 2nd – beginning of the 1st century BCE) in honor of T. Annius Luscus, does not mention the construction of any road, even if, for example, the construction of a temple is mentioned.

tion between a *via Annia* and a *via Popillia* does not exist,[421] and that Annius completed Popillius' road. The northern *via Popillia* and the *via Annia* probably had nothing in common with one another, as Wiseman rightly supposed,[422] independent of the respective chronology; the former, in 132, connected Rimini and Aquileia along a different coastal path in order to speed up communication with Aquileia. That the *via Popillia* continued further than Aquileia into the Alps was supposed by Radke only according to his recurrent theory that *fora* bearing the name of the roads' constructor must always have been placed exactly mid-way along the path, and therefore must be rejected.[423]

The northern *via Annia* seems, on the contrary, to have been the road from Bologna to Aquileia that Strabo erroneously attributed to M. Aemilius Lepidus during his consulate of 187 BCE (and which Chevallier and others call *via Aemilia*, correctly underlining its importance in connecting Rome to Aquileia and to the allied Veneti).[424] In Bologna, this road could have connected to the *Flaminia minor*, built in 187 BCE and leading to Arretium, from where Rome would have been reachable via the *via Cassia*.[425] It has been proposed that G. Cassius Longinus, censor in 154 BCE, constructed the *via Cassia*.[426] If true, this would mean that the *via Annia*, if it can be dated to 128 BCE, was planned in connection with the already existing *Postumia*,

421 Donati (2009), p. 79; Donati (2011). Also Bosio (1991), pp. 59–81, supposed that the *via Popillia* led from Rimini to Altinum, and that the *via Annia* extended the route from Padua (or maybe Adria) to Aquileia the following year.

422 Wiseman (1964), pp. 29–30; Wiseman (1969), pp. 86–88; Wiseman (1989), p. 422.

423 Wiseman (1970), pp. 129–130. Radke (1965), according to his theory on the *fora*, considered that the road had necessarily to pass through *forum Popilli* (Forlimpopoli), which additionally had to have represented the mid-point of the road, as calculated from Rome, and thus made the reconstruction of the path extremely complicated: he thought that this road would have led over Aquileia to the eastern border of Cisalpina at *Ad Pirum*. Grilli (1979), p. 242, stated that the road must have started from Forlimpopoli and led to Adria, joining the *via Annia* at Agna.

424 Strab. 5.1.11. Chevallier (1972), p. 155, Wiseman (1989), 417–420; Cassola (1991), p. 24; Pina Polo (2011), p. 139. Chevallier (1983), p. 8 and Bosio (1991), pp. 31–35, believe Strabo and attribute the road to the second consulate of Aemilius Lepidus, in 175 BCE.

425 Liv. 39.2.6. Chevallier (1972), p. 154; Pina Polo (2011), p. 138. The name *Flaminia minor* is a modern invention, meant to distinguish this road from the more famous *Flaminia*. In the context of a discussion about its path, the name came to identify actually only one proposal while the other, which is probably the correct one, is also called *Flaminia militaris*: see Agostini/Santi (1992). The choice of the name here does not imply any kind of statement in this debate, which is irrelevant for the considerations proposed here. The *via Cassia* was probably built after the *via Clodia*, as a variant to it, and substantially connected it to the *via Amerina*: see Anziani (1913), pp. 237–244 (dating it to the second half of the 3rd century); Ward Perkins (1957), p. 153; Ward Perkins (1962), p. 392 and p. 398 (where the road is generally dated to the "early 2nd century", thus correcting Anziani (1913), pp. 240–244); Hemphill (1975), pp. 155–156. On the *via Cassia* see also Radke (1973), pp. 1633–1635; Hemphill (1975), pp. 145–147; Quilici (1990), pp. 78–80. Gottarelli (1992), pp. 114–116 (who thinks it preceded the *via Clodia*).

426 An alternative is 171–170 BCE: Harris (1971), pp. 163; 167–168.

Popillia and *Flaminia minor*, as an axis to more effectively connect Rome and Aquileia (the furthest colony).[427] If, on the contrary, it was constructed in 153 BCE and Annius Rufus was simply involved (in Northern as in Southern Italy) with the completion of Popillius' road, the *Annia* and the *Flaminia* may even have been conceived together as part of a single plan to connect Rome and Aquileia, to which the *via Popillia* was later added. With this in mind, Donati's idea that the 250 miles indicated on the milestone from Codrigoro represented the distance from Rome, calculated on the *via Flaminia* to Rimini and then on the *via Popillia* to Codrigoro,[428] sounds convincing.

Whatever the solution regarding the *via Annia*, the new milestone surely demonstrates that Wiseman's problems in accepting that the same person (Popillius) could have operated within completely different regions can be quietly discarded. As praetor in 131 BCE, Annius Rufus seems to have completed work on the Southern *via Popillia* and, as Degrassi had previously stated, three years later he intervened again as consul in an area already touched by Popillius Laenas, likely completing the latter's project. The same could also apply to M. Aemilius Lepidus, if it is true that he took care of not only the most famous *via Aemilia*, but also of that from Beneventum to Herdonia.[429]

It is not known in detail what Popillius did during his consulate, which occurred immediately after Tiberius Gracchus' tribunate and thus surely had to face the internal problems generated by his reforms. Popillius, as well as Annius Luscus and Annius Rufus, should have been an adversary of Tiberius and his followers, as the hatred of Gaius Gracchus over the following years would show.[430] If Popillius is truly the person described there, the reference on the *miliarium* to the *ager publicus* and its occupation by farmers should be interpreted in this context.[431] Hinrichs has suggested that the Senate, and Popillius Laenas, disturbed the activity of the Gracchi by road building. The entire activity of road building between 133 and the end of the 2nd century BCE would have been conceived as a "concurrence strategy" of the

427 Wiseman (1970), pp. 136–137; Wiseman (1989), p. 420.

428 Donati (2009), pp. 79–81.

429 Pina Polo (2011), p. 140. See also Ferrua (1955), p. 241.

430 On T. Annius Luscus' opposition to Tiberius: Liv., *Per*. 58.5–6; Plut., *Tib. Gracc*. 14.5–9; Fest., *s.v. satura* (416 Lindsay). See Hinrichs (1967), p. 162; Canali de Rossi (2007), p. 233. The common opposition to the Gracchi and a generally indubitable common plan in the construction of the road system, independently from the details, help us to better recognize a sort of stable political alliance and a shared program.

431 The connection of this reference to the Gracchan reforms, independent of the identification of the person mentioned in the inscription, is considered evident by the majority of the authors, such as Hinrichs (1969), p. 254, and Verbrugghe (1973), p. 26. A critical standpoint in this sense was taken only by Luzzatto (1962), pp. 388–398, who believed that the inscription simply refers to operations of drainage and redevelopment of the terrains near the road (for assignation to the *viasii vicani,* for example).

Senate.[432] There must have been many reasons for building the road, but Burckhardt (refining Hinrichs' theory) has claimed that, among the possible aims that brought about its construction, the idea of a direct concurrence with the Gracchan program and a general *Raumerschliessungsfunktion* played an important role.[433] Both authors describe a strong connection between the roads and the settlements and hint at a deep connection felt during that time between the road system and Italic territory.

Gaius Gracchus was himself famed for his projects concerning the road system, and authors who referred to it have shown a connection between the system and the foundation of new colonies.[434] Appian argued that workers called upon to build the road would become bonded to Gracchus, and obliged to work in his service: "Gracchus also made long roads throughout Italy and thus put a multitude of contractors and artisans under obligations to him and made them ready to do whatever he wished. He proposed the founding of numerous colonies".[435] Plutarch, who widely celebrated G. Gracchus' road constructions,[436] stated that: "He also introduced bills for sending out colonies, for constructing roads, and for establishing public granaries, making himself director and manager of all these undertakings, and showing no weariness in the execution of all these different and great enterprises".[437]

If we assume that Popillius received the administration of Italy and its pacification as *provincia* for his consulate, it is not surprising that he dedicated a great deal of energy to the *Raumordnung* of the peninsula, i.e. to the construction of roads, which would reinforce Rome's centrality and its potential to control the region more quickly. Additionally, his previous role as praetor of Sicily could have demonstrated to him the necessity of a faster connection to Rhegium, or (as Wiseman suggested) a path that passed through the mountains to ease the military control of these areas, famous for their woods, herdsmen and brigands. In this sense the reference in the inscription to the arrest of runaway slaves would have been anything but casual.[438] When the general political situation in the North (Degrassi and Wiseman have suggested a connection with Tuditanus' expedition to Illyria in 129)[439] is taken into con-

432 Hinrichs (1967), pp. 171–174. Even if the road had been built in 131 BCE by Annius, Hinrichs' argument would work: Hinrichs (1969), p. 253; Burckhardt (1989), p. 7. See also Radke (1967a), pp. 234–235. This of course solves the problem identified by Luzzatto (1962), pp. 390–394, who could not see how Popillius Laenas could have presented himself as the person who brought into effect the Gracchan reforms in Lucania and Bruttium.

433 Burckhardt (1989), pp. 13–15.

434 Hinrichs (1967), pp. 174–175.

435 App., *Civ*. 1.3.23; transl. H. White.

436 Plut., *C. Gracch*. 7. See Kolb (2007), pp. 169–170.

437 Plut., *C. Gracch*. 6.3; transl. B. Perrin.

438 Wiseman (1964), pp. 33–36. Hinrichs (1969), p. 255, rather proposed that the road was built there because it was the location of *ager publicus* subtracted to Lucanians and Bruttii during the Second Punic War.

439 Wiseman (1964), p. 30.

sideration, as well as the fact that Aquileia was until that time reachable only via Arezzo and Bologna, the choice of paths to which Popillius dedicated his attention during his consulate is perfectly explained. In this sense, Popillius Laenas' politics also demonstrated how the idea of Italy had strengthened, and how the perception of the necessity of a road network stretching from North to South required a clear, planned and intensive course of political action.

Stretching throughout the entire peninsula, the roads became an important factor in its unity and homologation that was additionally used until the end of the 2nd century exclusively in order to define the Italic area – no roads were built on provincial territory during this phase. Interesting from this perspective is a very famous and broadly discussed *miliarium* from Corleone, in Sicily, connected with the construction of the road from Palermo to Agrigento (the distance is indicated from the latter town) that bears the name Aurelius Cottas, indicating his role as *consol*.[440] Di Vita, who was the first to publish the inscription, identified him as the Aurelius Cotta who fought in Sicily against the Carthaginians twice as consul, in 252 and in 248 BCE. The historian proposed that the construction of the road took place during the first year, emphasizing the fact that no iteration of the consulship is mentioned on the stone.[441]

Degrassi has accurately demonstrated that this argument is not valid, and that the iteration was often not indicated.[442] 248 BCE must therefore also be accepted as a possibility. It is more difficult to follow Degrassi throughout the rest of his critic of Di Vita, in which he also dismisses the idea that during the war Aurelius Cotta could have had the time and/or money to build this road, and rejects a possible dating to the mid-3rd century based on the presence on the stone of a geminated consonant (*Cottas*).[443] Degrassi was unable to find later on any other Aurelius Cotta who could have been active in Sicily during his consulship who is still compatible with the paleography of the inscription (even if he tentatively suggests L. Aurelius Cotta, consul in 144 BCE, of whom we know almost nothing).[444] His ensuing explanation, that the road was built by another member of the family, and that Aurelius Cotta (in this case the consul of 252 and 248) was mentioned on the milestone in a purely honorary manner, is quite unconvincing.[445]

440 *ILLRP* 1277.
441 Di Vita (1955).
442 Degrassi (1962), p. 503.
443 Degrassi (1962), pp. 502–505; see also the answer in Di Vita (1963), pp. 479–487. Radke (1973), p. 1667, accepts without certainty the attribution to Gaius Aurelius Cotta.
444 Pina Polo (2011), p. 139, attributes to this Aurelius Cotta the construction of the road.
445 Degrassi (1962), pp. 505–508, and the answer in Di Vita (1963), pp. 487–488. Coarelli (1988), pp. 38–39, agrees with Di Vita in identifying Aurelius Cotta with the consul of 248, but suggests the possibility that the indication on the stone referred not to the actual charge but, in following years,

A simple "Occamian" principle of the economics of reasoning induces us to believe that the Aurelius Cotta, whom we know was consul in Sicily, was also the road's constructor in 252 or 248 BCE, and that the road was built during the First Punic War in order to ease the movement of troops and supplies. An identification of the road's constructor with that of the *via Aurelia* also allows the identification of a specific political personality with a concrete interest in this form of organization for the Roman world. It has been convincingly argued that this particular road, during times of war in which the geographic "identity" of Sicily was anything but clear, constitutes an interesting exception to the construction of public roads uniquely on Italic territory. This must be explained not only with reference to the war, but also the fact that at this time the concept of Italy was just beginning to take shape, together with the general spatial perceptions of the Roman Empire. After the war, the organisation of the province and the rules concerning *ager Romanus* etc. would make such a "confusion" impossible.[446]

After this time, we do not find any construction of public roads on provincial (or generally non-Italic) territory for more than a century. Epigraphic data (twelve milestones) shows that Manius Aquillius oversaw the construction (or reconstruction)[447] of a road (or a very simple road system) in Asia during his consulship in 129 BCE.[448] According to the distribution of the inscriptions, this road seems to have connected Pergamon or the surrounding area, perhaps through Cyme and Smyrna, then presumably through Ephesus (which was the *caput viae* from which the distances were calculated)[449] to Tralles and then further on to the actual province of Burdur, perhaps in the direction of Termessos or Sagalassos. A few years later the first road was built in Transalpine Gaul, which led from Narbonne to Nîmes and Arles. An inscription found in 1949 at Pont de Treilles (ancient *ad Vicesimum*) demonstrates that the road (known as *via Domitia*) was built by Gneus Domitius Ahenobarbus *imperator*, which leaves the problem of whether he oversaw it as a consul in 122 BCE or as a proconsul.[450] The road began at Narbo, which was only founded as a colony in 118 BCE, but the assumption that the road must have followed the foundation of the

to the highest charge reached in the *cursus honorum*. For a general synthesis of the debate and literary references, see Rathmann (2003), pp. 149–150.

446 The *via Valeria* which connected Messina and Lilybaeum, mentioned by Strab. 6.2.1 is impossible to date exactly, and belongs probably to a later time, towards the end of the 2nd – beginning of the 1st century BCE. See Rathmann (2003), p. 149.

447 On pre-Roman roads in Asia see French (1980), p. 704.

448 *CIL* 3.7184 = French (1988), n. 485; *CIL* 3.7205 = French (1988), n. 474; *CIL* 3.14199/8 = French (1988), n. 294; *CIL* 3.14201/11 = French (1988), n. 198; *CIL* 3.14202/4 = French (1988), n. 499; French (1988), n. 266; 279; 295. See Rathmann (2003), pp. 150–152.

449 French (1980), p. 707.

450 *ILLRP* 460a. See Polyb. 3.39.8. Campardou (1949); Duval (1949); Degrassi (1962), pp. 512–513; Radke (1964a), pp. 309–310; Wiseman (1970), pp. 137–138; Chevallier (1972), p. 176; Radke (1973), pp. 1668–1669; Rathmann (2003), pp. 152–153; Pina Polo (2011), p. 141.

colony is problematic, since this would mean assuming that Ahenobarbus stayed for many years in the area with proconsular power.[451] On the other hand, Degrassi has suggested that the roads did not necessarily have to lead to a colony, but could also have originated from cities with other juridical qualities. It is highly probable that the road followed more ancient paths, and had even been used by Roman troops before Domitius' consulship.[452]

The first road to be built east of the Adriatic was the *via Egnatia*, which was constructed after 146 BCE (the constitution of the province) and before Polybius wrote his *Histories* (he died shortly after in 120 BCE). The historian from Megalopolis mentioned the road in a fragment referenced by Strabo.[453] Polybius not only knew the section of the road leading to Thessalonica, but also that leading to Cypsela, site of the provincial boundary.[454] This information is confirmed by an inscription, found a few miles west of Thessalonica, dating from the second half of the second century BCE, and identifying in Latin and Greek a *Cnaeus Egnatius Cai filius proconsul* as the road's constructor.[455] Almost twenty years later a similar inscription, found near modern Kavala, ancient Neapolis, also confirmed that the road led further than Thessalonica from the very beginning.[456] The only problematic aspect is dating the proconsulate of Egnatius, which could have occurred during the 130s BCE.[457]

Towards the end of the 2nd century, roads were also constructed in Spain. These presumably included one along the coast to Carthago Nova via Saguntum, and another from Barcelona via Ilerda to Osca.[458] That which led from Carthago Nova to Córdoba was also probably built before Augustus' time.[459] Only a few inscriptions prove such activity during the Republican era. Two, almost identical, come from

451 So Duval (1949), pp. 215–230.

452 Grenier (1934), pp. 26–28; Degrassi (1962), pp. 512–513; Ebel (1976), pp. 81–83; Barruol (1997), p. 16.

453 Polyb. 34.12.2a–8 = Strab. 7.7.4. The quotation comes from Walbank (1983), p. 131. See Rathmann (2003), p. 150. Strabo mentions the *Egnatia* again at 7.7.8; Fr. 7.10; 7.13; 7.21. Only Radke (1973), pp. 1427 and 1666–1667, considered, without further proof, that the name *Egnatia* did not belong to Polybius' original text. This, in his opinion, confirmed that roads began to be named after their constructors later than the 2nd century BCE.

454 Walbank (1983), pp. 137–141; Kallet-Marx (1995), p. 347.

455 *AE* 1973, 492 = *AE* 1976, 643. Radke (1973), p. 1667, did not know him: "Wir vermögen aber auch keinen Mann dieses Namens zu nennen, der als Erbauer in Frage käme". The inscription contradicted the then widespread theory that the road's name came from the town of Gnatia in Apulia, which had been proposed before the epigraphic discovery of the existence of Gn. Egnatius.

456 *AE* 1992, 1532 = *SEG* 40, 543.

457 Kallet-Marx (1995), p. 348.

458 A milestone showing only the distance, presumably from the Pyrenean pass of Coll d'Ares, dated to the 2nd century BCE, has been found in Sant Jordi: Díaz Ariño (2008), C2.

459 Chevallier (1972), p. 176; Richardson (1986), pp. 166–167.

Ilerda and mention a *Q. Fabius Q. f. Labeo* as a proconsul.[460] This could have been the person who was active as *triumvir monetalis* between 124 and 114, or even in 109 BCE, and his proconsulate would therefore have occurred towards the end of the 2nd century BCE or the beginning of the following century. Other milestones found north of Barcelona, which may date from 120–110 BCE, mention an otherwise unknown proconsul *Manius Sergius Manii filius*,[461] whilst another Spanish *miliarium* from the Republican era is impossible to date more precisely, as it lacks any dating element.[462]

There is thus a period of about a century during which the road system appeared as something typically or exclusively Italic, a crucial element in the definition of the *Raumordnung* of the peninsula, which had to be dealt with primarily in a more structured way than on provincial territory. During the last third of the 2nd century BCE, the administrative, military and possibly also commercial evolution of the Roman state made it necessary to also build roads in the provinces, in order to provide a quicker connection between Spain, Italy and Rome. The impact that the Hellenistic world – with its pre-existing roads that generally needed only to be maintained and eventually restored – could have played in galvanizing the idea of road construction in the provinces should also not be underestimated.[463] Nevertheless, it would be a long time before the provinces had a complex and articulated road system equivalent to that which existed on the peninsula. If this interpretation is accepted, then it is evident that the Romans' early interest in the construction of roads in Northern Italy was merely a further demonstration of the fact that Cisalpina was considered to be in all effects part of *Italia*, as has been shown in the previous paragraphs.[464]

Italic roads were also differentiated from those in the provinces from an administrative point of view. However, this is only clearly visible for the Late Republican and Imperial periods, since almost nothing is known about the Republican administration of the road system except that it was probably highly unsystematic.[465] Pekáry has concluded that Siculus Flaccus' definition of a *via publica* was only valid

460 *CIL* 2.4924 = *ILLRP* 461; *CIL* 2.4925; Lostal Pros (1992), nn. 5–6; Rathmann (2003), pp. 153–154; Díaz Ariño (2008), C6–C7 (proposing a date around 118–114 BCE).

461 Lostal Pros (1992), nn. 2–4 = Díaz Ariño (2008), C3–C5 (the last one = *CIL* 2.4956 = *ILLRP* 462); Rathmann (2003), p. 153; Ñaco del Hoyo/Principal (2012), p. 173.

462 Lostal Pros (1992), n. 1.

463 Rathmann (2003), pp. 44–45. Pekáry (1968), pp. 56–67, claims a Hellenistic inspiration for Roman road construction and for the creation of milestones after the beginning of the 2nd century, following the Second Macedonian War. Humm (1996), pp. 734–745, wrote of the *via Appia*'s Hellenistic characteristics, particularly in a political sense, in reference to the political activity of Appius Claudius Caecus and his forms of self-representation.

464 Cassola (1991), p. 24.

465 Eck (1990), pp. 30–31.

for the peninsula.[466] The *curatores viarum*, for example, to whom were assigned the responsibility of roads and nearby areas, are known only for Italy.[467] Financial responsibilities, as Eck has clearly shown, only existed for Italic roads belonging to the *aerarium Saturni* – a situation which began during the Republican era, since Fonteius clearly let the costs of the reconstruction of the *via Domitia* weigh on the provincials.[468] However, this subject is not directly relevant to the topic dealt with here.

It should not be forgotten that the existence of the road system influenced not only the inhabitants' spatial (geographical and topographical) perceptions of the different parts of Italy, but also allowed for faster (and cheaper) communications.[469] This has always been an important condition in the increased exchange of people, wares and ideas, and has consistently generated a stronger homogenization of the areas crossed by the roads. The Roman roads were "breaking the barrier of distance to create a form of political integration between places".[470] In this sense, they not only influenced the perception of the peninsula shared by the Romans and their constructors, but also profoundly modified the inhabitants' perception of space and "regionality".[471]

Roads were therefore an important spatial device underlying the structure of the Roman state. They clarified the centrality of Rome at the hierarchical top of the entire system, but also the "unity" of Italy.[472] Roads were one of the elements that "suggest the beginnings of peninsular Italy as an organic whole".[473] According to Laurence, "in building roads from the fourth to the first centuries BCE, Rome was creating a geography of Italy that stressed the connectivity between places".[474] This is true, though only of the "second phase" of road construction beginning from the second half of the 3rd century, when an idea of Italy had come into existence and the spatial concepts of Roman dominion had developed. The knowledge that a road passing through a settlement led to other towns, regions and eventually to Rome

466 Pekáry (1968), pp. 35–36. See above, n. 318.
467 According to Plut., *Caes*. 5.9, Caesar should have had the *curatela* of the *via Appia* (even if this information is not accepted by all scholars and was rejected, for example, by Pekáry (1968), p. 71). On the *curatores viarum* see Pekáry (1968), pp. 7–10; Radke (1973), pp. 1472–1475; Ertman (1976); Eck (1990), pp. 31–36; Quilici (1990), pp. 31–34; Eck (1995), pp. 290–292 and 295–313; Rathmann (2003), p. 42.
468 Rathmann (2003), pp. 136–142.
469 Laurence (1999), pp. 78–108.
470 Laurence (1999), pp. 78–81.
471 See also Laurence (1999), pp. 187–189.
472 Curti (2001), p. 19. See also Dyson (1992), p. 48: "The most obvious physical expression of the unification of the Italian peninsula was the Roman road system".
473 Dench (2005), p. 164.
474 Laurence (1999), pp. 25–26. However, Laurence's idea that the road system was structured on two centers (Rome and Capua) cannot be accepted.

had a deep impact on the perception of other localities as “connected”, present and reachable, even if they were distant. Modern studies of geography of perception have demonstrated the importance of localities as destinations on signs, understood as a result of a road network. Whether they followed the course of a pre-Roman path, rebuilt and deeply modified in its exterior aspect, or forged a previously untrodden route, the change such roads implied in the local reality and its inhabitants’ perception was of great importance, and cannot be underestimated.

Genesis of a Symbolic Shape

As has already been noted, the "second step" in the institutionalization of a region, according to Paasi's model, is the genesis of its symbolic shape. This, in parallel to its territorial shape, consists of the elements that identify the region considered as a unity and form its common identity (also in narrative form), as composed of a common past, traditions and habits, etc. It is not necessary to stress the importance of an analysis of the symbolic sphere and of its interactions with the economy (generally a central factor in archaeological studies) and politics, nor of showing how "facts, affects, meanings, beliefs, preferences, tastes and values" have been elaborated and represented.[1] In their institutionalization, regions – like any other community – become "important repositories of symbols", markers "which distinguish them from other communities", as A.P. Cohen stated in the introduction to his book on *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. "The symbols of community are mental constructs: they provide people with the tools to produce meaning. In so doing, they also provide them with the means to express the particular meaning which the community has for them".[2] Barth also strongly emphasized the role these symbols play in the construction of identity: "much of the activity of political innovators is concerned with the codification of idioms: the selection of signals for identity and the assertion of value for these cultural diacritica, and the suppression or denial of relevance for other differentiae; among the diacritica counts in particular the establishment of historical traditions to justify and glorify the idiom and the identity"[3] – what Hobsbawm defined as the "invention of traditions".[4]

In the case of Roman Italy, the birth of such symbolic shape can predominantly be traced to three important aspects, which will be examined in the following pages. First is the name itself, Italy, and the evolution of its meaning in connection with the definition of Italic territory, up to its becoming a univocal expression. A second aspect, central to all issues of identity, is ethnicity, thus in this case the birth of historical traditions insisting on the consanguinity of Italic populations, their autochthony to the region, and their extremely long common histories. These are also important *ex negativo*, regarding the definition of some populations, which inhabited Italy in historical times, as "non-Italic" and thus not belonging to the "real" regional identity. A third aspect concerns the definition of an Italic "landscape", i.e. the discursive construction of a typical natural "Italicness", which found expression in the literary *topos* of the *laudes Italiae*.

1 See Witcher (2000), pp. 218–220.
2 Cohen (1985), p. 19.
3 Barth (1998[2]), pp. 34–35. See also Malkin (1998), p. 57.
4 Hobsbawm (1982).

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Nuncupari: The Name as Symbol

It has been stated that the most important symbol constituting the identity of a region is its name, once it has been precisely defined in its content, diffused and accepted.[5] As George R. Stewart has underlined, a name is central in defining and identifying a place, and "conscious naming" is a possibly universal practice and a basic constituent of the construction of a symbolic system. Once defined, a name represents and evokes an idea of place.[6] Crucial to naming is firstly the recognizability of a space as a place, i.e. "as an entity, that is, as being separable and identifiable from other places", and secondly the "use", i.e. a conscious necessity to provide that place with a name that makes it evocable, recognizable and separable.[7] It therefore becomes clear that an analysis leading to the identification of the moment when Italy received its name as a recognizable place is crucial in understanding the development of the region and its institutionalization.

The importance of names in shaping identity was perfectly understood in the ancient world, and many instances of name-changing are known, sometimes directly connected to the politics of identity: for example, the superimposition of the name Illyricum on the Balkans, as described by Appian.[8] Other examples refer to cities rather than regions, but reveal the same mechanisms. The Sicilian city of Zancle, founded as such, was first renamed as Messene when the city was occupied and re-colonized by Anaxilas of Rhegium.[9] When the Mamertines occupied the city and decided to reside there, they again changed its name to Mamertina,[10] in order to both discontinue the previous tradition and highlight which "ethnic" group now ruled the city. According to Livy, the Samnites changed the name of Volturnum to Capua, and although this story is not true, this is irrelevant here as the mechanism of renaming a place following a political change is a "believable" event.[11] The Romans themselves were not inexperienced in this sort of practice:[12] it was at their will that Hipponium became Vibo Valentia, or Eupatoria Magnopolis, in order to erase any memory of Mithridates VI Eupator and reinforce that of Pompey. During the first half of the 3rd century BCE, Maleventum was also renamed Beneventum following the successful battle fought there against Pyrrhus, with the function of creating a

5 Paasi (1986), pp. 125–126; Paasi (1991), p. 245; Paasi (1996), p. 35.
6 Stewart (1975), pp. 3–7.
7 Stewart (1975), pp. 8–11.
8 See above, p. 22.
9 Thuc. 6.4.6; Paus. 4.23.9.
10 Diod. Sic. 21.18.1. *Civitas Mamertina*: Cic., *Verr*. 2.3.13. The name is also epigraphically attested as τωϝτο Μαμερτινο: Vetter (1953), n. 196.
11 Liv. 4.37.1–2; see Bourdin (2012), p. 675.
12 Clarke (1999), pp. 294–295.

"positive" *lieu de mémoire*.[13] The great importance in the *Aeneid* of the practice of name-giving to the regions reached by the Trojans perfectly demonstrates the awareness, shared by the Romans, of the importance of names as symbols.[14]

Italy did not experience such a sudden, clear-cut process of renaming. Nevertheless, the territory that came to be covered by the geographical definition *Italia* by the 2nd century BCE (as described in the previous chapter)[15] adopted an already existing name, which had appeared some centuries before and had since undergone a radical change in meaning. In this sense, *Italia* in its Latin use can be considered an example of a "shift-name".[16] Italy, as a geographic expression, had existed a long time previously, with different extensions.[17] The broadening of the name to encompass and identify the entire peninsula south of the Alps, a process that can barely be separated from the previously described genesis of the territorial shape of the region, was a decisive aspect in the "birth of Italy".

As is well known, Ἰταλία was originally a Greek word and concept that appeared in the context of Greek colonization. The widely discussed and unsolved problem of its etymology can for the purposes of this study be left aside,[18] as it is here only important to note that the ancient authors explained it in one of two ways. The first referred to a mythological figure named Italus (who has been variously identified: some of these traditions will be discussed later)[19] and the second to a word referring to the semantic field of "veal" (Latin *vitulus*, Greek ἰταλός) – an etymology suggested by Hellanicus, who connected it to Hercules, described as having crossed the land in pursuit of a young runaway bull; and by Timaeus, who connected it to the richness and beauty of Italic herds.[20] It may also be interesting to stress

13 Among other sources, Plin., *NH* 3.105.

14 Fletcher (2014), in particular pp. 41–43; 200–206.

15 See pp. 58–67.

16 Stewart (1975), pp. 156–159. But Stewart (p. 116) believed that the original name, in its Greek variant, was a "possessive name", deriving from a tribe called *Vituli* that inhabited today's Calabria, even if he correctly represented the ensuing Roman expansion of the term to identify the entire peninsula.

17 Klingner (1965[5]), pp. 12–15.

18 See, among others, Radke (1967b), pp. 45–50.

19 Cat., *Orig.* 1.3 Chassignet; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.35.1; Verg., *Aen.* 1.532–533; Fest., *s.v. Italia* 94 Lindsay. This etymology probably dates back to Antiochus of Syracuse (see *infra*, pp. 99–100). On its role and function in Antiochus, see Prontera (1992), pp. 131–133. Luraghi (2002), pp. 58–59, has even suggested that this was one of the reasons for Antiochus' success during the Augustan age, since he proposed an "origin" of Italy which was different from that favored by the Italics during the Social War. See also Simon (2011), pp. 75–76.

20 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.35.3–4. For further acceptance, for example, Varr., *RR* 2.1.9 (quoting L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi); 2.5.3 (quoting Timaeus and "others"); Varr., *LL* 5.96; Gell. 11.1.1; Fest., *s.v. Italia* 94 Lindsay; Serv., *Ad Aen.* 1.533. See Van Compernolle (1959), pp. 479–483; Simon (2011), pp. 72–75. Massa (1996), pp. 35–41 (followed also by Simon (2011), pp. 112–117), presumes that the acceptance of this etymology, as, for example, in Calpurnius Piso, also implied a refusal to accept the

that the vast majority of Roman writers favoured a completely "territorial" meaning of the term, without special ethnic or historical connotations – by explaining its etymology through the simple abundance of beautiful herds in the peninsula.

The term was possibly first used to indicate the southern part of Calabria, from the Strait of Messina to the isthmus between the Gulfs of S. Eufemia and Squillace – if this was not a later construction by Antiochus of Syracuse, who presented a series of "steps" by which Italy was "enlarged", in order to propose an "evolutionary model" for the expansion of Italy.[21] It has sometimes been proposed that during this early period, and perhaps even during the time of Hecataeus of Miletus, the term might have designated a broader region extending from Campania to Iapygia and indicating the ensemble of Greek communities in Southern Italy. According to Stephanus of Byzantium, Hecataeus placed "in Italy" Locri, Medma, Caulonia, and the unknown town of Crotalla, as well as Capua, Capri and Iapygia.[22] More reliable information is available for the 5th century BCE.[23] Antiochus of Syracuse, who referred to the "older use" (though could simply have invented it by referring it to a mythical time), identified, according to Strabo, the limits of *Italia* as the river Lao and Metapontum, which he considered a product of an enlargement of the Oenotrians from the earlier "narrower" peninsula between the Gulfs of S. Eufemia and Squillace.[24] The Oenotrians should also have taken the name *Italoi* in honour of their

extension of Italy up to the Alps. Whilst it is true that the Greek authors referred this etymology – coherent with their understanding of Italy – only to the Southern parts of the peninsula, it is absolutely unclear why Roman authors should have used it to contradict the geographical extension of the region clearly defined among them. Traditions concerning the passage of Hercules were also widespread in northern Italy, and the "economic" argument can be applied to other areas (as the Po plain) without any further problem.

21 Radke (1967b), pp. 35–36. On this "cartographic construction" see Prontera (1986), pp. 307–308; Luraghi (2002), p. 62.

22 *FGH* 1 F 62–63; 81; 83–87. See Lepore (1963), pp. 92–94, who connected this first meaning with the extension of the power of Sybaris during the 6th century BCE; Lepore (1980), pp. 1331–1334; Prontera (1998), pp. 5–6; Sammartano (1998), pp. 152–154; Humm (2010), pp. 41–42 (accepting Lepore's interpretation); Simon (2011), pp. 69–71. But on the problems connected to understanding the meaning of *Italia* in Hecataeus, see Van Compernolle (1959), pp. 485–486 and Musti (1988), pp. 279–282, who both reject the possibility of a "Sybaritic definition" of Italy. Braun (2004), pp. 321–326, considers on the contrary that in Hecataeus, *Italia* indicated only Southern Bruttium and was therefore different from Oenotria, which included Northern Bruttium and Lucania.

23 According to Lepore (1980), pp. 1337–1338, this would therefore have been not an enlargement, but a "reduction" in meaning caused by the fall of Sybaris in 510 BCE.

24 The exclusion of Tarentum has been interpreted as a reference to the political situation following the foundation of Heraclea in 433 BCE, and should therefore have marked the difference between the Ionian "territory" and the Doric colony: Prontera (1994), pp. 426–427. See also Luraghi (2002), pp. 83–85. Oenotrians seems to have been the name used by Greek sources down to the mid-5th century BCE to indicate in general the inhabitants of modern Basilicata, Calabria and Southern

king Italus.[25] In this way, Antiochus also attributed an "ethnical" meaning to the geographical term, since the territory was connected with a population identified as a single ethnic group, and both were named after a mythical king, according to a pattern which recurred during Antiquity.[26] But Dionysius of Halicarnassus, also quoting Antiochus, stated that in ancient times (referring to the time of the mythical king Siculus) Italy extended from Tarentum to Poseidonia.[27] It is possible therefore that Antiochus proposed different definitions of Italy in his reconstruction,[28] which corresponded to an enlargement of the areas controlled by the kings Italus and Morgetes, eponymous of the population with the same name.[29] What is certain is the establishment of an explanatory model, according to which Italy would have progressively expanded from the south-western tip of the peninsula towards the north and east.

Strabo has noted that after Antiochus, other *palaioi* (ancient writers) shared this latter definition, which Antiochus presumably applied to his own times, identifying *Italia* with what in the geographer's definition was Oenotria, from the Strait of Messina to the gulfs of Tarentum and Paestum.[30] This seems to have been the approximate definition of Italy present in the writings of Herodotus (although he already placed Velia, and therefore also Paestum, in Oenotria, which for him did not coincide with Italy, but bordered it on its northern side)[31] and Thucydides.[32] It is therefore generally clear that during this period the definition of Italy – which has been understood as an expression of Athenian imperialistic ambitions since the age of Themistocles, who had a daughter called Italia[33] – included the Calabrian peninsula and some adjacent areas, stretching to southern Campania (Paestum?) on one side,

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Campania, a term later replaced by Lucanians: Horsnaes (2002), p. 127. Calderone (1956), p. 104, corrected, on the basis of a suggested emendation of Strabo's text, Laos to Silaros.

25 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.12.3; Strab. 6.4.1. See Lepore (1963), p. 94; Prontera (1986), pp. 309–312; J.H.C. Williams (2001), p. 128; Humm (2010), pp. 39–41.

26 Briquel (1990), pp. 168–171; Prontera (1992), pp. 115–118; Sammartano (1998), pp. 158–173; Luraghi (2002), pp. 64–65; Dench (2005), pp. 158–159. On the historical and political background of Antiochus' definition of *Italia*, see Prontera (1992), pp. 118–128.

27 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.73.4. Compatibly with his emendation (see n. 24), Calderone (1956), pp. 110–111, does not see any contradiction between Antiochus' fragments in Strabo and in Dionysius.

28 Matteini (1978/1979), pp. 299–300. According to Sammartano (1998), pp. 172–173, Antiochus' definition of *Italia* aimed at indicating Tarentum as its barycenter.

29 Matteini (1978/1979), pp. 294–296; Prontera (1986), pp. 312–313; Luraghi (2002), pp. 60–62. On the Morgetes: Sammartano (1998), pp. 176–183; Simon (2011), pp. 66–68.

30 Strab. 5.1.1. In this sense, it is probably wrong to state that Antiochus uses Oenotria and *Italia* as synonyms, as claimed by Calderone (1956), p. 87, as this is a later development.

31 Hdt. 1.673.3. See Van Compernolle (1959), p. 486; Lepore (1980), pp. 1339–1344.

32 Van Compernolle (1959), pp. 488–490; Radke (1967b), p. 36.

33 Humm (2010), pp. 42–44, who also considers Antiochus' "narrower" definition to have been a product of Syracusan opposition to Athenian politics. This is not easy to accept, since Antiochus did not consider such a "narrow" definition as genuine, but the product of a far away past.

and to Metapontum or Tarentum on the other, probably also according to the authors. As a term, it likely indicated "la péninsule grecque par opposition à la Sicile et aux cités de la metropole".[34]

During the 4th century, the Greek authors described a further expansion of the territory included in the definition of Italy,[35] an evolution likely connected to the political movements that altered the balance of power between Greeks and local inhabitants during this century.[36] Theophrastus extended Italy northwards on the Tyrrhenian side to Baiae, but not to Latium.[37] The Pseudo-Aristotle of the *Mirabilium auscultationes* also inserted Circeii,[38] whilst Latium was included by Kallias.[39] This extension also coincided chronologically with the first appearances of the name *Italoi*, used to define local populations. These, said Aristotle,[40] were exactly the Oenotrians, who were now at least thought to coincide with the Italics, as would later be claimed by Strabo, and not to border on them, as Herodotus stated. According to Timaeus, Daunia, Phormia and Etruria appear to be parts of Italy.[41]

The next passages can be hypothetically connected to the expansion of the Samnites, whilst the terminological use was possibly mediated through the Greeks of Tarentum, meaning that by the 3rd century BCE the term indicated the entire central and southern area of the peninsula.[42] This meaning may also have been appro-

34 Marcotte (2000), p. 60. Italy appears also in a Sophoclean verse from the *Antigone* (1119), but without any reference to its geographic extension, whilst a fragment from another (lost) tragedy (*Tript.*, Fr. 598) introduces in a sequence Oenotria, the Tyrrhenian Gulf and the Ligurian land, without mentioning the term Italy, and is therefore irrelevant to the topic dealt with here, *pace* Humm (2010), p. 42.

35 Radke (1967b), p. 37; Musti (1988), pp. 283–284.

36 Radke (1967b), p. 40, proposed generally that the name *Italia* was applied by the Greeks to the regions inhabited by Oscan speaking groups.

37 Ath., *Deipn.* 2.43b; see also Theophr., *Hist. Plant.* 5.8.1.

38 [Arist.], *Mir. Ausc.* 835b.

39 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.5 = *FGH* 564 F 5.

40 Arist., *Pol.* 7.10.3 (1329b).

41 *FGH* 566 F 50; 53; 85. See Van Compernolle (1959), p. 488. Humm (2007), pp. 279–288, has argued that the passage from the *Ineditum Vaticanum* (*FGH* 839 F 2) dealing with Appius Claudius' rejection of Pyrrhus' peace offer, which has already been mentioned (see pp. 30–31) should be recognized as a fragment from Timaeus' work. Whilst this is very convincing, less acceptable is the consideration that here Timaeus would have proposed a definition of Italy limited to the Southern part of the peninsula and excluding Rome and Latium. This cannot be argued from the text, which simply speaks of "the Greek element in Italy", before mentioning Samnites, Lucanians, Bruttii, Romans and Latins. Therefore, in no way can this fragment reveal anything about the underlying conception of Italy.

42 Lepore (1963), pp. 95–100; Prontera (1998), pp. 12–13; Marcotte (2001), pp. 292–294; Humm (2010), pp. 46–48.

priated and adopted by the local populations,[43] if a famous inscription from Luco dei Marsi, carved at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, really indicates a *finem etalicom* rather than, as other readings seem to prefer, a *finem esalicom*.[44] When Appian referred to the time immediately preceding the explosion of the Second Punic War, he distinguished between "proper Italy" (again from Latium to the tip of Calabria), Etruria and Umbria,[45] and described the peninsula as composed of the former, as well as regions that are "now called Italy":

> The Apennines extend from the centre of the Alpine range to the sea. The country on the right-hand side of the Apennines is Italy proper. The other side, extending to the Adriatic, is now called Italy also, just as Etruria is now called Italy, but is inhabited by persons of Greek descent, along the Adriatic shore, the remainder being occupied by Gauls, the same people who at an early period attacked and burned Rome. [...] Hence this part of the country is still called Gallic Italy.[46]

Appian presumably found this information about a further enlargement of the geographic concept in previous literature.[47] Unfortunately, he did not provide any form of chronological frame for the "extension" of the Italic name to the regions in the northern part of the peninsula, but the "now" seems to have referred to that of his source rather than his own, or even to be a direct reference to his historical object, the time of the Hannibalic War. This seems to be demonstrated by his use of the word shortly before this widely-discussed passage, at the beginning of his book on the Second Punic War. Hannibal had crossed the Alps and "advanced to the river Eridanus, now called the Po", and it was at this time that the consul Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio "learned of Hannibal's incursion into Italy".[48] It is also impossible to understand the previously discussed passages in Livy dealing with the Hannibalic

43 No sources reveal an earlier appropriation of the concept of Italy by Italic populations, as claimed by Humm (2010), pp. 48–53, who believes that the Oscans had already adopted this concept by the 5th century BCE, substantially assigning to them the etymology adopted by Hellanicus, and attributing even more the special role of a pan-Italic sanctuary to the sanctuary of Mefitis in the *Ampsancti valles*, defined as "central" in later Augustan sources. Strab. 5.1.1 wrote of a possible extension of the name before the Roman conquest, but this is not necessarily to connect to Italic perceptions. Dench (2005), pp. 159–160, also supposes, without proof, that "non-Greek conceptualizations of *Italia*" existed during the 5th–4th century BCE.

44 *ILLRP* 7 = *CIL* 1^2.5. See Massa (1996), pp. 32–33.

45 App., *Civ*. 1.36

46 App., *Rom*. 7.2.8; transl. H. White.

47 See J.H.C. Williams (2001), pp. 134–135. However, it is impossible to assume that this source was in Latin, and even more impossible to deduce that it was Fabius Pictor (Massa (1996), pp. 15–17, on the basis of the perceived "anti-Gallic" and "anti-Greek" nature of this definition of Italy, on which see *infra*, pp. 156–157) or another contemporary annalist (Mazzarino (1973), pp. 216–217).

48 App., *Rom*. 7.2.5; transl. H. White.

War as compatible with Appian.[49] Sources concerning the relationship between Romans and Bruttii during the 2nd century BCE are even less useful for supporting Appian's statement. While Massa's idea that there was a "denigrating campaign" against the Bruttii during this period may be exaggerated, it is not wrong. What is wrong is attributing this campaign not, as would have been more reasonable, to their behavior during the Hannibalic War,[50] but to a supposed "tension" between a preexisting Greek idea of Italy (the Cisapenninical one) and the developing "Roman *Italia*" (extended to the Alps).[51]

Simon recently tried again to identify in some Livian passages concerning the Second Punic War the existence of an older, Greek definition of Italy, supposedly adopted by the Carthaginians, referring only to the Southern part of the peninsula and not to its whole extension up to the Alps.[52] If this is possible, it is still not the Roman definition of the concept – of most interest here – which is at stake. Even if Hannibal's devastation was mostly confined to the Southern regions, references to the devastation he brought to the whole of Italy can easily be interpreted in the hyperbolic evaluation of the Second Punic War as the greatest danger faced by Rome in Roman cultural memory since the 2nd century BCE.

The concept therefore arrived in Rome after the Greek elaboration, and perhaps even filtered through Italic, non-Greek, populations. It seems, however, to have been subject to a further expansion to the Alps, as testified by Appian, by the end of the 3rd century BCE, from which time it began to be applied to the territorial shape that, as has been shown, was being created simultaneously. The "region Italy", as defined by its Alpine boundary, appears in Roman culture to have immediately given birth to this Greek loan as a name. This expansion is therefore to be disconnected from any ethnical or linguistic features, which were, for example, taken into account by Chilver when he stated that the enlargement of Italy had to have been a product of the diffusion of urbanism and of Latin as a language, and that only when Northern Italy looked like Central Italy would this lexical extension almost automatically occur.[53] On the contrary, the Roman adoption of the name was tightly bound to the genesis of the regional territory, as described in the previous chapter, and always unmistakably identified it.

Contrary to this statement, it has been suggested that during the first half of the 3rd century BCE, the Romans originally accepted a definition of Italy that was still the "expanded Greek" one present in Appian, which identified the area up to the Apen-

49 See above, pp. 61–62.
50 See *infra*, pp. 117–118.
51 Massa (1996), pp. 32–34.
52 Simon (2011), pp. 125–131. The Carthaginian idea of Italy, perhaps shared by the Macedonians, was different, and appears in the text of the treaty between Philip V and Hannibal (215 BCE), as referenced by Polybius: see above, p. 43.
53 Chilver (1941), pp. 13–15.

nines,[54] or even to the colony of Ariminum, founded in 268 BCE, as marking the limit of what was then conceived of as Italy from a Roman perspective. By this time detached from its Greek background, this was a concept that would have indicated the areas of the peninsula under Roman control.[55] Brizzi, for example, interpreted the construction of the *via Aemilia* in 187 BCE as the realization of a real *limes*, marking the boundary of "Italy proper" against the feared possibility of a fresh invasion.[56] These two explanations eventually come full circle, reinforcing one another as they unite the areas reached by Roman expansion with the older Greek definition of Italy, as stated by Appian.

The Greek sources, though, cannot help much in defining the Roman use of the geographical term. A poem written by Alcaeus of Messene during the Second Macedonian War simply refers to "the Latins, whom Titus [Quinctius Flamininus] took from wide Italy".[57] However, during the 2nd century BCE, Greek authors were still fairly "conservative" regarding their use of the name Italy, which generally appears in the context of one of its "older" meanings, referring only to the central and southern part of the peninsula. This is, for example, the case with the geographical work in iambic meter known as the *Periodos* by the Pseudo-Scymnus, which is presumed to have been composed around the 120s BCE.[58] The author, who mainly used sources from the 5th century BCE, presented an image of Italy that corresponds exactly to the Herodotean und Thucydidean one: "Italy is bordering upon Oenotria..."[59] – and the Oenotrians are described as having reached Poseidonia / Paestum.[60]

Such a conservative use among Greek authors should not come as a surprise. Ἰταλία was a Greek name, which the Greeks introduced to define a region, and they therefore went on using it just as they had before. The greatest exception to this

54 Mommsen (1888[8]), p. 528; Gabba (1978), pp. 11–12; Salmon (1982), p. 68; J.H.C. Williams (2001), pp. 128–129. This problem is also connected to the eventual acceptance of the existence of the Treaty of Philinus: see above, pp. 29–30.

55 Salmon (1982), p. 67; see also above, pp. 31–32. Also Humm (2010), pp. 54–55, who based on the use of Ἰταλία on an embassy to the Romans sent by Demetrius, according to Strabo (5.3.5), surely not relevant regarding the identification of the Roman concept of Italy. Even less acceptable is his belief that the genealogical myths connecting Rome with Greece "reflect without any doubt also the adoption from the Roman side of the Greek conception of Italy" (Humm (2010), p. 56).

56 Brizzi (1987), pp. 44–57.

57 Plut., *Flamin*. 9.2. The epigram is also transmitted as *Anth. Pal.* 7.247, but without the two central verses concerning the identity of the victors of Macedonia, including Flamininus and Italy, maybe due to the fact, mentioned by Plutarch, that Flamininus felt offended by the text, exalting the role of the Aetolians towards that of the Romans.

58 Baronowski (2011), pp. 40–42.

59 Ps.-Scymn., *Period*. 300. See Musti (1988), pp. 278–279.

60 Ps.-Scymn., *Period*. 247–248.

pattern was Polybius' use of the name, described in the previous chapter[61], which makes his statements even more relevant as he clearly used Ἰταλία not in the way he would have learned and practiced had he stayed in Greece, but in all likelihood in the context of the territorial extension that he heard the Romans assign to it. Nothing leads us to infer that Polybius here adopted a Greek definition of Italy, later appropriated by the Romans,[62] while all available sources hint at the opposite. Correspondingly, in Polybius as in later Greek authors, the term Ἰταλιώτης, which had earlier identified the Greek inhabitants of Magna Graecia and differentiated them from the Ἰταλικοί, the indigenous populations,[63] assumed the general (and Roman) meaning of "Italic".[64] Whether the Romans were included in this definition is a greater problem, which will be discussed later.[65]

When Italy appeared in a context identifiable as culturally Roman, it always comprised the entire peninsula up to the Alps.[66] That the Greek and Roman concepts of Italy were different, and could lead to inconsistencies, seems to have been confirmed by Pliny, when he admitted that *pudet a Graecis Italiae rationem mutuari*.[67] Of no help is the mention of *orasque Italicas omnis, qua adgreditur mare* in Plautus' *Menaechmi*, composed around the end of the 3rd century.[68] This is firstly because the text was derived, as was the case with all Plautus' comedies, from a Greek model (which is in this case unknown), and it is impossible to know whether this passage – a list of lands, from Spain to Illyria, which Menaechmus II and Messenio visited looking for Menaechmus I – was simply translated by Plautus, or was somehow changed and actualized. Furthermore, this passage does not allow us to understand what exactly was meant here by the term Italy, mentioned after *Histros, Hispanos,*

61 See above, pp. 40–41 and 67.
62 Humm (2010), p. 58.
63 For example, Thuc. 6.44.3.
64 For example, Polyb. 5.104.3; 6.1.2; Strab. 5.4.2 (although at 6.1.1 it is used in its "classical" meaning defining Greeks living in Italy); Plut., *G. Gracch.* 5.2.
65 See below, pp. 287–293.
66 This is the definition that was also eventually accepted by Strab. 5.1.1–2. Salmon (1982), p. 76, believed that "by 241" the previous concept of Italy (to the northern Appennines), was extended to the Alps. Unacceptable is the interpretation proposed by Gely (1991), pp. 28–29, according to whom *Italia* originally indicated only the southwestern tip of Italy. After the fall of Tarentum in 272 BCE, the name would have defined the entire southern peninsula, and following the Hannibalic War, the part of Italy lying on the south-western side of the Apennines, then including the Samnites with the Social War and extending to the Alps only in Caesar's time. See also Badian (1958), p. 30 and Vattuone (1987), pp. 75–78. This does not exclude the fact that *Italia* could have sometimes also indicated smaller parts, but this happened when it was used next to the names of "sub-regions", such as Tuscia or Cisalpina, assuming the meaning of "the rest of Italy". In this sense, the idea expressed by Wistrand (1952), that a "narrower" sense of Italy also continued to exist during the Principate, cannot be accepted.
67 Plin., *HN* 3.122.
68 Plaut., *Men.* 237.

Massiliensis, Hilurios, mare superum omne Graeciamque exoticam. The sequence is therefore not geographic, and if Italy seems to have been on the other side of the Adriatic in relation to Illyria, its relation to "exotic Greece", a term indicating Greek colonies outside the motherland, is not at all clear. The only thing which can be deduced is that the term did not indicate, as it did in the 5th century, the Greek communities in opposition to the "indigenous" ones, whilst nothing can be deduced regarding the conception of Italy's extension towards the north.

There is therefore nothing to suggest that the Romans ever had a different definition of *Italia* than that of the territory up to the Alps, the fixation of which as the region's territorial shape has already been described. Consequently, the appearance of the name is concurrent with that of the territory as a unitary entity. From that time the term also began to be used not only as a geographical indication, but also as a form of metonymy, to indicate the core, the very center and essence of Roman power. This once again appears to be evident in the sources connected with the final years of the 3rd century BCE, in particular with the Hannibalic War, or retroactively with the First Punic War. For example, Polybius, referring to this military confrontation, opposed – using a form of antonomasia – Italy and Libya meaning Rome and Carthage.[69]

From this time onwards, wars were often presented as having been fought against the invader by the whole of Italy. This happened first with the Gallic War of 225 BCE; this happened in later elaboration, in a retroactive way, and maybe based on the fact that this was possibly the first occasion on which the system of the *formula togatorum* organized the participation of the *socii* in Roman military activity.[70] Pliny the Elder mentioned how under these circumstances, *nuntiato Gallico tumultu*, Italy had fought alone, without external help, whilst in the later, short formulation of Eutropius, it was simply stated that *ingentes Gallorum copiae Alpes transierunt. Sed pro Romanis tota Italia consensit*.[71] But this discourse is much older, as similar expressions had already been used by Polybius, who emphasized how scary and dangerous this invasion had been for all Italics,[72] clearly stating that on this occasion all inhabitants of Italy had not fought as allies of the Romans, or for their hegemony, but because they had perceived the invaders as a menace that threatened their own houses and territories.[73]

It is impossible to know how quickly this discourse might have imposed itself. The introduction of the *formula togatorum*, and thus the practice of common fighting, surely played an important role in determining the birth, during the last

69 Polyb. 1.20.7.
70 See pp. 212–213.
71 Plin., *HN* 3.138; Eutr. 3.5.
72 Polyb. 2.31.7.
73 Polyb. 2.23.12–13. This perspective was fully accepted by Gabba (1986), p. 249; Gabba (1990), pp. 69–70. See Keaveney (1987), p. 28; Massa (1996), p. 79.

quarter of the 3rd century BCE, of a sense of "Italic community".[74] Once again, a central role in reinforcing and structuring such a definition of the name of the region as antonomasia seems to have been played by the Second Punic War. This particular conflict would have had a determinant function in developing the Romans' perception of the importance of Italy for their own safety (*bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis*, stated Livy, with a meaningful hendiadys).[75] Not only did the war help to create the perception of Italy as a region,[76] but also its denomination through the extension of a term that the Greeks had already applied to its central and southern part. It was halfway through the war, in 210 BCE, that the *provincia Italia*, i.e. a special command for Italy assigned during specific years to one or both consuls, appeared for the first time, unequivocally naming the region.[77] The foundation in 206 BCE of the city of Italica, inhabited by both Romans and Italics, is also of use to our understanding of this development of the Roman name of Italy as something that metonymically evoked their region and their "home" during this time.[78] The town, founded by Scipio for his injured soldiers, had a programmatic name, which "ausdrücken soll, dass sie für die hier angesiedelten Soldaten eine neue Heimat, ein neues Italien sein sollte".[79]

The geographical consideration that the war had taken place on the peninsula and had interested almost all of its inhabitants (κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, wrote Polybius),[80] was quickly transformed into the tradition according to which the entirety of Italy, on the side of the Romans, defeated the Carthaginians. Polybius himself insisted, as did the entire literary tradition that followed him,[81] on Hannibal's frequent attempts to get the Italic allies to betray Rome.[82] Historically, such attempts endangered Rome's stability, but in Roman historical narratives, which stressed the unity of Italy, Hannibal's efforts were frequently unsuccessful. These narratives generated traditions concerning the heroic resistance of individual towns to the Carthaginian invader. The Italic cities, in spite of "great fear and many difficulties",[83] kept their πίστις without yielding until the battle of Cannae,[84] following which, Polybius was forced to admit, Tarentum, Arpi and Capua changed sides. But

74 See pp. 203–217.
75 Liv. 21.16.6. This had already been recognised by Beloch (1880), p. 62.
76 See above, pp. 61–62.
77 Cassola (1991), p. 41.
78 App., *Rom.* 6.7.38. See Nissen (1883), p. 72; Gabba (1998), p. 17.
79 Galsterer (1971), p. 7. See also Corzo Sánchez (2002), pp. 123–124.
80 Polyb. 3.16.6. According to Polybius, Hannibal also said during a speech to his soldiers, that should they win, they would fight to become lords of the entirety of Italy: Polyb. 3.111.9.
81 For example, App., *Rom.* 7.2.10.
82 On Hannibal's "freedom propaganda" see Stepper (2006), pp. 398–399.
83 Polyb. 3.94.7.
84 Polyb. 3.90.13.

according to Polybius' narration, even after the Romans, concerned as they were about saving the *Urbs* itself, had to renounce to their δυναστεία over the Italics (ἀπεγνώκεισαν: they lost it "actively", they gave up of their own decision), Hannibal was not master of the entire peninsula, but only of the coast.[85]

This presentation of the Second Punic War as a collective conflict between Italy and the invader is evident in Sallust's work, according to which Hannibal had worn out the *Italiae opes*.[86] Livy, in turn, also made constant remarks about both Hannibal's endeavor to convince the Italics to come over to his side,[87] and the fidelity of the Italic allies, even during the most difficult phases of the war.[88] In his narratives, the Roman historian particularly emphasized the help provided to the survivors during the immediate aftermath of Cannae by an Apulian woman of Canusium, Busa,[89] and by the entire Latin colony of Venusia.[90] He admits that Cannae changed something in the attitude of the Italic allies,[91] but does so in an explanatory mode that appears quite gentle and understanding: "For the rest, how greatly this disaster exceeded those that had gone before is plain from this: the loyalty of the allies, which had held firm until the day of Cannae, now began to waver, assuredly for no other reason than because they had lost all hope of the empire".[92] Livy also carefully portrayed the allied cities in most cases as split, almost on the edge of a civil war, in order to present the local elites as enduringly faithful to Rome and to attribute to the lowest social strata the eventual responsibility of treason: "One malady, so to speak, had attacked all the city-states of Italy, that the common people were at odds with the upper class, the senate inclining to the Romans, the common people drawing the state to the side of the Carthaginians".[93] This is not a new model, nor is it unique to the Hannibalic War. According to Livy's narrative, Lucanians and Apulians sought the protection of the Romans at the beginning of the Samnite Wars of their own free will, and the Lucanians' subsequent defection was explained as the initiative of a small group of youngsters, *clari magis inter populares quam honesti*, in or-

85 Polyb. 3.118.2–5.
86 Sall., *Iug*. 5.4.
87 For example, Liv. 23.15.4; 24.20.10 and 14–15.
88 Liv. 22.13.11; 22.39.11–12.
89 Fronda (2010), pp. 95–96.
90 Liv. 22.52.7; 54.2; Val. Max. 4.8.2.
91 P. Scipio spoke of a *defectio Italiae, Siciliae maioris partis, Sardiniae* during a direct speech attributed to him by Livy (26.41.12).
92 Liv. 22.61.10: *quanto autem maiore a clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, vel ea res indicio est, quod fides sociorum, quae ad eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit, nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperaverant de imperio*; transl. B.O. Foster.
93 Liv. 24.2.8: *unus velut morbus invaserat omnes Italiae civitates ut plebes ab optimatibus dissentirent, senatus Romanis faveret, plebs ad Poenos rem traheret*; transl. F.G. Moore.

der to free the rest of the population from the suspicion of having been opposed to Roman rule.[94]

But even after Cannae it was the Carthaginian Hanno, who from the very beginning had opposed the war, that had to explain to the Carthaginian Senate that Italy had not rebelled against Rome in its entirety, and that too many enemies were still to be fought, particularly with reference to the extension of the *ager Romanus*, and to the Latins.[95] The following stories were filled with episodes of fidelity, particularly that of the upper classes of individual towns, such as Neapolis, Nuceria and Nola.[96] According to these narratives, many Campanian towns did not voluntarily defect from Rome, but had to be conquered with violence or tricked by the "Campanians" who were now on the Carthaginian side.[97] Immediately afterwards came the story of the troops from Praeneste and Perusia, who occupied Casilinum and held it against the Carthaginians.[98] This review of the faithful allies concludes with the story of the courageous defense of Petelia.[99]

Appian went even further with this narrative construction, explaining that after Cannae, the first thing Hannibal had had to do was fight the Roman allies. After describing the siege of Petelia,[100] the historian briefly introduces the events in Arpi, where only Dasius, "a very fickle-minded person" (and descendant of the Greek Diomedes)[101] is held to account for the change of allegiance.[102] Even the Greek Tarentum is betrayed by a single person, whilst it is stressed that a section of the population supported the Romans and that they also received help from Metapontum and Thurii.[103] The rebellions against Rome are generally underplayed, whilst instances of help and support, such as that from Alba, are strongly highlighted.[104] In order to reinstate an element of balance and "improve the position" of many Italic allies, their liberation from the Carthaginians is also generally presented as a rebellion to rejoin the Romans, even in the case of the Bruttii, who actually remained loyal to

94 Liv. 8.27.2–7.
95 Liv. 23.12.15–17.
96 Liv. 23.15–16; 44.1–2; 46.3.
97 See Liv. 23.35–37 on Cumae, tricked by the Campanians, assaulted by the Carthaginians and successfully defended by the Romans.
98 Liv. 23.17.8–11. This episode was also transformed in cultural memory into the demonstration of the fidelity of the different Italic groups defending Casilinum: see Strab. 5.4.10; Val. Max. 7.6.2.
99 Liv. 23.4–10. See also below, pp. 141–142.
100 App., *Rom.* 7.5.29.
101 See below, pp. 129–130.
102 App., *Rom.* 7.5.31. Dasius is made responsible for the betrayal also in Sil. It., *Pun.* 13.30–35. A Dasius was strongly committed on Hannibal's side in Salapia too, and opposed to the pro-Roman Blattius, according to Liv. 26.38; Val. Max. 3.8.ext.1; App., *Rom.* 7.7.45.
103 App., *Rom.* 7.6.32–34.
104 App., *Rom.* 7.6.39.

Hannibal until the very end, and whom the Carthaginian commander, in Appian's version, continued to view with great suspicion.[105]

Cato was the first to use the expression *terra Italia*, an ideologically loaded definition that appears not by chance in a fragment from the oration *De Acheis*, dealing with the Hannibalic devastation of the peninsula: *cumque Hannibal terram Italiam laceraret atque vexaret*.[106] In another fragment from the oration *De bello Carthaginensi*, probably delivered in the Senate during 150 BCE and also dealing with Carthaginian destruction, Cato stressed the almost "organic" unity of what was referred to as Italy during the Second Punic War: "Who were those, who disfigured Italy (*qui Italiam deformarunt*)? The Carthaginians".[107]

After the war, as will be shown, the name *Italia* was also used as an "official term", which did not need any further explanation or definition. Whilst the use of the term by Tiberius Gracchus has already been dealt with,[108] the *lex agraria* of 111 BCE also referred to *terra Italia* in the same way, taking it for granted that everybody would understand its meaning,[109] as the *lex Acilia de repetundis* of 123–122 BCE had already done.[110] Therefore, by this time, the name *Italia* appears to have been consolidated as defining the symbolic shape of the "institutionalized" region.

The long-term consequences would become evident after the Social War, when the complete homogenization, also from a juridical point of view, of Italic territory (with the provisional exception of Cisalpina) made the collective identification of its inhabitants even easier.[111] Italy became the common fatherland of Roman citizens, as demonstrated by Verres' decision to crucify Gavius in Messina, at a spot from which he could see the peninsula, which to him as a Roman citizen – and to a scandalized Cicero – was a *domus*.[112] The use of *Italia* as a concept in Cicero's *Pro Sestio* appears to have been particularly meaningful in this sense, which directly anticipated the image of Italy proposed by Augustus in his *Res Gestae* – the famous *coniuratio Italiae*.[113] Still, in 66 BCE Cicero could praise in the *Pro Cluentio* the *com-*

105 App., *Rom*. 7.8.54; 7.9.57.

106 *ORF*[3] 8.XLVIII.187. See Humm (2010), p. 57.

107 *Rhet. Her*. 4.14.20; Quint., *Inst. Or. 9*.3.31. For the attribution of this fragment to the lost oration *De bello Carthaginensi* see Nenci (1962), pp. 367–368.

108 See pp. 65–66.

109 *CIL* 1[2].585 = *FIRA* 1[2].8. See Catalano (1961/1962), pp. 211–213; Catalano (1978), pp. 535–536; De Libero (1994), pp. 318–319; Bispham (2007a), pp. 60–67. According to Bispham (2007a), p. 67, this expression had already assumed a "technical" meaning before the Hannibalic War. On the meaning of *Italia* in juridical regulations of the 2nd century BCE, see *infra*, pp. 197–199.

110 Crawford (1996), n. 1, p. 68, l. 31.

111 Nash (1987), p. 96–97.

112 Cic., *Verr*. 2.5.169. See Keaveney (1984), p. 355.

113 See Le Bris (2007), p. 77. On the *coniuratio Italiae* see, among others, Dyson (1992), p. 95; Simon (2011), pp. 49–52.

munis pax Italiae,[114] as he was able to insist on the fact that *cuncta Italia* had supported his consulate.[115] Later on, Caesar introduced the concept of Italy as a form of legitimation, thus opening the way to Augustan propaganda.[116] The origins of this were the narrations concerning the Second Punic War, during which Rome had been saved by the intervention of *tota Italia*, as Lucilius, among other authors,[117] had already emphasized.

The *Consanguineitas* of the Italic Peoples

Pre-Roman Italy was a territory in which many different groups, which spoke different languages and expressed different material cultures (often derived from progressive stratifications) lived together. Nonetheless, over the course of the centuries such groups developed – through mechanisms of Othering, which are typical to phenomena of identity creation – an Us/Them dichotomy, similar to that used in Greek culture since the 5th century BCE to distinguish "Greekness" from Barbarism. This latter division was mostly based on linguistic factors, but also on customs, religion, and laws[118]. During the last centuries BCE, an idea of "Italicness" was developed for which we have evidence dating from at least the Augustan period, the birth and progression of which must be analyzed here. A significant proportion of modern historiography accepts this image as historical, supposing that during ar-

114 Cic., *Cluent*. 195.

115 Cic., *Pis*. 3. Of course it is a huge exaggeration, but the concept of *Italia* evident here was a direct anticipation of that which would be instrumentally used by Augustus. In this sense Mouritsen (1998), p. 96, is too reductive; see Carlà-Uhink (2017b), p. 270. On the idea of *tota Italia* in Cicero, see also Dench (2005), pp. 184–185. The importance of Italia in Cicero's political thought and action was already clear to Plutarch: *Cic*. 32.5; 33.8.

116 App., *Civ*. 2.41–42. See Sordi (2008), p. 89.

117 On Lucilius, see above, pp. 63–64. Coelius Antipater: Massa (1996), p. 44; Simon (2011), pp. 117–119.

118 Hdt. 8.144.2, but also 2.158.5; Diod. Sic. 1.8.4; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.89.4. See also Strab. 8.1.2: "There have been many tribes in Greece, but those which go back to the earliest times are only as many in number as the Greek dialects which we have learned to distinguish"; transl. H.L. Jones. See in general, E. Hall (1989). Here, on pp. 4–5, it is evident how the insistence on language in defining identity was specific to Greek culture. Nonetheless Cic., *Off*. 1.53, in a passage surely deeply influenced by Greek thought, also identified *lingua*, next to *gens* and *natio*, as one of the elements with which people "associate", even if he attributed a greater role to *civitas*, which defined a narrower circle. On this, see also below, pp. 283–284. In general, language is still perceived today as the "most pervasive and obvious sign of distinctiveness" (Paasi (1996), pp. 90–91). It is in any case possible that the definition through language was not the first and earliest way of defining the "barbarians", but it was certainly a dominant feature during the Hellenistic age: Dench (2005), pp. 305–314. See, among others, Poccetti (1984b), pp. 146–152; T. Harrison (1998); Moggi (1998), in particular pp. 102–105; Jouanna (2001), pp. 24–29; Poccetti (2014), §§ 4–5.

chaic times the Latin, Greek, Etruscan, and Umbrian cultures gave life, through contact and exchange and under the pressure of Hellenization, to a sort of common culture, which has been defined "italic *koiné*" by authors such as Santo Mazzarino.[119] This concept, the development of which can be explained in the context of Italian politics during the 20th century, must be rejected.[120] It must also be underlined that this "Italicness" was primarily a discursive construction developed in the context of the "institutionalization" of Italy as a region.

The genesis of the symbolic shape of a region does not only mean the adoption of a specific and common name to define its territorial shape. It also means the development of common histories and foundation myths, "public narratives",[121] the product of the "invention of traditions" (Hobsbawm) or of "intentional history" (Gehrke).[122] These are expressed in discourse and often materialized in the form of monuments and *lieux de mémoire* that found and project into the past the common belonging implied by the territorialization process and the creation of a region as an "assemblage".[123] In the ancient world, one of the most recurrent strategies in this sense is represented by discursive constructions of the consanguinity of the involved communities – i.e. the demonstration of common origins, which can be argued from similarities in customs, cults, languages etc., and explained through familiarity and common descent. These are, with the help of mythical figures and narrations, as well as the construction of genealogies,[124] used to demonstrate the fact that in distant times such groups already constituted a distinct community with a unique identity, which was later divided and split.[125]

What is at stake here is therefore not the effective "unity" of Italy in a cultural sense, but the Roman perception of it, and the way the Romans constructed an Italic

119 Mazzarino (1992[2]), in particular pp. 164–165. See also David (1994), pp. 8–9; Cornell (1995a), p. 169.

120 If it is true that such contacts could have led to some loans and similarities, for example, in the structure of political institutions, central in Mazzarino's analysis, it seems impossible to talk of a common culture – leaning on the data from material culture – in the Italic peninsula before the 1st century BCE.

121 Somers/Gibson (1994), p. 62: "Public narratives are those narratives attached to cultural and institutional formations larger than the single individual, to intersubjective networks or institutions, however local or grand, micro or macro". See also Lucy (2005), p. 99.

122 Hobsbawm (1982); Gehrke (2000).

123 Cohen (1985), pp. 98–103. On assemblage theory, and in particular on the processes of territorialization and deterritorialization connected to the identity of an assemblage, see De Landa (2006), pp. 8–25.

124 Malkin (1998), p. 61; Malkin (2001), pp. 9–12; Dench (2005), p. 12; Martínez Pinna (2008), pp. 14–15.

125 In general, see C.P. Jones (1999), pp. 6–16. This does not contradict the fact that the Romans, in other texts and contexts, could stress the *rusticitas* or the general backwardness of Italic populations, thus assuming a civilizing role: on this see below, pp. 181–183.

unity on a symbolic level. In this sense the "unification" of Italy and the definition of a basic familiarity and affinity of the peninsula's inhabitants, as a Roman cultural construct and as Roman discourse,[126] can be identified as pivotal within the construction of the "region" of Italy. They occurred as a result of a multiplicity of narratives, many of which, as will be shown, partially contradict one another. Nonetheless, it has been demonstrated that this was the norm rather than the exception during Antiquity, and it is important to consider the myths not only individually, but also together, as they shape a sum of "foundation discourses", especially focusing on the reasons why in specific situations one story was chosen.[127] It can thus be demonstrated that during the Republican period, the Romans developed the *topos* of a *consanguineitas* of the Italic peoples,[128] who they considered to be "naturally", "ethnically", and even "genetically" bound to each other and to Rome, and therefore "destined" to cooperate politically and militarily. In this way, the idea of *consanguineitas* / συγγένεια became central to political discourse,[129] and was used with particular intensity from the second half of the 2nd century BCE, and in preparation for the Social War.[130] This idea worked for the Romans for a long time. Tacitus, for

126 It is probable that single Italic groups and populations had already developed myths of consanguinity binding them to other groups, and that these traditions were used by the Romans and embedded in the broader construction of the Italic *consanguineitas*. It is thus possible, as argued by Sisani (2009), p. 34, that the idea of an Italic pan-Sabinism was created in pre-Roman Italy. Briquel (1999), pp. 49–51, attributes the tradition of the ethnogenesis of the Samnites through a *ver sacrum* to their forms of self-representation. The same is in his opinion valid for the entire set of traditions about *ver sacrum*: see Dench (1995), p. 206; Scopacasa (2015), pp. 36–37. In this case, the Romans could have adopted and elaborated traditions already existing among indigenous communities. A precise analysis of such pre-Roman traditions lies in any case outside the scope of the present work.

127 Mac Sweeney (2015), pp. 1–3. It is indeed true that there is not one single myth defining the *consanguineitas* of all the populations of Italy, as underlined by Martínez Pinna (2008), p. 11, but the complex of narrations defines, as will be shown, a "network" of consanguinity absolving to the same function, which derives not only from the fragmentary condition of the transmission, but also from the "stratified" process of its genesis. It should not be forgotten that "common blood" is, together with common language (as well as religion and customs) also an element constituting "Greekness" in Hdt. 8.144.2.

128 On the meaning of *consanguineitas* in ancient sources, and its difference from *cognatio*, see Battistoni (2010), pp. 71–72, who argues firstly that the latter refers to the past, whilst the former stresses the biological bond in the present, and secondly that *cognatio* was used exclusively during an earlier time, whilst *consanguineitas* has only had this function since the writings of Livy. Here the term *consanguineitas* will only be used to refer to familiarities adopted during these diplomatic and political discourses, and this discussion will be simply left aside.

129 On the concept of συγγένεια, which already in the Greek tradition "does not signify an externally defined system of cognative relationships between siblings and cousins, but rather the kin relationships that a particular individual might recognize at any one time by reference to shared ancestors in the lineage", see J.M. Hall (1997), pp. 36–37.

130 For example, App., *Civ*. 1.1.9. See Giardina (1994), pp. 22–25.

example, stated that this particular argument was used to oppose Claudius' proposal to admit provincials from Gallia Comata into the Senate in 48 CE.[131]

The first population considered to be related by blood to the Romans was the Latins, who seem to have developed a clear ethnic identity during the archaic period.[132] The Romans were considered to be ethnically Latin, but were also thought to have been exposed quite early on to a higher level of fusion and mixture with other groups, as demonstrated by the legend of Aeneas as well as that of the Rape of the Sabine Women, which will be analyzed below, or by the entire tradition of Romulus' asylum. Nonetheless, the connection to the Latins, probably developed before the 4th century BCE,[133] remained strong and reappeared, as will be shown, with a strong political significance at the end of the 2nd century BCE.[134] Still, as will later be argued, after the Latin War of 340–338 BCE, the Latins ceased to have a clear ethnic identity, becoming rather a juridical category, which only later reassumed a specific salience starting with Gaius Gracchus.[135]

If Polybius was correct in claiming that the Mamertines from Messana asked for Roman help in 270 BCE by referring to their being ὁμοφύλοι with them,[136] as mem-

131 Tac., *Ann.* 11.23. See Giardina (1994), pp. 17–20.

132 The Latins were defined as *consanguinei* in Liv. 8.4.3. It is relevant that the Romans always defined their language as Latin, since the names of languages in the ancient world were almost always ethnonyms: see Poccetti (1984b), pp. 145–146. On the Latin ethnic identity, see Grandazzi (1988). Alföldi (1963), pp. 1–10, considered, consistently with his idea of a migration of the Latins to Italy, that they already had a clear ethnic identity during the prehistoric period.

133 Martínez Pinna (2008), pp. 12–14.

134 See below, pp. 350–353.

135 See pp. 222–223 and 347–350.

136 Polyb. 1.10.2. On the Mamertines as "constructed community", see Herring (2000), pp. 69–71. On the concept of ὁμοφυλία, which appears to have been more "generic" than that of συγγένεια, and to have indicated "the sharing of cultural or legal facts", see Russo (2012a), pp. 35–42; Russo (2012b), pp. 13–14 and pp. 48–59, even if Russo's interpretation, according to which the Romans and the Mamertines would have been bound only by citizenship issues (and in particular by the *civitas sine suffragio* accorded to Capua), seems to excessively underestimate the idea of a shared community, even in affective terms, implicit in the word. This is demonstrated by the very Campanian case which Russo quotes as a comparison, since Liv. 23.7.6 defined the Campanians as *consanguinei*. Russo's following statement, that the idea of ὁμοφυλία derived from the "common belonging to the 'concept' of *Italia*" (p. 45) seems more fitting, but does not exclude – or rather it reinforces – the ethnical nature of this "community", which he seeks to deny. Should Russo be right, this would simply imply that the "language of *consanguineitas*" developed sometime after the first half of the 3rd century BCE. On the contrary, Battistoni (2010), pp. 60–61 (see also pp. 113–115), claims that, particularly in Polybius, ὁμοφυλία refers to a familiarity seen as a "natural" and "objective" fact, while συγγένεια refers to the Hellenistic diplomatic practice. This could imply that Polybius here insisted on the "real" nature of the familiarity as it was claimed by the Mamertines, though Battistoni limits himself to state "è possible che tale scelta veicoli un giudizio o sottolinei un aspetto particolare del supposto legame tra Mamertini e Romani", without explaining at all what this judgment or this particular aspect should in his opinion be.

bers of the same "Italic community", this could be the first trace of a diffusion of such ideas during the first half of the 3rd century BCE. According to Alfius, an author from the 1st century BCE quoted by Festus, the Mamertines identified their origin in a Samnite *ver sacrum*,[137] one of the most typical narrative strategies to construct consanguinity.[138] If this information is applicable to the First Punic War (the topic of Alfius' book, which probably aimed at "exonerating" the Mamertines from the accusation of being barbarian plunderers who caused the explosion of the war),[139] the claim of consanguinity with the Romans could have already had much broader Italic implications. It is clear that in this case it was in the interest of the Mamertines, or at least some of them, to "attract" Roman attention, and they must have believed such an argument would have an effect on Roman ears.[140] This is even more meaningful if Bleckmann's interpretation is accepted, according to which their *deditio* was accepted without any problem; successive discussions, which implied an intervention by the *comitia*, concerned only the opportunity of assigning to Appius Claudius Caudex two legions to help the Mamertines in Messana in 264 BCE.[141] Nonetheless, it is not certain that what Polybius projected here was not the product of a 2nd century re-elaboration of 3rd century events, as suggested by Heurgon,[142] and therefore that the passage can be used with absolute certainty to infer the development of such an "Italic family" by the first half of the 3rd century BCE.[143] In the same way, the definition of οὐκ ὀθνεῖα – "not unfamiliar", "not foreign" – which according to Polybius the Romans would have used for Italy at the beginning of the Pyrrhic War,[144] is significant in revealing how deep-rooted the discourses of consanguinity were at the time Polybius was writing. It is, however, too unreliable a source to draw any kind

137 Fest., *s.v. Mamertini* 150 Lindsay. See Dench (1997), pp. 44–48; Russo (2012b), pp. 139–145.

138 It is important to emphasize that such information cannot be read from a "historically positivist" perspective as trace and recollection of population movements, and must instead be intended as discursive strategy: see J.M. Hall (1997), pp. 41–42. Nonetheless, De Cazanove (2000b), pp. 258–261, suggests that such rituals must have actually existed. The possibility that some population movements underlie at least part of the tradition is completely irrelevant to the topic dealt with here. See, in general, Bourdin (2012), pp. 729–738 (whose idea that the traditions concerning an ethnical interconnection of the populations of central Italy were born from an anti-Roman perspective cannot be accepted). A *ver sacrum* was described in the most general terms by Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.16.2–3.

139 Farney (2007), pp. 222–223. According to Costabile (1984), pp. 54–55, this tradition also assimilated the foundation of the city of the Mamertines with the foundation of Rhegium and thus tried to homologate and "justify" the Italic group in a "Greek way".

140 Humm (2010), pp. 56–57.

141 Bleckmann (2002), pp. 63–77.

142 Heurgon (1957), pp. 33–35.

143 As claimed by Russo (2012b), p. 72, according to whom the concept of Italy entered the "anti-Punic" propaganda with the beginning of the First Punic War.

144 Pol. 1.6.5–6. See Russo (2012b), pp. 74–78; but Russo is convinced that Polybius here faithfully reproduced political discourses of the first half of the 3rd century BCE (see also pp. 84–90).

of conclusion regarding the existence of such ideas and their eventual political use during the time of the Tarentine War.

Once again, the Second Punic War represented a pivotal event in the development of Roman Italy and in its institutionalization. References to the Italic consanguinity, which can be considered to derive from sources contemporary to the war, are indeed abundant.[145] According to Livy, when Terentius Varro received the Capuan ambassadors after Cannae, he stressed that the *communis patria* (Italy) was at stake, and that this war was much worse than those fought against the Samnites. In this particular case – underlining the concept of consanguinity – the hegemony, even if it had been taken away from the Romans, would have remained in Italy, but anyone who had been born in Italy should be disgusted at the idea of being ruled by the Carthaginians, with their inhuman habits (Varro made a huge case here of the cannibalism supposedly practiced in Carthage).[146] According to Livy, Decius Magius, the Capuan who opposed the alliance with Hannibal with the greatest intensity, tried to convince his citizens that it would be horrible to betray *vetustissimos socios consanguineosque*.[147]

Also interesting is the episode concerning the Roman entrance into Arpi, a town that had changed sides and was cooperating with Hannibal. According to Livy, the Romans asked the inhabitants of Arpi "what the Arpini meant, for what offence on the part of the Romans, or for what service on the part of the Carthaginians they, although Italians, were waging war for foreigners and barbarians against their old allies the Romans, and making Italy a tributary and a taxpayer to Africa" – insisting on the concept of the existence of an Italic identity as opposed to the Carthaginian *alienigenae*, only to discover that the citizens, as real Italics, did not want to betray Rome, but had been "sold" to the Carthaginians by their *principes*.[148] Unlike the Roman army, the Carthaginian troops were said to have been composed of variegated groups (among them many mercenaries), which did not share consanguinity and lacked the motivation to give their all, in fighting the war.[149] It therefore had to face

145 Nonetheless, the certainty with which Stepper (2006), pp. 400–401, claims that the Italic "consanguinity" was the main slogan of Roman propaganda during the war, rather than an *ex post* model of interpretation, cannot be completely shared.

146 Liv. 23.5.11–13.

147 Liv. 23.7.6.

148 Liv. 24.47.4–6: *quid sibi vellent Arpini, quam obnoxam Romanorum aut quod meritum Poenorum pro alienigenis ac barbaris Italici adversus veteres socios Romanos bellum gererent et vectigalem ac stipendiariam Italiam Africae facerent*; transl. F.G. Moore. It may be interesting to mention that Livy adhered to a tradition according to which a part of the population of Saguntum originated from the Rutuli of Ardea and was therefore Italic. The *casus belli* of the Second Punic War was thus also connected to a matter of consanguinity: Liv. 21.7.2.

149 For example, Liv. 23.29.8; 25.17.5; 28.44.5; 30.35.9: here Livy describes how Hannibal, during the battle of Zama, had to particularly mistrust Italics, who were dragged from Italy to Africa and obviously, from his perspective, bound by consanguinity to the Romans (many Italic soldiers, notes

rebellions from its own allies, as for example in Spain.[150] This "miscellaneous" nature of the Carthaginian army in comparison to the "national Italic" Roman one was clearly stressed by Diodorus Siculus, who, building on Polybian ideas, claimed that his ability to command such a heterogeneous group was the best demonstration of Hannibal's military skill.[151]

As G. Urso has demonstrated, prophetic texts that sources date to the time of the Second Punic War (the *carmina Marciana* and the previously mentioned passage from the *libri Sibyllini,* which also presented the concept of *terra Italia*),[152] which likely date back to original sources from the 3rd century BCE, as well as other passages from Livy, also confirm the development of this discourse *ex negativo*. They introduce the concept of the *alienigenae* and the enormous danger they represented, as opposed to the Italic communities (and therefore also the "surprise" for the Italics who decided to cooperate with the "strangers").[153]

Appian's presentation of the Second Punic War is from this perspective not altogether different. In his work, the Carthaginian general clearly identified the structures of ethnicity and relatedness constructed by the Romans, "despising the cities still allied to him as foreigners (ἀλλότριοι)".[154] Of the Italic allies, only those "who had been guilty of crimes against their own countries willingly" followed Hannibal to Africa. The others were enslaved or killed, since their background made them unreliable from the Carthaginian perspective, and also "in order that the Romans might not avail themselves of such a splendid body of men".[155] Hannibal, wrote Appian, never had any real sympathy for the Italics, but rather used them out of necessity. Following his departure, "the Senate pardoned all the Italian peoples who had sided with him, and voted a general amnesty except to the Bruttians",[156] who in Roman cultural memory, in the direct aftermath of the events and throughout the centuries that followed, retained the role of the unfaithful allies, who were afterwards punished.[157] But even the Bruttii, who were among the Italic groups that

Livy, even refused to follow Hannibal to Africa and had been killed in the temple of Iuno Lacinia: Liv. 30.19.6). See also Sil. It., *Pun.* 9. 220–243. See Russo (2012b), pp. 46–47.

150 For example, Polyb.11.19.1–4; 23.13.1; Liv.23.26–27; 28.15.14. The Spanish people are also clearly indicated as not tied to the Romans by any bond of consanguinity, in comparison to the Latins and the allies: Liv. 28.32.5–6.

151 Diod. Sic. 29.19.

152 See p. 63.

153 Liv. 24.47.5; 25.12.5; 26.13.7; 29.10.4–5. See Urso (1994); Russo (2012a), p. 49; Russo (2012b), pp. 43–44.

154 App., *Rom.* 7.9.58; transl. H. White.

155 App., *Rom.* 7.9.59; transl. H. White.

156 App., *Rom.* 7.9.60–61; transl. H. White.

157 See, for example, Gell. 10.3.16–19, quoting from Cato's *In Q. Minucium Termum de falsis pugnis*, of 190 BCE (*ORF*³ 8.VI.58). The Bruttian betrayal during the Second Punic War was often presented

had fought for Hannibal up until the last moment, were again presented, in the following book dealing with the war in Africa, as Italics (Ἰταλοί), and as such as "consanguineous" (ὁμοεθνοί) to Scipio. This was a factor that had led Hannibal to regard them with suspicion, in case they had wanted "to secure pardon for their transgression against Italy".[158] In his next book on the *Lybikà*, Appian has Hannibal again remind his troops before the battle of Zama of: "what they had done in Italy, and of their great and brilliant victories won, not over Numidians, but over armies composed entirely of Italians, and throughout Italy".[159]

Livy and Appian could, however, be dismissed as later authors, employing Augustan and post-Augustan discourses, so it is necessary to shift our attention to information available from the Republican period. During the aftermath of the Second Punic War, Ennius showed great interest in presenting similarities and familiarities between different Italic populations, and their "unity" and "cooperation".[160] He emphasized, for example, the bilingual nature of the Bruttii – a characteristic also attributed to them by Lucilius – which could even have had negative connotations (as has been suggested),[161] but surely underlined their genetic connection with other groups and therefore their "Italic" nature, in spite of the fact that they had "betrayed" it.[162] The poet, as did many others after him, insisted with particular intensity on the fusion, from the very beginning, of the Trojans and the *prisci Latini*,[163] and then of the Romans and Sabines as a result of the episode of the Rape of the Sabine Women (even if, according to some versions, some of the women came from Latin towns).[164] As Emma Dench has stated, it is relevant to consider the way in which Ennius interpreted the Rape of the Sabine Women in the only extant fragment of the *praetexta Sabinae* that was dedicated to them, clearly insisting on the aspects of "reconciliation" and the creation of kinship: "When the spoils you have taken are from a son-in-law, what label will you put on them?"[165] This episode was so embed-

in ancient sources and was throughout the following centuries continuously remembered as an enormous fault: see, for example, Fest., *s.v. Bruttiani* 28 Lindsay.

158 App., *Rom.* 8.7.47; transl. H. White.

159 App., *Rom.* 8.7.42; transl. H. White.

160 Enn., *Ann.*, Fr. 7.15 Skutsch, referring to a catalogue of Italic peoples fighting together, presumably, against the Gauls in 225 BCE.

161 So Dench (1995), pp. 76–77.

162 Enn., *Ann.*, Fr. Sed. Inc. 31 Skutsch; Lucil. 1124 Marx. See Poccetti (1988), pp. 75–88.

163 Fabrizi (2012), pp. 45–46. According to Dionysius the *prisci Latini* were, on the contrary, the product of the fusion of Trojans and Aborigines, Pelasgians, Arcadians and Peloponnesians: Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.45.2; 1.60.2–3.

164 Plut., *Rom.* 14.2 and 14.8 insisted, for example, on the fact that the explicit aim of the rape was the fusion of the Romans and the Sabines. See also Liv. 1.9–13. For a comparison of the different traditions concerning the Rape of the Sabine Women, see Poucet (1967), pp. 155–171.

165 Enn., *Scaen.* 370 Vahlen: *cum spolia generis detraxeritis / quam inscriptionem dabitis?*; transl. E. Dench. See Dench (2005), pp. 14–15. See also Fisher (2014), p. 128, on the same myth in Ennius'

ded in Roman traditions concerning the origin of their institutions and culture that it was widely believed that there were thirty raped women, who gave their names to the thirty *curiae*.[166] Ennius also insisted on the common kingship of Romulus and Titus Tatius,[167] and on the function, in the foundation of Roman institutions and identity, of Numa's lawgiving, since Numa was a king of Sabine origin.[168] The tradition of the Sabine derivation of significant aspects of the Roman culture was mostly centered on the figure of the second Roman king, who had already assumed his role by the 2nd century BCE,[169] but also on other secondary stories and figures.[170]

The traditions concerning this connection between Rome and the Sabines could have taken shape during the course of the 3rd century BCE, as Mommsen has already stated, in connection with the conquest of internal Sabina in 290. As Poucet has already admitted, even if the legend predates this time, the 3rd century must be considered an important period in its development and fixation.[171] What can be found in the literary sources from the first half of the 2nd century BCE, as in Ennius, is the product of this mythical elaboration, in which the themes of Italicness and consan-

Annals: "The incorporation of the Sabines into the Roman state resonates with Ennius' own experience as a native Italian who took up residence in Rome and was granted citizenship". See also Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.30–21: Dionysius claims that the reason for the rape was the necessity to establish a strong blood connection with the neighboring cities.

166 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.47.3; Plut., *Rom.* 14.6.

167 On the relevance of this myth in the narration concerning the origins of Rome, see Poucet (1972), p. 96. For its role in Ennius, see Fabrizi (2012), pp. 94–101.

168 Liv. 1.18; Strab. 5.3.1; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.64–76; Plut., *Num.* 1.5. In this sense, it seems impossible to agree with Poucet (1967), pp. 145–146, that Numa's Sabine origins and his role as "civilizing hero" were completely separated. If it is true that Numa's religious institutions cannot all be considered automatically "Sabine", it must also be admitted that his figure owes much to the traditions of Sabine piety and civility in Roman perception (see below, pp. 177–178). Connected to this are also the voices explicitly speaking out against a Pythagorean influence on Numa, such as Livy or Cicero (Liv. 1.18.2–4, interestingly defining the Pythagorean doctrines as *peregrinae artes*; *Rep*. 2.28–29; see also Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.59; Plut., *Num.* 1.1–4; 8.5–21; Varro might have reversed the tradition by claiming that Pythagoras was taught by Numa, following Aug., *CD* 7.35), a legend whose existence and whose critics are connected to the evaluation of Greeks in Italy (on which see *infra*, pp. 144–145): see Simon (2011), pp. 406–410.

169 This appears clearly in Cassius Hemina's fragments dealing with Numa: Plin., *NH* 18.7; 32.30.

170 Dench (1995), pp. 155–158; Dench (2005), p. 253. The idea of an ethnic dualism (Roman and Sabine) having formed the origins of Rome was also very widespread in historiography during the 19th and 20th centuries. For a review of these theories, see Poucet (1972), pp. 48–92. The role played by the Sabines in the origin and early development of Rome is not relevant here; the topic here proposed requires only an analysis of the way the Romans discursively introduced the Sabines in their own histories, independently from the possible historical events that could have caused such insertion.

171 Poucet (1967), pp. 432–433; Poucet (1972), pp. 118–120. According to Poucet the myth of the "Sabine origins" of Rome must have developed much earlier than suggested here, in the 5th century BCE.

guinity were applied in particular to the traditions of a Sabine component in the origins of Rome.[172] Such an idea persisted throughout the following centuries. When Vergil described the portraits of Latinus' ancestors in his palace, for example, he stated that he had placed those of Sabinus and Italus next to those of Saturnus and Janus,[173] marking the general familiarity of the Latin and Sabine ethnic groups within the context of "Italicness".

Besides Ennius, a great interest in underlying connections and familiarities among Italic groups was shown during the 2nd century BCE by Cato, whose *Origines* are precisely a "celebration" of an Italic community.[174] This historical work clearly marks what has been defined as the genesis of an "Italic ideology" from a Roman perspective,[175] with a clear "proprietorial attitude",[176] which does not contrast with Jefferson's stimulating idea that its intended public was not only Roman, but more generally Italic.[177] Here the topic of the consanguinity of Italic peoples is clearly formulated, for example, in the tradition which makes the Marrucini the product of a fusion, through a *ver sacrum*, of Marsi and Paeligni.[178]

More generally, if the Sabines were undoubtedly considered related to the Romans, as has been shown, they were also considered to have been connected to many other Italic peoples such as the Frentani, Hirpini, Campanians, Picentes, Hernici, Paeligni, Marrucini, Volsci, Aequi, Vestini and Praetuttii.[179] The Marsi were

172 See also Plut., *Num*. 2.8.

173 Verg., *Aen*. 7.177–181.

174 See Klingner (1965[5]), pp. 18–21; Gabba (1978), p. 14; Massa (1996), pp. 27–28; Gotter (2003), pp. 127–128; Letta (2008); Simon (2011), pp. 84–86. Astin (1978), pp. 227–230, argued against a strong "Italic" inspiration for the work, though his interpretation cannot be accepted. Even if Astin is right in indicating that Timaeus was a predecessor and model for Cato, the fact that the Latin author chose this model and applied it in the way he did must be considered relevant. Astin's main point is the inclusion of Cisalpina, which according to him cannot have been considered by Cato as part of the Italic community, but it has already been shown (above, pp. 39–40) that this position is not correct. Kierdorf (1980), p. 221, also felt he should reject this hypothesis, and believed that Cato introduced and described the Italic peoples as enemies, during points of the narrative in which the wars fought against them or their integration into the Roman State were handled. This approach, once again, does not explain the choice of mythical versions and narrative forms which strongly underline the consanguinity of Italic peoples, as shown in this chapter using many examples. The abundance of fragments relating to Italy and Italic peoples (including those from Cisalpina) also leads us to reject the hypothesis presented by Ando (2002), pp. 130–131, according to whom the idea of the work as "advocating Italian unity" should be a (mis)interpretation operated by Cornelius Nepos. Gotter (2003), p. 116, has correctly noted that it is methodologically inappropriate to consider Nepos wrong when he defines the main characters of the work.

175 Gabba (1978), p. 14.

176 Dench (2005), pp. 170–171.

177 Jefferson (2012), in particular pp. 312–313.

178 Cat. *Orig*. 2.23 Chassignet.

179 Letta (2008), pp. 171–172; Martínez Pinna (2008), p. 11.

connected to them through traditions that appeared historical to parts of modern research.[180] Zenodotus of Troezen, an author who was active sometime between the 3rd and the 1st century BCE, knew of a tradition according to which the Umbri and the Sabines were the same people.[181] Strabo referred to a widely-diffused tradition according to which the Picentes and Samnites were "colonists" of the Sabines; from the Samnites derived the Lucanians, through a further "colonization" (which also seems to have been the product of Roman elaboration, not of indigenous traditions),[182] as well as the Bruttii.[183] Even if Varro was responsible for a particular inflation of the role of the Sabines as he came from that region (up to the point of explaining the name Oenotria as having derived from a Sabine king, Oenotrus),[184] he seems not to have been alone in this, nor to be the first to have adopted such a "Sabinocentrism" in describing the general familiarity of the inhabitants of Italy.

That Varro, on the basis of such "Sabinocentrism", also identified the *umbilicus Italiae* – and it is impossible to know whether this concept had a geographical, historical or religious meaning – in the island in the Lake of Cutilia, in the territory of his hometown Reate, is thus not at all surprising.[185] This was the region in which a *ver sacrum* led the Sabines to substitute the Aborigines, and from which they then "colonized" the rest of the Italic peninsula.[186] Of note is that this tradition, which

180 Acron., *Schol. Hor. Carm.* 1.1.28; Porphyr., *Ad Epod.* 17.28. Letta (1972), pp. 26–30.

181 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.49.1. On the relation between Zenodotus and Cato, see Letta (1984), p. 438; Letta (2008), pp. 171–172, claimed convincingly that, according to Zenodotus, the Umbri derived from a migration of the Sabines. See also Poucet (1963), pp. 200–202.

182 Plin., *NH* 3.71. See Musti (1988), pp. 270–271; this has also been confirmed by Horsnaes (2002), p. 129, who strongly stressed, though not in the same way that Musti had done, the role of Greek elaboration. See now Scopacasa (2015), pp. 25–27. On the Greek perceptions of Samnites, Lucanians and Bruttii see also Marcotte (2001), pp. 285–292. In Rome, the term *Loucana* had appeared next to Samnium by the 3rd century BCE, as demonstrated by Scipio Barbatus' funerary inscription: *ILLRP* 309. It is interesting to note that Strabo sometimes did not distinguish between Samnites and Lucanians: Musti (1988), pp. 123–132 (but see Russo (2007), pp. 13–15, according to whom they could no longer be mixed after the 4th century BCE). But another tradition, reflected by Plin., *HN* 3.104, seems to have considered the Lucanians, next to the Teani and the Daunians, a sub-group of the Apulians.

183 Strab. 5.3.1; 5.4.2; 5.4.12; 6.1.2; 6.1.4; see Briquel (1999), pp. 42–44. The connection between Lucanians and Bruttii is generally accepted: the Bruttii should have been subjects or even slaves of the Lucanians, who afterwards revolted against their masters according to Strab. 6.1.4. Iust. 23.1.5 referred to the conflict between the Bruttii and the Lucanians, who are defined as their *auctores*.

184 Serv., *Ad Aen.* 1.532. Oenotrus is in other Greek traditions (Pherecydes in Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.11–13) the son of Lycaon and grandson of Pelasgus, and therefore of Greek origin, although it is possible that this tradition should be viewed against the background of Athenian politics in the 5th century BCE. See Poucet (1963), pp. 191–197; Della Corte (1976), pp. 119–120; Pascucci (1979), pp. 346–347; Briquel (1990), pp. 171–172. Varro seems additionally to have insisted that the "mixed" (even if consistently Italic) character of the Roman community was one of its strengths: see Varr., *Vit. Pop. Rom.*, Fr. 5 Riposati); see La Penna (1976), pp. 399–400; Deschamps (2001), pp. 316–317.

185 Plin., *HN* 3.109. See Roscher (1918), p. 90.

186 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.49.2–3.

could even have had a non-Roman origin, was recovered according to the Roman idea of the world and its order by way of mythology. According to Varro as quoted by Macrobius, the Pelasgians (whose origin is variously identified in the sources, but consistently Greek)[187] consulted the oracle of Dodona, and after its response went on to occupy precisely this area.[188] According to Dionysius, the area was occupied by the Aborigines, who gave hospitality to the incoming Pelasgians.[189] The Aborigines themselves came from the *ager* of Reate, and according to some traditions were the first to colonize the Palatine Hill,[190] emphasizing once again the connection between the Sabines and Rome.

The idea of a progressive "colonization" of Italy through the Sabines was therefore not Varro's invention. On the contrary, its introduction into Roman discourse can be traced back to at least the first half of the 2nd century BCE.[191] Timaeus already knew of traditions referring to the derivation of the Samnites from the Sabines,[192]

187 This is also due to their presence, as an autochthonous but Greek group, in Hdt. 1.56–58; 6.137–140. That the Pelasgians were generally accepted as having come from Greece is, for example, clear in Enn., *Ann.*, Fr. 1.12 Skutsch. However, the Pelasgians's Greek ethnicity was not always admitted to in Greek sources: see Musti (1989), pp. 34–35. Myrsilus of Metimna in particular seems to have suggested, during the 3rd century BCE, that the Pelasgians, identified in another successful tradition (cf. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.25.1–2; see Gabba (1975), pp. 39–46) with the Tyrrhenians, were autochthonous, and of Italic origin: see Gabba (1976), p. 97.

188 Macr., *Sat.* 1.7.28; see also Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.18.2–19.3. Strab. 5.2.4 proposed another variant, according to which the Pelasgians, having colonized Lemnos and Imbros, joined the Etruscans in their migration from Lydia to Italy. The reference work on the legends concerning the Pelasgians in Italy is still Briquel (1984), in particular pp. 355–439 on the traditions referring to Cutilia and 459–493, on those about Reate; Briquel attributed to these traditions a Roman or philo-Roman origin.

189 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.17–21. See Poucet (1963), pp. 182–187 and Briquel (1993), pp. 125–140.

190 Varr., *LL* 5.53; Solin. 1.14 (according to whom they moved there after having lived in the area upon which Rome would later be built). See Della Corte (1976), pp. 113–114; Catalano (1978), pp. 524–525. On the contrary, a different tradition, described by Festus (*s.v. Romam* 328 Lindsay) who attributed it to an author from Cumae, assigned to the Aborigines an Athenian origin, perhaps to highlight a parallel with the traditions concerning the foundation of Cumae: see Martínez Pinna (2008), p. 20, who dated this version to not before the mid-2nd century BCE.

191 Dench (1995), pp. 90–92, suggested that the huge development of traditions about the Sabines evolved during the first half of the 2ndcentury BCE with a moral background, i.e. creating the image of an "anti-Rome" to hint at Roman moral decadence (see below, pp. 177–178). If this meaning was attributed to the Sabines during the Late Republic, it must still be emphasized that such a discourse was able to develop because the Sabines were perceived, in a dominating tradition, as "relatives" of the Romans, whose values and habits could be compared with those of the Romans. It appears however, that the "threatening and dangerous edge to Sabine foreignness" which Dench believed she recognized in Ennius and Fabius Pictor, did not actually exist, whilst the archaic connection of the two peoples through the Rape of the Sabine Women is undoubtedly a sign of the believed fusion of populations.

192 Letta (1984), pp. 420–422; Tagliamonte (2005²), p. 24.

which were also later attested in Varro and, as already mentioned, in Strabo. The Hirpini would have been a further product of these movements, derived from the next stage of Samnite colonization,[193] whilst the origins of the Picentes were explained in the same way.[194] The name Sabellians was also interpreted in a paraetymological way in connection to the Sabines, for example in the aforementioned passage by Strabo, though the term itself was not a self-definition but a Roman invention, introduced during the same period to collectively define the populations of central Italy as Sabines and Samnites,[195] now perceived by the Romans as one community. The Paeligni are also considered to have been of Sabine origin, at least according to a tradition found in the writings of Ovid, which could also have derived from Cato.[196]

Emma Dench has suggested that such traditions started developing, from an anti-Roman perspective, during the 4th century BCE. She claims to have observed "traces of an ideological competition between Samnium and Rome at precisely this time, the issue being who had better philhellenic credentials",[197] and has interpreted the inclusion of the Sabines in this tradition in a similar way: "in the context of fourth-century confrontation with Rome, the more peoples that could conveniently be linked in by tales of kinship to Tarentum, the better".[198] If this had been the case, the Tarentines would have reconstructed a "brotherhood" with the Samnites, with which the *polis* was now allied.[199] This interpretation is convincing, but valid for the

193 Varr., *LL* 7.29; Varr., *Ant. Rer. Hum.* 21.1 Mirsch; Strab. 5.4.12. The Hirpini have to be considered a "creation", or at least the enlargement of a previously much smaller group, of the 3rd century BCE (see Johannowsky (1990), pp. 270–271), or, more probably, as a demonstration of the "malleability" of ancient ethnic descriptions (Scopacasa (2015), pp. 22–24). See also Fest., *s.v. Irpini* 98 Lindsay; Serv., *Aen.* 11.785, even connecting the etymology of Hirpini to the Sabine word for "wolf".

194 Strab. 5.4.2; Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 3.110.

195 Dench (1995), pp. 103–107; Scopacasa (2015), pp. 52–54. Uda (1990), p. 346, demonstrated how in Horace the word *Sabinus* was used to refer to ancient times, and *Sabellus* to contemporaneity. This surely hints at a Roman construction of the "Sabellian" ethnic identity, but does not exclude a possible later acceptance by the "Sabellians" themselves: see Farney (2007), pp. 207–208.

196 Ov., *Fast.* 3.95. See Letta (2008), pp. 171–172. Dench (1995), p. 216, suggested, on the contrary, that the Ovidian tradition could have developed later, as a consequence of the alliance of the Paeligni with the Samnites during the Social War. Another tradition attributed the origins of the Paeligni to Illyria: Fest. *s.v. Peligni* 248 Lindsay. On these two traditions regarding the origins of the Paeligni, see also Poccetti (2014), §§ 29–37, who suggests that Ovid, who was born in the area, here related local, "emic" traditions.

197 Dench (1995), p. 54.

198 Dench (1995), p. 58. See also Tagliamonte (2004), pp. 113–114; Tagliamonte (2005²), pp. 24–25, who more specifically attributes the birth of such traditions to the political orientation of Tarentum during the time of Architas, with a further "revival" following the failure of Alexander Molossus; Farney (2007), pp. 201–203.

199 Thus was interpreted the tradition that the Samnites, or at least part of their population, originated from Sparta according to the model of *synoikia*; such tradition connected them with the Spar-

4th century and the beginning of the 3rd. It is not difficult to imagine that the peoples opposing the Romans during the Third Samnite War (Samnites, Etruscans, Umbri, Gauls)[200] could even have developed or started to develop similar traditions to underpin their alliance. However, such materials later revealed their great structural flexibility, and were used by Cato, Ennius, and the following authors to stress the familiarity between Romans and Italics, excluding the Greeks from this community, as will be shown. Such genealogies could have provided the Romans, at the end of the 3rd and during the 2nd century BCE, with useful materials regarding the construction of the traditions of the *consanguineitas* of the populations inhabiting the Italic peninsula.

The case of the Veneti is also of great relevance. It is interesting to mention that even if we can assume the existence of a common emic Venetic identity used in forms of local self-ascription by at least the 4th–3rd century BCE,[201] its strongest and most developed form – replacing and overtaking possible regional variations – might have been the "feedback" product of Roman etic descriptions.[202] The Veneti, traditional allies of the Romans in the northern part of the peninsula, were not considered to be Celts. On the contrary, the tradition of their "Trojan" origin, which connected them from the very beginning with Rome, was developed quite early on, in the context of the strong political and military alliance that had connected Rome and the Veneti since at least the last quarter of the 3rd century BCE.[203] This version was also widely accepted in the Eastern world, since it was based on Homer. The Veneti were understood to be the same people as the Heneti of Paphlagonia, who fought in the Trojan War as allies of Troy and then, guided by the Trojan Antenor,[204] migrated to Italy after the destruction of the city – they were no longer to be found in Paphlagonia.[205] In Greece, this version was probably attested at least from the

tan colony of Tarentum: see Strab. 5.4.12, according to whom the Samnites were said to have received at a later time colonists from Laconia. See D'Agostino (1981), pp. 124–126; Musti (1988), pp. 202–205; Dench (1995), pp. 53–54; C.P. Jones (1999), pp. 83–84; Russo (2007), pp. 12–30; Scopacasa (2015), pp. 48–50.

200 Which was the internal organization of these populations, and if they perceived themselves as an "ethnic unity", are here questions of only marginal importance.

201 Blake (2014), pp. 133–136. The word *venetkens* has been recognized on an inscription from Isola Vicentina from the 5th–3rd century BCE: Lomas (2007), p. 37.

202 Lomas (2012a), pp. 202–203.

203 Bandelli (1985), pp. 17–19.

204 Antenor is generally considered to have been the founder of Padua; Braccesi (1984), pp. 116–121, also argued for the existence of a Republican tradition connecting him with the foundation of Aquileia – such a tradition was probably born in direct connection with the deduction of the colony in 181 BCE.

205 Liv. 1.1.2–3; Verg., *Aen.* 1.242–249; Strab. 5.1.4, quoting also Hom., *Il.*2.852, and Strab. 12.3.8; Iust. 20.1.7–8. See Perret (1942), pp. 157–181, but his theory that this legend was only formed during the 1st century BCE cannot be accepted, as it is clearly present in Cato. The fact that it is not present

time of Sophocles,[206] and is clearly present in Pseudo-Scymnus' work,[207] written during the last quarter of the 2nd century BCE.

This Trojan descent, which would through Vergil and his generation become the extremely successful Augustan "official version" (whilst Antenor's story would be constructed as a parallel to that of Aeneas) is attested in Rome during the 2nd century BCE, and had already been formulated by Cato.[208] It is particularly important to see how this tradition managed to impose itself in Rome,[209] as in this case a minority concurrent interpretation is also attested which, on the contrary, insists on the Celtic origins of the Veneti, connecting them to a homonymous Gallic population living on the Oceanic coast, as related, for example, by Strabo.[210] However, during the period of the genesis of the symbolic shape of Italy, between the Punic Wars and the end of the 2nd century BCE, such an interpretation was unacceptable from the Roman perspective since the Celts, as will be shown, were conceived of as pure invaders, not belonging to the Italic "community", and thus unable to be connected to the "friendly" Veneti.

Polybius admitted that the Veneti had similar habits and socio-political structures to the Gauls, but also that they spoke a different language.[211] Since language was in the Greek (and more generally in the ancient) culture a distinctive element in the definition of ethnicity,[212] this meant that they were not Celts. This fact, from a logical point of view, was also confirmed by the observation that they were, in those aspects, "similar" – or better, "not very different" (βραχεῖδια φέροντες) from them. Their difference and distance from the Celts was further demonstrated when they assisted the Romans by attacking the Gauls "from behind" during the Gallic Sack,[213]

in Lycophron, who only remembered Antenor as a traitor (341), according to a variant in which he sent the signal to the Greeks hidden in the horse, does not mean that the tradition postdates the *Alexandra*, but simply that among the many possible variants this one, particularly relevant for the Romans, but much less for the Greeks, was not chosen by the poet. On Antenor as a traitor, see Scuderi (1976), pp. 35–37, connecting this tradition with Cleonymus' expedition of 303–302 BCE; Braccesi (1984), pp. 123–143.

206 Strab. 13.1.53. See Scuderi (1976), pp. 32–34; Braccesi (1984), pp. 45–64, who connected this tradition with the Athenian western politics of the mid-5th century BCE.

207 Ps.-Scymn. 387–393. See Marcotte (2000), pp. 69–70.

208 Cat., *Orig.* 2.12 Chassignet. See Brizzi (1979), pp. 390–391. This excludes the possibility, as claimed by Braccesi (1984), pp. 100–101, that such traditions were first adopted in Rome in connection to Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus' expedition in 129 BCE (Braccesi attributes Cato's passage to a "Venetic" tradition, here referred by the Roman author).

209 Braccesi (1984), pp. 79–92, argues for a Venetic adoption of this tradition, which would have even preceded the Roman one. The lack of Venetic sources makes this hypothesis impossible to demonstrate.

210 Strab. 4.4.1: see Bourdin (2012), p. 102.

211 Polyb. 2.17.5.

212 See above, n. 118.

213 Polyb. 2.18.3.

demonstrating in the Roman narrative their membership of the "Italic" community against the "invaders".

Cato didn't often refer to Greek legends, most of which pre-date the genesis of the Italic symbolic shape, but which were also reused and referred to by Greek and Roman authors of the Republic and of the Principate in order to better create (and shift back to mythical times), the "familiar" ties connecting the Italic peoples. This function of the Greek legends is, for example, clearly demonstrated by Odysseus who, according to many traditions, travelled to Italy either during his wanderings (through a geographical placement in Italy of the episodes of Circe and of the Sirens),[214] or even after his return to Ithaca (as in the version known to Aristotle).[215] Through the sons he had with Calypso and with Circe, he was the common ancestor of many ethnic groups. Latinus, brother of Agrius, with whom he ruled over the Tyrrhenians, was a son of the Homeric hero and of Circe in the Hesiodic *Theogonia*[216] (Latinus' son Praeneste was also the founder of the homonymous city).[217] Auson, the ancestor of the Ausonians,[218] was said to have been the son of Odysseus and Calypso,[219] and part of the tradition tells that he was even considered to have been the first king of Rome.[220] Circe was the mother not only of Telegonus, who was perceived as the founder of Tusculum and eventually, once again, of Praeneste,[221] but also, according to different sources, of Romanus or of the three siblings Rhomus, Antheias and Ardeias (as stated by Xenagoras, likely writing during the 3rd century BCE).[222]

214 Malkin (1998), pp. 188–189.

215 Arist., *Const. Ithak.*, Fr. 507 Rose = Plut., *Quaest. Gr.* 14 stated that Odysseus moved to Italy after the slaughter of the suitors.

216 Hesiod., *Theog.* 1011–1013; these verses are generally considered a later interpolation, added by the 6th century BCE. See Grandazzi (1988), pp. 483–485; Gruen (1992), pp. 9–10; Dench (1995), pp. 178–180; Malkin (1998), pp. 180–191; Humm (2010), pp. 37–38. A derivation of the Latins (or at least some of them) from Odysseus and Circe was still used as a form of self-representation by some aristocratic families during the Augustan age. For example, the *gens Mamilia*, from Tusculum, proposed itself as the product of such descent (Liv. 1.59.9; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 4.45.1; see Farney (2007), pp. 61–62).

217 Zenodotus of Troezen: *FGH* 821 F 1.

218 The term Ausonians was introduced by the Greeks to define the indigenous populations of Italy whom they met during the colonization (maybe by the Chalcidian colonists: Sammartano (1998), pp. 94–102). It does not correspond to any form of self-perception by Italic populations, nor was it used in Roman discourse about Italy.

219 Ps.-Scymn. 227–230. See Marcotte (2000), p. 173. Baronowski (2011), p. 32, considered that this argument founded the idea of a Greek origin of the Romans, geographically placed between Latins and Ausonians, but this is not expressed by the author and is not necessary.

220 Eustath. Thess., *Ad Dion. Per.* 78.

221 Tusculum: Hor., *Od.* 3.29.8; *Epod.* 1.31–32; Praeneste: *FGH* 831 F 2 (Aristocles).

222 Romanus: Plut., *Rom.* 2.1; Rhomus, Antheias and Ardeias: Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.5. The three founded three cities bearing their names, which were considered to have been strongly related to one another, but see Cornell (1975), pp. 20–21, for doubts on the necessity of dating this tradition

The Odyssaic genealogy could also extend to subsequent generations. For example, Latinus could, in another variant, become a son of Telemachus, and thus a grandson of Odysseus.[223] It was not just the Latins and the Romans that were connected to the mythical figure of Odysseus. Many other Italic populations were connected to the Greek hero, both from a Greek perspective and (as far as it is possible to reconstruct) in their own self-representations. Particularly well known is the case of the Etruscans, thoroughly investigated by Irad Malkin.[224] The Marsi were also connected to the Odyssaic genealogies, perhaps by Lycophron and certainly by Timaeus.[225] Odysseus' companions also made appearances in such traditions. For example, Baios was depicted as the founder of Baiae, whilst another string of traditions insisted on Baiae's connection with Rome through Aeneas' legend.[226] These "Odyssaic" connections existed in many complicated variants, as did most mythological materials, which sometimes assumed a truly soap-operatic structure. As an example, one can read the summary offered by Hyginus during the 2nd century CE:

> Telegonus, son of Ulysses and Circe, sent by his mother to find his father, by a storm was carried to Ithaca, and there, driven by hunger, began to lay waste the fields. Ulysses and Telemachus, not knowing who he was, took up arms against him. Ulysses was killed by his son Telegonus; it had been told him by an oracle to beware of death at his son's hands. Telegonus on discovering who he was, with Telemachus and Penelope returned to his home on the island of Aeaea by Minerva's instructions. They brought the body of Ulysses to Circe, and buried it there. By the advice of Minerva again, Telegonus married Penelope, and Telemachus married Circe. From Circe and Telemachus Latinus was born, who gave his name to the Latin language; from Penelope and Telegonus Italus was born, who called the country Italy from his own name.[227]

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to a time in which the three cities were of equal importance. On the role of Circe in these foundation myths, see Malkin (1998), pp. 187–188.

223 Plut., *Rom.* 2.3. In Fest., *s.v. Romam* 329 Lindsay Latinus was the son of Telemachus and Circe and inherited the rule of Italy from Aeneas. With Rhome he had two sons, Rhomus und Romulus. In a further version, Latinus was not connected to the Odyssaic tradition, but was considered to have been conceived by Faunus' daughter, who had been raped by Hercules: Iust. 43.1.9.

224 Malkin (1998), pp. 156–177. A Greek tradition, which was apparently never adopted in Rome, connected Odysseus in particular with Cortona: see *FGH* 115 F 354 (Theopompus); Arist., Fr. 640.12 Rose; Lycophr. 805–811.

225 Lycophr., 1270–1280: see Letta (1972), pp. 54–55. Marsus as son of Circe: Plin., *HN* 25.11; Gell. 16.11.1; Solin. 2.27. But according to Coelius Antipater, Circe was a sister of Medea, and Medea's son ruled over the Marsi: Solin. 2.28. According to Sil. Ital., *Pun.* 8.495–507, the Marsi learned how to tame snakes from Angitia, daughter of Aeetes (the third sibling of Circe and Medea in Antipater), but took their name from Marsyas, who escaped to Italy after being defeated by Apollo.

226 Strab. 5.4.6. Baiae as a foundation of Euxinus, companion of Aeneas: Post. Albin., Fr. 3 Peter; *Orig. Gent. Rom.* 10.1–2. Some of Odysseus' other companions appeared in local traditions: see, for example, Strab. 6.1.1; 6.1.5.

227 Hyg., *Fab.* 137; transl. M. Grant.

Such traditions, which had thus already existed during the archaic and classical periods, emphasized a connection between the Greek world and Italy. In order to fit alongside the traditions of Greek colonization, they all referred the Greek origins of Italic peoples to a period preceding the arrival of the colonists, thus to a mythical time.[228] The Greeks had tried quite early on to suggest a familiarity with Italic peoples and with the city of Rome itself;[229] it should not be forgotten that in 228 BCE the Romans had for the first time been allowed to participate in the Isthmian games in Corinth, a privilege that had previously been exclusively reserved for Greeks.[230] Rome was not extraneous to the construction of these familiarities and was, on the contrary, deeply embedded in them. Aristotle was the first known author to have claimed that Rome was a Greek city, having been founded by Achaean warriors who went there to shelter from a storm,[231] whilst Plutarch knew of a tradition, possibly quite ancient, which attributed the foundation of the city to a Rhomus, Emathion's son, sent by Diomedes from Troy to Italy.[232] Heraclides Ponticus defined Rome a πόλις Ἑλληνίς, a Greek city.[233]

228 Malkin (1998), p. 173. It is therefore impossible to argue, as Mastrocinque (1993), pp. 180–181, did, that the Greeks had no reason to invent such legends, and that they surely originated among the Italic communities, thus dating the Latin idea of an Odyssaic descent to the 7th century BCE, during which the idea appeared in the works of Hesiod.

229 Manni (1956), pp. 179–183; Astin (1978), pp. 224–225; Dench (1995), pp. 46–50. See Simon (2011), pp. 244–245, who connects this Greek "interest" in Rome with Alexander Molossus and his Italic expedition.

230 Polyb. 2.12.8.

231 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.3–4. This version was attributed by Fest., *s.v. Romam* 329 Lindsay also to a certain Lembos. In this variant, after the storm, the female prisoners of the Achaeans, led by Rhome, set the fleet on fire and forced the Greeks to settle there. See Perret (1942), pp. 395–401. This variant seems to have already existed during the 5th century BCE, and was probably proposed by Hellanicus (so in Plut., *Rom.* 1.1–2: here the woman who made the decision to settle there was called Rhome): Bickerman (1952), p. 66. Generally, the tradition according to which Rome was founded after Trojan women burned the fleet (their own or that of their new masters) was extremely popular, and had to be respected. Hence it was included in the writings of Vergil, who had to introduce the episode, but modified it by setting it in Eryx and detailing a separation of the Trojan group and the foundation of the Sicilian city, which was also considered to have been connected to the Trojan heritage: Verg., *Aen.* 5.613–778; see Fletcher (2014), pp. 176–184. The same traditions also existed in reference to the foundation of Caieta (*Orig. Gent. Rom.* 10.3–4) and Kroton (Strab. 6.1.12). Strabo himself made the point (6.1.14) that this tradition had been set in many different locations (in [Arist.], *Mir. Ausc.* 840b it explains why Diomedes settled in Daunia). On this tradition in general see Martínez Pinna (1997a), pp. 82–84.

232 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.6; Plut., *Rom.* 2.1. But other variants, related by Dionysius, made Rhomus a son of Ascanius, excluding any Greek involvement. In Fest., *s.v. Romam* 328–329 Lindsay Rhomus was a descendent of Aeneas, or a son of Latinus and Rhome. Rhomus also appeared as founder of Rome in Fest., *s.v. Romam* 326 Lindsay, who quoted Antigonus, but here the eponymous hero was the son of Jupiter.

233 Plut., *Cam.* 22.3.

As most traditions directly connected the Romans with the Latins, who were perceived as their "nearest relatives", Rhome could become the founder of Rome in one variant, and be made a daughter of Italus (and wife of Aeneas) in another,[234] or a wife of Latinus in another.[235] Rhomus, the founder of the city according to another tradition, was made, in one particular version, the son of Italus and Leucaria – the latter being Latinus' daughter.[236] The connection of the eponymous heroes of Rome, Latium and Italy is therefore evident enough not to require further comment.

Odysseus was not the only hero drawn into these mythical constructions. Pherecydes presented Oenotrus and Peucetius, founders of the Oenotrians and Peucetians, as Greeks, descendents of the Arcadians Pelasgus and Lycaon.[237] The latter was, according to Nicander of Colophon, also the father of Iapyx, Peucetius and Daunus.[238] By the Augustan age Tibur, which according to Cato had been founded by the Arcadian Catillus, *praefectus classis* of Evander,[239] also claimed a connection with Argos,[240] but this tradition could already have been adopted locally by the second half of the 4th century BCE, if Coarelli is correct in his interpretation of the François tomb.[241]

Another tradition, known to Ibycus and Mimnermus and also adopted during the 2nd century BCE by Roman authors, attributed a huge role to Diomedes (who was also somehow connected in a lesser-known tradition with the foundation of Rome).[242] Having abandoned his fatherland after his wife – struck by Venus' rage – moved in with a lover, the Greek hero came to Italy, where he governed Apulia (perhaps after receiving hospitality from king Daunus, who in some versions ended up killing Diomedes) and founded many cities including Beneventum, Aequum Tuticum, Arpi, Brundisium, Venafrum, Venusia, Canusium and, in a superposition with

234 Plut., *Rom*. 2.1. In yet another version (represented by Agathocles) Rhome was a granddaughter of Aeneas and a daughter of Ascanius: see Gabba (1976), p. 90. On Rhome in general see Alföldi (1957), pp. 9–13; Martínez Pinna (1997a); Martínez Pinna (1997b), pp. 101–102.

235 Fest., *s.v. Romam* 329 Lindsay, attributing this variant to Caltinus.

236 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.6. It is possible, as suggested by Musti (1988), pp. 186–187, that this variant was developed in connection with the foundation of the Latin colony of Luceria (315–314 BCE). This was also connected, at least from the late 4th century BCE, to the Trojan myth. Here was a famous sanctuary of Athena Iliaca, mentioned in literary sources (including Lycophr. 1126–1240) and archaeologically identified; see D'Ercole (1990); M. Torelli (1992), pp. 51–53; M. Torelli (1999), pp. 172–173.

237 *FGH* 3 F 156.

238 Antonin. Liberal., *Met*. 31.

239 Cat., *Orig*. 2.26 Chassignet.

240 Hor., *Od*. 1.18.2; Verg., *Aen*. 7.670–672.

241 Coarelli (1983), pp. 61–63.

242 Mimnerm., Fr. 22 = *Schol. Lycophr*. 610.

Aeneas, Lanuvium.[243] According to Gnaeus Gellius, writing during the 2nd century BCE, the Marsi, traditionally connected to the Sabines, also received an eponymous founder in the form of Marsyas, a king from Lydia. Perhaps this was a tradition born of an earlier context (Capua?) which aimed to highlight the familiarity between the Marsi and the Etruscans,[244] whilst the Sallentini were considered colonists from Crete (at least by some), an island that plays an important role role in Greek traditions regarding Apulia.[245] It is nonetheless difficult to consider them completely extraneous to the Italic community and not autochthonous in Roman eyes. The few Roman sources available, all derived from Varro, describe them as a mixture of Cretans, Illyrians and Locrians, who were explicitly defined as Italics, since they were intended as the inhabitants of the region before the arrival of the Greek colonists.[246]

A central role regarding the integration of the Greeks into these Italic traditions was played by Evander and the Arcadians, whose role became absolutely dominant likely thanks to Varro's "reorganization" of the different mythical versions,[247] and even more so to the Vergilian narrative and the "official" character it had assumed since the Augustan time.[248] But this tradition also dates back to at least the 2nd century BCE, when mythological stories were already connecting the Arcadians of Evander with Rome and other Italic cities.[249] Cato himself, as mentioned, accepted a likely dominant explanation that attributed the foundation of Tibur to the Arcadian Catillus,[250] even if he strongly reduced the significance of the Arcadian element in Italic history by shifting it back to the prehistorical time and denying any connection with the present.[251]

243 For example, Lycophr. 592–632; Hor., *Sat*. 1.5.91–92; Verg., *Aen*. 10.28–29; Strab. 6.3.9; App., *Rom*. 7.5.31; Serv., *Ad Aen*.8.9; 11.246; Solin. 2.10; Isid., *Etym*. 14.4.23. Diomedes as founder of Lanuvium: App., *Civ*. 2.3.20; on this see Pasqualini (1998), who strongly stressed the anti-Roman nature of this tradition, and Briquel (2001), pp. 298–302. See also Musti (1988), pp. 176–192 (but it is difficult to share his conviction that Solinus used Cato as a source for the Diomedean foundations); Malkin (1998), pp. 234–257; Tagliamonte (2005²), pp. 28–29; Scopacasa (2015), p. 186 (on the tradition of Beneventum as Diomedean foundation). The figure of Diomedes probably enjoyed a period of important reevaluation in connection with Alexander Molossus' expedition to Italy: see Simon (2011), pp. 226–235.

244 Plin., *HN* 3.108; Sil., *Pun*. 8.502–504; Solin. 2.6; Isid. Etym. 9.2.88. See Letta (1972), p. 53. On Greek traditions (of Campanian origin?) concerning the Marsi, see *ibid*., pp. 52–64.

245 Strab. 6.3.5. A Greek, or rather Cretan, origin of the Iapygians was claimed in many Greek sources (for example, Athen. 12.522f–523a), but was apparently not accepted in Latin culture.

246 Probus, *ad Verg. Buc*. 6.31; Fest., *s.v. Sallentini* 440.10–13 Lindsay.

247 Della Corte (1976), p. 120.

248 For example, Verg., *Aen*. 8.126–174; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom*. 1.31–32; Liv. 1.5.2 and 1.7.8.

249 As with, for example, the Peucetians: Strab. 6.3.8. On the traditions concerning Evander and their birth presumably in the second half of the 3rd century BCE, see Martínez Pinna (2014), §§ 11–12.

250 See above, n. 239.

251 See Letta (2008), pp. 175–176, as p. 184 on the foundation of Tibur.

According to these mythical traditions, the Aborigines, who represented the "blank slate" that would be "transformed" by the arrival of the next groups,[252] moved under the orders of their king Faunus from Sabina to the area in which Rome would be founded. Here they gave hospitality to Evander and the Arcadians, granting them the use of the Palatine Hill (or they were chased off and replaced by them, according to different variants).[253] The Palatine Hill was also described with a paraetymology as having derived from Arcadian elements, as the grave of Evander's daughter Pallantia, raped by Hercules, of Pallas, Evander's son or grandson, of a homonymous forefather or even as deriving its name from the town of Pallantion.[254] According to Cato, it was with the arrival of the Trojans and their fusion with the Aborigines that the Latins were born.[255]

Evander was the leading character within this tradition, and traces of a "Panarcadism", particularly evident (as can be expected) in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, can be identified,[256] attributing to Arcadia all elements that hinted at a Greek origin of Rome, and even postulating a connection between Evander and Aeneas before their meeting in Italy. The Arcadian tradition became increasingly successful during and after the 2nd century BCE, providing Roman historians and "systematizers" of the myth with a convenient framework with which to explain the origin of Rome's Greek element, whilst at the same time "rescuing" the Italic *consanguineitas* (through the Sabine Aborigines) and evaluating the Trojan myth. As Rome entered the Common Era, the "Augustan blessing" (not only mediated by Vergil, but also implied in the transportation to Rome of the statue of Athena Alea from Tegea)[257] imposed this particular variant on all others, generating its great success throughout the following centuries. In this final variant, the Romans subsumed all elements

252 Martínez Pinna (2014), § 17.

253 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.31.2; Solin. 1.14; Serv., *Ad Aen.* 8.51.

254 Polyb. 6.11a; Varr., *LL* 5.53 (who also provided the alternative explanation of an "Aboriginal" etymology); Liv. 1.5.1; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.1.3; Val. Max. 2.3.9a; Iust. 43.1.6; Paus. 8.43.2; Serv., *Ad Aen.* 8.51; *Orig. Gent. Rom.* 5.3. Palantho was alternatively presented as a daughter of Hyperboreus (Solin. 1.15), who, as with Pallantia, was raped by Hercules. Fest., *s.v. Palatium* 245 Lindsay offered the complete range of these different interpretations: *quod ibi pecus pascens balare consueverit, vel quod palare, id esterrare, ibi pecudes solerent; alii quod ibi Hyperborei filia Palanto habitaverit, quae ex Hercule Latinum peperit; alii eundem, quod Pallas ibi sepultus est, aestimant appellari*. See Bayet (1920), pp. 70–72.

255 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.45.2. Slightly different was the Vergilian version, according to which the Latins pre-dated the arrival of the Trojans and then united with them to "reinforce" the Latin name, as requested by Juno: Verg., *Aen.* 12.826–828. However, see Bettini (2006), who argues that this was valid only for the Latins, whilst the Romans were presented by Vergil not as "mixed race" but as possessing purely Trojan blood.

256 Bayet (1920), pp. 77–81.

257 Paus. 8.46.1. See Bayet (1920), p. 127.

deriving from different Greek and Italic traditions into a single consistent picture,[258] which attributed to the Greeks a greater role than that assigned to them during the 3rd century BCE, or by Cato.

The importance of the archaic traditions, which tended to stress cultural interaction and familiarity between Italy and the Greeks in connection with the colonization of Southern Italy (one can think again of the Odyssaic variants), began to decline during the course of the 5th and the 4th centuries. This occurred in line with the ever stronger appearance, in Greek discourse, of the Greek-barbarian polarity,[259] and with the military and political problems experienced by the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia regarding their relations with the Lucanians and other "indigenous" populations. Whether this change in the Greek mindset was passed on to the local Italic cultures is impossible to know, as we lack any literary sources presenting an Italic perspective. What we do know is that Italic elites went on adopting Greek models for their artistic production and behavior, though this cultural influence does not automatically mean that they accepted or developed the idea of a familiarity with the Greeks.[260]

In this context took place also the ever-stronger diffusion of the Trojan legend, which replaced the Achaean one in the narration of the origins of Rome.[261] This tradition, which from the very beginning attributed a central role regarding the birth of

258 As Bayet (1920), pp. 141–143, had already claimed.

259 On this see, among many others, for example, E. Hall (1989), in particular pp. 3–13; Malkin (2001), pp. 7–9; Isaac (2004), pp. 257–298.

260 Dench (1995), pp. 11–13. Mastrocinque (1993), pp. 194–195, claimed that following an archaic period during which they accepted or even created traditions of Greek descent (connected by Mastrocinque to the "propaganda" of Servius Tullius and Tarquinius Superbus!), the Romans developed, during the 5th–4th centuries BCE, their own foundation legends, rejecting the Greek ones. As it is simply impossible to know whether the Romans and Latins appropriated the Greek traditions concerning them before the 3rd century BCE, this reconstruction must be considered at the level of a pure non-demonstrable (and not very plausible) hypothesis.

261 Manni (1956), pp. 184–185; Gruen (1992), pp. 20–21; Giardina (1994), pp. 63–67; Dench (1995), pp. 52–53; C.P. Jones (1999), pp. 82–83. It is important to highlight that traditions concerning Aeneas and his travel to the West had probably existed since at least the 6th century BCE. The first author to have dealt with this was Stesichorus, according to the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, whose reliability has been much discussed, but was substantially and convincingly defended by Gruen (1992), pp. 12–14, and Malkin (1998), pp. 191–194. In any case the table – as stressed by Gruen – did not refer to Rome, but generically to the West as the destination of Aeneas, *pace* Coppola (1995), p. 13. See also Galinsky (1969), pp. 106–113, who demonstrated that the expression "to the West", even if correct, does not absolutely have to refer to Italy and Latium; Cornell (1975), pp. 11–16; M. Torelli (1999), pp. 166–171; Humm (2010), pp. 38–39. During the 5th century BCE, a connection between Aeneas and Latium, or even Rome, may have been attested by Hellanicus of Lesbos: see below, p. 138) as well as in Aeneadic traditions which had existed in Etruria and Sicily since the same period. However, this still does not mean that such legends had also already been appropriated by the Romans: see Sordi (1989), pp. 19–20. On the *Tabulae Iliacae* in general, see Squire (2015).

Rome to Aeneas and the Trojans and dates back to at least Timaeus, is present in Lycophron,[262] and was expressed in a number of different variants.[263] A particularly strong political background is for instance evident in Hegesianax, according to whom Romulus and Romus, sons of Aeneas, travelled to Italy and founded first Capua (which is very often connected by the Romans to the Aeneadic tradition) and then Rome.[264] However, the Trojan myth was present in "anti-Roman" accounts from the 3rd century BCE. A good example of this is to be found in the work of Kallias (who recovered the tradition of the fleet burnt by Trojan women),[265] the first Greek writer to have accepted the tradition concerning Romulus and Remus (for him brothers of Rhome) – known also to Lycophron[266] – as well as in that of the mysterious Sicilian historian Alcimus, who gave a very negative description of the origins of Rome. As a Greek, and probably a Syracusan, Alcimus stated that the forefathers of Rome were the "enemies" of Greece *par excellence*, the Trojans, together with the Etruscans, a people considered a paradigmatic example of τρυφή.[267]

Pyrrhus himself used this descent as a propagandistic tool when preparing his war against the Romans: "When the [Tarentine] envoys urged these considerations, Pyrrhus remembered the capture of Troy, which he took to be an omen of his success in the war, as he was a descendant of Achilles making war upon a colony of Trojans".[268] Numismatic evidence confirms Pyrrhus' use of Achilles as an important

262 Polyb. 12.4b; Lycophr. 1226–1280. See Perret (1942), pp. 345–366 and 440–449, who claimed that this tradition originated only shortly before Timaeus, in whose work it is evidenced, albeit in rudimentary form. *Contra*, Bickerman (1952), pp. 66–67, argued that the Aeneadic tradition on the foundation of Rome had probably originated in the Greek world by the 5th century BCE, and become increasingly popular among Greeks during the 4th. This problem is connected with the possible attribution to Hellanicus – and therefore to the 5th century – of a fragment concerning the role of Aeneas in the foundation of Rome (see n. 289). See also Vanotti (1995), pp. 41–47.

263 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.1–2; Plut., *Rom.* 2.2.

264 *FGH* 45 F 8. See Gabba (1976), pp. 88–89; Martínez Pinna (2008), pp. 19–20.

265 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.5 = *FGH* 564 F 5. Perret (1942), pp. 402–408, building on considerations already expressed by Bayet (1920), pp. 84–86 (for whom this tradition represented the synthesis of the Trojan and Odyssaic versions of the origins of Rome), tried to argue that the text was later altered, and that the Trojan women mentioned by Kallias actually arrived as prisoners of the Greeks, and that Rome was therefore in his opinion a Greek city. This is absolutely unnecessary, since the Trojan legend was already known, and it is not compulsory to expect from a Greek author of the 3rd century either a positive opinion about Rome or about the "Greekness" of the Trojans.

266 Lycophr. 1232–1233. See Cornell (1975), pp. 6–7.

267 Alcimus: *FGH* 560 F 4; Romulus was here the son of Aeneas and Tyrrhenia; Romulus' daughter Alba was the mother of Rome's founder, Rhomus. See Perret (1942), pp. 386–387; Fraschetti (1981), pp. 103–104. On the Etruscan τρυφή, see below, pp. 183–184.

268 Paus. 1.12.1; transl. W.H.S. Jones. The idea of an "Aeacidan" Pyrrhus who opposed the "Trojan" Rome was also present in Ennius' *Annales*: Fr. 6.4; 6.14 Skutsch. See Gruen (1992), pp. 44–45; Braccesi (1984), pp. 125–126. Perret (1942), pp. 409–434, considered the legend of the Trojan origins of

figure in his self-representation,[269] making it very probable that such an argument was used in contemporary discourse, though this does not yet demonstrate that the Romans had adopted this as part of their self-representation.[270]

Still, many Greek authors consistently used myths, which they had further developed from the 2nd century BCE, as a way of accepting and justifying Roman rule. In this way, a number of different populations were assigned a Greek origin. As well as the previously analyzed Sabines, a further example were the Pelasgians who (at least according to the Pseudo-Scymnus)[271] shared their territory with the Etruscans and were even identified with them in many currents of the tradition.[272] Already strongly represented in the writings of Zenodotus of Troezen,[273] this tradition – which had apparently already been used in diplomacy by Demetrius Poliorcetes when he protested against Roman acts of piracy underlining the common kinship[274] – would, during the Augustan age, lead to Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities*, in which he claimed that Rome was a Greek *polis*,[275] even if he collected and presented a huge number of different variants. There can be no doubt that during imperial times Roman authors accepted these readings, as demonstrated by Pompeius Trogus/Justin:

> His [Dionysius I's] first contest was with the Greeks, who occupied the nearest parts of the coast on the Italian sea; and, having conquered them, he attacked their neighbours, looking upon all of Grecian origin who were inhabitants of Italy, as his enemies; and these settlers had then spread, not merely through a part of Italy, but through almost the whole of it. Many Italian cities, indeed, after so long a lapse of time, still exhibit some traces of Greek manners; for the Etrurians, who occupy the shore of the Tuscan sea, came from Lydia; and Troy, after it was taken and overthrown, sent thither the Veneti (whom we see on the coast of the Adriatic), under the leadership of Antenor. Adria, too, which is near the Illyrian sea, and which gave name also to the Adriatic, is a Greek city; and Diomedes, being driven by shipwreck, after the destruction of Troy, into those parts, built Arpi. Pisae, likewise, in Liguria, had Grecian founders; and Tarquinii, in Etruria, as well as Spina in Umbria, has its origin from the Thessalians; Perusia was founded by the Achaeans. Need I mention Caere? Or the people of Latium, who were

Rome to have been created at precisely this time, before being developed either by Timaeus or others writing shortly before him.

269 *BMC Thessaly to Aetolia*, p. 111, nn. 7–8; p. 112, nn. 20–25, minted in Southern Italy and Sicily: see Galinsky (1969), pp. 170–171. More generally, on Pyrrhus's mythical genealogy, see Pouzadoux (1998).

270 As stressed by Battistoni (2010), pp. 82–83.

271 Ps.-Scymn. 217–219. With the Pelasgians could be identified the Greek Teutanes which, according to an unknown source, inhabited the area of Pisa before the Etruscans: Serv., *ad Aen.* 10.179. Pisa is also generally considered to have been a Greek foundation due to onomastic reasons. It is thus connected to the Arcadian Pisa.

272 Coppola (1995), pp. 51–59; Sordi (2003), pp. 129–130.

273 Baronowski (2011), p. 52.

274 Strab. 5.3.5.

275 See also Strab. 5.3.3. Gruen (1992), pp. 7–8; Dench (2005), pp. 234–236.

> settled by Aeneas? Are not the Falisci, are not Nola and Abella, colonies of the Chalcidians? What is all the country of Campania? What are the Bruttii and Sabines? What are the Samnites? What are the Tarentines, whom we understand to have come from Lacedaemon, and to have been called Spurii? The city of Thurii they say that Philoctetes built; and his monument is seen there to this day, as well as the arrows of Hercules, on which the fate of Troy depended, laid up in the temple of Apollo.[276]

As is evident in Justin, even the Trojan origin of the Romans, which implied their connection with the Veneti, could have been intended "Greekly". The Trojans were no longer the *Ur*-enemies of Greece, but complete Greeks, involved in a war against other Greeks. The fusion of the Trojan and Greek "variants" could also have been operated by more complex mythologies, such as the identification of Roma as a daughter of Telephus (and therefore granddaughter of Heracles) who married Aeneas,[277] or as the daughter of a Trojan woman and Latinus, in his role as Telemachus' son.[278]

The Greek traditions elaborated by the 3rd century BCE were neither immediately nor enthusiastically and unanimously accepted by the Romans. On the contrary, it is possible to identify generally competing traditions from this perspective. Some stressed, as did the Odyssaic variant, a Greek origin, whilst others insisted on the purely Italic character of the peninsula's populations. A good example of their parallel existence is provided by Servius' summary of all the variants of Italus' identity known to him. He was either a king of Sicily, a king of the Ligurians, or a Molossian. He could have come from Corcyra, or been a son of Venus, or king of the Lucanians.[279] The last of the possibilities quoted by Servius in this way connected the entirety of Italy (through its eponymous king) with a Lucanian origin and a later movement to Latium ("where Turnus ruled"), but also with a descent from Venus and therefore a direct connection to Aeneas and the foundation of Rome (additionally also to the *gens Iulia*, when this tradition was further elaborated during the time of Caesar and Augustus).

It is therefore necessary to investigate the "reception" these myths received in Rome, even if it is impossible to know whether they reached the *Urbs* directly

276 Iust. 20.1; transl. J.S. Watson. Iust. 23.1.4–7 opposed the Bruttii to "many Greek communities" which they expelled from Italy, but then referred to their conflict with the Lucanians, their *auctores*, with whom they came to a peace *aequis legibus* and afterwards emphasized the fact that the Lucanians had institutions extremely similar to those of the Spartans.

277 Plut., *Rom.* 2.1. It is difficult to know whether this connection to Telephus expressed a form of consanguinity with the Etruscans, considering that, according to other traditions, Telephus was the father of Tarchon and Tyrrhenus: see Martínez Pinna (2008), pp. 18–19, who denies the emphasis on a Greek origin of the tradition concerning Rhome; but this does not exclude a possible appropriation and re-elaboration in an Italic or Roman context.

278 Plut., *Rom.* 2.3. It is worth remembering that, according to Kallias, Roma was a Trojan woman who married Latinus – though this variant had no Greek origins (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.5).

279 Serv., *Ad Aen.* 1.533.

through contact with the Greeks, or were somehow mediated by some earlier Western reception, for example in Etruria.[280] The legend of Rome's Trojan origins had been accepted by the Romans since at least the 3rd century BCE,[281] often by single

280 In particular reference to the presence of both Aeneas and Odysseus in the Roman tradition as a cultural product derived from Etruscan mediation, see Malkin (1998), p. 202. Alföldi (1963), pp. 278–287, strongly argues that the traditions concerning Aeneas had arrived in Rome through Etruscan mediation.

281 See also Galinsky (1969); Vanotti (1995), pp. 52–53; Battistoni (2009), pp. 75–76, who claimed that the Romans only accepted this tradition during the second half of the 3rd century BCE, whilst Rodriguez-Mayorgas (2010), pp. 106–107, argues that the tradition concerning Aeneas began circulating during the 3rd century, but then "there was no official or collective recognition in Rome of the Trojan past". A possible acceptance by the 4th century BCE, or even before, as argued, for example, by Mommsen (1888[8]), pp. 581–582; Zevi (1981), pp. 153–156; Malkin (1998), pp. 202–203, of this myth from the Latin and Roman side, which was thought to have been demonstrated by an inscription from Tor Tignosa (of the 4th or 3rd century BCE) containing the expression *Lare Aineia* (*AE* 1969/1970.2) could have to be put aside, since it has long been supposed that this inscription has nothing to do with Aeneas and must rather be read *Lare Vesuia Q(uinti) f(ilia)* (Kolbe (1970)), even if the original reading has also been well defended (Guarducci (1971), pp. 74–89). Even if the inscription should attest the existence, during this period, of a cult of Aeneas, this would be valid for Lavinium, and would not demonstrate in any way a necessary connection with Rome and its foundation legend (Cornell (1975), pp. 13–15). The local heroon, which dates to the 4th century BCE and insists on a princely grave from the 7th century, may not necessarily have been dedicated originally to Aeneas. According to Cogrossi (1982), the *heroon* was originally constructed in honour of either Pater Indiges (Zevi (1981), pp. 146–147), or Latinus (as claimed by Grandazzi (1988), pp. 492–494), but was, around the end of the 4th century, transformed into a *heroon* for Aeneas. See in general the objections raised by Bremmer/Horsfall (1987), pp. 17–18 and Gruen (1992), pp. 23–25). Lycophron was the only author who connected the foundation of a sanctuary of Athena in Lavinium with Aeneas, and the sources recognizing the honored as the commander who disappeared in battle and was later known as Iuppiter Indiges do not predate Cato. See Sordi (1989), pp. 21–23, who connected this evolution with the end of the Latin War in 338 BCE, followed by Fabrizi (2012), pp. 34–35. M. Torelli (1999), pp. 165–167, supposed that locally by the mid-6th century "the identity and mythical adventures of Aeneas had already been transferred to the figure of a *princeps* or a *rex* of Lavinium who died around 680", though this lacks any conclusive proof, even if iconographies connected to the Aeneadic tradition are attested on ceramics created around 600 BCE. Rodriguez-Mayorgas (2010), pp. 101–105, argues that the attribution of the heroon to Aeneas did not precede the 1st century BCE. In an analogous way, the François Tomb, which famously represents in parallel Achilles' massacre of Trojan prisoners and the *Volcientes fratres*, the Vibennae and Macstrna with his companions killing the Romans of Cneve Tarχunies, may eventually reveal an assimilation of the Romans and the Trojans during the 4th century in Etruscan culture, but cannot testify anything regarding a possible Roman reception. At the same time, the statuettes representing Aeneas and Anchises, found in Veii and dated to the 4th century BCE, cannot be conclusive or connected with full certainty to the Roman settlement after the conquest of Veii, as claimed by M. Torelli (1999), pp. 24–25 and 169–172 and by McMullen (2011), p. 82. An earlier dating to the 5th century BCE enables us to attribute them to a purely "Etruscan" context, as stated by Alföldi (1957), pp. 16–17; Galinsky (1969), pp. 133–134; both possibilities are left open by Battistoni (2010), p. 43. As concluded by Cornell (1975), pp. 11–13, there is proof that the Etruscans knew of and perhaps worshipped Aeneas, but it is "no

gentes who connected the Trojan myth to their own origins, seeing in it the possibility of extending their "familiar" diplomatic relations with other areas and groups.[282] Following his victory in the Second Macedonian War, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, for instance, seems to have offered in the sanctuary of Delphi silver shields decorated with an inscription in which he was called Αἰνεάδας, even if it is unclear whether this referred to him or to the entire Roman population.[283] The same situation prevailed in other Italic cities and regions – Capua, for example, linked itself to Rome via the Aeneadic connection.[284] This argument may have been used in a letter sent by Seleucus II in 237 BCE and quoted by the Emperor Claudius[285] (although Marta Sordi has argued that this letter was a forgery produced later, during the Syrian War, and attributed to Seleucus I).[286]

More conclusive is the consideration regarding when the Trojan tradition was used in diplomatic contact with Rome in a "positive" way, with the expectation of a positive Roman reaction. We can be sure that it was adopted as a claim to friendship

more than a conjecture that Aeneas found acceptance in Rome as well as in Etruria in the archaic period"; see also Rodriguez-Mayorgas (2010), pp. 100–101. See also Vanotti (1995), p. 30, arguing that the presence in Italy of many Attic vases representing the myth of Aeneas, "lungi dal documentare la coscienza in ambito occidentale di connessioni tra gli Eneadi e Roma, non comprovano neppure la consapevolezza di un percorso occidentale di fuga di questi ultimi. Viceversa essi testimoniano forse di un interesse per questa saga da parte del mondo etrusco-italico". Still, a potential earlier acceptance of the myth of Rome's Trojan origins, during the 4th century BCE, would have no repercussions on what is being discussed here and would be perfectly compatible with the reconstruction here offered.

282 Gabba (1976), pp. 94–96; 98–99. From the 3rd, and even more so during the course of the 2nd century BCE, as is to be expected, the legend began playing an important role in Roman diplomatic relations (for example, with Segesta). Many other communities in the Mediterranean, including Samothrace, Arcadia, Delos, and Pergamon, would also claim a role in the Aeneas' legend (for example, claiming to have been the locations of the hero's "stops" on his way from Troy to Italy) in order to demonstrate their "original" friendship with Rome. However, such traditions were rejected by authors holding negative views regarding Roman political power: see Perret (1942), pp. 120–124; Gabba (1976), pp. 90–91; Battistoni (2009), pp. 78–93; Battistoni (2010), pp. 116–137 and 165–186. In this sense should also be interpreted the tradition concerning Trojan presences in Sardinia: Perret (1942), pp. 130–156.

283 Plut., *Flamin*. 12.11.

284 According to Coelius Antipater (Fr. 26 Peter), Capua's founder, Capys, was a relative (*sobrinus*) of Aeneas. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.49.1) referred to the existence of traditions, according to which Capua was an Aeneadic foundation. According to a further tradition, Capua was founded by Rhomus: Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.73.3. Among other towns, see, for example, Garga, near Thurii: Coel. Ant., Fr. 91 Peter.

285 Suet., *Claud*. 25.3.

286 Sordi (1983). Sordi additionally attributed the invention of the letter to Hegesianax. The traditional dating and the identification of the king as Seleucus II have been again proposed by Battistoni (2010), pp. 86–89.

by the city of Lampsacus in 197–196 BCE.[287] The connection to the Iliadic tradition was also used during this period as a possible "bridge" to Greek culture, leaning on mythical versions according to which Aeneas eventually betrayed the Trojans and delivered the city to the Greeks.[288] The connection also played on the hero's friendship and cooperation with Odysseus in the foundation of Rome, as likely described by Hellanicus of Lesbos and confirmed, in part or *in toto*, by Damastes of Sigeion.[289] The connection between Odysseus and Aeneas had also been hypothesized, even if only on the basis of the construction of the text rather than a clear statement, for the previously mentioned "Western" passage from Hesiod's *Theogonia*.[290]

The fact that the Trojan version had already been consolidated by the end of the 3rd century BCE and the beginning of the 2nd can be recognized in the episode of the delegation of the Acarnanians (maybe around 240 BCE), which used the tradition as a central element in their request for help from Rome[291] – just as the Mamertines might have done at the beginning of the First Punic War, recalling the common Italic origin. This tradition appeared then in the works of Naevius,[292] Fabius Pictor, Cato and Sisenna.[293] It was through this legend that Rome was not only able "to associate itself with the rich and complex fabric of Hellenic tradition", but also to express a clear distinction between itself and the Greek world. The Romans "sharpened a sense of their identity and laid a foundation for a national character".[294] In

287 *Syll*³.591, insisting of the συγγένεια with the Romans. See Battistoni (2010), pp. 89–93. Fabrizi (2012), pp. 37–38, argues that this episode could have played an important role in Ennius' *Annales*.

288 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.48.3 (Menecrates of Xanthus, probably ca. 3rd BCE). Serv., *Aen.* 1.242 (= Sisenn., Fr. 1 Peter) also wrongly attributed this version to Livy (see Braccesi (1984), pp. 104–105), whilst claiming that Sisenna had not followed it, and considered only Antenor to have been the "traitor" of Troy, a variant already chosen by Lycophron (on this Scuderi (1976), pp. 40–42). See also Ussani (1947) (who suggested that the tradition could have been used by Greek authors with an anti-Roman motivation; however, this seems difficult, considering that Aeneas as a traitor would have benefitted the Greeks); Galinsky (1969), pp. 47–50; Gabba (1976), pp. 91–94. The Romans were obviously quite anxious to reject this interpretation (Pascal (1904)), and Vergil himself seems to have proactively counteracted these accusations in the *Aeneid* (Fletcher (2014), pp. 77–78).

289 *FGH* 4 F 84 = Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.2; Lycophr. 1242–1245. Dionysius simply stated that this was outlined in a work entitled *The Priestesses of Argos*, and Stephanus of Byzantium attributed a work of the same title to Hellanicus. See also Briquel (1990), pp. 176–177 and Gruen (1992), pp. 17–18, who expressed doubts that Hellanicus could have been the author referred to by Dionysius; this position was convincingly rejected by Malkin (1998), pp. 196–197. See also Vanotti (1995), pp. 17–24.

290 See n. 216. Malkin (1998), p. 194. On the association of Aeneas and Odysseus see also pp. 198–199.

291 Iust. 28.1.5–6. On the authenticity of this story, see Manni (1956), pp. 185–190; see also Battistoni (2010), pp. 83–86, who claims that the episode took place in around 190 BCE, not 240 BCE.

292 The hypothesis that Naevius accepted the version in which Aeneas' betrayed the Trojans, based only on *Bell. Poen.*, Fr. 23 Morel, was rejected by Gabba (1976), pp. 91–92.

293 Serv., *Aen.* 11.316.

294 Gruen (1992), pp. 30–31. See also Perret (1942), pp. 471–500; Galinsky (1969), pp. 105–106.

190 BCE, the Romans publicly demonstrated their adhesion to this tradition when L. Cornelius Scipio, consul engaged in the Syrian War, stopped to make a sacrifice at Ilium, stating: "the people of Ilium, on their part, with every mark of honour in deed or word proclaiming the Romans as descendants, and the Romans rejoicing in their descent".[295] Roman literary production, as far as it is possible to see, focused a great deal of attention on this topic during the course of the 2nd century BCE.[296] A. Postumius Albinus (consul 151 BCE), wrote a *De adventu Aeneae*,[297] whilst Accius authored an *Antenoridae* on Antenor's arrival in Venetia, as well as an *Aeneadae aut Decius*.[298] However, the Odyssaic tradition, which eventually had to bow its head before the Aeneadic, was not immediately forgotten, and it has been argued that Livius Andronicus' *Odusia* – a sort of "national poem" for the Romans[299] – reflected the tradition's continued popularity.

However, the cultural use of such legends was debated and not at all straightforward. In the Greek world, an author known as Demetrius of Scepsis, a contemporary of Cato, also took a very clear position against the possibility of Aeneas having travelled to the West.[300] Cato, meanwhile, accepted the theory of the Romans' Trojan origin,[301] not only because this allowed him to present the Veneti as "relatives", but also – following Pyrrhus' "interpretation" – because the Trojans were from his point of view the archetypical "anti-Greeks" and therefore defined as Phrygians, from whose fusion with the Aborigines the Latins were born.[302] This "anti-Greek" interpretation of the Trojan legend also appeared in the mysterious prophecy of Marcius which, according to Livy, was "rediscovered" during the Second Punic War and would have foreseen the battle of Cannae: "Flee the river Canna, thou descendant of Troy, that foreigners may not compel thee to do battle in the Plain of Diomed".[303]

295 Liv. 37.37.3; transl. E.T. Sage. See also Iust. 31.8.1–4.

296 Gabba (1976), p. 93.

297 Serv., *Aen*. 9.707.

298 See Scuderi (1976), p. 38.

299 Gabba (1976), pp. 96–98.

300 Gabba (1976), pp. 84–88. Such a debate took place in the Greek world among those who were ready to accept the Romans as a "related" or at least civilized population, and those who pleaded that they had a "barbarian" nature: see Baronowski (2011), pp. 149–151.

301 Cat., *Orig*. 1.6–11; 14 Chassignet. On the Trojan legend in Cato and the importance he placed on its confirmation and consolidation, see Perret (1942), pp. 524–544.

302 Liv. 1.1.5–9; Serv., *Ad Aen*. 1.6 = Cato, *Orig*. 1.6 Chassignet; Sall., *Cat*. 6.1–2. See Letta (1984), pp. 429–430; Letta (2008), p. 191. The Trojans were also defined as Phrygians in Fest., *s.v. Romam* 326 Lindsay. It is not necessary here to reconstruct the history of the identification of the Trojans with the Phrygians, which was not Homeric (there the Phrygians were allies of the Trojans), but rather a product of the 5th century BCE, and perhaps a direct invention of Aeschylus: see E. Hall (1989), pp. 38–39.

303 Liv. 25.12.5; transl. F.G. Moore.

Focusing on the "Catonian" perspective, which provides a clear and relatively well known example of the "rejection" of traditions connecting the Italic peoples with Greece, it is clear that in his work the role of the Greek element in the reconstruction of Italic consanguinity is extremely limited, and no reference is made to the traditions concerning Odysseus.[304] Evander was described as having come from Greece, but nothing more appears of the later tradition that depicted him as the civilizing hero who introduced the alphabet to Italy.[305] The Aborigines, who according to Sempronius Tuditanus and other authors were Greeks,[306] played no great role in the shaping of Italy.[307] Defeated by the Trojans and the Sabines, their contribution

304 Cat., *Orig.* 2.29 Chassignet, for example, attributed the foundation of Praeneste to Caeculus, going against the dominating tradition which, as has been said, connected the town to the Odyssaic tradition. On Caeculus' legend, see Martínez Pinna (1997b), pp. 117–120. This version was also followed by Verg., *Aen.* 7.678–682. *Contra*, Gruen (1992), pp. 59–60, argued unconvincingly that Cato endorsed traditions that inserted Greek components into Italic history. Also Dench (1995), p. 87, has claimed that Cato had evaluated the Greek element in stories about the origins of Italic communities. Their opinion cannot be shared, and all passages mentioned by both authors to support their theory have been discussed in this chapter. Cato's dependence on other sources (in particular Fabius Pictor) and the extent to which he distanced himself from these models are simply impossible to reconstruct. Nonetheless, if it is true that in quoting the legend concerning Greek origins "he was simply following the established pattern", it can be excluded that "he did not seek to change it" (Astin (1978), p. 224).

305 Cat., *Orig.* 1.19 Chassignet, simply stated that Romulus knew Greek, in particular the Aeolic dialect. See Letta (1984), pp. 428–429; Letta (2008), pp. 175–176.

306 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.11.1 = Cat., *Orig.* 1.4 Chassignet; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.13 (Aborigines = Oenotrians); Fest., *s.v. Romam* 326 Lindsay; *Orig. Gent. Rom.* 4.1–2. Dionysius seems to have implied that this idea was also shared by Cato. But see Letta (1984), pp. 424–428; Martínez Pinna (1997a), pp. 93–94; Martínez Pinna (1999); and most importantly Letta (2008), pp. 174–175, who argued for a strong Dionysian "interpretation" of Cato's words. According to them, Cato would have denied the Aborigines' Greek origins affirmed by a long tradition, or at least strongly downplayed them (there is absolutely no mention of the Aborigines' Greek origin in Serv., *Ad Aen.* 1.6, who also quoted Cato, nor in Sall., *Cat.* 6 which, according to Servius, directly derived from Cato). Dionysius' decision to quote Cato would have been motivated by the fact that such an admission from an author who wherever possible downgraded the Greek element in Italic traditions, was the best possible support for his own theories, which moved in exactly the opposite direction. Also against the Aborigines' Greek origin was Varro who, as previously mentioned, considered them of Sabine origin (see above, n. 190): see Della Corte (1976), pp. 113–115. In other traditions, the Aborigines were defined as indigenous to Italy, according to the "alternative" etymology of their name as derived from *ab + origo*, probably used, for example, in the writings of Naevius (Martínez Pinna (1999), pp. 101–102) as well as Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.10.1; Paul. Diac., *De verb. sign.*, *s.v. Aborigines*, 17 Lindsay. More problematic is discerning which theory Pompeius Trogus/Justin (43.1.3), who defined the Aborigines *Italiae cultores primi*, believed.

307 So e.g. Gotter (2003), pp. 128–131, who believes that Cato considered the Aborigines Greek, but interprets their role in his work as functional to a marginalization of further, and later, Greek influences.

to the genesis of Italic culture and identity was simply non-existent.[308] It is no surprise that Roman authors were able to underline their Greek origin, since the connotations with which the Aborigines were described – also in Greek sources – were often extremely negative, and they were presented as a primitive wandering group, even the name of which was supposed to derive from *Aberrigines*.[309] Pompeius Trogus/Justin even defined Romulus as an Aborigine – or better one of the *pastores Aboriginum*. However, the passage in which he did so is fairly critical of Rome and its history and is part, in its literary form, of a speech by Mithridates, an enemy of Rome.[310] Generally, as demonstrated by Letta, Cato either radically denied members of the Italic community's Greek origins, or downplayed them by shifting them to a "prehistorical" past, of which was denied any relevance to the 2nd century BCE (Cato's present).[311] He thus knew the Greek elaborations on the origins of Italy very well, but selected them carefully and regularly argued in favor of those that aimed at establishing some distance between the Italics and Romans and Greek culture.

In this way, Cato proposed that the city of Petelia, often considered to have been founded by the hero Philoctetes,[312] had pre-dated him. According to the historian, Philoctetes simply built its wall and played a far less important role.[313] In an analogous way, if viewed in connection with the Bruttian city of Taurianum, a tradition was accepted according to which Orestes visited the area with Iphigenia and Pilades, but the foundation of the town was not a result of the Achaeans "coming back from Troy" – they simply inhabited it after the indigenous Aurunci.[314] At the same time, Cato rejected the pre-existing theory of the Sabines' Spartan origin, which existed both in the form of a version describing a complete derivation from

308 Not by chance, Vergil also always avoided the use of the term Aborigines when describing the prehistoric Latium: see Hahn (1984), pp. 55–56.

309 Briquel (1995a), pp. 54–55; Martínez Pinna (1999), pp. 95–96.

310 Iust. 28.6.7; see Briquel (1995a), according to whom this tradition originates from Greek anti-Roman propaganda diffused during the time of Mithridates VI, which rejected the Aeneadic tradition. More concretely, he attributed this tradition to Metrodorus of Scepsis.

311 Letta (2008), pp. 177–190.

312 Philoctetes' tomb was, for example, placed in Bruttium by Lycophr. 919-929. On the traditions concerning Philoctetes in Italy, see Malkin (1998), pp. 214–226.

313 Cat., *Orig*. 3.3 Chassignet. See also Verg., *Aen*. 3.402. It is here irrelevant to verify how much, in these genealogical constructions, corresponds to the "real" ethnic composition of the town, as done by Costabile (1984), pp. 81–83, according to whom it was inhabited by "un ethnos misto osco-italico profondamente ellenizzato". Surely the inhabitants of Petelia were aware (if they were not the actual authors) of the traditions connecting them to Greece, as demonstrated by the fact that the town hosted Greek magistrates (such as the gymnasiarchs) and that an inhabitant of Petelia (but interestingly an Oscan, Ophallios!) is recorded among the Delphic *theodorokoi*. See Letta (2008), pp. 185–186.

314 Cat., *Orig*. 3.4 Chassignet.

Sparta of Sabine culture – through the founding hero Sabus (or Sabinus)[315] – and of the "addition" of Spartan colonists within an indigenous group.[316] Timaeus, likely also used by Cato as source, claimed that the Samnites, Lucanians and Bruttii derived from the Spartans through the Sabines,[317] but this was unacceptable to Cato, for whom the Sabines were of particular importance regarding the development of the "Italic identity". Even if Servius appears to have stated that Cato accepted such a theory, this idea was explicitly rejected by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[318] Letta showed the possible origin of this inconsistency by describing how Cato most probably pleaded for an indigenous origin of the Sabines, also presenting – and refuting – the competing "Spartan" tradition.[319]

The Greek component, independent of its eventual acceptance among other Italic communities, was consequently reduced by Cato (and presumably many other Romans who shared his ideas) not only in connection to Rome, but also regarding the traditions concerning all Italic peoples. He eventually admitted its existence only in the case of the Falisci, who were considered similar to the Etruscans and therefore, as will be shown, not to possess "Italic blood".[320] At the same time it is

315 Serv., *Ad Aen.* 8.638: Hyginus created a Persian origin for Sabus, who passed through Sparta (presumably to collect colonists) before reaching Italy. Poucet (1963), pp. 169–170, attributed this theory without good reason to Gnaeus Gellius, who certainly referred to it. On the contrary, it is probable that this tradition originated in the Greek world, more precisely once again in Tarentum during the 4th century BCE (see above, pp. 123–124): see Briquel (1996a), pp. 31–32. On Sabus/Sabinus, see Briquel (1996a), pp. 32–33.

316 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.49.4–5; Plut., *Rom.* 16.1; *Num.* 1.5.

317 So Iust. 23.1.7; a tradition concerning Spartan colonists sent to the Samnites appears in Strab. 5.4.12. On the Spartan origin of the Sabines, see also Plut., *Rom.* 16.1. The Samnites seem to have accepted this tradition concerning their origin around the end of the 4th century BCE, when coins were circulating in the area (minted in Tarentum) bearing the legend ΣΑΥΝΙΤΑΝ next to another bearing the legend ΠΙΕΡΙΠΟΛΩΝ ΠΙΤΑΝΑΤΑΝ, which could have referred to the Spartan village of Pitane (Tagliamonte (2005²), p. 28; see also Russo (2007), pp. 19–21; Scopacasa (2015), pp. 31–32). These coins express a connection between the Greeks and Samnites probably also due to their function, which must be interpreted in connection to the Samnite mercenaries operating during this period for Greek *condottieri* such as Alexander Molossus.

318 Cat., *Orig.* 2.21–22 Chassignet = Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.49.2 and Serv., *Ad Aen.* 8.638.

319 Letta (1984), pp. 432–438. On these positions Poucet (1963), pp. 159–163. Musti (1988), pp. 205–206, on the contrary, partly accepted the Servian tradition, believing that Cato claimed an autochthonous origin of the Sabines, and also that they later received Spartan colonists. Briquel (1996a), pp. 30–36, also considered that the two traditions were not inconsistent. He also suggested the possibility of a Sabine origin of this tradition, as does Martínez Pinna (2014), § 14. Farney (2007), p. 101, claims that Cato surely considered the Sabines descendants of the Spartans, without further argumentations.

320 Cat., *Orig.* 2.18 Chassignet (Falerii was founded by Argos), and 2.19 Chassignet (Capena was founded by Veii). Letta (2008), pp. 183–184, believes rather that Cato shifted the Greek origin of the Falisci back to a distant past and completely disconnected it from any possible "present" significance.

clear that Cato, from his historical and political perspective, rebuked theories that had already been spread by Greek authors from a Greek perspective, but had presumably also found some acceptance among the "Hellenizing" cultural circles of Rome.[321] The concept of "going Greek", something Cato did not accept in Postumius Albinus,[322] was also criticized by Lucilius, who seems to have opposed the idea that the Romano-Sabine identity sprang from the Hellenic culture: "you preferred to be called a Greek, Albucius, rather than a Roman and a Sabine".[323] Around the mid-2nd century BCE, Acilius wrote a history of Rome in Greek in which he claimed that the traditional Roman rites in honor of Hercules were of Greek origin,[324] but Cicero's grandfather "said that our contemporaries were like the Syrian slave-market: 'the better knowledge they had of Greeks, the more worthless were their respective characters'".[325]

Cato's (and his friends') position on Greek "extraneousness" to the Italic world could also be connected with the events of the Second Punic War, during which the Southern Italic Greek *poleis,* which had earlier belonged to the Italiote League (Tarentum, Thurii, Kroton, Locri, and Metapontum) decided, after Cannae, to abandon the Romans and support Hannibal.[326] Such defections to the Carthaginians were – as with the alliance between the Carthaginians and the Gauls – strongly emphasized within the literary tradition. After the war, this changing of sides could easily have been seen in opposition to the faithful Italicness that had in Roman cultural memory, as has been shown, defeated the Punic invader.[327] In this sense, it may not have been by chance that the only city of Bruttium that remained loyal to the Romans until the very end was Petelia,[328] which Cato had so strongly denied had a Greek foundation.

321 See Dubuisson (1983), pp. 38–39.

322 Plut., *Cat. Mai.* 12.5–6. See Henrichs (1995), pp. 244–248.

323 Lucil. 88–91 Marx; transl. E. Dench. See Wilson (1966), pp. 166–167. Gruen (1992), pp. 257–258, suggested that Albucius was not criticized for his philhellenic sympathies, but for his wish to be perceived as a real Greek, and therefore his failure in using Greek culture to "augment the Roman achievement". This does not reduce the relevance of the passage from the perspective here analyzed, since in this sense Albucius would also have selected a Greek identity above and in place of an Italic one.

324 Strab. 5.3.3.

325 Cic., *De or.* 2.265; transl. E.W. Sutton.

326 Lomas (1993), pp. 59–63.

327 Costabile (1984), pp. 40–44, argued that the 3rd century BCE was characterized by a difficult political balance between those supporting the Italic communities and those supporting the Greek ones, which saw moments of swing and contradiction, for example, between the treatment of the *legio Campana* from Rhegium (see also Cassola (1962), pp. 174–178; Toynbee (1965), vol. 1, p. 101), and the help provided to the Mamertines. Such movements and differing opinions may have corresponded to the construction of various legendary familiarities.

328 In addition to the already presented sources (see above, p. 109), Polyb. 7.1.3; Liv. 23.4–10; Val. Max. 6.6.ext.2.

This does not mean that we should simply fall back on the old stereotype of Cato as a "hater of the Greeks", a position that has been disproven by a significant part of the most recent literature on the Censor. The fact that, in Cato's opinion, the Greeks did not belong to the Italic community and were not bound by consanguinity to the Romans (as were most other populations inhabiting the peninsula) does not imply that he rejected or despised the Hellenic culture in its entirety. What emerges is a neater characterization of Cato "as an advocate of Rome" – reinforcing Gruen's portrait of the Censor as a man who "cultivated a sense of pride in Roman values and qualities. But more than this, his actions and writings endeavored to give definition to those values. For such an objective, the confrontation with Hellenic practices [and myths!] proved to be eminently serviceable, a means to sharpen the perception of national principles".[329] His aim was not a depreciation of the Greeks, but the definition of a Romano-Italic "national character". Recognizing his effort in consistently shaping the discourses on consanguinity does not imply that we should automatically fall back on the idea of a dichotomy between a "philhellenic" and an "antihellenic" party in 2nd century Rome, but is simply recognizing the existence of a debate on the inclusion (or exclusion) of Greece in Roman kinship, with all the connected symbolic consequences.[330] The "spatialization" of the Italic community as the birth of a defined regional entity moved, accordingly to Paasi's model, together with its "temporalization", i.e. the birth of historical narratives that attribute to the community a common past (and Cato's *Origins* assume, in this sense, a paradigmatic value),[331] allowing these two elements to be both founding factors of identity structures.

The idea of the Greeks' Otherness was a matter of debate during the course of the 2nd century BCE, following the "conquest" of the Eastern Mediterranean.[332] The ever greater involvement of the Romans in Hellenistic politics, together with the stronger influence of Greek culture on the Romans and their cultural production, led sections of the Roman elite to a mitigation of the exclusion of Greek elements from the Italic identity intended, for example, by Cato.[333] An example of this ideological

329 Gruen (1992), pp. 80–83. See also Isaac (2004), pp. 385–387.

330 See also Jefferson (2012), pp. 319–325. In this context must also be understood the refusal, as described by Valerius Maximus, to speak Greek in the Roman Senate, in place of which they used interpreters, even if the senators did understand the language: Val. Max. 2.2.2. See Dubuisson (1983), pp. 41–43.

331 Paasi (1986), p. 126; Paasi (2001), p. 20.

332 The events of the first half of the 2nd century BCE also compelled the Greeks to "rethink", according to their individual political ideas, the "ethnicity" of the Romans and their culture, recover older traditions and adapt them to the new political and cultural circumstances. We know, for example, that during this time Polemon of Ilium wrote a work on the *Foundations of Italic and Sicilian Cities*, in which he adhered to the theory of the Romans' Trojan origin and even claimed that the Salii derived from the *salios* from Mantinea: see Gabba (1976), pp. 89–90.

333 See Lomas (1997), pp. 39–40: "For the Romans, however, the Greeks were a complex problem. [...] Hellenism was admired and became an integral part of the culture of the Roman élite, but to

contrast can be found in the traditions connected to Numa's books.[334] In 181 BCE, a set of books attributed to Numa was found on the Janiculum.[335] This story, attested for the first time by Valerius Antias and subsequently quoted by three other authors, was possibly introduced to strengthen the idea of a Pythagorean influence on Numa. Contrasting with the tradition of his Sabine piety,[336] this would reinforce the idea of an early Greek influence on Roman customs and institutions, and was likely aimed at emphasizing the connection to the Greek cities of Southern Italy.[337] According to sources, the books were eventually burnt.

After the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, as Gruen has noted, the Trojan legend seems to have disappeared from the diplomatic world of the Romans, only to

overindulge was to lay oneself open to the charge of being unRoman – something which was exploited for political gain by the enemies of both Scipio Africanus and Antony".

334 Simon (2011), pp. 410–412.

335 Liv. 40.29.3–14; Val. Max. 1.1.12; Plin., *HN* 13.84–86; Plut., *Num*. 22.2–8. See Gruen (1992), p. 259; Isaac (2004), p. 385.

336 See p. 119.

337 The available versions indicate the likelihood that Antias suggested the books were authentic, and this is compatible with his apparent general insistence on Greek elements within Roman history, as in the proposed Greek etymology of the name Ancus Marcius (Fr. 10 Peter), who is considered by most sources to have been of Sabine origin. This tradition could have been developed in a Tarentine milieu in a context in which the Greeks of Southern Italy, and particularly of Tarentum, tried to "assimilate" the Romans and other Italic peoples, such as the Samnites: see Gabba (1996), p. 97. Of a similar opinion was Ferrero (1955), pp. 137–152, according to whom the legend developed as a result of Tarentine influence, even if he believed that it originated during the 4th century BCE in the context of a supposed spreading of Pythagoreanism in Rome and a general reinterpretation of the constitutions and laws of Italic cities as products of this philosophical school (followed by Santi (2006), pp. 31–32, who attributes the "invention of the tradition" to Aristoxenus of Tarentum). According to Pliny the Elder, a statue of Pythagoras would have been built in Rome during the time of the Samnite Wars: Plin., *HN* 34.26. Ferrero recognized that Pythagoras had become an important figure in Roman culture during the end of the 3rd century BCE, and it was generally during this century that such traditions connecting Rome with the philosopher active in Southern Italy probably entered the *Urbs*, in the context of the political and diplomatic relationships with the Greeks of Magna Graecia. Plut., *Num*. 8 also referred to a tradition according to which Pythagoras would have received Roman citizenship. Whilst he attributed this information to Epicharmus, it was certainly a later falsification. Russo (2007), pp. 58–76, maintains Ferrero's chronology, but connects the origins of this tradition to a Roman milieu, and in particular to the *gens Aemilia* (on the relationships of this *gens* with Pythagoreanism see also Ferrero (1955), pp. 149–152; Santi (2006), pp. 29–34), claiming that it had the function of "nobilitating" Numa and the Roman rule, in an anti-Tarentine function, making Numa an alternative and a "replacement" of Archytas. Such an approach is not relevant to any period from the 2nd century BCE, when the idea of a Greek formation of Numa was apparently strongly rejected (Ferrero (1955), pp. 144–145, admitted that a "polemic" based on chronology developed around 200 BCE). Diod. Sic. 8.14 simply stated that according to some authors, Numa had been a pupil of Pythagoras, and we cannot say with certainty, as Ferrero (1955), pp. 143–144, did, that his source was Fabius Pictor. On Pythagoreanism in the Late Roman Republic, see Griffin (1994), pp. 707–710.

reappear under completely different circumstances at the end of the Republic. He explains this as having resulted from the conclusion of the Eastern wars and the successful establishment of the legend, which did not need further confirmation.[338] This explanation may contain some plausible elements, but seems to miss the point in failing to stress that, after the Second Punic War and during the entire course of the 2nd century, the Romans seem to have felt a much more pressing need to define and establish the nature and kinship of the Italic communities (for which the Trojan legend also constituted an important component) – and that the "attention" was therefore shifted to other "more urgent" aspects.

The topic of *consanguineitas* was also dealt with from a linguistic perspective, though in this field the surviving fragments of information from ancient works are even less representative of the theories expressed in republican times than those of the mythological traditions. It is, however, possible to observe a high level of consistency in the construction of theories regarding Roman and Italic familiarity and Latin language. This was a debate that seems to have started during the 2nd century BCE (Suetonius has dated the introduction of grammatical studies from Greece to Rome to between the Second and the Third Punic Wars),[339] and to have found in Aelius Stilo the first known major representative of the "Varronian" tendency that addressed grammatical studies from an antiquarian perspective. This topic is highly relevant since, as revealed by Quintilian, there was a great awareness of the fact that linguistic evolution derived from human contact.[340]

Latin was, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a "mixed" language, neither completely barbarian nor Greek, and the Greek component was mostly Aeolic.[341] The role of the Greek language in the origin of Latin was particularly emphasized by some Greek authors, such as Hypsicrates, Tyrannion and Ateius Praetextatus.[342] Gellius strongly criticised Hypsicrates for this,[343] but the theory was swiftly accepted by many Roman scholars, including Aelius Stilo.[344] In line with the insistence on the clear presence of Greek elements within Italic and Roman heritage, such traditions also began to stress the Greek influence on the development of language: "there being more Greek words mingled with the Latin at that time [Numa's] than now", according to Plutarch.[345] The importance of the Aeolic dialect, present in the writings of Philoxenus of Alexandria (who called the Romans "colonists of the Aeo-

338 Gruen (1992), p. 50.
339 Suet., *Gramm.* 2.
340 Quint., *Inst. Or.* 1.5.56. See Poccetti (1984b), pp. 137–138.
341 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.90.1. Dubuisson (1984), p. 66; See de Jonge (2008), pp. 60–65.
342 See Gabba (1963), pp. 189–190; Dubuisson (1984), pp. 58–61, concentrating on the grammarians of the 1st century BCE and CE.
343 Gell. 16.12.6. Pascucci (1979), pp. 341–343; Dubuisson (1984), p. 62.
344 Dubuisson (1984), p. 62.
345 Plut., *Num.* 7.5; transl. B. Perrin. See also Plut., *Marc.* 8.7.

lians")[346] and apparently accepted in Rome by Cato and later by Quintilian and Priscian, is not difficult to understand, and clearly explained. This was the dialect of the Arcadians who, through Evander, contributed to the origins of the Latins and the Romans.[347]

Varro apparently admitted the presence of a Greek (or better, once again, Aeolic) component in the formation of Latin, though clearly noted the presence of Gallic, Etruscan and Oscan (generally understood as Sabine) influences.[348] The Sabine language, which according to Varro derived from the Oscan one,[349] even assumed (in line with the Roman scholar's "Sabinocentrism") the general role of a "mediating language", which transmitted to Latin many features derived from other tongues. The presence of Gallic elements should also not surprise during a time in which the importance of Cisalpina and its belonging to the region Italy was a crucial political question.[350]

The 2nd century BCE appears therefore to have been a period of extreme creativity and transformation regarding the traditions concerning Italic populations. Such events are not always easy to reconstruct, since the later imposition of Roman "official versions" – particularly through the diffusion of the Vergilian reconstruction in the *Aeneid*, which strongly bears the mark of the Social War as well as that of the Augustan idea of the *coniuratio Italiae*, and has been defined as "a poem of Italian national character"[351] – eventually reduced the other traditions to a minority position, which often implied their "negative" selection in later transmission.[352] However, such themes were during this time discussed with particular intensity, reflecting the importance and urgency assumed at this point in time by the "construction" of Italy as a region, and therefore the "construction" of its symbolic shape.[353]

346 Philoxen., Fr. 323 Theodoridis. See Dubuisson (1984), p. 60.

347 Cat., *Orig.* 1.19 Chassignet; Varr., *Orig. Ling. Lat.* 45 Goetz/Schoell; Quint., *Inst. Or.*1.6.31; Prisc., *Gramm.* 3.27. See Gabba (1963), pp. 190–194; Pascucci (1979), pp. 354–356.

348 Joh. Lyd., *Mag.* 1.5; 2.13. See La Penna (1976), p. 399; Pascucci (1979); Dubuisson (1984), p. 62; Russo (2012b), pp. 150–155.

349 Varr., *LL* 7.28. On Varro and his theories regarding the role of language in defining identity, see Dench (2005), pp. 316–321.

350 This contradicts Giardina's statement, according to which the Romans never developed the idea of language as a unifying factor of the Italic community, at least not in the form of the extension of Latin to the entire peninsula after the conquest (Giardina (1994), pp. 45–46). If this system of thought never assumed the form which in Greece was attributed by Herodotus to the language as a marker of ethnicity (Wallace-Hadrill (2008), p. 57), it was nonetheless not necessarily a sign of a lack of perception of an "Italicness".

351 Toll (1991), p. 3.

352 On Vergil's concept of a united Italy, see Ando (2002), pp. 137–140 (even if in the rest of the article he strongly disagrees with what is being claimed here).

353 Significantly, also in this case the imperial period would demonstrate an achieved "unity", as described, for example, by Quintilian, according to whom all Italic languages could "now" be con-

Ethnicity and consanguinity were therefore, from a Roman perspective, a central element used to define and consolidate the "symbolic shape" of Italy. However, they were not the only, or even the most important element of the complicated puzzle being presented. This is made clear by the existence of populations outside Italy, which were always unmistakably perceived by the Romans as related and consanguineous to them, although their territories did not in any way belong to Italy. The most famous and important example in this sense were the Sicels, who were unanimously recognized to have been of Italic origin, and were often traced back to the eponymous king Siculus, who was in turn connected to the Odyssaic tradition, and almost always identified as Italus' son.[354] That Σικελικοί and Ἰταλικοί were related was also unanimously accepted by the Greek tradition.[355] According to Hellanicus the Sicels were wandering Ausonians,[356] but Antiochus of Syracuse, who stated that Siculus came from Rome, claimed that the Sicels came instead from Oenotria (and this version was likely that followed by Thucydides, who apparently did not agree with Antiochus on every detail),[357] whilst Philistus claimed a Ligurian origin.[358] According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, they had occupied the area in which Rome would be founded before being chased away by the Aborigines.[359] Many Roman authors followed in their wake, creating connections that led from Sicily to Italy, and particularly to Latium.[360] Cassius Hemina wrote that Aricia and Crustumerium were founded by the Sicels. Lanuvium was also considered to have been a Sicel foundation, according to its alliance treaty with Centuripe,[361] whilst it seems that, according to Fabius Pictor, the Sicel Lanoios came to Italy with Aeneas.[362] The same

sidered Roman: Quint., *Inst. Or.* 1.5.56: *licet omnia Italica pro Romanis habeam*. See also Strab. 6.1.2. See Poccetti (1984b), p. 141.

354 See Martínez Pinna (2014), §§ 6–9, who has dated the introduction of this tradition to the 3rd century BCE, in the context of the Punic Wars.

355 Only Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who presented the Sicels as autochthonous, differentiated them from the Romans on the basis of their Greek origin, and generated an enmity between (barbarian) Sicels on one side, and Pelasgians and Aborigines on the other: Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.16.1, 1.20.4. See Musti (1970), pp. 11–12; Briquel (1989), pp. 104–107; Martínez Pinna (2008), pp. 21–23.

356 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.22.3. Sammartano (1998), pp. 86–105.

357 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.12.3; 1.22.5. On the origin of the Sicels according to Antiochus, see Sammartano (1998), pp. 129–197; Zevi (1999), pp. 322–327, who suggested placing the birth of these traditions in Syracuse during the time of the Deinomenids. Thucydides attributed an Italic origin to the Sicels at 6.2.4: see Sammartano (1998), pp. 246–250.

358 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.22.4–5. For a synthesis of the different versions and a presentation of the individual authors who referred to them, see Van Compernolle (1959), pp. 491–496.

359 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.9.1; 1.22; 2.1.1. See also Serv., *Ad Aen.* 8.328.

360 See Zevi (1999), pp. 338–343.

361 *AE* 1966.165 = *AE* 1990.437. On this inscription, see Manganaro (2011), pp. 549–553, and the literature he mentions. See also Cic., *Verr.* 2.5.84; Solin. 2.10.

362 *SEG* 26.1123. See Briquel (2001), pp. 297–298; Battistoni (2006), pp. 175–177; Martínez Pinna (2008), p. 22; Battistoni (2010), pp. 161–164; Manganaro (2011), pp. 558–561; Zevi (2014).

author considered the Volsci to have been relatives of the Sicels.[363] The perceived "ethnic unity" of Italy and Sicily also led to other explanations, for example the theory that the two were united before a deluge.[364] In this way a narrative is added that constructs the perceived consanguinity of the Sicels and Italics whilst at the same time constructing the exclusion of Sicily from the territory of Italy. If true, Caesar's and Antony's project of "de-provincializing" Sicily could have been at least in discourse based on this supposed relatedness.

The mythical tradition, often derived from the adaptation of Greek elaborations since the archaic time, therefore offered an important repertoire of traditions and stories in the construction of the idea of a pan-Italic consanguinity, and in this way helped to form Italy's symbolic regional shape. The introduction or exclusion of the Greeks from this complicated articulation of myths and traditions does not, in any case, weaken the argument of consanguinity in the construction of Italic identity, nor in the formation and evolution of Italy's "symbolic shape". With or without a Greek connection, this crucial concept was shaped by most of the myths developed and transmitted during the Republican period. In a similar way, the Roman tradition also elaborated on the topics of migration and autochthony, the importance of which resides not only in the reinforcement of the theories of consanguinity, as in the case of the *ver sacrum*, but also in the direct connection it can establish between peoples and regional territories.

The Myth of Autochthony

The definition of the consanguinity of groups and peoples was deeply connected, in the ancient world but also in modern culture, with the topic of the autochthony and heterochthony of individual population groups. Autochthony is an important element in these traditions, since it argues for the "higher right" of a population to the occupation of a specific territory. It is perceived that "naturally" every territory is inhabited by a given population, which has resided there since the beginning of history and can therefore claim the right to its control and administration.[365] The basis of the development of the myth of Italic autochthony was often once again the Sabinocentric idea, as expressed by Cato, according to whom the Sabines not only played a pivotal role regarding Italic blood connections, but were also an autoch-

363 Isid. Hisp., *Etym*. 4.7.34.

364 Acilius: *FGH* 813 F 3; Sall., *Hist*., Fr. 4.20 Dietsch.

365 On autochthony in ancient Italy, see among others Briquel (1993), pp. 77–99; Russo (2012b), pp. 115–117. On priority, in general, as a significant tool in discourses proving entitlement, see Lowenthal (1998), pp. 174–176.

thon Italic population, as convincingly demonstrated by C. Letta.[366] Sabine autochthony was also explicitly emphasized by Strabo,[367] whilst according to Zenodotus of Troezen, the Umbri were also autochthons of Italy,[368] who in turn often represented within Roman discourse "la coscienza di una 'italicità' peninsulare antitetica rispetto a una realtà costiera greca ed etrusca".[369]

The Romans themselves, according to the Trojan legend, were somehow "migrants", but their "integration" was eventually explained using the model of an "older" migration towards Troy, centered on the figure of Dardanus.[370] He had already been presented in the *Iliad* as the mythical ancestor of Troy's founders, and was now supposed to have come to Asia Minor not from Arcadia, as stated in most Greek versions,[371] but from Italy,[372] making Aeneas' trip a "return" to the region of the provenance of his *ethnos*. Whilst it is true that Dardanus' Italic origin was attested for the first time in Vergil, this does not necessarily mean that the theory was a

366 Cat., *Orig*. 2.21–22 Chassignet; Strab. 5.3.1. See Letta (1984), pp. 419–424, who demonstrated that Cato here contradicted other theories and strongly argued for Sabine autochthony; Martínez Pinna (1999), pp. 103–107; Letta (2008), p. 173; Russo (2012b), pp. 120–123. The "Roman discourse of autochthonous Italians" cannot therefore, due to its presence in the writings of Cato, be considered a later creation, as Dench (1995), p. 98, claimed, arguing that it "first appeared around the 120s BC"; Poucet (1963), pp. 214–215, had already recognized the theme of Sabine autochthony in the works of Cato and Varro.

367 Strab. 5.3.1: ἔστι δὲ καὶ παλαιότατον γένος οἱ Σαβῖνοι καὶ αὐτόχθονες.

368 The Umbri were, in Greek traditions (as in Herodotus) autochthonous in almost all those works which we are aware of (see Briquel (1990), p. 167); only one variant contradicted this, stating that they were of Gallic origin (Serv., *Ad Aen*. 12.753; Solin. 2.11; Isid., *Orig*. 9.2.87). This theory was presumably invented and presented only by M. Antonius Gnipho, who was himself of Gallic origin: see Sisani (2009), pp. 20–24; Amann (2011), pp. 58–62.

369 Sisani (2009), pp. 31–33.

370 Verg., *Aen*. 7.205–211. Martínez Pinna (2008), pp. 16–18.

371 In Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom*. 1.61.1 Dardanus was, for example, Peloponnesian – Dionysius had a clear interest in demonstrating a Greek origin of the Trojans, which implied a Greek origin of the Romans.

372 Verg., *Aen*. 3.163–171; 7.205–208. See Giardina (1994), pp. 70–72; Fabrizi (2012), pp. 52–54; Fletcher (2014), pp. 100–101. Dardanus left Italy before the arrival of the Etruscans from Asia Minor, so it cannot be claimed that Dardanus, who came from "Etruria," instituted a consanguinity between the Romans and Etruscans, as believed by Farney (2007), pp. 142–143. Indeed, the traditions regarding an Etruscan migration from Lydia following the events of the Trojan War (see below, pp. 159–160), make Dardanus belong to the pre-Etruscan population of Cortona. Dardanus was also connected to the Latin town of Cora; Martínez Pinna considers the two traditions compatible, but they could also have responded to different needs. The connection of Dardanus with Cora may in particular have been an "answer" developed in the milieus which denied the existence of a consanguinity between Romans and Etruscans in opposition to his foundation of Cortona.

Vergilian invention.[373] On the contrary, references to Dardanus in a series of Etruscan inscriptions from the 1st century BCE seem to prove a pre-existing knowledge of this tradition.[374] Additionally, the Roman traditions developed a particular category of legends, alongside models of migration and autochthony, that used narratives of peaceful intermingling with local communities and the acceptance through local kings and rulers of the fusion of local populations and groups of migrants (the Trojans and the Aborigines/Latins). Such narratives allowed to claim possession of particular territories at the same time as the construction of myths of familiarity based on the Trojan descent.

Following on from the definition of the *consanguineitas* of the Italic peoples, it was therefore just a small step to the development of further theories aimed at explaining the presence of "other" groups on Italic soil using the models of invasion and migration. This allowed for a "geographic" construction of Otherness which, as Simmel has already stated, is an important constituent of the Same.[375] This model was adopted and presented regarding the two biggest groups living in the northern and southern parts of the peninsula: the Greeks and the Gauls.

In the case of the Greeks, this narrative was not a problem. The foundation of the Greek *poleis* of Magna Graecia and Sicily was a clear example of "arrival from Outside" and as such had also been presented in discourse by the Greeks themselves, who elaborated many traditions concerning their reasons for having abandoned the motherland, the figures of the *oikistai* of the single colonies and the more or less adventurous events accompanying the foundation.[376] Even if the Greeks had often developed "integration" narratives, which also connected them to the indigenous populations, the colonial tradition could be adopted in order to stress their provenance from Outside,[377] especially if one rejected – as Cato had done – the traditions related to "Greek consanguinity" of the Italic groups.

In this sense, and in consideration of his general attitude, it comes as no surprise to read in the writings of Pliny that Cato, according to whom they were a *nequissimum et indocile genus*,[378] "thought that all Greeks should be expelled from

373 Thus Hahn (1984), pp. 51–52; Coppola (1995), pp. 45–47. Jocelyn (1991), on the contrary, even if not acceptable in every detail, showed that Vergil must have referred to a pre-existing tradition (suggesting that it might have been "invented" rather by Naevius or Ennius).

374 On these inscriptions, see below, pp. 285–286. See Colonna (1980), pp. 4–13, who considered it an originally Etruscan tradition developed during Cato's time; Sordi (2003), pp. 129 and 132.

375 Simmel (1968[5]), p. 509.

376 On the "discourse of colonization" in Greek culture, see Dench (1995), pp. 35–38.

377 Such a distinction was projected by Livy back into the monarchical time, when he attributed to Ancus Marcius' sons, conspiring against Tarquinius Priscus (of Corinthian descent), the argument that he was "a foreigner, not only not from a near, but even not from a Italic stock" (*advenam non modo vicinae sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis*, Liv. 1.40.2).

378 Plin., *HN* 29.14.

Italy".[379] Pliny mentions a measure, supported by Cato, by which a Greek embassy formed by Carneades, Critolaus and Diogenes was expelled from Rome in 156–155 BCE. This was a measure that, even if it may not have been implemented on an ethnical basis, surely represented a clear step in shaping a "cultural policy", which did not permit particular aspects of Greek philosophical thought to be presented in Rome.[380] Such opposition was not only directed against the mainland Greeks. On the contrary, during this time, it was rather more strongly aimed at Greek communities living in Southern Italy.[381] In a speech attributed to the consul Sulpicius which, recalling Hannibal's invasion, alludes to the possibility of another by Philip V, Livy wrote of the defection of Italic allies, referring to the Italics by their ethnic names (Lucanians, Bruttii and Samnites), but referring in a different way to "the Tarentines and that part of the Italian coast which men call Greater Greece", which would follow a man bearing a Greek name and speaking Greek, although he added that other populations who betrayed Rome during the Hannibalic War would also do the same.[382] In this way, the Italics bore a higher moral responsibility for their defection, whilst the Greeks were represented as not being members of the Italic community, always ready to switch to the "Greek side".

The role assigned to the Celts was different, especially in relation to the inclusion of Cisalpina within the "Italic territory".[383] The ethnical and cultural complexity of this area was simplified in Roman narratives, which eventually reduced the multiplicity of the region's inhabitants down to three groups,[384] the first of which was the previously discussed Veneti. The second was the Ligurians, whose ethnic background was widely discussed. They were sometimes considered to have been connected to the Romans and other Italic populations (they were depicted as having lived during prehistoric times on what would become the site of Rome, and as having been connected to the Sicels).[385] As such, they were also at times presented as

379 Plin., *HN* 7.113: *ille semper alioquin universos ex Italia pellendos censuit Graecos*.

380 Cic., *De Or*. 2.155–157; Plin. *HN* 7.112; Plut., *Cat. Mai*. 22.

381 On Roman opinions of the Greeks during the Republic, see Isaac (2004), pp. 382–395, even if Isaac considers that such traditions were referred only to Greeks from the mainland and from Asia.

382 Liv. 31.7.10–12.

383 J.H.C. Williams (1997), p. 77.

384 This is true of all such narrative forms, which present us with homogeneous areas and do not consider the fact that many Italic regions during this time had a truly "multiethnic" nature: in Tuder, for example, we know that Umbri, Celts, and Etruscans all lived together. Nonetheless, Bourdin (2012), p. 168, stated that ancient ethnographic descriptions add more details about central and Southern Italy, whilst maintaining a distinction regarding much bigger groups in northern Italy. Only Strab. 5.1.10 presented Cisalpina during the 2nd century BCE as having been ethnically more composite, his information probably having derived from Polybius, who visited the region: Bourdin (2012), pp. 605–607.

385 See Briquel (1989), pp. 102–104, who identified a Greek, or more precisely Syracusan, origin for this tradition, attributing its first ideation to Philistus, who considered them to have been the popu-

having been autochthonous to Italy.[386] On other occasions however, they were perceived as Gauls (or even Germans),[387] and therefore excluded from the Italic community.[388] I will later examine the consequences this had on some descriptions of their territory and lifestyle.[389] Varro placed them in a liminal position in comparison to Italy by stressing the scarce quality of their cattle, in contrast to his exaltation of the fertility of the Italic soil in general.[390] Observations such as those criticizing Ligurian wines must also be understood in the context of the exclusion of the Ligurians from complete "Italicness".[391] The ambiguity of their definition is also evident in Plutarch, who wrote that the Ligurians inhabited the extremities of Italy, and had improved their military skills as a result of their proximity to the Romans and in order to be "useful" to the Romans as a buffer between them and the Celts; in this sense, they were recognized as "lesser" barbarous.[392] Even more significantly, Plutarch stressed their "nearness" to the Romans by stating that the latter had no interest in destroying them, since they were a valid defense against attacks from the Gauls,[393] implying that they had a role within and for the "Italic community".

The main ethnic component of central Cisalpina was ultimately represented by the Celts (divided into different subgroups). The definition of Transpadana as part of Italy, and therefore a "naturally" unified and homogeneous region in the Roman

lation which, guided by Siculus, son of Italus, was chased by the Umbri and Pelasgians and moved to Sicily (*FGH* 556 F 46).

386 See Arnaud (2001), p. 327; see in general Arnaud (2001) for Greek and Roman representations of the Ligurians. Arnaud particularly insists on the discontinuity between Greek and Roman perceptions of this group, and even suggests that the Ligurians as an ethnical group were substantially a Greek construction, simply deriving from a pejorative term, meaning "barbarians". According to Häussler (2013), p. 88, "The distinction between Ligurian and Celtic/Gaulish does not seem to mirror any pre-Roman ethnicities; but external creations by Greeks and Romans who noticed that the term 'Ligurian' was already in use prior to the Celtic invasion, thus assumed that the so-called Ligurians were the indigenous people and the Celts the 'newcomers'".

387 Ancient authors sometimes assimilated them to the Celts (Lucan. 1.441–446) with the possible consequence that this could have attributed to them particular characteristics: see Häussler (2007), p. 45. On the identification of the Ligurians as a Celtic group, see Coppola (1995), pp. 94–97. However, not every detail of her study, in which she claimed that such an idea was also a product of Syracusan political discourses, particularly during the time of Dionysius I, can be accepted. This is in any case of marginal relevance here – more important is the use the Romans made of this theory. German origin: Plut., *Mar*. 19.4.

388 This may also have been influenced by the fact that peoples living on the other side of the Alps (today's Southern France) were also defined as Ligurians, as well as by the group's general perceived familiarity with the Celts. Polybius, for example, defined the Oxybians as Ligurians and "barbarians" (Polyb. 33.10.6). See Letta (1984), pp. 416–417.

389 See below, p. 183. Cat., *Orig*. 2.1–2. See Letta (1984), p. 416.

390 Varr., *RR* 2.5.9. On Varro's exaltation of the Italic soil, see below, p. 172.

391 Strab. 4.6.2; Mart. 3.82.

392 Plut., *Aem. Paul.* 6.1–2.

393 Plut., *Aem. Paul.* 6.5.

theorization of the 2nd century BCE, inevitably generated the necessity of ethnographically explaining the presence of the Celts (and eventually the Ligurians), who were clearly recognised by Greeks and Romans as a distinct and "foreign" ethnic group,[394] within this area. For example, according to Polybius, the Po Valley was originally inhabited by Etruscans, who were attacked and chased away by the Celts.[395] This difficulty was keenly felt by Cato who, in his treatment of the region in the *Origines*, already felt the need to demonstrate that these were invaders who had occupied the Po plain during a later historical time and from "the other side of the Alps", i.e. "non-Italy".[396]

Leaving aside Timaeus, according to whom the Gauls should have come from Sicily (although this idea sprang from the strong alliance that connected the Celts from northern Italy with Dionysius I),[397] the Celts were always described as invaders from the other side of the mountains who thus occupied a territory that did not "belong" to them.[398] From this perspective the Celts were not only a barbarian people with almost inhuman habits (they were described, for example, as lacking the ability to think),[399] true *belvae*,[400] but were perceived as a common enemy and danger by

394 J.H.C. Williams (1997), pp. 69–70.

395 Polyb. 2.17.3.

396 J.H.C. Williams (2001), pp. 75–79; Ando (2016), pp. 272–275. Later generations, particularly Livy, would on the contrary develop more positive views of the Gauls in Cisalpina, in connection with the political debate about the integration of Transpadana into Roman citizenship: see J.H.C. Williams (2001), pp. 120–127. Nonetheless Livy provided the most thorough and systematic narrative concerning the different "waves" of invasion of Northern Italy from the other side of the Alps (Liv. 5.34.1–35.3: see Bourdin (2012), pp. 593–596) and insisted on the heterochthony of the Celts as having come from the Ocean and the extreme limits of the inhabited world (Liv. 5.37.2). He also did not hesitate in calling them *barbari* (Liv. 5.39.5). On the "Celtic invasion" of the beginning of the 4th century BCE (a Roman historical tradition attested by Nepos *apud* Plin., *HN* 3.125 considered the Celtic conquest of Melpum contemporary to the Roman conquest of Veii) and on the possibility that this, often considered a historical "fact" (for example, by Mommsen (1888[8]), p. 408; Peyre (1979), pp. 15–18; and David (1994), p. 5), represented on the contrary a Roman narrative construct, concealing much more complex phenomena of influence, migration and acculturation, see Olshausen (1991), pp. 19–20; Häussler (2000), pp. 141–143; Bourdin (2007), pp. 22–23; Häussler (2007), pp. 53–56; Bourdin (2012), pp. 597–600; Häussler (2013), pp. 81–87.

397 *FGH* 566 F 69: the name Galatia is also in this sense explained as having derived from Galatos, a Cyclops, son of Galateia.

398 For example, Liv. 21.30.8. See J.H.C. Williams (1997), pp. 74–77; Bourdin (2012), pp. 604–605. M. Antonius Gnipho proposed a consanguinity between the Umbri and Gauls, both of which should have been "more ancient" than the Etruscans; but the grammarian, of Gallic origin, expressed here, during Caesar's time, a typical example of "nazionalismo gallico", as Mazzarino (1973), pp. 219–221, identified.

399 Polyb. 2.17.9–12; 2.35.3. See Vattuone (1987).

400 Liv. 7.24.5. See also, for example, 21.20.8; 21.25.6–7.

all other Italics.[401] It was not just the Romans who suffered from an ancient fear of the Gauls, a real *metus Gallicus* (discursively constructed in a way very similar to other analogous "fears" such as the Greek one of the Persians). All Italic peoples shared this fear:[402]

> From every side assistance was eagerly rendered; for the inhabitants of Italy, in their terror at the Gallic invasion, no longer thought of the matter as a question of alliance with Rome, or of the war as undertaken to support Roman supremacy, but each people regarded it as a danger menacing themselves and their own city and territory.[403]

Polybius has presented here the idea of the extraneousness of the Celts from the Italic community in the best possible way, up to the point at which they betrayed Rome to help Hannibal,[404] the paradigmatic enemy of *tota Italia*. According to Polybius, before he embarked on his expedition Hannibal considered the fact that the inhabitants of northern Italy, i.e. the Celts, were characterized by ἀλλοτριότης πρὸς Ῥωμαίους.[405] This was a term indicating a "qualitative difference", in opposition to the concept of ὁμοιότης, which in these discourses characterized the rest of the peninsula and which would prevent, in spite of Hannibal's attempts,[406] the Italic allies from betraying Rome as the Celts had done.[407] At the same time, however, Polybius also demonstrated the existence of the Italic community from which the Celts were excluded. This (indicated as homogeneous by evoking the "name of the region") was held together by the existence of a common enemy, or "Other". It was for this reason that they fought – not to preserve Roman hegemony, which would have implied a lesser motivation and certainly less of a common identity – but in order to defend their "common homeland". An "Italic color" was thus attributed to the wars against the Gauls, as it would also be to those against the Germans at the

401 On the Roman perception of the Gauls in general (Cis- and Transalpini), see Isaac (2004), pp. 411–413.

402 See, for example, Enn., *Ann.*, Fr. 7.15 Skutsch; Sall., *Iug.* 114.1–2; Liv. 10.26.13; Plut., *Marc.* 3. See also App., *Civ.* 4.12.95, in which Brennus' Gauls are defined "the most savage among the barbarians" in a speech held, according to the literary fiction, by Cassius before the battle of Philippi. The institutionalization of the *metus Gallicus* as a central element of the Roman cultural memory was further confirmed by Plutarch (*Marc.* 3.4) and Appian (*Civ.* 2.21.150), according to whom a Roman law exempted old men and priests from military service, except in the case of a Gallic attack. See Chevallier (1983), pp. 439–443; Ausbüttel (1989), pp. 167–168.

403 Polyb. 2.23.12–13: συνηργεῖτο δ'αὐτοῖς πάντα καὶ πανταχόθεν ἑτοίμως. Καταπεπληγμένοι γὰρ οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντες τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔφοδον οὐκέτι Ῥωμαίοις ἡγοῦντο συμμαχεῖν οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς τούτων ἡγεμονίας γίνεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ περὶ σφῶν ἐνόμιζον ἕκαστοι καὶ τῆς ἰδίας πόλεως καὶ χώρας ἐπιφέρεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον; transl. E.S. Schuckburgh.

404 Polyb. 3.34; 3.67. See also Liv. 21.48.1–3.

405 Polyb. 3.48.11.

406 Polyb.3.77.6–7; 85.3–4; 90.12–13.

407 See also *supra*, pp. 62–64.

end of the 2nd century BCE.[408] Such "colors" were a way to represent the Roman side, aiming to show that such wars were in the interest of the entire peninsula and therefore to strengthen once again a sense of common belonging against the "Transalpine Other".

This Other had occupied part of Italy by way of a model of migration, which depicted it as an invader and completely excluded any possible autochthony. In this sense it was believed that the Celts, as with the Greeks for Cato, should be expelled from the peninsular territory, and when Polybius visited Cisalpina, the Romans allowed him to assume that this aim had almost been achieved.[409] According to Livy, the Roman ambassadors intervening in the war between the Gauls and Clusium, which led to the Roman defeat of 390 BCE, asked – once again insisting on the concept of a foreign origin – *quid in Etruria rei Gallis esset*;[410] a question that the Celts answered by referring, in their "barbarity", to the right of the strongest to conquer all that they can. In dealing with the beginnings of the Second Punic War, Livy stressed the consanguinity between the Boii of Cisalpina and the Gallic tribes of Transalpina, emphasizing their non-Italic origin and "nature".[411]

That Greeks and Gauls represented, in mid-republican Roman culture, the image of perfect Otherness is well known, especially since during the 3rd century BCE the Romans carried out, during moments of crisis, the human sacrifices of a couple of Gauls and a couple of Greeks, who were buried alive in the *Forum Boarium*. This occurred in 228, 216, and again in 114–113 BCE.[412] The reasoning behind these sacrifices is not particularly relevant here.[413] What is important is to underline that the

408 Gabba (1984), pp. 126–127.

409 Polyb. 2.35.4.

410 Liv. 5.36.5. The inclusion of the Etruscans in the patchwork of Italic communities is in itself problematic (see *infra*, pp. 158–161), but is here accepted and contrasted with the later arrival of the Celts.

411 Liv. 21.20.6.

412 Plut., *Marc*. 3.7; Zonar. 8.19.9; Liv. 22.57.4–6; Plut., *Quaest. Rom.* 83. Plin., *NH* 28.12 wrote of the burial of a couple of Greeks and of "other populations", stating that this form of ritual was still practiced during his lifetime: see Fraschetti (1981), p. 115.

413 Especially Livy, writing during a period in which such practices were perceived as inhuman and disgusting, felt the need to say that such a ritual was not typically Roman, a statement which has led many modern scholars to search, in vain, for the "external" origins of such killings: see Fraschetti (1981), pp. 86–90. The origin of this ritual has been widely discussed, as has whether it should be ascribed to Etruscan, Italic or even Greek models, or whether it was purely Roman. See, among others, Briquel (1981); Fraschetti (1981), in particular pp. 108–115; Eckstein (1982); Macbain (1982), pp. 60–65; Scheid (2000), pp. 147–148; Cantarella (2007²), pp. 203–205. It is in any case important to emphasize that the cultural construction that human sacrifices were typical for barbarians, i.e. for Otherness, had been very marked in Greek culture since the 5th century BCE (see E. Hall (1989), pp. 146–148), and that it could have been "adopted" by the Romans from this Greek model. In general, on the "ideology" of human sacrifices in the Roman world, see Grottanelli (2000). This is however, irrelevant here since, as stressed by Briquel (1981), p. 31, "Même dans le cas d'un emprunt

decision – an unusual one for the Romans – to sacrifice human beings led to that of sacrificing members of particular ethnic groups that represented, from the Roman perspective, "foreign" populations occupying Italic territory. Their elimination therefore symbolized the action of chasing away the military menace, present (for example, one of the three episodes took place during the Hannibalic War) or announced by *portenta*:[414] "mentre placavano l'ira divina, i Romani annientavano simbolicamente due stirpi nemiche".[415]

This practice does not therefore refer to an "ancient" Italic idea, the "proper" one according to Appian,[416] from which Greeks and Celts would have been excluded, as Mazzarino (the first to understand the connection between the rite and the concept of *Italia*) and Fraschetti believed,[417] as this would have also implied excluding the other transappeninic populations. Appian's widely discussed and previously analyzed distinction between a "proper" and an "enlarged" Italy also insisted on the Greek and Gallic populations of the Adriatic side of the peninsula that did not constitute "Italy proper".

The idea of Italy underlying this ritual was that which had already been expanded to the entire peninsula, and completed through the traditions regarding consanguinity and autochthony. This makes it unnecessary to identify a time during which the Romans had to fight contemporarily against Greeks and Celts, a task considered necessary by Fraschetti, from his functionalistic and structuralist perspective, in order to explain the origin of the rite that forced him to trace its origins back to the mid-4th century BCE, when no cases of its application attested in the annalistic tradition are known to us.[418] On the contrary, the first appearance of this rite coincided once again with the period during which the idea of Italy and its territorial

extérieur, il faut que ce qui est emprunté s'intègre d'une quelque manière dans le milieu qui emprunte". What is important therefore are the forms assumed by the rite in its Roman practice, independent of the question as to whether or not it was "typically Roman" or the product of a "translation" and adaption.

414 Fraschetti (1981), pp. 78–85.

415 Cantarella (2007[2]), p. 205. See also Giardina (1994), pp. 64–65.

416 See above, p. 102.

417 Mazzarino (1973), pp. 213–216; Fraschetti (1981), pp. 107–108. Eckstein (1982), p. 81, proposed, in an even less convincing way, that the choice could have been "inherited" from Etruscan traditions. Alternatively, he still suggested the possibility of a connection with the Trojan origins of Rome and with the Gallic Sack of 390 BCE, edging closer to the central point, which is the heterochthony and radical alterity attributed to Greeks and Gauls in the Roman culture of the Mid-Republic.

418 Fraschetti (1981), pp. 90–105 and 110–111. Fraschetti, who underlined in his article the connection between this ritual and the concept of *Italia*, was then forced to recognize Syracuse as having been behind the concept of "Greek danger", and then to interpret the origin of this fear with the expansion of Dionysian rule over Southern Italy (p. 106), a complication which does not solve this contradiction.

and symbolic shape were formulated – that of the first two Punic Wars. Neither population was supposed to have been somehow related to the Romans and other Italics, nor to have shared with them forms of consanguinity. From this perspective, they "did not belong" to Italy, independent of specific military occasions, and were perceived as paradigmatic Otherness.

Another population was generally considered extraneous to the Italic community: the Etruscans. This group was, once again, clearly excluded from "Italicness" by Cato, who, as previously mentioned,[419] considered them and their "affine" Falisci extraneous to Italy (this conflicted with Polybius, who defined the war between the Romans and Falisci as an ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος, seemingly without having felt the need to explain this appraisal further).[420] It also comes as no surprise, in this context, to find that Cato included in his work the tradition concerning Mezentius, king of Caere, who, together with the Etruscans, opposed Aeneas (and, according to the historian, also Ascanius after Aeneas' death),[421] thus establishing from the very beginning an "institutional" hostility.[422]

Foundation rites, which consisted of ploughing the furrow, the *sulcus primigenius*, and tracing the border that defined and gave life to a new city – rites applied in every colonial foundation,[423] but relevant also in relation to the foundation of the *Urbs* itself and the birth of the *pomerium*[424] – have often been connected, in ancient as in modern literature (for example, by Varro), to Etruscan religious prescription.[425]

419 See above, pp. 142–143.

420 Polyb. 1.65.2. The traditions regarding the Falisci were complicated and often contradictory (see, for example, Strab. 5.2.9): often they were considered relatives of the Etruscans, and sometimes of Greek origin (see Camporeale (1991), pp. 215–219). Livy (5.8.5) also considered the Falisci and Capenati *Etruriae populi*: see Camporeale (1991), pp. 209–212; Farney (2007), p. 192. On other occasions they were part of the "Italic autochthonous community": see Letta (1984), pp. 430–432; Camporeale (1991); Ceccarelli/Stoddart (2007), pp. 132–133; Cifani (2012), pp. 156–159.

421 Cat., *Orig*. 1.9–11 Chassignet. Also Liv. 1.2.3–5.

422 In Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.64–65 Aeneas and the Latins fought against the Rutuli, led by a Tyrrhenus and allied to Mezentius, king of the Tyrrheni/Etruscans.

423 Front., *De contr*. 17.1–3 Lachmann.

424 Eckstein (1979); Catalano (1978), pp. 485–486; Gargola (1995), pp. 73–74; Panciera (1999), pp. 13–14; Simonelli (2001), pp. 136–138; Revell (2009), pp. 46–47.

425 Varr., *LL* 5.143. Briquel (2008a), pp. 68–71, insists on the fact that the Romans imagined Etruscan rites at the origin of their own city, as Catalano (1978), pp. 452–454, had already claimed, whilst denying the relevance of this rite in defining early Rome's Etruscan character. This is not the place in which to debate the possible Etruscan origin of the *pomerium* rites, which is irrelevant for our purposes once the Roman perceptions of the derivation of such rites have been discussed. Accepted by Labrousse (1937), pp. 165–166, it was, for example, denied by Le Gall (1970), pp. 63–64; Magdelain (1976), pp. 78–84; Liou-Gille (1993), pp. 98–99; and Colonna (2004), whilst it has been admitted, even in recognition of the fact that it was profoundly contaminated with Italic elements, by Simonelli (2001), pp. 129–132. Citarella (1980), pp. 402–404, proposed, in an article which has since been widely disproved, that the *pomerium* had been an Etruscan introduction; but whilst for the

However, even if it is true that ancient sources do not express clear alternatives to the Etruscan theory,[426] this "admission" was simply passed over in complete silence by the majority of the authors[427] – not only Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who aimed at elating the Greek origin of Rome, but also many others.[428] Also the writings of Cato exclude any sort of reference in this sense (the fragmentary nature of the text obviously does not allow us to be completely sure, but explicit quotations from Cato fail to mention the Etruscans). On the contrary, he stressed that the city founders must have dressed in the "Gabinian" way, thus insisting on the Latin tradition.[429] Cicero explicitly denied any possible Etruscan competence regarding the *pomerium* and the rites concerning the foundation of the city and its limits.[430] The augural technique, the Etruscan origin of which was universally accepted, could also be presented in the sources as having been introduced to Rome by Attus Navius, a Sabine who learned from the Etruscans, improved their teachings and brought them to Rome under an Etruscan king.[431]

If some authors considered Rome to be an Etruscan city, these – unmentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus – cannot be better identified and could have been Greek authors rather than Roman.[432] Dionysius mentioned a theory according to which Tyrrhenus was a son of Atis and Callithea, or of Omphale, the mythical queen of Lydia who instructed Hercules to dress like a woman, or even a son of Telephus.[433] Eventually however, he rejected these interpretations and accepted, following the *argumentum e silentio* of the lack of information concerning the Etruscans in

Etruscans it had only a defensive value, it assumed for the Romans a sacral meaning. Radke (1991), pp. 185–186, recognized that the practice of digging the *sulcus primigenius* had a Venetic origin, and presumed that this was never drawn in Rome, but attributed backwards in the mythical construction of the birth of Rome. In this sense, he also tried to etymologically interpret Quirinus as "the one who ploughs" and therefore as a divinised projection of Romulus. On the *pomerium*, see in general Carlà (2015).

426 Colonna (2004), pp. 304–305.

427 For example, Ov., *Fast*. 4.819–836; Tac., *Ann*. 12.24; Plut., *Rom*. 11.2. Macr., *Sat*. 5.19.13 referred to the Etruscan use of a bronze ploughshare in the rites of Tages, but did not establish any connection with the foundation of a city.

428 Musti (1970), pp. 37–39. Musti believed that the *pomerium* was an Etruscan tradition, and that it was only introduced to Rome during the period of the "Etruscan monarchy". Musti is right, in particular, in identifying the intentional omission of an existing tradition on an "Etruscan" *pomerium*, independently from its veridicity, as a sign of prejudice against the Etruscans.

429 Cat., *Orig*. 1.18 Chassignet. See below, p. 178.

430 Cic., *Div*. 2.75.

431 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom*. 3.70. See Musti (1970), pp. 50–53.

432 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom*. 1.29.2. See Sordi (1989), pp. 31–32, who connected this idea with the fact that the Greeks first learnt about Rome during the Etruscan domination of the 6th century BCE. Any proof of this is lacking.

433 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom*. 1.26.2–28.1.

Xanthus of Lydia, an autochthony of the Etruscan population,[434] aimed at differentiating them from the Romans – whom he considered to have been Greeks and therefore the product of migrations. Dionysius intended autochthony to be understood as a negative characterization specifically because it meant the absence of consanguinity with the Greeks, which to him was always a sign of barbarism.[435] In the case of the Etruscans, Greek authors could also obviously provide very strong arguments to Romans such as Cato, who wanted to demonstrate their heterochthony.[436] Herodotus, who attributed to the Etruscans a Lydian origin, had already assumed this, and this version of events was repeated many times, for example by the Pseudo-Scymnus, according to whom the Etruscans expelled the Umbri from parts of their territory,[437] as well as by many Roman authors throughout the following centuries.[438]

Having arrived from the East, the Etruscans would have militarily defeated "real" Italic populations (the autochthonous Umbri in particular) and occupied their cities.[439] The idea of a consanguinity between the Greeks and Etruscans, sometimes appearing in ancient sources, was not present in Roman traditions, with the exception of a few erudite and seldom used variants. This particular theory often had an anti-Roman function, in connection with the Trojan legend, and was attested in Aulus Caecina, an author from the 1st century BCE who came, not by chance, from Volterra.[440]

A clear ethnic distinction between the Romans and Etruscans was also a theme of the stories concerning the end of the monarchy and foundation of the Republic. This event was for the Romans a decisive moment of passage from the mythical to the historical time, second only to the foundation of the city and introduction of borders and spatial order, connected as it was to the foundation of the temple of

434 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.28–30.

435 Musti (1970), pp. 7–20; Scuderi (1978), pp. 96–97; Briquel (1993), on Dionysius' negative evaluation of autochthony see in particular pp. 102–111; Vanotti (1995), p. 15; Sordi (2008), p. 91; Bourdin (2012), pp. 70–75. It is therefore unacceptable to claim that Dionysius derived this from a positive and "sympathetic" view of the Etruscans, as argued by Gabba (1975), p. 36. On Etruscans and Greeks in Dionysius see also Musti (1981). Briquel (1993), pp. 171–219, attributed the origin of the autochthony variant concerning the Etruscans to a Syracusan milieu, and in particular to Philistus.

436 Cat., *Orig.* 2.15 Chassignet implied Etruscan heterochthony.

437 Hdt. 1.94.2–7; Ps.-Scymn., *Period.* 217–219. See also Lycophr. 1351–1361. Hellanicus of Lesbos considered the Etruscans to have been migrants, but not from Lydia: in his opinion, they were Pelasgians (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.28.3).

438 For example, Vell. Pat. 1.1.4; Iust. 20.1.7.

439 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.27.4; Strab. 5.2.2; Plin., *HN* 3.50 (Etruria was originally occupied by the Umbri, then by the Pelasgians and finally by the Lydian Etruscans); 3.113 (300 Umbrian towns conquered by the Etruscans).

440 *Schol. Veron. Ad Verg., Aen.* 10.198. See Farney (2007), p. 141.

Jupiter Capitolinus, the sacral center of the city,[441] which guaranteed order in space and time regulation.[442] Chasing away "the Etruscan" therefore meant the "re-founding" of Rome and marked the beginning of its historical phase. In this sense, the anti-Etruscanism that notoriously characterized the early annalistic tradition comes as no surprise. As Rasmussen has demonstrated, during the Late Republican period and culminating in the works of Livy,[443] the Etruscan ethnic dimension within Tarquinius Superbus' definition grew ever stronger. The historian from Padua went on to write that the exiled king went around Etruria begging for help precisely because he shared the blood of his hosts.[444]

This banishment of the Etruscans was also shifted back in time to even more archaic periods. Plutarch referred to the tradition according to which Rome was founded by "Romis, tyrant of the Latins, after he had driven out the Tuscans, who passed from Thessaly into Lydia, and from Lydia into Italy".[445] According to this, Rome was not only founded by chasing away the Etruscans, but these were also, because of their distant Thessalian origin, Greeks (one should also remember that, according to the tradition, Tarquinius Priscus actually came from Corinth). Cato in turn referred to a period during which the Etruscans dominated almost the entirety of Italy, always providing proof of tyrannical behavior,[446] only to be later banished and replaced by the "real" Italic peoples.

Other Roman traditions concerning the city's earliest days were also not particularly friendly towards the Etruscans. This was true for example of the tradition connecting the Celtic invasions at the beginning of the 4th century BCE with the private problems of Arruns and Lucumon's son,[447] a tradition that seems to have already

441 For example, Cic., *Leg. Agr.* 1.18. See Piccaluga (1974), pp. 210–211; Torregaray Pagola (2006), pp. 247–248.

442 Piccaluga (1974), pp. 254–246; see also Levi (1984), pp. 364–375. In this sense the inclusion of Terminus in the temple is of particular significance (Willis (2011), pp. 106–107: "What Terminus guarantees is the power of the sovereign [...] to fix boundaries, to organize space, to link a localization to an order"). On the tradition of the *clavus annalis* see Pina Polo (2011), pp. 35–40; the debate about this rite is too broad to be presented here, and would be outside the scope of this work: Aigner Foresti (1979), pp. 147–149, proposed, for example, that the first function of the nail was that of generally marking time, only later did it also acquire an apotropaic function.

443 Nonetheless, the historian from Padua sometimes chose Etruscan-friendly variants in line with the general "spirit" of the Augustan age: see Musti (1970), in particular pp. 147–155, who attributed anti-Etruscan elements in the writings of Livy to a dependence upon Valerius Antias, whose anti-Etruscanism was particularly violent – and reflected in the work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

444 Liv. 2.6.1–3. See also Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 5.3.2. Rasmussen (1997), pp. 23–30.

445 Plut., *Rom.* 2.1; transl. B. Perrin.

446 Cat., *Orig.* 1.13 Chassignet.

447 Liv. 5.33.2–4; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 13.10–11; Plut., *Cam.* 15. It seems difficult to follow Vattuone (1987), pp. 90–92, when he claims that Livy tried to "de-responsabilize" the Etruscans from their role in the Gallic invasions, especially considering Livy's general attitude towards the Etruscans: see also *infra*, p. 184.

been known to Polybius, was probably accepted by Cato, and perhaps derived from Fabius Pictor.[448] It was also true for the legend of *Caput Oli*, according to which during the excavation to build the fundaments of the Capitoline temple the workers found a head, the *Caput Oli*, after which the hill would be named. This was, according to an Etruscan expert, an extremely good omen for the city's future. The place in which the head had been found would become the head of Italy and of the entire world until the end of the Universe. Before revealing this information however, the Etruscan *haruspex* tried to steal the *portentum* away from Rome in an attempt to shift its promise of universal centrality to his own unnamed Etruscan town.[449] Since this tradition was connected with a preconceived idea of Roman universal rule, but is first found in the work of Fabius Pictor,[450] its genesis can be dated to the second half of the 3rd century BCE.[451] The popularity of this legend during the 3rd century is additionally demonstrated by the many engraved gems that represent it.[452] This was a time before the development and success of the "pro-Etruscan" current of traditions and thoughts (also connected to the role of the *Etrusca disciplina* and to the introduction of *haruspices* in Rome, an evolution in religious thought, the beginning of which has been dated to the period and aftermath of the Second Punic War),[453] which would become dominant during the Augustan period and appear in the writings of Strabo.[454]

The Etruscans became further integrated due to the acceptance of the presumeably historical fact that many of the symbols of power used in Rome, such as the lictors or the *sella curulis*, had Etruscan origin, and the attribution of their adoption to a very early time, even to that of Romulus. Vergil wrote that the Etruscans had supported Aeneas (an inclusive attitude towards the Etruscans which he adopted

448 Polyb. 2.17.3; Cat., *Orig*. 2.5 Chassignet. See Alföldi (1963), pp. 157–159; Sordi (1976/1977), pp. 113–114; according to Sordi, the episode was originally narrated by Timaeus, but this is not relevant here. See also Bourdin (2012), pp. 639–640.

449 Dion. Hal, *Ant. Rom*. 4.59–61; Liv. 1.55.5; Arnob., *Adv. Nat*. 6.7; Serv., *Ad Aen*. 8.345. See Musti (1970), pp. 98–100; Piccaluga (1974), pp. 202–203; Piccaluga (1975), pp. 263–264; Briquel (2008b), pp. 121–122; Carlà-Uhink (2017a), pp. 130–131. Another legend concerning the "theft" of a sign of universal dominion concerns the Sabines, but this time it is the Romans that appropriated a sign originally destined to others. World domination was also guaranteed to Rome as a result of the sacrifice to Diana of a particularly beautiful cow, which had belonged to a Sabine and was subtracted from him with a stratagem by the Roman priest (Liv. 1.45.3–7; Plut., *Quaest. Rom*. 4).

450 Arnob., *Adv. Pag*. 6.7.

451 On the chronology of Roman concepts of *imperium* and universal rule, see Carlà-Uhink (2016), pp. 240–243. See also Macbain (1982), pp. 53–54.

452 Alföldi (1963), pp. 218–220.

453 Macbain (1982), pp. 56–58.

454 Only isolated voices proposed during earlier times an integration of the Etruscans within Roman consanguinity: one example is Alcimus, who considered Romulus to have been the son of Aeneas and Tyrrhenia: Festo., *s.v. Romam* 326 Lindsay.

systematically and to which Maecenas was probably not extraneous, as the poet's Mantuan origins),[455] in spite of the fact that the entire tradition preceding him had depicted them as hostile to the Trojan hero.[456] In order to achieve this, he had simply to separate the character of Mezentius, who despised the gods and was a monstrous tyrant, from the rest of the population, in particular that of Caere, who managed to chase him and forced him to be flee to Turnus' court.[457]

During the Republican period, the Etruscans thus had an ambiguous and disputed role, connected on the one hand to narratives of the Second Punic War, during which they had remained loyal to the Romans, as well as to centuries old exchanges and contacts and the traditions of ancient important alliances such as that with Caere. On the other hand, their role was also connected with the many wars fought against them during the early times (the wars against Veii always formed a constituent part of Roman cultural memory, strongly differentiated from the other previous and contemporary expeditions),[458] the memory of the "Etruscan monarchy" and the traditions concerning their migration from Lydia.

To summarize: during the course of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, in parallel with the fixation of the territorial extension of the region called Italy, this was also constructed in discourse as a unity, stretching from the Alps to the end of the peninsula, and inhabited by groups of populations that were connected via intensive "networks", sharing common pasts, often bound by common blood, and characterized as autochthonous to their territory. The inclusion or exclusion of single populations or groups, possibly in response to relative political and social interests and necessities, does not conceal this framework. On the contrary, it makes it even more evident, revealing on the one hand the flexibility intrinsic in such "invented traditions", and on the other the value attributed to these elements of familiarity in constructing what had, from a Roman perspective, to be described as a "community" – in geographic terms, as a "region". However, it is important to underline that

455 Verg., *Aen.* 10.147–156. See Sordi (1995) on Maecenas' "Etruscan policy", and Scuderi (1978), pp. 88–92, on the "philo-Etruscan" presentation of the Trojan myth by Vergil (even if with many exaggerations). See also Briquel (2008b), pp. 116–117.

456 For example, Liv. 1.8.3. See Scuderi (1978), pp. 92–93; Hahn (1984), pp. 58–60. It should not be forgotten that according to Livy, the Etruscans were extremely dangerous during the earliest period of Roman history and constituted, for example, the reasons why the war between Rome and Alba Longa was eventually not decided in a battle, but through fighting between the Horatii and the Curiatii (1.23.8–9). A real Etruscan *metus* was compared to the fear of the Gauls in Liv. 9.29.2. Ovid's representation of Mezentius in the *Fasti* was also more "traditional", following Cato, Varro and Verrius Flaccus, and here the Etruscans remained enemies of the Romans, together with their king: see Briquel (1998). See Musti (1970), pp. 30–31.

457 Verg., *Aen.* 8.478–493. See Briquel (1995b), pp. 179–184, who also insisted on the parallels established by Vergil between Mezentius and Tarquinius Superbus. In this sense, Mezentius' son, Lausus, was already presented as having been much better than his father: Verg., *Aen.* 7. 647–654.

458 Cornell (1995a), p. 309.

no one would have thought that the "included" populations by that time represented a perfect unity of spirit, language and habits. In fact, Aelian wrote that no other part of the world was inhabited by so many different population groups.[459]

Nevertheless, claiming that a concept of *tota Italia* did not exist on the basis of the fact that the Romans admitted the existence of differences among the Italic communities – and that it was introduced only at the end of the 1st century BCE as a political slogan – completely misses the point.[460] Claiming that if local cultures continued to survive, at least in some specific aspects, after the Augustan period, then no "Italic identity" developed at all even during imperial times, is similarly misguided. What was constructed in the discourse of this period was the idea of a kinship, a vicinity and similarity that does not deny diversity but "explains" and "organizes" it in unity, a unity that is unmistakably defined as "Italic".[461]

The Construction of Italy's Centrality and the *Laudes Italiae*

Equally central to shaping the role and character of Italy as a region surrounding and deeply connected to Rome, and to defining the traditions regarding the birth of the Republican institutions – perceived as the steps which fixed the unchangeable order of the world – was the general construction of the centrality of the "region Italy" within the Roman *imperium*.[462] This perception of Italy as central is therefore in itself an important object of analysis to understand the birth of the symbolic shape of the peninsula during the Roman Republic. This concept of Italic centrality forms a vital part, from a geographical perspective, of the "symbolic shape" of Italy as a region. As such, it needs to be carefully analyzed.

In Dionysius' version of the previously mentioned story of the *Caput Oli*, the Etruscan seer, unable to "steal" the prodigy from the Romans, confesses what the head reveals: that the Capitoline Hill will become the head of the whole of Italy (κεφαλὴ συμπάσης Ἰταλίας).[463] This expression is meaningful, as it reveals a great deal about the structure of "concentric centralities" that developed during the course of the Roman Republic, an integral part of which was the centrality of Italy. The prodigy revealed, according to Dionysius, the centrality that Rome would acquire within Italy, which was also – as other sources referring this tradition emphasized – the centrality Rome would acquire within the entire world (at stake was the

459 Ael., *HV* 9.16.
460 For example, Horsfall (2001), pp. 39–41, but see also Ando (2002), pp. 126–127.
461 Simon (2011), pp. 58–60 (even if only in reference to the culture of the Augustan period).
462 On the construction of Rome's centrality and generally of Roman "structures of centrality" during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, see Carlà-Uhink 2017a.
463 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 4.61.2. This episode was also narrated by Liv. 1.55.5–6, though this refers only to Rome as *imperii caputque rerum* and does not mention Italy.

magnitudo imperii according to Livy, and the *dominatum orbis* according to Servius).[464]

There is absolutely no doubt that Rome represented, from its own perspective, the absolute center of the *oikoumene*. The whole idea of *imperium Romanum* (including its eventual supposed universality) was connected with the existence of a center qualified to work as *caput orbis* and *rerum domina*, as Vogt has stated,[465] which determined the entire geographic perception of a world centered on the *Urbs*. This line of thought is demonstrated by the few ancient cartographic works known to us (the *Tabula Peutingeriana* being the most relevant example), but also by the concepts of *cis*, *trans*, *ultra*, etc. (as in Gallia Cisalpina, Cispadana, Transpadana, *Hispania Ulterior*), frequently used in Roman name-giving, which were relative and always implied Rome itself as the central point from which a given geographical area was described as being "on this or that side of".

However, the center does not necessarily have to be unique. On the contrary, there are always different centers, which can have specific functions and/or be hierarchically organized into a system of centers. Just as Rome was the center of the *oikoumene*, and the Capitoline Hill (as the center of Rome), the center of the center,[466] Italy also assumed a "central position", as the "regional center" of the Empire, in the middle of which was the "capital" of the entire world-system, a "heartland" around Rome, differentiated from the provinces and from all other components of the *imperium*.[467] This idea of Italy's centrality would continue to exist after the provincialization of the Italic soil under Diocletian, and this is evident from the way in which, in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* for example, the peninsula was dramatically over-sized in comparison to the rest of the Roman world.[468]

The construction of this image of "double centrality" (of Rome and of Italy) was not inconsequential to the general geographic perception of the *imperium* and the development of identities within it. On the one hand, qualifying Italy as the centre and as "different" territory necessarily led to a weakening of the internal subdivisions and to the strengthening of the regional "image" of the peninsula. On the other, this qualification implied – within a sort of virtuous circle – an ever stronger and clearer differentiation from the Outside, leading to what Paasi would define as the "establishment of the territorial unit in the regional structure and consciousness".[469]

The sources indicate this centrality with extreme clarity. When Cicero wrote that Romulus perfectly chose the geographical site for the foundation of Rome, he con-

464 See above, p. 162.
465 Vogt (1929), pp. 159–160; Vogt (1942b), pp. 24–25.
466 See Carlà-Uhink (2017a), pp. 137–151.
467 Vogt (1942a), pp. 181–182; Nash (1987), p. 88.
468 Hänger (2001), pp. 103–104.
469 Paasi (1996), p. 33.

cluded that "no other city, situated in another part of Italy" could have attained the same power and greatness.[470] It is interesting to observe how Cicero was unable to even consider the possibility that Rome could have been founded in another part of the world. Romulus had possessed the unique spirit that had enabled him to find the best spot in the peninsula that would have to host the city destined for such a great future. In praising Romulus' choice, Cicero made the point, more or less as Dionysius did later in dealing with the *Caput Oli*, and as Vergil, who will build around this point the *Aeneid*, that Italy was a necessity.[471]

The idea of such a central role for Italy could only have been born during a period in which it could oppose a form of "peripheral" belonging to Roman rule. Centricity and eccentricity exist only in reference to each other, the latter being a denial of the former. What is more, eccentricity can only be understood in reference to a center that exists outside the space under direct consideration, and centricity only as reference to the existence of "Something" outside of the center itself. This necessary periphery can be recognized in the territories conquered and directly ruled by Rome, in the administrative structure constructed from the second half of the 3rd century BCE in the Roman provinces. It became necessary during this time to distinguish, also on an institutional basis, the difference between "Italic soil" and the "rest" of the (Roman) world. The idea of Italy as a central point could thus not begin to be formulated until the end of the First Punic War when Sicily, transformed in Roman ἐπαρχία, even if still far from fully structured as a province (this wouldn't occur until 227 BCE), was brought under direct Roman administrative control.[472] This precondition was not the only element that led to the birth of such a geographic perception, and once again it is important not to under-evaluate the role of the Hannibalic War in creating, within Roman minds, a clear image of Italy as the core and center of their power. It has already been described how, as a result of the Hannibalic invasion, traditions were born that "simplified" the narratives regarding Roman expansion, thus creating a concentric model with the provinces surrounding Italy and Rome at the center ot the peninsula.[473] At the same time, such perceptions and ideas clearly developed over time, as a result of construction and consolidation processes, the beginnings of which can be identified during the second half of the 3rd century BCE, but which would develop throughout the following century.

470 Cic., *Rep*. 2.5.10: *nam hanc rerum tantam potentiam non ferme facilius ulla in parte Italiae posita urbs tenere potuisset*.

471 On the centrality of Italy in Cicero's political perspective, see Carlà-Uhink (2017b), in particular pp. 278–279.

472 See Carlà-Uhink (2016), pp. 242–243. On the fact that Sicily had been considered an area subject to direct Roman administration since 241 BCE, and therefore different from all other areas "subdued" before, independent of the concrete birth of provincial administration, see Serrati (2000).

473 See *supra*, pp. 67–68.

This image of "concentric centrality" that placed Italy at the core as the *Hinterland* of Rome, the absolute geographical center of the Roman world, was also conveyed via a number of discursive elaborations that ideologized and reified it in terms of naturalistic determinism. The materials for such constructions were offered by Greek classical thought, which had already elaborated in a similar way the centrality of Greece through a wide range of ethnocentrical reflections. These had also taken the form of scientific theories aimed at demonstrating the "higher value" of Greece and its inhabitants as a result of its central geographical position. Particularly successful in this was a pseudo-Hippocratic treatise from the 5th century BCE, entitled *Airs Waters Places*.[474] This presented the idea of a strong determinism, which connected geographic position and climate on the one hand, with physical character and a tendency to suffer from particular illnesses, but also the peoples' moral virtues on the other.[475] Northern populations were considered strong, but less intelligent, whilst those to the south were shrewd, but lazy and weak. In general, such a deterministic ethnographic approach demonstrates that only geographical centrality, which brings εὐκρασία, and the right climate, allows for the development of people of such superior quality.[476]

It is clear that such a theory, widely diffused within Hellenistic culture and adopted, for example, by Posidonius, could also have been extremely appealing to the Romans.[477] The centrality of Rome as a geographical virtue was sometimes founded on "Hippocratean" arguments, which can be found in sources from the Late Republic and Augustan periods.[478] An extremely clear formulation of this is to be found, for example, in Vitruvius:

> Hence, it was the divine intelligence that set the city of the Roman people in a peerless and temperate country, in order that it might acquire the right to command the whole world.[479]

Camillus' famous speech, according to Livy made in 390 BCE, when part of the population had proposed to abandon the city (which had been plundered by the Gauls) and move to Veii, expressed the necessity of the *Urbs*' geographical position in the clearest possible way. Rome was not only where the Romans were, nor its buildings or its "surface". Rome was *solum*, *terra*, its geographical position, the hills, the

474 [Hp.], *Aër.*, in particular 12–24. See Isaac (2004), pp. 56–69.
475 This attitude, which explained the characteristics and habits of different peoples in association with the geographic features of their territory, was generally widespread in the ancient world: see also, for example, Strab. 8.1.2.
476 Romm (1992), p. 65.
477 See Isaac (2004), pp. 82–101.
478 Dench (2005), p. 255.
479 Vitr. 6.1.11: *ita divina mens civitatem populi Romani egregia temperataque regione conlocavit, uti orbis terrarum imperii potiretur*; transl M. H. Morgan. See also 6.1.10.

fields and the Tibur, which could not be abandoned or changed.[480] Rome could only be in Rome.[481] This idea was first dependent on sacral considerations ("we have a City founded with due observance of auspice and augury;[482] no corner of it is not permeated by ideas of religion and of the gods; for our annual sacrifices, the days are no more fixed than are the places where they may be performed").[483] Roman religious feasts could only take place in designated spots, as in the case of the *comitia curiata* and *centuriata*. In short, the State could only function with its mechanisms and its supernatural protection where it was.[484] Then followed affection,[485] followed by the perfect geographic position, characterized by centrality:

> Not without cause did gods and men select this place for establishing our City – with its healthful hills; its convenient river, by which crops may be floated down from the midland regions and foreign commodities brought up; its sea, near enough for use, yet not exposing us, by too great propinquity, to peril from foreign fleets; a situation in the heart of Italy – a spot, in short, of a nature uniquely adapted for the expansion of a city.[486]

Livy clarified the fact that Rome's centrality required a rational explanation, which was to be found in its topographical position, particularly in relation to the sea, from which it was far enough to avoid trouble, but near enough to enable commerce and the supply of the city. A very similar argument had previously been proposed by Cicero, who might have been one of Livy's sources. According to him, with great foresight, Romulus chose not the coast, full of practical and moral dangers, but the bank of a large and regular river, which led to a not too distant sea.[487] It was once again a matter of Rome's centrality, in the sense that it occupied a middle position between the sea and the interior.

Also according to Livy, L. Caecilius Metellus was expelled from the Senate in 209 BCE by the censors M. Cornelius Cethegus and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, because after Cannae he had dared to suggest the idea of abandoning Italy,[488] denying

480 Liv. 5.54.2–3. See also Val. Max. 1.5.1–2.
481 The same idea underlies the *Aeneid*, too: see Fletcher (2014), pp. 147–148.
482 This point seems to have played an important role in Ennius' *Annales*, whose Fr. 154–155 Skutsch have been attributed to Camillus' speech: see Fabrizi (2012), pp. 93–94.
483 Liv. 5.52.2: *urbem auspicato inauguratoque conditam habemus; nullus locus in ea non religionum deorumque est plenus; sacrificiis sollemnibus non dies magis stati quam loca sunt, in quibus fiant*; transl B. O. Foster.
484 Liv. 5.52.3–7; 13–17.
485 Liv. 5.54.2–3. See also Tsitsiou-Chelidoni (2008), pp. 202–204.
486 Liv. 5.54.4: *non sine causa dii hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum elegerunt, saluberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritime commeatus accipiantur, mare vicinum ad commoditates nec expositum nimia propinquitate ad pericula classium externarum, regionem Italiae mediam, ad incrementum Urbis natum unice locum*; transl. B.O. Foster.
487 Cic., *Rep*. 2.3.5–6.11.
488 Liv. 27.11.12. See 22.53.5.

Rome the vital centrality of the peninsula and forgetting the necessary "geopiety" owed to the region, thus offering a precise and concrete negative *pendant* to Camillus' speech.

Its geographical position thus became one of the reasons for the city's success, which explained and substantially justified its expansion and *imperium sine fine*, strengthening the idea of the infinite nature of Roman rule. Vitruvius made explicit reference to the differences among peoples inhabiting various regions of the world, concluding that the best virtues were to be found in Italy:

> on this account the people of Italy excel in both qualities, strength of body and vigour of mind. For as the planet Jupiter moves through a temperate region between the fiery Mars and icy Saturn, so Italy enjoys a temperate and unequalled climate between the north on one side, and the south on the other. Hence it is, that by stratagem she is enabled to repress the attacks of the barbarians, and by her strength to overcome the subtilty of southern nations.[489]

Vitruvius did not distinguish between, or rather he explicitly identified, Italy's geographical virtues and the success of Rome, presupposing that Rome had to be positioned in Italy, according to the "geographical hierarchy" Rome – Italy – rest of the Empire, emphasizing once more Italy's central position and its deep connection to the *Urbs*.

Strabo's strategy was quite different. In his opinion, Rome was founded in its location out of necessity, not choice. The area in which the city was built was, according to him, difficult to defend, and easy for enemies to attack,[490] which led to a precocious development of Roman military virtues. It was therefore a geographical disadvantage that revealed itself as providential in the genesis of the Empire. Just outside the city was the fertile countryside, which during Romulus' time belonged to other populations, and simply had to be conquered. When, by way of their natural superiority, the Romans had made the area theirs, "there was obviously a concourse, so to speak, of blessings, that surpasses all natural advantages".[491] No mention of geographic centrality was made in this passage describing the "providential geography" of Rome (even if in negative terms). Elsewhere in his work, however, Strabo celebrated the centrality of Italy, and therefore of Rome. The geographer particularly stressed the peninsula's geographical advantages, which he counted among the factors that brought Rome its success. Such advantages included its

489 Vitr. 6.1.11: *namque temperatissimae ad utramque partem et corporum membris animorumque vigoribus pro fortitudine sint Italia gentes. Quemadmodum enim Iovis stella inter Martis ferventissimam et Saturni frigidissimam media currens temperatur, eadem ratione Italia inter septentrionalem meridianamque ab utraque parte mixtionibus temperatas et invictas habet laudes. Itaque consiliis refringit barbarorum virtutes, forti manu meridianorum cogitationes*; transl. J. Gwilt.

490 Against the theory of the site's perfect natural fortification, as formulated, for example, by Cic., *Rep*. 2.6.11.

491 Strab. 5.3.7; transl. H.L. Jones.

geomorphology (accessibility through the Alps and the nature of the coast), climate, flora and fauna. Differences between the peninsula's various regions demonstrated for him Italy's quality of a "supra-region", the "perfection" of which was represented by its unity in diversity:[492]

> And while I have already mentioned many things which have caused the Romans at the present time to be exalted to so great a height, I shall now indicate the most important things. One is, that, like an island, Italy is securely guarded by the seas on all sides, except in a few regions, and even these are fortified by mountains that are hardly passable. [...] Neither can one worthily describe Italy's abundant supply of fuel, and of food both for men and beast, and the excellence of its fruits. Further since it lies intermediate between the largest races on the one hand, and Greece and the best parts of Libya on the other, it not only is naturally well-suited to hegemony, because it surpasses the countries that surround it both in the valour of its people and in size, but also can easily avail itself of their services, because it is so close to them.[493]

Diversity is exalted also by Propertius, who describes this quality of the *terra Romana* (to be presumably identified in Latium and Umbria) as a sign of superiority and centrality. Its sheer variety represents a concentration of everything that is also available elsewhere, thus creating a sort of miniature universe, excelling unitarily as a perfect paradigm of the central place.[494] This concept was thus extended to the entire Italic peninsula, and a perfect example is found in the writings of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who not only insisted on the richness of Italic agricultural products, but even specified the contribution of each individual region:

> For Italy does not, while possessing a great deal of good arable land, lack trees, as does a grain-bearing country; nor, on the other hand, while suitable for growing all manner of trees, does it, when sown to grain, produce scanty crops, as does a timbered country; nor yet, while yielding both grain and trees in abundance, is it unsuitable for the grazing of cattle; nor can anyone say that, while it bears rich produce of crops and timber and herds, it is nevertheless disagreeable for men to live it. Nay, on the contrary, it abounds in practically everything that affords either pleasure or profit. To what grain-bearing country, indeed, watered, not with rivers, but with rains from heaven, do the plains of Campania yield, in which I have seen fields that produce even three crops in a year, summer's harvest following upon that of winter and autumn's upon that of summer? To what olive orchards are those of the Messapians, the Daunians, the Sabines, and many other inferior? To what vineyards those of Tyrrhenia and the Alban and the Falernian districts, where the soil is wonderfully kind to vines and with the least labour produces the finest grapes in the greatest abundance? [...] But the finest thing of all is the climate,

492 On the development, also following the Social War, of an image of Italy which constructed uniformity whilst at the same time insisting on difference and on the preservation of local particularities, see also Bispham (2007a), p. 48.
493 Strab. 6.4.1; transl. H.L. Jones. See also 5.3.1. On this, see García Morcillo (2010), pp. 87–90.
494 Prop. 3.22.17–18. See Toulze (1993), pp. 104–105.

> admirably tempered by the seasons, so that less than elsewhere is harm done by excessive cold or inordinate heat either to the growing fruits and grains or to the bodies of animals.[495]

The "Hippocratic" geographical explanations which were already being used in connection to the city of Rome, were now also applied to the concept of the centrality of Italy, and the literary genre of the *laudes Italiae* codified the discourse formulating such ideas.[496] It particularly exalted the high productivity of Italic agriculture, generated by its perfect climatic and soil properties. Its fertility was also noted, together with the multiplicity of products and fruit, and it was described as the "best" region in the entire world.[497]

This connection was particularly accentuated during the Augustan period, when the support of the peninsula, the *coniuratio Italiae*, became an important political argument regarding the construction of the legitimacy of the power of the *princeps*. Its most famous products are the many references to the peninsula as a blessed territory chosen by the gods and characterized by astonishing fertility in the *Aeneid*,[498] as well as the more systematic celebration of Italy in the second book of Vergil's *Georgicae*.[499] Introduced by a reference to the plants growing in different regions of the world, the description of Italy developed from praise of the richness and variety (once again the unity in diversity) of the Italic soil, which bore different fruits and fed different animals. No wild and dangerous animals could be found, eternal spring characterized the climate and was accompanied by the wonder of the peninsula's cities and buildings. This praise then switched to the rivers, lakes and seas and to the precious metals, culminating in a description of the populations inhabiting the territory. The poet then went on to provide a detailed description of the different kinds of soil to be found in Italy and of the products each of them could support.[500] Later, during the time of the Principate, this form of description of the Italic landscape would not disappear. The same idea was expressed by Manilius when he stated that Rome, Italy and Tiberius all had the same zodiacal sign:

495 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.37; transl. E. Cary.
496 Giardina (1994), pp. 38–42; although Giardina exaggerated the aspects of "discontinuity" and "difference" within the descriptions of Italy, coherently with his main theory that an "Italic identity" did not fully come into existence.
497 Varr., *RR* 1.2.3–8; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.36–37.
498 Fletcher (2014), pp. 73; 100.
499 Verg., *Georg.* 2.136–176. This *laus Italiae*, clearly presented in opposition to the East, depended strongly on the contemporary political situation, such as the exaltation of the *coniuratio Italiae* for Octavian against Antony: see S. Harrison (2008), pp. 232–234 and 237–238. On Vergil's treatment of Italy, see also R.F. Thomas (1982), pp. 38–49; R.F. Thomas (2014).
500 Verg., *Georg.* 2.177–225.

> Italy belongs to the Balance, her rightful sign: beneath it Rome and her sovereignty of the world were founded, Rome, which controls the issue of events, exalting and depressing nations placed in the scales: beneath this sign was born the Emperor...[501]

Pliny the Elder, as is well known, took this point further, defining Italy, mainly by its civilizing function, but also in reference to its concentration of elements and features that could be found all over the world, *omnium terrarium parens*, and *una cunctarum gentium in toto orbe patria*.[502] Servius, finally, identifying the *laudes Italiae* as a concrete rhetorical topos, regarded their main focus to have been in the idea of abundance and variety: *laus Italiae quam exsequitur secundum praecepta rhetorica: nam dicit eamet habere omnia bona et carere malis universis*.[503]

However, if the *laudes Italiae* only developed as a specific and identifiable literary genre during the Caesarian and Augustan ages (Varro's is the first example), their contents were neither new nor peculiar to the genre itself. They were in fact a product of the Italic "symbolic shape", which had been developing since at least the 2nd century BCE.[504] By this time Polybius had already identified Italy's advantages, i.e. its richness in resources, as one of the main reasons for Roman success.[505] His work contains the defined idea of a clear difference between this geographical area – independent of its administrative nature – and the rest of the Roman *imperium*; a difference connected to its history, its proximity to Rome, and its geographical nature. This idea also formed the basis of various legendary constructions and traditions. The previously mentioned story of Arruns and Lucumon's son, used to explain the Celtic invasion at the beginning of the 4th century BCE, implied that the Gauls could be convinced to move by trying for the first time in their lives typical Italic products such as olive oil and wine. The rhetorical strategy Arruns used to brings the Celts to the peninsula eventually became a sort of *laus Italiae ante litteram*.[506] The unfortunate Gauls, whose exclusion from the "Italic community" has already been described, inhabited "a country which yielded only cereals, and was unfruitful and destitute of other produce".[507]

501 Manil., *Astron*. 4.773–776; transl. G.P. Goold.
502 Plin., *HN* 3.39. See also Plin., *HN* 3.138 who insisted on Italy's "sacredness", and on its having been rich in every metal.
503 Serv., *Ad Georg*. 2.136.
504 In this sense, Dench (2005)'s statement (p. 189), that the *laudes Italiae* were only a product of the late Republic can only be accepted from the formal point of view of the elaborated literary expression, and not, as Dench intended, as the demonstration of the fact that only after the Social War did a "unitary" vision of Italy substitute the "mosaic-image" which had previously dominated. Italy was during the 2nd century BCE perceived as a unity in the multiplicity of its cultural and geographic forms.
505 Polyb. 6.50.6.
506 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom*. 13.11.
507 App., *Rom*. 4.7.

The *laudes Italiae*, and more generally the contents of this later genre, which were already available to Polybius, were of course not faithful descriptions, but discursive strategies. They formed a central part of the process of the rhetorical shaping of the Italic landscape, which maintained very generic terms due to the obvious impossibility of reducing the peninsula to common denominators, but nonetheless constituted part of the "symbolic form" of the Italic geographical identity.[508] The transformation of "nature" in "landscape" is recognized by Paasi as playing a crucial role in the institutionalization of regions,[509] whilst the moral, political, and symbolic values of landscapes as central components of identities have been widely accepted and recognized since Carl O. Sauer's time.[510]

Fig. 3: *RRC* 403, 1. Source: Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. www.cngcoins.com.

No precise information about the iconographic representations of Italy during the Republican time, which might help us to clearly define the qualities and properties attributed to the region, is available. It is nevertheless interesting to bring to the discussion a coin, minted by the *monetales* Kalenus and Cordus, on the obverse of which are depicted the heads of Honos and Virtus, and on the reverse *Roma* and *Italia*, identified through monogrammatic legends. Both are standing and holding hands. *Roma* has a spear and one foot placed on a globe, her typical attributes, whilst *Italia* is holding cornucopias and is standing in front of a winged caduceus [Fig. 3]. The coin is believed to have been minted in around 70–69 BCE and alludes

508 Simon (2011), pp. 52–57.
509 Paasi (1986), pp. 126–129.
510 See Cosgrove (2004).

to the reconciliation of Rome and Italy after the Social War, perhaps in connection with the census that, in 70, sealed the end of hostilities and the full integration of the Italics, as proposed by Sydenham and Crawford.[511] Even if this coin does not help much in reconstructing the "prehistory" of the *laudes Italiae*, considering its chronology – it precedes Varro, though only by a generation – what is interesting is the fact that *Italia* is represented holding cornucopias, a sign of fertility and abundance, thus stressing the point underlined in discourse and developed by the genre of the *laudes Italiae*.

511 Sydenham (1952), n. 797; *RRC* n. 403, p. 413. Kalenus was identified by Sydenham and Crawford with Q. Fufius Calenus, *tribunus plebis* in 61 BCE, praetor in 59 and consul in 47, whilst Cordus can be identified with Mucius Scaevola Cordus. See Dench (2005), p. 188; Farney (2007), pp. 4–5.

Italic Institutions

According to Paasi's model, the third "step" leading to the institutionalization of a region is the genesis of institutions that not only help in differentiating the region from the other components of the political superstructure, but also help it to be generally perceived as more "present" and evident in daily life. The boundaries of the region (the territorial shape) appear thus functionalized through these institutions and subsequently influence human action. Such institutions can today assume the form of administrative structures, regional newspapers, and so on. The most important and apparent institution of Roman Italy was citizenship. In this sense, the process of institutionalization of the "region Italy" was completed in two steps, the first being the enfranchisement that concluded the Social War, followed by the deprovincialization of Cisalpina. Following these events, the legal status of the inhabitants of Italy was clearly differentiated from that of the inhabitants of the provinces, and Italy was marked juristically as a region with a special status.

However, many other institutions that helped define Italy as a region came into existence prior to these events, and they are worth analyzing thoroughly in order to better understand the devices through which, in the course of the Republican period, Italy and Italic identity were shaped both on an ideological and administrative level. This chapter thus consists of an analysis of the institutions – in a broad sense – that distinguished Italy from the rest of the (Roman) world, both through an explicit separation and "unintentionally", as a result of their very existence.

Institutions and *Mores*

Social values, norms, forms of social control, and similar issues are also to be understood as "moral institutions" which, like the administrative ones, can assume a clear normative function in reference to spatial components and are thus central in understanding the relationship between space and human action.[1] From this perspective, the Roman *mores* – that set of traditional values which are considered typical of a culture, which offer to those who feel members of that culture a set of pre-ordered frames of possibilities and whose respect and adoption orients behavior in a way perceived as identity-specific[2] – assume a particular importance. Indeed, these *mores* have a clear relevance in defining the concept of an "Us", which was continuously shaped over the course of Roman expansion, particularly in the final

1 Atteslander/Hamm (1974), p. 29.

2 On the importance of moral values as a foundational element in Roman identity, see Tsitsiou-Chelidoni (2008), in particular pp. 212–216.

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part of the 3rd century BCE, projecting backwards the ideal "of a compact and integrated political community with a high degree of mechanical solidarity".[3]

Above all, the so-called *mos maiorum* constitutes an exemplary "invention of tradition" that assumed extraordinary relevance.[4] As Blösel has shown, this "set of values" originally derived from the traditions of individual aristocratic families, who appealed to the "customs" of their own ancestors, and in this way constructed a fixed and stable canon of behavior. The *mos maiorum* was already in place during the time of Plautus, who is known to have mocked it.[5]

Blösel attributes to Cato the application of this set of values to the entire Roman population, distancing it from the aristocratic tradition, and argues that he was not successful in this reinterpretation.[6] If Cato's interpretation implied a shift of the *maiores* to represent the ancestors of the entire Roman people,[7] it is difficult to claim that such a shift was unsuccessful, given that in the 2nd century BCE the *mos maiorum* – as a normative construction – set the kind of behavior expected from Roman politicians and administrators. The aristocratic ideal of *mos maiorum* thus took shape in a "variant", which "by contrast, amalgamates everybody's ancestors, and blurs all periods: 'our ancestors have always done so'".[8] This ideal can (and does during the age of Cicero, completely and visibly, according to the available sources) provide central structures of argumentation in political and social discourse. The *mores* are assumed to be the reference point of Roman action and the "secret of Roman success" (*moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque*, wrote Ennius),[9] in internal as well as external politics.[10] These also assumed a distinctive character as an expression of the "moral superiority" of the Roman people that served to differentiate the virtuous from other, "degenerate" populations. It is therefore no surprise that the *mores* were considered, from their "creation" and perhaps more so in the 2nd century BCE, to be not only a prerogative of the Romans but something shared with other consanguineous populations, i.e. the rest of Italy.

As has been made clear in the previous chapters, the 2nd century BCE is the period during which not only Roman identity became better defined, but also saw the creation of the role of Italy and its shape as a region. It should therefore be no sur-

3 Cornell (1991), pp. 56–60. See also Dench (2005), pp. 64–67, and Hölscher (2006), p. 34, who defines the creation of this set of values as part of the transformation of military victories in political structure and of its transformation in identity.

4 Wallace-Hadrill (2008), p. 217.

5 Blösel (2000), pp. 27–53; Blösel (2003), pp. 60–62. See also Wallace-Hadrill (2008), pp. 218–225.

6 Blösel (2000), pp. 53–59.

7 On Cato's role in "anonymizing" the exemplary stories and, through that, in the creation of the *mos*, see also Gotter (2003), pp. 125–126.

8 Wallace-Hadrill (2008), p. 218. See also Blösel (2003), pp. 70–72.

9 Enn., *Ann.*, Fr. 5.1 Skutsch.

10 Pfeilschifter (2000), pp. 104–108.

prise that the construction of a set of moral values, or *mores*, also had a direct reflection and relevance in the definition of "Italic institutions"[11] – independent of the original aristocratic connotation of the *mos maiorum* – by drawing attention to the *mores* of the communities that bonded to Rome by consanguinity.[12] It was this set of values that Cato referred to when he proposed his "new" interpretation of the "customs of the ancestors" and celebrated, in an extremely meaningful way, *Italiae disciplina et vita*, the higher morality of Italic life.[13]

Cato further reinforced this idea, compatible with the general lines of his Italic ethnography, by insisting that the Romans took their *mores* from the Sabines, who were famously *severi*, and *quorum disciplina victores Romani in multis secuti sunt*.[14] In his speech *de suis virtutibus contra L. Thermum*, of 183 BCE, he used this argument to honor himself.[15] The positive evaluation of the Sabines progressed so far as to take up explicit physiognomic implications.[16] Cicero, for example, questions the truth behind the Sabine origin of an acquaintance; he decides in favor of it due to his honest face and speech, characteristics to be expected of someone from Cures.[17] Here Cicero's doubts illustrate how many aristocratic families in the Republican period claimed a sometimes invented Sabine descent as a method of positive self-representation in political competition.[18]

This image of the austere Sabines can be found not only in Cato, but is also present as a strong tradition in other sources as well.[19] The name of the Sabines was supposed to have derived from their piety as, according to many Latin authors (whose information was extracted in turn from Varro), it was connected to the Greek verb σέβεσθαι; thus, to Pliny the Elder, the Sabines are *a religione et deum cultu*

11 Giardina (1994), p. 28.

12 Blösel (2000), pp. 52–53.

13 Cat., *Orig*., 3.9 Chassignet. See Gotter (2003), pp. 131–133; Gotter (2009), pp. 114–115.

14 Cat., *Orig*., 2.22 Chassignet.

15 *ORF*[3] 8.XXXII.128: *ego iam a principio in parsimonia atque in duritia atque industria omnem adulescentiam meam abstinui agro colendo, saxis Sabinis, silicibus repastinandis atque conserendis*.

16 On physiognomy and ethnicity in Roman culture, see Isaac (2004), pp. 155–159; Bourdin (2012), pp. 743–748.

17 Cic., *Fam*. 15.20.1. Cf. also Cic., *Lig*. 32 for a positive evaluation of Sabine virtue.

18 Farney (2007), pp. 78–124.

19 See Strab. 5.3.1. On this image in Horace, see Briquel (1988), p. 44; Uda (1990), pp. 342–346. In general, see Farney (2007), pp. 97–101; Russo (2012b), pp. 113–115. It is interesting that this image of the Sabines was probably diffused coincidentally with the construction of the idea of *mos maiorum*, as shown by Farney (2007), pp. 108–110 (though his conviction that the positive image of the Sabines was a personal invention of Cato is impossible to demonstrate, even if Cato's authority might have helped to spread such an image as well as to reinforce it). Contrasting with this tradition is Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom*. 2.38.3, attributing to the Sabines a love of luxury not inferior to that of the Etruscans.

Sebini appellati.[20] In this context, Livy's explanation of Numa's qualities is significant: "It was Numa's native disposition, then, as I incline to believe, that tempered his soul with noble qualities, and his training was not in foreign studies, but in the stern and austere discipline of the ancient Sabines, a race incorruptible as any race of the olden time".[21] Moreover, we can see how Livy opposes Sabine discipline to other forms of knowledge which are qualified as *peregrinae*, thus underlining the "national" connotation of the *mores* and their nature as an Italic institution.

Next to Sabina, and continuing the theme of religious tradition, was the town of Gabii, whose "specific" robe, the *cinctus Gabinus*, was worn on the occasion of particular rites and solemnities (as, according to Cato, the foundation of cities, and perhaps also on occasions of war), revealing the construction of a deep connection between the religious habits of Gabii and those of Rome.[22] The virtue of Roman traditions, therefore, is shared with other Italic peoples, understandable when one considers the supposed bonds of consanguinity.[23] If the Sabines assume in this discourse, as in that of genealogic connections, a pivotal role in structuring the Roman perception of Italic peoples, it is in any case possible to talk of an "Italia dei *mores* romani", and to admit that these values adopt a unifying function of the different Italic groups in Roman mentality.[24]

The first and most diffused aspect that gave structure to the idea of Italic values was their military attitude, especially concerning courage in war. This idea was already strong enough in the 2nd century BCE to be clearly expressed by Polybius: "The fact is that Italians as a nation are by nature superior to Phoenicians and Libyans both in physical strength and courage; but still their habits also do much to inspire the youth with enthusiasm for such exploits".[25] According to Appian, Tiberi-

20 Plin., *HN* 3.108; Fest., *s.v. Sabini* 464 Lindsay (see also Paulus Diaconus' *excerpta*, 465 Lindsay). See Poucet (1963), pp. 176–177.

21 Liv. 1.18.4: *suopte igitur ingenium temperatum aninum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis instructumque non tam peregrinibus artibus quam disciplina tetrica et tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit*; transl. B.O. Foster.

22 Cat., *Orig.* 1.18a Chassignet = Serv., *Aen.* 5.755. See also Liv. 5.46.2; 10.7.3; Verg., *Aen.* 7.612; Serv., *Aen.* 7.682; Isid., *Etym.* 19.24.7. According to the Roman tradition, the Romans had an agreement with Gabii from the time of Tarquinius Priscus; in general, Gabii seems to have a high relevance in the definition of "archaic" rites and organizational forms (see below, p. 190, on the *ager Gabinus*): see Spagnuolo Vigorita (1996), pp. 43–44.

23 According to Livy, the *ius fetiale*, which would regulate the war declarations for centuries, had been adopted by Ancus Marcius from another Italic people, the mysterious Aequicoli (1.32.5). This version was known to Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.72.2, who also refers to Gellius' opinion, according to which Numa derived this *ius* from Ardea. Another tradition has it derive from the Falisci (Serv., *Aen.* 7.695). See also Simon (2011), p. 58.

24 Massa (1996), p. 27.

25 Polyb. 6.52.10; transl. E.S. Schuckburgh.

us Gracchus also defined the Ἰταλικὸν γένος as εὐπολεμώτατον.[26] This image of the military virtue of the Italics,[27] sometimes constructed in "negative" terms such as aggressiveness and a tendency to conquer, also emerges in external views of the peninsula, confirming how widespread the identification of the *Urbs* with Italy was outside of Rome. Paradigmatic in this context is the previously discussed oracle, referred to by Antisthenes the Peripatetic, which foresees revenge against the brave (ἀγαθοί) men of Italy.[28] These themes are all manifest in Vergilian poetry, which connects the bravery and virtue of Marsi and Sabellians, the resistance of the Ligurians, and the warrior ability of the Volsci with the praise of Italy, its landscape, and its soil.[29] These themes could thus contribute to the construction of a *vulgata* in the Principate:[30] in the 12th book of the *Aeneid*, Juno prays that Rome's children will become stronger through Italic virtue,[31] and the Italic valour is celebrated throughout Silius Italicus' *Punica*.

To understand the originality of these Roman elaborations, it is useful to analyze the role of the Umbri, which clearly shows the "independence" with which the Romans adopted, elaborated, or neglected Greek traditions, rather than simply mapping their own *topoi* on the Greek ones. Indeed, in Greek sources, the Umbri are regularly accused of τρυφή and presented as similar to the Lydians (and therefore to the Etruscans, about whom more will be said below). This image of the Umbri must have been particularly strong in Theopompus.[32] Only the ease with which they could be defeated militarily is to be found in Roman texts, but this is never connected with the *topos* of an excessively luxurious or effeminate way of life.[33] On the contrary, Roman texts include the Umbri in the Italic community, as do later Greek texts that adopt a Roman perspective. From the point of view of their *mores*, they insist on

26 App., *Civ*. 1.1.9. Cf. also App., *Civ*. 1.1.7, where Appian claims that the Romans considered the Italics "the most laborious of people"; transl. H. White. It is therefore too reductive to think that such images derived from the wars fought in Italy, as a form of self-promotion through the exaltation of the defeated enemies, as thought by Bourdin (2012), p. 777.

27 See also Plut., *Aem. Paul.* 20.2.

28 See above, p. 65. Giardina (1994), pp. 28–29.

29 Verg., *Georg.* 2.167–172. Among many other passages, see Liv. 2.22.3 and 8.29.4, where the military ability of the Samnites, Marsi, Paeligni, and Marrucini is discussed, together with their "natural alliance" with the Vestini. Hor., *Od.* 3.5.9 lists Marsi and Apuli among Crassus' soldiers in Persia (then after the Social War). Plut., *Aem. Paul.* 6.1 considers the Liguri warlike and brave.

30 Giardina (1994), pp. 31–32.

31 Verg., *Aen.* 12.821–828. On this see Bettini (2006), who argues that Vergil kept the Latins, of mixed race, and the Romans, of purely Trojan descent, strictly separated. This point does not change anything in the arguments presented here.

32 Ath., *Deipn.* 12.526–527.

33 See Amann (2011), pp. 315–318. Giardina (1994), pp. 35–36, gives too much importance to this theme and does not distinguish it from Theopompus' idea of the "effeminate" Umbri; also Farney (2007), p. 192, who does not distinguish between the Greek and the Roman traditions about the Umbri.

their character as being that of mountain inhabitants, connoting autochthony and simplicity (*parcus Umber*, as Catullus wrote),[34] though eventually also coarseness.[35] Nicolaus of Damascus, in his *Ethon Synagoge*, exalted their military virtues and in doing so probably drew heavily upon Roman traditions.[36]

In the second oration *de lege agraria* Cicero claims that the *mores* directly derive from the quality of the inhabited territory; thus the Ligurians (who for Cicero are Italics) are *duri atque agrestes*, a *topos* already known to Posidonius of Apamea,[37] while the Campanians are *superbi bonitate agrorum et fructuum magnitudine, urbis salubritate, descriptione, pulchritudine*.[38] The Campanians are also frequently connected to luxury and τρυφή, especially in reference to the traditions concerning Hannibal's *otia* in Capua. Strabo insists on this point, but underlines that Roman conquest and colonization put an end to this and helped to preserve the ancient dignity.[39] Past wars are no hindrance to the identification of *mores* and the virtues that are common to Italic populations; for example, Samnite wedding traditions, according to Strabo, are extremely positive and incite virtue.[40] In this sense, a Greek etymology of the name Samnites developed in the 4th century BCE (when, as has been discussed, a consanguinity between Samnites and Tarentines was suggested)[41] was readopted that connected it to a weapon, σαυνία, thus underlining the military character of the people.[42] Pliny thus defined the populations of the fourth Augustan region, Sabines and Samnites, as *gentes fortissimae Italiae*.[43] However, if the Samnites are regularly represented as war-like and brave, they are at the same time characterized by an inability to coordinate and use their strength, and therefore a failure to take advantage of their valor.[44]

34 Catull. 39.11.

35 On the judgement of the inhabitants of mountain regions in the ancient world, see in general Isaac (2004), pp. 406–410, whose conclusions, nonetheless, must be corrected through the observations presented here, specifically valid for the Italic "mountain people".

36 Nicol. Dam., *Eth. Syn.*, Fr. 108. See Sisani (2009), pp. 39–40.

37 Diod. Sic. 4.19.4; 5.39.1–6.

38 Cic., *Leg. Agr.* 2.95.

39 Strab. 5.4.13.

40 Strab. 5.4.12. See Scopacasa (2015), p. 51.

41 See above, pp. 123–124.

42 Fest., *s.v. Samnitibus* 436–437 Lindsay, probably deriving the information from Pompeius Trogus: see Tagliamonte (2005²), pp. 9–10. A second etymology of Samnites suggested in Latin sources connects them to a hill named Samnius where they settled after the *ver sacrum* which divided them from the Sabines (see above, pp. 120–121).

43 Plin., *NH* 3.106. See also Verg., *Aen.* 7.739–743; Sil., *Pun.* 8.519–523; 562–572; 10.314–315; 11.7–12; Prud., *C. Symm.* 2.515–516. On Strabo's presentation of the *ver sacrum*, which generated the Samnite *ethnos*, see above, p. 121. The *ver sacrum* is also represented as having absolved to a civilizing function towards the "more barbaric" Opici: see Briquel (1999), pp. 46–48.

44 Eg. Liv. 7.34.14. See Senatore (2004); Scopacasa (2015), pp. 44–48.

Coarseness is indeed a character of some Italic peoples, who are identified as virtuous and brave but "less civilized" than others. This is the case particularly in literary elaborations connected with wars against specific Italic populations, where their uncivilized nature or aggressiveness are underlined.[45] For example, the Samnites, who are defined by Livy as *montani atque agrestes* and as often inclined to *latrocinium*,[46] simply wait for an occasion to attack, and are dominated by greed.[47] The Lucanians, moreover, are generally presented in the sources either as a "wild" population living in a rugged territory (as with the Samnites) or as hospitable and just, thus sharing basic "Italic" virtues, two presentations that are not necessarily incompatible.[48] This polarity has the effect of revealing that only under Roman guidance can they transform their potential into effect, and demonstrates the teleological function of the Roman rule in the development of "virtuous" Italic communities – a very useful discursive device in constructing the Italy of the *mores* and explaining the role of Rome within it.

Some of the Italic populations, from a Roman perspective, are thus simply closer to an earlier "natural status" and thus need the Roman "civilizing" hand even more.[49] This is the case with the Marsi, "a very warlike race";[50] no triumph, with a single exception, was ever awarded for fighting against them, and as a consequence, according to Appian, arose the saying "No triumph over Marsi or without Marsi",[51] underlining the necessity of intra-Italic cooperation (it should not be forgotten that the Romans called the Social War *bellum marsicum*).[52] Such resistance can also assume a positive connotation in the development of the *mores*: the Ligurians, writes Livy, are born to ensure Roman discipline is kept well trained in between "more important" wars, which also served to develop their courage. While Asia made the Romans richer and weaker, the Ligurians, fast and agile (which must be understood as a compliment) kept the Roman soldiers constantly alert, as they developed their military virtues on complicated territory (which, according to the

45 See also e.g. Liv. 40.25.1–5.

46 Liv. 9.13.7. See Scopacasa (2015), pp. 41–44.

47 Liv. 7.30.12–16.

48 So Isayev (2007a), pp. 26–27.

49 On Roman civilizing functions see, among others, Wallace-Hadrill (2008), pp. 34–35. On this topic in the *Aeneid*, see Toll (1991), p. 8. A distinction between different "degrees" of civilization in what is ideologically formulated as a "civilizing project" is not exclusive to Rome: see Harrell (1995), pp. 8–9 and pp. 15–16 (the "historical metaphor: peripheral people as ancient"), for a similar structure in Chinese ideology.

50 See Verg., *Georg*. 2.167, *genus acre virum*, character shared, according to Vergil, by the Sabellians.

51 App., *Civ*. 1.6.46. A similar idea is attributed by Strabo to Sulla on the Samnites: the dictator would have said that Rome could have never felt safe, had the Samnites constituted an autonomous political entity (Strab. 5.4.11). This is implicitly confirmed by the tradition of their military valor.

52 See below, p. 374.

model of geographic determinism, is their reason for being so agile and courageous).[53] Strabo expresses a similar attitude when he describes the virtue of Vestini, Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, and Frentani: they demonstrated such virtue three times, not only when fighting against the Romans, but also when fighting together with the Romans and battling to obtain Roman citizenship.[54]

All this is perfectly visible in Vergil's *Aeneid* which, coming after the development of these discourses, used its authority to substantially assure the future use of such *topoi*. Aeneas represents the model of *Romanitas*,[55] as do (generally speaking) the Trojans: their "Oriental" elements appear most often when they are described by others and must disappear in the fusion which will generate the new Latin race. The Italic populations – even those fighting against Aeneas – are divided in two groups: those who are strong yet nonetheless lack complete civility; and those that are not only strong and virtuous, but are also able to subject force to reason.[56] The "golden age" is thus a product of domination and legislative action that enables the Trojans/Romans to bring the process of civilizing their neighbors and relatives to completion.[57] The Italic peoples, led by Turnus, who oppose Aeneas' settlement in Latium, are explicitly qualified as brave and strong and overtly opposed to the Greeks. Turnus' group is defined by Iuno as *gravida bellis urbs et corda aspera*,[58] while Turnus himself expresses the ethnical distinction in a clear-cut way: "Forward, my chosen brave! Who follows me to cleave his deadly way through yonder battlement, and leap like storm upon its craven guard? I have no need of arms from Vulcan's smithy; nor of ships a thousand strong against our Teucrian foes, though all Etruria's league enlarge their power. Let them not fear dark nights, nor coward theft of Pallas' shrine, nor murdered sentinels on their acropolis. We shall not hide in blinding belly of a horse. But I in public eye and open day intend to compass their weak wall with siege and fire. I'll prove them we be no Pelasgic band, no Danaan warriors, such as Hector's arm ten years withstood".[59] However, this virtue is still not controlled and organized by law and civilization, as demonstrated by the fact that, at the end of his duel with Aeneas, Turnus removes (and uses as a weapon) a boundary stone that is sacred to Jupiter and a symbol of his social and political order.[60] This once again illustrates the Virgilian perspective on the destiny of Rome,

53 Liv. 39.1.5–6.
54 Strab. 5.4.2.
55 Hahn (1984), pp. 50–51 and 54.
56 Sordi *et alii* (1972), pp. 153–154. See also Hahn (1984), pp. 57–58; Sordi (2008), pp. 90–91, even if her idea that this represented an ethnical difference between an "Etruscan" and an "Oscan" Italy cannot be accepted.
57 Sall., *Cat*. 6.1–2. Sordi *et alii* (1972), pp. 157–158.
58 Verg., *Aen*. 10.87.
59 Verg., *Aen*. 9. 146–155; transl. T.C. Williams.
60 Verg., *Aen*. 12.896–902. See Gi. De Sanctis (2005/2006); Willis (2011), pp. 105–106.

in particular its function of *imponere mores*. Overall, the topic of the *mores* overlaps with the discourses of consanguinity, reinforcing them and presenting an Italic world of shared characters, virtues, and values that subsequently developed into the idea of a recognizable, "natural" and "objective" "Italicness".

The *mores* are thus a central element in the definition of Italic identity and in underlining the forms of consanguinity existing between Romans and Italic peoples. This is evident if we turn our attention to the populations which, as shown in the previous chapter, are perceived as "external" to "Italic Italy" and presented as migrants or invaders. Excluded from the *mores* are the Celts,[61] Greeks, and Etruscans; as, at least according to Cato and Nigidius Figulus, are the Ligurians, considered in some traditions to be "natural" liars,[62] whose affiliation to the Italic community was, as has already been showed, not unanimously recognized.[63] Indeed, heterochthonous peoples are excluded from sharing Italic moral virtues and moral "institutions". The territorial aspect implied by this is evident not only through a connection with the myths concerning autochthony and kinship that have been already dealt with, but also with observations, including that of Cato, that such peoples should be rejected and expelled from the Italic peninsula. Pliny declares that he had stated this point in reference to the Greeks extremely clearly.[64] Therefore, if the Sabines and other Italic peoples are for Cato characterized by the *mores*, "non-Italic" peoples are characterized by fallacy, a tendency to cheat, and even more through the mark of τρυφή, applying to them the accusations already developed for the inhabitants of Magna Graecia in the Greek world itself,[65] and are thus excluded from the moral qualities that characterized Italy.[66]

For the Etruscans in particular, the Romans could find well-established *topoi* within Greek literature, which partially portrayed the Tyrrhenians as a cruel population of pirates,[67] but mostly as leading an extremely luxurious life,[68] with a consequent level of moral decadence.[69] Such an approach is already attested in Roman

61 The physical and moral "inferiority" of the Celts is underlined by App., *Rom*. 5.7–8. On the Celts and their portrait as real *belvae*, extraneous to any civility and norm of behavior, see pp. 152–156.

62 Cat., *Orig*. 2.2 Chassignet (*Ligures autem omnes fallaces sunt*); Verg., *Aen*. 11.699–720; Auson., *Techn*. 11.5; Serv., *Ad Aen*. 11.715; Donat., *Interpr*. *Verg*. 11.715.

63 See above, pp. 152–154.

64 Plin., *Hist*. *Nat*. 7.113. See above, pp. 151–152.

65 Lomas (1993), pp. 14–15.

66 Letta (1984), p. 416.

67 Musti (1989), pp. 28–34, who dates the birth of this form of representation to the 6th–5th century BCE; Briquel (1990), pp. 179–180, argues, on the contrary, for a later Syracusan origin of this *topos*.

68 "Extravagantly luxurious", according to Athen. 12.517d, quoting Timaeus and Theopompus.

69 E.g. Diod. Sic. 5.40; Strab. 5.1.10; 5.4.3. Probably connected to this topic is Catullus' reference to the *obesus Etruscus* (Catull. 39.11) and the Vergilian one to the *pinguis*, "fat" Etruscan: Verg., *Georg*. 2.193. See Musti (1989), pp. 22–28; Liébert (2006), pp. 229–230; Farney (2007), pp. 133–140.

literature by the time of Plautus.[70] In a very fragmentary passage from his work, Festus also seems to directly ascribe to them a *luxuriosa vita*.[71] This tradition is connected to their Lydian origins,[72] since the Eastern population was also topically connected to τρυφή, though it seems that the Romans constructed this theme in a much more consequent and radical way than Greek literature.[73]

This tradition was recovered in the numerous stories concerning the early wars against Etruscan cities such as Veii and Chiusi or the history of Arruns and the Gallic invasion,[74] and often further elaborated within the corollary of the slavery in which the Etruscan kings kept their people, as a consequence of their excessive luxury and lack of warlike virtue. Describing the war against Porsenna, Livy allows Horatius Cocles to provoke the Etruscan nobles by saying that they had been enslaved by superb kings and fought another city having forgotten their own liberty,[75] precisely contrary to the Roman attitude and the pride for independence and liberty shown by other Italic communities. Additionally, the *topos* of a people entirely composed of slaves, in which only the king is a free man, is directly derived from the Greek construction of the image of the Asians, specifically the Persians,[76] thus contributing to the image of Otherness and the "Orientalism" of the Etruscan civilization.

It is therefore no surprise that, among the aristocratic families of the Republican period, the number of those claiming an Etruscan origin is incomparably smaller than those claiming a Latin or Sabine origin, as Farney has noted.[77] However, it is difficult to follow Farney when he assumes that this was caused by a Roman reluctance to accept Etruscans in the Senate, and it seems that such origins were rather less "convenient" to advertise in Roman political discussion. Contrary to the Sabine ascendancy, and following this generally negative image of the Etruscans, such

70 Plaut., *Cist*. 562–563. Liébert (2006), pp. 177–207, attempts to deny the importance of this source, and claims that it referred not to the Etruscans, but to the *vicus Tuscus* at Rome (though his idea that the infamy of this street was connected to the mercenaries installed here in the archaic period cannot be demonstrated). Even if he is right, the pun would still imply the possibility of a superposition and, therefore, the reference to the widely known "immoral" behavior of the Etruscans. Liébert attributes a clear passage of the *topos* from the Lydians, supposedly the "ancestors" of the Etruscans, to the Etruscans; however, it is difficult to presume a direct reference to Herodotus and the Lydians which, according to Liébert, would have been understood only by the more educated readers. For a complete register of ancient Greek and Latin sources referring to the Etruscan τρυφή, see Liébert (2006), pp. 28–49.

71 Fest., s.v. *nepos* 162 Lindsay.

72 See above, pp. 158–160.

73 Liébert (2006), pp. 258–259. See also Hahn (1984), pp. 48–49.

74 Liébert (2006), pp. 235–239. See above, pp. 161–162.

75 Liv. 2.10.8.

76 E.g. [Hp.], *Aër*. 16.

77 Farney (2007), pp. 125–133 and 144–146.

origins were perhaps "hidden" or in any case not presented as salient, surely not "invented" and boosted. Only in the imperial period would the evaluation of the Etruscans and their traditions undergo a clear improvement.[78]

Since the time of Livy, this re-evaluation of the Etruscans happened largely through their religiosity,[79] an important *Leitmotiv* within Latin literature,[80] and one that has shaped the reception of Etruscan culture from the Principate into Late Antiquity.[81] It should also be remembered that according to the Roman tradition Caere hosted the Roman sacred objects during the Gallic Sack, and the name of the town was even etymologically considered to be connected to the word *caeremonia*.[82] However, prior to the Augustan age even religiosity and the competences connected to the *disciplina Etrusca* (accepted as a part of official Roman practice according to Cicero)[83] were not always viewed positively, particularly during the 2nd century BCE. As is well known, Cato should have expressed his amazement considering that a *haruspex* did not laugh when he met another *haruspex*, showing his despise for this Etruscan technique.[84]

Even in the work of an author such as Vergil who, due to his connections with Maecenas, "rescues" the Etruscans as part of Italy and the Italic "community", the dominant picture to be corrected is clear:[85] prior to being "contaminated" by luxury, when they led a pure and Spartan life similar to that of the Sabines and the first Romans,[86] the Etruscans were model citizens – a fact that explains the Roman adop-

78 Farney (2007), pp. 174–175.

79 Such religiosity is particularly notable when it causes refusal, an extremely positive circumstance from a Roman perspective, of the other Etruscan cities to help Veii at the beginning of the decennial war which will lead to its destruction: Liv. 5.1.6. Briquel (2008b), pp. 119–120, underlines how this image of Etruscan religiosity is a product of the 1st century BCE. Nonetheless, some ancient authors would dispute that the Etruscans had any influence on the development of the Roman augural technique; for example, Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.5.2, even if Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.30.3 recognizes the Etruscan "superiority" in religious matters.

80 Farney (2007), pp. 150–159.

81 Briquel (2008b). See e.g. Val. Max. 1.1.1b.

82 E.g. Val. Max. 1.1.10.

83 Cic, *Har. Resp.* 27.61.

84 Cic., *Div.* 2.51. A negative attitude towards Etruscan "superstition", which leads to the death of an innocent person, seems to emerge at the beginning of the 1st century BCE also in Diod. Sic. 32.12.2. Mommsen (1888[8]), p. 225, recognized the Roman "hostility" towards Etruscan religious practices, following the sources here referenced, even if he presents this, according to his general method, in strongly moralistic terms.

85 The Roman "reevaluation" of the Etruscans supposed by Musti (1989), pp. 37–39, therefore cannot be applied to the Republican period.

86 Verg., *Georg.* 2.532–535. See also Diod. Sic. 5.40. Firpo (1997), pp. 110–111, has correctly recognized that the passage concerning the decadence of the Etruscans does not derive, as does the rest, from Posidonius, and identifies its sources as Italic, even if he then attributes them to an Italic hostility against the Etruscans after the Social War.

tion of Etruscan rituals and symbols.[87] Afterwards, however, the Etruscans started dedicating themselves to piracy – in the common reconstruction of the Augustan age – and underwent a "degeneration" of their political structures, a process of division that constituted the exact opposite of the synoecisms of the Greek and Roman tradition.[88]

Another friend of Maecenas, Horace, had a completely different perspective on the Etruscans. As noted by D. Briquel, the few positive images are always directly connected to Maecenas, while all other *loci* underline the enmity between Rome and the Etruscan cities and the unfamiliarity of these people with the "healthy" Italic *mores*.[89] Of course, Maecenas himself did not always receive positive publicity, and many of his portraits are connected to the typical Etruscan "vices" of τρυφή, sexual incontinency, and effeminacy.[90]

Vergil thus finally included the Etruscans in the net of Italic consanguinity and virtue, creating a kind of "versatile" Etruscan who was able to fight and to celebrate, to struggle and to drink, according to the circumstances embodied in Propertius' portrait of the god Vertumnus.[91] "Luxury" is only recalled in this context as an accusation used by the "not-yet-civilized" Latins against Trojans and Etruscans (or that certain Etruscans use in reprehending their comrades).[92]

At the same time, the topical accusations of τρυφή, used in Greek literature against the Greek *poleis* of Southern Italy – in the archaic and classical period largely in reference to Sybaris,[93] and afterwards to Tarentum[94] – could be adopted by the Romans to exclude the Greeks of Italy from the "moral community" that they constructed around the Italic peoples.[95] Drawing fully on the original Greek models, such a scheme is present in Strabo, according to whom the particularly convenient geography and richness of Tarentum brought *hybris*, political instability, luxury, and decadence; moreover, Valerius Maximus considers *petulantia* one of the typical characteristics of the town.[96] It is meaningful in this sense that in his *de senectute*

87 On this, see pp. 162–163. See also Firpo (1997), pp. 104–105.

88 Strab. 5.2.2. See Musti (1989), pp. 19–21. This process of division could indeed correspond to the political evolution of Etruria in the 4th century BCE; see Bourdin (2012), pp. 299–322.

89 Briquel (1988), pp. 45–47. So a girl is said to be "different from Penelope", alluding to her lack of faithfulness, and this is explained through her Etruscan father (Hor., *Od.* 3.10.11–12). See also Scuderi (1978), p. 93; Farney (2007), pp. 138–139.

90 Farney (2007), pp. 166–171.

91 Proper. 4.2. See Sordi *et alii* (1972), pp. 173–174.

92 Verg., *Aen.* 11.732–740.

93 E.g. Ath., *Deipn.* 518c–521f; Strab. 6.1.13.

94 Ath., *Deipn.* 12.522d–e; 528a–d; Strab. 6.3.4. See Lomas (1993), p. 10; Lomas (1997), pp. 31–34; Barnes (2005), pp. 25–28 and Wallace-Hadrill (2008), pp. 338–339.

95 On the τρυφή of the Campanians, described by Polybius (7.1.1) and other authors (Ath. 12.528d–e), see also Farney (2007), pp. 192–195.

96 Val. Max. 4.3.14a. Simon (2011), pp. 391–394.

Cicero, drawing on unknown sources, places in Cato's mouth a speech against *voluptas*, which generated betrayal of the fatherland, conspiracies and civil war.[97] This speech had been, in the literary fiction, originally held in Plato's presence by Archytas of Tarentum, the Pythagorean ruler of the city from the 4th century BCE,[98] and delivered to the Samnite Gaius Pontius, whose wisdom is attested by Livy in the famous episode following the Samnite victory at the Caudine Forks.[99]

This is particularly evident in Livy, as Simon has recently established: the Greeks had an urban settlement, different to that of the Italics, lived on the coast and degenerated into excessive luxury (not without some implicit reference to geographical determinism).[100] Heir of the "tradition mishellénique" of the 2nd century BCE,[101] the Patavine historian uses for the Greek communities of Italy (and the Campanian towns) the *topoi* of τρυφή that he also uses for the entire Greek world, particularly Asia,[102] and attributes to the *poleis* of Southern Italy political instability and military inability, if not true cowardice. Livy states of the Greeks in general, after having appropriately remembered that they arrived to Cumae as colonists, that they are "a race more valiant in words than in deeds".[103] Livy added in particular that "the Tarentine was no match for the Roman in courage, in arms, in the art of war, in bodily energy and strength. Therefore, after merely throwing their javelins, they retreated almost before they came to blows, and slipped away along the familiar streets of the city to their homes and those of friends".[104] Furthermore, the Tarentines are in general a *vanissima gens*, completely unable to act: "Papirius replied, 'Tarentines, the keeper of the chickens reports that the signs are favourable; the sacrifice too has been exceedingly auspicious; as you see, the gods are with us at our going into action'. He then commanded to advance the standards, and marshalled his troops, with exclamations on the folly of a nation which, powerless to

97 Cic., *de sen.* 39–31.

98 On the figure of Archytas in the debate about τρυφή, see Mahé-Simon (2008), pp. 82–84. On this episode and its possible sources, see D'Agostino (1981), who considers the episode to have been known already in the 4th century, as part of the symbolic connections between Tarentum and Samnium (on which see above, pp. 123–124); Russo (2007), pp. 31–54.

99 Liv. 9.1.2–10. On Pontius and his value in Roman tradition, as on the origins of this tradition, see Russo (2007), pp. 43–54. See also Scopacasa (2015), p. 50.

100 Simon (2011), pp. 352–356.

101 Simon (2011), pp. 356–380.

102 E.g. Liv. 7.32.7; 38.5–7.

103 Liv. 8.22.8: *gente lingua magis strenua quam factis*; transl. B.O. Foster.

104 Liv. 27.16.1–2: *non animo, non armis, non arte belli, non vigore ac viribus corporis par Romano Tarentinus erat. Igitur pilis tantum coniectis prius paene, quam consererent manus, terga dederunt, dilapsique per nota urbis itinera in suas amicorumque domus*; transl. F.G. Moore.

manage its own affairs because of domestic strife and discord, presumed to lay down the limits of peace and war for others".[105]

It is important to note that the Greeks were not better evaluated in Vergilian poetry; on the contrary, the entire first part of the second book of the *Aeneid* is based on their treachery, in particular within the play performed by Sinon to convince the Trojans to bring the horse in the town, with many explicit judgments concerning Greek morality.[106] At the same time, it should not be forgotten that Turnus is explicitly said to have come from Mycenae.[107] It is true that Evander, who helps Aeneas, is Arcadian (and thus Greek), and that this somewhat helps to reinstate the image of the Greeks within the work.[108] Nevertheless, Evander himself claims to be a relative of Dardanus, and thus somehow connected to an Italic origin.[109] It must also be emphasized that his kingdom is composed of a population mixed through successive movements and stratifications, and that he arrived as an exile and married a Sabellian woman, giving mixed blood to his son Pallas.[110] In the same way, it is also true that Diomedes refuses to help Turnus and the Latins in the war against Aeneas, but his reasons are connected to a fear of the consequences after having seen what happened to the heroes that destroyed Troy.[111]

Such a perspective, which still excluded the Greeks from the Italic community, following Cato's path, was not only Vergilian but also deeply embedded (as Wallace-Hadrill has shown) in Vitruvius' theoretical elaborations.[112] The issue at stake was relevant, and it provoked reactions: signs of this can perhaps be seen in Scipio Nasica's decision to have Cassius Longinus' theatre destroyed in 154 BCE,[113] most likely justified by moral reasons, including the possibility of "Greek corruption". On the other hand, "traditional" and "pure" art forms are attributed an Italic origin, as in the case of the *Atellana*: "Atellans were introduced from the Oscans. That form of

105 Liv. 9.14.4–5: *quibus Papirius ait 'auspicia secunda esse, Tarentini, pullarius nuntiat; litatum praeterea est egregie; auctoribus dis, ut videtis, ad rem gerendam proficiscimur'. Signa inde ferri iussit et copias eduxit, vanissimam increpans gentem, quae, suarum impotens rerum prae domesticis seditionibus discordiisque, aliis modum pacis ac belli facere aequum censerent*; transl. B.O. Foster. See also Liv. 38.17.12.

106 Verg., *Aen.* 2.65–198. Hahn (1984), pp. 49–50, speaks instead of an ambiguous characterization of the Greeks in the *Aeneid*, deriving from the contrast between their treachery and the admiration for their culture, up to their representation as the "second dominating people" behind the Romans; but of this second aspect nothing can be seen in Vergil's poem, and it seems to derive more from Hahn's conviction of a widespread Roman sense of cultural inferiority in the face of the Greeks.

107 Verg., *Aen.* 7.371–372. See Hahn (1984), pp. 52 and 57–58.

108 Hahn (1984), pp. 60–82.

109 Verg., *Aen.* 8.127–142.

110 Verg., *Aen.* 8.314–336; 510–511.

111 Verg., *Aen.* 11.243–295.

112 Wallace-Hadrill (2008), pp. 149–153.

113 Vell. Pat. 1.15.3; Val. Max. 2.4.2; App., *Civ.* 1.4.28; Oros. 4.21.4.

entertainment was tempered with Italian austerity and so it is free from censure, the actor being neither expelled from his tribe nor repulsed from military service".[114] As late as the second half of the 1st century BCE, when Dionysius of Halicarnassus could claim that Rome was a Greek city, Timagenes' demand to recognize the superiority of Greek (predominantly political) culture caused huge distress and the author's expulsion from Augustus' court.[115] The conflict concerning the role of Greece in shaping Roman and Italic identity was, after two centuries, anything but over.

The Italic Soil and Its Juridical and Sacral Meaning

The genesis of Italy as a concept and as a region also made it necessary, from the end of the 3rd century BCE, to reach a formal definition of the Italic territory in both the juridical and religious spheres, which were, as is well known, deeply connected in Roman culture. Of this evolution, many traces can be found in the available sources. In 210 BCE it was made clear that the *ager Romanus*, a category of land where *inaugurationes* could be practiced,[116] and that was geographically organized through its division into tribes, could exist only in Italy; the consul could not assign a dictatorship from Sicily because, being outside Italy, the island could not be considered a part of *ager Romanus*.[117] Still, in 252 BCE there seems to have been *ager Romanus* in Messana, where Aurelius Cotta would have taken his *auspicia*. Although generally accepted in literature,[118] this assumption has been placed in doubt by Konrad who, re-evaluating Zonaras as a source, has suggested that Cotta did indeed travel back to Rome for that purpose, and did not stop in Messana.[119] This indicates that the *ager Romanus* never existed on non-Italic soil,[120] and that this unwritten, implicit rule was simply formalized in 210 BCE, without ever being previously broken. During the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey in 48 BCE, the two hundred senators who escaped to Thessalonica could have declared a piece of land *ager Romanus* in order to be able to inaugurate it and hold a legitimate session of the Senate, though even this is not necessarily implied by the sources, and would in

114 Val. Max. 2.4.4; transl. D.R. Shackleton Bailey.

115 Zecchini (1997), pp. 79–80.

116 Catalano (1960), pp. 93–94; 387–388.

117 Liv. 27.5.15. See Sordi (1987), p. 210; De Libero (1994), pp. 311–312; Humm (2010), pp. 58–59. On the situation leading to this definition, see Pina Polo (2011), pp. 188–189.

118 Val. Max. 2.7.4. See Catalano (1961/1962), pp. 203–205; Catalano (1978), pp. 529–532; Pinzone (1999), pp. 82–85.

119 Konrad (2008).

120 Cases of parts of *ager peregrinus* being transformed into *ager Romanus* in Italy are known: Catalano (1978), pp. 501–502. What is more, this excludes the possibility that Messana or Sicily, in general, were then considered as parts of Italy, as wrongly claimed by Russo (2012b), pp. 70–71 (see also pp. 104–107).

any case represent an extreme measure in a case of emergency.[121] Such a clear-cut institutional distinction had not existed since the archaic period, as is clearly shown by traces of earlier subdivisions of territory for religious purposes, most of all by that attributed by Varro to the augurs, which identified five different kinds of *ager* (*Romanus*, *Gabinus*, *peregrinus*, *hosticus* and *incertus*) and which could have been a product of the late 6th century BCE.[122] Such a definition of the territory of the Roman State, and of Italy in particular, was therefore also a product of the changing circumstances during the period of the Roman expansion (a process that also includes the decision, after 241 BCE, not to create any new tribes).[123]

It should be emphasized that such a formal definition represented a clear statement of Italy's centrality. As the etymology shows, the *ager Romanus* was the territory most directly connected to Rome itself and constituted its direct surroundings; it was therefore a genuinely sacred heartland of the Roman State.[124] The fact that only Italy could host territories with such a nature is thus a strong statement of the central nature of Italy, deriving from its direct geographical and historical vicinity to Rome and a generally concentric scheme where value is a function of proximity to the center.

As early as 218 BCE, it was clear that a form of "assimilation" of the Italic territories that qualified as *ager Romanus* to the *Urbs* (specifically a Roman colony) was under way: the consul of that year, Gaius Flaminius, decided to begin his consular year directly in Rimini, without travelling to Rome to acquire the *auspicia*, as should have been the norm. This was widely discussed, but already shows the widespread conception of large parts of the peninsula as "Roman territory" and not as *solum externum*.[125] Livy thus refers to senatorial doubts about the appropriateness of the decision, but does not say that the *auspicia* were invalid.[126]

In the last quarter of the 3rd century, during the difficulties of the Second Punic War, Roman priests began to devote themselves not only to the prodigies occurring in the *Urbs* through the Sibylline books and similar devices, but also to similar events that took place in other Italic towns.[127] This was not necessarily only the case on *ager Romanus*, as Mommsen thought, or on the *ager Romanus* and the *ager Latinus*, as Ruolff-Väänänen supposed in recognition of the excessive restrictiveness of

121 Dio 41.43.1–3. See Catalano (1960), pp. 264–272; Catalano (1978), pp. 500–501.
122 Varr., *LL* 5.33. See Gargola (1995), p. 26.
123 According to Crawford (2002), pp. 1128–1129, it is reasonable to suppose that there was a conscious decision not to create any new tribes, a decision which he dates to 225 BCE (see p. 1131).
124 See above, p. 33. See also Watkins (1972), pp. 32–33.
125 Sordi (1987), p. 209.
126 Liv. 21.63.5–12.
127 Macbain (1982), pp. 25–33, with a list on pp. 108–110 of prodigies that occurred on federate territory.

Mommsen's interpretation.[128] In many cases, it is not possible to reconstruct the juridical status of the territory where the *prodigium* took place, and to rescue such theories it would be necessary to postulate *a priori* that it was always *ager publicus*, or that each community involved had already received Roman (or Latin) citizenship, circumstances that are not confirmed by other sources.[129] It is true that, according to Livy, a prodigy that happened in 169 BCE in Fregellae was not taken into consideration because it happened "on foreign territory" (*in loco peregrino*),[130] though this information is misleading as Fregellae was a Latin colony from which previous prodigies had been considered and expiated.[131] It is therefore possible that this particular decision was connected to the status of the place where the prodigy happened, given that prodigies on private property were not considered, and Livy admits that the property in question was a house bought by a Lucius Atreus for his son.[132] In an exactly contrary sense, in 172 BCE a prodigy that took place on the Capitoline Hill in Rome had to be expiated through ceremonies both on the Capitoline Hill and in Campania, at the promontory of Minerva.[133]

All of which represents a very significant trace of the development of Roman perception of Italy as a region, as underlined by Macbain, and reveals a conscious political decision in this direction from the Roman authorities:[134]

> Throughout most of the Republican period, at any rate, many of the prodigies can be seen to operate as a kind of signalling system whereby the Roman senate, by accepting as *prodigia publica* those prodigies especially which were reported from the non-Roman towns of Italy, could acknowledge the anxieties and identify with the religious sensibilities of Italians, particularly at times of severe stress upon the whole fabric of the confederacy. The senate could as well occasionally convey warnings or other sub-texts through the content of expiatory rites, and, overall, by appropriating the responsibility to expiate non-Roman prodigies at Rome with Roman priests, could assert Roman hegemony over Italy in the religious sphere parallel to its assertion of hegemony in the temporal sphere.[135]

128 Ruoff-Väänänen (1972), pp. 142–143.
129 E.g. Ruoff-Väänänen (1972), pp. 150–155.
130 Liv. 43.13.6.
131 E.g. Liv. 26.23.5–6.
132 In the same passage, Liv. 43.13.6 confirms the lack of interest in prodigies on private property, in this case that which occurred in the house of Titus Marcius Figulus.
133 Liv. 42.20.3.
134 Julius Obsequens is a difficult source in this sense, because he composed his work in the 4th century CE and this is based almost entirely on Livy; furthermore, he does not generally report the "reactions" to the prodigies, which are simply listed. Nonetheless, it is also possible to see in the *prodigiorum liber* the connection in this field between Italy and Rome in the 2nd century BCE, when a supplication is organized in 190 BCE in reaction to prodigies which took place at Nursia, Tusculum, and Reate (1), See also Sordi (1987), p. 210; Pina Polo (2011), pp. 251–252.
135 Macbain (1982), pp. 7–8.

This homogenization of the Italic territory from a religious perspective is not valid only for the *prodigia*. In 204 BCE, Roman pontiffs responded to a sacrilege committed in Locri (where Roman troops sacked the temple of Proserpina, and therefore not a *prodigium* in the narrower sense) by sending a senatorial legation to perform the necessary expiation,[136] demonstrating the possibility of direct intervention within an allied city to perform religious rites. A *supplicatio* of three days was also, according to Livy, imposed on all of Italy (*tota Italia*).[137]

Additionally, in 205 BCE it was discussed whether the *pontifex maximus* should be allowed to leave Italy, and this was ultimately forbidden.[138] When in 131 BCE Publius Licinius Crassus, consul and *pontifex maximus*, did leave Italy (and was subsequently defeated and killed in battle against Aristonicus), the Livian *Periocha* did not hesitate to emphasize that such a thing had never happened before.[139] It is likewise difficult to know from what point in time the rule existed that only girls residing in Italy could become Vestal virgins. The only source is Gellius, who found this information in Ateius Capito (and therefore in an author of the Augustan age).[140] At the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, therefore, the concept of *terra Italia* was clearly in existence and actively operative in the political and religious praxis.

Even if no *ius Italicum* (in the sense of a new form of citizenship parallel to the Roman and Latin one) was developed in connection with the shaping of Italy's territory,[141] Catalano's idea that a unitary concept of Italy (of which he mostly underlines the religious content) developed in the 3rd century BCE seems to be justified, in spite of the many points of his theory that have been disproven.[142] Catalano identified a deep connection between the rites of the *Etrusca disciplina* (called by Tacitus *ve-*

136 Liv. 29.18.7–14; 29.19.8; 29.20.10; 29.21.4. Macbain (1982), pp. 26–27.

137 Liv. 40.19.5. Liv. 41.21.11 refers to a *supplicatio* promised if a pestilence were to be removed from the *ager Romanus*.

138 Liv. 28.38.12: since the *pontifex maximus* P. Licinius Crassus Dives was elected consul, the consular provinces were not assigned by lot, because he could not leave the peninsula. The other consul, P. Cornelius Scipio, had therefore automatically assigned Sicily. See Catalano (1961/1962), pp. 201–203; Catalano (1978), pp. 528–529; Martorana (1978), p. 47; De Libero (1994), pp. 313–314; van Haeperen (2002), p. 288; Humm (2010), p. 59. It is possible that also the fetials were forbidden from leaving Italy or were subject outside of it to a different kind of regulation and authority, if we consider that those sent to Carthage in 201 BCE to decide the peace required a special *senatus consultum* authorizing them to travel and to take with them the necessary ritual objects (Liv. 30.43.9); see Dahlheim (1968), pp. 174–175.

139 Liv., *Per*. 59.4.

140 Gell. 1.12.8.

141 Hermon (2002), pp. 211–212.

142 Catalano (1961/1962), pp. 225–278; also Catalano (1978), pp. 544–547, in which the author dates the origin of this concept at the end of the 4th century BCE, before the Tarentine War.

tustissima Italiae disciplina) and Italic territory,[143] and presumed that the concept of *terra Italia* was born in opposition to the religious entity of *terra Etruria*.[144] This hypothesis is unconvincing, however: such a definition of Italic soil from a sacral and religious perspective, while also meaningful in the political sphere, is contemporary to the geographical definition of the entire peninsula as a region, to the attribution of a specific name to this region, and to the genesis of the traditions insisting on the consanguinity of the peoples inhabiting it; its birth is therefore rather to be understood in opposition to the provincial soil. As highlighted by Crawford, at the end of the 3rd century BCE the Romans faced the problem of having to actively define Italy in connection with the emergence of the provincial system; the fixation of the Italic "territorial shape", and therefore its "closure", was thus directly connected to the necessity of institutionally distinguishing the Italic territory from the other administrative units, namely the provinces being created.[145]

In this sense, Letta's interpretation that the birth of this sacral definition of *terra Italia* should have been applied only to the area limited by the Apennine, as defined by Appian, and which has already been widely discussed in its meaning and its implications, should also be rejected.[146] That *terra Italia* was, from this point of view, not limited purely to this area is made clear by an episode regarding the *pontifex maximus* M. Aemilius Lepidus. As previously discussed, from 205 BCE it was explicitly forbidden for such priests to leave Italic territory; nonetheless, we know that he moved outside Appian's "old Italy" when in charge (he was *pontifex* since 180 BCE),[147] because in 177 BCE he presided over the commission for the foundation of the colony of Luna.[148] *Terra Italia* thus coincided with the geographic extension of the entire peninsula up to the Alps.

At this point it is also necessary to briefly address the problems connected with the juridical and sacral regulations of the *pomerium*.[149] A well-known and widely debated text connects this "border of Rome" and the possibility of its expansion to Italy, a connection that has also been assumed in modern scholarship.[150] The *ius*

143 Tac., *Ann.* 11.15. Catalano (1978), pp. 461–462, although with some exaggeration, such as the idea that the Etruscan rites would be the reason for overcoming the ethnic division between Etruscans and Osco-Sabellic peoples already in the 4th century BCE.

144 On the same line also Sordi (2003), pp. 127–128; Sordi (2008), pp. 93–94. See also Letta (1984), p. 418.

145 Crawford (1990), pp. 94–95. This issue has already been touched upon by Puchta: see Heisterbergk (1881), p. 9. See also Mommsen (1888[8]), p. 676; Rüpke (1990), p. 53.

146 See above, p. 102.

147 Liv. 40.42.12.

148 Liv. 41.13.4–5. On the position of Luna "on the other side" of the Apennine, Brizzi (1979), pp. 388–389.

149 A complete treatment of this problem is offered in Carlà (2015); here are summarized only the most relevant aspect concerning the topic of this book.

150 Hinard (1994), pp. 233–234.

pomerii proferendi (although Tacitus uses the word *mos*, making the juridical form of the regulation unclear)[151] did recognize the possibility of expanding the territory of the *Urbs* together with an expansion of the Roman State, though the exact definition of the latter was already problematic for the Romans. When the Emperor Claudius enlarged the *pomerium auctis populi Romani finibus* as the new *cippi* stated,[152] likely after his military expedition to Britannia,[153] he found disapproval and criticism among some sectors of Roman opinion, as related by Seneca: "the man I mentioned related that [...] Sulla was the last of the Romans who extended the *pomerium*, which in old times it was customary to extend after the acquisition of Italian, but never of provincial, territory".[154]

This connection of the *pomerium* with Italy has long been taken for granted, though not satisfactorily explained.[155] The idea that Italy, as the land of *vituli*,[156] should be connected with the oxen that draw the limits of the city is clearly preposterous. On the other hand, the religious exclusion of foreign cults from the *pomerium* is false, and the theory related by Seneca generally implies an idea of Italy that surely did not exist in archaic times.[157] Moreover, it must be underlined that no enlargements or movements of the *pomerium* – outside of that traditionally ascribed to Servius Tullius[158] and that which was undertaken by Sulla – are known. Further enlargements are attributed to Caesar and Augustus, though their historicity is not secure.[159]

151 Tac. *Ann*. 12.23. The word *ius* is used in the most systematic, but not unproblematic, treatment of the subject, Gell. 13.14. See Hinard (1994), p. 233.

152 *CIL* 6.1231 = 31537 = *ILS* 213.

153 This connection is not certain, and is based largely on the assumption that the Claudian arch on the *via Flaminia* (*ILS* 216 = *CIL* 6.40416) was also a part of the new *pomerium*. See Rodríguez-Almeida (1978/1980), pp. 201–202; Boatwright (1984), pp. 37–38.

154 Sen., *Brev*. 13.8: *idem narrabat [...] Sullam ultimum Romanorum protulisse pomerium, quod numquam provinciali, sed Italico agro adquisito proferre moris apud antiquos fuit*; transl. J.W. Basore. This passage has also been widely used to provide a precise dating of the composition of the *de brevitate vitae*. This discussion is absolutely marginal here: see L. Herrmann (1948); Giardina (1995). The identification of Seneca's pedant here is also of no importance. The most acceptable position is to admit that we are not able to recognize him. Nonetheless, it has been proposed that we should see in him Cornelius Valerianus or Pliny the Elder; see L. Herrmann (1948), pp. 226–227.

155 See e.g. Catalano (1961/1962), pp. 209–210; Catalano (1978), p. 534.

156 See pp. 98–99.

157 Lyasse (2005), p. 172.

158 Liv. 1.44.3–5.

159 The biggest problem is Seneca's information that Sulla was the last before Claudius to enlarge the *pomerium*, and that it was never before enlarged in consequence only of the acquisition of provincial territory; we should then think that Caesar's enlargement (Dio 43.50.1, information repeated at 44.49.2) had been intentionally forgotten. But there could be a connection – or even a confusion – with a Caesarian project *de urbe augenda*, referred to by Cicero in two letters to Atticus (Cic., *Att*. 13.20 and 33a), which consisted of deviating the river at the Milvian Bridge and of a huge building

It is therefore necessary to raise doubts not only about the possibility that the *pomerium* was moved in the middle Republic (which would in any case never have been enacted),[160] but, more in general, about the connection with Italy as opposed to other spatial concepts. In particular, it cannot be excluded that a *mos* – which only later (after Claudius, perhaps in correspondence with the regulation of the enlargement of the *pomerium* in the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*?)[161] became *ius* – simply referred to a general extension of Roman *fines* (the word used on the Claudian *termini* but also in Vespasian's *lex*),[162] and was thus subjected at different times to different interpretations. A connection between Rome and Italy could indeed be typical of the political language of the Late Republic, especially of Sulla, and it was during this period that the interpretation formulated by Seneca's erudite could have come into existence. M. Sordi convincingly proposed an original connection between *pomerium* and *ager Romanus*.[163] As already discussed, the *ager Romanus* was a juridical and sacral concept that was deeply connected with the genesis of the Italic institutional shape; the connection between Italy and *pomerium*, later used by Sulla (who could have based his enlargement on the pacification of Italy after the Social War and the extension of Roman citizenship throughout the entire peninsula),[164] would be born at this stage and have lasted until Claudius' reign.[165] The sources allow only

activity on the Campus Martius and at the Vatican: Detlefsen (1886), p. 513; Martorana (1978), pp. 92–93. Augustus' enlargement (Tac., *Ann*. 12.23; Dio 55.6.6) has been intended by Boatwright (1986), p. 14, with good arguments, as an invention of Claudius, who seems once more to be responsible for "a perhaps new but decidedly emphatic association of pomerial extensions with the expansion of Roman territory". On the non-historicity of this enlargement, see also Le Gall (1959), p. 51 (though his idea of a misunderstanding of the foundation of the Augustan regions as enlargement of the *pomerium* does not seem convincing; the regions did not have anything to do with the *pomerium*, and their external limits had even been left "open"); Martorana (1978), pp. 94–96; Syme (1978), pp. 133–134; Frézouls (1987), pp. 379–380; Giardina (1995), p. 131; Simonelli (2001), pp. 155–156. Ridley (2003), p. 82, is also against the idea that Augustus enlarged the *pomerium*, and explains it "as deriving from Claudius' search for false precedents", and "as a confusion with Augustus' organization of the *regiones* and *vici*". On the contrary, Richardson (2008), pp. 189–190, is fully convinced of the historicity of both enlargements. Oliver (1932); Ober (1982), pp. 317–318, also believed in the historicity of Augustus' enlargement, as Ørsted (1988), p. 134, and Wendt (2008), pp. 171–172. Detlefsen (1886), pp. 515–516, suggested a rather early enlargement, of the validity of which Augustus himself would later not be convinced. Labrousse (1937), p. 175, denies any movement of the pomerial line before Claudius. See also Carlà (2015), pp. 614–615.

160 Quilici (2006), p. 326. Lyasse (2005) thinks rather that no such regulation existed before the 1st century BCE and that the possibility of enlarging the *pomerium* was simply invented by Sulla.

161 *CIL* 6.31207.14–15 = *FIRA* I², 15.14–15. Detlefsen (1886), p. 519.

162 On the concept of *fines*, see Carlà-Uhink (2016), p. 231.

163 Sordi (1987), pp. 204–205; Richardson (2008), pp. 189–190.

164 Hinard (1994), pp. 234–235.

165 Sordi (1987), p. 211; Giardina (1995), pp. 123–124; Simonelli (2001), p. 155. It can perhaps be noted that, if this were really the case, the inclusion of Cisalpina in Italy might have been the reason for the Caesarian enlargement, but considering the complicated chronology of this reform, it could

a very tentative reconstruction, but it is possible that this connection between the "region Italy" and Rome, best identifiable in Sulla's time, was founded on a juridical and sacral level via the concept of *ager Romanus*. This is especially true if this was the time during which the *ager Romanus* was distinguished conceptually from the *ager Romanus antiquus*.

According to traditional interpretations, which date back to Mommsen, in particularly serious cases the Romans during this period began to issue laws that were also valid for all Italics (independent of the impossibility of understanding how widely these were effectively applied).[166] Among others, these laws included the *lex Sempronia* of 193 BCE, which applied to Italy the same interest rates practiced in Rome,[167] the *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BCE,[168] and the *lex Didia* of 143 BCE, which explicitly applied the *lex Fannia* of 161 BCE to Italy, since Italics were convinced that they were not bound by it.[169] Polybius could also synthetize that "all crimes committed in Italy requiring a public investigation, such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning, or wilful murder, are in the hands of the Senate. Besides, if any individual or state among the Italian allies requires a controversy to be settled, a penalty to be assessed, help or protection to be afforded, — all this is the province of the Senate".[170] This is confirmed by the events of 180 BCE, when a series of deaths connected to an epidemic raised the suspicion of poisoning; through a *senatus consultum*, the praetor G. Claudius obtained jurisdiction on all "murders" that took place within ten miles of Rome, while G. Maenius was given jurisdiction over those that happened further away, *per fora conciliabulaque*.[171] Polybius' description of the senatorial competences in the administration of justice is also confirmed by specific cases, whose exceptional nature does not diminish the importance of the established general rule of a Roman right of intervention: in 198 BCE, the risk of an imminent slave revolt required the direct intervention of the Roman praetor in Setia,

also explain a "duplication" in a Caesarian and an Augustan enlargement: see Carlà (2015), p. 614. However, this must remain within the field of pure hypotheses.

166 Badian (1958), pp. 145–146; Laffi (1990), pp. 291–293; Edmonson (1993), pp. 169–175; De Libero (1994), pp. 306–310; Spagnuolo Vigorita (1996), pp. 77–78; Hantos (1998), pp. 110–112. Of course, not all Roman laws would have also been valid for the allies; it is well known that the *lex Oppia* did not apply to allies and Latins: Liv. 34.7.5. This stronger intervention of Rome in the internal affairs of Italic communities has been interpreted as a consequence of the Second Punic War and of the necessity, on the Roman side, of avoiding possible future defections: Laffi (1990), pp. 287–293.

167 Liv. 35.7.2–5. See Göhler (1939), pp. 53–54, with excessively moralistic undertones.

168 Liv. 39.14.7: *per totam Italiam edicta mitti*; 39.18.7: *...ut omnia Bacchanalia Romae primum, deinde per totam Italiam diruerent*. See McDonald (1944), pp. 27–32; Sherwin-White (1973[2]), p. 128; Laffi (1990), pp. 287–290; Edmonson (1993), pp. 166–167.

169 Macr., *Sat*. 3.17.6. See Gabba (1985), p. 42; Keaveney (1987), pp. 29–30; De Libero (1994), pp. 309–310.

170 Polyb. 6.13.4–5; transl. E.S. Schuckburgh.

171 Liv. 40.37.4; 40.43.2–3.

Norba, Circeii, and Praeneste,[172] and exceptional tribunals could also intervene as *quaestiones extraordinariae* in the internal affairs of Italic communities.[173]

However, excluding the *lex Sempronia* (which clearly "prescribed that transactions between Roman citizens and Italians in the future should be conducted according to Roman rules"),[174] in recent years doubt has sometimes been cast as to whether the Romans in the 2nd century BCE could really produce laws which also had validity among the allies.[175] The sources confirm that, at least formally, the allies had to accept, through the institute of *fundus fieri*, the adoption in their community of laws voted on in Rome,[176] independent of the possibility that this happened under stronger or weaker constrictions from Rome.[177] It has also been suggested that the *fundus fieri* could have been an option which had to be foreseen explicitly in each Roman law, thus excluding an automatic mechanism for the acceptance of Roman legislation.[178] It has been claimed (by Harris and Galsterer first, and Mouritsen later on) that the use of the word *Italia* in these legal texts – which cannot be considered purely a later re-elaboration of the sources, as the epigraphic material attests – indicates not the entire peninsula.[179]

Juristically, indeed, it has been claimed that not the entire territory of the peninsula qualified as *Italia*, but only the parts recognized as *ager Romanus*, i.e. Rome, the Roman colonies, and the entire extension of *ager publicus*. But this does not change the significance of the topic discussed here, since *ager Romanus* could exist only in Italy, which was territorially defined as extending over the Apennine and within the "border" recognized in the Alps, and clearly distinguished from the provinces. Nonetheless, this problem deserves further attention, not in connection with

172 Liv. 32.26.7–8.

173 Liv. 39.41.5; Cic., *Brut*. 85–88 refers to the process held in Rome following a series of murders of "famous persons" in the Sila in 138 BCE. See Galsterer (1976), pp. 118–119, on the general effect of Roman juridical interventions in "weakening" the local institutions. See also McDonald (1944), pp. 14–16, explaining these interventions of Rome with a reaction to "conspiracy".

174 Mouritsen (1998), p. 49. See also Harris (1972), pp. 640–642, and Galsterer (1976), pp. 131–132, who also reduces the validity of the *lex Sempronia* to processes held in front of Roman tribunals, but admits a possible extension to the entire "geographical" Italy for the *lex Furia de sponsu*.

175 Harris (1972), pp. 642–645.

176 Cic., *Balb*. 21–22. The practice of *fundus fieri* could have contributed to an ever stronger assimilation of laws and juridical practices; however, it is not possible to investigate this more fully due to the scarcity of sources. On this juridical mechanism, see Albanese (1973); Humbert (1978), pp. 296–299; Capogrossi Colognesi (2000), pp. 148–153.

177 Gabba (1985), p. 42. However, this procedure does not imply either the construction from above of an Italic homogeneity by Rome or an explicit will of assimilation, considering that the individual cases could have been instrumentally discussed, and thus does not deserve further attention here. See Bispham (2007a), pp. 187–189.

178 Albanese (1973), pp. 5–7.

179 Harris (1971), pp. 111–112; Galsterer (1976), pp. 37–41; Mouritsen (1998), pp. 45–48, particularly insists on the case of the Bacchanalia, on which see n. 181; Lapyrionok (2012), pp. 76–81.

the definition of the *ager Romanus* and of "sacral Italy", but with the eventual application of Roman law throughout the rest of Italy, a central point in the genesis of common institutions. Laws applied to the entirety of Italy would therefore only interest the Roman communities (colonies, *municipia*) and the *ager publicus*. In addition to the geographical meaning of the term, which indicates the entire extension of Italy to the Alps, by the 2nd century BCE the word Italy would thus also have this juridical "narrower" (or more specific) one.[180]

With due consideration of Polybius' statement, this position is not entirely acceptable, and is surely not valid for every specific law and provision, particularly not with regard to the repression of the Bacchanalia, which counted (as all sources state) as conspiracy.[181] The use of the expression *terra Italia* in the *lex Acilia de repetundis* confirms this, as it not only introduces specific rules for the Italic communities which distinguish them from the provinces, but also surely refers to the Italic allies, whose possibility of denouncing Roman magistrates is discussed in the text.[182] In the *lex agraria* of 111 BCE the notion of *terra Italia* is also opposed to the prov-

180 Galsterer (1976), pp. 39–40. See also Bleicken (1990), pp. 113–115; but his conclusion that the term *Italici* in this period indicated only the Romans living on the *ager Romanus* cannot be accepted. Bispham (2007a), pp. 114–115, demonstrates without doubt that this is not valid for the definition of Italy presented by Polybius (as Mouritsen thought): the "geographic" concept of Italy is certainly not limited only to the *ager Romanus*. See also below, pp. 287-293.

181 See Bispham (2007a), pp. 91–95 and 116–123. Mouritsen (1998), pp. 45–48, also applies his theory to this measure, based largely on the idea that Tiriolo, where the inscription containing the *senatus consultum* was found, is in an area which, after the Second Punic War at the latest, almost entirely consisted of *ager publicus*. But the idea that this specific locality was *ager publicus* risks creating a circular argument, since it is derived largely from the fact that the inscription with the text of the law was found there (see Brunt (1981²), p. 281). Indeed, the text quotes *foideratei*, who have been identified either as local inhabitants, and therefore would have been Italic allies (De Cazanove (2000a)), or as initiates to the Bacchic cult. Costabile (1984), pp. 93–96, holds that Tiriolo was located in the territory of the Latin colony of Vibo Valentia; De Cazanove (2000a) agrees on this specific point, although the two disagree on the interpretation of the *foideratei*. This would rather imply that the Roman Senate could and did produce laws also for the allied communities, but De Cazanove surprisingly concludes, in accordance with Mouritsen, that only annexed territories, to which he adds Latin communities, were touched by Roman legislation in this particular case. *Contra* Mouritsen, the arguments by Laffi (1980), p. 183, are still valid; in support of this opinion should be mentioned that the last part of the repression took place in Apulia, where a praetor was sent with this explicit purpose (Liv. 39.41.6–7). The text of the law additionally makes clear that it applied not only to Roman citizens, since *Bacas vir nequis adiese velet ceivis Romanus neve nominus Latini neve socium quisquam*. See also Hantos (1983), pp. 180–181; Costabile (1984), pp. 96–99; De Libero (1994), pp. 306–307; Cébeillac-Gervasoni (2008), pp. 47–48; Kendall (2013), p. 128.

182 Crawford (1996), vol. 1, n. 1, p. 68, l. 31; see Lintott (1992), p. 22. The main difference between Italy and the provinces consists of the fact that after the denunciation, the praetor organized the collection of evidence in Italy, while accusers coming from the provinces were probably meant to produce the complete evidence themselves.

inces, not to the allied communities.[183] But even if Galsterer's and Mouritsen's position were accepted, these juridical structures would have important consequences for the "birth of Italy". The terminological choice of the Roman government, indicating Roman territory with a name that geographically identified without doubt the entire peninsula, would have shown not only a stronger identification of *ager Romanus* and Italy (dating, as has been previously noted, at least to 210 BCE) but also made absolutely clear that the ideological perspective was that of complete control over the peninsula. It is also generally clear, independent of the evaluation of single measures, that "Roman legislation became more widely diffused in the period of the Gracchi" (and even earlier).[184]

In this context, it should not be forgotten – aside from the broad discussion on the identification of the law and its content, which are not particularly relevant here – that the so-called *Tabula Bantina* shows on one side the Latin text of a Roman law (possibly the *lex Appuleia agraria* of 100 BCE).[185] This was published, at the end of the 2nd century, in public view in the town of Bantia, or eventually in the Latin colony of Venusia.[186] The procedure of *fundus fieri* could, of course, underlie this publication, but the fact in itself is meaningful in relation to the diffusion of Roman law in local communities before the Social War.

All of which serves to clarify that the Romans, from their centralistic perspective, saw (or better represented) Italy as a united region over which they were exercising their authority and hegemony. At stake, therefore, was not the good will of the Italics to be integrated into the Roman State, but rather the Roman perception of the peninsula as an area under their control; up to the point that, independent of what this could concretely mean from a juridical point of view, they could without hesitation define *tota Italia* as the field where their laws applied.[187] The definition of Italy does not thus seem to have been contradictory, at least since the aftermath of the Second Punic War, and it does not seem necessary to conclude that three competitive definitions of the region existed at that time – one geographic, one juridical, and one political.[188] The later creation of tension between a geographic and an administrative definition, as has been explained, is connected only to the creation of the province of Cisalpina around 100 BCE.

Nor should it be neglected that in this period we also have the first, if sporadic, examples of direct Roman interference in the life of Italic communities, independent

183 Lintott (1992), p. 50.
184 Bispham (2007a), p. 50.
185 Crawford (1996), pp. 195–197.
186 *CIL* 1^2.197 = *CIL* 9.416 = Crawford (1996), vol. 1, n. 7.
187 According to Mouritsen (1998), pp. 47 and 50, in this expression the use of *tota* should be understood as rhetorical or later influenced by Augustan propaganda.
188 Letta (1984), p. 418.

of the eventual application of the aforementioned laws.[189] For example, groups of Achaeans were settled in Etruria by a Roman decree (167 BCE) and the king Gentius was sent *ex senatus consulto* first to Spoleto (although the town still had the chance to refuse) and then to Iguvium.[190] The Romans also intervened directly in local administration by conceding the *vacatio militiae* to single citizens of another community, a practice attested since 216 BCE.[191]

The problem is further complicated by the role of the *praefecturae* that were instituted on Italic territory. Prefects were sent to the different areas of the peninsula and appear to have resided in centers of varying status. They appear to have been installed unsystematically in colonies or *municipia*, with which the prefectures in part overlap, but also in "the unorganized area which had an administrative center providing a market and a judicial center for the Romans who settled far from Rome".[192] According to Festus, the *prefecturae* were divided into two categories, the first concentrated only in Campania, where the prefects were elected,[193] while in the second the prefects were sent directly from Rome by the urban praetor. There justice was administered (even if the most important cases were presumably deferred to Rome)[194] and markets were held.[195] The *prefecturae* did not have further magistrates of their own:[196]

> *Praefecturae eae appellabantur in Italia, in quibus et ius dicebatur, et nundinae agebantur; et erat quaedam earum R. P., neque tamen magistratus suos habebant. In † qua his † legibus praefecti mittebantur quotannis qui ius dicerent. Quarum generum fuerunt duo: alterum, in quas solebant ire praefecti quattuor † viginti sex virum nu pro † populi suffragio creati erant, in haec oppida: Capuam, Cumas, Casilinum, Volturnum, Liternum, Puteolos, Acerras, Suessulam, Atellam, Calatium: alterum, in quas ibant, quos praetor urbanus quotannis in quaeque loca miserat legibus, ut Fundos, Formias, Caere, Venafrum, Allifas, Privernum, Anagniam, Frusinonem, Reate,*[197] *Saturniam, Nursiam, Arpinum, aliaque conplura.*[198]

189 Harris (1971), p. 110.

190 Paus. 7.10.11; Liv. 45.43.9. See Galsterer (1976), pp. 108–109, for other similar episodes, including the forced stay of the Arvernian king Bituitus in Alba (Liv., *Per*. 61.6).

191 Liv. 23.19.20. See Hantos (1998), pp. 106–107.

192 Bispham (2007a), pp. 95–100. P.C. Knapp (1980), pp. 34–35, provides the complete list.

193 This could represent a later phase, in which at least some communities elected their own prefects rather than receiving them from Rome, though it was always clear that their power did not derive from the local institutions, but from the Roman authorities: see Humbert (1978), p. 231 (specifically on the case of Peltuinum); p. 249 (Casinum).

194 P.C. Knapp (1980), p. 29.

195 P.C. Knapp (1980), pp. 16–17.

196 Not all prefectures lacked their own institutions, as underlined by P.C. Knapp (1980), pp. 17–21, and Festus' statement must therefore be perceived as a mistake or a generalization of something characterizing only a part of the *praefecturae*.

197 See also Val. Max. 1.8.1b.

198 Fest., *s.v. praefecturae* 262 Lindsay.

Festus' list is not complete, as the author himself admits with *aliaque conplura*; other *praefecturae* are known through inscriptions, or other literary sources, such as the lesser defined prefectures of Picenum mentioned by Caesar,[199] and a *praefectura Fulginatis* mentioned by Cicero.[200] A prefecture in Statonia is attested by Vitruvius, even if it has been supposed that this was simply the product of a later move from Saturnia.[201] This theory was developed on the basis of the supposed geographical proximity of the two towns; however, the identification of Statonia with Pitigliano is far from certain, and more recently it has been proposed, following new epigraphic finds, that it was located in the territory of present-day Bomarzo.[202]

This institution surely did not replace the local magistrates, as earlier scholarship thought.[203] On the contrary, local magistracies continued to operate alongside the prefects. Galsterer believed, together with many other authors, that prefects were responsible only for administering justice among Roman citizens resident in the territory, and that they would not have held any authority over the citizens of the local communities.[204] This is far too mechanical and radical: while it must be held that the prefects were representatives of the *praetor urbanus*, it is nonetheless possible to think that they could also have different responsibilities and different authority, both according to the areas in which they were residing and to the local political institutions.[205] In particular Capua, upon losing its status as a town in 211 BCE, was replaced by the *praefectura*, which surely also overtook the administration of local issues,[206] having remained the only clearly recognizable institution within the town.[207] Additionally, it seems that at least in certain cases, *praefecti* were chosen who were already familiar with the areas to which they were sent; this reveals

199 Caes., *Bell. Civ*. 1.15. See Rudolph (1935), pp. 174–176; P.C. Knapp (1980), p. 23.

200 Cic., *Varen*., Fr. 4 Crawford. Cic., *Planc*. 19 and *CIL* 10.2182 add to the list also Atina and Alfedena: Scopacasa (2015), pp. 147–148.

201 Vitr. 2.7.3: see P.C. Knapp (1980), p. 34.

202 Stanco (1994).

203 Beloch (1880), pp. 132–134; Rudolph (1935), pp. 231–232, who thinks that the prefects replaced the local magistrates when the communities were promoted to full citizenship; Kahrstedt (1959), pp. 174–175; Toynbee (1965), vol. 1, pp. 235–249, claims that they were created either where "in dissolving a local community's corporate personality Rome was creating an administrative vacuum which she had to file" or in enfranchised communities to help the introduction of Roman law, and they overtook part of the responsibilities previously held by local magistrates; Hantos (1983), pp. 114–116.

204 Galsterer (1976), pp. 29–31; already in this direction, at least partially, Bernardi (1938), pp. 274–275.

205 Laffi (1980), pp. 176–177. See also already Kiene (1845), pp. 54–91.

206 Sherwin-White (1973[2]), pp. 44–45, thus argues for a chronological evolution; from the end of the 3rd century BCE, the *praefecti* would have undertaken an ever-greater role in local politics and a concrete control of local communities.

207 Liv. 26.16.10; Vell. 2.44.4. See Humbert (1978), pp. 366–372. Contra Rudolph (1935), p. 175; Hantos (1983), p. 115, according to whom the *praefectura* would have been founded only in 210 BCE.

the political need for figures able to interact with the local population, as in the case of Genucius Clepsina, of Etruscan descent, possibly the first *praefectus* of Caere after the conquest of 273 BCE.[208]

When the *praefectura* is superimposed on a political reality, it does not replace it, and the local institutions continue to exist with their magistrates and rules; the prefect then simply overtakes a part of the jurisdictional activity on the territory assigned to him and, perhaps, the functions connected to the census (only of the Roman citizens?).[209] The prefect's jurisdiction and the local autonomy were in any case not incompatible, and kept separate.[210] Nonetheless, the impact of these structures on the daily life of the local population should not be underestimated.

Even if Galsterer were correct, indeed, by this time Roman officials were scattered around the territory of the peninsula, exercising Roman authority and administering Roman justice. This shows once again that, from a Roman centralistic perspective, the entire peninsula needed (and was subject to) Roman administration. The *praefecturae* were the first administrative instrument through which the Romans organized the Italic territory, identifying in the different regions of central Italy (where the first prefectures were instituted), "central places" relevant for markets and the administration of justice, thus shaping the spatial organization of the peninsula.[211] The famous *tessera hospitalis* from Fundi, likely dating to the first half of the 2nd century BCE,[212] makes clear that the *praefectura* was conceived of as an entity composed by a specific and unitary group of persons, in this case awarding *hospitium* to Tiberius Claudius; it was therefore perceived as a territory with inhabitants. The first prefects, as stated by Livy,[213] seem to have been sent to Campania in 318 BCE, though it is once again in the latter part of the 3rd century and the first half of the 2nd that the system of *praefecti* became widespread across the peninsula and acquired the territorial meaning relevant for the purposes of this work.

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208 M. Torelli (2000), pp. 150–155 and 157; Bandelli (2002), pp. 69–70.

209 Humbert (1978), pp. 356–364, particularly connects the institution of the *praefectura* with citizenship *sine suffragio*; Brunt (1981^2), pp. 530–531.

210 Humbert (1978), p. 363.

211 P.C. Knapp (1980), p. 14: "These prefects provided the only consistent contact, in many cases, between Rome and her *ager* throughout Italy". See also Rudolph (1935), pp. 166–167; Brunt (1981^2), pp. 531–532.

212 *CIL* 1^2.611 = *CIL* 10.06231 = *ILS* 6093 = *ILLRP* 1068. See Humbert (1978), pp. 393–399; Frei Stolba (1986); see Bispham (2007a), pp. 97–99, on the overlapping of a *praefectura* and a *municipium* in Fundi, which received the citizenship *optimo iure* in 188 BCE.

213 Liv. 9.20.5. This information is held to be false by part of the literature (as Bernardi (1938), pp. 246–247; Toynbee (1965), vol. 1, pp. 243–246), leaning instead on Vell. 2.44.4, according to whom the Capuan prefecture was founded in 211 BCE. There seems nonetheless to be no need to reject Livy's information; even if this prefecture should be postdated, the first one would have nevertheless been founded not much later, i.e. in 306–305 BCE in Anagni according to Toynbee.

All of which does not mean that the Romans developed and put into place a preconceived plan of homologation for the entire peninsula, as this is impossible to demonstrate; many interventions can be explained as – from the point of view of the *Urbs* – a way of acting "realpolitisch" to its own advantage. What is nonetheless clear is that such developments in the juridical and institutional sphere did, over time, bring about the perception of a unity of Italy under Rome. There is thus an ever-clearer awareness, from the Roman side, of the form of control exercised on Italy and of the "administrative possibilities" that were connected with the "region" on its way to institutionalization. It is at this point that the clear separation between Italy and the provinces comes into being. However, this issue would remain for a long time, at least until the end of the Republic and the time of Augustus, when the de-provincialization of Cisalpina and the division of Italy into eleven Augustan regions would be directly connected to the necessity and/or possibility of defining the institutional structure of Italy in its "final" form.[214]

The Army

A series of other institutions were of great relevance in shaping Italy as an institutionalized region, as they defined the specificity of Italy from the Roman perspective in comparison to the rest of the conquered territories and allied communities. Such institutions had important consequences in shaping the idea of an "Italic community" and therefore reinforcing – primarily in Roman minds – the idea of a recognizable "Italicness". In spite of potential similarities with modern institutions used in the processes of nation-building (schools, the army, bureaucracy), these cannot be understood in the same way, as the eventual Italic regional identity never assumed the character of "nationalism" as is understood in the modern sense, coexisting as it did with alternative forms of identity and juridical forms of citizenship incompatible with modern national affiliation. In particular, it is impossible to understand whether such institutions were intentionally structured from the very beginning with the aim of reinforcing regional identity (as in the aforementioned modern examples), or whether this was simply a consequence of practical decisions, which perhaps aimed to clarify "what was Italy", but not consciously contribute to the development of new forms of identity. The only certainty is that the existence of these practices and institutions ultimately helped to make the Italic form ever stronger, and to increase the perception of the peninsula as a distinct territory characterized by a strong internal cohesion and a clear differentiation from the rest of the (Roman) world.

214 Aug., *Res Gest.* 16.1. See below, pp. 267–276.

From this perspective, the army must be considered a particularly relevant institution, one that has substantially contributed to the institutionalization of Italy as a region, as well as to the creation of an Italic identity. Within older literature, this system has been highlighted as the principal, distinct characteristic of the Italic alliances in comparison to the provincial administration, through what German historiography used to call a *Wehrgenossenschaft*.[215] The recruiting systems of Republican Rome are not particularly easy to reconstruct,[216] though some points can be held as fact, based mostly on Polybius' description. While Rome, the Roman colonies, and the *municipia* supplied the legionaries, the Italic allies and the Latins were requested to contribute further soldiers to Rome for military campaigns.[217] This nevertheless occurred differently from other "client states" or the provinces (the recruitment of the Italics cannot be conflated with the provincial *auxilia* before the Augustan reform; also the search for support from local communities is entirely different, for example in Spain during the Second Punic War);[218] Polybius makes this clear when he opposes the Aetolian troops fighting together with the Romans and

215 Beloch (1880), pp. 201–216 (using the term *Eidgenossenschaft*); Horn (1930), pp. 82–83; Dahlheim (1968), p. 125. See also Galsterer (1976), pp. 105–108, who does not adopt this terminology.

216 See Keppie (1984), pp. 14–56; Cornell (1995a), pp. 192–194; Dobson (2008), pp. 47–66, among others, for possible reconstructions. On the Roman army before the Middle Republic, see Forsythe (2007). On the existence of *sodalitates* and "warlords", see below, pp. 238–239.

217 Mouritsen (1998), p. 39–40.

218 Dobson (2008), pp. 53–54. Fest., *s.v. auxiliares* 16 Lindsay consequently defines the *auxiliares* as *in bello socii Romanorum exterarum nationum*. The Ligurians seem to appear as *auxilia*, and therefore as non-Italic allies, in the course of the Jugurthine War. Sall., *Iug*. 93.2 speaks of a Ligurian *ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarious*, which led Erdkamp (2007), p. 65, to believe that "the Ligurian cohorts were not part of the 'normal' allied infantry consisting of *socii ac nomen Latinum*". But the word *cohors* applies in this period rather more to the Romans and the Italic allies (*cohors Paeligna*: 105.2; this is also interpreted by Erdkamp (2007), pp. 65–66, as an auxiliary troop, as they were lightly-armed – but nothing says that lightly-armed *velites* had by that moment completely disappeared from allied troops); Ligurian troops are defined in this way in other parts of the work (38.6; 100.2), and on one occasion (77.4) they are mentioned with their *praefectus* (*sociorum*). Even if *cohors* could have been the term generally used for the allies (in its etymological meaning of "those corralled together"), it lacked the formal structure and precise meaning it had in the 1st century BCE: Rawlings (2007), pp. 52–53. It seems, therefore, necessary to suppose that either Sallust used the word *auxiliarius* here in a non-technical way, or that this Ligurian had joined auxiliary forces as a mercenary, thus he was not recruited with other people from his same region according to the *formula togatorum*, a possibility hinted at by Erdkamp (2007), p. 66, for the *Paeligna cohors*. The first possibility seems the more realistic, especially considering that other sources also define Italic troops recruited according to the *formula togatorum auxilia*: e.g. Liv. 22.27.11. Liv. 41.5.9 also refers to auxiliary troops from Gallia Cisalpina. Sallust is always ready to emphasize the presence of Italics among the Roman troops; see *Iug*. 38.6 (again a Ligurian *cohors*); 43.4; 67.3; 69.4 (T. Turpilius Silanus, a Latin citizen who was *praefectus oppidi*); 77.4 (again four Ligurian *cohortes*); 100.2 (again Ligurian cohorts).

the group of the "Italics" (including the Romans).[219] The former soldiers are defined by Polybius as ἀλλοφύλοι,[220] thus linguistically insisting on the consanguinity of the latter.

It is important to note that the recruitment of the allies did not change with the Marian reform of 107 BCE, but continued along the same lines until the Social War.[221] The concrete practice of recruitment, which only applied to Italy, was regulated according to the so-called *formula togatorum*, a term attested twice in the agrarian law of 111 BCE (*socii nominisve Latini, quibus ex formula togatorum milites in terra Italia inperare solent*). The term is relevant, as it subsumes the Italic communities in a definition of *togati* which, as will be shown in the next chapter, was constructed as synonymous with "Italic" and therefore bore an idea of ethnic identity.[222] Through this institution, the Italic contribution to Roman warfare was also formally separated by other contributions from *socii* and *amici*.

This is not the time to enter into a broad discussion of this *formula*, of the concrete recruitment system; in every *foedus* with each Italic community and in the *lex* of every Latin colony there were likely specific details concerning the military engagement under Roman command.[223] It is, however, a complicated problem that needs urgent reevaluation, since the last monograph dedicated to a systematic research of these aspects is Ilari's *Gli Italici nelle strutture militari romane*, published in 1974. Nor will the problem of annual warfare and its political potential to "reabsorb" possible tensions by keeping the allies "busy" be considered here.[224]

It is much more important, from the perspective proposed here, to attempt to understand the extent of Roman and Italic cooperation during military actions and the potentially "unifying" function that this joint military service could have. The Romans seem first of all to have been aware of these consequences of military service: Livy attributes to Tarquinius Priscus, when he reformed the army mixing the maniples of Romans and Latins, the explicit aim of subduing the Latin "identity" by taking away their own general, commands, and *insignia*.[225] Even if the historical organization of the army in the 2nd century BCE is not a complete parallel of this Livian description (the Italics always had their own commanders), and cannot in any case be taken as a hint of the possible Roman intention to accelerate the ho-

219 Polyb. 18.19.11: see below, pp. 287–288.
220 Polyb. 6.31.9.
221 Gabba (1973), p. 37; Rich (1983), p. 329; Keppie (1984), pp. 69–70.
222 See below, p. 305. This aspect was already highlighted by Horn (1930), p. 86; and, with some exaggeration, by Göhler (1939), pp. 31–32.
223 See Toynbee (1965), vol. 1, pp. 424–437; Ilari (1974), pp. 57–85; Brunt (1981[2]), pp. 545–548; Baronowski (1984); Lo Cascio (1991); Rawlings (2007), pp. 51–53. On the allies in the Republican army, see also Fraccaro (1975), pp. 99–103.
224 So Oakley (1993), pp. 16–18. On annual fighting, see also Raaflaub (1996), p. 296.
225 Liv. 1.52.6.

mogenization of Italy through the army, it is still important to note that such an effect was understood and seen as possible.[226]

While proceeding to the recruitment of the Roman soldiers, as Polybius, likely describing the army in the period of the Second Punic War,[227] writes, "at the same time the consuls send orders to the magistrates of the allied cities in Italy, from which they determine that allied troops are to serve: declaring the number required, and the day and place at which the men selected must appear. The cities then enrol their troops with much the same ceremonies as to the selection and administration of the oath, and appoint a commander and a paymaster".[228]

Having to serve in the Roman army became an important factor of change for the Italic communities, which were required (as Bradley has described) to develop adequate administrative structures to meet the Roman recruitment expectations, while they were also led to fight together for a common cause.[229] This aspect cannot be underestimated, even if one should avoid falling back into the "traditional" models of the Romanization of Italy, according to which the local leaders, by fighting with the Romans, had "undergone a psychological change and a heightening of consciousness" that ultimately led them to aspire almost automatically to Roman citizenship.[230] It is true that the Romans and the allies were not mixed together in formation: the Italics had their own units, which were distinguished from those of the Romans,[231] and this would remain even after the Social War, as made clear by the composition of troops during the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey.[232] Nonetheless, having once again noted that "integration" does not automatically mean abandoning and forgetting previous identities,[233] it must be recognized that "the act of fighting together, Roman and ally against enemy, must have engendered feelings of unity on both sides: the effects of this on the Roman side were manifested in Cato's *Origines*, written after the Second Punic War, in which he explored the origins of Italian cities as well as those of Rome".[234] Additionally, as has

226 See Pfeilschifter (2007), pp. 27–28, who insists that "the army had to cope with conflicting political and military requirements", since in the army a common identity and a strong integration had to be achieved while simultaneously underlining Roman superiority.

227 Dobson (2008), pp. 54–55. See also Brunt (1981[2]), pp. 625–634.

228 Polyb. 6.21; transl. E.S. Schuckburg. See Ilari (1974), pp. 87–91; Keppie (1984), pp. 21–23.

229 Giardina (1994), p. 48, who claims that this process was not entirely complete; Bradley (2000a), p. 196.

230 Keaveney (1987), p. 12.

231 Giardina (1994), p. 48; Jehne (2006), pp. 244–245; Pfeilschifter (2007), pp. 30–32, also underlines these differences in origin. On the organization of the Italic contingent, see Ilari (1974), pp. 119–146.

232 Caes., *BC* 2.34: *cohortes Marrucinorum*.

233 Rosenstein (2012), pp. 101–102.

234 Bradley (2000a), p. 199. See also Gabba (1973), pp. 70–71; McMullen (1984), pp. 445–446; Schlange-Schöningen (2006), pp. 163–164.

been recently emphasized, the *extraordinarii*, which were drawn from all allied troops, lived and fought together alongside the Romans. This implies a high level of integration which, perhaps unsurprisingly, was attained among the elites, since the cavalry was absolutely preponderant in these troops: "it is quite possible that military service in the *extraordinarii* provided a means by which social links may be established or cemented between young men of the leading families of the allied communities of Italy".[235]

The army was conceived as a mixture of people from not only different social and economic levels, but also varying geographical provenance: "the army could not be split by regional divisions or clan loyalties", and could therefore function as a powerful and important integration factor.[236] A fragment from Diodorus Siculus' work concerning the Social War represents this perfectly; even if its historicity is doubtful, it reveals the widespread idea of a sense of belonging to a community that was mediated through the army. As Diodorus notes, when the Roman troops met those of the Marsi, Marius and the Marsic commander Pompaedius recognized each other, as did many of the soldiers on both sides. Instead of coming to battle, "the soldiers on both sides detected many personal friends, refreshed their memory of not a few former comrades in arms, and identified numerous relatives and kinsmen, that is to say, men whom the law governing intermarriage had united in this kind of friendly tie".[237] Even if such episodes of recognition and dialogue belong to the repertoire of motives regarding the Social War (which aimed to demonstrate the character of "civil war" between populations connected to each other and historically destined to belong together),[238] we must nonetheless take into account that part of this "fraternity" had been shaped, as Diodorus makes clear by referring to the soldiers on different sides as συστρατιώται, by common service in the army.[239]

"Service in the Roman army, even in national units, must also have encouraged some sort of identification with Rome. The language of communication between ethnic Italian units and their Roman commanders [the *praefecti sociorum*],[240] and

235 Patterson (2012), pp. 217–218. See Toynbee (1965), vol. 1, p. 107.

236 Cornell (1995a), p. 194.

237 Diod. Sic. 37.15; transl. F.R. Walton. On marriages, see below pp. 243–246.

238 Cicero attests to having personally taken part in such an episode, as Pompeius Strabo conferred in front of the armies with the Marsic leader Publius Vettius Scato (Cic., *Phil.* 12.27). The former asked the latter how he should see him, and this was answered "guest-friend by my choosing, enemy by necessity" (*voluntate hospitem, necessitate hostem*). On this episode, see pp. 332–333.

239 On the role of the legions as closed societies and on the creation inside them of affective bonds, see McMullen (1984) and Haynes (1999) – but only on the imperial period.

240 As mentioned in Liv. 33.36.5. See Pfeilschifter (2007), p. 33; Dobson (2008), pp. 52–53. Pfeilschifter (2007), pp. 34–35, rightly insists that inside the cohorts of *extraordinarii*, which were ethnically mixed, the language used to communicate must have been Latin; however, this does not reduce the integration potential, since not only men who knew Latin were chosen (or even mostly

between these units themselves, was surely Latin"[241] – though this leaves aside the fact that Latins (and thus colonists of Latin colonies) were also militating together with the other Italic allies. In an anecdote related by Valerius Maximus, during the Second Punic War Fabius Maximus personally deals with the "correction" of two soldiers of his army, one from Nola, the other a Lucanian.[242]

We should also not neglect the possibility that the primary aim for the Romans could have been not to develop a sense of community between themselves and the Italic peoples, but rather among the Italics themselves.[243] In general, it should be underlined that the allies must have developed among themselves a sense of unity and "comradeship", under a form of self-ascription that Dench called "a vast umbrella concept".[244] This was particularly valid in the 2nd century BCE, when allied forces operated independently of Roman legions;[245] these forces were composed of soldiers who came from different parts of the peninsula, were settled together in winter quarters and then moved together on expedition.

Finally, it should be remembered that the Romans decided how the units of the allies were organized, and thus created new groups or strengthened existing ones, which could later be perceived as ethnic communities.[246] A fragment by Ennius is meaningful, as while writing about the war against Hannibal, he introduces togeth-

Latin colonists). On the contrary, this fact demonstrates, once again, how wide and diffused the possibilities of communication were.

241 Bradley (2000a), p. 199. The language inside the single units was certainly not Latin (Jehne (2006), pp. 245–246); nonetheless, Wallace-Hadrill (2008), pp. 82–96, has convincingly demonstrated that bilingualism, when not trilingualism, was widespread in Italy during the 2nd-century BCE, even among the lower social strata; service in the army was, in fact, one of the factors which caused the diffusion of the knowledge of Latin across the entire peninsula. See also Jefferson (2012), pp. 313–316. For example, Livy refers to the mutiny in Spain which exploded at the false news that Scipio Africanus was dead (Liv. 28.24–29). The leaders of the rebellion were two Italic allies, C. Albius from Cales and the Umbrian C. Atrus. Livy explicitly states that these men were simple soldiers (*milites gregarii*: Liv. 28.24.13), but it is impossible to assume that they could not speak Latin, if they managed to take command of the rebels. Rosenstein (2012), pp. 91–93 and 100, has not only argued that the immediate integration of the Italics into the legions following the Social War would have been impossible had they not understood Latin (although he also admits the possibility, which seems less convincing, of "Latin courses" taught to the recruits in the 1st century BCE), but he also made clear how necessary a *lingua franca*, which must have been Latin, would have been in a Roman camp.

242 Val. Max. 7.3.7. The episode of the Nolan soldier is referred also by Plut., *Fab. Max.* 20.2–3, though he defines him simply as an "allied soldier", named Marsus. See also *Vir. Ill.* 43.5.

243 That this contact and communication between different allied communities indeed took place is admitted by Jehne (2006), pp. 248–249.

244 Dench (2005), p. 124.

245 Dobson (2008), p. 58.

246 This also reinforced the sense of belonging to a group or "region" in comparison with the identity connected to a single town; on which see Bradley (1997), p. 58.

er *Marsa manus, Paeligna cohors, Vestina virum vis.*[247] Livy, when dealing with the Third Macedonian War, also introduces two cohorts, one *Marrucina* and one *Paeligna*,[248] next to two *turmae Samnitium equitum*, commanded by a legatus Marcus Sergius Silus. Another group was under the command of Gaius Cluvius and formed by cohorts from Firmum, the Vestini and Cremona as by the *turmae equitum* from Placentia and Aesernia, thus mixing soldiers from Latin colonies with Italic allies.[249] None of this signifies that the army was an incredible "vehicle of Romanization"; however, as an institution it surely helped to develop the sense of Italy as a region composed of different groups that shared particular qualities and was therefore differentiated from the other groups "outside Italy". It should also not be neglected that, as Jehne has noted, the legions were also composed of Romans that came not only from the *Urbs* and its immediate surroundings, but also from Roman colonies and, in general, areas of *ager Romanus* in the entire peninsula.[250] These circumstances likely worked together with the sacred and juridical regulations previously discussed to consolidate the image of the peninsula as a "region", also within the smaller group of the Roman citizens.

This was not simply caused by fighting on the same side in the same wars, a situation that occurred with great intensity and regularity, since during the Republican period the temple of Janus was closed only once, in 235 BCE, and adult males spent a long time in the army.[251] Polybius once again informs us of details that better explain the function performed by the army as an "Italic institution" in the genesis of a regional identity,[252] namely that Romans and allies occupied common camps.[253] It is true that in these camps, the allies and the Romans were separated, as they were organized into different units with their own commanders, as highlighted by Rosenstein;[254] however, as Rosenstein has subsequently argued, "simply looking at the physical layout of the camp, however, fails to consider other important aspects of life there", such as the existence of "free time", the use of common open areas, commercial practices, and religious rites.[255] The fact that prizes (the so-called *corona civica* or *corona ilignea*) were awarded to soldiers who saved both citizens and allies

247 Enn. *Ann.*, Fr. 7.15 Skutsch.
248 The Paelignian participation in the war is confirmed by Liv. 44.41.9; 44.42.8.
249 Liv. 44.40.5–6.
250 Jehne (2006), pp. 250–255.
251 Polyb. 6.19.2 speaks of sixteen years of service, though this must be intended as a maximum, not the rule.
252 For some considerations on the general aggregative function of warfare, see Cornell (1995b), pp. 122–123.
253 Polyb. 6.26.10. See Keppie (1984), pp. 36–38; Dobson (2008), pp. 68–101.
254 Since the Italic horsemen outnumbered those of the Romans, they were camped in front of the latter, on the same length but to a bigger depth; the *vexilla* of the allied infantrymen were placed facing the palisade, etc.: Polyb. 6.30.
255 Rosenstein (2012), pp. 93–103.

is extremely relevant in understanding the "top-down" will of imposing a sense of community and equality within the army.[256] The allies were also awarded the same prizes as the Romans, as revealed by Livy when he refers to the contest between a Roman centurion and the *socius navalis* Digitius, perhaps from Paestum, for the *corona muralis* (awarded to the first person to climb the enemy walls) for the conquest of Carthago Nova in 210 BCE.[257] The booty was also divided among Romans, Latins, and Italics.[258] This surely had the effect of provoking a sense of community, independent of the fact that this could perhaps have been purely functionalistic as supposed by Harris.[259] Harris' argument in any case presupposes an awareness on the Roman side of the importance of the entirety of Italy for its own safety that, as has been shown, was surely widespread since at least the end of the 3rd century BCE.

The conclusions reached by P. and A. Eich are therefore worth quoting:[260]

> Even more were the various allied forces kept together by the one common enterprise – war. [...] The Roman army was the glue that held them together, and fighting under Roman command, as well as the combat experience alongside Roman troops, gave life and substance to treaties with the conquering power. It was in the army where allied soldiers got used to Latin, not only as a medium of communication but also as the language of power. Obviously, then, the army developed centripetal effects in the system of the Roman alliance. These centripetal forces grew stronger with every year the alliance was in place and with every victory it achieved.[261]

As expressed by R. Häussler, "supplying troops not only created a common consciousness across Italy, with allies fighting 'just wars' against the same enemies and sharing the booty, but also, as in the case of the Insubres, much stronger local identities developed in response to Roman perceptions of ethnic unit".[262] As has already been shown and will be argued further, "Italic identity" was generally constructed as a system of "unity in diversity" and, in the system of segmentary identities being

256 Polyb. 6.39.6. On the *corona civica*, Gell. 5.6.12–15.

257 Liv. 26.48.5–13. Cassola (1962), pp. 383–384; M. Torelli (1999), p. 79. On the *corona muralis*, Polyb. 6.39.5; Gell. 5.6.16. If it is true that the definition *socius navalis* applied to the persons and not to the communities (see pp. 215–216), it is also clear (independent of the onomastics of Digitius) that in this period only *peregrini* were *socii navales*. Slaves and freedmen are attested in this service only from the 2nd century BCE, and Roman citizens even later; see Milan (1973), pp. 220–221.

258 Harris (1984), p. 97; Pfeilschifter (2007), pp. 36–38; Rosenstein (2012), p. 85. See also below, p. 343.

259 Harris (1984), pp. 97–98: "possibly the Romans who constructed this system saw the allied soldiers, not the allied in general, as a key to the maintenance of power and rewarded them accordingly".

260 See also Gabba (1985), pp. 37–38; Erdkamp (2011), p. 141.

261 Eich/Eich (2005), pp. 17–18.

262 Häussler (2007), p. 70.

shaped in Roman Italy,[263] such a redefinition of local belongings and the structuring of a collective sense of "Italicness" were entirely compatible with one another.

Additionally, it has recently been noted that Polybius, when describing battles and strategies, does not distinguish between Rome and its allies; "as he depicts them, the units of allies and Romans together formed one uniform army, operating in the same way and organized along identical lines".[264] The process of homologation also becomes evident during the course of the 2nd century BCE from the point of view of weapons and tactics,[265] and has been noted by ancient authors. Diodorus Siculus thus reveals, probably deriving his information from Posidonius, that the Ligurians had their own particular weapons, but were in the process of changing them and adapting them to the Roman ones, after being included in the Roman State.[266]

It should be noted that the number of Italics in the Roman army was extremely high, if Ilari's statistics can be accepted, and could have oscillated between 50 and 60%.[267] Other scholars even claim a standard ratio of 2:1 between allies and Romans in the Republican army.[268] Most probably, the ratio changed continuously according to circumstances, though was always very high and generally led to a higher number of Italics than Romans being present in Roman military campaigns.[269] The sources provide some numbers, which are quite impressive: according to Plutarch, Aemilius Paullus' campaign against Macedonia saw the participation of 8,000 "non-Roman" soldiers, most of whom must have been Italic allies;[270] the Ligurians were at least 700,[271] and the Paeligni and Marrucini played a central role in the battle of Pydna.[272] The Ligurians are also recorded as playing an important role in Marius' Cimbrian War.[273]

263 See pp. 278–287.
264 Erdkamp (2007), pp. 49–55.
265 Erdkamp (2006), pp. 43–44. Archaeologically, this is made evident by finds from Arpi: Mazzei (1991), p. 123.
266 Diod. Sic. 5.39.7.
267 Ilari (1974), pp. 171–173. See now also Dobson (2008), p. 51.
268 See Harris (1984), p. 96; Erdkamp (2006), p. 44
269 Brunt (1981[2]), pp. 677–686; Rich (1983), pp. 321–323; Rosenstein (2012), pp. 85–88. Liv. 26.19.13 seems to be one of the rare cases of an army composed of an equal number of Romans and allies; Liv. 27.9.1, on the contrary, states that the soldiers sent to Sicily were composed mostly of Latins and allies. That a presumably small percentage of allies had to serve in the Roman army (so Pfeilschifter (2007), pp. 28–29) does not reduce the impact of recruitment, since they were actively transferring what they had acquired in the military service to the community of origin.
270 Plut., *Aem. Paul.* 15.6.
271 Plut., *Aem. Paul.* 18.2.
272 Plut., *Aem. Paul.* 20.1–6.
273 Plut., *Mar.* 19.4–5.

According to Livy, at the Battle of Trebbia the Latins were more numerous than the Romans,[274] and during the preparations before the battle of Cannae the allies had to give twice the horsemen of the Romans and the same amount of infantry troops;[275] Velleius Paterculus simply states that in that battle the allies were twice as many as the Romans, both infantrymen and horsemen.[276] Polybius constitutes the main source for establishing some idea of the number of people involved in recruitment: the allied infantrymen numbered more or less the same as the Romans, but the allied horsemen were twice or even three times as many.[277] The most famous passage, from the second book of the *Histories*, deals with the war against the Gauls in 225 BCE. Polybius, deriving his information from Fabius Pictor,[278] not only gives precise numbers of soldiers,[279] but also explicitly mentions their provenances:

> Of Sabines and Etruscans too, there had come to Rome, for that special occasion, four thousand horse and more than fifty thousand foot. These were formed into an army and sent in advance into Etruria, under the command of one of the Praetors. Moreover, the Umbrians and Sarsinatae, hill tribes of the Apennine district, were collected to the number of twenty thousand; and with them were twenty thousand Veneti and Cenomani. These were stationed on the frontier of the Gallic territory, that they might divert the attention of the invaders, by making an incursion into the territory of the Boii. These were the forces guarding the frontier. In Rome itself, ready as a reserve in case of the accidents of war, there remained twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse of citizens, and thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse of the allies. Lists of men for service had also been returned, of Latins eighty thousand foot and five thousand horse; of Samnites seventy thousand foot and seven thousand horse; of Iapygians and Messapians together fifty thousand foot and sixteen thousand horse; and of Lucanians thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse; of Marsi, and Marrucini, and Frentani, and Vestini, twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse. And besides these, there were in reserve in Sicily and Tarentum two legions, each of which consisted of about four thousand two hundred foot, and two hundred horse. Of the Romans and Campanians the total of those put on the roll was two hundred and fifty thousand foot and twenty three thousand horse; so that the grand total of the forces actually defending Rome was over 150,000 foot, 6000 cavalry; and of the men able to bear arms, Romans and allies, over 700,000 foot and 70,000 horse; while

274 Liv. 21.55.4.
275 Liv. 22.36.3.
276 Vell. Pat. 2.15.2.
277 Polyb. 3.107.12; 6.26.7; 6.30.2.
278 Oros. 4.13.6–7, presents us with information on the number of soldiers which, even if not identical, is compatible with the information within Polybius, and attributes it explicitly to Fabius Pictor. See Mommsen (1876), pp. 383–384; Ilari (1974), pp. 64–65. See also Diod. Sic. 25.13; Liv., *Per.* 20.10; Plin., *HN* 3.138; Eutr. 3.5.
279 On the Polybian numbers and their validity – not relevant here – see, among others, Mommsen (1876), pp. 384–393; Beloch (1880), pp. 94–99; Toynbee (1965), vol. 1, pp. 479–505; Brunt (1981[2]), pp. 44–49; Baronowski (1993); Scheidel (2004), pp. 3–4.

> Hannibal, when he invaded Italy, had less than twenty thousand to put against this immense force.[280]

This could have been, as is generally accepted, the first redaction of the *formula togatorum*.[281] Even if it must be accepted that the basis for the development of this system existed since 338 BCE, with the end of the Latin War and the dissolution of the Latin League,[282] it seems that the Roman request of 225 BCE to receive information from Roman and allied communities concerning the number of inhabitants and available *iuniores* marks the beginning of the system formalized in the *formula*.[283] Not by chance, Polybius provided this piece of information specifically in reference to this military campaign.

If this is accepted, the importance that the Romans attributed to the army as a symbol of unity, if not as a direct unifying factor, must once more be recognized; as has been shown, this war appears to have been the first that would be presented in

280 Polyb. 2.24; transl. E.S. Schuckburgh.

281 Previous forms of military cooperation between Romans, Latins, and allies are almost impossible to reconstruct. Livy recalls, in the war against the Aequi in the year 464 BCE, the recruitment of an army of Latins, Hernici, and soldiers from the colony of Antium and defines them as *repentina auxilia*, "sudden auxiliary troops", adding that they were then called *subitarii* (Liv. 3.4.11); along the same lines, he says that Latins and Hernici were requested to provide troops against Volsci and Aequi in 432 BCE (Liv. 4.26.12). On the occasion of the war against Nepet in 386 BCE, Livy adds that Latins and Hernici failed to provide soldiers, which they should have done *ex instituto* (Liv. 6.10.6); when in 358 BCE numerous soldiers were sent by the Latins to fight together with the Romans, Livy comments that this happened *ex foedere vetusto, quod multis intermiserant annis* (7.12.7). The battle of Sentinum was, according to Livy, fought with 1,000 Campanian *equites* and an army of Latins and allies larger than that of the Romans (Liv. 10.26.14). Together with these, Marsic legions might have fought next to the Romans in the battle of Sentinum, if the interpretation of the famous inscription of Caso Cantovios from Lucus Angitiae (*ILLRP* 7) proposed by La Regina (1991a), pp. 151–152, is accepted. This would confirm the existence in this period of a Marsic identity which could be used by the Marsi for their self-ascription. Sherwin-White (1973[2]), pp. 24–25, thought that before the *formula togatorum* troops were sent according to *foedera*, and that this practice was shaped as an *institutum*, "not a technical term of constitutional right, but a designation for a practice which could be, and on Livy's admission was, broken". It is therefore necessary to think that the *formula togatorum* intervened, probably in 225 BCE, to formalize and structure an already existing reality and to "regularize" the requests of soldiers, which had previously likely been simply defined case by case: Erdkamp (2011), pp. 120–123. This is not incompatible with the more recent reconstruction by Kent (2012), who argues that before the Punic Wars recruitment to fight on the Roman side was not always planned through alliances and, in particular, that Rome had not yet reached a dominant position to allow it to impose its will on the allies to provide soldiers for its wars. The situation should therefore be understood as much more fluid, and often based on the personal connections among generals. Also in this context, the *formula togatorum* might have intervened in formalizing the previous situation after Rome had reached a position of greater dominance. Hantos (1983), pp. 165–166, argues rather that the *formula* must have been introduced between 225 and 111 BCE.

282 Cornell (1995a), p. 366.

283 Lo Cascio (1991), pp. 324–327.

Roman cultural memory as having been fought by the entirety of the Italic community (*tota Italia*) against invaders of the peninsula, immediately followed by the Second Punic War, in whose presentation this rhetoric element assumed an extremely high importance.[284] Thus Livy not only continuously reminds his reader – as has been seen – that the fidelity of the Italic allies was essential in defeating Hannibal, but also continuously emphasizes the contribution of Italic groups and individual soldiers in the different phases of the war: the Samnite Numerius Decimus, from Bovianum, is decisive to the victory enjoyed by Minucius against Hannibal;[285] the Lucanian Statilius plays a central role in the days before the battle of Cannae, when he discovers a trick Hannibal had planned on the Romans.[286] When leaving in 208 BCE during the exploration in which he would be killed, Marcellus took with him no Romans, only knights from Etruria and Fregellae.[287] The list of the individual acts of heroism of the Italics presented by Silius Italicus in the *Punica* is simply too long to be elaborated here. The Roman army is composed of Romans and Italic allies, but according to the supposed consanguinity that was being constructed in parallel, it was unitary and ethnically homogenous, and did not configure itself as a *conluvio omnium gentium*, a definition used to negatively define the Carthaginian army,[288] which held together different populations with power and/or money, rather than uniting them with "deeper" bonds.

It is interesting that the number of soldiers is attributed by Polybius not to single towns but to larger groups of "ethnic" communities; it is difficult to assume that Fabius Pictor or Polybius personally added the data, so it is reasonable to believe that, from the perspective of organization in formations, the *formula* was organized according to such groups.[289] However, this was only a way of organizing the distribution of the different contingents inside the Roman army, and it would be a mistake to think that this necessarily implied a lack of consideration for "Italicness", mostly because such attributions are not mutually exclusive, and an Italic is always also a member of his local community. Additionally, this did not imply any kind of "local organization" on the side of the allies, who were not regrouped among themselves but simply tied through single *foedera* with Rome.

What has induced many scholars to discuss the Polybian catalogue is the fact that Bruttii and the Greeks from Magna Graecia are missing from the list.[290] Massa explained the exclusion of these communities with Appian's idea of Italy consisting

284 See pp. 60–64.
285 Liv. 22.24.11–12.
286 Liv. 22.43.7. Statilius had already been introduced at 22.42.4–5 as *praefectus* of a group of Lucanian horsemen.
287 Liv. 27.26.11; Plut., *Marc.* 29.11.
288 Liv. 22.23.2. See also 23.5.11–12.
289 Ilari (1974), pp. 83–85.
290 Massa (1996), pp. 10–14.

only of the territories on the Western side of the Apennines, which in his opinion dominated during this period.[291] This solution hardly seems acceptable: not only are undisputable definitions of Italy for the period preceding the Second Punic War lacking,[292] it also seems the Romans never developed such an idea of Italy as reported by Appian;[293] Polybius' passage is additionally no real support for this theory. Ultimately, only the Bruttii and the Greeks are missing, while the Messapians are present in the army described. The Ligurians are not mentioned by Polybius in the year 225 BCE, though their role in the Roman army of the Republican period could (the conditional is compulsory) be the object of a very difficult and widely discussed passage from Strabo.[294] If the interpretation of this phrase suggested by Chilver is to be accepted, the geographer borrowed it from some earlier source, dating before Marius' reforms, and meant either that the majority of Cisalpine troops came from Liguria, or that the majority of Ligurian troops came from the district of Luca;[295] in any case, it confirms that this region also provided troops through the *formula togatorum* to the Roman military campaigns. Dionysius of Halicarnassus also presents, in the war against Pyrrhus, an army composed of Aetolian, Acarnanian, and Athamanian mercenaries alongside Samnites, Latins, Campanians, Sabines, Umbri, Volsci, Marrucini, Paeligni, Frentani, among others, including Bruttii and Lucanians.[296]

Another explanation that has dominated scholarship for many decades (since Mommsen) holds that the *Italiotes* contributed to the fleet, and were therefore not included in the *formula togatorum*, being effective as *socii navales* (which, in the opinion of Mommsen, was also connected with the name *togati* itself, which could be adapted to Greeks only with great difficulty).[297] This argument, however, has been disproved as it has been shown that the expression *socii navales* in the sources never indicates communities, but rather mariners (or the soldiers, who were not properly differentiated from the infantry, embarked on the ships), independent of

291 Massa (1996), p. 17, followed by Simon (2011), pp. 107–111. Mommsen (1876), p. 398, thought that this list represented an idea of Italy extending to the Apennines in the North-West and to the Rubicon in the North-East, though this must be considered as highly hypothetical at least.

292 See pp. 103–105.

293 See pp. 102–103.

294 Strab. 5.11: "Near to the mountains above Luna is the city of Lucca. Some [of the people of this part of Italy] dwell in villages, nevertheless it is well populated, and furnishes the greater part of the military force, and of equites" (transl. H.C. Hamilton/W. Falconer).

295 Chilver (1938).

296 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 20.1.4–5. The presence of Campanians is confirmed by many other sources in reference to the occupation of Rhegium through a garrison of Campanians and Sidicini, commanded by a Decius Vibellius Campanus, and the massacre of its inhabitants: Polyb. 1.7.6–8; Diod. Sic. 22.1; Liv. 28.28.2–4; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 20.4.

297 Mommsen (1876), p. 394. This theory was also accepted by Badian (1958), pp. 29–30. Liv. 35.16.3 refers to a *foedus* obliging Naples, Rhegium and Tarentum to deliver ships.

their form of citizenship.[298] Additionally, other texts make clear that even if Naples and the towns on "that coast" were meant to have provided ships *ex foedere* by at least 191 BCE,[299] and in 171 BCE ships for the Third Macedonian War were given by Rhegium, Locri and Uria,[300] Naples and Tarentum also provided Rome with infantry during the Second Punic War,[301] that forces for the navy were provided also in 259 BCE by the Samnites and in 205 BCE by Umbri, Marsi, Paeligni and Marrucini, while the Etruscans provided the boats.[302] This explanation also cannot be applied to the absence of the Bruttii: according to Mommsen, they would have been simply listed together with the Lucanians.[303]

Even theoretically allowing for the possibility that in the year 225 BCE the Greek *poleis* (along with the Bruttii?) were required to provide naval contingents, and therefore exempted from providing infantry (Livy relates that in 210 BCE Rhegium, Velia and Paestum delivered ships to the Romans *ex foedere*, thus making clear that this could also be part of the agreements with the Italic allies),[304] this would not exclude them from the recruitment and the *formula togatorum*.

It is thus easier to believe that Polybius simply did not transcribe all the information here but only part of it, or that – if it is safe to presume that not every community provided soldiers for every single conscription[305] – on that occasion the Bruttii and the Greek communities were not called to arms.[306] Indeed, it is known that the allied forces that took part in the battle of Pydna were composed of Marrucini and Paeligni (who are also missing from Polybius's list and were, according to Mommsen, simply conflated with some other population of the region, e.g. Marsi or Marrucini);[307] Vestini, as well as inhabitants of Firmum and Cremona made up the infantry, while Samnites and inhabitants of Placentia and Aesernia formed the cavalry.[308]

298 E.g. Liv. 43.7.11; 43.8.7; 45.2.2; 45.42.3. See Horn (1930), pp. 83–85; Toynbee (1965), vol. 2, pp. 518–521; Milan (1973), pp. 208–211. According to Livy, the fleet was also crewed by inhabitants of colonies, defined *coloni maritimi*, see below, n. 363.

299 Liv. 36.42.1.

300 Liv. 42.48.7.

301 Beloch (1880), pp. 206–207; Ilari (1974), pp. 112–114.

302 Zonar. 8.11.8; Liv. 28.45.14–20. See Horn (1930), pp. 85–86; Milan (1973), pp. 213–216; Galsterer (1976), pp. 107–108.

303 Mommsen (1876), p. 395.

304 Liv. 26.39.5.

305 Ilari (1974), pp. 88–90; Baronowski (1984), p. 252.

306 As Brunt (1981[2]), p. 50, has already noted: after the Second Punic War, the Bruttii, who deserted to Hannibal, were indeed no longer included in the Roman army: *Bruttios ignominiae causa non milites scribebant nec pro sociis habebant, sed magistratibus in provincias euntibus parere et praeministrare servorum vices iusserunt* (Gell. 10.3.19).

307 Mommsen (1876), p. 396.

308 Liv. 44.40.5–6. See Erdkamp (2007), pp. 61–62.

The *formula togatorum* and the organization of the Roman army imply that the last quarter of the 3rd century BCE was a period of acceleration in the process of the "institutionalization of Italy". In this sense, it seems necessary to correct Badian's statement, according to which Marius' reforms of the army "seem to have created a certain unity (based on common interests) among Roman and Italian veterans".[309] Indeed, this had already happened more than a century earlier.

Colonial Foundations

Colonial foundations are another institution which should be taken into consideration when analyzing the ways in which Roman domination shaped and changed the Italic territory and influenced its regional development. The many problems connected with colonial foundations, their reasons, and their juridical structures are too numerous and have been discussed too thoroughly in literature elsewhere to allow for a complete treatment of these issues here. As in the case of the army, it will suffice to note those aspects which are relevant from the perspective adopted here, regarding the institutionalizing process of the Italic peninsula as a region. It should be noted once more that these cannot be considered to be automatically a conscious reason for colonial foundation among the Romans, but this does not at all reduce their relevance once, as a consequence of their existence, the colonies changed the Roman and Italic way of seeing and understanding the "region Italy".

There can be no doubt that colonial foundations had a deep impact on the territory in which they took place; even when they were "added" to a preexisting settlement and not founded *ex novo*, these towns gave an entirely different aspect to their area.[310] The town itself "was laid out according to Roman needs and preconceptions, with spaces and buildings planned for the new inhabitants",[311] and the countryside was rearranged through *centuriatio*, the construction of paths and roads, etc.[312] The local population – in most cases classified juristically as *incolae*[313] – experienced a radical change in the way "their" space and landscape were constructed and orga-

309 Badian (1958), p. 220.

310 Scopacasa (2016), p. 48, tries for instance to play down the impact of colonization and insist on the continuity aspects; while these are surely present, and the local population in most cases remained where it was previously, it seems inappropriate to underestimate the impact of the change brought by the new institution.

311 On the Roman colonies in particular, and their being shaped in systematic reference to the topography of Rome, see Coarelli (2000), pp. 287–288.

312 Curti/Dench/Patterson (1996), p. 186, correctly underline, as a meaningful example, the different behavior of the Lucanians and of the Romans in occupying and re-shaping Paestum; Bispham (2006), p. 76.

313 Gagliardi (2006), pp. 1–28; Gagliardi (2015). On the *incolae*, see Y. Thomas (1996), pp. 25–34.

nized, even when they, as may have happened more often than previously thought, "received back" their lands after the Roman cadastration.[314]

It was not only the transformation of space and the imposition of new spatial structures that changed the lives of local populations, distanced them from their "neighbors" (who were still living in different settlement structures), and made them more similar to those living on colonial territory scattered throughout the peninsula. Equally central was the demographic structure of the areas of colonization. As Guy Bradley has correctly formulated, a colonial foundation was "a very dramatic Roman intervention": thousands of people were moved at once to areas where they not only radically increased the demographic pressure, but also began interacting with the local population, inducing change in social organizations and forms of production.[315] The relevance of the number of people moving in connection with colonial programs has recently been underlined from a demographic perspective by Scheidel.[316] The impact, indeed, should not be underestimated: even the first Roman colonies, to which was sent the canonical (and indeed rather small) number of 300 colonists, implied that these people then settled down with their families,[317] which must have had an extremely deep impact on the local communities.[318] This impact was multiplied when, after the Second Punic War, the colonization of Gallia Cisalpina was dealt with by founding Roman colonies with a much higher number of colonists. Mutina, Parma, and Luna, all founded with the important involvement of Aemilius Lepidus (who constructed the *via Aemilia* and was therefore a central figure in the spatial organization of Northern Italy) each received 2,000 new families, who were additionally provided with larger plots of land:[319] "We have a tendency to forget the magnitude and significance of such an invention: but the feat of transferring to a new area and a new community many thousands of people from other Latin cities, from Rome itself, or even recruited from the local indigenous people, must have been a highly complex operation. It is worth reiterating here the fact that the colonists alone usually numbered between 2,000 and 6,000, while a figure for family members and others must be added to these numbers".[320] To this must be added, in the years following the foundation, that the ever-stronger contacts with the local population, also through marriage (as Tacitus explicitly states for the colo-

314 Gagliardi (2015); Gonzales (2015), p. 12.

315 Bradley (2000a), p. 148 and 193. See also Galsterer (1976), p. 51; and, on the specific case of Apulia, Grelle (2007), pp. 182–188. See also Hoyer (2012), p. 192.

316 Scheidel (2004), pp. 10–13.

317 Hin (2013), pp. 230–232.

318 This also applies if one follows Scopacasa (2015), pp. 245–247, according to whom the colonists represented only 3 to 6% of the total population of Samnium, the region he considers.

319 Chevallier (1983), pp. 186–190.

320 Curti/Dench/Patterson (1996), p. 186.

ny of Cremona),[321] further influenced the development of the demographic structure and the self-perception of the inhabitants.

However, even such a varied picture would be too simplistic. The colonists were in fact not all of one single origin:[322] Bandelli has shown, for example, on the basis of prosopographical analyses, that the Latin colony of Ariminum was inhabited in the first generations after its settlement (268 BCE) by families whose origin can be traced back to Latium, Campania, Picenum, Sabina, Etruria, and Samnium;[323] among the first generations of colonists in Aquileia are well-attested local Venetic *gentes* subsumed into the Latin citizenship.[324] The onomastics of the colony of Paestum (founded in 273 BCE) reveal a persistence of the old Greek element (which appear to be intentionally marginalized, in concordance with the "exclusion" of the Greeks from the discourses concerning the "Italic community"), then Lucanians and Latins in large numbers, but also a consistent Etruscan presence, as well as many examples of "crossed" names, in which a Latin *nomen* is accompanied by a Lucanian *praenomen*, further demonstrating the rapid intermingling of the different components.[325] New settlers sent to existing colonies were drawn from various Italic communities, as in Venusia, reinforced in 200 BCE presumably with a homogenous Oscan group.[326] In 197 BCE, the Latin colony of Cosa was reinforced with 1,000 new colonists recruited among the allied communities that did not betray Rome during the Second Punic War.[327] The consequences of this "mixed" population in the creation of a concept of "Italicness" cannot be underestimated.[328]

In the foundation of Roman colonies, the inhabitants of the new towns would all be Roman citizens, though this does not imply that they already had Roman citizenship before moving. The case of Ennius, who received Roman citizenship through inscription on the list of citizens of the colony of Potentia or of Pisaurum,

321 Tac., *Hist*. 3.34.

322 See M.R. Torelli (1979), p. 193. The position held by Bernardi (1973), p. 66, and even more strongly by Brunt (1981[2]), pp. 538–544, that the colonists were largely Latins and Romans, while the local inhabitants were rarely incorporated, can no longer be accepted. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 8.14.1, refers to a mixture of Roman colonists and indigenous inhabitants already in the Latin colony of Circeii at the time of the wars against the Volsci; Liv. 41.8.8 on Samnites and Paeligni moving to the colony of Fregellae (on this see below, pp. 248–249). See Salmon (1969), pp. 9–99; Galsterer (1976), pp. 47–49; Roselaar (2010), p. 60. See also David (1994), p. 31, who admits the integrative function of colonies, founded with full citizens, *cives sine suffragio*, local inhabitants, while at the same time stressing that the magistrates who organized the foundation did not easily accord citizenship to those who did not already possess it.

323 Bandelli (1988a), pp. 12–15.

324 Bandelli (1988b), pp. 124–126.

325 M. Torelli (1999), pp. 76–79.

326 Salmon (1969), p. 96.

327 Liv. 33.24.8–9.

328 M. Torelli (1999), pp. 3–4. See also Roselaar (2015), pp. 6–22, with further examples.

was not as exceptional as has long been thought.[329] On the contrary, it is evident that at least after the Second Punic War (though sources attribute this character to earlier foundations), many Latin and Italic allies were moved to the new foundations.[330] Moreover, they would often abandon the colony after receiving citizenship, as the first half of the 2nd century BCE was characterized by an abundance of free land throughout the peninsula.[331] An analysis of a series of votive inscriptions, probably dedicated in a *lucus* in Pisaurum and dating to the earliest times of the colony, has made clear that this colony was inhabited by colonists of Latin and Italic origin.[332] Onomastic data from Kroton also seems to demonstrate that the local inhabitants were "absorbed" into the colony and received Roman citizenship.[333]

The idea of a regular and destructive rivalry between colonists and previous inhabitants, as assumed by Salmon, is incorrect and finds no real support in the sources, as Galsterer has shown.[334] This is valid not only for the local inhabitants, who were integrated into the colony and correspondingly received citizenship, but also for those who were *adtributi* to the colony or inhabited it as *incolae*; these various groups of inhabitants contributed to the definition of the cultural shape of the town, and were also subject to a very strong influence from other communities.[335] A mixed ethnical character was therefore probably the norm in Roman colonies.[336]

Livy explicitly speaks of Latins who were registered for Roman colonies, referring to Puteoli, Salernum and Buxentum, and he underlines that these colonists assumed they would thus automatically receive Roman citizenship (the inhabitants of Ferentinum should have requested for this to be officially recognized); the Senate, however, decided that they should not be recognized as full Roman citizens, but allowed them to inhabit the colony.[337] As Smith and, more recently, Erdkamp have argued, this does not exclude the fact that the Latins would nonetheless receive Roman citizenship by inhabiting a Roman colony. It was, nonetheless, forbidden to

329 On Ennius' citizenship, Cic., *Arch.* 22; *Brut.* 79; Liv. 39.44.10.

330 Salmon (1969), pp. 55–56, presumed that non-Romans and non-Latins were already included among the settlers of Cales in 335 BCE. The foundation of Antium (dated by Livy to 467 BCE) should also have involved Volscian colonists: Liv. 3.1.7; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 9.59.2. See Laffi (2001), p. 39; Erdkamp (2011), pp. 117–120.

331 See Bradley (2006), pp. 167–168. Whether the colonists were at least in part forced to take part in the foundation is somewhat irrelevant here; see Negri (1995), pp. 152–153.

332 Harvey (2006), pp. 119–132.

333 Costabile (1984), pp. 89–90.

334 Galsterer (1976), pp. 51–52.

335 See Burgers (1998), pp. 280–281, for the example of the integration of local inhabitants in the colony of Brundisium.

336 Bradley (2006), pp. 174–176. The distinction proposed by Laurence (1998), p. 104, according to which the Roman colonies would have enjoyed a Romanness which was also ethnical and not only political and administrative, cannot therefore be accepted.

337 Liv. 34.42.5–6.

enjoy such citizenship in the time between the inscription on the lists and the actual settling within the colonies; after this they were indeed to be recognized as Romans.[338]

Even if the main practical reason for such concessions may have been the difficulty of finding enough people who were ready to leave (especially after the devastations of the Second Punic War),[339] their importance as a factor of integration cannot be denied.[340] At the same time, colonies ultimately represented, as Cassola has written, both a centripetal and a centrifugal force, since they operated as a point of attraction for the inhabitants of the region, while also providing a basis for their citizens to be active in the surrounding territory, thus multiplying the possibility of exchange, contact and homogenization.[341]

This does not mean, as was argued by MacKendrick (who tried to create a parallel between the Roman expansion in Italy and that of the Americans in the West), that the colonies were part of a "frontier" aimed at military security but also as "safety valves" to remove potentially rebellious elements from Rome, whose function ended when the unification of Italy was accomplished and thus ended the "age of the pioneers".[342] Nonetheless, the colonies did serve to distribute Roman and Latin citizens all across the peninsula, strengthening the bonds between the different areas and Rome.[343]

This may even have been their main function, if we follow Isaac in his denial of the idea that republican colonial foundations had any military aim, proposing instead that they were merely "representatives" of Rome.[344] The reason underlying the foundations and their position is indeed a widely discussed topic in literature.[345] It has for many decades been assumed that they had a primarily military function,[346] though this is a position that has since been corrected. Yet while a strategic aim has

338 R.E. Smith (1954); Erdkamp (2011), p. 118; Tarpin (2014), pp. 167–169, suggesting that the *Ferentinates* could not have been the inhabitants of Ferentinum, but of Ferentina, and thus "the old Latins through their common cult place". The same position is held by Howarth (1999), pp. 285–286; *contra*, much less convincing, Piper (1987). If Piper's argument is correct, however, this does not imply in any case that Latin citizens and *socii* were "forbidden" to move to a Roman colony; simply that, through migration, they would not have received Roman citizenship.

339 So Roselaar (2010), p. 60.

340 Cornell (1995a), p. 367.

341 Cassola (1991), p. 27.

342 MacKendrick (1957), pp. 4–7.

343 Gabba (1985), pp. 38–39; Laurence (1999), pp. 192–193; Burbank/Cooper (2010), pp. 13–14.

344 Isaac (1999[2]), pp. 313–332.

345 On the historiography on this subject, see Pelgrom/Stek (2014).

346 E.g. Göhler (1939), pp. 21–22; Watkins (1972), pp. 37–39; M.R. Torelli (1979), pp. 194–195. A uniquely military function is still argued by Givigliano (2008) for both the Latin and Roman colonies founded in Bruttium after the Hannibalic War.

been accepted for the Latin colonies,[347] it has been denied for the Roman colonies, to which a "stabilizing" purpose has been attributed, as instruments to define Roman (or even Italic) land, and as a means of Romanization or the diffusion of urbanization and administrative structures.[348] An opposing position argues that the Roman colonies had a predominantly military nature, while the Latin colonies would have served a mostly economic and social function, granting access to land for the lowest social strata,[349] or generally allowing the Romans access to particular economic resources.[350] Other scholars have also considered the Latin colonies to be an important instrument of integration and assimilation; in areas which were military less safe, they would also have been able to intervene faster and more independently.[351]

These positions must all be considered too simplistic, and it has been correctly highlighted that colonial foundations had many different functions; Roselaar lists them as securing newly conquered territory, serving as bridgeheads for further conquests and reducing pressure on Roman land.[352] While this is surely correct, it is also necessary to add the integrative function that is being discussed here, without underestimating its potential to revolutionize the single social and cultural contexts during a short period of time.

During the period analyzed in this work, Latin and Roman colonies do not present big differences, aside from the fact that the existence of a clear-cut distinction in the middle-Republican period has been brought into discussion.[353] The status of a Latin citizen was, at least from 338 BCE (when the Latin League ceased to exist), completely unbound from territorial and ethnical aspects, and was only connected to juridical regulation.[354] Indeed, from this point onwards Rome was the only politi-

347 Vogt (1942a), p. 178; Galsterer (1976), pp. 63–64. Toynbee (1965), vol. 1, pp. 157–161, systematically calls the Latin colonies "fortresses". A military reason for the foundation of Placentia is attested by Coelius Antipater (Fr. 66 Peter).

348 Vogt (1942a), pp. 178–189; Galsterer (1976), p. 70. The small number of colonists made Galsterer (1976), pp. 43–47, doubt the logic of a military function for their foundation. A principal military aim is again strongly argued by Erdkamp (2011), p. 111.

349 So Petrucci (2000), pp. 35–61. Petrucci assigns this primary function also to the colonies founded in the 5th and 4th century BCE (pp. 131–147).

350 Hoyer (2012), pp. 191–194.

351 Hantos (1983), pp. 130–136.

352 Roselaar (2010), p. 60. Liv. 10.6.2 explicitly states that the colonies had the function of dispersing the population in excess in Rome. See also Salmon (1969), pp. 115–116; Cassola (1988), p. 14; Pina Polo (1988), pp. 119–123; Rosenstein (2004), p. 61.

353 Bispham (2006), pp. 82–84. In general, it is important to underline that the definition of colony and of its sub-types seems to have been much more open and "experimental" up to the 2nd century BCE than presumed in Late Republican and Imperial sources, as well as in the systematizations provided by modern literature, as discussed by Crawford (1995).

354 Watkins (1972), pp. 28–29; Galsterer (1976), pp. 89–90. See already Mommsen (1888[8]), pp. 520–521.

cal authority that decided and organized the foundation of both kinds of colonies.[355] This was made clear by Velleius Paterculus who offered the only quasi-systematic list of "senatorial" colonies founded during the Republican period,[356] namely those founded on the initiative of the Senate and distinguished from "military" ones that were founded by holders of *imperium* in order to give land to veterans (Velleius' list is therefore not complete, nor does it aim to be so).[357] The list includes both Latin and Roman colonies without distinction; particularly interesting is the case of Firmum and Castrum Novum, which are mentioned by Velleius in the same phrase (*ab initio primi belli Punici Firmum et Castrum colonis occupata*),[358] without giving importance to the fact that the former was a Latin colony, the latter Roman. Livy also recounts many colonial foundations – often not recorded by Velleius – and only sometimes specifies whether each foundation was of Latin or of Roman law.[359] When dealing with the "rebellion" of the twelve Latin colonies, which in 209 BCE refused to provide further soldiers to Rome, Livy records that the consuls urged the towns' representatives to remember that they were Romans, originating from Rome, from whence they were sent to the colonies.[360] This makes clear that the juridical distinction did not correspond, at least in the perception of the historiographic tradition, to an actual distinction of "identity".

This does not mean that the choice to decide whether a colony was founded with Roman or Latin law was irrelevant, but this kind of decision generally responded to specific strategic reasons: apart from a general preference for one or the other during certain periods – also connected to the eventual difficulty of finding colonists[361] – Latin colonies in the 2nd century BCE seem to have been settled particularly on the border of areas that had only recently been brought under military control.[362]

355 Salmon (1969), p. 51; Bradley (2006), p. 171; Gagliardi (2006), pp. 7–8.

356 Vell. Pat. 1.14–15. The sources used by Velleius, as the chronology of the foundations, often not coinciding with those of the Livian work, are not relevant in the present discussion. A tentative clarification of these aspects was provided by Sordi (1966), who stuck to her more general proposal of reinterpreting the entire chronology of the 4th century BCE and claimed that the two Velleian chapters relied on two different sources; further, she identified in Fabius Pictor the source for §14.

357 The problem whether the foundation of a colony happened through *senatus consultum* (as seems more probable) or through *plebiscitum* (as Mommsen thought) is irrelevant for the argument here proposed. On this topic see, among others, Laffi (1988); Bradley (2014), pp. 65–66.

358 Vell. Pat. 1.14.7.

359 E.g. Liv. 32.29.3; 34.45.1.

360 Liv. 27.9.10–11.

361 Cic., *Caecin*. 98 seems in particular to underline that Roman citizens were sometimes forced to be enrolled as colonists in a Latin colony, which would have also implied the loss of Roman citizenship. In general, see Salmon (1969), p. 100; Cassola (1988), pp. 11–13, whose idea that the scarcity of "candidates" alone caused an insertion among the colonists of Latins and Italics cannot be accepted. Watkins (1972), pp. 57–58, rather thought that Latin colonies were not founded anymore after the first quarter of the 2nd century because they would deplete Roman manpower.

362 Galsterer (1976), pp. 89–90.

Up to the time of the Second Punic War, Roman colonies were situated exclusively on the coast and thus in literature are often defined as *coloniae maritimae*.[363] Vogt thought that this position particularly helped in defining, through these foundations, "Italy's core",[364] though this definition cannot be accepted in such a simple form as Roman and Latin colonies were both uniformly scattered across the peninsular territory; nonetheless, it is true that Roman colonization, in the broader sense to include both kinds of colonies, helped to define the Italic region during the period under consideration here. If it is possible that the Romans had some colonial overseas activity in the 4th century BCE,[365] well before the idea of Italy was shaped and "institutionalized", then the following period would have served to deeply bind the existence of the colonies to the peninsular territory, even to the point of "deleting" these previous episodes.[366]

Latin colonies could show a more flexible structure when it came to their relationship with territorial structure; nonetheless, their eventual presence on provincial territory seems highly doubtful, and must be thoroughly discussed. While it is certain they did not exist in Sicily during the period analyzed here,[367] particularly relevant is the case of Spain, where many Latin colonies have been identified (albeit wrongly) by a part of the literature. Italica, founded in 206 BCE and defined by Appian (the only source relating its foundation) as simply a *polis* (which existed before the settlement there of the wounded Roman soldiers through P. Cornelius Scipio),[368] was interpreted by Humbert as a Latin colony; however, this was on the basis of purely speculative reasons,[369] and Italica was surely a community of peregrine law,[370] as was *Turris Lascutana*.[371]

363 Mommsen (1888[8]), p. 514; Salmon (1969), p. 71; Spagnuolo Vigorita (1996), pp. 51–52. The expression *coloni maritimi* appears in Liv. 36.3.4 and refers to colonies whose inhabitants served military duty in the Roman fleet; they are mentioned also in Liv. 27.38.3, where they are requested to provide troops, against the previous agreements.

364 Vogt (1942a), pp. 178–179.

365 Diod. Sic. 15.27.4 reports that in 378–377 BCE the Romans sent colonists to Sardinia; Theophr., *Hist. Plant*. 5.8.2 speaks of a similar expedition to Corsica, and it is possible that these two sources could refer to the same episode, the authenticity of which is, in any case, widely discussed.

366 Bispham (2006), p. 123.

367 Hantos (1983), pp. 142–147, provides a strongly functionalistic interpretation for this; whatever the initial reason not to found colonies in Sicily, it is nonetheless important to underline that the symbolic aspect, according to which colonies were a specific characteristic of the Italic territory, quickly became an important argument in avoiding such foundations.

368 App., *Iber*. 38.

369 Humbert (1976), p. 226: "Il semble difficile de croire qu'une cité fondée par Rome, pour des Romains et Italiens (son nom, qui est un programme, l'indique) ait reçu le statut d'une cité peregrine".

370 Galsterer (1971), p. 7; Pena Gimeno (1984), pp. 49–52; Richardson (1986), p. 119.

371 *CIL* 2.699. See Galsterer (1971), pp. 14–15.

Corduba should also be removed from the list of the Latin colonies for the period analyzed.[372] According to the most widespread interpretation, the colony was founded in the 2nd century BCE, since Polybius refers to the presence in town of M. Claudius Marcellus in 152 BCE (as he was proconsular legate in *Hispania Citerior*) and Strabo, the only other relevant source, defines it as κτίσμα Μαρκέλλου.[373] The foundation would therefore have taken place either in the same year or in 169–168 BCE, as Marcellus was *praetor* for both Spains.[374] Strabo adds that Corduba was the first "colony" (ἀποικία) established by the Romans in the area and that it was inhabited by "Romans" (which could eventually mean also Latins and Italics) as well as indigenous people. However, this cannot be taken as proof of the status of Corduba as a Latin colony (Roman colony is excluded, since the sources unanimously consider Gaius Gracchus' project on Carthage as the first such colony on provincial territory). Indeed, ἀποικία is a generic word indicating people being settled, and Cicero also uses the term *colonia* in relation to the foundation of towns of peregrine status, in particular the *colonia peregrinorum* founded in Agrigentum in 297 BCE.[375] Strabo could thus have made no reference at all to the status of the city; alternatively, it has also been proposed that he could simply have made a mistake based on the (Augustan) status of Corduba as a Roman colony later on.[376]

Moreover, the text creates many more problems than would first appear: as Canto has highlighted, the word κτίσμα is not used by Greek authors during the Roman period to indicate the foundation of cities, but in reference to building programs; nor can it be taken for granted that Marcellus should be automatically identified with M. Claudius Marcellus. For a writer and reader of the Augustan period, Marcellus (without additional names) would automatically indicate the "other" M. Claudius Marcellus, Augustus' presumptive heir, who died in 23 BCE. Canto concludes that Corduba was the object of a "refoundation" by Marcellus between 26 and 23 BCE, when a building program was accompanied by the concession to the city of the status of *colonia populi Romani* (as already decided by Caesar in 45 BCE).[377] If this is

372 Corduba is considered a Latin colony by Brunt (1981[2]), p. 215; Stylow (1993), pp. 79–80. A summary of the arguments for and against this interpretation is provided by Rodríguez Neila (1992), pp. 184–186. It is important to underline that the existence of a *conventus civium Romanorum*, attested in Corduba in 48–47 BCE, speaks against its nature as a colony before this time. See Galsterer (1971), pp. 9–10: Galsterer admits that the presence of the *conventus* of Roman citizens in the city reveals that this was not yet a Roman colony, but he points out that such *conventus* are not attested in Latin colonies. Richardson (1986), p. 119, confirms that Corduba did not have the status of colony until the Caesarian or Augustan time.

373 Polyb. 35.2.2; Strab. 3.2.1.

374 This position is widely accepted in modern scholarship; see Rodríguez Neila (1992), pp. 177–178 (for 152–151 BCE); Stylow (1993), pp. 77–78 (for 169–168 BCE).

375 Cic., *Verr*. 2.2.123. See Griffin (1972), p. 18; Pena Gimeno (1984), p. 60.

376 Griffin (1972), pp. 17–19.

377 Canto (1991); Canto (1997).

to be accepted, the idea that Corduba might have been a Latin colony before that, a fact acknowledged by Canto who dated the deduction around 205 BCE without any further evidence as support,[378] should therefore be rejected.

Palma and Pollentia are even easier to rule out, since Strabo only states that they were founded in 123–122 BCE with 3,000 ἐποικοί selected from among the "Romans" already living in Spain.[379] Once again it is supposed that these cities should be Latin colonies because they cannot be Roman ones, and because they are defined as *coloniae* by Pomponius Mela and as Roman colonies by Pliny,[380] information that could refer to a later status and does not absolutely contradict an earlier status as *coloniae peregrinorum*.[381]

The only certain colonial presence on Spanish soil in the 2nd century BCE, related by Livy alone, is represented by the highly complicated case of Carteia.[382] According to the Patavine historian, in 171 BCE a delegation of a *novum genus hominum* (who were the sons of Roman soldiers stationed in Spain and local women) came to Rome; they were the illegitimate children of unions not recognized by Roman law (*ex militibus Romanis et ex hispanis mulieribus cum quibus connubium non esset*).[383] As such they should, according to Roman law, inherit the citizenship of their mothers, who were not Roman citizens. These persons, over 4,000 in number, asked the

378 Canto (1997), pp. 274–276.

379 Strab. 3.5.1.

380 Pomp. Mel. 2.109; Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 3.77. So Galsterer (1971), p. 10. See also Pena Gimeno (1984), pp. 67–69.

381 The possibility that Ilerda, Valencia, Gracchurris, and other towns had already received in the 2nd century BCE the status of a Latin colony has been excluded, with good arguments, by Galsterer (1971), pp. 11–15. See also Pena Gimeno (1984), p. 54 (Gracchurris); pp. 63–65 (Valencia); Richardson (1986), pp. 118–119 (Gracchurris). The arguments adduced to propose a possible status of *colonia Latina* in the 2nd century BCE for Illiturgis (García Fernández (1991), pp. 38–40), based almost entirely on an inscription which defines T. Sempronius Gracchus as *deductor* (*CIL* 1^2.2927), are purely speculative and not convincing. This inscription is highly problematic, since its authenticity has been doubted (though see Wiegels (1982), pp. 199–212, for convincing counterarguments). Even if authentic, it cannot be dated before the Julio-Claudian period; see Wiegels (1982), pp. 164–169. The deduction of a colony by T. Gracchus, who is otherwise simply attested as "founder" or eponym of the city (Liv., *Per.* 41.2; Fest., *s.v. Gracchuris* 86 Lindsay), is therefore generally considered to be a later legend. *Deductor* is, additionally, almost a *hapax* (see Pena Gimeno (1984), pp. 54–55), being otherwise attested only on an Augustan coin and, with the meaning of "founder of a colony" only in the 4th century CE, in a passage in Donatus (*Comm. Adelph.* 583); see Wiegels (1982), pp. 170–177. That Illiturgis was a colony can be excluded on the basis of a series of other evidence, such as the locally minted coins which show that the town was of peregrine right around the mid-1st century BCE, and possibly never became a colony; see Wiegels (1982), pp. 177–183. It is therefore possible to assume that the inscription is a fake produced in Antiquity (in imperial period) with an "archaic" style to "reconstruct" and "ennoble" the history of the town; see Wiegels (1982), pp. 219–221.

382 Liv. 43.3.1–4. See Marín Díaz (2002), pp. 286–297, who casts doubt on the possible colony status for Corduba and Illiturgis.

383 See also Cic., *Top.* 20.

Senate to assign them a town in which they could live (*orabant ut sibi oppidum in quo habitarent daretur*). The Senate sent them to Canuleius, the praetor of both *Hispaniae*, to whom they should communicate their names: "It was agreed that those of them, whom he would have freed, could be settled at the Ocean, in Carteia; those of the inhabitants of Carteia who would wish remaining in their fatherland would have had this possibility, so that they would also belong to the number of the colonists.[384] Once assigned the possession of land, it would have become a Latin colony and be called a colony of the freed men".[385]

Scholarly discussion predominantly concerns the juridical status of the members of the delegation – since they must be freed, they must have been slaves. The text in this point is corrupted: Madvig corrected *manumisisset* (already the product of a supposition) into *manumisissent* and Mommsen, who could not accept the idea of a servile status of the persons involved, further integrated the text to imply that the new colony would have been composed of three groups of people, namely the local inhabitants, the sons of the soldiers, and the slaves that would eventually be freed.[386] This last category is not actually mentioned, and its importance, as many scholars have underlined, could not have been great enough to contribute to the denomination of the new town.[387] Saumagne suggested, on the contrary, that the members of the delegation were formally slaves because their mothers were slaves. As *servi publici*, they could thus be freed by the Senate and live together with the indigenous people; these would also, as *dediticii*, count as freed "war slaves", explaining the name of the colony.[388] But if both mothers and sons had been slaves of private owners, only their owners would have been able to free them. López Melero thus presumed that, after the war, the Spanish women could have been given to the soldiers as part of a division of the booty, while still remaining public property.[389] Nevertheless, this does not explain why their sons should have enjoyed privileged rights and why, in the Livian text, the mothers are defined as *mulieres*.[390] This series

384 The inclusion in the colony of at least a part of the local population was, as already discussed, quite usual.

385 Liv. 43.3.3–4: *Senatus decrevit, ut nomina sua apud L. Canuleium profiterentur: eorumque, si quos manumisisset, eos Carteiam ad Oceanum deduci placere. Qui Carteiensium domi manere vellent, potestatem fore, uti numero colonorum essent, agro adsignato. Latinam esse coloniam libertinorumque appellari.*

386 López Barja de Quiroga (1997), pp. 84–85.

387 Galsterer (1971), pp. 8–9; Pena Gimeno (1984), p. 57; Richardson (1986), pp. 119–120; Wulff Alonso (1989), pp. 43–44; López Melero (1991), p. 46; Fear (1994), pp. 296–297.

388 Saumagne (1963). But Fear (1994), p. 297, correctly raises the issues that these people could hardly have been considered *dediticii*, since they did not wage war against Rome, and that the *dediticii* were juridically free, rather than slaves.

389 López Melero (1991). The author underlines, in any case, that it is not clear whether the sons would have been private or public slaves.

390 Wulff Alonso (1989), p. 44; López Barja de Quiroga (1997), pp. 85–86.

of explanations is thus unconvincing as the servile status of the mothers is unattested, and it seems difficult to imagine how 4,000 slaves (even if public slaves) could manage to move to Rome and be received by the Senate.[391] What is interesting, when the possibility of the servile status of the delegation is accepted, is the fact that later (at least from the Augustan age) the term *Latini* (and *Latini Juniani* after the *lex Julia Norbana* of 19 CE) was used to define the *liberti* who had not been freed through one of the three "usual" procedures (*vindicta, censu, testamento*),[392] a case that surely also applies to the inhabitants of Carteia. Even if no proof exists of such a lexical use in the 2nd century BCE, the term was commonplace in the time of Livy, our only source for this episode.[393]

A further explanation has been suggested by Humbert, according to whom the problem originated from a contrast between Roman and local law: the latter would have identified the unions between Roman soldiers and Hispanic women as legitimate, thus considering the sons as Roman citizens; while the Romans would have considered them illegitimate and recognized the sons as *peregrini*, shifting them to a position lacking any citizenship.[394] The Senate would then have proceeded, on the principle that a lack of citizenship is a lack of freedom, to a fictive enslavement and an immediate liberation of all the sons of the soldiers,[395] who would then have become juridically *liberti* and would have received Latin rights. This explanation also raises many difficulties: first of all, it relies upon the hypothetical reconstruction of a local law that is entirely unknown; moreover, it presupposes that all 4,000 members of the delegation came from the same place and had mothers belonging to the same community, a fact not explicitly stated by Livy and one that seems highly improbable, considering their request to "[receive] a town, where they could live".[396]

López Barja de Quiroga attempted to correct Humbert by suggesting that the 4,000 delivered themselves to the Roman State in voluntary *deditio*, after which the Roman authorities could either enslave or restore them to their previous status. They would have thus been manumitted from the status of *dediticii* (and not from

391 Pena (1988), p. 269.

392 Gai., *Inst*. 1.9–17.

393 Saumagne (1963), pp. 140–141. Sherwin-White (1973²), p. 109, recognized in the deduction of Carteia the first step in transforming Latinity from a community to an individual status, a process completed with the institution of the *Latini Juniani*. See also Bispham (2007a), pp. 18–19.

394 Humbert (1976); a similar position is expressed by Del Castillo (1991), who explains the expression *novum genus hominum* as a new group of people in an "ethnical" sense.

395 According to Wulff Alonso (1989), p. 45, the enslavement would have been necessary to break any juridical connection with the other communities and to avoid future problems concerning rights and inheritance. A similar solution is also proposed by Fear (1994), p. 299.

396 Wulff Alonso (1989), p. 45; López Barja de Quiroga (1997), pp. 86–87. Pena (1988), pp. 274–276, supposes that the 4,000 all came from the same place and represented the first generation of the children of Roman soldiers and Hispanic women. In her opinion, they had all been freed by Canuleius through a collective manumission before the delegation arrived in Rome.

the status of *servi publici*) through insertion in the list of the colonists.[397] According to this reconstruction, there would be no connection to the later *Latini Juniani*, since this could be considered a form of *manumissio censu*. Yet this interpretation creates more problems than it solves, as the verb *manumittere* is not attested to express the restitution of liberty after a *deditio* (a problem identified but not solved by the author). Furthermore, it should be presumed that persons from different communities "freed" themselves from their previous local citizenship through a *deditio* after which the Senate, rather than reinstating their peregrine status (with the foundation of a new *colonia peregrinorum*) would have accorded them Latin citizenship, a procedure which would appear surprising.

Indeed, it remains problematic to understand why the Senate opted for a city with Latin rights. The concession of Latin citizenship would correspond to the "impossibility" of, or the scarce enthusiasm for, a concession of Roman citizenship, which would have been juridically more proper, not only in consideration of the status of their fathers, but also because it would have belonged to a category (whether fictitious or not) of freed *servi publici*. In this sense, the case of Carteia has also been considered the first example of a new consideration of Latin citizenship as "reduced" Roman citizenship, an idea which, as will be shown, is not attested before the time of Gaius Gracchus.[398] Galsterer instead insisted on the fact that only a Latin colony would be "independent" enough to survive at such a distance from Rome,[399] a consideration which might have played a part, but is never presented in this form in any source or in relation to any city. Wulff Alonso has correctly rejected this theory and believes that the choice was imposed by the geographical position of the new town, since it would have been unacceptable at that time to establish a Roman colony on provincial territory.[400]

It therefore seems that the colony of Carteia, if Livy is correct in maintaining that it was a Latin colony (which, according to its complicated juridical status, has been denied by some scholars, who see in it only a *colonia peregrinorum*),[401] was a very particular creation in response to special circumstances and problematic jurid-

397 López Barja de Quiroga (1997).

398 See pp. 347–351.

399 Galsterer (1995), p. 86. The idea of the wider autonomy of a Latin colony does not imply that we must go back to its interpretation as a city-state on the Greek model, a mistake frequently made in the past (e.g. Watkins (1972), pp. 41–42) and recently denounced by Pelgrom (2014), pp. 76–88.

400 Wulff Alonso (1989), pp. 46–47.

401 Negri (1995), pp. 151–152. But it is possible to presume that Livy here had access to the senatorial decree, and archaeologists have confirmed that Carteia in the 2nd century BCE shows remarkably "Italic" forms of architecture (Revell (2016), p. 36). Particularly astonishing is the lack of any reference to Carteia in Velleius' list of colonies. It is possible that Carteia was not considered by him a "full" colony, or that the foundation was attributed to the governor and not the the Senate (and Carteia was thus considered a "military colony"), or even that Velleius wanted to underline the role of Gaius Gracchus as "founder" of the first colony on provincial territory.

ical issues.[402] The *servi Hastenses* of *Turris Lascutana* had received a different treatment since they were not sons of Roman citizens, but simply freed as *peregrini*. In this sense, Carteia does not represent a new approach to the possibility of founding colonies in the provinces, but an "emergency measure".[403] As previously discussed, there is no other case of a Latin colonial foundation on provincial territory before the concessions of citizenship during the 1st century BCE.

It is important to also underline that, in general, no other Latin colonies are attested after the foundation of Carteia.[404] The last Latin colony founded in Italy was Aquileia in 181 BCE, with the possible exception of Luca in 177, whose status is unclear.[405] Therefore, a possible extension of this juridical status to the provinces, if it ever began, cannot be followed further. Roman colonies had to be founded on *ager Romanus* – therefore only in Italy.[406] The first exception to this rule is presented by the Gracchan colony of Junonia / Carthage.[407] The strict regulation allowing the presence of such *ager* only on Italic territory should thus by that point have appeared less urgent.[408] Such a reconstruction fails to take into account two important aspects, however: first of all, that the colony was not ultimately founded, due to strong opposition in senatorial circles;[409] and in 121 BCE the *lex Rubria*, which had disposed the colonial deduction, was abrogated. Even more importantly, it is known that at the center of this opposition was exactly the juridical status of the provincial soil, in relation to taxation as well as to quiritary ownership. Not accidentally, Velleius Paterculus, who deals with the colony as if it had actually been founded, defines the deduction law *in legibus Gracchi inter perniciosissima*.[410] More generally, the problem was the impossibility of accepting the foundation of a full Roman colo-

402 López Barja de Quiroga (1997), pp. 83–84, argues that the reference to a *novum genus hominum* could have been a rhetorical strategy of the Senate to justify a decision (the foundation of the colony) which would have otherwise appeared extremely difficult to accept.

403 Fear (1994), p. 299.

404 See Toynbee (1965), vol. 2, pp. 142–154.

405 The problem is caused by a series of passages in Livy, in which the foundation of Luna, surely a Roman colony, and Luca are discussed (40.43.1, where it is said that a colony would be founded on the territory of Pisa, though the name is not mentioned; 41.13.4–5; 45.13.10). The similarity of the two names makes it difficult to recognize which information should be connected with which town; see Sherwin-White (1973²), pp. 78–79; Pina Polo (1988), pp. 117–118.

406 See above, pp. 189–190.

407 Following the ancient sources: Vell. 1.15.4.

408 Roselaar (2010), p. 243.

409 App., *Rom*. 8.20.136; *Civ*. 1.3.24. See Spagnuolo Vigorita (1996), pp. 83–84.

410 Vell. 2. 7. Velleius seems to recognize a particular difficulty, probably from the perspective of sacral law, in allowing the new colony to fulfil census operations on provincial soil, while the citizens residing in the provinces must travel to Italy to be registered. Also Liv., *Per*. 60.8, deals with the colony as if it had been actually founded.

ny outside of Italy; not by chance was it thought that the gods manifested their opposition to the project through signs.[411]

If it is therefore reasonable to say that since the Gracchan period, the problem of the juridical possibility of founding colonies outside the peninsula was an object of discussion;[412] it is thus difficult during this period to see the birth of the institution formalized under the highly meaningful name of *ius Italicum*, which implied a fictitious collocation of the interested communities on Italic soil and therefore a complete equivalence with the cities of the peninsula.[413] Hermon's attempt to date the origin of this institution to Caesar's time is unconvincing,[414] and it must be remembered that the first mention of such an institution is to be found in Pliny the Elder.[415] Indeed, the traditional attribution of the birth of *ius Italicum* to the Augustan period, or shortly afterwards, still seems to be the most convincing.[416] Until Caesar's time there was always great reluctance to found colonies on provincial territory.[417] When, perhaps in 118 BCE, the first foundation of a Roman colony, Narbo Martius, succeeded on provincial territory, it was not on the same juridical (or symbolic) level as those in Italy; the settlers did not receive quiritary ownership of the land, only a form of perpetual hereditary possession.[418] This situation continued during later periods: Caesar's colonial foundations on provincial territory were also clearly distinguished from those on Italic land, as they were subjected to land taxation and did not permit full ownership prior to the introduction of the aforementioned *ius Italicum*.[419] These cities were therefore not founded on *ager Romanus*, which continued to be limited only to the peninsular territory, and were clearly distinguished from the "full" Roman colonies, which existed only in the "region" Italy.

Once again, it must therefore be considered extremely relevant that in 218 BCE two colonies, Placentia and Cremona, were already installed in Cisalpina, followed in 181 BCE by Aquileia, thus assuming that this region – as has already been shown

411 Plut., *C. Gracch.* 11.1–2. See Salmon (1969), p. 119. It is of secondary importance whether the personal power which could come to the *deductor* of a provincial colony also constituted a problem, as supposed by Dahlheim (1977), pp. 141–143.

412 Watkins (1983), p. 220; Nicolet (1991), p. 93; Hermon (2002), p. 214.

413 Vogt (1942a), p. 178.

414 Hermon (2002), pp. 232–235. Even less convincing is the idea, formulated by Watkins (1972), pp. 188–189, that the *ius Italicum* existed *de facto* already for the foundation of the colony of Junonia, in the time of Gaius Gracchus. The *lex agraria* of 111 BCE refers to *ager datus adsignatus*, which cannot be considered with certainty a synonym of *dominium ex iure Quiritium*, as argued by Watkins.

415 Plin., *HN* 3.25 (*ius Italiae*) and 3.139 (*ius Italicum*). See Watkins (1972), pp. vii–x.

416 Salmon (1969), p. 141.

417 Mattingly (2011), p. 37. See also Luraschi (1996), pp. 91–92.

418 Cic., *Cluent.* 140 reveals that the foundation of the colony was an object of intense discussions. See Salmon (1969), p. 122; Nicolet (1994), pp. 379–380.

419 Gai., *Inst.* 2.7. See Salmon (1969), p. 133; Luzzatto (1974), pp. 27–28.

– was by that time indisputably part of Italic territory.[420] The fact that fewer colonies appear to have been founded here than in the central regions cannot lead us to dispute this; it must be explained within the context of a greater insecurity caused by existing tensions and military clashes with local communities, as by the distance from Rome (which would be significant in the case of a major attack), and perhaps also of a more diffused practice of viritane assignations.

The colonization process thus not only "played a significant role in the Roman conquest and organization of Italy", as Salmon wrote,[421] but also in the distinction of Italic territory from that of the provinces. Additionally, with the movement of a considerable number of people throughout Italy, the colonies contributed to an increasing homogenization of population, language, religious rites, lifestyles and thus to the definition of an ever more identifiable "Italic identity". We may wonder what role this played in the "ideologization" of colonies clearly visible in the Late Republican period, when "colonization was seen as an ordered, state-controlled process that played a vital part in the success of the Roman empire",[422] and the single cities were, with a known formulation used by Gellius, seen as "little Romes" that imitated the architectural character of the *Urbs*.[423] Recent research has shown that such a view is historically unacceptable, given that it has been demonstrated that the colonies were not based on a unified model and were not simply "motors of Romanization".[424] Even as discourse, such a view cannot be attributed to the Middle Republican period, and likely developed during the 2nd century BCE, to become visible within sources from the 1st century BCE.[425] It thus ran parallel to the ever-clearer definition of Italy (where colonies were geographically located until the 1st century BCE) as a specific region.[426]

Human Mobility and Migration in Republican Italy

The development of communities characterized by an "ethnic mix" was not only a consequence of colonial foundations, but also of any other form of human displacement inside the peninsula. As geographical studies have made clear, move-

420 Coelius Antipater (Fr. 66 Peter) did indeed comment on the foundation of Placentia, saying that it was founded against the Gauls *qui eam partem Italiae tenebant*.
421 Salmon (1969), p. 17.
422 Bradley (2006), p. 163.
423 Gell. 16.13.8–9.
424 See e.g. Stek (2013), p. 244; Sewell (2014), pp. 125–131; Stek (2014b), pp. 87–88.
425 Bispham (2006), pp. 113–122.
426 With the Social War and the concession of Roman citizenship to the entire peninsula, the colonial foundations become less relevant from the perspective considered here; therefore, the colonies of the Sullan, Caesarian and Augustan time are not analyzed here.

ment and migration are central elements in disconnecting identities from territories and showing them as fluid constructs. Inhabitants of specific regions are the bearers of narratives concerning those regions, and through their physical movement such narratives become more complex and intermingled with narratives concerning the regions of settlement.[427] Structures of expectation are therefore changed accordingly,[428] and previously recognized regional structures of identity can be weakened through new narratives that concern a broader region inside which the movements – free or forced – have taken place. In many periods, the bearers of political decisions were aware of such mechanisms, and used them to intentionally reshape national and regional identities. For example, in Italy after 1861, both the military service and the recruitment of teachers for schools were particularly important devices in displacing individuals from their birthplace and assisting the creation of a national identity; the displacement of teachers was also applied in the same way by Franco in Spain,[429] together with a strong stimulation of internal migration to Catalonia, which had consequences that were relevant to the dynamics of the region and its autonomist aspirations.[430]

Migration movements in the period of the Roman Republic could also be of two kinds: forced or spontaneous [see Fig. 4 for a schematic representation of the different forms of migratory movements]. Forced migrations, i.e. deportations of groups of Italic populations, were indeed widely practiced by the Romans, and should not be underestimated in their importance.[431] The reason for such a decision was, generally speaking, an awareness of the existence of a political and military danger, along with the will to break down consistent unities perceived as dangerous, or alliances between different groups perceived to be too strong. Such groups were provided the land they needed in the new location so that they would not rebel.[432] According to Polybius, the Senones were "chased" from their territories in 284 BCE.[433] In 269–268 BCE, the Picentes were expelled from their original area and resettled on the gulf of Paestum, likely with the additional function of separating the

427 Paasi (2002), p. 144.
428 Paasi (1986), p. 127.
429 Kleiner-Liebau (2009), p. 70.
430 Kleiner-Liebau (2009), pp. 98–99.
431 The *deportatio* as a form of punishment of individuals in Roman law from the perspective analyzed here is completely irrelevant, as it only came into existence during the Augustan time; during the Republic exiled persons had a free, if limited, choice of the place to which they could migrate. On this, see Sonnabend (1995), pp. 14–17. The traditions concerning deportations of entire populations to Rome from Alba Longa (Liv. 1.30.1), Politorium (Liv. 1.33.1), and other towns in the monarchic period are not considered here, not only because of their probably legendary character, but because they belong to a different period different from that analyzed.
432 Roselaar (2010), p. 74.
433 Polyb. 2.19.11. See Paci (2002), pp. 86–88. Brizzi (1995), pp. 98–99, proposes for this episode, following Salmon and Toynbee, a later chronology, in the third quarter of the 3rd century BCE.

Hirpini from the Alfaterni;[434] later, in 180–179 BCE, the Ligurians were resettled, first to nearby regions, then far away in Samnium, where they inhabited a town archaeologically identified in Circello.[435] Further groups of Ligurians were transferred in 187 and 179 BCE to different areas of the Po plain.[436] The Statielli had to suffer deportation in 172 BCE by Popillius Laenas, even if this decision was not ratified later and they were reintegrated into Cisalpina.[437] Land was also given, as in the case of deportations, to populations that were "worthy" of it because they had remained peaceful,[438] a form of distribution that confirms the use of territory as a political instrument and influenced the distribution of different populations as well as their interactions and cultural developments.

In 211 BCE, writes Livy, part of the punishment against Capua was the deportation of some of its citizens to different sectors of Campania, Latium, and Etruria.[439] Whether this information indeed corresponds to measures taken in the 3rd century BCE has been widely discussed,[440] but it nonetheless underlines what was perceived as a way of dealing with "problematic", rebellious groups or populations. The distribution of the population of Casilinum among the neighboring populations after its re-conquest in 214 BCE is explicitly explained by Livy as having a surveillance aim (*in custodiam*).[441] Other episodes must have occurred that are not explicitly mentioned in the literary sources, making this practice more common than generally imagined.[442] It is meaningful to underline that such a procedure did not involve the

434 Strab. 5.4.13; Plin., *HN* 3.70. See Pina Polo (2004), p. 212. The historicity of this displacement, doubted by Göhler (1939), pp. 14–16, who thought it was a voluntary migration following the model of the *ver sacrum*, is no longer discussed. At around the same time, the foundation of Beneventum might have aimed at isolating the Hirpini from the Pentri, thus revealing a general "plan" of settlement politics in this area in the generation after the end of the Samnite Wars and immediately following the Tarentine War; see Johannowsky (1990), p. 271; Scopacasa (2015), pp. 151–152.

435 Liv. 40.38.2–7; 40.41.1–4. See Barzanò (1995) on the episodes of 180 BCE; he argues that the movement was not a form of punishment, but a condition of the *foedus* between Rome and the Apuani. Pina Polo (2004), pp. 219–222, and Pina Polo (2006), pp. 185–188, more convincingly confute this argument and argue that the deportation was a form of punishment.

436 Liv. 39.2.9 (187); 40.53.2–3 (180). See Pina Polo (2004), p. 222.

437 Liv. 42.8. See Pina Polo (2004), p. 222; Pina Polo (2006), pp. 189–190.

438 As in the case of the Ligurians in 172 BCE; cf. Liv. 42.22.5–6. The principle of giving land to avoid future rebellions is explicitly described by Appian in relation to the treatment of Viriatus' soldiers after his death and their surrender: App., *Iber*. 75.

439 Liv. 26.34.7–10; cf. Val. Max. 3.8.1. Liv. 9.42.9 refers to a similar procedure in 307 BCE when the Hernici, who had been captured with the Samnites, were scattered among Latin communities in order to be controlled. Another precedent, recorded in Livy, is the deportation beyond the Tiber of the "senators" of Privernum in 329 BCE: Liv. 8.20.9.

440 Good arguments for the historicity of the deportation are presented by Urso (1995); Pina Polo (2004), pp. 213–219; and Pina Polo (2006), pp. 178–185.

441 Liv. 24.19.11.

442 Umbri were presumably moved to Apulia; see Sisani (2007), pp. 53–54.

Boii or other Celtic groups which were, as has been noted, perceived as non-Italics. After their defeat, these groups were therefore not resettled inside the peninsula, but – according to Strabo – chased behind the Alps, in line with the idea that they did not belong to the Italic community.[443]

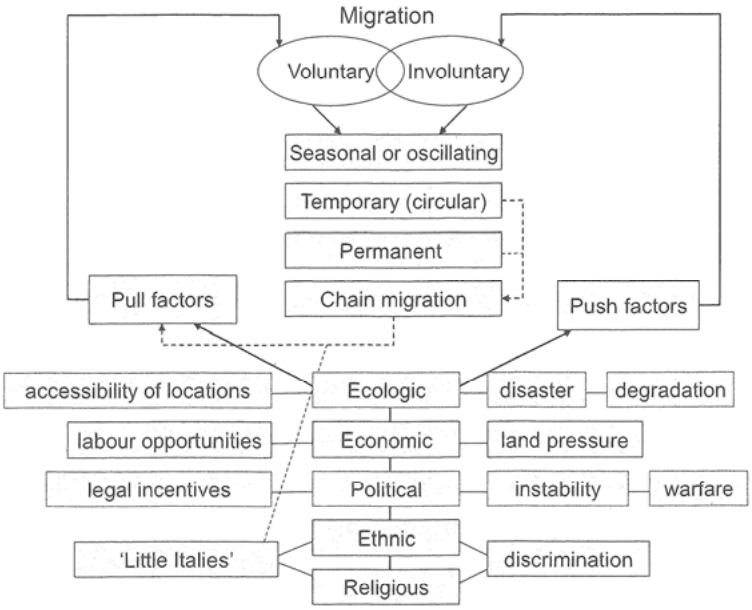

Figure 6.1 Push- and pull-factors towards migration and types of migration

Fig. 4: From Hin (2013), p. 212.

This practice is relevant from two different perspectives:[444] first, from the Roman side, it shows an awareness of a potential connection between identity issues and spatial organization. The Roman Senate, in deliberating on such deportations, was substantially implying that the displacement of a specific group would enfeeble, together with its "geopiety", its feeling of ethnical belonging and thus make it less

443 Strab. 5.1.6. See Pina Polo (2004), p. 223; Pina Polo (2006), pp. 189–190.

444 The practice of taking hostages, sometimes by the thousands, to Italy from other parts of the Mediterranean world is not considered here, since its aim was not a systematic and centrally organized resettlement and it does not constitute a form of deportation. See Sonnabend (1995), pp. 17–22, on the "deportation" of 1,000 Achaeans to Rome in 168 BCE; cf. Pina Polo (2004), pp. 223–229, who discusses the same episode as well as the resettlement of Cilician pirates operated by Pompey.

dangerous and more controllable. Displacement in this sense would improve the possibilities of integration and quicken this process (or such were the intentions of the Senate).[445] From another perspective, these displacements, which only happened inside Italy and never saw the deportation of an Italic group to a province, once again show the development and consolidation of the Italic region in Roman thought:[446] "if the Roman senators did not have a precise perception of the political situation of the whole of Italy, this kind of project would never have taken place: Rome was starting to deal with the concept of Italy as a Roman state, and ultimately each part had to work in 'harmony' with the others, the whole a perfect machine".[447]

Among the migrants must also be counted the exiles who, according to the sources, often obtained citizenship from the town to which they moved[448] (as Camillus explicitly states in the Livian narration, after having moved to Ardea).[449] The trials against the former governors of Spain in 171 BCE see Publius Furius Philus go into exile to Praeneste, and Marcus Matienus to Tibur.[450] Cicero also writes of an unknown person who had come as an exile to Rome, a possibility which was allowed under the condition of securing a Roman patron.[451]

Different considerations are needed in analyzing "voluntary migration" (of free people) when it occurred independent of colonial foundations.[452] This is extremely important since, as Keaveney has already realized, voluntary migration (along with forced movement) contributed to "scrambling" the Italic population[453]. The best-known example of this phenomenon is the practice of viritane assignations of

445 Pina Polo (2004), pp. 229–230; Pina Polo (2006), pp. 191–192.

446 Italics were indeed not moved to the provinces; while, at the same time, deportations practiced in the Iberian peninsula did not bring provincials to Italy, but to other parts of Spain and, in at least one case, to Gallia; these deportation practices underline the "difference" between Italy and the rest of the Roman world. On these displacements, see Pina Polo (2004), pp. 230–245; Pina Polo (2009). Exceptions are explicable on a symbolic level, for example the case of the soldiers who surrendered in the battle of Cannae, lost their right to live in Italy, and were subsequently exiled to Sicily. See above, p. 64.

447 Curti/Dench/Patterson (1996), p. 187.

448 This does not automatically mean that anything like a *ius exilii*, which Alföldi (1963), pp. 38–39, considered to be one of the most archaic institutions of Latium, actually existed, as demonstrated by Coşkun (2009), pp. 73–82.

449 Liv. 5.44.1. Polyb. 6.14.8 alludes to the existence of agreements concerning the exiles with Naples, Praeneste, and Tibur. Cic., *Balb.* 28–29 recalls different cases of Romans who, for this reason, changed citizenship. See Beloch (1880), p. 215; Sherwin-White (1973[2]), p. 126; Bispham (2007a), p. 133.

450 Liv. 43.2.10.

451 Cic., *De Orat.* 1.177.

452 On the definition of "voluntary migration" and on the impact of "push factors" on the decision to migrate, see Hin (2013), pp. 214–217.

453 Keaveney (1987), pp. 22 and 50–51. See also Patterson (2012), pp. 220–222.

land,[454] as with those disposed by G. Flaminius in the *ager Gallicus and Picenus* in 232 BCE. A fragment of *guttus*, inscribed with the words *Galicos colonos* and dated to the 3rd century BCE, refers to such practices.[455] Another example is the distribution that occurred within the *ager Ligustinus et Gallicus* in 179 BCE, which interested Romans, Latins, and allies, as did all distributions of land to veterans.[456] Those moving to a new city of residence (as long as they did not acquire citizenship in the new town and were not Latin or Roman citizens)[457] were *incolae*, exactly as the local inhabitants not involved in a colony deduction,[458] likely after a formal procedure of acceptance. The presence of Samnites *incolae* in Aesernia is attested by a dedication to Venus,[459] even if it is impossible to know whether they were representatives of the indigenous population of the territory where the colony was settled[460] or had migrated there, arriving either during the period of foundation or later.[461] Such legal issues probably assumed different forms in the city as in the countryside; in the latter case, it was also necessary to demonstrate the property of a piece of land. The simple seasonal workers in the fields were thus excluded from such assumptions of citizenship;[462] in such cases of seasonal or temporal displacement, the migrants were defined as *hospites* or *advenae*, and distinguished from the *incolae* in that they did not take *domicilium* in a new town.[463]

454 See Scopacasa (2016), pp. 49–50.

455 *CIL* 1^2.2877b = *AE* 1979.292. See Bandelli (1988a), pp. 15–17.

456 Liv. 31.49.5–6 (assignation to Scipio's veterans after the Second Punic War); 42.4.3. See Pina Polo (2006), pp. 173–175. See Scopacasa (2015), pp. 240–242 for possible viritane assignations in Samnium.

457 Roman law did not allow for dual citizenship (Cic., *Balb*. 28; *Caecin*. 100: see Carlà-Uhink (2017b), p. 271); it was therefore necessary for an individual to decide which citizenship they wanted to have. In the case of a migration, it was expected that the migrant would adopt the new citizenship; at the same time, it has been supposed that the concession of Roman citizenship was joint, until the 2nd century BCE, with the expectation that the honored move to Rome; see Galsterer (1976), p. 96–97. For this reason, the *lex Acilia de repetundis* foresees the possibility that some might not want to acquire Roman citizenship; on which see Crawford (1996), n. 1, ll. 78–79. Capogrossi Colognesi (2000), pp. 178–184, applies this rule only to the Roman citizens, claiming that a non-Roman who received Roman citizenship at a later time could indeed enjoy both citizenships, unless they moved to Rome. Whether the same incompatibility existed between two non-Roman citizenships is not clear.

458 Gagliardi (2006), pp. 46–55.

459 *CIL* 1^2.3201. See Bradley (2006), p. 174. See also Broadhead (2000), p. 161, for a similar case in Aquileia.

460 La Regina (1971), p. 452; Gagliardi (2006), pp. 156–158.

461 E.g. Galsterer (1976), p. 54; Coarelli (1991), pp. 178–179; Pina Polo (2006), pp. 105–106. See also Scopacasa (2015), pp. 32 and 249.

462 Gagliardi (2006), pp. 340–346.

463 Gagliardi (2006), pp. 75–80. On *domicilium*, see Y. Thomas (1996), pp. 34–43.

It is assumed by all scholars that in the archaic period, and already in the Bronze Age,[464] Italy was characterized by an extremely high level of horizontal mobility involving all communities, including Rome.[465] Traces of this are preserved in the annalistic tradition, which refers to how the Greek Demaratus moved from Corinth to Tarquinia and his son Tarquinius then moved to Rome, there becoming king Tarquinius Priscus.[466] Coriolanus would have had no problems in leaving Rome and being accepted as a general by the Volsci. The most famous example is probably that of Attus Clausus, who moved from Sabina to Rome with a large number of his relatives and clients, thus founding the *gens Claudia*.[467] Many similar examples are to be found in Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and other authors that deal with the 7th–5th centuries BCE. That these traditions are indeed rooted in social practices of that time is not disputed,[468] especially as epigraphic documents confirm this.[469] For example, a Roman is epigraphically attested around 500 BCE in Bomarzo, as an inhabitant of Gabii in Orvieto.[470]

Among such inscriptions, the so-called *lapis Satricanus* is particularly relevant. This inscription, which can be dated to the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century BCE, contains a dedication to Mars by the "companions" of a Poplio Valesio: *...iei steterai Popliosio Valesiosio / svodales Mamartei*. In spite of the extreme brevity of the text, it is of great importance in reconstructing horizontal mobility in archaic Italy: the *sodales* are to be understood as a group of comrades, since it is unlikely they represent a religious *sodalitas*. Poplio Valesio should therefore have been a "condottiero" followed by a group of armed men.[471] Valesio was in Satricum, where the dedication was made, though his name without doubt hints to a Roman

464 Blake (2014), pp. 202–204.

465 See e.g. Bradley (2006), pp. 164–166; Bourdin (2012), pp. 521–551, for a systematic treatment of the known cases.

466 Polyb. 6.11a.7; Cic., *Rep*. 2.34–35; Cic., *Tusc*. 5.109; Liv. 1.34; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom*. 3.46–47; Strab. 5.2.2; 8.6.20. See Ampolo (1976/1977); Zevi (1995); Isayev (2016), pp. 15–17.

467 Liv. 2.16.4–5; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom*. 5.40.3–5; Suet., *Tib*. 1; Plut., *Publ*. 21.4–10; App., *Rom*. 1.12; Zonar. 7.13. On this episode, see Wiseman (1979), pp. 59–65; Olshausen (1997) and Hermon (2001), pp. 56–70.

468 Some examples drawn from onomastics are proposed by Campanile (1991), whose general interpretation of the data, still deeply bound to the idea of the birth of an Italic *koiné*, is in our opinion not correct.

469 Colonna (1970), pp. 648–650; Cristofani (1991), p. 111. Epigraphy can be relevant in this sense not only in helping onomastic research, but also in revealing, through the diffusion of alphabets and particular epigraphic habits, contacts between different communities.

470 *CIE* 2.4980. See Colonna (1981), pp. 169–170.

471 Versnel (1980), p. 121; Rich (2007), pp. 15–16; Armstrong (2016), pp. 142–144. On mercenary soldiers from the perspective of geographical mobility, see Bourdin (2012), pp. 560–569; on "condottieri" in the archaic warfare, see now Armstrong (2016), pp. 86–93. The case of Caso Cantovios (*ILLRP* 7) shows that such warlords were still moving across Italy at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE.

origin,[472] and his identification with Publius Valerius Publicola, the "legendary" consul of 509 BCE, or with his son, has been authoritatively proposed. But aside from the prosopographic problem, the inscription at least attests the existence in different cities of the same *gens*, and most probably of the same person, a famous leader of an armed group, thus demonstrating the existence of the phenomena of geographic mobility described in the literary sources. In short, persons belonging to the upper classes could change city and/or region without losing their position.[473]

Examples of families from Tusculum, Caere, and Capua, which during a short period of time became leaders in Roman internal politics, are well known.[474] Members of the local aristocracies – not only those in communities with Roman or Latin citizenship – were soon inserted through their social networks into the Roman senatorial aristocracy and managed to reach high positions in the field of Roman politics. The Otacilii from Beneventum reached the consulate in 263 and 261 BCE, while the oft-attested existence of parallel lines of the family, both in Rome and their original hometown, demonstrates the continued existence of solid networks.[475] Cato's grandfather likely belonged to an unknown allied population, whereas his son, Cato's father, moved to the *municipium* of Tusculum and there acquired Roman citizenship, which he passed onto his son.[476] From Tusculum, the family moved again to Sabina, before Cato ended up in Rome.[477]

Still, this should not be restricted only to the elite, although the bias of available documentation, literary as well as epigraphical, does not register similar phenomena within the lower classes. These were nonetheless also in motion, and could sometimes join the horizontal mobility with a vertical one, enjoying a social ascent at their destination, as the sources recount in the case of Tarquinius Priscus.[478] Livy makes the tribune Canuleius recall some of the quoted cases (Tarquinius, the Claudii and Servius Tullius), concluding that "so long as men despised no family that could produce conspicuous excellence, the dominion of Rome increased" and to admit the possibility, not allowed to the plebeians, that "the son of a stranger [could] become patrician and then consul".[479]

472 Versnel (1980), pp. 132–137.
473 Bradley (2006), p. 165; Armstrong (2016), pp. 90–91. This is valid even if one should accept the interpretation proposed by Hermon (2001), pp. 86–91, according to whom the inscription refers to a phenomenon of the early colonization of Satricum at the beginning of the 5th century BCE, which she connects with the traditions regarding the *ver sacrum*.
474 Galsterer (1976), p. 76.
475 Galsterer (1976), pp. 146–147.
476 Humbert (1978), p. 328.
477 Plut., *Cat. Mai.* 1.1.
478 Ampolo (1976/1977), pp. 342–343.
479 Liv. 4.3.13–15; transl. B.O. Foster.

Geographical mobility was indeed a reality at all social levels: alongside seasonal workers could be found the children of the nobility who moved throughout the peninsula for their education, thus broadly cooperating in the institution and consolidation of social networks between different towns and areas, while *hospitium* also reinforced these networks, though mostly among the elites.[480] Markets, voting assemblies, religious festivals – all represented reasons for the inhabitants of the peninsula to move from one town to another quite regularly and enter into contact with members of other communities.[481] While Plutarch's idea that Romulus was educated in Gabii can be dismissed as legend, Livy nonetheless relates that the brother of the consul for the year 310 BCE, who had been raised in Caere by *hospites* of his family, knew the Etruscan language and culture perfectly.[482] The historicity of the fact can be rejected, but it cannot be doubted that such anecdotes were based on widespread practices of exchanges and connections.[483] The scandal of the Bacchanalia in 186 BCE provides an opportunity to recognize the extent of Italic connections,[484] since the cult, moving from the East, apparently expanded first in Etruria and was then brought to Rome, and the persons involved came from the most disparate regions of Italy.[485] It must be strongly highlighted that such forms of network-

480 On *hospitium* in Republican Italy, see Wiseman (1971a), pp. 33–34; Capogrossi Colognesi (2000), pp. 49–50; Patterson (2006), pp. 140–143; Lomas (2012b), pp. 202–209; Patterson (2012), pp. 218–219; Patterson (2016), p. 486. *CIL* 1^2.1764 = *ILLRP* 1066 is an example of a *tessera hospitalis* binding a Roman, T. Manlius T. f., and a Marsian, T. Staiodius N. f. Liv. 25.18.4–15 relates an anecdote starting from the *hospitium* between the Roman Titus Quinctius Crispinus and the Capuan Badius Campanus. The "efficiency" of *hospitium* relationships in creating widespread social networks is indicated by Liv. 39.17.4 in reference to the case of the Bacchanalia; see Wiseman (1971a), p. 50; Bispham (2007a), p. 122; Cébeillac-Gervasoni (2008), pp. 42–43.

481 Williamson (2005), pp. 247–249.

482 Liv. 10.36.2–5. The connection of the family with Caere indeed appears quite strong; Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus, brother of the individual mentioned here whose name, according to Livy, is uncertain, had a *magister equitum* called Quintus Aulius Cerretanus, who probably came from Caere; see Galsterer (1976), p. 71. For further examples of *hospitium* in this period, see also Fronda (2010), p. 305.

483 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.11.1 attributes the creation of such Italic networks to Romulus, revealing how he perceived such networks as constitutive of the Roman political and social system.

484 M. Torelli (1996), p. 94.

485 According to Livy, the cult was introduced to Etruria by a Greek (39.8.3), whence it diffused into Rome (39.8.1). In Ispala's denunciation, a Campanian woman, Paculla Annia, should have reformed the cult (39.13.9), and introduced the possibility of initiation for men, beginning with her own sons, Minius and Herennius Cerrinus. Among the persons accused of participating in the rites are the Romans Marcus and Caius Atinius, the Faliscan Lucius Opicernius, and the aforementioned Minius Cerrinus (39.17.6; 39.19.2). It is impossible to know whether Livy means that these persons were active in their own communities or in Rome; in either case, the composition of the initiates reveals the breadth of Italic network connections and perhaps also the mixed ethnic composition of the population of the *Urbs*, as a consequence of the migrations of the 3rd and early 2nd centuries BCE. Nonetheless, a consistent group of initiates, to whom was directed the last repression by a praetor

ing did not necessarily always involve Rome, but were also built among different Italic communities, even if these instances are less well-represented in the available sources.[486]

This mobility has often been supposed to slow down or cease in the following centuries, as a consequence of the Roman structuration of the peninsula;[487] only more recently has it been proposed that such mobility continued throughout the mid-Republican period.[488] Exemplary is the case of Vitruvius Vaccus, a citizen of Fundi (and therefore a *civis sine suffragio*), who lived (or at least had a house) in Rome,[489] and yet when Rome and his hometown were at war in 330 BCE did not hesitate to march against the Romans, who confiscated and destroyed his house, as commander of the army of a third town, Privernum.[490] The Volscian friend and guest of Coriolanus' to whom Plutarch refers may have been invented,[491] but stories similar to that of the *gens Claudia* are attested throughout 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, such as for the Decii and Atilii from Campania or for the Caecilii from Praeneste; Q. Anicius, who was *aedilis curilis* in 304 BCE, was an enemy a number of years before his election, according to Pliny.[492] Scheidel thus argues that in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, "one to one and a quarter million moved from the Italian countryside to Rome and over 400 other cities".[493]

At the same time, forms of *hospitium publicum* could also be established, in which two independent communities reciprocally accorded immunity and residence

sent with this explicit aim, was to be found in Apulia (39.41.6–7; 40.19.9). The repression was also organized throughout Italy (see n. 181), and Ispala asked, fearing for her life after the denunciation, to be sent outside of Italy (39.13.6).

486 The existence of ties of friendship and hospitality among Samnites and Neapolitans is mentioned by Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 15.8.4. See Lomas (2012b), pp. 197–198.

487 See Capogrossi Colognesi (2000), pp. 39–40, according to whom such mobility ceased with the birth of "State institutions" after the archaic period; in his opinion, this in itself did not reduce the mobility, but rather made integration more difficult.

488 Bradley (2000a), p. 136; Broadhead (2008), pp. 468–469. See Erdkamp (2008), pp. 418–437, who differentiates further between seasonal, temporary, and permanent migration. On seasonal labor, see now also Erdkamp (2016).

489 For members of the local elites owning houses in Rome, see Cébeillac-Gervasoni (2008), p. 45.

490 Liv. 8.19.4–5. See Lomas (2012b), p. 203; Terrenato (2014), pp. 51–52.

491 Plut., *G. Marc.* 10.4–5.

492 Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 33.17. On these movements, see Galsterer (1976), pp. 143–145; Hölkeskamp (1987), pp. 179–180. Sherwin-White (1973²), p. 204, claims that the Campanian origin of many of these families, for example of the Atilii, is not demonstrated and the local *cognomina* could represent "commemoration of victories". This is not acceptable: the amount of unattested victories would be hardly believable, while the widespread mobility does not allow doubt that these families came from Campania. As expressed by Terrenato (2014), p. 56: "There is practically no area of peninsular Italy which is not represented in this wave of early adapters".

493 Scheidel (2004), p. 19; however, Scheidel's assumption that it was almost solely Roman citizens who were moving is not acceptable (p. 20).

to their citizens.[494] This is the case for the privilege accorded to Caere in 390 BCE, which apparently caused a "double" movement, not only of Caerites to Rome, but also of Romans to Caere.[495] These forms of movement and mixing also involved communities progressively receiving the status of *municipium* and therefore citizenship, with or without *suffragium*. Without entering into the extremely complicated and widely debated issues concerning these passages, it may be noted that Festus, in his definitions of *municipium* and of *municeps*,[496] connects these terms with persons who had moved to Rome and there acquired the duties and almost all the rights accorded to Roman citizens, excluding the right of voting and being voted for. Aside from the relevance of this in understanding municipal structures, both *optimo iure* and *sine suffragio*, it is also relevant to underline how for Festus, or rather his source, such migrations and forms of partial or total integration of migrants (Festus also speaks of a complete assimilation later on) were taken for granted.

All these dynamics were clear to the Romans themselves, and were used as an argument by the Emperor Claudius when he proposed to allow notables from the Gallia Comata to enter the Senate. In doing so, he summarized the history of Roman nobility in a very schematic (and chronologically inaccurate) formulation:

> My ancestors, the most ancient of whom was made at once a citizen and a noble of Rome, encourage me to govern by the same policy of transferring to this city all conspicuous merit, wherever found. And indeed I know, as facts, that the Julii came from Alba, the Coruncanii from Camerium, the Porcii from Tusculum, and not to inquire too minutely into the past, that new members have been brought into the Senate from Etruria and Lucania and the whole of Italy, that Italy itself was at last extended to the Alps,[497] to the end that not only single persons but entire countries and tribes might be united under our name. [...] Plebeian magistrates came after patrician; Latin magistrates after plebeian; magistrates of other Italian peoples after Latin. This practice too will establish itself, and what we are this day justifying by precedents, will be itself a precedent.[498]

494 Humbert (1978), p. 32.

495 Liv. 5.50.3. See Humbert (1978), pp. 140–142.

496 Fest., *s.v. Municeps* 117 Lindsay; *s.v. Municipium* 155 Lindsay: *Municipium id genus hominum dicitur, qui cum Romam venissent, neque cives Romani essent, participes tamen fuerunt omnium rerum ad munus fungendum una cum Romanis civibus, praeterquam de suffragio ferendo, aut magistratu capiendo; sicut fuerunt Fundani, Formiani, Cumani, Acerrani, Lanuvini, Tusculani, qui post aliquot annos cives Romani effecti sunt*. See Badian (1958), p. 16. The contents of these headwords seem to go back to Verrius Flaccus and therefore to the 1st century BCE; see Mancini (1997), pp. 43–104, who underlines that such headwords are largely informative for the period following the Social War, rather than the previous one. The precise definition of *municipium*, one of the most discussed topics of Republican history and law, is beyond the scope of this work; the basic reference work on this topic is still Humbert (1978).

497 Claudius refers here to the deprovincialization of Cisalpina, see pp. 50–53.

498 Tac., *Ann.* 11.24; transl. A.J. Church/W.J. Brodribb.

The consequences of these movements, connections, and networks are clearly defined by Livy when he introduces the story of Titus Manlius, the consul's son who, with his troopers, encounters the Tusculan enemies led by Geminus Maecius. Geminus Maecius immediately recognizes Manlius, "for they were all known to one another, particularly the men of mark".[499] This constant interconnection of the elites is also demonstrated in the mid-2nd century BCE by an Oscan inscription on a statue base in Pompeii with the name of L. Mummius, who probably donated the statue to the community from the spoils of the Corinthian booty. This inscription reveals the network of aristocratic connections that was widespread across the peninsula.[500]

It should not be forgotten that such stable networks, especially at the level of the elites, were built and consolidated through another form of displacement, namely the mobility ensuing from the marriages that united members of families from different areas of the peninsula.[501] A good example of such a practice in the mid-4th century BCE is provided by the Cista Ficoroni, found at Praeneste but presumably commissioned by Dindia Macolnia for her daughter in Rome;[502] a wedding connection between the two towns can be presumed, and we may also note on the topic of horizontal mobility, that the artist who realized this object in the *Urbs*, Novius Plautius, bears a typically Campanian name.[503] Livy confirms that weddings with other populations, not only the Latins, were very common: when the tribune Canuleius makes his speech, as previously mentioned, to abolish the law which forbids marriages between patricians and plebeians, he specifies that the plebs want that *conubium, quod finitimis externisque dari solet*.[504]

Not all communities had *conubium* with Rome, as it was presumably shared specifically with Latins since the *foedus Cassianum*; this was then restricted in 338 BCE to a *conubium* between Rome and every Latin city, while the citizens of Latin cities could not intermarry.[505] The Romans also shared *conubium* with Capua: the

499 Liv. 8.7.3: *omnes inter se, utique illustres viri, noti erant*.

500 Martelli (2002).

501 Toynbee (1965), vol. 1, pp. 332–333; Patterson (2006), pp. 147–149; Cébeillac-Gervasoni (2008), p. 44; Bourdin (2012), pp. 573–574; Patterson (2012), pp. 219–220. On the Rape of the Sabine Women, the real foundation legend of these marriage networks, especially in the interpretation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, see above, pp. 118–119.

502 *CIL* 1^2.561 = *ILLRP* 1197 = *ILS* 8562.

503 There have been doubts about the role of Novius Plautius, but the idea that he manufactured the piece is still highly convincing; on the Plautii and their connections to different towns of central Italy in the 4th century BCE, see Terrenato (2014), pp. 47–50. See Bourdin (2012), pp. 553–554, and in general pp. 552–559 for examples of the mobility of artisans and merchants. For further archaeological data concerning intermarriage between Italic populations, see M. Torelli (1999), pp. 3–4.

504 Liv. 4.3.4. A similar statement can be found in Ov., *Fast*. 3.195–196.

505 Liv. 8.14.10. See Ulp. 5.4: *conubium habent cives Romani cum civibus Romanis, cum Latinis autem et cum peregrinis ita, si concessum sit*. The reference to the Latins has been widely discussed in literature and probably refers, in Ulpian's period, to the *Latini Juniani*; see Luraschi (1979), pp.

defection of the city in 211 BCE was initially slowed down, according to Livy, due to the high levels of intermingling between Roman and Capuan families due to this *conubium vetustum*.[506] When making decisions regarding the Campanians, who had committed acts of betrayal in the Second Punic War, it was decided that the citizens of Capua, along with their children and wives, should be sold as slaves, with the exception of daughters who had married outside the town,[507] a category that realistically had to be taken into consideration when defining the punitive measures. The Campanians again obtained *conubium* with the Romans after their formal request in 188 BCE.[508] At the same time, the importance of marriages in shaping alliances and communities was made evident by the fact that Rome conceived, on several occasions, of the prohibition of *conubium* between other populations and groups as a specific form of punishment, thus blocking the possibility of interconnections. Intermarriage was, for example, forbidden to the Hernici after their rebellion of 306 BCE, with the exception of the three *populi* that did not rebel, Aletrinates, Verulani, and Ferentinates.[509] Nonetheless, these must be seen as extreme cases, and the existence of *conubium* must have been the rule rather than the exception.[510]

Even the absence of legal *conubium* was not a hindrance for intermarriage, as ultimately this only juristically determined the status and condition of the sons: these should have in the case of *conubium* followed the citizenship of the father, while without it they would have followed that of their mother or,[511] after the *lex Minicia*, of the parent of lower status.[512] The absence of a recognized *conubium* does not therefore lead to the conclusion that there were no alliances and networks built through marriage agreements and no migration of brides and grooms.[513] The members of the Urban senatorial elite, and likely at least part of the Italic elites as well,

242–245. See also Volterra (1953), pp. 359–361; Capogrossi Colognesi (2000), pp. 57–61. But against this general accordance of *conubium* to the Latins see now Coşkun (2009), pp. 34–39. For more on this topic, see also Volterra (1953), pp. 382–383; Galsterer (1976), p. 86.

506 Liv. 23.4.7. See also Liv. 31.31.11: *foedere primum, deinde conubio atque inde cognationibus*.

507 Liv. 26.34.3.

508 Liv. 38.36.5–6.

509 Liv. 9.43.23–24.

510 Beloch (1880), p. 222; Luraschi (1979), pp. 258–259. Kiene (1845), pp. 15–25, argues that all Italic communities enjoyed *conubium* with Rome.

511 Cherry (1990), pp. 246–248.

512 Gai., *Inst*. 1.78–79. The *lex Minicia* is of very uncertain dating. Most commentators still date it to the Republican period, towards the end of the 2nd century BCE, largely on the basis of the supposed "closure" of Roman citizenship in this period; this late 2nd-century BCE date has received support in particular from Castello (1953), who attributed the law to Minucius Rufus, *tribunus plebis* in 121 BCE and interpreted it as anti-Gracchan measure, as did Cherry (1990), pp. 249–250. Nevertheless, later dates have been proposed, variously ranging from 65 or 62 BCE (Luraschi (1976)); the age of Tiberius (Mancini (1997), pp. 36–42); or, far more tentatively, to the Flavian period.

513 Cherry (1990), pp. 265–266; Cherry (1998), pp. 134–140: "So there is little reason to think that the law will have deterred Romans from marrying non-Romans".

would have undoubtedly been interested in ensuring that their offspring would enjoy full Roman citizenship, as this had consequences for their inheritance, though it would be a mistake to automatically transfer this assumed worry to all social classes in Rome, and even more so to apply it to the elites of other Italic towns. Furthermore, there likely existed recognized *conubium* among different Italic towns that was not forbidden by Rome and about which the sources provide almost no information.[514] The previously mentioned passage of Diodorus Siculus concerning the meeting of Marius and Pompaedius in 90 BCE, recalls how many soldiers of Roman and Italic descent were connected to each other through kinship, allowed by the "law concerning marriage", ὁ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας νόμος.[515]

Specific examples are known, in particular among aristocratic families, that demonstrate the existence and extent of such networks:[516] the *gens Fabia* apparently had a strong bond with the *gens Otacilia* in Beneventum which, according to tradition (likely brought forward by the Fabii themselves), had been established through a marriage in the 5th century BCE when the only survivor from the battle of the Cremera married the daughter of Numerius Otacilius Maleventanus.[517] Once again, independent of the historicity of this particular marriage, it is important to underline how such unions were used in a later period (and in this case the "Fabian" character of the information could induce to see in Fabius Pictor the original source)[518] as an argument in the construction of connections, alliances, and friendships. A more certain case is represented in the first half of the 3rd century BCE by Gaius Genucius Clepsina, twice consul (in 276 and 271 BCE) and possibly the first *praefectus* sent to Caere, who was apparently a descendant of the Roman family of the Genucii and of the aristocratic *gens Clevsina* from Tarquinia.[519]

The previously discussed connections between Rome and Capua at the end of the 3rd century BCE, when the ruler of the Campanian town, Pacuvius Calavius, had married a daughter of Appius Claudius Pulcher and married his own daughter to

514 As recognized by Göhler (1939), pp. 11–12. The sources in this case are much scarcer, and date to the period after the Social War, when the concession of Roman citizenship makes such episodes more "relevant" to Roman sources, especially those of juridical nature. The most well-known case is the one of the wedding of Papia, from Teanum, and Oppianicus, from Larinum; cf. Cic., *Cluent*. 27.

515 Diod. Sic. 37.15.2. See above, p. 207.

516 Wiseman (1971a), pp. 54–55; Hölkeskamp (1987), pp. 177–178.

517 Fest., *s.v. Numerius* 174 Lindsay; Iul. Par., *De Nom.* 6.

518 It can be presumed that the *gens Fabia* could have been interested in underlining such a connection beginning from the time of the Pyrrhic War when Maleventum, renamed Beneventum, assumed an important role in Roman cultural memory, and even more after its deduction as Roman colony in 268 BCE.

519 M. Torelli (2000), pp. 155–157, argues for a descendence from an Etruscan mother and a Roman father or, alternatively, for an entirely Etruscan origin and a subsequent adoption into a Roman family.

Marcus Livius Salinator, are certainly based in historical reality.[520] Further examples, known through their insertion into historical narratives, confirm this picture: one can think of the commander of the Bruttian garrison in Tarentum who, according to Livy, was in love with the sister of a soldier in the Roman army (whether Roman, Latin or ally is not stated by Livy; Plutarch considers him a Tarentine and refers to other opinions that consider her a Bruttian) and who would ultimately bring about the Roman conquest of the city in 209 BCE.[521] Also of note is the poet Pacuvius from Brundisium, son of a sister of Ennius, who came from Rudiae (and the fact that Ennius received Roman citizenship did not certainly involve his sister).

Even if is it doubtful whether this mobility (in particular the marriages, whose role in this sense has been often underlined) made the process of homologation easier, nor whether the Italics involved immediately experienced important consequences in their sense of identity and personal belonging,[522] it cannot be doubted that, from a Roman perspective, the inhabitants of Italy were becoming ever more mixed. This could only reinforce their idea of the peninsula as a unitary and defined region, independent of the possibility that such procedures were intentionally aimed at homogenizing the Italic populations.[523] Movements between other Italic cities contributed strongly to this process and represent a phenomenon that cannot be underestimated, yet is "impervious to quantification".[524] It is perhaps sufficient to remember the famous funerary inscription attesting the presence of a Celtic family in Tuder, written in Celtic and in Latin rather than in Umbrian, which confirms the existence of a broader mobility that escapes our attention due to a lack of sources.[525]

The relevance of all this has already been highlighted by Talbert and Raaflaub, who have formulated a series of questions central to this work: "how do territorialized geographies or spatialities relate to geographies of mobility, either conceptually or representationally? How are hybridity and diasporas, and the question of cosmopolitanism, dealt with within territorialized geographical schemes?"[526] From an institutional perspective, it has long been thought that voluntary forms of migration were organized and formulated through the structures of *ius migrandi*, one of the juridical characters that had traditionally been believed to identify, together with

520 Liv. 23.2.6.
521 Liv. 27.15.9–10; Plut., *Fab. Max.* 21. See also App., *Rom.* 7.8.49.
522 So Hantos (1998), pp. 114–115.
523 Gabba (1985), p. 37.
524 Scheidel (2004), p. 13.
525 *ILLRP* 687 = *CIL* 1^2.2103. See also Bourdin (2012), pp. 478–482, on human mobility in Tuder and, more generally, in the middle Tiber valley.
526 Talbert/Raaflaub (2010), p. 2.

the *ius conubii* and the *ius commercii*, the Latin communities between the Latin and Social Wars.[527]

Within the usual interpretation, which has already been attacked from many sides,[528] Latin citizens had the right to move to Rome to directly acquire Roman citizenship (following approval and their inscription in the census), once they had left in their town of origin a child who could take up their role. Since it was believed that most inhabitants of the Latin colonies had originally come from Rome, and thus renounced their Roman citizenship to be inscribed in the new town, this would ultimately constitute a form of right to return to their original citizenship.[529] The insertion of such a rule later would not imply a restriction of mobility, since it would introduce only a restriction on the assumption of citizenship in Rome: it would not exclude the possibility of moving to the *Urbs* without attaining citizen status.

It has thus been suggested that anyone could obtain Roman citizenship "by a two-stage process of migration to a Latin community followed by migration to Rome",[530] a possibility which is particularly evident in the Latin colonies that also

527 See Bernardi (1973), p. 65; and Humbert (1978), pp. 108–122, who claims that the *ius migrandi* had existed even since the *foedus Cassianum*; David (1994), p. 29; Spagnuolo Vigorita (1996), pp. 45–46. This idea of the *ius migrandi* is still shared by Bourdin (2012), pp. 519–520, and Kendall (2013), pp. 83–84.

528 See e.g. Coşkun (2009), pp. 70–73; Tarpin (2014).

529 Liv. 41.8.9. For a reconstruction, according to this interpretation, of how Latins could acquire Roman citizenship, see Castello (1958), pp. 223–235. The problem of the twelve Latin colonies which, according to Cic., *Caec.* 102, should have possessed different rights, is not discussed here. The identification of the colonies, among which only Ariminum is explicitly mentioned by Cicero, is completely uncertain and Mommsen's theory that these should be the Latin colonies founded after 268 BCE (Mommsen (1888[8]), p. 522) has been substantially rejected (largely in consideration of the fact that there were presumably more than twelve; an exception is Mouritsen (1998), p. 106). An alternative theory, suggested by Beloch (1880), pp. 155–158, which recognizes in them the colonies that refused to provide Rome with more soldiers in 209 BCE (Liv. 27.9.7), among which Ariminum was not listed, has not enjoyed further success. It is additionally unclear in what this particular right consisted, and it is unclear even whether their condition should be "better" or "worse" than that of the other Latin colonies. Mommsen's idea that among the elements constituting the difference was also a limitation of the *ius migrandi*, has already been contested by Rosenberg (1920), pp. 348–349, and is no longer followed by anyone. The most recent literature has recognized the impossibility of reaching any kind of result, underlining in particular the fact that Cicero's statement, connected rather to problems of inheritance, must be read in the context of a judicial process in which he aimed at convincing his public rather than being precise from a juridical point of view. See, among others, Kiene (1845), pp. 19–25; Göhler (1939), pp. 39–41; Toynbee (1965), vol. 1, pp. 253–254; Salmon (1969), pp. 92–94; Bernardi (1973), pp. 77–87; Sherwin-White (1973[2]), pp. 102–108; Luraschi (1979), pp. 281–299; Hantos (1983), pp. 126–129; Bandelli (1988a), p. 19; Coşkun (2009), pp. 63–70.

530 Broadhead (2001), p. 69.

included non-Latin colonists.[531] However, this right would have then been restricted either in the 2nd or at the beginning of the 1st century BCE, causing a "closure" to the concession of Roman citizenship and the possibility of moving to Rome.[532] The sources begin to attest problems in 187 BCE and again in 177 BCE, when embassies from Latin cities complained of a loss of population due to many inhabitants moving to Rome without respecting the law that compelled them to leave their offspring behind.[533]

To begin with, Rome expelled all those who had been registered in the census of their community of origin after 204–203 BCE, or whose father had been registered in the same period; thus those who had moved to Rome during the Second Punic War under the constriction of the military events were excluded.[534] The second embassy asked Rome to produce a law forbidding the possibility for the Latins to give their sons as slaves to Roman citizens with the agreement that they would be manumitted, thus receiving Roman citizenship. These behaviors caused more damage to the original community than to Rome,[535] as individuals adopted children in their own communities with the sole aim of leaving them behind while moving to Rome.[536] It was also accompanied by complaints from Samnites and Paeligni, since many of them (4,000 families) had apparently moved to Fregellae, confirming the existence of a consistent intra-Italic mobility independent of Rome.[537] Rome seems to have

531 An example might be Calventius, grandfather of L. Calpurnius Piso, who moved to Placentia. His daughter later married L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, if Cicero is to be believed when tracing Piso's genealogy; cf. Ascon., *In Pison*. 4 Clark. See Cassola (1991), p. 27; Broadhead (2000), p. 160.

532 Mommsen (1889[8]), p. 268; Badian (1958), p. 150; Castello (1958), pp. 264–265; Toynbee (1965), vol. 2, pp. 137–141; Watkins (1972), p. 67 ("The ancient *ius migrationis* has been so curtailed as practically to be abolished"); Galsterer 1976, pp. 92–93 (recognizing solely military reasons, connected with the difficulties of recruitment); Humbert (1978), p. 117. Luraschi (1979), pp. 59–66; (1996), pp. 37–40, dates this "closure" to the years following the end of the First Punic War; while Mommsen (1888[8]), pp. 981–982, preferred a date directly after the Second Punic War. This does not apply to the episode of 206 BCE (Liv. 28.11.11), when the inhabitants of the cities of Cremona and Piacenza were forced to return to the colonies; in this case, the problem was guaranteeing enough manpower to the two cities on the Po during the war.

533 Liv. 39.3.4–6; 41.8.5–12.

534 Liv. 25.1.8 indeed refers to migrations to Rome to seek refuge during the war; see Hin (2013), p. 214. See also Coşkun (2009), pp. 160–168; Erdkamp (2011), pp. 126–127, argues that excluding the war's year meant substantially leaving "wartime refugees off the hook".

535 Liv. 41.8.12. Moreover, the reasons for this practice should not simply be reduced to a willingness to move to Rome, but to the adoption of the citizenship itself, and all the connected privileges; Erdkamp (2011), pp. 135–136. See also Coşkun (2009), pp. 168–191.

536 Russo Ruggeri (1998), p. 206.

537 Liv. 41.8.8. See Coarelli (1991), pp. 179–182, who connects the Livian narration with archaeological data from Fregellae, revealing a huge change in the residential structures in the second quarter of the 2nd century BCE. The inhabitants of Narni complain in 199 BCE about the presence of many "immigrants" in the colony and ask for a reinforcement of the deduction: Liv. 32.2.6.

acted in this case as a sort of arbiter between Fregellae, willing to go on hosting the immigrants, and the Samnites and Paeligni: according to Cicero, the Fregellan rhetor Lucius Papirius held a speech *pro Fregellanis colonisque latinis* in these years (perhaps around 177 BCE, given that Cicero says *Ti. Gracchi P. f. fere aetate*), which was probably related to this event.[538]

A consequence of these embassies was perhaps a *lex Claudia*, an edict and a *senatus consultum*[539] ordering the expulsion from the *Urbs* of groups of Latins (and perhaps Italics) who had migrated to the city illegally as well as a new regulation of manumissions, during which it was necessary to swear that the procedure was not connected with citizenship.[540] Nonetheless, it appears that in 173 BCE not all had left Rome, given that the consul Postumius stated explicitly that none of the persons still present would be registered in the census at Rome.[541] This lack of strength in the application of the law also makes clear that the Latin and allied communities – not Rome's difficulty in absorbing migrants – were behind these requests,[542] as they could no longer meet the Roman requests for soldiers (a situation that explains Rome's readiness to acquiesce to the requests).[543]

538 Cic., *Brut*. 170.

539 Russo Ruggeri (1998), pp. 225–227. See also Coşkun (2009), pp. 190–191: Livy's text on this point is, in fact, corrupt and the author believes that the Claudius mentioned as the author of the edict did not release any new law, but was simply charged with the execution of the orders. This is a secondary problem here. See also Tarpin (2014), pp. 173–174, who rightly argues that the *lex Claudia* was a *lex de censu* and not *de civitate*.

540 Liv. 39.3.6 (12,000 persons had to leave Rome); 41.9.9–12.

541 Liv. 42.10.3.

542 Göhler (1939), p. 65; Bernardi (1944/1945), pp. 63–64; Tibiletti (1950), pp. 204–205; Bernardi (1973), pp. 79–80; Laffi (1995), pp. 62–63.

543 The problem, therefore, seems to be the depopulation of the other cities, rather than the difficulty in absorbing greater numbers of migrants in Rome, as assumed by Dyson (1992), pp. 51–52. A mid-way position is now adopted by Dart (2014), pp. 50–51, according to which the military problems were prevalent, but the electoral impact of these migrants, when registered in the census, could also have been problematic for the Romans. See also Castello (1958), pp. 240–244; Luraschi (1979), pp. 76–82; Coşkun (2009), in particular pp. 196–197, still insisting on a Roman "closure"; on a position closer to that expressed here, see Erdkamp (2011), p. 131; Tarpin (2014), pp. 170–173. A partially similar perspective is shared by Raaflaub (1996), p. 297, according to whom Rome's success attracted ever more migrants, and this "population pressure" directly influenced the "decisions to engage in more wars and to aim at further conquest". On the contrary, mortality in Rome was probably higher, and "we have to assume that an influx of immigrants was necessary merely to maintain the city's population, and even higher levels to produce the city's rapid growth" (Erdkamp (2008), pp. 438–439; see also Scheidel (2004), pp. 15–17; Holleran (2011), pp. 158–159; Hin (2013), pp. 221–228). The effective level of urban mobility and the definition of the amount of migrants necessary to ensure stability or growth in the urban population are not problems of direct interest here. Laffi (1995), pp. 43–47, supposes, without particularly strong arguments, that the embassies came not only from Latin communities, but also more generically from communities of *socii*.

This does not allow us to assume that the 2nd century BCE witnessed a "closure" on the Roman side of the possibility of migrating and receiving citizenship in the town to which one moved.[544] Cicero, who in the *Pro Sestio* states that such expulsions happened very rarely (*perraro*),[545] rejects the idea that explicit permission was required from the community of origin in acquiring citizenship, an argument used against his protected Balbus; even if this permission had been necessary, it would not have constituted a hindrance to obtaining Roman citizenship if not, once again, from the side of the local communities.[546] Cicero also underlines that, as some treaties explicitly exclude the possibility of conferring Roman citizenship to the inhabitants of another community, all other treaties must implicitly admit this possibility.[547] The jurist Aelius Gallus explained that if someone moved from one city to another and then back to the former, the principle of *postliminium* would be applied,[548] i.e. they would be reintegrated into the full citizenship that they had presumably lost when accepting the citizenship of another town. The juridical structure therefore was very flexible, and appears to foresee frequent cases of this kind. Rather than a closure on the Roman side, there was therefore a closure of the allied communities, which feared an excessive loss of citizens (also in respect to the number of soldiers that they had to deliver according to the *formula togatorum*).[549] The number of Roman citizens of Italic origin is also clearly shown by onomastics, if one considers the *cognomina* which, literarily or epigraphically attested, reveal the geographical origin of an individual citizen or his family.[550]

Half a century later, Italic migration and the assumption of citizenship were again on the Roman political agenda, in particular from the year 126 BCE, following Junius Pennus' possibly unsuccessful attempt to once again expel the Latin allies

544 Erdkamp (2011), p. 140, argues on the contrary that "the third and second centuries BC should be seen as a period in which the obstacles for mobility were gradually lowering".

545 Cic., *Sest*. 30.

546 Cic., *Balb*. 52.

547 Cic., *Balb*. 32. On this trial, see Carlà-Uhink (2017b), pp. 273–274.

548 Fest., *s.v. postliminium*, 244 Lindsay. See Cursi (1996), pp. 17–26 (even if Cursi strongly believes in the existence of a *ius migrandi*). The discussion of whether this form of *postliminum* is the "original" and preceded the other variants, including the one *cum hostibus*, is here irrelevant: see Sanna (2001), pp. 31–33, and the literature referenced there.

549 Plut., *Rom. Apophth.* 15 (*Mor*. 201a–b) might allude to this, when he writes that the Senate opposed Scipio's enlistment for the Numantine War with the argument that Italy "would have become a desert" (less convincing is Rich (1983), pp. 302–303, when he connects this expression only with Roman *assidui* and not with the Italic allies and claims it should mean, with some exaggeration, that Italy would have been empty of free men). McDonald (1944), pp. 22–23, expressed dissatisfaction with the idea of a Roman "closure", seeing instead the local problems of fulfilling the military requests as the reason for the measures taken in 187 and 177 BCE.

550 For a list of such *cognomina*, see still Kajanto (1965), pp. 180–198. See Bradley (2006), pp. 174–175.

from the city, as well as Fulvius Flaccus' proposals for an extension of Roman citizenship. The political discussion which, via Gaius Gracchus and Livius Drusus, led to the Social War and the *lex Julia de civitate* and will be dealt with in the next chapter, does not in any case seem to have hindered migratory movement, and once in Rome could only have made the acquisition of Roman citizenship more difficult, especially given that the controls on irregular acquisitions were strengthened in 95 BCE by the *lex Licinia Mucia*, famously defined by Cicero *perniciosa*.[551] After the war, all inhabitants of Italy were allowed, as *cives Romani*, to move between Rome, the colonies, and the *municipia*.[552] The *lex Papia* of 65 BCE thus expelled from Rome all foreigners who did not have their residence in Italy.[553]

However, it is not only from the perspective of "closure" that this "traditional" interpretation has been challenged in recent years. William Broadhead has argued that the so-called *ius migrandi* (not actually attested under this name in the sources)[554] was not a privilege that allowed a group to move while the others had to stay in their regions of origin, but rather a restriction embodied in the necessity of leaving behind offspring, in a context "in which freedom of movement was the rule, and the restriction of that freedom the exception".[555] Such a restriction – which could have been imposed between 187 and 177 BCE, since Livy does not mention it in the first episode (as Tibiletti has already noted)[556] – would have been created in order to guarantee the manpower of the Latin colonies founded by Rome, especially given their military importance.[557] This hypothesis better fits the evidence from the

551 See pp. 356–359.

552 Gagliardi (2006), pp. 102–104, assumes that this is the reason why in Italy, differently from the provinces, the *incolae* were considered a part of the *plebs* or *populus* of the single towns.

553 Dio 37.9.5.

554 The sources indeed do not ever mention this and the concept was only introduced by the scholarship of the 19th century, in particular by Mommsen: Castello (1958), pp. 209–212; Broadhead (2001), p. 74. It is not by chance that Kiene (1845), pp. 3–32, never mentions the *ius migrandi*, which had not yet been "invented" by the historiographical tradition, and rather contends that all allies, Latins and non-Latins, had the possibility of moving to Rome and being registered by the censor, provided they left a son in their town of origin.

555 Broadhead (2001), pp. 80–85; quotation from p. 71; Broadhead (2004). See also Sherwin-White (1973²), p. 34; Erdkamp (2011), p. 128. Castello (1958), pp. 262–263, recognized that the right to move to Rome and obtain the citizenship was extended not only to Latins, but also to all *peregrini*; however, he thought that the Latins would be more easily accepted by the censors in their process of naturalization.

556 Laffi (1995), pp. 51–53, still believes that this rule existed from the very beginning among the regulations of the so-called *ius migrandi* and supposes that it was introduced to regulate a possible return to Rome of former Roman citizens enrolled for the foundation of Latin colonies, but later extended to all Latin communities. For different theories on the introduction date of the rule of the offspring, see Humbert (1978), p. 115. Coşkun (2009), p. 128, has more recently suggested 214 BCE.

557 Broadhead (2001), pp. 86–89. McDonald (1944), p. 12, interpreted the rule forcing the Latins to leave offspring behind as a modified rule introduced for Latin colonies founded after 265 BCE.

literary sources and finds many comparisons in the ancient world, most famously in the Athenian settlement of the Messenians at Naupactus, as well as in modern times.[558] Mobility was also restricted in other circumstances connected with military activity, thus confirming that freedom of movement was perceived as the norm. In 207 BCE the inhabitants of Antium and Ostia, who still enjoyed *vacatio militiae*, were asked not to leave their towns for more than 30 days, while during the Cimbrian War the consul Rutilius asked all *iuniores* to swear that they would not leave Italy, in order to be readily available to take arms if necessary.[559] Furthermore, Cicero makes clear in the *de officiis* that while it is correct to delete from citizenship lists the names of those who had no right to it, it is "inhuman" to expel them and to forbid them from staying in Rome.[560] In his opinion, therefore, the right to migration was a constituent part of humanity.[561]

However, it is possible to take this even a step further. Additionally, it should be taken into consideration that the reconstruction most often proposed until now, according to which the offspring rule and the right to relocate concerned only the Latin communities, does not truly correspond with the sources. If, for example, Livy refers to embassies *socium Latini nominis* (in itself an ambiguous definition),[562] the Samnites and the Paeligni do not appear, in his formulation, to have formed different embassies, but are simply introduced in the narration as if included in the previous, general definition.[563] The description of the law, extant only in one manuscript (the *Vindobonensis*, the only one containing the 41st book of Livy's history) uses the expression *sociis ac nominis Latini*;[564] *socii nominisve Latini* was the indication of all Italic allies and Latins in the 2nd century BCE, and also in the *lex agraria* of 111 BCE.[565] Even if the *ac* is the product of an incorrect interpolation of the text, as

558 Sahlins (1989), p. 227, insisting on the consequences of such measures in structuring identity. The critics by Coşkun (2009), pp. 107–110, do not seem justified since Broadhead does not, as he claims, cancel a means of demographic control of the single communities, which could, as they did in 187 and 177 and in probably many other cases, find the right measures to limit such phenomena.

559 Gran. Licin., *Rel.* 23.25–26.

560 Cic., *Off.* 3.47.

561 Therefore, the idea that the expulsions of 187 and 177 BCE were of a "proto-racist" nature, as claimed by Isaac (2004), pp. 235–236, cannot be accepted, although Isaac does indeed hold that such decisions did not remove "the dynamics of migration".

562 Liv. 41.8.6. The possibility that the embassies included not only Latins, but also representatives of other Italic communities, is admitted by Badian (1958), p. 150, and Galsterer (1976), p. 159.

563 Liv. 41.8.7–8: *Summa querellarum erat... Fregellas quoque milia quattuor familiarum transisse ab se Samnites Paelignique querebantur*.

564 Liv. 41.9.9.

565 The first secure attestation is in the *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BCE; see Ilari (1974), pp. 1–22. Liv. 41.8.9. See also the πολῖται Ῥωμαίων σύμμαχοί τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας Λατῖνοι, which indicates Romans, Latins, and Italic allies in the "pirate law" (*lex de provinciis praetoriis*) from Delphi (Crawford (1996), vol. 1, n.12, B6).

supposed by Coşkun, this does not allow one to believe that this rule was ultimately applied only to the Latins.[566] On the one hand, as will be shown, a clear-cut differentiation of Latin and Italic allies does not seem to have appeared yet in this period;[567] on the other, the expression *socii nominis Latini*, as well as the versions that also use a conjunction, is often used to indicate the Latins and allies together.[568]

People who violate the law are additionally said to have damaged the *socii*,[569] as *socii* are those who should be sent back to their hometowns.[570] It therefore seems necessary to conclude that the *ius migrandi* did not constitute an institutional reality that marked the status of the Latins. The possibility of moving to Rome and acquiring citizenship by leaving a son in the community of origin applied to all of the Italic allies,[571] not only the Latins, thus revealing not only a decisively greater openness to migration than is generally assumed, but also a consistent equality of treatment of the Latins and other Italic peoples which, as will be shown, substantially endures until the period of Gaius Gracchus.

In conclusion, migratory movements were widespread in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE; moreover, these occurred not only at the level of the elites, whose mobility has left more traces in the sources and was even presumably welcomed in some periods,[572] but at all levels of society, although perhaps biased according to gender with men possibly moving more than women,[573] given the seasonal and temporary forms of mobility such as mercenary military activity.[574] It is true that Rome at this time attracted populations not only from Italy but also from the provinces, and that the *Urbs* gradually assumed the character of a "cosmopolitan" city.[575] But while the majority of migrants to the city must still have come from the peninsula, even more relevant for our argument is the Italic web of migrations inside the peninsula, which

566 So Coşkun (2009), pp. 178–179.

567 See below, pp. 347–351.

568 That the expression *socii Latini nominis* does not only indicate Latins, but at least as often also the Italic allies, and is therefore in these cases equivalent to *socii et Latini nominis*, has been recognized by Kiene (1845), pp. 112–119; see also Göhler (1939), p. 46. See also Dipersia (1975), pp. 112–114, even if it is difficult to accept her idea of a "progressive assimilation" of Latins and Italics from the time of the Gracchi; and Coşkun (2009), pp. 170–174, who admits the synonymy of *socii nominis Latini*, *socii ac nominis Latini* and *socii nominisve Latini*, but recognizes, less convincingly, the possibility of indicating only the Latins, according to the context.

569 Liv. 41.8.9: ... *ea lege male utendo alii sociis alii populo Romano iniuriam faciebant*.

570 Liv. 41.8.12: ... *petebant legati, et ut redire in civitates iuberent socios*...

571 This had indeed already been noted by Kiene (1845), pp. 116–117; Beloch (1880), pp. 222–223; Göhler (1939), pp. 62–63; Bernardi (1944/1945), pp. 63–64, and Tibiletti (1950), p. 213; now by Broadhead (2001), pp. 71–74.

572 Raaflaub (1996), p. 298.

573 Pina Polo (2006), p. 202; Erdkamp (2008), p. 437.

574 Hin (2013), pp. 217–218.

575 Dahlheim (1977), pp. 313–314; Jongman (2003), pp. 106–108.

did not always presuppose a movement to (or indeed from) the "capital".[576] A very high level of individual migration can be reconstructed in the 2nd century BCE for Cisalpina, in particular within the Transpadane region, which had not yet known – before the foundation of Eporedia in 100 BCE – the phenomenon of colonial deductions. While the previous inhabitants, mostly Gauls, were decimated by war and forcibly transferred by Roman authority, large groups of Italics and Romans moved to this region to take advantage of the economic opportunities that the Po plain could guarantee.[577]

In general, Italy witnessed therefore an extremely wide and diffused phenomenon of geographic mobility in the Republican period, partly disposed directly by Roman authorities (colonization, deportations), and partly permitted by these authorities but left to the initiative of individuals. As moving could also imply changing citizenship (and, *vice versa*, changing citizenship was logical only if the citizen moved to his new fatherland),[578] such an "institutionalized" mobility had important consequences on the evolution of identity forms in cities (its role in the linguistic evolution of the peninsula, and especially in the diffusion of Latin, should not be underestimated either).[579] This phenomenon also shaped the Roman perception of the population of the peninsula, which could be seen as ever more homogeneous.[580]

It is understandable that the Roman authorities at least partially tried to control such mobility in order to better organize military and political issues,[581] though it must be admitted that the possibility of movement was generally accepted and recognized as an existing reality, which constituted the "norm" and had to be restricted only in part, and under special circumstances. In the case of the military emergency during the Cimbrian War, the potential recruits were asked not to leave Italy (perceived therefore as a region from which the recruitment was drawn and inside of which horizontal mobility was more "accepted"), but not necessarily to stay in their hometown. Therefore, horizontal mobility inside Italy during the 2nd century BCE was perhaps more "controlled" but not impeded, and continued its effect of "mixing" the population structure of the peninsula across the boundaries of communi-

576 Pina Polo (2006), pp. 192–196; however, here the voluntary migration is defined only in a very reductive way, in terms of a movement from the countryside to the nearest city. For epigraphical sources regarding migratory movements to Etruscan towns, see Bourdin (2012), pp. 574–585.

577 Gabba (1986), pp. 250–251; Cassola (1991), p. 19; Broadhead (2000), pp. 146–147; Laffi (2001), p. 43.

578 Cic., *Balb.* 27–29. See Broadhead (2001), pp. 84–85.

579 Salmon (1982), p. 156; Pina Polo (2006), p. 171.

580 See Scheidel (2004), p. 23.

581 Broadhead (2008), pp. 452–458.

ties,[582] making it ever easier, from a Roman perspective, to see the entire region as a unity.

Coinage

The forms of recruitment according to the *formula togatorum* meant that the allied communities should pay for their own warfare and take care of the monetary compensation of their citizens fighting in the Roman army. Given this structural aspect – the cooperation within the army, the division of the booty, and the general processes that have been presented up to this point – it is perhaps not surprising that, from the time of the Second Punic War and during the 2nd century BCE, an ever-stronger homologation among Italic communities, as well as between those communities and Rome, can also be seen in the coinage – another "institution" which, under a direct Roman influence, developed in a recognizable way to be a marker of "Italicness". Additionally, the increasing similarity between the different monetary systems led to a greater ease in exchange, which can be seen in the interregional distribution of single currencies, even if, as is usually the case, coins are predominantly found in the region immediately surrounding where they were minted.

The Greek *poleis* of Southern Italy minted their own currency at least as early as the mid- to late-6th century BCE, starting from the Achean colonies of Kroton, Metapontum, and Sybaris (the latter, destroyed in 510 BCE, provides a *terminus ante quem* for the beginning of this minting activity), followed by Caulonia, Poseidonia, Velia, Tarentum, Laus, and Rhegium.[583] The first "indigenous" Italic coinage should probably also be dated to the same period, as has recently been argued by Hornsaes: for example a series of coins inspired by Sybaris' minting activity and presumably struck in the late Archaic period "on demand for indigenous communities".[584]

The Campanian cities, which started minting later, during the 5th century BCE,[585] continued producing coins after their "conquest" by the Oscans, and minting in this period also extended to communities that had no Greek past, even if it seems possible that the entire minting activity took place in Naples, given the use of the same

582 The boundary, of course, has a substantial role in migration, since it can be open, closed, or controlled and separate, allowing some particular persons to pass (members of a particular community) and excluding others; see Guichonnet/Raffestin (1974), p. 51.

583 See Rutter (2012), pp. 128–135. Also Catalli (1995), pp. 15–25; Rutter (2001), pp. 3–4; pp. 92–106 (Tarentum); pp. 108–122 (Poseidonia and Velia); pp. 130–142 (Metapontum); pp. 144–146 (Sybaris); pp. 163–166 (Caulonia); pp. 166–175 (Kroton); pp. 176–178 (Laus); pp. 186–192 (Rhegium); Horsnaes (2011), pp. 197–198. On Velia, see R.T. Williams (1992), pp. 3–15, dating the beginning of minting around 535 BCE.

584 Horsnaes (2011), pp. 198–206.

585 Rutter (2001), pp. 66–67 (Cumae); pp. 68–71 (Neapolis).

dies on coins minted for different towns.[586] Thus, since the early 4th century BCE, Naples probably also minted coins for the Samnitic towns of Allifae and Festelia,[587] while centers further into the Italic interior, such as the future Beneventum, began producing their own coinage.[588] The same region also minted the first Roman silver and bronze coins, the so-called "Roman-Campanian" emissions, based on a weight standard of Naples, from the end of the 4th century BCE.[589] The Samnite-Campanian region, which had probably been interested even earlier in the production and circulation of coins with the Greek legends ΣΑΥΝΙΤΑΝ and ΠΕΡΙΠΟΛΩΝ ΠΙΤΑΝΑΤΑΝ,[590] became in general ever more monetized during the 4th century BCE.[591] This period was broadly characterized by increased emissions in the previously existing mints and by a geographical extension of monetization through a broader use of small denominations.[592] The coins were also circulated quite freely outside their minting areas, as shown by the hoard of Oppido Lucano, which was likely buried during the Pyrrhic War and contained thirteen coins from Naples, five from Tarentum, further pieces from Heraclea (3), Metapontum (1), Thurii (20), Velia (28), Kroton (3), Locri (1) and Terina (1) and one Roman-Campanian didrachma, likely representing a good specimen of the coins circulating in Lucania around 280 BCE.[593]

Still widely debated is the possibility of whether the first Etruscan coins (in the region from whence uncoined copper and "ramo secco" bars were diffused from at least the 6th century BCE) were minted during the 5th century, in areas more deeply connected with Greek communities, such as Populonia and Vulci.[594] Subsequently, Tarquinia and Vetulonia could have joined in these minting activities at the end of the 4th century.[595] However, this "high" dating of Etruscan coinage is not generally

586 Crawford (1985), pp. 26–28; Catalli (1995), p. 42; Cantilena (2000), pp. 82–83; Rutter (2012), pp. 135–136.

587 Cantilena (1984), pp. 86–90; Tagliamonte (2005²), pp. 222; 244; Scopacasa (2015), pp. 222–223.

588 Cantilena (2000), pp. 83–84.

589 Crawford (1985), pp. 28–30; Burnett (1998) argues for an identification of the mint with Rome; Rutter (2001), pp. 45–50. A proposal to identify the mint of these coins with Metapontum (Van Keuren (1986), pp. 421–422) has met no acceptance.

590 Cantilena (1984), pp. 90–91; Tagliamonte (2005²), p. 223. See also above, p. 142.

591 Cantilena (2000), pp. 84–85.

592 Burnett (2012), pp. 297–298.

593 Panvini Rosati (1975). The pieces cover a chronology from 480–420 BCE (the didrachma from Kroton) to the first quarter of the 3rd century BCE (two didrachmae from Tarentum).

594 Panvini Rosati (1976), pp. 29–31; Cristofani (1989), pp. 88–89; Catalli (1995), pp. 47–51; Rutter (2001), pp. 31–36 (Populonia); p. 37 (Vulci).

595 Catalli (1995), pp. 75–77; Rutter (2001), pp. 36–37 (Vetulonia); p. 38 (Tarquinia). Rutter does not attribute with certainty any emission of these two cities to the 4th century BCE.

accepted, and many scholars still argue that no Etruscan coin was minted before the 3rd century.[596]

During this century, minting was indeed widespread throughout the entire peninsula. This development can be explained through economic factors as an intensification in commerce, though also through ever-increasing military activity and the necessity of paying the soldiers *stipendia*.[597] Coins began to enter new regions, especially in the central part of the peninsula, likely as a consequence of military developments.[598] In the Faliscan territory, which apparently did not produce its own coinage, Roman, Campanian, Punic and various Sicelian as well as Greek coins have been found in archaeological excavations.[599] In Etruria, Volterra also started producing its own coins in this period,[600] and minting activity is traceable in Umbria, as well as in Picenum, among the Vestini, in Ariminum, Hadria, Luceria, Venusia, and Asculum. In the Samnite area, minting is attested in Larinum, among the Frentani, to whom should be assigned coins with the legend *Frentrei*, and possibly also in the area of Monte Pallano, as suggested by coins bearing the legend *Palacinu*.[601] In the second half of the century the Bruttian coinage emerges, composed of a recognizable series of gold, silver and bronze emissions that always bear the legend βρεττιων, connected to the local ethnic identity rather than an (otherwise not attested) "federal State".[602] The introduction of this particular coinage is variously dated from the Pyrrhic War to, more convincingly, the Second Punic War.[603] During this latter war Carthaginian military mints were also active within Italic territory, while different communities that fought on the side of Hannibal proceeded to mint their own coin-

596 Rutter (2001), p. 23. The "lower" dating has been defended particularly by Vecchi (1988) and (1992), who argues for a complete inexistence of Etruscan coins until the 3rd century BCE. There, as in Vecchi (1990) and (1993), is considered the production of Populonia. On Vetulonia, see Vecchi (1999).

597 Sisani (2009), pp. 157–158.

598 Crawford (1985), pp. 37–38.

599 Catalli (1990).

600 Catalli (1976); Rutter (2001), p. 30.

601 Cantilena (1991); Tagliamonte (2005²), pp. 258–259; Scopacasa (2015), pp. 223–224. In general, on the higher level of monetization of the 3rd century BCE, see Tagliamonte (2005²), p. 248. See also Marchetti (1978), pp. 479–485.

602 Fronda (2010), pp. 152–153.

603 Pfeiler (1964), pp. 7–11, argues for all Bruttian coins to be dated to the period of the Second Punic War (a position still held by Rutter (2001), pp. 157–161); the beginning of such coinage was predated to the first half of the 3rd century BCE, thus making the entire history of emissions much longer, by Scheu (1955); (1962). Arslan (1989), in particular pp. 41–49, confirms an attribution to the Hannibalic period of all gold and silver series (and demonstrates a connection between Bruttian silver emissions and the introduction of the *denarius* and the *victoriatus* in Rome), although he expresses doubt that bronze coinage (not dealt with in his work) could have begun earlier. Nonetheless this doubt is overcome by Arslan (2011), pp. 418–420, dating also the first bronze emissions to the years immediately following Cannae. See also Marchetti (1978), pp. 457–463.

age – e.g., next to the Bruttii, Capua, Tarentum, Metapontum or the Lucanians.[604] All these productions, however, were stopped after the end of the war. Moreover, it is interesting to note that after 203 BCE Bruttian coins, when they remained in circulation, were countermarked through the mark ΠΕΤΗ which, connecting them with the "faithful" city of Petelia, allowed this coinage to avoid demonetization in the context of a scarcity of currency.[605]

As Burnett explains,

> ...the currency of Italy underwent a fundamental change in the Hannibalic War. During the third century Roman silver coins had been largely confined to Southern Italy (Campania or south), while Roman bronzes were used mainly in central Italy and northern Apulia. Even in these areas Roman coins had represented only a relatively small proportion of those in circulation. After the Hannibalic War this picture changed in both its respects: Roman coins had a virtual monopoly of the currency of the whole Italian peninsula. [...] This change seems to imply a Roman decision to demonetise the earlier Italian coinages – even those produced by allies in the war to help Rome – and to replace them with the new denarius coinage in all its constituent parts, an aggressive policy of dominating all monetary transaction with Roman coins.[606]

Coinage was thus "centralized" and this centralization provided, during the same period that has already been recognized as decisive in the definition of Italy as a region, an institutionalized unity and a differentiation from other realities. What Burnett therefore defined as an "aggressive policy" must be understood as a shift towards a stronger homogenization of an identifiable regional reality; indeed, this appears to have been the case even when pre-existing coins remained in circulation for some decades, particularly in more "isolated" realities.[607]

As Crawford has shown, the traditional coinage systems of Italy were still largely intact around 240 BCE, and many cities produced coins on their own and with their own weight standards, without wider consideration towards "convertibility" or "assimilation" to other standards and systems.[608] Even when, either from the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, Etruscan cities introduced a bronze-fused coinage on a duodecimal system (based on the Roman model), they adopted their own weight standards.[609] In Umbrian and Oscan contexts the nominal appears,

604 Robinson (1964); Crawford (1985), pp. 62–70; Rutter (2001), pp. 129–130 (Lucanians). On Lucanian coins, see also Scheu (1964), whose dating is generally influenced by his theories on the chronology of Bruttian emissions. An example is the minting in Volcei: Isayev (2007a), p. 124. See Marchetti (1978), pp. 297–299, for the example of Arretium, where coins were minted first by the Romans and subsequently, after its conquest, by the Carthaginian garrison, and pp. 432–466, on "Carthaginian" minting in Italy during the war.

605 Arslan (2011), pp. 429–436.

606 Burnett (1982), p. 125.

607 See Visonà/Frey-Kupper (1998) for an example from excavations at Oppido Mamertina.

608 Crawford (1985), p. 51.

609 Maggiani (2002), pp. 190–191.

from epigraphical data, to have been the *nummus*, a loan from Greek, rather than the *as*, and some weight systems were decimal rather than duodecimal.[610] Particularly interesting and well-known are the coins minted in Umbria, where two mints were active, in Tuder and in Iguvium; nonetheless Roman *aes grave* and *aes signatum* were also circulating in this territory, as demonstrated by an example of the latter with an Umbrian graffito found in Città di Castello.[611] From the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, Tuder and Iguvium minted coins with local circulation that show different weight standards.[612] The coins of the latter exhibit a lighter weight than the Roman standards (pound: 204,66g) and seem to have been introduced from Etruria, given the similarities with northern Etruscan coins (the heavy series of the so-called "wheel" emissions),[613] and formal similarities to the coins from Arezzo or Cortona.[614] In Tuder, coins were minted on three different standards: a heavy series (pound: 255,82g) that has no known parallels and probably exhibits an autonomous weight reduction;[615] the light melted series that is already inserted in the Roman semi-libral tradition; and finally the contemporary minted series that could be connected with Romano-Campanian bronze coins.[616] Tuder seems therefore to show a rather early adoption of other, supraregional, standards, even if maintaining, as other cities did, a multiplicity of standards and thus a clearly local structure. It therefore seems clear that, around the mid-3rd century BCE, these series did not represent a full insertion into the Roman system.[617] The so-called "oval coins", which were quite widely diffused from the first quarter of the 3rd century BCE and were produced on another weight standard strongly connected to Etruscan weights, were possibly from Umbria, or more likely from Volsinii.[618] Coin hoards, even from Rome itself, continue to show a sort of "free circulation", in which coins minted by Greek,

610 Crawford (1985), pp. 14–16.

611 Amann (2011), pp. 303–304. The graffito, *vukes sestines*, probably refers to Sestinum, later a *municipium*, and could refer to a military payment or to a division of the booty during a period, the beginnings of the 3rd century, in which Umbri were already fighting in the *alae sociorum*: Sisani (2007), p. 109.

612 Rutter (2001), pp. 20–21.

613 Ampolo/Parise (1989), pp. 596–597; Catalli (1995), pp. 96–98; Maggiani (2002), pp. 191–192.

614 Catalli (1995), pp. 100–101; Sisani (2007), p. 104; Sisani (2009), pp. 152–153; Amann (2011), pp. 304–306.

615 Amann (2011), pp. 306–308. Sisani (2007), pp. 104–105, tries unconvincingly to explain this reduction in the context of the reductions in Roman libral emissions. See the arguments against this possible explanation in Catalli (1995), pp. 101–102. Possible typological parallels to Rome or to other colonial emissions are not extremely relevant in this sense.

616 Catalli (1995), p. 100; Sisani (2007), p. 105; Sisani (2009), pp. 153–155. On the Romano-Campanian bronze coins, see Taliercio Mensitieri (1998).

617 So Sisani (2009), p. 157.

618 Catalli (1995), pp. 101–102; Rutter (2001), p. 22; Sisani (2009), pp. 155–156; Amann (2011), pp. 308–309.

Roman, and Latin colonies, as well as local authorities, could be buried together, sometimes even with pieces of *aes grave* or, later, with *quadrigati*.[619]

Latin colonies, which generally produced their own coins,[620] could thus also develop their own weight standards, which they eventually shared with neighboring communities with whom exchanges were more intense. The coins from Ariminum were not minted on a Roman standard, but on an "Adriatic" *as* of ca. 380g, which could be related to the "light" series of Volterra, but is organised on a decimal and not a duodecimal basis.[621] It is questionable whether the first emissions from the city, which portray on the obverse the "head of a Gallic warrior",[622] should be dated to after the foundation of the Latin colony (268 BCE). Nonetheless, it is certain that the second series, with the head of Vulcanus and an abbreviation of the ethnic name in Latin letters (*Arim / Arimn / Arime*), which was minted on the basis of a reduced "Adriatic" *as* of about 280g,[623] must be dated to after the colony deduction.[624] Hadria also minted to this same weight standard, which differed from that of Rome,[625] and its monetary production, which may have preceded that in Ariminum, should certainly be dated in its entirety to after the foundation of the colony in 289 BCE.[626] The same standard is also used by the Vestini, whose coin production, with the legend VES in the Latin alphabet, is dated after 301 BCE, i.e. after the alliance with Rome.[627]

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619 See the hoards Crawford (1969), nn. 11 (from Torchiarolo, containing coins from Cumae, Hyria, Neapolis, Nola, Arpi, Tarentum, Heraclea, Laus, Metapontum, Poseidonia, Sybaris, Thurii, Velia, Caulonia, Kroton, Pandosia, Peripolium, Terina, Corinth, Anactorium, Leukas, Tyrrheium and a Roman-Campanian didrachma, together with other unidentified coins); 22 (from Pietrabbondante (containing coins of Aesernia, Cales, Neapolis, Nola, Suessa, Teanum together with unidentified pieces, Romano-Campanian coins and pieces of *aes grave*); 26; 28; 34–37; 48; 50–52; 54–56; 59; 60 (from Rome); 64; 66; 71; 77–78; 86; 93; 101.

620 Many other Latin colonies, in addition to the analyzed examples, were minting their own coins in the 3rd century BCE; see Rutter (2001), p. 43 (Alba Fucens; Carsioli); p. 44 (Norba); p. 50 (Signia); p. 58 (Aesernia); p. 59 (Cales; Beneventum); p. 60 (Suessa Aurunca); pp. 82–83 (Venusia); pp. 85–86 (Brundisium). See also Cantilena (1984), pp. 91–96.

621 Panvini Rosati (1962), p. 161; Gorini (2010), p. 313.

622 Gorini (2010), pp. 325–326, argues for its identification with a local eponym deity (Ariminus?) or with a warrior god.

623 Gorini (2010), p. 316.

624 Rutter (2001), pp. 17–18, dating all emissions after the colonial foundation; also Gorini (2010), pp. 314–315. For an attribution of the first series to the years before 268 BCE, see Panvini Rosati (1962), pp. 168–173, who attributes the first series to the Senones, the second to the period of the colony; Peyre (1979), pp. 102–103 (dating them to 283–268 BCE); Chevallier (1983), p. 277; Ercolani Cocchi (1987), pp. 162–163.

625 The same standard is also found in use in Etruscan communities of the same region, such as Marzabotto, where weights were found based on this unit; Panvini Rosati (1962), p. 161; Ercolani Cocchi (1987), pp. 144–145; Ercolani Cocchi (1995), p. 405.

626 Rutter (2001), p. 18.

627 Crawford (1985), pp. 43–45; Ampolo/Parise (1989), pp. 586–593; Catalli (1995), pp. 98–99; 103–104; La Torre (1996), p. 40; Rutter (2001), pp. 18–19; Bradley (2006), pp. 173–174. The reference work

It is difficult to reconstruct the monetary system of Firmum, as it is known through only a very few coins, and may eventually have used a "light" Roman pound introduced during the course of the First Punic War.[628] The problem of "compatibility" is also shown by the emissions of another Latin colony, Luceria. Here coins were produced directly by the Roman administration during the Second Punic War, showing an unusual nominal system that may have functioned as a "bridge" between the *as* series and the local system.[629] The same could be said of Roman colonies such as Paestum which began, likely after the deduction of 273 BCE and perhaps during the First Punic War, to mint bronze coins with the legend PAISTANO.[630] In this context, Venosa provides a more relevant example, as here in the 3rd century BCE only bronze coinage was minted, with a nominal system different to that of Rome: the main unit, the *nummus*, was divided into 10 (and not 12) subunits, according to the decimal system that was widespread along the entire Adriatic coast. Nonetheless, the weight system of the next minting phase was more in accordance with that of Rome.

The local coinage, which continued to be minted on local standards, does eventually show a conversion to Roman units; such is the case of the Gorgoneia from Populonia, if one accepts their dating to the 2nd century BCE, which display their value in Roman *asses* [Fig. 5].[631] Moreover, eventual adaptations connected to changes in the Roman system, in particular to the so-called semi-libral reduction,[632] are traces of the fact that different coinages were used in an ever more unified monetary system, while a complete "loss of autonomy" in minting practice had not yet taken place. Some emissions of Bruttian coinage, the "Dioscure" silver coins and the "heavy" bronzes, were also oriented to the new Roman standard, in particular the weight of the reduced *quadrigatus*, even when produced by a population allied with

for the coinage of the Vestini is La Torre (1996), who dates all minting between 289 and 268 BCE and attributes minting activity only to the Vestini Transmontani; it is worth remembering, however, that only twenty-four coins of the Vestini are known.

628 Ampolo/Parise (1989), p. 595; Rutter (2001), p. 18.

629 Ampolo/Parise (1989), pp. 593–595; Burnett (1991), pp. 30–31; Rutter (2001), pp. 79–80. See also Marchetti (1978), pp. 473–479.

630 Crawford (1973), pp. 48–49; Burnett/Crawford (1998).

631 Marchetti (1976); Marchetti (1978), pp. 309–321, dates their introduction to around 217 BCE Sutton (1976) argued that the Gorgoneia were minted during the Second Punic War; cf. Vecchi (1990), pp. 5–6; Vecchi (1992), p. 92; Maggiani (2002), pp. 183–185. The Gorgoneia are often dated to a much earlier period, i.e. to the 5th or 4th century BCE. In this case it is conceded that the numeral refers to an unknown unit or has a different – and unknown – meaning: Krauskopf (1976), pp. 340–341; Krauskopf (1985); Rutter (2001), pp. 24–25 ("is presumably not a mark of value, but it is not at all clear what the function of an apparently Latin letter may be"). On the Gorgoneia, without a clear position on their date, see also Petrillo Serafin (1976).

632 Crawford (1985), pp. 42–43; Cristofani (1989), pp. 94–95; Maggiani (2002), pp. 188–190.

Hannibal and likely under Carthaginian control.[633] Subsequent reductions practiced under Hannibal probably also correspond to further reductions of the Roman standard.[634] This might demonstrate that, even given the clear independence of the minting authorities, Italy was beginning to be constructed and perceived by minting authorities as a cohesive monetary area.

Fig. 5: Rutter 2001, Populonia 152, p. 34. Source: Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. www.cngcoins.com.

All of this changed following the Second Punic War, when a common Italic monetary standard was created. In the same period, the introduction of the *denarius*, now commonly dated to ca. 211 BCE,[635] "was accompanied by an aggressive policy of taking all previous silver out of circulation".[636] The adopted monetary standards also seem, in the case of the bronze coins, to have been adapted more easily to Roman standards, even if they were not modelled directly on Roman weights. For example, Iguvium and Tuder switch in this period to an entirely Roman standard.[637] The emissions of Oria with the legend *Orra*, whose chronology is very difficult to define, un-

633 Pfeiler (1964), pp. 16–18.
634 Pfeiler (1964), pp. 26–27.
635 See Woytek (2012), pp. 315–318.
636 Burnett (2012), p. 308. See also Woytek (2012), p. 318. A process of progressive homologation in "macroregions" of the structure of monetary stock has been observed, for example, in the Campanian-Samnite area in the last decades of the 3rd century BCE, and this has been interpreted as a sign of uniformity imposed by Roman control; Cantilena (2000), p. 87. It is plausible that the "unification" which can be seen after the Second Punic War was the culmination, although accelerated by the war, of a process which was already running.
637 Bradley (2000a), p. 186; Sisani (2009), p. 153.

doubtedly show a progressive adoption of the Roman uncial standard and its reduction, though they maintain a decimal rather than a duodecimal standard and continue to use inscriptions in the Messapian alphabet, probably to indicate the minting officials.[638]

After the war, coins were minted at Vibo, Rhegium, Copia, Brundisium, and Ancona, as well as (for a slightly longer period) in Paestum, Velia, and Heraclea,[639] although generally the production of coinage was now completely concentrated in Rome.[640] Exceptions included the Roman colonies of Copia and Vibo Valentia, and perhaps also Rhegium,[641] but in all these cases only low denominations were minted, and not silver. These coins circulated for daily purposes only in the immediate surroundings of the minting center and, together with the few extra-Italic coins found in hoards,[642] generally represented only around 1% of the monetary stock, while the hoards containing only Roman coins became ever more frequent.[643] An example is provided by the results of the excavations in Valesio, ca. 20 km from Brundisium, where until the end of the 3rd century BCE predominantly silver coins from Tarentum and Heraclea and bronze coins from other Greek colonies were circulating.[644] Excavations clearly show that after the Second Punic War, circulation was dominated by the coins of Rome and Brundisium.[645] The Brundisian coins also offer a good example of the geographically limited circulation of coins minted outside Rome, as outside of Brundisium and its direct surroundings, including Valesio, Mesagne, and Ugento, coins from this mint have only been found in hoards from Aeclanum and Città Sant'Angelo.[646]

The continued minting in some centers seems in general to be connected not to "monetary policies", but rather to local pride. For example, names on the coin leg-

638 Travaglini (1990).

639 In Heraclea the minting of silver coins was interrupted shortly after the Pyrrhic War, while bronze coins were probably emitted until the end of the 2nd and early 1st centuries BCE; see Van Keuren (1994). On Paestum, see Crawford (1973), pp. 50–52. On Brundisium, Marchetti (1978), pp. 486–488.

640 Crawford (1985), pp. 71–72.

641 Visonà/Frey-Kupper (1996), pp. 82–86.

642 Coins of Greek origin, connected to commercial activity, have been found, e.g. at Monte Vairano: see Tagliamonte (2005²), p. 250.

643 E.g. Crawford (1969), nn. 82–85; 87–90; 97–98; 102–103; 105–106 (all dated to the period of the Second Punic War).

644 See the hoard Crawford (1969), n. 12, composed of seven didrachms from Tarentum, one of Heraclea, five of Metapontum, one of Thurii, one of Terina, and two Roman-Campanian coins.

645 Boersma/Prins (1994), pp. 306–311; 321.

646 Boersma/Prins (1994), p. 320. The hoard of Città Sant'Angelo (Crawford (1969), n. 129), contains coins from Vetulonia, Hadria, Capua, Paestum, and Copia (in total 9, including the Brundisian coin), together with 3,306 Roman pieces. Brundisium minted coins until ca. 140–130 BCE; on which see Boersma/Prins (1994), p. 322.

ends are not those of officials, and in Paestum a woman, Mineia, is even attested. Crawford has thus suggested, in specific reference to Paestum, that such coins were minted by some noble families to pay their *sportulae*,[647] an argument that Burnett has made of all Italic minting during this period. These circumstances should also lead us to doubt that the minting activity was continuous.

The situation in the North of the peninsula must also be briefly presented here, as the monetary culture was diffused in the Northern peninsula along a different route. The first coins in Cisalpina were minted in the 4th century BCE, when the Golasecca culture produced drachmae that were essentially imitations of Massalian coins.[648] In the 3rd century BCE, this region saw a growing monetization, both among the communities opposed to the Romans and those allied with them,[649] as well as a weight reduction which disentangled the local productions from their Greek models, independently of those introduced throughout the rest of Italy. The coins, by that point minted mostly by Insubres and Cenomani, were still drachmae, but were increasingly less bound to Massalia and its monetary system.[650] After the Second Punic War, some of these productions ceased, while others continued in the form of drachmae and dioboloi, which underwent a constant reduction in weight and fineness.[651] This was the case of the drachmae bearing the legend RIKOI/RIKOS,[652] which continued to be produced, especially in Milan, until the beginning of the 1st century BCE.[653] This was longer than the other Cisalpine coins or those minted by the Veneti,[654] and longer still than the "Lepontic" coins (with legends in the Lepontic alphabet, likely minted by the Insubres).[655]

Additionally, these local productions never circulated outside their minting region, unless in very small numbers, although they were present in the Roman colonies of the region.[656] The weight standards, which identified these coins as Celtic

647 Crawford (1973), pp. 52–54; Burnett (1982), pp. 126–129. This position is shared by Boersma/Prins (1994), p. 320.

648 Arslan (1992), pp. 182–183; Brenot (1995), pp. 20–31; Häussler (2013), pp. 98–99.

649 Peyre (1979), pp. 99–100; Crawford (1985), pp. 79–81.

650 Arslan (1992), pp. 183–187; Häussler (2000), pp. 146–148.

651 Arslan (2007a). On fineness, see Capponi (1995).

652 The previously accepted, and still widespread, reading RIKOI (defended e.g. by Morandi (1995), pp. 87–95, interpreting it as an ethnical name) has been challenged with good arguments; see Marinetti/Prosdocimi/Solinas (2000), pp. 114–115. The word *rikos* would seem to be connected to a magistracy; Häussler (2000), p. 148.

653 Arslan (1992), p. 193; Arslan (1995a), pp. 47–49; Arslan (2000), p. 51; Häussler (2007), pp. 57–59; Häussler (2013), pp. 104–108.

654 Arslan (1992), pp. 198–199.

655 Arslan (1995b), pp. 224–226. But see Morandi (1995), pp. 99–102, for a defense of the use of the definition "Lepontic".

656 Burnett (1982), pp. 129–130; Arslan (2000), pp. 55–57; Gorini (2000). A notable exemption is the hoard of Manerbio, discovered in 1955, which contained thousands of coins: 4,194 have been recov-

drachmae (now without any contact with the Massalian coins), were set in reference to the Roman system, even if not directly to the dominant *denarius* but rather the *victoriatus* and later the *quinarius*,[657] both of which had a particularly high circulation in Northern Italy, likely also increased due to this ease of conversion into local coinage.[658] From the 2nd century BCE, particularly in connection with the foundation of colonies, Roman coins also became widespread in the North of the peninsula.[659] At the end of the 2nd century BCE, however, the Northern coins simply took the weight of the *quinarius*[660] and, by the 1st century BCE, the "Romanization" of the Northern currency became complete.[661] In this region, therefore, it is possible to see acting mechanisms of homologation that are simply delayed in comparison to the central and southern parts of the peninsula.

To better understand how coinage helped in constructing Italy as a region, it is necessary to demonstrate that the monetary structure in the provinces was entirely different. In Sicily, the penetration of Roman coins is demonstrable since the Second Punic War, during which the Romans often overstruck Sicilian coins.[662] Nonetheless, in the 2nd and continuing into the 1st century BCE, the island had a local monetary system, "which in some way related locally produced bronze to Roman silver and bronze" (as is clearly attested by literary sources, but also by the accounts of Tauromenium, which use units as *nomos*, *litra* and *tetralitra*), but produced "a system of reckoning and of coinage which can only be described as Romano-Sicilian".[663]

In Spain, very few Roman coins arrived in the decades immediately following the Second Punic War, and no hoard of such coins is known between the war and

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ered and identified and are productions of probably three different groups, Insubres, Cenomani, and Libui. The particular character of this hoard (the contributions of the different groups are quantitatively almost identical) has induced most scholars to see in it a sort of "federal treasure" of the three populations deposed at a "federal sanctuary": see Arslan (2007b). Five hundred Padan drachmae have also been found hoarded at Civita Castellana in Central Italy and could result from commercial activity with Northern Italy; Peyre (1979), p. 100. For a complete list of Padan coins found (until then) in Central and Southern Italy, see Calabria (1995).

657 Arslan (1995a), pp. 43–44; Arslan (2000), p. 50; Gorini (2000), p. 40. *Quinarii* were produced at the beginning of the *denarius* coinage, to be almost immediately discontinued and then to reappear around 100 BCE; *victoriati* were minted from ca. 211 to ca. 170 BCE (their production and value being later the subject of a *lex Clodia de nummis*: Plin., *HN* 33.46). According to this law, probably, the *victoriati* and the *quinarii*, smaller but richer in silver, were homologated in value (i.e. half a *denarius*); see Woytek (2012), pp. 318–320.

658 The diffusion of the *victoriatus* in Northern Italy is demonstrated by its explicit mention in the *sententia Minuciorum* (*CIL* 1^2.584): *pro eo agro vectigal Langenses / Veituris in poplicum Genuam dent in an(n)os singulos vic(toriatos) n(ummos) CCCC*. See Chevallier (1983), pp. 277–278.

659 Burnett (1982), pp. 125–126; Crawford (1985), pp. 81–83.

660 Arslan (1992), pp. 187–188.

661 Chevallier (1983), pp. 275–277; Arslan (1992), pp. 204–206.

662 Marchetti (1978), p. 302.

663 Crawford (1985), pp. 103–115. See also Crawford (1987).

the last quarter of the 2nd century BCE.[664] Afterwards, Roman coinage circulated together with Greek and other coins from local mints, which were either already producing their own coinages or began at this time.[665] Silver coinage, minted only in *Hispania Citerior*, almost always used the Roman *denarius* standard,[666] while often adopting local weights for copper.[667] The aim of this production was likely the local reminting of the revenues from the provinces in order to pay troops,[668] and thus these coins hardly circulated outside the *Hispaniae*, even if they (especially the silver nominals) could likely quite freely circulate throughout the entire peninsula.[669] If these ever did reach Italy, they were probably melted down.

In the Eastern provinces, different cities and states continued to mint their own coins independent of the fact that the Romans seem to have tampered with their minting to a greater degree than previously thought, especially from a technical point of view, as de Callataÿ has demonstrated.[670] Moreover, the circulation of Ro-

664 Ripollès (2012), pp. 361–362. On the beginnings of Iberian coinage in connection with the Second Punic War, see Parrado Cuesta (1988), in particular pp. 50–52. On coin circulation in Spain during the Second Punic War, see still Marchetti (1978), pp. 354–368.

665 Roman coinage did not circulate extensively in the Iberian peninsula during the entire Republican period and seldom reached the interior areas: R.C. Knapp (1987), pp. 24–25.

666 An exception is represented by Saguntum, which, in virtue of its special relationship with Rome, continued minting its silver drachmae, with a weight reduction introduced probably at the beginning of the 2nd century BCE: Marchetti (1978), pp. 396–399; Villaronga (1994), pp. 304–308. Emporion, which minted silver coins since the 4th century BCE, switched to the Roman standard when the *denarius* was introduced in Rome: Marchetti (1978), pp. 371–386; Villaronga (1994), pp. 26–30. Also the rare silver coins from Tarraco with iberic legend *Kese* respect the *denarius* standard: Villaronga (1994), pp. 160–161 (see also pp. 176–178 for Ilerda; p. 185 for the Ausetani; p. 209 for Sesars; pp. 211–213 for Huesca; pp. 213–214 for *Belikio*; pp. 215–216 for *Sekia*; p. 223 for Celsa; pp. 233–234 for Segeda; pp. 250–251 for the Vascones; pp. 254–255 for Arsaos, p. 256 for Arsakos; pp. 257–258 for Bentian; pp. 263–267 for Turiasu; pp. 271–274 for Arekorata; p. 278 for the Oilaunikos; p. 283 for Clunia; pp. 284–285 for Konterbia Karbika; p. 292 for Segobriga; p. 293 for Siguenza; pp. 324–327 for Ikalkusken).

667 Villaronga (1998); Mora Serrano (2006), pp. 34–50; Ripollès (2012), pp. 363–364. In some cases the copper coinage was also adapted to Roman standards, as is the case with coins bearing the Iberian legend *Untikesken*, which first adopted the Roman uncial system, then maintained the Roman pound as a unit, but subdividing it into fifteen and not into twelve subunits; see Villaronga (1994), pp. 140–146. See also Marchetti (1978), pp. 399–425. Also the chemical composition of the coins appears to vary in a consistent way from mint to mint; see Parrado Cuesta (1988), pp. 172–175.

668 R.C. Knapp (1987), p. 20; Ñaco del Hoyo/Principal (2012), pp. 174–176; Ripollès (2012), pp. 362–363.

669 Crawford (1985), pp. 84–102; R.C. Knapp (1987), p. 20; Ripollès (2012), pp. 362–363.

670 de Callataÿ (2011), pp. 59–68 and 70–76. According to de Callataÿ, Roman initiatives, or local adaptations to Roman coinage, consisted of the addition of Roman names on the coin legends, in the selection of "Roman" symbols, and in determining the amount of coins minted, even in technical aspects. It is nonetheless important to underline that almost all examples of such Roman influence date to the period of the Mithridatic Wars.

man *denarii* remained very limited until Sulla's time,[671] although equivalences were established that allowed accountancy in Roman units (for example, 1 Athenian drachma = 1 denarius). Athenian owls were also used by Roman authorities in Macedonia: when they needed coins, they also minted in this form, and there are traces of a local overstriking of Roman coins, although this apparently happened under the "pretender" Philip VI Andriscus.[672] Only after Philippi did the production of Athenian coins stop.[673] In Roman Africa, no local coinage was minted, though *denarii* probably arrived in limited amounts until the very end of the 2nd or the 1st century BCE, and the composition of the monetary stock in this area, consisting of Numidian and Carthaginian emissions as well as imported coins, remains highly problematic to define.[674]

Epilogue: The Augustan Regions

The Social War, with the subsequent concession of Roman citizenship to the entire peninsula and the birth of municipal structures across the region,[675] with the single exclusion of the territory then organized in the province of Gallia Cisalpina, the concession to the latter of the *ius Latii* through Pompeius Strabo in 89 BCE, and, finally, its deprovincialization after the measures of 49 and 42 BCE, would ultimately create the most important and evident institutional aspect, that would differentiate Italy from the rest of the *imperium* and mark its specificity and boundaries for more than two centuries, until the *Constitutio Antoninana*.[676] Afterwards, the specificity of Italy would still be evident in its territorial administration, until this aspect was lost with Diocletian's reform and the constitution of provinces on the territory of the peninsula. From this period onwards, the only character that distinguished Italy from the rest of the Roman world would be the existence of two *vicarii* (for *Italia annonaria* and *Italia suburbicaria*) within the same *dioecesis Italiciana*.

However, after the reintegration of Cisalpina into the Italic region (from an administrative point of view), another institution intervened in underlining the difference between Italy and the provinces, while at the same time demonstrating how the "region Italy" formed in its entirety an identifiable ensemble marked by clear

671 Crawford (1985), p. 84; Kinns (1987), p. 112 (Asia Minor); Touratsoglou (1987), p. 54 (Macedonia); de Callataÿ (2011), pp. 56–58; Ashton (2012), pp. 203–205.
672 de Callataÿ (2011), pp. 58–59.
673 Van Alfen (2012), pp. 99–100.
674 Crawford (1985), pp. 133–142; Burnett (1987).
675 On the institutional aspects of municipalization see, among others, Mommsen (1889[8]), pp. 433–437; Gabba (1991) and Bispham (2007a), in particular pp. 161–204.
676 Nash (1987), p. 96.

boundaries.[677] This "innovation" was the creation of the so-called Augustan regions, which internally structured the peninsula into 11 *regiones*, identified by a number and (possibly at a later date) by a name. As recognised by Bispham, these presumably derived from previous administrative uses of cataloguing and registering the Italic communities, necessary for the *formula togatorum*, and even more urgent after the Social War and the concession of Roman citizenship to the entire peninsula.[678]

The Augustan regions make absolutely clear that Italy was not only structured as an area separated from the rest of the Empire, but was also administratively and practically "visualized" within the concentric structure of the Empire as a central area in relation to the provinces, the region in which Rome, the "center of the centers", was situated. The administrative and geographical sphere thus reflected and territorialized a symbolic language which, as has been shown, was diffused since the 2nd century BCE.[679] On the one hand, the fact that the peninsula was organized into regions, perhaps in parallel with the division of the *Urbs* into fourteen Urban regions, makes clear that Italy is a prolongation, reflection and extension of the "capital" city located within it.[680] On the other hand, Rome was not included in any region, but constituted a separate "district".

Furthermore, the arrangement and especially the numeration of the regions was organized into a system clearly centered around Rome,[681] starting from the area nearest to it (namely Latium and Campania) and then moving in geographical order through Southern, Central, and Northern Italy to Transpadana which, numbered 11, represented the last region [Fig. 6].[682] Thus the "concentric structure" given to the space surrounding Rome was just as clear as the separation of the Italic territory from that of the provinces:

I: Latium et Campania[683]
II: Apulia et Calabria
III: Lucania et Bruttii

677 Nicolet (1994), p. 377; Laurence (1998), pp. 108–109; Simon (2011), p. 153.
678 Bispham (2007b), pp. 52–53.
679 Nicolet (1994), pp. 377–380. See above, pp. 172–173.
680 Simon (2011), p. 156.
681 Nicolet (1988), pp. 222–223; Laurence (1999), p. 163.
682 It is true that the number eleven is certainly strange from the perspective of Roman spatial organization, and that the entirety of Italy was probably conceived as divided into twelve parts, adding to the regions Rome (Galsterer (1994), pp. 310–312). However, it cannot be said that Rome was perceived as one of the regions, as it would be absolutely inexplicable why the *Urbs* would receive the last position on the list and not the first one (see Bispham (2007b), p. 61: "Rome, which seems to have been the twelfth region").
683 Contemporarily with the loss of the ethnical meaning of *Latinus*, which came to represent only a juridical status, *Latium* assumed a purely geographical meaning, in a process which can be traced back to the mid-2nd century BCE; see Galsterer (1976), p. 100.

IV: Samnium
V: Picenum
VI: Umbria et ager Gallicus
VII: Etruria
VIII: Aemilia
IX: Liguria
X: Venetia et Histria
XI: Transpadana

Fig. 6: From Humm (2010), p. 66.

The only written source providing information about these *regiones* is Pliny the Elder:[684]

> We will now describe its extent and its different cities; in doing which, it is necessary to premise, that we shall follow the arrangement of the late Emperor Augustus, and adopt the division which he made of the whole of Italy into eleven districts; taking them, however, according to their order on the sea-line, as in so hurried a detail it would not be possible otherwise to describe each city in juxtaposition with the others in its vicinity. And for the same reason, in describing the interior, I shall follow the alphabetical order which has been adopted by that Emperor, pointing out the colonies of which he has made mention in his enumeration.[685]

Precisely when the division was undertaken is not clear; Ørsted has suggested the year 10 BCE,[686] while Nicolet has proposed a date around the year 7 BCE, considering the possible connection with the creation of the Urban regions.[687] Even more problematic is defining the purposes of such a procedure. The regions, which do not appear in any other source until a much later period, surely had no administrative function, and did not constitute an intermediate instance between the imperial government and the Italic cities.[688] Likewise, the regions did not possess a juridical function, for example to define the competences of local judges: only from the late 2nd century CE is it possible to find epigraphically attested *iuridici* (for example, *per Italiam regionis Transpadanae*),[689] who were in any case often assigned territories different to those of the Augustan regions.[690] Thus, Hadrian sent Titus Caesernius Statius to Transpadana to undertake recruitment,[691] a procedure repeated by Severus Alexander;[692] however, whether the name here indicated only the Augustan region or the entire area between the Po and the Alps, including *Venetia et Histria*, is unclear; to the same region *legati pro praetore* were also sent in later times.[693] However, none of this demonstrates any connection of the recruitment with the original division and foundation of the *regiones*.[694]

684 The reference to the Italic regions in Suet., *Aug*. 46.2 (see Nicolet (1991), p. 83) does not add any information.
685 Plin., *HN* 3.46; transl. J. Bostock/H.T. Riley.
686 Ørsted (1988), pp. 133–135.
687 Nicolet (1988), p. 221; Nicolet (1991), pp. 93–94; Laffi (2006), p. 97. For other possibilities and an admission of the insolubility of the problem, see Galsterer (1994), pp. 314–315.
688 So already Desjardins (1876), p. 194. Additionally, the regions did not at all respect the only previously existing division on Italic soil, the tribes: see Nicolet (1988), pp. 187 and 222–223. See also Laurence (1998), p. 101; Laurence (1999), pp. 162–169.
689 E.g. *CIL* 5.1874; 4332; 4341; 8921; *CIL* 8.25527. See Desjardins (1876), pp. 199–201.
690 Galsterer (1994), p. 319; Laffi (2006), pp. 108–110.
691 *CIL* 8.7036.
692 *CIL* 10.3856.
693 *CIL* 10.3870; 6658.
694 So Crawford (2002), p. 1133.

Laurence has proposed that the main structuring principle of the regions lies in the organization of land transport.[695] This hypothesis, however, does not have any support in the ancient sources, and even if the main roads could have played a role in determining the dimensions and boundaries of the Italic regions, it does not follow that these were the main formative catalyst or even the objective of such a construction.[696] Explanations connected with the administration of public lands and the imperial *res privata*,[697] the exaction of taxes (in particular the *vigesima hereditatium*),[698] are no more convincing.[699] Bispham has proposed more recently that we should see in the creation of the regions and of the corresponding lists of towns and peoples simply a means of propaganda, through which Augustus wished to underline the "shape" of Italy and its history, as well as his own role as "founder of colonies and shaper of Italy".[700]

This component of propaganda and the institutional construction of Italy's difference in comparison to the provinces does not have to be the only explanation of such a territorial structure, as conceded by Bispham himself.[701] As has convincingly been proposed by Nicolet, elaborating on a theory already formulated by Desjardin and Mommsen, it seems that registry documents were archived at the level of region and that this was therefore a "nouveau cadre statistique".[702] Indeed, Pliny lists the amount of persons who reached an extremely old age from Parma, Brixellum, Placentia, Faventia, Bononia, Ariminum, and Veleia, and then provides a synthesis of the ultracentenaries registered during the joint censorship of Vespasian and Titus in the eighth region, Aemilia, to which all the aforementioned towns belong.[703] This is confirmed by Phlegon of Tralles, who also mentions very old persons from the same region.[704]

In this sense, the regions probably had some relevance in the census procedures, though only at the level of the storage of data, since the operations of registration were dealt with at the town level.[705] Laffi has drawn attention to an inscription that seems to corroborate this interpretation: the *cursus honorum* of M. Hirrius

695 Laurence (1998), pp. 106–108; Laurence (1999), pp. 172–175.
696 Against such an idea, see Desjardins (1876), p. 197.
697 So De Martino (1975), pp. 245–249.
698 So Thomsen (1947), pp. 147–153, or Syme (1985).
699 For a general confutation of all these hypotheses, see Laffi (2006), pp. 105–108. See also Galsterer (1994), pp. 315–316.
700 Bispham (2007b), pp. 61–62. See also Nicolet (1988), pp. 181–199.
701 Bispham (2007b), p. 64.
702 Nicolet (1988), pp. 221–222; Nicolet (1991), pp. 90–92. In a similar direction, Desjardins (1876), p. 198; Mommsen (1898), pp. 276–278; on a statistical function, see Tibiletti (1965), p. 43; Tibiletti (1966), p. 918.
703 Plin., *HN* 7.162–164.
704 *FGH* 257 F 37.
705 Mommsen (1898), pp. 277–278; Nicolet (1985), pp. 17–22.

Fronto Neratius Pansa (active under Vespasian) presents among the different posts a ---*[ce]nsendo reg(ionis) X*.[706] Considering that individual communities, as previously discussed here, were dealing with the collection of data, Neratius Pansa could have coordinated the collection and registration of this data from Rome.[707]

The most interesting aspect from the perspective proposed in this work is to determine the role played in the definition of the regions by earlier (sub-)regional identities and ethnical groups. Once again, the problem is not the existence of such local identities, which is certain, or the perception of the Italics inhabiting the different areas, but the image constructed and proposed by the "central" Roman government. Such a question is of central importance in order to better define whether Augustus tried to propose an idea of Italy conceived of as a mixture of vital different communities, or if he administratively imposed on the peninsula a grid that had a purely territorial nature and thus further underlined the supposed homogeneity of Italy as a whole.[708]

This second possibility seems to correspond better with the Augustan practice, even if it must be seen in the context of a representation of Italy as "unity in diversity" or "in multiplicity". A first consideration regards the names of the regions themselves, which likely came into existence at a later date, whereas the regions were probably initially only numbered. They are, therefore, more the expression of onomastic uses that were diffused in later periods, rather than of the principles used in the division.[709] Additionally, even if many of them derive from pre-existing geographical and ethnical names, this appears to lack any real significance. Five regions do refer to older entities, but in an "artificial" way, revealing how these words might have been intended to have a territorial meaning, but were not considered as "entities" with specific characters, and therefore could be freely combined. Of the other six names, one has a purely geographical nature (Transpadana) and another is a new invention (Aemilia), which makes reference to the Roman road that crossed that territory. It is true that Samnium, Picenum, Etruria and Liguria do reflect previous ethnical names but, in consideration of all the others, it seems difficult to interpret them as such rather than simply as geographical definitions of territories (where previously the Samnites, Picentes, Etruscans and Ligurians lived).[710] Moreover, where the names have an ethnical derivation, previously existing ethnic boundaries are often divided, and the definition of the borders of the regions does not appear to respect the previous extension of the ethnonyms – as is normal, con-

706 *AE* 1968.145.
707 Laffi (2006), pp. 110–113.
708 See Laffi (2006), pp. 116–117, who attributes an intentional ideological motivation to Augustus in the creation of the regions, consisting of a reinforcement of the idea of Italy as a unity.
709 Laffi (2006), pp. 100–101.
710 Galsterer (1994), pp. 313–314, suggests that the fourth region could originally have been defined Valeria, and only later Samnium, but without very convincing arguments.

sidering that the regions as such are organized as ensembles of cities, and their borders are thus the external borders of the *agri* of the belonging towns.[711]

Consequently, any consideration of previous identities seems lacking, and even if Dench underlines that the Sabines and Samnites, who were considered to be related,[712] were both included in the fourth region,[713] it must be further emphasized that the name of the region was Samnium and not *Sabina et Samnium*. There thus exists no proof to infer that this supposed connection played any role in the geographical division; some Samnite centers were additionally excluded from the fourth region, and included in the first and second one; the idea that this was a "special treatment" connected to the Samnite Wars is unconvincing.[714] This should also be considered independent of the fact that many Italic towns are attributed in different sources to different populations, that frequently historical narratives explain successive changes in the occupation and ethnical belonging of individual centers, and that it is absolutely impossible, in general, to speak of "ethnic boundaries".[715] This is made clear by the famous example of Horace, who was not able to tell whether his hometown Venusia belonged to the Lucanians or to the Apulians.[716]

Polverini argues that the regions substantially respect previous ethnic divisions (and even form a sort of partial recognition of the independent and "federalist" aspirations of the Social War); however, exceptions are introduced when necessary to allow such ethnic divisions to coincide with the features of physical geography (which do in most cases mark the borders of the regions, as with the Po between Transpadana and Venetia on one side, Liguria and Aemilia on the other, with the Anio between Latium and Samnium, or with the Esino and the Pescara marking the northern and southern limits of Picenum).[717] In this way, though, he generates con-

711 Nicolet (1991), p. 87.

712 See pp. 120–121.

713 Dench (2005), pp. 200–201.

714 So Thomsen (1947), p. 143. This interpretation is defined as "ridiculous" by Tibiletti (1965), p. 45.

715 So Beloch (1880), pp. 2–3, and Mommsen (1898), p. 272; and later, among others, Thomsen (1947), p. 64; Galsterer (1994), p. 313; Humm (2010), p. 61.

716 Hor., *Sat*. 2.1.34–35. De Cazanove (2005), pp. 109–113, proposes a different interpretation of the verses, i.e. that Horace would here say that Venusia was exactly on the boundary between the two communities, or even of the second and third Augustan region. Cazanove's theories are not convincing (see also n. 724); additionally, even if he were right, and although the status of Venusia as Latin colony should have played a role in making its ethnical collocation "difficult" (but not its position in an Augustan region), Horace's verses are still an important testimony of the flexibility of ethnical boundaries and their unmarked nature.

717 Polverini (1998), pp. 27–28. See also Thomsen (1947), p. 143: "[Augustus] yielded to the historical tradition and endeavoured to keep the Italic tribal territories intact. It must be noted, however, that for geographical reasons the natural procedures would in most cases be to follow the frontiers between the main tribes". Tibiletti (1965), pp. 28–29, while recognizing purely geographical reasons for the division of Northern Italy into regions, supposes that in the Southern part of the peninsula

tradictions that completely undermine his theory. Other authors tentatively explain such deviations, for instance by claiming that the "geographic" names were introduced in areas where the earlier populations had possessed a "weaker" identity.[718] The desperate and sweeping idea that such inconsistencies should be explained case by case (but without then doing this), does not help further.[719] It is important in this context, however, to underline that even the earlier borders which had great importance in Roman cultural memory were not necessarily respected in the division; for example, the Rubicon does not mark the border between two regions and is included together with Ariminum in Aemilia; while the limitation of the sixth region, corresponding to the river Crustumium, ran south of Ariminum, which was thus disconnected from the *ager Gallicus* with which it was historically deeply connected.[720]

Pliny records the inhabiting populations of three regions (namely, the second, third, and fourth) and lists their communities,[721] following an "ethnical scheme" that is also used by Strabo and Ptolemy.[722] In doing so, he highlights the existence of exceptions;[723] additionally, admitting that perceived ethnical divisions, as well as other historical reasons,[724] might have influenced the course of the planned bound-

linguistic differences had largely been taken into consideration; this position was partially corrected by Tibiletti (1966), p. 918, who suggested that regions were created according to "common characters", adding that they may have been of ethnical, linguistic, dialectal, or folkloristic nature – or perhaps of a different kind, which is impossible to reconstruct. Thomsen (1947), p. 60, defines "the course of rivers a fact to which Augustus seems to have attached great importance when fixing the frontiers of the regions"; see also p. 144. On the impossibility of considering the Esino and the Pescara as "cultural boundaries" of Picenum, see Riva (2007), pp. 83–89.

718 Blake (2014), pp. 246–249.

719 De Cazanove (2005), p.109.

720 Thomsen (1947), p. 113.

721 Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 3.98; 105–109. Nicolet (1991), pp. 87–88.

722 Nicolet (1991), p. 85.

723 Thus he reveals how the Ligurians were divided between the ninth and eleventh regions, the border of which was marked by the river Po and does not therefore follow any sort of ethnic division; see Plin., *NH* 3.123.

724 De Cazanove (2005) suggests a connection with the position of the Latin colonies which would have been founded, in his opinion, largely on the borders of different ethnic units. This theory does not appear convincing, primarily because it attributes a clear territorial shape with perceivable borders to ethnic groups in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE; additionally, the supposed coincidence of regional boundaries and territories of Latin colonies is not so regular as De Cazanove thinks. While he claims (p. 185) that the only exception is Bononia, which he defines "almost the latest" Latin colony (which means it was not the latest!), he forgets at least Copia and Vibo Valentia, in the middle of region 3, Brundisium and Luceria in region 2, Saticula in region 1, Firmum in region 5, Cosa in region 7 and Aquileia in region 10. Claiming that the border of the regions 8, 10, and 11 was created by the position of Cremona and Placentia ignores that the main geographic issue in this region is the river Po, running between the two towns and functioning, as Pliny states, as a boundary along the entire Cisalpina; in the same way, the border of the regions 10 and 11 was provided by the course of

aries,[725] does not mean that one should assume in the institution of the regions a consistent purpose of "enclosing" certain ethnic groups within them[726]. This is even more relevant, as Thomsen demonstrated that the description of the regions drawn by Pliny came from two different sources.[727] One of these is an "official" list of towns composing the individual regions, probably dating back to Augustus, but with different actualizations, perhaps in part introduced by Pliny himself.[728] The definition of these three *regiones* and their territorial extension did not therefore necessarily coincide with a listing of the towns according to their "ethnic origin".

Ultimately, the idea of a strong ethnical background also contrasts with the absolute silence of the sources on the existence of any form of identity connected with the Augustan regions, and is incompatible with the rather unimportant function of this territorial division (a concession to Polverini's theory would at least require forms of administration). Indeed, this idea perhaps derives largely from the modern desire to establish a historical continuity between pre-Roman Italy and today's Italian regional cultures. As has been summarized, the regions not only had "no political purpose", but "above all, they did not aim to describe the complex and multi-stratified ethnic definitions of ancient pre-Roman communities".[729] Even the idea that only Italic peoples would be represented in these denominations does not fit; although it is true that the Greeks do not appear anywhere (the concept of Magna Graecia is completely neglected)[730] and that the Etruscans and Ligurians, as previously discussed, were problematic but could still be considered parts of the Italic community, the sixth region still remembers in its name the previous presence of Gauls – even if the definition *ager Gallicus* makes reference to the distributions organized by Flaminius. But this name reveals how irrelevant the ethnical component was in the birth of these denominations, and how the main accent was in fact placed on their territorial location and extension. Therefore, we should probably also reject the idea, set forth by Williams, that the regions which did not adopt (or were not given) an ethnic name were only those that were previously occupied by a

the river Adda, which also marked the border of the *ager Cremonensis*, or by the course of the river Oglio. It should also be added that neither the borders of the *agri* of the colonies nor the borders of the regions are known with sufficient certainty.

725 Laffi (2006), p. 102, recognizes this "historical" principle at work especially in the Southern regions.

726 See already Mommsen (1898), p. 279, and Bispham (2007b), p. 50: "Pre-existing ethnic groups must have influenced the creation of the regions, as Nicolet observed, but they do not explain them as they appear in Pliny".

727 Thomsen (1947), pp. 17–31; Nicolet (1991), pp. 87–88; Bispham (2007b), pp. 50–51. See also Detlefsen (1901), pp. 11–17.

728 Nicolet (1988), pp. 188–192.

729 Cifani (2012), p. 149.

730 Lomas (1993), p. 97.

Gallic population, and that their names must be understood as "euphemistic" forms that serve to delete the memory of the Celtic past.[731]

Under Augustus, and in full concordance with the rhetoric of the *coniuratio Italiae* and the full literary development of the discourses and narrative structures already analyzed, Italy had been consistently formed as a unitary region which, independent of the perceptions and identity "feelings" of individuals and communities, was constructed as an identifiable area surrounding Rome. Its division into regions used names that in part identified previous ethnic communities, but in a "desemantized" way which, by drawing neat boundaries rather than coinciding with previous distinctions, ended up "fossilizing" them with a purely territorial meaning, void of any cultural content.[732] This remains the case even if we accept Crawford's argument that the regions had already been introduced during the Republican period, and that Augustus simply added the last four, corresponding to the former province of Cisalpina, and dealt with a new "description" of them.[733] In this case, the intention of demonstrating the homogeneity of the peninsula through this institution, and of "fossilizing" the previous distinctions, would have been a product of the years immediately following the Social War. The "light" nature of the Augustan regions, which had no repercussions in everyday life or administration, did not allow these territorial units to develop as "institutionalized regions", in Paasi's sense, with their own shape and identity, and therefore did not at any time threaten the "idea of Italy" that had reached, after two centuries of history, its fully crystallized form.

731 J.H.C. Williams (2001), p. 138. The same position is expressed by Bispham (2007b), p. 48.

732 Nicolet (1988), p. 222: "En étendant le système à toute l'Italie, en numérotant officiellement ses régions, Auguste, au contraire, tend à effacer les particularismes et à égaliser les choses et les hommes dans une taxinomie chiffrée qui rappelle celle des légions – ou des registres d'une administration".

733 Crawford (2002), pp. 1132–1133.

Italic Identity in the Roman Republic

In previous chapters, it has been shown how by the mid-2nd century BCE the Romans had constructed a clear concept of Italy as an identifiable and separate region, demarcated by a clear territorial and symbolic shape, and how this concept was used in historical and political discourse. Particular institutions were instrumental in reinforcing this concept, and made Italy even more clearly distinguishable as a territory from the rest of the (Roman) world; however, other structures and institutions also had the effect (though perhaps not intentionally) of smoothing out the differences between the different communities inhabiting the peninsula, causing an ever more homogeneous mix of people and cultures and strengthening the idea of an "Italic community", while at the same time increasing the distance between the peninsula and the provinces.

At this point, it is necessary to move on to the fourth element, which subsumes and completes the first three, and is that which Paasi recognized as central to the institutionalization of a region – the birth of a regional identity. If until now we have concentrated solely on Roman perceptions of Italy and their view of the peninsula over which they extended their power, it is now inescapable to also consider the "reaction" of the Italic populations, and therefore their agency in the construction of Italy. This chapter thus seeks to understand whether, how, and when an "Italic identity" was diffused, and in what form it was spread; in other words, to consider "Italicness" as a form of "social identity" that is attained through "self-conception as a group member", deriving from a "process of categorization that divides the world into comprehensible units".[1] Additionally, it will be discussed whether the construction/articulation of the particular form of collective identity known as "ethnic identity" is at stake.[2]

Avoiding this question would mean placing the Italic communities solely in the position of "passive" recipients of discourses on culture and ethnicity that were imposed on them by the Romans. Moreover, by neglecting this "other side of the coin", one would miss the nature of continuous interaction and negotiation implied in the social and political self-ascription and use of identity. The emic form of identity, presented as predetermined and unchangeable in discourse, while at the same time "produced by subjective processes of categorical ascription that have no necessary relationship to observers' perceptions of cultural discontinuity",[3] must always be contrasted with the etic form that is socially and historically conditioned.[4] Fur-

1 Abrams/Hogg (1990), p. 2.

2 See Gehrke (2000); Derks/Roymans (2009), pp. 7–8. On this subject, see also below, pp. 398–400.

3 Carter Bentley (1987), p. 24.

4 Malkin (1998), pp. 56–57; Malkin (2001), p. 17. See also Ruby (2006), pp. 32–33; Farney (2007), p. 33.

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thermore, avoiding this question would limit the research to a discursive construction of the Roman "region Italy" without investigating its consequence and relevance to further developments.

It is important to underline that at stake are not only questions of "ethnogenesis". The Italic identity as a form of social ascription and self-recognition did not replace previous ethnic identities; once again, the main point is to analyze where and when a *nomen* (a word indicating a particular entity which itself constitutes identity and thus opposes other *nomina* constructed as Otherness) appears to be not simply a word but the expression of a set of elements in which the members of the group recognize themselves. This phenomenon is clearly described by Koselleck:

> Die Wirksamkeit gegenseitiger Zuordnungen steigert sich geschichtlich, sobald sie auf Gruppen bezogen werden. Der schlichte Gebrauch des >wir< und des >ihr< kennzeichnet zwar Aus- und Eingrenzungen und ist insofern Bedingung möglicher Handlungsfähigkeit. Aber zu einer politisch wirksamen Handlungseinheit kann eine >Wir-Gruppe< erst durch Begriffe werden, die mehr in sich enthalten als eine bloße Bezeichnung oder Benennung. [...] Immer sind Begriffe erforderlich, in denen sich eine Gruppe wiedererkennen und selbst bestimmen muss, wenn sie als Handlungseinheit will auftreten können. Ein Begriff in diesem hier verwendeten Sinne indiziert nicht nur Handlungseinheiten, er prägt und schafft sie auch.[5]

Individuals are not pre-formed entities, but products of a continuous changing and re-working of power relations; as Foucault has highlighted, "there is much that could be said" in this sense "on the problems of regional identity".[6] As already recognized by Bollnow, the construction of an image of "Otherness", which is simultaneously the construction of an identity, is always connected to spatiality, specifically to a recognized "place" in which that identity is "at home".[7] It is therefore of great importance to understand, once again, how the Italic identity developed along with the territorial definition of Italy as a region.

Romans and Italics

The Romans clearly defined an "Italicness", as has been made clear, and recognized this to be composed of a series of constitutive elements, ranging from the nature of the inhabited territory to the mythical origin of the various communities and their moral values: in chronological correspondence to the development of the "Roman" meaning of *Italia*, the people inhabiting the region began to be called by the Romans with a name derived from that of the peninsula. Nonetheless, it is still necessary to understand whether the Romans perceived themselves to be part of this

5 Koselleck (1975), pp. 211–212.
6 Foucault (1976a), p. 74.
7 Bollnow (1963), pp. 90–91.

community. To answer this question, and to face the even more complicated question of an "Italic identity" among the other populations of the peninsula, it is necessary to avoid falling into the trap of considering identity as a monolithic block and arguing the non-existence of an identity only from the consideration, *ex negativo*, of the existence of an alternative one.

Foremost, defining the birth and "success" of an Italic identity necessarily implies a constructivist approach to social identities and their formation. This means at the same time avoiding deterministic models, which show the adoption of the socially created identities as "unavoidable" due to political constrictions or "necessary" dynamics of social power.[8] Identity is not something superimposed on individuals from birth and mutually exclusive to other identities (even simply on the same geographical scale), a model imposed on modern imagination by the rhetoric of the nation State; it is instead a multiplicity, as the interaction between its components shows how exchanges within and among various groups are structured. A social identity is constructed through continuous comparisons between in-groups and out-groups (with the former perceived as "positive").[9] Different social identities can be represented as intersecting ensembles in which the difference between "in" and "out" is differently structured according to which of the ensembles is selected and brought to the fore, thus becoming salient at different moments.[10] In this way, identity may be understood, compatible with Bourdieu's theory of practice, as a conjunction of affection and instrumentality expressed in the habitus, located (and only existing) in the field of practice.[11] This has been correctly emphasized by Schörner, who has stressed how "cultural identity" exists only through the group members who bear it and use it to recognize themselves as parts of an Us while distinguishing themselves from the Other.[12]

The concept of "segmentary identities" has already been presented in the introduction,[13] and it is precisely from this point that it is necessary to begin in order to gain a better understanding of the mechanisms of identity in Republican Italy, while following a model that allows individual choices and actions to adapt the "chosen" identity to a specific political and cultural context.[14] In this sense, ascriptions of

8 Calhoun (1994), pp. 13–14.
9 Abrams/Hogg (1990), p. 3.
10 See Turner *et al.* (1987), pp. 44–49; 54–56; Calhoun (1994), p. 24.
11 Carter Bentley (1987), pp. 27–29.
12 Schörner (2005), p. 16. See also Herring (2000), pp. 64–65; Ruby (2006), p. 35.
13 See above, pp. 18–20.
14 On this, see E. Hall (1989), pp. 6–7: "An important factor usually ignored in discussions of Hellenic ethnic self-consciousness is the complex plurality of groups to which individuals simultaneously belong". For an example of the adoption of segmentary identities in pre-Roman Italy, see Scopacasa (2015), pp. 38–41.

identity are deeply situational,[15] and identity must be understood, as described by Judith Butler in a completely different context, "as a practice, and as a signifying practice", in order to "understand culturally intelligible subjects as the resulting effects of rule-bound discourse that inserts itself in the pervasive and mundane signifying acts of linguistic life".[16] Elements of cultural diversification, which exist within Italy, along with the model of "unity in diversity" which respected and perpetuated them, do not always have to be substantively emphasized, and at specific times can be "undercommunicated" by reference to a common language, common symbols, and common values, by referring to another "segment of identity".

What Wallace-Hadrill wrote about "culture" (another complicated issue, deeply entangled in debates about Hellenization and Romanization within Republican Italy), stressing the need for a better understanding of forms of reciprocity and the existence of a "middle ground", "in which cultures stand in dialectic with another", therefore also applies to "identity". Assuming culture (and identity) to be unitary is a mistake, and "the alternative model of bilingualism, or rather multilingualism, shows other possibilities: of populations that can simultaneously sustain diverse culture-systems, in full awareness of their difference, and code-switch between them".[17] The existence of a common Italic identity, therefore, does not equal the disappearance of possible local identities, even those with an ethnical character,[18] and this is independent of the possibility that some groups, such as the Etruscans or the Veneti, could have been more "successful" than others in developing "a strong and enduring sense of self-identity".[19] It is impossible, given the state of existing documentation, to be precise concerning the individual choices and contributions; nonetheless, it is possible to try to understand which factors could influence the Etruscans, for example, or the Samnites, or even the Romans, to adopt an "Italic identity" from among the spectrum of possible identity affiliations that they could choose, thus contributing to its consolidation and diffusion.

This is the case with the famous *Tabula Bantina*, an inscription dated to immediately before the Social War, which showed on one side a legal text in Latin (the *lex Appuleia agraria*?) and was later inscribed, on the other side, with an Oscan text related to the definition of the municipal institutions.[20] As argued by Bispham, the

15 Yntema (2009), p. 146. See also Carter Bentley (1987), pp. 34–35.
16 Butler (1999[2]), p. 198.
17 Wallace-Hadrill (2008), pp. 23–28.
18 See Lomas (2012a), pp. 188–189.
19 Blake (2014), pp. 1–7.
20 See above, p. 199. See Crawford (1996), nn. 7 and 13; and, in particular, pp. 274–276, for a discussion on the dating of the inscription and further literature on this topic. Presumably the text must be dated to immediately before the Social War (following Bispham (2007a), p. 145); however, a dating immediately after the war, preferred by some scholars, would not change anything for the argument proposed here.

text was intentionally composed in Oscan as a statement of local identity, in order "to find a local idiom and make it the community's own, despite its obviously Latin nature (institutionally, the law borrows much from the nearby Latin colony of Venusia), and in the process make a political statement (as well as producing a political document) on Bantian distinctiveness in the face of an increasingly exclusive and intransigent Rome, whose pronouncements circulated ever more frequently around Italy".[21] However, this assertion of a continued fidelity to local identities in a segmentary context is no proof of fragility, even less of the inexistence, of higher groupings as the Italic identity.

In the *Tabulae Iguvinae*, particular groups are recognized as potential enemies, and are thus identified and defined as something different, tracing *ex negativo* a boundary delimiting the community referred to in the text; in particular, it seems evident that other centers belonging to the same "Umbrian community" are defined through the name of the single town or sub-region (Tadinum, Naharcan, possibly referring to the Nar valley), while "absolute Others" are collectively subsumed under an ethnic name (Etruscan, Iabuscan).[22] This is simply because within the Umbrian community, which had generated a common sense of belonging, it was unnecessary to insist on this communality, while salience was attributed to the level of township. On the contrary, their distinction from the other ethnic groups implies a lack of interest in their internal subdivisions, and only the necessity of their general identification.[23] The famous frescoes from the François tomb in Vulci, which only indicate the personal names of characters belonging to the same city, must be explained in the same way, as they add the provenance for those coming from other towns. Even today, in most cases anyone who is asked about their provenance by someone who shares the same citizenship would answer with the name of the town or region of birth, rather than the name of the country which, being in common with the communication partner, is deprived of salience. When asked the same question abroad or by a foreigner, the same person will mention the nation rather than the city or region of provenance, unless explicitly asked.

Because "a person plays different roles and enters into contractual single-stranded relationships with different persons", the self has separate roles, which define a "segmental involvement".[24] The presence and attestation of local, civic, or regional identities, therefore, cannot be taken as a sign of a lack of an Italic identity, especially inside Italy, where it is quite obvious that salience was attributed not to

21 Bispham (2007a), p. 145. See also M. Torelli (1996), pp. 92–93, who underlines how the growth of Bantia corresponded to a new dynamic of settlement which should be connected to a Roman influence; and Isayev (2007a), p. 174, who considers the "Latin" character of the inscription, in spite of the language, as the sign of "a strain in the relationship between Bantia and Rome".

22 Bradley (2000a), pp. 124–125. See also Bourdin (2012), pp. 272–274.

23 Bradley (1997), p. 57.

24 Cohen (1974), p. 54.

the general peninsular identity, but to the local specificity. Indeed, "self-categories tend to become salient at one level less abstract than the self-category in terms of which they are being compared (i.e., the personal self becomes salient where comparisons are restricted to ingroup members, ingroup membership(s) become salient where comparisons include both ingroup and outgroup members of the human self-category, and so on)".[25]

Expressions such as the *touta marouca* in the Rapino bronze, variously dated from the mid-3rd to the mid-2nd century BCE, are therefore not an indication of a lack of strength of Italic identity, independent of whether this expression referred to the entire Marrucine *nomen*, as the traditional interpretation claimed, or to one specific settlement (Civitas Danzica), which seems more probable.[26] It is thus unsurprising to realise not only that the *Tabulae Iguvinae* reveal through their vocabulary "different levels of political and ethnical identity inside the same community: *nomen*, *poplo*, *touta*, *trifu*", but also that the Etruscan language allows for the recognition of such different levels of segmentary identity (*cilθ*, *spura*, *meθlum*, *tuθina*, *rasna*).[27]

In this sense, one of the most famous phrases by Cicero has been radically over-interpreted. Cicero famously refers to the existence of two *patriae*, meaning a city of origin (in his case Arpinum) and Rome:[28]

> Atticus: But what was that thing you said a little bit before, that this place – by which I take it that you mean Arpinum – was your *germana patria*? Do you have two *patriae*, or is there one common *patria*? Unless by chance that famous wise man Cato's *patria* was not Rome but Tusculum. Marcus: I think that he and all inhabitants of *municipia* have two *patriae*, one by nature and the other by citizenship – as Cato, although he was born in Tusculum, was taken into the state of the Roman people, and so, though by birth he was Tusculan, he was Roman by citizenship; he had one *patria* of place, another of law. [...] so we call our *patria* both the place where we were born and the place by which we were received. But it is necessary that the one from which derives the name of the republic for the whole state take precedence in love, as it is the place for which we ought to die, and to which we should give ourselves wholly, and in which we should place all that is ours and, so to speak, to devote ourselves. But the one which bore us is no less sweet than the one which received us, and so I will never deny that this is my *patria*, although that one is greater, and this one is contained in that.[29]

25 Turner *et al.* (1987), pp. 48–49.

26 On the Rapino bronze, its dating, and the *touta marouca*, see, among others, Glinister (2000). On the concept of *touto* in Italy, and its inherent ambiguity, see Scopacasa (2015), pp. 218–222; Isayev (2016), pp. 18–19.

27 Cifani (2012), p. 149. See also Bourdin (2012), pp. 224–275; 393–397; Warden (2013), pp. 356–360 (on Etruscan "national, ethnic and civic identities", where it is claimed, with good arguments, that "family and clan identity were more important than urban or civic identities").

28 On Cicero's two *patriae*, see also Ando (2002), pp. 133–134, and now Carlà-Uhink (2017b), pp. 259–263.

29 Cic., *Leg*. 2.5; transl. K.F.B. Fletcher.

However, Cicero's perspective – which probably hints at and plays with the Stoic idea of the "double citizenship" represented by individual citizenship and a common belonging to mankind[30] – should not be confused with the two necessary territorial contexts, State and locality, that exist in modern States;[31] nor should these two poles be considered the entire spectrum of identities for a person from this age. Cicero does not intend to present a complete picture of the complex of identities that play upon his own person or those of his contemporaries.[32] His perspective is political, and from his point of view, citizenship of Italy after the Social War,[33] when all Italics were bound by a common Roman citizenship, is at stake, even if they belonged to different communities; therefore, in no way can it be said that the object of his reflection is the question of "double citizenship".[34] Indeed, between Rome and individual towns there were very few intermediate administrative instances: the electoral tribe, whose bond with the territory had been dissolved in 241 BCE with the decision not to create further tribes but rather to integrate new areas into the already existing ones;[35] and the recruitment system.[36] This juridical aspect is nonetheless explicitly "transformed" and expressed by Cicero in affective terms: Roman citizens had an affective bond to the *Urbs*, since they both formally belonged to its community and eventually possessed the right to vote there and express themselves politically (something which is particularly noteworthy, since Cicero was interested in pushing the Italic elites to get involved in Roman politics);[37] on the other hand, they were still bound to their local community, where they could gain and spend their economic and social capital with activities in the *curia*, or with euergetism and so on.[38] Relevantly, all of this is expressed with a vocabulary of love,[39] which is not purely abstract, but refers concretely to place and topography as central parts of this affection.[40]

In another passage, Cicero himself introduces a much broader spectrum of components of a segmentary identity, clearly distinguishing "ethnical" and "juridical" aspects, while adding topographic elements:

30 See Behrends (2002), pp. 25–26 and Carlà-Uhink (2017b), pp. 263–266.
31 Paasi (1996), p. 42.
32 In this sense, it does not appear acceptable to recognize in this statement a "schizophrenic position", as claimed by Cébeillac Gervasoni (2008), pp. 55–56.
33 Y. Thomas (1996), pp. 9–10. See also Capogrossi Colognesi (2000), pp. 182–184.
34 As claimed by Toynbee (1965), vol. 1, p. 179.
35 Galsterer (1994), pp. 307–309.
36 See above, pp. 203–207.
37 Dench (2005), p. 132.
38 Seston (1973), pp. 10–13.
39 Fletcher (2014), pp. 6–7.
40 Spagnuolo Vigorita (1996), pp. 15–16.

> Then, too, there are a great many degrees of closeness or remoteness in human society. To proceed beyond the universal bond of our common humanity, there is the closer one of belonging to the same people, tribe, and tongue, by which men are very closely bound together; it is a still closer relation to be citizens of the same city-state; for fellow citizens have much in common – forum, temples, colonnades, streets, statutes, laws, courts, rights of suffrage, to say nothing of social and friendly circles and diverse business relations with many.[41]

Cicero's statement should therefore not be taken so literally and used to exclude the existence of other affiliations and shades of belonging that were not expressed in precise legal and juridical form, but which could nonetheless be "spent" in different circumstances and be affectively "felt".[42] Nor should Cicero be used to presume that the feeling of belonging to two *patriae* was the result of a "top-down" process following the Social War, when it would have been in the Roman interest to organize "double loyalties".[43] It is once again a matter of salience and "accent", within a given set of spaces, a complicated system of places and traces, and from this point of view Cicero's statement does not contradict the self-description by Ennius, which is equally well-known: *nos sumus Romani, qui fuvimus ante Rudini*.[44] This observation, likely referring purely to citizenship, does not mean that Ennius then "rejected" his previous belonging and self-ascription. As expressed by Sherwin-White, "the upshot of this was that while a man was a member of only one sovereign state, he was attached as a *municeps* to a secondary community, his municipal *patria*, which, though not on the same scale as the state, imposed its obligations and offered its honours to him".[45]

However, Ennius presents an even more complicated picture when he claims to have "three hearts" – a Greek, an Oscan, and a Latin.[46] Even if Gellius understood this in reference to the languages he could speak, it should be admitted that Ennius' self-description probably also hinted at a cultural and socio-political level on which

41 Cic., *Off.* 1.53; transl. W. Miller.

42 Nicolet (1991), pp. 74–75, recognizes that Cicero's definition is "limited", introducing the existence of the tribes as a counterargument, and also admits the strength still shown by "ethnic" definitions (pp. 80–82). Nonetheless, Nicolet does not acknowledge the presence, in this context, of "Italicness" and assumes that Italy "disappeared" between the Social War and the Augustan age. In acknowledging the existence of intermediate instances between the local *patria* and Rome, he ultimately remains on the same administrative and juridical level as Cicero and sees in such instances only the *comitia centuriata* and *curiata* and, even more, the electoral tribes, which he perceives as the most important in daily life. If this is acceptable from the point of view of political praxis, it does not take aspects of identity into account.

43 So Dyson (1992), pp. 64–65. Less clear is Keaveney (1987), p. 27, when, commenting on this passage, he writes that Cicero introduced the two *patriae* and "forgot" to mention Italy. See Carlà-Uhink (2017b), pp. 266–271.

44 Enn., *Ann.*, Fr. 525 Skutsch. See Yntema (2009), p. 160.

45 Sherwin-White (1973[2]), p. 154.

46 Gell. 17.17.1. See Dench (2005), pp. 167–168; Farney (2007), pp. 7–8.

he, native of Rudiae, was Oscan, but also belonged to a Hellenized culture and had received Roman citizenship.[47] Indeed, his *Annals* have been interpreted as an expression of the strong transcultural exchange that was taking place during the 2nd century BCE in Italy.[48] Likewise, Aulus Postumius Albinus, consul in 151 BCE and author of a Roman history composed in Greek, defined himself (while excusing his possible mistakes in Greek) as a *Romanus natus in Latio*, thus underlining the importance of the region of provenance for his self-description.[49] The sense of belonging to a local, sub-regional identity (Samnite, Etruscan, and so on), as well as to a common Italic stock are therefore not incompatible with the self-description of people from the period analyzed here. Other epigraphic data confirms the existence of "regional" identities adopted for self-representation by those living outside their context of origin, for example the Bruttian K. Aris (?) who is defined in this way within an Oscan inscription from Cumae.[50]

In this way, the existence of "local identities" before the Social War – when, as Farney has clearly shown, they assumed greater importance in political discussions within Rome[51] – does not in any way imply the non-existence or "immaturity" of a possible self-ascription to an Italic community. It is precisely the discourse of "unity in diversity" which allowed the continued existence, within the spectrum of segmentary identities available to the inhabitants of ancient Italy, of their local and regional origins.[52] Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that episodes of "rebirth" and "rediscovery" of local identities at a distance of one or two generations are well known in other historical contexts as a form of self-distinction inside an "umbrella" community, in terms that appear very similar to those described by Farney.[53]

From this perspective, therefore, the existence of statements of local identity cannot be taken as a sign of the non-existence of an Italic identity, even on the eve of the Social War, since at every moment the social and political circumstances would determine which aspect to choose from the spectrum of possible self-ascriptions. This is demonstrated by three boundary stones found in Africa, near Thuburbo Maius, which were inscribed with the same text in Etruscan, repeated

47 See Gowers (2007), pp. 28–30; Fisher (2014), pp. 24–25. For an "archaeological" parallel with the "Mesagne tomb" (180–170 BCE), see Yntema (2009).

48 Fisher (2014), in particular pp. 163–165.

49 Gell. 11.8.2–3. See Farney (2007), p. 8.

50 Vetter (1953), n. 112.

51 Farney (2007), in particular pp. 22–23.

52 Oniga (2003), p. 43, underlines the continued reference to regional and local identities in the biographic genre, where it is quite obvious that the author wishes to specify with the maximum of clarity from whence the object of his work comes; therefore, this cannot be considered in any way a lack of interest for "Italicness", but a salience caused by the circumstantial necessity of historical precision.

53 See Roosens (1989), p. 141, who speaks of "aggressive ethnicity".

five, one, and two times, respectively.[54] Marta Sordi has convincingly argued for a dating of these boundary stones between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st century BCE, connecting the groups residing here with the "Italics" who helped Marius return to Italy in 87 BCE;[55] however, a later date, around 82 BCE, has been proposed by Heurgon, who connects this Etruscan presence with emigration from Clusium during the Sullan period.[56] Even if this later date were correct, it would not fundamentally change the arguments presented here, since these inscriptions would still represent an example of surviving "local Italic traditions" even after the Social War and, as will be shown, this would not be a sporadic case. The adoption of the Etruscan language cannot be interpreted as a form of "rejecting" an Italic identity and claiming a narrower identity, and not only because these colonists should have received their lands (following Sordi) directly from Marius around 100 BCE, or have already been Roman citizens (following Heurgon).[57] The inscriptions mention the "border of the Dardanians" (*tul Dardanium*) and contain a dedication to Tin/Jupiter, protector of boundaries, thus demonstrating that the author of their text was operating inside the Roman discourses of consanguinity in which, as has been shown, the Etruscans played a rather ambiguous role.[58] But by presenting themselves as "Dardanians", and expressing this through a word which (as made clear by Heurgon) is a transcription of a Latin term,[59] these African Etruscans claimed for themselves a clear embeddedness within the Italic community,[60] drawing on a myth which, as has been seen, could be used to imply an inclusion of the Etruscans into the Italic group and was afterwards also re-elaborated by Vergil.[61]

The possibility of attributing to different components of identity a salience that is strongly bound to context is valid not only for the subjects involved in organizing the forms of their self-representation, but also for the representation of others in the literary sources. Nevertheless, these "secondary" definitions, which surely also depend on the structures of perception and representation for the subjects involved, can develop autonomous and contextually justified attributions of salience. They

54 Heurgon (1969), pp. 526–546.

55 Sordi (1991).

56 Heurgon (1969), pp. 546–549.

57 It is irrelevant here whether the inscriptions marked the boundary of private possessions or of collective or sacral spaces, as long as their text expresses the name of a "community".

58 See Heurgon (1969), pp. 550–551; however, Heurgon instead thinks of a group of highly "Romanized" Etruscans who, in the context of the civil wars, experienced a "resurgence of nationalism".

59 Heurgon (1969), p. 550.

60 See M. Torelli (1999), p. 181. In this sense, Colonna's (1980), pp. 3–4, argument that such an adoption is not a trace of Romanization must be rejected; even if voluntary and unimposed, and even if eventually leaning on Etruscan traditions concerning Dardanus, this form of self-definition clearly refers to the contemporary usage of the mythological figure of Dardanus in the construction of the symbolic connection to the Italic communities.

61 See above, pp. 150–151.

must thus be analyzed together, where available, with the "primary" sources which derive from forms of self-representation.

Polybius is the first known author to directly adopt a terminology that highlights the existence of an "Italic community": the word Ἰταλιώτης, which in classical Greek indicated only those Greeks inhabiting the colonies of Southern Italy,[62] as opposed to the Ἰταλικοί (which indicated in general the ensemble of the indigenous populations living in this region, and did not therefore presuppose a common identity on their side, but only an opposition to the Greeks), already defines in the work of the Arcadian historian the entirety of the populations inhabiting the peninsula. Ἰταλικός is the corresponding adjective, referring not only to the geographical extension but also to the population,[63] a synonymy which will remain in the Greek language and is also found in Diodorus Siculus in reference to the Republican period.[64] Thus, when introducing the war against Teuta, Polybius relates how the Illyrians robbed and killed many "Italic merchants" (τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐμπόρων);[65] Pyrrhus also uses Italic troops in his war against the Romans (δυνάμεσιν Ἰταλικαῖς);[66] the role of the Italic horsemen (τοὺς Ἰταλικοὺς ἱππεῖς) in the battle of Zama is highlighted;[67] and three Italic soldiers are defined as τρεῖς δὲ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν νεανίσκων.[68]

In the sixth book, Polybius writes that "All Italics are by nature superior to Phoenicians and Libyans in physical strength and in courage",[69] revealing the existence of the concept of an "ensemble" of Italic peoples which can be subsumed into the formulation πάντες Ἰταλιῶται when dealing with the *topos* of their superior *mores*.[70] It is clear that in this particular passage the Romans are counted among the Ἰταλιῶται, precisely as they are when the historian remembers that the Gallic invasion of 225 BCE "had been regarded by all Italians, and especially by the Romans, as a danger of the utmost gravity".[71] The Romans are likely also included when Polybius describes a gold mine in the territory of Aquileia so rich that "on the Italians

62 These are now defined by Polybius, with a periphrasis, τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἕλληνας (1.6.2).

63 For an example of the use of Ἰταλικός in a geographical sense, see e.g. Polyb. 1.3.4 or 5.4.1 (Ἰταλικὰς πράξεις). At 16.40.4 Polybius seems to have defined the Insubres, a Celtic group, as ἔθνος Ἰταλικόν; this definition, which in this form could simply be the product of the epitomator, most likely refers to their geographical position and not their ethnical connotation.

64 Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.27; 32. Wilson (1966), p. 20, has underlined how *Italikoi* and *Italiotai* were used here interchangeably to indicate the Italics, probably also including the Romans.

65 Polyb. 2.8.2.

66 Polyb. 18.28.10.

67 Polyb. 14.8.6–8. See also 15.9.8.

68 Polyb. 18.43.12.

69 Polyb. 6.52.10.

70 See pp. 178–179.

71 Polyb. 2.31.7; transl. E.S. Schuckburgh. This use of the word Ἰταλιῶται seems to be the same as that adopted by Diod. Sic. 28.13. Diodorus also variously includes or excludes the Romans from the Italic community: Ἰταλοί are unmistakably only the allies without the Romans at 36.8.1

joining the barbarians in working this mine, in two months the price of gold went down a third throughout Italy".[72] It is at least clear that within this definition are included the Latins of the colony of Aquileia, together with the Veneti. Ἰταλικός is also used once as synonym of Ἰταλιώτης and once again including the Romans, when the allied Aetolian troops were "fighting gallantly, and urging the Italian troops to do the same".[73]

However, this inclusion is not always the rule: when Hannibal attempts to separate the Italic allies from the Roman side, the term Ἰταλιῶται, which maintains its function of collective ethnical definition, applies only to the non-Roman populations.[74] Moreover, in the introduction to Polybius' third book, the Italics are indicated (in addition to the Sicilians, the Iberians, and the Celts) as groups over which the Romans acquired dominion,[75] an Ἰταλιωτῶν δυναστεία which they provisionally lost after the battle of Cannae.[76] At the same time, the Romans are logically not included among those "who inhabit Italy" (οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντες), who had also fought against the Gauls in 225 BCE, not because of the alliance or the hegemony of the Romans, but because of the impending danger for themselves.[77]

This thorough analysis of the Polybian occurrences clearly reveals that in the 2nd century BCE the geographical definition of Italy had generated an "ethnical" concept of "Italic peoples", and that the Romans could either be considered part of this or not, according to the circumstances and discursive context.[78] The entire century witnesses this "tension" (which is no contradiction) between an integration of the Romans with the other Italics and their separation. Both possibilities were acceptable within the defined context of "segmentary identities", whose interplay was determined by the specific necessities and arguments of each moment. It is thus clear that the circumstances in which political necessities required a strict separation of the Romans from the other Italics, as in 126 and 122 BCE when the latter were expelled from the *Urbs* and no longer permitted to take part in political discussions concerning Roman citizens,[79] the idea of a Roman "diversity" was presented with more strength than in discursive contexts regarding the necessity of fighting against a common enemy – be they Hannibal or Mithridates.

72 Polyb. 34.10.13; transl. E.S. Schuckburgh.

73 Polyb. 18.19.11; transl. E.S. Schuckburgh. More problematic to understand is whether the κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνθρώποι "scared" by Hannibal (Polyb. 3.94.7) should include the Romans or not.

74 Polyb. 3.77.6; 3.85.4

75 Polyb. 3.2.6. See also 6.1.2.

76 Polyb. 3.118.5. See also 5.104.3; 6.50.6.

77 Polyb. 2.23.13. On this passage, see above, p. 155. This periphrasis insists on the geographical aspect rather than on the "ethnical identity" and can thus also include the Celts themselves, as in Polyb. 1.6.8.

78 Musti (1978), p. 57.

79 Gabba (1973), p. 177.

This lexical use is also consistent with later authors dealing with the Republican period. In his history of the Social War, which can be found in his 37th book, Diodorus Siculus, who in previous books relies on Polybius as source, uses the terms Ἰταλιῶται and Ἰταλοί interchangeably,[80] always indicating communities who fought against the Romans, and therefore excluding the latter. According to Livy, when the Romans, during the Second Punic War, entered the city of Arpi, which had passed to the Carthaginian side, they asked the inhabitants "what the Arpini meant, for what offence on the part of the Romans, or for what service on the part of the Carthaginians they, although Italians (*Italici*), were waging war for foreigners and barbarians against their old allies the Romans, and making Italy a tributary and a taxpayer to Africa".[81] Whereupon it was discovered that the Arpini – true *Italici* – knew nothing of it and had been "sold" by their *principes* to the Carthaginians. It is Livy who expresses the motivation which led Gn. Manlius Vulso to intervene in Crete in 189 BCE, as he had heard that on the island many Romans and Italics (*Romanorum atque Italici generis*) were held as slaves.[82] The expression is meaningful as it underlines, in this case retrospectively (though the motivation for war could have been expressed in this form during Vulso's years), the difference between Romans and Italics, while at the same time demonstrating the "interest" of a Roman consul in not only his fellow citizens, but also his "consanguineous", maltreated in foreign lands.

Appian clearly uses the ethnical definition "Italics" to indicate the entirety of the inhabitants of the peninsula. An older theory, according to which the author (and also Plutarch in his lives of the Gracchi) would indicate through Ἰταλιῶται only the Roman citizens inhabiting the *ager Romanus*,[83] has already been disproved by Göhler and Schochat,[84] and this term is no different to Ἰταλικοί or Ἰταλοί. Thus, when Appian writes that in 207 BCE Hasdrubal "was hastening into Italy without the knowledge of the Italians (Ἰταλοί)",[85] it is difficult to believe that he referred only to the Roman citizens scattered around and not also to the entire population of the peninsula. At the same time, it seems probable that in this case the Romans should be included within the definition of Italics.

80 E.g. 37.2. At 37.1.6 they are defined as κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔθνη.
81 Liv. 24.47.5.
82 Liv. 37.60.3.
83 So Kontchalovsky (1926), pp. 173–178, "accusing" Appian of adopting a very confused and sometimes contradictory terminology. This idea has recently been proposed again, at least for some passages from Appian's work, by Lapyrionok (2012), pp. 79–82. The Roman citizens living outside Rome are generally defined by Appian as ἀγροίκοι, for example App., *Civ*. 1.4.31, where they are clearly opposed to the ἀστικοί.
84 Göhler (1939), pp. 76–83; Schochat (1970), pp. 39–41. See now Russo (2012b), p. 30; Balbo (2013), p. 92.
85 App., *Rom*. 6.5.28.

In his description of the battle of Zama, Appian defines Scipio's troops as Ἰταλοί, in line with his presentation of the war as fought by the entire peninsula against the Carthaginian invader;[86] the term here does not indicate only the Romans, as Appian previously describes Hannibal as turning to the Italics who had followed him to Africa, τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλίας οἱ συνελθόντας.[87] This appears to be Appian's way of underlining the consanguinity of the two groups, and therefore the extension of the definition of Italics to all. On the other hand, it is certain that in Appian's description of the Roman military formation moving to fight the battle of Magnesia, Ἰταλοί are the Italic allies with exclusion of the Romans. Here the Roman legionaries (ὁπλῖται Ῥωμαίων) are followed by the "Italics" and, after them, by the allied troops of Eumenes and the Achaeans.[88] It is thus evident that here Ἰταλοί is the term used to indicate the group of Latins and Italics recruited through the *formula togatorum*. But in another passage, which includes a description of the troops who will fight the battle of Chaeronea, Appian lists the ethnic groups composing Mithridates' army (Thracian, Pontic, Scythian, Cappadocian, Bythinian, Galatian, and Phrygian) before describing the composition of Sulla's forces: Italics (Ἰταλιώτας), Greeks, and Macedonians.[89] Since in the description of Mithridates' army it is not only the allies that are mentioned but also the groups that form the very core of his reign, it is clear that the same must be applied also to the Roman army. What is described is the entirety of the fighting groups – Italics thus refers here both to the Roman citizens and to the recruited Latin and Italic allies, for whom unity is once again underlined, contrasting against the "mixed composition" of the enemy's army.

When, during the Third Punic War, Scipio leaves the camp with "some of the Italic cavalry",[90] presumably both Roman and Italic soldiers are meant. It is worth noting that Appian defines (although in reference to a period following the Social War) the Roman organization of the army as Ἰταλική σύνταξις.[91] Nevertheless, the hypothesis which holds that Appian used the word 'Romans' to indicate the Italics in general[92] must be rejected, as such a use is not attested for the period before the Social War either in Appian or, as will be shown, in Greek epigraphy. As with Polybius, Appian thus also uses the terms Ἰταλικοί and Ἰταλοί (as well as Ἰταλιῶται) interchangeably, and both terms can, according to the context, include or exclude the Romans.

86 See above, pp. 117–118.
87 App., *Rom.* 8.7.45.
88 App., *Rom.* 11.6.31. See also 11.6.34.
89 App., *Rom.* 12.6.41.
90 App., *Rom.* 8.16.109.
91 App., *Rom.* 12.13.87.
92 Brunt (1981[2]), p. 215.

That the term "Italics" indicated the inhabitants of the peninsula, and not only Roman citizens, and that it could both include and exclude the Romans, becomes particularly evident in Appian's book on the Mithridatic Wars. Here the assaults organized by Mithridates in the East are aimed at "Romans and Italics", Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλοῖς, who are thus distinguished from one another.[93] However, when summarizing events, Appian subsequently unites the two groups in an ethnical definition of Italicness when he claims that "such was the awful fate that befell the Romans and Italians in Asia, men, women, and children, their freedmen and slaves, all who were of Italian blood (ὅσοι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ)".[94] Further on in this work, a speech by Sulla subsumes the entire killing as organized against the Ἰταλιωτῶν γένος.[95] Shortly after this, the author adds that "all the Italians (Ἰταλοί) who escaped from Asia collected at Rhodes", and this must include the Romans, not only because it is absurd to think that only the allies would be referred to here,[96] but also because the Roman proconsul of Asia Cassius is explicitly included among such "Italics".[97]

In Appian's books on the Civil Wars, it is also not possible to identify an alternative meaning of words indicating the Italics, for example when the Ἰταλιῶται go to Scipio Aemilianus in 129 BCE to complain about the triumvirs, they are clearly opposed to the Roman δῆμος.[98] It is difficult and politically somewhat inexplicable to view these "Italics" as Roman citizens who possessed land around the peninsula rather than as Italic allies who, as will be shown, were menaced by the Gracchan reforms, especially as, shortly afterwards, the first proposals to enfranchise these very same Ἰταλιῶται revealed definitively that they did not have Roman citizenship.[99] Ἰταλιῶται and Ῥωμαῖοι are soon afterwards presented as hendiadys while discussing Gaius Gracchus' judicial reform,[100] and Ἰταλιῶται are excited by Fulvius Flaccus in their desire for Roman citizenship, which once again they clearly did not have.[101]

The interplay of inclusion and exclusion, which does not always allow us to clearly identify whether the Romans described Italy from an emic or an etic perspective, is in fact not contradictory once it is accepted that the use and construction of identity allows such contextual adaptations; moreover, such an interplay is particularly "easy" in this case, as the identities at stake have a substantially different na-

93 App., *Rom*. 12.4.22–23.
94 App., *Rom*. 12.4.23; transl. H. White.
95 App., *Rom*. 12.8.58.
96 As at App., *Rom*. 12.5.28, where Ἰταλοί must also refer to Romans and Italics.
97 App., *Rom*. 12.4.24; transl. H. White. See also App., Rom. 12.9.62, where Mithridates' victims are defined Ἰταλιῶται.
98 App. *Civ*. 1.3.19.
99 App., *Civ*. 1.3.21.
100 App., *Civ*. 1.3.22.
101 App., *Civ*. 1.5.34.

ture.[102] The Roman identity, as with the Latin after 338 BCE,[103] was based on a juridical category, Roman citizenship.[104]

Bettini has suggested that the *Aeneid* may propose an ethnical differentiation, presenting the Romans as pure Trojans and the Latins as descendants of the mixed weddings of Trojans and Latins; however, this interpretation is unconvincing since, as has been underlined, the poem represents the war between Trojans and Latins as a civil war.[105] Even if Roman identity could be understood in ethnical terms, as described by Bettini, it did not have to be this way (for example, Philip V had already noted in his letter to the city of Larissa how "generous" the Romans were with their concessions of citizenship),[106] and was therefore open to a pairing with other identity constructs that were, on the contrary, mostly based on a supposed common ethnical ground, such as the idea of "Italicness".[107] As formulated by Cornell, being Roman was not simply a matter of ethnicity, but an "attachment to distinct moral values and social customs".[108] This character of Roman *civitas*, which according to Humm was developed at the end of the 4th century BCE in parallel to the "de-ethnicization" of the Latin identity during the period of Appius Claudius' tribal reform (which might have been required by the inclusion of new citizens from Latium and Campania),[109] is evident in the events of 95 BCE that are connected with the *lex Licinia Mucia*. This ordered to verify who among the inhabitants of Rome had acquired the qualification of a *civis* and who had not, and to expel the latter without any kind of investigation that transcended the purely juridical level.[110]

Polybius' perception and presentation of the Romans in the 2nd century BCE as part of the Italic community is therefore deeply connected with the ever-stronger bonds that came into existence throughout Italy, creating networks of familiarity and solidarity which could only increase the perception of belonging to the same group. This cannot be understood as a simple mechanism of causation: the personal connections ultimately did not serve to generate the idea of "Italicness", especially

102 Therefore, it cannot be accepted, as Bleicken (1990), pp. 117–118, thought, that the term Italic in the 2nd century BCE indicated only either the Romans living on the *ager Romanus* or the entirety of the "alliance system", including the Romans. As shown, there are sources which reveal the possibility of using the term to indicate the Italic allies while excluding the Romans.

103 Galsterer (1971), pp. 87–89.

104 Wallace-Hadrill (2008), p. 41.

105 Bettini (2006); Fletcher (2014), pp. 244–245.

106 *Syll.*^{3}.543. See also Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.15–17.

107 It may be underlined that an ethnical definition of the Latins could lead to the same mechanisms described here, in that the Romans could be either included or excluded from the Latin community according to the circumstances.

108 Cornell (1997), p. 11.

109 Humm (2006), pp. 48–54: "Une nouvelle définition de la citoyenneté qui facilitait grandement l'integration des nouveaux citoyens dans le corps civique"; and 59–61.

110 Gabba (1973), pp. 177–185; Coşkun (2009), pp. 149–155.

among the elites, nor did the construction of the "region Italy" from the Roman side cause an increase in such connections – as should already be clear from the first three chapters of this work. On the contrary, what must be observed is a more complex, parallel development in which networking, identity, and discourse influence each other in a continuous interplay.

Part of the scholarly research on the Romanization of Italy and the Social War has generally assumed that, while the Italics developed an ever-stronger sense of assimilation with Rome over the course of the 2nd century BCE leading up to the fight for citizenship, the Romans were entirely extraneous to this process, and continued to look upon the Italic communities as they already had during the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE.[111] On the contrary, it should by now be clear that the institutionalization of Italy was a "top-down" process, initiated and consequently brought forward by the Romans, but also affecting Rome directly. Even if the Romans did not necessarily, or at least not always, feel a part of this "Italic community", they surely brought it into existence, and thus by the 2nd century BCE had developed discursive practices that allowed them, consistent with the institutionalization of Italy as a region, to define the existence of an Italic "identity", which they could consider themselves a part of or not according to specific contexts and needs (this is again a matter of salience).[112] What the Italics saw and felt, a much-discussed topic in modern scholarship, is a problem that can now be faced from this different perspective on the basis of the knowledge acquired through the analysis of the "Roman side" of this arrangement.

"Roman" and "Italic" in the Provinces

The next step in this analysis thus requires an approach along the lines of "self-categorization", which attempts to answer "the question [of] by what process people come to conceptualize themselves in terms of social categories".[113] In a case such as that of Italic identity, which has been shaped and imposed "top-down" or, from the perspective of the Italic communities, "from outside" (i.e. from Rome), an analysis of self-categorization can only be broadly adopted, given that it is impossible to understand and research individual/psychological reactions. Nonetheless, such an approach assumes a central relevance in identifying and explaining the period in which such an identity is "accepted" and therefore "used" and "proposed" by the

111 Explicitly in Hantos (1998), pp. 119–120.

112 Considering the nature of the available sources, it seems difficult to follow Russo (2012b), in particular pp. 56–57, when he claims that the idea of an Italic identity was developed "autonomously" by the Italic allies and was met initially with great resistance in Rome, an argument based mostly on the differentiation between *consanguineitas*/συγγένεια and ὁμοφυλία which, as already underlined (see above, p. 114, n. 136) does not seem to hold.

113 Hogg/McGarty (1990), pp. 11–12.

members of the community thus identified – independent of the question of whether such acceptance is "sincere", or used instrumentally.

In fact, the issue of the birth, development, and eventual failure of the Italic identity has already been discussed many times, though always in a sort of "self-referential" way, taking into consideration the extremely small number of known examples of Italic self-expression that are separate from their specific social and political context. Underlying this attitude, even in many constructivist approaches, is once again a misconception of identity as a monolithic structure which fails to recognize the possibility of one person being able to retain different identities under different circumstances. On the contrary, the self-attribution to a particular group, and therefore to a particular identity, is always performed contextually, in relation to others and their structures of understanding and expectation:

> Problems involving recognition – or nonrecognition – by others are integrally related to issues in personal self-recognition. [...] It is not just that others fail to see us for who we are sure we really are, or repress us because of who they think we are. We face problems of recognition because socially sustained discourses about who it is appropriate or valuable to be inevitably shape the way we look at and constitute ourselves, with varying degrees of agonism and tension. These concerns frequently, though not uniformly, are expressed in and give rise to "identity politics".[114]

This was not unknown in the ancient world, and is particularly well expressed in a fragment from Menander's comedy *Thrasyleon*: "in many cases it is not well said, 'Know thyself!'; indeed, it would be more useful to say 'Know the others!'".[115] Emphasizing the multiplicity of identities available in every moment, as well as the possibility of variously bringing either one or the other to the fore (ascribing to it salience), makes the relational and processual character of identity even more evident, a point that is underlined by the theory of "narrative identity", according to which "all identities [...] must be analyzed in the context of relational matrices because they do not 'exist' outside of those matrices".[116]

All this is made evident primarily by the definitions adopted for the groups of Italic merchants in the Eastern Mediterranean; this category assumes great importance in this context because it allowed the formation of communities of Italics outside of Italy, which easily became groups with an interest in defending their own economic activities and social status. Such was the case with the *exules Italici generis* living in Leukas, who in 197 BCE opened the doors of the city to the besieging Romans and allowed them to conquer the city, thus leading to the catastrophe of the pro-Macedonian party.[117]

114 Calhoun (1994), pp. 20–21.
115 Menand., Fr. 240 Kock.
116 Somers/Gibson (1994), p. 65. See also Ruby (2006), pp. 47–48; 52–53.
117 Liv. 33.17.11.

Polybius defines such merchants, who were victims of the Illyrian pirates in 229 BCE, as Ἰταλικοὶ ἔμποροι,[118] thus placing an emphasis, as in the rest of his work, on the existence of an Italic community that would come to show its relevance and resilience during the Second Punic War.[119] Yet when Livy refers to the immunity granted by the Senate to traders in 187 BCE, in the treaty with Ambracia, he speaks of *Romani ac socii nominis Latini*.[120] This may correspond to the letter of the treaty, which Livy could have read, and this formulation reappears when the historian deals with the merchants "mistreated" by king Gentius in 180 BCE.[121] These differences in definition reveal nothing of the ethnic composition of the communities involved, which was probably very similar; they do, however, reveal much about the perspective of the authors: on the one side, Polybius insists on the existence of a united community; on the other, Livy (or better his sources) emphasizes the role of the Romans (who would have "disappeared" in the general definition *Italici*) in order to bring about a higher level of indignation against Gentius and his transgressions, while at the same time confirming that Rome was perceived as "closer" to the Latin and Italic communities than to all others and was thus defending their interests.

As the general nature of identity as a form of separation and presentation of Self in front of an Other (as well as the mechanisms of segmentarity) make clear, the use of an Italic identity as salient should be expected to appear first of all outside of Italy – not in the confrontation/relation with other members of the same community, but in the self-representation to non-Italics, underlining the fact that the community thus presented is indeed a relational idea.[122] Within the community of Roman citizens, affiliation with the Italic community thus does not achieve a particular salience in the Republican period. For example, among the *cognomina*, which sometimes reveal the specific origin of the single citizen, the name Italicus (or similar) is not attested, and appears only in the imperial period. For the Republic, only the name of a female slave (Italia, of a certain Visellius Publius from Minturnae) is attested epigraphically.[123] Once again, this is unsurprising in a context in which Italic identity was common to almost all the members of the group and was therefore in no way a marker of the single individual inside this particular group.

Since the definition of Italy was deeply connected with the birth of the provincial system and the necessity of distinguishing the provinces from the "core", it

118 Polyb. 2.8.2. See Toynbee (1965), vol. 2, p. 364.

119 On why the Romans protected the interests of the Italic merchants in Illyria, see Roselaar (2012), pp. 145–146.

120 Liv. 38.44.4.

121 Liv. 40.42.4. See Roselaar (2012), pp. 147 and 154–155, who claims that the expression *socii Latini nominis* indicates only the Latins; but see above, p. 253.

122 Cohen (1985), p. 12. See also Wallace-Hadrill (2008), p. 85; Bourdin (2012), p. 589.

123 *CIL* 1^2.2688.

comes as no surprise that the earliest explicit use of an Italic identity is within provincial territory.[124] The first trace of such Italic identity, leaving aside the previously mentioned foundation of Italica in Spain (which might simply attest the Roman perception of identity through name giving) comes from the first Roman province, Sicily, during the first years of the 2nd century BCE, thus demonstrating perfect synchrony with the construction of Italy as a region. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, praetor in Sicily in 193 BCE, received an honorary inscription in Halaesa from the Italics residing there: *Italicei / L(ucium) Cornelium Sc[ip]i[one]m / honoris caussa*.[125] Groups of Italics (interchangeably referred to as Ἰταλικοί or Ἰταλιῶται) are also attested as landowners in Sicily by Diodorus Siculus in his treatment of the explosion of the First Servile War.[126] Most of the landowners, according to the historian, are Roman *equites*, who thus seem to be included among the Italics.[127] If it is true, as Mouritsen argued, that in the 3rd century BCE there was not yet a common Italic identity,[128] given the lack of sources to state the contrary, the 2nd century BCE surely represents an entirely different situation.

In Italy, the first epigraphical use of the word *Italicus* is found in the *miliarium* from Polla, which once again uses this in reference to a Sicilian context, while dealing with the *fugitivos Italicorum* that the anonymous magistrate, probably Popillius Laenas, captured on the island.[129] At the same time, it should not be forgotten that even if the milestone referred to events on provincial soil, in a manner similar to other known sources, it adopted the definition of "Italic" for readers from the peninsula. This readership thus reveals that the word and its content were widely known and could also be attributed "from Inside" the necessary salience in political discourse, in the context of a relation with extra-Italic politics.

Most famous in this context are the inscriptions from Delos, which have been thoroughly studied on many occasions, beginning with Hatzfeld's seminal article from 1912 and followed by his monograph of 1919, in which the data from the island was integrated into the broader context of the Greek East. These inscriptions reveal a very complex social and cultural context, and therefore require further attention. It should primarily be emphasized that a relevant community of Italics, Romans, and Greeks moved to the island during the 2nd century BCE, when its economic success expanded in connection with its assignment to Athens in 166 BCE, its transfor-

124 See also Keaveney (1987), p. 12, who, more mechanistically, attributes an important role to the "contact with the Other" in helping to shape a sense of identity. Perhaps deserving of further consideration are the integratory effects of military service, which could have been stronger in the provinces (see above, pp. 203–217).

125 *CIL* 1^2.612 = *CIL* 10.7459 = *ILS* 864 = *ILLRP* 320.

126 Diod. Sic. 34.2.27; 32; 34.

127 Diod. Sic. 34.2.31.

128 Mouritsen (1998), p. 28.

129 *CIL* 1^2.638 = *ILS* 23. On this inscription, see pp. 82–85.

mation into a free harbor, and the destruction of Corinth, which diverted much of the traffic from the Isthmus to the island.[130] This expansion reinforced and multiplied a pre-existing international market, particularly of slaves, and thus attracted large numbers of migrants.[131] The destruction of the island in the course of the Mithridatic Wars (88 BCE) marked a sharp decline in the economic and social life of Delos; a radical and sudden breakdown did not take place, and the years after the war witnessed a recovery in the general volume of commerce, as well as the level of building activity and the amount of inscriptions; still, they never again reached the levels of the pre-Mithridatic period.[132] Chronologically, therefore, the Delian epigraphic evidence provides perfect sources for the topic dealt with here, predominantly showing material preceding the Social War. In addition, Delos is the most important field of studies as the archaeological excavations there could uncover huge amounts of material, which can subsequently be thoroughly analyzed. In Antiquity, moreover, the particular success of this commercial harbor presumably made it a particularly apt place for the forms of exchange and self-representation of interest here. Delos thus represented a perfect environment for the development of a particular group of interests and the attribution of salience to specific (and changing) elements that composed individual identities, due to its mixed population and the specific nature of the immigration there, whereby a large number of people probably did not always reside on the island. Nonetheless, Delos was not unique: in Mallus, Cilicia, was found a dedication posed by the *[Italicei qu]ei Mallei [negotiantu]r*.[133]

The existence and the relevance of an Italic identity on Delos in the 2nd century BCE is made clear by dedicatory inscriptions which were offered by *Italicei* or Ἰταλικοί and are similar to the Sicilian example already discussed. On the island, "groups sufficiently large to warrant a collective identity tended to organize themselves religiously as well as ethnically according to the worship of the gods of their homelands [...] The groups making the most frequent dedications, constructing the most permanent installations, and hence playing the greatest role in the community, tended to organize themselves according to ethnically cohesive religious associations of a distinctly fraternal type".[134] In a free harbor, in the frequent confrontation with other groups, ethnical origin was indeed often attributed salience not only by the Italics, as demonstrated by the inscriptions made by the "Poseidoniastai from

130 So Strab. 10.5.4.

131 Homolle (1884), pp. 97–98; Wilson (1966), pp. 99–105; Rauh (1993), pp. 41–68.

132 Rauh (1993), pp. 70–71. See also already Hatzfeld (1912), pp. 127–129; Hatzfeld (1919), pp. 82–84.

133 *CIL* 1^2.3448 = *CIL* 3.13617 (100–51 BCE). On the presence of Romans and Italics on other Aegean islands, see the collection of epigraphic material realized by Donati (1965).

134 Rauh (1993), pp. 28–29.

Berytus"[135] or by the "Herakleistai from Tyre".[136] The Italics organized themselves into four groups: the Hermaistai, the Apolloniastai, the Poseidoniastai (only free and freedmen, often posing dedications together, and now interpreted by Hasenohr not as separate associations but as a group of "dignitaries" of the Italics, though they never appear to be organized as a formal group)[137] and the Compitaliastai (only slaves and a few freedmen).[138] Further groups were organized according to their job, for example merchants that dealt in oil or wine, and the *gubernatores*. A final group of Italics consisted of the merchants who practiced commerce with Alexandria, and in 99 BCE made a dedication to a G. Marius.[139]

The collective identity of the Italics on Delos found its highest expression in architectural form within the construction of the so-called Agora des Italiens. Although the precise function of this structure remains problematic, there are some points concerning this building that are clear and assume particular relevance here. First of all, this building complex was undoubtedly connected to the Italic community living on the island, which found in that space a central point of collective recognition. Evidence for this is provided by inscriptions, which include dedications to the Italics, in connection with Apollo or other deities, from private individuals as well as from *collegia*;[140] indeed, the epigraphic fragments from each portico dedication contain the formulation "to Apollo and the Italics", *Apollini et Italiceis*/Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἰταλικοῖς.[141]

The Italics also presented themselves as a collective when honoring a particular personality, whether in the Agora or away from it. This is the case with dedications to G. Ophellius Ferus and the famous banker Philostratus of Ascalon (a citizen of Naples from 92–91 BCE),[142] both of whose statues were erected by the "Italics" and dedicated to Apollo.[143] A statue of Cornelius Lentulus, who was likely the praetor of

135 *ID* 1772–1796.

136 *ID* 1519.

137 Hasenohr (2002). It is not necessary here to present once again the extended discussion on the nature of these groups, and the function of the *magistri*: see Hatzfeld (1919), pp. 265–273; Cassola (1971), pp. 315–317; Flambard (1982); Hasenohr (2002) with further literature.

138 Flambard (1982), pp. 68–72.

139 *ID* 1699 = *CIL* 1^2.845 = *CIL* 3.7241: *[C(aium) Marium C(ai) f(ilium) lega]tum Alexandreae Italicei quei fuere / [virtut]is beneficique ergo* // Ἀγασίας Μηνοφίλου / Ἐφέσιος ἐποίει // [Γάιον Μάριον πρεσβευ]τὴν οἱ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι [παρα]/[γενόμενοι Ἰταλικ]οὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐεργεσίας [ἕνεκα]

140 *ID* 1736: dedication of a *laconicum* to the Italics by L. Orbius Licinus and L. Orbius Diphilus); 1742 = CIL 1^2.717 = *ILLRP* 753 (dedication to the Italics of a Herm by another L. Orbius; 130–70 BCE); 1757 (dedication of Hermaistai, Apolloniastai and Poseidoniastai to the Italics and Heracles of a statue of Heracles).

141 E.g. *ID* 1687 = *CIL* 1^2.2232a = *ILLRP* 750a. Also *ID* 1683; 1685–1687; 1689–1691; 1717; 1735; *CIL* 3.7214–7215. See also *ID* 1718; *CIL* 3.7214.

142 *ID* 1717–1724. On Philostratus and his activity, see Mancinetti Santamaria (1982).

143 *ID* 1688; 1722. See Trümper (2008), pp. 173–177.

Sicily around 140 BCE, was jointly dedicated by "Italics" and "Greeks", Ἰταλοὶ καὶ Ἕλληνες,[144] as were statues to Lucius Munatius Plancus and Aulus Terentius Varro, paid for by the *Italicei et Graecei quei Delei negotiantur*.[145] [Ἰταλικοὶ καὶ Ἕλλ]ηνες also seem to be responsible for a dedication to the banker Maraeus Gerillanus,[146] who will be discussed further below.

In antiquity, the building known as Agora des Italiens already possessed a name that clearly revealed its connection to the Italic community present on the island: a fragmentary subscription list refers to the Ἰτ]αλικῆς πα[---.[147] The connection to the Italics is therefore explicit; the proposed integration of the following word is relevant to understanding the function of the architectural complex. While modern scholarship has generally preferred the reading πα[στάδος, which would refer either to a "colonnade" or "portico", or metonymically indicate through this the entire complex, it has alternatively been suggested to integrate the inscription with πα[λαίστρας.[148] Both readings lack strong supporting arguments and parallels.[149]

Contrary to traditional interpretations that dominated since the 1980s (when they replaced an earlier, generic idea of this building as a "meeting point" for the Italics on the island),[150] and viewed the complex as a market place, in particular for slave trade,[151] most scholarship follows now a completely different reading. Rauh has suggested that the Agora des Italiens was a sports complex, identifying its central part as an arena for gladiatorial shows;[152] in essence, this was thus a space where members of the Italic community could both practice sports and watch them in an area separate from the island's "Greek athletic facilities".[153] The complex should thus be identified as a structure built to organize the free time of the Italics on Delos, with a clear identity aspect both in the selection of the access to the complex, the sports presented, and of the statues and decorative elements, with the

144 *ID* 1694.

145 *ID* 1695–1698. These inscriptions, along with the general program of sculpture decorating the Agora des Italiens, must be dated to before the Social War: Trümper (2008), pp. 187–190. The connection, made by Hatzfeld (1912), pp. 120–122, between this formulation and the years of the Mithridatic Wars must therefore be rejected.

146 *ID* 1727.

147 *ID* 2612.

148 Rauh (1992), pp. 308–310; Rauh (1993), pp. 309–311. See *ID* 1743 and Rauh (1992), pp. 305–306.

149 Trümper (2008), pp. 361–364.

150 Hatzfeld (1912), pp. 110–111; Hatzfeld (1919), pp. 277–280. Hatzfeld reacted to previous interpretations of the complex as a "seat of the *conventus*" with his rejection of the existence of such a *conventus* on Delos: see n. 159.

151 As suggested by Cocco (1970) and, more thoroughly and with more success, by Coarelli (1982).

152 Rauh (1992), pp. 314–327.

153 Rauh (1992); Rauh (1993), pp. 289–338.

ultimate effect of further strengthening Italic identity on the island in opposition to that of the Greeks.[154]

This interpretation is not entirely convincing, however, first because the large central square (which Rauh interprets as an arena) was probably a garden, decorated with trees and plants. Nonetheless, this idea of seeing in the Agora des Italiens a complex to structure the free time of the Italics on the island is also central to the work on the structure by Monika Trümper. Trümper has convincingly demonstrated that this was a building complex with structures for free time, luxurious baths, and many spaces for honorary statues of Romans and Italics. Furthermore, all these elements belong to the "fourth construction phase" and can therefore be dated to before the Social War.[155] As such, this building complex held a primary importance in the construction of the self-representation and self-ascription of the Italic community on the island; through this structure, the Italics consolidated their identity as a group and presented themselves, also via the use of Greek inscriptions, to the other inhabitants of Delos,[156] although it remains unclear whether access to the complex was restricted to the Italics or also included members of other groups.[157]

As a group, when expressing themselves as a collective composed of Romans, Latins and members of other allied states of the peninsula, the merchants active on Delos, as on Sicily, thus defined themselves as Italics,[158] although they were not organized formally and institutionally in a *conventus* as those known for later periods and different areas.[159] The onomastics on the inscriptions of the island confirm, as will be shown, that in addition to Romans, the peoples present on Delos included Oscan-Campanians, Samnites, Apulians, Lucanians, and Greeks from Southern Italy,[160] predominantly members of the highest levels of society in their communities of origin. A consistent number of families, for example, is present both in Delos and in Capua, and in both cities they are *magistri*/*ministri* of their *collegia*.[161]

However, in addition to the term "Italics", many Delian inscriptions also use the word Ῥωμαῖος, "Roman". It is therefore important to attempt to understand how this form of self-definition was used, in order to define the circumstances in which it

154 Rauh (1993), pp. 337–338.
155 Trümper (2008), p. 355.
156 Trümper (2008), in particular pp. 1–2 and 365–406.
157 Trümper (2008), pp. 340–348
158 Wallace-Hadrill (2008), p. 84.
159 Hasenohr (2002), pp. 75–76 speaks of a *conventus de facto*, but surely nothing like the formal institution of a *conventus* existed on Delos, as was presumed before Hatzfeld's works by Schulten and Kornemann: Hatzfeld (1912), pp. 146–153; Hatzfeld (1919), pp. 237–265. See Trümper (2008), p. 297. Badian (1970/1971), p. 402, also supposes the existence, not only on Delos, of "some rudimentary organization", even if it did not take the formal shape of a *conventus*.
160 Rauh (1993), pp. 238–239.
161 Hasenohr/Müller (2002), pp. 13–16.

became more salient than that of "Italic"; furthermore, it is necessary to ask not only whether the Romans recognized themselves as Italics, a question that has been positively answered above, but also whether the Italics outside of Italy could be defined (or define themselves) as Romans, in a process of assimilation which, according to many different scholars, would be the best indication of the identity issues leading up to the Social War.[162]

According to Hatzfeld, "Roman" and "Italic" were used as synonyms, and not all of those defined as "Romans" in Delian epigraphy had Roman citizenship; this lexical use would thus derive simply from the "imprecision" of the Easterners in understanding and reproducing Western juridical and social structures.[163] This explanation fails to convince, as will be shown, due to a lack of the use of *Italicus* in the singular as a definition of individual identity, and also because Hatzfeld, while underestimating the Greek possibilities of understanding foreign structures, additionally neglects to consider the number of Greek-speaking Westerners present on the island, who would perfectly realize the misuse of juridical terms. Although the Greeks may have only partially understood the difference, the texts were written according to the directions of Westerners: if they lied on their juridical condition, this must be considered intentional and explicable. Van Berchem's criticism against Hatzfeld, that the term "Roman" was used only on dedications posed by the "entire population of the island",[164] also fails to explain the meaning of the two words and the difference between them, especially when "Roman" was adopted to indicate the status of single persons.

Theodora Hantos, re-adopting with some correction Hatzfeld's view, suggested that "Italic" defined groups, and "Roman" single persons, in a context in which both would refer to the same people, i.e. the Italics, with or without Roman citizenship,[165] and which would have been the product of a "reaction" to a Greek perception which did not distinguish between the Romans and their allies. This explanation does not convince: as will be shown, "Romans" is also found in plural, while

162 Gabba (1973), pp. 216–218.

163 Hatzfeld (1912), pp. 132–134; Hatzfeld (1919), pp. 242–244. As evidence for his theory, Hatzfeld reflects on the fact that the definition "Roman" was applied to freedmen, who, if freed by Roman citizens, received Roman citizenship and had the legal right to be defined as Romans. On the other hand, the simple presence of a Greek name followed by Ῥωμαῖος, without further additions, does not allow us to determine, as Hatzfeld (1912), pp. 138–139, has argued, that this attribute was also used for slaves. The forms of Delian onomastics do not allow one to exclude the possibility that these are all cases of freedmen, although they use a "Greek" way of expressing their names on stone, thus "anticipating" what in Rome would be their *cognomen* to the first position or writing only it. On similar positions, among others, also Badian (1958), p. 149; Toynbee (1965), vol. 2, pp. 366–367; Brunt (1981²), pp. 205–206; David (1994), p. 77; Kendall (2013), p. 120. A synonymy of "Romans" and "Italics" is also accepted by Hasenohr (2002), p. 75.

164 van Berchem (1962), pp. 309–310.

165 Hantos (1998), pp. 116–117.

indeed single persons defining themselves as "Italic" are missing, a point on which it will be necessary to return. Furthermore, the explanation provided, according to which the collective "Italic" identity was intended to avoid trouble with the Roman magistrates who could read the inscriptions (and therefore again in connection with a legal misuse), is not convincing when placed alongside a potential abuse of the word "Roman" in individual expressions, which could also be read by any magistrate.

As for why the Italics may have wanted (or needed?) to present themselves as Romans, it has often been thought that in this way they could gain concrete advantages from a juridical and commercial point of view, assimilating themselves into the community that was undoubtedly recognized to be "dominating"; this is revealed by the many inscriptions juxtaposing Athenians and Romans as the two dominant groups.[166] However, it is difficult to see whether these personal advantages could overcome the practical difficulties involved in a public exposition of such a claim to a public which was, indeed, also composed of "real" Romans.[167]

A thorough analysis of the inscriptions is therefore necessary. First of all, the word "Roman" appears in official definitions, related to Roman institutions. Gnaeus Papirius Carbo, as a proconsul, is thus defined as στρατηγός ἀνθύπατος Ῥωμαίων,[168] while the rhetor Marcus Antonius, who was *quaestor pro praetore* on Delos in 113 BCE,[169] is defined in a dedication by the inhabitants of Prostaenna in Pisidia as ταμίας ἀντιστρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων.[170] G. Billienus, probably a proconsul, is defined as πρεσβευτὴς Ῥωμαίων at the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 1st century BCE.[171] There are more examples,[172] but it is clear that this form of "institutional" use, in reference to Roman magistrates, does not say anything about the identity issues at stake here. In this sense, the inscriptions relating to the Roman magistrates who visited the island during their official service are not relevant to the questions proposed here.[173]

At the same time, the large number of inscriptions that refer to the "Roman people", the δῆμος Ῥωμαίων, where the phrase is meant in a broad "abstract" and institutionalized way,[174] are also not particularly helpful. Nonetheless, it is interesting to

166 See n. 175.

167 Personal advantages, particularly in the field of juridical protection, are supposed by Adams (2002), pp. 112–113, as a determining factor in the choice of Latin language, as opposed to Greek, in particular forms of expression of the Italic community.

168 *ID* 1550.

169 Val. Max. 3.7.9.

170 *ID* 1603.

171 *CIG* 2285b.

172 See *ID* 1604 bis; 1679; 1710; 1782; 1842–1846; 1854.

173 Hatzfeld (1912), p. 6.

174 E.g, *ID* 1499; 1807.

note that most of these recurrences place "Roman" alongside "Athenian"; the two most "important" and best recognized collective entities are thus summarized[175] in a similar way to those of the dedications posed by "Italics and Greeks".[176] A great number of texts explicitly mention these two groups, collectively indicating those that remain as "the other ones". Several inscriptions from the 2nd century BCE thus refer to Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων οἱ κατοικοῦντες καὶ παρεπιδημοῦντες ἐν Δέλῳ; one must wonder whether the Italics are included among the "other foreigners".[177] However, it would be difficult to assume as much when considering the many texts that speak of Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Δέλῳ (or similar formulations).[178]

Within this definition could surely fit the inhabitants of the Greek colonies of Southern Italy who, as will be shown, were present on the island, although the same cannot be said of the Oscans and the other Italics. It is possible that they were in this case counted among the Romans; or rather that this sort of list aimed to present only the "Greek populations", since it is important to note that according to this formulation the Romans were presumed to be fully Greek, following theories which were already widespread and likely had an important function in ensuring the integration of the community.[179]

However, in no way can these epigraphic formulations be shown to demonstrate that the Italics were subsumed under the category of Romans. This possibility, although admissible in such general formulations, is contradicted by at least one other inscription from Amorgos from the 2nd century BCE, in which guests and foreigners are listed together with an explicit mention of the Romans and "their allies", a category under which the Italics must obviously be subsumed.[180]

As Wilson noted in 1966, the group of people identified as "Romans" on Delos included not only Roman names and those of Greeks from Southern Italy, but also

175 *ID* 1562; 1643; 1709; 1817; 1879–1880; 1882; 1888–1890; 1942; 2039; 2054; 2056; 2060; 2063; 2079–2080; 2124; 2227–2228; 2230–2232; 2234; 2237; 2247–2255; 2418; 2456–2458; 2617–2618; 2626–2628. Thus should we also understand *ID* 1647–1648, which refer to the Athenian and Roman residents, merchants and *naukleroi*; it is clear that the ethnic genitives must be applied to all three categories, and not only to the παρεπιδημοῦντες, leaving merchants and *naukleroi* generically unspecified. It is interesting to note that even the Athenians are sometimes indicated through the ethnical "Athenian", sometimes through a precise indication of their deme, thus revealing once again how different "levels of belonging" could acquire salience in different contexts. On the evolution of the perception of the Romans on the island as "foreigners", see Hatzfeld (1912), pp. 104–109; Baslez (1996).

176 See above, nn. 144–145.

177 *ID* 1664; see also 1671; 1672; 1674; 1729.

178 *ID* 1642. See also 1645–1646; 1650–1654; 1656–1663; 1665; 1667; 1673.

179 See pp. 126–135.

180 *IG* XII/7.515 B 55–57. The lecture Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν γυ[ναικῶν, tentatively suggested there, was later corrected in τῶν συ[μμαχῶν.

Oscan families. Hatzfeld had particularly exaggerated the importance of the Greeks, even while recognizing the presence of Italics from Campania, Apulia and Lucania who would, in his opinion, have "followed" the Greeks, and considered negligible the presence of Romans from the *Urbs*.[181] Wilson organized the surviving evidence into four groups: Oscan names prominent in Campanian epigraphy, and therefore connected to former Greek cities and their commercial traditions; names attested in Campania, as well as in other regions (e.g. among the Messapians), for whom it is therefore not possible to presume with certainty a Campanian origin; Roman-Latin names present in Campania; and Roman-Latin names not attested in Campania.[182] In sum, the attested are "Italians, mainly from Campania, but also from other parts of the south; Romans, but not from the *Urbs* only; Italiote Greeks; freedmen, some coming from Italy, some originally bought as slaves on the Delian market".[183]

Wilson's aim was to demonstrate that, contrary to previous opinions, Italiote Greeks did not represent the absolute and undisputable majority of Italics engaged in "international" commerce during the 2nd century BCE.[184] Indeed, Romans, Latins, and Italics from Central and Southern Italy were also represented in large numbers, a point which is now clear. Cassola demonstrated a few years later that the number of Roman names in particular was far higher than earlier supposed.[185] Nonetheless, Wilson's insistence on the presence on Delos of Oscan names that were widespread across different regions of the peninsula makes it clear how difficult it is to assume that all of them did indeed enjoy Roman citizenship.[186]

It is therefore necessary to examine more thoroughly the recurrence of the ethnical "Roman" in Delian epigraphy.[187] First, only inscriptions in which the ethnical is explicitly expressed should be considered. Many other texts preserve "Roman" names without the ethnical, either because it was considered superfluous, or because the kind of inscription itself (e.g. a sacred dedication) made such a piece of information insignificant. Indeed, it is always the specific contextual salience which determines the onomastic formulation, as demonstrated by the ephebic dedications, one of which, for example, contains a list of names, mostly Greek, with five "Romans".[188] Within these names, only the *praenomen* and the patronymic are noted,

181 Hatzfeld (1919), pp. 239–242. At the same time, it is important to underline that the Greeks from Southern Italy present in the east cannot be taken as proof of emigration and the impoverishment of Magna Graecia, but rather as a sign of active trade and monetary exchange; see Lomas (1993), p. 90.
182 Wilson (1966), pp. 105–110.
183 Wilson (1966), p. 115. See also Solin (1982), pp. 112–113.
184 So Hatzfeld (1912), pp. 130–133.
185 Cassola (1971), p. 317.
186 Gabba (1985), p. 41.
187 For a complete prosopography of Italic names on Delos, see Ferrary/Hasenohr/Le Dinahet/Boussac (2002).
188 *ID* 1923. See also 1924.

along with the ethnicity, without any indication of the *gens* to which they belonged, which in these circumstances was unnecessary as it would have broken down the conformity of the Roman onomastics to that of the Greeks.[189]

An inscription reveals a proxeny awarded to a Quintus Titi filius, Ῥωμαῖος, the only "*toga*-wearer" who did not leave the city, likely during Perseus' military operations of 171 BCE.[190] The term "toga-wearer" appears in the 2nd century BCE, and probably earlier, in the definition of the *formula togatorum*, indicating an Italic community (of which in this case a Roman is explicitly indicated as being a member), and not only Roman citizens.[191] Indeed, the *formula togatorum*, as has been shown, was certainly defined as such by 111 BCE, but existed institutionally already by the 3rd century BCE, though it is impossible to know whether by this name.[192]

While it is thus certain that the Romans were included among the Italics,[193] which is not surprising, there are two possibilities, between which scholars have wavered for more than a century: either only Roman citizens were called "Roman",[194] which would imply that the definition "Italic" was indeed diffused, but only as definition of a collectivity; or "Italic" and "Roman" were used almost synonymously, almost as the singular and the plural of the same concept. This second possibility seems difficult to accept, considering the radical juridical difference between the terms, which was surely also known to the Greeks inhabiting the island, not to mention the subsequently inexplicable difference between the individual and collective uses. The first possibility seems the more convincing, largely due to the unavoidable problems deriving from the "usurpation" of a citizenship status.[195] This does not contradict the fact that slaves of Roman citizens could sometimes apparently also be defined as "Romans",[196] since here it is the citizenship of

189 Hatzfeld (1919), p. 15.

190 *Arch. Eph.* (1910), 344–349. See Hatzfeld (1919), pp. 23–24.

191 After the Social War, the term would come to identify the Roman citizens instead: see Wallace-Hadrill (2012[2]), pp. 369–371; 384. Cicero used it in the Verrine orations apparently in this sense, opposing it once to *Graecus* (Cic., *Verr.* 2.1.74), on other occasions to *Siculus* (though both living in Sicily, Cic., *Verr.* 2.2.152; 154; 166). But it cannot be excluded that the term still had here a sort of "ambiguous" and affective flair, referring to the provenance from Italy, and through that to citizenship.

192 See p. 213.

193 Adams (2002), p. 112.

194 So Solin (1982), pp. 113–117, according to whom every use of the word "Roman" implied either that the person enjoyed Roman citizenship or that he was an inhabitant of the city of Rome; although he then also admits the possibility that Greek persons could understand "all citizens of Latin Italy" as synonymous to the definition of "Roman". Indeed, a bilingual inscription from Gythium (*ILGR* 40) translates Ῥωμαῖοι with *cives Romani*, but the text is to be dated to the Augustan period and has therefore almost no value in order to understand the linguistic use of the 2nd century BCE.

195 The problem of the possible relationships in the east between Roman magistrates and Italic non-Roman citizens has been much discussed; see Cassola (1971), pp. 312–313.

196 E.g. Couilloud (1974), nn. 48; 145; 187.

the owners (which would become theirs, if they were later freed) which justifies the usage.

An argument in favor of equivalence between the terms "Roman" and "Italic" in Delian epigraphy could seem to be provided by a dedication to Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Physcon and Cleopatra III, which must be dated between 127 and 116 BCE.[197] The authors of the dedication are the Ῥωμαίων οἱ εὐεργετηθέντες ναύκληροι καὶ ἔμποροι ἐν τῇ γενομένῃ καταλέψει Ἀλεξανδρείας, the "Roman shipmasters and merchants who were beneficed in the assault of Alexandria" (127 BCE). It was thus a group of merchants active in Alexandria and Delos, which could be read in parallel to the group in 99 BCE that set up the dedication to Marius as "the Italics who were in Alexandria".[198] If the groups coincided, the terms "Roman" and "Italic", at least in the indication of collectives, would indeed coincide too, independent of the citizenship enjoyed by the individuals who claimed the name "Roman". However, it is impossible to prove that the two groups, separated by around twenty-five years, are the same.[199] In this dedication, a concrete opportunity is presented, a military intervention in which a specific group intervened and were beneficed by Ptolemy; whereas in the dedication of 99 BCE there is a more general reference to a collective which practiced trade in one of the biggest harbors of the Mediterranean. There is therefore no conclusive proof of an equivalence between the two terms.

In most cases it is impossible to reach firm conclusions, as can be shown by the Seii (or better Sehii), a *gens* attested on the island, of which some members, including freedmen, are identified as "Romans".[200] This family is presumably of Paelignian origin, as is attested for the first time in Superaequum, and later in Praeneste and different Campanian towns.[201] A Marcus Seius is later attested, in 74 BCE, as *aedilis* in Rome. It is possible that the *gens Seia* was accorded Roman citizenship only in connection with the Social War and citizenship laws of those years; yet this seems improbable, not only because M. Seius would have become *aedilis* swiftly after the concession of citizenship, but also because Cicero, who comments on his election, underlines how the Roman people preferred him – an *eques* who had undergone judicial problems – to the *nobilissimus, innocentissimus, eloquentissimus* M. Pupius Piso.[202] Given all the problems connected with an *argumentum e silentio*, it seems difficult to believe that Cicero would have failed to mention a very recent concession

197 *ID* 1526. See Homolle (1884), pp. 106–108.

198 See above, n. 139. See Mavrojannis (2002), pp. 175–176. There are no further epigraphic sources attesting the existence of a Roman and/or an Italic community in Alexandria, but it can be presumed, considering the commercial and diplomatic contacts, that this must have existed.

199 Hatzfeld (1912), p. 112.

200 *ID* 2013; 2245.

201 On the Seii, see Deniaux (2002). In Capua, an A. Seius is attested at the end of the 2nd century BCE: *AE* 2000.295.

202 Cic., *Planc*. 12.

of citizenship. It is therefore more probable that at least part of the family had already acquired Roman citizenship at the end of the 2nd century BCE. This does not mean, however, that the Seii active on Delos were members of this part of the family, and nothing conclusive can be said of the possibility that the definition "Roman" indeed means they had Roman citizenship.[203] In the same way, it does not permit us to conclude that the *ethnikon* was "abused". The problems ensuing from such an incorrect adoption of the term "Roman" should rather leave the burden of proof on those who claim it was used to describe a non-citizen. Even less conclusive than the Seii are the Gerillani:[204] the *nomen* shows a suffix that is typical in the formation of *ethnika*, and it has thus been supposed that the family could originally have been from Cerillae in Bruttium.[205] Even if this interpretation were correct, it would not imply that the family originally from that town had not later received a concession of Roman citizenship, and perhaps indeed adopted their older *ethnikon* as *nomen*.

The Aufidii are attested on Delos, and more generally in the Cyclades and in Asia, where they appear to have been very well-established by the last quarter of the 2nd century BCE;[206] they seem to have been equally well-established in Italy, specifically in an area extending "from the border country between Latium and Campania over the central Apennines to the country of the Paeligni and Vestini",[207] and this geographical diffusion is not a surprise, considering what has already been said concerning mobility in Italy during the 2nd century BCE.[208] Likely originally from this area (perhaps from Aufidena or Aufinum), the Aufidii are attested in Rome by 179 BCE; by 170 BCE one of them was a senator, and by the mid-2nd century BCE the family had at least two members sitting on the Roman Senate. It is of course impossible to know whether the members of the family on Delos belonged to the same branch as those within Rome, but it is highly probable that those present on Delos (and Tinos) represented "a special branch of a senatorial family working as *negotiatores*".[209] In this case, therefore, the use of the attribute "Roman" seems perfectly legitimate.

The Egnatii constitute another clear case: three of them are known on Delos, Gaius, Gnaeus, and Quintus, all sons (or freedmen?) of Quintus.[210] The *gens* might

203 According to Badian (1970/1971), pp. 382–384, by the beginning of the 1st century BCE "there must have been quite an element of originally Italian families that had been Roman citizens for a very long time indeed"; although Badian still admits a "closure" during the course of the 2nd century BCE.
204 *ID* 1725–1727.
205 Poccetti (1984a), p. 654.
206 Wikander (1985), p. 162.
207 Wikander (1985), p. 160.
208 See above, pp. 232–255.
209 Wikander (1985), pp. 160–161.
210 *ID* 1724.

originally have been Etruscan, Samnite, or Oscan, but it was widespread in the Republican period throughout all central Italy. Around the mid-2nd century BCE, a Gnaeus Egnatius was already a senator, presumably identifiable with the later governor of Macedonia who built the *via Egnatia* and, in fact, all known members of the family bearing this *praenomen* appear to have been Roman magistrates.[211] It is thus possible in this case to assume that the members of the family attested on Delos had Roman citizenship, or at least the masters who freed them did, thus conceding them Roman citizenship as *liberti*. A *Publius Arellius Quinti filius* is defined as Roman on a Delian inscription dating to the end of the 2nd century BCE;[212] that he was truly a Roman citizen can be confirmed by a funerary inscription from Anthedon in Boeotia, commemorating a Marcus Arellius Quinti filius (possibly his brother), with the indication of the tribe Pomptina.[213]

In 179 and 178 BCE, inventories of donations to Apollo show another name which can confirm what has been said thus far: Μινᾶτος Μινάτου <Σ>τήιος Ῥωμαῖος ἐκ Κῦμης.[214] It seems necessary to conclude that this person was a Cuman who enjoyed Roman citizenship, a consideration reinforced by the fact that the town of Cumae had already received the *civitas sine suffragio* (which enabled a definition as *Romanus*) in 334 BCE, and perhaps the citizenship *optimo iure* in 180 BCE. The attribute "Roman" was therefore correctly reserved for a person who enjoyed the Roman *civitas*.

Also of note from this perspective is a bilingual funerary inscription from Rhene, which was composed for Quintus Avilius Gai filius Lanuvinus / Κόιντος Ἀύλλιος Γαίου υἱὸς Ῥωμαῖος.[215] From 338 BCE, Lanuvium was a *municipium* enjoying Roman citizenship;[216] once again, the "Roman" was authentic, and the discrepancy

211 Wikander (1990).

212 *ID* 1804. Publius Arellius is mentioned also in *ID* 1753 (113 BCE).

213 *IG* VII.4186 = *CIL* 3.12291; *IG* VII.4187 = *CIL* 3.12292 is the funerary inscription of a Quintus Arellius Xenon, freedman of Marcus'.

214 *ID* 442 B 147; 443 Bb 64–65. This could be the same person mentioned in *ID* 1431, 24; 1432 Ab I 29–30 and also in *ID* 1403 Bb II 91; 1417 A II 119; 1520: Baslez (1996), p. 221. If the correction of Teios in Steios is correct, Minatius was a member of the family of the Staii, already attested on Delos by the end of the 3rd century BCE. The family is probably of Samnite origin, which would fit with a more direct connection to Cumae; a Staius, son of Minatus had played an important role in the Third Samnite War (Liv. 10.20.13), and the family is attested in the sanctuary of Pietrabbondante (Poccetti (1979), nn. 14–16; 18–19; 30; 33), as well as in Campobasso (two *meddices tutici* with the name Staius: Poccetti (1979), nn. 73; 81; 84), in the Lucanian sanctuary of Chiaromonte (S. Bianco, in *Da Leukania a Lucania. La Lucania centro-orientale fra Pirro e i Giulio-Claudi*, Roma 1992, pp. 104–105 – here is presented an inscription, which is to my knowledge otherwise still unpublished) and in the Samnite one of Vastogirardi (Morel (1984), pp. 40–41): see also La Regina (1966), pp. 276–278; La Regina (1976), p. 233; Morel (1976), p. 261. A *Minius Minat[...]* is attested also in Teano: Poccetti (1979), p. 138. See also La Regina (1975).

215 Couilloud (1974), n. 495.

216 Liv. 8.14.2.

between the Latin and the Greek text cannot be taken as proof of a synonymy between Italic and Roman. In this case, however, it is possible to note a difference in the formulation of the onomastics in Latin and Greek. While the Latin name, primarily aimed at a public of Latin speakers (and readers) insists on the hometown of origin, the Greek name makes no reference to this, instead presenting information about the citizenship. At stake are once again questions of salience: for Italic readers, the local origin had a salience that was lost to a provincial public; moreover, Italic readers would have known that an inhabitant of Lanuvium automatically enjoyed Roman citizenship. For the Greek public, the local town was irrelevant, while it was the juridical status as a Roman citizen that would have attracted attention and assisted in "classifying" Avilius.

Although, as will be shown, some indication of the precise provenance of these merchants is attested, it is particularly problematic that on Delos, as with Rhodes and other localities, the Campanian-Oscan area, which appears so dominant in the onomastic analysis, is very seldom explicitly mentioned. Many inscriptions with Roman or Italic names simply do not bear any *ethnikon*, whether the term "Roman" or an indication of a specific town, and it seems yet more probable that all those who explicitly identified themselves as Romans were indeed Roman citizens or the freedmen of Roman citizens. In particular, the existence of freedmen explains the huge numbers of Romans in the East,[217] which has often surprised scholars when compared with the supposedly "parsimonious" attitude towards concessions of citizenship from Romans during the 2nd century BCE.[218]

This does not mean that all names without *ethnikon* should be understood as Italic non-Roman citizens, since every inscription could follow its own specific rules and in many cases the people, known to the community, did not need such an indication to be identified.[219] The example of the ephebic lists reveals that in some contexts, such forms of identification were not necessary. There are clear cases of "Romans" not identifying themselves as such, for example the *Caius Volusius Publii filius*, whose son or freedman Publius Volusius is defined as Roman on his grave inscription.[220] But what can be suggested is that a certain number of cases could be "hiding" the otherwise unattested Italics without Roman citizenship of the island.

217 It must be remembered that in the 1st century BCE, Greek citizens still seemed rather uneager to receive Roman citizenship, preferring other forms of honor from the Romans. This could be connected to the fact that in their communities such a juridical status was mostly diffused among freedmen (see e.g. Hatzfeld (1919), pp. 247–248; Toynbee (1965), vol. 2, p. 369; Brunt (1981²), pp. 212–213; David (1994), pp. 75–76) and could therefore imply a reduction in status.

218 Wallace-Hadrill (2008), pp. 446–447. But see also above, pp. 246–255.

219 According to Baslez (1996), p. 217, the Romans on Delos generally referred less frequently to their origin after 166 BCE, perhaps because the gentilitial was enough to reveal a Roman origin.

220 *ID* 1738; Couilloud (1974), n. 276.

Particularly interesting is a dedication by the "oil sellers", dated to around 100 BCE, which contains many different names.[221] All of these are accompanied by the *patria*, including a "Roman", Spurius Arius son of Decimus; in this context, clearly, this information was considered relevant. There is only one exception, Publius Plotius Patron, whose origin is not indicated. Since a Publius Plotius, son or more probably *libertus* of Lucius, is defined as Roman on two other monuments,[222] it is possible, if the two are the same person, that he did not indicate his citizenship here to differentiate his status from that of the full freeborn Roman citizen Spurius Arius. His son Lucius Plotius, attested on other inscriptions, is also not accompanied by any ethnical definition.[223] At the same time, Plotius did not use the "Italic" identity, which was widespread only in the "plural" identification of the group as an "umbrella concept" that defined a community composed of people from different towns and regions but sharing an origin from the peninsula (and who therefore perceived themselves as "different" from other groups); nor did he indicate his more specific provenance, which could have revealed his past as a slave.

Contrary to the case of Plotius, the Delian epigraphy nonetheless also presents cases of people identified through their Italic town of origin, according to a system of self-identification which attributed the highest salience to the local community, and which was already known during the period of the First Punic War, when a Tiberius Claudius son of Gaius is defined as Antias on one of the tablets from Entella.[224] All the Delian occurrences of Italics whose town of origin is known, as it has been explicitly mentioned epigraphically, are listed in the following table:

City	Name	Sources
Ancona	Kalliteles s. of Hierocles	Cailloud (1974), n. 439 (ca. 100 BCE)
	Xenotimos s. of Eureunos	*ID* 2612 III 9 (uncertain date)
Azetium	Dazos, s. of Daziskos	*ID* 442 B 53 (178 BCE)[225]
	Eirenaios, s. of Zoilos	*ID* 1713 (around 100 BCE)[226]

221 *ID* 1713.
222 *ID* 2255; 2302.
223 *ID* 2439; 2616.38; 2919.b.II.5.
224 Corsaro (1982); Bispham (2012), pp. 243–245. Liv. 25.3.8–9 reveals the activity in 215 BCE of two other Roman citizens identified by the definitions Veientanus and Pyrgensis; these individuals therefore come from two communities which had been annexed by Rome (the former) and founded as a Roman colony (the latter). A M. Antistius Pyrgensis is attested for 179 BCE by Cic., *De orat.* 2.287: see Corsaro (1982), pp. 997–999.
225 See also *ID* 380.89; 396 B 27; 424; 439 a 50; 455 Bb 17; 461 Ba 59; 465 f 5. De Simone (1964), p. 25, rather connected Dazos, an Azantinos, with the Messapian town of Uxentum.
226 Eirenaios is defined Azotios, but the origin is rather to be connected to Azetium in Apulia than to Azotos in Syria: Hatzfeld (1912), p. 34.

City	Name	Sources
Canusium	Bouzos, s. of Orteira	*ID* 642 (241–232 BCE)
Cumae	Minatus Steius, s. of Minatus	*ID* 442 B 147[227]
Elea	---	*ID* 2612 I 3 (uncertain date)
	---	*ID* 2415 (107/106 or 105/104 BCE)
	---ana, d. of Thrasydeios	*ID* 1965 (around 140 BCE)
	Agathokles	*ID* 2598, 27 (119–118 BCE)
	Agathokles, s. of Hermon	*ID* 1965 (around 140 BCE)
	Andron, s. of Ariston	Couilloud (1974), n. 332 (ca. 100 BCE)
	Aphobos	*ID* 1416 B I 65–66 (157–156 BCE)
	Apollodoros, s. of Dionysios	*ID* 2631 (end of the 2nd c.)
	Archippos, s. of Diotimos	*ID* 637 3 6 (mid-3rd c.)
	Hermon, s. of Agathokles	*ID* 1965; 2004; 2595 (around 135–105 BCE)
	Hermon, s. of Thrasydeios	*ID* 1965; 2368; 2595; 2602(?) (2nd half of the 2nd c.)
	Nikomenes	*ID* 1416 A I 76 (157–156 BCE)[228]
	Phylakos	*ID* 103.33; 104.91; 104–2 B 8; 104–12 65; 161 B 14; 162 B 11; 190; 199 B 41; 300 B 21(?); 314 B 139 (around the mid-4th c.)
	Thedotos?	*ID* 2602
	Theon, s. of Hermon	*ID* 1713 (ca. 100 BCE)[229]
	Thrasydeios, s. of Hermon	*ID* 1695[230]
	Zenon, s. of Hermon	*ID* 1713 (ca. 100 BCE)
Fregellae	Marcus Sestius, s. of Marcus	Homolle (1884), pp. 89–90 (first half of the 2nd c.)
Heraclea	Apelles, s. of Themison	Couilloud (1974), n. 297 (ca. 100 BCE)
	Gorgias, s. of Damoxenos	*ID* 2002 (around 85 BCE)
	Lysippos, s. of Lysippos	*ID* 1724; 1763 (around 100–90 BCE)
	Menippos, s. of Artemidoros	*SEG* 32, 810 (250–175 BCE)
	Midas, s. of Zenon	*ID* 1689; 2234; 2253–2254; 2288 (end of the 2nd c.)
	Posidippos, s. of Titus	*ID* 1713 (around 100 BCE)[231]
	Theophilos, s. of Ariston	Couilloud (1974), n. 295 (around 100 BCE)

227 See above, n. 214.
228 See also *ID* 1417 B I 81; 1442 A 32; 1452 A 52.
229 Theon and Zenon are sons of Hermon, son of Agathokles.
230 Hatzfeld (1912), pp. 200–201.
231 Posidippos is son of Titus, son of Saturion.

City	Name	Sources
	Satyros, s. of Titus	*ID* 1967 (around 100 BCE)
	Titus, s. of Satyrion	*ID* 1967 (around 100 BCE)[232]
	Titus, s. of Titus	*ID* 1967 (around 100 BCE)
Histonium?	Aulus	*ID* 1439 Ca 3–4
Lanuvium	Avilius Gaii filius, Quintus	Couilloud (1974), n. 495 (ca. 100 BCE)[233]
Metapontum	Eutychos, s. of Dazos	*ID* 2136 (first half of the 2nd c.)[234]
Neapolis	---	*ID* 1426 A I 28 (ca. 150 BCE)[235]
	---	*ID* 1763 (94 BCE)
	---	*ID* 2800
	Apollonia, d. of Apollonios	*ID* 2265 (98–96 BCE)
	Apollonios, s. of Dioskorides	*ID* 2126 (110–109 BCE); 2265
	Artemidoros, s. of Sarapion	*ID* 1763 (94–93 BCE)
	Artemó, d. of Apollonios	*ID* 2265 (98–96 BCE)
	Gaius, s. of Gaius	*ID* 2601 (134–133 BCE?)
	Kallinike, d. of Polemarchos	Couilloud (1974), n. 49 (ca. 100 BCE)
	Philostratos, s. of Philostratos	*ID* 1754 (end of the 2nd c. BCE)[236]
	Sarapion, s. of Alexandros	*ID* 1755; 1763; 1931 (around 100–90 BCE)
	Sosigenes, s. of Theodoros	*ID* 1761 (98–97 BCE)
	Soterichos, s. of Bakchios (?)	*ID* 1417 B II 117 (156–155 BCE)
	Theodoros, s. of Philostratos	*ID* 2616 III 72; 2619 a 18 b 21 (around 100 BCE)
	Theophilos, s. of Philostratos	*ID* 1934 (92–91 BCE)
Petelia	Agathon, s. of Nympsios	*ID* 1244–1246 (around 200 BCE)
Tarentum	--- (woman)	*ID* 1442 A 72
	Demetrius, s. of Dazos	Couilloud (1974), n. 381 (150–100 BCE?)
	Dexikrates	*ID* 810
	Drakon	*ID* 108 (279 BCE); 161 A 86

232 These dedications are made by Titus, son of Satyrion, and his son Titus. Considering the Latin form of the name shared by father and son, it seems necessary to identify Heraclea with the town in Lucania. Satyrion was probably naturalized in Heraclea but originated from Athens: Baslez (2002), pp. 59–60.

233 Published also as *ILLRP* 961 = *CIL* 1^2.2259 = *CIL* 3.7242 = *CIL* 6.12904.

234 The ethnic is fragmentary and integrated. The name Dazos is typical of Illyria and of Apulia: see Yntema (2009), p. 158.

235 Perhaps the same as in *ID* 1414 b I 8.

236 Philostratus, who has been already mentioned, was a citizen of Ascalon who received Neapolitan citizenship, as can be inferred by this inscription. See also *ID* 1717–1724; 1769; 2253–2254; 2454; 2549; 2628 a I 29.

City	Name	Sources
	Eirene, d. of Simalos	*ID* 2619 b II 10 (around 100 BCE)
	Eukles, s. of Heraklides	*ID* 1417 B II 97 (156–155 BCE)
	Eutyches, s. of Dazos?[237]	*ID* 1416 A I 74 (157–156 BCE)
	Heraklides, s. of Aristion	*ID* 1716 (165–150 BCE)[238]
	Menekrates, s. of Heraklides	*ID* 1417 B II 128 (156–155 BCE)
	Parmenion, s. of Dazimos	*ID* 1416 B II 114 (157–156 BCE)
	Simalos, s. of Simalos	*ID* 1927 (103–102 BCE)[239]
	Simalos, s. of Timarchos[240]	*ID* 1755 (around 105–100 BCE)
	Sokrates	*ID* 1442 A 71–73 (mid-2nd c.)[241]

From this list, it can be seen that Neapolis numerically dominates the attestations, which could indeed imply a particular dimension of the Neapolitan community on Delos. In any case, it must be highlighted that persons coming from Greek cities seem to have considered, in a Greek context such as Delos, their local origin as salient in their self-representation.[242] This is true in general, and there is therefore no need to explain every single case, as it has been done for example with Philostratus of Ascalon and his supposed particular pride for his newly acquired Neapolitan citizenship.[243] In all these cases, the local pride of Greek communities and the general cultural context of the Aegean island could represent sufficient reason to attribute salience to a Greek identity rather than a Roman or an Italic one. For scholars who believe that Italics generally identified themselves as Romans, it could be said, from a functionalist perspective, that on Delos a Greek origin did not create any disadvantage to conducting business, and there was therefore no need to reject it in favor of a more "prestigious" or "powerful" Roman identity. The fact that, as has been shown, Romans were generally considered to be Greeks would add a further piece to the puzzle, revealing why it could be convenient for Italics to present themselves as Romans, as long as they detained citizenship, and why this was unneces-

237 Eutyches, son of Dazos is called in this inscription Termentinos, an otherwise unknown *ethnikon* which has been explained as an alteration of Tarentine. See also *ID* 1417 B I 79; 1442 A 32; 1452 A 51. A person with the same name and patronym is possibly also attested as a citizen of Metapontum.

238 See also *ID* 404–405; 406 A; 442 A.

239 Simalos, son of Simalos, also appears in an Athenian ephebic list for the year 101–100 BCE: *IG* II.467.145.

240 Simalos was a citizen of Salamis who received Tarentine citizenship.

241 See also *ID* 1439 Abc II 53; 1450 A 113.

242 In this direction, though not completely, see Toynbee (1965), vol. 2, p. 367.

243 The particularly high number of persons who were "naturalized" in Southern Italic cities, yet originated from Greece and Asia Minor, must indeed also be taken into account when attempting to understand why such ethnic indications are attested in Delian epigraphy.

sary for Southern-Italic Greeks. There are, however, exceptions, such as Azetium, which was a highly Hellenized Peucetian center. One of its representatives in Delian epigraphy, Eirenaios, is surely a Greek, though this is not valid for Dazos, a typical name among Illyrian and Apulian populations.

One may be tempted to interpret the indications of the single town of provenance on inscriptions dating to the end of the 3rd–first years of the 2nd centuries BCE as expressions of a period when "Italic identity" was still in the first phases of its construction. Consider the case, in the second half of the 3rd century BCE (between 241 and 232 BCE) of Bouzos, son of Orteira, from Canusium, who cannot be considered a Greek given the Messapian onomastics of his father and himself,[244] as well as those of Agathon, son of Nympsios (possibly a Greek transcription for Numisius), from Petelia.[245] But again, it is most difficult to explain in these terms the decree conceding proxeny to Marcus Sextius Marci filius Fregellanus. The inscription recording this decree dates to the first quarter of the 2nd century BCE and Sextius, most probably a Latin citizen (Fregellae was a Latin colony), did not define himself as a "Roman", instead using an *ethnikon* as a form of Latin *cognomen*.[246] Even less can such reasoning be applied to the Aulus, of whom is attested a provenance from the Samnite center of Histonium.

It must therefore be concluded that an Italic identity was recognized and adopted in Delos as a means of self-representation, though only on a collective level, as an "umbrella identity" that held together all of those who perceived themselves "abroad" – Romans, Latins and Italics – to be part of a different and recognizable community. In this sense, such an identity was available and "strong" among the many affiliations available to these persons. On the level of individual self-representation, however, such a sense of Italic belonging appears not to be salient. Far more relevant here is the indication of each person's citizenship: Roman, for those who had it; or that of a single town, held with particular pride by the inhabitants of Greek cities, who presented themselves to in front of a Greek public. As for the Latin and Italic allies, they seem to have seldom clearly indicated their origin when they did not have Roman citizenship, perhaps also due to a sort of "shame" in this particular cultural context, which they did not feel when confronted with other

244 *ID* 642. Homolle (1884), pp. 81–82; Chelotti (1985), p. 258; Yntema (2009), pp. 156–157, where it is also suggested that Bouzos could have been a relative of the Busa from Canusium mentioned by Livy (see above, p. 108).

245 *ID* 1244–1246. Hatzfeld (1912), pp. 197–198.

246 Badian (1970/1971), p. 378, expressed the conviction that proxeny decrees used the original designation "precisely", differing from the rest of Eastern epigraphy, especially in relation to the use of the term "Roman". Such a conviction is not supported by any concrete evidence, and must be based solely on the presupposition that Delian and, more generally, Eastern inscriptions also recorded as Romans persons who were not Roman citizens, though this, as has been shown, seems disputable.

Italics: the bilingual inscription of Quintus Avilius is the best example of this changing salience according to the target audience.

What remains certain is thus that an Italic identity was established as a collective identity which unified all those who came from the peninsula, regardless of their different social level, juridical status, patrimonial level, or profession;[247] however, this apparently lost its salience when the individuals required identification and self-definition. To presume that this had a purely instrumental character, with a functionalistic approach,[248] and that it corresponded to the possibility of concrete advantages (for example in trade or in the division of booty)[249] would be highly reductive.[250] Social psychology has highlighted, some decades ago, that "social cooperation does not arise in a straightforward way directly from the pursuit of individual self-interest. It seems to depend upon the development of individuals into something we can call a joint or collective psychological unit".[251] The same applies to Italics within the Roman Republic.

It must be noted that rational self-interest is not always, or rather quite seldom, the dominant factor in identity ascriptions, as "part of a personal and/or political project", and that "to see identities only as reflections of 'objective' social positions or circumstances is to see them always retrospectively".[252] As confirmed by studies in the field of social psychology, belonging to a group "is largely a psychological state" which "confers social identity, or a shared/collective representation of who one is and how one should behave. It follows that the psychological processes associated with social identity are also responsible for generating distinctively 'groupy' behaviours".[253] This must be read within the general context in which, within the peninsula, the construction of an "Italic" identity, common with the Romans, was

247 Trümper (2008), p. 305.

248 Also in ethnographic studies, it has sometimes been claimed that ethnic self-ascription always refers to political, social, or economic interests, and is intended to maintain or improve personal status, as argued by Barth; see Roosens (1989), pp. 13–15.

249 So Giardina (1994), pp. 58–59, who believes that only these common advantages would have convinced the Romans to be presented as Italics (while refusing to identify the other Italics as Romans); David (1994), p. 132, claims that only the Italic elites were interested in obtaining a citizenship which had become a necessary condition for the reproduction of their social and political standing. Bradley (2007), p. 302, lists a number of advantages connected to Roman citizenship, including booty, viritane assignations, political offices, which meant the possibility of "controlling" (sic!) Roman foreign policy, lucrative positions such as serving as *publicanus*, suspension of *tributum*, and *provocatio*.

250 On "instrumentalist" approaches towards the study of ethnicity, see J.M. Hall (1997), pp. 17–18.

251 Turner *et al.* (1987), p. 35. See also pp. 40–41.

252 Calhoun (1994), pp. 27–28. See also Jenkins (1997), pp. 76–77, and S. Jones (1997), pp. 82–83, for a critique of interpretations of ethnic identity which considers it purely as a product of a rational pursuit of interests.

253 Hogg/Abrams (1988), p. 3. See also p. 7 on the emotional significance of belonging. See also Carter Bentley (1987), pp. 47–48; Turner *et al.* (1987), pp. 56–66.

ever-stronger and more elaborate in discourse and thus providing a useful tool for (as in the provinces) dealing with "Others". The condition of our sources, and the absolute lack of any kind of reference to psychological or "affective" issues, does not allow us to proceed further.[254]

Still, if all the attested Romans were truly citizens, and on Delos "Roman" and "Italic" did not assume the same value on an individual level, the inscriptions unmistakably affirm – on an island which was surely identified as an "Outside" in respect to Italy – a collective identity which was adopted from "Inside" the collectivity itself (*Italici* is also used in Latin inscriptions, while *Romanus* is not).[255] This situation allowed for the bringing together of people from different origins who, in their individual self-description, emphasized other salient aspects. It can be assumed that they all had a moment of identity foundation and personal pride when reading the dedications to Apollo and the Italics, a group they were aware of being part of, or when spending time in the Agora des Italiens, a building which constructed and reinforced their common sense of belonging.

The fact that this identity lost salience in the definition of the single individual is not surprising, given that in the ancient world the self-ascription of the single person was largely based on citizenship structure (and even then, as noted, based either on the town or the local population in the case of non-urbanized political forms), thus leading instead to a personal definition in terms of belonging to the local community.[256] However, this does not diminish the importance of Italic identity as an entity able to bring together and collect the sum of all these local communities. It is impossible to say whether such a collective identity was started "top-down" in the provinces, as was the case in Italy, by the Romans. Other cases of cultural discourses and identities brought about by a dominating group that deeply influenced the way subjects perceived and understood themselves, be it in terms of condescendence or opposition, are well known from colonialism. The Italics adopted such a possibility of self-representation, at least on the collective level, and further increased the process of self-absorption and assimilation into an Italic identity.

Further help in clarifying this problem can be found in the Greek world outside Delos, particularly on Rhodes, whose "foreigners" were the subject of systematic research in 1956 by Morelli.[257] On this island, Westerners are present in far fewer numbers than on Delos;[258] nonetheless, both persons indicating their specific prov-

254 Keaveney (1987), p. 8, hints in this direction when discussing an ever-stronger sense of inclusion felt by the Italics, who came to perceive their juridical "discrimination" as an act of violence.
255 Adams (2002), pp. 109–110.
256 Cornell (1997), p. 10.
257 Morelli (1956).
258 Morelli (1956), p. 136.

enance and, as on Delos, "Romans" are attested here.[259] What has been said until now does not allow us to follow Bresson in thinking that the first category precedes the Social War, the second the concession of Roman citizenship to all Italics,[260] even if the inscription explicitly referring to the *c(ives) Romani qui in Asia negotiantur* must surely be dated to after 90–89 BCE, as with all similar inscriptions.[261] On the contrary, as on Delos and other islands of the Aegean,[262] before the Social War the Ῥωμαῖοι attested seem to represent Roman citizens that were active on the island.[263]

If the citizens of Greek cities from Southern Italy (whose "ethnic identity" is easily explicable in a Greek context, for example the three Tarentines and the three Neapolitans attested)[264] are left aside, what remains is a Messapian couple (a husband and wife), two Bruttii, and one Lucanian who are explicitly indicated on Rhodes with their Italic *ethnikon*:

Name	Origin	Source
Botrys	Lucania[265]	*IG* XII/1.106
Hesychion	Messapia	*IG* XII/1.517
Platon	Bruttium	*Clara Rhodos* II, nn. 25–26 (2nd century BCE)[266]
Stratios	Bruttium	Maiuri (1916), n. 58 (2nd century BCE)[267]

259 E.g. *Clara Rhodos* II, nn. 60; 63. See Bresson (2002), pp. 149–153. Further Romans are attested elsewhere, including the Gaius Romanus of Syme (*IG* XII/3.7) at the beginning of the 1st century BCE, who perhaps took part in the Mithridatic Wars.

260 Bresson (2002), p. 151.

261 *CIL* 3.12266. See Bresson (2002), pp. 154–155. On the use of the expression *cives Romani* in such inscriptions after the Social War, see Cassola (1971), p. 314.

262 *IG* XII/3.7 (Syme)

263 A Numerius is attested by *Suppl. Ep. Rhod.* 63a.15

264 From Heraclea (if it is Heraclea in Lucania): Morelli (1956), p. 153; from Naples: Morelli (1956), p. 163 (*IG* XII/1.447; 872); from Tarentum; see Morelli (1956), p. 172. *IG* XIII/1.436 is the funerary inscription of a Lysanias from Cumae, though it is impossible to know whether this is Cumae in Italy. On other Aegean islands there are similar attestations, for example, a Tarentine, Neumenios, son of Leon, who is remembered together with Ikane, daughter of Tiberius, on Milos (*IG* XII/3.1233).

265 Perdrizet (1903) believed that Botrys originated from Leuke in Ionia, though this interpretation is not convincing; see Zancani Montuoro (1937), pp. 102–104; Pugliese Carratelli (1948), pp. 6–8; Morelli (1956), p. 136.

266 Pugliese Carratelli (1948), pp. 2–5, suggested that this Platon be identified with the Platon, "philosopher from Rhodes, disciple of Panaetius", mentioned by Diog. Laert. 3.102.

267 Pugliese Carratelli (1948), p. 1, suggests dating the inscription to the 2nd century BCE.

What is particularly evident here is the adoption of a (sub-)regional identity rather than a civic one, a form of self-representation which is not limited to Rhodes. A funerary inscription from Durrës attests a Venetus (Βένετος), indicated as a patronymic.[268] It is impossible to say whether this was meant to indicate the Venetic origins of the deceased's father, though it must be admitted that such a "regional" origin may indeed have played a role in the family's social identification.

The choice to indicate the origin through a region and not through a specific town has been variously explained. Zancani Montuoro, in special reference to the Lucanian Botrys, believed that the Lucanian may have come from a small center which simply would not have been known to anyone on Rhodes.[269] Furthering this argument, Pugliese Carratelli claimed that those not belonging to colonies or *civitates foederatae* (though one should also add *municipia*) could refer only to the region to express their *origo*;[270] however, it is important to note that Botrys' inscription is one of the very few traces of self-identification of a Lucanian which emphasizes his "regional" identity rather than that of the single community,[271] which would seem to imply that both possibilities were available to the individual, who would then have decided based on context to which identity salience was to be attributed. In addition to context, another factor that may have guided such a decision may have been the size and "fame" of an individual's town of origin.

A similar, though less known case is attested on Thera, where a list of *proxenoi* from the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 1st century BCE records a Dexitheos, son of Cha[---] and a [---] son of Zoarchos, who are defined as Καλαβ[ροί, next to [---, son of P]ublius, Ῥωμαῖοι.[272] The choice to refer to a regional "identity" rather than a civic one must certainly have been connected here to the dimensions and legal status of the "villages" of origin, as with the level of urbanization. Local communities could have a political organization which was not modelled on a poliadic/urban structure, and therefore maintain forms of self-ascription of a rather ethnical-regional character.[273] Cicero provides a parallel example for the period following the Social War in his *Pro Cluentio*, where he lists the groups present in court, including Frentani and

268 *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrachion*, n. 207.

269 Zancani Montuoro (1937), p. 104. However, Zancani Montuoro's hypothesis of a connection between this indication and the existence, before the Second Punic War, of an independent Lucanian federal state, whose memory should have been strong until the Social War, can no longer be held, since it is based on the supposition that ethnical self-ascription must always refer to a state formation.

270 Pugliese Carratelli (1948), p. 6.

271 Isayev (2007a), pp. 24–26, argues that the Lucanian identity should be understood as "a network of intertwining groups of independent communities".

272 *IG* XII/3.1299–1300.

273 See Yntema (1995), pp. 160–166, on these aspects in the area of the Brindisino. Yntema draws attention to Greek authors of the classical period who wrote about the inhabitants of this region as Calabri and Sallentini, without mentioning any single town.

Marrucini alongside people from Teanum Apulum and Luceria, Bovianum and the entire Samnium; here, Cicero refers to ethnic groups rather than cities for the regions with a lower level of urbanization and municipalization.[274] However, no explicit mention appears of a Latin identity, not only because the towns were in this sense considered "more relevant", but also because, since 338 BCE, Latin citizenship had been constructed without any reference to an "ethnical" meaning or content.

It is difficult to make a chronological argument and suppose that these *ethnika* were indicated during a period when "Italic identity" was still within an early phase of formation. On the basis of its paleography, Botrys' inscription seems to have been erected in the 2nd century BCE. Once again, it is a matter of salience: in the dedication of a statue, Botrys is named as the object's creator, and therefore in his own inscription he may have expressed his identity in terms of region because the "art world" would not, in this moment, have attributed a strong relevance (and thus salience) to Romanness and Italicness.[275]

A general overview of the Aegean islands simply confirms the picture presented here, although it provides a much smaller repertoire of names and provenances: an anonymous Roman, son of Apollonios (and thus likely a freedman), is attested on Tinos at the beginning of the 1st century BCE,[276] where a list of *proxenoi* from the mid-3rd century BCE also includes Tarentines and Crotoniates,[277] and an anonymous Neapolitan is honored.[278] On Naxos, a funerary inscription commemorates a certain Tertia, daughter of Iason, from Brundisium.[279] On Amorgos, an inscription from the end of the 2nd century BCE mentions the Romans present on the island alongside the "foreigners" (ξένοι) and the πολῖται, as is the case with analogous Delian formulations.[280] On Crete, more precisely in Itanos, a Lucius, son of Gaius, Ῥωμαῖος, is attested between 216 and 206 BCE as φρουράρχων in the service of Ptolemy IV Philopator. Although military service abroad was forbidden to Roman citizens, this does not seem to be a sufficient reason to assume that the term "Roman" was used only here to indicate an Italic; as suggested by Reinach, such a form of service could have been taken into account during the treaties between Rome and Egypt stipulated during the 3rd century BCE.[281]

274 Cic., *Cluent*. 197. See Bispham (2007a), p. 410.
275 Zancani Montuoro (1937), pp. 100–102.
276 *IG* XII *Suppl*. 308.
277 *IG* XII *Suppl*. 313.
278 *IG* XII/5.843.
279 *IG* XII/5.86.
280 *IG* XII/7.515.
281 Reinach (1911), pp. 400–415, n. 3. A Novius Novii, about whom no further details are known, but who must have been of Italic origin given that his name is Campanian, appears in a list of soldiers found in Ashmounein, which has been dated to the period of Ptolemy VI Philometor or Ptole-

Epigraphic data from other cities reveals the same pattern. It is thus possible to find an Aulus Cossinius Philocratis from Puteoli in Leucae,[282] and Gaius Caesius from Ancona in Durrës; this latter individual cannot be considered a Greek due to his name, although provenance from a Greek colony lying on the other side of the Adriatic Sea may have played a role in determining the forms of his self-representation in Dyrrachium.[283] In the 2nd century BCE a Dazos, son of Dazos, from Canusium is also attested at Epidaurus, where he set up a dedication to Apollo and Asclepius.[284] In Larissa, a Cuman is attested in the first half of the 2nd century BCE.[285] At the beginning of the 1st century BCE, an inscription records that a Neapolitan won a prize at the local Eleutheria.[286] In the same period, at Gonnus in Thessaly, the "Romans" Gaius Galeius, Gaius Flavius Apollonius, and his son Gaius Flavius Rocco are attested, all names which lead us to conclude that they had Roman citizenship, as with the Roman Lucius Acutius Lucii filius at Oloosson.[287] In the 1st century BCE, an unknown Roman is honored with proxeny in Magnesia, as is a Sextus Cornelius Marci filius in Heraclea in Trachis.[288] In north Euboea, a Manius Mevius, Romanus, son of Marcus, is attested around the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 1st century BCE,[289] and three further Romans, Lucius Castricius, Marcus Herennius, and Aulus Cornelius, are attested in a sports inscription from Chalcis, in which all other names are of local inhabitants; therefore, these three Romans must have resided there and been a part of the local community life.[290]

The Neapolitan Pelops, son of Dexias, received honours at the end of the 3rd century BCE both in Oropos and in Tanagra;[291] the latter city also recorded a Philon, son of Philon, from Tarentum,[292] while at Thespiae the Roman Gaius Octavius Titi filius is recorded as *proxenos* in the 2nd century BCE;[293] the same honor is given to the Tarentine Diocles.[294] In Orchomenus, two proxeny decrees written around 100 BCE also attest the presence of two people from Tarentum, an Asclepiodoros, son of Py-

my VIII Physcon; see G. Lefebvre, *Inscription grecque d'Ashmounein*, in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* 10 (1908), pp. 187–195 (II.40).

282 *CIL* 3.574 = *IG* IX/1^2.1451.

283 *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrachion*, n. 20.

284 *IG* IV^2/1.225. See Chelotti (1985), p. 260.

285 *IG* IX/2.526.

286 *IG* IX/2.528.

287 *IG* IX/2.1292.

288 *IG* IX/2.1105; *IG* IX/2.1.

289 *IG* XII/9.1189.

290 *Athenà* 9, 1897, pp. 456–458.

291 *IG* VII.342; VII.505.

292 *IG* VII.540.

293 *IG* VII.4127.

294 *IG* VII.1726.

theas, and a Dorotheos, son of Dorotheos.[295] At Acraephia a Marcus Norcinius Lucii filius Romanus is attested, who may have come from Campania, given the onomastic parallels found in the Roman colony of Pozzuoli.[296] In Acarnania, two Roman brothers, Publius and Lucius Acilii, sons of Publius, are attested and honored with proxeny by the Acarnanian confederation between 167 and 146 BCE.[297] Thrace preserves the memory of the family of the Apustii: two members, residing in Thessalonica, were honored in Abdera around the second quarter of the 2nd century BCE, presumably for actions connected to the Third Macedonian War,[298] as revealed by a stele inscribed with a decree which contains other special honors for Marcus Vallius Marci filius. The Apustii are explicitly defined here as Ῥωμαῖοι; this is significant, as it is known that this name (which is very rare, and thus an important marker) originally comes from Etruria, though it seems here that at least one branch of the family had already received Roman citizenship in the 3rd century BCE, including a Lucius Apustius, who was consul in 226 BCE, and L. Apustius Fullo, who was praetor in 196 BCE.[299]

Once again, it seems necessary to conclude that the use of the *ethnikon* "Roman" was applied only to Roman citizens. Presumably in the same years, around the 170s BCE, the sanctuary of Dodona also recognized as *proxenos* an Italic, Gaius Polphennius, son of Dazus, from Brundisium.[300] In Epirus, another individual from Brundisium was also honored with proxeny, a Gaius Dazoupios Rhennos, who is twice clearly identified as Βρεντεσῖνος.[301]

In Athens, various grave inscriptions preserve the names of a Neapolitan, the anonymous son of an Ameinios; of several Heracleans, who may or may not have come from Heraclea in Lucania;[302] and of a number of Romans, including Artemisios Flaminios Lucii (libertus?), Marcus Cossutius Gai (filius), Polla Ophellia Gai (liberta?) Zosime, Claudia Caninii (filia?), Nikarete Apollonidis (liberta), Publius Cassius Gai (filius), Quintus Quintius, Polla Lollia Marci (filia) and Marcus Lollius Marci

295 *IG* VII.3195; 3197. An anonymous Roman is attested around 220 BCE in Boeotia in Lebadeia: *BCH* 25, 1901, pp. 365–375, n. 19.
296 *BCH* 23, 1899, pp. 91–94, n. III.
297 *IG* IX/1^2.208.
298 *BCH* 37, 1913, pp. 122–137, n. 39.
299 Cassola (1962), pp. 384–385. More generally on Roman citizens in Macedonia, see Rizakis (2002).
300 Cabanes (1976), pp. 554–557. Cabanes argues that since Brundisium was the harbor where the embassies from Epirus reached Italy, Polphennius might either have helped or hosted such delegations. Indeed, it should not be forgotten that Perseus was suspected of having conspired against Rome through an Erennius from Brundisium, who again apparently played an important role in Macedonian diplomacy; see App., *Rom.* 9.11.7. See also Burgers (1998), pp. 280–281.
301 *Griechische Dialektinschriften* 2.1339.
302 *IG* III/2.2417–2487.

(filius), Tryphosa Valeria, and an anonymous Roman woman.[303] An honorary inscription, dated to around 205 BCE, also records a Tarentine.[304] A Roman, probably Lucius Hortensius, is honored in circa 170 BCE,[305] and Ῥωμαῖοι are also recorded among the ξένοι in the local ephebic lists, together with inhabitants of Greek cities in Southern Italy.[306]

A Decimus Cossutius Publii filius Romanus, who was active during the first half of the 2nd century BCE, is also honored in an inscription found near the Olympieion which, as an architect, he apparently helped to reconstruct.[307] That Cossutius could use the definition of Ῥωμαῖος because he enjoyed Roman citizenship, is confirmed by Vitruvius, who writes that Cossutius, a *civis Romanus*, dealt with the construction.[308] This family is far more ramified than that: apart from the Marcus mentioned in Athens, Cossutii are attested in the 2nd century BCE in Antioch, in Eretria, in Erythres, on Ios, on Paros, and again within the "multicultural" community of Delos.[309] None of these members, however, excluding Decimus, is explicitly qualified as Roman, although some of these individuals may indeed have been and it was simply not considered relevant to record this. Indeed, it is possible that at least some branches of this family did not enjoy Roman citizenship until the Social War; a Kussuties was *meddix* in Velitrae,[310] which might hint at parts of the family which were not yet enfranchised (for which a Sabine origin has been hypothetically suggested).[311]

Finally, other relevant names are preserved in the proxeny decrees from Delphi, which registered the names of people who received this honor in chronological order. One list, dated to the 3rd century BCE, records the Romans Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, Lucius Ortesius from Brundisium, Philippis and Philippos from Tarentum.[312] A second list concerning the years from 197 BCE to 149 BCE contains, specifically for 195–194 BCE, a Blattos, son of Maturos, from Canusium and a Quintus Otorius Ῥωμαῖος. The consistent presence of people from Apulia is confirmed by the list for 191–190 BCE, which shows a Salsios Tagyllios, son of Tagylos, from Arpi, and a Gaius Statorius Gaii filius from Brundisium.[313] Brundisium had been deducted as a

303 *IG* III/2.2872–2881. On Roman citizens in Athens, see Hatzfeld (1919), pp. 41–44; Follet (2002).
304 *IG* II/III^3 1,5.1230.
305 *IG* II–III/1.2.907.
306 *IG* II–III/1.2.1008–1009; 1011; 1031.
307 *IG* III/1.561.
308 Vitr. 7.*pr*.15.
309 Antioch: *IGLS* 3/1.825; Eretria: *IG* XII/Suppl. 55.25; Hatzfeld (1919), p. 107; *IGRRP* 4.1092; Ios: *IG* XII/5.11; Paros: *IG* XII/5.1049; Delos: *ID* 1738–1739; 1767.
310 Vetter (1953), n. 222.
311 On the *gens Cossutia*, see Rawson (1975) and M. Torelli (1980).
312 Pouilloux (1976), n. 427 = *Fouilles de Delphes* III/4.427.
313 Yntema (2009), pp. 157–158, suggests that Statorius is the Latinized form of Thaotoridas, a name attested for the local elite. See also Chelotti (1985), pp. 259–260.

Latin colony in 244 BCE, and this entry therefore confirms that its inhabitants, not having had Roman citizenship, could not present themselves as Romans, but could explicitly mention their local community of origin. In the same year, an Agron is recorded, son of Theophilos, from Heraclea (Lucana, or by Latmus?).

One year later, it was the turn of Orthon, son of Zopyros, from Rhegium, as well as Marcus Valerius Mottones and his sons Publius, Gaius, Marcus, and Quintus, all of whom were Romans, to receive the honor of proxeny. Mottones is of central importance to understand the use of the term Ῥωμαῖος and its reference to the status of Roman citizens, since he can be identified with the Numidian Muttine who received Roman citizenship in 210 BCE after the conquest of Agrigentum, and who took part, in the year of his proxeny, in the Thracian campaign of the consul G. Manlius.[314] Other Romans, namely Titus Quinctius Titi filius, Lucius Acilius Caesonis filius, and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus Marci filius are recorded for 189–188 BCE, together with the Tarentine Lykos, son of Phileus. One year later, Velia was represented by Charopinos, son of Antallos, and Eudoxos, son of Aischrion; the same town is again represented in 179–178 BCE by Dionysios, son of Legetos. A Roman named Nikandros, son of Menekrates (therefore presumably a Greek who received Roman citizenship, or a freedman who still indicated his "biological" patronymic), is recorded for 173–172 BCE.[315]

Once again, no names with the indication "Roman" lead us to believe that the *ethnikon* was used for any person who did not enjoy Roman citizenship. A group of Romans was also awarded proxeny in Cierium: one of them, Marcus Perperna Lucii filius, was *legatus* in Macedonia in 168 BCE, which provides the date for the inscription. Valerius Maximus appears to have advertised that he was not a Roman citizen and, apparently, he was expelled from Rome after his son's consulate in 130 BCE.[316] According to Badian, this story must be a late invention, but his argument is based largely on the view that proxeny lists are more reliable than other sources.[317] Badian could, of course, be correct as, according to Valerius Maximus, the son should have been elected to the consulate without having been a citizen, which is hard to believe. If we trust the ancient author and his sources, we must presume that the father and son Perperna had usurped their citizen rights, and were therefore recognized by their communities as proper citizens in the consular election, up to the moment when they were "caught". This does not demonstrate, therefore, a use of the word Ῥωμαῖος in Greek epigraphy, which would not correspond to the citizenship structure.

314 Liv. 27.5.6–7; 38.41.12.
315 *Syll.*[3].585.
316 Val. Max. 3.4.5.
317 Badian (1970/1971), p. 378.

Less decisive is the information provided by the famous Gnaeus Pandusinus, mentioned in the *senatus consultum de Thisbensibus* of 170 BCE:[318] his name, which probably alludes to a Pandosian origin, seems indeed to be a part of his onomastics rather than an *ethnikon*, since another individual, who may be identified as Gnaeus' grandson, is commemorated by an inscription from Tinos, in which he is called *Gaius Pandusinus Gnaei filius Romanus*.[319] We can presume that Gnaeus was already a Roman citizen and, indeed, the *senatus consultum* may have lacked cause to explicitly mention his citizenship, having taken this for granted; alternatively, he may have acquired citizenship at a later date or his descendants might, with a transformation of the *origo* to an onomastic component.

Other documents from Delphi confirm the same lexical use of ethnonyms: in the inscriptions dating from between the 3rd century BCE and the Social War, inhabitants from Elea and Heraclea,[320] Tarentum,[321] and from Bruttium,[322] stand alongside those defined as Romans and who surely enjoyed Roman citizenship.[323] The Delphic epigraphy therefore confirms once again the use of the designation "Roman" only for persons who truly had Roman *civitas*, as the practice, for all other Italics, to designate themselves as individuals through their town of origin.

Defining oneself through an Italic town of provenance was therefore a widespread practice, as confirmed further by an example of "tourist" graffiti at Philae from the end of the 2nd century BCE, in which a *Marcus Titrus Numerii filius Graicanicus Nucrinus* (from Nuceria) is attested.[324] Here the town of origin becomes a benchmark of the person, an integral part of the self-identity marked on the place visited to preserve the memory of his passage. The same was done by a M. Voturios Romaios in Thebes,[325] and apparently by a Kriton, son of Agathokles, a Roman, in Abydos.[326]

While other areas of the Mediterranean do not show such a widespread use of collective identity as the Italics on Delos, this must not be ascribed exclusively to a

318 *IG* VII.2225 = *RGDE* 2.
319 *IG* XII/5.917.
320 *Fouilles de Delphes* III/1.128; III/4.135
321 *Fouilles de Delphes* III/1.109; 443–444.
322 *Fouilles de Delphes* III/2.181.
323 Marcus Caphranius M. f. Gallus: *Fouilles de Delphes* III/4.44 (ca. 91 BCE)
324 *AE* 1977.839. The graffito occupies the empty space of a Greek dedication written on the occasion of the visit of Ptolemy IX in 115 BCE, and must have been written shortly afterwards. In the same area, two other Latin graffiti have been found, referring to visitors from Italy, and dated through the indication of the consuls to 116 BCE, but without explicit mention of an ethnical name; see Roccati (1978), nn. 5 and 7. Roman tourism in Egypt is also attested in Faiyum for the year 112 BCE, when the senator Lucius Mummius visited the region and some official from Alexandria asked the local superintendent of revenues, Asclepiades, to organize his reception: *PTebt* 33.
325 *CIL* 3.68–69.
326 Hatzfeld (1919), pp. 146–147.

Delian peculiarity, but to our lack of knowledge concerning collective structures such as the large and powerful group of Italic merchants architecturally represented in the Agora des Italiens. These groups, residing in the provinces (as is the case with those on Delos), are also defined by literary sources as "Italic". Those killed in Carthage during the convulsive moments which lead to the onset of the Third Punic War are simply defined as Ἰταλικοί by Polybius and Ἰταλοί by Appian,[327] an indication that surely includes the Romans once again. An analogous group, residing in Cirta at the beginning of the Jugurthine War and composed not only of Roman citizens but also of Italics, is also defined by Sallust with the expression *Italici* and *negotiatores*,[328] an alternative to *togati*,[329] the word used in the *formula togatorum*, as well as in the aforementioned inscription from Larissa. Gallia Cisalpina is also defined by many authors *Gallia Togata*,[330] to indicate that it is part of the Italic community; *togatus* must therefore be understood as indicating through metonymy not only the Roman citizens, but more generally the representatives of "Italicness".[331] A group of Italic merchants, *Italici* who *mercari consueverant*, is also attested by Sallust at Vaga, in Numidia. Earlier still, in 180 BCE, Romans and allies were said to be present, and to be victims of prevarications, in Gentius' Illyrian kingdom,[332] and it is very probable that such an expression again reveals a community of "Italics", comparable to the others presented here.

Such communities of Italics/Romans are likewise attested in other parts of the Empire. For example, around 100 BCE a community of Romans was residing in Eretria,[333] and a Quintus Titus is attested in Lebadeia, Boeotia as one of "the merchants doing their affairs in Greece" (τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι πραγματευόντων, the formulation used in inscriptions for such communities). He announced to Sulla in 86 BCE the victory predicted to him by an oracle.[334] These cases reveal nothing of the potential presence of non-Roman Italics; but in Asia, the existence of mixed groups is attested by the massacres initiated by Mithridates when Sulla obtained governorship of the

327 Polyb. 36.7.5; App., *Rom*. 8.13.92.

328 Sall., *Iug*. 26.1–3. See also Diod. Sic. 34–35.31 (Ἰταλοί). On the episode, see Roselaar (2012), pp. 149–151.

329 Sall., *Iug*. 21.2.

330 Caes., *BG* 8.24; 8.52; Cic., *Phil*. 8.27; Dio 46.55.4, writes τογᾶτα in transcription and explains that Cisalpina was called this because "because it seemed to me more peaceful than the other divisions of Gaul, and because the inhabitants already employed the Roman citizen-garb" (transl. E. Cary); 48.12.5; Mela 2.4.59; Mart. 3.1.1–2.

331 As presumed by Nissen (1883), p. 70. *Contra*, Lo Cascio (1991), pp. 315–317, who understands *togatus* to mean "Roman citizen", e.g. in the inscription from Larissa, or as "civilian", as opposed to "military" or "militarized", as in Sallust.

332 Liv. 40.42.4.

333 *Athená* 5, 1893, pp. 366–367, n. 70; Richardson/Heermance (1896), n. 1, pp. 173–187.

334 Plut., *Syll*. 17.2. The source for this oracle are Sulla's memories.

province in 88 BCE.[335] Although the period is immediately following the Social War, and the principal source – Appian – is writing at a great distance from these events, we still clearly can see a community composed of "Romans and Italics" together, as in the many other cases already presented:

> [Mithridates] wrote secretly to all his satraps and city governors that on the thirtieth day thereafter they should set upon all Romans and Italians in their towns, and upon their wives and children and their freedmen of Italian birth, kill them and throw their bodies unburied, and share their goods with King Mithridates.[336]

Such deeds were indeed accomplished, writes Appian, in Ephesus, Pergamon, Adramyttium, Kaunos (here the inhabitants "pursued the Italians, τοὺς Ἰταλούς),[337] and Tralles: "Such was the awful fate that befell the Romans and Italians in Asia, men, women, and children, their freedmen and slaves, all who were Italian blood".[338] Pliny the Elder writes that many *cives* were saved by moving to the island of Calaminae in Lydia, thus also attesting the existence of such communities in this region.[339] The word Ἰταλοί is again used in dealing with Archelaus' expedition to Delos in 87 BCE, when "he slew 20,000 men in these places, most of whom were Italians".[340]

Other sources refer to the same kind of communities, indicating them to be "Romans"; for example, Tacitus recalls how the inhabitants of Kos saved the "Roman citizens", when the king ordered their massacre:[341] did the historian, two centuries later, define as "Romans" all the Italics who lived on the island, or did he (or his source) want to specifically highlight the merit of the Koans in saving the full citizens? Once again, this has been taken as a sign of a "synonymy" of the concepts of "Roman" and "Italic" in the provinces during this period. But even in this case, the evidence is not conclusive: Valerius Maximus mentions only the Roman victims of Mithridates, who are the "real" cause of his indignation, but indicates their number in general as 80,000, a number which, including Roman freedmen, could well correspond only to the Roman citizens killed in the various cities,[342] if Plutarch is to be believed when he gives the total amount of victims as 150,000.[343] Although these numbers were almost certainly inflated, the ratio fits, once it is accepted (as it has

335 Ferrary (2002). See also Cassola (1971), pp. 320–321.
336 App., *Rom*. 12.422; transl. H. White.
337 Bresson (2002), pp. 156–162.
338 App., *Rom*. 12.4.23; transl. H. White.
339 Plin., *HN* 2.209.
340 App., *Rom*. 12.5.28; transl. H. White.
341 Tac., *Ann*. 4.14.
342 Val. Max. 9.2.*ext*.3. The same number of Romans killed is confirmed by Memnon (*FGH* 434 F 22.9).
343 Plut., *Sull*. 24.4. See Hatzfeld (1919), p. 45.

been since the 1970s) that the Romans were not a small minority when compared to the Italics present in the Eastern regions.[344] Furthermore, Plutarch speaks here only of Romans, though his distance from the facts could easily lead us to believe that, at the end of the 1st century CE, an identification of Italics and Romans was immediate for the Boeotian author, as perhaps it also was for Tacitus.

All these sources thus testify to two things: foremost, that Delos is exceptional only for the quantity and types of archaeological and epigraphic sources which it made available, although analogous Italic communities were widespread in the provinces and were universally a nucleus of development for Italic identity as a specific characteristic, as opposed to the provincial Alterity. Secondly, they demonstrate a consistently lexical use, which typically adopts the word Italici/Ἰταλικοί to refer to the entire community, including its Roman components.

After the Social War, this form of self-representation continued in the Greek East, as demonstrated by an inscription from Midea, in the province of Achaea, which was dedicated in 68 BCE to Q. Caecilius Metellus by the *Italici qui Argeis negotiantur*.[345] This same group, in the following year, created a similar dedication to Quintus Marcius Rex in Argos and defined itself, in the Greek text accompanying the Latin formulation, as Ἰταλ[οὶ (or Ἰταλ[ικοὶ) οἱ] / [ἐν Ἄργει πραγματευόμενοι].[346] Similar inscriptions have been found in Aegium (Achaea),[347] Ephesus,[348] Sardis,[349] and even in Rome, where the Italics active in commerce in Agrigentum established a dedication to Pompey.[350] Also in Delos, the destructions of 88 BCE were immediately followed by reconstructions, the inscriptions for which maintain the same formulary, as they could not adapt to the consequences of the Social War so quickly.[351] Some dedications therefore still attest the validity of the Italic identity; one example is provided by the dedication to Lucius Licinius Lucullus, which was posed between

344 Cassola (1971), p. 317. The precision of these numbers is not relevant to the arguments proposed here; doubts about the reliability of these numbers have been expressed by Brunt (1981²), pp. 224–227.

345 *CIL* 1².746 = *CIL* 3.531 = *ILS* 867 = *ILLRP* 374.

346 *CIL* 1².747 = *CIL* 3.532 = *CIL* 3.7265 = *ILS* 868 = *ILLRP* 376 = *IG* 4.604. On these two inscriptions, see Wilson (1966), p. 149. Van Berchem (1962) thought that the Italic community in Argos increased in size and importance as a direct consequence of Delos' decline, and that many of the merchants living on the island moved to the Peloponnesian city.

347 *CIL* 1².2955 = *ILLRP* 370 (74 BCE).

348 *IK Ephesos* 6.2058 = *CIL* 3.14195.39.

349 *AE* 1996.1453. This is a bilingual dedication of the *Italic[ei qui Sardibus] neg[otiantur* to L. Mun[atius Plancus]; on which see P. Herrmann (2002), pp. 37–41.

350 *CIL* 1².2710 = *CIL* 6.40903 = *ILLRP* 380 (71–61 BCE).

351 *ID* 1696 = *CIL* 1².831 = *ILS* 8961b = *ILLRP* 360 (88 BCE).

84 and 80 BCE by the *p[opulus Athe]niensis et Italicei et Graece[i que]i in insula negotiantur*,[352] while the dedications to Apollo and the Italics also continued this trend.[353]

The equivalence of "Italic" and "Roman" is now fully justified on a juridical basis, and it therefore comes as no surprise to find the definition *cives Romani* slowly replacing *Italici*,[354] as shown by a dedication to the proconsul Marcus Titius by the *cives Romani qui Mytileneis negotiantur*,[355] or later by one to Julius Caesar by the *cives Romani qui Coi negotiantur*.[356] This expression is also attested by literary sources: Cicero famously presents the *cives Romani, qui Lampsaci negotiabantur* in his Verrine orations,[357] and groups of *cives Romani* residing in Pergamon, Smyrna and Tralles in the *Pro Flacco*,[358] while Caesar mentions such communities in Gaul (whose existence is also confirmed by Cicero) and records that the Roman citizens in Antioch opposed Pompey.[359] Greek inscriptions refer to communities of Ῥωμαῖοι, as in the case of the community of Thespiae[360] or of the Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν Ἰασῶι πραγματευόμενοι attested between 4 and 7 CE.[361] In Pagae, an inscription dated to the 1st century BCE mentions "citizens, resident foreigners, resident Romans and slaves" (τοῖς τε π[ο]λίταις καὶ παροίκοις καὶ Ῥωμαί[οις τοῖς πα]ροικοῦσι καὶ δούλοις).[362] This change, motivated from a juridical point of view, does not in any case imply a weakening of Italic identity, nor of local identity, as if they had been replaced by a "higher" form of self-ascription which should have almost suffocated the development of Italicness by covering it with "Romanness". Even if by this point in time all Italics could individually define themselves as "Romans", it still appears that a higher salience was attributed at specific times to civic identity. This is once

352 *ID* 1620 = *CIL* 1^2.714 = *CIL* 3.13690 = *ILS* 865 = *ILLRP* 362. See also *ID* 1698 = *ILLRP* 369 = *CIL* 1^2.738 = *CIL* 3.14203 (82 BCE).

353 *ID* 1758 (74 BCE).

354 Hatzfeld (1919), pp. 244–245; Klingner (1965[2]), p. 16; P. Herrmann (2002), p. 40. According to van Berchem (1962), p. 306, the designation of Italic survived in communities which had already existed before the Social War and continued to use the "older" name before switching to *cives Romani*.

355 *CIL* 3.455 = *CIL* 3.7160 = *ILLRP* 433 = *ILS* 891. Marcus Titius is also indicated here as *consul designatus*, referring to his suffect consulship in 30 BCE.

356 *CIL* 1^2.2970 = *AE* 1947, 55 = *ILLRP* 408

357 Cic., *Verr*. 2.1.69. See also Cic., *Imp. Pomp*. 18: *deinde ex ceteribus ordinibus homines gnavi atque industrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur*...

358 Cic., *Flacc*. 71.

359 Caes., *BG* 7.3.1 (Cenabum); *BC* 3.102; Cic., *Font*. 11. An inscription referring to [--- *cives Romani*?] *qui Apameae negotiantur* was also found in Apamea: *CIL* 3.365.

360 *BCH* 26, 1902, n. 16, pp. 297–298; *IG* VII.1862 ("the children of the Thespians, of the foreign residents, and of the Romans"). A member of this community, Titus Manlius, *qui negotiatur Thespiis*, is recorded by Cic., *Fam*. 13.21.1.

361 Mastrocinque (1994), pp. 239–240, reconstructs the Italic presence at Iasos, not attested before the second half of the 1st century BCE.

362 *IG* VII.190.

again clear in particular for the members of the Greek communities. Thus Diogenes, son of Protogenes, presents himself in the Agora des Italiens as a citizen of Heraclea Lucana,[363] while Agathokles, son of Theodosios, is defined as a Neapolitan in Oropos on the same list which contains Aulus Titinius Auli filius, Ῥωμαῖος,[364] presumably dated to the time of the Mithridatic Wars. During the same period, a Publius Cornelius Publii filius is also recorded in Acraephiae, Boeotia.[365] In Smyrna, we find the Roman citizen Lucius Mummius, whose funerary inscription also gives his electoral tribe and emphasizes his origin as being from Terracina,[366] while on Syros a Marius Severus is defined as Puteolanus in a Latin funerary inscription.[367]

In conclusion, Italic identity on Delos (and more generally in the provinces), with its "umbrella concept" nature should not be understood according to the "myth of inevitable conformity".[368] It was instead a form of negotiation, which permitted an individual to choose which identity they wished to attribute salience to from the multiple (and not dissonant) identities available in a given situation, in accordance with the specific means and aims determined by the context. Although it should be admitted that the choice was likely motivated predominantly by economic and social reasons, this does not mean that the Italic identity was an "excuse" or "overlap", lacking true psychological validity or affective relevance. In this sense, it is important to underline how in the 1980s, sociology had already arrived at the conclusion that the construction of a neatly oppositional "instrument-sentiment", as with that which led to the debate between "primordialists" and "instrumentalists" in studies about ethnicity, was overly simplistic and thus not beneficial: both aspects are constantly embedded in one another, in the definition of the elements constituting a culture and in the mechanisms of self-ascription which are at the very basis of ethnicity.[369]

Moreover, the expression of a common identity on provincial territory, with the ensuing forms of face-to-face relationships, which in turn mediated a sense of belonging to a community, must have triggered repercussions in Italy itself, in the forms of self-perception and the perception of other groups with which the Italics shared life in other regions. Even if this affected only the part of the population travelling or residing abroad, its importance cannot be underestimated when considering the social and economic standing of this class, and therefore its relevance in defining political choices and influencing public opinion, as with the continued

363 *ID* 1758.
364 *IG* VII.416.
365 *IG* VII.2727.
366 *CIL* 3.6086.
367 *ILGR* 35.
368 See p. 4.
369 Carter Bentley (1987), in particular pp. 25–27.

existence of contacts and intense communication between these groups and the rest of their family and community of origin.

However, although it cannot be mechanistically presumed that such phenomena can explain the onset of the Social War (according to a simple model whereby Italics desired to receive at home the same sort of recognition which they enjoyed on Delos), it cannot be denied that the construction of such communities abroad must have had a deep effect on influencing the self-perception of the Italics as members of one and the same group.

The Italic Desire for Citizenship in the 2nd Century BCE

The first half of the 2nd century BCE marked the period during which, as Gabba and Keaveney have already noted, Italics started to be defined as such: this happened in particular through their contact with provincials, thanks to the reception of Italy in the East as the closest appendage of Rome, along with the common self-representation of Romans and Italics as a community. The processes presented here are matters of representation and discourse, and do not deny the fact that Roman Italy, particularly in the Republican period, was "a complex patchwork made of elements of various age and provenance",[370] a patchwork which would be used even in the Augustan period as a rhetorical element to contrast the previous fragmentation with the Augustan order, presented as an order in plurality.[371]

The 2nd century BCE thus witnessed the growing possibility for Italics to develop and use a common Italic identity, added to the other potential identities available through discourse, and to which they could attribute salience. If we accept this proposition, the "traditional" reading of the Social War[372] – whereby an ever-increasing sense of amalgamation between Romans and Italics contrasted with a more acute perception of the differences in treatment and rights, leading to the explosion of the war – needs to be reconsidered and verified.[373] The only reason to doubt this would be if all the mechanisms previously described here which led to the construction of Italy as a region, as well as to an Italic identity (which could clearly be used in confronting with people from other Mediterranean regions) were exclusive to the Italics and excluded the Romans, thus making it impossible for the Italics to feel part of the same community as the Romans. However, it has already

370 Terrenato (1998a), p. 23.
371 García Morcillo (2010), pp. 95–96.
372 Badian (1958), pp. 152–153; Salmon (1982), p. 93; Keaveney (1987), pp. 5–10; Gabba (1998), p. 17. See also Russo (2012b), pp. 18–29.
373 E.g. Keaveney (1987), pp. 108 and 199; Keaveney assumes, consistent with his approach to the Romanization of Italy, that mobility in particular demonstrates an Italic desire for Roman citizenship.

been noted that it was not so, and that if Roman identity had a clear specificity when connected to juridical aspects (and therefore to citizenship), Romans were also part of the Italic community and could attribute salience to their Italicness under the right circumstances.

The possibility of giving salience to Italic identity should not be reduced to a purely rational and functionalistic reasoning, assuming that the Italics sought to gain practical commercial and juridical advantages connected with Roman citizenship. This, according to Gabba's interpretation, would explain their desire for citizenship in the Social War as motivated by a desire to induce in Rome a more expansionist external policy to benefit from commerce.[374] The same applies to Salmon's theory, according to which the ever more institutionalized activity of the equestrian order, from the time of the Gracchan reforms, had so damaged the economic activities of the Italic merchants in the provinces that acquiring citizenship would be the only possibility to redress this situation.[375] Many similar explanations can be found regarding the various social groups and components.[376] It is indeed possible that such elements also played a part, for example through the identification of the different opportunities in the provinces, where Romans and Italics were active together and shared a common identity. On the other hand, it is impossible to exclude the existence of mechanisms which social theory subsumes under the concept of "self-esteem", namely forms of self-categorization which enhance the self and the perception, even more than the concrete reality, of the possibility of a form of recognition,[377] which is often "one of a number of motives and effects of different forms of group behavior".[378] As formulated by Somers and Gibson, "people are guided to act by the relationships in which they are embedded and by the stories with which they identify – and rarely because of the interests we impute to them".[379]

Such mechanisms are extremely difficult to reconstruct when considering the nature and quantity of the available sources, but some glimpses still emerge, which have already been used (likely correctly) to confute Mouritsen's theories on the origins of the Social War. Indeed, some of the ancient sources which deal with the Social War as a fratricidal confrontation, in which members of the same kin fought against each other, are too close to the events to be considered merely products of a

374 Gabba (1994), pp. 108–109. See Sherwin-White (1973[2]), pp. 140–141. In a slightly different way, a desire for citizenship inspired by the desire to take part in the contracts within the provinces (as with those for collecting taxes) and to influence Roman politics is also postulated by Kendall (2013), pp. 121–122.

375 Salmon (1962), pp. 112–113.

376 Pobjoy (2000), pp. 193–194.

377 Hogg/Abrams (1990), p. 41.

378 Hogg/Abrams (1990), p. 46.

379 Somers/Gibson (1994), p. 67. On the affective aspects connected to ethnic identity and thus deriving strength from ethnic attachments, see also Lucy (2005), p. 98, and Keller (2007), pp. 47–48.

historiographic tradition which would have been "invented" and become dominant within an extremely short period. For example, Cicero, who claims to have seen this episode personally as a recruit, refers to a meeting between Pompeius Strabo, his brother Sextus and P. Vettius Scato, the leader of the Marsi and among the fiercest opponents of Rome*:*

> Cnaeus Pompeius, the son of Sextus, being consul, in my presence, when I was serving my first campaign in his army, had a conference with Publius Vettius Scato, the general of the Marsians, between the camps. And I recollect that Sextus Pompeius, the brother of the consul, a very learned and wise man, came thither from Rome to the conference. And when Scato had saluted him, "What," said he, "am I to call you?"—"Call me," said he, "one who is by inclination a friend, by necessity an enemy." That conference was conducted with fairness: there was no fear, no suspicion, even their mutual hatred was not great, for the allies were not seeking to take our city (*civitas*) from us, but to be themselves admitted to share the privileges of it.[380]

Nowhere in this passage does Cicero explicitly state that the aim of the Marsi and the rebels was to acquire Roman citizenship,[381] though Asconius Pedianus gives this as a reason in his commentary to another oration of Cicero, the *Pro Cornelio*.[382] The word *civitas* might also, as will be shown later, imply participation to the distribution of land and the use of *ager publicus*. Nonetheless, it is difficult to ignore this passage and claim that the only aim pursued by the Italics was complete independence from Rome.[383] Following Mouritsen – that the idea of common citizenship was simply the product of a successive construction and the "invention of tradition" – implies here not only that Cicero was lying (which is not in itself a problem), but that the invention itself came about within an extremely short period, presumably when many ocular witnesses were still alive.[384] Sisenna, writing immediately after the war to which he dedicated a great deal of space in his work, had already introduced in his third book a speech by an Italic leader, who told his listeners (perhaps other Italics, who had to be convinced to enter the alliance, or perhaps Romans) that they should not be astonished by the desperation with which they had taken "the only possible way, declaring a war",[385] a testimony which seems incompatible with Mouritsen's view. The same is true for the source from which Diodorus Siculus drew information concerning the meeting between Marius and the Marsian

380 Cic., *Phil*. 12.27; transl. C.D. Yonge.

381 So Schlange-Schöningen (2006), pp. 165–166, whose analysis this author concurs with on all other points. Also Dart (2014), p. 28, who understands *civitas* as "citizenship" in a narrower, technical sense. An explicit reference that the citizenship was the final aim, even if it should be attained through violence, is only provided by Diod. Sic. 37.13.1.

382 Ascon., *Corn*. pp. 67.24–68.1 Clark.

383 Dart (2014), pp. 27–28.

384 On this, see the systematic critique by Kendall (2013), pp. 22–25.

385 Sisenn., Fr. 10 Peter: *Nolitote mirare quam desperata voluntate ad unam belli faciendi viam…*

Pompaedius, as previously recalled.[386] Once again, the likely historical falsity of the episode itself is only marginally relevant, as it reveals an already widespread and common version of the motives for the rebels. The fact that Plutarch relates an opposing version, in which Marius and Publius Silo had a much less friendly encounter,[387] is surely not conclusive, as it is impossible to demonstrate which version is the "older" one, though also because Marius clearly states to the enemy commander that he does not want to fight a battle unless he is forced to.

The idea that the Romans were mistreating their own kin was likely already among the slogans of the rebels, as has been argued by Farney,[388] and the existence of a parallel tradition, as demonstrated by Mouritsen, does not expose the "traditional" interpretation as false. The emotive impact of the war is indeed only to be expected, considering the construction of numerous networks which unified the peninsula over the course of the 2nd century BCE. This is demonstrated, for example, by the story of Gaius Vettienus, a Roman soldier who cut his own fingers from his left hand to avoid fighting in the Social War, and was punished with the seizure of his property and arrest.[389] In the end, it must be admitted that "the Social War was a war between friends and relatives, and there have must been many women and children who (like the Sabine women) had husbands, fathers, and grandfathers fighting on opposite sides".[390]

In attempting to deconstruct the literary tradition of the Social War, therefore, Mouritsen seems to have severely underestimated the power of the forms of self-identification that had imposed themselves during the course of the 2nd century BCE. But even Erdkamp's critique of Mouritsen's work does not function perfectly from this perspective. At stake is not only the fact that Mouritsen did not distinguish between culture, identity, and legal status, but also the fact that the desire to obtain Roman citizenship, surely shared by the Italics, is not simply a matter of ethnic structure and discourse.[391] One should also consider, as will be shown, that at least a part of the "rebels" did indeed aim at independence from Rome, rather than the acquisition of citizenship; thus, the actions leading up to the Social War should instead be analyzed from the perspective of "functional democratization", that is the situations in which an ever-stronger system of interdependences reduces imbalances of power (and the identity gaps) among groups, generally leading to a more even balance and an increasing level of mutual identification, as well as (in the context of a failure of legal structures to adapt to these changes) to an ever-broader

386 See p. 207.
387 Plut., *Mar*. 33.2.
388 Farney (2007), p. 3.
389 Val. Max. 6.3.3c.
390 Wiseman (1971a), p. 64.
391 Erdkamp (2011), pp. 136–138.

explosion of tensions.[392] Moreover, it would be difficult to imagine an interdependency stronger than that constructed by the institutionalization of Italy as a region, namely the construction of social networks and a Roman awareness that their security depended on the loyalty of the Italic allies, as clearly demonstrated by the military confrontations of the 3rd century BCE, especially the Second Punic War.

As is evident from the arguments of Calhoun presented above,[393] self-recognition and the recognition of others (in these cases the forms of self-ascription and perception within provincial territory and through the Romans) are both factors which generate identity politics. As Calhoun has further explained, the pursuits intrinsic to identity politics are collective struggles consisting of a search for recognition, legitimacy, and power that must provoke an answer from the other structures involved, rather than merely being grouped together. Furthermore, such struggles can also change existing power relations.[394] Citizenship plays a crucial role among these pursuits since, as has been noted predominantly in relation to modern states (but with general observations that can also be applied to antiquity), "citizenship is used not simply to underline membership of the nation and differentiate 'us' from 'them' but even more to outbid the claims of competing allegiances and identities, notably ethnic ones".[395] The ever-stronger adoption and the increasingly powerful existence of an Italic identity ultimately generated a conflict (or a short-circuit) within the structures of political, economic, and social power inside the peninsula.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to think that the change in citizenship would lead to an eventual shift in self-ascription (from local to Roman), and even more so to assume that all the participants in the war were moved by the same aims and motivations. Concerning the first point, it is necessary to highlight once more that in a regime of segmented identities, the addition of an Italic and Roman "possibility" to the set of potential self-ascriptions cannot be measured by or historically reconstructed through the eventual loss of a local identity. The affection for the local community and the region of origin, in the form of Tuan's geopiety[396] and the possibility of attributing to them salience, in no way constitutes a lack of interest in "other" identities to be added to the spectrum of individual possibilities.

A perfect example of this can be found in Horace, whose attachment to Apulia as a fatherland has been frequently noted in scholarship;[397] however, this affection does not exclude the possibility of the emergence, in other parts of his work, of an Italic identity, whose "geographic affection" clearly crosses the borders of Apulia,

392 Mennell (1994), pp. 182–185.
393 See p. 294.
394 Calhoun (1994), p. 21.
395 A.D. Smith (1991), p. 118.
396 See p. 11, n. 68.
397 Briquel (1988), pp. 41–42; Uda (1990), pp. 306–312.

Daunia, Lucania, and Magna Graecia.[398] While most of the geographic references in Horace's work come from this region, they also include the central and southern part of the peninsula, and a clear form of geopiety is also perceivable in reference to Campania, Sabina, and Latium. The lack of references to northern Italy should not be taken as contradictory to the argument presented here, since it evidently depends on the biographical experience of the poet. Far from underlining and exalting the "southern component" of Italic identity,[399] Horace presents an image of Italy which is the same as that of Vergil, remarking on how extraneous the Etruscan is to the "real" Italic community[400] and providing once again, in all its complexity, the image of "unity in diversity" which is expressed in individual conscience within this broad set of adherences and affections.[401]

It is therefore necessary to investigate, within the growing self-identification of the inhabitants of the peninsula as Italics, what specific aspects generated the flaw in the mechanisms of Roman power and legal institutions that led to the increased tensions and the onset of the Social War. This relates to the investigation into the possible "reasons" that accompanied and intensified the "affective" desire for citizenship, recognizable in the general sense of "dissatisfaction" that is recorded by ancient sources.[402] It is not absolutely crucial to understand exactly which aspects of Roman citizenship the Italics were interested in, nor to consider what has already been said concerning excessively functionalistic approaches,[403] which generally do not lead much further, as "it might very well have been that not all of the Allies wanted the same things or wanted them for the same reasons".[404] But this does not mean that there was no interest in citizenship during the 2nd century BCE and that this is merely the product of a teleological interpretation:[405] the many potential advantages must be interpreted in connection with the affective aspects deriving from

398 See Briquel (1988), p. 42, especially for the role of Tarentum; Uda (1990), pp. 303–304 and 342–344.

399 So Briquel (1988), pp. 47–48. Also Sordi (1993), pp. 457–459, claims to expose in Horace traces of "ethnic antagonisms" masked by the "official duty of the fusion" of Italy, although what she identifies as a "second" and "feminine" Italy is rather the usual complex of *topoi* concerning Etruscan luxury (see above, pp. 183–186).

400 See pp. 158–163.

401 The topic of diversity is recognized by Briquel (1988), p. 49, though this argues that it arises from a conflict, an "affrontement intellectuel où finalement tout concourt à la grandeur d'une péninsule unifiée", without realizing that the presentation of Italy as a unity constructed through the sum of different cultures and landscapes is a *topos*; see above, pp. 169–172. On the contrary, Nicolet (1991), p. 80, underlines the strength of local ethnicities even after the Social War, as if this were a sign of a lack of unity among the allies.

402 Kendall (2013), pp. 70–72.

403 See *supra*, p. 331.

404 Kendall (2013), pp. 69–70.

405 So Mouritsen (2008), p. 479.

the establishment and the discursive construction, throughout this period, of the idea of an Italic community, whose strength and systematic character have been presented throughout the preceding pages.

As is confirmed by various episodes, the *provocatio* constituted the first and most important aspect to function as a guarantee against abuse by Rome, the central issue at stake according to Sherwin-White (for whom the acquisition of citizenship was secondary when compared to "social equality").[406] It is highly possible that the different episodes of the 2nd century BCE, through which the Romans showed little consideration for the allies by effectively trampling on their rights, with what has often been perceived as a colonialist attitude,[407] played a part in this. Examples of this attitude include: the unjust division of booty in 177 BCE;[408] the requests of Lucius Postumius in 173 BCE from Praeneste (which according to Livy, were without consequence due to the level of respect and/or fear of the local inhabitants);[409] Quintus Fulvius Flaccus' plunder of construction materials from the temple of Iuno Lacinia;[410] and finally, the incidents in Asculum which would eventually cause the outbreak of the Social War. Bispham has convincingly argued that such episodes may have been caused by increasing competition inside the Roman aristocracy, and that this aristocracy could have been rebuked by the Senate, which sometimes (indeed quite often) defended the interests of the allies;[411] on the other hand, the same Senate nevertheless failed to react in any systematic way to these events.[412] Such

406 Sherwin-White (1973[2]), pp. 134–135.

407 See e.g. Keaveney (1984), pp. 348–349; Coşkun (2009), p. 21; Dart (2014), pp. 56–58. Most famously, Mommsen (1889[8]), pp. 266–268, considered this the main reason for the Social War. Toynbee (1965), vol. 2, pp. 106–154, claimed that the period after the Second Punic War, generally the 2nd century BCE, saw a radical worsening of the relations between Romans and Italics, as a consequence of the war itself and the many "betrayals" of the Italic allies: "Hitherto the Romans had treated their allies as their peers; henceforward they tended more and more to treat them as if they were subject peoples in the same category as those provincial communities that paid tribute to Rome, not in soldiers, but in grain or money" (p. 113).

408 Liv. 41.13.7–8.

409 Liv. 42.1.7–12. On this episode, see Jehne (2009), pp. 144–145.

410 Liv. 42.3; Val. Max. 1.1.20. See Jehne (2009), pp. 162–164.

411 Though see Jehne (2009), pp. 154–162, for a treatment of the reasons an allied community may not have wanted to send an embassy to Rome. Toynbee (1965), vol. 2, p. 492, interpreted most of the episodes of this period as "the history of a struggle, on the 'Establishment's' part, to keep its black sheep in order or, failing that, to call them to account for misdemeanours that they had committed without the Senate's cognisance and, in some flagrant cases, in outright defiance of the Senate's authority".

412 On this, see David (2006), pp. 99–105, who underlines that the debates in the Senate were often expressions of internal aristocratic competition, since rivals of the accused magistrates intervened in defense of the allies, and thus shows that the allies complained relatively little (the fear of the Roman magistrates prevailing) and that generally their chances of being listened to were very scarce, if they did not manage to enter the internal conflicts of the Roman aristocracy.

episodes were likely infrequent and did not create abuse and oppression on a daily basis, as one might think when reading the famous passage of Gaius Gracchus' oration *de legibus promulgatis* which aimed at raising this point polemically:

> The consul lately came to Teanum Sidicinum. His wife said that she wished to bathe in the men's baths. Marcus Marius, the quaestor of Sidicinum, was instructed to send away the bathers from the baths. The wife tells her husband that the baths were not given up to her soon enough and they were not sufficiently clean. Therefore a stake was planted in the forum and Marcus Marius, the most illustrious man of his city, was led to it. His clothing was stripped off, he was whipped with rods. The people of Cales, when they heard of this, passed a decree that no one should think of using the public baths when a Roman magistrate was in town. At Ferentinum, for the same reason, our praetor ordered the quaestors to be arrested; one threw himself from the wall, the other was caught and beaten with rods.[413]

Nonetheless, even if Gaius mentions events that took place in centers with *civitas sine suffragio* and within Latin towns[414] rather than in allied communities, such episodes must have weighed heavily on the Italic elites:[415] "only a few high-profile incidents are needed to create the impression of a widespread problem, and those living under the shadow of potential harsh treatment do not often allow themselves the luxury of historians' detachment and statistical comforts",[416] especially if claims regarding citizenship became always more common in the political debate, as it happened after ca. 125 BCE.[417] Velleius Paterculus' strong assertion that not only was the goal of the Italics – the *civitas* that they were obtaining with their arms – a *causa iustissima*, but that the Romans used to *homines eiusdem et gentis et sanguinis fastidire*, cannot be ruled out so easily, as it clearly highlights that the abuses on one side and the widespread perception of belonging to the same community on the other were decisive to the outbreak of war.[418]

413 Gell. 10.3.3 = *ORF*[2] 48.XV.48; transl. J.C. Rolfe.

414 Gell. 10.3.5 = *ORF*[2] 48.XV.49 adds a further episode that occurred in Venusia, where a man was killed by a Roman *prolegatus*.

415 Bispham (2007a), pp. 135–137.

416 Bispham (2007a), p. 157. See also Jehne (2009), pp. 168–169, claiming that "the chief problem was not the occasional Roman misstep, but the fact that the means for redressing grievances, the diplomatic channel, for the most part was of no avail"; Kendall (2013), pp. 128–130. Such a perspective only reinforces Bispham's statement and the idea, presented here, of a growing sense of "frustration" from the Italic side. For a list of such "high-profile incidents", not only in Italy but also in the provinces, see Toynbee (1965), vol. 2, pp. 608–645.

417 It is also possible that the Italics were treated worse in the army than the Romans, and more frequently subjected to bodily punishment, as argued by Kendall (2013), pp. 111–113: "A Roman commander who wished to inspire fear as a disciplinarian could therefore demonstrate such tendencies on the allies, on whom an example could be made without fear of potential political repercussions".

418 Vell. 2.15.2. See D'Aloja (2004), pp. 215–216, who rightly insists on the topic of consanguinity in Velleius; Russo (2012b), pp. 15–18.

From this point on, the aforementioned mistreatment may have led to both a request for greater rights (in particular the *provocatio*) and a subsequent desire for independence, as admitted by Diodorus Siculus when dealing with the praetor Servilius and the Picentes: he "did not speak with them as to free men and allies, but treated them despitefully as slaves, and by his threats of fearful punishments spurred the allies to seek vengeance on him and the other Romans".[419] But Diodorus also refers to a Cretan, who was offered citizenship during the Social War, who replied "grant your reward of citizenship to the men who are now quarrelling over that very thing".[420] This does not, however, help to better define the aims of the rebels during the Social War. Moreover, in response to the allies' requests, the Romans could also radicalize their position with a greater sense of closure, a mechanism that has been identified as a typical consequence of "civilizing projects", with the center developing "a stronger and sharper image of itself, in contrast to its images of the periphery".[421] This was substantially made possible simply by playing on the fact that the Romans could be both considered as part of the Italic community or not; by more strongly underlining the differences and distance between Romans and the rest of Italy, the closure could be motivated and brought to its juridical consequences, following the assumption that "the salience of a self-categorization leads to the perceptual accentuation of intra-class similarities and inter-class differences between people as their characteristics are inferred from the defining identity of their class membership".[422] The *lex Minicia*, if its dating to this period is correct, could already have been a product of such a reaction from the Romans.[423]

As has been noted many times in modern scholarship, the agrarian problem cannot be neglected either: foremost, Tiberius Gracchus' reforms affected the Italic allies particularly hard, and thus may have been a catalyst for the allied political movement.[424] First of all, citizenship would have prevented the allies from losing their lands. The possession of *ager publicus* by Italics, which surely continued even after the Roman conquest,[425] was indeed juridically unsafe, and could have at any time led to a withdrawal.[426] But even with Roman citizenship, their possessions

419 Diod. Sic. 37.13.2; transl. F.R. Walton.

420 Diod. Sic. 37.18; transl. F.R. Walton.

421 Harrell (1995), p. 7.

422 Turner *et al.* (1987), p. 49.

423 On the *lex Minicia* and the problems connected with its dating, see p. 244, n. 512.

424 Bernardi (1944/1945), pp. 65–66; Salmon (1962), p. 110; Bleicken (1990), pp. 102–103. Already Kiene (1845), pp. 120–123, believed, following Appian, that the main reason for the Social War had been the unfair treatment of the Italic allies by the Romans, and argued in particular that the Social War was a consequence of the Gracchan agrarian reforms.

425 Roselaar (2010), pp. 71–84; Roselaar (2015), 23–33. See also Rathbone (2003), pp. 141–143. On the occupation and the concept of *spes colendi*, see also Vinci (2004), pp. 248–254.

426 Tibiletti (1948), pp. 176–179; Toynbee (1965), vol. 2, pp. 552–553; Lintott (1992), pp. 44–45; Howarth (1999), pp. 293–299; Roselaar (2009), pp. 16–17; and now Roselaar (2010), e.g. pp. 290–292;

would not have been safe if they occupied *ager publicus* beyond the limits stipulated by the *leges Liciniae Sextiae* and Tiberius' reform.[427]

It is thus necessary to differentiate the interests of the upper social classes of the Italics, who were explicitly made responsible for the war by Asconius,[428] from those of the lower classes, for whom citizenship could be connected with the possibility of taking part in the redistribution of the parts of land thus freed.[429] According to Appian, the Italics preferred citizenship to land, implying that the former would not have saved the latter. To this problem we may refer Lucilius' exclamation, *quanti vos faciant socii quom parcere possint*,[430] which reveals the increasing attention paid to this problem by the Roman elite. Appian therefore seems to have taken it for granted that by assuming citizenship, the Italics would have incurred a loss of land, from which the Roman people (if *demos* is to be understood in this way) would have profited. But Appian is more likely referring here purely to the Italic elite, who were ready to be subject to the *Liciniae Sextiae* and Tiberius' reform, as they would also have received in exchange a more certain possession of the permitted land, while the disappointment of the *demos* could be a misunderstanding of the missed opportunity, for the Italic population (and *demos* would therefore have included the allies), to gain access to this redistribution.

The long debated question whether the Italics were included among the groups that could receive land through Tiberius' legislation, as claimed in parts of the scholarship,[431] must undoubtedly be answered negatively.[432] The Italic opposition to

Balbo (2013), pp. 88–92; Kendall (2013), pp. 152–159. This corrects, among others, Badian (1970/1971), pp. 397–399, according to whom the Gracchan provisions mostly damaged the Latins.

427 See also Tibiletti (1948), pp. 181–182. Concerning the *lex Licinia de modo agrorum* and its dating, it is sufficient to note that the most recent publications convincingly defend the traditional date of 367 BCE; see, among others, Cornell (1995a), p. 329; Humm (2001), pp. 143–170; Roselaar (2009), pp. 17–18; Roselaar (2010), pp. 95–112. A position against the tradition about the Licinian law, now substantially overcome, was taken by Tibiletti (1948), pp. 191–236; (1949), pp. 12–15; (1950), pp. 245–266, according to whom the limit of 500 *iugera* for the occupation of *ager publicus* was imposed by a later law, forgotten in the following tradition (so Toynbee (1965), vol. 2, pp. 554–561, too). Rathbone (2003), pp. 143–149, also "rescues" the tradition concerning the law, though dates it to around 290 BCE and offers a rather different interpretation, only in reference to private property. This position has been rejected with good reasons by Roselaar (2009), pp. 106–111, who argues convincingly for the hypothesis that the law regarded the sum of both private property and occupied public land.

428 Ascon., *Corn.* p. 68.4–6 Clark.

429 Galsterer (1976), pp. 176–177. Brendan Nagle (1973) had previously argued that a major reason of discontent among the Italics was the thorough penetration of the Romans in all regions of Italy, through the foundation of colonies and the organization and distribution of *ager publicus*. The *leges agrariae* passed in Rome in the 2nd century BCE would have been seen in this sense as a menace to local ownership or possession of land.

430 Lucil. 1089 Marx.

431 E.g. Schochat (1970); Richardson (1980).

Tiberius' land reform, which led to the suspension of triumviral activities of 129 BCE, is mentioned explicitly not only by Cicero,[433] but also by Appian,[434] who generally seems to underline an "interest" in Tiberius for the Italics and their cause, systematically speaking of Italics where Plutarch speaks of Italy as a territory.[435] As has already been shown, it is impossible to claim coherence between the two authors by attributing a different meaning to the word "Italics".[436] Appian presumably derives his information from Asinius Pollio[437] but, as Sordi has shown, behind all the available literary sources can be recognized a unitary tradition which presents a Tiberius who is "friendly" towards the Italics, most likely dating back to Gaius Gracchus' book to Pomponius,[438] from which Plutarch derived the quotation from Tiberius' speech regarding the Italics and their miserable conditions.[439] This later "deformation" thus played a part in Appian's work and caused the contradictions that can be noticed even from a brief reading. Tiberius, for example, is called the "founder, not of a single city or race, but of all the nations of Italy",[440] and shortly afterwards the Italic allies complain to Scipio Aemilianus, substantially obtaining the cessation of the triumviral activities.[441] Aemilianus himself may have used an Italic rhetorical

432 The bibliography on this subject is long. See Mommsen (1889[8]), pp. 121–122; Kontchalovsky (1926); Tibiletti (1948), pp. 181–182; Salmon (1962), pp. 109–110; Galsterer (1976), pp. 174–176; Macbain (1982), pp. 74–75; Gabba (1994), p. 104; Lapyrionok (2012), pp. 85–86; Elster (2014), pp. 183–185.

433 Cic., *Rep*. 1.31 (see also 3.41–42). Sall., *Iug*. 42.1 refers to an opposition by Latins and Italics to both Tiberius and Gaius which was, in his moralizing opinion, caused by corruption through the nobility. See also *Schol. Bob*. 72 Hildebrandt, which claims that Scipio Aemilianus opposed G. Gracchus and the commission while defending *Latinorum causam societatis iure [...] ne ager et ipsorum divideretur*.

434 App., *Civ*. 1.2.19.

435 Sordi (1978), pp. 272–273.

436 See above, pp. 289–291.

437 Mouritsen (2008), pp. 471–473, has also rejected the idea that Tiberius had any interest in the Italics, but attributes this variant directly to Appian and his historiographical construction, which contrasts with Velleius. Asinius Pollio was himself a descendant of the Italic commander Herius Asinius, active against Rome during the Social War and therefore was perhaps interested in underlining the "common descent" and the legitimacy of the Italic claims.

438 Sordi (1978), pp. 291–295. See also Russo (2012b), pp. 33–40. This also solves the problems faced by Bleicken (1990), who is convinced that Tiberius' reform did not take the Italics into account, but has to refer to a complicated explanation of the meaning of *Italiotai* in Appian (see above, pp. 289–291). See also, though less incisive, Balbo (2013), pp. 92–94.

439 See p. 66.

440 App., *Civ*. 1.1.13.

441 On Aemilianus' intervention, see Kendall (2013), pp. 160–163. On the activity of the triumvirs between 129 BCE and Gaius Gracchus, see Lapyrionok (2012), pp. 7–51.

trope in his opposition to Tiberius when he stated that his adversary considered Italy a stepmother (*noverca*), and thus not, as should be the case, a real "mother".[442]

What Sordi does not explicitly recognize, however, is the motivation Gaius may have had in presenting such an interest for the Italics, which Tiberius, in his brother's reconstruction, developed during his travels through Etruria towards Numantia. In Sordi's opinion, this deformation was only finalized to reject the accusations against Tiberius, of having developed his "revolutionary" plan after the unsuccessful Numantian campaign. But Gaius, who developed a plan for the concession of citizenship to the Italics himself, could have had every reason to attribute this to Tiberius, in order to further legitimize his political actions.[443] This "deformation" convinced some ancient authors,[444] and has likewise been followed by some modern scholars, who believe that Tiberius not only included the Italics among the recipients of distributed land,[445] but also wished to enfranchise them.[446]

A major reason for discontent among the Italic peoples, as suggested by Nicolet and more recently by Kendall, may also have been the expenses caused by the necessity of paying for the soldiers who served with the Romans; while Roman citizens had been freed from the *tributum* in 167 BCE, the Italic towns most likely continued to collect taxes in order to maintain the armed forces that they provided according to the *formula togatorum*.[447] Once again, we should refrain from excessively monolithic interpretations, since it is highly possible that the interests of the Italic elites (such as *provocatio* and *suffragium*)[448] were not the same as those of the rest of the population, who were likely interested in avoiding abuse while being included in

442 Val. Max. 6.2.3; Vell. 2.4.4; Plut., *Apophth. Rom.* 22; *De vir. Ill.* 58.8. See Russo (2012b), pp. 40–42.

443 See e.g. Gelzer (1928); Badian (1958), pp. 171–173.

444 Velleius Paterculus, who takes an extremely negative view of the Gracchan movement, believes that Tiberius promised citizenship to the whole of Italy (2.2.3) and that huge masses from the entire peninsula were incited to revolt by the tribune (2.3.2). Wolf (1972), pp. 100–101, correctly rejects this information, but claims that Tiberius had probably already played with the idea of compensating through enfranchisement the allies damaged by the agrarian law. There is no direct evidence for this idea in the sources.

445 See Kendall (2013), pp. 694–702.

446 Göhler (1939), pp. 113–117.

447 Nicolet (1978), pp. 7–11; Kendall (2013), pp. 92–100. Kendall adds that the Italics also experienced the burden of ever-longer and more distant campaigns, which would have led to the appropriation of land by a few, rich landowners, according to a traditional interpretation of the evolution of Roman manpower in this period (against which see Rosenstein (2004)). A general discussion of possible motives is provided by Luraschi (1996), p. 51, according to whom the Italics were interested in *provocatio*, *suffragium*, distribution of lands and booty, exemption from tribute, protection when residing outside Italy, and participation in the *coloniae civium Romanorum*.

448 See Brunt (1988), p. 125: "It seems clear to me that the demand for citizenship was essentially a demand for the vote and even for the chance to hold office at Rome", something that could eventually apply to the highest social strata, but not for the entirety of the Italic population.

the share of booty as well as land, in the case of agrarian reform.[449] It should also be remembered that even among individual towns, there were various groups and factions, often at odds with one another. Admitting the possibility of a multiplicity of interests, as well as their possible evolution during the last decades of the 3rd and during the 2nd century BCE, allows us to make sense of pieces of information which might otherwise appear contradictory. Therefore, there seems to be no reason to abandon the idea of a desire, at the beginning of the 1st century BCE, to acquire Roman citizenship. Nonetheless, the development of this desire must be understood within its historical context, as it appears to have emerged and become increasingly urgent during the course of the second half of the 2nd century BCE.

Indeed, in 216 BCE, during the Second Punic War, a group of citizens from Praeneste was offered Roman citizenship and refused it,[450] which can be explained by the fact that the political, economic, and social situation during that period was not such that Roman citizenship was more desirable than the advantages of citizenship in one's own town of origin; in particular, following Nicolet, one may consider that the financial advantage would have been minimal before 167 BCE. At the same time, the Roman habit of according citizenship to individual persons for specific merits was sometimes forbidden through specific *foedera* with communities that did not wish for any of their citizens to switch to the Roman *civitas*, and thus lose their local bonds. Such was the case with the Cenomani (197 BCE), Insubres (194 BCE), Helvetii (107 BCE), and Iapydes (ca. 129 BCE), as well as other Gallic tribes,[451] likely as a means of reassuring the local elites that the eventual concession of Roman citizenship would not endanger their social and political position.[452]

If some sporadic sign of discontent is present in the sources for the first half of the 2nd century BCE, it has no important consequences, and such events are not "constructed" in a chain of relevant events; what can be assumed is that some cases of abuse or of an "imperialistic" attitude towards the Italics on the part of the Romans had already begun to be registered. The most famous case is the triumph accorded to the consul G. Claudius Pulcher in 177 BCE, during which the allies, who received on that day less than half of what was distributed to the Roman citizens,

449 Galsterer (1976), pp. 183–184, speaks of a progressive spread of the desire for citizenship among the lower social classes, worsened by Marius' army reform, in a way that is compatible with what is being said here, but from a much more mechanistic perspective, which presents the multiplicity of interests as a chronological evolution rather than a stratification of groups and aims. See in general, Keller (2007), pp. 44–47, and his description of different "spheres of interest".

450 Liv. 23.20.2. Previous refusals to accept Roman citizenship in the 4th century BCE (as in Liv. 9.43.23) are not taken into consideration here.

451 Cic., *Balb*. 32. The further Gallic tribes, not mentioned by Cicero, could also have been residing in Cisalpina; see Luraschi (1979), pp. 24–25.

452 Luraschi (1979), pp. 96–98. According to Häussler (2013), p. 109, from a Roman perspective this was a punishment rather than a privilege.

followed the triumph in silence to show their anger,[453] an anger which reveals a treatment that was unusual.[454]

According to Livy, during the Second Punic War Spurius Carvilius proposed, as a possible solution to the excessively low number of Roman senators, the concession of Roman citizenship to two people from every Latin city, which caused the entire senatorial aristocracy to rebel against him.[455] However, this story seems to be a later elaboration, introduced precisely for the purpose of explaining the source of the problems connected with citizenship; moreover, Carvilius' proposal, even if historical, was so limited in terms of the numbers involved and its limitation to only Latins, that it could not have provided a reason for discontent among all of the Italic allies. The topic of a possible expansion of the citizenship was, in that period, quite new. The episode related in the previous chapter concerning the colony of Ferentinum, as with the problems faced in 187 and 177 BCE, is connected to the right of migration and the possibility of integrating into a new town of residence, and cannot be taken as proof of a general desire for Roman citizenship.[456]

In the following years, it was also acknowledged that while some individuals could have had an interest in "becoming Roman", many would not have.[457] The most important piece of evidence in this sense is the *lex repetundarum*, which can probably be identified with the *lex Acilia*, and is dated to 123–122 BCE.[458] The law provides Roman citizenship for the successful prosecutors who had not yet received it;[459] at the same time, it was also admitted that:

453 Liv. 41.13.7–8.

454 Polyb. 10.16.4–5 seems to hint at the fact that the booty was usually divided into equal parts, which is explicitly attested by Liv. 40.43.7 (180 BCE); 41.7.3 (178 BCE); 45.43.7 (167 BCE). See Pfeilschifter (2007), p. 27. Beloch's observation (1880), pp. 217–218, that, from the 2nd century BCE, the allies began receiving less and that the references in Livy to an equal distribution should therefore be taken as proof that this had become seldom, must therefore be rejected. Kendall (2013), pp. 117–118, argues that even if this did not always happen (though he seems to imply that it usually did), it was apparently legal, and this must have increased the Italic disaffection. This is also an assumption that cannot be proved, and seems to contradict the exceptionality recorded by the sources.

455 Liv. 23.22.4–5.

456 On these episodes see pp. 220–221; 247–249. Badian (1970/1971), pp. 385–386. On the contrary, Brunt (1988), pp. 95–96, attributes a decisive importance to these episodes as a demonstration of an already existing wish of individual allies to attain Roman citizenship, although he agrees to the dating of the onset of a greater sense of discontent in the 120s BCE.

457 See also Brunt (1988), pp. 120–121.

458 On the law and its dating, see, among others, Wolf (1972), pp. 5–13; Lintott (1992), pp. 166–169.

459 All in all, the ancient sources attest eight Italic allies, who accused Roman magistrates according to this law; see David (2006), pp. 106–107. However, it seems doubtful that their main reason, as claimed by David, was personal interest in acquiring citizenship. Even in this case, such forms of personal interest on the side of those who are mostly celebrated as orators do not allow any conclusion about the general desirability of the Roman *civitas* in their hometowns.

> If any of those, who [??? shall not wish to become a Roman citizen according to this statute, whoever of them in a Latin state ???] shall not have been [??? IIvir, consul, dictator ???] praetor or aedile,[460] [shall have prosecuted someone else according to this statute] before the praetor, who shall have power of investigation according to this statute, [and if the other person shall have been condemned in that trial under this statute, then whoever shall have prosecuted him, by the agency of whichever of them he shall have been chiefly condemned, he (the claimant) is to have *provocatio* and exemption and] the judge (the president of the court) is then to see that his [exemption] from military service and public compulsory service [be published] in his [own] community.[461]

What can be understood from this text is that the Romans perceived *provocatio*, *vacatio muneris* (according to Nicolet, the suspension of payments to the army), and *vacatio militiae* as considerable honors for those who did not want Roman citizenship. While it is important to underline that apparently not everyone was interested in citizenship, it is also necessary to state that this Roman perspective does not automatically imply that these three elements were those which the Italic allies found most interesting.[462] It is also important to note that such provisions do not appear to have been limited to Italy, and that this acquisition of citizenship, or its refusal, was also valid for inhabitants of the provinces which, at least in this period, may have been decisively less interested in the *civitas*. It would therefore also be arbitrary to assume based on this that a large number of Italics were uninterested in becoming Roman; this testimony must simply be placed within the context of a historical development which made it ever clearer to the Italic allies that acquiring Roman citizenship was a concrete advantage which would help them and protect them from abuse.

Once it is acknowledged that Tiberius Gracchus was not interested in this sort of measure, and that such thoughts were attributed to him only later by Gracchan propaganda (which insisted on a deeper form of continuity between him and Gaius), it becomes clear that only by the time of Fulvius Flaccus, two years before the *lex repetundarum*, does one encounter the question of citizenship as a central part of political discussion in Rome.[463] In 126 BCE, Pennus' law aimed to expel the Italics

460 Presumably this passage implies that magistrates from Latin towns, which already received Latin citizenship *per magistratum* (on which see p. 351), were excluded by this rule; see, among others, Tibiletti (1953), pp. 54–58; Luraschi (1979), pp. 305–314; Bispham (2007a), pp. 127–131.

461 *CIL* 1^2.583.78–79; translation from Crawford (1996), p. 94.

462 Other as in the "traditional" interpretation, represented by Bernardi (1973), pp. 113–114; Ruoff-Väänänen in Bruun/Hohti/Kaimio/Michelsen/Nielsen/Ruoff-Väänänen (1975), p. 71.

463 Fulvius Flaccus and Gaius Gracchus did not ultimately bring up a political issue which they had already found to be deeply connected to the issue of the Latin and Italic allies, but instead introduced it themselves in the Roman political landscape, thus in no way opposing a previous "blockade" from the oligarchic side; see Badian (1970/1971), pp. 388–389; Luraschi (1996), pp. 44–45. Keller (2007), pp. 50–51, connects the dawn of this issue with a crisis in Roman imperialism

from Rome, within a context that may have been determined by Flaccus' political plans.[464] Flaccus' law, proposed in 125 BCE, conceded to the Italic allies access to Roman citizenship or, if they did not want citizenship, the right of *provocatio*.[465] It is possible that in Flaccus' opinion the choice between these two possibilities was not to be taken collectively by each town, but rather by each person, which would indeed suggest that interest in acquiring the Roman *civitas* was not yet generally widespread.[466] Nonetheless, it seems most probable that it was up to each town to decide whether to accept Roman citizenship according to the mechanisms of *fundus fieri*. Still, it seems necessary to conclude that the desire for enfranchisement was not as great as Appian wishes to convince his readers, and the possibility that communities might not have desired such a concession was clearly taken into consideration.[467] Appian, according to whom "Fulvius Flaccus in his consulship first and foremost openly excited among the Italians the desire for Roman citizenship, so as to be partners in the empire instead of subjects",[468] nevertheless confirms the relevance of the topic in political discussion during the following years.

Nonetheless, this evolution must very much be read in conjunction with the progressive construction, throughout the 2nd century BCE, of an Italic identity which was used in the provinces to distinguish an "Inside" from an "Outside", and which had a deep impact on the forms of self-ascription and self-perception of the inhabitants of the peninsula, thus fueling the problems connected to abuse and the eventual disadvantages, which now carried an additional affective value.[469] This is valid even if one accepts the idea that such a concession must be read in connection with

around the mid-2nd century BCE, which would have brought Italic and Roman interests in conflict; nonetheless, he considers only the interests of the elites.

464 Cic., *Off.* 3.47; Fest., *s.v. Respublica* 362 Lindsay; Lucil. 1088 Marx. See Bernardi (1944/1945), p. 70, whose idea that the law was not approved does not seem to find support in the literary sources; Wolf 1972, pp. 104–105; Bernardi (1973), p. 114; Kendall (2013), pp. 167–168 and 703–715, who rejects the idea that the law was released in a political context already influenced by Flaccus' plans (so already Mommsen (1889[8]), p. 125); Elster (2014), pp. 185–186.

465 Val. Max. 9.5.1; App., *Civ.* 1. 21. See also Elster (2014), pp. 186–188.

466 Badian (1970/1971), pp. 391–393: "The chance that there might be cities where everybody chose citizenship of Rome and the city as such then ceased to exist was (I think) not even taken into consideration"; Gabba (1973), pp. 197–198. Mouritsen (2008), p. 477, believes that not all Italics were allowed to choose, but only Latins, Italics living in Rome and *cives sine suffragio*; Kendall (2013), pp. 170–172, suggests instead that the citizenship was offered only to the Latins, perhaps because "the commission only intended to adjudicate land in Latin areas", while all the other allies were offered *provocatio* "as a pledge of good faith". None of this is confirmed by the sources.

467 Brunt (1988), pp. 94–95.

468 App., *Civ.* 1.5.34; transl. H. White. See also App., *Civ.* 1.3.21.

469 On the importance of the affective aspect, see Brunt (1988), pp. 126–127, who inappropriately defines it "emotional" and connected to "passions". Mouritsen (2008), pp. 475–476, not surprisingly, does not consider such aspects, and in questioning only the practical consequences of citizenship ends up doubting that these would have been of any interest to the Italics.

the problems encountered by the triumviral land commission,[470] which had stalled by 129 BCE; moreover, one must also accept the idea that citizenship would have been both a compensation and a warranty for Italic land proprietors, in order to reactivate the distribution of land.[471] Following Appian, the failure of Flaccus' proposal might have disappointed the hope, widespread among the *demos* (in this case presumably the Italics), of acquiring land,[472] but it likely also demonstrated to the Italics that their enfranchisement could finally be put on the political agenda.[473]

The citizenship issue, along with the failed approval of Flaccus' proposal, which was likely never actually submitted to a vote, may have immediately caused the rebellion of Fregellae in 125 BCE, although no ancient source explicitly connects this rebellion with the tentative reforms of Flaccus.[474] Even if this connection were correct, the fact that the rebellion remained isolated, and that the local upper class remained firmly on the Roman side, is a clear sign that these topics were not yet considered urgent by the Latin communities.[475] Indeed, it has been supposed that Flaccus' proposal was opposed not only from inside the Senate, but also by the Italic elites, who may have reacted with measures similar to those of 187 and 177 BCE, and asked for the "restitution" of citizens who had in the meantime moved illegally to Rome.[476]

It is in this context, and in connection with Flaccus' political plans, that Gaius Gracchus intervened in the question of citizenship, radicalizing it but also partially

470 Liv., *Per*. 59.15: *seditiones a triumviris Fulvio Flacco et C. Graccho et C. Papirio Carbone agro dividendo creatis excitatae*. Bernardi (1944/1945), p. 71, thinks that this was a precautionary measure in order to later restore the activity of the agrarian commissions.

471 App., *Civ*. 1.3.21. So Galsterer (2006), pp. 295–296; Kendall (2013), pp. 168–170; Dart (2014), pp. 54–55.

472 App., *Civ*. 1.3.21.

473 Kendall (2013), pp. 173–175.

474 Liv., *Per*. 60.3. This connection was already supposed by Mommsen (1889[8]), pp. 125–126. *Rhet. Her*. 4.13 underlines that the inhabitants of Fregellae revolted *sua sponte*, thus without being invited by Roman politicians (Gaius Gracchus was suspected of having incited the rebellion, Plut., *C. Gr*. 3; *Vir. Ill*. 65.2), and that the other communities did not take part in the initiative and rather were kept away from it after seeing the treatment of the town; however, this does not provide any kind of information regarding a possible connection with the citizenship issue. See Badian (1970/1971), pp. 389–391. *Contra*, Kendall (2013), pp. 176–179, argues that after Flaccus' failure, the inhabitants of Fregellae tried to "push" Rome into enabling the enfranchisement; Dart (2014), pp. 36–37, claims that this passage represents "an individual case of the demand for citizen rights". Balbo (2016) argues for a connection between Flaccus' reforms and the revolt of an opposite nature, whereby the Fregellans would have rebelled as they were hostile to the Gracchan policies and to the possible enfranchisement of the Italic allies.

475 Brunt (1988), pp. 96–97, presumes that the inhabitants of Fregellae expected support from other communities (on the same page now Dart (2014), pp. 58–59), but fails to provide any evidence for this.

476 Galsterer (1976), p. 178.

changing its terms. For the purposes of the present work, it is irrelevant whether Gaius developed one or two legal proposals, or whether he progressively "radicalized" his positions.[477] Only the most complete form of the proposal will be considered here, and even then, independent of its association with the first or second tribunate year. Gaius Gracchus, who cooperated intensely with Fulvius Flaccus, proposed a *lex de sociis* that would have conceded Roman citizenship to the Latins,[478] as well as Latin citizenship, which since 338 BCE had been deprived of any "ethnical" meaning, to the other Italic allies. This at least is the interpretation of the expression used by the sources, "to provide them with voting rights", proposed by Mommsen and generally accepted by most scholars.[479] It is difficult to tell whether

477 The problem of the eventual existence of different proposals by Gaius, now rejected by the majority of scholarship, and of the precise dating of the proposal are of no direct interest here; Gaius' Italic program will therefore be presented with the assumption that it was formulated only in one version in 122 BCE.

478 As confirmed by Fannius' speech *de sociis et nomine Latino contra C. Gracchum* (*ORF*^{2}, Fr. 32.3): *si Latinis civitatem dederitis, credo, existimatis vos ita, ut nunc constitistis, in contione habituros locum aut ludis et festis diebus interfuturos. Nonne illos omnia occupaturos putatis?* Fannius should also have passed under pressure from the Senate a law ordering all non-Roman citizens to leave the *Urbs*: Plut., *C. Gr.* 12.1–2.

479 Plut., *C. Gr.* 5.1; 9.3. Vell. 2.6.2 wrongly assumes that Gaius wanted to simply grant citizenship to all Italics. Mommsen's interpretation is shared, among others, by Wolf (1972), pp. 122–124. Meister (1976), pp. 117–118, understood the sources about Gaius' reforms as implying the concession to the Italics of a form of "reduced" Roman citizenship, consisting only of the voting rights in all the tribes (and not only in one, as would have been normal for the Latin citizens). This seems scarcely convincing, especially considering that Gaius should not have had to expect great electoral support from the Italics, because of the agrarian reforms; but it would not change anything in the considerations here proposed, since a "division" between Latins and Italics in Gaius' proposals cannot be discussed. Mouritsen (2006b) instead thinks that Gaius wanted to extend full citizenship (the right to vote) only to the *cives sine suffragio* and did not consider the other Italic allies. This is hardly acceptable, since the sources clearly define as Italics and allies those who should have been interested by the reform, while the *cives sine suffragio*, even if they could be sometimes defined *socii* in the sources, as Mouritsen states, were at the same time undoubtedly Roman citizens, and the sources confirm unmistakably that they detained *civitatem* (e.g. Liv. 38.36.7). While Mouritsen (and Scopacasa (2016), pp. 43–44) are right in claiming that *civitas sine suffragio* is an "umbrella concept" which covers quite different kinds of agreements with different towns, Humbert (1978), pp. 260–271, had already shown that the definitions of a *municipium foederatum* or of the *cives sine suffragio* as *socii* – found only in reference to Campania – does not allude to their status, and even less to their role in the legions, where they fought next to full Roman citizens (see also pp. 319–320; Brunt (1981^2), pp. 17–20; Kendall (2013), pp. 82–83; also Bernardi (1938), pp. 249–251, had already correctly seen this), but only to specific characteristics of their incorporation which left untouched particular elements of earlier *foedera*. Polyb. 1.6.8–7.13 and Val. Max. 2.7.15 refer to the troubles following the execution of the *legio Campana* after they had massacred the population of Rhegium, since the soldiers – all *civites sine suffragio* – were protected, as full Roman citizens, by *provocatio* and their case was thus brought to public attention by a tribune (*contra* Keaveney (1984), p. 361, according to whom in military matters the *provocatio* would not protect either Roman citizens or

Gaius developed an interest in the conditions of the allies and their requests for citizenship, as the fragment concerning the abuse of the Roman magistrates might lead us to presume, or whether this device was elaborated as a form of "compensation" for the reactivation of the agrarian commissions, while at the same time trying to avoid the allied opposition against Tiberius and his reforms.[480] While the Latins, as newfound Romans, would have been subjected to the agrarian laws and thus unable to keep land over the prescribed limits (though they would have been able to participate in the redistributions of land, which according to Plutarch lost Gaius his support from the Roman *plebs*), this would not have been valid for the Italics. Instead, the Italics would simply have received a higher status, as well as the rights connected to Latin citizenship, for example the ability to vote in Rome for one tribe (if they lived in the city during an election),[481] together, apparently, with an exemption from the land requisitions.[482]

Gaius' proposal may have been a reaction to initiatives undertaken by the opponents of the agrarian reform, which had already shown a potential method of

allies, even inside the city – this would not speak against the here proposed interpretation of *civitas sine suffragio* but simply make this source fully irrelevant to this issue). The Campanians were indeed consistently defined Romans by Polybius because of the *civitas sine suffragio*: Russo (2012b), p. 43. It may be worth remembering, also, that according to many scholars, by Gaius Gracchus' time the citizenship *sine suffragio* had already ceased to exist, and all groups previously enjoying that status had already been accepted in the full *civitas*: see, among other, Beloch (1880), pp. 122–123; Mommsen (1888[8]), p. 979; Humbert (1978), pp. 346–354, dating this disappearance to 188 BCE; Bernardi (1938), p. 263, rather thought that the communities *sine suffragio* which had not been enfranchised completely until 188 received full citizenship in 90 BCE. Surely the sources do not attest any new concession of *civitas sine suffragio* after 268 BCE. Additionally, the fact that Fannius' oration against Gaius is referred to as *de sociis et nomine Latino* (the title is provided by Cic., *Br*. 99) must weigh heavily against such a reconstruction: see also Elster (2014), pp. 189–190. Mouritsen additionally introduces a third element, not attested by any source: the Italics should have received, in his opinion, only the *ius provocationis* through Gracchus' proposal. Mouritsen's theory would in any case not have had serious consequences on the reconstruction here presented: Latins and Italics would still be neatly distinguished.

480 Badian (1970/1971), p. 395, thus defines Gracchus' proposal as a compromise. Mommsen (1889[8]), pp. 143–145, instead thought that the opposition to Gracchus came from the populace, which did not want to share with other groups their political power. Galsterer (1976), p. 177, claims that the *triumviri* would have had to "convince" the Italics that citizenship was a privilege they could receive in exchange for the activation of the agrarian commission; Kendall (2013), pp. 184–192, interprets the entire series of Gaius' reforms as having the aim of "pleasing the people, of gratifying the contractors and merchants, or of warding off the Senate".

481 I follow here Coşkun (2009), pp. 126–128, in thinking that this right was given only to Latins residing in Rome and not to those who were "by chance" in the city at the time of the elections.

482 Crawford (1996), n. 2, ll. 1–2 and 29; see Lintott (1992), pp. 46–47. It is difficult to accept the theory, formulated by Hinrichs (1966), pp. 254–258, that Gaius Gracchus would have "protected" the Italic allies from possible requisition of lands, in opposition to what had been foreseen by Tiberius; for a critique of this theory, see Lapyrionok (2012), pp. 69–76.

separating the Latin field from that of the Italics. Scipio Aemilianus, who had probably been the foremost individual responsible for the "interruption" of the activities of the triumvirate in 129 BCE, may have suggested, due to complaints from the allies, the possibility that the Latins be exempted from the requisitions, without receiving any form of citizenship. To support this idea, however, we have only the *Scholia Bobiensia*, the reliability of which is difficult to judge.[483] Gaius' enfranchisement proposal might have been a reaction to this issue, but the possibility that the *Scholia Bobiensia* mistakenly uses the term *Latini* to denote the entire group of Italic allies (who according to Appian implored Scipio to become their patron) must be admitted, with the result that the initiative of a stronger distinction of the two groups came foremost from Gaius' proposals.

At the same time, Gaius might have included Italic allies within the new foundations of his colonial program as a form of compensation. According to Plutarch, this programme foresaw the insertion of the χαριέστατοι as colonists, who were perhaps to be interpreted as members of the higher Italic social levels;[484] the same would also be done later, according to Appian, by Appuleius Saturninus,[485] while the concession to the Italics of the power to accuse Roman citizens and to receive Roman citizenship if successful in the *lex de repetundis* could also be read against this background.[486]

On the other hand, for the Roman senatorial aristocracy it may have been easier to accept such a solution, not only because the Latins were perceived as being bound to Rome by a stronger ethnic familiarity, an argument apparently stressed by Gaius himself,[487] but also because the Latin colonies deducted after 338 BCE had no ethnical connotations and were ultimately a product of Roman decisions and population policies.

Furthermore, it should not be neglected that no new Latin colonies had been founded for about forty years before the time of Gracchus' laws, and it is possible that these had been viewed, at least from Gaius' perspective, as "relicts" of a previous period, whose "reabsorption" would therefore be less problematic.[488] In this

483 *Schol. Bob.* 72.2–6 Hildebrandt: *...cum Latinorum causam societatis iure contra C. Gracchum triumvirum eiusque collegas perseveranter defensurus esset, ne ager et ipsorum divideretur*. The Latins seem to have been involved already in the viritane distributions of land in Cisalpina of 173 BCE: Liv. 42.4.4.

484 Plut., *C. Gr.* 9.2; Drusus should have reacted, probably using the dissatisfaction of the Roman population, suggesting the foundation of a higher number of colonies, to be deducted by the "poor", perhaps the lowest levels of Roman citizens, or rather the *adsidui*. See also Elster (2014), p. 190.

485 App., *Civ*. 1.4.29.

486 Howarth (1999), pp. 296–297.

487 So App., *Civ*. 1.3.23. See Russo (2012b), p. 29.

488 Mouritsen (2008), p. 480.

way, the Latins were now presented as having an "intermediate status" between peregrine and Roman, which would continue throughout the imperial period.[489] Nonetheless, it is important to underline that such a proposal, which may have found scarce acceptance even among the populace, was countered in the Senate through the speech *de sociis et nomine Latino contra C. Gracchum* held by G. Fannius, consul in 122 BCE. There Gaius was compared to Greek tyrants such as Dionysius I, Pisistratus, and Phalaris, in terms of his desire to widen citizenship and thus strengthen his power;[490] moreover, Gaius' proposal was also countered through Drusus' "more moderate" proposal, likely never approved,[491] to grant the Latins protection purely from physical punishments (in the military sphere?),[492] which marked the acceptance and adaption of the proposed separation of the Latins from the Italic "cause". It is also possible that the requests of the Latins were perceived to be more urgent; one should not forget that Fregellae was a Latin colony,[493] nor that Asconius appears to indicate a far more widespread rebellion among the Latin colonies for 125 BCE;[494] nonetheless, Gaius Gracchus seems to have played a central role in "radicalizing" the separation between a Latin issue and an Italic.

When we consider the differences between Latin citizenship and the status of the allies, for example in the case of the automatic concession of the *conubium* or of the ability to vote within a Roman tribe, as well as the obvious differences in their institutional structures, we see that until that moment, Latins and Italics had been treated in much the same way by Rome, with few exceptions, as demonstrated by their insertion into the Roman army through the *formula togatorum*, or by the

489 Sherwin-White (1973[2]), p. 116. It is nonetheless important to underline once again that the Latins, as the Romans, did not represent a clear "ethnic unity", as argued by Walbank (1972), pp. 150–152.

490 *ORF*[2] 32.6–7.

491 Keaveney (1984), pp. 368–370. *Contra*, Elster (2014), p. 193; the sources do not allow us to state anything for certain in this regard.

492 Plut., *C. Gr.* 9.3. See Göhler (1939), p. 164; Badian (1958), p. 190; Badian (1970/1971), p. 395; Keaveney (1984), pp. 348–349. Indeed during the Jugurthine War, Turpilius was punished with *verberatio* and beheaded after the fall of the town of which he was *praefectus*. Appian describes him as Roman (*Num.* 3), but Sallust (*Jug.* 69) uses the expression *civis e Latio*. According to Keaveney (1984), pp. 363–365, he would indeed have been a Latin, thus not subject to the same "treatment" (legally or rather, from Keaveney's perspective, in consuetude) as Roman citizens. Elster (2014), pp. 192–193, argues that the extension of *provocatio* should have been valid in civil life, since even Roman citizens were not completely protected by this legal institution when at war.

493 So Keaveney (1987), p. 84.

494 Ascon., *In Pis.* 95 (p. 17 Clark): *Notum est Opimium in praetura Fregellas cepisse, quo facto visus est ceteros quoque nominis Latini socios male animatos repressisse*. As always, the expression *socii nominis Latini* could hint at rebellions which also spread among the Italic allies. Nothing precise can be drawn from Cicero's reference to the *bellum Fregellanum*, alongside the Social War, as an example of *bella cum sociis* (an appropriate definition, since the Latins were in any case to be counted among the *socii*, as has been made clear).

changes in the application of law during the 2nd century BCE. It is only during this period that the two groups appear to be clearly differentiated from the point of view of their claim to citizenship. The *lex Acilia repetundarum*, although proving the possibility that the Italics could denounce a crime in order to receive citizenship, shows in these same years a clear distinction between the *civitates foederatae* and the *nomen Latinum*, presumably in connection with the possibility of acquisition of citizenship *per magistratum*. Indeed, in this same period, citizenship *per magistratum* introduced a further important distinction between Latins and Italics, revealing the coherent "institutionalization" of this divide, while additionally providing a further "softening" factor for the potential acceptance of Latins into the Roman community. Since Asconius explicitly states that it existed in 89 BCE, when the *ius Latii* was accorded to Cisalpina,[495] and offered a form of slow, progressive inclusion of the local elites into the Roman *civitas*, this possibility appears to have been introduced sometime between ca. 125 and 90 BCE.[496]

This difference would be consistently present until the Social War, in which the Latins, with the sole exception of the colony of Venusia, did not take part;[497] only

495 Ascon., *Pis*. 3 Clark: *Pompeius enim non novis colonis eas constituit sed veteribus incolis manentibus ius dedit Latii, ut possent habere ius quod ceterae Latinae coloniae, id es tut petendo magistratus civitatem Romanam adipiscerentur*.

496 Among others, see Tibiletti (1953), pp. 54–58 (124 BCE, in connection to the rebellion of Fregellae); Sherwin-White (1973²), pp. 111–112 (around the date of the *lex Acilia*); Galsterer (1976), p. 100 (for an introduction in 90–89 BCE, though see the critique against this position formulated by Luraschi (1979), pp. 312–313); Galsterer (1995), pp. 82–83; Galsterer (2006), p. 296; Coşkun (2009), pp. 134–136; Dart (2014), pp. 60–61 (an anti-Gracchan measure introduced in 122 BCE). The theories dating the introduction of this right to shortly before the *lex de repetundis* of 123 BCE (see n. 460) are still the most convincing ones. Mouritsen (1998), pp. 102–108, who thinks that the Romans were not interested in giving the Latins any access to citizenship, claims that such a *ius civitatis per magistratum adipiscendae* was not introduced before the second half of the 1st century BCE. But a further *terminus ante quem* appears in connection with the deduction of the colony in Comum Novum in 59 BCE – while recalling this decision Appian indeed mentions the *ius civitatis per magistratum adipiscendae* (App., *Civ*. 2.4.26). Mouritsen has not only to dismiss Appian, but also to rule out Asconius' explicit assertion, and he does this calling it an anachronism "common in ancient historiography", without further explanation. His observation, that Cic., *Balb*. 54 would underline such a right better, had it already existed, is clearly a weak *argumentum e silentio*. Against the possibility of dating this *ius* in 89 BCE or later, see still Luraschi (1979), pp. 304–315, and now Häussler (2013), pp. 115–116. Nonetheless Kendall (2013), pp. 716–721, still prefers to date it tentatively to 90–89 BCE. Interpretations which dated such a right even earlier, up to 268 BCE, are also unacceptable, as already demonstrated by Sherwin-White (1973²), p. 111; Luraschi (1979), pp. 303–304.

497 Liv., *Per*. 72.6. Bernardi (1973), p. 117; Luraschi (1979), pp. 313–314; Keaveney (1987), pp. 84–85, among others, explains this with the possibility of acquiring citizenship *per magistratum*, which would have "calmed" the upper social classes of the Latin communities. Kendall (2013), pp. 348–351, suggests that the Latins did not clearly support the *Urbs* and perhaps "were not as loyal as represented in the modern scholarship", even if they did not openly rebel against Rome. Although this is an interesting approach, no sources can support it.

after the war did the concession of Roman citizenship to all Italics lead to a complete homologation of the inhabitants of the Latin colonies and the allies. The Romans might even have fixed this differentiation more strongly in cultural memory through the creation of a specific *lieu de mémoire*, if Petzold is correct in claiming that during these years the bronze column with the text of the *foedus Cassianum*, which could still be read by Cicero, was created.[498] Gracchus' proposal thus marked an important point in the evolution of the issues concerning citizenship, in spite of the fact that the law was not passed and had no immediate practical consequences from an institutional point of view.

This tension appeared to grow steadily from this point on, though along the lines of this newly drawn division; for example, in 122 BCE the Italics, not the Latins, were again expelled from Rome, to avoid interference in the vote; it seems that Gracchus' "division" of the Latin problem from that of the Italics had been accepted by the Roman Senate itself, which could have developed a strategy of developing a stronger "opening" towards the Latin cities, which ultimately shared a juridical construct that had been invented and imposed by Rome, rather than the Italic allies.[499] A *lex Servilia* quoted by Cicero, and identifiable either as the *lex Servilia Caepionis* of 106 BCE or with the *lex Servilia Glauciae* of 104 or 101 BCE, once again stated the possibility of enfranchisement through a successful accusation *de repetundis*;[500] yet Cicero's formulation, which allows this possibility *Latinis, id est foederatis*,[501] is difficult to comprehend. While it has been claimed that the law extended citizenship to all allies, as had already been decided by the *lex Acilia*,[502] and that the Latins were only "specified" as a subcategory of allies, Cicero's text revealed a potential restriction of this right, at the very end of the 2nd century BCE, only towards the Latins.[503] This would indeed fit within a context in which, as has been said, the Romans appear to have tried to separate the "Latin" cause from that of the "Italics". The fact that this lasted, as has been made clear, only a short period (from the Gracchan reforms to the Social War) explains why it did not lead to visible consequences in the genesis of a "Latin identity" as opposed to an "Italic" one.

The next steps, which reveal a further increase in tensions among the Roman allies, must be dated to the final years of the 2nd century BCE. In this context, it does not seem implausible to follow Brunt when he claims that the military had a catalytic role in allowing these tensions to explode, in particular the Cimbrian War, whose

498 Petzold (1972), p. 392; Hantos (1983), pp. 150–151, admits the possibility of its realization in the years of the Social Wars, in order to stress the fidelity of the Latin colonies and demonstrate the ancient *concordia*.

499 Badian (1970/1971), pp. 393–394.

500 The existence of Servilius Glaucia's law is attested by Ascon., *Scaur.* 2 (p. 21 Clark).

501 Cic., *Balb.* 54.

502 Göhler (1939), pp. 193–194; Mouritsen (1998), pp. 102–103.

503 Luraschi (1979), p. 95; Bradley (1997), p. 161.

impact on Roman politics and life cannot be underestimated;[504] indeed, it has been already argued that the Cimbrian War was the cause of the provincialization of Cisalpina.[505] These wars would once again have shown that the fear of an invasion of Italy was one of the central motifs of Roman political discourse, confirming that the defense of the *Urbs* was bound to the defense of the peninsula,[506] and causing a further explosion in the rhetorical use of the image of "the enemy in Italy" which had been in use since the 3rd century. This would have thus "unmasked" a contradiction on the part of the Romans between the rhetoricization of Italy as "their region" and their unwillingness to concede citizenship to the Italics. At the same time, these wars demonstrated the role played by the Italic soldiers in the Roman army, and thus once again increased a sense of their own importance among the allies.[507]

Against this background, it must be understood whether Marius was steadily and consequently operating "on the side of the Italics",[508] a circumstance which would contrast with his later behavior during the Social War. Marius appears to have at least seen and understood the problem and tried in part to solve it, especially with the concession of citizenship to single groups of allies who were judged to have deserved it due to their behavior while fighting for the "common good"; Badian has defined this as a "controlled enfranchisement".[509] Most famously, this occurred in the case of the two cohorts of Camertes that were accorded citizenship by Marius "against the conditions of the *foedus*" because of their virtue in fighting the Cimbri,[510] though it also took place through individual grants, as with that for the Iguvine Marcus Annius Appius, again due to his military value.[511] Additionally, the *lex Appuleia*, which planned a wide program of colonial foundation in 100 BCE, should have attributed to Marius the ability to confer Roman citizenship on three inhabitants from each colony, which unmistakably demonstrates that the colonies

504 See now Bispham (2016), pp. 84–85.
505 See pp. 49–50.
506 Plut., *Fort. Rom.* 11 (324c).
507 Brunt (1988), p. 129; Gabba (1990), p. 77; Gabba (1994), p. 109.
508 Brunt (1988), p. 131. See Kendall (2013), pp. 203–207, for a more varied approach to Marius' attitude towards the Italics.
509 Badian (1970/1971), pp. 403–405.
510 Cic., *Balb.* 46; Val. Max. 5.2.8; Plut., *Mar.* 28.3. Both Valerius Maximus and Plutarch insist on the illegality of the procedure. The reason should be recognized, perhaps in the previously mentioned *foedera*, which forbid the concession of Roman citizenship to the Insubres and other Gallic populations (see *supra*, p. 342), as suggested by Luraschi (1979), pp. 50–52. Valerius Maximus uses the expression *adversus condicionem foederis*, though an application of such an agreement to Camerinum can only be arbitrary. Alternatively, one reason might be the fact that before the *lex Calpurnia* (see n. 613) a general could not proceed autonomously to such concessions without the agreement of the *comitia*, though Valerius Maximus would in this case have used the word *foedus* in an inappropriate way.
511 Cic., *Balb.* 46.

would have had Latin right. Since the colonies were never founded, this did not apply,[512] but the possibility of enfranchising three persons per colony does not in any case correspond to a huge program of enfranchisement.

It therefore appears difficult to accept, as claimed by Badian, that the cause of the *lex Licinia Mucia* of 95 BCE – which will be discussed shortly – was the excessive number of personal enfranchisements awarded by Marius and his friends during the censorship of 97–96 BCE.[513] This would imply a concrete and systematic involvement by Marius' side for an increasingly broad enlargement of the group of Roman citizens, which is not confirmed by any source. On the contrary, Cicero explicitly states in the *pro Balbo* that none of the persons who had received citizenship by Marius, either through individual or group grants, was subjected to trial according to the *Licinia Mucia*, with the sole exception of Titus Matrinius from Spoletium; in this case, a prosecutor claimed a mistake in the procedure of the concession of citizenship, connected to the Appuleian foundation of colonies, and the case was subsequently won by Matrinius and Marius.[514]

The progressive radicalization of this issue, as well as a clear increase in the tensions between Italic allies and Romans concerning citizenship, can nonetheless clearly be seen. Velleius Paterculus admits that although the war erupted only after the assassination of Drusus, it had been anticipated for a long time.[515] This could be an instrumental statement to legitimize Velleius' explanations of the rebellion and his "justification" of the Italic claims; nevertheless, it is clear that the years 120–90 BCE witnessed from the Italic side the acknowledgment of a gap between various discourses concerning Italy and Rome, involving their insertion into the Italic community and their political and social standing.[516]

All of this caused an ever-stronger radicalization of the discussion, thus increasing closure from the Roman side.[517] In this phase, the Romans do not seem to be interested in bringing the ethnical, geographical, political, and juridical definition of Italy together,[518] and therefore in enfranchising the Italic allies, in contradiction with the symbolic and territorial construction of Italy as a region, which is never discussed. Actually, in their position of power, they even seemed to lose sight of the fact that the Italic allies constituted an essential component of their army, and to dramatically under-evaluate their role. This "closure" seems to have been noted by Sallust who, in a fragment from the *Historiae*, recalls that the ancestors had shown

512 Cic., *Balb*. 48.
513 Badian (1970/1971), p. 405; Keaveney (1987), pp. 81–82; Gabba (1994), pp. 110–111; partially retrieved by Tweedie (2012), pp. 128–130.
514 Cic., *Balb*. 48–49. See Tweedie (2012), pp. 130–133.
515 Vell. 2.15.1. See Kendall (2013), pp. 141–142.
516 So Dart (2014), p. 4.
517 Brunt (1988), p. 132.
518 Gabba (1985), pp. 38–39.

greater consideration for the Italics.[519] At the same time, it is also Sallust who implies that the Italics and Latins were perceived, probably because of their general agitation, as a ready mass which could be mobilized for the political aims of individual Roman politicians, as he records happening in 107 CE.[520]

Kendall has proposed two main reasons for Roman hostility towards the enfranchisement of the allies: firstly, military issues, concerning the future conscription of the Italics in the legions, as they would have been exempted from *tributum* and eventually exonerated in the case of a suspension of the *dilectus*; and secondly, the economic and social field, with the eventual allied access to contracts in the provinces and to urban resources, as well as to voting rights.[521] While this is convincing, it is important to underline that it was not shared by all Romans, and that various groups and social classes could see different problems (the access to the vote was perhaps problematic for senators, while access to resources and to the *ager publicus* was the issue for other groups). That some Romans were on the side of the Italics on these issues, even at the outbreak of the Social War, appears to be confirmed by the *lex Varia* of 90 BCE, which allowed the investigation of those persons who, physically or even only morally (*ope consiliove*), had helped the allies to wage war against the Romans, independently from the political use that was quickly made of this law for the aristocratic Roman competition.[522]

Additionally, the process of radicalization and the rejection of enfranchisement can also be understood as a product of the emotionally loaded situation, in which tension was progressively increasing on both sides in a manner compatible with Kendall's notion of "*superbia* which in turn led to arrogance and exclusivity, a feeling akin to what might be referred to as chauvinism".[523] This is a process which has been modelled in social psychology as a possible consequence of "subordinate group membership", under the concept of "social change", referring "to a belief that the boundaries between groups are rigid, fixed and impermeable. They cannot be crossed. [...] You are stuck with your potentially negative low-status group membership and can only resort to strategies aimed at improving your group's social sta-

519 Sall., *Hist*. 1.14 Dietsch: *tantum antiquitatis curaeque pro Italica gente maioribus fuit*.

520 Sall., *Iug*. 40.1–2.

521 Kendall (2012), pp. 113–118. See also Kendall (2013), pp. 276–283.

522 Ascon., *Scaur*. 3 (p. 22 Clark). See also Ascon., *Corn*. 65 (pp. 73–74 Clark); Val. Max. 8.6.4 mistakenly considers the *lex Varia* as the cause of the Social War, because it post-dates its beginning. Appian would modify this law into a law against all those who would help the Italics to gain citizenship and pre-date it to the period between Drusus' death and the beginning of the Social War: App., *Civ*. 1.5.37. See Dart (2014), pp. 104–106, who explains that the law must have been passed at the very beginning of the war, and thus must have further incensed the Italics; this would be the reason for Valerius Maximus' mistake. Ga. De Sanctis (1976), pp. 46–48, provides a list of the known trials held under this law.

523 Kendall (2012), p. 119. See also Kendall (2013), pp. 275–276.

tus". Among these strategies is social competition, a "real confrontation", which "arises when the subordinate group can conceive of cognitive alternatives", developing "a radical alternative ideology", in this case eventually even the idea of getting rid of Rome once and for all.[524]

The issues concerning "individual solutions", for example the cases of individual persons or families moving to Rome and trying to pass for Roman citizens, seem to have been a special product of such a radicalization; indeed, "social mobility" is also a consequence of "subordinate group membership", which nonetheless "may improve one's personal position but… leaves the group's position unchanged".[525] Such episodes existed prior to this, for example in the case of the Perpernae, as previously discussed.[526] Asconius appears to imply that the number of cases of Italics pretending to be Romans became ever more numerous as a consequence of the Roman attitude during this period, which would have led to the *lex Licinia Mucia* of 95 BCE, seen by ancient and modern authors as the true cause of the war: "indeed, when with extreme stinginess the Italic peoples were kept away from the Roman citizenship and because of this a big part of them pretended to be Roman citizens, a law appeared necessary, according to which everyone should be brought back to the citizenship of his own town".[527] Even if there had been no radical increase in numbers, as supposed by Asconius, the reaction of "closure", brought forward by at least a section of the Roman political class, led to ever more frequent debates inside Roman society about the unacceptability of such practices and ever more frequent decisions to expel foreigners from Rome.[528] This was strongly criticized half a century later by Cicero, whose "friendliness" to the Italic elites in the formulation of his political concept of *viri boni* is well known:

524 Hogg/Abrams (1988), pp. 27–29.
525 Hogg/Abrams (1988), pp. 54–56.
526 See above, p. 323.
527 Ascon., *Corn.*, p. 68 Clark: *Nam cum summa cupiditate civitatis Romanae Italici populi tenerentur et ob id magna pars eorum pro civibus Romanis se gereret, necessaria lex visa est ut in suae quisque civitatis ius redigeretur*; transl. S. Squires. Against an important role of this law in leading to the eruption of the Social War, see Bernardi (1944/1945), pp. 78–79, who claims that it could have "disturbed" the individuals who lived in Rome, though not the entire communities which, on the contrary, would have been interested in receiving the migrants back; in this he seems to understand the events of 95 BCE as if the circumstances had not changed since 187 and 177 BCE; although here it is being suggested that the political and social context was completely different. See also Castello (1958), pp. 255–258. Galsterer (1976), pp. 187–189, also interprets this measure as responding to requests from the Italic communities, based on the metaphorical use of Cic., *Brut*. 63, where Timaeus of Tauromenium is said to have "recalled", almost applying this law, Lysias to Syracuse. The passage does not offer any kind of concrete support to this interpretation (as realized by Tweedie (2012), pp. 124–125), which contrasts with Asconius' statement that predominantly the Italic *principes* were "offended" by the law.
528 See Cic., *De Or*. 2.257.

> They, too, do wrong who would debar foreigners from enjoying the advantages of their city and would exclude them from its borders, as was done by Pennus in the time of our fathers, and in recent times by Papius. It may not be right, of course, for one who is not a citizen to exercise the rights and privileges of citizenship; and the law on this point was secured by two of our wisest consuls, Crassus and Scaevola. Still, to debar foreigners from enjoying the advantages of the city is altogether contrary to the laws of humanity.[529]

Indeed, Cicero strongly emphasizes the affective component bound up with citizenship issues, insisting not so much on the role of Rome as a common fatherland, as he did in the *Laws*, but rather on the emotional consequences of these measures on the Latins and allies who were forced to abandon the *Urbs*. The role of these emotional consequences cannot be underestimated in the development of tensions and in the outbreak of the war. Cicero also highlights that the *lex Licinia Mucia* did not foresee any expulsion, only the loss of falsely acquired citizenship.[530] Looking back at this period, he wrote further in the *pro Sestio* (56 BCE) that nothing was harder to tolerate for Latins and allies than being ordered to abandon Rome (which, he adds, happened only rarely), even if they would not receive any form of ignominy when they did go back to their hometowns and their *lares*.[531]

The existence of public discussions during this period, in Rome as in the Italic cities, is confirmed by Cicero's presentation of the most famous Italic rhetors, such as the Marsian Quintus Vettius Vettianus, Quintus and Decimus Valerius from Sora, Gaius Rusticelius from Bononia, and in particular Titus Betutius Barrus from Asculum. Of the latter were known both orations held in Asculum, perhaps connected to the beginning of the Social War, and in Rome (against Caepio), in a trial which is dated to 95 BCE. These orators are said by Cicero to have been "extraneous to this city" (*extra hanc urbem*, *externi*), but to have the same value as the "urban" ones, namely the orators who enjoyed Roman citizenship.[532]

The "psychological" reconstruction offered by Asconius, and supported by Cicero's idea of the Italic "delusion", leads us to the idea that the *lex Licinia Mucia*[533] should be understood as a significant cause of the war, since it led to a final escalation of existing tensions:[534] "however, this created such discontent among the leaders of the peoples of Italy that it constituted perhaps the most important reason for

529 Cic., *Off*. 3.47; transl. W. Miller.
530 Behrends (2002), pp. 27–29; Tweedie (2012), p. 125.
531 Cic., *Sest*. 30. See also *Schol. Bob*. 88 Hildebrandt.
532 Cic., *Brut*. 169–170.
533 See also Sall., *Hist*. 1.15 Dietsch: *citra Padum omnibus lex Licinia taetra fuit*.
534 Thus Mommsen (1889[8]), pp. 270–271; Salmon (1962), p. 114; Gabba (1973), pp. 183–185; Keaveney (1987), pp. 81–82; Dyson (1992), pp. 60–61; Behrends (2002), p. 19; Tweedie (2012), pp. 123–124, presumes that there were many trials according to this law, which were lost by members of the Italic elites, with ensuing humiliation (pp. 135–136; Tweedie also supposes that the condemned allies would have been publicly flogged); Kendall (2013), pp. 208–210.

the Italian War which broke out three years later".[535] It is difficult to demonstrate, following Howarth, that this law and the resulting disappointment must be connected to agrarian programs, and in particular to the Marian colonization program.[536] Even if this could somehow have contributed to the general situation, it is still necessary to avoid such explanations for the outbreak of the war, which are too reductive and mechanistic and thus cannot sufficiently explain this progress of radicalization and escalation, while also suppressing the affective aspects of the issues at stake and trying to interpret the events from a purely rational point of view.

This of course does not mean that the war had already been decided in 95 BCE. The sources which recognise in the *lex Licinia Mucia* the "cause" of the Social War do so from a Thucydidean and Polybian perspective, while distinguishing between "immediate reason" and "deep causes"; indeed, it is easy for authors living after the events to present a *post hoc* as a *propter hoc*.[537] Nonetheless, it is apparent that this law was perceived at least by some sources as marking a turning point in the radicalization of the conflict.[538] In the years immediately preceding the eruption of the war, Diodorus, for example, refers to the first military expedition lead by Pompaedius Silo against Rome:

> Assembling ten thousand men drawn from the ranks of those who had occasion to fear judicial investigations, he led them on Rome, with swords concealed beneath their garb of peace. It was his intention to surround the senate with armed men and demand citizenship, or, if persuasion failed, to ravage the seat of empire with fire and sword. Encountering Gaius Domitius, who asked him, "Where are you going, Pompaedius, with so large a band?" he said "To Rome, to get citizenship, at the summons of the tribunes". Domitius retorted that he would obtain the citizenship with less risk and more honourably if he approached the senate in a manner which was not warlike; the senate, he said, was in favour of granting this boon to the allies, if instead of violence a petition was presented. Pompaedius took the man's advice as in some way sacred, and persuaded by what he said he returned home.[539]

This episode has generally been interpreted in connection with the *lex Licinia Mucia* in the year 95 BCE, or the year 92–91 BCE, when a new census had to be conducted.[540] Those fearing judicial investigations may have been the allies who, whether chased from Rome or discovered as illegally holding Roman citizenship, would now

535 Ascon., *Corn.*, p. 68 Clark; transl. S. Squires.
536 Howarth (1999), p. 298.
537 Galsterer (1976), p. 188.
538 See Dart (2014), pp. 61–64.
539 Diod. Sic. 37.13.1–2; transl. F.R. Walton.
540 Galsterer (1976), p. 187; Bancalari Molina (1987), pp. 424–427; Brunt (1988), pp. 100–101; Tweedie (2012), pp. 137–138; Kendall (2013), pp. 238–239. Dart (2014), pp. 86–87, dates this "march on Rome" to 91 BCE, after the failure of Drusus' proposals and before his murder. This interpretation is unconvincing, since Domitius did not have any official role during that year.

be subject to process and no longer protected by *provocatio*.[541] While it is difficult to be certain of this connection, given that it is also difficult to be certain of the authenticity of the entire episode as it is narrated, it may be assumed that the progressive escalation had led to situations of increasing tension between the two sides which, according to the narration, would nonetheless have been solved by Domitius (perhaps Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, the censor of 92 BCE).[542] Furthermore, it can be assumed that this tension eventually exploded with the assassination of Drusus, and afterwards with the siege of Asculum,[543] and may have led some groups to progressively abandon the idea of achieving Roman citizenship and to root for the complete destruction of Roman rule.

Diodorus appears to suggest, from Pompaedius' expectation of help from the tribunes, a connection between Italic and popular interests; while this may actually have been the political strategy of the Marians, drawing on Gaius Gracchus' example (and a link between the two causes was also formulated by Pliny the Elder),[544] it rather seems to be an ideological construct which was developed after the war, and only became clear during the 70s BCE,[545] implying a re-elaboration of the narratives concerning previous events. Even if part of the literature accepted this connection as genuine, it does not indeed seem to have corresponded to actual political practices, as the career and life of Drusus (who proposed politics of philo-senatorial character) demonstrates.[546] Diodorus, while explaining from his moralistic stance the beginning of the war, made this clear: the Senate, in conflict with the plebs, "called on the Italians to support them [here Diodorus is likely referring to Drusus' law proposals], promising to admit them into much coveted Roman citizenship, and to confirm the grant by law; however, when none of the promises made to the Italians were realized, war flared up between them and the Romans".[547]

541 The fear of trials is recognised as a cause of the rebellion by Badian (1970/1971), p. 408, who thus interprets Cic., *Off*. 2.75 (*Italicum bellum propter iudiciorum metum sublatum*) in connection to Cic., *Balb*. 48 (*acerrima de civitate quaestio Licinia et Mucia lege venisset*). But the passage seems instead to suggest that the Roman ruling class was scared of the trials, and therefore the cause of the war was the consequence of Drusus' proposed reform of the courts *de repetundis* (see below, pp. 362–363).

542 Bancalari Molina (1987), pp. 427–428.

543 Oros. 5.18.7–8.

544 Plin., *HN* 15.121.

545 Bispham (2007a), p. 421.

546 Cic., *Cluent*. 153; *Mil*. 16; *Nat. Deor*. 3.80; *De orat*. 1.24–25; *Dom*. 50 (where Drusus, *nobilissimus vir*, is said having been inspired in his reforms by M. Aemilius Scaurus and L. Licinius Crassus; see also Ascon., *Scaur*. 21.23–24 Clark); Sall., *Ad Caes*. 2.6.3; Liv., *Per*. 70.10; 71.1; Ascon., *Corn*. 69.1–4; *Schol. Bob*., 71 Hildebrandt; Diod. Sic. 37.10; Plut., *Cat. Min*. 1.2. On the image of Drusus in Cicero, see Haug (1947), pp. 113–116.

547 Diod. Sic. 37.2.2; transl. F.R. Walton.

In order to understand the final steps which led to the eruption of the Social War, it is necessary to thoroughly investigate the political activity of Livius Drusus, whose assassination in 91 BCE is generally considered to have been the "final straw" that led the Italics to rebellion. As has already been suggested, his political engagement cannot be understood along the lines of "popular" politics, nor even as a product of a radical and systematic conviction of the necessity to enfranchise the Italic allies, but rather as an "embedded" set of provisions and initiatives.

Drusus' sincere involvement on the Italics' side was rejected by Seneca the Younger, according to whom the tribune, led by his excessively passionate character, became stuck in a situation in which he could neither bring forward his proposals nor let them decay, and thus Seneca even explicitly suggests that Drusus could have committed suicide.[548] Livy appears to suggest that Drusus raised the hopes of the Italics for citizenship, or rather used these hopes in order to gain support for his politics in favor of the Senate, directed predominantly against the *equites*. His citizenship law, as with his agrarian and frumentary laws, appears (from this point of view) to have been aimed at attracting the Italics and the *plebs* to his side in order to pass a law which, abolishing Gaius Gracchus' measures, would assign the tribunals *de repetundis* to juries composed half of senators, half of *equites* (a mistake for the real proposal, which probably foresaw an enlargement of the Senate through 300 *equites* and the attribution of the tribunal to this "new Senate").[549] In this sense, Badian could write that Drusus' program consisted of uniting the *plebs* and the Italics behind the senatorial aristocracy,[550] though such an interpretation implies a complete acceptance of Livy's (and, via Livy, Florus') optimate view of the events.[551] Although Asconius wrote that he "had undertaken to safeguard the senate's interests and had legislated in favor of the *optimates*; whereupon he abandoned all restraint in his behavior",[552] the ambiguity of the relationship between Drusus and the senatorial aristocracy is perceived and expressed by Sallust (or the pseudo-Sallust author of the *Letters*).[553] Furthermore, Velleius, who presents

548 Sen., *Brev*. 6.1–2.

549 Liv., *Per*. 71: *M. Livius Drusus trib. pleb., quo maioribus viribus senatus causam susceptam tueretur, socios et Italicos populos spe civitatis Romanae sollicitavit, iisque adiuvantibus...* See also *Schol. Bobb.*, *Mil*. 16 (71.19–24 Hildebrandt), where the law about the *quaestiones* is not mentioned, but citizenship is presented as a form of reward for the Italics, in connection to his policies in favor of the Senate and against the plebs. Drusus' judicial law is considered by Ascon., *Scaur*. 2 (p. 21 Clark) to be directly inspired by M. Aemilius Scaurus. See also above, n. 546.

550 Badian (1958), p. 216; Badian (1970/1971), p. 408. This opinion of a purely "senatorial" activity of Drusus is shared by Thomsen (1942), pp. 14–18; Kendall (2013), pp. 213–215. A very negative and strongly moralistic interpretation of Drusus' activity, interpreted as the product of an enormous ambition, is offered by Bernardi (1944/1945), pp. 81–84.

551 Haug (1947), pp. 103–108. See also Russo (2012a), pp. 20–23.

552 Ascon., *Corn*. 69.1–4 Clark; transl. S. Squires.

553 Sall., *Ep*. 2.6.3–5.

a highly positive image of Drusus as an individual connected to the "just" requests of the Italics, also underlines how Drusus worked for the Senate but how this did not ultimately help him.[554] Only Appian presents the law on citizenship as the core of Drusus' political activity.[555]

The idea of a political activity aimed solely at solving a "conflict" between *equites* and the Senate in favor of the latter thus seems exaggerated,[556] not least because the two groups cannot be interpreted as "closed" political parties with clear programs and clear borders, as past scholarship has often done.[557] At the same time, it should be noted that Drusus did not originally approach the Italic issue from a popular perspective, after a clear "fusion" of the two issues which would have taken place through Gaius Gracchus and Marius[558] – an idea which has already been rejected. The appreciation shown for Drusus by a person who clearly had popular sympathy, such as the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*,[559] reveals how misleading it can be to interpret the Roman politics of this period based solely on a binary system of *equites*-Senate or *plebs*-Senate, especially given the clear lack of unity among Senators when confronted with Drusus' reform proposals.[560] Drusus attempted to reinstate some of the Senate's prerogatives by proposing an integration of *equites* into the highest *ordo*, while at the same time introducing further reforms and innovations that were likely not well received by many of the *optimates*, though they may have sounded reasonable to some of the popular movement.[561] In the specific case of the citizenship law, it has been suggested that one reason for senatorial opposition to it might have been the fear that all new citizens would have become, as *clientes*, bound to their enfranchiser, who might therefore have gained unassailable electoral power.[562]

554 Vell. 2.13.2. On Drusus in Velleius, see Haug (1947), pp. 120–125; D'Aloja (2004), pp. 214–215; Russo (2012b), pp. 18–19.

555 App., *Civ*. 1.5.35, presenting the citizenship law as the main aim of Drusus, and the other measures as compensations or preparations for that. Nonetheless, the idea that enfranchisement of the Italics was the main aim of Drusus' political activity has been adopted by part of modern scholarship, as e.g. Bancalari Molina (1987), pp. 408–409.

556 So Bernardi (1944/1945), pp. 86–89.

557 E.g. Mommsen (1889[8]), pp. 259–260; Thomsen (1942), pp. 24–30.

558 Or even since Tiberius Gracchus, as claimed e.g. by Göhler (1939), p. 118.

559 *Rhet. Her.* 4.31. In general, it has been claimed that the birth of "Italic rhetoric" and of the school of the Latin orators should be connected to the Gracchan law *de repetundis* and that this school always had a popular character: Gabba (1994), p. 109.

560 Heftner (2006), p. 255.

561 Keaveney (1987), pp. 87–88; Heftner (2006), pp. 252–254.

562 Dart (2014), pp. 64–65. See also Dart (2014), pp. 73–76, insisting on the fact that "in the long run" Drusus could have counted on the enfranchised Italics, now citizens, as an electoral mass to further his career.There is absolutely no reason to think, with Kendall (2013), pp. 215–216, that Drusus wanted at first to grant Roman citizenship only to the Latins, enlarging his project in the second stage.

Galsterer has suggested that Drusus was the typical "wrong person in the wrong place".[563] As a senator and the representative of a conservative movement, he aimed to reassign the *quaestio de repetundis* to the Senate,[564] though to obtain this and quell any potential popular opposition, he proposed a *lex agraria* and the distribution of *ager publicus*.[565] This would have created strong resistance among the Italics (on which Appian insists, concurrent with his narration of the previous thirty years), who were promised the citizenship,[566] and he thus gained the support of the Samnites and other Italic groups, while alienating the sympathies of his own political allies (and simultaneously drawing his previous opponents closer to each other). It appears that the Senate, which originally supported Drusus, then abandoned him and allied with his direct rival, the consul L. Marcius Philippus who, after presumably being a former supporter of Drusus' and his reforms (including the citizenship law),[567] obtained the abrogation of Drusus' laws.[568] In a perhaps less mechanistic manner, Drusus could be recognized as having attempted to introduce a series of structural reforms which, while attempting to preserve the role of the Senate as the head of the Roman State through a complex series of measures organized according to the "checks and balances" principles, attempted to satisfy all social groups equally (the *Scholia Bobiensia* stated that he wanted to *gratificari* the allies and the Latins),[569] though he asked from each of them a "sacrifice" and thus subsequently dissatisfied all.[570] This would adequately explain Cicero's admiration for Drusus, since he both preserved the Senate as the central and most important institution of Rome, and consistently followed the principle of *concordia*.[571] Likewise, the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* appreciated Drusus for the "popular" aspects of his politi-

563 Galsterer (1976), pp. 199–200.

564 This was Drusus' main political objective, also according to Kendall (2013), pp. 210–212 and Dart (2014), pp. 69–70.

565 Not much changes if one accepts, following Tweedie (2011), pp. 577–579, the idea that Drusus' agrarian law was conceived in order to settle the veterans of the armies which came back in 93 BCE from the Iberian Peninsula and from Gaul. Such a measure would in any case have required a system of check and balances to appease those parts of population, mostly Italics, who would have been damaged by it.

566 Tweedie (2011), pp. 582–584; Dart (2014), pp. 79–80.

567 Diod. Sic. 37.11. The oath (on which see below, n. 581) is defined, in a marginal note to the manuscript, as "Philippus' oath". Ga. De Sanctis (1976), p. 29, suggests that this happened because Philippus revealed the existence of this oath while asking for the abrogation of Drusus' laws. There is no support for any interpretation of this kind in the extant sources.

568 Cic., *Prov. Cons.* 21; *Dom.* 41; *Leg.* 2.14; 2.31; Diod. Sic. 37.10.3. See Dart (2014), pp. 89–92.

569 *Schol. Bob.*, *Mil.* 16 (71.21 Hildebrandt).

570 In this sense should also be interpreted the previously mentioned passage in Cic., *Off.* 2.75, which attributes the cause of the war to Drusus' judicial reforms (and therefore to his consequent measures in favor of other groups). See Gabba (1994), pp. 111–112; Heftner (2006), pp. 255–257.

571 It should not be forgotten that according to both Cicero and Asconius, Drusus was operating under the influence of Cicero's friend Aemilius Scaurus; see *supra*, n. 546.

cal plans, and in later sources connections were established between Drusus, the Gracchi, and even Saturninus, as in Tacitus, who holds all of them "responsible" for the outbreak of the Social War.[572]

From the perspective assumed here, it is important to underline the fact that of all the sources that refer to Drusus, both those that cast his activity in a positive light and those that condemned his work as an act of sedition, make it absolutely clear that the Italics were ready to support his plans and proposals when promised citizenship.[573] When these promises were ultimately not realized, due to the opposition of the Senate as well as the assassination of Drusus, war erupted. In this event, we see the "final straw" that led to the military confrontation rather than the "real cause" of the war, which had been accumulating during the preceding thirty years. This once again makes it impossible to reject Italic desire for attaining Roman citizenship as the reason of the Social War.

The role played by the Etruscans and Umbri, as represented by Appian, in the days preceding Drusus' murder does not contradict this. According to Appian, they officially came to Rome to intervene at a δοκιμασία, interpreted either as the hearing of the Senate on the annulation of Drusus' laws, or as an assembly for the approval of a proposal by Drusus, although their true intention was to kill him.[574] First of all, it is not clear which of Drusus' measures these groups opposed, and why they could therefore have been mobilized by L. Marcius Philippus. Appian states quite clearly that the Italic allies (Ἰταλιῶται), along with the Etruscans and the Umbri, were troubled by the agrarian law.[575] It has been suggested that we should understand in this the colonial program,[576] which does not alter the reading proposed here in any way; however, it is rather probable, as has been suggested many times, that their anger was directed generally towards the land distributions,[577] and subsequently to a potential loss of land. This contrasts with Appian's previous statement that the Italics would have renounced the land in exchange for citizenship, and that this was the

572 Tac., *Ann.* 3.27. Florus (2.5) presents Drusus as new Gracchus or new Saturninus, though this is not connected to his political standing, but rather to his being presented as *seditiosus*. An extremely negative view of Drusus is also presented by Dio 28.96.

573 Cf. Val. Max. 3.1.2a on a meeting between Pompaedius Silo, here wrongly called "commander of the Latins", and Drusus, at the tribune's, *de civitate impetranda*, referred to also by Plut., *Cat. Min.* 2.1–5. See Dart (2010), pp. 114–115; Dart (2014), pp. 76–78. According to Dart, it is in this occasion that Pompaedius Silo promised Drusus support for his political plans, in exchange for the enfranchisement law.

574 App., *Civ*. 1.36. On the different interpretations of this passage, see Cappelletti (2004), p. 231, with further references.

575 App., *Civ*. 1.5.36.

576 Thus Kiene (1845), pp. 186–187, who believes that Drusus planned to found his colonies on Etruscan and Umbrian territory; Badian (1958), p. 218; Cappelletti (2004), p. 233; Dart (2014), pp. 93–94.

577 Thomsen (1942), pp. 36–37; Brunt (1988), pp. 106–107; Tweedie (2011), pp. 581–582.

primary aim of both the allies and of Drusus; considering the nature of Appian's narrative, however, a simplification of this kind may be expected. At any rate, there is no reference to the citizenship law, and we do not even know (as Cappelletti has highlighted) whether it was ever formally submitted for approval or remained only at the planning level.[578]

There is thus no need to claim that the Etruscans and Umbrians did not want the concession of citizenship to all Italics and that they remained on the Roman side during the Social War; this position is difficult to defend, since military activities in their areas were documented. It is also known that the *lex Julia* was released precisely to avoid their joining the rebellion, and that they immediately accepted the citizenship proposed in this way.[579] Nor is there any need to resort to complicated and unprovable explanations, such as that suggested by Ruoff-Väänänen, who argues that the Etruscans and Umbri came to Rome to plot against Drusus as representatives of communities who already had the Roman *civitas* and did not wish to share it with anybody else.[580] On the contrary, the Italics seem to have remained firmly on Drusus' side up to the last moment, as demonstrated in literary form by the oath to him, referred to by Diodorus, although this may be a later fabrication.[581] After Drusus' death, the Italics began to organize alliances and diplomatic contacts among themselves independent of Rome, which materialized in the exchange of hostages

578 Cappelletti (2004), p. 233. Already Mommsen (1889[8]), p. 272, has argued that the citizenship law was never presented to a vote. Bernardi (1944/1945), pp. 95–96, suggested that the Etruscan and Umbrian elites did not want the concession of citizenship, as they did not wish to introduce a principle of equality in their communities that could have endangered their social status and political position. This is not believable, since the concession of citizenship was never connected with a reduction in social stratification, and is mostly produced by Bernardi's strong conviction that everywhere in Italy only the lower social strata were interested in being enfranchised. Also Gabba (1973), pp. 204–205, thinks that Etruscans and Umbri opposed the enfranchisement law, since their towns were structured along a very rigid social hierarchy and their elites – who were represented here – would have incurred social problems if the entire population of the towns had received Roman citizenship. This position is also assumed by Bancalari Molina (1987), pp. 431–433. Against this interpretation, see Tweedie (2011), pp. 585–586.

579 App., *Civ*. 1.6.49.

580 Bruun/Hohti/Kaimio/Michelsen/Nielsen/Ruoff-Väänänen (1975), pp. 73–74. Mommsen (1889[8]), p. 274, has argued that in these communities the aristocracy was overtly powerful, while the middle classes had disappeared, which explains their opposition to Drusus and his project.

581 See n. 567. The oath has been considered false by a number of modern scholars, but is presumably authentic; see Bancalari Molina (1987), pp. 408–422; Dart (2010), p. 116; Dart (2014), pp. 80–81. Cappelletti (2004), p. 236, views this as a "seal" on the agreement between Drusus and the Italics (citizenship law in exchange for support for the agrarian and colonial law) and dates it to the moment in which, according to Appian, the Etruscans and Umbri were in Rome to oppose Drusus at the *dokimasia*. This is quite speculative, and is contradictory to the explanation of its definition as "Philippus' oath", which would refer it to an earlier moment.

which, when discovered by the Romans, led to the massacre of Asculum and the eruption of the war.[582]

This brief history of the events leading to the outbreak of the Social War has aimed to show that the desire for citizenship should still be considered a central element in the evolution of the relationship between Romans and Italics between circa 125 and 90 BCE. The request for the Roman *civitas* was not originally brought into political discussion by the Italic allies themselves, and must once again be considered a "top-down" Roman insertion, achieved through the creation of an idea of Italicness and through measures such as Flaccus' proposal, which were formulated at a time when the Italics were not yet interested in citizenship.[583] However, this does not mean that the Italics continued to show no interest in it. On the contrary, it may be assumed that such a topic and possibility were accepted, adopted, and "interiorized" by the groups which were directly involved; furthermore, these groups came to recognize not only the concrete advantages, but also the symbolic and affective annexes of such an offer, as well as their own involvement in it. Citizenship was desired, not only because of its "practical" and "rationally interesting" aspects, but also for its highly affective components, as a form of recognition and of desired self-ascription, in strong connection with their identity as "Italics" and as inhabitants of a "region Italy" which had developed from the end of the 3rd and throughout the whole of the 2nd century BCE.

The Social War

The idea that a clear majority of the Italic allies, especially early on in the rebellion, were interested in acquiring Roman citizenship, rather than in the immediate "destruction" of the Roman state, cannot be ruled out. Indeed, the strength of the idea of "Italicness" in the genesis of the Social War must still be accorded a high level of importance,[584] as has recently been demonstrated by Kendall in relation to the period directly before the beginning of the war, along with the possibility of avoiding it through diplomatic means even after the massacre of Asculum.[585] The recurrence, in

582 App. *Civ*. 1.5.38. See Dart (2014), pp. 95–97, who shows that Drusus' death certainly played a role in leading the Italics to war, although this was not the only (and not even the most immediate) cause of its eruption. Kendall (2013), pp. 233–236, argues that the Italics must have been preparing for war from an earlier time, since it could erupt relatively quickly, and connects the beginnings of such preparations with the *lex Licinia Mucia* (see above, pp. 356–359); nonetheless, he attributes to Drusus' death an important role in the outbreak of the war (pp. 722–729).

583 So already Göhler (1939), p. 173.

584 As admitted by Erdkamp (2011), pp. 109–110. See Pobjoy (2000), p. 193; Bispham (2016), pp. 83–86.

585 Kendall (2012), pp. 105–108.

many sources, of *libertas*/ἐλευθερία as a goal of the rebels must be treated with extreme caution. As is well known, the idea of "freedom", essentially the opposite of slavery, has various meanings in its political uses, as well as its potential application to both communities and individuals.[586] It may indeed indicate the independence of the Italics from Roman rule, but it may also indicate, on an individual level, the rights connected with no longer being considered a "subject"; this is precisely the sense in which *libertas* is used by Orosius, when he recalls how Drusus lured the Latins (Orosius' mistake for Italics) in 91 BCE with the hope of freedom.[587] But the idea of "freedom" might also indicate the acquisition of citizenship.[588]

The very brief treatment of this subject by the Roman historian Pompeius Trogus, as conveyed by Justin, is significant; although it must be admitted that Pompeius Trogus was already influenced by "Roman narratives" of the war,[589] it must be emphasised that Trogus was in general rather weakly influenced by the "official narratives". He begins by explaining that, from the time of the foundation of Rome, Italy was never entirely subject to the *Urbs* and many cities of the peninsula fought against Rome for their freedom (*libertas*) or even to overtake its rule (*pro vice imperii*); thus, it must be noted that these are general considerations, which do not apply to his description of the Social War. A short mention of the Samnite Wars follows, which is then completed by a reference to the Social War of a completely contrary nature: "but not to linger only on old examples, in our very own time the entirety of

586 Arena (2012), p. 8; 73.

587 Oros. 5.18.2. See Brunt (1988), p. 103; Pobjoy (2000), pp. 197–198; Bispham (2016), pp. 81–82. Also Flor. 2.6.6–7 and *Vir. Ill.* 66 seem to shift at least part of the responsibility for the war onto the Latins, though this is probably a later mistake; the Latins remained substantially faithful to Rome during the Social War, with the sole exception of the colony of Venusia; see Brunt (1988), pp. 101–102. Sall., *Hist.* 1.17 Dietsch speaks of a rebellion *sociorum et Lati*, and this may have been the source used by Orosius and other authors. The same expression also appears in the speech against Sulla attributed to M. Aemilius Lepidus (Sall., *Hist.* 1.41 Dietsch), where it is claimed that Latins and allies gained the concession of citizenship *pro multis et egregiis factis* (the Social War), though Sulla did not then let them exercise their rights by slowing down registration in the electoral tribes. The expression is therefore correct in this case, since the concession of citizenship to both Latins and allies took place during the Social War.

588 Dench (2005), p. 127, has argued that Roman citizenship could have been intended as "freedom", since "it freed the bearer from the relationship of ruled to ruler". The meaning of *libertas* in Roman discourse has been investigated by Arena (2012), who concentrates on the period after the Social War, after which the concept underwent a relevant change (p. 11). Nonetheless, some of Arena's observations are very useful in this context, in particular, the analysis of the strong connections binding freedom and citizenship, which is in support of Dench's theory: "Liberty was the precondition of citizenship, citizenship its guarantee" (pp. 27–29). The idea of liberty was, for instance, strongly connected to *provocatio*, as shown by a coin from 125 BCE (*RRC* 270/1.2), connecting the *leges Porciae de provocatione* and the goddess Libertas (Arena (2012), pp. 40–42). See also Dart (2014), pp. 35–40.

589 See below, pp 388–389.

Italy rose up in the Marsic War, not requiring freedom (*libertas*), but a participation in the rule (*imperium*) and in the citizenship (*civitas*)".[590]

At the same time, we should avoid referring to simple social explanations, for example the claim that the upper social classes were interested in acquiring citizenship due to the material advantages offered to them by Roman domination,[591] while the Italic masses, who "hated" Rome due to their forced military service, were rather more inclined to fight for independence, a position which finds no support in ancient sources.[592] Nonetheless, it must be recognized that the precipitation of events, as well as the war itself, likely motivated some groups, particularly the "Southern" ones, to a new set of goals, now centered around complete independence from Rome, and perhaps even its destruction.[593] This is admitted for the last phase of the war by Velleius Paterculus, who otherwise strongly underlines the desire for citizenship among the rebels. He refers to a speech by the Samnite leader Pontius Telesinus before the battle of Porta Collina (82 BCE) against the Sullan army,[594] according to which Telesinus would have threatened the complete destruction of Rome, claiming: "These wolves that made such ravages upon Italian liberty will never vanish until we have cut down the forest that harbours them".[595] Brunt has argued that this was solely an invention aimed to paint the Samnites, from a Sullan per-

590 Iust. 38.4.11–13. Also Strab. 5.4.2 presents the desire for citizenship as the only reason for the war. See Dart (2014), pp. 30–31.

591 Gabba (1994), p. 105. It has already been made clear that through agrarian distribution, not to mention the "affective aspects" discussed here, the lower social classes may have been interested in obtaining the Roman citizenship.

592 Salmon (1962), pp. 108–109.

593 Diod. Sic. 37.22 speaks of the Italics fighting for their own empire (ἡγεμονία), after having risked their lives for the Roman one; though it is not clear whether he means in this sense the formation of an alternative state or the possibility of ruling the Roman state. It would be a mistake to interpret the events related by Frontin., *Strat*. 1.5.17, where he states that in 90 BCE Sulla tried unsuccessfully to negotiate peace conditions with Duillius, as a sign that the allies were not ready to accept any kind of negotiation. Gabba (1973), pp. 277–278, interpreted this wish as the expression of a minority of "extremists". Already Mommsen (1889[8]), p. 272, admitted an ambiguity in the aims of the rebels, defining them as desirous either of destroying Rome and replacing it, or of claiming equality of rights with force, and he recognized in particular a progressive shift towards the former aim (p. 278). See Pobjoy (2000), pp. 188–189 and Bradley (2007), p. 303, although it cannot be accepted that "by the time of the outbreak of revolt, and the assassination of Drusus, the aims of the allies must have shifted to trying to carve out a parallel state to Rome, or to the wholesale destruction of the city", since both the episodes referred to by Cicero and the *lex Julia* contradict this statement.

594 The Samnites, enfranchised by Marius and Cinna, continued to fight on the Marian side in the Civil War until the final defeat at Porta Collina in 82 BCE: App., *Civ*. 1.10.87–93. Appian also confirms the role of Telesinus as commander of the Samnites in this circumstance.

595 Vell. 2.27.2: *...numquam defuturos raptores Italicae libertatis lupos nisi silva, in quam refugere solerent, esset excisa*; transl. F.W. Shipley.

spective, in an extremely bad light.[596] Yet on the other hand, independent of the rhetorical expression, the idea of a more radical goal for this group at this time does indeed fit with the rest of the evidence, and Velleius also shows a generally positive image of Telesinus as one of the most valorous commanders on the Italic side, but admits his being radically opposed to the Roman *nomen*.[597] Furthermore, the request for help that the Italics may have sent to Mithridates, as mentioned by Posidonius and (likely using this as a source) by Diodorus,[598] seems to indicate a desire to overthrow Roman rule; even if this is an invention,[599] it clearly reveals what was perceived to be the goal of the rebels towards the end of the war in 88 BCE.[600] On the other hand, it is not improbable that the first defeats of the allies in 89 BCE brought some of the more radical among them "back" to the idea of negotiating the concession of citizenship with Rome, once the impossibility of a total victory had been realized.[601]

It is thus impossible to assume that all the participants in the war shared the same interests and aims, and it is a huge mistake to interpret and attempt to understand the Social War from a "monocausal" and unique perspective, without recognizing the differences within the groups and the mechanisms of radicalization at stake.[602] The course of events demonstrates that at the beginning of the 1st century BCE, different groups with a variety of purposes found reasons to draw ever closer to each other, even if they still aimed for different results. Citizenship must certainly have played an important role and was most important for the Etruscans and Umbri who, according to Appian, otherwise held "the same fears as the Italians" in refer-

596 Brunt (1988), pp. 110–111.

597 Vell. 2.27.1; compared with Vell. 2.16.1.

598 *FGH* 87 F 36; Diod. Sic. 37.2.11. Plut., *Fort. Rom.* 11 (324c) might also refer to this request for help.

599 Appian does not mention such an alliance in his reconstruction of the Mithridatic Wars; here he only hints at a (false) plan of invading Italy, which counted on the possibility of a rebellion among the Italic allies, on the model of the Second Punic War (App., *Rom.* 12.16.109) and specified a less well-defined "alliance" between Mithridates and the "Samnites" (App., *Rom.* 12.16.112).

600 Pobjoy (2000), pp. 192–193; Dart (2014), pp. 193–195.

601 Gabba (1994), p. 123. *Rhet. Her.* 4.13, a fragment of the speech by Q. Varius Hybrida which suggested the law bearing his name in 90 BCE, seems to reveal (or at least to suggest) the Roman perception of the impossibility of an allied victory.

602 Dyson (1992), p. 62, has noted the different reactions among the Italic communities, which demonstrated in part "a complex combination of loyalties and fears". Kendall (2013), pp. 227–228, finds it "puzzling" that the allies would fight for complete independence when they had previously been interested in Roman citizenship; he does not thus recognize the existence of any possible evolution and change in political plans, nor of possible differences between different groups and centers (even if this is theoretically admitted as possible, p. 232). His suggestion that the allies were attempting a secession modeled on that of the *plebs*, in order to force the Romans to negotiate, does not find any support in the sources, and is strongly contradicted by the violence characterizing the earliest episodes of the war, such as the events at Asculum.

ence to the agrarian and colonial laws.[603] These threatened Rome with a possible rebellion, or more probably actually incited it, and through this pressure, both the Etruscans and Umbri immediately gained the concession of citizenship through the *lex Julia*.[604] This law was passed in late 90 BCE as an emergency measure, which accorded the *civitas* to those allies who had not yet broken away, but might yet have decided to take up arms.[605] Individual communities were forced to accept this concession, through the forms of the *fundus fieri* which, according to Appian, the Etruscans and Umbri did quite happily.[606] Through this law, Latin communities were also awarded citizenship since, with the single exception of Venusia, they had remained faithful.[607] However, in general it is impossible to postulate that all Italic communities, and inside them all social groups, ultimately had the same reason for desiring Roman citizenship; moreover, some of the Greek communities of Southern Italy are explicitly described as having being less interested in this.[608]

Neither enfranchisement nor independence can be considered the sole aim of the rebels; the situation, first brought about by Asculum,[609] and subsequently by the *lex Julia*, the abandonment of the rebellion by the Etruscans and Umbri and, finally, the course of the war itself, unearthed the internal differences, whereby "some [demanded] complete enfranchisement and others [sought] total separation from the

603 App., *Civ*. 1.36; transl. H. White.

604 Dart (2014), pp. 143–146; 172–174; Elster (2014), pp. 198–199.

605 Williamson (2005), pp. 326–327; Bispham (2007a), pp. 162–172; Kendall (2013), pp. 353–357. To the *lex Julia* refers Vell. 2.16.5. See also Luraschi (1978), pp. 323–324; Seston (1978), p. 542. Another *lex Julia* recalled by the *Decretum Strabonis* (*ILS* 8888), which should be attributed to the same L. Julius Caesar (probably also in the year 90 BCE), allowed the concession of Roman citizenship to individuals *peregrini stipendiarii virtutis causa*. It is very probable that this was another law, and not another part of the same measure, as stated by Ashby (1909); Dart (2014), p. 176; Elster (2014), p.199. See Luraschi (1978), pp. 330–334. To the contrary, Kendall (2013), pp. 358–359, thinks that it was the same law, and that it re-included the provisions of the *lex Calpurnia* (see n. 613), the date of which is debated. For a history of the historiography of the *leges de civitate*, and in particular of Luraschi's role in it, see Barbati (2012).

606 App., *Civ*. 1.6.49. See Sordi (1989), pp. 65–66. A tentative list of the communities that received Roman citizenship according to the *lex Julia* is provided by Beloch (1880), pp. 38–40.

607 Gell. 4.4.3.

608 Cic., *Balb*. 21, *in quo magna contentio Heracliensium et Neapolitanorum fuit, cum magna pars in iis civitatibus foederis sui libertatem civitati anteferret*. The reason for this opposition should not necessarily be viewed in a functionalistic way (as particularly convenient conditions of their *foedus*), but rather be seen in the strength of the local identity and the Greek self-ascription of the local population. See Capogrossi Colognesi (2000), pp. 152–153. See also Lomas (1993), p. 93.

609 Sherwin-White (1973[2]), p. 148, insists in particular on the role of Asculum in precipitating the situation and radicalizing the conflict. On a similar line, see Kendall (2013), pp. 241–248; Dart (2014), pp. 99–100.

Roman state".[610] If we thus reject Galsterer's idea that the inhabitants of inner Samnium in particular were interested in citizenship, on the grounds that they appear in our sources as the most "radical" fighters,[611] a greater role in the first stirrings of war must be attributed to the Etruscans and Umbri, although they abandoned the fight early on, as explicitly stated by Sallust, Appian, Livy's *Periochae*, and Orosius, and has been recognized by Harris and Brendan Nagle.[612] After the tensions were brought to a point where war erupted, the groups that had started the fight and were untouched by the *lex Julia* then aimed to attain independence from Roman dominion, while the Romans did not award further concessions of citizenship until the end of the war.[613] During the military confrontation, there were no laws concerning the

610 Sherwin-White (1973[2]), p. 137 and 149. Sherwin-White identifies the most radical rebels, fighting for independence, with the "Sabellians" and the Oscan-speaking peoples of Campania and Lucania. According to Sherwin-White, these "independentists" reacted in particular to increasing violence from the Roman side, and might have decided to "break away" after realizing that there was no longer hope of receiving citizenship (pp. 144–145). See also Pobjoy (2000), pp. 189–191.

611 Galsterer (1976), pp. 196–197. Galsterer (1976), p. 203, supposed in general an "evolution" in the aims of the rebels, who might have originally desired the concession of citizenship, but afterwards independence. If it is possible that the political and military events induced a "radicalization" of the relative position, it nonetheless seems disputable, as said, that all Italic groups would have shared the same aims.

612 Sall., *Hist*. 1.16 Dietsch: *tum vero Etrusci cum ceteris eiusdem caussae ducem se nanctos rati maxumo gaudio bellum inritare*; App., *Civ*. 1.6.49; Liv., *Per*. 74.5; Oros. 5.18.17. See Harris (1971), p. 217; Brendan Nagle (1973), p. 372. See also Kiene (1845), pp. 200–203; Kendall (2013), pp. 331–338.

613 Luraschi (1978), p. 336, attributed the *lex Calpurnia* (mentioned by Sisenn., *Fr*. 120 Peter: *milites, ut lex Calpurnia concesserat, virtutis ergo civitate donari*) to 89 BCE and believed that it attributed to the Roman generals the possibility of giving Roman citizenship to those Italics who had fought with merit for Rome, which is anything but certain. Luraschi (1978), p. 337, alternatively proposes a simple repetition of content, connected to the necessity of having every concession of citizenship approved by the *comitia*, as explicitly stated by Liv. 38.36.8 and maybe by Cic., *Verr* 2.1.13; on the fact that the *comitia* were the responsible institution, see also Luraschi (1979), pp. 449–450. The *lex Calpurnia* would only refer to groups of allies which fought on Roman side, but were not touched by the *lex Julia* (perhaps because they remained on the Roman side as individuals and not as communities), and would therefore not contradict the lack of further general concessions of citizenship before the end of the war. Kiene (1845), pp. 224–226, thought that the *lex Calpurnia* must have followed the *lex Julia*. However, other positions, believing that the *lex Calpurnia* preceded the *lex Julia* (as Haug (1947), pp. 247–248; Brunt (1988), p. 133; Bispham (2007a), pp. 172–173; Kendall (2013), pp. 357–358 and 775–784; Elster (2014), pp. 200–202), seem more convincing. The *lex Calpurnia* thus attributed to a general the responsibility of the enfranchisement of some soldiers, without the involvement of the *comitia*. Examples of the application of the *lex Calpurnia* are known, but without complete certainty. For example, Cic., *Balb*. 50 refers to a Publius Caesius who was made a citizen by Pompeius Strabo, perhaps before the last *lex de civitate*; Velleius Paterculus' ancestor could have profited from this law (see *infra*, n. 615). Moreover, P. Licinius Crassus, consul in 97 BCE, bestowed, according to Cic., *Balb*. 50, Roman citizenship upon an Alexas of Heraclea, although it is not clear in which year and for what reason. The concession could fall during the years of the Social War and

enlargement of *civitas*, and a *lex de civitate dediticiis populis danda* was only released in 88 BCE, when the war was over, excluding only the Samnites and Lucanians, who would not be granted citizenship until after Cinna's victory.[614]

The *lex Plautia Papiria* of 89 BCE did indeed only refer to persons who, as *adscripti* of the communities, benefited from the *lex Julia* but were not resident in them at the time of its application; these individuals could thus not enjoy its provisions, for example the poet Archias, who was *adscriptus* to Heraclea but lived in Rome.[615] The law thus only addressed individuals who resided in Italy, even if not in the town in which they were registered, and appeared in front of the praetor within 60 days, as has already been demonstrated by Sherwin-White.[616] It is in any case interesting to note that through referencing a *domicilium* in Italy, the law once again insisted on the principle of territoriality in the construction of the Italic community, and excluded all those who, even while registered in an Italic town under the purview of the *lex Julia*, were living in the provinces. In this sense *Italia*, which surely included

under the *lex Calpurnia*, if it is connected with the help provided to Rome by two ships from Heraclea in the Social War (*FGH* 434 F 21).

614 App., *Civ*. 1.6.53; 1.8.68. Pobjoy (2000), p. 195; Bispham (2007a), pp. 177–183; Kendall (2013), pp. 410–417. To this law refer Liv., *Per*. 80.1 and Vell. 2.17.1. This *lex* (or set of *leges*) is not known in its name or precise content: see Luraschi (1978), pp. 347–360; Luraschi dates it to the year 89 BCE, and ultimately identifies it with another part of the *lex Plautia Papiria*, different to that related by Cicero. The idea, expressed by Sherwin-White (1973[2]), p. 148, that the final enfranchisement took place according to the *lex Julia*, regarding those who had "deposed their arms", is not acceptable in this simple form (Kendall (2013), pp. 410–411). It seems possible, however, that the further concessions of citizenship happened along the lines decreed by the *lex Julia*, but according to a new measure, which might eventually have had the form of a *senatus consultum* (so Campanile/Letta (1979), pp. 78–83), dated to 88 BCE. The problem of the distribution of the new citizens in the electoral tribes, which assumes a central relevance in the Civil War between Marius and Sulla, is beyond the scope of the present work.

615 Cic., *Arch*. 4.7. *Schol. Bob*. 158–159 Hildebrandt seemed not to understand the law perfectly and to generalize it as a possibility of enfranchisement for all Italics, as did most of the literature until Sherwin-White; see Ga. De Sanctis (1976), pp. 74–75, though still e.g. Williamson (2005), p. 328; Elster (2014), pp. 204–205. It could be added that, if the *lex Plautia Papiria* applied to anyone who wanted to depose arms and obtain Roman citizenship, it is not understandable why Velleius Paterculus' ancestor, who fought on the Roman side, had to wait to receive a personal enfranchisement motivated by his military service, presumably according to the *lex Calpurnia*: Vell. Pat. 2.16.3. See Kiene (1845), pp. 216–217; Galsterer (2006), p. 298; and Dart (2014), pp. 183–184, according to whom the law also applied to inhabitants of the towns which had stopped fighting after the approval of the *lex Julia*.

616 Sherwin-White (1973[2]), pp. 152–153; Brunt (1988), pp. 107–108; Y. Thomas (1996), pp. 103–117, claims that the main aim of the law was to solve the problem represented by persons who were registered in different towns, forcing them to choose one and only one, through whose enfranchisement they would now receive Roman citizenship; Bispham (2007a), p. 172; Kendall (2013), pp. 821–830. See also Luraschi (1978), pp. 339–344.

Rome,[617] may have been used in a geographical sense, thus indicating the entire peninsula up to the Alps or maybe in this period, due to the existence of the province of Cisalpina, up to the boundary of that province.[618]

Also in the year 89 BCE, the province of Cisalpina was accorded Latin citizenship, for reasons that must also have been connected with the Social War, since it is possible to recognize that there were some military movements in this area that suggest an adhesion of the inhabitants of the region to the rebels' cause.[619] Appian implies that the Gauls from Cisalpina fought on both sides, and indeed some of the slings found in Asculum reveal the presence of Gauls, Veneti, and in particular inhabitants of Opitergium, all of whom fought on the Roman side.[620] A stratagem of Frontinus refers to a Pompeius, possibly Pompeius Strabo, who massacred the "senate of Milan".[621] In this context, Innocenti Prosdocimi has interpreted an inscribed bowl or lid belonging to a funerary urn from Este that bears the Italic (Faliscan?) dedication *]firtati*, surely equivalent to Latin *Libertati*. The realization of an Italic dedication to the personified Libertas in the Venetic area perhaps alludes to the presence of sympathizers to the rebel cause within that town.[622]

Nevertheless, what is most interesting from the perspective assumed in this work is the consideration of how deeply the Italic communities had been touched, during the roughly 150-year period preceding the war, by the construction of the "region Italy" and "Italic identity". In the moment in which the Italic communities

617 Luraschi (1978), pp. 346–347, is correct in refuting Sherwin-White's idea that the law interested only those residing in Rome, since Cicero's text is extremely explicit in speaking of Italy.

618 Luraschi (1978), pp. 344–346, excludes that the law could have referred to the "geographical" meaning of Italy, thinking it impossible that a person resident in Cisalpina, which was contemporarily touched by the *lex Pompeia*, could enjoy Roman citizenship and have a higher status than "their hosts"; however, he forgets that, to be interested by the *lex Plautia Papiria*, such a person would need to have been living in Cisalpina, but officially registered in one of the communities placed in "administrative" Italy, which had profited from the *lex Julia*. Alternatively, Luraschi proposes the possibility of viewing a "juridical" definition of *Italia*, limited only to the *ager Romanus*; though he considers this too reductive and prefers the "administrative" extension. The idea that the concessions of citizenship connected to the Social War interested all communities south of the river Po are based on a misunderstanding of the *lex Pompeia* and of the further Caesarian decrees, as shown earlier (see pp. 54–56).

619 Bandelli (1992), p. 36. See also Luraschi (1979), p. 217. But Luraschi, strongly moved by his own geopiety for his region and town of origin (Como), denies any involvement of the inhabitants of Cisalpina in the rebellion and connects the concession to their proved and complete fidelity to Rome.

620 App., *Civ*. 1.6.50; *CIL* 1^2.864 = *ILLRP* 1095; *CIL* 1^2.878 = *ILLRP* 1102 (a parallel series exists, written in Venetic alphabet); see Bandelli (1985), p. 22; La Regina (1991a), pp. 152–154.

621 Frontin., *Strat*. 1.9.3. See Gabba (1986), pp. 253–254. Livy's *Periochae* (73.10) also presents us with military activities in the period of the Social War in the Transalpine area of the Salluvii, who were occupying the region between Albintimilium and Marseille.

622 Innocenti Prosdocimi (1976), n. 1, pp. 269–272.

decided to oppose Rome, they identified themselves in terms of an Italicness that had been shaped by Rome and imposed on them from the 3rd century BCE onwards. This is not wholly surprising, given the influence of the politically dominant group on the self-perception of the subject groups, even in the definition of their opposition to the rulers, as is known from other historical examples.[623] One is unable to conclude with certainty whether it was purely the reality of the war against Rome that held the Italics together, whereas autonomist features were already dominant among the Italics during the war.[624] One might argue that the various groups united for purely practical purposes to fight together against Rome and thus increase their possibility of victory, without considering the possible subsequent construction of communitarian political institutions,[625] yet with full knowledge of their different aims. Even so, these various groups, faced with the creation of a common identity in opposition to Rome, ultimately adopted an Italic self-ascription which was little more than a product of Roman domination:

> ... the Italians were trying to create some sort of common identity for themselves. This identity, it seems, grew out of a category 'of Italians' created by the Romans, a categorization to which the Italians were objecting in terms of its political and institutional implications, but which nevertheless capable of being adopted by them. Italia as a concept was being fought over as hotly as the land itself.[626]

According to the only extant source, the new "confederation" gave itself structures and institutions which may in many ways have resembled those of the Romans, such as a "Senate" with 500 members, or two commanders of the army.[627] Nevertheless, the town chosen to become the main center of the "rebels", Corfinium, was

623 See S. Jones (1996), p. 69; (1997), p. 95, on the construction of the Tswana ethnicity, constructed in opposition to the "European way" only in the context of colonialism, although it did not exist during the period preceding colonization; this is characterized by many different ethnic identities connected to single groups who then ultimately formed the Tswana.

624 So Gabba (1973), pp. 279–280. More acceptable is the position expressed by Meyer (1958), p. 79, according to whom the Italics did not, due to lack of time, develop real political institutions, but just those structures which were necessary for the war; it is therefore impossible to know what shape the institutions would have taken if an "Italic state" had ever come into existence. Along the same lines, see Pobjoy (2000), p. 192 and Galsterer (2006), pp. 297–298. All this is valid even if Mouritsen (1998), p. 139, were right, which is impossible to demonstrate, in thinking that the form given to the State corresponded exactly to the contents of the ultimatum sent to the Romans in 91 BCE.

625 So Dart (2009); Dart (2014), p. 113.

626 Burnett (1998), p. 167. See also Brunt (1988), pp. 113–114; Bradley (2007), p. 304; Bourdin (2012), pp. 782–784.

627 Diod. Sic. 37.2.5 speaks of a senate of 500 members, two consuls, and twelve praetors. As underlined by Kendall (2013), pp. 261–262, and Dart (2014), p. 108, there is no positive trace that this "Senate" ever had any other function than that of a "war council", though it must be highlighted that it would have been surprisingly large for a war council, and probably not very efficient.

renamed *Italica*,[628] by means of a common procedure in topographical name-giving whereby the name of a place plays a crucial role in reinforcing its identity.[629] It is important to underline that the "Italic identity" was also adopted by the rebels as an "umbrella" that covered local specificities and diversities, which were not suffocated but subsumed within this higher community, once again respecting the distinctive mark of Italy as a "unity in diversity". Thus, Sherwin-White has remarked, "although the war was a revolt against Roman authority, and although the allies maintained the privilege of their separate units and states, they nonetheless asserted a sentiment of Italian unity, and the need for a common form which should join all *Italici* together".[630] The names used by ancient authors to define the war do not contradict this: for example, in addition to *bellum sociale*[631] and *bellum Italicum*,[632] one mostly finds the definition *bellum Marsicum*,[633] presumably the oldest,[634] which must be connected with the leading role taken in the first phases by the "northern" group under the command of the Marsian Pompaedius Silo.

The rebels were organized into two groups according to their geographical provenance;[635] the Picentes, the peoples of the central Apennine, and the Frentani were led by Q. Pompaedius Silo, whereas the Samnites and the Apulian communities were under the leadership of G. Papius Mutilus (called *embratur*, *imperator*, on some coins minted in his name).[636] This shows a respect for various geographical

628 Strab. 5.4.2; Vell. 2.16.5. Diod. Sic. 37.2.7 gives the name as *Italia*. See also 37.2.4. On the role of Corfinium, see Isayev (2011), pp. 213–215; Kendall (2013), pp. 259–260.

629 See above, pp. 97–98.

630 Sherwin-White (1973[2]), p. 138. See also Briquel (1996b), p. 110.

631 Cic., *Font.* 41; this makes clear that this name did not come into use until much later, as supposed by Haug (1947), pp. 237–239. As shown by Haug, this was in any case the name adopted by Livy and therefore dominant in all later sources dependent on him.

632 This name seems to have been used particularly by Cicero, and thus by the sources which derive from him, such as Asconius: Haug (1947), p. 236; though this can also be found in other authors and in later periods, for example Aug., *CD* 5.22.

633 E.g. Cic., *Leg. Agr.* 2.90; *Phil.* 8.21; *Fast. Capitol.* 30–31.663; *Fast. Venus.* 1; Diod. Sic. 37.1.1; 37.2.1; Vell. Pat. 2.21.1; 29.1; Iust. 38.4.13; Plut., *Fort. Rom.* 11 (324c); *Cic.* 3.2; *Lucull.* 1.7; *Sert.* 4.2; Plin., *HN* 7.34; 8.221; 15.121; Suet., *Aug.* 23. *Duellum Marsicum*: Hor., *Od.* 3.14.18.

634 Haug (1947), pp. 235–236.

635 From these two groups are excluded the Etruscans and Umbri, who immediately deposed the arms with the *lex Julia*, and the eventual rebels in Northern Italy. But a consideration of the fact that in these areas forms of rebellion had begun, and that the Romans managed simply to react earlier, makes it impossible to state without a doubt that the majority of Italy did not join the Italic allies, as claimed by Galsterer (1976), pp. 189–190 and by Briquel (1996b), p. 110; it is true, however, that the amount of peoples who did indeed actively engage in the war was quite reduced.

636 Diod. Sic. 37.2.6–7. Oros. 5.18.10 identifies in Papius Mutilus the commander of the Samnites (*imperator Samnitium*), and the pirate Agamemnon (a Cilician who cooperated with the Italics, according to Diod. Sic. 37.16) as leader of the Marsi; Pompaedius is later mentioned together with Obsidius and defined *Italicus imperator* (5.18.25).

provenances, as well as strategic considerations; this is not enough, though, to demonstrate a wish to found a "federal State" that has been argued by, among others, Sherwin-White, based generally on the idea of an inspiration from the Greek κοινά, or a "recovery" of previous Samnitic "federal" structures;[637] it rather likely represents the existence of two "geographic groups", expressed by the two commanders.[638] Nor is it possible to conclude from the scarce information provided by Diodorus that the "Senate" was a federal one, which arithmetically provided a representation of all the rebel populations;[639] nor even that the twelve commanders[640] were representative of the "twelve rebel peoples" (this number is listed only by Appian, nor do any of the lists of commanders provided by other sources amount to twelve).[641]

The title of *praetor Marrucinorum*, attributed by Livy's epitomator to Herius Asinius, might seem more relevant, though the fact that he is said to have fallen during a battle in which Gaius Marius defeated the Marsi[642] suggests that such ethnical

637 Sherwin-White (1973²), p. 137. So also Nicolet (1991), p. 80; Firpo (1994), even claiming (pp. 477–478) that Italy was in the end only the symbol of the common hatred for Rome and not a "new order" to set through.

638 Brunt (1988), pp. 112–113, exaggerates the unitary nature of the new state to be founded; Kendall (2013), pp. 287–288.

639 So Meyer (1958), p. 75; Briquel (1996b), p. 110; Mouritsen (1998), p. 140. Kiene (1845), pp. 189–190, considered the Italic constitution much more "advanced" than the Roman one, and the first historical example of a "truly representative" constitution. On the contrary, Pobjoy (2000), p. 192, underlines that "we are thus hardly in a position to give confident analyses of the political structure of *Italia*, and it is not going to be possible even to label it clearly as 'unitary' or 'federal' or 'direct' or 'representative', on the basis of the meager evidence at our disposal".

640 Diod. Sic. 37.2.6.

641 As thought by Salmon (1958), pp. 159–179, and still, even if with some *caveat*, by Kendall (2013), pp. 288–290; 741–749. Ga. De Sanctis (1976), pp. 39–40, interpreted the number twelve as again an "imitation" of the Roman constitution, representing twice (for the two "groups" of rebels) the number of six Roman praetors. See now Dart (2014), p. 108: "Certainly there were not twelve insurgent 'peoples' to be represented by individual praetors". For Diodorus Siculus "engaged in the war with the Romans were the Samnites, the people of Asculum, the Lucanians, the Picentines, the people of Nola, and other cities and nations" (37.2.4; transl. F.R. Walton), though he also states that it was a revolt of "all (σύμπαντες) the Italics" against Rome (37.2.1). Orosius lists the populations who rebelled in the Social War as Picentes, Vestini, Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, Samnites, and Lucanians (5.18.8, a list which corresponds exactly to that provided by Liv., *Per*. 72; the correspondence between the *Periochae* and Orosius, who surely used Livy as his main source, is sometimes literal; on the Social War in Orosius, see Haug (1947), pp. 206–211). To this list, Orosius further adds Etruscans and Umbri (5.18.17, see Liv., *Per*. 74.5). Appian mentions (*Civ*. 1.5.39) Marsi, Paeligni, Vestini, Marrucini, Picentes, Frentani, Hirpini, Pompeiani, Venusini, Iapygians, Lucanians, Samnites, and additionally all inhabitants of the region between the Liri and the "extremity of the Adriatic gulf"; he also adds that the Etruscans and the Umbri "almost [rebelled]" at the beginning of the war (*Civ*. 1.6.49).

642 Liv., *Per*. 73.9.

divisions were neither clear nor institutionalized.[643] The same Asinius is also listed by Velleius Paterculus in his presentation of the most famous Italic commanders, along with Pompaedius Silo, Insteius Cato, G. Pontidius, Pontius Telesinus, Marius Egnatius, and Papius Mutilus, all of whom are defined as *Italicorum duces*.[644] Insteius Cato may in fact have been the same person as the Gaius Vettius who is defined as Paelignian by Macrobius,[645] and as *praetor Marsorum* in Seneca,[646] if his name was actually Vettius Scato – and he could have been connected to the Marsian leader introduced by Cicero (but whose praenomen is Publius).[647] The Fraucus who is defined by Orosius as the *imperator* who led the Marsi into the battle in which they were defeated by the consul Pompeius Strabo in 89 BCE, is not attested by any other source,[648] while Pompaedius and Obsidius are defined by the same author as *Italici imperatores*.[649] Even more clearly, Appian (who claimed that "the Italians had generals for their united forces beside those of the separate towns") lists as "chiefs", and therefore common commanders, who "divided their army in equal parts" (and therefore on a numerical and not ethnical basis), Titus Lafrenius, Gaius Pontilius, Marius Egnatius, Quintus Pompaedius, Gaius Papius, Marcus Lamponius,[650] Gaius Vidalicius, Herius Asinius, and Vettius Scato, many of whom are presented by other sources as the commander of one ethnic group or the other.[651] Mutilus is later presented as a commander of the Samnites,[652] and is thus perceived by the author as a general of higher level, consistent with the information from other sources; yet this also reveals that the structure of commanders was not so strictly organized, and

643 It is important to note that, being *bellum Marsicum* a usual definition of the war, references to the Marsi could generally indicate "the rebels", rather than the specific group: Dart (2014), p. 139. Dart (2009), pp. 222–223, recognizes the problems discussed here and yet concludes that "each of the peoples who participated in the confederacy appointed an *imperator*".

644 Vell. Pat. 2.16.1. A Decius Florus is revealed as commander of the rebels by a Venetic sling found near Asculum; on which see La Regina (1991), p. 154. As such slings were inscribed with the name of only relevant figures of the enemy army, he should probably be added to Velleius' list, and likely had a significant role in the defense of the town during the Roman siege.

645 Macr., *Sat*. 1.11.24.

646 Sen., *Ben*. 3.23.5.

647 See *supra*, p. 332.

648 Oros. 5.18.18: the formulation does not allow us to say that Orosius used here the "institutional" title *imperator Marsorum*, since he refers to the many Marsi killed in the battle *cum Frauco imperatore suo*.

649 Oros. 5.18.25.

650 Lamponius is also mentioned by Diod. Sic. 37.2.11–12 and 37.23, together with an otherwise unknown Tiberius Clepitius, who could be the Lucanian Cleptius who fought with Lucullus in the Second Servile War (Diod. Sic. 36.8.1).

651 App., *Civ*. 1.5.40.

652 App., *Civ*. 1.6.51.

likely very flexible.[653] Mutilus' identification as Samnite must be connected to his being the "general commander" of the "Southern" group of rebels.

Orosius describes the individual battles as being fought by the Romans against specific populations, or coalitions of specific groups,[654] and seldom speaks of "Italics".[655] Livy's *Periochae* also articulated the narration according to such "geographic" divisions,[656] attributing the beginning of the war to the Picentes (as the town of Asculum is located in their territory). Numerous events relating to the war are recorded in a similar way, for example that Servius Galba was taken prisoner by the Lucanians, in whose territory he was operating;[657] that the Samnites defeated Lucius Julius Caesar (but were afterwards defeated by him) and took Nola, which had been conquered by the Romans in the Samnite Wars;[658] and that Publius Rutilius fought against the Marsi.[659] But Livy's *Periochae* also present the sieges of Aesernia and Alba as undertaken by *Italici*.[660] Appian wrote of a fight against one particular population, the Marsi, who were defeated at Acerrae (thus not in Marsian territory, which leads us to think that "Marsian" could have been metonymically used, in Appian's source, to indicate the entire alliance, following the definition of the war as *bellum Marsicum*)[661] by Marius and Sulla,[662] as well as on the death of Porcius Cato, also against the Marsi,[663] though this does not seem enough to contradict his previous statements. Later, he adopts ethnic categories more frequently, for example when he writes that Sulla moved against the Hirpini and attacked Aeclanum, though the indication seems to be purely "geographical" and to refer to the population inhabiting the town over which a battle was fought; the Hirpini are also represented as awaiting the Lucanian troops. The same is true for the subsequent events, namely the submission of all the Hirpini and the march against the Samnites.[664] Pompeius is

653 See Dart (2009), pp. 218–221; Dart (2014), pp. 110–111.

654 Oros. 5.18.10: Picentes; 5.18.11: Samnites; 5.18.12–13: Marsi; 5.18.14: Vestini and Marsi; Samnites and Lucanians; 5.18.15: Marsi; 5.18.17: Picentes; 5.18.17: Etruscans and Umbri; 5.18.18: Marsi; 5.18.21: Picentes; 5.18.23: Samnites; 5.18.24: Marsi; 5.18.25: Marrucini and Vestini.

655 Oros. 5.18.19; 5.18.23 (where Iuventius is presented as *Italicus dux*, as Popaedius and Obsidius are said *Italici imperatores* at 5.18.25)

656 On the Social War in the *Periochae*, see Haug (1947), pp. 201–206.

657 Liv., *Per*. 72.2–4.

658 Liv., *Per*. 73.1–2; 7.

659 Liv., *Per*. 73.4. There are further similar occurrences; Liv., *Per*. 73.9: Aesernia taken by the Samnites; 74.1: Picentes defeated by Gn. Pompeius; 74.3: new fight of G. Marius against the Marsi; 74.5: Aulus Plotius and Lucius Porcius respectively defeat the Umbri and the Etruscans; 74.7: Gn. Pompeius defeats the Marsi.

660 Liv., *Per*. 72.5.

661 See above, p. 374.

662 App., *Civ*. 1.6.45–46.

663 App., *Civ*. 1.6.50.

664 App., *Civ*. 1.6.51.

then shown defeating the Marsi, Marrucini, and Vestini, whereas Cosconius is described as fighting against the Samnites and conquering the Peucetians, while Metellus attacks the Apulians.[665] All of which does not imply a federal organization of the allies, though it certainly seems, with the rather radical change in the form of presentation, to hint at a change in the primary sources used by Appian in describing the events.

It should be remembered that the structure of the Roman army, which was most likely taken over by the rebels, consisted in a recruitment system according to the different areas and populations bound to Rome by a *foedus*, as well as a command structure and lodgment connected to provenance;[666] a similar structure was probably adopted by the allies, and the indication of the "populations" against whom the Romans had to fight would likely have meant nothing more than that there were subdivisions of the Italic army within the different areas, locally recruited, and thus often directly connected with the regions inhabited by those same peoples. The "praetors" might thus have been intended as the commanders of the individual units, under the general direction of the two "consuls",[667] in which context they could be defined as praetors of the individual groups or "Italic commanders". All this, however, cannot be taken as proof of a "federal organization" of the allied army.[668] Even if it should be acknowledged that the army was organized according to local "ethnic groups", this does not imply a parallel political organization, the absence of which is instead demonstrated by the fact that no certain, common list of the rebellious groups (which might have been represented in the institutions) exists. Even less could such a "federal organization" imply a lack of importance or perception of the common Italic identity. Nor can it be demonstrated that this was how Livy presented the events; he might have described each time which populations were active within a given area, as well as which groups took part in each battle, and this may have been subsequently simplified into a sort of federal structure by both his epitomator and Orosius. The existence of an "ethnical organization" therefore cannot be demonstrated, nor taken as further proof of the fact that the Italic identity was weak or invented *ad hoc*.[669] It is more plausible, following the view of Simon, that the allies claimed to represent the "real Italy" and proclaimed the existence, solidity, and unity of an Italic identity, thereby exploiting for this purpose an

665 App., *Civ*. 1.6.52–53.
666 See pp. 203–217.
667 Kendall (2013), pp. 264–265.
668 As attempted by Haug (1947), pp. 241–242, who attributes only one praetor to every major group, and thus tries to create order among the sources which did not use this definition in such a coherent way; see also Meyer (1958), p. 76.
669 Bradley (1997), p. 60.

existing ideology which had been widely disseminated by the Romans themselves.[670]

Fig. 7: Rutter (2001), Social War 408*, p. 56. Source: Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. www.cngcoins.com.

The strong self-identification of the allies with an Italic identity is also evident from the slings which have been found in areas where the battles of the Social War took place, particularly around Asculum and in Corropoli. Many of these have a direct reference to "Italicness", for example the sling which bears the inscription *Itali / T. Laf(renius) pr(aetor)*;[671] the many exemplars with *Itali-*, *Ital-* or *Ita-*;[672] or one simply marked with *Italie(n)ses*,[673] thus without doubt identifying one of the sides active in the fighting as the Italic community.[674] These coexist with others that insist not on ethnical "subgroups" and identities, but on the civic structure of the area, and bear the text *Asc(u)lanis [d]on(o)*.[675] No known slings, however, refer to ethnical names such as those used by the sources to define the groups under single commanders. *Italia* was therefore clearly the real "slogan" for the rebels, and as such it was also understood and used by their enemies.[676] It is interesting that two further slings,

670 Simon (2011), pp. 101–103, who still thinks that after the war the allies would have developed "federal" institutions.
671 *ILRRP* 1089 = *CIL* 1^2.848.
672 *CIL* 1^2.849–852.
673 *ILLRP* 1090 = *CIL* 1^2.853.
674 Pobjoy (2000), p. 191.
675 *CIL* 1^2.859.
676 Dench (1997), pp. 213–214.

found in Ascoli, do not explicitly mention Italy, but its symbolic emblem, the bull: *[T]aurum vo[res] malo / Tamen evomes omnem*.[677]

Even more important in understanding the identity issues at stake in the development of the war are the monetary emissions of the Italics, which are reasonably well-known since they were minted in relevant quantities (at least judging from the number of different dies),[678] and which represent "the only official 'documents' produced by the Italians to survive".[679] Most of these issues were presumably minted in Italica.[680] In the first phase, dating between 90 and 89 BCE, they all display on the obverse the head of *Italia*, with helm or laurel, while the reverses display a more varied series of images, including the Dioscuri (series 1; 2a–c);[681] the oath of a group of six or eight warriors (series 3a–g, the most numerous series of Italic coins [Fig. 7]);[682] an enthroned *Italia* with crown (series 7a–c); or, finally, a sitting Victory with palm (series 8).[683] These coins show elements which are worthy of further discussion here. Foremost, a majority of the emissions show a Latin legend,[684] which clearly

677 *ILLRP* 1100 = CIL 1^2.877.

678 Burnett (1998), p. 166; Pobjoy (2000), p. 198. Although Campana (1987), pp. 39–40, thinks that only very few coins were minted with each die.

679 Burnett (1998), p. 165. See also Eychenne (1990), p. 71.

680 Against this hypothesis, Eychenne (1990), p. 72, assumes that all coins were minted in a single town, Aesernia, where the rebels might have found the previously existing structure of a mint.

681 The series is quoted, as is usually the case in studies on the Italic coins from the Social War, following Campana (1987). A further catalogue of the emissions is provided by Rutter (2001), pp. 55–57.

682 According to Campana (1987), p. 75, the oath scene refers to the foundation of the "Italic confederation"; along the same lines, Cappelletti (1999), identifies in the scene traces of an "archaic ritual", which the Italics would have adopted as it referred to a period before they became "Roman allies". See also Briquel (1996b), p. 111, who insists on the "federal" character of this iconography, although this is pure speculation. This view has been further developed by Sordi (1976), pp. 166–168, who identified this scene with the oath taken by the Italics in 91 BCE and of which, according to her, Livy's description of the oath of Aquilonia of 293 BCE (Liv. 10.38.1–8) would be simply a projection backwards to the time of the Samnite Wars. However, there is no secure evidence that these coins refer to the foundation of an "Italic alliance", rather than more generally to an anonymous group of soldiers making a sacrifice. Even if the scene does represent an oath, it might not allude to a specific, historical event, but more generally to the *coniuratio* of the rebels, the coalition of the Italic allies for the war; on which, see Eychenne (1990), pp. 73–74. More reasonably, Tweedie (2008), pp. 70–71, insists on the similarity of this type (and particularly of the following series 5, which she dates prior to series 3, see below) with Roman models minted during the Second Punic War, and interprets the scene as "a potent symbol of warrior loyalty" and of "the growth and strength of the league and the commitment of its members to one another". Attempting to find in the number of warriors a reference to the number of rebellious peoples and to the different phases of the war, as done by Kiene (1845), pp. 187–188, and later by Ga. De Sanctis (1976), p. 38, is impossible. See Salmon (1958), pp. 162–164.

683 This series is known from only one example.

684 The series 1 presents the Oscan legend *Viteliú*; while the series 2b is the only bilingual one.

reveals how the idea of an Italic community, which required a common reference language, had indeed been shaped by Roman rule and the top-down imposition of the "institutionalized" region of Italy, therefore linguistically "united" in Latin.[685]

Fig. 8: *RRC*, p. 305, n. 291/1. From the Münzsammlung der Alten Geschichte der JGU Mainz (Foto ©: Oliver Becker / Arbeitsbereich Alte Geschichte); Seriennummer 373.

The image of *Italia* is likewise an iconographic motif of Roman origin, reminiscent of the representation of Roma on regular Roman *denarii* [Fig. 8],[686] thus revealing the origin of the rebels' newly constructed identity.[687] Indeed, all the iconographic motifs displayed on these issues can be shown to have been borrowed, more or less explicitly, from Roman coins,[688] and in particular it seems that the rebels enthusiastically adopted the Roman "iconography of Victory", including the image of the

685 The choice of Oscan and Latin as languages for the emissions, as well as the fact that the Oscan ones appear at a later time, contradicts the idea that this was also a sign of a "federal spirit", respecting the identity of all its components, as claimed by Briquel (1996b), p. 111. See also Barchiesi (2008), pp. 259–260, although he insists on the "Italic" origin of the symbols which were retransmitted to the Italics by the Romans.

686 Campana (1987), p. 51.

687 Tweedie (2008), p. 68.

688 The series 2, for example, clearly imitates a denarius of G. Servilius M. f., minted in 136 BCE: Campana (1987), pp. 54–55. The oath scene seems to have been borrowed from the so-called Roman "oath gold": Campana (1987), p. 75. The enthroned *Italia* from the series 7 is also of Roman inspiration; see Campana (1987), p. 96. The iconography of series 8 is an imitation of a denarius of 89 BCE; on which Campana (1987), p. 97. In general, two thirds of the designs to be found on Italic coins are copied from Roman prototypes; see Burnett (1998), p. 168.

goddess Victoria herself as well as the laurel crown, one of her most potent emblems.[689]

It must be highlighted that this silver coinage adopted exactly the same metal, fineness, and weight system as that of the Roman *denarii*, which not only caused a parallel circulation of Roman and Italic coins (which are generally found together in hoards) but apparently also allowed for their circulation for some time after the end of the war.[690] The sole exception is a gold emission produced on the Attic-Euboic standard (although the Romans were not yet minting gold), which has been the subject of endless discussion, and must probably be considered not authentic.[691] Additionally, the explicit mention of *Italia* as a name within the legends, to be compared with the legend ROMA on Roman coins, makes it evident that this was not merely the name of the city hosting the mint, but the "political authority" that produced the coins in which the recipients (mostly soldiers) and other users were intended to recognize themselves.[692] As Wallace-Hadrill has written, "at the very moment of expression of difference, the anti-Romans prove to be cast in a Roman mould, and fluent in their language and symbolic currency".[693]

Other series were possibly minted not in Corfinium, but in a small mint under the control of Papius Mutilus, whose name is present in some legends.[694] In part,

689 Eychenne (1990), p. 73. See also Dart (2014), p. 116, who claims that the rebels never aimed at independence from Rome, and used the word *Italia* as "a call to arms, to unify behind the common symbol".

690 Tweedie (2008), p. 69, argues that this was merely a practical choice; while she must be correct in insisting on the fact that the relationship between the Italic and Roman coinage should be understood as an interaction, and not as a mere imitation, her stance on the issue of weight seems too reductive, given that this reveals the existence of an embedded system motivated, as Tweedie herself underlines, by the fact that the Italics would have until now had contact with coinage mostly in the form of Roman military pay. See Burnett (1998), p. 168; Pobjoy (2000), p. 198; Rutter (2001), p. 55. *Contra*, Campana (1987), p. 32, and Burnett (1998), p. 166, deny a possible circulation of Italic coins after the war.

691 Bernareggi (1966), pp. 62–64; Burnett (1998), pp. 167–168 (underlining how technical minting aspects were also directly overtaken from Rome); Rutter (2001), p. 55; Dart (2014), p. 195. Against the authenticity of this coin, with very good arguments, see Campana (1987), pp. 135–136. The coin shows Bacchus on the obverse, and the attributes of his cult on the reverse, with the Oscan legend *Mi Ieius Mi*, which refers to an otherwise unknown person. The traditional hypothesis views this emission as a "gift" from Mithridates to the Italic rebels, or as an allusion to a possible agreement with the king to raise the hopes of the Italics (see Eychenne (1990), pp. 76–77; Pobjoy (2000), pp. 202–203); though these hypotheses do not rely on any kind of substantial argument.

692 Campana (1987), p. 52; Burnett (1998), pp. 166–167.

693 Wallace-Hadrill (2008), p. 89.

694 Campana (1987), p. 33. Mutilus' name was already present on the series 2, still minted in Corfinium (Campana (1987), p. 55), while the series 3g has the name of Pompaedius Silo (Campana (1987), p. 77). Bernareggi (1966), pp. 78–79, thought rather that all emissions were produced in one and the same mint.

these continue the oath scenes (series 4–5, with four and two people participating),[695] though they also present new iconographic motifs, such as a bull fighting against a wolf (series 6a–c, showing on the obverse Bacchus/Liber rather than *Italia*: [Fig. 9]).[696] This form marks a change to the second minting phase, in which new iconographies dominate. The most frequent image is a warrior standing next to a bull, with his left foot on the corpse of a wolf (series 9a–b; 10, with Oscan legend *Viteliú* and again 14, with the addition of a tree from which hang four shields).[697] Other types represent a female figure (Minerva or *Italia*?) on a biga, accompanied on the obverse by one of the Dioscurs (series 12), Hercules standing next to a bull (series 13), and two warriors who clasp hands next to a ship (series 15).[698] Their chronology and inspiration have been much discussed, and they might in fact belong to a later date, after the end of the Social War, and thus be connected instead to the participation of the Italics in the Civil Wars on the Marian side.[699] These later motifs in general show in a more explicit way an actual opposition to Rome, rather than a desire for integration; the symbolic language indicates the goal to be Rome's defeat,[700] symbolized through the she-wolf, an image that had already appeared on

695 The series 4 shows on the obverse Mars instead of *Italia* and was probably minted contemporarily to the series 3: Campana (1987), p. 80. On Roman iconographic influences on the series 5, see Campana (1987), p. 84 and Tweedie (2008), pp. 70–71.

696 Eychenne (1990), p. 76, suggests a possible connection between this obverse and the repression of the Bacchanalia, which would have been here recovered as an expression of "typical Italic religion". Also the bull would have in his opinion such a connotation, in connection with the definition *boukoloi* adopted for the initiates of the Bacchic mysteries. Such a conjecture is impossible to support with any source, and there are no literary or archaeological and iconographic traces of a recovery of the Bacchic cults in connection with the Social War. On the contrary, the deity was simply connected, as Liber, to the slogan of *libertas* and therefore to the very aims of the war, as proposed by Pobjoy (2000), p. 203.

697 After the series 3, this is the most numerous: Campana (1987), p. 108. For different interpretations concerning the identification of the warrior, see Briquel (1996b), p. 121. None of these interpretations seems convincing, and it is more than possible that the iconography represented simply a generic soldier fighting for *Italia*.

698 Eychenne (1990), pp. 78–79, proposes to see in this emission either a celebration of a possible agreement with Mithridates (so also Pobjoy (2000), p. 203), or an agreement among different Italic groups to proceed to a sort of sea block against the Romans. This theory had indeed already been proposed before, together with alternative explanations which assigned the coin rather to the Romans, and connected it to Marius' arrival from Africa or to Sulla's arrival in Brundisium: Bernareggi (1966), pp. 73–76, also preferring a connection to the possible alliance with Mithridates.

699 Campana (1987), p. 32. Bernareggi (1966), pp. 82–85, suggested that the allied minting might have continued after 88 BCE and up to the Battle of Porta Collina (82 BCE), or even to the fall of Nola (80 BCE).

700 Pobjoy (2000), pp. 203–205. It is hard to agree with Kendall (2013), pp. 266–267, according to whom these symbols only represent a "certainty of victory", but do not say anything about long-term objectives. Moreover, with the idea expressed by Dart (2014), pp. 130–131, according to which these coins were just "commemorating the initial victories", is equally hard to accept.

Roman emissions during the 3rd century BCE,[701] and whose meaning was surely known to all Italics (it was, for example, alluded to in Diodorus' version of Telesinus' speech); this might correspond, as has already been stated, to a change in the finalities of the war which had occurred during the military confrontation, given that the first issues are less "violent" and insist more on the pacification of *Italia* and her "rule" over the world as a regional entity.[702]

Tataranni recognises a strong military component in these iconographic motifs, the aim of which was to emphasize the military capacities and virtues of the rebels, particularly those of the Samnites.[703] Nonetheless, this is difficult to prove, not only because military virtue was one of the most used motives of self-representation of this population since the 4th century BCE, but also because the surviving sources are all Roman (the "warrior tombs" from the archaic period quoted by Tataranni are, from this perspective, of very limited relevance).[704] Because populations involved in a war generally tend to base their propaganda on military themes, it may be rather worth asking whether a form of Italic self-representation strongly based on military virtues, such as strength and valor, might not have been influenced by Roman discourses about Italy, in particular by the discursive construction of the Italic *mores* and of the Italics as warrior-like people during the 2nd century BCE.[705] Of course, these may equally have been based on a pre-existing local tradition, which is difficult to pin down given the state of surviving evidence.

This second group of series, which bear only Oscan legends, most often display an image of *Italia* on the obverse, thus making further reference to this as the common referent of identity;[706] at the same time, the iconography still often shows a direct Roman inspiration.[707] Even the choice of the bull as a symbol of the communi-

701 *RRC* 20; 39.3; 183; 235; 287 are the emissions with this iconography which date before the Social War. On the diffusion of the she-wolf as symbol of Rome, see Pobjoy (2000), p. 203; also Briquel (1996b), pp. 112–113.

702 Eychenne (1990), p. 77, describes also the first emissions as having a "destructive" aim, which is expressed simply in later coins in a more "violent" way, but this seems to be a radical exaggeration; Tataranni (2005), pp. 298–299.

703 Tataranni (2005), pp. 299–300. Tagliamonte (2005²), p. 303, supposes, without any evidence, that long before the Social War the bull was perceived by the Samnites as a "segno rappresentativo della propria identità etnica", supporting this statement with the presence of the bull on the coins of the Mamertines, who were not Samnites, but who "in quanto Campani dovevano avere chiaro il ricordo delle proprie origini sannitiche".

704 Tataranni (2005), pp. 300–301.

705 See above, pp. 178–179. Tataranni (2005), pp. 301–302, must, in order to support her theory, consider the reference to a Spartan origin of Sabines and Samnites, as well as the traditions concerning their opposition to τρυφή, known only through Greek and Roman sources, and coherent components of the already described discursive construction of "Italicness", as authentic forms of Samnite self-representation.

706 Campana (1987), p. 33.

707 Campana (1987), p. 111 for the series 10; p. 117 for the series 12; p. 119 for the series 13.

ty betrays Roman inspiration, since it likely refers to the Greek tradition, later accepted by the Romans, which from the 5th century BCE etymologically connected the name *Italia*, found on the coins in the Oscan version *Viteliú*, with the calf.[708] A reference to this Greek tradition is made explicit in series 13 which, by connecting the bull with Hercules, directly invokes Hellanicus' interpretation of the etymology of Italy.[709] The fact that this name, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, derived from the local name for the calf cannot be taken as certain evidence that the use of the name *Vitulìa* for Italy in the languages of the non-Greek population of the peninsula indicated the Italic community with the exclusion of the Greeks and Latium,[710] and thus existed independent of Rome and its policies in the construction of Italic identity.

Fig. 9: Rutter (2001), Social War 420, p. 56. Licensed by The British Museum Images © The Trustees of the British Museum, Object Ref. Nr. 1867,0101.1110 [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1154172&partId=1&images=true, 23/09/2016].

708 See pp. 98–99. The presence in Oscan of the word *Viteliú* confirms with certainty that *Italia* is here meant to indicate the entire community, and not only the town of Corfinium.
709 The connection established by Eychenne (1990), pp. 74–75, between the iconography of Hercules and the pastoral activities of the Italics is not acceptable in its excessive simplification of Italic socio-economic realities. Alternative explanations for this iconography have also been offered (e.g. Dionysus with a fawnskin and a panther, accepted by Pobjoy (2000), p. 202; see Bernareggi (1966), pp. 76–77, for a series of other older identifications), but appear much less convincing.
710 So Tataranni (2005), p. 295.

It seems much more probable that, in this case, the Italics took their knowledge from a tradition of Greek origin, which had also been accepted and diffused in Rome, and made it their own during a period in which they had started to use a common identity provided to them by the Romans. Indeed, the Italics appear to have had no problem continuing to use the language and symbols they had borrowed from the Romans, independent of the possibility, emphasized in modern scholarship, of a gradual distancing in this second phase from the artistic style of Roman coins.[711] The fact that, according to Strabo,[712] the bull was the animal responsible for the *ver sacrum* of the Samnites,[713] may also have played an important role in its use. Of course, the symbol on the coins may have been understood in both senses and, in any case, references to bulls abound within Italic traditions, for example in connection with the settlement of the Mamertines in Sicily.[714] Yet even if such iconography could have possessed a stronger "Samnite" component that is underlined by Dench and Tataranni, both of whom insist on the "transformation" of the calf into the bull from etymological tradition,[715] this does not exclude the potential role played by the adoption and adaptation of a symbol which had originally been introduced to the peninsula by the Romans.[716]

It may also be relevant that these coins are connected only to the "Southern" group of rebels, generally identified with the Samnites and their affine. They were presumably mostly minted after the "federal capital" had been moved from Corfini-

711 Eychenne (1990), p. 72.

712 Strab. 5.4.12.

713 Dench (1997), p. 215. Briquel (1996b), p. 112, overly insists on the religious character of the iconography, claiming that the animals were closer to divinity than human beings and that their adoption as a symbol must therefore assume the character of divination, and presumes (pp. 114–115) a direct reference of the iconography to the Livian narration of a presage seen on the field of the battle of Sentinum (Liv. 10.27.8–9).

714 Poccetti (2014), §§ 42–43.

715 Dench (1997), p. 49; Tataranni (2005), pp. 296–297. Tagliamonte (2005[2]), p. 80, also argues on an archaeological basis for the particular importance of the bull, on a symbolic level, among the Samnites. The conviction with which Briquel (1996b), pp. 116–120, claims that this etymology was the "correct" one and indeed corresponded to the Italic languages cannot be accepted. Briquel underlines in any case that the choice of a bull and not of a calf as a national symbol reveals the fact that the Italics "readopted" this etymology of their land via the Greek tradition and not the Italic one. In any case, therefore, the point which is important to underline for the argument made here remains completely untouched.

716 As admitted by Briquel (1996), pp. 121–124, according to whom the Samnite tradition of the *ver sacrum* was now employed to describe the origin of the entire Italic community. Nonetheless, his considerations on the "Sabinity" and "non-Romanness" of the *ver sacrum* cannot be shared in the sense of a radical and intentional opposition to Rome. The *ver sacrum*, as has been shown, had been accepted and used by the Romans as a mythical device to create structures of consanguinity.

um to Aesernia and then to Bovianum around mid-89 BCE,[717] and before this only by the small military mint controlled by Papius Mutilus.[718] It should not be forgotten that the latest series (series 11, in the name of Papius Mutilus, showing the iconography of the warrior with a bull putting his foot on the dead wolf), minted at Aesernia in 89–88 BCE, also replaced the Oscan name for Italy, *Víteliú*, with *Safinim*, which likely alluded not to the whole of the Samnite *ethnos*,[719] but rather the Pentri, as Dench has suggested.[720] This emission, dated to the very end of the war, is extremely small, and only seven coins are known; its importance in defining the forms of identity construction must therefore be relativized, and it must be highlighted that it does not contradict the Italic identity that was constructed in the context of the Social War as an "umbrella" to hold together various local identities.[721]

These emissions therefore reinforce the idea that from the very beginning, the goals of the rebels were not consistent across the entire group of Italic peoples; instead they developed over time, and varied from group to group. The idea of a complete independence from Rome, or even of the military destruction of Rome, was eventually developed only later within the "Southern" group. The idea of "Italicness" was therefore adopted by the Italic rebels precisely as it had been constructed and used by the Romans, and as such was reused in the pacification after the end of the war,[722] when the aforementioned emissions displaying Rome and *Italia*, dated around 70 BCE, celebrated the reconciliation of two personified identities.[723] In this case, Rome was conceived as external to Italy, in reference to the Social War itself, and in order to better emphasize the existence of two "partners" who contributed to the success of the State. The Social War thus ultimately represented an important step in reunifying the geographical and juridical meaning of Italy, and opened the way to a final homologation of the administrative aspect, which would occur with the de-provincialization of Gallia Cisalpina in 42 BCE. It is therefore no wonder that it assumed an exceptional centrality within Roman historical narratives.

717 Campana (1987), p. 33. Bovianum is presented as "capital" of the rebels by App., *Civ*. 1.6.51; Diod. Sic. 37.2.9 refers of a movement of the "capital" from Corfinium to Aesernia. See Isayev (2011), p. 213.

718 Tataranni (2005), pp. 293–294.

719 So e.g. Campana (1987), p. 113.

720 Dench (1995), p. 210; Dench (1997), p. 48. See also Bourdin (2012), pp. 259–260. On *safin-*, see Scopacasa (2015), pp. 33–38.

721 Burnett (1998), p. 167: "An inscription which suggests that the identity of the Italians might also embrace or overlap with a more particular ethnic community".

722 Burnett (1998), p. 167.

723 See pp. 173–174.

Refounding Italy: The Aftermath of the Social War and Its Construction in Roman Cultural Memory

Mouritsen and Pobjoy have convincingly outlined how, in a relatively short period of time (by the end of the 1st century BCE), the Romans had constructed their cultural memory in a way that completely removed any moments in which the rebels, or at least some of them, had aimed for a complete independence and perhaps even for the destruction of Rome, making the motivation of acquiring citizenship the sole reason for and goal of the war.[724] This was instrumental, after the juridical unification of the peninsula as well as after the slogan of *tota Italia* was used politically by Cicero, Caesar, and even more so by Augustus,[725] in reinforcing the idea of an essential and natural "Italicness" which had to be recognized as well as defended and whose "juridical completion" was thus reinterpreted from a teleological perspective.

Cicero presents his readers with a very strong identification of Italicness and Romanness; this is particularly true of the enduring image of the execution of Gavius, a high point of the Verrine orations. Gavius was crucified, says the rhetor, in a position that allowed him to see Italic soil (his fatherland) while dying, so that Italy could see one of her sons subjected to extreme torment.[726] Gavius was a Sicilian endowed with Roman citizenship, which was sufficient to create a strong emotional bond (though more so for Cicero's listeners and readers than for Gavius) between his life, his identity, and the peninsula, which had quickly become a common fatherland to all Roman *cives*, even those living in the provinces. This shows once again that Cicero's concept of identity and belonging was more complex and stratified than that expressed by the idea of the "two *patriae*" in his *De legibus*; it is not only Rome which represents the common universal fatherland of Roman citizens (together with their own hometown);[727] Italy as a region also plays a central role.[728] This is not juridical, since there is no "Italic citizenship", but it is potently affective. In the same way, the speeches that Appian attributes to Caesar during the Civil War insist on the strength of the Italic community, on the valor of its soldiers, and Pompey is criticized for the broad use of allied forces, "Syrian, Phrygian, and Lydian

724 Pobjoy (2000), pp. 196–198. See, for example, the extreme synthesis of *Schol. Gronov.*, *Pomp*. 28 (p. 320 Stangl): *Socii aliquando civitatem petiere Romanam. Hos adversum senatus: irati arma sumpsere missis principibus*. On the reconstructions of the 1st century CE, which saw the construction of Italy as it appeared during the Augustan age already as a "natural" process, see also Galsterer (1976), p. 188.

725 See pp. 110–111.

726 Cic., *Verr*. 2.5.169–170. See above, p. 110.

727 See Cic., *Sest*. 30: *Exterminabit cives Romanos edicto consul a suis dis penatibus? Expellet ex patria?*

728 See Carlà-Uhink (2017b), pp. 266–271.

slaves, always ready for flight or servitude". But after the fight, it is recorded that the Italics should be spared "as being our own kindred".[729]

Once again, this did not imply the suppression or dying out of local ethnical identities or local forms of "geopiety". The Romans did not consequently practice forms of "ethnocide",[730] and local idioms and identities continued to exist in a segmentary structure together with the Italic, as well as the juridical, Roman identity. There was a continued cultural shift, which was (at least in some areas) more visible than before the war; for example, in Umbria where all known epigraphic production (with the exception of a single inscription), as noted by Guy Bradley, is in Latin.[731] However, if the separation of Italy from the rest of the Empire acquired both an even greater salience and a juridical foundation, this does not mean that the local inhabitants entirely lost their sense of specificity or "regional heritage".[732] This also remains true even if the Romans took the previously ethnical units into consideration less and less, to the point of making them into territorial names in the Augustan division of Italy. An affection for local traditions and places was still strong, even under Caesar and Augustus, although it assumed various forms of expression and disappeared from "institutional" issues; no law could be found written in a local language, and thus the *lex Tarentina*, which ruled the institutions of the *municipium* formed after the Social War, is in Latin.[733] But all this is perfectly compatible with the definition of Italy as a "unity in diversity", and can be seen in Propertius' poetry, for example, which simultaneously exalts Roman and Umbrian components, revealing the coexistence of "local pride" and "Roman rhetoric" during the Augustan era. In the first elegy of his fourth book, Propertius invites Umbria, as his fatherland (*Romani patria Callimachi*), to be proud of his achievements, and not his hometown Asisium, while also underlining that his work is created in the name of and in honor of Rome.[734] The continued existence of Umbrian local pride is also shown when, possibly also during the Augustan period, the *Tabulae Iguvinae* were once again displayed in public, although a lack of comprehension of the Umbrian language in which they had been inscribed led to their being incorrectly displayed.[735]

Many other examples from the Augustan period exist, and even later (up to the *XV populi Etruriae* that celebrated their rites during the Constantinian age),[736] revealing that alongside the progressive homologation of Italy to Rome, local identities

729 App., *Civ*. 2.11.74; transl. H. White. See also 2.11.80.
730 See A.D. Smith (1991), p. 30, for a definition of "ethnocide", a process of dissolving ethnic identities which does not imply, as with genocide, a physical elimination of the population.
731 Bradley (1997), p. 60.
732 Bradley (1997), pp. 60–61.
733 Crawford (1996), n. 15.
734 Prop. 4.1.61–68. See Bradley (2000), pp. 243 and 267.
735 Bradley (2007), p. 314.
736 *CIL* 11.5265.

continued to exist on both a civic and ethnical level, and were proudly adopted and presented. This appears to have been the case even for those who lived in the region but came from other parts of the peninsula or even from the provinces, as demonstrated by the large number of examples brought together by Guy Bradley.[737] However, the existence of this "subregional" identity after the Social War does not contradict the existence of an "Italic" identity, which could coexist with and be "appropriated" by it, "activated" (i.e. formally introduced into discourse) at different times and be "expressed" in different terms. This image of Italicness as unity in diversity, along with the segmented nature of identities, makes it clear that these examples do not signify that local ethnicities remained strong and that, following Giardina and Bradley, Italy enjoyed only an incomplete, unaccomplished identity.[738] The celebration of one's own local history, even when this implies a celebration of previous wars within the Italic community,[739] does not undermine the common identity which could be presented in discourse as a teleological process, previous tensions and conflicts notwithstanding: "the local survives as a valid unit of identity, but is now relative to a larger entity".[740] This is the case, for instance, with Quintus Varius Geminus, celebrated by an honorary inscription in Superaequum as "the first senator of all the Paeligni".[741] A direct connection between an eventually salient

737 Bradley (2007), pp. 310–317.

738 Bradley (2007), pp. 318–319. Thus also Horsfall (1997), p. 75: "*Tota Italia* was a slogan – then as now – if not invalidated, then at least weakened and impugned by numerous inconvenient exceptions and anomalies"; Oniga (2003), pp. 40–43. In the same way, Toll (1991), p. 5, defines the *Aeneid* as a poem that shaped the "Italian national identity" and argues that its "gloominess is precisely a guarantee that the public project to forge a national character is still ongoing, has not yet collapsed into any self-congratulatory illusion of completion or success".

739 Giardina (1994), pp. 51–54, relies on the *elogia* of the Spurinnae from Tarquinia (M. Torelli (1975), pp. 25–102), which draw on the local civic identity and on the Etruscan one, but not on a common Italic identity, even celebrating ancestors who led wars against the Latins. Nonetheless, the inscriptions are in Latin, and Torelli has supposed that the information contained in these was derived from a work by Verrius Flaccus, therefore inserting the *elogia* in the context of the Late Republican Roman "Etruscology": "in conclusione gli *elogia* degli Spurinnae si configurano come frutto dell'iniziativa di una famiglia di antichi principes tarquiniesi, che intendeva con questo sottolineare l'antichità della propria stirpe nel momento in cui avveniva la saldatura tra la classe dirigente locale e quella di Roma, al livello più alto possibile" (p. 101). However, it is impossible to follow Torelli when he sees in the *elogia* the sign of a "crisi" in the identity of the local Italic society, between the Augustan integration and autonomous ideological forms; the idea of "unity in diversity" which has been shown to constitute the most important "umbrella concept" in the creation of the Italic identity can explain such *elogia* without seeing in them contradictions or "rebellion" against the dominant Augustan propaganda.

740 Witcher (2000), p. 222.

741 *CIL* 9.3306 = *ILS* 932 = *EDR* 146787: *is primus omnium Paelign(orum) senator / factus est et eos honores gessit*.

local identity and discourses of autonomy as an aspiration to self-determination is a product of the 19th century, and as such cannot be applied to the ancient world.

From these two components of "unity" and "diversification" derive not only the geographical representations of Italy (Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder)[742] which list the individual components of the peninsula, but also the powerful description offered by Strabo:

> And although now they are all Romans, they are not the less distinguished, some by the names of Ombri and Tyrrheni, others by those of Heneti, Ligurians, and Insubri.[743]

The construction of Italy's symbolic shape and discursive aspect as "unity in diversity" thus generated a narrative of the Social War as the progressive narrative of a teleological process towards a common citizenship and the final constitution of a larger unity which had been foreseen from the very beginning. This was the end result of the re-elaboration of a collective trauma: both the importance of the Social War to subsequent generations and the level of shock it caused have been re-evaluated in scholarship.[744] Through this construction, the Augustan age systematized and further elaborated, as with the *laudes Italiae*, elements and discourses that had already been available since the 2nd century BCE, placing a "final seal" on the institutionalization of Italy as a region and thus the construction of a common history. As has been argued elsewhere, the *Aeneid*, a poem composed after the traumatic experiences of the Social War, is the best "monument" to this, as it celebrates Italy as a unified entity composed of diversity, with which Aeneas has a deep affective bond even before seeing it (he "fell in love" with it, since the poem consistently adopts the language of love to demonstrate an attachment to one's own *patria*).[745]

During the Augustan period, the process of "unification" was brought to completion,[746] when descendants of the rebel leaders such as Asinius Pollio or Vettius

742 Mela 2.4.58–59; Plin., *HN* 3.38.

743 Strab. 5.1.10; transl. H.C. Hamilton.

744 Cicero, for instance, uses the menace of a rebellion of Italy against Rome as an effective argument against Antony (*Phil.* 7.23), while Diodorus Siculus defines the Social War as the greatest conflict that ever took place (37.1; 37.2.1). Florus (2.6.11) adds that the Social War caused even more disruption and destruction than the Tarentine and the Second Punic Wars, thus choosing to make a comparison with the wars which had been fought on Italic territory and which were an important component of the construction of the idea of Italic unity. Already Sisenna had apparently not only attributed to the war a great importance, but had emphasized all the *prodigia* which accompanied its eruption, thus highlighting its particular importance: Cic., *Div.* 1.99. See Pobjoy (2000), p. 187.

745 See Fletcher (2014), in particular pp. 1–4. For an interpretation of Vergil's *Aeneid* based on the "cultural memory" of the Social War as collective trauma, see also Barchiesi (2008), pp. 251–260.

746 Isayev (2011), p. 215, rightly argues that this "delay" should be interpreted as a consequence of Sulla's policies: "The Italian 'rebels' were treated no differently than other Roman citizens who had ended up on the wrong side of Sulla and were barred from participating in Roman governance. [...]

Scato reached the highest positions within Roman society, such that P. Ventidius, commander of the rebels, later triumphed as Roman general in 38 BCE,[747] and M. Papius Mutilus, likely a great-grandson of the "Southern" commander in the Social War, became consul suffectus in 9 CE.[748] This final institutionalization was also shown by the duplication and backward-projection of these military events, which now shaped Roman "cultural memory". Most famously, Livy presents the Latin War during the years 340–338 BCE in terms of a fight over the final acknowledgment of a "natural community", modelled on this "cleansed" version of the Social War.[749] At the same time, according to Tim Cornell, the sequence of military events, which saw the confrontation of Romans and Samnites between the 4th and the 3rd centuries BCE, was constructed within the narrative of the Samnite Wars (or rather Samnite War, in the ancient perception), thus charging those events with a teleological value towards the construction of the Italic identity.[750] The idea that these wars were fought to decide who would rule the peninsula implies once again the naturalization of the unity itself and the necessity of unification under one population or the other.[751] This demonstrates that by this time, the historiographical explanation of the Social War as a fight for citizenship had become a "master narrative" of Roman society, constructed on the unavoidable and progressive march towards the integration of Italy; furthermore, this historiographical explanation was based on claims of consanguinity and autochthony, as is clearly visible in Appian,[752] who completely suppresses the later aims of the "Southern" group and argues that Samnites and Lucanians obtained "what they wanted", i.e. citizenship, later than other populations.[753] As a metanarrative, this explanation of the facts ended up being "denarra-

Hence, it was not enemies of Rome who were punished but rather the *inimici* of Sulla and his network during their position of power in Rome".

747 Val. Max. 6.9.9.

748 M. Torelli (1984), pp. 33–34; La Regina (1991b), p. 151; Galsterer (2006), pp. 293–294. In general, on the Italic elites after the Social War and during the Principate, see Patterson (2016), pp. 490–495.

749 Liv. 8.4–5. See Bernardi (1973), pp. 56–57; Dipersia (1975); Russo (2012a), pp. 26–29. But Humbert (1978), p. 166, believes that this passage indeed represents the goals of the Latins in 340–338 BCE.

750 Cornell (2004), pp. 124–129. Cornell underlines that this narrative of the Samnite Wars is available only in sources dating from the Augustan period or later, but the possibility should be acknowledged that the construction of the consequent picture of such a war against the Samnites, seen as the main enemies to the unification of Italy, could be dated back to Sulla, who very strongly underlined the Samnite component in the Marian troops, to present his own victories as obtained against another population rather than against Roman citizens. According to Strabo, 5.4.11, he would indeed have famously said that Rome would never be safe as long as the Samnites existed.

751 The idea that the Samnite Wars were fought over ἡγεμονία over Italy is particularly evident, for example, in the fragments from Appian's "Samnite book"; see e.g. App., *Rom.* 3.4.1–2. Many modern scholars have also adopted this point of view; see Toynbee (1965), vol. 1, p. 109.

752 See e.g. App., *Civ.* 1.5.34–35.

753 App., *Civ.* 1.6.53.

tivized", that is "built on concepts and explanatory schemes [...] that are in themselves abstractions",[754] such as the naturality of Italy and the teleology of its unification process. In this sense, it should not be a surprise that senators of the Julio-Claudian period adopted names which recalled those of their ancestors who had fought in the Social War on the side of the rebels, and whose cause had meanwhile been recognized as "just".[755]

This is particularly evident when considering the narrative of the Social War presented by Velleius Paterculus, one of the principal sources for this period. It has often been argued that Velleius' family had been personally involved in the war, and that he thus had a personal interest in constructing a narrative which would be comfortable for his *gens*. But on this point, Velleius had to work with a difficult ambiguity. His ancestor (his grandfather's grandfather) did not belong to the rebels, but rather fought on the side of the Romans.[756] He could therefore have favored an interpretation that denigrated the Italic allies and exalted the fidelity and virtue of his family; but this was no longer acceptable during the Tiberian age, when the teleological narrative of the Social War had already imposed itself, or had been politically imposed; Velleius therefore had to explain the righteousness of the allies' requests while at the same time exalting the fidelity of his ancestor, resulting in a partial contradiction that was visible to all his readers.[757]

However, it is not only through "symbolic shapes" and discourse that the aftermath of the Social War led to the process of a final definition of Italy and its characters: institutional aspects must also be highlighted. Foremost, the Latin citizenship, which lost its ethnical connotation from the 4th century BCE onwards, had now reached a purely juridical status, separated from any kind of historical memory of its origins; this is demonstrated not only by its use in the provinces,[758] but also by its connection with the status of the libertines.[759] Macbain and Pina Polo have also highlighted how the expiation of prodigies, a central institution that underscored the deep connections binding Rome and Italy,[760] became less significant during the 1st century, presumably as its symbolic meaning was no longer necessary.[761] In general, this reveals a readjustment along new social, political, and juridical lines, implying a clearer definition of Italy and its specificities with its culmination in the Augustan age. Nonetheless, such a clear definition also implied a clear "fixation" of

754 Somers/Gibson (1994), p. 63.
755 Bradley (2007), p. 316; Farney (2007), p. 222.
756 Vell. Pat. 2.16.2–3. See D'Aloja (2004), p. 216.
757 Gabba (1973), pp. 356–357.
758 Dench (2005), p. 133.
759 See above, p. 228.
760 See above, pp. 190–192.
761 Pina Polo (2011), pp. 251–252.

its contents, with the consequent disappearance of the "dynamic change" that had characterized the peninsula in the 2nd century BCE.

The institutionalization of Italy, seen in its processual aspects, began during the second half of the 3rd century BCE and developed throughout the course of the 2nd century BCE. The Augustan era, to which great importance in the formation of the idea of Italy has been rightly attributed in a great part of scholarship, thus did not introduce a territorial and symbolic shape which had not existed earlier. Instead, it was during this period that territorial and symbolic shapes, "filtered" through the events of the Social War, were finally "crystallized", or even "fossilized", and ultimately homogenized the aspects that had already made Italy a clearly defined region and melded them into an increasingly uniform picture.[762]

762 Farney (2011).

Conclusion

The Birth of "Italic Identities" and the Process of "Italicization"

Opening the final chapter of his volume on the municipalization of Italy, Bispham recalls a phrase attributed to Massimo D'Azeglio immediately after the unification of the Italian kingdom in 1861: "Fatta l'Italia ora bisogna fare gli Italiani". He goes on to conclude that "much the same problem confronted the Roman governing class in the decades following the Social War".[1] Bispham is correct from an institutional point of view, since the *leges de civitate* had to be thoroughly applied through the inscription of new citizens into the tribes and the diffusion throughout the whole peninsula of the municipal form. However, he is wrong from the perspective that would have been D'Azeglio's very own – that of identity and self-ascription.

Exactly the opposite had happened: from the 3rd century BCE onwards, and ever more systematically over the course of the 2nd century BCE, the Romans had initiated a "top-down" creation of an "Italic" identity, which was part of the process of the institutionalization of Italy as a clearly defined and well-marked region. The concept of "Italicness", as I hope I have shown, thus represents a "psychological group", which "is defined as one that is psychologically significant for its members, to which they relate themselves subjectively for social comparison and the acquisition of norms and values (i.e., with which they compare to evaluate themselves, their abilities, performances, opinions, etc., and from which they take their rules, standards and beliefs about appropriate conduct and attitudes), that they privately accept membership in, and which influences their attitudes and behaviour".[2] The Italics had existed as such a group, and as a community, prior to the Social War, and the war itself had indeed been mostly caused by the ever growing dyscrasia between the structures of identity and the legal and juridical forms. Thus, a Samnite or Marsian D'Azeglio would instead have said: "You, Roman, have done Italy and the Italics, now you have to recognize their rights".

By way of conclusion, it is first necessary to offer a synthesis of the various points touched upon in this work, before moving on to some final considerations. During the course of the 3rd century BCE, the slow genesis of what is called the "provincial system", with the progressive conquest of territories beyond the peninsular territory and, in particular, the decision to subject them to direct Roman administration, a radical change was introduced to the way in which the Romans understood, conceived of and constructed space. Such a change did not occur within a short period, but was rather the result of a long cultural process, the development of

1 Bispham (2007a), p. 405.

2 Turner *et al.* (1987), pp. 1–2.

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which can be recognized as beginning between the First Punic War and the first decade of the 2nd century BCE.

It was a complex change, with far-reaching consequences, which touched upon many different aspects of Roman spatiality, not all of which have been dealt with in this work:

- A clear evolution in the way the Romans understood and constructed their system of boundaries, with the creation of what in another context has been defined as the "Roman frontier", which developed together and in strong connection with an aspiration of universal dominion, dated by Polybius to the Second Punic War;[3]
- A radical change in the perception of the centrality of Rome, which was constructed symbolically through legends, such as that of *Caput Oli*, which is attested for the first time in Fabius Pictor's work, as well as through ritual aspects;[4]
- Presumably, a corresponding evolution in the way the *pomerium* was understood and demarcated, particularly in connection with the definition of *ager Romanus* and its juridical establishment, if the genesis of the concept of *ager Romanus antiquus*, as used by Trebatius in Servius, can also be dated to this period;[5]
- Finally, the birth and evolution of a series of discourses, institutions, and practices concerning Italy, which constitute the main concern of this text.

The birth of Italy must indeed be situated within this same context, as it shows a strong connection to the development of the "new" Roman visions of the world and their *imperium*, of which it constitutes, in a logical and chronological sense, the first part. As has been shown, the need for differentiation from the provinces, and thus from other conquered territories, lent great momentum to the process that led to the "birth" of Italy. This took place within the context of the development of spatial structures which presupposed a system of "hierarchic centralities" in which Rome, the center of the world, was placed in Italy, the central area of the *oikoumene*. Furthermore, all this occurred within the context of the specific discourses connected to the foundation and expression of this centrality.

The term *Italia*, used by Greek authors, appears in Roman contexts only from the 2nd century BCE, by which time it had already assumed an entirely different meaning, and unmistakably identifies the entire peninsula up to the Alps in a strictly geographical sense. Presumably, the term had also already been widely used in Roman political discourse during the 3rd century BCE, but no extant contemporary

3 Carlà-Uhink (2016).
4 Carlà-Uhink (2017a), pp. 148–149 and above, pp. 164–165.
5 Serv., *Aen.* 11.316. See above, pp. 194–196, and Carlà (2015).

sources confirm this. According to Polybius, the Romans began to conceive of Italy as "theirs" during the period of the Tarentine War. Although this is certainly possible, and this opinion has often been expressed in modern scholarship, once again the state of the surviving evidence only allows us to say for certain that the war against Pyrrhus was later presented as the first war fought against an "external" invader, both within and throughout Italy.[6] The notion that the First Punic War could have been decisive in the development of the concept of Italy seems somehow more plausible, especially considering how urgent the necessity of distinguishing "Italy" from "the rest" must have become following the Treaty of Lutatius and the subsequent acquisition of Sicily, as well as the decision to subject Sicily to direct administration, rather than to a system of *foedera*, although the province did not come into being until 227 BCE.[7] Thus "the emergence of an Italian ethnicity" was accomplished during the period between the second half of the 3rd and the 2nd century BCE.[8]

The Gallic War which characterized the period between the first two Punic Wars, during which the *formula togatorum* was developed, also marked an important moment in the Roman definition of Italy as the "core" of power, which had to be preserved and defended from invaders from other territories. However, it appears certain that the Second Punic War, with Hannibal's invasion and the defection of many Italic allies, constitutes the final and most significant phase in this evolution. From this moment onwards, the idea of a territory which "materialized" the safety of Rome itself and was composed of allies whose fidelity was of central importance for the survival of the *Urbs* undoubtedly assumed new clarity and strength, and therefore reappeared as a potential menace during the Macedonian and Syrian Wars that followed.[9]

These were the first steps in the process which can be defined, following Paasi's model, as the institutionalization of Italy as a region. By the mid-2nd century BCE, the Romans had developed a clear idea of the territorial shape of the Italic peninsula, constructed a symbolic shape for it, and begun to define and establish institutions to differentiate the peninsula from the rest of the (Roman) world. As previously noted, such constructions are flexible and open, as well as adaptable, to various circumstances and "problems", such as the necessity of excluding Sicily from Italy, although it was inhabited by populations perceived as consanguineous to the Italics (even if Caesar might ultimately have decided to include Sicily within the Italic territory).[10] All of which implies that the Romans operated "top-down" and actively ap-

6 See pp. 30–31.
7 See pp. 166–167.
8 Erdkamp (2011), p. 141.
9 See p. 64.
10 See pp. 148–149.

plied a specific form to the region now called *Italia*, thus also causing the genesis of its identity.

It is not necessary to re-visit here in depth the ongoing debate about the definition of ethnic identity.[11] The elements composing ethnic identity and their relative importance have been widely discussed, and must generally be considered as dependent on specific social and cultural circumstances,[12] although some of these circumstances often recur and allow for the tentative construction of a model, or rather a "catalogue", of salient points.[13] According to Smith, ethnic identity is thus given by way of a collective name, a myth of common descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory, and a sense of common solidarities.[14] Renfrew, inspired by Dragadze, includes shared territory, a common descent, a shared language, a community of customs and beliefs, a common name, a self-awareness, and a shared history as central elements of ethnic identity,[15] while Jonathan Hall has concentrated entirely on the importance of descent, history, and territory.[16] Cifani has more recently proposed a model structured around four main points: *epos* (the feeling of identity and cultural memory, which therefore includes collective history); *ethos* (shared moral values); *logos* (language); and *oikos* or *topos* (territory).[17] Siân Jones, who in turn defines ethnic groups as "culturally ascribed identity groups, which are based on the expression of real or assumed shared culture and common descent (usually through the objectification of cultural, linguistic, religious, historical and/or physical characteristics)",[18] specifically supports her definition of ethnicity with Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, thus concluding that "ethnic identity is based on shifting, situational, subjective identifications of the self and others, which are rooted in ongoing daily practice and historical experience, but also subject to transformation and discontinuity".[19] Nonetheless, these are all elements, as has been shown, that can be identified in the discursive construction of Italy and Italicness during the Republican period.

11 For a story of this debate, see Jenkins (1997), pp. 9–24; in particular reference to ancient cultures and archaeological data, see S. Jones (1997), pp. 56–83; Lucy (2005); Ruby (2006); Bourdin (2012), pp. 703–708.

12 Bradley (1997), pp. 53–54, correctly insists on the fact that every ethnic identity is constructed around various elements and issues.

13 E. Hall (1989), p. 4.

14 A.D. Smith (1986); this model is also adopted by Lomas (2000), pp. 79–80 and, with some discussion, by Revell (2016), pp. 25–30.

15 Renfrew (1996), p. 130.

16 J.M. Hall (1997), pp. 19–26. See also Herring (2000), pp. 45–47.

17 Cifani (2012), p. 145.

18 S. Jones (1997), p. 84.

19 S. Jones (1996) and (1997), pp. 13–14. From the broader perspective of "social identity", see Hogg/Abrams (1988), pp. 14–15.

Jenkins thus outlines a "basic social constructionist model", according to which:

- "ethnicity emphasizes cultural differentiation (although identity is always a dialectic between similarity and difference);
- ethnicity is cultural – based on shared meanings – but is produced and reproduced through social interaction;
- ethnicity is to some extent variable and manipulable, not definitively fixed and unchanging;
- ethnicity as a social identity is both collective and individual, externalized and internalized".[20]

It is therefore abundantly clear that ethnic identity is not fixed and stable, but fluid and dynamic, and is not only continuously constructed, confirmed, and re-elaborated,[21] but also connected to issues of power, and thus "ultimately constructed through written and spoken discourse".[22] Yet it remains important to underline how all the theoretical models presented above mark the relevance of territoriality in the development of ethnic construction.[23] Ethnic identities, in most cases, do indeed require a geographical reference to an area of autochthony, to which they belong and where they claim a right to occupy the land. This territory also allows the materialization of Cifani's *epos*, being the "set" of the common historical narratives as well as the context in which the *lieux de mémoire* are localized. This applies particularly well to the case that has been presented throughout this work. It cannot be denied, as also argued by Paasi's model, that the process of the institutionalization of Italy as a region, with its territorial, symbolic and, institutional aspects, gave life to an Italic identity.

Can this identity be defined as ethnical? According to the present author, the answer is definitively yes. As noted by Jenkins, the different components of segmen-

20 Jenkins (1997), p. 40.

21 Bradley (2000b), p. 119; Farney (2007), p. 28. See also Sahlins (1989), pp. 270–271, whose considerations in reference to modern national identity can equally be adopted for ethnical identity in other historical periods: "The definition of national identity does not depend on natural boundaries, nor is it defined by a nuclear component of social or cultural characteristics – an essential, primordial quality of 'Frenchness' or 'Spanishness'. National identity is a socially constructed and continuous process of defining 'friend' and 'enemy', a logical extension of the process of maintaining boundaries between 'us' and 'them' within more local communities. National identities constructed on the basis of such an oppositional structure do not depend on the existence of any objective linguistic or cultural differentiation but on the subjective experience of difference. In this sense, national identity, like ethnic or communal identity, is contingent and relational: it is defined by the social or territorial boundaries drawn to distinguish the collective self and its implicit negation, the other".

22 J.M. Hall (1997), p. 2.

23 See also Bourdin (2012), pp. 359–362.

tary identities all refer to the social construction of groups according to cultural similarity and difference. In this sense, "the communal, the local, the national and the 'racial' are to be understood as historically and contextually specific social constructions of the ethnic theme, allotropes of ethnical identification".[24] The birth of a regional identity is therefore to be understood within an ethnic frame, particularly in its strong connection to territory.[25] More generally, following Barth, ethnic identity is a category of ascription which organizes interaction between people: "a categorical ascription is an ethnic ascription when it classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background. To the extent that actors use ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for purposes of interaction, they form ethnic groups in this organizational sense".[26] One can thus conclude that "ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristic of organizing interaction between people".[27] The Agora des Italiens on Delos is the first, and finest, example that comes to mind to illustrate this definition.

Principally, such identity was a Roman creation, as has been shown, applied by a dominant power to its allies and subjects;[28] it was, therefore, not the product of a spontaneous or "natural" teleological process of unification in which peoples united by linguistic and cultural similarities or already sharing a cultural *koiné* progressively and unmistakably found their way to unity, as was argued until the second half of the 20th century. It is impossible to assume, as much of modern scholarship has done, that the process of Romanization, or its single aspects such as Latinization or Urbanization, were all "bottom-up" phenomena of self-adaption, a variation

24 Jenkins (1997), p. 43.

25 The construction of belonging according to territorial definitions, rather than to descent, is considered by Paasi (1996), p. 81, to be one of the distinctive features of modern nationalism and of its success, but it has antecedents in previous periods as well as in the ancient world, as the Italic example makes clear. On the contrary, Barth (1998[2]), p. 15, believed that not all ethnic identities must necessarily be connected to a territory, since identities mostly establish social and cultural boundaries. However, the development of an affective relation to a "region of origin" seems unavoidable in most cases of ethnic identities.

26 Barth (1998[2]), pp. 13–14. See also Gehrke (2000), pp. 19–20.

27 Barth (1998[2]), p. 10, and also p. 34, where Barth underlines the necessity of a political appropriation of symbols and discourses in order to generate an ethnic identity, and therefore the necessity of a "top-down" imposition of language, as argued also by Paasi's model. The cultural homogenization generally defined as "self-Romanization" corresponds to what Barth called "colonial regime" (p. 36), which implies a reduction with time of cultural differences.

28 The question of the influence of the radical change experienced by the Latin ethnos through the peace of 338 BCE on the birth of Italic identity, and particularly whether this constituted a precedent from a Roman perspective of the possibility of making and unmaking groupings and ethnical identities, must remain unanswered due to a lack of evidence.

of Millett's model of Romanization from below.[29] This model can be valid for interpreting changes in the material culture or in architectural and urban forms, or even in the diffusion of bilingualism and the final "victory" of Latin,[30] even if it must be integrated with the necessary administrative and political change connected to municipalization after the Social War. However, such model does not help us to understand the more general dynamics of identity. Moreover, it cannot be excluded, as has been shown,[31] that the Romans at least in part perceived their role in Italy as that of a "civilizing project", in which "the civilizing center draws its ideological rationale from the belief that the process of domination is one of helping the dominated to attain or at least approach the superior cultural, religious, and moral qualities characteristic of the center itself".[32] However, this does not mean that we should entirely revive the 19th century model of "Romanization" formulated by the colonial powers, since even a "civilizing project" deeply affects and transforms both the civilizer and the civilized, while also, among other consequences, heightening the consciousness of the "peripheral peoples",[33] a model which applies well to the development of an Italic identity in the 2nd century BCE.[34] Significantly, Harrell com-

29 In relation to urbanization, Gabba (1972); Lomas (1998), pp. 67–69; M. Torelli (1999), p. 12; Bradley (1997), p. 59, for some reflections on Latinization in Umbria in the 2nd and 1st century BCE. Bradley (2007a), pp. 298–301, identifies material culture, institutions, and languages as the "three main areas where we can trace the adoption of Roman cultural models", and notes that "none of these cultural changes was imposed by Rome before the Social War". The model of a Romanization from below, without an intentional process of Romanization from the Roman side, was suggested for Italy by Göhler (1939), pp. 26–31, long before the historical debate conditioned by postcolonialism, which applied mostly to the provinces. Keaveney (1987), pp. 21–22, also recognized a process of Romanization, attributing it to the sheer political preeminence of Rome (which was for Göhler also a moral and cultural preeminence), to the importance of migration movements, and consequently to the ubiquity of Romans in Italy. Against the idea of a "self-Romanization" of Italy, see Mouritsen (1998), pp. 60–61, who rejects the idea of a process caused by a Roman cultural superiority, and pp. 67–72, contesting the idea of a still spontaneous process brought into being by Roman political power. Despite, in particular, the rejection of a mechanical process, in which a "superior" culture influences an "inferior" one, it cannot be denied that mechanisms of self-assimilation are well known in other historical and social contexts (see Roosens (1989), pp. 105–106, for an example of the Bolivian Aymara of Turco). Furthermore, we should not ignore the fact that processes of cultural influence and assimilation can be recognized in every single town since the 2nd century BCE; see Coarelli (1996), pp. 66–67, on the urban structures assumed by Assisi in the 2nd and 1st century BCE. For the aspects connected to the Romanization of material culture, particularly ceramics, in the 2nd century BCE, see Morel (1991).

30 The most famous, and oft-quoted, passage is Liv. 40.43.1, according to which the inhabitants of Cumae asked to be allowed to adopt Latin as their official language. On the survival of Italic languages in the imperial period, at least as contributing to regional variants of Latin, see Oniga (2003).

31 See pp. 181–183.

32 Harrell (1995), pp. 4–7.

33 Harrell (1995), pp. 27–29.

34 See pp. 330–365.

ments on the "paradox" of Chinese "civilizing projects" that "can, in some circumstances, turn back on themselves. With their avowed (and often sincere) intention to raise the cultural or civilizational level of the peripheral people, civilizers also make an implicit promise to grant equality, to share power, to give up ultimate control", and thus "revolts can be the result", particularly when the "civilizing project" works "well" from the perspective of the center.[35]

It is more useful to think in terms of a transactional definition of identity, in particular along the lines of a distinction between two basic forms of transaction: internal and external. These, to be sure, are ideal types, and such a distinction is primarily analytical. As Jenkins has described, "in the complexity of day-to-day social life, each is chronically implicated in the other in an ongoing dialectic of identification. The categorization of 'them' is too useful a foil in the identification of 'us' for this not to be the case, and the definition of 'us' too much the product of a history of relationships with a range of significant others".[36] Nonetheless, it is clear on an analytical level that the "Italic identity" began from the Roman side as a form of external and hetero-directed definition, which was ultimately internalized,[37] as shown by the forms of self-ascription adopted during the Social War – or, to use Jenkins' terminology, a "category" (externally defined) becoming a "group" (internally defined).[38] In this sense, the process described in this book was brought about by both the Romans and the Italics, sometimes at different moments, sometimes at the same time, sometimes with competing aims, sometimes with the same intentionality. From this point of view, the Italic identity also demonstrates how "instrumentalist" and "interactionist" interpretations of ethnicity should not be conceived of as alternative or opposed to each other; instead, conscious political choices and strategies intermingle and condition the continuous dynamic process of distinction of Selves from Others, and vice versa.

The resulting political process, as proposed by Paasi, consisted ultimately of a top-down "restructuring" of territory and culture, the creation of a new language and discourse, and its imposition on the region's inhabitants, who then appropriated this language for their self-definition. This was effective due to the power relations that existed between the Romans and the Italics, as "the capacity to impose one's definition of the situation upon other people implies that one possesses sufficient power or authority to do so".[39] Yet this does not mean that the Italics felt their Italicness to be superimposed, as a violation of their "true" identity, or as a mark of

35 Harrell (1995), p. 35.
36 Jenkins (1997), p. 53.
37 Jenkins (1997), p. 70, defines "internalization" as the process in which "the categorized group is exposed to the terms in which another group defines it and assimilates that categorization, in whole or in part, into its own identity". See also Turner *et al.* (1987), p. 53.
38 Jenkins (1997), pp. 54–55.
39 Jenkins (1997), p. 80.

the conqueror; these discourses can be subject to interiorization and therefore also to a successive affective bond, which becomes an agent of further political and social decisions, independent of their "external" origin, as "categories".

This process is not unique: it has been noted many times within historical research that the power of words and new definitions to generate the realities that they were created to describe should not be underestimated; the best-known example of this remains the birth of the category of homosexuals in the 19th century (once again a category that became a group, as also occurred with the "working classes" after Marx), as was demonstrated by M. Foucault.[40] The creation of the Italics must be understood in similar terms. Indeed, "ethnicity starts as an ideological invention based on selected distinctions and omitted diversities, but, once started, it can become a factor of real transformation of societies",[41] which means that the process is not only mono-directional (political situations and social circumstances create ethnic identities), but bi-directional. Such identities are not only constructed and widespread through discourse and symbols, but in this way are also accepted and "interiorized", essentially appropriated, and therefore play an important role in influencing personal and collective choices, as has been shown for the decades leading up to the eruption of the Social War.

This does not automatically imply that the Romans ascribed themselves to the same Italic community which was in the process of creation. As has been argued here, the Romans could alternatively be considered Italics or not, according to individual contexts and circumstances; in other words, the Italicness of the Romans may or may not have been provided with a specific salience, at least until the Social War and the complete enfranchisement of the Italics. Thus, Mouritsen is perfectly correct when writing that the Gracchan reforms should be understood with the presupposition that the Italics were perceived as "Them" and not "Us" by the Romans,[42] though it is still necessary to distinguish between different sorts of "Them". From the Roman perspective of the second half of the 2nd century BCE, there was an "Us" composed of Roman citizens; a "Them 1" composed of Italics, who were perceived as more similar and with closer bonds to "Us"; and a "Them 2" composed of those inhabiting the provinces. Furthermore, the number of "Them"-layers can be increased, so that eventually not only was there a distinction between a "Latin Them" and an "Italic Them", as would become necessary after the Gracchan movement, but there was also a recognition of huge differences at the extremities of the Empire between provincials, "friendly populations", and "barbarians".[43] Everything becomes clearer, in substance, if we apply the idea that there is "a *functional antago-*

40 Foucault (1976b), pp. 132–135
41 Cifani (2012), p. 161.
42 Mouritsen (2008), p. 382.
43 See Carlà-Uhink (2016), pp. 231–236.

nism between the salience of one level of self-categorization and other levels: the salience of one level produces the intra-class similarities and inter-class differences which reduce or inhibit the perception of the intra-class differences and inter-class similarities upon which lower and higher levels respectively are based".[44]

This construction of the Italics as a form of "Them 1", which is clearly distinguishable from the Roman "Us" (although this can be subsumed into a common "Italic Us" when confronted with the "Them 2") should clarify that the very concept of the Romanization of Italy is wrong. Even adopting Laurence's perspective, which attributes a higher agency to the Roman side and correctly identifies how Italy was constructed as an "imagined community", adopting Benedict Anderson's well-known terminology invented for modern nation-states, it cannot be claimed, as Laurence does, that "we might view the concept of *tota Italia* and the use of ethnonyms in the definition of geography as a method of Romanization that stressed the distinctiveness of the Italian peoples, but united them politically with Rome at the centre".[45] Rather, it is much better to speak of an "Italicization of Italy", always under the assumption that it was "set on the road" by the Romans, and did not spontaneously take place among the Italic peoples. The result was the creation, to use Benedict Anderson's successful definition once again, of an "imagined community" which, on an ethnic and cultural level, added a new element to the spectrum of individual identity, resulting in a case in which "Roman imperialism has promoted 'non-Roman' [or in this case, 'quasi-Roman'] identities".[46]

The idea, diffused in the 19th century, that Rome practiced a systematic and consequent policy of *divide et impera* in Italy was already dismissed in the first half of the 20th century.[47] What can be recognized is instead a policy of identity based, on the contrary, on the creation of a higher and broader "meta-identity", in which the single local entities (the "unity in diversity") can still be represented and vital, without endangering the existence and affective relevance of the superimposed "Italicness". The previously accepted idea of a Romanization of Italy which implied the complete renunciation of local identities in a process of personal and collective devaluation, as well as the loss of the "natural frame of social life",[48] should finally be rejected. Instead, the phenomenon took place on a broader level, similar to that recognized by Mario Torelli in the case of art, particularly architectural decoration:

> It is in this climate that we can place the intense revival of local cultures which characterizes the whole of Italy in the second half of the second century BC, principally reflected in the frenetic activity in the field of sacred building [...]. On the temple facades of both the Roman citi-

44 Turner *et al.* (1987), p. 49. Italics in the original text.
45 Laurence (1999), p. 176.
46 Witcher (2000), pp. 220–221.
47 Göhler (1939), pp. 3–13.
48 So David (1994), p. ix.

> zens of Italy and the *socii italici* we find, standing side by side with the by now usual Amazonomachies and Celtomachies (as those depicted in the terracottas of the Catona temple at Arretium), myths and legends of the local past and *concilia deorum* of the city, such as in the pedimental groups from Luni and from Tivoli. These dramatic or classicistic representations of local mythical events no longer have the task of celebrating the great civic ethical-political values, the party choices of the struggling aristocratic parties or the alliances and the hostilities between more or less nearby poleis, but are expressive or artful though remunerative *synge-neiai* with Rome or with ancient cities of Latium [...] or, more simply, the *antiquitas* and the consequent *sanctitas* of the place, which, legitimized by the centre, had now become the main ideological issue in the periphery of Italy.[49]

In essence, it is important to overcome what has been developed by secondary literature as a sort of mechanical and automatic dualism: if the Romans belong to the Italics, then it is correct to highlight the Roman construction of the entire discourse of Italicness, and this must be dated to after the Social War; if the Romans are not Italics, then the traditional scheme is valid, according to which the Italics wanted to "become Romans". As has been made clear, the situation is much more complex, and the system of segmentary identities, which overlap with the multiplicity of definitions of Italy (a geographical and an administrative) allow us to see the Romans as geographically and culturally, but not juridically, Italic. At the same time, from the perspective proposed in this work, an Italic identity had already existed in the 2nd century BCE, which had already achieved great strength, and thus a great influence over political issues, though this does not at all mean that the importance of the differences between Roman and Latin citizenship and allied status was diminished. This more complex model enables us to understand how such differences could come about, by "contrasting" and overlapping with other aspects of "Italicness", to create the tensions which erupted in the Social War.

Indeed, this complex structure of segmentary identities and overlapping Otherness must be taken into account when attempting to understand the origin and causes of the Social War. During the 2nd century BCE, Italic identity had become ever stronger, and was further exploited by the Italics, in their definition of themselves as a collective and in their relationships with provincials, which the examples of Delos and the Greek world in general demonstrate.[50] It is precisely this use in a collective meaning, through which the Romans also often considered themselves to be part of the "Italic community", together with the evident difference in status and civil rights (for example, in the possibility of being subjected to abuse by Roman magistrates), which brought the "tension" between the identities labelled as "Us" and "Them 1" to the point of becoming politically explosive. In the process of the "Italicization" of Italy, the Romans had managed to generate an Italic identity and an Italic consciousness but, at least from certain points of view, their insertion into the

49 M. Torelli (1999), p. 145.
50 See pp. 293–330.

same community had generated a "short circuit" which, from the perspective of the Italics, had to be closed through the absorption of the Italic identity ("Them 1") into the Roman one ("Us"), or – alternatively – with the destruction of the "Us", the most radical position during the Social War.

It is possible, therefore, to apply the model proposed by Paasi to define the forms of spatial integration and distinction to the structures fully developed in the 2nd century BCE. Thus, we are able to understand even more clearly the system of segmentarity and multiple identities which came into being in relation to Italy and the Italics, always assuming the Roman perspective as the starting point from which to investigate these issues:[51]

	Here	**There**
We	Integration within a Territory	Integration over boundaries
They	Distinction within a Territory	Distinction between Us and the Other

The Italic identity appeared first, as has been shown, in full and clear form as a "We There", a form of collective identification that included Romans, which manifested the integration of the Italic communities across the boundaries of Italy, on provincial territory, particularly in the Greek East, where available sources allow us to recognize this phenomenon; though this also corresponded to an ever stronger perception, from an affective point of view, of a "We Here" inside the Italic peninsula. At the same time, from a Roman perspective, this perception coexisted with structures of difference, allowing a neat distinction to be drawn between Romans and Italics on one side and the provincials on the other ("They There"), as well as between Romans and Italics, both inside of Italy ("They Here") and outside of it, where only Roman citizens could define themselves as "Romans", as illustrated by Greek inscriptions (again "They There").[52] Until the Social War, Italic identity, as an ethnic unit which "depends on the maintenance of a boundary",[53] implied a range of political choices from integration to exclusion, through the "ambiguous" position of the Romans being simultaneously inside and outside the group. Indeed, it was this position which led to "a series of constraints on the kinds of roles an individual is allowed to play, and the partners he may choose for different kinds of transactions".[54] In this sense one can accept Hantos' observation that the relationship of

51 Passi (1996), p. 14.
52 See Turner *et al.* (1987), p. 57: "Self and others are evaluated positively to the degree that they are perceived as prototypical (representative, exemplary, etc.) of the next more inclusive (positive valued) self-category (in terms of which they are being compared)".
53 Barth (1998[2]), p. 14.
54 Barth (1998[2]), p. 17.

Rome to Italy can be neither understood as internal nor as foreign politics.[55] This was made evident during the Tiberian age by Valerius Maximus, who referred to certain episodes concerning Italics in the "Roman" sections of his work, providing positive examples of friendship and cooperation with Rome, such as the case of Busa helping the survivors after Cannae or the two Capuan women praying for Roman success in the Second Punic War;[56] though in the "external" sections are episodes of war or "betrayal" of the Roman cause by other Italics. Thus, for instance, the episode of the Campanians who helped the Romans after the Caudine Forks is "external", as the author concludes the passage reminding the readers that they subsequently betrayed Rome to Hannibal; also external, in spite of its laudatory content, is the presentation of Pontius, which is connected to the same episode of the Caudine Forks;[57] the positive example of Pulto from Pinna is likewise external, since he was fighting in the Social War on the Italic side, although Valerius Maximus could praise Pulto's love for his fatherland.[58]

It can be substantially accepted that the "Romans before the Social War were more concerned to keep their identity exclusive than to impose it on others", with the proviso that, as has been made clear, the Italic identity also included them, from some perspectives.[59] However, to this statement must be added the awareness that, at the same time, they initiated a reshaping of the identities of the Others with whom they were in contact, not only in their own perception and categorization, but also through their political power, in the institutions and in the very structures of thought of the populations involved. As observed by Kathryn Lomas, "much of the emphasis has been placed on constructions of self-identity by a community but in the context of an imperialist power such as Rome, the element of control inherent in the imposition of an identity by an external body is an important factor".[60]

The arguments that have been proposed against the traditional interpretations of the Social War must thus be recognized as correct, since these appreciate that the "unity of Italy" was a political construct on the Roman side. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to limit this construction purely to the period following the Social War and the Augustan era, and to deny that the birth of Italy and of Italic identity had indeed, as a Roman construction, taken place much earlier; furthermore, during the course of the 2nd century BCE this construction had already "shifted" to signify the

55 Hantos (1983), pp. 6–7. On the Roman perception of what would be "inside" and "outside" their *imperium*, see Carlà-Uhink (2016), pp. 231–236.

56 Val. Max. 4.8.2; 5.2.1b.

57 Val. Max. 5.1.ext.5; 7.2.ext.17.

58 Val. Max. 5.5.ext.7. See also Val. Max. 7.3.ext.9, concerning Tusculum's war against Rome, where the "admission not only to our friendship but even to common citizenship" is celebrated.

59 Wallace-Hadrill (2008), p. 447.

60 Lomas (1997), p. 39.

groups of Italics defined by it, who had in turn begun to receive and use it for their own self-representation.

Italy was therefore created long before the 1st century BCE. As a consequence of the military challenges of the 3rd century BCE, the Romans radically changed their method of perceiving and structuring territory and space, and thus founded the idea of a clearly defined region with specific traits and its own ethnic identity. Their "success" in this matter led to the Social War, and therefore to the concession of Roman citizenship to the entirety of Italy and to the final fusion of "Us" and "Them 1". In this way, a clear definition of Italy from an institutional point of view was also brought to completion, while the insertion of Cisalpina into Italic territory in 42 BCE finally caused the geographic, juridical, and administrative concepts of Italy to coincide. The Augustan age, as has already been made clear, ultimately brought the specificity of Italy and the discursive formulation of all its aspects to their logical extremes.

Although many scholars have viewed the Augustan period as the first in which Italy was recognized as such, it marks in reality, despite seeming to be the high point of Italic identity, the beginning of the crisis of that identity. A number of scholars have argued that the homogeneity of the peninsula was increased through the massive veteran settlements of the triumviral and Augustan periods.[61] But the Augustan period caused a true "fossilization" of characters and themes, historicized and anchored to the territory through the creation of the eleven Italic regions,[62] which would later be merely repeated with few innovations: Torelli has spoken of a switch to antiquarianism.[63] More than this, the concession of citizenship caused a substantial welding of Italic identity with Roman citizenship, implying a loss of significance of the specific Italic aspects with each subsequent concession of citizenship. The universalism expressed by the Roman Principate, which is already visible in Claudius' speech in favor of the admission of the Gauls to the Senate, and which led to Modestinus' famous assertion that *Roma communis nostra patria est*,[64] implied a continuous extension of citizenship which resulted in the *Constitutio Antoniana*; the *civitas* was thus no longer a typical marker of "Italicness", and at the same time a gradual loss of importance of Italy as the "core region" surrounding Rome could be observed. "Italicness", which had been constructed around a territory, and which constitutes the core of the construction of ethnic categories, waned in the face of a "Romanness", which since the mid-Republican period had not been territorially determined, but rather constituted a juridical qualification, based fore-

61 Bradley (2007a), p. 306.
62 See pp. 267–276.
63 M. Torelli (1999), p. 181.
64 *D* 50.1.33.

most on descent and then on merit, which eventually allowed for individuals to attain *civitas*.

Both literary themes and certain institutional particularities (such as the lack of provinces within Italic territory) survived for a long time, and only began to be cast into doubt from the late 2nd century CE onwards, with the institution of the *iuridici* and the institutional process which led, at the end of the 3rd century CE, to the "provincialization" of Italy; indeed, only the existence of two vicariates in one diocese marked Italy in Late Antiquity as a "particular" territory, with an institutional peculiarity that distinguished it from the other dioceses. The Italic identity did thus exist, and was not, as claimed by Giardina, an "unaccomplished" identity. On the contrary, its "birth", construction, application, and discursive substantiation in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE gave it a strength which was ultimately, and somewhat paradoxically, the cause of the eruption of the Social War; it was therefore the foundation of its own slow decline, already clearly perceivable since the Julio-Claudian period.

The model of the "natural unification" of Italy, with its teleological determinism, was a product of the nation state of the 19th century CE, and was brought about within a political and social context in which the idea of the nation was strong and dominant; to the contrary, the "new models", including that offered by Mouritsen, are the product of a reaction which is not only historical but also political, given that they appeared at a time in which regionalism and regional autonomy were prominent themes on the political agenda of most European states.[65] What is proposed here is a sort of middle path, a model recognizing the existence of an Italic identity by the 2nd century BCE, while admitting that such an existence did not necessarily imply from the very first moment a process of unification, and surely not one whose completion and consequences were "predetermined", especially when considering the fact that such an identity was explicitly non-Roman. It was the course of the events of the 2nd century BCE, along with the associated cultural developments, which led to an ever-stronger request from the Italic side to be recognized as fully Roman, and ultimately to the Social War. During this period, and still afterwards, the concept of Italic identity was never absolute and unique, as it was for the kind of "fidelity" that was required to one's fatherland in the age of nationalism, and its foundations were substantially constructed upon the idea of "unity in diversity". This allowed for individuals to identify as Italic while at the same time keeping a strong – and affective – bond with the town or region/ethnic group of origin, thus explaining the persistence of elements, for example, of "Etruscity", "Umbricity" etc.

This model is, of course, also the product of the political, cultural, and social circumstances of the periods in which it was written, which were dominated by the debate over the possibility of constructing a political European Union and about the

65 Haack (2008), in particular pp. 138–139.

role that the old nation states should assume in it.[66] Moreover, it is the product of the biographical experiences of the present author, an Italian of mixed family history, living abroad (which blurs the possibility of identifying a "region of origin"), with strong biographical ties to one particular city, Turin (undoubtedly the place of my "geopiety"), and who composed this work predominantly in Germany and the United Kingdom. How this has influenced my view of Italy from the 3rd through to the 1st centuries BCE is likely apparent to every reader. However, I need no justification, since no one can escape their personal baggage of experience, theory, and reflection; we have long understood that the ambition of objectivity in historical research is not only unrealistic, but misleading. Furthermore, historical research consists precisely of this complicated interweaving of present and past,[67] and this is why it is always fascinating, new, and of great topical interest.

66 See Witcher (2000) for a paradigmatic awareness on such issues.

67 See, among others, J.M. Hall (1997), pp. 4–16.

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