PROLEGOMENA TO A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE VOLSCIAN TERRITORY

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OF
THE VOLSCIAN TERRITORY

by

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

September 1982

MASTER OF ARTS (1982)
(Classical Studies)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario, Canada

TITLE: Prolegomena to a Social History of the Volscian History

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NUMBER OF PAGES: vii, 121.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to explore and examine the history and culture of the Volscian tribe in central Italy over a period of approximately 1000 years, from its appearance in the Italic peninsula in the Iron Age to the first century B.C. Using ancient literary sources, modern historical theory and analysis and archaeological evidence, the culture, language and social development of the Volscī is studied in detail from the fifth century to the decade following the Social War (91-87 B.C.), at which time the Volscian identity disappeared with the acquisition of Roman citizenship. Particular attention is paid to the settlement patterns of the Volscians in the Trerus and Liris river valleys, and the possibility of a chain of fortification centres in the fifth century is suggested. The improvement of this chain by the Romans into a communications network of intervisible forts and garrisons during the Volscian conquest of the fourth century, and later during the Samnite wars, is also investigated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Through the preparation of this thesis I owe an expression of deepest appreciation to Dr. A. G. McKay and Dr. E. M. Wightman for having introduced me to the territory of the Volscians, not only through the texts of Vergil and the historians, but also with the privilege of participating in the Liri Valley Surface Survey Project in central Italy in the summers of 1979 and 1980. Their scholarship, guidance and encouragement have been a most welcome source of inspiration in the completion of the text.

I am indebted to Dr. E. T. Salmon, whose criticism and insights have improved the text immeasurably, and I extend my sincere thanks for his time and interest, and the honour of his tuition.

I am also obliged to Mr. James Delmege, whose interest in the fortifications of central Italy was very kindly shared with me along with his research maps, which provided a strong and valid basis for field work in Italy.

Dr. H. Jones and Dr. P. Kingston have contributed much in the way of interest and encouragement throughout my years at McMaster, especially at the graduate level, and I am grateful for their support.

To dear family and friends I owe much. In return for mental and physical absences, fluctuating mood and mountains of crumpled paper, they responded with love and patience. They have my heartfelt thanks, one and all.

And last, but most certainly not least, I owe a special thanks to my mother for her understanding and endless support in a pursuit begun many years ago, for her tales told to me as a child of Hercules and Pegasus, Diana the Huntress and the Twins of the She-wolf, and the magical places of Olympus, Troy and Pompeii kindled my interest in the Classics, a most rewarding interest indeed.

For

Clint, David and Lana

and the many students from Britain,
the United States and Canada
who "walked" the Liri valley,

and for

Doris

who was always there
through thick and thin

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF MAPS

INTRODUCTION

In a corner of southern Latium bordering on Campania, according to Livy, lived a tribe of Italic people known to him as Volscī, with whom the Romans first came into contact in the sixth century B.C.[1] Since Livy's time, however, relatively little has been recorded of this people (and nothing survives of anything recorded before Livy[2]), and the references we have are contradictory to other accounts, or nebulous, or both.

Like their predecessors, modern historians, too, have failed to uncover much of this folk. A glance at an archaeological map of Italy will reveal an abundance of sites in Latium proper with copious artefacts to provide a basis for reasonable interpretation, but not so for the territory to the south-east once belonging to the Volscians. Here lies a tantalizing blank, or, at best, pockets of tid-bit information, usually disjointed, about the people who inhabited this region before the advent of the Romans.

Questions arise as one reads the scattered and brief references to the Volscians, so many in fact, that it now has appeared worthwhile

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1 Livy I, 53.2. All references to Livy are taken from the Loeb text.

2 However, there must have been some sort of oral tradition to draw upon, not only for Livy, but also for other annalists and literary authors. Livy also used written sources which are now lost.

to attempt to explore and perhaps to offer fresh insights into a few of these dark areas of Italy's history, and to offer some suggestions as to the origins and development of the inhabitants of the Liris and Trerus river valleys.

In order to complete a methodical survey, it is necessary to define the exact area of the study (see map #1). The region chosen encompasses the area over which the Volscians had control in the fifth century B.C., or, more precisely, at the time of their maximum expansion. The northern boundary stretches from a point on the Tyrrhenian coastline south of Rome in an approximate line between Ardea and the southern sector of the Alban hills. The coastline is a natural western boundary as far south as the mouth of the ancient Liris (the modern Garigliano) river. This overall western section includes the modern day Monti Lepini, Monti Ausoni and Monti Aurunci, which rise between the Liris and Trerus region and the sea. Moving upstream along the Liris, the boundary runs east and then north as far as the confluence of the modern Liri and Gari rivers, and then follows the Gari in a north-easterly direction between the promontories of Monte Cassino to the north-east and Monte Maio to the south-west. Swinging abruptly northward to the town of Atina, leaving the course of the Gari river behind, the eastern and then northern boundaries arc through the upper Liris valley, including the modern Melfa (ancient Melpis), and the border then curves westward to Praeneste (modern Palestrina), situated just to the east of the Alban hills.

Within these geographical limits and over an historical period of 1000 thousand years, beginning with the second migration or infiltration of Indo-Europeans into the peninsula usually set ca. 1100 to 1000 B.C., the inhabitants of the Volscian territory will be examined in their

prime (during the fifth century B.C.), through the period when they succumbed to Roman conquest in the late fifth and fourth centuries. Finally, the Social War (91 to 87 B.C.), an ultimate consequence of this Roman expansion and dominion of two centuries, will be dealt with as the closing chapter of the Volscian tradition.

Within these geographical and temporal bounds, this thesis will attempt first of all to explore and examine the ancient literary accounts concerning the Volscian tribe and modern studies of them, and to compare these accounts with each other in an effort to sort out the many discrepancies by applying up-to-date archaeological evidence. Secondly, the Volscians' place in history will be examined, but from the viewpoint of the Volscians, as much as possible, rather than that of the Roman. As well, the implications of Roman expansion into the prescribed area will be explored to determine how it affected local development and why it culminated in the Social War of the first century B.C.

On a more specific level, several questions arise, which, when examined, may afford some insight into one or other of the issues:

(1) Where did the Volscians originate? Several theories of migration and infiltration will be examined to determine the possible roots of the Volscians.

(2) What type of people were they? i.e. culture, government, funerary rites, language, etc.

(3) What were their settlement patterns? Why did they settle where they did? What differences in the location and classification of these settlements can be noted from the fifth century

to the fourth? Why are these differences noteworthy? What caused them? To deal with these questions, known Volscian sites will be charted to note possible offensive (fifth century) and defensive (fourth century) settlement tactics and fortifications, and the Roman and Samnite conquest of these sites. As well, a possible communication network between these fortifications, both Volscian and Roman, will be examined.

(4) What settlement patterns were adopted or adapted by the Roman and Latin colonies in this area?

(5) What impact did the Roman conquest have on the region in the third and second centuries with regard to internal politics and relations with the southern Italic tribes not yet under Roman rule? i.e. citizenship.

(6) How and why did this conquest culminate in the Social War?

Personal observations and some unpublished correspondence will be used to supplement the findings of published scholarly works in the hope of offering some suggestions which may shed light on this shadowy period of Italic history.

CHAPTER I: THE VOLSCIANS BEFORE ROMANIZATION

Rome's history, like that of any young, proud state, is exceedingly egocentric. Everything recorded pertains to Rome's internal politics or external growth, military or otherwise. Nothing of import is deemed to exist outside of this sphere until that sphere itself expands and enlarges to offer conflict on bordering areas. Such is the case with the appearance of the Volscians in Roman history or literary tradition; in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus during the late sixth century B.C., so Livy informs us, the king began a war with the Volscī.[1] This is without doubt the earliest literary record of the Volscian tribe, but it is certain that this branch of the Italic nation was present in the peninsula long before Rome was even a scattering of huts on the hills.

Reason dictates that we cannot examine the presence of the Volscian tribe in central Italy from the Roman historical point of view. Instead, in order to investigate the beginnings of the Volscī, it is necessary to abandon the ancient sources, who, understandably enough, see history through the eyes of the Roman state, and to consult the various scholars of anthropology who, in an objective and scientific manner, deal with the question of the origins of the Italic nation, of which the Volscī were a distinct tribe, in an attempt to discover the source of this tribe and

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[1] Livy I, 53.2.

and to find its place in the complex scheme of tribal inter-relationships in the Italic peninsula.

The question of origin and interrelationship should ideally be dealt with on a philological as well as archaeological basis. Von Duhn did exactly this in Italische Gräberkunde. In combining a linguistic and a funerary investigation of the Italicī, he attempted to find a conformity of tribal relationship (and thereby origin) on the basis of an ethnic, cultural and linguistic boundary known as the Rome/Rimini line, a rough division of the peninsula following the course of the Tiber river. Using this geographical division, he went on to theorize that the Italicī were of a similar linguistic and ethnic heritage, that is, of an Indo-European stock migrating from an Urheimat in the Danubian basin, coming into the peninsula in two distinct migrations from north of the Alps. The first, between 2000 and 1500 B.C., was made by a cremating people who settled west of the Rome/Rimini line. Von Duhn claims that these settlers were Umbrians and Latins. The second migration five hundred years later consisted of people who practised inhumation. These settlers, who moved into the area east and south-east of this same line, were supposedly the Oscans, Sabellians and Picenes.[2]

For some period of time this theory of von Duhn was the leading academic opinion in the field of Italian pre-history. However, more recent scholars have strongly disagreed with this theory on the grounds that it is flimsy in evidence and methodology, and grossly incorrect.

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[2] von Duhn, 438, passim.

It is next to impossible to try and find any valid correlation of the Italicī, it is said, through funerary and linguistic ties. Pulgram states the reason very clearly:

> Moreover, the correlation of linguistic and funerary evidence raises grave difficulties and doubts. Both Latin and Umbrian lie in cremating, the Oscan dialects, introduced according to von Duhn by the inhuming Italicī, in inhuming territory; yet Oscan is more closely related to Umbrian than it is to Latin and Latin and Umbrian are quite different from one another.[3]

Pulgram continues to undermine von Duhn's theory by pointing out that, since the cremating Latins and Umbrians[4] supposedly came into the peninsula first, and the inhuming Oscans followed in a second Indo-European sweep up to 1000 years later, the Oscans would have had to pass completely through the Rome/Rimini line. Nowhere, it seems, is there any evidence to prove that an inhuming people invaded and combed through the cremating territory on its way to what would become its homeland south and east of the Tiber River. Since there is no sudden change in funerary customs anywhere in this area within this time period, it must be assumed that there was no migratory upheaval in the peninsula,

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3 Pulgram, 220.

4 Von Duhn seems to have been too uncritical of the ancient sources. Both Florus (Epitome, I.12) and Pliny (N.H. III, 14) record that the Umbrians were the most ancient people in Italy. Pliny thought they were designated as Ombriī by the Greeks (ὄμβροι) on the grounds of their having survived the rains after the mythical flood. This would certainly attest to their age. This is quite likely a mistake on Pliny's part, since, according to Scullard (1961, 10), the Ombroi were the pre-Tuscan inhabitants of Etruria.

but rather a gradual infiltration of a people of common stock, that is, Indo-European, who settled in the Appennine and coastal regions of Italy, to adapt to the life already there, remnants of Neolithic and Bronze Age man, whose origins have no place in being dealt with here.[5] There seems to be no residue of large hordes of inhuming, migratory Oscans, as an isolated group, from north of the Alps. However, if horde migration is dispensed with and a theory of gradual, trickling infiltration is adopted, then this form of analysis (cremation vs. inhumation/linguistic tribal distinction) is unnecessary, irrelevant and misleading.

Another problem arises within the von Duhn theory; the funerary rites which he uses are from ca. 1000 B.C., but the linguistic arguments which he employs to support his argument are taken from the written records of the languages dating no earlier than 500 B.C. A lot can happen in a period of 500 years, that is, cultural and linguistic influence, partial to total assimilation of newcomer to indigenous folk or vice versa. Besides, when examining the funerary deposits of a certain area, in Umbria for example, it can be noted that both cremation[6] and inhumation were accepted methods of disposal of the dead within the so-called linguistic boundaries of the Umbrian tongue.[7] This, in itself, totally contradicts von Duhn's theory of cremating Umbrians.

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5 Pulgram, 220.

6 In the Umbrian territory, cremation remains only in traces in the upper parts of the river valleys.

7 Whatmough, 193.

Therefore, a dialect boundary of 500 B.C. cannot be taken as a common denominator with a cultural and/or funerary boundary of 1000 B.C. or earlier.[8]

Pulgram also disagrees with Pallottino,[9] who, although he refutes von Duhn's theory of linguistic and cultural correlation, sets up a new linguistic and ethnic line of distinction of the Rome/Rimini axis and equates it with his own funerary correlations. According to Pallottino, those languages west of the line are non-Indo-European, those east of it, Indo-European. But he also goes on to theorize that the non-Indo-Europeans practised cremation while the Indo-Europeans favoured inhumation. Strangely enough, he did not take into account the Etruscans, the presumably non-Indo-European people who settled in the region west of the Tiber. Both cremation and inhumation are evident in their area of habitation. Once again, regions of cremation and inhumation cannot be equated with linguistic groups, since the dating of the two is up to five hundred years apart.

Pallottino explains the appearance of the Indo-European dialects on the Italic peninsula according to what may be termed the Adriatic Wave Theory.[10] Pallottino states that the Indo-European migrations occurred in three waves from the Adriatic coast. First to come were the speakers of Latin, who were pushed westward by the second wave of Osco-Umbrian speakers. These in turn moved into the central Appennine area

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8 Ibid. 195; Pulgram, 223.

9 Pulgram, 223ff.

10 Pallottino, 32-4.

and pushed the Latin speakers to the Tyrrhenian coast with the arrival of the last wave of immigrants, perhaps the Illyrians, who remained on the east coast.[11] This, however, must be disregarded. Linguistic studies have revealed a close kinship between Celtic and Umbrian,[12] and it would seem folly to believe, on the basis of this kinship, that the two did not originate from a common European source.

Pulgram seems to accept Whatmough's analysis of immigration concerning the chronology of the migrations, but he is against Whatmough's theory of two successive waves of mass-migration into the peninsula.[13] Pulgram believes instead that the linguistic sub-groups of the Italici gradually infiltrated into the peninsula, since there is no evidence to support horde invasion, and mixed with the Appennine culture in local pockets,thereby explaining the differentiations of the various groups on a linguistic basis:[14]

> In other words, the arriving Indo-European dialect or dialects were superimposed on strongly divergent substrata and hence naturally came to diverge from one another greatly.[15]

Pulgram took into account all of the major available studies completed by scholars; his general analysis of the various theories can be summed up in the following way: (i) the prototypes of the Umbrian, Oscan and Latinian dialects were not imported in waves from outside of Italy; (ii) the Italic

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11 Pulgram,225.

12 Conway, (1900), 270.

13 Pulgram,224.

14 Ibid. 227.

15 Ibid. 228.

branch of Indo-European outside of Italy from the Danubian basin was not imported into the peninsula by one migrating nation for subsequent disintegration; (iii) there was no earlier Italo-Celtic unity.[16] Pulgram does believe, however, in a single, slow, uninterrupted infiltration theory (like Devoto[17]), that the Italic peoples, culturally and linguistically, are formations on a local basis,[18] and "the result of the symbiosis of the original inhabitants and the infiltrating foreigners."[19]

Where exactly, then, do the Volscī fit into this Italic linguistic hodge-podge? Through careful examination of the only surviving Volscian inscription (see Appendix I), a bronze tablet found at Velitrae, Whatmough believes that Volscian belongs in the Osco-Umbrian linguistic group in a sub-category which he labels North Oscan,[20] a category which also includes Marrucinī, Paelignī, Vestinī, and the Sabellian dialects of the Aequī, Marsī and Sabinī, the three latter having an early influence of Latin. However, despite the dialect's classification in the North Oscan group, Whatmough goes on to state that Volscian is more closely

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16 For an opposing view, see Poultney (1951). See also Whatmough, 107, who points out that Celtic has some features in common with Osco-Umbrian, especially Umbrian, several of which are unknown to other Indo-European languages.

17 Devoto, (1950), 184, favours a two stream infiltration, that is, diffusion and cross-fertilization rather than ethnic deluges, into the peninsula, the first ca. 2000 B.C. of Latin-Faliscans and their sub-groups, and the second ca. 1100 to 1000 B.C., of Umbrians and Oscans and their sub-groups, one of which is the Volscians.

18 He agrees here with Patroni, see 233, n. 13, 14.

19 Pulgram, 233.

20 Whatmough, 109.

linked to Umbrian than Oscan.[21] Heurgon, too, places the Volscian dialect in a position somewhere between the Umbrian and the Oscan dialects.[22] Scullard advances one step further into the question of the Volscian linguistic position and states that of the main Osco-Umbrian dialect group, which he terms Safine, there are two derivative dialects, Umbrian and Volscian, which were spoken by the Italic tribes who gradually penetrated into the central and southern Appennines.[23] Here, again, it must be noted that Volscian, although classed within the Oscan dialects, is strongly affiliated with the Umbrian dialect. Scullard also notes that the indigenous population of Campania, the Auruncī or Ausones, used a dialect similar to Volscian before being conquered by the Samnites in the mid-fifth century B.C.[24]

The reverse side of the coin must be examined as well. Homo divides the Italic population into two groups which he terms Umbro-Sabellian and Latin. The Umbro-Sabellians were sub-divided, as their hyphenated title would suggest, into Umbrians on the one hand, who spoke Umbrian, and a group of tribes and sub-tribes known collectively as Sabellians, who spoke Oscan, on the other; these include the Sabinī, Picentenes, Vestinī, Marrucinī, Frentanī, Marsī, Paelignī, Samnites (sub-tribes Caracenī, Pentrinī, Caudinī and Pirpinī), Lucanī and Bruttiī.

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21 Ibid. 262.

22 Heurgon, 8.

23 Scullard, History 753 to 146 B.C., 11.

24 Ibid.

The Latins, likewise, were sub-divided, but into three groups, all of which spoke a Latin dialect: the Latins of Latium proper on the one extreme, the Faliscans on the other, and in the middle of the linguistic spectrum, a collection of three tribes, the Aequī, the Hernicī and the Volscī, all of whom inhabited an area between the Alban hills and the Liris river valley, which he says link the Latins linguistically to the Sabellians (but not the Umbrians).[25]

An interesting conflict arises here, and one must return to the original question. Where, indeed, do the Volscians belong in the Italic linguistic scheme? With the Latin group or with the Osco-Umbrian group? Once this placement is found, what does that reveal about the origin and the dating of the arrival of the Volscians in the territory which they would dominate during the sixth and part of the fifth centuries before Christ?

A strong argument in favour of an Umbrian-Volscian connection can be found in the work of J. W. Poultney, who states:

> The dialect (Volscian) is customarily classified in the Sabellian or intermediate division of the Italic group, but while its sister dialects Paelignian, Marrucinian, and Vestinian have a close resemblance to Oscan, students of Italic dialectology are practically unanimous in recognizing for Volscian an especially close kinship with Umbrian, and that despite the fact that the two speech-areas are separated by a considerable distance.[26]

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25 Homo, 41f.

26 Poultney, (1951), 113f.

Poultney has been able to demonstrate this close linguistic relationship between these two dialects by examining both, as well as those dialects which are located geographically between them. To begin with, he notes a similarity in Umbrian and Volscian place names[27] and in the high ratio of suffixes used with these places names to denote inhabitants.[28] For instance, ten of forty-two Volscian[29] and thirty-five of seventy-two Umbrian place names favour -tĭ or -atĭ: Capena Capenates, Aquinum Aquinates, Trebia Trebiates.[30] Yet, Volscian names are also clearly linked with the -no suffix of the Oscan-speaking areas (twenty-nine of forty-two). As well, both Umbrian and Volscian have a monphthongization of diphthongs (i.e. ai/oi e in a dative ending), the loss of a final d, the palatalization of k before i, the loss of a final t from the Oscan st combination and a prefix ar-, rather than ad-.[31]

Besides phonological examination, Poultney also considers other areas for investigation of the possible Umbrian-Volscian link. He notes that an Etruscan cult of the goddess Feronia flourished amongst the Picenes, Umbrians, Vestinians, Sabines and Volscians, but not amongst the Oscans or the Latins.[32]

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27 While he is able to point out the existence of an Interamna in both the Umbrian and Volscian territories, he does not place much stock in the evidence to make it conclusive.

28 Conway does this also.

29 This is a higher proportion than any other Italic dialect.

30 Poultney, (1951), 120f.

31 Ibid.

32 Poultney, (1951), 121. See also RE VI, 2217-19; Wissowa, Religion und Kultur der Römer, 1912, 285f; Evans, Cults of the Sabine Territory, AAR 1939.

Yet the cultural connections between the Volscians and the Oscans are much stronger than those between the Volscians and Umbrians. In the Velitrae bronze, there is mention made of a med(d)ix which is known to have been a magisterial office or more likely a title in the Oscan community, but nowhere in Umbrian records is there ever mentioned such a post. It would appear that the Volscians at one time occupied a "sandwich" position between the Umbrians and the Oscans before their descent to the Liris valley (see map #6). Although they shared a dialect group with the Oscans and perhaps an administrative system, the Volscians nevertheless maintained vestiges of an Umbrian heritage. However, there is no strong tradition or evidence to prove that any sort of a clear-cut, well-defined Umbrian-Volscian migration took place. Dionysius of Halicarnassus records the presence of "Umbrians" along the Tyrrhenian coast (in the area of the Volscians), allied with the Etruscans and the Daunians in an unsuccessful campaign against Cumae during the archonship of Miltiades in the sixty-fourth Olympiad (524-3 B.C.).[33] The indigenous population of Campania, the Auruncī or Ausones, spoke a dialect similar to Volscian, but not to Umbrian, before they were conquered by the Samnites in the mid-fourth century B.C.[34] It would appear that those whom Dionysius terms "Umbrians" were not Umbrians at all, in the sense that they migrated from Umbria proper, but rather Volscians who had moved into

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33 D. H. Antiquities VII, 3.1.

34 Scullard, History 753 to 146 B.C., 11. Pulgram dates this to the fourth century, p. 163, but this seems rather late.

the Liris valley from a position somewhere between the Oscan and Umbrian territory in the seventh or early sixth century B.C. It is certainly reasonable to assume that Dionysius erred here, but at the same time one can entertain the suggestion that there was a tradition upon which he drew that saw the Volscians as part of the Umbrians.

Dionysius' record of the Volscians indicates that they staked their claim in the Liris valley and then funnelled out of both ends of the valley, to Latium proper in the north-west and to Campania, thereby spreading their sphere of influence and forming ties, particularly commercial ones, with the Etruscans.[35]

It is suggested that the Volscians, during the sixth century or perhaps late seventh century,[36] descended from an area in the central Appennines which had been settled by the Indo-European infiltrators from an Urheimat in the Danubian basin. It is also suggested that they belonged linguistically to the Italic sub-group labelled the Oscans or Sabellians, and not the Latin-Faliscans as Homo suggests; they were distant enough from the core group to be in the sphere of the Umbrians who influenced them both linguistically and culturally. It seems that the Volscians were so strongly associated with the Umbrians, perhaps more culturally akin to them than to their Sabellian cousins, that the ancient sources failed to differentiate between the two.

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[35] Devoto agrees with this dating for the Volscian invasion into Latium proper and Campania via the Liris valley.

[36] See Saunders, 92. The graves at Satricum can be dated this early.

At any rate, it is in the sixth century that the Volscians appear established along the Tyrrhenian coast, no doubt in search of better grazing lands for their herds, a migration suitably cloaked in a religious ritual known as the Ver Sacrum, or the Sacred Spring, a rite practised by all of the Osco-Umbrian tribes. This tradition recalls the practice of the Italic tribes of sacrificing fruitful issue of the succeeding year to the god Mammers in return for a victory in battle. Children born in that year were not sacrificed, but rather dedicated to the god. When they reached adulthood, they left their tribe and ventured into unknown lands to find a new home and pastures in which to graze their herds. In their search for a new homeland, it is said that they were guided by an animal sacred to the tribe, i.e. a bull, wolf, stag, bear or woodpecker.[36a]

Although they were by no means an urban people, the Volscians still developed a type of city-state, which was located on a hilltop and was walled for the protection of the homes within, and the farmers and herders, who could seek refuge behind its walls, since they would live in the surrounding wilds. Salmon states[37] that these fortified towns were always located on hilltops, flanked by ravines which supplied natural protection, and Saunders upholds this thesis,[38] while supplying more detailed information. Using as an example the Volscian site of Satricum, dated from the

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[36a] See Salmon, Samnium, 36f.

[37] Salmon, Colonization, 42.

[38] Saunders, 91ff.

Early Iron Age to ca. 550 B.C.,[39] Saunders describes the typical Volscian town as located on an acropolis with numerous hut-dwellings. Dwellings skirted the base of the citadel at Satricum, which was a temple site and cult centre of an earth-mother goddess, the Mater Matuta.[40]

Such precise information, however, cannot be gleaned from the studies undertaken in the Liris valley, where a concentration of the Volscian population was located. What can be explored, though, is the location of Iron Age sites and reasons connected to the location of these sites. A comparison can then be made with the location of other Volscian sites in the territory of the fifth and fourth centuries in order to come to some conclusions concerning hill-top fortifications and settlements. (see map #2).

Since 1978, research has been carried out in the valley by a party of Canadian, American and British scholars, and some interesting discoveries have been made. Prior to surface exploration, it was known that Iron Age sites existed at Rocca d'Arce, Cassino and San Vittore di Lazio, all located on hills, where it is presumed that there was a water supply, two hundred to four hundred meters above the valley floor. The main water supply could have been lower down the mountain slope, so that there could have been a lower guard tower to protect the source, as well as the upper area of the fortification, like that at Cassino and possibly Rocca d'Arce. With this arrangement, the time the inhabitants could spend shut up on the hilltop would be limited, unless they had an alternate water supply

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39 A. Della Seta, Museo di Villa Guilia, Roma, 1918. A second Satricum is noted by Cicero, Ad. Q. Fr. III, 1.4; in Livy IX, 12. and 16. It was lost to the Samnites in 321 B.C.

40 Saunders, 92.

from wells, assuming, of course, that they could dig deeply enough, as the Abbey of Montecassino does today. Tests completed by Dr. P. Martini of Guelph University verified that these sites were located near certain types of soil distinctive for their excellent drainage, high mineral content and workability. It might be suggested that the three forts belong to the later period of Volscian defense, not only because of their fortifications and strategic positions, but also because of the likelihood of more advanced agricultural endeavors. During their fourth century domination, the Samnites captured these Volscian towns and used them in a defense network against Roman aggression, a network which collapsed after the establishment of the Latin colony Interamna Lirenas in 312 B.C. at the confluence of the Liris and Gari rivers.[41]

In August of 1979, an Iron Age site, with some traces of Bronze Age habitation, was discovered at Morroni,[42] on two prominent hills south-east of San Apollinare near the confluence of the Liris and Gari rivers. Although only terracing at five levels remains on the north side of the site, the only side which is not precipitous today, it may be supposed that there were fortifications in the Volscian period because of Morroni's extremely strategic position at the south end of the valley, and because of the pottery found in situ: a very small amount of hand-made, dark grey/brown impasto ware and a thickish, reddish-brown, strap-like

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41 In the case of San Vittore, black-glaze pottery possibly extends the dating of this hill-fort to the period of Samnite domination.

42 Liris Valley Surface Survey Project site #393 at co-ordinates 041816.

ring handle coarse-ware decorated with a finger-impressed cordon around the outer girth. The latter was found on the site in quantity and is comparable to reddish-brown, burnished or polished ware found at the Cassino site.[43] Precise dating depends on the use of the thermoluminescent process.

The following year a site was discovered at Monte Leucio on the south-west slope, which yielded both traces of iron smelting and pieces of bucchero pottery. Monte Leucio and another site near Roccasecca are the first and, so far, only areas to suggest a possible bond of trade and communication with the Etruscans, although Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[44] Livy[45] and even Vergil[46] report that there was such communication.[47]

Although the four sites mentioned above are not the only sites from the Iron Age in the valley, they are those found to be fortified or located in strategic positions, not only with regard to mountain passes and access to rivers, but also when considering panoramic view. Rocca d'Arce, located some four hundred meters above the valley floor, commands a 180^{o} view of the valley and over the hills to Arpino. Cassino guards a sight range of well over 260^{o} from Piedimonte to the north-east around Monte Cassino and then northward straight up the Gari valley. San Vittore

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43 Liris Valley Surface Survey Project site #419 at co-ordinates 055947.

44 D. H. VII, 3.1.

45 Livy I, 52.

46 Vergil, Aeneid XI, 581-2.

47 Saunders, 93f, also firmly believes this because of the Etruscan pottery, terracottas and the drainage system of the Pomptine marsh.

has a clear sweep of the entire south-east section of the valley. Morroni occupies a position suitable for watching the Garigliano river, commands a 260° view and guards the easy pass via modern Ausonia to the sea. When not hazy, Cassino, San Vittore and Morroni are intervisible, and based on the three sites, an excellent defense system could have protected the south-east extremity of the valley from three passes, one to the sea, one to Campania and one to the hinterland (see map #3a).

Besides these four hill-sites, over twenty unfortified Iron Age settlements, quite probably Volscian, have been found through the pottery survey of the Liris valley in 1980, when the lower southern slopes of Monte Cairo and adjoining hills were searched. Groupings of these settlements were found just east and slightly west of the Melfa river, ranging from 100 m to 300 m above the valley floor. Another cluster of Iron Age settlements was found near Piedimonte within view of the castle on the hill above Roccasecca to the west[48] and Santa Scolastica, near the fortified hill-site of Cassino. Whether this was an outpost of Cassino or whether the evidence found at this site is erosion, there is no way of knowing as of yet.

Cassino cannot be seen from Rocca d'Arce, but, through the network of settlements from east of Rocca d'Arce to Roccasecca, and from there to Piedimonte, Santa Scolastica and on to Cassino, it might be suggested that a relay network of communications would have enabled Rocca d'Arce to

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48 The vantage point must have been from the hill-top where the ruins of the medieval fortress of Roccasecca still stand. Unfortunately, no pottery has been found here.

keep in touch with Cassino, a fort in communication with those at San Vittore and Morroni. It would also seem reasonable to speculate that the fort at Cassino would be the central seat of government and protection for the area, a similar arrangement to those found at Antium and Anxur, which will be discussed below, because of the extensive fortifications located there, and the fort's strategic position.

These hill-forts, however, are not confined to the Liris valley or the areas surrounding Antium and Anxur, by any means. Through careful study of Livy, and of modern scholars such as Blake, in her study of Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus, a pattern begins to appear in the scheme of Volscian settlement.[48a]

Strabo[49] reports that the Volscians were in existence when Rome was founded, which, if correct, would give the tribe an antequam date somewhere in the mid-eighth century B.C. We know that the Volscians were firmly established in Latium by the late sixth century, since Tarquinius Superbus, last of the Etruscan kings, is said to have waged war upon them when he snatched the crown from Servius Tullius. Livy tells us that Superbus took up the sword against them and wrested Suessa Pometia from their control, and so began a conflict that was to last two hundred years.[50] However, according to Strabo, the Volscians were victims of regal

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48a Correspondence with Mr. James Delmege of Ireland, an amateur archaeologist particularly interested in this field, and personal observation have helped to shed some light on the location and dating of sites through examination of remaining fortifications.

49 Strabo V, 3.2.

50 Livy I, 53.

aggression long before this. Tarquinius Priscus, who reigned between 616 and 578 B.C. is reported to have destroyed the Volscian town of Apiolae, and the nearby "metropolis", Suessa Pometia, which is known to have been a Volscian establishment even though its location has never been determined, was captured by Priscus' son, Servius Tullius.[51] Despite the confusion, it is still clear that during the sixth century, more likely during the last half, the Romans and the Volscians came to blows in Latium.

The first reasonable assumption that comes to mind to explain the hostilities is expansion by both parties. Rome was testing her wings. The Volscians, on the other hand, had been gradually extending themselves for perhaps two hundred years, in search of new lands for their herds, more fertile land as their agricultural technology improved, and some space for an increasing population. The latter especially can be explained through the implementation of the Ver Sacrum tradition.

This Volscian expansion is first evident in north-western Latium by the sixth century. Since a complete archaeological survey in this area of interest of all of Latium is a project which has been postponed for the future, the ancient sources are the principle guides for investigation. Modern archaeological information can be used as it is available, but unfortunately it is sporadic and confined to isolated regions, and not a general survey. Until a comprehensive study can be made, one must rely upon Livy and Strabo, particularly the former.

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[51] Strabo V, 3.4. A contradiction arises here; Eutropius I, 8., reports that Suessa Pometia fell to Tarquinius Superbus. Livy I, 42. merely mentions that Servius went into voluntary exile here in 578 B.C.

When reading through Livy it seemed wise to map out the references made to the Volscians. In doing this, a pattern became clear. It would seem that during the late seventh and into the sixth centuries, the Volscians operated from three regional centres in Latium. Besides the "metropolis" of Suessa Pometia and her satellite town Apiolae, the Volscians appear to have flourished also in the regions of Antium and Anxur (after 400 B.C. it became Tarracina). The former, noted as having a harbour,[52] though an unfavourable one, was named as the chief Volscian city under Tarquinius Superbus.[53] Antium is also credited with being an opulent centre of power and protection,[54] sheltering both Satricum,[55] and Caeno, an unfortified town of little means.[57] As for Anxur, the Volscian position there is marked by the walls of the hill-fort, which Livy tells us were impregnable.[58] Repeated Roman conquest of the town, and Volscian recapture at the end of the fifth century are indicative of the fort's key role in Volscian administration and military strategy, since it guarded the defile, the Lautulae pass, between the mountains and the Lago di Fondi. Brief reference in Livy would suggest that a town of

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52 Strabo V, 3.5.

53 Hülsen, RE I.2, 2561.

54 Livy II, 63.

55 Livy VI, 32; VII, 27.

56 Saunders, 91.

57 Livy II, 63.

58 Livy V, 13.

Lautulae[59] was also within the sphere of Anxur's influence, although a date for this is unavailable. Blake suggests that a little later in the fifth century, Fundi, although an Auruncan town, fell to the Volscians before the Roman annexation in the fourth century.[60] Anxur was perhaps the fort which overshadowed Fundi during this period, since ancient sources reveal nothing of Fundi until 338 B.C. Later in the fourth century, Livy notes, the Pontiae Insulae were in Volscian territory, since they lay directly off the Volscian coast.[61] It would seem reasonable to suppose that they were also administered by Anxur, perhaps in the fifth century, since it is the only known Volscian fort within any distance.

Although not a centre of administration on the scale of Antium or Anxur, Velitrae must be examined along with the other Volscian sites which date from the sixth century. The name of the town is actually Etruscan, but somewhere within a time period between the late seventh and early sixth centuries the Volscians conquered it, adding another town to their expanding domain.[62] If Livy's dating can be accepted, Velitrae was a Volscian stronghold up until 494 B.C.[63] at the time of the Roman/Volscian conflict which marked the fifth century. It became a Latin colony in the same year, after having fallen to the Romans.

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59 Livy VII, 39.

60 Blake, 94.

61 Livy IX, 28.

62 Dio XLV, 1.

63 Livy II, 31.4.

Dionysius, however, dates the colonization in 498 B.C.,[64] which prompted Conway to profess some doubt in the accuracy of the accounts of Livy and Dionysius, or at least the dates given for the establishment of a Latin colony.[65] And although Velitrae is always referred to in the ancient sources as an ally of Rome,[66] it seems to have been continuously hostile to the Romans throughout the fifth and fourth centuries until the Latin wars,[66a] which would strongly suggest that the inhabitants of the town during this entire period were most likely Volscian.[67]

It appears, then, that the Volscians, firmly entrenched in the sixth century in Latium at Antium, Anxur, Suessa Pometia and Velitrae and their environs, dug in their heels even more to form a boundary arching from the Tyrrhenian coast to the Alban hills. Whether or not they were the aggressors in the conflict that was to follow, it is difficult to discern from the annalists.[68] What does become more

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64 D. H. VI, 40.1 states that it was during the consulship of Valerius.

65 Conway, Dialects, 267.

66 Diodorus XIV, 34.7 reportd that in 401 B.C. Rome increased the number of colonists at Velitrae.

66a Livy VI, 12. Despite the fact that there was a Latin colony at Velitrae (Livy uses the word "Roman"), this did not deter the non-Latin inhabitants from enlisting with the Volscian army.

67 The Velitrae bronze, the only surviving inscription of the Volscian language, dates from the period after 338 B.C. to a date no later than 240 B.C. when the town was probably a colony civitas sine suffragio. The medix is thought to have indicated a form of self-government (see Conway, Dialects, 268; C.I.L. X, p. 651f), or perhaps a loos administrational tie with Oscan tribes.

68 D. H. VI, 42.2 is an excellent example of this ambivalence.

apparent, however, is the increased hostile activity of the fifth century and the archaeological evidence which complements the ancient sources.

Many Volscian centres come to our attention during the earliest decades of the fifth century. Since historians naturally view the Volscians through Roman eyes, it is no surprise that the Volscians first "appear" in western Latium in the seventh and sixth centuries, and in eastern Latium in the fifth and fourth centuries. There is every possibility that these sites were firmly established in the sixth century, but there is little to prove this short of seeking out each individual site and conducting detailed excavations for the purpose of trying to prove this one point. Observation at the site of Atina raises some interesting questions. The masonry here was constructed of very large, roughly cut boulders with no horizontal coursing. Compared with the masonry at Sora, Norba, Artena, et al., this building technique seemed to be the most primitive in the area. Put into Blake's scheme of wall construction and dating, Atina's fortifications belong to the cyclopean or perhaps the transitional polygonal category, which would place this wall somewhere within the seventh or early sixth centuries B.C. It might be suggested here that Atina, at the other end of Latium from Suessa Pometia and Velitrae, is synchronous with them, but part of an eastern fortification chain in the same manner as seems to have operated in western Latium. By the time that the Romans reached the extremities of eastern Latium in the fourth century, the site of Atina was controlled by the Samnites. This could explain why Atina is mentioned only

a few times in the literary tradition.[68a]

By the fifth century, following Livy's dating system, which has been proven to be faulty in places, the Volscian strongholds and settlements, which will be discussed below, were firmly situated for what was no doubt meant to be maximum efficiency in repelling the expanding Romans on the one hand, and controlling new areas of conquest on the other.

A map of these strongholds located in Volscian territory at the beginning of the fifth century (see map #3), indicates that a rather loose confederation or chain of individual centres extended from the coast a few miles south of Rome to the Alban hills and then eastward, deep into the interior valleys, thus forming a 'wall', as it were, of Volscian strength against the Latins, especially the Romans.

The centre closest to Rome, located somewhere to the south-west of the Alban hills, was Corioli. Primary sources reveal little concerning its size or fortifications, and nothing has been found in modern times to supply any idea of Corioli's exact position. Eutropius reports that, before the Volscians lost the town to the Romans under the man who would later earn the name of "Coriolanus", Quintius Marcius,[69] in 493 B.C., it was "the best city".[69a] Livy, however, is the one who states that the town was walled, although to what extent is not known.

[68a] See Livy X, 39; Vergil, Aeneid VII, 630; Cicero, Pro Plancio, passim.

[69] Livy II, 33 calls him Gnaeus Martius, and the Oxford Classical Dictionary uses the name Gaius Martius.

[69a] Eutropius I, 14.

Corioli could also have been the protective and administrative centre for the nearby towns of Longula and Polusca,[70] each located somewhere between Antium and Corioli, although closer to the latter. It could have been the corner link of a chain of forts, whose one arm stretched south to Antium and the other arm east to Velitrae, which was secured in Volscian hands in the sixth century, as mentioned above.

Velitrae was a vital link, since its location on the southern slopes of the Alban hills commands a view of the passage between these hills and the Volscian hills, and also guards the entire Pomptine plain to the south.

One link past Velitrae to the east lay the hill-fort of Artena, which Livy's testimony places in Volscian hands in the fifth century, assuming that Livy's dating is correct.[70a] Excavations on the site have uncovered Etruscan finds from the sixth century and some evidence of Roman occupation in the fourth. Although the fifth century remains unclear,it appears very likely that the Volscians occupied the hill-top at this time. Few remains of their presence might be explained by the fact that the hill-top could never have supported a town that could also function as an acropolis, like Antium; not only is it too high and inaccessible, but available water supply would have been insufficient to support a growing population for any great length of time. The fortifications at Artena are extensive but very primitive. Rough, undressed cyclopean masonry, the earliest category in Blake's classification system,

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[70] Livy II, 33.

[70a] Livy IV, 61.

suggests a construction date within the fifth century. Whether the fortifications were completed by the Volscians or by the Romans, who took over the fort in the fourth century,[71] there is no sure way of deducing. Artena would have remained an acropolis of sorts, functioning as a vital strategic garrison; on clear days, Artena commands a view of Velitrae to the west, Praeneste to the north-east and down the Trerus valley to the Volscian sites of Ecetra and Ferentinum. Anagnia, to the east in Hernicī country, is clearly visible, and far to the south, thirty kilometers away to the sea.

Like Corioli, Artena was a corner link to the fortification chain. From its position high on modern Monte Fortino, it was able to guard the entire upper two-thirds of the Trerus valley and also to communicate with Velitrae. Its closest link most likely would have been Ecetra; a stronghold of the Volscian territory against that of the Aequī, Latinī and Hernicī, this town was a major centre in the fifth century, important enough to have sent emissaries to Rome to plead for peace for their city after the Roman capture of Suessa Pometia in 495 B.C.[72] Although Blake identifies Ecetra with modern Artena,[73] it seems more likely that Hülsen is correct in placing it on the north-east side of Monte Lepini, across the valley from Ferentinum.[73a]

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71 Livy IV, 61 gives the date of conquest at 404 B.C.

72 Livy II, 23.

73 Blake, 93.

73a Hülsen, RE, "Ecetra". "Wahrscheinlich ist es jedoch nicht auf der Nordspitze der M. Lepini (wie Nissen hiel), sondern auf dem östlichen Abhange, gegenüber Ferentino, zu suchen."

Ferentinum was a city of the Hernicī, which made its first appearance in the chronicles in the year 413 B.C. It is reported that the Volscians, after deciding to extend their boundary lines in the fifth century, captured Ferentinum and established an outpost or colony there, so that they might penetrate more deeply into Hernicī territory. How long this aggression had lasted or when it was begun is not known, but in 413 B.C. the Romans captured the town and returned it to the Hernicī, after the Volscians reputedly realized that they could not defend the place and withdrew.[74] It appears that the town might not have had any permanent fortifications in the fifth century, since the Volscians had not remained to defend it. Although Ferentinum has ancient walls still standing, ranging in technique from rough polygonal to quadrangular masonry, it is felt that they are synchronous and date early in the first century,[75] quite likely during the Social War. It is entirely possible that the inhabitants used remains of old walls from the fifth century, but this would be impossible to determine at this time, since there seem to be no inscriptions by which to date the wall.

So it appears that Ferentinum was the third link in the chain of forts or outposts guarding the Volscian territory in the Trerus valley and pushing that boundary eastward. As the last link in a loose series of fortified centres strung out from the coast to Corioli, then east to Velitrae and on to Artena and the Hernicī frontier, it was in the anchor position of a territorial line that was advanced upon from the north-west. When Ferentinum fell to the Romans in 413 B.C., almost

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74 Livy IV, 51.

75 Blake, 98.

eighty years after the first overthrow of the western towns of the chain, its defeat opened the doors of the Volscian heartland to the advancing Roman legions and the colonists that would follow.

Within a period of two hundred and fifty years at the very most, the Volscians advanced from being a primitive tribe of migratory Italic herders to become a people capable of carefully engineered fortified towns, organized government, military prowess, commerce and, most important, capable of extending themselves further. By the early fifth century they had succeeded in pushing their boundaries as far north as they would reach, and had established a military system, the fort chain, which would hold them fast for a brief period.

It is said that a chain is only as strong as its weakest link, and a weakness in the Volscian chain permitted the Romans and Latins to break into the Volscian territory in the fifth century. Ironically enough, it was the Volscian fort chain that was their own final undoing, for the Romans adopted this idea, improved and tightened the system, and used the same tactic against the tribe who had first utilized it in Latium to fortify their own expansion southward and to control the territory once they had acquired it.

CHAPTER II: THE ADVENT OF THE ROMANS

The coming of the Romans to the Volscian territory by the fifth century was by no means the signal for the immediate fall of this Italic tribe despite what the ancient sources tell us:

> The beginnings of the wars of Rome with the Volscians and Aequians are obfuscated, aside from the lack of information, by the tendency of the Roman Annals to illustrate the early ascent of Rome as a leading power by fictitious victories, continuing this practice after the disappearance of the kings.[1]

Although the historical annals record Roman victories over the Italic tribes as early as 494 B.C.,[2] it becomes apparent that the Volscians and others were much more tenacious than the ancient historians give them credit:

> The offensive of the mountain tribes was in full swing till about 460 B.C.; no great counterstrokes are credible before that turn of the tide.[3]

Livy tells us[4] that Camillus, in 389 B.C., finally brought the Volscī under the yoke after seventy years of war.

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1 Alföldi, 366.

2 Livy II, 31.4; D. H. VI, 43.

3 Alföldi, 368.

4 Livy VI, 2.13.

This would place the outbreak of such a conflict at 460 to 459 B.C. Some confusion reigns here, since it is also Livy who tells us that Tarquinius Superbus in 539 B.C. waged war against the Volscī, a conflict which was to last two hundred years. This would place the final defeat of the Volscians as a power in approximately 330 B.C.[5] According to Alföldi the Fastī Triumphalēs have no record of a Volscian defeat of triumphal proportions in the fourth century until 346 B.C.[6] This certainly seems closer to Livy's dating in I, 53.2 than in VI, 2.13. Salmon, however, feels strongly that Alföldi is incorrect in this statement and that the earlier date must be taken as correct, since the Fastī records between 437 and 367 have disappeared, and that the Volscī, if soundly defeated in 389, would have little inclination to renew hostilities.[7]

It is obvious, chronology problems aside, that the struggle for control in Latium and more south-easterly regions was a lengthy and hard-fought one, since the Romans failed to create any new rustic tribes until 387 B.C., when they were able to concentrate their energies in one area at one time.

It must be stressed emphatically here that the confederation of Volscian forts, although part of the same Italic tribe, acted independently from one centre to the next:

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5 Livy I, 53.2.

6 Alföldi, 368, n. 4.

7 I am indebted to Dr. Salmon for his personal interest and correspondence.

> Like the Latinī and the Hernicī, the Volscī consisted of a number of self-governing republics, each with its own council (or senate) and magistrates. Local constitutions seem to have varied. Velitrae had a pair of meddices for its chief officials. Other communities (Arpinum, Formiae, Fundi) seem to have preferred triads of aediles. ... But, so far as is known, they did not organize themselves into a league, sacral or other. Each Volscian community acted independently and when one came to the aid of another it evoked comment.[7a]

Because of this type of loose alliance, the Romans were unable to deal with them as effectively as with the neighbouring Hernicī and Marsī, and consequently were forced to employ a scattered and piecemeal strategy in conquering the Volscians. Livy's account of the entire operation, since he fails at times to differentiate between the Volscī of Antium and the Volscī of Privernum, leaves some doubt as to which centre of Volscians the Romans were facing in combat. Because of this confusion it appears that the Volscians are winning and yet being defeated simultaneously, a predicament not easily sorted out.

Livy boasts of Volscian defeats in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, but, as Alföldi notes,[8] these defeats in Livy's Histories become less overwhelming by 487 B.C., when he records an indecisive battle.[9] Strangely enough, Dionysius of Halicarnassus records the same

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[7a] Salmon, Roman Italy, 9-10.

[8] Alföldi, 369.

[9] Livy II, 41.

event as a Roman victory.[10] This could hardly have been so, since shortly after the encounter, the Volscians are credited with again invading the Roman territory, this time with help from their allies, the Aequians.[11] Volscian victories thereafter are recorded in 484,[12] in 478[13] and in 471.[14] Heavy conflict is also dated in 468[15] and 464.[16] In 463, when some Volscians and the Aequians banded together to invade the territory of the Hernicī, the Romans were helpless to come to the aid of the underdog despite the pleas of emissaries. Livy explains that a plague had struck Rome, coupled with a series of bad omens. It is obvious that Rome could not effectively mobilize a military expedition.[17]

The band of Volscians, taking advantage of Rome's physical and emotional illnesses, advanced more deeply into the Hernicī territory on the one hand, and moved towards Rome on the other. Livy tells us that, while the farmlands lay in desolation, and not a single man could be found in the countryside to defend it, the Volscians advanced as far as the third milestone on the Gabinian Way. For some unknown reason, although

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10 D. H. VIII, 64.3, 67.1-10.

11 Livy II, 41.

12 D. H. VIII, 84.1-86.2.

13 D. H. IX, 16.1, 4, 5; 17.4, 5; 18.4.

14 D. H. IX, 50.1-7, 53.5; Livy II, 58.2-60.3.

15 Livy II, 64.5-65.7; III, 1.4; 8.7-15; D. H. IX, 57.3ff.

16 Livy III, 4.2ff; D. H. IX, 62.1-66.4.

17 Livy III, 6.4ff; D. H. IX, 67.1ff.

Livy attributes it to a lack of martial ardour at the sight of the rotting city, the Volscī passed by Rome and moved towards the opulent land of Tusculum, which became the centre of their military operations.[18]

It is obvious, then, that the Volscī had the upper hand in Latium in the first half of the fifth century B.C., after their descent onto the coastal, Pomptine plain. Dionysius of Halicarnassus records that this area is firmly established as Volscian territory by 492 B.C.[19] Livy corroborates this[20] and states that it remained so, even as late as 434 B.C.[21]

One year after the Volscian conquest of 463 B.C., the winds of change brought a complete reversal in the roles of predator and prey. The consul of 462, Lucretius, led an army of Romans against the plundering Volscians in the countryside south-west of Rome. Even Livy questions the authenticity of his sources, which record an overall casualty toll of 13,470 for the Volscī. This may be the total tally for the three encounters supposedly made in that year.[22]

In the succeeding three years, Rome was once again racked by internal problems, this time of a political nature, and had no time to keep a check on Volscian activities. The Volscian defeat of 462 kept

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18 Livy III, 6.

19 D. H. VIII, 1.2; 2.2.

20 Livy II, 34.4.

21 Livy IV, 34.4.

22 Livy III, 8.

the forts dormant for a while, according to the annalists, but once again, in 459, with their resources replenished, the Volscians advanced upon the Hernicī and Latinī, pushing as far as Antium on the Tyrrhenian coast.[23] The campaign lasted several months, but the Volscian supply lines had been cut, and the army was starved out and made to pass under the yoke by Quintus Fabius Vibulanus and Lucius Cornelius, consuls for that year.[24]

In 449 B.C.[25] the Volscī once again mobilized on a large scale against the Latinī and Hernicī, who immediately called upon their old ally for military intervention. The consuls Valerius and Horatius answered to their pleas. Lying in wait in possum-like fashion, Valerius, through his actions, managed to convince the Volscī of some reluctance to engage in battle, and they turned their efforts towards plundering raids against the Latinī and Hernicī. Valerius took advantage of the small Volscian garrison left behind and, after several skirmishes, the Volscī lay defeated once again.[26]

A private dispute in Ardea over a marriage contract, according to Livy, brought the Volscians face to face in battle once more with the Romans in 443 B.C. By this time, the Romans were more adept than ever before, and it took no time at all to pin down the Volscī and drive them under the yoke.[27]

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[23] Livy III, 21.

[24] Livy III, 23.

[25] Livy III, 57.

[26] Livy III, 61.

[27] Livy IV, 9.

Heavy fighting resumed again in 431[28] resulting in a Volscian loss, and yet they continued to wage war aggressively against the Hernicī in 423 B.C.[29] As so many times before, the call went to Rome, seeking aid. This time, however, the Roman commander, Sempronius, who previously had defeated the Volscians and therefore was chosen to do the job again, became over-confident and negligent in his preparation against the Volscī, who, Livy tells us, engaged with the utmost single-minded intensity. The battle remained a stalemate for some time, and then began to emerge as a Volscian victory. Unfortunately for the Volscians, Sextus Tempanius intervened with his cavalry from over the hill, and he tightened the Roman defences to drive the Volscians from their encampment.[30]

Hereafter, the Volscian losses in upper Latium become simply a list of sites and dates: Ferentinum fell in 421 to the consul Furius;[31] Verrugo[32] was captured in 408 B.C.[33] by the Romans, only to be won again by the Volscī in 406[34] and then re-captured by the Romans in 395 or 394 B.C.;[35] Anxur (Tarracina) succumbed in 406[36] to fall again into

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28 Livy IV, 26.1ff, 30.1-2; Diod. XII, 64.1-3.

29 Livy IV, 36.4.

30 Livy IV, 37.4ff.

31 Livy IV, 51.7.

32 The location of Verrugo in unknown, but Radke in RE suggests it was on the edge of the Trerus river.

33 Livy IV, 56.

34 Livy IV, 55.8; Diod. XIV, 11.6.

35 Livy IV, 58.3; Diod. XIV, 98.5.

36 Livy IV, 59.

Volscian hands in 402[37] and then to be recovered by Rome in 401 or 400 B.C.;[38] Antium also fell to Rome in 406;[39] Artena followed in 404 B.C. with Ecetra.[40]

On the other hand, Carventum, a Roman garrison, was seized in 410 B.C. by the Volscī and Aequī, but was recovered by the Romans in the same year, only to be lost again in 409 B.C.[41] But although the Volscī were, on occasion, able to destroy or capture a garrison, such as Carventum or others named,[42] their actions never went without stringent retaliation on the part of Rome.

After 408 B.C., Latium became the battleground for a complete Roman offensive[43] and by 358 B.C. two Roman tribes, the Pomptine and Publilian (bringing the total number to twenty-seven) were established in the area,[44] a move which the Volscians could not successfully counter.

What was it, then, that allowed the Romans to capture, town by town, valley by valley, the territory of the Volscī? It is known that the Volscī were a fierce, tenacious people, well versed and practically experienced in the arts of war, from infantry to cavalry to organized

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37 Livy V, 8.2-3.

38 Livy IV, 12.6., 13.1.

39 Livy IV, 59.

40 Livy IV, 61.

41 Livy IV, 53.1ff, 55.4-8.

42 Livy IV, 58.

43 Livy IV, 57.

44 Livy VII, 15.11.

military establishments. They were able to take the upper hand in the conflict for over a century, to wreck havoc on Rome and other neighbouring tribes, the Hernicī, Latinī and Sabinī, against the latter with the help of the Aequī. Could it be that continued hostilities ground down the Volscian defences and ardour and lowered their efficiency? Was the threat of Samnite expansion from the south-east a factor? What contributed to Rome's strengthened army? Increasing population? Over one hundred years of battle experience with Italic tribes? Better leadership?

Asking questions such as these is comparable to wanting merely a brief statement outlining causes of World War II, or the American Revolution. It can be attempted, but it will inevitably result in a vague, inadequate response. Instead of risking such a response, only two areas will be examined to attempt to offer a brief account of the Volscian downfall of the late fifth and early fourth centuries to the advancing Roman eagle; that is, the Samnite expansion at the Volscian back door, and the refined Roman strategies for capturing and maintaining territory, which will dealt with first of all.

As outlined earlier, it is believed that the Volscians had a chain of fortified hill-towns or garrisons from Corioli and Antium in Latium proper stretching east to Velitrae and Artena, and from there east-south-easterly down the Trerus valley to Ecetra, on the Monti Lepini, and to Ferentinum, in the foothills of the Monti Ernici range. A two or three link chain extended from Anxur, along the Tyrrhenian coast eastward to Lautulae, and possibly included Circeii, although this cannot be proven as yet. The south-east portion of the Volscian domain was protected by a loose chain of forts in the Morroni-San Vittore-

Casinum triangle, and extended up the middle Liris valley through Roccasecca on the Melfa to Rocca d'Arce, only twenty-five kilometers southeast from Ferentinum.

By the mid- to late fifth century, Rome's military leaders no doubt saw what kept the Volscians on the aggressive for so long, despite what was considered superior military tactics on the part of Rome's legions, and they realized what had to be done to put down the Volscī once and for all: the Volscian fort chain had to be systematically broken and a newer, adapted version had to take its place to ensure Roman domination. This idea of new adaptation was the seed of what was to become the extensive communications network established along the valleys of the Trerus and upper and lower Liris. Not only was it set to conquer the Volscians, but also to combat later the Samnites. Investigation into other areas of the Republic and Empire might reveal similar strategies to control vast stretches of territory and frontier lines.

The Romans followed the same pattern as the Volscī in establishing "key link" centres of fortifications. In the late fifth century they were able to break through the north-western system in Latium proper and to establish the first of four major centres by taking Antium in 406 B.C.[45] and Artena,[46] perhaps the most strategically placed centre, and Ecetra to the south-east in 404 B.C.[47] (See map #4)

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45 Livy IV, 59.

46 Livy IV, 61.

47 Livy IV, 61. There is some dispute as to whether Ecetra was an individual site, or whether it should be identified with Signia or Artena (see above, chapter I, n. 73a).

Once captured, this direct line from the coast north-east to the northern-most promontory of the Lepini range could be linked to the now Roman occupied centre of Ferentinum, which succumbed to Rome in 412 B.C.[48] and was given to the Hernici, who lost it in 361 B.C.

Archaeological evidence would seem to corroborate Livy's dating. Rough cyclopean masonry on the site of Artena would indicate a late fifth or early fourth century Roman occupation. Despite extensive excavations by Quilici[49] on the site, Volscian remains recognizable as such have not been found. In fact, there is a marked gap in findings from the sixth century Etruscan occupation and the fourth century Roman fortifications, which are made of pale gray, undressed limestone boulders with smaller rocks filling the gaps, similar to the technique found at other strictly Roman sites. Artena, as mentioned earlier, was of vital strategic importance to any communications network. Located atop Monte Fortino, this site afforded a view west across the Pomptine plain and onward to the sea. It was also clearly visible with Velitrae, Praeneste, Signia, Anagnia and down the Trerus valley to Ferentinum and what must have been the location of Ecetra. Today an industrial haze can hang over the valley for days at a time during the summer, and yet one can see from site to site with perfect ease.

The Volscian fortification chain, at this pivot point, extended down the Trerus valley to Ecetra. The more precise Roman network, on

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48 Livy IV, 51.7.

49 Quilici, L. "Artena." NS 1968, 1974, passim.

the other hand, established a centre mid-way between the two points at a fort named Signia, now the town of Segni on the eastern face of the Monti Lepini. Blake[50] dates the workmanship of the polyhedrons as belonging to the same period as the polygonal masonry found at Norba. To this technique she gives an approximate date of mid-fourth century B.C. Dionysius' dating of 508 B.C.[51] would seem very early, and Livy's claim that the town was founded by Tarquinius Superbus is pure folly.[52] Much of the remains of Signia belongs definitely to the period of Roman network expansion. The acropolis was protected by a gate and inner wall made of polygonal style masonry of very rough limestone. A second wall, located at a lower level, formed a passageway leading through a main gate and relied heavily on the natural facing of the rock to serve as defense, evidence which would contribute to the fourth century dating. This passage makes a connection to an old road which seems to head north horizontally along the hills, and it no doubt led to Artena, which can be seen from the acropolis.

Not only Artena is visible from Signia, however. From the eastern face it is possible to see Ferentinum and to the east-South-east, the hills where Ecetra presumably was located are clearly within sight.

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50 Blake, 96. Despite Blake's research, some doubt lingers as to the dating of the polygonals.

51 D. H. V, 20.

52 Livy I, 56; II, 21; D. H. IV, 63.

The establishment of Ecetra as a Roman link is synchronous with Artena archaeologically as well as annalistically. Blake's[53] observations have noted that Ecetra and Artena could be one and the same, however, Ecetra was destroyed by Rome in 378 B.C. and never re-built; Artena, on the other hand, was firmly in Roman hands in the fourth century and strongly fortified by them, to which the studies of Quilici would attest.

Massive wall masonry found at Ferentinum, despite the fact that it ranges in technique from rough polygonal to quadrangular, is all part of an early first century B.C. fortification building plan, perhaps to counter the hostility of the Social War. It therefore could not have been a major centre for communications, but rather an outpost, a type of feeler for the area north of the Trerus valley in the Ernici range.[54]

Beginning with this line from Antium north-east to Artena and then east to Ecetra and Ferentinum, Rome systematically established a tight network of forts around both sides of the Monti Lepini, and north to the Monti Ernici site of Praeneste.

Although Praeneste itself was not a Volscian stronghold, but a Latin one, we know that in 382 B.C. the Praenestinī allied themselves with the local Volscī and took part in a sack of Satricum, which was by this time a Roman colony.[55] The Romans retaliated with vigour, and the Praenestinī were successfully subjugated by Titus Quinctius in 380 B.C.[56]

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53 Blake, 93.

54 Ibid, 98.

55 Livy VI, 22.4.

56 Livy VI, 29.8.

Looking at the archaeological evidence, it might be supposed that the Romans established Praeneste as a fortification centre, not only to discourage its involvement with the Volscī, but also to tighten the system with a link twelve kilometers to the north of Artena. The original circuit of walls on the east and west sides of the southern slope of the site show walls and terracing in a transition from cyclopean to polygonal masonry, a phenomenon which Blake[57] dates to the mid-fourth century. This is substantiated further by the style of the close joints, and the presence of one gate complete with architrave, while a second has a corbelled arch.

Extending south from Artena, the Romans established forts at Cora and Norba, each on the western slopes of the Monti Lepini, and each within sight of each other. Blake dates both sites in the early to mid-fourth century B.C.[58] and compares their building techniques with those found at Praeneste, Signia and Circeii, which will be discussed later.[59]

According to Livy[60] Cora was a Latin colony well within Volscian territory, although it is known that a large proportion of the population was indeed Volscian. Blake places the construction of the outer circuit of transitional cyclopean walls and terraces to approximately this time period of Volscian habitation, but she also has been able to date the

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57 Blake, 95.

58 Ibid, 94.

59 Ibid. passim.

60 Livy II, 16.8.

typically Roman polygonal style of the so-called Palazzo di Pilate to the early fourth century, which she feels establishes Cora's fortifications as synchronous with Norba's.[61] This second building period at Cora in the fourth century could very well have been in preparation for the hostilities which Livy dates to 330, at the time when Vitruvius Vaccus laid waste the territories of Setia, Norba and Cora,[62] when the remains of the older Cora were used as a foundation for the Romans' fortifications.

Norba, on the other hand, seems to have had only one construction period in the fourth century. Ranging in technique from faced polygonal to quadrangular masonry with horizontal coursing in many places, the walls are very definitely of Roman engineering. Once again, though, there is a discrepancy. Blake dates this site to the early to mid-fourth century,[63] yet Livy gives us a date of 330 B.C. for the conflict involving Vaccus' seige of the town (supra). Livy's dating of the events of this century can vary by as much as thirty years. Perhaps it is safe to assume that one of the variations is found here.

South of Norba, the Romans established the fortification of Setia. Velleius[64] informs us that its foundation took place in 382 B.C. with the stationing of a Latin colony and Livy records[65] a new addition of colonists

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61 Blake, 94.

62 Livy VIII, 19.5.

63 Blake, 96.

64 Velleius I, 14.2.

65 Livy VI, 30.9.

in 379 B.C.[66] Blake agrees with Livy's dating on this site, and she designates the building of the first circuit of walls to after 382 B.C.[67] The technique is placed into five categories: the oldest is polygonal, and in some stretches of wall there was some attempt at quadrangularity, followed by refined polygonal with evidence in places of interlocking courses, close joints and a smooth, outer surface, and near the gates and some corner masonry there was the more sophisticated opus quasi-quadratum. Since there is no evidence whatsoever to point to an earlier Volscian fort, Setia very firmly marks the advance of the Romans into the Volscian territory.

Personal observation of the circuit of forts branching west and east from Artena and their relationship to each other has led to an exciting hypothesis of the function of the centres in the Roman communications ring. The idea of a network of intervisible fortifications around the mountain range Lepini would seem very plausible and real, owing to the location of the forts on mountain tops or prominent slopes and their proximity to each other. Research conducted in the area of this chain of forts in the summers of 1979 and 1980 strongly supports this theory. As mentioned earlier, Artena is clearly visible from several centres: Praeneste, Velitrae, and down the Trerus valley to Signia and Ferentinum. Located along the western face of the Monti Lepini, the centre of Cora cannot be seen from Artena, but it is intervisible with Norba to the south.

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66 Livy VI, 21.

67 Blake, 95.

Norba, in turn, guarded the road to Setia, and all three centres commanded a view of the entire Pomptine plain stretching to the coast. Although the forts of Cora and Artena as well as Norba and Setia are not intervisible, a small garrison with lookout facilities might reasonably be posted at a suitable spot between the centres in question to act as a relay post, thereby rendering the forts virtually intervisible. What stronger, more efficient device could the Romans possibly have had to combat the rebellious tribes, and to control them once they had been conquered? And once its indispensability had been proven, how extensive could this system have become?

A second, much smaller network was quite likely centered around the fortifications at Tarracina, formerly the Volscian town of Anxur, which guards the defile between the coastal marshes and the mountains, and the Lautulae pass between the mountains and the lake of Fundi. According to Livy, Tarracina entered the Latin League in 409 B.C.,[68] was stormed by Rome in 406 B.C. and was completely lost to her in 402 B.C.[69] After struggles with the Volscians in 400 and 397 B.C., Tarracina was finally secured and became a Roman colony in 329.[70] Blake's research dates the destruction of the traces of cyclopean masonry to the earlier conflict date of 406 B.C. and assigns the remains to what the Romans rebuilt shortly thereafter.[71]

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68 Livy IV, 59.

69 Livy V, 8.2.

70 Livy IV, 59, V, 8.13-16, VII, 21.

71 Blake, 93.

Tarracina was a pivotal point in the early fourth century in the Circeii-Tarracina-Fundi network. Circeii to the south-west was founded traditionally ca. 393 B.C.[72] as a safeguard against the Volscians. It therefore seems unlikely that in the fourth century it allied itself with the Volscians against Rome, as Livy records.[73] This coastal link was located on the Monte della Cittadella on the north side of the Monte Circeo about three kilometers from the sea. The acropolis walls found there, which encircle the early settlement at the foot of Monte Circeo, had an inner face of cyclopean masonry and an outer face of refined polygonal, all of which is similar to the fortifications at Signia, which itself can be dated to the second quarter of the fourth century B.C., and is of solely Roman origin.[74]

To the east in this small network was Fundi, located on the Appian way, 74 miles from Rome.[75] Although it first appears in history in 338 B.C., its location dictates that it must have been part of Roman defense and communications before this.

By the third quarter of the fourth century, Rome had established a line of defense south-east of Rome on a line from Tarracina and its connecting centres to the extreme south of the Pomptine plain and extending northward to the forts at Setia and others in the Monti Lepini range.

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72 Diod. XIV, 102.4.

73 Livy VI, 12-21, VIII, 3.

74 Blake, 94.

75 Strabo V, 233.

Movement of Roman expansion in this area south-eastward commenced with the conquest by C. Plautius Decianus of the Volscian town of Privernum on the heights between the Oufens and the Amasenus rivers in 329 B.C.,[76] somewhere near modern-day Priverno, although it has never been located.[77] With this acquisition, Rome struck the chord sounding the final stage in the breakdown of the Volsci. Privernum was a key position, connecting the small coastal network of Tarracina with the firmly established circuit from Artena south to Cora, Norba and Setia, and from Artena south-east to Ferentinum, across the Trerus river. One year later in 328 B.C., the Latin colony of Fregellae[78] was founded[79] to collect the Roman forces for a concentrated swoop down the Liris valley, but also to oppose the advancing Samnite federation.

While Rome was occupied during the fourth century with quelling the Volscians, the Liris valley beckoned to the Samnites for several reasons; the Samnite population was rapidly expanding and through the Ver Sacrum ritual needed space into which they could migrate. Because of this demographic shift, the federation of tribes needed more agricultrual area and resources of mineral deposits. The place they chose was the Liris valley, with a frontier extending from what would later

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76 Livy VIII, 20.7-12.

77 Blake, 93.

78 Blake follows Säflund's location of this Fregellae (see Blake, 97, Säflund, 70), who places Volscian Fregellae at Arce and the earlier Roman Fregellae at Opri on the east bank of the Liris.

79 Livy VIII, 22.2.

become Interamna Lirenas, at the confluence of the modern Liri and Gari rivers in the lower valley, to Sora, located on the upper Liris. By the mid-fourth century, Rome was also pushing into the lower Liris valley, although the land was still populated by a sizable number of Volscī. The valley became a potential time-bomb until the Roman-Samnite treaty of 354 B.C. settled the matter temporarily.

The treaty was drawn up to clarify the actual spheres of interest in the valley, since complete Roman control would have been a threat to Samnite mining operations in the Meta region, and complete Samnite control would have given the federation a direct route into the very core of Latium proper. The treaty, then, seems to have defined the line of demarcation as the Liris river itself. Rome remained on the south-west, or right bank, and the Samnites advanced no further than the east, or left bank. In the years immediately following this agreement, both sides honoured it.[80]

After 354 B.C. Rome seems to have controlled the centres of Sora,[81] Satricum[82] and Luca,[83] all of which were located on the right side of the Liris and were therefore within the legitimate domain of Rome. The Samnites were informed of all of this and raised no objections,[84]

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80 Salmon, Samnium, 191ff.

81 Livy VII, 28.6.

82 It appears not to have been the Satricum of the sixth century near Antium, but rather the Satricum which is now Boville Ernica, according to Dr. Salmon through personal correspondence.

83 Livy X, 33.1.

84 Livy VIII, 19.1.

since on the east bank they now controlled the Volscian towns of Casinum, Arpinum and Aquinum,[85] and captured and destroyed Fregellae,[86] an event which Salmon dates before 340 B.C.[87]

Despite the potential powder keg along the Liris after the Samnite conquest of Fregellae, conflict between the two expanding powers did not begin here, but rather in Campania.[88] Here the land was more fertile and the region more populous, and both parties exchanged hostilities between 343 and 341 B.C. At the end of the skirmish, both sides reverted to the 354 treaty, and Rome renounced its interest in the Sidicinī, while the Samnites did the same for Campania.[89]

It is noted during this time, however, that the Volscians became restless and caused some trouble in Privernum.[90] At first, this seems to be an absurd move on the part of the Volscī, since it was the Samnites that had destroyed Fregellae. However, it is a perfectly understandable indigenous reaction to the treaty. The Italic tribes were taking exception to being bandied and traded about, and took up arms against Rome rather than be treated like so much gambled property. Because of the Volscian position in the territory divided by Romans and Samnites, they rebelled

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85 Livy IX, 44.16; Diod. XX, 90.

86 Livy VIII, 22.2, 23.6; D. H. XV, 8.4.

87 Salmon, Samnium, 194, n. 11.

88 Livy VII, 32.3, VIII, 23.8; D. H. XV, 3.2; Florus I, II.1-17.

89 Livy VIII, 1.8, 2.3.

90 Salmon, Samnium, 198.

against both oppressors with the backing of the Campanī, a move which led to the Latin War of 340 to 338 B.C.[91] But, as a result of the battle at Suessa, the alliance of the Latinī, Campanī, Auruncī, Volscī and Sidicinī fell apart,[92] and the dominating powers were able to deal with the divided, smaller groups on an individual basis. By 332, all of Latium and northern Campania was under Roman control[93] and the territory of the Sidicinī under the thumb of the Samnites.[94]

Continued domination was not the full consequence of the post-Latin War settlement. Rome began its stringent reprisals by confiscating land from the Latinī, Volscī, Campanī and Auruncī and distributing it to the Roman colonies at Ostia and Antium and in viritane allotments.[95] On the other hand, in order to defend the coastal and interior frontiers, they incorporated five Latin-speaking communities into the Roman state, giving them Roman rights (cum suffragio); they allowed Latin colonies to continue at Signia, Norba, Ardea, Circeii and Setia, made Tibur, Praeneste and Cora allied towns, and bestowed the status civitas sine suffragio upon towns of the Volscī and Campanī, permitting them local administrative autonomy. This may also have been true for the Auruncan towns, although there is no way of proving this.[96]

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91 Livy VII, 3-14; Diod. XVI, 90.2; D. H. XV, 4.

92 Livy VIII, 11.11, 15.2; Triumph. Fastī ad. an. 340.

93 Livy VIII, 17.12.

94 Livy VIII, 2.5.

95 Salmon, Samnium, 210ff. This type of allotment was the specific area of land granted to one man.

96 Ibid. 210, n. 3.

Roman territory in south-central Italy now stretched from the seven hills south to Vesuvius, connecting with Campania by two routes; one was straight down the Liris valley (a route later to support the Via Latina) flanked virtually by hostile territory, and the second was the coastal, Pomptine route, later to be the Via Appia, which could be cut easily by a westward thrust of Italians toward the Tyrrhenian sea from Teanum or the middle Liris, since both areas were occupied by the Samnites. To counteract, Rome planted a colony at Fregellae,[97] for not only did this site guard a Liris ford and the Trerus valley road, it also controlled the pass over the Auruncan mountains to the sea. Small wonder that the Samnites had captured it for themselves in 343 B.C.

Since the Romans established a colony at Fregellae, which was located on the Samnite bank of the Liris under the treaty of 354 B.C., the Samnites felt it to be within their right to protect what was theirs, and in 327 they fell upon Fregellae, the town which became the Sarajevo of the Second Samnite War, the causa belli: aggressive expansion in violation of an accord.

Although the first outbreaks of organized violence were in Campania and conflict centered here for the first five years of the war, Salmon believes[98] that the principle theatre of operations was the the Liris valley,[99] since this area is highly sensitive to military

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97 Livy VIII, 22.2.

98 Salmon, Samnium, 223.

99 D. H. XV, 102.

strategy: Rome could use it as a spring-board to strike at Samnium, and the Samnites could penetrate Latium and reach the sea from it, thereby isolating one part of Roman domain from the principle area. (Modern history also demonstrates the strategic position of the Liris valley very well. During the allied invasion of 1944 from Sicily northward to Rome, the valley at Cassino was vital to both the Axis and Allied forces, since it was the gateway to the capital and the heartland of the country.[99a]) Appian[100] records violence here at Fregellae between 326 and 321 B.C.[101]

The Roman legions invaded Samnium in 321 under the generalship of T. Veturius Calvinus and Sp. Postumius Albinus, not from the Liris, but from Campania, a decision which resulted in the debacle of the Caudine Forks. The treaty issuing from this Roman surrender demanded Roman withdrawal from Samnite territory, the relinquishment of six hundred equitēs as hostages until full observance of the treaty had been made, and the adherence to the treaty of 354 B.C., which had been renewed in 341. The most serious demand, however, was the abandonment of all Latin colonies along the Samnite frontier, which included Cales and the ever-important Fregellae.[102]

[99a] Nicholson, passim.

[100] Appian, Samn. IV, 1.

[101] See also Livy VIII, 29.7-9, VIII, 30.40, 33.1.

[102] Salmon, Samnium, 226.

In 320 Livy states that the Satricans revolted against the Romans[103] and Fregellae was captured by the Samnites.[104] This, of course, is ridiculous, for not only was Fregellae given to the Samnites as part of the peace treaty of the previous year, but Livy also admits a lull in hostilities which lasted five years after the treaty.[105] Instead, the Romans seem to have become involved with the Volscians again in 316 B.C., due to the settlement in 318 of Roman citizens in the Liris valley and their enrolment in a new tribe, Oufentina. The Volscī also probably felt that the Romans were still weak after their crushing defeat at Caudium. Therefore the inhabitants of Satricum, Luca and the Ferentanī caused a good deal of disturbance, no doubt with the blind-eyed encouragement of the Samnites. The Romans responded by sending a force to Satricum under a dictator. The Samnites sent auxiliaries to Satricum in return, and then moved against Plistica, a pro-Roman town in the Liris valley. In this way, round two of the Second Samnite War began.[106]

In 315 under Q. Fabius Rullianus, a Roman force attacked Satricum and the Volscians who had revolted in the Liris valley.[107]

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103 Livy IX, 12.5, 16.2. Dr. Salmon has advised that the Satricanī of Livy's text may very well refer to the inhabitants of Saticula in Campania, and not of Satricum.

104 Livy IX, 12.6-8.

105 Livy IX, 21.1.

106 Livy IX, 21-22; Diod. XIX, 72.3-4.

107 Livy IX, 16.11; Triumph. Fastī ad. an. 319.

Rullianus was able to recover Satricum, but it was here that his easy-going luck ended. In this same year a Samnite force managed to break through Roman lines and began to advance upon Latium by way of the Liris valley. Rome therefore established forces at Tarracina under Rullianus' Master of the Horse, Aulus Cerretanus, and the Latin colonies were evacuated.[108] The nameless Samnite commander in the meantime reached Fregellae with due haste, rightly placing it once more in Samnite domain. Then he swung westward between the Ausonian and the Auruncan mountains, thereby splitting the Roman territory in half and bringing his forces against those of Aulus Cerretanus at Lautulae.[109] The Samnites easily overcame the Romans here[110] and then moved on to sack Ardea[111] which never recovered from the blow and dwindled into historical insignificance.[111a] Rome therefore had to withdraw any and all remaining, scattered troops from the Liris region to protect Rome. By doing so they left several centres open for attack. The Samnites took advantage of this and captured Sora.[112]

In 314 the Samnites were caught off guard by the appearance of Acrotatus, son of the Spartan king, who appeared in Tarentum on his

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108 Salmon, Samnium, 234.

109 Livy IX, 22-23, 25.2.

110 Diod. XIX, 72.7-8.

111 Diod. XIX, 76.1.

111a Sommella, PECS, 85.

112 Salmon, Samnium, 238.

way to Syracuse.[113] Samnite attention was now divided, and the Romans were able therefore to pull off a crucial victory in the west under C. Sulpicius Longus, which removed the Samnite threat from Latium and Campania.[114] The battle scene was probably Tarracina, following Diodorus[115] rather than Livy,[116] who places it at Caudium.[117]

The Samnites' concern with what was happening on their coast front allowed the Romans to regain Fregellae and to establish a new colony there in 313. By 312 Sora and other Volscian towns were recovered by M. Valerius Maximus. The establishment in 312 of the military post on the left bank of the middle Liris firmly implanted the Roman army; Interamna Lirenas provided communications with Cales and Campania and counterbalanced the Samnite-held Casinum across the valley to the north, virtually the last Samnite stronghold in the Liris region.

By the peace treaty of 304 the Samnites lost many of their Campanian centres, including Saticula, Luceria and Teanum Sidicinum, and gave up their vital position in the Liris valley. The last trace of Samnite occupation in the area was at Casinum and at Atina to the north. Rome was entrenched on the left bank and had Sora (305), Fregellae (313), Interamna (312), Arpinum (305) and presumably Volscian

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113 Diod. XIX, 70.8.

114 Livy IX, 27; Diod. XIX, 70.8.

115 Diod. XIX, 76.2.

116 Livy IX, 27.

117 Salmon, Samnium, 237.

Aquinum firmly in her grasp, that is, all centres which shielded the inland route to Campania later to become the Via Latina.[118]

Rome now had complete control of the middle Liris and she used it to the fullest advantage as a nucleus for expansion in all directions. She began construction of the military highway, the Via Valeria, in 304, completed ententes with the Appennine tribes, established a colony at Sora in 303[119] and used that as a post from which to advance up the upper Liris to attack the Aequī.[120] When the Third Samnite War broke out in 298 B.C., Rome's control of the valley allowed her to use it as a duct to thrust into Samnite territory, as well as across to Campania and into Apulia.[121] For the first two years of the war, Rullianus used the valley as a centre of operations.[122]

In 294 the Samnites, fully realizing the strategical importance of the Liris region, attempted a break-through into the valley. The murder of a Roman quaestor during this operation in the area struck a hard blow at Rome's morale in combatting the invasion, but the troops prevailed. Due to the loyalty of the Latin colonies at Suessa Aurunca, Volscian Sora and Interamna,[123] the Samnites were unsuccessful and driven back.

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118 Ibid, 253.

119 Livy X, 1.3.

120 Salmon, Samnium, 255f.

121 Ibid, 260.

122 Livy X, 16.2.

123 Livy X, 36.14.

An army operated out of Interamna Lirenas in 293 under the command of Sp. Carvilius Maximus. It moved up the Gari river past Casinum, now presumably Roman, and on into Samnite territory to destroy Amiternum and Atina,[124] and then it drew up at Cominium. Maximus' collegue, L. Papirius Cursor, at the same time advanced eastward into Samnite country from northern Campania. The two consuls synchronized their movements and attacked Cominium and Aquilonia on the same day. Both operations were complete, utter triumphs for Rome[125] and were the turning point of the Third Samnite War. The Romans took the next two years to complete the mop-up procedures in Samnium and through demand of unconditional surrender, negotiated a treaty in 290.[126] Rome now possessed without question the entire Liris valley including Casinum, and the upper and lower Volturnus river now replaced the Liris as the Roman frontier in the south.[127]

Through the establishment of Fregellae, the Romans had been able to form a consolidating link with the Monti Lepini intervisibility network, and to use that link as a key pivot point to centres down both the Trerus and Liris valleys. From Sora there was a network to Arpinum, Fregellae, Interamna Lirenas and Aquinum and its own chain to Casinum (supra). This network was guarded along the coast by the

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124 Livy X, 39.1-5. Amiternum here must surely not be the site of modern San Vittorino, but rather a site between Interamna Lirenas and Atina, probably modern San Elia Fiume Rapido, which shelters polygonal remains. See Salmon, Samnium, 270, n. 4.

125 Livy X, 38-43; Dio Cassius Frag. XXXVI, 29.

126 Livy Epit. 11.

127 Salmon, Samnium, 277.

Tarracina chain, and quite probably at the mouth of the Liris river, where the Romans established a citizen colony in 295 B.C.[128] at Minturnae, a former Auruncan city of the fifth century.[129]

It is here, at the end of the Samnite Wars, that the Volscian identity as an Italic tribe weakens. After nearly two hundred years of conflict, the independent Volscī became a part of the ever expanding Roman domain. Despite the fact that they were allowed self-administration under Rome as the head of the Italian confederation, and were granted local autonomy, as a sovereign tribe they fade into history until the epic of Vergil brought them back to life in the early Empire. His memorialization of the honour and glory of the Italic tribe is seen in the person of their mythical virgin-warrior, Camilla, and in the words of the goddess Diana:

> I wish this war had not swept her away
> and tempted her to try the Teucrians;
> so would she still be dear to me and one
> of my companions. But, since bitter fates
> are set on her untimely death -- come nymph,
> glide down from heaven, find the Latin boundaries
> where this sad fight is fought with luckless omens.[130]

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128 Livy X, 21.8.

129 Johnston, (1933), 110f.

130 Vergil, Aeneid XI, 11. 770-6, p. 293.

CHAPTER III: THE SOCIAL WAR

With the establishment of Interamna Lirenas at the east end of the Liris valley in 312 B.C., Rome took a firm grasp of all of Latium. Latin colonies had been settled at Cora, Suessa Pometia, Signia, Velitrae, Norba, Circeii, Satricum, Setia, Fregellae, the Pontiae Insulae and Interamna, and they acted as anchors for her spreading power and influence throughout the entire region. Sora joined the ranks shortly thereafter to lock in Roman control. Citizen colonies by the turn of the century numbered only three: Antium, Tarracina and Minturnae; but they were enough to monitor the activities of the Latin colonies.[1] With the onset of the third century, Rome searched for a way to develop a workable relationship with the conquered Latin and also allied colonies (mostly in Campania, Etruria, Lucania and Bruttium) now within her domain. How was she to do this? What would be the consequences of a mistake of judgment? How would the Italians adjust to a system in which they were no longer the complete masters of their fate? Rome was definitely faced with a challenge, a challenge which she readily accepted. However, Rome's response to that continuing challenge led to two hundred years of unrest and insecurity, and ultimately resulted in the Social War of 91 to 87 B.C.

How this conflict came about has been cause for speculation and theorization for many years amongst ancient historians, political

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[1] Pulgram, 485-7.

analysts and classicists: When did the trouble begin? Why did unrest continue for two hundred years before open revolt ensued? How were the internal politics of Rome affected? Did this unrest in Italy influence Rome's affairs abroad? What was the major problem that resulted in warfare?

When attempting to investigate this area of scholarship, extreme caution must be taken. The ancient sources are not as reliable as one would wish. Appian seems to be the most informed of the annalists, but quite often conflicts arise between his reports and those of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Cicero, then, must be used as a counter-measure to Appian. Cicero was not only a Roman citizen, he also hailed from the Volscian town of Arpinum and had seen active service in the Social War, on the side of Rome. Appian, on the other hand, was an Alexandrian Greek, not Roman, and recorded The Civil Wars, the tract dealing with the Social War and events preceeding and succeeding it, in the second century A.D. Writing three hundred years after the events in question could dull historical concern, but also could lend unbiased, analytical hindsight. As well, his major sources was no doubt Livy, whose books dealing with the second and first centuries B.C. are lost.

Because of the many variables involved in consulting the ancient sources, it must be stressed here that historical issues rather than actual historical facts and dates are the basis for this investigation into the social and political conflict in the Italic region of Italy in the closing centuries of the pre-common era.

The inception of unrest in Italy cannot be pin-pointed exactly, but the trouble certainly began to brew when Rome meddled in the workings of the towns and settlements now within her domain in the third century before Christ. Rather than act as conqueror, Rome prudently felt she should maintain the status quo within this district: Latin colonies were permitted to remain independent with their own constitution; they had the right to settle colonies; Roman citizens were allowed to take up residence in a Latin colony, but were compelled to surrender their Roman citizenship and to accept that of the community; trade and intermarriage with Rome, as well as an army were permitted, but a Latin colony was forbidden a foreign policy, and the right to social and economic relations with other colonies; after 187 B.C. they lost the right to free migration to Rome. On the other hand, the allied towns, or socii, were nominally independent city-states or tribal units with their own constitutions under the maiestas populi Romani; in exchange for military service to Rome, they were allowed conubium, or intermarriage, and commercium, or trade, as well as migration and citizenship with other socii; Rome required that they accept her authority when consulting her on matters of law; and unlike the Latin "blanket" policy, allied towns were granted rights separately from one another.[1a] Only Latins could vote in an allotted tribe in Rome, and could gain Roman citizenship (before 188 B.C.) by travelling to Rome and registering at a census, a process known as per migrationem et censum.[2] At the outset

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[1a] Salmon, Colonization, passim; Sherwin-White, Citizenship, 125ff.

[2] McDonald, 11; Sherwin-White, Citizenship, 113.

of Roman domination, it would appear that life in the Liris valley and elsewhere continued as it had before the infiltration of the Roman army.

In the course of the third century, however, a major change took place in relations between Rome and the Latins and Italians. Rome had already expanded her influence well into Campania and the interior, and was now the main Italian power. According to McDonald and Salmon, who follow Pliny, Rome minted a silver coin in Romano-Campanian didrachms in either 269 or 268 bearing the likeness of the goddess Diana of Nemi, a distinctly Italic patroness. They also believe that this minting was an indication of a new, confederate policy of Rome and the Italic tribes, now that a common enemy had materialized: Pyrrhus.[3] The more recent numismatic work of Crawford would dispute this, since he finds no evidence to substantiate the minting of silver coin in Rome itself until fifty years succeeding the Pyrrhic War. He does state, however, that silver coins were minted in southern Italy in the didrachm denomination, but feels that these date to an immediate pre- or post-Pyrrhic dating.[4] If Rome had the control over the rest of the confederation, as we must assume, then this common Italian currency (used, no doubt, to pay troops), excluding Rome, was meant to demonstrate Rome's "hands off" control of Italy, and her attempt to encourage easier communications and trade amongst the Italic peoples.

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[3] McDonald, 12, n. 5; Salmon, (1936), 59f; Pliny XXXIII, 42-4.

[4] Crawford, Coinage, 36-9.

By the time of the First Punic War (264 to 241), Rome needed Italic man-power to defend her foreign interests. For the second time, the allied towns lost a right granted them at the turn of the century, for migration was limited, especially for young men of military age. As McDonald points out, this was not discrimination against the Latinī and socii, but purely a matter of need on Rome's part for military personnel,[5] albeit at the expense of the non-Romans. Many Latin colonies welcomed this move by Rome, since a curb on migration enabled them to maintain their local man-power. If there were grumbling, it would not be the local officials of these towns who bore the brunt of the complaints, but rather the Romans.

Apparently there was a development of a bourgeois class of Italians, a group of local aristocracy acting as regional squires, who successfully reaped the profits of Rome's decrees, and were yet able to dodge any complaint for the errors and excesses they may have made in local administration. This situation, which would later mushroom into one of the major causes of the Social War, will be discussed in detail below.

Roman-Latin relations went through another major change during the Second Punic War, when twelve colonies refused to supply their quota of troops, not because of any profound disloyalty to Rome, but because of a pronounced decline in man-power.[6] Their refusal resulted in four types of retribution in 204: (i) they were forced to supply

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[5] McDonald, 12.

[6] Salmon, (1936), 56; Livy XXVII, 9.7.

extra troops, (ii) they were compelled to carry out their own census along Roman lines, (iii) the administration of levies was conducted by Roman magistrates rather than by local officials as previously allowed, (iv) they were made to provide payment for these magistrates to Rome through tributum.[7]

With the loss of this part of local autonomy in Ardea, Nepete, Sutrium, Alba, Carseoli, Cales, Narnia and the old Volscian territorial centres of Sora, Circeii, Setia, Interamna and Suessa (although this last location in Volscian territory is questionable), three categories of Latin colonies now existed.[8] First of all, twelve colonies with ius Arimini retained their full Latin rights obtained before 265 B.C. Within the Volscian territory were Signia, Norba, Fregellae and Pontiae (Insulae?).[9] They regulated their own census, were not required to pay tributum, did not supply a large number of troops, had unlimited ius migrandī and possibly ius conubiī.[10] The second category was composed of the twelve defaulting colonies of 209, which had been founded before 265, but were now in a special position of dependence because of the administration of their levy. In the third group stood the colonies founded after 265, none of which were in the Volscian territory, with a modified ius migrandī.[11]

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7 Livy XXVII, 9, XXIX, 15.

8 Salmon, (1936), 58f. Suessa may very likely have been Suessa Aurunca. See Salmon, Roman Italy, 64.

9 Included also were Luceria, Saticula, Venusia, Hadria, Cosa, Paestum, Beneventum, Ariminum.

10 Salmon, (1936), 60.

11 Firmum, Aesernia, Brundisium, Spoletium, Placentia and Cremona.

By 209 B.C. the Romans had banded with the Latins and Italians, forcibly in many cases, against three common enemies: Pyrrhus, the Gauls and Carthage. In theory, the local autonomy remained intact with the exception of the twelve defaulting colonies. In practice, the Senate and the consuls, who had administered the military effort early in the years of the confederation against the Pyrrhic threat, could still force Latin colonies into Roman service.[12] Colonies were still allowed a free hand in inter-communal matters, that is, in the exchange of citizenship, intermarriage and migration. It is clear that by the turn of the century the Romans were gradually divesting the Latins and allies of their treaty rights, despite the fact that they claimed a clear definition of the relationship.

Rome's power had grown by the Second Punic War (218 to 202) because of political and administrative experience, military control, and control over the social and economic development of Italy. The Roman Senate had taken on the role of arbitrator in inter-allied disputes by magistrates set up under special commission. Open revolt was regarded as an act of war, resulting in the forced destruction of the offending town, execution of the leading citizens and the marked limitation of autonomy.[13] The fate of Fregellae in 125 is witness to this. Conspiracy to revolt resulted in the arrest and execution of the leaders, the surrender of hostages against further unrest, and the establishment of a military garrison to maintain the peace.[14]

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[12] McDonald, 12; Salmon, (1936), 60f.

[13] Livy XXX, 24.4, XXVI, 16, XXVII, 33.4, XXVIII, 46.6; Polybius VI, 13.

[14] Polybius, loc. cit.; Livy XXV, 7.10, XXVII, 25.2, X, 1.3.

Rome also took on the role of arbitrator, through the appeal of an individual within an allied state or through the magistrates (leading citizens) with ties with Rome, in the dispute of boundary questions. When negotiations could not solve the problem, Rome had the power to use force to settle the matter. She also entered local politics during slave uprisings which posed an internal threat to local administration.[15] At this stage, the allies handled ordinary matters of public security, and the Senate had the constitutional right to intervene uninvited in an allied state's jurisdiction. However, Rome was becoming ever more powerful and felt she had the authority to meddle in local affairs for the sake of internal security, as will be seen.

Social unification of the Italic peninsula required the implementation of a road network, which gave rise to more wide-spread and frequent travel. Naturally with the increase of merchants and persons of wealth on the highways, brigandage flourished;[16] consequently, the Senate undertook to deal with the problems by co-ordinating local policing measures, since it was the leader of the confederation, and felt a growing sense of responsibility.[17] The Senate masked its unconstitutional interference by employing the blanket term "conspiracy",

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15 Livy XXXII, 26.4-18, XXXIII, 36.1-3; Diod. XXXVI, 11; Sherwin-White, Citizenship, 121.

16 Polybius, loc. cit.; Livy XXXIX, 38.4, XL, 37.4-7, 43.2, 44.6.

17 Sherwin-White, Citizenship, 129.

which was within its realm. The Senate realized it was in dangerous territory and trod lightly by directing the proceedings for the apprehension of road brigands, but did so in order that local authorities could carry out the actual law enforcement. The local authorities had no choice but to comply by this ruling, since failure to do so would have resulted in the arrival of a Roman magistrate to implement the Senate's instructions, thereby depriving the locals of self-determination.[18]

The Bacchic inquiry is another prime example of Rome's zeal to protect the confederation against what was felt to be "conspiracy". After the Second Punic War, many veterans and slaves returned to the areas of Etruria and Campania from southern Italy, where they had been exposed to the various eastern cults, amongst them the cult of Dionysus or Bacchus, to which raucous revelry and the promise of an afterlife attracted many, usually from the lower strata of society. Rumour spread that the cult was responsible for theft, murder and gross immorality within the membership. Freedom to dedicate oneself to a deity or cult was a privilege granted to all under Rome's jurisdiction (heaven forbid that the Senate should incur the wrath of the gods, known and unknown, by insulting one of them), but acts of crime and secret congregations were another matter entirely. When the Senate discovered that this malaise had not only spread through Rome and her holdings, but through the allied towns as well, she sent magistrates to root out the "conspiracy" and drive it from Italy. A decree in 186 condemned to death anyone who participated in the Bacchic rites. The

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[18] Livy XXXIX, 23.3, 41.6.

hunt for active devotees continued for five years thereafter, both in Rome and the peninsula.[18a] Within one hundred years from the time of the acquisition of Latium and the allies, the magistrates in Roman law had full power of life and death without appeal.[19]

The Roman Senate, seeing itself as the head of the confederation, had now developed a concept of criminal association through subversive activity against the State. Conspiracy constituted a "state of emergency", which allowed Rome to overstep her constitutional rights:

> This concept, with its implications of a "state of emergency", was held to justify the suspension of constitutional safeguards: it allowed the Senate in Italy to override federal rights and exercise direct control in Rome to override citizen rights and impose martial law.[20]

A "state of emergency" in the third century allowed the Senate to direct the consul to appoint a dictator. This system fell apart after the Second Punic War, when the Senate set up special commissions, free from the right of appeal.

The powers of the Senate over the Latins and allies because of its executive position in a unified Italy was extended to include intervention in cases of conspiracy and the imposition of martial law, and summary power over Roman citizens, and Latins and Italian allies through the local authorities.[21]

[18a] Livy XXXI, 12; Frank, C.A.H. VIII, 351f.

[19] Mommsen, II, 109f, III, 1066f.

[20] McDonald, 16.

[21] Ibid, 17; Last, C.A.H. VII, 356f.

By 200 B.C. Rome had firmly established herself as the dominant and controlling force in Italy, not only through her military prowess and administrational abilities, but also as the chief economic centre of Latium. Her growth in trade and industries was a direct result of her equipment of the armies, a boom in agricultural endeavors, and fresh building projects and urban renewal.[22] Because of such strength, Rome became the unchallenged leader of the Italic peninsula, and through this power was able to formulate domestic and foreign policy for all of Italy. The Senate was the centre of this policy development, a single, strong, middle-of-the-road entity drawn in opposing directions by two very vocal and respected statesmen and their followers: Scipio Africanus, who promoted a confederate policy based on hellenistic examples,[23] and Cato, who maintained somewhat conservative Italian ideas, a traditional foreign policy and matching views on the Italian confederation.[24]

Scipio was a man of old Roman, aristocratic stock whose upbringing and family connections shaped him for a brilliant military and political career. Because of his long-established ties in Rome, his catholic education and his successes in Spain with the army, Scipio's outlook on the world from the hub of Rome was universal, and his taste ran to Greek and eastern influences, both artistic and political. Cato, on the other hand, was born of modest, but noble, means in the Sabine countryside. He, too, served in the army

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22 Livy XXVIII, 45.14f; Frank, Economic Survey I, 104-5, 175f, 179f.

23 Holleaux, C.A.H. VIII, 158f.

24 McDonald, 18f; Livy XXXVII, 57, XXXIX, 40-1.

during the Hannibalic War, but in Italy, where he was among his own kind. When not practising law in the locality, he sought peace in the labour of his own estate. Both men began their political careers together in Rome; in 204 Cato became quaestor, serving under Scipio with the forces in North Africa. It was at this time that their opposing personalities and philosophies clashed; Cato, as Scipio's financial assistant, berated the latter's administration of troops and funds, accusing him before the Senate of wasting large amounts of money and precious time in leisurely pursuits. Cato's no-nonsense, austere attitude was incapable of comprehending Scipio's love of art and the pleasure he found in the Greek way of life. This misunderstanding led to distrust, and a very marked political and philosophical rivalry commenced,[25] not only between these two men in the Senate, but also between the types of men that each represented: the liberal, hellenistic ideal versus the conservative, pre-"Protestant" ethic. In the midst of this controversy rose a middle party in the Senate, a liberal group of statesmen who supported Scipio's hellenistic ideas of self-determination, while advocating a traditional policy in foreign affairs and in the matter of the Italian confederation. It was the policies of this middle group which moulded the future rights and privileges of the Italian population.[26]

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25 Scullard, Scipio, 27f, 186ff. The Oppian law controversy further emphasizes this conflict.

26 McDonald, 18.

By the second century Roman policy in Italy in theory allowed the Italians autonomy in constitution, property and local government, but forced the allies to remain under maiestas populī Romanī, or Roman-imposed control for the sake of security of the confederation. Within one hundred years of their confederate agreement with Rome, the Italians had lost many of their treaty rights: municipal autonomy of coinage, tax levies, troop raising, and freedom to co-ordinate acts for the enforcement of laws against brigandage, public unrest, slave uprisings, boundary and trade disputes and designated "states of emergency". It was no longer a privilege and right to be a Latin or ally.

By 195 there began a massive demographic shift from the Latin and allied towns into Rome. A rise in the interest rates encouraged increased investment, and Roman citizenship was more desirable now through residence. The rights and privileges of Roman enfranchisement outweighed the pride of Italian municipal citizenship. The Italians wanted the right of franchise to ensure some control over their political power through the election of magistrates sympathetic to their needs to obtain political equality. In the army suffrage would dictate a fairness in the distribution of pay and booty, and equality in matters of discipline and veteran land allotments. (Up until this time Roman citizens in the army got a larger share of the booty and saw less active duty, because the Italians and other non-Romans comprised two-thirds of the armed forces. Citizens were also given the highest commands, those with influence and power.) In affiliation with the army, Italian negotiatorēs would be guaranteed equal footing

with Roman entrepreneurs in the profitable contracts of army implementation, tax-farming, etc.[27] The growth of the city through trade and industry, the manufacture of military equipment, agricultural supplies and technology and the building plans attracted many to resort to a comfortable livelihood as landless artisans, merchants and skilled workers. However, because of this exodus from the countryside, it created a crisis in the towns of Italy. What would be the source of the man-power for the military organisation and security of the confederation if so many Italians, especially young men, were lured to the city and all it had to offer? The Senate could not limit migration between towns, since it was bound by the ius migrandī, one of the major clauses in the confederate treaty. Besides, the landed Italian gentry were losing man-power and not only for an artisan, agricultural economy. Military engagements in Greece (Antiochus), Asia (Gauls), northern Italy (the Boiī and Ligurēs) and also in Spain (Lusitanī) had caused Rome's armies to become alarmingly depleted by 186 B.C. The Senate called upon the Italians to meet troop demands, and because of the situation, the Italians were unable and unwilling to do so. The Senate then directed the praetor Q. Terentius Culleo to repatriate all Latins who had been resident or whose fathers had been resident in a Latin town in 204 or later. This resolution restored Italian man-power by approximately 12,000,[28] but it was in direct violation

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27 Sherwin-White, Citizenship, 143f.

27a Livy XXXIX, 6.4.

28 Livy XXXIX, 3.4-6.

of the ius migrandī since these colonies founded after 265 had the constitutional right of migration. The Romans cannot be held totally responsible for this action, however, since this restriction was imposed on the advice of the Italian nobility, the principēs of the towns.[28a] For the sake of military organisation and their position in the confederation, the Italian nobles knowingly and willingly surrendered the rights of their citizens, sacrificing the lower classes and their social and economic interests. Latins were allowed to migrate, still, so long as the economic and military balance remained undisturbed. If an imbalance occurred, the Senate, through the pressure of the Latin and Italian nobility temporarily forbade mobilization of the populace. By 177 no Latin could migrate to Rome without leaving a son behind to fulfil his military obligation. This first, clear betrayal of their people by the Italian gentry was a major factor in the eventual hostilities of the Social War.

In the second century the principēs Italicōrum populōrum fared well under Roman domination; they ruled in individual regions, shared in the levied taxes and in Roman exploitation of the Ager Publicus,[29] and had a vested interest in foreign capital as negotiatorēs in overseas trading. The archaeological evidence found in the Liris valley bears witness to a very peaceful and prosperous exist nce; the Latin and Italian gentry lived very comfortably indeed. But they, too, were feeling the restrictions along with the proletariat, not in the form

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[28a] Livy XXXIX, 3, XLI, 8, 9; Salmon, (1936), 56.

[29] Appian, B.C. I, 7.26-7.

of lost treaty rights, since they were allowed certain privileges owing to their local authority, but because they were acquiring fresh ambitions, and sought eligibility for office in Rome.

Why, then, did they not revolt earlier? They were forced into armed service in wars in which they had no interest and regardless of their military contributions, however reluctant, the Italians were not allowed annexation as booty of war. They also had no voice in foreign policy, despite their extensive overseas commercial ties. Why was the situation tolerated for so long? In a confederation such as this, comprised of many separate and individual communities, there was no rebellion simply because of a lack of organisation and leadership.[30]

The Italian bourgeoisie manifested its discontent under Tiberius Gracchus, whose agrarian law was detrimental to the Italian principēs. Under the lex agraria Gracchus proposed to restrict the leasing of the Ager Publicus to 500 iugera per person and to redistribute the land to the needy, Roman and non-Roman alike. Since the Italians without ius commercium were unable to make a transfer of land with a Roman, they were allowed under special circumstances, according to Richardson, to obtain citizenship[31] by enrolling in the citizen colonies.[31a] But when Gracchus did this, he was in direct violation of Latin and Italian treaties. Naturally, although it is not documented, this moved the Italian gentry to vocal opposition, for not only were their land claims in jeopardy, but their social and political elite status as

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30 Salmon, (1962), 109.

31 Livy XXXVIII, 36.7.

31a Richardson, 8.

as Roman citizens as well. This proves true of the situation in Rome, for "...if land were allotted to the Italian poor as well as the Roman, and removed from the Italian landowners as well as the Roman, it would be remarkable if the same hostility were not present in the Italian cities as in Rome".[31b] Therefore under Gracchus' agrarian reform, the allies were excluded from land acquisition,[32] and the gentry kept their allotments and their prestige after their appeal in 129. Consequently unrest amongst the principēs died down, but those without suffrage had tasted equality,[33] and were more than ever determined to have much, much more.[33a]

Four years later the destruction of Fregellae in 125 by the praetor Lucius Opimius made an example of those who rebelled and posed a serious threat to the security of the state. The townspeople had reacted violently to the denial of the consul Flaccus' proposal that the franchise be extended to the Italian lower classes, quite probably Oscan in origin. Excavations on the site reveal that the town truly deserved citizenship status,[33b] but it seems that because of the non-Latin roots of the inhabitants of lower social status, they were not deemed worthy of suffrage. The gentry, believed to be of Latin background, could earn citizenship by this time per magistratum, but the

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31b Richardson, 10.

32 Appian, B.C. I, 2.16.

33 Salmon, (1962), 110.

33a Richardson, 11; Gabba, 70.

33b Crawford, (1981), 20.

communities, in general, received it as a unit.[34] Because of the gentry's lack of leadership and the Schrecklichkeit at Fregellae, the Italians as a whole were still unwilling to act against Rome.[34a]

Between 123 and 122 B.C. the Romans rejected the tribune Gaius Gracchus' legislation to extend the franchise. But once again, because the local nobility were able to earn citizenship through public service in office, they were none too disturbed at the refusal. Such was not the case with the Italian striving to better himself socially, but he was in no position to argue the matter. Brunt believes that not all allied centres were overly eager to obtain suffrage, since Flaccus' proposal offered some alternatives to enfranchisement. He also is of the opinion that Appian exaggerated the Italian demand for citizenship, because the Latins and allies remained relatively content with their lot for another thirty years.[35] The Italians' failure to act, however, can be explained: Fregellae was still a vivid memory. The gentry were not as emphatic as the Italian proletariat, because the former still had a chance at enfranchisement, still had control locally and administered their centres independently of each other.

Despite these advantages, however, the Italian upper class was faced with a serious problem. Roman law courts were gaining more and more power, and through this strength they were able to influence very strongly the provincial governors, who, in turn, could control the

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34 Sherwin-White, Citizenship, 150.

34a Rawson, 3.

35 Brunt, (1965), 91.

activities of Italian negotiatorēs in the provinces. Because of the mounting power of the Roman judiciary, the Italians were losing their grip on trade and the small, indirect voice that they had in foreign policy was diminishing too. The rights of the Italians in the provinces were also giving way to the advent of the new order, the equitēs.[36] Since the Italians were not on an equal citizenship footing with the Roman equestrians, they stood by helplessly and watched their trade efforts monopolized. This was the instigation that the Italian gentry needed to pursue the franchise with vigour. As Appian expressed it, "they could not bear to be considered subjects instead of equals, ..."[37] Despite their pleas, Rome staunchly refused to grant citizenship.

Between 100 and 90 B.C. the Italian "movement" became extremely vocal. The Italians grew restless, protesting at Rome and attending assemblies in the guise of citizens.[38] By 95 it was believed that a good number of Italians had illegally placed their names on the census rolls. To counteract this practice the Lex Licinia Mucia was passed, thereby withdrawing citizenship from those who had secured it illegally. Asconius[39] records that a number of Italians were posing as citizens and that the institution of the Lex Licinia Mucia infuriated many Italian principēs. It is stated that this indignation was the chief cause of the outbreak of war in 91. Since it was the local, noble

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36 Salmon, (1962), 112.

37 Appian, B.C. I, 34.

38 Cicero, De Officiis III, 11.47.

39 Asconius, 67C.

families who had betrayed their people to protect their own interests, it seems strange that they would rebel against the law, after having supported and encouraged Rome's authority for over one hundred years. But they, too, were losing power and foreign investments, so much so that by 95 the nobilēs were as ready and willing to accept universal suffrage as the proletariat was to fight for it. Still, despite their anger, the Italians did not rise against Rome for another four years. The bourgeoisie had become the much needed organizers and leaders of the rebellion, but careful, secret preparation would take time.

In 92 the plebeian tribune Drusus introduced a series of grain, agrarian and judiciary laws, which spurred the Italians to congregate once again in Rome to protest bitterly in defiance of the Lex Licinia Mucia. Drusus moved that the Italians be enfranchised, but by this time he had alienated himself from the plebs, the equitēs and the Senate. The Romans firmly turned down his proposal and all of the legislation which he had introduced. The Etruscans and Umbrians were mollified and returned home, but other Italians, especially from the central regions south of the Liris valley, were not so easily reassured. Their main concern was the judiciary reform (which transferred the control of the extortion court to the Senate) and how it would be introduced again in the future. With remarkable foresight, the Italians realized that in order to be able to protect themselves in the future from similar legislation, they would need citizenship to combat it effectively;[40] since they had, at that time, no clout in

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[40] Salmon, (1962), 115.

the provinces and therefore were able to protect their commercial endeavors, as negotiatorēs, from the equitēs who sought to undermine their business by out-ranking them. The Latins and Italians[41] moved as diplomatically and as fairly as they could. When repeated negotiations proved futile, they still sent a last minute appeal for the franchise to Rome, even as they prepared to take up arms. Despite these manoeuvres and the efforts of Drusus and the most persuasive optimatēs for the cause of the Italians, the opposing powers of the Senate defeated all hopes of reconciliation and enfranchisement in October of 91. Drusus' death in the same year rang the death knell for their chances of ever receiving the citizenship. His murder by political opponents was regarded as the Sarajevo of the Social War.

Unfortunately the extant sources are sketchy, but all historians, ancient and modern alike, agree on one point; by 91 the Italians of all classes were firm in their demand for citizenship, not just more local autonomy, but a share in the power and a voice in government.[42] The desire for suffrage was more than wide-spread, it was universal.

Although Rome had offered citizenship to the Etruscans, who had readily accepted it, they still refused to extend it to the Italian sociī at the close of 91. About half of the allies answered the call to battle and took up the cause in earnest. The rest remained loyal, or at least non-violent, for several reasons. The Latins, with the exception of Venusia, felt that their language and blood ties were too

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41 Marsī, Paelignī, Vestinī, Marrucinī, Picentinēs, Frentanī, Hirpinī, Pompeiians, Venusinī, Apulī, Lucanī and Samnites.

42 Diod. XXXVII, 2.1, 13, 15; Cicero, Phil. III, 27; Strabo V, 4.2; Florus III, 17.6, 18.3; Appian C.C. I, 35.155.

strong to rise against Rome, to say nothing of their Latin privileges, which were certainly tolerable when faced with the alternative of war. Many of the Italian principēs, who had enjoyed an honoured position above the proletariat, did not participate th the hostilities, but seem also not to have discouraged them. Rome was faced with a dilemma; she was unable to trust these "loyalists" implicitly since they, too, wished to acquire suffrage, but were unwilling then to take up arms for the right. She therefore granted these people the citizenship for which the rebelling tribes were fighting. The Lex Iulia of 90 B.C. did not force the "loyalists" to accept Roman franchise (since the Greek communities of Heraclea and Naples refused suffrage at first, presumably to preserve their separate identities) but none seem to have refused it when offered.[43] Unrest surfaced in Etruria and Umbria when the Lex Iulia was passed, but when the details of the legislation were revealed to the inhabitants of these two adjacent regions, rebellion was put to rest.[44]

Appian does not record any instance of fighting during this period of tension (90 to 89 B.C.) but Livy informs us that fighting took place at the close of 90 B.C., albeit only for a brief time.[45]

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43 The Lex Iulia offered citizenship to those Italians who either were non-combatant (Appian B.C. I, 49) or to those who laid down their arms (Velleius 2.16). It also allowed generals to grant citizenship to soldiers for service in battle. New citizens were restricted to eight or ten tribes (Brunt, (1965), 107f). All communities became self-governing municipia.

44 Appian B.C. I, 49.211.

45 Livy Perioche LXXIV.

Brunt seems to feel that Livy provides us with the more accurate account,[46] since L. Porcius Cato was triumphant over the Etruscans while holding the office of praetor in 90, and during the following years, while consul, he turned his attention toward the Marsī.[47] Brunt feels sure that the rebellion was isolated in small pockets and that the Etruscans and Umbrians went about their operation in a less than zealous manner.[48] Florus records that the town of Faesulae was sacked,[49] but it seems that the pockets of resistance were not noteworthy, and for this reason, Appian did not bother to document the details or to comment upon them.

In 89 the Lex Plautia Papiria extended the offer of citizenship to a small class of ascriptī of confederate towns. However the law was not passed until late in the year, by which time open rebellion was too widely spread, and no amount of pacification would deter a revolt, or a demand for independence. Late in the year of 89 Rome had managed to quell by force many of the uprisings, but it served only to spur on the Italians.

Velleius[50] records that the Romans had regained much of their strength by offering citizenship to those who neither openly rebelled

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46 Brunt, (1965), 94.

47 Livy Perioche LXXV.

48 Brunt, (1965), 94.

49 Florus II, 18.11.

50 Velleius II, 16.4.

nor took up arms for long.[51] Appian[52] contradicts Velleius, stating that only loyal socii were granted citizenship, on the theory that rebelling tribes would see what could be offered to them and hope for a like settlement. This does not seem true, as the bloody conflict in 89 would attest. Brunt conjectures that perhaps Velleius meant that citizenship was offered to those who had risen against the Romans at first, but had since ceased hostilities.[53]

When examining the factors involved in a town's resort to rebellion it must be noted that by the outbreak of the Social War, towns were not divided as social classes in their loyalties, that is, as principēs and humbler inhabitants. Cross-class factions of certain individuals or groups of individuals could oppose the sentiment of an entire town.[54] Amongst the tribes of central Italy, there was too divided a split sentiment. The central Italians, of whom the Volscians were a part, wanted desperately to become Roman, but Rome could not introduce compatible terms.[55] On the other hand, it is known that

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51 Sherwin-White, (1955), 169.

52 Appian B.C. I, 49.213-4.

53 Brunt, (1965), 95.

54 e.g. see the story of Minatius Magius of Aeclanum (Velleius II, 16) and Publius Sittius of Nucernia (Cicero, Sull. 58).

55 Diod. XXXVII, 15: the meeting of troops of Marius and Poppaedius in 90. The troops were friendly but the general failed to negotiate a settlement. Cicero, Phil. XII, 27: in 89 Pompeius Strabo, consul, met the Marsian general Vettius Scato.

there was vicious fighting and bloody massacres. The Romans simply refused at this point to extend the franchise to anyone. Systematically, they forced the Italians to surrender; but in 87 B.C. when the Marsian resistance became too much for them and they found it necessary to call upon reinforcements, Rome had to enfranchise the dediticii.[56]

The Samnites held out the longest, no doubt due to their memory of crushing defeat from a century earlier. By 87 B.C. the Romans were well worn down from the four year campaign. The Senate tried to negotiate with the Samnites, a move which proved futile, since the Samnites not only demanded citizenship for themselves, but also for the allies who had joined them part way through the conflict, as well as the restoration of properties, and other conditions. Cinna and Marius had no choice but to accept their proposals.[57] Despite the bloodshed on all sides, the Italians were granted citizenship by 87, a stipulation against which the Romans had fought and to which they had been forced finally to surrender.

The Romans had had no choice in the matter. In 91 the rebels created amongst themselves a new state, Italia or Viteliu,[58] which offered a common union for those seeking hegemony. They had sought a common political union with Rome and had failed; therefore they constructed their own state, separate from Rome, wherein they could pursue the equality that they desired. With their capital at Corfinium,

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56 Brunt, (1965), 96.

57 Appian B.C. I, 53.321, 68.309-10; Dio Frag. 102.7.

58 Strabo V, 4.2; Diod. XXXVII, 2.3ff; C.I.L. I^2, 848; Brunt, (1965), 97; Appian B.C. II, 16.

they founded their state on the same basis as Rome. Their magistrates consisted of two consuls, twelve praetors, and other comparable offices. Their coinage, too, resembled that of Rome. Despite their efforts to be apart and different, the Italians, diverse in themselves, could no longer escape from the influences of Rome. Their common language was Latin, especially amongst the Faliscans, Volscians, Aequī and Sabines. The use of the alphabet extended also to the Marsī, Paelignī, Vestinī, Marrucinī and Frentanī. Before the Social War the alphabet was adopted in the towns of Iguvium, Fulginiae and elsewhere in Apulia. The gentry of the majority of the Italian communities were bilingual. The Roman road system connected the entire peninsula, with Rome at the hub of the wheel. This transportation network and the common language of Latin facilitated migration of Romans to allied towns in search of quiet, country retreats and of Italians to Roman and Latin colonies, seeking improved economic status. The population of the entire Italian peninsula was so interrelated that nothing short of citizenship could have ensured Italy's true potential as a world power.

It is obvious that Rome needed the entire peninsula on her side to develop and improve her world status. Why, however, did the Italians value Roman citizenship so highly? Local autonomy was no longer a major concern, since membership with either Rome or Italia would remove a good deal of their independence. More than anything, one must assume that one of the major concerns of the Italians was the preservation of peace. They had fought too long and simply wished to return to their pastoral life, or to quiet commercial activity in the towns. Control within the expanding empire was also of great

importance. The Italians were well aware that they needed a voice in foreign policy to protect their business interests abroad. They also demanded a voice in military contributions.[59] The Italians had repeatedly lost investments and lives in wars overseas which had not concerned them. Levied taxes and courts of law were no doubt two other areas in which they strove for equality, and despite regulation from Rome, they wanted these affairs to be handled locally. Citizenship also meant that the Italians could retain management of local finances and public works, as well as their local language if they so wished for their transactions in regional business. Latin was essential for any communications with Rome or other centres outside the regional boundary, but by this time the languages and/or alphabets were so interconnected that this was not a hindrance. Rome imposed a uniform system of magistrates, dictating their powers and appointments, but left the administration of the locality to the inhabitants. Moreover, the administrative power of these migistrates was considerably less universal than previously; no longer could an official act hastily or unjustly without reprisal from Rome, for the Latins and Italians now had the right of appeal. In the face of these advantages, the losses of the Social War now seemed worthwhile. The socii had indeed taken a giant step forward, but one grievance remained: the newly enfranchised Italians had not been distributed fairly and evenly through the thirty-

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[59] Badian, F.C., 149f.

five tribes, which resulted in a less than influential vote, drowning out their newly acquired voice with the voices of older, more established factions.[60]

Lines of opposition were drawn up in Rome to deal with this lingering Italian problem. The consul of 88 B.C. was one L. Cornelius Sulla, a military man rewarded for his services during the Social War with political office and the command of an army in Asia to meet the looming disturbance of Mithridates. His partner in consulship was a rather non-descript Q. Pompeius Rufus, a man who draws our attention only because of his connection with Sulla. The other dominant voice in Roman politics at this time was the tribune P. Sulpicius Rufus, a man who opposed Sulla in political philosophy and strove to rectify the Italian tribal dilemma. The optimatēs were greatly disturbed and provoked by Sulpicius' measure, so much so that Sulpicius drew the lines for military as well as political encounter. Collecting an army of sorts, he called for the aid of Marius, now somewhat dejected by reason of his political eclipse following the Social War. Since Sulpicius valued Marius' support so highly (he knew that the equestrians would put their vote behind Marius), he promised him the command of the forces in Asia against Mithridates, thereby ousting Sulla from his position there. Because of this improper and unconstitutional finagling, street fighting erupted in the streets of Rome between Sulla's army and the ill-equiped supporters of Marius and Sulpicius. When the latter

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60 Scullard, Gracchi to Nero, 70, n. 18.

fled the city seeking safety for their lives, Sulla remained in full control of Rome. After passing statutes outlawing his two rivals, and learning that Marius was in exile in Africa and that Sulpicius had been hunted down and murdered, Sulla left the city and resumed command of his forces in Asia.

With Sulla safely out of reach of Rome, Cinna, now consul and certainly not loyal to Sulla, re-introduced Sulpicius' proposal for a redistribution of the Italian vote. Violence broke out in the Roman Forum and Cinna was ultimately driven from the city for his efforts. After fleeing to Nola in the south, he gathered together an army from the remnants of Roman forces left there by Sulla to besiege the town, and former socii still campaigning for full political equality. Together with Etruscan forces raised by the returned Marius, Cinna and his followers engaged in battle, and in 87 B.C. controlled the city of Rome. After a brief but bloody massacre of prominent opponents, Marius and Cinna were elected consuls for 86. Their first piece of business was to exile Sulla and repeal his laws.

Marius died shortly after his installation as consul, so Cinna held the office for the following three years with L. Valerius Flaccus and Gnaeus Carbo. Besides the economic and currency reforms carried out between 87 and 84, Cinna's consulship saw the final settlement of the Italian tribal question. By 84 B.C. the Latins and former allies were fairly and evenly distributed throughout the thirty-five tribes.[61]

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[61] Ibid, 72-4, n. 25; Livy Perioche LXXXIV.

The Volscians had indeed journeyed a long way. Within a period of six hundred years, this Italic people advanced from a stockbreeding and agricultural folk to Roman citizenship. In the interim they had evolved into a society of independent city-states, had developed an organized political administration, and had instituted one of the most advanced Iron Age systems of military aggression and territorial maintenance ever found: the hilltop fort chain.

It has been said many a time that the Romans were not inventors, but rather improvers. They adapted what they had found and what they had learned to suit their own needs and to enrich their superiority, first in the peninsula and then in the Mediterranean world. Contact with and conquest of the Volscians and their Oscan cousins taught the Romans many things, but the crux of the lesson was twofold. First and foremost, the Volscians must be credited with the hill-fort method of territorial acquisition. Whether they were the first to employ such a system has yet to be investigated, but in the Italian peninsula, they were indeed the creators of a scheme which would help later to knit together the Roman Empire. Secondly, the Roman domination of central Italy in the third and second centuries, and the conflict to which that domination led, taught Rome a philosophy which would greatly influence her dealings with non-Romans as her empire expanded: that "honey" is far more effective and efficient than "vinegar". Through her association with the Italians, Rome realized that the extension of her power and influence was far more smooth and productive for both herself and her subordinates, if she granted citizenship to those who sought it and considered suffrage an honour and a privilege.

The last reference made by Livy to the Volscians is preserved in the tracts of Iulius Obsequens.[62] Although of no great historical value, the mention of a ceremony held by the Volscian people in honour of some natural phenomenon has been dated to 94 B.C. The lack of later reports would indicate that, after the Social War, the independent identity of the Volscian tribe disappeared with the acquisition of citizenship. True, amongst themselves, the remnants of the once proud Volscians may have maintained their heritage, but to the crumbling Republic and dawning Empire, the Volscians were a menace of the past. The hills and valleys of the Liris and Trerus regions lay quiet and still, and only the faint voices of the past, brought alive by the poet's craft, remained.

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62 See Livy, Loeb Classical Library, XIV, p. 287.

APPENDIX I

The Velitrae Bronze*

Found in Velitrae in 1784, this tablet is now located in the Naples Museum. It measures .035 m high and .231 m long (1 3/8" X 9 1/8").

deue declune statom. sepis atahus, pis uelestrom

facia esaristrom se bim asif, uesclis uinu arpatitu.

sepis toticu couehriu sepu, ferom pihom estu.

ec se cosuties ma ca tafanies medix sistiatiens.

The Antinum Inscription**

This bronze inscription has been given an antequam date of 150 B.C., but is still younger than the Velitrae bronze inscription. This measures .175 m by .044 m (7" X 1 1/2").

pa ui / pacues medix / uesune

dunom ded / ca cumnios cetur

* Conway, Dialects, vol. 1, 267.

** Ibid, 269.

APPENDIX II

Fortification Dating Chart (according to the research of Blake)

	cyclopean	transitional	polygonal	refined polygonal	irregular quadrangular	quasi-quadrangular	quadrangular w/o mortar	opus quadratum	rectangular	horizontal coursing	
Antinum			X								C5th (RE)
Aquinum			X							X	Augustan
Arpinum	X									X	C4th
Artena	X										C5th (RE) C4th
Atina	X		X								no date available
Casinum				X	X						no date available
Circeii	X		X	X							C4th
Cora	X										C4th
Ferentinum			X	X	X	X	X	X			C1st
Fregellae					X						C2nd
Fundi			X								C4th
Norba			X								C5th (RE) C4th
Praeneste	X	X	X								C4th
Privernum			X	X	X						C4th
Setia			X			X			X		C4th
Signia	X		X						X	X	C4th C1st
Tarracina (Anxur)	X										C5th

APPENDIX III

Volscian Sites, a synopsis of ancient and modern sources.

Antinum — References: C.I.L. IX, 3833-46; Livy IV, 57.

This site was disputed between the Marsī and the Volscī.
A polygonal ring of walls and ancient gate, the Porta Campanile, still stand.
A bronze inscription, comparable to the Velitrae bronze, was found here, but it may be in Marsic, and not Volscian (see Appendix I).

Antium — References: C.I.L. X, 953-77, 6640, 6667, 8291-8305; Pliny N.H. III, 81; Strabo V, 236; Livy II, 33, IV, 56ff; PECS, 65.

This town owes its mythical foundation to the son of Odysseus and Circe, or to Ascanius.
The harbour was not favourable, yet the earliest inhabitants were seafarers and pirates, who, with the Etruscans in the fourth century, caused disturbances in Greek and Macedonian waters, according to Strabo. Under Tarquinius Superbus, the town, which was named as the chief Volscian city, was drawn into the Latin League, so Livy says. He also states that in 467 it became a colony, or priscae coloniae Latinae. In 341 Antium united with the Latins against the Romans and consequently lost its independence when it became a Roman colony with magistrates sent out from Rome.

Anxur — References: C.I.L. X, 6483, 6331; Diod. XIV, 16.5; Pliny III, 59; Ennius Fest. Ep 22; Livy IV, 59.3, V, 8.2, 16.2, VIII, 21.11.

Pre-historic remains of the Bronze Age inhabitants, Ausonī, Etruscans and Volscians have been found in this location, later to be known as Tarracina. Volscian Anxur is known to have successfully fended off an attack by Valerius Potitus, and therefore must be considered to have been of considerable strength. Its walls were impregnable, according to Livy.

(Tarracina) References: C.I.L. X, 6329-6634, 8259ff, 8395ff, X^2, 8278-86; Livy IV, 59, V, 8.2, 12, 13.1-16, VII, 39, VIII, 21, XXII, 15; Pliny III, 98, XIV, 34; D. H. II, 49; Strabo V, 3.6; PECS, 881.

Built over the ruins of Volscian Anxur, this town see-sawed between the Volscians and the Romans during the last decades of the fifth century B.C. It became a Roman colony in 329, according to Livy's records. In 315 Tarracina was engaged in war with the Samnites, but the Samnites were unsuccessful. Between 309 and 300, colonists were established in Colonia Anxuras. Blake reports the presence of cyclopean masonry of a very early date, which was partially destroyed in 406. What remains on the site, that is, the temple of Venus or Iuppiter Anxur and other buildings date from the Sullan age. The fortification walls which remain are definitely Roman, and Bastion N in particular is comparable to the masonry found at the Roman site of Alatri (Blake, 93).
This site was of the utmost importance, militarily speaking, since it guarded the defile between the marsh and the mountains in the area, and the Lautulae pass between the mountains and the lake of Fundi.

Apiolae References: Livy I, 35.7; Pliny III, 70; Strabo V, 231.

In the southern part of Latium, west of the Alban mountains, this site has been identified with the old fortifications near Osteria delle Fratocchia (Bovillae), but this is not totally reliable. Ogilvie notes that this town was of Latin origin placed in the Volscian country near Pometia.

Aquinum References: C.I.L. VI, 2375 a I 28, X, 5416, 4489, 656-62, 5435, 5529, 5540, 5542-3, 5544, 5554, X^2, 8241-2, XIV, 3506, 3586; Eph. Epigr. VIII, 604-7; Strabo V, 237; Juv. III, 319; Livy XXVI, 9; PECS, 81.

There is no mention made of Aquinum in early history. Its earliest mention occurs in Livy's account of the Hannibalic war of 211 B.C. Walls found on the site are synchronous with the Porta San Lorenzo, which is dated to the veteran colony established here in early Augustan times. The Italic oppidum, comparable to Arpinum, Atina and Fregellae, must have been in another location, since the Volscian town was not destroyed in the Hannibalic war, and therefore could not have been located on the Via Latina. Säflund suggests the mountain village of Roccasecca as the most probable location.

Arcae

References: C.I.L. X, 5667-77, 699-710.

Known to us as the location of the country estate of Cicero, this Volscian site is located at the modern Rocca d'Arce, halfway between the Volscian site of Aquinum and Arpinum, and was a vital link in the Italic communications chain.

Arpinum

References: C.I.L. X, 5678-86, pp. 711-19; Livy X, 1.3, XXXVIII, 36.7-19; PECS, 95.

This fortress, now the Civitavecchia of modern Arpino, first appears in Roman history in 305 when the Romans took it away from the Samnites, who had captured it from the Volscians in the late fourth century. In 303 B.C. it became a civitas sine suffragio, and in 188 it was granted suffrage by the lex Cornelia. It retained municipium status from the Social War. The cyclopean walls, which indicate this site's participation in the early free-standing defense system in the lower Liris valley, had an inner face of irregular, and an outer face of somewhat horizontal coursing. These walls are synchronous with those found at Sora and Roccasecca.
Arpinum was the birthplace of Cicero and Marius.

Artena

References: Livy IX, 61.

According to the ancient source, this Volscian fort was destroyed by the Romans in 404 B.C.
Archaeological evidence would seem to corroborate this dating. The cyclopean walls located on the Monte Fortino on a plateau known as the Piano della Cività in the northern point of the Volscian mountains are all part of a large scheme of fortifications beginning in the sixth century with the Etruscans. The fifth century is still unclear, but there is every reason to believe that this site was part of the Volscian fort chain that linked Velitrae and points west with the forts located to the east in the valley of the Trerus river. It would never have become a town, since it is too inaccessible for any large group of people, and although there is an abundant water supply located in the eastern corner, there is not enough to have supported a growing population. This was, however, a vital strategic point, since on clear days the sea can be seen, as well as Velitrae, Praeneste, Signia, Anagnia and a good portion of Latium, as well as Ecetra and Ferentinum.

The rough, cyclopean walls are undressed limestone boulders, and the small gaps are filled with stones. This site has been identified with Ecetra, which was destroyed in approximately 378 B.C. and never rebuilt. It is documented that the Romans captured Artena and then fortified it according to their own specifications; Artena could therefore not have been the same site as Ecetra, which can hypothetically be placed on the east side of the Monti Lepini, facing the fort of Ferentinum.

Atina

References: C.I.L. IX, 2318, 2354, X, 5044-5141; Livy X, 39; Vergil Aen. VII, 630; Cicero Pro Plancio.

Located at the source of the Melpis (modern Melfa) river, this site is seldom mentioned in historical annals. In 290 B.C. the area was devasted by the Romans.
The cyclopean walls, which surround the acropolis, are made of very large, roughly cut boulders, with the spaces filled with smaller stones and pieces of broken boulder. A sample sizing for a large boulder is 54 cm by 54 cm. A smaller boulder measures 21 cm by 17 cm. There is no horizontal coursing. The walls are approximately three meters in height. Of all sites visited in the area of study, the walls at Atina are judged to have been the most primitive.

Caeno

References: Livy II, 63.

Caeno, modern Ceno, was a satellite town of Antium, which was Volscian. Possible dating of this town is sixth to early fifth century, according.

Casinum

References: C.I.L. X, 640-55, 4860, 5159-5320, 5796; Varro De L.L. VII, 29; Livy XXII, 13.5f, XXIII, 17.7, XXVI, 9.2; PECS, 203.

A Volscian town of Oscan origin, Casinum was taken by the Samnites and then in turn by the Romans. Tombs on the site date to the seventh century (archaic), fourth to third centuries (Hellenistic), and second century B.C. to fourth century A.D. (Roman). Casinum does not appear in Roman history until the Hannibalic wars, just like nearby Aquinum.
By the end of the Republic, it was a praefecture and then an imperial colony.
The polygonal walls are mostly quadrangular, but not squared. Because of the irregular sizing of the blocks, there is no horizontal coursing. Re-entrant angles give stability on the slope onto which it was built.

Although no date can be given to the wall, it is known that the site fell to the Romans in 321 B.C. Because of their construction, the walls are very definitely of Roman engineering, although they could very well have been constructed from the remains of the Volscian and later Samnite fort. A temple in the forum dates to the Volscian period, and Volscian cyclopean walls are still visible on the side of the mountain.

Cora

References: C.I.L. I, 12, VI, 32275, X, 6505-6, 929-38; Livy II, 16.8, 16.22, 21, 22.2, VIII, 19.5; PECS, 238f.

Initially of Latin origin, Cora was under Volscian occupation in ca. 500 B.C. Coins found here date from the fifth century, probably dating from the establishment of a Latin colony here after the foedus Cassianum of 493 B.C. The town became a municipium in 211; it met its destruction under Sulla.
Walls are in evidence, which seem to have protected a lower and upper town and the acropolis, which housed a Doric temple. Built of local limestone, the circuits were of cyclopean technique, but not as high as those found elsewhere. Because the town was founded 250 m to 400 m above sea level on a very steep incline, it was probably not necessary to build fortifications of great magnitude. The bastion of the Palazzo di Pilate was built later in front of the earlier wall in polygonal style and is comparable to that found at nearby Norba, which dates from the early fourth century. This would indicate two building periods, perhaps one of the fifth century during the Volscian occupation, and a later one of the fourth century belonging to the Roman communications network. Two terraces of polygonal masonry also remain, dating to the second building period. Towers were added to the walls early in the first century B.C., no doubt a measure of security against the conflict of the Social War.

Corioli

References: Livy II, 33, 39, III, 71; Eutropius I, 14.

Located somewhere between the Alban mountains and the sea on the Astura river in the north-west sector of Latium, this Volscian site was captured in 493 with Longula, located to the south, and Polusca, whose location remains unknown. In 491 the same Gaius Marcius (later dubbed Coriolanus), who had taken it in the first place for Rome, re-conquered the town, this time for the Volscians.

Ecetra

References: Livy II, 25, III, 4, IV, 61, VI, 31; D. H. V, 32, VIII, 4, X, 21.

This stronghold of the Volscians neighbouring on the territory of the Aequī, Latinī and Hernicī was probably on the north-east side of the Monti Lepini range gacing Ferentinum to the east, across the Trerus river. Early in the Republic it was named as one of the main Volscian centres, but it disappears from the historic annals in 378 B.C.

Ferentinum

References: C.I.L. X, 750-65, 5820-5902; Livy IV, 51, 56, VII, 9, IX, 42-3, XXXII, 2.4, XXXIV, 42.5; Strabo V, 237; PECS, 327.

This Hernican city first appears in history in 413 when the Volscians, who had controlled the city previously, took it away from the Hernicī. In 361 the fort took part in an uprising against the Romans and was taken by storm and subjugated. By 306 Ferentinum was loyal to Roma and given its own laws.
After 195 B.C. the town was civitas sine suffragio, when it seems to have been under iuris Latini, according to Livy (XXXIV, 42.5). Evidence in the C.I.L. would suggest that the town was a municipium by the late Republic (see X, 5637-40).
Walls and an acropolis remain, all made of rough polygonal masonry to quadrangular technique. Blake states that despite the range in building patterns, the walls are synchronous with all other fortifications on the site, and dates them somewhere in the early first century B.C., perhaps during the Social War.. This is not to say, however, that the materials used in construction were not taken from previous fortifications on the same location.

Formiae

References: C.I.L. X, 811-23, 6859-63; Livy VIII, 14.10, X, 31.2, XXXII, 1.10, 29.2, XXXV, 21.4, XXXVIII, 36, XL, 2.4; Strabo V, 237; PECS, 338.

Strabo gives this town a Laconian origin owing to what he thought was the Laconian name of the town. Richardson assures us that the inhabitants were either of Ausonian or Volscian origin.
In 338 it was given the status of civitas sine suffragio because of its neutrality during the Latin War, and the townsfolk were assigned to the tribe Aemilia. In 295 the Samnites plundered Formiae, but it was recovered. In 188 B.C. it obtained full citizen rights.

Fundi

References: C.I.L. I, 6230, III, 6195, VI, 32526, X, 837-53, 6226, 6228, 6230-1, 6240-1, 6245, 6249, 6255-7, 6259, 6268, 6271, 6273, 6281-2, 6297, 6855-7, XII, 4357; Livy VIII, 14.10, 19.11, XXXVIII, 36; Strabo V, 233; PECS, 339.

In Auruncan or Volscian territory on the Appian Way, this site first appears in history in 338 B.C. At this time it received the status of civitas sine suffragio. In 330 it was involved with Privernum against Rome. Under the tribune C. Valerius Tappo, Fundi received full suffrage in 188, and was placed in the tribe of Aemilia.
Blake found masonry of the polygonal classification here, and thereby dates this site to the fourth century during the Volscian occupation before Roman annexation. Richardson (PECS) gives the same masonry a third century date. He also adds that towers were installed in the fortifications in the early first century B.C.

Lautulae

References: Livy IV, 59, VIII, 39, IX, 23, XXII, 15; Diod. XXIX, 27; D. H. XV, 3.

Although this site has never been identified, it was located somewhere between Tarracina and Fundi. It was strategically important since it guarded the pass between mid and southern Italy, today in the area of Monte San Angelo. At one time, Lautulae must have been under the protection of Anxur/Tarracina.

Longula

References: Livy II, 39.3, IX, 39; D. H. VIII, 36.

Located approximately ten miles from Antium to the south, this smaller Volscian settlement was quite probably a link in the fort chain from Corioli to Antium.

Morroni

References: none. Discovered at Liri Valley Surface Survey Project, August, 1979.

Strategically located at the confluence of the Liri and Gari rivers, Morroni is located on two hills south-east of the modern San Apollinare. Terracing found here at five levels most likely indicates fortifications of some king, since all other sides of the site are precipitous. No doubt this was the most southerly link in the western fort chain of the Volscians, connected with Casinum to the north and San Vittore to the north-east.

Norba

References: C.I.L. X, 879, 884, 892-3, 906, 909; Livy II, 34, VII, 42, VIII, 1.19, XXVII, 10, XXXII, 2, 26 34; Dio Frag. XVIII, 4; D. H. VII, 13; Pliny III, 60; Appian B.C. I, 94; PECS, 628f.

According to the ancient sources, Norba was a Latin colony in Volscian territory at the end of the sixth century, but it seems that by 492 the site was Volscian. Some votive deposits found here date to the sixth and early fifth centuries, but whether they are Latin or Volscian is not known. By 209 Norba, along with seventeen other colonies, was faithful to Rome during a colonial uprising.
The fortress here stands upon a 400 m high plateau. Two and one half kilometers of walls encircle the fort, complete with bastion gate, watch towers and two inner temples. All masonry is in the polygonal style with later improvements. Potsherds in the filled spaces between the blocks, which in some stretches of the wall, have regular, horizontal coursing, indicate a date not earlier than the Roman colony of the fourth century. Potsherds found in the polygonal masonry of the podia of the two acropolis temples are of both Etruscan and Campanian origin. No Volscian fortifications have been found, however there is every reason to believe that the Volsci did have a fort of sorts here during the fifth century and into the fourth. The site would have fitted into the north-western Volscian fort chain, and the area would have sustained a population, since there is an abundant water supply. Atop a plateau on which it stands, it affords a view of 180° over the entire Pomptine marsh.

Polusca

References: Livy II, 33.

Located somewhere in the geographical triangle of Corioli-Longula-Apiolae, Polusca is known to us only through Livy. Its location remains a mystery. In 493 it fell to Postumus Cominius, the consul of that year, who conquered it during a campaign against the Volscians in the Corioli-Antium region.

Pontiae Insulae

References: Livy IX, 28.7; Strabo V, 3.6, VI, 1.1.

Located 28 km west of Circeii and 45 km from the hills between Tarracina and Formiae, these three islands saw Volscian occupation in the fourth century, belonging either to Circeii or Anxur, or possibly Antium, according to Livy. A Latin colony was established here during the Second Samnite War.
The modern name for the islands is the Ponza Islands.

Privernum

References: C.I.L. I, 466-7, I 1^2, p. 44ff, X, 6435-60, 920-8, X^2, 8288, 8414; Livy II, 16.3ff, VII, 15, 20.7-12, 42.8, VIII, 1.1ff, 19.4-21.10; PECS, 740.

Traditional history cites three wars of the Volscian inhabitants of Privernum against Rome: 358-7, 342-1 and 330-29 B.C. C.I.L. I 1^2, p. 44ff records only the triumph of C. Marcius Rutilus in 357 and of C. Plautius Decianus in 329. In 358 B.C. the two tribes, Pomptina and Publilia, were organized, which divided the Volscians into two parts. This could have been the basis for the war. After the last takeover of the town, the walls were destroyed and the inhabitants lost two-thirds of their property (see Livy VIII, 1.4), and were given a sine suffragio status. Radke (RE) suggests that the town was rebuilt on another spot. It later became a praefecture and took the Sullan side in the Social War. Roman ruins lay in the valley near modern Priverno, nowadays very difficult to find. The old Volscian site was presumably on the heights in the area of modern Roccasecca dei Volsci, not to be confused with the Roccasecca in the lower Liris valley near Casinum. Blake notes that the polygonal masonry in the area might be re-cycled material.

San Vittore

References: none.

Located 400 meters above the valley floor, this Iron Age site was the easternmost fort of the Volscian fort chain in the lower Liris valley. It commands a clear view of the entire south-east section of the valley and is clearly visible from the other suggested forts at Casinum and Morroni.

Satricum

References: C.I.L. X, p. 661; Livy II, 39, VI, 11, 32-3, VII, 27, IX, 12-16; Diod. VII, 3; D. H. V, 61, VIII, 36, 488.

In the region known as Montello on the Astura river, this town was near Antium and therefore sheltered by this Volscian fort. It was an early conquest of Rome, and the temple to the Mater Matuta, which dates to the seventh century, alone escaped destruction. There is some evidence of walls and two other temples. Livy records that in 377 Satricum was the scene of a battle between the Romans and the allied Latins and Volscians.

When the Antiates of the town went over to the side of Rome, the Latin forces burned it. The town was rebuilt by Antium. Since 346 B.C. this site has been in ruins.
A second Satricum was noted by Cicero Ad. Q. Fr. III, 1.4, which was lost to the Samnites in 321 B.C.

Sora

References: C.I.L. I, 31, I^2, p. 50, X, p. 444, 560, 5670, 5708-78; Livy IX, 23.2, 24.2-5, 42.1, 49.16, X, 1.2; Diod. XX, 90.4, XIX, 72.1; PECS, 852.

In the mid-fourth century, Sora was taken from the Volscians by the Roman consuls Darsus and Camerinus. Founded in the fourth century, this site fell to the Samnites in 365 and then to the consuls M. Fabius and S. Sulpicius in 345. In 312 it fell to M. Valerius and then once again to the Samnites in 306. Rome recovered Sora and other sites in 305, and the town became a Latin colony in 303 with the establishment of 4000 men, all with Latin rights. Under the Triumvirate, Sora earned municipium status.
Located on a promontory 540 meters high, the fort was protected by walls of polygonal masonry, some of the refined type, filled with smaller stones. There remains some terracing on the north-west facing. There is evidence of quadrangular masonry as well.
The masonry is very difficult to date, taking into account that the Romans would have built a stronger fortification with the older materials at hand. Although much of the masonry is of an early technique, it is not synchronous with Atina's roughly hewn cyclopean walls, but rather more in keeping with the fortifications found at Cora and Norba.

Suessa Pometia

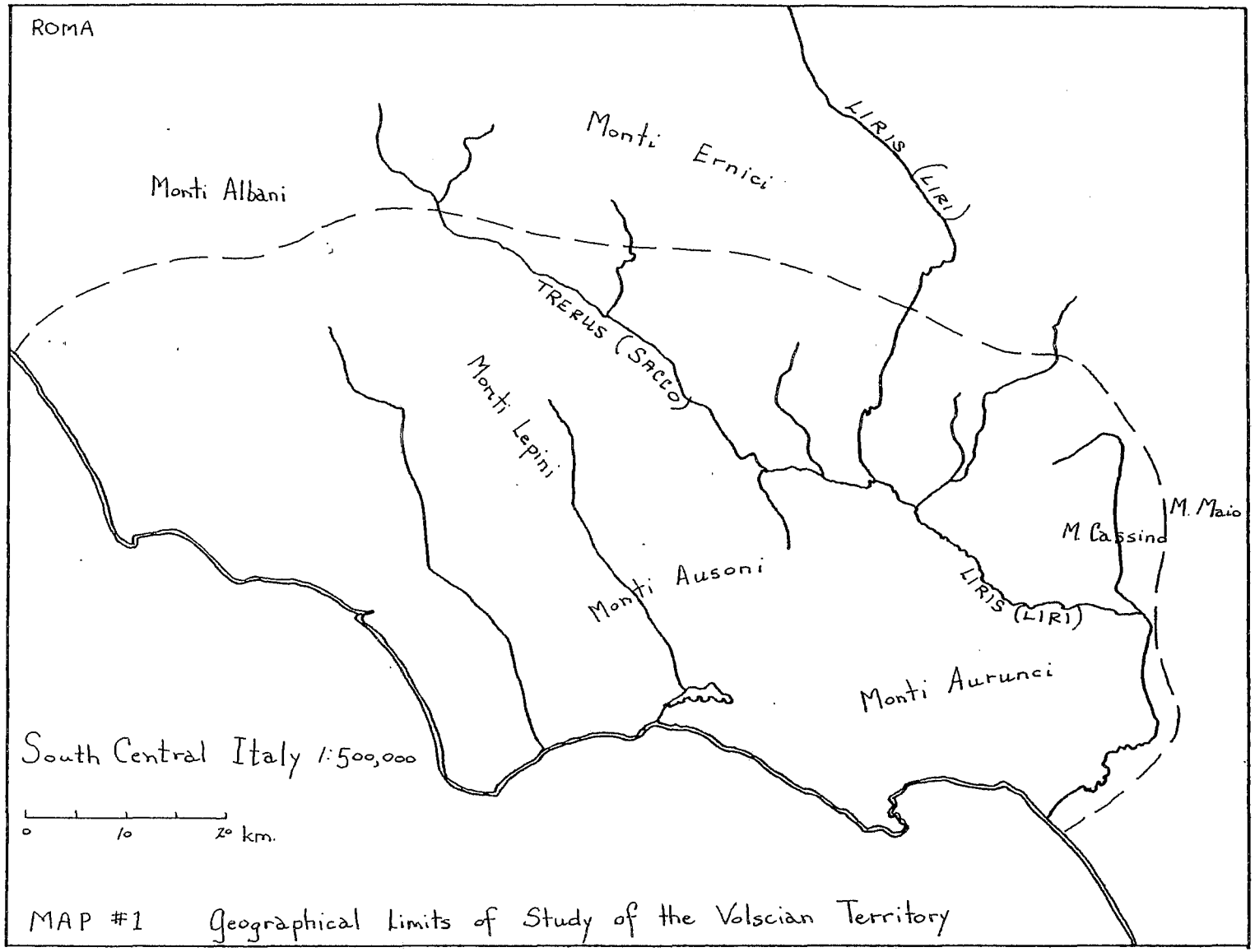
References: Livy I, 53, II, 17, 25; Pliny VII, 69.

Mentioned very early in the historical annals, this Volscian town was destroyed in the Regal period of primitive Rome. Livy records also conflicts in 504 B.C. and 495 B.C., at which time it is said that Suessa Pometia became a Latin colony, a date which is most certainly inaccurate. Livy also records a conquest of the area by the Volscians in 390 and 358 B.C.
Radke (RE) notes that a Volscian inscription was found on this site (See RE 1931, 587-8. The inscription was noted in Zvetajeff Inscript. dial. Pometia. inf. 1886, p. 18).

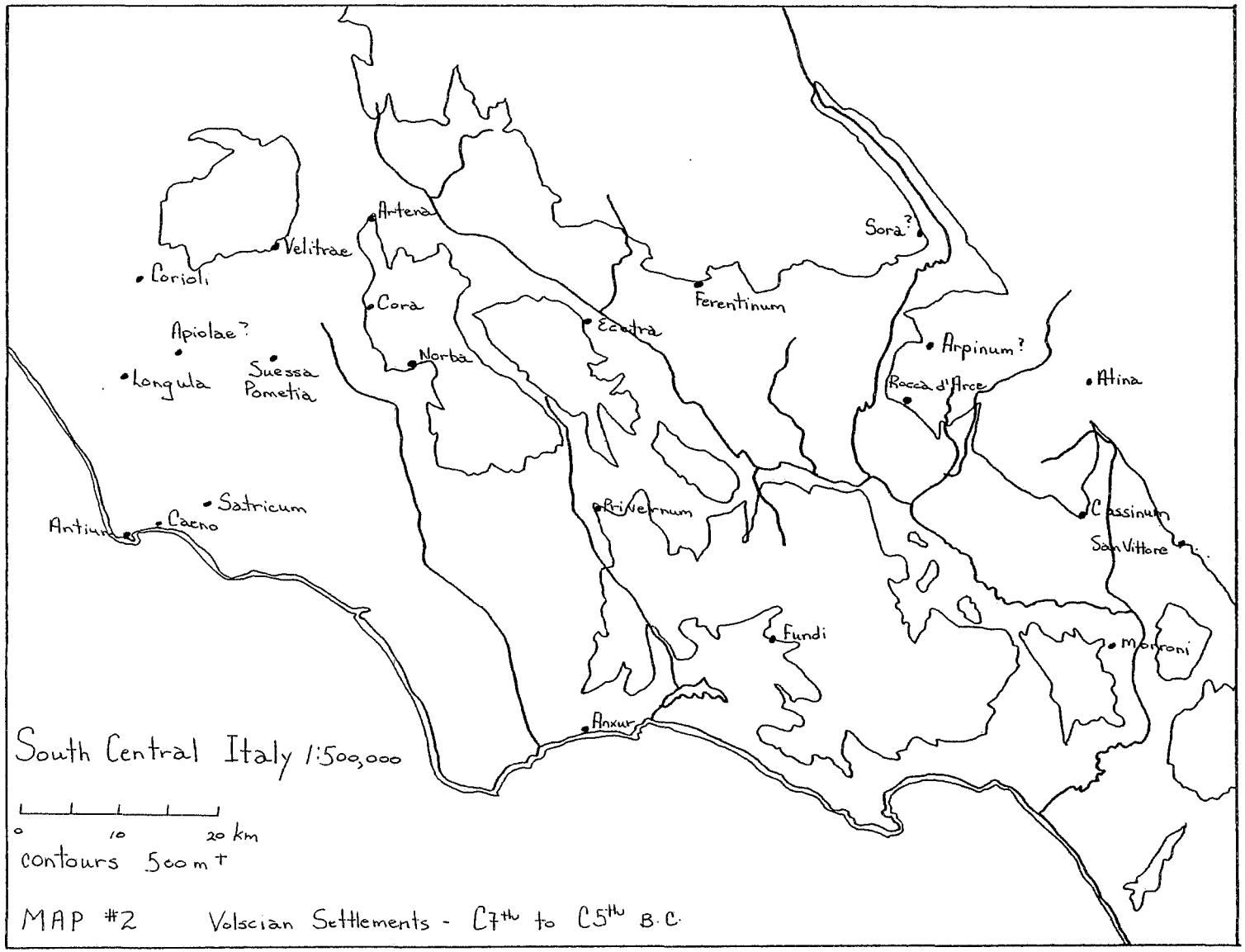
Velitrae

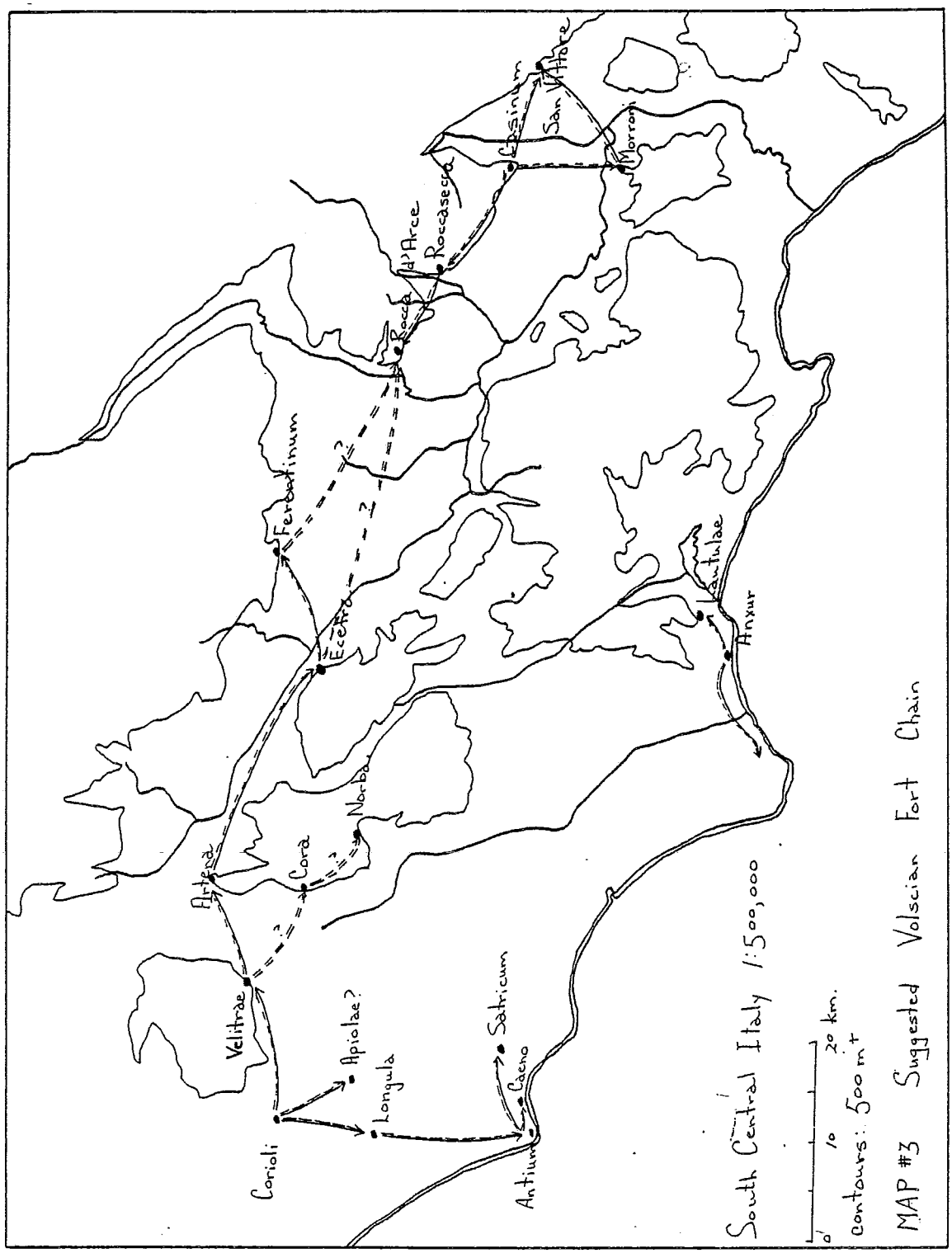
References: C.I.L. X, 939-52, X^2, 8290; Livy II, 31.4, VI, 12, 13, 24.6, VII, 15.11, VIII, 14.5f; D. H. V, 61; Plut. Camill. 42.1; PECS, 961.

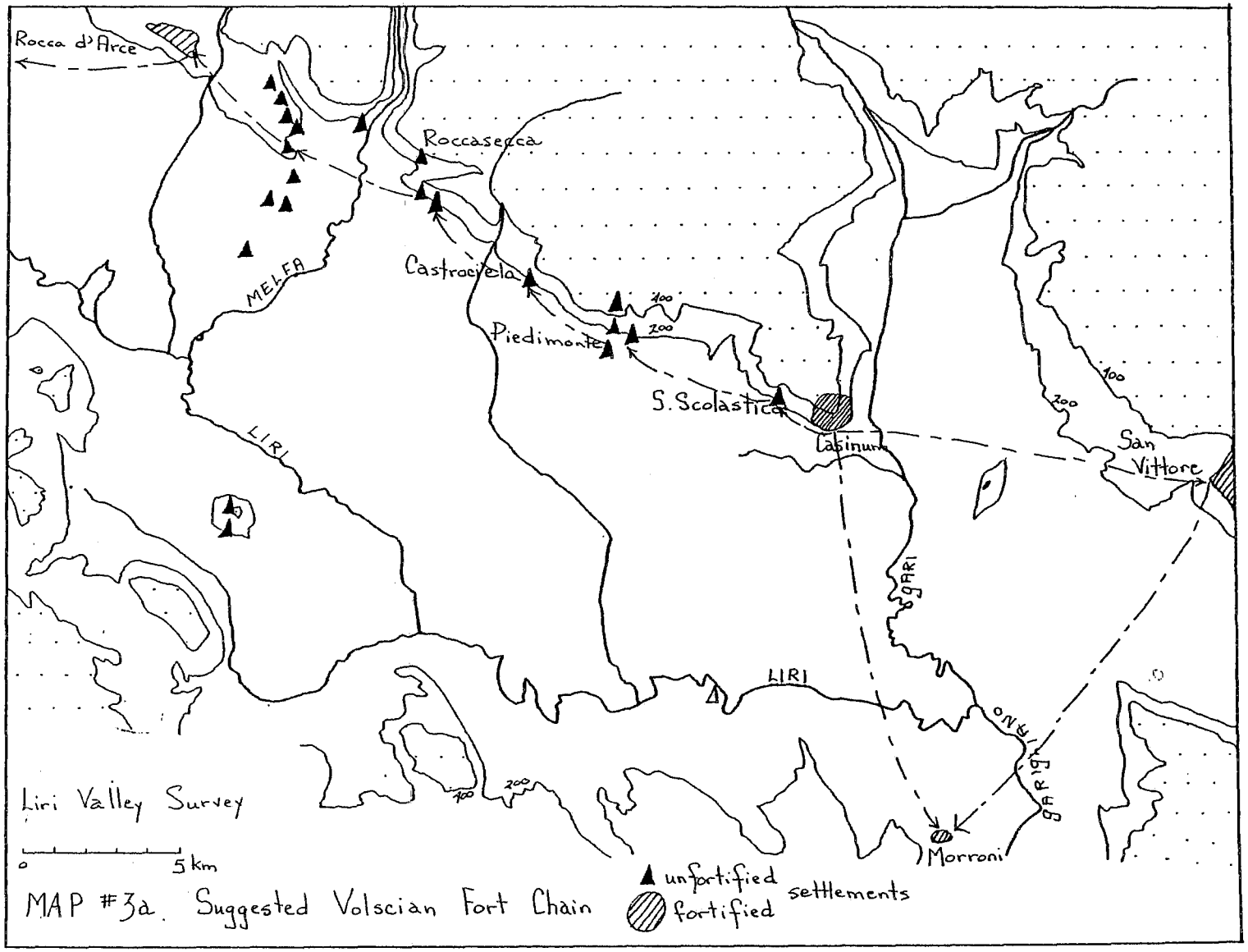
Although the name of the town is Etruscan, Richardson maintains that the town is of Volscian origin. Dionysius tells us that the town was admitted to the Latin League in 498. Livy records a date of 494. Both dates must be wrong, since one of the very few Volscian inscriptions is found here, and it is dated from the Volscian administration of the fourth to third centuries B.C. As well, the colonists from Velitrae and Circeii are said to have enrolled in the Volscian army during a revolt against Rome in 385. Despite their capture by Camillus in 380, the Volscian inhabitants of Velitrae persisted, and in 358 laid to waste the Ager Romanus. After the Latin War in 338 the town was drastically penalized by Rome; the fortifications were destroyed, the senators were deported to Rome, and their property was confiscated and given to Roman colonists settled in the area. After 338, Velitrae became a municipium, but all non-Roman inhabitants were granted civitas sine suffragio. Under Claudius a settlement of veterans was established, and Velitrae became a colonia.



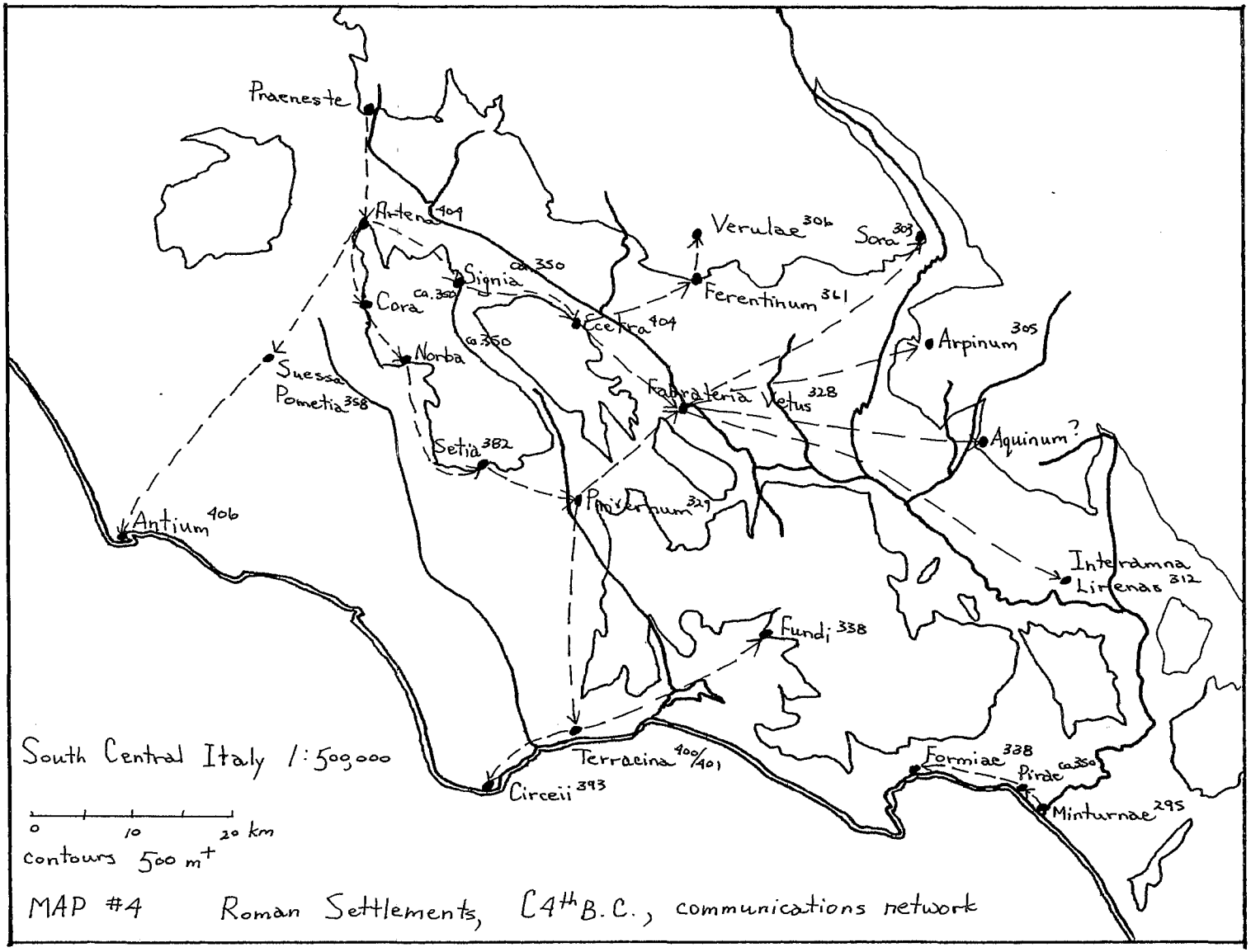
MAP #1 Geographical Limits of Study of the Volscian Territory


Velitrae
Corioli
Apiolae?
Longula
Suessa Pometia
Satricum
Antium
Caeno
Artena
Cora
Norba
Ecetra
Ferentinum
Sora?
Arpinum?
Rocca d'Arce
Atina
Cassinum
San Vittore
Rivernum
Fundi
Monroni
Anxur
South Central Italy 1:500,000
0 10 20 km
contours 500 m +
MAP #2 Volscian Settlements - C7th to C5th B.C.

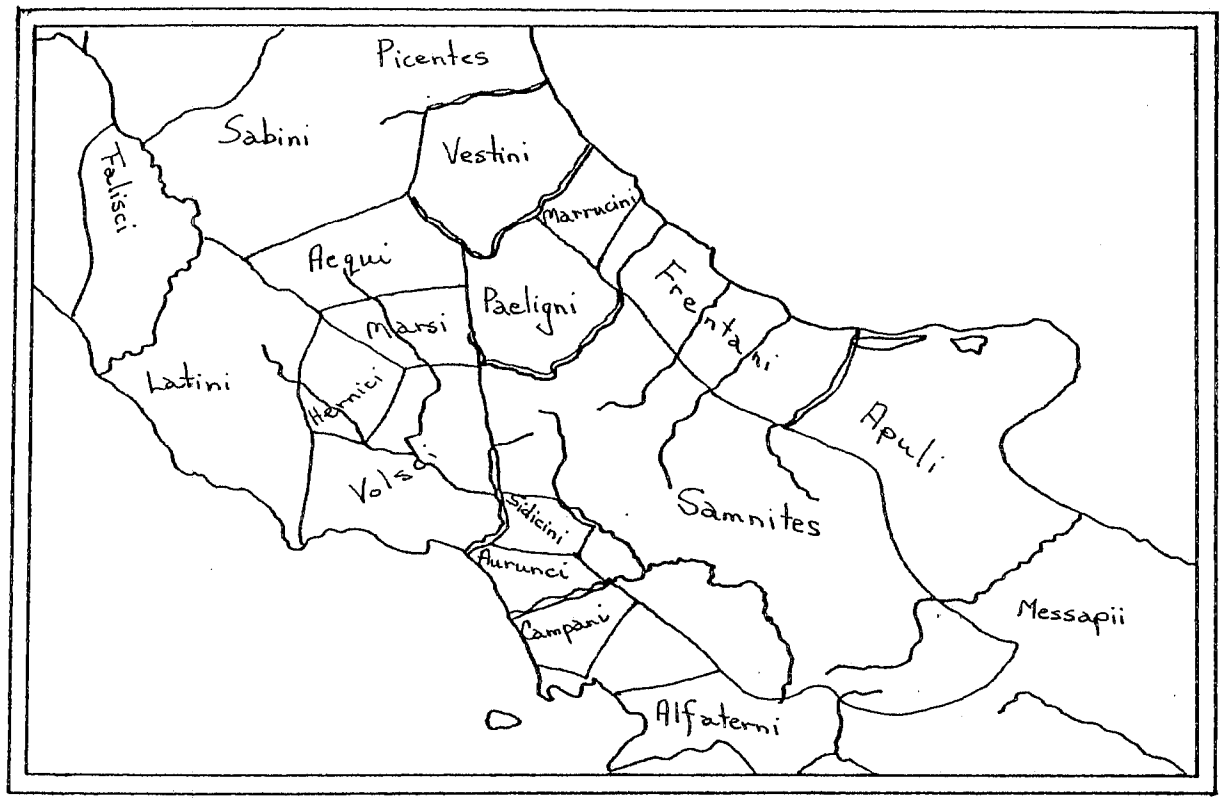

Velitrae
Apiolae?
Longula
Satricum
Cacno
Antium
Corioli
Artena
Cora
Norba
Ferentinum
Ecetra
Rocca d'Arce
Roccasecca
Casinum
San Vittore
Morrone
Lautulae
Anxur
South Central Italy 1:500,000
0
10
20 km.
contours: 500 m+
MAP #3 Suggested Volscian Fort Chain



MAP #3a. Suggested Volscian Fort Chain



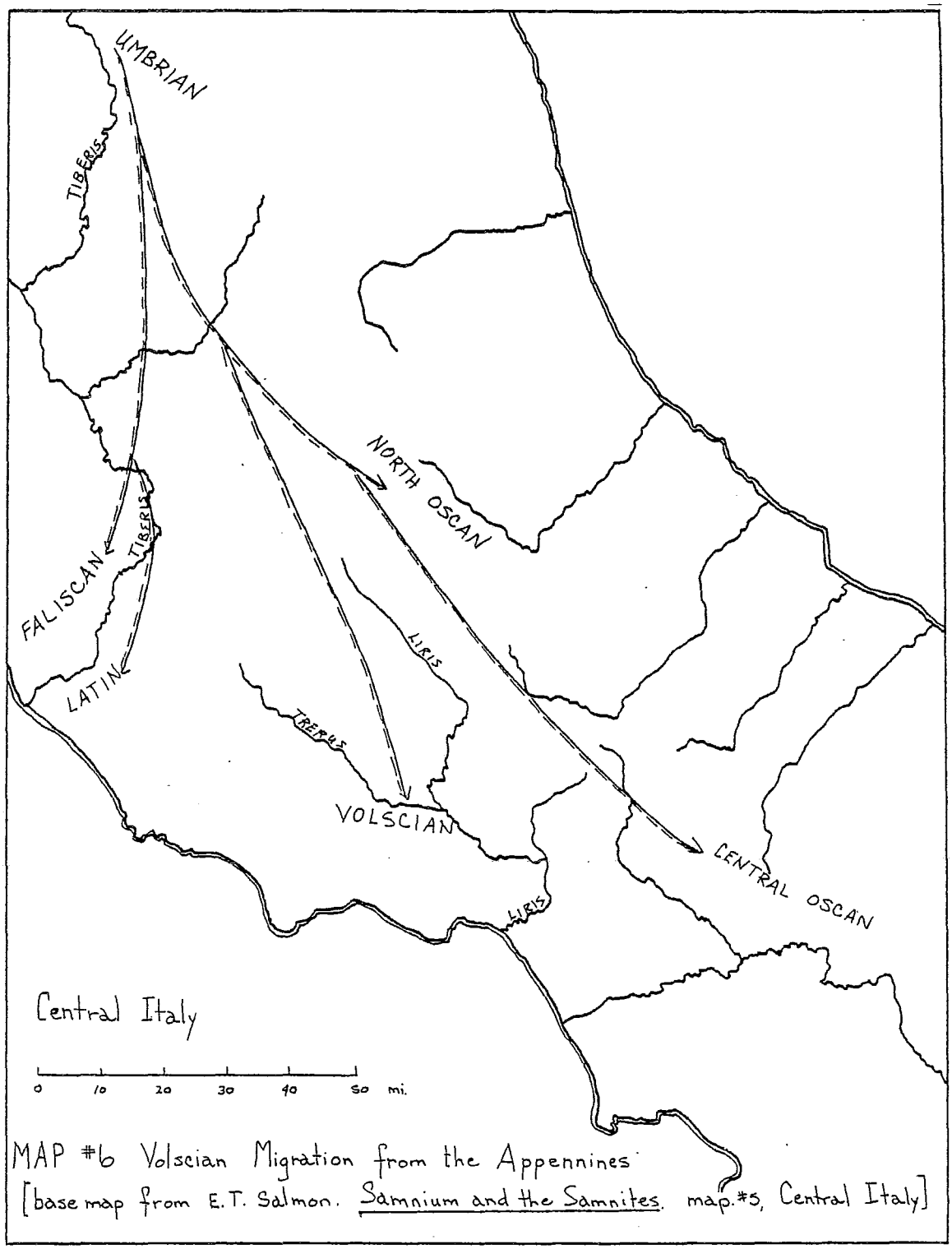
MAP #4 Roman Settlements, C4th B.C., communications network



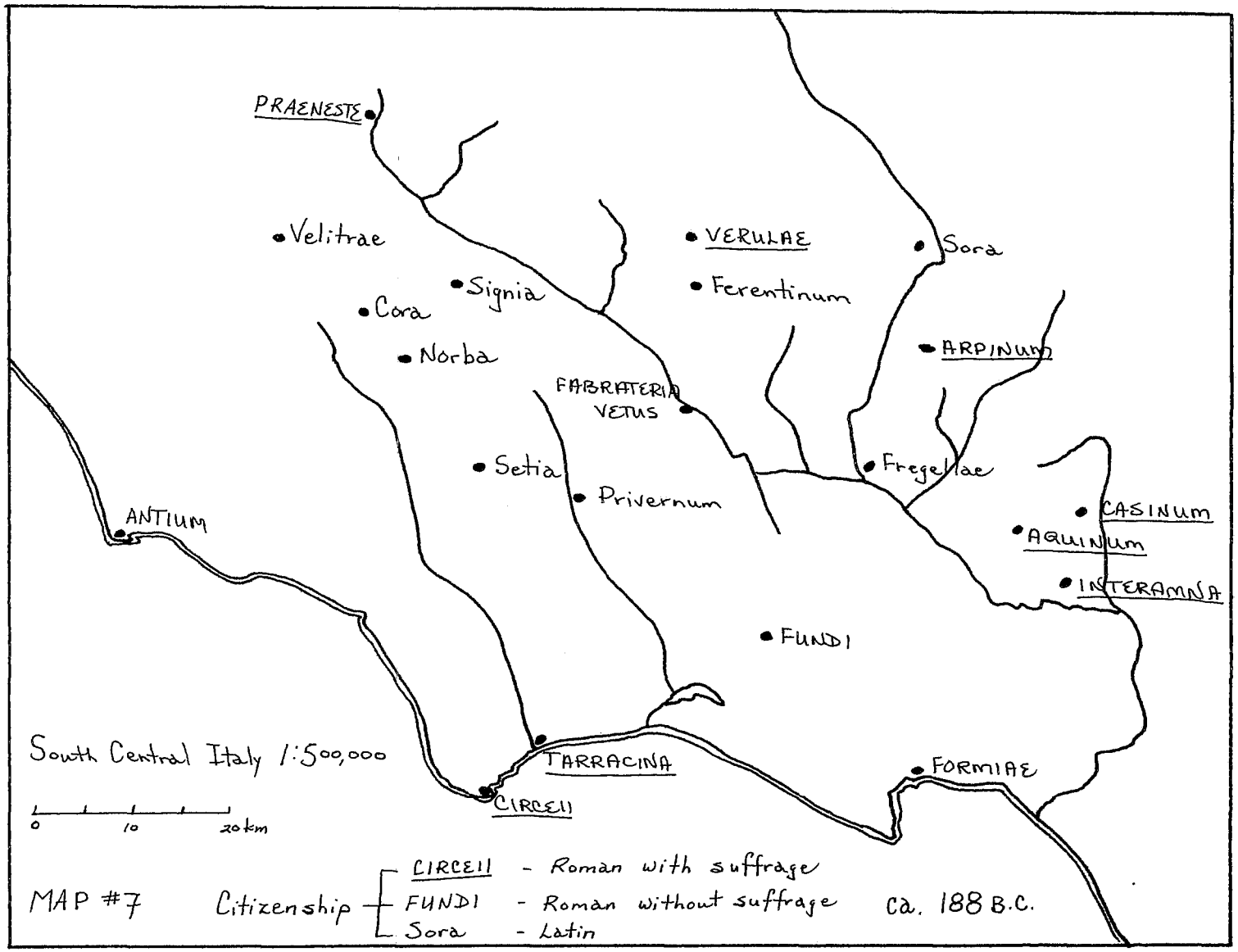
South Central Italy

0 50 mi.

MAP #5 Italic Tribe Geographical Distribution, C4th B.C.
from E.T. Salmon Samnium and the Samnites. p. 25.



MAP #6 Volscian Migration from the Appennines
[base map from E.T. Salmon. Samnium and the Samnites. map.#5, Central Italy]


PRAENESTE
Velitrae
VERULAE
Sora
Signia
Ferentinum
Cora
Norba
ARPINUM
FABRATERIA VETUS
Setia
Fregellae
Privernum
CASINUM
ANTIUM
AQUINUM
INTERAMNA
FUNDI
South Central Italy 1:500,000
TARRACINA
FORMIAE
CIRCEII
0 10 20 km
MAP #7
Citizenship
CIRCEII - Roman with suffrage
FUNDI - Roman without suffrage
Sora - Latin
ca. 188 B.C.

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