Abstract

The ancient Samnites of south-central Italy have been cast by both ancient and modern authors as rough-and-tumble highlanders due to their habitation of the rugged river valleys of the southern Apennines and their ferocious resistance to Roman expansion in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The most visible remainders of Samnite civilization are the great fortresses of polygonal masonry that crown many hilltops and mountain peaks in the modern *regioni* of Abruzzo, Molise, and Campania, around which Samnite farms, villages, and sanctuaries coalesced. Since the publication of Edward Togo Salmon’s *Samnium and the Samnites* and the wide adoption of Adriano La Regina’s *pagus-vicus* model for Apenninic settlement, there has been a marked resistance in modern scholarship to characterizing the largest of these fortified centers as cities. This stands in stark contrast with ancient authors, in particular Livy, who frequently refer to Samnite population centers in urban terms.

This thesis defends the ancient view of the Samnites as an urban people, with permanently occupied hill-forts as their cities. It begins with a close examination of Livy’s monumental history of Rome, in particular his narration of the Samnite Wars in the seventh through tenth books. This first chapter analyzes the terminology Livy employs to describe Samnite cities and their features, and reconstructs from the text a Roman understanding of the city. The second and third chapters review the archaeological evidence from two well-documented Samnite fastnesses, Monte Pallano and Monte Vairano, in light of this understanding to illustrate how the Romans could understand them as cities. These chapters further illuminate aspects of community, state formation, and spatial organization at these cities in light of Michael Mann’s IEMP
theory of power relations and Roberto Camagni’s factors for urban genesis. This thesis provides an alternative interpretation of the literary and archaeological evidence that is more faithful to the former and as such provides a firmer foundation for understanding the latter.
Preface

This thesis is the original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Kevin Stuart Lee. All figures are the property of their original creators, who have been acknowledged in the image captions.
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Introduction

2017 will mark the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Edward Togo Salmon’s *Samnium and the Samnites*. This work is the *milion* from which modern English-language studies of the Samnites have proceeded, and remains an invaluable comprehensive resource. In it, Salmon studies the Samnites, an ancient Oscan-speaking people of the Italian peninsula who primarily inhabited the river valleys and intermontane passes of the southern Apennines (Fig. I.1), corresponding to the modern Italian *regioni* of Abruzzo, Molise, and Campania. Salmon extrapolated from ancient sources four tribes he considered allied in a posited “Samnite League”: the Pentri, Carricini, Hirpini and Caudini.¹ This list has become virtually canonical for Samnite studies, though Gianluca Tagliamonte includes the coastal Frentani as a fifth tribe.²

Salmon characterized the Samnites as a poor, fundamentally anti-urban people.³ Shortly after the publication of *Samnium and the Samnites*, Adriano La Regina proposed a non-urban model for understanding settlement patterns of the Italic peoples, including the Samnites, who inhabited central and southern Italy. He interpreted the archaeological evidence as reflecting a scattering of domestic, political and economic functions across broad territories, which he christened *pagi*. Habitation was focused in villages (*vici*) and

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¹ Salmon, 1967: 42; cf. Farkas, 2006 for arguments against this posited league.  
² Tagliamonte, 1997: 6-7  
³ For instance, he (pp. 126-127) characterizes the sculpture of the Samnites and their “Sabellian” relatives (see Salmon, 1967: 32-39 for his use of “Sabellians” as a catch-all term for the Oscan-speaking peoples of southern Italy, the Samnites included) thusly: “Throughout Sabellian Italy the predominant phenomenon is that the Greek models lose their essential qualities and acquire a rustic, harsh and expressive individuality which is Italic.” He further (pp. 38, 134-135) contrasts those Samnites and their Sabellian cousins who migrated *en masse* into Campania and interbred with Etruscans and Greeks as obtaining a higher level of political and religious sophistication than those who remained in the mountains: “In Campania, however, the Sabellians were bound to become acquainted with the *Etrusca disciplina*. The ruder Samnites of the highlands had little contact with Etruscans and no notion of civic commonwealths. Their settlements were spontaneous affairs and they were fortified as necessity would seem to dictate.”
farms, administration and trade in sanctuaries, and defense in hill-forts (oppida). This dispersed “pagus-vicus” model was conceived as an Italic antithesis to the Greek polis, Roman urbs, and Etruscan city-state in which the aforementioned functions were supposedly centralized in a single urban agglomeration.

Since its proposal, the pagus-vicus model has been the dominant paradigm for interpreting Samnite settlements. Under its guidance, Samnite remains have frequently been interpreted as proto-urban. Maurizio Gualtieri appended “oppidum” to the model in 2004, reflecting the importance hill-forts played as magnets for settlement. He maintained that while such a fortified center cannot be called a “non-city,” the Greeks and Romans would not have understood Samnite settlement patterns as urban due to their lack of centralization and fundamentally different socio-political structures. Edward Bispham has similarly argued against Samnite cities. For the period between 1000 and 350 B.C., he reads the archaeological and textual references as indicating increasing population, economic concentration, and state formation without the rise of cities. He avers that great fortified hilltops from c. 350 to 50 B.C. were not “towns,” but “pagus centres,” which could still have urban features and functions without in fact being urban, and that “the first real towns” only arise in the Late Republican and Augustan periods.

My disagreement with these scholars arises from different premises regarding what forms of settlement can be termed cities. As Bispham’s language indicates, for many scholars only Greek and Roman settlements – or, rather, the general scholarly

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6 For instance, Tagliamonte, 1997: 173 on Monte Vairano
7 Gualtieri, 2004, 36, 40
8 Bispham, 2007: 183-194
impression of them as a class – can lay claim to this mantle. The standard against which Samnite settlements are measured is a wall-to-wall agglomeration of buildings connected by rationally planned streets, studded with monumental architecture and public space. Anything that diverges from this appearance is compartmentalized as something other than urban. A settlement form that breaks with the expectations of modern scholars, however, is not automatically non-urban. Greek and Roman writers such as the geographer Strabo and historian Livy did, in fact, recognize the Samnites as possessing cities. Though modern scholars acknowledge this, in general they demure from agreeing.

The disconnect between ancient and modern interpretations demands explanation. The first chapter will provide this through a close reading of Livy’s narration of the Samnite Wars in *Ab Urbe Condita*, by far the most complete presentation of the Samnites in the surviving literary record. In it, Livy describes Samnite settlements with the terms

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10 For instance, the assumption that a settlement needs to be carpeted from rampart to rampart with buildings to be considered even a town is suggested by formulations such as Bispham, 2007: 198: “Sometimes, as at Monte Vairano and Monte Pallano, a very large area was enclosed by the defences, some—but not all—of which was terraced and used to build kilns, houses or temples…” and Bispham, 2007: 203, “Not all, perhaps not very much, of the vast plateau of Pallano, was occupied permanently, or indeed at all. This, and the Curino acropolis at Alfedena…need to be understood as particular types of *pagus* centre, not as towns…” Emphasis my own. Similarly material concerns are expressed by La Regina, 1971:205, who notes that the Roman legal grants of municipal status to settlements in Samnium and neighboring Sabellic territories were likely given to “…località ove *la condizione urbana* si era già manifestata, anche se *il vero e proprio assetto urbanistico* è spesso la conseguenza diretta, talvolta non immediata, della fondazione stessa.” Emphasis my own. For La Regina then, a nebulous “urban form” can precede rational planning, but requires it to be defined as befits a proper, legally established city.

11 Mumford, 1961: 80-85 noted this when he contrasted the compact, walled cities of Mesopotamia with the more diffuse clustering of villages around ceremonial centers in Egypt and the Maya states: “…only if one treated the dense occupation of a limited walled area as the critical mark of the early city, could one withhold from this open urban formation the title of city. Now it is precisely the overparticularized definition of the city that one must sharply call in question: congestion, large numbers, an encircling wall are accidental characters of the city, not essential ones, though the growth of warfare did in fact turn them into dominant and persistent urban features…,” cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 3.3.1-7, 3.9.9, who similarly rejects that a city-state’s identity can be fully defined in material terms such as the size of territory, population, or walled area. While, contra Aristotle and Mumford, we will see that for Livy a wall is in fact one of the crucial features for a settled area to be considered a city, the purpose of the above is to illustrate the poverty of the current approach to Samnite settlements which assumes a different but related “overparticularized definition” of cities.

oppidum and urbs, respectively “town” and “city,” which connote urban forms in all other contexts he uses them in. While scholars have acknowledged Livy’s usage of these terms, in dismissing them they have lost the opportunity to understand what Livy meant by them. For instance, La Regina contends that Livy’s description of Pentrian Saepinum as urbs back-projects the Roman form onto the Samnite, and as such is not strictly appropriate to describe “una comunità insediata diffusamente in oppida e vici.” As a close reading of Livy’s Ab Urbe Condita shows, however, the historian was not glibly using the term oppidum to refer to a seasonally occupied hill-fort, or urbs for a diffused settlement system he lacked a better word for, but for actual cities as Livy understood the term. The first chapter reconstructs from the text his understanding of what makes a city a city, and thus what he has in mind when he describes Samnite settlements as such. It is not rational street systems and vast built-up areas that make a city, but a walled settlement whose community pays its respects to the gods and governs itself.

The second and third chapters reconsider the archaeological evidence for walls, settlement layout, economic strategies, and sanctuaries at two well-researched Samnite sites, Monte Pallano and Monte Vairano, in light of the ancient understanding of the city outlined above. These chapters take the tenth through first centuries B.C. as their chronological parameters, covering the development of these settlements from the Iron

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13 La Regina, 1971: 199-200
14 This understanding of the city as both a physical place (settlement) and its people (community) is notably similar to some interpretations of the Greek sense of the term polis, often translated as “city-state.” See for instance Hansen, 2003: 226. The Greek polis itself typically comprised an urban component, the asty (“town”) and surrounding chora (“countryside”). The debate over the polis and its meaning is a black hole. Since occasional reference will be made to the polis, this thesis takes the settlement-community understanding as its definition and leaves it at that. Furthermore, while this thesis addresses both the urban and rural components of Samnite cities to a degree, it focuses more upon the former to establish that they were in fact cities. As such, I apply the settlement-community understanding primarily to the asty while acknowledging that it extends beyond that, and is a worthy topic for future exploration.
Age through Rome’s defeat of the Samnite cities (and their forced alliance with her) to the Social War, fought between Rome and her allies from 90-88 B.C., which sees the end of the Samnites as a historically recognizable people. Evidence for each settlement’s form and economic wellbeing are interpreted as proxies for a stable structure of authority, while sanctuaries are taken as indicators of proper homage to the divine. Throughout, aspects of community, state, and the usage of space are analyzed using Michael Mann’s theory of social power relations and Roberto Camagni’s first two factors for urban genesis, with the third addressed in the conclusion.

A brief recapitulation of each theory is in order. In his introduction to The Sources of Social Power, Mann argues that to achieve their goals, human societies institute relationships he classifies as ideological, economic, military, and political (IEMP) that act in concert with each other. As means to ends, they can be exercised in top-down or bottom-up (“authoritative” vs. “diffused” to use Mann’s terminology) as well as concentrated or diluted (“intensive” vs. “extensive”) manners.15 As such, when we speak of Samnite society, we speak of the intersecting spiritual and material means by which individuals and groups achieve their goals. For the Samnites, one very apparent goal is security for themselves, their families, and their wealth. The city, as a self-governing settlement defended murally and divinely, was their primary way of doing so.

This raises the question of the process by which the Samnites created their cities. In his Economia urbana, Roberto Camagni proposed three factors explaining a city’s

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15 Mann, 1986: 2-10. To illustrate, let us use political power as an example and imagine a true grassroots movement that puts pressure on a president to reform the bureaucracy. The movement itself is an example of diffuse, bottom-up power exercised by a great many people. By focusing on the president, the movement exercises its power in an intensive manner. The president acquiesces, and issues an order for reform to the bureau chiefs under him. The presidential order is an authoritative exercise of power, while the overall reform of the bureaucracy is extensive, working as it must through numerous bosses and functionaries to be achieved.
existence: \textit{agglomeración}, the concentration of population, \textit{accesibilidad}, the favorability of a site’s location given the population’s concerns and needs, and \textit{interacción espacial}, the creation of the city’s form through the social interaction of its inhabitants. In concert, the above approaches present a powerful theoretical suite for comprehending Samnite urbanism. IEMP sheds light on why the Samnites created cities; Camagni’s factors indicate how. Obviously, there are alternative approaches to understanding Samnite cities, such as Weberian, Marxian, and neo-evolutionist to name but three. Employing them would be a fruitful exercise in the future to see in what ways they complement, confound, or nuance the conclusions reached by this work. Within the limited ambit of a Master’s Thesis, however, IEMP and Camagni’s factors have been selected for a basic, foundational theoretical application due to their familiarity to the author and subsequent ease of use.

\footnote{Camagni, 2005 [1992]}
Chapter 1 – Literary Evidence for Samnite Settlements: Livy’s *Ab Urbe Condita*

1.1 – The Infamous *Vicatim*

Emma Dench has observed in English-language scholarship a tendency to see the Samnites as the rude, rural antitheses to the increasingly sophisticated and urbanized Romans. This characterization derives in part, if not in whole, from a lionization of Livy 9.13.7 by modern scholars:

*Nam Samnites, ea tempestate in montibus vicatim habitantes, campestria et maritima loca contempto cultorum molliore atque, ut evenit fere, locis simili genere ipsi montani atque agrestes depopulabantur.*

Now the Samnites, at that time living in villages among the mountains, were devastating the coastal plains. Themselves rustic mountain men, they held the more yielding lowland tillers – similar to their environment, as frequently happens – in contempt.

This has become the type passage for describing the Samnites in modern scholarship. One word in particular, *vicatim,* “in villages,” and one phrase, *montani atque agrestes,* “mountain men and rustic,” or “rugged and wild,” have been singled out. La Regina and Gianluca Tagliamonte both used *vicatim* as an accurate descriptor of the Samnites’ mode of settlement. Salmon quoted *montani atque agrestes* when rejecting references made by Livy and Pliny the Elder to wealthy Samnite towns as ahistorical, and states that linguistic studies “reinforce the impression of a peasant society.”

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17 Dench, 2004: 18-19
18 *Livy* 9.13.7. All Latin and Greek passages are taken from the Loeb Classical Library editions. English translations are my own.
19 La Regina, 1970: 191, 194; Tagliamonte, 1997: 173
20 Salmon, 1967: 64-65, 102-103
21 Salmon, 1967: 50, n. 3
sobriquets *montani atque agrestes* “the lamentably over-used Livian tag.”\(^{22}\) *Vicatim* has been abused in a similar manner, hence the section title.

Where Salmon and scholars since him have erred was reading 9.13.7 in isolation, interpreting it as the entire picture of Samnite settlement rather than a detail on a larger canvas. Maurizio Gualtieri and Rafael Scopacasa see this passage as a scornful and stereotypical treatment of the Samnites and their settlement patterns by a Roman author, a contempt that interpretation of archaeological evidence is only now overcoming.\(^{23}\) This is true to a degree, but still only considers 9.13.7 in isolation from the rest of Livy’s work. A close reading of *Ab Urbe Condita*, in particular the account of the Samnite Wars in Books VII through X, presents a nuanced understanding of Samnite settlement within which the snippet of 9.13.7 is properly understood. That Livy held a somewhat stereotyped view of the Samnites is not under contention. Rather, this chapter demonstrates that within that stereotype there was quite a bit of room in which Livy and his fellow writers moved about. While this chapter focuses on Livy, other Latin and Greek authors will be included where appropriate. This chapter lays the foundation for the ensuing two, which examine the archaeological evidence from the Samnite settlements at Monte Pallano and Monte Vairano, respectively. With a solid comprehension of the Livian understanding of the city elucidated herein, the reader will easily apprehend why these two fortified mountaintops can indeed be interpreted as cities.

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\(^{22}\) Dench, 2004: 14-15  
\(^{23}\) Gualtieri, 1987: 30-31; Gualtieri, 2004: 35; Scopacasa, 2015: 2, 16
1.2 – Livy’s Urban Terminology: Oppidum, Urbs, and Five Samnite Cities

Livy employs two terms for permanent walled settlements: *urbs* (plural: *urbes*), always translated as “city,” and *oppidum* (pl: *oppida*), frequently rendered as “town.” They are used to describe settlements across the Mediterranean, from Saguntum to Suessa to Sparta.\(^{24}\) Each term carries some conceptual baggage that must be unpacked to see how Livy might understand them. In *De Lingua Latina*, the great polymath Marcus Terentius Varro, writing before Livy in the mid-first century B.C., states that the word *oppidum* derives from *opus*, “work,” due to the town being surrounded by defensive works, thus serving the surrounding district as a place of safety.\(^{25}\) While the modern hypothesis is that *oppidum* derives from *ob pedum*, “a foot upon [the ground],”\(^ {26}\) whatever the actual etymology, Varro’s is a workable proxy for Livy’s understanding.\(^ {27}\) Varro similarly derived *urbs* from the *urvum orbis*, “curved circle,” created by the ritual plowing Romulus and other city founders in Etruria and Latium performed around the areas of their new settlements, determining their sacred boundaries as well as the lines of their fortifications. Varro states that *oppida* whose sacred limits had been so plowed were called *urbes*.\(^ {28}\) A foundation rite thus makes a city.

The tight connection between *oppida*, *urbes*, and walls is immediately apparent. This is a wise linkage, not only for a population’s protection but also for the interests of

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24 Livy 21.8.5-7 for Saguntum in Hispania; 8.15.4 for Suessa Pometia in the territory carved out by the refugee Aurunci in Old Latium; 34.36.2 and 34.37.8 for Sparta, which needs no introduction.
25 Varro 5.141
26 Kent, *De Lingua Latina*: p. 132, translator’s note § 141b
27 I argue this based on the temporal proximity between the two, and the fact that the prodigious Varro was referenced by at least two of Livy’s contemporaries: the architect Vitruvius in *De architectura* 7.Intr.15, and the poet Virgil, whose *Georgics* owe a great debt to Varro’s work on agriculture, as studied in e.g. Wilkinson, 1969, suggesting that Varro already had currency among the younger intellectuals of the Augustan age.
28 Varro 5.143
its upper echelons; a wall circumscribes the commons as much as it protects them.\textsuperscript{29} It is evident across Livy’s surviving books, where mentions of \textit{oppida} or \textit{urbes}, in particular during episodes of war, are often attended by references to walls. In close connection with the walls is an \textit{arx}, the high citadel, offering shelter during attacks, and frequently also space for temples of the gods and homes for the well-to-do.\textsuperscript{30} At the outset of Book I it is clear that a group’s self-confidence hinges on a permanent settlement to defend and call home. Arriving in the Tiber valley after enduring horrific hardships at sea, Aeneas’ Trojans breathe a collective sigh of relief upon securing a site for a permanent settlement from Latinus, king of the Aborigines.\textsuperscript{31} Livy refers to the newly founded Lavinium as both \textit{oppidum} and \textit{urbs}, suggesting a degree of interchangeability between the terms.\textsuperscript{32}

From Aeneas and Lavinium come Ascanius and his city of Alba Longa, whose royal line eventually issues Romulus, Remus, and Rome, or so the tradition goes. While the example of Aeneas affirms a Roman understanding of both city and town as defended places, the example of Romulus furnishes a social dimension. Having secured sole kingship at the cost of Remus’ life, Romulus’ first act is to fortify the Palatine Hill. Intimately connected with this, Romulus gives the gods their due by instituting state rituals. This parallels the religious concerns inseparable from the act of outlining a new city, as related by Varro. With the defenses and divines attended to, Romulus’ third act is to establish a body of law for his new city.\textsuperscript{33} Upon these foundations Rome was laid, and all proceeded from there. Walls, religion, and laws: physical, divine, and valid civil

\textsuperscript{29} Earle, 1991: 12; Cf. Mumford, 1961 who contrasts the walled cities of Mesopotamia and medieval Europe. In the former, Mumford sees the wall only as a means of control. In the latter, a guarantor of freedom. Some degree of each is present in city walls throughout history.

\textsuperscript{30} Livy 5.21.10 for Etruscan Veii and its Temple of Juno; 6.33.6-7 for Latin Tusculum as a refuge; 22.22.4 for Hispanic Saguntum as a holding pen for hostages; 24.3.9 for Greek Croton as the dress circle district.

\textsuperscript{31} Livy 1.1

\textsuperscript{32} Livy 1.1.5, 8, 10 for Lavinium as \textit{oppidum}; Livy 1.2.3 for Lavinium as \textit{urbs}

\textsuperscript{33} Livy 1.7.3, 1.8.1
protection. These comprise the Roman sense of what makes a city a city. This is underscored by the demotion of Capua in 211 B.C. As punishment for siding with Hannibal in the Second Punic War, the proconsuls Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius Pulcher leave the city standing, but strip her of her civic magistrates, council, and popular assembly. As a population center without self-governance, Capua, once the queen of Campania, becomes *tamtum tamquam urbem*;\(^{34}\) in essence, a city in name only.

As such, when Livy uses the terms *oppidum* and *urbs*, he understands them to refer to a divinely and legally sanctioned walled space. There is no population threshold that must be met, no specific plan it must follow, and no concern with whether it is a central place, consuming, or producing entity. The *urbs* or *oppidum* may be one of these, but for Livy they are accidental rather than essential. He would of course recognize differences of population, size, and sophistication between *urbes*, such as Rome and her colony at Fidenae, or the Rome of Augustus and that of Romulus, just as we recognize differences of degree between New York and Poughkeepsie, or the New York of Donald Trump and that of Peter Minuit. The difference is that for Livy, what makes a city a city is apparent, whereas for us what qualities comprise “city-ness” are not so clear.\(^{35}\) The take-away is that Livy’s understanding of the city opens up a much broader array of urban arrangements, appearances, and population sizes for inclusion in the category “urban,” than moderns have heretofore admitted.

Livy describes a number of Samnite settlements as *oppida* and *urbes* in Books VII through X. I will review the most prominent here. The first is Allifae. She first appears on the scene in 326 B.C. when captured along with two other settlements, Callifae and

\(^{34}\) Livy 26.16.9

\(^{35}\) Yoffee, 2014: 409; cf. Bispham, 2007: 201. McIntosh and McIntosh, 2003: 106 note the postcolonial shift in anthropology “from what a city *is* (widely agreed to be a futile pursuit…) to what a city *does.*”
Rufrium, in a successful Roman campaign. Livy refers to all three settlements as *oppida*. He later labels Allifae *urbs* when mentioning a rout of the Samnites by the Romans in 307 B.C. Allifae appears again in Livy’s relations of the Second Punic War, where she grants her name to the surrounding countryside. As a point of comparison, the Pontic geographer Strabo, writing his *Geographica* around the same time Livy penned his histories, describes Allifae and nearby Aesernia as Σαμνιτικαὶ πόλεις, Samnitic city-states; the former still intact, the latter destroyed in the Social War.

Bovianum is presented by Livy as a settlement so wealthy in arms, men, and treasure that she is supposed to have been sacked on four different occasions. In the first instance Livy calls Bovianum an *oppidum*. When Bovianum is supposedly captured again in 305 B.C., Livy uses *urbs*. He also uses the term *caput*, “head,” suggesting that he understands Bovianum as the capital of the Pentri, just as Etruscan Perusia, Volsinii and Arretium were for their territorial states. Bovianum reappears briefly in Livy’s account of the Second Punic War, first when wealthy native son Numerius Decimius turns the tide of battle in favor of the Romans, and second as the site where the consuls for 212 B.C. pitched their camps. Unlike Allifae, Strabo lists the Bovianum of his day as one of a series of Samnite πόλεις that no longer deserve the

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36 Livy 8.25.4  
37 Livy 9.42.6  
38 Livy 22.13.6; 22.17.7; 22.18.6; 26.9.2  
39 Strabo 5.3.10. For Allifae and Aesernia as communication nodes commanding the meetings of ancient roads, see Salmon, 1967: 22. For Allifae as a border town, Ibid.: 48.  
40 For the difficulty of Livy’s text on the matter of Bovianum and her supposed numerous captures, see Oakley’s commentary on Livy’s tenth book, 2005:170-174 and 385-391.  
41 Livy 9.31.4-5  
42 Livy 9.44.14. The MSS has been interpreted as reading “urbs,” though “ubi” is a possibility, see Foster’s second note in the Loeb edition, p. 342.  
43 Livy 10.37.1-4. He earlier refers to Perusia as an *oppidum* in 9.40.10  
44 Livy 22.24.12; 25.13.8; the consuls in question being the same Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius Pulcher who stripped Capua of her sovereignty for supporting Hannibal.
name, but that of κωμαί, “villages,” as a result of the destruction visited upon them by the infamous Sulla in the Social War.\(^{45}\) The overall picture is of a chief city whose fortunes weathered and recovered after various blows from the fifth century B.C. until her downfall in the early first.

The cases of Aquilonia, Cominium, and Feritrum are unique among Livy’s references to Samnite cities due to tantalizing hints about their appearance. Livy does not discuss urban layouts in any great depth. He and his sources can be quite detailed regarding what most interests them – for instance, casualty counts – and urban topography is in general not one of those categories. Rather, Livy gives brief, impressionistic descriptions of cities and their constituent elements when relevant, in particular when describing sieges and sacks. Such is the case of the three above-mentioned cities. In 293 B.C., the Samnites make desperate last stands against the consular armies of Lucius Papirius Cursor the Younger and Spurius Carvilius Maximus, respectively, at Aquilonia and Cominium. Livy refers to these primarily as urbes, though Aquilonia is apppellated oppidum at various junctures.\(^{46}\) There, Cursor’s troops take the gate and adjoining wall, but do not venture into the city itself for fear of being overwhelmed.\(^{47}\) This hints at an interior layout too dangerous for a small cadre of legionaries to brave, akin to a medieval city. For comparison, in 213 B.C., a larger force of legionaries under the famous dictator Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator captured an out-of-the-way gate at Apulian Arpi during the Second Punic War. In a heavy downpour, the force seized the houses and streets nearest the gate, and encountered the Arpinate

\(^{45}\) Strabo 5.4.11
\(^{46}\) Livy 10.41.11-13 and 10.42.2-3 for Aquilonia as urbs; 10.42.4, 10.43.13, and 10.44.1-2 for Aquilonia as oppidum; 10.43.5 for Cominium as urbs; 10.43.9 for both as urbes.
\(^{47}\) Livy 10.41.14
defenders in angustiis viis, “in narrow streets.” In 195 B.C. Roman troopers under the conqueror of Greece, the great proconsul Titus Quinctius Flamininus, fought through the similarly narrow streets of Sparta during the war against that city’s last independent ruler, the usurper Nabis. The existence at Aquilonia of a near-gate quarter with alleyways, bottlenecks, and blind corners, filled with potential ambush sites and made more dangerous by Samnite civilians throwing tiles and stones from their roofs is possible given Livy’s language.

Meanwhile, at nearby Cominium, Carvilius’ troops seize the towers and walls, prompting the Samnite defenders to make a last stand in the city’s forum. This chance mention preserves knowledge of Samnite open space that Romans understood as analogous to their own, opening a universe of possibilities for centers of commerce, public display, and civic business within Samnite cities. The latter is likely, as Livy refers to generic councils that appear to operate on a national level, while in fragments surviving from his Roman Antiquities, the Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a contemporary of Livy’s, references a Roman delegation to a common council of the Samnites at the outset of the Third Samnite War. Its presbyters refuse the Roman demands and prepare to wage war κοινῇ τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, “both in common and

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48 Livy 24.46.6-24.47.3
49 Livy 34.39.5; see Creekmore, 2014: 51-53 for narrow streets as one strategy for “defensible space” in ancient cities, with comparative examples of alleys and culs-de-sac in upper Mesopotamian cities c. 2700-2200 B.C.
50 Cf. Aristotle, Politics 7.10.4-5 and Plutarch, Pyrrhus 32.3 for the acknowledged military advantages of narrow lanes for the defense of an invaded city. Mumford, 1961: 368-369 notes that untrained civilians have an advantage over ranks of drilled soldiers in such an environment; hence the attractiveness of straight avenues in the urban theory of Alberti and Palladio, and in the practice of Haussmann at Paris.
51 Livy 10.43.5-7; Cf. Salmon, 1967: 91 for the Hirpine settlement at Aequum Tuticum, which he states “obviously means Forum Publicum.” He mentions it in the same sentence as Caudine Trebula Balliensiis, which features an area he posits as the ekklesiasterion for the tribal assembly of the Caudini.
52 Livy 7.31.11; 8.39.10; 10.12.2
Urban magistrates of the class known as the *meddices* (sg., *meddix*), a Latinization of the Oscan name, are not a far stretch.\(^{54}\)

The final city prominently featured in Livy’s narration is Feritrum, most of whose citizens desert her in the night as the consular army under Lucius Postumius Megellus approaches in 294 B.C. Livy’s description of the ghost town provides clues to its appearance:

\[
equites\ portam\ unam\ alteramque\ eadem\ regione\ in\ propinquo\ patentes\ conspiciunt\ itineribusque\ iis\ uestigia\ nocturnae\ hostium\ fugae.\ adequitant\ deinde\ sensim\ portis\ urbe\ ex\ tuto\ rectis\ itineribus\ peruiam\ conspiciunt\ et\ consuli\ referunt\ excessum\ urbe\^{55}\]

The horsemen espied one gate and another nearby in the same district, both lying open, and along the roads they spotted vestiges of the enemy’s flight-by-night. They rode little by little up to the gates, and observed from safety the city, accessible by straight streets. They reported to the consul the exodus from the city.

Postumius orders another reconnaissance team to proceed a short distance into town. They report back their advance to a spot *unde in omnes partes circumspectus*, “from which all areas could be seen,”\(^{56}\) suggesting a short ways within Feritrum’s wall, there was a rise or some other such vantage point accessible to cavalry. The language is consistent with a hilltop fort city, of the types known well from the river valleys of modern Abruzzo and Molise.\(^{57}\) More impressive is the mention of *itineris recta*, “straight

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\(^{53}\) Dion. Hal. 17/18.2.3

\(^{54}\) See Farkas 2006, 66-93 for an extended discussion of the *medicces* as they operated at the national level among the Pentri. See also n. 79 below on p. 21.

\(^{55}\) Livy 10.34.7-8

\(^{56}\) Livy 10.43.10

ways,” running through the city. While not necessarily indicative of a Hippodamian grid, it shows a degree of axial formality as defined by Michael Smith.\footnote{Smith, 2007: 8-12. Smith’s model recognizes the myriad of urban planning types utilized across cultures and times, and degrees of planning therein, in conscious opposition to the traditional orthogonal/planned-vs.-organic/unplanned dichotomy. Smith argues that orthogonality is a sub-category of the larger “formality and monumentality” of streets, plazas, and architectural groupings. “Axiality,” i.e. “straight avenues,” and degrees thereof are one of the recurring “principles” of planning across urban cultures, from ancient to modern times.}

\section*{1.3 – Features of Samnite Cities in Livy: \textit{Iter} and \textit{Tecta}}

This section examines two terms Livy uses to describe features at Aquilonia, Cominium, and Feritrum: \textit{itinera} (singular: \textit{iter}), “routes, roads, ways,” at Feritrum, and \textit{tecta} (sg: \textit{tectum}), a general term for roofed structures. It looks at how Livy uses them elsewhere to get a sense of what he had in mind when describing these three Samnite cities.

\textit{Itinera} is a curious word to students of Roman urbanism, as \textit{via} is the more familiar term for streets. Livy uses \textit{via} to describe the street at Rome spanned by the ancient \textit{Sororium Tigillum}, the Sister’s Beam, preserved Ship of Theseus-like down to Livy’s day.\footnote{Livy 1.26.13. See Terrenato, 1991: 38-40 for archaeological assessment of the Beam and environs.} He similarly uses the word to describe the streets of Alba Longa, filled with weeping refugees as Roman soldiers demolish the city, the streets of Rome that Brennus’ Senonian Gauls dash up and down during their infamous sack, and those at Syracuse filled with curious citizens when Theodotus and Sosis ride through proclaiming the death of the tyrant Hieronymus in 214 B.C. As a category in Livy’s work, \textit{via} has a
broad range, used to describe the narrow streets of Arpi as well as the great broad way of Sparta.\textsuperscript{60}

While he frequently uses \textit{via} for city streets, Livy also employs it to describe country roads. Relating an episode from 193 B.C., the historian describes allied Numidian cavalry charging along a single \textit{via} in northwestern Italia, torching villages along the road and distracting the Ligurian footmen from the trap they had laid for the consular army.\textsuperscript{61} Akin to this is an episode from the Third Macedonian War. Having captured Heracleum from Perseus of Macedon, Gaius Popillius Laenas elects to rebuild the \textit{vias} into Thessaly.\textsuperscript{62}

\textit{Iter} ordinarily means a journey or march, and its use to describe roads is comparatively rare in Livy. When it is so employed, a rural context is usual, e.g. the \textit{recto itinere} to Rome used by routed soldiers fleeing Brennus’ Gauls, and the road through the Caudine Forks.\textsuperscript{63} However, Livy does on occasion use \textit{itinere} in an urban context. In 384 B.C., the consular tribune Publius Valerius Potitus Poplicola and his colleague, the larger-than-life Republican hero Marcus Furius Camillus, march to Sutrium to save it from an Etruscan raid. When they arrive, they find the Etruscans have taken a portion of the city, with the townsfolk having barricaded the \textit{itinera} to the rest.\textsuperscript{64} In 212 B.C., Hannibal takes Greek Tarentum in southern Italy via bloody ruse. After marching his force into the agora, Hannibal orders detachments of allied Gauls and their Tarentine guides to occupy the busiest \textit{itinera}.\textsuperscript{65} \textit{Iter} is not a term indicative solely of

\textsuperscript{60} Livy 1.29.5 for Alba Longa; 5.42.3 for the Gallic sack of 390 B.C. (or 386 B.C., if following Polybius); 24.21.8 for Syracuse; 24.47.3 for Arpi; 34.39.5 for Sparta.
\textsuperscript{61} Livy 35.11.11
\textsuperscript{62} Livy 44.9.11
\textsuperscript{63} Livy 5.38.5, 9.2.8
\textsuperscript{64} Livy 6.9.7
\textsuperscript{65} Livy 25.9.16
rural or poorer quality. Rather, it shows the same interchangeability with via that oppidum shares with urbs. Furthermore, given the term’s association with marching, itinera carries a sense of directionality; hence the straight ways through Feritrum.

The second term of interest is tecta (sg. tectum), literally “things having been covered; roofs.” Livy uses it in his description of the simultaneous sacks of Cominium and Aquilonia in 293 B.C. by Carvilius and the younger Cursor:

\[ \text{laetitiam utriusque exercitus Romani auxit et ab altera parte feliciter gesta res. uterque ex alterius sententia consul captum oppidum diripiendum militi dedit, exhaustis deinde tectis ignem iniecit; eodemque die Aquilonia et Cominium deflagravere et consules cum gratulatione mutua legionum suaque castra coniunxere.}^{66} \]

The joy of the Roman armies swelled, each made happier by the deeds of the other. Each consul, with the approval of the other, gave his captured town to the soldiers and, after the houses were emptied, fired it. Aquilonia and Cominium burned on the same day. With the shared jubilations of the legions, the consuls joined their camps.

Livy uses this term only twice in connection with the Samnites. The other instance is an episode from the Second Punic War. Aggrieved ambassadors of the Hirpini and Caudini tell Hannibal that he can almost see their blazing tecta and hear the lamentations of their families, so great were the depredations of the proconsul Marcus Claudius Marcellus in the summer of 215 B.C.\(^{67}\)

Livy’s usage of tecta as an architectural term evinces a wide range of meaning. A number of times Livy uses tectum to describe farmhouses and other rural domiciles. For example, in 302 B.C. the roving forces of the Spartan mercenary general Cleonymus raid

\[^{66}\text{Livy 10.44.1-2}\]
\[^{67}\text{Livy 23.42.5}\]
three villages of the Patavians in northern Italy and burn their tecta.\textsuperscript{68} Two chapters later, Livy uses the term to describe the semi-ruined buildings of an Etruscan village near which the Roman army under the dictator Marcus Valerius Corvus encamped. In the sense of property and country buildings, tecta frequently appear in treaties, such as that proposed in 211 B.C. by Marcus Valerius Laevinus between Rome and the Greek city-states comprising the Aetolian League.\textsuperscript{69}

Frequently, however, Livy uses tecta to refer to city houses, from the plague-breeding arta tecta, “narrow spaces,” that house agrestes from the Roman countryside during incursions of the Aequians and Volscians in 463 B.C. up to the noble mansions cleaned out and demolished by Brennus’ Gauls.\textsuperscript{70} In his description of Camillus and Poplicola’s relief of Sutrium Livy states that the Romans found the Etruscans carrying booty ex tectis hostium, “from the enemy’s houses.”\textsuperscript{71} Sutrium thus joins the Samnite cities in having its components described as itinera and tecta.

Further, tecta can describe public buildings as well as private. Following the conquest and depopulation of Etruscan Veii, in 395 B.C. Livy mentions the disturbances of a faction at Rome that wished to relocate to Veii, preferring the Etruscan city for its magnificentia publicorum privatorumque tectorum.\textsuperscript{72} Following the Gallic sack, Camillus turns this bellyaching back upon its perpetrators in his rousing speech, shaming them for wishing to do so when Rome’s own tecta publica privataque were still standing.\textsuperscript{73} These public buildings can also include temples, as seen in the episode of the

\begin{footnotes}
\item 68 Livy 10.2.8
\item 69 Livy 26.24.11
\item 70 Livy 3.6.3, 5.41.10, 5.42.2
\item 71 Livy 6.3.5
\item 72 Livy 5.24.7; “the magnificence of its public and private buildings.”
\item 73 Livy 5.53.2
\end{footnotes}
Latins burning Volscian Satricum in 377 B.C., sparing neither sacred nor profane structure save the Temple of Mater Matuta.\textsuperscript{74}

*Tecta* is a term of breadth. When considering the *itinera recta* of Feritrum and the *tecta* of Aquilonia and Cominium, the most suitable comparanda are Livy’s uses of the same terms to describe urban features at Veii, Rome, Tarentum, and other Italic cities. There is nothing in Livy’s language to suggest that the Samnites are operating at a distinctly inferior level of material culture when it comes to their cities. Rather, it suggests their cities are comparable to those of their neighbors and rivals, all of whom are sharing a common urban *koine*.

1.4 – The Infamous *Vicatim* Revisited: Objections and Rebuttals

The reader by now should have the sense that cities are a frequent actor on the stage of Livy’s Samnium. Indeed, *oppidum* and declensions thereof are used ten times over the course of Books VIII-X to refer to Samnite settlements, while *urbs* and declensions thereof are used twenty-two times over the course of Books IX and X. And *vicatim*? A grand total of twice.\textsuperscript{75} Modern scholarship has grossly inflated the relevance of *vicatim* for describing Samnite settlement. Strabo in fact gives the proper understanding of Livy 9.13.7 when describing the settlement modes of the Marrucini, Oscan-speaking cousins and neighbors of the Samnites:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ὁ Ἀρκατίας ὁ Ἀρκατικός, ἐν μᾶλλον ἄλλοις ἔστιν},
\text{τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα κωμηδῶν ζῶσιν, ἓχουσι δὲ καὶ}
\text{πόλεις ύπὲρ μὲν τῆς θυατητῆς τὸ τε Κορφίνιον}
\text{καὶ Σουλίμωνα καὶ Μαρούιον καὶ Τεατέαν τῆν.}
\end{align*}\]

\textsuperscript{74} Livy 6.33.4

\textsuperscript{75} Livy 9.13.7, 10.17.2
They live primarily in villages, but they hold cities inland from the sea: Corfinium, Sulmona Maruvium, and Teatea, the metropolis of the Marrucini.”

Villages exist alongside cities in the central Italic world, not in place of them. By divorcing a single passage from its context, modern scholars have missed the great deal of evidence Livy presents for the existence of Samnite cities, as he and a Roman audience would understand them. Livy’s contemporaries, Strabo and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, similarly have no issue calling Samnite settlements πόλεις, nor does Annaeus Florus, writing in the second century A.D., whose flowery rhetorical history refers to the ruinas ipsas urbiwm, “the very ruins of the cities” of the Samnites.

I anticipate three main objections to my arguments. The first is that Livy is using the terms oppida and urbes in a literary manner so as to increase the glory of Rome’s conquest. There is little glory in torching a number of rough villages, but a city is a fine prize. The sheer commonality of urbs and oppida across the surviving books of Ab Urbe Condita undermines this argument. Indeed, the terms appear most often in Livy’s narrations of war and battle, and this should not be surprising. Towns and cities are among the most visible objectives of war, and naturally will be mentioned frequently in that context.

The second objection is that there is no real correspondence between what Livy, writing three hundred years after the events he describes, calls as a town or city and the actual reality on the ground. The archaeological evidence will be reviewed in the next

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76 Strabo 5.4.2
77 Florus 1.11.8
78 Scopacasa, 2015: 43, n. 114, for a corollary suggested to him by Saskia T. Roselaar, that by emphasizing the martial prowess of the Samnites, Roman authors heighten the prestige of their nation’s conquest.
chapters. However, when Livy refers to Tarentum, the Etruscan capitals at Tarquinia, Caere, Arretium, Volsinii and Perusia, and any other settlement interpreted by modern archaeologists as a city, as urbes and oppida, we see no reason to doubt him. If we doubt him when he does the same with Samnite settlements, we must seriously ask whether that is a reflection of the archaeological data in and of itself, or whether that is inherited prejudice blinding us to more valid interpretations of it.

The third objection is that Livy is only passing on the Roman understanding of Samnite settlements. The Samnites may not have understood their settlements as cities at all, and Livy is inserting a Roman concept into a milieu where it does not belong. This emic-vs.-etic objection is the most potent, and hearths back to Salmon’s contention that the Samnites may not have had a native word for “city.” Barring discovery of an inscription bearing such an Oscan term, the Samnites’ own understanding of their settlements will remain lost in time.79 The objection boils down to a battle over what a settlement must look like to be considered one. I have been surprised by how much the resistance to calling Samnite settlements “cities” has been based upon a lack of correspondence between the evidence so far recovered to what scholars imagine ancient urbanism, derived from Greek and Roman cities, should look like.80 Samnite studies are hobbled by this limited vision. It is inexplicable that Samnite centers would not be considered cities due, e.g., to lack of resemblance to the classical Greek polis, when

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79 Potentially, this may be the Oscan term touto. To date, debate over governance in ancient Samnium has revolved around the terms touto, referring to a political or geographic region of uncertain extent, and meddix tuticus, the chief magistrate of a touto. In general, there are two camps: that of Salmon and La Regina, which holds the touto to refer to regional political organization, and that of Prosdocimi and Letta, which considers the touto to refer to local civic institutions. See Farkas, 2006: 12-97 for comprehensive discussion on the matter. Following the latter camp, touto could potentially carry the connotation of “city,” with the meddix tuticus as its head magistrate. A range of civic structures is possible at the various sites, though degrees of oligarchic republicanism likely predominated.

Sparta, with its settlement concentrated in four nucleated villages, was considered an urban *polis* by the Greeks,\(^\text{81}\) to say nothing of Athens with its multiple deme centers. There is a broader conception of the city in antiquity than the current theoretical regime governing Samnite studies will admit. Overcoming this is necessary for the field to apprehend its subjects honestly. As is frequently the case, the fault lies not in the ancients, but in ourselves.

\(^{81}\) Hansen, 2004: 22
Chapter 2 – Archaeological Evidence for Samnite Cities: Monte Pallano

In the previous chapter I tackled the historiographical error made by modern scholars with their preferential reading of Livy 9.13.7. This has prevented them from seeing what Livy and other ancient authors saw clearly: the Samnites were city-dwellers. That Samnite cities look different than what a researcher today thinks an ancient city ought to look like is no challenge to the urbanity of the Samnites, but to the academic’s assumptions of what a city is.

This chapter and the next reexamine archaeological evidence recovered from two well-documented Samnite sites in light of the Livian understanding of ancient cities as fortified settlements with their own governance and gods. The hybrid of Mann’s IEMP model with Camagni’s first two factors for urbanization will shed further light upon urban elements at both sites. Comparable sites from Samnium, southern Italy, the Tyrrhenian micro-region, and locales further afield will be mentioned where appropriate for comparison and contrast. This chapter will focus upon Monte Pallano in modern Abruzzo. The following will cover Monte Vairano to the southeast in modern Molise.

2.1 – Setting and Development from the Iron Age to the Age of Crisis

Monte Pallano presides over the meeting of two river valleys, the Sangro and Sinello, in southeastern Abruzzo (Fig. 2.1). This geographic confluence was the cultural interface of the Frentani, Pentri, Carricini, Marrucini, and perhaps a northern offshoot of
the Lucanians. The social implications will be covered in section 3.4. The mountain boasts two summits. The taller northern apex, Monte Pallano proper, slopes gradually downward for approximately 1.5 kilometers, forming a saddle valley before rising again to create the southern peak of La Torretta. A perennial spring, the Fonte Benedetti, waters this saddle while a sister spring, the Fonte Canalon, emerges further down the western slopes. From at least the fourth century B.C. to the second century A.D. this narrow coulee between the summits hosted a sizable settlement of neighborhoods, public space, and sanctuaries within a walled area of 35 hectares (Fig. 2.2). This section will recap the development of the settlement and its community from approximately the tenth to sixth centuries B.C.

The Sangro Valley Project, originally under the late John Lloyd, has surveyed Monte Pallano’s immediate territory. Based upon concentrations of pottery brought to the surface by seasonal plowing, the surveyors have postulated a network of villages and farmsteads within the ten square kilometers around the mountain. From the tenth century before to the first century after Christ the number and density of potential settlements gradually increased. In the Roman Imperial period this trend reversed, with virtual abandonment of the mountain and sparse settlement in the surrounding country by the third century A.D. (Fig. 2.3).

Archaeologists know the Iron Age, or Archaic period, roughly dated from c. 1000-500 B.C. for Samnium, at Monte Pallano primarily from grave goods and

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83 Faustoferri and Riccitelli, 2005: 873, 877-878
84 Suano, 2011: 169
86 E.g., Bispham, 2007: 183-191
scattered concentrations of coarse handmade (impasto) pottery. Evidence for Archaic necropoleis ringing the mountain hail from the Via De Gasperi tombs near the modern village of Tornareccio on Monte Pallano’s eastern flank. In addition, two pieces of funerary statuary, the ‘Atessa torso’ and a small fragment perhaps depicting a leg, were found respectively at Colle Archiano and Acquachiara, both to Monte Pallano’s south. Statuary attests to wealthy burials, an impression corroborated by the discovery of a bronze belt and several bronze brooches in Tornareccio tomb 1. The belt and brooches closely resemble those known from the Campo Consolino necropolis at Alfedena in the upper Sangro Valley, near the ancient frontiers of the Carricini and Paeligni, in use from approximately 550 to 400 B.C. There being no local sources of tin, bronze objects indicate inter-regional trade. The pottery found in the tombs corroborates this, with impasto ware characteristic of the inlands and painted, depurated wares from coastal zones, including a kantharos indicative of an elite wine-drinking culture. The bulk of this trade from Samnium was in meat and animal products from pastoral transhumance, the industry the mountainous landscape best lends itself to.

Evidence for coeval settlement atop Monte Pallano, however, remains elusive. Potential settlement sites, generally datable to c. 1000-400 B.C., found within the Sangro Valley Project’s intensive survey bands instead cluster tightly around Acquachiara, and more loosely near the modern village of Bomba on Monte Pallano’s eastern side. An apparent agricultural “processing yard” of this period at Acquachiara has furnished
evidence for ancient cultivation of legumes, emmer, barley, and grapes, stock-keeping in ovicaprids, cattle, and pigs, and the presence of horses and dogs.\textsuperscript{94}

The evidence presently available suggests two trends: (1) a largely decentralized settlement pattern based upon agriculture and stock-rearing, and (2) an increase in wealth and interregional trade. The latter reflects the rise of local chiefdoms,\textsuperscript{95} contemporary with the archaeologically detectable rise of such elsewhere in Samnium and across the Italian and Greek peninsulæ.\textsuperscript{96} In light of these trends, Monte Pallano and environs in the Archaic period could be characterized as a “decentralized stratified society,” in which elites collected tithes of crops and creatures from villages and farms and traded with their colleagues abroad.\textsuperscript{97} This thesis posits a clan-based elite, with the clan heads, their immediate families, and retainers drawing their keep from villages and farms largely populated by kinsmen and dependents, including slaves.\textsuperscript{98} While there is no clear

\textsuperscript{94} SVP Seasonal Report, 2005: 6; SVP Seasonal Report, 2006: 7; Bispham, 2007: 185-186. See Barker and Suano \textit{et al.}, 1995: 168-169 for similar floral and faunal evidence from the Biferno Valley, whose sites also returned fragments of Daunian drinking ware, suggesting the rise of a wine-drinking culture.

\textsuperscript{95} Much scholarly effort has been expended on “archaic states,” their emergence from “chiefdoms,” and the definitions of these terms as they apply to the ancient world studied by archaeologists. See Marcus and Feinman, 1998: 4-13 for an overview. My terminology for Iron Age leaders makes no qualitative distinction between “chief” or “king,” following Ferguson, 1991: 169-170, who observed that archaic states such as the Greek \textit{poleis} from the ninth through fifth centuries B.C. were neither pure “chiefdoms” nor “states,” but rather “hybrid polities,” whose various forms occupied a continuum between academic ideal types of chiefdoms and states.


\textsuperscript{97} Kristiansen, 1991: 19-20

\textsuperscript{98} Cf. Terrenato, 2011 for contemporary parallels among Roman clans. Salmon, 1967: 52, n. 3, 53, 82-84 posits dependency of the commons upon the “aristocrats,” though in a more “feudal” sense, raising the possibility of a system akin to that of Roman patrons and clients.
evidence from the tombs, a warrior elite is likely based upon regional comparanda.\textsuperscript{99} The attentive reader will have already recalled Mann’s contention that society is a network of mutually interacting power relations, and the above description of a decentralized stratified society touches upon aspects of military, political, and economic power. Given the short distances between sites, the exercise of control was likely intensive.

In a clan-based society, we encounter familial political economies. Headship of a clan grants one an immediate source of political power as the settler of disputes and a strong hand of correction. This translates into economic might as respect and resources accrue. If an emergency arises, for instance from other clans seeking to expand their territory, political power can transmute into military as one heads the defense. In this context, the monumental sepulchral statuary such as the Atessa torso celebrated gentilicial leaders.\textsuperscript{100}

Supposing the current body of evidence accurately reflects the Archaic settlement pattern, how could a permanent center develop atop the mountain by the fourth century B.C., and why? In other words, what prompts concentration at this site, and what sources of social power are in play? Consider the era. Pallottino characterizes the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. as the “Age of Crisis” in the Italian peninsula. Marked by mass migrations of Gauls and Osco-Umbrian speakers southwards, this period witnessed the overthrow of the old hegemony of the Etruscans in the north and the Greeks in the south, the transfer of momentum to Rome and the Sicilian Greek city of Syracuse as they embarked upon expansionist outbursts, and memorable episodes such as the Gallic sack

\textsuperscript{99} E.g., the famous Capestrano Warrior and weapons found in Biferno Valley graves. See Barker and Suano, 1995: 174-180; Richardson, 2013: 22

\textsuperscript{100} See Suano, 2010: 173-175 for funerary rituals at the Via de Gasperi necropolis.
of Rome and the Italian adventures of Greek mercenary generals.\textsuperscript{101} Crucially for our topic, the Samnite Wars were largely fought in the second half of the fourth century. The archaeological record reflects increasing violence overlapping this period, with a higher frequency in the number of fractured skulls found in male burials of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. at Alfedena, immediately prior to the apparent cessation of activity at the necropolis.\textsuperscript{102} In addition, iron weapons have been found in male burials at necropoleis near modern Termoli and Larino in the Biferno Valley, territory that in antiquity belonged to the Frentani.\textsuperscript{103}

As Salmon notes, ancient opinion was universal that the Samnites were migrants into the land that bore their name, wresting it from the earlier Opici and likely rendering them a demographic substrate.\textsuperscript{104} The fall of Campania in the second half of the fifth century B.C., if correctly attributed to the Samnites, establishes a \textit{terminus ante quem} for their movements through southern Italy, including the region around Monte Pallano. The Etruscans, western Greeks, and Opici discovered an ugly reality, which would visit the Romans themselves in the latter days of empire: mass migration is war. Newcomers import themselves, upsetting the old order. Established populations unable or unwilling to expel or assimilate the invaders are obliterated by sword and spawn. Such demographic and martial convulsions set down the political landscape and cultural patterns that govern until the next mass migration. These are dynamic, brutal, and terrifying times. Those who successfully resist will survive or even thrive. When the

\textsuperscript{102} Tagliamonte, 1996: 78-87
\textsuperscript{103} Barker and Suano \textit{et al.}, 1995, 171-172; Tagliamonte, 1996: 208-209. Barker and Suano \textit{et al.}, 1995: 177, 179 and Scopacasa, 2015: 89-90 hold that these weapons also attest to the rise of a competitive \textit{ethos} akin to that found in the Homeric epics.
\textsuperscript{104} Salmon, 1967: 28-29. For ancient sources, see e.g. Strabo 5.4.12.
Gauls invaded the Po Valley, the Etruscans turned tail. When the same Gauls sacked Rome, Camillus simply slew them. Rome went on to completely assimilate both the Etruscans and Gauls as part of her conquest of Italy. That she engaged Samnites along the way rather than Opici suggests the former had more success in taking the territory that bore their name than the latter had been in holding it.

Against this backdrop, centralization of the area’s clans on a defensible peak – a focal point for the deposition and defense of their herds, flocks, and precious agricultural produce – would be in their interest.\textsuperscript{105} Recalling Mumford, Monte Pallano would have been doubly attractive if it had long hosted a common shrine or shrines for the area, likely at the springs of Fonte Benedetti and Fonte Canaloni.\textsuperscript{106} While the clan heads undoubtedly played a great role, the move towards centralized settlement did not have to be an exclusively top-down phenomenon; their dependents would clamor for safety and throw their considerable weight behind the project.\textsuperscript{107} The wall was thus born of authoritative power exercised downwards and diffused power exercised upwards. In IEMP terms, the military necessity of protecting economic resources prompted political action, supported ideologically, to concentrate at a central, defensible location.

\textsuperscript{105} This parallels Terrenato’s (2011: 236) explanation of early Roman state formation as a means for clans to fulfill their interests. Terrenato, 2011: 241: “…it appears that cities were the result of conscious decisions made by individuals, not simple knee-jerk reactions to economic, demographic or environmental changes.”

\textsuperscript{106} Mumford, 1961: 95, 126. For evidence of cultic activity at the Fonte Benedetti, see Faustoferri and Riccitelli, 2005: 878-879.

\textsuperscript{107} See Fisher and Creekmore’s 2014 edited volume for a wealth of comparative material on the reciprocal relationships between groups who make cities.
2.2 – Building a Wall and Community atop Monte Pallano

The character of the new settlement atop Monte Pallano could be read differently depending upon which individual or group took the lead in developing it. Following the work in Creekmore and Fisher’s edited volume, I posit that both the commons and their leaders had agency in the matter, and the development of this elevated community was an ongoing saga of cooperation, conflict, and compromise among neighbors, enemies, allies, and authorities, as messy and human as that of Rome or Athens. What we do know is that between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. 108 Monte Pallano’s natural defenses were strengthened with walls composed of massive limestone boulders. Lloyd hypothesized that they were quarried on site, levered up the mountainside, and fit into courses. 109 A surviving stretch dubbed the Mura Paladine (Fig. 2.4), approximately 180 m long and 5 m high,110 is a stark testament to the degree of labor and resources required to wall one portion of the vast summit. Smaller fragments were located in the 1970s around the mountain’s western and eastern slopes by Cuomo and Pellegrino,111 suggesting an encompassing circuit. This attests to both the ability and will of the elites and their dependents to marshal the resources and commit themselves to a monumental endeavor.

The Mura Paladine once featured three gates, two of which survive. These gates are at the center of debate concerning the Mura Paladine’s defensive value. Faustoferri and Riccitelli point out that the gates’ proximity to each other perhaps makes the wall

108 Colonna, 1955: 164-168, cited in Faustoferri and Lloyd, 1998: 7 tentatively dated the walls atop Monte Pallano to the period between the sixth and third centuries B.C., overlapping the increased frequency of iron weapons and injuries in burials. Further work (e.g., Faustoferri and Riccitelli, 2005: 872) has narrowed the terminus ante quem to the fourth century B.C. The dating of Samnite hill-forts has long been debated. See Oakley, 1995: 135-138 for a discussion that, even twenty years later, still obtains.
110 590.5 ft. in length,16.4 ft. in height. Faustoferri and Riccitelli, 2005: 872
111 Oakley, 1995: 84-85
more porous than would be ideal for defense,\textsuperscript{112} though it would expedite the movement of flocks in and out. In addition, there is no evidence for a dry moat. However, the approach road leading to the northernmost gate ran parallel to the wall, forcing attackers to expose their unshielded flanks to enfilades from the defenders, whose efforts could have been assisted from a circular tower.\textsuperscript{113} Further, the narrow gates privileged the defenders by forcing assailants into a bottleneck. There is no known evidence, however, for bastions, gate castles, or other structures that would strengthen these naturally vulnerable points. The gates are flush with the exterior of the wall rather than inset, preventing the wall itself from acting as a projecting bastion. We may posit wooden reinforcing structures, guardhouses, and stones fitted to hold gateposts\textsuperscript{114} that have since disappeared, but no evidence of such has been yet identified. At present, the best arguments in favor of the wall as a defensive installation are the size and heft of the megaliths, and the care taken to lay them in snug courses. Humans do not generally exert themselves working Cyclopean masonry unless they intend to keep others out.\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{112} Faustoferi and Riccitelli, 2005: 872.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid. See Wright, 1994: 335-341, 345-349 for reconstructions of an identical strategy at the Mycenaean citadel on the Athenian Acropolis, whose gate was further reinforced by the projecting bastion upon which the Temple of Nike was built in the fifth century before Christ. Cf. the famous Lion’s Gate at Mycenae itself. There is no firm dating evidence for the circular tower at Monte Pallano. It could be original to the wall, a later addition, or, fascinatingly, predate it.
\textsuperscript{114} Mattiocco, 1989: 39, cited in Oakley, 1995: 25, interpreted such a gatepost stone at the hill-fort of Castello in the Vandra Valley.
\textsuperscript{115} While I side with a primarily defensive interpretation of the wall, this does not rule out a secondary purpose as a piece of prestige architecture in peer polity interaction. A similar question is raised at Monte Vairano, where a kiln was partially overlaid by the wall, potentially undermining its primary value as a defensive installation. If the kiln interferes with this, the wall-builders’ motives for construction suggest a higher interest in monumentally demarcating their city than in securing it. Defensive strategies at Monte Vairano such as towers and corridor gates however militate in favor of the wall’s protective value. If intended as a glorified boundary line, it is quite elaborate and labor-intensive. In both cases, at least, the presence of local authority to take charge of the walls’ erection and upkeep is the common variable.
The wall could not exist without community financing, planning, labor, and prayers validating the project’s undertaking and requesting that the gods vouchsafe it.\textsuperscript{116} It is easy to imagine the bulk of the planning, distribution of payments and rewards for labor (or call for corvée), and ritual leadership provided by the chief(s) and the upper echelons, the toil by their dependents and slaves.\textsuperscript{117} This was likely true in the main, but reality was not necessarily so schematic. While the well-off had the most resources to contribute, we can just as easily see members of the emerging community placing a portion of their wealth, however little, in a common pot for financing the wall. This wealth, likely stock and crops, would be redistributed as payment; even forced labor needs to eat. We can also envision the wealthy, after leading the workers in prayer, presaging Vespasian by jumping in to symbolically break ground for construction or even work alongside their dependents to show that they were all in it together.\textsuperscript{118}

Whatever the specifics, the collective act of financing and building the wall would bear incalculable psychological dividends for those involved. Before, any basic sense of community would have been cultivated among the inhabitants about Monte Pallano from stories of common descent, cooperation in defense against bandits and animals, marriage between villages, and shared rituals and swap-meets at local shrines. The construction of the wall would build upon this foundation. Men from the Acquachiara hamlets, who

\textsuperscript{116} Cf. Fulminante, 2014: 82-87 for the foundation deposit found beneath the eighth-seventh century B.C. structure identified by Carandini as Romulus’ Porta Mugonia at Rome.

\textsuperscript{117} E.g., Mumford, 1961: 108: “But the fact that the city has from the beginning been based on forced labor, and that forced labor was produced, not only by enslavement, but by monopoly of the food supply, seems to be indisputably incised on the walls of the ancient city.” At present there is not enough evidence to adjudicate whether corvée or more cooperative labor was used at Monte Pallano. For the moment, we can only speak in possibilities.

\textsuperscript{118} As overly romanticized as this sounds, it is not without basis. Mumford, 1961: 277 references such a cooperative process: “On isolated occasions of great religious exaltation, such as Henry Adams described in ‘Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres,’ [the people] might even carry the very stones that were needed to the site, rich and poor alike.” A significantly meaningful event can unite rich and poor in monumental endeavors.
would not necessarily see the chiefs from the Bomba sites as their leaders, came together with those who did, and through the exhausting and rewarding construction process forged a common identity associated with the new mountain fastness. The shared misery of toil in the blistering sun, downpours, and biting cold of Samnium; the swell of pride when a section of the wall was completed; feasting to celebrate major milestones; the aggravation from unforeseen complications; the hopeful trepidation in requesting the gods’ aid and the thrilled reassurance and thanksgiving when it came; mutual mourning when a block broke free and crushed a colleague’s brother; forging friendships through dirty jokes, ditties, grousing at lunchtime about the slacker not pulling his weight, and proposing marriages between sons and daughters. From blocks such as these communities are built.\footnote{Cf. Mol and Versluys, 2015: 453-456. Their consideration of Roman Isis cults as case studies for the creation of communities via religious ritual and symbols parallels the creation of the Pallanite community via labor and the erection of the wall. Mol and Versluys develop a framework in which the community is created ("imagined," drawing on Benedict Anderson’s work on nationalism) by those who understand themselves to be members of it. These “become aware of belonging to a community through the use of symbols,” i.e., following Anthony Cohen, something held in common which provides boundaries for the community and whose meaning is at least partially supplied by its beholders. Mol and Versluys combine these “imagined communities” with their own concept of “communion,” defined as “the result of a typical form of social interaction that is able to rework the routines of everyday life and to create new networks,” i.e., an event(s) that create community. For Mol and Versluys’ study, such events are Isiac rituals, and the symbols are the material culture involved – paintings, architecture, \emph{sistra}, and so on. Similarly, the posited act of “communion” for the Pallanite community is the construction of the wall, which then serves as a symbol for the Pallanites to latch onto and rekindle their “sense of belonging.”}

The construction of the wall atop Monte Pallano was thus a watershed moment for the region’s inhabitants. Upon completion, all parties involved could not help but associate themselves with the megalithic monument they had dedicated their time, wealth, and sweat to. The wall’s completion was to its builders as cool water thrown upon red-hot iron after smithing: a Pallanite community was forged. Therefore, in addition to defense, the wall was an elaborate signal announcing the united community of
Monte Pallano to its immediate surroundings and all who passed through. The Sangro Valley researchers have hypothesized that the enceinte was prominently visible from the other side of the Sinello Valley, as well as from Montenerodomo across the Sangro, demarcating and announcing the Pallanites’ territory to their neighbors (Fig. 2.5). Physically, a circuit of walls artificially separates the enclosed area from its surroundings. Psychologically, it immediately distinguishes the former from the latter. The use of artificial enclosures to distinguish a settlement from its environment is well known. A regional example from Arpi in neighboring Apulia furnishes a particularly notable case of physical demarcation, with a mammoth ring of seventh century B.C. earthworks creating an abrupt rise in the otherwise flat Tavoliere plain and enclosing a gargantuan area of nearly 1,000 hectares.

Monte Pallano was fortified in the same period as other hill- and mountaintops in Samnium, likely accompanied by comparable processes of community forging. Simultaneously, the long-standing reciprocal exchange of goods and ideas between the eastern and western Mediterranean imported both Greek pottery and philosophy into

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120 It also serves as a “costly signal” informing friend and foe of the wealth and power of the community’s rulers in a “contested landscape.” Cf. Glatz and Plourde, 2011: 35-37, who apply costly signaling theory to the Late Bronze Age megalithic monuments set up by the Hittites in rural Anatolia.
121 SVP Seasonal Report, 1999: 4. The argument for unimpeded visibility is based upon the lack of surface finds, and thus, presumably, concentrated structures, from the surveyed areas in front of the walls.
122 See Mumford, 1961: 66-67 for general functions and perceptions of ancient city walls. Though made in his discussion of ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian cities, his discussion is portable to Greek, Roman, andItalic walls.
123 For instance, Fisher, 2014: 201, who links the Cyclopean fortifications around the Late Bronze Age cities of Enkomi and Kition to Kevin Lynch’s concept of “imageability,” the power of an urban element to deeply impress its beholder and become a touchstone in his understanding of an urban environment.
124 Herring, 2007: 282, 287-288; Whitehouse and Wilkins, 1989: 118. In terms of materials and scale, the Arpi berm is a different, albeit related, phenomenon. However, in effect it is the same: demarcating and distinguishing the area inside the boundary from the outside.
Ruling over the geographical collision point between Greek influences from the east and south, and Etruscan influences from the north and east, generations of Samnite elites would have engaged with the evolving Greek sense of the polis as a sovereign citizen body and similarly developing Etruscan notions of the city, interfacing with them their own understandings of community and governance. The profusion of walls, in addition to defensive and symbolic uses, suggests that mural belts became a component of Samnite urbanism between the sixth and third centuries B.C. They also reflect new power relations. In the Iron Age, control of the territory around Monte Pallano and similar sites was likely divided among several elite clans, each intensively controlling its own patch. This functioned well enough that there was no lasting impetus for change until the threat of migration. This prompted centralization at locations chosen for defensibility and control of local resources. The process of walling this vast space and creating a settlement within it focused political, economic, ideological, and military resources upon the mountain. The wall thus represents the birth of a Pallanite central authority as well as community.

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126 For the earlier period, see for instance Gras, 2002 and Rendeli, 2005 on pan-Mediterranean exchange as it specifically impacted the Tyrhenian basin in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. Regarding the fifth and fourth centuries, cf. for instance Salmon, 1967: 116-118 on the creation of the Oscan alphabet from Etruscan and Greek inputs. In Cato Maior de Senectute 41, Cicero relates via his titular character a brief anecdote, set in the fourth century, of the great statesman-philosopher Archytas of Tarentum and “Gaius Pontius the Samnite” discoursing philosophically, with Plato in attendance. Cicero’s Gaius Pontius is explicitly the same historical figure as Livy’s Herennius Pontius, father of the victor at the Caudine Forks. See Horky, 2011 for engaging discussion of Gaius Herennius Pontius as a Samnite philosopher.


128 E.g., the tōtō led by a meddix tuticus, referred to above in n. 79 on p. 22.

2.3 – Indicators of a Stable Legal Regime

Of the three elements – defense, divinities, and dictates – the Livian understanding of cities entails, walls are the only physical component. The most striking implication of this to Samnitists, who have tended to be preoccupied with the material appearances of cities, is that the layout of the settlement within the walls does not matter. Whether wall-to-wall buildings organized according to a clean grid with a monumental core, or a scatter of shacks connected by dirt paths, so long as the community within the walls pays its respects to the gods and possesses its own legal regime it qualifies as a city. As such, the remains of sanctuaries, structures, and quotidian objects are the best testaments for the existence of defunct cults and polities. This section reviews evidence for increasingly articulated public space, extent of the settlement, and economic activity as reflections of a stable Pallanite state mentioned above.

As no material of earlier date has yet been found within the walls, the fourth century B.C. is the current *terminus post quem* for a project that drained and leveled the coulee between Monte Pallano proper and La Torretta.\(^{130}\) This project and the wall are the tide-lines left behind by a sea change in the region’s political sophistication. Between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. a force hypothesized here as clans led by warrior elites\(^{131}\) was able to organize the area’s natural and human resources to carry out massive public works. In comparison, similar feats of drainage and mural encirclement,

\(^{130}\) Faustoferri and Riccitelli, 2005: 879

\(^{131}\) Not the only alternative, of course: a warlord-king (the “condottiere” of Terrenato, 2011: 234; cf. Salmon, 1967: 42 for “charismatic” leadership in the genesis of Sabellian peoples) or particularly spectacular and unlikely case of democratic cooperation are also possible. The latter is not entirely unknown in Western history. Mumford, 1961: 258 recounts the cooperative building of the first dikes by communities in the Low Countries without sacerdotal or royal leadership. It is not, however, common. Cf. Grant, 2001: 223. Given the power of oligarchic clan heads in the Italic world of this period, their initiative is the most probable hypothesis.
traditionally dated to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., went hand in hand at Rome. This same period witnesses two economic take-offs at Greek cities on Sicily, each approximately a century apart. De Angelis credits the first lift-off, dated to the eighth and seventh centuries, to export of Sicily’s rich harvests and the nurturing of local industries, and the second in the sixth century to the development of managed trade, *emporia*, and currency. Both Rome and Sicily were beaten to the punch by Etruscan Tarquinia, where from the ninth to eighth centuries B.C. nearby medium-sized settlements withered and coastal resources were exploited, corresponding with the growth of the city. Closer to Samnium, in the second half of the fourth century B.C. the Lucanians of Roccagloriosa outfitted the ridge of Monte Capitenale with a great ashlar wall and a common drainage system for the enclosed area in the same century. The sixth through fourth centuries witnessed similar centralization within vast polygonal walls at sites across Apulia in southeastern Italy.

In Rome’s case, these projects have traditionally been accorded to a period of change in the young city’s monarchy, when an Etruscan dynasty replaced the earlier

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132 Livy 1.38.6 and Dion. Hal. 3.67.5 credit Tarquinius Priscus, traditionally Rome’s fifth king, with draining the Forum valley, with further work credited to Tarquinius Superbus in Livy 1.56.2 and Dion. Hal. 4.44.1. Strabo 5.3.8 generally refers to the Roman genius in draining marshy areas. Livy 1.35.10 also credits Tarquinius Priscus with dividing the area around the Forum into plots of land and monumentalizing it with porticoes. Cf. Ammerman, 1990: 641-645, who proposed that Priscus’ land reclamation project incorporated a mass dumping of earthen fill into the marshy Forum Valley. Livy 1.36.1 and 1.38.6 also credits Priscus with plans to build a stone wall around the city. That task is traditionally ascribed to his successor Servius Tullius in Livy 1.44.3-4 and Dion. Hal. 4.13.1-2. Though much of the surviving stretches in *Grotta Oscura* tufa are of the fourth century B.C., I concur with Coarelli, 2007 [1985]: 13-18, that fragments in local *cappellaccio* date from the sixth century, coeval with Servius’ traditional reign.

133 De Angelis, 2012: 177-179.

134 Barcelo et al., 2002: 57

135 Fracchia, 2004: 72-75. Comparison between Roccagloriosa and Monte Pallano is rife in modern scholarship due to the admirably thorough investigation of the former and the potential for the latter to have also been a Lucanian center. Stek, 2009: 38, appropriately cautions against innocently using Roccagloriosa as a model for understanding Monte Pallano, as doing so risks glossing over regional differences affecting the development and appearance of both sites. As such, Roccagloriosa is used in this thesis as a point of comparison with Samnite cities, rather than as a mirror of them.

136 Lomas, 1994; Lomas, 2000: 79, 82
pattern of a Sabine following a Roman of Latin extraction. Tarquinia’s growth evinces a pattern common to Etruria’s great cities and is interpreted as the product of a regime with the will and ability to create an administrative center at the expense of potential competitors.\textsuperscript{137} At Roccagloriosa, evidence for public buildings, a fragmentary law in Oscan mentioning \textit{meddices}, and a spear butt with an inscription indicating a public armory indicates the rise of a legal regime in the late fourth or early third century B.C., immediately following the dates assigned to the wall.\textsuperscript{138} The creation of walled cities in Apulia has been similarly interpreted as an archaeological echo of state formation in which oligarchic clans were a driving force.\textsuperscript{139} A pattern thus emerges in which older states such as Rome and the Greek and Etruscan cities receive monumental endowments from strong regimes, followed approximately one to two centuries later by younger states in Samnium, Lucania, and Apulia.

Across the southern Italian peninsula, the sixth through fourth centuries featured consolidation within monumental fortifications and preparation for further development within them. At Monte Pallano the completion of the wall and drainage projects was followed by agricultural surplus and a growing population, as suggested by evidence for increased building activity from the fourth through second centuries B.C.\textsuperscript{140} Excavations within the central valley have exposed a complex of rooms surrounding a great colonnaded court (Fig. 2.6). Investigations prior to 1998 discovered a layer of clay containing a silver coin, minted at the Roman colony of Aesernia and thus dated to the period after the colony’s founding in 263 B.C., beneath the floors in rooms A, B, and B1.

\textsuperscript{137} Barcelo \textit{et al.}, 2002: 58-59
\textsuperscript{138} Gualtieri, 2004: 46
\textsuperscript{139} Lomas, 2000: 82-85
\textsuperscript{140} SVP Seasonal Report, 2006: 7. This coincides with evidence for increasing wealth and trade across Samnium in this period. See for instance Isayev, 2013: 20-27 for Hirpine sites in the second century B.C.
Beneath this was a burn layer containing a few *impasto* fragments, numerous sherds of well-crafted black-gloss pottery, and a third-century bronze coin of the Roman Republic.\textsuperscript{141} By 2005, further excavations had noted a discrepancy between the dates of material on the western side of the complex, generically dated to the second century B.C. and after, and material on the eastern side, which potentially dates back to the fourth century B.C.\textsuperscript{142}

Current evidence thus supports activity in this area from the period following the completion of the wall and the terraforming of the saddle valley. By the first century B.C. at the latest, but potentially in the fourth, the porticoed complex had been erected, comprising an open square of approximately 1,000 square meters surrounded on three sides by colonnaded porticoes opening onto a sequence of rooms. Emplacements for columns were located, but no fragments of shafts or capitals, suggesting the columns were made of wood. The square’s surviving pavement was a rough gravel and cobble affair.\textsuperscript{143} The square was subtly inclined to channel rainwater towards a collector that discharged it downhill towards the Fonte Benedetti.\textsuperscript{144}

Other evidence, such as the techniques used for building the walls, the *cocciopesto* floor in Room N, and two statuary fragments recovered from it, generically date the complex from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. However, we should note that the statuary fragments were recovered not *in situ*, but in a disturbed context: fill from a modern robber’s trench. Furthermore, Room N is part of a suite of irregular spaces that intruded upon the otherwise rectilinear colonnaded structure at a

\begin{footnotes}
\item[141] Faustoferri and Lloyd, 1998: 12. The coin is identified as a “bronze *litra* of Aesernia.”
\item[142] Faustoferri and Riccitelli, 2005: 877
\item[143] Faustoferri and Riccitelli, 2005: 874. The authors raise the possibility that the cobbles were a preparatory layer for a pavement of smooth stone slabs that was later robbed.
\item[144] Faustoferri and Lloyd, 1998: 8; Faustoferri and Riccitelli: 874
\end{footnotes}
The rainwater collector had been stoppered by A.D. 50, as indicated by large quantities of *terra sigilata* pottery recovered from the fill of its channel, and in a later period, perhaps the second century A.D., quantities of iron waste and alterations to the structure suggest it had become a forge and manufactory.

These dates will raise some red flags. It is dangerously close to the period traditionally seen as the twilight of the Samnites, when Roman colonial establishments introduced urban forms, including the forum, to the region prior to the destruction of the Samnites as a people in the Social War. However, Scopacasa and Bradley have reappraised the disappearance of the Samnites from the historical stage as a process of selected, negotiated adaptation of Roman culture over time; a gradual exchange of one costume for another, rather than the sudden murder of the actor. Additionally, the Romans did not have a corner on mixing mercantile and public functions in open spaces. They shared that concept with the Greeks and their *agorai*. As such, the complex atop Monte Pallano is not necessarily a sign of Romanization in the region. Rather, it is a local response to the need for an area of exchange.

While Faustoferri and Lloyd referred to the structure as the “porticoed building” when only a portion of it had been uncovered prior to 1998, by 2005 Faustoferri and Riccitelli tentatively identified it a “forum,” surrounded by private residences and shops, serving as the “fulcrum” for a settlement that extended up the slopes of Monte Pallano to the north and La Torretta to the south by at least the second century B.C. Can it be called such? It resembles elongated, colonnaded Italic fora such as that from Pompeii.

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145 Faustoferri and Lloyd, 1998: 10-11
146 Faustoferri and Lloyd, 1998: 8; Faustoferri and Riccitelli, 2005: 877
Coins strongly indicate commercial activity and the shift to a monetary economy. This space likely hosted the economic functions of a forum. Evidence for the political functions, however, is limited. The black-gloss fineware could be commercial residue, or a communal dining kit such as that from the Athenian *Skias*. The lack of civic stamps however complicates this. Without clear evidence for political activities, this space can only be tentatively called a forum in the fullest sense of the term. However, on present evidence, access to the central court appears restricted (Fig. 2.6), suggesting a controlled space an authority could limit movement into and out of. Coincidently, this increases its defensive value. The reader may immediately recall Livy’s reference to the Samnite defenders turning the forum of Cominium into their Alamo. This episode, dated to 293 B.C., suggests the existence of open space for public business in a Samnite city at least a century prior to the creation of the “forum” at Monte Pallano.

Crucially for our topic, a monumentalized public space suggests a governmental authority responsible for its creation, upkeep, and development. At the very least, it implies a legal regime stable enough to permit a wealthy party to finance it. As such, the wall, landscape improvement, and “forum” provide anchor points for a strong legal authority at Monte Pallano. The first two mark its advent some time in the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. The latter attests to its continued existence in some form during the late Republic and early Empire.

Furthermore, the earliest evidence from the “forum,” alluded to above, bridges the gap between the two points. Black-gloss pottery indicates a *terminus ante quem* of the fourth century B.C. The two coins, a Roman bronze and Aesernian *litra*, further narrow

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150 Cf. Cahill, 2002: 266-281 for the significant density of both coins and sales inscriptions in the houses about the agora at Olynthus.
the date to the third. The *litra*, datable to the period after 263 B.C., was found in the clay layer above the burnt stratum containing the black-gloss pottery and Roman bronze issue. This suggests that in the first half of the third century B.C., a fire destroyed at least part of the “forum.” After putting it out, the Pallanites covered the burnt remains over with clay and built upon it again, eventually leading to the space as it stood in the second century B.C. I propose that this “forum” is a rebuilding of an earlier one. Depending upon the timing of the saddle’s drainage and leveling, the “forum” could have been laid out in conjunction with the walls. More evidence is required to adjudicate, so for now this remains only a possibility, albeit a live one.

Further structural remains across the site furnish indirect evidence for a civic apparatus. The hypothesized increase in population and wealth from agricultural and pastoral operations of the fourth through second centuries B.C. suggests an orderly regime, and we would expect to see an increase in the size of the settlement. In fact, the “forum” was surrounded by at least three frequented zones.\(^ {151} \) Downslope, overlooking the Fonte Benedetti, the Sangro Valley Project recorded structures covered by a stratum containing pottery no later than the late second or early first centuries B.C. Upslope, further terraces proffered plentiful sherds of black-gloss, rare bits of *terra sigillata*, a loom weight, iron studs, and fragments of a large storage *dolium*. Though Faustoferri and Lloyd recorded no “convincing evidence” for structures, the assemblage hints at domestic activity from the fourth century B.C. to the first century A.D. Finally, between the coulee and La Torretta the foundations of a building associated with two phases of black-gloss pottery were located.

\(^ {151} \) Faustoferri and Lloyd, 1998: 12
Stable legal regimes encourage growing economies as much as growing settlements. To date, excavations atop Monte Pallano have returned evidence in line with a hypothesis of economic growth. The region’s denizens had been producing their own roof tiles and coarseware since at least the seventh century B.C. The growth of the settlement, introduction of black-gloss pottery, coins, and evidence for domestic activities referred to above suggests an increase in trade and wealth between the seventh and second centuries B.C. The latter is potentially corroborated by a hoard of late fourth- and early third-century B.C. silver and gold coins bearing the legends of major Greek and Italic cities. Furthermore, Monte Pallano may have issued its own coins in the third century B.C., if bronzes with the legend “PALACINU” are correctly connected with the site. Scopacasa notes that known Samnite coins of this period, hailing primarily from Caudine and Hirpine cities, were primarily used by communities to manage their wealth, pay mercenaries and officials, finance building contracts, and collect taxes. Civic coins strongly indicate the presence of an authority to contract their minting.

In light of the development of the Italic peninsula in general and Monte Pallano in particular from the Iron Age to the fourth century, the authority that oversaw the “forum” and population and economic growth described above was gentilicial in nature. As in Apulian cities, the clan heads that led the way in walling Monte Pallano similarly led its

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152 SVP Seasonal Report, 1996: 4-5
153 Gualtieri, 2004: 41
154 Colonna, 1955: 176, cited in Faustoferri and Lloyd, 1998: 12, n. 21; Burnett and Molinari, 2015: 66. Specifically, the silver coins bear legends of Naples, Hyria/Hyrina, Nola, Heraelea, Velia, Metapontum, Croton, and Thurii, while the gold may have originated from Tarentum. These were recovered in the nineteenth century, and reported by the Abbot Domenico Romanelli. The hedge of “potentially” is added due to the tricky nature of hoarding, which is “not necessarily correlated with wealth.” See Cahill, 2002: 270-273.
155 Tagliamonte, 1997: 258-259; Farkas, 2005: 51, n. 156, who following Head’s 1913 Historia Numorum records an alternative rendering of the legend as “PALAGINU.”
156 Scopacasa, 2015: 40
administration. As at Rome and in Etruria, these were composed of the local grand families, competing with each other while cooperating in the governance of the city. These great houses, their kin settled within the city, and dependents mutually relied upon each other to advance each family’s economic, religious, and political interests. This would tend towards a fractious, competitive and compromise-oriented regime.\textsuperscript{157} As such a gentilicial oligarchy is likely at Monte Pallano. Such an authority would be adept at intensively controlling the small territory and, so long as they were seen to be in the interests of enough clan leaders, adapt the fundaments of the developing Mediterranean \textit{koine}: a public ideology asserting the city and its people, administrated trade,\textsuperscript{158} a citizen army, and government by the “best” with allowed inputs from the commons.

2.4 – Sanctuaries and Ethnic Diversity at Monte Pallano

Shrines and sanctuaries represent divine tutelage. At present, evidence for cult activity at Monte Pallano is available, though limited. Scatters of material suggest the emergence of a number of cult sites on the mountain’s slopes concurrent with the development of the intramural settlement, with at least three sacred areas within the walls.\textsuperscript{159} A statuette of Hercules was discovered at the base of the road approaching the northernmost gate of the \textit{Mura Paladine}, while material recovered from a terrace overlooking Fonte Benedetti has been interpreted as potentially cultic in nature.\textsuperscript{160}

\textsuperscript{158} See Arnaud, 2011: 63-66
\textsuperscript{159} Kane \textit{et al.}, 2011: 258; Tuteri \textit{et al.}, 2011: 30
\textsuperscript{160} Faustoferri and Riccitelli, 2005: 878-879. A single statuette perhaps indicates a roadside shrine.
Most available data for an intramural sanctuary come from a site not far to the east. From 1999 to 2004 the Sangro Valley Project and the Abruzzese archaeological Superintendency discovered a wealth of material suggesting religious architecture in an ancient terrace.161 To date three archaeological phases are known. The first is a pit containing the burned remains of quinces and other fruits, radiocarbon dated to the period around 200 B.C.162 These dates are tentative, however, due to the effect of the Hallstatt plateau on C14 dating.163 The second phase is the so-called Sanctuary of the Dolphins.164 Other than the potential temenos enclosure that would have distinguished the sacred area from the surrounding city, the sanctuary buildings themselves were not found. They were obliterated in preparation for the third phase, the aforementioned terrace, in the late first century B.C. or early first century A.D.

Decoration-wise the Sanctuary of the Dolphins participates in the “Italico-Hellenistic koine” of the age, suggesting the tastes and aim of its patron.165 Based upon the delphine decorations and the apparent deposition of first fruits, Kane makes an intriguing case that the “Sanctuary of the Dolphins” was in fact a Sanctuary of Mephitis Utiana, a chthonic Italic goddess worshipped in Lucania.166 She argues its patron was a member of the gens Utii, known from an inscription recovered at Atessa to have been present in the region about Monte Pallano in the Imperial period. She floats the

162 Kane, 2011: 147.
163 See James, 1991: 323-325 for challenges to radiocarbon dating.
164 Kane, 2011: 148. The 657 recovered and catalogued artifacts include life-size and under life-sized terracotta statues and revetment plaques, 232 of which feature a central floral decoration flanked by dolphins, hence the sanctuary’s moniker. These were used as fill within the terrace. Notably, this monumental phase is coeval with the floruit of great regional sanctuaries in Samnium, such as those at Pietrabondante and Campochiaro in the Pentrian country. See Bispham, 2007: 204-206.
166 Kane mentions, but does not pursue, Hercules as another candidate for the sanctuary’s divine honoree. Hercules was a popular deity in Samnium. See for instance Lloyd, 1995: 191-192 for Pentri worship of him at the Colle Sparanise and Campochiaro sanctuaries in the Biferno Valley, and Bradley et al., 2011: 22 for Carricini worship of the divine hero near Monte Pallano at Jovanum.
possibility that the Utii were a northern branch of the Lucanian gens Utia, following the long-standing hypothesis that Monte Pallano hosted a community of Lucanians.\textsuperscript{167}

The mention of these hypothesized Lucanians marks an appropriate place for a brief aside that will flesh out the picture of the generalized “Pallanite” community discussed above. Prior to the process of Roman conquest, Monte Pallano commanded the interface between the territories of the Carricini, Pentri, Frentani and Marrucini.\textsuperscript{168} Furthermore, La Regina proposed that Monte Pallano was the political center for the “Lucani del Sangro,” the Lucanians of the Sangro or northern Lucanians, in order to explain the boast of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, whose epitaph states he had subjugated omne Loucanam in the Third Samnite War. La Regina built upon the work of Theodor Mommsen, who noted Livian mentions of northern Lucanians, references to the region around Monte Pallano as “Loucania” or “Loucana” in medieval documents, and an Oscan inscription referring to the vereia liukanateis, the “brotherhood” or “youth for the Lucanians,” associated with the tantalizingly similar place name palanūd.\textsuperscript{169}

Identity-wise, this places Monte Pallano at an interesting frontier. The Oscan-speaking Marrucini were cousins of the Samnites, but no more Samnites than Scots are English. While scholarship at present accepts the Carricini and Pentri as Samnite peoples, the Frentani are debated. Strabo defines them as Σαυντικὸν ἔθνος, a Samnitic people,\textsuperscript{170} yet modern scholars tend to hedge. John Lloyd, for example, understood the Frentani as related to the Samnites by tongue and blood, but not fully Samnite in some

\textsuperscript{167} Kane, 2011: 150-151
\textsuperscript{168} Faustoferri and Lloyd, 1998: 6
\textsuperscript{170} Strabo 5.4.2
This nebulous distinction appears to originate from a modern scholarly reading, perhaps dating back to Niebuhr’s *Lectures on the History of Rome*, of Livy 9.45.18, wherein the Frentani join their Marsic, Marrucine, and Paelignic cousins in concluding a peace with Rome at the close of the Second Samnite War. Since this peace was separate from that made by Livy’s Samnites, the Frentani have been interpreted as an independent people. To thus disbar the Frentani from Samnite-hood, however, assumes ethnicity and political solidarity are firmly twinned. While ideally true, it is not always so in reality. The Frentani could have “broken ranks” without surrendering any Samnite identity. Otherwise we must hold that the Samnites no longer existed as of the Second Punic War, when the Caudini and Hirpini joined Hannibal and the Pentri remained loyal to Rome. For this thesis, I follow Tagliamonte, who includes the Frentani as one of the Samnite peoples.

As regards the north Lucanians, their presence on the mountain is unproven but attractive. If La Regina’s proposal is correct, they are one community among many. Geographically isolated from the main body of Lucanians in the south and surrounded by Samnites and Marrucines, possibly even within the walls of Monte Pallano, the north Lucanians would be incentivized to assert their identity. Under this lens, the *vereia*
lúukanateí̂s reads as a north Lucanian announcement of distinctiveness.⁷⁵ Should Scipio Barbatus’ elogium refer to La Regina’s hypothesized Lucani del Sangro, this suggests successful self-advocacy that passed into Roman consciousness.

The above undergirds the attractiveness of Kane’s proposal regarding the Sanctuary of the Dolphins. The northern Lucanians have certainly captured the lion’s share of scholarly attention, yet are one part of the puzzle. Given Monte Pallano’s location, the “Pallanite” community was likely quite a mixed bunch, with population movements, trade, and marriage contracts creating in the city communities of Lucanians, Frentani, Pentri, Marrucini, and Carricini at least, with an Opic substrate from the Iron Age. Such diversity affords ample opportunities for unstable fusion and fractious division as the competing interests of families and (ethnic?) neighborhoods butted against unifying impulses such as common governance and external threat. The vereia lúukanateí̂s would be intimately intertwined with ethnicity construction, as the Lucanians advance their ideological, political, and mercantile interests in the city. They would not be alone, but countered by Pentrian, Carricine, Marrucine, and Frentane groups. Beyond that, individual families within each group would jockey with each other to advance their own goals. In other words, Monte Pallano was a heterarchy comparable to the “versatile clans” of early Rome.⁷⁶ Such competitive strife could explain the Sanctuary of the Dolphins’ demolition and replacement with a terrace: the sanctuary’s benefactor family lost to a competing clan, which overwrote its rival’s monument. Kane et al. in fact

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⁷⁵ De Angelis (personal comment) suggests the possibility of ephebes or “young recruits on the frontiers.” Cf. Salmon, 1967: 94.
suggest that the multiplicity of sanctuaries could serve a multitude of communities.\textsuperscript{177} This could refer to the number of villages surrounding the mountain as well as gentilicial and ethnic enclaves as within the walls, establishing Monte Pallano as the ritual center of its immediate region.

\textsuperscript{177} Kane \textit{et al.}, 2011: 258
Chapter 3 – Archaeological Evidence for Samnite Cities: Monte Vairano

The evidence for walls, sanctuaries, and settlement development at Monte Pallano is compatible with an understanding of the ancient city as a self-governed, divinely protected fortified place. The evidence from Monte Vairano, far to the southeast of Monte Pallano in the modern regione of Molise, paints a comparable picture for the period between the fourth and first centuries B.C. This chapter will review the evidence from Monte Vairano in light of the Livian understanding of the city. It will begin with a review of Monte Vairano’s setting and development during the Iron Age, then proceed to examine the walls, evidence for public space and economy, and sanctuaries, or rather, the apparent lack thereof, from the fourth to first centuries B.C. Regional comparanda, Mann’s IEMP, and Camagni’s first two factors will be used to further characterize the settlement and its development.

3.1 – Archaic Setting and Development

Monte Vairano is situated in the upper highlands of the Biferno Valley, overlooking the eponymous river to the south. It features three summits: Colle Pagliarone and Colle Vittoria to the east, and Monte Vairano proper to the west. The level Piana Melaina forms a valley between the summits. Since 1978 Monte Vairano has been excavated by the archaeological Superintendency for Molise under the direction of Gianfranco De Benedittis. Separately, the Biferno Valley Project (BVP) under Graeme

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178 De Benedittis, 2010: 6 notes a sudden caesura of settlement in the first century B.C., accompanied by evidence of fire. This may indicate that Monte Vairano was ended during the Social War.
Barker has surveyed vast swathes of the upper and lower valley. From the collected geological, floral, faunal, and anthropic remains its researchers have reconstructed millions of years of natural and human geography. As such, Monte Vairano can be understood within its regional context as very broadly conceived.

Based upon Barker and Suano’s interpretations of the pottery scatters, burials, and remains from storage pits, in the Iron Age the Biferno Valley witnessed an increase in the number of potential settlement sites compared with the preceding Bronze Age. The majority were found in the lower valley near the Adriatic coast. Evidence from the upper valley was scarce by comparison: only two cemeteries, one certain major settlement, one probable settlement, seven possible settlements, and a “sporadic” scatter of coarseware sherds (Fig. 3.1). The one certain major settlement, however, was located atop Monte Vairano. Intriguingly, of these sites, all but one cemetery and two possible settlements cluster south of the river near Monte Vairano. Potentially early agglomeration of a regional variety, this raises the possibility that in the Iron Age the mountain already functioned as a center for lands south of the river.

It should be noted that the four possible settlement sites nearest Monte Vairano, as well as the sporadic scatter, produced pottery post-dating the Iron Age. As such, the statistically significant proportion of Iron Age material among them only suggests the probability of Archaic habitation. It does not confirm it outright. The evidence likely reflects a mixture of continuing settlement and inherited crockery. Furthermore, there is no one-to-one correlation between major settlements and clusters of smaller settlements.

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179 Barker and Suano *et al.*, 1995: 160. Their criteria for settlement probability is as follows: the site of a “probable” settlement produced more than 20 sherds, “possible” settlements between 5 and 20, and “sporadic” scatter less than 5.

in the lower valley. Some major sites, such as those at Santa Margherita, are surrounded by smaller settlements, while others, such as that at Arcora, are not so well attended. Settlement patterns followed landscape and tradition, rather than cleaving schematically to big sites.

In contrast to Monte Pallano, Monte Vairano was certainly settled in the Iron Age from at least the sixth century B.C. At present we can say little of it beyond its existence, as attested by *impasto* wares, grindstones, and loom weights, a domestic assemblage it shares with other Archaic sites in the valley. The major settlements of the lower valley, however, can furnish an outline. At Arcora pottery evidence suggests settlement throughout the Iron Age, with two periods – the eighth and seventh centuries, and sixth through fifth centuries – particularly pronounced, suggesting stable, concentrated settlement for extended periods. The pottery comprises utilitarian and dining wares distributed across the site’s surface. Combined with worked flint, loom weights, and spindle whorls, they suggest a village of domestic cottage industries. 

Sixty approximately rectangular patches of dark soil were located within an area that in the first millennium B.C. would have been defended by the sea to the east. Superintendency excavations revealed that the patches were echoes of Iron Age structures. To date, one hut has been fully excavated. It contained a hearth and quotidian domestic implements scattered across a floor paved with local river pebbles and clay.

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182 Barker and Suano *et al*., 1995: 162
183 Barker and Suano *et al*., 1995: 164. The utilitarian wares are “large storage buckets…made from coarse *impasto*.” The dining pieces comprise carinated bowls of a higher quality *impasto*, and painted Daunian cups and vases. For a general characterization of Iron Age pottery found by the BVP at settlement sites across the valley, see Barker and Suano *et al*., 1995: 161-163.
184 Barker and Suano *et al*., 1995: 164-165; Scopacasa, 2015: 60
In addition to the huts, refuse pits produced diverse seeds and remains of crops, drinking wares, utilitarian coarsewares, small bronze ornaments, animal bones, building materials of wattle-and-daub and stone, and the potential remains of a pottery kiln. Pits at Santa Margherita produced similar floral, faunal, and anthropic evidence, including unique types of Daunian drinking ware, suggesting local pottery production as well as wine consumption. Dates of c. 650-400 B.C. have been deduced for the lower valley settlements, on account of Daunian ware and radiocarbon dates for bone and charcoal samples from the pit bottoms. As with the first fruits deposit at the Sanctuary of the Dolphins, however, these dates are only tentative due to the Hallstatt Plateau. Possible, albeit indirect, support for these dates are the coeval economic take-offs of Sicilian Greek cities, the rise of Etruscan urban centers, the development of Rome under its last kings and first consuls, the first drive towards urbanization in Apulia and the earliest likely dates for the wall at Monte Pallano. As the rising economic tide lifts all boats, the floruits at Arcora and Santa Margherita coincided with the increased prosperity region-wide.

The picture thus painted is one of mixed farming and stock-rearing, local manufacture, modest wealth, and stone-footed wattle-and-daub huts universal to the

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185 Barker and Suano et al., 1995: 168-169; Bispham, 2007: 186. The remains suggest cultivation primarily of emmer and barley, as well as peas and horse beans. Evidence for viticulture comes from grape pips sharing “more morphological similarities with the cultivated than with the wild variety” present at both Santa Margherita and Arcora.
186 Barker and Suano et al., 1995: 163-164; Scopacasa, 2015: 60-61. These remain are comparable to those recovered from the processing yard at Acquachiara near Monte Pallano.
187 Barker and Suano et al., 1995: 164-168; Scopacasa, 2015: 62. Regarding the Daunian wares, Barker and Suano et al., 1995: 166-167, following De Juliis’ typology, note that a minority of sherds correspond to De Juliis’ Geometric Proto-Daunian style (eighth-sixth centuries B.C.), while a majority belong to the Sub-Geometric Daunian II (sixth-fifth centuries B.C.).
Italian peninsula and Sicily in this period. Adding further detail, Scopacasa has performed preliminary demographic calculations to suggest the degree of population concentration at these sites. Based upon various permutations of the area occupied by housing at Arcora, and the assumptions that (1) the studied hut is representative of its unexcavated fellows, and (2) that it housed between three to five people at any given time, Scopacasa calculates between 111 and 805 residents, with an average of 458. These figures indicate that Arcora was a village, though a large one in its context.

From the above evidence, Scopacasa argues that “big sites” such as Arcora could have acted as regional centers and places of gathering that likely hosted communities of their own. If his numbers reflect ancient reality, these communities required organized channels for inhabitants to negotiate access to land and water and settle interpersonal disputes, amid other episodes of political drama. While we may not think of a village as much of a regional center, Arcora nonetheless fits the bill, given its size as compared to surrounding sites and positioning.

At present this evidence from the lower valley and scholarly interpretations thereof are our only window onto Archaic life at Monte Vairano. If it hosted a permanent community, it was likely a hut settlement of several hundred residents who spent their

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189 Scopacasa acknowledges the difficulties with estimating Arcora’s population given the paucity of evidence. Cf. Barker and Suano et al., 1995: 164, who note that there is no evidence to adjudicate whether all huts were residential, and if so whether occupied by families or people of different ages and sexes. In Scopacasa’s defense, he (2015: 63) characterizes his estimates as “very tentative,” and that his “figures provide a rough idea of the extremes between which the population of Arcora may have varied during the very long period when the site was in use.”

190 Barker and Suano et al., 1995: 164 explicitly characterize Arcora as “a nucleated village.”

191 Scopacasa, 2015: 63-65

192 Scopacasa, 2015: 64-65 notes the regular 10-15 km. spacing between “big sites” such as Arcora and Santa Margherita, and Arcora’s far larger area relative to its satellites. Barker and Suano et al., 1995: 162 note that most identified sites measure less than 2,500 square meters, while “big sites” such as Arcora are “larger than these by a factor of ten.”
lives farming, husbanding animals, and crafting. They flourished around the same times as Santa Margherita and Arcora as the Biferno Valley settlements responded in their own way to the trading boom and the rising economic tide. However, regardless of the similarity or otherwise of its appearance, population, and function to those at Arcora and Santa Margherita, its defensive position was unimpeachably superior. Its attraction as a haven in troubled times is obvious, and was likely the basis for it becoming a permanent settlement once some enterprising leader or group decided to harness its potential.

The Iron Age in the Biferno Valley is characterized as a period of chiefdoms in which a boom in settlement, agricultural and craft production, and exchange accompanied the emergence of acquisitive elites. Barker and Suano have interpreted these emergent grandees as practicing a heroic warrior ethos, citing wealthy grave goods, arms, foreign bronze goods, and even evidence for piracy, all of which would have comfortably fit in the world of Homeric epic. The reader will recall the coeval emergence of the same around Monte Pallano. The evidence for Archaic settlement at Monte Vairano, however, may indicate that the process of synoecism in which clans came together at a central site occurred earlier than at Monte Pallano. The increase in food production, indicated by new sites sprouting around the mountain, and crafting, wealth,

193 Barker and Suano et al., 1995: 176-180. They base this interpretation upon the emergence of settlement hierarchy, intensification of food production, and an increase in the wealth of grave goods (e.g., Daunian drinking ware) compared with the preceding Bronze Age (c. 2000-1000 B.C.). These same processes occur with the emergence of chiefdoms throughout Italy in this period, e.g. among the Piceni up the Adriatic coast from the Biferno and Sangro valleys. See Riva, 2007: 98-100. Compared to the neighboring regions, the developments in the Biferno Valley are quite modest. Barker and Suano acknowledge this, while highlighting that against the backdrop of the valley’s less intensive Bronze Age, “the scale of the transformations in settlement and society in the valley in the first half of the first-millennium BC cannot be under-emphasized…”

194 Barker and Suano et al., 1995: 176-179; cf. Richardson, 2013 for interpretations of contemporary funerary goods that nuance the above.
trade, exchange echo the emergence of a top echelon with intensive power over its territory.\textsuperscript{195}

Jet-setting personal ornament advanced an ideology of distinction and achievement for members of this echelon, be they a single warrior chief and his companions, or a cooperating group of clan heads. Increased population, food and faunal processing, and exchange attest to their economic and political success. Given contemporary evidence for a martial culture, the mountain was an excellent perch for watching the valley and safeguarding agricultural, pastoral, and fiduciary wealth. Its location near ancient trade routes and droving roads would increase the mountain’s attractiveness.\textsuperscript{196} As such, elite aims and needs influenced concentration atop and around the mountain, which was selected for its defensible yet accessible location. With these advantages, it is no surprise that Monte Vairano increasingly flourished in the Samnite period, while by that time Arcora and Santa Margherita had withered and died.

3.2 – The Walled City: Monte Vairano in the Fourth Century B.C.

The number of upper valley sites in the Samnite period (c. 500-100 B.C.), as indicated by the presence of black-gloss pottery, is much higher than that for the Iron Age (Fig. 3.1). Notably, the balance of potential locales for farmsteads and sanctuaries in the upper valley clusters on the southern side of the Biferno River, near Monte Vairano.\textsuperscript{197} If

\textsuperscript{195} Barker and Suano \textit{et al.}, 1995: 180
\textsuperscript{196} De Benedittis, 2013: 91-92
\textsuperscript{197} Lloyd \textit{et al.}, 1995: 194 note the commonality of dispersed farming settlements lining the edges of the fertile Sepino and Boiano plains in antiquity, likely to increase the amount of arable land under cultivation. Cf. Mumford, 1961: 120, 302 for identical strategies in the early Greek \textit{poleis} and at medieval Siena. The Biferno Valley Project observed that the region around Monte Vairano and Bovianum was especially attractive to agriculture due to numerous springs and light, sandy soils. The excavated farmsteads at
the distribution of Iron Age settlements also favored proximity to the mountain, the picture that emerges is of Monte Vairano as a consistent regional center for a great part of the first millennium B.C., physically if not politically presiding over a growing network of farms, villages, and shrines. Not coincidentally, the Samnite period is the heyday of settlement atop Monte Vairano. This all suggests the successful maintenance and augmentation of ideological, economic, political, and military relationships established in the Iron Age.

Though a band of land between the mountain and sites remains unsurveyed, the concentration of settlement south of the river nonetheless suggests a relationship between Monte Vairano and the surrounding farms and sanctuaries. This parallels the relationship between Monte Pallano and the settlement clusters east of the Sangro River. Materially and chronologically, the developments at both mountains proceeded roughly apace, suggesting common trends in northern Samnium. These trends were coeval with the establishment of Greek poleis in the southern reaches of the Italian peninsula and the emergence of the Etruscan city-states to the north, which themselves coincided with population growth from intensified agriculture, stock-keeping, and the emergence throughout the peninsula of stratified chiefdoms practicing a warrior ethos. Thus, the trends at the Monti Pallano and Vairano were likely mutually progressing and reinforcing, propelled by a common wave of historical forces.

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Cercemaggiore and Matrice, likely dating to the third or second centuries B.C., consisting of multi-room houses made of local materials with production areas and some decoration are currently taken to be representative of well-to-do farms of this period. See Lloyd et al., 1995: 195-196.

Lloyd et al., 1995: 189-190
As at Monte Pallano, these historical forces prompted the encirclement of a vast area within a wall of polygonal masonry. The space enclosed at Monte Vairano however was physically larger, approximately 50 ha to 35 at Monte Pallano. The Monte Vairano enceinte was pierced by at least three gates. These have been christened Occidentale, Meridionale, and Vittoria by the excavators. The names of the first two give away their locations on the western and southern sides of the settlement, respectively, while the “Victory Gate” indicates its proximity to the eponymous hill on the east. It is posited to be the premier gate of the settlement due to its greater width (Fig. 3.2).

Each gate was inset from the wall, funneling attackers into a kill zone where they could be assaulted from both sides. This “corridor” type of gate contrasts with the seemingly undefended posterns at Monte Pallano. Though rare, it is known from other major Samnite fortified centers such as Monte Ferrante di Carovilli in the Trigno Valley and Monte Alifano in the Voltorno. Furthermore, the remains of two towers were located in the neighborhood of the Porta Vittoria, one adjoining the gate corridor itself, the other positioned a short distance to the northeast. De Benedittis has similarly interpreted the remains flanking the Porta Meridionale as towers. All four examples were roughly rectangular, contrasting with the single circular example from Monte Pallano. At present, all known gates and towers are located in the southern half of the

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199 De Benedittis, 1991: 49 notes two types of construction: one, found around the Porta Vittoria, comprising an internal fill over 2 m. thick, compacted between outer facing of large blocks and an internal zone of small blocks. This is reinforced by a long earthen agger behind the wall. See Fig. 3.2 The second, found around the Porta Meridionale, has a single facing of great blocks against an interior filling of small stones. He hypothesizes that they are responses to differences in the sloping terrain.


201 De Benedittis, 2013a: 92

202 Oakley, 1995: 12

203 De Benedittis, 2010: 7, 12

204 De Benedittis, 2004: 28-29; Lloyd et al., 1995: 188-189; Oakley, 1995: 113-115. The differences between the Monte Pallano and Vairano gates may be explained as varying local tastes, priorities, and
settlement. If reflective of the ancient situation, the majority of the settlement’s accessibility and defensive needs were concentrated in the south, facing ancient drovers’ roads.\textsuperscript{205} Otherwise it is simply a lacuna in our data.

Dating for these walls is more specific than for those at Monte Pallano, which at present are provisionally dated between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. Excavations at Monte Vairano prior to 1980 revealed black-gloss lekythoi and skyphoi within the wall’s foundations.\textsuperscript{206} Assuming the chronology used for dating these pitchers and cups is correct, and that they were deposited during the wall’s original construction and not a later rebuilding, Monte Vairano was encircled in the fourth century B.C. This century was the climax of Pallottino’s Age of Crisis in the Italian peninsula, in which great Völkerwanderungen fatally weakened the old hegemony of the Etruscan and Greek cities and provided Syracuse and Rome the openings for expansionist outbursts.\textsuperscript{207}

The construction, or reconstruction, of the walls in connection with the Samnite Wars is a tempting hypothesis favored by De Benedittis.\textsuperscript{208} If the fourth-century skyphoi and lekythoi his team recovered from the wall’s foundations date from the original construction, then the Samnite Wars are the probable cause. If they date rather to a rebuilding of the wall or a particular section of it, then conflict with Rome prompted repair and reinforcement, but the original genesis of the wall lay with an earlier impetus.

capabilities. While the defensive capabilities of the Mura Paladine have been highlighted above, the gate system at Monte Vairano unquestionably appears more effective. It is possible that the Mura Paladine served primarily as a prestige wall indicating the community’s boundary and wealth, with defense a secondary concern. In both cases, however, we only have limited stretches, and characterizing an entire mural system off them should be done with caution. As discussed below, Monte Vairano’s more articulated wall encompasses a larger area, suggesting a greater availability of manpower and wealth. The simpler defensive mechanisms at Monte Pallano may reflect a wall done on a comparative budget, so to speak.\textsuperscript{207} De Benedittis, 2010: 14; De Benedittis, 2013: 91-92
\textsuperscript{206} De Benedittis, 1991: 49
\textsuperscript{207} Pallottino, 1991: 118-125
\textsuperscript{208} De Benedittis, 2004: 30
As hypothesized above for Monte Pallano, at some point between the Archaic and Samnite periods the community atop Monte Vairano elected, perhaps by the top-down decree of a despot or a spectacular black swan event of democratic solidarity, but most likely the mutual agreement between the heads of several clans, to further fortify nearly 50 hectares atop a natural fortress. Whatever the driving force, the wall’s completion suggests it was a community effort supported by the commons, who would have quarried and set the boulders, perhaps alongside slaves. The larger circumference of the walls and greater extent of land within them suggest greater wealth and manpower available to the Vairanate community than was available to the Pallanite, a possibility reinforced by the settlement density around the mountain.

If the walls were built in response to the wars with Rome, they may have been the catalyst for state formation at Monte Vairano. If the walls predate the Samnite Wars, they reflect a singular change in the political organization of the community from one that directs production in a way that enriches its elites and their families, to one with the will and ability to plan and carry out monumental public works meant to safeguard and perpetuate that wealth. If a formal state organization at Monte Vairano had already emerged, it did so to meet the need for negotiation among various parties and the advantages of concerted negotiation and competition with other polities. For reasons of physical and political geography, a wall was not in this state’s interests until Rome’s

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209 For the financial and physical compulsion of the plebs to rebuild and repair the Servian Walls at Rome, also in the fourth century B.C., see Livy 6.32.1-3 and 7.20.9. Regarding slaves, Salmon, 1967: 52 observes that no record of slaves serving Samnite masters survives in our textual sources, save perhaps the servant of the general Pontius Telesinus mentioned by Plutarch in his life of Sulla (27.6). Slavery being a universal feature of the ancient Mediterranean world, however, slave labor among the Samnites is probable. Notably, the first century B.C. historian Diodorus Siculus in his Historical Library (12.22.1, 16.15) and the second century A.D. traveler-student Aulus Gellius in his Attic Nights (10.3.19) state that the Oscan-speaking Bruttians, inhabiting what is today Calabria, were slaves of the Lucanians who successfully rebelled and took several cities for their own.

210 Terrenato, 2011: 240-241
legions bore down. Permutations on the above may be spun endlessly. The firm fact is that prior to the fourth century B.C. the summit of Monte Vairano was encircled with a great wall of polygonal masonry, and the likely implication of that fact is the development of a powerful political regime atop the peak.

3.3 – The Thriving City: Monte Vairano after the Fourth Century B.C.

As at Monte Pallano, a supportive legal and political order is suggested by the archaeological record, which documents continuing development of the Vairante settlement and economy from the third to first centuries B.C. De Benedittis observes a series of ancient terraces he labels A-D. Buttressed by strong perimeter substructures, these terraces correspond to the natural geography of the mountain: A to the Piana Melaina, B and D to Monte Vairano proper, and C to the Colli Pagliarone and Vittoria (Fig. 3.3). They parcel the three summits of Monte Vairano into a series of plains interconnected by a road system. To date, three sections of intramural roads have been excavated. One enters the Porta Vittoria at an angle and straightens to run approximately east-west towards the center of the settlement. The second runs northwest-to-southeast from the Porta Meridionale past a residential structure, above which it is righted on a north-to-south course. The third is located further west, a north-to-south stretch at least nine meters wide.

At present, a street grid, such as that projected by De Benedittis (Fig. 3.4), is hypothetical. The hard evidence is a series of wide streets, consistently oriented along at

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211 De Benedittis, 2013a: 91
212 De Benedittis, 2013a: 93-94
least two stretches, paved with gravel, bordered by blocks of stone, and worked to aid drainage. If De Benedittis’ dating of the terraces to the third century B.C. is correct, the streets in their present form date at least from that period as well. As such, a political order was sufficiently powerful in the third century to terrace nearly 50 ha and connect the various elevations via public ways. The reader will recall the straight ways traversing Feritrum in Livy 10.34, and the elevated place from which the Romans could survey the city.

The gravity of this should not be underestimated. Monte Vairano had been settled since Iron Age, hosting a large village of huts if Arcora is any guide. Walling the vast space around this expresses one level of its regime’s organizational and legal capabilities. Fundamentally reorganizing that space’s topography expresses quite another. It is a deeply upsetting act. Not only the social, but the physical geography one’s ancestors knew is erased forever. Straight streets and rigid terraces laid upon a preexisting settlement erase or readjust ancestral property lines and reframe the entirety of quotidian business. From the third century B.C. onwards, the fourth-century walls contained a

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214 De Benedittis, 2004: 30
215 This assumes multiple property owners. Communal (cf. Salmon, 1967: 52 for the likelihood of “communal grazing lands”) or kingly ownership of the intramural space would erase much need for negotiation and compromise with other propertied interests. Given the regional context, however, this thesis favors a hypothesis that Samnite cities, like Rome and the Etruscan cities, were created by the coming-together of clans whose heads saw the immediate advantages to themselves in trade and competition with outside polities that the concerted action a city could bring to bear. These extended families would have developed property interests atop Monte Vairano from at least the construction of the walls a century earlier, perhaps in the form of large intramural holdings clan-heads could allot to their kin and dependents. Terrenato, 2011: 234 describes this same set-up among Roman clans for their use and division of rural lands. In this light, the bend in the road leading to the Porta Vittoria and the oblique in that from the Porta Meridionale may be artifacts of the negotiation among propertied interests regarding their boundary lines and the layout of the new streets.
vastly different settlement whose authorities had the ability to alter and rationalize the landscape rather than simply fortify it.\footnote{Cf. Grant, 2001: 222-223, 227-230 for an overview of “centralizing” societies who formalize urban space to promote the interests of a small ruling cadre, control land for that purpose, and seek to create a “central nodal capital.” Though her analysis focuses specifically upon street grids in capitals, it is exportable to the Samnite context, where we see massive reworkings of intramural space and the creation of regional centers.}

The legal authority that oversaw the terraforming and urban planning of the third century was perhaps entirely different from that which erected the walls, and may have replaced it. The wall-builders may have been casualties of the Samnite Wars, replaced by a regime friendlier to Rome. Alternatively, Monte Vairano may have been refounded following the Samnite Wars, with the act accompanied by drastic modification of the urban space. This latter scenario could play out under a new, pro-Roman regime, or a reconstituted one picking up the pieces and making out of them a whole new pot. Such a reconstruction is likely if Monte Vairano was in fact the Aquilonia mentioned by Livy.\footnote{The proximity of Monte Vairano to Bovianum has been used by La Regina in conjunction with his reading of Livy 10.39.7 to identify Monte Vairano as ancient Aquilonia. See Oakley, 2005: 383-389 for a complete overview of scholarly disagreement over the location of Aquilonia. Due to uncertainty regarding Monte Vairano’s ancient identity, this thesis will continue to refer to it by its modern toponym.}

In any event, the drastic landscape alteration within the walls suggests a more elaborate manifestation of political power, accompanied by a new ideology of civic authority endowing it with such abilities.\footnote{Cf. Grant, 200: 222-223 on the traits of centralizing authorities. Enforced consent by military power is a frequent feature of such societies.}

The evidence for walls, terracing, and roads suggests a stable legal regime in at least the fourth and third centuries B.C. As at Monte Pallano, evidence for a thriving economy corroborates this. Following their defeat in the Samnite Wars the cities of Samnium became Roman allies and enjoyed a great deal of economic growth.\footnote{De Benedittis, 2004: 30-31} This is reflected at Monte Vairano with evidence for diverse industrial activities at the site.
following the Samnite Wars. Agricultural and pastoral enterprises are attested, with
evidence for cheese production, wheat processing, and general trade in agricultural and
pastoral products. Given the limited quantity of evidence currently available, figures
for the size of these operations are not possible. Their scale and success are suggested by
two pieces of indirect evidence: conspicuous consumption of overseas and luxury goods,
addressed below, and Monte Vairano’s location at the intersection of two major droving
roads, placing it at a major node of a pastoral economy.

De Benedittis’ excavations recovered remains of iron hoes, spades, and
scythes. Scopacasa has suggested that these tools, in addition to querns for grain
processing, may indicate centralized control from the mountain of agricultural activity in
the Vairanate hinterland. The settlement could further serve as permanent habitation
for fieldhands, with centralized tool storage and grain processing on-site. Scopacasa’s
suggestion casts the Vairanate legal regime as exerting quite intensive control over the
economy. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the querns were for familial
use. Rather than the property of a state enterprise mass-grinding grain for redistribution
or export, they could have belonged to individual families, put into service as part of the
chores after wheat was purchased from Sunday market. A further variation on this theme
would be a mixture of state and household enterprise. In these latter scenarios, the state

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35 and 36; De Benedittis, 2013a: 97
221 De Benedittis, 1991: 47
222 Scopacasa, 2015: 172
223 Scopacasa, 2015: 172. He bases this upon the “signs of conspicuous consumption,” primarily the great
quantity of olive oil and wine amphorae found on site, which he supposes were paid for by the revenues
obtained from centrally managed agriculture and crafting. He does not mention the exact number of
querns.
balances intensive and extensive power over the economy. It is similarly unclear if the tools were stored in a central depository or not, though local manufacture is likely.\textsuperscript{224}

Pottery production is evidenced by kilns that once produced both utilitarian and luxury pieces, including local variations on the black-gloss wares common to the latter half of the first millennium B.C.\textsuperscript{225} The remains of four kilns were found in the neighborhood of the Porta Vittoria, one installed partially beneath the wall itself (Fig. 3.2).\textsuperscript{226} De Benedittis has dated the gate kiln to the second century B.C. Further, he has hypothesized that its addition involved the undermining of the wall, ending a long process of deemphasizing the fortifications in the wake of the Samnite Wars.\textsuperscript{227} Scopacasa, however, has observed that this date is arbitrary and that, stylistically, some fragments of black-gloss recovered from the gate kiln could date as early as the fourth century B.C.\textsuperscript{228}

Both cases intimate different interests for the Vairanate state. If De Benedittis’ chronology for the kiln and wall holds, following the Samnite Wars the powers atop Monte Vairano had little use for the mural belt, or at least the buckle around the Porta Vittoria. Its redevelopment as an industrial site indicates a shift in priorities from defense to production, in keeping with the increased importance of economic power and concomitant decrease of military might at Samnite centers under their alliance to Rome. De Benedittis’ scenario could intimate the establishment of a new legal regime, or the redirection of the old regime’s priorities. Stratigraphically, however, Scopacasa’s

\textsuperscript{224} Cf. Fracchia, 2004: 78-79 and Orlando, 2015: 20-22 for industrial areas at Lucanian Roccagloriosa, and Samnite Beneventum respectively. In the case of Roccagloriosa, the craft zone was located outside of but in close proximity to the wall. At Beneventum, the Contrada Cellarulo production area was located at a distance from the main habitation clusters.

\textsuperscript{225} Tagliamonte, 1997: 252-254; Bispham, 2007: 210

\textsuperscript{226} De Benedittis, 2010: 18

\textsuperscript{227} De Benedittis, 2013a: 95-96, 102

\textsuperscript{228} Scopacasa, 2015: 172, n. 40
scenario is more tenable, with the kiln put out of commission by the wall rather than the other way around. Protection, or at least monumental demarcation, thus overrides a productive concern.

Another similarity to Monte Pallano is the presence of coins. Fourth- through second-century B.C. coins from nearby Larinum, Arpi, and Naples as well as the Adriatic island of Pharos, the Epirote League, the island of Thasos in the north Aegean, and the Balearic Islands off the Spanish coast have been recovered. While De Benedittis and Scopacasa refer to them simply as “coins,” Crawford specifies that the Thasian, Epirote, and Pharoese examples are bronzes, though he does not give the fractions. This indicates Monte Vairano’s participation in the commercial economy of the Mediterranean. Amphorae that once carried olive oil and wine from the eastern Mediterranean were also found, including a surprisingly high number – over one hundred – of wine transports from Rhodes. The majority of the Rhodian wares were dated by their stamps to the period between the late third through early first centuries B.C. This all suggests that Monte Vairano possessed a monetary economy and engaged in trans-Mediterranean trade. The high percentage of Rhodian wine jars in particular implies

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229 De Benedittis, 2010: 19-20 and Scopacasa, 2015: 173
230 Crawford, 1985: 319, 324
231 There is also the possibility that in the third century Monte Vairano issued its own coins, if the rare legend “AKUDUNNIAD” indeed refers to Aquilonia and Monte Vairano hosted this ancient Samnite city. See Salmon, 1967: 73, n. 4; Farkas, 2006: 34; De Benedittis, 2010: 4
232 The most direct port of entry is Frentane Larinum in the lower Biferno Valley, with easy control of the coastal plain and access to the Adriatic Sea. This suggests Monte Vairano’s primary exchange network centers upon the Adriatic, which the Pharoese and Epirote coins corroborate. Trade running through Naples is also likely, hence the Neapolitan and western Mediterranean coins.
233 Crawford, 1985: 38; Lloyd et al., 1995: 207 hold that coins found at Monte Vairano owed their presence to a monetized economy rather than the rusticating notion of pay brought home by Samnite mercenaries and then discarded as valueless.
234 De Benedittis, 2010: 20
conspicuous consumption by the settlement’s well-to-do, thriving off the wealth of the land and engaging in the courtly drinking culture of the Hellenistic Mediterranean.\textsuperscript{235}

The buildings excavated within the walls further attest to economic success between the Samnite and Social Wars. The first, dubbed the Casa di LN after the Oscan inscriptions on the black-gloss fragments found within, aligned with the street leading to the Porta Meridionale (Fig. 3.5). A one-room trapezoidal structure backed against the Piana Melaina terrace, it was well appointed with stone foundations surmounted by rammed clay walls, interior stuccoing painted in red and black, \textit{cocciopesto} flooring, and exterior architectural terracottas, if one of Hercules locked in combat with the Nemean lion hailed from the house.\textsuperscript{236} Edificio C, a far larger structure of c. 500 square meters, was found aligned with the other north-south street.\textsuperscript{237} De Benedittis has interpreted it as both a “\textit{domus}” and a factory.\textsuperscript{238} Since there is evidence to support both positions and the excavations are partial, a wealthy home later converted into a workspace, or the working wing of an elite residence, are equally possible. Strong support for Edificio C being such a residence comes from an adjacent cistern from which De Benedittis’ crews recovered an elite culinary kit of the late second and early first centuries B.C., comprising fragments of thirty-four \textit{impasto} storage and serving vessels, thirty-five cooking pots, and

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{235} Scopacasa, 2015: 172-173, 273-274
\textsuperscript{236} De Benedittis, 2010: 14-17; Scopacasa, 2015: 171
\textsuperscript{237} Monte Vairano, FASTI Online, 2009 season.
\textsuperscript{238} In the FASTI records for the 2009 and 2010 seasons, he interprets the structure as an “Italic \textit{domus}” due to its size and the discovery of domestic pottery, mainly black-gloss and utilitarian \textit{impasto} with some fragments of \textit{terra sigillata} indicating continued occupation of some rooms into the third century A.D. In De Benedittis, 2010: 19, however, he labels it an \textit{opificio} on account of the poor quality of its flooring as compared with the Casa di LN. Given the partial state of the excavations and study of the material, he leaves open the possibility that it may have originally been a \textit{domus} converted into a workshop at a later period.
\end{footnotesize}
seventy-seven black-gloss dishes, cups, and serving vessels. At the very least, these attest to a wealthy household in the vicinity prior to the Social War.

Adjacent to Edificio C is an elongated, two-aisled structure naturally labeled Edificio B. Like the Casa di LN, it was built of rammed clay walls, likely set within a timber framework, atop a foundation of local stone and sheltered by a tile roof sporting decorated eaves (Fig. 3.6). Findings within and architectural comparison with similar structures known from the Samnite sanctuary at Vastogirardi and the settlement at Morcone have prompted De Benedittis’ interpretation of Edificio B as an agricultural warehouse coeval with the elite dining service from the cistern. De Benedittis has interpreted B as a state structure, though there is nothing to rule out private ownership. Edificio B and the dining service provide final anchor points for economic prosperity in the period immediately prior to the Social War. The great difference in size and appointment between a small but respectable house and an urban mansion that may have possessed its own granary suggests a wealthy aristocracy atop a well-off third estate, or potentially a differential elite, in the second century B.C.

The final Livian element is divine protection, for which I use sanctuaries as a proxy. Given the present state of evidence, I acknowledge this is a weak point in my

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239 De Benedittis, 2010: 19-61
240 De Benedittis, 2010: 22-31; De Benedittis, 2013b: 13-16
241 De Benedittis, 2010: 15-19. The catalogue of finds from the warehouse is comparatively scanty: four loom weights of varying sizes, in addition to a number of fragments of pans, dishes, and achromatic cups. The four weights on their own are insufficient to establish a textile industry. Cf. Cahill, 2002: 250-251, who notes the presence of up to 247 standardized loomweights in houses at Olynthus involved in commercial textile production. The existence of the warehouse itself, in conjunction with the contemporary dining kit, are currently the strongest evidences for economic prosperity at the site on the cusp of the Social War.
242 De Benedittis, 2013a: 97. If Edificio C was never a domus, but a place of production, then between it, Edificio B, and the cistern we have evidence for an industrial complex. In this scenario, the existence of a local elite is still suggested by the dining kit dumped in the cistern.
argument. There is evidence at Monte Vairano for votive production,\textsuperscript{243} stone statuettes of horsemen and female figures dating from the fourth through second centuries B.C.,\textsuperscript{244} and a structure east of Edificio C that was possibly an altar.\textsuperscript{245} However, to date there is no firm evidence for an intramural sanctuary. The existence of at least one intramural sanctuary at Monte Vairano is probable, given the preponderance of evidence for intramural sanctuaries at comparable major Samnite sites.\textsuperscript{246} This extends to regions conquered by the Samnites. For example, the Temple of Jupiter Flagius erected in the Italic style at Cumae at the turn of the third century B.C., and repairs to the Temple of Apollo atop the acropolis of the same city under the Helleno-Samnite regime.\textsuperscript{247}

Monte Vairano is located in a sanctuary-rich landscape. Lloyd \textit{et al.} interpret the remains of numerous upper Biferno Valley sanctuaries as suggesting an ancient hierarchy, with the impressive Pietrabondante and the \textit{Herculaneum} at Campochiaro as regional sanctuaries, followed by “second-order” sanctuaries such as that at Colle Sparanise serving several localities, below which were small village chapels, sacred groves, and shepherds’ shrines.\textsuperscript{248} Admittedly, this may reduce the likelihood for an intramural sanctuary within the city. Votive production at Monte Vairano could easily be serving the needs of extraurban ones. An indirect service to the gods, though a service nonetheless. At present, this is all that can be said.

\textsuperscript{243} De Benedittis, 1991: 52; Scopacasa, 2015: 172
\textsuperscript{244} Tagliamonte, 1997: 195
\textsuperscript{245} De Benedittis, 2010: 21.
\textsuperscript{247} McKay, 2004: 91-96. The use of Cumae, a Greek coastal establishment of the eighth century B.C. as a comparandum for Monte Vairano, an inland hilltop city of the fourth century B.C. or so, must be qualified. It is used here only to show the attention Samnites gave to religious matters within the walls of cities within their ambit.
\textsuperscript{248} Lloyd \textit{et al.}, 1995: 191-192
Conclusions – The Gentilicial City and Paths Forward

This thesis has disputed the prevailing consensus against Samnite cities. The first chapter tackled the modern miscategorization of Samnite settlements as non-urban at its source by properly contextualizing Livy 9.13.7 within an ancient milieu that recognized the reality of Samnite cities. Livy’s text evinces an understanding of cities as pious, self-governing communities protected by walls. The second and third chapters interpreted the archeological evidence recovered at Monte Pallano and Monte Vairano in light of this understanding, outlining general aspects of city formation, organization, and community relations in light of Mann’s theory of social power relations and Camagni’s first two factors for urban genesis (concentration of a population on one site, and that site’s favorability to their needs). Camagni’s third factor, spatial interaction leading to settlement shape, has been saved for the conclusion, as it brings into fuller view the character of Samnite urbanism.249

To understand spatial interaction and settlement shape, we should recognize that community members develop and institutionalize IEMP power relations among themselves through negotiation, argument, compromise, violence, etc. These power relations are embodied in the community’s hierarchy. This in turn can manifest itself in the settlement’s outward appearance, or shape. The social processes encoded in the settlement’s shape thus suggest its organization and values.250 Regional comparanda

249 This has been previously touched upon at the end of Chapter 2, Section 3.
250 This is drawn from Fisher and Creekmore, 2014 on the social construction of urban space by (1) “Top-down actions by political authorities, often manifested in varying degrees of urban planning achieved through the exercise of structural power,” (2) “Mid-level actions of particular socioeconomic groups or neighborhoods and districts,” and (3) “Grassroots actions seen in the daily practice of households and individuals,” all operating at the same time, with different ones dominating now and again. Cf. Smith, 2010: 150-151. Due to the fragmentary quantity of household evidence, the main focus herein is on the
suggest two urban phenomena relevant to Monti Pallano and Vairano: (1) a great quantity of intramural open space separating (2) habitation nuclei, close agglomerations of houses and other structures. We will address each in order.

Intramural open space is an understudied feature of ancient urbanism. The percentage of space reserved may have been determined by the density of the rural population, which required shelter for itself and its livestock in wartime, or by the urban population for gardens and bucolic cults.\(^{251}\) At regal and early Republican Rome the Servian Walls enclosed an area of approximately 426 hectares, of which 285 were urbanized. A vast greenbelt of garden plots, fields, and groves existed between the urbanized core and walls.\(^{252}\) The pleasure parks at the Gardens of Sallust, Lucullus, and Ancient Hope, among others, were the late Republican and Imperial echoes of this ancient open space. The walls of Greek Croton in southern Italy enclosed an even greater area, approximately 618 ha total, with 270 urbanized.\(^{253}\)

Monte Pallano and Monte Vairano certainly featured open spaces that could be used for intramural agriculture, shelter for cattle and flocks, drilling grounds for the militia, training courses for the cavalry, and fields for recreation. The use of space for protection and exercise fits well with the defensive mentality that drove consolidation atop the mountains. De Benedittis calculates that the Piana Melaina furnished six to eight

\(^{251}\) De Angelis, 1999: 144; the rural determinant hypothesis was advanced by Giuseppe Nenci, while the urban determinant has been put forward by Anna Muggia. Cf. Stark, 2014: 385-397 for comparison of urban gardens and reserve spaces in the Old and New Worlds.

\(^{252}\) Claridge, 1998: 55-56

\(^{253}\) Muggia, 1997: 64. This situation may be reflected in Livy 23.30.6-7 and 24.3.1-10, where he describes the twelve-mile circuit of Croton’s walls enclosing a vast area, less than half of which was inhabited. While Livy attributes the entirety of this to depopulation from war, it likely represents a combination of the two.
ha of buildable space,\textsuperscript{254} with a similar total at Monte Pallano. Very conservatively supposing that these were the only inhabited portions of their respective sites, then 27-29 of the 35 ha within the Pallanite walls and 42-44 the 50 with the Vairanate remained open, indicating that we are dealing with low-density, agricultural cities.\textsuperscript{255} The size of these intramural reserves was determined by the needs of both the urban and rural populations.\textsuperscript{256}

This raises the question of the urban populations.\textsuperscript{257} The Casa di LN at Monte Vairano provides the basis for some rough calculations. This small but well-appointed second-century domicile possessed 25 square meters of living space, which De Benedittis calculates was sufficient for a family of four.\textsuperscript{258} Let us assume that this represented the standard domestic unit. Further, allow each city only six urbanized hectares, and take one out of contention to accommodate streets, yards, and larger buildings. Suppose the rest are occupied by houses the size of the Casa di LN. In that case, Monte Pallano and Monte Vairano could host 2,000 houses. At four persons per house, each city would have a population of 8,000, of which perhaps 2,000 would be men of military and working

\textsuperscript{254} De Benedittis, 2010: 12 estimates 8 ha; De Benedittis 2013: 94 revised his estimate to just under 6 ha.

\textsuperscript{255} Cf. Fletcher, 2012 for the comparable phenomena in Maya centers, Manning \textit{et al.}, 2014: 22 for Late Bronze Age Maroni-\textit{Vournes} on Cyprus. Anderson, 1996: 195 notes the mid-third century B.C. walling of the 66 ha around the Doric and Apollo temples at Pompeii, space that the town later filled in.

\textsuperscript{256} Recalling the survey results of the Sangro and Biferno Valley Projects, it is notable that after the construction of the walls at both sites, the number of surrounding farms and villages rose. Cf. Morris, 2006: 14 for the correlated rise in urban populations and the number of rural sites in classical Greece.

\textsuperscript{257} This must be approached with due caution. Manning \textit{et al.}, 2014: 23-24 note that population estimates based upon projected average number of residents per “actual identified residential space” for LBA Maroni, similarly featuring great open spaces and only partially known from excavations, is not practical at the moment, but could be expected to offer higher numbers than their present estimate of 100 persons per hectare (p/ha). Such a density would give a population of 5,000 for Monti Pallano and Vairano if extended to the entire walled area, and only 600-800 if limited to the currently identified built spaces, thus showing the ranges possible when calculating off very limited data. As such, the demographic figures given here are only a tentative academic exercise.

\textsuperscript{258} De Benedittis, 2010: 15-17
While extremely crude, this exercise provides a workable estimate as we proceed to consider habitation nuclei.

The discontinuity of urban space was no strange phenomenon to cities on the Italian peninsula. To again use the example of Croton, Muggia notes the division of urbanized space into three nuclei: one of 200 ha and two satellites under 100 ha each. This phenomenon of housing clusters separated by open space is repeated in Lucania, Apulia, and Samnium. In the fourth century B.C. Lucanian Roccagloriosa consisted of several such nuclei. Each featured houses organized by a grid of paved streets, with an elite manse at the center serving as the nucleus’ political and cult center. Each nucleus has been interpreted as a particular clan’s domain, with the mansion housing the great family and the surrounding houses its dependent kin. In northern Apulia, from the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. settlements at Arpi, Asculum, and Teate comprised nuclei of houses cleaving closely to cemeteries, with more articulate houses and evidence for a

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260 Fletcher, 1995, cited in Morris, 2006: 4, states that settled communities in general rarely tolerate densities above 300 persons per hectare (p/ha), whereas the above results return 1,600 p/ha. Bringing the population down to Fletcher’s maximum of 300 p/ha requires a population no greater than 1,500. This would place Monte Vairano well within the median populations of classical Greek poleis (Morris, 2006: 14-15). Morris characterizes such poleis as “large villages” rather than cities, though without justification other than comparison to Athens’ c. 35-40,000, which he in turn states was “in comparative terms…small” versus Rome. The fairness of comparing the norm to outliers is debatable.

261 Muggia, 1997: 64-65; Nucleus 1: 28 ha; nucleus 2: 36 ha; nucleus 3: 200 ha. Cf. Livy 24.30.7, who suggests separation of the city’s urban areas with his mention of Croton’s seaside acropolis, where dwelt the city’s aristocracy at a distance from the regular habitations.

262 Cf. Fisher, 2014: 199 for top-down elite place-making via planned streets, city walls, and monumental buildings in the new cities of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age, and Creekmore, 2014: 47-50 for the development of multiple administrative and religious centers within the highly nucleated cities of Upper Mesopotamia c. 2700-2200 B.C.

263 Fracchia, 2004: 75-76. These nuclei correspond to the “spatial clusters of buildings” used by archaeologists to identify neighborhoods in low-density cities, such as late nineteenth century Addis Ababa and the Classic Maya and Aztec cities. For instance, the small Aztec town of Cuexcomate was apportioned among several small calpalli, separated clusters of housing whose residents “owed labor service, rent, and other payments” to the noble in charge of the cluster. Also comparable are the Maya “minor centers,” consisting of groups of houses arranged around a civic-ceremonial complex that served as the ritual and administrative heart. See Smith, 2010: 146-149. Cf. McIntosh and McIntosh, 2003:105-106, 111 for comparable divisions in the “Urban Complexes” of the Middle Niger.
street grid at Arpi by the fourth century B.C. As at Roccagloriosa, the settlement nuclei have been interpreted as gentilicial enclaves.\textsuperscript{264} Samnite Beneventum evinces a similar layout in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.\textsuperscript{265} Excavations have revealed the growth of Beneventum from two known habitation clusters ringed by three sepulchral zones in the Iron Age to three nuclei, two of which were immediately adjacent to cemeteries (Fig. C.1). This close association between the living and the dead indicates distinct kin groups at each nucleus.

Given the geographic and cultural propinquity to the cities discussed above, a similar clan-centered organization at Monti Vairano and Pallano is likely. At the latter, evidence for multiple sanctuaries at a distance from each other may support a hypothesis for separate domestic clusters prior to a reorientation of the city around the “forum.”\textsuperscript{266} Monte Vairano boasted at least one urbanized zone on the southern side of the Piana Melaina by the third century B.C. It is impossible to say, however, whether this was one of several habitation clusters or not. Similarly, the present state of evidence does not allow us to say one way or the other if Monte Pallano maintained separate nuclei or if by the second century they had nucleated together around the “forum.” They do, however, remain a live possibility. Epigraphic evidence gathered from roof tiles and sanctuaries in the Pentrian highlands feature the same familial names appearing for magistracies, suggesting political domination of Pentrian affairs by a few noble \textit{gentes} in the centuries following the Samnite Wars.\textsuperscript{267} This is likely at the city level as well. Given the

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{265} Orlando, 2015: 18-22
\textsuperscript{266} Tuteri \textit{et al.}, 2010: 30
\textsuperscript{267} Farkas, 2006: 84-95. The tile stamps and inscriptions Farkas draws upon come primarily from regional sanctuaries such as Pietrabondante, the \textit{Herculaneum} at Campochiaro, and Vastogirardi. At present then,
\end{footnotesize}
preference in surrounding regions for organizing the cities around clan cores, it would not be surprising if Monti Pallano and Vairano followed this pattern as well.

If these interpretations are correct, an especial emphasis on the clan shaped Samnite cities. The ability to create separate enclaves suggests that the heads of extended families wielded the lion’s share of political power in these settlements. Wealth gleaned from agricultural and pastoral enterprises fueled this power, as did the size of each clan. He who controlled the clan controlled bodies. Using the schematic numbers calculated above, each clan head, including himself, would have 250 men under his hand, supposing each city comprised eight clans of 1,000 relatives each and the proportions kept constant.\(^\text{268}\) Those men comprised portions of the city’s workforce and army. As family, they formed a ready-made support base for their patriarch. Organized as a power block, they could be leveraged by him to safeguard and advance the family’s interests. The clan head could for example extract compromises from his peers through the threat of withdrawing his kin from public projects and military service. This gentilicial version of the Plebeian Secession at Rome would only be one possible act in the political drama at these cities, which would involve fevered negotiations, alliances between clans, factional conflict, and similar tactics for achieving goals. As such, separate habitation nuclei within common walls assert an ideology of gentilicial distinction within a single community.

In conjunction with the walls, the result is a form of defense-minded urbanism that uniquely reflects the primacy of the clan. As such, the appearance of Samnite cities

\(^{268}\) As above, the numbers are an academic exercise. 1,000 was chosen as the number for each clan to keep the example simple.
is not that of a rationally planned colony founded *ex novo*, but rather a low-density sprawl of gentilicial clusters akin to the early Etruscan cities and Rome. Scholarly literature has termed these “proto-cities.” However, there are more forms of urbanism than are conceived of in our philosophy. In light of our advancing understanding of low-density urbanism in the Old and New Worlds, Samnite cities should be included in this category and studied as such. Indeed, studies of pre-Roman Italy could fruitfully retire such terms as “proto-urbanization” and “proto-city,” and instead consider the different regional and ethnic manifestations of low- and high-density urbanism.

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269 For instance, Attema, 2005: 124
Figures

Figure I.1 – Ancient Samnium within its immediate regional context, following the borders approximated by Salmon, 1967: 19-23). The annotations and location markers for Monte Pallano and Monte Vairano are the author’s additions. Image source: http://sanniolismeiry.blogspot.ca.
Figure 2.1 – Location of Monte Pallano in relation to Monte Vairano and the approximate territories of various tribes, overlaid upon the names of the modern regioni. Image source: Faustoferri and Lloyd, 1998, fig. 1. Annotations are the author’s own.
Figure 2.2 – Monte Pallano excavated areas. Image source: Faustoferri and Riccitelli, 2005, fig. 1.
Figure 2.3 – Sangro Valley Project survey maps depicting Iron Age sites with *impasto* pottery (above) and early Imperial sites (below). Image source: Faustoferri and Lloyd, 1998, figs. 10 and 11.
Figure 2.4 - Detail of the limestone megaliths comprising the *Mura Paladine* and one of the narrow gates (above), and sketch of the north gate, approach road, and road substructures (below). Image sources: the civic website of Tornareccio (above) [http://www.meraviglieditornareccio.it/montepallano/?mura-megalitiche.42](http://www.meraviglieditornareccio.it/montepallano/?mura-megalitiche.42); Faustoferri and Riccitelli, 2005, fig. 3 (below, after drawing by D. Corda).
Figure 2.5 – Monte Pallano (center) as viewed from Montenerodomo on the western side of the Sangro Valley. Though not able to capture remains of the wall at this resolution, the image nonetheless gives an impression of the size the ancient fortification must have been to be visible from nearly 12.5 kilometers away. Image source: Google Street View.
Figure 2.6 – The excavated areas from the porticoed complex of Monte Pallano as of 1998 (left) and 2005 (right). Image sources: Faustoferri and Lloyd, 1998, fig. 4 (left); Faustoferri and Riccitelli, 2005, fig. 4 (after a relief by C. Malatesta, right). Annotations indicating room labels in the left-hand image are the author’s own.
Figure 3.1 – Biferno Valley in the Iron Age (top) with settlements mentioned in the text highlighted, and the upper Biferno Valley in the Samnite period (bottom) for comparison of the increase in the number of sites clustering around the mountain. Image source: Barker and Suano et al., 1995, fig. 65 (top) and Lloyd et al., 1995, fig. 72 (bottom).
Figure 3.2 – Porta Vittoria and adjacent kiln (top) and detailed sections of the kiln (bottom). Image sources: De Benedittis, 2010, fig. 9 (top) and De Benedittis, 2010, fig. 18 (bottom).
Figure 3.3 – Terraces within the walled area of Monte Vairano. Terrace A corresponds to the Piana Melaina, Terraces B and D to Monte Vairano proper, and Terrace C to Colle Pagliarone (north) and Colle Vittoria (the small hill to the south). Image source: De Benedittis, 2013, fig. 1.
Figure 3.4 – Excavated areas of Monte Vairano with projected street grid (dashed lines). Image source: De Benedittis, 2013, fig. 4.
Figure 3.5 – Location (left) and reconstruction (right) of the Casa di LN. Structure A is the Piana Melaina terrace, B the Casa di LN, C the civic wall, D the Porta Meridionale flanked by two towers, and E unexcavated structures. The reconstruction includes domestic implements such as a basin and remains of a loom found inside the house. Image sources: De Benedittis, 2010, fig. 4 (left) and De Benedittis, 2010, fig. 15 (right).
Figure 3.6 – Excavated remains (top left), and reconstructions of the short (top right) and long (bottom) sides of Edificio B at Monte Vairano. Image sources: De Benedittis, 2010, fig. 25 (top left), De Benedittis, 2010, fig. 28 (top right), and De Benedittis, 2010, fig. 30 (bottom).
Figure 3.7 – Excavated areas at Benevento in the Archaic (above) and Samnite (below) periods. Red indicates cemeteries, blue habitation nuclei, green sanctuaries, and yellow industrial areas. Image sources: Orlando, 2015, figs. 7 (above) and 11 (below).
Site Reports


Scholarly Sources


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