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'The Etruscan World' and Rome

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REVIEW ARTICLES AND LONG REVIEWS,
A SYNTHESIS ON ZEUGMA,
OBITUARIES, AND BOOKS RECEIVED

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Table of contents of fascicule 2

Reviews

C. L. Sulosky Weaver	The indigenous site of Castiglione di Ragusa (Sicily) and its cemeteries in the wake of Greek colonization	510
A. Nijboer	The Etruscan world and Rome	513
M. Squire	<i>Ars reuixit?</i> In search of the ancient artist	523
M. Mogetta	A new approach to early urbanization in central Italy	536
E. Lanza Catti	Apulian and Lucanian red-figure pottery and issues of cultural identity	545
R. J. A. Wilson	The coinage of <i>Iaitas</i> in the context of West Sicily	554
M. Gleba	An experimental study of linen <i>versus</i> metal armour	558
J.-P. Thuillier	Sport grec, spectacle romain?	563
A. Ziolkowski	Reading Coarelli's <i>Palatium</i> , or the <i>Sacra via</i> yet again	569
T. P. Wiseman	Reading the City	582
J. Packer	Reconstructing Pompey's Theater	587
E. D' Ambra	The short life of Rome's <i>columbaria</i>	591
D. Woods	A new edition of <i>The death of Caligula</i>	594
M. Beckmann	New drawings of the Column of Marcus Aurelius	596
B. Borg	Roman sarcophagi in context	599
K. Meinecke	Looking at identity through portraits on sarcophagi	605
E. Fentress	Oriental gods on the Caelian Hill	610
C. Bruun	Ostian epigraphy <i>in situ</i>	615
E. Dwyer	The provenance of artifacts discovered on the Vesuvian sites between 1738 and c.1860	620
E. K. Gazda & L. J. McAlpine	The 'Villa of Publius Fannius Synistor' at Boscoreale: putting it all together	622
P. Keegan	The 'graffiti experience' at Pompeii	630
C. C. Mattusch	Architecture and luxury on the Bay of Naples	632
P. F. Bang	An economist approaches Roman economic history	637
A. Van Oyen	Globalisation and material culture: the road ahead	641
A. Corbeill	Why, how or when the Romans laughed	647
B. W. Frier	Roman law and the marriage of underage girls	652
E. Smith	Broadening the scope for studying gender	665
N. Monteix	Identifier les espaces économiques dans le monde romain	669
C. Virlouvet	Les métiers du port: les <i>saccarii</i> , dockers du monde romain antique	673
E. Botte	Exploiting the sea	684
E. R. Gebhard	An exhibit on Poseidon	688
J. P. Oleson	<i>Neoria</i> and <i>navalia</i> : not just about ships	690
W. E. Mierse	Textiles in the socio-economic sphere of pre-Roman and Roman Europe	695
M. Feugère	Fibules, identités et déplacements individuels ou collectifs dans l'Antiquité	699
M. MacKinnon	A zooarchaeologist studies animals in the larger picture (or, on the benefits of keeping your own chickens)	704
J. P. Oleson	The final word on Roman wooden pumping machinery	707
G. Davies	The siege as a moral contest	709
P. Keegan	Women and civic life in Italy and the western provinces	712
R. Reece	Money for the Roman army	717

Table of contents of fascicule 2 (continued)

M. Pitts	Debating the Roman origins of <i>Londinium</i> , with questions about its material signature	723
T. J. Derrick	In Roman small things forgotten? A thematic exploration of ‘small finds’ from Britain	726
J. Wood	A lament for the defences of Silchester	728
R. Ling	“Toichographologie” at AFPMA’s 26th colloquium: painted plaster and stucco from Gaul and elsewhere	731
F.-S. Kirch	Die Nutzung des Raumes in römischen Legionslagern und Kastellen	734
C. Pavel	The “palace of the procurator” in Trier: the promise and predicament of Roman archaeology	738
C. C. Mattusch	Broken but not forgotten: fragments of bronze statues from the northern <i>limes</i>	751
S. de Brestian	Landscape archaeology in Roman Spain	761
J. Edmondson	Rural epigraphy in central Spain: a new corpus of Latin inscriptions	764
C. Vismara	In cerca della società africana	769
J. Stoop	The ‘windmill model’ of the Augustan revolution	774
A. Spawforth	Cult in Roman Greece (mostly)	780
M. E. Hoskins Walbank	Inequality in Roman Corinth	782
C. B. Rose	The reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion at Aphrodisias	787
P. Scherrer	The <i>Kouretes</i> in Ephesos: thoughts on their origin, duties, and engagement in cult and social life	792
R. R. R. Smith	Citizens and kings in the Tomba Bella at Hierapolis	803
L. Campagna	Rappresentatività versus funzionalità: una nuova prospettiva per lo studio delle fontane monumentali dell’Oriente romano	810
C. Abadie-Reynal	Les fouilles de sauvetage de Zeugma: un bilan des résultats	821
C. S. Lightfoot	Zeugma: Packard Humanities Institute excavations	846
K. Butcher	Coins from the French excavations at Zeugma, and a comparison with the PHI coins	858
I. R. Scott	Small finds from the French-Turkish excavations at Zeugma and the study of destruction deposits	862
A. U. De Giorgi	The Princeton excavations in Antakya, 1932-40	873
J. A. Baird	Jebel Khalid: counting sherds, or sherds that count?	877
T. Kaizer	On the origins of Palmyra and its trade	881
W. E. Mierse	Sasanian military architecture on Rome’s NE frontier	889
A. J. M. Kropp	The iconography of Greek divinities in the arts of Central Asia	893
A. M. Berlin	A once and future king	895
A. W. White	The Roman games in Palestine and their reception	902
S. Sidebotham	Surveying the Wadi ‘Araba near Aqaba	905
J. Patrich	The new archaeological Atlas of Petra, fascicule 1	908
C. P. Elliott	A “socio-political and environmental” crisis in Roman Egypt	912
A. Hollmann	The material side of magic and its archaeological contexts	917
D. Woods	Constantine the Great: a partial account	923
R. Lim	The hippodrome of Constantinople: shaping Byzantine civilization and its cultural imagination	931
K. G. Holum	Wealth as a “stethoscope” for studying Late Antiquity	936
C. Vanderheyde	Les reliquaires du Proche-Orient et le culte des martyrs	941
J. Balty	Les mosaïques des provinces antiques d’Arabie et de Palestine aux époques romaine, byzantine et arabe	946
C. Foss	Coinage and circulation in Byzantine Palestine	954
J. G. Pedley	The ups and downs of William Stillman, an American 19th-c. archaeological photographer (and much more)	956

Table of contents of fascicule 2 (continued)

Response by C. Aranegui Gascó to E. Papi's review of <i>Lixus</i> 3 (<i>JRA</i> 26 [2013] 800-7)	962
Obituary of David Peacock, by S. Keay	965
Obituary of Sheppard Sunderland Frere, by R. J. A. Wilson	968
Obituary of Paul B. Harvey, Jr., by C. E. Schultz	974
BOOKS RECEIVED	976
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE	983

The Etruscan world and Rome

Albert Nijboer

JEAN MACINTOSH TURFA (ed.), *THE ETRUSCAN WORLD* (The Routledge Worlds; Routledge, London 2013). Pp. xlviii + 1167, c.742 ills. ISBN 978-0-415-67308-2.

British and American printing houses seem to have a penchant for anthologies. Norton and Co. have just published *The Norton anthology of world religions* (2014), weighing over 8 lbs and containing 4200 pages on 6 major religions spanning c.3500 years of human history, while scholars will soon be able to choose from two hefty compilations on the Etruscans: that from Routledge under review here, and W. De Gruyter's *Etruscology* (2015), edited by A. Naso.¹ The almost simultaneous appearance of two such extensive collections of papers on the Etruscans may seem odd, but they will reveal, besides some resemblances, considerable differences in the issues addressed, and the two, taken together, are likely to stimulate students and scholars to contemplate on topics related to the rise and demise of the Etruscans.

Compilations like these rely heavily on notions of the main editor as he or she selects authors for specific subjects. Thus I would have appreciated it if Turfa had made her ideas concerning the Etruscans explicit in the introduction while also tackling the motives behind the choice of topics. As it stands, one can only guess at the reasons behind the overall contents of the book. Some relevant issues that would contribute to our understanding of the Etruscans are missing (see below). The result is that the papers, taken together, contribute somewhat to the traditional notion of the 'mysterious Etruscans', despite all the fine details and ideas presented. Books like these are probably not intended to be read from cover to cover or to be used as a handbook. The individual papers are solid, but the pooled result is not authoritative: it is educational, while hopefully stimulating curiosity. As a title, *An Etruscan world* might have been preferred. This is also because many anthologies contain discrepancies when a specific author does not know exactly what another contributor will write on a related topic. Fragmentation lies in wait. Individual scholars' perceptions on colonization or on the economy, for example, frequently do not jibe (see below in relation to the chapters "Etruria on the Po and Adriatic" and "Etruscans in Campania"). Only rigorous editing and rewriting could avert such discrepancies, but that would interfere with current academic conventions. Nonetheless, Turfa is to be saluted for compiling a valuable book on the Etruscans, one that weighs more than 5 lbs. Indeed, I treasure it, and, despite all my comments, it needs to be stressed from the outset that it is a most welcome contribution which will be appreciated by many lecturers (including myself) who deal with Pre-Roman Italy. Regrettably, most university-level courses on "The Etruscans" or "Pre-Roman Italy" do not allot sufficient credits for a manual of almost 1200 pages, which would be necessary for it to become a student textbook. Still, the book makes much Italian literature available to those who cannot read Italian, while facilitating further work by providing research themes for student papers or even doctoral theses.

This book, which covers numerous aspects of Etruscan society and culture, is long overdue.² Inviting specialists to cover aspects related to the Etruscans, the editor divided their 63 papers into 8 parts:

- I. Environment, background and the study of Etruscan culture (4 chapters);
- II. The historical development of Etruria (5);
- III. Etruscans and their neighbors (8);
- IV. Etruscan society and economy (6);
- V. Religion in Etruria (10);
- VI. Special aspects of Etruscan culture (14);
- VII. Etruscan specialties in art (13);
- VIII. Post-antique reception of Etruscan culture (3).

From this list it becomes clear that over half the chapters focus on Etruscan religion, culture and art. The emphasis on art-history (or, better, on stylistic aspects related to the Etruscans) has

1 <http://www.degruyter.com/view/product/128551?rskey> (ISBN 978-1-934078-49-5).

2 Cf. Turfa p. 1: "Time to give the Etruscans their due".

ramifications since their rise and zenith is prehistoric, at best proto-historic, whereas their 'long twilight' (chapt. 8) from the 5th to 1st c. B.C. might be considered more historical. The length of the 8 parts varies as does the length of the papers. Just to give one example, Part I ("Environment, background, and the study of Etruscan culture") contains wide-ranging contributions on "Etruscan environments" by I. M. B. Wiman, on "'Origins' in perspective" by G. Bagnasco Gianni, on "Etruscan origins and the ancient authors" by D. Briquel, and on "Fleshing out the demography of Etruria" by G. Kron. Each of these is most relevant, interesting, and a topic of its own; Parts II-VIII include equally well-informed subjects, as wide-ranging as Part I. It is, however, not the aim of this review to list and discuss all 63 chapters. Instead, three themes for which several chapters can be grouped will be singled out:

1. Etruscans and others; 2. The time-frame emphasized; and 3. The Etruscan world and Rome.

Etruscans and others

Part III ("Etruscans and their neighbors") contains 8 chapters, three of which are mainly on Sardinia. The Etruscans can be understood better when related to others, but in this section some key neighbours of the Etruscans have gone astray. Especially chapters on their Latin neighbours and on Rome would have been essential since the 'long twilight' of the Etruscans is dominated by the rising Roman state and its Latin allies, which from c.400 onwards politically and militarily consumed the individual Etruscan city-states. The various city-states seem to have been peers that competed and that rarely acted as one group.³ It was relatively easy to outfox individual stakeholders either by persuasion, treaty or war. This want of cooperation between the individual Etruscan city-states in part resulted in disintegration and led to their decline. It is this lack of unanimity that makes it difficult to understand the Etruscans as a single acting group: they seem hardly ever to have decided to combine forces in order to confront neighbours or others. All of this makes it problematic to comprehend a concept such as Etruscan colonization of neighbouring regions since that implies combined action. Chapters on their Sabine neighbours or on relations between Etruria and Greece would also have been appreciated because Greek culture looms so heavily in a book that highlights stylistic developments and civilization.

Perhaps, however, it will be more instructive to turn to what Part III actually consists of. It opens (197) with F. Lo Schiavo's "The western Mediterranean before the Etruscans", covering mainly the Late Bronze Age in which some Mycenaean groups moved to certain regions of what is now Italy, amongst others Sardinia. Subsequently she touches on the oxhide ingots of copper, their distribution, and relations between Cyprus and Sardinia. The fascinating interconnection between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean is mentioned. Finally, she discusses in just over 2 pages Nuraghic Sardinia in the W Mediterranean prior to the Etruscans, where she points out (210) that the data recovered at Sant'Imbenia (NW Sardinia) establish that the Phoenicians were noticeably present "from at least the 9th c. B.C. onwards". The next chapter, by Lo Schiavo and M. Milletti, examines "The Nuragic heritage in Etruria". It starts with the Phoenician influence and the introduction of iron (difficult to trace archaeologically because so much early iron was re-used in years following, when the demand for iron increased). The Nuraghic heritage in Etruria is present but limited; it consists of some bronzes such as boats and miniature 'pilgrim flasks'. The only ceramic vessel type that was reproduced, mainly in Etruscan Vetulonia, is the Sardinian askoid jug, with a restricted distribution in N Etruria. Chapter 12 continues with Phoenician and Punic Sardinia and its relationship with the Etruscans. R. D'Oriano and A. Sancier stress several times that many imports in both Sardinia and Etruria were channelled "through the predominantly Phoenician ports" (235). The three chapters on

3 Issues of federation between Etruscan city-states are mentioned by H. W. Becker (chapt. 18) and by S. Stopponi (chapt. 31) where presenting the *Fanum Voltumnae*. The number of pan-Etruscan shrines is extremely limited, as far as we know, by comparison with several communal sanctuaries in *Latium Vetus*. Becker writes (365): "From the *Elogia Tarquiniensia*, where Tarquinia is involved against Caere and later Arezzo, we see that the Etruscan cities were probably more often fighting against each other than working together on a regular basis". Describing the Etruscans as one group negates the considerable differences between N and S Etruria, or between coastal and interior towns.

Sardinia conclude as follows (241):

With the conquest of the island in 238 B.C. [by Rome] comes the definite end of any relationships, at least in Sardinia, between the Etruscan and Punic world.

In this chapter, contacts between Sardinia and Etruria exist but seem to be constrained; historically, apart from the harbor town of Olbia in the NE part of the island, Sardinia opens up more easily to the west than to the Tyrrhenian Sea on the east. The following chapter on “Etruria and Corsica” by M. Milletti can be summarized by saying that contacts existed but archaeological evidence of the relations is poor.⁴ Interesting are the pages on Aleria (249-54) which, according to literary sources, was founded in 565 by colonists from Phocaea, many of them driven from their homeland in Ionia by Persian intrusions. The rapidly-increasing Phocaeen presence in the Tyrrhenian led to the battle of the Sardinian Sea in 540 in which Etruscans and Carthaginians sided together. This combat apparently resulted in a painstaking victory by the Phocaeans, but nonetheless they were forced to abandon Aleria, after which Etruscans from some coastal cities took over, establishing a settlement on the same site. Caere with its harbor Pyrgi might have played a dominant rôle in this episode, but Populonia probably also participated.

Half of the chapters in Part III are thus on two overseas islands which provide limited data for widespread contacts and acculturation with Etruria.⁵ This is not the case with the next three chapters, covering overland relations between the Etruscans and the Faliscans (chapt. 14), the Po and the Adriatic Sea (chapt. 15), and Campania (chapt. 16). In the past, the Faliscans were frequently presented as subject to Etruscan Veii, but here fortunately they are introduced as an independent people speaking a Latin dialect and residing in a small, densely-settled territory across the Tiber, north of Rome. Besides the Faliscans, two main regions to the north and south of Etruria have time-honoured bonds. The Villanovan and later Etruscan preeminence is documented mainly in the control of an extensive overland exchange route crossing large parts of the peninsula. It is crucial to differentiate here between the Early Iron Age Villanovan (950-725 B.C.) and the Etruscan society of the Orientalizing period and later (725 to 90 B.C.). This difference is neglected by many authors, though not by others — which also contributes to ‘mystification’. From Villanovan to Etruscan is not just a cultural transition triggered by increasing contacts with the Orient (whence the Orientalizing period of c.725-580), but also one of academic disciplines, because it divides Italian pre- and proto-history from Etruscology, which in turn has close links with classical archaeology as a result of the strong cultural correlations between Etruria and Greece, especially in the 6th c. B.C. Until recently, both disciplines were fairly strictly separated, which created peculiar divisions in the shift from Villanovan to Etruscan during the 8th c. A loose usage of the term Villanovan is also found in chapters 15-16. While Sassatelli and Govi mention two separate Etruscan invasions into the Po valley, from the 9th c. and from the mid-6th c. onwards, M. Cuozzo writes (302) for Campania that:

People of the ‘Villanovan’ horizon, traceable to the principal centers of southern and central Etruria, have been recognized as the rulers of coastal southern Campania ...

Both chapters are intriguing but raise many questions. Sassatelli and Govi remain somewhat ambiguous, shifting from outright Etruscan occupation of the Po valley (281) to Etruscans as protagonists, with a significant proportion of the population being of local origin (283). This ambiguity comes as a surprise because Sassatelli has recently questioned the very concept of Etruscan colonization of the Padana, suggesting that we redefine the phenomenon of their occupation of the Po valley as one brought about mainly by local groups.⁶ If he had been equally outspoken in *The Etruscan world*, chapters 15-16 would have fallen more in line, since

4 One section of the chapter covering much of the apogee of the Etruscans (700 to 550 B.C.) even has as a subtitle: “A period difficult to read” (249).

5 It is limited also in terms of acculturation when compared to other groups such as Phoenicians and Greeks. An excellent catalogue with an interpretation of relations between Sardinia and Etruria during the Early Iron Age was recently published by M. Milletti: *Cimeli d’identità: tra Etruria e Sardegna nella prima età del ferro* (Officina Etruscologia 6, 2012).

6 G. Sassatelli, “Gli Etruschi nella valle del Po. Riflessioni, problemi e prospettive di ricerca,” *AnnFondMusFaina* 15 (2008) 71-114.

for Campania Cuozzo opts for the concept of acculturation in which many cultural groups participated and merged to some extent, although Villanovan and, later, Etruscan individuals seem to have been much in control. That we are dealing with a construct based on ancient texts is reflected in how Etruscan cities in the three regions are counted. Etruria itself between the Arno and Tiber rivers is recorded as a *dodecapolis* (12 main towns and their respective territories), while also for Etruria Padana and Campania an Etruscan *dodecapolis* is documented (281; 301). Sassatelli and Govi point out that we cannot identify 12 Etruscan cities in the Po valley, but Villanovan and Etruscan presence in this region between the 9th and early 4th c. is well attested. The Etruscan surge into the Padana during the late 6th and 5th c. might have been brought about by the gradual erosion of their maritime trading network from the late 6th c. onwards, resulting from “naval clashes in the upper Tyrrhenian sea” that involved Etruscans, Carthaginians, and Greek-speaking groups (282). Etruria Padana, on the other hand, seems to have been a short episode lasting a few generations, since the Gallic invasion in the early 4th c. curtailed the urban network that had developed in the Po valley over the previous century (297-99). Next (chapt. 16), Cuozzo provides a fine synthesis on the Etruscans in Campania, mentioning different schools in the debate over the Campanian Villanovan (Early Iron Age) horizon and aptly presenting the archaeological evidence from Pontecagnano and Capua. Valuable too is the short description of the ethnogenesis of the Campanians after the second battle of Cumae (474 B.C.), culminating in the conquest of Capua (in 423) and Cumae (in 421).

The final chapter in Part III, by J. Gran-Aymerich, is on the overseas exploits of Etruscans (“Etruria Marittima, Carthage and Iberia, Massalia, Gaul”). It is a significant chapter⁷ when one intends to give the Etruscans their due. For giving them their due from a historical perspective, I quote two revealing sentences:

The distribution of Etruscan objects far from Etruria is not the result of a sudden and unexpected apparition, but rather of an evolution that accelerated in the 7th century and attained its apogee in the first half of the sixth century in the Mediterranean, and in the latter half of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth in the Celtic hinterland (319-20).

Thus the apogee was brief, after which the Etruscan culture remained for centuries like a Sleeping Beauty — blooming but asleep. And unlike Sleeping Beauty, the Etruscans never awoke, but were soon to be eclipsed by the Romans with their Latin allies.

Etruscan maritime enterprises in the Mediterranean beyond the Tyrrhenian Sea differed from those of the Phoenicians and Greeks, as they did not rely on a network of colonial foundations (335),

following which he elaborates the attractive hypothesis of the archaic Etruscan *fonduk* (warehouse or storage facility). This notion is appealing because there is clear archaeological evidence (though limited in quantity) for some Etruscan presence at sites like Marseille and Carthage.

Other chapters in the book are associated with the theme of Part III: chapter 48 examines “Foreign artists in Etruria”, while chapt. 24 discusses “Greek myth in Etruscan culture”. Moreover, relations between Etruria and Rome or with parts of Greece appear on a substantial number of pages, but neither connection is granted a separate chapter in Part III so as to elaborate upon these links.

The time-frame emphasized

The time-frame that dominates in the book puzzles, for the majority of contributions focus on the long twilight of the Etruscans, from 400 to 90 B.C. Part II on “The historical development of Etruria” is divided into 5 chapters. The period prior to 500 B.C. is covered in the first three. G. Bartoloni opens with an informative paper on “The Villanovan culture. At the beginning of Etruscan history”. Subsequently M. Sannibale aptly describes “Orientalizing Etruria” (725-580

⁷ Taken in combination with chapt. 19 co-authored with Turfa, entitled “Economy and commerce through material evidence: Etruscan goods in the Mediterranean world and beyond”. Chapter 19 has an extensive bibliography of 24 pages that also refers to titles mentioned in the 132 footnotes of Gran-Aymerich’s chapt. 17.

B.C.), while R. Leighton examines “Urbanization in southern Etruria from the 10th to the 6th century B.C.”. The last two chapters are on “The long twilight: ‘Romanization’ of Etruria” (V. Jolivet) and “The last Etruscans: family tombs in northern Etruria” (M. Nielsen). Remarkable is that the crucial 5th c. is not covered in Part II. As a century, it is mentioned in many other chapters, and the reader can assemble an historical account for himself using the search engine when consulting the e-book, but I would have preferred a separate chapter on this essential century between the apogee of Etruscan civilization and its “long twilight”. Further, one could argue that this twilight actually lasted from c.500 to 300 B.C. based on the loss of Campania and the Padana, on the mounting decline of the Etruscan presence outside the core region of Etruria, and on the increasing relevance of Rome and its Latin allies. During the 5th c. the Etruscans appear to have squandered much of their control over long-distance interregional exchange moving between NE and SW Italy, a quality that was characteristic from c.950-900 onwards and that contributed to the rise of Villanovan centers and later of Etruscan towns.⁸ In addition, it has to be acknowledged that by the late 4th c. much of Etruria was politically and militarily dominated by the Romans. For this long waning of the Etruscans that lasted for centuries, I refer to the quotes above. The apogee of Etruscan culture is the 6th c. (319-20). Cuozzo rightly stresses (315) the Etruscan defeat during the second Battle of Cumae in 474 B.C. that terminated the privileged relations between Etruria and Campania. This battle also curtailed Etruscan overseas activities in the W Mediterranean. Finally, Jolivet in his chapter on the period after 396, when Rome defeated Etruscan Veii, shows that large parts of Etruria had to come to terms with Roman dominance:

From the late fourth century, the Roman army roamed freely in the territory of internal and northern Etruria (156).

Therefore, from c.400 B.C. onwards, all Etruscan cities were speedily defeated or became bound by treaty to Rome until 90/89, when the *lex Iulia* and the *lex Plautia Papiria* were passed that finally made the Etruscans into Roman citizens.

Why are so many chapters in this book concentrating on the later Etruscans when they were losing strength? Revealing is that several authors refer to this long twilight of the Etruscan civilization as Hellenistic.⁹ To me, the term “Hellenistic Etruria” is out of place. Once more issues of style dominate instead of historical realities. One could go back to Winckelmann to explain this partiality for the canons of classical Greek art, but a truly classical tradition knows when and how to re-invent itself. In the 21st century it needs to become far less exclusive. At times classical archaeology still seems to focus on the question “how to conform as quickly as possible to a standard set of ‘Greekness’” since it favors specific aesthetics and cultural resemblances.¹⁰ This is no longer sufficient. The persistent reference here to aspects related to Greece once more establishes that Etruscology is part and parcel of classical archaeology. The Etruscan civilization thus becomes the link between Athens and Rome. Frequently, stylistic and cultural comparisons are made between Greece and Etruria while syncretism between Etruscan and Greek gods is emphasized. Yet antagonism and differences between Greeks and Etruscans did exist, in the form of cultural disparities or in battles and conflicts. One could write a book that focuses on the distinctions between Greek and Etruscan groups. Control over the considerable economic resources remained local — i.e., Etruscan, later on Roman. In politics, for centuries Etruscans often sided with Phoenician/Punic peoples until the Punic Wars that were fought, with some intervals, from 264 to 146 B.C. for control over the W Mediterranean. The preference in this book for the ‘long twilight’ is explained by the rich archaeological and artistic record of Etruria from the 5th to the 1st c., by the increasing documentation found in inscriptions and ancient authors from the 5th c. onwards, as well as by scholarly traditions in Etruscology,

8 The existence of the Villanovan or Early Iron Age overland exchange network ties in well with comments by B. G. Trigger in his *Understanding early civilizations: a comparative study* (Cambridge 2007) 342 and 402. Control over long-distance trade was crucial for the élite who governed early states.

9 “Hellenistic”, “Greek”, “Greece”, “Classic”, “Attic”, “Euboean”, “Athens”, “Corinth”, etc. occur more than 2000 times when searching in the e-book version.

10 A. J. Nijboer, “Teleology and colonisation in antiquity and in recent times,” *Anc. West & East* 10 (2011) 304.

but it might be more informative to reconstruct this lengthy sunset by reflecting on relations between Etruria and Rome, seeing it as a trajectory from a group of individual city-states to a hegemonic city-state system or a rising territorial state.¹¹ The extensive state brought about simultaneously by Alexander in the East — hence Hellenistic for E Mediterranean lands — was originally much larger but actually less stable and viable than that formed by the Romans and their allies in the West. The path in the W Mediterranean to larger states than city-states was quite different from what occurred in the East. Thus I turn next to some thoughts on the interactions between the Etruscans and Rome.

The Etruscan world and Rome

One of the book's assets is that it is up-to-date, providing information on recent research and excavations. Especially certain chapters on specific places are appreciated: on the sacred areas at Tarquinia, Pyrgi and Orvieto, the Campo di Fiera site which is presented as the *Fanum Voltumnae*, the pan-Etruscan sanctuary.¹² Recent advances in the archaeology of Etruria are, however, matched by those in Rome and *Latium Vetus*. Not long ago, one described Rome during the 6th c. as Etruscan, mainly on account of some Etruscan ceramic imports and the family histories of both kings Tarquinius Priscus and Tarquinius Superbus.¹³ It is a sign of progress that few in the present volume adhere to this notion of Etruscan control over Rome, but a convincing account of relations between Etruria and Rome is not provided. Frequently (and perhaps not surprisingly in a book on the Etruscans) the Romans are presented as indebted to Etruria, or as intruders, but this is a poor reconstruction for the complex events that led to the rise of Rome's territorial state. While the individual 12 or 15 Etruscan city-states from the 5th c. onwards became more and more confined to their respective territories, Rome from at least the 6th c. onwards gradually expanded by incorporating clans and land from nearby settlements, mostly by treaty but also by conquest — and it had to, because both cooperation and competition between the small city-states of *Latium Vetus* will have been considerable. T. J. Cornell estimates that by the late 6th c., *Latium Vetus* counted around 20 city states,¹⁴ a couple of which housed a pan-Latin sanctuary, often just outside the town. Thus we are dealing with two adjacent but rival city-state systems of two peoples, one Etruscan, the other Latin. Rome as a border town, though mainly Latin, acted as a *trait-union*.

Old Latium occupies a limited territory when compared to the land of Etruria between the Arno and Tiber. Some 20 small city states were located in a confined area. By the 6th c. *Latium Vetus* was one of the most urbanized or densely settled areas in the Mediterranean world.¹⁵ Rome outstripped any of the Latin centers at least from the 8th c. onwards. In the same article

11 The difference between city-state and territorial state is a recurring theme in Trigger (supra n.7). On 113 he wrote: "City state systems frequently produced one or more city-states that dominated their neighbors militarily". This describes well the relations between the Etruscan city-states and Rome with its Latin allies from c.400 onwards. The surge for regional control resulted at least in a hegemonic city-state system. However, in those centuries Rome and her allies not only mastered individual Etruscan city-states but also other peoples living in the interior of the peninsula.

12 Cf. M. P. Baglione's brief discussion (618) of the three gold plaques found at Pyrgi: "From the parallel texts of two gold plaques, one in Etruscan and one in Phoenician language, there opens a window into the history of archaic Caere: the temple with its outbuildings was built and dedicated to the Etruscan goddess Uni, assimilated to the Phoenician Astarte, by Thefarie Velianas the king-tyrant of Caere, which places the sanctuary of Pyrgi at the center of philo-Punic politics".

13 See T. J. Cornell, *The beginnings of Rome* (London 1995) chapt. 6 ("The myth of 'Etruscan Rome'").

14 Id., "The city-states in Latium," in M. H. Hansen (ed.), *A comparative study of thirty city-state cultures* (Copenhagen 2000) 209-28. *Latium Vetus* is for him (209) the "coastal region of Tyrrhenian central Italy bounded to the north-west by the rivers Tiber and Anio and to the east by the Apennines, the Monti Lepini and the Pomptine Marshes". He even provides a chart of the relative sizes of the territories of 15 city-states in *Latium Vetus*, ranging from 822 km² for Rome to 37 km² for Ficulea. However, four of the smaller city states he lists (213) are north of the Anio.

15 It is interesting that the Faliscans, the other Latin-speaking group in central Italy, also occupied a small territory with a dense distribution of settlements (see chapt. 14).

just quoted Cornell wrote:

No agreed framework yet exists for the chronological classification of defensive earthworks and city-walls in central Italy. This is a subject that urgently needs serious systematic study.¹⁶

Now this important aspect can be addressed anew due to some recent excavations.

When was Rome on a par with Etruscan city-states, and from when did it intend to outclass them? The answer is that by the 8th c. Rome as a settlement center was as sizeable as the largest Etruscan center, when the more elevated parts of the Roman forum became occupied, in addition to habitation on the surrounding plateaux. By the early 6th c., Rome had the intent to outstrip any Etruscan city by doubling its size with the *agger* of Servius Tullius.¹⁷ In the remaining pages I will assess some archaeological research of the past 20 years that contributes to an understanding of settlement size and fortifications that existed in and around Rome for the period 950 to 400 B.C. I will refer especially to the research by G. Bartoloni and her team on the extensive settlement plateau of Veii, by S. Helas and colleagues on the fortifications of Gabii, and by G. Cifani and A. Carandini with their collaborators on regal Rome. These and other studies establish that one cannot aim for a simple classification of defense systems; in central Italy the perimeter of a proto-urban or urban settlement, once established, was frequently modified, resulting in an intricate 'biography' of the fortifications that is probably correlated with the concept of the *pomerium*: the sacred boundary of the community living in a town (as opposed to those living outside), a protected border delineated by the plough in a ritual act and therefore meaningful in both daily customs and in cult.¹⁸ The three sites of Veii, Gabii and Rome alone complicate a systematic study of defense systems since each represents a different geographic unit. First, one must acknowledge these differences. A basic classification for larger proto-urban or urban settlements may be proposed in relation to the defensive systems found (Table 1).

TABLE 1

FOUR TYPES OF SETTLEMENT IN COMBINATION WITH RECORDED DEFENSE METHODS —
FORTIFICATIONS IN AND AROUND ROME FOR THE PERIOD 950-400 B.C

<i>Type of proto-urban/urban settlement</i>	1. Large plateau <i>(in between 40 and 200 ha.)</i>	2. Small plateau <i>extending with large agger</i>	3. Several small plateaux	4. Roman-Latin colonies from 525-500 B.C. onwards
<i>Defense methods attested archaeologically</i>				
Natural defenses, steep hillside	X	X	X	X
Hillside made steeper artificially	X	X	X	
Hillside with stretches of retaining wall in <i>opera quadrata</i>	X	X	X	
Trench/ <i>fossato</i>	X	X	X	
<i>Agger</i> earthworks		X	X	
<i>Agger</i> with retaining walls		X	X	
Free-standing wall		X	X	
Internal defense wall	X	X	X	
Full circuit wall in <i>opera quadrata</i> or polygonal	X			X
Trench road crossing the settlement	X	X	Probably	

16 Cornell (*supra* n.14) 217 .

17 Here I can touch only briefly on excavated fortifications in and around Rome (the subject of a paper I gave at the 20th EAA meeting held in 2014 in Istanbul).

18 See, e.g., the reconstruction of the foundation ritual of Marzabotto by E. Govi on 291-94. The formal character of the *pomerium* is frequently emphasized by a shrine just inside or outside a city gate. A. Amoroso and F. Di Gennaro ("Le fortificazioni di Fidenae e il culto dei Lari," *Preistoria e protostoria in Etruria* 11 [1993] 281-300) report for Fidenae, Rome and other sites the offering of a dog underneath or just outside the defences. This offering is associated by them with the cult of the *Lares Praestites* as a symbol of purification, relating to passage between the civilized and non-civilized world.

Type I sites are settlements that were established on large plateaux having natural defenses in the form of steep hillsides.¹⁹ "Large" is debatable, but it is set here between 40 and 200 ha – thus sizeable enough to accommodate future growth. Many of the Early Iron Age primary centers in Etruria, such as Vulci, Veii (200 ha) and Cortona, are examples, but so are settlements on the other side of the Tiber, such as Fidenae (40 ha) and Crustumerium (60 ha) just north of Rome.²⁰ Originally the parts of the plateau's boundary that were least steep and thereby created a danger were fortified. Part of a *fossato* (defensive ditch) at Veii with stratigraphy from the Early Iron Age onwards was recently excavated near the NW gate; along that line the city wall was constructed during the 6th c. The stratigraphy thus reveals the continuous elaboration of the boundary of the settlement at Veii from the late 10th c. onwards.²¹

Type II sites consist of those centers that originated on a small plateau with steep hillsides and subsequently became enlarged with substantial trenches (*fossate*) and earthworks (*aggeres*). The *fossalagger* would create a settlement of comparable size to those of Type I. Thus Gabii obtained a size of 75 ha once the fortification lines were determined, Ardea finally reached 80 ha, and Satricum 40 ha. Type II sites are known in the territory just south of Rome, in *Latium Vetus*. Several of these *aggeres* were constructed during the Orientalizing period, while at least some were preceded by an Early Iron Age wall of loam reinforced with wood.²²

Type III sites are made up of two or more nucleated, smaller plateaux having natural defenses which result in a settlement of comparable size to the Type I centers. Such sites are found mainly in the more rugged hinterlands of Etruria, the Faliscan-Capenate area or in the *Sabina Tiberina*. I single out Acquarossa and Falerii Veteres.²³ Of all such settlement centers, Rome is the exception not only because it finally encompassed 7 hills but also because it is the only example of a Type III site that created and elaborated a religious and political center in the valley, as a civic heart for the communities living on the adjacent plateaux. Shrines and traces of settlement in the Forum are definitely attested from the 8th c. onwards.²⁴ During the 7th c.,

19 From the Middle Bronze Age onwards, permanent settlements were predominantly located on steep higher plateaux: B. Barbaro, *Insedimenti, aree funerarie ed entità territoriali in Etruria meridionale nel Bronzo Finale* (Firenze 2010) 341-43 and 345.

20 On settlement sizes see, e.g., M. Pacciarelli, *Dal villaggio alla città. La svolta protourbana del 1000 a.C. nell'Italia tirrenica* (Firenze 2010), and F. Fulminante, *The urbanisation of Rome and Latium Vetus from the Bronze Age to the Archaic era* (Cambridge 2014). Settlement sizes in central Italy generally coincide for various authors but frequently fluctuate slightly probably as a result of different methods of calculation and varying assessments of the borders. For this reason I do not give exact acreage figures but round numbers.

21 F. Boitani, S. Neri and F. Biagi, "Le più antiche fortificazioni di Veio (scavi 2003-2011)," *ScAnt* 19.2-3 (2013) 160-62; F. Biagi, O. Cerasuolo, S. Neri and L. Pulcinelli, "Ricerche sulle Mura di Veio," *ibid.* 167-70. Excavations of defensive structures on the small plateau at Colle Rotondo in *Latium Vetus* revealed Early Iron Age fortifications with wooden posts on that side of the plateau which was not defended by a steep hillside: A. Guidi and F. Nomi, "Colle Rotondo (Anzio, RM): un aggere difensivo protostorico con armatura lignea," *ibid.* 35-38; G. Cifani, D. De Giovanni, A. M. Jaia and G. Peresso, "Colle Rotondo (Comune di Anzio), aggere occidentale" *ibid.* 220-22.

22 On Gabii, see S. Helas, "Gabii: gli impianti difensivi dell'insediamento urbano (VIII-III secolo a.C.)," *ibid.* 234-36; "Gabii/Latium. Die Befestigungen von archaischer bis in mittelrepublikanische Zeit. Erster Vorbericht," *Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica* 3 (2013) 145-66. Helas records several phases of the *agger* at Gabii from the 8th to the 3rd c. Organic samples from the earliest artificial defenses at both Colle Rotondo and Gabii have been radiocarbon-dated. The results match, yielding a date relating to the 10th-9th c. Helas kindly sent me the unpublished radiocarbon results of the earliest defenses at Gabii along with information on the quality of the samples.

23 Acquarossa and the neighbouring plateaux of Ferento and Monte Piombone; see my *From household production to workshops: archaeological evidence for economic transformations, pre-monetary exchange and urbanisation in central Italy from 800 to 400 BC* (Groningen 1998) 161-64 and 265-68, with references. An introduction to Falerii Veteres is given in the book under review at 260-68.

24 Fulminante (*supra* n.20) 102; A. Carandini and E. Papi (edd.), *Palatium e Sacra via II = BollArch* 59-60,

the altitude of the lower parts of the Roman Forum was artificially raised by several meters to prevent flooding and became constructed with temples, public buildings, shops and élite houses.²⁵

In addition to these three types of settlements, full-circuit polygonal walls need to be mentioned (Table 1). These sturdy retaining walls protected early Roman-Latin colonies from c.525 B.C. onwards; examples are Signia and Norba, located as strategic outposts to counteract the hostilities of the Volscans and other peoples in the interior of the peninsula.²⁶ Although these massive retaining walls remain difficult to date, there is no doubt that the concept of full circuit walls existed in central Italy by the 6th c., and there was evidently enough manpower to construct them.

There has been and still is an intense debate over the walls of Servius Tullius, the *rex* of Rome from 578 to 534, because they encompass the 7 hills, making Rome twice as large as the largest Etruscan town (Veii on its plateau of c.200 ha).²⁷ I am interested not so much in the debate over a full circuit wall of 11 km because that will be hard to document beyond any doubt, but rather in the *agger* on the Esquiline that must have existed by 550, possibly somewhat earlier.²⁸ It is this monumental earthwork that protected the exposed E part of the town. Constructing this substantial *agger* was a momentous act, while it also doubled the size of the city within its *pomerium*. There are two main arguments in favor of the presence of this *agger* in roughly the period 600-550 B.C.:

1. The *agger* ran through the Esquiline necropolis, as was the case with the *aggeres* of towns such as Satricum and probably also Crustumium, both constructed before 500. As Satricum lost its Latin character and was taken over by the Volsci, while Crustumium with its territory was incorporated in the expanding Roman state in c.500,²⁹ the *aggeres* of both

2006. One might object to the excessive reconstructions provided by Carandini and colleagues, but one cannot deny that they excavated settlement traces and houses from the 8th c. onwards on the higher parts of the Forum.

- 25 A. J. Ammermann, "On the origins of the Forum Romanum," *AJA* 94 (1990) 627-45; J. N. Hopkins, "The creation of the Forum and the making of monumental Rome," in E. C. Robinson (ed.), *Papers on Italian urbanism in the first millennium B.C.* (JRA Suppl. 97, 2014) 29-61.
- 26 Cornell (supra n.14) 218; T. C. A. De Haas, *Fields, farms and colonists* (Groningen 2011) chaps. 9 and 12. The date of the construction of the monumental polygonal walls at Norba is disputed but I do not know of another settlement in central Italy with three sanctuaries dating to the 5th c. that has no artificial fortifications.
- 27 Cf. S. Bernard, "Continuing the debate on Rome's earliest circuit walls," *PBSR* 80 (2012) 1-40; G. Cifani, *Architettura romana arcaica: edilizia e società tra monarchia e repubblica* (Rome 2008); id., "Considerazioni sulle mura arcaiche e repubblicane a Roma," *SciAnt* 19.2-3 (2013) 204-8; and a forthcoming paper ("The fortifications of archaic Rome: social and political significance") stemming from a conference held at the Danish Institute in Athens in 2012.
- 28 From Table 1, one can deduce that a number of methods existed to defend a settlement. It was probably a combination of these methods that protected Rome of the 7 hills by the 6th c., as also suggested by Cifani (ibid. 2013).
- 29 On the *agger* of Satricum, see D. J. Waarsenburg, *The northwest necropolis of Satricum* (Amsterdam 1995). On Crustumium, see P. A. J. Attema, F. di Gennaro, J. F. Seubers, B. Belleli Marchesini and B. Ullrich, "Early urbanization at Crustumium (9th-5th c. B.C.)," in Robinson (supra n.25) 175-96, and A. J. Nijboer and S. L. Willemsen, "Three ladies from Crustumium, ca. 675-650 BC," *BABesch* 87 (2012) 29-44. In the summer of 2014, the Groningen Institute of Archaeology, in collaboration with the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma, began to excavate part of the defensive structures at Crustumium. It has already become clear that there was no obvious divide between the defenses and the burial ground. On the *aggeres* in *Latium Vetus*, see also E. van 't Lindenhout, "Architectural and spatial organization of the first towns in the coastal plain of Latium (6th century B.C.). Towards a general scheme," in H. Damgaard Andersen, H. W. Horsnæs, S. Houby-Nielsen and A. Rathje (edd.), *Urbanization in the Mediterranean in the 9th to 6th centuries BC* (= *Acta Hyperborea* 7, 1997) 297-315.

definitely existed before 500. For the construction of these *aggeres*, existing tombs were obliterated, and that probably required ritual validation to judge from the reverence and expenditure of energy associated with death and burial during the Orientalizing period in central Italy. Tombs from the 7th and 6th c. were erected outside the *aggeres* in towns such as Rome, Satricum and Crustumerium.

2. In relation to the 'biography' of the retaining walls associated with the Esquiline *agger*, G. Cifani has stressed the existence of a different type of wall in grey tuff blocks prior to the construction of the wall in yellow tuff blocks during the first half of the 4th c.³⁰ The frequent elaboration of defensive structures, once they were established, is now attested at several sites, with the result that it is not surprising that similar episodes occurred at the Esquiline *agger*.

With the construction of the *agger* of Servius Tullius, Rome doubled its size, thereby displaying its intent to outclass the Etruscan, primary centers by becoming at least twice as large as any of them. One may wonder about the

With the construction of the *agger* of Servius Tullius, Rome doubled its size, thereby displaying its intent to outclass the Etruscan, primary centers by becoming at least twice as large as any of them. One may wonder about the demographic conditions supporting the enlargement, but the 6th and 5th c. were accompanied by considerable population movement in *Latium Vetus*. It was not only the Volscians who came to dominate the Pomptine region, but quite a few centers such as Laurentina-Acqua Acetosa, Crustumerium, Satricum and Caracupa-Valvisciolo ceased as main settlements. A considerable number of the original inhabitants of these sites will probably have been resettled elsewhere, for it is most unlikely that all were killed or vanished into thin air. Simultaneously, clans like the Claudii became incorporated into Rome. Thus state formation and migration were substantial, and they led to settlement at Rome itself, as well as in the Roman-Latin colonies that were established from the late 6th c. onwards. These demographic dynamics were matched in other regions such as the Padana and Campania during the 5th and early 4th c. Etruria seems to be the only region not affected by this turmoil, but neither could the Etruscans counteract this drive that was directed largely by politics and war because they were unable to act as a single group. It would have been reasonable if the book under review had elaborated more on themes such as these and have considered the substantial differences between various Etruscan city-states, rather than presenting them as a single corpus.

It is, however, unfair to harp on omissions. I return once more to the book's assets. In this treasure trove I appreciated most of the 63 chapters. They frequently caught me by surprise, providing details and points of view I was not expecting. As a result, the authors have made me ponder again on the Etruscans, who remain as captivating as ever. Other readers will hopefully have a comparable experience. Hats off to Jean MacIntosh Turfa and her collaborators!

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30 Cifani 2008 (supra n.27) 255-64. The *agger* of Servius Tullius is recorded on old maps of Rome, such as those from 1553 and 1748, as "Aggeres Tarquini Superbi" (Cifani *ibid.* 20-22). Similar earthworks are documented on old maps of Latin sites where the *agger* disappeared as well in the last century due to building activities or major agricultural interventions.