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Between *coloniam deducere* and *adsignationes viritanae*

Evolution of the settlement structure
on the *ager Gallicus* in the 3rd–2nd BCE

Między *coloniam deducere* a *adsignationes viritanae*

Ewolucja struktury osadniczej na *ager Gallicus*
w III–II w. p.n.e.

Abstract: The displacement of the population from the lands under the control of Rome to the Adriatic Sea was based on two models. One of them was colonization – i.e. sending organized groups by Rome under the leadership of triumvirs, whose aim was to organize a colony on *ager publicus*. The second was the placement of individual settlers on the *ager publicus* by the decemvirs, without the decision to found a colony. This did not mean abandoning the idea to establish a settlement. In order to help the community function – e.g. to conduct trade, settle disputes and due to their obligations towards the state (taxes, recruitment) – centers such as *fora*, *conciliabula*, *vici*, and *pagi* districts sprung up, which over time (2nd and 1st centuries BC) evolved into large urban settlements such as colonies

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and finally municipia. The role of these small structures in maintaining the conquered areas in Italy under Roman rule in the 3rd century BC is undeniable.

Keywords: *conciliabula, fora, vici, pagi, praefecturae*

Streszczenie: Przemieszczenia ludności z ziem podległych Rzymowi nad Adriatyk odbywały się na podstawie dwóch modeli. Jednym z nich była kolonizacja, czyli wysyłanie przez Rzym zorganizowanych grup pod przewodnictwem triumwirów, których celem było stworzenie na *ager publicus* kolonii. Drugim było ulokowanie osadników indywidualnych na *ager publicus* przez decemwirów, bez decyzji o fundacji kolonii. Nie oznaczało to rezygnacji z tworzenia osady. W celu sprawniejszego działania społeczności, np. prowadzenia wymiany handlowej, rozstrzygania sporów oraz ze względu na obowiązki tychże wobec państwa (podatki, rekrutacja), wyrastały ośrodki typu *fora, conciliabula* i *vici* oraz okręgi *pagi*, które z czasem (w II i I w. p.n.e.) wyewoluowały w duże miejskie osady, takie jak kolonie i wreszcie municipia. Rola tych niewielkich struktur w utrzymaniu pod rzymską władzą podbitych terenów w Italii w III w. p.n.e. jest niezaprzeczalna.

Słowa kluczowe: *conciliabula, fora, vici, pagi, praefecturae*

The fragment of Livy's work quoted below¹ constitutes one of many sources pointing to the existence of smaller sites created for settlers brought to the *ager Gallicus*² conquered by Rome. It indicates a broad range

¹ Liv. XXV 5 6: [...] in pagis forisque et conciliabulis [...]. Cf. *Pap. Oxy.* 2088, II. 11–14; Dion. Hal. IV 15 1–4; Plut. *Num.* 16 4. The article was financed by the Jagielloonian University (ID.UJ).

² Borders of *ager Gallicus*: Polyb. II 21 7; III 86; Varro *R.r.* I 2 7 (*apud* Cat. *Orig.* II 14 Chassignet); Cic. *Cat.* II 5 26; *Brut.* 57; Strabo 5.4.13.(220); Liv. *Per.* XV; XXIII 14 2–3; Val. Max. V 4 5; VII 6 2; Plin. *NH* III 112; 114; 115; Columell. *R.r.* III 3 2; Ptol. III 1 19. See: R. Thomsen, *The Italic regions from Augustus to the Lombard invasion*, Copenhagen 1947, pp. 112–113; T. R. S. Broughton, *The magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. I, New York 1951–1952, p. 186; A. J. Toynbee, *Hannibal's legacy. The Hannibalic war's effects on Roman life*, vol. I, London 1965, pp. 86–87; Ch. Delplace, *La romanisation du Picenum: l'exemple d'urbs Salvia*, Rome 1993, p. 26; U. Agnati, *Per la storia romana della provincia di Pesaro e Urbino*, Roma 1999, p. 147; E. Hermon, *Habiter et partager les terres avant les Gracques*, Rome 2001, pp. 247–249; A. Bertrand, *La religion publique des colonies dans l'Italie républicaine et impériale (Italie médio-adriatique, IIIe S. AV. N.È. – IIe S. DE N.È.)*, Rome

of various structures in which they were either placed by the state, or which they created where they moved. Settlements established on public land (*ager publicus*), distributed among Roman citizens and allies by the state, can be classified pursuant to epigraphic sources and testimonies of ancient authors. Rome could choose among various types of settlements for its citizens. This is evidenced by inscriptions dating back mainly to the late 2nd and the 1st century BCE (including *Tabula Polcevera* of 117 BCE, *lex Agraria* of 111, or municipal laws *lex de Gallia Cisalpina* = *lex Rubria*, *Tabula Heracleensis*, *leges Iuliae Agrariae*, etc.),³ which specify their types. Pursuant to the contents of the preserved laws and testimonies, mainly by writers from the Imperial period, we can attempt to define and characterize them.

Among the best known and most frequently mentioned settlements, including in the *ager Gallicus*, were the *conciliabula*, described by ancient authors as places (*loca*) where settlers from the surrounding rural districts (*pagi*) and other outposts, for example *vici*, could conduct commercial transactions, while they also served as meeting points for local communities.⁴

2015, pp. 34–35; F. Vermeulen, *From the mountains to the sea. The Roman colonisation and urbanisation of Central Adriatic Italy*, Leuven 2017, pp. 2–3; M. Piegdoń, *Ager Gallicus. Polityka Republiki Rzymskiej wobec dawnych ziem senońskich nad Adriatykiem w III–I w. p.n.e.*, Kraków 2019, pp. 25–36.

³ E.g. *lex de Gallia Cisalpina* = *lex Rubria*: RS 28, c. II, il. 1–3; 25–27; 40–43; 53–58. Cf. Paul. Sent. IV 6 2 (*lex Cornelia testamentaria* from 81). See: U. Ewins, *Enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul*, PBSR, vol. 23, pp. 92–95; G. Luraschi, *Foedus Ius Latii Civitas – Aspetti costituzionali della romanizzazione in Transpadana*, Padova 1979, pp. 112–124; E. Bispham, *From Asculum to Actium. The municipalization Italy from the social war to Augustus*, Oxford 2007, pp. 74–89, 231–238; S. Sisani, In pagis forisque et conciliabulis. *Le strutture amministrative dei distretti rurali in Italia tra la media repubblica e l'età municipale*, *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei lincei*, Roma, pp. 702–740; R. Laurence, S. E. Cleary, G. Sears, *The city in the Roman West, c. 250 BC – c. AD 250*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 65–69, 72–75; E. Twarowska-Antczak, *Od lex Iulia municipalis do flawijskich leges municipales. Rozwój rzymskiej administracji municypalnej w okresie od Juliusza Cezara do Domicjana*, Poznań 2018, pp. 18–46.

⁴ RS 24, c. II 83–88; 108–109: “[...] <foro> conciliabulo <in> senatu decurionibus conscreiptisque esto [...]”; 126; 135; Liv. XXV 5 6; Front. *Grom. vet.* 18–19L; 55L: “[...] sunt autem loca publica coloniarum ubi prius fuere conciliabula et postea sunt in municipii ius relata [...]”; Fest. 33L; 138L: “Conciliabulum locus, ubi <in> concilium conveniunt”; 502L (*vicus* and its place for conducting commercial transactions); Isid. *Orig.*

Apart from sites of *conciliabula* type on public lands handed over for settling, there were the *fora*, rather well known from the sources, which seemed to have a double role as important points established during the construction of major axes of traffic, and as venues for administration of justice for the settlers.⁵ Ancient authors differ in their assessment of the status of *conciliabula* and *fora* with respect to their being rather municipal or rural settlements. The differences are predominantly due to the fact that, throughout the history of Roman settlement policy, they were inconsistently classified as either municipal or rural. Both settlement types, inhabited by population with citizen status, were governed by the law of the Roman *civitas*. This is confirmed, among others, by the *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* resolution from 186 BCE restricting the cult of Dionysus, which applied not only in Rome, but also across Italy, including *fora* and *conciliabula* settlement types, as clearly pointed out in Livy's statement.⁶ Moreover, they were the places to run political campaigns at the time of the Gracchi brothers, who did not limit their political activities to Rome alone but sought support among Roman citizen communities in smaller outposts. The sources inform that the

15 2 4: "Pagi sunt apta aedificiis loca inter agros habitantibus. Haec et concilibula dicta, a conventu et societate multorum in unum"; A. J. Toynbee, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 175 cf. 5; 308–309; P. A. Brunt, *Italian manpower 225 B.C.–A.D. 14*, Oxford 1971, p. 570; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman citizenship*, Oxford 1973, pp. 73–76; G. Luraschi, op. cit., pp. 112–123. Cf. J. Frayn, *Markets and fairs in Roman Italy. Their social and economic importance from the second century BC to the third century AD*, Oxford 1993, pp. 1–55; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi dans l'Occident romain*, Rome 2002, pp. 198–200; E. Bispham, op. cit., p. 12; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista. La romanizzazione dell'Umbria tra il IV sec. a.C e la guerra sociale*, Roma 2007, pp. 257–267; idem, *In pagis forisque et conciliabulis...*, pp. 563–581, 603–611; E. Todisco, *I vici rurali nel paesaggio dell'Italia romana*, Bari 2011, pp. 37–51; F. Vermeulen, op. cit., pp. 97, 134–135.

⁵ Festus 74L *forum*: "negotiationis locus, ut Forum Flaminium, Forum Iulium ab eorum nominibus qui ea fora constituenda curarunt"; 201L; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 14: "[...] Forum Iulii, ita dictum quo Iulius Cesar negotiationis forum ibi statuerat [...]". Cf. M. Flohr, *Fora and commerce in Roman Italy*, in: *Urban space and urban history in the Roman world*, ed. M. Flohr, London 2020, pp. 199–204.

⁶ Liv. XXXIX 14 6–8; 18 1–2. Cf. *CIL* I² 581. See: E. Bispham, op. cit., pp. 92–95; S. Sisani, *In pagis forisque et conciliabulis...*, pp. 596, 598. See: H. Mouritsen, *Italian unification. A study in ancient and modern historiography*, "Bulletin of the Institute of Classics Studies", Supplement 70, London 1998, p. 50.

political dispute following the address first by Tiberius, and later by Gaius Gracchus, harshly divided residents of the coastal *ager Gallicus* into advocates of the reforms – *populares*, and their opponents – *optimates*.⁷

Both *conciliabula* and *fora* featured their own officials⁸ and councils, which served to enforce the duties of utmost importance to the state, such as taxes and other levies, as well as army drafts. At the same time, they safeguarded the rights held by the residents. Settlements of this type in the *ager Gallicus* included: Suasa Senonum, Ostra, Fanum, and Sentinum, which presumably obtained the *conciliabulum* status back in the 3rd century BCE, and Forum Sempronii whose name points to the status of a *forum*.⁹ It is, however, hard to conclude whether the later colony of Aesis was a *conciliabulum* or a *forum* because one of the preserved sources may indirectly suggest that the present Jesi could have been a *forum* still before obtaining the status of a colony.¹⁰

⁷ ORF, C. Gracch. fragm. 34–37. Cf. Fest. 74L. See: Ch. Delplace, op. cit., pp. 160–167; R. Borgognoni, *Moltiplicazione e trasformazione delle clientele picene nell'età di Mario e Silla: ipotesi ricostruttiva*, “Picus” 2002, vol. 22, pp. 15–74; *Nota sulla geografia dell'arruolamento di Pompeo nella prima guerra civile*, “Picus” 2003, vol. 23, pp. 9–50; M. Piegdón, *Ager Gallicus...*, pp. 119–193. Prior evidence of political activities in such settlements: Liv. VII 15 12; XL 37 3.

⁸ *Tab. Heracl.* II 129–130: “[...] neve quis, que<i> in eo municipio colonia praefectura foro conciliabulo suffragio eorum, <quei eius municipi coloniae praefecturae fori conciliabuli erunt,> maxumam potestatem habebit [...]”]; II 136–137: “[...] n<e> quis forum in municipio colonia praefectura foro conciliabulo IIvir(atum) IIIvir(atum) aliamve quam potestatem, ex quo honore in eum ordinem perveniat, petito neve capito”; Cic. *Att.* II 18 2; M. H. Crawford, *Roman statutes*, vol. I, London 1996, p. 338; S. Sisani, *In pagis forisque conciliabulis...*, pp. 584–586. Decurion councils: *RS* 24, c. II 83–88; 108–109; 126; 135; Liv. XXV 5 6; Fest. 33L; 138L; Isid. *Orig.* XV 2 4.

⁹ Functions of both settlements: Liv. XXV 5 6–9; 22 4; XXIX 37 3; XXXIX 14 7; 40 19; 41 5; XL 37 3–4; XLIII 14 6–10; Gell. *NA* XVI 4 4; M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragio. L'organisation de la conquête jusqu'à la guerre sociale*, Rome 1978, pp. 317–320; R. Laurence, S. E. Cleary, G. Sears, op. cit., p. 82; E. Giorgi, *Suasa: genesi e sviluppo di un municipio romano dell'agro gallico*, “Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica” 2020, vol. 30, pp. 101–106. Cicero (*Att.* VI 3 10) refers to them with the term *loca*. Cf. Fest. 74L; 138L; 201L. One must also account for differences between the situation of such smaller centers in the 3rd and the 1st century BCE.

¹⁰ Iul. Obseq. 14. Doubts are also raised with respect to the time of Aesis establishment:

Colonies, as well as *conciliabula* and *fora*, were surrounded by a number of smaller rural structures, such as *vici* with perhaps several hectares, inhabited by some immigrants.¹¹ New settlers gradually arriving in the territories with previously existing settlements in the period between the 3rd and the 1st century BCE created *vici*, for example on lands belonging to the colony in Pisaurum, Aesis (on the nearby territory next to the present Mergo), Fanum Fortunae (near the present Crocefisso di Roncosambaccio), and Ariminum, as well as the aforementioned Suasa Senonum (near the necropolis in Montefortino di Arcevia, and near the present Monterolo and San Pietro in Moscio),¹² while perhaps also near Sentinum (Civittabla).¹³ Interest in these structures in the *ager Gallicus* is relatively recent. In the case of *vici*, one

Vell. Pat. I 14 8; Strabo 5.2.10.(227); Ptol. III 1 46; G. Bandelli, *La conquista dell'ager Gallicus e il problema della colonia Aesis*, "Aquileia nostra" 2005, vol. 76, pp. 14–54; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, p. 56; M. Silani, *Città e territorio: la formazione della città romana nell'ager Gallicus*, Bologna 2017, pp. 27; 179; F. Vermeulen, op. cit., p. 103; A. Gallo, *Prefetti del pretore e prefetture. L'organizzazione dell'agro romano in Italia (IV–I sec. a.C.)*, Bari–S. Spirito 2018, pp. 127–128; M. Piegdoń, *Ager Gallicus...*, pp. 243–245.

¹¹ S. T. Roselaar, *Public land in the Roman Republic. A social and economic history of ager publicus in Italy, 396–89 B.C.*, Oxford 2010, pp. 58–59; F. Vermeulen, op. cit., p. 112. Cf. A. Tomas, *Castra et canabae legionis. Organizacja przetrzeni i administracja cywilnych osiedli przy rzymskich obozach legionowych*, "ZNUJ Prace Historyczne" 2018, vol. 145 (4), pp. 672–673. Perhaps it was the present Civittabla near Sentinum where there was a temple of which just fragments of a frieze were preserved with the famous terracotta bas-reliefs presenting naked Celtic warriors with characteristic shields: M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, p. 239 contra F. Vermeulen, op. cit., p. 104.

¹² *Vicus* outside Ariminum: *CIL* XI 6362; 6378; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, p. 279. Cf. M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 54–59; F. Vermeulen, op. cit., p. 114. Structure of Italy's division into *vici* and *pagi*: M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*; L. Capogrossi Colognesi, *Persistenza e innovazione nelle strutture territoriali dell'Italia romana. L'ambiguità di una interpretazione storiografica e dei suoi modelli*, Napoli 2002; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, pp. 257–267.

¹³ *Vici* on Pisaurum territory: M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 173–174; D. van Limbergen, F. Vermeulen, *Topographic gazetteer of Roman towns in Picenum and eastern Umbria et ager Gallicus*, in: F. Vermeulen, op. cit., p. 182. Smaller settlement structures on Aesis territory: S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, p. 206; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 187–188; F. Vermeulen, op. cit., p. 103; D. van Limbergen, F. Vermeulen, op. cit., p. 165. Crocefisso di Roncosambaccio on Fano territory: *CIL* X 6237; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, p. 280. *Vici* near Suasy: S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, pp. 239–240.

must consider the fact that they also acted as divisions of larger settlements, such as the Latin colony of Ariminum, as well as in Fanum Fortunae and Pisaurum. Their presence is signaled by epigraphic sources, including *pocola deorum* in Ariminum.¹⁴ Contemporary research involves a discussion on the origins on *vici* type settlements. Some researchers (L. Capogrossi Colognesi) perceive their pre-Roman roots, connecting them to rural structures existing in Italy still before the Roman conquest. Others (M. Tarpin), however, accept the pre-Roman (Sabinian?) etymology of the word *vicus* (*veicus*, *vecus*), but claim that they were only established during the Roman colonization and Republican administration.¹⁵ The settlements located near major centers featured rudimentary official apparatus in the form of *magistri vici*,¹⁶

Civittabla near Sentinum: M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, p. 239 *contra* F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

¹⁴ *Vici* and *pagi* at *pocola deorum* in the colony of Ariminum: *CIL* I² 2897a; 2897b; 2899a; 2899b; 2899c; 2898; T. D. Stek, *Cult places and cultural change in republican Italy. A contextual approach to religious aspects of rural society after Roman conquest*, Amsterdam 2009, pp. 123–145; A. Bertrand, *op. cit.*, p. 434; A. Glennie, *Ariminum: The making of Latin colony in Northern Italy*, in: *Cosa and the colonial landscape of republican Italy (third and second centuries BCE)*, ed. A. U. De Giorgi, Michigan 2019, p. 97. *Vici* in other colonies on *ager Gallicus*: *CIL* X 6237 = *ILS* 6653; XI 6224; 6225 (Fanum) and *CIL* XI 6359; 6362 = *ILS* 7364; XI 6367a; 6376b; 6378 (Pisaurum). Cf. A. Tomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 672–673.

¹⁵ *Vicus*: Varro *R.r.* I 2 14; Fest. 502L; 508L; *Isid. Orig.* XV 2 11: “**vici et castella et pagi hi sunt qui nulla dignitate civitas ornantur**” (by M.P.), “sed vulgari hominum conventu incoluntur, et propter parvitatem sui maioribus civitatibus adtribuuntur”. The origin of term *vicus*: M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 8–14, 17–22 (written sources on *vici* and *pagi*), 56–63; E. Bispham, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–91. *Vici* in Italian tribes: L. Capogrossi Colognesi, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–129; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 56–63; S. Sisani, *In pagis forisque et conciliabulis...*, pp. 671–678; E. Todisco, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–27.

¹⁶ *Magistri vici*: *CIL* IV 60 (Pompeii); XI 6362 (Spoletium); Mart. X 79 7–8. See: G. Cresci Marrone, G. Mennella, *Pisaurum I. Le iscrizioni della colonia*, Pisa 1984, pp. 269–271; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 278–282. Cf. E. Todisco, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–140. Officials in settlements on *ager Gallicus*: Ariminum – *CIL* XI 377; 379 = *ILS* 6664; 404; 406; 417 = *ILS* 6661; 418; 419 = *ILS* 6663; 421 = *ILS* 6662; Pisaurum – *CIL* XI 6359; 6362 = *ILS* 7364; 6367a (“magister vicus”); 6367b; 6378 (“vicani vici magistrorum”); G. Cresci Marrone, G. Mennella, *op. cit.*, pp. 288–290; Fanum Fortunae – *CIL* X 6237 = *ILS* 6653 (L. Statorius Auctus in Fanum) XI 6224; 6225; U. Agnati, *Per la storia romana della provincia di Pesaro e Urbino*, Roma 1999, p. 396; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*,

whose main tasks were presumably limited to tax collection and conducting the *dilectus* among residents (*vicani*), as well as organization of meetings.¹⁷ The situation of *vici* was different still during the Imperial times when, according to the definition by Isidore of Seville, they could either be villages or communes of Roman citizens with quasi-municipal magistrate, or even towns, but without the citizenship status.¹⁸

It is a different story with the *pagi*, which were actually kinds of rural districts set up at the time of the monarchy (Numa or Servius Tullius).¹⁹ The term *pagus* was equally used by ancient authors with reference to other communities inhabiting Italy before the period of Roman domination,²⁰ both with respect to autochthonic communities, and incoming settlers living outside Italy, mainly in the western provinces of the *Imperium Romanum*.²¹ The

pp. 342–344, 347–348. The officials in the *vici* were also called – *aediles vicani* (Narbonne Gaul, Lugdunese Gaul and Britain) and *quaestores vicani* (Dalmatia): S. Sisani, *In pagis forisque conciliabulum...*, pp. 639–640. Cf. L. Mrozewicz, *Rozwój ustroju municypalnego a postępy romanizacji w Mezji Dolnej*, Poznań 1982, pp. 63–69 (Moesia Inferior).

¹⁷ Gell. *NA* XVI 4 4. Meetings: E. Todisco, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–108.

¹⁸ Isid. *Orig.* XV 2 11; L. Mrozewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–64. Cf. C. Letta, *Vicus rurale e vicus urbano nella definizione di Festo (pp. 502 e 508 L.)*, “*Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale*” 2005, vol. 47, pp. 81–96.

¹⁹ Plaut. *Rud.* 425; Juvenal. 14 154; Propert. 4 4 75–76; Fest. 183L; 327L; Serv. *Ad Georg.* II 382. Cf. Isid. *Orig.* XV 2 11. Establishment of districts (*pagi*) by Roman kings: Polyb. V 6 4; 70 5; Varro *L.L.* V 48; VI 24; 26; Dion. Hal. II 76 1; IV 15 2; Plut. *Num.* 15 6; Sicut. Flacc. *Grom. vet.* 138L; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 183–186. Cf. S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, pp. 259–261; *idem*, *In pagis forisque conciliabulis...*, pp. 600–607; T. D. Stek, *op. cit.*, p. 109. In the Imperial period, the significance of such districts was slightly different, cf. M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 234–239.

²⁰ The origin of the word *pagus*: M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 14–16. *Pagi* in pre-Roman Italy: *ibidem*, pp. 22–48; S. Bourdin, *Les peuples de l'Italie préromaine. Identités, territoires et relations inter-ethniques en Italie centrale et septentrionale (VIIIe – Ier s. av. J.-C.)*, Rome 2012, pp. 361–428. *Pagi* were important places from the religion point of view: T. D. Stek, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–108, 110–112, 123–133. An example of *vici* and *pagi* in Ariminum.

²¹ Fest. 247L. Festus claimed Greek roots of the term *pagus*/παῖγα in the Greek world and in the eastern part of the Imperium Romanum. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* III 2 11; Diod. Sic. XIII 65 4. See: M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 177–179. *Pagi* among the Celts and the Germans: Plin. *NH* IV 17 106; 11 240; 17 250; Tacit. *Ann.* III 45 1; *Hist.* II 61; IV 15 11;

districts had strictly defined borders and areas²² subjected to the dominating municipal centers (*adtributio*).²³ Moreover, the *pagi* were granted their official apparatus (*magister, praefectus*, sometimes also the aediles)²⁴ allowing the management of human resources that constituted the base for the Roman military force because censuses in such districts served to recruit soldiers to the Republic's legions and to collect taxes. Inscriptions, principally from the Imperial period, provide information about meetings in the *pagi*.²⁵ Epigraphic documents and paragraphs in a collection of surveying texts composed at different times by various authors (e.g. Iulius Frontinus, Agennius Urbicus, Siculus Flaccus, M. Iunius Nipsus, Hyginus, Isidorus, Caius etc.) brought together in the 5th century CE – *Gromatici veteres*²⁶ testify to the presence of

26 6; Amm. XXIII 6 44; Auson. *Epist.* 23 95; *Panegir.* VIII 6 4 (Galletier). *Pagi* in western provinces: M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 220–231.

²² Sicul. Flacc. *Grom. vet.* 159 14–20L; 164 25–165 1L; Hygin. *Grom. vet.* 178 5–9; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 202–207, 216–218.

²³ Isid. *Orig.* XV 2 11; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 189–190, 207–209; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, pp. 260–261; idem, *In pagis forisque conciliabulis...*, pp. 634–636.

²⁴ Fest. 508L; Sicul. Flacc. *Grom. vet.* 146 7–9L; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 195–198; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, pp. 263–267; idem, *In pagis forisque conciliabulis...*, pp. 639–640. The office of *praefectus pagi* (*pagus Albensium Fulcentium*) is known from the inscription at Castrum Novum in Picenum: *CIL* IX 5146; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 208, 226–229, 285–289. In five cases, there is the office of aedile in such districts: *ibidem*, pp. 289–290. Aedile in Urvinum Hortense: *CIL* I² 3379; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, pp. 266–267; idem, *In pagis forisque conciliabulis...*, pp. 625–626.

²⁵ *CIL* VII 1072; VII 1073 = *ILS* 4756; IX 1618 6–8; IX 5146 (collection of *vectigal* tax in Picenian *pagus*). Cf. *Pap. Oxyr.* 2088: “exque pagis milites conquirebantur [et tribulum e] pagis cobeatur”; Ovid. *Fast.* I 669–670; Liv. XXII 5 5–7; XXV 5 6–9; Gell. *NA* XVI 4 4: “[...] qui eum pagum, vicum, oppidumve delegerit [...]”; Ulp. *Digest.* 50 15 4; Sicul. Flacc. *Grom. vet.* 164 25–165 1L. See: M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 177–179, 188–189, 193–194, 198–200, 209–211; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, pp. 261–262. *Concilia* in *pagi*: *CIL* III 14969.2; V 3449; *AE* 2006, 676. Cf. Plin. *NH* XXVIII 28. See: S. Sisani, *In pagis forisque conciliabulis...*, pp. 658–670; E. Todisco, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–36.

²⁶ *Gromatici veteres ex recensione Caroli Lachmanni (Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum)*, transl. G. Libertini, Istituto di Studi Atellani 2018, pp. 2–6, 11–14.

several *pagi* on territories neighboring with the *ager Gallicus*: in Picenum, in the area of Cingulum (*pagi Terebius* and *Vibolenus*), Cupra Montana (*pagus Veheia...*) and Auximum, as well as Interamnii Praetuttianorum,²⁷ and in Umbria – within the territory of Carsulae and Tuder.²⁸ In the former Senonian areas, however, the presence of *pagi* was confirmed on the territory of the Latin colony of Ariminum. They are evidenced by the aforementioned *pocola deorum* dating to the 3rd century BCE.²⁹

The sources indicate that, in the territory of the conquered Italy, including former Senonian lands, there were also many more other small settlement structures, such as *agri*, *praedia*, *fundi*, *villae* (discovered by the archeologists near Ostra, Pisaurum, and Forum Sempronii – the present Colombara near Acqualagna, and in Pian di Rose near Sant’Ippolitto), *aedifici*, *castella*, *mansiones* (Ad Aesim discovered next to the colony in Aesis), *stationes*, *tabernulae* (hence the name of the present Tavernelle di Serrungarina) – the latter three related to the existence of the Roman road infrastructure in these areas. Similarly, individual settlers were confirmed near places of worship, such as shrines (e.g. *fana*).³⁰ All these created a complex and currently rather poorly known settlement network over the Adriatic Sea.

²⁷ *Pagi*: in Cingulum (*CIL* I² 1926), in Cupra Montana (*CIL* IX 5699 = *ILLRP* 578), near Auximum (*CIL* IX 5814), Interamnii (*CIL* I² 1898; 1899; 3295). Cf. S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, p. 263; In pagis forisque conciliabulis..., pp. 611–614, 650–651; T. D. Stek, op. cit., p. 126.

²⁸ Carsulae: *AE* 1990, 320; Tuder: *AE* 1997, 488; Tifernum Tiberinum: *CIL* XI 5929; Asisium: *CIL* XI 5375 = *ILS* 3039. Cf. M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, p. 397; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, pp. 263–264.

²⁹ *CIL* I² 2897a: “pagi. fid[ei] or fid[elis] or fid[idenatium]”; 2897b: “pa[gi]”?; A. Fieconi, *In Appenninis Alpibus. Circostrizioni antiche e medievali tra Marche e Umbria*, Ancona 1996, pp. 62–64; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, p. 399; T. D. Stek, op. cit., p. 139; A. Bertrand, op. cit., p. 434.

³⁰ D. J. Gargola, *Lands, laws, & gods. Magistrates & ceremony in the regulation of public lands in republican Rome*, Chapel Hill–London 1995, p. 109; A. Fieconi, op. cit., pp. 65–69; P. Campagnolli, *La bassa valle del foglia e il territorio di ‘Pisaurum’ in età romana*, Imola 1999, pp. 114–126; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 193–194; S. Sisani, In pagis forisque conciliabulis..., p. 601; S. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, p. 55; O. Mei, L. Cariddi, *Forum Sempronii and the romanization of the Metauro Valley*, in: *Picenum and the ager Gallicus at the dawn of the Roman conquest*, eds. F. Boschi, E. Giorgi, F. Vermeulen, Summertown 2020, p. 37.

Between *coloniam deducere* and *adsignationes viritanae* in the *ager Gallicus* in the 3rd century BCE

The displacement of the population from the lands under the control of Rome to the Adriatic Sea was based on two models.³¹ One of them was colonization, i.e. sending organized groups by the Roman Republic under the leadership of its officials, referred to as *tres vires coloniae deducendae*,³² whose aim was to organize a settlement – a Roman or Latin colony on the land previously conquered as a result of military operations and taken away from the local people, which had become state property, namely *ager publicus*. The second was the organized placement of individual settlers (*adsignationes viritanae*) on the *ager publicus* (decemvirs – *decemvires agris assignandis* were responsible for such actions³³) without making a decision about establishing a settlement of colony type. It did not, however, mean abandoning the idea to establish a settlement because, in order to help the community function in the area – e.g. to conduct trade, settle disputes, etc. – and to fulfill their obligations towards the state, including taxes and

³¹ D. Gargola, op. cit., pp. 52–70, 103–113; F. Carlà-Uhink, *The “birth” of Italy: The institutionalization of Italy as a region, 3rd–1st century BCE*, Berlin 2017, p. 254; A. J. Coles, *Roman colonies in Republic and Empire*, Leiden–Boston 2019, pp. 6–7; S. T. Roselaar, *Italy’s economic revolution. Integration & economy in republican Italy*, Oxford 2019, pp. 22, 36–37. Migration processes in Italy: F. Carlà-Uhink, op. cit., pp. 232–255; E. Isayev, *Mobility and place in ancient Italy*, Cambridge 2017.

³² *CIL* I² 199, I² 719 = XI 6332; VI 1312; Liv. X 21 4; 7–10 (Minturnae, Sinuessa); Frontin. *De limit.* 30 1; 2–4; *Liber coloniarum* I 256 13–15 Lachmann; 257, 7–8 Lachmann; I 258 Lachmann; D. Gargola, op. cit., pp. 58–64; E. Hermon, op. cit., pp. 215, 218; G. Bradley, *The nature of Roman strategy in Mid-Republican colonization and road building*, in: *Roman Republican colonization. New perspectives from archaeology and ancient history*, eds. T. D. Stek, J. Pegrom, Rome 2014, pp. 60–72. Certainly, the entire complex process of founding a colony was not limited to sending colonists under the leadership of triumvirs, but it was preceded by legal acts and actions on the part of various institutions of the state, such as the Senate and other magistrates (pretors and consuls): Liv. IX 28 8; X 21 8; XXXII 2 7; XXXVII 46 10; XXXIX 23 4; F. Pina Polo, *The consul at Rome. The civil functions of the consuls in the Roman Republic*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 169–181.

³³ Cic. *Leg. Agr.* II 17; Liv. XXIII 34 13–14; XXIV 7–9; XXXI 4 1–3; XXXIX 19; XLII 4 3–4; Sicul. Flacc. 157 7–8; D. Gargola, op. cit., pp. 58–61, 106–107; E. Hermon, op. cit., p. 218; F. Pina Polo, op. cit., pp. 169–181; A. J. Coles, op. cit., pp. 28–30, 34–35.

army drafts, as well as enforcement of official decisions, centers such as *fora*, *conciliabula*, as well as smaller *vici*, and *pagi* districts were set up.³⁴

The latter model was particularly important to the Roman settlement policy in the *ager Gallicus* and nearby Picenum. This is evident through bringing several thousand individual settlers to such regions.³⁵ In 232 BCE, tribune C. Flaminius Nepos probably migrated them from Latium, Campania, Etruria, and Samnium, pursuant to a resolution (*plebiscitum*) passed at a *concilium plebis*, termed after his *gentilicium* as *lex Flaminia de agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividundo*. The settlers not only became an important recruitment base for Rome who continued warfare in the 3rd and 2nd century BCE, but also contributed to the development of the region that had been significantly devastated as a result of Roman military campaigns against its prior Celtic inhabitants in the 290s and 280s, and as a result of deportation of the Picentes in 268 BCE. The newcomers apparently changed the ethnic landscape of the lands completely, becoming the majority at the *ager Gallicus*, which was named to honor the almost

³⁴ *Dilectus*: Liv. XXV 5 5–7; 22 4; XLIII 14 10; Gell. NA XVI 4 3. Generally: J. Frayn, op. cit.; S. T. Roselaar, *Italy's economic revolution...*, pp. 46–49; S. Sisani, *Il duovirato nel municipia italici: contributo allo studio della fase finale del processo di municipalizzazione nell'Italia centrale e meridionale*, “Gerión” 2021, vol. 39 (1), pp. 53–54; M. Tarpin, *Urbem condere/colonium deducere: La procédure de «fondation» coloniale*, in: *Colonies, territoires et statuts: nouvelles approches*, “Dialogues d’Histoire Ancienne” 2021, Supplément 23, p. 16: “[...] il faut exclure ici les assignations *viritim* qui ne font pas l’objet d’une deductio formelle, et pour lesquelles nous n’avons que la date des décisions politique [...]”. *Fora* as places facilitating tax collection: M. Flohr, op. cit., p. 204.

³⁵ The number is an outcome of estimates by contemporary researchers (G. Bandelli, *La popolazione della Cisalpina dalle invasioni galliche alla guerra sociale*, in: *Demografia, sistemi agrari, regimi alimentari nel mondo antico. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Parma 17–19 ottobre 1997)*, ed. D. Vera, Bari 1999, p. 194), and it is unknown whether it referred to men only, or whether it also included women and children. W. Sheidel (*The demography of Roman state formation in Italy*, in: *Herrschaft ohne Integration? Rom und Italien in republikanischer zeit*, eds. M. Jehne, R. Pfeilschifter, “Studien zur Alten Geschichte”, vol. 4, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 207–226) estimates that, in the period 338–263, the Republic sent between 60,000 and 80,000 male settlers to the colonies, not to count women and children. The area of the land distributed among the colonists could be estimated as over two hundred thousand hectares (over eight hundred thousand iugera of land): S. T. Roselaar, *Public land in the Roman Republic...*, p. 63.

entirely exiled Celts.³⁶ The settlers could not be, however, directed as the entire group to one specific site because there was no such place in the *ager Gallicus*, but they were distributed locally at the territories most convenient to live at the time. It can be assumed that the number of migrated settlers was not high; it can be probably compared to the number of colonists in one of the big Latin colonies in the northern Italy, for example, Ariminum, Placentia, or Cremona. They occupied some of the fertile lands of the interior in river valleys, presumably forming settlements: Ostra, Suasa Senonum, Sentinum, Forum Sempronii, and Aesis, as well as at the coast, such as Pisaurum and Fanum.³⁷ The settlers strengthened prior colonization campaigns resulting in the foundation of colonies at the Adriatic coast: Sena (289/283 BCE) and Ariminum (268 BCE), which most likely replaced prior smaller settlements.³⁸ The areas were gradually developed through drying moorlands, felling forests, construction of a channel system, as well as construction of a network of new roads or transformation of local routes into hardened Roman roads. They connected the previously established

³⁶ Deportation of the Picentes: Liv. *Per.* 15; Vell. I 14; Plin. *NH* III 18 110; Eutrop. II 16. Tackling with residents of the areas in the 3rd century BCE: B. Amat, *Appien et l'extermination des Sénons*, in: *La civiltà picena nelle Marche: studi in onore di Giovanni Annibaldi, Ancona 10–13 luglio 1988*, Maroni 1992, pp. 448–463; E. Hermon, op. cit., 254; M. Piegdoń, *Ager Gallicus...*, pp. 86–87, 94–105, 259–266; A. Gaucci, *Perspectives on the analysis of the settlement system in medio-Adriatic Italy between the late sixth-fifth and fourth centuries BC: The case study of the Cesano and Misa valleys*, in: *Picenum and the ager Gallicus...*, pp. 93–97.

³⁷ Cf. *Picenum and the ager Gallicus...*, passim.

³⁸ Sena Gallica: S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, p. 89; F. Branchesi, *Instrumentum domesticum inscriptum da Sena Gallica*, “Picus” 2011, vol. 31, pp. 69–90; G. Lepore, *Il santuario dei primi coloni Sena Gallica?*, “Picus” 2012, vol. 32, pp. 121–123; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 90–91; Sena Gallica: *A stronghold for the Roman conquest of the ager Gallicus*, in: *Picenum and the ager Gallicus...*, pp. 81–90. Ariminum: L. Oebel, *Flaminius und die Anfänge der römischen Kolonisation im Ager Gallicus*, Frankfurt am Main 1993, pp. 61–64; J. Ortalli, *Precedenti locali e discrimine Romano nell'urbanizzazione della Cispadana tra IV e II sec. a. C.*, in: *Des Ibères aux Vénètes*, eds. S. Agusta-Boularot, X. Lafon, Rome 2004, pp. 313–318; F. Vermeulen, op. cit., p. 68; E. Giorgi, *Suasa: genesi e sviluppo...*, pp. 103–104. A similar situation also took place in the first century BCE: P. Brunt, op. cit., pp. 608–609; L. Keppie, *Colonisation and veteran settlement in Italy, 47–14 B.C.*, Rome; E. Twarowska-Antczak, op. cit., pp. 7–17.

colonies at the Adriatic coast with Rome predominantly with *via Flaminii* built just before Hannibal's invasion of Italy, in 223 or 220 BCE.³⁹ These were the individual settlers brought in by Flaminius in 232 BCE, but also those arriving at the Adriatic coast later, presumably after the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE) and during the reform of the Gracchi brothers (133, 123–122 BCE).⁴⁰ Often, on their own initiative and without a decision of the state, while migrating from other regions of Italy, they set up smaller settlements by themselves or as a result of actions by Roman officials, for example on the occasion of constructing the Roman road network. With time, in the 2nd and principally in the 1st century BCE, these were granted the status of a colony or a municipium.⁴¹

The picture of settlements presented above is, however, incomplete because the legal-administrative status of most settlements in the *ager Gallicus*, before they became colonies or municipia, is doubtful. All the attempts to determine their status are, by nature, hypothetical. In most cases, the findings are based on the outcomes of archaeologists' work that

³⁹ Local routes transformed into roads, among others in *via Salaria Gallica* and *via Salaria Picena*. Their presence is indicated by an inscription referred to as *Lapis Aesinensiis* (CIL XI 914; 6167 = ILS 5673). See: G. Paci, *Terre dei Pisaurensi nella valle del Cesano*, "Picus" 1996/1997, vol. 16/17, pp. 115–147; S. Sisani, *In pagis forisque conciliabulis...*, pp. 713–714; E. Giorgi, *The Cesano Valley at the outset of the Roman conquest and the genesis of Suasa*, in: *Picenum and the ager Gallicus...*; R. Laurence, *The roads of Roman Italy. Mobility and cultural change*, London–New York 2011, p. 21; G. Bradley, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–72; F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–73.

⁴⁰ The activity of the Gracchi brothers' commission at *ager Gallicus*: CIL I² 719 = XI 6331 = ILS 26 = ILLRP 474; *Liber coloniarum* I 253, 1–4 Lachmann; Ch. Delplace, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 162–163, 186; M. Luni, *Archeologia nelle Marche. Dalla preistoria all'età tardoantica*, Firenze 2004, pp. 90–92; G. Paci, *La politica coloniarica di Roma nell'agro Gallico e nel Piceno nel II sec. a.C. e in particolare in età gracciana*, in: *AdriAtlas et l'histoire de l'espace adriatique du VIe s. a.C. au VIIIe s. P.c. Actes du colloque international de Rome (4–6 novembre 2013)*, eds. Y. Marion, F. Tassaux, Bordeaux 2015, pp. 169–170; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 18–19; F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁴¹ E. Giorgi, *Suasa: genesi e sviluppo...*, p. 97. The sources are the scarcest with respect to spontaneous settlements, individual and not initiated by the state, but already controlled at the place of settlement where they were governed by Roman officials who enforced their duties towards the state (taxes, drafts). Most of them obtained municipal status at the turn of the Republican and Imperial era: S. Sisani, *Il duovirato nel municipia italici...*, p. 54.

allow tracing consecutive phases of development in particular locations, and on scarce epigraphic sources. Owing to the listed names of offices, it is sometimes possible to determine the administrative status of the settlement from which such documents originate. Some rationale also derives from mentions in the *Gromatici veteres* which, however, presents the status from a later period: the late 2nd and the 1st century BCE, because even the earliest preserved municipal laws containing data on settlement types and their status date to as much as one and a half century later than the first settlements on the Adriatic coast!

As already mentioned above, it is believed that even the earliest colonies in the *ager Gallicus* (set up in the first half of the 3rd century BCE), and so before 232 BCE, were located at the sites of prior smaller settlements. This refers to such places as: Sena Gallica – the first Roman colony at the coast (*colonia maritima*), which perhaps developed from a Roman camp – *castrum* in 289 or 283.⁴² Ariminum could have been a small Roman colony (*colonia maritima*) just as Sena probably until 268 BCE, and was converted into a large Latin colony only after a decision in the aforementioned year.⁴³ Pisaurum became a colony (*colonia civium Romanorum*) much later, as only in 184 BCE. Previously, from about the mid-3rd century BCE, the latter was perhaps a small settlement – *conciliabulum*, located near a regionally important cult centers – *lucus Pisaurensiis*, which had existed long before the Roman conquest.⁴⁴ This may indicate that foundation of colonies was

⁴² Sena Gallica: S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, p. 89; F. Branchesi, op. cit., pp. 69–90; G. Lepore, op. cit., pp. 121–123; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 90–91, 93–93; idem, Sena Gallica: *A stronghold for the Roman conquest of the ager Gallicus*, in: *Picenum and the ager Gallicus...*, pp. 81–90.

⁴³ F. Vermeulen, op. cit., pp. 65, 68. Cf. L. Oebel, op. cit., pp. 61–64; J. Ortalli, op. cit., pp. 313–318; E. Giorgi, *Suasa: genesi e sviluppo...*, pp. 103–104.

⁴⁴ Liv. XXXIX 44 10; XLI 27 11–12; Vell. I 15; A. J. Toynbee, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 184, 192; E. T. Salmon, *Roman colonisation under the Republic*, Lund 1969, pp. 104–105, 111; W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, Oxford 1971, pp. 152, 156–160; G. Cresci Maronae, G. Menella, op. cit., pp. 13–25; U. Moscatelli, *La viabilità litoranea tra Potentia e Sacrata in età romana*, in: *Atti e memorie 88–91 (1984–1986). Le strade nelle Marche. Il problema nel tempo Atti del convegno Fano, Fabriano, Pesaro, Ancona (11–14 ottobre 1984)*, ed. U. Moscatelli, Ancona 1987, pp. 395–402; Ch. Delplace, op. cit., p. 14; U. Agnati, op. cit., p. 114; P. Campagnolli, op. cit., pp. 41–43; E. Hermon, op. cit., pp. 261–262;

not brought down to a singular legal act (a statute of the assembly or resolution of the senate – *lex coloniae*), which obliged the officials (*tres vires coloniae deducendae*) to establish a settlement on a given territory *ex nihilo* (*Stadtgründung*) but was a much more complex and multiphase process of creating (*Stadtwerdung*) such a location on conquered lands, accompanied by changes to its legal and administrative status.⁴⁵

Smaller settlements populated by Roman citizens were not left alone. With time, *praefecti iure dicundo* were delegated there by the urban praetor to hold jurisdiction at least in some of them. Presumably, such places were previously granted the status of prefectures⁴⁶ because the rather scarce

M. Luni, op. cit., pp. 87–88; U. Laffi, *Colonie e municipi nello stato romano*, in: *Storia e letteratura. Raccolta di studi e testi* 239, Roma 2007, pp. 22–27; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, pp. 61, 98–99, 199–202; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 18–19, 27, 165, 170–171, 173, 176; F. Vermeulen, op. cit., p. 79.

⁴⁵ There are perceivable differences also with respect to legal terminology because the establishment of a colony was referred to as *deducere*, while of other settlements – *constituere*. This can be observed in the preserved fragments of *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducea Alliena Fabia* (FIRA I p. 139, KL. V) of 59 BCE, quoted by authors of the collective work *Gromatici Veteres* (I 263 Lachmann): “[...] Qui hac lege coloniam **deduxerit**, municipium, praefecturam, forum conciliabulum, **constituerit** [...]” See: D. Gargola, op. cit., pp. 111–113, 217 f. 4; F. Pina Polo, op. cit., pp. 182–183; R. Laurence, S. E. Cleary, G. Sears, op. cit., p. 65–66: “[...] It is clear, however, that Roman magistrates did not constitute *municipio ex nihilo*, but would be much more likely to constitute a *praefectura*, a *forum*, or a *conciliabulum* [...]” Cf. M. Tarpin, *Urbem condere/coloniam deducere...*, pp. 25–41. Certainly, a certain period of time lapsed between the establishment of a colony – *deductio*, and its actual foundation, which differed for various colonies, cf. *ibidem*, pp. 15–25 and above.

⁴⁶ Fest. 262L: “[...] praefecturae eae appellabantur in Italia, in quibus et ius dicebatur, et nundinae agebantur, et erat quaedam earum r(es) p(ublica), neque tamen magistratos suos habebant. In +qua his+ legibus praefecti mittebantur quotannist qui ius dicerent [...]”; *CIL* I² 583 (*lex repetundarum*). See: S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, pp. 262, 266; *idem*, *In pagis forisque conciliabulis...*, pp. 357–402; *idem*, *Le magistrature locali delle comunità municipali di ambito provinciale: uno studio sulla diffusione del quattuorvirato e del duovirato tra l'età tardo-repubblicana e l'età imperiale*, “Gerión” 2018, vol. 36 (1), pp. 67; *idem*, *Tra autonomia e integrazione: diritti locali e giurisdizione prefettizia nelle comunità di cives sine suffragio*, in: *Colonies, territoires et statuts...*, pp. 106–121; B. Sitek, *Autonomie lokalne*, in: *Rzysmskie prawo publiczne. Wybrane zagadnienia*, eds. A. Jurewicz et al., Olsztyn 2011, pp. 257, 287–288; G. Cairo, *Sulla procedura delle fondazioni coloniali romane in età*

magistrature of the City of Rome alone was unable to supervise the rights and responsibilities of its citizens in the sometimes far lands of Italy, such as the *ager Gallicus*. Still, both in the first half of the 3rd century BCE and later, the jurisdiction of Roman officials was mainly limited to activities within the premises of the city alone (*domi*). Except for officials principally dealing with warfare, thus consuls and, less frequently, praetors, whose term of office was extended with time for another year or term, depending on the needs, and finally the dictator appointed periodically exclusively until the end of the Second Punic War.⁴⁷ Undoubtedly, these magistrates were of extreme importance to the process of founding settlements in Italy.⁴⁸ Officials holding the *imperium* and acting outside the premises (*pomoerium*) of the city also included the aforementioned *tres vires coloniae deducendae* and *decemvires agris iudicandis*. Their role was limited to the rather short period of settlement organization and distributing the settlers on the allocated *ager publicus*, as well as resolution of disputes among the inhabitants of the founded colonies and conflicts with the population of other settlements, which was the responsibility of *tres vires coloniae deducendae*.⁴⁹ Supervision

Repubblicana, “Rivista storica dell’antichità” 2012, vol. 42, pp. 118–119; E. Giorgi, *The Cesano Valley at the outset of the Roman conquest...*, pp. 71–79 (Suasa); M. Piegdon, *Ager Gallicus...*, pp. 198–202, 236–243, 246–256.

⁴⁷ Cic. *Cat.* IV 23; *Pis.* 2 5–6; *Dom.* 24; Sallust. *Hist.* II 98M; Liv. XXIII 21 4; 48 4–49 4; XXXVIII 42 10; Plut. *Pomp.* 20; 23; W. Feemster Jashemski, *The origins and history of the proconsular and propraetorian Imperium to 27 B.C.*, Chicago 1953, pp. 1–99; W. T. Arnold, *The Roman system of provincial administration to the accession of Constantine the Great*, Roma 1968, pp. 1–100; J. S. Richardson, *The administration of the Empire*, CAH2 vol. 9, Cambridge 1994, pp. 572–584; F. J. Vervaet, *The high command in the Roman Republic. The principle of the summum imperium auspiciūque from 509 to 19 BCE*, Stuttgart 2014, pp. 131–141; M. Bellomo, *Il comando militare a Roma nell’età delle guerre puniche (264–201 a.C.)*, Stuttgart 2019, pp. 49–58, 104–109.

⁴⁸ Most names of settlements of fora type in Italy contains *gentilicium*, most probably of the founders, thus predominantly consuls: U. Ewins, *The early colonisation of Cisalpine Gaul*, “Papers of the British School at Rome” 1952, vol. 20, pp. 57–58, 63–65; A. J. Toynbee, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 662, 667, 669–670, 674; P. Brunt, op. cit., pp. 572–573; T. P. Wiseman, *New men in the Roman Senate, 139 B.C.–A.D. 14*, Oxford 1971, pp. 40–47; E. Ruoff-Väänänen, *Studies on the Italian fora*, Wiesbaden 1978, pp. 11–12, 16–19, 20–21, 23, 34–36; J. Frayn, op. cit., pp. 1–55; F. Pina Polo, op. cit., pp. 181–187.

⁴⁹ Dispute resolution among the settlements: 1) Dispute between Luna and Pisa: Liv.

over individual settlers being citizens in the distant territories was possible through delegation by the urban praetor (*praetor urbanus*) of his powers to special officials ranking as prefects, the aforementioned *praefecti iure dicundo*, who acted as justice authorities at designated places – settlements gaining the rank of prefectures (*praefecturae*).⁵⁰ Sources informing about these particularly important structures for administration of the state and its citizens are remarkably scarce, principally for the period before the outbreak of the *bellum sociale* (91–87 BCE).⁵¹ Ancient authors (Festus, Livy) indeed list settlements with the status of prefectures, but it seems their reports do not account for all of them. Information about the *praefecti iure dicundo* given by ancient writers can be complemented with inscriptions, but even

XLV 13; T. R. S. Broughton, op. cit., vol. I, p. 399; 2) dispute between Patavium and Ateste: *CIL* I² 633 725 = V 2491 = *ILS* 5944a = *ILLRP* 476; *CIL* I² 634 = V 2492 = *ILS* 5944 = *ILLRP* 476; *CIL* I² 2501 = *ILLRP* 476; J. Zając, *Od Wenetów do Rzymian. Studia epigraficzno-antropomastyczne (I w.p.n.e.–I w.n.e.)*, Toruń 1991, p. 19–20; L. Calderazzo, *Arbitrati romani in Cisalpina (197–89 a.C): problemi e status quaestionis*, “Rivista di studi Liguri” 1996, vol. 43/44, pp. 32–33; 3) dispute between Ateste and Vicetia: *CIL* I² 636 = V 2490 = *ILS* 5945; J. Zając, op. cit., pp. 19–20; L. Calderazzo, op. cit., p. 34. With time, the period of colony organization could be longer, see: Liv. IX 20 10. Cf. J. Sewell, *The formation of Roman urbanism, 338–200 B.C.: Between contemporary foreign influence and Roman tradition*, Portsmouth 2010, pp. 84–85. Having the *imperium* by *tres vires coloniae deducendae*: Liv. XXXIV 53 1; XXXIX 23 4; E. T. Salmon, op. cit., p. 19; F. Pina Polo, op. cit., pp. 180–181; M. Tarpin, *Urbem condere/coloniam deducere...*, pp. 15–16.

⁵⁰ Liv. IX 20 5; XXVI 16 10; Fest. 262L: “Praefecturae eae appellabantur in Italia, in quibus et ius dicebatur, et nundinae agebantur; et erat quaedam earum r(es) p(ublica), neque tamen magistratus suos habebant. In + qua his + <quas> legibus praefecti mittebantur quotannis qui ius dicerent. Quarum genera fuerunt duo: alterum, on quas solebant ire praefecti quattor +viginti sex virum nu pro+ <e viginti sex virum numero> populi suffragio creati erant [...], [...] alterum, in quas ibant, quos praetor urbanus quotannis in quaeque loca miserat legibus [...]”. Cf. *CIL* I² 585; *CIL* I² 825. See: P. Brunt, op. cit., pp. 532–535; A. N. Sherwin-White, op. cit., pp. 52–53, 69–70; M. Humbert, op. cit., pp. 195–207, 355–402; E. Bispham, op. cit., pp. 87, 95–99; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, p. 262; idem, *In pagis forisque conciliabulis...*, pp. 715–716; idem, *Tra autonomia e integrazione...*, pp. 106–121; A. Gallo, op. cit., pp. 27–40. Cf. above. Relations between *praefecti iure dicundo* and local officials: M. Humbert, op. cit., pp. 393, 399–402; E. Bispham, op. cit., pp. 98–99; S. Sisani, *Tra autonomia e integrazione...*, pp. 118–121.

⁵¹ M. Humbert, op. cit., pp. 382–390; S. Sisani, *In pagis forisque conciliabulis...*, pp. 702–710; A. Gallo, op. cit., pp. 17–59.

those are few,⁵² and this source tends to be remarkably imprecise. The problem is that the term prefect referred to many distinct officials, including local officials in rural districts of *pagi* type.⁵³ We are also aware of officials holding other offices under this name.⁵⁴ The status of prefectures on the territory of the *ager Gallicus* is attributed to several locations established as a result of settlement in the 3rd century BCE. According to contemporary researchers, the rank of prefecture was to be held by the alleged *conciliabula*: Suasa Senonum, Ostra, Sentinum, as well as probably later colonies of Fanum Fortunae, Aesis, and Pisaurum.⁵⁵ In most cases, however, we only deal with presumptions because there are no direct sources pointing to such status being granted to the above centers. Some of such settlements could obtain the status of prefecture as late as in the 1st century BCE. Much more information about prefectures derives from areas distributed among individual settlers at the same time as in the *ager Gallicus*, namely from Picenum, south of the Aesis River. Information about prefectures just on the other bank of the Aesis River in Picenum comes, for example, from an inscription found in Valle Fiorana, north of Asculum.⁵⁶

⁵² Vell. Pat. II 44 (Kapua); Fest. 242L: “[...] in haec oppida: Capua, Cumas, Casilinum, Volturnum, Liternum, Puteolos, Acerras, Suessulam, Atellam, Calatium, [...] ut Fundos, Formias, Caere, Venafrum, Allifas, Privernum, Anagninam, Frusinonem, Recte, Saturniam, Nursiam, Arpinum, aliaque complura”; M. Humbert, op. cit., pp. 356–364, 366–377; A. Gallo, op. cit., pp. 17–27. Other prefectures in Italy: M. Humbert, op. cit., pp. 377–380; A. Gallo, op. cit., pp. 65–175; S. Sisani, *Tra autonomia e integrazione...*, pp. 106–121, 138–148. The material from inscriptions presenting *praefecti iure dicundo* from Cisalpina: M. S. Bassignano, *I “praefecti iure dicundo” nell’ Italia settentrionale*, in: *Epigrafia. Actes du Colloque international d’epigraphie latine en mémoire de Attili Degrassi, Rome 27–28 mai 1988, Collection de l’École Française de Rome*, Rome 1991, pp. 511–523.

⁵³ Cf. above.

⁵⁴ “Praef(ecti) solar(ium)”: *CIL* I² 1719; „pra(e)fecti murum”: *CIL* I² 2294. Further examples: S. Sisani, *In pagis forisque conciliabilis...*, pp. 716–718.

⁵⁵ S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, pp. 271, 460, 465; idem, *Il duovirato nel municipia italici...*, pp. 54, 73; A. Gallo, op. cit., pp. 74–80; E. Giorgi, *Suasa: genesi e sviluppo...*, pp. 106–107.

⁵⁶ *AE* 2000, 476. See S. Sisani, *In pagis forisque conciliabilis...*, pp. 712–714. Cf. M. Humbert, op. cit., pp. 313–316, 377–380, which lists the prefectures from areas neighboring with the *ager Gallicus*, Picenum and Umbria – Urbs Salvia, Plestia, Interamna Praetuttiorum, Trebula Mutuesca, Cures, Interamna Nahars. Cf. A. Gallo, op. cit.,

Transformation of a smaller settlement into a colony or municipium also required the development of some local institutions and magistratures (*duovires* or *quattorvires*), as well as appropriate infrastructure (regular forum with porticos, wall, network of paved streets, temples, a theater/amphitheater, *tabernae*, aqueduct(s) and channels, as well as buildings for local officials – *basilica*, *curia*, baths, etc.), characteristic in particular of the 1st century BCE, which allowed the status of a colony or a municipium to be granted.⁵⁷

Natural conditions, local strategic and economic circumstances, and the importance of cult sites in the Roman settlement policy

The first proto-urban and later urban structures were found over the Adriatic Sea long before the Roman conquest, in the 9th and 8th centuries BCE. Such centers were set up by various groups inhabiting the areas, such as the Picentes – Asculum (referred to as *caput gentis Asculum*), the

pp. 77–88. The report by Caesar/Hirtius *Bellum Civile* (*BC I 15 1*) indicates that there were many prefectures in Picenum south of Auximum. Cf. Cic. *Rab. 22*. See: S. Sisani, *Le magistrature locali delle comunità municipali di ambito provinciale...*, pp. 68–70; idem, *Il duovirato nel municipia italici...*, p. 54; idem, *Tra autonomia e integrazione...*, pp. 138–148.

⁵⁷ R. Laurence, S. E. Cleary, G. Sears, op. cit., p. 67; S. T. Roselaar, op. cit., pp. 30–36; S. Sisani, *Il duovirato nel municipia italici...*, pp. 54–55; idem, *Tra autonomia e integrazione...*, pp. 95–148. Differences between a colony and a municipium were also presented in the 2nd century CE by Aulus Gellius (*NA XVI 13 6; 13 9*). Cf. M. Tarpin, *Urbem condere/coloniam deducere...*, pp. 13–94. One must, however, also account for differences among the municipia as such, for which *bellum sociale* was an important moment: S. Sisani, *Le magistrature locali delle comunità municipali di ambito provinciale...*, pp. 41–77; idem, *Tra autonomia e integrazione...*, pp. 95–148. See: J. P. Sewell, op. cit., pp. 58–61. Tacitus (*Hist. IV 22*) clearly states that during the imperial period, the infrastructure characteristic of the municipia also existed in settlements located near the Roman legion camps in provinces, cf. A. Tomas, op. cit., pp. 665–683. Nevertheless, decisions to award the status of a colony or a municipium were political acts undertaken by institutions in the Republican era, while in the Imperial era the decision was made by the emperor himself! *Tabernae* in settlements during the Republican era: M. Flohr, op. cit., pp. 204–208.

Greeks – Ancona, the Umbri – Ravenna, the Etruscans – Arimna, later Latin colony of Ariminum, etc.⁵⁸ Some of them or the surrounding areas later served to establish Roman settlements. The Romans were perfectly aware of convenient natural conditions where the indigenous settlements were situated, and often placed their settlements at the same site or nearby, using the values of a given location, and the achievements of the pre-Roman population with respect to soil preparation for agriculture and irrigation works, still before they introduced their own solutions, such as regular plot divisions into centurias (centuriation).⁵⁹ Examples of such settlements

⁵⁸ Asculum: Flor. I 14; Fest. 235 Lachmann; U. Laffi, M. Pasquinucci, E. Gabba, *Asculum (I)*, Pisa 1975, pp. 11–56; A. Naso, *I Piceni. Storia e archeologia delle Marche in epoca preromana*, Milano 2002, pp. 255–259; L. Braccesi, *Terra di confine archeologia e storia tra Marche, Romagna e San Marino*, “APXAIΟΛΟΓΙΚΑ archeologia, epigrafia, storia” 1, Roma 2007, pp. 19–30. Ancona: Catull. 36 13; Liv. X 2; Diod. Sic. XX 104–105; Strabo 5.1.4.(211); 5.4.2.(241); Plin. *NH* III 111; 112; P. Anello, *Dionisio il Vecchio. Politica adriatica e tirrenica*, Palermo 1980, pp. 81–156; L. Braccesi, A. Coppola, *I Graeci e l’Adriatico*, in: *La Magna Graecia e il mare. Studi di studia marittima*, ed. F. Prontera, Taranto 1996, pp. 112–113; A. Naso, op. cit., pp. 254–259; L. Braccesi, op. cit., pp. 19–30. Ravenna: Ps.-Skylax 16M; Liv. V 35 2; Dion. Hal. I 13 3; Strabo 5.1.7.(214); 5.1.11.(217); Plin. *NH* III 112; 115; Athen. XII 32 527a; Ps.-Scymnos 367–368; Steph. Byzan. s.v. *Ουβρικοί* 492M; 661M; L. Braccesi, F. Raviola, *La Magna Grecia*, Bologna 2006, pp. 101–109; S. Bourdin, op. cit., pp. 116–117. Arimna: Strabo 5.4.2.(241); Plin. *NH* III 112; 114; Paus. V 12 5; B. F. Mostardi, *Cupra*, Ascoli 1977, pp. 17–25, 39–73; A. Naso, op. cit., pp. 234–250; A. Glennie, op. cit., pp. 90–92.

⁵⁹ There is low probability of regular plot division, typical of Roman centuriation, in the early phase of Roman colonization and individual settlement at the Adriatic coast. It was only after some time that plots were adapted for settlers based on the typical regular Roman division. Previously, the Romans accounted for methods applied by the local population: J. P. Sewell, R. Witcher, *Urbanism in ancient peninsular Italy: Developing a methodology for a database analysis of higher order settlements (350 BCE to 300 CE)*, “Internet Archaeology” 2015, vol. 40, <https://doi.org/10.11141/ia.40.2>. The absence of regularly divided plots of land was not only due to the fact that such a division most probably occurred later, but also to natural conditions of the region, cf. S. T. Roselaar, *Public land in Roman Republic...*, pp. 65–68; idem, *Italy’s economic revolution...*, pp. 31–32; P. Campagnolli, E. Giorgi, *Divisioni agrarie di età romana nelle Marche. Problemi e prospettive di ricerca*, in: *Studi di Antichità in onore di Giuliano de Marinis*, Roma 2014, pp. 548–552, 557; F. Vermeulen, op. cit., p. 74. Sometimes, a settlement established by Rome was located at the site of an existing indigenous center many years or even centuries after its abandonment by the local population. Such a situation took place in the case of Roman colony of Potentia in

founded by Rome to replace local centers or nearby include the following colonies in the *ager Gallicus*: Sena Gallica (near a pre-Roman settlement next to the present Montedoro, existing from the 9th/8th century BCE to the 5th century BCE) and Ariminum (former Arimna), but also many other smaller sites, for example, Ostra, Suasa Senonum (pre-Roman settlement next to the present Mirabello), as well as future Roman *vici* surrounding it (near the Celtic necropolis in Montefortino di Arcevia), Sentinum (near the Umbrian settlement bearing the same name, where the famous battle of 295 BCE took place during the Third Samnite War), Pisaurum, Forum Sempronii (including the areas near the present Mt. Aguzzo, Mt. Raggio, and Mt. Giove).⁶⁰

Picenum, founded in 184 BCE and in no way being a continuation of a prior settlement of the Picentes, which is evidenced by an almost one-meter-thick layer of clay between both settlements to confirm no relations between the two: *ibidem*, p. 57.

⁶⁰ F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*; M. Piegdoń, *Ager Gallicus...*, pp. 221–256; F. Boschi, *Methodological approaches to the study of the Cesano and Misa River Valleys (2010–2020). New data: Some thoughts and perspectives*, in: *Picenum and the ager Gallicus...*, pp. 47–60. Ostra: E. Hermon, *op. cit.*, pp. 261–262; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 189–190, 192–194. Suasa: L. Oebel, *op. cit.*, p. 95; E. Hermon, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–261; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, p. 27; F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 130–131; E. Giorgi, *Suasa: genesi e sviluppo...*, pp. 98–101. Sentinum: M. F. Petracchia Lucceroni, *I Questori Municipali dell'Italia Antica*, Roma 1988, pp. 51–52; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, p. 236. Aesis: G. Bandelli, *La conquista dell'ager Gallicus...*, pp. 14–54; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, p. 56; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 27, 179; A. Gallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–128. Forum Sempronii: S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, p. 198; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 227, 230; A. Gallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–77; O. Mei, L. Cariddi, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–37. Pisaurum: U. Agnati, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–114; E. Hermon, *op. cit.*, pp. 261–262; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, pp. 199–202; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 27, 165; F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, p. 79. Fanum: G. Baldelli, *Insediamiento preromano*, in: *Fano romana*, ed. F. Milesi, Fano 1992, pp. 13–20; L. Oebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–84; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 27, 153–154; O. Mei, *Il Fanum Fortunae e i luoghi di culto di età repubblicana nel territorio circostante*, in: *Fanum Fortunae e il culto della dea Fortuna*, eds. O. Mei, P. Clini, Venezia 2017, pp. 51–66; D. van Limbergen, F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Sena Gallica: M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 82–86; Sena Gallica: *A stronghold for...*, pp. 81–90. Cf. A. Coles, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–44. The pre-Roman roots of settlements of fora type in Italy have been pointed to by E. Ruoff-Väänänen, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–18.

While analyzing Roman settlement activities over the Adriatic Sea, one can state that, while establishing its centers, Rome fully benefited from the existing natural conditions. The first settlements at the *ager Gallicus*, as well as those in the nearby Picenum, were organized near the coast, most frequently at the estuaries of rivers being important axes of traffic. They were also situated near local land routes connecting the coastal centers with the interior, before the Roman roads were constructed. This is well illustrated by the placement of the first colony in the *ager Gallicus*, Sena Gallica. It was set up at the coast of the Adriatic Sea, at the estuary of the Misa and Penna Rivers, next to the land route leading from the coast, along the Misa River, at the banks of which later small Roman *conciliabula* were formed in Suasa and Ostra, and further towards the pass at the Apennines up to Sentinum, and then further to the south, to the lands of the Roman ally in Umbria – Camerinum, where the Romans directed their settlers perhaps already in the late 4th century BCE.⁶¹ It was similar with the aforementioned Ariminum, the first Latin colony founded in 268 BCE. It was situated close to the coast but, with time, its territory stretched between the Aprusa Crustumium and Utens Rivers, while later up to the Rubicon River. It was only after 223 or 220 BCE that *via Flaminia* was connected to it, providing the link between the coastal colonies, via the Apennines, Umbria, and along the Tiber River, with Rome. Roman settlements were also founded on hills important for strategic reasons, which clearly points to the appreciation of defense properties of such sites.⁶²

The placement of settlements over the Adriatic Sea did not only mean that, from the political and military point of view, Rome manifested its

⁶¹ Republican settlements on the territories of Camerinum: S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, p. 129. Cf. F. Vermeulen, op. cit., pp. 71, 96; E. Giorgi, *The Cesano Valley at the outset of the Roman conquest...*, pp. 61–79 (Suasa).

⁶² Factors decisive to the foundation of a settlement at a particular site: J. P. Sewell, op. cit., pp. 54–57. Cf. Firmum over the Tenna and Ete Rivers, and Hadria, located on a hill at a distance of ten kilometers from the coast and over the *Macrinus* River (the present Piomba): F. Vermeulen, op. cit., pp. 68–69. Ariminum: M. Piegdoń, *Coloniae deducere. Colonisation as an instrument of the Roman policy of domination in Italy in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, as illustrated by settlements in the ager Gallicus and Picenum*, “Electrum” 2014, vol. 20, p. 132; A. Glennie, op. cit., pp. 93–94, 96.

domination at the Adriatic coast of Italy. The Republic did not intend to be simply reactive, and so to counteract any threats from pirates active in the area, but predominantly, in the 3rd and 2nd century BCE, created a base for further expansion into northern Italy, as well as into the Balkans and in Greece. The Roman elites were aware of the opportunities provided by the long existing commercial and economic relations between the inhabitants of coastal Picenum and the *ager Gallicus* with the lands in the north and overseas. Therefore, the takeover of such relations also mattered due to tangible profits for Rome. This is confirmed by archeological evidence indicating that, already in the earliest history of Sena and Ariminum, trade constituted an important element of their lives. In this context, it must be pointed out that most coastal centers in the *ager Gallicus* featured their own harbors that allowed transport of goods from the area and from the interior via rivers to the coast, and further to the other side of the Adriatic Sea.⁶³ Colonists and individual settlers made their living on cultivating olives and vine, crops, fruits, and breeding farm animals (cattle and sheep), which included trading with their products. The lands in this part of Italy were also confirmed to be fertile by ancient writers (Cato the Elder, M. Terentius Varro, Columella), as well as the works and discoveries of contemporary archeologists.⁶⁴ The product making both regions famous already in the 3rd century BCE was wine produced in the local vineyards, which were particularly fruitful. The wine was also shipped outside Picenum and the *ager Gallicus*. The earliest

⁶³ Harbor in Pisaurum: Vitruvius *Architect.* II 9 16; U. Agnati, op. cit., p. 116; P. Campagnoli, op. cit., pp. 53–60; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 168–169. Ariminum: A. Glennie, op. cit., p. 91.

⁶⁴ Ancient sources on fertility: Polyb. III 86–87; Varro *R.r.* I 50 2; Hor. *Satir.* II 3 264–273; II 3 70–71; Vitruvius *Architect.* II 7 1; Plin. *NH* XIV 37; 39; XV 15–16; 55; XVIII 37; 106; XXVII 107; Martial. *Epigram.* I 43; IV 46; 88; V 78; VII 53; IX 54; XI 52; XIII 35; 36; 47; Juvenal. *Satiric.* 64–76; Plin. *Epist.* VI 1 1; Apic. *Culinar.* IV 1 2; Auson. *Epsit.* 16 1–10; Amm. Marc. XV 7 1–5; Ambros. *Libr. Tob.* 14 50; Symmach. *Epist.* I 39; Macrobian. *Saturn.* III 13; A. Naso, op. cit., pp. 27–29; L. Antonelli, *I Piceni. Corpus delle fonti. La documentazione letteraria*, Roma 2003, pp. 191–202; F. Vermeulen, op. cit., pp. 8, 147–158. Cf. Ch. Delplace, op. cit., pp. 150–160; D. Van Limbergen, *Debating the yield potential of vineyards in Roman Italy*, “Reveu Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire” 2022, vol. 100, pp. 69–110.

testimony of wine trading by the colonists is formed by a fragment of a vessel from the second half of the 3rd century BCE found in Spina, north of the *ager Gallicus*, with Latin inscription ‘*Gallicos colonos*’. The *guttus* from Spina not only confirms wine trading most likely by residents of Ariminum but, apart from few mentions by ancient authors, constitutes material epigraphic evidence for the existence of colonies in these previously Celtic territories.⁶⁵ Another example of this type is formed by the *dolium* discovered near the later Roman *conciliabulum* in Ostra, dated to the 3rd/2nd century BCE.⁶⁶ The Republic thus did not disrupt prior economic relations but owing to the expansion, settlement, and control over these territories, the Romans managed to expand even further, and to intensify the relations with the Balkans and Greece. Later, when the regions were covered by the influence, followed by direct authority of Rome, together with Italy, they became part of one political body.⁶⁷

Another aspect of Roman settlement policy must be pointed out here, namely the fact that settlements established over the Adriatic coast were

⁶⁵ Varro *R.r.* I 2 7. Stamp with inscription “Gallicos colonos”: *CIL* I² 2887b = *AE* 1979 292; E. Hermon, op. cit., pp. 262–264; C. Ravara Montebelli, *Crustumium. Archeologia adriatica fra Cattolica e San Giovanni in Marignano*, Roma 2007, pp. 120–131; A. Gaucci, *Episodi dell’espansionismo romano verso il delta padano*, in: *Ravenna e l’Adriatico dalle origini all’età romana*, ed. F. Boschi, Bologna 2013, pp. 101–102. Cf. “vinum Palmense”: Plin. *NH* XIV 8 76. Discovered fragments of amphoras in which wine was exported from the region are also found in Noricum, Pannonia, Germania, Gallia, as well as northern Africa and in the Iberic Peninsula: F. Vermeulen, op. cit., pp. 155–157.

⁶⁶ G. Colonna, *Etruschi nell’ager Gallicus*, “*Picus*” 1984, vol. 4, pp. 95–105; E. Hermon, op. cit., p. 263. The vessel contains a fragment of an inscription (three letters) in the Etruscan language, which made G. Colonna recognize this vessel as evidence for Etruscan roots of settlers from the area. The relations between these lands and areas controlled by the Etruscans are much older.

⁶⁷ B. Amat Sabatini, *Genti celtiche e mare Adriatico*, in: *Pro popolo arimense. Atti del convegno internazionale “Rimini antica. Una repubblica fra terra e mare”*. Rimini, ottobre 1993, eds. A. Calbi, C. Susini, Faenza 1995, pp. 27–28; G. Paci, *Ricerche di storia e di epigrafia romana delle Marche*, Tored 2008, pp. 525–541; N. Čašule, “*In part a Roman Sea*”. *Rome and the Adriatic in the third century BC*, in: *Imperialism, cultural politics, and Polybius*, eds. Ch. Smith, L. M. Yarrow, Oxford 2012, pp. 218–226; F. Vermeulen, op. cit., pp. 62, 71, 93–95, 148–160. Cf. A. Coles, op. cit., pp. 19–20.

also founded next to pre-Roman cult sites. With time, those places of importance for local communities became similarly important cult centers for the settlers. Local deities were adapted to the Roman pantheon, among others, owing to their association by the settlers with the gods they knew.⁶⁸ In the *ager Gallicus*, these included: Fanum, near the site of pre-Roman cult associated with the Greek Tyche or Aphrodite, later identified as Roman goddess Fortuna, hence the name of later colony: Fanum Fortunae; Suasa Senonum, where the local deity Suada or indeed Suasa was worshiped, which theonym could be the source for the name of the future Roman *conciliabulum* Suasa; Forum Sempronii, with the nearby cult (at the premises of the present Isola di Fano) presumably of Vertumnus. Furthermore, in the vicinity of the aforementioned *lucus Pisaurensiis* where the archeologists recorded the cult of many deities, most likely the Roman *conciliabulum* Pisaurum was founded first (mid-3rd century BCE), followed by *colonia civium Romanorum* in 184 BCE. Possibly, a cult center also existed near Ariminum (the present Villa Ruffi), where architectural fragments (cult sites), ceramics, and three bronze figures presenting deities were found.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ See: M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 35–38; F. Vermeulen, op. cit., pp. 75–76, 97, 104–106; A. Coles, op. cit., p. 20. The process is termed *interpretatio Romana*: Tacit. *Germ.* 43 4. Cf. E. Dench, *From barbarians to new men*, Oxford 1995, pp. 154–174. Roman cults over the Adriatic Sea: A. Bertrand, op. cit.

⁶⁹ Fanum Fortunae: Strabo 5.2.10(227): “τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Τύχης”; Claudian. *Panegir.* 500–505; M. Luni, *Studi su Fanum Fortunae*, “Quaderni di archeologia nelle Marche” 2000, vol. 7, pp. 8–16; L. Invernizzi, V. Purcaro, *Culti tra Metauro e Foglia agli albori della romanizzazione*, in: *Fanum Fortunae...*, pp. 39–50. Suasa Senonum: *CIL* XI 6173: “[...] Templum Suasae Felici fieri iussit et in tutelam eius HS XX N Reipublicae [...]”; Ptol. III 1; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 220–225; F. Vermeulen, op. cit., pp. 102, 131–132, 136–137; E. Giorgi, *Suasa: Genesi e sviluppo...*, pp. 98–101. Forum Sempronii: U. Agnati, op. cit., pp. 270–272. Pisaurum: *CIL* I² 368–381 = *ILS* 2970–2983 = *ILLRP* 13–26; A. Campagnolli, op. cit., pp. 39–41; A. Naso, op. cit., pp. 221–229; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista...*, pp. 199–204, 238–239; O. de Cazanove, *Per la datazione degli ex voto anatomici d’Italia*, in: *The impact of Rome on cult places and religious practices in ancient Italy*, eds. T. D. Stek, G.-J. Burgers, London 2015, pp. 29–66; M. K. Termeer, *Votives in Latin colonies. A perspective beyond “religious romanization”*, in: *Orte der Forschung, Orte des Glaubens. Neue Perspektiven für Heiligtümer in Italien von der Archaisk bis zur Späten Republik. Akten der internationalen Tagung in Darmstadt am 19. und 20. Juli*

The effects of Roman settlement policy over the Adriatic coast in the 3rd century BCE

The process described above must have taken years. Nevertheless, it was disrupted by sudden events, such as Hannibal's invasion over the Adriatic Sea in 217, devastating the lands handed over to settlers less than fifteen years earlier. It therefore seems that subordination and management of coastal territories must have been restored, particularly because most probably some settlers were murdered by Carthaginian soldiers by order of their commander.⁷⁰ The development of coastal territories was also inhibited by the Second Punic War taking place in Italy over the next few years, while the local population was forced to support the Republic in the war with supplies and recruits to Roman legions fighting against the Punic commander. Levies related to warfare even led to a brief downturn when the colonists from Sena Gallica refused to serve in the army, and some Latin colonies denied provision of supplies.⁷¹ On top of that, there was also the struggle against Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, who came in support of the earlier in 207, crossing exactly the *ager Gallicus*,⁷² which leads to a conclusion that, in the late 3rd century BCE, these lands could not count on steady and dynamic growth. The settlers could not simply focus on making their living because

2013, eds. M. Bolder-Boos, D. Maschek, Bonn 2016, pp. 117–124; F. Belfiori, "Lucum conlucare Romano more". *Archeologia e religione del "lucus" Pisaurensis*, Bologna 2017. Ariminum: A. Bertrand, op. cit., pp. 432–439. Cf. S. T. Roselaar, *Italy's economic revolution...*, pp. 40–46.

⁷⁰ Polyb. III 86 8–11; Liv. XXII 9 1–2; App. *Hann.* 12; E. T. Salmon, op. cit., p. 84; W. V. Harris, op. cit., pp. 133–134; G. Bradley, *Ancient Umbria. State, culture, and identity in central Italy from the Iron Age to the Augustan era*, Oxford 2000, p. 149.

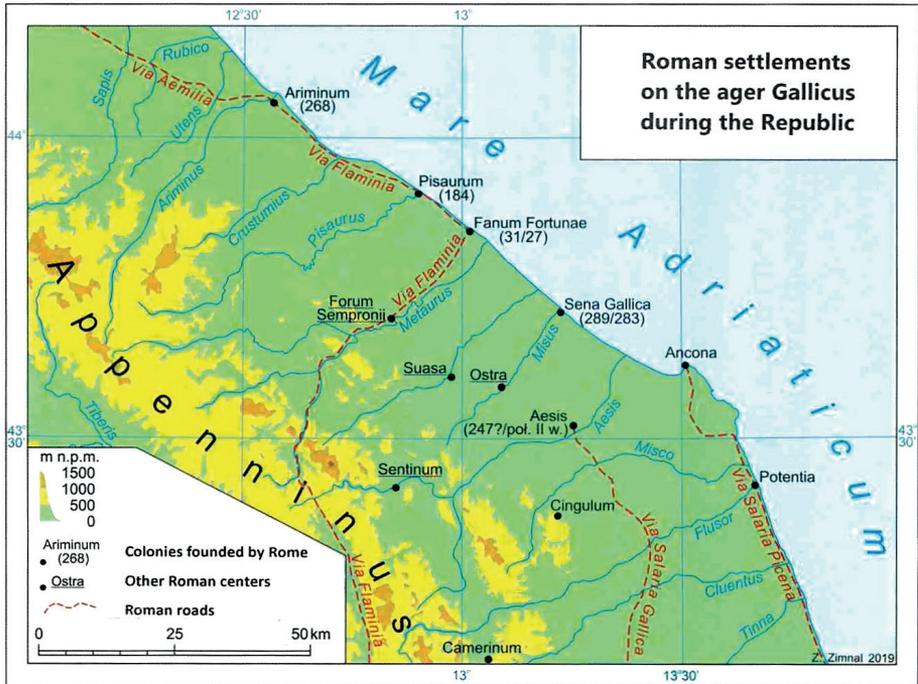
⁷¹ Liv. XXVII 9; 38 3; XXXVI 3 5; XXIX 15; R. E. Smith, *Latins and Roman citizenship in Roman colonies: Livy 34, 42, 5–6*, "The Journal of Roman Studies" 2012, vol. 44 (1), pp. 18–20; E. T. Salmon, op. cit., p. 81.

⁷² Polyb. XI 1–3; Cic. *Brut.* 18 73; Liv. XXVII 38–51; XXVIII 9–10; Hor. *Carm.* IV 4; Sil. Ital. XV 628–808; Frontin. I 1 9; II 3 8; 9 2; IV 7 15; Suet. *Tib.* 2; App. *Hann.* 52 221–223; Flor. I 22; Eutrop. III 18; Ampel. 18 2; 36 3; 46 6; *Vir. Ill.* 48 2; Paul. Oros. IV 18; Sidon. Apolin. *Epist.* 1 5 7; B. Caven, *The Punic Wars*, London 1980, pp. 213–217; N. Alfieri, *La battaglia del Metauro, 207 a.C.*, "Picus" 1988, vol. 8, pp. 7–35.

of the obligations towards the Republic: they paid taxes, constructed and maintained roads, and were drafted to the army. In the period of the Second Punic War, a large number of cohorts was recruited here, while in the entire region over the north and central coast of the Adriatic Sea (*ager Gallicus* and Picenum) – as many as one or two legions.⁷³ Such campaigns would not have been possible if not for the efficient organization of the communities of settlers brought to the *ager Gallicus*, such as the *pagi*, the aforementioned *conciliabula*, for example, Suasa, Ostra, Pisaurum, Sentinum, Fanum, etc., which allowed the settlers to trade with their products on the one hand, but served to enforce duties to the state, including taxes and other levies, on the other. Presumably, these were collected every now and then by the appointed officials, supported by the local magistrature. Moreover, settlers could count on state intervention in local conflicts and disputes, which were resolved on site. This was the role of the *fora* established on important roads, such as Forum Sempronii and perhaps also Aesis, where disputes could be adjudicated. Greater opportunities for the Republic's intervention in the matters of local communities were also provided by the organization of aforementioned prefectures in most settlements in the *ager Gallicus* (most probably in Pisaurum, Fanum Fortunae, Suasa Senonum, Ostra, and Sentinum), regularly visited by officials from Rome (*praefecti iure dicundo*).⁷⁴ Certainly, all such processes required time, but it seems that outposts of such administration could have existed in such smaller locations still before the outbreak of the war against Hannibal, as indicated by efficient drafting of legionnaires and

⁷³ Polyb. III 86 8–11; 87; *Pap. Oxy.* 2088, II. 11–14; Dion. Hal. IV 15 1–4; Liv. XXII 9 1–5; XXIII 14 1–4; 32 16–20; XXIV 10 1–5; 11 1–4; 44 1–5; XXV 3 1–7; XXVII 43 11–12; 44 10–11; Strabo 5.4.13; Silius Italicus *Punica* IV 175; 176; V 208; VIII 438; IX 273; X 312; Plut. *Num.* 16 4; App. *Hann.* 9 11; Eutrop. III 18; A. J. Toynbee, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 10–11, 58, 526–527; E. T. Salmon, op. cit., pp. 82–91; U. Laffi, M. Pasquucci, E. Gabba, op. cit., pp. 16–17; N. Alfieri, *La battaglia del Lago Plestino*, “Picus” 1986, vol. 6, pp. 7–22; Ch. Delplace, op. cit., pp. 8; 27–28; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi...*, pp. 198–200; R. Borgognoni, *Nota sulla geografia dell'arruolamento di Pompeo...*, pp. 16–17; S. Sisani, *In pagis forisque et conciliabulis...*, pp. 603–611; M. Silani, *Città e territorio...*, pp. 54–57.

⁷⁴ *CIL* I² 583; Fest. 262L; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della Conquista...*, pp. 262, 266; *Tra autonomia e integrazione...*, pp. 106–121; G. Cairo, op. cit., pp. 118–119. The status of prefecture at Sentinum: S. Sisani, *Il duovirato nel municipia italici...*, p. 67.



rather regular supplies for the army during the military campaigns.⁷⁵ This points to the important role of these often-underestimated small settlement structures in the maintenance of Roman governance over the conquered territories of Italy.

⁷⁵ D. Gargola, op. cit., pp. 103, 109; E. Bispham, op. cit., p. 12; S. Sisani, *In pagis forisque conciliabilis...*, pp. 603–611; F. Vermeulen, op. cit., pp. 71, 97, 106–107.

