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TRA ETÀ ROMANA E TARDA ANTICHITÀ

Atti della Giornata internazionale di studio, Cassino, 18 aprile 2024

a cura di

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ISTITUTO CENTRALE PER L'ARCHEOLOGIA

FALERII NOVI AND THE VIA AMERINA

MARTIN MILLETT*

Riassunto

Le recenti analisi dei risultati della prospezione con georadar a Falerii Novi offrono nuove prospettive sul rapporto tra la città pianificata e la via Amerina. Sebbene da tempo si suggerisca che la fondazione della nuova città nel 241 a.C. fosse legata alla costruzione della strada, tale ipotesi è stata messa in discussione da Filippo Coarelli, il quale sostiene che la via sia di origine più antica. Tuttavia, in questa interpretazione, l'integrazione della strada con la griglia viaria della città appare problematica. Questo contributo utilizzerà i dati della prospezione geofisica e le recenti osservazioni sul campo per proporre una nuova interpretazione sia della storia della via Amerina sia dello sviluppo del centro romano.

Parole chiave: via Amerina, Falerii Novi, GPR

Abstract

Recent analysis of the results of the Ground-Penetrating Radar survey of Falerii Novi provides new perspectives on the relationship between the planned town and the Via Amerina. Although it has long been suggested that the foundation of the new town in 241BC was linked to the construction of the road, this assumption has been questioned by Filippo Coarelli who maintains that the road is of greater antiquity. However, in this interpretation, the integration of the road with the street grid seems problematic. This paper will use the geophysical survey data and recent field observation to propose a new interpretation of both the history of the Via Amerina and the development of the Roman town.

Keywords: Via Amerina, Falerii Novi, GPR

INTRODUCTION

This brief paper outlines a revised interpretation of the relationship between the Via Amerina and the planning of the city of *Falerii Novi* (fig. 1). It has been written in the light of the results of our Ground-Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey of the whole of the intra-mural area of *Falerii Novi*. The GPR fieldwork was completed in 2017 and forms the basis for our recent re-evaluation of the whole city¹. Our book presenting the results contains a broader discussion and in-depth analysis of issues outlined here. Furthermore, since the completion

of the GPR survey, the newly established *Falerii Novi* Project (a collaboration between the British School at Rome and the Universities of Harvard, London and Toronto) has been undertaking excavations at the site, the results of which seem likely in the future to modify the conclusions presented here. Amongst other things, the new *Falerii Novi* Project has already raised questions about the extent and nature of activity prior to the foundation of *Falerii Novi* in 241 BC.² In addition, a broader review of the Via Amerina and its route has recently been published. In the context of that study, this paper is confined to discussion of the southern part of the route of the road.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

The relationship between *Falerii Novi* and the Via Amerina has been the subject of debate for

¹ The GPR survey (undertaken by Lieven Verdonck) that forms the basis for this paper was the product of a project in 2015-17, *Beneath the Surface of Roman Republican Towns*, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (Grant reference: AH/M006522/1). That work was completed in collaboration with Alessandro Launaro, Lieven Verdonck and Frank Vermeulen; the ideas presented here have been developed in discussion with them. I am most grateful to them for their help and to the organisers of the symposium for the invitation to participate.

² ANDREWS *et al.* 2023.

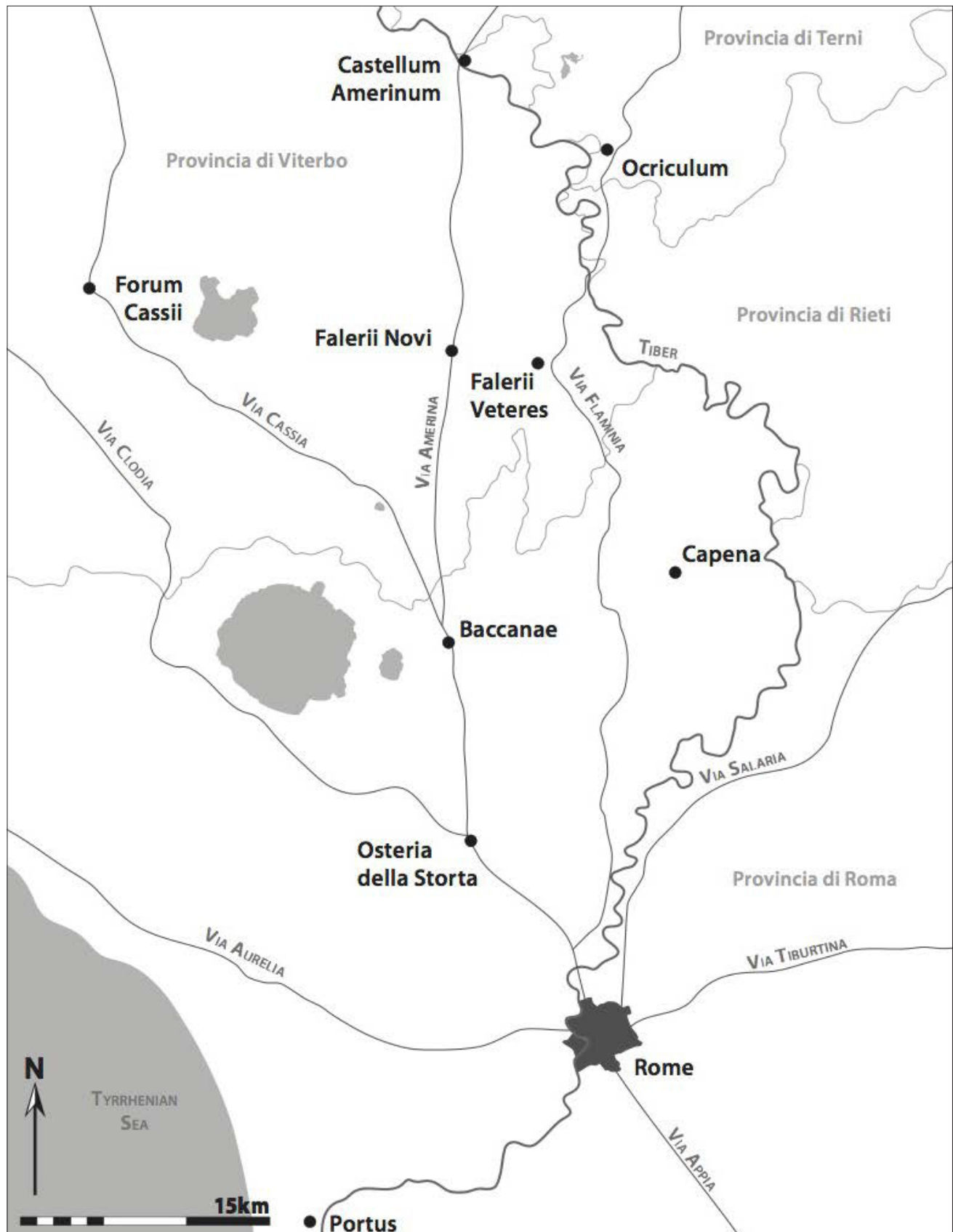


Fig. 1. Map showing the location of *Falerii Novi* in relation to the route of the Via Amerina (Image by S. Hay, Tiber Valley Towns Project).

many years with key contributions recently summarized by Germana Scalese³. There remains uncertainty about the date of the establishment of the road, its name, and its relationship to the foundation of *Falerii Novi*, which itself dates to the period soon after Rome's defeat of the Faliscans and the destruction of their previous centre, now referred to as *Falerii Veteres*, in 241 BC⁴. According to Zonaras' epitome of Cassius Dio⁵, Rome then forcibly relocated the Faliscans to a new site identified as *Falerii Novi*. The status of the new town is debateable, but it now seems unlikely that it was founded as a *colonia latina* and instead we interpret the evidence as suggesting that it was created by local agency⁶. This conclusion raises questions about the cultural identity of *Falerii Novi*, a matter that I have previously discussed⁷.

Our interest in these issues developed in the context of the analysis of the results of our magnetometry (fluxgate gradiometry) survey of the walled area of *Falerii Novi* completed in 1997-98⁸. That work had provided a new understanding of the town's street grid, superseding the interpretation of the layout published by Ivan Di Stefano Manzella⁹. Although earlier fieldwork had correctly shown that the Via Amerina bisected the walled town, the magnetometry survey highlighted the way that this was integral with the primary grid of the town. It also showed that the stretch of road immediately to the north of the town was on a slightly different alignment to that to the south which was continued through the walled area and on which the street grid was established¹⁰. This seemed to support the suggestion by Martin Frederiksen and John Bryan Ward-Perkins¹¹ that the town's construction was intimately connected to the building of the Via Amerina, but left unexplained the change in the alignment of the Via Amerina at the North Gate. We concluded that this difference indicated that the town wall was later in date than previously suggested, being constructed after the primary grid¹².

Building on our analysis of the plan from the magnetometry survey we also proposed a phasing for the development of the town plan, which was elaborated upon in a later paper¹³. The basic phasing then proposed was as follows (fig. 2):

1. Layout of the Via Amerina and a primary street grid comprising a block of insulae along the east-west axis of the site.
2. Development of a peripheral route around the western, northern and eastern sides of the primary grid.
3. Construction of the town walls.
4. Expansion of the street grid up to the walls in the southern part of the walled area.

ALTERNATIVE VIEWS

Two published critiques have questioned these interpretations, suggesting alternative views on the relationship between the town and the Via Amerina. First, Filippo Coarelli¹⁴ questioned the dating for the establishment of the Via Amerina suggested by Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins, asserting that its topographical nomenclature indicates that its origins lay in the 4th century BC, a view elaborated upon more recently by Scalese¹⁵.

Second, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill¹⁶ suggested an alternative sequence for the development of earliest phases:

1. Walls constructed first along with two streets laid-out at right-angles from a *groma* position close to the Nord-East Gate: one axis being sighted on the south-east corner of the town (forming the eastern part of the later peripheral street); the other sighted on the *Capitolium* close to the West Gate (forming one stretch of the northern part of the later peripheral street).
2. The layout of the primary grid.

REVISIONARY THINKING

In considering the results of the new GPR survey we have carefully considered these two critiques and hence we have suggested a new se-

³ SCALESE 2024, pp. 5-6.

⁴ PLB. 1.65.2; LIV. PER. 20.

⁵ D.C. 8.18.

⁶ MILLETT *et al.* 2024, pp. 126-127.

⁷ MILLETT 2007; see also TERRENATO, OPITZ 2024.

⁸ KEAY *et al.* 2000.

⁹ DI STEFANO MANZELLA 1979.

¹⁰ KEAY *et al.* 2000, p. 83.

¹¹ FREDERIKSEN, WARD-PERKINS 1957, p. 187.

¹² KEAY *et al.* 2000, pp. 84-85; MILLETT 2007.

¹³ MILLETT 2007.

¹⁴ COARELLI 2012.

¹⁵ SCALESE 2024, pp. 5-6.

¹⁶ WALLACE-HADRILL 2013, pp. 87-88, fig. 5.7.

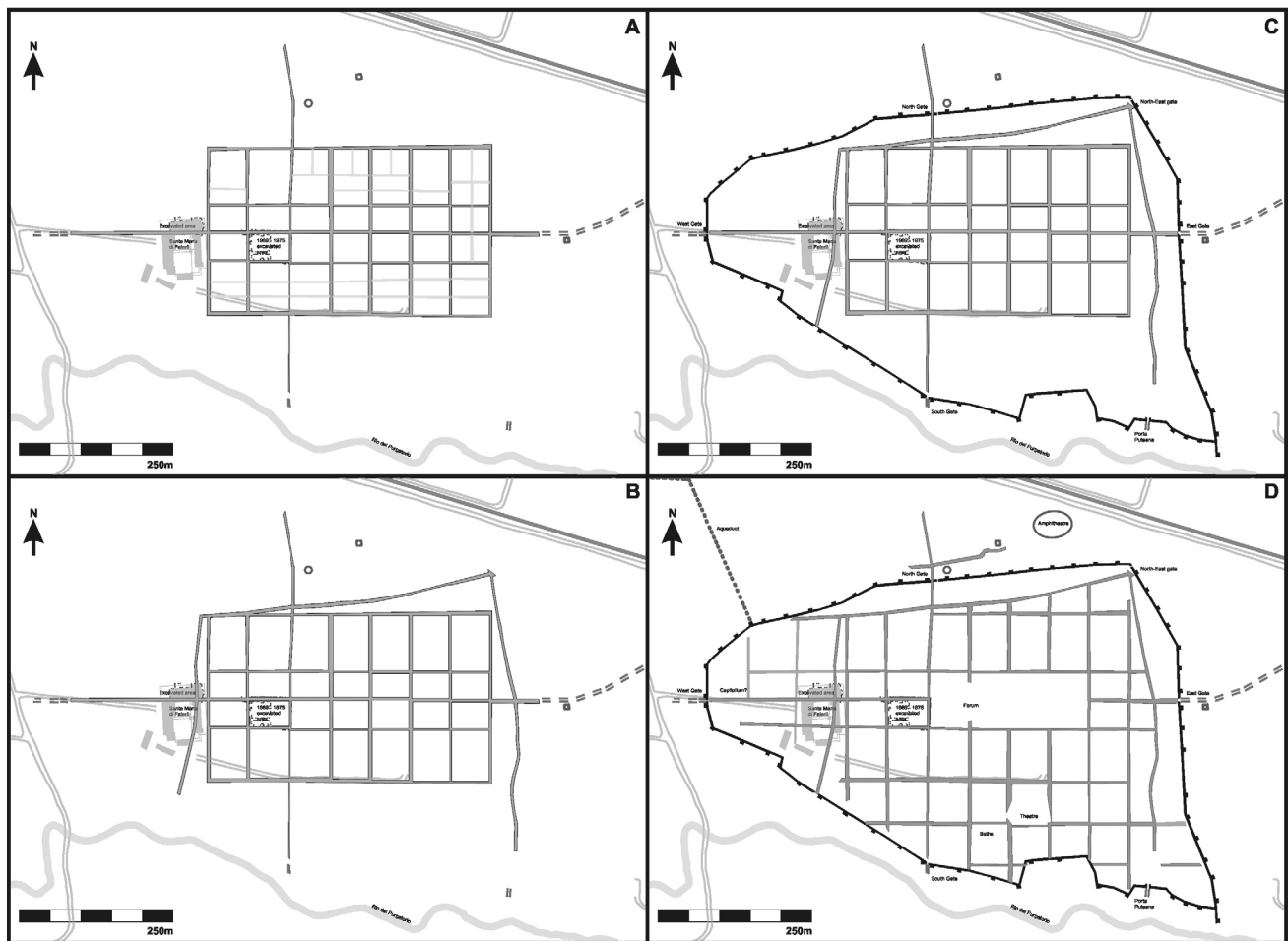


Fig. 2. Summary plan showing phasing of the development of the walled area of *Falerii Novi* as proposed by the author in 2007. (A) Primary Grid; (B) Peripheral Street; (C) Town Walls; (D) Secondary Grid. For the new revised interpretation see Fig. 4 (Image by P. Johnson, Tiber Valley Towns Project).

quence of development for the early phases of the town. It is worthwhile exploring our responses to each of the critiques separately before drawing the strands together to explain our revised conclusions.

Origins of the Via Amerina

In addition to the significance of the topographic name of the Via Amerina noted by Coarelli, it is clear that a route along this line was a prerequisite for the establishment of the *colonia at Nepet* (Nepi), probably dating to 383 BC¹⁷. Furthermore, the defeat and eclipse of *Veii* at the beginning of the 4th century will have radically altered the network of connectivity in the region. In this context, the develop-

ment of a route on the line of the Via Amerina prior to the foundation of *Falerii Novi* seems certain¹⁸. Furthermore, this highlights an awareness of the network of routes that must have connected Etruscan and Faliscan centres prior to Roman annexation of the region with significant links between major centres like *Veii* with *Falerii Veteres* and other places. Despite the pioneering work on the mapping of such routes by Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins¹⁹, they have not subsequently received the attention that they deserve²⁰. It seems most likely that such pre-Roman routes were on the one hand well-established and heavily used, but on the other less developed in terms of their engineering than their

¹⁸ SCALESE 2024.

¹⁹ FREDERIKSEN, WARD-PERKINS 1957; WARD-PERKINS 1957.

²⁰ Cfr. CIFANI *et al.* 2007.

¹⁷ Liv. 6.21.4.

Roman Republican and Imperial successors. The transition from well-established but less formal routes to the developed Roman road system is crucial for understanding the situation at *Falerii*.

In the particular context of this region, we might think schematically of the following evolution. Thus, a pre-Roman network connecting key places (including a series of north-south routes) will have been modified in the course of Roman annexation as some centres were destroyed or declined in significance, whilst new places were added and others increased in importance. With more settled conditions in the local area and Roman expansion further afield, this network was then developed with the enhanced engineering of the key routes that became integral parts of the Roman road network as we know it.

This model can be applied to the Via Amerina if we distinguish more carefully between the “general roteways” that characterised the pre-Roman landscape and the “formal roads” of the Roman period – even when the name of a route remained the same throughout. The route of the Via Amerina (as opposed to the extant Roman road) certainly seems to predate Roman annexation. Thus, we may envisage an evolution from this general north-south routeway into the formal road which branched off the Via Cassia at *Baccanae*.

Such an evolution may be linked with the observations of the route to the south of *Falerii Novi* as discussed by Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins²¹. They noted a contrast in the nature of different parts of the route of the Via Amerina, with the stretch between the Via Cassia and Nepi following an irregular course, interpreted as the formalization of an early route (presumably associated with the establishment of the colony at Nepi in 383 BC), in contrast to that between Nepi and *Falerii* which cuts straight across the landscape with an even gradient created by making cuttings and building bridges across the deep valleys. This latter stretch of the extant road does appear integral with the establishment of the plan of *Falerii Novi* and it was this connection that led them to conclude that this stretch dated to after 241 BC²².

Differentiating between a general route of the pre-Roman period and later straight and paved road leads us back to a reconsideration of the town plan.

The development of the town plan

Wallace-Hadrill's ideas about the early development of the town plan (2013) briefly outlined above are helpful in highlighting the relationship between the peripheral street and the primary grid. However, his alternative narrative is problematic first because the angle of the intersection at his proposed *groma* position close to the North-East Gate is not at 90°, and second since there is no evidence in our surveys for his proposed original straight course of the east-west section of the peripheral street. Nevertheless, his observations do raise the question of why the corner of the peripheral street at the northeast corner lies so distant from the corner of the primary street grid. Furthermore, this draws attention to the fact that there is a series of gates through the town wall associated with the peripheral street (*fig. 3*):

- one at the south-east corner of the town (the *Porta Puteana*), leading to the floor of the valley of the Rio del Purgatorio
- two in the north-east corner of the town, one in the north wall, the other in the east wall
- one possibly in north wall at the north-west (its identification as an ancient access remains uncertain)
- one possibly in the south wall at the south-west leading to the floor of the valley of the Rio del Purgatorio (its identification as an ancient access also remains uncertain)

Looking at the overall layout and this set of gates, it appears that rather than being created to surround the primary street grid as previously suggested (*fig. 2*), the peripheral street is actually composed of a series of three linear sections. One runs approximately east-west across town on the top of the ridge, apparently continuing beyond the town in both directions. The second (at the east) follows a north-south axis and utilizes a natural dip in the ground and connects the valley floor to the ridge (where it forms a cross-roads with the first route) before continuing to the north beyond the town. The third at the west

²¹ FREDERIKSEN, WARD-PERKINS 1957, p. 187.

²² FREDERIKSEN, WARD-PERKINS 1957, p. 187.



Fig. 3. Plan of the walled area of *Falerii Novi* based on results of the GRR and gradiometry surveys showing the location of the gates in the walls and the location of temples (highlighted) (Image by A. Launaro, M. Millett).

also connects the ridge to the valley floor taking advantage of another natural hollow.

Following aspects of Wallace-Hadrill's critique, it seems possible that these elements which survive in the developed layout of the later town are primary, pre-dating the original street grid, and fossilize elements of an earlier topography.

The Via Amerina and town planning

Before turning to consider the implications of these ideas, it is worth considering briefly some issues relating to the pre-Roman communications network. A pre-Roman date for the establishment of the route of Via Amerina seems certain, but as noted above Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins²³ argued that the Roman line of the road to the north of Nepi differs from its earlier course which seems to have been followed in the stretch to the south

of Nepi. In this more northerly stretch it crosses a plateau landscape which is volcanic in origin and is characterized by deeply incised river valleys defined by tall cliffs on either side. These river gorges created major obstacles across the route. Prior to the construction of the bridges that carried the Roman Via Amerina across these rivers, the route must have been more circuitous since river crossings had to be located where access to and from the valley floors could be found. In many cases access would have been provided by the valleys of tributary streams that led down to the main valley floor, but the need to find access on either side of each valley probably meant that the route diverged from a direct course. The problem of such river crossings was later solved in the heavily engineered Roman course of the Via Amerina which followed a straight course in the vicinity of *Falerii*, with cuttings into the bedrock to provide a steady gradient on either side of the bridges that carried the road

²³ FREDERIKSEN, WARD-PERKINS 1957.



Fig. 4. Summary plan showing revised phasing of the development of the walled area of *Falerii Novi* as proposed in this paper. (A) suggested pre-Roman routes, with the pre-Roman course of the Via Amerina at the east; (B) the layout of the primary grid of the Roman town and the Roman course of the Via Amerina; (C) the addition of the town wall; (D) the final development of the plan with the addition of the square insulae of the secondary grid to the south (Image by V. Herring based on work by A. Launaro).

across the valleys²⁴.

This raises the question of the location of the pre-Roman route of the Via Amerina at *Falerii Novi*. Here, optimal access to the floor of the Rio del Purgatorio is provided by the valley in the southeast part of the later town where the *Porta Puteana* (South-East Gate) was located providing access to the eastern branch of the peripheral street discussed above. As this street heads north to the gate in the north wall at the northeast corner of the town, it must presumably have acted as a thoroughfare. We therefore suggest that this street preserves the pre-Roman course of the Via Amerina. It formed a cross roads at the north-

east corner of the town with another long-distance pre-Roman route that was to become the east-west part of the peripheral street, and probably connected the Via Amerina to *Falerii Veteres*²⁵.

This interpretation necessitates a revision of the overall sequence of development of the town and raises again the question of the date of the town walls. In this context, it is worth noting the unusual provision of gates through the town walls. If one excludes a postulated gate in the middle of the south wall of the town²⁶, there appear to be two distinct sets of gateways providing access to the town. One set is integrated with the street grid and the Roman course of the Via Amerina – the North and South

²⁴ FREDERIKSEN, WARD-PERKINS 1957, pp. 97-104; TERRENATO, OPITZ 2024.

²⁵ FREDERIKSEN, WARD-PERKINS 1957, pp. 136-146, fig. 25.

²⁶ McCALL 2007, pp. 97-98; MILLETT *et al.* 2024, p. 74.

Gates along with the East and West Gates (the latter now known as the *Porta di Giove*). The other set (the *Porta Puteana* at the south-east, the two gates at the north-east – in the north and east walls – and the two possible gates at the north-west and south-east) may provide a key to the phasing. If the suggestion that the eastern and northern stretches of the peripheral street preserve the routes of the pre-Roman Via Amerina and a contemporary east-west road, it seems clear that these remained in use at the time of the construction of the town wall, and were served by the North-East, North-West and South-East Gates. By implication, the South-West Gate is presumably contemporaneous, providing a second access to the floor of the Rio del Purgatorio, but this is less certain. However, there is clear evidence that both the North-East Gate and the North-West Gate soon went out of use as quarries were cut across the routes just outside them²⁷. This suggests that the town walls were built at a stage when the pre-Roman routes were still in use but the new Roman roads were already in place. Given the link between the latter and the primary street grid, this must imply that the sequence of the early development was as follows (*fig. 4*):

1. Pre-Roman route of the Via Amerina and east–west route in existence, forming a cross road.
2. Construction of a replacement route of Via Amerina (with new bridges for the river crossings) and layout of the primary grid of *Falerii Novi*. The primary grid seems to have been laid out to respect the pre-Roman routes whilst also being integral with the new course of the Via Amerina.
3. Construction of town walls with gates for both old and new roads.
4. Disuse of the North-West and both North-East Gates.

As the town developed, the pre-Roman routes were integrated into the intramural layout of the new town, coming to form the peripheral road that surrounded the primary grid, but as noted above, with only the gates providing access to the floor of the valley of the Rio del Purgatorio continuing in use. The peripheral street, whilst following an irregular course, seems to have had special significance as a series

of temples are situated along its path (*fig. 3*). As the valley of the Rio del Purgatorio provides a route eastward to the pre-Roman sanctuary of *Juno Curitis* at *Falerii Veteres*²⁸ we suggest that the peripheral street formed part of a sacred way or processional route that linked the new town to its Faliscan predecessor. This is most likely to be the route of the rural procession in honour of *Juno Curitis* that forms the subject of a poem by Ovid²⁹ and it may also be the *via sacra* recorded in an inscription from *Falerii* (*CIL* XI, 3126). This is recorded as having connected the *chalcidicum* to the grove of *Juno Curitis*³⁰. The continued use and adaption of this historic path arguably provide a better understanding for its importance within the new town and raises again the issue of how Faliscan identity was integrated under Roman hegemony.

CONCLUSION

I hope that this account of changing interpretations for the relationship between *Falerii Novi* and the Via Amerina has illustrated three key points. First, I believe it shows the potential value of geophysical survey in providing large-scale evidence for urban research. I would stress that such techniques of research provide information that is complementary to excavation but of equal value, allowing the interpretation of topography of whole cities in new ways. Second, I trust that the ideas developed here are helpful in developing our broader understanding of the evolution of pre-Roman routes and their integration into the Roman road system. This is surely a topic of wider significance and one where further research would be of interest in a number of places. Finally, I trust that by exploring the ways in which my earlier ideas have been modified by critique and the collection of new evidence, I have provided a case study in the development of archaeological reasoning.

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²⁷ MILLETT *et al.* 2024, p. 79.

²⁸ FREDERIKSEN, WARD-PERKINS 1957, p. 190.

²⁹ *Ov. am.* 3.13.

³⁰ MILLETT *et al.* 2024, pp. 82–85.

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