

La Civita near Artena in the Province of Rome *

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The remains of an ancient city which form the object of these researches are situated upon a lofty plateau at the northern extremity of the Volscian Mountains (now known as the Monti Lepini) at a distance of a mile or so from the village of Artena dei Volsci or *Monte Fortino*, as it was called till 1873. The ascent from the bottom of the village, involving as it does a steep climb of some 1000 feet, takes as a rule about an hour. This plateau is known as the Piano della Civita ("the plateau of the old town" — for this is the constant meaning of Civita in Italy) and attains a maximum elevation of 632 m (2073 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet) above sea-level. It is isolated on the east and west by deep ravines, and is connected only on the south side with the main range of hills; but even on this side the ground falls away rather sharply, except along a narrow neck, which is traversed by the path to Rocca Massima (identified by many topographers with the Arx Carventana of Livy (IV, 53, 55, 56), though there is no decisive evidence either positive or negative). The view is very fine and extensive, embracing the Alban Hills from Velletri to Rocca Priora, the Hernican Mountains and the valley of the Sacco, and a part of the Pomptine Marshes with the sea beyond. The site is, in fact, the last outpost to the north of the Volscian range, and projects a long way forward of it. (See Map of La Civita near Artena and Environs, [Plate XI](#).)

The distance from Rome to the modern village of Artena is only twenty-four miles as the crow flies, while by the Via Latina, which passes just below Artena to the north, it is twenty-seven; but the train-service is by no means good, while the village itself contains, as far as the senses can perceive, no decent night-quarters, and the virtue of cleanliness seems to be at a discount. An early start from Rome and a late return were found to give five hours at the most for work on the site, and often even less time was available. It will be obvious that these

39 km

43 km

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circumstances have added considerably to the difficulties of our task; but perhaps the greatest disappointment was the discovery, made when the survey was already well in progress, that the site had been previously described, and a plan made, by M. René de la Blanchère (*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, vol. I (1881), pp. 161-180, and plates iv, v). Further study proved, however, that his plan, although correct in its general outlines, was susceptible of improvement and amplification; while the description was capable of being supplemented by a series of adequate illustrations, the single sketch of a fragment of the city-wall (taken from the southern part of the west side) given by M. de la Blanchère being decidedly unsatisfactory. It was thought better, therefore, to complete the survey (see Plan, [Plate XII](#)) and publish the results.

The identification of the site with any of the ancient towns of the district, the names of which have been preserved to us, is not easy. De la Blanchère discusses the question at length and (p. 178) inclines to see in the name *Monte Fortino*, which belonged to the village in 1226 (Nibby, *Analisi della Carta dei Dintorni di Roma*, vol. I, p. 264, citing F. Contelori's history of the Conti family (*Genealogia Familiae Comitum Romanorum*, Rome, 1650), who were once its owners), a survival of the Φορτίνεῖοι, mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus ([V, 61](#)) among the thirty cities which formed the Latin league in or about the year 384 B.C. (Mommsen, *History of Rome*, 1903, vol. I, p. 448); and he further identifies with them the Foretii, who occur in the list given by Pliny ([N.H. III, 5; 69](#)) of the peoples of Latium who, at the time at which he wrote, had utterly disappeared.

The modern name of the village is the result of the adoption of the theory of Gell (*Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*, p. 110) and Nibby (*op. cit.* p. 262). Artena is mentioned only once, by Livy ([IV, 61](#)):

"Artena inde, Volscorum oppidum, ab tribunis obsideri coepita. inde inter eruptionem temptatam conpulso in urbem hoste occasio data est Romanis inrumpendi, praeterque arcem cetera capta. in arcem munitam natura globus armatorum concessit, infra arcem caesi caplique multi mortales. arx deinde obsidebatur; nec aut vi capi poterat, quia pro spatio loci satis praesidii habebat, aut spem dabat ditionis omni publico frumento, priusquam urbs caperetur, in arcem convecto. taedioque recessum inde foret, ni servus arcem Romanis prodidisset. ab eo milites per locum arduum accepti cepere; a quibus cum custodes trucidarentur, cetera multitudo repentina pavore oppressa in ditionem venit. diruta et arce et urbe Artena reductae legiones ex Volscis, omnisque via Romana Veios conversa est."

From this description it will be seen that Artena was a city having a citadel distinct from the rest of the town; but Nibby is wrong in believing that this is the case at La Civita. As de la Blanchère points out (p. 174), the great terrace (No. 11 on our Plan) cannot have been the arx. One might suppose that to have occupied the eminence to the north-northwest (which is connected with the rest of the hill only by a narrow neck) if it were not that this presents no traces of walls whatsoever, and would seem to have been omitted from the circuit of the city. It is precisely at this point that the road from the north entered it (No. 2 on the Plan).

Other names have been suggested: Ortona¹ (Liv. III, 30), Corbio (*ibid.*), which both seem to have been situated in the Alban Hills, and finally Ecetra, the position of which, as indicated in the classical authors, accords fairly well with that of the Piano della Civita (Liv. III, 4, 10; VI, 31. Dionys. IV, 49; X, 21). It seems to have been situated on the edge of the territory of the Volsci, and close to that of the Aequi, and also to have been on that side of the Volscian Hills which is closest to Algidus: both these features would agree with the site of La Civita. It was absolutely destroyed in 378 B.C., and Pliny enumerates it among the lost cities of Latium. It seems, therefore, at least possible to identify La Civita with Ecetra, though the similarity of the name Monte Fortino with that of the Φορτινεῖοι or *Foretii* has something to recommend it. But in either case, the statements of our classical authorities that these places were utterly destroyed would require to be taken *cum grano*; and it would perhaps be wiser to assume their correctness, and refuse to attempt to give a name to the place. For, in the present state of our knowledge, it must at once be said that it is quite impossible to assign a date to the remains we have before us. They consist of the circuit of the outer defensive walls, and of the remains of constructions in the interior, both for the most part built in what is variously known as the Pelasgic, Cyclopean, or polygonal style. There are, however, a few traces of concrete, faced with opus incertum, *in situ*, and numerous fragments of baked bricks and tiles are scattered over the site. The walls present, it is true, an extremely ancient appearance, being faced with boulders of the rough pale-gray limestone found upon the site itself, which as a rule is so stratified as to have a natural tendency to break into rectangular blocks. No traces of their having been worked or smoothed in any way are to be detected. They are laid without mortar, and the interstices are filled with smaller stones. The inner mass of the walls (which are as a rule embanking-walls, the only exception being at the northwest corner of the outer city-wall, between Nos. 2 and 20 on the Plan, *Plate XII*) is made up of smaller stones and earth.

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¹This place seems to be mentioned also by Dionysius (VIII, 91; X, 26), but in both cases the reading is doubtful (de la Blanchère, p. 176).

The primitiveness of the construction, and the fact that mortar is not employed, may be held to argue a certain antiquity. Compared with the circuit-walls of other towns of the neighborhood, those of La Civita are extremely rough and badly built; though, considering how exposed the site is, the influence of the weather upon the stone should be taken into account. The old theory that all polygonal walls are prehistoric hardly needs refutation: a day spent among the olive-clad slopes below Tivoli will reveal a sufficient number of terrace-walls obviously belonging to Roman villas to prove its absurdity:² not even the so-called ignorance of the principle of the arch, as displayed, for example, in the Porta Saracinesca at Segni, can stand as a proof of high antiquity. Similar cases may be found in a drain passing through the substruction of the Via Appia at Itri; in another drain passing through an embankment of the Via Salaria, some thirty miles from Rome, which is known as Ponte del Diavolo (*Annali dell'Instituto*, 1834, p. 107); in a villa of the Roman period at Scauri, near Formia; and, finally, though on a far smaller scale, in a hypocaust-opening in a building discovered in 1902 in the Romano-British city of Caerwent (Venta Silurum), in Monmouthshire, England, the date of which cannot possibly be earlier than about 50 A.D.,³ and is in all probability a good deal later.

And now excavations have brought proof that the fortifications of Norba, about ten miles to the south of La Civita, on the western edge of the Volscian range, are of Roman date! The report (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1901, pp. 514-559) is worthy of study. The necropolis was unfortunately not found, and this is to be deplored, as the approximate date of the foundation of the city and the period during which it existed could thus have been more certainly determined than in any other way. But within the core and beneath the foundations of a part of the wall of the east side, in such positions that they could not have been introduced after the construction of the wall (*op. cit.*, p. 548), fragments of pottery belonging undoubtedly to the Roman period were found; and so it would appear certain that the walls of Norba must be attributed at the earliest to the period of the foundation of the “*nova colonia, quae arx in Pomptino esset*” (*Liv. II, 34*) in 492 B.C. It is, further, remarkable that a careful examination of the walls of Norba has completely upset the traditional chronology of polygonal constructions.⁴ The most recent writer on the subject, G. B. Giovenale (“I monumenti preromani del Lazio,” in *Dissertazioni dell'Accademia Pontificia*, serie II, tomo VII), while admitting that in certain cases they must be assigned to the Roman period,⁵ divides them, in general, into three groups, corresponding to

²Cf. also p. 4 [alias p. 90], below.

³*Archaeologia*, LVIII, 2 (1903), p. 397, fig. 2.

⁴The remarks on this subject in W. Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece* (vol. I, p. 68) require correction.

⁵The most striking of these is the platform of a large villa at Grotte Torri in the Sabine country,

different styles and dates. In the first we have large blocks, hardly worked at all, with rough faces and rounded angles; in the second, smaller blocks, with the faces left more or less rough, but the joints smoothed; in the third, larger blocks again, but with the faces carefully smoothed, the joints worked, but not so finely as the faces, and a strong tendency towards horizontality. Small filling blocks and insets are not uncommon.

But, most unfortunately, at Norba we find the most perfect type (the third) used precisely in those places which were most exposed to attack, and would therefore have been the first to be fortified; and the angle to the left of the Porta Grande is the point of contact of walls of the second and third styles, in which it is clear that the third style supports the second. So that the usual chronology of these walls is not reliable; and hence, although perhaps the walls of La Civita are rougher than anything to be found at Norba, this roughness cannot in itself be regarded as sufficient evidence of high antiquity. Excavation alone can solve the problem definitely; and the site, being absolutely unoccupied by modern buildings, could easily be carefully examined, and would be well worthy of the attention of the Italian authorities.

It is worth noting, further, that the excavations at Norba brought to light traces of life on the site from the sixth century B.C. to the eighth or ninth of our era.⁶ It is possible, inasmuch as Pliny (N.H. III, 5; 69,70) enumerates it again the cities of Latium “*quae interiere sine vestigiis*,” that it suffered a temporary eclipse after its destruction by Sulla; but there is material evidence of a revival of prosperity under the Empire. As this may likewise have been the case with La Civita, the statements of the classical writers are perhaps no bar to either of the identifications proposed (p. 2 [alias p. 88]).

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not far from the station of Fara Sabina, where the outer face of the wall of the platform is of very fine masonry, with the blocks carefully smoothed on all sides, while the inner face is of opus incertum. The whole wall is only 1.20 m in thickness, and is pierced by loophole-windows, which serve to light a cryptoporticus that runs around the inside of the platform: so that there can be no question of the contemporaneity of the whole wall, nor of the necessity of assigning it to the Roman period.

⁶ Subsequent excavations in the interior of the city are described in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, pp. 229-262.

The site in its unexplored state so strikingly resembled what may be seen at Artena that the parallel is interesting and important.

A little below and to the south of the temple of Juno there is a large rectangular terrace, supported on three sides by fine walls of polygonal blocks (pp. 238, 239, figs. 8, 9). Its front, facing southwest, is 24 m long. In the centre of the terrace lies an area measuring 15 × 13 m (fig. 10), paved with smaller blocks. This is surrounded by a crepido and by a line of stones set on edge, which rise slightly above the area enclosed. The latter was discovered at a depth of some 40 cms. below the surface of the ground.

A paved road led to the terrace from the northeast.

We may now proceed to describe La Civita itself and the remains which are to be found there. The site attains its greatest elevation at the north end (632 m = 2073½ feet). The ground slopes away towards the south and west rather gently (the southern slope being by far the longer), but much more abruptly towards the north and east (except for the neck by which it is connected with the rocky knoll to the north-northwest). Its greatest extension from north to south is about 825 m, and from east to west about 525 m (de la Blanchère gives 894 m and over 650 m.)

The external walls are fairly well preserved along the whole of the west side and on the south and southeast. On the east side, a little to the south of the point where the path usually followed from Artena enters them (No. 4 on Plan), they disappear, and, the slope being very abrupt, they may not have extended farther to the north on this side. On the north side, however, they certainly existed, though traces of them are extremely scanty at the present time. De la Blanchère seems to have seen them in a far more perfect condition, for he remarks that they were preserved “sans solution de continuité” from C to D on his plan (No. 27 to No. 28 on our Plan) for a distance of 342 m (p. 166).

The city probably had two important gates. The first was at the northwest extremity, where there is a break in the wall, and where the *col*, connecting it with the knoll on which is situated the trigonometrical point 621, comes up to the plateau. Here are traces (marked 1 on the Plan) of the substruction-wall of a road ascending southwestward, which must have followed, more or less, the line of a steep modern path. Serangeli (see below, [p. 16](#) [alias p. 100]) brings it up from La Cacciata, some two miles northwest of Artena, passing on the way some reservoirs and a place where, in his day (1717), antiquities of a date posterior to the abandonment of La Civita had been found. This gate (No. 2 on Plan) must have been situated between the fragment of wall 3 (which has now disappeared) and 1.

The second important gate was almost certainly situated on the east side, near point 4, where the easier modern path enters the plateau of La Civita, perhaps on the line of the prolongation of a substruction-wall 5 (see below, [p. 8](#) [alias p. 92]), *i.e.* almost exactly where the city-wall ceases to be preserved, though, owing to the height of the bank, it may be safer to locate it nearer to point 4. In any case, however, de la Blanchère puts it a good deal too far north, the slope towards the north at the point indicated by him being very abrupt. Serangeli makes a road enter from this side, and de la Blanchère (p. 170) speaks of having seen its substruction-walls on the east side of the mountain, believing it to be the same as a road of which traces are to be seen in the hills between Segni and Monte Fortino.

Besides these two gates there are two small posterns on the west side (marked



FIGURE 1. – A POSTERN ON THE WEST SIDE OF LA CIVITA
No. 6 on the Plan. Width, 2.85 m



FIGURE 2. – A POSTERN WITH ADJOINING WALL ON THE WEST SIDE
No. 7 on the Plan. Width, 2.85 m

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6 and 7 on the Plan and shown in Figs. 1 and 2), each 2.85 m in width.⁷ Owing to the precipitous character of the slope, neither of them can have had any great importance, or have served to admit anything more than a mountain path; that which entered at No. 6 may have ascended from the Grotta di Catauso, a natural fissure in the limestone rock, which it was impossible for us to explore owing to the water within. It is not unlikely that the water-supply of the ancient city may have been partly derived from this cave.

The curious inward bend of the wall just before the extreme south point is reached is not apparently connected with a gate, for the wall is well preserved, and there are no traces of any opening. It is possible, on the other hand, that there was a gate where a path now leaves the site at the south end (No. 8 on Plan), at which point there is now a gap in the wall; and there may conceivably have been another in the great angle in the west side, where a modern path also passes out of the site, but over the wall, the extreme angle being now covered by an accumulation of earth (No. 9 on Plan). The fragment of the substruction-wall which possibly belongs to a road (No. 5) may have turned slightly so as to reach this angle, or may have turned more, so as to lead farther northward,

⁷The site of the postern at point 6 may be seen in Fig. 8



FIGURE 3. – A SECTION OF THE CITY-WALL OF CIRCEII

perhaps to the gate at No. 6 on the Plan.

The city-wall itself is constructed of blocks of the local limestone. An average size is difficult to give, but the faces of the larger blocks may be stated to measure about 1 m by 0.75 m. The thickness of the wall is given by de la Blanchère as averaging 2 m; we measured 2.13 m in the stretch of wall going southeast just beyond the gate at No. 7, and 2.25 m in the long stretch going south from point 10. The only portion now preserved above the inner ground-level is between points 1 and 7 on our Plan, and it measures 2.25 m in thickness at that level, above which it rises to a height of 2.80 m. An illustration is given (Fig. 3), showing a section of the similar city-wall of Circeii which is of about the same thickness; but this necessarily decreases as the wall rises, to insure its stability. The maximum height preserved in the circuit of the wall of La Civita is 3.80 m, but this is at a point near 10 in the Plan, where it does not rise above the inner ground-level.

It is obvious that walls of this style are unsuited to stand free, as in order to secure stability they must needs be wider at the base than at the top. For embanking-walls, on the other hand, polygonal masonry is not open to objection, and is often used even nowadays by railway engineers.

Specimens are given of the city-wall. Fig. 4 shows the outer wall near a point A between the two gates Nos. 6 and 7; Fig. 5 the same, just south of point No. 9;

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FIGURE 4. – A PIECE OF THE OUTER WALL ON THE WEST SIDE
Near point A, between the posterns at Nos. 6 and 7



FIGURE 5. – A PIECE OF THE OUTER WALL ON THE WEST SIDE
South of point 9

Fig. 6 the same, at still another point on the west side; Fig. 7 shows the entire southwest portion of the site (taken from near gate No. 6); Fig. 8 is a view from the south end of the site, showing the wall from point 6 to point 9 on the Plan.

The remains within the circuit of the wall consist, in the first place, of a great massive terrace (No. 11 on Plan) facing south-southwest, the front of which is 167 m in length (Fig. 9). The east-southeast side of it can be traced for a distance of about 87 m, but the west-northwest side has almost entirely disappeared. The work is a trifle more careful than it is in the city-wall. The maximum height is about 6 m near the west end of the front-wall (Figs. 10 and 11), the central portion of which is a good deal broken away. The part preserved there (Fig. 12), about 5 m high and 2 m thick, contains a block measuring on the face 2.40 by 2.40 m to its extreme points, the largest we have found upon the site. At a distance of 10.50 m inward from the outer face of this wall another similar but smaller one (No. 12 on Plan), at present scarcely preserved above the ground-level, can be traced for a distance of 53.70 m going west-northwest and 12.50 m going north-northeast. There was, we were told, a concrete flooring to the platform which is supported on the south by these substruction-walls, at a depth of about 0.75 m. This area, which extends for about 90 m back from the front of the terrace to the rocks that rise decidedly behind it (No. 29 on Plan), while its

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FIGURE 6. – THE OUTER WALL AT ANOTHER POINT ON THE WEST SIDE



FIGURE 7. – THE SOUTHWEST END OF LA CIVITA VIEWED FROM POINT 9
The Monti Lepini in the distance



FIGURE 8. – THE OUTER WALL OF LA CIVITA BETWEEN POINTS 6 AND 9
Viewed from the south end of the site. The Alban Hills in the distance



FIGURE 9. – A GENERAL VIEW OF THE WALL SUPPORTING THE FRONT OF THE GREAT
INNER TERRACE
From the south



FIGURE 10. – THE WEST END OF THE WALL SUPPORTING THE FRONT OF THE GREAT
INNER TERRACE
Near point 16 on the Plan

breadth is probably somewhat less than that of the great front-wall, can never have been the arx; it is not in any way defensible and is overlooked by the highest point within the walls. De la Blanchère (p. 170) is probably quite correct in saying that it was the site of the forum of the city and also of the temple of the protecting deity. (Compare [p. 5, note 6](#) [alias p. 90, note 3].)

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At the highest point itself there is a rectangular depression in the rock, 2 or 3 m in depth (No. 13 on Plan), the sides of which are partly lined with masonry. It measures 22 by 13.40 m, and was very likely, as de la Blanchère suggests, a cistern (p. 169).

The long wall (No. 11) of the great terrace, near its west end (No. 14 on Plan), has a parallel wall of opus incertum built against it, 0.75 m thick, and from the terrace-wall run several parallel walls (Nos. 15 on Plan) of opus incertum, more easily traced at the time when de la Blanchère visited the site than at present. From the southwest angle of the terrace ran another wall (No. 16 on Plan), ending in a concrete foundation which is still to be seen (No. 17 on Plan). To the west, northwest, and southwest of this point no further remains of buildings were traceable, though the blocks of the limestone, which by nature fractures



FIGURE 11. – THE HIGHEST PART IN THE WESTERN REMNANT OF THE WALL
SUPPORTING THE FRONT OF THE GREAT INNER TERRACE
Plainly visible in Fig. 9 to the left

rectangularly, often tempt one to believe that one has detected traces of foundations, which after more careful inspection have to be rejected.

There are, however, other remains within the city-wall, which de la Blanchère seems to have failed to observe. To the east of the great terrace is another low wall (No. 18 on Plan), marked as uncertain by de la Blanchère (O on his plan) and connected by him with a gate which he wrongly supposes to have existed on the line of the prolongation east-southeast of the great terrace-wall (N on his plan). It runs almost parallel to the eastern side-wall of the terrace, and *seems* to have a rectangular termination at its northeast end. A little farther down the slope, and very nearly in the same straight line with it, is another wall which supports a road, 8.50 m in width (No. 19 on Plan), paved with large blocks of limestone. This road can be traced southward as far as 20, where it stops; but close to this point there was probably an important junction of roads coming from the gates, which we have conjecturally marked at Nos. 4, 8 and 9 on our Plan (see pp. 5 and 8 [alias pp. 91 and 92] above). The wall 18 apparently marks the prolongation northward of this road, and the turn at right angles at its northeast end probably means that close to this point it turned and entered

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FIGURE 12. – AN ISOLATED PIECE OF THE WALL SUPPORTING THE FRONT OF THE
GREAT INNER TERRACE
Plainly visible in Fig. 9 near the middle

the area of the great terrace.

On each side of the lower portion of the road are foundations of polygonal blocks of smaller size; on the northwest side terrace-walls (Nos. 21-23 on Plan with possibly another terrace between 22 and 23), and on the southeast side the foundations of a small building (No. 24 on Plan). To the south of point 5 (see p. 6 [alias p. 91]) we saw no definite remains of buildings. De la Blanchère speaks of roads as possibly traceable from the gates numbered 6 and 9 going towards the north end of the western side-wall of the great terrace and the highest point of all; of these we saw no traces. He saw also other traces of walls on the site, too indistinct to be put upon the plan.

It does not appear that there was much more to be seen two centuries ago. Serangeli, the author of a manuscript history of Monte Fortino (*Notizie istoriche della Terra di Monte Fortino*, 1717), now preserved at the *Municipio* of the modern village of Artena,⁸ speaks of the site as “ripieno di varj vestigj di ruine e fran-

⁸In the course of our various visits to Artena, the lack of time has never permitted of our examining this manuscript, a task which, indeed, seemed unnecessary, inasmuch as it has been searched both by de la Blanchère and by Stevenson — the latter in his work of collection of materials for the tenth volume of the CIL (*ibid.* p. 591).



FIGURE 13. – OBJECTS OF TERRA-COTTA SAID TO HAVE BEEN FOUND AT LA CIVITA

tumi di terracotta." Already at his time it was entirely under cultivation, as it is at present, though the grain it produces is not very flourishing. He only saw some subterranean vaults (which de la Blanchère supposes to have been cisterns), and even these were partly destroyed. De la Blanchère, in commenting on this passage, remarks that fragments of bricks and terra-cotta are extremely rare upon the site (p. 168). Our experience does not bear out his statement: there is a great quantity of broken bricks, flange-tiles, and pottery of Roman date⁹ (mostly, to be sure, in small pieces, of very coarse material and inferior manufacture, some baked red, some baked gray), and terra-cottas are said to have been found in two places at the east edge of the northern part of the site (Nos. 25 and 26 on Plan). Some of the latter, now in the archaeological collection of the University of Michigan, are shown in Fig. 13.

Of the modern village, little remains to be said. Half-way down to it, at a place called *Serrone del Patto* (or *Fatto*), Serangeli (manuscript, fol. 20) speaks of the discovery of debris of constructions, pieces of marble, and of a lead pipe one-third of a palm (7.41 cm) in diameter, bearing the inscription, L VINIVS ONESIMVS FEC, at intervals (CIL x, 5977). There were seen traces of a villa (possibly the same building), consisting of a wall, 80 cm thick, of small polygonal blocks, with debris of amphorae, tiles, etc., on the slope below the path which leads up on the east side of the site. In the church of S. Maria there is an altar (used now as a holy-water basin and placed upside down), bearing in low relief on the three sides which are visible the emblems of Jupiter (eagle and

⁹A piece of black glazed pottery was also found; it is a part of the bottom of a small bowl. On its inner side are four impressions of a mark shaped like this figure,  (in one-half of the actual size). Judging from their positions, six were grouped in the centre of the vessel so as to form a regular figure like this, , the five outer ones having the open end turned inward.



FIGURE 14. – THE FRONT OF A ROMAN ALTAR
Now in the church of S. Maria between Artena and La Civita

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thunderbolt, Fig. 14), Juno (peacock), and Minerva (owl and helmet, the latter lettered AΘH, Fig. 15). The material is Greek marble, and the work is good. The base measures 50 cm in length, the plain plinth 5 cm, the moulding 6.45 cm in height, while the sculptured panel is 35.5 cm high and 36.5 cm wide. The plain little church itself has been modernized, but contains many fragments of eighth-century carving built into the altar steps.

In the town there is little to be seen: the principal church (S. Croce), near the top of the town (Fig. 16), has two panels of Cosmatesque work (twelfth century) built into the façade, and two more within the floor. In the sacristy is preserved the inscription CIL x, 5987, seen by us, where Stevenson's DLCIMIO must be a misprint for DECIMIO, the whole running thus:

P. DECIMO BOETHO



FIGURE 15. – THE RIGHT SIDE OF A ROMAN ALTAR (SEE FIG. 14)

B(ene) · M(erenti) · CONIVGI · SVO

Beside the church on the west a very wide and deep fissure in the limestone has recently developed (Figs. 16 and 17), and a similar deep depression exists farther to the east, reducing the width of the town at this point to about 150 m.

Farther down the town we saw the inscription CIL x, 5984, described as “arca” (really a slab, 0.95 m in height), said by Serangeli to have been found in the quarto della Pescara, three miles to the southwest of the village, “in una collinetta vicino alla selva,” and to be in his own possession (manuscript, fol. 21). Stevenson saw it in the *scuole comunali*: it now forms the threshold of a doorway, and its right-hand side is no longer visible. We give what we saw of the text in capitals, and the remainder in small italics:

D · M



FIGURE 16. – VIEW OF ARTENA FROM THE ROAD LEADING TO LA CIVITA
It shows the deep fissure west of the church, and the Alban Hills in the distance



FIGURE 17. – THE WEST SIDE OF ARTENA AND THE CHASM
View from the terrace beside the church (see Fig. 16)

P COMICio
PHILOPHYRso
COMICIA · ATHEnais
CONIVGI · et
P · COMICIVS · EVSebes
PATRI · B · M · Fecep (sic)

p. 105

There is also in the *Palazzo Borghese* (belonging to the Roman family of that name, who are the owners of Artena) a tufa sarcophagus found at the *Colle Treare*, near the twenty-fourth mile of the Via Latina, described in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1890, p. 325, and a bust of a bearded Roman. Stevenson saw there a mill (*catillus*) of stone, bearing the inscription HOP (CIL x, 5997); the letters were, however, indistinct and the reading should probably have been HOS (cf. CIL x, 8057, 7).

Outside is the milestone, CIL x, 6884, the inscription of which is now almost illegible. It ran thus:

D N
IMP CAES
CL IVLIA no
Pio felici
augusto
xXXIIII

It must have belonged to the Via Latina from the place at which it was found. The number is quite uncertain; but the problems connected with it cannot be discussed here.

p. 107

Opposite the palace is a fragment of a female statue.

The only sepulchral inscription which Stevenson saw here is CIL x, 5979,

BASILIUS
VIXSIT ANN
HIC · OBITUS · A[nte patrem cubat pater]
INFELIX FECI · QUI · CAR[ui optimo filio?]

CIL x, 5986, was also recorded as having been found here by Serangeli (manuscript, fol. 16), while two other authors give two different localities where they saw it, in neither of which could Stevenson find it. It runs thus:

D · M ·
T · CRVSTIDIVS
PRISCVS · COIV
GI SVAE QVINT

INIAE · CALLIS
TENI · BENEME
RENTI · FECIT · Q
VE · CONVIXIT · M
ECV ANNIS · P · M
XX · SINE VLLA · Q
VERELLA

There are no others belonging to Artena itself, as distinct from the Via Latina which passes close under it (see the small Map on [Plate XI](#) and *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. I, map VIII).

The authors acknowledge with pleasure their indebtedness to Messrs. Albert R. Crittenden, Henry M. Gelston, and John W. Beach, formerly members of the American School, for some help in surveying and measuring the walls of La Civita.

The present description has been compiled by Mr. Ashby, Assistant-Director of the British School, with the aid of Mr. Pfeiffer's notes, while the latter is in the main responsible for the plan, the photographs having been contributed by both of us. The work, being therefore fairly divided between us, is, in a sense, one of the first-fruits of the cordial friendship between the American and the British schools at Rome.

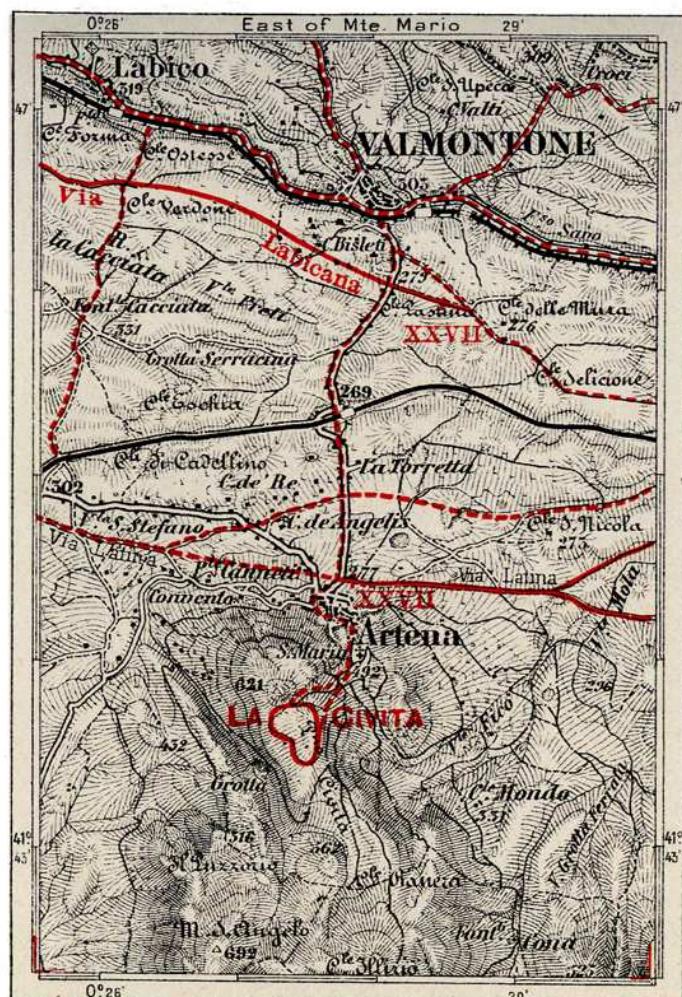
ROME, *March*, 1904.

THOMAS ASHBY, JR.,
GEORGE J. PFEIFFER.

APPENDIXES

THE LINKS OF THE DOCUMENT

LA CIVITA near ARTENA and Environs.



Roman Roads ————— Probable Roman Roads

SCALE 1:100,000 ELEVATIONS IN METERS

0 . 1 . 2 .

ANCIENT ROADS between ROME and LA CIVITA

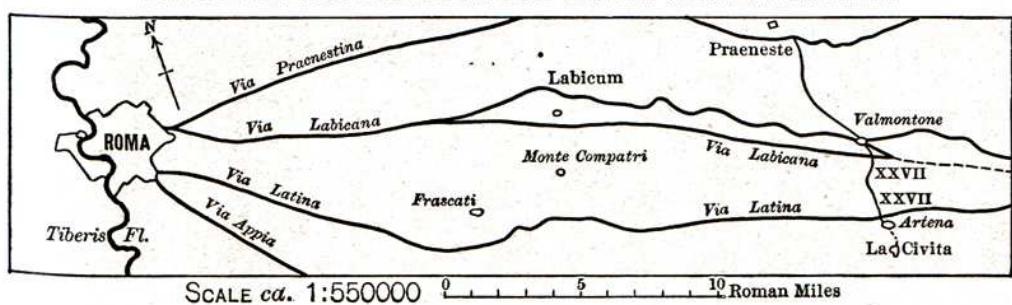


FIGURE 18. – Plate XI

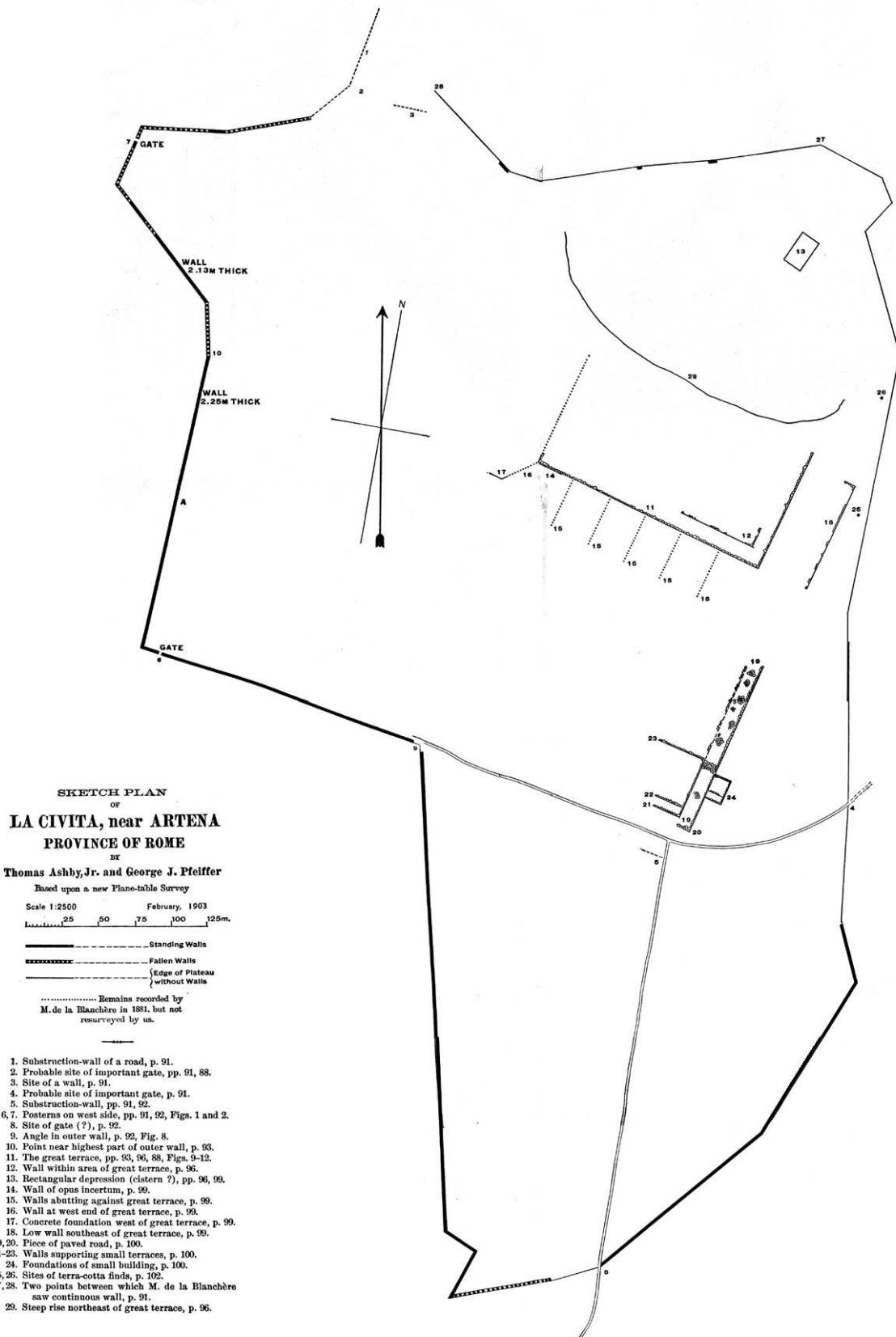


FIGURE 19. – Plate XII

Titi Livy: ***Ab Urbe Condita***

Liber II

[34] Consules deinde T. Geganius P. Minucius facti. Eo anno cum et foris quieta omnia a bello essent et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo grauius malum ciuitatem inuasit, caritas primum annonae ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris, fames deinde, qualis clausis solet. Ventumque ad interitum seruitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules prouidissent dimissis passim ad frumentum coemendum, non in Etruriam modo dextris ab Ostia litoribus laeuoque per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quaesitum in Sicilia quoque; adeo finitimarum odia longinquis coegerant indigere auxiliis. Frumentum Cumis cum coemptum esset, naues pro bonis Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno, qui heres erat, retentae sunt; in Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem potuit; periculum quoque ab impetu hominum ipsis frumentatoribus fuit; ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi uenit; eo sustentata est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam artis commeatisbus uexati forent, ni Volscos iam mouentes arma pestilentia in gens inuasisset. Ea clade conterritis hostium animis, ut etiam ubi ea remisisset terrore aliquo tenerentur, et Velitris auxere numerum colonorum Romani, et Norbam in montes nouam coloniam, quae arx in Pomptino esset, miserunt. M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio consulibus magna uis frumenti ex Sicilia aduecta, agitatumque in senatu quanti plebi daretur. Multi uenissem tempus premendae plebis putabant reciperandique iura quae extorta secessione ac uipatribus essent. In primis Marcus Coriolanus, hostis tribuniciae potestatis, “si annonam” inquit, “ueterem uolunt, ius pristinum reddant patribus. Cur ego plebeios magistratus, cur Sicinium potentem uideo, sub iugum missus, tamquam ab latronibus redemptus? Egone has indignitates diutius patiar quam necesse est? Tarquinium regem qui non tulerim, Sicinium feram? Secedat nunc; auocet plebem; patet uia in Sacrum montem aliasque colles; rapiant frumenta ex agris nostris, quemadmodum tertio anno rapuere. Fruantur annona quam furore suo fecere. Audeo dicere hoc malo domitos ipsis potius cultores agrorum fore quam ut armati per secessionem coli prohibeant.” Haud tam facile dictu est faciendumne fuerit quam potuisse arbitror fieri ut condicionibus laxandi annonam et tribuniciam potestatem et omnia inuitis iura imposta patres demerent sibi.

Liber III

[4] Consules inde A. Postumius Albus Sp. Furius Fusus. Furios Fusios scripsere quidam; id admoneo, ne quis immutationem uirorum ipsorum esse quae nominum est putet. Haud dubium erat quin cum Aequis alter consulum bellum gereret. Itaque Aequi ab Ecetranis Volscis praesidium petiere; quo cupide oblato — adeo ciuitates hae perpetuo in Romanos odio certauere — bellum summa uia parabatur. Sentiunt Hernici et praedicunt Romanis Ecetranum ad Aequos descisse. Suspecta et colonia Antium fuit, quod magna uis hominum inde, cum oppidum captum esset, configisset ad Aequos; isque miles per bellum Aequicum uel acerrimus fuit; compulsiis deinde in oppida Aequis, ea multitudo dilapsa cum Antium redisset, sua sponte iam infidos colonos Romanis abalienauit. Necdum matura re cum defectionem parari delatum ad senatum esset, datum negotium est consulibus ut principibus coloniae Romam excitis quaererent quid rei esset. Qui cum haud grauate uenissent, introducti a consulibus ad senatum ita responderunt ad interrogata ut magis suspecti quam uenerant dimitterentur. Bellum inde haud dubium haberi. Sp. Furius consulum alter cui ea prouincia euenerat profectus in Aequos, Hernicorum in agro populabundum hostem inuenit, ignarusque multitudinis, quia nusquam uniuersa conspecta fuerat, imparem copiis exercitum temere pugnae commisit. Primo concursu pulsus se intra castra recepit. Neque is finis periculi fuit; namque et proxima nocte et postero die tanta uia castra sunt circumsessa atque oppugnata ut ne nuntius quidem inde mitti Romam posset. Hernici et male pugnatum et consulem exercitumque obsideri nuntiauerunt, tantumque terrorem incussere patribus ut, quae forma senatus consulti ultimae semper necessitatis habita est, Postumio, alteri consulum, negotium daretur uideret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Ipsum consulem Romae manere ad conscribendos omnes qui arma ferre possent optimum uisum est: pro consule T. Quinctium subsidio castris cum sociali exercitu mitti; ad eum explendum Latini Hernicique et colonia Antium dare Quinctio subitarios milites — ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant — iussi.

[10] Lucretius cum ingenti praeda, maiore multo gloria rediit. Et auget gloriam adueniens exposita omni in campo Martio praeda, ut suum quisque per triduum cognitum abduceret. Reliqua uendita, quibus domini non exstitere. Debebatur omnium consensu consuli triumphus; sed dilata res est, tribuno de lege agente; id antiquius consuli fuit. Iactata per aliquot dies cum in senatu res tum apud populum est; cessit ad ultimum maiestati consulis tribunus et destitit. Tum imperatori exercituique honos suus redditus. Triumphauit de Volscis Aequisque; triumphantem secutae suae legiones. Alteri consuli datum ut ouans sine militibus urbem iniret. Anno deinde insequenti lex Terentilia ab toto relata collegio nouos adgressa consules est; erant consules P. Volumnius

Ser. Sulpicius. Eo anno caelum ardere uisum, terra ingenti concussa motu est. Bouem locutam, cui rei priore anno fides non fuerat, creditum. Inter alia prodigia et carne pluit, quem imbre ingens numerus auium interuolitando rapuisse fertur; quod intercidit, sparsum ita iacuisse per aliquot dies ut nihil odor mutaret. Libri per duumuiros sacrorum aditi; pericula a conuentu alienigenarum praedicta, ne qui in loca summa urbis impetus caedesque inde fierent; inter cetera monitum ut seditionibus abstineretur. Id factum ad impedientiam legem tribuni criminabantur, ingensque aderat certamen. Ecce, ut idem in singulos annos orbis uolueretur, Hernici nuntiant Volscos et Aequos, etsi abscisae res sint, reficere exercitus; Antii summam rei positam; Ecetrae Antiates colonos palam concilia facere; id caput, eas uires belli esse. Vt haec dicta in senatu sunt, dilectus edicitur; consules belli administrationem inter se disper-tiri iussi, alteri ut Volsci, alteri ut Aequi prouincia esset. Tribuni coram in foro personare, fabulam compositam Volsci belli, Hernicos ad partes paratos. Iam ne uirtute quidem premi libertatem populi Romani sed arte eludi. Quia occidione prope occisos Volscos et Aequos mouere sua sponte arma posse iam fides abierit, nouos hostes quaeri; coloniam fidam propinquam infamem fieri. Bellum innoxiis Antiatibus indici, geri cum plebe Romana, quam oneratam armis ex urbe praecipi agmine acturi essent, exsilio et relegatione ciuium ulciscentes tribunos. Sic, ne quid aliud actum putent, uictam legem esse, nisi dum in integro res sit, dum domi, dum togati sint, caueant ne possessione urbis pellantur, ne iugum accipient. Si animus sit, non defore auxilium; consentire omnes tribunos. Nullum terrorem externum, nullum periculum esse; cauisse deos priore anno ut tuto libertas defendi posset. Haec tribuni.

[30] Sequuntur consules Q. Minucius M. Horatius Puluillus. Cuius initio anni cum foris otium esset, domi seditiones iidem tribuni, eadem lex faciebat; ulteriusque uentum foret adeo exarserant animisni uelut dedita opera nocturno impetu Aequorum Corbione amissum praesidium nuntiatum esset. Senatum consules uocant; iubentur subitarium scribere exercitum atque in Algidum ducere. Inde posito legis certamine noua de dilectu contentio orta; uincebaturque consulare imperium tribunicio auxilio cum aliis additur terror, Sabinum exercitum praedatum descendisse in agros Romanos, inde ad urbem uenire. Is metus perculit ut scribi militem tribuni sinerent, non sine pactione tamen ut quoniam ipsi quinquennium elusi essent paruumque id plebi praesidium foret, decem deinde tribuni plebis crearentur. Expressit hoc necessitas patribus: id modo excepere ne postea eosdem tribunos uiderent. Tribunicia comitia, ne id quoque post bellum ut cetera uanum esset, extemplo habita. Tricensimo sexto anno a primis tribuni plebis decem creati sunt, bini ex singulis classibus; itaque cautum est ut postea crearentur. Dilectu deinde habito Minucius

contra Sabinos profectus non inuenit hostem. Horatius, cum iam Aequi Corbione interfecto praesidio Ortonam etiam cepissent, in Algido pugnat; multos mortales occidit; fugat hostem non ex Algido modo sed a Corbione Ortonaque. Corbionem etiam diruit propter proditum praesidium.

Liber IV

[53] M. Aemilio C. Valerio Potito consulibus bellum Aequi parabant, Volscis, quamquam non publico consilio capessentibus arma, voluntariis mercede secutis militiam. Ad quorum famam hostiumiam enim in Latinum Hernicumque transcederant agrumdilectum habentem valerium consulem M. Menenius tribunus plebis legis agrariae lator cum impediret auxilioque tribuni nemo invitus sacramento diceret, repente nuntiatur arcem Caruentanam ab hostibus occupatam esse. Ea ignominia accepta cum apud patres invidiae Menenio fuit, tum ceteris tribunis, iam ante praeparatis intercessoribus legis agrariae, praebuit iustiorem causam resistendi collegae. Itaque cum res diu ducta per altercationem esset, consulibus deos hominesque testantibus quidquid ab hostibus cladis ignominiaeque aut iam acceptum esset aut immineret culpam penes Menenium fore qui dilectum impediret, Menenio contra vociferante, si iniusti domini possessione agri publici cederent, se moram dilectui non facere, decreto interposito novem tribuni sustulerunt certamen pronuntiaueruntque ex collegii sententia: C. Valerio consuli se, damnum aliamque coercionem adversus intercessionem collegae dilectus causa detractantibus militiam inhibenti, auxilio futuros esse. Hoc decreto consul armatus cum paucis appellantibus tribunum collum torsisset, metu ceteri sacramento dixere. Ductus exercitus ad Caruentanam arcem, quamquam inuisus infestusque consuli erat, impigre primo statim adventu deiectis qui in praesidio erant arcem recipit; praedatores ex praesidio per neglegentiam dilapsi occasionem aperuere ad invadendum. Praedae ex adsiduis populationibus, quod omnia in locum tutum congesta erant, fuit aliquantum. Venditum sub hasta consul in aerarium redigere quae-
stores iussit, tum praedicans participem praedae fore exercitum cum militiam non abnuisset. Auctae inde plebis ac militum in consulem irae. Itaque cum ex senatus consulto urbem ouans introiret, alternis inconditi versus militari licentia iactati quibus consul increpitus, Meneni celebre nomen laudibus fuit, cum ad omnem mentionem tribuni favor circumstantis populi plausuque et adsensu cum vocibus militum certaret. Plusque ea res quam prope sollemnis militum lascivia in consulem curae patribus iniecit; et tamquam haud dubius inter tribunos militum honos Meneni si peteret consularibus comitiis est exclusus.

[55] Sed nulla erat consularis actio quam impediendo id quod petebant experienter, cum mira opportunitate Volscos et Aequos praedatum extra fines exisse in agrum Latinum Hernicumque adfertur. Ad quod bellum ubi ex senatus consulto consules dilectum habere occipiunt, obstarere tunc enixe tribuni, sibi plebique eam fortunam oblatam memorantes. Tres erant, et omnes acerimi viri generosique iam, ut inter plebeios. Duo singuli singulos sibi consules adseruandos adsidua opera desumunt; uni contionibus data nunc detinenda, nunc concienda plebs. Nec dilectum consules nec comitia quae petebant tribuni expediebant. Inclinante deinde se fortuna ad causam plebis, nuntii veniunt arcem Caruentanam, dilapsis ad praedam militibus qui in praesidio erant, Aequos perfectis paucis custodibus arcis invasisse; alios recurrentes in arcem, alios palantes in agris caesos. Ea adversa civitati res vires tribuniciae actioni adiecit. Nequiquam enim temptati ut tum denique desisterent impedendo bello, postquam non cessere nec publicae tempestati nec suae invidiae, periuincunt ut senatus consultum fiat de tribunis militum creandis, certo tamen pacto ne cuius ratio haberetur qui eo anno tribunus plebis esset, neue quis reficeretur in annum tribunus plebis, haud dubie Icilius denotante senatu, quos mercedem seditiosi tribunatus petere consulatum insimulabant. Tum dilectus haberi bellumque omnium ordinum consensu apparari coeptum. Consules ambo profecti sint ad arcem Caruentanam, an alter ad comitia habenda substiterit, incertum diversi auctores faciunt; illa pro certo habenda, in quibus non dissentunt, ab arce Caruentana, cum diu nequiquam oppugnata esset, recessum, verruginem in Volscis eodem exercitu receptam, populationesque et praedas et in Aequis et in Volscu agro ingentes factas.

[56] Romae sicut plebis victoria fuit in eo ut quae mallent comitia haberent, ita euentu comitiorum patres vicere; namque tribuni militum consulari potestate contra spem omnium tres patricii creati sunt, C. Iulius Iulus P. Cornelius Cossus C. Seruilius Ahala. Artem adhibitam ferunt a patriciis, cuius eos Icilius tum quoque insimulabant, quod turbam indignorum candidatorum intermissione dignis taedio sordium in quibusdam insignium populum a plebeis auertissent. Volscos deinde et Aequos, seu Caruentana arx retenta in spem seu verragine amissum praesidium ad iram cum impulisset, fama adfertur summa vi ad bellum coortos; caput rerum Antiates esse; eorum legatos utriusque gentis populos circumisse, castigantes ignaviam quod abditi intra muros populabundos in agris uagari Romanos priore anno et opprimi verruginis praesidium passi essent. Iam non exercitus modo armatos sed colonias etiam in suos fines mitti; nec ipsos modo Romanos sua divisa habere, sed Ferentinum etiam de se captum Hernicis donasse. Ad haec cum inflammarentur animi, ut ad quosque ventum erat, numerus iuniorum conscribebatur. Ita omnium populo-

rum iuventus Antium contracta castris positis hostem opperiebantur. Quae ubi tumultu maiore etiam quam res erat nuntiantur Romam, senatus extemplo, quod in rebus trepidis ultimum consilium erat, dictatorem dici iussit. Quam rem aegre passos Iulium Corneliumque ferunt, magnoque certamine animorum rem actam, cum primores patrum, neququam conquesti non esse in auctoritate senatus tribunos militum, postremo etiam tribunos plebi appellarent et consulibus quoque ab ea potestate vim super tali re inhibitam referrent, tribuni plebi, laeti discordia patrum nihil esse in se iis auxilii dicerent, quibus non civium, non denique hominum numero essent: si quando promiscui honores, communicata res publica esset, tum se animadversuros ne qua superbia magistratum inrita senatus consulta essent: interim patricii soluti legum magistratumque viverent verecundia, per se quoque tribuni agerent.

[61] Fuere autem tribuni T. Quinctius Capitolinus Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus C. Iulius Iulus iterum A. Manlius L. Furius Medullinus tertium M". Aemilius Mamercus. Ab iis primum circumsessi Veii sunt; sub cuius initium obsidionis cum Etruscorum concilium ad fanum voltumnae frequenter habitum es- set, parum constitit bellone publico gentis universae tuendi Veientes essent. Ea oppugnatio segnior insequenti anno fuit, parte tribunorum exercitusque ad Volscum avocata bellum. Tribunos militum consulari potestate is annus habuit C. Valerium Potitum tertium M". Sergium Fidenatem P. Cornelium Maluginensem Cn. Cornelium Cossum C. Fabium Ambustum Sp. Nautium Rutulum iterum. Cum Volscis inter Ferentinum atque Ecetram signis conlatis dimicatum; Romanis secunda fortuna pugnae fuit. Artena inde, Volsorum oppidum, ab tribunis obsideri coepta. Inde inter eruptionem temptatam compulso in urbem hoste, occasio data est Romanis inrumpendi, praeterque arcem cetera capta; in arcem munitam natura globus armatorum concessit; infra arcem caesi captique multi mortales. Arx deinde obsidebatur; nec aut vi capi poterat, quia pro spatio loci satis praesidii habebat, aut spem dabat deditiois, omni publico frumento priusquam urbs caperetur in arcem conuecto; taedioque recessum inde foret ni seruus arcem Romanis prodidisset. Ab eo milites per locum arduum accepti cepere; a quibus cum custodes trucidarentur, cetera multitudo repentina pauore oppressa in deditioem venit. Diruta et arce et urbe Artena, reductae legiones ex Volscis, omnisque vis Romana Veios conuersa est. Proditori praeter libertatem duarum familiarum bona in praemium data; Seruius Romanus vocitatus. Sunt qui Artenam Veientium, non Volsorum fuisse credant. Praebet errorem quod eiusdem nominis urbs inter Caere atque Veios fuit; sed eam reges Romani deleuere, Caeretumque, non Veientium fuerat; altera haec nomine eodem in Volsco agro fuit, cuius excidium est dictum.

Liber VI

[31] Insequentis anni principia statim seditione ingenti arsere tribunis militum consulari potestate Sp. Furio Q. Seruilio iterum Licinio Menenio tertium P. Cloelio M. Horatio L. Gegano. erat autem et materia et causa seditionis aes alienum; cuius noscendi gratia Sp. Seruilius Priscus Q. Cloelius Siculus censores facti ne rem agerent bello impediti sunt; namque trepidi nuntii primo, fuga deinde ex agris legiones Volsorum ingressas fines popularique passim Romanum agrum attulere. in qua trepidatione tantum afuit ut ciuilia certamina terror externus cohiberet, ut contra eo uiolentior potestas tribunicia impediendo dilectu esset, donec condiciones impositae patribus ne quis, quoad bellatum esset, tributum daret aut ius de pecunia credita diceret. eo laxamento plebi sumpto mora dilectui non est facta. legionibus nouis scriptis placuit duos exercitus in agrum Volscum legionibus diuisis duci. Sp. Furio M. Horatius dextrorsus [in] maritimam oram atque Antium, Q. Seruilius et L. Geganius laeuia ad montes [et] Ecetram pergunt. neutra parte hostis obuius [fuit]. populatio itaque non illi uagae similis quam Volscus latrocinii more, discordiae hostium fretus et uirtutem metuens, per trepidationem raptim fecerat sed ab iusto exercitu iusta ira facta, spatio quoque temporis grauior. quippe a Volscis timentibus ne interim exercitus ab Roma exiret incursiones in extrema finium factae erant; Romano contra etiam in hostico morandi causa [erat], ut hostem ad certamen eliceret. itaque omnibus passim tectis agrorum uicisque etiam quibusdam exustis, non arbore frugifera, non satis in spem frugum relictis, omni quae extra moenia fuit hominum pecudumque praeda abacta Romam utrimque exercitus reducti.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus: *The Roman Antiquities*

Book IV

[49] After Tarquinius had obtained the supremacy over the Latins, he sent ambassadors to the cities of the Hernicans and to those of the Volscians to invite them also to enter into a treaty of friendship and alliance with him. The Hernicans unanimously voted in favour of the alliance, but of the Volscians only two cities, Ecetra and Antium, accepted the invitation. And as a means of providing that the treaties made with those cities might endure forever, Tarquinius resolved to designate a temple for the joint use of the Romans, the Latins, the Hernicans and such of the Volscians as had entered into the alliance, in order that, coming together each year at the appointed place, they might celebrate a general festival, feast together and share in common sacrifices. This proposal being cheerfully accepted by all of them, he appointed for their place of assembly a high mountain situated almost at the centre of these nations and commanding the city of the Albans; and he made a law that upon this mountain an annual festival should be celebrated, during which they should all abstain from acts of hostility against any of the others and should perform common sacrifices to Jupiter Latiaris, as he is called, and feast together, and he appointed the share each city was to contribute towards these sacrifices and the portion each of them was to receive. The cities that shared in this festival and sacrifice were forty-seven. These festivals and sacrifices the Romans celebrate to this day, calling them the "Latin Festivals"; and some of the cities that take part in them bring lambs, some cheeses, others a certain measure of milk, and others something of like nature. And one bull is sacrificed in common by all of them, each city receiving its appointed share of the meat. The sacrifices they offer are on behalf of all and the Romans have the superintendence of them.

Book V

[61] When the Latins heard of the capture of Fidenae, every city was in a state of the utmost excitement and fear, and all the citizens were angry with those who were at the head of federal affairs, accusing them of having betrayed their allies. And a general assembly be held at Ferentinum, those who urged a recourse to arms, particularly Tarquinius and his son-in-law Mamilius, together with the heads of the Arician state, inveighed bitterly against those who opposed the war; and by their harangues all the deputies of the Latin nation were persuaded to undertake the war jointly against the Romans. And to the end

that no city might either betray the common cause or be reconciled to the Romans without the consent of all, they swore oaths to one another and voted that those who violated this agreement should be excluded from their alliance, be accursed and regarded as the enemies of all. The deputies who subscribed to the treaty and swore to its observance were from the following cities: Ardea, Aricia, Bovillae, Bubentum, Cora, Carventum, Circeii, Corioli, Corbio, Cabum, Fortinea, Gabii, Laurentum, Lanuvium, Lavinium, Labici, Nomentum, Norba, Praeneste, Pedum, Querquetula, Satricum, Scaptia, Setia, Tibur, Tusculum, Tolterium, Tellenae, Velitrae. They voted that as many men of military age from all these cities should take part in the campaign as their commanders, Octavius Mamilius and Sextus Tarquinius, should require; for they had appointed these to be their generals with absolute power. And in order that the grounds they offered for the war might appear plausible, they sent the most prominent men from every city to Rome as ambassadors. These, upon being introduced to the senate, said that the Arician state preferred the following charges against the Roman state: When the Tyrrhenians had made war upon the Aricians, the Romans had not only granted them a safe passage through their territory, but had also assisted them with everything they required for the war, and having received such of the Tyrrhenians as fled from the defeat, they had saved them when they all were wounded and without arms, though they could not be ignorant that they were making war against the whole nation in common, and that if they had once made themselves masters of the city of Aricia nothing could have hindered them from enslaving all the other cities as well. If, therefore, the Romans would consent to appear before the general tribunal of the Latins and answer there the accusations brought against them by the Aricians, and would abide by the decision of all the members, they said the Romans would not need to have a war; but if they persisted in their usual arrogance and refused to make any just and reasonable concessions to their kinsmen, they threatened that all the Latins would make war upon them with all their might.

Book VIII

[91] During the consulship of these men the Aequians, making a raid into the territory of the Latins after the manner of brigands, carried off a great number of slaves and cattle; and the people of Tyrrhenia called the Veientes injured a large part of the Roman territory by their forays. The senate voted to put off the war against the Aequians to another time, but to demand satisfaction of the Veientes. The Aequians, accordingly, since their first attempts had been successful and there appeared to be no one to prevent their further operations, grew elated with an unreasoning boldness, and resolving no longer to send out a mere marauding expedition, marched with a large force to Ortona and took it

by storm; then, after plundering everything both in the country and in the city, they returned home with rich booty. As for the Veientes, they returned answer to the ambassadors who came from Rome that those who were ravaging their country were not from their city, but from the other Tyrrhenian cities, and then dismissed them without giving them any satisfaction; and the ambassadors fell in with the Veientes as these were driving off booty from the Roman territory. The senate, learning of these things from the ambassadors, voted to declare war against the Veientes and that both consuls should lead out the army. There was a controversy, to be sure, over the decree, and there were many who opposed engaging in the war and reminded the plebeians of the allotment of land, of which they had been defrauded after a vain hope, though the senate had passed the decree four years before; and they declared that there would be a general war if all Tyrrhenia by common consent should assist their countrymen. However, the arguments of the seditious speakers did not prevail, but the populace also confirmed the decree of the senate, following the opinion and advice of Spurius Larcius. Thereupon the consuls marched out with their forces and encamped apart at no great distance from the city; but after they had remained there a good many days and the enemy did not lead their forces out to meet them, they ravaged as large a part of their country as they could and then returned home with the army. Nothing else worthy of notice happened during their consulship.

Book X

[21] After Fabius had restored the city to the Tusculans, he broke camp in the late afternoon and marched with all possible speed against the enemy, upon hearing that the combined forces of the Volscians and the Aequians lay near the town of Algidum. And having made a forced march all that night, he appeared before the enemy at early dawn, as they lay encamped in a plain without either a ditch or a palisade to defend them, inasmuch as they were in their own country and were contemptuous of their foe. Then, exhorting his troops to acquit themselves as brave men should, he was the first to charge into the enemy's camp at the head of the horse, and the foot, uttering their war-cry, followed. Some of the enemy were slain while they were still asleep and others just as they had got up and were attempting to defend themselves; but most of them scattered in flight. The camp having been taken with great ease, Fabius permitted the soldiers to keep for themselves the booty and the prisoners, except those who were Tusculans. Then, after a short stay there, he led them to Ecetra, which was at that time the most prominent city of the Volscian nation and the most strongly situated. When he had encamped near this city for many days in hopes that those inside would come out to fight, and no army issued forth, he

laid waste their land, which was full of men and cattle; for the Volscians, surprised by the suddenness of the attack upon them, had not had time to remove their possessions out of the fields. These things also Fabius permitted his soldiers to plunder; and after spending many days in ravaging the country, he led the army home.

The other consul, Cornelius, marching against the Romans and Volscians in Antium, found an army awaiting him before their borders; and arraying his forces against them, he killed many, and after putting the rest to flight, encamped near the city. But when the inhabitants no longer ventured to come out for battle, he first laid waste to their land and then surrounded the city with a ditch and palisades. Then indeed the enemy were compelled to come out again from the city with all their forces, a numerous and disorderly multitude; and engaging in battle and fighting with less bravery than before, they were shut up inside the city a second time, after a shameful and unmanly flight. But the consul, giving them no log any rest, planted scaling-ladders against the walls and broke down the gates with battering-rams; then, as the besieged with difficulty and painfully tried to fight them off, he with little trouble took the town by storm. He ordered that such of their effects as consisted of gold, silver and copper should be turned in to the treasury, and that the slaves and the rest of the spoils should be taken over and sold by the quaestors; but to the soldiers he granted the apparel and provisions and everything else of the sort that they could use for booty. Then, selecting both from the colonists and from the original inhabitants of Antium those who were the most prominent and had been the authors of the revolt — and there were many of these — he ordered them to be scourged with rods for a long time and then beheaded. After accomplishing these things he too led his army home. The senate went to meet these consuls as they approached the city and decreed that they both should celebrate a triumph. And when the Aequians sent heralds to sue for peace, they concluded with them a treaty for the termination of the war, in which it was stipulated that the Aequians should retain the cities and land which they possessed at the time of the treaty and be subject to the Romans without paying any tribute, but sending to their assistance in time of war a certain number of troops, like the rest of the allies. Thus ended that year.

[26] After these consuls came the eighty-first Olympiad (the one at which Polymnastus of Cyrenê won the foot-race), the archon at Athens being Callias, in whose term of office Gaius Horatius and Quintus Minucius succeeded to the consulship at Rome. During their term of office the Sabines made another expedition against the Romans and laid waste much of their territory; and the country people who had fled from their fields arrived in great numbers, report-

ing that all the country between Crustumerium and Fidenae was in possession of the enemy. The Aequians also, who had been recently conquered, were once more in arms. The flower of their army, marching by night to the city of Corbio, which they had handed over to the Romans the year before, and finding the garrison there asleep, put all to the sword except a few who chanced to be late to bed. The rest of the Aequians marched in great force to Ortona, a city of the Latin nation, and took it by storm; and the injuries they were unable to inflict on the Romans they inflicted in their resentment on the Romans' allies. For they put to death all the men who were in the prime of life except those who had escaped at once while the city was being taken, and enslaved their wives and children together with the aged; then, hastily gathering together all the possessions they could carry off, they returned home before all the Latins could come to the rescue. As news of these disasters was brought simultaneously both by the Latins and by those of the garrison who had escaped, the senate voted to send out an army and that both consuls should take the field. But Verginius and his fellow tribunes, who held the same power for the fifth year, sought to prevent this, as they had also done in the preceding years, opposing the levies announced by the consul stone demanding that the war inside the walls should first be terminated by allowing the populace to decide about the law which the tribunes were trying to introduce regarding an equality of rights; and the populace joined with them in uttering many invidious charges against the senate. But as the time dragged on and neither the consuls would consent to a preliminary vote by the senate or to the laying of the law before the populace, nor the tribunes to allow the levies to be made and the army to take the field, and many speeches were made and charges hurled back and forth both in the meetings of the assembly and in the senate, all in vain, another measure that was introduced against the senate and misled its members did indeed appease the dissension then raging, but proved the source of many other great gains to the populace. I shall now give an account of the manner in which the populace secured this power.

Pliny the Elder: *Naturalis Historia*

Liber III

[69] et cum iis carnem in monte Albano soliti accipere populi Albenses: Albani, Aesolani, Accienses, Abolani, Bubetani, Bolani, Cusuetani, Coriolani, Fidenates, Foreti, Hortenses, Latinienses, Longani, Manates, Macrales, Munienses, Numinienses, Olliculani, Octulani, Pedani, Poletaurini, Querquetulani, Sicani, Sisolenses, Tolerienses, Tutienses, Vimitellari, Velienses, Venetulani, Vitellenses.

[70] ita ex antiquo Latio LIII populi interiere sine vestigiis. in Campano autem agro Stabiae oppidum fuere usque ad Cn. Pompeium L. Catonem cos. pr. kal. Mai., quo die L. Sulla legatus bello sociali id delevit, quod nunc in villam abiit. intercidit ibi et Taurania. sunt morientes Casilini reliquiae. praeterea auctor est Antias oppidum Latinorum Apiolas captum a L. Tarquinio rege, ex cuius praeda Capitolium is inchoaverit. a Surrentino ad Silerum amnem XXX m. p. ager Picentinus fuit Tuscorum, templo Iunonis Argivae ab Iasone condito insignis. intus oppidum Salerni, Picentia.