



A HISTORY OF THE
ROMAN PEOPLE

Sixth Edition

Allen M. Ward | Fritz M. Heichelheim | Cedric A. Yeo

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Preface

Teachers and students may wonder why a sixth edition of *A History of the Roman People* is needed so soon after the fifth. My own experience in teaching from the fifth convinced me that there was still much room for improvement in both style and content. I realize that today's students usually do not bring much background knowledge of the subject to a course in Roman history. Therefore, it is difficult for them to absorb a lot of new information in complex sentences. Indeed, they are not even used to the level of grammatical complexity that students were once expected to have mastered before college. Accordingly, I have striven throughout this edition to pare down the length and complexity of sentences. Information or arguments are provided in more discrete units so that a reader is not confronted with several pieces of new material before getting to the end of a sentence.

Despite diligent attempts to avoid them in the fifth edition, numerous errors of fact have been identified and corrected in the sixth. It is vain to hope that in covering 1400 years of Roman history, I have caught all old errors or avoided new ones. Any such defects notwithstanding, I have tried to remain true to the goals of Fritz Heichelheim and Cedric Yeo in the original edition: giving students a solid grasp of the main problems and issues in Roman history as well as the information needed to address them. That approach seems to have stood the test of time. I hope that it will in this edition, too.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

- Can be ordered in separate volumes, the first covering everything through the establishment of the Principate to the death of Augustus; the second beginning with the establishment of the Principate and ending with the death of Maurice in 602.
- New archaeological material, texts, and scholarship taken into account
- Individual women given a bigger share of the stage alongside the usual cast of men prominent in the ancient sources.
- More on the evolution of arms, military organization and structures, and the social, economic, and political impact of these changes and war in general
- Chapters on the Julio-Claudian, Flavian, and Antonine periods significantly updated and given more narrative coherence
- Clearer presentation of dynastic complexities in chapters on Diocletian, Constantine, and the Christian Empire
- Sections on religious changes and divisive theological issues updated and clarified
- Chapter summaries and overviews expanded or added where space allowed

Unfortunately, there was not enough space to accommodate more pictures, maps, illustrations, genealogical charts, and selections from original sources. Each instructor, however, will have her or his favorites that would not have been included and would have to be assigned or presented in one way or another throughout the course being taught. It is hoped that this textbook will provide the depth of knowledge and understanding needed to make full use of those additional assignments and materials.

As always, I could not have had whatever success I may have achieved without the assistance of many. Rob DeGeorge, Nicole Suddeth, Ashley Dodge, and Kathleen Sleys of Pearson and Allison Campbell and George Jacob of Integra have been unfailingly cooperative and helpful. Outside evaluators

Alison Futrell of University of Arizona; Tracey Marx of Marian University; Rosemary Moore of University of Iowa; Luca Grillo of Amherst College; and Neil Hackett of St. Louis University, who critiqued the fifth edition, have provided extremely valuable guidance. That I have not followed all of their suggestions or acceded to every request means only that time and resources were limited.

Most of all, however, I must thank Carol Maturo Ward for her infinite patience and loving devotion as she again combined the roles of wife, critic, proofreader, and cheerleader. She has been through this grueling process twice in five years of marriage. That would qualify any wife for sainthood.

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Roman History: Its Geographic and Human Foundations

INTRODUCTION TO ROMAN HISTORY When most people think of Rome, they envision the Rome of Julius Caesar and the Roman Empire that succeeded him. That is the Rome entertainingly, but not always accurately, portrayed in shows and films like the HBO series *Rome*, the Masterpiece Theater production of *I Claudius*, or famous Hollywood sword-and-sandal epics like *Cleopatra*, *Ben Hur*, *Quo Vadis*, *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, and *Gladiator*. Prior to Caesar, however, the history of Rome extends back from the Republic to foundations laid in prehistoric Italy. The prehistoric foundations will be outlined briefly in this chapter. Subsequent chapters will cover the full scope of Roman history from the beginnings of the city of Rome in primitive villages on some hills beside the Tiber River to the disintegration of the Roman Empire about 1300 to 1400 years later.

To understand this whole complex history, it is necessary to begin with its geographic, demographic, and ethnic context. That context shaped the development of Rome from a collection of prehistoric villages to the urban republic whose citizens and allies embraced all the peoples of Italy. That accomplishment gave the Romans the resources and outlook that helped them conquer a vast overseas empire. They eventually united the greater part of western Europe, much of the Ancient Near East, and most of North Africa, whose free

inhabitants became a single entity, the *populus Romanus*, the Roman People. This expansion, however, eventually carried Roman power so far beyond its advantageous Italian base that it could no longer maintain the cohesion achieved at its height. It eventually disintegrated in the face of both internal and external pressures.

GEOGRAPHY Modern technology often seems to have given human beings mastery over the physical world. Therefore, many people overlook geographic factors in historical developments. Also, modern historians rightly wish to avoid the simplistic fallacies of geographic determinism. Nevertheless, geography and the physical environment are important in shaping the course of human events and should not be ignored in trying to explain the past. For example, the reason why Italy, unlike Crete and mainland Greece, did not reach a high level of civilization in the Bronze Age is that the latter were closer to the even earlier centers of civilization in the Near East and Egypt. It simply took longer for the influence of older civilizations to spread farther west to Italy. Nevertheless, once Italy had achieved an internal level of development on par with that of the older centers of civilization in the eastern Mediterranean basin, a number of geographic factors contributed to its becoming the center of a Mediterranean-wide empire under the control of Rome.

Maritime Orientation and Advantages

Separated from the rest of Europe by the Alps to the north, Italy is naturally oriented toward the sea. The west coast has access to the Tyrrhenian Sea, the southeast coast overlooks the Ionian Sea, and the east coast from the “heel” of the peninsula’s “boot” northward fronts the Adriatic. Italy juts out like a giant pier from the continental mass of Europe southeastward 750 miles into the middle of the Mediterranean proper. Also, the island of Sicily is separated from the “toe” of Italy by only the narrow Straits of Messina (Messena, Messina) and from North Africa by only ninety miles of water. Therefore, Italy and Sicily naturally dominate the sea lanes that link the eastern and western Mediterranean basins and the lands around them. Before the rise of greater powers to the north and west, the power that controlled Italy was in an ideal strategic and economic position for dominating the whole Mediterranean world.

Natural and Human Resources

Bounded by the Alps to the north and northwest and by the Apennines to the south, the northern part of Italy is a vast alluvial plain watered by the Po and Adige rivers. On the west coast, between the Apennines and the Tyrrhenian Sea, are the wide lowland plains of Etruria, Latium, and Campania. They are fertilized by a layer of volcanic ash and weathered lava ejected by the many volcanoes that had been active in earlier geologic times. The Arno, the Tiber, the Liris, and the Volturnus river systems provide them water. The fertile and well-watered plains of northern and western Italy are among the largest and best agricultural areas in the Mediterranean world. They supported dense populations and made Italy, in Vergil’s words, the “mother of men,” the main source of ancient military might.

Ancient Italy also had other valuable resources. Although it was not rich by modern standards, it was for its time. Extensive forests provided abundant wood for fuel and timber for ships and buildings until they were overcut in the late first millennium B.C. The most abundant mineral resources were stone building materials: hard stones like marble, granite, basalt, and flint; softer, more easily worked types like sandstone and various kinds of tufa

(cappellaccio, Peperino, Grotta Oscura, and travertine); and volcanic pozzolana for making cement. Etruria not only possessed these resources but also was rich in valuable metals. It produced lead, zinc, copper, silver, and tin. On the off-shore island of Elba (Ilva), it controlled most of ancient Italy’s iron ore.

No Serious Physical Barriers to Internal Unity

Topography made it possible for a single, centrally located, and populous city to unite Italy and utilize its great resources and strategic position to expand in the wider Mediterranean. Although the Apennine Mountains cut through Italy in a great arc swinging out from the northwest southeastward along the Adriatic coast and then back to the southwest coast along the Tyrrhenian Sea, they are not a serious barrier to internal unity. On average, they are 4000 to 6000 feet high and are pierced by numerous easy passes. Moreover, most of Italy is easily accessible by water, the most efficient avenue of transport and communication in ancient times. With its long coasts and a width no greater than 150 miles south of the Po valley, much of Italy could be reached directly by ancient ships. Navigable rivers like the Po, Arno, Tiber, Liris, and Volturnus provided convenient water routes between the sea and the interior. The Tiber River, its tributaries, and their valleys were particularly helpful to Rome in uniting the peoples of central Italy under its control. After that, Rome had the resources to dominate the rest of Italy.

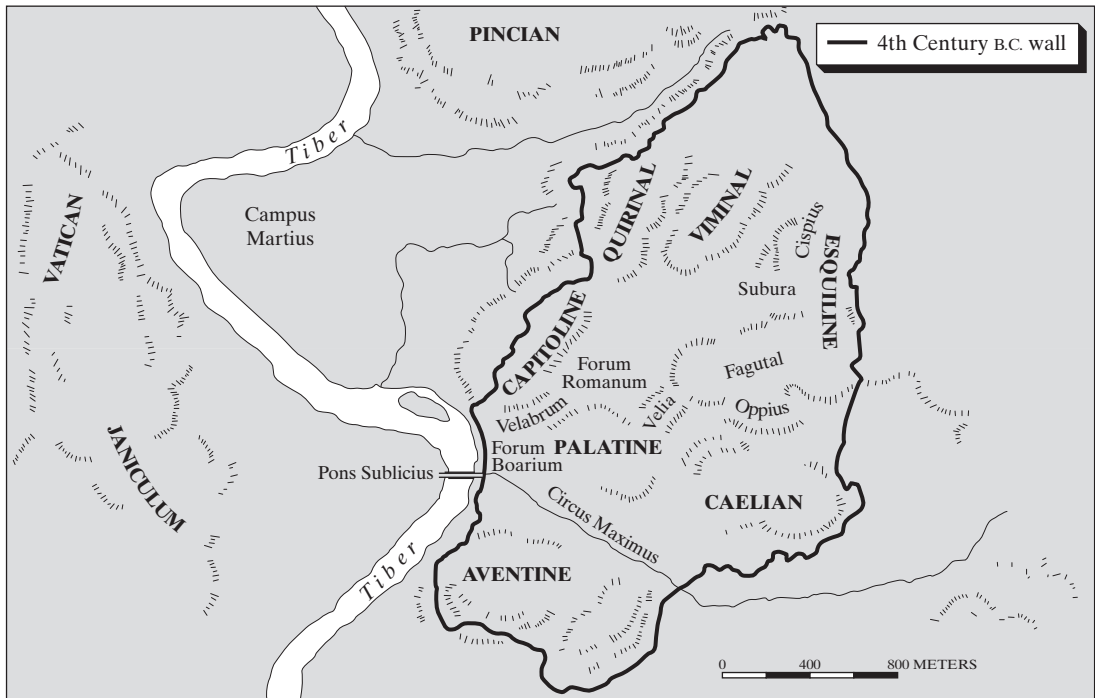
The Site of Rome As the Roman historian Livy noted, Rome occupied “a site uniquely adapted to the growth of a great city” (Book 5.45.5). Rome was centrally located in the fertile plains of western Italy fifteen miles from the mouth of the Tiber River on the northern edge of Latium. Here the Tiber River makes a big eastward bend and is slowed somewhat by Tiber Island midstream. Near this same spot, seven hills ranging from 200 feet to 700 feet above sea level rise near the east (left) bank of the river. They make the site easily defensible. The hills nearest the Tiber are the Capitoline, the Palatine, and the Aventine, which are separated from one another by intervening

valleys. Farther to the east and enclosing the three foregoing hills in a kind of arc, stand the other four: the Quirinal, the Viminal, the Esquiline, and the Caelian. On those seven hills eventually stood the city of Rome. Two other hills across the river, the Janiculum and the Vatican, were ultimately incorporated, too.

Although the importance of the Tiber River for Rome's growth and success as a city can be exaggerated, it was great. Opposite Tiber Island, the river's slowed current and gently inward-curving left bank provided an ideal landing place for ancient merchant ships and river boats. The island also provided the first convenient ford and bridgehead nearest to the river's mouth. Sandbars at the Tiber's mouth and Rome's location some distance upstream protected the city from attack by large war ships and sudden sea raids by smaller vessels. Eventually, Rome became Italy's largest river port as Greek, Phoenician, and Etruscan merchants took advantage of its ideal location for trade.

The Tiber River and its valley provided Rome with communications north into central Italy. Possession of the bridgehead nearest to the mouth of the Tiber also gave the Romans easy access to the coastal route between Etruria and the plains of Latium and Campania. Thus, Rome's geographic position in Italy made it the focal point of the natural communication routes running up, down, and across the peninsula. Even in early times, the Tiber and its valley were major routes for bringing salt from the coast into central Italy.

Control of crucial water and land routes for communications in Italy also permitted Rome's armies to strike in almost any direction at will with minimum expenditure of effort. The seven hills made possible the observation of enemy movements, and the proximity of the hills to one another facilitated the fusion of several village communities into a single city. Ultimately, it became the largest in area and population not only in Italy but also, perhaps, in the whole premodern world.



Site of Ancient Rome

4 CHAPTER I *Roman History: Its Geographic and Human Foundations*

Strategically located for both defense and offense, Rome was a river port, bridge town, road center, and magnet of trade and population. It was thus favored by nature in ancient times to be the capital of a unified Italy. Then, given Italy's central location, natural resources, and large population, Rome became the seat of a Mediterranean empire.

THE PEOPLES AND CULTURES OF PRE-ROMAN ITALY Demographic factors are another source of economic, social, political, military, and cultural strength. The population of Italy by the beginning of the Roman Republic (ca. 500 B.C.) was the product of a diverse ethnic and cultural heritage that stretched back thousands of years. Although later Roman myths and legends are not literally historical, they do reflect an understanding that the early Romans had heterogeneous origins. They stand in sharp contrast with the ethnically exclusive myths of origin embraced by ancient Greek city-states. Conflict and violence notwithstanding, the Romans were more willing to assimilate other people. They united Italy into a strong federation based on a degree of equality and fairness unusual for ancient times.

From Paleolithic Times to the End of the Bronze Age: 700,000 to 1000 B.C. Human habitation in Italy goes back to at least 700,000 B.C. during the Lower Paleolithic period (2,500,000–200,000 B.C.). Numerous finds from the Upper Paleolithic period (40,000–10,000 B.C.) are associated with human beings of the present type, *Homo sapiens sapiens*. How much, if at all, groups from these periods contributed to the later population of Italy is not known, but from the Mesolithic (10,000–6000 B.C.) and the Neolithic (6000–2500 B.C.), there seems to have been a continuous development of peoples and cultures within Italy from both internal growth and external influences.

Changes occurred rapidly in early Neolithic times. Genetic evidence supports the theory that Neolithic farmers, building on the "Agricultural Revolution" that had originated in Southwest Asia, migrated from Anatolia and the Levant to the Balkans and then to Italy. In

central Italy at Lake Bracciano, about twenty miles northwest of Rome, a large Neolithic village dated to ca. 5700 B.C. has been discovered under the present water level. It seems to have been settled by people who brought with them a fully developed Neolithic farming culture. Their large seaworthy canoes may indicate that they originally came some distance by sea, perhaps from previously settled southeastern Italy, which had large concentrations of Neolithic villages.

Painted Neolithic pottery from southern Italy has links eastward to Dalmatia and the Peloponnese and westward to Capri and the Lipari Islands. In northern Italy, there were people who produced small clay female figurines and dark, polished, square-mouthed pottery decorated with incised geometric designs. They had cultural links with people on the northeastern Adriatic coast and possibly eastern central Europe. People in northwestern Italy, however, had stronger connections with peoples of western Switzerland and eastern France.

It is clear that there were flourishing internal and external trade networks during the middle and late Neolithic periods. Southeastern villages obtained obsidian from the Lipari Islands in the southwest. Stone axes of polished serpentine and jadeite came from both southwestern and northwestern Italy. In northern Italy, during the transition to the Bronze Age from around 2500 B.C. onward, artifacts first of copper and then of bronze have parallels with those from central Europe. Southern Italian copper and bronze goods from the same period have similarities with those from the Aegean. Material culture and the technology of metalworking advanced more rapidly in the Italian North. There, the trade in amber from northern Europe crossed the Alps into the Po valley on its way to the Aegean world via the Adriatic.

By ca. 1700 B.C., Bronze Age culture was flourishing throughout Italy. It can be seen in the substantial villages of the Pescara and Terramara cultures in northern Italy. They were built on pilings beside Alpine lakes and in the Po valley. There are several contemporary sites in Campania in the vicinity of Mt. Vesuvius. One of them, near Nola, is a Bronze Age Pompeii. It is preserved to an amazing degree by the ash

and mud that buried it during a massive eruption of Vesuvius ca. 1700 B.C. Another major site was recently discovered at Poggiomarino on the Sarno River. It is ca. fifteen miles south of Nola and only six miles northeast of Pompeii. Settled ca. 1500 B.C., it was continuously inhabited during the rest of the Bronze Age and the early Iron Age. Then, it was overwhelmed by a flood ca. 500 B.C. and buried in mud. The houses were built on pilings, as at the Peschiera and Terramara sites and the even earlier Neolithic site at Lake Bracciano. The pilings were used to create artificial islets linked together by a sophisticated system of canals. The site seems to have been a center of manufacturing connected with the long-distance trade in high-status goods like bronze and Baltic amber.

Indo-European-Speaking Peoples and the Late Bronze Age: 1300 to 1100 B.C. The late Bronze Age seems to have witnessed the arrival of Indo-European-speaking peoples into Italy. The term *Indo-European* has no biological significance. It has replaced earlier labels like *Aryan*, *Indo-Aryan*, and *Indo-German*, which are associated with untenable nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century racist ideas. *Indo-European* is primarily a linguistic label used to identify the family of closely related languages that include Sanskrit in India, Persian, Armenian, the Slavic tongues, Greek, the Celtic dialects, the Germanic languages, English, Latin, and all the Latin-derived Romance languages.

Linguistic scholars have reconstructed a hypothetical Indo-European mother tongue from the common characteristics of these languages. It seems to have originated among people living between the Black and Caspian seas in what is now southern Russia. Probably in the third millennium B.C., various groups of Indo-European speakers began to migrate. Some headed south. Others went north and west. They resettled and intermingled—sometimes peacefully, sometimes violently—with the existing inhabitants of territories into which they migrated. Their language and culture became modified in ways that gradually distinguished them from other Indo-European-speaking groups. Eventually, some people from the new groups would undergo a similar process of

physical and cultural assimilation and modification as they migrated to new regions. Thus, new Indo-European tongues arose.

The various Indo-European-speaking groups that evolved over time seem to have shared some other important cultural characteristics besides the linguistic. Words relating to weapons, horses, and cattle are prominent in their vocabularies, but there are few terms relating to farming and even fewer connected with seafaring. Probably, therefore, early Indo-European-speaking people originated as warlike, seminomadic pastoralists. They appear to have had a patriarchal social structure, often organized in tribal kinship groups. A king and his council usually provided leadership, but ultimate sovereignty often resided in an assembly of adult males. A polytheistic religion that prominently featured a patriarchal sky god also seems to have been common.

At the beginning of the late Bronze Age (ca. 1300 B.C.), the first Indo-European speakers to enter Italy may have crossed the Alps and mixed with the existing inhabitants of the Po valley. At the very least, major cultural changes took place that could be associated with an influx of Indo-European speakers: domestic horses and certain types of pottery appear for the first time in the archaeological record of Italy. Also, representations of chariots and four-wheeled wagons that many scholars associate with Indo-European culture were carved in Alpine rocks on the borders of northern Italy. As yet, however, no actual remains of such vehicles from that period have been found in Italy.

At the same time, the fairly uniform spread of what is called the *Apennine culture* throughout the Apennine range may reflect an influx of other Indo-European speakers. They could have come from the Balkans and entered Italy on the east and southeast coasts by way of the Ionian Sea. Their pottery is similar in style and decoration to that from the same period in Greece and the Balkans. On the other hand, the Apennine culture could also have grown out of the previous Bronze Age cultures and been influenced through trading contacts with Greece and the Balkans. The people of the Apennine culture and the other Bronze Age peoples of Italy had access to late Bronze Age trade goods, such as pottery and metalware that were brought from

Greece by Mycenaean traders along the Italian coast. In fact, the stimulus of Mycenaean trade created a common style of bronze artifacts from central Europe, across Italy, and around the Aegean.

The spread of what is called the *Urnfield culture* from central Europe across the Alps into Italy around 1100 B.C. much more clearly represents an influx of Indo-European speakers than does the spread of the Apennine culture. This development probably was associated with the widespread disturbances and movements of peoples that characterized the late Bronze Age all over central Europe and the eastern half of the Mediterranean. The name *Urnfield* is taken from the distinctive practice of cremating the dead and placing their ashes in urns that were buried close together in cemeteries. These urns were all variations of a general design called *biconical* because they were tapered toward the top and bottom. The upper part was usually covered with a top shaped like a bowl or helmet.

The Indo-European Celtic languages evolved north of the Alps in association with the later stages of the Urnfield culture. The Italic Indo-European dialect group evolved south of the Alps in the areas where Urnfield material culture appears even later. Both groups have certain common linguistic elements that they do not share with other Indo-European languages. Therefore, it is hard to deny some significant influx of Indo-European-speaking people into Italy from north of the Alps. In the predigital age, people did not adopt significant elements of a new language through mere cultural contact nearly so readily as they adopted a new material culture to which they were exposed.

The *Urnfielders*, as they are called, spread rapidly from the Po valley to the southern limits of Italy. They seem at times to have taken over existing communities and at other times to have been assimilated into them. While Urnfield settlements were numerous, they in no way replaced or overwhelmed previous populations. Instead, they and the older inhabitants interacted to produce several distinctive local cultures and populations in the Iron Age.

Early Iron Age Italy: 1000 to 750 B.C. In northeastern Italy, the Iron Age culture of the Atestines emerged around 950 B.C. It takes its

name from the ancient town of Ateste (Este) ca. fifty-five miles northeast of Bologna. In much of the rest of Italy, the Villanovan culture marks the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age during the tenth century B.C. in Italy. The term *Villanovan* does not signify any ethnic group. It comes from Villanova, a small hamlet five miles east of Bologna, where many of the artifacts typically associated with Villanovan culture were first discovered. The earliest examples of Villanovan culture have been found farther south, in southern Etruria and northern Latium, including the site of Rome. The peoples who produced the Villanovan culture probably evolved from interaction between those associated with the earlier Urnfield culture and various other peoples with whom they traded and intermingled.

The Villanovan culture carried on many of the traditions associated with the Urnfield culture. People continued to live in curved-sided



A typical biconical cinerary urn for cremation burials in the Villanovan period. (Courtesy SEF/Art Resource, NY)

huts made of wattle and daub on a frame of poles, cremated their dead, and buried their ashes in tall, biconical urns placed in round holes or rectangular stone-lined tombs. Various metal tools, weapons, and small ornaments, such as brooches, bracelets, and razors, were placed inside or around the tombs. In the South, the ashes of the dead were sometimes placed in clay hut-urns, which were miniature versions of the curved-sided huts used by the living.

Evidence of the kinds of cultural interactions that took place can be seen at or near southern Villanovan sites where some people did not cremate their dead but buried them in long, rectangular pits or trenches, *fossae* (sing. *fossa*), lined with stone. This tradition is probably derived from the Apennine culture that appeared earlier in this region. Nevertheless, to distinguish so-called Fossa People from Villanovans as different ethnic groups on the basis of their different burial practices is methodologically unsound.

THE PEOPLES OF ITALY CA. 750 TO 400 B.C.

The various prehistoric cultures of Italy are known only from archaeological evidence. They eventually evolved into a number of distinctive groups identified in the written sources of Roman history and further understood through archaeological research. Numerous factors contributed to their evolution: first, specific local conditions; then, commercial contact with outsiders like the Phoenicians, Greeks, and emerging Celtic peoples north of the Alps; and, eventually, the heavy immigration of newer settlers, such as the Greeks in the South and the Celts in the North. The Romans themselves came into existence through this same process. The process would continue as the Romans interacted with and absorbed (often violently) the peoples identified in ancient historical sources. The names of these peoples will occur frequently in the next few chapters. It will be helpful to give a brief overview of them now (see map, p. 8).

Ligurians (*Ligures*) The Ligurians were composed of several different subgroups. They inhabited the northwest corner of Italy between the Alps, the Ticinus River, and the western flank of the Apennines down to the Arno

River. Their linguistic affiliations are unclear. They were probably descended in large part from the early Neolithic inhabitants of the area. In their predominantly mountain terrain, most of the Ligurians never reached a high level of development. In the second century B.C., they were often the convenient targets for Roman commanders looking for easy triumphs. On the coast, however, several fine harbors like Genua (Genoa), Savo (Savona), and Albingaunum (Albegna) offered their inhabitants the chance to become skilled sailors and merchants and to establish prosperous communities.

Etruscans To the east and south of the Ligurians were located people collectively known as *Etruscans*. Like their Greek contemporaries, they shared a common language and general culture but were politically fragmented and had many local differences. They spoke a non-Indo-European language. The words of surviving texts can be read because they are written in an alphabet borrowed from the Greeks. On the other hand, these texts (long ones in particular) cannot be fully understood, because the language has no identifiable connection with any better-known language. The Etruscans were concentrated in Etruria, between the Arno and the Tiber rivers. Some extended north across the Apennines into the Po valley from the Rubicon River to Lake Maggiore. Others moved southward into Campania. They all developed a rich, powerful urban culture and will be treated more fully in the next chapter.

Veneti In the northeast, bounded by the Atesis (Adige) River, the Alps, and the Adriatic eastward to Histria (Istria), were the Veneti. They eventually gave their name to Venice. They were descended from the Atestines, and were excellent metalworkers, horse-breeders, and merchants. Their language was an Indo-European dialect closely related to Latin but originally written in an alphabet borrowed directly from the Etruscans.

Gauls (*Celts*) By the late fifth century B.C., the central part of the Po valley, between the Ligurians and the Veneti, had been heavily settled by Gauls (*Galli*). They overwhelmed the earlier Etruscan inhabitants and eventually caused the Romans to call this area *Cisalpine*



Peoples of Early Italy

Gaul, “Gaul this side of the Alps.” The Gauls were a branch of the Indo-European Celts. The Celtic family of languages and the Italic dialects seem to share a common origin among the Indo-European-speaking people of the Urnfield culture of the late Bronze Age (p. 6). Spreading out from central Europe, the Celts had first moved west into France, the British Isles, and Spain. Then they moved south and east into Italy, the Balkans, and finally Asia Minor, where they became known as the *Galatians*.

Latins On the west coast of central Italy south of the Tiber lies the fertile, well-watered plain of Latium, home of the Latins. They were another Indo-European-speaking group that had evolved out of the general spread of such speakers throughout most of Italy in the late Bronze and early Iron Ages. Their Italic dialect and that of the neighboring Faliscans to the north made up one of the two major Italic dialect-groups that predominated in the central Apennine region. The foothills of the Apennines in eastern Latium and the rolling central plain were ideal for herding and the cultivation of grain. Latium was well forested until late in the first millennium B.C. and provided an abundant supply of wood for building and fuel. Accordingly, the Latins grew in numbers and developed many prosperous individual towns—Alba Longa (destroyed ca. 600 B.C.), Antium, Ardea, Aricia, Cora, Lanuvium, Lavinium, Praeneste, Rome, Tibur, and Tusculum. Rome would eventually unite all of the Latins. Through Rome, their Italic dialect would become one of the most important languages in the world.

Umbro-Sabellians Throughout the central Apennines, from the Rubicon in the North, where the mountains come close to the Adriatic at Ariminum (Rimini), and down through Campania and Lucania, dwelt various tribes of people called *Umbro-Sabellians*. They spoke related Italic dialects previously called *Osc-Umbrian* and now often referred to as *Sabellic*. Among these tribes were the Umbrians, Vestini, Frentani, Sabines, Aequi, Marsi, Volsci, Campani, Lucani, and Samnites. Although their family of Italic dialects was Indo-European,

each dialect retained a large element of the non-Indo-European language spoken by earlier inhabitants of the region. The tribes represented by these dialects were primarily pastoralists and peasant farmers. They constantly needed more land to support their growing populations. The wealthier, more urbanized people of the neighboring plains, especially Latium and Campania, also often sought to expand their own territories. The result was frequent and bitter conflict. Thus, the external history of Rome during the early Republic (509–264 B.C.) revolves primarily around wars with neighboring tribes, particularly the Aequi, Marsi, Volsci, and Samnites.

Oscans and Iapygians The Oscans originally dwelt in the part of Lucania around Campania. They were largely descendants of an earlier, non-Indo-European-speaking people. Sabellic speakers, particularly the Samnites, gradually moved into their territory and superimposed their Sabellic, Indo-European dialect. Even before that, however, the Oscans already may have been influenced by earlier Indo-European-speaking migrants.

Across the Apennines, along the lower Adriatic and around the Gulf of Tarentum, were several tribes known collectively as *Iapygians*. They had evolved in close cultural and commercial contact with Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean Greece. There may well have been some admixture of migrants from the Balkans, but certainty on this matter is impossible. The Massapii were one of these tribes. They gave their name to Massapian, the language of the Iapygians. It, too, was Indo-European but was not part of the two Italic dialect-groups.

Piceni (Picentes) Various subgroups generally identified as Piceni or Picentes inhabited the mid-Adriatic coast north and south of Ancona between the Aesis and Pescara (Aternus) rivers. Their culture is not so uniform as once thought, but there are enough similarities to continue to treat them together. They had a long tradition of stock raising supplemented with hunting and fishing. From the ninth century B.C. onward, they maintained active trade networks: across the Adriatic, north and south along the Italian coast, and even west into