

## The Street System of Gabii: New Evidence on the Republican Phases

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*In dieci anni di scavi e ricerche all'interno del Parco Archeologico di Gabii (2009–2018) il Gabii Project ha raccolto un insieme di dati fondamentali per la datazione dell'impianto regolare della città, rivelato da prospezioni geofisiche condotte in precedenza (2007–2008) su larga parte dell'area all'interno delle mura, lungo le pendici meridionali del cratere di Castiglione. L'impianto è caratterizzato da una serie di isolati di forma stretta ed allungata disposti a ventaglio su un asse stradale principale che si adatta alla morfologia del cratere. Da questa arteria, che nella sua fase più antica corrisponde probabilmente alla Via Gabina citata dalle fonti letterarie, si dipartono strade laterali ad intervalli regolari, ad eccezione di un diverticolo che esce dalle mura a SE in direzione di Praeneste, messo in luce negli anni '90 dalla SSABAP di Roma, ed interpretabile come tratto urbano della Via Prenestina. Le indagini stratigrafiche hanno dimostrato che, nella loro configurazione originaria, inquadrabile alla fine del V secolo a.C., le strade erano costituite da semplici tagliate ricavate nel banco tufaceo, al di sopra delle quali sono documentati continui rifacimenti databili tra il III ed il I secolo a.C. La tipologia più frequente è quella delle viae glareatae, superfici stradali formate da livelli compatti di ghiaia, ciottoli e frammenti ceramici. In alcuni casi sono attestati tratti lastricati in basoli di lava (affioramenti del materiale sono noti in prossimità della città), la cui costruzione può forse essere messa in relazione con le responsabilità di manutenzione assegnate ai proprietari di case che si affacciavano sulle strade. Tre delle quattro strade laterali indagate dal Gabii Project vennero definitivamente abbandonate già alla fine del I secolo a.C., come risultato della contrazione dell'abitato, mentre Via Gabina e Via Prenestina, di cui si conservano i lastricati di età imperiale, furono mantenute fino ad almeno il V secolo d.C. (periodo in cui si possono datare i battuti più recenti rinvenuti al di sopra del basolato della Via Gabina). Nel complesso, i dati ottenuti consentono di arricchire notevolmente il quadro delle conoscenze sulle dinamiche insediative di Gabii in età repubblicana. In particolare, la sequenza stratigrafica relativa alla fondazione dell'impianto urbanistico ortogonale, che sostituì un abitato organizzato in precedenza per nuclei distinti, invita a riflettere sulla relazione tra la forma della città e l'espansione romana nel Latium Vetus nel V secolo a.C.*

### *Introduction: Exploring Early Roman Town-Planning at Gabii*

The results of a geophysical survey carried out in 2007-2008 across the greater part of the area inside the line of the city walls revealed that Gabii, a main-tier urban site of *Latium Vetus* 18 km E of Rome, was laid out in a quasi-orthogonal pattern (fig. 1; cf. fig. 19)<sup>1</sup>. The town plan is centered on a main, until then unknown, thoroughfare, associated with a series of roughly perpendicular roads branching off from it, and delimiting elongated city blocks that adapt to the south slope of the truncated cone formed by the crater of Lake Castiglione. The quasi-orthogonal street system of Gabii stands out as a remarkable anomaly in the regional context. The

<sup>1</sup> BECKER *et al.* 2009; TERRENATO *et al.* 2010; KAY 2013.

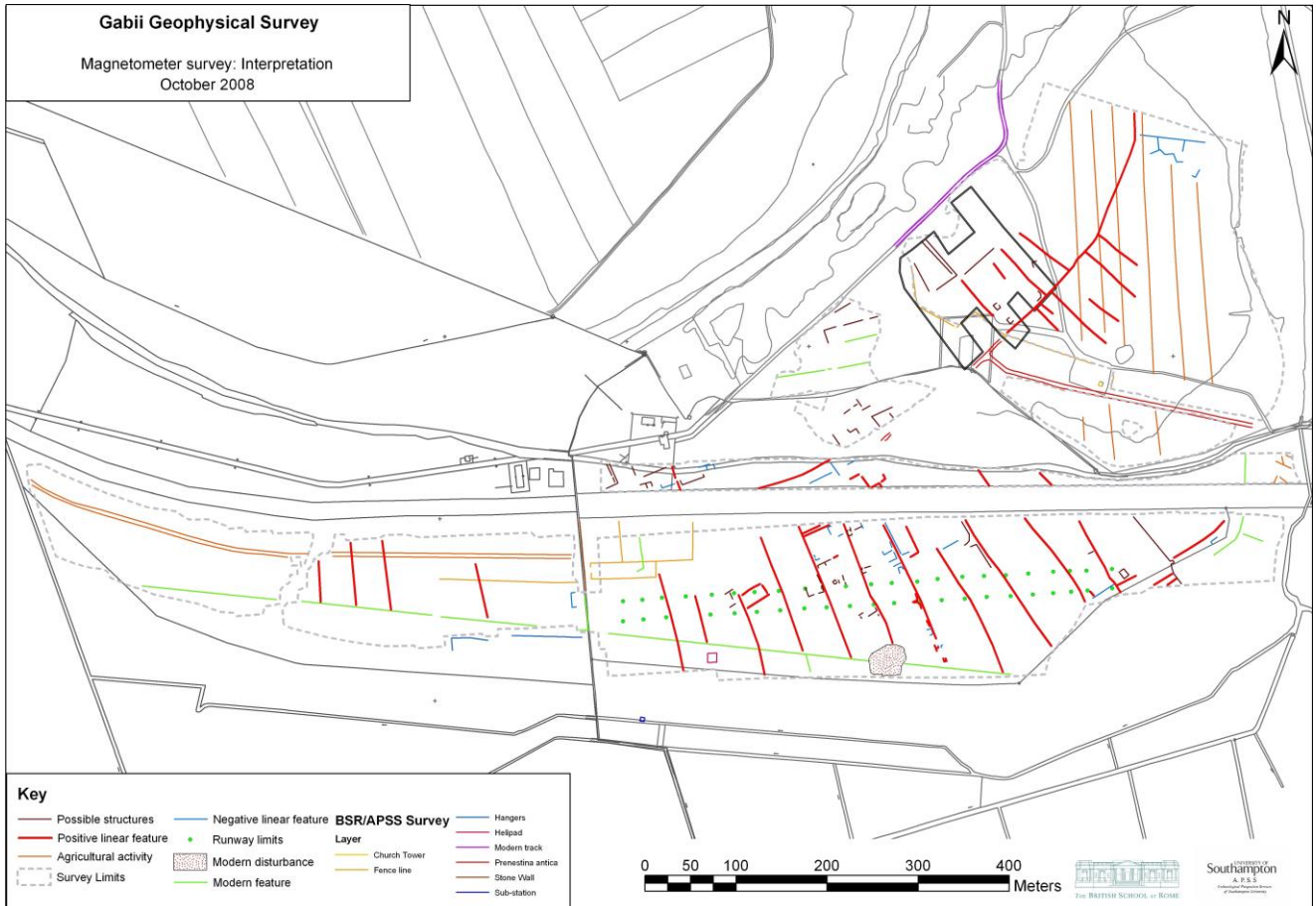


Fig. 1. The interpreted results of the magnetometry survey carried out at Gabii in 2007-2008. The solid black line indicates the limits of the Gabii Project excavation site (GPR; modified after BECKER et al. 2009: 635 fig. 6).

earliest wave of urban formation in central Italy, to which Gabii belonged<sup>2</sup>, produced almost exclusively irregular urban fabrics, probably as a result of the slow agglomeration process of these settlements<sup>3</sup>. Like Rome itself nearby, other Etruscan and Latin primary centers appeared to be *urbes occupatae, non divisae* (to paraphrase Livy 5.55). Veii (Piazza d’Armi), Tarquinia (Pian di Civita), and Ardea (Civitavecchia) may be mentioned as possible (but not indisputable) exceptions, though their layouts tend to be less regular, less unified (often with the appearance of different phases), and on a much smaller scale.

Guided by this background information, since 2009 the Gabii Project has been conducting large-scale excavations in a central sector of the site to investigate, among other objectives, the genesis of the newly discovered urban plan, and to establish a secure chronological sequence for the phases of occupation of five contiguous city blocks (fig. 2)<sup>4</sup>. Taking the ubiquitous and relatively uniform aspect into account, the logical preliminary hypothesis has been that the layout would have been planned formally as a unified whole, and consequently that its constituent roads would have been built simultaneously as part of a coordinated and centralized effort. Thus, the dating of the initial construction of any given road should furnish a reliable chronology for the

<sup>2</sup> A field survey carried out in the late 1970s documented isolated scatters of Early Iron Age material across the urban area: GUAITOLI 1981: 37 fig. 10.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview of Archaic city plans in South Etruria and Latium, see now GUAITOLI 2016.

<sup>4</sup> The Gabii Project is funded by the University of Michigan, the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology and the National Endowment for the Humanities, and directed by Nicola Terrenato with the sponsorship of the American Academy in Rome. Marcello Mogetta is Managing Director; Anna Gallone is Field Director; Andrew Johnston is Director of the Field School; Laura Banducci is Director of Finds; Rachel Opitz is Director of Digital Data. We are grateful for the support of the Soprintendenza Speciale Archaeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Roma (hereafter SSABAP Roma), acknowledging especially F. Prosperetti and S. Musco.



Fig. 2. State plan of the Gabii Project site as of 2018 with indication of excavation areas and road features (GPR; Author: M. Naglak).

implantation of the entire urban network. Stratigraphic data and ceramic finds were collected in 2009-2010 from three different side streets N of the main thoroughfare (Roads 1-3)<sup>5</sup>. The preliminary analysis of the evidence suggested a date in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE for the establishment of the roadways, making the Gabii example a key point of reference for studying the spread of similar orthogonal plans at sites founded (or re-founded) as colonies by Rome in the later 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BCE<sup>6</sup>.

In this study, we follow up on our previous work to present a detailed and comprehensive interim report on the stratigraphy of the streets of Gabii, focusing especially on the Republican phases<sup>7</sup>. By incorporating the spatial and ceramic data gathered from the excavation of an additional road (Road 4), as well as from the documentation of the complete cross-section of the main thoroughfare (Via Gabina), a fuller picture can be sketched for the implantation and successive modifications of the grid. Thus, we lay the groundwork for a reassessment of the relationship between settlement patterns and the trajectory of socio-political evolution at the site in the period of Rome’s early expansion in Latium (whose implications will be discussed in a separate paper).

<sup>5</sup> MOGETTA, BECKER 2014: 171-174. A series of targeted test trenches were also excavated in the southern sector of the site to confirm the interpretation of magnetic anomalies as road surfaces, but without probing their internal stratification: GALLONE, MOGETTA 2011.

<sup>6</sup> MOGETTA 2014.

<sup>7</sup> The final publication of the full stratigraphic data archive from the roads and the relevant sequences of built structures and occupation layers will appear within the Gabii Project Reports (University of Michigan Press). Each road sequence will be published together with the most relevant adjacent area. Interim stratigraphic data is available at <https://gabii.cast.uark.edu/data/>. Interim data reflects the information recorded during excavation, and initial assessment of the finds. Final publication of the stratigraphic data will include updated information based on restudy of the finds and the revision of the stratigraphic sequence and be referable by DOI.

### *The Street System of Gabii: General Topography*

The main feature of the Gabii street plan is a thoroughfare that traverses the entire curved central axis of the site, adapting to the contour of the volcanic slope. A 100 m-long section of it was exposed by the state archaeological service (SSABAP Roma) in the 1990s in the so-called Area Urbana, S and W of the Gabii Project site. Its basalt-paved surface was dated by the excavators to the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, but its original extent went unnoticed<sup>8</sup>. Negative magnetic anomalies detected in 2007-2008 mark its continuation on the same alignment, both to the SW and the NE (as confirmed by excavation in Area H and Area I of the Gabii Project). This trunk-road corresponds to the intramural stretch of a regional road coming from Rome, approaching from the W the narrow ledge of land between Lake Castiglione and the depression of Pantano Borghese, a strategic choke-point in the landscape<sup>9</sup>. It then exited Gabii towards Corcolle and Tibur from a gate near the extra-urban Santuario Orientale<sup>10</sup>. The axial position of the thoroughfare seems to have ensured that the streets on either side of it were of similar length, which may have resulted from the repositioning of a preexisting road closer to the crater’s rim as part of the original planning<sup>11</sup>.

A notable exception in the grid pattern is represented by an east-west basalt-paved road that departs at an odd angle from the thoroughfare, leaving Gabii in the direction of Praeneste. The exact relationship of this road to the orthogonal layout cannot at present be determined, but its orientation clearly did not influence the overall alignment of the urban plots located in the eastern sector of the town. If not contemporary with the thoroughfare, it could represent a later insertion in the layout, perhaps as a result of the reorganization of the regional road network connecting Rome, Gabii, and Praeneste<sup>12</sup>. Literary sources refer to the existence of a *Via Gabina* from the Archaic period<sup>13</sup>, whereas the first mention of a *Via Praenestina* is in Strabo (5.3.9). The common view is that the winding course of the *Via Gabina* was replaced by a rectilinear stretch in the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, and that a new section from Gabii to Praeneste was added then<sup>14</sup>. Milestones attest to roadwork conducted east of Gabii in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, but do not mention the name of the road<sup>15</sup>. To avoid confusion between the two features of the urban grid and the extra-urban Roman road, we hereafter refer to the trunk-road as *Via Gabina*, and apply the term *Via Praenestina* in a narrow scope to identify the intramural stretch of the secondary street toward Praeneste.

The city plan does not seem to be characterized by very strict orthogonality. Wedge-shaped blocks are arranged radially, in a configuration that appears dictated by the curving thoroughfare and the sloping morphology of the volcanic crater. Thus, the width of the blocks tends to increase slightly as one moves away from the edge of the crater, making it difficult to reconstruct a standardized module. In the core area S of the main thoroughfare, seven road features have been detected by the magnetometer at a regular interaxial interval of approximately 44-45 m. Considering that the width of the excavated road surfaces ranges from 2 to 2.80 m, the width of the city-blocks in this sector of town measures on average 41-42 m. W of this group of features, another roadway has been identified at a distance of circa 90 m, suggesting the presence of a block that would be

<sup>8</sup> MAJERINI, MUSCO 2001: 490-493.

<sup>9</sup> The extension of this artery W of Gabii toward the Casale del Pescatore and Osteria dell’Osa was documented by Quilici (1988), who in the 1960s conducted a salvage archaeology project during the construction works for the modern Aqua Marcia. The finds included numerous Imperial funerary monuments facing both sides of the road.

<sup>10</sup> For the positioning see FABBRI, MUSCO 2016: 80 fig. 10. The remains of the gate have been dated to the late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE (with possible traces of an earlier phase) by FABBRI, MUSCO 2016: 74 fig. 3 (Phase III); 81 footnote 22. Another opening in the fortification is further NE; the area is currently under investigation by the SSABAP Roma. According to ASHBY 1902: 193-195, Map IV and TOMASSETTI 1907: 7-8, the extra-urban road crossed the Fosso di San Giuliano and joined the *Via Collatina* at Corcolle, reaching the Aniene River at Ponte Lucano. See GUAITOLI 1981: 37, fig. 10; 44; Pl. 2, no. 23. Guaitoli (1981: 55) describes two levels of glareate beneath the paved road at the Santuario Orientale. Another network of roads east of the Santuario Orientale is mapped by KAHANE 1973.

<sup>11</sup> This would correspond to a more direct and faster route around the crater, connecting extra-urban roads that date back to the Early Iron Age.

<sup>12</sup> HELAS 2016: 92 fig. 1 reconstructs another gate on the side of the fortifications toward Praeneste (“South-east gate”). Its location is dictated by a side street that conforms to the orientation of the layout, possibly predating the *Via Praenestina*, as it would seem to originate at or near the junction between the *Via Praenestina* and the *Via Gabina*.

<sup>13</sup> LTURS III 2005, s.v. “Gabina, Via”: 9-10 (Z. Mari). The course from Rome to Osteria dell’Osa is charted by KAHANE, WARD-PERKINS 1972.

<sup>14</sup> LTURS IV 2007, s.v. “Praenestina, Via”: 249 (Z. Mari). Cf. QUILICI 1977; CARBONI 1997: 8-10. No earlier road surfaces have been identified beneath the Late Republican basalt pavement between the third and thirteenth miles.

<sup>15</sup> ASHBY 1902: 198. Traces of centuriation on both sides of the *Via Praenestina* between Gabii and Praeneste have been attributed by MUZZIOLI 1970 to the Sullan colonization.

twice the width of the average. Farther to the W, agricultural disturbance has led to a lower degree of clarity in the readings of the magnetometer, but linear anomalies conforming to the overall layout have been recorded, though at a less patterned interval. A lack of regularity characterizes also the SE limit of the survey area, perhaps due to constraints dictated by the irregular topography of the underlying geology in this sector, sharply dropping toward the Fosso di S. Giuliano. For the central sector of town N of the thoroughfare, more precise measurements are available from the Gabii Project excavation area. The extent between Roads 1 and 4 takes up a total of 90 m of urban land, but the internal subdivisions are not uniform. Moving from E to W, the blocks are 23.45 m ( $2/3$  *actus*), 35.3 m (1 *actus*), and 31.25 m (just over 100 Roman feet) (measuring the width from the mid-point of each street, as close as possible to the thoroughfare). The Area F block, between Road 4 and the next side street to the W (excavated by the SSABAP Roma) measures 35.9 m across (1 *actus*). The regular pattern of road intersections on both sides of the thoroughfare strongly suggests that the allocation of land in the core part of the site was the result of a single plan.

A similar layout can be found at both Roman colonies, such as Tarracina (329 BCE) and Latin colonies, such as Narnia (299 BCE) and Aesernia (268 BCE), whose relatively small elongated and elevated plateaus, with drops on all sides, were not suitable to the development of a proper grid, but rather for a single main thoroughfare with a number of perpendicular minor streets<sup>16</sup>. The adaptation of orthogonal blocks facing onto a single curving trunk-road, however, also finds parallels at 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE Greek urban sites in Italy that are characterized by an irregular geomorphology, such as Herakleia Lucana (Collina del Castello, 433 BCE). Another notable feature of the Gabii plan is the lack of minor alleys dividing up the city-blocks, creating very elongated proportions, up to 1:7, which are closer to the ratio adopted for the dimensions of the blocks in other 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BCE contexts from Sicily (e.g., Himera) and Southern Italy (e.g., Paestum), than in Roman colonies of the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BCE (1:3 or less). The organization of space around a single main axis, in combination with a subordinate system of rectangular divisions determined on the basis of standardized house-plot sizes, also represents a well-known feature in early western Greek urbanism and appears also at Punic sites of the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, such as Panormos. The case of Gabii, therefore, seems to represent a precursor of the mid-Republican templates, linking earlier Greek and later Roman town-planning practice<sup>17</sup>.

### *The Construction Sequence of Gabii's Thoroughfare*

Stratigraphic evidence for the pre-Imperial levels of the Via Gabina has been sampled from two sectors of the Gabii Project excavations. The most complete sequence is the one documented in Area J (fig. 2), which is located at the intersection of the *Via Gabina* and *Via Praenestina*. The exploration beneath the 1<sup>st</sup>-century CE basalt pavement of the thoroughfare has been made possible by the fact that an extensive late antique or early medieval ditch, crossing the center of city, was cut through the earlier deposits down to the bedrock. Removal of its fill allowed us to expose a slice of the stratification of the road on its north side (fig. 3)<sup>18</sup>. The earliest construction phase of the road is represented by a negative feature made into the natural bedrock (**9020**), whose interface presents traces of wear (including a possible wheel rut). This basic road technology is widespread and well-attested throughout central Italy in the Archaic period and is generally referred to as a *tagliata* (Phase 1)<sup>19</sup>, we discuss it in greater detail in the next section.

Four superimposed roads have been identified between the earliest *tagliata* and the final phase of the *Via Gabina* (basalt pavement **9005** with preparation **9006-9008**). A limited portion of these deposits was excavated stratigraphically (**9017-9018**; **9015-9016**; **9013-9014**; **9009-9012**); bulk ceramic finds suggest that they span the period between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BCE (Table 1; cf. Table 6 for the few diagnostic materials).<sup>20</sup> Each level consists of one or two preparation layers of gravel, crushed ceramic, and earth (*glarea*)

<sup>16</sup> LACKNER 2008: 257-258 (*Fischgrattypus*).

<sup>17</sup> MOGETTA 2014: 153-155.

<sup>18</sup> ZAPPELLONI PAVIA 2018.

<sup>19</sup> QUILICI 1992; QUILICI 2008. For examples of the technology from the region of Gabii see the urban road from Crustumerium (JARVA *et al.* 2012: 217-220), and the so-called *Via Sacra* at Satricum (GNADE 2007: 51-56). A late Archaic or Early Republican *tagliata* with successive Mid-Republican levels of *glarea* has been excavated near Fosso dell'Osa, W of Gabii: ALBERTINI, AGLIETTI 2009.

<sup>20</sup> Four fragments of possible Italian Terra Sigillata come from the top layer of the third phase of the road (**9015**) and are probably intrusions from the upper level (**9014**), which also contained one fragment. The small size and poor condition of the fragments,



VIA GABINA															
	SU	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	Tot.
Bottom glareate	9017	6				4		2							12
	9018	1													1
Repairs	9011	7		2				9							18
	9012			1	1										2
	9013	1			3	1									5
	9014	16		7	8	2		11				4	1	2	51
	9015	16	1	7	3	9		21				1	4		62
Preparations for Basalt Pavement	9016	10				2									12
	9006	1													1
	9007	2	1												3
	9008	8		3	3	1	1	2	1	1	1				21

**Key:**

A: Commonware; B: Amphora; C: Black gloss; D: CBM; E: Creamware; F: Genuclia; G: Impasto chiaro sabbioso; H: Mortarium; I: Painted creamware; J: Thin walled; K: Large storage container; L: Terra sigillata; M: Painted fineware.

Table 1. Quantification of ceramics (by pottery class and number of fragments) retrieved from the AREA J sondage (Author: M. D’Acri).

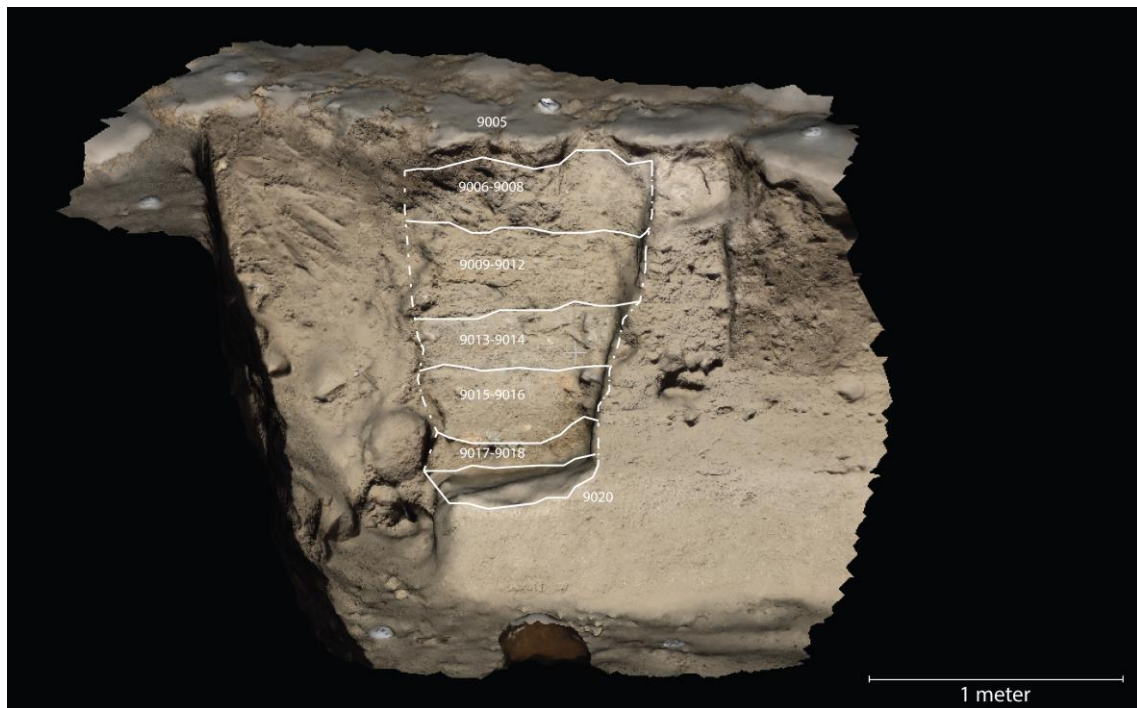


Fig. 3. Schematic cross-section of the sondage excavated in AREA J on the N side of the late ditch cutting the VIA GABINA, showing the sequence of glareates on top of the original tagliata of the main thoroughfare (GPR; Author: M. Naglak). Created utilizing a combination of SfM photogrammetry and traditional total station survey.

topped by a compact soil deposit, which functioned as road surface (*via glareata*). To the S of the ditch, a tufo slab pavement associated to the Republican road was also brought to light (9027). In the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, this pavement was robbed and a series of compact rubble layers were deposited in the spoliation cut. They continue under the basalt pavement of the *Via Praenestina* (fig. 4), thus confirming the late date of its current configuration (although the existence of precursors of this road could not be verified).

however, makes their identification as TSI uncertain (as noted by the excavators, the fragments from 9015 are less than 2 cm, while for the specimen from 9014 “only a chip of slipped surface remains”).

Fig. 4. AREA J. View (from N) of partially-spoliated Republican-era tufo slab pavement 9027 (left), and of the basalt pavement of the imperial-era VIA PRAENESTINA (right), with a late spoliation trench running laterally (left-right) (GPR; Author: A. Zapelloni).



Fig. 5. View (from S) of section showing the earliest basalt pavement (7259) of the VIA GABINA, covered by subsequent preparation (7260) for the later basalt pavement (7019), as documented in AREA H (GPR; Author: A. Johnston).



The other sector that has yielded stratigraphic evidence related to the pre-Imperial levels of the *Via Gabina* lies to the E, in Area H. Along the southern limit of the main thoroughfare, the excavation of the fills of a series of late negative features that cut through the imperial basalt roadway and the strata beneath made visible a partial cross-section of the successive phases of the *Via Gabina* (fig. 5). The original *tagliata* was narrower than the later basalt-paved roads, and thus only the natural bedrock into which the cut for the first roadway was made has been exposed; so too the earlier and narrower glareate road surfaces (Phase 2) are not discernible. The earliest basalt pavement (7259) rests atop a thick, compact level of preparation laid, here at the S limit of the road, on the bedrock shoulder of the *tagliata*; presumably, toward the middle of the road, this preparation covers the last glareate phase. Based on the fact that it was in contemporaneous use with the basalt-paved open space to the south with which it communicated and the basalt-paved phase of the road that it intersects to the north (Road 3<sub>3</sub> discussed further below), this first basalt road surface of the *Via Gabina* can be dated roughly to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE (Phase 3). Subsequently, another thick layer of preparation (7260) was laid directly on top of the basalt pavers to accommodate the final basalt-paved phase of the early imperial period (7019), which elevated the roadway by up to half a meter in places (Phase 4). In late antiquity, this roadway fell out of use, and was replaced by a series of comparatively crude dirt and gravel road surfaces, dated to the mid-late 5<sup>th</sup> century CE (Phase 5); the E-W extent of this last phase of the *Via Gabina* is uncertain at present, but it seems to have continued for at least two blocks to the east<sup>21</sup>.

### The Side Streets

Four of the side streets running N from the main thoroughfare have been intensively investigated (cf. fig. 2). Their stratigraphic sequences are broadly comparable, but a thorough description of each street will be presented in isolation, phase-by-phase. We will then turn to a synthetic summary of the excavated evidence, before situating the first phase – which corresponds to the creation of the quasi-orthogonal grid plan – in its local and regional context.

<sup>21</sup> The more precise sequence documented in Area H is broadly comparable in date to the less well-preserved late phases of the main thoroughfare excavated to the east in Area I: 8137/8234, 8248. The late Roman through early medieval phases of the *Via Gabina* and *Via Praenestina* are currently being studied by P. Maranzana.



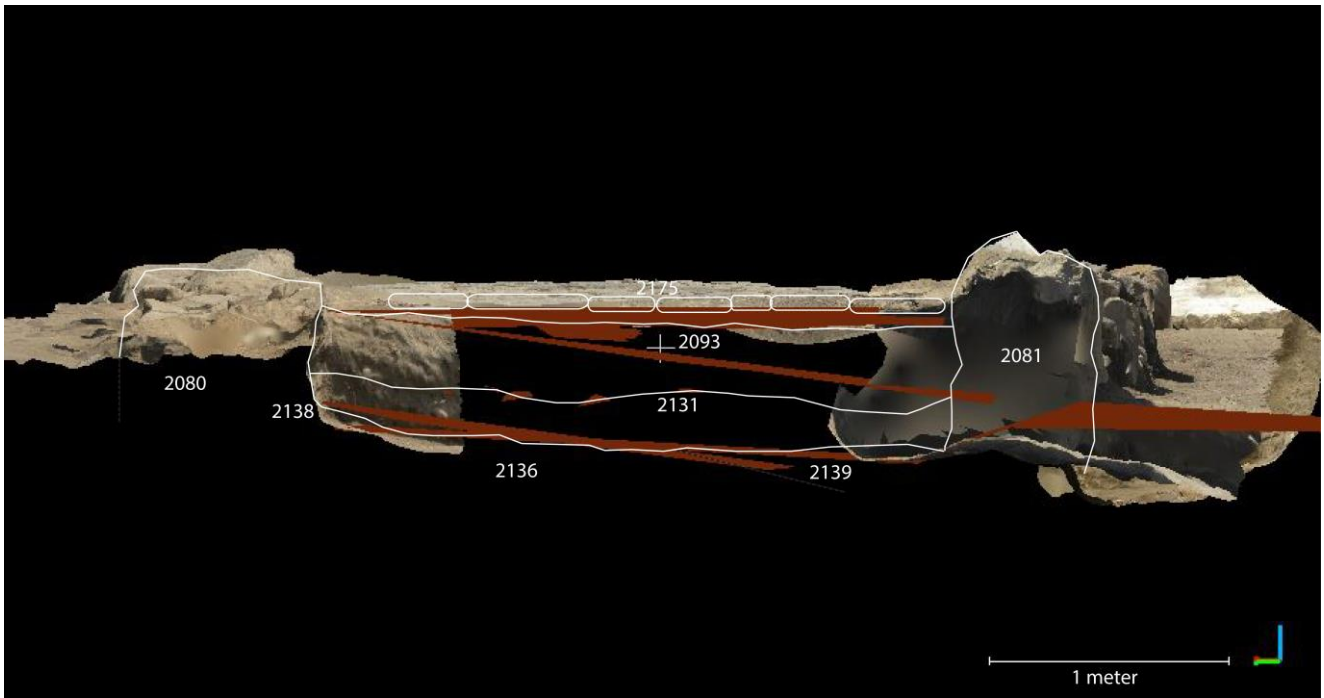


Fig. 6. Schematic cross-section of the excavated sequence of ROAD 1; view from S (GPR; Author: M. Naglak). Created utilizing a combination of SfM photogrammetry and traditional total station survey.

## ROAD 1

The excavated sequence of the east-ernmost of these side streets (Road 1), running between Area C/Area I and Area E and oriented on northwest-southeast alignment, is the best preserved (fig. 6). The first phase, consisting of a *tagliata* (Road 1<sub>1</sub>), was cut into the natural bedrock so as to decrease the grade of the otherwise inconveniently steep slope of the volcanic crater (2138; fig. 7). This cut truncated a layer (2136/2139) that contains no ceramic material dated later than the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, which affords a rough *terminus post quem* (Table 2). At the other end of the chronological span, the *tagliata* roadway – with wheel ruts, 1.2 m apart, worn into the bedrock, vestiges of the substantial traffic borne by this roadway – seems to have gone out of use by the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, when it was completely resurfaced.



Fig. 7. View of the preparatory *tagliata* (2138) for ROAD 1, (GPR; Author: A. Johnston).

Therefore, a date for the cutting of the *tagliata* sometime in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE fits well with the stratigraphic evidence. Seemingly connected with this first phase of the road is a double line of postholes – a series of larger holes, 0.35-0.40 m in diameter spaced at intervals of 2.2-2.4 m (2148, 2150, 2169), and smaller holes, 0.16-0.21 m in diameter at intervals of 0.4-0.5 m (with one 0.8 m outlier) (2152, 2157, 2159, 2161, 2163, 2165, 2167) – cut into the bedrock immediately to the W, on an identical orientation to the *tagliata*; the fills of these postholes (fig. 8) contained limited anthropic material, but there were no ceramics dated later than the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Because the limits are unknown and later activity in the area heavily disturbed the



		ROAD 1																						
	SU	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	Tot.
Phase 1	2136	27	1																					28
	2139	550		17	42	1																		610
	2149	14																						14
	2151	1																						1
	2170					14																		14
Phase 2	2131	296	51	4	24	4	2	3	14	1	3													402
Phase 3	2093	10	45		3	38	103	14	99		6	6	71	5	2	2	1	54						459
Post-abandonment	2075=2082	60	4		2	2	234	1	465		9	256	193	2	3		1	146	1	1	7	6	2	1395

**Key:**

A: Impasto; B: Impasto Rosso; C: Cooking Stand; D: Large Storage Container; E: Impasto Chiaro Sabbioso; F: Black Gloss; G: Bucchero; H: Commonware; I: Italo Geometric; J: Painted Fineware; K: Amphora; L: Creamware; M: Genuclia; N: Internal Red Slip; O: Mortarium; P: Overpainted Black Gloss; Q: Ceramic Building Materials; R: Etruscan Black Figure; S: Ionic Cup; T: Lamp; U: Thin Walled; V: Loom weight.

Table 2. Quantification of ceramics (by pottery class and number of fragments) retrieved from the ROAD 1 sequence and associated SUs (Author: M. D’Acri).

stratigraphy, resulting in the obliteration of any relevant occupation levels, the type of structure to which these postholes belonged remains obscure. But its alignment and position, respecting the new orthogonal plan, suggest that it was built as part of the redevelopment of this city block – perhaps entailing the reallocation of properties – following the creation of the urban grid.

After its implantation, the street network underwent further developments over the course of the next five centuries; Road 1 provides clear evidence for these later phases (fig. 9). By around the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, successive regularizations of the bedrock roadbed presumably grew too deep relative to the habitation level, and a thick layer of *glarea* (*via glareata*) was laid down in order to elevate the roadway by some 0.3 m (2131; Road 1<sub>2</sub>). The date is derived from the bulk pottery classes, consisting for the most part of residues (cf. Table 6, Pl. I nn. 1-2), and is consistent with the presence of both Impasto Chiaro Sabbioso and Commonware, as well as rare undiagnostic Black Gloss. The wheel ruts visible in the *glareate* surface testify clearly to the intensity of use of this particular side street. Roughly one hundred years later, around the mid- or second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, concomitant with a flurry of building activity across the city center of Gabii<sup>22</sup>, a second *via glareata* was constructed atop the first, which raised the road surface by an average of another



Fig. 8. View of the double line of postholes (2148, 2150, 2169, 2152, 2157, 2159, 2161, 2163, 2165, 2167) cut into the bedrock immediately to the W of and on an identical orientation to the *tagliata* for ROAD 1, (GPR; Author: A. Johnston).

<sup>22</sup> The grandest example of this mid-3<sup>rd</sup>-century building activity at Gabii is documented in Area F: see JOHNSTON *et al.* 2018.

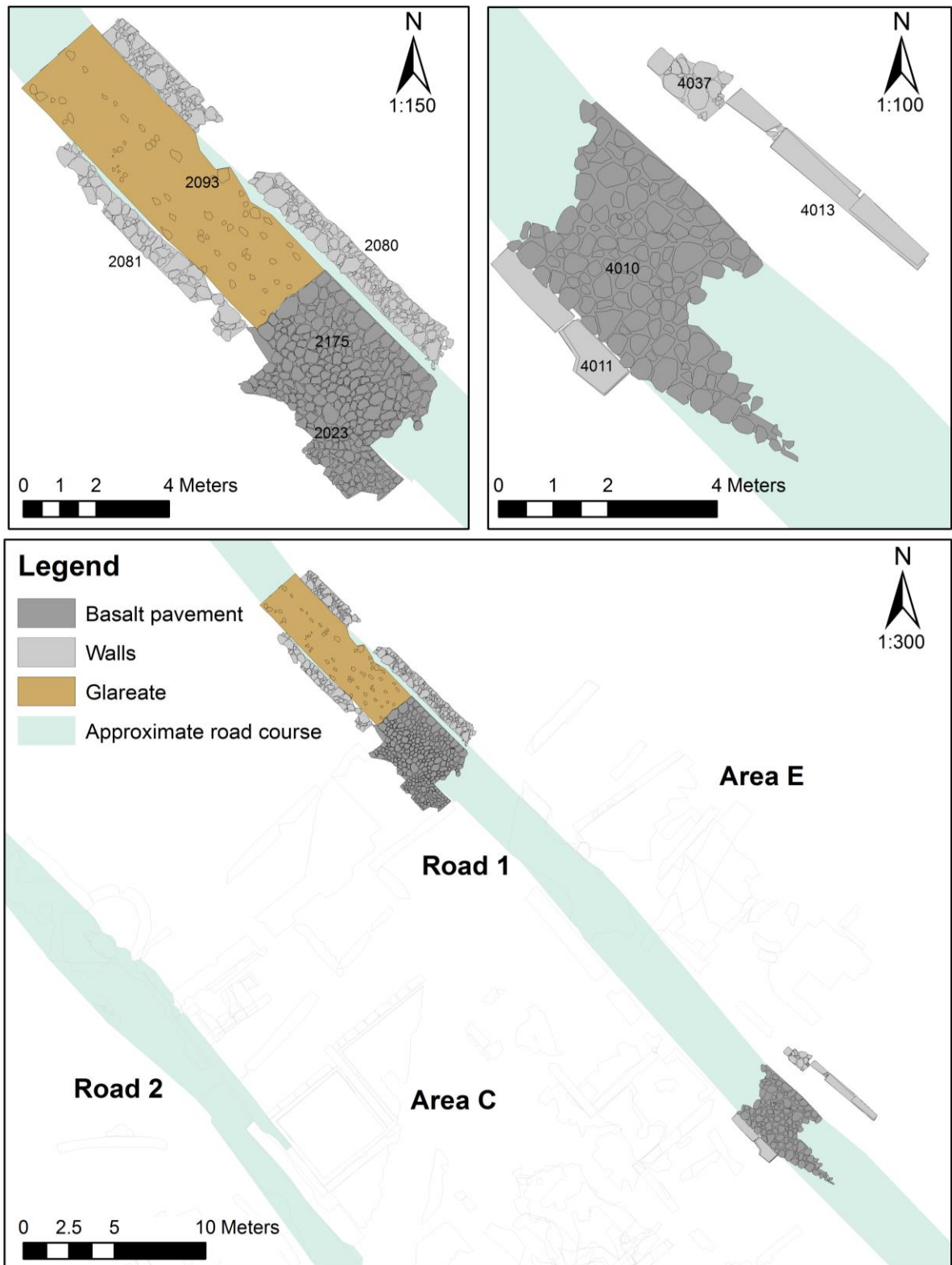


Fig. 9. Composite plan of ROAD 1 (GPR; Author: M. Naglak).



Fig. 10. View of basalt pavement (2175) and latest glareate (2093) of ROAD 1<sub>3</sub> N of the AREA C house (GPR; Author: A. Johnston).



Fig. 11. Segment of basalt pavement of ROAD 1<sub>3</sub> preserved near the S limit of the AREA C house (GPR; Author: E. Adkins).

0.3 m (2093; Road 1<sub>3</sub>; cf. Table 6, Pl. I nn. 3-6); in this phase, the road was furnished with retaining walls built of unmortared and roughly worked stones along most of its length, preserved for 0.5 m in height and 0.75 m in width (E wall 2080, W wall 2081). Either as part of this renovation or not long thereafter, the stretch of the road along the frontage of the atrium-style house that came to occupy this area of the city block was improved and resurfaced in a different construction technique consisting of a pavement of medium-sized, closely-fitted, worked basalt stones (2175; fig. 10)<sup>23</sup>. At the N limit of the stretch of basalt roadway, which was apparently coterminous with the property boundary of the *domus*, the flush interface where it abuts the latest phase of the glareate indicates that the two different surfaces were in use contemporaneously; this contemporaneity is further evidenced by the presence of a continuous drainage channel or gutter along the eastern limit of both the glareate and the basalt roads. Along the frontage of this northernmost section of the property belonging to the *domus*, a semi-enclosed transitional space paved in a similar basalt technique opened directly off of the road; although the pavement is incompletely preserved at its western limit due to post-abandonment spoliation activity, a regular, linear interface is clearly discernible between this space and the roadway proper, suggesting that, while the two surfaces were in phase with and connected to one another, they were distinct constructions (pavement: 2023; spoliation cut: 2044; 2122, covered by the pavement, contains no material later than the mid-4th c. BCE). Immediately to the S, the road, along with its retaining walls and a wide swath of the interior of the house, has been partly obliterated by the same extensive late antique negative feature that also interrupts the *Via Gabina*, Road 2, and Road 3 to the W; some distance beyond where the road resumes on the other side of this truncation, near the S limit of the *domus*, another segment of basalt pavement of Road 1<sub>3</sub> (fig. 11; 4010) is preserved between two retaining walls built in large ashlar tufo blocks (W wall 4011; E wall 4013, with segment built in different technique 4037)<sup>24</sup>. The unusual angle at which the W edge of this basalt pavement deviates eastward from the otherwise straight course of the roadway aligns with one of the adjacent ashlar walls belonging to the *domus*, another indication that, as with the paved transitional space to the north, the basalt pavement of this stretch of the road and some of the features of the house were designed in conjunction with one another.

The archaeological evidence thus points to a close connection between the occupation of the Area C *domus* – the life of which spanned from the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE – and the basalt pavement of the adjacent road onto which it fronted. Shortly after the abandonment of the *domus* toward the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, the road itself fell into disuse; by the early imperial period, it must have already become impassable, extensively spoliated and covered by a layer of rubble and debris (2075=2082).

<sup>23</sup> A first presentation of the Area C house is in MOGETTA, BECKER 2014: 179-180 fig. 9. Subsequent excavation has revealed that the atrium-style design was inserted into a pre-existing structure dating to the early third century BCE. For the basalt pavement see MOGETTA, BECKER 2014: 181-182 with fig. 13, and 183 fig. 14. This feature was initially assigned to a later phase, but our recent reanalysis of the evidence suggests that it coexisted with the *domus*.

<sup>24</sup> The S limit of the pavement has been robbed, but originally it may have corresponded to the S boundary of the property, as in the N. The intervening stretch of Road 1 between the two sections of basalt pavement, which was heavily disturbed by post-abandonment activity, was not completely excavated.



## ROAD 2

Bounding the other side of the city block of Area C, Road 2, while less well preserved, relates more clearly in its original construction to dramatic discontinuities with previous Archaic features, illuminating some of the complex and interesting dynamics bound up with the reorganization of the urban fabric. In this sector of the town (Area D), excavations of a domestic compound delimited by a kind of simple stone precinct wall have yielded an occupation sequence stretching from wattle-and-daub huts of the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century down to houses with stone foundations of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, whose elite status is marked by rich infant burials<sup>25</sup>. Associated with the abandonment of this ancient compound by the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE are a number of exceptional late Archaic tombs containing adult inhumation burials, generally without grave goods but dated on the basis of the stratigraphic sequence and typology to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE<sup>26</sup>. It was upon one of these tombs, built just outside the E wall of the N room of the abandoned domestic structure, that Road 2 was subsequently overlaid when the quasi-orthogonal layout, which does not respect the alignment of the earlier Archaic structures, was imposed (fig. 12). The interval between the inhumations in this tomb and the laying out of the road must have been relatively brief, since the first levels that relate to the preparation of the roadway (**3053**) directly cover the fill of the tomb (Tombs 41-42, **3066**), which thus provides a reasonably secure *terminus post quem* for the phase under discussion. Roughly ten meters to the SE of this tomb, the roadway traversed a second Late Archaic tomb (Tomb 48), containing an infant burial with a modest assemblage of grave goods (two vessels and an iron fibula); ceramic evidence from the layers of fill in the tomb (among which was a painted tile, perhaps used as a marker), together with the diagnostic form of the bucchero olpe buried with the deceased, securely date this tomb between the late 6<sup>th</sup> and the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE at the latest<sup>27</sup>. The diagnostic material from 3053 is consistent with a 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE horizon (Table 6, Pl. II n. 13).

The construction technique of Road 2 differs somewhat from the two adjacent roads. While there is very shallow cut in the bedrock, around 2.7 m in breadth, along the exposed length of the road, the bottom of the cut shows no evidence of the careful regularization or prolonged wear of the *tagliata* roadbeds of Road 1 and Road 3, and it is probable that this bedrock surface never served as a roadway. Instead, the original phase of the road (Road 2<sub>1</sub>) seems to have been a *via glareata*, consisting of a compact layer of gravel (**2099** with prep **2181/2189**), and bounded on its W limit for part of its extent, where it ran alongside the ruins of the Area D compound, by a retaining wall, built of irregular, unmortared stones (**3067** and **3163**). Along the E limit the glareate road surface abutted a retaining wall built in a similar technique (**2077/2078**)<sup>28</sup>. On the basis of ceramic evidence, this construction activity can be dated approximately to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, which accords well with the *terminus post quem* established by the Late Archaic tombs (Table 3; the only diagnostic materials are residues: Table 6, Pl. II nn. 7, 11-12, while the single fragment of Black Gloss is clearly an intrusion from later use or repair of the surface). The variation in typology between contemporaneous roads is presumably related to the presence, in this area of the town, of extensive preexisting features cut into the bedrock lying in the projected path of the roadway, which would have presented a serious obstacle to the viability of a simple *tagliata*<sup>29</sup>.

Road 2 is significantly less well-preserved in its later iterations. Excavations identified the remains of a second major phase, consisting of another level of glareate, laid directly on top of the original *via glareata* (Road 2<sub>2</sub>). The ceramic evidence recovered from this layer is consistent with the late fourth-century date established for the second phase of the road to the east (Road 1<sub>2</sub>; **2100**, with no material later than the 4th century BCE). Any subsequent levels that related to further use of the roadway were obliterated in its northern extent

<sup>25</sup> On the stone building, see MOGETTA, BECKER 2014, 177-178 fig. 6. For the hut phase, see EVANS *et al.* forthcoming. On the infant burials see MOGETTA, COHEN 2018.

<sup>26</sup> EVANS 2018. Two joining fragments of an Attic Red Figure open vase from the fill of Tomb 25 (**2085**), likely dating to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE (C. Pilo, *pers. comm.*), provide a *terminus* for the closing of the burial, which however has no spatial relationship to the road.

<sup>27</sup> The publication of the assemblage is in preparation: MOGETTA forthcoming. The date puts the tomb right at the transition point of the destruction. It could be the last burial interred for the final phase of the AREA D building at the very earliest, or the first burial post-destruction.

<sup>28</sup> The semi-circular feature **2069/2079** probably represents a later addition.

<sup>29</sup> In addition to those features already mentioned, there is also a comparatively small, curvilinear, bedrock-cut channel (**2191**) that was covered by the road along the northernmost excavated extent, perhaps associated with the Archaic occupation of Area C to the E.

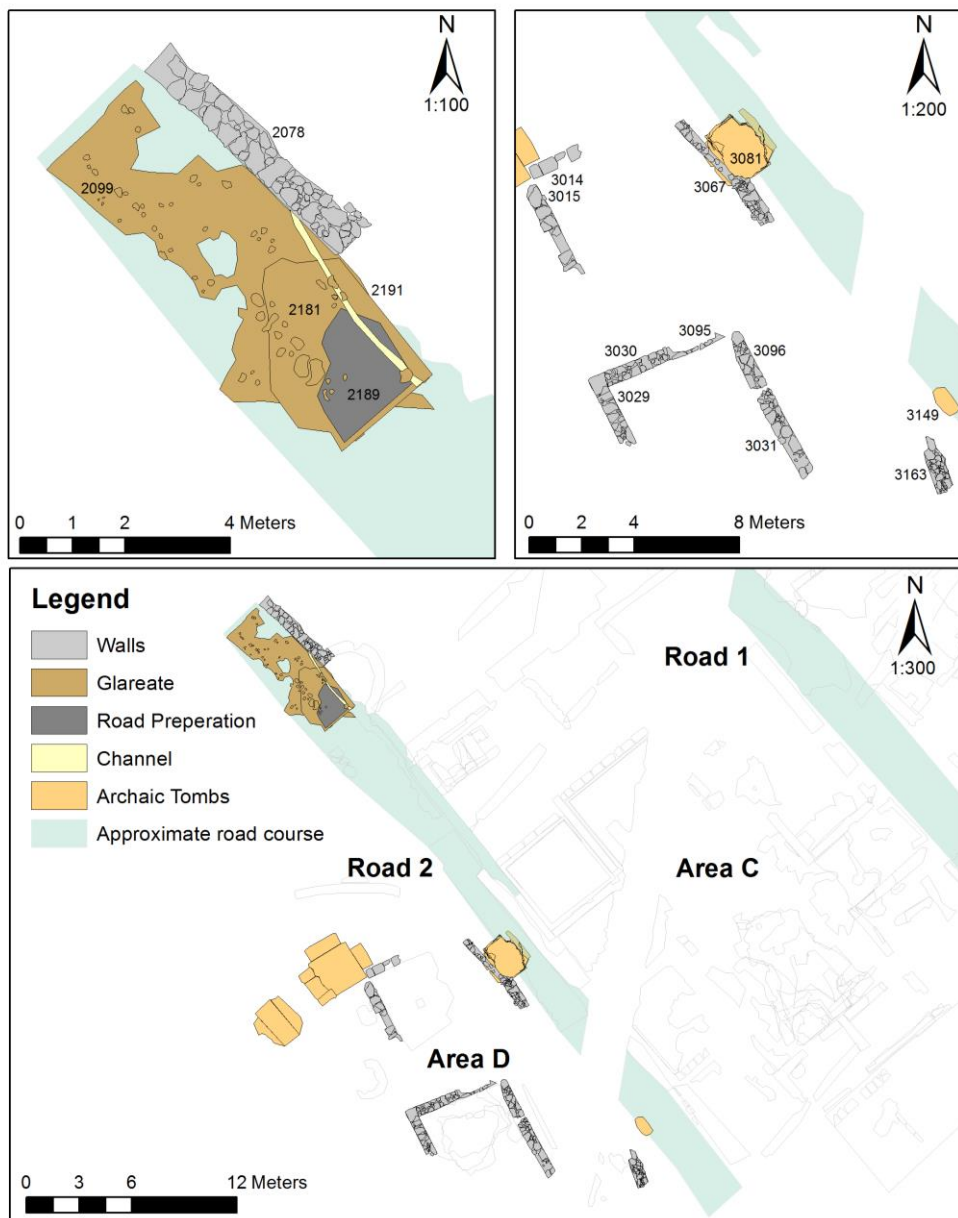


Fig. 12. Composite plan of ROAD 2 showing the relationship of road features to the Archaic occupation of AREA D (GPR; Author: M. Naglak).

ROAD 2																	
	SU	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	Tot.
Phase 1	2099	640	95				1	4	6	2	1	10	10	9	1		779
	2181	312	2			2			4	2		5				1	328
	2189	82														1	83
Phase 2	2100	66		2					16	1		14		13			112

**Key:**

A: Impasto Rosso; B: Impasto Chiaro Sabbioso; D: Etrusco-Corinthian; E: Italo Geometric; F: Black Gloss; G: Bucchero; H: Commonware; I: Cooking Stand; J: Fineware; K: Large Storage Container; L: Painted Fineware; M: Ceramic Building Materials; N: Spindle whorl; O: Spool.

Table 3. Quantification of ceramics (by pottery class and number of fragments) retrieved from the glareates of ROAD 2 (Author: M. D’Acri).

(where the depth of deposit is significantly shallower) by post-abandonment processes and to the south by the construction, at the former intersection of this side street with the main thoroughfare, of a large complex in the early imperial period (Area I), which definitively rendered this side street defunct.

### ROAD 3

The western boundary of the city block occupied by Area D and Area I is defined by another secondary street (Road 3), which delimits on the other side the excavation sectors designated as Area A, Area B, and Area G (fig. 13). This street ultimately meets the curving main trunk road of the city at a perpendicular junction some 40 m down the slope to the SE from these areas. While the entire extent of the road has not been exposed or investigated, a large sondage was excavated adjacent to Area A in order to document of the full stratigraphic sequence, from the post-abandonment levels down to the bedrock (fig. 11; Table 4). Subsequently, a stretch of the road further downhill, from where it joins the main thoroughfare in a T-intersection to the point at which it was interrupted by the late antique ditch, was partially explored during the excavation of an imperial building in Area G.

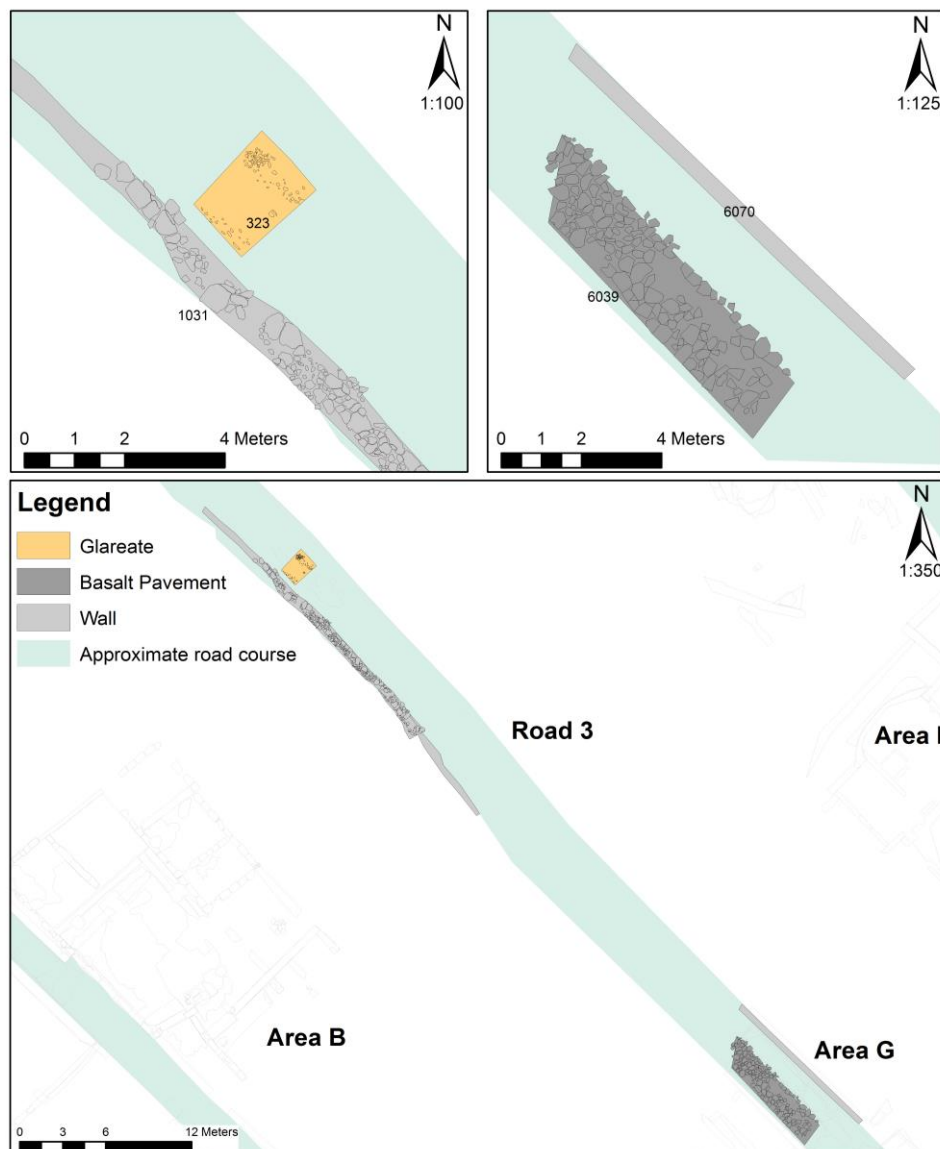


Fig. 13. Composite plan of ROAD 3 (GPR; Author: M. Naglak).



ROAD 3																
	SU	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	Tot.
Phase 2	324	2	1	23	1	1	11	9								48
Phase 3	323	12		11	2		54	33		46	1	1				160
Phase 4	291					17	8	22	2				4	2	1	56

### Key

A: Impasto; B: Impasto Rosso; C: Impasto Chiaro Sabbioso; D: External Slip Ware; E: Amphora; F: Black Gloss; G: Commonware; H: Painted Fineware; I: Creamware; J: Opaque Red Ware; K: Large Storage Container; L: African Cookware; M: African Red Slip; N: Terra Sigillata.

Table 4. Quantification of ceramics (by pottery class and number of fragments) retrieved from the *glareates* of ROAD 3 (Author: M. D’Acri).

The original phase of this secondary road (Road 3<sub>1</sub>) consisted of a *tagliata* cut into the natural bedrock, of comparable dimensions and with similar patterns of wear in the bedrock roadbed to Road 1<sub>1</sub>: the shallow (roughly 0.25 to 0.3 m in depth), concave roadbed measures 2.1 m wide at its broadest and narrows to 1.4 m at the bottom (331; fig. 14). It would have been necessary for the inhabitants to repeatedly regularize the roadbed as it was worn down over a long period of use; as with other *tagliate* at Gabii, wheel ruts, 1.2 m apart, are clearly discernable in the bedrock.



Fig. 14. View of the bottom of the *tagliata* of Road 3 (331). Note the deep traces of wear at both sides (GPR; Author: R. Apostol).

This phase of Road 3 appears to be related to other major modifications made to the bedrock in the inhabited area immediately to the west, which had previously,

in the earlier Archaic phase, been occupied by hut structures and other linear cuts. On the basis of the rich assemblages of grave goods found in the associated infant burials, the cluster belonged to elite groups<sup>30</sup>. The abandonment of these features has been dated to within the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE<sup>31</sup>. The reoccupation of Area A after the city block was created consists of extensive leveling work and repurposing of drainage channels, which were laid out on the same alignment as the orthogonal grid. Scanty remains of a house have been assigned to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE<sup>32</sup>. With sporadic and interesting exceptions like the previous site of the Archaic compound in Area D that was left vacant, this period of urban development gradually filled in the city blocks and resulted, by the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, in a considerably more continuous pattern of occupation across the site than had existed in the Late Archaic phase<sup>33</sup>.

The development of Road 3 in Area A after the original *tagliata* phase that corresponded to the implementation of the grid plan shows unmistakable parallels in technique and sequence with the roads that have been excavated in the city blocks to the E, especially Road 1 in Area C, although the longer use-life of Road 3 has resulted in the stratigraphy of the earlier phases being less well preserved (fig. 15). By the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE at the very latest, a *via glareata* had been laid down within the old *tagliata* to elevate the level of the roadway (324; Road 3<sub>2</sub>; Table 6, Pl. III n. 15; but note the much earlier Black Gloss skyphos). There is clear evidence that this *via glareata* was periodically patched and resurfaced, as must often have been necessary; given the frequency of intrusive ceramics and the degree of stratigraphic uncertainty that results from this

<sup>30</sup> On these infant tombs, see BECKER, NOWLIN 2011.

<sup>31</sup> For a first presentation see MOGETTA 2014: 153 fig. 4. The final report on the stratigraphy and finds from Area A is in preparation BANDUCCI, GALLONE forthcoming (Phase A-1a).

<sup>32</sup> BANDUCCI, GALLONE forthcoming (Phase A-2).

<sup>33</sup> MOGETTA, BECKER 2014, 178-181; cf. OPITZ *et al.* 2016.

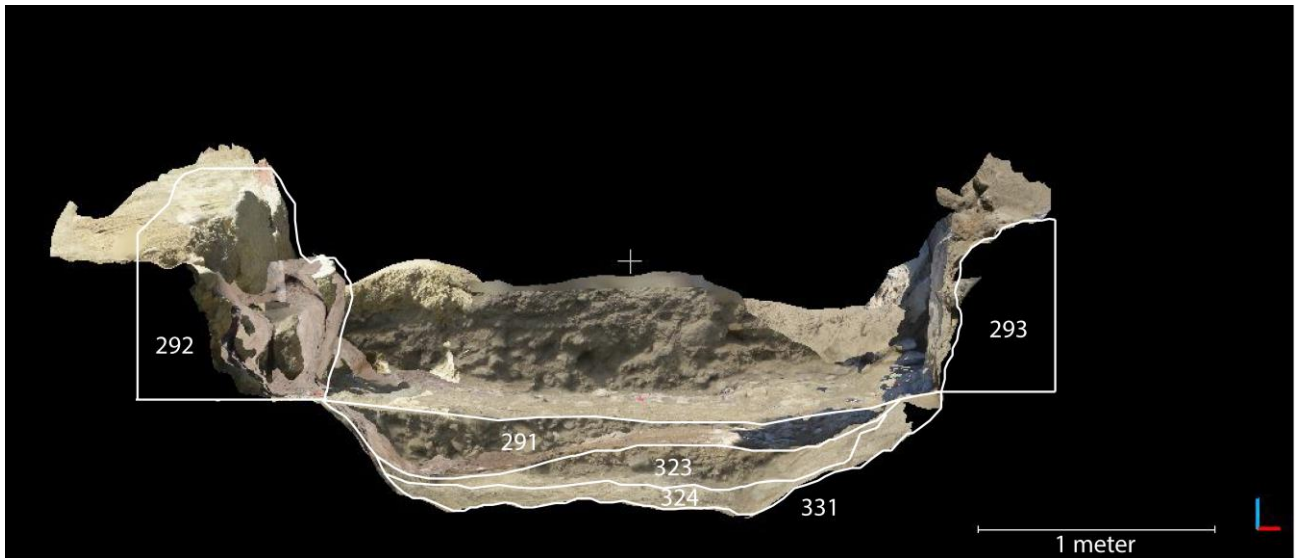


Fig. 15. Schematic cross-section of ROAD 3; view from S. Created utilizing a combination of SfM photogrammetry and traditional total station survey (GPR; Author: M. Naglak).



Fig. 16. View of early basalt-paved roadway (6039) of Road 3 in AREA G, from N (GPR; Author: A. Johnston).

process of maintenance, it is thus highly likely that the initial construction of this first glareate phase is actually somewhat earlier than the conservative date suggested by the latest ceramic material; it could even be pushed back into the mid- to late fourth century BCE. This would accord well with the chronology of the earliest *via glareata* of Road 1 (Road 1<sub>2</sub>) and the second phase of Road 2 (Road 2<sub>2</sub>), both dated to the second half of the fourth century BCE. While minor resurfacing and patching of the *viae glareatae* need not have been undertaken simultaneously across the city, these substantial changes in the elevation of the side streets must have been coordinated, given the constraints determined by their common intersection with the main trunk road.

Subsequently, the roadbed was filled by yet another major layer of glareate, raising the level of the roadway some 0.21 m (323; Road 3<sub>3</sub>); ceramic evidence would date this phase to the later 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE (cf. Table 6, Pl. III nn. 16-19), contemporary with the second glareate phase of Road 1 (Road 1<sub>3</sub>). To the S, as it descended toward the intersection with the main thoroughfare, the roadway was instead paved in worked basalt slabs (6039; fig.16), laid on top of the earlier glareate surface (6040) and joining the earliest basalt pavement of the *Via Gabina*, of mid-Republican date. Although its full extent has not been preserved due to post-abandonment activities, it seems likely that, as with the limit of the basalt-paved stretch of ROAD 1 at the edge of the property of the mid-Republican *domus*, this pavement of Road 3<sub>3</sub> too would have terminated abruptly.



uptly and transitioned to a *via glareata* at the N boundary of this property that fronted along the main thoroughfare. Any associated mid-Republican structures that stood on this property at the W limit of the side street have been obliterated by late antique building activity, but the eastern limit of the roadway is delimited by a wall composed of at least two courses of ashlar blocks arranged in a technique consisting of a series of headers alternating with stretchers (6070).

Along the W boundary of the excavated stretch of Road 3 further to the N, in this phase a retaining wall – roughly 0.85 m in height and between 0.8 and 1 m in width – was built of roughly worked and dry-stacked stones (292/1031). Perhaps because the space of the city block immediately adjacent to the east was vacant, unlike the lot to the W that was now mostly occupied by a *domus* (the so-called Tincu house), for a time this one retaining wall alone was necessary; only some time later, in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, does it seem that an E boundary wall was constructed in a different technique, of dressed stone bound together by mortar (293)<sup>34</sup>. Still further up the slope to the N, where the level of the bedrock was significantly higher (and the adjacent city blocks lack clear evidence of domestic occupation), stone-built retaining walls were apparently unnecessary, and the glareate road surfaces were contained directly within the rock-cut roadbed.

Even after the abandonment of the Republican domestic structures to the west, where the city block had lapsed into vacancy already by the early imperial period and had begun to be actively deconstructed and excavated, the road continued in use, at first in order to service the nearby quarry, and, subsequently, to provide access to the necropolis that developed on the ruins of the Tincu house<sup>35</sup>. At some point in the first or second century CE, the road was resurfaced along both exposed stretches with a third major phase of glareate (291; Road 34; cf. Table 6), which at the S end covered the mid-Republican basalt pavement and raised the level of the side street to that of the imperial *Via Gabina*. After this, the northern stretch of the road fell out of use, but to the south, coming up from the main thoroughfare, there is a clear sequence of no fewer than five late gravel road surfaces, dated based on ceramic evidence to the mid-late 5<sup>th</sup> century CE (6059, 6066, 6071, 6072, 6078; Road 35), and certainly belonging to a phase after the abandonment of the basalt-paved imperial roadway of the *Via Gabina* (fig. 17). This roadway appears to have served the needs of the community that was burying its dead immediately uphill in the late imperial Area B necropolis.

#### ROAD 4

Separating Area A and Area B to the E from Area F to the W, Road 4 intersects the *Via Gabina* at a prominent location within the general topography of Gabii, just north of the main junction with the *Via Praenestina*. Due to its direct spatial relationship with probable public areas, namely the open paved square south of Area J and Area H, as well as the multi-terraced civic building occupying the Area F city block<sup>36</sup>, the street was the focus of monumentalization projects that mask most of the evidence for its first phase.

The width of the roadway in its mid-Republican phase has been exposed for a short stretch 50 m upslope from the *Via Gabina*, to the north of the side entrance that gave access to the middle terrace of the Ar-



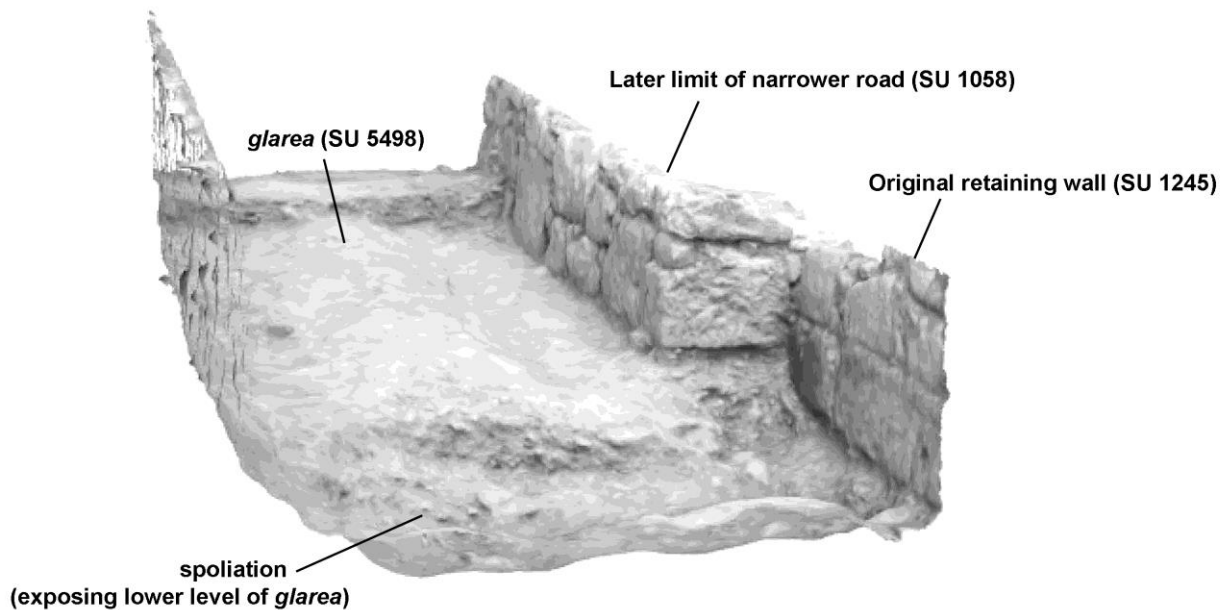
Fig. 17. View of section of late Imperial gravel road surfaces (6059, 6066, 6071, 6072, 6078) covering the Republican basalt pavement (6039) of ROAD 3 in AREA G, with part of tufo block retaining wall (6070) visible (GPR; Author: A. Johnston).

<sup>34</sup> On the house, see OPITZ *et al.* 2016.

<sup>35</sup> Preliminary data on the Area B necropolis is in MOGETTA, BECKER 2014: 183-185 with fig. 15; final report to appear in BANDUCCI, GALLONE forthcoming.

<sup>36</sup> JOHNSTON *et al.* 2018.





PM591\_SU5498 Gabii Project, Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan

Fig. 18. Still of 3D photomodel showing compact glareate surface of Road 4 (5498), abutting the W side wall of the Tincu House (1245) and the E retaining wall of the upper terrace of the Area F complex (5008). Note later spoliation trench cut through the roadway revealing the presence of multiple gravel layers (GPR; Author: M. Mogetta).

ea F building (fig. 18). A compact glareate surface (5498; Road 4<sub>1</sub>), approximately 2.5 m in width, has been found to abut both the W side wall of the Tincu House (1245) and the E retaining wall of the upper terrace of the Area F complex. The latter feature faced a construction cut in the bedrock, whose top interface is visible further to the W, at much higher elevation than the glareate. Thus, it seems logical to conclude that the roadway in question was created as part of the same building project, dating to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE or shortly after. An earlier phase of the road, however, is implied by the existence of the Tincu House, whose construction predates that of the Area F building by a generation or so<sup>37</sup>. In fact, the sides of a later spoliation trench cut through the roadway reveal the presence of multiple gravel layers, one of which may have represented a lower glareate level associated with the original (and only) doorway opening into the courtyard of the Tincu House before the Area F complex was built. In any case, the notable drop in the elevation of the underlying bedrock across the width of the roadway makes the existence of a pre-3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE *tagliata* below the existing surface extremely likely, if not altogether necessary.

The preserved portion of the mid-Republican glareate has a pronounced convex profile at its center, and features concave depressions at the sides, which may have resulted from heavy traffic and/or continued use over a long period of time. S of the stepped access to the middle terrace of Area F, a line of large tufo slabs runs at the western edge of the street and along the eastern boundary wall of the Area F complex (5339). The structure probably served as a sidewalk and would thus have facilitated the movement of pedestrians from the main thoroughfare to this secondary entrance.

Around the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, the lower stretch of the street was widened (to a maximum of 5.2 m) and probably paved in basalt stones all the way down to the *Via Gabina* (Road 4<sub>2</sub>). A Y-junction was added to provide a new route of access to the Tincu House, which now might have served as an annex to the public building across the road. This paved drive terminates at a stone threshold which responds to the side en-

<sup>37</sup> OPITZ *et al.* 2016, Phase B-1 (ca. 280 BCE).

trance of the Area F complex, underscoring the functional link between the two structures<sup>38</sup>. S of the threshold, a new side wall was built along the extension on the eastern limit in order to retain the basalt paving blocks. Most of the paving stones were robbed in the subsequent phase, exposing a built-up drainage channel that originally ran below the street level.

By the early Imperial period the road (Road 4<sub>3</sub>) was narrowed again (m. 2.20) to reflect the abandonment of the Area F building as well as a change in the focus of the occupation within Area B, with activity oriented toward the western road and to the north. In the N section, a wall employing reworked fragments of tufo blocks of medium and small size laid without mortar (1058) was built directly on top of the glareate, abutting the pre-existing façade of the Tincu House. The structure continues upslope until it merges with a ramp providing access to a large quarry site, which was in full operation by the Augustan period<sup>39</sup>. To the south, a wall on the same alignment was built on top of the paved drive, demonstrating that the new width was carried uniformly for the entire extent of the road. For a time, then, the new iteration of the road served primarily as part of the infrastructure related the extraction of *lapis Gabinus*. A series of rubble fills containing materials dating to the Julio-Claudian period has been excavated within the new roadway (Table 5). These deposits may relate to the final abandonment and leveling of the feature rather than to its upkeep<sup>40</sup>. When a new complex was built on what had been the lower and middle terrace of the monumental mid-Republican building (Area F building, Phase 3), the intersection between Road 4 and the *Via Gabina* was completely blocked off.

Road 4																							
	SU	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	Tot.
Abandonment	5093			17		3	5		136		11	141	40	14		1	37	23	7		13	34	482
	5076	16	4	47	3	9	78	8			6	217	195	24	4	4	80			3	21	16	735

**Key:**

A: Impasto; B: Impasto Rosso; C: Fineware; D: Large Storage Container; E: Impasto Chiaro Sabbioso; F: Black Gloss; G: Bucchero; H: Commonware; I: Italo Geometric; J: Painted Fineware; K: Amphora; L: Creamware; M: Painted Creamware; N: Internal Red Slip; O: Mortarium; P: Terra sigillata; Q: Ceramic Building Materials; R: African Cookware; S: Ungentaria; T: Lamp; U: Thin Walled; V: Loom Weight.

Table 5. Quantification of ceramics (by pottery class and number of fragments) retrieved from the abandonment levels of ROAD 4 (Author: M. D’Acri).

*Summary of the Excavated Evidence*

Taken together, the stratigraphic dataset collected from five streets within the Gabii Project excavation site allows us to reconstruct and date with greater precision the town-planning of Gabii and its subsequent modifications. The fact that the axial *Via Gabina* and its secondary roads share the same construction sequence and technology confirms that the quasi-orthogonal layout was created as part of a single project. In their first phase, the roadways consisted of rock-cut features (*tagliate*). While the exact breadth of the early *Via Gabina* remains unknown, the side streets feature comparable dimensions: both Road 1<sub>1</sub> and Road 3<sub>1</sub> have a width of 2.1 m; Road 4, whose *tagliata* can be hypothesized with some confidence based on the original slope of the bedrock across Area B and Area D, was certainly narrower than the maximum breadth of 2.5 m documented for the later levels; the rock-cut feature of Road 2 was 2.7 m wide, though it was probably never meant to be used as a walking surface, serving as a preparatory stage to regularize the path for an artificial roadway (Road 2<sub>1</sub>)<sup>41</sup>. With the exception of Road 2, the roadbeds also show similar patterns of wear, including ruts that

<sup>38</sup> OPITZ *et al.* 2016, Phase B-2. For a different interpretation see POEHLER 2018.

<sup>39</sup> Preliminary presentation of the quarry: MOGETTA, BECKER 2014, 184; FARR 2014: 116-121, providing a 1<sup>st</sup>-century BCE date for the start of large-scale quarrying activities at Gabii. The ceramics from Areas A and B furnish a 1<sup>st</sup> century CE date to the quarrying at this particular location.

<sup>40</sup> See especially 5171, which the excavators interpreted as representing the accumulation of debris dumped steadily over a relatively short period of time. This unit contained frequent residual pottery dating to 70-30 BCE (Black Gloss pottery of the Campana A and Romana D productions, as well as early TSI forms); 5093; 5076 farther N.

<sup>41</sup> The Archaic road in the lower settlement of Poggio dei Cavallari at Satricum provides an example of crushed tufo, ceramics, and pebble pavement laid out on top of a pre-existing depression or ditch, which the excavators believe was regularized for the purpose to insert ashlar retaining walls. See GNADE 2002: 7-12; GNADE 2007: 52 (the ditch is described as natural, not anthropic). A similar sequence of roadbeds atop a concave depression in the bedrock is attested for at least one side street, GNADE 2007: 54. In light of this, the possibility that the bottom negative features represent *tagliate* should not be excluded.

GPR Area	Road Phase	SU	Class/Shape	Condition	Chronology	Plate	Comparanda
C	1 <sub>3</sub>	2093	Genucilia/Plate	One fragment of rim and body; ø 13 cm; h 1,9 cm	330-270 BCE	Pl. I, n. 3	SLEJ 2008: 76, pl. 52, n. 4, J71
C	1 <sub>3</sub>	2093	Black Gloss/Bowl	One fragment of rim and body; ø 22 cm; h 3 cm	4 <sup>th</sup> -middle of 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BCE	Pl. I, n. 4	MOREL 1981: 203-204, pl. 65, F2672
C	1 <sub>3</sub>	2093	Black Gloss/Patera	One fragment of rim and body; ø 8 cm; h 2,6 cm	300-200 BCE	Pl. I, n. 5	MOREL 1981: 139-140, pl. 32, F2146
C	1 <sub>3</sub>	2093	Black Gloss/Bowl	One fragment of rim and body; ø 10 cm; h 2,2 cm	First half 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BCE	Pl. I, n. 6	MOREL 1981: 195, pl. 61, type 2625c 1
C	1 <sub>2</sub>	2131	Painted Fineware/Bowl	One fragment of rim and body; ø 12 cm; h 2,3 cm	7 <sup>th</sup> c. BCE	Pl. I, n. 2	ZUCHTRIEGEL 2012: 89, taf. XXI, 343
C	1 <sub>2</sub>	2131	Bucchero/Oinochoe	One fragment of rim and body; ø 8 cm; h 7,7 cm	First quarter 6 <sup>th</sup> c. BCE	Pl. I, n. 1	RASMUSSEN 1979: 77-78, pl. 7, 28, oinochoai, type 2b
C	2 <sub>1</sub>	2099	Painted Fineware/Kylix	One fragment of rim and body; ø 11 cm; h 3 cm	End of 8 <sup>th</sup> -third quarter 7 <sup>th</sup> c. BCE	Pl. II, n. 12	ZUCHTRIEGEL 2012: 119-120, taf. XX, 327, kylikes, type A
C	2 <sub>1</sub>	2099	Fineware/Cup	One fragment of rim and body; ø 12 cm; h 2,5 cm	Middle 7 <sup>th</sup> -first quarter 6 <sup>th</sup> c. BCE	Pl. II, n. 11	ZUCHTRIEGEL 2012: 68-69, taf. XX, 330, kylikes, type B
C	2 <sub>1</sub>	2099	Impasto Rosso/Lid	One fragment of rim and body; ø 32 cm; h 2,9 cm	Orientalizing period	Pl. II, n. 7	FALZONE 2001: 195, tav. 32, n. 137, lids, type 4
D	2 <sub>1</sub>	3053	Commonware/Bowl	One fragment of rim and body; ø 14 cm; h 2,2 cm	Archaic period	Pl. II, n. 9	D'ACRI, DE LUCA 2016: 87, tav. VII, n. 63
D	2 <sub>1</sub>	3053	Commonware/Olla	One fragment of rim and body; ø 22 cm; h 2,9 cm	Second half 6 <sup>th</sup> -early 5 <sup>th</sup> c. BCE	Pl. II, n. 8	D'ACRI, DE LUCA 2016: 86, tav. VI, n. 56
D	2 <sub>1</sub>	3053	Bucchero/Bowl	One fragment of rim and body; ø not available; h 2 cm	End of 6 <sup>th</sup> , or 5 <sup>th</sup> c. BCE	Pl. II, n. 10	RASMUSSEN 1979: 125, pl. 41, 256, bowls, type 4
D	2 <sub>1</sub>	3053	Painted Fineware/Cup	Two fragments join between them of rim and body; not available; h 3,2 cm	Late 7 <sup>th</sup> -middle 6 <sup>th</sup> c. BCE	Pl. II, n. 13	ZUCHTRIEGEL 2012: 99, taf. XXI, 346
A	3 <sub>3</sub>	323	Black Gloss/Plate	One fragment of rim and body; ø 10 cm; h 1,6 cm	Around 200 BCE	Pl. III, n. 17	MOREL 1981: 128, pl. 26, type 1637a 1
A	3 <sub>3</sub>	323	Black Gloss/Patera	One fragment of rim and body; ø 9 cm; h 2 cm	300-200 BCE	Pl. III, n. 18	MOREL 1981: 139-140, pl. 32, F2146
A	3 <sub>3</sub>	323	Impasto Chiaro Sabbioso/ <i>Mortarium</i>	One fragment of rim and body; ø 62 cm; h 5 cm	Archaic period	Pl. III, n. 14	DI MARIO 2005: 26-27, tav. I, n. 14
A	3 <sub>2</sub>	324	External Slip Ware/Olla	One fragment of rim and body; ø 19 cm; h 3,2 cm	275-150 BCE	Pl. III, n. 15	DYSON 1976: 24, fig. 2, CF16
A	3 <sub>3</sub>	323	Black Gloss/Bowl	One fragment of rim and body; ø 11 cm; h 1,9 cm	First half 3 <sup>rd</sup> century BCE	Pl. III, n. 19	MOREL 1981: 206, pl. 66, type 2686d 1
A	3 <sub>3</sub>	323	Opaque Red Ware/Cup	One fragment of rim and body; ø 4 cm; h 0,7 cm	360/350-330 BCE	Pl. III, n. 20	FERRANDES 2016: 91, fig. 18.
A	3 <sub>3</sub>	323	External Slip Ware/Olla	One fragment of rim and body; ø 15 cm; h 2 cm	End of the 4 <sup>th</sup> -second half 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BCE	Pl. III, n. 16	DI MARIO 2005: 125-126, tav. XVI, n. 814
A	3 <sub>2</sub>	324	Black Gloss/Skyphos		400-250 BCE	n/a	MOREL 1981: 307-308, pl. 130, F4360
A	3 <sub>4</sub>	291	African Red Slip/Bowl		100-150 AD	n/a	HAYES 1972: 20, form 3C
J	VIA GABINA (repairs)	9011	Black Gloss/Bowl	One fragment of rim	300-100 BCE	n/a	MOREL 1981: 149, pl. 38, type 2241 A1
J	VIA GABINA (repairs)	9015	Seal (Carnelian)	Scarab. On flat bottom: dog with sharp pointed ears and a tail that arches over the back. Joints and paws terminate in circles.	5 <sup>th</sup> -4 <sup>th</sup> c. BCE	Pl. IV, n. 21	RICHTER 1956, 50, pl. XXXI, 193

Table 6. Select diagnostic materials from the excavated roadways with plate correspondence (Author: M. D'Acri).



may have been created by heavy wheeled traffic or as a result of erosion from surface water (initially none of the side streets were provided with drainage features). This suggests that the *tagliate* were in use for quite a long period of time before being eventually replaced by *viae glareatae*.

Direct physical relationships between the construction cuts into the bedrock and pre-existing layers and features provide external evidence to pinpoint the construction date of the *tagliate*. Most notably, Road 1<sub>1</sub> cut a layer containing no ceramic material dated later than the sixth century BCE, while the preparation for Road 2<sub>1</sub> covered the fills of tombs which went out of use within the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Thus, a rough *terminus post quem* of the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE can be established. This corresponds well with the 5<sup>th</sup>-century BCE date suggested independently for the abandonment of the occupation levels detected directly below the Tincu House in Area B, which must have preceded the creation of the city block bounded by Road 3 and Road 4, as well as farther upslope in Area A<sup>42</sup>. The contextual materials from Road 2<sub>1</sub> are consistent with this horizon: the layer does not include pottery later than the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The cumulative evidence supports a date for the implantation of the grid plan in the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The date we propose also agrees with the broad chronology indicated by comparanda drawn from other areas of Latium for the technique<sup>43</sup>.

The *tagliate* remained in use for a century or so before being replaced by a new system. When their periodic maintenance made the roadbeds reach too deeply into the bedrock, the roadways were raised by means of successive layers of packed gravel and clay. The *Via Gabina*, whose use was probably more intensive than the side streets, received at least four distinct repairs before the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BCE<sup>44</sup>. The dates for Road 1<sub>2</sub>, Road 2<sub>2</sub>, and Road 3<sub>2</sub> range between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, respectively (though in the latter case the latest material would seem to be related to the use, not the construction). Road 4<sub>2</sub> was built (or rebuilt) in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, in connection with the Tincu House, while Road 1 was resurfaced in the middle or late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE (Road 1<sub>3</sub>).

A section of Road 1<sub>3</sub> in front of the Area C house, the entire excavated stretch of Road 3<sub>3</sub> between the *Via Gabina* and the late Roman ditch, as well as a stretch of Road 4<sub>2</sub> from the junction with the *Via Gabina* to the side entrances to the Tincu House and the Area F complex were improved with pavements of basalt, a locally available resource<sup>45</sup>, in conjunction with major transformations occurring within those property plots by the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE and the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, respectively. The chronology established on the basis of the stratigraphy fits with what is known from historical sources of the evolution of this road-building technique: elsewhere in Latium, comparable large-scale resurfacing of major extra-urban Roman roads in basalt – favored as a paving stone for its hardness and durability – began in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, but it was well over a hundred years until the intramural roads of the city of Rome itself seem to have started to receive such costly improvements<sup>46</sup>.

To understand the reason behind the variation of technique within these roads and the limited extent of the basalt paving, it is useful to turn to Roman law. By the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, both in Rome and in the *municipia* of Italy, individuals were generally responsible for the maintenance and improvement of stretches of a public *via* or *semita* in front of their property, although the ultimate jurisdiction over city streets belonged to the local *aediles*; any work was, of course, subject to the discretion of these magistrates<sup>47</sup>. Particularly relevant in the case of

<sup>42</sup> In Area A, the “Archaic structure” (a sketchy footprint of a building underneath the Republican period floor/traces of wall) dates not later than the 5<sup>th</sup> century: BANDUCCI, GALLONE forthcoming, Phase A-1.

<sup>43</sup> For examples from the suburbium E of Rome see ZACCAGNINI 2001: 268 (assigning the *tagliate* to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE).

<sup>44</sup> This is consistent with the pattern known from Pompeii, where excavations show that beaten-ash streets were replaced every 25-40 years. See POEHLER 2017: 58-60.

<sup>45</sup> Deposits of leucitic lava outcrop both east and west of Gabii at the Fosso di San Giuliano and the Fosso dell’Osa, respectively: JACKSON, MARRA 2006: 408 fig. 2.

<sup>46</sup> The *Via Appia* was paved in worked (*quadratum*) basalt slabs (*silix*) from the *porta Capena* to the temple of Mars, a distance of around two kilometers, by the aediles Cn. And Q. Ogulnius in 296 BCE (Livy 10.23.12), and in 293 from the temple of Mars to Bovillae, at the twelfth milestone of the *Via Appia*, by unnamed curule aediles who financed the project through fines levied against *pecuarii* (Livy 10.47.4); see OAKLEY 2008: 266. As censor in 174 BCE, Q. Fulvius Flaccus was the first to contract for the paving of the streets of Rome with basalt: see Livy 41.27.5. The street grid excavated in the south neighborhood at Norba is paved with limestone slabs, which may date to the late third or early second century BCE: QUILICI GIGLI 2003; QUILICI GIGLI, FERRANTE 2015: 9-55. On the use of stones other than basalt in Roman road construction see LAURENCE 1999: 67-73.

<sup>47</sup> In some cases, the responsibility fell instead to the *duoviri*. See *Tab. Herac.*, lines 20ff., *Lex Urs.* 77-8. The general guiding legal principle was that maintenance (*refectio*) of a road should not make it worse (*deterius*). Cf. *Digesta* 43.11.1: *Ulpianus libro sexagensimo octavo ad edictum. Praetor ait: 'Quo minus illi uiam publicam iterue publicam aperire reficere liceat, dum ne ea uia idue iter deterius fiat, uim fieri ueto'...* *Si quis in specie refectionis deterioerem uiam facit, impune uim patietur*. It is worth noting that at

Road 1<sub>3</sub> is a section of the *tabula Heracleensis*, a fragmentary bronze inscription of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE that, among the variety of subjects upon which it touches, contains certain explicit provisions concerning the upkeep of intramural streets:

Wherever a building abuts on a public side street, the owner shall keep this side street properly paved along the whole face of the building with whole, durable, well-joined paving stones to the satisfaction of the aedile who has jurisdiction over roads in that district in accordance with this law<sup>48</sup>.

Given the vexed questions of the date and purpose of this legal document, the rationale behind its miscellaneous content, and its precise relationship to the administration of the *municipium* of Heraclea, the specific regulations found in the *tabula Heracleensis* cannot necessarily be assumed to have applied directly to the inhabitants of Gabii, although the two communities were of identical legal status after the reforms of Sulla<sup>49</sup>. But the text does provide some insight into the general administrative principles governing the streets of those Italian cities that fell under the jurisdiction of Roman law in the middle and late Republic, and into the infrastructural mechanisms by which the kinds of improvements that are archaeologically attested were likely to have come about.

In view of these roughly contemporary statutory provisions, it is probable that the initiative and the expense of paving this stretch of public street in ‘whole, durable, well-joined stones’ of basalt lay with the owner of the large atrium-style *domus* that occupied the adjacent property on the western side of Road 1. The primacy of individual agency in this project would account for the observed congruencies of design between the public street and features of the private, domestic spaces and structures<sup>50</sup>. In the case of Road 4<sub>2</sub>, however, the widening of the road at the expense of private property suggests that the basalt paving was part of a broader public project connected with the expansion of the Area F building.

Road 3 stands in marked contrast to the comparatively early abandonment of all the other secondary roads that have been excavated north of the trunk road. While its Republican paving was partly spoliated and partly obliterated by a series of glareates, Road 3 was maintained into the late antique period. Most of Road 1 was obliterated by post-abandonment levels by the Augustan age. The two roads that delimited the city blocks on either side of Road 3 (Road 2 to the east and Road 4 to the west) were put completely out of use by new buildings of the early imperial period that were constructed directly on top of what had previously been the roadway, blocking any movement northward from the main thoroughfare<sup>51</sup>. The reason for the longevity of Road 3 must be that it provided access to the only activity areas located upslope (i.e., the Area A quarry and the Area B necropolis). As a result of its rapid contraction between the late Republican and the early Imperial period, the settlement at Gabii was limited to a stretch immediately adjacent to the *Via Gabina* and *Via Praenestina*, which remained major communication routes through Latium into late antiquity<sup>52</sup>. The fronts of the late

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Pompeii, on the contrary, while property owners were responsible for the sidewalks, which resulted in a significant degree of variation, the aediles seem to have maintained the streets uniformly: see MAIURI 1958: 142. For a reassessment of the problem see POEHLER, CROWTHER 2018 (cf. footnote 46 below).

<sup>48</sup> *Tab. Herac.* lines 53-5: *quouis ante aedificium semita in loco <publico> erit is eam semitam eo aedificio perpetuo lapidibus perpetueis integreis continentem constratam recte habeto arbitrato eius aed(ilis) quouis in ea parte h(ac) l(ege) viarum procurat<io> erit.* Text of CRAWFORD 1996: 355, no. 24; translation slightly adapted from JOHNSON *et al.* 1961, no. 113. Crawford’s translation of *lapidibus* as ‘gravel’ seems to miss the exact import of the regulation; based on comparison with the terminology of other laws dealing with road maintenance, ‘paving stones’ or ‘slabs’ are surely what is here intended. Cf. e.g. *Digesta* 43.11.1, where one finds a hierarchy of road construction techniques that ranges from *terrena*, ‘dirt road’; to *glarea*, ‘gravel road’; to *lapide strata* ‘paved with worked stones’.

<sup>49</sup> While the text was set up at Heraclea, in Lucania on the gulf of Tarentum, the first 82 lines contain material explicitly pertaining to Rome rather than to *municipia*. NICOLET 1987 has suggested that these regulations, such as those related to roads, were included as a model for the administration of the Heraclea. Thus, the city of Gabii – a *municipium* under Sulla, at the latest (see *Liber Coloniarius* 234.15, with SANTANGELO 2007: 156-7), and before that at least enjoying a privileged status with respect to Rome – may likewise have taken its cues in these matters from the laws of the city of Rome. On the difficulties around the date and circumstances of the document, see FREDERIKSEN (1965).

<sup>50</sup> In discussing the applicability of the legal provisions of the *tabula Heracleensis* to Pompeii, however, POEHLER, CROWTHER 2018: 603 fig. 19 note that none of the paving events documented throughout the city matches the extent of an individual private property, concluding that in effect street paving remained consistently under the oversight of the civil authorities.

<sup>51</sup> The Area I complex and Phase 3 of the Area F complex, respectively.

<sup>52</sup> The contraction of occupation at Gabii by early imperial period to the area immediately adjacent to the *Via Praenestina* is also mentioned by contemporary literary sources. The Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who seems to have visited the city in the early Augustan age, gives a vivid description of the results of this process: ‘There was a city of the Latins... distant one hundred stades from Rome and standing on the road that leads to Praeneste. The name of this city was Gabii. Today, not all parts of it

buildings opened directly onto the thoroughfares, making the maintenance of the side streets unnecessary. Throughout the history of Gabii, therefore, a direct relationship can be established between the road stratigraphy and the actual occupation of the city blocks.

### *The Street System of Gabii in its Local Archaeological Context*

The new phasing of the intramural road network has important implications for our understanding of the developmental stages of Gabii’s urbanization. Such a sweeping process of spatial reorganization of the settlement, with its inevitably comprehensive impact on land division and property allotment, could only have been the work of a centralized political authority operating within Gabii. Thus, the emergence of town-planning at the site involved profound discontinuities not only in the physical, but potentially also in the social fabric of the city. The subsequent emergence of monumental public writing at Gabii – evidenced by fragments of multiple inscriptions on stone dated to the second half of the fifth century – has been interpreted as ‘a response to or mediation of significant social or political change’, which must have been closely bound up with ongoing processes of state-formation<sup>53</sup>.

A clear indication of major changes occurring during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE comes from the abandonment sequence of the Area D compound, one of the early clusters of habitation of Gabii. The adult necropolis that developed around it through the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE may have been reserved for members of the previous residential unit, at least judging from the care with which the ruins of the stone building were respected by the costly rock-cut graves, and from the high social status of the individuals buried in them<sup>54</sup>. Preliminary data indicates that in neighboring Area C (whose early occupation seem to have gravitated around the Area D nucleus) there is virtually no trace for the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Sporadic Attic Red Figure pottery fragments from Area A, Area C, and Area D, whose shapes and style span the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Table 7), suggest elite activity, pos-

Area	SU	Shape	Chronology
A	<b>26, 141</b>	2 Glaukes (Owl-Skyphoi) (RF)	475-425 BCE
A	<b>26, 140</b>	2 fragments; not identified (RF)	500-400 BCE
A	<b>373</b>	Cup-skyphos (RF)	410-400 BCE
A	<b>370</b>	Kylix/Cup	-
B	<b>1016</b>	Krater (BF)	525-500 BCE
B	<b>1016 (x2)</b>	not identified	-
C	<b>2147</b>	Hydria or Amphora (BF)	525-500 BCE
C	<b>2147</b>	Kylix (RF)	500-480 BCE
C	<b>2147</b>	Lip-Cup (BF)	565-550 BCE
C	<b>2147</b>	Open Vessel	-
C	<b>2147 (x5)</b>	Not identified	-
C	<b>2085</b>	Not identified (RF)	450-400 BCE
C	<b>2058</b>	Skyphos (BG)	400-380 BCE

**Key:**

BF: Black Figure

RF: Red Figure

Table 7. Preliminary identification and dating of Attic pottery fragments from the Gabii Project site (C. Pilo).

are still inhabited, but only those that lie next to the highway and are given up to inns... One may judge both of its extent and its importance by observing the ruins of the buildings in many places and the circuit of the wall, most parts of which are still standing.’ (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 4.53.1; trans. Cary).

<sup>53</sup> On these inscriptions (‘Gabii A’ and ‘Gabii B’), see JOHNSTON 2015: esp. 257-8; FORTSON, POTTER 2011.

<sup>54</sup> Another group of late Archaic adult burials of a similar typology has been brought to light by the SSABAP Roma in the area between the Temple of Juno and the so-called Hamilton’s Forum, SW of the Gabii Project site, although we have no information about its possible relationship with earlier domestic structures. These tombs remain unpublished; they are also mentioned by EVANS 2018: 34-5.

ibly in connection with the funerary sphere, but the lack of contextual evidence does not allow us to reach firm conclusions. The break with the previous pattern, however, is evident also in the orientation of the new street system, which diverges from the main alignments of the Archaic buildings that occupied the area. A more fragmentary but roughly comparable situation has been documented in Area A, where elite presence is signaled by rich Orientalizing infant burials, and nearby AREA B. The 5<sup>th</sup>-century BCE leveling of the Archaic features there marks the final abandonment of yet another early habitation cluster. As a result of the process, the redevelopment of urban land in this sector of the settlement seems to bear no relationship with the pre-existing architecture.

This period entailed not only the discontinuities in domestic occupation documented above; there is a clear 5<sup>th</sup>-century BCE horizon in the excavated levels of the main early public spaces at Gabii that suggests a significant shift from the Archaic past (fig. 19). On the so-called *arx* above the areas of the city on which our discussion has focused, an impressive stone-built structure consisting of three rooms – not entirely dissimilar in its architecture to the *regia* in the Roman forum and thus interpreted as a seat of power – was emptied of its contents, partially leveled, and conspicuously buried beneath a massive tumulus of stones; the excavators date this intentional demolition activity to around the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE<sup>55</sup>. For the fortifications of the city, the other major civic monument of the Archaic period, after the construction of a large-scale *agger* and *fossa* sys-

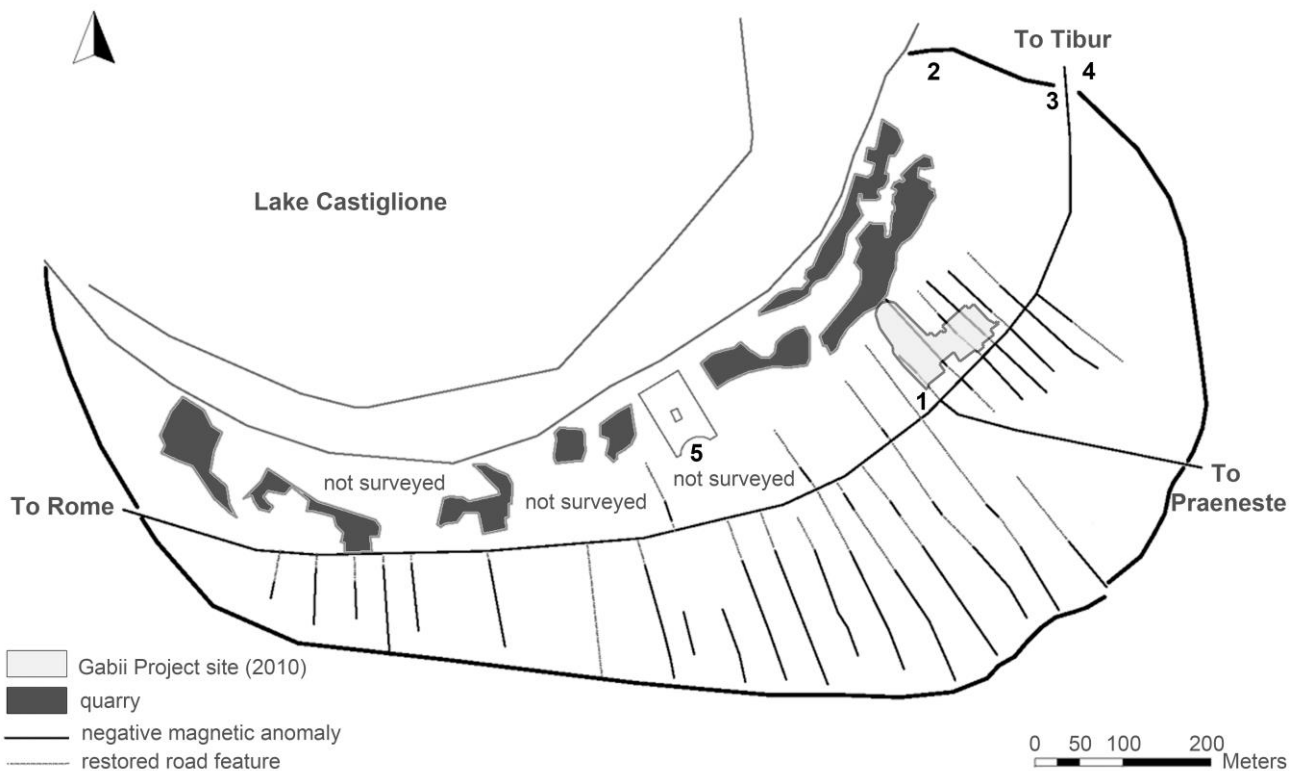


Fig. 19. Schematic layout of Gabii showing the location of main public buildings cited in the text (modified after MOGETTA 2014: 149 fig. 1). Key: 1= AREA F building; 2= so-called Regia on the arx; 3=gate in NE stretch of fortifications; 4="Santuario Orientale"; 5=Temple of Juno.

<sup>55</sup> See FABBRI 2017; FABBRI 2012; FABBRI *et al.* 2012.



tem in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE (whose interior retaining wall seems to have been repaired in the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE), there is renewed construction activity again in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, when the existing NE gate connected with our *Via Gabina* was built (or rebuilt?), and a new exterior curtain in *opus quadratum* was added on the north stretch<sup>56</sup>. At the extramural 'Santuario Orientale', a cult place established in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the first stone complex was destroyed in the first decade of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE as a result of fire, and rebuilt on a radically different plan. The reconfiguration of the sanctuary, however, appears to be short-lived, as it is followed by a gap in ritual activity until the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, when prestige offerings (including terracotta decorations) pick up again<sup>57</sup>. Finally, the same trend has been observed in the sacred area later occupied by the Temple of 'Juno', where there is a sharp decline in activity from the end of the sixth century until the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE; very little fifth century BCE ceramic material has been recovered<sup>58</sup>.

### *Conclusions: Toward a New Interpretation of Early Republican Urbanism at Gabii*

The archaeological phenomenon seen at Gabii is certainly not without comparanda at contemporary sites in the region, where the later 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE is, in material terms, generally poorly visible. Traditionally, the pattern of reduced building activity in both religious and civic architecture in Latium has been interpreted as evidence that the Early Republic was a period of economic decline and social crisis, exacerbated by warfare<sup>59</sup>. What sets the case of Gabii apart, however, is the relative sequence and spatial relationship between the destruction of the Archaic occupation, the implantation of clusters of adult burials, and the laying out of the grid in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century, as has been established by the results of our analysis. The case of Satricum, where the presence of cemeteries within the former boundaries of the town is also documented, can be recalled as a possible parallel. The implantation of a small necropolis along the so-called *Via Sacra*, at the SW corner of the temple on the acropolis, and a more extensive burial ground in the lower settlement at Macchia Santa Lucia have been interpreted as a consequence of its alleged destruction by the Volscians in 488 BCE. The latest finds from the lower town, including 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE graves dug on top of the *Via Sacra* now show that by the middle of the fifth century BCE or shortly after the Archaic settlement and town-plan no longer existed as such, and that large parts of it had become a burial ground. Because the main thoroughfare was no longer functioning, it has been proposed to locate the Volscian settlement S of the ancient town<sup>60</sup>.

The settlement pattern at Gabii demonstrates that several foci of interaction that had been embedded spatially in the landscape for centuries were abruptly abandoned, suggesting that some or all of its resident community had relocated elsewhere. Significantly, the Area D necropolis was put out of use just prior to the implantation of the grid, which completely obliterated any trace and perhaps even memory of the compound there (the fact that the corresponding city block was never developed in the later phase may have more to do with the patchy nature of occupation at most mid-Republican cities than with a specific ban). As at Satricum, the 5<sup>th</sup>-century BCE inhumations at Gabii seem indicative of a breakdown not only in the previous social and spatial order of the city, but in the symbolic order as well: burials of adults within the walls – and thus within the fixed sacred boundary – would have been unthinkable, a violation of an ancient and enduring taboo in Latin culture<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> FABBRI, MUSCO 2016: 74 fig. 3; 85 fig. 13. A *terminus ante quem* for the ashlar curtain is provided by a grave dating to the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, which is dug through its construction fills. See also FABBRI, MUSCO 2016: 87-88 with footnote 22, mentioning quarry marks comparable with those known from Rome's Republican Walls (early 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE). HELAS 2016 dates the continuous *agger* and *fossa* fortification circuit to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

<sup>57</sup> FABBRI 2012: 25-26 (Phase 3). On the dating of the destruction see ZUCHTRIEGEL 2012: 238-242.

<sup>58</sup> See ALMAGRO GORBEA 1981: 300-302.

<sup>59</sup> CORNELL 1995: 299-309. The phenomenon is explored more broadly in *Crise et transformation* 1990; SMITH 2017.

<sup>60</sup> GNADE 2014.

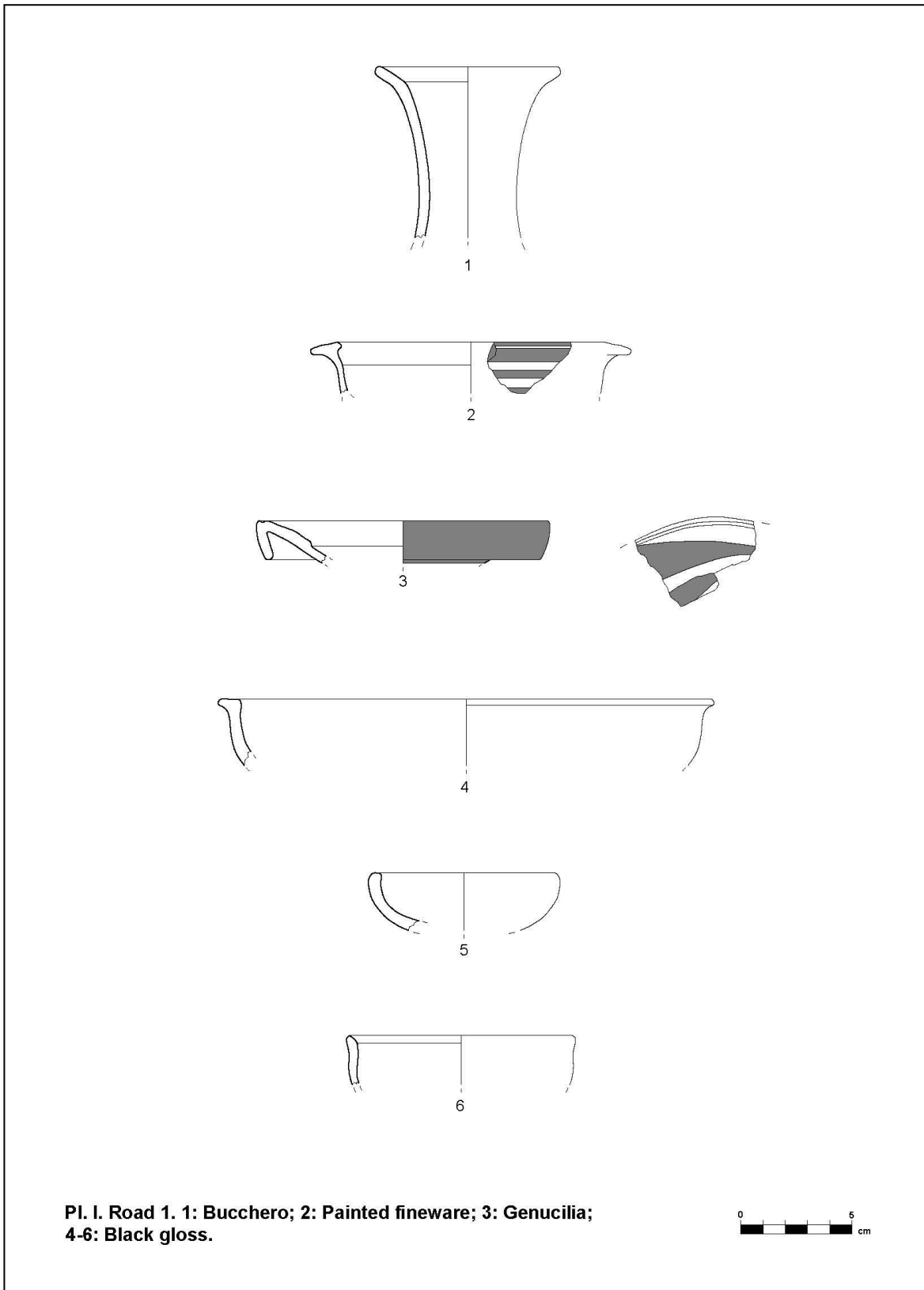
<sup>61</sup> Available evidence suggests that during the 6<sup>th</sup>-century BCE occupation of the settlement at Gabii adult burials were restricted to extra-urban areas. Taking contemporary regional trends into account, BARTOLONI *et al.* 2009: 85 suggest an Archaic date for four graves without goods from the Osteria dell'Osa cemetery W of Gabii (Tombs 210, 211, 221, and 405), which the excavators assigned to a generic "historical period." In any case, because of the small number of Late Orientalizing and especially Archaic tombs in comparison to other cemeteries known fringes of the *ager Romanus antiquus* (including nearby La Rustica), BIETTI SESTIERI 1992: 11-18, 51-52, 815-818 hypothesizes that the focus of activity in the later phases concentrated in the area of the necropolis that could not be explored, south of the modern *Via Prenestina*. PRAYON 1979: 90, 94 and Pl. 10-12 records the existence of a rock-cut feature located on the slopes east of the Torre di Castiglione, just N of Gabii, arguing for a possible funerary function. GUAITOLI 1981: 48 (with footnotes 109-111) reports on poorly documented rock-cut chamber tombs with dromos from both the

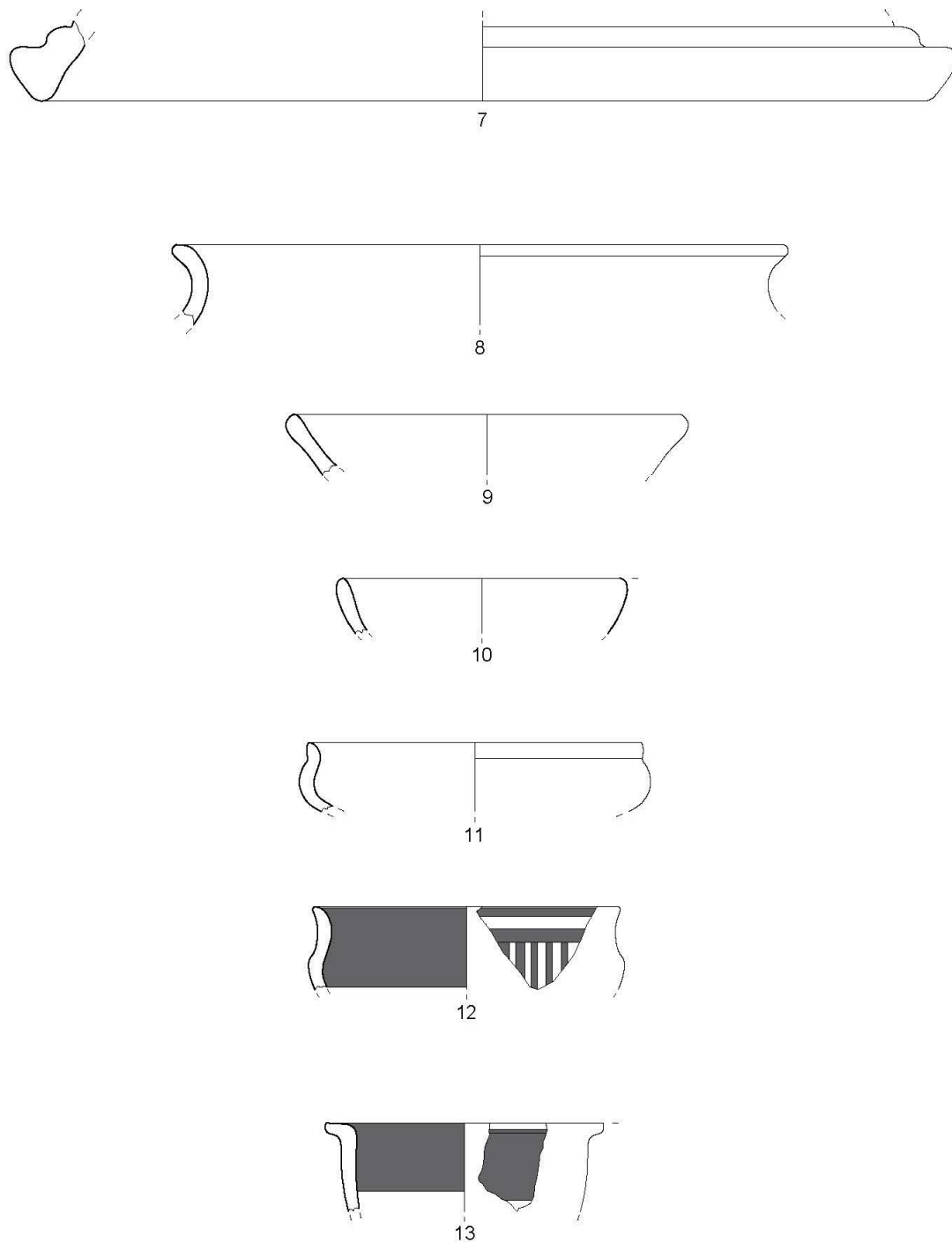
In this light, the momentous change represented by the new urban plan of Gabii appears, in many respects, tantamount to an act of refoundation. This prompts us to critically revisit the rich textual evidence that bears on the city in this period and its relationship with Rome, with the aim of situating and interpreting the developments and gaps that can be observed materially on the ground in their historical context<sup>62</sup>.

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Fosso di San Giuliano and the Fosso dell’Osa, some of which may belong to the Archaic period. On the former necropolis see also CARETTA *et al.* (1976), 27-28 (citing a sporadic bronze bracelet dating to the Orientalizing period).

<sup>62</sup> Two crucial events that may have had an impact on Gabii’s internal civic and urban configuration are the *foedus Gabinum*, (a singularly important early treaty that granted Roman citizenship wholesale to the Gabine community) and the Roman *devotio* of the city of Gabii (an archaic dedicatory ritual in which an enemy community in its entirety was cursed and declared forfeit to the gods). Summary and references in BECKER *et al.* 2009: 630-632; reassessment in JOHNSTON, MOGETTA *forthcoming*.

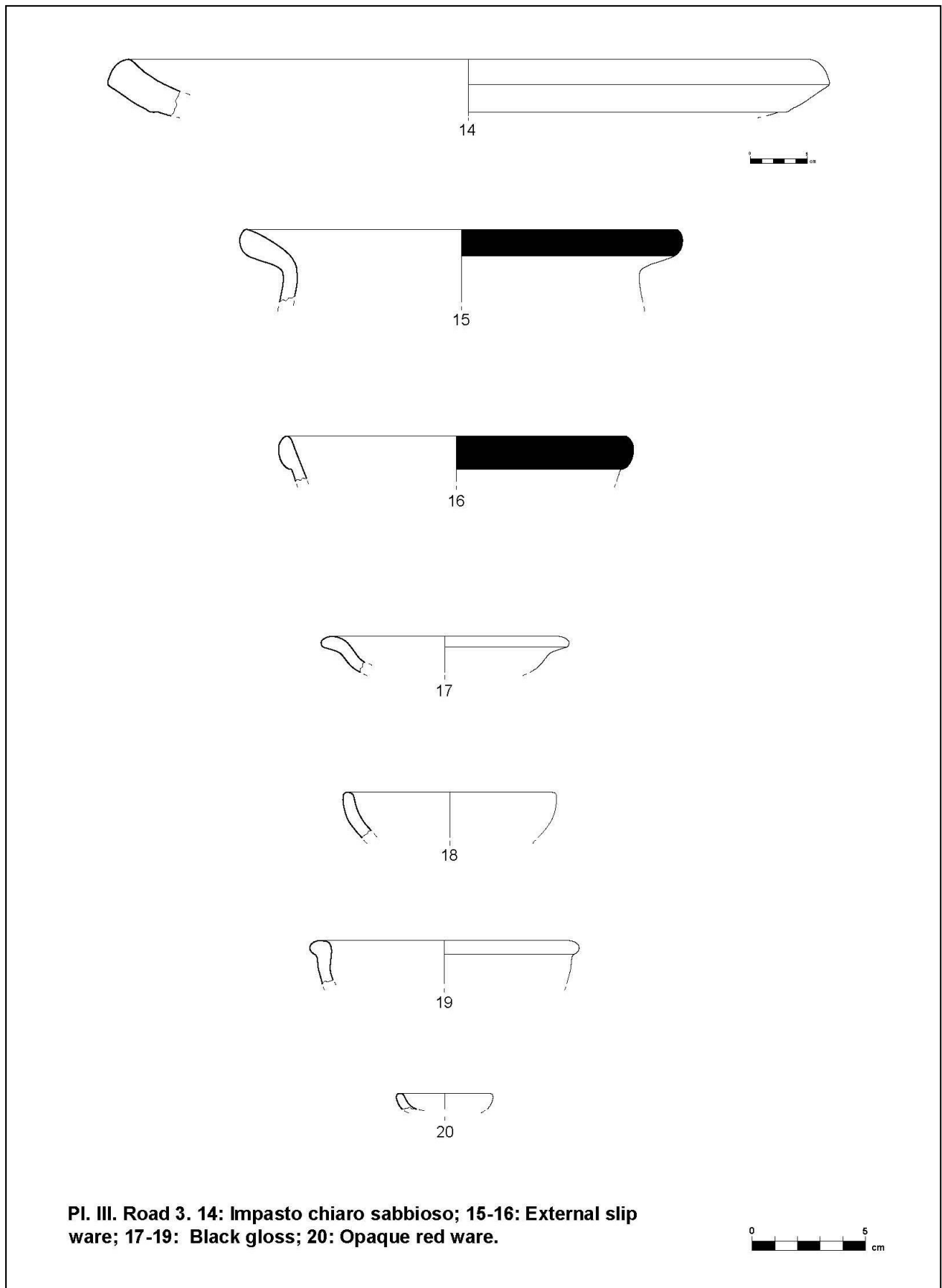




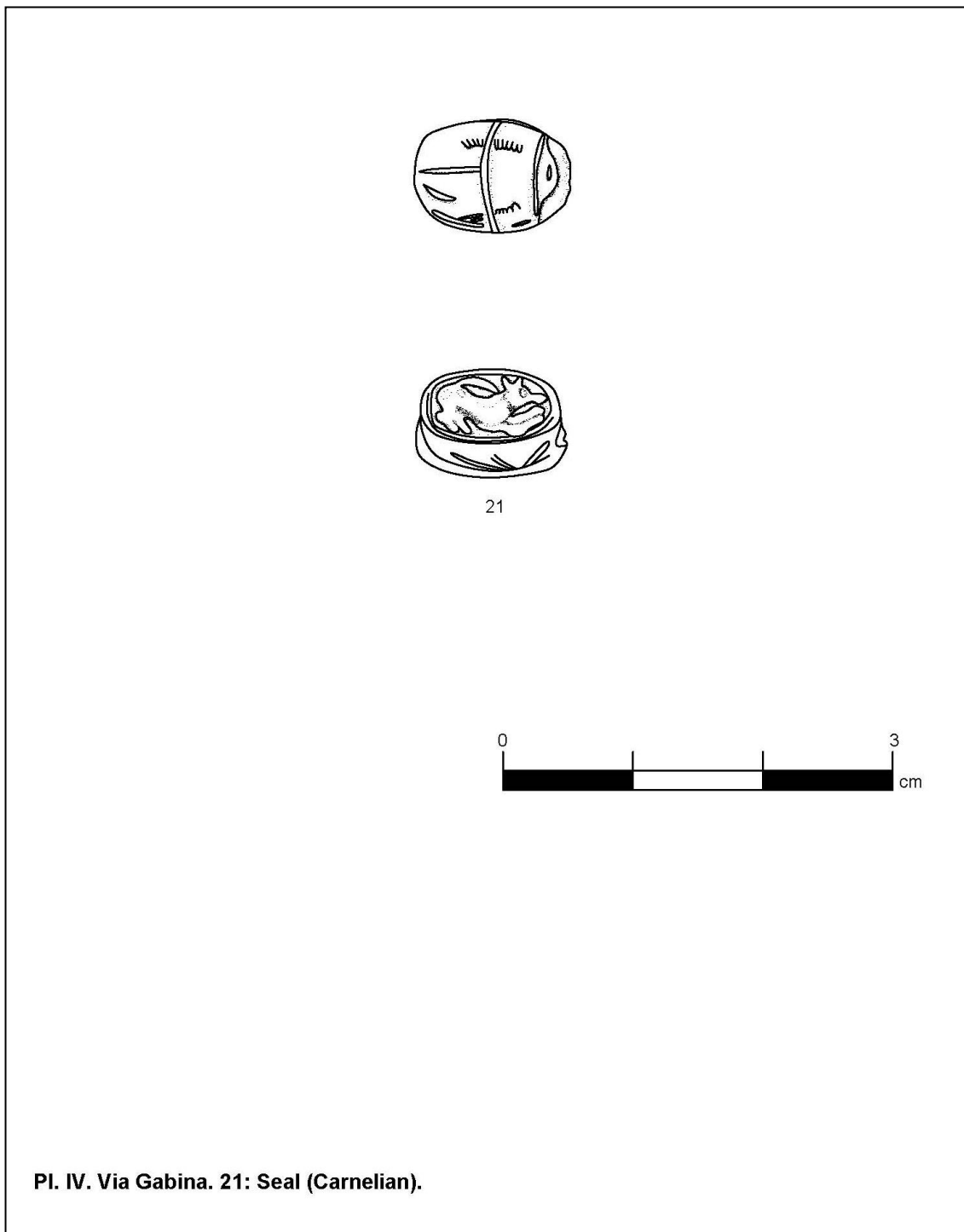
**Pl. II. Road 2. 7: Impasto rosso; 8-9: Commonware; 10: Bucchero; 11: Fineware; 12-13: Painted fineware.**







**Pl. III. Road 3. 14: Impasto chiaro sabbioso; 15-16: External slip ware; 17-19: Black gloss; 20: Opaque red ware.**



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