

Heba, the XXIXth legion, and the Campo della Chiesa tile

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The representation of an eagle holding a snake in its claws found on brickstamps from Campo della Chiesa was analysed admirably by John Bodel in *JRA* 3 (1990).¹ Having considered the possible iconographic significance of the stamp, he concluded that it signified military victory and, in general, quality and success, anticipating urban brickstamps of a century later. It is, however, possible to find a more immediate iconographic reference for the stamp, and to relate it directly to the Roman occupation of the region. To do so, we must briefly review the settlement history of the territory of Heba.²

The foundation of the colony of Heba seems to have occurred some time in the first half of the 2nd c. B.C. This, at least, is the date of the overwhelming majority of the small farm sites, which are laid out in a regular centuriated landscape, and of most of the black glaze pottery from the city itself.³ Unlike the territory of nearby Cosa, however, a large number of new sites were apparently founded north and west of Heba in the second half of the 1st c. B.C. In contrast to the villas of the coast and of the Valle D'Oro, these are all small farms, with the exception of three new villas, one of which is that at Campo della Chiesa, dated to this period by its excavator.⁴ The farms apparently filled in gaps in the centuriation in these areas, which do not appear to have been densely settled previously. Although these new sites may have been lots taken up by small peasants dispossessed by the development of larger estates, it is more likely that they represent new colonial assignments. In 59 B.C., and again in 41-40, 36, 30-28 and 25, large numbers of allotments to veteran settlers were made.⁵ Some, like those of Caesar, were *viridane*. Certainly the bulk of the new sites are found on the most marginal lands in the area (although subsequent erosion may have much to do with their current barren aspect), which may suggest *viridane* allotments on previously unsettled land.

Another possibility, however, is that Heba was a triumviral *colonia*, refounded after the battle of Philippi in 41. The evidence for this is suggestive though not conclusive. The inscription of a veteran found near Fattoria Pomonte, some 5 km. distant from Campo della Chiesa,⁶ states that he was a

1 *JRA* 3 (1990) 159-62.

2 The research summarized here was carried out in the course of a field survey of the 3 city territories in the Albegna valley — Cosa, Heba, and Saturnia. The survey took place between 1977 and 1985 and was sponsored by the Universities of Siena and Pisa and by the British Settefinestre committee. Publication is forthcoming (A. Carandini, M. G. Celuzza and E. Fentress [edd.], *Paesaggi dell'Etruria tra l'Albegna e la Fiora*). Brief summaries may be found in A. Carandini (ed.), *La romanizzazione dell'Etruria: il territorio di Vulci* (Firenze 1987), and in F. Cambi and E. Fentress, "Villas to castles: first millennium A.D. demography in the Albegna valley" in K. Randsborg (ed.), *The birth of Europe* (AnalRom. Suppl.16, 1989) 74-85.

3 There is, however, a small nucleus of 3rd-c. material, which suggests that the original *colonia* was founded at a pre-existing village. See M. Celuzza and E. Fentress, "La ricognizione di superficie come indagine preliminare allo scavo" in R. Francovich and D. Manacorda (edd.), *Lo scavo archeologico: dalla diagnosi all'edizione* (Firenze 1990) 141-69, figg. 12, 13. On the probable date of the foundation of the colony, see W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford 1971) 150, who dates it between 167 and 157 on the basis of the gap in Livy, and E. T. Salmon, *Roman expansion and Roman colonization in Italy* (Toronto 1969) 108-14, who opts for 128 B.C.

4 M. Del Chiaro, *JRA* 2 (1989) 111-17, and *ibid.* 3 (1990) 154-58.

5 P. A. Brunt, *Italian manpower 225 B.C. - A. D. 14* (Oxford 1971) 320 f.; L. Keppie, *Colonisation and veteran settlement in Italy, 47-14 B.C.* (Roma 1983).

6 Minto gives the text of the inscription as [M Fabiu?]*s* Fabia[*nus*] Sab M. F. | [... ...] Mil Le VI et XXIX: A. Minto, "Scansano. Iscrizioni e rilievi funerari romani scoperti a Pomonte nel Lasco dei Tori," *NotSc* 1930, 296-303. Minto assumes, probably correctly that [*Trib*] is to be interpolated before *Mil* (p.42). S. Demougin rejects Minto's reconstruction of the text on the grounds that the tribe should follow and not precede the filiation, and proposes (pers. comm.) that it be interpreted as 2 parallel texts, one on the left-hand side of the inscription, the