

Memory and Trauma in the History of the Ancient Etruscan City of Veii: Examples from Historical and Archaeological Sources

Ugo Fusco*

Abstract. The Etruscan city of Veii was one of the most prominent and powerful centres in southern Etruria. This article explores the themes of memory and trauma in relation to the settlement's history by examining a selection of episodes and archaeological contexts. The concept of memory is linked to the funerary cult of a male figure associated with the mythical Halesus, son of Neptune and ancestor of the kings of Veii, dating to the site's earliest phase of occupation (9th century BCE). In contrast, trauma is associated with the city's dramatic downfall following its conquest by Rome (early 4th century BCE).

Keywords: Veii, founder cult, memory, Roman conquest, trauma.

Riassunto. Memoria e trauma nella storia dell'antica città etrusca di Veio: esempi dalle fonti storiche e archeologiche. La città etrusca di Veio è stata uno dei centri più famosi e potenti dell'Etruria meridionale. Per descrivere il tema della memoria e del trauma, in relazione alla storia dell'insediamento, sono stati scelti alcuni episodi e contesti archeologici: la memoria è collegata al culto funerario di un personaggio maschile, identificato con la figura mitica Halesus, figlio di Nettuno e antenato dei veienti, pertinente alla fase iniziale (IX secolo a.C.) di frequentazione del sito; il trauma, invece, è posto in relazione alla drammatica fine della città a causa della conquista romana (inizio IV sec. a.C.).

Parole chiave: Veio, culto del fondatore, memoria, conquista romana, trauma.

Introduction

This study examines selected episodes and archaeological contexts that best illustrate the themes of memory and trauma within the long and complex history of the ancient and renowned Etruscan city of Veii (see Ward-Perkins 1961, which remains a fundamental reference, and Tabolli 2019 for a recent and updated overview). In particular, it examines two crucial moments in the life of the settlement: its earliest phase (10th–9th century BCE) and its tragic end (early 4th century BCE), marking the close of Etruscan occupation following the violent Roman conquest. Given the large amount of material available for this investigation, a selective approach has been adopted, evaluating both the quantity and quality of the data. Following a brief topographical overview of the site, the study is divided into three sections. The first two focus on analysing the available documents relating to the selected episodes concerning Memory and Trauma, while the third offers some concluding reflections. It is worth noting that, although these episodes serve as exemplary models for the two themes, they are not directly connected to one another, given the long chronological gap that separates them. Nevertheless, they may be seen metaphorically as “pearls” on the same “string of a necklace”: episodes (the pearls) relating to the long history (the string) of a single site (the necklace).

The data are presented following the standard methodology of historical-archaeological research, which separates the sequence of information drawn from historical sources from that of

* Department of History, Humanities and Society, Tor Vergata University of Rome (*Macro Area di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Roma Tor Vergata*), Via Columbia 1, 00133 Rome, Italy, e-mail <ugo.fusco@uniroma2.it>. This article is part of the scientific dissemination activities of the SACULAND2022 Project (Traditional Approaches and New Digital Technologies in the Analysis and Reconstruction of the Sacred and Cult Landscape in Central Tyrrhenian Italy), financed by the *NextGenerationEU* package, MUR (Ministry of University, Education and Research), Notice no. 247 dated August 19, 2022, published on August 23, 2022, PNRR (National Recovery and Resilience Plan). The author thanks the anonymous reviewers for their comments, which prompted further reflection on the subject of this research.

archaeological sources, concluding with a comparative discussion in which interpretative hypotheses are clearly and explicitly defined. In presenting the archaeological data, the discipline's descriptive criteria have been retained to highlight the boundaries between the evidence itself and its interpretation. The bibliography has been limited to the most relevant and recent works to avoid overburdening the text with lengthy citations that add little to the discussion.

The City of Veii: A Topographic Overview

The site under discussion lies approximately 10 kilometres north of Rome, on a tuff plateau (covering 185 hectares). It is bordered by two still-active watercourses: the Valchetta stream, the ancient Cremera, and the Piordo brook. Geologically, the area falls within the Sabatine volcanic complex, which forms part of the Roman magmatic province, along with the Vulcini, Cimini, Vico and Alban Hills. The plateau has an irregular perimeter and sheer rock faces, with drops of up to 30 metres. Two toponyms are particularly relevant to this study. The first, Piazza d'Armi, refers to a portion of land slightly detached from the main urban plateau—a sort of southern outcrop—and is considered by scholars to be the site of Veii's first acropolis (see most recently Bartoloni 2022 and Piergrossi 2022). The second, Piano di Comunità, lies at the centre of the urban plateau and is considered the site of the urban acropolis from at least the late 6th century BCE, following Piazza d'Armi's political decline and abandonment. This area is also thought to have housed the temple of *Juno Regina*, the city's tutelary deity and mentioned by the historian Livy (Bartoloni 2021b, p. 297; Benedettini 2024, 103-105). The site's original orographic configuration is thought to have been much more rugged and uneven than it appears today, with significant differences in elevation, gradually smoothed out over time by continuous agricultural activity. Unlike nearby sites such as Cerveteri, the plateau is now largely devoid of buildings, aside from a few rural structures, and is extensively cultivated.

Section One

Memory and the Birth of the Urban Settlement

Two examples are analysed in connection with the first theme, both well known in the archaeological literature and possibly linked to one another. They relate to the Veientine settlement's earliest phases of life, which, according to the most recent research, emerged around the end of the Bronze Age (Final Bronze 3B: late 11th–early 10th century BCE). This followed the abandonment of small Bronze Age villages scattered across the territory and the concentration of the population on the expansive tuff plateau, resulting in the formation of a unified settlement for the first time (see most recently di Gennaro 2024).

The discussion begins with a Latin literary source that mentions an ancestor of the kings of Veii, and then briefly outlines the archaeological phases connected to an unusual urban burial known as the “funerary chapel”. This context features the interment of a male figure who was the focus of sustained ritual activity over a prolonged period. The archaeologists who uncovered the site interpreted him as the most charismatic figure of the Veientine settlement's earliest phase.

***Halesus* and the Kings of Veii**

In a passage by Servius - a Latin philologist active in the 4th–5th centuries CE - the origins of the *Salii* priesthood are discussed alongside the genealogy of Veii's royal house. The king named *Morrius*, who is not otherwise attested in the Latin tradition (for known names of Veientine kings,

see Bartoloni 2021, p. 301), is said to have had *Halesus*, son of the god *Neptunus*, as an ancestor (SERV. *ad Aen.* 8. 285: ... *quidam etiam dicunt salios a Morrio, rege Veientanorum, institutos, ut Halesus, Neptuni filius, eorum carmine laudaretur, qui eiusdem regis familiae auctor ultimus fuit*; for commentary on the passage, see Graf 2006 and Piergrossi 2019, 55, with earlier bibliography). *Halesus* is also mentioned in other literary sources in connection with the site of *Falerii (Veteres)*, a settlement roughly 30 km north of Veii, where he is considered the city's founder (Biella, Michetti 2018, 444). The association of this same figure with both settlements (Veii and *Falerii*) has been interpreted by scholars as an allusion to ancient political ties between the two cities (Piergrossi 2022, 153; for the hypothesis that *Halesus*'s cult site was located near the sanctuary of *Iuno Curitis* at Celle, in the peri-urban area of *Falerii*, see the recent overview in Biella, Michetti 2018, 444–447, and Bernard 2023, 150–151). Moreover, the Servius passage establishes a direct connection between the Veientine kings (beginning with *Morrius*) and the god *Neptunus* (*Nethuns* in Etruscan), via the figure of *Halesus*. But why Neptune specifically in relation to the kings of Veii? The origin of Neptune in the Latin-Italic world, particularly Umbria, and his later adoption by the Etruscans is well documented in scholarly literature (Arnaldi 1997, 5–17; de Grummond 2006, 144–145; Trafficante 2009, 169–172). More is known about Neptune on the Latin side, where he was originally a chthonic and subterranean deity associated with inland waters, marshes, stagnant pools, lagoons and thermal mineral springs. Only later did he become identified with the Greek sea god Poseidon. Although his cult is attested in various sources (such as the Liver of Piacenza and the *Liber Linteus Zagrabienensis*), it was not especially widespread in Etruria, and, in fact, is entirely absent in the territorial context examined here for the Etruscan period (Trafficante 2009; Giontella 2012, 163). Veii and its surrounding area are characterised by abundant water resources (rivers, potable springs and thermal waters) as well as direct access to the sea, where the well-known salt pans were once located. These were originally under Etruscan control and later passed onto the Romans (see most recently Fusco in press). In addition, the sources describe another episode that occurred during the Roman siege of Veii: the rising and overflowing of Lake Albano, located outside Veii's sphere of influence but closely linked to the city's conquest (for a full collection and analysis of sources, see D'Arco 1997). Some scholars have suggested that Neptune's presence was indirectly linked to this natural phenomenon, which Roman sources attributed to religious transgressions during the *feriae Latinae*, the festival of Juppiter Latiaris (see most recently Fusco in press with earlier bibliography). Finally, a recent discovery in the area of the ancient salt pans revealed an Imperial-era inscription (2nd century CE) referring to a cult dedicated to the god Neptune (Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2016). As this brief overview shows, all references to the god derive from Roman sources or date to the Roman period, long after the fall of Veii (early 4th century BCE). One may therefore question whether the account given by the late Roman source (Servius) reflects genuine Veientine beliefs, or whether it is instead a Roman reworking or *pastiche* of earlier mythical traditions. If this hypothesis is valid, the figure of *Neptunus* may have served merely as a way to condense and represent a more complex mythological framework originally composed of multiple Etruscan mythological figures, whose individual names have since been lost over time (Fusco in press; on Etruscan water deities, see Giontella 2012).

The Archaeological Sequence of the “Funerary Chapel” at Piazza d’Armi

This section analyses the archaeological context of the so-called “funerary chapel”, which dates to the earliest phases of the Veientine settlement, along with the principal structures associated with it. The structure in question, located in the central area of the north-western zone of Piazza d’Armi, consists of an inhumation tomb dug into the natural geological layer. It was enclosed within a larger structure, originally built from perishable materials and subsequently rebuilt and modified over the course of approximately four centuries, eventually incorporating tuff blocks (from the 9th to the end of the 6th century BCE). Several aspects of the discovery stand out as particularly distinctive and exceptional: its orientation, the location of the tomb within a residential area, and the use of

inhumation rather than the more widespread cremation ritual (Bartoloni 2021a, 287–288; Piergrossi 2022, 159). The archaeological evidence spans from Period I (PF1-2; Veii IA-IIB: 9th–mid/late 8th century BCE) to Period IV (Archaic Period: late 6th–early 5th century BCE) in the chronological sequence of the Piazza d’Armi site. As the final excavation results were only published recently (Bartoloni, Neri, Pitzalis 2021), this description is limited to the essential information and is organised by construction phase:

- Phase 1a, PF1 (Veii IA-IB): 9th century BCE. Structure M was built directly on the geological layer, traces of which remain in the form of postholes outlining its perimeter. It has been reconstructed as an elliptical hut (dimensions: 11 x 4.75 m; orientation: north-west/south-east; area: 37.71 m²; single entrance on the north-west side) with clay walls mixed with vegetable materials and supported by an internal wooden framework. The interior was divided into two rooms, with the inner one containing an apsidal pit tomb (dimensions: 2 x 0.50/0.60 m; depth: 0.80 m) holding the bones of a man aged 30–40, buried without any grave goods. The presence of six small postholes around the grave suggests the presence of a miniature hut, possibly also apsidal, constructed to cover the tomb itself (Neri 2021a, 36–37; 2021b, 251; Neri, Pitzalis 2021).

- Phase 1b, PF1-2 (Veii IC-IIB): late 9th–mid 8th century BCE. A short distance from Structure M lies Pit B, oval in shape (width: 3 m; depth: 0.80 m). It contained numerous traces of fire used for burning animal and plant offerings and was involved in various depositional rituals. The structure is interpreted as an altar-pit, dedicated to a chthonic female deity such as Ops or Demeter/Veii, and used for ceremonies honouring the deceased buried in Structure M. Adjacent to Pit B, the smaller Pit O was built—a shaft featuring a ledge designed to hold a stone covering. It is interpreted as a votive pit for depositing plant offerings and liquids for propitiatory purposes and can be likened to the concept of the *mundus* found in Rome (Neri 2021a, 38–41; 2021b, 252–256; Neri, Pitzalis 2021).

- Phase 1c, PF2 (Veii IIB): mid/late 8th century BCE. Almost adjacent to Pit B is Pit A, which is bilobed in shape (depth: 0,30 m). The area connecting the two lobes features another pit, containing the remains of a young individual (aged 15–17). The burial appears to have been both preceded and followed by ritual acts involving fire and animal sacrifice (sheep/goats, pig, dog, roe deer). Like Pit B, Pit A is interpreted as an altar-pit associated with Structure M. At the end of this phase, Structure M was decommissioned and stripped, and Pits B and O were sealed, although ritual activity continued through to Phase 3b (Neri 2021a, 42–47; 2021b, 257–258; Neri, Pitzalis 2021).

- Phase 2a, PF2 (Veii IIC): c. late 8th century BCE. Structure M was replaced by a new rectangular building, labelled H, featuring two porticoed areas at its short ends. Its foundations consisted of shallow trenches dug into the geological layer with internal postholes (dimensions: 19.90 x 5.50 m; orientation: north-west–south-east; area: approx. 80 m²; two possible entrances: one with double doors on the north-west short side and another on the south-west long side). The walls, no longer preserved, were made of compacted clay supported by a wooden framework. As before, the interior was likely divided into two rooms, with the inner one once again housing the tomb from Phase 1a. Almost adjacent to the south side of Structure H, another large building labelled G was constructed using the same techniques. Reconstructed as comprising five side-by-side rooms (dimensions: 24 x 7 m; orientation: north-east/south-west; area: 168 m²), its central room was wider than the side chambers, which were symmetrically arranged. This building is interpreted as a grand aristocratic or royal residence with a reception hall for political and religious functions—comparable to the *Regia* in Rome—and closely associated with the neighbouring cult Structure H (Neri 2021a, 69–73; 2021b, 259–262; Neri, Pitzalis 2021; Bartoloni 2022).

- Phase 2c, Late Orientalising (Veii IV): late 7th century BCE. Structures H and G were decommissioned and dismantled (Neri 2021a, 75–80).

- Phase 3b, Late Orientalising (Veii IV): late 7th–early 6th century BCE (ca. 600 BCE). This phase marks a major technological development: the use of tuff blocks for foundations, with elevations made of compacted earth and roofs covered with flat and curved clay tiles (often decorated with sculptural elements on the pediment). Ritual activities connected to Pits A, B and O came to an end, and the new Structure E was built on the site of the former Structure H. Part of its tuff-block

foundations remain partially preserved due to later spoliation. Like its predecessor, the new building had a rectangular layout (dimensions: 12 x 6 m; orientation: north-west/south-east; area: 72 m²), with a portico on its short side, possibly *in antis*. As in previous phases, the interior appears to have been divided into two rooms (one approximately 45 m², the other 15 m²). Adjacent to the external north-east wall, a small square structure labelled F (3 m per side) was built, interpreted as an *ante*-type altar. It is associated with the rituals previously carried out at Pit B and linked to Structure E. Very close by, another new structure labelled D was erected with a different layout than the earlier phase (building G): three rooms aligned on an axis, forming a T-shape (dimensions: 20 x 8 m; area: 45 m²), with a continuous portico on three sides. As in earlier phases, this new building likely served a dual function: as a *regia* for community political-religious gatherings and as a residential space. Also in this phase, to the north-east of Structure D, the so-called *Oikos* of Stefani, was built. It had a rectangular floor plan and tuff-block foundations (dimensions: 15.35 x 8.07 m; orientation: north-west/south-east; area: 123.87 m²; single entrance on the north-west short side). Although its exact function remains uncertain (Potts 2015, 133–134), it is generally considered to have belonged to the sacred sphere and is now interpreted as the *curia* of the site—a meeting place for the men of Piazza d’Armi to hold communal ceremonies in honour of the ancestor buried in Structure E (Pitzalis 2021a, 98–101; 2021b, 263–267; Neri, Pitzalis 2021, 272; Bartoloni 2021b, 305).

- Phase 3d, Archaic Period: c. mid-6th century BCE – Structures E and D were dismantled and razed (Pitzalis 2021a, 103–106).

- Phase 4a, Archaic Period: late 6th century BCE – A new structure, labelled C, was constructed (dimensions: 12 x 5 m; orientation: north-west/south-east; it likely preserved the two original entrances seen in Structure E, with an additional new entrance added on the southern short wall). Structurally and in layout, it retained the same general features as Structure E: tuff-block foundations and a short rear portico. Portions of the beaten-earth flooring were preserved inside and outside the structure. In the second inner room, directly above the original tomb from Phase 1a, a small installation was built, consisting of a tuff block and several associated layers. This feature is interpreted as an altar for rituals linked to the deceased’s funerary cult. Structure N replaced Structure D, though it is poorly preserved and is interpreted as a minimal structure defining an open area (Pitzalis 2021a, 128–130; 2021b, 268–269; Neri, Pitzalis 2021).

- Phase 4e, Late Archaic Period: late 6th–early 5th century BCE. Structures C and N were dismantled (Pitzalis 2021a, 131–132).

Reflections on the Theme of Memory

The preceding paragraphs examined the theme of memory through a range of (historical and archaeological) sources, which ultimately converge on the notion of collective memory and identity in the Etruscan community of Veii. The first case draws on a late Roman literary source (Servius), who refers to *Halesus*, the son of *Neptunus*. *Halesus* was an ancestor of the Veientine king *Morrius* and his lineage (and, by extension, the broader community), and is a mythological figure not associated with a defined historical period. However, analysis of the source has revealed its interpretative limitations, particularly regarding the genealogical link between the Veientine community and the god *Neptunus-Nethuns*, which remains highly uncertain due to the lack of archaeological evidence. The central issue in reconstructing the beliefs of the Veientine community about its past concerns the absence of original historical and literary sources: what remains is exclusively filtered through the Roman perspective. The second case, by contrast, examined a fully intact archaeological site at Piazza d’Armi in Veii. It offers compelling evidence for the continuity of rites associated with a funerary cult honouring an anonymous male figure, spanning from the 9th century to the end of the 6th century BCE. The various finds mentioned (the funerary cult buildings: M, H, E, C; the altar-pits: B and A; the ritual pit O, the *ante*-type altar F; and the adjacent aristocratic residences used for political-religious and residential functions: G and D) indicate that this individual

must have held a particularly prestigious role in life and an exceptional status in death. He may have functioned as a common ancestor, either for the segment of the population residing at Piazza d'Armi, or for the urban community of Veii as a whole (Bartoloni 2021a; Bartoloni 2022; Piergrossi 2022; for a different interpretation, see M. Torelli, who considers the archaeological remains to relate to a *bidental*, i.e. the burial site of a man struck by lightning: Torelli 2007-2008). Naturally, all cultic activities would have taken place under the authority of a gentilitial group, as indicated by the imposing residential structures, which were able to consolidate and perpetuate its power and prestige (Bartoloni 2022). It is no coincidence, then, that some scholars have linked *Halesus* and the anonymous deceased male, suggesting that they may represent the same figure (Biella, Michetti 2018; Bartoloni 2021a), although this suggestion remains purely hypothetical and speculative. Taken as a whole, the funerary and cultic archaeological context at Piazza d'Armi is considered a genuine reflection of the beliefs of the Veientine community, and thus part of its cultural memory: the shared body of knowledge about the community's past, its historical origins and later developments, through which individual identity and collective unity were shaped and sustained (Holscher 2018, 95–149; on cultural memory, see Assmann 1997 and the recent overview in Bettini 2022, 41–58). As such, the tomb and the structures built to protect, preserve and commemorate it act as a landmark in the construction of collective memory (Acconcia 2024, 161; on *lieux de mémoire*, see Nora 1984–93) and can be understood as a chronotope (Bettini 2022, 53) or mnemotope (Ferri 2022, 22–27), i.e. a foundational element in the process of *topopoiesis* (Ferri 2022, 23) within the cultic landscape of Veii. The theme of cultural memory has been thoroughly explored in Roman archaeology, particularly with regard to Rome itself (e.g. Galinsky, Lapatin 2015; Smith 2015; Cifani 2018; for the Greek world: Boardman 2004). In recent years, it has also been extended to Etruscan society, despite the limitations of the available evidence (di Fazio 2012, 2018; Biella, Michetti 2018). It is important to note, however, that some scholars have expressed doubts about the concept of cultural memory and the scientific limitations of its use in reconstructing a society's belief systems, most notably due to the difficulty distinguishing between individual and collective memory, and the risk of overextending the term without clear boundaries. In response to these concerns, the concept of historical culture—a term rooted in historical scholarship and widely used in Germany—has recently been reintroduced, as "...a convenient shorthand for those various modes of cultural production that facilitated a society's engagement with its past" (Bernard 2023, 25).

Section Two

The Trauma of the Roman Conquest

To address the second theme, this section analyses the events surrounding the Roman conquest (396 BCE), including references to the religious rites performed (see most recently Fusco, Battistin 2022, 67–69, with previous bibliography). This episode encapsulates the most dramatic period experienced by the settlement, its inhabitants and its protective deities, who should be regarded as an integral part of the ancient city (...*id fiat deos moenia Veientium deserturos non esse*: Liv. 5.15.11) since its foundation. The primary ancient source on the subject is the Roman historian Livy, who recounts that the city of Veii, once renowned for its wealth (...*urbis opulentissimae Etrusci nominis*: 5.22.8) and Rome's fiercest rival, was condemned to a wretched fate after falling to Roman hands: the urban area was left devoid not only of its inhabitants, but also of the presence of the immortal gods (...*desertam ac relictam ad dis immortalibus*: 5.30.3; ...*desertam ab dis homnibusque*: 5.52.17). In fact, this act constituted the severest punishment the Romans could inflict upon an enemy city, according to their religious worldview (Gros 2011, 122). The episode is first analysed through the principal literary sources, rich in narrative detail, followed by a discussion of the scant archaeological evidence.

Literary Sources

The discussion is limited to the final phase of the conquest; earlier episodes, such as the mysterious rising waters of Lake Albano, are addressed elsewhere (D'Arco 1997 and, more generally, in the commentary by Piccirilli 1983).

In the tenth year of the war between Veii and Rome, the Roman faction decided to appoint Marcus Furius Camillus as dictator, referred to as the *fatalis dux* (LIV. 5.19.2; Plut. *Cam.* 5.1). The Etruscan city had long been under Roman siege, and among the strategies employed to conquer it was the famous tunnel dug in the direction of the citadel, where the temple of the city's tutelary deity, *Juno Regina*, was located. This allowed a contingent of soldiers to infiltrate the city (LIV. 5.19.10–11 and 21.10; Plut. *Cam.* 5.4–5; D.C. 6.21). On the day chosen for the final assault, Camillus performed the auspices and addressed a prayer to two deities: Pythian Apollo, promising him a tenth of the spoils, and *Juno Regina*, asking her to abandon her current seat within the enemy city in favour of a new temple in Rome (LIV. 5.21.2–4; D. H. 13.3.3; this appeal to the goddess corresponds to the religious rite known as *carmen evocationis*). Immediately afterwards, a curse was pronounced, condemning the entire Veientine setting—the city, army, territory, and inhabitants—as reported solely by Macrobius (*sat.* 3.9.13; this corresponds to the religious rite known as the *carmen devotionis*). Once these rituals had been performed, an assault was launched on multiple fronts (LIV. 5.21.5). The group of Roman soldiers inside the tunnel burst forth at the temple of the city's tutelary deity, managing to interrupt a favourable sacrifice being conducted for the Etruscan king and spreading chaos by unlocking the city gates (LIV. 5.21.8 and 10; Plut. *Cam.* 5.6; it is during this moment that another well-known episode took place: the seizure of the *exta*, the entrails of the sacrificial animal used for divination, by the Roman soldiers, who delivered them to Camillus). Combat broke out within the settlement: the Roman soldiers set fires, and fighting spread throughout the entire city (LIV. 5.21.10–11). After a heavy loss of life on the enemy side, the dictator ordered an end to the bloodshed and commanded his troops to start looting (LIV. 5.21.13–14; Plut. *Cam.* 5.7). Camillus then prayed to Jupiter and the celestial gods, asking for their pardon in light of the violent acts committed and the immense wealth taken (LIV. 5.21.14–16; Plut. *Cam.* 5.7–9). The following day, after selling the city's remaining free citizens into slavery and carrying off its riches, the Romans decided to remove the votive offerings (*deum dona*) and the statues of the gods (*ipsosque deos*: LIV. 5.22.1–3), thus leaving the site devoid of any human or divine presence (LIV. 5.30.3 and 52.17). During the relocation of the statue of *Juno Regina* from her original temple to Rome—following the religious rite of *carmen evocationis*—the young Romans assigned to this task formally requested the goddess's consent to be moved. After receiving an affirmative response from her, she was transported to a new temple on the Aventine Hill (LIV. 5, 22, 4–7; D.H. 13, 3, 3; VAL. MAX. 1, 8, 3; Plut. *Cam.* 6, 1–2). The city of Veii was abandoned, but it was not completely destroyed or razed to the ground, as the following episodes demonstrate: a Roman army took refuge there after the defeat at the Allia against the Gauls (390 BCE: LIV. 5.38.8–10); the tribunes encouraged the plebeians to relocate there following Rome's destruction by the Gauls (389 BCE: LIV. 5.50.8); people who had moved there and occupied its vacant houses were summoned back to Rome (388 BCE: LIV. 6.4.5); an army was dispatched to the site to organise a defence against the Gauls (late 4th century BCE: LIV. 8.20.4–5).

The religious rites mentioned are the *carmen evocationis* and the *carmen devotionis*, the latter of which also includes the *consecratio* (Ferri 2010; Guittard 2012; Tarpin 2012). At a general level, the primary account of these rituals is a passage from Macrobius (*sat.* 3.9.1–13; see also PLIN. *nat.* 28.18), which describes them as being performed by Scipio Aemilianus before the conquest and destruction

of Carthage in 146 BCE (Guittard 2012, p. 359). The first formula is the *carmen evocationis* (imprecisely referred to as *evocatio*), which was a ritual used to summon the enemy city's tutelary deity over to the Roman side, with the promise of a new temple in Rome and public games held in the deity's honour, followed by the sacrifice of victims and the ritual inspection of their entrails. Immediately afterward came the *carmen devotionis* (also imprecisely referred to as *devotio hostium* and not to be confused with *devotio ducis*, the self-sacrifice of a general for victory: Tarpin 2012, p. 234). This rite involved dedicating the enemy army, city, territory and inhabitants to the chthonic deities (Dis, Veiovis, the *Manes*, or other such divinities). This was followed by the *consecratio* of the cities, lands, people and future generations to the infernal gods, and concluded with the sacrifice of three black sheep. Macrobius also provides a list of cities subjected to these rites (*sat.* 3.9.13), including Veii—one of the few historically attested cases, alongside Carthage and Corinth (Guittard 2012, p. 350; Ogilvie 1965, p. 674 mentions only the first rite, *evocatio*, and omits the second, *devotio*). These rituals have been interpreted as two interlinked and inseparable prayer formulas, reflecting an archaic ritual tradition (Guittard 2012, pp. 352–353), although academic debate on the matter remains ongoing.

Archaeological Evidence

The most conclusive finding from recent research is that the powerful Etruscan city of Veii was already showing clear signs of contraction in building activity by the 5th century BCE (Bartoloni, Tabolli, Cerasuolo 2019, 4). A clear and definitive break in occupation occurred during the 4th century BCE, particularly in its first half. Despite numerous field investigations, archaeological research has not uncovered substantial evidence of violent destruction on the urban plateau datable to the early 4th century BCE, the traditional date assigned to the city's conquest. However, a few isolated cases do stand out: remains (evidence of destruction and battle, such as arrowheads, javelins, lead sling bullets and javelin point fragments) have been found at the Campetti-Bastioni site (Tabolli, Cerasuolo 2019, 231; Biagi, Neri, Sartini, Sagripanti 2021), and a series of landfill deposits, used to construct a terrace, containing abundant rubble with traces of fire, have been identified in the Piano di Comunità area (Belelli Marchesini 2009, 67 and note 24).

Reflections on the Trauma of the Roman Conquest

The capture of Veii has been interpreted in a variety of ways, as this non-exhaustive overview demonstrates: “*a moment of destruction... the capitulation of Veii... was total*” (Smith 2019a, 219); the Roman conquest did not entail the destruction of the Etruscan centre (Pulcinelli 2016, 19); the city was destroyed (Jolivet 2013, 151); the site was taken by the Romans thanks to a policy of alliances with leading Veientine families (Di Giuseppe 2018, 93–94); or through a process of “*fusion of two states rather than the sheer elimination of a rival*” (Terrenato 2019, 116). Based on the evidence presented in the preceding paragraphs, the most convincing hypothesis appears to be that of a conquest without the complete destruction of the settlement.

Topographic surveys (by Sapienza University and the University of Salento, Lecce), supported by aerial imagery and field surveys, have suggested that a new urban layout emerged during the Republican Period in the central area of the plateau. This may correspond to where the future

municipium would later rise during the Imperial Era. The new Roman settlement appears to have been planned and active by the mid-4th century and continued through the 3rd century BCE, followed by a gradual decline during the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE (Guaitoli 2016, 196 note 60; 197-198, 200). This scenario is corroborated by the study of ceramic finds from British surface surveys conducted on the urban plateau in the 20th century. After a lack of evidence in the 4th century BCE, occupation appears to resume between the late 4th and early 3rd century BCE, followed by a marked decline in the 2nd century BCE (Di Giuseppe 2018, 96–100). The most interesting data comes from places of worship, which were abundant in the city during the Archaic Period (Colonna 2014; Bartoloni, Sarracino 2017). From the late 4th century BCE (Bouma 1996, 104–112; Michetti 2021, 27 suggests uninterrupted use of sanctuaries), Etruscan cult sites were once again frequented, new ones were founded, and many remained active until at least the 2nd century BCE, especially those located near the city gates (Torelli 1999, 24–29; Torelli 2015; Di Giuseppe 2018, 97–98; for recent discoveries: Maras, Nonnis 2022). Mention should also be made of the deposit (Lanciani) at Piano di Comunità, which contained a vast quantity of votive material (statues, heads, figurines, terracotta animals, anatomical votives, pottery, etc.) associated with the cult of a major female deity and attesting to rites of passage, healing (*sanatio*), initiation and purification practices. Chronologically, the material ranges from the 6th century BCE to a new surge in activity from the late 4th to the early–mid-2nd century BCE, with a gap in the 4th century BCE (Bartoloni, Benedettini 2011, 779–781; Michetti 2021, 35; Benedettini 2024, 105). This votive deposit has been linked to the cult of *Juno Regina* (Bartoloni, Tabolli, Cerasuolo 2019, 4; Benedettini 2024, 105) and to her cult building, whose location and architectural form remain uncertain. Hypotheses include a palatial-type shrine (Colonna 2012, 214; Di Giuseppe 2018, 74), or a “Tuscan temple with one or more rooms and a porch” (Edlund-Berry 2019, 129). Also noteworthy is the peri-urban sanctuary of Portonaccio, home to a cult area dedicated to Minerva (from the first half of the 7th century BCE) and a Tuscan-style temple (late 6th century BCE), possibly dedicated to Heracle, Apollo and Tinia (Zeus) (Colonna 2019). Archaeological investigations reveal that the site suffered no damage during the siege and conquest. It was likely not before the early 3rd century BCE that the temple was dismantled and its famous acroterial statues buried in a pit outside the sacred area (Glinister 2000, 59–60). The cult of Minerva persisted until the sanctuary’s complete abandonment sometime after the mid-2nd century BCE (Colonna 2002, 153; Ambrosini 2009, 38; Michetti 2021, 25). This brief overview, focused in particular on the cultic dimension, demonstrates that while many Etruscan sanctuaries were initially abandoned, they were once again frequented until at least the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, even though there is no evidence of significant structural renovations or new buildings during the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. This is undoubtedly surprising in light of what the literary sources recount regarding the removal of divine statues, especially that of Juno, and of sacred *ex-votos*. In addition, if the Lanciani votive deposit is indeed linked to the cult of *Juno Regina*, it would suggest that devotion to an evoked deity persisted in its place of origin and that the “*sense of place*” remained strong in ancient ritual practice (Glinister 2000, 62). This was true even in the absence of the statue (Ferri 2010, 40–41) and despite the existence of the goddess’s main temple on the Aventine Hill in Rome (Prim 2021, 393–395).

It is important to note that the events described here should not be considered isolated occurrences but rather reflect a broader pattern of Roman behaviour following the capture of enemy cities (Ziolkowski 1993). Further examples of Roman violence during the conquest of central Italy include the cases of *Volsinii* and *Falerii*, where the inhabitants were forced to abandon their settlements and relocate to newly established sites (Marcone 2017).

Section Three

Final Remarks

This final section brings together the various points discussed above and offers some additional reflections. As a preliminary observation, it is worth reiterating that the episodes analysed in the first and second sections are presented as exemplary cases of Memory and Trauma, even though they are not directly connected or consequential. In the first case, an attempt has been made to reconstruct a fragment of the Etruscan site's original memory using both historical and archaeological sources, linked to the figure of its mythical founder. Two main challenges can be identified concerning this theme: (1) the absence of original Etruscan – and specifically Veientine – sources on the topic; and (2) the interpretative limits of the archaeological evidence uncovered during excavations. The first point is particularly significant, as the few available data have been extrapolated from later Roman sources, meaning that any attempt to reconstruct fragments of Veientine cultural heritage rests on fragile foundations. Of course, this lack of information is not confined to the case of Veii but is a broader issue in our knowledge of Etruscan civilisation (on Etruscan myths, see Domenici 2009; on sources for Etruscan religion, Smith 2019b; on studies of Etruscan cultural memory, see the first part of this article). As for the second point, the interpretative limitations of archaeological evidence remain a reality with which scholars will always have to contend: the same discovery may give rise to multiple and sometimes contradictory interpretations. For this reason, it is methodologically necessary to distinguish and keep separate the sequences of historical and archaeological data, in order to avoid reciprocal influences or circular reasoning (see, for example, Gabba 1999). In the second case study, concerning Trauma, the same considerations regarding the archaeological data also apply to the historical sources. Livy, writing at the end of the 1st century BCE, describes the violent conquest of the Etruscan city, which had taken place nearly four centuries earlier, in 396 BCE. Not only has Livy's account been questioned and criticised by some scholars, but it also lacks firm confirmation from the archaeological record. Nevertheless, if we take the Roman historian's account as reliable, a direct connection between Trauma and Memory can be identified archaeologically: this is attested by the resumption of cultic activity, evidenced by archaeological materials in the city's Etruscan sanctuaries, even in the absence of the statue of the tutelary deity and of any significant building activity (see the previous paragraph). Finally, what has been observed at Veii does not constitute an isolated case. A useful comparison can be made with the case of the well-known Etruscan federal sanctuary of *Fanum Voltumnae*, recently identified at Campo della Fiera in the peri-urban area of the ancient city of *Velzna (Volsinii)*, modern-day Orvieto, and dedicated to the god *Voltumna* (for a recent overview of the building phases, monuments and cults, see Stopponi 2024). During the siege and conquest of the city in 264 BCE by the Roman consul Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, the federal sanctuary was also targeted. After the initial *evocatio* of the tutelary deity, proposed on the basis of indirect evidence (Ferri 2010, 129–147), the sanctuary was plundered and destroyed, with the recovery of a booty said to include 2,000 bronze statues (PLIN. *nat.* 34.34; most recently on the subject, see Della Fina 2024, 19–20). Despite the absence of its main deity and the extensive destruction it suffered—as was the case at Veii—cultic activity at the sanctuary did not cease, but continued for centuries, up until the end of the pagan era (Stopponi 2024, 250).

References

- Acconcia Valeria. Veio-Piazza d'Armi. In «van Kampen» 2024, 1, 159-164.
- Ambrosini Laura. Conclusioni. In G. Colonna (ed.), *Il santuario di Portonaccio a Veio. III. La cisterna arcaica con l'incluso deposito di età ellenistica (scavi Santangelo 1945-1946 e Università di Roma "La Sapienza" 1996 e 2006) di Laura Ambrosini con contributi di M.L. Arancio e B. Belevi Marchesini* (Accademia dei Lincei, Monumenti Antichi, Serie Miscellanea – volume XIII, LXVII della serie generale), 283-295. Roma: G. Bretschneider, 2009.
- Arnaldi Adelina. *Ricerche storico-epigrafiche sul culto di 'Neptunus' nell'Italia romana* (Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia antica, fascicolo LXIV). Roma: Istituto italiano per la storia antica, 1997.
- Assmann Jan. *La memoria culturale. Scritture, ricordo e identità politica nelle grandi civiltà antiche* (Biblioteca Einaudi, 2). Torino: Einaudi, 1997.
- Bartoloni Gilda (2021a). Sepolture in abitato: considerazioni sulle deposizioni funerarie rinvenute nell'altura di Piazza d'Armi. In Bartoloni, Neri, Pitzalis 2021, 285-293.
- Bartoloni Gilda (2021b). Veio tra Protostoria e Storia. In Bartoloni, Neri, Pitzalis 2021, 297-309.
- Bartoloni Gilda (2022). Dimore di principi. In A. Piergrossi, A. Babbi, M. Cultraro (eds.), *Tra protostoria e storia: l'Etruria nel cuore del Mediterraneo. Scritti in onore di Filippo Delpino per il suo 80° compleanno* (Mediterranea supplementi, n.s. 2), 171-185. Roma: CNR Edizioni, 2022.
- Bartoloni Gilda, Benedettini Gilda. Note conclusive. In G. Bartoloni, G. Benedettini, *Veio il deposito votivo di Comunità (Scavi 1889-2005) con contributo di B. Belevi Marchesini e D. Sarracino* (Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia. XXI, Regio VII; 3), 779-790. Roma: G. Bretschneider, 2011.
- Bartoloni Gilda, Tabolli Jacopo, Cerasuolo Orlando. Introduction. In Tabolli 2019, 1-5.
- Bartoloni Gilda, Donata Sarracino (2017). Veio: dal culto aristocratico al culto poliadico. In E. Govi (ed.), *La città etrusca e il sacro. Santuari e istituzioni politiche*, Atti del Convegno (Bologna, 21-23 gennaio 2016; DiSCI series, Archeologia: 15), 1-24. Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2017.
- Bartoloni Gilda, Neri Sara, Pitzalis Federica. *L'abitato etrusco di Veio. Ricerche dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza". III.1. Il complesso residenziale: la stratigrafia*. Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 2021.
- Belevi Marchesini Barbara. Piano di Comunità: le evidenze archeologiche. In G. Bartoloni (ed.), *L'abitato etrusco di Veio. Ricerche dell'Università di Roma 'La Sapienza' I – Cisterne, pozzi e fosse*, 65-69. Roma: Edizioni IUNO, 2009.
- Benedettini Gilda. L'area sacra di Piano di Comunità e la cd. Stipe Lanciani. In «van Kampen» 2024, 2, 103-105.
- Bernard Seth. *Historical Culture in Iron Age Italy. Archaeology, History, and the Use of the Past, 900-300 BCE*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003
- Bettini Maurizio. *Roma, città della parola. Oralità Memoria Diritto Religione Poesia*. Torino: Einaudi, 2022.
- Biagi Folco, Neri Sara, Sartini Enrico, Sagripanti Laura (2020). Il cerchio si chiude. Mercenari italici all'assedio di Veio (396 a.C.). In V. Acconcia (ed.), *L'età delle trasformazioni: l'Italia medio-adriatica tra V e il IV secolo a.C.*, Atti del workshop internazionale (Chieti, 18-19 aprile 2016), 439-454. Roma: Edizioni Quasar.
- Biella Maria Cristina, Michetti Laura Maria (2018). Fondatori di città, antenati eroici, fondatori di culti. Tracce di figure eminenti in ambito urbano, funerario e sacro in Etruria meridionale tra l'età del Ferro e il V sec. a.C. In M.P. Castiglioni, R. Carboni, M. Giuman, H. Bernier-Farella (eds.), *Héros fondateurs et identités communautaires dans l'Antiquité entre mythe, rite et politique* (Quaderni di Otium 3), 439-459. Perugia: Morlacchi Editore U.P., 2018.
- Boardman John. *Archeologia della nostalgia. Come i Greci reinventarono il loro passato* (trad. it.). Bologna: Bruno Mondadori, 2004.
- Bouma Jelle Wietze. *Religio Votiva: the Archeology of Latial Votive Religion*, I-III. Groningen: University of Groningen, 1996.
- Cébeillac-Gervasoni Mireille. Neptune, Rome, Véies et le lac Albain. In V. Gasparini (ed.), *Vestigia. Miscellanea di studi storico religiosi in onore di Filippo Coarelli nel suo 80° anniversario*, 99-108. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2016.
- Cifani Gabriele (2018). Visibility Matters. Notes on Archaic Monuments and Collective Memory in Mid-Republican Rome. In K. Sandberg, Ch. Smith (eds.), *Omnium Annalium Monumenta: Historical Writing and Historical Evidence in Republican Rome* (Historiography of Rome and Its Empire, volume 2), 390-403. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Colonna Giovanni (2002). Un primo bilancio. In G. Colonna (ed.), *Il Santuario di Portonaccio a Veio. I. Gli scavi di Massimo Pallottino nella zona dell'altare (1939-1940)* (Accademia dei Lincei, Monumenti Antichi, Serie Miscellanea – volume VI, 3, LVIII), 146-159. Roma: G. Bretschneider, 2002.
- Colonna Giovanni (2012). I santuari comunitari e il culto delle divinità catactonie in Etruria. In M. Giuseppe Della Fina (ed.), *Il Fanum Voltumnae e i santuari comunitari dell'Italia antica*, Atti del XIX Convegno Internazionale di Studi sulla Storia e l'Archeologia dell'Etruria (Annali della Fondazione per il Museo "Claudio Faina", XIX), 203-226. Roma: La Fondazione, Quasar.
- Colonna Giovanni (2014). Gli scavi Santangelo nell'area urbana di Veio (1945-52). *Archeologia Classica*, 65, 59-101.
- Colonna Giovanni. The Sanctuary of Portonaccio. In Tabolli 2019, 117-125.
- D'Arco Ines (1997). Il prodigio del lago Albano e la tradizione su Camillo vincitore di Veio. *Miscellanea greca e romana* XXI, 93-148.

- de Grummond Thomson Nancy. *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History and Legend*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 2006.
- Della Fina Giuseppe M. La fine di Velzna. In Giuseppe M. Della Fina (ed.), *Volsinio capto 265-264 a.C.*, Catalogo della mostra, 10-21. Bastiglia: Palombi Editori, 2024.
- Di Fazio Massimiliano. Tempo del sacerdote, tempo del cittadino. Sacro e memoria culturale presso gli Etruschi. In V. Nizzo, L. La Rocca (eds.), *Antropologia e Archeologia a confronto*, Atti del 2° Congresso Internazionale di Studi (Roma, Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico “Luigi Pigorini”, 20-21 Maggio 2011): 147-166. Roma: E.S.S. Editorial Service System s.r.l., 2012.
- Di Fazio Massimiliano (2018). Figures of Memory. Aulus Vibenna, Valerius Publicola and Mezentius between History and Legend. In K. Sandberg, Ch. Smith (eds.), *Omnium Annalium Monumenta: Historical Writing and Historical Evidence in Republican Rome* (Historiography of Rome and Its Empire, volume 2), 322-350. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018.
- Di Gennaro Francesco. Isola Farnese. Abitato della tarda età del bronzo (secc. XIII-XI a.C.). In van Kampen 2024, 1, 114-117.
- Di Giuseppe Helga (2018). *Lungo il Tevere scorreva lento il tempo dei paesaggi tra XV e I secolo a.C.* (Solo e pensoso... 1). Roma: Scienze e Lettere, 2018.
- Domenici Ilaria. *Etruscae fabulae. Mito e rappresentazione* (Archaeologica, 156). Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2009.
- Edlung-Berry Ingrid. Cult Evidence from the Urban Sanctuaries at Veii. In Tabolli 2019, 127-138.
- Ferri Giorgio (2010). Tutela urbis. *Il significato e la concezione della divinità tutelare cittadina nella religione romana* (Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge - 32). Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010.
- Ferri Giorgio. Il movimento rituale nell'Antichità e oltre. Uno studio introduttivo. In G. Ferri (ed.), *Ritual Movement in Antiquity (and Beyond)*, 5-38. Lavis: Editrice Morcelliana, 2022.
- Fusco Ugo (in press). L'acqua e il sacro nel territorio di Veio alla luce delle più recenti scoperte. In *Festschrift for Attilio Mastrocinque*, in press.
- Fusco Ugo, Battistin Fabiana. Distruzioni e rito nella conquista romana dell'Italia centrale: Veio (396 a.C.), *Volsinii* (264 a.C.) e *Falerii* (241 a.C.) a confronto. In M. Cipriani, E. Greco, A. Salzano, C.I. Tornese (eds.), *Atti del V Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Dialoghi sull'Archeologia della Magna Grecia e del Mediterraneo* (su piattaforma Windows Teams, Paestum, 19-21 novembre 2020), V.1, 65-77. Paestum: Pandemos, 2022.
- Gabba Emilio. Problemi di metodo per la storia di Roma arcaica. In E. Gabba, D. Foraboschi, D. Mantovani, E. Lo Cascio, L. Troiani L., *Introduzione alla storia di Roma*, 13-26. Milano: LED, Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia e Diritto, 1999.
- Galinsky Karl. Introduction. In K. Galinsky, K. Lapatin (eds.), *Cultural memories in the Roman Empire*, 1-22. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2015.
- Giontella Claudia. «...nullus enim fons non sacer...» *culti idrici di epoca preromana e romana* (Regiones VI-VII) (Biblioteca di “Studi etruschi” 45). Pisa-Roma: Serra Editore, 2012.
- Glinister Fay. Sacred Rubbish. In Bispham E., Smith C. (eds.), *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy. Evidence and Experience*, 54-70. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000.
- Graf Fritz (2006). Halesus. In *Brill's New Pauly*, viewed 16 January 2021 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e501900.
- Gros Pierre. *L'architecture romaine du début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire, 1. Les monuments publics* (troisième édition). Paris: Picard, 2011.
- Guaitoli Marcello. Veio: osservazioni preliminari sulla topografia della città. *Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica*, 2016, 26, 177-214.
- Guittard Charles. La destruction des villes «dévouées» dans le rituel guerrier de *l'euocatio-deuotio*: la représentation du conflit dans les formules de prières. In H. Ménard, P. Sauzeau, J.-F. Thomas (éds.), *La pomme d'Éris: le conflit et sa représentation dans l'Antiquité*, 349-363. Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2012.
- Hölscher Tonio. *Visual Power in Ancient Greece and Rome. Between Art and Social Reality*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2018.
- Jolivet Vincent. A long twilight (396-90 BC): Romanization of Etruria. In J.M. Turfa (ed.), *The Etruscan World*, 151-179. Oxon: Routledge, 2013.
- Maras Daniele Federico, Nonnis David (2022). Il paesaggio religioso di Veio tra Etruschi e Romani: il contributo dell'epigrafia. In G.M. Annoscia, F. Camia, D. Nonnis (a cura di), *Scrittura epigrafica e sacro in Italia dall'antichità al Medioevo. Luoghi, oggetti e frequentazioni*, Atti del Workshop internazionale (Sapienza Università di Roma 15-17 dicembre 2021; Scienze dell'Antichità, 28.3), 151-174.
- Marcone A. (2017), Romanization. In A. Naso (eds.), *Etruscology I*, 665-683. Boston-Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017.
- Michetti Laura Maria (2021). L'impatto della “romanizzazione” su Veio e il suo territorio: tracce di continuità e di cambiamento in ambito sacro, abitativo e funerario. In M.C. Biella, G.L. Gregori (eds.), *Roma e la formazione di un'Italia “romana”*, Atti del Workshop internazionale (Roma, 17-18 giugno 2019 presso il Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut Rome; Scienze dell'Antichità, 27.2), 25-48.

- Neri Sara (2021a). Il Periodo I e il Periodo II. In Bartoloni, Neri, Pitzalis 2021, 36-96.
- Neri Sara (2021b). Periodi I-II. In Bartoloni, Neri, Pitzalis 2021, 251-262.
- Neri Sara, Pitzalis Federica (2021). Osservazioni conclusive. In Bartoloni, Neri, Pitzalis 2021, 270-282.
- Nora Pierre. *Les lieux de mémoire, I-IV*. Paris: Gallimard, 1984-1993.
- Ogilvie Robert Maxwell. *A commentary on Livy, books 1-5*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965.
- Piccirilli Luigi. Commento. In C. Carena - M. Manfredini - L. Piccirilli, *Plutarco. Le vite di Temistocle e di Camillo*. Milano, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla: Mondadori 1983.
- Piergrossi Alessandra. *Veii in the Eighth Century BCE*. In Tabolli 2019, 55-65.
- Piergrossi Alessandra (2022). La nascita di Veio alla luce dei recenti rinvenimenti. In A. Piergrossi, A. Babbi, M. Cultraro (eds.), *Tra protostoria e storia: l'Etruria nel cuore del Mediterraneo. Scritti in onore di Filippo Delpino per il suo 80° compleanno* (Mediterranea supplementi, n.s. 2), 151-169. Roma: CNR Edizioni.
- Pitzalis Federica (2021a). Il Periodo III e il Periodo IV. In Bartoloni, Neri, Pitzalis 2021, 97-148.
- Pitzalis Federica (2021b). I Periodi III-IV. In Bartoloni, Neri, Pitzalis 2021, 263-269.
- Potts Charlotte R. *Religious Architecture in Latium and Etruria, c. 900-500 BC* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Prim Joëlle. *Aventinus Mons. Limites, fonctions urbaines et représentations politiques d'une colline de la Rome antique* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 571). Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2021.
- Pulcinelli Luca. *L'Etruria meridionale e Roma. Insediamenti e territorio tra IV e III secolo a.C.* (Studia Archaeologica, 208). Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2016.
- Smith Christopher. Urbanization and Memory. In R. Raja, J. Rüpke (eds.), *A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World*, 362-373. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015.
- Smith Christopher (2019a). Furius Camillus and Veii. In Tabolli 2019, 219-224.
- Smith Christopher (2019b). Polis Religion, Lived Religion, Etruscan Religion. Thoughts on Recent Research. *Ocnus* 27, 85-105.
- Stopponi Simonetta. The Campo della Fiera at Orvieto: the fanum Voltumnae. In Fabiana Fabbri, Alessandro Sebastiani (eds.), *Sacred Landscapes in Central Italy. Votive Deposits and Sanctuaries (400 BC – AD 400)* (MediTO volume 5), 245-257. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2024.
- Tabolli Jacopo. *Veii* (Cities of the Etruscan), Austin: University of Texas Press, 2019.
- Tarpin Michel. La guerre dans le monde romain. In *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*, 2012, VIII, 223-245.
- Terrenato Nicola. *The Early Roman Expansion into Italy. Elite Negotiation and Family Agendas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Torelli Mario. *Tota Italia: essays in the cultural formation of Roman Italy*. Oxford, New York: Clarendon Press, 1999.
- Torelli Mario (2007-2008). Exterminatio. In Gilda Bartoloni, Maria Gilda Benedettini (eds.), *I morti fra i vivi*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza", 26-29 Aprile 2006; Scienze dell'Antichità, 14), 805-819.
- Trafficante Viviana. Nethus l'assente. Osservazioni sull'iconografia delle divinità marine nell'arte etrusca arcaica. In M. Harari - S. Paltineri - M.T.A. Robino (eds.), *Icone del mondo antico. Un seminario di storia delle immagini*. Un seminario di storia delle immagini (Pavia, Collegio Ghisleri, 25 novembre 2005; Studia Archaeologica 170), 169-186. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2009.
- van Kampen Iefke. *Catalogo del Museo dell'Agro Veientano a Palazzo Chigi di Formello. Museo di territorio da Wunderkammer a Clef des Songes*, 1-2. Roma: Edizioni Museo dell'Agro Veientano, 2024.
- Ward-Perkins John. Veii: The Historical Topography of the Ancient City. *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1961, 29, n.s. 16, 1-119.
- Ziolkowski Adam. Urbs direpta, or how the Romans sacked cities. In J. Rich, G. Shipley (eds.), *War and Society in the Roman World*, 69-91. London: Routledge, 1993.

Literary sources (For Latin authors, abbreviations follow the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*; for Greek authors, H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*.)

D.C.: Dio Cassius

D.H.: Dionysius Halicarnassensis

LIV.: T. Livius Patavinus

MACR.*sat.*: Ambrosius Macrobius Theodosius, Saturnalia

PLIN. *nat.*: C. Plinius Secundus, Naturalis historia

Plut.*Cam.*: Plutarchus, Camillus

VAL. MAX: Valerius Maximus