

# ITALIAN PREHISTORY



BUTI & DEVOTO

**BERSERKER**  
**BOOKS**



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# Prehistory and History of the Regions of Italy

an introduction



## PRESENTATION

Our work, taken from the *Tuttitalia* encyclopaedia, repeats its guiding principle, which is to consider the regions of Italy as rigid blocks, of equal authority and significance, regardless of their size and economic consistency. By definition, the interpretation of historical developments gives way to the final political and administrative settlement.

But it has two purposes. On the one hand, it aims to inform, so that readers can learn about prehistoric events and understand the nature and terminology of their classifications. On the other hand, prehistory is not an end in itself: it is an introduction to history. While the book is based on the centuries-old work of specialists who have made it possible to outline the structures, events and transformations of a society that would otherwise remain silent, it also sets itself a second, more ambitious task. It aims to influence the world of prehistory enthusiasts, suggesting points of interest, highlighting problems, overcoming the cult of the most distant in time, and recognising

that in human societies, even the most distant and ancient ones, man had passions and stimuli to assert, adaptations to undergo, in a continuous alternation of immobility and adventurousness.

In our attempt to operate on two fronts, as prehistorians and as linguists, we would not want to fall prey to the easy accusation of overreaching and correcting what we do not know enough about. We respond that shirking responsibility is just as unscientific as romanticising facts under the influence of science fiction. Like drying up and getting bogged down in the hunt for

Absolute facts, science fiction is what we have been taught and proposed about the orientation of the Terramare according to the Pigorinian school, non-science is abstentionism from historical hypotheses, the refusal to take into account well-established linguistic notions, non-science is the grotesque definition of prehistory as the science of shards.

The reader may see in this perhaps excessively dense booklet an invitation to understand, and the specialist in linguistics or prehistory, respectively, an invitation to dare.

This book would not have been written if two enlightened prehistorians had not intervened substantially with their knowledge and mental organisational skills. They are Antonio Radmilli and Ferrante Rittatore Vonwiller, to whom we owe our joint gratitude. The original draft of *Tuttitalia* has been truly transformed.

Our respective responsibilities are divided as follows: Gianna Buti covers the Stone Age up to the Bronze Age, while Giacomo Devoto covers the Iron Age. Gianna Buti is responsible for interpreting the sources, while Giacomo Devoto is responsible for the connections and comparisons between archaeological and linguistic conclusions.

## GLOSSARY OF EUROPEAN PREHISTORY TERMS

Abbevillian. This Lower Palaeolithic industry is characterised by bifaces obtained by removing large flakes from both sides alternately, resulting in a tool with a more or less almond-shaped appearance with sinuous edges and a median rib on one or both sides. The flakes were generally detached by direct percussion, with a block of stone acting as an anvil. The name derives from the Abbeville site in the Somme valley (France), where the stratigraphy allows for a systematic study of the facies; for this reason, it replaced the name 'Chellean', taken from the Chelles station at the confluence of the Seine and Marne rivers (France), where this industry was first identified, but the stratigraphy is complex and uncertain.

Acheulean. An industry of the Lower Palaeolithic, it followed the Abbevillian (see above) and lasted from the Mindel-Riss interglacial period until the beginning of the Würm glaciation. f: characterised by bifaces pointed at one end, without median ridges on the faces, and generally more regular than Abbevillian ones; the flakes were detached using a hammerstone, made of stone, wood or bone, placed between the flake and the anvil. Three phases can be distinguished. In the early Acheulean, roughly chipped bifaces predominate. In the Middle Acheulean, the tools were made by detaching laminiform flakes and were therefore more slender, with practically straight edges and finer retouching. In the late Acheulean, alongside bifaces that are sometimes like blades, with straight, sharp edges, the industry of flakes, whether or not they belong to the Proto-Lavalloisian type (see above), became prominent. The name derives from the station of Saint-Acheul near Amiens, in the Somme valley (France), but evidence of this industry extends throughout Western Europe.

Amigdala v. Biface.

Aurignacian. Dating back to the early Upper Palaeolithic, this industry is characterised by the predominance of bone tools, particularly points. Flint is used for scrapers and burins. The Aurignacian is famous for its female statuettes known as 'Venuses'. There are many different types. A general subdivision includes the Lower Aurignacian or Castelperronian, the typical Aurignacian between 30,000 and 25,000 BC, and the evolved Aurignacian or Gravettian. The name derives from the Aurignac station in the French Pyrenees, Haute-Garonne.

Bifacial. A fragment of stone (flake, pebble, flint core, etc.) worked by humans by detaching flakes along two faces in order to obtain a tool with functionally shaped edges. Alongside the flake industry (see), the bifacial industry extends throughout the Lower Palaeolithic (see Abbevillian, Acheulean) and continues into the Middle Palaeolithic. Previously, there was an even more basic tool, consisting of a simple pebble that had been roughly shaped by irregular detachments on one side only (chopper) or on both sides (chopping tool); these are collectively referred to as 'Pebble Culture' (see).

Biikk. The Middle Neolithic civilisation, which owes its name to this mountain range in northern Hungary, developed from the Linearbandkeramik civilisation (see above) in Slovakia and northern Hungary. The original technique of incised decoration, which became more detailed and denser here, was accompanied by a class of painted pottery.

Bell-shaped vase. It gives its name to the civilisation that spread from western Iberia around 2000 BC, reaching: to the east, the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Sicily, southern France and Italy, pushing beyond the eastern Alps; further north, through the Rhone Valley, central Europe and from there, along the Danube, Swabia, Bavaria, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary on one side, and on the other, central-northern Europe along the Elbe and Rhine rivers. Further north, it reached western France and the British Isles. The peak of this expansion



The period dates back to the beginning of the millennium BC, i.e. the beginning of the Metal Age. The typical shape of the vessels is rounded at the bottom and flared towards the mouth, with a bell-shaped profile. This shape is found both in the smaller dimensions of the so-called cup and in the larger dimensions of the wide, low vase, both strictly without handles. The decoration is in horizontal bands, obtained by minute impressions or incisions of dotted lines, straight lines and zigzags, and in a certain way resembles woven work. These vases are always associated with copper daggers with triangular blades and wide handles, buttons with V-shaped holes, and stone plates that have also been interpreted as wrist protectors for use with bows.

Urn fields. This so-called civilisation appeared in Europe at the end of the Middle Bronze Age in the form of cremation necropolises, where the ashes were stored in urns buried in the bare earth, with individual but indistinct burials. Its origins are controversial: the most likely ones are linked, without excluding the possibility of more complex factors, to the Lusatian civilisation.

of Bohemia, Silesia and Thuringia, where the roots of cremation rites in Europe appear to lie. This was a new and revolutionary funeral rite compared to the ancient practice of burial (see pp. 62-63). With the Urnfield culture, over a period of several centuries between the end of the 2nd millennium BC and the beginning of the 1st millennium BC, its spread extended to the whole of Europe, except for the Atlantic and North Sea coasts and the eastern Mediterranean regions. This spread took place in several stages. With the Iron Age ceased to be the driving force behind the urn fields, but the cremation ritual continued to spread or -  
the boundaries described above.

Campignano. This civilisation, named after the French station of Campigny not far from the mouth of the Seine, is the subject of controversy both in terms of its classification and its origins. Typical tools include the crude oval-shaped stone 'pick' and the trapezoidal stone 'tranchet' or axe, with a blade obtained by large transverse chipping: both are part of the Mesolithic tradition. Moreover, the entire Campignan lithic technique, with its large flakes, is reminiscent of that of the earliest Palaeolithic period. Its classical phase is represented in the

northern France and southern England and took place between 5000 and 3500 BC. In Italy, Campignano, where it appears, spans the entire Neolithic period (see pp. 37-38 and 135). While Laviosa Zambotti traced its origins to south-western Europe, most scholars now believe that it originated outside Europe, in the south-east.

Carbon 14. Of all the methods used to date plant and animal remains from the past, the carbon 14 method, or radiocarbon dating, is currently the most reliable. It is based on the fact that every living substance contains a constant amount of carbon 14, a radioactive isotope of normal carbon 12, and that this isotope begins to disintegrate immediately upon the death of the organism, gradually reducing the radioactivity of the carbon (by half in a cycle of approximately 5700 years). By measuring the residual radioactivity of organic excavation finds, it is possible to establish with a good degree of approximation the time elapsed between the beginning of fossilisation and the moment of excavation, and thus the age of a given archaeological complex. The need to work within the limits of absolute accuracy, especially with samples that are immune to contamination from more recent organic substances, actually leads to a date that fluctuates between a minimum and a maximum, and the fluctuation is greater when

the older the sample. Furthermore, the initial carbon-14 rate is depleted after a few tens of thousands of years, beyond which measurement using this method is not possible.

Castelperronian. ♦ facie archaic form of the Aurignacian (see above).

Clactonian. A typical flake-based industry, it is attested to be in full swing alongside the Acheulean (see) in the general context of the European Lower Palaeolithic. The flakes were obtained from an unprepared stone core struck directly on another large block that served as an anvil. As a result, they show a smooth, wide striking surface, and inclined at an obtuse angle to the detachment plane. The name is taken from the station of Clacton-on-Sea on the south-east coast of England, in the county of Essex.

Glaciations. The ice cap that throughout the Quaternary period

The ice sheet stretched uninterrupted from the North Pole across the whole of northern Europe, and the vast glaciers that uniformly covered the southernmost mountainous areas, descending towards the northern coasts of the Mediterranean, underwent, during this long period estimated to have lasted between 600 and 1,000,000 millennia, phases of regression and phases of advance in connection with major climate changes. The study of the relief, in particular the study of moraines and the succession of their fronts, has led to the division of the Quaternary into four epochs, characterised by peaks of maximum glacier advance, interspersed with periods of regression (interglacials). They are named after the rivers where the stratigraphy of the related glacial phenomena has been identified: Gtinz, Mindel, Riss, Wtirm. With a certain degree of certainty, chronological limits and interstadials can only be established for the last epoch: roughly between 120,000 and 10,000 BC, it is divided into early, middle and late Würm, and each of these phases is in turn divided into several interstadials.

Gravettian. Late Aurignacian (lv.) and extending into the Epigravettian.

La Tène. This site, discovered in 1857 along an ancient bed of the Thièle River at the eastern end of Lake Neuchâtel in Switzerland, gives its name to the Celtic civilisation of the second Iron Age (5th-1st century BC). Chronologically, the La Tène civilisation is divided into four phases: La Tène A, from around

500 BC to 400 BC; La Tène II, from 400 to 285 BC; La Tène III, from 285 to 100; La Tène 111, which marks the advent of the Christian era

. A further phase, La Tène IV or 'Late Celtic', defines the extension into the British Isles, where the affirmation

Roman civilisation later expanded. Although it drew its roots from earlier cultural contexts and then borrowed from the classical world, particularly in the use of currency, La Tène civilisation was essentially original. Characteristic are the new types of weapons: large swords that became increasingly longer, markedly oblong shields decorated with emblems, and spherical or conical helmets. Typical ornaments emerged in the form of fibulae, bracelets,

torques, iron belts, and in clay and metal vessels. The taste for decoration is significant: spirals predominate.

and geometric patterns; the enamel and coral inlays also stand out

and coral inlays, and a strong sense of colour generally stands out. The earliest diffusion already had a broad base: from Champagne to the Middle Rhine, the Upper Danube, Bavaria and Bohemia. In its final phase, as already mentioned, it spread to more northern regions.

Levalloisian: A complex that falls within the Mousterian and Aurignacian industries, respectively in the Middle Palaeolithic and Upper Palaeolithic periods. Levalloisian: characterised by a technique of detaching thin, elongated blades with parallel edges from a specially prepared stone core, which were then ready to be shaped into specific specialised tools without major reworking. The name derives from the discovery at Levallois-Perret, in the immediate suburbs of Paris. See also the entries Clactonian and Proto-Levalloisian.

Linear band ceramics: the oldest engraved ceramics in continental Europe, dominated by spirals and oblique meanders, airily distributed across the surface of the vessel in contrast to the geometric style prevalent elsewhere in the early Neolithic period. This characteristic gave the entire cultural complex the name 'Bandkeramik-Kultur' or banded pottery culture. After the phase of the unified phenomenon in question, this complex includes a further phase that is distinguished by a remarkable variety of styles depending on the different regions. The linear meander-spiral style fragmented and took on other forms with new motifs, designated as follows: 'Stichbandkeramik' in Bohemia and surrounding regions, 'Réissener-Kultur' in central and south-western Germany, 'Notenkopfkeramik' in the middle Danube region, and 'Blikker-Kultur' further east, from Slovakia to northern Hungary. These are parallel developments, at least in part, over time and complete the picture of the Middle Neolithic.

Mousterian. Dating back to the Middle Palaeolithic, this industry established itself in Europe at the time of the advance of the Würm glaciation and continued until the second interstadial, lasting a total of about 50,000 years. It was essentially a flake industry; the Levallois technique (see above) was typical, although not uniformly applied. Bifacial tools were relatively few in number.

numerous, are of Acheulean tradition (see). The dominant tools belong to the class of points and scrapers. But the facies are varied and the Mousterian consists of complexes that are differentiated internally as well as externally: there are many nuances. It covers most of Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. **It** is associated with Neanderthal man, and the first burials now appear. The name derives from the rock shelter of Le Moustier in the Dordogne (France).

**Pebble Culture.** This is the name given to the oldest human industry, which consisted of adapting a stone pebble into a tool or weapon by chipping one end by hand or on both sides, with direct percussion on a rock anvil.

**Proto-Levalloisian.** Dating back to the Lower Palaeolithic, this flake industry shows a transition towards Middle Palaeolithic forms. On the one hand, it is linked in some elements to the Clactonian tradition (see), such as in the dentate margins with hollows, while on the other hand, it clearly surpasses this technique by using a core that has already been prepared for the detachment of the desired flakes. These are often laminated, generally short and wide, to the point of being almost rectangular. Presumably originating in Clactonian contexts, this industry was also adopted by the people of the advanced Acheulean (see). In later periods, the innovative technique was refined in the Levalloisian (see).

**Flake.** It is detached by percussion from a stone core and its shape depends both on its intended use (hence the variety) and on the working technique itself, which gradually becomes more advanced. In general, as this technique progresses, it becomes thinner and longer. In the primitive Clactonian industry (see), the technique of detachment from the rudimentary core by direct percussion on an anvil boulder produced irregular and stubby splinters with oblique planes between them. Even before the end of the Palaeolithic In the lower Paleolithic, the Proto-Levalloisian industry (see) is distinguished by much finer flakes, as a result not only of detachment using an intermediate percussion tool, but also of a new technique for preparing the core in order to obtain a specific tool. At the end of the Upper Palaeolithic, this technique reached its peak, with flakes that were now thin blades.



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ABBREVIATIONS  
BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCE

AAE	Archive for Anthropology and Ethnology BPI Bulletin of Italian Palaeontology
CeSDIR	Proceedings of the Centre for Studies and Documentation on Roman Italy
CESP	Emilian Centre for Prehistoric Studies EP Pre-Roman Emilia
I IPP	Italian Institute of Prehistory and Protohistory
I IPU	Italian Institute of Human Palaeontology MAL Ancient Monuments Lincei
PPS	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society RA Journal of Anthropology
RALinc	Proceedings of the Accademia dei Lincei. Reports
RIL	Reports of the Lombard Institute of Science and - Letters
RSP	Journal of Prehistoric Sciences SE Etruscan Studies
SIPS	Italian Society for the Advancement of Science



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## PIEDMONT

With no reliable findings for the Palaeolithic age until recent explorations, Piedmont now shows traces of human presence in excavations conducted on Mount Fenera, at the mouth of the Valsesia valley: the Middle Palaeolithic is attested by Mousterian artefacts associated with cave bears in the Ciota Ciara cave. The Civitarum cave and the Belvedere rock shelter also yield artefacts from the Upper Palaeolithic and possibly even the Mousterian period. Human presence in the region during the Mousterian period is also evidenced in Sambughetto Valstrona (province of Novara), where bone remains belonging to the fauna of the time, including lions, panthers, wolverines, marmots, ibexes, deer and bears, have been found in several caves.

caves and wild cats, and are certainly leftovers from meals.

The first evidence of civilised life is the village of huts at Alba. From these huts, which were built at ground level and not below ground as is the case with the so-called 'fondi di capanne' (hut foundations), numerous stone tools and pottery artefacts have been recovered, belonging to the Neolithic cultural traditions of incised pottery and square-mouthed vases. Among the ornamental objects, a green stone ring is particularly noteworthy. Finds of square-mouthed pots have also been reported in the rock shelter of Rumiano di Vajes near Susa, in the cave of Aisone (province of Cuneo) and in Ponzone d'Acqui.

In the Aosta Valley, at Montjovet, Villanova Baltea, San Nicolas and Sarre, burials characterised by secondary burial (i.e. the reburial of the corpse, now devoid of soft tissue) and the absence of pottery have come to light.

of corpses now devoid of soft tissue) and the absence of pottery. This absence prevents definitive attribution to a specific period; however, the funeral rites point to the Metal Age.

The Eneolithic period is already reliably documented in the traces of pile dwellings, which are later than similar ones in Lakes in Lombardy and Veneto. These traces were found in Mercuragei in the morainic amphitheatre of Lake Maggiore, in San Giovanni dei Boschi in the morainic amphitheatre of Ivrea, and finally in Trana in that of Rivoli, at the mouth of the Susa Valley.

It was only with the beginning of the Bronze Age that the prehistoric finds in Piedmont became significant, albeit in an area that became Piedmontese solely for historical reasons. These are the rock carvings on Mount Bego, formerly in the province of Cuneo and now part of the French department of Alpes-Maritimes, in the upper Roia basin: that is, in geographical Liguria. On rocks smoothed by ancient glaciers, in the valleys descending from the summit

of the mountain (2,873 metres), and at an altitude of between 2,000

and the 2600 m<sup>a</sup> tri, tens of thousands of figures are engraved. They represent weapons, tools, some human figures (wizards, dancers, supplicants) and figures of cattle yoked to the plough or isolated. Continuing to be performed until the Iron Age, they prove the persistence of a magical cult, in and for the mountains, which has been handed down since times probably prior to the Bronze Age itself. The most archaic are graffiti, while the more recent ones are obtained using the technique of full punctuation of the figure.

The only ethnic correspondence for these populations, up until the Bronze Age, lies in the term Ligurians or, as

they called themselves, according to Plutarch, <sup>Λιγυριοί</sup>

; see p. 19), who, as a homogeneous whole, occupied the area between the Gulf of Genoa and the Cottian and Graian Alps, as well as much of southern France. They were non-Indo-European-speaking peoples who left no epigraphic or linguistic evidence of their existence.

straight. Indirect evidence includes the following categories: a) local names such as Alba (province of Cuneo), Libarna, now Serravalle Scrivia (province of Alessandria), Dertona, now Tortona, also in the province of Alessandria ( ), and Vercelli;

b) names of rivers such as Stura (in the provinces of Turin and Cuneo); Po, from an unattested *poos tramandato* since ancient times with a typically Ligurian suffix in the form of *Bodincus*. The names of the two Dore (Latin *Duria*) and *Sesia*, from an older form *Sèsida* (Latin *Sesites*), can be aligned with these; c) names of populations such as the *Statielli* in the territory of Acqui, the *Laevi*, from the sources of the Po to the Vercelli area, and the *Salassi* along the Alpine circle between the Graian and Pennine Alps; d) derivational suffixes such as *-asco*, *-inco*, *-ello*. Particularly characteristic is the suffix *-asco*, long associated with the territory of the ancient Ligurians. It is documented throughout Piedmont. Around Turin, *Airasca*, *Cercenasco*, and *Cervignasco* are located to the west, *Cherasco* to the south, *Brusasco* to the east, and *Mercenasco* and *Tavagnasco* to the north. further away, *Bagnasco* in the province of Cuneo, near the border of present-day Liguria, *Grignasco* in *Valsesia* (province of Vercelli), and the *Anzasca* valley in *Ossola* (province of Novara). The survival of these traces of the pre-European Ligurians means, to a certain extent, ethnic and national survival. However, it does not exclude gradual and peaceful absorption, both into the ethnic groups that overlapped in the pre-Roman era and directly into the Roman sphere.

The early Iron Age brought great change to the Piedmont region with the arrival of the *Golasecca* civilisation. Just as we had to cross the south-western border of Piedmont to find striking evidence of the Bronze Age, the *Golasecca* civilisation

draws us to the easternmost edge of the region, at the outlet of the Ticino River from Lake Maggiore. The town of Golasecca is still located in Lombardy, both historically and administratively, while the sites of Castelletto Ticino, Ameno above Lake Orta, and San Bernardino di Briona near Novara, among others, are located in Piedmont.

The Castelletto Ticino site stands out for having yielded traces of dwellings, otherwise almost without evidence; the huts were built level with the ground. Above all, the necropolises are impressive, revealing the new funeral rite of cremation: they began in the 10th century, i.e. at the end of the Bronze Age, and continued until the Romanisation of the region. The urns were normally covered with an upturned bowl and placed in the bare earth, in holes protected or unprotected by stones. The care taken in their preparation is evident from the traces of enclosures. These urns were initially decorated with linear engravings, and later sometimes with reliefs interspersed with red and black bands, sometimes with a lattice or sunburst pattern, using the *stralucido* technique. The sense of individuality, linked to the delimitation and

The presence of graves is confirmed by the grave goods found in them, which may include food, vases and metal objects, particularly brooches. The fibulae, which sometimes appear to have been burned on the pyre together with the deceased and sometimes, as tributes to his tomb, are in their original physical state, come in various types: the type specifically known as *Gola-secca* or *sanguisuga*, with a long bracket, as well as the type with large and small ribs with a simple arch, and the *navicella* type.

The Golasecca civilisation does not gravitate towards the east solely because of its geographical distribution, which is much greater in Lombardy and Canton Ticino than in Piedmont. With all the links and contributions it may have had through early trade relations with the transalpine regions to the north and west, and the possibility of links with earlier Lombard civilisations, its essential ancestry is from the Central European Urnfield civilisation, placing it

in correlation with the Venetian civilisation of Este, a centre for the halting and redistribution of cultural and linguistic currents arriving in Italy from the north-eastern borders. In addition to its diachronic significance, the connection remains valid in a synchronic sense, in that the major cultural influences come from Este as well as from the Etruscan environment of Bologna.

No ethnic tradition is spontaneously associated with the Golasecca civilisation. However, its dependence on Central Europe and, closer to home, on Este, forces us to admit that

-Golasecca provides the first evidence of a population with Indo-European linguistic traditions. Since there are no epigraphic records in the same locality, either contemporary or subsequent, that connect it to Veneto, it is necessary to resort to a name roughly linked to the region, even if not strictly defined in historical tradition: that of the Lepontii, to whom the geographer Ptolemy assigns the city of Oskela, i.e. Domodossola.

In the Ossola Valley, the epigraphic equivalent of this con-celta, which is missing in the area south of Lake Maggiore, appears, albeit at a later date, in Ornavasso. There are essentially two inscriptions. The first is called Lato-mara, after the name of the person to whom the stone seems to dedicate, among other things, a vessel containing 'wine from Nasso'. The alphabet

, of Etruscan character, and therefore necessarily subsequent to the Etruscan influence in northern Italy, the

presence of datable coins, including Roman ones, in the

The tombs that preserved the inscription show that the Lepontic language surviving in the Ossola Valley is a relict, pushed northwards, of a linguistic tradition that has now been overwhelmed in the plains. The other inscription, even more recent, found in Carcegna, in the municipality of Miasino on Lake Orta (province of Novara), shows the local name in the form of a patronymic or matronymic Krasanikna in the original, Crassanigena in Latin form. Apart from these two inscriptions, there are a few surviving examples

, inscriptions of a single word written on coins, widespread from north-western Piedmont to Gallia Narbonensis.

There is also indirect evidence in the form of local words and names of Indo-European origin but not attributable to Italic or Celtic models, which are commonly but incorrectly referred to as 'Ligurian'. A typical example of this is the theme DORMO-, which cannot be Italic because it would be *formus* in Latin, nor can it be Gallic because it would be *gormo*, thus postulating a third non-European tradition, similar to the two mentioned but independent of them. Its meaning should be 'hot waters'. The names of the river Bormida, which flows through Acqui in Piedmont, and that of a god Bormo, which then passed into the Gauls, are thought to derive from it. Other Lepontic names are found in the Ligurian Apennines and represent a parallel and opposite remnant to those of the Ossola. However, they belong to a region other than Piedmont, namely present-day Liguria. Two surviving traces could be: in the province of Novara, Vogogna in Ossola, linked to the name of the Voconzi people (associated by tradition with the origins of Novara), and Garbagna at the gates of the city, attested in ancient times in the form of Garbantia.

After the expansions of the early Iron Age originating in Veneto, northern Italy saw, in the 6th-5th centuries

BC, the Etruscan expansion, which, however, did not affect Piedmont except indirectly, due to the alphabet that reached its western borders in Val d'Osso. The Etruscan inscription in Busca (province of Cuneo) remains isolated.

The second Iron Age has completely different origins, and in Piedmont it overwhelms the Lepontian layer and, in part, the primitive Ligurian layer. This is the phase known as La Tène, which descended from Gaul and Switzerland in the 5th century. The

Archaeological documentation is relatively late and peripheral, because the most important finds are those of Ossola, associated, as mentioned, with the previous layer of the Lepontii, who had been repelled and culturally (though not linguistically) assimilated. The Ornavasso site extends from the 3rd to the 1st century BC, therefore into the Roman era. It distinguishes an older period, known as 'San Bernardo', from the less ancient period known as 'In Perso'. The former, attested by over 300 tombs, still shows the burial rite imported by the Celts and superimposed on the cremation of the Lepontian civilisation of Gola secca. The latter, partly influenced by the Lepontii or Romans and partly by the later phases of the La Tène civilisation, shows a new advent of cremation. The main objects are large iron swords of the La Tène type, shields, sickles, scissors, skewers and large fibulae. In the later phase, notable are the bronze, iron and even coloured glass bracelets. Remains of funeral meals appear with bronze or terracotta tableware. Only in the San Bernardo phase do silver cups and so-called spinning top vases appear, and a double-bottomed pot used for sieving operations. The next phase of Perso is therefore one of decline and decay, both of linguistic Lepontism and cultural Celticism in the Roman cultural and linguistic world.

Other Gallic monuments, which are scarce, consist of fibulae, iron spearheads and coins, and always come from the Novara (Nonio, Romentino) and Vercelli (Roasenda) areas. New data has emerged from a fortified settlement still being excavated in the Burcina area near Biella, rich in authentic Gallic material and dating back to the 5th-4th century BC, as well as from the systematic exploration of the necropolis of a modest pagus identified for the period

of Romanisation in Pedemonte di Gravelona Toce.

that is, at the point where the Toce flows into Lake Maggiore and at the start of the main road leading up to the Simplon Pass, not far from Ornavasso itself. In addition to the tombs of

During this period, tombs from the Golasecca evolutionary phases (II and III) and a Gallic tomb from the earliest La Tène phase (I) were discovered here. This is evidence of the encounter between the two civilisations which, on the opposite Lombard shore of the lake, would lead to a new, final phase of Golasecca. Given its location, Pedemonte di Gravelona provides not only a cultural background but also a geographical one.

Archaeological evidence of the Celts in Piedmont is ultimately scarce and extremely peripheral. Historical accounts do not agree, but they favour the route from the Little St Bernard Pass and also from the Great St Bernard Pass, for two reasons: eastern routes such as the Adige Valley are not acceptable, because it was precisely to the Adige Valley that the Etruscans fled to seek refuge after being overwhelmed by the Celts in the plains. On the other hand, more southerly routes such as the Montgenèvre and the Col de la Maddalena are not admissible because southern Gaul was not yet sufficiently Celticised at that time.

Piedmont was therefore mainly crossed by the Aosta Valley in the direction of Ivrea, Vercelli, Novara and Lombardy. There, the Celts achieved decisive success with the founding of Mediolanum, or Milan. Apart from the Taurini, no Celtic people is exclusively associated with Piedmont, as is the case with Lombardy, Emilia and the Marches. Only the rearguards of the Insubres seem to have maintained a certain supremacy in the region between Ivrea and Ticino. Some consider them to be the founders of Novara. On the right bank of the Ticino (and the Po), near the borders of Emilia, it seems that smaller tribes of 'Anamari' Celts settled.

Direct evidence is also provided by linguistics, through the Gallic inscription of San Bernardino di Briona, preserved in the Museum of Novara and containing about fifteen words. It dates back to the middle of the 2nd century BC (150-125), i.e. to a time when Rome had already established its rule. It appears to be of a religious nature. That in this extreme area of Piedmont the affirmation

The fact that the Gallic influence was not only military but also demographic and social is demonstrated by names ending in -ago, concentrated in the province of Novara: for example, the towns of Brissago on Lake Maggiore, Cuzzago in the Ossola Valley, Comignago, Bellinzago, Caltignaga, and others in the vicinity of Novara. But the Gallic influence was certainly felt on the right bank of the Po in the hills of Monferrato, where the Latin of Piedmont took on its definitive form, thanks in part to a Gallic element that we must assume was present and that Gallic names such as Rigomagus, 'Field of the King', now Trino, and Bodincomagus, 'Field on the Po', now

◆'lonteu da Po, validate. Gallico is Eporedia (Ivrea) : it seems to mean 'place where horses are yoked', a definition not unsuitable for places where the teams had to be reinforced because they entered (and left) the mountains. Briga, 'hill', is located between Novara and Lake Orta, as well as in the Swiss canton of Valais and in the territory of Cuneo annexed to the French department of the Maritime Alps.

The end of the prehistoric period in Piedmont coincided with the rise of Rome, which manifested itself through the following events: the arrival of the Via Postumia in Der-tona (Tortona) as a continuation of the Via Emilia from Piacenza and Rimini, built by Spurio Postumio Albino in 148 BC; consolidation of Roman positions in Ivrea, i.e., as mentioned above, Eporedia (100 BC), Alba, i.e., Alba Pompeia (79 BC), Augusta Taurinorum (Turin) after the middle of the century, Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) in 25 BC.

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## LIGURIA

Prehistory has impressive aspects in Liguria. The Balzi Rossi caves from the Palaeolithic era and those of Arene Candide and adjacent areas from the Neolithic era are the most famous examples.

The caves of Balzi Rossi, between Ventimiglia and Menton, protruding on the Italian-French border, ten natural shelters at the base of a sheer cliff have revealed, through their numerous cultural layers interspersed with sterile layers, the existence of primitive man and his elementary industries for thousands of years. The men of the Lower Palaeolithic and the men of the Middle Palaeolithic or Mousterian are not directly attested by skeletal remains, which have so far been found in Liguria, but the traces of artefacts date back to their remote experiences.

The Prince's Cave has yielded finds from the Acheulean period (Lower Palaeolithic); those from the Mousterian period have been returned in such abundance from the area that two industrial complexes can be distinguished. The more archaic of these is of Clactonian tradition and was initially present in the mountainous hinterland a little further east, near Toirano, in the caves of Santa Lucia and del Colombar region. Here, early development can be seen as early as the last interglacial period: once they had descended to Balzi Rossi, its creators could still find and hunt hippopotamuses, elephants and rhinoceroses in this plain. The next phase, with typical Mousterian industry, in connection with the drop in temperature due to the advance of the glaciation, will document the replacement of the ancient elephant with the mammoth and the presence of reindeer in Liguria.

The Upper Palaeolithic period has equally remarkable evidence at Balzi Rossi, even if it is not possible to reconstruct it in detail and systematically, given the haphazard excavations carried out in the last century. Based on the 1939 excavations at the Mochi shelter, the situation can be summarised as follows: a more archaic Aurignacian level followed by a level of the Aurignacian proper, then a series of levels connected with the Gravettian industries and those of the Gravettian tradition. However, we do not know whether other horizons were attested in the deposits of the other caves. For the same reason, it is uncertain whether the fifteen anthropomorphic statuettes discovered at Barma Grande and the human skeletons, which the burial rite is now beginning to preserve, can be assigned to specific cultural contexts. However, the presence of different human races in Liguria remains fundamental: the Grimaldi race, represented by the two famous skeletons known as 'Negroids' in the Fanciulli cave, the Combe Capelle type and Cro-Magnon man, widespread here as throughout Europe. With these, we arrive at a highly evolved state of affairs, with evidence of an actual cult of the dead, proof of a related development of religious thought, and the presence of necklaces and jewellery, which attest to a taste for ornamentation.

The other Ligurian remains from this period are more extensive than those from the Mousterian period. They are found about a hundred kilometres east of Balzi Rossi, in the Finale area with the Combe Capelle man mentioned above, and in eastern Liguria, on the island of Palmaria in the Colombi cave. At the end of the Palaeolithic period, it is worth noting the presence, at Balzi Rossi and in the Finale area at the Arene Candide cave, of a microlithic industry probably derived from the Romanellian culture, typical of Puglia; this suggests that some communities moved from south to north, perhaps as a result of climate change following the retreat of the last glaciation.

With the end of the Palaeolithic age, the caves of Balzi Rossi ceased to be inhabited. Conversely, during the Mesolithic and Neolithic ages, the Finalese area became important: abundant

The material was taken mainly from the Arene Candide cave, which is fundamental for the regular stratigraphy identified there, as it illustrates the cultural succession from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Iron Age not only for Liguria but for the entire western Mediterranean. In fact, during this period, also due to the greater development of maritime routes, there was an intensification of Mediterranean connections. Already in Neolithic Liguria, these were felt in all fields: from the beginning with the appearance of impressed pottery, with the presence of Mediterranean human types, and, among individual objects, with the clay idols of Arene Candide, with the ' ' (small daggers) and the first daggers of copper, with the so-called "pintaderas", moulds for imprinting designs on human skin. However, technical progress, linked to the Neolithic industry, accentuated Liguria's inferiority in terms of trade and communication routes. Compared to the transalpine and transapennine territories, this period saw the beginning of a certain isolation that would last until the Iron Age.

, a certain isolation that has not been overcome even than in modern times. However, during the Neolithic period, the most significant events in the Po Valley still reached this area: first the Square-Mouthed Pottery culture, then the Lagozza culture at the end of the period.

The Eneolithic period brought not only new civilisations to most Italian regions, but also new linguistic traditions, in which Liguria, on the other hand, does not seem to have been involved directly. The expansion of the Campanian vase culture, which was establishing itself impressively in Europe and manifested itself in Italy in the Remedello culture, did not affect it except indirectly: the few objects attributable to this horizon, which were found in the Maritime Alps and Pre-Alps, in Realdo, Glis, Loreto, and Arma di Nasino, do not indicate a penetration of the Remedello culture, but rather but seem to be due to contacts with other groups of the Campanian vase uniform of the Franco-Iberian territory. Without upheaval, Liguria continues to live in the Lagozzian tradition. The first written monument is, for its part, not only of interest

still purely graphic but also of ancient cult tradition: these are the rock carvings of Mount Bego, which have already been described in relation to Piedmont (see p. 4) as they are located in territory that was administratively part of Piedmont and has now passed to France. Geographically Ligurian, they point only to the persistence of a cult involving a mountain deity that the Romans would later accept, assimilating it to Jupiter Penninus.

To understand the changes that occurred during the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, we need to consider the isolation of Liguria during the previous age from a different perspective. This isolation persisted, and perhaps even intensified, along the two coastlines. However, it was precisely these difficulties in the transverse direction that ended up enhancing the value of certain Alpine and Apennine passes, which opened up small sections of Liguria to northern currents coming from the Po Valley: such as the Colle di Tenda near Ventimiglia, the Colle di Nava near Albenga, the Colle di Cadibona near Savona, the Colle dei Giovi near Genoa, the Forcella near Chiavari, and the Cisa near Sarzana.

Objects and people passed through these mountain passes in both directions; in one direction only, from north to south, the new funeral rite of cremation, linked not only to a technique but also to a new vision of life, which has its distant roots in Central Europe and its first organic manifestations in the Terramare culture of Italy. Traces of this rite, which consecrates the first advent of the Iron Age in our region, have been found in Pornassio in the Arroscia valley near Albenga, in Valbrevenna east of the Giovi pass, in Zeri in the middle Lunigiana just beyond the eastern border of Liguria, at the Cisa pass, in Genoa itself, but above all in the form of imposing

notable for its size and antiquity in the 8th-century necropolis

☞ C. di Chiavari, discovered by N. Lamboglia in 1960. It consists of numerous tombs, each containing one or more cinerary urns placed in a box, and grouped together in clusters of one to three in enclosures marked out by slate slabs. Along with the urns, which are biconical, spheroidal or ovoid, some with painted decorations, were found alongside bowls with lids, dark pottery, rings, bronze crescent-shaped razors, iron swords and knives, which justify the high chronology. All these elements place the deposit between the Villanovan period in Bologna, the advanced Golasecchian civilisation of Lombardy and Piedmont, and the corresponding civilisations of Languedoc in France. Although the Villanovan culture is centred on Etruria (and individual objects may naturally have come from Etruria) evidence independent of archaeology, such as that connected with the expansion of Indo-European languages and the funeral rites typical of the final phase of the Bronze Age, requires us to admit for now a series of pressures from the north towards the south, of which the Chiavari result is the most striking. This poses a problem of terminology, in the sense that it is not possible to use the same ethnic name for Palaeolithic man and that of subsequent ages, but also between the Neolithic and Eneolithic man of Liguria and that of the Iron Age.

The name of the Ligurians appears for the first time in the 6th century BC in the Greek form *Ligyēs*. The starting point is therefore *Ligus-*, subject to rhotacism in the Latin noun *Ligures*, kept intact in the adjective *Ligus(ticus)*. The importance of this ethnic term is highlighted by the geographer Eratosthenes, according to whom it represents a geographical feature, the narrowest point of the Italian peninsula, where the Ligurians settled.

Eratosthenes, according to whom it represents a one three fundamental human races: the Ligurian (European) race, as opposed to the Ethiopian (African) and Scythian (Asian) races. Conversely, the two parallel forms of the *Ligu(ri)* and *Libi*

Padani (Libui in Livy's Book XXXIII) seem to survive in northern Italy as a derivation from a

LIGWU- theme, without needing to go in search of eva-emerging etymologies. But precisely for this reason, while it would be excessive to trace the lexical family of LIGWU- back to Cro-Magnon man, it is reasonable to place it in Neolithic Liguria, the phase in which the Mediterranean character of the region was most pronounced. On this basis, we can place the Ligurians to the north and west of the Amo, Reno and Adige rivers, facing the Tyrrhenians, Umbrians and Euganeans. Piedmont and Lombardy were in the Neolithic age 'Ligurian'.

A morphological feature of pre-Indo-European "Greater Liguria" is the suffix -asco, which survived not only into the Latin period but also into the Romance period. The name of a village derived at the end of the Middle Ages from that of the abbey of Borzone is, with the feminine suffix -asco, Borzonasca. Compared to Sicily, some links survive in the toponymy that also have parallels in dialectal development. They date back to ancient times, when Sicily However, it was already distinguished in the two areas: western (Ligurian then Punic) and eastern (Tyrrhenian then Greek). Symbols of these contacts are the three local names of eastern Liguria: Entella (river), Segesta Tigulliorum (Sestri Levante), and Le-rici, which correspond to the centres of Entella, Segesta, and Erice in western Sicily.

Alongside these, the names of the localities that first appeared in historical records are derived from Alba three times: Albiun Intemelium (Ventimiglia), Albiun /ngaunum (Al-benga), <sup>Alba</sup> Docilia (Albisola, between Savona and Varazze), thus reconnecting to a Mediterranean base, which survives, among other things, in the name of the Alps and in that of Alba Longa on the Alban Hills, and means 'stone'. To this must be added Alba Pompeia, located in Piedmont but historically part of Liguria. Alongside Alba, the oldest name in the region is Chiavari, which means 'filled river delta: technically 'alluvial fan.

'Liguri' as a noun is therefore an inalienable designation

of the most ancient population of Liguria, recognisable through an unbroken tradition. One cannot, of course, claim that the two Negroid skeletons found at Balzi Rossi should also be called that. But there are no overlaps of compact populations; there is no mixing. Therefore, even though they called themselves Ligurians as an ethnic group, at a certain point they must have changed language with the uncontrollable succession of Mediterranean peoples to Cro-Magnon man, just as they changed it with the advent of the Indo-Europeans.

The conventional name we give to the Indo-European phase of the Ligurians is 'Leponthia'. It has its origins in the Lombardy lake district, which has long been associated with the Lepontii people. They represent an Indo-European language tradition similar to that of the Italic, Celtic and Germanic languages, but cannot be reduced to any of them. It has left some traces in isolated words preserved by ancient grammarians and historians, who did not distinguish them from those that were actually Ligurian remnants. For them, 'Ligurian' was synonymous with 'pre-Roman'.

The series has been enriched with onomastic and toponymic analysis

onomastic analysis of Latin or current sources.

A strange misunderstanding arose from an episode handed down by Plutarch, according to whom, at the battle of Aquae Sextiae,

The Ligurians and Germanic peoples were mutually surprised to learn that some of them were also called Ambrones (see p. 4). The word is not decisive if we consider that 'Ambra' is the name of a Tuscan river and that Ambra elevated to an ethnic name may be due to the natural expansion

of a word that is not Indo-European but Paleo-European.

primitive: therefore not Ligurian or Germanic, nor Etruscan. It seems extremely unlikely that it could prove the memory, in the 1st century BC, of the descent of a portion of them from the north, so many centuries earlier.

Of Lepontic origin, and therefore belonging to the Iron Age civilisation, are the two names Genova (Latin *Genua*), the city of the 'knee', i.e. 'the arch or articulation of a gulf', and that of Lucus Bormani, i.e. Diano Marina,

called at that time "bosco del dio delle acque termali" (forest of the god of thermal waters), just like the Bormida river that borders the north-western frontier of Liguria, is the river *o. dalle acque calde* (with warm waters), which passes through Acqui (see p. 8). Thus, the name of the river Polcevcra, Latinised as Porcobera, is, in Lepontic form, the 'bearer of <sup>clouds</sup>', i.e. a torrent that descends rapidly from non-rocky mountains.

As far as population centres are concerned, Genoa, the capital, appears modestly in this distant history, not in proportion to its fortunate position for trade. The discoveries made in the pre-Roman necropolis with 107 cremation tombs, carried out in the first decade of the century, date back to the 5th century BC but suggest that the settlement existed several centuries earlier, as confirmed by the recent discoveries in Chiavari, further east, three centuries earlier. The importance of the findings lies in the fact that, while the origin of the funeral rite and evidently of the language remained northern, the bulk of economic activity and relative prosperity was now linked to the sea. A Greek amphora was already present in Chiavari in the 8th century BC, but even more so, refined vases with black figures on a red background associate Genoa with Greece in the first half of the 5th century. In these Genoese tombs, a large crater serves as a cinerary urn and smaller vases as accessories. Other objects can be explained by their Etruscan origin but, as with the Greeks, they presuppose an essentially maritime activity.

This prosperity led to the construction of brick and slate houses in general, setting Genoa apart from the rest of Liguria as a major maritime centre, open to trade and innovation, within a region that remained rugged and difficult to traverse. This character of Genoa, documented by the ar-

The concept of geology in the 5th century BC, formulated by Strabo, who refers to the city as a transit emporium between the sea and the trans-Appennine regions, was preserved over the centuries, limiting the solidity of regional unity in the geographical sense from east to west and vice versa. The contrast between the interests of the urban population and the neighbouring mountain dwellers is reflected in the 'Sentence' of the Minucii, now belonging to the Roman era.

After Genoa, the only centre that has been archaeologically explored in the period close to the Roman era is Ventimiglia, where N. Lamboglia has uncovered layers dating back to the 1st century BC, which are certainly still pre-Roman.

Even before the Ligurians came into contact with the Romans, their borders were shrinking in the east. From the Arno, Ligurian territory retreated to the Magra, and Luni became an Etruscan city. However, in the mid-4th century, the geographer Pseudo-Scylax mentions a place called Antium, equidistant from the mouths of the Tiber and the Rhone, which should be identified with the headland of Anzio near Levante, thus proving a further expansion of Etruscan power into the heart of Liguria. But this is only outward appearance.

In reality, Ligurian resistance to the Romans was most fierce at the easternmost edge, in the territory of the Apuani. This resistance continued with various variations until the middle of the 2nd century, when (in 180 BC) the Baebiani and Cornelian Ligurians were transplanted to Sannio.

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## LOMBARDY

The Lombardy region was severely affected by the last glacial periods and has not yielded Paleolithic remains in proportions comparable to other regions. Rare finds, dating back to the Mousterian (Middle Paleolithic) and generally to the Upper Paleolithic, come from Buco del Piombo, a cave located at the head of the Bova Valley near Erba (province of Como). Until the Neolithic period, settlements remained few in number and difficult to classify typologically. Hearths with elements typical of the Fiorano civilisation, belonging to the cultural tradition of line-pattern pottery, have been found in

chiese, were found in Vho di Piadena (province of Cremona). However, in the middle and final phases of the Neolithic period, Lombardy gained importance with settlements on stilts and reclaimed land in the regions near the lakes, from Lake Maggiore to Lake Garda, with the sole exception of Lake Como. The most important are the sites in the Varese area, among which the so-called Isolino di Varese or Isolino Virginia stands out. Square-mouthed vases appear there, of which there are pa-

Similar finds have also been made in Liguria, Veneto and Emilia, dating back to the Middle Neolithic period, while deposits continued uninterrupted

until the Iron Age.

Overlooking, for the Varese area, the palafitte of the lakes of Annone and Varano, which provide a picture not unlike the villages discovered on Lake Zurich in 1854, now come to the fore, continuing the developments attested to at Isolino Virginia, the pile-dwelling settlement of *Lagozza*, in the municipality of Besnate (province of Varese), within an intermorenic lake basin, now dried up. The culture of Lagozza, from the Upper Neolithic period, shows an economy in which, alongside fruit gathering and hunting, there was

They knew cereals (wheat, barley) and flax, livestock breeding (oxen, pigs, goats, sheep), monochrome blackish pottery with sparse decoration applied to the raw clay, arrows, long blades retouched at the edges, polished axes, pebbles broken in half, millstones, and, as ornaments, triangular green stone pendants. A wooden comb was also found at Lagozza; some wooden sticks sharpened at one end are interpreted as boomerangs. Carbon-14 analysis gives two dates for this site, defined with a good approximation as 4,750 and 4,200 years ago.

This period, still completely tied to local traditions, was followed by the Remedello culture. In Remedello Sotto, in the Brescia area, a Neolithic burial ground was discovered in 1884, in which 117 oval-shaped pit graves were explored, with the deceased laid mainly on their left side in a crouched position. The burial ground was described in great detail by G. A. Colini at the beginning of the century. The grave goods reveal the fineness of the flintwork, the presence of copper weapons, such as daggers, halberds and flattened axes, and above all a link with the West, even Iberia, in the context of the Bell Beaker civilisation, which around 2000 BC was exerting strong pressure from west to east in the transalpine regions of the middle Rhine and beyond. Two or three examples of bell-shaped vases from the Ca' di Marco burial site and two from Santa Caterina, also in the Brescia area, fragments of two others, one from a tomb in Roccolo Bresciani, between Ca' di Marco and Remedello, and the other from Montagnola di Legnanello (province of Milan): these are further evidence of this great new development.

The following civilisation, that of Polada, now belongs to the early Bronze Age and developed mainly in the eastern Transpadane area. Archaic elements have been found in Bosisio on Lake Pusiano near Como. Important sites are those of Bande di Cavriana, Barche di Solferino, and Bigarello, all in the area between Mantua and Lake Garda

; the westernmost is in Lagozetta di Besnate, in the province of Province of Varese. Its organic presentation appears in the Polada peat bog, in the municipality of Lonato, a lake basin west of Desenzano del Garda. The settlements

The settlements in the area of laghetti and intermorenic marshes are built on stilts resting on horizontal logs, arranged in stratified or caisson platforms. At Po-lada, they were built directly on the bottom of the now dry lake. While the pottery is still coarse, other human activities are multiplying. The stone industry is represented by arrowheads and sickle elements; the bone and horn industry by daggers, awls, needles, buttons, combs and hoes; the wood industry by vases, sickles, clubs and, above all, canoes; the metal industry by flat axes or axes with slightly raised edges, daggers, pins, and fishhooks. The shapes of the vases are partly reminiscent of those from Lagozza, and so we are once again in a substantially indigenous environment, without transalpine echoes, as is the case in nearby Remedello.

A direct continuation of the Lagozziani world is the cultural aspect of the Lagoziani (province of Cremona), which is also attested to on the Isolino di Varese.

An isolated phenomenon appears in Valcamonica. For 70 kilometres, on both sides of the valley, on the rocks alternating with the vegetation of these pleasant terraces, there are 120,000 engravings that extend over time, up to the Roman era. While the age of the oldest ones is still controversial, the group representing anecdotal scenes and showing a great variety of subjects certainly dates back to the Iron Age. The oldest depictions include mythological scenes and are generally of a sacred nature: they express the austere world of the impenetrable, as also manifested on Mount Bego in the Maritime Alps, dominated by the mountain deity that had to be appeased. With the Iron Age, the vision seems to have become more human and also opens up to moments of joyful life, as in the case of the man portrayed near

to his hut, where he returns every evening. This could be seen as a sign of change in the closed world of indigenous farmers who came into contact with nomadic and pastoral tribes that had moved from central Europe and were now slowly penetrating Italy, establishing their particular Indo-European traditions. This connection is confirmed by the images themselves: the hut, next to which the Camuno of that time was depicted, is the characteristic Nordic atrium house, brought to Greece by the Indo-Europeans; it is the parallel of the megaron house. Absorbed into the Camuno nucleus, an Indo-European outpost is isolated.

The big news in Lombardy is represented by the succession that manifests itself in Fontanella di Casalromano. In that locality in the province of Mantua, on the one hand, there are Remedellian remains in the 36 Eneolithic tombs of buried individuals, but on the other hand, there is the cremation necropolis that begins a new tradition, which continued until the full Iron Age. Also in the province of Mantua, in Demorta, in a settlement of Early Bronze Age huts, pottery has been found that is reminiscent of that of the terramare, the typical pile-dwelling settlements, but on dry land, characteristic above all of Emilian prehistory. A terramare-type necropolis is located a short distance from Mantua, in Pietole Virgilio. A true terramara on Lombard soil is that of Santa Caterina Tredossi, on the outskirts of Cremona.

A late Bronze Age pile dwelling is located on the Isolo-ne island on the Mincio River, in the municipality of Volta Mantovana, divided into three layers, whose chronology, surprisingly low, has been accurately dated using carbon-14 to between 3450 and 3100 years ago. At Monte Lonato in the municipality of Cavriana, also in the province of Mantua, a late Bronze Age village of huts was discovered, with a cremation necropolis. These traditions continued into the so-called Proto-Villanovan phase, which is increasingly attested throughout Italy as a pivotal transition between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. The aforementioned beginnings of the crematio I ritual at Fontanella and Casalromano belong to this context; then the

cremated graves found in Badia Pavese; those in Santa Cristina-Bissone, a little further north, and the village of Vido-lasco near Crema.

This innovative Protovillanovan trend, connected to the prolonged expansion from central Europe of the so-called Urnfield culture, is certainly related to the group that will determine the rise of the characteristic Iron Age civilisation in Lombardy and Piedmont, that of Golasecca.

But it is precisely in the area that will provide the fundamental evidence of the Golasecca civilisation, namely in the narrow radius of Lake Maggiore - Ticino, that we first see the clear affirmation of the Canegrate civilisation. In it, the contribution of the

The "urn fields", in the process of their ramified expansion, are highlighted more directly on the basis of the and decoration of the urns, as well as the composition of the bronze alloy in the grave goods. It is possible that one branch of them descended from the upper Rhine through the San Bernardino Pass along the Mesoleina Valley, where they left traces in

Mesocco, wedging itself along Lake Maggiore and the Ticino, without pushing south beyond Novara and Legnano, without reaching Como to the east; this, while from the north-eastern Italian borders, traditions of language and culture from the same environment of formation were spreading.

doses, as seen, for the peninsula with the Protovil-Lanovian current, in a vast and open wave. Credit goes to F. Rit-tatore for distinguishing these elements that converge in

Lombardy, in the context that he collectively refers to as Protogolasecchiano; it is thanks to his studies and excavations that the importance and uniqueness of the Canegrate civilisation has been recognised. If the Protogolasecchiano civilisation of Canegrate is the best known aspect, and if the Protovillanoviano is its link with the other phenomena of Italy at the time, the cremation burial grounds of Scamozzina di Albairate (province of Milan) and Garlasco, where the new funerary tradition shows signs of incorporating previous and opposing types with urns reminiscent of bell-shaped models.

The next phase is known as Asco-na in the Canton of Ticino and is now considered to be the true initial Golasecca (Protogolasecca). This is reflected in the findings at Ca' Morta, just south of Como, with cremation tombs in bare earth, in stone pits, in stone slab coffins, with or without pebble coverings. These tombs date from the end of the Bronze Age to the Roman Imperial period. Ca' Morta is therefore the necropolis that has provided not only the most complete documentation of Iron Age civilisation up to the Roman conquest, but also the one that extends most organically over time. The actual Iron Age civilisation in Lombardy, as

Moreover, in Piedmont, as has been mentioned, it takes its name from Golasecca, a village in the municipality of Varese near

the Ticino River and therefore near the Piedmontese border, whose burial ground includes thousands of cremated tombs from the early Iron Age. This archaeological area is of primary importance also includes the territory of the nearby Lombard municipalities of Sesto Calende, Somma Lombardo, Vergiate (as well as the Piedmontese municipalities of Castelletto Ticino, Borgo Ticino and Varallo Pombia).

There are three phases of Golasecca civilisation: the first with biconical urns decorated with triangular engravings known as wolf teeth, rounded jars, and bronze fibulae; the second with ovoid urns, shaped like situlae, carinated jars and ventilating elements based on models from Este and Bologna, as well as Etruscan or Greek-style objects and weapons, fibulae that begin now made of iron rather than bronze as before; the third with glossy decorated ovoid oil urns, tulip vases, small oil lamps with eyelet handles, and double truncated cone glasses.

There are no direct traces of Etruscan colonisation in Lombardy apart from the objects already present in the second period of Golasecca; and in this specific case, the connections with Este, also mentioned above, and even more distant ones, such as Slovenia, as documented by the Golasecca find at Castelvaltravaglia on the left bank of Lake Maggiore, between Luino and Laveno, serve as a counterbalance. However, the

The language of the Golasecchiani, which has reasonably been called Lepontic, owes the alphabet of its inscriptions to the Etruscans. A similar cultural influence is also indirectly attested in areas of western Lombardy.

A fourth phase defines the Gallic influences dating back to the second Iron Age civilisation, known as La Tène, which is well documented in Ornavasso in Piedmont. However, the Lombard finds, compared to those from Piedmont and Emilia, are insignificant and suggest, on a cultural level, an early fusion with the Golaseccan elements through the easy abandonment of the original burial rite and the subsequent early submission to Roman models. Worth mentioning is the tomb of Sesto Calende with a chariot reminiscent of transalpine burial mounds, attributed to the 3rd century BC. Gallic cremation tombs have been found in Soldo in Brianza with scissors, knives, double spiral fibulae, reminiscent of the more recent types found in Ornavasso. Similar to these models are the numerous finds,

Especially between Lake Como and Valsassina; these confirm the Gallic influence in the previous civilisation.

Ultimately, the most recent phases, starting in the 5th century, represent a slow evolution of the Golasecca civilisation under Etruscan influence and then under La Tène influence.

Greater resistance is shown by the burial rite, typical of the Gauls, in their tombs in Pavia, Remedello in the province of Brescia, and Vho di Piadena in the province of Cremona; while on the Mincio line and in the adjacent territory of Verona, it remains exclusive.

The largely autonomous tradition, evidenced by the rock carvings in Valcamonica, is confirmed and clarified decisively on an epigraphic level, while on an archaeological level archaeological level, it is difficult to identify a current that travelled up the valley from the opposite direction to that the Gauls, i.e. from the east.

Translated into ethnic terms, the events described above can be summarised as follows. The earliest phase, up to the end of

The Eneolithic period, apart from the 'Campanian' influence in Remedello, saw only the development of those pre-European traditions that we call 'Ligurian'.

pre-European traditions that we call 'Ligurian'. A trace of this ancient layer remains in the popularity of the suffix -asco as an element of derivation of local names,

which is rooted not only in Piedmont and Liguria, but also in western Lombardy and in the Ticino region, where, for example, Garlasco and Zinasco are located west of Pavia, Olgelasco near Como, and Val Capriasca near Lugano, to name but a few places.

In the central part of this territory, namely in the intermediate provinces of Milan, Varese, Como and Bergamo, names ending in -ate are widespread, often derived from watercourses: Ar-nate from Arno, Lambrate from Lambro, (O)onate from Olona, Brembate from Brembo, Seriate from Serio.

The suffix -te is pre-Indo-European, but it is based on instead of to the west as -asco, to the east. Its prototype is the ancient name of today's Este, which is Ateste, derived by means of the suffix -te from the ancient name of the Adige river, *ATES*. Although it dates back to pre-Indo-European times, it was brought westwards, perhaps by the Golasecchiani, who were also culturally influenced by the ancient civilisation of Veneto and descended from the same living space.

In the province of Brescia, names ending in -ate disappear, replaced by those ending in -ato, such as Rovato, Rezzato, Banato,

in the area where, between the Golasecchian and Gallic periods, Etruscan colonisation began. Intermediate between these two suffixes, and evenly distributed, are names ending in -ona, which have an authoritative example in Lombardy in Cremona, between the Piedmontese Dertona (today

Tortona) and *Verona* in Veneto, for northern Italy, while further south they are compared with the forms *Cortona*, in Tuscany on the Umbrian border, and *Salona*, near Split on the Yugoslav coast, forms that at the pre-European level can be defined as 'Picene'.

Of particular importance is a local name dating back to pre-European times and still in use today: Bergamo. One that has been lost is *Melpo*, the legendary Etruscan metropolis east of Milan, destroyed in the 4th century BC.

dating back to pre-Indo-European times and still in use today is *Bergamo*; one that has been lost is *Melpo*, the legendary Etruscan metropolis east of Milan, destroyed by the Gauls at the beginning of the 4th century BC.

The Indo-European linguistic element associated with the Golasecchiani of Piedmont is even more closely linked to the Golasecchiani of Lombardy. It has been defined with the somewhat broad term 'Lepontic', meaning representative of a tradition that lies between the Celtic and Venetic traditions. The term still survives today in the Leventina valley (with the normal lenition of -p- to -v- in intervocalic position), the valley into which the Lepontii of the plain, repelled by the Gauls, fled.

The epigraphic evidence from Lombardy is no less interesting than that from Piedmont and Canton Ticino. An important inscription is that of Vergiate, in the province of Varese, not far from Golasecca. From the final phase of Golasecca, in the Ca' Morta area of Como, Prestino has provided a paragallic inscription in the North Etruscan alphabet. Also in the Como area, those of Cenusco near Lecco, Alzate and Visigna in the municipality of Caviglio are of further interest. These seem to be linked to the bilingual inscription of Voltino near Tremosine on the north-eastern border of the province of Brescia, considered by most to be Rhaetian, i.e.

Etruscan, whereas it is rather a Lepontic relic that remained behind in the migration towards western Lombardy.

Behind the Lepontii was a 'northern <sup>Italic</sup> variety (itself intermediate between the Lepontii and the Veneti) which left traces in the fourteen inscriptions of Valcamonica, most of which come from the so-called Roccia

of the Inscriptions, in Scale di Cimbergo in the municipality of Capo di Ponte. It is pointless to discuss the extent to which they resemble the Italic-Latin type rather than the Italic-Umbrian type. However, it is essential <sup>not</sup> to call them 'Euganean', as this term must be reserved for the pre-Indo-European populations of the Veneto region.

The same reason explains why Lepontic and, in general, North Italic epigraphic remains are found more in the Lombard hill and mountain regions than in the plains. During the 6th century BC, the Po Valley was under Etruscan influence.

This is unable to form true colonies at

outside Mantua, a city with an Etruscan name that remained Etruscan for a long time, according to Pliny, while on the axis from Bologna to Trento and Feltre it imposed itself more firmly. However, the Etruscan influence was felt on a cultural level, bringing echoes of its alphabet even to mountainous regions. One of these even takes its name from Sondrio, although it is represented by inscriptions known as Rhaetian, which are of little significance in terms of content. The Lepontic and Valcamonica alphabets, which are not Rhaetian, are essentially Etruscan. In the latter, however, 20 per cent of the signs remain unexplained.

Unlike western Lombardy, where *ba Le-Ponzi* and *Galli* provide only indirect evidence of Etruscan influence. In eastern Lombardy, along the axis that runs from Brescia to Valtellina via the Aprica Pass, there is evidence of a dual influence: the 'northern <sup>Italian</sup> influence' of Capo di Ponte, which remained isolated in the upper Valcamonica, and the 'Rhaetian' influence, which overtook the former, reaching Valtellina, Sondrio and Tresivio with two inscriptions, and then stopped behind with the other two in Cividate and Marasino.

The Gauls left no epigraphic traces in Lombardy. However, a clear indication of their colonisation remains in the local names ending in *-ago*, which correspond to ancient agricultural properties, normally defined according to the name of the owner. These are particularly widespread in the province of Milan (Parabiago, Vanzago, Camnago,

Secugnago), Varese (Casciago, Cislago, Mornago), Como (Cucciago, Osnago, Vercurago).

The name Brescia is undoubtedly Gallic, derived from the root BRIGO-, which means 'fortress', as is the name Milan, formerly Mediolanum, once interpreted as 'middle plain'. The difficulty of this interpretation could be overcome by imagining that the city arose almost by chance, taking its name from its territory between the Adda and Ticino.

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## VENETO

The enormous prehistoric interest of the Veneto region is concentrated, in the most mythical period, in the provinces of Verona and Vicenza; in the less ancient period, it is mainly in the province of Padua. In Quinzano, in the immediate vicinity of Verona, finds from the Lower Palaeolithic period have appeared in the so-called Cave Vecchie, dating back to a time between 700 and 430 thousand years ago: these are essentially Abbevillian-type amygdals, which probably date back to a time between 700 and 430 thousand years ago: these are essentially Abbevillian-type amygdals, which probably date back to a time between 700 and 430 thousand years ago: these are essentially Abbevillian-type amygdals, which probably date back to a time between 700 and 430 thousand years ago: these are essentially Abbevillian-type amygdals, which probably date back to

Lower Palaeolithic period dating back to between 700 and 430 thousand years ago: these are essentially an Abbevillian-type amygdala, which can probably be identified as an unfinished Acheulean biface, and another Acheulean amygdala, in a slightly higher position, associated with artefacts on a flake of tec-Clactonian culture. Traces of these two ancient industries, either isolated or associated, have also been found on the surface, especially in numerous locations in the Lessini Mountains, in the area bounded to the west by the ridges of the Adige Valley and to the east by those of the Chiampo Valley. Cultural development continued uninterrupted in the Cave Vecchie di Quinzano, where, for the subsequent period, towards the end of the Lower Palaeolithic, red earthenware with recently recognised objects was found, connected with the previous phases.

, red earth with objects recently recognised  
as Proto-Levalloisian, rather than as archaic Mousterian

as is traditionally believed; the faunal remains are of elephant, fallow deer and roe deer.

The uninterrupted human settlement at Quinzano is followed by brown earth, with surviving Mousterian artefacts amid extensive soil erosion and new sedimentation. In the Verona area, the Mezzena and Zampieri shelters stand out. However, with the advent of the Middle Palaeolithic, interest shifts mainly to the province of Vicenza, where Mousterian industries have been

traced in the Asiago plateau area, at the Obar de Leute cave and the Cava degli Orsi rock shelter. They appear in grandiose forms in the Berici Hills and in

front line in the cave of San Bernardino, about twenty kilometres south of Vicenza. Here, the two phases of the Mousterian and Micromousterian denticulates appear, clearly

This is due to the high percentage of tools configured in this way. Above these we have the Upper Palaeolithic, which is already evident in the previous layers with scrapers, perforators and blades with a ridge. The oldest fauna includes moles, cave bears, wolves, martens, dormice, deer, roe deer, chamois and ibex; above these, together with deer and roe deer, there are elk, beavers and wild boars. Subsequently, there is an interruption in the cave that lasts until the Iron Age.

The Broion cave, also located in the Berici Hills near Lumignano, is important for the Upper Palaeolithic period. Here, the Mousterian period is the oldest, extending into the Gravettian and Epigravettian periods, both belonging to the Upper Palaeolithic. The fauna of the former is important, with cave bears, cave lions, dormice, marmots, deer, ibex, birds and fish, in a relatively humid environment, corresponding to the glacial advance. In the last period of frequentation of the cave, however, there is a greater variety of artefacts, with scrapers, burins, microburins, blades, points (made of stone) and bone artefacts, such as awls, spatulas and scrapers. At this point, there was also an interruption in civil development here, which lasted until the Iron Age. Ancient Epigravettian industry is also found in the Paina cave and in the rock shelter or 'cavolo' of Trene, both of which are also located in the Berici Hills. However, the sites in the Lessini Mountains and the Asiago and Tonezza plateaus are richer in material, having yielded artefacts from the advanced stages of the Epigravettian period: the Tagliente rock shelter, with a deposit dated in the middle section by carbon-14 to around 12,050 years ago; the Battaglia rock shelter, with its 24,000 artefacts; the Fiorentini site, more modest, with 284 artefacts.



The Mesolithic period is practically non-existent, and even the Neolithic period is difficult to identify clearly outside the settlements on Mount Rocca near Rivoli Veronese, which continued until the Bronze Age. However, there is one important example of the cultural trend of linear pottery originating from the Danube: in the village of Basse di Valcalaona in the Euganean Hills. But the most striking novelty, due to the fairly numerous scattered sites, is that of the square-mouthed pottery civilisation, in which the economy was now based on livestock farming and agriculture.

cultivation. At Cave Nuove di Quinzano, this is linked to <.:ara with previous periods. It appears new in various other locations in the provinces of Verona, Padua and Vicenza: on the aforementioned Mount Rocca near Rivoli Veronese, at Negrar in Colombare, in Bocca Lorenza, in Castelnuovo di Teolo, in the basin of the ancient Lake Fimon, where one of the sites of this cultural horizon, namely Molino di Casarotto, has been dated by carbon-14 analysis to between 6,500 and 6,200 years ago and is undoubtedly one of the most ancient testimonies

The phases that are proposed to be distinguish in Veneto have been named Quinzano, the first; Rivoli-Spiazzo (site on the same Mount Rocca), the second; and Rivoli-Bocca Lorenza, the third. These latter deposits, together with the similar one at Colombare di Negrar, have yielded square-mouthed pots in contexts that are now Eneolithic.

The Campignano culture, which links the Neolithic to the Bronze Age, has evidence throughout the Lessini area: from Mount Loffa to the Chiampo valley, from the Veronese hills to the Rivoli Veronese lock; Lake Garda marks the western boundary. These traces are all the more important given that the only known Campignano settlements in Italy are those in the Lessini mountains and a few others in the Gargano area. Ponte di Veia must have been an area of considerable concentration, having been inhabited since Palaeolithic times. The economy is based on both agriculture and forestry, and, if the term can be applied to flint,

mining. Pottery, when found, is atypical, so it can be said that to date there is no Campi-Gnana pottery. The stone industry, on the other hand, is quite varied, ranging from large axes, scrapers and graters to finer objects such as medium and small bifaces: blades and lamellae, and a few ornaments. Typical is the biface working with large flakes.

But in a certain sense, more important was the evidence found in the tomb at Villafranca di Verona, containing a large bronze halberd and a silver breastplate, because it linked the Veneto region with the Lombard civilisation of Remedello and thus shows the last echo in Italy, in an easterly direction, of the Bell Beaker civilisation. This is the first evidence we have had in the region of

a movement, not only of things but of people. Fragments of bell-shaped vases have been found at Sassina and Colombare di Negrar, also in the Verona area, demonstrating the relations that the people of Remedello had with those of Campagna. Traces of Remedello culture have gradually come to light in the Veneto region, leading to the hypothesis of a real armed occupation.

Veneto, leading to the hypothesis of a real armed occupation.

The first Bronze Age civilisation bears the name of the town of Polada in the province of Brescia. It also stands out in the Veneto region through the villages of pile dwellings built directly on the lake bed or on tree trunk foundations. In addition to the Lake Garda area, this is most clearly evident in the Vicenza area, namely

on Lake Fimon, which yielded pile dwellings and huts, boats, wooden traps and human remains. It is a technique that will find its most illustrious application in the future in the Venetian settlement on the islands of the lagoon. After Fimon, the most interesting pile-dwelling centre is that of Arquà Petrarca, where objects peculiar to the cultural aspect of the Lagazzi, contemporary and also Lombard, have also been discovered.

The Middle and Late Bronze Age is identified in the Po Valley at

south of the Po with the Terramare civilisation, which is concentrated almost exclusively in the Emilia region. In Veneto, only in Bovolone, in the lower Veronese area, are there terramare-type cremation tombs: another indication of a movement of populations which, unlike Villafranca, no longer define an advanced outpost but a rearguard. Correspondences can be found just beyond the Veneto border to the west, in the necropolis of Pietole Virgilio near Mantua.

Not far from Bovolone, in Povegliano, there are burial grounds, which clearly belong to an earlier population that was neither driven out nor absorbed by the new arrivals. It should be noted that within the burial grounds of Povegliano itself, there are a few cremation tombs in ossuaries with amber and bronze weapons as grave goods.

The situation in Bovolone and Povegliano is now confirmed and continuation in the nearby necropolis of Fran-zine Nuove near Villa Bartolomea, currently under excavation. The site consists of two layers. The older layer contains burial tombs and cremation tombs with Bovolone-type urns, and there are indications of a custom of cremating adult men, while women and children were still buried : duly framed in a patriarchal society patriarchal society, the two rites would be distinguished, one as noble, the other as common: it is the prestige of the new come that would impose itself, if not their vision of life. Conversely, the upper layer has exclusively cremation tombs: as is decisively demonstrated on a typological level, the new current of Central European origin left its Venetian mark here, which as Proto-Villanovan, will later be identified in its journey towards the south, and which is better defined here as Proto-Atestine. With the accentuated thrust that it brings, it is the definitive step towards the Iron Age.

The Iron Age is widely attested in Veneto. It represents a demographic and civil flourishing, largely

radiating from the centre of Este. The parallel arrangement of the legacy of the past is shown by the settlements of huts, which can be circular or quadrangular on dry land, as in Lozzo Atestino, or on wooden scaffolding, as in other nearby areas. The name commonly given to this civilisation is Paleoveneta or, more precisely, Atestina. The non-assimilation of the previous inhabitants, as seen earlier in Bovolone and Povegliano, as well as in Franzine Nuove in the lower level, also reappears in the Atestina system, through the contrast between terracotta cinerary urns deposited with grave goods and skeletons in-

Settlements far from the Venetian Iron Age civilisation can be found, for example, in the cremation necropolis of San Giorgio di Angarano near Bassano del Grappa (province of Vicenza), with archaic pottery corresponding to the early period of Este; later, in the village of stone huts on Mount Loffa near Sant'Anna d'Alfaedo in the Lessini mountains. In Bostell di Rotzo on the Asiago plateau, a village of rectangular stone huts, now dating back to the Venetian-Gallic period, has been discovered. Semi-circular semi-underground huts have been found in the subsoil of Padua. The southernmost documentation is represented by the tomb of Borsea, in the province of Rovigo.

The Atestine civilisation is traditionally divided into four phases.

The first, poorly documented, is characterised by burial grounds in the bare earth, still poor in grave goods, and corresponds to the 9th and 8th centuries; the second, taking place in the 7th and 6th centuries, shows better protection of the vessels, more grave goods, and objects of Balkan and Greek origin; the third (5th-4th century) is dominated by the great commercial expansion of the Etruscans on the one hand, and trade through the emporium of Adria on the other, and is characterised by the famous *situlae*; the fourth, from the 4th century onwards, is dominated by the Gallic influence, both through western currents and those radiating from Bologna.

From a historical and cultural point of view, the sanctuary of the goddess Reitia stands out, with a large number of votive bronze figurines. But

The importance of the Atestine civilisation is such that it deserves special treatment; likewise, the recent Museum of Adria deserves separate consideration, alongside the larger museum, the National Atestine Museum, as is now fitting.

In the province of Belluno, in Lozzo, in Valle di Cadore, finds from this period were already known. However, new horizons have been opened up in recent decades by the finds at Lagole near Calalzo, mainly thanks to the work of G. Fogolari, G. B. Frescura and F. De Lotto. Among these, the votive stipe dedicated to Hecate Triformis stands out.

Although the Iron Age population did not mix with the previous inhabitants when they settled in Veneto, they did have important connections with the rest of Italy. It constituted the stabilised rearguard of a large, albeit inconspicuous, movement that had its western tip in the Golasecca civilisation, its northern tip in Valcamonica, and its southern tip in the northern foothills, which emerge as indicative remains of the arrival of the Proto-Villanovans as far as the centre-south of the peninsula.

The ethnic correspondence of the phases prior to the Iron Age can be easily found in the historical name of the Euganei (mentioned by Livy at the very beginning of his historical work), who are said to have once inhabited the region between the Adriatic Sea and the Alps. By 'Euganei', we moderns therefore refer to the ethnic-linguistic stratum prior to the Indo-European affirmation and comprising the Ligurians to the west, the Raeti to the north and the Picentes to the south. We have no direct linguistic remains of the Euganean world, unless we associate them with the so-called Rhaetian inscriptions, or with the Ligurian world in the specific case of the theme *PODO-* (cf. p. 5), which here is *PADD-*, from which *Padus* 'Po' with the

derived from Patavium "Padua". Al mondo euganeo pos-

However, we can trace local names such as those of the rivers A tesis (Adige), from which Ateste (Este) derives, Brenta, which seems to have meant 'container, basin', Dese, Sile. Names of 'Euganean' cities are Acelum (Asolo), Adria, Altino, Verona (for the latter, see pp. 31, 56).

The ancient claim that the Euganei were 'driven out' of their original homes in

Veneto is neither necessary nor validated by archaeological evidence.

The term "Veneti", widely attested in antiquity, does not refer to a single Indo-European-speaking population, but only to a group of Indo-European tribes who abandoned their primitive name of "Ati": Veneti are thus found in Gaul (but not in Ireland), in Germany, on the shores of the Baltic, in the Balkan Peninsula, in Asia Minor (but not in the Iranian and Indian worlds). In the derived form of "Venetulan" mentioned by Pliny, they are even found in Lazio. The cities attributed to them by Pliny are, in addition to the capital Este, Asolo, Padua, Oderzo, Belluno, and Vicenza. As neighbouring populations, Pomponius Mela mentions the Gauls to the west and the Carni to the east. That the Carni represent a wedge that broke the Venetian continuity beyond the Isonzo is proven by epigraphic and archaeological remains, which, absent from Friuli, reappear in Tolmino Idria and in the Trieste area.

Archaeological findings show that the Veneti were largely open to all forms of trade, and Pliny mentions the amber trade in particular. However, it was the very conformation of the region, devoid of natural obstacles, that opened the way to populations and demographic and cultural currents. From the west, after the echoes of the Remedello civilisation, there was pressure from the Gauls who descended into Cisalpine Gaul. While the ancient name of Lake Garda, Benacus/acus, is certainly Gallic and refers to the Cenomani inhabitants of the Brescia area, the name Cadore, derived from a Gallic form such as Catubriges, and that of Ceneda near Vittorio Veneto, can be linked to

to a pressure system that is more northern than western.

Of great importance is the southern pressure that manifested itself in northern Italy starting in the 6th century BC, brought about by the Etruscans. The Etruscan influence in the Veneto region manifested itself in three ways. The first, more general, survives in local names, which have been altered to varying degrees, the most famous of which is *Feltre*, an adaptation of Volterra from the Etruscan *Velathri*, associated with other place names such as *Colle delle Capre*, i.e. 'Tombs', and the adjacent mountains *Miesna* and *Rosna*, accompanied by two inscriptions, which some believe to be 'Rhaetian' and not Etruscan.

Another area of indirect Etruscan colonisation is that of the Lessini Mountains, where, in Roman times, there was a tribe with the Etruscan name of *Arusnates*, which preserved the cults

of a god named *Cuslanus* (Etr. *Culsans*) and a Jupiter *Felverniss*, an extension of an Etruscan theme <sup>VELS.</sup>. A second

imprint is that of the Etruscan alphabet of Magrè applied to about thirty inscriptions known as Rhaetian, which, in addition to Magrè, come from Rotzo and Piovene (province of Vicenza).

Padua, Verona and San Briccio di Lavagno (province of Verona). The third is the one that provided the national alphabet to the Veneti, certainly radiating from Adt'la, where, according to Livy, the Etruscans founded a colony in the Veneti environment, and where clearly Etruscan inscriptions have also been found.

Thanks to the Etruscans, we are thus able to form an independent opinion on the individuality of the Veneti and which, from a linguistic point of view, had already been recognised by Polybius. The epigraphic evidence of the Venetic language consists of about 230 inscriptions, of which over a hundred come from the territory of Este, sixty-five from Cadore, and about fifteen, including the oldest ones, from Padua, dating back to the 5th century. About thirty belong to Venezia Giulia: they constitute an interesting parallel with the archaeological evidence and validate the hypothesis of an original continuity.

broken by the Carni wedge. Having settled in Veneto, the Etruscan alphabet underwent adaptations that pose various problems. The vowel *o*, not used in Etruscan, was reintroduced under Greek influence and placed at the end of the alphabet, almost as if it were a new letter. Another characteristic feature is the punctuation rule, which requires a full stop to precede and follow every initial vowel in a word or syllable. e.g. e.kho 'I', and every final consonant in a word or syllable, e.g. zona.s.to 'he gave'.

The Indo-European vowel system remained intact on the basis of the five fundamental vowels and their respective diphthongs, as in archaic Latin. Common to Latin is the important innovation whereby aspirated voiced consonants have a different fate at the beginning and within a word: the initial consonant of the root BHEUGJ-'

(Latin *fugio*) appears as VH-, i.e. <sup>F</sup> in Venetic VHoukh-ontai, the internal part of the root WEBH 'to weave' (German *weben*) appears as -PH- in Venetic vePHelei; the initial part of the root <sup>DHE</sup> (< to lay) appears as VH- in \_\_\_\_VHakhsthō 'had done', the internal part of the root LEUDH appears as -z- in Venetic LouZerai (Latin *liberae*). As in Latin, the KV group is preserved in Venetic *ekvon* (Latin *equum*); unlike Latin and other Italic languages, the <sup>TL</sup> group is preserved in Venetic *makhetton*. Unlike Latin, and as in Greek, the final nasal consonant is -N and not -M, in Venetic *zonon* (Latin *donum*). Unlike Latin and as in the Oscan-Umbrian languages, the consonant group KT becomes IT, e.g. in the name of the goddess *Re.i.tiia.i*, connected with Lat. *recta*.

In morphology, as in Greek, the third person singular middle ending is -To, e.g. *zonasto*; as in Oscan-Umbrian and Celtic, middle verb endings are -AR -ER, while in Latin only the -tor type is found. As in archaic Latin, there are middle participles ending in -MNō-, e.g. *ven. Voltiomno* 'the Desired One'. Unlike Latin and the Oscan-Umbrian languages, the plural dative-ablative endings in -BHOS are also found in the -o declension, e.g. *louzerophos*, while in Latin, with the ending -OJS, we have the equivalent *liberis*.

A precise genealogical definition of the relationship between Venetic and other Indo-European languages is meaningless. Venetic is a crystallised remnant in the region of a series of Indo-European linguistic elements; it represents the right wing of the Indo-European currents that established themselves in Italy with respect to the Oscan-Umbrian (centre) and Proto-Latin (left) languages; it has transferred individual characteristics westwards towards the Iaconia and Camuna areas; and southwards until reaching Latin. If we wanted to give an overall definition of the

linguistic 'significance' of Venetic in the context of prehistory, now Indo-European, we would associate it with the term 'north Italic'.

Venetic toponymic remains can be considered the names of the two rivers *P/avis* (Piave), albeit with an unusual *av*, and *Liquentia* (Livenza) 'the river with clean waters', *dc*", and the names of the cities *Aponus* (Abano), *Opitergium* (Oder-

*zo*) 'the market of Opi', today's Brondolo near Chioggia, *Vicetia* (Vicenza) and, of course, the later application of the name to the name of Venice itself.

Relations with the Romans gradually strengthened, always on friendly terms. In 225 BC, the Veneti even allied themselves with the Romans against the Gallic populations of Cisalpine Gaul. Roman penetration was peaceful.

## TRENTINO · ALTO ADIGE

The Tridentine Venice is less interesting than the other two Venetian regions from a strictly prehistoric point of view, especially due to the absence of evidence from the Palaeolithic age. However, it is rich in characteristic problems regarding the final prehistoric- protohistoric period.

The first direct prehistoric evidence was identified in 1968 through the discovery of a rock shelter in Valle di Zambana (province of Trento) on the right bank of the Adige Valley.

of the Adige Valley. Here, a Mesolithic deposit was found, formed between 8,000 and 7,000 years ago, according to carbon-14 analysis: the industry is hypermicrolithic; in the lower level, a covered burial

made of large stones contained the supine skeleton of a woman. In the Neolithic period, the Vela di Trento site documents the presence of the square-mouthed pottery culture, as well as the infiltration of objects from the Fiorano culture, possibly for trade purposes.

The expansion of the Bell Beaker civilisation, which arrived in Italy with the advent of the Eneolithic period on the peninsula, also involved Trentino-Alto Adige: la cul-

The Remedello culture, which originated in the Po Valley, left many traces in the region. Thus, from the eastern front of this current in Italy, which broke up in Veneto, another branch broke away and brought new life to the north, along the Adige Valley, with evidence found as far as the Appiano plateau, just below Bolzano.

The Bronze Age saw the emergence of the largest number of settlements of the Polada culture in the Lombardy area of Lake Garda, with the technique already described of pile dwellings on wooden piles

: this culture is attested in Trentino a little further north of Lake Garda, in Fivavé; particularly important are However, the settlements of Lake Ledro, immediately west of upper Lake Garda, have recorded the two extremes of the oldest and most recent dates using the carbon-14 method, among the few we have for the entire cultural horizon: Molina di Ledro and Ponale are the oldest, dating back approximately 3,700 years; Ledro the most recent, at about 3200. Here, moreover, there was the remarkable discovery of five bronze diadems with fine engraved decoration.

With the Iron Age came the *castellieri*, settlements on high ground characterised by being surrounded by a solid wall; however, they were not as important as those in Venezia Giulia, from which they originated. As in Venezia Giulia, there is evidence that the civilisation of the *castellieri* allowed for developments and replacements during its life cycle, but did not alter the framework and maintained the continuity of the technique. In fact, while ceramics and metal objects of various types followed one another here, the construction technique remained unchanged until the Roman in its place of origin, e non solo continues to use stone for its walls, but the restores the huts despite the fact that wooden structures were well suited to the new environment, as they still are today. At Doss Zelòr in the Val di Fiemme, the fortified settlement superimposes rectangular huts with stone bases on circular hut foundations. The fortified settlement of Bellamente in Val Travnòl, just north of the Rolle Pass, dates back to the early Iron Age, with sub-circular hut bases and undecorated pottery, and continues into the late Iron Age with stone-based huts and Rhaetian-Gallic pottery such as that of the San Zeno type. then fibulae of the La l'ène type, dating back to the Gallic period. The Ciaslir of Mount Ozòl in Val di Non contains subcircular hut foundations and pottery from the early Iron Age, of the Luco (Laugen) type, and continues into the

the second Iron Age with small stone houses and undecorated pottery. In San Zeno in Val di Non, cultural tradition began with a Rhaetian-Gallic village of semi-underground stone houses with access stairs; the pottery dates back to the transition to the Iron Age. New features include zoomorphic bronzes with inscriptions in the North Etruscan alphabet. These bronzes, dating from the 5th to the 2nd century, are accompanied by instruments characteristic of the Paleovenetian area, namely *situlae*, originally made of bronze.

Castellieri settlements spread throughout South Tyrol during the Proto-Roman period, at high altitudes of up to 2,600 metres above sea level. The settlement at Vandoies di Sopra (Purstallkopf) in Val Pusteria is particularly impressive, with three megalithic valleys carved out of granite. A rectangular walled enclosure with a large rampart is located on Katzenloch Hill (Katzenlocherbuche) near Castelrotto. A large circular rampart is located on Mount Castello di Fanes, near the border with Ampezzo. In Sant'Ilppolito there is a fortification with the remains of ramparts and huts and pottery dating from the Bronze Age to the Roman period. Finally, on Monte Rocca (Schwarzhorn) at 2,439 metres above sea level, about thirty kilometres north of Bolzano, ramparts and huts with pottery from the Iron Age have been found.

Outside the context of the castellieri, it is worth mentioning the prehistoric village (early and late Iron Age) of Castelvetere (Kastelfeder) south of Bolzano, which continued into the Roman and even Lombard periods. A cremation necropolis is located in Meluno (Melaun) near Bressanone with characteristic pottery, similar to that found in nearby Luco (Laugen). Finally, the necropolis of Vadena (Watten) is very important, belonging to both the Bronze and Iron Ages, and containing ceramic urns closed with stone slabs. A unique feature is represented by the so-called 'astronomical stations', for example that of Colle Joben (Jobenbuchel) near San Michele d'Appiano. In the southern part, in a south-easterly direction, there is a megalithic corridor with a sighting device.

aligned with the point where the sun rises on the winter solstice; on the opposite side, a sort of pulpit, with its axis pointing towards the point of sunset. A similar station is located at Colle di San Pietro di Fiè (Peter-hichl VO/s), which extends from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age.

From all these observations, Carlo Battisti's emphatic conclusion is clear: the entire region of Trentino-Alto Adige in prehistoric times appears to have been resolutely closed off to the north. Its entire cultural development depended on the currents that, from time to time, made themselves felt, travelling up the Adige Valley with varying degrees of ease and intensity.

Excluding the three traditional passes of Resia, Brenner and Dobbiaco, ethnic identification operates with terminology that takes Italian connections into account. The original name used is, of course, that of the Raeti (Latin: Raeti), which represents both the oldest relationship with the population and the corresponding Alpine region. With regard to Italy, the Raeti should therefore be placed on the same level as the Ligurians, who represent their western neighbours, and the Euganei, who represent their eastern neighbours. However, since the visible traces of a Ligurian tradition stop at the western borders of our region, as shown by the names Terzasca and Calasca (not far from the sources of the Adige), we are led to associate the Raeti more with the notion of the Euganei. Pliny himself, speaking of Verona, defines it as a city of the Raeti or the Euganei, practically eliminating the differences between the two concepts. Historical and cultural events subsequently influenced this pre-European primitiveness, through pressures that were not always homogeneous but can be partly defined according to linguistic data. The following should be considered on a

primitive Reti ethnic groups such as the Breuni, inhabitants of the region adjacent to the Brenner Pass, but also surviving in the south in the present-day locality of Breonio, near Verona; then the Anauni of the Val di Non; then the Venostes of the Val Venosta and the Isarei of the valley of the river of the same name. The characteristic suffix,

-auno, it is found in the Inn Valley in the name Cae-nauni, and among the Celts in the name Velauni in southern Gaul and in Britannia in the name Cgssivellauno, Caesar's well-known adversary: it is therefore a suffix (as one might say) that is 'Paleo-European', not 'Celtic'.

These ethno-toponymic remains are supplemented and contrasted by direct linguistic documents, consisting of about thirty inscriptions known as Rhaetian, written in a variety of the Etruscan alphabet known as Bolzano. The northernmost document shows us the opening of the transalpine pass and comes from Matrei near Innsbruck. Some inscriptions come from Collalbo (K/obenstein), including one recent one; six come from the area between Bolzano and Merano, one comes from Appiano (Eppan) south of Bolzano, the largest group comes from the territory of the Anauni and mainly from the aforementioned locality of San Zeno, and from Meclo near Cles; finally, one comes from the hill known as Caslir in the Cembra valley, i.e. from the southern part of the Avisio valley. The scope of this documentation is not uniform. The Etruscan origins of the alphabet force us to date the inscriptions to a fairly recent age in order to justify the arrival of a cultural current from so far away. We find this justification in Pliny's passage in which the Raeti (in the historical sense) are defined as Etruscans (from the Po Valley) driven from their homes by the Gauls in the 5th century.

a. C. However, these inscriptions, although written in the North Etruscan alphabet, are not in the Etruscan language. That is to say, prior to this ascent of the Etruscan colonists towards the sources of the Adige, tribes of Indo-European language, who are less well identified, had travelled that road and were more or less mixed with the pre-existing Euganean populations.

more or less mixed with the pre-existing Euganean populations. These are 'North Italic elements, parallel to those that went up the Valcamonica, and were able to remain there'.

undisturbed until Roman times. They find archaeological justification with the appearance of castellieri (fortified settlements) in this region.

Direct evidence of Etruscan colonisation can be found not only in the alphabet but also in some place names. Just as the Latinised Etruscan name Volsinii gave rise to Felsina (Bologna) in the north, so the Etruscan name

Velathri (Volterra) transported along the Adige valley

and in Valsugana there was Feltre, and so near Trento the tributary of the Adige called Fersina reproduces the theme contained in Vers(ilia), which is attested only in the 8th century AD in the Longobard Code. In the same area, near Trento, there is also the place name Pergine, identical

to the one that still survives between Arezzo and Montevarchi.

## FRIULI - VENETO GIULIA

The prehistory of Venezia Giulia is important and homogeneous. Its evidence is concentrated in the caves of the region of Trieste. Little is known about

However, this is not the case in Friuli, partly due to insufficient research and partly due to its nature as a transit territory rather than a settlement area until relatively recent times. In this region, in Risano in the province of Udine, an Acheulean-type amygdala was found on the surface. As such, together with those found in Veneto, it would constitute a find from the oldest human industry in north-eastern Italy; on the other hand, the uncertain conditions in which it was found make its attribution to that period uncertain.

The Julian Alps have yielded ancient artefacts, but in what is now Yugoslavian territory. In the Beta cave near Postumia, various levels have been identified, and the lower part has yielded artefacts of Clactonian technique; these are followed by levels attesting to two phases of the Mousterian industry, which take us back to the Middle Palaeolithic.

The caves of Trieste are located both near the sea, north and south of Trieste, and on the Karst plateau. Mousterian remains have been found in only two caves in the Karst: 37 artefacts come from the San Leonardo cave on the mountain of the same name, and 33 from the Pocala cave near Aurisina, the latter discovered together with animal bones showing signs of use and adaptation by humans. The only finds from the Upper Palaeolithic belong to a territory that is now Yugoslavian: Aurignacian industry is present in the Sandalo cave near Pula.

Let's return to the Karst region to find remarkable evidence of the

Mesolithic in the Trincee cave, the Benussi cave, the Tartaruga cave, and the Azzurra cave in Samatorza: in the latter, bone tools stand out, with awls and spatulas with curved edges. Also in the Azzurra cave, there is a continuous succession of Neolithic types, not isolated but with Danubian connections, and finally elements of the later civilisation so characteristic of the region, that of the castellieri. The Gallerie cave, east of Trieste, broadens the horizons even further, even if the beginnings of life there are more recent: a Neo-Eneolithic site, it shows connections with the painted pottery tradition of southern Italy, then with more northern civilisations, such as that of Fiorano and that of square-mouthed vases, to broaden the picture with evidence of the Danubian civilisation of Vucedol in the transition from the Neolithic to the Eneolithic and restoring traces of the culture of Remedello, i.e. an aspect of the Iberian civilisation of the bell-shaped vase. Here too, we finally arrive at the pottery typical of the Castellieri civilisation. The Pettiroso cave, not far from the Pocala cave, which continued to be inhabited even in the Neolithic period, clarifies the distant relationships and is closely linked to the Danubian cultures of the Middle Neolithic and therefore to that of Vucedol. In the Middle Neolithic period, we should also mention the first open-air village, that of Zaule. The settlement explored in the Teresiana cave near Duino, in

A short distance from the sea. Here too, the connections are extensive: with the civilisation of Vucedol, with that of Remedello, with that of the Apennines in central Italy. Here too, as in the Blue Grotto or the Galleries, the civilisation of the castellieri finally took hold.

Friuli also comes to the fore in the metal age. The finds at Palù di Livenza and Dardago are remnants of the Polada civilisation, which originated in the Garda area during the Bronze Age. However, during the Iron Age that we find significant evidence in the region, especially in the Carnic territory, and here too the civilisation of the hill forts, which spread from Istria and Venezia Giulia to Trentino, is dominant.

, which spread from Istria and Venezia Giulia to Trentino.

The castellieri were inhabited places located on high ground and surrounded by

defensive walls, sometimes imposing, with walls up to six metres thick

metres wide and eight metres high. They began to appear in Istria and on the islands immediately to the south during the Bronze Age and represent the establishment and consolidation of a characteristic technique, perhaps not unrelated to the burial mound civilisation of Central Europe. The burials are located near the settlements: in the first phase, stone coffins, in which the dead were laid in a crouched sitting position. They were then covered with a mound. The continuity of the technique does not correspond to absolute cultural continuity in the history of the castellieri. In fact, it was only in the second phase that the funeral rite of cremation, which had previously become established in the terramare civilisation further west, became established in the castellieri. However, the new rite did not overlap and destroy the old one with its new vision of life. It merely introduced urns, which contained the ashes and continued to be kept in the traditional stone boxes. The second layer of the civilisation of the castellieri is also distinguished by a greater openness of horizons. While in the first layer the most obvious comparisons are at the level of elements specific to the terramare civilisation, in the second layer there are not only links with the neighbouring Atestine civilisation but also, on the opposite side, with the Central European civilisation of Hallstatt. The urnfield civilisation, which preceded it, thus had an indirect influence on the Julian territory, almost encircling the traditions still inumatrici risalenti alla civiltà precedente

in the same area of Central Europe, namely Unetice.

Among the oldest castellieri is that of Montur-sino near Dignano d'Istria. The one of the Elleri near Muggia, on the other hand, belongs to the archaic Iron Age civilisation and shows general connections not only with the terra-maricola and then with the Atestine tradition, but also with the civilisation

sub-Appennine region of central Italy. This fortified settlement continued to be used until Roman times. It is interesting to note that, as time went on, this trade activity was maintained by the inhabitants of the fortified settlements: in the 5th century BC, Gnathia pottery, created by the Ma-

Gna Grecia extends as far as Istria. More intrinsically interesting are the necropolises of Nesazio and Pizzugghi, dating back to the beginning of the second phase of the castellieri in Istria, due to the beautiful documentation they offer of the assimilation of the new cremation rite into archaic patterns, with the burial, in the large traditional tomb, of the stone box containing the urn with the ashes instead of the corpse. Other important castellieri are those of Monrupino and Zolla immediately north of Trieste. Traces characteristic of progressive expansion can be seen in the castellieri of Monte Gioia near Prosecco, located on two nearby peaks but surrounded by a common outer wall. Finally, the castellieri of San Polo near Monfalcone show remains of plaster from huts. Cave finds have been reported above: perhaps the caves served as occasional shelters op-

were also frequented for cult purposes. Tumuli not organised into castellieri are those of Contovello and Monte Lanaro, which, however, are completely integrated into the classical civilisation of the castellieri. On the other hand, a settlement without defensive walls was found in Cattinara, gravitating towards the contemporary models of the Atestine civilisation.

From an ethnic point of view, the Julian region shows a period of relative isolation and immobility in ancient times, followed by a period of general connections to both the east and west, then a period of specific connections with the Danube regions, and finally the characteristic period of the castellieri, distinguished by a late phase of continued burial and a more recent phase of cremation. Until then

Since there are no organic links with other regions, it is natural to apply the same criteria to Venezia Giulia as to Veneto, and therefore to refer to the most ancient period as that of the Euganeans. Local names such as Ampezzo or Gemona (Latin: Glemona), and a river such as the Tagliamento (Latin: Tiliaventum) can be traced back to these more distant phases, and find correspondences, in terms of latitude, to the east in Emana (now Ljubljana) and Albana (in Istria) and to the west in Verona, Cremona and Dertona. In terms of longitude, they correspond to Salona and Cortona, all of pre-Indo-European, Picene-Euganean heritage, as already indicated on pp. 30-31 and 42.

After a long period of transition, during which groups with Indo-European linguistic traditions certainly passed through the Julian region on numerous occasions, the first organic affirmation, corresponding to the civilisation of the castellieri, suggests a double ethnic denomination: one generic, linked to the North Italic traditions that spread far into the Po Valley as far as Ticino and Trebbia, the other specific, associated with the 'Venetic' and the cultural centre of Este.

The local name that most significantly represents this layer is that of Trieste itself, in Latin, Tergeste. This word is derived from the suffix anti-chissimo, but its root TERG, meaning 'market', belongs to the Venetic layer and reappears in the name Oderzo, Latin *Opi-tergium*, as well as in other Indo-European areas.

However, between the Isonzo and Livenza rivers there remains a gap which, beyond the lack of adequate research, leads to the suspicion that a foreign element arrived and interrupted the continuity between the Istrian castellieri peoples and the Giulii in general on one side, and the Lombard-Venetian civilisations of Este and Golasecca on the other. or even between the TERG of the 'market' of Trieste and the TERG of the 'market' of Oderzo.

This wedge actually has a name, given to it by the Carni, a Celtic people who descended from the Alps of the same name in the 4th century BC and settled permanently in Friuli. But

The decisive proof that this fracture was actually caused by a wedge is provided by epigraphic evidence. Some inscriptions, located along the arc stretching from Muggia, immediately east of Trieste, to Idria di Santa Lucia di Tolmino (now in Yugoslavia) to Gurina and Wiirmlach in Carinthia, immediately north of the Carnic Alps ridge, are perfectly Venetian and find clear parallels in the upper Piave basin and the plain around Este. The Gallic influence was strong and lasted until the Roman conquest, between 181 BC, the year the colony of Aquileia was founded, and 115 BC, the year the region was definitively subjugated.

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## EMILIA-ROMAGNA

In ancient times, Emilia showed traces of the earliest human activity through artefacts which, from primitive open-air settlements near waterways, have been preserved to this day in the foothills between Imola and Reggio Emilia. Of particular importance is the deposit found on the terrace of the Correcchio valley near Imola, both because it is an in situ formation and because the finds are numerous and belong to different industries. The oldest complex consists of

prevalence of large Clactonian-type flakes but also bifaces which, alongside finely worked Acheulean forms, cover a whole intermediate range up to Abbevillian types, probably representing the earliest

stage of working Acheulean amygdales, as has been seen in Veneto. The most recent complex consists of artefacts from the evolved Acheulean and Proto-Le Valloisian periods. From the Lower Palaeolithic, which thus comes to an end, we move on to the Mousterian with finds in the same area as before, from Imola to Parma.

But the most exceptional evidence we have left is from the Palaeolithic period, when it was coming to an end, if not already over: it is the statuette named Venus of Savignano sul Panaro (province of Modena) after the place where it was found. It is a highly stylised serpentine statuette, 22.5 cm tall. The shapes of the chest, belly and rear part of the pelvis are strongly accentuated and almost deformed. Conversely, the head is reduced to a kind of point, devoid of any expressive meaning. Next to this is another equally stylised and steatopygic female statuette, 20 cm tall, from Chiazza di Scandiano.

near Reggio Emilia: namely, the Venus of Chiozza. The stratigraphic uncertainty surrounding its discovery also links it to the Venus of Savignano and, like the latter, its age is difficult to define.

The Neolithic period in Emilia provides evidence of the fundamental aspects with which it manifested itself in northern Italy. The culture of Fiorano (province of Modena) is representative of the engraved line ceramics trend, originating in the Danube area (Linearbandkeramik), just as the culture of Sasso and the culture of Sarteano are representative of the same trend in central Italy. The pottery, which can be coarse or finer greyish in texture and smooth on the surface, is characterised by decorative patterns in which rhombuses, triangles, round bands and rows of wheat grain impressions are coordinated; often the area delimited by the incisions is coloured red with cinnabar. Typical vessel shapes include single-handled cups or jugs, four-handled pots and flask-shaped vases, all with convex bases. The lithic industry includes blades, scrapers, burins, axes and grinding stones; the bone industry is notable for its large, beautiful spearheads and harpoons with one or two rows of teeth, which are otherwise foreign to Italian cultures. There are ornaments made of perforated shells or stone and bone in the form of large rings, teeth and the like. Beyond Fiorano, this cultural complex has particularly numerous examples in the Reggio Emilia area, namely in Albinea, Campegine, Calerno, Sant'Ilario, Rivaltella, and Castelnuovo di Sotto.

Within the context of square-mouthed pottery, widespread throughout northern Italy during the Neolithic period, the site of Chiozza di Scandiano is particularly noteworthy, having already come to prominence for the Palaeolithic Venus figurine found there. The Neolithic village consists of huts, some with several interconnected rooms, with wells sometimes over five metres deep, and is connected to a necropolis where more than fifty pit graves have been explored, with the deceased buried in a crouched position. Above all, however, it has yielded pottery that bears similarities to that found in the same

cultural horizon, with that of the oldest Venetian phase, known as Quinzano. In turn, the settlement of Pescale di Pignano (province of Modena) has yielded pottery that bears similarities to the Venetian phase of square-mouthed vases proposed as the second phase, that of Rivoli-Spiazzo. Although with more modest evidence, the same direction of penetration is still indicated at the end of the Neolithic period by the Campignana culture, which reached Emilia from Veneto with its

. These repeated impulses from the north-east since the era of the Danubian civilisation of incised line pottery are the announcement that Emilia, like the entire Adriatic coast, is preparing to receive those cultural currents which, with the affirmation of Indo-European linguistic traditions, will gradually change the linguistic aspect of the region. We are at the end of the third millennium BC.

At this remote age, linguistic remains are naturally not to be laughed at. However, some local names can already be identified that certainly date back to pre-Indo-European times and can be defined as 'Umbrian-Ligurian' (see p. 69): names of cities such as Modena (Latin: Mutina), Ravenna, Rimini (Latin Ariminum), or rivers such as the Chiavenna, the Stione, l'Enza (Latin: Incia), Secchia (Latin: Secia), Savena, Lamone (Latin: Anemo).

From the Neolithic to the Bronze Age, the strongest ties remained with the area north of the Po River. Thus, for the Late Neolithic period, there are findings from the Lagozza civilisation; from the Eneolithic period, there are finds from the Remedello civilisation; from the early Bronze Age, there are finds from the Polada civilisation. There are numerous sites where finds have been made. One example is the aforementioned Pescale site, where the settlement characterised by square-mouthed pots was followed by settlements characterised by Lagozza, then Remedello and Polada pottery. However, the Bronze Age introduced something new: the trace of a culture whose influence extends further south, in the Marche region, namely the Conelle culture. Some elements reminiscent of this culture can be found among the materials recovered from the Tanaccia cave in Brieghella and which, moreover, belong

the usual triad of Lagozzian, Remedellian and Poladian types. In the same cave, a spii-

A flat-headed ion and a flat axe with raised edges, typical of the Central European civilisation of Unetice. Emilia is involved in a series of movements that are now more complex and laden with meaning for its linguistic future.

In the Bronze Age, Emilia assumed particular importance thanks to the Terramare civilisation, which consisted of villages of huts built on stilts on the mainland. The name derives from 'terre *marime*', meaning 'land rich in fertilising elements'. The largest of these villages is Castellazzo di Fontanellato (province of Parma), covering over 19 hectares. These villages have been found in Emilia in the provinces of Piacenza and Parma, with offshoots to the east as far as Panaro, and with some evidence also beyond the Po, already seen in the Lombardy provinces of Cremona and Mantua.

These villages were founded in regions prone to flooding, which had been virtually uninhabited in earlier times. About fifteen of them have been studied sufficiently. The novelty of this type of settlement, the regularity of its generally trapezoidal layout, combined with careful water regulation, with embankments and drainage channels, have suggested revolutionary and miraculous interpretations, almost as if the terramare were a precursor to the regulation of Etruscan-Roman camps and cities, with the layout of the roads within the village and the huts arranged in rectangular blocks.

Instead of the generic ancestors of the Romans or Etruscans, four specific new elements are now recognised in the Emilian civilisation of Terramare. The first is the arrival of the funeral rite of cremation, which implies a different view of life. In fact, there was a shift from the concept of the body as the guardian of vital spirits, latent even after death, to the body being considered a prison for vital spirits, from which they needed to be freed. The second characteristic is the lack of decoration on pottery, as if it were

a reaction to the excesses of the previous fashion, in the places of origin of these newcomers. The third characteristic is the absence of hierarchies, for example in cemeteries, where humanity appears levelled in the urns, lined up without any funerary accompaniments and, especially in more ancient times, without any boundaries between one urn and another. The fourth characteristic, implicit in the previous ones, is that these new populations continued the tradition of two successive civilisations

of Central Europe, the Bohemian one of Unetice, which has in- It established the anti-decorative trend and the Lusatian trend of urn fields, which spread the practice of cremation. This new people brought new linguistic traditions in an organic way: it was of Indo-European tradition, even if it is not possible to specify this tradition, in the context of the languages attested later in ancient Italy, other than in a very indirect way.

The inhabitants of the Terramare appear to have been skilled woodworkers. They were familiar with animal husbandry, leaving behind traces of bones from dogs, sheep, goats, cattle, pigs, and even some donkeys and horses. They developed extensive bone and horn working techniques. Their characteristic bronze artefacts are the so-called razors and axes with raised edges. The grey or brownish pottery is characterised by a handle which, due to its shape, has been called 'crescent-shaped'.

The Terranara civilisation, which has links to the civilisations of Central Europe, was naturally receptive to elements and influences coming from Italy.

insular. Characteristic of this point of view are the The fibulae known as "violin bows" are of distant Greek-Mycenaean origin.

Just as it was not closed and immobile in the spatial sense, so the civilisation of the Emilian terramare was not immobile in time. The acclimatisation, adaptation and attenuation of the original traditions can be seen, for example, in the necropolises, where, over time, the collectivist vision of life fades away. If the ritual of cremation remains unchanged, the spaces allocated to individual urns begin to be separated; eventually, some

traces of grave goods, a few objects or work tools, or even ornaments. In the necropolis of Terramara di Montata in Reggio Emilia, the gradual nature of the changes is well documented, as it shows the beginning of the deposition of grave goods, including metal objects, while the three hundred urns that have been recovered are still arranged in two overlapping rows, covering a total area of 23 × 14 metres.

As the Bronze Age drew to a close, influences from the area immediately to the south, where the Apennine culture had developed during the age, became more consistent: in its late form, known as sub-Apennine, it extended to Emilia and Veneto. Sub-Apennine settlements with semi-underground huts can be found in Bologna itself, at Villa Cassarini and Villa Bosi, and in the province, at Toscanella Imolese, Trebbo Sei Vie, Gallo di Castel San Pietro, Castel dei Britti, and Monte Castellaccio d'Imola, which has also yielded traces of the Remedello and Polada cultures. Noteworthy is the Persolino di Faenza site, with a succession from the Eneolithic to the Apennine proper and the Sub-Apennine, up to the Iron Age and the Etruscan period. Mixed sub-Apennine and terramaric materials come from Santa Maria in Castello near Tredozio di Forlì, Sant'Agnese di Borgo Panigale and San Giovanni in Persiceto, in the province of Bologna, Monte Venera in the province of Reggio Emilia, and Santa Maddalena in the province of Ferrara. These sites also show continuous occupation.

The terramare settlements disappeared from the plains as a technical and social form of settlement, having experienced a dynamic cycle of visible development until the final crisis and sudden disappearance of the typical villages. Conversely, the villages in the Apennine world remained static in character and were absorbed without crisis into subsequent civilisations.

This new world has Bologna at its centre. But the civilisation that characterises it now belongs to the Iron Age.

It is not uniform either in its topographical distribution or in its antecedents. The name given to it, 'Villanovan civilisation', apparently links it to the finds made to the east of present-day Bologna, outside Porta San Vitale. These define the most archaic phase of this civilisation, which refers to the 6th-7th centuries. The subsequent phases, known as Benacci I, Benacci II and Arnoaldi, refer instead to finds made west of Bologna in the direction of Certosa. They extend the vision of the Iron Age civilisation of Bologna until the 6th century, after which they continue, sen-

behind a real abrupt boundary, in a new phase, known as the Certosa, now Etruscan.

Another Villanovan settlement is located in eastern Emilia, around Rimini. The site of Campo del Tesoro in Verucchio, in the Marecchia valley, stands out, featuring two necropolises from different periods within the same cultural horizon. However, the Villanovan culture in Rimini remains an isolated phenomenon, while that in Bologna is highly evolutionary. Taken on its own, this Bolognese civilisation confirms in its later phases the process of increasing individuality in tombs; its characteristic form is the biconical urn, surmounted by a bowl. It shows a development in geometric decoration, first graffito, then stamped. The progress of metalworking is also evident, with laminated bronze and embossed or engraved decoration. From the point of view of the quantity and importance of bronze artefacts, the repository of San Francesco is impressive evidence, where around 15,000 bronze pieces weighing one and a half tonnes were found in an immense container. From the point of view of quality, however, the most significant evidence is that of the Certosa situla, intended for funerary use: a high-level artistic document which, although dating from the early 5th century and inspired by Etruscan art, remains an indigenous creation.

Despite the lack of topographical unity and clear links with earlier phases, the Villanovan civilisation of Bologna has long been considered the first tem-

of the Iron Age civilisation throughout Italy. However, a more careful comparison with manifestations of the same civilisation in Etruria, and especially in southern Etruria, for example in Tarquinia, has shown that Etruscan manifestations are normally earlier. The Villanovan period in Bologna echoes that of Tuscany, which gradually made itself felt with increasing rhythm and intensity.

This chronological sequence, together with evidence that the final Villanovan phase saw a gradual return to the burial rite already in use in Etruria, leads to the conclusion that the so-called conquest of Villanovan Bologna by the Etruscans and its transformation into Etruscan Felsina was not a violent event

violent event, but rather the culmination of a process that had begun more than a century earlier and had found its the Rhine Valley its natural route, and Marzabotto its foothold.

The Etruscan civilisation of Certosa, seen as the conclusion rather than the destruction of the Villanovan era, appears in legendary tradition to have been founded by settlers from Perugia, led by a certain Aucno. These are details that carry little weight when one considers that Perugia in the 6th century was not important enough to justify a process of expansion and colonisation. On the other hand, the name Felsina is nothing more than a northern form of the theme *VELS-*, attested for the much older Etruscan city of Orvieto in its Latinised form Volsinii (see also pp. 43, 51, 77).

Although we only know the necropolis of Felsina and not the settlement, we are able to evaluate the monuments, for example the funerary steles. In addition to the return to burial and funeral offerings, new links were established, not only with Etruria, but also with Veneto and the Adriatic ports. With the foundation of Felsina, the so-called Etruria piidana was born, the importance of which has sometimes been exaggerated, but which nevertheless constitutes a major event in the history of the Emilia region.

But before outlining its development and limitations, it is necessary to highlight some cultural facts that are connected to the Villanovan world in a certain way only by name, but cannot be explained as corresponding to the Villanovan civilisation of Bologna, which was entirely focused on its Tuscan hinterland; nor are they linked to other manifestations of Villanovan civilisation beyond the Apennines. This is the current conventionally known as Proto-Villanovan, not because it has any connection with the town of Villanova or with Bologna in general, but because it is 'archaic' compared to Villanovan civilisation, both in Emilia and Tuscany. Strictly speaking, it has been designated proto-Atestina for Veneto and proto-Golasecciana for Lombardy: it is in these northern regions that it has so far defined points

reference point in the future. After Franzine Nuove in Vene-

After Fontanella di Casalromano on the Lombardy-Emilia border, we see it descend into Emilia through the cremation site of Bismantova in the province of Reggio, between the Enza and Secchia rivers, and through scattered finds of objects in sub-Apennine contexts, especially in the province of Bologna, such as in Borgo Panigale and the Farneto cave. Advanced points beyond the Emilian territory are at the Capuchin monastery in Ancona but also much further afield. In its expansion southwards, first bringing the cremation rite, a phase which had already ended here with the Terramare culture, this current reached southern Tuscany and Lazio via Umbria from the valleys of the Tiber or perhaps the Fiora, before reaching the southern tip of the Italian peninsula and giving it a brief period of relative homogeneity. This was soon followed, starting in the 9th century, by the flourishing of regional cultures. A new process of expansion and unification, but of a different nature, took place on the part of civilisations now on the threshold of historical times.

The Etruscan expansion from Bologna had three different aspects. The first, towards the west, roughly followed the current Via Emilia: the most vivid evidence of Etruscan persistence in western Emilia can be found in Piacenza, near which, in 1877, the so-called 'liver of Piacenza' was discovered, intended for interpretation by the haruspices. In the opposite direction, Etruscan expansion headed towards Spina, near present-day Comacchio, and from there towards Adria in Veneto. This was no longer colonisation but the establishment of direct trade relations with Greece. The treasures of Greek ceramics, as seen in the Museum of Spina in Ferrara, are limitless. On the other hand, Spina did not change its character to the point of appearing as a Greek city. The spread of Greek objects to Bologna via this route began in the 6th century.

However, the main expansion of Etruria in the Po Valley is the one that least affects Emilia. It is the northern direction which, just beyond the Po, establishes itself in the colony of Mantua (*Mantua* is an Etruscan name) and then proceeds towards the Adige Valley.

The further push northwards was partly determined by another new development, which was decisive for the history of Emilia. In the middle of the 5th century, Etruscan Emilia was occupied and densely colonised by the Gauls, who forced part of the Etruscans to emigrate northwards. These were the Boii Gauls from Lombardy where, according to tradition, province, they founded Lodi. Ignoring the smaller towns, they arrived in Bologna, which they renamed from *Felsina* to *Bononia*, leaving behind evidence of their presence in the form of large iron weapons and iron ornaments such as La Tène-style buckles. However, neither Bologna nor the other major centres benefited from the new dominion that gravitated towards the countryside. Names such as *Brescello* (Latin: *Brixellum*) or names ending in -*ago*, such as *Cavriago* (province of Reggio), remain as evidence of this dominion. After the Boii, the Senones reached Emilia, but they merely crossed it and spread from Romagna into the territory south of Rimini, in what is now the Marche region, where the name *Senigallia* (Latin: *Sena gal/ka*) is the most direct reminder of their presence.

The coastal strip, including Ravenna and, further north, Spina, was immune from Gallic rule. The geographer Strabo says that Ravenna remained a city of the Umbrians, but on the pre-terramaric and pre-Venetic level of the Umbro-Ligurians: comparable to the pre-Indo-European inhabitants of the region, and not Umbrians who had come up from the Pesaro region, where they had remained as speakers of a non-Indo-European language several centuries before the Gauls.

The violent but fleeting Gallic incursions into central Italy had no repercussions on the Gauls of Emilia until the arrival of the Romans.

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## TUSCANY

Finds from the Lower Palaeolithic period, specifically of the advanced Acheulean type, are widespread across the Tuscan plateau: one or two artefacts come from Angelina di Montopoli Valdarno in the province of Pisa, Malmantile and Bricoli near Florence, Montepulciano in the province of Siena, and Vico di Badia Capolona, Cortona, Foiano, Capezzine di Barulla, and Fonte Vetriana. One deposit stands out, located on a high terrace near Montelupo Fiorentino, as it contains Clactonian artefacts, which are very rare on the Tyrrhenian coast. It is also interesting to note that Acheulean amygdales of a quality of jasper pro-near Siena, specifically in Radicofani Cetona Rapolano. It is therefore highly probable that the Tuscan soil itself contains abundant artefacts from the Lower Palaeolithic period, which have not yet been located.

So far, most of the Palaeolithic documentation in Tuscany belongs to the Middle Palaeolithic. Thanks to this wealth of data, the corresponding Mousterian industry can be described in at least four fundamental aspects for the region: the most archaic one of the Acheulean tradition, the one of Monteriggioni, the Gosto type and the denticulated one. The first is still framed by the aforementioned Arno terrace near Montelupo, and then a high terrace on the Merse at the point where it flows into the Ombrone, in the Siena area. Based on its small, sturdy tools with characteristic retouching, Monteriggioni near Siena builds a distant bridge and connects with the Mousterian industry of the Alto cave on the Salento peninsula. The complex identified

In the Gosto cave, on the eastern side of Mount Cetona, also in the Siena area, there are closer, but also less random, correspondences in Laterina between Arezzo and Montevarchi, as well as at the other end of the region near Viareggio, in the Capriolo cave in Pian di Mommio in the municipality of Massarosa. In addition to these finds, which are richer in material and can therefore be classified, sporadic Mousterian artefacts have been found throughout Tuscany: from the Apuan Alps in the caves of Onda, Buca del Tasso and Tecchia di Equi; from the hilly area between Arno, Greve, Pesa near Florence, and from the inland province of Arezzo, along the coast to Argentario where, among other sites, the Punta degli Stretti cave is linked to Lazio for its Pontinian-type industry, which is also present with a few examples on the promontory of Piombino, at Villa del Barone near the Gulf of Baratti. There is a high concentration of open-air settlements on the island of Elba, which was then connected to the mainland. The denticulated Mousterian, chronologically the last in the series, is well represented in the northern area, as in the caves already seen at Onda, Duca del Tasso, Tecchia di Equi, Capriolo in Pian di Moro-mio and in the nearby Buca della Lena, as well as at Lake Massaciuccoli near Torre del Lago, also in the province of Lucca, but above all in Livorno, in the Monte Burrone area and along the coast.

Although less impressive, it can be said that the evidence of the Upper Palaeolithic in Tuscany frames the entire cultural history of the peninsula at that time. From the Sienese terraces of Merse and San Romano di Pisa, the horizon opens up again and decisively towards Puglia, with an industry reflecting the archaic phase of the Uluzzian culture, which established itself in Salento as the oldest of the Italian Upper Palaeolithic. The Aurignacian is continuously represented by older and more recent sites: the Vallombrosina in the Greve valley near Florence is ancient, with a Dufour lamella industry; this is followed by finds on the island of Elba, at Lake Massaciuccoli, in Florence, and in Laterina near Montevarchi; the collega-

are in Liguria. The Gravettian culture is documented in the Arezzo area at Monte San Savino and Laterina, in a site not far from the one that had previously yielded Mousterian and Aurignacian finds. However, the Gravettian tradition appears to have taken root throughout the entire region

with the Epigravettian aspect: this industry is reported on the island of Elba; at the lake of Massaciuccoli and at the Leone di Agnana cave near Pisa; also in the area between Arno

Greve Pesa and Chiocciola del Valdarno superiore; in the Siena area, along the Merse river and in the Monte Cetona area in Sarteano and Pian Castagnaio; Monte Amiata; the Grosseto coastline, east of Massa Marittima and the La Fabbrica cave in the Uccellina mountains. The connections with Apulia and Liguria seem to be summarised at the end of the period by the Romanellian current, which moved northwards from Apulia in several stages until it reached Liguria: in Tuscany, it left its traces in the Golino cave in Talamone (province of Grosseto) and in the Campana cave in Ponte Maggio in the Lima valley (province of Lucca).

The Middle Neolithic period is defined as the most important area of prehistoric interest in Tuscany, that of Cetona, near Chiusi. In the Orso cave in Sarteano, there is an example of engraved line pottery, which, due to its distinctive features, differs from the Fiorano culture and constitutes a separate, more recent culture. The economy is, as there, based on agriculture and alle-

livestock. But, for example, the jugs, with their convex bases and cylindrical necks, stand out for the absence of any trace of a handle. The recency of the Sarteano culture is supported by the presence of a decorative motif consisting of triangles filled with impressed dots and rectangles filled with dense lines, a motif that, in the original Danube area, appears in the second phase of the Linearbandkeramik or Bi.kk civilisation. The same horizon is found not far away, in the Lattaia cave. In the subsequent layer of the Upper Neolithic, this cave extends i connections with ceramic fragments belonging to the Apulian-Lucanian civilisation of

Serra d'Alto and the Sicilian civilisation of Diana: contacts with southern Italy continued in the form of trade and exchange. This was especially true with the people of Diana, who were intensely involved in commercial activity.

The cultural phase of Sarteano also highlights the territory of Pisa, which will always gravitate towards the world of Padanian civilisation. At the Leone cave in Agnano, already inhabited at the end of the Palaeolithic period and now yielding Sarteano-type pottery, the stratigraphic succession continues with greater richness until the Bronze Age. This is flanked by the Romita shelter in Asciano, where settlements continued uninterrupted until the Middle Ages, albeit alternating between periods of actual habitation and periods of mere frequentation: evidently due to its particularly fortunate position, leaning against the secure walls of Mount Pisano, close to regions impregnated with marshes. This area and that of Versilia, immediately to the north, became part of the Lombard civilisation of Lagozza, which established itself in the following period, at the end of the Neolithic, and which continued here in delayed forms until the Eneolithic. Finds in this regard come from the two Pisan caves just mentioned and from the Onda cave in the Apuan Alps behind Camaione (province of Lucca).

The novelty of prehistoric Tuscany is confined to its southern part, and is the emergence of the Rinaldone culture, with traces south of the Amo and west of the Tevere, but increasingly well documented along the course of the Fiora river and the shores of Lake Bolsena, now in Lazio. We are here in the classic Eneolithic type of central Italy.

, but better documented along the course of the Fiora river and the shores of Lake Bolsena, now in Lazio. Here we find the classic Eneolithic type of central Italy.

However, the remains of this civilisation, which left only burials as evidence of its existence, indicate a difference between the rituals in Lazio and Tuscany that may be symptomatic: not only are the shape and structure of the tombs different, but in Tuscany there is also a clear prevalence of weapons in the grave goods. If northern Lazio and the neighbouring area of the upper course of the Fiora represent the place

Before reaching their definitive affirmation and complete evolution, the shepherds who carried the culture of Rinaldone seem to have gone through a previous, more precarious and warlike phase, as they made their way from north-east to south-west across Tuscany. Among all the cultural materials, the key ones are the typical battle axes that can be traced back beyond the Umbria-Marche Apennines and the Adriatic shores to the Eneolithic Danubian models of Vuče-dol. Numerous necropolises that are now fully Rinaldian can be found on the border with Lazio, in the municipalities of Pitigliano, Manciano and Capalbio.

This organically formed civilisation contrasts with the commercial expansion of the Remedello civilisation, which originated in Lombardy and spread burial types to Guardistallo and Pomarance in the province of Pisa, as well as characteristic materials such as those found at Tecchia della Gabbellaccia near Carrara and Monte Bradoni near Volterra.

of Pisa, or characteristic materials such as those found at Tecchia della Gabbellaccia near Carrara and Monte Bradoni near Volterra. In the tombs of Guardistallo, Pomarance and Monte

Bradoni, all three sites more or less close to Volterra, also contain elements of the Rinaldone type. Rather than a contrast, in Tuscany there is an intertwining of the Remedellian trade routes with the routes of Rinaldonian penetration. Only the northern part, precisely because of its geographical position, remains outside the flow of these movements of people and goods: it is influenced by both Remedellian and Rinaldonian cultures but features coarse pottery, often with a rough surface, sometimes decorated with a simple striped pattern, which has no counterpart in the cultures of the this age and is probably an expression of the pre-current substrate substrate. This level is well represented in the shelter of Romita di Asciano, where it began around 4300 years ago and ended around 3800 years ago. Among other things, a typical bell-shaped vase was found here. However, the area remains naturally open to the north in the immediately following phase, also known as the 'Asciano aspect: the roots of the Campanian tradition are strong, now ingrained, and elements deriving

This aspect is characterised by elements of the Polada type, which are new to the Po Valley.

While the northern part of Tuscany maintains its own character, reworking influences that affect it marginally, particularly from the north, without disrupting the status quo, in the central-southern part the substratum is completely assimilated by the cultural dynamism that during the Bronze Age will lead to the formation of the great Apennine civilisation in the circle of Marche, Abruzzo, northern Lazio and, indeed, central-southern Tuscany. This development is fully reflected in Belverde di Cetona, a terrace on the eastern side of the massif of the same name. Here, fragments of pottery decorated with bands of simple dots prove connections with the Marche region as early as the early Bronze Age, namely with the Conelle civilisation of the Marche. This connection was further developed when the site became a permanent settlement for the people of the Apennines, with the remains of a dry-stone walled settlement associated with a large complex of caves, with burial deposits rich in bronze and ceramic grave goods, ritual hearths and votive deposits of cereals. All this lasted throughout the Bronze Age and continued into the Sub-Apennine phase. The latter was widespread in Tuscany, with its western limit at Monte Giove on the island of Elba and its northern limit at the ever-present shelter of the Romita di Asciano. But while the Sub-Apennines expanded their sphere of influence, their centre was reached by another movement in full evolutionary process, the Proto-Villanovan-Viano. Mixed Sub-Apennine and Proto-Villanovan materials are found in Pienza in the cave of Beato Benincasa and, even closer to Cetona, in the cave of Orso di Sarteano. Proto-Villanovan ceramics have intruded into Belverde itself. In the immediate vicinity, a Proto-Villanovan centre can be identified in the fortified settlement on the hill of Casa Cadetti, which has yielded an abundance of ceramics and bronzes. This has repercussions on the south-eastern margins of the

Tuscany an expansive force that is not only of Adriatic and trans-Adriatic origin, such as that of Rinaldo, but is predominantly northern: its most important stages are found in the Marche region at Pianello di Genga near Fabriano and at the Cappuccini hill in Ancona. Beyond the Marche region, it draws on the currents that first emerged in an organic way in northern Italy

, radiating some elements towards the south. It reaches, in unknown proportions, through Sabina or the Fiora valley, even Rome, where it constitutes an important enrichment and alteration of the proto-Latin tradition.

The next phase is known as Villanovan and extends to throughout the Tuscany. Vetulonia and Populonia on the coast, Volterra and Chiusi in the interior are the main centres where an increasingly well-documented history is emerging.

The early civil development of Etruria means that the notion of prehistory becomes inappropriate when applied to the Villanovan phase. From the point of view of prehistory, the only possible definition is that there is no a Etruria prehistoric Etruria, but as many centres as there are locations suitable for two purposes: metal trading and commercial activities. These are the two factors that lie at the origin of Etruscan political power.

Starting in the 6th century BC, there was a sort of Etruscan colonisation from Tuscany towards the Po Valley. Traces of toponymic dependence can be found in Feltre, ascending to Vel(a)thri 'Volterra', in Felsina, descending from the reconstructed form YELZNA of Volsinii 'Orvieto', and perhaps in the Trentino hydronym Fersina, to be compared with Vers(ilia) (cf. pp. 43, 51, 66).

From a more strictly ethnic point of view, Tuscany

is straightforward. Of course, here as in other regions, it began with isolated settlements, followed by settlements with casual commercial contacts, organised contacts such as those described above with clearly identifiable origins, and finally more specific ethnic pressures. The Rinaldone civilisation and the Bronze Age civilisation of Cetona can certainly be linked to the first signs of Indo-European-speaking tribes. However, the fundamental character of prehistoric Tuscany, as in the early Middle Ages, lies in its substantial isolation. The great route of communication from north to south and vice versa, which today seems to be identified absolutely and obviously with Tuscany (the 'centre of Italy'), followed a route that was significantly different from that of the Autostrada del Sole: it was, broadly speaking, that of the current Via Flaminia, but always to the east of the marshy areas that accompanied the course of the Tiber. In these circumstances, we might be led to choose from the numerous infiltrations of words, proper names and even grammatical forms that are non-

w h i c h appear in the Etruscan language in its historical period, as well as a long succession of chronologically and geographically diverse currents. But these are always isolated facts that do not impose themselves but are accepted and, so to speak, digested into the 'Etruscan' language. As ethnic layers, we can only contrast a Tyrrhenian age and a Roman age. The 'Etruscan' phase, which we must recognise as preceding submission to Rome, is nothing more than an elaboration of primitive Tyrrhenian culture, enriched with energy and cultural and technical patterns flowing in from Greek colonisation and from the social organisation suggested by Indo-European models.

The same toponymy, which in certain regions aligns complex stratifications, in Tuscany aligns only a homogeneous series of words that have more or less distant connections, oriented in one direction rather than another, but do not allow for a relationship of succession over time. The cities of Arezzo, Volterra, Populonia, Vetulonia, as well as Fiesole and Chiusi (Etr. C/evsins) sink with their

names have their roots in the most remote Tyrrhenian antiquity. The national name of the Etruscans, Rasenna, survives in the name of an obscure hamlet in the municipality of Visso, in the Umbria-Marche Apennines, which still belongs to the province of Macerata.

One final clarification concerns an internal distinction within the region we call Tuscany, which does not correspond geographically to the 'Tyrrhenia' of prehistory. The northern limits of Tuscany are now represented by the ridge of the Apennines between Tuscany and Emilia; at that time, they were represented by the marshy area that accompanied the lower course of the Arno. The current provinces of Lucca and Massa were at that time Ligurian territory, not Tyrrhenian. La

The northern part of the current province of Arezzo, namely Casentino, had Umbrian-Ligurian connections. Finally, a distinction between two 'Tyrrhenias' also appears in historical times in relations with the Romans. The Tuscany of the lower Arno basin reacted differently to the central and southern Tyrrhenia because the former left a relatively scarce heritage of Etruscan inscriptions compared to Latin ones, i.e. it achieved a relatively early ethnic mix compared to the other Tyrrhenia, in which the mass of Etruscan inscriptions largely outweighs that of Latin inscriptions and guarantees its linguistic and therefore cultural autonomy until the beginning of the imperial age.

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## MARCHE

The prehistory of the Marche region outlines an uninterrupted sequence of arrivals, mixtures and cultural evolutions. The presence of ancient hunters from the Lower Palaeolithic period is documented throughout the area by Acheulean mandibles and Clactonian flakes found in the Tarugo stream valley near Isola di Fano, in the Metauro floodplains in Calcinelli, on the banks of the Nevola, Misa, Musone and Chienti rivers, then in San Severino Marche and Tolentino, and on Mount Conero immediately south of Ancona. The latter find is of greatest interest as the deposit is in situ, while the others are secondary deposits. Here, a regular stratigraphy has been identified in which the level with evolved Acheulean industry, also including a proto-Levalloisian artefact, is overlaid by a sterile layer and then a layer of brown clay with Mousterian industry, thus illustrating the transition to the Middle Palaeolithic. Although the Mousterian has its most significant evidence on Mount Conero, there are other examples in various parts of the region, such as Monterubbiano di Ascoli and along the Nevola Misa Musone rivers. There is less extensive evidence of the Upper Palaeolithic period; two sites in the province of Ancona, close to each other, are recognised as belonging to this period: the Prete cave in Genga and the Ferrovia cave near Fabriano. Two unique relics are the fossilised remains of animals, which are extremely rare in Italy: the mammoth from Figura di Tiberio and the Irish megaceros from San Lorenzo Val Cesano (province of Pesaro). These remains date back to the Mousterian period.

The Neolithic age shows signs of ferment in all areas of the Marches

. Multiple cultural currents crossed the territory, initially in isolation, then in an almost criss-crossing manner. The first was that of impressed pottery, typical of southern Adriatic Italy. The oldest known site in the Marche region is at Monte Co-Lombo near Numana (province of Ancona) near the sea. Next are the two villages of Maddalena di Muccia in the Chienti valley and, to the north, Ripabianca di Monterado sul Cesano, both with sunken huts and belonging to the second phase of local development, more precisely in the Marche-Abruzzo region, where ceramic decoration is rare and, in any case, not very varied. Carbon-14 analysis dates the Maddalena di Muccia finds to around 6600 years ago; for those from Ripabianca, it gives two dates: around 6210 and around 6140 from today. Other influences are already evident in this second settlement, through the discovery of artefacts linked to the more recent northern tradition of incised line ceramics.

The cultural horizon that emerges in the third millennium a. C. sees southern and northern currents intersecting: as in the village of sunken huts of Santa Maria in Selva di Treia, near Macerata, which has yielded ceramics typical of the Ripoli culture and thus falls within the the southern current of painted pottery, but has also yielded vessel shapes and stone tools typical of the northern culture of the Lagozza . The Eneolithic period saw a prevalence of east-west contacts over north-south ones. Near Recanati, in the locality of La Svolta, a pit burial shows Remedellian echoes in its oval shape and four accompanying arrowheads, while its grave goods also include a narrow-necked vase dating back to the Rinaldone types. This situation is a reflection of what is happening in Tuscany. It is no coincidence that the Eneolithic pottery found in the deposits of Attiggio di Fabriano and Berbentina di Sassoferrato is reminiscent of the Gros Solan pottery of northern Tuscany.

Trans-Apennine connections were decisive in the context of the fundamental events that followed, when Bronze Age civilisation took on great importance in the Marche region and constituted the essence of what is known as Apennine civilisation, in contrast to the terramare civilisation of the Po Valley. The Apennine stations of the Marche region are characterised by their geographical position, connected to a series of passes that are among the lowest in the entire Apennines: Scheggia, 575 metres; Bocca Serriola, 730 metres; Fossato, 740 metres; and Colfiorito, 750 metres. Their flourishing is therefore associated with a dynamism that links them to the parallel resorts of the Umbria-Tuscany region. The Apennines pose an ethnic problem for the first time. This is not the case with its origins, which suggest at most the hypothesis of trans-Adriatic influences that were certainly not yet ethnic, but commercial and, to a small extent, demographic. A current from the early Bronze Age, which can be considered a formative component of the Apennine, can be identified in the Marche region in the form of the Conelle culture. In the locality of Conelle near Arcevia, in the

In the Misa spring basin, an imposing ditch filled with cultural material has come to light, whose original function must have been to defend the village. The huts were presumably built at ground level, as they have disappeared without a trace. The artefacts are typical of shepherds: few millstones, numerous hammer axes and mace heads, willow leaf daggers, points, blades, awls and bone spatulas, pickaxes and a few chisels made of chamois horn. The pottery, coarse or finer with a shiny black or greyish surface, features the characteristic decoration of bands of simple dots, which has parallels in Tuscany, at Belverde di Cetona, and more widely in the Ortuocchio culture, which is the Abruzzo aspect of the same trend that manifested itself at Conelle. This decoration recurs in the Apennine culture. In addition to this, the Apennine culture shares with the Conelle culture the trait of pastoral communities, which stand out in an environment of agricultural tradition. The Apennine

Ninico seems to fit into the picture as the development of the first groups of nomads who came into contact with the indigenous people, adopting their economic way of life but modifying their cultural patterns, forming a new complex with the newcomers. E. Now a whole civilisation is on the way to becoming pastoral and warrior-like.

However, agricultural trends inherent to the environment cannot help but emerge here and there, and ultimately prevail. Faunal finds from the Apennine levels of the Mezzogiorno cave in the Sentina gorge show a percentage of 58% sheep and goats, typical of a pastoral society. This continues in the second layer, which dates back to 3300 years ago, i.e. the 14th century BC. Conversely, an agricultural settlement not far away, in the Sentina valley, shows a percentage of sheep and goats of only 1%, while 62% are pigs and 27% are cattle: an important step towards agricultural activity. Systematic excavations at Monte Santa Croce near Sassofenato reveal another of these pastoral complexes, with no traces of hut foundations and therefore likely to have been used for summer stays in the open air.

The Apennine civilisation shows little stone production, while it is rich and varied in clay materials. The pottery can be coarse or refined and glossy, dark grey or blackish in colour (buccheroid pottery). The handles are characteristic and varied in type. The decoration is engraved on buccheroid vases and is often filled with white paste, which makes it stand out in relief. These are bands that form geometric patterns, including frequent spirals and meanders. The bands filled with dense dots from the most archaic Apennine period are replaced by bands with sparse dots and finally by hatching or incised filling. The bronzes include pins, daggers similar to those of the Terramaricoli, blades with hollowed-out handles to receive bone inlays, violin-shaped and high-arched fibulae. Bone tools include awls, spatulas and needles. Shell necklaces are also numerous. The main site is Santa Paolina di Filottrano (province of Ancona), which, however,

The failure to recognise the discovery of a clear double stratification is detrimental. In the corresponding burial ground, the dead appear supine without grave goods. Other interesting sites worth mentioning are Pieve Torina and San Severino in the province of Macerata.

However, most of the stations date back to the terminal phase known as sub-Apennine: among others, Monte Francalo di Pollenza near Macerata, Bachero sul Musone, and the Baffoni, Leonardo, and Grottone caves in the Sentina valley. Carbone, and continuous settlements such as Santa Paolina di Filottrano, Pieve Torina, Pianello di Genga, the Frasassi shelter and the surroundings of the Maniche cave, formerly Apennine centres. In general, the cultural types of the Apennines are maintained in this phase, with the exception of decoration, which gradually disappears. However, new elements also appear, particularly significant ones from the terramare tradition, such as crescent-shaped handles. Above all, however, the terramare influence is important in promoting the definitive spread of agricultural activity.

The transition to the Iron Age is most clearly reflected in the Pianello di Genga deposit, in whose upper levels the urns of a Proto-Villanovan necropolis have been found

This marks the transition to the new funeral rite of cremation and proves the presence of northern influence, which until now had only been mentioned occasionally. The typical furnishings consist of cylindrical urns, low, bulbous biconical jars, and finally bowls with some trans-Adriatic correspondences. The Pianello phase is reflected in the ne , not far away, on Mount La

Rossa near Serra San Quirico, as well as in the area of the Maniche cave and the Frasassi shelter, already flanked since the Apennine period; it also has an important parallel in the findings of the Cappuccini hill in Ancona, where the Proto-Villanovan settlement with a single bronze object (a six-spoked wheel, similar to one found in Pianello) continues in the successive layers.

Piceno and Roman. A continuation of this clearly Proto-Villanovan type can be seen in the cremation tombs of Fermo, now attributed to the 8th century, i.e. to the Piceno-Adriatic period, but isolated amid the revival of burial, characteristic of this new era.

The Piceno Iron Age civilisation reached heights of perfection. Of the more than fifty known necropolises, more than half are located in the province of Ascoli, connected to the adjacent Abruzzo territory of Teramo. The others are distributed evenly among the remaining provinces. The tombs are usually rectangular pits, without mounds, marked by trapezoidal stones or rough rocks. The dead were curled up, with a stone under their heads. The grave goods indicate a distinctly warrior-like society. The finds from the Iron Age consist of weapons, tools, bronze vessels, ceramics, ornaments and plastic. The chronological arrangement of the Picene necropolises is approximately as follows. The beginnings of the necropolises of Fermo, Monteroberto near Lesi and Novilara near Pesaro (Molaroni phase) date back to the 9th century and are characterised by double and even quadruple spiral fibulae with little iron and no bronze vessels. The second phase of Novilara (Servici), Numana, Belmonte, Offida, Spinetoli, Montegiorgio, and Cupra Marittima can be traced back to the 7th century. The sixth century saw the beginnings of the necropolises of Tolentino and, most recently, that of Grottazzolina (province of Ascoli Piceno) in the locality of Piane di Tenna, not far from Belmonte, with a total of twenty-seven tombs, some of which are rich in grave goods.

The affirmation of the Piceno-Adriatic Iron Age civilisation reflects a movement from the sea towards the mountains (from east to west) and from the mouth of the Tronto River towards that of the Foglia River (from south to north). Its important echoes extend westwards as far as the Lazio region. Its antecedents are essentially trans-Adriatic, more evident than the previous parallels of the Apennine period.

They also reflect an ethnic and linguistic element, albeit not a conspicuous one.

The main find from the Gallic period is that of Monte-fortino near Arcevia. It comprises around fifty tombs, corresponding to the La Tène civilisation, which provide a sufficiently clear picture of the not inconsiderable Gallic civilisation from 350 BC onwards.

Even before the Roman era, Greek influences were felt, culminating in the colony of Ancona (founded by the Syracusans in 390), as well as Etruscan influences, which continued into later periods, as shown by the bilingual Etruscan-Latin inscription in Pesaro, even close to the Augustan era. In 268 BC, the colony of Rimini marked the advent of the Roman era.

From an ethnic and linguistic point of view, the Marche region in its earliest phase is associated with the Piceni people. In the restrictive sense, already given for example to the Ligurians, of a pre-Indo-European phase, not yet affected by Indo-European ethnic and linguistic groups. This very ancient layer includes names of peoples such as the Asili and the Liburni, and the very important place name of Rasenna, a hamlet in the municipality of Visso (province of Macerata), which survived hidden in an inaccessible area of the Umbrian-Marche Apennines near the ridge (see p. 79). Linguistic evidence of this phase can be found in five inscriptions discovered in Rimini, Novilara (two), Fano and Osimo. The most important of these is the first one from Novilara (number 343 in J. Whatmough's classic collection), consisting of eleven lines, which, like the Etruscan inscriptions, defies interpretation but is written in a language different from Etruscan. A second linguistic testimony, this one of non-Indo-European origin, is represented by the inscriptions known as Proto-Sabellian, three of which concern the Marche region. They come from...

They come from Belmonte, Acquaviva, Castignano, all in the province of Ascoli, among which the last one stands out with the first two words *matereif*, *patereif*, clearly similar to the Latin types *mater*, *pater*. These inscriptions, accompanied by others in the Abruzzo region, correspond to the earliest phases of the so-called Asco-Umbrian tradition, attested in more recent times in central and southern Italy, from Gubbio to Messina. There is no linguistic evidence between the pre-Indo-European and Proto-Sabellian languages. However, the presence of northern elements in the Latin language, for example the treatment of the ancient aspirated consonants in *ruber* with the internal *-b-* (different from the *rufus* of the Oscans-Umbrians and the *rutilus* of the Proto-Latins), presupposes the Proto-Villanovan strand that reached Rome after leaving, as we have seen, two important documents in the Marche region, Pianello di Genga and Colle dei Cappuccini di Ancona, and through the Marche region allowed it to connect with the evidence of parallels of the ancient Venetic .

The last pressure in the pre-Roman era was that represented by the Senones Gauls, who, according to Livy, settled between the Montone and Esino rivers, i.e. along the Adriatic coast between Forlì and Falconara, starting in the 5th century BC. They left not only an archaeological mark in the Marche region north of the Esino, but also survive in the name of Senigallia itself (see p. 68).

## UMBRIA

The remarkable prehistoric finds in Umbria are distributed evenly across time and are clearly presented in the beautiful Museum of Perugia. The find at Monte Peglia, north of Orvieto, stands out for having yielded an object from the most ancient human industry, known as Pebble Culture: outside

Apart from Sicily, Umbria is the only Italian region that can reliably claim such a find. Its association with the remains of extinct animal species, such as the complete set of teeth found belonging to *Machairodus*, a sabre-toothed tiger that survived in these regions from the Tertiary to the Quaternary periods, is practically decisive in this regard.

initial. Next come the Acheulean bifaces, which also stand out both for their distribution and their number: a fine series, collected on the terraces of the rivers that run through Umbria from north to south, east to west and west to east, the Tiber, Chiascio, Genna, Caina and Nestore; in the area of Lake Trasimeno, at Castiglione del Lago, Tuoro, Borghetto; in the mountainous area of the south-east, around Abeto di Norcia. Musterian artefacts, now belonging to the Middle Palaeolithic, also come from Abeto di Norcia. However, the alluvial deposits of the Tiber and Chiascio rivers are particularly important for the Mousterian period.

From the Upper Palaeolithic period, we have a remarkable artistic document

in the form of the so-called Venus of Trasimeno, a headless, 3.7 cm tall, full-round steatite statuette, now in Florence in the Palma di Cesnola collection. From the final, Epigravettian phase, we know of the San Martino in Colle site and the one on a river terrace near San Vito in Monte, located about twenty kilometres from Perugia in

southbound direction. Even more recent is the Tane del Diavolo cave industry, near P arrano north of Orvieto, which features Romanellian elements and marks the end of the Palaeolithic period in Umbria.

Cultural developments resumed in the Middle Neolithic period, within the context of the incised line pottery tradition: slightly north-east of Orvieto, the internal galleries of the Pozzi della Piana in Titignano, together with the neighbouring Tuscan caves around Cetona, represent the core of the Sarteano culture. The Late Neolithic period is reached through a hut foundation discovered near Norcia, which shows the adoption of elements of the northern culture of Lagozza, which spread south-east to the Marche and Abruzzo regions, and the penetration of ceramics from the Sicilian civilisation of Diana, which had another hub of its vast commercial network here.

In the Eneolithic period, the tomb of Poggio Aquilone, in the municipality of Marsciano south of Perugia, is of considerable importance, attesting to the expansion of the Rinaldone civilisation. The Rinaldone civilisation has been traced in the territory between the Amo and Tiber rivers and culminates in the area between the Fiora river and Lake Bolsena, immediately beyond the western borders of Umbria. It is particularly important for its Danubian connections and constitutes the first evidence of those nuclei that would have first brought elements of Indo-European linguistic tradition to Italy.

Other pastoral groups then appeared on the Adriatic coast, giving rise to the two similar civilisations of Conelle and Ortucchio, respectively in the Nevola- Senti no in the Marche region and in the Fucino basin in Abruzzo. This current crossed the Umbria-Marche Apennines or descended the Abruzzo Apennines, turning northwards along the course of the rivers, leaving traces of pottery with characteristic decoration in bundles of pun-tini, found together with traditional Lagozzian pottery shapes. Lagozzian tradition in the remains of huts in the lower layers of the

area of the acctatene;<sup>1</sup> evidence from the Iron Age was then superimposed on these remains. Before the transition to the latter age, however, Umbria was absorbed into the Apennine civilisation: both ancient and recent evidence of the period can be found in the Bella cave in Montecastrilli, not far from Temi, in the San Francesco cave in Titignano near Orvieto and, a little further north, in the Tane del Diavolo in Parrano, where the deposit began with the Romanellian level mentioned above. Of particular interest are the Late Bronze Age materials from a presumed storage room in Gualdo Tadino, containing gold discs and sheets, scalpels, knives, fibulae, and bronze needles. Together with the older finds at the Temi steelworks, these discoveries outline a north-south route that was characteristic of Umbria even in the following age.

At the same time, linguistic data reveal a clear sense of frontier and its gradual identification with the Tiber. At Gubbio, the Etruscan frontier is the western limit of Umbria, as shown in the Tables of Gubbio, a famous ritual text of the religious corporation of the Atiedii brothers. At Todi, this same settlement on the banks of the Tiber bears the name 'city of borders' in Etruscan rather than Umbrian: TU LAR 'borders' adapted by the Umbrians to Todi (Latin: Tuder). The border is identified with the eastern bank, with its distinct profile, rather than the western bank, which is marshy. This rigid border continues southwards until it disappears into territory that is no longer Umbrian or Etruscan, but Faliscan.

The transition period to Iron draws our attention to Monteleone di Spoleto. East of Spoleto, but in a secluded location in the Como valley, a tributary of the Nera, towards which it flows in a south-north direction. Monte-leone had already been important in earlier times due to a circular wall of ancient tradition, but no specific findings have been made. In later times, Monte-

Leone handed down a tomb, from which the famous chariot emerged, now preserved in the Museum of New York. During further research around this tomb, forty-four pit tombs were discovered in the same location (called Colle del Capitano) containing urns of cremated remains with no grave goods except for three small bronze bells and a violin-shaped fibula. The connections are evident: on the one hand, looking back to the past, there is an easy link with the finds at Pianello di Genga in the Marche region, both in terms of the shape and the decorations of the ossuaries; looking forward to later periods, there is a link with the oldest tombs in Lazio. Here we have more than just clues, but real evidence of a succession, from north to south, of a current that avoids the apparently easier routes, not only of the Tiber but also of the Tapino and the lowlands between Foligno and Spoleto, and prefers to venture into the mountains, reaching the plain of Rieti and then Terni.

This was the time when Terni, strengthened by its position geographical, reaches its maximum significance. The remains of the Conelle-Ortucchio civilisation are home to a large cremation necropolis dating back to approximately the 10th-8th centuries, which is identified with the maturation and adaptation in southern Umbria of what had been transmitted to it from the Marche basin of the Sentina and Esino rivers. The period of the cremation civilisation that developed from the so-called Proto-Villanovan tradition is not something closed in on itself. Before the funeral rite changed again, there is evidence of new influences that attenuated the egalitarian rigour of the absence of grave goods. These new influences resulted in a series of pit graves that represent the burial rite and are particularly abundant in the locality of San Pietro in Campo. These correspond to the 7th-6th centuries and find parallels and analogies not only in similar rites found in Lazio, but also in the Piceno Iron Age civilisation.

In the Terni basin, they converge at the end of the

Prehistory proper, not only northern currents settling, but also eastern and southern currents. The Terni basin thus achieves, on an archaeological and cultural level, the unifying effort that, on a linguistic level, appears to be characteristic of Rome. The geographical centre of Italy, its so-called navel, is not far away. According to the ancients, it was located in Cotilia, now in the province of Rieti, just beyond the eastern border of Umbria. Immediately on this side, however, in Piediluco, a storeroom with its rich contents of bronzes, but now datable to the Iron Age, bears witness to the prehistoric period of Umbria in the most significant way, right in the heart of Italy (see also the map at the back of the volume).

The prehistoric definition of Umbria differs from its historical definition in Roman antiquity. In the latter, it is the region immediately east of Etruria, stretching as far as the Adriatic Sea. In prehistoric times, it corresponded more to a sort of channel between the Adriatic and Piceno worlds to the east and the Tyrrhenian world to the west, not unlike what occurs today, with Umbria lying between Tuscany and the Marche.

There are numerous toponymic references to the pre-Indo-European layer in Umbria: Arna (now Civitella d'Arne), Amelia, Assisi, Bevagna (in ancient times Mevania), Gubbio, Norcia, Perugia, Spello, Spoleto, and Tadino, among the names of towns; Chiascio, Tescio, Assino, and Nera (formerly Nahar) are among the names of rivers. Todi is an Etruscan name already mentioned. Nocera, Otricoli, Trevi and the ancient name of Città di Castello, i.e. Tifernum in Latin, are of Umbrian-Indo-European origin in our sense and thus date back to the Iron Age. The name of the Umbrians seems to be Umbrian in this same sense.

<< Camerti » who have left a trace immediately

east of the current borders in Camer(ino), and immediately west in Camars, the ancient name of Chiusi. However, the Proto-Villanovan culture, which brought northern elements through Umbria to Lazio, does not deserve the name 'Umbrian'. Instead, it is linked to Veneto, as it is closely connected to the places of origin of the ancient Roman tribe of the Venetulani (see pp. 42 and 105).

On the other hand, the name of the Umbrians is never found associated with the linguistic documents that we call 'Umbrian' in the Indo-European sense. The Umbrians of antiquity appear in many parts of Italy, including Tuscany; in toponymy, even in the Parma Apennines, there are two localities called Ombria and Tosca, which show how the prehistoric antithesis of the two names extended well beyond central Italy, on a level unrelated to and prior to the ethnic settlement of tribes of Indo-European linguistic tradition.

The elements we have at our disposal to frame the notion of Umbrians in our own, non-European sense, as bearers of a specific linguistic tradition established in Umbria and continued there until the 1st century BC, are as follows. As for the ethnic name they gave themselves, we have nothing other than the name that the tribes descended from these 'Umbrians' and migrated to southern Italy (Samnites) and central-southern Italy (Sabelli) continued to give themselves: it is the reconstructed name *SABH-*. As for their geographical settlement, we have at our disposal the elements from the aforementioned, ever-fundamental Tables of Gubbio. These define three ethnic groups as foreign enemies: the *'Tursko'*, i.e. Tuscan or Etruscan, in the west; the *'Iapudico'* in the north, which corresponds to those remnants of pre-Indo-European tradition symbolised by the famous inscription of Novilara near Fano; and finally the *'Narci'* or *'Na-harci'*, i.e. the inhabitants of the Nera valley (Latin: *Nahar*), located south-east of Gubbio along the eastern border of the region. If we consider that the name of the priestly brotherhood of Gubbio derives from the name of the ancient city of Atiedio (now Attiggio, a hamlet of Fabriano) and that the in-

The collection of Paleo-Umbrian (Proto-Sabellian) inscriptions is distributed throughout the Adriatic valleys between Osimo and Teramo. It seems clear that we can recognise the prehistoric itinerary of the Umbrians in the Indo-European sense (SABH) as bearers of the Piceno-Adriatic Iron Age civilisation who travelled up the Apennine valleys, starting for example from the Chienti valley, to introduce a younger Indo-European linguistic tradition between the Iapudi and Naharci.

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## LAZIO

In protohistory, the territory of Lazio appears divided into two large areas, defined by the course of the Tiber: on the right bank of the river lies «Etruscan» Lazio, distinct and different from the area on the left bank, which is more properly known as "Lazio". However, by the end of prehistory, which ushered in the Iron Age, this distinction had become blurred, giving rise to a real contrast.

The importance of Lazio's prehistory is framed by locations that are characteristic enough to determine and define typical phases of cultural development. The first still belongs to the Middle Palaeolithic, is a variant of the well-known Mousterian and is called Pontinian after the Pontine region where it is found. The second belongs to the Upper Palaeolithic, is a variant of the Aurignacian and is called Circeian after Mount Circeo, to which it is closely linked. The third is that of Sasso, which belongs to the Middle Neolithic and has links with Emilia in Italy; it takes its name from the locality of Sasso di Furbara north of Rome on the road to Civitavecchia. Finally, the locality of Rinaldone in the province of Viterbo defines an important phase of the Eneolithic period, with its Adriatic and trans-Adriatic antecedents.

Evidence from the Lower Palaeolithic period is concentrated in the Liri Valley and Rome. This distribution suggests that the Agro Romano and its surrounding area were also inhabited but have not preserved the corresponding traces, due to the profound changes they underwent in the Pleistocene, alternately submerged by the sea or by lava flows and lapilli from the Laziale, Sabatino and Volsiniese volcanic groups. In the Liri basin, there are

Acheulean mandibles in excellent physical condition have been found in Vetrine in the municipality of Pontecorvo; others have been found in Pigna-Taro Interamna near Cassino together with the remains of warm-blooded fauna such as pachyderms, then in the Pelagalli quarry in the municipality of Aquino and, again nearby, in Roccasecca and Casalvieri. In Rome, the Valchetta Cartoni quarry has yielded two artefacts which, together with those from Montelupo near Florence, are so far the only examples of Clactonian industry on the Tyrrhenian side of the peninsula. An Acheulean amygdala was found on the banks of the Aniene at Batteria Nomentana and another on the banks of the Tiber near Ponte Milvio. However, one site is already attracting attention: Torre in Pietra, about twenty kilometres from the outskirts of Rome, on the Via Aurelia. In the fourth (from the top) of its six layers, there is an Acheulean industry, with fauna including elephants and rhinoceroses known as Merck's. The second layer belongs to the Mousterian, and this industry is accompanied by fauna including aurochs and deer. elaphoid.

Mousterian sites, both open-air and cave sites, are numerous along the Lazio coast, particularly between Gaeta and the lower Tiber. The finds at Saccopastore stand out. In the Rome area on the Via Nomentana, in an interglacial climate, two Neanderthal skulls were found, which are of great significance. At the other extreme, near Gaeta, the cave of Sant'Agostino, in a now glacial climate, with industry associated with abundant ibex bones, and the cave of Moscerini, with industry based on shells, are also significant. However, the area that immediately takes on greater importance is that of Mount Circeo, where a certain continuity of documentation, even if not of actual civil organisation, appears from the variety of the Mousterian culture known as Pontinian, which extends into the Mesolithic period. Important moments in this picture are provided first by the Guattari cave, which has preserved in its most secluded part a Neanderthal skull with mutilations probably connected to ritual cannibalism practices.

Next is the very important Fossellone cave with eight levels. The sixth (from the top) shows scarce Pontine industry, while the fifth is rich in abundant industry.

The second layer consists of denticolate micromusterian, while the third is composed of sterile clay and therefore represents an interruption following the abandonment of the last Neanderthals. The second layer again shows evidence, but of a more recent type, specifically Aurignacian, while the first contains little evidence of Gravettian tradition, due more to occasional visits than to permanent settlements, such as those found in the deeper layers. We are now in the Upper Palaeolithic: in the maturity of the so-called Circeian facies, at the second level; with a final Epigravettian development, at the end of the deposit.

The phases that immediately followed are less significant. The Gravettian type, to which only a few tools from unmethodical excavations in the caves along the Rio Fratta in the Agro Falisco belong, is followed with some importance by the Romanellian industry of the Polesini cave in Ponte Lucano in the direction of Tivoli, with artistic representations of some importance. The Romanellian culture is also found elsewhere, as the beginning of a tradition: ancient traces can be found in the Palidoro cave on the Via Aurelia, not far from Cerveteri, while more recent traces can be found in the Jolanda cave in Sezze Romano and in the Petescia site in Cittaducale in the province of Rieti; for a period of time between 13,000 and 10,000 years ago. The Mesolithic period is also attested in Lazio at Circeo, above an Epigravettian level in the Blanc shelter, dating back 8,500 years.

A new phase, isolated in the middle of the Neolithic period, at the beginning of its middle period, appears through the Patrizi cave at Sasso di Furbara and takes its name from the Sasso culture. It is part of the engraved line wax-mica trend that is spreading from the north-east, from the Danube region, and represents its affirmation in Italy.

southernmost section. It is therefore similar to the styles found in Fiorano in Emilia and Sarteano in Tuscany, from which it differs mainly in the more rigid shape of the jugs, with their accentuated keels, and the smooth profile of the handles. However, compared to these, it appears to be not only something separate but also something transient. It has been identified exclusively in the aforementioned Patrizi cave, about sixty kilometres from Rome on the Via Aurelia, and this cave was used exclusively for seven burials, one of which involved a ritual of absolute importance.

in a separate room; the person laid to rest here bore the marks of a cranial trepanation performed a few days before his death, probably in a last-ditch attempt to save him. Scattered finds of incised pottery in Lazio, documenting expansion and assimilation, date back to the more recent and successful appearance of Sarteano:

This is the case in Palidoro, south of Sasso on the Via Aurelia, and in Luni on the Mignone further north, an important site that has been dated to around 5300 years ago and which will continue to provide uninterrupted prehistoric evidence until the construction of the Etruscan acropolis. A similar continuity can be seen in the Petescia deposit in Citta-

ducal period in which, among the elements of Roman tradition already mentioned and those of the Bronze Age, some materials linked to the Sicilian civilisation of Diana, corresponding to the Upper Neolithic period, are inserted in stratigraphic succession.

However, Lazio returns to the forefront of prehistoric interest with the Rinaldone culture, which is based mainly on excavations of the Rinaldone necropolis near Montefiascone and Ischia di Castro (Ponte San Pietro) west of Lake Bolsena. The Rinaldone civilisation is Eneolithic and pastoral, with a more warlike character in its early phase, which took shape in Tuscany. The pottery is fine black or brownish clay, mostly well polished. There is little decoration. Typical shapes are flask-shaped vases or a bottle. In the stone industry litica are in the first line

Combat axes that recall distant trans-Adriatic and specifically Danubian connections. Then javelins and arrowheads. Metals appear in daggers, flat axes, and square-section copper needles. Antimony necklaces, perforated teeth, and steatite pendants are found as ornaments. The burials are of skeletons curled up in oven-shaped tombs. At Ponte San Pietro, there are indications of widow sacrifice. In addition to this glimpse into customs and traditions, another window of opportunity may be opening up in the same area of Ischia di Castro in the field of names and cultures. In this hotbed of Rinaldonian civilisation, which has left the highest concentration of tombs (25 so far, compared to 3 in Rinaldone itself), there is the *Misa* cave, which shows traces of funerary use at the end of the Bronze Age: In the Marche region, the *Misa* river basin has been inhabited since time immemorial and is rich in remains of the Conelle civilisation, which followed that of Rinaldone in the prehistoric events of central Italy. The name may be indicative of the dynamism of the Rinaldone formative current in the sense of expansion from the north-east towards the south-west, anticipating the Conelle civilisation as it passed through the Marche region and taking something with it.

A further expansion of the civilisation of Rinaldone in Lazio is documented in a southerly direction, as in the Valvisciolo cave near Sermoneta in the province of Latina, as in the province of Frosinone in Sgurgola di Anagni and Alatri, from where it then reaches La Starza di Ariano Irpino in Campania. It is also documented as extending towards Abruzzo, in Cantalupo Mandela, where the Aniene river passes closest to the border, and from where it reaches the nearby town of Tagliacozzo.

Subsequently, trans-Appennine connections intensified to the point of becoming essential: they have already been identified as the path to cultural homogeneity that characterises the central-southern area of the Middle, Late and Final Bronze Age, and which constitutes the Appennine civilisation. To date, the

Lazio has yielded the largest number of settlements from the actual Apennine phase: it can therefore be considered one of the centres where this civilisation developed. Of particular importance is the site of Luni sul Mignone, in the province of Viterbo, where the aforementioned Neolithic layer is followed by an Eneolithic village dating back around 4,000 years and then the

and sub-Apennine deposit covering a period of between 3,300 and 2,850 years ago. Remains of Apennine settlements can also be found in the province of Viterbo, in Sant'Andrea and La Mola in the Mignone valley, and then in Palidoro a little further south, now in the province of Rome. Seasonal settlements seem to have been those discovered along the coast of Civitavecchia, in Malpasso, Marangone and Torre Chiaruccia. At Pian Sultano near Santa Severa, about fifty kilometres from Rome on the Via Aurelia, dolmen tombs with stone mounds have been found. Fragments of Apennine pottery have been found in the territory of Rome itself, at Sant'Omobono al Foro Boario. The sub-Apennine facies is equally widespread; thus, to the north, in addition to Luni, also in the aforementioned Misa cave in Ischia di Castro; to the east in the Rieti basin, in Valle Ottara; near Rome, in some of the Faliscan caves; and to the south, in Ardea.

In the Viterbo area, in San Giovenale, the remains of the Apennine period are finally overlaid by those of the Protovillan-Villan period, the cultural current that brought the rite of cremation to Lazio and, more than any other, gave it a new identity. Evidence of the Protovillanovian phase is becoming increasingly numerous in southern Italy as well. However, Lazio remains the most characteristic region from this point of view. Not far from San Giovenale, traces of the Protovillanovians can also be found in Luni, the Lazio stronghold of the Apennine period. But above all, they are found in Ischia di Castro, the aforementioned Rinaldian centre near Tuscany, and now a Protovillanovian centre with four necropolises that have come to light to date: excavations are ongoing. This horizon extends with equal intensity to the northern margins of the province of

Rome, through the remarkable finds at Tolfa and Allumiere, just beyond the border of the province of Viterbo. Variations on the classic biconical vase, carinated bowls and bowls with inward-curving rims are the essential features. Metals are represented by simple bow brooches, violin bow brooches, serpentine bow brooches, tweezers, and double-edged quadrangular razors. A unique feature in Luni is a burial chamber carved into the tuff rock. Even more unique, however, is one of the necropolises of Ischia di Castro, built using the mound technique, which is antithetical to the rite of cremation. Tuff casings for urns have been found both here in Ischia and in Allumiere, where they are accompanied by rudimentary slabs. In addition, an interesting bronze repository has been found in Tolfa, in the Coste del Marano area, and another in Allumiere, in the Monte Rovello area. We leave it to more in-depth research to decide on the respective role that this itinerary through the Fiora valley played compared to that of the Sabina area in the penetration of the Proto-Villanovan tradition in Rome.

With the Iron Age, prehistory comes to an end and protohistory explodes *onto the scene*. We will mention here only the cremation necropolis of the Roman Forum which, despite recent attempts to lower its chronology, seems to date back to between

X and VII centuries BC; the burial necropolis on the Esquiline Hill dating back to the IX and VII centuries; the burial finds on the Quirinal Hill from the 9th-8th centuries and the 9th-8th centuries ( ). The coexistence of the two rites also appears in the Alban Hills, where the use of the hut-shaped urn is characteristic, for example in the territory of Grottaferrata. It is mainly found in the coastal area between the Alban Hills, Lake Bolsena and the Cernia River in Tuscany, with an isolated offshoot near Rieti.

Distant ethnic equivalences are, of course, lacking in substance. The original Tyrrhenian population cannot have undergone a process of de-Europeanisation simply because the first objects denoting Danubian connections arrived in the Eneolithic age. The real ethnic change occurred when, among the pre-existing Tyrrhenians, the proto-Villanovan and incinerating currents also established themselves on both banks of the Tiber, bringing with them elements linguistic connected with the established Indo-European cultural world. in Veneto. The Venetulani tribe mentioned by Pliny would therefore define an initial identifiable component, of northern origin, which arrived in Lazio. A second component is represented by the Iron Age civilisation known as the pit grave culture, which is correctly referred to by the conventional name of 'proto-Latin' or 'Albanian'. It originated in Campania and then spread to Etruria. The third factor is the other Iron Age burial civilisation, which is ethnically Umbrian-Sabine and is linked to the eastern one known as the Piceno-Adriatic . These three cor-

These tribes converged on Rome, and Rome still preserves a memory of this in the tripartite division of its primitive tribes of the Titii, Ramni and Luceri. Linguistic traces have already been mentioned, aligning the variant forms *ruber: rufus: ru- ti/us* (cf. p. 88); a truly exemplary case of the stratification of traditions.

But the real turning point in the prehistory of Lazio and its transition to protohistory came with the construction of the bridge, which had two fundamental and, so to speak, paradoxical consequences. On the one hand, it opened up the entire region to the right of the Tiber to Greek trade, thus bringing about a fusion. On the other hand, it led to such rapid and intense development from the previous amorphous Tyrrhenian equilibrium to Etruscan civilisation as a whole that it had a decisive influence on Lazio on the right bank of the Tiber being drawn more towards Etruria than towards Rome, resulting in the division between the two.

the interior of Lazio itself, as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

Linguistics can also follow this shift. Latin underwent a major crisis in the 5th century BC, which transformed it literally. Thus, the oldest monuments of that language, the texts of the Rome of the kings inscribed on the Lapis Niger of the Forum and on the Dueno Vase, were already unintelligible at the end of the Republic. As one of the most authoritative scholars of linguistics, Hennann Paul, pointed out as early as 1880, the conditions of evolution are immediately reflected in language.

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## ABRUZZO - MOLISE

Abruzzo is one of the most important regions from a prehistoric point of view. Three typical phases of prehistory bear names taken from places in Abruzzo: the Bertonian of the Upper Palaeolithic, tratta from nome della stazione di Montebello di Bertona, in the province of Pescara; that of Ripoli, from the Middle-Upper Neolithic period, from the locality of Ripoli di Corropoli in the province of Teramo; Ortucchio, from the Early Bronze Age, from the village of Ortucchio in the Fucino basin, in the province of L'Aquila. The harsh landscapes of the , the abundance of shelters and caves, and the wealth of game meant that 40,000 years ago, humans were able to leave lasting traces, if not of their skeletons, then at least of their economy and technology. The Vibrata valley in the province of Teramo, the Piccioni cave in Bolognano in the province of Pescara, and the Fucino basin in the province of L'Aquila are the sites of greatest interest. The well-organised Museum of Chieti is ideal for gaining an overview of the prehistory of Abruzzo.

There is abundant and comprehensive evidence dating back to the Lower Palaeolithic period. The area that has yielded most of this evidence, and which must therefore have been densely populated, lies between the coast and the Laga mountains, Gran Sasso d'Italia, Morrone and Maiella, i.e. the north-eastern part of the region. The cultural horizons that succeeded one another here are well represented at Madonna del Freddo for the most archaic phase, then at Valle Giumentina and Svolte di Popoli. The Madonna del Freddo site, three kilometres from Chieti, has yielded two ancient Acheulean amygdales in alluvial deposits and, in gia-

cement, ancient Clactonian industry. Only one of the amygdalae is typically Acheulean: the other, with the same patina in terms of antiquity, is of the Abbevillian type and similar to those found in Veneto and Emilia and others in Abruzzo, such as in the Foro valley, also not far from Chieti.

The lake deposit of Valle Giumentina, which is one of the cornerstones of Abruzzo's prehistory and is located on the northern slope of the Maiella, in the municipality of Caramanico, is

A regular stratigraphy has been identified, and Clactonian artefacts have been found in the first levels showing human activity. Further up, artefacts from the evolved Acheulean period have been found. Clactonian artefacts reappear in the upper part of the deposit. This stratigraphic series ends with a formation caused by landslides

of a slope in the process of thawing (solifluction), but it connects and is completed at Le Svolte, three kilometres from

Popoli (province of Pescara). Here, the first layer containing human artefacts contained, in secondary deposition, a Middle Acheulean amygdala and some ancient Clactonian flakes; in primary deposition, there were amygdalae from the Late Acheulean together with proto-Levalloisian objects. These are characteristic of subsequent layers, followed in turn by Mousterian levels.

The north-eastern part of Abruzzo mentioned above is therefore representative of the coexistence and contacts that brought together in Italy, the southern refuge of Europe, the descendants of cultures that differed in tradition and time of formation, such as the Acheulean and Clactonian cultures. Outside this area, it is worth mentioning an exceptionally large Acheulean amygdala from Cepagna di Venafro in Molise (province of Isernia). The majority of Proto-Levalloisian sites are distributed in the mountains on the edge of the area, Morrone, Maiella, and in the adjacent Piano delle Cinquemiglia: after Le Svolte di Popoli, downstream of the northern slope of Morrone, on Morrone Impianezza at an altitude of 650 metres and higher, at an altitude of 1,070 metres, on Maiella at an altitude of 1,662 metres, 2,050 metres and 2,570 metres.

and in the Cinquemiglia Plain, Pescopennataro at an altitude of 1000 m. This similar flow towards the mountains is clearly a consequence of interglacial climatic conditions, when forest animals were driven to seek their natural habitat at higher altitudes, and Palaeolithic hunters followed them. As an example of the large fauna of the time, the Museum of the Castle in L'Aquila has a skeleton of *Elephas Meridionalis*.

For the Middle Palaeolithic, the same sites as before provide examples of Mousterian industry in the region: , the Vibrata valley against the backdrop of the Laga mountains, and the Peligna basin with the sites of Le Svolte di Popoli and Jmpianezza. The Giumentina Valley, where human deposits resume above the solifluction formation that seals the lake cycle that took place over the previous tens of thousands of years.

A characteristic Abruzzese imprint can be found in the Upper Palaeolithic period, much closer in time, starting twenty thousand years ago, namely in the final period known as the Cpigravettian. In M(Intebellò di Bèrtona, in the locality of Campo Jcile Piane, a settlement with square huts built on the ground was found. The characteristic industry, known as Bertonian, is identified primarily by the prevalence of large tools made from blades, rarely from splinters, and is also documented, indeed above all, in the Fucino basin and in the land above it.

which is now the Abruzzo National Park, as well as the Achille Graziani cave. Marsica is therefore the heart of this culture, highlighting its connection with mountain landscapes. The climate was colder than it is today; game was still plentiful: men hunted marmots, chamois and ibex. A skull of a man known as the Fucino man, similar to the Cro-Magnon type, was found in the Porci cave near Ortucchio and dates back 12,600 years.

The La Punta cave between Avezzano and Ortucchio is extremely important in the Fucino area, where ten layers have been identified. Among these, the ninth layer is significant. It is sterile but contains the remains of

of a hearth that reveals the visit of sporadic hunters 14,400 years ago, at the Bertonian level. The seventh layer, dating back approximately 13,000 years, shows remains of *Homo Marsicanus*. With the sixth layer, which shows hearths and Bertonian industry with recent elements, we descend to 10,500 years ago. The significant change lies in the replacement of large game with small game. We are now entering the Mesolithic period. The Maritza cave shelter, not far from the one mentioned above at Punta, preserves both deposits, the lower one containing large fauna and the upper one containing small game.

The evidence from the Mesolithic period clearly shows an industry that was completely different from Bertoni's Upper Palaeolithic industry, and extends from the Vibrata valley, in the Ripoli area, to the Peligna basin near Capo d'Acqua and the Fucino riverbed in the Grotta dei Porci cave.

The Early Neolithic period is almost absent in Abruzzo for now. A cultural tradition reappears in the Late Neolithic period with impressed pottery, 6,500 years ago. This is the case in the village of Leopardi near Penne, with the foundations of huts deeply dug into the ground. It is also the case in Lama dei Peligni, on the eastern slopes of Maiella, where a village of huts built at ground level appeared in Fonti Rossi: underneath, a burial site contained a skeleton, which became famous under the name of the Man of Maiella. This was also the case at sites already frequented in earlier periods: in the caves of Punta and Porci, at the Capo d'Acqua station. Next to Punta are now the Sant'Angelo cave on the Montagna dei Fiori in Civitella del Tronto and the Piccioni cave in the municipality of Bolognano on the northern slopes of Morrone, given the regularity observed in the stratigraphy, which begins with the horizon of impressed pottery and then fully illustrates the cultural succession from the Neolithic to the Roman era.

The Middle Neolithic period brought two important innovations: the

The documentation of this phase culminates in the village

of Ripoli (Vibrata valley), dating back to 5,300 years ago. A similar village was discovered not far away at Pianaccio di Tortoreto. The Ripoli civilisation is one of five aspects through which the cultural trend of painted pottery gradually established itself in southern Italy, the others being the Sicilian-Campanian aspect of Capri and the Apulian-Lucanian aspects of Passo del Corvo, Scaloria and Serra d'Alto. The most striking feature of the Abruzzo aspect is the decorative syntax, whereby continuous incised bands and impressions or raised dots are arranged under the rim to the belly of the ceramics, leaving the lower part free, as do the painted motifs, obtained with red or brown colour, rarely purple, and consisting of bundles of lines and bordered squares enclosing triangles or lozenges. Also

There are characteristic types of vascular forms. In Ripoli, foreign elements are evident in the discovery of linear pottery objects and even

Lagozza culture, strictly Lombard in terms of its distribution centre. Open to intense commercial relations, the Ripoli civilisation is also evident in other locations, first and foremost the three caves mentioned as fundamental to Abruzzo's prehistory: in the Punta cave, with the Ripoli level associated with none other than Diana-type pottery, which is the culture of the Aeolian Islands; in the Sant'Angelo cave, with the Ripoli level associated with linear pottery; in the Piccioni cave, with the Ripoli level in a doubly interesting association with Lagozzian vessel forms and Diana pottery.

Although not as significant, the Eneolithic period continued the tradition of mobility and intense trade. The necropolis of fifteen tombs discovered in Assergi near L'Aquila appears to date back to the Eneolithic period. In Tagliacozzo, a small artificial cave contains the remains of a buried person, surrounded by eighteen arrowheads around the skull and a copper axe. But what matters is that the objects are of the Rinaldi type done type, i.e. they prove connections with Lazio. Finally in grotta dei Piccioni a Bolognano e in grotta

Sant'Angelo di Civitella del Tronto features not only local Neolithic traditions but also echoes of the Remedello culture, revealing an important connection with northern Italy.

The early Bronze Age is identified with the Ortucchio civilisation and shows the Abruzzo town of Ortucchio and the Marche town of Conelle as two strongholds of the same new development. Both places show evidence of an economy in which hunting and lake fishing regained a certain importance compared to the agriculture typical of the Neolithic period: this is evidence of the emergence of pastoral populations. However, in Ortucchio, the presence of numerous millstones and significant remains of oxen and pigs, alongside those of sheep and goats, indicates a greater influence of the agricultural substratum on the new arrivals. The rest of the fundamental cultural traits denote the affinity between the two civilisations, which are often referred to under the collective name of Conelle-Ortucchio culture.

The pastoral influence became more pronounced in the middle Bronze Age, when the Apennine civilisation flourished. This development was undoubtedly favoured by the environmental conditions created by the oceanic climate of the time, which was humid and cold, with abundant vegetation; but at the same time, it suggests that the Apennine culture was introduced to Abruzzo from the Marche region, by those populations that had best preserved the innovative characteristics of nomadic shepherds. It is significant in this sense that it is not possible to grasp

a derivation from the civilisation of Ortucchio in the materials Apennine, which also came to light mainly in the same area, that of Fucino, particularly in the Fondo district of Collelongo, where the settlement continued in subsequent ages. Apennine ceramics and those from later periods also appear in the A Male cave in Assergi. However, the Sub-Apennine people are better documented, reflecting the process of fusion between the Apennine type of shepherd-warriors and the previous inhabitants, who were more or less closely tied to the land. The village

The sub-Appennine region of Ortucchio dates back to 3300 years ago. D.:positi sub-Appennine interesting can be found in the Sant'Angelo cave and in the Piccioni cave.

The Sub-Appennine period is followed by the Protovillanovan period, which is widespread in Fucino, Montebello di Bertona and Bolognana, but rather as an echo of a characteristic movement in the Marche region that then spread to Lazio.

The Iron Age civilisation in Abruzzo was mainly concentrated in the towns of Atri and Loreto Aprutino near the coast, and Alfedena and Castrano inland: the first two are in the provinces of Teramo and Pescara, respectively, and the latter two are in the province of L'Aquila. In Atri, it is represented by the two sites of Pretara and Colle della Giustizia. The approximately forty tombs of Pretara are oriented from east to west

and are divided into two categories: rectangular tombs

lares without coverings or with coverings but without bases; in male tombs, weapons prevail over tools. The most impressive is the Alfedena necropolis with about 1,200 tombs, 1,400 of which have been explored, covered with rough stone slabs, like a kind of chest, but without a base. They are arranged irregularly, without orientation or identifying markers. The corpses are supine and stretched out. The furnishings are uniform: clay pots ( ), but few bronze ones; bronze and iron weapons and ornaments; gold and silver are rare. The grave goods are richer when it comes to children. External relations gravitate, as in Atri, primarily towards Piceno, but, especially in Alfedena, there are also relations with Puglia. Greek elements are rare. The age of these necropolises ranges from the 7th to the 3rd century.

a. C. That is, we arrive at the height of the historical age. The widespread agricultural activity

proves that the process of fusion between immigrants and indigenous people is complete.

In Loreto Aprutino, in the Farina district, fifteen burial tombs from the 6th century BC were discovered in 1955, with male grave goods consisting of iron weapons and female grave goods consisting of bronze belts. Twenty-three burial tombs were found in Colle Fiorano.

with male grave goods, not only iron weapons, but also long swords of the Montefortino type from the Marche region, and female grave goods consisting of simple bow-shaped iron fibulae.

The discovery of Capecetrano took place exactly forty years ago, in 1934. There are twenty-one burial tombs and five cremation tombs, dating from the 7th to the 5th century BC. However, their importance pales in comparison to a unique find such as the famous warrior of Capecetrano, a limestone statue which, due to its artistic composition, variety of decorative elements and striking individuality, marks a definitive break with prehistory and ushers in the dawn of art history. At the dawn of historical times, there are also finds from Molise, such as those from Sepino and Pietrabbondante, while in Rapino (province of Chieti), the ancient Marrucina capital, known as Touta Marouca, has been discovered.

Translating prehistoric events into ethnic terms, the only generic identification is that of the term ' ' or 'Piceni'

'Piceni' as inhabitants of the Adriatic coast in the period prior to Indo-European settlements. Among the oldest local names are those of Atri, inseparable from the name of the Adriatic Sea, Teate, the ancient name of Chieti, characterised by the suffix -te, Sulmona, and Ortona. Equally ancient may be the names of Indo-European populations, relatively late in their themes, not in their suffixes of derivation, such as the Pelig-ni, the Praetut-ti-i, and the Marru-cini.

The first Indo-European settlements date back to the early Bronze Age. However, these were isolated tribes. A true Indo-European settlement only emerged with the Iron Age, when Proto-Sabellian inscriptions became widespread. However, the inscription of the Capecetrano warrior is difficult to place within this group and guarantees the resistance of the original Picene elements within the

country. From midday onwards, groups from other non-European tribes may have pushed northwards, reaching Lanciano: these could have been offshoots of the Enotri people who, at a certain period, had occupied Lucania and southern Sannio. The true pre-Roman ethnic imprint, although no longer strictly prehistoric, was left on Abruzzo by the Samnites and the related populations mentioned above, the Peligni, Pretuzi, Marrucini and Vestini. These left about twenty inscriptions in dialects rich in municipal variants, while about thirty Samnite inscriptions, including the imposing Tavola di Agnone, are written in a single language, Oscan, which then spread beyond the current borders of Sannio throughout Campania and Lucania as far as Messina. The Roman era began in the 5th to 2nd centuries BC with the destruction of Samnite cities such as Aufidena and Sepino and the founding of colonies by the Romans on the road from Rome to Pescara, such as Carsoli and Alba Fucente, around 300 BC.

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## CAMPANIA

The first insights into Campania's prehistory were provided at the beginning of the century by Palaeolithic finds made by chance on Capri. These yielded artefacts that proved to be from the early Acheulean and the advanced Acheulean periods. There are also some proto-Levalloisian tools. These are objects made of material foreign to the

This part of the island, which several hundred thousand years ago was still connected to the mainland by an isthmus, was later separated by volcanic upheavals. However, it is the excavations carried out in recent years that have made it possible to paint a complete picture of Campania's prehistory, and they continue to fill in the gaps today. They attest to the extensive and constant presence of humans in the region, starting with the ancient cultural phases of Capri, which have also been traced to the north, in Guardia Sanframondi, not far from the Molise border, and more recently to the south, between Cala Bianca and Cala dell'Arconte in Cilento.

During the Middle Palaeolithic, the Mousterian industry left compact evidence along the coast, from the Sorrentine Peninsula to Calabria. Thus, from the caves of the Bay of Leranto and the shelter of Mount Calpazio north of Paestum to the caves in Cilento: Cala delle Ossa, Visco, Ciavole, Taddeo, della Cala, del Poggio, Grande di Scario. If the stretch between the mouth of the Volturno and the Sorrentine peninsula constitutes a zone of silence for this period, a hiatus between Lazio and the rest of the Campania coast, this may be a consequence of the aforementioned volcanic upheavals, which over the last ten thousand years, they have repeatedly spread from the Phlegraean Fields, causing, together with bradyseism, fundamental alterations in the morphology of the area.

For this reason, the coast of the province of Salerno remains the main source of documentation for the Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods in Campania. Important for the stratigraphic succession of these industries are, at the two extremes of the area, the Cala di Marina di Camerota cave south of Capo Palinuro and the La Porta di Positano cave on the Sorrento peninsula. The former dates from Mesolithic levels back to a Gravettian horizon (Noailles burins). The second, in the lower part, is Epigravettian, as is generally the case with the rest of the Upper Palaeolithic finds in Campania; however, it differs in that it belongs to the Apulian culture of Romanelli and reflects the south-to-north migration of some of those peoples, already observed in Lazio, Tuscany and Liguria. The upper part sees, on the one hand, the continuation of the Romanelli tradition in tools and, on the other, the replacement of mammal remains by a veritable snail collector, which is equivalent to the replacement of the ancient economy based on hunting by one based on the collection of marine and terrestrial molluscs: the climate has changed, and as a result, the environment of life and activity has changed: this is the Mesolithic period. This horizon in the La Porta cave has been dated by carbon 14 to over 8500 years ago.

Meanwhile, the inland area is gradually being valued for its role as a link between the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian Sea. In the Upper Palaeolithic, an industry reminiscent of that of Berto in Abruzzo can be found at an altitude of 890 metres on Mount Alburno in Cilento, where the presence of man has already been documented for the previous period by a dozen artefacts from the archaic phase of the Mousterian. However, the true type of foreign settlement is that at La Starza near Ariano Irpino, in the province of Avellino, which began in the Neolithic period. This location, situated at the eastern entrance to Puglia and the northern entrance to Sannio, and easily accessible, has yielded impressed pottery from the Lower Neolithic period, most likely belonging to the Masseria La Quercia culture and thus dating back to Puglia. Above this, there is pottery from the Apulian-Lucanian culture of

Serra d'Alto in the late Middle Neolithic period; therefore, it attests to trade routes in the opposite direction, i.e. towards the Adriatic, with ceramics from the Sicilian cultures of Diana and Piano Conte at the end of the Neolithic period and the beginning of the Eneolithic period. In the Metal Age, it became a permanent settlement, first for people characterised by certain elements of the Rinaldone culture, then for Apennine populations, thus connecting it to the north.

However, the major development of the Middle Neolithic period, namely the appearance of painted pottery across the Adriatic from one end of southern Italy to the other, is absent in Campania, as it is in Lucania. The aspects in which it is evident have been mentioned for Abruzzo: li Ri

poli, here Capri, and in Puglia Passo del Corvo and then Scaloria in the area of the Gulf of Manfredonia and its hinterland. These are phenomena specific to the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian coasts, connected but clearly identifiable both in terms of type and space or, for the two in Puglia, in terms of time. Distinct from all others in time, the aforementioned Serra d'Alto civilisation emerged at the end of the cycle, but by then it was already a local development of the Scaloria type, bringing Lucania to the fore and penetrating inland and throughout the South. The fundamental feature that unites the various aspects is the execution of the ceramic decoration based on the contrast of bands or flames painted in red against the light, yellowish or reddish background of the vase; these bands can be simple (two-colour ceramics) or bordered in black and alternated with black geometric designs (three-colour ceramics).

ca): the trichromatic type, although already developed in Italy, , is a recent addition to the heritage of painted ceramic bearers. Figuline ceramics are accompanied by blackish-brown ceramics, usually well smoothed and polished, decorated with graffito or engraving.

Characteristic of the Capri style are the bands painted with thin black lines that cross or break, or red lines that follow a vertical arrangement. The red bands or flames, a common motif of the style, are here

black margins. The Capri culture was named as such because it was first identified in the Grotta delle Felci cave in Capri; however, the most complete evidence came later, in Calabria and Sicily. This painted pottery from the Grotta delle Felci comes from burials and, as grave goods, includes beautiful vases, accompanied by ochre grinding stones and large flint and obsidian blades. However, as an isolated find, it does not represent the picture of civilisation as a whole or in its entirety. Associated with it is pottery decorated with moulded shapes dating back to the Ripoli type of the same cultural current. The cave has also yielded, without stratigraphic distinctions, pottery from the Sicilian culture of Diana, i.e. from the later Neolithic phase.

The Gaudio culture of the Eneolithic period has particular significance for the prehistory of Campania, leaving behind only necropolises. The first of these was discovered near Paestum in Gaudio, hence the name, then in Mirabella Eclano on the border between the provinces of Avellino and Benevento. Finally, individual burials discovered together with sporadic objects at Toppo San Filippo di Benevento, Caiazzo di Caserta, Carotto di Piano di Sorrento and in the Polla cave in the province of Salerno seem to fit into the same context. The fact that no traces of dwellings have been found suggests that tents made of animal skins were used for this purpose. The grave goods indicate pastoral populations: daggers, blades, points and a remarkable variety of vases, including shapes imitating leather and bladder wineskins. These grave goods reveal a specific affinity with the Rinaldone culture of northern Lazio and, through the latter, even establish links with the sources of origin in the Balkans. The people of Rinaldone and the people of Gaudio thus show that they descended from nomadic groups that moved from the same geographical area, probably at different times, but arrived independently in Italy.

It follows the Apennine culture, attested by settlements both

both outdoors and in caves. Among the outdoor sites, Castiglione on the island of Ischia reveals distant connections, with a fragment of Mycenaean pottery decorated with a spiral pattern, dating it to around 1300 BC. Among the caves, there is now continuity of development in the Felci cave on Capri, where the deposit with fragments of Apennine and sub-Apennine pottery overlaps with the Neolithic deposit, which has no stratigraphy. The caves of Pertosa and Zachito near Caggiano, east of Salerno, close to the Lucanian border, are important. The Pertosa cave is particularly significant from a historical and religious point of view: through a large stipe with many votive jars, it shows the beginning of a cult of water, which was to continue into the historical age.

There are hints of further developments in burial tombs dating back to the Bronze Age, which would later become characteristic of the early Iron Age, not only in Campania but also further north. The two most interesting examples are those of Nocera Alfaterna and Montecorvino, both in the province of Salerno. The related furnishings belong to the Apennine horizon: vases decorated with incisions or graffiti, often filled with whitish materials, with geometric motifs, spiral bands or meanders. However, these vessels feature horned or crescent-shaped handles, accompanied by bronze objects such as combs, which can be compared to similar elements found in the terramare of Emilia. These Campanian finds consolidate the aspect of Apennine civilisation for which it is also known as 'extraterrestrial', highlighting the persistence of indigenous technical and cultural traditions even in times of strong external penetration and pressure.

A new and very significant influence from the north was the Proto-Villanovan culture, although evidence of this is scarce. It is recorded in La Starza di Ariano Irpino, a true cultural hub of prehistoric Campania. Proto-Villanovan artefacts have been found here several metres above di levels appenninici. Subsequently, by the

the early Iron Age, it was the Villanovan culture that established itself in the territory of Salerno and left substantial traces there, with necropolises in Pontecagnano and Sala Consilina in the Tanagro valley.

However, the early Iron Age manifested itself fully and typically in Campania with the burial culture of pit graves, documented in its most basic forms, for example in Cuma around the 9th-8th century BC, and just beyond the border of the province of Naples, towards Salerno, in the upper Sarno valley where, alongside the necropolises of the San Marzano and San Valentino districts, dating back to the 8th-7th century BC, that of Striano seems to date back as far as the 10th century. Of the excavations in the mountainous inland region, one of the most recent (1967) and perhaps one of the most interesting is in Vignale di Coirano in the upper Ofanto valley (province of Avellino), with abundant clay and bronze materials, also from the early Iron Age. The tombs were covered with a row of river pebbles.

In inland areas, the pit grave culture continued, albeit under Hellenic influence, until the late Iron Age, as in Bilaccìa, not far from Coirano. But where the Hellenic presence was now exerting a substantial influence, the monuments introduced art history. However, the more strictly historical field is still better identified as protohistory, now dominated by maximum complexity and variety, from both an ethnic and linguistic point of view.

The first name given to the inhabitants of Campania is 'Opici'. However, these people already belonged to populations with a non-Indo-European linguistic tradition and therefore overlapped with an older population corresponding to the early stages of lithic civilisation, which we conventionally call 'Tyrrhenian'. Of this primitive layer

only a few local names survive that cannot be classified within a true grammatical system: for Capua from an unattested <sup>CAPE-VA</sup>, 'the city of the lowlands', the names of the rivers Sarno and Savone, and the root of the name Tea-no.

Bearers of an Indo-European linguistic tradition, the Opi-ci must have arrived in Campania from distant regions, Puglia and Lucania. Through the fragments of the early Greek historians, they can be identified among the neighbouring peoples: first of all, they were the element that pushed the Sicilians towards Sicily, exerting pressure on the Calabrian region from the north; however, in the northern part of this region, as in western Lucania, in historical times there were neither Sicilians nor Opici, but the Oenotrians, who settled between the two. The Opici therefore arrived in Campania after first pushing the Sicilians towards the south, and then being pressed by the Oenotrians themselves. And since the arrival of the Oenotrians in Italy is unanimously reported to have taken place on the coast of Apulia, and continued over time with the subsequent (Illyrian) pressure of the Peucezi, the Opici became part of that great movement, which traditional historiography places in the chronology of its final phase, corresponding to seventeen generations after the Trojan War, i.e. the early 7th century. Reasonably, therefore, Thucydides establishes the arrival of the Opici in Campania no later than the 11th century.

Not only western Lucania, but also southern Campania south of the Sele, in Cilento, appears at the beginning of history as Enotria, not as Opica. Immediately to the north, however, in the Garigliano area, the Opici bordered the Ausoni, who then extended throughout southern Lazio and who, in principle, should not necessarily be linked to the Opici. However, beyond the Ausoni,

the Latins, who in turn had linguistic connections with the Sicilian . The Opici are located

Therefore, at the centre of a series of communities with Indo-European linguistic traditions

, which can be depicted as the fingers of an open right hand. Its wrist would correspond to the Apulian coast, the thumb to Sicily with the Siculi, the index finger to Lucania and Cilento with the Oenotri, the ring finger to southern Lazio with the Ausoni, and the little finger to Lazio's Alban Hills with the Latins. Campania and the Gpici would correspond to the middle finger of this ideal hand.

Examples of linguistic traces left by the Opici can be found directly, through inscriptions, or indirectly, through Latin tradition. The local name Literno derives from the root *LEUDH*, with an intervocalic *τ*, which in the subsequent Oscan-Samnite layer would be replaced by an *F*; the genitive singular ending is *-Es* instead of *-EIS*. The dative singular ending in *-o* instead of *-OI*. The first person of the noun verb *sim* 'I am' instead of *som*. Four inscriptions already belonging to

to the Etruscan period (5th century BC) are still in the Opic language.

The term 'Opici' has been handed down to us in two forms by Greek authors: *Opik-es* and *Opik-oi*. The former is the older form, but its etymology eludes us. The Latin form is *Obsci*, *Osci*. It is an adaptation rather than a translation, and above all refers to events subsequent to the 'Opici' period in Campania. Just as the Latin *Osci* does not correspond to the Greek *Opikoi*, so in Italian 'Oschi' does not correspond to 'Opici'. The *Oschi* only came to the attention of the Romans in the first half of the 4th century BC, when, from the mountainous areas of Sannio, restless Samnite tribes moved down into Campania, skirting the borders of Lazio and completely changing the landscape of Campania at the time. But before this happened, two other events had already had a powerful influence on Opic Campania. The first of these was Greek colonisation. The Greeks had soon set sail for the western seas and, before founding colonies, were content with supply stations, resting places and shelters. This initial phase is post-Mycenaean and reflected in the 'first:

date of the foundation of Cuma still in the 11th century BC. Only with the consolidation of Greek power over the Strait of Messina in the first half of the 8th century did the actual foundation of the colony of Cuma take place, followed about two centuries later by Naples and Dicearchia (Pozzuoli).

No city in Campania in ancient times, not even Capua, had the decisive power to influence the history of Italy as a whole as Cuma did. Without the foundation of Cuma and its capacity for cultural influence towards Lazio, the rise and flourishing of Etruscan civilisation cannot be explained (see pp. 78 and 104). Thus, if the Tyrrhenian Sea routes were opened by the Mycenaean and stabilised by post-Mycenaean Greek navigators, Cuma, as a driving force for progress, shaped the first great non-Hellenic power in the West, which would then have an impact on the Campania region itself, particularly through the aforementioned prestigious Capua. During this period, Campania was truly in a privileged position among all the regions of Italy.

South of the Sele River, Greek colonisation also affected the territory of the Oenotrians, with the two colonies of Posidonia (later Paestum) and Elea, the Oenotrian Velia, an ally of Rome until the Social War. Starting in the 6th century, Campania suffered, as mentioned, the repercussions of Etruscan power, which established itself there with a so-called federation of twelve cities. The capital of this federation was Capua (now Santa Maria Capua Vetere), which developed into a metropolis, at times rivalling Rome and Carthage. The main contribution to Campanian civilisation during the Etruscan period was the development of the alphabet, which was later enriched and adapted to the needs of the region's language. The Etruscans also exerted a strong, albeit short-lived, influence on the linguistic level: the Capua tile is one of the most important monuments of the Etruscan language itself. Pompeii also emerged from the amorphous situation of the Oric period during this period and preserves interesting Etruscan traces. With all this, the Etruscan period

This did not constitute an obstacle or resistance to Greek culture, which left an increasingly deep mark on life in Campania, especially in Pompeii.

The 5th century saw a new change in the situation. With Etruscan power weakened following defeats at Aricia in Lazio on land and in the naval battle of Cuma, the doors of the Campania plain opened to the Samnite tribes who had long been settled in the mountainous parts of the region, in the Volturno and Ca- valleys.

lore. Shortly after the middle of the century, Capua first, then Cuma then Cuma, fell under Samnite rule. Only Naples retained its autonomy as a Greek city. The parallel descent of the Volsci from the mountains into the Agro Pontino cut off the road between Campania (Cuma and Capua) and Rome. In the following two centuries, Rome received no new Greek cults.

The Samnites: in Campania, they easily assimilated into their new environment, organising themselves into federations in Capua, Nocera, Nola and Abella, and rapidly progressing from a civil point of view, thus gradually differentiating themselves from their compatriots who remained in the mountains. However, the organisational capacity inherent in their federal structure meant that for a century, the whole of southern Italy from the Garigliano and Sangro rivers downwards, where it had not remained Greek, became Italian-speaking. The Samnite language, now called 'Oscan', was consistent throughout the territory, which the geographer Scilace confirmed in the mid-4th century as being unified from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Adriatic. In Campania, important changes were made at this time to adapt the vowel signs of the Etruscan alphabet to the needs of the six Oscan vowels (instead of the four Etruscan ones). Campania preserves three quarters of the two hundred inscriptions in the Oscan language, most of which come from Pompeii.

Among other things, the name of the supreme magistrate, the meddix, has remained from the federal structure of the state in Campania. The Romans translated this as 'praetor', which is effectively its etymology ('he who makes manifest the di-

ritto » ) emphasises the eminently judicial nature of his power. However, despite this linguistic unity and the widespread penetration of Greek civilisation into the inland regions, by the middle of the 4th century, the Campanian plain was once again in crisis. The small population of the Sidicini in Teano and the Campanians proper were threatened by their compatriots in the mountains, and this provided an opportunity for Rome to take an interest in the problems of Campania. Starting with the First Samnite War, the history of Campania dissolved into Roman history.

The term 'Campanian' as it had come to be defined through these events, resulting from a combination of the name Capua and the Latin word campus, had a much more limited meaning than it does today. Even after the beginning of the Roman history of Campania in the plains, the Samnite tribes of the Caudini, Irpini and Abellinhti remained in the mountains. Their territories correspond to the current provinces of Benevento and Avellino. The Caudini were settled along the road from Maddaloni (then Calatia) to Benevento, and owe their name to the city of Caudium, now Montesarchio. The advent of Roman rule in this region was delayed by a few decades and can be traced back to the founding of the colony of Saticula (Sant'Agata

dcì Goti) which separates the Caudini from the Irpini in the 313 BC.

The Larpini occupied the Calore valley and the upper Ofanto valley, while a branch of them, the Abellinhti, settled in the Sabato valley. The name of the

The name Larpini derives from that of the wolf, which, according to their national legend, had guided them from northern Sannio to new regions. The conclusion of their pre-Roman history can be traced back to the founding of the colony of Benevento (268 BC), which divided their territory from that of the northern Samnites.

At about the same time (273 BC), in place of the Greek city of Posidonia, the Latin colony of Paestum was established beyond the Sele River, thus concluding the pre-Roman history of Cilento as well.

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## PUGLIA

Apulia and Lucania, practically inseparable for prehistoric purposes, contributed to the birth of seven cultural phases. Two belong to the Upper Palaeolithic: the Uluzzian, named after the bay of Uluzzo near Nardò (province of Lecce), and the Romanellian, named after the Romanelli cave in the territory of Castro, south of Otranto. The third, from the Lower Neolithic period, takes its name from the Maseria La Quercia culture, from the locality of the same name in the Foggia plain. Three phases can be identified in the Middle Neolithic period, one named after the village of Passo del Corvo, also in the Foggia plain, another after the Scaloria cave near Manfredonia, and the last after the hill of Serra d'Alto a few kilometres from Matera. Finally, the Eneolithic period is represented by the culture of Cellino San Marco, located twenty kilometres south of Brindisi.

The Lower Palaeolithic period is represented by two distinct centres, one in the Gargano area in the province of Foggia and the other in Venosa in Lucania, in the province of Potenza. Due to its location and conformation, the Gargano area was particularly suitable for settlements as it was open towards the sea with its mild climate and towards the plain behind it, but also suitable for defence. Evidence of the most ancient phase found in Italy to date, the Acheulean, continues to come to light, with the most recent discovery in the Paglicci cave in Rignano Garganico still being described. At the mouth of the Remandato stream near Rodi Garganico, together with the oldest industry, a secondary layer of proto-Levalloisian flake industry has been found, which reappears not far away, in the alluvial deposits of the Correntino and

Bell-shaped tools. This technique paved the way for the Middle Palaeolithic. In Venosa, in a depression once occupied by a lake, Lower Palaeolithic industries appeared, both biface and flake. While the amygdaloids belong to the evolved Acheulean, the flake artefacts are Clactonian with varieties characteristic of Venosa. In one of these deposits (Loretello in the Notarchirico district), Ugo Rellini believed he had found evidence of a pre-amygdaloid layer. Finally, in the Matera area, the Acheulean amygdaloids are followed by the Proto-Levalloisian and Mousterian industries.

The Middle Palaeolithic began with the Mousterian, and the corresponding industry is present again in the Gargano, both with typical forms and with denticulated forms, in stratigraphic succession, at the springs of Irchio near Lake Varano. Other deposits are located along the entire edge of the Gargano, from the coast to the inland slopes towards the Foggia plain, where the latest news on the Mousterian comes from, with excavations underway at the Spagnoli cave near San Severo. Further south, in Bisceglie, the Santa Croce cave reveals a Mousterian industry of various aspects, with fauna including rhinoceros, hyena and horse, as well as a Neanderthal-type human femur. Continuing southwards, inland, we find the Lama cave in Ruvo di Puglia, along the Adriatic coast the Ladroni cave near Polignano a Mare and the Mura cave near Monopoli, all three with very similar Mousterian industry, using Levalloisian techniques.

This brings us to the Salento peninsula, where the most important discoveries were made, leading to this industry being named 'Salento Mousterian'. Fundamental for typological and chronological study are the Ionian caves of the Bay of Uluzzo, such as the Uluzzo C cave or Cosma cave, and those of Cavallo, Alto and Bernardini, located near the former, in the territory of Santa Caterina di Nardò. Near Capo di Leuca, there are three other caves that are significant for the materials used to fill them at the time: the Titti, Giganti and Bambino caves. On the Adriatic side,

Near Castro in Terra d'Otranto, the Romanelli and Zinzulusa caves began their role as primary, albeit intermittent, witnesses to Apulian prehistory during the Mousterian period.

At the beginning of the following period, the Upper Palaeolithic, however, it was the caves of Uluzzo and Cavallo that remained of paramount importance, as they were the only complete representatives of the cultural cycle known as Uluzzian, late Middle Palaeolithic. This culture, which carbon-14 dating places at an average of over 31,000 years ago, belongs to the earliest phase of the European Upper Palaeolithic and developed from the Castelperronian, with its own characteristics compared to that industry in France, probably after leaving traces in Tuscany, at San Romano di Pisa and in the Siena area during its formative period. Conversely, the Romanellian, from the cave of the same name mentioned above, can be said to be a culture that arose in Italy as a unique result of the evolution of epigravic industries on the peninsula.

A gap in documentation separates the Uluzzian from manifestations of the Gravettian tradition; however, recent excavations at the Paglicci cave in the Gargano and the Cipolliane caves in Salento shed light on the latter, revealing the roots from which Romanellian culture sprang. The Paglicci cave provides sufficient light to show the roots from which Romanellian culture sprang.

in the Gargano and the Cipolliane caves in Salento, sufficient light to reveal the roots from which Romanellian culture sprang. The Paglicci cave provides a succession of stratigraphic level 18, with late Gravettian industry, then levels with Epigravettian industries that gradually unfold, preluding a transition to Romanellian forms, concluding in levels 3-1 with an appearance that can be defined as proto-Romanellian. On the Salento peninsula, while shelter C of the aforementioned Cipolliane is flanked by the Paglicci cave in terms of stratigraphy with evolving Epigravettian industries, a Proto-Romanellian phase is represented by the Fondo Focone deposit. Here, carbon-14 dating ranges from a maximum of 14,000 years ago to a minimum of 12,000 years ago. This is followed by the full Romanellian phase, which the Romanelli cave deposit, now prominent for its continuity of attestation, attests to.

tion, specified with eight dates, the oldest dating back to around 12,000 years ago and the most recent to around 9,000 years ago. These last Palaeolithic peoples, in the steppe landscape of Puglia at the time, where cold fauna was declining, practised hunting intensively; They devoted themselves mainly to bird hunting, but also made their first attempts at gathering molluscs, which was to become an important activity in more recent periods. In industry, which tended increasingly towards microlithism, bone working with awls, chisels and sticks stands out.

The Romanelli culture, in its development, extends from the Mesolithic period to the dawn of the Neolithic period. Evidence of a more recent Romanelli phase can be found, above that of full maturity, in the Cavallo cave, the caves of the Uluzzo bay, and the Santa Croce cave in Bisceglie, to name but a few. The final phase is perhaps represented in Salento at the Veneri di Parabita cave and the Zinzulusa cave, as well as in Bisceglie in the upper levels of the Santa Croce cave, all with hypermicrolithic industry. But within the Epigravettian period, the Grotta delle Veneri in Parabita has preserved the most compelling evidence with the two female statuettes to which it owes its name. Measuring 9 cm and 6.1 cm in height respectively, these statues are carved in the round from bone fragments. The larger of the two is particularly remarkable for its realism and the plasticity with which it depicts a woman about to give birth, almost as if it were a foreshadowing of the cult of the Great Mother, which would become characteristic of Neolithic agricultural populations.

The following period, belonging to the Lower Neolithic, brought with it not only agriculture and livestock farming but also the intrinsic innovation of impressed pottery. However, as far as Apulia is concerned, this period is even more important because it began with its most significant centre in the Tremiti Islands, in the village excavated near Prato Don Michele. Once again, this raises the issue of trade and connections across the Adriatic. Traces of penetration into the mainland can be found in Lucania at Gaudio near Lavello.

along the Ofanto, while in Apulia there are coastal attacks on the Drisiglia cave near Vieste in the Gargano, on the village of Mezzana and Marandrea di Trinitapoli further down in the Foggia area, on Torre a Mare near Bari and on the Guardiano cave near Polignano, where above a layer of only impressed pottery there is another layer of pottery that is also painted, with red bands: this also seems to reflect, once again, a trans-Adriatic influence, given that in Thessaly the association of impressed and painted pottery, sometimes on the same vessel, is now well documented. This would also explain the development of the graffito technique in this subsequent aspect of the cultural current.

This wave achieved greater success than the first. Abundant finds come from sites scattered throughout Apulia: such as the Scaloria cave and the village of Guadone in the province of Foggia; Pulo di Molfetta, Monteverde di Terlizzi, Pozzo di Canne, Puttecchia di Altamura, the Colombi and Mura caves in the province of Bari; the Ostuni cave, the sites of Torre Canne and Francavilla Fontana in the province of Brindisi; the sites near Taranto of Villa Pepe, Arsenale, and, in the province, Saturo di Leporano, Masseria San Paolo di San Giorgio Ionico; and finally the Cipolliane, Cavallo, Prazzi-che, and Veneri di Parabita caves, already mentioned, in the province of Lecce. There are similarities in the stations of Matera, some in Calabria and, further afield, with less varied decoration, in the stations of Marche and Abruzzo.

An even older landing place on the Apulian coast is reflected in the culture named after the locality of Masseria La Quercia in the Foggia plain, for which two carbon-14 dates have been obtained: approximately 7,000 and 6,500 years ago. Other sites have been found near Passo del Corvo and Monte Aquilone near Manfredonia; a penetration point has been seen in Campania, in the lower part of the La Starza di Ariano Irpino deposit. This culture also falls within the impressed pottery tradition, but due to its characteristic features...

The Neolithic period stands out as a separate aspect, irreducible to the rest of the complex. Similar ferment brought the Neolithic period to this entire part of Italy.

A similar spread from east to west is repeated in the south with painted pottery, which became established during the Middle Neolithic period. An ancient settlement has left clear traces in the Foggia plain and takes its name from the village of Passo del Corvo, which overlapped with the village that attested to the culture of Masseria La Quercia. Its simple two-colour pottery, with unlined red bands, distinguishes it from later phases, in which two-colour pottery is accompanied by three-colour pottery. Of particular interest are some vases where the red band decoration follows a geometric pattern identical to that of the red bands with engraved edges found on Danubian linear pottery.

A subsequent impulse is recorded in the area with the culture known as Scaloria, from the cave near Manfredonia where its typical trichromatic wax-mica was first identified, which points to the Thessalian types of Dimini. However, more significant in terms of location and results is the discovery of this culture in Cala Tramontana, i.e. in the Tremiti Islands, dating back to around 5600 years ago. Evidence can also be found further south, in the cave of Ostuni in the province of Brindisi, in Saturo di Leporano and Santa Sofia di Fragagnano, as well as in the cave of dell'Erba in the province of Taranto, and finally in the Zinzu-lusa cave near Castro d'Otranto.

In addition to its spatial extent, the Scaloria culture also extends over time, as it gave rise to the Serra d'Alto culture in Lucania: this in turn spread widely throughout Apulia, from the region's well-known prehistoric strongholds to Madonna di Grottole near Polignano a Mare and as far as the Tremiti Islands.

It is not only the Apulian-Lucanian territory that is affected by the reach of these trans-Adriatic contacts. Two major examples of painted pottery have already been found, which

They are known as the Ripoli culture and the Capri culture, respectively in Abruzzo and Campania. The former is only echoed in Apulia, as in the Erba cave; the latter has many traces in both Apulia and Lucania, but the most definite ones are found in the Fico cave near Santa Maria al Bagno, on the Salento peninsula. The most significant evidence of this culture can be seen in northern Calabria and as far as Lipari.

The Campignano period, between the Early Neolithic and the Bronze Age, brings attention back to the Gargano, with an economy based on primitive forestry and the exploitation of flint mines. The settlements consist of villages of circular huts sunk into the ground or even carved into the rock; cave dwellings are rarer. A remarkable fact that has already been pointed out is that the settlements of this civilisation, apart from those in the Gargano, are found only in the Verona area.

Dating back to the Late Neolithic period, the Sicilian civilisation of Diana has left extensive but sparse evidence in the form of a few ceramic fragments, from the cave of Latronico not far from the Calabrian border, in the province of Potenza, and from the Pipistrelli cave in Matera in Lucania, to Apulia, in Taranto in the necropolis of Scoglio del Tonno and in that of Masseria Bellavista a little further north near Massafra, in Salento at the Fico cave near Santa Maria al Bagno on the Ionian side and at the Zinzulusa cave on the Adriatic side, and further north, in the caves of Pulo di Altamura (province of Bari), Scaloria near Manfredonia, Pippola on the Gargano, up to a late burial ground at Cala Tramontana di San Domino in the Tremiti Islands. Previously, in the era of impressed pottery and then in that of the Scaloria civilisation, the Tremiti Islands were the point of irradiation towards the Italian coast for trans-Adriatic cultural currents: now they are the outpost of the Sicilian civilisation of Diana due to their commercial relations with the opposite shore of the Adriatic.

During the Eneolithic period, Puglia's role as a bridge and, above all, as a stopping place for new populations, who left traces of their settlement in the necropolises, became more pronounced. While connections with Sicily continued, with evidence of the Piano Conte culture found in the aforementioned Zinzuisa and Ostuni caves, the so-called people of Cellino San Marco appeared. The necropolis excavated in this locality, about twenty kilometres south of Brindisi, has yielded characteristic vases with ring handles surmounted by a pointed appendage and decorated with geometric motifs such as bands of triangles, zigzags filled with dots, and bands with a lattice pattern. The grave goods also include copper objects, green stone axes and flint tools. The picture then continues to repeat itself: correspondences in Casal Sabini di Altamura (province of Bari) with Sicilian types from Castelucio; a necropolis in Laterza near Taranto that does not fit into Italian cultural horizons.

The Bronze Age saw the re-establishment of contacts with the regions immediately to the north, Abruzzo and Marche: in Andria, there are ceramics of the Conelle-Ortucchio type. However, it was only from the middle Bronze Age onwards, and throughout the late Bronze Age, that the so-called Apennine civilisation became established in Apulia, particularly in its final sub-Apennine phase, with the clear characteristics of a pastoral organisation that disrupted or interrupted the previous agricultural civilisation. The two sites that show the greatest continuity and extend into the Iron Age are Coppa Nevigata in the Gargano and Torre Castelluccia, not far from Taranto, while in the immediate vicinity of this city, at Scoglio del Tonno, the fortified Apennine settlement is preceded by a Neolithic settlement of the Serra d'Alto type. The situation in Lucania continues to be similar. Here, the cave of Latronico, already significant for the discovery of Diana-type ceramics, takes on importance; it was probably frequented for rituals connected with the cult of healing waters.

and the village of huts was nearby. In Murgia Timone, in the province of Matera, two tombs were excavated: one with a double chamber, rectangular and trapezoidal respectively, attributed to the Apennine culture; the other with a quadrangular plan, attributed to the Sub-Apennine culture.

An important example of the late Bronze Age is the Carovigno burial ground (in the province of Brindisi), which comprises 25 rectangular tombs. Even more important, from the point of view of cultural succession, is the settlement of Satyrion between Porto Saturo and Leporano (province of Taranto) which, after representing the late Bronze Age in the Apennines and sub-Apennines, with ceramics including Mycenaean pieces, continued into the Protovillanovan period. Equally significant is the cremation necropolis of this type that is forming in Torre Castelluccia, not far away. However, the Protovillanavian period in southern Italy has so far received the most attention in the Lucanian territory, in the province of Matera on the border with Potenza, in Timmari, where the discovery at the beginning of the century of a systematically organised necropolis constituted a milestone in the identification of the current itself.

Similar prominence compared to Apulia extends to the Lucanian finds from the Iron Age; the focus of excavations shifts. In general, during the Iron Age, Apulia offers a parallel but autonomous picture with respect to that of the Picene civilisation of the Marche and Abruzzo regions. Ceramics distinguish two styles, that of Borgonuovo (Taranto) belonging to the early Iron Age, and those known, according to the region, as Daunia, Peucezio or Messapica, corresponding to the second. The crater shapes are unique to Daunia (Foggia) and Peucezia (Bari). Fibulae are serpentine with a long bracket and eyeglass-shaped, made of bronze. The burials show nothing new, always displaying crouched corpses. However, promising new developments are coming from the excavations at Monte Saraceno in the Gargano, near Mattinata, which began in 1959 and are still ongoing. The necropolis dates from the 7th-6th century and included at least 200 graves.

As for Salento, which has always been an autonomous ethnic and social unit, archaeology highlights the uniqueness of its dolmens or 'tables', menhirs also known as 'pietrefitte' (fixed stones) and piles of stones or 'specchie'. These megalithic monuments are found either isolated or associated with tombs, as in the burial mounds with dolmen chambers in Acquarica and Vanze near Lecce, and further south in Ugento; or as in the specchia of Santa Sabina, where the burial was not single but consisted of 24 rectangular pits dug with a step at the bottom for the headboard and then closed with a stone slab.

From an ethnic point of view, it is natural that the similarities are only approximate. Useless as far as the Palaeolithic and early Neolithic periods are concerned, they become more evident as soon as we find, through painted pottery, correspondences on the one hand with the Balkan peninsula and on the other with Sicily. The ethnic name that best suits these relationships is that of the Oenotrians, which does not mean that the first contacts and the first signs of exchange were necessarily already ethnic. The Oenotrians represent the lingering aspect of the layer that in Sicily is called 'Sicilian'.

The successive pressures from the north, which took shape in the two phases of the Apennine and Proto-Villanovan civilisations, justify the more modest image of raids that had no real consequences either linguistically or ethnically.

Conversely, the Iron Age shows the tripartite affirmation of 'Illyrian' ethnic currents, in which the Dauni correspond to the territory of Foggia, the Peucezi to that of Bari and the Messapi to that of Lecce. Linguistically, the latter are the most important because they left

several hundred inscriptions in a language that did not mix with Latin and represents the most important document of an Indo-European Illyrian tradition. In other parts of Apulia, the Illyrian elements that followed the Oenotrians (especially the Daunians but also the Peucetians) soon entered the Samnite cultural sphere and therefore had no direct contact with the Romans. In Lucania, on the other hand, the Oenotrian tradition lasted longer, but the Samnite cultural affirmation was early and intense. The pre-Roman period of Apulian and Lucanian history ended with the founding of the two colonies of Lucera (315 BC) and Venosa (291 BC).

## LUCANIA

For prehistoric purposes, Lucania forms a single unit with Apulia, and the essential elements of Lucanian prehistory have already been reported together with those of Apulia. We will now focus on those most characteristic of the region. The Lower Palaeolithic has been found near Venosa with Acheulean amygdaloids and, in particular, with Clactonian flake artefacts of a well-defined appearance, also known as the Venosa facies. This is also documented in the province of Matera, such as in Pisticci, Tricarico and Accettura. Middle Acheulean amygdaloids also come from the Murge Materane, specifically from Serra d'Alto and San Martino. However, the Malarane sites are more characteristic, reflecting the initial and then the final phases of the Middle Neolithic.

The cultural trend of impressed pottery, which in the early Neolithic period in Gaudiano di Lavello near Ofanto

left a deep mark on its early appearance, compared to those isolated along the southern Adriatic coast. In Lucania too, it established itself decisively with the appearance of...

...cessive, which combines impressed ceramics with painted and graffito ceramics. Unlike their Apulian counterparts, the Matera stations show a preference for decoration with rather wide and deep wavy lines, graffitied after the pot was fired, resulting in large chips at the edges. In painted decoration, the two distinctive motifs are bands of brown lines or grids and bands bordered in white. This second motif has parallels, perhaps independent, perhaps connected by ancient contacts, in the civilisation of Masseria La Quercia in the Foggia plain. The rest is common heritage: wax-

impressed with fingerprints, thin scratches, pinches, large commas arranged in a zigzag pattern and obtained with a serrated shell edge; two-colour painted pottery inspired by the Thessalian models of Sesklo; tremolo or thin line graffiti often coordinated to form large rhombuses, triangles and squares, then filled with white. Noteworthy in the decoration are the stylised depictions of the human face. The most common vessel shapes are flattened spherical vases with vertical necks, hemispherical cups and bowls. The lithic industry consists of flat-profile blades, axes and adzes.

A distinctive feature of the people who made impressed pottery, who succeeded the first small wave in southern Italy, is the defence of villages by digging ditches. Alongside the two veritable mines of prehistoric materials that are the Grotta dei Pipistrelli and the Grotta Funeraria, the following sites are now ranked in order of importance in the Matera area:

four open-air sites Tirlecchia, Murgecchia, Murgia Timone and Serra d'Alto, which would become so significant at the end of the Middle Neolithic period: all four of these villages are impressively fortified. This is particularly true of Murgia Timone, surrounded by two moats, the inner one

are, connecting to the outer elliptical one.

In this area, it is strange not to find any traces of waves that gradually replaced painted ceramics, as is the case throughout the rest of the embossed wax-mica area, almost as if they reflected a commercial trend that bypassed the previous one to reach the Tyrrhenian coast directly. But the tradition clearly took root in the area, and at Serra d'Alto it developed further from the Scaloria style with three-colour pottery similar to the parallel and antithetical type found at Sesklo, namely Dimini. The vessel shapes of the new civilisation appear elegant. Alongside the stone industry, there was also a bone industry. The village on this horizon in Serra d'Alto consists of circular huts sunk into the ground and shows the ritual of burying the dead in a crouched position within niches.

under the huts, or in similar cavities dug into the ancient moat: a sign that this defensive structure built by the first inhabitants of the area was no longer in use.

Also part of this horizon are the nearby village of Setteponti, the equally nearby Pipistrelli cave, which has been frequented since the Palaeolithic era, and Sal-clone near Metaponto. Evidence extends beyond the borders of Lucania and covers a wide area: from Puglia, which is rich in such sites, to the Tyrrhenian Sea, Campania, Calabria and Sicily; sporadic echoes can be found in Tuscany and Abruzzo.

The capacity for expansion of these Neolithic cultural currents paved the way for the ethnic expansion of the Oenotrians, the populations resulting from the first Indo-European tribes that landed on the Apulian coast: these tribes were the ancestors of the Sicilian tribes that de-Europeanised Sicily and the Opici, Ausoni and other proto-Latin groups that reached Campania and Lazio (see pp. 138 and 149).

In more recent times, the most significant discovery in Lucanian prehistory was made at Timmari, halfway between Matera and Potenza, proving the presence of Proto-Villanovan cultures throughout southern Italy. It is a typical cremation necropolis. The ossuaries are biconical or globular in shape and covered with an inverted bowl. The urns are sometimes stacked on top of each other, but always in an organic, albeit simple, manner: they are kept separate by a stone slab or even just a layer of earth.

Evidence of the persistence of the Proto-Villanovan cremation ritual in the Iron Age can be found in Accettura, in the province of Matera. In the Tempa Cortaglia district, a cremation burial ground was discovered, possibly connected to a settlement of which there appear to be traces. However, burial rites remained dominant from the early to late Iron Age, as documented by the continuous settlements of Ferrandina and Murgecchia with their adjoining necropolises, and throughout the territory, from the two sites just mentioned in the Matera area to those further north such as Oppido Lucano, further south such as Noepoli, and to the west.

such as the important necropolises of Anzi and Satriano di Lucania, all sites in the province of Potenza. The Murgecchia site is particularly important for having yielded abundant 'Enotrian' and 'Iapygian' pottery dating from the 9th to the 6th century BC.

The end of the Enotrian period in the Lucanian territory corresponds to the advent of the Samnite period. Descendants of the Samnites formed the Lucanian federation in the 5th century BC and gave the region its appropriate historical name of Lucania, which was foolishly replaced in the Italian Constitution with the Byzantine name of Basilicata.

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## CALABRIA

Until relatively recently, Calabria had no particular significance from a prehistoric point of view. For the Palaeolithic age, only the Torre di Talao cave near Scalea had provided flint and quartzite tools, points and Mousterian-type flakes with warm Pleistocene fauna. However, on the one hand, evidence now dates back further than the Middle Palaeolithic, to the Lower Palaeolithic, with the discovery in 1967 of Amygdale from the evolved Acheulean and some Proto-Levalloisian artefacts in Rosaneto near Praia a Mare. On the other hand, some of the most important Upper Palaeolithic sites in Italy have been uncovered in the Romito shelter in Papisidero and in the Madonna cave in Praia a Mare. The site in Papisidero, on the Lao River that descends from the mountains bordering Lucania, has been continuously occupied from 19,000 years ago until the Romanella period, yielding, among other things, the skeletons of six individuals buried about 10,900 years ago and, most notably, a boulder engraved with two figures of bovinds. The cave of the Madonna di Praia a Mare, also not far from the Lucanian border, on the Tyrrhenian coast, takes over in the documentation and dates from 10,000 years ago to the late Roman period. In its deepest levels, the cultural succession is very gradual and clearly shows how the Epigravettian period faded into the Mesolithic.

Neolithic materials have been found mainly in the province of Catanzaro. A rich collection of polished stone axes and chisels can be found in the Calabrian collections and are similar to those commonly found in other regions of Italy. However, it is worth mentioning a stone hammer with a groove around it, which seems to be linked to a

characteristic local craftsmanship. As for raw materials, the widespread use of obsidian allows us to establish links with the Lipari Islands. But in recent times, the picture of the Neolithic period has also been clarified and enriched through the exploration of the Madonna cave in Praia a Mare and that of two villages found in Favella di Sibari, in the Crati plain. In these locations, there is evidence of both the Early-Middle Neolithic period, with its second phase of impressed pottery, and the Late Neolithic period, with the Diana culture. These points of reference link the Calabrian territory during its prehistory with the Apulian-Lucanian territory on one side and Sicily on the other.

This trend reached its peak in the Middle Neolithic period, when, like the regions immediately to the north and south, the great cultural movement of painted pottery was experienced and assimilated here, with examples found in the aforementioned Madonna cave in Praia a Mare and in the Sant'Angelo III cave in Cassano Jonio, at the foot of the Pollino group towards the Crati plain, which are integral to the appearance of Capri. However, although these findings generally constitute a link between Campania and Sicily, their specific characteristics denote a distinct appearance, both in terms of vessel shapes and decoration. The ceramic ware includes cups with conical bases, spherical cups, and spherical jars with cylindrical necks. The figuline ware can be: achromatic, including biconical flasks and large flattened spherical dolia; bichromatic bichromatic, including conical bowls, flasks, small jars and cups, the former and the latter generally decorated with festoons, the former with red circles or transverse bands up to the shoulder, and the jars with geometric motifs; the trichromatic pottery has various motifs and includes small jars, flasks, flat-bottomed cups or cups with a small foot. The next phase, still within the painted pottery tradition, is identified with the expansion of the Serra d'Alto civilisation, traces of which have also been preserved in the cave.

of the Madonna of Praia a Mare immediately below the level of Diana's face.

The Neolithic period ended without any other cultural movements revolutionising the situation. The presence of the Sicilian civilisation of Diana was, in fact, here as elsewhere, merely commercial, albeit widespread (Favella di Sibari, the caves of Madonna a Praia a Mare, Romito a Papisidero, Sant'Angelo III a Cassano Ionio, and the necropolis at Girifalco). The indigenous people populated more densely the present-day provinces of Catanzaro and Reggio Calabria, in particular the areas on the Gulf of Squillace (the Alessi and Ancinale valleys) and, near Reggio, the Calopinace valley, Mount Basilico and the beach of Melito. On the Tyrrhenian side, the area of Vibo Valentia is of some greater importance. As in the rest of the peninsula, the inhabitants lived in natural caves (in the mountains of Tiriolo, north of Catanzaro in the Donnopetro valley) and huts.

The Eneolithic period is of little significance, although a certain continuity of settlements is evident in the Donnopetro valley mentioned above. The influence of Sicily persists, as in the Piano Conte layer of the Madonna cave in Praia a Mare. However, new cultures emerged from central Europe, recognisable in their expansion due to their warrior nature, and indicated in Calabria by the numerous battle axes found on the surface in the Reggio area and by the burials of the period in the Sant'Angelo III cave in Cassano Ionio. Significant is the cache of copper weapons discovered near Catanzaro in Cotronei, which dates back to the Early Bronze Age and is contemporary and similar to caches found in central Europe and in parts of Italy clearly traversed by new ethnic groups: Apulia (Torre del Moschetto), Lazio (Bagnoregio), Abruzzo (Loret Aprutino), Marche (Ripatransone) and Emilia (San Lorenzo in Noceto). Finally, the Apennine culture spread to Calabria, with remains found in the cave of Madonna di Praia a Mare and in some small caves near Romito di Papisidero.

f. It was only during the Iron Age that Calabria acquired its

true prehistoric significance, a significance that is becoming increasingly clear as excavations progress. In the province of Cosenza, the first site to be studied was Torre di Mordillo in the Coscile valley, where over two hundred tombs containing crouched corpses were discovered. From 1949 to 1954, around fifty pit graves were explored in a necropolis in Castiglione di Paludi, dating back to the 8th century BC, containing indigenous pottery similar to that found in Canale, yellow clay amphorae and bronze shield brooches. The materials are now housed in the Museum of Reggio Calabria.

In the tombs of the southernmost territories, the bodies are generally no longer in a crouched position but lying down. In the province of Catanzaro, the best-known site is Torre Galli near Vibo Valentia, not far from the border with the province of Reggio. The necropolis comprises 330 pit graves ranging from 9th to 6th century BC. The tombs may or may not be marked by stones. The grave goods include Villanovan-type biconical vases, cups, single-handled bowls, iron or bronze swords with decorated bronze sheaths, bronze spears and quadrangular razors. Not far away, in Tropea in

Annunziata, the remains of a  
cities with Villanovan-type cremation.

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In the province of Reggio, about twenty kilometres from the capital, in Ronzo near Calanna, artificial cave tombs and pits dating from the 9th to the 6th century BC have been found carved into the tuff rock. On the Ionian coast, near Locri, in the suburbs of the Greek city, there are the necropolises of Canale Ianchina, Patarito, and Scorciabove, dating from the 7th to 6th centuries. These are again cave tombs with a quadrangular cell closed by limestone slabs or dry stone walls, with the dead buried collectively in the cells and also in the corridor. Villanovan biconical vases, geometrically painted pottery and navicella fibulae are frequently found. A little further north, in 1961, Roccella Ionica revealed an indigenous complex. Here, however, the core of 32 tombs of the buried is flanked by two wells of the cremated. The Greek world is on the horizon.

The ethnic history of Calabria is essentially straightforward. We have seen how the population of the most remote prehistoric times maintained the practice of burial until their first contact with the Greeks who, after sporadic landings in ancient times, established themselves in Calabria, later known as Magna Graecia, from the 8th century BC onwards. Outside of archaeological documentation, Calabria was a necessary link between the Sicilians and their region of origin, Lucania-Apulia, where the Oenotrians had settled, not so much as founders but rather as a backward aspect (cf. p. 138). It is possible that the lack of continuity between the Neolithic and Bronze Ages corresponds to the crisis associated with the passage of the Sicilians through the region. This passage was in fact prolonged by the long series of contacts they had with Sicily before finally establishing themselves there.

As for ethnic names, the primitive inhabitants could only be referred to by the generic name of Tyrrhenians. After the passage of the Sicilians, others arrived, transformed or distorted by legend, but worthy of inclusion in this picture. Further north, on the Ionian side in the territory that belonged to Sybaris, were the Coni, directly related to the Oenotrians. To the south were the Italis, whose eponym Itala was, according to Antiochus of Syracuse, king of the Enotri. The Italis and Coni are therefore linked to a single progenitor. The Morgeti also trace their origins back to this ancestor, whose eponym Morges appears as the successor to Itaio in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and who then continued on to Sicily, founding Morgantia there. The Oscan-Umbrian phase manifested itself with the Bruzi, but only in the middle of the 4th century BC, i.e. in the middle of history. Only the Bruzi gave the region a name in ancient times, which survived throughout the Roman era. The name Calabria, on the other hand, is medieval and derives from the extension in the Byzantine era of the name of the opposite peninsula, the Salento, starting in the 8th century. It then remained only in the new region following the Lombard pressure that inserted a wedge into Lucania, erasing the pre-existing name from the Lucanian area and thus from the original Salento area.

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## SICILY

Sicily is a leading centre for prehistoric research in the heart of the Mediterranean. It has benefited from the work of high-level palaeontologists who have worked there, from Paolo Orsi to Luigi Bernabò Brea.

The Sicilian Palaeolithic period began to be known a century ago through the explorations of geologists, especially in the caves of western Sicily, namely in the provinces of Palermo and Trapani. The first overview dates back to 1878 and is attributed to F. von Adrian. In recent years, Paolo Graziosi's discoveries of the Levanzo graffiti and the data from the San Teodoro cave have been of exceptional importance. those of Iole Marconi Bovio, who revealed the Palaeolithic art of the Addaura and Nisemi cave finds, and finally that of Gerlando Bianchini in 1968, who traced the presence of man in Sicily back to the dawn of human industry. The picture that emerges is roughly as follows.

Sicily has likely seen the arrival of people from Africa.

creators of the primordial industry known as Pebble Culture, considering that in all likelihood the Tunisian trench did not yet exist at the beginning of the Quaternary period. The artefacts collected by Bianchini in the Calabrian-era sands on the terraced formations of Capo Rossello, in the vicinity of Realmonte in the province of Agrigento, are a hundred or so elementary tools made from pebbles with accompanying flakes, which the discoverer would specify by means of connections with complex Pebble Cultures in Algeria and Tunisia (respectively, Ain Hanech, Sidi Zin and Sidi Abderrahman). The Lower Palaeolithic is further documented on the island by advanced Acheulean bifaces found in

always found in the Agrigento area, at Capo Bianco, Rocca di Vruaro and Realmonte, and probably also from bifaces found in the alluvial soil of Giancaniglia near Termini Imerese, in the province of Palermo. The similarity with the Lucanian facies of Venosa, which some of the amygdales from Agrigento denote, indicates the immediate north as the origin of the craftsmen themselves, at a time when Sicily must have been separated from Africa

but perhaps still attached to the European continent. Conversely, it is possible that it was an island in the Middle Palaeolithic, as there is no evidence to date of Mousterian industries . which

their deposits are linked together uninterruptedly along the entire Tyrrhenian coast as far as Calabria. This continuity is re-established in the Upper Palaeolithic. This is due more to advanced human technology than to a new geological change, although this is possible in a tectonically unstable area such as Calabria-Sicily. Even in the evidence of Aurignacian industry, which has few sites in Italy, Sicily is already aligned with Liguria, Tuscany and Lazio with the finds from the Fontana Nuova cave in Marina di Ragusa, considered Aurignacian.

However, the findings from the late Upper Palaeolithic, which fall within the final phase of the Epigravettian, are of much greater importance, albeit with particular developments. This phenomenon of specialisation led to a mosaic of industries and followed a completely independent line of development, which in some cases even resulted in a phase of macrolithic tools after a phase of microlithic tools, as in the cave of San Teodoro in the province of Messina and in the cave of Acqua Fetusa in the province of Agrigento. The layout of the sites, concentrated mainly on the northern coast, also forms a mosaic.

The most documented sites are: in the province of Trapani, the Emiliana, Mangiapane, Cala Mancina and Crocifisso caves, the various caves on the island of Favignana and the famous Cala dei Genovesi cave on the island of Levanzo, as well as the open-air site at Agro di Paceco; in the province of Palermo, the Addaura caves and the cave at

Niscredi on Mount Pellegrino, the caves of Nuovo and Natale and the Castello shelter near Termini Imerese; in the province of Messina, the caves of San Teodoro and San Basilio, and the La Rocca di San Marco shelter. To the south, the sites of Palazzolo Acreide, C11nicattini Bagni, and the Lazzaro and Carruggi caves in the province of Syracuse are important. Most of the sites are located a short distance from the sea: only a few traces can be found inland, in the area of San Cataldo in the province of Caltanissetta.

The fauna is of the warm type, with characteristic dwarf elephants: this is related to the position of Sicily, which was not directly affected by the ice ages. There are no visible African connections. The large number of sea shells proves that mollusc feeding supplemented hunting. Human skeletons have been found in the cave of San Teodoro, and are fundamental in that, apart from these, those in Liguria and, more recently, those in Papisidero in Calabria, there are no other known examples from the Italian Palaeolithic period. However, what puts the Sicilian Palaeolithic period at the forefront are the works of art, which are not unworthy of comparison with the famous works of Franco-Cantabrian art. Two series of figures, one engraved and the other painted, were discovered in a cave in Cala dei Genovesi in Levanzo, one of the Egadi Islands: the engraved ones have a vivid sense of nature, while the painted ones are schematic and rigid; the latter are thought to be of a somewhat more recent age. The walls of the Niscredi cave also feature zoomorphic engravings, among which two horses stand out for having eyes and manes instead of the simple profiles usually found in such depictions. Finally, in one of the caves of Addaura, near Palermo, there are also human figures in groups that seem to reproduce ritual ceremonies.

Again, due to the limited significance of phenomena related to glaciation, it is difficult to clearly distinguish between the Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods in Sicily. The respective populations already form a link with the subsequent phases.

Knowledge of the Neolithic period began in the last decade of the 19th century with the discovery of the culture known as Stentinello (province of Syracuse), which was followed by the four 'Sicilian' periods in Paolo Orsi's rigid classification. Alongside this, the brothers Corrado and Ippolito Cafici were also worthy illustrators of the Sicilian Neolithic period. The Stentinello culture marks the advent of a new world, the spread of a Neolithic civilisation from the Near East, with the beginnings of agriculture, animal husbandry and pottery. It is part of the impressed pottery tradition and can be divided into two types: one with a coarse mixture, decorated with impressions made using fingernails, shell edges and other basic moulds, with vessels that are wider at the mouth than at the base: cups, bowls, basins and fruit bowls with high feet; the second type, finer and polished, is decorated with clay moulds, sometimes very

elaborate and encrusted with white, and the predominant vessel shapes are jars and flasks, as well as cups with narrow mouths narrower than the body. In addition to the village of Stentinello, the villages of Megara Hyblaea and Masolunga, also in the Syracuse area, are typically protected by triangular fortifications. The three locations where they have been found are spread throughout eastern Sicily, while they appear to be isolated for now in the north-west, in the Geraci cave in Termini Imerese and in Paceco near Trapani.

The entire Sicilian Neolithic period, with its fortified villages, complex ceramic decorations, idols and animal figurines, as found in Ugentino, appears to be a relatively late echo, lasting from the end of the 5th millennium BC throughout the 4th millennium, of an environment that had matured in its places of origin as early as the 6th-5th millennia. The route of this colonisation must be imagined as having taken place via maritime routes, which reached Sicily descending from the Apulian coasts.

Prehistoric exploration of Sicily initially centred on the two vast areas of influence of the two national museums in Syracuse and Palermo. In more recent times, however, the areas of Agrigento, Milazzo and, above all, the Aeolian Islands have yielded excellent results for us.

, the areas of Agrigento, Milazzo and, above all, the Aeolian Islands have yielded great results.

In the Aeolian Islands, the main source of prosperity was the exploitation of obsidian. The oldest village discovered is Castellaro Vecchio, on the island of Lipari, which belongs to the Stentinello level. In the following phase, the castle of Lipari provides the first traces of settlement, followed by a continuity of documentation that constitutes the most complete stratigraphic deposit in the entire central and western Mediterranean to date. The lower level dates back to the Middle Neolithic and attests to the expansion of the cultural trend of painted pottery: in terms of painted decoration, it generally fits into the Capri style; but also includes blackish ceramics, of good quality, decorated with graffito and white or red encrustations, or carved or engraved with meander-spiral motifs, often covering the entire surface, so characteristic of the Danube and Balkan areas. In this sense, the presence of a small clay idol is also significant here. The level above shows the spread of the Serra d'Alto type, which is accompanied by finds in Sicily itself, in the province of Catania at Paliké, Paternò, Sant'Ippolito, and near Palermo on Mount Pellegrino. Above this is the level of the Diana civilisation, dated to about 5000 years ago.

However, the main settlement of the Diana civilisation is located at the foot of the acropolis of Lipari, and it is from this village that it takes its name. Although it seems to have developed significantly only in the Aeolian Islands, where the smaller islands of Panarea and Filicudi also began to be inhabited, it has also left remains in south-eastern Sicily, such as in Megara Hyblaea, Matrensa and the nearby caves of Chiusazza and Masella in Buscemi, as well as in the territory of Paternò, and in north-western Sicily, such as in the cave of Cala dei Genovesi in Levanzo and that of Vecchiuzzo on the Madonie mountains. Some fragments have also been found in the province of Agrigento, in the Zubbia cave in Palma Montechiaro. The Metal Age is now upon us: prototypes

metallic spirals most likely inspired ceramic art in its departure from excessive decoration, increasingly resorting to applied paste motifs, and in the colour of the pottery, which changed from red in the first phase to duller shades in the second, ending up purple-red or purple-brown in the third. The first signs of metalworking are already evident in the form of copper slag from smelting.

The last tired impulses that had come to a halt with painted ceramics towards the end of the Neolithic age, in eastern Sicily and the Aeolian Islands, were followed in the Eneolithic period by a much more energetic push which, starting from Anatolia, spread across the whole of Sicily, reaching the Iberian West and taking advantage of local mineral resources to create new civilisations with a great capacity for expansion. Advances in navigation made Sicily much more open to this trade and these technical advances. The ritual of individual burial, for example, was abandoned in favour of collective burial, perhaps in small caves or artificial oven-shaped structures. But in the Aeolian Islands, the transition to the Metal Age initially meant decline, because metals diminished the value of obsidian. Thus, the culture of Piano Conte di Lipari, from the early Eneolithic period, is a continuation of the previous tradition in that it still bases its economy on the trade of obsidian and agriculture; however, the distribution of its artefacts is limited to a few sporadic finds in Puglia and La Starza di Ariano Irpino in Campania, far from the vast network of the people of Diana. The impression of decline becomes more pronounced in the following period with the Piano Quartara culture, identified on the island of Panarea and in the village of Diana in Lipari.

In Sicily, however, the new styles spread throughout the region the whole territory, albeit in various and particular forms and with ceramics that have been distinguished according to various types: San Cono - Piano Notaro, with decoration, albeit not very frequent, with impressions and engravings; Canzo, with

Painted decoration; Serraferlicchio, red pottery with black painted motifs, or grey buccheri pottery, often decorated with spatula streaks: all still within the sphere of the late Greek Neolithic period. The ceramics of Malpasso, monochrome red with a glossy surface, and those of Sant'Ippolito, again painted, are dominated by Aegean-Anatolian influences, which, in their places of origin, already used bronze.

In contrast to these types, found in various areas of south-eastern Sicily, there is now a clearly defined north-western type from the Conca d'Oro area, which is reminiscent of the San Cono - Piano Notare types in terms of ceramic decoration and can be linked to Serraferlicchio, Malpasso, Sant'Ippolito, and Piano Quartara, but, with the Carini glass, unknown in south-eastern Sicily, it shows a link with the first great western tradition, that of the bell-shaped vase. Due to the association of forms of different origins and cultural differences,

the reference to the Stentinellian tradition that may be

Recognised in the engraved decoration and in the style

of the burials, that of the Conca d'Oro appears to be an indigenous culture that reached a Neolithic level through contact with groups that settled in other parts of the island, while continuing to be influenced by the western Mediterranean.

f: It was at this time that Sicily first experienced the division, which in some respects still persists today, between a south-eastern world oriented towards Calabria and Greece and open to new ideas, and a north-western world oriented towards Africa, Spain and Liguria, which was substantially more closed. In north-western Sicily, the Conca d'Oro civilisation was succeeded by that of Moarda, connected not with the rest of Sicily but rather with the Aeolian Islands and perhaps even with the Sardinian civilisation of San Michele. However, what most characterises it are the accentuated echoes of the Bell Beaker civilisation from the west. The two examples of this vase, found directly in Villafrati and Torrebignini, fit into a context that refers to

It dates back to the 17th century BC. However, the Carini glass and fragments of two bell-shaped vases found in the Palombara di Belvedere cave, near Syracuse, in the Malpasso layer, prove that Western influence dates back much further.

The Moarda culture now takes us into the Bronze Age. Opposite it, eastern Sicily now shows the civilisation of Castelluccio near Noto at the forefront, which extends with some variety to Agrigento, Caltanissetta and areas of Etna, and occupies the period from the beginning of the 19th century BC to the end of the 15th century. Over a hundred artificial cave tombs have allowed Castelluccio to name this new phase.

The entrances were sometimes closed with stone doors, some decorated with spiral motifs in relief. The pottery is mainly painted with brown or blackish lines, grouped in bands arranged in various ways and sometimes in a chequerboard pattern, and has shapes that cannot be linked to previous phases. Metals are still rare, while the stone industry is widespread: flint from Mount Tabuto near Comiso (province of Ragusa) is widely exploited, where a thriving mining colony flourishes. Stylised bone idols also establish contacts with Malta and the Aegean here.

Meanwhile, in the Aeolian Islands, there was a revival through the civilisation of Capo Graziano on the island of Filicudi. This first appeared in the flat area of Lipari, then moved to the acropolis, due to the prevalence of defensive concepts. Up there, in the village, a building appears, which may be the king's large oval hut or the community's sanctuary, measuring twelve metres by seven, enclosed within a quadrangular enclosure. The local working of metals, which replaced that of obsidian, was accompanied by permanent relations with Greece, from the initial period corresponding to the Middle Helladic period to the Mycenaean flowering. Similarly, the chronology of the hut certainly extends from the 17th century BC to the 15th century BC inclusive.

From the 15th century onwards, there was a complete change in ceramics. The Aeolian civilisation of Milazzo and the Sicilian civilisation

Thapsos has new types that partly correspond to each other. The Milazzese civilisation, which takes its name from the promontory on the island of Panarea but extends to all the Aeolian Islands as well as to Milazzo on the Sicilian coast opposite them, shows clear contacts with the Italian mainland for the first time, in the Apennine pottery found in the villages of those islands. Thanks to links with the Mycenaean world, it is possible to date this Aeolian period precisely to the 14th and 13th centuries BC. An important sign of the approach to history is provided by vases bearing potter's marks that are somewhat reminiscent of Minoan-Mycenaean linear writing. Thapsos, north of Syracuse, is the main coastal village that documents the parallel civilisations of Sicily, through the close similarities of its pottery with that of the Milazzese type. However, cultural and commercial links are directed more towards Malta than towards the Aegean world. The development over time is also parallel: until the 11th century BC.

With this century and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, there were upheavals far away in Greece and closer to home with pressure from the Italian mainland on Sicily. Dominion of the sea fell into the hands of the Phoenicians. The civilisations that correspond to the following half-millennium until the organic Greek colonisation are the Ausonians in the Aeolian Islands and the Pantalicans in Sicily. The term 'Ausonian' is not very appropriate, because in the ethnic terminology of ancient Italy, the Ausonians are located in southern Lazio, at the level of the Iron Age civilisation known as the pit grave culture. On the acropolis of Lipari, the layer superimposed on the huts of the Middle Bronze Age shows pottery similar to the late phases of the Apennine civilisation, specifically to the Sub-Apennine villages of Puglia. The establishment of new populations is clear. It leads to the breakdown of the pre-existing parallelism between the Aeolian Islands and Sicily. The Aeolian Islands became part of Italy, although only the acropolis of Lipari saw a revival of life, which was lacking in the smaller islands. The first period, known as Ausonian I, is characterised by

a large cylindrical situla with a cord and four tongues around the rim. The next, or Ausonio II, shows large biconical jars and the bowl with a recessed rim, known as Villanovan. The predominant colour, black in Ausonio I, now becomes bright red. The huts are no longer round but quadrangular or polygonal. The necropolis at the foot of the castle shows the rapid establishment of the rite of cremation, with ashes collected in situlae. The bronzes have direct connections only with the Italian peninsula, dating back to the Emilian terramare, several centuries earlier. Based on this comparison, the Ausonian period as a whole covers the centuries from the 12th to the 9th century BC, most of which can be assigned to Ausonian II.

More exclusive and consistent is the development in Milazzo, which resumes with Ausonio II, once again alongside the events of Lipari. With urns (rather than situlae) containing ashes, the necropolis here forms a 'field of urns' similar to the Proto-Villanovan ones at Timmari in Lucania, Pianello di Genga in the Marche, Fontanella di Casalromano and Franzine Nuove in the eastern Po Valley. Milazzo and Lipari represent the southernmost tip of the Proto-Villanovan culture which, despite having travelled the longest distance, has maintained its spiritual heritage and physical appearance unchanged.

The upheaval that introduced the Ausonian type to the Aeolian Islands, followed by the Proto-Villanovan penetration, was paralleled in Sicily by the upheaval that saw the disappearance of the Thapsos civilisation in the 13th century and the rise of urban centres further inland, more suitable for defence, with their necropolises at Pantalica, Cassibile and elsewhere. In this context, it is possible to distinguish four phases through which certain aspects remain practically unchanged. The first phase covers the period from 1270 to 1000 BC and is attested above all by the northern and north-western necropolises of Pantalica, Montagna di Caltagirone and a group of tombs on the Dessueri river. It is characterised by beautiful pottery, sometimes linked to the tradition of Thapsos.

The second phase covers the period from around 1000 to 850 and is particularly well documented by the necropolis of Cassibile. The red pottery of Pantalica is replaced by pottery painted with 'feathered' motifs, similar to that of the Ausonian period of Lipari. There is a profound transformation in bronze artefacts. The new fibula, modelled on Ausonian designs, is different. However, bronzes and fibulae re-establish direct contacts with the East. The drive for trade with the West, determined by Phoenician expansion, means that Sicilian bronzes, razors and fibulae are in turn documented in Iberia, Gaul and even Great Britain, just as there is a reverse diffusion of western Enean objects in Sicily.

The third phase covers the period from around 850 to 730 BC and is attested, among other things, by the southern necropolises of Pantalica and a group of tombs in Centuripe. The fourth phase covers the period from 730 to 650 BC and gradually immerses itself in historical Greek civilisation, radiating out from the colonies that had by then been established. The first of these was Naxos, most likely prior to the middle of the 7th century BC, although the traditional date of its foundation is 734. Syracuse followed shortly afterwards.

It is pointless to try to give a name to the Palaeolithic man of Sicily: what connections he may have had with Neanderthal man or even Cro-Magnon man is a question of anthropology, not ethnicity. The same man of the early Neolithic period, as he bears witness to the first great expansion of civilisation from East to West, eludes ethnic classification. When, however, with the full Neolithic period, a settling down took place, alongside the anonymous evidence, there was a kind of spiritual humus sufficient for a tradition to arise, and this, albeit interpreted and altered, crystallised into historiography.

There are essentially three names that appear at this point. The first, which takes us back to the most remote antiquity, with fewer connections to distant places of origin, is that

of the Sicani. It gradually narrows more and more towards the west, until it defines the extreme western area.

Local Sicani names of Libyan-Iberian origin include Miskera, Indara and Hykkara. The links that the Sicani show, also based on the name of the river Sikan6s, near Agrigento, and in Spain, do not imply immigration, but simply the affirmation of that western colouring that archaeologically has been named the Conca d'Oro. The second name is that of the Elymians. Its origins are very ancient. However, it has a less strictly Sicilian component, because it is associated with the most ancient Greek expansion which, merging in the north-western region with pre-existing populations, gave rise to a population different from the other Sicilian ones. Thucydides' testimony (VI 2-3) is peremptory in linking these Greeks with refugees from Troy. But the indigenous elements, specific to the notion of 'Elymi', are made evident by the toponymy and the triple connection with Liguria, Erice, Segesta and Entella (cf. p. 18). Despite the ancient Greek elements, which according to Thucydides contributed to the establishment of a national Elymian tradition, this tradition remained faithful to the indigenous realities, which looked to Liguria. In this western part of Sicily, before the end of the millennium, Phoenician settlements were established, which then came under the influence of Carthage, remaining there until the First Punic War. The three major centres were Mozia, Solunto and Panormo.

The name that appears to be the most important, that of the Siculi, is also the least connected to Sicily, and the least ancient in terms of its presence on Sicilian soil. As a name, Siculi belongs to the most remote Mediterranean layer and, in a slightly different form, even appears in Egyptian sources from the 11th century BC. In Italy, authoritative traditions take it as far as Ancona. However, apart from the name, the linguistic notion of 'Sicilian' is instead personified by

the tradition of Indo-European penetration in Sicily. Links with the Apennine civilisation of the continent were established gradually, first through attempts, then through actual colonisation. These are visible in the Aeolian Islands, which the legend reported by Diodorus Siculus (V 7) associates with the name of Liparo, son of Auson, that is, a branch of that tradition which, if archaeologically Apennine, is linguistically Enotrian and Proto-Latin and as such attested until historical times in southern Lazio. The transition was so abrupt that Diodorus was able to claim, albeit wrongly, that before Liparo the Aeolian Islands were deserted. Practically invisible from an archaeological point of view, however, are the pressures, attempts and Sicilian settlements in Sicily itself. The reason is clear. The civilisation of Sicily, under the influence of either the Mycenaeans, Phoenicians, Pelasgians or Greeks, was too superior to be altered by groups whose only weapon for imposing themselves was their social cohesion. We should not therefore expect to find archaeological evidence of the arrival of the Sicilians. However, it is clear that: from the first attempts at isolated spiral decorations; from the first links with the Italian mainland in the Aeolian Islands; from their full affirmation in the Bronze Age starting in the 11th-12th century, any date is acceptable for accepting the Sicilian affirmation as an ethnic fact of Sicily.

If we compare the two accounts of the historians, namely Thucydides, who places the arrival of the Sicilians in Sicily three hundred years before the Greek colonisation, driven out by the Opici of southern Italy, and Hellanicus, who speaks of three generations before the traditional fall of Troy (180 BC), then archaeologists are faced with a choice. And this choice is not a doubtful one. The abrupt end of the villages of the Thapsos civilisation and the establishment of the urban centres of the Pantalica and Cassibile civilisations mean that archaeology opts for the second, older date. The Sicilians established themselves in Sicily in the first half of the 13th century.

a. C. That conspicuousness, which is totally absent from an archaeological point of view, was assured to the Sicilians in historiography, with such authority that even Orsi summarised the whole of Sicilian history from the age of the Siculi to the age of the Romans in his four Sicilian periods.

, was assured to the name of the Sicilians in historiography, with such authority that even Orsi summarised the whole of Sicilian history from the Bronze Age onwards in his four Sicilian periods. On a linguistic level, the Sicilian language is only known in the Greek era starting from the 5th century BC, mainly through two tiles from Adrano (thirty-five letters in total) and the vase from Centuripe (about a hundred letters), in which it is difficult to recognise individual words. The impression that this is a language of the Proto-Latin group is confirmed by about twenty glosses, which are definitely Sicilian, such as *litra* equivalent to Latin *libra* and *Aitne* equivalent to our *Etna*. There is no evidence of its actual persistence in the period after the 5th century BC, nor of its indirect influence on later linguistic history. 5th century, or of its indirect influence on later linguistic history. Recent important discoveries in Elymian epigraphy have no significant consequences that would affect this summary classification of the linguistic and archaeological facts of Sicilian prehistory.

## SARDINIA

For a comprehensive bibliography, see G. Lilliu's manual, *La civiltà dei Sardi*, Turin 1963, 19671•

Sardinian prehistory is also significant, although it is most prominent in the final period, that of the famous nuraghi. With no evidence (at least in the current state of our knowledge) of Palaeolithic or Mesolithic man, the Neolithic period shows its first traces in the extreme south-western corner of Sardinia, namely in Sulcis. These traces have been linked to the bearers of impressed pottery, who, based on findings in Corsica, seem to have already exploited the obsidian deposits of Mount Arei near Oristano. This led the area to become, during prehistory, a true industrial centre through numerous processing stations, also for the purpose of exporting from the island. The stone and ceramic finds from the rock shelter of Santo Stefano alla Maddalena are more uncertain in terms of their dating. However, they contribute to highlighting the important role that Sardinia has played since ancient times, offering easy landing places along the low-lying southern coast and safe havens for ships on the rugged northern coast in the middle of the large western Mediterranean basin.

Even before archaeology can follow the development of pre-Nuragic civilisations step by step, the region hints at the first and fundamental reason for its contrasts, that between the very first settlements in coastal areas, on plains suitable for agricultural activities, and the settlements in inland and elevated positions, suitable for defence, which then prevailed. This cultural contrast seems to be accompanied by a racial contrast: the southern physical types, homogeneous dolichocephalic, as found, for example, in the cave of Capo di Sant'Elia near Cagliari, are opposed to the dolichocephalic types, prevalent

but not exclusive in comparison to brachycephalic breeds, in the setten-trione, for example in Anghelu Ruju near Alghero.

It is still too early to make linguistic assumptions. However, for negative purposes only, it must be noted that the population of Sardinia was not only late, but also staggered: Africa, certainly more than any other region, Iberia, Liguria and Corsica contributed to this, without imposing specific characteristics, but laying the foundations for the heterogeneity that remained typical of Sardinia until the beginning of history, despite its apparent isolation. The name given to the island by the Greeks 'when it was inhabited only by birds' was Ikhnusa. The flow from Africa was not uniform. The *primi cavernicoli* remembered by Pausanias (X 17 2) who offered some resistance to Libyan colonisation, were in fact the survivors of a previous African colonisation. The first name given to the island by the Greeks after Ikhnusa was Sardo, but we do not know when this name originated.

In the pre-Nuragic context, the Neolithic phase is linked to the Eneolithic phase. This is particularly important because it allows us to distinguish between two types. One is that of the megalithic or Arzachena 'circles', typical of Gallura, a pastoral environment, and part of the trade network around 2000 BC.

a. C. Unlike that of Arzachena, the civilisation of San Michele is widespread and popular, with a mixed economy, although sheep farming predominates. Its settlements consist of villages of unfortified huts and caves, including that of San Michele near Ozieri, which gives it its name. It favours elevated positions: the village-sanctuary of Monte d'Accoddi near Sassari is a significant remnant of this. ❖ que-

This was the flourishing period of the *domus de janas*, 'houses of the witches', characteristic hypogea resulting from the imitation of artificial caves already known in the previous age. About a thousand are known, mainly in northern Sardinia. Many of them reproduce the dwellings of the time, both in structure and in basic furnishings; some have walls carved with bovine heads and weapons, for protection.

of the dead, and others are rich in paintings of similar symbols, in red, where the depiction of the bull god also dominates. There are also stylised marble idols. The funeral rite is always that of burial. The underground mentality is evident. The pottery, made of brown-black or reddish clay, can be smooth and unadorned or engraved with various motifs, often spiral-shaped; finally, a few vases have clear characteristics of Eastern origin, with brown or red striped decorations and a whitish or yellowish background, made of well-purified clay.

Meanwhile, civilisation is spreading from the Iberian Peninsula. of the bell-shaped vase. It reached the shores of Sardinia, leaving typical objects in the necropolises of Marinaru, Laccheddu, Santu Pedru, Anghelu Ruju, Nuraxinieddu, all located on the western coast, and in the cave of San Bartolo-meo in the Gulf of Cagliari. However, it did not replace the civilisation of San Michele. Without reaching the warlike mark of subsequent civilisations, it resisted the new peoples on an ethnic level, who pressed here more as gypsies or adventurers than as true colonisers, for most of the First half of the millennium BC: while in central-western Europe the bearers of that same civilisation

brought about a real upheaval, with indirect consequences also on the displacement of tribes of Indo-European linguistic tradition.

The developments recognised in the pre-Nuragic period refer to three points. The temple began to appear as an autonomous entity distinct from the house and the tomb: the tower of Monte d'Accoddi foreshadows the architectural vocation that would develop in the Nuragic age. In terms of sculpture, the basalt Venus of Macomer, found in a natural cave in S'Adde (La Valle), recalls on the one hand the image of the Great Mother, well known in the eastern Mediterranean regions, and on the other hand evokes the powerful expressive capacity of Palaeolithic art. But the real novelty lies in the changed activity of the

Man: he is no longer the traveller or coloniser who, with good reason or by chance, seeks a settlement. He is the metal seeker who makes his way, with all the psychological, economic and organisational consequences that such an impulse entails. In the middle of the second millennium, this current in the eastern Mediterranean basin became organised and ended up establishing a tradition in which, albeit with ups and downs, the Phoenicians joined at the end of the second millennium and the Greeks at the beginning of the first millennium, after earlier signs. At some distant point in time, the very name of the Sardinians had become associated with that of the 'peoples of the sea'. They are thus mentioned in the Egyptian sources of King Merneptah in the 13th century B C , together with the Tyrrhenians and Sicilians.

At the beginning of the Nuragic age, maritime expansion (involving non-Greek Indo-European elements in mainland Italy and Aegean elements in the islands) had two consequences in Sardinia. Cretan or Cypriot copper ingots with Linear A script markings appeared. Around 1500, the first 'tholoi' or nuraghe domes appeared. Their origin, according to G. Lilliu's definition, lies in the combination of distant 'attitudes' or proto-Sardinian, also dating back to ancient Eastern models, with the 'yeast' of this Mycenaean age. The Greek legend is instructive in its inspirations. On the one hand, the association of Daedalus with Sardinian experiences personalises the architectural explosion of Sardinia. On the other hand, the legend, which superimposes Trojan refugees on the Hellenes who had already settled in Sardinia, validates the hypothesis of the superimposition of Mycenaean currents on pre-existing Aegean settlements. Not even the advent of Nuragic civilisation implies a real ethnic upheaval. Types of pottery, stone weapons, tombs carved into the rock with communicating chambers, objects of

cult suggest a certain cultural continuity. The revolution takes place in the field of social structure, where new military and organisational needs shift the priority of problems. The need for defence led to the construction of the chieftain's castle or nuraghe in the strict sense of the word, around which a constellation of smaller nuraghi or even, as in Barumini, stone huts could be built to house the inhabitants these shepherds warriors who, unyielding in defending their freedoms, became great builders.

In Nuragic civilisation, architecture and sculpture predominate over painting: Nuragic art is a structural art. But it is not a classical art, which takes its stylistic attitudes to their ultimate consequences: something asymmetrical remains with respect to its fundamental motifs, a 'geometry of circles' for architecture and free curvilinear forms in sculpture. The name nuraghe derives from nur(r)a, a Proto-Sardinian and therefore Mediterranean word, which simultaneously indicates the concave and convex appearance of a structure.

"pile" or "cavity". The Greeks defined it as "tholos", the Romans as "castrum" or castle, and "spelunca". This stratification refers to the tradition of the hero Norax, mentioned by Salino (IV 2), who came with mixed Libyan and Iberian tribes and founded Nora, the 'first city of Sardinia'.

The Corsicans are also an ancient Sardinian people, mentioned by Pausanias as inhabitants of the mountains of Gallura, and aligned by Pliny with the Iliasi. The latter, i.e. the Ilienses, are the Latinised form of the name of an ancient Iolao, also a Libyan hero, mentioned by Polybius (VII 9) and namesake of a god. The name Iliava della Maddalena takes us back to Elba, formerly Iliava, while the absence of nuraghi distinguishes north-eastern Sardinia from Libyan and Nuragic Sardinia.

There are approximately seven thousand known nuraghi, with a ratio of one per 400 hectares. However, in Marghine, there is almost one per 100 hectares. Nuraghi can be arranged in constellations or stand alone. The structure between

The traditional type is the tholos, orientalisising, while the corridor type, westernising, is more static and almost degenerate compared to the former. The nuraghe is a round tower with a truncated cone profile, made of cyclopean stones, without any trace of cement: loopholes, blind corners, zigzag turns, retractable ladders, trapdoors and weapons confirm its military character. Around 1000, perhaps in relation to the greater dynamism of trade in the Phoenician age, other buildings were added to the nuraghe according to one of three methods of frontal, lateral or concentric addition. At the height of complexity, there are perimeter towers that appear as 'lobes'.

The Nuragic period, according to the classification of G. Lilliu, the leading expert on Sardinian antiquities, comprises three phases: Proto-Nuragic, corresponding to the Middle and Late Bronze Age; Apogeic, corresponding to the Early Iron Age; and Decadent, corresponding to the Late Iron Age, when the Carthaginians imposed their rule. The first phase is divided into two sub-phases: Bunnannaro, near Sassari, from 1500 to 1200, and Monte Claro, from 1200 to 1000. The Bunnannaro civilisation was the first Sardinian civilisation to truly belong to the highlands and to clearly favour pastoralism and defence over agriculture. It fits well with the 'terrestrial' interpretation of nuraghi, seen as instruments of nearby defence, rather than maritime or distant defence. However, Bunnannaro still represents, in some ways, the continuation of the pre-Nuragic civilisation of San Michele. The second civilisation, that of Monte Claro, near Cagliari, is new in its orientation and structure. It is characterised by the development of *the tumbas de sos gigantes*, 'giants' tombs', of which there are over three hundred known examples. The tower of one of the most famous nuraghi, Nuraghe Losa, in

The territory of Abbasanta belongs to this period.

The next phase, or apogee, covers the period from 1000 to 500. It saw progress in social organisation, leading to the establishment of cantonal or federal systems, even

though not strictly urban ones. The well temples or sacred wells show the pre-eminence of water worship and the permanent importance of water for Sardinian life. Already within the civilisation of San Michele, a sacred place connected with this cult can be seen in the Green Cave of Al-

Gherese, which has schematic anthropomorphic graffiti on its walls. The most complete of the sacred wells is called Su Tempiesu and is located in the territory of Orune. An imposing megaron-shaped religious building, known as Domu de Orgia, has been

found in Esterzili, almost 1000 metres above sea level. These are distant derivations from Greek models, but through Sicilian intermediaries.

The result of a slow evolution of many elements, Nuragic civilisation accentuated its material and spiritual limitations. It resolutely resisted the new developments that were emerging, both from the Carthaginians, over whom it was victorious for thirty years and to whom it then submitted, only partially, at the end of the 6th century, and from the Romans, to whom it eventually succumbed. The heyday is divided into two minor phases, clearly distinguished in the grandiose system of the Su Nuraxi nuraghe in Barumini and in the stratigraphy of the adjoining village: the two relative levels of the early Iron Age date them respectively to the 10th-9th and 7th-6th centuries BC.

Before this period came to an end, there was a change in Sardinian trade horizons, which turned to the nearby world of the Etruscans. Laminated vases, gold and fibulae linked Sardinia to the Etruscans, offering copper handicrafts in exchange. In the 7th century, it has been said, Sardinia 'turned its back on Spain and looked to Italy'.

Here too, the Greek tradition according to Strabo...

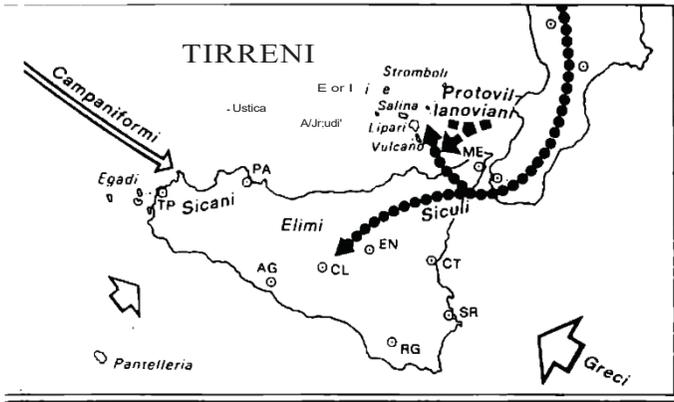
but two different traditions. He calls the inhabitants of inland Sardinia Tirreni, commonly known as Iliesi, and considers the Sardinians to be mountain dwellers and pirates, whereas in reality the pirates of the 11th and 12th centuries became (ethnically ethically) the mountain dwellers of the 6th century, breaking all traditional ties. In the second phase of the Nuragic civilisation, the architectural mentality developed not so much in the sense of abstract coherence but in that of technical improvement

; there were larger huts and almost public buildings. At the Sanctuary of Santa Vittoria di Serri, there is a square that even resembles a circus or open-air theatre.

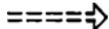
The Carthaginian phase is associated with new developments: tholoi disappear and corridor nuraghi prevail, such as that of Peppe Gallu in Uri (6th-4th centuries BC). The second, post-Carthaginian village of Barumini shows us material progress but moral and political regression. From the remains of a fire, it can be deduced that a raid or punitive expedition from the mountains left its mark. The final Nuragic period corresponds to the second period of Barumini, followed by the Nuragic-Roman period, which was no longer prehistoric. However, African influence was also felt in the Roman era in the third village of Barumini, which dates back to the 2nd century BC.

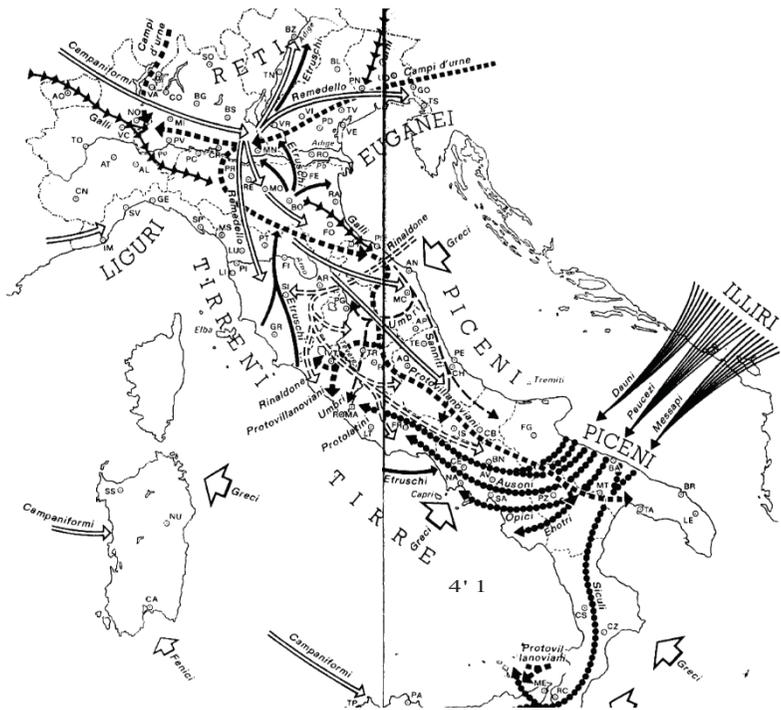
Sardinia had soon become part of the expansion of Phoenician influence, as in all previous expansions. The Carthaginian phase is only the final aspect, as harsh and warlike as the Phoenician phase had been mild and commercial. Nora displays furnishings from the 6th to 6th centuries, i.e. pre-Carthaginian. The so-called Punic inscription of Nora actually appears to be Phoenician. The very foundation of Caralis (Cagliari) is attributable to the Phoenicians rather than the Carthaginians. The survival of Punic civilisation even in Roman times is documented by inscriptions: such as the trilingual Latin-Greek-Punic inscription of San Nicola Gerrei in the Museum of Turin and the Punic inscription of Bitia, which dates back to the 3rd century AD. On the north-eastern coast, Olbia was founded by the Massaliote Greeks, but after the defeat suffered at Alalia by the Greeks at the hands of the Etruscans and Carthaginians in 537 BC, it was incorporated into the Carthaginian world and was only taken from the Carthaginians by the consul L. Cornelius Scipio around 260 BC.

*Map of the main prehistoric currents →*



The empty arrows indicate the most significant cultural influences and individualities that paved the way in Italy during the Eneolithic period for those multiple isolated pressures and infiltrations that escaped... peoples, fermenting in the Bronze Age. The arrows with chains (squared or tendons) indicate those strands which, at the end of this ferment, denote cultural development at European level (Proto-Villanovan from the 'fields of urns') or ethnic development at peninsular level (Enotrian-Proto-Latin and Oscan-Umbrian groups). The solid arrows and the sea-facing points indicate the expansions of the late Iron Age that are of historical significance.

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 Bell-shaped pottery culture (and Remedello): Liguria 15; Lombardy 24, 27; Veneto 38; Trentino 46; Veneto Giulia 53; Emilia 61, 64; Tuscany 75; Marche 82; Abruzzo 112; Sicily 157-158; Sardinia 167.
  - 
 Rinaldone culture: Tuscany 74-75, 78; Marche 82; Umbria 90; Lazio 100-101; **Abruzzo 111**; Campania 119, and 120 for connections with the Gaudio culture.
  - 
 Culture of urn fields: Piedmont 6; Lombardy 26-27; Veneto 39; Emilia 67; Tuscany 77; **Marche 85**; Umbria 92; Lazio 102-104; Abruzzo 113; Campania 121; Puglia 137; Lucania 142; Sicily 160.
  - 
 Enotri c.c.: Lazio 104; Abruzzo 115; Campania 122-124; Puglia 138; Lucania 142; Calabria 149; Sicily 162-164.
  - 
 Osco-Umbri: Marche 88; Umbria 93-95; Lazio 104; Abruzzo 114-115; Campania 126-127.
  - 
 Etruscans
  - 
 Greeks
  - 
 Phoenicians
  - 
 Illyrians
  - 
 Dauni
  - 
 Pucezi
  - 
 Gauls
- The Messapi





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