

University of Nottingham
Department of Classics & Archaeology

What's in a name?
The Ligurians, a case study in ethnicity in
late prehistory

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

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I declare that:

- a) The following dissertation is my own original work.
- b) The source of all non-original material is clearly indicated.
- c) All material presented by me for other modules is clearly indicated.
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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'D. A. Smith' or similar, written in a cursive style.

Nottingham, 17/12/2022

Abstract

This dissertation discusses the archaeological evidence for the Ligurians, who are believed to have inhabited north-western Italy in late prehistory. The approach to this subject has remained substantially unchanged from the analysis of the first prehistorians: mainstream interpretations lack theoretical reflection and are deeply influenced by the written sources. Hence the need to reassess the question from a different perspective which considers the debate on the symbolic meaning of the material culture and how to interpret it.

This research aims to investigate the identity of the people in late prehistoric north-western Italy, understand the meaning of ethnic labels in the written sources and verify if/how we can infer past ethnicities from the archaeological record. This is done by analysing evidence from 375 sites to define the archaeological culture of ancient Liguria between the final Bronze Age and the end of the Iron Age. The archaeological culture is then used as a basis from which to determine what artefacts, actions, social practices carry identity valencies that can be interpreted in ethnic terms. I recognise an ethnic valency to activities that can be linked to the idea of a common descent and to the emergence of a gender distinction in the grave assemblages, and argue that a group identity, which was constructed and reinforced through ritual drinking at funerals, emerged in the late 7th – 6th century BC.

I conclude that the people that inhabited north-western Italy south of the Po began to express their ethnic identity in relation to the increasing competition and social changes that derived from the contacts with Etruscan communities. I claim that the term ‘Ligurian’ was not originally used to indicate a specific people and that labels used by ancient authors might not have had an ethnic meaning and/or have changed meaning across centuries. Finally, I argue that through the analysis of the archaeological evidence in its context we can detect the expression of ethnicity, but not the actual process of ethnogenesis.

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When I look back at my PhD, the story of *The Very Hungry Caterpillar* by E. Carle immediately comes to my mind. During the past few years my mind has been constantly 'eating' information, ideas and questions. Some days they tasted nice, others they tasted bitter. Sometimes I could not get enough, and I had to keep snacking until I felt satisfied. Sometimes I chewed more than I could eat. Sometimes I ate so much that I felt sick and I had to slow down or take a break. In the end, after all this eating, I came out completely transformed. I would not dare to say I became a beautiful butterfly, but definitely into a very different person from the one that started. It was a gradual process and everything I tasted, even the bits that I did not like or that I had to discard, contributed to form the researcher that I am now.

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Translations

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The Ligurians are described by ancient authors as the inhabitants of north-western Italy and southern France. Their definition and the extension of their territory are unclear, and so is their presumed belonging to the wider 'Celtic family'. Previous studies on the Ligurians are deeply influenced by the written sources and characterised by a culture-historical approach that ignores the complex symbolic meaning(s) of the material culture and that erroneously equals archaeological cultures with ethnic groups. Hence the need to reassess the question from a different perspective that includes a theoretical reflection and considers the developments in the archaeological debate. The return of (national) identity at the centre of many political agendas which we have been witnessing in the last years makes the subject of this research a particularly timely topic and one that can contribute to contrasting the spread of chauvinist ideas.

This research aims at answering the following questions: (1) what does the archaeological evidence tell us about the people in late prehistoric north-western Italy? (2) What did the ancient writers refer to with 'Ligurians' and, by extension, what is the meaning of ethnic labels in the written sources? (3) Can we infer the ethnicity of past societies which have left no written account (emic sources) and, if so, how?

In Chapter 2 I discuss the theoretical background of this research. I consider how ethnicity and ethnic identity are defined in social and cultural anthropology providing an overview of mainstream theories. I present my stance on ethnicity, which is perceived and defined differently by each one of us. I briefly trace the debate on ethnicity in archaeology, starting with the development of the culture-history paradigm, its initial popularity and the strong criticism it later encountered, up to the current theories. I consider the historical moment in which archaeological theories developed and their political implications. Finally, I reflect on the peculiar situation of Italian

studies and on the reasons why, differently from other countries, the culture-historical paradigm continues to dominate unchallenged.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology adopted for this study, which analyses the archaeological culture of Liguria using published data. I consider the available evidence from the FBA to the end of the LIA within a simplified chronological framework to allow comparisons between different areas and long-term analysis. The archaeological culture is used as a basis from which to determine what classes of artefacts, actions, social practices carry identity valencies that can be interpreted in ethnic terms. I criticise the use of 'ethnic markers' for they are often analysed isolated from their context and ignoring that artefacts and practices can gain different meaning based on the circumstances.

In Chapter 4, I present an overview of the studies on the ancient Ligurians from the theories of the first prehistorians/linguists/anthropologists to the present days' interpretations. I show how research has been heavily oriented by the written sources and influenced by myths interlacing with local identities/claims, and how the use of evidence dating to different epochs (from the Neolithic to the Roman conquest) contributed to a great confusion about the term 'Ligurian'. I highlight the political implications of the idea of a 'great Liguria' stretching well beyond the Italian borders, which was first exploited to justify the fascist occupation of south-eastern France and more recently to demonstrate the antiquity of the European unity.

Chapter 5 provides a brief description of the geography of the study area, whose landscape is a complex mosaic of contrasting features mainly formed by steep terrain, although flatter areas exist. The chapter describes the main geographical features, paying particular attention to their effect on movement and communication. It also considers the main mineral and water resources of the area, and landscape evolution through time.

Chapters 6 to 9 review the archaeological evidence phase by phase. Each chapter follows the same structure: it opens with an overview of the data, followed by a discussion of funerary evidence, then an analysis of settlement pattern and characteristics, and by some considerations on pottery and metal

productions. Each site/find-spot is indicated in the text by the name of its location followed by a site code, which refers to the Site gazetteer in Appendix 2, where bibliographic information is provided.¹

Chapter 10 offers a critical overview of the literary sources on the Ligurians. It is intentionally placed after the archaeological discussion to subvert the traditional order of Italian studies, where the written evidence occupies a predominant role and orients the analysis of the archaeological record. I argue that the term ‘Ligurians’ had different meanings at different times and was initially used to indicate those living in the West without identifying them with a specific people. I claim that in the analysis of the written sources their historical dimension is often ignored, which leads to misinterpretations.

The results are discussed in Chapter 11, where I critically evaluate the elements usually interpreted as ‘ethnic markers’ for the Ligurians and develop some alternative models.

Based on my analysis, in Chapter 12 I conclude that (1) group and gender identities which can be assigned an ethnic valency emerged at the end of the EIA among the people that inhabited north-western Italy south of the Po river; (2) the change of meaning of ‘Ligurian’, from term used to indicate those living in the west to name designating a specific people, indicates that labels used by ancient authors might not have had an ethnic meaning and/or might have changed it across centuries; (3) through the analysis of the archaeological evidence in its context we can detect the *expression* of ethnicity, but not the actual process of ethnogenesis.

The appendices provide documentary support for the chapters. Appendix 1 lists the abbreviations used in the text. Appendix 2 is a gazetteer of sites discussed in chapters 6–9 and provides summary information and references for each of the sites.

¹ Bibliographic references are not repeated in the text to avoid clogging it.

Chapter 2. Theoretical framework

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework on which this research is based. The first part is an overview of how ethnicity and its related concepts are defined in social anthropology. This leads onto a critical discussion of ethnicity in archaeology and the main approaches that have dominated the discipline. A separate section looks at how ethnicity is approached by Italian scholarship.

2.1. What is ethnicity?

Defining ethnicity is not a simple matter and when browsing among human sciences we run into many different and sometimes contrasting definitions. This is due to the influence of many factors, such as the effect of different disciplinary traditions, the particular aspects of ethnicity being studied, the region where research is being conducted and the specific group under research (Jones 1997, 56). However, despite the lack of a shared and overarching definition, all the different approaches agree that ethnicity has something to do with the classification of people and group relationship (Eriksen 1993, 4).

The Oxford English Dictionary defines ethnicity as “status in respect of membership of a group regarded as ultimately of common descent, or having a common national or cultural tradition” (“ethnicity, n.,” 2014). This definition appeared in 1972, however its first recorded use dates to 1920 when the philosopher Isaac Baer Berkson (1920, 89) talked of “every individual of an ethnic group as having primarily the characteristic nature of that group, as if affiliation with it invested him with a particular kind of ethnicity”.

Ethnicity as we currently intend it derives from the adjective ‘ethnic’ which is attested since the Middle Ages and comes from the Greek ‘ἔθνος’ (Hutchinson

and Smith, 1996, 4). Ancient Greeks used the term in various ways, but it is possible to recognise a common idea of a group of people (or animals) “who share some cultural or biological characteristics and who live and act in concert” (*ibid.*). The term was normally applied to people who belong to another group: while the non-Greeks were characterized as ‘ἔθνεα’, the Greeks tended to refer to themselves as “Ἑλλήνων γένος” (*ibid.*). A similar dichotomy between a non-ethnic ‘us’ and an ‘ethnic’ other is reproduced in the use of the Latin ‘*natio*’ to name distant people as opposed to the term ‘*populus*’ used by the Romans to define themselves (*ibid.*). Nowadays we can find this opposition in the widespread tendency to reserve the term ‘nation’ to ourselves and use ‘ethnic’ with reference to anything foreign (e.g. ethnic food, ethnic costumes, ethnic communities).

The richly diverse positions on ethnicity can be grouped into two opposed fields: primordialism and instrumentalism, or constructivism (Hale, 2004, 458–459). The primordialist approach is the oldest in sociological and anthropological literature. It argues that ethnicity is something given, ascribed at birth, deriving from the kin-and-clan-structure of human society, and hence something more or less fixed and permanent (Shils, 1957; Geertz, 1973; Isaacs, 1975; Stack, 1986).

Conversely, instrumentalists intend ethnicity as a dynamic and situational form of group identity embedded in the organisation of social behaviour (Jones, 1997, 72). Despite having a common ground, studies that focus on its roles in mediating social relations and negotiating access to resources reflect a wide range of theoretical perspectives (*ibid.*). What characterises the instrumentalist approach is the acknowledgment of a certain degree of plasticity in ethnic identification and in the definition of ethnic groups (see Wallerstein, 1960; Barth, 1969; Cohen, 1974).

Since the late 1990s, constructivist-instrumentalist ideas have prevailed over primordialist ones. Most anthropologists now consider identity to be situational and relational (e.g. Jones, 1997; Song, 2003; Hale, 2004; Jenkins, 2008; Eriksen, 2013; Fabietti, 2013). Terms like ‘constructed’, ‘changing’ and

‘power-driven’ are frequently associated with the word ‘ethnicity’ in today’s literature (Wimmer, 2008, 972 note 4) and reflect this change of perspective.

2.1.1. Ethnic groups

Ethnic group refers to ethnicity as a collective phenomenon (Isajiw, 1993, 410). As for ethnicity, there is no agreed definition, Hughes (1948, 477) provocatively defining the term as a “colorless catch-all much used by anthropologists and sociologists”.

An early reference can be found in Weber (1956, 389), who argued that an ethnic group is based on the belief shared by members that they are of common descent, whether a blood relationship exists or not. For Weber, it is mainly the political community that inspires the belief in common ethnicity (*ibid.*). Weber presents common ancestry as a consequence of a collective political action rather than its cause (Jenkins, 2008, 10): however powerful it is, the belief in a common descent in itself is not sufficient to create ethnicity, but ethnic group formation is dependent on a concrete social and political action community that inspires the belief in common ethnicity. Weber (1956, 390) also argued that the most fundamental presupposition of group formation is the intelligibility of the behaviour of others. Therefore, common language and ritual regulation of life play a fundamental role in producing feelings of ethnic affinity. Differences in clothing, style of housing, food and eating habits, division of labour and economic way of life are all elements that provide a basis for ethnic closure.

Weber’s merit lies in having recognised the subjective character of ethnicity, to which he refers as a “presumed identity” (Weber, 1956, 389), and the importance of a (supposed) common origin. Indeed, it is widely accepted that common descent, to be intended in a putative rather than biological sense, is crucial to defining an ethnic group (Fabietti, 2013, 189–190; Jenkins, 2008, 4; Lucy, 2005, 86). Weber’s idea of ethnicity as the result of a political action is more problematic and contradicted by several cases. We have examples of people who believe in a common ancestry without it being the result of a

political action (e.g. the Jews) or cases in which a political action has failed to produce a sense of belonging (e.g. Italy, where over 150 years after political unity, regionalism and parochialism often prevail over the sense of national unity). Weber's discourse does not consider a third situation of political action imposed from outside, as in colonies, where people have often been divided into communities without any respect to pre-existing differentiations.

Colonialism has often led to the creation of artificial groupings where people have never come to see themselves as belonging together, nor developed a sense of solidarity, with the consequent emergence of tensions and conflicts.

The 1967 symposium *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* organised by Fredrik Barth represented turning point in anthropological analysis. Barth (1969, 13–14) argued that ethnic groups should be defined on the basis of the actor's own characterization of themselves and others, i.e. ascriptions and self-ascriptions. Such a definition was not new in itself. As early as 1947 Emerich K. Francis had defined the ethnic group as a community based primarily on a shared "we-feeling", which should not be interpreted as "a plurality pattern ... characterised by a distinct language, culture, territory, religion and so on" (Francis, 1947, 396–397). Unlike Francis, Barth did not focus on the cultural characteristics of ethnic groups, but on the interface of cultural differentiation (Barth, 1969, 10). Therefore, the emphasis is not on the "cultural stuff" (Barth, 1969, 15) representing the substance or content of ethnicity, but upon the social process that produces boundaries of identification and therefore differentiation between ethnic collectivities.

Barth (1969, 15) defined ethnic boundaries as social boundaries, which may or may not have a territorial counterpart as ethnic groups are not necessarily or solely based on the occupation of exclusive territories. If a group maintains its identity when interacting with others, there must be criteria that determine membership and ways that signal membership and exclusion (*ibid.*). A complex organisation of behaviours and social relations is required to allow the recognition of another person as a fellow member of the ethnic group and perpetuation of the group is not guaranteed once and for all by the initial

recruitment of its members, but it requires a continuous expression and validation (*ibid.*).

The empirical investigation of the character of ethnic boundaries reveals that boundaries can persist despite a flow of people across them (Barth, 1969, 9). This means that ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information. Moreover, stable, persisting and often vitally important relationships are maintained across ethnic boundaries and are frequently based on a dichotomisation of the ethnic statuses (Barth, 1969, 10). In other words, ethnic distinctions do not depend on the absence of social interaction and acceptance. On the contrary, ethnic distinctions often constitute the base on which embracing social systems are built.

The role of interaction was brought to the centre of the discourse on ethnicity by Eriksen, who argued that “for ethnicity to come about, the groups must have a minimum of contact with each other, and they must entertain ideas of each other as being culturally different from themselves” (Eriksen, 1993, 12–13). For Eriksen, if these conditions are not fulfilled, there is no ethnicity since “ethnicity is essentially an aspect of relationship, not a property of a group” (*ibid.*).

More recently Smith (2008: 30–1) has presented a multiscale model of ethnicity which has encountered the favour of various archaeologists (e.g. Fernández-Götz, 2013; Fernández-Götz *et al.*, 2022; Saxkjaer, 2022). Smith recognises the existence of different degrees of ethnicity and distinguishes between ethnic categories, networks, and communities. Ethnic categories are constructs, often generated from outside, which group together people who share cultural characteristics (e.g. language, costumes, and religious practices – perhaps also a particular terrain), but which may lack even a name to call themselves by, a myth of common descent, or any type of common sense of solidarity. Ethnic networks are more elaborate groupings that display patterns of shared activities and relations, and tend to have a collective name, a myth of common ancestry, and some degree of solidarity, at least among the elites. Ethnic communities are “named and self-defined human populations with myths of

common origins, shared historical memories, elements of common culture, and a measure of ethnic solidarity” (Smith, 2008, 30–31).

Despite its advantage of recognising different levels of ethnic ascription which are not mutually exclusive, this model tends to frame ethnicity in a quite rigid and hierarchical way and does not leave space for in-between situations. This contradicts the idea of ethnicity as characterised by a plastic nature. We should retain the idea that ethnicity operates at different levels, but without trying to force it within a rigid scheme. This especially applies when discussing ethnicity in antiquity.

2.1.2. Ethnic identity

Ethnic identity refers to “the individual level of identification with a culturally defined collectivity” (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996, 5) and corresponds to the sense of belonging of an individual to a particular cultural community.

Through identity we perceive ourselves, and others see us, as belonging to a certain group and not others (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, 2005, 2).

Ethnic identity is generally connected to the concept of ethnic origin (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996, 5). As already pointed out, the presence of a real or putative common ancestry and memories of a shared historical past are elements that contribute to the definition of ethnic groups. The belief in a common origin, in turn, allows the identification of the individual with a culturally defined collectivity. In reference to this characteristic De Vos and Romanucci-Ross (1995, 356) define ethnic identity as a “past-oriented form of identity”.

An important characteristic of ethnicity is that, at the same time, it is shaped by and it shapes other forms of identities. Members of an ethnic group experience ethnicity differently, depending on their age, sex, class, etc. (Lucy, 2005, 100), while in turn these forms of identity are affected by ethnicity (Mirza and Dungworth, 1995). Ethnic identity defines the permissible range of statuses or social personalities that an individual can assume and it implies a

series of constraints on the kind of roles that an individual is allowed to play (Barth, 1969, 17).

Ethnic identity is not exclusive and there are situations in which a person can hold membership in more than one group at a time (Hobsbawm, 1996, 41; Song, 2003). Multiple ascriptive identities are encountered when group boundaries are expanding or contracting (more than one identity is often claimed when old identities are in the process of being abandoned for new), or where there are different levels of generality of identity (depending on the circumstances an individual can identify themselves with different layers of identity) (Horowitz, 1975, 118–119). This is because, as ascriptive identity, ethnicity is heavily contextual: it embraces multiple tiers and it changes with the environment (*ibid.*). However, despite the multiplicity of ascriptive identities, all levels are not equally significant precisely because all contexts are not so (Horowitz, 1975, 118–119).

Most anthropologists agree that ethnic identity is characterised by a certain level of plasticity and can change, however they disagree about the mechanisms or reasons why changes in ethnic identity take place. For example, while some stress the active role of people in choosing to belong to an identity group (Patterson, 1975; Song, 2003), others believe that identity is often the result of an act of violence or of some sort of imposition from outside (Hobsbawm, 1996). In regard to this Marco Aime (in Amselle, 1999, 10–11) talks of “induced identities” reporting the example of the chief rabbi of the Jewish community of Rome, Elio Toaff, who admitted having felt really Jewish for the first time only when the fascist government of Italy introduced racial laws: up to that moment he was mainly and above all Italian. For Aime in many cases identity is induced by violence, intended not only as physical strength, but also as imposition or classification applied through political action (*ibid.*).

2.1.3. My stance on ethnicity

Like many (e.g. Fernández-Götz *et al.*, 2022; Saxkjaer, 2022; Scoppie, 2022), I find Jones’ (1997, xiii) definition particularly fitting: “any group of people who

set themselves apart and/or are set apart by others with whom they interact or co-exist on the basis of their perceptions of cultural differentiation and/or common descent". This rather generic definition allows to encompass the whole spectrum of ethnic manifestations: anything more specific puts at danger of leaving out some of the many forms in which ethnicity appears.

In fact, I believe it vain to try to identify the elements on which ethnic distinction is based. Any cultural common trait, being it language, religion, dress, lifestyle and so on, can provide a basis for ethnic closure. This does not mean it necessarily does. The same can be said for the link with a territory. As pointed out by Barth (1969b, 15), ethnic boundaries may or may not have a territorial counterpart. The Jews are the most emblematic case. Immigrants' communities are another example. For them the links with a territory, albeit distant, does exist but it acts similarly to the idea of common descent.

In my opinion ethnicity does not depend on the level of complexity of the society. Ethnicity can happen at any time and in any context. However, it does depend on the presence of interaction, both within and outside the group. Inside the group, interaction beyond family ties allows to recognise the existence of a group based on a shared identity and other from kinship. Interaction outside the group allow to recognise differences: the 'we' as opposed to the 'you'. The more recurrent the interaction the more visible these differences appear, and group identity is reinforced.

The fact that ethnicity can happen at any time does not mean that it is necessarily or always expressed. Social tension, conflict, competition, or external threats are factors that boost our need of being part of a group and the need to stress overtly clear, unambiguous identities. For this reason, at moments of crisis, threat or change ethnicity *can* become more visible.

2.2. Ethnicity and archaeology

Archaeologists have always been involved in the identification of ethnic groups, even though they have sometimes called them with different names

(Hides, 1996). Up until the 1980s, when the growing influence of anthropology persuaded archaeologists to switch to expressions like 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic groups' (Díaz-Andreu, 2015), terms like 'peoples', 'nations' and 'cultures' populated the archaeological literature.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries national identity started to be equated with cultural unity and European nation states to be viewed as political expression of ethnic identity, which was rooted in shared history and in linguistic, cultural and racial unity (Trigger, 2006, 211–212). Intellectuals became involved in the process of national consciousness building and historical research assumed a crucial role as a means to emphasise internal solidarity of national groups (*ibid.*). Manipulation of the past and invention of traditions became the vehicle to provide authenticity and legitimation to cultural groups claiming self-determination (Jones and Graves-Brown, 1996, 1). Through the attribution of the material record to particular past peoples in the attempt to trace the genealogy of people back in time, archaeology assumed a significant role in the construction and legitimation of collective cultural identities (Jones, 1997, 1).

2.2.1. Culture and archaeological cultures

Like other concepts, the term 'culture' has been imported into archaeology from another discipline (McNairn, 1980, 46). While terms like 'epoch', 'age' and 'type fossil' were borrowed from the natural sciences, 'culture' was imported from the social sciences and never entirely freed from its anthropological overtones (*ibid.*). Unlike other borrowings that had a clear and defined meaning in their discipline of origin, the term 'culture' has always encompassed a wide variety of meanings and usages (*ibid.*)

The word derives from the Latin 'cōlĕre', which means 'to cultivate, till, tend, take care of a field, garden' (Lewis and Short, 1879, 369). Initially applied in an agricultural context, the term later acquired a figurative sense and, from the 3rd century BC, came to be used with regard to the mind, body and Gods (*ibid.*).

In the seventeenth century ‘culture’ became synonym for ‘nation’ and started to be used to designate the distinctive way of life of people (Trigger, 2006, 232). In the late eighteenth century Johann Herder maintained that each people had their own ‘*Kultur*’, using thus the term as the equivalent for the French ‘*civilisation*’ (*ibid.*). After 1780 works on *Kulturgeschichte* (cultural history) began to proliferate with the publication of books which sought to investigate the cultural history of humanity (*ibid.*). In archaeology ‘culture’ appeared for the first time to designate an archaeological unit in the work of the Danish archaeologist Thomsen (1836).

The adoption of the concept in archaeology introduced “a new spatial dynamic into the classification and interpretation of material remains” (McNairn, 1980, 48). For the first time archaeologists were able to see the pattern of prehistory not only as a vertical series of epochs, but also horizontally (McNairn, 1980, 47). Moreover, adherents of the new concept believed that ‘culture’ finally gave them access to the people behind the data, thus providing a new and exciting vision of prehistory (McNairn, 1980, 48).

2.2.2. The culture-history paradigm

The culture-history paradigm is inseparably linked with the name of Gustav Kossinna, according to whom “sharply defined archaeological provinces coincide with certain peoples or their tribes through ages” (Kossinna, 1911, 3; transl. by Veit, 1989, 37). On the basis that cultural continuity indicates ethnic continuity, Kossinna (1911, 17–18) claimed that it is possible to determine archaeologically where a tribal group lived by mapping the distribution of their characteristic types of artefacts (*‘Siedlungsarchäologie’*). The idea of attributing finds to certain peoples according to their characteristics and geographical distribution was not new (Wiwjorra, 1996, 174), but it was Kossinna who brought the question of ethnic interpretation to the centre of prehistoric thought and defined and systematically applied the concept of archaeological culture (Veit, 1989).

Kossinna supplemented his method with race-historical assessments. A strong supporter of the superiority of the Aryan race, he used prehistoric arguments to justify German borders and maintained that the historical importance of modern Germans could be demonstrated through their past traces (Veit, 1989, 37–38; Wiwjorra, 1996, 174). His theories were later adopted by the Nazis to claim their right to occupy the space that had been their ancestors' and his methods were obligatory in the SS-dominated *Deutsches Ahnenerbe* which aimed at providing 'scientific' support for Nazi theories through the investigation of the Germanic past (McCann, 1990; Wiwjorra, 1996).

After World War II the racial implications of Kossinna's discourse and his association with Nazi propaganda and crimes led to his discrediting and to avoiding the ethnic question, a reaction that has been labelled as "*Kossinna-syndrom*" (Smolla, 1979, 80). Over the years, archaeologists have taken a more balanced view, considering Kossinna's ideas within the social and political climate of the time and reassessing his importance in the archaeological debate (see Collis, 1996, 174; Fernández-Götz *et al.*, 2022, 21; Potrebica and Pravidur, 2022, 134; Renfrew, 1996, 126). This does not seem to apply to German scholarship, whose reticence in discussing ethnic identity and discomfort with theoretical archaeology are still visible (Scoppie, 2022, 59–60).

It is Childe that offers what I find, in its simplicity, the best definition of archaeological culture: "we find certain types of remains – pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, house forms – constantly recurring together" and forming "a complex of regularly associated traits [that] we shall term a 'cultural group' or just a 'culture'" (Childe, 1929, v–vi). Childe (1929, vi, note 1) believed this complex to be the material expression of what in the present days would be called a 'people', whose adjective, corresponding to the German '*völkische*', is 'ethnic'.

Differently from Kossinna, Childe opposed the concept of 'race'. Childe did not criticise the concept itself, but rather its application to the archaeological analysis and the idea that cultural groupings correlate with physical ones (Jones, 1999, 155). He believed that the material culture should enable

archaeologists to identify past peoples or ethnic groups, but not races (Childe, 1933, 199). Childe was also worried about the misuse and manipulation of archaeological theories to support racism and anti-Semitism, a concern that accompanied him for his entire career (see his reasons for adopting an Orientalist position: Childe, 1958, 72).

Childe returned several times to the concepts of culture and archaeological culture, the first intended in its broader sense as all the non-biologically acquired characteristics, the other as a partitive concept in archaeological research. The changes of mind and need to constantly revise the definition of 'culture' were caused by the objective difficulties inherent the term itself and by its political implications. While he initially considered archaeological cultures as empirical entities immediately apparent in the record, Childe later acknowledged the subjective element in the classification of the data (McNairn, 1980, 61). In *Social Evolution* Childe defined the archaeological culture as "an assemblage of associated traits that recur repeatedly" and stated that "the archaeologist fixes his attention on those [traits] that differ *arbitrarily*" (Childe, 1951, 40, my emphasis). In attempting to overcome such subjectivity, Childe introduced the concept of 'archaeological type' intended as the smallest unit of classification (Childe, 1956, 16), and stressed the importance of distributional analysis arguing that if a type is truly diagnostic of a culture, its distribution should reveal an intelligible pattern clustered around one or more recognisable nuclei (Childe, 1956, 116). In this sense, Childe correctly understood that not all archaeological types mark boundaries between groups, a realisation later confirmed by ethnoarchaeological studies. His mistake was to believe that simple distributional analysis could reveal diagnostic types and overcome the archaeologist's subjectivity.

Childe also understood that archaeological cultures do not necessarily correspond to a linguistic group or a single society (McNairn, 1980, 63). For Childe (1951, 49) the archaeological culture corresponds to a group "giving concrete expression to common traditions". We could call that group 'a people', but we cannot assume that its members spoke a single language, acted

as a political unit or belonged to one race. As observed by McNairn (1980, 64), while he retained the equation 'a culture' = 'a people', Childe redefined the latter, which passed from being employed as an anthropological unit to denoting nothing more than the unit of society corresponding to the archaeological social-group. However, all this was made without stressing or making evident the change (*ibid.*).

2.2.3. Beyond culture-history

Childe's theories greatly contributed to archaeological debate and influenced many generations of scholars, however his work encountered growing criticism as archaeologists became aware of the inadequacies of culture-historical archaeology for prehistory (Sherrat, 1989).

Binford (1965, 204) rejected the "aquatic view of culture" promoted by traditional ("normative") approaches which saw culture as a "vast flowing stream with minor variations in ideational norms". Instead, he defined culture as "a extrasomatic adaptive system that is employed in the integration of a society with its environment and with other sociocultural systems" (Binford 1965, 205). Despite its claim of being innovative, this concept resembles Childe's (1935) idea of material culture as an adaptation to the environment.

Clarke (1968) pointed out that the distributions of archaeological types never exactly coincide and argued that the notion of culture is a purely archaeological construct that does not necessarily have any correlation with linguistic, political or ethnic entities (Clarke, 1968, 292, 298). This had been noticed by Childe, however Clarke (1968, 364) went beyond by asserting that archaeological cultures do reflect realities, simply they are an alternative but equally valid grouping of society.

Beside challenging the value of geographical distributions, archaeologists started to realise that the relationship between variation in material culture and the expression of ethnic identities is complex and any straightforward correlation between the two can lead to wrong interpretations. Drawing on ethnography to discuss the interpretation of funerary remains, Ucko (1969)

showed that in the vast majority of cases a culture/society is not characterised by one single type of burial but, on the contrary, that society will undertake several different forms of burial. The same had been observed by Alfred Kroeber (1927) in a study on Aboriginal California.

The development of archaeological studies on ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s led to a widespread disillusionment within European prehistoric archaeology about the value of the term 'cultures'. Many archaeologists expressed embarrassment about the use of the word and some reacted by finding alternatives (Hodder, 1982, 1). The increasing awareness that cultures do not always equal ethnic groups and the empirical realisation that distinct culture may not exist in the archaeological data contributed to a progressive abandonment of the culture concept (Hodder, 1982, 6).

The complex meaning of material culture was highlighted by Hodder's studies on the Baringo district tribes. Hodder showed that certain artefacts are held back from expressing between-group contact because they are used to support within-group interaction and that material culture is used to justify between-group negative reciprocity especially in border areas where there is greatest tension and competition (Hodder, 1982, 56–57). Archaeologists might not be able to identify all ethnic groups since, although having had a name or a language of their own, many did not use an overt ethnic affiliation in material culture as part of competitive strategies (Hodder, 1982, 187). Therefore, these latter ethnic groups are 'hidden' in the archaeological record beneath continuous variations in material culture (*ibid.*).

Shennan criticised the "complex and unsatisfactory explanatory edifice" that had been constructed on the concept of archaeological culture (Shennan, 1989, 5). Shennan (1989, 11) claimed that one major mistake was that archaeological cultures had traditionally been treated as if they were real entities acting on the historical stage. Similarly to Clarke and Hodder, he observed that, if we examine the distribution of individual types of archaeological material, especially in quantitative terms, we do not find neatly bounded entities, but a variety of cross-cutting patterns. Hence, instead of squeezing the "untidiness"

produced by cross-cutting patterns into convenient packages of 'culture', we should recognise it as the essence of the situation (Shennan, 1989, 13).

The 1990s witnessed increasing concern with the socio-politics of archaeology and a reaction to the intensification of ethnic and national sentiments. The unification of Germany and the birth of the European Union are among the factors that most contributed to a renewed interest in questions of ethnic identities (Janik and Zawadzka, 1996; Shore, 1996). The perceived threat of cultural homogenization triggered a new season of nationalism and ethnic separatism, which was translated into a new emphasis in archaeological research on regional developments and autochthonous developments (Arnold, 1997). Identifying ethnic groups in the archaeological record returned fashionable as European nations struggled to redefine their identities in the new geopolitical scenario that emerged after the end of the Cold War (*ibid.*).

In 1992 the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) conference was dedicated to analysis of the relationship between cultural identity and archaeology in the European context (Graves-Brown *et al.*, 1996). An increasing number of archaeologists expressed the need to discuss the status of archaeological theory and practice with respect to ethnicity, as well as to gain greater awareness about the political nature of their subject (see Collis, 1996; Díaz-Andreu, 1996; Jones and Graves-Brown, 1996). Most of the participants adhered to the idea of ethnicity as dynamic, situational and heterogeneous in nature and therefore adopted alternative theoretical approaches to its interpretation. In developing theoretical analysis of group identity, several contributors reiterated that there is no one-to-one correlation between language, culture and ethnicity, and that group identity is historically contingent (Graves-Brown, 1996; Jones, 1996; Renfrew, 1996).

2.2.4. Where are we now?

The demolition of the straightforward links between material culture and ethnicity has resulted in a division among archaeologists holding different opinions on the possibility to derive information about past ethnic groups.

Some argue that when other types of evidence are lacking, material culture cannot convey ethnic or social meanings and, even when it does, these meanings are not recognisable with archaeological methods (e.g. Hall, 1997; Werbart, 1996). Others maintain a more optimistic point of view and believe that ethnic identities can be inferred from the archaeological record, although the relationship between material culture and ethnicity needs to be reformulated in different terms (e.g. Jones, 1997; Morgan, 1999). The scene has been further complicated by genetic studies. There are undeniable ethnic implications in the use of aDNA data and attempts at tracing biologically groups of people evoke the spectre of racist ideology and the danger of a possible misuse of it (for a discussion, see Mirza *et al.* 1995).

It is important to keep in mind that, like today, ethnicity possessed different meanings for different people in the past (Franklin and Fesler, 1999). This should encourage archaeologists to seek their own working definition depending on the situation they are dealing with, rather than trying to agree on a single and overarching definition. Since different contexts attribute an entirely different sense, force and function to ethnicity, “it is the context that matters more than ethnicity” (Fenton, 2003, 180). Archaeological data should be perceived as an opportunity to explore the different ways in which people created, altered and used ethnicity for themselves and in contrast with others. The question to ask is not how to fit past peoples into rigid contemporary definitions, but rather how past peoples constructed ethnic identities, how these worked and for what reason.

How then can we investigate ethnicity in the archaeological record?

Archaeologists are far from agreeing on a method. Perhaps our mistake lies precisely in the attempt to find a way to investigate past ethnic identities that can be universally applied. If ethnicity is multi-layered, mutable and contextual, and expressed differently depending on the circumstances, it is pointless trying to identify which manifestations (graves, pottery style, settlement pattern, social/economical organisation, etc.) should be privileged to infer past ethnic identities (Vecchi, 2022). Like ethnicity, our approach

should be plastic and adaptable; we should be aware that in some cases ethnicity cannot be inferred from the archaeological record, either for the quality/quantity of the latter, or because it was not expressed.

2.3. The Italian case

In Italy, culture-history remains dominant and, in most cases, archaeological cultures are equated to ethnic groups. This is evident in the way cultures' names (generally derived from the first/main site where they were identified) are transformed in peoples' names, as in '*Villanoviani*' or '*Golasecciani*'. The reasons are multiple. Italian scholarship is characterised by resistance to change, fostered by the tendency in academia to reiterate solidified (fossilised?) theories and encourage conformity rather than instil in the students a scientific scepticism and a questioning of received belief. Success in Italy is often achieved by following one's professor's approach, rather than opposing it as in the English tradition.

Besides that, there is the lack of a developed tradition of theoretical and methodological studies (on the complex reasons for this see Bietti Sestieri, 2000; Guidi, 2010). Italian prehistorians rarely focus on aspects other than those of chronology and typology. This attitude clearly emerges from the activity of the *Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria (IIPP)*. Since its 1954 foundation the *IIPP* has held regular meetings. Only one of the 56 meetings to date was dedicated to methodology (IIPP, 1989); the majority have been dedicated to regional analyses (25) or to the results of excavations, surveys and material studies (15).

Unlike the American and British tradition, where prehistory goes hand in hand with social anthropology, in Italy prehistory is generally associated with the natural sciences. Prehistorians do not have an anthropology background and university courses generally do not include modules on social anthropology. This development of Italian prehistory sharply contrasts with its origins. Born as '*pale(o)tnologia*' at the time of Italy's unification, its main aim was to trace

back ethnic aggregations that had occupy the entire national territory (Peroni, 1992, 14). Hence the discipline was imbued with ethnic matters and closely linked to anthropology/ethnography. The divorce with anthropology started soon after the death of Pigorini (1925), one of its main exponents, and the term ‘prehistory’ came to substitute ‘palaeoethnology’ (Peroni, 1992, 55). The impact of fascism and its emphasis on Roman archaeology as a symbol of national identity contributed to widen the distance between prehistory and ethnography/anthropology. Such a gap remains today, and it is interesting to note that the proceedings of Italy’s first National Conference on Ethnoarchaeology were published in the journal *Archeologia Postmedievale* (Lugli *et al.*, 2000).

2.3.1. Cultures, *facies*, civilisations

The foreign reader can be surprised by the number of terms Italian scholars use in their analysis of prehistory. ‘Culture’, ‘*facies*’, ‘(culture) group’, ‘civilisation’ are commonly used albeit generally without clearly defining their meaning. Moreover, due to the Italian writing style, which despises repetition and pursues variation even at the cost of being imprecise, they are often used as synonyms.

The term ‘*facies*’ is popular amongst Italian prehistorians. Introduced by geologist A. Gressly (1838, 11) to indicate the character of a rock expressed by its formation, composition, and fossil content, it was first applied to the archaeological record by Colini (1903, 53). From there it was adopted by Italian archaeologists mainly as equivalent of culture, while later some used it with a narrower meaning to indicate some common traits in the material culture (e.g. *facies ceramica*). Others intend it in a hierarchical way as a sub-level of a culture (De Marinis, 2019, 37). Despite having been debated on multiple occasions (Peroni, 1998; Cocchi Genick, 2005; Danckers *et al.*, 2019) the meaning of the term remains ambiguous.

I believe that ‘*facies*’ is sometimes preferred because it is perceived as ‘more technical’ and less burdened with implications than ‘culture’, probably because

vague and not immediately equated with a people. The term is recurrent in BA studies, but is less used for the IA, for which other terms are preferred. In a popular volume (Rittatore Vonwiller and Fogolari, 1975) dedicated to the Villanova culture and the IA cultures of northern Italy, '*facies*' appears only 29 times against the 170 of 'culture' and 197 of '*civiltà*'. The latter, which also features in the series name (*Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica*), implies the idea of cultural advancement and social complexity and is more or less consciously used in a discriminatory way. Thus, we often read '*civiltà di Golasecca*' or '*civiltà etrusca*' while the term is virtually never applied to the Ligurians.

2.4. Conclusions

There is no one-size-fits-all recipe for investigating ancient ethnicity. The reason lies in the very characteristics of ethnicity, which is perceived and expressed differently by each one of us, and its changeable nature.

Archaeologists seeking to investigate ethnicity in the past need to find their tools and decide their strategy based on the situation and their case study.

The culture-historical approach, still popular in Italy, is inadequate as it fails to recognise the complex link between material culture and ethnicity. We should avoid trying to fit past peoples into a rigid framework and instead focus on how past peoples constructed ethnic identities and how these identities worked.

Chapter 3. Research methods

This chapter briefly illustrates the research methodology adopted in this study. It starts with some reflections on my personal and academic background, and moves onto the goals, approaches and limits of this research. A separate section discusses the problems of Italian prehistoric chronologies and their relationship with central European ones.

3.1. I, the researcher

Personal and academic backgrounds influence the way we conduct research. This is particularly true with a subject like ethnicity, which is perceived and defined differently from person to person. Despite that, archaeological scholarship still largely neglects the relationship between our modern identities and our research on ancient identities. As highlighted by Scoppie (2022, 55–56), the researcher is as an important factor as the people that are being studied and should not be left out of the discourse on ethnicity.

I took my BA and MA degrees at the University of Parma in Italy. Being a relatively small university, it did not have an Archaeology department and I studied Archaeology as part of a degree in Classics. Therefore, my education has been strongly Classics-oriented and influenced, and it was only during my MA that I took an interest in late prehistory. Indeed, until I started my PhD (and more precisely until one of my supervisors told me to think of myself as a prehistorian), I would never define the pre-Roman period as ‘prehistory’ and I felt a certain repulsion towards the word. Like my Italian colleagues, I believed the terms ‘protohistory’ or ‘Etruscology’ to be a more suitable way to define what I was doing.

While my academic training provided me with knowledge in areas that are not usually part of a prehistoric archaeologist’s background (such as linguistics and philology), archaeological theory was for me a foreign land. And one that I have learnt to explore only during this research. Equally, my initial approach

to archaeological analysis was primarily material-based (with ‘material’ meaning essentially pottery) and heavily influenced by the methods of Classical Archaeology – unsurprising, given that my early mentors had classical backgrounds and my textbook for pre-Roman Italy was Pallottino’s *Etruscologia* (1984), whose first edition dates to 1942 (little changed in the seventh edition that I used) and which primarily deals with Etruscan art, language and epigraphy.

Moving to the UK had a profound impact on my understanding of ethnicity and my research approach. From a personal view point, being an immigrant prompted questions about my own identity (and how I express it), which are reflected in this study. From an academic point of view, the British tendency to challenge established ideas, as well as the thought-provoking discussions with my supervisors, encouraged me to take a more critical approach and explore new points of view. Physical distance helped me to detach myself from the historical imprint of Italian scholarship and form my own opinions. At the same time, the experience I gained working as an archaeologist for commercial companies has increased my attention towards the way data are collected on the field and how it can impact our research.

3.2. Scope, approach, and goals

My original idea for a PhD was to investigate the relations between Etruscan and Ligurians. This interest sprang from my MA thesis (Vecchi, 2012), which analysed the presence of bucchero pottery at a Ligurian site where, I argued, it was produced and imitated. Hence, the idea to investigate the relations between Etruscan and Ligurians beyond the framework of import of exotic goods and commercial contacts. Problems arose when I realised that the Ligurians were too blurry an entity and the traditional discourse on them was filled with contradictions. This suggested taking a step back and instead try to answer the questions who the Ligurians were and what we mean by this term.

The prevalent approach to studying the Ligurians has so far been culture-historical and heavily reliant on the ancient written sources (chapter 4). This was explicitly stated in the final remarks made at a conference on the archaeology of Liguria:

“ci si proponeva un modo di penetrare la sfuggente identità ligure attraverso la metodologia classica dell’archeologia ‘di base’: la definizione della cultura materiale – ed in particolare delle facies della ceramica comune – di quei gruppi che dalle stesse fonti antiche dello stesso periodo (la seconda età del Ferro) erano considerati in Italia Liguri per antonomasia” (Gambari, 2005a, 177).

“we aimed at grasping the elusive Ligurian identity through the classical method of ‘basic’ archaeology: defining the material culture and above all common pottery traits of the Italian groups that contemporary (late Iron Age) ancient written sources considered as Ligurian par excellence”.

This statement refers to the LIA but is equally applicable to the previous periods with consequent difficulties and distortions deriving from having to project the written information back in time.

The emphasis placed on pottery and its role as proxy for ancient identities is common in Italian scholarship, which gives great weight to typologies and artefact classification, much less on the context from which they come. This is evident in the way site publications are organised, with big sections dedicated to the artefacts often analysed separately from stratigraphy and archaeological features (e.g. Venturino Gambari, 2014). My very own MA dissertation (Vecchi, 2012), which analyses a single class of pottery with little attention to the other materials and the general context, is a good example.

Studies on the ancient Ligurians suffer from a lack of theoretical reflection, particularly on the definition(s) of ethnicity as proposed by anthropology. They are mostly conducted at a local or at most regional level, with no attempt at general synthesis or long-term analysis. The essays in the Genoa exhibition catalogue (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004) – which represents the most comprehensive publication to date – do not offer a wide-ranging reflections,

but each focuses on a specific area and period. Parochialism and the way archaeological heritage is protected and investigated, with each *Soprintendenza* responsible for a provincial/regional territory², play a role in this fragmentation.

The theoretical background on which I base my analysis is expressed in Chapter 2. My starting point is that there is no one-size-fits-all recipe for investigating ancient ethnicity. Each case study is unique and requires its own strategies. I share Morgan's (1992, 134) view that "ethnic behaviour affects only those categories of artefact selected to carry social or political meaning under particular circumstances". Because ethnicity is situational and relational, these material classes can change in time and space. This requires us to undertake a long-term analysis of the historical record and means it is impossible to determine *a priori* which artefacts classes carry an identity valency.

This study analyses archaeological evidence over a timespan of about a millennium transcending modern regional/country borders. It uses archaeological evidence to define the culture of ancient Liguria according to Childe's (1929, v-vi) definition. In fact, despite the increasing criticism and scepticism the concept has encountered (see Jones, 1997, 5), I believe archaeological cultures are a useful, perhaps inescapable, means to interpret the past and compare situations. To use Trigger's (2006, 242) definition they are "a working tool". What we should reject is not the concept itself, but the simplistic equation archaeological culture = ethnic group (Shennan, 1989; Jones, 1997; Reher and Fernández-Götz, 2015). In this study, the archaeological culture of ancient Liguria forms the basis from which to determine what (if any) classes of artefacts, actions, social practices carry identity valencies that we can interpret in ethnic terms. In this perspective, elements that carry identity valencies can transcend the limit of the archaeological culture. Vice

² *Soprintendenze* are local bodies responsible for heritage assets. First established in 1907 (law n. 386, 27th June 1907), they have undergone multiple reorganisations, the last in 2019 (decree n. 169, 2nd December 2019), which have modified their jurisdiction. There are currently 44 *Soprintendenze* responsible for archaeology.

versa, not all the elements that define the archaeological culture necessarily have an identity meaning.

I use the concept of ‘identity/ethnic valencies’, which I have borrowed from Saccoccio (2022), instead of the more popular ‘identity/ethnic markers’ because the latter vehicles the idea of an intrinsic value in the object. On the contrary, I believe that an object (or a practice) can carry an ethnic meaning depending on the circumstances (its context, the way it is used/deposited/disposed, etc.). It follows that identity valencies are not fixed nor inextricably tied to the object. It is worth noting that some scholars intend ‘ethnic markers’ in a way not dissimilar to how I define ‘ethnic valencies’ and do stress the importance of the context (e.g. Reher and Fernández-Götz, 2015). However, the concept of ‘ethnic markers’ can be misleading. Artefacts themselves are but objects and become relevant to the study of ethnicity only when we consider their interplay with people. Hence the need to shift from the idea that artefact *is* an ‘ethnic marker’ to the idea that artefact *can carry* an ‘ethnic valency’. Talking of valencies also better conveys the multivocality of material culture and the fact that items do not express only one form of identity, but several at once (Larick, 1986).

3.3. Chronological limits

This research focuses on the period between the FBA and the LIA, which is the time span usually assigned to the Ligurians. There have been some attempts to push back the origin of the Ligurians to the RBA, if not even earlier (see Del Lucchese, 2004a; Giannattasio, 2007, 18–20). However the vast majority of scholars identify the FBA the moment when we start talking of (Proto)Ligurians (Maggiani, 1984; Saronio, 2000, 235; Gambari, 2004). The general idea is that of a long development starting in the late BA that culminates with the formation of the *ethnos* in the FBA, whose material manifestation becomes more evident in the EIA (Gambari, 2004).

Traditionally the end of the LIA in northern Italy corresponds to the Roman conquest, which happened at different times depending on the place. In this study the end of the LIA is conventionally set at the end of the 2nd century BC, which is the moment when Rome completed the conquest of north-western Italy.

3.3.1. Issues in Italian chronologies

Italy has a history of conflicting chronological debates, whose roots lie in its geographical position and academic tradition. The contrast arises from the discrepancies between traditional and absolute chronologies. Traditional chronologies are based on synchronisms with the Aegean BA and, with regard to the IA, on the foundation dates of Greek colonies (Guidi and Whitehouse, 1996, 271). They result in much lower dates than those obtained with ¹⁴C and dendrochronology, whose use is more widespread in central Europe, where they have replaced traditional chronologies based on stylistic sequences. Correlations between chronologies are problematic as the southern part of the Italian peninsula is tied to the traditional Aegean chronologies, while the north is mainly linked to the central European ones (Nijboer, 2005, 529). The difference is particularly evident for the first half of the first millennium BC, while from around 600-500 BC historical and absolute dates match (Nijboer, 2005, 528 table B).

The discrepancy that most affects this research concerns the BA-IA transition. The traditional chronologies set this around 900 BC. Conversely, absolute chronologies suggest an earlier date, which ranges from 1020 BC (Peroni, 1996; Bietti Sestieri, 1997) to 950/925 BC (Pacciarelli, 2005), depending on the method and approach adopted by the scholars. Despite the strong links with transalpine area, the chronologies for north-western Italy are still based on low traditional dates (de Marinis and Gambari, 2005).

The Golasecca sequence is the main reference chronology for the IA up to 375 BC. It was first defined by Pompeo Castelfranco (1876, 1883), who identified three periods. It was then refined by Peroni and colleagues (Peroni *et al.*, 1975)

and de Marinis (1975, 1981). The latter proposed a division of the three periods into seven phases with the addition of three phases for the FBA that he identified as 'Protogolasecca' (De Marinis, 1972). The Golasecca period is followed by the so-called '*La Tène Padano*' (Po valley La Tène), which follows the LT chronology. The term was introduced by Arslan (1974) to highlight the links of the Po plain with transalpine cultures and material culture.

3.3.2. Ancient Liguria chronologies

Although the first radiocarbon dating laboratory was established in the Fifties (Guidi and Whitehouse, 1996, 271), in Italy radiocarbon dates are still relatively uncommon, particularly for late prehistory. The reasons are multiple.

Objective difficulties derive from the 'Hallstatt plateau' (800-400 BC), for which only recently have there been improvements (Reimer *et al.*, 2020). Such difficulties have fuelled the mistrust of many Italian archaeologists towards the method. Aside from that, there is the mentioned resistance to change by Italian scholarship and its preference for classification and stylistic seriation. Moreover, Italian archaeologists mainly have a humanities background and receive little to no training in the archaeological sciences, leaving them feeling uncomfortable in dealing with numbers and formulas.

Only 7 out of 375 sites analysed in this study have radiocarbon dates and some are problematic. For example, at Arma di Nasino many dates have been obtained from isolated charcoal with unclear stratigraphic association and were likely affected by contamination (Alessio *et al.*, 1968; for a recent reanalysis with application of Bayesian modelling see Pearce, 2013, 63-71).

Site ID	Location	Type	Dates
GE1	Monte Borgo	Settlement	Gif 7214: 2740 ± 60 BP = 1040 – 700 cal BC
IM1	Pian del Re	Cemetery	Gif 8034: 2680 ± 50 BP = 930 – 790 cal BC
IM18	Monte Grange	Grave	Beta 198448: 2540 ± 40 BP = 910 – 800 cal BC
IM30	Buco del Diavolo	Cemetery	Beta 122074: 2590 ± 40 BP = 830 – 570 cal BC Beta 122075: 2780 ± 50 BP = 1050 – 820 cal BC
SP15	Monte Castellaro	Settlement	Beta 44754: 3160 ± 80 BP = 1620 – 1220 cal BC
SV29	Arma di Nasino	Site	R-328: 2925 ± 50 BP = 1370 – 1300 cal BC R-326: 2540 ± 50 BP = 810 – 520 cal BC R-325: 2295 ± 50 = 480 – 200 cal BC R-322: 2295 ± 50 = 480 – 200 cal BC R-321α: 2195 ± 50 = 390 – 110 cal BC R-321: 2325 ± 50 = 720 – 210 cal BC
SV39	Pian dell'Olio	Settlement	GrN 2153: 2550 ± 40 BP = 730 – 550 cal BC

Table 3.1 Sites for which radiocarbon dates are available. Dates calibrated with OxCal 4.4 (<https://c14.arch.ox.ac.uk/oxcal.html>) using the IntCal20 curve to a 95.4% confidence interval (Bronk Ramsey, 2009; Reimer et al., 2020)

Few attempts have been made at defining chronologies for ancient Liguria. The first was proposed by Fascicolo Felici (1975), who based her analysis on the evidence for coastal Liguria. She assigned the sites to different chronological phases starting from the grave assemblages, particularly from Chiavari (GE), Genoa, Genicciola (SP) and Ameglia (SP), and from sites whose material appeared more homogeneous (Fascicolo Felici, 1975, 277). She relied on the presence of imported pottery, bronze objects (mainly brooches) and coins, as well as on pottery similarities. Sites where the pottery resembled late BA types were considered to date to the EIA, while sites with pottery “imitating” Roman prototypes were dated to the last centuries of the IA (Fascicolo Felici, 1975, 293–294).

Fascicolo Felici (1975, 292–296) identified four different phases:

Phase 1. “centuries immediately before the 7th”. It includes the graves of Monte Grange (IM) and Zeri (MS). These sites have types of pottery

that are not attested in the later periods and that are characteristic of the EIA.

Phase 2. 7th- 6th century BC. It is mainly represented by the Chiavari (GE) cemetery. The transition between the second and third phase is not clear-cut.

Phase 3. Mainly 5th- 4th century BC, but it could begin in the 6th century BC immediately after the end of Chiavari. It includes the cemetery of Genoa and the graves of Roccatagliata (GE), Savignone (GE) and Valbrevenna (GE). The transition between the fourth and the fifth phase seems quite gradual and without clear breaks.

Phase 4. From to 3rd century BC to the “first centuries of Roman Liguria”. It includes the cemeteries of Ameglia (SP), Genicciola (SP), Levanto (SP), and the site of Caprauna (CN). This phase is hard to define for the lack of characteristic material in the graves.

Differences between the pottery of coastal Liguria and that of southern Piedmont made this chronology of little use for the analysis of the latter. This prompted Gambari and Venturino Gambari (1988) to propose a new chronology based on the pottery found in the settlements south of the Po. They suggested dividing the Ligurian Iron Age into three periods corresponding to the Golasecca ones (Venturino Gambari and Gambari, 1988, 132-143):

Period I. Showing continuity with the FBA, it is characterised by the creation of a long-distance trade network and the appearance of Villanovan imports along the Tanaro and Po rivers.

Period II. Roughly corresponding to the 6th century, it is characterised by the spread of Etruscan imports as far as the Cuneo alpine valleys and the creation of settlements along the main exchange routes.

Period III. Its beginning is marked by a demographic increase in the Apennine valleys, boosted by the creation of an Etruscan settlement at Genoa and possibly linked to the first arrivals of Gallic groups west of

the Sesia-Orba line. It is divided into four phases, corresponding to the last Golasecca phase and to the following LT phases adopted in Lombardy.

Gambari and Venturino Gambari reiterated this chronology with a few adjustments in the following years. It was extended to the FBA to include the Protogolasecca/Protoligurian phases, while further phases were identified within the main periods again based on the pottery from excavated settlements (Gambari, 1998a, 78, 1998b, 89 table 1). In the last version of the chronology, which is illustrated in Figure 3.1, the Ligurian IIIB-IIIC transition was moved to 250 BC (from 225 BC) following a revision of the *LT Padano* chronology reflecting dendrochronological adjustment of the transalpine chronologies (Gambari and Venturino Gambari, 2004a, 29). However, no adjustment was made to the initial phases to take into account the higher chronology deriving from absolute dates.

My main reservation about this chronology is that it relies on pottery styles, which can last for many centuries and whose definition is subjective, and it cannot be tested against the evidence of multi-phase cemeteries. Information cannot be integrated with that from metal artefacts, extremely scarce in settlements, whose short-lived types are better defined and would be more useful for dating purposes. Gambari and Venturino Gambari's attempt appears to be a way to claim a cultural independence from Golasecca rather than a dating tool. The Golasecca chronology does have its flaws, above all its discrepancy with the absolute dates, but its division is well supported by the evidence, and I do not see why it should not be applied to southern Piedmont and perhaps also coastal Liguria.

BC	Central Europe	Golasecca/ Insubres area	Inner Liguria	Provence	This thesis
1200					
1100	Ha A1	Protogolasecca I	Protoligurian I	BF 2a	FBA
	Ha A2	Protogolasecca II	Protoligurian II	BF 2b	
1000	Ha B1	Protogolasecca III	Protoligurian III	BF 3a	
	Ha B2				
800	Ha B3	Golasecca I A1	Ligurian I A	BF 3b	EIA
		Golasecca I A2		Bronze/Fer transition	
700	Ha C	Golasecca I B	Ligurian I B	1er âge du Fer	
		Golasecca I C			
600	Ha D1	Golasecca II A	Ligurian II		
	HA D2				
500	Ha D3	Golasecca II B			
	LT A	Golasecca III A2 1 3	Ligurian III A	2e âge du Fer	
300	LT B1	B1 LT Padano	B1 Ligurian III		
	LT B2	B2	B3		
200	LT C1	LT Padano C1	Ligurian III C		
	LT C2	LT Padano C2			
100	LT D	Romanisation	Romanisation		

Figure 3.1 Comparison between the chronologies adopted in north-western Italy and southern France (after Gambari and Venturino Gambari, 2004a, 30; Lachenal, 2014, 202), and the simplified chronology used in this thesis

I have decided to use a simplified chronology as I believe it better serves the purpose of this study and its supra-regional scale. I divided the time span of c. 1,000 years considered here into 4 phases:

- 1) Final Bronze Age (FBA): in the traditional chronologies this corresponds to the 12th – 10th cents BC. As a comprehensive review of the FBA chronology of north-western Italy would be a thesis in its own right, I have retained the traditional dates here even though I am aware of conflicts with the absolute dates, which appear earlier than expected. To bypass this problem and allow for future adjustments, in the text and Gazetteer all the dates referring to this period are indicated with the name of the phase rather than in centuries.
- 2) Early Iron Age (EIA): this corresponds to the Golasecca I phase, i.e. 9th – 7th cent. BC. Again, the beginning of the phase is problematic due to the discrepancy over the absolute dates. For this reason, sites assigned to the beginning of the IA are generally referred to as ‘EIA’ without further specification.
- 3) Middle Iron Age (MIA): 6th – first quarter of 4th cent. BC, corresponding to the Golasecca II and Golasecca III phases. It is characterised by the spread of exotic items (Attic pottery, Etruscan pottery and bronzes, Massaliot amphoras) and by the development of a communication network that links the centres of *Etruria Padana*, the Golasecca area and the Ligurian coast.
- 4) Late Iron Age (LIA): c. 375 – 100 BC. This phase runs from the start of the LT period to the Roman conquest. Traditionally the LT period is deemed to begin in 388 BC, the presumed date of the Gallic migrations (Tizzoni, 1981, 211). However, for the sake of simplicity and to claim a chronological independence of archaeology from historical dates, it is usually regarded as having begun around 375 BC. The Roman conquest can be considered to have ended in 118 BC with the victory against the Ligurian Stoeni (*Acta Triumphalia* for the year 637) and presumably the

foundation of the colonies at *Hasta* and *Derthona*, however for the sake of simplicity I considered the end of the 2nd century as my lower limit.

3.4. Data: type, quantity and quality

The data used in this study derive from the published archaeological record. Information is scattered across monographs, scientific journals, and sometimes local periodicals (e.g. *Genova. Rivista mensile del Comune*, which contains the only account of 1950s discoveries in the Via XX Settembre cemetery), spanning from the Nineteenth century to date. I have occasionally relied on grey literature for French sites, whose excavation reports are accessible and often represent the only source of information. Italian *Soprintendenze* publish at irregular intervals their own journals where they provide information on their activities in the form of short articles (e.g. *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte*). These articles are far from thorough, but often provide the only information for a given site. Due to a chronic delay in publishing excavations, some key sites, even those excavated many years ago (e.g. the Cafaggio cemetery at Ameglia, SP), are only partially known.

A total of 375 sites have been analysed, which are listed in the Sites Gazetteer (Appendix 2). I have excluded mentions of discoveries whose chronology is doubtful or for which there is no precise information (e.g. generic mentions of Etruscan/Gallic/late prehistoric artefacts). The quality of information varies greatly from site to site, mainly depending on how/when it was investigated and published.

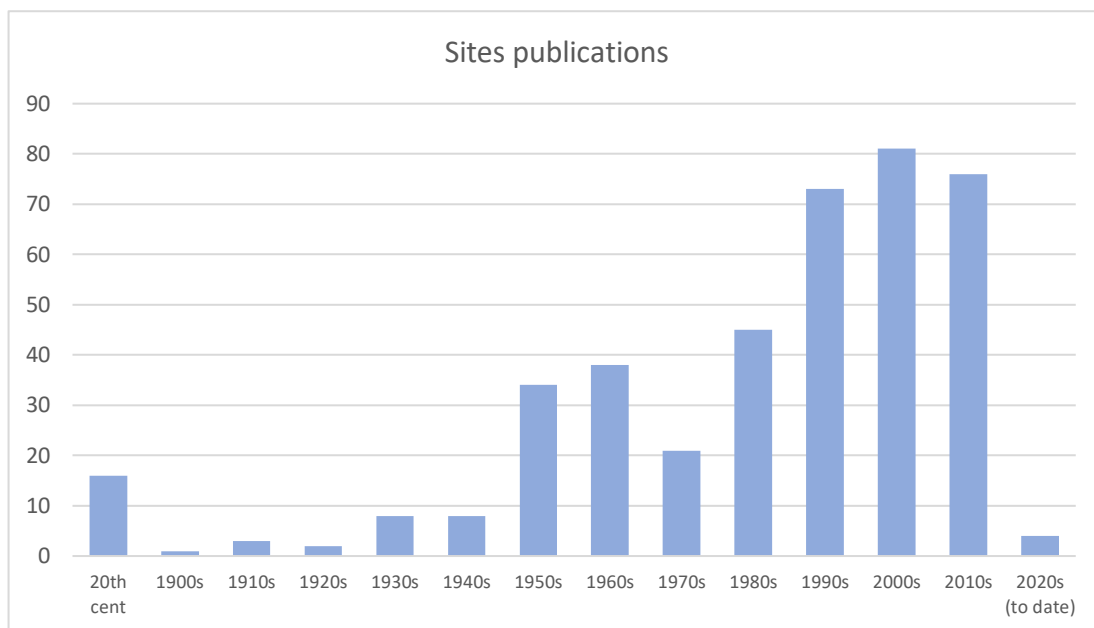


Figure 3.2 Number of publications per decade. All the publications listed in the Gazetteer are included with no distinction. The peak in the 2000s is due to the various activities linked to the Genoa exhibition (see 4.4.1)

Stratigraphic excavations (planned/rescue) account for only a third of the investigations (Figure 3.3). In most cases (42%) information comes from old chance discoveries or unstratigraphic excavations. The remaining 25% are field surveys and watching briefs.

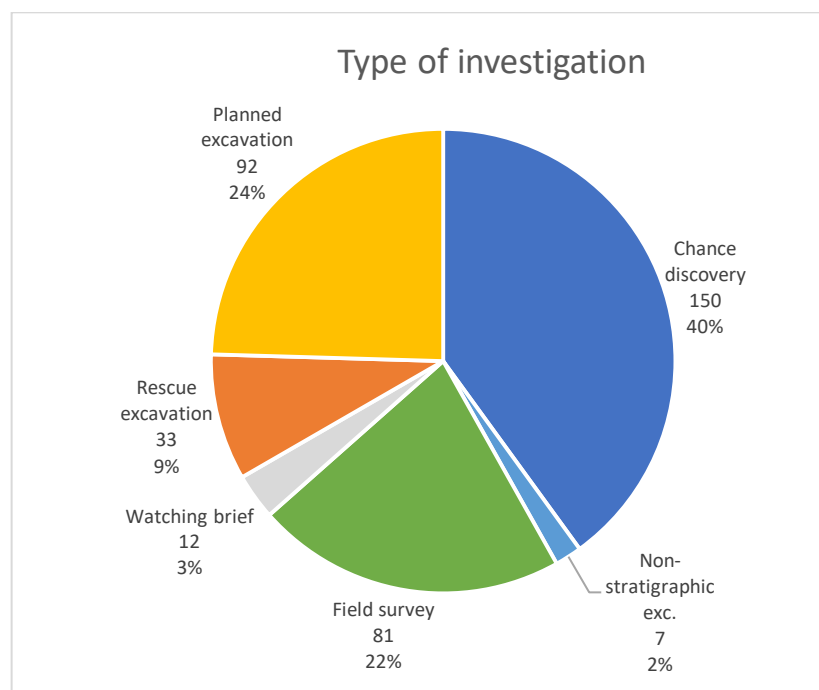


Figure 3.3 Sites investigation

Disparity can be noticed among the provinces/departments in the quantity and quality of data (Figure 3.4). In some cases, only a fraction of the province falls into the study area, which explains the smaller number of sites (e.g. Pavia). However, other factors come into play. The Piacenza province appears particularly poor in evidence because the office responsible for its territory was long run by a Classical archaeologist who had little interest in prehistory and did not promote research or publications of prehistoric sites.³ The nature of the landscape is another key factor. In the Po plain, urbanisation, intensive agricultural exploitation, and infrastructure construction have led to extensive excavations. On the contrary, in the Apennines excavations are infrequent and smaller, and often replaced by field surveys.

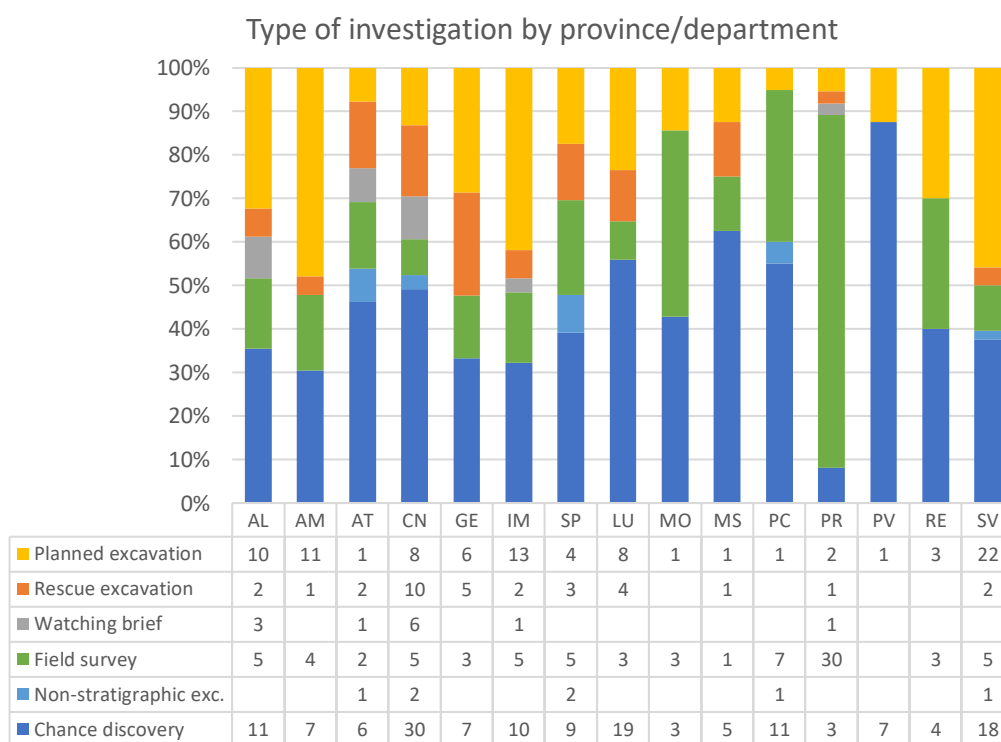


Figure 3.4 Sites investigation by province/department

³ Site reports are not open access in Italy and only the *Soprintendenza* officer can grant authorisation for the study and publication of the materials.

3.5. Conclusions

Analysis of the (published) archaeological record allows the definition of the archaeological culture of Liguria, which forms the basis for this study. A simplified chronology based on traditional dates is used to allow comparisons between different areas and long-term analysis. In contrast with the prevailing approach, which places great emphasis on pottery, material culture is considered in a holistic way and analysed in its context to identify elements that carry ethnic/identity valencies.

Chapter 4. The discovery of the Ligurians

This chapter presents an overview of the studies on the ancient Ligurians. I maintain and highlight the terminology used by the various authors when they refer to the Ligurians as a group (e.g. *nazione*-nation, *razza*-race, *ceppo*-stock, *civiltà*-civilisation, *gruppo etnico*-ethnic group, etc.) in order to compare their approaches and to emphasise how they conceived the Ligurians.

4.1. The beginnings

Studies of ancient Liguria have long been permeated by two ideas: the myth of the origins and a supposed ethnic continuity between the ancient Ligurians and the modern ones (Raggio, 2004). This tendency goes under the name of “*ligurismo*”, a term that has encountered increasing popularity in the last decades (see Manganelli and Melli, 2014; Piccioli, 2007; Quaini, 2007; Raggio, 2004), following the studies of the Genoese historian E. Grendi (1996, 1993).

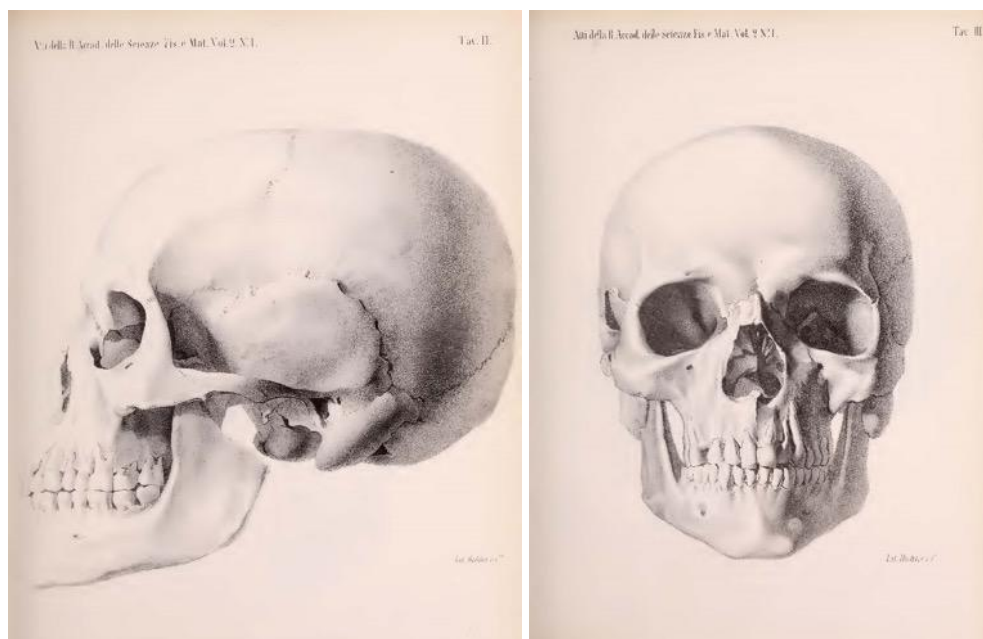
At Genoa from the end of the Eighteenth century *ligurismo* merged with the myth of the merchant, i.e. of the natural pragmatism and initiative of the Genoese people (Piccioli, 2007, 221). In the Lunigiana *ligurismo* gave birth to a further myth about the Ligurian-Apuan tribes (*ibid.*). These myths fostered the construction of local identities and sometimes contributed to transform historical research into a literary cliché.

The idea of continuity between the ancient Ligurians and the Genoese was first explicitly proposed by G. Serra (1797, 1834), author of a “national history” of Liguria, which to him corresponded to the city-state of Genoa. For Serra the importance of the Ligurians, and in turn of the Genoese, mainly derived from their supposed antiquity. In fact, from the Eighteenth century onwards the idea, based on the ancient written sources, that the Ligurians had been among the first people to inhabit the Italian peninsula, was recurrent (Bardetti, 1769; Nicolucci, 1865; Helbig, 1879; Brizio, 1880).

Nineteenth century studies tried to determine the relationship of the Ligurians to the other European peoples. Drawing on linguistics Ampère (1862, 96–97) first argued that the Ligurians belonged to the “great Iberian race” and defined them as the “Iberians of Italy” and “brothers of the Basque people”.

The connection between the Iberians and the Ligurians was much emphasised in the studies of Nicolucci (1865), creator of the ‘Iberian-Ligurian theory’.

Nicolucci, who believed it possible to determine racial affinity by comparing cranial shapes, compared the skulls of ‘ancient’ and ‘modern’ Ligurians and other Europeans to prove that modern Ligurians directly descended from the ancient ones (Figure 4.1). Based on written sources, linguistic studies and his craniometric analysis, Nicolucci sought to demonstrate that the Iberian-Ligurians occupied Italy in the Neolithic and achieved the first ethnic and linguistic unification of the peninsula. This idea, which reflected the romantic ambition of identifying each people with a language, a national territory and cultural history, exerted great influence on many other scholars, particularly those like Gaetano Chierici and Luigi Pigorini who supported the unification of Italy (Romani, 2014, 68).



— 60 —

Misure di 40 crani liguri comparate con quelli di altrettanti crani turaniani moderni.

NUM. de' CRANI	NOME DE' PAESI A' QUALI I CRANI APPARTENGONO	CIRCONFERENZA ORIZZONTALE	DIAMETRO FRONTE OCCIPITALE	DIAMETRO BI-PARIETALE	INDICE CEFALICO Proporzione tra la larghezza e la lunghezza	LARGHEZZA NELLA FRONTI	ALTEZZA DEL CRANIO
Crani liguri							
<i>A antichi</i>							
1	Torre della Maina I (Provincia di Modena) D.	509	170	151	90.50	120	132
2	Tor. e della Maina II (Id.) U.	519	172	156	90.7	119	132
3	Cadelbosco di Sopra (Provincia di Reggio) U.	513	174	148	85.	125	132
<i>B moderni</i>							
4	Apennini liguri U.	500	168	147	87.50	115	130
5	Id. U.	512	168	145	86.30	111	128
6	Torriglia (Provincia di Genova) U.	518	170	145	85.29	119	123
7	Genova U.	520	178	151	84.83	120	124
8	Provincia di Torino U.	520	172	153	87.20	118	128
9	Id. U.	513	174	150	86.20	123	133
10	Torino U.	502	172	143	83.08	120	111
Crani turaniani moderni							
11	Finnico di Kides (Carelia) U.	533	179	150	89.39	125	132
12	Id. di Tavastia U.	520	174	150	86.20	123	129
13	Id. di Kemi U.	515	174	145	83.32	119	132
14	Id. di Hollola (Tavastia) U.	518	177	145	81.97	115	121
15	Id. di Dorpat (Estonia) U.	507	175	143	81.71	115	131
16	Unghere-e (soltato nell'esercito austriaco) U.	510	170	150	87.07	120	130
17	Id. (Hongria) U.	508	163	144	86.75	125	132
18	Id. Id. U.	508	170	143	84.11	112	130
19	Id. (soltato nell'esercito austriaco) U.	506	175	146	82.43	111	130
20	Turco U.	518	181	153	89.13	130	139
Misure medie							
Crani liguri.		513 ¹ / ₂	172	149 ¹ / ₂	86.74	110	132
Crani turaniani moderni.		511	174	147	85.26	120	131

Figure 4.1 Ancient 'Ligurian' skull and comparison between the measurements of 'Ligurian' and 'Asian' skulls (Nicolucci, 1865, 60, pl. II-III)

4.1.1. The first prehistorians

The first prehistorians' interpretations were deeply rooted in the written sources. This clearly emerges from the work of Giovanni Mariotti (1877), who discovered three pre-Roman graves at Veleia (PC). When trying to assign them to a people, Mariotti (1877, 173) eschewed the “argumentations of prehistory” and instead turned to what “the Greek and Roman historians have written, as what they have said is enough to solve this problem”. This safely allowed him to assign the graves to the Ligurians (*ibid.*).

The discovery of many *terramare* settlements triggered a passionate debate about the past inhabitants of the Po plain. The various scholars held different opinions, but they all interpreted the changes in the archaeological record, particularly in funerary rite, as the signs of the arrival of new people and thus conceived the history of the Italian peninsula as a sequence of invasions and migrations.

Chierici (1871, 20) first introduced the Ligurians into this debate arguing that the Bronze Age started with the Umbrians, who lived in the *terramare*, and ended with the Ligurians, which were replaced by the Etruscans in the Iron Age (Figure 4.2).



Figure 4.2 Sequence of prehistoric peoples in northern Italy according to Chierici (1871)

Chierici adopted Nicolucci's Iberian-Ligurian theory and analysed “artificial caves” and “pit dwellings” from various parts of Italy concluding that they showed the same architectural concept, which had been developed by the first

people of Italy (Chierici, 1882). According to him, this confirmed the written tradition about the Ligurians, “a main branch of the Iberian stock” who occupied the whole of Italy, western and central Europe in the Neolithic period (Chierici, 1882, 1). Chierici called ‘Ligurian’ both the Neolithic people and those mentioned in the written sources thousands of years later, and like him many other authors. This twofold use of the term caused mistakes and misunderstandings as the ‘Neolithic Ligurians’ overlapped with the ‘Iron Age Ligurians’ with negative consequences for the understanding of the latter.

Like Chierici, Helbig (1879, 29–41) attributed the *terramare* to the Umbrians/Italic people who, he believed, had replaced the Ligurians. For Helbig (1879, 32) the Ligurians originally occupied most of the Italian peninsula but retreated into the mountains that still bear their name following the migrations of the Italic people. Conversely, Brizio (1880) argued that the Ligurians were the inhabitants of the *terramare* dwellings, later driven away by the Umbrians, who had preceded the Etruscan in the Po plain. The sequence of immigrations was therefore the same as proposed by Helbig (Ligurians → Umbrians/Italics → Etruscans), but it differed in the ethnic attribution of the *terramare* peoples

Brizio’s theory found a supporter in anthropologist Giuseppe Sergi. Like Nicolucci, Sergi (1883a, 1883b) believed it possible to distinguish the human *races* from the analysis of their skulls. Sergi (1883b, 118–127) reconstructed the “ethnographic stratification” of the Po plain: the Ligurians occupied the Po plain in the Stone Age, before being forced to retreat to the west by the Umbrians, who had migrated through the eastern Alps. Sergi (1883b, 132) also argued that the Ligurians were akin to the Iberians and the Libyans as they belonged to a “big Iberian-Ligurian-Libyan family” which occupied most of the Mediterranean basin and of Europe in the prehistoric times.

Due to its geographical vicinity and to the presence of common traits, the discovery of the Golasecca (VA) cemetery triggered a debate about the relationship between the Ligurians and the Golasecca culture. Pompeo Castelfranco (1876, 1883) proposed a chronology and identified the final

Golasecca phase with the Ligurians. Pigorini (1884) also initially believed that the people of Golasecca were Ligurians or Iberians, based on similarities in their funerary practices. However, later he changed his mind and argued that the Golasecca people were probably Celts (Pigorini, 1892). What role at that point Pigorini assigned to the Ligurians is unknown.

4.2. The first half of the 20th century

Between 1898 and 1909 earthmoving for the construction of via XX Settembre at Genoa revealed a pre-Roman cemetery. The rich grave assemblages triggered a debate about the peoples to whom the cemetery belonged (D'Andrade, 1898; Rizzo, 1910). Greek pottery and Etruscan bronze artefacts suggested that Genoa was founded by foreigners, while the local coarse ware pointed at indigenous Ligurians. This allowed Poggi (1914, 4–5) to conclude that Genoa originated as a Ligurian settlement and became a “city” thanks to Greek “civilisation”. The discovery of the cemetery strengthened the myth of the Ligurians as merchants (4.1) and idea of a connection between ancient and modern Ligurians as it seemed to provide the material evidence that Genoa was born as an *emporium*.

Geologist and archaeologist Arturo Issel summarised the main information about the geology and ethnography of Liguria in *Liguria geologia e preistorica* (1892). As new data had become available, he published a further book exclusively focused on the prehistory of the region (Issel, 1908). While in the first book Issel (1892, 147) talked of “human races”, in the introduction of *Liguria preistorica* he rejected the notion of “Ligurian race” as scientifically inaccurate and instead adopted the expressions “Ligurian stock” or “ancient Ligurians” to indicate those people with “common anthropological and ethnographic characters”, who at the beginning of the “historic times” occupied “the Ligurian region” which comprised Provence, the western Po valley and the Lunigiana (Issel, 1908, 14). It has been suggested that this shift derived from realising that the concept of “race” had become a useful “conceptual shortcut” in the confused historical, linguistic and anthropological

studies at the end of the Nineteenth century (Raggio, 2004, 578). However, it is very likely that the fact of being a Jewish-Genoese encouraged Issel to distance himself from a concept that would discriminate him.

Issel critically assessed the various hypotheses on the Ligurians' origins. A devoted scientist, he denied the value of the written sources, describing the ancient writers as "more psychologists than naturalists, more artists than scientists and historians" (Issel, 1908, 626). For Issel (1908, 644–645) from the beginning of humanity "a branch of unknown origin settled along the Ligurian coast", which later mixed with other people in a series of "civilising waves" which produced "stratifications that put to test archaeologists and ethnographers" (Issel, 1908, 675).

Critique to the concept of 'Ligurian race' and to the acritical use of ancient written sources also came from French scholar Camille Jullian, author of a history of Gaul. Jullian (1909, 119) argued that ancient authors were unaware of purely ethnic designations, but their names had a political, linguistic or geographical nature. In the light of that, he exhorted not to consider the Ligurians as representative of a specific race for "[i]ls sont la population qui habitait l'Europe occidentale avant les invasions connues des Celtes ou des Étrusques, avant la naissance des peuples latin ou ibère." (Jullian, 1909, 120–121). The idea that 'Ligurians' was not used by ancient authors to indicate a specific people but rather to those living in the west did not initially attract much following. However, it was to be proposed again many years later and is a convincing interpretation for the earliest use of the term (see 10.1).

Randall-MacIver (1927) offered an external perspective on the Italian Iron Age, but did not devote much attention to the Ligurians. Randall-MacIver placed great importance on the funerary rite and considered *races*, *nations* and *tribes* in a hierarchical way. For him the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula "must be divided into two racial groups on the basis of their burial customs" and until the beginning of the Bronze Age the population "was perfectly homogeneous in respect of its burial rite, whatever its ethnical composition might have been" (Randall-MacIver, 1927, 1). According to Randall-MacIver (1927, 1), cremation

was introduced by invaders from central Europe, however the two rites persisted throughout the Iron Age, which allows to distinguish different *races*. He identifies within the cremating peoples three *nations*: the Villanovans, the Atestines and the Comacines (Randall-MacIver, 1927, 3). With regards to the Ligurians, Randall-MacIver (1927, 2) argued that they continued to practise inhumation but marked their region as “mixed and uncertain” for its archaeological exploration was still too incomplete “to allow any safe generalizations”, even though he conceded that probably the Comacines spread over some parts of Liguria in their later phases (Randall-MacIver, 1927, 103).

The idea that ethnic groups could be distinguished by their funerary rites was rejected by Pia Laviosa Zambotti (1935), who supported the idea that the Golasecca culture was part of the Ligurian *stock*. She refused to interpret the appearance of cremation as a sign of ethnic change despite admitting that, differently from other aspects, religious practices do not easily change (Laviosa Zambotti, 1935, 367). Even though she did not deny that in some cases funerary rite could be used to interpret ethnicity, Laviosa Zambotti (1935, 370) maintained that overall the rite “depends on the circumstances, which allow the spread of one practice or another even beyond the ethnic and racial borders of a people”.

Giovanni Patroni (1937, 830) agreed with Laviosa Zambotti’s interpretation and in particular her denial of the ethnic value of cremation and preference for using domestic pottery as an ethnic marker. For Patroni (1937, 831) the Golasecca was as “a minor ethnos” within the Ligurians, which grew different because of social and economic reasons.

Luisa Banti (1937) also disagreed with Randall-MacIver, not because he assigned an ethnic value to the funerary rite, but for his interpretation of north-western Italy. In her view cremation was the only rite practised in Liguria and northern Etruria since the beginning of the Iron Age (Banti, 1937, 25). She maintained that the grave structures and the funerary assemblages were similar across the whole region and showed influences from Golasecca

and Como (Banti, 1937, 41). She identified a parallel with Golasecca in the shapes of the pottery and in its “almost always blackish” colour, while the introduction of type Certosa brooches showed a connection with the Como area (*ibid.*). She then concluded that “the Ligurian-Lunigianense *civilisation* of the second Iron Age can only derive from the Golasecca-Comacine one, probably through links that have not yet been found” (my emphasis) and identified the Giovi and the Brattello passes (Figures 5.4-5) as the two routes through which this development took place (*ibid.*).

Based on the funerary evidence and on Livy’s “*Etruscorum ante quam Ligurum fuerat*” (41.13), Banti (1937, 98–99) argued that from the 6th–5th century BC the southern part of Ligurian territory was occupied by the Etruscans, whose domain extended towards north as far as the Magra river. Beyond the Magra all the cemeteries show the “Ligurian rite” and none of them can be attributed to the Etruscans (*ibid.*). This was also true for the Genoa Via XX Settembre graves, which she did not believe to be Etruscan (Banti, 1937, 102). For Banti (1937, 100–101) the richness of the grave assemblages and the presence of Campanian-Etruscan pottery were not sufficient to attribute the graves to the Etruscans, but only showed the existence of contacts with central Etruria.

In 1939 Luigi Bernabò Brea was nominated director of the newly created *Soprintendenza delle antichità* of Liguria (“Storia,” 2016). Bernabò Brea sought to provide more solid arguments in favour of the idea that the Golasecca *culture* extended as far south as the Ligurian coast. Between 1940 and 1941 he directed an excavation at Rossiglione (GE) (Bernabò Brea, 1942). Bernabò Brea identified parallels for the artefacts of Rossiglione in other Ligurian sites and the Golasecca area and concluded that they all belonged to the same *civilisation* (Bernabò Brea, 1942a, 56).

4.2.1. “Historiographic byways”

In his analysis of Ligurian historiography, Grendi (1996, 77) talks of “historiographic byways” with reference to the experiences that in the early Twentieth century took place at the two ends of the Ligurian region.

In western Liguria historic research arose within the cultural development of the area of Ventimiglia, where the many infrastructure works of the 1860s-80s had yielded numerous archaeological discoveries (Grendi, 1996, 78), and later grew around the figure of Lamboglia and the *Istituto di Studi Liguri* (see 4.2.2).

In the east historical research developed in connection with the desire for the political autonomy of the Lunigiana region, an area that, despite its claimed identity and cultural unity, had always been divided between three states/provinces (Grendi, 1996, 79). The myth of the Apuan Ligurians and the insistence on a common ethnic identity became key elements in the political battle for the creation of a Lunigiana province (Grendi, 1996, 81–88).

In 1922 the journal *Archivio per la Etnografia e la Psicologia della Lunigiana* was created based on the idea of an “ethnic Liguria”, i.e. of the specific and distinctive character of the Ligurians, conceived as a sort of a timeless “metaphysical quality” (Grendi, 1996, 81). Liguria was conceived as an ethnic entity of which the Lunigiana represented a case-study (Sittoni and Podenzana, 1911). The journal aim was to know the Lunigiana “in all its aspects” and, through ethnographic comparison, understand its position within the “Ligurian unity” (*ibid.*). In 1925 the first of the only two volumes of a new series was published. It opens with a preface by Sergi (1925), who reiterates the idea that the Ligurians belonged to the Mediterranean race and of a connection between physical anthropology, ethnography and psychology. Although most of the articles discussed local history and folklore and had little, if any, scientific value, they are symptomatic of the general climate that dominated the period and influenced even more respectable scholars.

4.2.2. Lamboglia and the Istituto di Studi Liguri

Nino Lamboglia is a key figure of in archaeology of Liguria whose role is hard to assess: his tragic accidental death (he drowned after driving into the sea at the Genoa port) together with a great passion towards his homeland have contributed to create a sort of mythical persona looked at with great reverence, which makes him immune from criticism in the archaeological

field. We have to look outside archaeology to the work of the historian Grendi (1996, 1993) to find a more balanced assessment of his work and of his importance in Ligurian historiography.

Lamboglia initially focused on Roman Liguria but soon developed interests in other fields stretching from place-name studies to maritime archaeology, of which he was a pioneer, and including prehistory and medieval archaeology (see his bibliography in Lamboglia *et al.* 1983). Lamboglia was among the first Italian archaeologists to promote stratigraphic excavation and in the 1950s-60s he taught “Excavation techniques” at the University of Genoa (Mercenaro, 2017, 6). He directed some pilot excavations where many future professors of archaeology were trained and developed new methodologies for historical research. All these activities contributed to the creation of what has been termed ‘*la scuola Lamboglia*’ (the Lamboglia school) and earned him the name of ‘*maestro*’ (teacher) (Mannoni, 2008).

When still very young, Lamboglia founded the *Società Storico-Archeologica Ingauna* dedicated to the study of the history and archaeology of western Liguria (Mercenaro, 2017, 5). The society, which was presided by the *podestà* (fascist governor) of Albenga, promoted the creation of local museums (at Finale Ligure, Albenga, Imperia and Ventimiglia) and the publication of the *Bollettino*, a quarterly journal dedicated to the art and history of Albenga and Ventimiglia (Grendi, 1993, 184). Its ideology was based on the themes of ‘*romanità*’ and ‘*ligusticità*’, which were looked upon with favour by the fascist Regime (Grendi, 1993, 185). In 1935, the society became part of the *Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria*, which substituted the older *Società di Storia Patria* suppressed by the fascist Regime (Puncuh, 2011), and in 1937 it was transformed into the *Istituto di Studi Liguri (ISL)*, which became the regime’s tool to spread fascist values (Panicacci, 2017, 55–62).

1932	Nino Lamboglia founds at Albenga the <i>Società Storico-Archeologica Ingauna</i> , for the study of the Liguria Ingauna
1934	The society becomes <i>Società Storico-Archeologica Ingauna e Intemelina</i> and extends its activity to the area of Liguria Intemelina
1934	Publication of the journal <i>Bollettino della Società Storico-Archeologica Ingauna e Intemelina</i>
1935	The Society is transformed into the <i>Sezione Ingauna e Intemelina della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria</i>
1935 – 1936	The Bollettino becomes “ <i>Bollettino della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Liguria – Sezione Ingauna e Intemelina</i> ”
1937	Nino Lamboglia becomes the director of the Bicknell Museum at the invitation of Margaret Berry; meanwhile the Society is transformed into the <i>Istituto di Studi Liguri</i>
1937 – 1941	Publication of the 1 st series of the journal <i>Rivista Ingauna e Intemelina</i>
1939	First Congress of the <i>Istituto di Studi Liguri</i>
1942 – present	Publication of the journal <i>Rivista di Studi Liguri</i>
1946 - 2001	Publication of the new series of <i>Rivista Ingauna e Intemelina</i>
1947	The institute becomes <i>Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri</i>
1949	1 st International Congress of the <i>Istituto di Studi Liguri</i>
1952 – 1977	Publication of the journal <i>Cahiers Ligures de Préhistoire et de Protohistoire</i> by the French sections of the Institute (Montpellier, Aix-en-Provence, Nizza), as a continuation of <i>Cahiers d'Histoire et d'Archéologie</i> published at Montpellier between 1931 and 1949
1957 – present	Publication of the journal <i>Studi Genuensi</i>
2003 – present	Publication of the <i>Ligures</i> , journal of Ligurian Archaeology, History, Art and Culture

Table 4.1 Key dates of Lamboglia's activity and main publications of the ISL

Lamboglia supported the Italian occupation of Menton and Nice, and sought to prove that those territories had shared the Italian culture from antiquity to justify their occupation by the Italian fascist government. About this Lamboglia (1938, 5–6) wrote:

“In order to understand the key factors in the history of Nice [...] we have to step back in the history of Italy and look into the very source of our national unity, created by Rome, to discover the ethnic bases upon which it was founded. Which means, in this case, to study the Ligurian substrate [...]. Not just modern Liguria and the Augustan one, which stretched as far as the Po, are Ligurian, but also most of Provence with all western Italy.”

Arguing that Nice was originally Ligurian and only later became part of Gallia/France, Lamboglia (1938, 17) affirmed that “on this sound basis lays the historic Italian identity of Nice. Whoever is not willing to acknowledge that, practises politics, and not history”.

In 1942 Lamboglia worked at the Menton ‘Office for the culture and propaganda’: he created a section on local history at the Civic Museum and begun to collaborate with the irredentist poet Firpo, another key figure in Menton’s cultural life (Vignoli, 2015, 75–78). The same year the *ISL* launched the “*Collana Mentonasca*”, which counts only three publications, two by Lamboglia (1944, 1942) and one, a collection of dialect poems, by Firpo (1943).

4.3. The post-war period

After the war Lamboglia was suspended for a few months but was never judged by the local purge commission for his involvement with the regime (Panicacci, 2017, 180). Stripped of the fascist rhetoric and the propagandistic tones, Ligurian ethnicity remained a key theme in the activities of the *ISL*. In 1950 its first international meeting explicitly aimed at identifying the “substrate elements” that constituted the “protohistoric Ligurian ethnos”, conceived as a “relatively united civilisation” that extended from the Arno to the Ebro rivers (“Il I° Congresso Internazionale di Studi Liguri,” 1950).

In the meantime, scholars continued to discuss about Golasecca and the Ligurians. Bernabò Brea (1947) reinforced his convictions that the Ligurians and Golasecca belonged to the same *civilisation* after examining the pottery

from the Merlotitt site (Castelletto Ticino, NO), which he compared to the Rossiglione (GE) pottery. However, Bernabò Brea's interest in the Golasecca-Ligurians issue soon started to fade, probably because he was more concerned with his famous excavation at the Arene Candide caves (Bernabò Brea, 1956, 1946). He briefly touched upon the Ligurians in an article where he argued that the presence of pottery with axe-shaped handles in northern Italy, southern France and Pyrenean Spain revealed a *cultural unity* from Catalonia to the Adriatic during the Bronze Age (Bernabò Brea, 1949, 45). This unity reflected the presence of a common "Ligurian stock" later interrupted to the east by the appearance of the *terramare* culture, and then to the west by the Hallstatt culture, while a "pure" expression of this cultural unity survived in the area where the Iron Age Golasecca culture flourished (*ibid.*).

In 1956 Isetti published the result of his excavation at the Tana delle Gore (SV) and concluded that all the pottery "belonged to that Ligurian *facies* of the Golasecca *culture*, which characterises the Iron Age in the whole of Liguria, both to the east and to the west" (my emphasis) (Isetti, 1956, 106). However, analysis of the decoration patterns revealed differences between eastern and western Liguria, the latter showing characteristics not attested in the east but present in the Cuneo area (*ibid.*). As a possible explanation Isetti suggested the existence of more frequent contacts with the hinterland rather than with the eastern coast because of sheep transhumance.

Isetti reiterated his ideas at the 1957 *Convegno Storico-Archeologico Ingauno*, but met with the opposition of Lamboglia, who rejected the idea of a Ligurian *facies* in the Golasecca culture arguing on the contrary that within the Ligurian culture we can distinguish a Golasecca *facies* (Lamboglia *et al.*, 1957).

Lamboglia urged a distinction between "culture" and "ethnos", i.e. between "material culture" and "spiritual culture", and affirmed the validity of the ethnic definitions provided by ancient authors (Lamboglia *et al.*, 1957, 131–132). For Lamboglia there was no doubt about the existence of the Ligurian ethnos because the written sources tell us that the people settled between Italy and the Pyrenees were Ligurians. However, since the Ligurians' culture was subject

to multiple influences, particularly in the peripheral areas, we recognise different *facies* within it (Golasecca, Rhone, Languedoc). This interpretation was welcomed by many scholars (see Barocelli's and Blanc's replies in Lamboglia *et al.*, 1957) and even when the discovery of Chiavari revealed new aspects of the early Iron Age of Liguria the idea of the Ligurians stretching from Italy to the Iberian peninsula continued to be universally accepted.

4.3.1. The discovery of Chiavari

The 1959 discovery during building work of a cemetery at Chiavari (GE) stimulated a passionate debate and changed perspectives on the Ligurians. The excavations, directed by Lamboglia, brought to light 127 cremation graves organised in 91 enclosures. The graves contained rich assemblages dated to the EIA, a phase that had not yet been explored archaeologically in Liguria (Lamboglia, 1960, 91). After each campaign Lamboglia published the raw data from the excavation in a series of articles in *Rivista di Studi Liguri* (Lamboglia 1960, 1964, 1966, 1972a). These reports proved to be of vital importance as owing to his sudden death, he was never able to complete a final publication. For the same reason, the report of the last campaign was written by his colleague Zucchi (1978). Each report contains an overview of the excavation, a description of the stratigraphy and structures and a catalogue of the graves and their assemblages. Lamboglia accompanied the descriptions with many site drawings (maps and sections, including cross-site sections; Figures 4.3-4.4) and detailed pictures.



Figure 4.3 Chiavari site plan with cross-site sections (orange lines) (Lamboglia, 1972a, pl. II)

Below the layer corresponding to the use of the cemetery (layer E) Lamboglia identified an anthropogenic deposit (layer F) which contained abundant fragments of coarse hand-made pottery (Lamboglia, 1960, 120). Lamboglia believed it to be a way to drain wetland and allow the construction of the cemetery, and dated it to the EIA (Lamboglia, 1960: 122). Only several years later a study by D'Ambrosio (1987) revealed that this deposit was not related to the cemetery, but represented a previous phase dating to the Bronze Age.

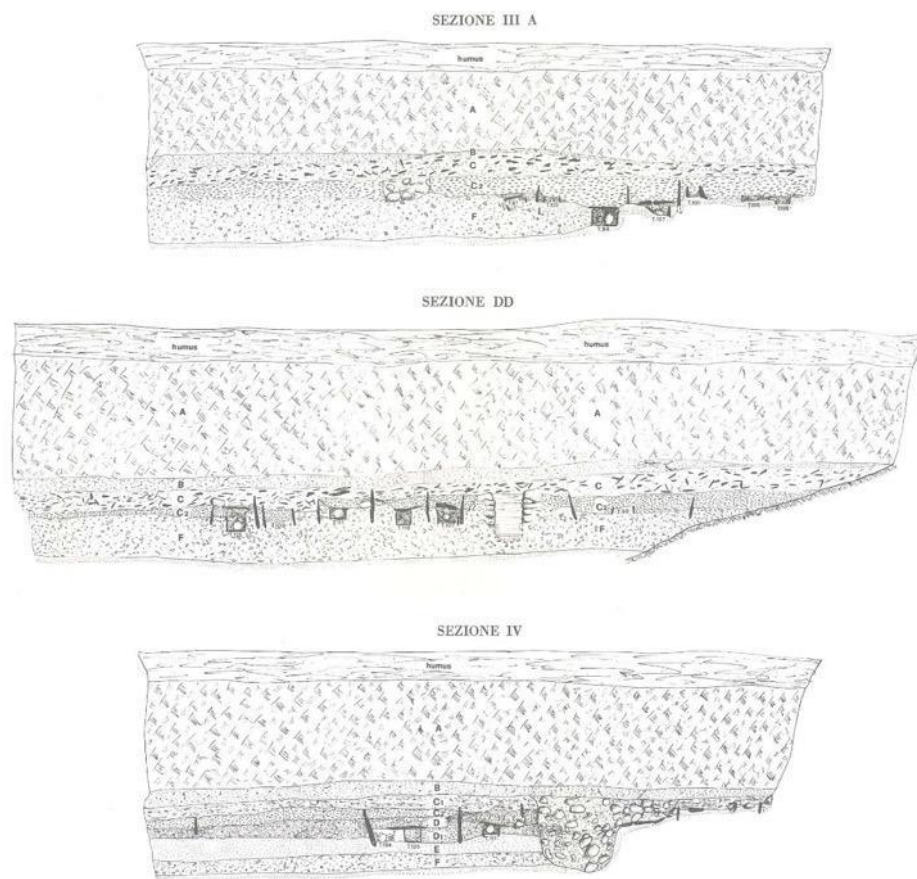


Figure 4.4 Example of cross-site sections (Lamboglia, 1972a, pl. III)

Lamboglia had no doubt that Chiavari represented an early stage of Ligurian “civilisation” and that its assemblages had more parallels with Tuscany and with the Benacci II phase of Bologna, than with the first period of Golasecca (Lamboglia, 1960). Lamboglia (1960, 154) argued that the pots in the graves were imported from the Tyrrhenian coast, particularly from the area between Luni and Pisa. To him, this showed that in the EIA the Ligurians were part of a wide maritime trade network and had an organised society, which would later develop into what the written sources defined as “Ligurians” (Lamboglia, 1960, 185).

4.3.2. Etruscans or Ligurians?

Soon after the discovery of Chiavari, the identification of the people buried there became a matter of debate (Table 4.2). Mingazzini (in Mingazzini and

Lamboglia, 1960, 289–291) was the first to disagree with Lamboglia’s idea that the people who constructed the cemetery at Chiavari were Ligurians and argued instead that they were Etruscans, drawn by the nearby copper deposits (Mingazzini, 1972, 481). Mingazzini argued that the grave assemblages were too rich and the drainage system a too sophisticated system to be attributed to the Ligurians.

Interpretation	Author	Evidence
Ligurians	Lamboglia (1960, 1973)	Funerary rite Characteristics of pottery Clothing accessories and jewellery
	Rittatore (1964)	Funerary rite Urns shape
Etruscan “marginal phenomenon”	Mansuelli (in Lanzarotto et al., 1964, 202–203)	“Urban” organisation of graves Funerary rite Urns shape Pottery decoration
Etruscans	Mingazzini (1972)	Richness of grave assemblages Type of graves Presence of Etruscans at Genoa Drainage system (“ <i>cocciopesto</i> ”) Etruscan goods
	Isetti (1964)	Presence of imported objects not belonging to the Ligurian culture Parallels with metals exploitation in the mines of Tuscany

Figure 4.5 Ethnic identification of the Chiavari cemetery in the 1960s debate

The presence of metal ores in the area around Chiavari had been highlighted by Lamboglia (1960, 190), but it was Isetti (1964) who linked them to the site development. Drawing a parallel between the tools discovered in the Nineteenth century at Libiola and similar ones discovered in the Hallstatt salt

mines, Isetti (1964, 84–86) suggested that the copper mines were in use when the settlement was active. For Isetti (1964, 90) copper was the reason for the development of Chiavari, which he defined as a coastal “emporium” whose wealth depended on mining and trade. Isetti did not deny the presence of Ligurians, who were attested by the abundant domestic pottery, but he considered the indigenous element not dominant and subordinated to a “more developed culture” (*ibid.*).

Although still convinced of the link between the pottery from Liguria and Golasecca, Isetti (1960) raised doubts about everyday pottery as a cultural marker and suggested looking at the funerary pottery. He distinguished between a ‘mountain culture’ and a ‘coastal culture’: the first was still to be considered part of the Golasecca culture, even though a poorer and more marginal version, while the second showed some peculiar characteristics in the funerary evidence, despite maintaining close connections with the mountains with regards to the coarse pottery (*ibid.*). The ‘coastal culture’ was more developed, but he could not say whether that was due to being a different *civilisation* or because of the presence of coastal emporia, such as Genoa and Chiavari, whose “superior culture” did not belong to that of the Apennines people (*ibid.*).

Rittatore Vonwiller (1975, 240) also made a distinction between “coastal Ligurians” and “continental Ligurians” and, based on the difference in the grave assemblages, claimed that nothing justified seeing Chiavari as part of the Golasecca culture or vice versa (Rittatore, 1964, 95). The scarce archaeological evidence did not allow him to define the limit of the Golasecca culture and for this reason he talked of “fluid borders” (Rittatore Vonwiller, 1975, 231).

Finally, De Marinis (1968), who studied the artefacts of Chiavari for his (never published) dissertation, wrote that “if until now we thought of an influence of the Golasecca culture towards Maritime Liguria, we can now admit the contrary”.

4.3.3. The post-Lamboglia debate

In 1982 the *ISL* organised a conference significantly titled “*I Liguri dall’Arno all’Ebro*”. The papers presented at the conference covered a wide chronological range, from the Palaeolithic to the Eighteenth century, and a multitude of themes, from archaeology to linguistics and history of art “within the borders of the vast territory of the ancient Ligurians” (“Cronaca e verbale del Congresso,” 1985, 15). Although this variety reflected the multiple research interests of Lamboglia, to whom the conference was dedicated, it promoted yet again the idea of “Ligurianness” as a timeless and distinctive quality that can be recognised in all aspects of human experience.

A critique of the meaning of “Ligurian” came from the 1980 International Scientific Meeting on the Celts held in Milan, where Baldacci (1983, 148) argued that for the ancient writers it was a “conventional term” similar to “the names that we create to define what we do not know or we know little about”. Baldacci (1983, 150) denied the ethnographic value of the term since “in the phase that we cannot grasp, i.e. the first half of the first millennium BC, Ligurian and Ligurians are nothing but the definition of Greek geographers and historians to indicate the Celtic societies of southern Gaul and northern Italy”. Only later, during the Roman conquest, the concept was restricted by Roman geographers to the peoples of a precise geographic area slightly wider than Augustus’ Regio IX (*ibid.*).

Following an increase in systematic and stratigraphic excavations, several studies focused on the chronology of late Iron Age of north-western Italy. Gambari and Venturino Gambari (1988) analysed the pottery from Piedmont, which they called “Inner Liguria”, a term still used to indicate the area south of the river Po. Noticing an “archaeological continuity” between the Bronze and Iron Age in Piedmont, Liguria, western Lombardy and western Emilia, they distinguished between the Ligurian *ethnos*, as defined by the sources, and the “proto-Celtic” *ethnos* of the Golasecca area (Venturino Gambari and Gambari, 1988, 126–127). They identified coarse-ware containers with zig-zag impressed decoration as archaeological marker for the Ligurians and defined the latter as

Celtic speaking Iron Age groups who derived from the peoples settled between southern France and the Apennines before the beginning of the La Tène period (Venturino Gambari and Gambari, 1988, 130–145).

4.3.4. “Celto-Ligurians”

After Lamboglia’s struggle, influenced by his political views, to prove that the Ligurians belonged to the Mediterranean stock and deny any connection with the Celt/Gaulish/French world, from the Eighties new research orientations appeared and the idea of the Ligurians being “Celts” became increasingly popular. In the wake of new studies on the inscriptions of the Lunigiana statue-menihrs (Maggiani, 1987, 1976) and on the famous Castelletto Ticino beaker (Gambari and Colonna, 1988), and with the support of the written sources (see 10.1), the term “Celt” started to be frequently associated with “Ligurian”.

In a renowned publication on pre-Roman Italy De Marinis (1988) wrote a chapter on the “Ligurians and Celto-Ligurians” without explaining what he meant with those terms. He divided his chapter into two sections: the first and longest (88 pages) about the Golasecca culture, the second on the Ligurians (11 pages). The latter starts with the written sources and then illustrates the archaeological evidence, with most attention placed on Chiavari, Genoa and the relations with the Etruscans (De Marinis, 1988, 248–257). About the “ethnographic problem of the Golasecca culture”, De Marinis (1988, 170) affirms that, as the written sources are scarce and alternate between Ligurians and “Celts”, it is necessary to turn to archaeology and epigraphy. Given that the inscriptions of the Golasecca are in Celtic and that he cannot detect sharp changes in the material culture, De Marinis (1988, 174–175) concludes that there must have been an early process of “Celticisation” among the Golasecca culture. This explains the use of the term “Celto-Ligurians” in the title: it distinguishes the “pure” Ligurians of the coast from those of Golasecca, taking account of recent linguistic discoveries. This term entered the archaeologists’ dictionary as it offered an easy ‘emergency exit’ to indicate a people whose

definition was still blurred and about whom they could only safely say that they spoke a Celtic language.

Following de Marinis (1988, 250), Gambari (1998a, 78–79) distinguished three different areas in FBA Piedmont. The north-eastern area (Biella, Vercelli, Novara provinces) showing Protogolasecca features, the north-west (Turin province) with strong ties with the Rhone Valley and the area south of the Po (Asti, Cuneo, Alessandria provinces), named “Protoliguria”, with in-between characteristics and connections with the central Po valley. Gambari (1998a, 67) argued that a similar tripartition is noticeable in the MBA and later in the IA, and interpreted it as the sign of a long process of ethnogenesis culminating in the formation of the “ethnic groups” known from the written sources.

4.4. Recent archaeological debate

In 2002 the late Iron Age in “Inner Liguria” was discussed in a dedicated conference (Venturino Gambari and Gandolfi, 2004). On that occasion Gambari reiterated his ideas on Ligurian ethnogenesis adding that although distinct ethnic groups formed in the BA, it is in the IA that we detect in the material culture “the awareness of a common identity” (Gambari, 2004, 26). The other papers discussed the evidence from nearby areas or reported recent discoveries and excavations (e.g. Carini and Miari, 2004a; Chiaramonte Trerè and Baratti, 2004). There was very little methodological debate or reflection on how to approach the study of ethnicity in past societies and everyone aligned themselves, more or less explicitly, with the traditional culture-historical approach. Written sources remained central to the interpretation of the archaeological record, and the presence of certain types of artefacts was interpreted in a rather straightforward way as evidence for the Ligurians. Overall, very little had changed from the discussions of the first prehistorians, except for the noticeable increase in available data.

In 2010 a complete catalogue of the Chiavari finds was published (Paltineri, 2010). The much-awaited publication is an important tool, but it suffers from

examining the artefacts isolated from their contexts as well as not referencing Lamboglia's catalogue (there are several discrepancies due to the fact that assemblages were mixed and some artefacts lost). The same year a conference was organised to discuss different aspects of the Chiavari cemetery, today universally interpreted as Ligurian (Benente and Campana, 2014). New analyses carried out on the artefacts and human remains were presented (Campana and Maggi, 2014; Nole *et al.*, 2014; Piccardo and Bongiorno, 2014) and the relationships of Chiavari with the other cultures of the Italian peninsula were discussed (Bagnasco Gianni and Spadea Noviero, 2014; Bonamici, 2014).

De Marinis (2014, 75) sought to end the debate on Golasecca by arguing that "today we can safely say that the Golasecca culture is not present not only in Liguria, but in the territories south of the Po". He denied that in the 7th century Golasecca exerted a cultural influence on Liguria and concluded that at Chiavari we do not find any object that came from the Golasecca area and we can therefore exclude direct exchanges or gifts between the elites, even though Liguria and Golasecca shared models, rites and certain artefacts, which differentiate both areas from the neighbouring cultures (de Marinis, 2014, 85).

4.4.1. A European people

An important moment in the study of the Ligurians was the exhibition held in Genoa in 2004 (de Marinis and Spadea, 2007, 2004) as part of the events organised for the city's nomination as European capital of culture. Hence the emphasis on transnationality and the presentation of the Ligurians as an "ancient European people". Together with highlighting the European dimension of Genoa, one of the main goals of the 2004 events was "to redefine the cultural identity of Genoa as a city with many different faces" (Palmer *et al.*, 2004, 341). Europeanness and identity were therefore the two main themes underlying all the cultural events that were put in place in 2004.

In the catalogue preface the then Italian Minister of Culture introduced the Ligurians as "one of the people who [...] were part of the most ancient roots of

our history and of the European civilisation” (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, initial greetings). He was echoed by the city mayor, who described the Ligurians as “a very ancient and little-known people, which in a distant era was settled in an area much wider than modern Liguria, occupying part of the territory stretching from Provence to the Arno” adding that “the Iron Age Ligurians show incredible similarities with modern Ligurians, at least for their ability to create a trade network around the Mediterranean basin and between Europe and the Mediterranean world” (*ibid.*). In 2004 the old myth of the origins and of the Ligurians as merchants continued to rule undisputed!

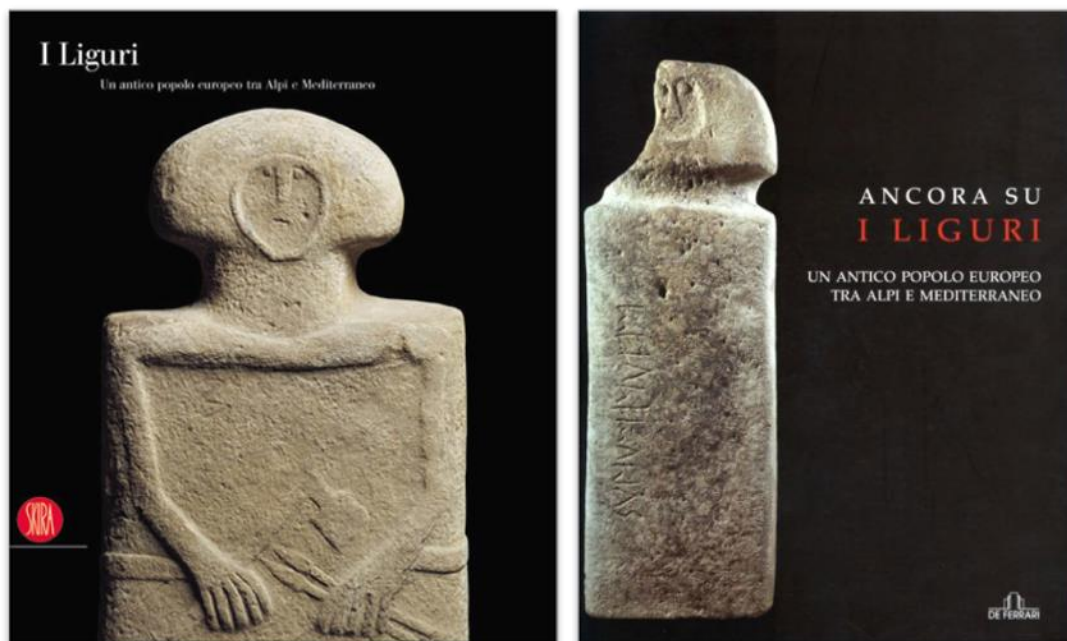


Figure 4.6 Covers of the books published following the 2004 exhibition

The exhibition presented archaeological evidence dating from the 16th to the 1st century BC. The 16th century was seen as the moment when “common cultural elements appeared, which defined the characters of north-western Italy south of the Po, with similarities with the transalpine area of southern France” (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004: editors’ initial greetings). However, the same organisers admitted that the exhibition did not provide all (any?) answers on the cultural identity of the ancient Ligurians (*ibid.*), but rather a summary of the available information, which highlighted the unsolved problems and constituted the base for future research.

The exhibition followed the pattern that had essentially characterised the study of the Ligurians since the Nineteenth century. The definition of the Ligurians was derived from the written sources, to whom the very first section of the catalogue is dedicated (Ampolo, 2004; Colonna, 2004a; Maras, 2004). A section on the “formation of the ethnos” discusses the archaeological evidence from the MBA to the EIA of Liguria, Piedmont, Tuscany and Emilia (Bernabò Brea, 2004; Del Lucchese, 2004a; Gambari and Venturino Gambari, 2004b; Perazzi, 2004). With the exception of the Moriez hoard (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 185, III.34), no artefacts from southern France are discussed, a trend that characterises the whole catalogue. Out of the 104 papers, only one discusses the economy of the “Ligurian societies” in south-eastern France (Garcia, 2004a). The remaining papers on France are all written by the historian Pascal Arnaud and discuss the Roman conquest and organisation with no reference to the archaeological evidence.

In his chapter on the “roots of ancient Ligurians” dedicated to the BA evidence from Liguria Del Lucchese (2004a, 113) affirms that he does not give to “Ligurians” an ethnic meaning. For him it is hard to demonstrate that the Ligurians held an awareness of their identity that went beyond the single settlements and therefore “it makes no sense to talk of a people” (*ibid.*). Del Lucchese believes that such a self-awareness is related to a certain social complexity and stratification, of which we only have scarce clues in the BA (*ibid.*). He concludes that “well-defined and consolidated ethnic-politic entities on tribal bases existed in Liguria only during the Iron Age, when the relationships with the Greek and Etruscan world stimulated a greater social articulation and a more perceived need of self-identification” (Del Lucchese, 2004a, 113–114). No other author provides a theoretical background to their interpretations nor reflects on ethnic identity.

The great enthusiasm for the Ligurians derived from the 2004 celebrations soon faded after the second volume of the exhibition was published (de Marinis and Spadea, 2007). If we exclude the publications of site reports and some summary works like those of Melli (2014a, 2017) on Genoa, not much has

been added. There has been virtually no attention towards the ethnic question and the Ligurians do not appear to be a “hot topic” anymore. It seems that the 2004 exhibition, rather than stimulating further research with its many questions left unanswered, on the contrary marked the end of the long research season that started with the debates of the first prehistorians.

4.5. Conclusions

The Ligurians have long been considered a prehistoric people who occupied a wide portion of Europe, from Iberia to Italy. Originating in the written sources, this idea was promoted by the Nineteenth century studies based on supposed (and mostly invented) linguistic connections, the study of skull shapes and the analysis of the material culture. The use of parallels with artefacts dating as early as the Neolithic to try to confirm the written sources contributed to a great confusion about the term ‘Ligurian’.

In the Fascist era the idea that the prehistoric Ligurians stretched well beyond the Italian peninsula was exploited to support the occupation of south-eastern France. With a change of tones, this idea remained in vogue after the war and is still popular. From a tool of the Fascist propaganda to justify the Italian expansion, the Ligurians have become a way to demonstrate the antiquity of the European unity.

Until now the culture-historical paradigm has been uncritically applied in studies on the Ligurians. Common traits have been identified in the material culture of the area traditionally assigned to the Ligurians, which can be traced back to the BA. Consequently, it is believed that the people mentioned in the written sources underwent a long process of ethnogenesis that lasted several centuries.

Chapter 5. Geographical background

This chapter provides an overview of the geography in the area where the archaeological evidence discussed in chapters 6-9 is distributed (eastern Provence and north-western Italy south of the Po River) with occasional references to the surrounding areas. This will enable the reader who is unfamiliar with this region to orientate in space and visualise the scenery in which the events took place, as well as to understand the challenges but also the potential of this area.

5.1. Understanding landscape

The landscape of the study area includes areas with different elevations and morphology. Terms like ‘mountain’, ‘hill’ and ‘plain’ are part of everyone’s vocabulary but their definition can vary based on the circumstances and the context where they are used.

Particularly relevant for this study is the definition of ‘mountain’. Italian scholarship generally adopts a definition based on altitude (i.e., land above 500 m asl). However, the archaeologist Tiziano Mannoni (2004a) and other colleagues (e.g. Maggi, 2004) base their definition on the slope rather than the altitude, and classify as mountain all terrain with slopes greater than 30%.

They reason that archaeological evidence is far more likely to survive *in situ* in areas with low slope where water run-off is unable to move materials bigger than a few millimetres (Mannoni, 2004a, 103). Figure 5.1 illustrates the consequences of adopting definitions of mountain based on altitude and slope.

Mannoni’s definition is appropriate not only for the reasons he suggests, but also because ancient people did not have precise means to determine ground elevation. Elevation as we perceive it is relative and depends on our reference point. A 500 m relief next to the sea is different from a 500 m relief in an area of low hills. On the contrary, slope can be appreciated empirically and, no matter the context, a steep slope poses challenges and limitations.

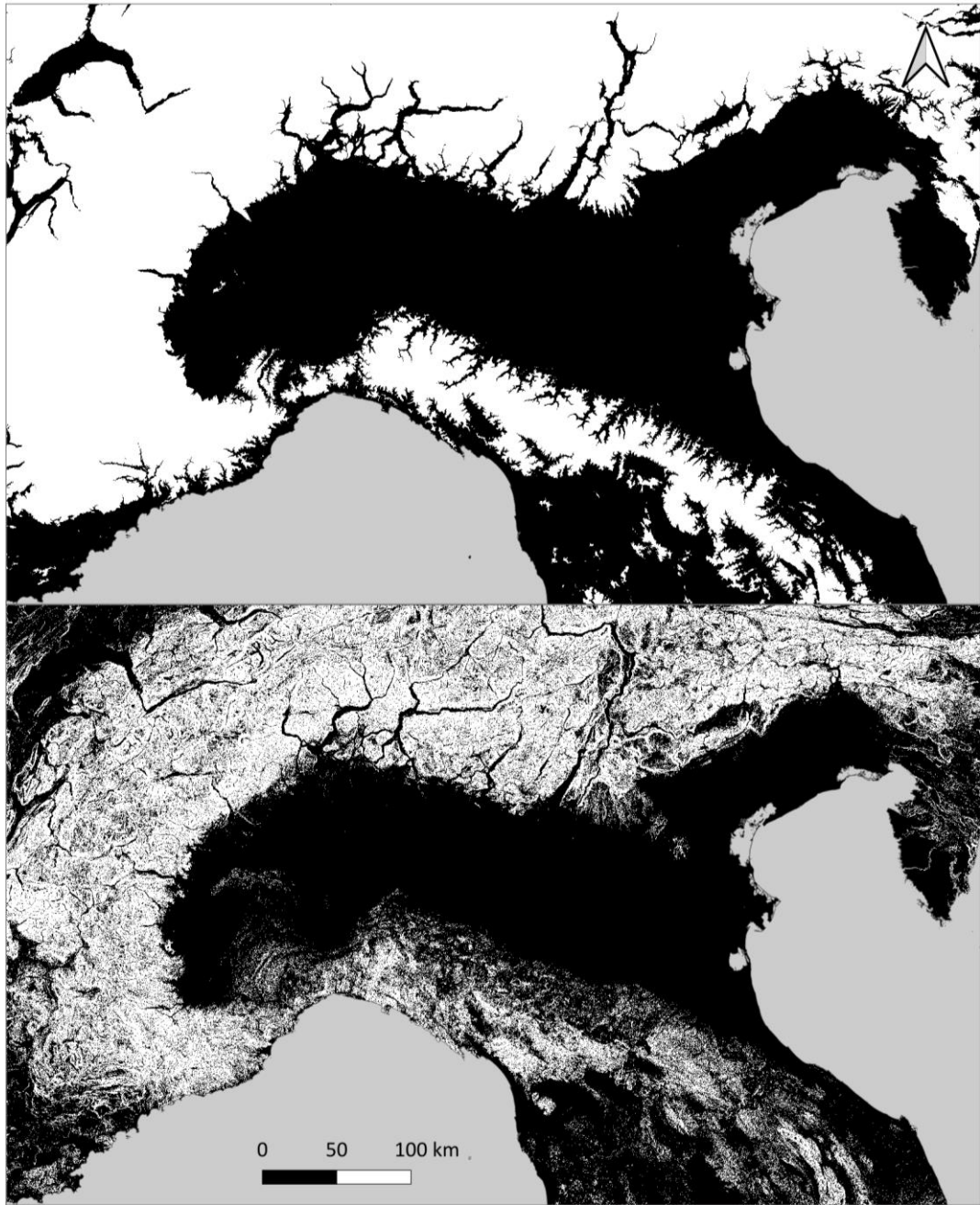


*Figure 5.1 Mountain areas as defined by altitude (> 500 m asl) (top) and slope (> 30%) (bottom).
Data produced using 25m EU-DEM*

The validity of this model is confirmed by the fact that slope is conventionally used to determine the limit between the Po Plain and the Apennines (see 5.2.3). I will therefore adopt Mannoni's definition of mountain and, while I will occasionally refer to elevation, I will focus on slope as a determining factor in the analysis of the archaeological evidence.

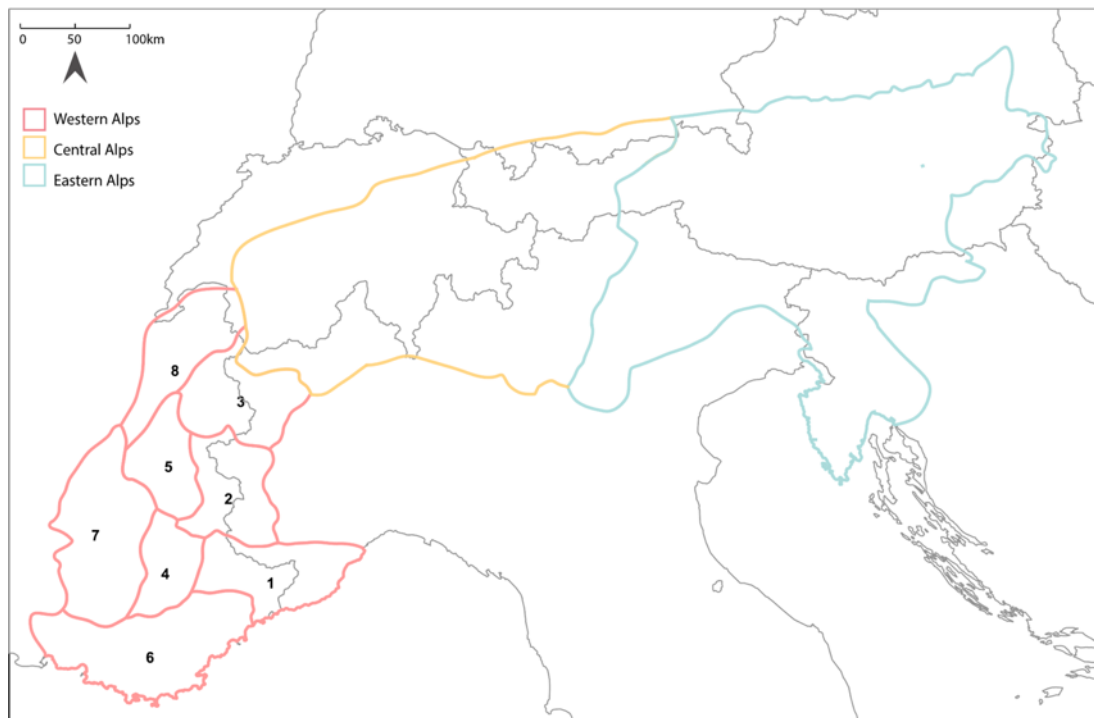
5.2. Geomorphology and geology

Three major landscape features characterise the study area: the Alps, the northern Apennines, and the Po plain. Each is discussed separately. I shall not undertake a comprehensive analysis of their geomorphology and geology, but rather highlight key aspects, especially those that are useful for reconstructing ancient communication routes. A separate section is dedicated to the mineral resources of the area and evidence for ancient mining.

5.2.1. Alps

The classification of the Alps generally adopted by Italian literature is based on the 1926 *Partizione delle Alpi* (Noverese *et al.*, 1926), which divides them into three main groups: western, central and eastern Alps. Only the western Alps concern us here.

Traditionally the western Alps are believed to extend from western Liguria to Col Ferret or the Great St Bernard Pass (Chevallier, 1988, 71). There is no clear break between the Alps and the Apennines. Conventionally the Alps start at Colle di Cadibona (SV) and include the mountains of western Liguria (Chevallier, 1988, 71). The modern border follows the watershed lines rather than the orography and results in the Piedmont side being much narrower than the French one. The western Alps are divided into eight sections (Figure 5.2).



N.	Section	Highest peak
1	Maritime Alps	Argentera, 3297 m
2	Cottian Alps	Monviso, 3841 m
3	Graian Alps	Mont-Blanc, 4781 m
4	Provence Alps	Tête d'Estrop, 2961 m
5	Dauphiné Alps	Barre des Écrins, 4102 m
6	Provence Prealps	Crête de la Bernarde, 1941 m
7	Dauphiné Prealps	Grande Tête de l'Obiou, 2789 m
8	Savoy Alps & Savoy Prealps	Dents du Midi, 3257 m

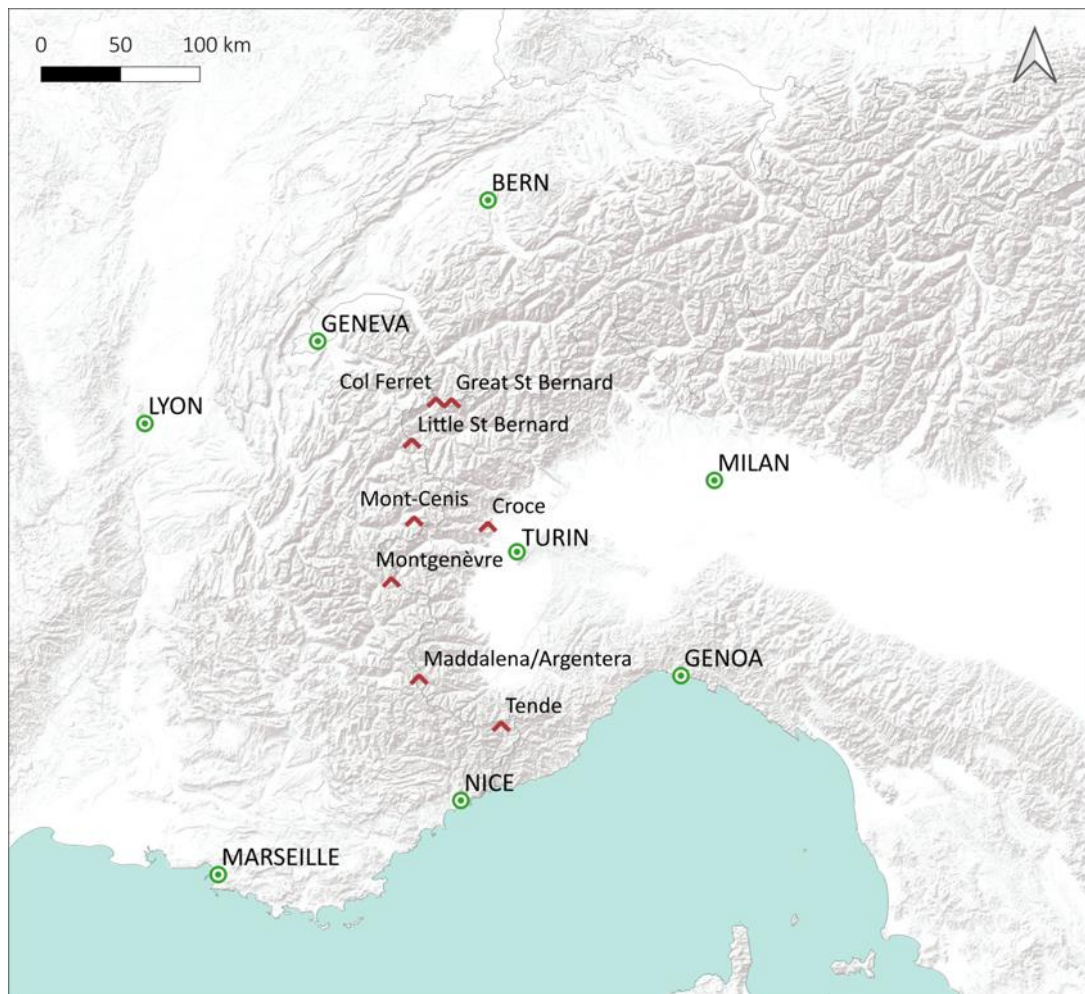
Figure 5.2 Western Alps sections in the Italian partition (after Noverese *et al.*, 1926). Base map by Jo Weber (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partizione_delle_Alpi#/media/File:Französisch-Italienische_Alpengliederung_1924.svg)

The western Alps are formed by a series of mountain ridges and massifs forming an arc with N-S direction that extends for 400 km (Toniolo *et al.*, 1929, 622). There are no Prealps on the Italian side, while on the French side they extend as far as the Crau plain, the Rhone valley and Lake Geneva (Toniolo *et al.*, 1929, 622, 625). The Prealps are on average lower than the Alps (although there are peaks > 3,000 m asl in the Savoy Prealps) and geologically independent. They are characterized by a series of longitudinal valleys (Chamonix, Arly, Isère, Grésivaudan, Drac, Durance) (Toniolo *et al.*, 1929, 622).

The Maritime Alps are distinguished into the Ligurian Alps and Var Alps, respectively east and west of the Col du Tende (1,870 m asl). The Ligurian Alps are lower and represent a transition from the neighbouring Apennines (Toniolo *et al.*, 1929, 623). In their western sector Punta Marguareis (2,651 m asl) is the highest peak and part of a sedimentary calcareous massif rich in karstic cavities. The Var Alps mainly have crystalline lithography (Mercantour group) with peripheral calcareous and schists zones with wide valleys (Toniolo *et al.*, 1929, 623). Their peaks are over 3,000 m asl and host the southernmost Alpine glaciers. Most of them are concentrated on the Italian side of the Clapier-Maledie-Gelas group.

On the Piedmont side of the Cottian Alps high, parallel spurs are separated by short, transversal valleys (Grana, Maira, Varaita, Po, Pellice, Chisone, Dora Raparia) (Toniolo *et al.*, 1929, 624). On the opposite, the French side is characterised by longitudinal branched valleys that are not particularly sunken (Durance, Guisane, Arc). The Graian Alps are crossed by deep and wide valleys modelled by quaternary glaciers (Susa, Moriana, Tarentaise, Chamomix, Aosta), while the northern Provence Alps mainly consist of concentric mountain ranges parallel to the external border of the Alps (*ibid.*). The southern Provence Alps are lower and mainly formed by Jurassic/Cretaceous calcareous hillocks crossed by rivers and subject to landslides and avalanches (*ibid.*).

The Dauphiné Alps are higher in their central part where peaks are over 4,000 m asl and host several glaciers (Glacier Blanc, Glacier Noir, Glacier de la Pilatte). The lower sides are limited by the longitudinal valleys of the Arc and Durance rivers, and are crossed by deep transversal valleys (Guisane, Champsaur, Oisans, Valgaudemar).



Name	M asl	Linked valleys	
Tende	1908	Vermenanga	Roya
Maddalena/Argentera	1996	Stura di Demonte	Ubayette-Ubaye
Croce	2298	Pellice	Guil
Montgenèvre	1854	Dora Riparia	Durance
Mont-Cenis	2084	Dora Riparia – Cenischia	Arc
Little St Bernard	2188	Dora Baltea – Dora di La Thuile	Isère
Ferret	2537	Dora Baltea – Dora di Ferret	Drance – Rhône
Great St Bernard	2473	Dora Baltea – Buthier	Drance – Rhône

Figure 5.3 Western Alps main passes (after Chevallier, 1988, 92).

Ancient authors describe the Alps as inhospitable and impassable. Polybius (*Hist.* 2.9) states that the Alps are quite uninhabited owing to their ruggedness and describes the difficulties of Hannibal's crossing which cost him many men

and animals (*Hist.* 3.4-4). Livy (5.34.6) and Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* 12.5) maintain that they had in the past been unsurmountable, while Horace (*Odes* 4.14.12) calls them *tremendae* for the wildness of the environment and of the Alpine tribes. However, this is a literary *topos*. Whilst challenging, the Alps have long been permeable (Pearce, 1995, 145). The passes are high but numerous and relatively easy in comparison with the Apennines (Figure 5.3). Transit and exchange across the Alps are well documented throughout prehistory and the use of transalpine passes, even secondary ones, can be dated back to at least the late Neolithic as shown by the discovery of the Similaun ice-man (Pearce, 1995).

5.2.2. Apennines

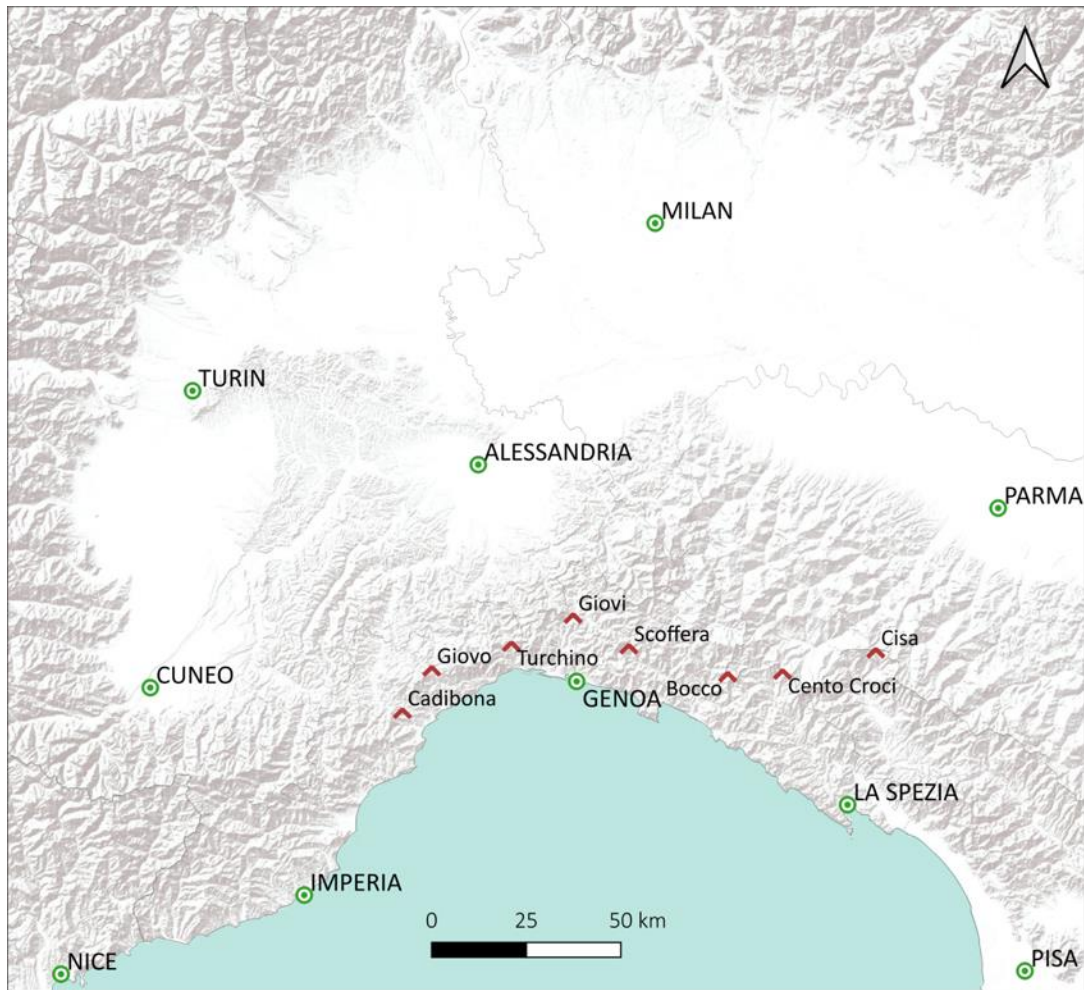
The Apennines are a 1,300 km long mountain range that runs along the Italian peninsula with a width ranging from 30 km to 252 km . They are distinguished into northern, central, southern and Calabrian-Sicilian. The northern Apennines extend from the junction with the Alps (Colle di Cadibona, SV) to Bocca di Trabaria (Borgo Pace, PU). The northern Apennines comprise the Ligurian and Tuscan-Emilian Apennines, and Apuan Alps which despite being geologically and morphologically different are generally considered part of the Apennines (Mori and Barocelli, 1929).

The Ligurian Apennines extend from the junction with the Alps to the Cisa Pass at the border between the Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany regions. In southern Piedmont they include the Langhe and Monferrato hills, which extend in direction of the Po as far as Turin. The main watershed of the Ligurian Apennines runs parallel to the coast at a short distance from it, particularly in the western sector. Consequently, the southern side of the Apennines, which overlooks the sea, is narrow and quite steep. On the contrary, the northern side, which joins the western Po plain, is wider and more gradual, and is crossed by some of the main tributaries of the river Po which have created deep valleys with steep sides and flattish floors. The highest peaks (Monte Maggiorasca, 1,799 m asl; Monte Penna, 1,735 m asl) are

located on the northern side of the Apennines. The asymmetry between the northern-Padanian side and the southern-maritime one is also reflected in the characteristics of their rivers (Chevallier, 1988, 102). The rivers that flow into the sea are short and have marked seasonal variations.

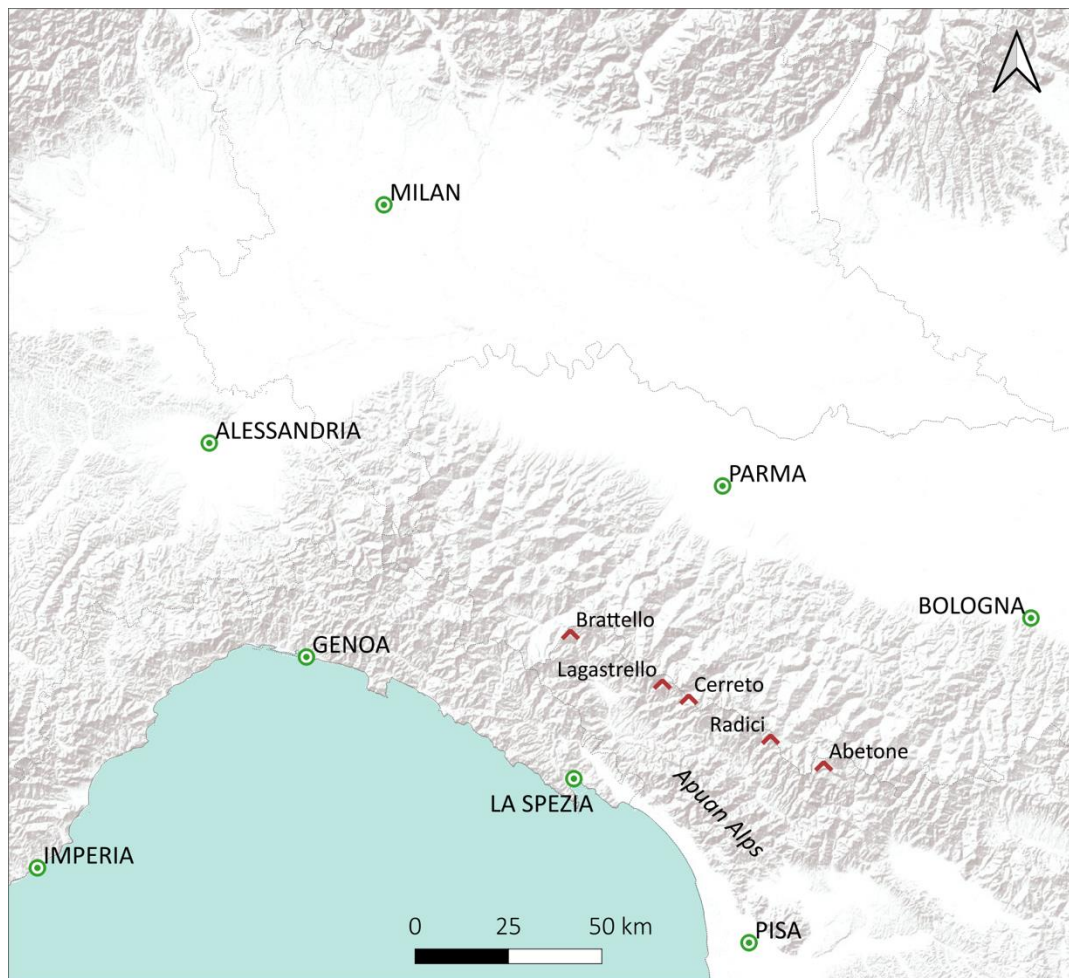
The Ligurian Apennines west of the Giovi Pass (GE) are relatively low. Their northern side is characterised by a series of long N-S ridges bordering the high valleys of the rivers (Erro, Orba, Stura, Gorzente) which flow into the Po tributaries. East of the Giovi Pass (GE) the watershed moves away from the coast. The eastern sector is higher and characterised by a complex profile with a series of parallel mountain ranges with NW-SE orientation and longitudinal valleys (Fontanabuona, Vara, Magra).

Although relatively numerous and low (Figure 5.4), the Ligurian Apennines passes are difficult because of sharp changes in ridge orientation (Chevallier, 1988, 102). In the past ridges were the best option to cross the Apennines. Valley-bottom routes were unsuitable because sunken and subject to flooding, and their use would have necessitated frequent crossing of the streams (Maggi, 2000, 213–214). Slope routes were hardly accessible because of the steepness and dense woods (*ibid.*). Conversely, ridgeways were more accessible for their gentler slopes and as mountaintops were used for grazing, which kept the vegetation in check (*ibid.*). The use of ridgeways is suggested by site distribution from the Early Neolithic onwards and is well documented in Medieval times (Maggi, 2000, 214; Pearce, 2002).



Name	M asl	Linked valleys		Modern road
Cadibona	436	Bormida	Lavanestra	SS 29
Giovo	516	Erro	Sansobbia	SS 334
Turchino	532	Orba	Leira	SS 456
Giovi	472	Scrivia	Polcevera	SS 35
Scoffera	678	Scrivia/Trebbia	Lavagna/Bisagno	SS 45
Bocco	956	Taro	Stura-Entella	SP 26bis
Cento Croci	1055	Taro	Vara	SS 523
Cisa	1041	Taro/Baganza	Magra	SS 62

Figure 5.4 Ligurian Apennines main passes (after Chevallier, 1988, 109)



Name	M asl	Linked valleys		Modern road
Brattello	950	Taro	Magra	SP20/SP39
Lagastrello	1200	Parma/Enza	Taverone-Magra	SP 74
Cerreto	1261	Crostolo	Aulella-Magra	SS 63
Radici	1528	Secchia-Dragone	Serchio	SS 486
Abetone	1388	Scoltenna	Lima	SS 12

Figure 5.5 Western Tuscan-Emilian Apennines main passes (after Chevallier, 1988, 109)

In the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines the main ridges are oriented NW-SE. The northern side of the Apennines is characterised by a series of long parallel

valleys formed by the tributaries of the Po, which run perpendicular to the main watershed.

The Tuscan-Emilian Apennines are mainly formed by clastic rocks, above all sandstones, marls and clays, and to a lesser extent limestones, which often appear as thick stratified sequences of alternating materials (flysch) (Cervi, 1987, 25). At low-medium altitudes the action of runoff waters on clayey rocks with sparse vegetation results in characteristic erosion furrows (*calanchi*) along the sides of the mountains. Evaporite karst outcrops (Triassic anhydrites) are present in the upper Secchia valley. They host several caves and the largest salt karst spring in Italy (Fonti di Poiano) (Chiesi *et al.*, 2010).

Western passes are few and high (Figure 5.5). Transit is easier in the Padanian side thanks to the gentler slope and the presence of long ridges. The Tuscan side is steeper and more complex because of the Apuan Alps.

The Apuan Alps stretch for about 50 km in a NW-SE direction between the Serchio valley and the coast. Their high elevation and complex morphology justify the name of “Alps” (Conti *et al.*, 2019, 23). Their main watershed follows the mountain range orientation. Secondary ridges perpendicular to the main watershed are present on both sides and border the valleys of the rivers that flow respectively into the sea and into the Serchio. The south-west side is rich in deep valleys with steep sides, while on the north-east side, valleys are less deep and the overall slopes gentler. The Apuan Alps are characterised by rugged, steep peaks with sparse vegetation. Pinnacles, erosion scarps and deep gorges are frequent (Conti *et al.*, 2019, 27). Debris-flow phenomena especially linked to rain and snow melting are responsible for the presence of vast screes (Conti *et al.*, 2019, 25–26). Numerous karst cavities are present, especially on the north-eastern side (Conti *et al.*, 2019, 29–30).

The Apuan Alps are famous for their marbles, which concentrate in the southern part of the metamorphic complex (Conti *et al.*, 2019, 225–241). Marble quarrying probably started in the MIA (Bruschi *et al.*, 2003; Cantisani *et al.*, 2003) and became substantial after the foundation of the Roman colony at Luni.

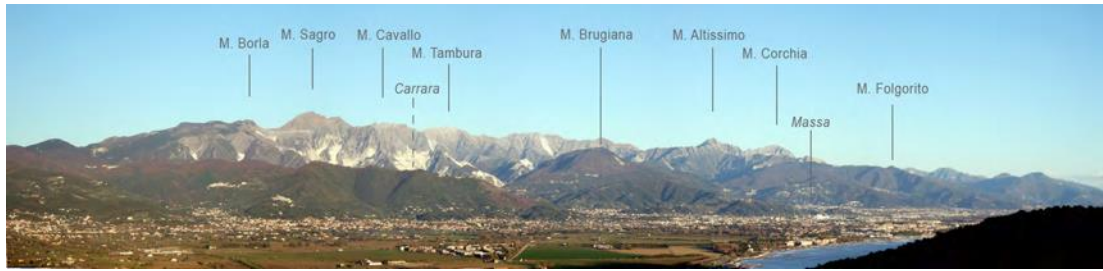


Figure 5.6 View of the Apuan Alps from west (Conti et al., 2019, 8 fig. 1)

5.2.3. Po plain

The Po plain is the largest Italian alluvial basin. Triangular in shape, it covers about 46,000 km², equivalent to approximately 15% of Italy's land-area (Chevallier, 1988, 111). To the north and the west the plain is bordered by the Alps, to the south by the Apennines and to the east by the Adriatic coast. The boundaries of the Po Plain are generally clear-cut along the foothills of the Alps but are blurred along the Apennine margin (Biancotti, 2001, 17). For this reason, the Apennine side of the plain was conventionally defined by Biancotti (2001: 17) as having a slope less or equal to a value of 75 m within a square of 4x4 km² (Figure 5.7).



Figure 5.7 Aerial view of the Po plain (ESRI Satellite) with its limits as defined by Biancotti (2001) highlighted

The average elevation is 102 m asl, but in the western sector elevation can exceed 500 m asl and reaches 650 m asl near Cuneo where the valleys originating in the Maritime Alps debouch (Tellini, 2001, 23 fig. 4.1). The land slopes generally in the direction of the Adriatic sea and towards the Po river axis, as well as near the Prealps and Apennines, where gradients exceeding 10% are recorded (Tellini, 2001, 26).

The Po plain is quite young in geological terms: less than 1 million years ago its area was occupied by the Adriatic Sea (Gasperi, 2001, 45). Subsequently, the Po plain basin between the Apennines and the Alps was filled by quaternary deposits (*ibid.*). The sediments derive from the erosion of the Alps and Apennines and are transported by rivers (Pellegrini and Tellini, 2000, 12). Alpine sediments, coarser and sandier, derive from the erosion of bedrock and glacial deposits (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001, 73). Apennine sediments, generally less sandy, derive from calcareous and clayey rocks (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001, 73–74). Coarser deposits are located in the proximity of reliefs while fine deposits are in distal areas of the plain, generally covered by loess (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001, 76).

5.2.4. Mineral resources

Eastern Liguria is rich in copper ores, which were still being exploited after the Second World War. Copper and iron deposits can be found in the Valsturla and in the Valgraveglia valley (Pearce, 2007, 61). Issel (1892, 6) reports signs of ancient mining, at Reppia (GE), while evidence suggests that small outcrops on the south side of Monte Bianco (GE) have been assayed in the past, though there is no secure dating evidence (Pearce, 2007, 62). The Monte Loreto (GE) copper mines are the oldest known in Western Europe so far. ¹⁴C dates indicate that mining started around 3700 cal BC and continued intermittently in late prehistory with documented phases in the BA and IA (Maggi and Pearce, 2005; Campana *et al.*, in press). Evidence for ancient mining of copper deposits is also attested at the Libiola mine, near Sestri Levante (GE), where extraction also started in the early Copper Age (Maggi and Pearce, 2005, 72–73). Issel (1892, 53–54) reports on signs of ancient activity at the Rovegno (GE) copper deposits but makes no suggestion as to their age. In southern Piedmont

copper was mined in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the upper Lemme valley (Pearce, 2007, 61).

In western Liguria, minor copper deposits are present in the Ligurian Briançonnais together with concentrations of lead, zinc, and silver (Artioli *et al.*, 2009, 167–168). Lead, copper and iron ores are present in the Savona province in the upper Bormida valley. Archaeological evidence attests metallurgical activity in the middle and late BA (Del Lucchese and Delfino, 2008). Attempts have been made to link this with copper extraction at the Pastori mine at Murialdo (SV), active in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries AD, but to date evidence for ancient mining is lacking (*ibid.*).

Native copper is found in the Emilian Apennines around Varano de' Melegari (PR) and Farini d'Olmo (PC) (Calanchi, 1993, 40–41). Bornite and calcopirite ores are found in the Piacenza Apennines at Gropallo and in the Nure Valley, and in the Parma territory at Groppo di Gorro (Berceto) and Monte Penna (Bedonia) (Calanchi, 1993, 42). Calcopirite is also found in the Reggio Emilia and Modena Apennines and its exploitation is well documented in historic times (Pearce, 2007, 61). Prehistoric exploitation of the Apennines ores has long been assumed (e.g. Cattani and Mutti, 1997; Ghiretti, 2003), but as yet no direct evidence has come to light.

Several hundred mineral outcrops are known in the southern French Alps. Iron, copper, lead and zinc ores are present in the Argentera-Mercantour massif (Mari and Mari, 1982, 14 fig. 1). A few dozen small copper deposits are known, which were possibly exploited in late prehistory to produce a few kilos of metal (Ancel, 2010, 293). However, it is unlikely that such activities left any visible trace. Ancient mining has been hypothesised for Bancairon (Clans) and Clue de Roua (Dalouis) in the Alpes Maritimes, and Maraval (Draguignan), Peirol (Tiulon), Camp Garonne (Le Pradet) and Vieux-Cannet (Le Cannet-des-Maures) in the Var department, but this has not been confirmed by excavation (Ancel, 2010, 293–294). Copper mining and smelting is attested in the Queyras at Saint-Véran (Hautes-Alpes) in the late Copper Age and in the early BA (Bourgarit *et al.*, 2008).

5.3. Rivers

The Po is the longest Italian river (625 km) (Fondazione Symbola, 2018, 49): it springs from Mount Monviso and flows into the Adriatic Sea, crossing four regions (Piedmont, Lombardy, Emilia-Romagna, Veneto) and the plain that derives its name from it.

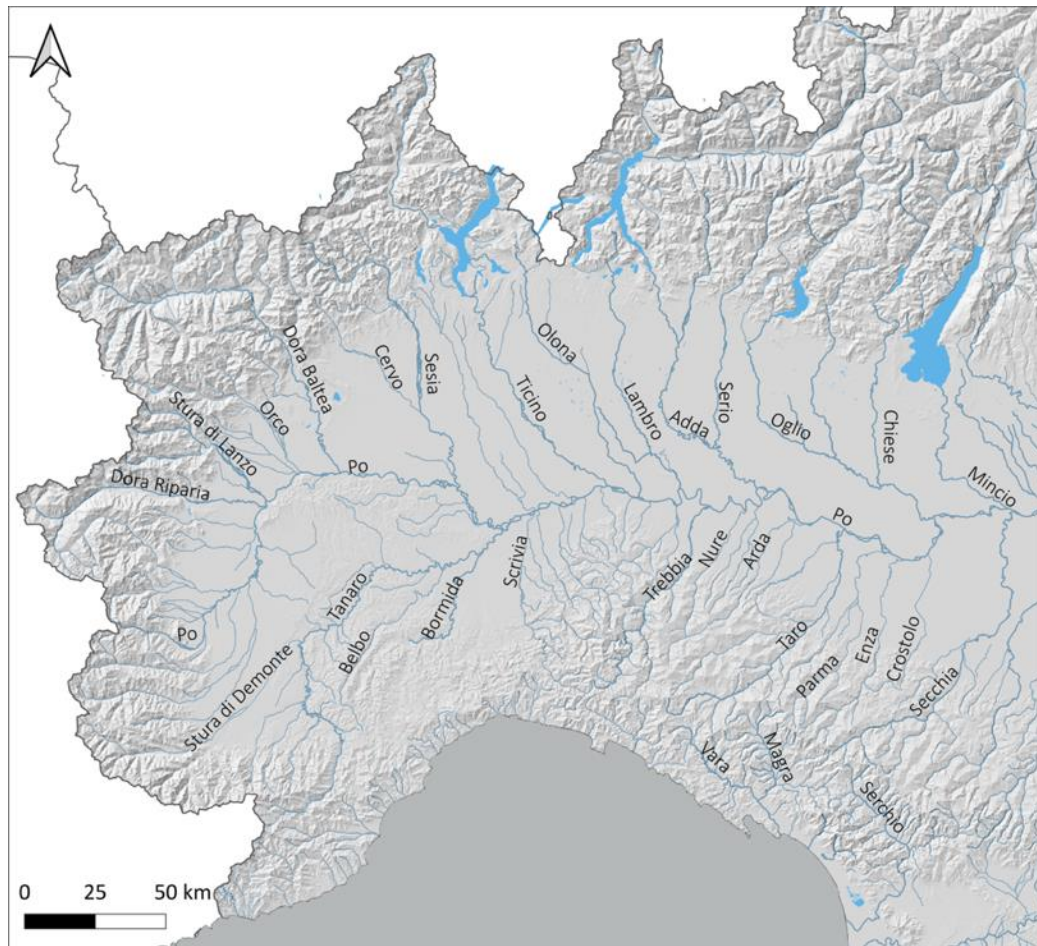


Figure 5.8 North-western Italy main rivers (Source: Geoportale Nazionale)

The Po is fed by numerous Alpine and Apennine rivers. The main rivers of the western sector are shown in Figure 5.8. Alpine tributaries are more regular than the Apennines ones, which are torrential in character (Chevallier, 1988, 155). The northern Apennines tributaries have a mixed regime characterised by two maxima, one in spring and another in autumn, and a summer minimum (*ibid.*). The Po has spring and autumn maxima, and winter and summer minima, with the latter more accentuated because of water abstraction for

irrigation (Bondesan, 2001, 37). In Liguria, winter and spring flows are nearly equivalent, while in Emilia riverbeds are often dry or nearly dry during summer (Chevallier, 1988, 155). On the contrary, Alpine rivers have their maximum water discharge in the summer when ice melts (Bondesan, 2001, 38 fig. 5.3).

Until the eighteenth century the Po was navigable with small boats as far as Turin (Pearce, 1995, 148). In Antiquity it was navigable at least to its confluence with the Tanaro (Polybius, *Hist.* 2.16.11) and perhaps as far as Turin (Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 3.17.123). Its main tributaries were also navigable (*ibid.* 3.16.118). Excluding minor local variations in its initial tract as far as Brescello (RE) the modern course of the river broadly corresponds to the ancient one (Calzolari, 2000, 382). Bigger changes have been recorded in the lower course between the Mantua territory and the mouth.

The Alpes-Maritimes river network is organised around the river Var, whose basin extends for 2,822 km² and covers most of the department area (Département des Alpes-Maritimes, n.d.) (Figure 5.9). Coastal rivers are torrential in character, with shorter courses and smaller discharge. The Var behaves similarly to the rivers of the pre-Alpine regions. It has a mixed snowmelt-rainfall regime with two low-flow seasons: during the winter when part of the precipitation is stored as snowpack, and during the summer due to lack of precipitation and high evaporation (Bard *et al.*, 2015, 1825). High flows are mainly driven by snowmelt during the spring and by abundant precipitation in autumn (*ibid.*).

At first sight the Var valley seems an ideal access route to the Alps from the south. However, the impetuosity of the river, the presence of narrow gorges (at Mescla) and the instability of its banks mean that other routes were preferred, namely that from Grasse to Castellane (Dubar, 2010, 94).

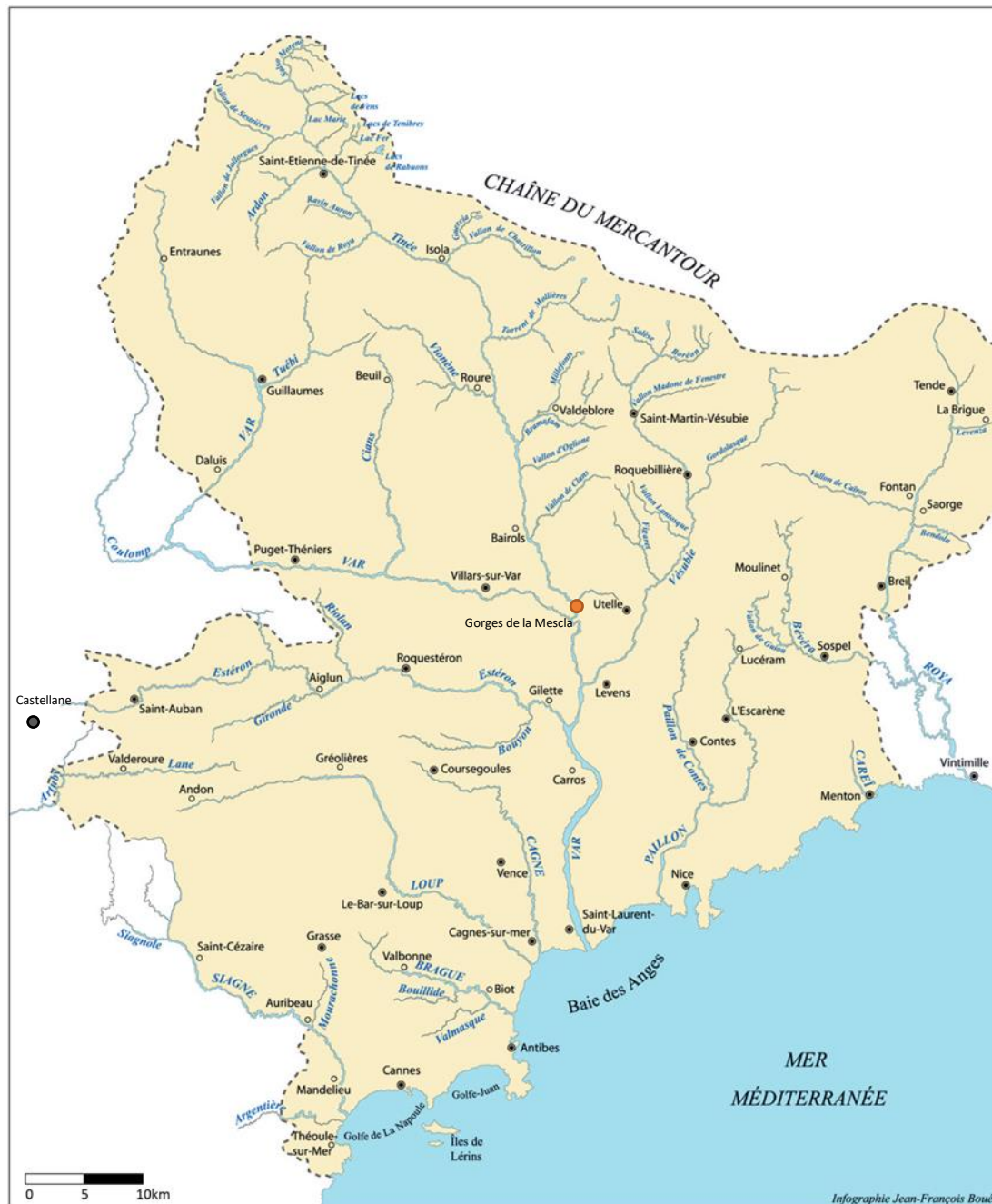


Figure 5.9 Alpes-Maritimes main rivers (after Département des Alpes-Maritimes, [https://www.departement06.fr/documents/A-votre-service/Culture/archives/Expo-virtuelle/Eau douce Mer/expv_eau 1-1.pdf](https://www.departement06.fr/documents/A-votre-service/Culture/archives/Expo-virtuelle/Eau%20douce%20Mer/expv_eau_1-1.pdf)).

5.3.1. Other water resources

In Liguria, thirteen hydrogeological karst complexes have been identified with over 250 springs (Faccini and Perasso, 2016, 101). They are mainly concentrated along the Italian-French border (upper Nervia valley, Monte Toraggio), in the western and central Savona province (upper Tanaro valley, Neva valley, Bormida valley, Bric Tana), north of Genoa (some fifteen springs in the

Isoverde area, in the upper Polcevera valley), and around La Spezia (Graveglia valley, Vara valley, Montemarcello and Portovenere promontories) (Faccini and Perasso, 2016). The area between Toirano (SV) and Melogno (SV) is the richest in natural cavities and underground aquifers (Faccini and Perasso, 2016, 104–105). Some forty springs have been identified, including the hot water spring of Mulini whose water has a constant temperature of 22°-23° C (*ibid.*).

The Apuan Alps are rich in water resources, mainly located in karst aquifers. Eighteen hydrogeological karst complexes have been identified, mainly on the south-western side of the Alps, which is the richest in springs (Piccini *et al.*, 1999). Most springs from carbonatic aquifers from metamorphic outcrops have low salinity, those from polygenic breccias have medium salinity, while those located in the main faults that border the Apuan Alps have high salinity and a temperature of 20°-25° C (Piccini, 2007, 53).

Other springs are found in the Po plain in the so-called '*fascia dei fontanili*.' They form a more or less continuous belt along the southern margin of the Alps, but are less regular along the Apennine flank (Bondesan, 2001, 42). In the study area, the '*fascia dei fontanili*' can be found in the Cuneo plain and in the area around the lower Scrivia valley (Bondesan, 2001, 35 fig. 5.1).

'*Salse*' (salty waters, mainly deriving from underground fossil waters) and sulphur water springs occur in the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines (De Nardo and Parisi, 2020). The most famous are those in the Salsomaggiore Terme (PR) area, which have long been used in thermal therapy. Others are found in the Piacenza Apennines around Bobbio, and in the upper Parma and Reggio Emilia Apennines. A phenomenon typical of the lower Apennines which can be observed around Traversetolo (PR) and Vezzano sul Crostolo (RE) is that of '*vulcanelli di fango*' where salty waters and mud are extruded by the presence of methane that emerges through cracks in the ground bringing with it fossil waters and sediments (De Nardo and Parisi, 2020).

5.4. Coastline and sea

West of Nice the coast is characterised by wide bays (Bay of Cannes, Gulf Juan, Baie des Anges) bordered by low hills and delimited by rocky promontories and cliffs. Long sandy/pebble beaches overlay Holocene alluvial deposits which widen at the estuary of the rivers (Giorgis *et al.*, 1997, 3.1, Famille N). In the Bay of Cannes the ancient coastline has advanced a few hundred meters because of the Siagne floods, which up until the Nineteenth century had a marshy mouth and whose course was significantly modified to allow the construction of the Cannes-Mandelieu airport (Pellegrino, 2003, 74). East of Nice the coast is high, rocky and rich in creeks, creating an irregular coastline.

The Ligurian coast is high and rocky. It is divided in two by Genoa: the western sector ('*Riviera di Ponente*') and the eastern one ('*Riviera di Levante*'), which stretches as far as the river Magra mouth. The eastern sector is rich in promontories with rugged cliffs. Bays and gulfs rare. The main gulfs are the Genoa, Tigullio and La Spezia gulfs. Sestri Levante, Portofino and Portovenere are natural harbours: they were used in Roman times and most likely even earlier (Mannoni, 2004b, 72). In Liguria the libeccio (from the south-west) and the scirocco (from the south-east) are the main onshore winds. Depending on which is blowing, one side or other of a north-south promontory can offer shelter to ships, while the northern side of an east-west promontory is always protected (*ibid.*).

The few coastal plains are mainly in the western sector, all at river mouths. They are more extensive today than in antiquity. They advanced mainly in the Middle Ages and between the mid-Sixteenth and the mid-Eighteenth century because of both the effect of the so-called 'Little Ice Age' and river sediment discharge, which was increased by deforestation to free areas for pasture and farming (Mannoni, 2004b, 71). Palynological data indicate the existence of marshy areas (now disappeared) in many river mouths in late prehistory (Guido *et al.*, 2004).

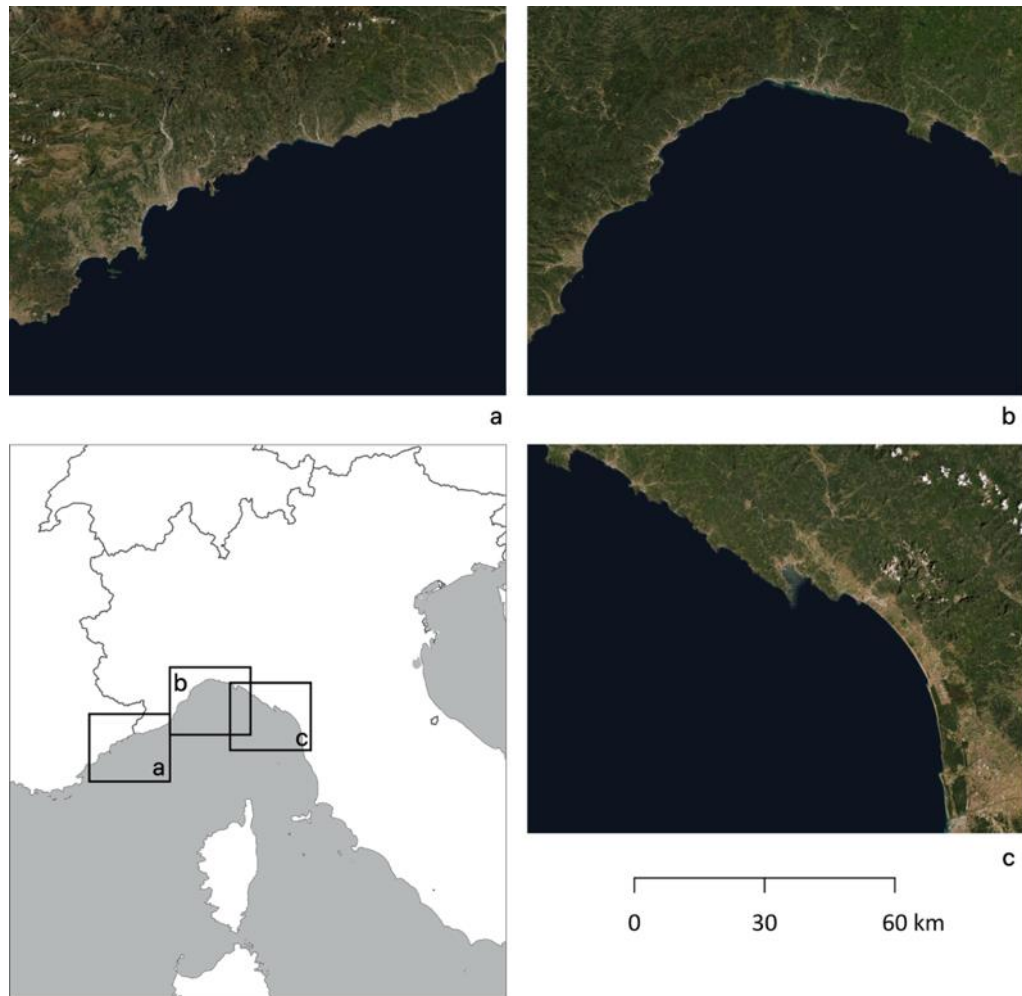


Figure 5.10 Alps-Maritimes, Liguria and northern Tuscany coast (ESRI Satellite)

The coast of northern Tuscany is low and sandy with a regular coastline. It is formed by the Versilia plain, which borders the western side of the Apuan Alps. The plain consists of a series of barely distinguishable flat alluvial fans formed by the debris of the rivers that flow from the Apuan Alps into the sea (Mazzanti *et al.*, 1990, 33).

The current Versilia plain differs from the ancient one which was covered by forest and scattered lakes and marshes, the last remaining of which is Lake Massaciuccoli. Land reclamation was carried in the Middle Ages and in the late 15th – 18th centuries (Mazzanti *et al.*, 1990, 33). Drainage and the build-up of river sedimentary deposits have caused the coastline to advance (Mazzanti *et al.*, 1990, 37). The distribution of archaeological sites allows to reconstruct this process. In the IA (8th – 5th century) the coastline was about 2 km inland.

5.4.1. Sea currents

The north-western Mediterranean mean circulation is cyclonic (anticlockwise). The Tyrrhenian circulation is dominated by three cyclonic gyres and by the Middle Tyrrhenian Current (MTC) (Figure 5.11). Around Corsica there are two northward directed currents, the eastern and western Corsica Currents, the first being part of the Gulf of Lion Gyre border and the second being a segment of the MTC (Pinardi *et al.*, 2015, 321).

The regime and extension of these currents vary throughout the year. For most of the year the MTC travels along the western Italian coast from the southern Tyrrhenian to the Ligurian sea. During the summer the southern coastal current dies out in the Genoa gulf (Bossolasco and Dagnino, 1957, 126).

Depending on the period, the current travels between the Tuscany coast and Isola d'Elba or between the latter and Corsica (*Atlante delle correnti superficiali dei mari italiani*, 1982).

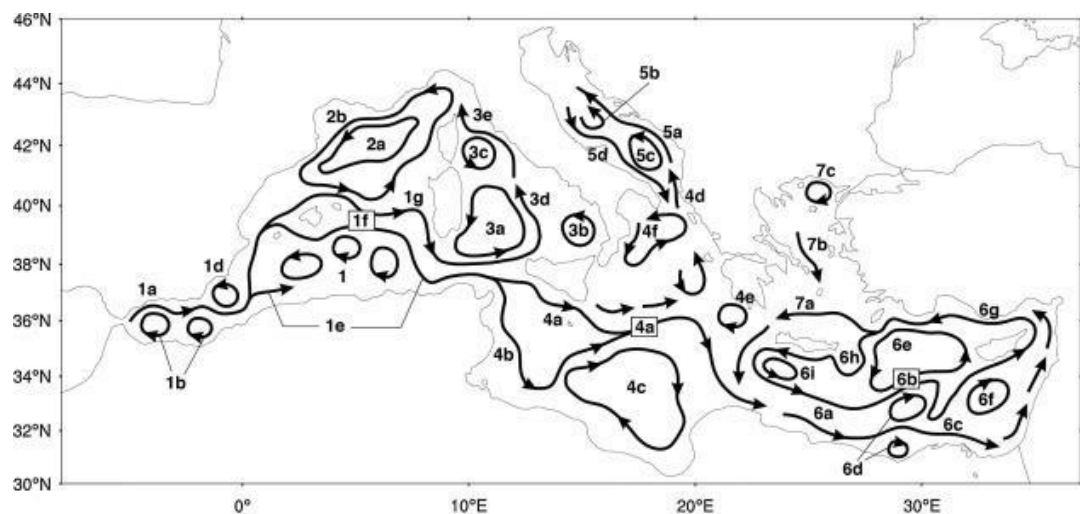


Figure 5.11 Mean surface circulation in the Mediterranean Sea. 2a: South-Western Tyrrhenian Gyre; 2b: Liguro-Provençal-Catalan Current; 3a: South-Western Tyrrhenian Gyre; 3b: South-Eastern Tyrrhenian Gyre; 3c: Northern Tyrrhenian Gyre; 3d: Middle Tyrrhenian Current (MTC) (Pinardi *et al.*, 2015, 329 fig. 12)

It is widely assumed that in antiquity navigation came almost to a standstill in winter. However, a survey of pre-Roman sources reveals that while this is true for coastal navigation, open-water routes were open for navigation in summer and winter alike (Tammuz, 2004). A ship travelling along the coast from

southern Italy to Provence in summer, could have sailed back in winter passing west of Sardinia and taking advantage of the north-western Mistral wind which is strongest and more frequent in that season.

5.5. Climate and vegetation

The study area comprises different climatic regions (Figure 5.12). The Alpine region has a mountain climate characterised by local variations (Gentile, 1982, 155–156). Skies are clearer in winter, and temperatures are generally low (*ibid.*). Rainfall is generally abundant and increases with the elevation. At higher altitudes snowfall is abundant and persistent (*ibid.*).

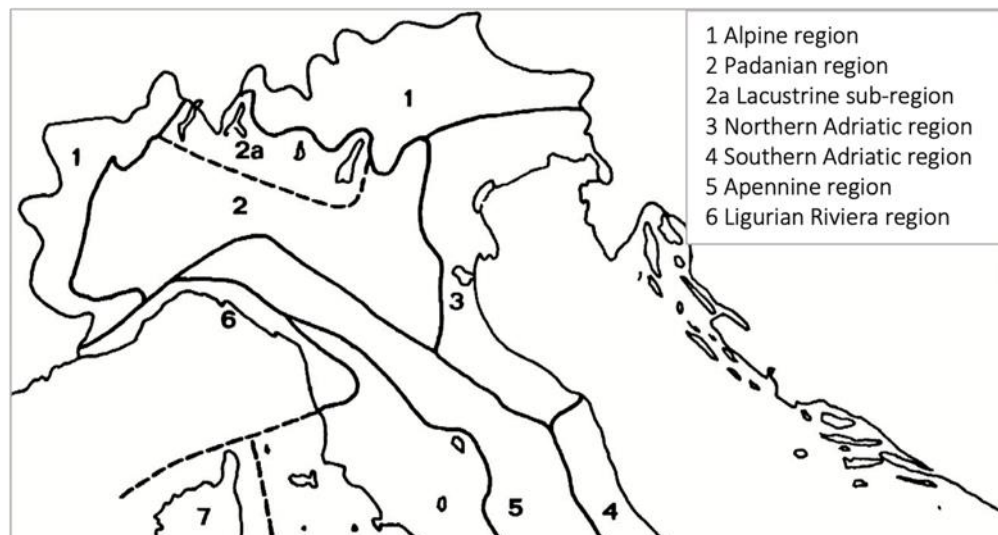


Figure 5.12 Climatic regions of northern Italy (after Gentile, 1982, 156 fig. 1)

The Apennine region has a temperate climate with a relatively low annual temperature range: winters are cold, summers are cool and humid (Fondazione Symbola, 2018, 56–58; Gentile, 1982, 156). Rainfall is more abundant on the Tyrrhenian side and increases with the altitude (*ibid.*). Snowfalls occur at the highest altitudes, where the climate is of a mountain type (*ibid.*).

The Padanian region shows typical temperate zone conditions but is considerably influenced by its geographic configuration. The presence of the Alps and of the Apennines blocks the air masses circulation causing air

stagnation in the western sector (Brancucci, 2001). The temperature range is sharply different between January and July (*ibid.*). In winter there is little wind movement and thick fog forms due to the influence of cold air. Summers are hot and humid with rare precipitations, often occurring in the form of sudden hailstorms. The most abundant precipitations occur in spring and autumn (*ibid.*).

The Ligurian Riviera region, which comprises the Alpes-Maritimes coast, is characterised by a particularly mild Mediterranean climate due to the action of the mountains which block the cold northern winds (Gentile, 1982, 157–158). Local variations are recorded due to the effect of cold winds such as the Mistral from the Gulf of Leon or the Tramontana, which can pass the mountain ridge and reach the sea (*ibid.*). The geographic configuration also effects precipitation. Low-pressure areas form in the Ligurian Sea and in the western Mediterranean (Gentile, 1982, 158). As they move eastwards, they encounter the Ligurian Apennine, where they release their humidity as rainfall. Consequently, the eastern sector is much wetter than the western one (*ibid.*).

The coast is characterised by typical Mediterranean vegetation. Inland, species vary with the altitude (Figure 5.13).

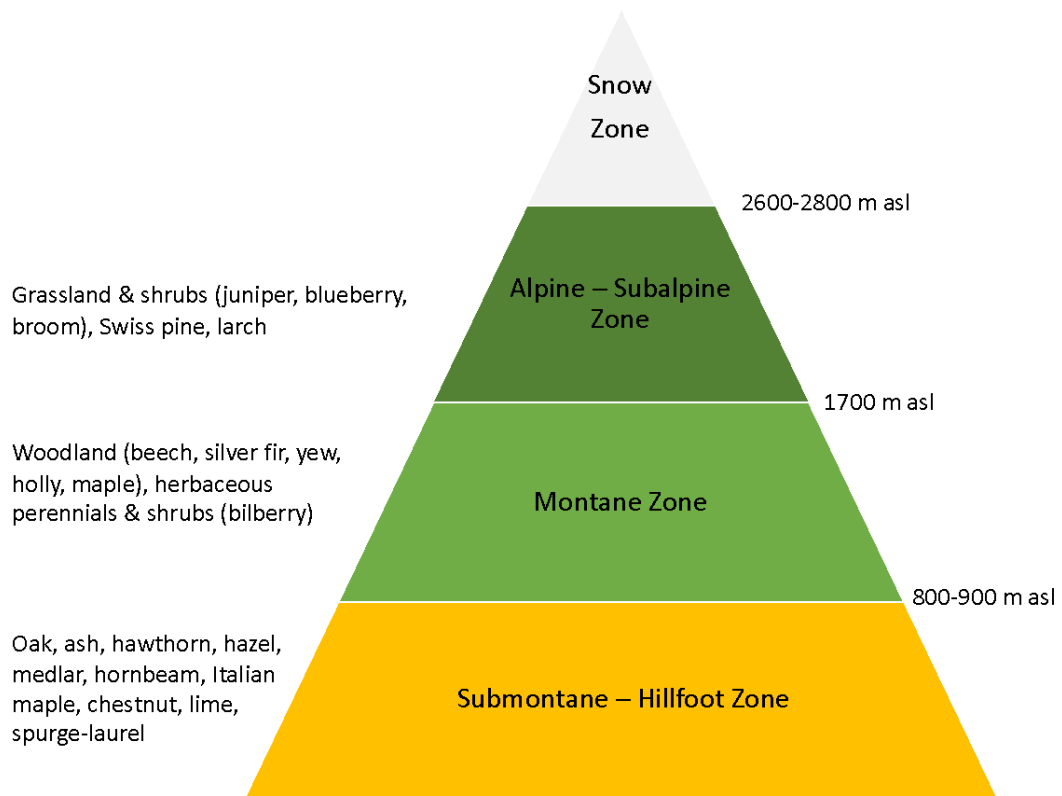


Figure 5.13 Alps and Apennines altitudinal zones with main vegetation species (after Fondazione Symbola, 2018, 72–82; Gentile, 1982; Toniolo *et al.*, 1929, 609–611)

The current landscape is considerably different from the prehistoric one. Studies of landscape archaeology show the anthropic impact on the environment. In Liguria landscape “domestication” (Maggi, 2004, 37–38) started in the Neolithic, when the need to clear land from trees to make space for grazing emerged with the development of transhumance. The slash-and-burn technique is attested in prehistory and continued to be practised up to the modern times, with the consequent reduction of woodland species in favour of pastures and beechwood (*ibid*; Cremaschi *et al.*, 1992).

In the Po plain dramatic transformations occurred following the Roman conquest. Land reclamation and deforestation to allow centuriation and the creation of settlements changed the aspect of the plain, previously covered by woodland with oaks, limes and elms (Bracco and Marchiori, 2001, 18). In Liguria the Romans introduced chestnut trees, which nowadays cover most hills and low mountains (Sereni, 1997, 69–70).

5.6. Conclusions

The landscape of the study area is a complex mosaic of contrasting features. Much of the terrain is fairly steep, although flatter areas exist. Communication by land is often difficult and much affected by the morphology, which dictates the use of specific routes/passes. The sea offers a valid alternative, especially for long distance transport. Rivers can also be used, but not all of them are suitable for they flow in narrow gorges and have a torrential regime. Important mineral resources are present, some of which were exploited in prehistory.

Chapter 6. The Final Bronze Age

This chapter examines the FBA evidence in the study area. It opens with a brief discussion of the situation of north-western Italy in the MBA and RBA which is functional to the understanding of the phase subject of this chapter.

The analysis of the FBA starts with some information on the quantity and distribution of data. Then the funerary evidence is discussed. This is followed by an analysis of settlement pattern and characteristics, and by some considerations on pottery and metal productions. The chapter ends with a look at the boundaries of the area where all these aspects are found.

In this and subsequent chapters, I generally follow the Italian chronology (for the abbreviations see Appendix 1), where I refer to the French chronology, the abbreviations are written in *Italics* (see Figure 3.1 for correlations with Italian chronologies). All dates are to be considered BC unless otherwise stated.

6.1. The antecedent: MBA and RBA

The MBA is identified as the moment when the north-west of Italy starts to differentiate itself from the rest of the peninsula (Gambari and Venturino Gambari, 2004b). From this moment north-western Italy shows strong ties with the transalpine territories, particularly the Rhone and Rhine valleys, which are seen in the diffusion of exotic artefacts and influences (*ibid.*).

This process started with the Viverone culture, which occupied the entire north-west of Italy with appendices in Provence and southern Switzerland (Figure 6.1.1) and continued with the Scamozzina culture (Figure 6.1.2) (Gambari, 1998a, 74–75). In the RBA despite the existence of some common features, a division between the Canegrate culture and the Alba-Solero culture, respectively north and south of the river Po, emerged (Figure 6.1.3), which seems to anticipate the distinction between the (Proto)Golasecca and (Proto)Ligurian cultures that will characterise the FBA and IA.

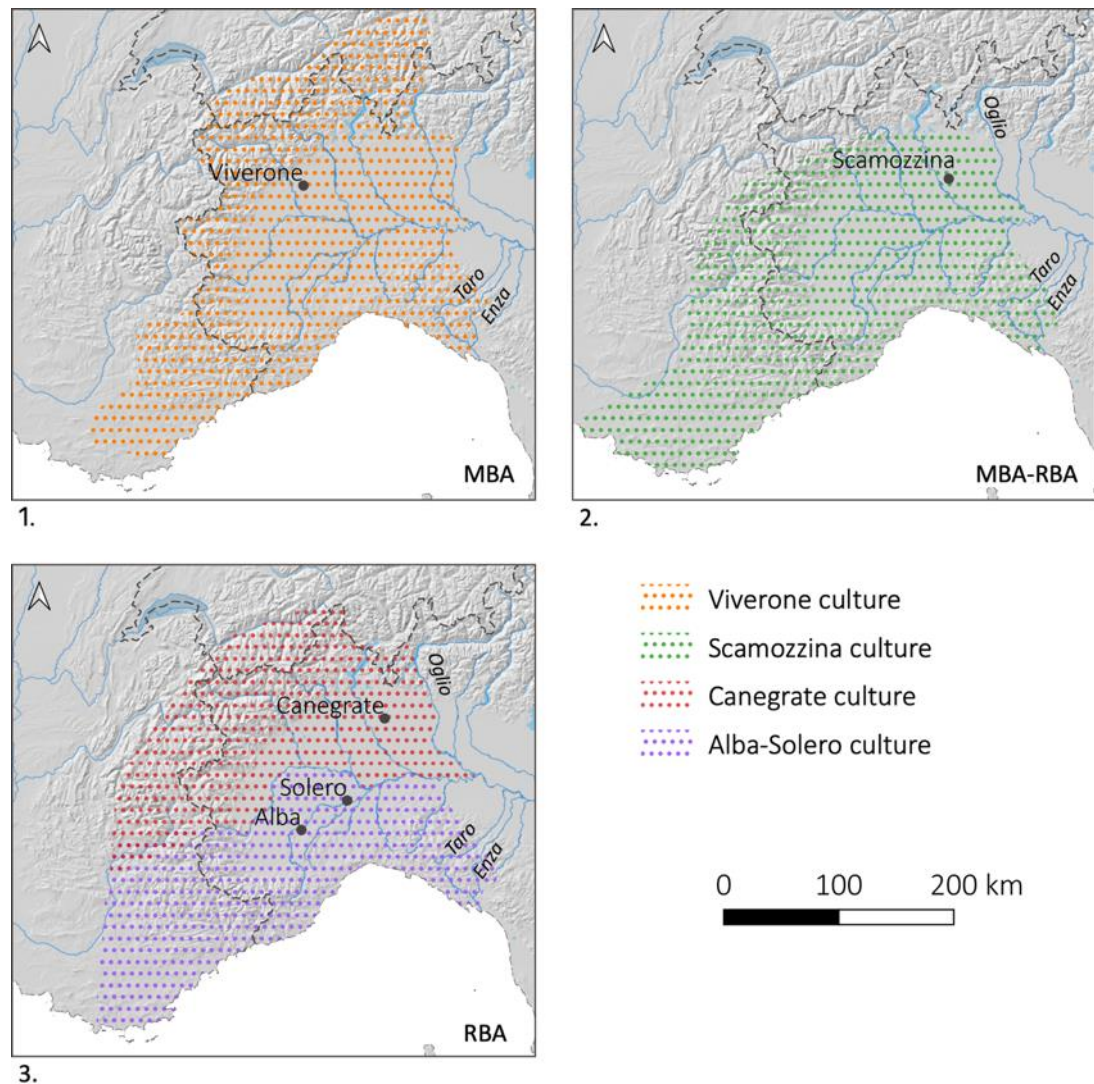


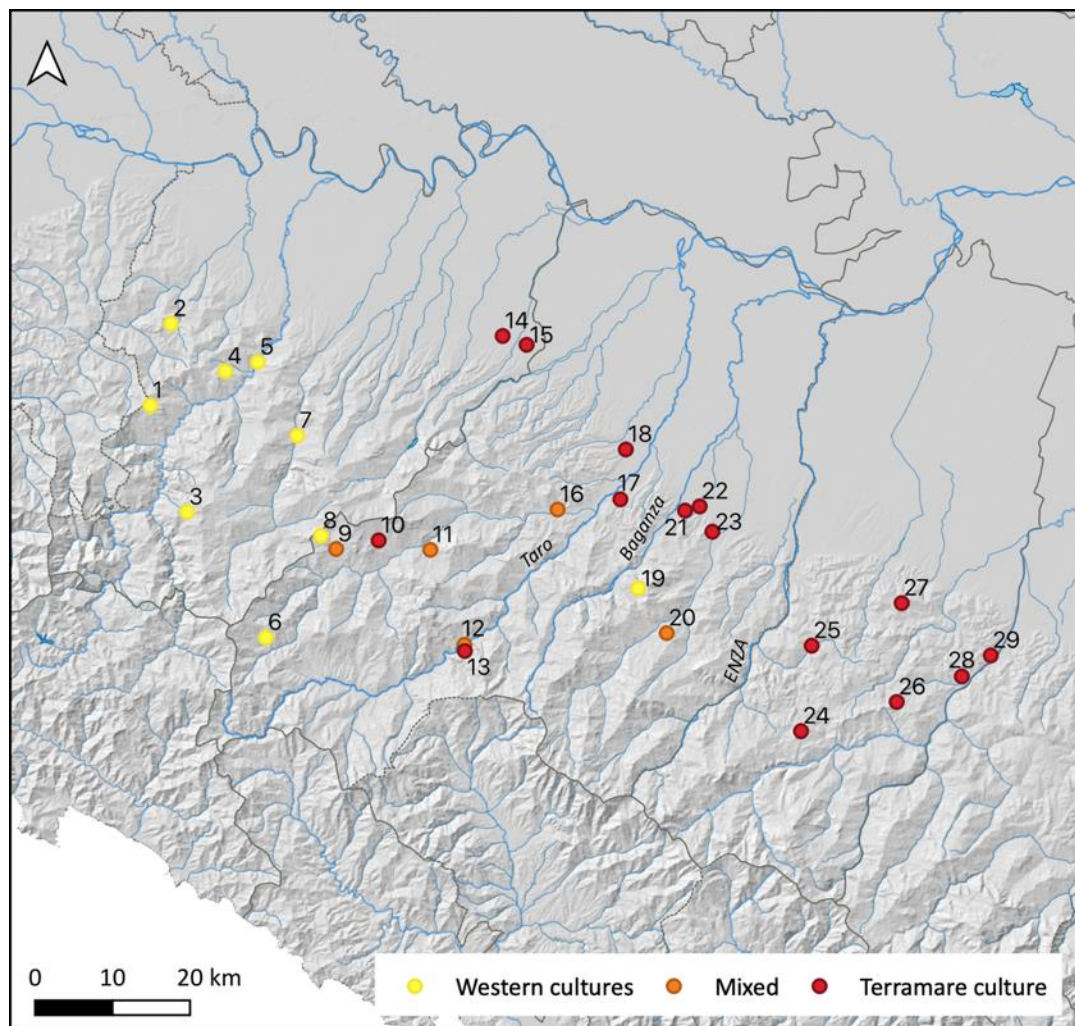
Figure 6.1 MBA and RBA north-western cultures (after Gambari, 1998a; Gambari and Venturino Gambari, 2004b; Garcia and Vital, 2006; Rubat Borel, 2010); their territorial extension is not precisely defined, particularly to the west

The name 'Viverone culture' has substituted the rather vague '*facies nordoccidentale*', which was previously used to indicate the archaeological evidence of north-western Italy which did not belong to the *terramare* culture (Rubat Borel, 2010, 31). However, despite the claims of more precision (see Rubat Borel, 2010), the Viverone culture appears ill-defined. Its identification remains based on the presence of pottery and metal types different from those of the *terramare* culture and strongly influenced by transalpine models and its territorial extension is vaguely defined and likely to be updated.

The situation is clearer for the Scamozzina culture, which marks the spread in north-western Italy of the Urnfields cremation rite. The Scamozzina,

Canegrate and Alba-Solero cultures are better defined both archaeologically and territorially (although it is still unclear how far they stretched to the west). In the Po plain the border between these cultures and the *terramare* culture has long been identified in the river Oglio (De Marinis, 1979, 51). A more blurred border can be identified in the Apennines stretching diagonally from the upper Enza valley, through the middle Baganza and Taro valleys to reach the plain west of Piacenza (Bernabò Brea, 2004) (Figure 6.2).

Sites east of the Enza river show the typical *terramare* features. In the Parma province a distinction can be made between the sites of the plain and of the lower Apennines, belonging to the *terramare* culture, and the sites located at higher altitudes which show mixed features. In the Piacenza province sites located on the Apennines show strong analogies with those of north-western Italy, while the plain hosts the westernmost *terramare* settlements. Such boundaries changed through time. In the MBA the *terramare* artefacts are more widespread, while in the RBA western elements prevail. This is visible at Groppo Pedrellara (Figure 6.2, n. 11), where the percentage of *terramare* artefacts decreases in the last occupation phase (Catarsi Dall'Aglio, 1988).



1. Groppo (Bobbio, PC); 2. San Martino (Pianello Val Tidone, PC); 3. Costa del Castagno (Marsaglio, PC); 4. Pietra Perducca (Travo, PC); 5. Travo (PC); 6. Drusco (Bedonia, PR); 7. Bettola (PC); 8. Case Taverna (Bardi, PR); 9. Rocca (Bardi, PR); 10. Case Berlini (Bardi, PR); 11. Groppo Predellara (Bardi, PR); 12. Roccamurata (Borgo Val di Taro, PR); 13. Gorro (Borgotaro, PR); 14. Montata dell'Orto (Alseno, PC); 15. Castelnuovo Fogliani (Alseno, PC); 16. Groppo Rizzone Rizzone (Varano Melegari, PR); 17. Vizzola (Valmozzola, PR); 18. Medesano (PR); 19. Fragno (Calestano, PR); 20. Feminatiche (Tizzano Val Parma, PR); 21. Felino (PR); 22. Monte Leoni (Felino, PR); 23. Torrechiara (Langhirano, PR); 24. Campo Pianelli (Castelnuovo ne' Monti, RE); 25. Monte Venera (Castelnuovo ne' Monti, RE); 26. San Michele di Valestra (Carpineti, RE); 27. Ca' Bertacchi (Viano, RE); 28. Roteglia (Castellarano, RE); 29. Castellarano (RE)

Figure 6.2 MBA and RBA settlements in the western Apennines (after Ghiretti, 2003; Bernabò Brea, 1997, 2004)

Strong connections between Provence and north-western Italy can be detected throughout the Bronze Age. The analysis of artefacts and funerary practices shows similarities from the early BA to the beginning of the late BA (Vital, 1998, 1999; Lachenal, 2008). In these phases, rather than boundaries, the Alps appear as a shared space and there is evidence for the use of transalpine routes (Lachenal, 2008). Such a cultural cohesion ceased in the *BF 2b* (Lachenal, 2008,

89). Around 1200 BC transalpine contacts with north-western Italy decreased dramatically, with only a few products circulating across the Alps. Conversely, communication along the Rhone acquired growing importance as indicated by the strong links between the pottery of Provence and the *Rhine-Suisse-France orientale* group (*ibid.*). The reasons for this change are yet to be identified, however Lachenal (2008, 89) believes that they are linked to the Po plain crisis and the abandonment of the *terramare* settlements.

6.2. Overview

The FBA is attested by a total of 75 sites. They are mainly settlements (52, including 7 cave-dwellings), while only 8 are funerary sites. The picture is completed by the findspots of hoards (8) and stray finds (7). There is a good distribution of sites in proximity of the coast, while in the inland sites are mostly located along rivers and at the mouth of valleys (Figure 6.3).

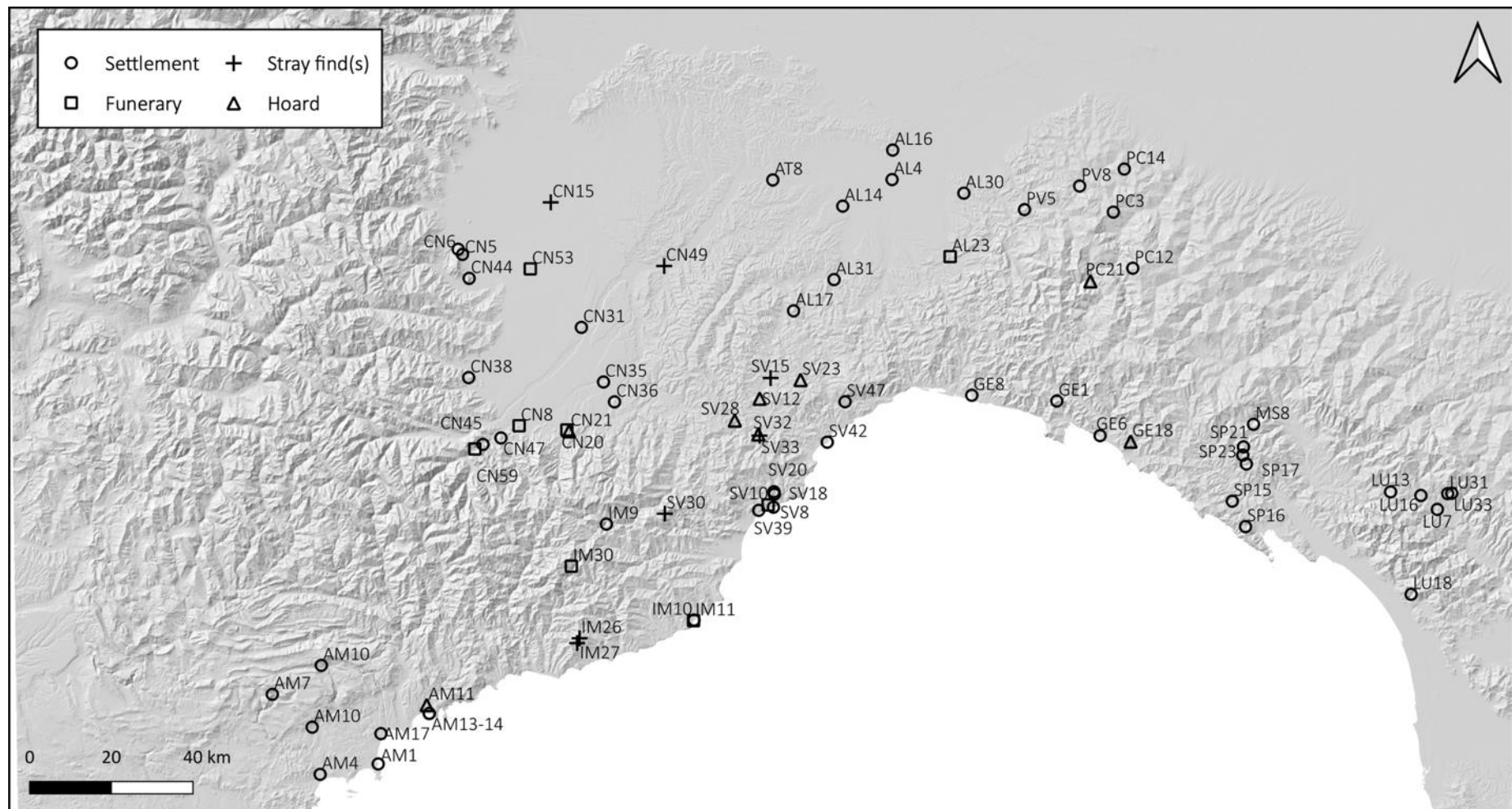


Figure 6.3 FBA sites

The concentration of sites at the feet of the Italian Alps is not mirrored on the French side. The few known sites mainly concentrate along the coast. The scarcity of evidence in the French side probably derives from the state of the research and dating issues. In Provence the *BF* chronology is ill-defined and many sites previously assigned to the *BF*₃ are now believed to be older, while *BF*_{3a} and *BF*_{3b} cannot currently be distinguished in the eastern area (Vital, 1999; Lachenal, 2011a). There are currently no known sites that can be assigned to the *BF* 2*b*, while doubts have been raised about the actual existence of the *BF* 2*a* phase in Provence (Lachenal, 2011b, 163).

6.3. Cemeteries and graves

Four cemeteries, one isolated grave and two funerary caves illustrate funerary practices. Eastern Provence does not offer any funerary evidence that can be assigned to this phase, leaving a gap after the Youri cemetery at Nice, which shows typical Scamozzina features (Mercurin, 2013a, 93–94).

I dubitatively include among the funerary evidence one urn found with no human remains inside a stone cist north of Libarna (AL23). The urn can be assigned either to the FBA or to the MIA-LIA based on typological parallels. Graves with no human remains are not uncommon in Piedmont in late prehistory. Examples have been found in the RBA at Valdieri (CN59), in the FBA at Morano Po (AL) and in the IA in the Golasecca cemetery at Castelletto Ticino (NO) (Cerri and Squarzanti, 2011; Venturino Gambari, 2006, 20). They are generally interpreted as cenotaphs for people whose bodies could not be interred in the usual way (*ibid.*). A recent study by Cooper and colleagues (2020) on body-less objects deposit in later prehistoric Britain has highlighted the importance of such deposits at funerary sites and their recurrent and non-casual association with the cremation rite. This has led them to question whether human remains were actually a necessary element of funerary deposits for prehistoric people and to suggest that past practices were more complex than our modern depositional categories reveal.

The use of caves for funerary purposes is attested at Buco del Diavolo (IM30). The use for burial of Grotta Armorari (SV10) cannot be confirmed as it has been suggested solely based on the characteristics of a few potsherds (Odetti, 1996, 69). The use of caves for burials is attested in Liguria from the Neolithic and throughout the BA and continued to be sporadically practised up until the twentieth century (Ricci, 1998). Funerary caves are also widely attested in southern France throughout prehistory, although their use diminishes from the *BM* when other solutions are preferred (dolmens, tumuli, burials in pits) (Lachenal *et al.*, 2017, 470–473).

Cremation is virtually exclusive. Inhumation is only attested at Buco del Diavolo (IM30) and, possibly, Chiavari (GE6), where a deformed skull and long bones were found next to an EIA cist grave (Lamboglia, 1960, 124–125). Radiocarbon analysis carried out on the skull indicates a RBA or FBA date⁴, i.e. earlier than the construction of the cemetery (Campana and Maggi, 2014).

In Piedmont the first cremations appeared alongside inhumations at the beginning of the MBA (c. 1660–1500 BC) (Gambari 2004, 17, n. 33). Cremation became the main rite from between the MBA and RBA (Gambari, 2004, 17; Venturino Gambari and Gambari, 2011, 187), even though inhumation continued to be sporadically practised (Venturino Gambari, 2006, 14). In Liguria the first cremations appeared in the RBA (Del Lucchese, 1998a, 36) and from the FBA inhumations virtually disappeared. The only exceptions are very few cases of bodies buried inside caves. In southern France traces of cremated bones are attested in inhumation cemeteries/graves in the *BM*, but their meaning is unknown (disposal of the body? cleaning/purifying the area? results of post-depositional effects?) (Lachenal *et al.*, 2017, 473). Proper cremation graves appear at the beginning of the *BF* and consist of burials in urns, or more rarely in simple pits, generally without accompanying goods

⁴ AMS: Beta 118955: 3060 ± 50 BP cal BC 1440–1130 (95.4% confidence interval). Calibrated with OxCal 4.4 (<https://c14.arch.ox.ac.uk/oxcal.html>) using the IntCal20 curve (Bronk Ramsey, 2009; Reimer *et al.*, 2020).

(*ibid.*). They are attested in the Provençal area and in the Prealps likely because of the influence of the Italian funerary practices (*ibid.*).

6.3.1. Graves structures and goods

The structure of the graves is generally simple; barrows and enclosures are seldom attested. A small earth mound containing pyre debris and potsherds is attested at Valdieri (CN59). Enclosures were possibly present at Castello Mirabello (CN20) as a circular dry-stone wall is mentioned in the account of the discovery.

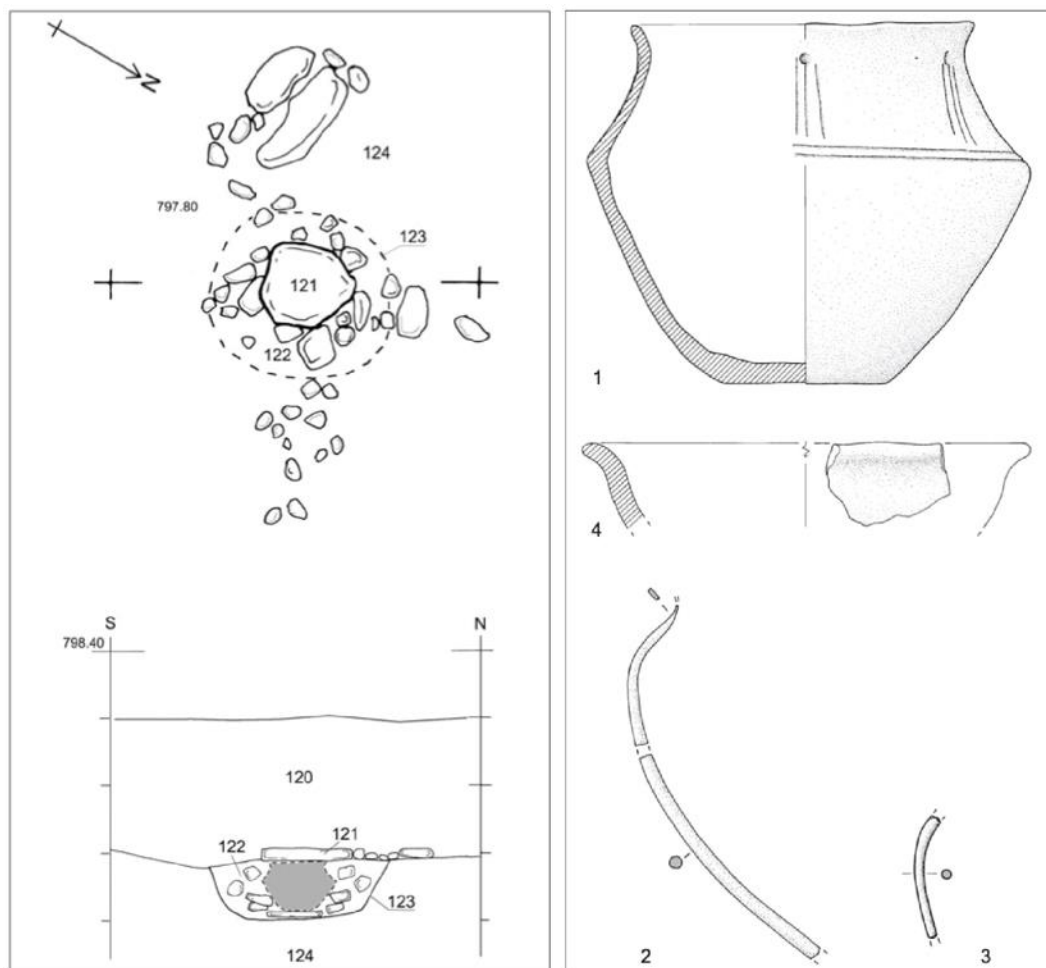


Figure 6.4 Plan (top left), section (bottom left) and contents (right) of grave 1/93 at Valdieri (CN59) (Giaretti et al., 2008, 93–94, figs. 52–53)

Graves are characterised by the presence of stone slabs and/or cobbles, which are often placed along the sides of the pit to protect the urn and delimit the grave space. Only occasionally do the slabs form a quadrangular cist. More

rarely the urn is buried in a simple pit. Urns are generally sealed by a slab, more rarely by an upside-down bowl. At Valdieri (CN59) urns were buried between two horizontal slabs (Figure 6.4). In Piedmont the practice of sealing the urn with a slab is attested already at the end of the MBA at Alba (CN) (Venturino Gambari *et al.*, 1995, 96). In the RBA urns closed by a slab are attested in Liguria at Zeri (SP) and in Piedmont at Valdieri (CN59) (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 167, III.7).

There are no examples of multiple urns buried in the same graves. Traces of rites involving foodstuff are attested at Castello Mirabello (CN20), where two urns contained animal remains: bovine bones likely to have been burnt on the pyre and a freshwater mollusc (Bedini, 2009).

The cinerary urns are always biconical and closely recall Protogolasecca ones. Similar biconical pots are also found in settlements, which indicates that there is no formal distinction between domestic and funerary pottery. Older urns are shallow and have an angular profile; the decoration is incised immediately above the carination. Parallels can be found in the Ascona cemetery (Switzerland) (Crivelli, 1954). More recent urns are taller and often have a rounded shoulder. When present, the decoration is under the rim and/or at the point of maximum diameter of the pot and consists of simple incised motifs (horizontal lines, zigzags) sometimes associated with wave-shaped shallow grooves (Figure 6.5.1). The urns of Malpensa (MI), Ca' Morta (CO), and Morano Po (AL) are the main comparison (Gambari, 2006; Mira Bonomi, 1976; Rittatore Vonwiller, 1969).

Additional pottery is very rarely present. The Diano Marina (IM11) and Castello Mirabello (CN20) graves contained an accessory beaker. The Valdieri (CN59) graves contained fragments of intentionally broken pots. Deliberate fragmentation has been discussed as methods of enchainment and presencing absent identities (Chapman, 2000). Fragments of vessels can be used to create and materialise enchainment relations between the domain of the dead and that of the living (Chapman, 2010, 2000). At Valdieri (CN59) only a part of the broken vessel was buried in the grave, which means that the missing

fragment(s) remained in circulation in the domain of the living or were deposited elsewhere.

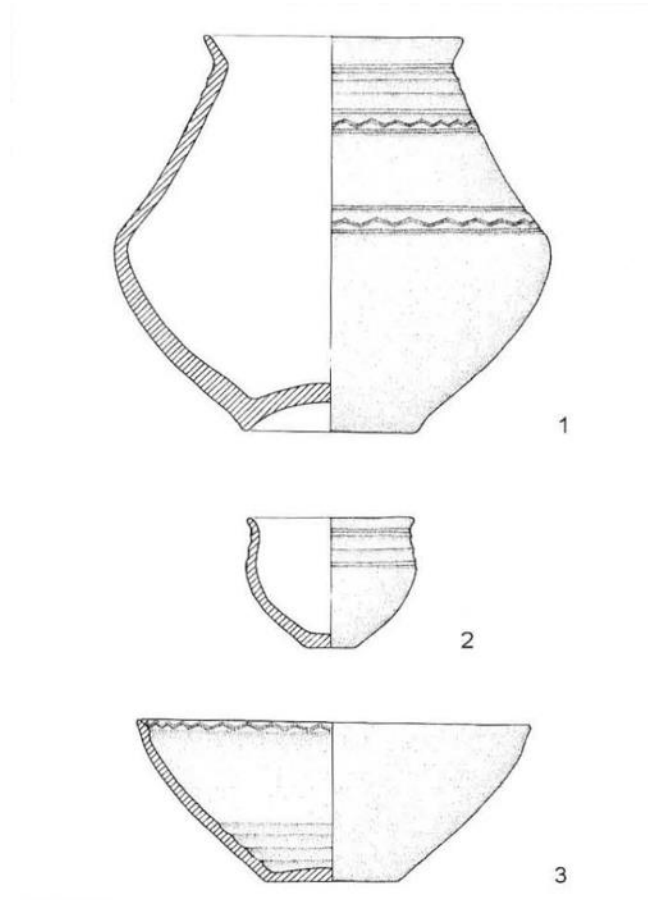


Figure 6.5 Urn, accessory beaker and bowl-lid from Castello Mirabello (CN20) (Rubat Borel, 2009a, 15, fig. 5)

Metal items are also rare. One grave at Fornace (CN8) contained a violin-bow brooch damaged by exposure to high heat, probably from the pyre. At Valdieri (CN59) one grave contained fragments of two bronze torcs and another a small bronze ring. At Buco del Diavolo (IM30) eight type Zerba armrings, one twisted torc and two bronze rings were found. Excluding the Valdieri cemetery (CN59) and the Buco del Diavolo cave (IM30) none of the sites here discussed was systematically investigated, therefore the lack of grave goods could derive from the nature of the discoveries, mostly old and made by chance. On the other hand, the different type of rite and burial could explain the unusual presence of metal artefacts at Buco del Diavolo (IM30) and indicate that cave burial was reserved to specific people in the community.

In prehistoric Italy gender identification of cremation graves is commonly based on the presence of specific items, above all weapons for men and weaving/spinning tools for women. Further associations have allowed the list of 'gender markers' to be expanded and include simple-arch brooches among the female items, while pins and serpentine-bow brooches are interpreted as male objects (de Marinis, 2000, 124). Although the flaws of using objects as a proxy for gender identification have been revealed on various occasions (the case of the Viking woman buried with a complete set of weapons is among the most striking; Hedenstierna-Jonson *et al.*, 2017), this approach, which is largely based on conservative gender stereotypes, has never been challenged in Italy. A lack of debate on gender theories and the missing development of gender archaeology in Italian scholarship play a big part in this (the observations in Whitehouse, 1998 are still valid more than twenty years later; for an overview on the Italian case see Cuozzo and Guidi, 2013, 38–62). To this we should add the scarcity of osteological analysis and the influence of written and iconographic sources, often depicting women as textile makers and men as warriors.

If we accept material-based gender identification for the graves of Liguria we notice no distinction in the composition of the assemblages. Weapons and spindle-whorls are not attested, and assemblages are poor in terms of quantity and variety of items. This contrasts with the situation in the Protogolasecca area, where although standardised grave assemblages include a higher number of items (mainly brooches, but also armrings, pendants, pins, buttons, beads) and occasionally spindle-whorls and spearheads (De Marinis, 1972; Venturino Gambari, 2006).

6.4. Settlements

I include in this category both sites with traces of dwellings and/or productive structures (postholes, silos, rubbish pits, kilns etc.) and sites where archaeological material was found but no defined settlement structures. To

analyse the settlement distribution, I have distinguished slope bands: plain (slope < 15%), hill (slope between 15% and 30%) and mountain (slope > 30%). Most FBA settlements (40%) are located on mountains, followed by plain (37%) and hill settlements (23%) (Figure 6.6). Settlements are mainly found in proximity to the coast, in the upper plain and at the mouth of Alpine valleys. Overall, the Apennines do not seem densely populated, although a sites concentration can be seen in the upper Serchio valley.

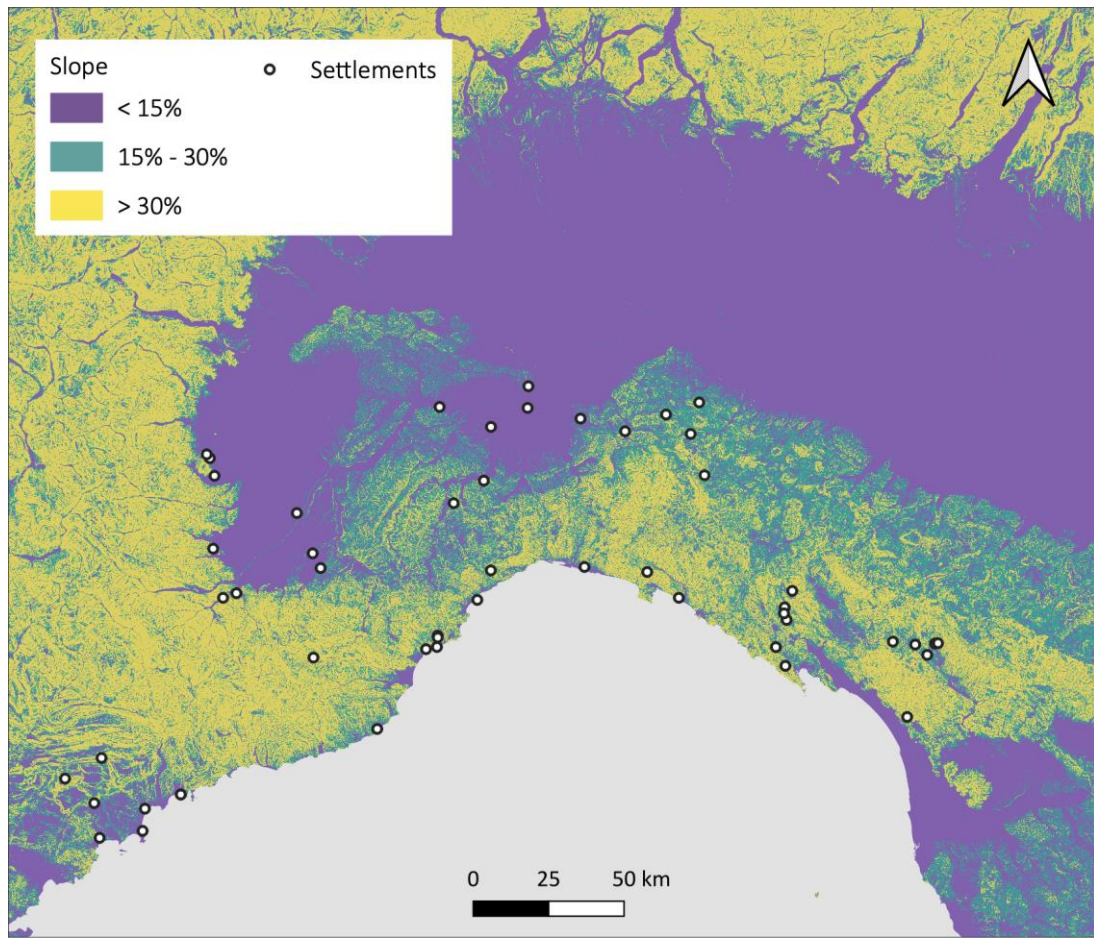
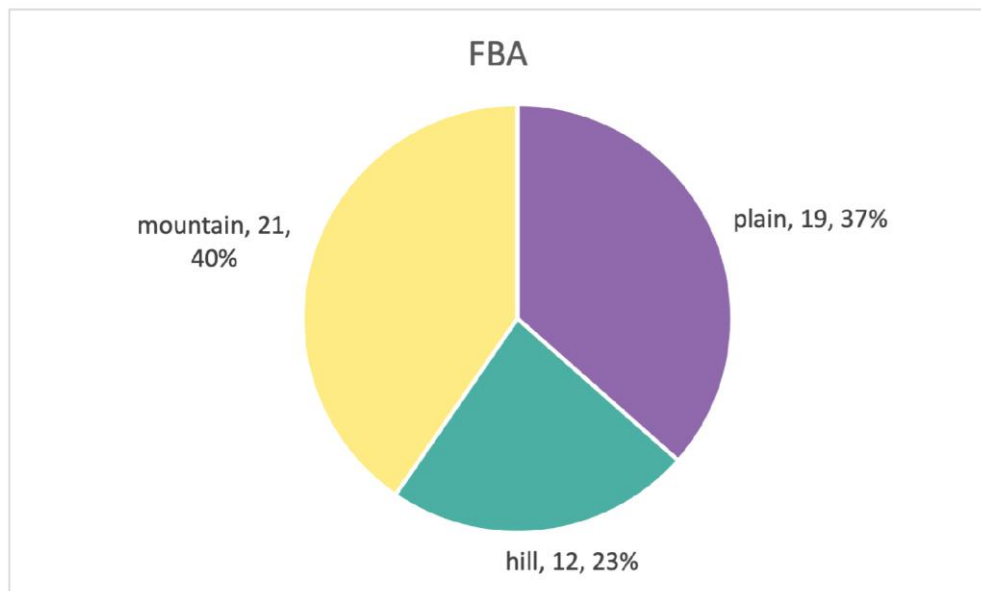


Figure 6.6 FBA settlements by slope band

Besides slope, I have considered the settlement position with regards to the physical features in the landscape. Most settlements are in a raised spot: hilltops are preferred in 40% of the cases, followed by hillsides (20%), to which

we can add sites on ridges (12%) and plateaus (7%) (Figure 6.7). Therefore, we notice a preference for positions that are naturally defended and allow a good control of the surrounding area and of communication routes (Figure 6.8).

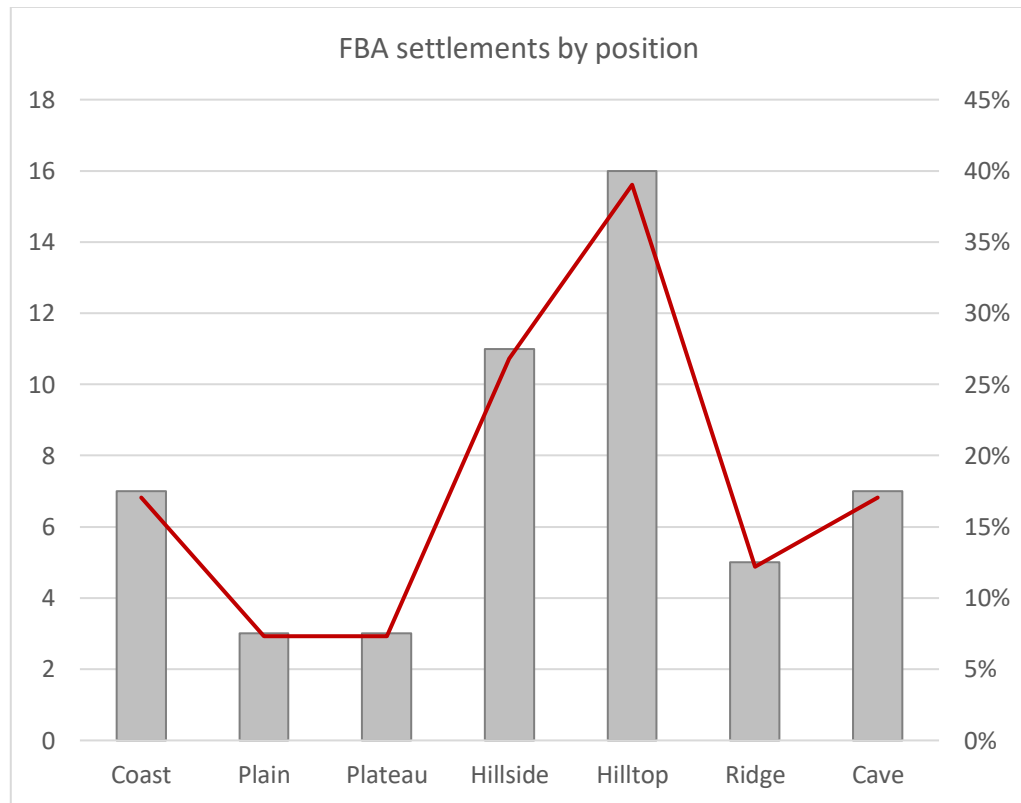


Figure 6.7 Distribution of FBA settlements according to their position

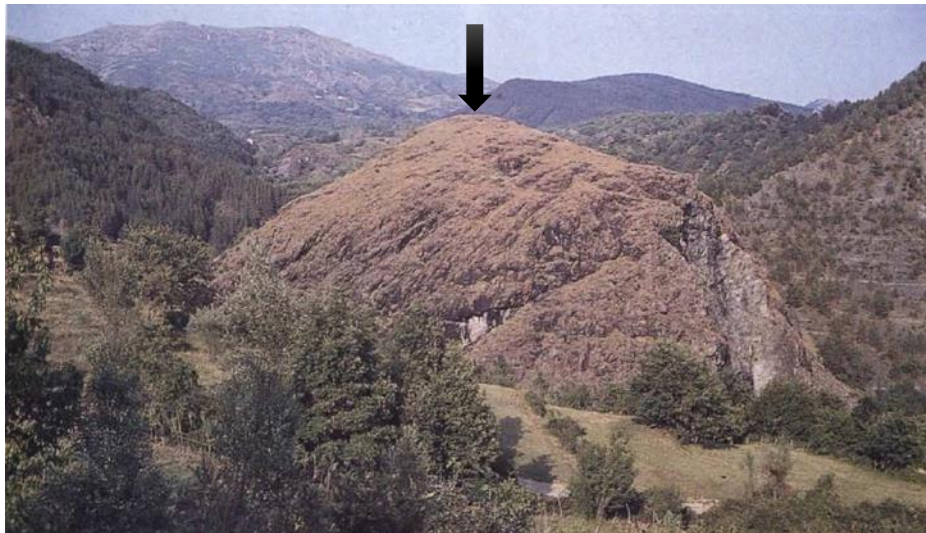


Figure 6.8 Location of Case Castellaro (SP21), Vezzola (SP23) and Capriola (LU7) (after Giannichedda, 1998a, 156, fig. 1, 1998b, 158, fig. 1; Ciampoltrini et al., 2015, 22, fig. 2)

Seven settlements are located on the coast: Priamar (SV42), Diano Marina (IM10), Chiavari (GE6), Le Rocher at Antibes (AM1), Saint-Cassien (AM4), the Notre-Dame at Nice (AM15) and Saint-Andrieu (AM23) (Figure 6.9). At Chiavari (GE6) the deposit found beneath the EIA cemetery indicates that the area, which today is about 1 km from the coastline, was originally a beach. The presence of large pottery containers suggests that the area was used for beaching vessels serving a settlement probably located in the vicinity.



Figure 6.9 The Colline du Château at Nice (Mercurin, 2013a, 40)

A cave dwelling is attested at Grotta Cornarea (IM9), where the limited nature of the archaeological deposits suggests that the cave was sporadically occupied or used for a short period of time. Conversely, the Alpicella rock shelter (SV47) was occupied from the Neolithic to the FBA. Grotta del Sanguineto (SV18) was also intermittently occupied from the Neolithic. The Colline du Château cave (AM14) was used for burial at the beginning of the *BF* and later as a dwelling. This later occupation is contemporary to the traces found at the top of the hill in the Cathedral area (AM15). Stone moulds for weapons (a spearhead and perhaps a sword) were found in the Baumon de Briasq cave (AM7), which may have hosted a metallurgical atelier. Indeed, the use of caves and rock-shelters

for smelting activities is attested in the Italian eastern Alps in the Copper Age and probably had a ritual connotation (Pearce, 2020a). It is impossible to determine the nature of the cave occupation when only a few artefacts were found, like at Arma di Gallusso (SV8) (a potsherd and a metal object, possibly a belt fitting) and at Grotta del Bandito (CN45) (potsherds).

Just over half of FBA settlements were newly established in areas with no evidence of previous occupation (Figure 6.10). 38% of the settlements were established in the RBA and continued to be occupied in the FBA without interruption. In four cases sites that had been previously inhabited were reoccupied in the FBA after an interruption (8%).

Overall, slope and location do not seem to have been determining in the survival of sites, which must have depended on other factors, such as the importance of maritime trade in the case of coastal settlements.

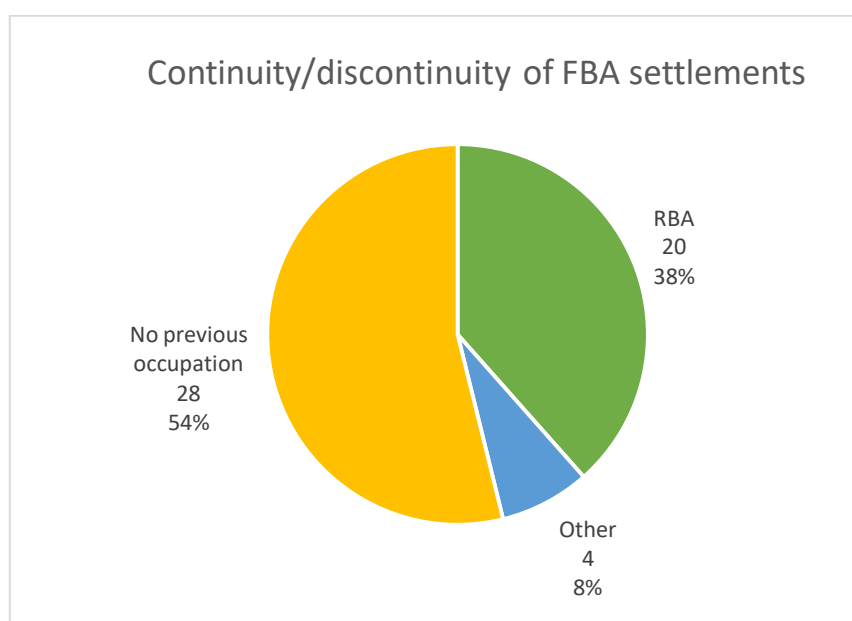


Figure 6.10 FBA new and previously established settlements

6.4.1. Organisation and dwellings

Sites located in steep areas are generally built on artificial terraces. Artificial terracing of mountain/hillsides is attested in Liguria, Piedmont and on the Apennines from the MBA-RBA till the modern age (Maggi, 2004, 41). Terraces

were constructed to provide flat areas for both farming and dwellings in mountain areas. Terraces are generally obtained by constructing low retaining dry-stone walls with blocks of local stone packed with slabs/cobbles across the slope (see Mannoni and Tizzoni, 1980; Fossati *et al.*, 1985; Baratti, 2003, 201). The space delimited by these retaining walls is then backfilled and levelled to obtain a flat surface. The size of the walls often meant that they were initially misinterpreted as having a military function (Maggi and Nisbet, 1991, 265). However, this idea has been dismissed in favour of an interpretation that links their role to pastoral activities (*ibid.*) and it is now believed that the only fortified BA site in Liguria is Bric Reseghe (Maggi, 2004, 41).

Because their characteristics essentially did not change through the centuries (Figure 6.11), it is often hard to determine exactly when the terraces were constructed. Because of the steep terrain, colluvial deposits and reverse stratigraphies are often observed (about this see Mannoni, 1971). Consequently, artefacts found on the ground surface provide limited information and without accurate stratigraphic excavations it is impossible to date the structures.



Figure 6.11 FBA terracing at Monte Borgo (GE1) (left) and modern construction of terraces in Liguria (right) (after Maggi, 1998, 126, fig. 2; Parco Nazionale delle Cinque Terre, 2021)

Traces of terracing have been recorded at Sant'Antonino Perti (SV20), Renzano (LU13), Case Castellaro (SP21) and Veppo (SP18). However, it is unclear whether the terracing was constructed during the FBA or earlier. We do not know when the terraces at Castel Genarin (MS8) were built as the site has both prehistoric and medieval traces, while at Pignone (SP15) the presence of modern dry-stone walls on the side of the hill cast doubts on the antiquity of the similar structures found around the peak. At Guardamonte (PV5) terracing works were carried out during the RBA and their occupation continued during the FBA, even though no structures can be clearly assigned to this phase.

Sites where the construction of terraces can be confidently dated to the FBA are Vezzola (SP23), Cima Varengo (CN38) and Monte Borgo (GE1). At Monte Borgo (GE1) three terraces were built, which were used for different purposes: the top terrace was used for agriculture, while the middle and lower ones had a domestic function.

Traces of huts are rare and do not allow dwelling characteristics to be defined. At Vezzola (SP23), the various post-holes could not be assigned to a specific phase and it is impossible to determine the exact number and shape of the huts. The presence of huts at Bec Berciassa (CN47) is unsure despite the mention of a "*fondo di capanna*" (Rittatore, 1952b, 49) with charcoal, bones and potsherds. Aside from the problems related to the interpretation of the so-called '*fondi di capanna*' or pit-dwellings (for a critical review of the use of this term regarding the Neolithic evidence see Pearce, 2008), the small test-pit did not reach the edge of the feature making it impossible to confirm its interpretation or to provide details on its shape, size or structural details. The same goes for the insubstantial remains of a curvilinear dry-stone wall damaged by ploughing at Spinetta Marengo (AL4).

6.5. Material culture

In most cases the evidence for a settlement consists of anthropogenic deposits, containing pottery, bronze artefacts, stone implements or weaving tools, while animal bones are extremely rare since the acidity of the ground generally impedes their survival (Maggi and Nisbet, 1991, 282). Below I provide a quick overview of the characteristics of pottery and metalwork in the study area.

6.5.1. Pottery

Domestic pottery includes large coarse ware containers for storing and cooking food and tableware (bowls, cups, beakers) with a finer fabric. Both the shapes and decorations of the coarse ware appear limited and repetitive. Large containers are often decorated with applied cordons, either smooth or with nail/finger impressions; sometimes there is a single line of impressions (notches, dots, finger marks) on the body or on the rim of the pot (Baratti, 2003, pl. 12; Maggi and Vignolo, 1990, figs. 141, 89; Scarani and Mannoni, 1974, fig. 1) (Figure 6.12). Triangular impressions made with a pointed tools are attested in Piedmont (Traversone, 2001, 126, 104.6; Venturino Gambari *et al.*, 1996c, pl. XCII.3), but do not seem to be found in Liguria.

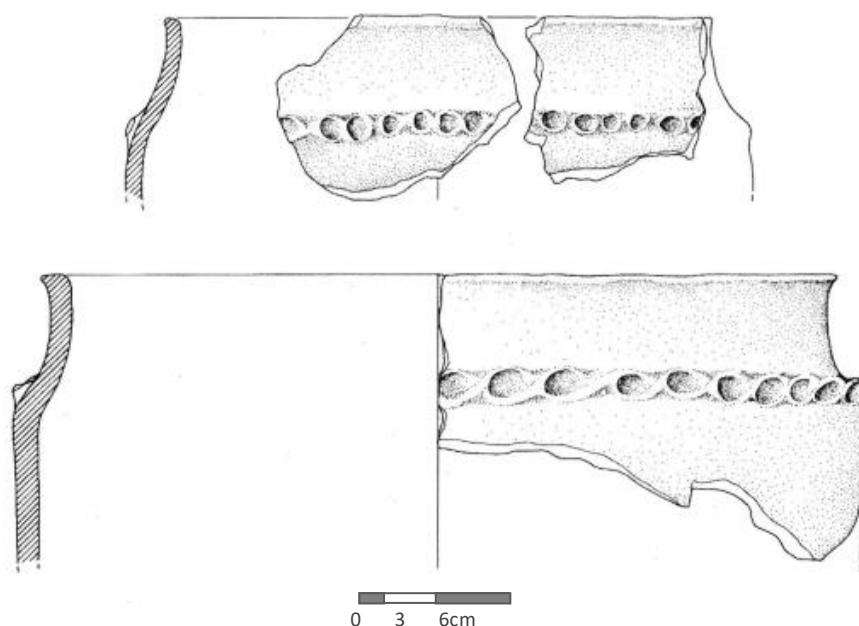


Figure 6.12 Bucket-shaped containers from Breolungi (CN35) (after Venturino Gambari *et al.*, 2002, pl. XLVII fig. 4-5)

The decoration of tableware shows more variability (Figure 6.13). As well as horizontal lines and notches, bowls and small jars are decorated by incised geometrical motifs (zigzags, chevrons, filled/simple triangles), sometimes made with a comb (Maggi and Vignolo, 1990, 152, fig. 99.287-293; Venturino Gambari *et al.*, 2015, 50, fig. 12). These decorations are found in many combinations and generally form a single band along the maximum diameter of the vase or under its rim.

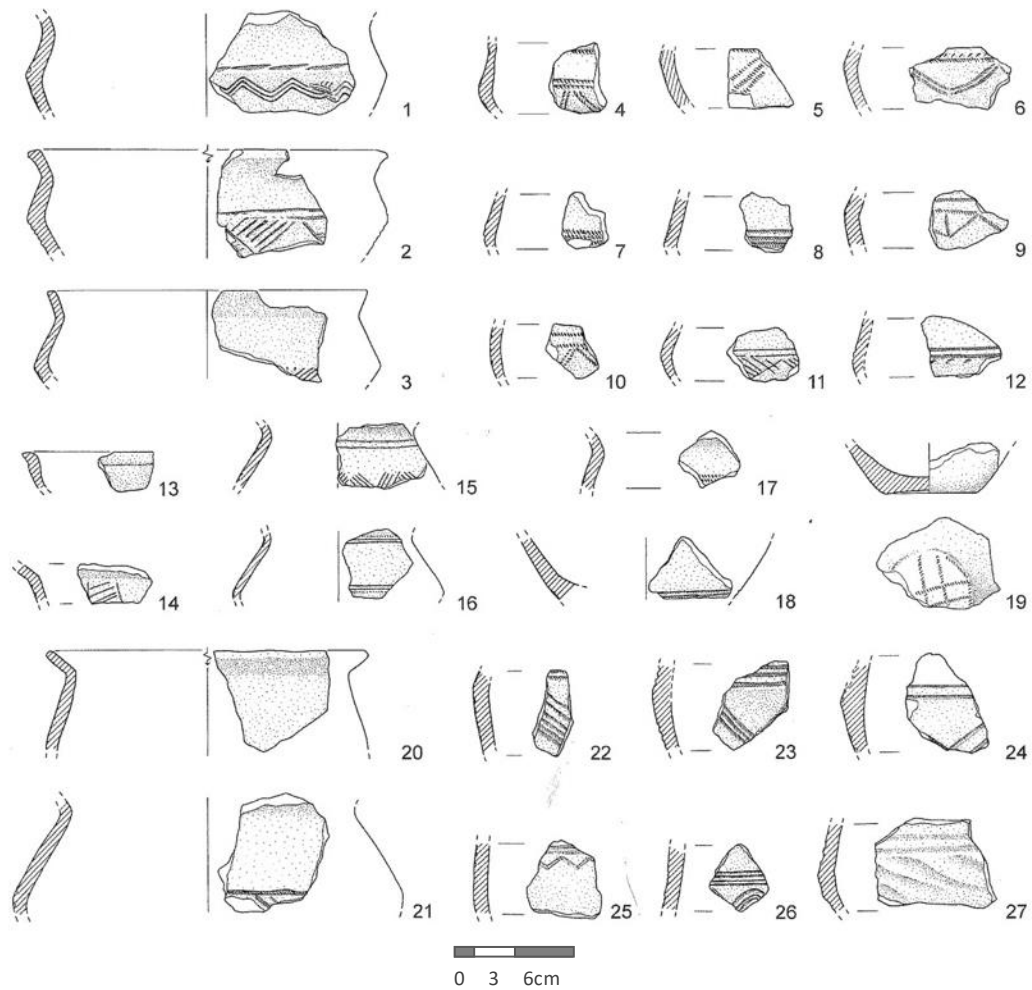


Figure 6.13 Decorated pottery from Montecastello (AL16) (after Venturino Gambari *et al.*, 2015, 50 fig. 12)

Decoration made with a roulette or a comb that imitates the pattern of a twisted cord (*falsa cordicella*) is typical of this phase. *Falsa cordicella* decoration forming bundles of horizontal lines, chevrons, simple or filled triangles, sometimes combined in complex motifs, is characteristic of Protogolasecca pottery, particularly during its last phase (PG III) (Gambari,

2006, 190; Venturino Gambari *et al.*, 2015, 75). Outside the Protogolasecca area it is often found at sites subject to Protogolasecca influences, such as those located along communication routes (e.g. rivers) (Figure 6.14). It is well attested in eastern and south-eastern Piedmont while it is rarer in the rest of the region (Baratti, 2003, 41; Venturino Gambari *et al.*, 2015, 75). It is also attested in Liguria, although less frequently. South of the Apennines it is sporadically attested in the Garfagnana. Twisted cord decoration is not found beyond the Alps (Rubat Borel, 2006, 454).

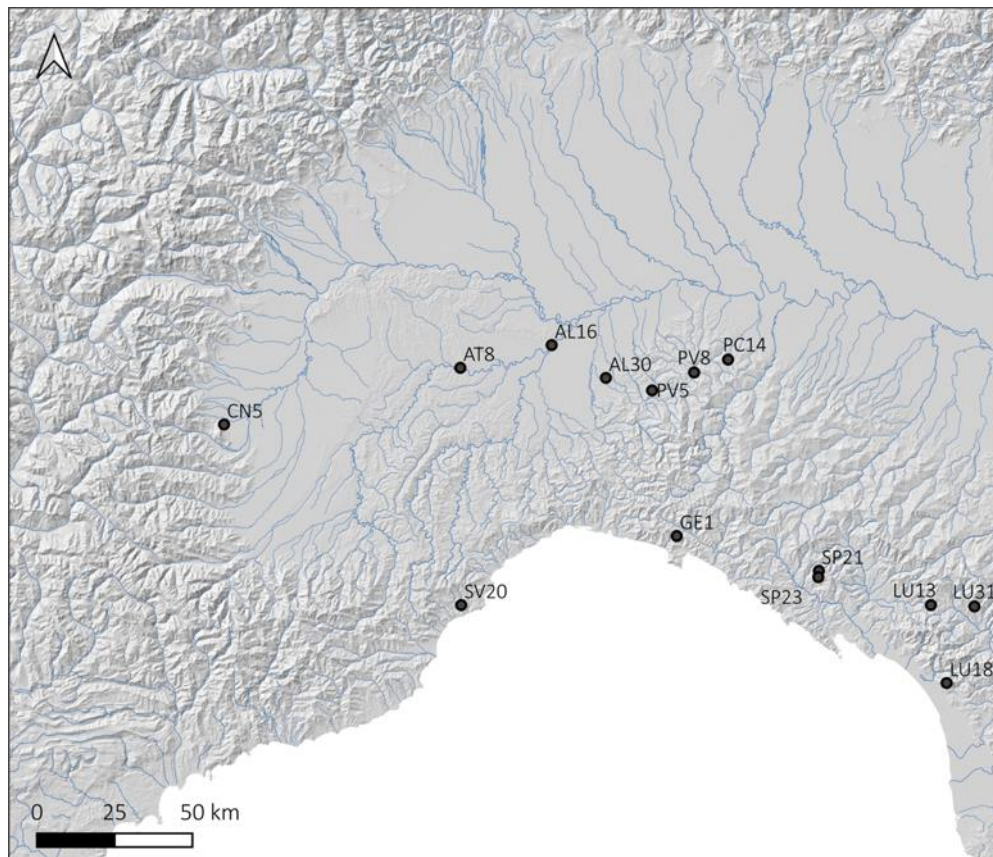


Figure 6.14 Distribution of falsa cordicella decoration outside the Protogolasecca area

Protogolasecca influences are clearly visible in the pottery of the Piacenza area. The site of Piana di San Martino (PC₁₄) shows strong ties with the Pavese, but also with the Ligurian Apennines and the Garfagnana; the same also applies to the sites of Groppo di Vaccarezza (PC₃) and Costa del Castagno (PC₁₂).

We find links with the Protogolasecca area also in the pottery of the Serchio valley. The presence of type Galliate-Bissone Pavese biconical pots at Castelveccchio (LU16) and Renzano (LU13) together with the above-mentioned examples of *falsa cordicella* decorations and the distribution of type Zerba armrings (see below) concur to suggest existence of a north-south route crossing the Apennines and linking northern Tuscany with the Protogolasecca settlements. As we move away from the Serchio valley in the direction of the coast the presence of north-western elements fades. The site of Valdicastello Carducci (LU18) shows hybrid characteristics, with elements recurring both in Ligurian/Protogolasecca and Protovillanova sites, while north-western elements are completely absent in the FBA artefacts of Monte Lieto (LU27), located only a few kilometres from Valdicastello Carducci.

As regards Liguria, a distinction between the east, which shows similarities with the sites of the Emilian-Tuscan Apennines, and the west, more connected to the France and Piedmont, starts to emerge and will become more evident in the IA (Del Lucchese, 2004b, 146).

6.5.2. Metalwork

Metal artefacts are rarely found in settlements but are more often found as stray finds or in hoards. Thanks to increased contacts through the western Alps, Transalpine influences become predominant in the metalwork of Piedmont from the late BA (Gambari and Venturino Gambari, 1994, 34). Contacts seem to have benefited from a period of favourable climate conditions which facilitated the use the Alpine passes of Valle d'Aosta, including those at higher altitudes (Rubat Borel, 2006, 477). At Castello d'Annone (AT8) we find a type Wollmesheim hairpin (12th century BC) and an arrowhead (11th-10th century BC) with parallels in south-eastern France and Switzerland. A local reinterpretation of a type Kirschgarthausen sword was found in the Po riverbed at Casalgrasso (CN15).

The presence of metal ores (see 5.2.4) probably encouraged transalpine exchanges. Their exploitation is suggested by the Tetti Noni hoard (CN21) as

isotope analyses of the artefacts indicate a composition compatible with that of the ores in the Graian Alps. The hoard composition, certain types of objects (torcs, ribbed armrings with spiral endings, pectorals) and the presence of amber and glass beads show parallels with the hoards of the Hautes-Alpes (Luzi, 2019). The hoard included five pectorals with leaf-shaped pendants hanging from chains attached to a triangular pendant, which recall the ornaments in the hoards of south-eastern France dating to the 9th century BC (*ibid.*). Only one other example has been found in Italy at Cima La Foce (LU31) in northern Tuscany. Unfortunately, it is not possible to tell whether the ornaments of Monte Cavanero and Cima La Foce, which are very similar but not identical (Figure 6.15), were produced in the same place (no isotope analysis is available for the latter).

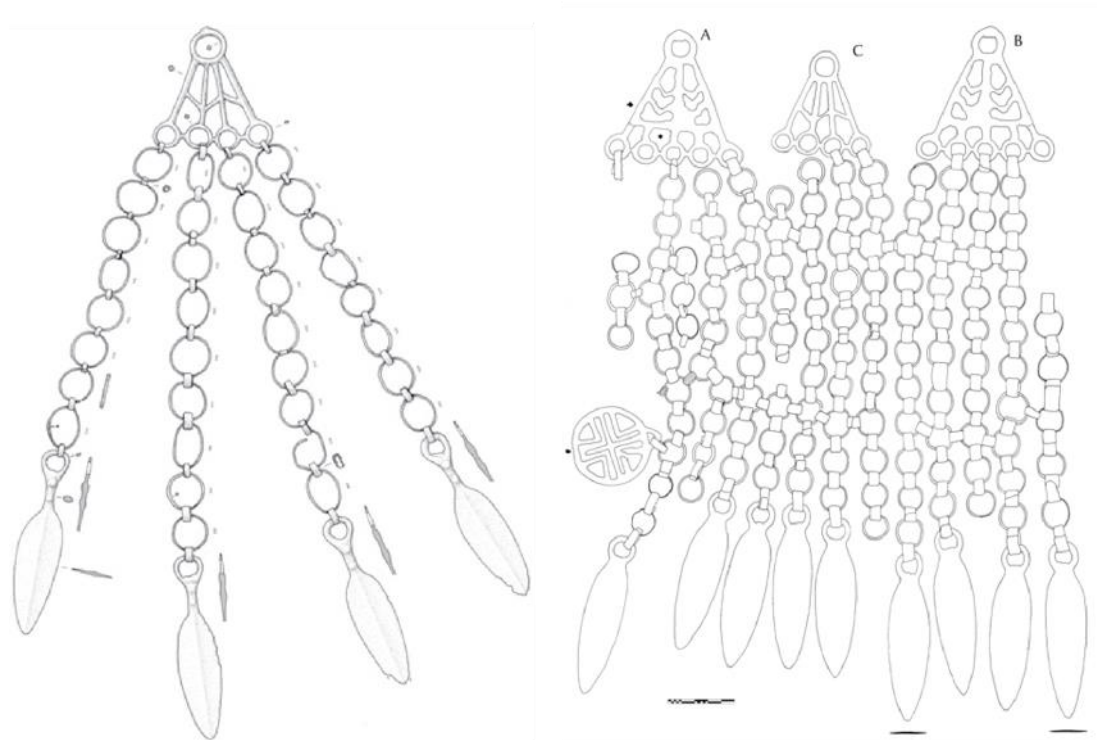


Figure 6.15 Ornaments from Tetti Noni (CN21) (left) and Cima La Foce (LU31) (right). (after Ciampoltrini et al., 2015, 14 fig. 8; Rubat Borel, 2009b, 81 fig. 59). Not to scale.

Transalpine influences can also be detected in the metalwork of Liguria. The Cairo Montenotte (SV12) armring belongs to a type widespread in the Rhenish-Swiss urnfields area, but otherwise unknown in Italy. To the same type can be attributed one armring from the Cimiez hoard (AM13). Type

Allevard winged axes were found at Ca' Mottin (SV23) and Bric Langa (SV25). Type La Poype armrings and a spearhead with incisions on the socket with parallels in Switzerland and southern Germany were found at Bric della Sorte (SV33). At Bric San Bernardo (SV28) a fragment of sickle close to the types *Herrnbaumgarten* variant 2 or *Auvernier* variant 4 shows particular characteristics that suggest a local manufacture (Del Lucchese and Delfino, 2008, 36). The same can be said for an armring close to the type La Poype. The Bric della Sorte (SV33) armring with rolled ends recalls materials of the Rhenian area but has no exact parallels.

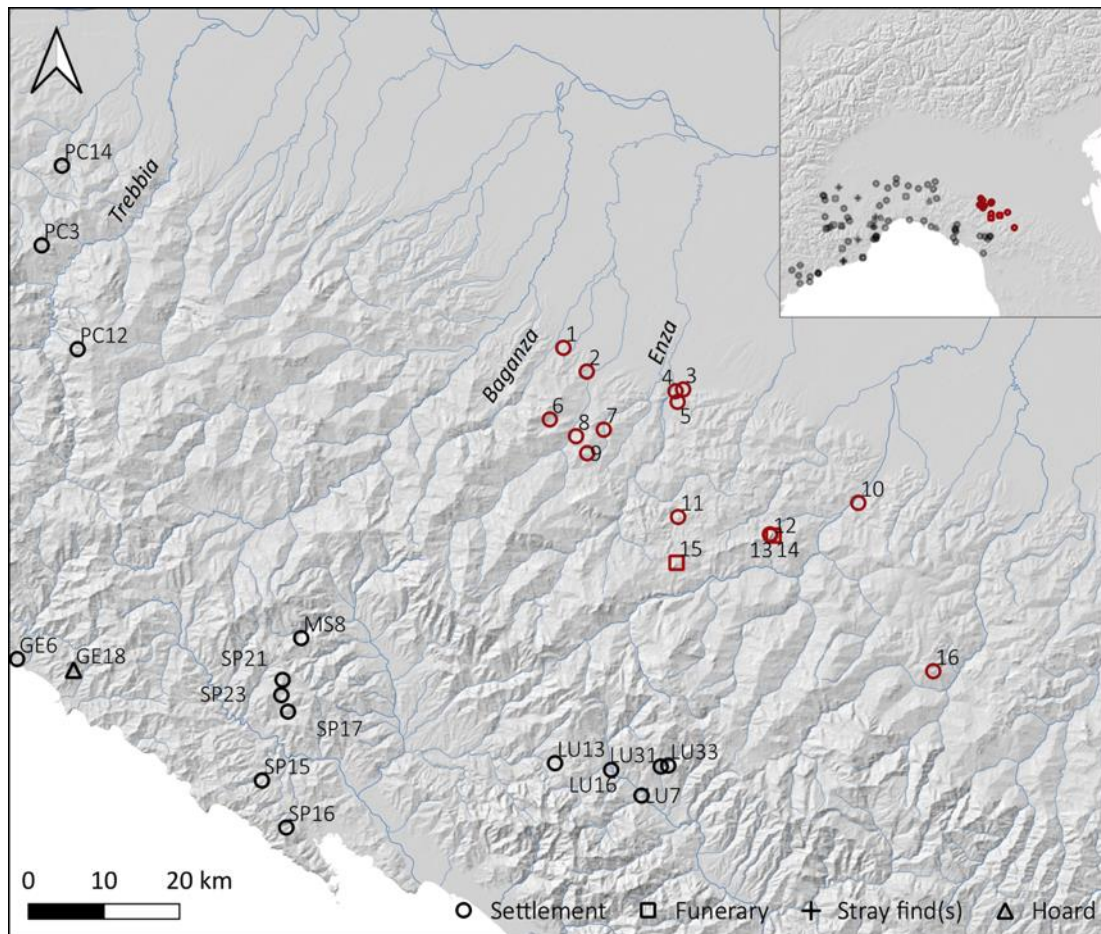
Hoardings were discovered at Loto (GE18) and Rocca dei Corvi (SV46), the latter probably buried in the EIA as suggested by the most recent artefacts. The former is located in the vicinity of the Monte Loreto and Libiola copper mines (5.2.4). Both hoards included type Zerba armrings. The type takes the name from the place where a hoard of eight armrings was discovered (PC21).

Type Zerba armrings are widespread in north-western Italy, northern Tuscany and in the French-Swiss Alps (see distribution maps in Paltineri and Rubat Borel, 2010, 161). They are frequently found in hoards, but also as isolated finds and in graves, more rarely in settlements (Paltineri and Rubat Borel, 2010, 610–615). The chronology of their contexts ranges from the RBA to the EIA. In Liguria type Zerba armrings were found in the Buco del Diavolo cave grave (IM30) and at Monte Bignone (IM23). The latter is particularly similar to those of the Cimiez hoard (AM13). Together they seem to indicate the existence of a specific production in this area which developed in the late FBA. Other examples were discovered at Les Crottes (AM2), which differ for their section (V-shaped rather than triangular). This aspect seems more common in examples dating to the end of the FBA-beginning of the EIA and could represent an evolution of the type (the variant *Badia Pavese* in Paltineri and Rubat Borel's classification, 2010: 613–614). It is worth noting that in the French territory they are generally interpreted as anklets rather than armrings. In the Ascros grave green marks on the leg bones suggest this use, although the exact position of the leg/armrings at the time of the discovery is unknown.

The recurrent presence of type Zerba armrings in areas rich in copper ore has led to speculation about a link between the artefacts and the circulation of metal (Tizzoni, 1976, 322). Most armrings appear distributed along a route that connects the area around lake Como and Maggiore and the copper rich zones of northern Tuscany and eastern Liguria. The biggest concentration was found along this route at Badia Pavese (PV), interpreted by Mark Pearce (1994, 59–63) as a central place which redistributed the armrings in the territories around the lakes Como and Maggiore. According to this interpretation, the armrings acted as prestige gifts used to facilitate the metal trade directed from Tuscany-Liguria to the Golasecca area (*ibid.*). The discovery of the Tetti Noni (CN21) armrings and the hypothesis that they were produced with metal from the western Alps could indicate that other territories were involved in this complex trade network. However, the lack of analysis and precise chronologies for other type Zerba armrings does not allow its dynamics to be defined. Further indication could derive from a more detailed typological analysis of the type. Unfortunately the subdivision in variants proposed by Paltineri and Rubat Borel (2010) is approximate (the examples of Cimiez and Ascros are missing, the poor quality of the drawings does not allow comparison and so does the lack of measurements) and cannot be used for this purpose.

6.6. Eastern border of Liguria

It is hard to define how far the traits that characterise Liguria and southern Piedmont stretched to the east as there is a complete lack of data for the sector between the Trebbia and the Baganza rivers (Figure 6.16). Data are scarce for the Parma province making it impossible to assess its situation. Material dating to the FBA was found during fieldwalking at sites with MBA and RBA occupation (Miari, 2004a, 154). These sites are located close to the rivers Baganza (Felino Castello) and Parma (Bersatichello, Monte La Pila, Monte Verola), whose courses lead through the Apennines towards the Magra valley, and their artefacts show parallels with material in the Garfaganana (*ibid.*).



1. Felino Castello (PR); 2. Torrechiara Castello (PR); 3. Pontenovo (San Polo d'Enza, RE); 4. Servirola (San Polo d'Enza, RE); 5. Torlonia (San Polo d'Enza, RE); 6. Castrignano Pieve (Lesignano Bagni, PR); 7. Monte La Pila (Lesignano Bagni, PR); 8. Bersaticello (Lesignano Bagni, PR); 9. Monte Verola (Neviano degli Arduini, PR); 10. Monte Branzola (Prignano, MO); 11. Montecastagneto (Castelnovo ne' Monti, RE); 12. San Michele di Valestra (Carpinetti, RE); 13. Monte Valestra (Carpinetti, RE); 14. Case Pantani (Carpinetti, RE); 15. Campo Pianelli (Castelnovo ne' Monti, RE); 16. Gaiato (Pavullo nel Frignano, MO).

Figure 6.16 FBA sites in the central Emilian Apennines (after Tirabassi, 1979; De Marchi, 2003; Miari, 2004; Cardarelli, 2006)

The population of Reggio Emilia and Modena provinces appears substantially reduced after the collapse of the *terramare* culture. In the Apennines only the most defended settlements and those located in strategic positions controlling communication routes survive (Tirabassi, 2014). FBA occupation is attested at the mouth of the Enza valley (Figure 6.16, sites 3-5). The scant evidence indicates links with both the material culture of eastern Lombardy and western Veneto (Tirabassi, 2003, 98). The same connections are visible in the settlements on Monte Valestra (sites 12-13) (Bellodi *et al.*, 1971; Luciano *et al.*,

1979; Montanari and Tirabassi, 2007). Further links can be seen with the sites of northern Tuscany (Andreotti and Zanini, 1997; Cardarelli and Malnati, 2006, 132–138, 206–207).

At Case Pantani (Figure 6.16, site 14), two graves with a lithic cist were discovered by chance by a local stonecutter (Ambrosetti, 1975). One grave only contained a biconical urn; the other an urn and a carinated bowl whose function is unclear (accessory vase? Urn?). The cultural attribution of the graves has shifted during the years. Initially interpreted as Protovillanovan (Ambrosetti, 1975), they were displayed at the 2004 Genoa exhibition (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 187 III.37), thus suggesting an attribution to the Ligurians even though parallels with Veneto were proposed for the artefacts (Miari, 2004a, 156–157). Other evidence is provided by the Campo Pianelli cemetery (Figure 6.16, site 15) (Catarsi and Dall’Aglia, 1978). It consists of 49 cremation graves with urns mainly closed by slabs and buried in stone-lined pits. Although the cemetery appears unique (only generic parallels for the urns can be found in central and north-eastern Italy, see Catarsi and Dall’Aglia, 1978, 33–36), it can be attributed to the Protovillanovan culture on the basis of its artefacts and the characteristics of the rite.

In the FBA Reggio Emilia and Modena provinces gravitated towards the central and eastern Po plain. Although multiple influences are visible in the material culture of the sites, which are due to them being part of a wide commercial network, the Protovillanovan aspect appears dominant. Locatelli (2015) has recently been advocating connections between the Reggio Emilia Apennines and Liguria, which she sees as the possible proof that this area was culturally Ligurian from a very early stage. However, the only site where these links are visible is Montecastagneto, which remains unpublished, and it is therefore impossible to determine their extent. From the few drawings of artefacts that are available the site seems to show hybrid characteristics and analogies with both Protovillanovan and Ligurian sites (Locatelli, 2015, 40, fig. 2).

6.7. Conclusions

In the FBA shared traits can be seen across an area that stretches from eastern Provence to the Serchio valley in Tuscany through southern Piedmont and western Emilia. To the east it seems that they did not reach Reggio Emilia province while they are faintly visible in the sites of the Parma Apennines.

These common traits can be seen in the metalwork, pottery and in the funerary practices. Too little information is available to determine settlement patterns and dwellings characteristics. As expected, multiple influences are noticeable in sites that are located at the borders of this area or along major communication routes.

Chapter 7. The Early Iron Age

My examination of the EIA evidence follows the structure of the previous chapter (overview, funerary evidence, settlements, pottery and metal production), and ends with a critical discussion of the evidence of northern Tuscany, traditionally interpreted as inhabited by ancient Ligurians.

7.1. Overview

A total of 61 sites can be dated to the EIA. There are 28 settlements (including 2 cave-dwellings), 13 funerary sites and three are hoards, to which we should add 17 findspots of stray finds. Sites seem to concentrate in the West rather than the East (Figure 7.1).

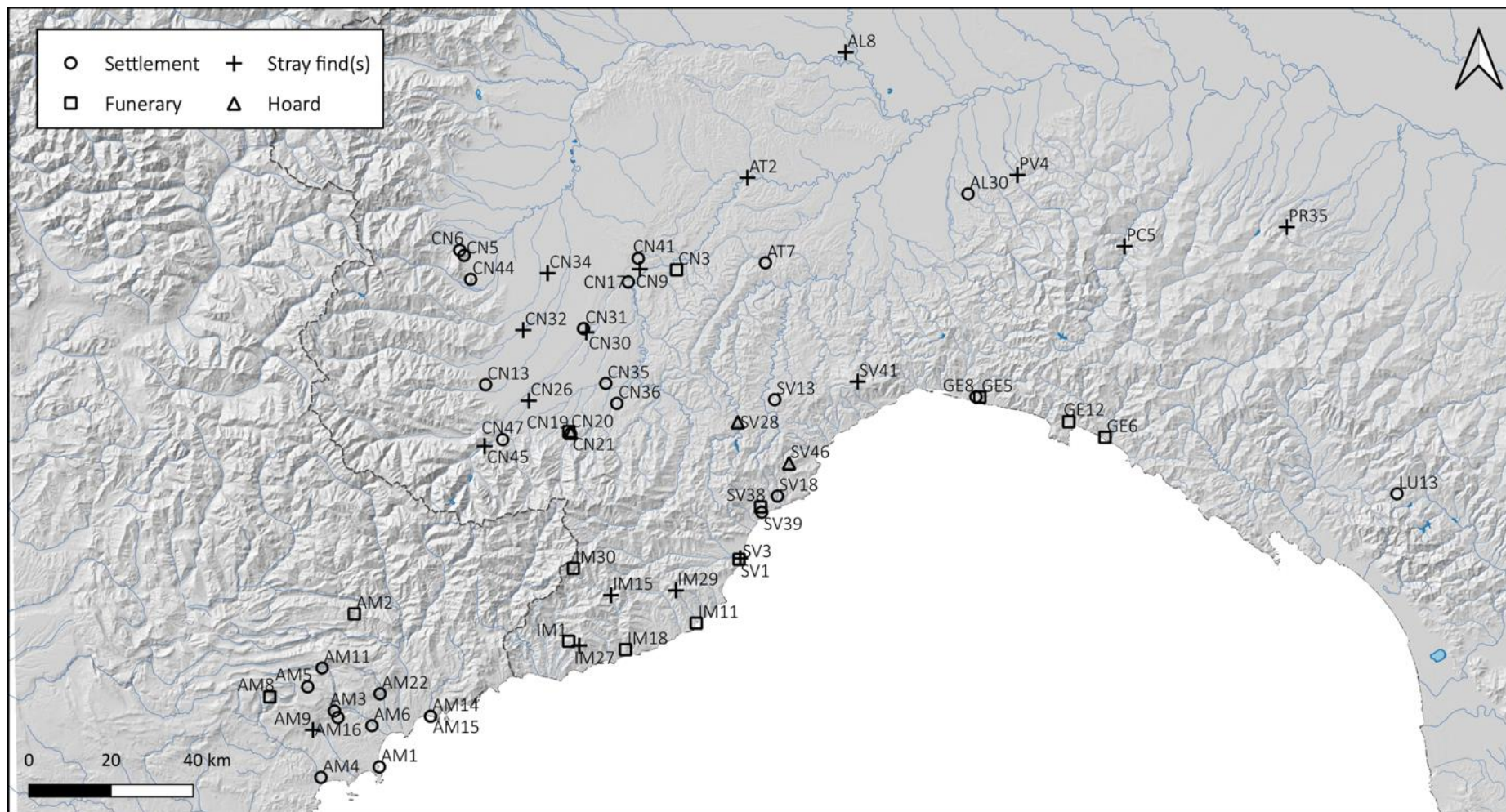


Figure 7.1 EIA site

7.2. Graves and cemeteries

Eight cemeteries and five isolated graves are evidence for funerary practices. We can probably add the site of Cava Cavallero (SV38), where bent weapons were discovered during quarrying (Figure 7.2). Bent/broken weapons appear in EIA cemeteries and seem an indicator for the presence of funerary contexts. Mention of “large wheel rims” (Piva, 1934, 13) and of a helmet could suggest a chariot burial similar to the one found at Sesto Calende (VA) (de Marinis, 2009).

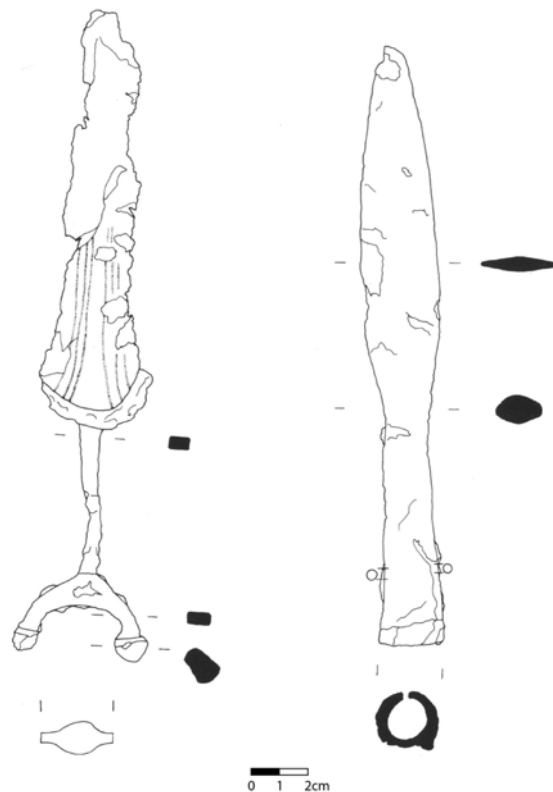


Figure 7.2 Dagger and spearhead from Cava Cavallero (SV38) (after Tizzoni, 1979, pl. II)

EIA graves are cremations except for that of San Cassiano (CN3) and one inhumation found at Les Crottes (AM2). I have some doubts about the proposed chronology for the San Cassiano grave, based on the stratigraphy, as no artefacts were recovered, the grave was in poor condition, and it was close to another inhumation dated to the EBA. The Les Crottes grave was found at a short distance from a primary cremation. Based on its grave goods the

cremation is generally assigned to the *BF 3b* (c.900-800 BC) or to the transition period *BF 3b-1er Fer* (c.800-700 BC), although Vital (1994, 390–391) has tried to date it back to the *BF 2a* (c.1200-1100 BC). The presence of both rites is interesting as in the *BF 3b* a difference emerges between south-western France, characterised by cremation, and the south-east, characterised by inhumation (Dedet, 2004). Although the border between the two zones gradually shifted eastwards, this difference remained visible until the 5th century BC, after which cremation was predominant in the whole south, except for the Greek colonies of Marseille and Adge (*ibid.*).

Monte Grange (IM18) is the only example of funerary cave. The small cave was artificially modified to create a recess for the cremation(s). Potsherds of at least thirteen vessels were found. It is not possible to say which and how many vessels contained the human remains, and to determine whether one or more individuals were buried in the cave.

7.2.1. Grave structures

The most common grave is the cist type, which is present at Chiavari (GE6), Albenga (SV1), Acquasola (GE5) and Fornaci (GE12). The cists are quadrangular in shape and made with juxtaposed slabs. At Albenga (SV1) the stone cist was located at the base of a stepped pit, covered by several horizontal slabs. Other types of graves are occasionally present. At Chiavari (GE6), out of 127 graves one was in a stone lined pit, four were in simple pits and one in a double pit. At Albenga (SV1) one out of five graves had horizontal slabs at the base and at the top of the pit but no cist. The urns were placed inside the graves with an upside-down bowl as a lid, except at Albenga (SV1) where stone slabs were used instead of the bowls.

At Chiavari 30% of the graves contained two to four urns with human remains (de Marinis, 2014, 102–103, figs. 3, 5), each of which is considered to represent one individual. Recent anthropological analysis carried out on a sample of 22 graves confirms this (preliminary results in Bresadola *et al.*, 2018). Multiple

graves have been interpreted as family graves, which were re-opened over time to add further burials (de Marinis, 2014, 103).

The Acquasola cist (GE5) was buried off-centred under a circular earth mound delimited by a dry-stone wall (Figure 7.3). Its position may indicate that a further grave was present, possibly located outside the excavation area which explored only about a quarter of the barrow. Another barrow was found at Pian del Re (IM1), but its chronology is unsure, and nothing can be said about its rite because of its poor condition.



Figure 7.3 Aquasola barrow (GE5) (Melli, 2010, fig. 1)

The unusual structure of the Acquasola grave can perhaps be explained if considered in association with the very few artefacts recovered, which include bucchero potsherds and a boat-shaped iron brooch belonging to a type widespread in southern Etruria. According to Melli (2014b, 71–73) the grave belonged to a woman (osteological analysis suggests it) from Latium or Campania who moved to Genoa as part of exchange politics and alliances based on exogamous marriages. I find the idea of a foreigner more convincing than the idea of exogamous marriages, a practice often assumed for IA Italy (see note 8, p. 279) but not confirmed with paleogenetic and isotope analysis.

Enclosures made with vertical slabs are attested at Fornaci (GE12) and Chiavari (GE6). They are quadrangular, except for three circular and one sub-oval enclosures at Chiavari. At Chiavari the enclosures abutted each other forming three aggregations with different orientations (Figure 7.4). This pattern and the presence of hewn stone blocks interpreted as grave/boundary markers has been explained by suggesting that the three areas were assigned to different family groups (Paltineri, 2015, 66).

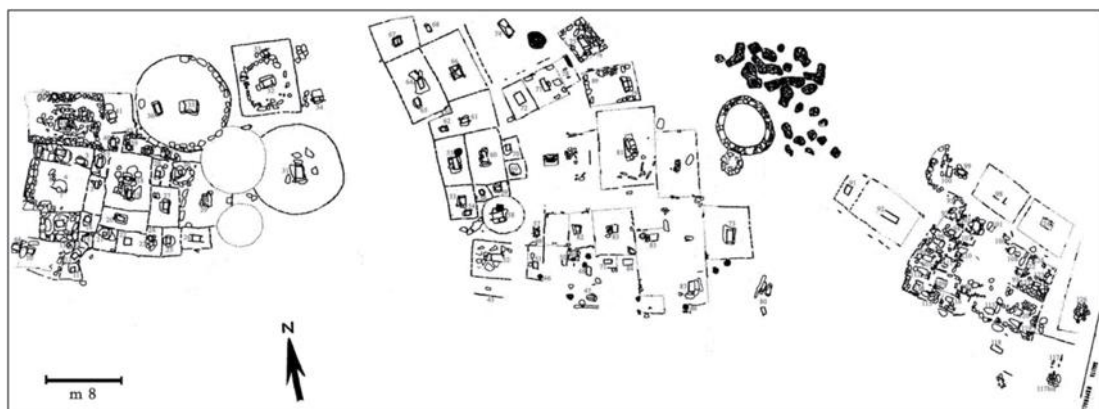


Figure 7.4 Chiavari cemetery (GE6) general plan (Leonardi and Paltineri, 2012, 294, fig. 1)

A similar organisation, although on a much smaller scale, is visible at Albenga (SV1), where some of the stone blocks have been interpreted as grave markers based on their position within the cemetery and others as divisions between groups of graves.

At Chiavari (GE6) about half the graves contained just cinerary urn(s) closed by an upside-down bowl without any other pottery (de Marinis, 2014, 104). The remaining graves included one or more vases very similar to the cinerary urn. A drinking vessel (cup, *kylix* or beaker) was often placed inside the accessory urn or in the cist, but never in the urn with the cremated bones (Figure 7.5). Their presence seems to relate to rituals involving drinking.

A type Chiavari urn was found in one of the Albenga (SV1) graves, which contained a cup with vertical handle (Massabò *et al.*, 2014, 132, 133, figs. 4, 9). Two other graves only contained one bowl, while the only grave without a cist contained a beaker. The Fornaci grave (GE12) only contained an urn closed by

a bowl and an additional vase, but we cannot be sure if other vases were lost at the time of the discovery.

Contrary to the FBA, urns have very few parallels among the domestic pottery, which suggests that they were specifically made for funerary purposes.

However, the scarcity of evidence from settlements needs to be taken into account (see 7.4.1).

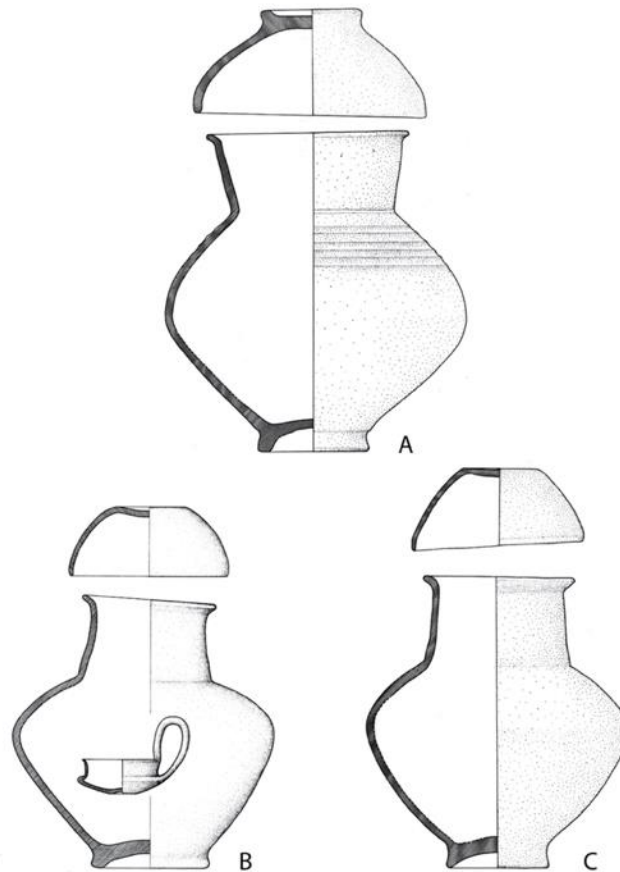


Figure 7.5 Chiavari (GE6): multiple grave (t.31) with accessory vessels (de Marinis, 2014, 105, fig. 6). Not to scale.

The gender of the deceased is usually inferred from the grave assemblage (see discussion in 6.3.1). Spindle-whorls, boat-shaped brooches, leech brooches, and open ended armrings are considered female attributes; razors, weapons, serpentine-bow brooches and spiral armrings as male (de Marinis, 2014, 103). At Chiavari female graves are also characterised by studs/buttons, cosmetic-sets, bird-shaped and pomegranate pendants and by objects either interpreted as basket earrings/hair ornaments/finger rings (de Marinis, 2014, 111–117).

Nearly all the clothing accessories and jewellery found in the graves at Chiavari (GE6), Albenga (SV1) and Fornaci (GE12) had been deformed by the heat of the funeral pyre.

At Chiavari (GE6) weapons occur in 19 graves. They are all iron spearheads or spear-butts except for four iron daggers, the tip of a bronze helmet, one bronze axe and seven bronze discs interpreted as shield bosses or armour plates (Paltineri, 2010, 113–121). Some of them were placed inside the urn with the cremated bones, but more often they were placed inside the cist, sometimes under the urn, which allows the weapon to be assigned to a specific burial in the case of multiple graves. In most cases the burial was associated with only one weapon (Marini and Zucchi, 1982, 139). Five burials contained two weapons, either two spears, a spear and one axe, or a spear and a knife (Paltineri, 2010, 144, 163, 166, 172). In four cases both offensive and defensive weapons were present (Lamboglia, 1966, 278; Zucchi, 1978, 44–46). The weapons were intentionally bent and/or broken before burial. One bent sword, the only one in the cemetery, was discovered in the cemetery deposit outside the graves (Barbaro *et al.*, 2015).

Broken/bent weapons are attested in northern Italy from the late MBA in the north-western cemeteries and more rarely in the *terramare* area, always in relation to the cremation rite (Peroni, 1997). Unfortunately to date a study of this practice is lacking. Italian scholarship refers to broken/bent weapons as to '*armi defunzionalizzate*'. 'Defunctionalisation' is mentioned also with reference to other broken objects found in graves, such as pins, brooches and pottery (see de Marinis, 2019; Mazzoli and Negrini, 2018). Such a term is simplistic and inappropriate. A broken object clearly loses its practical function but might retain its – or might acquire new – symbolic function(s). We do not know whether the weapons were 'killed' to follow the deceased in the afterlife as for the Vikings (Aannestad, 2018), or whether the fragmentation was a way to highlight the ban on placing weapons in the grave suggested by Bietti Sestieri (2009, 14) for the FBA or if they were put out of use as a form of purification. What we do know is that they were part of a complex ritual that, in contrast to

smashing a few pots or burning goods on the pyre, required effort and professional skills (Lloyd, 2015, 19).

At Chiavari (GE6) weapons are absent in the older graves of the cemetery, where the main male attribute is the razor, but they appear in the 7th century and become more common towards its end, i.e. in phase 2B of Paltineri's (2010, 124–125) chronology ⁵. The same also applies to spindle-whorls, which are present in some 40 burials. It is hard to determine the exact number as sometimes we cannot tell spindle-whorls apart from beads. Paltineri (2010, 102–109) considers spindle-whorls all those made of terracotta and stone, but such a criterion is debatable (on this see Di Fraia, 2016). This is a problem not only for Chiavari, but in general for Italian prehistoric contexts as publications often fail to give details about textile tools (e.g. weight, signs of use) that can help in their interpretation.

Two spearheads are among the lost objects from the Fornaci graves (GE12). At Albenga (SV1), one intact iron spearhead and one fragmented iron knife were placed inside the cist of a grave. The long sinuous blade and parallels with Golasecca knives suggest its use as a weapon rather than a tool (Massabò *et al.*, 2014, 135). The same cannot be said for two other knives found in the cemetery, one of which was stuck vertically in the ground next to the above-mentioned cist grave. Another grave contained a spindle-whorl. The Albenga graves (SV1) date to the second half of the 7th century, while the Fornaci grave (GE12) dates to the end of 7th – beginning of 6th century. Therefore, their chronology matches the appearance of weapons and spindle-whorls at Chiavari (GE6).

In the EIA grave assemblages become richer, both in terms of quantity and quality of items, which occasionally include imported objects and precious materials. A gender distinction emerges, which becomes evident in the second half of the 7th century, when male graves are characterised by weapons, while

⁵ De Marinis (2014, 96–97) disagrees with Paltineri's (2010, 123–125) chronology and proposes a slightly earlier start for the cemetery (750 BC instead of 720 BC) and argues that most graves date to between the late 8th century and c. 625 BC. He discusses in detail the oldest tombs but not those with weapons, for which I rely on Paltineri's proposal.

female graves include spindle-whorls. Additional pots, mainly drinking vessels, are more frequent than in the FBA and suggest a change of the funerary rite possibly including drinking ceremonies and/or offers.

7.3. Settlements

Despite both phases being about three centuries long, half as many EIA settlements are recorded as in the FBA. In contrast with the previous phase no settlements are recorded in the Vara and Magra valleys and in a relatively wide area including eastern Liguria, northern Tuscany and western Emilia. Most settlements are located in the plain (39%); a nearly similar percentage (36%) is recorded for mountain settlements, while hill settlements constitute 25% (Figure 7.6).

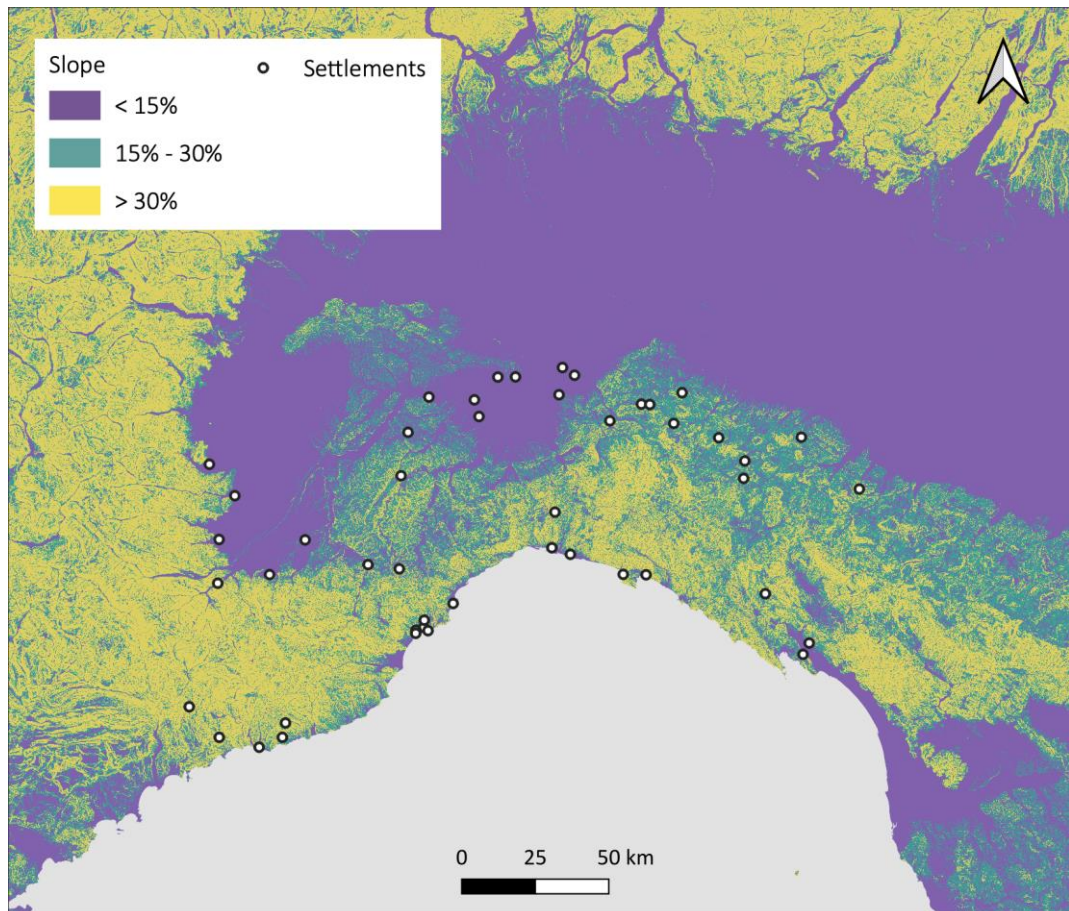
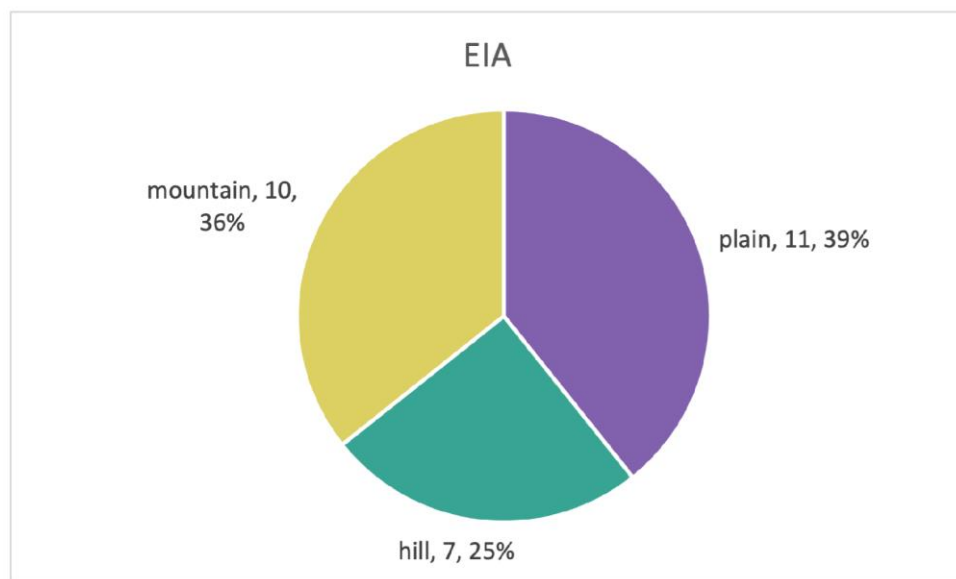


Figure 7.6 EIA settlements by slope band

As in the FBA, raised spots are preferred: 29% settlements are on hilltops, followed by plateaus and hillsides (Figure 7.7). Four settlements are located on the coast, but the total number must have been higher given the presence of cemeteries at Chiavari (GE6), Albenga (SV1) and Albisola Superiore (SV4), for

which no traces of settlements have yet emerged. The presence of these sites is connected to the activation of new commercial routes along the Tyrrhenian and Ligurian seas. At San Rocchino (LU), on the coast of northern Tuscany, Greek pottery with geometric decoration dating to the end of the 8th century BC is evidence for the integration of north-western Italy in the wider Mediterranean network (Maggiani and Pallecchi, 1990, 69). The Portofranco (GE8) stratigraphy at Genoa shows the existence of a port where products of northern and southern Etruria arrived.

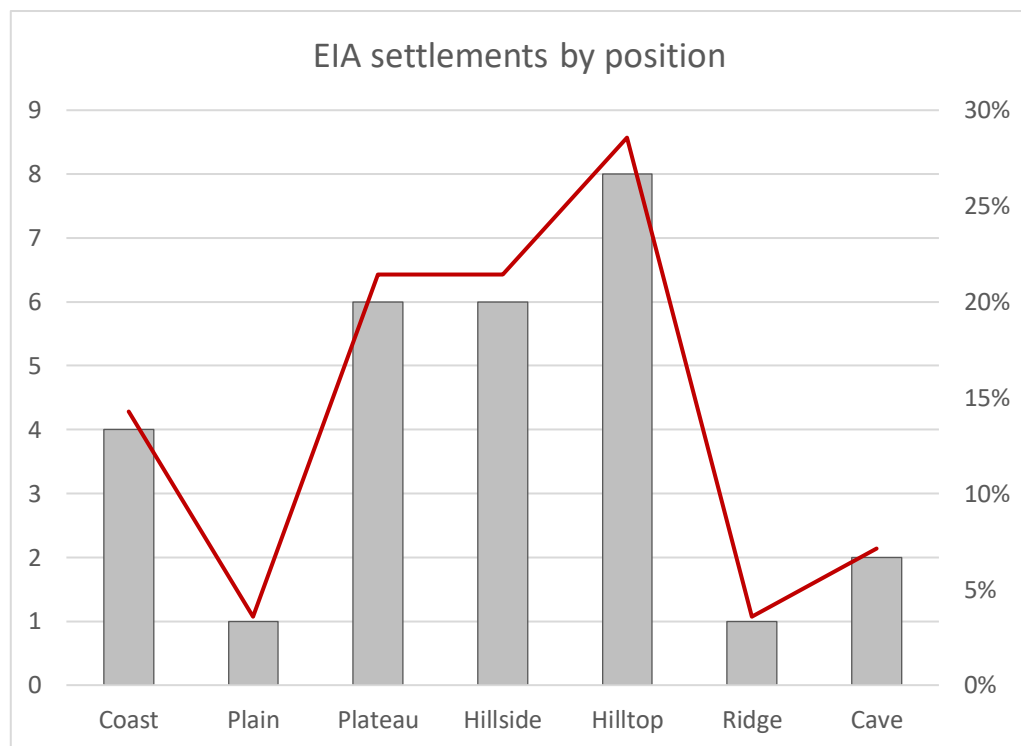


Figure 7.7 Distribution of EIA settlements according to their position



Figure 7.8 The Breolungi (CN35) plateau (top) and Pian dell'Olio (SV39) hill (Venturino Gambari, 2001a, 12, fig. 1; Del Lucchese et al., 2018c, 14, fig. 1b)

The use of caves and rock shelters is sporadically attested in the EIA. Traces of use are recorded in the Château hill cave at Nice (AM₁₄) and at Grotta del Sanguineto (SV₁₈). The discovery of a knife with incised geometric decoration in good condition at Grotta del Bandito (CN₄₅) could perhaps indicate its funerary use. The knife has close parallels at Bologna, where it was probably manufactured in the 8th century BC. Its presence shows that items from the central Po plain travelled as far as the western Alps, probably along the Po and the Tanaro rivers.

More than half the EIA settlements were already established in the FBA (Figure 7.9). Only in three cases were settlements established in areas that had previously been occupied but had been abandoned in the FBA. All the remaining settlements were newly established in the EIA.

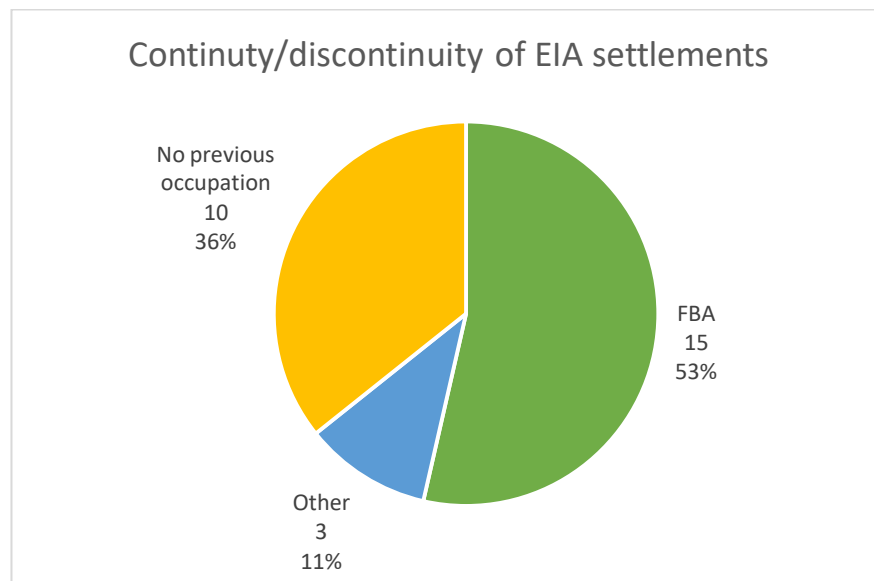


Figure 7.9 EIA new and previously established settlements

Although numbers are too low to be statistically relevant, position and slope could have played a role in the survival of settlements as a higher degree of continuity is recorded among sites located on the coast, in the plain and on ridges.

7.3.1. Organisation and dwellings

New terraces were constructed at Pian dell'Olio (SV39) in the 8th century BC. Terraces are also present at Castellaro di Caprazzocca (SV9), but their chronology is unknown. At San Cassiano (CN3), Breolungi (CN35) and Fossano (CN31) no dwelling structures could be identified. The evidence consists of pits and postholes with no clear alignments, associated with coarse ware and occasionally weaving tools, which document domestic activities.

At Pian dell'Olio (SV39), a linear dry-stone wall may be attributed to a dwelling, but nothing can be said of its structural characteristics (Figure 7.10). It was associated with a storage-pit containing barley and spelt grains. Radiocarbon dating of the grains indicates that the pit was used during the 8th-7th centuries BC (see Table 3.1), in agreement with the date suggested by the artefacts.



Figure 7.10 Pian dell'Olio (SV39) supposed dwelling (Del Lucchese et al., 2018c, 21, fig. 6)

7.4. Material Culture

7.4.1. Pottery

The uneven distribution of the sites is problematic when trying to define the characteristics of the EIA pottery. For some areas we do not have any information at all (e.g. Piacenza province). In other areas (e.g. Piedmont) the evidence from settlements is relatively abundant, but we do not have evidence from funerary contexts. In other cases (e.g. eastern Liguria), it is the exact opposite and the rich information from cemeteries contrasts with the lack of evidence from settlements.

The domestic pottery of Piedmont and Liguria shows the same characteristics. Shapes are standardised, while decorations are simple and repetitive. As in the FBA, large containers are generally decorated by applied cordons (either smooth or with impressions) and/or a single band of impressions, generally on the upper part of the vessel. They are always handmade with a coarse fabric. Tableware is also handmade, but it has a finer fabric and smoother surfaces. It mainly consists of bowls and beakers. As in the FBA, cups and, more generally, containers with handles are very rare. When present, decorations consist of impressions on the walls or on the rim; incised decoration is infrequent (Figure 7.11). The *falsa cordicella* decoration disappears in the EIA. In Piedmont it is only attested at Fonti di Villa Romagnano (AL30), a site with strong connections with the Golasecca area, where *falsa cordicella* is attested up until G I A2 before being substituted by incisions (Cerri, 2011a). At Chiavari (GE6), *falsa cordicella* decoration forming stylised animals appears on the urn of a grave dating to the 7th century (Paltineri, 2010, 41, 319).

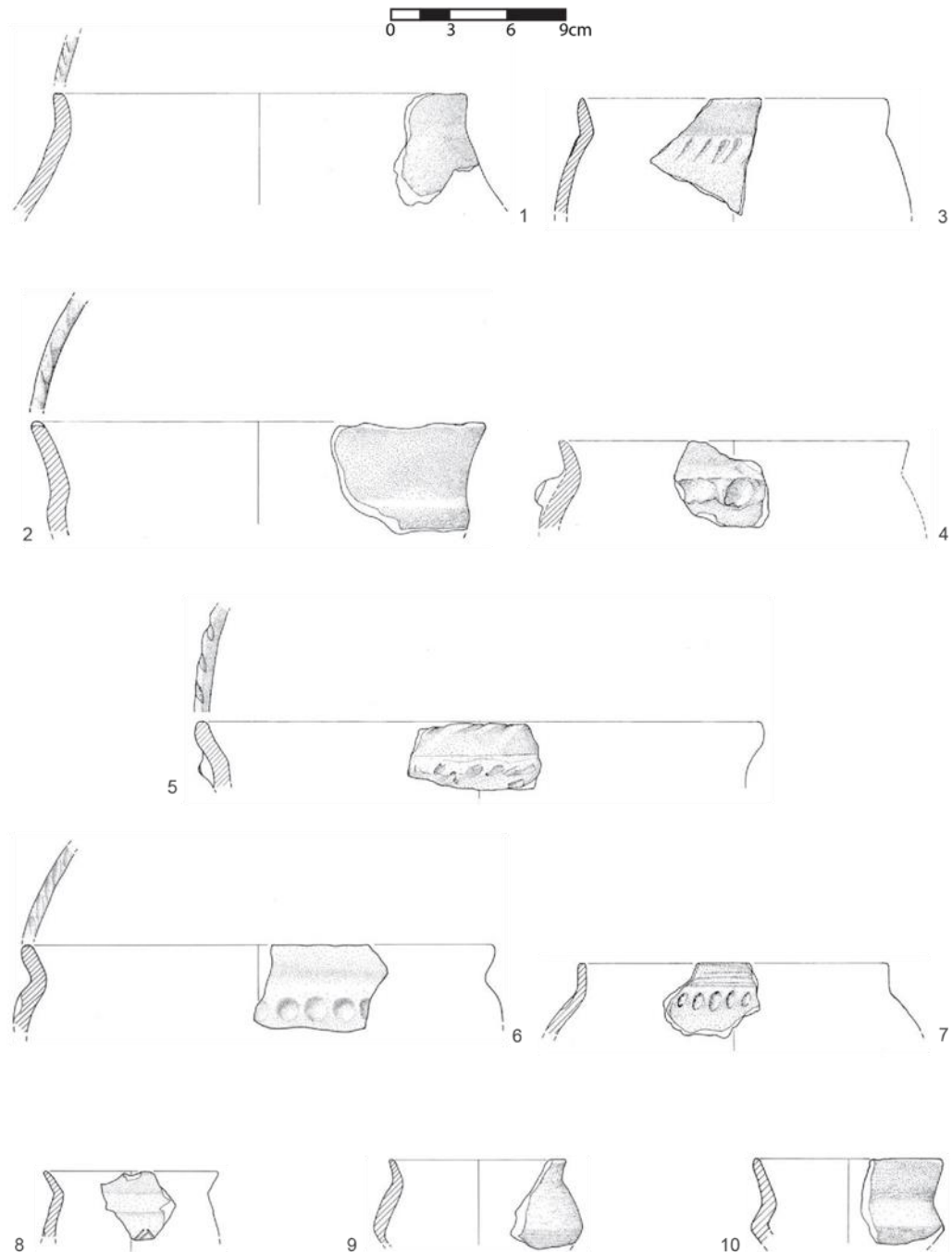


Figure 7.11 Containers (1-7) and beakers (8-10) from Bec Berciassa (CN47) (after Ferrero and Venturino Gambari, 2008, 24 fig. 8)

In the second half of the 7th century BC a new type of pottery produced in the Pisan territory that reproduces or imitates the southern Etruria bucchero spreads in northern Tuscany (Bruni, 1993; Ciampoltrini, 2007, 26–27). Pisan bucchero is among the Portofranco (GE8) artefacts, which also include an Etruscan cup imitating Corinthian pottery and Etruscan amphoras. While

most of the imported tableware seems to come from central-northern Etruria (62%), the amphoras found within the same deposits, which contain artefacts dating to the 7th and 6th century BC, are mainly from southern Etruria (55%) (Melli, 2006, 611). Pisan bucchero is present at Chiavari (GE6) together with imports from southern Etruria. The strong connections between Chiavari and Etruria are revealed by the presence of locally produced pottery that imitates and adapts foreign models (Bagnasco Gianni and Spadea Noviero, 2014, 60). While at an initial stage the cemetery had contacts with southern Etruria, particularly Vulci, from the mid-7th century BC Pisa took over and became the main supplier for the imported pottery (Paltineri, 2010, 323–324). The urn in the Fornaci grave (GE12) was almost certainly produced in northern coastal Etruria as suggested by its shape, decoration (painted swastikas) and fabric composition. In the EIA Genoa represents the westernmost point reached by Etruscan pottery, which at this stage does not reach the settlements of the hinterland but is only attested along the coast. No Etruscan products or influences are found at Pian dell'Olio (SV39), which on the contrary appears projected towards the sites of coastal France as well as towards southern Piedmont.

7.4.2. Metalwork

While the pottery of Chiavari indicates close contacts with Etruria and the Tyrrhenian coast, the metal artefacts found in the Ligurian graves mainly indicate links with the north and particularly with the Golasecca culture and the western Hallstatt area. Rectangular belt fittings, penannular armrings with knob terminations (type Chiavari), cosmetic sets and basket ear/finger/hair-rings are found both at Chiavari and in the Golasecca area (de Marinis, 2014, 104–118). The Cava Cavallero spearhead (SV38) and those at Chiavari (GE6) are similar to the one found at San Pietro (CN34) and seem to be local productions deriving from Hallstatt types.

In the EIA we see a shift in the contacts in the western Alps. Around 850 BC a climate change led to a worsening of conditions (Gambari, 2004, 21–22).

Increased seasonal rainfall affected the water regime of the Alpine rivers, including the initial stretch of the Po, with disastrous consequences for the settlements located on their banks (*ibid.*). The consequent marked population drop in the Valle d'Aosta and canton Ticino led to a drop in transalpine contacts in the western Alpine region (*ibid.*). The route along the river Ticino, more stable thanks to the presence of Lake Maggiore, came to be preferred to the Dora Baltea, more susceptible to sudden flooding as a result of heavy rain (Rubat Borel, 2006, 477). As a result, the Golasecca area acquired a central role in mediating transalpine exchange. At the same time, the river Tanaro and its tributaries acquired more importance and from the 8th century BC become the main route connecting the western Alps and the settlements of the central Po plain, particularly Bologna (Gambari, 2004, 22)(Figure 7.12).

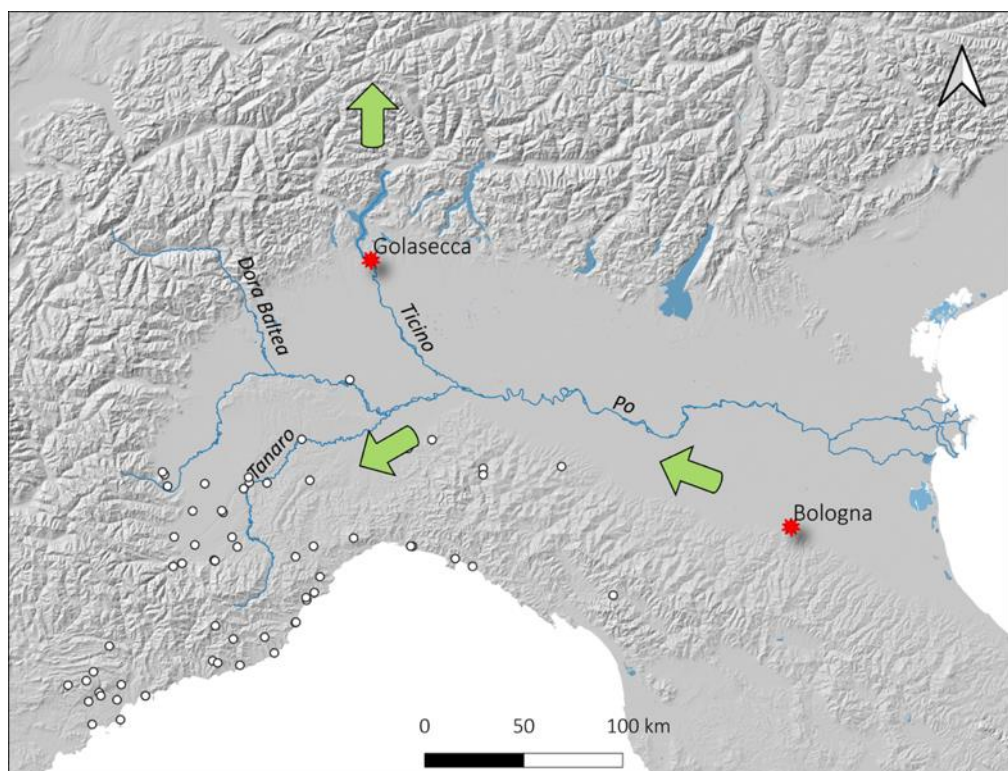


Figure 7.12 Main river routes in relation to site distribution

The Calliano sword found at Godiasco (PV₄) is close to the Tarquinia type and documents an early Etruscan interest in trading with the Po plain via Bologna (De Marinis, 1987, 55). During this phase the Etruscan exchange with Central Europe along the Bologna-Po-Ticino route began (De Marinis, 1987, 57–59).

The mediation of Bologna is plausible for the Sardinian double axe and the type Belmonte lunate razor found at Pollenzo (CN9, CN11). Sardinian artefacts, probably distributed by Vetulonia, are attested in Bologna, while type Belmonte razors are more widespread in the sites of inner Etruria than in the coastal ones (Gambari, 1995, 41–42). Further evidence of contacts with Bologna is perhaps provided by the type Ardea axes found at Terranova (AL8), Villafalletto (CN32) and San Salvatore (PC5). Although the type has a wide distribution in the Italian peninsula, it is characteristic of the Villanova culture with concentrations in the Latium region and at Bologna (San Francesco hoard) (Carancini, 1984, 39). The Terranova axe was discovered in the Po riverbed, while Villafalletto and San Salvatore are located on the banks of the Mira and Trebbia rivers respectively, both tributaries of the Po. The discovery in the centre of Fossano (CN31) of a fragment of stone mould for similar axes could indicate a local production inspired by these imported objects.

A Villanovan crested helmet produced in the first half of the 8th century BC in southern Etruria was buried as a votive offering in the Tanaro riverbed at Asti (AT2). It is hard to say whether the helmet reached Asti via Bologna or the centres of coastal Liguria, but the strong ties between Vulci and Chiavari visible in the first phase of the cemetery support the second option.

Like pottery, exotic metal artefacts can be linked to sea routes. Type Chiavari brooches have been found at Albenga (SV3) and Albisola Superiore (SV4). The embossed decoration featuring a lion/panther within a frame on a small fragment of bronze sheet from Albenga (SV3) closely recalls the stamped decoration found on bucchero at San Rocchino (LU) (Maggiani and Pallecchi, 1990, 84–85) and suggests contacts between Liguria and northern Tuscany.

Other objects are evidence for contacts with southern France. The brooch found at Grand Aven (AM9) was likely produced in north-western Italy. The axes found in the Sanguineto cave (SV18) and in the Stura di Demonte riverbed at Fossano (CN30) belong to a type that is attested in south-eastern France in the *BF 3b-1er Fer*, as well as in the Golasecca area and western Alps. The axe from Pizzo d'Evigno (IM29) belongs to a type widespread across

southern France in the *BF 3b*. The penannular armring found at Ugello (IM15) has a decoration similar to that of the armrings from Cimiez (AM13) and San Romolo (IM27), for which I have hypothesized the existence of a local production (6.5.2), but its curved shape suggests a late evolution of the original type Zerba and a date in the EIA (Figure 7.13).

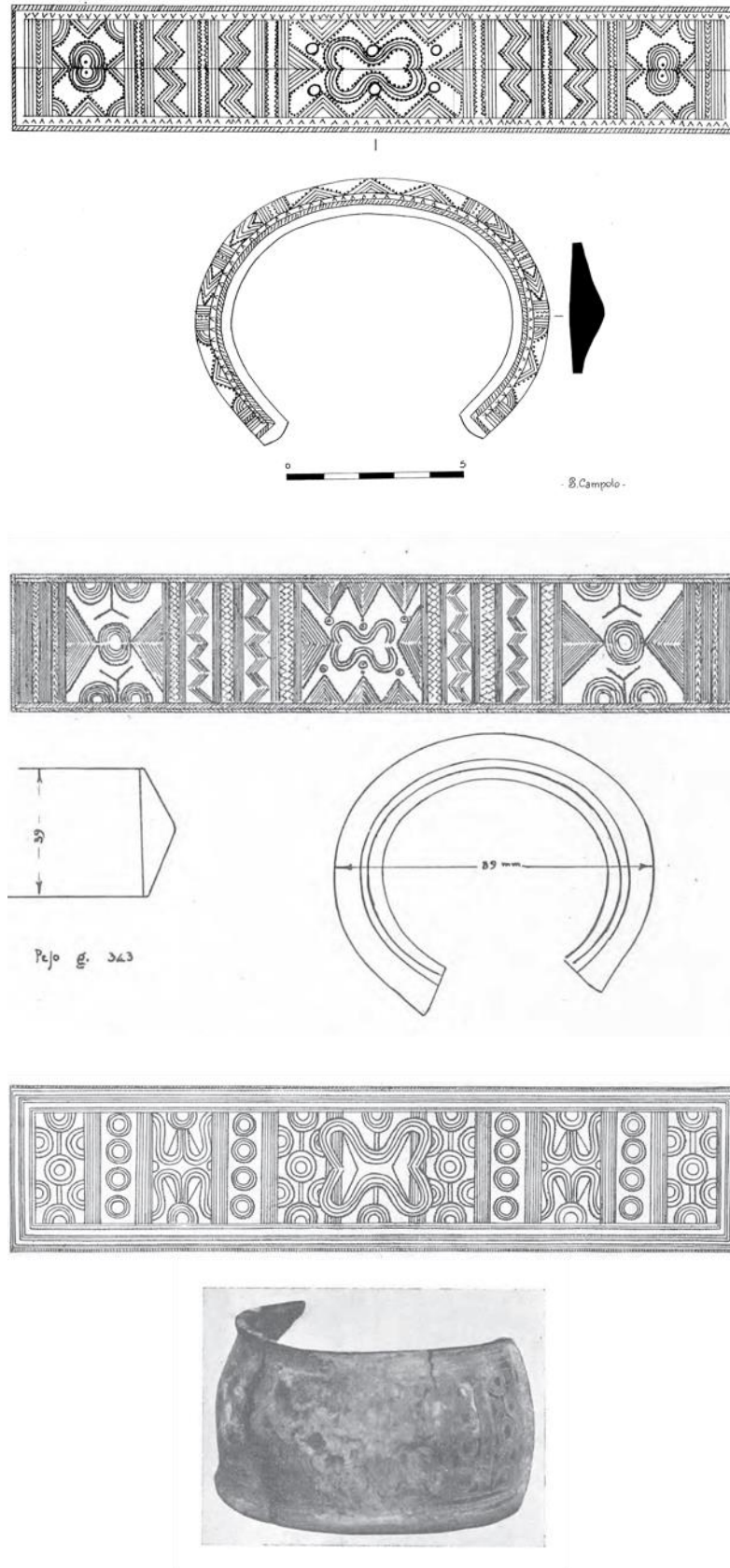


Figure 7.13 Evolution of late type Zerba armrings. From top to bottom: Cimiez (AM13), San Romolo (IM27) and Ugello (IM15) (after Lamboglia, 1940, 115, 118; Mercurin and Campolo, 2011, 145, fig. 8.1)

7.5. Northern Tuscany

The EIA evidence for northern Tuscany is concentrated near the coast (Figure 7.14). The Renzano settlement (LU₁₃) probably survived until the 9th century before being abandoned. Artefacts found at Pozzi and Cafaggio di Serravezza (LU) have been dated to the 8th century (Storti, 1995a, 57–58). They consist of very few potsherds, one with *falsa cordicella* decoration, and a spindle-whorl (*ibid.*). A few fragments of geometric painted pottery from the San Rocchino settlement at Massarosa (LU) are evidence for early contacts with the settlements of southern Etruria (Maggiani, 1990a, 57–58). The Colle le Banche hoard, which included three bronze basket ornaments similar to the Chiavari ones and five type Zerba armrings, was probably buried in the 8th century (Cocchi Genick, 2004).

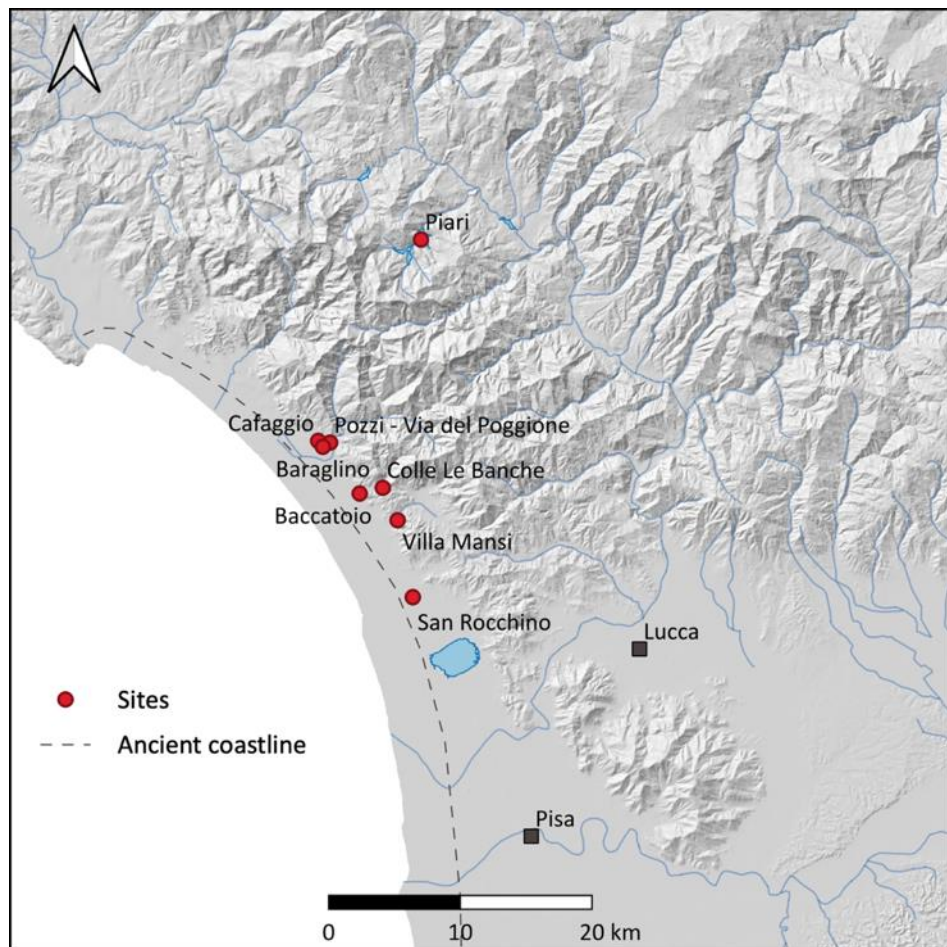


Figure 7.14 EIA sites of northern Tuscany

The main site that is used for the analysis of northern Tuscany EIA is the Baccatoio cemetery. Discovered in 1861 south of Pietrasanta (LU), it consisted of some fifty cremations (Mazzini, 1923). All the artefacts were lost and the only available information is contained in a scant report with a few sketches of the graves (Figure 7.15).



Figure 7.15 Sketch of the Baccatoio graves (Maggiani, 1990b, 122, fig. 55)

The director of the La Spezia Museum, Ubaldo Mazzini, was the first to suggest that the Baccatoio cemetery was Ligurian and to propose dating it to the EIA (Mazzini, 1923). This idea was reinforced by the discovery of the Chiavari cemetery, which became the main comparison for the Baccatoio so that Lamboglia (1961, 12) talked of a “*facies di Chiavari e del Baccatoio*” for Liguria and northern Tuscany. Nowadays most authors are convinced of the Ligurian character of the Baccatoio cemetery (see Maggiani, 2004a; Paltineri, 2017, 679; Storti, 1995a). This is based on the characteristics of the graves (stone cists, or more probably stone-lined pits) and on the similarities with the

urns of Chiavari. However, we cannot base the cultural attribution of Baccatoio on the presence of a typical Chiavari urn. The presumed similarity between the urns of the two cemeteries only confirms the existence of intense contacts between the areas and does not prove that Baccatoio was Ligurian. Even the grave structure and funerary rite, of which we do not know the details, cannot be used for a cultural attribution as cist graves are not unique to the Ligurian area (see Fogolari, 1964) and so are cremations, widespread in Italy at this stage. In addition, the chronology of the cemetery is only derived from the characteristics of the urns and the mention of a lunate razor (Mazzini, 1923, 63–64). This means that at least some of the graves contained artefacts dating to the end of 8th-7th century BC, but we cannot assume that the duration of the cemetery corresponds to those centuries. Without the grave assemblages and clear information about the graves and the cemetery structure we cannot propose any chronological and cultural attribution for the Baccatoio cemetery.

The 7th century witnessed a progressive Etruscan expansion in northern Tuscany, probably promoted by Pisa (Ciampoltrini and Notini, 1987a, 72–73). By the end of the century the Etruscans occupied Versilia and the Serchio Valley. The Piari settlement at Vagli di Sotto (LU), located along a tributary of the Serchio river, was likely an outpost for the Etruscan expansion in the Apennines (Ciampoltrini and Notini, 1987). On the coast, the San Rocchino settlement at Massarosa (LU) became the main port of call for Tyrrhenian trade towards the Ligurian coast (Cristofani, 1975).

The funerary practices confirm the cultural attribution to the Etruscans of this area. In the Villa Mansi grave at Camaione (LU) the urn was placed in a pit and covered by an upside-down *dolium* (Ciampoltrini, 1990a). The Querceta grave at Baraglino (LU), which dates to the end of the 7th-beginning of the 6th cent, contained a bucchero bowl with an Etruscan inscription and was marked by a marble club-shaped gravestone (Maggiani, 1990c). The contemporary Via del Poggione grave at Pozzi di Querceta (LU) was also marked by a club-shaped

gravestone, but differs in having a cist (Bonamici, 1990, 156; Ciampoltrini, 1990b).

Lamboglia (1961, 14) fixed at the Arno river the border between the Ligurians and the Etruscans. The idea that Lucca was originally Ligurian was supported by local scholars who linked the city's past (the only Ligurian settlement in an Etruscan region) with its modern political situation (the only Christian Democrat city in a Communist region) (Zecchini, 1999, 9). Later discoveries prompted rethinking of these ideas and Lucca and its territory to be considered as Etruscan from the 8th century (Zecchini, 1999, 10). However, the interpretation did not change for the Versilia and the Lunigiana which continue to be considered Ligurian (see Gervasini and Maggiani, 1998, 50–51) based on the much-emphasized comparison between Chiavari and the Baccatoio cemetery. In my opinion the evidence does not justify the attribution to the Ligurian culture of the EIA sites of northern Tuscany, whose similarities can be instead read in the light of the intense commercial contacts between the two areas.

7.6. Conclusions

In the EIA the Alpes-Maritimes, southern Piedmont and Liguria share the cremation rite with burials in urns in simple stone/cobble structures, and similar pottery and metal productions. These features likely extended as far as western Emilia, although the scarcity of data does not allow to define the situation of the Parma and Piacenza provinces.

Close links can be seen in the material culture of the Ligurian and Tyrrhenian coasts, but these are due to the growing commercial contacts between the two areas. The Pisan bucchero and Etruscan amphoras found in the coastal sites of Liguria document the earliest Etruscan interest in controlling the sea routes towards France. In parallel, the Etruscans activated a system of routes which allowed them to reach central Europe with the mediation of Golasecca. As a

result, the rivers of north-western Italy gained growing importance and Etruscan metal artefacts probably reached southern Piedmont via Bologna.

Chapter 8. The Middle Iron Age

This chapter follows the structure of the previous ones. The Lunigiana statue-menhirs are discussed in the material culture section, and I propose an interpretation that links them to the transapennine commercial routes. Genoa is treated separately and compared with Antibes. I analyse the evidence from the Alpes-Maritimes and highlight the difference between coastal sites and the hinterland. Finally, I discuss the evidence for western *Etruria Padana* and refute the idea of indigenous Ligurian communities interacting with Etruscan newcomers.

8.1. Overview

The MIA is represented by 82 sites. There is an increase in the number of settlements (47, including 2 cave dwellings; 17 more than in the EIA) and funerary sites (22; 8 more than in the EIA), which is more substantial if we consider that the MIA is about 75 years shorter than the EIA (see Figure 3.1). Thirteen are isolated finds.

In the MIA new settlements appear in the western Apennines. A concentration of sites along the Po and its tributaries can be linked to the use of waterways as communication and commercial routes (Figure 8.1). The increased evidence for this sector is likely to reflect demographic growth, possibly linked to the establishment of new settlements in *Etruria Padana* and the development of long-distance trade networks (Frey, 1987; Sassatelli, 2001, 183–190).

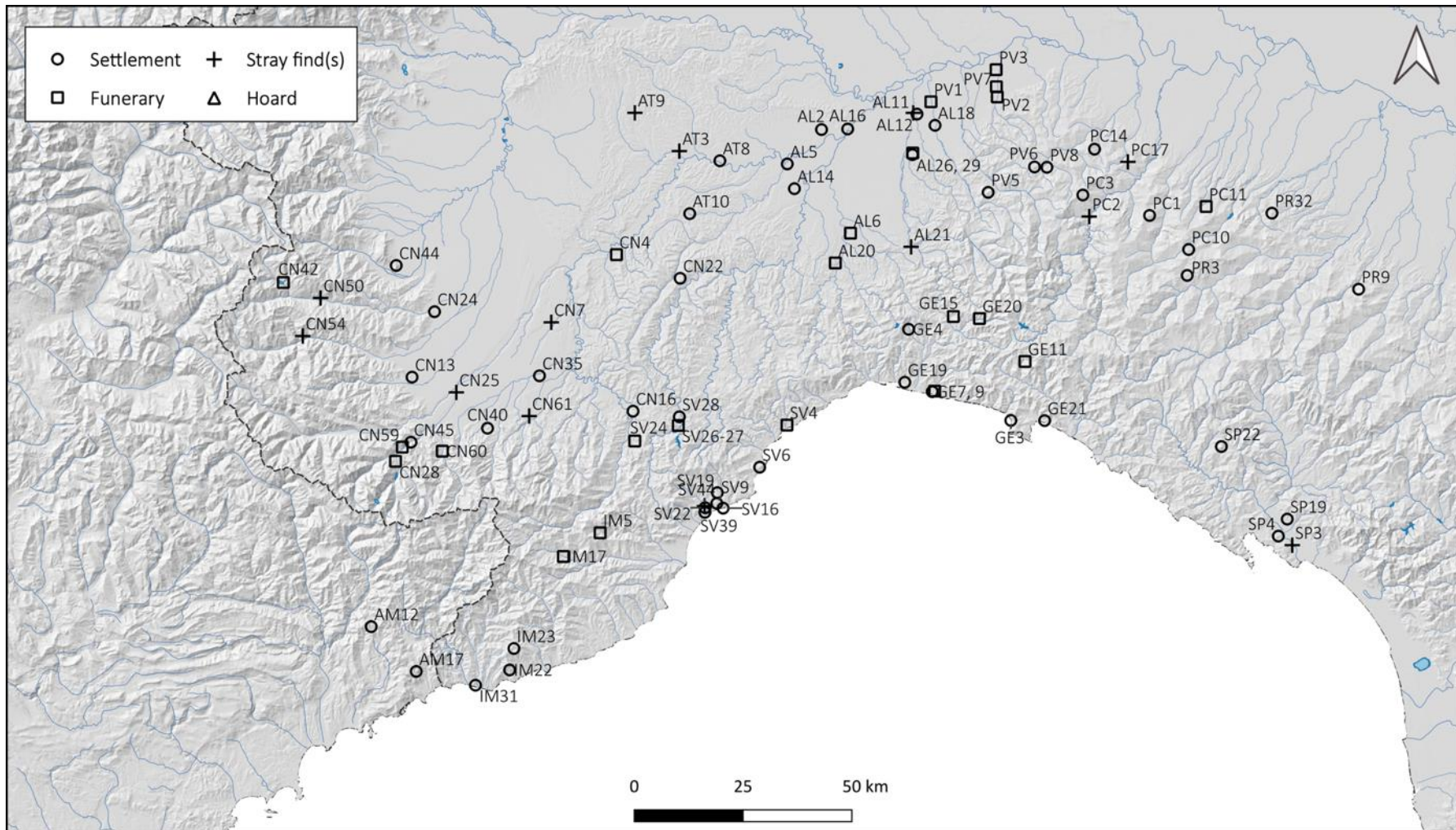


Figure 8.1 MIA sites

8.2. Cemeteries and graves

Evidence for funerary practices is provided by seven isolated graves, twelve cemeteries and one funerary cave. At San Nicolao (AL6) eight pits were probably filled by pyre debris from an unlocated cemetery. At Entracque (CN29) bronze items possibly from a funerary context were discovered together with Roman artefacts but no stratigraphic information is available. A stone cist containing an empty pot found at Tetto Chiappello (CN60) can be interpreted as a cenotaph.

In the MIA, cremation is still the main rite. The inhumation at Tana dei Carbonai (IM5), the only one known for this phase, has been explained as belonging to a foreigner. Melli (2004a, 169) argues that they came from somewhere north of the Alps and travelled along the Tanaro valley based on the presence of a *Doppelvogelkopf* brooch. However, closer parallels for the brooch can be found in southern France (Amann, 1977; Girard-Millereau, 2010, 387–394). The foreigner hypothesis is verisimilar, but if we accept it we should probably look in this direction and I suggest a journey via sea rather than along the Tanaro.

8.2.1. Grave structure and goods

As in the EIA, the cremated bones are generally buried in urns placed in stone cists, more rarely in simple pits or in stone-lined pits, with different solutions adopted in the same cemetery (see Valdieri CN59 and Albisola Superiore SV4). Urns are generally closed by an upside-down bowl except at Valdieri (CN59), where they were sealed by stone slabs. Only at Massimino (SV24) were the human remains and grave goods placed directly inside the pit and covered by an upside-down bowl. In contrast to the previous phase, there are no examples of multiple graves. However, this could be because in most cases we lack precise information for what are mostly old chance discoveries.

Two big stone slabs found at Bric Langa (SV26) could have been gravestones to signpost the burials. At Albisola Superiore (SV4) the graves were protected

by structures evidenced by postholes. The Alba graves (CN4) were covered by soil mounds and surrounded by circular enclosures formed by vertical slabs in a narrow foundation trench.

At Veleia (PC11) graves were covered by circular stone mounds. The total number of mounds and organisation of the cemetery is unclear. We do not know whether only some graves were covered by mounds, nor if other types of structures were present. Because we lack the association between artefacts and graves, we cannot speculate about the meaning of the mounds.

At Valdieri (CN59) all but one grave were surrounded by quadrangular enclosures built around a quadrangular drystone-walled structure, whose function is unclear (Figure 8.2). The graves were covered by small mounds of soil and stone slabs. There are no exact parallels for this kind of structure, although links have been highlighted with the shape and spatial organisation of the Chiavari (GE6) enclosures, as well as with the Golasecca Ameno B cemetery (VA) and the later Cafaggio cemetery (SP1) (Venturino Gambari, 2008a, 52). The Valdieri structures can generally be linked to the long tradition of quadrangular funerary enclosures attested in north-western Italy from the FBA (Del Luca, 2001; Venturino Gambari, 2006, 19–24).

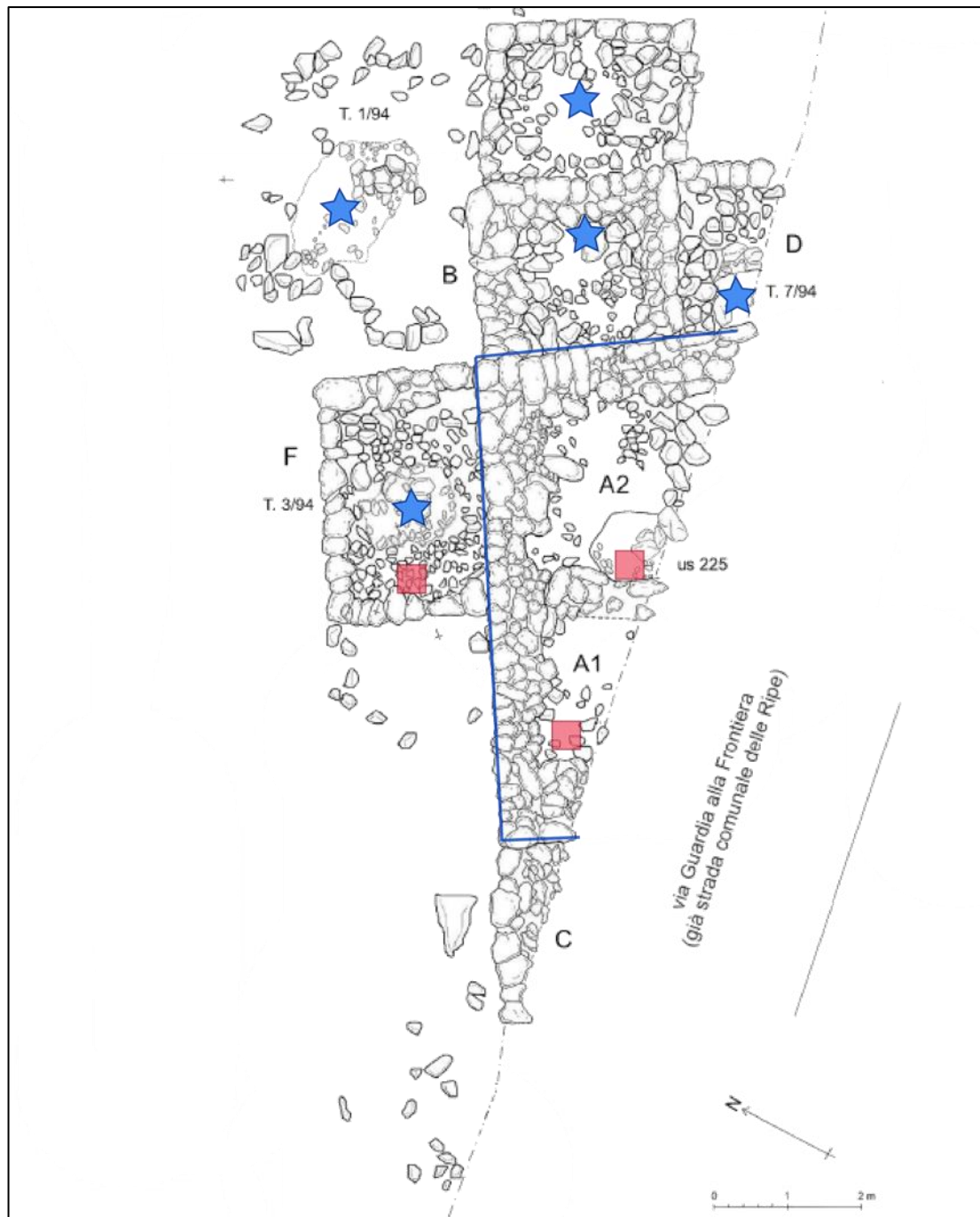


Figure 8.2 Plan of the Valdieri (CN59) monumental area showing the distribution of the MIA graves (blue stars) around the central space (blue line) and in relation to the FBA graves (red squares) (after Venturino Gambari, 2008a, 51, fig. 31)

No information is available about the structure of the graves found in the Pavia province (Casei Gerola PV1, Coppa PV2, Cava Bassini PV3, Cava Bianchi PV7), whose interpretation is based on the characteristics of the artefacts. The graves contained several Golasecca metal artefacts (brooches, belt fittings, cosmetic tools, a sword), but this is of little use for their cultural attribution as

such items are widespread in Ligurian tombs and settlement (see 8.4.2), as well as in western *Etruria Padana*. The analysis of the pottery also proves tricky as Golasecca and Ligurian tombs share some types of pots and decorations, and while the urns of Casei Gerola (PV1) and Cava Bassini (PV3) seem closer to Ligurian types, the pottery of Cava Bianchi (PV7) can be placed in the realm of Golasecca.

Additional pottery vases, usually one or two, are attested at Alba (CN4), Albisola Superiore (SV4), Camiaschietta (GE15), Roccatagliata (GE11) and Veleia (PC11). They consist of locally produced drinking vessels, more rarely of bowls. In contrast to the contemporary Etruscan graves of the Po plain, there is no reference to the symposium and the shape of the beakers may indicate the consumption of a drink other than wine, perhaps beer (for the link between shape and content see Gambari, 2005b)(Figure 8.3). Only at Alba (CN4) did one grave contain an imported Etrusco-Corinthian *pyxis*.

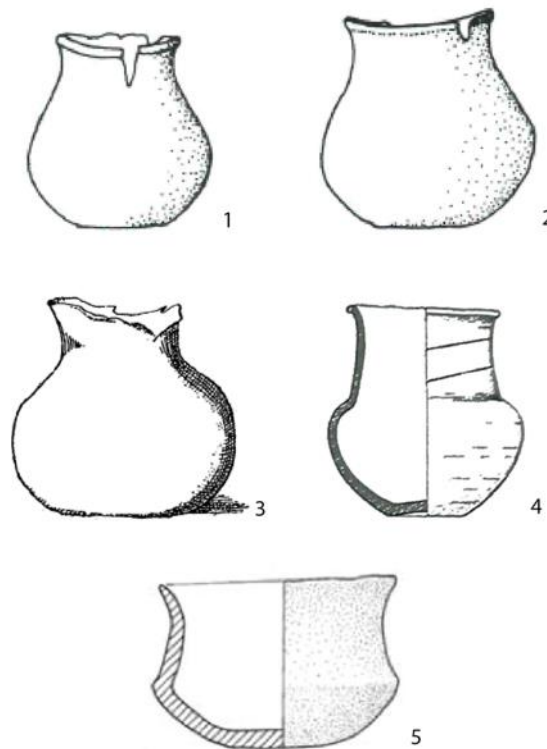


Figure 8.3 Beakers found in the graves of Veleia (1-2), Camiaschietta (3), Roccatagliata (4) and Alba (5) (after De Marinis, 1990, 750, fig. 36; Ghirardini, 1894, 210, fig. 4; Melli, 2004b, 123, fig. 5.3; Venturino Gambari, Ferrero and Giaretti, 2009, pl. LXXII.3). Not to scale.

Urns generally consist of high-shouldered vases (Figure 8.4). Decoration is extremely rare. The urns of Cava Bassini (PV3), Valdieri (CN59) and one from Alba (CN4) had black-burnished lattice decoration on their shoulder. The same decoration is also found on the bowl used as a lid for one of the Camiaschietta urns (GE15).

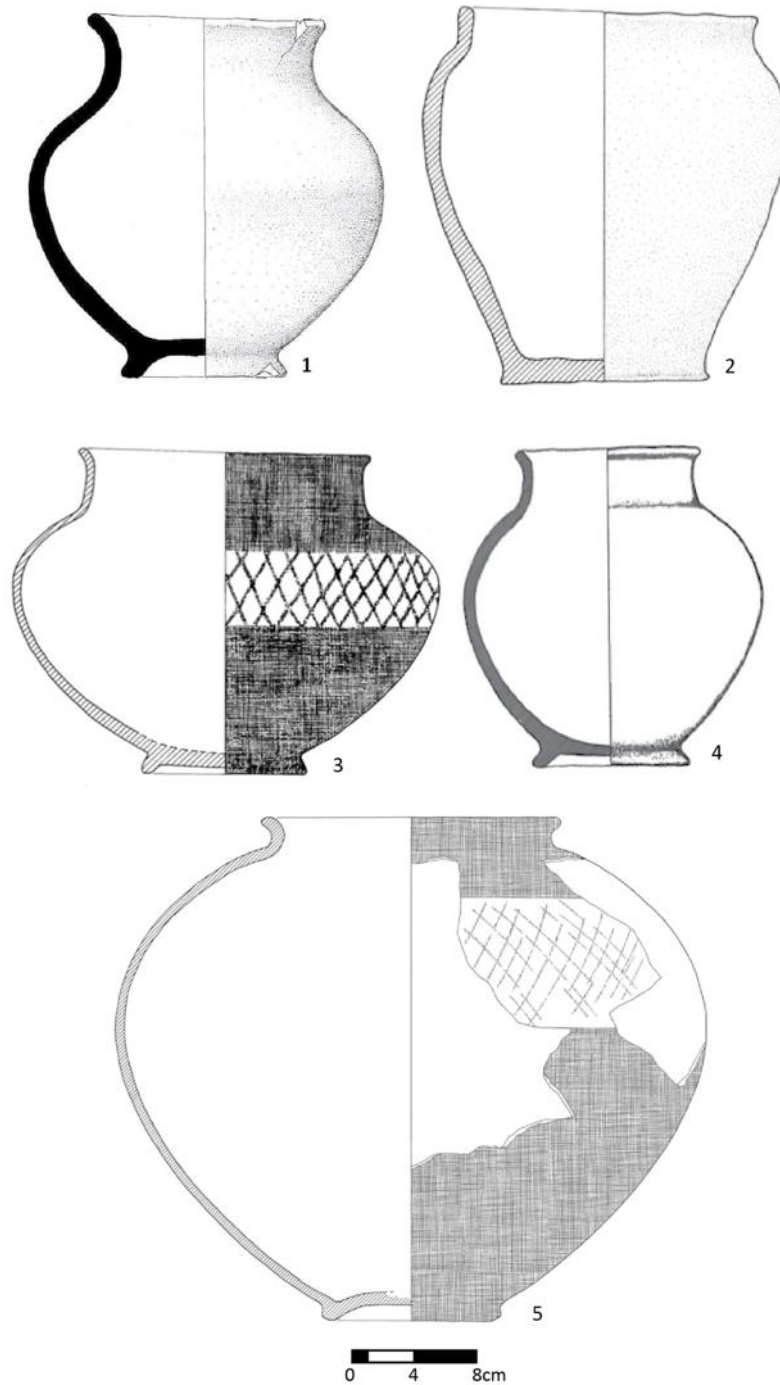


Figure 8.4 MIA cinerary urns: 1. Casei Gerola (PV1); 2. Tortona (AL30); 3. Valdieri (CN59); 4. Roccatagliata (GE11); 5. Alba (CN4) (after R. C. De Marinis, 1998, 108, fig. 1.3.1; Giaretti et al., 2008, 99, fig. 60; Melli, 2004b, 123, fig. 5.1; Venturino Gambari, Ferrero and Giaretti, 2009, pl. LXXII.1, 2013b, 199, fig. 36.1)

Weapons are relatively common. A MIA novelty is the appearance of swords, which are found either alone (at Cava Bassini PV₃) or in association with spearheads (at Camiaschietta GE₁₅ and Roccatagliata GE₁₁). Spearheads are attested at Albisola Superiore (SV₄) and Veleia (PC₁₁). The Cava Bassini (PV₃) sword was accompanied by a scabbard decorated with embossed dots and circles that has parallels in the Golasecca area. The sword dates to an earlier period (G IC-G IIA) than the rest of the artefacts, which all date to G IIB, and can be interpreted as an heirloom (Martinotti, 2011). The practice of placing swords of antique style in graves is well attested in the elite burials of south-eastern Hallstatt area (Rebay-Salisbury, 2016, 48).

Spindle-whorls are attested at Tortona via Visconti (AL₂₉) and Albisola Superiore (SV₄), where one grave also contained a distaff. When weapons or spindle whorls are not present, gender is generally assigned based on the types of jewellery and clothing accessories. Penannular armrings (type Crissolo), leech/boast shaped brooches, pendants and studs/buttons are usually assigned to females (Bulgarelli and Del Lucchese, 2008; Giaretti *et al.*, 2008, 97–99), spiral armrings and serpentine bow brooches to males (Melli, 2004b, 123–124; Simone Zopfi, 2001, 207). The lunate razor in the Alba grave (CN₄) is also considered a male attribute.

Overall, we do not find particularly rich graves. Objects made of precious materials are rare. The grave assemblages generally consist of a few items and their composition appears standardised, even in the case of monumental graves. However, the lack of sure associations (e.g. Veleia PC₁₁) or the poor conditions of the graves (e.g. Alba CN₄) could affect this picture.

8.3. Settlements

The MIA sees an increase of settlements in the plain, whose number more than doubles from the previous phase (from 11 to 25) (Figure 8.5). The number of mountain settlements remains the same, but in the MIA they only make up

for the 22% of the total (against the 36% of the previous phase). As before, hill settlements represent about a third of the total.

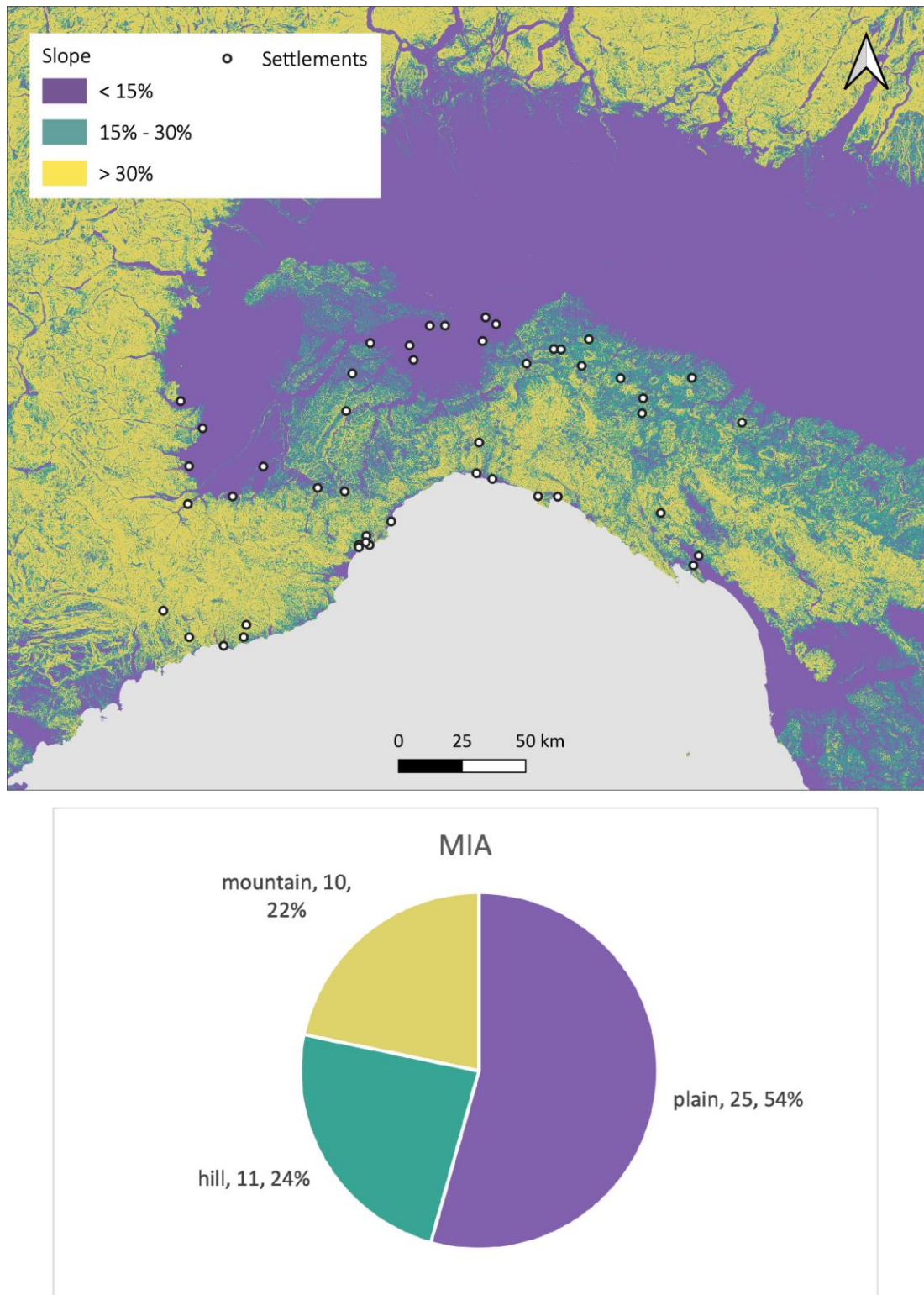


Figure 8.5 Distribution of MIA settlements by slope band

Despite being mostly in the plain, raised position continue to be favoured (Figure 8.6). The increase of settlements on ridges, mostly located in the Pavia, La Spezia and Piacenza provinces, is probably linked to the increased transapennine contacts between the western Po plain and the Ligurian/Tyrrhenian coast (Figure 8.7).

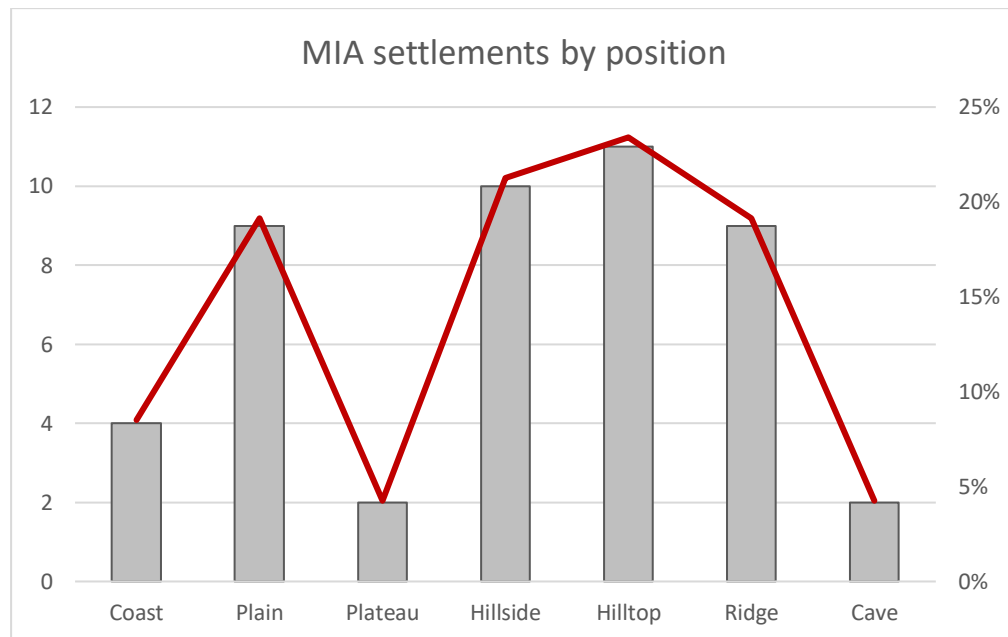


Figure 8.6 Distribution of MIA settlements according to their position.



Figure 8.7 The site of Rocca di Pietranera (PR₃) and the ridgeway from Aione (PR₃₀) (Ghiretti, 2003, 177, fig. 216).

Most MIA settlements show no traces of previous occupation (Figure 8.8). Only six settlements were already inhabited in the EIA, while in eleven cases the MIA settlement was established in the area previously occupied by an FBA settlement that had been abandoned in the EIA. New settlements are recorded at all slopes and in all positions. The very few settlements continuing from the EIA are mainly located in the plain (four out of six).

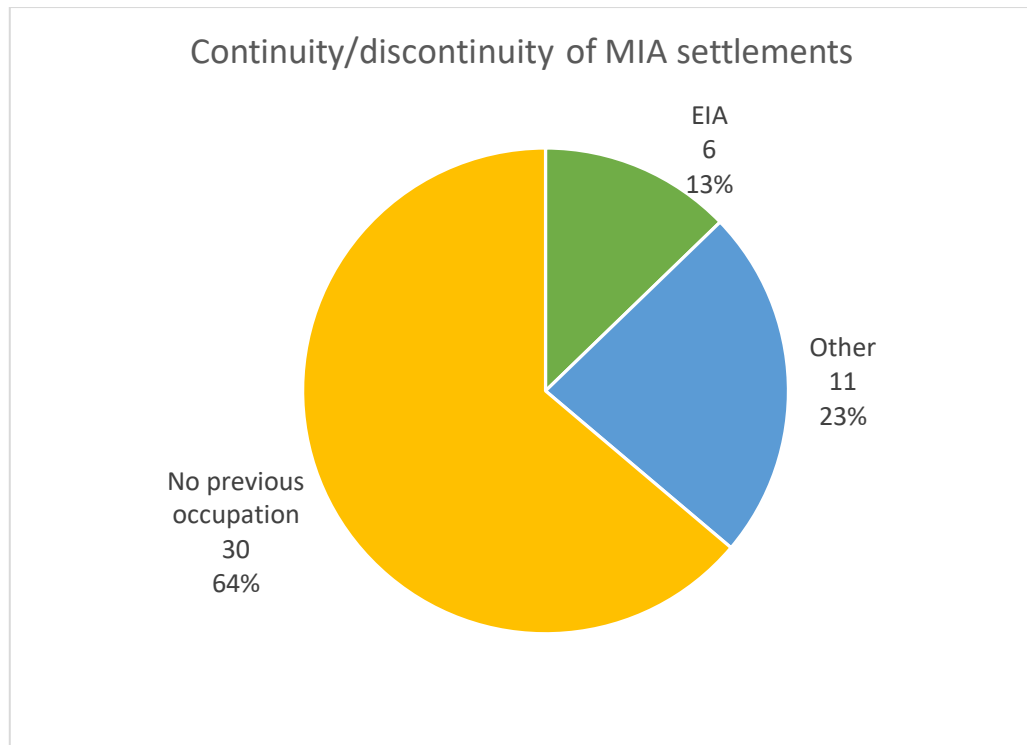


Figure 8.8 MIA new and previously established settlements

8.3.1. Organisation and dwellings

Despite the increase, the number of settlements remains relatively low compared with the nearby *Etruria Padana* (cf. Malnati, 2004a, 236 fig. 2). The available information does not allow us to determine the exact size of the settlements, but we can imagine that they mostly consisted of a few dwellings.

Three terraced settlements were occupied in the MIA: Monte Sant'Elena (SV6), Montecastello (AL16), and Guardamonte (PV5). The first was in a previously unoccupied area, while the other two overlay FBA settlements. Artefacts dating to the MIA have been recovered from the top deposit of the Pian dell'Olio (SV39) settlement terraces, but they are not associated with any structure.

Information on the dwellings' characteristics and building techniques is extremely scarce. A structure with a dry-stone foundation and wattle and daub walls was discovered during the excavation of the Medieval castle of Brina (SP19). Only a small portion survived making it impossible to determine the size and organisation of the building. Fragments of tableware and a hearth

confirm its domestic function. Fragments of daub with the imprint of wattle attest the presence of perishable structures at Montecastello (AL16), however we do not know whether they were built on stone foundations as the Brina ones.

At Ventimiglia (IM31) three sub-circular structures initially interpreted as funerary enclosures are now believed to be hut platforms. They consist of vertical stone slabs delimiting a space filled with several deposits, with the top layer consisting of fragments of slabs horizontally laid over marine/fluvial pebbles bonded with clay. Their characteristics and the presence of hearths and tableware suggest the interpretation as bases to build huts on the unstable sandy ground.

The limited extent of investigations makes it difficult to understand the internal organisation of the settlements. In some cases there seems to be a distinction between domestic and productive areas. At Guardamonte (PV5) one terrace was built specifically for craft activities, as indicated by the presence of a kiln, probably for pottery. The occupants of Villa del Foro (AL5) engaged in pottery production along with other craft activities (metalworking, perhaps fabric dying), but no traces of dwellings were found at the site, which occupies an area of about 2 km². Its location, in a flat area near the Belbo and Tanaro rivers subject to regular flooding, made it suited to a seasonal occupation and to sourcing clay for producing pottery, but unsuitable for a settlement.

8.4. The material culture

8.4.1. Pottery

The MIA pottery of southern Piedmont has standardised shapes and decorations. It is commonly held that the local pottery was hand-made and all wheel-made pottery was imported (Cattaneo Cassano and Giaretti, 1998, 316–320; Venturino Gambari *et al.*, 1996c, 32–34). However, I have recently suggested that wheel-thrown bucchero was produced at Villa Del Foro (AL5)

and that the use of the wheel was introduced to Piedmont as early as in the 6th century BC (Vecchi, 2021).

As in the previous phase, tableware includes beakers, jars and bowls. When present, the decoration mainly consists of simple finger impressions or oblique dashes on the upper part of the vase, on the rim and/or on the foot of bowls (Figure 8.9). From the turn of the 6th-5th centuries BC, a new decoration appears consisting of series of impressed triangles or lines of incised zigzags (Venturino Gambari *et al.*, 2015, 59). These become common in the LIA, when they are often associated in complex motifs (see 10.4.1). Decoration with impressed concentric circles attested at Tortona (AL26), Villa del Foro (AL5), Guardamonte (PV5) and Genoa (GE7) is an indication of the contacts with the Golasecca area. The same can be said for the black-burnished lattice decoration on bowls at Montecastello (AL16), Villa del Foro (AL5), Tortona (AL26) and Camiaschetta (GE15).

Carinated beakers with a flared rim are characteristic of southern Piedmont and are frequent in the Alessandria province (Venturino Gambari *et al.*, 1996c, 33, 2015, 54). These beakers seem to derive from the older prototype found at Chiavari (GE6) and partly recall contemporary beakers found in the Golasecca area. Outside Piedmont, they are found at Genoa (GE7), in the Roccatagliata grave (GE11) and in southern Lombardy, but they do not spread beyond this point and are not found in *Etruria Padana* (Vecchi, 2021).

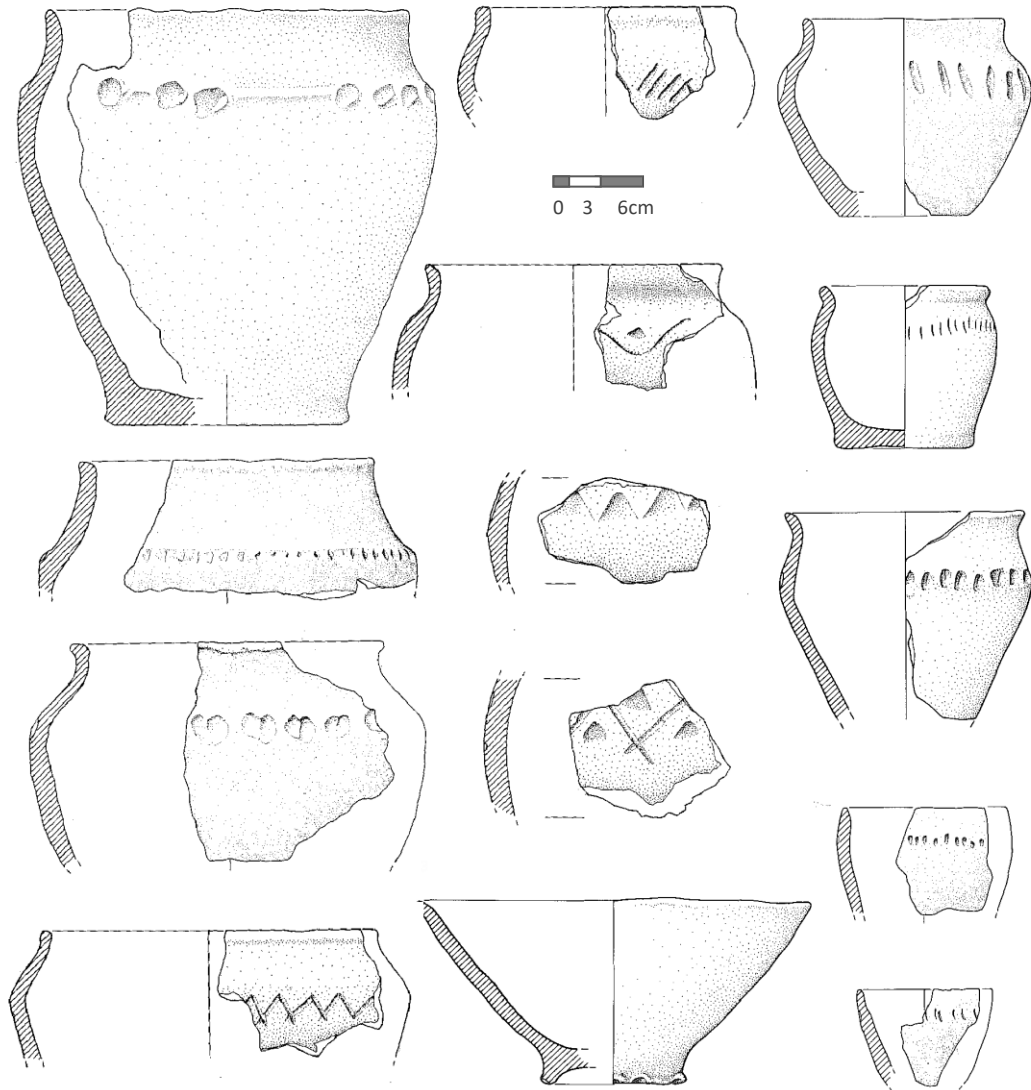


Figure 8.9 Decorated pottery from southern Piedmont (after Cattaneo Cassano and Giaretti, 1998, 318–319, figs. 2–3)

The MIA evidence from Liguria is quite scarce and the characteristics of the local pottery in this phase cannot be precisely defined. Shapes and decorations recall those of southern Piedmont with even greater standardisation (Del Lucchese *et al.*, 1994, 75, fig. 14). It is equally hard to assess the pottery of the Alpes-Maritimes for the lack of detailed publications.

In the MIA we see the spread of imported pottery. Greek pottery is attested at Genoa (GE7), Brina (SP19) and perhaps Bricco Castellar (GE19), where two fragments of painted pottery could be of Attic production. Etruscan bucchero is well attested in southern Piedmont, particularly on sites located near major routes such as rivers and valleys (Figure 8.10). An *oinochoe* probably from

Vulci and potsherds of bucchero from Chiusi were found at Libarna (AL21), and a miniature *kyathos* at Monleale (AL) (Gambari, 1993, 131). Bucchero potsherds were found at Guardamonte (PV5), where a fragment of southern-Etruscan basin was also recovered. Other bucchero was probably imported from *Etruria Padana*, from which also came the depurated pottery at Villa del Foro (AL5) and Tortona (AL26).

In Liguria, bucchero is attested at Genoa (GE7-8), Monte Sant'Elena (SV6) and Trebiano (SP4). The bucchero found in Liguria is believed to come from Tyrrhenian northern Etruria (Melli, 1993). In the case of Portofranco (GE8), this origin has been confirmed by the petrographic analysis of the artefacts (Melli, 2004c). The bucchero of Villa del Foro (AL5) and Tortona (AL26) also shows strong links with the products of Versilia and Pisa and confirms the role of the port of Genoa as intermediary for Etruscan products directed northwards. Transport via sea to Genoa and overland from there to southern Piedmont is plausible for the Etrusco-Corinthian pottery of Alba (CN4) and Villa del Foro (AL5), and for the Greek pottery found at the latter. The presence of an Etrusco-Corinthian *aryballos*, probably of southern production, in a grave at Castelletto Ticino (NO) and of fragments of a wine amphora from Caere in the settlement indicates that the itinerary continued into the Golasecca area (Gambari, 1993, 128; Pearce, 1994, 64–65).

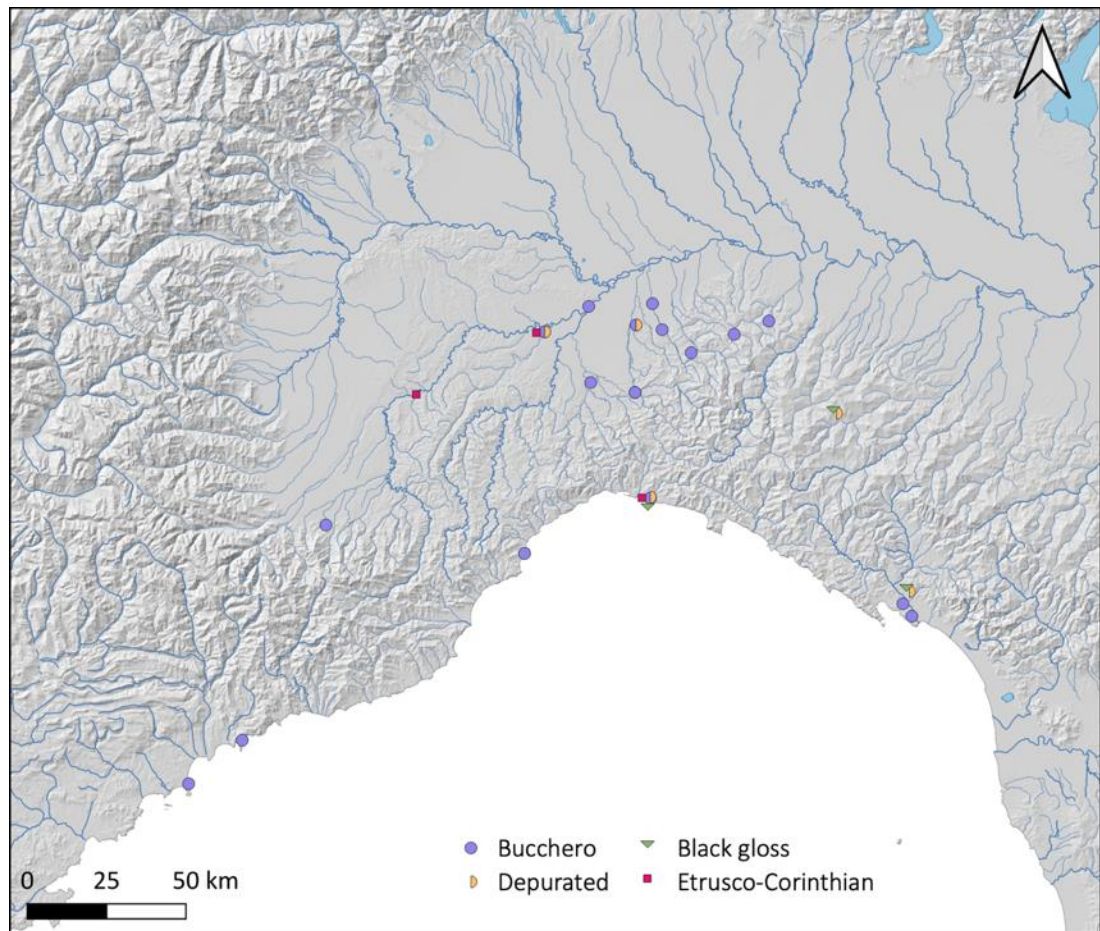


Figure 8.10 Distribution of Etruscan tableware in Ligurian sites

Etruscan and Massaliot amphoras are attested on the Ligurian coast with concentrations in the far west (at Croce Padre Poggi IM22, Monte Bignone IM23 and Ventimiglia IM31), and at Genoa (GE7) and its surroundings (at Monte Castellaro GE3, Bricco Castellar GE19 and Sant'Ambrogio GE21). The only non-coastal site with southern Etruscan amphoras is Monte Dragone (SP22), whose material indicates close links with *Etruria Padana* and the northern Tyrrhenian. No other amphoras are attested in the hinterland and their lack in southern Piedmont appears most surprising given its role in the trade between *Etruria Padana*, Golasecca and the Ligurian coast.

This absence can perhaps be explained by the use of other types of transport containers, such as large wheel-thrown *dolia* found at Montecastello (AL16). Alternatively, we can think that amphoras did not reach these territories because there was no demand for their content, i.e. wine. The characteristics of the pots found in the settlements and in the graves seem to support this

hypothesis. Pottery linked to wine consumption is very rarely attested. In addition, to date there is no clear evidence for grapevine cultivation. Although grape seeds have been found on numerous sites, their presence seems connected to the consumption of the wild fruit rather than to cultivation for wine production (Arobba and Motella De Carlo, 2021, 109).

This contrasts with the evidence from the neighbouring areas. Aside from amphoras, wine consumption is suggested at Golasecca by the presence of bucchero *kylikes* in graves dating to between the end of the 7th and the first half of the 6th century, and by domesticated grape seeds in contexts dating to the late G IC (Gambari, 1993, 127–128). Grapevine cultivation is attested in *Etruria Padana* from the 8th century BC (Acconcia and Piergrossi, 2021, 199) and although symposium pottery is not attested the graves of the western sector (see 8.7), wine cups and containers, first imported and then also locally produced, are present in the settlements from the late 7th century (Damiani *et al.*, 1992, 43–62, 83–106). One Tyrrhenian amphora found in the western Apennines at Groppo Predellara (PC4) can perhaps be linked to the findings of Monte Dragone (SP22) and indicate the existence of western transapennine routes (see also the distribution of Golasecca brooches in Figure 8.11).

8.4.2. Metalwork

In the MIA, Golasecca bronze artefacts are widespread in Liguria and southern Piedmont. Bucket-shaped pendants and cosmetic sets are found both in graves and in settlements, particularly in southern Piedmont (Figure 8.11). Type Certosa Ticinese brooches (X-m in the classification of Teržan, 1977) are attested in Liguria, southern Lombardy and western Emilia. At Cafaggio (SP1) a type Certosa Ticinese brooch was found in a grave dating to the 4th century BC that contained older artefacts. A variant of the type (X-a in Teržan, 1977, 331) is attested in Liguria and southern Lombardy. Type Cerinasca d’Albedo, late Alpine brooches and leech brooches with coral or white glaze inserts are also attested in the study area. The use of coral in general was quite popular in the Golasecca culture, which must have relied on imports to source the raw

material (De Marinis, 2000). Two fragments of raw coral found on the Castello hill (GE7) could indicate that Genoa played a role in its supply (Melli, 2006, 622).

The distribution of Golasecca brooches is significant as they seem to concentrate along two routes (Figure 8.11). One connected Genoa through the Polcevera and Scrivia valleys with the sites of southern Piedmont and the western Golasecca area. Another route probably followed the Po River up to its confluence with the Enza valley, continued along the latter and possibly using the upper Secchia valley reached the Serchio valley. The presence of a Ticinese Certosa brooch at Populonia (R. De Marinis, 1998, 68) could indicate that these routes continued further south in the direction of the sites of *Etruria Mineraria*.

A concentration of artefacts near the river Magra mouth suggests a further route via the Magra valley, that connected the coast to the western Po plain, perhaps crossing the ridge at the Cisa pass, the lowest of the western Apennines, and continuing along the Taro valley. However, the scarcity of archaeological evidence in this sector does not allow this route to be confirmed.

A mould for casting a leech brooch of the late alpine type characteristic of the G III A2 was found at Genoa together with metal slags and semifinished objects (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 329–330, V.2.45–49). An unfinished bucket-pendant of a characteristic G II B-III A1 type was found at Breolungi (CN35). This evidence attests the existence of shared models for metalworking across all north-western Italy regardless of the cultural attribution of the areas. It also raises the question whether these types should be considered as ‘Golasecca’.

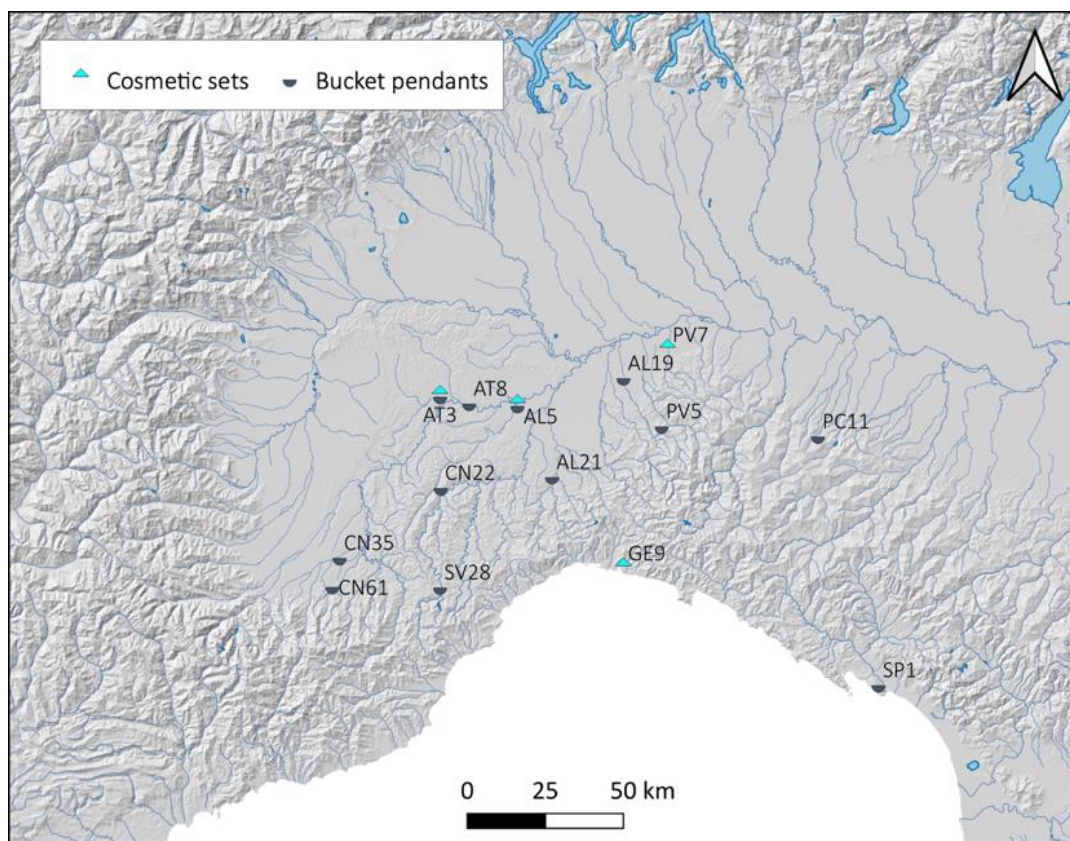
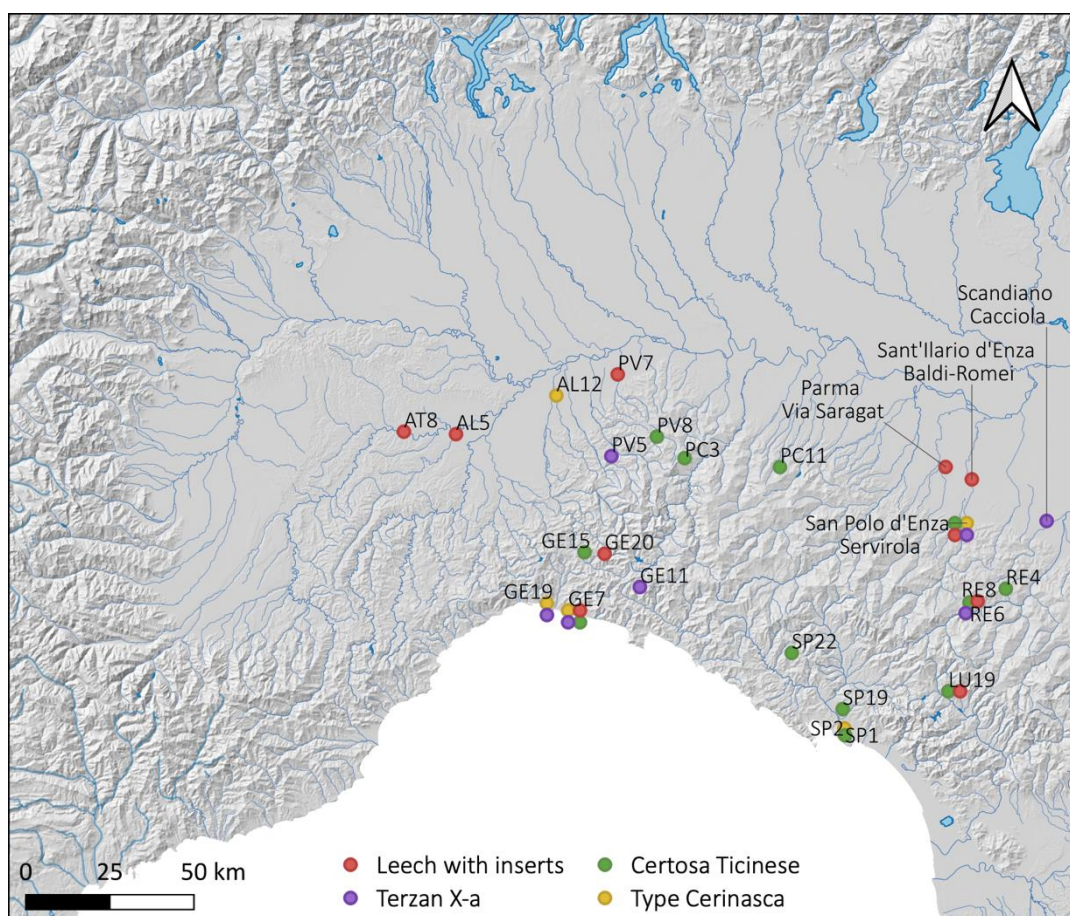


Figure 8.11 Distribution of Golasecca artefacts outside the Golasecca culture area (after Carini and Miari, 2004a, 321; Damiani et al., 1992, 128–129 nos. 926–941, 317 pl. LXXI)

Other metal artefacts were imported from *Etruria Padana* like the miniature leech brooches found in southern Piedmont at Castello d'Annone (AT8), Montecastello (AL16), Villa del Foro (AL5) and Scorrone (CN22). The distaff found at Albisola Superiore (SV4) resembles one found at Sant'Ilario d'Enza (RE) and is also possibly an import (Damiani *et al.*, 1992, 347, pl. CI.1742).

A bronze helmet found at Cuneo (CN25) points to contacts with southern Etruria. The helmet, probably produced at Vulci, was found out of context next to the Gesso River. Although it could perhaps have come from a grave, a comparison with the Asti helmet (AT2) and with the helmet found in the Doria Riparia riverbed at Turin (Ridella, 1998, 281) suggests its interpretation as a votive *Flussfund*. A southern Etruscan helmet found in the Genoa cemetery (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 338, V.3.2) could indicate how the Cuneo helmet travelled from Etruria to its findspot. It is possible that the helmet reached Genoa by sea, and from there crossed the Apennines via the Scrivia valley to reach the Tanaro River and followed it westwards. The above-mentioned Etruscan pottery found at Libarna (see p. 179) seems to confirm this route. However, we cannot exclude the mediation of *Etruria Padana*.

Likely *Etruria Padana* acted as intermediary for the objects that reached north-western Italy from the Adriatic coast. A type Sirolo pendant and a cypraea-shaped pendant at Asti Museum probably found in the area around the city were produced in the *Picenum* (Gambari, 1998c, 142). The pendants and necklace elements found at Bene Vagienna (CN7) and now at the museum of Turin were produced in the same area (*ibid.*).

8.4.3. The Lunigiana statue-menhirs

The Lunigiana statue-menhirs are prehistoric monuments consisting of highly stylised human figures carved in blocks of local stone. Two groups can be distinguished, one dating to the Copper Age (c. 2800 - 2300 BC) and another to the IA (Paribeni and Perazzi, 2016). To date, 85 statue-menhirs have been discovered, all distributed in the catchment area of the river Magra (Ratti, 1994a; Paribeni and Perazzi, 2016; Giannini, 2021).

Nearly all the statue-menhirs were discovered by chance and their dating mainly relies on their stylistic analysis. Representations of antennae swords, spears and squared axes allow twelve statue-menhirs to be dated to the end of the 7th - 6th century BC (Rozzi Mazza, 1994). Six of them were new, while the others were older monuments re-worked with the addition of new elements or the modification of the existing ones (Table 8.1). A Copper Age statue-menhir found at Santo Stefano di Sorano (MS) (n. 73) was reused as lateral stone slab in a female cist grave that dates to the 2nd – 1st century BC (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 441–442, VI.25).

N.	Name	Finding spot	New / reworked	Inscription	Attributes						
					Axe	Javelins	Sword	Shield	Belt	Loincloth	Helmet
1	Zignago	Villa Novà (SP)	R	y							
4	Campoli	Madonna di Campoli (MS)	R		?	y			y		
14	Filetto I	Selva di Filetto, Villafranca (SP)	R	y	y	y	y		y		
15	Filetto II	Selva di Filetto, Villafranca (SP)	N	y	y	y			y	y	
39	Reusa	Quercia di Reusa, Casola Lunigiana (MS)	N		y			?	y		
48	Bigliolo	Belvedere, Aulla (MS)	N	y	y				y	y	
54	Soliera	Torsana di Soliera, Fivizzano (MS)	N		y						
56	Montecurto	Montecurto, Fivizzano (MS)	R		y	y*			?		
60	Romeo	Fosdinovo? (MS)	N					y	y		
61	Lerici	Catene, Lerici (SP)	R			y	y	y			y
67	Sorano V	Sorano, Filattiera (MS)	R	y	y	y	y				
73	Sorano VII	Santo Stefano di Sorano, Filattiera (MS)	n/a								
74	Lerici II	Punta Galera, Lerici (SP)	N								

*One spear

Table 8.1 IA Lunigiana statue-menhirs (after Ambrosi, 1969; Ratti, 1994a; Gervasini and Maggiani, 1998; de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 1441–442, VI.25; Maggiani, 2007; Gervasini, 2012; Museo Statue Stele Lunigiana, 2015a). The number refers to the statue-menhirs corpus (Ambrosi, 1969).



1.



15.



61.



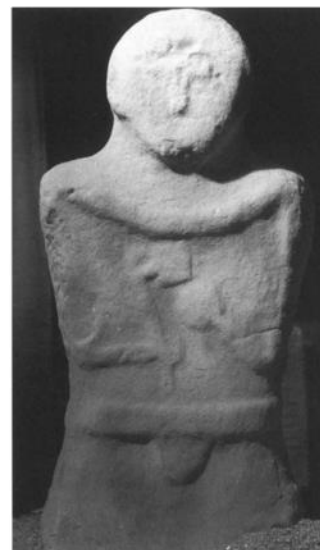
14.



4.



48.



39.

Figure 8.12 Selection of IA statue-menhirs (after Ratti, 1994a, 55, fig. 47, 1994b, 152–152, figs. 41–45, 50; Gervasini and Maggiani, 1998, 28, fig. 1; Museo Statue Stele Lunigiana, 2015b). Not to scale.

Five out of twelve IA statue-menhirs have an inscription. In three cases we can read one/two words (Figure 8.13), only three letters survive on the Sorano V stele, while there is a single letter on the Filetto I stele (Maggiani, 1987). Their interpretation is controversial, but they are generally believed to be personal names (Maggiani, 2004b, 221). There is no agreement about the language of the inscriptions, which were written in the Etruscan alphabet (Gambari and Colonna, 1988, 145–146). Buffa (1935, 11–14), Rix (1991, 330) and Meiser (2014, 806) include the statue-menhirs within the *corpus* of the Etruscan inscriptions. Maggiani (1976; 1987) believes that they were written in a local language “*con tratti celtoidi*”, which he defines “Leponitic-Ligurian” (Maggiani, 1987, 437). Colonna (in Gambari & Colonna 1989: 142) mentions in passing a rather vague “*lunigianense*”. Lejeune (1971), who adds the statue-menhir inscriptions as an appendix to his essay on the Lepontic language, affirms that “*les inscriptions de la Lunigiana [...] n’appartiennent ni aux Étrusques, ni aux Gaulois, mais aux Ligures*”.

Zignago (n. 1):
mezunemuśus or *mezunemunius*

Filetto II (n. 15):
uvezaruapu(.s)

Bigliolo (n. 48):
vemethuvis

Figure 8.13 Statue-menhirs inscriptions (after Maggiani, 1976; 1987, 438, fig. 1)

It is not clear why, after a gap of about 1500 years during which no monuments were created, the statue-menhirs appeared again during the Iron Age. Some believe that this revival was connected to their re-use as funerary stelae based

on the comparison with Etruscan monuments and the presence of inscriptions (Gervasini and Maggiani, 1998, 36–37; Paribeni, 2016, 61). However, no MIA graves are known in Lunigiana and the only statue-menhir associated with a burial (n. 73), was clearly defunctionalized and recycled as building material for the grave. Etruscan graves are known nearby in Versilia, which are often associated with club-shaped marble stones which bear no inscriptions or depictions (Bonamici, 1990). Ligurian graves are generally not marked by gravestones (see 8.2) and never contain axes and shields; helmets are only found in the Etruscan graves at Genoa (see 8.5). If the statue-menhirs related to funerary contexts, either real graves or symbolic graves of mythical ancestors, we would expect them to express the same ideals that emerge from the grave assemblages and use the same symbols. Therefore, it is hard to explain why the warrior's equipment found in the graves differs from that depicted on the statue-menhirs unless we suggest a different function for the latter.

The Copper Age statue-menhirs of Lunigiana were not intentionally destroyed or buried, and it is likely that they remained in place and visible in the following centuries (Maggi, 1994, 16–17). That means that they probably were well-known landmarks for the people that inhabited that territory, who must have been aware of their antiquity. As we can see from Figure 8.14, IA statue-menhirs concentrate in a restricted area at the border of Liguria and the Etruscan territories north and south of the Apennines. In the MIA the Etruscans consolidated their occupation of the northern Tuscan coast with a series of settlements whose birth is linked to the development of the northern Tyrrhenian commercial network and to the need to provide ports for the sea routes directed towards Liguria and France (Storti, 1995a, 53–56). The Etruscans occupied the western Po plain as far as Piacenza, while on the Apennines they probably stretched as far as the Ceno and Taro valleys (Ghiretti, 2003; Carini and Miari, 2004b). I have already highlighted the importance of the western Apennine sector with regards to the routes that connected northern Etruria with western *Etruria Padana* and the Golasecca

area (8.4.2). Therefore, the area where the statue-menhirs are found was in the MIA at the centre of multiple interests.

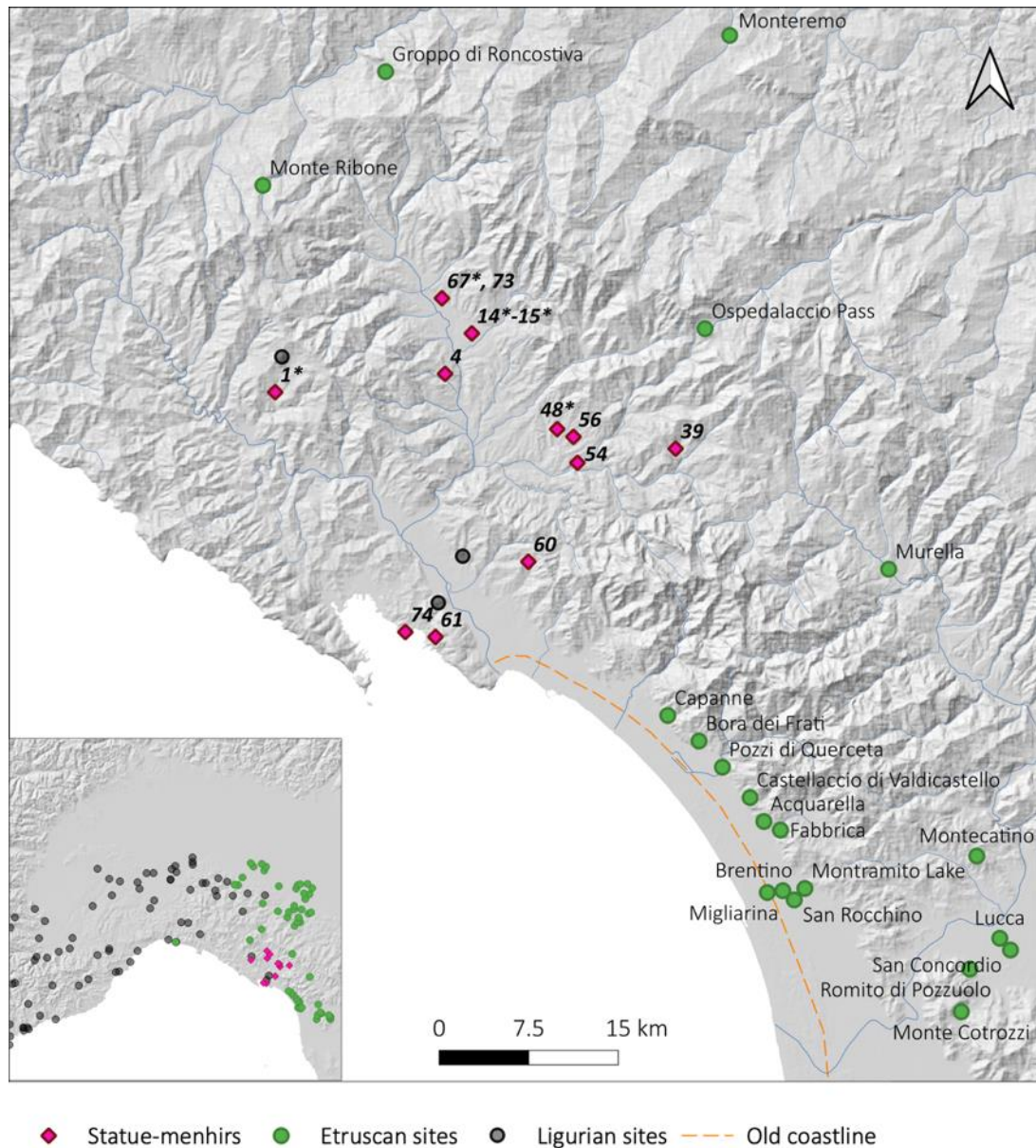


Figure 8.14 Distribution of IA statue-menhirs; the numbers refer to the corpus, the asterisk indicates the presence of inscriptions (distribution of Etruscan sites after Paribeni, 1990; Zecchini, 1999; De Marchi, 2005; Ciampoltrini et al., 2012)

Maggi (2004, 39–40) interprets the Copper Age statue-menhirs as territorial markers erected in places (crossing places, fords, points of access to pastures) that were strategic in the economy of the time, which was based on movements of people that practiced transhumance. The 6th century economy of Lunigiana was also based on human mobility, not only for the practice of transhumance but also for the trade network that linked Etruria with north-

western Italy. In the light of this, we can propose a similar interpretation. These old symbols could have been used by the communities of Lunigiana to claim control over those territories and legitimate it by showing a link with their ancestors. Whether intended to highlight such a control or to state the right of passage perhaps acquired with agreements or alliances, the presence of inscriptions written with the Etruscan alphabet made such symbols intelligible to foreigners. In fact, although the Ligurians came into contact with the Etruscan alphabet and inscriptions, they never adopted the practice of writing (Rubat Borel, 2005, 13).

It is hard to explain the iconography of the statue-menhirs, especially the representation of axes on at least seven of them, four of which were new. The carved axes are poorly characterised, which makes it nearly impossible to assign them to a type (Rozzi Mazza, 1994, 82–83). In north-western Italy, northern Tuscany and *Etruria Padana* axes are virtually absent in the MIA (Carancini, 1984, 242). The latest examples date to the 7th century, after which they disappear. One possible explanation is that the presence of an object that had gone out of fashion was not much a representation of the reality, but a way to evoke ancestral powers and traditions.

8.5. Genoa, Antibes and the western Etruscan trade

The evidence from Genoa sets it apart from the other the Ligurian sites. Information is provided by the excavations of Portofranco (GE8), the Castello hill (GE7) and the graves discovered in Via XX Settembre (GE9) (Figure 8.15).

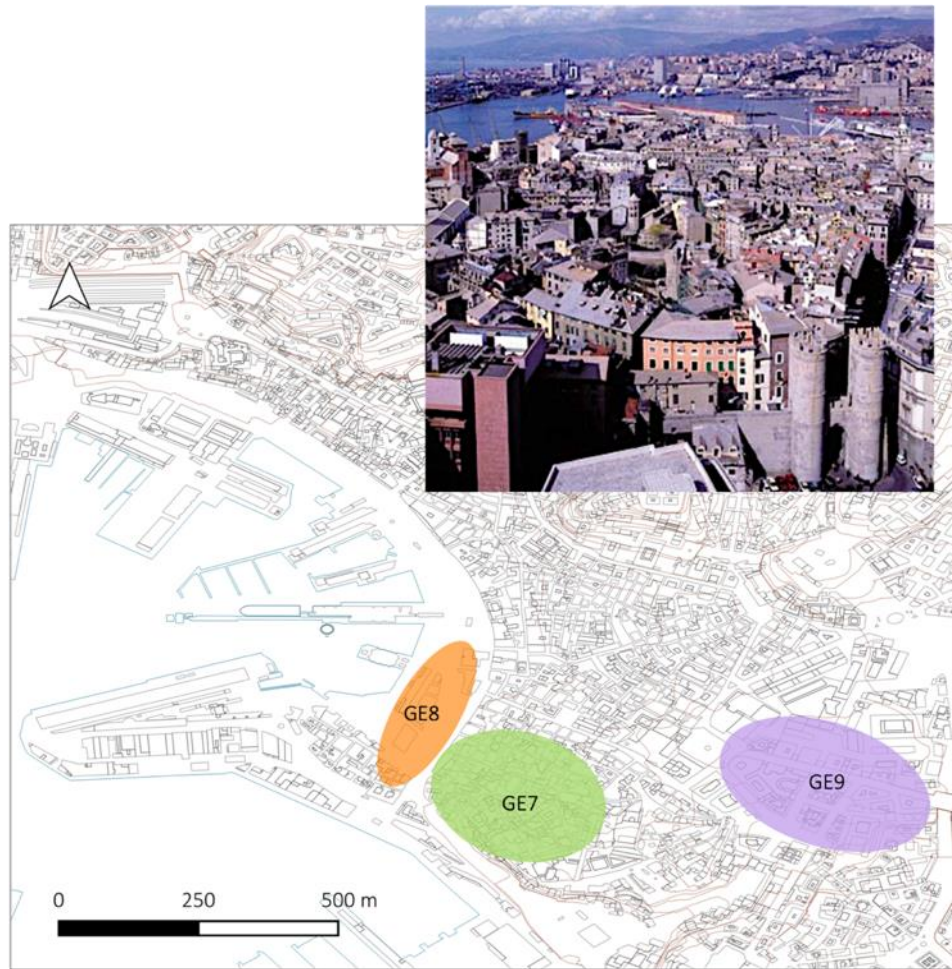


Figure 8.15 Genoa MIA sites (Castello hill GE7, Portofranco GE8 and Via XX Settembre GE9) and aerial view of the Castello hill (photo by Università degli Studi di Genova, Facoltà di Architettura <http://vecchiosito.dsa.unige.it/pre/galleriafoto/edificio/galleriaest45.htm>, accessed on 15/12/2021)

The cemetery (GE9) was discovered by chance and only a few graves were systematically investigated. All but one grave consisted of a deep circular pit narrowing at the base (Figure 8.16). A large stone placed on a step separated the actual grave from the upper part. The urns and some grave goods were placed at the bottom, while other artefacts, mainly pottery kraters, were placed on the stone. There are no exact parallels for these graves. Melli's comparison (2004d, 309) with Verucchio, Chiusi and Artimino is only based on the presence of an upper space separated from the burial and is of little use, as there is a two-century gap. A cist grave probably looted in antiquity and only containing animal bones was discovered at the north-eastern corner of the cemetery.

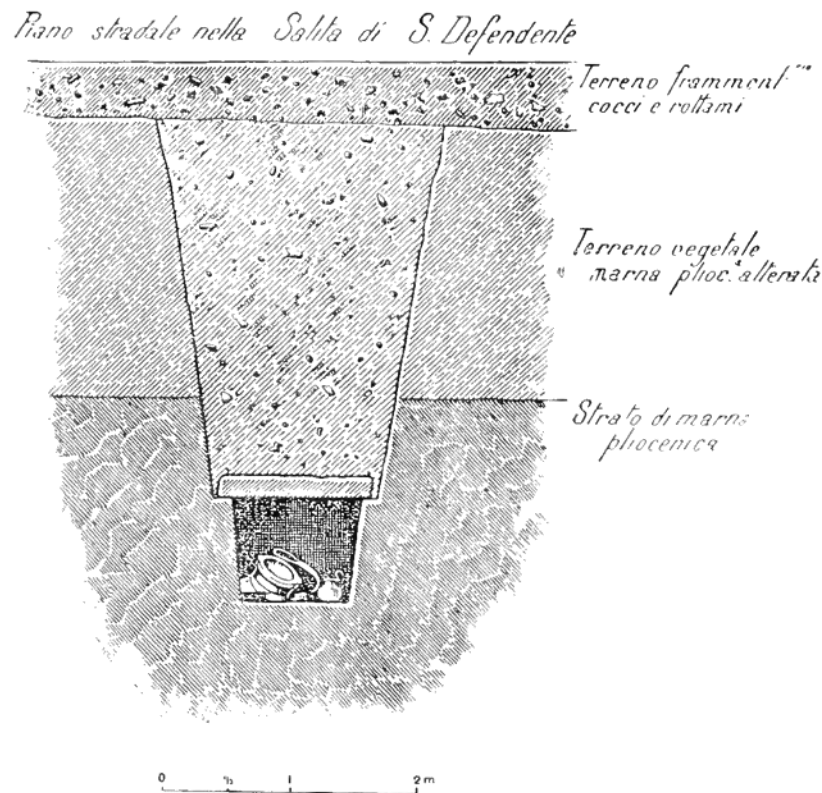


Figure 8.16 Via XX Settembre (GEg): grave section by D'Andrade (1898, 398 fig. 3)

The urns mostly consisted of red-figure kraters closed by wooden lids, some of which were preserved. The grave assemblages are rich and have parallels in *Etruria Padana* (Bologna, Spina), at Populonia and Aleria for composition and types of artefacts (Melli, 2004d, 311–314). Female graves contained spindle-whorls, needles, mirrors and jewellery. Male graves contained weapons, strigils and *alabastra* (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 344–348).

Wine probably played an important role in the rites in honour of the dead. The adoption of the *symposium* is indicated by the presence of bronze wine sets and pottery vases related to wine consumption, by occasional references to the cult of Dionysus in the form of branches of myrtle, and by the depiction of Dionysiac scenes on some of the kraters (Melli, 2004d, 311–314). Banqueting and food consumption are attested by the presence of tableware, animal bones and nuts. Imported Attic/Etruscan red-figure and black-gloss pottery is frequent, whereas local coarse ware is rare. This probably reflects the circumstances of the discoveries and selective recovery favouring the most precious/beautiful artefacts given that coarse ware is regularly found in the

few graves that have been systematically investigated (Bernabò Brea and Chiappella, 1951).

The Castello hill (GE7) was first settled at the end of the 6th century BC with dwellings constructed of perishable material. One building with a rubble core masonry structure with regular courses of roughly hewn stone blocks and the entrance marked by pillars can be compared with the Volterra sanctuary (Melli, 2004c, 286–287). This parallel and the recovery of a bronze candle-holder with a cast figure of a discus thrower interpreted as an offering suggest a religious function (Melli, 2004c, 298). Bronze arrowheads, commonly used as ex-votos in 6th-5th century BC northern Etruria (Ciampoltrini, 2007, 76–77), support this hypothesis. In the first half of the 5th century BC the hill underwent a complete rebuild and new dwellings with stone foundations, wattle and daub walls and clay floors replaced the older ones. During this phase a large rampart, formed by a 2m thick stone wall reinforced by towers, was built around the top of the hill.

The characteristics of the Via XX Settembre graves and their artefacts suggest an attribution to an Etruscan community, whose presence is also confirmed by over 70 Etruscan inscriptions (Neppi Modona, 1970; Milanese, 1987, 267, fig. 115; Colonna, 2004b). Such a community was probably responsible for creating a settlement on the Castello hill at the beginning of the 6th century. The large size of the population suggested by the number of graves, the presence of a defensive wall and probably of a sanctuary, its central position in a communication network, evidence for long distance trade and local craft activities indicate the existence of an urban centre (on the criteria to identify towns see Pearce, 2020b).

Commercial interests must have prompted the Etruscans to settle in Liguria as Genoa provided an excellent port of call for the routes directed towards southern France and the Iberian Peninsula, as well as a link with the Golasecca area (Pearce, 1995). If and to what extent the Etruscans integrated and mixed with the local people is hard to tell. The graves give the impression of a uniform society. However, the supposed loss of artefacts could affect this. It is

likely that other graves were present that have not yet been explored, which might explain the chronological gap of about a century that separates the Portofranco (GE8) evidence from the beginning of the cemetery. In addition, the presence of a cist grave in a peripheral area could indicate that different sectors of the cemetery were reserved to different groups of people, perhaps based on their ethnic ascription.

Located 170 km from Genoa (about 90 nautical miles) is Antibes. An early occupation of the area is suggested by the discovery of FBA-EIA materials. The evidence is more substantial for the MIA. Traces have been found on various occasions in the old city on the rock spur overlooking the port (AM₁). Most of our information derives from small excavations carried out in the sixties. They provide a fragmented picture that prevents us from getting an overview of the settlement and connecting the various stratigraphies with one another (Figure 8.17).

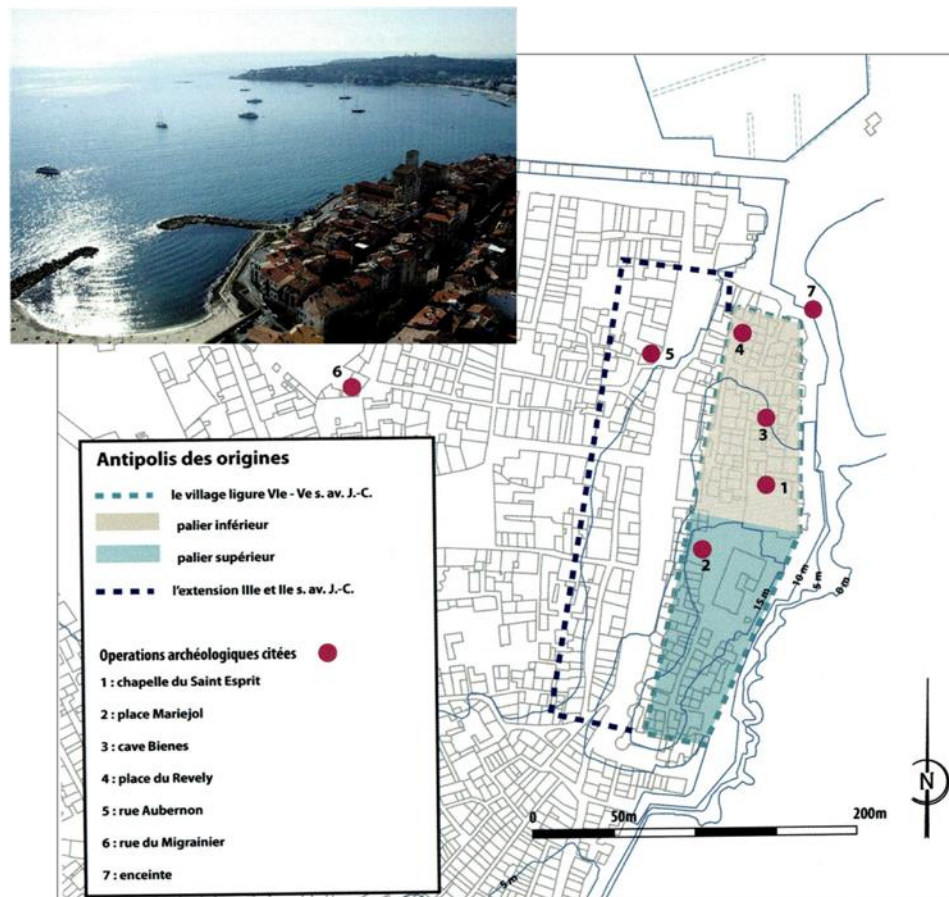


Figure 8.17 Aerial view (from north) and main sites of Le Rocher at Antibes (AM₁) (after Bats and Thernot, 2013, 38–39, figs 1–2)

The Rocher was settled in the early 6th century with the construction of wooden dwellings. These structures were later replaced by dwellings with dry-stone foundations and probably wattle-and daub walls. Possibly associated with these structures are the remains of a big wall with a rubble core faced with stone blocks bonded with clay. The wall was interpreted as defensive by its excavator because of its size and dated to the 7th century on the basis of pottery dating to the 10th-7th century in its rubble core (Clergues, 1971, 6–10). However, the pottery is but a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the wall, whose building technique recalls that of the Castello hill sanctuary at Genoa.

In the 5th century the settlement expanded to the south. A rectangular building with stone walls plastered with adobe and an enclosed courtyard was built. Houses with courtyards are extremely rare in Provence (Bats and Thernot, 2013, 44) and the Antibes example raises questions about the identity of its wealthy owner, who possessed luxurious items, such as a decorated ivory plaque, Attic pottery and alabastra. A serpentine cobble with a Greek votive inscription dedicated to Aphrodite found about 1 km west of the old city and dating to the end of the 5th century could be linked to the presence of a sanctuary (Lautier and Rothé, 2010, 144–145).

The finds from Antibes indicate its early involvement in Mediterranean trade. A fragment of black-figure cup from Megara-Hyblaea (Sicily) dating to 650–625 BC is the oldest example of imported pottery in Provence (Mercurin, 2013b, 30). From the 6th century Greek, Etruscan and Massaliot pottery appears, together with Etruscan and Massaliot amphoras (Bats and Thernot, 2013, 44).

Unfortunately, we lack the funerary evidence to help us shed some light on the identity/ies of the community/ies that inhabited Antibes. The use of the local/imported pottery ratio so dear to French archaeologists for determining the identity of ancient communities (see Bats and Thernot, 2013, 45; Bernard, 2022, 46) is debatable. Even more so in the case of places that based their economy on trade and interaction with multiple partners. Although in recent years there have been attempts to acquire a broader perspective (see Garcia,

2014), the tendency of French scholarship to reduce the analysis of IA southern France to the dichotomy Greeks vs locals is detrimental to our understanding of ancient societies. Moreover, it is highly influenced by the written sources so that the locals are interpreted as either Celts or Ligurians depending on the scholar's interpretation of the ancient authors and on whether they are focussing on south-western or south-eastern France (e.g. Py, 2003; Garcia, 2006).

Both Genoa and Antibes were established on a rock spur overlooking a naturally protected bay which offered a safe port for ships directed towards the west and thanks to that acquired an important role in the Mediterranean trade network from the 6th century. Both sites were equipped with large stone structures built with techniques unknown in the area and underwent a complete reorganisation (Antibes as early as in the 6th century, Genoa in the early 5th) with the construction of new dwellings with stone foundations that replaced the previous wooden huts. Both settlements had places dedicated to religious activities and despite the scarcity of information, we can presume that they both acquired urban characteristics.

Whatever their identity, the establishment of foreign communities along the northern coast of the central Mediterranean in the 6th and 5th centuries appears functional to long distance trade and coastal navigation. Although much emphasis has been placed on the competition for these western markets, both the Greeks and Etruscans probably benefited from a system of ports distributed at a regular distance that offered shelter and the possibility to break the journey, as well as increased opportunities for trading (Figure 8.18).

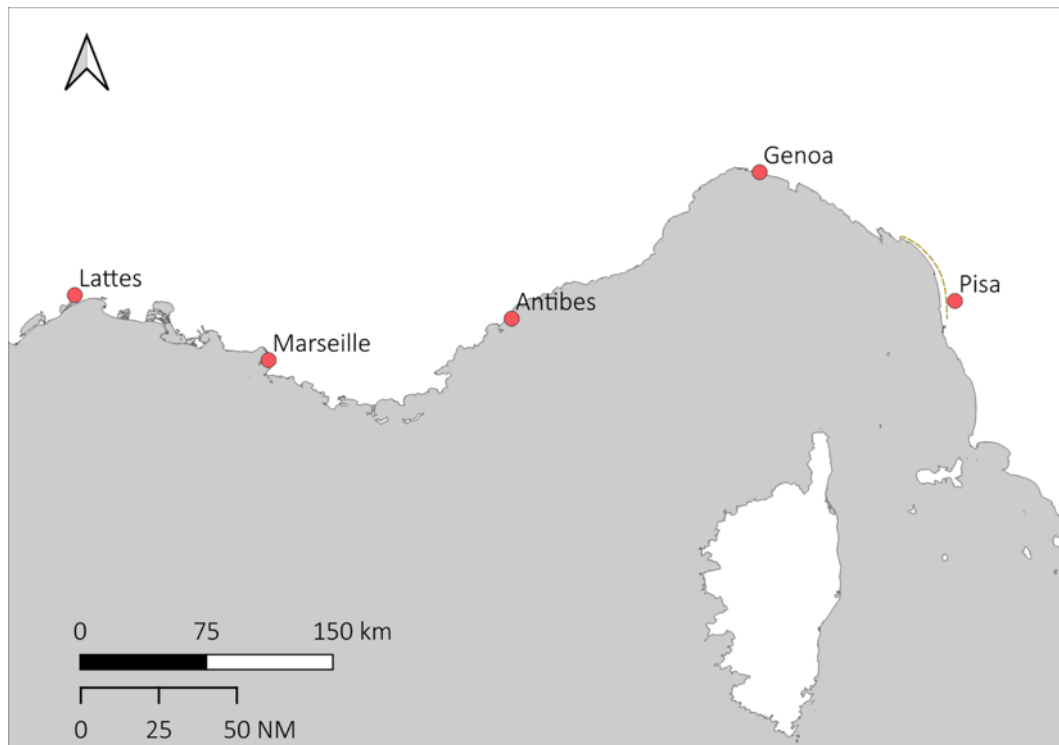


Figure 8.18 The main 6th – 5th cent. seaports on the northern Mediterranean coast

The flourishing of maritime trade is evidenced by the spread of imported goods. Surprisingly and in contrast with the situation in Languedoc where bucchero is widespread (see *Aix-en-Provence*, 1979), Etruscan tableware is virtually absent in the Alpes-Maritimes. In Provence bucchero is securely only attested at Antibes. “*Bucchero nero*” is listed among the artefacts found in 1904 at Beaulieu-sur-Mer, just east of Nice (Lautier and Rothé, 2010, 223). An Iberian belt fitting was found in the same area, which closely resembles an example found at Genoa (Vindry, 1978, 17). Etruscan amphoras of Pisan production found at Mont Leuze (Villefranche-sur-Mer) (Damotte *et al.*, 2012, 36) indicate a link with the northern Tyrrhenian coast, probably with Genoa as intermediary.

Etruscan amphoras are relatively well attested, with a concentration along the Loup valley and other examples found in the Nice area (Mercuri, 2015, 56, fig. 5). Sites with Greek pottery heavily outnumber sites with Greek amphoras. These concentrate in the area around Antibes, including on the Île Saint-Marguerite, and at Nice (*ibid.*). As competition grew, Etruscan and Greek

imports were gradually substituted by Massaliot products, which became largely predominant from the end of the 6th century (Mercuri, 2015, 51–52).

8.6. The Alpes-Maritimes

The uniformity of the coastal sites of north-western Italy and south-eastern France deriving from their involvement in the Mediterranean trade is not apparent when we look at the hinterland. In contrast to the previous phases, when the characteristics of settlements, material culture and funerary rites are shared across the south-western Alps, in the MIA the evidence of the inner Alpes-Maritimes and Italian evidence begins to diverge.

The area is characterised by enclosed walled sites that go under the general label of '*enceintes*'. Over 400 *enceintes* are known in the Alpes-Maritimes, but few have been systematically explored (Bretaudeau, 1996). Most of them are believed to have been occupied in late prehistory, however dating proves difficult because of the lack of excavations and the characteristics of the artefacts recovered, mainly fragments of coarse ware. About 40 *enceintes* have been dated to the IA, but even in this case the possibility to narrow down within the seven-century range relies nearly exclusively on the presence of imported pottery because metal artefacts are virtually absent and there are no chronologies for the local pottery (Gazenbeek, 2004a, 2004b). Their function is often unclear. Their walls have long been interpreted as defensive (Gazenbeek, 2004b, 38). However, it has become increasingly clear that some hosted many activities (domestic, religious, farming and craft activities), some were used as temporary refuges while others played a role in the settlement hierarchy (Belotti, 2004, 140).

Several *enceintes* show traces of MIA occupation, but it is often impossible determine when they were equipped with ramparts as all these sites lasted until the end of the IA (some even further), and we lack sure stratigraphic information to date the structures (Gazenbeek, 2004b, 2004a; Damotte *et al.*, 2012). An exception is Le Baou-des-Noirs at Vence (AM22), where a 237 m long

wall was built on the western side of the crag that hosted the settlement. Its function is unclear (rampart? Terracing?), but the excavated test pits indicate its construction at the end of the 6th cent. The very function of the site is unclear as feeble traces of huts made of perishable material seem to refer to a later occupation phase (3rd – 2nd cent) when a triangular bastion and a square tower were built on the peak.

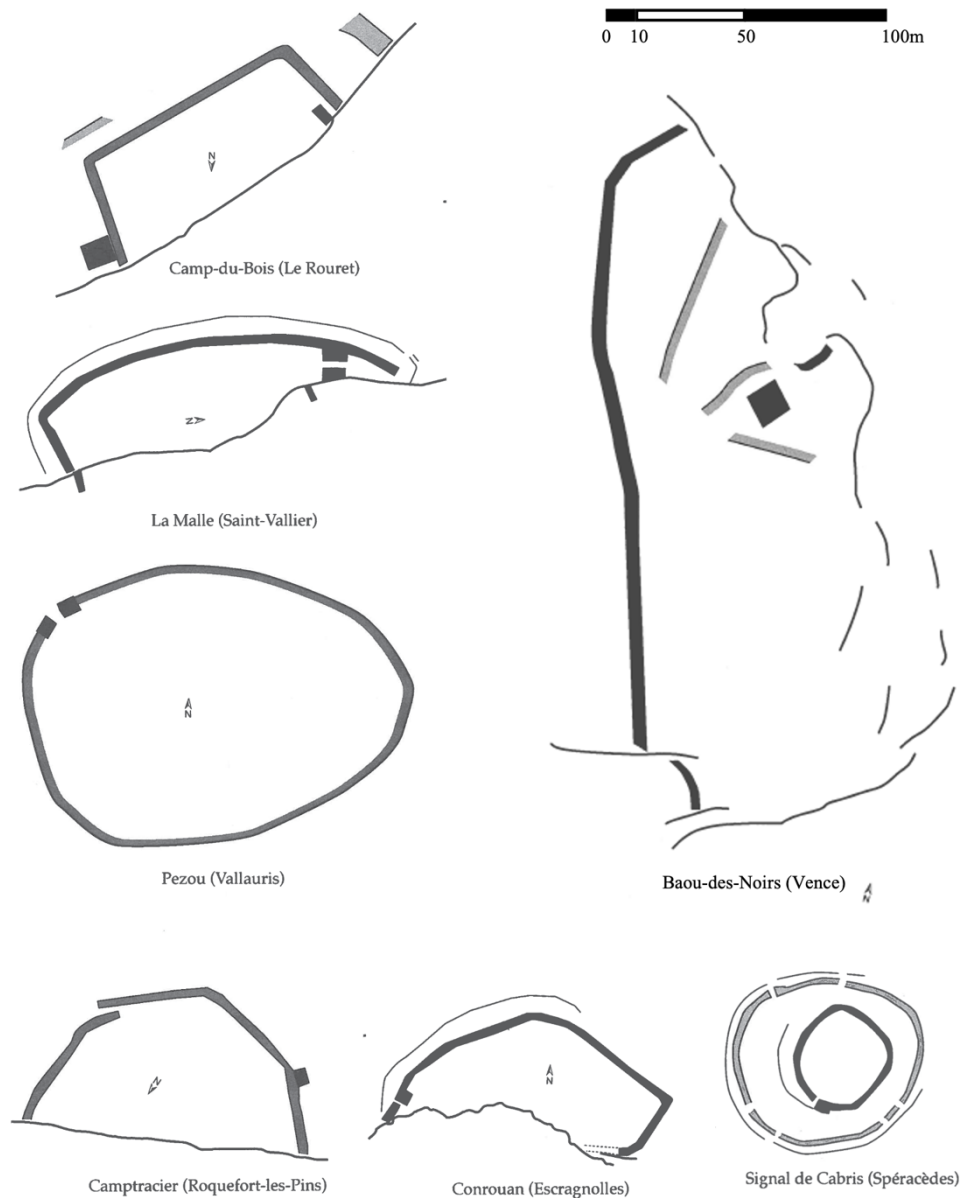


Figure 8.19 Selection of *enceintes* (after Gazenbeek, 2004a, 157 fig. 4, 259 fig. 5, 265 fig. 10)

The *enceintes* are always located in raised positions (on the peak or the side of a mountain, at the centre or at the edge of a plateau) and are surrounded by

one or more walls, generally curvilinear or sub-circular/oval and often built on top of steep crags (Gazenbeek, 2004b) (Figure 8.19). The difference compared to Ligurian settlement (*castellari*) is evident as only three, Sant'Elena (SV6), Bric Casteirolo (SV13) and Castelfermo (SP8), were equipped in the LIA with dry-stone walls surrounding the peak of the mountain. In all the other cases, straight walls were built on the mountain sides with the purpose of creating terraces.

Differences with Liguria are also visible in the funerary record. In the MIA, inhumation is attested in the Alpes Maritimes in the funerary caves of Le Barlet (Andon) and Aven Bernard (Vallauris), and possibly at Les Puades (Saint-Cézaire-sur-Siagne) (Bourguignat, 1875, 218–228; Vindry, 1978, 13–14, 32, 35–37). The latter is a Neolithic dolmen with traces of reuse in the IA attested by fragments of grey and wheel-thrown pottery and a bronze armring. The stratigraphic analysis of the deposits is unreliable, and it is impossible to associate the artefacts with the human remains or exclude the possibility that the dolmen was reused for rites other than burial. Despite a lack of human remains, a grave provenance has been suggested for a folded antennae sword found on Mount Leuze (Villefranche-sur-Mer) within a sub-rectangular structure formed by stone blocks (Aubin, 1956).

In this phase the metalwork of south-eastern France diverges from the Italian products. Metal objects are very rarely found in settlements. Two hoards were found at Source du Noyer (Roquefort-les-Pins) and Libre (Valdeblore). The first is composed of two bronze greaves, one spearhead and one solid penannular armring with terminal knobs and incised decoration (Dedet and Marchand, 2009, 18–26). The greaves derive from a Greek model and can be compared with those found in a G IIA grave at Sesto Calende (de Marinis, 2009; Py, 2016, 455) but their embossed decoration is different. The armring is a likely local production possibly inspired by examples from the Rhine valley (see Dedet and Marchand, 2009, 23). The Libre hoard was formed of metal slags and 38 fragments of objects (armrings, pendants, beads) with parallels in Languedoc and in the Savoy (Salicis and Pietri, 2013). Armrings with incised

chevron along the edges found at Puades, Aven Bernard and in the Saint-Vallier-de-Thiery hoard (Vindry, 1978, 32, 33–37) are a further indication of contacts with the western Alps.

Some generic similarities with Liguria (repetitive shapes, mainly handle-less containers and bowls, rare incised/impressed decorations) can be noticed in the local pottery (Damotte *et al.*, 2012; Pellegrino, 2003). Massaliot amphoras and pottery are attested at all coastal sites and in the hinterland over 30 km from the coast along the Loup and the Cagne valleys (Mercuri, 2015, 56, fig. 5). The distribution of amphoras indicates that wine consumption became widespread, which is also confirmed by the presence of symposium pottery in the coastal sites and of a Greek black-gloss *skyphos* at Camp-du-Bois (AM16) (Latour, 2005, 67, fig. 3.43).

8.7. Western *Etruria Padana*

In the MIA we notice a difference in the evidence between the territories east of the Secchia River, closely connected with *Felsina*-Bologna, and those west of it. The funerary evidence for the western sector is distinguished by the presence of characteristic types of bronze objects and an absence of imported pottery. These differences initially led scholars to consider them a separate phenomenon termed the ‘*facies* Sant’Ilario-Remedello’ (De Marinis 1987, 62–67; previously ‘*facies* Sant’Ilario-Correggio’: Vitali 1983, 133). The *facies* Sant’Ilario-Remedello was believed to stretch both north and south of the Po and predate the Etruscan ‘colonization’ of the area (De Marinis, 1987, 67). Its distinctive features were defined as embossed bronze belt-plates, bronze wheel-shaped pendants and penannular armrings with knob terminals (De Marinis, 1987, 62–67) (Figure 8.20). These artefacts are absent in the cemeteries of Bologna or Modena. Conversely, they are attested in the Hallstatt and the Golasecca areas, and less frequently at Este and in Liguria (De Marinis, 1987, 66–67, fig. 27). Their distribution and association are recurrent in the territory attributed to the *facies* (*ibid.*).

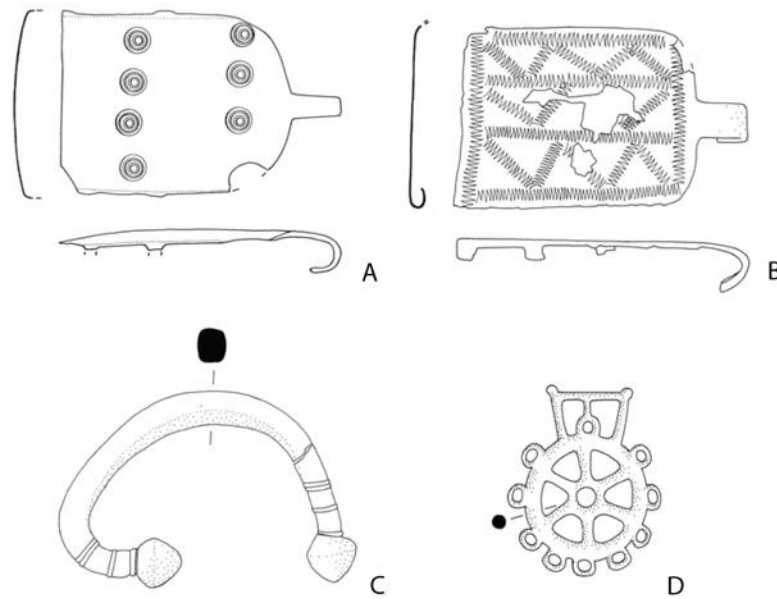


Figure 8.20 Characteristic artefacts of the Sant'Ilario-Remedello facies: belt-fittings (A: Baragalla; B: Sant'Ilario Romei-Baldi, grave 2), penannular armring (C: Sant'Ilario Fornaci, grave 3) and wheel-shaped pendant (D: Corticella) (after Damiani et al., 1992, 320, pl. LXXIV.1166; 332, LXXXVI.1341; 332, LXXXVIII.1371, 1378). Not to scale.

Nowadays the *facies* is seen by most authors not as a separate cultural phenomenon but as the result of the earliest Etruscan occupation of the western Po plain (de Marinis and Maggiani in Gambari, 2005a, 199–200; Locatelli, 2004, 240; Macellari, 2014, 69; Malnati, 2004b, 159). The mainstream interpretation is that of an interaction between the “Etruscan colonizers” and the indigenous people in a “multicultural” or “multi-ethnic” environment where the Etruscan element appears predominant (*ibid.*). The indigenous people, or “local substrate” (Macellari, 2014, 69), are either identified as Ligurians (Malnati in Gambari, 2005a, 200; Locatelli, 2004, 240) or “Celts-Ligurians” (Macellari, 2014, 69). This interpretation has been criticized by Zamboni (2018, 235), who denies the possibility of associating this archaeological evidence to any ethnic group and the application of the concept of ethnicity to IA societies. However, despite his assertions, Zamboni reaches a conclusion that appears not dissimilar from that of the other scholars. In fact, he talks of an “open frontier” inhabited by people whose culture shows “hybrid and cross-bred characters” (Zamboni, 2018, 238–239).

In my view, rather than in ethnic terms, the elements that distinguish the graves of western Emilia from those of Bologna should be considered in the light of the trade networks that developed in the area during the 6th century BC. In the MIA the communities of western Emilia played a key role in connecting the settlements located north and south of the Apennines.

The transapennine Serchio-Enza/Secchia route connecting the area of Pisa with the central and eastern Po plain has long been recognised (see Maggiani, 1985). However, little attention has been placed to the existence of a western branch heading towards the Golasecca area. The distribution of Golaseccan artefacts along the Enza valley is eloquent of the close link between the two territories (see 8.4.2).

The situation can be better understood if considered within the wider communication network connecting Italy and the Mediterranean with central Europe. During the 6th century contacts developed between Etruria and central-western Europe, which are documented by exotic items found north of the Alps, particularly in princely tombs at the end of the century (Frey, 1987). During the Ha D₁ the main commercial routes passed through newly founded *Massalia* and travelled along the Rhone and Saône valleys (Pauli, 1987, 25 fig. 199). The situation changed after the battle of Alalia and the victory of the Etruscan-Carthaginian alliance, when other commercial routes were exploited, particularly those crossing the Alps at the Great Saint Bernard pass (Pauli, 1987, 23–24). As Marseille lost importance, *Etruria Padana* acquired a central role as intermediary between the Mediterranean and central Europe. According to the traditional interpretation, in the Ha D₂ a route connected northern Etruria with *Felsina*-Bologna and travelled along the Po towards the Golasecca area and crossed the western Alps to reach central Europe (Pauli, 1987, 26 fig. 200). Already in the HA D₃ there are signs of first pacific “Celtic infiltrations” in northern Italy evidenced by the distribution of late Hallstatt brooches (Pauli, 1987, 27).

In my opinion the role of the Serchio-Enza route and of western Emilia in this commercial network has been underestimated. Many imports (Greek pottery,

volcanic grinding stones from central Italy and the Euganei Hills, Golasecca metal objects, an eastern Mediterranean glass perfume container) (Macellari, 2019, 66–67, 85–88) indicate a key role for the Servirola settlement at San Polo d’Enza (RE). Transalpine artefacts (a Waldalgesheim-type armring, a decorated torc with close parallels in the Champagne region, a Castaneda-type openwork belt buckle, late Hallstatt brooches) (Damiani *et al.*, 1992, 157 nn. 1219; 174 1393; 181 1436) probably reached Servirola along the route that linked northern Etruria with the Golasecca area and central Europe. Such a route is evidenced by the distribution of penannular armrings with knob ends (Figure 8.20.C), examples of which are attested at Sant’Ilario d’Enza (RE) and in the Servirola settlement (Damiani *et al.*, 1992, 153 ns 1165–1167). These armrings derive from the Chiavari ones, but in the 6th century they are absent in Liguria, while they are widespread in the Golasecca area and in the western Hallstatt area in the Strasbourg and Hagenau regions (de Marinis, 2014, 110–111; De Marinis, 1987, 67).

Although Genoa and the Polcevera-Scrivia valleys offered the best route to reach, via sea and land, the Golasecca area and the western Alpine passes from Etruria, thanks to their position Servirola and the Enza valley allowed both the north-west and the north-east of Italy to be reached. The Serchio-Enza route had a long tradition and was already in use in the FBA (see 6.5.1) and possibly also in the RBA, as suggested by the close links between the Fossa Nera settlement at Porcari (LU) and the *terramare* settlements of the Reggio Emilia and Modena provinces (Andreotti and Zanini, 1997). It is no surprise that in the MIA it received a major boost from the newly established commercial network.

8.8. Conclusions

In the MIA, Liguria and southern Piedmont are characterised by the exclusive use of cremation, the production of coarse ware with zigzag decoration and the sharing of Golasecca metalwork models. The weapons in the graves

suggest a society based on the role of the warrior, while there are no signs of concentrations of wealth or of the emergence of an aristocracy. Although pastoralism must have been practised, agriculture, trade and metalwork were probably an essential part of the local economy. The situation is different at Genoa where an Etruscan enclave was responsible for the flourishing of long-distance trade that brought wealth to the city. The graves contain exotic and luxurious items and reflect aristocratic ideals.

In this phase northern Tuscany and western Emilia are occupied by the Etruscans. It is likely that the communities of the Piacenza territory and of Pavia Province south of the Po shared the culture of Liguria. However, as they are located at the crossroad of the Golasecca, Etruscan and Ligurian territories, the archaeological evidence shows mixed characteristics.

During this phase differences emerged between south-eastern France and northern Italy. A certain uniformity characterises the coastal sites, whose development was linked to the presence of Greeks and Etruscans who imported goods, but also new lifestyles, habits and building techniques. The same cannot be said for the hinterland, where differences are evident in the settlement pattern, funerary rites and in the metalwork, as well as in wine consumption.

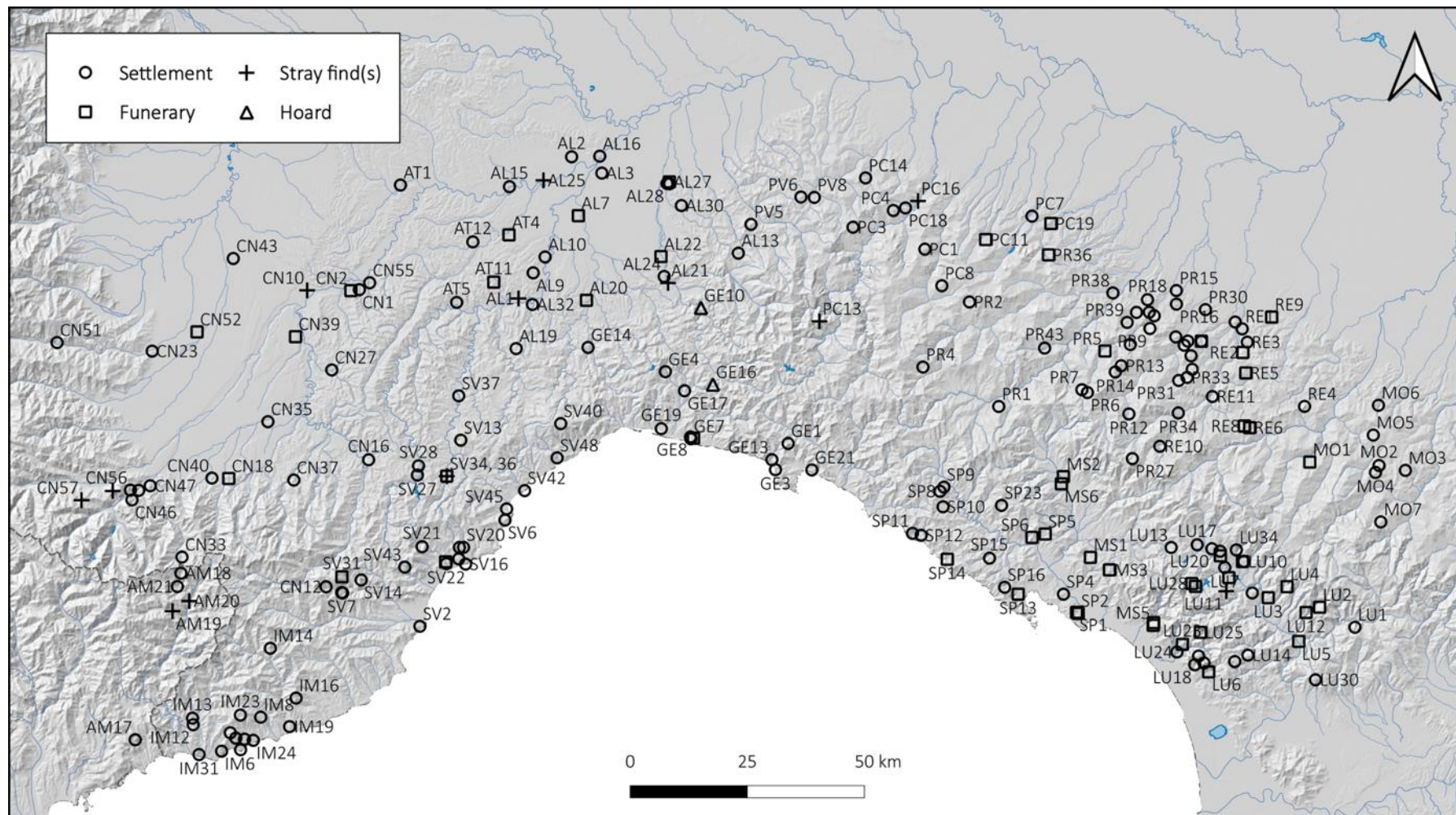
Chapter 9. The Late Iron Age

This analysis of the LIA evidence follows the structure of previous chapters (funerary evidence, settlements, material culture). Further sections discuss the evidence for religious activities and the Roman conquest. The western Modena Apennines are included in my analysis even though its cultural attribution is uncertain (see 8.4.1).

9.1. Overview

The LIA is characterised by a marked increase in sites (222 in total, 140 more than in the MIA) which cannot be explained purely by its longer duration (about fifty years more than the MIA). The number of settlements (156, including 5 cave dwellings) is over three times the figure for the previous phase, while the number of funerary sites (52) more than doubles. Two hoards are recorded, and 12 findspots of artefacts found without any archaeological context.

In contrast to the previous phases, sites appear distributed across all the Apennine areas, with a high concentration in the Tuscan-Emilian sector (Figure 8.1). New sites appear along the eastern Ligurian coast and in the Magra-Vara valleys, previously empty of evidence.



9.2. Cemeteries and graves

Funerary practices are evidenced by 21 isolated graves and 28 cemeteries. The number is very low if compared with that of habitation sites and makes me wonder whether this depends on the research status or on the fact that a very small percentage of people received formal burial (or both).

One helmet found on a skull in a disturbed stratigraphy at the Ponte di Vara cave (SV44) suggests its use for funerary purposes in the LIA. One intact pot discovered on Monte Cavanero (CN18) could be a cinerary urn as suggested by parallels with the urns of Bosco del Gaj (CN52). A cemetery provenance has been suggested for the objects found at Colle della Guardi (GE10) based on the fact that they include some metal artefacts fused into a single block (Traverso *et al.*, 2018, 204). However, as the temperatures needed to melt bronze are usually not reached on the pyre, I find this unlikely, and I believe it possible they were part of a founder's hoard.

A jug from Porta Voghera at Tortona (AL27) is of a type (*vaso a trottola*) frequently found in the cemeteries of south-western Lombardy and could be from a grave. Other jugs found at Tortona (the exact findspots are unknown) and with close parallels in the Lomellina graves suggest the existence of a cemetery (Venturino Gambari *et al.*, 1996c, 42). Arslan (2004, 149–153) interprets the Lomellina pottery as deriving from Golasecca ceramics and a marker of Ligurian identity. However, these types of pots are only found in the Ligurian area at Tortona, which is close to the Lomellina. Except for the cremation rite, the Lomellina graves differ from the Ligurian ones in their structure, the way the human remains are disposed, their assemblage and the rituals that accompanied the interment (see Arslan, 2004, 145–154). Therefore, not only we do not have markers of Ligurian identity, but the Lomellina cannot be even considered as belonging to the (archaeological) Ligurian culture. Its Ligurian identity is derived from the written sources (see 10.2) and applied to the archaeological record forcing its interpretation to fit a preconceived model.

As in previous phases, cremation is virtually the exclusive rite. Inhumation is only attested in the Ponte di Vara cave (SV44), in the Casaselvatica grave (PR5), whose cultural attribution is controversial (see 9.2.1), and at Serra (LU6), a cemetery with cremations in stone cists and inhumations in simple pits. No precise information is available about the Serra graves but the association of one inhumation with a club-shaped cippus (see 7.5) suggests the existence of two different phases characterised by different rites.

9.2.1. Grave structure and goods

Two areas can be distinguished based on grave structure. Cist graves are widespread in the eastern sector, comprising northern Tuscany, central Emilia and eastern Liguria (Figure 9.2). At Casale (RE6) and Pietra di Bismantova (RE8) urns were buried in simple pits dug among the stones. Aside from cist graves, in the Cafaggio (SP1) and Genicciola (SP7) cemeteries there were burials in *dolia* covered by cobbles and stones, and burials covered by a truncated upside-down amphora. The latter anticipate a type of grave that became common in northern Tuscany after the Roman conquest (Maggiani, 1983, 99). The cists at Villa Baroni (RE9), Tombara (MS5), Valdonica (SP6) and two cists at Genicciola (SP7) were formed by roof tiles.

In the western sector cist graves are not attested. In southern Piedmont and western Liguria, cinerary urns are generally buried in simple pits (see Alba - Corso Piave CN2, Canelli AT6, Truccu du Pilu SV31 and Rio Cavallera SV36), which are occasionally closed by stone slabs (at Rio Bogliona AT11 and Narzole CN39) or in the later graves of Rio delle Pieve (AL22) and Casal Cermelli (AL7) by roof tiles. Only at Bosco del Gaj (CN52) were the pits lined with cobbles. No information is available about the graves of Brea (AT4) and Fornace (AL20).

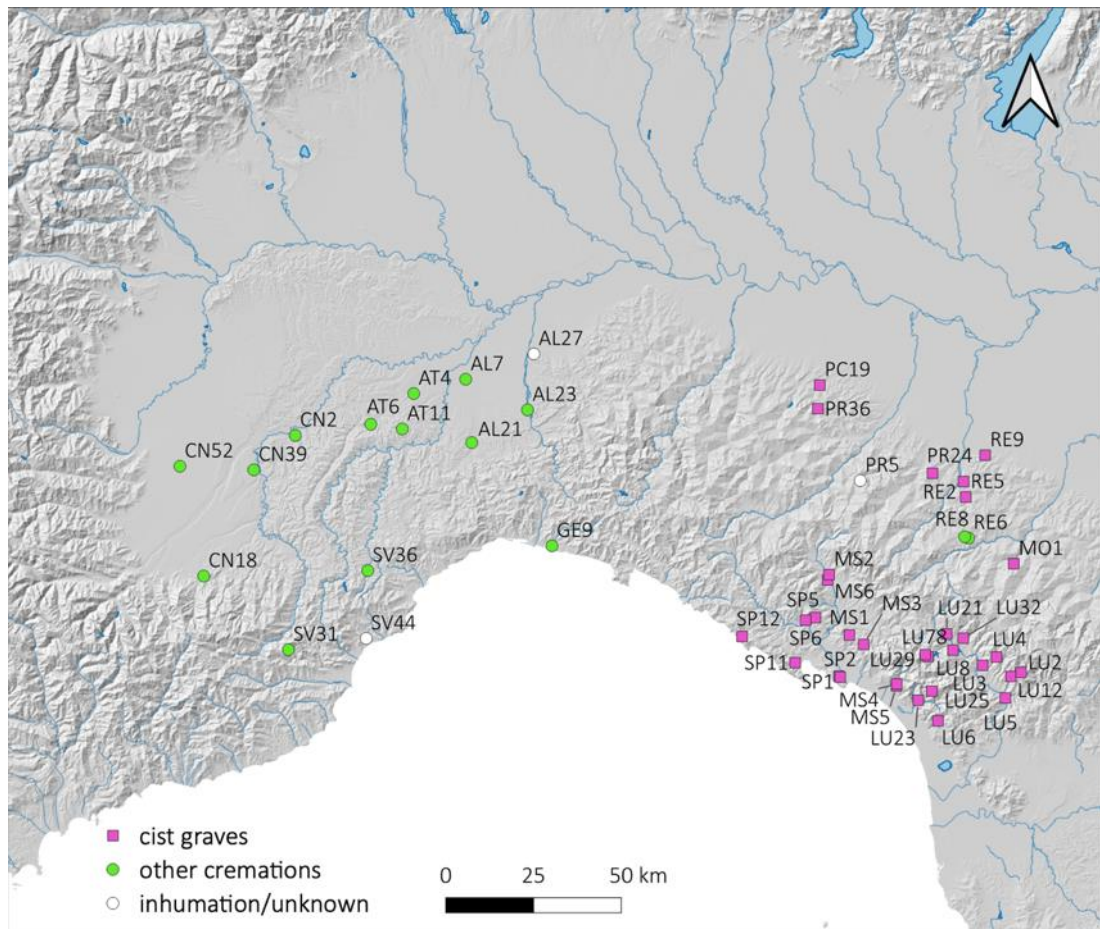


Figure 9.2 LIA graves

Further differences between west and east can be seen in cemetery organisation. Regular planning of the funerary space is visible in eastern cemeteries, where tombs often form alignments along terraced hillsides (at Cafaggio SP₁, Genicciola SP₇, Pian di Paolo LU₃₂ and Piane Alte LU₂₅). At Cafaggio (SP₁) and Genicciola (SP₇) a dry-stone wall delimited the cemetery space along at least one side. Multiple graves are regularly attested, and graves often appear arranged into groups, which are likely to reflect kinship and/or social ties. At Cafaggio (SP₁) cist graves containing multiple urns were at the centre of quadrangular dry-stone enclosures covered by stone mounds. In at least six cases further graves (up to seventeen) were buried along the external edge of the enclosure (Figure 9.3). Osteological analysis indicates kinship ties between individuals buried in the same grave (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 406).



Figure 9.3 Cafaggio cemetery (SP1): funerary monument with the central grave (21bis) and the external ones (21-28) (Durante 1985, 152 fig. 4)

At Quartareccia (MS2) and Murata (LU28) graves were distributed around a delimited space (a cobbled platform or a sub-circular enclosure) with no traces of burials, which suggests either that the central grave was later destroyed or that the funerary monument had been prepared but never used or that the central space was reserved for funerary rituals.

Small groups of graves, some with two cinerary urns, were buried under the same stone mound and/or were surrounded by enclosures at Piane Alte (LU25). Multiple individuals were perhaps buried together at Campiana (LU21), where one grave contained two pots filled with bones (1915, 86). There is no mention of grave groupings or multiple urns at Genicciola (SP7), however recent osteoarchaeological analysis indicates that at least two urns contained the remains of multiple individuals (Saccò and Minozzi, 2020, 294). The Genicciola graves were buried into quadrangular pits tightly packed with stones and were marked by a pyramid-shaped stone (Figure 9.4). A similar solution was adopted at Pulica (MS3).

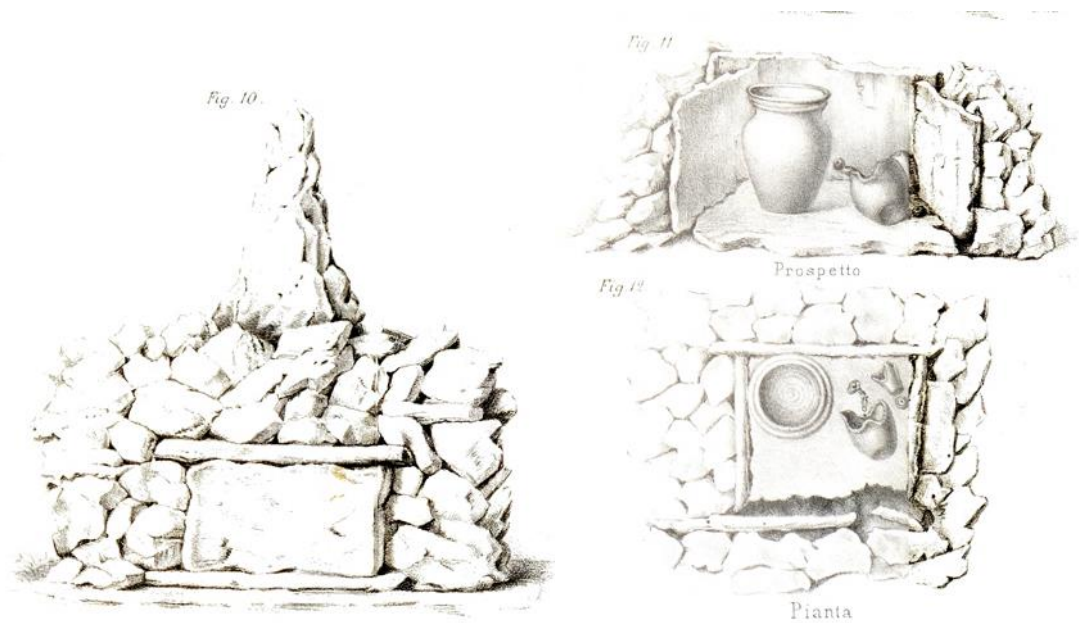


Figure 9.4 Drawings of a Genicciola (SP7) grave by Podestà (1879, pl. VIII)

In the western cemeteries, grave groupings and multiple graves are virtually absent. At Rio Boggiona (AT11) only one grave out of seventeen contained two cinerary urns, each with the remains of one adult (one male and possibly a female). At other cemeteries, there is no mention of graves with more than one urn, but as they were mostly discovered by chance during construction, we must allow for the possibility that many artefacts went lost and the grave assemblages were dismantled. Only at Narzole (CN39) were the graves arranged in rows, while no regular pattern is recorded in the other cemeteries. At Rio Boggiona (AT11) most graves were covered by an earthen mound and surrounded by a circular or more rarely quadrangular stone enclosure. Cobble mounds are attested at Narzole (CN39), but we have no information about their shape.

Differences between east and west can also be seen in the composition and characteristics of the grave assemblages. Eastern urns consist of wheel-thrown, high-shouldered pots with a narrow opening, either with (jars) or without (*deinos*) neck (Figure 9.5). They generally have a pale, depurated fabric and are externally decorated by brownish/reddish painted bands. Coarse handmade urns are also attested, particularly in Emilia (at Besozzola PR31, Bosco Cernaieto RE5, Villa Baroni RE9), more rarely in Tuscany (at Il Ciocco LU3 and

Piane Alte LU25) and in a few graves at Cafaggio SP1. Only at Celiniea (MS4) was a jug used as urn.

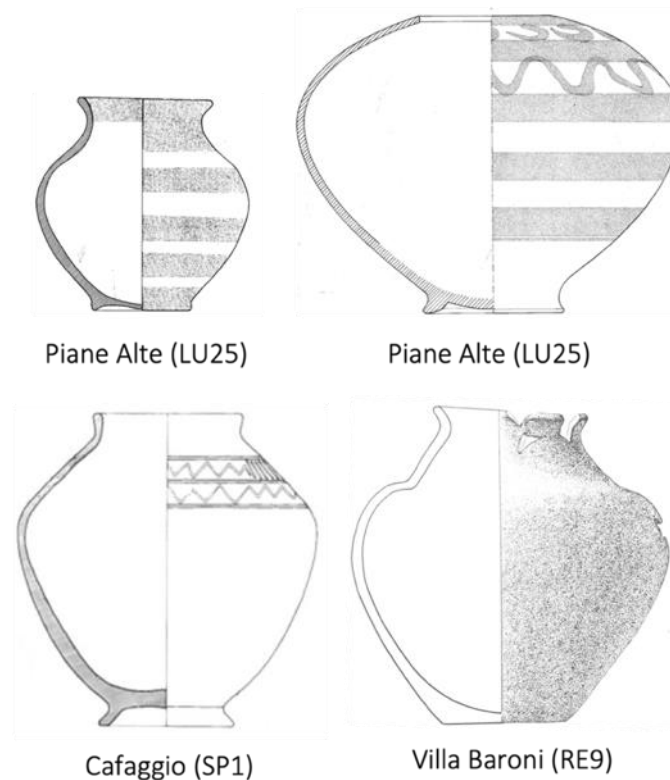


Figure 9.5 Main types of urns in eastern cemeteries (after Durante and Massari, 1978, 62 fig. 6.1; Maggiani, 1983, 74 fig. 1, 77 fig. 3; Malnati, 1990, 293 pl. LXXXII.1). Not to scale.

The urns are generally closed by upside-down bowls (depurated with painted bands or black-gloss ware). Specifically-made lids or black-gloss *kylikes* are occasionally used (see de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 424–427, VI.11.3, VI.12.1.4). The pottery assemblage is completed by a black-gloss *kylix* and/or a small drinking pot (*poculo*), generally depurated with painted bands or more rarely handmade in a coarse fabric. An iron hook was used to hang the *kylix* to the cist. Smaller pots shaped like the urns can probably be interpreted as beakers. Occasionally a small jug is present (see Piane Alte LU25). Black-gloss *skyphoi* and Etruscan Genucilia plates are attested at Cafaggio (SP1), where the graves occasionally contained a larger number of accessory pots (up to ten) than usually observed.

In the western cemeteries cinerary urns are handmade and their shape can vary (Figure 9.6). Bucket-shaped pots are attested at Rio Narzole (CN39) and

Rio Bogliona (AT11); at the latter we also find biconical pots with a ribbed neck used as both urns and accessory vases. High-shouldered/ovoid pots with a short neck are attested at Alba - Corso Piave (CN2) and Casal Cermelli (AL7). Pots with small vertical handles and impressed decoration obtained with a pointed tool were used at Monte Cavanero (CN18) and Bosco del Gaj (CN52), and can be dated to the end of the 2nd century BC, i.e. the time of the Roman conquest (De Marchi and Piroto, 2004, 85).

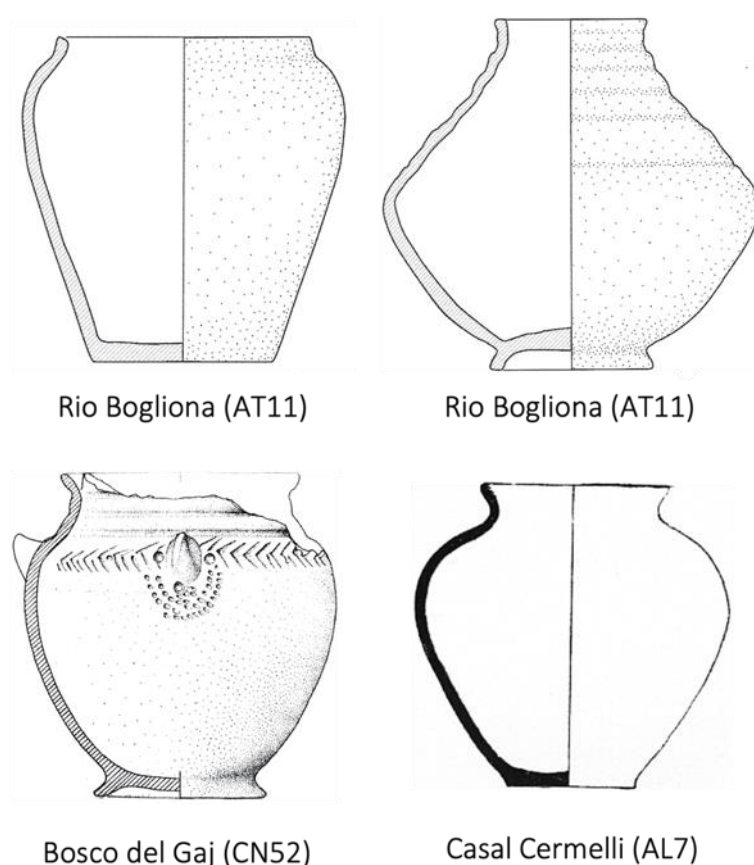


Figure 9.6 Main types of urns in western cemeteries (after De Marchi and Piroto, 2004, 86 fig. 3.2; Lo Porto, 1952, 53 fig. 5bis.c; Venturino and Palermo, 2019, 95 fig. 3.1, 99 fig. 7.1). Not to scale.

At Casal Cermelli (AL7) and Brea (AT4) urns were closed upside-down bowls. At Rio Bogliona (AT11) the bowls were placed upright on the urn and often contained an accessory beaker (Figure 9.7). A beaker found inside a bowl at Fornace (AL20) suggests a similar use. Bowls were perhaps used as lids also at Narzole (CN39) and Rio della Pieve (AL22). At Canelli (AT6) the urns were closed by stones following a practice attested in Piedmont from the FBA (see

6.3.1), while the use of a perishable lid has been supposed for the Alba - Corso Piave grave (CN2) based on the stratigraphy.

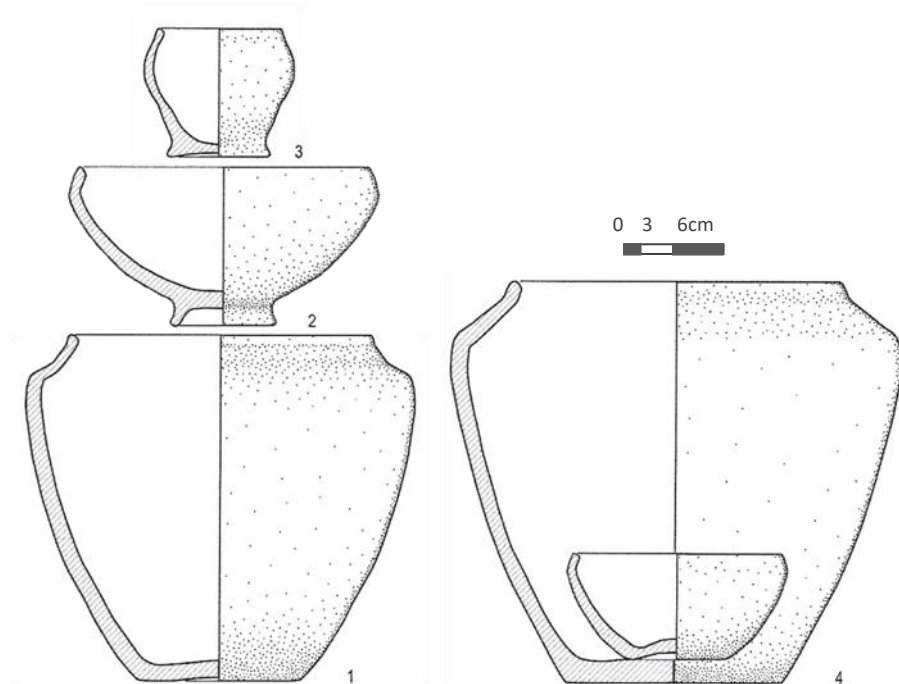


Figure 9.7 Pottery assemblage of T.2 at Rio Bogliona (AT11) (after Venturino and Palermo, 2019, 132 fig. 52)

At Rio Bogliona (AT11) and Casal Cermelli (AL7) the urns were accompanied by an accessory pot often containing a bowl or a beaker. The accompanying pots at Casal Cermelli (AL7) belong to the type ‘*sombrero de copa*’ and are among the very few wheel-thrown pots from the western cemeteries. These Iberian pots are attested along the French and Ligurian coast (at Ventimiglia IM31, Vado Ligure SV45, Genoa GE7 and Genicciola SP7), from which they probably reached the Po plain. At Alba - Corso Piave grave (CN2) a bowl and a pot had been intentionally broken and placed around the urn following a funerary rite known in this area from the FBA (see 6.3.1).

The dispersion of artefacts from many cemeteries due to the lack of systematic investigations complicates the analysis of their pottery assemblages. We can only remark that the surviving pots fall into a limited number of categories (bowls, bucket-shaped pots and beakers) and that, in contrast to the eastern cemeteries, symposium pottery is absent. Black-gloss pottery is only attested at Casal Cermelli (AL7). At Brea (AT4), Rio Bogliona (AT11) and Narzole

(CN39) some bowls were internally decorated with irregular strokes painted in clay or resin.

Some pots at Brea (AT4), Rio Bogliona (AT11) and Monte Cavanero (CN18) show traces of an internal blackish resinous coating. The same is observed in the pottery of other cemeteries in the Cuneo area dating to after the Roman conquest (Preacco Ancona, 2004) and in some pottery at the Monte Bignone (IM23), Bec Berciassa (CN47) and Noceto (AL9) settlements. This characteristic has been linked with the information from the written sources (Pliny *NH* 14.20.124; Columella, *Rust.* 12.24.1-3) about the Ligurian use of tar to preserve wine (Gambari and Venturino Gambari, 2004a, 45-46), and implies that wine was consumed/used in the funerary rites. The presence of pots with vertical handles and the spouted jugs found at Tortona (AL27) support the hypothesis that wine played a role in funerary rites.

Grave goods consist of clothing accessories, jewellery, weapons and, more rarely, tools. In contrast to the previous phases, signs of exposure to the heat of the pyre are rarely observed. At Rio Bogliona (AT11) only the goods placed into the urn appear deformed by the heat, while those found in the grave are intact. Brooches are the most common item. Iron LT brooches are well attested in Piedmont, while in the eastern cemeteries they are only present at Cafaggio (SP1), Pietra di Bismantova (RE8) and Villa Baroni (RE9); they also occur in some LIA graves at Genoa (GE9). One brooch with ribbed moulding and schematic human face on the bow found at Rio della Pieve (AL22) is believed to be a local product inspired by the central European *Maskenfibel* (Venturino Gambari, 1991a, 10-11). From the beginning of the 3rd century new types of brooches deriving from the Certosa form, called 'Apuan' to distinguish them from the latter, appear in northern Tuscany (Maggiani, 1983). They are attested in the graves of Tuscany and Emilia as far as Luceria (RE1), while they are absent west of it.

As in the previous phases, the gender of the deceased is generally inferred from the grave assemblages. Ritually folded/broken weapons are recurrent in supposedly male graves. Spear/javelin-heads are the most common, swords

and helmets are found more rarely (Figure 9.8). At Piane Alte (LU25) two spearheads, one of which miniature, were associated with the remains of children (Minozzi *et al.*, 2015).

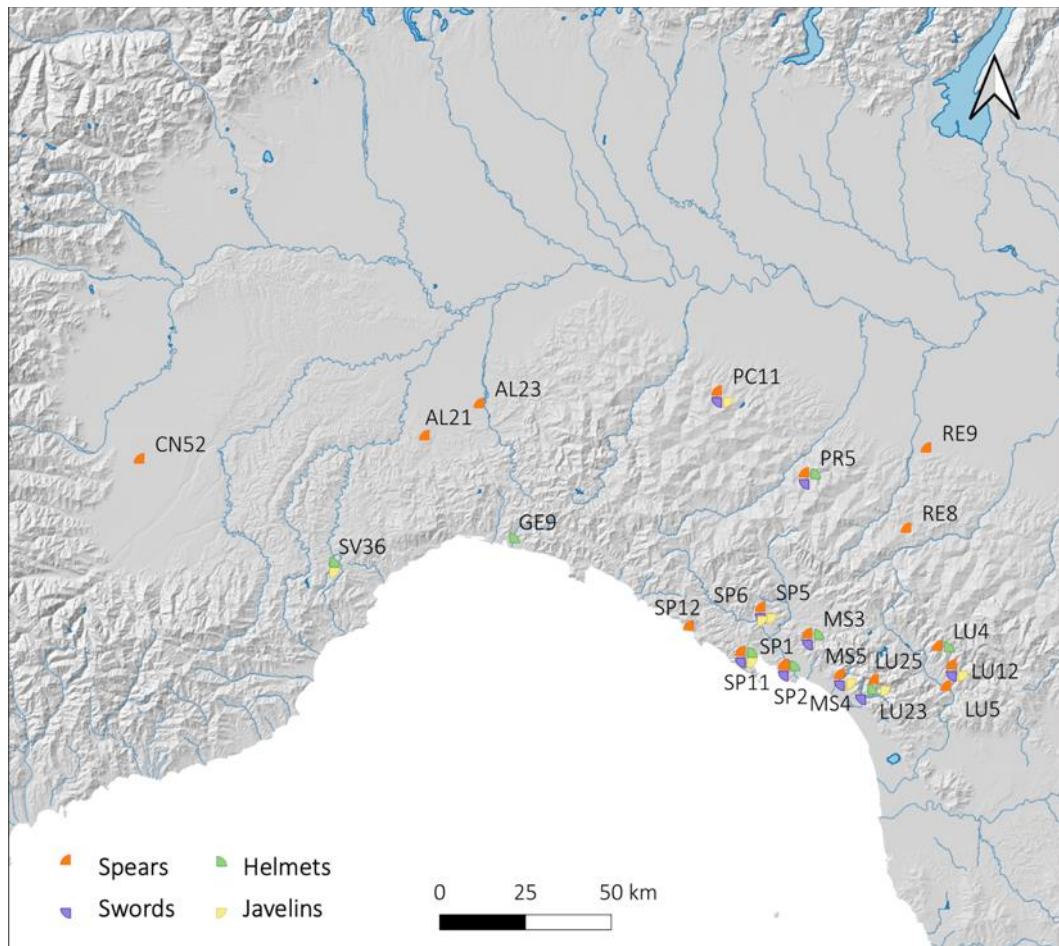


Figure 9.8 Weapons in LIA graves

Graves containing the full weapon equipment (one/two spears and/or javelin, sword and helmet) are only attested at Cafaggio (SP1), Pegazzano (SP13) Pulica (MS3) and Casaselvatica (PR5). The latter has been alternatively attributed to a Ligurian (Poppi Kruta, 1983, 34–35) or a Gaul (Vitali, 2009, 174) on the basis of its inhumation rite, the presence of a stone cist and the hybrid characteristics of its assemblage. A grave at Pietra di Bismantova (RE8) contained an iron spear and a sickle following an association attested north of the Po in the LT D (Macellari and Tirabassi, 2016, 510).

The presence of helmets in the graves represents a novelty from the MIA (see 9.2.2). Except for the hemispherical iron helmet found in the Rio Cavallera

(SV₃₄) and the Vulci type helmet from the Ponte di Vara cave (SV₄₄), both produced in Etruria and reworked locally, and a bronze *Prunkhelm* from Genoa (GE₉), all the others belong to the Montefortino type.

Their rarity, characteristics and association with offensive weapons, suggest the interpretation of helmets as prestige items that were added to the graves of eminent people. Some helmets are showy and possibly qualify as 'display armours'. The Casaselvatica (PR₅) and Pulica (MS₃) helmets were decorated with bronze sheet horns flimsily attached to the original helmet and would have been rather impractical in battle. Horned helmets are rare in Italy. Only five other examples are attested: at Montefortino (AN), Numana (AN), San Rossore (PI), Todi (PG) and Monte Tamburino (BO) (Vitali, 2010). The Pulica grave also contained an iron object with two points which Paribeni (2007a, 50) interprets as a hook to attach offerings to the cist. In contrast, I believe it is a crest holder that was attached to the helmet knob as in the helmet from Filottrano (AN) (Baumgärtel, 1937, pl. XXIII.3).

At Veleia (PC₁₁) a knife had been bent according to the practice generally reserved for weapons, which could suggest it was a weapon rather than a tool. The same applies to the fragmentary knife in the Pian della Rocca grave (LU₅). Based on a comparison with those of the Monte Tamburino (Monterenzio, BO) cemetery, where the characteristics and position in the tomb suggest their function (Vitali, 2003, 28), the knives found at Cafaggio (SP₁) can be interpreted as razors. At Rio Bogliona (AT₁₁) both a razor and knives with longer blades are attested, always in association with male burials. Knives are also attested at Casal Cermelli (AL₇), Canelli (AT₆), Casaselvatica (PR₅) and Villa Baroni (RE₉). The lack of evidence for funerary banquets and meat consumption seems to exclude the hypothesis that the knives were used during the funerary rituals, as inferred for Gallic cemeteries (see Monte Tamburino). More rarely attested male attributes are shears (at Cafaggio SP₁ and at Rio Bogliona, AT₁₁).

Spindle-whorls, earrings and amber/glass necklaces are considered female attributes. Spindle-whorls are rare in southern Piedmont (only two examples

at Rio Bogliona AT11, three at Narzole CN39 and one at Casal Cermelli AL7), while they are more frequent in the eastern graves. The Pallare (SV36) grave with its ten spindle-whorls is exceptional. The frequent association of spindle-whorls, amber/glass beads and bronze buttons suggests that the latter were typical of female costume. Osteological analysis indicates that at Piane Alte (LU25), bronze buttons were buried with a female, while the Murata (LU28) and Ponzolo (MS1) graves belonged to teenagers aged 12-14/15 years old whose sex cannot be determined (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 423-425; Minozzi, 2011; Minozzi *et al.*, 2015, 160-162). At Pian della Rocca (LU5) a bronze button was associated with weapons. The grave contained two urns with human remains, which could explain the presence of female and male items. In the west, bronze buttons are only attested from the second half of the 2nd century at Casal Cermelli (AL7), Fornace (AL20) and Rio della Pieve (AL22). In these graves conical bronze buttons are associated with buttons 'a scudetto', i.e. oval with central narrowing.

Other items found in the graves are belt hooks, spiral/penannular bronze armrings and finger rings. Belt hooks frequently appear in graves that contain bronze buttons, which could indicate that the buttons were applied to belts. The hooks found in the eastern graves generally have an elongated triangular shape, while in south-eastern Piedmont they are figure-of-eight-shaped (see Casal Cermelli AL7, Fornace AL20, Rio della Pieve AL22).

Overall, the eastern grave assemblages, particularly those of northern Tuscany and eastern Liguria, show greater variety and appear richer than the western ones. They consist of a greater number of items and always include imported pottery. Precious/exotic materials (amber/glass necklaces, silver jewellery, more rarely gold) are often included. Unfortunately, we lack information which would allow us to assess whether such a level of wealth was expressed in all the graves or only in some of them since the Cafaggio cemetery (SP1), the only one to have been systematically investigated, is not yet fully published.

The assemblages of western cemeteries are repetitive, formed by a few objects and virtually never include imported pottery. Iron brooches are the most

frequent item, followed by bronze buttons and belt hooks. Isolated glass/amber beads and glass armrings are occasionally attested. Swords and helmets are absent, and there are no signs of a warrior elite, but rather we get the impression of a fairly uniform society.

9.3. Settlements and sites

Settlements are mainly attested in low slope areas. The majority are in the plain (44%) and hills (38%), while mountain settlements only amount to 19% (Figure 9.9). At 1360 m asl Prato Spilla (PR27) is the highest site recorded and was probably seasonally occupied. As the name suggests, the site is in pasture area and its occupation could be linked to transhumance. Similar observations can be made for Col de Tende (AM18), Vievola (AM21) and Tetti Monsú (CN33), all in the western Alps.

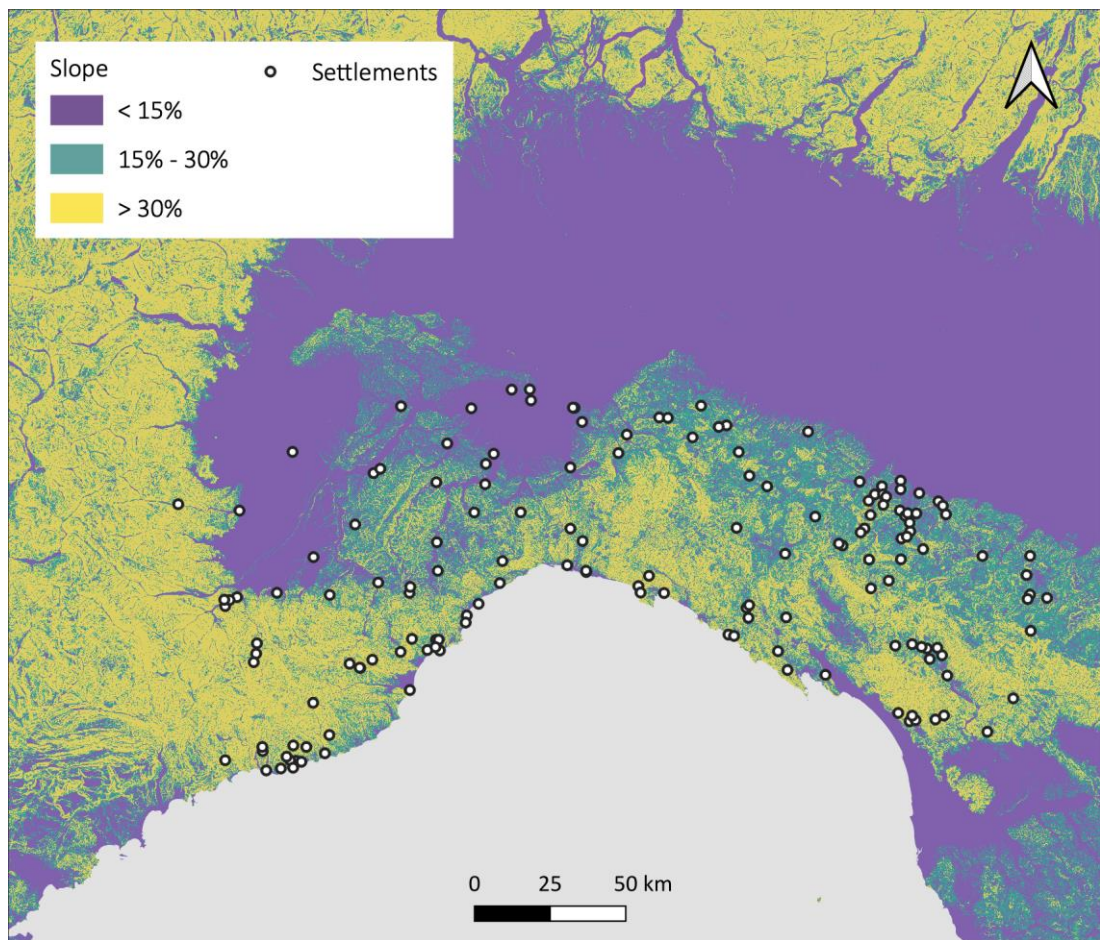
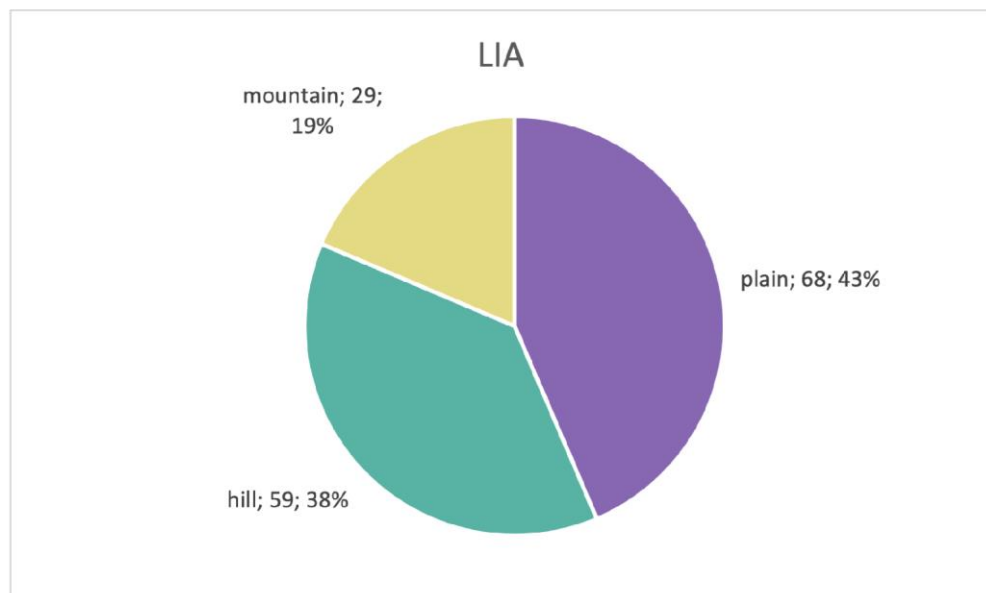


Figure 9.9 Distribution of LIA settlements by slope band

In the LIA raised positions continued to be preferred, but unlike previous phases, most settlements are found along the slopes of mountains/hills rather than on their peaks (Figure 9.10).

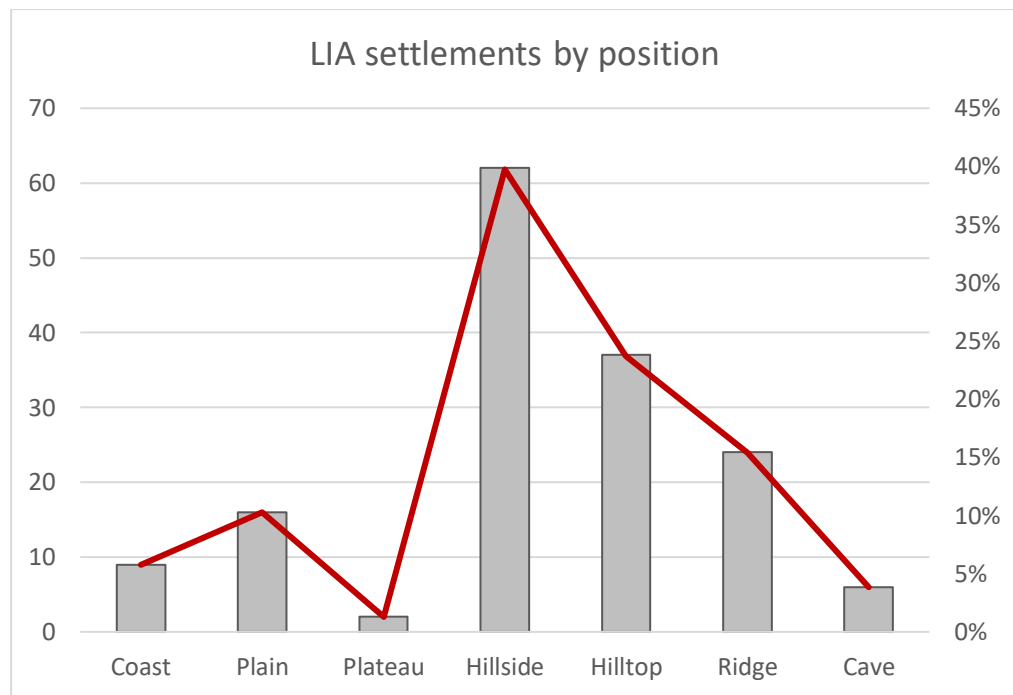


Figure 9.10 Distribution of LIA settlements according to their position

Five caves show traces of domestic activities, mainly pottery, and more rarely hearths, animal bones and postholes. Tana delle Gore (SV43) and Tana Grande (LU34) were probably used as temporary shelters and show no traces of previous use. Conversely, Arma dello Stefanin (IM4), Arene Candide (SV16) and Grotta dell'Edera (SV21) show traces of intermittent occupation starting from the Palaeolithic.

As expected from the sharp increase, over half the settlements show no traces of previous occupation (Figure 9.11). At 30 sites (19%), occupation continued uninterrupted from the MIA, while at 35 sites (23%) it resumed after a break, sometimes quite long (16 sites were occupied in the BA). However, it must be noted that, although previously occupied, several sites did not show traces of Ligurian culture. This is true for the sites in the Lucca, Modena, Reggio Emilia and Parma provinces, where the Ligurian material culture replaces the Etruscan one.

More continuity is recorded for sites on the coast or on ridges. Breolungi (CN35) and Piana di San Martino (PC14), the only LIA sites on plateaus, show intermittent occupation from the FBA.

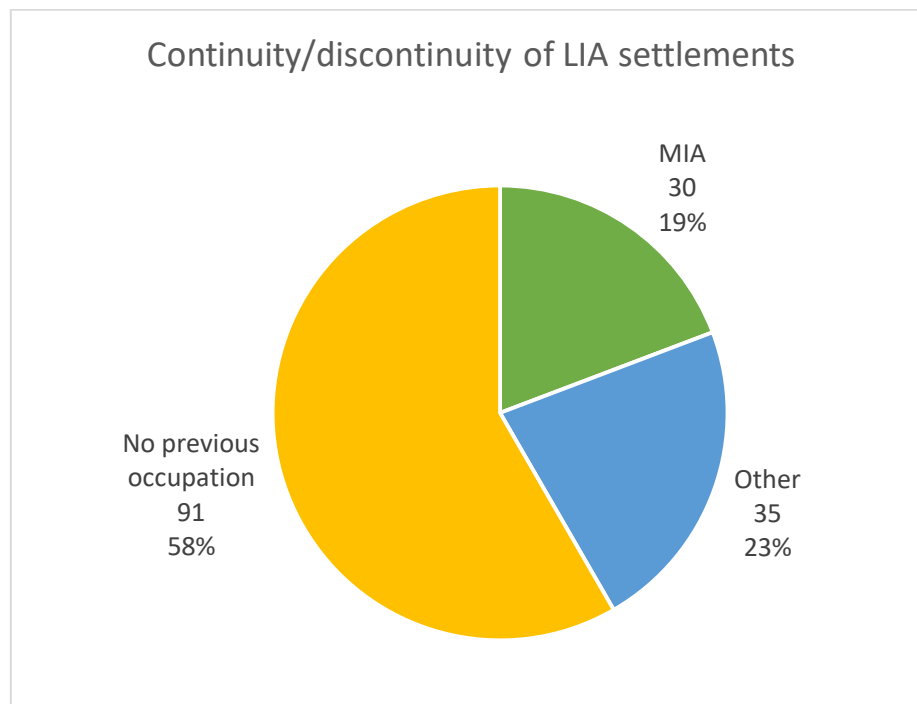


Figure 9.11 Percentage of new and previously established settlements

9.3.1. Organisation and dwellings

Several LIA settlements were built on terraces. New terraced settlements were built, while in sites with earlier occupations, old terraces were repaired/reinforced (e.g. Guardamonte PV5) and sometimes the settlement was expanded with the construction of additional terraces (e.g. Monte Borgo GE1).

A few settlements were provided with ramparts and can be compared with the *enceintes* of the Alpes-Maritimes. A dry-stone wall was built around the peak of Monte Sant'Elena (SV6) at the end of the 2nd century. A second wall was built at a lower altitude on the northern side of the mountain. The two areas thus created had different functions: the peak hosted the dwellings, while the lower area was used for craft activities and farming. The small dimensions of the walls suggest that they formed the bases for wooden palisades unlikely to have a defensive function. The upper wall was probably to control the access to the site, while the lower one was perhaps used as enclosure for livestock or to keep control over craft activities, particularly metal production.

A partly collapsed dry-stone wall surrounds the mountain peak at Castelfermo (SP8). The main occupation of the site dates to the LIA but terracotta tiles and soapstone pots indicate a renewed occupation at the end of the Roman period. Since none of the test pits were excavated along the wall, its construction cannot be safely dated to the IA. Similarly, it is unclear when the walls around the Monte Colma (IM8) peak were built. The site was occupied in the Roman period and traces of LIA activity were discovered outside the walls, which could suggest that the walls were later. The situation differs at Bric Casteirollo (SV13), where the dry-stone wall that surrounds the site can be attributed to the LIA. The wall was built with roughly hewn stone blocks and survives along three sides of a little plateau surrounding the mountain top. Its dimensions and building technique suggest a defensive function. Postholes and hearths hint at dwellings in the upper part of the site, while fired clay rings found near the wall, probably used to support pots during firing, indicate that the lower area was reserved for craft activities with an organisation like that of Monte Sant'Elena (SV6). We can perhaps add the site of Cima Ferissoni (IM28) to this short list, where not better specified "traces of aggers" (Mastrantuono, 2002, 104) have been associated with pottery dating between the 3rd century BC and the 1st century AD.

In the LIA, huts entirely made of perishable material continued to be built. They were made of wattle and daub with wooden posts. Oval/circular huts are attested at Vezzola (SP23) and possibly Praxelli (GE14), while the hut at Montaldo di Mondovì (CN37) was sub-rectangular. It is impossible to determine the shape and size of the hut at Monte Borgo (GE1). There is no information about the organisation of these dwellings. We only know that in the LIA at Vezzola (SP23), in contrast to the previous phase, the hearth was located inside the hut.

Elsewhere wattle and daub structures were built on foundations made of drystones/cobbles or low stone walls bonded with clay. This building technique is generally associated with quadrangular buildings (at Bric delle Anime SV19 and Monte Vigne LU20), but at Monte Colma (IM8) it was used

for a circular dwelling and at Monte Sant'Elena (SV6) for a sub-oval one. On Monte Castellaro at Pignone (SP15) a sub-rectangular dwelling with dry-stone foundations was built abutting a karstic cavity. The posts arrangement suggests that buildings were covered by gable roofs, probably thatched (roof tiles are only attested in the Etruscan settlement at Genoa GE7). Inside they had earthen floors, apart from Noceto (AL9), where a laid deposit of potsherds could relate to a dwelling floor. The dwellings generally took the form of a single room where different activities took place. Only at Monte Sant'Elena (SV6) was the dwelling space later divided by a partition that separated the store area from the area destined for cooking food.

Genoa apart, there is no sign of big settlements. We can think of communities consisting of a few families living in small villages. At various sites we see a division between the dwelling area and the area(s) for craft activities and/or farming (e.g. Monte Sant'Elena SV6, Bric Casteirolo SV13, Guardamonte PV5), with the latter often located further downhill or on lower terraces. There is no other information about the internal organisation of settlements. At Monte Sant'Elena (SV6) and Guardamonte (PV5), the entrances were identified from gaps in the external/terracing walls, which connected to an external route.

At Genoa (GE7), new terraces and buildings were built around the settlement wall in the 4th century, which suggest an increase in the population. The situation changes from the mid-3rd century when various buildings were abandoned/levelled following their collapse, while the number of graves in the Via XX Settembre cemetery (GE9) gradually reduces. Although chronologies do not match, the archaeological evidence echoes the information from Livy (28.46.7-9) about the destruction of Genoa by Mago, which was followed by the Roman reconstruction of the city.

9.4. Material culture

9.4.1. Pottery

Handmade bucket-shaped/ovoid/globular pots, bowls and beakers are common in Piedmont, while big storage containers are rare (Figure 9.12). Lids are virtually absent, and it is likely that bowls were used for the same function. In this phase handles appear mainly on small bucket-shaped pots, probably used for drinking wine as suggested by their association with spouted jugs in the Solduno cemetery (Canton Ticino, Switzerland) (Venturino, 2015, 139). Pots with perforated bases have been interpreted as milk strainers used in dairy production (Ferrero *et al.*, 2004, 64), but no analyses have confirmed it. Shapes and decoration continued to be limited and repetitive. Incised oblique lines/chevrons, series of triangular/circular impressions and, from the mid-3rd century, combinations of incised lines and impressions often decorate the maximum diameter of the pot. A novelty are pots decorated by deep digital/fingernail impressions all over their body, named ‘Rossiglione pottery’ after the Ligurian site (GE14). Rossiglione pottery is well attested in southern Piedmont, in western and central Liguria, and in the Piacenza Apennines, east of which it is only found at Monte Sprela (PR13) and Monte Sole (RE11). Bowls are rarely decorated. When present, the decoration consists of impressions on/under the rim, more rarely a dark resin is applied on the external rim to form a horizontal band. The previous close links with the northern regions disappear (Ferrero *et al.*, 2004, 66), while the similarities with the products of coastal Liguria intensify. Imported pottery is mainly found in the Alessandria province. Aside from the above-mentioned Casal Cermelli (AL7) *sombrero de copa*, imported pottery includes a *LT Padano B* pot at Acqui Terme (AL1), a few fragments of depurated pottery at Noceto (AL9) and black-gloss ware (Figure 9.13). Although the pottery characteristics suggest that wine was consumed, only one Massaliot amphora was found at Tetti Monsù (CN33).

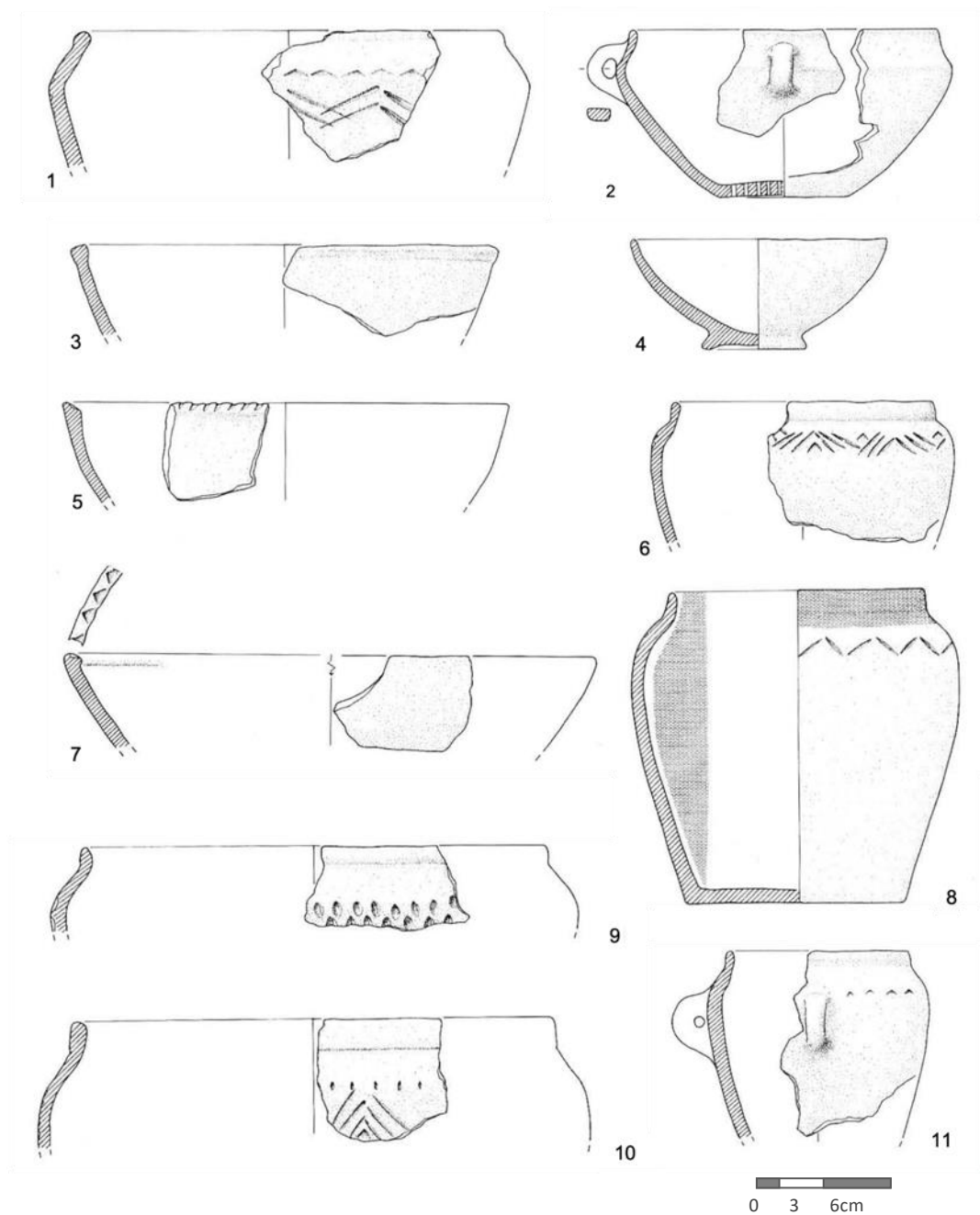


Figure 9.12 LIA pottery from Breolungi (CN35) (after Giaretti, 2001, 148–149 figs 118–119)

The pottery of Liguria is handmade. Except for the bucket-shaped pots, which are never attested, shapes and decorations correspond to those of Piedmont. Some pots are covered by a dark coating, which could suggest the use of pitch to preserve the contents, but no chemical analyses have been undertaken. Black-gloss imported pottery is common (Figure 9.13), mainly bowls and *kylikes*, and more rarely *skyphoi*, i.e. pots traditionally linked to wine consumption. Etruscan Genuclia plates are attested at Genoa (GE7), Monte

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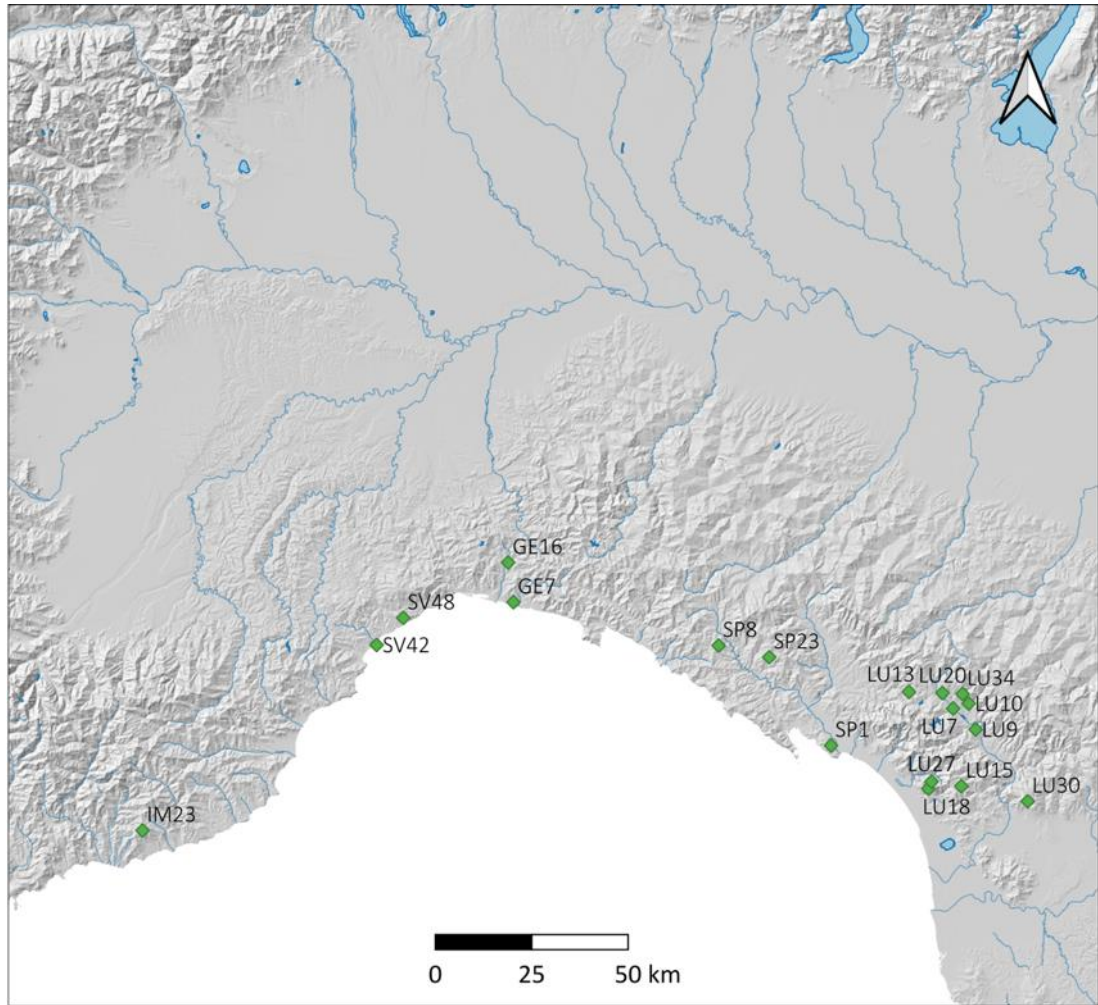


Figure 9.14 Greek-Italic amphoras at Ligurian sites.

The products of northern Tuscany can be divided into two classes: handmade coarse-ware and wheel-thrown depurated painted pottery. The latter probably derives from the products of *Etruria Padana* (Ciampoltrini and Notini, 1996, 46–47) and includes a limited number of shapes (bowls, ovoid pots, jugs, *deinos* and beakers), the same that are found in the graves (see 9.2.1). Outside Tuscany, depurated painted pottery is found in the Cafaggio cemetery (SP1). Some examples in the Reggio Emilia and Parma Apennines have been attributed to the group (e.g., at Pietra di Bismantova RE8 and Monte La Pila PR21), however given the similarities with the nearby Etruscan products (the distinction relies on the shapes, some of which are present in both), it is often hard to separate them. Depurated painted pottery is absent in the Piacenza Apennines.

Coarse ware mainly includes ovoid pots, bowls and beakers, rarely decorated. When present, the decoration generally consists of a continuous incised line (U-shaped, zigzag, wave-shaped) under the rim. Imported pottery and amphoras (Etruscan, Massaliot and later Greek-Italic) are well attested near the coast and along the Serchio valley, whose importance as a communication route towards the western Apennines continues into the LIA.

A Ligurian presence in the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines is often claimed, based on the so-called '*ceramica vacuolare*'. Vacuoles were first observed in the pottery by Mannoni (1968), who analysed the artefacts from Renzano (LU₁₃). Mannoni linked the vacuoles to the use of sparry calcite temper that dissolved during firing. Later Maggiani (1984) noticed the recurrent association of *ceramica vacuolare*, Greek-italic amphoras, painted depurated pottery and black-gloss ware in northern Tuscany. Soon *ceramica vacuolare* came to be considered as a "typically Ligurian" (Paribeni *et al.*, 1990, 227) pottery class with limited geographical diffusion and used as an ethnic marker (see Ghiretti and Saronio, 2004; Malnati, 2006; Macellari, 2008), even though vacuoles are seen in Apennine pottery from prehistory to the Middle Ages (Giannichedda and Quirós Castillo, 1997).

The presence of *ceramica vacuolare* and a supposed link between the placename Pavullo nel Frignano and the Ligurian *Friniates* (Livy 41.19.1) are often used to argue that the Ligurian territory stretched as far as the Modena Apennines (see Malnati, 2006; Locatelli, 2007). However, the cultural attribution of this area is hard to define. Very little is known of the only grave (a cremation with stone cist) discovered at Gusciola (MO₁) and a little material comes from field surveys. Regardless of the characteristics of its fabric, which has no ethnic meaning, the pottery shows similarities with the contemporary pottery of the western Apennines and eastern Liguria, while the pottery typical of the Etruscan/Gaul settlements in the plain is missing. However, differences between the pottery of the sites in the plain and those on the mountains are visible in the previous phases (Cardarelli and Malnati, 2006, 126) and do not necessarily have a cultural meaning.

9.4.2. Metalwork

Metal artefacts are rare in settlements and analysis of metalwork mainly relies on funerary finds. LIA Italy is characterised by the spread of La Tène (LT) items, mainly weapons and jewellery/clothing accessories. The study area shares in this phenomenon, but marginally and with differences from area to area. LT swords with scabbards and occasionally chains/rings for suspension are found in the graves of the eastern sector. The Cafaggio (SP₁) swords recall those of the Monte Tamburino (BO) cemetery, particularly as regards the “dragon pair” decoration on the scabbards, which is rarely attested in Italy (Ginoux, 2012, 180 fig. 1).

In contrast to the swords, LT jewellery and clothing accessories are found in both the eastern and western sector, albeit infrequently. Early LT brooches are only attested at Solero (AL₂₅) and Cafaggio (SP₁), whereas middle LT brooches with a foot attached to the bow generically defined ‘*schema medio-LT*’ are more common. This category is quite broad and comprises several types for which there are no detailed studies that would allow us to make comparisons, determine distributions, and identify possible production centres. A distinctive type with two globular elements appears in the graves of the Magra area at Genicciola (SP₇), Case Campodonia (SP₁₄) and Celinea (MS₄). Similar brooches appear also in Piedmont at Monte Cavanero (CN₁₈), Rio Bogliona (AT₁₁), Canelli (AT₆) and Casal Cermelli (AL₇) for which parallels with western Switzerland have been proposed (De Marchi and Piroto, 2004, 87). Other middle LT iron brooches are attested at Brea (AT₄), Pietra di Bismantova (RE₈), Villa Baroni (RE₉), Monte Borgo (GE₁) and Monte Follia (IM₁₆).

Other LT elements include the armring/anklet decorated by rounded bosses (*armilla a ovoli*) found at Tombara (MS₅), the saddle-shaped ring from Murata (LU₂₈) and the serpentine armring from Celinea (MS₄). These artefacts are common in *Gallia Cisalpina*, respectively in the *Insubres* and *Cenomani* territories (De Marinis, 1986, 104 figs. 2, 112), from which they are likely to have been imported.

A type Montefortino bronze pan was found at Travo (PC16). Montefortino pans are an element of the prestigious Etruscan-Italic goods widespread in southern Lombardy in the 3rd century (De Marinis, 1986, 125 fig. 4). They are believed to have reached northern Italy either via the Reno valley and Bologna, or via the Adriatic ports, and from there along the Po River and its affluents (Castoldi, 2001, 78–79). The Travo pan could have arrived by these routes or could have travelled via sea to the Ligurian coast and from there along the Trebbia valley. Not knowing exactly where Montefortino pans were produced complicates the reconstruction of their journey. In any case, the existence of a prehistoric route connecting the coast to the Trebbia valley has been convincingly argued based on site distribution and the medieval ‘*via Patrania*’ salt route (Pearce, 2002). There is no reason to believe that such a route was not active in the LIA, particularly in the light of the reoccupation of the Monte Borgo settlement (GE1).

The construction of the *via Postumia* (9.6) encouraged contacts with north-eastern Italy. Two *Maskenfibel* nearly identical to the ones from Rio della Pieve (AL22) and Colle della Guardia (GE10) were found in a grave at Sant’Agata di Pressana (VR), which contained twelve bronze ‘*a scudetto*’ buttons and a figure-of-eight-shaped belt-fitting (Salzani, 2004). A grave at Moratica di Sorgà (VR) contained ‘*a scudetto*’ buttons and an ovoid cinerary urn that differs from locally attested ones (*ibid.*).

Outside Italy, the association of conical and ‘*a scudetto*’ buttons can be found in Switzerland and in the French Alps (De Marchi and Piroto, 2004, 93). Figure-of-eight-shaped belt-fittings can also be found in the Alps in the assemblages of the Ubaye valley (De Marchi and Piroto, 2004, 95). These artefacts suggest that contacts across the western Alps continued during the LIA, but interestingly on the Italian side they seem to involve the Alessandria territory more than the Cuneo area despite the latter being closer to the Alpine passes.

The use of the Cuneo alpine passes is suggested by the two spearheads found in the Valdieri area (CN57-58). They are both in good condition and show

little trace of use. They are not bent, as we would expect if they came from a grave, and since they were found at a high altitude and near to passes we may suggest they were *Passfunde* (Ferrero and Padovan, 2020, 308). Nearly identical spearheads found at Tende (AM19-20) can be interpreted in the same way.

9.5. Religious activities

Traces of religious activities are scarce and hard to interpret. The structured deposit of Fascicole (CN12) was most probably a votive deposit, but its chronology is problematic. Originally believed to have been formed during various episodes between the 4th century BC and the 1st century AD, it has more recently been suggested that all the material was deposited in the Roman period (Gandolfi and Gervasini, 2007).

At Pietra Pertusa (LU30) large blocks of sandstone were placed over an artificially levelled deposit with potsherds and might once have formed a dolmen-shaped structure. The lack of human remains and of dolmens in the area exclude the hypothesis of a grave and no traces of dwellings or domestic activities were detected. The character and location of the site, and the presence of imported pottery and wine amphoras have suggested it was a place of worship (Bianchini, 2005). The site is in a strategic position overlooking the point where the Serchio valley narrows and at the border with the 3rd century northernmost Etruscan settlements. It is worth noting that in the MIA the transapennine Serchio-Enza/Secchia route (see 8.7) was scattered with Etruscan cult sites evidenced by the presence of bronze figurines (Maggiani, 1985, 312–314).

The Niusci hoard (GE16) is believed to have formed gradually rather than being buried in a single episode and has been interpreted as a votive deposit, possibly linked to water cults or rites performed by passers-by who made offerings to secure a safe continuation for their journey (Barello and Arslan, 2004, 121). Natural springs are known north of Genoa (see 5.3.1), but they

concentrate along a north-south line that links Sestri Ponente to Isoverde located west of the Polcevera, i.e. on the watershed opposite to where the hoard was found. Niusci is in a strategic position between the Scrivia and Polcevera valleys, and likely represented an obliged passing point for those directed to Genoa. The idea that travellers along the Scrivia had to pay an offering to a divinity to continue their journey appears more convincing than supposing the practice of rites linked to the water. The origin of the coins, which were minted somewhere north of the Apennines supports this interpretation.

The link between transapennine routes and cult sites could explain the bronze statuette found at Monte Alfeo (PC₁₃) on the ridge west of the Trebbia. Another bronze statuette is believed to have found at Monte Penice, also west of the Trebbia on the border between Emilia-Romagna and Lombardy, but the exact findspot cannot be confirmed (De Negri, 1956, 32). Rather than with transalpine routes, these finds have been linked to a sort of “peak cults” (De Negri, 1956). Such cults are believed to have been practiced in the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and have been regularly put in relation with the Ligurians (Ghiretti, 2003, 190–191; Malnati, 2004c, 354; Macellari, 2008, 381). The existence of these cults has been inferred based on the altitude and physical character of the sites, or less convincingly on the mountain name (see Ghiretti, 2003, 191–192), but no clear archaeological evidence supports these hypothesis.

Mannoni (2004a, 111) has suggested the existence of a not dissimilar cult linked to weather events for the intact upside-down pot placed over burnt acorns found at Case Castellaro (SP₂₁), a site exposed to lightning and violent summer storms. On the same ridge of Case Castellaro and at a short distance from it (about 400 m as the crow flies) there is Monte Dragone (SP₂₂) where numerous imported materials have been found which suggest the existence of a transapennine route (8.4.1). In the same area was found the Villa Novà statue-menhir, whose link with communication routes I have already discussed (8.4.3). A transapennine route is documented in the early Medieval

time by the distribution of fortified settlements, one of which at Case Castellaro (Ferrando Cabona *et al.*, 1978, 128–129). These data support the hypothesis that this area played a key role in the western Apennines communication network. Without excluding a link with natural phenomena, Case Castellaro (SP21) can too be interpreted as a cult site associated with a transapennine route.

The weak evidence for religious activities in the Italian sector contrasts with the presence of sanctuaries in the French Alpes-Maritimes. Here, sanctuaries with monumental structures have been identified at Cime de la Tournerie (Roubion) and at Cime de La Piastra (Lucéram) (Damotte and Mercurin, 2019, 74–75; Lautier and Rothé, 2010, 378–380). The first, interpreted as a Gaulish sanctuary, was active from the 5th century BC until the 2nd century AD. The second was active from the late 3rd century BC until the 1st century AD. The character and siting of these sanctuaries suggest that they acted as meeting points for the surrounding communities, whose common identity they helped to create and reinforce, through feasting and other collective rites. The contrast with the cults of Liguria is evident. Cults connected to transit routes can be performed by anyone passing by, regardless of their identity or group affiliation. For them the link is with the territory rather than with the communities, and no sense of belonging is created, but rather practices shared beyond cultural and ethnic borders.

9.6. The Roman conquest

The Roman conquest of north-western Italy started at the end of the 3rd century and continued until the end of the 2nd century (Chapter 10). A new road network and the foundations of colonies marked the progressive Roman control over the area (Figure 9.15).

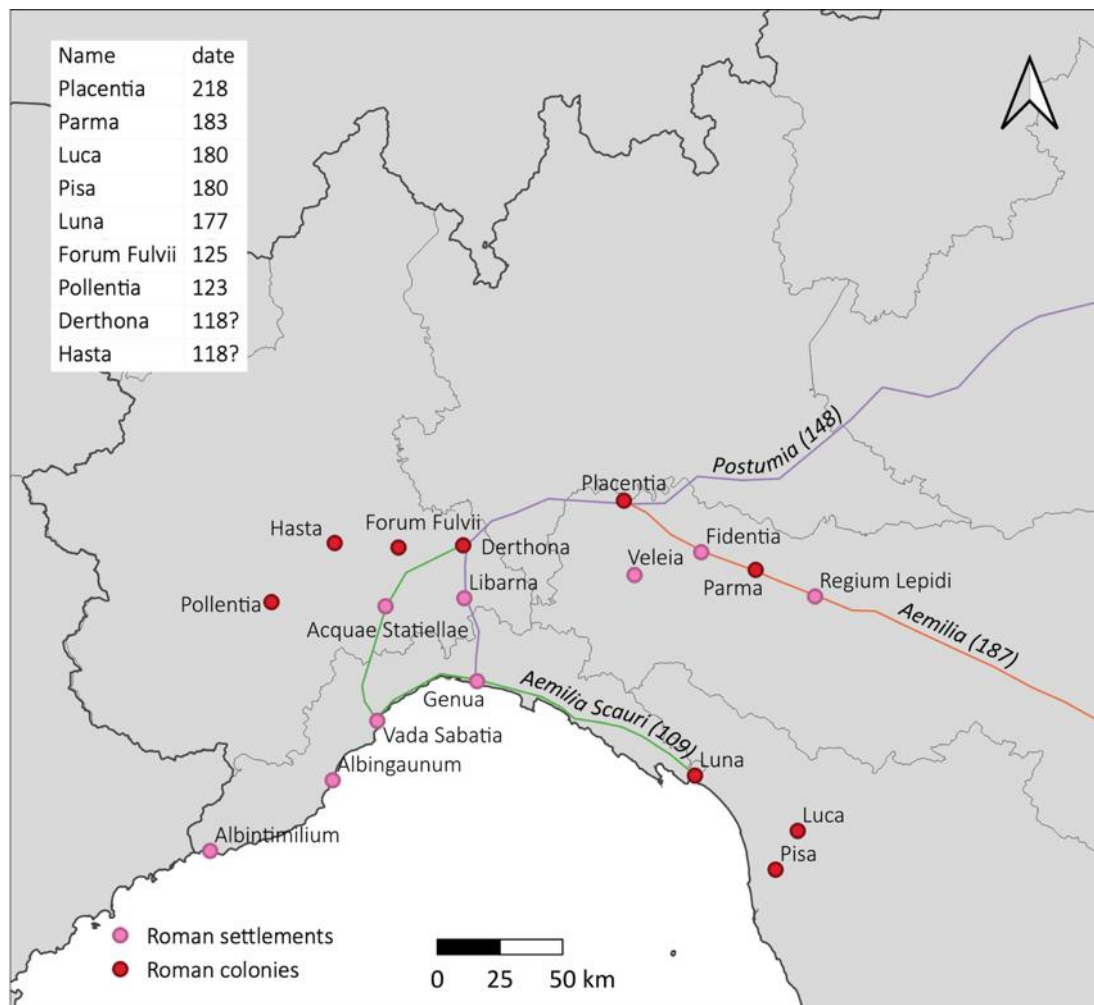


Figure 9.15 Main Roman roads and settlements in the Ligurian territory

Luna was the only colony founded in coastal Liguria. Genoa was Rome's ally from the late 3rd century and remained a *civitas foederata* until 45 BC, when it was granted the status of *municipium*. The 117 BC *Sententia Minuciorum* (CIL I² 584 = CIL V 7749), a verdict *ex senato consulto* to solve a boundary dispute, is direct evidence of the new administration of the Genoa area. Other coastal cities were linked to Rome by alliances (Gambaro, 1999, 74). The building of a military *castrum* at Ventimiglia-Albintimilium at the beginning of the 2nd century, was followed by the construction of the Roman city (Gambaro, 1999, 82–83). Conversely at Albenga-Albingaunum, there is no evidence of a *castrum* prior to the 1st century Roman settlement (Gambaro, 1999, 122).

Determining to what extent the Roman conquest translated into cultural change is not an easy task and one beyond the scope of this research. Italian

archaeologists use term ‘Romanisation’ as a chronological term (e.g. Gambaro, 1999; Carlevaris, 2021) and, unlike their Anglophone colleagues, do not show much concern about the implications of its use. The general view is that the process of ‘Romanisation’ was not completed at least until the end of the Republican period, with a delay and marginal effect on the mountain areas (Cresci Marrone, 2004; Gambari and Venturino Gambari, 2004a, 30).

It is not my intention to discuss the impact of the Roman conquest on the Ligurian communities in depth. The archaeological evidence does not show any signs of a “traumatic impact with Rome”, as defined by Melli (2004a, 176). Up to the end of the 2nd century, which is the limit for my research, we do not see any dramatic changes in material culture that might suggest that the Roman conquest triggered social change or modified the way local communities expressed their identity. The graves of Villa Baroni (RE9) and Tombara (MS5) are illustrative of this. Despite the use of roof tiles for the cist and the presence of Roman artefacts, the rite and the composition of the assemblages are the same that we find in earlier graves.

9.7. Conclusions

In the LIA a distinction between the eastern and the western sector is visible in the funerary record. In the eastern cemeteries LT swords and helmets suggest the presence of high-status individuals who share the symbols adopted by the warrior Gallic elites of central and northern Italy. The western sector does not seem to participate in the warrior elite ideology and there are no assemblages that suggest high-status people.

The sites near the Magra mouth appear particularly well integrated in both maritime and terrestrial networks. Imported pottery and amphoras are attested along the coast of western Liguria, whereas they are scarce in its hinterland. Southern Piedmont appears little involved in the commercial exchange with the Italian peninsula and the Transalpine area in this phase. Foreign goods are found almost exclusively in the Alessandria area, which

maintained its key role connecting the central and eastern Po plain with Genoa.

Settlements are generally small and are distributed across the Apennines as well as along the coast, with relatively few in the plain. As in the MIA, they often occupy artificial terraces. Very few are fortified and the archaeological evidence contradicts the assertion by many scholars (e.g. Odetti, 2003; Haeussler, 2013, 82) that the Ligurians lived in fortified “*castella*” (Polyb. 2.17).

Chapter 10. Written sources

The corpus of the ancient literary sources on the Ligurians is quite rich and disseminated across several centuries. Ancient authors provide a great deal of information, ranging from casual references to more detailed excursions. A complete collection of ancient Liguria sources up to the 8th century AD was published by G. Forni (1976).

In this chapter I present a critical overview of written sources relevant to my discussion of the Ligurians. Information that is not pertinent to this purpose is not considered. Authors and their works are cited according to the Oxford Classical Dictionary (4 ed., 2012) abbreviation list.

I also exclude information from myth. The Ligurians appear in various myths (Hyg. *Fab.* 152, 154; Ovid. *Met.* 1.750-2.405, Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.22.4-5, Sall. *Hist.* 2, fr.13; Isid., *Etym.* 14.6.41), and in some versions of Herakles' adventures (Aesch. Fr. 199 Nauck; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.41.3). These tales were created by the Greeks and most probably by the Phocaeans of Marseilles (Colonna, 2004a, 10): if they tell us anything, it is not about the Ligurians but rather about those who invented them and their view of the world.

10.1. Name and origins of the Ligurians

The Greeks called the Ligurians Λίγυες and their land λιγυστική γή, from which derived the Latin adjective *ligusticus* and the name *Ligus*, alternative to *Ligur/Ligures* (Giannattasio, 2007, 13). The oldest source that contains the word Λίγυες is a hexameter attributed to Hesiod and quoted by Eratosthenes of Cyrene (Strabo 7.3.7), which reads: “The Ethiopians, the Ligurians, and also the Scythians, Hippemologi” (transl. by Jones, 1924, 197). Although the authorship of the verse is not sure, it is unlikely that it dates to later than the 6th century BC (Colonna, 2004a, 9).

Several hypotheses have been proposed to explain its meaning and the origin of the name, whose root comes from the Indo-European *λίγ (Giannattasio, 2007, 13). A tradition that originated in antiquity (Plin. *NH* 19.50), but that is not supported by linguistics, sees the adjective *ligusticus* as deriving from the plant *ligusticum*, i.e. lovage, which was believed to be a native of the mountains of Liguria (Alessio, 1947, 113). While according to Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethnika*, s.v. Λίγυρες), who indicates Artemidorus as his source, the term derived from the name of the river *Ligueros*.

Another hypothesis connects the name to the word **liga*, i.e. marshland, with reference to the environment where the colony of Massalia was founded, which in the Medieval period was known as *prata Ligurie* (Lamboglia, 1959a, 12).

The most popular explanation connects the name to the homonymous adjective ληγύς, meaning shrill, strident, whistling, and with ληγυρός, which is said of something with a piercing sound (Arnaud, 2001, 330; Collin Bouffier and Garcia, 2012, 31; Colonna, 2004a, 11). Therefore, the Ligurians would be ‘the squealers’ or ‘the high-pitched’ and their name would have been used similarly to the onomatopoeic word βαρβαροι to indicate the people whose language was not intelligible to the Greeks (Collin Bouffier and Garcia, 2012, 31). Most scholars nowadays believe that the name originated when the first Greeks came into contact with the peoples living in the far West (Collin Bouffier and Garcia, 2012; Colonna, 2004a, 11; Giannattasio, 2007, 14).

The only reference that we have about how the Ligurians used to call themselves is in Plutarch (*Mar.* 19.3-4), who, describing an episode in the battle of *Aqua Sextiae* of 102 BC between Marius’ army and a tribe of western *Narbonensis*, affirms that both the Ligurians fighting in the Roman army and the enemies repeatedly called themselves “*Ambrones*” in their battle cry. Giannattasio (2007, 16) recognises in this the sign that, at the end of the 2nd century BC, the Ligurians identified themselves as an ethnic group with a common origin closer to that of Germanic peoples than to the Italics with whom they were fighting. However, the use of the same name to indicate

different ethnic groups is common in Europe (Maras, 2004, 24) and therefore we cannot suppose any ethnic affinity just on the base of this homonymy.

Some ancient authors used the term ‘Κελτολίγυες’ (*Mir. ausc.* 85; Strabo 4.6.3), which has raised a debate about the identification of the Ligurians as ‘Celts’.

Giannattasio (2007, 17) believes that the term indicates that the indigenous Ligurians later mixed with people with different origins, like the Celts. Others (Gambari, 2004, 12; Venturino Gambari and Gambari, 1988, 125–126) have argued that the Ligurians spoke a Celtic language and have seen the name as the indication that the Ligurians belonged to a wider "Celtic family".

The idea that the Ligurians spoke a Celtic language is quite popular (see Ghiretti, 2003, 102; Rubat Borel, 2005), but not demonstrated: it is mainly argued based on some personal and place names, while the very few inscriptions in the Ligurian area that are not written in the Etruscan language are difficult to interpret (see 8.4.3). Truth is that we do not know what language the Ligurians spoke and even assuming that they did speak a ‘Celtic language’, it does not mean that they were ‘Celts’ (on this see Collis, 2003, 45–56). It is not uncommon for ancient authors to use this type of compound names, see ‘Κελτοσκούθας’ (Strabo 9.6.2), ‘Κελτίβηρας/Celtiberians’ (Polyb. 35.1.1, Livy 25.33.1–4) or ‘*Gallograeci*’ (Livy 38.46.1, Flor. 1.27.11). These terms are not always intended in an ethnic sense and are often symptomatic of the ancient writers’ confusion in describing other peoples and of their inability to distinguish them.

Most French scholars excludes a division between Celts and Ligurians and believe that the latter represented the Mediterranean fringe of the “*Celtique*” (Garcia, 2004b, 229–231, 2014, 29–30; Arnaud, 2001; Bats, 2003; Damotte and Mercurin, 2019, 34). In this view, Liguria is the coastal area where the Greeks met with the indigenous people of the west (Garcia, 2004b, 230). Such an interpretation is influenced by the idea of ‘great Liguria’ (see below) and is only acceptable if we deny the concept of ‘Ligurians’ and ‘Celts’ any ethnic value.

Written sources seem to agree on the great antiquity of the Ligurian ethnos, considered to be older than all the other peoples (Mansuelli, 1985, 13). According to Cato (f. 31 Peter), the Ligurians had lost all memory of their origins and did not know where they came from. Such a comment gives the idea of an uncivilised people and is functional to glorifying Rome's past and its domination over Italy, which is the aim of Cato's *Origines*. In fact, in the same fragment Cato describes the Ligurians as illiterate and deceitful, a *topos* common among ancient Roman writers (see Nigidius fr. 101 Legrand; Verg. *Aen.* 11.715). If we consider that Cato lived at the time when Rome was completing (not without difficulties) the conquest of Liguria, the denigratory sentiment that animated the comment becomes clear.

10.2. Locating Liguria

Trying to reconstruct the geography of ancient Liguria is a hard task. The information is often contradictory or hard to interpret, while sometimes we are unable to identify the places that are mentioned. Information is generally given about the coastal area, while little is said of its extension in the hinterland and the picture that we obtain is essentially a view from the sea.

Many ancient authors mention groups of peoples that were Ligurians. Such groups are generally considered by modern scholars as tribes. However, their definition is not straightforward. Strabo calls them “ἔθνος” (4.6.6) or “φῶλον” (4.6.2), while Livy uses the terms “gens” (32.29.5) or “nomen” (40.28.1). Overall, we can say that the Ligurians comprised a series of sub-groups, however their entity, organization and relations remain unclear.

Attempts to reconstruct the geography of ancient Liguria based on the ancient written sources often ignore the historical context in which they were written. There is a tendency to fill the gaps by combining information from authors that lived centuries apart and wrote with completely different purposes. The results are collage-like maps that are misleading and do not reflect any historical reality (Figure 10.1). In contrast, I have created separated maps for

the various authors (Figures 10.2-7) and a table that compares their information (Table 10.2).

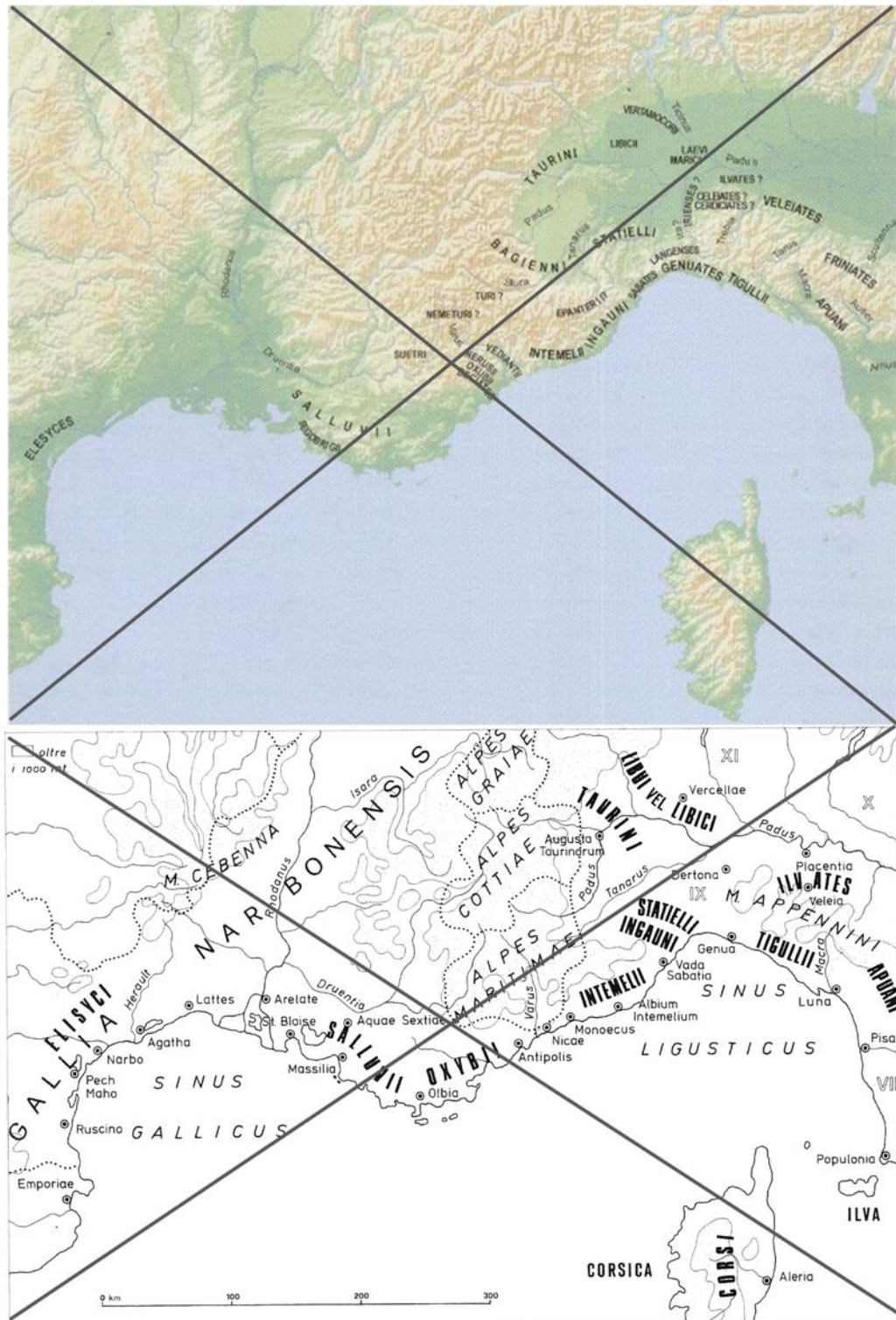


Figure 10.1 Examples of maps that combine information from different authors (Colonna, 2004a, 12 fig. 3; Salomone Gaggero, 2004, 400 fig. 4). Maps like these are wrong and should not be used!

A rich source of information is the geographical dictionary written by Stephanus of Byzantium (6th century AD), who makes use of the work of previous geographers, particularly Hecataeus of Miletus (c. 560-490 BC). Among the Ligurian people Stephanus lists the Ἐλίσυχοι (from Hecataeus), the Ἰψίχοθροι and the Ἀρβαξανοὶ (from Theopompus), the Σάλλυες and the Εὐβιοὶ (unknown source). He lists Ligurian places and cities, some of which can easily be located while others are unknown.

Identified places	Unknown places
Μασσαλία (from Hecataeus): Marseille	Ἀγάθη “city of the Ligurians or of the Celts ... on lake Lygustias”
Μόνοικος (from Hecataeus): Monaco	Ἄμπελος (from Hecataeus)
Δέρτων (from Artemidorus): Tortona	Βατετάρρα
Γενόα (from Artemidorus): Genoa	Λιγυστίνη “city of the Ligurians in western Iberia, near Tartessus”
Ὀλβία: L’Almanarre at Hyeres	Πύρρα “a village in Liguria”
Πλακεντία: Piacenza	
Περγάντιον: Bréganson?	
Στοιχάδες: Îles d’Hyères	

Table 10.1 Ligurian places in Stephanus of Byzantium’s *Ἐθνικά* (places identification after Loseby and Häussler, 2000; Pearce and Tozzi, 2000)

The description of Λιγυστίνη and the wrong identification of some of these places have fostered the idea of the Ligurians in the Iberian Peninsula. Antonelli (1997, 86 n. 46) identified Ὀλβία with the Spanish site of Huelva. However, Strabo (4.1.9) mentions the naval station of *Forum Julium*, i.e. Le Fort (Loseby and Häussler, 2000, 237), situated between *Olbia* and Antibes, at a distance of about six hundred stadia from Marseille. Therefore, the ancient site of Olbia was must have been located in the area of the modern Hyeres, probably at L’Almanarre (Loseby and Häussler, 2000, 238). Others (e.g. Colonna, 2004a, 10) have tried to link Λιγυστίνη to Avienus’ mention of a “*lacus Ligustinus*” from which a “*Tartessus amni*” flows and traditionally identified with the mouth of the river Guadalquivir (*ora marit.* 283-285). However, Ferrer-Albelda (2012) convincingly argues that the lake Ligustinus is

likely an invention by Avienus, who assigns names from other places to the Iberian Peninsula, particularly from the Pontus region and from the Gulf of Lion. Avienus did not have any geographic or historic aim: his intention was purely poetic and he transplanted into Spain names of other places as a pretence of erudition (Ferrer-Albelda, 2012, 66). The definition of Λιγυστινή by Stephanus of Byzantium is also probably the result of the transfer of place names from the area between the Ebro and the Rhone River to the Iberian Peninsula and, in any case, it does not imply the presence of Ligurians in the area (Ferrer-Albelda, 2012, 63–64).

Herodotus (5.9.2) mentions the Ligurians “οἱ ἄνω ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίας”, who live north of Marseille. In the Pseudo-Skylax’s *Periplus* (3-4) we read that, past the Iberians, Ligurians and Iberians lived together as far as the Rhone, beyond which lived the Ligurians alone. The Rhône is here presented as the eastern limit of the Iberians⁶, but the Ligurians extended west of it, therefore it is not a frontier as such (Shingley, 2011, 11). It is also stated that the “Παράπλους Αιγύων” from Ampurias to the Rhône took two days and two nights, thus suggesting that the territory comprised between the Catalan city and the river was occupied by Ligurians.

Although it is generally believed that the *Periplus* was written by an anonymous writer in the 5th-4th century BC (Shingley, 2011, 6–8), according to Peretti (1979, 485) it cannot be the result of the investigation of a single geographer. Peretti (1979, 486) argues that the surviving text is “stratified” and contains information from older texts, which were later integrated but not updated, as proved by the mention of cities that in the 4th century BC did not exist anymore or had changed their name. Peretti (1979, 85) also notes that in the *Periplus* two different systems of measuring distances coexist: an older system according to which distances as measured by considering the time necessary to cover them, and the system in use from the 4th century BC onwards, which indicates distances in stadia. In the light of these

⁶ Strabo (3.4.19) affirms that earlier writers extended Iberia eastwards to the Rhône whereas contemporaries limited it to the area south of the Pyrenees.

observations, Peretti (1979, 67) believes that the section that contains a reference to the Ligurians is an epitome of the original text and is based on much older documents, perhaps as old as the 6th century BC.

Timaeus (fr. 71 Jacoby) affirms that the colony of Massalia was founded by the Phocaeans 120 years before the battle of Salamis, i.e. in 600/599 BC, “ἐν τῇ Λιγυστικῇ”, in Liguria.

Polybius (2.16.1-2), who talks of the events of his own time, tells us that:

“τὸν δ’ Ἀπεννῖνον ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίαν καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἄλπεις συμπτώσεως Λιγυστῖνοι κατοικοῦσι, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος αὐτοῦ πλευρὰν κεκλιμένην καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία”

“The Apennines, from their junction with the Alps above Marseilles, are inhabited on both slopes, that looking to the Tyrrhenian sea and that turned to the plain, by the Ligurians” (transl. by Walbank and Habicht, 2010, 305).

Strabo (4.1.1) calls the area between the Pyrenees and the Rhine “*Celtica*” and affirms that it is bounded to the south by the sea and the Alps, which begin in Liguria. He mentions the *Salluvii*, who occupy the Alps from Antipolis to Marseille, and some parts of the coast (Strabo 4.6.3). According to him ancient Greek writers used to refer to the *Salluvii* as Ligurians, while later writers called them “Κελτολίγυες” and ascribed them the plain as far as Avignon and the Rhine (*ibid.*). The *Salluvii*, who together with the Ligurians blocked the way to the Iberian Peninsula, were the first Celts beyond the Alps to be conquered by the Romans (*ibid.*).

Strabo (4.1.5, 9) mentions *Tauroention* (Le Brusc, see Loseby and Häussler 2000: p. 239), Olbia (L’Almanarre), *Antipolis* (Antibes), *Nicaea* (Nice) and *Forum Julium* (Le Fort) as colonies founded by the Massaliots against the Ligurians and the *Salluvii* in order to gain access to the sea. He talks about the Ligurians “τῶν δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ Οὐάρου καὶ τῆς Γενούας” (Strabo 4.6.4), i.e. living between Genoa, which he calls “ἐμπόριον Λιγύων” (Strabo 4.6.1; 5.1.3), and the Var river, located between Antibes and Nice. He mentions the Ligurian cities

of *Albium Ingaunum* (Albenga), inhabited by the *Ingauni*, *Albium Intemelium* (Ventimiglia), inhabited by the *Intemelii*, and *Vada Sabatorum* (Vado Ligure), whose name means ‘shoals’ (Strabo 4.6.1). Finally, Strabo (4.6.2) recalls that Polybius considered Ligurians not only the *Ingauni* and the *Intemelii*, but also the *Oxybii*, and the *Deciates*.

As this overview shows, the ancient sources vaguely locate the western Ligurian border in the area of Marseille and only occasionally they fix it more precisely at the river Rhone. In this area the Ligurians lived alongside the Phocaeans, who established their colonies on the coast. No information is provided about the extension of the Ligurian territory towards the hinterland.

The identification of the eastern border of Liguria is similarly complicated. The Pseudo-Skylax’s *Periplus* (4) identifies Ἀντίον as the limit between the Ligurians and the Tyrrhenians. Scholars have proposed different hypotheses of identification for this unknown place. On the basis of the assonance of their names it has been proposed to identify it with Anzo di Framura (SP) (Pearce and Tozzi, 2000, 575) or even with Anzo in Latium (Forni, 1976, 86, n. 19). Another hypothesis is that it is a mistake for *Albion*, i.e. Ventimiglia (*ibid.*), while Armanini (2015, 93) suggests that it could correspond to San Rocchino at Massarosa, (LU), as it is the first Etruscan settlement south of Genoa.

However, it is more likely to be a contracted form for Ἀντίπολις, i.e. Antibes, as suggested by Bonamici (1995; also in Shipley, 2011, 92). The idea of an Etruscan presence extended as far as southern France can be explained if we accept Peretti’s date to the 6th-5th century BC for this section of the *Periplus*. In fact, it is possible that after the battle of Aleria against the Phocaeans (540 BC) the Etruscans gained control of the sea as far as Antibes, which could explain why the *Periplus* fixes there the border between the Etruscans and the Ligurians (Pearce, in press). This would perfectly fit the purpose of the text which, despite Shipley’s denial (2011: 10) that it was conceived as a pilot book, undoubtedly focuses its attention on the sea and was intended to provide navigational details.

Polybius (2.16.1) is the only author who maintains that the Ligurians occupy the Apennines as far as the region of Arezzo inland and the city of Pisa on the coast, which is considered the westernmost Etruscan settlement.

Strabo (5.2.5) states that Liguria, which he locates between the “*Celtica*” and the territory of the Etruscans (4.1.1), extends to the east as far as the river Magra, located between Pisa and Luni.

Pliny (*NH* 3.5.48), who wrote after the reorganization of Augustus, divided the Italian peninsula into eleven regions fixing the name “Liguria” up to the present day, also described the river Magra as the eastern border of Liguria. In the new organization, Liguria was formed by the territory comprised between the Var and the Magra River (*NH* 3.5.47-48). This territory included the city of Nice, founded by the Massaliots, the city of Monaco and the Ligurian coast (*ibid.*). Pliny (*NH* 3.5.46) lists the main Ligurian tribes distinguishing between those living “*ultra Alpes*” – beyond the Alps – and those living “*citra Alpes*” – on this side of the Alps. Following Strabo (4.6.6), Pliny (*NH* 3.17.123) lists as Ligurians the *Taurini*, whose city was Turin, while he disagrees with Cato about the attribution of Novara (*NH* 3.17.124). In fact, we read:

“Vercellae Libiciorum ex Salluis ortae, Novaria ex Vertamacoris, Vocontiorum hodieque pago, non (ut Cato existimat) Ligurum, ex quibus Laevi et Marici condidere Ticinum non procul a Pado, sicut Boi Transalpibus profecti Laudem Pompeiam, Insubres Mediolanum”

“Vercelli, the town of the *Libicii*, founded from the *Sallui*, and Novara founded from *Vertamacori*, a place belonging to the *Vocontii* and now-a-days a village, not (as Cato thinks) belonging to the Ligurians; from whom the *Laevi* and *Marici* founded Pavia not far from the Po, just as the *Boians*, coming from the tribes across the Alps, founded Lodi and the *Insubrians* Milan” (transl. by Rackham, 1942, 90–91)

Pliny also lists a series of Ligurian cities, distinguishing those of the coast (Ventimiglia, Albenga, Vado Ligure, Genova, Portofino, Sestri Levante), and those of the hinterland (Libarna, Tortona, Voghera, Pollenzo, Bene Vagienna,

Alba, Asti, Cuneo, Acqui, Terruggia, Montheu da Po, Chieri, Villa del Foro) (NH 3.5.48-49; for the identification of the ancient names with modern cities see Pearce & Tozzi 2000).

The same organization is present in Ptolemy's *Geography* (3.1.3), who probably gets the information from a Latin source, as proved by the fact that he calls the area Λιγυρία, clearly transliterating the name of the ninth region, while the other Greeks used to call it Λιγυστική (Frasson, 2012, 7). Ptolemy lists the main places on the coast and in the hinterland with their geographical coordinates. On the coast are Ventimiglia, Albenga, Genoa, the Entella river mouth (Chiavari), the Magra mouth (Fiumaretta), and Τιγυλλία, probably to identify with Sestri Levante (Frasson 2012: 9), while Portovenere and Lerici could be later additions to the original version (Frasson 2012: 9-10). The Magra with its affluent Vara define the eastern border of the region (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.1.35). In the hinterland Ptolemy ascribes to Liguria Vado, Pollenzo, Asti, Alba and Libarna, while, probably mistaking from his source (Frasson 2012: 11), he considers Bene Vagienna, Voghera and Tortona as cities of the *Taurini* (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.1.78). Finally, Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3.1.78) mentions Capraia, Gorgona and Elba, part of the Tuscan archipelago in the Tyrrhenian Sea, as islands in the Ligurian Sea. The mistake likely derives from associating the Latin name of Elba, *Ilva*, with the Ligurian tribe of the *Ilvates* who lived in the Apennines.

Livy locates the *Ilvates* and the *Celines* south of the Po (31.10.2-4), and states that the *Celeiates* and the *Cerdiciates* occupied an area near Piacenza (32.29.7-8). He places the *Lapicini*, the *Garuli* and the *Hergates* on the south side of the Ligurian-Emilian Apennines, while mentions the *Friniates* as the inhabitants of the central part of the Tusco-Emilian Apennines (41.19.1). The *Apuani* lived on the Alps bearing the same name (40.41.3), the *Alpini* on the Maritime Alps near Savona together with the *Epanterii* (28.46.9-11), while the *Statielli* were located in the area of Acqui Terme (42.7.3).

This long list of tribes shows that later authors tended to distinguish between the Ligurians living north and those living south of the Po River. From Augustus to the end of the 3rd century AD Liguria corresponded to the IX

Regio, and was bounded to the north by the Po River, to the west by the river Var, which was also the frontier of Italy, to the south by the Ligurian Sea, and to the east by the river Magra (Forni, 1976, 18). It was probably the need to identify a precise geographical space that prompted to use of rivers as a reference. Any other geographical feature, such as mountain chains, would have failed to provide a well-defined and easily recognisable border.

Writer	Ligurian peoples	Ligurian cities	Ligurian islands & mountains	West border of Liguria	East border of Liguria	Figure
Pseudo-Skylax (6 th century BC?)				Ligurians and Iberians lived together as far as the Rhone; beyond the Rhone lived the Ligurians alone. Ligurian territory between Ampurias and the Rhone?	Antion	10.2
Hecataeus from Stephanus of Byzantium (5 th century BC)	<i>Elisyces</i>	Marseille, Monaco, Ámpelos				
Herodotus (c. 484-425 BC)				North of Marseille		
Theopompus from Stephanus of Byzantium (c. 380-320 BC)	<i>Ipsocuri, Arbaxani</i>					
Polybius (c. 200-118 BC)	<i>Deciates, Ingauni, Intemeli, Oxybii</i> (from Strabo)			Junction between the Apennines and the Alps above Marseille	Apennines as far as Arezzo and Pisa	10.3

Writer	Ligurian peoples	Ligurian cities	Ligurian islands & mountains	West border of Liguria	East border of Liguria	Figure
Artemidorus from Stephanus of Byzantium (around 100 BC)		Genoa, Tortona				
Strabo (c. 64 BC-23 AD)	<i>Ingauni, Intemeli, Taurini</i>	Albenga, Ventimiglia, Vado Ligure, Genoa		Var River	Magra River	10.4Error! Reference source not found.
Livy (59 BC- AD 17)	<i>Alpini, Apuani, Celeiates, Celines, Cerdiciates, Epanterii, Friniates, Garuli, Hergates, Ilvates, Ingauni, Intemeli, Laevi, Lapicini</i>	Casteggio, Genoa, <i>Litubium</i> , Retorbido?, Savona	Bismantova, Fosola, Valestra		Magra River	10.5Error! Reference source not found.

Writer	Ligurian peoples	Ligurian cities	Ligurian islands & mountains	West border of Liguria	East border of Liguria	Figure
Pliny (AD 23-79)	<i>ultra Alpes: Deciates, Oxybii, Salluvii;</i> <i>citra Alpes: Binbelli, Caburriates, Casmonates, Maielli, Soti, Statielli, Taurini, Turi, Vagienni, Velleiates, Veneni</i>	Alba, Acqui, Albenga, Asti, Bene Vagienna, Chieri, Cuneo, Genoa, Libarna, Monteu da Po, Pollenzo, Portofino, Sestri Levante, Terruggia, Turin, Tortona, Vado Ligure, Ventimiglia, Villa del Foro, Voghera			Magra and Vara rivers	10.6
Ptolemy (c. AD 100-170)		Alba, Albenga, Asti, Chiavari, Fiumaretta, Genoa, Lericci, Libarna, Pollenzo, Portovenere, Sestri Levante, Vado Ligure, Ventimiglia				10.7
Stephanus of Byzantium (6 th century AD)	<i>Salluvii, Eubii</i>	Piacenza, L'Almanarre, Bréganson?, Agathè, Batetara, Ligystine, Pyrre	Îles d'Hyères	Ampurias	Antion	

Table 10.2 Geographical information provided by the ancient authors (for the identification of the ancient names with modern cities see Pearce and Tozzi, 2000). For simplicity, Greek names have been transliterated.



Figure 10.2 The western Mediterranean according to the Pseudo-Skylax's Periplus

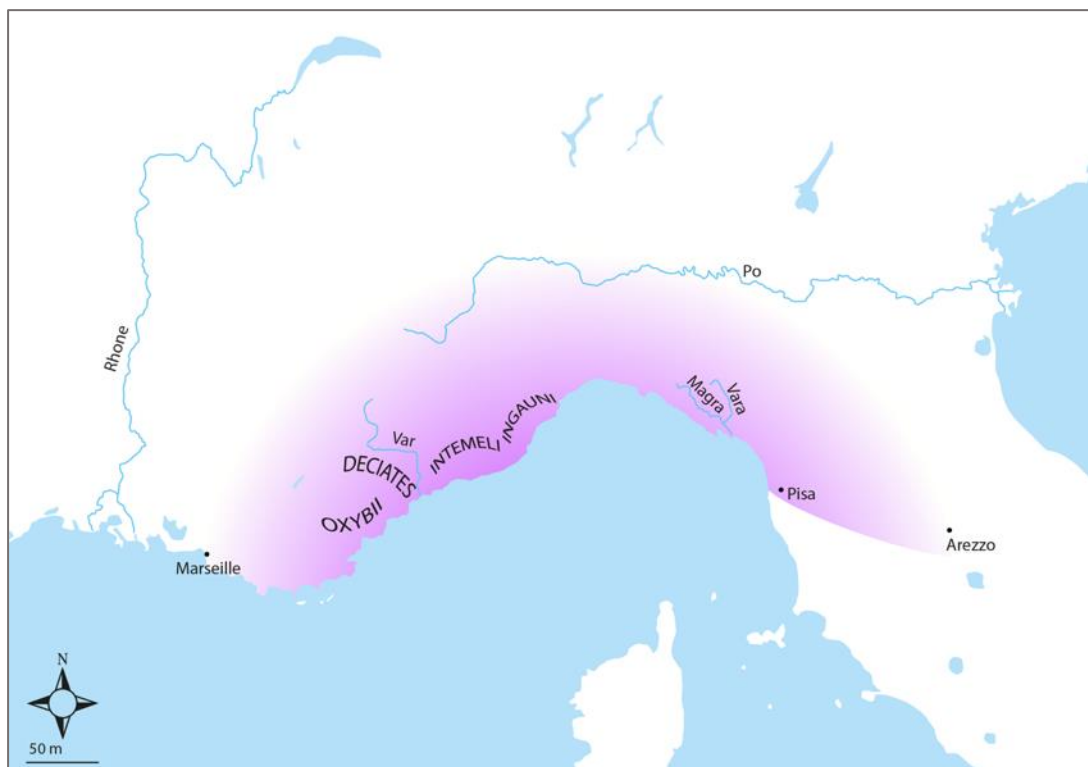


Figure 10.3 Ligurian territory and peoples according to Polybius

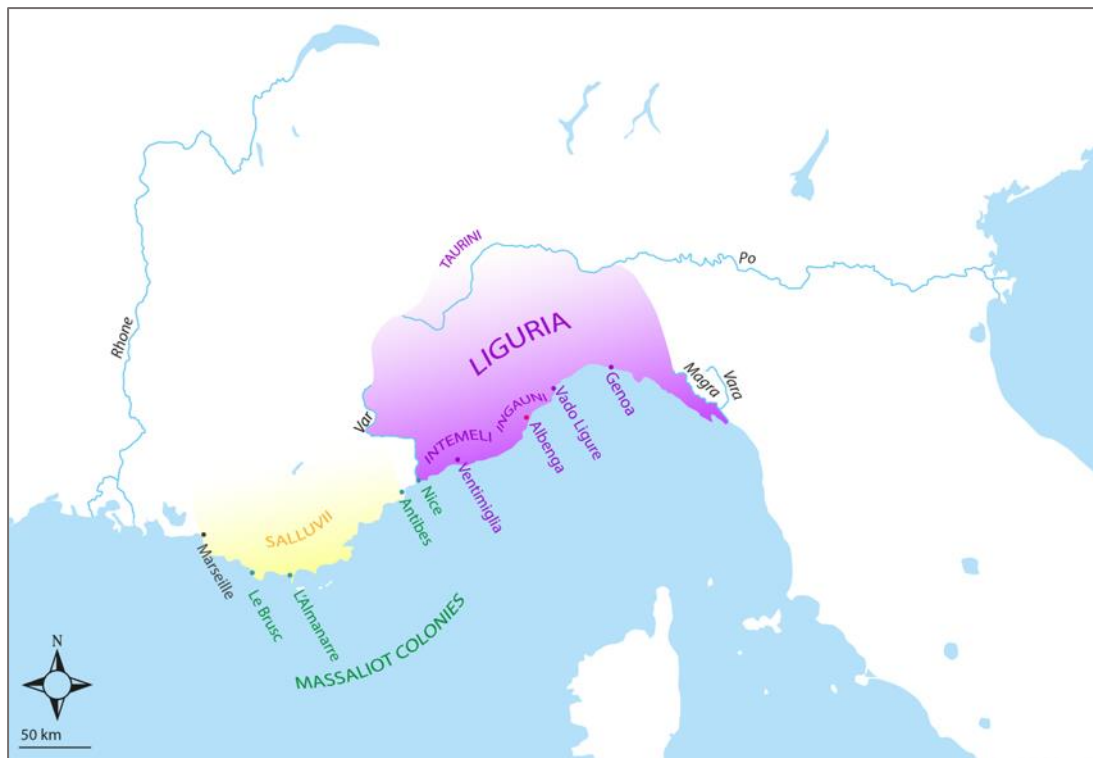


Figure 10.4 Ligurian territory, peoples and cities according to Strabo (purple)



Figure 10.5 Ligurian territory, peoples and cities according to Livy. The Alpini, the Celeiates, the Celines, the Cerdiciates, the Garuli, the Hergates and the Lopicini as well as the city of Litubium do not appear as their location is unknown



Figure 10.6 Ligurian cities and peoples according to Pliny. The Caburriates, the Casmonates and the Turi do not appear as their location is unknown

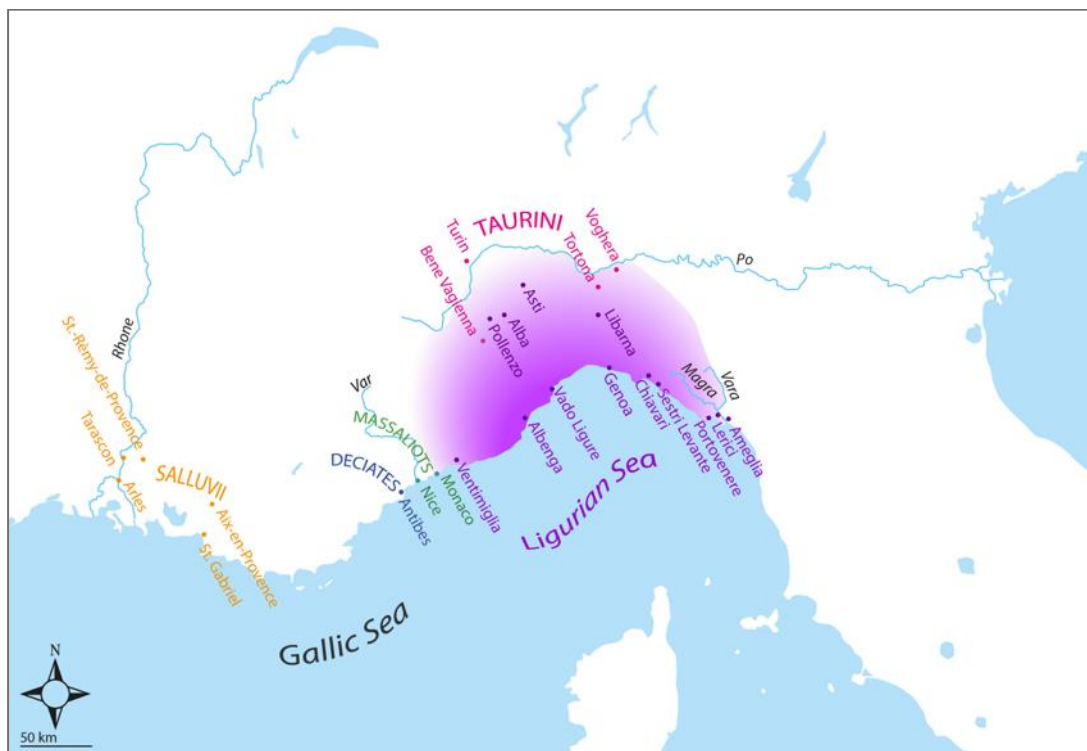


Figure 10.7 Ligurian territory and cities (purple) according to Ptolemy. The map also shows the cities of the Salluvii (orange), of the Deciates (blue), of the Taurini (pink) and of the Massaliots (green)

10.2.1. A great misunderstanding

Many authors talk about ‘great Liguria’ with reference to the supposed wide extension (from the Iberian Peninsula to Italy) of the Ligurian territory (e.g. Lamboglia, 1974; Maras, 2004; Morandi, 2004, 43). The concept of ‘great Liguria’ is problematic. It derives from a series of misunderstandings and from mixing sources of various type (myths, information from geographers/historians, placenames) and different periods. As I have shown, much information about the Ligurians occupying the area west of the Var can be dismissed. ‘Great Liguria’ is likely an invention by the Phocaeans of Marseille (Colonna, 2004a, 10). It does not reflect a geographic reality or a specific territory. ‘Great Liguria’ is the far-away land of those who speak a foreign language, which is, from a Greek point of view, the far west. This is confirmed by Hesiod’s hexameter (see 10.1), in which the Ethiopians represent the south, the Scythians the east and the Ligurians the west (Colonna, 2004a, 9). It is a view of the world as seen from mainland Greece and an attempt to organise the extreme regions of the οἰκουμένη, the inhabited world, in a logical system by connecting them to the oldest groups of people known at the time (Mansuelli, 1985, 8). In this, Liguria represented the western border of the then known world. In fact, Sophocles (fr. 542 Nauck) affirms that beyond the Tyrrhenian gulf there is but Ligurian land. Therefore, ‘great Liguria’ and Liguria in the sense of the land inhabited by a specific people are two different concepts.

10.3. The wars with Rome

Polybius and Livy are our main sources of information about the long campaign that Rome had to fight with the Ligurian tribes to obtain control of their territory. Livy had a great interest in the events of the “*bellum Ligustinum*” (Livy 35.4.1) and his work, which is intended to celebrate Rome and disseminate its propaganda, represents the main literary source available to us (Zecchini 2005: 98). For Livy (39.1.2, 5-7), Liguria represented the ideal

field to exercise the Roman *virtus* and to train for later wars: a hilly and rough terrain with difficult, narrow roads, and dangerous spots subject to ambushes. The main steps of the Roman conquest of Liguria are outlined in Table 10.3. As shown, it took the Romans over a hundred years and a long series of battles and attacks. The Roman legions constantly moved forward and backward, in operations that recall more of a guerrilla war rather than more conventional war. Even when the sources talk of a victory, the need to fight again shortly in the same area reveals a situation far from being resolved. If we had to make a comparison with the present day, we could think of Liguria as a sort of Afghanistan: a country where a hostile natural environment and a war conducted in form of incessant small-scale battles have prevented anyone who attempted to invade the country from achieving any control of the territory. It is therefore no surprise that the philo-Roman accounts of the time depict the Ligurians as primitive and ruthless people. Even the emphasis on the Ligurian strength was functional to the Roman propaganda, which needed to explain why the supposedly superior Roman army could not easily prevail over a bunch of 'barbarian' tribes

Main other conflicts	Roads, Colonies, Settlements	BC	Main events of the Roman-Ligurian wars	Source
		238	T. Sempronius Gracchus' expedition against the Ligurians	Zonar. 8.18.2
		236	Publius Cornelius Lentulus triumphs over the (Eastern?) Ligurians	Eutrop. <i>Breviarium</i> 3.2
		233	Quintus Fabius Maximus triumphs over the Ligurians	Plut. <i>Fab. Max.</i> 2.1
		230	Both consuls operate in Liguria	Zonar. 8.19.2
Illyrian War 229-228		229		
		228		
Gallic War 225-221		225		

Main other conflicts	Roads, Colonies, Settlements	BC	Main events of the Roman-Ligurian wars	Source
		223	P. Furius Philus triumphs over both the Gauls and the Ligurians	Polyb. 2.32.1; Zonar. 8.20
	<i>Mediolanum</i>	222		
		221		
	<u>Via Flaminia</u>	220		
2 nd Punic War 218-202	<i>Placentia, Cremona</i>	218	Ligurian soldiers enlisted for the Carthaginian expedition to Italy	Livy 21.32.5
		207	Ligurian soldiers enlisted by the Carthaginians in the Battle of Metaurus	Livy 27.48.5
		205	Mago destroys Genoa and moves to Savona; he secures an alliance with the Ingauni and incites the Gauls to rebel against Rome	Livy 28.46.7
		203	Propraetor Spurius Lucretius rebuilds Genoa; Mago is defeated and has to withdraw from Liguria; creation of the consular province of " <i>Etruria ac Ligures</i> "	Livy 30.1.2,10
		202	Ligurian soldiers enlisted by the Carthaginian in the Battle of Zama	
		201	P. Elius Petus makes an agreement with the Ingauni	Livy 30.18-19
		200	An anti-roman coalition of Boii, Insubri, Cenomani and Ligurians invade Piacenza	Livy 31.10.1-2

Main other conflicts	Roads, Colonies, Settlements	BC	Main events of the Roman-Ligurian wars	Source
		197	C. Cornelius Cethegus fights in north-western Cisalpina, while Q. Minucius Rufus attacks the Ligurians from Genoa	Livy 32.29.5-8
	<i>Brixia</i>	196	L. Furius Purpurio attacks the Ligurians who are helping the Boii	Livy 33.37.1-6
		195	Praetor P. Porcius Laeca is assigned to Pisa to harry the Ligurians from the rear	
		194	Ti. Sempronius Longus fights against the Gauls and the Ligurians	Livy 34.48.1
		193	Pisa is attacked by the Ligurians and its territory is pillaged; with difficulty Q. Minucius Thermus liberates the area and repels the Ligurians	Livy 35.3.1-2
Syrian-Aetolian War 192-188		192	L. Quinctius Flaminius attacks Ligurian " <i>ager</i> " and " <i>castella</i> "	Livy 35.40.1
	<i>Bononia</i>	189	Praetor L. Baebius Dives is ambushed by the Ligurians while he is trying to take an army overland to Spain	Livy 37.57.1-2
	<i>Forum Livii</i>	188		
	<u>Via Aemilia</u>	187	C. Flaminius and M. Aemilius Lepidus against the Friniates and the Apuani; battles on the Valestra and Bismantova mountains; the Ligurians are moved to the plain.	Livy 39.2.1-2
		186	Q. Marcius Philippus is ambushed by the Apuani	Livy 39.20.5-6
		185	M. Sempronius Tuditanus fights against the Apuani and opens the route to Luni and the Magra River; A. Cludius Pulcher marches against the Ingauni	Livy 39.32.1-4
		184	Q. Marcius Philippus is ambushed by the Apuani	Livy 39.20.5-6
	<i>Parma, Mutina</i>	183		

Main other conflicts	Roads, Colonies, Settlements	BC	Main events of the Roman-Ligurian wars	Source
		182	The Apuani threaten Pisa; both consuls are sent to Liguria, where they achieve some victories; the Ligurians take refuge on the mountains	Livy 40.1.3, 40.15.4-6
	<i>Aquileia</i>	181	L. Aemilius Paullus triumphs over the Ingauni	Livy 40.28.1-6
	<i>Pisa</i>	180	Mass deportation of the Apuani to Samnium; Postumius Albinus assaults the Ballista and Letum mountains	Livy 40.38.2, 40.41.1-2
	<i>Luca?</i>	179	Q. Fulvius Flaccus wins a pitched battle: 3,200 Ligurians are transferred to the plain	Livy 40.53.1-3
	<i>Luna</i>	177	C. Claudius Pulcher fights near the Panaro river; after his departure, the Ligurians descend from the mountains and occupy Modena	Livy 41.12.7-8, 41.14.1-2
		176	C. Claudius Pulcher recaptures Modena; new rebellion of the Ligurians on the Letum and Ballista mountains	Livy 41.18.1
	Regium Lepidi	175	Conflicts with the Friniates, the Garuli, the Lapicini and the Hergates, and with other tribes that had ravaged the territories of Pisa and Luni	Livy 41.19.1-3
	Fidentia	173	Assignment of large sectors of the Gallic and Ligurian territories to Roman and Latin settlers; M. Popilius Laenas' attack on the Statielli	Livy 42.4.3
		172	Approval of the <i>senatus consultum</i> that gives freedom to all the Ligurians who have not been enemies of Rome since 179 BC	Livy 42.22.5
3 rd Macedonian War 171-168		171		
		168		

Main other conflicts	Roads, Colonies, Settlements	BC	Main events of the Roman-Ligurian wars	Source
		167	M. Junius Pennus and Q. Aelius Paetus conduct some raids against the Ligurians	Livy 45.44.1
		166	M. Claudius Marcellus' triumph over the Ilvates; Galba triumph over a Ligurian tribe	Livy <i>per.</i> 41; <i>Fasti Triumphales</i> y. 588
		158	M. Fulvius Nobilior's triumph over the Eleates	<i>Fasti Triumphales</i> y. 596
	<u>Via Clodia Nova</u>	155	M. Claudius Marcellus triumph over the Ilvates and the Apuani	<i>Fasti Triumphales</i> y. 599
		154	Q. Opimius subjugates the Transalpine Ligurians who devastated Antibes and Nice	Livy <i>per.</i> 47
3 rd Punic War 149-146		149		
	<u>Via Postumia</u>	148		
		146		
	<i>Polentia, Vadarcate</i>	123		
	<i>Acquae Sextiae</i>	122		

Main other conflicts	Roads, Colonies, Settlements	BC	Main events of the Roman-Ligurian wars	Source
	<i>Dertona?</i> <i>Hasta?</i>	118	Q. Marcius Rex's victory over the Ligurians Stoeni	<i>Fasti Triumphales</i> y. 637
	<u>Via Aemilia</u> <u>Scauri</u>	109		

Table 10.3 Main milestones in the Roman conquest of Liguria in relation to Rome's other conflicts and to the foundation of colonies/settlements and roads in northern Italy

10.4. Conclusions

Early Greek sources identify Liguria as the far west and the Ligurians as foreigners who spoke another language. They did not use the term to refer to a specific people or in an ethnic sense. This explains the vagueness of their descriptions and the great extension of the area indicated as Liguria.

Later Liguria became a more defined entity, which covered an area located between Languedoc and the Arno River. From the 3rd century BC onwards, authors describe more accurately the Ligurian places and people, giving the names of many tribes.

Written sources contain many contradictions most of which can be resolved if we consider that texts were not only written for different purposes, but also at different times, and reflected different situations. Many inconsistencies that remain are due to the fact that ancient writers had an imprecise knowledge of the people they mentioned and often mixed information.

Chapter 11. Discussion

In this chapter I criticise the use of *ethnic markers* as currently meant and applied in studies on the ancient Ligurians. Instead, I identify elements that can be interpreted as having *ethnic valencies*. I argue that towards the end of the EIA, group identities are being negotiated and expressed in the material culture, and that this can be interpreted in ethnic terms. Finally, by shifting the perspective and rejecting the equation archaeological culture = ethnic group, I refuse the idea, common among Italian scholars, that the Ligurians had a long ethnogenesis process that started in the BA.

11.1. From ethnic markers...

Because of their culture-historical approach and lack of anthropological reflection (see 2.3), Italian studies often approach the material culture in a rather simplistic (and acritical) way. Objects and practices are considered without their context, which causes their meaning to be misinterpreted. I touched upon this in Chapter 9.4.1 in discussing how the *ceramica vacuolare* cannot be used to identify the presence of Ligurians. Here I question those elements that are commonly interpreted as Ligurian ethnic markers: cremation burials in stone cists and elements of the (supposedly female) dress.

11.1.1. Rite and graves

Funerary rite and cist graves are interpreted as ethnic markers for the Ligurians by most scholars (see Gambari, 1998b, 2004, 20; Malnati, 2004b, 161–163; Maggiani, 2004a, 159). The use of funerary rite as a means to determine ethnic affiliation has long been questioned and is contradicted by numerous ethnographic parallels (see 2.2.3). The very fact that in the study area cremation appears predominant, almost exclusive, for over a millennium, from the RBA until the end of the IA, could indicate that rite is not linked to a

specific society/group but rather derives from beliefs concerning the body, death and the afterlife that transcended societal and ethnic borders (cf. Pearson, 2009, 39–40). One could also argue that this sense of uniformity that we get from the funerary record is illusory as people could have been disposed of in a way that left no trace, which is not impossible given that the acidic nature of the Ligurian soil prevents the conservation of bones. Finally, although occasionally attested, the presence of cenotaph graves with empty urns (see 6.2) seems to indicate that the body (and consequently its treatment) was not necessarily at the centre of the mortuary practice. The same rituals could take place even in the absence of the body without them losing their symbolic meaning.

Like funerary rite, grave structure need not signal ethnic affiliation. I find problematic the tendency to automatically assign to a Ligurian every grave where the urn is buried in a stone cist (e.g. Malnati, 2007, 85). As my overview shows (see 6.3.1, 7.2.1, 8.2.1, 9.2.1), cist graves are not the only burial type attested in the study area. Burials in simple pits are occasionally present, while often the cist is replaced by horizontal slabs at the top and/or at the bottom of the grave, or by cobbles placed against the sides of the pit. A tendency to delimit the grave space with stones/slabs goes back to the RBA and I believe it can be linked to eschatological beliefs rather than group identity and affiliation. Moreover, cremation burials in stone cists are not exclusive to the Ligurian area but are found in the Golasecca culture (Cerri and Squarzanti, 2011, 51) and further afield in the Este culture in the Veneto (Fogolari, 1964).

The inadvisability of using rite and grave structure as an ethnic marker without considering them in context and the associated grave goods is well illustrated by the Pozzi di Querceta (LU) grave (end 6th-beginning 7th century). The grave had a stone cist and was marked by a club-shaped gravestone and contained, together with the cinerary urn, a bucchero banqueting set, two spearheads and fragments of metal (cosmetic?) tools (Ciampoltrini, 1990b). Despite the presence of the cist, the grave displays the typical features that we find in the Etruscan graves of northern Tuscany (see

7.5). The banqueting set suggests the performance of practices that are unknown in the Ligurian area (see 11.2.2), as well as the adoption of beliefs linked to the symposium and wine consumption, which are not attested in Liguria, with the exception of Etruscan Genoa. The cist itself is but a container: it is in the sequence of actions that accompanied the interment, and that we can try to reconstruct through the objects in the grave, that the identity of the group is expressed.

11.1.2. Metal ‘studs’

Metal ‘studs’ are generally considered a typical element of Ligurian female dress and an identity marker (Melli, 1987; Melli and Starnini, 1990, 283). This derives from their presence in the Chiavari graves and at various LIA sites in Liguria and southern Piedmont. ‘Studs’ are rare in the Golasecca culture, where they are small and semi-spherical, and generally attached to belt plates (Casini, 2000, 131). A variety of objects with different shapes and functions are referred to as ‘studs’ in the literature. Consequently, semi-spherical appliques that decorate belt-plates end up falling into the same category as pointed fasteners and truncated-cone-shaped objects whose function is unclear (they are suspiciously similar to some spear butts found in southern France, see Py, 2016, 422 DB – 2101). The lack of clarity about this category of artefacts is evident from the fact that the same objects are sometimes called both studs and buttons (see Melli and Starnini, 1990, 282–283).

In the MIA, ‘studs’ are rare in southern Piedmont and Liguria (Figure 11.1). The biggest concentration is in central Emilia, where they all belong to the truncated-cone type. Here the only ‘stud’ from a funerary context comes from the Ferniola inhumation cemetery at Monte Castagneto; another was found next to a water well with traces of foundation rites (Macellari, 2008, 379; Macellari *et al.*, 2019, 186) (Figure 11.1.4). ‘Studs’ were recovered at Monte Barazzone, Monte Fosola and Ponte d’Ercole (Figure 11.1.3,5,7), which have all been interpreted as places of worship (Cardarelli and Malnati, 2006, 178; Macellari, 2007, 99–100; Macellari and Tirabassi, 2016, 514–515). At Servirola

(Figure 11.1.1) one of the ‘studs’ was found inside a well that probably had a votive function (Macellari, 2008, 378).

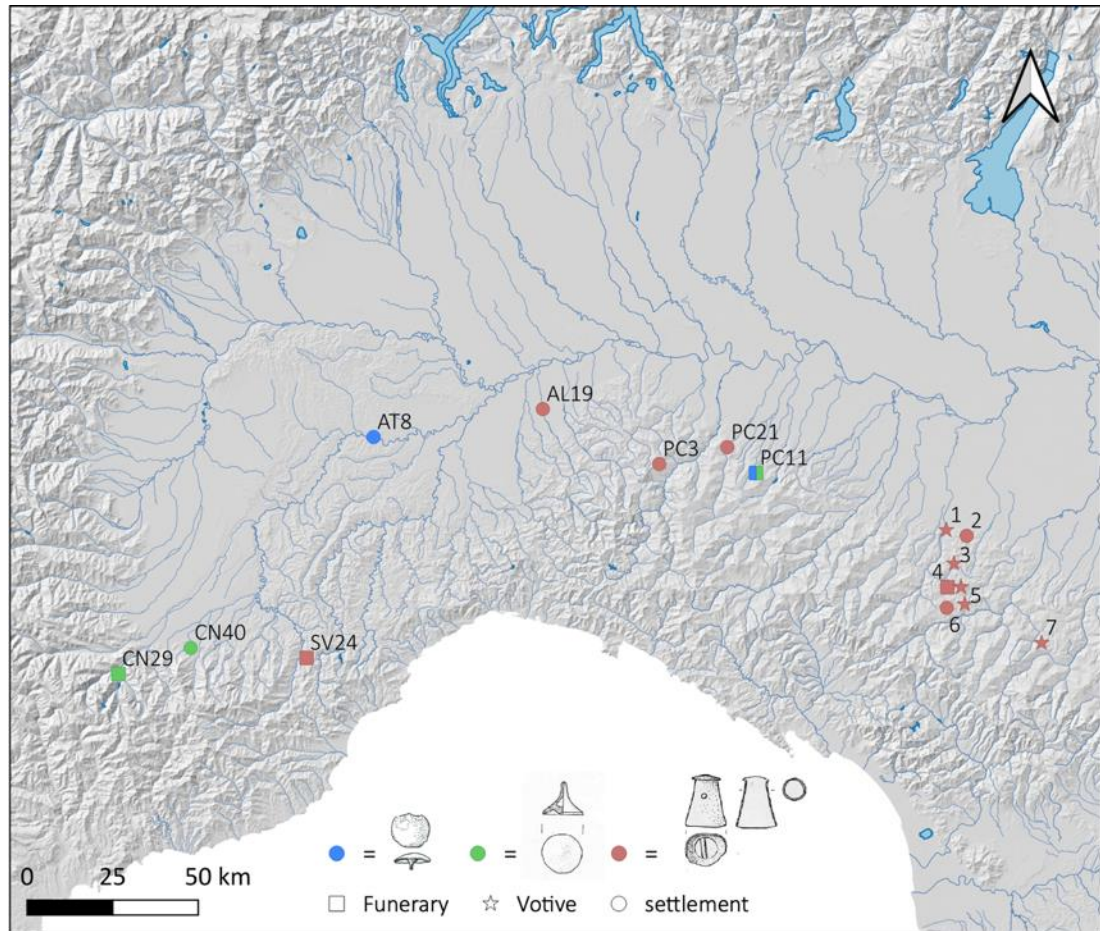


Figure 11.1 Distribution of MIA ‘studs’: 1. Servirola (San Polo d’Enza, RE); 2. Bedogno (Quattro Castella, RE); 3. Monte Barazzone (Casina, RE); 4. Monte Castagneto (Castelnovo ne’ Monti, RE); 5. Monte Fosola (Casina, RE); 6. Campo Pianelli (Castelnovo ne’ Monti, RE); 7. Ponte d’Ercole (Pavullo nel Frignano, MO) (after Damiani et al., 1992, 177–178; Macellari, 2008; Mussini et al., 1981)

The situation is different in the LIA, when ‘studs’ are mostly found in funerary contexts. A difference in the distribution of the various types is noticeable. Truncated-cone ‘studs’ are only attested in Emilia, ‘studs’ *a scudetto* (purple dots/squares) are found in the Alessandria province and at Colle della Guardia (GE10), pointed ‘studs’ are present in Liguria, southern Piedmont and in the Lunigiana (Figure 11.2).

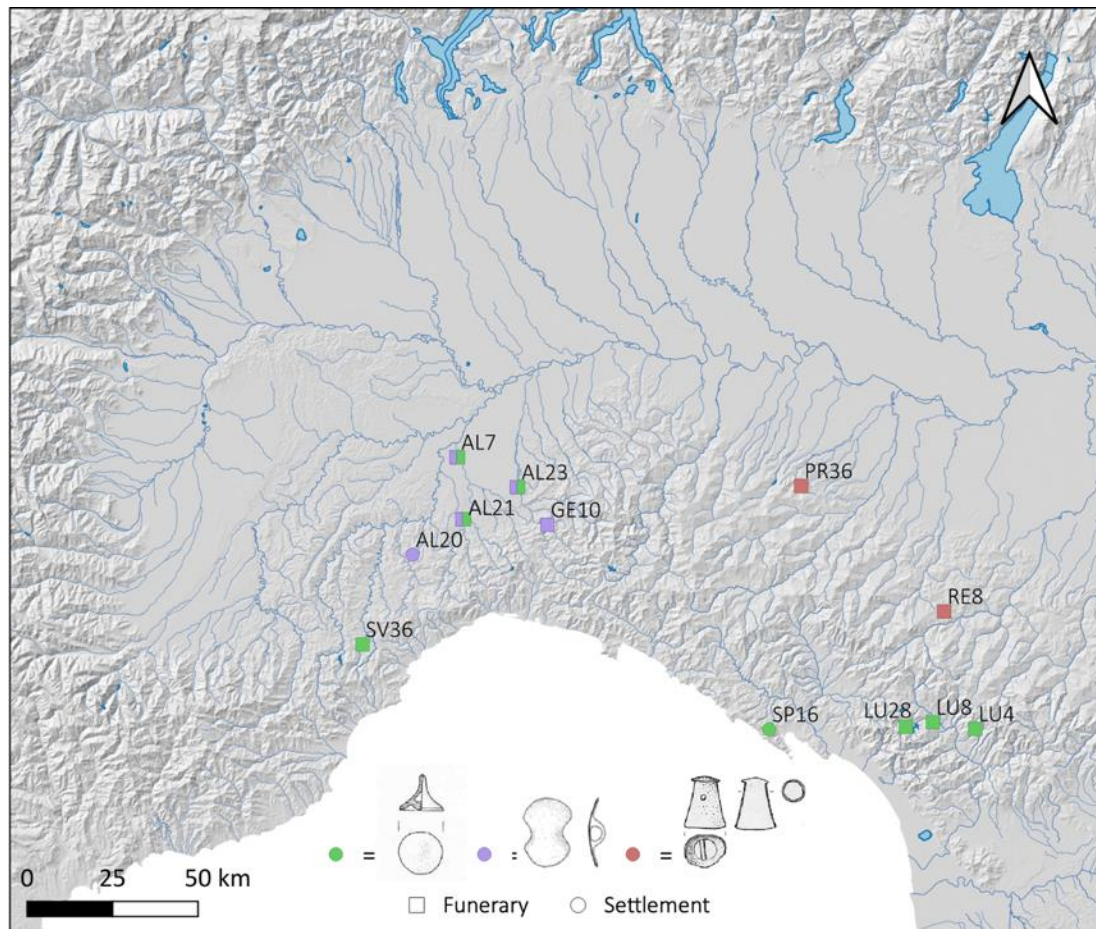


Figure 11.2 Distribution of LIA 'studs'

The presence of 'studs' in MIA Emilia is generally interpreted as evidence for Ligurian people within Etruscan communities (Macellari and Tirabassi, 2016, 515). However, if so, we would expect the same studs to be widespread in Liguria. Truncated-cone 'studs' are attested at EIA Chiavari (GE6), but differ from those in Emilia as their attachment is formed by little ring instead of a staple-bar. Moreover, in the Chiavari graves, 'studs' are always found in groups of several dozens, while in Emilia there are generally single examples. In Emilia 'studs' are often connected with religious activities and were likely deposited as offerings. All these differences suggest that the 'studs' found in Liguria and those of central Emilia are actually different objects and had different functions and meanings. Consequently the central Emilia studs cannot be used as a marker for the presence of Ligurians.

11.2. ... to ethnic valencies

Having dismissed the concept of ethnic markers, in this section I provide examples of how objects/practices can become an expression of ethnic identity through their interplay with the people that used/performed them. Only when objects/practices are analysed in their context does such an expression become visible in the archaeological record.

11.2.1. Materialised links with the past

Most definitions of ethnicity treat belief in a common descent as a key element (Chapter 2). This aspect is probably one of the hardest to grasp in the material culture of a past society that has left no account of its myths and traditions. References to the idea of a common origin can be detected in activities/symbols which promote remembrance and reinforce links between past and present.

The Lunigiana statue-menhir revival at the end of the 7th century offers a good example of a practice linked with a remote past and loaded with symbolic values. I have proposed an interpretation which links their use to claiming control over an area key for the economy of the communities established in eastern Liguria (8.4.3). I also highlighted how the iconography of the statue-menhirs maintained elements that had gone out of fashion, possibly to evoke ancestral powers and traditions (*ibid.*).

The Lunigiana statue-menhirs seem to fit well into the pattern proposed by Hodder (1982, 56–57), according to whom material culture is used to justify between-group negative reciprocity and to support social dependencies within groups in border areas where there is greatest tension and competition. As observed by Pearce (in press) the Lunigiana was the land frontier between an expanding Etruria and Liguria; the reuse of Copper Age statue-menhirs, long a part of the cultural and ritual landscape of Liguria, can be connected to the desire of those on the frontier to emphasise their identity in response to pressure from the encroaching Etruscans. I believe we have all the 'ingredients'

to interpret this identity in ethnic terms: a link with a remote past which hints at the idea of a common descent, a situation of competition which triggers the need to express group identity and frequent interactions between groups who became increasingly aware of their differences. Therefore, while functioning as territorial markers as in the Copper Age, in the MIA, statue-menhirs also acquired an ethnic valency.

The Valdieri cemetery (CN59) offers another link with the past. Despite the low number of graves (only 12, including one cenotaph), the cemetery has three phases dating to the RBA, FBA and to the end of 7th – 6th century. In the MIA the RBA graves were covered by alluvial deposits; whether the FBA graves, which were sealed by slabs (and one covered by a little mound), were still visible then is unclear. A vertical stone stood at the edge of the cemetery, but the publication does not illustrate its stratigraphic relation to the graves, nor assign it to a phase. One FBA grave (6/94) was damaged by the construction of one of the MIA grave enclosures, which suggests either that it was not visible or indicates a lack of respect/intentional destruction. However, the central enclosure, around which the MIA graves were arranged, was built around an FBA grave and a ritual pit without damaging them. The surviving portion of the central enclosure did not host any MIA grave and its function is hard to pinpoint but could be linked to the presence of the older graves. That at least half the MIA structures were destroyed by the modern street does not help our interpretation. However, the general impression is that the choice to locate the MIA graves in that spot and monumentalise the area was not accidental and there was some memory of its previous funerary function.

The MIA reuse of the cemetery was perhaps designed to create a link with past generations and with a specific territory. As with the Lunigiana statue-menhirs, this could have been a way to claim control over an important commercial route. Valdieri is located at the mouth of the Gesso valley, which leads into the Maritime Alps (Figure 11.3). Contacts across the western Alps, probably encouraged by the presence of metal ores, are well attested from the late BA (6.5.1). In the FBA a concentration of sites seems to indicate that the

Gesso valley acquired growing importance as a transalpine route (6.2). There are increased contacts between the central Po plain and the western Alps in the EIA (7.4.2). The importance of water routes is indicated by weapons deposited as offerings in rivers (*ibid.*), including a spearhead found in the Gesso paleochannel at Cuneo (CN26). These contacts peaked in the MIA when imports from central Italy and the Adriatic area, probably mediated by *Etruria Padana* and coastal Liguria, indicate that the Cuneo area was part of a complex commercial network involving multiple partners (8.4.2). In the LIA the presence of spearheads near Valdieri interpreted as *Passfunde* highlights once again the role of the Gesso valley for transalpine communication (9.4.2).



Figure 11.3 The Gesso valley seen from Monte Ray. The Valdieri cemetery is indicated by the arrow (Venturino Gambari, 2008a, 47 fig 26)

In his study on the reuse of prehistoric and Roman monuments as burial sites in Anglo-Saxon Britain, Williams (1997) argues for a relationship between this practice and the control of land and territory given the association of old monuments and later boundaries. “Old monuments could have become important contexts for social interaction through mortuary practices perhaps

helping to construct and maintain social relations and group identities” (Williams 1997, 25); in this way “early Anglo-Saxon communities were constructing and reproducing their idealized visions of past and present, their mythical origins and their social identities” (*ibid.*). Wickholm (2008), who studied reuse in Finnish cremation cemeteries in the Iron and Viking Ages, talks of “cognitive landscape” and “sites of memory” that, she argues, strengthened peoples’ identity at a time of crisis when it became important to stress the bond with the ancestors.

Whilst Williams and Wickholm can both count on larger data sets (Williams estimates that 54% of the 71 cemeteries he analysed showed reuse) and examples where reuse can be regarded as certain (e.g. barrows with secondary burials), I find it intriguing that this interpretation, which links reuse, landscape, and territorial control with a distant past, could apply to the Valdieri cemetery. Although this does not prove that the Valdieri people shared the idea of a common descent, the cemetery reuse probably contributed to creating and reinforcing group identity.

11.2.2. “Cups that cheered”⁷

The presence of accessory cups in the Chiavari cemetery graves (GE6) has been linked to the performance of rites involving drinking (7.2.2). The cups are either locally-made (coarse-ware) or imported (bucchero) from Tyrrhenian Etruria, which is the main commercial partner of the community buried in the cemetery. At Chiavari there are no examples of *kantharoi*, i.e. the wine cup *par excellence*, which on the contrary are attested from c. 630 BC on the French coasts (Leonardi and Paltineri, 2012, 301). This absence has been explained by commercial choices (De Marinis, 1988, 255) or in chronological terms by arguing that the cemetery use terminated before the Etruscan began to export wine and pottery to the west (de Marinis, 2004, 202; Gras, 2004, 194). Conversely, Leonardi and Paltineri (2012, 301) believe that this absence is

⁷ I have borrowed this title from Sherratt (1997, 376)

linked to “social rules” and to a different approach to drinking, revealed by the absence of indicators of the adoption of the symposium practice and ideology at Chiavari. I find this interpretation convincing and would add that we do not know whether wine was involved at all in the rituals at Chiavari.

At Chiavari 14 graves contained a high-handled cup, 4 an imported *kylix* and 8 a beaker (Paltineri, 2010, 50–53, 60) whose shape seems to prefigure the beakers that we find in the MIA and for which a hypothetical link has been proposed with beer consumption (8.2.2). One grave contained both a *kylix* and a beaker (Lamboglia, 1964, 72–73). A high-handled cup similar to the Chiavari ones was found in a grave at Albenga (SV1), which contained no other accessory pots. *Kantharoi* are virtually absent in the study area: only a black-gloss example is known from the LIA Val di Vaiana cemetery (LU4) and there are no known examples from settlements. In the MIA, amphoras and symposium pottery are rare in the settlements (8.4.1) and absent in the graves (8.2.2), which suggests that wine consumption was not widespread and not involved in mortuary rituals. The situation changed in the LIA when wine was both imported and locally produced (9.4.1). At this point wine was most likely used in funerals (9.2.2). Therefore, in contrast to nearby areas where wine became rapidly popular and the symposium ideology was adopted, Liguria seems to have resisted the wine fashion until the LIA.

FBA funerary rituals included the use of food, as indicated by remains of burnt cereals and animal bones (6.3). Other rituals entailed the breaking of pots, but there is no clear evidence for ritual drinking. Conversely, drinking and drinks seem to have played an important part at funerals from the EIA onwards, but there is no clear reference to food and dining: foodstuffs are never found in IA cemeteries, nor do we find tableware (e.g. plates, skewers, roasting spits) clearly connected to dining. It is true that bowls could be used both as food and drink containers. However, they were generally used to close the cinerary urns, so they should be interpreted as lids rather than containers.

As people came together to perform mortuary rituals, they likely sensed solidarity and social cohesion. Funerals were therefore important unifying

moments that helped to create and reinforce group identity. Drinking and drinks must have played an important role in this. Iaia (2016, 31) describes alcohol consumption as a “total social fact”, as drinking plays a fundamental role in implementing social relations. As drinking behaviour is governed by cultural rules and expectations (Dietler, 1990, 361), drinking habits and rituals are affected by ethnic affiliation. For this reason, I believe that we can interpret the Ligurian rejection of the symposium practice and ideology in ethnic terms. Even if we assumed that wine was used at funerals from an early stage (which cannot be ruled out in the absence of organic residues), we notice differences in the Ligurian approach to drinking. To these differences I assign an ethnic valency.

11.2.3. The construction of gender identity

In 2.1.2 I discussed how ethnic identity is just one among several identities that people embrace simultaneously. These intersect with each other and become articulated through social relationships (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, 2005, 9). Therefore, ethnic affiliation interplays with other identifying categories such as gender, status, age etc. (Fernández-Götz *et al.*, 2022, 23). Terms like “entangled” (Saxkjær, 2022) or “meshed” (Reher and Fernández-Götz, 2015, 402) are often used in regard to this and express the difficulties we face when trying to unravel past identities.

I believe that, while it surely poses a challenge, this overlapping of identities can be the key to our understanding past ethnicities. If ethnic identity at the same time shapes and is shaped by other forms of identities, and if it defines the permissible range of statuses/social personalities that an individual can assume by putting constraints on the kind of roles that they are allowed to play (2.1.2), then other socially-constructed identities can be used as a proxy for ethnicity. This allows ethnic identity to be linked with individual identities that are more likely to be negotiated and expressed within and between communities. With regards to this, Fernández-Götz and colleagues (2022, 26) argue that “persons had other more immediate identities that they felt closer

to in their daily lives [than ethnicity], such as [...] those relating to their gender, age, activity, and status”. Their statement specifically refers to late Iron Age people but can be extended to all past (and perhaps present) communities.

Starting from this perspective, we can analyse Ligurian ethnicity through the grave assemblages. As I have shown, FBA graves are poorly characterised in terms of items (6.3.1). Goods become more substantial and varied in the EIA and a gender distinction starts to emerge (7.2.1). This is first visible at Chiavari (GE6) where some of the earliest graves contain a razor, which is interpreted as a male object. Weapons (above all spears) and spindle-whorls appear in the graves from the 7th century. Osteological analyses support the association of razors/weapons with male individuals and spindle-whorls with females (Bresadola *et al.*, 2018; Minozzi, 2015; Minozzi *et al.*, 2015).

I believe that the appearance of weapons and spindle-whorls in graves signals the social construction of a male and a female identity. Gender studies have questioned our binary conception of gender and the way we apply it to the archaeological record. As gender can be defined as the cultural construction of sexuality (Scott and Moore, 1997, 259), I consider it as a spectrum where male and female represent the two far ends. An individual can fall anywhere along that continuum and can change their position even multiple times (the case of the Hua people in Papua Guinea is emblematic: Pearson, 2009, 101), which is why it can be hard to interpret gender in the archaeological record. However, the two extremities, which mostly coincide with biological sex, are more likely to be differentiated, and therefore archaeologically visible.

In Ligurian graves the extremities are represented by (male) weapon-bearers and (female) spindle-whorl carriers, which are to be intended as social roles that can correspond or not to the individual's effective role as warrior/cloth maker during their life. Since they are linked to a social role, spindle-whorls and weapons are more reliable gender markers than ornaments and clothing accessories. The choice of ornaments and clothing accessories could have depended on other factors (like personal taste or the season in which death

occurred, see Rebay-Salisbury, 2016, 70–71) and in many cases we do not know how they were used, which makes any interpretation tricky (see the ‘studs’!). It is not by chance that we record greater discrepancies between the sex of the deceased and the gender attribution based on ornaments and accessories (see Bresadola *et al.*, 2018).

In studies on ancient Ligurians, much attention has been placed on the meaning of weapons in graves and their possible link with a warrior status (Malnati, 2004c, 364; Paribeni, 2007b, 57). Attempts have been made to link weapons to the mentions of Ligurian mercenaries in the written sources (Maggiani, 2004c). However, spearheads, either full size or miniature, are occasionally associated with the remains of children, sometimes as young as 2–4 years old (Bresadola *et al.*, 2018; Durante, 2004a, 378 n. 23; Minozzi *et al.*, 2015, 159–160, 163–164). This suggests weapons had a symbolic meaning rather than a link to the role in life of the deceased. Moreover, weapons do not seem to be linked with periods of instability and conflict. For example, they are frequent in the Cafaggio cemetery (SP1), whose use ceased in the early 3rd century. Yet, according to the written sources, eastern Liguria was not involved in the conflict with Rome until c. 240 BC (see Table 2), while the many imported goods suggest the flourishing of trade with various commercial partners which are hard to imagine in wartime.

The different combinations of weapons that appear in Ligurian graves in the LIA (9.2.2) have been explained as reflecting the age, the role or status of the deceased (Durante, 2004a, 376; Paribeni, 2007b, 58). A few graves contained the full panoply, which included a Montefortino helmet and LT swords. Their presence has been linked to the presence or cultural influence of Gallic groups from northern Italy (Durante, 1987, 423). Conversely, I believe that these exotic objects can be linked to the expression of masculinity.

Ridella (2004, 394) has rightly pointed out that, because of their length and metal composition, LT swords were a not very efficient type of weapon as they easily bent. I would also add that they were not suitable for fighting in an environment like that of the Ligurian Apennines. Some of the Cafaggio swords

are over 80 cm long (Durante, 1987, 427–428), which means that as they hung with their scabbard along the side of the body, they would have been an obstacle to moving on a steep and rocky terrain. Besides, both Posidonius (fr. 118 Jacoby) and Livy (39.1.1) assert that Ligurian soldiers were lightly equipped and could move fast and with agility, something you can do with a spear or a dagger, much less with a long sword. Posidonius mentions medium-sized swords and oval shields (there is no archaeological evidence for the latter, which could have been made of wooden or hardened leather). For this reason, I believe that LT swords were not used in battle by the Ligurians, and their presence in graves is purely symbolic. Like spears, they are a representation of the men's social role. In this sense, the fact that they were bent before being placed in the grave does not represent the close link between the individual and their weapon(s) (Durante, 1987, 418), but the death of the social persona. Previous discussion of female graves has focused on ornaments and clothing accessories, the so-called 'Ligurian female costume', rather than on items that signal the woman's role in the society – as if women did not have other scope than to embellish themselves! This is a sign of the rather sexist approach of Italian studies, which often deny past women any power and agency.⁸ Conversely, I maintain that the roles of women and their gender expression have been underestimated and can provide information not only on past societies, but also on group identities.

If we exclude the distaff found in a grave at Albisola Superiore (SV4), spindle-whorls are the only textile implement found in graves in the study area. As with weapons, they likely had a symbolic meaning and did not necessarily reflect the role of the deceased. At Albisola Superiore (SV4) one spindle-whorl was placed in the burial of a 3–5 years old (Minozzi, 2015). Other textile implements are attested in settlements, albeit infrequently (Table 11.1). In contrast with the previous interpretation as yarn holders, it is now believed

⁸ See the constant use of exogamy to explain the presence of exotic artefacts in IA female graves (e.g. Casini and Marchesini, 2012; Zamboni, 2018, 233–234) rather than considering the possibility that women could be the principal traders (there are examples in several societies, see Pearson, 2009, 102). Exogamy is never mentioned with reference to men.

that spools were used as weights in tablet weaving to produce resistant textiles, sometimes decorated by complex patterns (Gleba, 2008, 140–141; Grömer, 2016, 103–106, 180–185). Some of the spools found in the study area are relatively big and have a hole (Giaretti, 2014, 268), which suggests that they were used as weights. It is impossible to say whether they were used in tablet weaving or for other weaving techniques. We have no remains of tablets/spacers, but these were probably made of perishable materials (wood, hardened leather, or bone). Overall, little attention has been given to weaving implements, despite a widespread belief derived from the written sources that wool working was central to the Ligurian economy (Gambari and Venturino Gambari, 2004a, 32; Melli, 2004a, 176), and we know very little about textile production in the study area.

Loom weights			
Site	Date	Number & shape	Notes
Fonti di Villaromagnano (AL31)	FBA	1 pyramidal	
Uscio (GE1)	FBA	3 pyramidal	
Gropo di Vaccarezza (PC3)	FBA?	1 pyramidal; 1 parallelepipedal	Not <i>in situ</i>
Fossano (CN31)	FBA-EIA	1 pyramidal	
Montecastello (AL16)	FBA/MIA	1 pyramidal	Deposit with mixed materials
Castello d'Annone (AT8)	7th-5th cent	2 pyramidal; 1 parallelepipedal; 1 globular; 1 circular disc with central hole	
Cascina Brumosa (AL14)	6th-7th cent	1 pyramidal; 2 ring-shaped	
Villa del Foro (AL5)	6th-5th cent	3 pyramidal	
Monte Sant'Elena (SV6)	4th-3rd cent	1 ring-shaped; 2 fragments of terracotta with holes (cf. Genoa)	
Breolungi (CN35)	4th-3rd cent	1 ring-shaped	Interpreted by Giaretti (2001, 150) as support for pottery production
Colle delle Carbonaie (LU10)	3rd cent	2 ring-shaped	
Monte Lieto (LU27)	3rd-2nd cent	2 pyramidal	
Guardamonte (PV5)	LIA	1 pyramidal	
Camogli (GE3)	?	?	Briefly mentioned in Giannichedda 1998

Spools			
Site	Date	Number	Notes
Sant'Antonino Perti (SV20)	RBA-FBA	1	
Fonti di Villaromagnano (AL31)	FBA	1	
Montecastello (AL16)	FBA/MIA	1	Deposit with mixed materials
Cascina Brumosa (AL14)	7th-6th cent	1	
Castello d'Annone (AT8)	7th-5th cent	12	Some pierced
Villa del Foro (AL5)	6th-5th cent	83	2 pierced
Tortona, Via alle Fonti (AL27)	6th-5th cent	1	
Castelvecchio (CN40)	6th-4th cent	2 fragments	
Breolungi (CN35)	4th-3rd cent	2	
Valdicalstello Carducci (LU18)	3rd-2nd cent	2	
Borgo Castello (AL32)	3rd-2nd cent	1	
Panegano (PC7)	LIA	1	

Table 11.1 Loom weights and spools in the study area settlements

The representation of women in the Ligurian graves contrasts with nearby areas. A gender distinction is visible in the Golasecca area from the second half of the 10th century (Protogolasecca III) with spindle-whorls in female graves and spearheads in male ones (De Marinis, 1972, 57, 81, 84; Giaretti and Rubat Borel, 2006, 92, 109, 140; Mira Bonomi, 1976, 22). This distinction continues in the following phases and a greater variety of textile implements is recorded. In the Via del Maneggio cemetery at Castelletto Ticino (NO) one grave assigned to the late G1 A2 – early G1 B contained a bone spacer which is believed to have been used in tablet weaving; another grave dating to the G1 B contained eight spools and one a loom-weight (Cerri, 2011b). Albeit less often than spindle-whorls, in Golasecca graves spools are attested until the GII B (see Rapi, 2019, 23; Vitali, 1984, 258) and possibly later.⁹

Textile implements are well attested in the EIA in Villanovan female tombs. Both at Bologna and Verucchio (RN), the earlier graves (c. 900-820 BC) only contained spindle-whorls. Spools appeared toward the end of the 9th century and become frequent in the 8th century (Kruta Poppi, 2015, 26; Morigi Govi and Tovoli, 1994, 46-47). Weaving-combs and distaffs, sometimes made of precious but impractical materials (e.g. amber), are also attested (Bentini *et al.*, 2015, 69; Kruta Poppi, 2015, 26). Tablet weaving is documented from the first half of the 8th century at Verucchio (Bentini *et al.*, 2015, 67-69). One grave contained a loom-weight and can be assigned to the end of the 8th century (Bentini *et al.*, 2015, 68). The famous wooden throne decorated by engravings representing women spinning and weaving at a warp-weighted loom dates to the same period (*ibid.*). Together with the bronze rattle (c. 630 BC) from the Arsenale Militare cemetery at Bologna it provides one of the very few images of women doing textile work (Grömer, 2016, p. 270).

⁹ Several are from old discoveries, and we do not know the exact association of the materials, so their chronology is problematic.

Further afield we find textile implements in the Veneto graves of the Este culture. Spindle-whorls, spools, and loom-weights, sometimes in large numbers, are attested from the 8th-7th century (Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2012, 354). From the late 7th century, female graves also contain tablets and spacers for tablet weaving, bone knives, needles, and distaffs (*ibid.*). The latter are made of bronze, bone or amber and are not functional, but used as status markers (*ibid.*). From the mid-6th century to the late 4th century, textile implement continue to appear albeit less frequently and, in contrast with the previous phases, only one item is placed in the grave to symbolise the process of textile making (Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2012, 355).

Although less frequently, textile implements are attested in the MIA in western *Etruria Padana*. Ten spools and three spindle-whorls, two of which made of glass, were found in a mid-6th century grave at Sant’Ilario d’Enza (RE) (Malnati, 1989, 154). Spindle-whorls, spools and pyramidal loom-weights were among the (now lost) 5th-4th century materials from the Moscardina – Orcena cemetery at Savignano sul Panaro (MO) (Cardarelli and Malnati, 2009, 178, SV28).

One female grave in the Etruscan Via XX Settembre cemetery at Genoa (GE9) contained a wooden comb with very long teeth which I would interpret as a comb-beater/weaving comb (Paribeni, 1910, 29). Other female graves contained bronze needles (Boscassi and Grosso, 1912, 348) and one a spindle-whorl inscribed with an Etruscan personal name (*la plaisaś*) (Colonna, 2004b, 302). There is no mention of spools or loom-weights but, given how the cemetery was explored and the materials collected (see 8.5), I would not be surprised if such ‘poor’ objects had been discarded, perhaps without realising they were textile implements. The loom-weights recovered in the Genoa settlement consist of terracotta discs with one or two holes, sometimes made from broken pots/amphoras and are therefore not easily recognisable (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 319, V.1.16 & 323, V.2.17-18). Moreover, as they differ from those found in Ligurian settlements (see above), these loom-weights suggest the use of different weaving techniques/looms. Textiles made at

Genoa probably looked different from the indigenous ones and could be used to highlight the different ethnic affiliation.

As this short overview shows, gender distinction appears later in the Ligurian graves than in the other cultures of northern Italy. In addition, while women are first represented as spinners and later also as weavers in the other cultures, in Liguria regardless of her status/wealth, the female persona is only represented as a spinner. I believe that this difference can be interpreted in ethnic terms.

The way that male and female statuses are represented can be linked to their ethnic affiliation, which determines the social personalities that an individual can have and how they should be represented. Gender expression is first visible in the graves at Chiavari (GE6), Fornaci (GE12) and Albenga (SV1), i.e. sites located on the coast and open to contacts with other communities, particular Etruscan ones. We can imagine that the frequent interaction with very different people from far away necessary for ethnicity to emerge (2.1.3) materialised in these sites. The interactions between indigenous communities and traders transformed the Ligurian coast into a sort of border zone, i.e. the place where we expect identities to be emphasized and expressed through material culture.

11.3. Reassessing ethnogenesis

Many Italian archaeologists argue that Ligurian ethnogenesis was a long and gradual process whose beginning can be traced back to the MBA (Gambari, 1998b, 2004; Del Lucchese and Gambari, 2006; Giannattasio, 2007, 18–27). Such a stance is based on the mistaken assumption that archaeological cultures equal ethnic groups (see discussion in 2.1), and should be rejected. What these archaeologists are doing is simply noting a succession of archaeological cultures that occupy more or less the same area (Figure 11.4), which tells us nothing about the self-identification of the societies who produced them.

The observation of trends that continue from the late BA into the IA, such as the transalpine influence on the metalwork of north-western Italy, similarities between funerary practices or settlement patterns, is often used to support this notion of ethnogenesis (Del Lucchese, 2004b; Gambari, 2004). However, this continuity has nothing to do with ethnic formation and depends on a variety of factors (social, economic, eschatological, etc.). Moreover, Mannoni (2004a, 111) has observed that a tendency towards conservatism is typical of societies that occupy mountain areas, like the Ligurians. The harder the physical environment, he argues, the more traditions, old practices and knowledge are maintained to guarantee the society's survival.

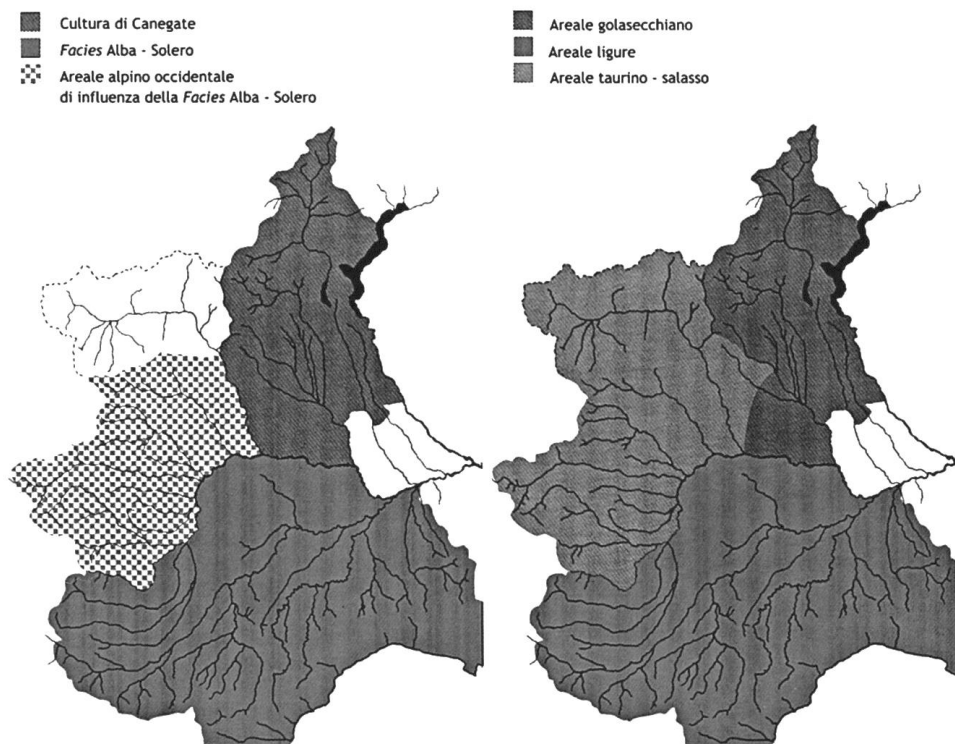


Figure 11.4 Maps of Piedmont used by Gambari (2004, 17 fig. 1) to illustrate the Ligurians' ethnogenesis. What these maps actually show is that the areas of late BA and IA archaeological cultures roughly coincide.

If we reject the idea of a long ethnogenesis, it is then reasonable to ask when the Ligurian ethnic identity started to emerge. I do not detect signs that can be related to the expression of an ethnic identity in the FBA. One could argue that this is a function of the scarcity of sites, particularly funerary, in this phase. Yet, the situation is different for the EIA, the phase with fewest sites; it

is towards the end of the 7th century that the elements that I have linked to the emergence of a group identity become visible, perhaps to be interpreted in ethnic terms (the Lunigiana statue-menhir revival, the Valdieri cemetery reuse, evidence for ritual drinking and the expression of gender roles in the funerary record). As I have shown (chapter 7), the period between the EIA and the MIA is characterised by high mobility, frequent contacts, competition over resources and for the control of commercial routes. People at the end of the 7th century were dealing with a (relatively) fast-changing world and reacted by reinforcing their sense of belonging and expressing it through their actions and material culture. This need not mean that previously they did not have an ethnic identity, merely that they had no reason, need, or wish to express it. As I noted (2.1.2-3), it is the context that determines whether ethnic identity is expressed or not, and the context of EIA Italy seems particularly suited to this. The fact that what we can detect is the *expression* of ethnicity – not the sense of belonging that causes it – raises a fundamental question about the potential for archaeological research to grasp ethnogenesis. I believe that archaeologists dealing with societies that have left no direct account on their views and ascriptions (emic sources), are in no position to define how and when ethnic groups formed. All we can do is determine how and when groups started to express their ethnic identity and speculate about the reasons why it happened at that specific time.

11.4. Conclusions

The Lunigiana statue-menhir revival and the reuse of the Valdieri cemetery can be interpreted as past-oriented activities linked to the idea of a common descent. In this sense, they are expression of a group identity that we can interpret as ethnic. This emerged in the late 7th-6th century BC, constructed and reinforced through ritual drinking at funerals, evidenced by the constant presence of drinking vessels in graves. Roughly at the same time, a gender distinction becomes visible in grave assemblages. While male graves seem to

conform to the practice, shared by the other north Italian IA cultures, of representing men as warriors, differences can be noted in the expression of female identity. I link these to ethnic affiliation, which defines the permissible range of statuses/social personalities and how they should be represented.

Chapter 12. Conclusions

The aims of this research were to (1) investigate the identity of the people in late prehistoric north-western Italy; (2) understand the meaning of ethnic labels in the written sources; (3) verify if/how we can infer past ethnicities from the archaeological record. Following a discussion on the meaning of ethnicity and ethnic identity, and how both are investigated in past societies (Chapter 2), I devised a methodology (Chapter 3) that uses the archaeological culture as a basis to determine what classes of artefacts, actions, social practices carry identity valencies that can be interpreted in ethnic terms.

In Chapter 4 I provide an overview of past studies on the Ligurians. From the Nineteenth century, the idea that in prehistory the Ligurians occupied a wide portion of Europe from Iberia to Italy became popular. In the Fascist era, this belief was exploited to support the Italian occupation of south-eastern France and, with a change of tone, remained in vogue after the war. In the 2000s, following the exhibition held at Genoa when it was designated European Culture Capital, the Ligurians became a symbol of the European unity in the past. Numerous myths (of the origins, of the Ligurians as merchants, of a supposed ethnic continuity between the ancient Ligurians and the modern ones) interlacing with local identities and claims have negatively affected research.

Following a discussion on the geographical background (Chapter 5), I reviewed the archaeology of the study area from the FBA to the LIA (Chapters 6-9). By discussing the material systematically, in its context and in a long-term perspective I have highlighted significant changes during the successive chronological phases and refuted long-established ideas originating from our preconceptions and from uncritical use of the written sources.

I argue that no evidence supports the idea that in the EIA ancient Liguria included the northern coast of Tuscany (7.5). This is based solely on the

presumed similarities between the Chiavari and Baccatorio cemeteries. Similarly, I reject the idea that, in the MIA or earlier, Reggio Emilia was occupied by the Ligurians. This is the result (1) of incorrectly interpreting the characteristic artefacts of the '*facies* Sant'Ilario-Remedello', (2) of projecting back the LIA situation and (3) on an erroneous use of information from written sources and place-names (8.7). Instead, I maintain that the elements that differentiate western *Etruria Padana* from the area around Bologna can be explained in the light of the commercial network that developed in the 6th century BC to supply central Europe with goods from Etruria. I believe that the importance of the Transapennine route connecting northern Tuscany with the western Po plain through the Serchio-Enza valleys has been underestimated. There is scope for future research about the role of the San Polo d'Enza-Servirola settlement as an important centre from which various routes departed directed both towards north-western and north-eastern Italy and beyond.

Finally, I argue that the cultural uniformity that characterises eastern Provence and north-western Italy from the late BA ceases in the MIA (8.6). Similarities can be noticed in the coastal sites (imported goods, lifestyles, building techniques), but they are above all due to the presence of Greeks and Etruscans and to the development of maritime commercial routes. Conversely, settlement pattern, funerary rites, metalwork, and habits (wine consumption) differ in the hinterland and there is no reason to consider the French and the Italian sides of the Alps as belonging to the same archaeological culture.

The picture that emerges from archaeology seemingly contradicts the written sources, discussed in Chapter 10. However, when the latter are considered within their historical context, without mixing information from authors that lived at different times and wrote for different purposes, the discrepancies attenuate. The term 'Ligurian' probably originally indicated the people living in the west and did not define an ethnic group. This is the 'great Liguria' as it emerges from the myths, not a specific place, but a reflection of the Greek vision of the world: any attempt to reconnect the archaeological evidence

about the Ligurians to it is in vain and should be dismissed. Only later did 'Ligurian' come to indicate the people occupying the area comprised between Languedoc and the Arno River. Yet, some confusion persisted among the writers, who could not precisely determine which 'tribes' were 'Ligurian' and what territories they occupied.

The use of funerary rite, grave structures, and metal 'studs' as ethnic markers for the Ligurians is criticised in Chapter 11. Instead, I recognise an ethnic valency to the statue-menhir revival and the reuse of the Valdieri cemetery, which can be interpreted as past-oriented activities that can be linked to an idea of common descent. I argue that a group identity emerged in the late 7th-6th century BC, which was constructed and reinforced through ritual drinking at funerals. The contemporary emergence of a gender distinction in the grave assemblages allows to distinguish Liguria from the nearby areas and can too be assigned an ethnic valency.

My analysis allows me to conclude that (1) the end of the EIA is the key moment when the Ligurian ethnic identity starts to be expressed in relation to the increasing competition and social changes that derived from the contacts with Etruscan communities. I reject the popular idea that Ligurians ethnogenesis started in the Bronze Age, which mistakes a sequence of archaeological cultures with the emergence of an ethnic identity. (2) Ancient written sources are a useful but risky tool to analyse past societies: the information they provide should not be discarded *a priori* but we should be aware of its limits and the context in which it was produced. The labels used by ancient authors to define peoples might not have had an ethnic meaning and/or have changed their meaning across centuries as for the Ligurians. (3) We cannot identify from the archaeological record the moment an ethnic group was born, but rather when/how it started to express its identity. Any object (or practice) can carry an ethnic meaning depending on the circumstances and only a contextual analysis of the evidence allows us to recognise it. Expressions of individual identities can be used to understand

ethnicity for the latter defines and shapes the range of statuses/social personalities in a given society.

This research has shed some light on the ancient Ligurians and contributes to the discussion on ancient ethnicity. With a systematic discussion of the evidence and an explicit theoretical background, I have been able to demonstrate that many widespread ideas on the Ligurians derive from misunderstandings, an acritical use of written sources and the adoption of the culture-historical approach, which is unsuitable to analysing ethnicity in the past. Yet many questions remain unanswered, and some new problems arise. First, there is the need for more precise chronologies that take account of the leap forward in radiocarbon dating and modelling for this period and allow comparison with other areas. A careful analysis of the French evidence is necessary to better understand the development of contacts across the Alps and their cultural meaning. The funerary evidence stimulates a discussion on gender roles, free of modern preconceptions and not limited to north-western Italy. In Italy's late prehistoric graves, female assemblages are often richer and better defined, and female graves appear to outnumber male ones (see Speciale and Zanini, 2012; Zamboni, 2018, 217). This is worthy of being investigated. Finally, it will be interesting to reconsider the impact of the Roman conquest in the light of the data that emerged in this study and of the recent development in the study of past ethnicities.

Appendix 1. In-text abbreviations

<i>1^{er}Fer</i>	<i>1^{er} âge du Fer</i>
AL	Alessandria
AM	Alpes-Maritimes
asl	Above sea level
AT	Asti
BA	<i>Bronze Ancienne</i>
BF	<i>Bronze Final</i>
BM	<i>Bronze Moyenne</i>
c.	Circa
CA	Copper Age
CBM	Ceramic building material
Cent.	Century
Cf.	Compare
(E)IA	(Early) Iron Age
(E)BA	Early Bronze Age
FBA	Final Bronze Age
G	Golasecca
GE	Genoa
Ha	Hallstatt
<i>IIPP</i>	<i>Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria</i>
<i>IISL</i>	Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri
<i>ISL</i>	<i>Istituto di Studi Liguri</i>
LIA	Late Iron Age
LT	La Tène
LU	Lucca
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MI	Milano
MIA	Middle Iron Age
MO	Modena
NO	Novara
PC	Piacenza

PG	Protogolasecca
PR	Parma
PU	Pesaro e Urbino
RBA	Recent Bronze Age (<i>Bronzo Recente</i>)
RE	Reggio Emilia
SP	La Spezia
SP	<i>Strada provinciale</i>
SS	<i>Strada statale</i>
SV	Savona
s.v.	Under the word
Transl.	Translation
VA	Varese

Appendix 2. Site gazetteer

This appendix lists the sites and findspots discussed in the thesis chapters. They are divided by province/department and presented by municipality in alphabetical order. For each province/department a map illustrates the distribution of the sites. The base map for the Alpes-Maritimes is OpenStreetMap, while for the Italian provinces it is the atlas by DeAgostini. Each site has been assigned a code formed by its province abbreviation (see Appendix 2) and a number. Each entry includes a definition of the type of evidence, a brief description of the site characteristics and main artefacts¹⁰, a date or period and a summary bibliography¹¹ (Figure A. 1). When a site is known in literature with a name different from the location, this has been given in brackets.

SITE ID	MUNICIPALITY	LOCATION (<i>LOCALITÀ</i>)	FINDSPOT/STREET
	Investigation		
	Type	Description	
	Chronology		
	Bibliography		

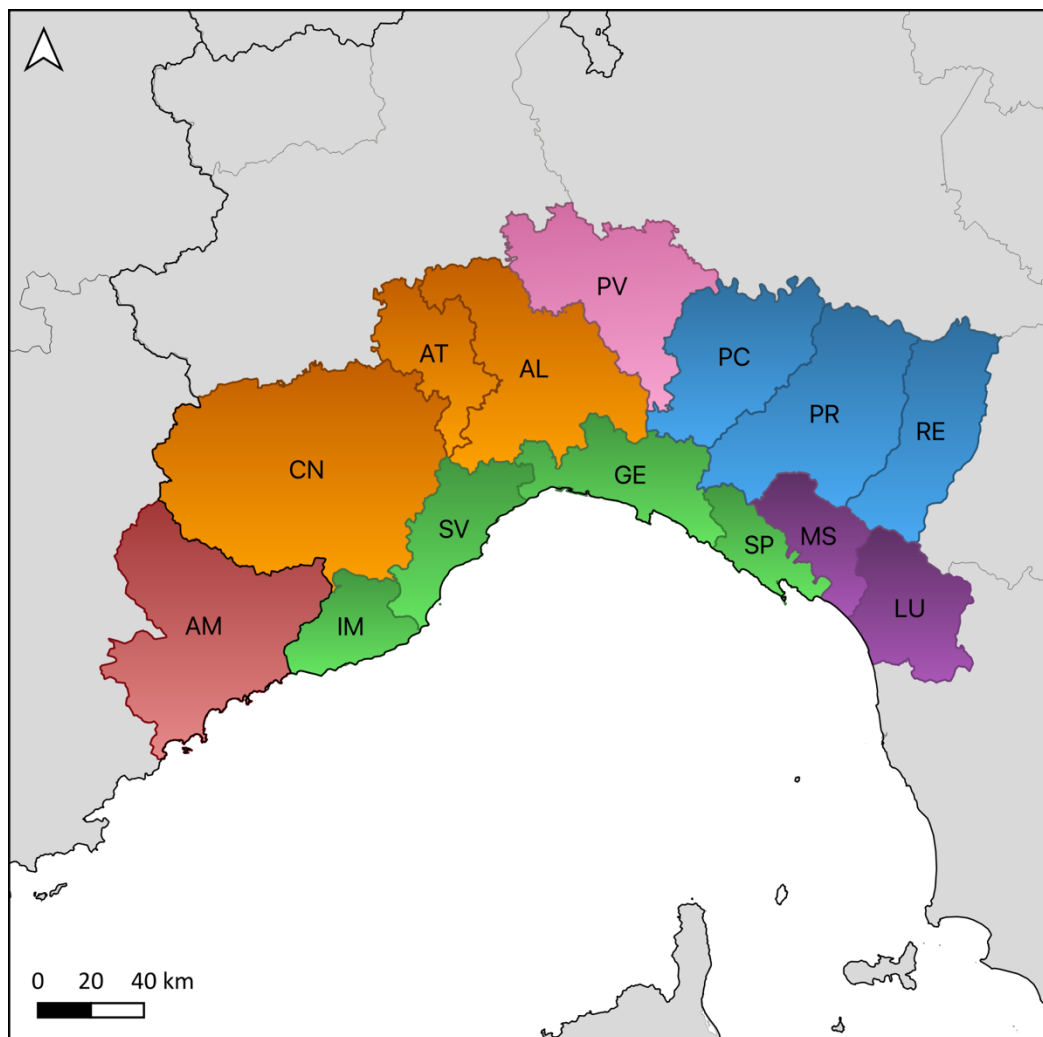
Figure A. 1 Example of gazetteer entry

¹⁰ When not specified, the pottery should be intended as coarse ware.

¹¹ Primary sources have been preferred, which is why publications such as that of Mordegia (2016), which reproduces data from previous publications without adding new information, have not been used.

The site chronology is expressed in phases for the final Bronze age and the beginning of the Iron Age for the problems discussed in the methodology chapter. For the following periods the use of centuries is preferred. For French sites I refer to the French chronology (in *italic*).

In the main text of the dissertation all references are made by location (site code), e.g. Cafaggio (SP₁), or findspot, e.g. Buco del Diavolo (IM₃₀).



- France: AM (Alpes-Maritimes)
- Piedmont: CN (Cuneo), AT (Asti), AL (Alessandria)
- Lombardy: PV (Pavia)
- Liguria: IM (Imperia), SV (Savona), GE (Genoa), SP (La Spezia)
- Emilia-Romagna: PC (Piacenza), PR (Parma), RE (Reggio Emilia)
- Tuscany: MS (Massa-Carrara), LU (Lucca)

Figure A. 2 Regions and provinces

1. Alessandria

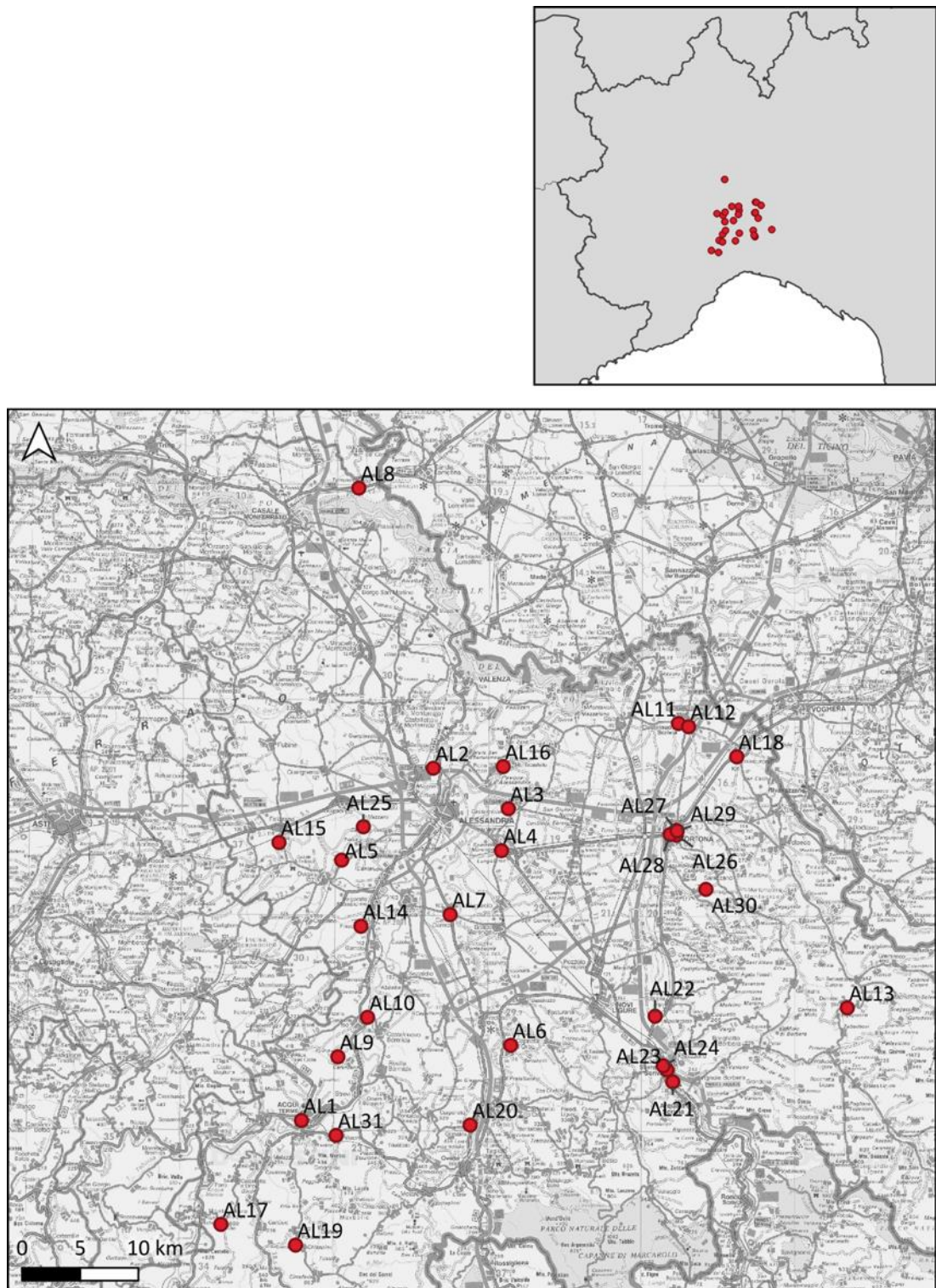


Figure A. 3 Alessandria province sites

AL1	ACQUI TERME	
	Chance discovery	
	Stray finds	Two fragments of stamped black-gloss pottery, probably from Tarquinia; a <i>LT Padano B</i> painted pot.
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.	
	(Brecciaroli Taborelli, 2004)	

AL2	ALESSANDRIA	CASCINA PORCELLANA	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery, two spindle-whorls, fragments of brooches.	
	6 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Venturino and Paniccia, 2020)		

AL3	ALESSANDRIA	CASTELCERIOLO	RIO SAMBUY
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery, one glass armring.	
	MBA-RBA, 3 rd – 1 st cent.		
	(Finocchi and Venturino Gambari, 1988)		

AL4	ALESSANDRIA	SPINETTA MARENGO	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Curvilinear dry-stone wall with traces of clay floor; one pit with charcoal and pottery.	
	FBA		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 2013a)		

AL5	ALESSANDRIA	VILLA DEL FORO	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Productive site with seasonal occupation. Kilns, pits and abundant pottery.	
	6 th – 5 th cent.		
	(Venturino and Giaretti, 2021)		

AL6	CAPRIATA D'ORBA	SAN NICOLAO	
	Planned excavation		
	Cemetery?	Small pits filled with charcoal, ash and small fragments of artefacts, possibly from pyres.	
	6 th – 5 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari and Crosetto, 2009)		

AL7	CASAL CERPELLI		
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	At least two burials in urn; goods include two LT iron brooches, two “ <i>sombrero de copa</i> ” Iberian pots, black-gloss pottery, bronze studs and an iron knife.	
	Second half of 2 nd – early 1 st cent.		
	(Lo Porto, 1952)		

AL8	CASALE MONFERRATO	TERRANOVA	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray finds	One type Lodigiano and one type Ardea bronze axes.	
	Second half of 8 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari, 1994a)		

AL9	CASSINE	NOCETO	
	Rescue excavation		
	Settlement	Refuse pit and surface paved with potsherds. Black-gloss pottery, coarse ware.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari and Gambari, 1988, 77–92)		

AL10	CASSINE	SAN GIORGIO	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Site	Deposit with pottery.	
	4 th – 2 nd cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari and Arditi, 1984; Venturino Gambari and Zanda, 2002)		

AL11	CASTELNUOVO SCRIVIA		PONTE SULLO SCRIVIA
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Spearhead.	
	5 th – 4 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari, 1994b)		

AL12	CASTELNUOVO SCRIVIA		VIA MATTEOTTI
	Watching brief		
	Site	Deposit with charcoal, small potsherds and a type Cerinasca d'Arbedo brooch.	
	5 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 1998)		

AL13	DERNICE	VIGANA	
	Field survey		
	Site	Black-gloss and coarse pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari and Gambari, 1988, 106–111)		

AL14	FRASCARO	CASCINA BRUMOSA	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Postholes and waste pits containing pottery; traces of craft activities (pottery production?).	
	CA, FBA, MIA		
	(Micheletto <i>et al.</i> , 2001; Venturino and Giaretti, 2019)		

AL15	MASIO		TRAVERSA CANALE DEFERRARI
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	MBA-RBA, LIA		
	(Tropeano <i>et al.</i> , 1991)		

AL16	MONTECASTELLO			CASTLE
	Field survey, planned excavation			
	Settlement	Settlement with drainage system, traces of a hut and two structures interpreted as ovens. Various occupation phases alternating with temporary abandonments.		
	FBA, 6 th – 2 nd cent.			
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 2015)			

AL17	MONTECHIARO D'ACQUI		CASTLE
	Rescue excavation		
	Site	Archaeological deposits with potsherds found inside a natural rock fissure.	
	RBA, FBA		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 1994b)		

AL18	PONTECURONE	CASCINA TORRE	
	Watching brief		
	Settlement	Four circular cuts (postholes?), bucchero, coarse ware, bronze artefacts (parallels in the Golasecca area and southern Piedmont).	
	6 th – 5 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 2014)		

AL19	PONZONE	CASA ROSSA	
	Field survey		
	Site	Type Rossiglione and black-gloss pottery, one stud.	
	4 th – first half of 3 rd cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 2016)		

AL20	ROCCA GRIMALDA	FORNACE	
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Total number of graves unknown. Two phases distinguished based on the artefacts, one dating to the MIA (leech brooch, bucket shaped pendant) and one dating to the LIA (belt fittings, LT spearhead, buttons).	
	Second half of 5 th , second half of 2 nd cent.		
	(De Marchi and Piroto, 2004, 83, 87)		

AL21	SERRAVALLE SCRIVIA	LIBARNA	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray finds	Bucchero: one <i>oinochoe</i> probably from Vulci and fragments of pots probably from Chiusi. One south-Etruscan black-gloss <i>oinochoe</i> with painted decoration.	
	Second half of 6 th cent. (bucchero); end of 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Pastorino and Venturino Gambari, 2008, 77–78)		

AL22	SERRAVALLE SCRIVIA	LIBARNA	RIO DELLA PIEVE
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	+100 burials in urns, only one survives. According to the records, the graves were closed by ceramic tiles and each contained a spearhead. One <i>Maskenfibel</i> with parallels in the Alpine area among the surviving artefacts.	
	Second half of 2 nd cent. – early 1 st cent.		
	(Monaco, 1936, 39–40; Venturino Gambari, 1991a)		

AL23	SERRAVALLE SCRIVIA	LIBARNA	SS ₃₅ DEI GIOVI
	Planned excavation		
	Cenotaph?	Cist grave with urn, no human remains.	
	FBA? 4 th cent.?		
	(Venturino <i>et al.</i> , 2019c)		

AL24	SERRAVALLE SCRIVIA	RUDERI	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery (not <i>in situ</i>).	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari and Gambari, 1988, 111–114)		

AL25	SOLERO		TANARO RIVERBED
	Chance discovery		
	Strat find	Bronze LT brooch.	
	LT B ₂		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 421 VI.9bis)		

AL26	TORTONA	COLLINA DEL CASTELLO	VIA ALLE FONTI
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Pit containing bucchero, depurated/coarse ware, and one serpentine-bow brooch truncated by a Roman wall.	
	Second half of 6 th – beginning of 5 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari and Gambari, 1988, 103–104; Zanda <i>et al.</i> , 1991)		

AL27	TORTONA		PORTA VOGHERA
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery?	Coarse beak-spouted jug probably from a funerary context.	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 1996c, 42)		

AL28	TORTONA		VIA PURICELLI
	Planned excavation		
	Site	Black-gloss pottery and coarse ware (not <i>in situ</i>).	
	4 th – 2 nd cent.		
	(Gabucci and Zanda, 1995)		

AL29	TORTONA		VIA VISCONTI
	Watching brief		
	Grave	Burial in urn closed by a bowl.	
	End of 7 th – 6 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 2013b)		

AL30	VILLAROMAGNANO	FONTI
	Field survey	
	Site	Pottery.
	FBA, EIA	
	(Cappelli and Serafino, 1998)	

AL31	VISONE	BORGO CASTELLO
	Planned excavation	
	Site	Pottery.
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.	
	(Crosetto <i>et al.</i> , 2011)	

2. Alpes-Maritimes

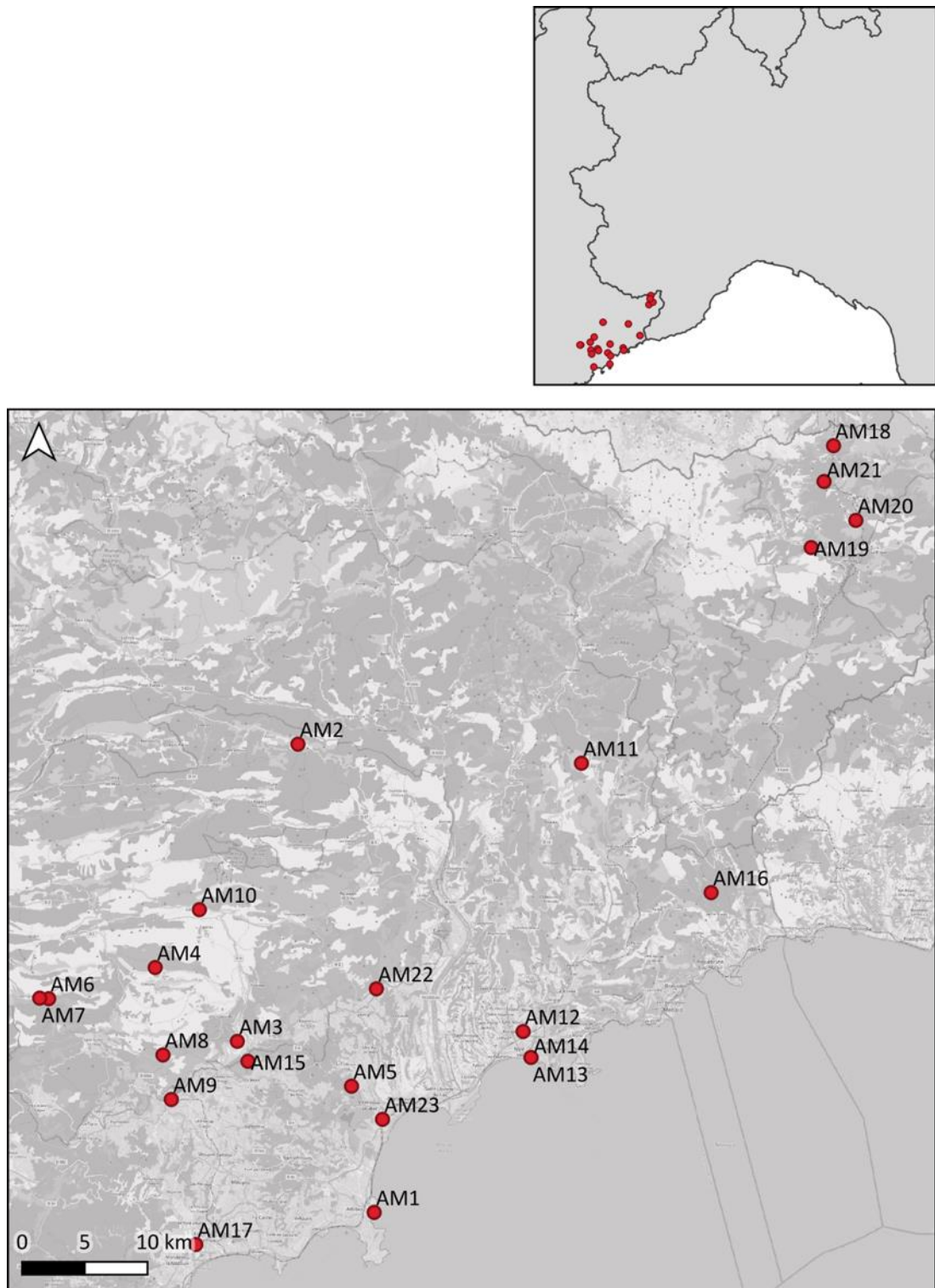


Figure A. 4 Alpes-Maritimes sites

AM1	ANTIBES	CHÂTEAU GRIMALDI; CATHÉDRALE; CHAPELLE SAINT-ESPRIT; PLACE MARIEJOL ¹²	(LE ROCHER)
	Planned/rescue excavation		
	Settlement	Various occupation phases with traces of dwellings showing different building techniques (perishable huts, structures with dry-stone foundations and wattle and daub walls, and buildings with stone walls bonded with mortar). “Urnfield pottery”, grey/Attic pottery, Massaliot/Etruscan amphoras. Traces of a large stone wall.	
	BF3, 1er Fer, end of 6 th – first half of 5 th cent., 3 rd cent.		
	(Lautier and Rothé, 2010, 147, 169–179; Mercurin, 2013b)		

¹² I gather under the same site ID the various investigations conducted at different times in the area of the old city which refer to the same settlement.

AM2	ASCROS	LES CROTTES	
	Chance discovery, planned excavation		
	Cemetery	Two graves discovered at different times. One inhumation badly preserved with nine bronze buttons, four studs, five anklets (type Zerba) and a fragment of sword (?). One primary cremation in a stone-lined pit under a stone mound; one bronze disc, fragments of pins, two solid armrings, seven studs, one fragment of leaf-shaped pendant, one grooved band armring.	
	Stray finds	Ten type Zerba anklets/armrings, one bronze button and one leech boat-shaped brooch.	
	BF 3b (graves), 7 th – 6 th cent. (brooch)		
	(Vindry, 1978, 15–16; Lautier and Rothé, 2010, 211–212)		

AM3	BAR-SUR-LOUP	LA SARRÉE	
	Non-stratigraphic/planned excavation		
	Settlement	Hillfort with archaeological deposits containing pottery, animal bones and Etruscan/Greek-Italic/Massaliot amphoras.	
	BF 3b, 1 ^{er} Fer, 2 nd – 1 st cent.		
	(Latour, 2003; Lautier and Rothé, 2010, 220–221)		

AM4	CANNES	SAINT-CASSIEN	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Archaeological deposits with pottery and amphoras. Area surrounded by a wall, probably built in the Late Antiquity.	
	Neolithic, <i>BM</i> , <i>BF1</i> , <i>BF3</i> , 6 th – 5 th , 2 nd – 1 st cent.		
	(Pellegrino, 2003)		

AM5	CAUSSOLS	VILLE VIEILLE	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Settlement protected by three ramparts; pottery, one bronze pin.	
	BF 1, BF 3b, Roman		
	(Lautier and Rothé, 2010, 294–295)		

AM6	COLLE-SUR-LOUP	CAMP 8o	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Archaeological deposits with pottery; traces of dry-stone walls.	
	Neolithic, BF 3b – 1 ^{er} Fer		
	(Couchard and Prufer, 1963)		

AM7	ESCRAGNOLLES	BAUMON DE BRIASQ	
	Chance discovery		
	Cave dwelling	Pottery and fragments of stone moulds for metal objects.	
	BF 3a		
	(Vindry, 1978, 24–25; Lautier and Rothé, 2010, 327)		

AM8	ESCRAGNOLLES	COLETTE	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cremation: one bronze disc, one leaf-shaped pendant, three armrings, fragments of twisted bronze cord.	
	BF 3b		
	(Vindry, 1978, 25)		

AM9	GRASSE	LA MALLE	GRAND AVEN
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Lozenge leech brooch; similar examples are attested at Chiavari and Ca' Morta.	
	7 th cent.		
	(Vindry, 1978, 25–26)		

AM10	GRASSE		RUE SANS PEUR
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery.	
	BF 3a		
	(Gassin, 1986, 125, n. 107)		

AM11	GRÉOLIÈRES	BAOU DOU DRÄI	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Archaeological deposits with pottery and traces of hearths.	
	BF 1, BF 3a, BF 3b		
	(Lautier and Rothé, 2010, 367–368)		

AM12	LUCÉRAM	MAÏRANESCA	
	Field survey		
	Settlement	Hilltop settlement with possible remains of dwellings. Coarse ware pottery.	
	EIA-MIA		
	(Damotte <i>et al.</i> , 2012, 20–21)		

AM13	NICE	CIMIEZ	
	Chance discovery		
	Hoard	Eleven armrings, only seven survive. One penannular armring similar to one from Cairo Montenotte (SV12); all the others can be attributed to the Zerba type.	
	BF 2b-3a		
	(Mercurin and Campolo, 2011, 139-144)		

AM14	NICE	COLLINE DU CHÂTEAU	GROTTE
	Chance discovery, planned excavation		
	Funerary cave; cave dwelling	Archaeological deposits with mixed stratigraphy. Human bones of at least ten individuals, some with superficial traces of burning. Traces of hearths, domestic pottery and animal bones. The funerary use of the cave seems to predate the dwelling.	
	BF 1-2a, BF 3 – 1 ^{er} Fer		
	(Lachenal, 2016; Mercurin, 2013a)		

AM15	NICE	COLLINE DU CHÂTEAU	NOTRE-DAME
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Archaeological stratigraphy with BA pottery, highly disturbed. In the IA the area was occupied by perishable structures (postholes). Materials include coarse ware, Greek pottery, Massaliot/Etruscan amphoras, metal conical studs and bronze knives.	
	BF 1-2a, <i>BF</i> 3, 6 th – 5 th cent.		
	(Damotte, 2016; Lachenal, 2016; Mercurin, 2016)		

AM16	LE ROURET	CAMP DU BOIS	
	Field survey		
	Settlement	Hillfort with archaeological deposits disturbed by later Roman activities.	
	Neolithic, <i>BF 3b</i> , <i>1^{er}Fer</i> , LIA, Roman		
	(Vindry, 1978, 29–30; Latour, 2005)		

AM17	SAINTE-AGNÈS	POINTE SIRICOCCA OUEST	
	Field survey		
	Settlement	Terraced settlement protected on two sides by a wall made of stone blocks. Materials suggest two occupation phases.	
	MIA, 3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Damotte <i>et al.</i> , 2012, 27)		

AM18	TENDE	COL DE TENDE	
	Rescue excavation		
	Site	Pottery.	
	LIA (Ligure III)		
	(Lautier and Rothé, 2010, 633–634)		

AM19	TENDE	CONVENTI	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Spearhead.	
	LIA		
	(Magnardi and Sandrone, 2010)		

AM20	TENDE		RIU RIVERBED
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Spearhead.	
	LIA		
	(Magnardi and Sandrone, 2010)		

AM21	TENDE	VIÉVOLA	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	BM-BF 2a, 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Machu <i>et al.</i> , 2001)		

AM22	VENCE	LE BAOU DE NOIRS	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced hillfort with four occupation phases. A wall of stone blocks was built at the end of the 6 th cent. A square tower made of limestone blocks surrounded by a triangular wall was built on the top terrace at the end of the 3 rd -beginning of the 2 nd cent. Materials include coarse ware, black-gloss/depurated pottery, Etruscan/Massaliot/(Greek-)Italic amphoras.	
	BF 1-BF3, 6 th – 5 th , 4 th – 3 rd , 2 nd cent.		
	(Latour, 1985; Latour <i>et al.</i> , 2009)		

AM23	VILLENEUVE-LOUBET	SAINT-ANDRIEU	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Archaeological deposits with coarse ware, black-gloss pottery, amphoras and spindle-whorls.	
	Neolithic, <i>BM</i> , <i>BF 2b</i> , 6 th – 1 st cent.		
	(Pellegrino, 2003)		

3. Asti

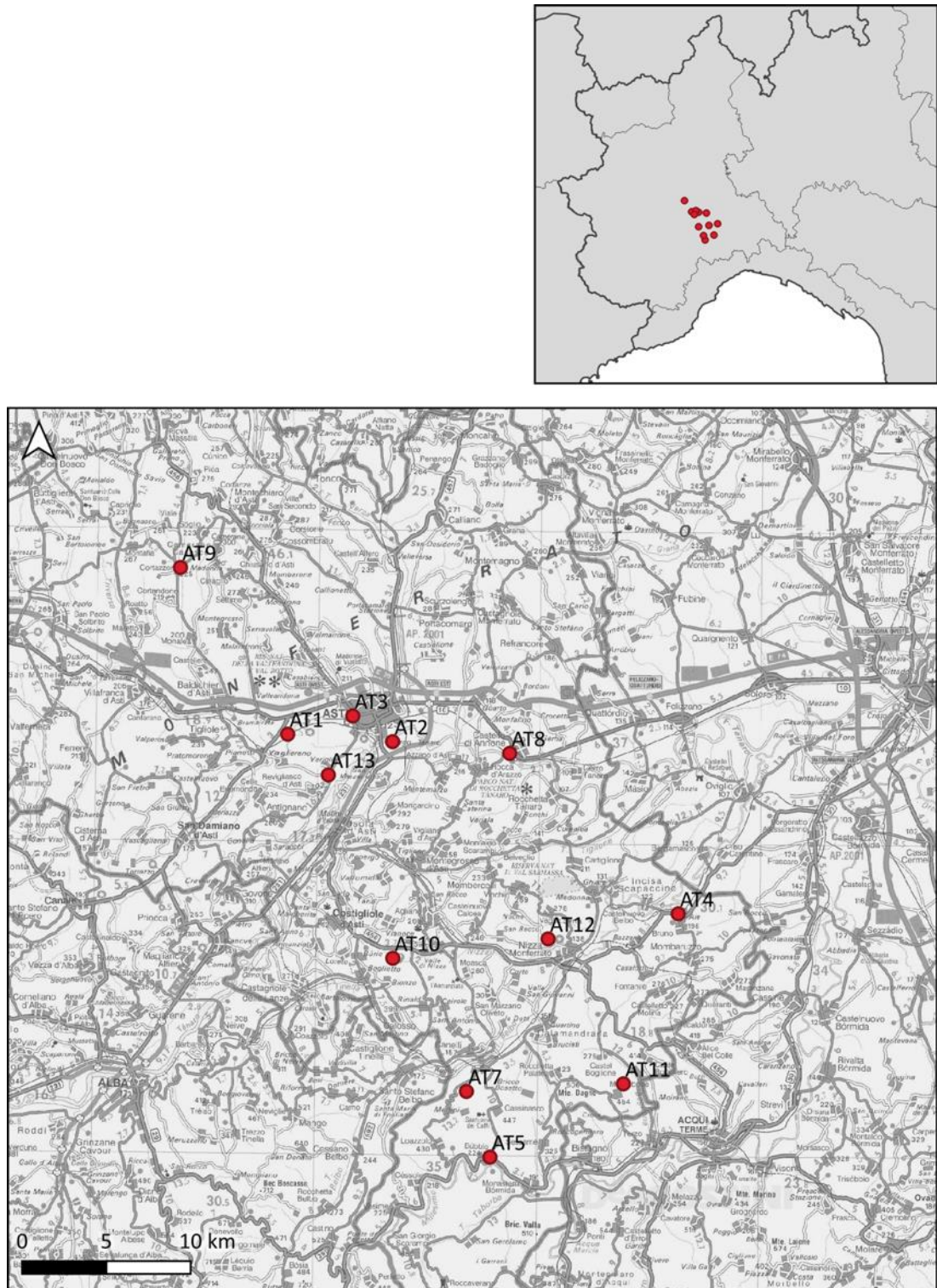


Figure A. 5 Asti province sites

AT1	ASTI	REVIGNANO	
	Field walking, planned excavation		
	Site	Three concentrations of pottery.	
	LIA		
	(Bertone <i>et al.</i> , 1984)		

AT2	ASTI		TANARO RIVERBED
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Bronze helmet found in the river sand in perfect conditions; probably produced at Vulci or Tarquinia.	
	8 th cent.		
	(Gambari, 1995, 39)		

AT3	ASTI	TORRETTA	
	Non-stratigraphic excavation		
	Stray finds	Group of Golasecca metal artefacts found not <i>in situ</i> during the excavation of the Roman cemetery. Probably from graves.	
	MIA		
	(Tosello, 1996)		

AT4	BRUNO	BREA	
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Cremation cemetery, no information on the discovery; two urns, one bowl, two LT C2 brooch, one little terracotta ring.	
	Ligure IIIC		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 2010)		

AT5	BUBBIO	CAFRA	
	Watching brief		
	Settlement	Deposits with charcoal and pottery; traces of a hearth and postholes.	
	Second half of 3 rd cent.		
	(Venturino <i>et al.</i> , 2018b)		

AT6	CANELLI		
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	12 burials in urns closed by slabs; goods include a LT brooch and a knife.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Molinari, 1897)		

AT7	CANELLI	FELLO	
	Field walking		
	Site	Pottery.	
	EIA		
	(Zanda and Fozzati, 1991)		

AT8	CASTELLO D'ANNONE		COLLINA DI CASTELLO
	Rescue excavation		
	Site	Colluvial deposits with artefacts. Pottery, one type Wollmesheim bronze pin, one blue glass bead, brooches (boat shaped, serpentine-bow, type Cerinasca d'Albedo, miniature leech shaped), one bucket-shaped pendant, three bronze studs.	
	Neolithic, CA, EBA, MBA-RBA, FBA, EIA, 6 th – 4 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari, 2014)		

AT9	CORTAZZONE?		
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Penannular armring, possibly from a grave (type attested in southern France).	
	End of 7 th – 6 th cent.		
	(Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 2012)		

AT10	COSTIGLIOLE D'ASTI	MONTÀ	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery.	
	MIA		
	(Bertone and Fozzati, 1991)		

AT11	MONTABONE	RIO BOGLIONA	
	Rescue excavation		
	Cemetery	17 cremations. Pits closed by stone slabs covered by little mounds. Goods included bronze knives, razors and LT brooches.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Venturino, 2019)		

AT12	NIZZA MONFERRATO	CREMOSINA	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery.	
	4 th cent.		
	(Venturino <i>et al.</i> , 2018a)		

AT13	REVIGLIASCO	VERIGLIE	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Fozzati and Gambari, 1987)		

4. Cuneo

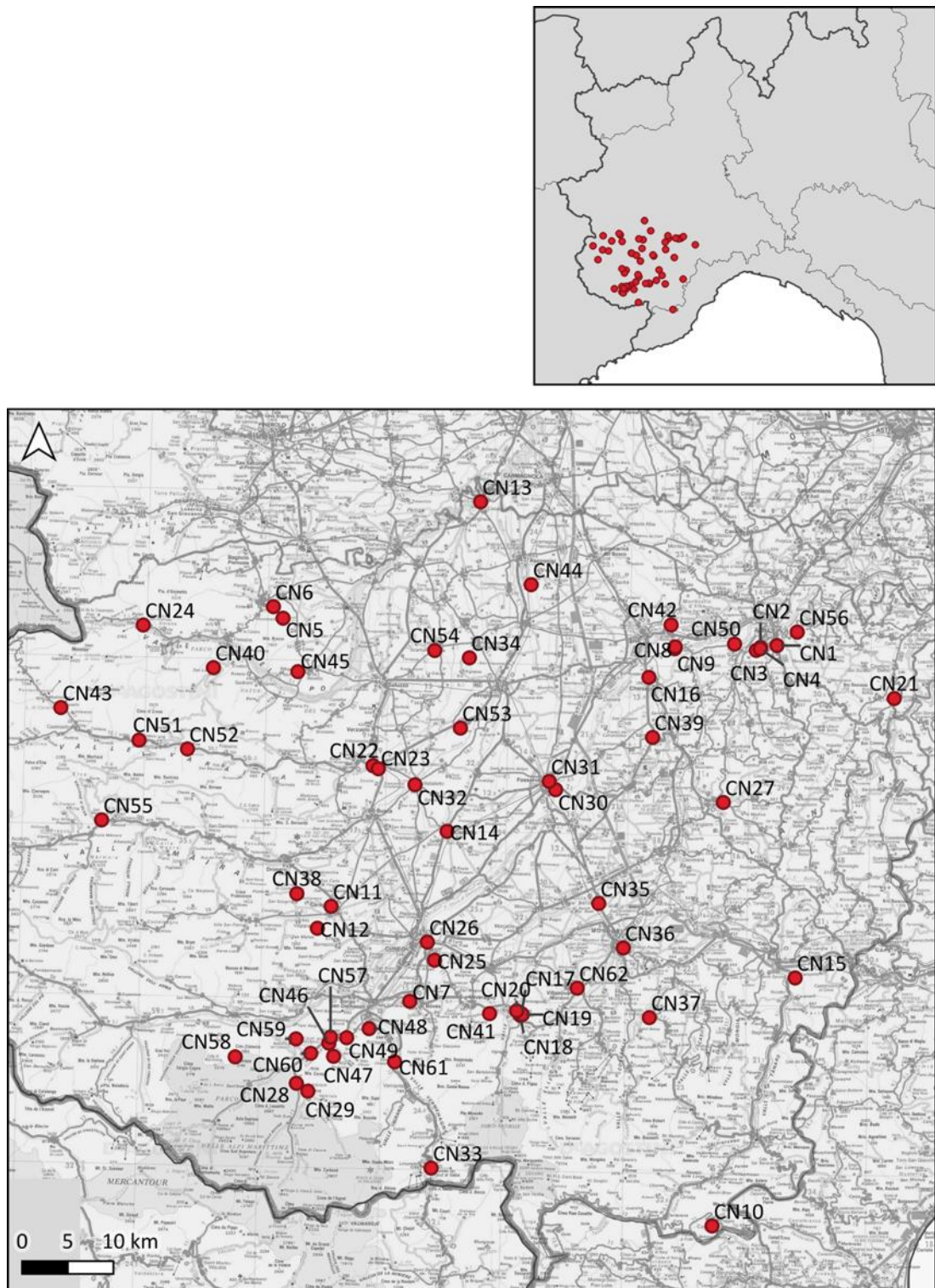


Figure A. 6 Cuneo province sites

CN1	ALBA	BORGIO MORETTA	
	Planned excavation		
	Site	Pottery, one type Sover A bronze pin.	
	MBA-RBA, FBA, Ligure IIIC		
	(Venturino <i>et al.</i> , 2019b)		

CN2	ALBA		CORSO PIAVE
	Rescue excavation		
	Grave	Burial in urn; three iron spiral rings and one belt fitting.	
	End of 4 th cent.		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 421, VI.9)		

CN3	ALBA	SAN CASSIANO	
	Watching brief, rescue excavation		
	Site	Traces of farming activities sealed by an alluvial deposit. Pottery, one spindle-whorl and one horse-shaped bronze brooch.	
	Graves	Two inhumations partly destroyed, one radiocarbon dated to the EBA, the other assigned to the EIA.	
	EBA (grave), 8 th – 6 th cent. (grave, site)		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 2004, 2011)		

CN4	ALBA		VIA TERZOLO
	Watching brief		
	Cemetery	One cremation and one cenotaph surrounded by circular enclosures. Grave goods include a bronze razor, an Etrusco-Corinthian <i>pyxis</i> , a belt fitting and fragments of serpentine-bow brooches.	
	First half of 6 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 2009; Venturino <i>et al.</i> , 2019a)		

CN5	BARGE	MADONNA DELLA NEVE	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	FBA - EIA		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 1999)		

CN6	BARGE	PIANA DI SAN MICHELE	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	FBA - EIA		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 1999)		

CN7	BENE VAGIENNA		
	Chance discovery		
	Stray finds	Group of bronze pendants and necklace elements from <i>Picenum</i> .	
	MIA		
	(Gambari, 1998c, 142)		

CN8	BOVES	FORNACE	
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	20 burials in urns, only two recovered. One picture shows the urn inside a stone cist.	
	FBA		
	(Carducci, 1939; de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 169–170, III.10)		

CN9	BRA	POLLENZO	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Type Belmonte bronze razor.	
	First half of 8 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari, 1993)		

CN10	BRA	POLLENZO	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray finds	Folded iron sword, possibly from a grave.	
	4 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari, 1993)		

CN11	BRA	POLLENZO	PALAZZO REALE
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Double axe.	
	EIA		
	(Gambari, 1995, 41)		

CN12	CAPRAUNA	FASCICOLE	
	Rescue excavation		
	Votive offering	Structured deposition: series of deposits containing potsherds and antlers/animal bones alternating with layers of stones. Roman and type Rossiglione pottery.	
	4 th cent. - Roman		
	(Gandolfi and Gervasini, 2007; Leale Anfossi, 1962a)		

CN13	CARAGLIO	CASTELLO	
	Watching brief		
	Site	Colluvial deposits with pottery.	
	EIA, MIA, Roman		
	(Venturino Gambari, 1991b)		

CN14	CARAGLIO	PIAN DI FONTANILE	VALLERA
	Rescue excavation		
	Site	Pottery (not <i>in situ</i>).	
	Neolithic, MIA		
	(Venturino Gambari, 1991b)		

CN15	CASALGRASSO		PO RIVERBED
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Flange-hilted bronze sword, no use-wear.	
	FBA		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 175, III.21)		

CN16	CEVA	MALPOTREMO	
	Watching brief		
	Site	Pottery.	
	5 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Ferrero and Venturino Gambari, 2015)		

CN17	CHERASCO	SAN LEODEGARIO	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery.	
	EIA		
	(Venturino Gambari, 1991c, 14, 17, fig. 1.13-15)		

CN18	CHIUSA DI PESIO	MONTE CAVANERO	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave?	One impasto beaker and fragments of LT brooch, possibly from a grave.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Rubat Borel, 2009a, 19–20)		

CN19	CHIUSA DI PESIO	MONTE CAVANERO	PEAK
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Deposit with abundant potsherds and a fragment of decorated bronze disc.	
	FBA – EIA		
	(Rubat Borel, 2009a, 19)		

CN20	CHIUSA DI PESIO	MONTE CAVANERO	CASTELLO MIRABELLO
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Some 20 cremations discovered in the 19th cent. Stone-lined pits containing urns closed by a stone slab/bowl. Mention of a dry-stone wall enclosure.	
	FBA - EIA		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 170–171, III.11; Rubat Borel, 2009a, 13–18)		

CN21	CHIUSA DI PESIO	MONTE CAVANERO	TETTI NONI
	Chance discovery		
	Founder's hoard	319 artefacts, mostly fragmented, all made of bronze except two amber beads and 12 glass beads. Mostly ornaments (armrings, torcs, pendants, pectorals, belt fittings pins, buttons, studs, spirals). One metal slag, one sword, one cup, one wedge, a chisel and an awl. Their chronology ranges from the RBA to the 8 th cent.	
	EIA		
	(Venturino Gambari, 2009)		

CN22	COSSANO BELBO	SCORRONE	
	Rescue excavation		
	Settlement	Two occupation phases; dry-stone wall associated with a posthole covered by a levelling deposit and a make-up layer. Traces of craft activities (metalworking?). Pottery, one G III A3 bucket pendant, a Certosa brooch and one miniature leech brooch.	
	5 th – first half of 4 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 1994a)		

CN23	COSTIGLIOLE SALUZZO	CASTELLO ROSSO	
	Watching brief		
	Site	Pottery, mostly residual.	
	3rd – 2 nd cent., Roman		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 1996b)		

CN24	COSTIGLIOLE SALUZZO		SCUOLA MATERNA
	Watching brief		
	Site	Colluvial deposits with pottery.	
	MIA		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 2000)		

CN25	CUNEO		
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Bronze helmet, probably from Vulci.	
	End of 5 th – early 4 th cent.		
	(Ridella, 1994)		

CN26	CUNEO		VIA SAVONA
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Bronze spearhead.	
	EIA		
	(Venturino Gambari and Mano, 1988a)		

CN27	DOGLIANI	CODEVILLA	
	Non-stratigraphic excavation		
	Site	Pottery.	
	Second half of 3 rd – early 2 nd cent.		
	(Ferrero <i>et al.</i> , 2004, 60)		

CN28	ENTRACQUE	CASERMETTE	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	MIA		
	(Ferrero and Venturino Gambari, 2008, 32)		

CN29	ENTRACQUE		CORSO FRANCIA
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery?	Golasecca bronze artefacts: five armrings, three pendants, two studs, spirals, chain fragments, one decorated disc.	
	5 th -4 th cent.		
	(Molli Boffa, 1999; Ferrero and Venturino Gambari, 2008, 31)		

CN30	FOSSANO		STURA DI DEMONTE RIVERBED
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Bronze winged axe.	
	EIA		
	(Ferrero <i>et al.</i> , 2020)		

CN31	FOSSANO		VIA MURATORI/ PALAZZO THESAURO/ VIA DELL'ANNUNZIATA
	Rescue excavation		
	Settlement	Cobbled area associated with postholes, pits for clay extraction and kiln waste. Artefacts include a fragment of an axe stone mould.	
	RBA, FBA, EIA		
	(Micheletto and Venturino Gambari, 1988; Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 1996a)		

CN32	FOSSANO	VILLAFALLETTO	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray finds	Two bronze winged axes close to type Ardea.	
	8 th cent.		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 179, III.30)		

CN33	LIMONE PIEMONTE	TETTI MONSÙ	
	Rescue excavation		
	Settlement	Alluvium with postholes and hearths; pottery not <i>in situ</i> . Possibly seasonal occupation linked to transhumance.	
	Second half 4 th – first half 3 rd cent., Roman		
	(Prosperi, 1998)		

CN34	MONASTEROLO DI SAVIGLIANO	SAN PIETRO	
	Stray find	Bronze spearhead.	
	7 th cent.		
	(Ferrero, 2011)		

CN35	MONDOVÍ	BREOLUNGI	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Pits and postholes; remains of a furnace for bronze founding, later used as a refuse pit. Pottery, spindle whorls, fragments of fired clay and a type VII Arslan silver coin.	
	FBA – EIA, MIA, 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Marchiaro, 2012; Venturino Gambari, 2001b)		

CN36	MONDOVÍ		PIAZZA MAGGIORE
	Planned excavation		
	Site	Colluvial deposits with pottery.	
	FBA, EIA, Roman		
	(Micheletto <i>et al.</i> , 2002)		

CN37	MONTALDO DI MONDOVÍ		CASTLE
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Sub-rectangular hut with wattle and daub structure. Material includes a metal conical button, black-gloss pottery and coarse ware.	
	End of 4 th – beginning of 2 nd cent.		
	(Micheletto and Venturino Gambari, 1991)		

CN38	MONTEMALE DI CUNEO	CIMA VARENGO	
	Rescue excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced settlement. No structures identified except for the terracing walls. Colluvial deposits with charcoal, pottery and animal bones.	
	FBA- EIA		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 2008)		

CN39	NARZOLE		
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Burials in urns, exact number unknown; presence of stone mounds. Goods include a glass armring.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Rittatore, 1952a)		

CN40	PEVERAGNO	MONTEFALLONIO	CASTELVECCHIO
	Planned excavation		
	Site	Coarse ware, bucchero, type Rossiglione pottery, two fragments of spool, two rings and a conical button (not <i>in situ</i>).	
	6 th – 4 th cent.		
	(Micheletto <i>et al.</i> , 1996)		

CN41	POCAPAGLIA	STRADA VALLE	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	EIA		
	(Venturino Gambari, 1988)		

CN42	PONTECHIANALE	BORGATA CASTELLO	
	Non-stratigraphic excavation		
	Cemetery	Some 20 cist graves; only one assemblage survives. Pottery urn, four armrings, a late Alpine leech brooch and a late Certosa brooch.	
	Beginning of 4 th cent.		
	(Mano and De Angelis, 2004; Rittatore, 1947)		

CN43	RACCONIGI	CANAPILE	
	Watching brief		
	Site	One pit and posthole associated with pottery.	
	LIA		
	(Ferrero, 2012)		

CN44	REVELLO	SAN MICHELE	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	FBA - MIA		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 1999)		

CN45	ROASCHIA	GROTTA DEL BANDITO	
	Chance discovery		
	Funerary cave?	Fragments of pottery, including a biconical vessel; a type Este bronze knife; one fragment of carinated beaker and one of <i>kantharos</i> (bucchero?).	
	FBA (pottery), 8 th cent. (knife), 5 th – 4 th cent. (pottery)		
	(Gambari and Venturino Gambari, 1998; Ferrero and Venturino Gambari, 2008, 20–21, 27–28; Cesana <i>et al.</i> , 2016)		

CN46	ROASCHIA	TETTO PANETTO	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Fragments of pottery and fired clay.	
	LIA		
	(Ferrero and Venturino Gambari, 2008, 31)		

CN47	ROCCAVIONE	BEC BERCIASSA	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Thick deposit with charcoal, pottery and animal bones: the original interpretation as a hut cannot be confirmed.	
	FBA – EIA, 4 th – 2 nd cent.		
	(Ferrero and Venturino Gambari, 2008, 21–26, 32–38; Rittatore, 1952b; Venturino Gambari and Gambari, 1988, 119–122)		

CN48	ROCCAIONE	BRIGNOLA	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery.	
	LIA		
	(Ferrero and Venturino Gambari, 2008, 31)		

CN49	RODDI		TANARO RIVERBED
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Type Frassineto bronze sword.	
	FBA		
	(Gambari, 1998a, 79–80)		

CN50	SAMPEYRE	BAITE DI VILLARETTO	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Boat-shaped brooch with long catch-plate, probably local version of a Golasecca type.	
	MIA		
	(Venturino Gambari and Mano, 1988b)		

CN51	SAMPEYRE	RORE	
	Planned excavation		
	Site	Alluvial deposit with pottery.	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari and Perotto, 1994)		

CN52	SAVIGLIANO	BOSCO DEL GAJ	
	Non-stratigraphic excavation		
	Cemetery	Burials in urns placed in cobble-lined pits. Most artefacts are lost, only four pots survive; analogies with French pottery.	
	Late 2 nd cent.		
	(Turletti, 1879, 27–28; De Marchi and Piroto, 2004, 85)		

CN53	SCARNAFIGI		
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Burials in urns, total number unknown. Only one grave was investigated: simple pit with urn closed by a stone slab. Analogies with the urns from Chiusa Pesio (CN19).	
	10 th cent.		
	(Barocelli, 1935, 189)		

CN54	STROPPO	SAN MARTINO INFERIORE	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Penannular armring with knob terminations and incised decoration, close to types Chiavari and Golasecca.	
	7 th – 6 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari, 1991d)		

CN55	TREISO	PERTINACE	
	Rescue excavation		
	Site	Pottery.	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari <i>et al.</i> , 1994c; Venturino and Ferrero, 2019)		

CN56	VALDIERI	ANDONNO	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery.	
	LIA		
	(Ferrero and Venturino Gambari, 2008, 31)		

CN57	VALDIERI	COLLE DELL'ARPIONE	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Iron spearhead similar to types attested in Switzerland and eastern France in the LT B-C.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Ferrero and Padovan, 2020)		

CN58	VALDIERI	PISSOUSA	VALLONE SCOMBES
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Iron spearhead similar to types attested in Switzerland and eastern France in the LT B-C.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Ferrero and Padovan, 2020)		

CN59	VALDIERI		VIA ALLE RIPE
	Rescue excavation		
	Cemetery	Two RBA cremation graves and one cenotaph dating to the RBA, four FBA cremations and five MIA cremations. In the IA the area was monumentalised with the construction of dry-stone quadrangular enclosures.	
	RBA, FBA, end of 7 th – 6 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari, 2008b)		

CN60	VALGRANA/ CARAGLIO	TETTO CHIAPPELLO	
	Rescue excavation		
	Cenotaph? Votive offering?	Stone cist containing a globular pot similar to the Chiavari (GE6) urns. No human remains/grave goods.	
	Late 7 th cent.?		
	(Venturino Gambari and Rubat Borel, 2010)		

CN61	VILLANOVA MONDOVÍ		
	Chance discovery		
	Stray finds	One Golasecca bucket pendant and a fragment of Certosa brooch catch-plate with terminal button similar to the one found at Pontechianale (CN39); possibly from a grave.	
	5 th cent.		
	(Venturino Gambari, 1991c, 18)		

5. Genova

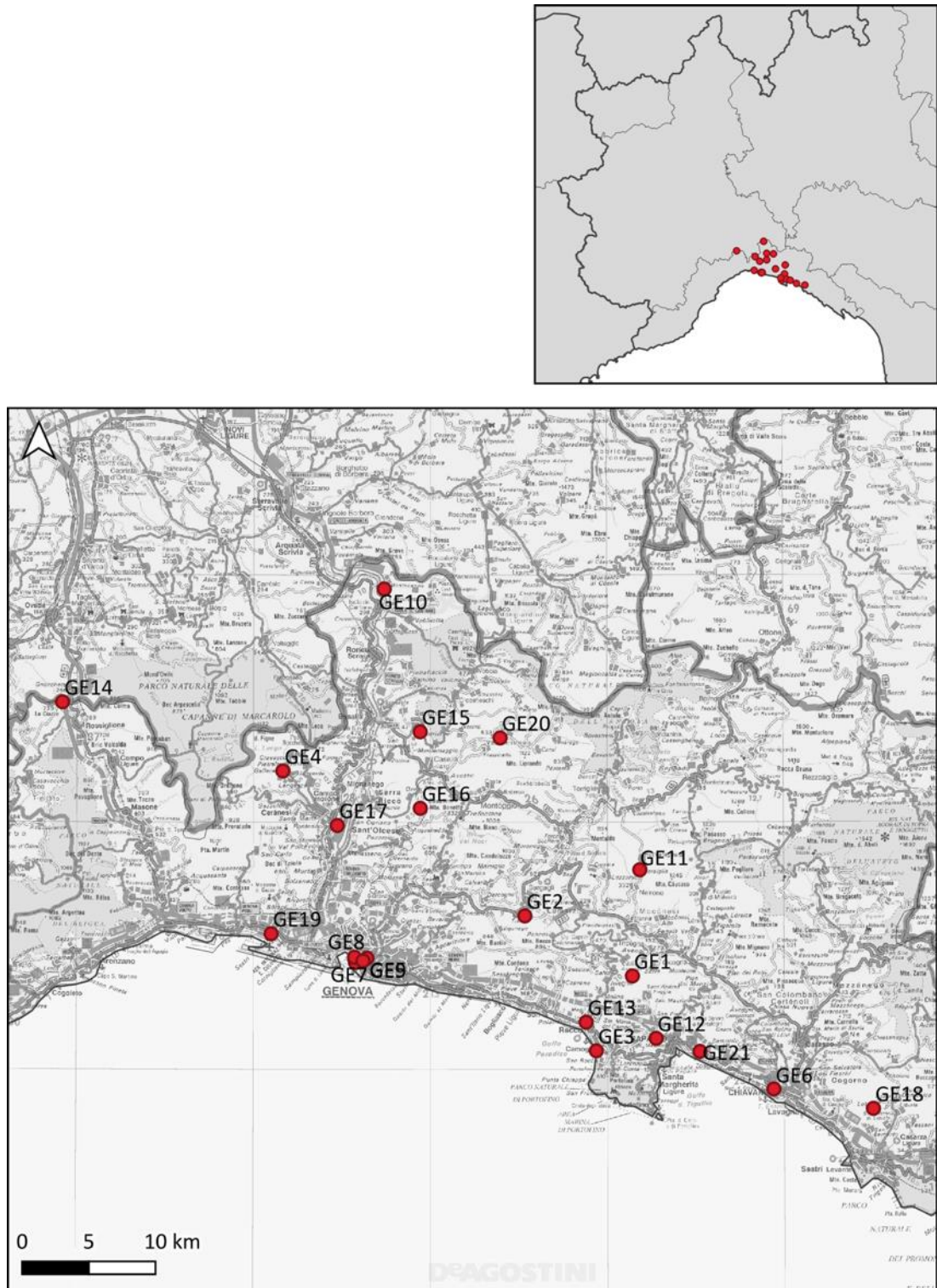


Figure A. 7 Genoa province sites

GE1	AVEGNO/RAPALLO/ TRIBOGNA	MONTE BORGO	(CASTELLARO DI USCIO)
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced settlement with traces of domestic and farming activities. Site reoccupied in the LIA after a period of abandonment.	
	Neolithic – EBA, FBA, 4 th – 2 nd cent.		
	(Maggi, 1990; Maggi and Melli, 1987; Nebiacolombo, 1976)		

GE2	BARGAGLI	TRASO	PAXU
	Field survey		
	Site	Archaeological deposits with pottery.	
	EIA, Roman, Medieval		
	(Milanese, 1977)		

GE3	CAMOGLI	MONTE CASTELLARO	
	Field survey, rescue excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced settlement on a rock spur over the sea. Remains of huts dating to the MBA-RBA. Sporadic occupation in the 5 th – 4 th cent. (pottery, amphoras) and construction of (defensive?) dry-stone walls in the 3 rd -2 nd cent.	
	MBA-RBA, 5 th – 2 nd cent.		
	(Delfino, 2010; Fossati and Milanese, 1982; Montinari, 2007)		

GE4	CAMPOMORONE	MONTE CARLO	
	Site survey, planned excavation		
	Site	Archaeological deposit with artefacts (pottery, amphoras, Certosa brooches, spindle-whorls) (not <i>in situ</i>).	
	5 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Launaro, 2007; Melli, 1984, 1985)		

GE5	GENOA	ACQUASOLA	
	Rescue excavation		
	Cemetery	Two cremations, one with stone cist, enclosed by a circular dry-stone wall and covered by a mound.	
	Late 7 th cent.		
	(Manganelli and Melli, 2010; Melli, 2010b)		

GE6	GENOVA	CHIAVARI	
	Rescue excavation		
	Site	Fragments of large pottery containers; three bronze pins, one close to the type Mezzocorona.	
	Cemetery	127 cremation graves, mostly with stone cists, organised in 91 enclosures formed by slate slabs stuck vertically in the ground; each grave contained up to four burials. Grave assemblages mainly consisting of clothing accessories and jewellery; frequent accessory urns and weapons.	
	RBA-FBA (site), 720 – 625/600 BC (cemetery)		
	(D'Ambrosio, 1987; de Marinis, 2014; De Marinis, 1968; Lamboglia, 1960, 1964, 1966, 1972a; Marini and Zucchi, 1982; Mingazzini and Lamboglia, 1960; Zucchi, 1978, 1967; Paltineri, 2010; Leonardi and Manfredi, 2014; Manfredi, 2018)		

GE7	GENOA	CASTELLO HILL	(<i>OPPIDUM</i>)
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Remains of perishable huts later replaced by dwellings with dry-stone foundations surrounded by a defensive wall enclosing the hill. Traces of metalworking. Local and imported pottery, with numerous Etruscan inscriptions. Signs of destruction by fire in the 3 rd cent. And area completely levelled in the 2 nd cent.	
	Late 6 th – 2 nd cent.		
	(Melli, 2004c, 1999; Milanese, 1987, 1985)		

GE8	GENOA	PORTOFRANCO	
	Rescue excavation		
	Site	Underwater stratigraphy documenting the use of the area as a port: local coarse ware, Etruscan/Massaliot amphoras, Corinthian/bucchero/black-gloss pottery.	
	FBA-EIA, 9 th – 6 th , 3 rd -1 st cent.		
	(Melli, 2006)		

GE9	GENOA		VIA XX SETTEMBRE
	Chance discovery, non-stratigraphic/rescue excavation		
	Cemetery	+122 cremation graves, dating mainly to between the 5 th and the beginning of the 3 rd cent. BC, with some graves also dating to the Roman and early Medieval period. Shaft tombs sealed by a stone slab; red-figures craters used as urns and rich assemblages (Greek and Etruscan pottery, bronze vessel, weapons and jewellery). One cist grave.	
	5 th - 3 rd cent., Roman, Medieval		
	(Bernabò Brea and Chiappella, 1951; D'Andrade, 1898; Lamboglia, 1955a; Mannoni, 1967; Melli, 2004e; Rizzo, 1910)		

GE10	ISOLA DEL CANTONE	COLLE DELLA GUARDIA	
	Chance discovery		
	Hoard?	Fragments of CBM and pottery; 21 metal objects including four shield-shaped studs, a decorated bronze disc and two brooches variant of the <i>maskenfibel</i> type.	
	3 rd – 1 st cent.		
	(Traverso <i>et al.</i> , 2018, 204)		

GE11	NEIRONE	ROCCATAGLIATA	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave: cinerary urn with bowl-lid, one beaker, two spearheads, two bronze brooch and two iron sword.	
	5 th cent.		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 278–280, IV.15)		

GE12	RAPALLO	SANT'ANNA	FORNACI
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Two cist graves, one inside a rectangular enclosure realised with aligned slabs. Other slabs found nearby suggest the presence of more graves. Goods included an armring and a spearhead, now missing.	
	End of 7 th – beginning of 6 th cent.		
	(Issel, 1912; Melli, 1996)		

GE13	RECCO	COLLINA DEI CAPPUCINI	
	Field survey		
	Site	Coarse/black-gloss pottery, Dressel 1 amphoras.	
	LIA, Roman		
	(Melli, 1990, 292)		

GE14	ROSSIGLIONE	PRAXELLI	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Circular areas with concentrations of materials (pottery, spindle-whorls, grinders) interpreted as possible huts. Artefacts found not <i>in situ</i> indicate previous occupations of the area.	
	Neolithic, MBA-RBA, 4 th cent.		
	(Bernabò Brea, 1942a, 1946b; Giannichedda, 1988)		

GE15	SAVIGNONE	CAMIASCHIETTA	
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Two cist graves with urn closed by a bowl; goods include a sword and a spearhead.	
	5 th cent.		
	(Notizie e spigolature, 1884, 314–316; Ghirardini, 1894; de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 280–281, IV.16)		

GE16	SERRA RICCÒ	NIUSCI	
	Chance discovery		
	Hoard	768 silver coins (Cisalpine drachmas and obolos).	
	3 rd – 1 st cent.		
	(Barello and Arslan, 2004; de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 518-521 VII.5)		

GE17	SERRA RICCÒ	SAN CIPRIANO	
	Planned excavation		
	Site	Pottery (not <i>in situ</i>).	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(D’Ambrosio, 1985)		

GE18	SESTRI LEVANTE	LOTO	
	Chance discovery		
	Hoard	Artefacts lost: one spearhead, one Zerba armring and one pin.	
	FBA		
	(Issel, 1908, 103 (misspelled Loco); Morelli, 1888, 12; Tizzoni, 1976, 319–320)		

GE19	SESTRI PONENTE	BRICCO CASTELLAR	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Postholes and deposit with artefacts, probably referring to a hut.	
	5 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Isetti, 1960b; Launaro, 2007, 79–80)		

GE20	VALBREVENNA	PRATO	LA CA'
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave. Only the urn closed by a bowl, an accessory vase a belt hook and a leech brooch with coral inserts (G III A1).	
	First half of 5 th cent.		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 278, IV.14; De Negri, 1937)		

GE21	ZOAGLI	SANT'AMBROGIO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Coarse ware, Tyrrhenian amphoras.	
	6 th – 4 th cent.		
	(Melli, 1990, 292–293; Urgese Rolandi, 1977, 196)		

6. Imperia

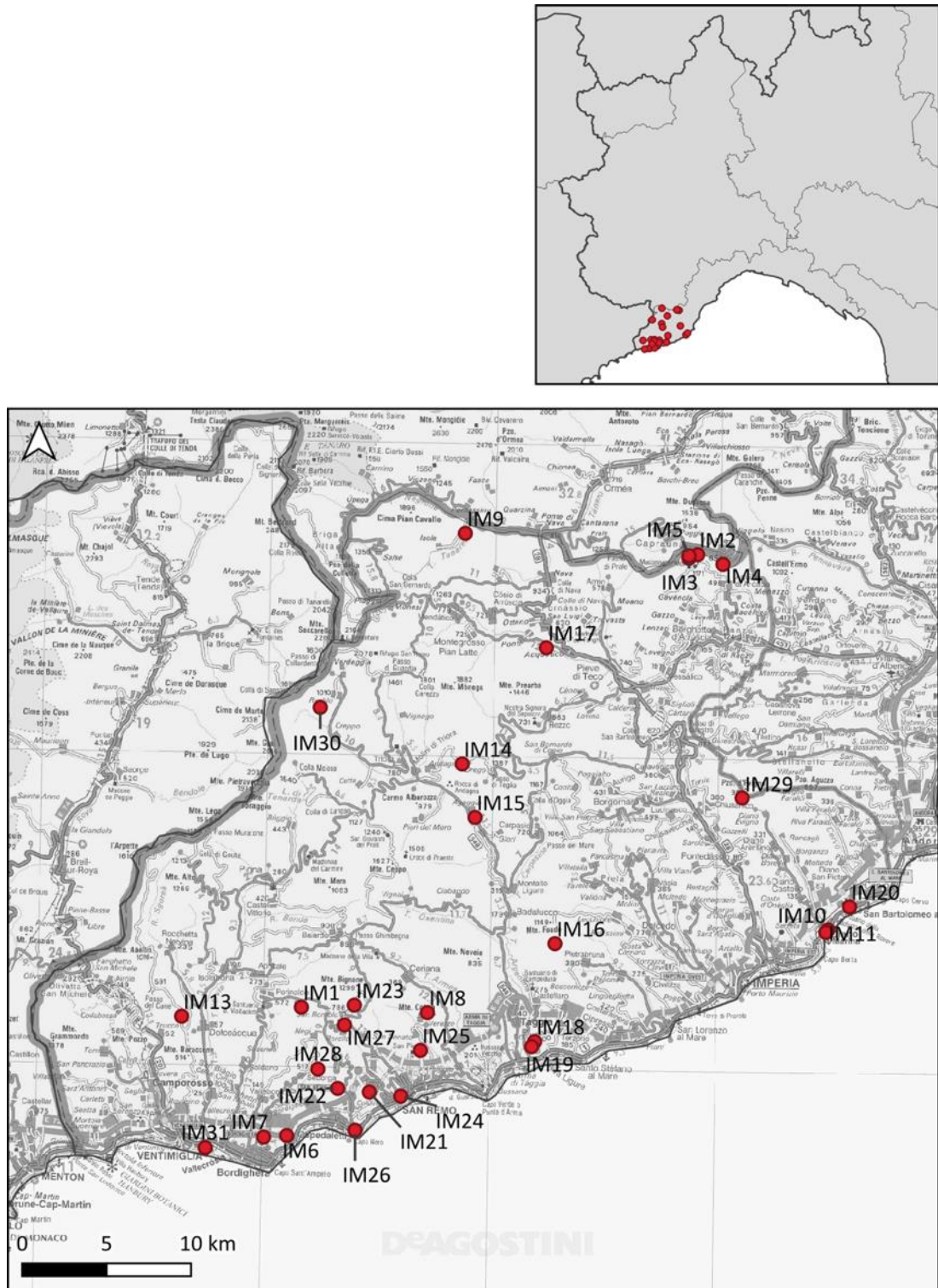


Figure A. 8 Imperia province sites

IM1	APRICALÉ	PIAN DEL RE	
	Planned excavation		
	Cemetery	Circular tumulus with perimetral stone slabs, heavily damaged by robbers. Rite unknown. A few MBA-RBA potsherds and fragments of iron sword with scabbard. 9 th -8 th cent. Radiocarbon dates were obtained from the lowest deposit which contained Mesolithic flints.	
	EIA?		
	(Ricci, 1998b)		

IM2	AQUILA DI ARROSCIA	ARMA CROSA	
	Planned excavation		
	Cave dwelling	Deposit with animal bones and pottery. Artefacts unpublished. Mention of type Rossiglione pottery suggests a LIA occupation.	
	IA-LIA		
	(Chiappella, 1952; Leale Anfossi, 1962b, 193)		

IM3	AQUILA DI ARROSCIA	ARMA DEL CÜPPA	
	Planned excavation		
	Cave dwelling	Prehistoric occupation of the cave indicated by the presence of pottery, animal bones, flints and human remains. Type Rossiglione pottery was found in a test pit excavated outside the cave entrance. Artefacts unpublished.	
	Prehistoric, LIA		
	(Leale Anfossi, 1962b, 193)		

IM4	AQUILA DI ARROSCIA	ARMA DELLO STEFANIN	
	Planned excavation		
	Cave dwelling	Pottery and animal bones. Mention of type Rossiglione pottery suggesting occupation in the LIA.	
	Palaeolithic, Neolithic, IA-LIA		
	(Leale Anfossi, 1972, 1962b, 194–195, 1953)		

IM5	AQUILA DI ARROSCIA	TANA DEI CARBONAI	
	Planned excavations		
	Funerary cave	Double bird headed brooch probably from a destroyed inhumation (presence of human bones).	
	5 th cent.		
	(Leale Anfossi, 1958; Melli, 2004a, 169)		

IM6	BORDIGHERA	COLLA MERELLO	
	Chance discovery		
	Settlement	Dry-stone walls and artefacts discovered during construction works. IA and Roman pottery. Two LIA phases recognised.	
	LIA, Roman		
	(Lamboglia, 1971, 76–77)		

IM7	BORDIGHERA	SAPERGO	
	Chance discovery		
	Settlement	Dry-stone walls (undated) and LIA pottery.	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent., Roman		
	(Lamboglia, 1971, 77)		

IM8	CERIANA/ SAN REMO	MONTE COLMA	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Possible remains of a circular hut. Coarse ware/black-gloss pottery and Massaliot amphoras. The peak is surrounded by a defensive wall (undated).	
	4 th – 2 nd cent., Roman		
	(Mastrantuono, 2002, 99–101; Ricci, 1963, 1962)		

IM9	COSIO D'ARROSCIA	GROTTA CORNAREA	
	Planned excavation		
	Cave dwelling	Four postholes and two hearths associated with pottery and two grindstones; one glass bead. Probably sporadic/short occupation.	
	FBA		
	(Odetti, 1976)		

IM10	DIANO MARINA		TOWN HALL
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Deposit with pottery, one bronze pin and one spindle-whorl.	
	RBA, FBA		
	(Del Lucchese, 1998b)		

IM11	DIANO MARINA		VIA ROMA
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Burial in urn. Analogies with the pottery of Chiusa Pesio (CN2o) and Monte Borgo (GE1).	
	FBA – EIA		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 171–172, III.14)		

IM12	DOLCEACQUA	CIMA D'AURIN	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	2 nd cent., Roman		
	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 2004, 291)		

IM13	DOLCEACQUA	CIMA TRAMONTINA	
	Chance discovery		
	Settlement	Roman and pre-Roman pottery (black-gloss, Iberian); Massaliot and Tyrrhenian amphoras.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent., Roman		
	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 2004, 291)		

IM14	MOLINI DI TRIORA	ROCCA DI DREGO	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Hearth associated with pottery and Roman amphoras; remains of a defensive wall (undated).	
	2 nd cent., Roman		
	(Lamboglia, 1937, 113–115)		

IM15	MOLINI DI TRIORA	UGELLO	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Bronze armring, very similar to the examples from Monte Bignone (IM23) and Cimiez (AM13).	
	EIA		
	(Lamboglia, 1940)		

IM16	PIETRABRUNA	MONTE FOLLIA	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced settlement; one posthole associated with abundant pottery, a spindle-whorl and a LT brooch.	
	4 th cent.		
	(Stabile Re, 2004)		

IM17	PORNASSIO	PIANO D'ISOLA	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave with burial in urn closed by a bowl. Goods include an accessory bowl and a boat-shaped brooch.	
	6 th – 5 th cent.		
	(Barocelli, 1918)		

IM18	RIVA LIGURE	MONTE GRANGE	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cremation grave discovered inside an artificial cavity excavated in the bedrock with sherds from at least 13 pots, probably intentionally broken.	
	9 th cent.		
	(Frediani <i>et al.</i> , 1964, 61–64; Gambaro and Del Lucchese, 2008, 245)		

IM19	RIVA LIGURE	MONTE ROCCHÉ	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced settlement. Series of postholes associated with a structure probably to be interpreted as a hut with a hearth (or a kiln). Metal slags and fragments of fired clay indicating craft activities. Coarse ware, black-gloss pottery and Massaliot/Etruscan/north African amphoras.	
	4 th – 2 nd cent., Roman		
	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 2004, 294–297, figs 2–5; Frediani <i>et al.</i> , 1964, 64–65; Gambaro and Del Lucchese, 2010, 2008)		

IM20	SAN BARTOLOMEO A MARE	ROVERE	
	Planned excavation		
	Site	Terraced settlement with traces of pre-Roman occupation found below the Roman structures. Pottery and Massaliot amphoras.	
	BA, LIA, Roman		
	(Gambaro, 1999, 54–55; Gandolfi, 1990; Massabò and Gandolfi, 1994; Surace, 1984)		

IM21	SANREMO	COLLE SAN LORENZO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery. Remains of dry-stone walls.	
	3 rd /2 nd cent. -Roman		
	(Mastrantuono, 2002, 105)		

IM22	SANREMO	CROCE PADRE POGGI	
	Field Survey		
	Settlement	Remains of megalithic walls; pottery and Massaliot amphoras.	
	5 th – 4 th cent., Roman		
	(Mastrantuono, 2002, 104–105)		

IM23	SANREMO	MONTE BIGNONE	
	Planned excavation		
	Stray find	One bronze armring.	
	Settlement	Two quadrangular dry-stone structures protected by two curvilinear ramparts, possibly remains of Roman defensive towers. Pre-Roman and Roman pottery, Massaliot amphoras.	
	FBA-EIA (stray find); late 5 th /4 th cent. – Roman (settlement)		
	(Lamboglia, 1955b, 1952, 1951; Mastrantuono, 2002, 101–102)		

IM24	SANREMO		MONTE CAGGIO		
	Watching brief				
	Settlement	Feeble traces of a ditch, possibly with defensive function, and remains of dry-stone walls; undated. LIA pottery.			
	4 th – 3 rd cent.				
	(Mastrantuono, 2002, 103–104)				

IM25	SANREMO	POGGIO RADINO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Traces of rampart; pre-Roman and Roman pottery.	
	3 rd cent. - Roman		
	(Cogorno and Robinson, 1981, 32; Mastrantuono, 2002, 103)		

IM26	SANREMO	PUNTA DELLE SCAGLIE/ MONTE MUCCHIO DELLE SCAGLIE	
	Rescue excavation		
	Site	Pre-Roman pottery found below a Roman building.	
	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 2004, 291; Mastrantuono, 2002, 105–106)		
	3 rd /2 nd cent. - Roman		

IM27	SANREMO	SAN ROMOLO	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Carinated penannular armring with geometric incised decoration, close to type Zerba.	
	FBA - EIA		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 184–185, III.33)		

IM28	SEBORGIA	CIMA FERISSONI	
	Field survey		
	Site	Traces of aggers and pottery.	
	3 rd /2 nd cent. - Roman		
	(Mastrantuono, 2002, 104)		

IM29	STELLANELLO	PIZZO D'EVIGNO	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Winged bronze axe, type attested in southern France.	
	EIA		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 178–179, III.29)		

IM30	TRIORA	BORNIGA DI REALDO	BUCO DEL DIAVOLO
	Planned excavation		
	Funerary cave	Karstic cave with skeletal remains of at least ten individuals, eight type Zerba armrings, one twisted torc and two bronze rings.	
	9 th – 8 th cent. (803-786 cal BC)		
	(Bareschino <i>et al.</i> , 2004; de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 185–186, III.35; Lamboglia, 1972b)		

IM31	VENTIMIGLIA		(<i>ALBIUM INTEMELIUM</i>)
	Rescue excavation		
	Settlement	Three sub-circular enclosures made of stone slabs vertically stuck in the sand associated with artefacts and hearths. Remains of dry-stone walls found in the vicinity are interpreted as remains of dwellings.	
	Late 5 th – 2 nd cent., Roman		
	(Barocelli, 1923; Lamboglia, 1959b, 1950, 1948; Martino, 2002)		

7. La Spezia

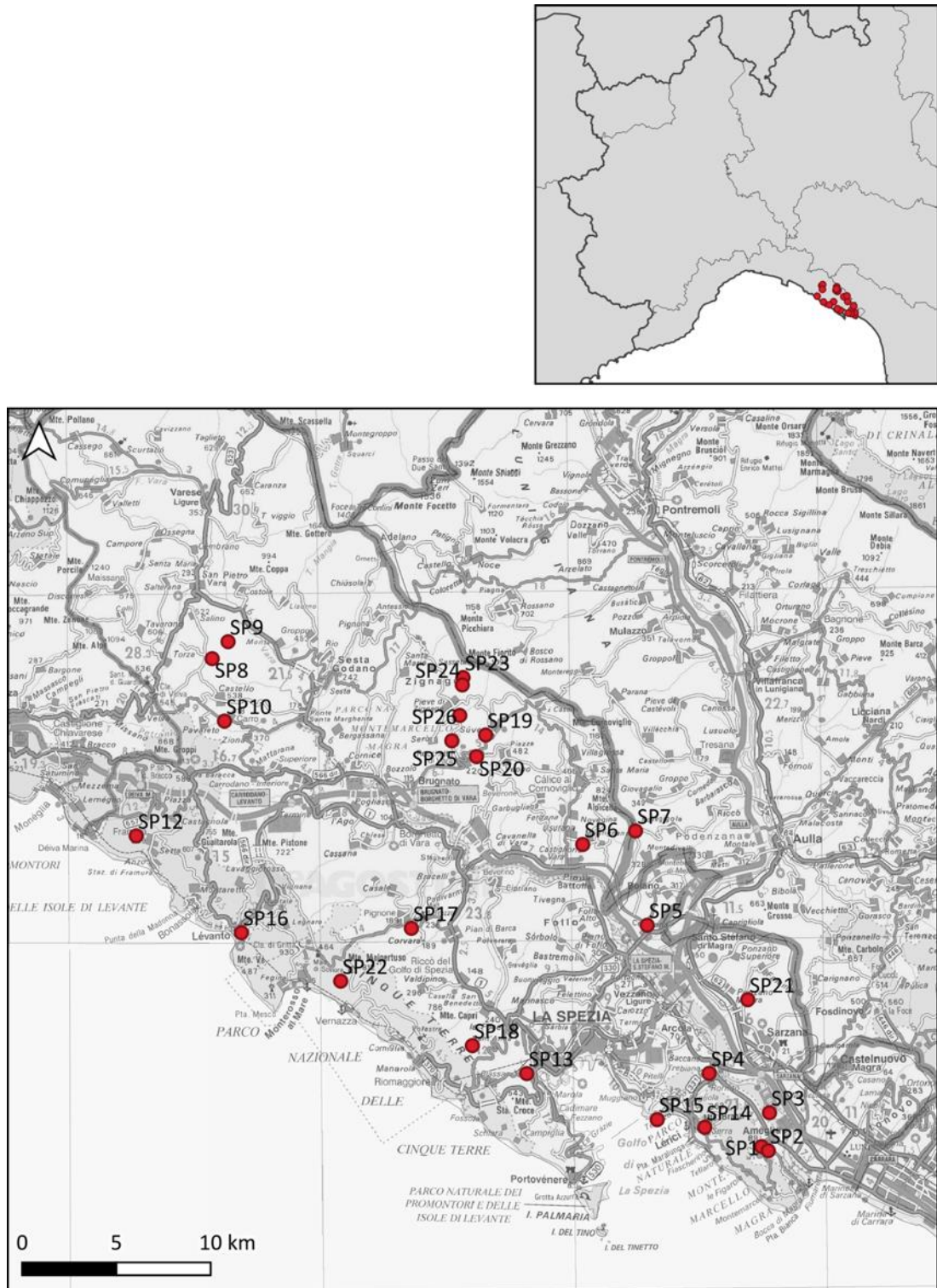


Figure A. 9 La Spezia province sites

SP1	AMEGLIA	CAFAGGIO	
	Rescue excavation		
	Cemetery	55 cremation graves mostly in stone cists, organised in 20 dry-stone quadrangular monuments covered by mounds.	
	End of 4 th – beginning of 3 rd cent., Roman		
	(Durante, 1982, 1985a, 1987, 2004b; Podestà, 1886)		

SP2	AMEGLIA	MARCHI	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave with two burials in urn closed by bowls; goods include black-gloss pottery, two brooches, two belt plates, two finger rings, a spearhead and a bronze sextan.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Banti, 1937, 166–167)		

SP3	AMEGLIA	SENATO	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Type Cerinasca brooches from the Magra riverbed.	
	MIA		
	(Durante, 1985b, 203)		

SP4	ARCOLA	TREBIANO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Local and imported pottery (bucchero, Greek/Ampuritan grey pottery, black-gloss pottery).	
	6 th – 2 nd cent., Roman		
	(Torracca, 1991)		

SP5	CALICE AL CORNOVIGLIO	MADRIGNANO	CASTELLO
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Burial in urn closed by a bowl.	
	2 nd cent.?		
	(Morelli, 1901, 25)		

SP6	CALICE AL CORNOVIGLIO	MADRIGNANO	VALDONICA
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist graves made of tiles with burial in urn closed by a bowl; one spearhead and a bronze button.	
	Second half of 2 nd cent.		
	(Campana <i>et al.</i> , 2012, 100–102)		

SP7	CALICE AL CORNOVIGLIO/ PODENZANA	GENICCIOLA/CENISOLA	
	Chance discovery, non-stratigraphic excavation		
	Cemetery	+80 cremations discovered between 1870 and 1879, only a fraction of the goods was recovered. Most had a stone cist and contained an urn closed by a bowl with an accessory vase and a beaker.	
	4 th -1 st cent.		
	(Formentini, 1952; Podestà, 1879; Saccò and Minozzi, 2020)		

SP8	CARRO	CASTELFERMO	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Deposit with pottery and metal slags; traces of a hearth.	
	4 th – 2 nd cent.		
	(Isetti, 1960a)		

SP9	CARRO	COTA	MACCIA DE CANELLE
	Field survey		
	Site	Deposit with pottery (not <i>in situ</i>).	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Isetti, 1960a)		

SP10	CARRO	RANCOASCA	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	LIA		
	(Campana <i>et al.</i> , 2012, 67)		

SP11	DEIVA MARINA	CASTELLETTO	
	Non-stratigraphic excavation		
	Site	Pottery.	
	LIA		
	(Cimaschi, 1950)		

SP12	FRAMURA	VIGO	CASTELLARE
	Non-stratigraphic excavation		
	Site	Pottery.	
	LIA, Roman		
	(Bernabò Brea, 1942b, 41–42; Cimaschi, 1951a, 1951b)		

SP13	LA SPEZIA	PEGAZZANO	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave with burial urn; goods include two spearheads, a sword and a helmet.	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Frova, 1976, 1968)		

SP14	LEVANTO	MONTE BARDELLONE	CASE CAMPODONIA
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Cremation cemetery, only one grave with stone cist survives.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Banti, 1937, 164; Melli, 2004a, 182)		

SP15	PIGNONE	MONTE CASTELLARO	
	Rescue/planned excavation		
	Settlement	Deposits with BA artefacts not <i>in situ</i> ; remains of a sub-rectangular structure with LIA artefacts.	
	RBA-FBA, 3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Bellani, 1957, 1955; Bernabò Brea, 1941; Mancusi, 2018; Starnini <i>et al.</i> , 1992)		

SP16	RICCÒ DEL GOLFO	CARPENA	
	Planned excavation		
	Site	Pottery showing analogies with FBA settlements of eastern Liguria; LIA artefacts include a conical button, imported pottery and amphoras. Not <i>in situ</i> .	
	FBA, second half of 2 nd cent.		
	(Campana <i>et al.</i> , 2012, 68–71)		

SP17	ROCCHETTA DI VARA	SALECCHIO/ SARRECCHIO	
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Some 100 burials in urn and amphoras; artefacts lost.	
	LIA		
	(Formentini, 1954)		

SP18	ROCCHETTA DI VARA	VEPPO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Traces of terraces and pottery (not <i>in situ</i>).	
	RBA-FBA		
	(Campana <i>et al.</i> , 2012, 58)		

SP19	SARZANA	BRINA	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Remains of a structure with dry-stone foundations and perishable walls; depurated pottery and one fragment of black-glazed <i>kilyx</i> .	
	Mid-5 th – early 4 th cent.		
	(Gervasini and Mancusi, 2016, 532–534)		

SP20	VERNAZZA	MONTE SANTA CROCE	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Two cist graves with burials in urns closed by bowls.	
	LIA		
	(Podestà, 1883)		

SP21	ZIGNAGO	CASE CASTELLARO	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced settlement with traces of huts, hearths and postholes.	
	MBA, RBA, FBA		
	(Delfino, 2014, 63–90; Mannoni and Tizzoni, 1980; Scarani and Mannoni, 1974)		

SP22	ZIGNAGO	MONTE DRAGONE	
	Field survey		
	Site	Local/imported pottery, amphoras, one type Ticinese brooch (not <i>in situ</i>).	
	End of 5 th – first half of 4 th cent.		
	(Gervasini and Mancusi, 2016, 534–545; Milanese and Giardi, 1986)		

SP23	ZIGNAGO	VEZZOLA	
	Rescue excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced settlement with traces of a hut; pottery showing analogies with Case Castellaro (SP21). Site abandoned at the end of the FBA and reoccupied in the LIA.	
	FBA, 2 nd cent.		
	(Ferrando Cabona <i>et al.</i> , 1978; Fossati <i>et al.</i> , 1985)		

8. Lucca

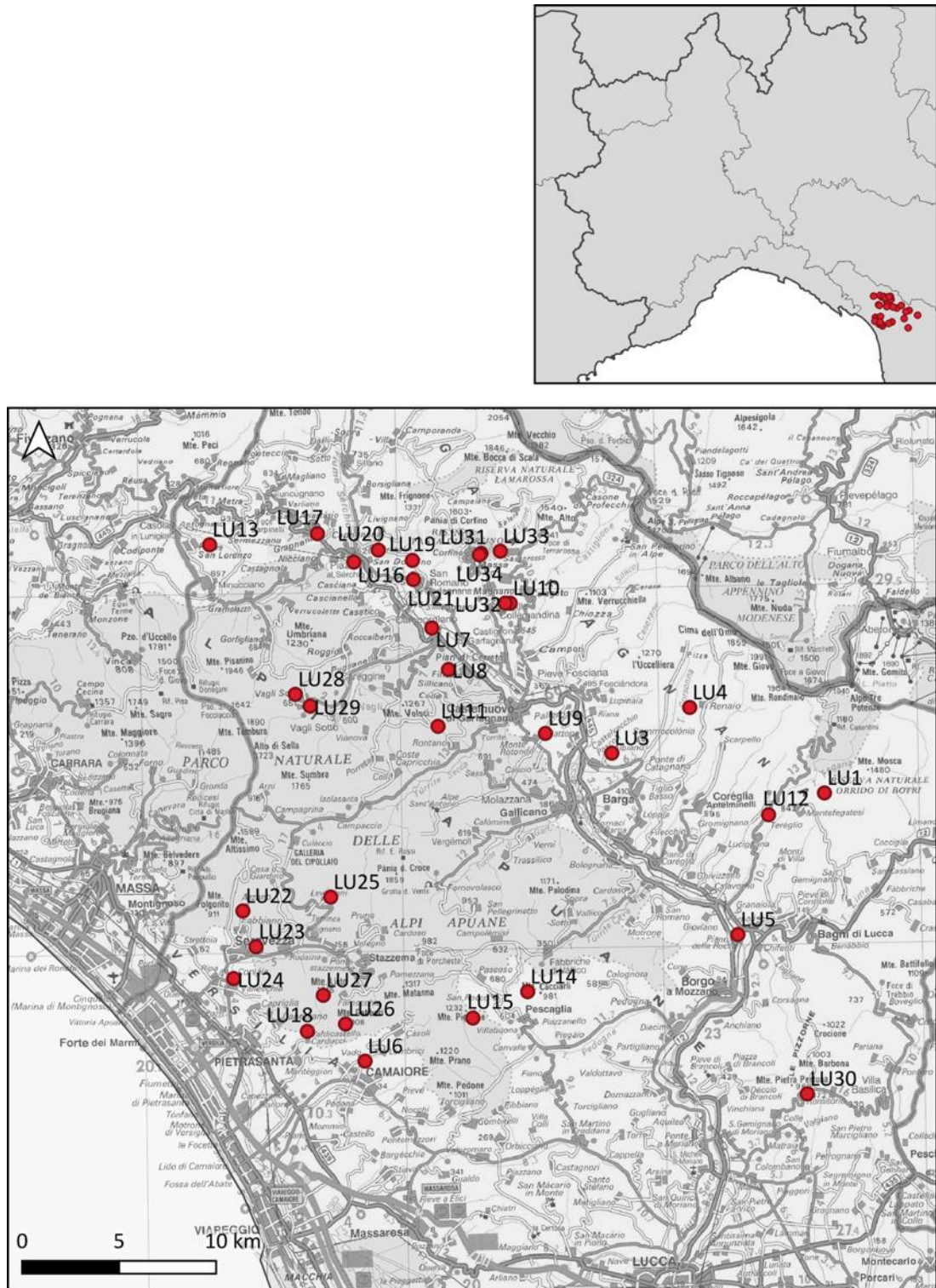


Figure A. 10 Lucca province sites

LU1	BAGNI DI LUCCA	MONTE MEMORIANTE	RIPARO DELLE CAPRE
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	3 rd cent.		
	(Ciampoltrini, 1995, 106–108)		

LU2	BAGNI DI LUCCA	MONTEFEGATESI	ALBARETA
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Cremation cemetery with at least three cist graves (total number of graves unknown); all artefacts lost. One grave contained an urn closed by a bowl and a black-gloss <i>kilyx</i> .	
	2 nd cent.?		
	(Lera, 1966)		

LU3	BARGA	CASTELVECCHIO PASCOLI	IL CIOCCO
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Burial in urn, probably with stone cist; goods included a black-gloss kilyx, bronze buttons, one spindle-whorl, glass/amber beads and type Apuan II brooches.	
	Late 3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Mencacci and Zecchini, 1976, 175–178)		

LU4	BARGA	VAL DI VAIANA	
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Cist graves, total number unknown. Nearly all artefacts lost; they included black-gloss pottery, an iron spearhead, type Apuan II brooches.	
	Late 3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Lera, 1962; Mencacci and Zecchini, 1976, 165–169)		

LU5	BORGIO A MOZZANO	PIAN DELLA ROCCA	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist graves with two urns closed by bowls; goods include one black-gloss kilyx, one javelin, two spearheads, one knife and six bronze coins.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Mencacci and Zecchini, 1976, 173–175)		

LU6	CAMAIORE	VADO	SERRA
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	32 inhumations, one of which covered by a mound, and three cremations with stone cist. Some of the inhumations contained one pot. The cremations contained various goods, including a black-gloss kilyx, an armring, amber beads and type Apuan II brooches.	
	3 rd cent.		
	(Pfanner, 1958a)		

LU7	CAMPORGIANO	CAPRIOLA	
	Field walking, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Dark archaeological deposit interpreted as the remains of one or more huts. It contained pottery showing analogies with eastern Liguria and with the Protogolassecca sites of western Lombardy. Site re-occupied in the LIA: coarse ware, depurated and black-gloss pottery (not <i>in situ</i>).	
	FBA, end of 3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Ciampoltrini and Notini, 1987b)		

LU8	CAMPORGIANO	FILICAIA	PILA
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave with burial in urn closed by a bowl; goods include an accessory pot, bronze buttons, two armrings, amber beads, one spindle-whorl and type Apuan II brooches.	
	3 rd cent.		
	(Pfanner, 1957)		

LU9	CASTELNUOVO GARFAGNANA	COLLE DELLA FAME	
	Field walking, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Archaeological deposit with traces of a hearth, one posthole and a quadrangular pit filled with Greek-Italic amphoras fragments. Mainly coarse ware, with only a few fragments of black-gloss/depurated pottery.	
	End of 3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Ciampoltrini and Notini, 1996, 62–63)		

LU10	CASTIGLIONE GARFAGNANA	COLLE DELLE CARBONAIE	
	Field walking, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced settlements with at least one rectangular building with dry-stone foundations and remains of a thick wall with possible defensive function. Materials include Greek-Italic amphoras, coarse ware and rare black-gloss/depurated pottery with painted bands pottery.	
	3 rd cent.		
	(Ciampoltrini and Notini, 1996, 54-59)		

LU11	CASTIGLIONE GARFAGNANA	CROCE DI STAZZANA	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Bronze Etruscan-Italic helmet.	
	3 rd cent.		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 420–421, VI.8)		

LU12	COREGLIA ANTELIMINELLI	TEREGLIO	MARGEGLIO
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	One urn closed by a bowl buried in a simple pit and one cist grave containing two burials. The cist contained a black-gloss <i>kilyx</i> , a spindle-whorl, two spearheads, a brooch, a ring and an armring.	
	3 rd cent.		
	(Pfanner, 1958b)		

LU13	MINUCCIANO	RENZANO	(CASTELLARO DI PIEVE SAN LORENZO)
	Field walking, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Remains of hut pits with pottery showing analogies with both eastern Ligurian and the Protovillanova settlements of the Emilian Apennines. LIA occupation documented by a hearth and artefacts mostly found not <i>in situ</i> : coarse ware, black-gloss/depurated (with/without painted bands) pottery, Greek/Italic amphoras.	
	MBA-RBA, FBA-EIA, 3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Ambrosi and Martini, 1965; Mannoni, 1968; Martini, 1966)		

LU14	PESCAGLIA	MONTE CUCULIERA	FOCI DI GELLO
	Field walking, rescue excavation		
	Settlement	Archaeological deposit with a hearth and coarse ware, black-gloss/depurated pottery.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Ciampoltrini, 2004a)		

LU15	PESCAGLIA	MONTE PIGLIONE	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery, Greek-Italic amphoras.	
	Early 2 nd cent.		
	(Ciampoltrini, 2004b, 384; Storti, 1995b, 100)		

LU16	PIAZZA AL SERCHIO	CASTELVECCHIO	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Pottery not <i>in situ</i> showing strong analogies with Capriola (LU7). One deep pit filled with a dark deposit containing pottery and small regular pebbles (sling bullets?). Site re-occupied in the LIA: coarse ware, black-gloss/depurated (with/without painted bands) pottery, one spindle-whorl.	
	FBA, end of 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Ciampoltrini <i>et al.</i> , 2015, 29–33; Ciampoltrini and Notini, 2005)		

LU17	PIAZZA AL SERCHIO	COLOGNOLA	
	Rescue excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced settlement with archaeological deposit containing fragments of fired clay, coarse ware and depurated pottery with painted bands.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Ciampoltrini and Notini, 1996, 51–52)		

LU18	PIETRASANTA	VALDICASTELLO CARDUCCI	LA COSTA
	Chance discovery		
	Settlement	Protovillanovan settlement reoccupied in the LIA: coarse ware, black-gloss pottery, Greek-Italic amphoras, spools and one grinding stone.	
	FBA, 3 rd –2 nd cent.		
	(Aranguren, 1995, 50–51; Storti, 1995b, 100–103)		

LU19	SAN ROMANO DI GARFAGNANA	MONTE PISONE	
	Rescue excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced settlement with traces of at least two buildings (postholes) and hearths. Materials include coarse ware, black-gloss, depurated pottery (with/without painted bands), a type Certosa Ticinese brooch and glass beads/pendants.	
	End of 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Ciampoltrini and Notini, 1996, 40–54)		

LU20	SAN ROMANO DI GARFAGNANA		MONTE VIGNE	
	Filed walking, planned excavation			
	Settlement	One dry-stone wall (hut foundation? part of a terracing system?) associated with two hearths. Greek-Italic amphoras and rare pottery.		
	End of 3 rd – beginning of 2 nd cent.			
	(Ciampoltrini and Notini, 1996, 62)			

LU21	SAN ROMANO DI GARFAGNANA	CAMPIANA	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave with burial in urn closed by a bowl; it contained an accessory beaker and a type Apuan I brooch. On the top slab of the cist there is an Etruscan inscription (<i>akiu</i>).	
	3 rd cent.		
	(Ciampoltrini, 2005; Galli, 1920; Migliorini, 1915)		

LU22	SERRAVEZZA	AZZANO	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Burial in urn covered by an upside-down amphora; one iron spearhead.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Fabiani, 2004)		

LU23	SERRAVEZZA	MINAZZANA	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave containing two urns closed by bowls, one black-gloss <i>kilyx</i> , fragments of a sword and fragments of a bronze helmet.	
	End of 3 rd – of 2 nd cent.		
	(Maggiani, 1995)		

LU24	SERRAVEZZA	ROCCA DI CORVAIA	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery.	
	3 rd – of 2 nd cent.		
	(Maggiani, 1983, 98)		

LU25	STAZZEMA	LEVIGLIANI	PIANE ALTE
	Chance discovery, non-stratigraphic and stratigraphic excavation		
	Cemetery	+100 cremation graves with stone cist, forming groups covered by mounds. Goods include type Apuan II brooches, amber beads, spindle-whorls, iron spearheads, one iron axe and bronze buttons.	
	End of 3 rd – beginning of 2 nd cent.		
	(Antonucci, 1967, 1963; Bartelletti, 2003; de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 421–423, VI.10; Levi, 1932; Maggiani, 1995, 1990d)		

LU26	STAZZEMA	MONTE GABBERI	
	Field survey		
	Site	Fragments of amphoras, one grinding stone.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Storti, 1995b, 97–99)		

LU27	STAZZEMA	MONTE LIETO	
	Field survey		
	Settlement	Protovillanovan settlement reoccupied in the LIA: coarse ware, black-gloss and depurated pottery.	
	FBA, 3 rd –2 nd cent.		
	(Aranguren, 1995, 46–49; Storti, 1995b, 92–97)		

LU28	VAGLI DI SOTTO	MURATA	
	Rescue excavation		
	Grave	One sub-oval enclosure made of slabs next to a cist grave. Goods include black-gloss and depurated pottery, armrings, finger rings, amber beads, type Apuan II/III brooches.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Ciampoltrini and Notini, 2011, 17–37)		

LU29	VAGLI DI SOTTO	RENAIO	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave with urn and accessory vase; goods included amber beads and fragments of iron objects, now lost.	
	LIA		
	(Ciampoltrini and Notini, 2011, 9–11)		

LU30	VILLA BASILICA	PIETRA PERTUSA	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Place of worship?	Circular earthwork surrounding three big sandstone blocks forming a semi-circle associated with stones and artefacts (Greek-Italic amphoras, black-gloss pottery).	
	3 rd cent.		
	(Bianchini, 2005)		

LU31	VILLA COLLEMANDINA	CIMA LA FOCE	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Bronze pectoral nearly identical to the one in the Tetti Noni hoard (CN21). FBA pottery found not <i>in situ</i> in the area.	
	FBA-EIA		
	(Ciampoltrini <i>et al.</i> , 2015, 9–20)		

LU32	VILLA COLLEMANDINA	PIAN DI PAOLO	
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Nine aligned cist graves, all artefacts lost. They included coarse ware and black-gloss pottery.	
	End of 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Ambrosi, 1958, 24–26; Mencacci and Zecchini, 1976, 131–134; Pieroni, 1903)		

LU33	VILLA COLLEMANDINA	SASSOROSSO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	FBA		
	(Ciampoltrini <i>et al.</i> , 2015, 35–36)		

LU34	VILLA COLLEMANDINA	TANA GRANDE	
	Planned excavation		
	Cave dwelling Pottery.		
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Ciampoltrini and Notini, 1996, 65)		

9. Massa-Carrara

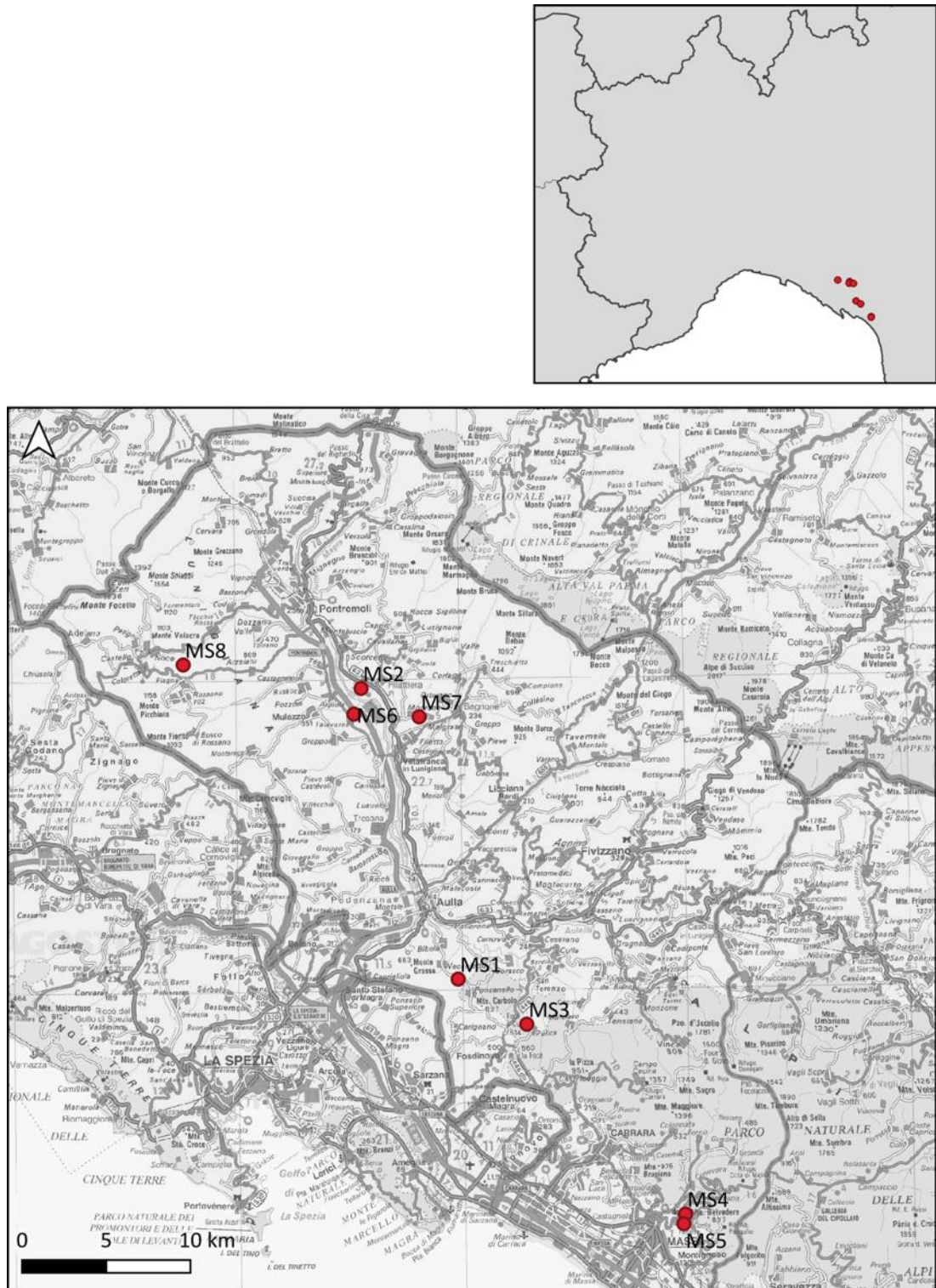


Figure A. 11 Massa-Carrara province sites

MS1	AULLA	PONZOLO	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave with two burials in urns; goods include pottery and 13 bronze buttons.	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 423–425, VI.11; Formentini, 1939)		

MS2	FILATTIERA	PIEVE DI SORANO	QUARTARECCIA
	Rescue excavation		
	Cemetery	Eight cist graves distributed along the side of a rectangular cobble structure, and burials in urns (number unknown). A statue-menhir was reused in one of the cists. Goods include black-gloss pottery, weapons and a type Nauheim brooch.	
	2 nd – 1 st cent.		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 441–442, VI.25; Paribeni, 2004a)		

MS3	FOSDINOVO	PULICA	
	Chance discovery, stratigraphic excavation (p)		
	Cemetery	Five cremation graves with stone cist forming groups, probably covered by little stone mounds. Goods included weapons, pottery and jewellery.	
	3 rd cent.		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 425–428, VI.12; Fabiani, 2007; Paribeni, 2007a, 2004b)		

MS4	MASSA-CARRARA	PARIANA	CELINIEA
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave with burial in a jug; goods include pottery and silver jewellery.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Crespellani, 1895, 341–343)		

MS5	MASSA-CARRARA	TOMBARA	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave made of stone slabs and tiles with burial in urn; one Roman silver brooch, one ribbed armring, one Roman iron sword, two spearheads and a spear-butt.	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(Banti, 1937, 168)		

MS6	MULAZZO	TALAVORNO	
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Cist graves with burials in urns.	
	LIA		
	(Mazzini, 1923, 70)		

MS7	VILLAFRANCA IN LUNIGIANA	MALGRATE	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave with two urns, two accessory vessels, four armrings, one spearhead and a fragment of sword.	
	LIA		
	(Mazzini, 1923, 68)		

MS8	ZERI	CASTEL GENARIN	
	Field survey		
	Settlement	Pottery, animal bones and stone implements scattered over a small area; traces of terraces.	
	FBA		
	(Torracca, 1989)		

10. Modena

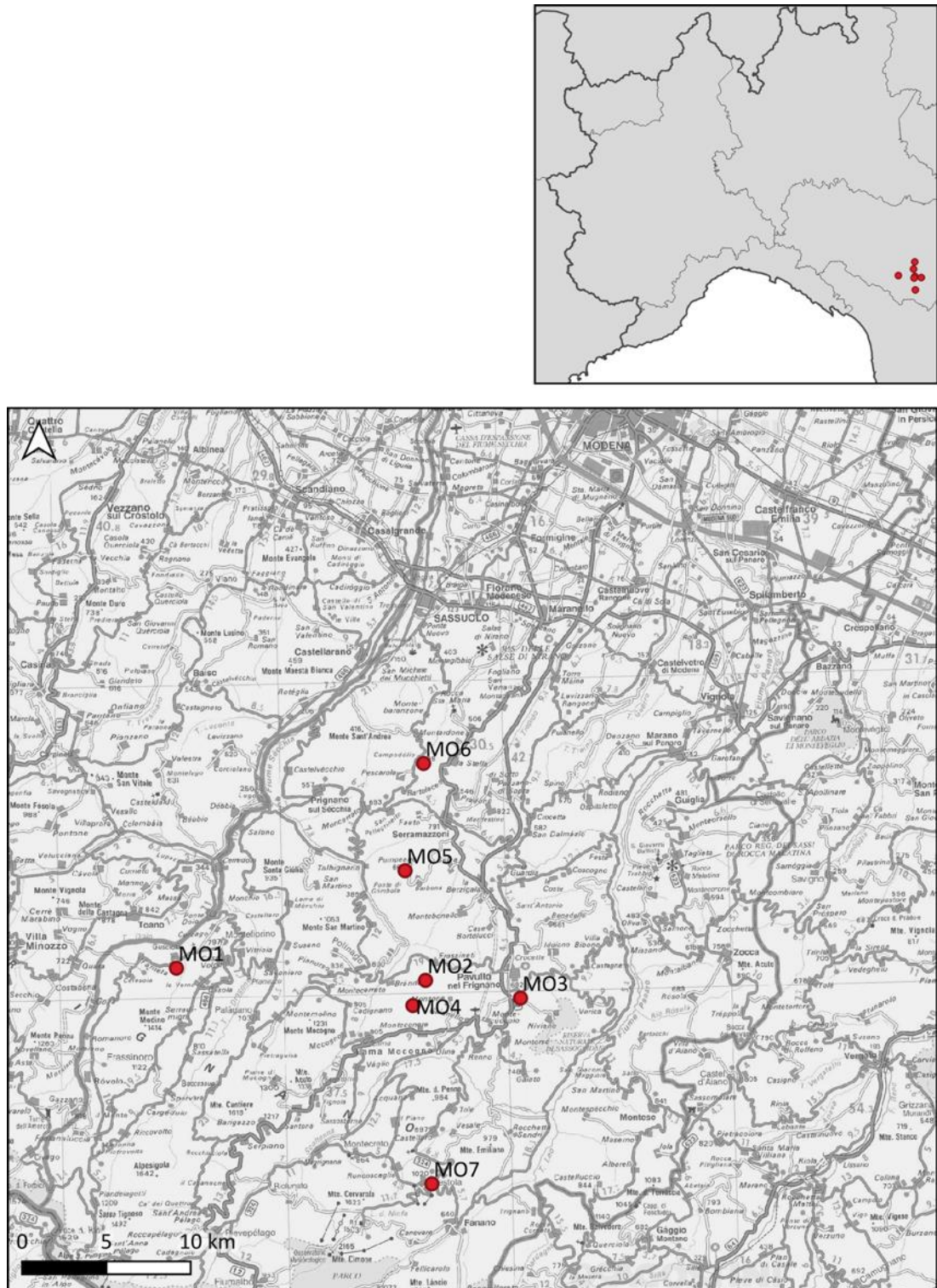


Figure A. 12 Modena province sites

MO1	MONTEFIORINO	GUSCIOLA	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave, probably containing bronze weapons.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Cardarelli and Malnati, 2006, 223, MF6)		

MO2	PAVULLO NEL FRIGNANO	MONZONE	LA CASACCI
	Field survey		
	Settlement	Pottery showing analogies with eastern Liguria and the Garfagnana.	
	5 th – 4 th /3 rd cent.		
	(Cardarelli and Malnati, 2006, 144–145, PA10-11)		

MO3	PAVULLO NEL FRIGNANO	MONTE OBIZZO	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery.	
	LIA		
	(Cardarelli and Malnati, 2006, 147, PA98)		

MO4	POLIGNAGO	PONTE D'ERCOLE	
	Field walking		
	Site	Pottery. The site is in the vicinity of a cult place used in the IA and Roman period.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Cardarelli and Malnati, 2006, 147, PA98)		

MO5	SERRAMAZZONI	POMPEANO	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Archaeological deposits with artefacts not <i>in situ</i> . Coarse ware/depurated/bucchero pottery. The LIA pottery shows analogies with Guardamonte.	
	ABA-RBA, 8 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Cardarelli and Malnati, 2006, 147, PA98)		

MO6	SERRAMAZZONI	VARANA	SASSI
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	MBA-RBA, 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Cardarelli and Malnati, 2006, 147, PA98)		

MO7	SESTOLA		CASTELLO
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery. The LIA pottery shows analogies with Monte Zuccherro (PC ₁), Groppo di Vaccarezza (PC ₃) and Pietra Nera (PR ₃₇).	
	MBA-RBA, 7 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Cardarelli and Malnati, 2006, 188, SE19)		

11. Parma

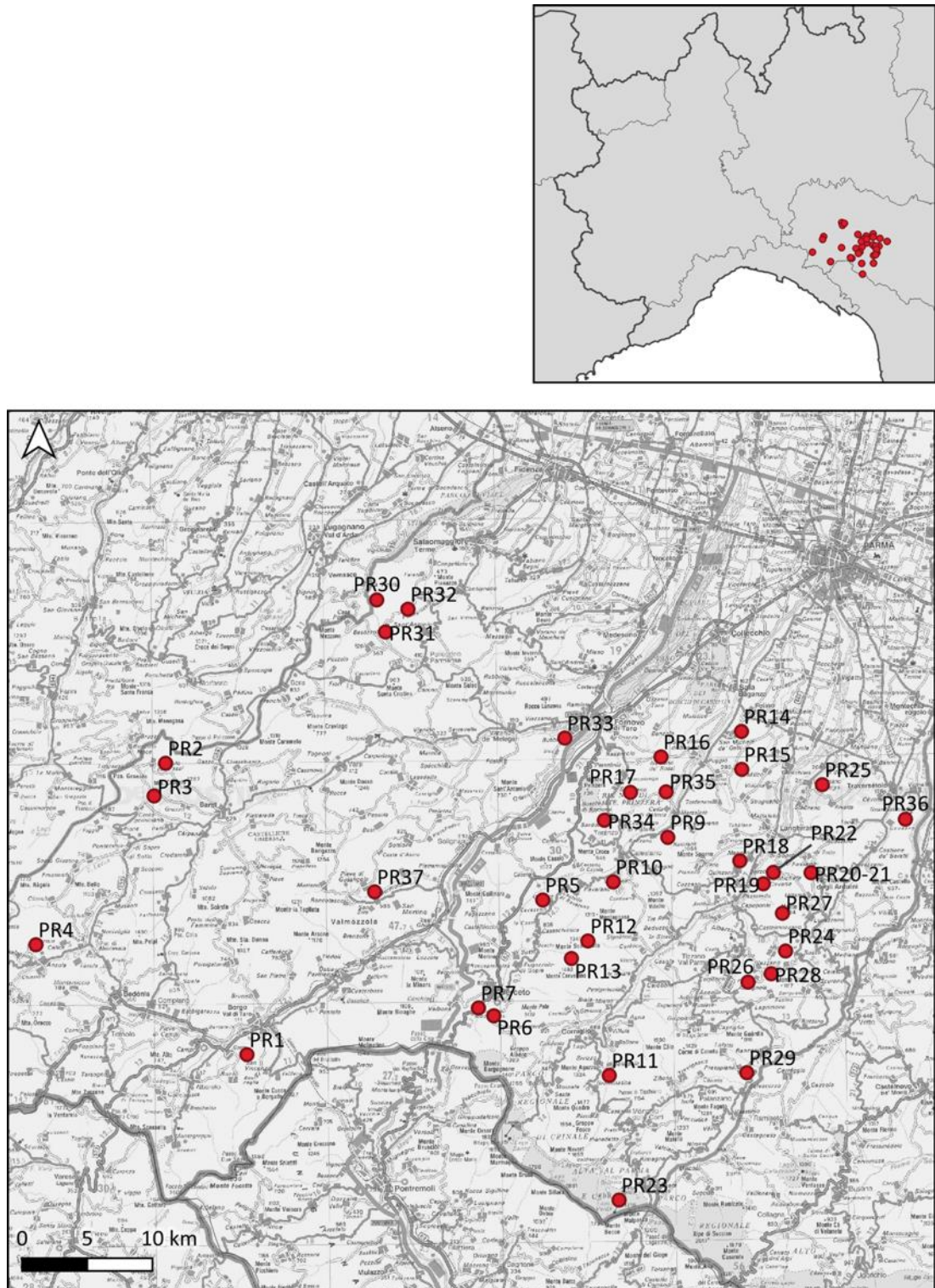


Figure A. 13 Parma province sites

PR1	ALBARETO	MONTE CHIARO	
	Field walking		
	Site	Pottery.	
	BA, LIA		
	(Ghiretti and Saronio, 2004, 358–359)		

PR2	BARDI	BOCCOLO DEI TASSI	GROPPO DI PERINO
	Field walking		
	Site	Pottery.	
	BA, LIA		
	(Ghiretti and Saronio, 2004, 357)		

PR3	BARDI	ROCCA DI PIETRANERA	
	Rescue excavation		
	Site	Colluvial deposits with archaeological artefacts (coarse ware/depurated/black-gloss pottery, one fragment of bronze arm-rig and a stone lamp).	
	5 th - 4 th cent.		
	(Ghiretti and Saronio, 2004, 364–371)		

PR4	BEDONIA	ROCCHIE DI DRUSCO	
	Field walking, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Thin archaeological deposits with artefacts <i>in situ</i> and remains of a dry-stone wall. The pottery shows analogies with that of Liguria.	
	MBA-RBA, 4 th cent., Medieval		
	(Maggi and Del Lucchese, 1983; Melli, 1983)		

PR5	BERCETO	CASASELVATICA	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Inhumation with stone cist; goods include a bronze type Montefortino helmet, two iron spearheads, two iron ferrules, a bronze knife, fragments of a sword with scabbard.	
	3 rd cent.		
	(Mansuelli, 1960; Vitali, 2009, 172–174)		

PR6	BERCETO	CASE FIORITOLA	
	Field walking		
	Site	Pottery (not <i>in situ</i>).	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 183)		

PR7	BERCETO	MONTE CAVALLO	CASCINA VERCONARA
	Field walking		
	Site	Pottery.	
	LIA		
	(Ghiretti and Saronio, 2004, 360)		

PR8	CALESTANO	MARZOLARA	CASTELLO
	Filed survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 176–177)		

PR9	CALESTANO	RAMIANO	
	Field survey		
	Settlement	Coarse ware and depurated pottery.	
	5 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 160–161)		

PR10	CALESTANO	VIGOLONE	CASTELLO
	Filed survey		
	Site	Coarse ware/depurated/black-gloss pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 177–180)		

PR11	CORNIGLIO	MONTEBELLO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 191)		

PR12	CORNIGLIO	MONTE CAVALCALUPO	
	Field survey		
	Settlement	Traces of a hearth, pottery.	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 206–207)		

PR13	FELINO	MONTE SPRELA	
	Field survey		
	Settlement	Archaeological deposit with pottery, including type Rossiglione, and metal slags.	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 202–206)		

PR14	FELINO		CASTELLO
	Field survey		
	Settlement	Coarse ware/depurated/black-gloss/grey pottery, metal slags, five pebbles with incised marks interpreted as <i>sortes</i> . The MIA artefacts show analogies with those from <i>Etruria Padana</i> .	
	MBA-RBA, 5 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 105–107, 183–186)		

PR15	FELINO	NANDESANO	
	Field survey		
	Settlement	Coarse ware and depurated pottery. The MIA artefacts show analogies with those from <i>Etruria Padana</i> .	
	End of 5 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 130–132, 175–176)		

PR16	FORNOVO TARO	NEVIANO DEI ROSSI	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 181)		

PR17	FORNOVO TARO	PALMIA	CASTELLO
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 181–182)		

PR18	LANGHIRANO	MONTE CORNO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 181–182)		

PR19	LESIGNANO BAGNI	BERSATICHELLO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	MBA-RBA, 5 th (Etruscan phase), 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 183–186)		

PR20	LESIGNANO BAGNI	MONTE LA PILA	
	Planned excavation		
	Cemetery	Two Etruscan inhumations dating to the 5 th cent.; remains of a stone cist found without an urn, could indicate a use as a cemetery also in the LIA. Unpublished.	
	5 th cent., LIA?		
	(Conti, 2006)		

PR21	LESIGNANO BAGNI	MONTE LA PILA	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery found along the sides of the hill.	
	MBA-FBA, 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 166–169)		

PR22	LESIGNANO BAGNI	SAN MICHELE CAVANA	
	Field survey		
	Site Pottery.		
	Mid-4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 188–189)		

PR23	MONCHIO DELLE CORTI	PRATO SPILLA	
	Field survey		
	Site Pottery.		
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 192–193)		

PR24	NEVIANO DEGLI ARDUINI	CAMPORA	CAMPO DEL FICO
	Field survey		
	Site Pottery.		
	3 rd – 2 nd cent., Roman		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 189–190)		

PR25	NEVIANO DEGLI ARDUINI	MONTE CASTELLO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 190–191)		

PR26	NEVIANO DEGLI ARDUINI	MONTE SAN CARLO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Coarse ware and depurated pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 187–188)		

PR27	NEVIANO DEGLI ARDUINI	MONTE VEROLA	
	Field survey		
	Settlement	Coarse ware and depurated pottery; metal slags and one stone mould are evidence for metalworking. Although the MIA pottery belongs to types typical of the <i>Etruria Padana</i> settlements, it shows hybrid characteristics.	
	MBA, FBA, 6 th – 5 th (Etruscan phase), 4 th cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 110–113, 166)		

PR28	NEVIANO DEGLI ARDUINI	ZERMAGNONE	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 187)		

PR29	PALANZANO	CAMPERZANO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 183–186)		

PR30	PELLEGRINO PARMENSE	AIONE	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Bronze socketed axe	
	EIA		
	(Ghiretti, 2003, 177, fig. 217)		

PR31	PELLEGRINO PARMENSE	BESOZZOLA	
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Cist graves discovered in 1876. They contained coarse ware urns closed by black-gloss bowls. The grave goods included 20 conical studs and a bronze belt fitting.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Fiorelli, 1878)		

PR32	PELLEGRINO PARMENSE	MONTE PIETRA NERA	
	Field survey		
	Site	Coarse ware and depurated pottery; one brooch with thickened arch-bow.	
	BA. 5 th – 4 th cent.		
	(Ghiretti and Saronio, 2004, 360–362)		

PR33	SOLIGNANO	RUBBIANO	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray finds	Two glass armrings, possibly from a grave.	
	End of 3 rd – beginning of 2 nd cent.		
	(Ghiretti and Saronio, 2004, 356)		

PR34	TERENZO	BARDONE	CASTELLO
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 182–183)		

PR35	TERENZO	MARZOLARA	SIVIZZOLA
	Field survey		
	Site	Coarse ware and depurated pottery.	
	4 th , 3 rd – 2 nd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 161–163, 200–202)		

PR36	TRAVERSETOLO	GUARDASONE	MONTESALANDRO
	Field survey		
	Settlement	Coarse ware/depurated/black-gloss (Attic) pottery, metal slags. Fragments of daub and of tiles suggest the presence of huts. The MIA artefacts show strong analogies with the material culture of <i>Etruria Padana</i> .	
	6 th – 5 th (Etruscan phase), 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 200–202)		

PR37	VALMOZZOLA	CAVA DEL LAGO	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery.	
	MBA, LIA		
	(Ghiretti and Saronio, 2004, 358)		

12. Pavia

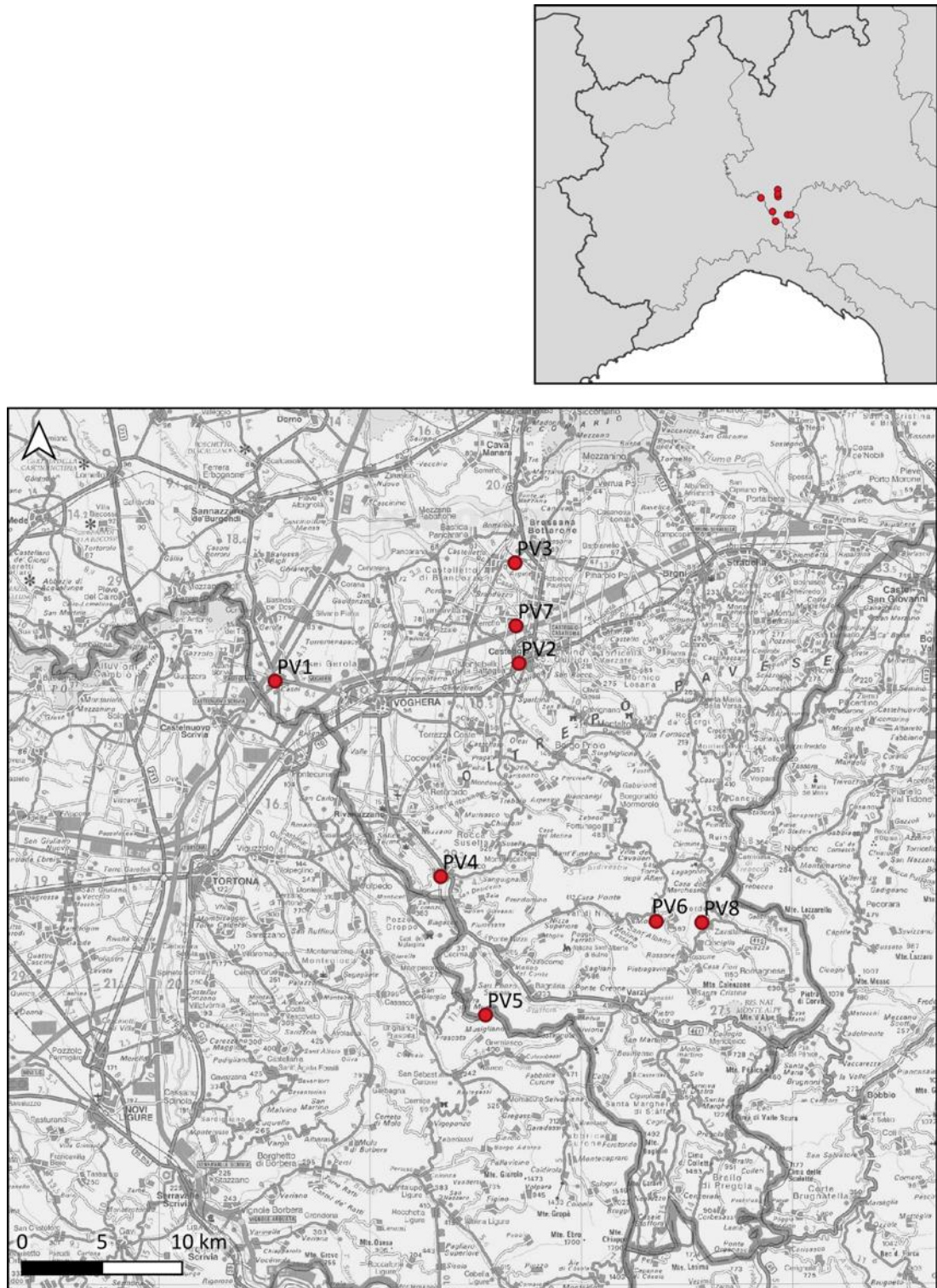


Figure A. 14 Pavia province sites

PV1	CASEI GEROLA		
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Burial in urn; Golasecca bronze artefacts (two type Lodigiano brooches, fragments of armrings and finger-rings, one pin). Urn similar to those of Camiaschietta (GE15) and Roccatagliata (GE11).	
	5 th cent.		
	(De Marinis, 1998)		

PV2	CASTEGGIO	COPPA	
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Rich tombs, total number unknown; type Casteggio pin with 16 amber elements; fragments of decorated bronze disc, pendant with type Rebbio chains, fragment of type Palestro brooch and six armrings.	
	GIIB-GIIIA		
	(Pearce, 1991, 130–137)		

PV3	CASTELLETTO DI BRANDUZZO	CAVA BASSINI	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Burial in urn; one bowl, one serpentine-bow brooch and fragments of a sword (older than the other artefacts: heirloom?).	
	GIIB		
	(Simone Zopfi, 2001, 206–208)		

PV4	GODIASCO		
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Type Calliano sword.	
	8 th cent.		
	(Pearce, 1991, 130)		

PV5	PONTE NIZZA/GREMIASCO	MONTE VALLASSA	GUARDAMONTE
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Site	Terraced settlement with several occupation phases. Occupation in the FBA at the top of the hill; site abandoned in the EIA and reoccupied in the MIA with the construction of new terraces. Materials include coarse ware pottery with black burnished lattice decoration, Etruscan bucchero; Golasecca bronze artefacts (late Alpine leech brooch, bucket-shaped pendant). Black-gloss pottery and a type Haevernick 8-D glass armring refer to the last occupation.	
	Neolithic, MBA-RBA, FBA, 6 th – 2 nd cent.		
	(Baratti, 2014; Chiaramonte Trerè, 2003; Lentini, 1979; Lo Porto, 1954a, 1957; Mordegli, 2003, 2004)		

PV6	VALVERDE		CASTELLO
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pit containing pottery, animal bones and fragments of fired clay.	
	6 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Simone Zopfi, 1998)		

PV7	VERRETTO		CAVA BIANCHI
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	At least four graves in urns; bronze Golasecca artefacts (one cosmetic-set, one pin, one leech brooch with coral inserts and three belt fittings).	
	GIIA		
	(Pearce, 2003, 48–49)		

PV8	ZAVATTARELLO	CASTELLO DAL VERME	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery.	
	MBA-RBA, FBA, 6 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Mordeglia, 2014; Simone Zopfi, 2001, 208–209)		

13. Piacenza

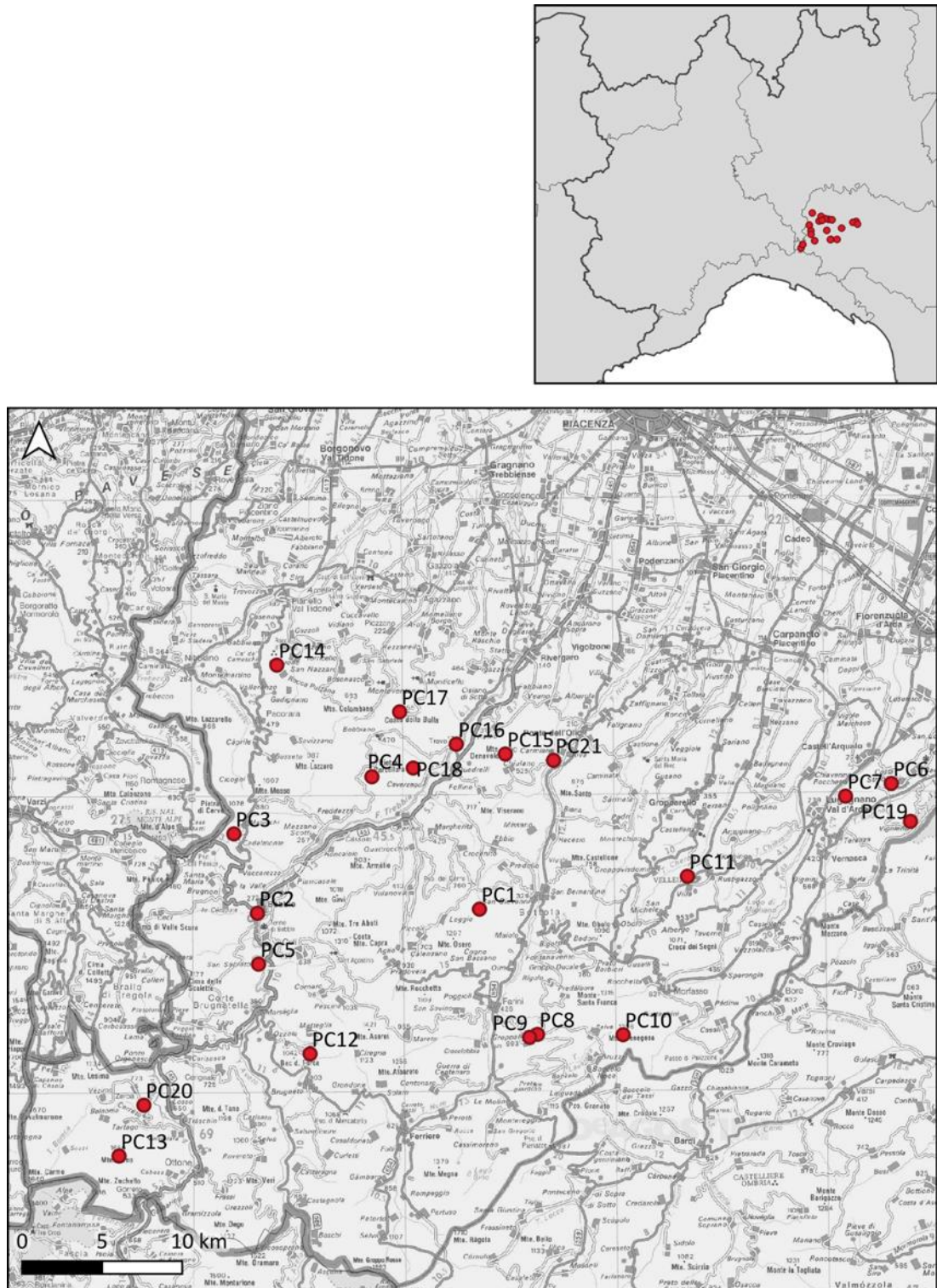


Figure A. 15 Piacenza province sites

PC1	BETTOLA	MONTE ZUCCHERO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	MIA		
	(Carini and Miari, 2004a, 322)		
PC2	BOBBIO		
	Chance discovery		
	Stray finds	Five penannular armrings and fragments of brooches, including type Cerinasca and type Palestro; probably from a cemetery.	
	MIA		
	(Morelli, 1888, 11–13)		

PC3	BOBBIO	GROPPO DI VACCAREZZA	
	Field walking		
	Settlement	Coarse ware, black-gloss pottery, type Teržan X-a and X-n brooches, two studs and one glass armring.	
	MBA-RBA, FBA, MIA, 6 th – 3 rd cent., Roman		
	(Carini and Miari, 2004a, 329; Catarsi and Dall’Aglia, 1987, 408–411; Pontiggia Biella, 1977)		

PC4	BOBBIO	PIETRA PARCELLARA	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery.	
	LIA		
	(Carini and Miari, 2004a, 328, fig. 6.C)		

PC5	BOBBIO	SAN SALVATORE	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray finds	One spearhead with flam-shaped blade and one type Ardea winged axe.	
	EIA		
	(Reposi, 1930)		

PC6	CASTELL'ARQUATO	CA' DEI DOTTORI	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Four circular areas of "dark, charcoal rich soil mixed with stones, pottery and ceramic tiles" exposed by a landslide. Pottery visible in pictures suggests the presence of a MIA phase.	
	BA?, MIA, Roman		
	(Coggi, 1971, 1975)		

PC7	CASTELL'ARQUATO	PANEGANO	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery, one spool.	
	LIA		
	(Carini and Miari, 2004a, 328, fig. 6.F)		

PC8	FARINI D'OLMO	GROPPALLO	GROPPO COLOMBO – SASSONI
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	LIA		
	(Ghiretti, 2003, 190)		

PC9	FARINI D'OLMO	GROPPALLO	MONTE CASTELLARO
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery, one conical bronze button.	
	LIA		
	(Ghiretti, 2003, 190)		

PC10	FARINI D'OLMO	MONTE MENEGOSA	
	Field survey		
	Site	Coarse ware and depurated pottery.	
	MIA		
	(Ghiretti, 2003, 190–191)		

PC11	LUGAGNANO VAL D'ARDA	VELEIA	
	Non-stratigraphic excavation		
	Cemetery	Three burials in urns with cist graves and circular cairns; the total number of graves and size of the cemetery is unknown. Goods include a Golasecca bucket-shaped pendant, bronze studs, a type Certosa Teržan VII-a brooch and three bent spearheads.	
	Site	Four stray bronze pins suggest the presence of a BA settlement. A type Este pin and a fragment of brooch with three birds on the bow suggest an occupation in the EIA.	
	MBA-RBA, FBA, 7 th – 6 th cent. (settlement); second half of the 5 th – 3 rd cent. (cemetery)		
	(De Marinis, 1990, 749–751; de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 402–403, VI.2; Mariotti, 1877; Miari, 2004b; Saronio, 1997; Scarani, 1969)		
PC12	MARSAGLIA	COSTA DEL CASTAGNO	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery.	
	RBA, FBA		
	(Miari, 2003, 177–178)		

PC13	OTTONE	MONTE ALFEO	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Bronze votive statuette of Herakles with lion-skin holding a <i>patera</i> .	
	LIA		
	(De Negri, 1956)		

PC14	PIANELLO VAL TIDONE	PIANA DI SAN MARTINO	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Settlement	A few potsherds indicate an occupation in the EBA-RBA. FBA pottery was found on the top of the hill and in colluvial deposits along its sides; fragments of daub suggest the presence of huts. The site was probably abandoned in the EIA and reoccupied in the 6 th cent. A more substantial occupation is recorded in the LIA.	
	EBA, MBA-RBA, FBA, 6 th – 5 th cent., 4 th – 2 nd cent., Roman		
	(Miari, 2003, 178–183; Rota and Zannardi, 2009; Saronio, 2000)		

PC15	RIVERGARO	MONTE DINAVOLO	
	Field survey		
	Site	Coarse ware and depurated pottery; one fragment of Attic pottery; one fragment of Certosa brooch. Analogies with the settlements of <i>Etruria Padana</i> .	
	5 th cent.		
	(Catarsi Dall’Aglio, 1985)		

PC16	TRAVO		
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Fragment of type Montefortino bronze pan.	
	3 rd cent.		
	(De Marinis, 1990, 756)		

PC17	TRAVO	COSTA DEL GRILLO	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	One serpentine bow brooch typical of the Goolasecca.	
	Second half of 5 th cent.		
	(Miari, 2003, 182)		

PC18	TRAVO	COSTA VEI	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	LIA		
	(Carini and Miari, 2004a, 328, fig. 6.A)		

PC19	VERNASCA	VIGOLENO	SANTO STEFANO
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave, all artefacts lost. Goods included a belt fitting, eight buttons, a bronze armring, iron shears and a flask (<i>vaso a trottola</i>).	
	2 nd – 1 st cent.		
	(De Marinis, 1990, 756)		

PC20	VIGOLZONE	POGGIO DI CARMIANO	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Postholes and three sub-oval pits interpreted as huts bases. Materials include coarse ware and depurated pottery, a bronze stud/button and a fragment of brooch. The artefacts show analogies with those from the contemporary sites of <i>Etruria Padana</i> .	
	5 th cent.		
	(Miari and Losi, 2009)		

PC21	ZERBA		
	Chance discovery		
	Hoard	Wealth storage: 8 triangular-section penannular armring with incised geometric decoration (type Zerba), worn but intact.	
	FBA		
	(Tizzoni, 1976)		

14. Reggio Emilia

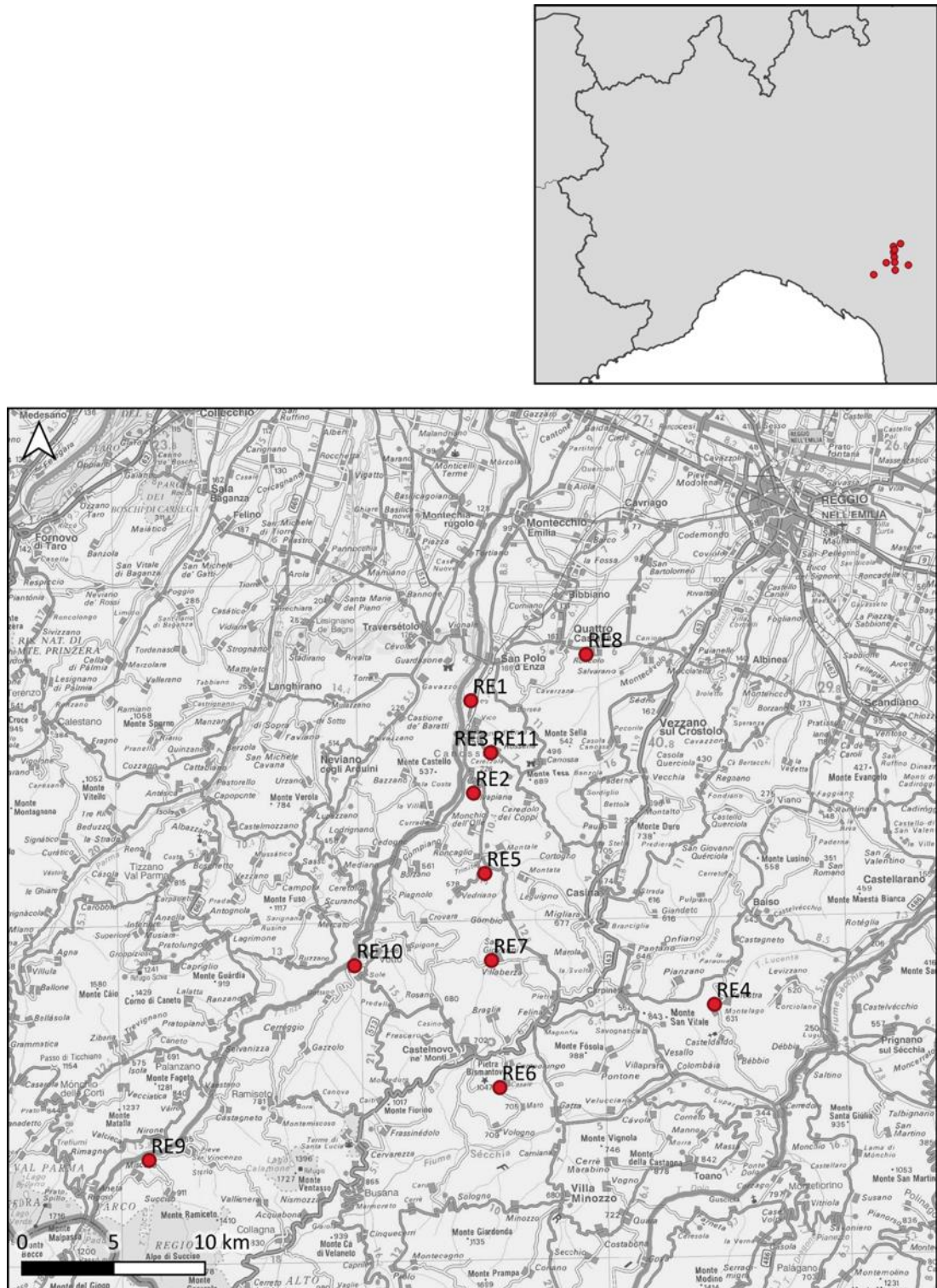


Figure A. 16 Reggio Emilia province sites

RE1	CANOSSA	LUCERIA	
	Chance discovery, planned excavation		
	Settlement	LIA deposits found below Roman structure.	
	Cemetery	Graves, total number unknown. One had a cist formed by tiles and contained a type Nauheim brooch, a type Apuan IV brooch, and armrings.	
	2 nd cent., Roman		
	(Malnati, 2015; Malnati <i>et al.</i> , 1990)		

RE2	CANOSSA	SELVAPIANA	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Cist grave with burial in urn, one iron knife and a small amphora.	
	LIA		
	(Scarani, 1963, 525, (I)Fe2)		

RE3	CANOSSA	ROSSENA	CASTELLO
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	Early 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 193–195)		

RE4	CARPINETI	MONTE VALESTRA	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Artificial terraces with traces of a hearth associated with BA pottery. LIA pottery showing analogies with Liguria and southern Piedmont. One stray type Ticinese Certosa brooch.	
	RBA-FBA, 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Montanari and Tirabassi, 2007)		

RE5	CASINA	BOSCO CERNAIETO	
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Three cist graves. Urn similar to those from Villa Baroni (RE9). Goods include an iron knife, a spindle whorl and iron brooches.	
	RBA-FBA, 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Montanari and Tirabassi, 2007)		

RE6	CASTELNOVO NE' MONTI	CASALE DI BISMANTOVA	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Type Ticinese Certosa brooch.	
	Grave	Burial in urn found “among the stones”.	
	MIA (brooch), first half of 3 rd cent. (grave)		
	(Macellari, 1995, LXXI–LXXII)		

RE7	CASTELNOVO NE' MONTI	MONTE CASTAGNETO	SAN GIOVANNI
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	FBA pottery showing analogies with both the Protovillanovan pottery and eastern Liguria settlements. Area occupied in the MIA by an Etruscan settlement with dry-stone structures associated with coarse ware and depurated pottery.	
	MBA-RBA, FBA, 5 th cent.		
	(Chierici, 1883; Locatelli, 2015, 39–40)		

RE8	CASTELNOVO NE'MONTI	PIETRA DI BISMANTOVA	
	Rescue excavation		
	Stray find	Type Ticinese Certosa brooch.	
	Cemetery	Three burials in urns in simple pits. Goods consist of an iron spearhead and a spear butt, a sickle, glass beads, 10 studs, a belt fitting, a type Apuan II brooch and a LT brooch.	
	MIA (brooch), end of 3 rd – 2 nd cent. (cemetery)		
	(Macellari and Tirabassi, 2016, 510–511)		

RE9	QUATTRO CASTELLA	RONCOLO	VILLA BARONI
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery	Four burials in urn, three with cist made of “bricks” (tiles?) and one covered by an amphora. Goods include a spindle-whorl, an iron knife, an iron spearhead, a LT brooch and a Roman coin reused as a pendant.	
	2 nd cent.		
	(Malnati, 1990)		

RE10	RAMISETO	CECCIOLA	CASTELLARO
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 197)		

RE11	VETTO	MONTE SOLE	
	Field survey		
	Site	Pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Marchi, 2005, 197)		

15. Savona

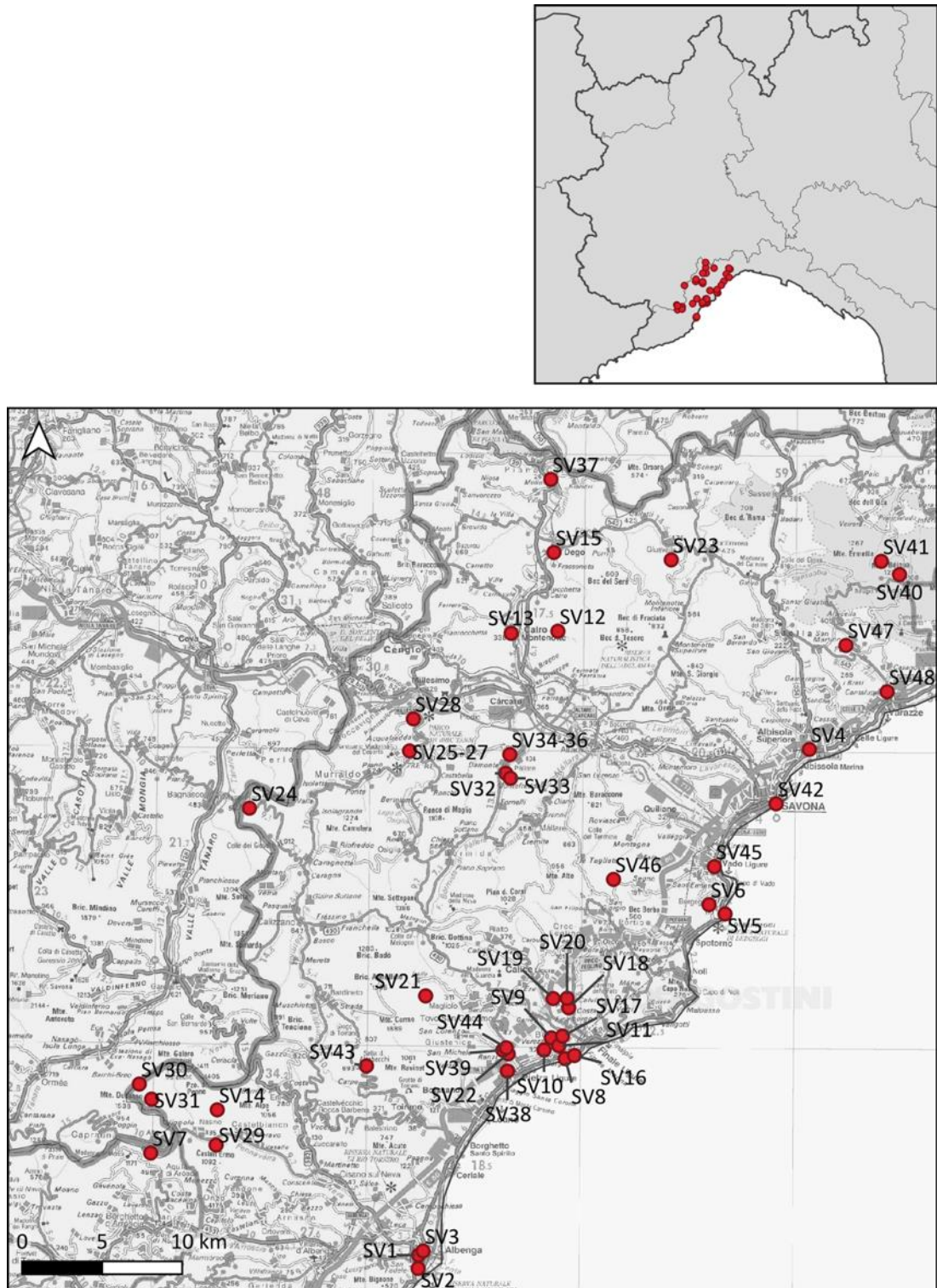


Figure A. 17 Savona province sites

SV1	ALBENGA		CENTA RIVERBED
	Rescue excavation		
	Cemetery	Five cist graves with burials in urns; goods include serpentine-bow brooches, a spearhead and a lunate razor.	
	Second half of 7 th cent.		
	(Massabò <i>et al.</i> , 2014)		

SV2	ALBENGA		ROMAN AMPHITHEATRE
	Planned excavation		
	Site	Deposit with fragments of amphoras, coarse ware and black-gloss pottery.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Bulgarelli, 2018a)		

SV3	ALBENGA		VIA MILANO
	Planned excavation		
	Stray finds	One bronze boat-shaped brooch and a fragment of decorated bronze sheet (from a grave?).	
	7 th cent.		
	(Bulgarelli, 2018a)		

SV4	ALBISOLA SUPERIORE		CORSO MAZZINI
	Planned excavation		
	Cemetery	Five burials in urn closed by a bowl; goods include serpentine bow/boat brooches, armrings, spindle-whorls and a spearhead.	
	First half of 6 th cent.		
	(Bulgarelli, 2014; Minozzi, 2015)		

SV5	BERGEGGI	CAVERNA MARINA	
	Non-stratigraphic excavation		
	Cave	Karstic cave with artefacts dating to different periods; undated inhumations found in a side corridor.	
	Neolithic, MBA-RBA, FBA-EIA, LIA, Roman		
	(Del Lucchese, 2004b, 144, figs 2.4-5; Giuggiola, 1971)		

SV6	BERGEGGI	MONTE SANT'ELENA	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced settlement with traces of huts and of a kiln. Local and imported pottery (black-gloss, Massaliot, Etruscan).	
	End of 6 th – 1 st cent.		
	(Del Lucchese, 2008; Del Lucchese and Prestipino, 2013a; Giannattasio and Odetti, 2009)		

SV7	BORGHETTO D'ARROSCIA	GROTTA DEL PERTUSELLO	
	Chance discovery		
	Cave dwelling	Pottery, including type Rossiglione.	
	Neolithic, CA, 4 th cent.		
	(Chiappella, 1952, 65–66; Leale Anfossi, 1959)		

SV8	BORGIO VEREZZI	ARMA DI GALLUSSO/ GROTTA DEL GALUZZO	
	Chance discovery		
	Cave dwelling? Fragment of pot with parallels in the French <i>BF 3a</i> ; Funerary cave? one bronze belt fitting.		
	FBA-EIA?		
	(Odetti, 1996, 69)		

SV9	BORGIO VEREZZI	CASTELLARO/CASTELLIERE DI CAPRAZZOPPA	
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Site Coarse ware and black-gloss pottery (not <i>in situ</i>); traces of undated terracing.		
	EIA, 4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(De Santis, 2016; Elefante, 2008)		

SV10	BORGIO VEREZZI	GROTTA ARMORARI/ PARMORARI	
	Chance discovery		
	Funerary cave? Pottery; similarities with Urnfield urns have suggested a funerary use during the last occupation.		
	MBA, RBA, FBA		
	(Del Lucchese and Odetti, 1998, 90)		

SV11	BORGIO VEREZZI	GROTTA DELL'ANTENNA	
	Field survey		
	Cave dwelling	One EBA copper axe and animal bones; pottery showing analogies with Tana delle Gore (SV43) and Arene Candide (SV16).	
	CA-EBA, LIA		
	(Lamberti, 1971)		

SV12	CAIRO		
	MONTENOTTE		
	Chance discovery		
	Hoard	40 kg of bronze objects, only one penannular armring survives.	
	FBA		
	(Gambari, 1997, 334)		

SV13	CAIRO	BRIC CASTEIROLO	
	MONTENOTTE		
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Hillfort with dry-stone wall surrounding the peak. Sporadic occupation during the CA and MBA; fragments of pottery attributed to the FBA/EIA; a more substantial occupation is recorded in the LIA. Among the artefacts there are late type Certosa and LT B brooches, a Massaliot obol, two bucket bronze pendants and type Rossiglione pottery.	
	CA, MBA, FBA-EIA, end of 5 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 2018d; Del Lucchese and Ottomano, 2013; Del Lucchese and Piroto, 2015)		

SV14	CASTELBIANCO	TANA DEL BARLETTA	
	Planned excavation		
	Cave occupation	Cave probably used as a stable; animal bones and pottery.	
	Neolithic, CA, EBA/MBA, LIA, Roman		
	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 1987)		

SV15	DEGO		
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Bronze axe with medial elongated wings; it can be compared with one from the Malpensa (MI) hoard.	
	FBA		
	(Morelli, 1901, 87, pl. IX.9)		

SV16	FINALE LIGURE	ARENE CANDIDE	
	Non-stratigraphic/planned excavation		
	Cave dwelling	Deposit sealed by a landslide with Roman artefacts; it contained coarse ware pottery, stone implements, animal bones and shells. Traces of a hearth and postholes.	
	Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, EBA-MBA, 5 th – 3 rd /2 nd cent.		
	(Bernabò Brea, 1946a, 250–252, 326–328)		

SV17	FINALE LIGURE	CAVERNA DELL'AURERA	
	Planned excavation		
	Cave dwelling	Inverted stratigraphy, probably caused by the collapse of the cave roof; fragments of pottery (including one with stamped decoration) and of a leech brooch.	
	EIA?		
	(Giuggiola, 1956; Isetti, 1960c)		

SV18	FINALE LIGURE	GROTTA DEL SANGUINETO/DELLA MATTA	
	Non-stratigraphic/planned excavation		
	Cave dwelling	Pottery, one type Nazari bronze knife and a winged axe.	
	Neolithic, MBA, RBA-FBA, 8 th – 7 th cent.		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 179–180, III.31; Del Lucchese, 1984; Fusco, 1964)		

SV19	FINALE LIGURE	ROCCA DI PERTI	ARMA/BRIC DELLE ANIME ("VILLAGGIO DELLE ANIME")
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced settlement; traces of a dwelling with dry-stone wall foundations. Pottery, spindle-whorls, one bronze basket earring, one greenstone axe.	
	FBA-EIA, LIA		
	(Giuggiola, 1960, 1959; Scotti and Vicino, 1996, 47–50)		

SV20	FINALE LIGURE	SANT'ANTONINO PERTI	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Archaeological stratigraphy damaged by the construction of the Byzantine castle. Traces of hearths and animal bones. Coarse ware, spindle-whorls, one spool, one type Sover A pin, two bronze arrows. A brooch and a bronze button found not <i>in situ</i> suggest a possible reoccupation in the LIA.	
	RBA-FBA, LIA		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 165–166, III.5; Falcetti <i>et al.</i> , 1994; Scotti, 1998; Scotti and Vicino, 1996, 44–46)		

SV21	GIUSTENICE	GROTTA DELL'EDERA	
	Chance discovery		
	Cave dwelling	Cave with various occupation phases. In the MBA parallels with southern France (Roc de Conilhac). Type Rossiglione pottery.	
	Palaeolithic, Neolithic, MBA, 4 th cent.		
	(Odetti, 1986)		

SV22	GIUSTENICE/TOVO SAN GIACOMO	CORTI	
	Planned excavation		
	Site	Multi-layered settlement dating from Roman to Medieval. Deposits containing IA coarse ware, black-gloss pottery and Massaliot amphoras (not <i>in situ</i>).	
	5 th (6 th ?) – 3 rd cent., Roman, Medieval		
	(Massabò, 1999)		

SV23	GIUSVALLA	BRIC DEL CIAZ	CA' MOTTIN
	Chance discovery		
	Hoard ("Ripostiglio del Sassello")	Founders' hoard discovered in 1934; three sword fragments, one razor, one ingot, one ferrule, four spearheads and a fragment of dagger.	
	FBA		
	(Gambari and Venturino Gambari, 1994, 32–33; Isetti, 1959; Lo Porto, 1954b)		

SV24	MASSIMINO		
	Chance discovery		
	Grave	Partly destroyed cremation with bones placed in a pit and covered by a bowl. Goods include studs and armrings (total number unknown).	
	Second half of 6 th – first half of 5 th cent.		
	(Bulgarelli and Del Lucchese, 2008)		

SV25	MILLESIMO	BRIC LANGA	
	Field survey		
	Hoard?	One bronze winged axe and one sickle, both intact and never used.	
	FBA		
	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 2015a, 2018a)		

SV26	MILLESIMO	BRIC LANGA	
	Rescue excavation		
	Cemetery	Remains of cremations heavily damaged by a landslide, only one was investigated. Goods include a bronze torc with pendants. Type Crissolo armrings found isolated could belong to the graves.	
	MIA		
	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 2018a)		

SV27	MILLESIMO	BRIC LANGA	
	Field survey		
	Site, hoard?	One type Allevard winged axe and one sickle similar to an example from southern Germany (Sigmaringen), possibly from a hoard. Type Rossiglione pottery, one iron Certosa brooch, a fragment of armring and studs.	
	MBA/RBA, FBA (hoard), end of 5 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 2015a, 2018a; Prestipino and Del Lucchese, 2013)		

SV28	MILLESIMO	BRIC SAN BERNARDO	
	Chance discovery		
	Hoards? Site?	Various artefacts found on different parts of the mountain. FBA artefacts are one winged axe, one sickle and one armring. Two fragments of brooches and five bucket pendants can be assigned to the Golasecca IIB-III A. LIA artefacts include two conical buttons and two lead sling bullets, and fragments of type Rossiglione pottery. A further group of some 15 fragments of metal can generically be dated to between the FBA and LIA.	
	RBA-LIA		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 177–178, III.26; Del Lucchese and Delfino, 2008)		

SV29	NASINO	ARMA DI NASINO	
	Planned excavation		
	Rock shelter	Deep stratigraphy with various phases of occupation. Mention of IA pottery (artefacts unpublished).	
	Palaeolithic – Roman		
	(Alessio <i>et al.</i> , 1968, 350–356; Leale Anfossi, 1962c)		

SV30	NASINO	COLLE DEL PRIONE	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Type Sover A bronze pin.	
	FBA		
	(Starnini, 2015a)		

SV31	NASINO	COLLE DEL PRIONE	TRUCCU DU PILU
	Chace discovery		
	Grave	Burial in urn. Goods include a spindle whorl, two basket pendants, four bronze buttons, a belt fitting and a torc.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Starnini, 2015b)		

SV32	PALLARE	BRIC DELLA SORTE	
	Chance discovery		
	Hoard	Founder's hoard. Small pit covered by a slab containing 51 fragments of bronze ingots and scrap metal: three rings, two hooks, one spearhead, three sickles, one buttons, one weight, a blade and fragments of unidentified objects.	
	FBA	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 177, III.25; Del Lucchese and Delfino, 2008, 38–40)	

SV33	PALLARE	BRIC DELLA SORTE	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray finds	Various objects found in different parts of the mountain: six penannular armrings with rolled ends, five type La Popeye armrings, a deformed penannular ring and a spearhead with incised decoration showing analogies with Swiss and German Ha B1 artefacts.	
	RBA-FBA	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 2015b; Del Lucchese and Delfino, 2008, 38–40)	

SV34	PALLARE	RIO CAVALLERA	
	Field survey		
	Stray finds	An intentionally flattened iron helmet and a folded spearhead found in a tributary of the Cavallera. Possibly from a grave (see SV36).	
	4 th cent.		
	(Del Lucchese and Prestipino, 2013b)		

SV35	PALLARE	RIO CAVALLERA	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	One iron antennae sword found in the Cavallera riverbed, intentionally folded in three.	
	6 th cent.		
	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 2015c)		

SV36	PALLARE	RIO CAVALLERA	
	Planned excavation		
	Grave	Cremation with gravestone. Goods include one belt hook, 22 studs, one boat-shaped brooch, two type Aucissa and one type Nauheim brooches, ten spindle whorls. The chronological gap between the objects suggests the presence of more burials.	
	4 th – 1 st cent.		
	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 2018b)		

SV37	PIANA CRIXIA		
	Planned excvation		
	Site	Deposits with IA pottery found below the Roman <i>mansio</i> .	
	LIA		
	(Olivieri, 1976)		

SV38	PIETRA LIGURE	MONTE TRABOCCHETTO	CAVA CAVALLERO
	Chance discovery		
	Cemetery?	About 200 artefacts found in the late 1920s, only a few survive. They include an antennae dagger and fragments of cannon spearheads, “large wheel rims” and a helmet.	
	7 th cent.		
	(Piva, 1934; Tizzoni, 1979)		

SV39	PIETRA LIGURE	MONTE TRABOCCHETTO	PIAN DELL’OLIO
	Field survey, planned excavation		
	Settlement	Terraced settlement. Traces of silos, huts and metalworking. The artefacts show links with southern France, Piedmont and Lombardy.	
	FBA – 6 th /5 th cent.		
	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 2018c)		

SV40	SASSELLO	COSTA DI SPINSU	
	Chance discovery		
	Site	Pottery and Dressel A1 amphoras.	
	2 nd – 1 st cent.		
	(Franceschetti <i>et al.</i> , 1984)		

SV41	SASSELLO	MONTE GROSSO	
	Chance discovery		
	Stray find	Spearhead similar to those found at Chiavari (GE6), Albisola Superiore (SV4) and Monte Trabocchetto (SV38).	
	7 th cent.		
	(Bulgarelli, 2018b)		

SV42	SAVONA	PRIAMAR	
	Planned excavation		
	Settlement	Traces of postholes cut in the bedrock associated with BA pottery; no stratigraphy survives. LIA imported pottery and amphoras.	
	MBA, RBA-FBA, 4 th – 3 rd cent., Roman, Medieval		
	(Varaldo, 2000)		

SV43	TOIRANO	TANA DELLE GORE	
	Planned excavation		
	Cave dwelling	Deposit with pottery and traces of hearths. Probably used as an occasional shelter.	
	4 th – 3 rd cent.		
	(Isetti, 1956)		

SV44	TOVO DI SAN GIACOMO	PONTE DI VARA	
	Planned excavation		
	Funerary cave	Cave used as a cemetery from the Neolithic to the BA. A bronze helmet, probably an Etruscan helmet modified by a local artisan, documents its use in the IA.	
	(Odetti, 1996, 82; Ridella, 1987)		
	Neolithic – EBA, 5 th – 4 th cent.		

SV45	VADO LIGURE		
	Stratigraphic excavation		
	Settlement	Deposits containing coarse ware, black-gloss and Iberian pottery found below the Roman structures.	
	RBA, 4 th – 3 rd cent., Roman		
	(Bulgarelli and Del Lucchese, 1998; Lamboglia, 1955c)		

SV46	VADO LIGURE	ROCCA DEI CORVI	
	Hoard	Founder's hoard: five Zerba armrings, a sword blade, two pins, seven axes, seven fragments of <i>aes rude</i> found inside a little pit.	
	EIA		
	(Del Lucchese <i>et al.</i> , 2010)		

SV47	VARAZZE	RIPARO DELL'ALPICELLA	
	Planned excavation		
	Cave dwelling	Various phases of occupation. A simple arch-bow brooch and fragments of pottery with <i>falsa cordicella</i> indicate that the cave was used in the FBA.	
	Neolithic – MBA, FBA		
	(de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 176, III.23; Martino, 1991)		

SV48	VARAZZE	SAN DONATO	
	Planned excavation		
	Site	Black-gloss pottery and fragments of amphoras (not <i>in situ</i>).	
	3 rd – 2 nd cent., Roman		
	(Frondoni and Geltrudini, 2008)		

Bibliographic abbreviations

AJS	<i>American Journal of Sociology</i>
Ancora Liguri	de Marinis, R. C., and Spadea, G. (Eds), 2007. <i>Ancora su I Liguri. Un antico popolo europeo tra Alpi e Mediterraneo</i> . De Ferrari, Genoa.
Antenati di pietra	Ratti, M. (Ed.), 1994. <i>Antenati di pietra. Statue stele della Lunigiana e archeologia del territorio</i> . Sagep, Genoa.
Antichi Liguri	Chiaramonte Trerè, C., and Baratti, G. (Eds), 2003. <i>Antichi Liguri sulle vie appenniniche tra Tirreno e Po: nuovi contributi</i> . Cisalpino, Milan.
Archaeologica	Caffarello, N. (Ed.), 1975. <i>Archaeologica. Scritti in onore di Aldo Neppi Modona</i> . Leo S. Olschki, Florence.
Atti IIPP 32	<i>Atti della XXXII Riunione Scientifica. Preistoria e Protostoria del Piemonte</i> . IIPP, Florence.
Bagienni Bredulum	Venturino Gambari, M. (Ed.), 2001. <i>Dai Bagienni a Bredulum. Il pianoro di Breolungi tra archeologia e storia</i> (Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte Monografie 9). Omega, Turin.
BollLig	<i>Bollettino Ligustico</i>
BollSocPiemArc	<i>Bollettino della Società Piemontese di Archeologia</i> .
BPI	<i>Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana</i>
BSPF	<i>Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française</i>
BSR PACA	<i>Bilan Scientifique de la Région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur</i>
Carta	Castiglioni, G.B., and Pellegrini, G.B. (Eds), 2001.
Geomorfologica	<i>Note illustrative della carta geomorfologica della Pianura Padana</i> (Geografia Fisica Dinamica

	Quaternaria, Suppl. 4). Comitato Glaciologico Italiano, Turin.
Celtes et Gaulois	Vitali, D. (Ed.), 2006. <i>Celtes et Gaulois, l'archéologie face à l'histoire, 2: La préhistoire des Celtes. Actes de la table ronde de Bologne, 28-29 Mai 2005. Centre archéologique européen, Glux-en-Glenne.</i>
Celti ed Etruschi	Vitali, D. (Ed.), 1987. <i>Celti Ed Etruschi nell'Italia centro-settentrionale dal V sec. a.C. alla romanizzazione.</i> University Press, Bologna.
Civiltà Terramare	Bernabò Brea, M., Cardarelli, A., Cremaschi, M. (Eds), 1997. <i>Le terramare. La più antica civiltà padana.</i> Electa, Milan.
Cultural Identity	Graves-Brown, P., Jones, S., Gamble, C. (Eds), 1996. <i>Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities.</i> Routledge, London.
DAM	<i>Documents d'Archéologie Méridionale</i>
Diaspro	Del Lucchese, A., Maggi, R. (Eds.), 1998. <i>Dal diaspro al bronzo. L'età del Rame e l'età del Bronzo in Liguria: 26 secoli di storia fra 3600 e 1000 anni avanti Cristo.</i> Luna Editore, La Spezia.
Ethnicity Mediterranean	Saccoccio, F., and Vecchi, E. (Eds), 2022. <i>Who Do You Think You Are? Ethnicity in the Iron Age Mediterranean</i> (Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean 8). Accordia Research Institute, London.
Etruschi Nord	De Marinis, R.C. (Ed.), 1987. <i>Gli Etruschi a nord del Po.</i> Regione Lombardia, Mantua.
Etruscorum	Paribeni, E. (Ed.), 1990. <i>Etruscorum ante quam Ligurum. La Versilia tra VII e III sec. a.C.</i> Bandecchi & Vivaldi, Pontedera.

Genti Tigullio	Benente, F., Campana, N. (Eds), 2014. <i>Antiche genti del Tigullio a Chiavari: dalla necropoli ligure al Medioevo. Atti del Convegno di studi, Chiavari, 24-25 settembre 2010.</i> IISL, Bordighera.
GStLun	<i>Giornale Storico della Lunigiana e del Territorio Lucense</i>
Guerrieri Lunigiana	Paribeni, E. (Ed.), 2007. <i>Guerrieri dell'età del Ferro in Lunigiana.</i> Giacchè, La Spezia.
I Liguri	de Marinis, R. C. and Spadea, G. (Eds), 2004. <i>I Liguri. Un antico popolo europeo tra Alpi e Mediterraneo.</i> Skira, Milan.
IIPP	Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria
IISL	Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri
IPAMM	<i>Mémoires de l'Institut de Préhistoire et d'Archéologie Alpes Méditerranée</i>
Ligures Celeberrimi	Venturino Gambari, M., Gandolfi, D. (Eds), 2004. <i>Ligures Celeberrimi. La Liguria Interna Nella Seconda Etá Del Ferro.</i> IISL, Bordighera.
MemLincei	<i>Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche</i>
MonAntLincei	<i>Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei</i>
Museo Versiliese	Regione Toscana (Ed.), 1995. <i>Museo Archeologico Versiliese Bruno Antonucci Pietrasanta.</i> Pezzini, Viareggio.
n.d.	No date
n.p.	No page numbers
Navigatori e Contadini	Venturino Gambari, M. (Ed.), 1995. <i>Navigatori e contadini. Alba e la valle Tanaro nella preistoria</i>

	(Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte Monografie 4). Famija Albèisa, Alba.
Necropoli Castelletto Ticino	Gambari, F.M., Cerri, R. (Eds), 2011. <i>L'alba della città: le prime necropoli del centro protourbano di Castelletto Ticino</i> . Interlinea, Novara.
Necropoli Morano	Venturino Gambari, M. (Ed.), 2006. <i>Navigando lungo l'Eridano: la necropoli protogolasecchiana di Morano sul Po</i> . Museo Civico, Casale Monferrato.
Necropoli Valdieri	Venturino Gambari, M. (Ed.), 2008. <i>Ai piedi delle montagne. La necropoli protostorica di Valdieri</i> . LineLab, Alessandria.
NotALom	<i>Notiziario della Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia</i>
NSc	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità comunicate alla Reale Accademia dei Lincei per ordine di Sua Eccellenza il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione</i>
Oriente e Occidente	Bartoloni, G., and Delpino, F. (Eds), 2005. <i>Oriente e Occidente: metodi e discipline a confront. Riflessioni sulla cronologia dell'età del Ferro in Italia</i> . Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, Pisa/Rome.
QuadArchPiem	<i>Quaderni di Archeologia del Piemonte</i>
QuadSoprArchPiem	<i>Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte</i>
RII	<i>Rivista Ingauna e Intemelia</i>
Ripostiglio Cavanero	Venturino Gambari, M. (Ed.), 2009. <i>Il ripostiglio del Monte Cavanero di Chiusa di Pesio (Cuneo)</i> . LineLab, Alessandria.
RSP	<i>Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche</i>
RStLig	<i>Rivista di Studi Liguri</i>

Scavi Uscio	Maggi, R. (Ed.), 1990. <i>Archeologia dell'Appennino Ligure: gli scavi del Castellaro di Uscio, un insediamento di crinale occupato dal neolitico alla conquista Romana</i> . IISL Sezione Tigullia, Chiavari/Bordighera.
StEtr	<i>Studi Etruschi</i>
StGen	<i>Studi Genuensi</i>

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