

UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM
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Atestine identities in the Iron Age Veneto,
north-east Italy
(9th-1st cent. BC)

by

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degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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I certify 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.**
- d) All assistance received has been acknowledged.**

 H. Saccoccia

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of
my grandparents, Salvatore and Gemma.

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Abstract

The aim of this PhD thesis is to analyse identity in its broader sense (e.g. individual, gender, group, community, just to mention a few aspects), and not only as ethnic identity, by focusing on the Veneto Iron Age (9th to 1st cent. BC) archaeological record, north-east Italy, which the literature links to the Atestine culture.

Prior to developing my identity argument I discuss the history of study of the Iron Age Veneto, a literature review on identity, the geography and geomorphology of the Veneto region and its settlement and socio-political pattern prior to and during the emergence period of the Atestine culture.

On the basis of the literature review I have decided to approach Atestine identity in an eclectic and pragmatic way, negotiating my scientific position according to the type of question to be addressed, choosing each time the method of analysis that I believe best fits the problem to solve and not to align with a specific school of thought.

I analyse selected Iron Age Atestine classes (i.e. red-and-black painted ware, Situla Art, bronze *ex votos* and tomb markers) following Morgan's argument that in ancient times only particular artefacts under particular circumstances selectively carried social or political valency and Lomas' argument that a complex hierarchy of identities and interactions between different forms of identity can be identified in Archaic Italy.

The above classes were used to analyse different aspects of Atestine identity via a multi-scalar approach (i.e. inter-regional, regional and local/community levels), evaluating how the identity valency of an object may vary across time and space and, in at least one case – when objects interact at the inter-regional scale, identity acquires an ethnic valency.

Table of Contents

List of abbreviations	ix
List of figures and tables	xii
 1. Introduction: aim, outline and setting of the study	 1
<u>1.1. Background and motivations.....</u>	1
<u>1.2. The scope and setting</u>	3
<u>1.3. The method.....</u>	4
<u>1.4. Outline of the study</u>	5
 2. The Iron Age Veneto: history of study	 12
<u>2.1. Enetos, Veneti, Euganei: when terminology matters</u>	12
<u>2.2. Relative and absolute chronology of the Iron Age Veneto</u>	14
<u>2.3. Material culture in the Iron Age Veneto.....</u>	19
2.3.1. Situla Art	19
2.3.2. Red-and-black painted ware	25
2.3.3. <i>Ex votos</i>	28
2.3.4. Tomb markers	33
<u>2.4. First considerations.....</u>	39
 3. The geography and geomorphology of the Po Plain	 40
<u>3.1. The geography of the Po Plain</u>	42
<u>3.2. The geology and geomorphology of the Po Plain</u>	46
<u>3.3. The evolution of the prehistoric fluvial network in the Veneto region.....</u>	50
 4. Culture, civilization and identity	 59
<u>4.1. The archaeological culture debate between Romanticism and Kossinna</u>	59

4.2. <u>The archaeological culture debate between Childe and the present</u>	64
5. The later Bronze Age Veneto: thugs, endemic warfare and epic voyages	76
5.1. <u>Social complexity between the MBA and FBA in the western Veneto</u>	78
5.2. <u>Final remarks on the later Bronze Age western Veneto</u>	130
6. The Iron Age Veneto: an overview	131
7. Individual and collective identities in Iron Age Veneto	176
7.1. <u>Identities through tomb markers and bronze <i>ex votos</i> at Este and Padua</u>	177
7.2. <u>Final remarks on Atestine tomb markers and bronze <i>ex votos</i></u>	186
8. Local, regional and inter-regional identities in the Iron Age Veneto and nearby areas	188
8.1. <u>The Atestines through Situla Art</u>	188
8.1.1. The diffusion of Situla art: a diachronic analysis.....	206
8.1.2. Hats, thrones, socio-political role and identities in Situla Art motifs	215
8.1.2.1. Men on a throne in the Situla Art	218
8.1.2.2. Women on a throne in the Situla Art.....	240
8.1.3. Female earrings in the Situla Art.....	242
8.1.4. Situla Art and identities: final remarks.....	244
8.2. <u>Veneto Iron Age pottery as an identity marker?</u>	248
8.3. <u>Bronze votive plaques and local Atestine identity</u>	262
9. Discussion	270
10. Conclusions	284
Ancient sources	289

Bibliographical abbreviations.....	290
Bibliography	294

List of abbreviations

AL= Alessandria

a.s.l.= above sea level

AGSAG= Austro-German School of Anthropological Geographers

BL= Belluno

BO= Bologna

BZ= Bolzano

c.= circa

CE= Caserta

cent.= century

cf.= compare

CN= Cuneo

CR= Cremona

CTR= Carta Tecnica Regionale (Regional Technical Map)

EBA= Early Bronze Age

EIA= Early Iron Age

FBA= Final Bronze Age

FC= Forlì-Cesena

FE= Ferrara

GR= Grosseto

GSAEPA= German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistoric Archaeology

Hist.= Histories

LGM= Last Glacial Maximum

LC= Lecco

LO= Lodi

MBA= Middle Bronze Age

MI= Milan

MN= Mantua

MO= Modena

n.d.= not definable

NH= Naturalis Historia

p.= page

pers. comm.= personal comment

PC= Piacenza

PD= Padua

PGT= Piano Generale Terrazzato

PN= Pordenone

PR= Parma

RBA= Recent Bronze Age

RE= Reggio Emilia

RM= Rome

RN= Rimini

RO= Rovigo

SA= Salerno

SI= Siena

s.l.= sea level

TE= Teramo

TN= Trento

TO= Turin

TV= Treviso

transl.= translation

TS= Trieste

UD= Udine

VI= Vicenza

VC= Vercelli

VE= Venice

VR= Verona

VSE= Viennese School of Ethnology

List of figures and tables

Chapter 1 – Introduction: aim, outline and setting of the study

Fig. 1 – Political map of Italy and surrounding areas: the Veneto region, north-east Italy, is shaded in dark grey. The other areas analysed in this PhD thesis are shaded in light grey. Base map from d-maps.com.

Fig. 2 – Location of the sites mentioned in this chapter and in Section 2.1. DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

Chapter 2 – The Iron Age Veneto: history of study

Fig. 3 – Chronological correlations between Alpine pile-dwelling sites and the Italian sequence (after Peroni and Vanzetti, 2005: plate 13).

Fig. 4 – Prosdocimi's Euganean relative phases (Prosdocimi, 1882: plate 2).

Fig. 5 – The absolute chronology of the Atestine periods according to late 19th and early 20th cent. scholars: Prosdocimi (1882: 31), Helbig (1882: 75-84), Montelius (1895: 279), Ghirardini (1901: 48-49), Randall-MacIver (1927: 8-22).

Fig. 6 – Randall-MacIver's (1924: 93) reconstruction of the Atestine genealogical tree.

Fig. 7 – Atestine chronologies in the last 50 years or so compared to those of Bologna and Hallstatt (after Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: 485; Frey, 1969: fig. 21; Peroni *et al.*, 1975; Vanzetti, 1992).

Fig. 8 – Distribution of Situla Art evidence (after Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 15). Note that he misplaces some sites in his figure. DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Fig. 9 – Examples of Situla Art: a) situla from Este-Villa Benvenuti (PD, Veneto – Italy), grave 126 (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 176, n. 1); b) *cista* from Montebelluna-Fondo Tessari (TV, Veneto – Italy) (Gerhardinger, 2013: 292, fig. 6.10); c) lid from Este-Randi, grave 34 (PD, Veneto – Italy) (Frey, 1969: plate 46, n. 3); d) scabbard from Belluno (BL, Veneto – Italy) (Frey, 1969: plate 81, n. 42); e) belt plate from Carceri, grave 48 (PD, Veneto – Italy) (Frey, 1969: plate 67, n. 18); f) bowl

from Este-Benvenuti, grave 122 (PD, Veneto – Italy) (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 141, n.2); g) palette from Gazzo Veronese-Turbine cemetery (PD, Veneto – Italy) (Salzani, 2002a: 181, fig. 12); h) mirror from Bologna-Arnoaldi, grave 104 (BO, Emilia-Romagna – Italy) (Macellari, 2002: plate 19, n. 11); i) *kardiophylax* from Forlì-Rio Capena (FC, Emilia-Romagna – Italy) (Fogolari, 1961: plate 3, n. 10); j) helmet from Pitino (MC, Marche – Italy) (Sgubini Moretti, 1992: 194, fig. 14); k) *tintinnabulum* from Bologna-Arsenale, *Tomba degli Ori* (BO, Emilia-Romagna – Italy) (Morigi Govi, 1971: plate 52); l) axe from Bologna-Arnoaldi, grave 11 (BO, Emilia-Romagna – Italy) (Carancini, 1984: plate 101, n. 3443); m) fan from Waisenberg, mound 1 (Austria) (Gleirscher, 2011: 333, fig. 3).

Tab. 1 - Comparison between the dates assigned to the main pieces of Situla Art at the beginning of the 20th cent. and in recent times.

Fig. 10 – A comparison of the relative and absolute chronology of Situla Art and votive plaques (after Zaghetto, 2003: 22; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 18; Zaghetto, 2017: 24-25).

Fig. 11 – Red-and-black painted ware from Este-Casa di Ricovero cemetery (PD), scale 1:5: a) lid, b) situliform, c-d) beakers; e) jar (Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 51).

Fig. 12 – Red-and-black decorated *dolium* from Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro (VR), grave 4: a) whole form; b) decoration (Ferrari and Salzani, 2018a: plate 24).

Fig. 13 – Iron Age Veneto votive deposits (after Pascucci, 1990: figs 1-2; De Nardi, 2008: 407-427).

Fig. 14 – Pascucci's (1990: 59-92) typological classification of Atestine bronze votive plaques. Drawings from Pascucci (1990): 1) fig. 16, n. 5; 2) fig. 17, n. 2; 3) fig. 18, n. 1a; 4) fig. 19, n. 4; 5) fig. 20, n. 4; 6) fig. 21, n. 2a; 7) fig. 22, n. 2a; 8) fig. 23, n. 8a; 9) fig. 24, n. 2b; 10) fig. 25, n. 4; 11) fig. 26, n. 3.

Fig. 15 - Pascucci's (1990: 93-118) Atestine bronze figurines typological classification. Drawings from Pascucci (1990): 1) fig. 29, n. 1a; 2) fig. 30, n. 2; 3a) fig. 31, n. 1b; 3b) fig. 32, n. 1b, right; 4) fig. 33B, second from the left; 5) fig. 34, n. 4a; 6) fig. 35A, n. 1c; 7) fig. 36, n. 1a.

Fig. 16 – Este (PD), *Reitia* sanctuary, bronze figurines with inscribed stone bases: a) inscribed stone base (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: plate 5, n. 6a); inscribed stone bases with: b) single offeror (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: plate 29, n. 49b); c) multiple offerors (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: plate 16, ns 130, 29, 131, 126).

Fig. 17 – Silver figurines from Este-Baratella (PD), sanctuary of *Reitia*, scale 1:1: a) Minerva(?), b) undefinable goddess (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: plate 60, ns 182a-d and plate 59, ns 181a-d).

Fig. 18 – Veneto Iron Age tomb markers: a) stele from Padua (PD), 1st cent. BC (Pellegrini, 1967: 345); b) *ciottolone* from Trambacche (PD), 5th cent. BC(?) (Prosdocimi, 1988: 291); c) funerary *cippo* from Este-Capodaglio (PD), Atestine period III (Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 54).

Fig. 19 – Gazzo Veronese-Colombara cemetery (VR): 1-5) limestone statues, one still bearing part of an inscription (2b) (Gamba *et al.*, 2011: figs 3, 5, 7-8); 6) bronze double axe from the grave 2 found in 1980 (Malnati, 2002: fig.1).

Fig. 20 – Distribution of tomb markers in the Iron Age Veneto. DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

Fig. 21 – The different iconography in Iron Age Padua (PD) *stelai*: a) man on a chariot led by two horses, from the territory of Padua (Pellegrini, 1967: 330); b) man and woman greeting or taking leave from each other, Padua-Camin, 6th cent. BC (Lomas, 2011: fig. 1.9); c) knight, Padua-via Acquette, 4th cent. BC (Lomas, 2011: fig. 1.11).

Fig. 22 – Iron Age *stelai* from: a) Este-Fondo Nazari (PD), mid 5th cent. BC (Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 52); b) Monselice-Ca' Oddo (PD), 5th-4th cent. BC (Martini Chieco Bianchi and Prosdocimi, 1969: plate 137a).

Chapter 3 – The geography and geomorphology of the Po Plain

Fig. 23 - Administrative map of northern Italy with highlighted, in green, the Po Plain according to Castiglioni and colleagues (1997). The green area between the red and blue lines is the Venetian Plain, the green area east of the blue line is the Friulian Plain. Po Plain regional capitals are also shown: TO= Turin, MI= Milan, BO= Bologna, VE= Venice and TS= Trieste. Base map from d-maps.com.

Fig. 24 – Present-day Po Plain river network superimposed on an administrative map of northern Italy. Po Plain regional capitals are also shown: TO= Turin, MI= Milan, BO= Bologna, VE= Venice and TS= Trieste (after Castiglioni *et al.*, 1997). Base map from d-maps.com.

Fig. 25 - Contour lines of the Po Plain superimposed on the administrative map of northern Italy. Po Plain regional capitals are shown: TO= Turin, MI= Milan, BO= Bologna, VE= Venice and TS= Trieste (after Tellini, 2001: fig. 4.1). Base map from d-maps.com.

Fig. 26 – Riverbeds in the Po Plain: a) recessed; b) hanging (after Peretto and Piovan, 2018: 22).

Fig. 27 – Po Plain slope districts with superimposed, in orange, the spring belt. Po Plain administrative borders and regional capitals are shown: TO= Turin, MI= Milan, BO= Bologna, VE= Venice and TS= Trieste (after Tellini, 2001: fig. 4.2 and Bondesan, 2001: fig. 5.1). Base map from d-maps.com.

Fig. 28 - Portion of the central Po Plain showing the main geological units described. Provincial capitals are shown: LO= Lodi, CR= Cremona, MN= Mantua, VR= Verona, PC= Piacenza, PR= Parma, RE= Reggio Emilia and MO= Modena (after Marchetti, 2002: 363, fig. 2). Base map from d-maps.com.

Fig. 29 – Evolution of the Po Delta over the last c. 5500 years (after Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: fig. 14; Balista, 2018: fig. 33).

Fig. 30 – The evolution of the rivers Bacchiglione and Brenta at Padua (PD) between the FBA and Iron Age (after Balista and Rinaldi, 2005: fig. 12). In the upper right corner the location of the site of Padua.

Fig. 31 - The river Mincio flood plain in its geological context. Archaeological sites and modern cities mentioned in the text are shown together with the cores analysed by Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). Administrative borders and provincial capitals are shown: MN= Mantua, and VR= Verona (after Marchetti, 2002: 363, fig. 2; Ravazzi *et al.* 2013: 196, fig. 2). Base map from d-maps.com.

Fig. 32 – Geomorphological map of the lower Mincio flood plain, central Po Plain: A) Bronze Age; B) 5th cent. BC. Legend: 1) dashed line marks presumable water courses, 2) fluvial basins, 3) poorly drained lowland, 4) alluvial paleochannel, 5) abandoned fluvial course, 6) main fluvial scarp, 7) crevasse splay area, 8) PGT unit, 9-14) archaeological sites (Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013: 200, fig. 6).

Fig. 33 – Reconstruction of the southern Bronze Age Veneto water network with highlighted the sites mentioned in the text. Provincial capitals are shown: MN= Mantua, VR= Verona, PD= Padua, VE= Venice, RO= Rovigo, and FE= Ferrara (after Zaffanella, 1979: fig. 10; Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: fig. 14; Balista, 2009: figs 1 and 14 ; Piovan *et al.*, 2012: fig. 1; Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013: fig. 6). Base map from d-maps.com.

Tab. 2 - Calibration of radiocarbon determinations from the sites of Conselve (PD) and Bagnoli (PD) published in Piovan and colleagues (2012: tab. 1).

Tab. 3 - Calibration of radiocarbon determinations from the sites of Saline (RO) and Cona (VE) published in Piovan and colleagues (2010: tab. 2; 2012: tab. 1).

Fig. 34 – Reconstruction of the southern Veneto water network between the 8th and the 2nd cent. BC with highlighted the sites mentioned in the text. Provincial capitals are shown: MN= Mantua, VR= Verona, PD= Padua, VE= Venice, RO= Rovigo, and FE= Ferrara (after Zaffanella, 1979: fig. 10; Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: fig. 14; Balista, 2009: figs 1 and 14; Piovan *et al.*, 2012: fig. 1; Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013: fig. 6). Base map from d-maps.com.

Chapter 4 - Culture, civilisation and identity

Fig. 35 – 1936 cover of Kossinna's *Die Deutsche Vorgeschichte*. Reprint of the first, 1912 edition.

Fig. 36 – Cover and contents (p. 5) of Childe's 1942 book, *What happened in History*.

Chapter 5 - The later Bronze Age Veneto: thugs, endemic warfare and epic voyages

Fig. 37 – A) Nogara, CTR (Technical) map. In red the four different excavated areas of the prehistoric cemetery; the grey oval area marks the contemporary settlement. B) the Veneto region is highlighted in the upper right corner box; the rest of the image reconstructs the MBA-RBA (1700-1150 BC) river network; the site of Nogara (VR) is marked by a yellow star and the dotted red line marks the modern administrative border (after Balista, 2009, Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013; Salzani, 2005a: fig. 1, Cupitò and Leonardi, 2005: fig. 2). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

Tab. 4 – Warrior burials at Olmo (VR) (data from Salzani, 2005a; Pulcini, 2014).

Tab. 5 – Rich adult female graves at Olmo (VR) (data from Salzani, 2005a; Pulcini, 2014).

Tab. 6 – Rich female sub-adult graves at Olmo (VR) (data from Salzani, 2005a; Pulcini, 2014).

Fig. 38 – Plot of MBA2 and MBA3 (1550-1300 BC) graves at Olmo (VR), sectors B and C. GIS reworking of the data published in Salzani (2005a) and Pulcini (2014). The bottom left corner box shows all the graves found in sectors B and C.

Tab. 7A – Olmo (VR), burials with both grave goods and genetic markers (data from Salzani, 2005b; Pulcini, 2014).

Tab. 7B – Olmo (VR), burials without grave goods but sharing genetic markers with elite (data from Salzani, 2005a; Pulcini, 2014).

Tab. 8 – Olmo (VR), warrior graves with detailed information on associated weapons (data from Salzani, 2005a; Pulcini, 2014).

Fig. 39 – Sword position at Olmo (VR) (after Salzani, 2005a: figs 251, 254, 281, 317).

Fig. 40 – Amber Routes, displayed as red arrows, superimposed on distribution area of the swords found at Olmo (VR), in grey. The yellow star marks Olmo (Amber Routes after de Navarro, 1925: map 1; Harding, 2013: fig. 20.2; swords drawings after Salzani, 2005a: plate 5, grave 33; plate 7, grave 50; plate 10, grave 87; plate 13, grave 113; plate 31, grave 392; plate 38, grave 477; swords distribution area after de Marinis and Salzani, 2005). Base map from d-maps.com.

Fig. 41 – Olmo (VR), location of supposed dissenters (graves 246 and 458) in comparison with the MBA2-3 (1550-1300 BC) elite groups, defined by circles (see Fig. 38). GIS reworking of the data published in Salzani (2005a) and Pulcini (2014).

Fig. 42 – Plot of the RBA (1300-1150 BC) graves at Olmo (VR). GIS reworking of the data published in Salzani (2005a) and Pulcini (2014).

Fig. 43 – The RBA (1300-1150 BC) settlement pattern between the lower Mincio and the Adige valleys (site positions and size from aerial photographs and de Marinis, 1987a; Capuis *et al.*, eds, 1990; Salzani, 2005a; Salzani, 2006; Salzani *et al.* 2006; Gonzato *et al.*, 2015; Vicenzutto, 2017). Ancient river network reconstructed using ArcGIS through aerial photographs and Balista (2009); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013); De Guio and colleagues (2015).

Tab. 9 – The Pila del Brancon (VR) hoard finds (data from Salzani 1994, 1998a; Bietti Sestieri *et al.*, 2013).

Fig. 44 – Possible funerary pyres at A) Olmo (VR) and B) Casinalbo (MO) (after Salzani, 2005a: figs 221, 226-227; Cardarelli *et al.*, 2014: 69).

Fig. 45 – The remaining objects of the Tarmassia hoard (VR), scale 1:3 (after Salzani, 1985: fig. 30).

Tab. 10 - RBA (1300-1150 BC) site sizes calculated in GIS using aerial photographs. Site locations in Fig. 43.

Fig. 46 – The late FBA (late 11th cent. BC) settlement pattern between the Fratta and the Adige paleochannels (site locations and size from Bianchin Citton, 2015; Gonzato *et al.* 2015; Bellintani *et al.*, 2018; Consonni, 2008; Salzani, 1993a-b; Bianchin Citton *et al.*, 2015; Bietti Sestieri *et al.*, 2015). Ancient river network reconstructed in ArcGIS using aerial photographs and Balista (2009); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

Tab. 11 - Later FBA (late 11th cent. BC) settlements size. Site locations in Fig. 46.

Fig. 47 – Gazzo Veronese (VR): left, the later FBA-early EIA (11th-10th cent. BC) settlement pattern (after Saccoccio, 2016: fig. 8); right: A) sword from Ponte Nuovo cemetery, grave A, EIA (10th-9th cent. BC); B) spearhead from Ponte Nuovo cemetery, grave 5, FBA3 (11th cent. BC) (Salzani, 2005b: fig. 168A and fig. 145D-L).

Chapter 6 – The Iron Age Veneto: an overview

Fig. 48 – The development of the Veneto Iron Age settlement pattern as illustrated in Calzavara and colleagues (1984: figs 17-20). Site details are in the original publication.

Tab. 12 – Number of Iron Age sites considered by Calzavara Capuis and colleagues in 1984 compared to those considered in this thesis.

Fig. 49 – The 9th cent. BC settlement pattern between the Mincio and Tagliamento valleys (see Tab. 13 for site details). Ancient river network reconstruction after aerial photos and Balista and Rinaldi (2005); Balista (2009); Piovan and colleagues (2012: fig. 1); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

Fig. 50 – 10th-9th cent. BC weapons and ornaments of Luco/Pfatten (a-d) and Villanovan (e) type found in the cemeteries of Gazzo Veronese (VR), scale 1:4; a) Ponte Nuovo, grave 5 (Salzani, 2005b: fig. 145A, D, F, G, L and fig. 146C, E), b) Ponte Nuovo, grave 47 (Salzani, 2005b: fig. 153F); c) Colombara,

grave 170 (Salzani, 2001: Fig. 25B, n. 3); d) Ponte Nuovo, grave 74 (Salzani, 2005b: fig. 162C); e) Ponte Nuovo, grave 61 (Salzani, 2005b: fig. 157B-C).

Fig. 51 – The 8th-7th cent. BC settlement pattern between the Mincio and Tagliamento valleys (see Tab. 13 for site details). Ancient river network reconstruction after aerial photos and Balista and Rinaldi (2005); Balista (2009); Piovan and colleagues (2012: fig. 1); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

Fig. 52 – The 6th-4th cent. BC settlement pattern between the Mincio and Tagliamento valleys (see Tab. 13 for site details). Ancient river network reconstruction after aerial photos and Balista and Rinaldi (2005); Balista (2009); Piovan and colleagues (2012: fig. 1); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). The Etruscan cultural area is defined according to material culture and Marzatico (2012: fig. 1), while the Cenomani Gauls presence is defined by the distribution of La Tène material culture. DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

Fig. 53 – 6th-4th cent. BC Thiessen Polygons analysis centred on the major Atestine central places and the Etruscan site of Adria (RO). Central places according to Balista and Gamba (2013: fig. 1) and my arguments in this chapter. DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

Fig. 54 – Distribution of Etruscan *Schnabelkannen*, black and white circles, compared to the 6th-4th cent. BC Atestine core area, in magenta. The white triangle marks pottery *Schnabelkanne* (after Sassatelli, 1989: fig. 26; Frey, 1999: fig.4; de Marinis, 2000: fig. 25).

Fig. 55 – A) Carceri (PD), grave 38, belt plate, Veneto, scale 1:1 (after Frey, 1969: plate 67, n. 18). B) pottery *Schanbelkanne* and *skyphos* from the territory of Este (PD) (Capuis, 2001: 139, bottom fig.; scale not provided by Capuis, 2001).

Fig. 56 – Reconstruction of the *Andeti* family tree (after Prosdocimi, 1988: 289-91, 376, 381; Marinetti and Solinas, 2014: 80) (images from: a) Prosdocimi, 1988: 289, figs 268-271; b) Marinetti and Solinas, 2014: fig.2; Prosdocimi, 1988: 291, fig. 278; c) Prosdocimi, 1988: 290, fig. 272-274; d) Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 84; e) Martini Chieco Bianchi and Prosdocimi, 1969: plate 137a; Prosdocimi, 1988: 376, fig. 314). The vertical line marks direct progeny, the vertical dashed line marks indirect descendants.

Fig. 57 – Late 6th cent. BC to 1st cent. AD relocations of the *Andeti* family. DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Fig. 58 – Late 6th cent. BC Gallic votive inscription on a bronze plaque from Este-Meggiano sanctuary (PD), scale 1:2 (Marinetti, 2002: 181, fig. 76).

Fig. 59 – La Tène A (450-400 BC) evidence in the Atestine territory (after Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2014: fig. 1). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Fig. 60 – The 3rd cent. BC settlement pattern between the Mincio and Tagliamento valleys (see Tab. 13 for site details). Ancient river network reconstruction after aerial photos and Balista and Rinaldi (2005); Balista (2009); Piovan and colleagues (2012: fig. 1); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

Fig. 61 – The 2nd-1st cent. BC settlement pattern between the Mincio and Tagliamento valleys (see Tab. 13 for site details). Ancient river network reconstruction after aerial photos and Balista and Rinaldi (2005); Balista (2009); Piovan and colleagues (2012: fig. 1); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

Tab. 13 – List of the sites shown in Figs. 49, 51-52, 60-61; S= settlement, C= cemetery, spo= sporadic, bound= boundary stone, ho= hoard and sac= sacred area.

Chapter 7 – Individual and collective identities in the Iron Age Veneto

Fig. 62 – Este (PD) (a) and Padua (PD) (b) in the Iron Age: the distribution of tomb markers, *ex votos* and horse burials. Evidence is overlaid on the current Google Map of the area. Information regarding place names, the god/goddess possibly worshipped and rites performed at each of the sanctuaries of Este is provided (sources: Maggiani, 2002: fig. 14; Balista *et al.*, 2002: fig. 27; Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008: fig. 1; Bondini, 2006; Ruta Serafini and Balista 1998: fig. 1; location of Este *cippi* according to Zerbinati, 1982: attachment 2; location of Padua evidence according to Marinetti and Prosdocimi, 1994; De Min, 2005: fig. 139; Gamba *et al.*, 2005: fig. 64; Michelini and Ruta Serafini, 2005: fig. 160; Gamba *et al.*, 2008: fig. 4; Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2009: fig. 1).

Fig. 63 – The Iron Age territories of Este (PD) and Padua (PD) defined by Thiessen Polygons. The ancient river network, sanctuaries, extra-urban funerary evidence, 2nd cent. BC boundary stones and reconstructed trackways are also shown (after Bosio, 1978: fig. 1; Boaro, 2001: fig. 8; De Min and Ruta Serafini, 2005: fig. 1; Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008: fig. 1; Piovan *et al.*, 2012: fig. 1; Balista and Rinaldi, 2005: fig. 12). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

Fig. 64 – Este-Baratella (PD) votives, scale 1:3. Bronze plaques: a) knights (Chieco Bianchi, 2010: plate 21, n. 70), b) women in procession (Chieco Bianchi, 2010: plate 11, n. 42), c) foot soldier (Chieco Bianchi, 2010: plate 59, n. 254), d) woman, interpreted as the goddess *Reitia*(?) (Chieco Bianchi, 2010: plate 27, n. 90). Bronze figurine on inscribed stone base (e).

Chapter 8 – Local, regional and inter-regional identities in the Iron Age Veneto and nearby areas

Fig. 65 – 6th-4th cent. BC cultural districts in the case-study area (after: Pallottino, 1991: figs 1-2 and 6; Gabrovec, 1999: fig. 1; Marzatico, 2012a: fig. 1; Rondini, 2017: fig. 6; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 1). DTM data from ESRI, USGS, NOAA.

Fig. 66 - Situla Art distribution between mid 7th and early 3rd cent. BC (after Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 15 with additions). DTM data from ESRI, USGS, NOAA.

Tab. 14 – List of Situla Art artefacts known to date. Relative dating phases of artefacts follow the chronological framework of Peroni and colleagues (1975), if not otherwise stated.

Fig. 67 - Belt plate from Brezje (BRE.B2), Slovenia, scale 1:2: a) drawing of the four different pieces; b) picture of the belt plate as found during excavation (after Barth, 1999: fig. 2; Turk, 2005: fig. 23; Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 32, n. 18). Note the differences between the decorated frames and the width of the sheets which implies that it is made from at least two original belt plates combined.

Fig. 68 – The distribution of Situla Art between the mid 7th and early 3rd cent. BC superimposed upon the Atestine core area, in magenta, as defined in Chapter 6. Different sizes of grey dots indicate relative numbers of objects at each findspot. DTM data from ESRI, USGS, NOAA.

Fig. 69 – Mid 7th to early 3rd cent. BC distribution maps of Situla Art by phase, superimposed upon the Atestine core area as defined in Chapter 6, Fig. 52. DTM data from ESRI, USGS, NOAA.

Tab. 15 – Number of Situla Art finds per country, site and phase. The table also shows the number of Situla Art objects dated by Zaghetto per site (2001; 2017).

Fig. 70 – Decoration on Kurd-type situlas: a) Kleinklein-Pommerkogel (KLE.S1), Austria (after Schmid, 1933: 228; Dobiat, 1980: plate A3); b) Sesto Calende, Tomba del Guerriero A (SES.S1), Lombardy – Italy (after Biondelli, 1867: plate 2), c) Trezzo sull’Adda (TRE.S1), Lombardy – Italy (after de Marinis, 1974: plate 1).

Fig. 71 – Bar and pie chart for the number and percentages of Situla Art objects on which figures on a throne are depicted.

Fig. 72 – Distribution of Situla Art with depictions of figures on a throne distinguished by artefact type superimposed upon the 6th-4th cent. BC cultural districts in the case-study area (after Pallottino, 1991: figs 1-2 and 6; Gabrovec, 1999: fig. 1; Marzatico, 2012a: fig. 1; Rondini, 2017: fig. 6; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 1). DTM data from ESRI, USGS, NOAA.

Fig. 73 – The Benvenuti situla and its decoration (EST.S3), Veneto – Italy (after Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: fig. 8 and plate 176, n. 1).

Fig. 74 – Bronze votive plaque from Padua-via Tiepolo/via S. Massimo, Veneto – Italy, scale 4:5 (Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2009: fig. 5).

Fig. 75 - Stična grave 27, Slovenia: left, reconstruction of the decorated cloak; right, area of comparison for the cloak’s decoration (after Hellmuth, 2010: fig. 5; Teržan and Hellmuth, 2010: figs 3 and 4).

Fig. 76 – The Montebelluna situla and its decoration (MON.S1), Veneto – Italy (after Bianchin Citton, 2014: fig. 4).

Fig. 77 – The decoration on the Castelvetro mirror (CAS.M1), Emilia-Romagna – Italy, scale 1:2 (after Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 21, n. 6).

Fig. 78 - Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol (Italy) Situla Art depicting men on a throne: a-b) two lids from Mechel (Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 28, ns 10 and 11); c) belt plate from Moritzing, grave 12 (MOR.B1) (after Steiner, 2002: plate 7, n. 1); d) belt plate from Vadena, grave 14 (VAD.B1) (after Dal Ri, 1992: fig. 15).

Fig. 79 – The poorly preserved decoration on the Welzelach situla (WEL.S1), Austria, scale 1:4 (after Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 76, n. 44).

Fig. 80 – The Providence situla and its decoration (BOL.S2), Emilia-Romagna – Italy (after Lucke and Frey, 1962: appendix 1).

Fig. 81 – Brezje belt plate (BRE.B1), Slovenia, scale 1:2: a) drawing of the three plates with reconstruction of the decoration (after Barth, 1999: fig. 1; Turk, 2005: fig. 42); b) picture of the find as discovered (after Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 32, n. 17).

Fig. 82 – The Vače situla and its decoration (VAC.S1), Slovenia (after Starè, 1955: plate 103 and appendix).

Fig. 83 – The Magdalenska gora situla and its decoration (MAG.S1), Slovenia (after Tecco Hvala *et al.*, 2004: plate 85, n. 17; appendix 4).

Fig. 84 – The Magdalenska gora lid (MAG.L1), Slovenia, scale 1:3 (after Tecco Hvala *et al.*, 2004: appendix 5).

Fig. 85 – The Magdalenska gora situla and its decoration (MAG.S2), Slovenia (after Tecco Hvala *et al.*, 2004: appendix 2).

Fig. 86 – The Nesactium situla and its decoration (NES.S1), Slovenia (after Mihovilič, 1996: plate 3, n. 66 and appendix 3).

Fig. 87 – Situla Art from Bologna (Emilia-Romagna – Italy) depicting crested helmets: a) the Certosa situla and its decoration (BOL.S1) (Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 64, n. 4); b) the Arnoaldi situla and its decoration (BOL.S3) (Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 64, n. 4; Macellari, 2002: plate 16 bis); c) the Arnoaldi mirror and its decoration (BOL.M1) (Macellari, 2002: plate 19, n. 11).

Fig. 88 - Wool cloaks? Comparison between cloaks decoration and the way animal fur is shown in the Magdalenska gora situla (MAG.S1), Slovenia, scale 1:2: a) middle and b) lower friezes (after Tecco Hvala *et al.*, 2004: appendix 4).

Fig. 89 – The Kuffarn situla decoration (KUF.S1), Austria, scale 2:5 (after Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 75, n. 40). The unique frieze is reproduced in two strips with “X” marking the join.

Fig. 90 - Carceri, grave 38, belt plate (CRC.B1), Veneto – Italy, scale 1:1 (Frey, 1969: plate 67, n. 18).

Fig. 91 – The Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl situla fragments (DÜR.S1), Austria, scale 2:5 (after Zeller, 2004: fig. 15).

Fig. 92 – The Waisenberg situla (WAI.S1), Austria, scale 1:2. My attempt at reconstructing the decorative motif (after Gleirscher, 2009: plate 14).

Fig. 93 – The Pieve d’Alpago situla and its decoration, Veneto – Italy (after Buson, 2015a: fig. 4; Gangemi, 2015: fig. 3).

Fig. 94 - Bologna, *tintinnabulum* from the *Tomba degli Ori*, Emilia-Romagna – Italy, scale 4:5 (after Morigi Govi, 1971: plates 52, 54).

Fig. 95 – Rounded earrings in Italian Situla Art: a) Providence situla (BOL.S2) (after Umetnost situla, 1964: plate 75); b) Certosa situla (BOL.S1) (after Umetnost situla, 1964: plate 20); c) reproduction of the Pieve d’Alpago situla (ALP.S1) (after Buson, 2015a: plate 11); d) Castelvetro mirror (CAS.M1) (after Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 21, n. 6).

Fig. 96 – Elongated earrings in Slovenian, Croatian and Austrian Situla Art: a) Vače situla, middle frieze (VAC.S1) (Umetnost situla, 1964: plate 6); b) top and c) middle frieze of the Welzelach situla (WEL.S1) (Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 76, n. 44). Earrings from: d) Vače (VAC.E2) (Turk, 2005: fig. 111); e) Magdalenska gora (MAG.E6) (Turk, 2005: fig. 21); f) Dolenjske Toplice (TOP.E6) (Turk, 2005: fig. 116); g) Stična (STI.E1) (Frey, 1969: plate 81, n. 43).

Fig. 97 – Earrings in the lowest frieze of the reproduction of the Pieve d’Alpago situla, Veneto – Italy: a) elongated and circular (after Buson, 2015a: plate 11, fig. 6); b-c) elongated (after Buson, 2015a: plate 11, fig. 7).

Fig. 98 – Hats and cultural districts: an attempt to link Situla Art and ethnicity (cultural districts after Pallottino, 1991: figs 1-2 and 6; Gabrovec, 1999: fig. 1; Marzatico, 2012a: fig. 1; Rondini, 2017: fig. 6; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 1). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Fig. 99 – Guests’ hats in feasting scenes, superimposed upon cultural districts (cultural districts after Pallottino, 1991: figs 1-2 and 6; Gabrovec, 1999: fig. 1; Marzatico, 2012a: fig. 1; Rondini, 2017: fig. 6; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 1). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Fig. 100 – Earring type plotted on archaeological cultural districts (cultural districts after Pallottino, 1991: figs 1-2 and 6; Gabrovec, 1999: fig. 1; Marzatico, 2012a: fig. 1; Rondini, 2017: fig. 6; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 1). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Fig. 101 – Samples of Atestine red-and-black decorative styles: a) cordons dividing horizontal chromatic panels, sporadic from Prosdocimi's 1882 excavation at Este (PD) (Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 51, a); b) incisions framing the red-and-black decoration, Este-Casa Alfonsi (PD) grave 15 (Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 51, d); c) rectangular excisions (Garolda-Coazze style), pottery sherd from Gazzo Veronese-Coazze 1981 excavation (VR) (drawing after Saccoccio and Biondani, 2020: fig. 4, n. 14; photo by F. Saccoccio).

Fig. 102 – The territories of 6th-4th cent. BC Mantua (MN), Gazzo Veronese-Coazze (VR) and Oppeano (VR) according to the X-Tent analysis for the area between the rivers Mincio and Adige (after Saccoccio, 2016: fig. 4). Site number according to Fig. 52 and Tab. 13 in Chapter 6.

Fig. 103 – Sites analysed by Saccoccio and Biondani (2020: fig. 1) for Iron Age red-and-black painted ware styles. DTM data from ESRI, USGS, NOAA.

Tab. 16 – Summary of the evidence discussed in this section. Legend: C= cemetery, S= settlement, Sa= sacred area; v= variant (after Saccoccio and Biondani, 2020: tab. 1).

Fig. 104 – Distribution map of the Garolda-Coazze style and its variant (after Saccoccio and Biondani, 2020: fig. 7a). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Fig. 105 – Estimate of the number and percentage of Garolda-Coazze style sherds compared to published red-and-black sherds (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2020: fig. 9).

Fig. 106 – Number of the Garolda-Coazze style sherds and its variant per site (after Saccoccio and Biondani, 2020: fig. 8). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Fig. 107 – Grave goods from Gazzo Veronese-Colombara (VR) grave 2/1980, scale 1:5 (after Malnati, 2006: figs 6-8).

Fig. 108 – Other Atestine red-and-black decorative styles, scale 1:5: a) *borchiette di bronzo* style, Este-Ricovero (PD) grave 204 (Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 120, n. 28); b) *bugnette applicate* style, Este-Ricovero (PD) grave 192 (Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 103,

n. 1); c) *falsa cordicella* style, Este-Benvenuti (PD) grave 124 (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 163, n. 7a); d) *piccole coppelle* style, Padua-via Tiepolo (PD) grave 1 (Ruta Serafini, 1990: fig. 12, n. 7); e) *lamelle di stagno*, Este-Villa Benvenuti (PD) grave 89 (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 73, n. 1).

Fig. 109 – Distribution of the different styles of the red-and-black painted ware (after Saccoccio and Biondani, 2020: fig. 7b-e). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Fig. 110 – Distribution of votive plaques in the Iron Age Veneto (source De Nardi, 2008: 407-427). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Fig. 111 – Cerveteri-Vigna Parrocchiale (RM): a) late 7th cent. BC Orientalising aristocratic household; b) overlying Tuscanic temple, dated at least from the beginning of the 5th cent. BC (Maggiani, 2001: figs 2 and 3).

Fig. 112 – Este-Caldevigo sanctuary, belt plate recycled as votive plaque, scale 1:2 (Frey, 1969: plate 79, n. 37).

Fig. 113 – Late 6th cent. BC to 1st cent. AD relocations of the *Andeti* family, location of La Tène A (450-400 BC) weapons and Iron Age Atestine sacred areas with *ex votos* depicting foot soldiers and knights (source Pascucci, 1990: figs 1-2; De Nardi, 2008: 407-427). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Chapter 1 – Introduction: aim, outline and setting of the study

1.1. Background and motivations

My interest in the archaeology of north-east Italy, with focus on the Veneto region (Fig. 1, dark grey), stems from my MA undertaken at La Sapienza University of Rome under the supervision of Prof. Alessandro Vanzetti and Dr Luciano Salzani. It focused on the Veneto Iron Age settlement of Gazzo Veronese (VR; Fig. 2, site 1) which was, between 2014 and 2018, object of fieldwork held by La Sapienza University of Rome; I participated as fieldwork leader.

To date, there is still little debate on the identity of the Iron Age Veneto communities (Lomas, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013), north-east Italy (see Fig. 1, dark grey), and this leaves space for speculation. From the first discoveries at Este (PD; see Fig. 2, site 2) in the late 19th cent., ethnic labels were attached to them based on the classical sources – “*Euganei*” (Prosdociami, 1882: 7) and “*Veneti*” (Helbig: 1882: 79), with the latter still in use today in the forms of “*Paleoveneti*” (Fogolari, 1965: 235; Salzani, 2018: 19) or “*Veneti antichi*” (transl. “ancient Venetians”; Bortolami, 2018: 61; Salzani, 2018: cover). However, it was only in the late 20th cent. that the funerary evidence at Este was thoroughly analysed (Fogolari and Frey, 1965; Frey, 1969; Fogolari, 1975; Peroni *et al.*, 1975). Peroni and colleagues (1975) chronologically framed Este funerary evidence between the 9th and the mid 4th cent. BC thanks to a table of associations. Their chronology is still in use today leading the funerary evidence at Este to become the cultural marker for the whole Iron Age Veneto and so to possess an identity valency. However, I believe that the chronology and the spatial extent of this archaeological culture have to be reassessed as a result of the last 30 and more years of fieldwork results and in the context of the history of study.

Lomas (2012: 188) suggested that Iron Age Italy is characterised by “a complex hierarchy of identities and interactions between different forms of identity”. I argue that the literature, including Lomas (2009; 2011; 2012; 2013), has failed to shed light on this complex pattern.



Fig. 1 – Political map of Italy and surrounding areas: the Veneto region, north-east Italy, is shaded in dark grey. The other areas analysed in this PhD thesis are shaded in light grey. Base map from d-maps.com.

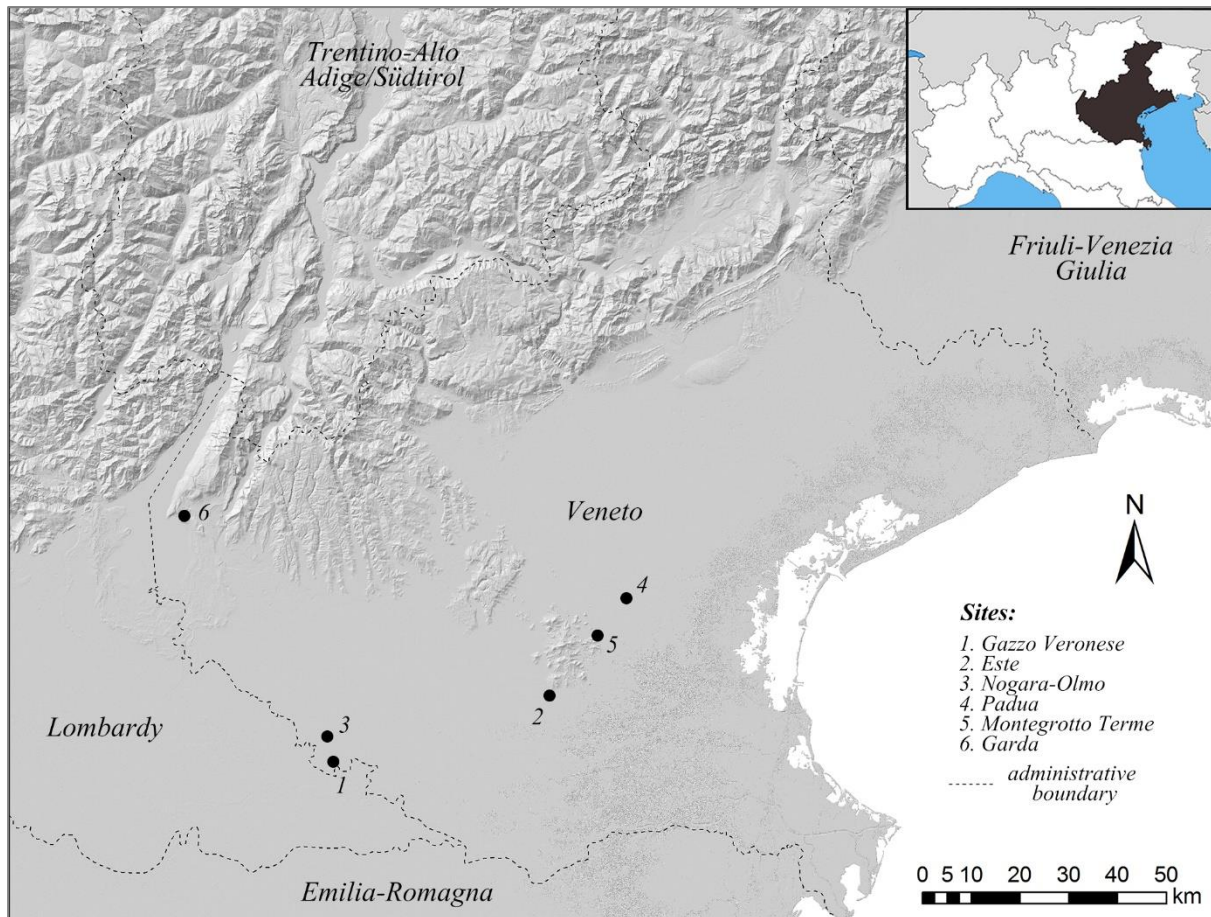


Fig. 2 – Location of the sites mentioned in this chapter and in Section 2.1. DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

1.2. The scope and setting

The aim of this PhD thesis is to discuss the different identity valencies of the Iron Age Veneto material culture assemblage by using the most recent data in our possession. This will allow me to assess previous scholarship and detect the advantages and disadvantages of the theoretical and methodological tools employed in the past and present.

Given the mass of archaeological evidence recorded from the Iron Age Veneto sites, I have decided to restrict this study to a range of evidence (i.e. red-and-black painted ware, Situla Art, bronze *ex votos* and tomb markers) which dates between the mid 7th and the 1st cent. BC. When needed, I have extended research to nearby areas – Switzerland, Austria, Slovenia and Croatia, including the Italian regions of Abruzzo, Marche, Emilia-Romagna, Lombardy and Trentino-

Alto Adige/Südtirol (see Fig. 1) – in order to detect spatial and cultural changes in the light of Childe's (1929: v-vi) definition of archaeological culture.

This evidence was picked on the basis of Morgan's (1992: 134) argument that in ancient times only particular "categories of artefact [were] selected to carry social or political meaning under particular circumstances, rather than the totality of a society's material culture". Moreover, in my study, identity is understood in its broadest sense involving individual, family, group, and territorial identities, and not only as ethnic identity, even though the literature has mainly focused on the latter (see Shennan, 1989: 20-21; Jones, 1997; Cifani and Stoddart, eds, 2012; Curta, 2014).

1.3. The method

In order to analyse different forms of identity my starting point is Barth's (1969) sociological argument which states that ethnicity emerges from constant relationship with otherness. Although he primarily focused on ethnic identity, I argue that the same principle may be extended to identity in general terms, since is it the constant relationship with otherness that allows the creation of boundaries. Boundaries are not created only between different ethnic groups, but they also affect many other levels of interaction and, I argue, through a multi-scalar approach it is possible to detect at least some of them.

Due to the limitation imposed by the incomplete preservation of the archaeological record, some scholars believe ethnicity to be an insurmountable goal to grasp (see Whittaker, 2009), and interaction with otherness provides objects with different identity valencies, recalling the importance of Hodder's (1982a: 186) argument that culture is "meaningfully constituted" and produced "in relation to a set of symbolic schemes, and... principles of meaning... are built up into particular arrangements as part of social strategies". In *Symbols in Action*, Hodder (1982a) investigated material symbols through the analysis of the relationship between material culture, social, economic behaviours and resource distribution, recognising how social relations and the environment shaped ethnic, age, sex, status and family groupings. A binary opposition was highlighted in the meaning of symbols: on the one hand, they were seen as (directly) manipulating and negotiating social status depending on the local context; on the other hand (indirectly) as acquiring certain meaning in specific contexts.

In order to construct my identity discourse on the Iron Age Veneto I have decided not to align with a specific school of thought or approach, even when they are considered promising in recent literature (Dobres and Robb, 2000; Hodder, 2001; Bintliff, ed., 2004; Knappett, 2005; Tilley *et al.*, 2006; Woodward, 2007), but to analyse the Iron Age Veneto archaeological record in an “eclectic” and “pragmatic” way (*sensu* Pearce, 2011: 87), negotiating my scientific position according to the type of question to be addressed, and each time to choose the method of analysis that best fits the problem to be solved. So, each of the chapters of this thesis has a brief introductory statement that highlights the aims, methods and material culture classes used in order to develop them. Distribution patterning was analysed using ArcGIS, employing DTM (i.e. Digital Terrain Model) bases which were provided either by Farr and colleagues (2007) or by ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

I have tried to detach myself from the historical imprint of Italian scholarship, which generally relies on classical sources in order to define Italian Iron Age communities (see Bondini, 2010). Therefore, I have tended to use the ancient sources only to support my interpretations which are grounded *in primis* on the analysis and interpretation of the archaeological record. When quoted, classical sources and related translations were accessed online via the Loeb Classical Library (<https://www.loebclassics.com/>); references in this thesis were quoted following the Harvard style. When Italian sites are mentioned for the first time in a chapter, I provide the modern-day administrative province to help the reader locate them using the conventional upper-case two-letter abbreviation in parenthesis (see the List of abbreviations for the extended form of their name).

1.4. Outline of the study

I have developed my thesis through the following steps:

- in Chapter 2, I discuss the history of study of the Iron Age Veneto and the range of evidence on which my discussion of identity is based. Particular focus is given to: a) terminology, discussing the reason why I have decided to use the label Atestine culture instead of labels entangled with classical sources (i.e. *Euganei*, *Paleoveneti*, *Protoveneti*) to define the Iron Age record in the case study area; b) chronology, highlighting the advantages and disadvantages of the chronological framework in use and why we are still using it; c)

particular Iron Age material culture classes, defining the reasons why they might be potential Atestine identity markers.

- In Chapter 3, I discuss the geography and geomorphology of the Veneto region and nearby areas as part of the Po Plain. The discussion encompasses how we define the Po Plain, its size and form and how, over time, climate change influenced altitude, gradient, erosion and the sedimentation rate linked to river courses. Focus is also given to highlighting the lithological differences between the northern and the southern sides of the Po Plain which is linked to erosion phenomena affecting the Alps and the Apennines, the two mountain chains bordering it. At the same time, importance is given to the Adriatic coastal development and to rivers which played a major role in shaping the landscape and influencing the settlement pattern of the case-study area over time. Rivers provided freshwater used for defence, growing crops and grazing but also impeded occupation due to flooding events and marshland linked to the changing climate which led to changes to river courses. In the study area, rivers also acted as landscape markers and natural boundaries defining the borders between communities. For this reason, particular focus is given in reconstructing the evolution of the river network over time, specifically between the Bronze and the Iron Ages, which provides the context for changes in the Atestine settlement pattern.
- In Chapter 4, the focus is given to past and present theory and methodology linked to culture, civilisation and identity on the premise that a breakthrough year was 1929, when Childe formulated his definition of archaeological culture. In his definition, in fact, archaeological culture and ethnic identity are closely interrelated. Special attention is paid to the grounds of Childe's (1929: v-vi) definition, discussing anthropological and archaeological thought between late 18th and the early 20th cent. and contextualising it within its historical background.

Then, in the light of Sherratt's (1989: 185) perceptive comment "Prehistory is still a dialogue with the ghost of Childe", I discuss major developments in the debate on archaeological culture after 1957, the year of Childe's death.

I argue that ethnicity might emerge at any point in time of human history on the basis of the Samburu, a Kenyan Maasai sub-tribe, ethnographic case-study (Larick, 1985) where ethnicity emerges from interaction with other Maasai sub-tribes and is symbolised by

particular weapons. Samburu ethnicity does not need European colonisation (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992), city-states or kingdoms (Smith, 1986), or industrialisation (Gellner, 1983) in order to emerge. This pattern seems to support Carter Bentley's (1987: 37) argument that the conscious sensation of ethnic membership arises from "subliminal awareness of objective commonalities", so it may occur at any point in time of human history.

This discussion provided me the basis upon which Chapters 5 to 10 were structured and my thought developed. I must admit that my academic background, as a former student of La Sapienza University of Rome, has had a deep effect on the way I looked (past tense) at the past. Academically, I grew up in the so-called Rome School of Protohistory, founded by Renato Peroni, one of the most influential Italian scholars of the mid/late 20th cent., and when I started this PhD the ideas and concepts learnt in Rome played a huge role in the way I looked at the data. In Rome, I was able to build a good academic background but Peroni's work represented the holy text. However, geographical distance, the always productive dialogue with my current supervisors and a new academic environment free from a school-led pressure, allowed me to develop the confidence to process and critique other scholars' work.

- In Chapter 5, I provide a background to my research by reconstructing the geo-political and social environment of the Bronze Age Veneto, that is, prior to the emergence of the so-called Atestine culture in the 9th cent. BC. My discussion is centred on the archaeological evidence for the western Veneto which is the best known area to date for the Middle, Recent and Final Bronze Ages (hereafter: MBA, RBA and FBA; c. 1700-1000 BC). The MBA-RBA (c. 1550-1150 BC) funerary evidence, both anthropological data and grave goods, from Olmo di Nogara (VR) (hereafter: Olmo; see Fig. 2, site 3) is used to infer the presence of chiefdoms led by warriors who used coercion in order to establish and maintain power. The presence of exotic grave goods, especially swords and amber, is used to infer the possible "movement of warrior chiefs and artisans (smiths)" across foreign lands to "learn new skills of metallurgy and woodworking" and establishing long-term relationships with the locals through marriage alliances (*sensu* Kristiansen and Larsson, 2005: 205-206). Kristiansen and Larsson's (2005: 205-206) argument was based on Scandinavian archaeological evidence and more recently supported by the work on lead isotopes by the Moving Metals group (Ling *et al.*, 2013, 2014, 2019; Melheim *et al.*, 2018) who suggest a large-scale movement of north-eastern Italian copper to Scandinavia at least

between 1600 and 1100 BC. As regards to northern Italy, mobility is suggested by the work of Cavazzuti and colleagues (2019a, b) on strontium and oxygen isotopes on Bronze Age anthropological remains. The RBA (c. 1300-1150 BC) western Veneto landscape of power is defined through a Thiessen Polygons approach involving both settlement pattern and the three RBA-FBA (c. 1300-1000 BC) hoards known in the study area, which include high status finds (i.e. mainly weapons and ornaments).

The settlement pattern changes dramatically in the FBA (c. 1150-1000 BC) when the western Veneto seems depopulated and only a few major sites are recorded, up to 100ha in size. In this phase, funerary evidence suggests a pyramidal socio-political arrangement of the community where chiefs, marked by possession of a sword, are at the head of the community and inheritance of power may be suggested by infants' rich grave goods (Cardarelli *et al.*, 2015).

- In Chapter 6, on the basis of the work by Calzavara Capuis and colleagues (1984), archaeological evidence dating between the 9th and the 1st cent. BC, so between the emergence and end of the Atestine culture, is employed in order to geographically define the area inhabited by the Atestines through time. Five phase maps are used to display changes in the Atestine settlement pattern: the 9th cent. BC, the period of the emergence of the Atestine culture in the study area; the 8th-7th cent. BC, the phase where major Atestine sites become “proto-urban” (*sensu* Peroni, 1989: 21); the 6th-4th cent. BC, documenting the appearance and floruit of the red-and-black painted ware which is considered in the literature to be one of the main Atestine identity markers (Fogolari, 1975; Peroni *et al.*, 1975); the 3rd cent. BC, the period when the western Veneto is affected by a late 4th cent. BC Gallic migration, and the 2nd-1st cent. BC, the period of the Roman domination of the study area.
- On the basis of previous literature, Chapters 7 and 8 discuss identity patterning in the Iron Age Veneto using selected material culture evidence, specifically red-and-black painted ware, tomb markers, Situla Art and bronze *ex votos*. In Chapter 7, particular focus is given to individual and collective identities in the Iron Age Veneto, following the work of Lomas (2009, 2011, 2012, 2013). Tomb markers and bronze *ex votos* (i.e. figurines and plaques) from Este (PD) and Padua (PD) (see Fig. 2, sites 2, 4), which are situated close together but are defined by Fogolari (1975: 64) as the two major Atestine sites, are discussed in terms of individual, family and group identities but, also how these identities overlap

assuming territorial valency. Furthermore, extra-urban sanctuaries might not only be seen as places linked to rituality, deities and faith, but may also have possessed a territorial valency when seen from a regional point of view.

On the other hand, Chapter 8 focuses on Situla Art, red-and-black painted ware and votive plaques highlighting three different multi-scalar levels of identity for the study area and time span: inter-regional, regional and local/community identities. According to Sassatelli (2013: 99), there are over 150 bronze Situla Art objects embossed and/or incised with animals and/or human figures in Orientalising taste with a distribution between Marche, Emilia-Romagna, Lombardy, Veneto, Switzerland, Austria, Slovenia and Istria, and dating to c. 660-275 BC (Sassatelli, 2013: 99; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 16). I was able to identify 264 Situla Art objects, significantly increasing the known *corpus*, and to include the Italian Abruzzo region in the Situla Art distribution area so as suggested by D'Ercole and Grassi (2000: 242, 249) (see Fig. 1). For Sassatelli (2013: 99), the importance of Situla Art is its common narrative language, which is closely connected to the acquisition, exhibition and legitimation of the power by high-status figures across the defined geographical area. In order to detect identity patterns in Situla Art decorative motifs, I focused on (high-status) individuals seated on thrones and their clothing trying to highlight patterns which distinguished one group from another.

The second material class is Iron Age pottery vessels with alternating red-and-black painted bands which are mainly found in present-day Veneto region, but are also known in limited quantity in nearby areas (Marchesetti, 1893; Teržan *et al.*, 1984, 1985; Mihovilić, 2001; Tecco Hvala *et al.*, 2004; Lippert and Stadler, 2009; Mangani and Voltolini, 2016). Previous scholars have considered this class of pottery to be an Atestine ethnic marker on the basis of its geographical distribution (Fogolari, 1975) but, building on the work I did for my MA thesis (Saccoccio, 2014-15), I have focused on the geographical patterning of its different decorative styles in order to detect their potential territorial identity valency linked to Atestine polities.

The third material class is *ex votos* which were used by Lomas (2009) mainly to suggest collective identity in the Iron Age Veneto. Building on that I contextualise their emergence in the 6th cent. BC socio-political crisis which affected the Veneto but also Etruria and Rome. In this phase, the northern, western and southern Atestine borders were impacted by Rhaetic groups coming from the Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol and by the Etruscan

colonisation of eastern Lombardy and north-eastern Emilia-Romagna. Moreover, at least from this phase, Gallic individuals start to be recorded in the Atestine area joining the local communities with full rights only one generation after their arrival.

- The results of this work are discussed in Chapter 9. As regards to the Iron Age Veneto, I argue that tomb markers found at Este and Padua between the 6th and 1st cent. BC not only possess individual, family and group identity valencies as suggested by Lomas (2009, 2011, 2012, 2013), but they can also be seen as territorial markers on the basis of their distribution, form and raw material. I argue a similar territorial valency for the extra-urban sanctuary of Montegrotto Terme (PD; see Fig. 2, site 5), belonging to the territory of Padua, thanks to its location and the horse ritual which in the Atestine world seems to mark the boundary between settled and unsettled areas.

We (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019) defined six decorative styles, plus the widespread presence of incisions, cordons and the simple chromatic alternance, of the red-and-black painted ware, considered in the literature to be an Atestine marker for the period between the late 7th and the mid 3rd cent. BC (Fogolari and Frey, 1965; Frey, 1969; Fogolari, 1975; Peroni *et al.*, 1975; Bondini, 2008). I argue that two of the six analysed styles possess a territorial identity valency related to Atestine districts on the basis of their distribution pattern, the quantity of evidence found and their chronology. The Garolda-Coazze style, defined by rectangular excisions in rows, characterises the western Veneto and specifically the polity centred on the central place of Gazzo Veronese (VR; see Fig. 2, site 1). The *lamelle di stagno* style (tin sheets) distinguishes the territory of Este (see Fig. 2, site 2), where it is associated to red-and-black painted ware, from that of Padua (see Fig. 2, site 4), where it is associated with *stralucido* (i.e. heavily burnished) pottery.

At the supra-regional level, mid 7th to early 3rd cent. BC Situla Art motifs allow to define the presence of different cultural groups on the basis of the hats worn by men seated on a throne. Specifically, I argue that broad-brimmed hats characterise Atestines, berets the Rhaeti, wavy hats the Ljubljana/Ljubljanska cultural district and Phrygian-style hats the Unterkrain/Dolenjska cultural district. I also argue that scenes characterised by multiple thrones might show both host(s), located near a cauldron or feasting table, and the guest(s), located in a distal position, allowing me to hypothesise interaction between different cultural groups. Interaction, in terms of marriage alliances, was also suggested on the basis of earrings types distribution: rounded earrings, seem mainly to be found in the area south

of the Alps, mostly Italian territory, but are also depicted on a Situla Art object in Slovenia; elongated earrings, mainly found in Slovenia, are depicted on Veneto and Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol Situla Art objects.

I argue that Atestine identity at the local scale is built upon a sense of belonging to the community which recognises itself through *ex votos* (i.e. bronze plaques and figurines) offered, between the late 6th and the mid 1st cent. BC, to gods/goddesses at sanctuaries (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 28-29; Zaghetto, 2003: 22). In the earliest phase, motifs and production suggest a link to the elite while, between the 6th-4th cent. BC motifs change with the presence of foot soldiers and knights (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 25). Furthermore, from at least the 4th cent. BC, plaques were made by stamping, a more affordable production (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 29). This pattern, and the presence of more than 1000 votive plaques at Este alone (see Fig. 2, site 2), support the idea that they were no longer prerogative of the elite but also dedicated by other socio-political classes recalled by the presence of images of knights and foot soldiers. According to inscriptions, knighthood in Veneto was a socio-political title which was also conferred to foreign Gaulish individuals only after a generation. La Tène A weapons (450-400 BC) also allow to suggest that at least part of the foot soldiers, and possibly knights, depicted on votive plaques may have been provided by Gaulish mercenaries.

- Chapter 10 contains my conclusions and provides suggestions on how the research might be expanded through a Post-Doctoral fellowship or other work.

Chapter 2 – The Iron Age Veneto: history of study

This chapter is a literature review of the Iron Age Veneto, north-eastern Italy. It discusses all the key studies undertaken on the case-study area by grouping them into three main categories: terminology, chronology and material culture. Due to the huge amount of data pertaining to the latter heading, I have decided to select and discuss only those that will be employed in the development of this thesis.

2.1. *Enetos, Veneti, Euganei*: when terminology matters

In the literature, the most commonly-used labels to define Iron Age Veneto communities are “*Protoveneti*” (Fogolari, 1965: 235), “*Paleoveneti*” (Fogolari, 1965: 235), or “*Euganei*” (Prosdocimi, 1882: 7). They are based on the ethnic labels used by classical authors (e.g. Livy 1, 1; Livy 10, 2; Pliny, *NH* 37, 43) and to their chronology, the latter especially in the use of the prefixes proto- and paleo-. Nowadays, together with the label “*paleoveneti*”, the literature uses “ancient Venetians” (my translation of “*Veneti antichi*”; Bortolami, 2018: 61; Salzani, 2018: cover) to refer to the Iron Age Veneto communities.

The label “*Euganei*” was used for a short period of time during the first stages of study by Prosdocimi (1878; 1882: 7) to define the first pre-Roman finds brought to light in the late 19th cent. at Este (PD; see Fig. 2 in Chapter 1, site 2). Prosdocimi (1878: 9; 1882: 6-8) relied on Livy (1, 1) who placed this ancient people “between the [Adriatic] sea and the Alps” (Prosdocimi, 1882: 6-8). On the basis of the funerary evidence, physical anthropological analysis and tomb architecture, Orsi (1884) also proposed the possibility that the area of Este was inhabited by the *Liguri* before the *Euganei*. However, the latter label was rapidly dismissed by Helbig (1882: 79) in favour of “*Veneti*” on linguistic, archaeological and classical sources grounds.

The label “*protoveneto*” was originally used by Fogolari (1965: 235) for the archaeological record of the Final Bronze Age-Early Iron Age (hereafter: FBA-EIA; 10th-8th cent. BC) cremation cemetery at Garda-via S. Bernardino (VR; see Fig. 2 in Chapter 1, site 6), discovered in 1964. Fogolari (1965: 235) argued for a cultural succession in the Veneto, between the Early

Bronze Age (hereafter: EBA, 2300-1700 BC) and the Iron Age (1st millennium BC), from the Polada culture to the Euganean, “*protoveneto*” and “*paleoveneto*” phases.

In archaeological terms, Calzavara Capuis and colleagues (1984: 38) believed the emergence of the “*protoveneto*” culture to have occurred around the 9th cent. BC, the conventional date for the passage between the FBA and the EIA. This was because of the progressive shift in the material culture from Villanovan-like forms – defined in the literature as “*Protovillanoviano Padano*” by Leonardi (1979: 181) – to specifically “*paleoveneto*” forms in this phase (Leonardi, 1979: 182). Guidi and Whitehouse (1996: 274, fig. 5) contested this late date for the Bronze Age–Iron Age transition but the new chronology was only accepted later when Peroni and Vanzetti back-dated the passage between FBA and the EIA to around 977 BC on the basis of the correspondence between pin types across the Alpine arc and the dendrodates obtained in the Swiss pile dwelling sites where they were found (Peroni and Vanzetti, 2005: 64; Fig. 3).

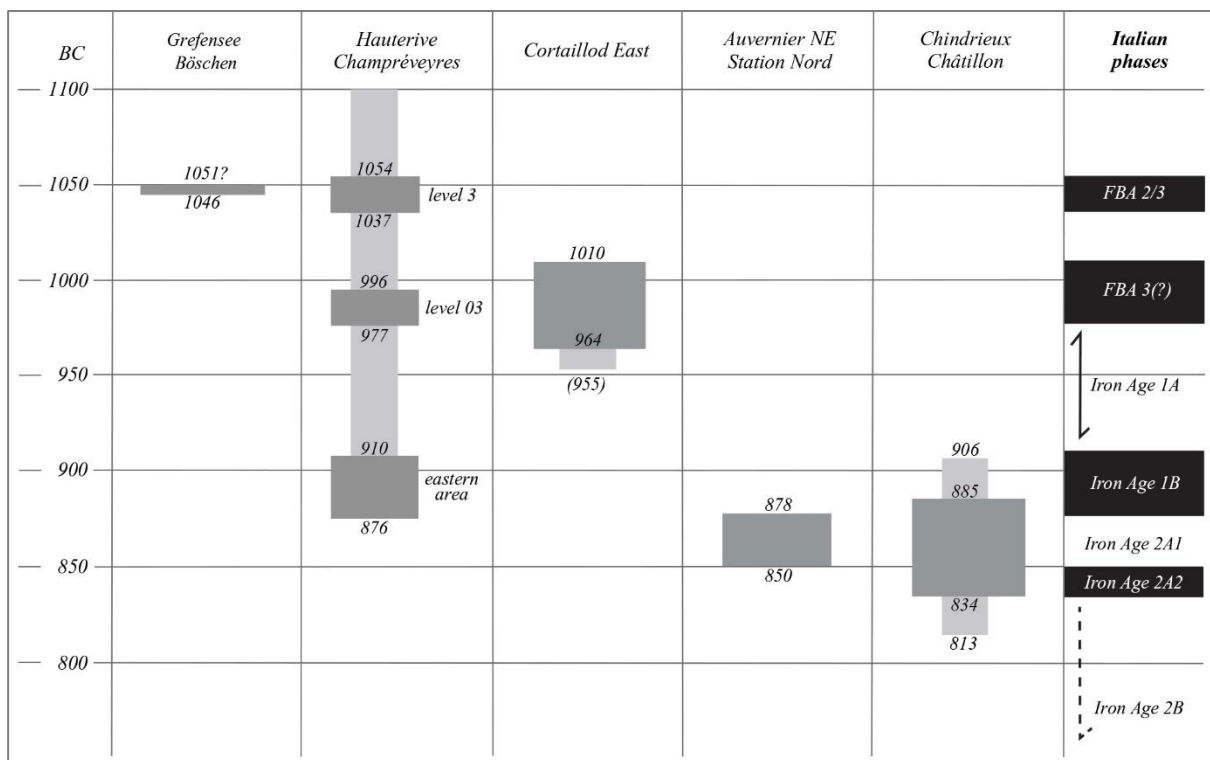


Fig. 3 – Chronological correlations between Alpine pile-dwelling sites and the Italian sequence (after Peroni and Vanzetti, 2005: plate 13).

I prefer to use the label Atestine culture, employed by Peroni and colleagues (1975), instead of “*Euganei*”, “*paleoveneti*”, “*veneti*” (Fogolari, 1965: 235; Prosdocimi, 1882: 7; Helbig, 1882: 79), or “Este culture” found in the international literature (e.g. Mallory, 1997: 183-184). This is because I believe in a different approach from the one just presented, where the

archaeological record acts as the primary source of knowledge of the past and only subsequently should classical sources be analysed in order to find support for the interpretation made. Moreover, the label Este culture creates difficulties as Este is not necessarily a representative site and, particularly, when studying the site itself.

I have chosen to use the label ‘Atestine culture’, which is derived from the Latin name (e.g. Pliny, *NH* 3, 130) for the key site of Este, recognised in the literature as the most important Atestine site together with Padua (PD; see Fig. 2, site 4) (Fogolari, 1975: 64). However, we do not know if the name *Ateste* was already used in pre-Roman times.

2.2. Relative and absolute chronology of the Iron Age Veneto

The history of study of the Iron Age Veneto is closely linked to chronology. With slight changes, scholarship still uses the relative chronological sequence proposed by Prosdocimi in 1882 after the first Iron Age discoveries in the territory of Este (i.e. 1876-1881). Prosdocimi (1878: 4, 15) believed the evidence at Este to be comparable, in importance, to that found at the famous cemeteries of Villanova (BO) and Hallstatt, Austria.

On the basis of the stratigraphic succession, cemetery plan and tomb architecture, Prosdocimi (1882: 8-9 and plate 2) defined four main periods which he labelled I to IV, from bottom to top, and transitional periods, all placed between the so-called “Lithic Period” and the “Roman Period”, which opened and closed the archaeological sequence (Fig. 4).

Prosdocimi (1882) described period IV as characterised by a quite different archaeological assemblage from previous phases so that the presence of new people or at least foreign influences on the *Euganei* could be suggested (i.e. Gauls and/or Romans). Nevertheless, Prosdocimi (1882: 30) decided to consider period IV as in continuity with previous periods on the basis of a shared grave plan, the co-presence of period III and IV evidence, and a similar script.

Prosdocimi (1882: 31) did not provide chronological brackets for his relative phases. He only identified 224 BC as the date of the first contact between the “*Euganei*” and the Romans on the basis of Silius Italicus (12, 212), and 184 BC as the date of the Roman occupation of Veneto through a peaceful agreement with the locals. However, 184 BC seems not to be a date linked to the foundation of Roman colonies in northern Italy: the colony of *Bononia* (Bologna, BO) is

dated to 189 BC, *Mutina* (Modena, MO) is dated to 183 BC and the colony of *Aquileia* (UD) is dated to 181 BC (Foraboschi, 1992: 81-82, 88).

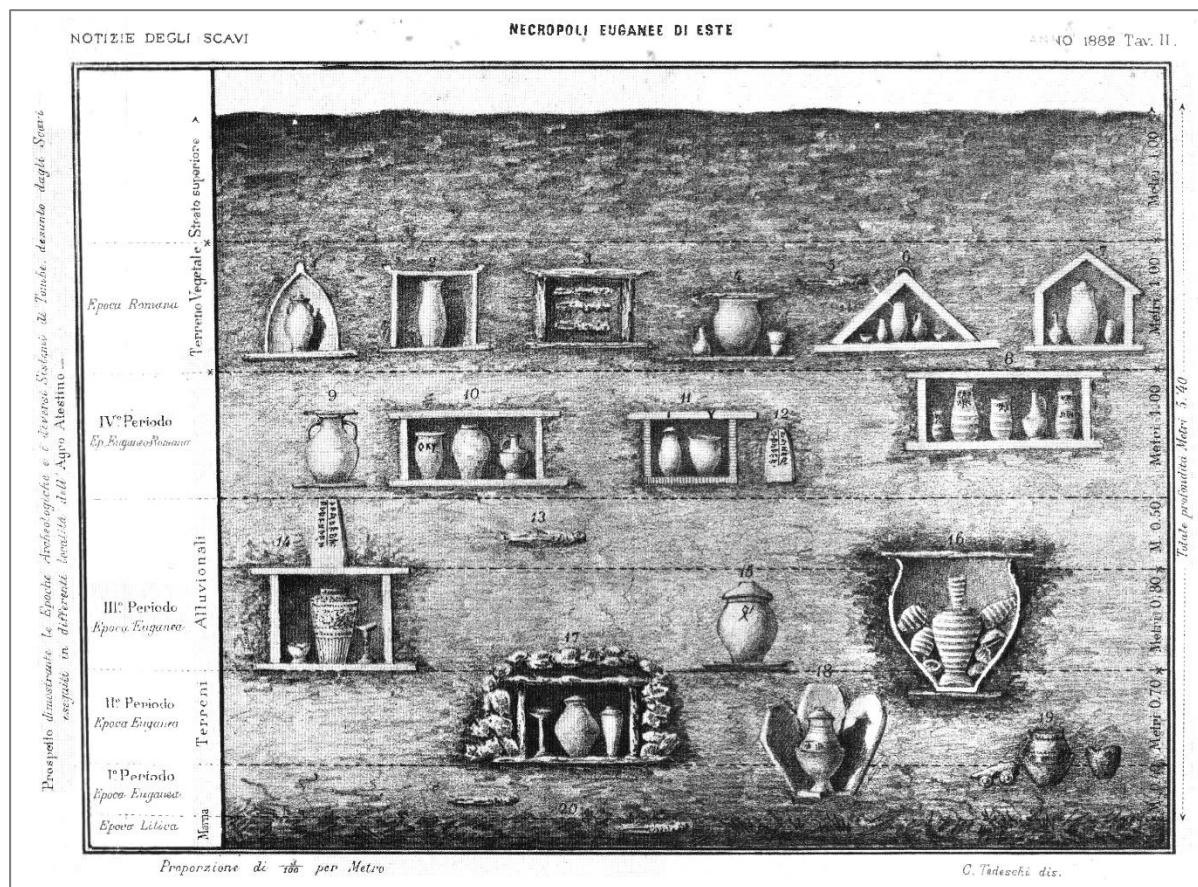


Fig. 4 – Prosdocimi’s Euganean relative phases (Prosdocimi, 1882: plate 2).

In 1882 Prosdocimi hinted at possible affinities for the Atestine record in the pre-Roman archaeological evidence discovered at Bologna between late 1860s and 1870s (Zannoni, 1871; 1876). However, this hypothesis had already been suggested by Chierici (1878: 78-80) a few years earlier (see also Gambacurta and Gamba, forthcoming¹) who, however, argued that the Atestine and Villanovan cultures were independent from each other (Chierici, 1878: 81). After Chierici (1878) and Prosdocimi (1882), correlation between the archaeological record of Este and Bologna and reassessment of the Atestine phases were the focus of subsequent studies (see

¹ During the recent conference “*Don Gaetano Chierici a 200 anni dalla nascita*”, Reggio Emilia (RE), 19-21 September 2019, Gambacurta and Gamba discussed the relationship between Prosdocimi and Chierici in their presentation entitled “*Il rapporto tra Gaetano Chierici e Alessandro Prosdocimi nell’archeologia e nella politica museale italiana del secondo Ottocento*”. It is thanks to their talk that I came to know of the work by Chierici (1878) cited here.

Helbig, 1882; Montelius, 1895: 273-282; Ghirardini, 1888a; Ghirardini, 1901; von Duhn, 1925; Randall-MacIver, 1927: 7-26; Sundwall, 1928: 74-112; Åberg, 1930: 183-200; von Duhn-Messerschmidt, 1939: 10-31). Fig. 5 shows the different relative and absolute chronologies proposed by the principal scholars between the late 19th cent. and late 1920s.

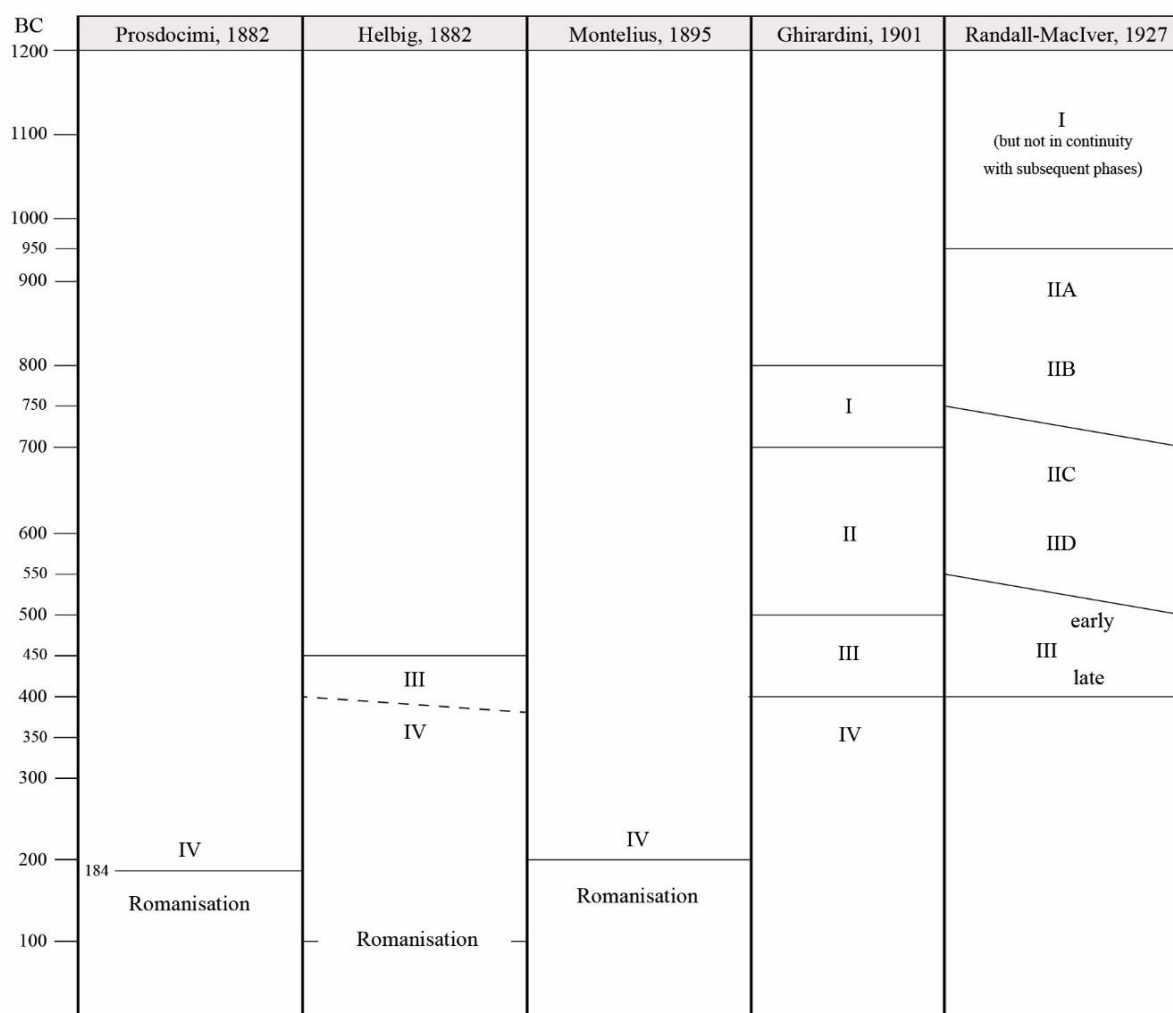


Fig. 5 – The absolute chronology of the Atestine periods according to late 19th and early 20th cent. scholars: Prosdocimi (1882: 31), Helbig (1882: 75-84), Montelius (1895: 279), Ghirardini (1901: 48-49), Randall-MacIver (1927: 8-22).

Among them, I believe the work of Randall-MacIver (1927) to be of particular interest. He was the first in the international debate to talk of Este as the “chief centre of civilization in Eastern Italy north of the Po” (Randall-MacIver, 1927: 6; see also Ghirardini, 1901) and of the “Atestine... civilization” (Randall-MacIver, 1924: 4; 1927: 12). He describes the “Atestines” as the last “of the Villanovan family” who migrated to Italy around 950 BC, at the beginning

of phase II, and argued that Atestine phase II is not in continuity from phase I (Randall-MacIver, 1927: 10, 25; see Figs 5 and 6).

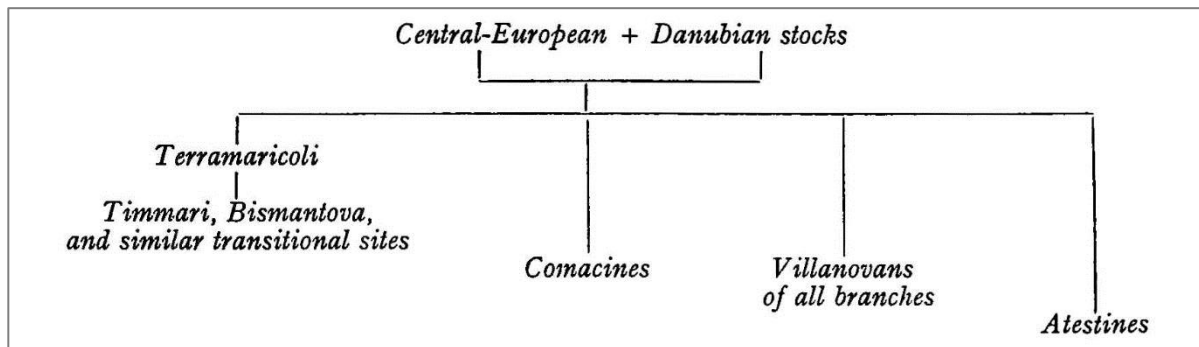


Fig. 6 – Randall-MacIver’s (1924: 93) reconstruction of the Atestine genealogical tree.

Randall-MacIver also sub-divided the Atestine phases, a hypothesis which had been suggested but not actually applied by von Duhn (1925: 126) (see Fig. 5). Moreover, Randall-MacIver (1927: 53; see Fig. 5) also proposed 400 BC as the date when “Atestine art has passed its zenith”.

After Randall-MacIver, it was generally accepted that period III marked the end of the Atestine culture (see Åberg, 1930: 183-200; von Duhn-Messerschmidt, 1939: 37; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, 1950: 387-391; Müller-Karpe, 1959: 95-99). As a consequence, it is difficult to give a detailed chronology to the Atestine period IV and only very recently have scholars started to pay it the attention deserved (e.g. Bondini, 2008; 2013).

Only 20 years after Randall-MacIver’s (1927) work, Herman Müller-Karpe (1959: 229 and fig. 64) brought back the idea that phase I, dated 900-800 BC, was in continuity with subsequent Atestine phases and proposed a new chronology mainly based on the development of fibula types between the RBA - *Peschiera Zeit* - and the EIA (Fig. 7).

Subsequent works by Fogolari and Frey (1965), Frey (1969) and Peroni and colleagues (1975), considered to be the modern milestones for the definition of a relative and absolute chronology for the Atestine evidence, were deeply grounded in Müller-Karpe’s (1959) chronological considerations. They re-defined his chronological scheme: the Atestine period I was still seen as starting at 900 BC but period III lasts until at least c. 350 BC. The Atestine period IV is neglected as it was by Müller-Karpe (1959) (see Fig. 7).

There is, in fact, another chronology, published by Vanzetti in 1992 (see Fig. 7). Although he analyses a wider range of Atestine finds compared to previous scholarship, his chronological

sequence is generally ignored by Veneto scholars not least because he fails to illustrate the characteristic types for each phase.

BC	Müller-Karpe, 1959	Frey, 1969	Peroni et al., 1975	Vanzetti, 1992	Bologna	Hallstatt
900	I		I	1	I	B 2
800	II	II early	II A	2	A	B 3
775			II B		II	
750			II C	3	B	
725	III	II middle	III A	4	III A	C 1
700			III B1	5 + 6A	III B1	
675		II late				
650		II-III	III B2	6B + 7A	III B2	C 2
625		III early	III C	7B + 8	III C	D 1
600		III middle	III D1	9	Certosa	D 2
575						
550		III late	III D2	10		LT A
525						LT B
500						
450						
400						
350						

Fig. 7 – Atestine chronologies in the last 50 years or so compared to those of Bologna and Hallstatt (after Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: 485; Frey, 1969: fig. 21; Peroni *et al.*, 1975; Vanzetti, 1992).

No further re-assessment of the Atestine periods I-III has been made since 1992 so that the Atestine culture still conventionally begins c. 900 BC (Ponzi Bonomi *et al.*, 1975: 150), although it is well-known that the available dendrodates for the transition between FBA and EIA set it at c. 977 BC (Peroni and Vanzetti, 2005). The chronology remains out of synchrony until at least c. 750 BC when parallels with *Magna Grecia* and imported Aegean goods are found.

Recently, Bondini (2008: 413) assessed the chronology of the Atestine period IV, fixing its end at 181 BC when the Roman colony of Aquileia was founded in Friuli-Venezia Giulia.

2.3. Material culture in the Iron Age Veneto

In the development of this thesis, particular focus will be given to Situla Art, red-and-black painted ware, bronze *ex votos* and tomb markers in order to detect identity in the Iron Age Veneto material culture. These artefact classes will be discussed in the following pages.

2.3.1. Situla Art

In the literature, a little more than 150 Iron Age bronze objects fall under the label Situla Art (Sassatelli, 2013: 100), embossed and/or incised with animals and/or human figures in Orientalising taste and generally distributed in friezes. Unfortunately, Sassatelli (2013) does not provide a distribution map of Situla Art objects so I will here refer to that published by Zaghetto (2017: fig. 15; Fig. 8) who, however, lists only 137 objects (Zaghetto, 2017: 52-59). Zaghetto (2017: figs 15-16) sets well-defined geographical and chronological boundaries: the geographical distribution of Situla Art is delimited by a triangle with vertices set at Pitino (MC, Marche - Italy), Sesto Calende (VA, Lombardy - Italy) and Kuffarn (Austria) (see Fig. 8); thanks to a table of associations Zaghetto (2017: fig. 16) dated this art between c. 660 BC and c. 275 BC.

The oldest use of the label “*arte delle situle*” I was able to find is by Ghirardini (1893: 161) at the very end of the 19th cent., but it only became widespread after 1961 when an exhibition entitled *Arte delle Situle dal Po al Danubio* was held in Padua. The year after the exhibition was transferred to Ljubljana and Vienna (*Situlenkunst zwischen Po und Donau*, 1962).

The key artefact in the Situla Art *repertoire* is the situla (i.e. bronze bucket; Fig. 9a), as suggested by the label given to this particular art style, but it also consists of a wider well-defined *corpus*: *cistae* (i.e. bronze cylindrical boxes), lids, belt plates, bowls, (knives and one sword) scabbards, helmets, palettes, mirrors, plus one *flabellum* (i.e. fan), one axe, one *kardiophylax* (i.e. a breastplate) and one *tintinnabulum* (i.e. a bell) are so far known (Fig. 9b-m).

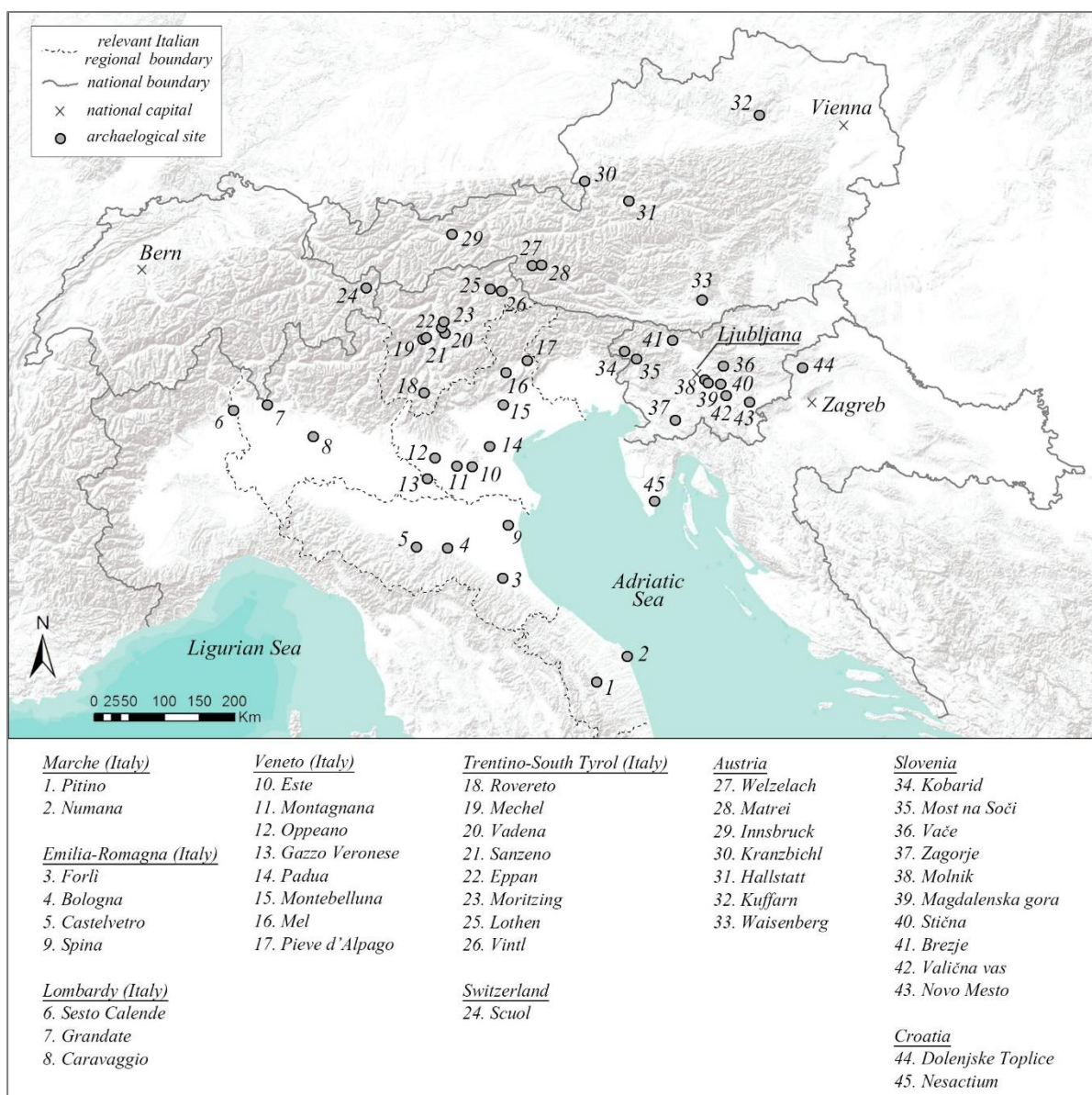


Fig. 8 – Distribution of Situla Art evidence (after Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 15). Note that he misplaces some sites in his figure. DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

After the first discoveries in the late 19th cent., scholars saw it as a local production which could be assigned to specific ethnic groups according to the place of discovery and classical sources: Umbrian (Zannoni, 1876: 130), Alpine (von Hochstetter, 1883: 175), Atestine (Ghirardini, 1893: 161) or Etruscan (Ducati, 1923: 60-61). On the other hand, Pigorini (1877: 78-79, 85) proposed that these artefacts came from the east as imports, at least in their earliest phases of appearance in Italy, and that only subsequently were they locally produced.

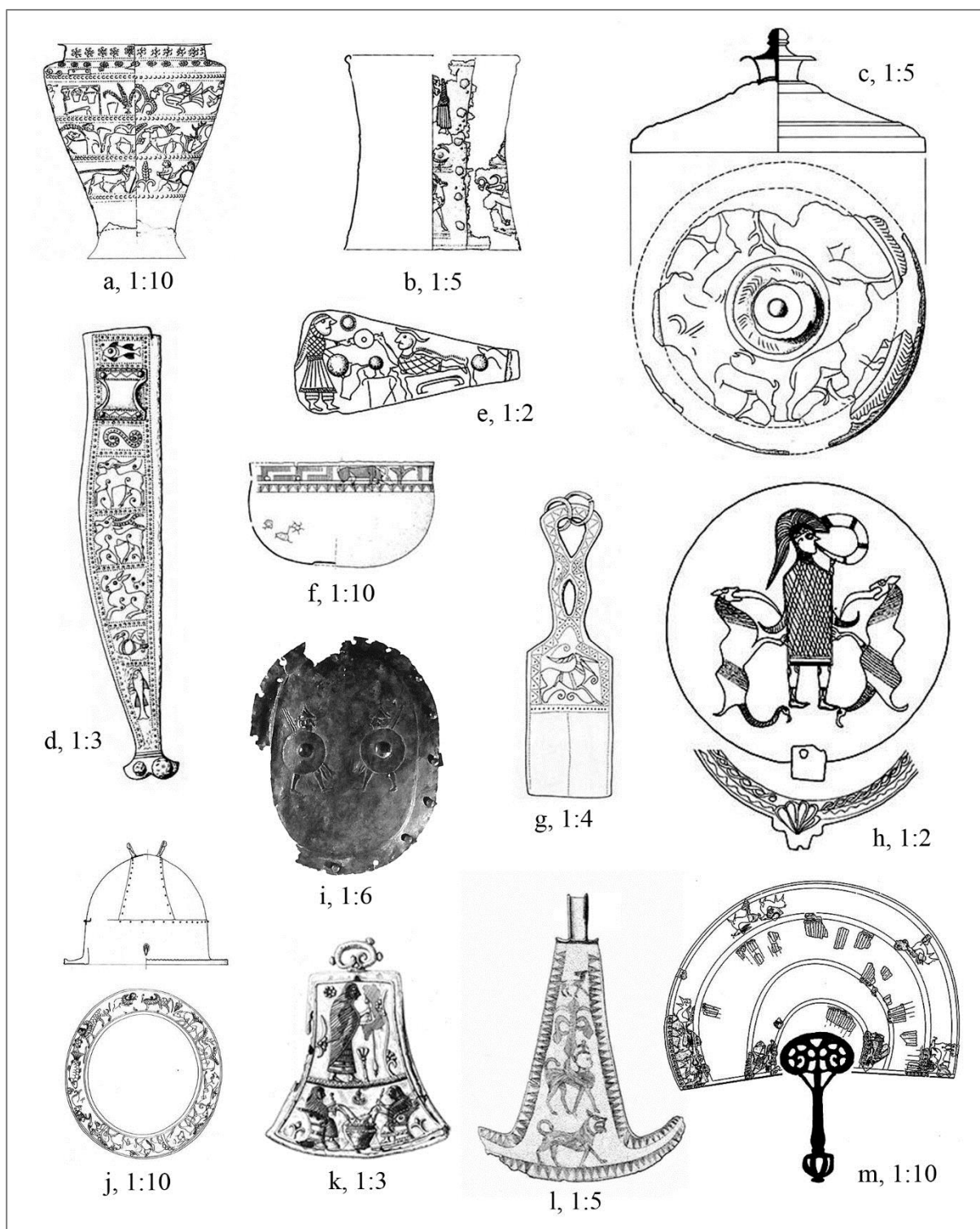


Fig. 9 – Examples of Situla Art: a) situla from Este-Villa Benvenuti (PD, Veneto – Italy), grave 126 (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 176, n. 1); b) *cista* from Montebelluna-Fondo Tessari (TV, Veneto – Italy) (Gerhardinger, 2013: 292, fig. 6.10); c) lid from Este-Randi, grave 34 (PD, Veneto – Italy) (Frey, 1969: plate 46, n. 3); d) scabbard from Belluno (BL, Veneto – Italy) (Frey, 1969: plate 81, n. 42); e) belt plate from Carceri, grave 48 (PD, Veneto – Italy) (Frey, 1969: plate 67, n. 18); f) bowl from Este-Benvenuti, grave 122 (PD, Veneto – Italy) (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 141, n.2);

g) palette from Gazzo Veronese-Turbine cemetery (PD, Veneto – Italy) (Salzani, 2002a: 181, fig. 12); h) mirror from Bologna-Arnoaldi, grave 104 (BO, Emilia-Romagna – Italy) (Macellari, 2002: plate 19, n. 11); i) *kardiophylax* from Forlì-Rio Capena (FC, Emilia-Romagna – Italy) (Fogolari, 1961: plate 3, n. 10); j) helmet from Pitino (MC, Marche – Italy) (Sgubini Moretti, 1992: 194, fig. 14); k) *tintinnabulum* from Bologna-Arsenale, *Tomba degli Ori* (BO, Emilia-Romagna – Italy) (Morigi Govi, 1971: plate 52); l) axe from Bologna-Arnoaldi, grave 11 (BO, Emilia-Romagna – Italy) (Carancini, 1984: plate 101, n. 3443); m) fan from Waisenberg, mound 1 (Austria) (Gleirscher, 2011: 333, fig. 3).

During the 20th cent. most of the debate about Situla Art concerned chronology. Over the last c. 100 years, in fact, the chronology of Situla Art (e.g. the Benvenuti, Certosa, Arnoaldi, Vače, Eppan situlas, see Randall-MacIver, 1927: 33-34; Zaghetto, 2017: tab. 16) has been back-dated by about a century (Tab. 1). This was because of two main factors: on the one hand, objects from peripheral areas (i.e. outside civilised Etruria - Ducati, 1923: 68, or the Atestine world – Kromer, 1961), were generally seen as a “barbarisation” (Ducati, 1923: 68) of Situla Art and so as more recent. On the other hand, situlas were generally believed to be grave goods (see Kastelic, 1961 for the Vače situla or Bartoloni and Morigi Govi, 1995 for the Certosa situla), but ancient restorations suggest that they were produced and used for a certain amount of time before being buried as grave goods (Buson, 2002: 348, this had already been suggested by Ghirardini, 1888b: 189, but without any follow-up).

Situla	early 20th cent. chronology (Randal-MacIver, 1927: 33-34)	early 21th cent. chronology (Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 16, 76)
Benvenuti	(540 BC-)500 BC	630-620 BC
Certosa	520-480 BC	c. 600 BC
Arnoaldi	450 BC	500-425 BC
Vače	450 BC	600-525 BC
Tyrolese group (e.g. Eppan)	4th cent. BC	550-500 BC

Tab. 1 - Comparison between the dates assigned to the main pieces of Situla Art at the beginning of the 20th cent. and in recent times.

Much of present-day understanding on Situla Art should be attributed to Lucke and Frey (1962; see also Frey, 1969). They compiled a more detailed catalogue than that listed in the 1961 and 1962 Situla Art exhibition catalogues (*Arte delle Situle dal Po al Danubio*, 1961; *Situlenkunst zwischen Po und Donau*, 1962), revised the chronology and proposed that Situla Art depicts “real life” and reflects ancient dress (Lucke and Frey, 1962: 48), although the latter hypothesis had already been made both by von Hochstetter (1883) and Ducati (1923: 20). Embossed and incised human figures were analysed according to their constituent parts (i.e. shape, clothes,

hairstyle, hats, etc...; see also Ducati, 1923) and they argued for the presence of socio-political and gender differentiation (Lucke and Frey, 1962: 12); the latter matter has only very recently been re-assessed by Schaller (2019).

Lucke and Frey (1962: 48-54) suggested that Situla Art employed Greek Orientalising artistic language and content (e.g. military parades and war scenes, feasting and boxing matches, etc...) but displayed in its Etruscan adaptation; a hypothesis which had, in part, already been suggested by Fogolari (1961). Este and Bologna were proposed to be the main productive centres of Situla Art but workshops were also hypothesised in the “Magdalenenberg”, the present area of Magdalenska gora – Slovenia (see Fig. 8, site 39), and the “Brenner” area, the present area of Welzelach and Matrei – Austria (Lucke and Frey, 1962: 51; see Fig. 8, sites 27-28).

Colonna (1980) proposed that Bologna was the innovative centre of the Situla Art on the grounds that the evidence there was older – the so-called *tintinnabulum* from the *Tomba degli Ori* (Morigi Govi, 1971) dated to 660-630 BC by Zaghetto (2017: fig. 16), and that the metalworking know-how at the basis of the Situla Art, together with script, was passed to Este through northern Etruria (see also Bonfante, 1979: 75). Sassatelli (2013: 100) seems to support this hypothesis by seeing Bologna as the centre which passed the know-how to Este, but Este is seen as the “formative” and “developer” centre of Situla Art because of the presence of a “mature” production already in the late 7th cent. BC which tended to celebrate and legitimate elite power through the exhibition of specific Orientalising narrative language by employing military parades and war scenes, feasting and boxing matches (see, for example, the Pania ivory pyx in Cristofani, 1979, or the Tragliatella *oenochoe* in Giglioli, 1929) shared throughout the whole area of the Situla Art. Bondini (2012; see also Perego, 2013) believes the emergence of Situla Art in the Iron Age Veneto to be related to that of elites.

Zaghetto’s (2001; 2002a; 2007; 2017; 2018) structuralist approach disassembled the decorative motifs of Situla Art into single units, words (i.e. hat, cloak, man, etc...), in order to understand how they were assembled to produce a narrative language (i.e. sentences: armed man on horse) across space and time. He identified 137 objects as pertaining to the Situla Art phenomenon and classified them on the basis of the decoration displayed. This led Zaghetto (2017: 76; see also Coretti Irdi, 1975) to refine the chronology of the Benvenuti situla, now dated to 630 BC, using a table of associations. Although he only included 49 Situla Art objects in the table of associations published in 2017 (Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 16), 104 objects were dated in his PhD thesis (Zaghetto, 2001). Zaghetto (2017: fig. 2) divided Situla Art into four phases on the basis

of the development of the decorative pattern (Fig. 10, left), but little attention was paid to the emergence and distribution of Situla Art over time: no phase maps are published in his 2017 book *La situla Benvenuti di Este: Il poema figurato degli antichi Veneti*, and the only distribution map is in his PhD thesis (Zaghetto 2001: fig. 225).

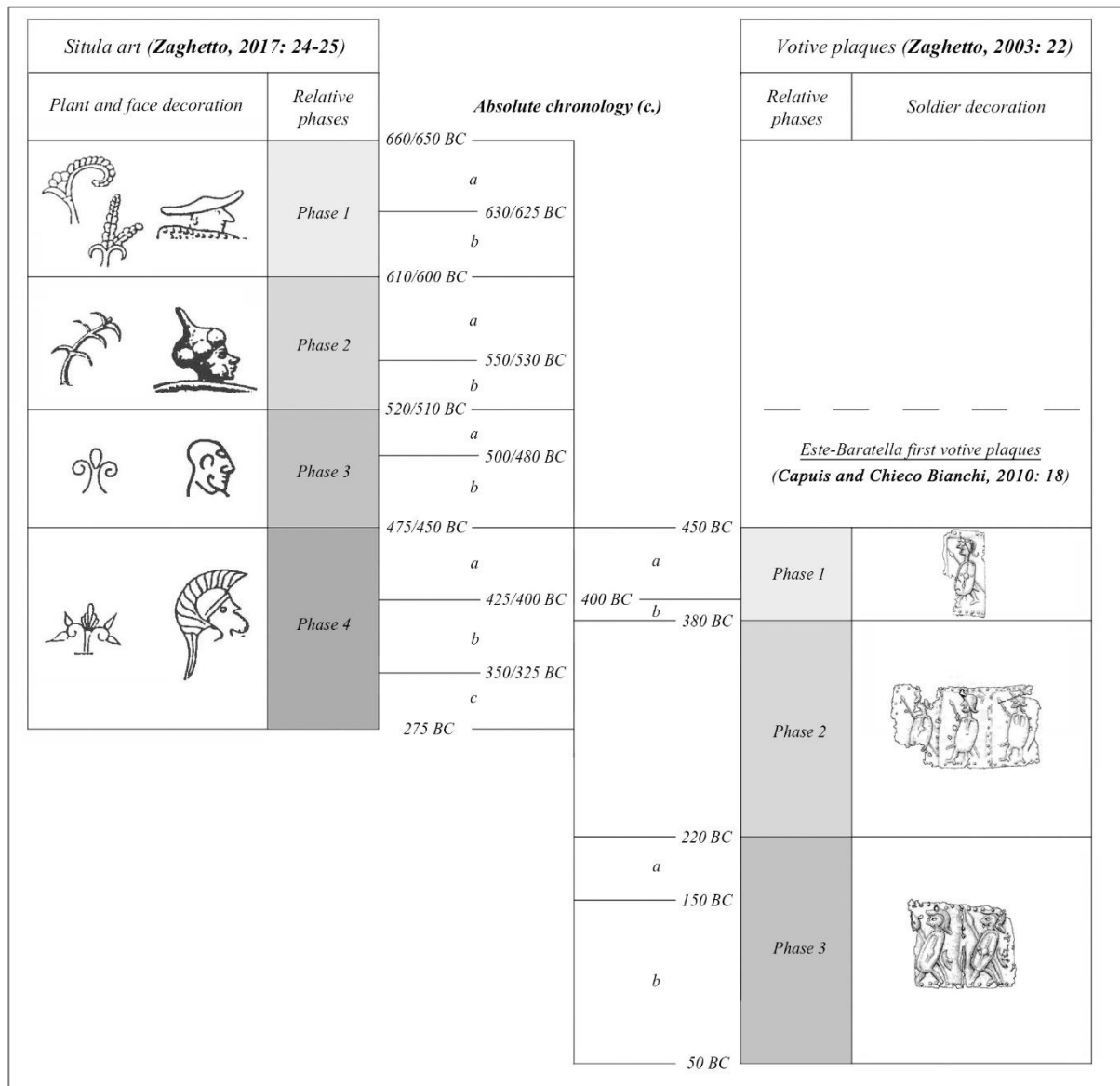


Fig. 10 – A comparison of the relative and absolute chronology of Situla Art and votive plaques (after Zaghetto, 2003: 22; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 18; Zaghetto, 2017: 24-25).

Zaghetto (2018) focused on repetitions of schemata (e.g. military parades and war scenes, feasting and boxing matches, etc...) as evidence for elite identity and legitimation built on the basis of shared rituals and language across time and space within the distribution area of the Situla Art. He believes that decoration was assembled by picking scenes and figures from a limited decorative *repertoire* (Zaghetto 2002a: 36-37). However, generally, little importance is

conferred to the object bearing the decoration and to the context of discovery. Local variations in the decorative pattern, although believed to possibly reflect local dress, are scantily analysed (Zaghetto, 2002a: 36). For example, he suggested broad-brimmed and Phrygian-shaped hats depicted on Situla Art as possibly denoting the different socio-political status of related individuals but also providing a trustworthy reproduction of local dress and realities (Zaghetto, 2002a: 36). Nevertheless, no further analysis is made on this evidence.

Moreover, although the literature clearly identifies the influence of Orientalising decorative schemata in Situla Art (see Fogolari, 1961; Colonna, 1980; Lucke and Frey, 1962: 48-54), and that it possibly even uses Greek myths (see Capuis and Ruta Serafini, 1996; Huth, 2003: 205; Nebelsick, 2018), it is important to bear in mind that Alpine craft tradition might also have contributed to the development of Situla Art, as also argued in the 1961 *Arte delle situle dal Po al Danubio* exhibition catalogue under the label “formative elements” (Fogolari *et al.*, 1961: 75, my translation), but subsequently more and more neglected in the literature.

The converging of two dialectic influences, the southern Orientalising narrative language from Etruria and Alpine and peri-Alpine metal embossed decoration encourages me to follow Sassatelli’s (2013: 100) argument that the Atestines played an active and conscious role in selecting external influxes while safeguarding local cultural and artistic traditions. This pattern might imply the presence of an embedded Atestine identity within the Situla Art which I shall try to highlight in Chapter 8.

2.3.2. Red-and-black painted ware

In the literature, Iron Age Veneto material culture is generally identified with red-and-black painted ware (Fogolari, 1975). It was employed by Peroni and colleagues (1975), together with the metalwork evidence, in a table of associations to produce the chronology still in use today for the Atestine culture. On the basis of pottery form, red-and-black painted ware seems to be in continuity with the cultural tradition found in the Veneto from Atestine phase I (900-800 BC), but it is only recorded as starting from the late 7th cent. BC (Atestine period IIIB2; Peroni, 1975a). Bondini (2008) dates its end at 250 BC (Atestine period IV).

Red-and-black painted ware forms span all the most common classes: jars, beakers, *dolia*, lids (Fig. 11a, c-d). However, Atestine red-and-black painted ware is also characterised by a

peculiar shape, the situliform (Fig. 11b), most probably derived from the situla (see Fig. 9a), a bronze bucket characteristic of the central-eastern Alpine area from the RBA-FBA (1300-1000 BC) (i.e. the Kurd situla; Jankovits, 2017: 495). Coarse ware was also used in the Iron Age Veneto together with painted ware, but it is generally found in settlement areas rather than cemeteries.



Fig. 11 – Red-and-black painted ware from Este-Casa di Ricovero cemetery (PD), scale 1:5: a) lid, b) situliform, c-d) beakers; e) jar (Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 51).

Red-and-black painted ware shows a significant concentration in the area between the rivers Mincio and the Tagliamento valleys, in the Veneto and western Friuli-Venezia Giulia regions, and is therefore regarded by scholars as possessing an ethnic valency (Calzavara Capuis *et al.*, 1984). Very recently, Vitri (2017) pointed out that red-and-black painted ware is also present in the plain east of the river Tagliamento, enclosed by the course of the river Torre. It is my opinion that the limited evidence published does not allow us to define this area as culturally

Atestine. Vitri (2017: 194) suggests it to be an anomaly as there are just four red-and-black vessels in c. 400 known graves and that there are only a few red-and-black vessels in settlements. I believe this pattern indicates that the area between the rivers Tagliamento and Torre was a buffer zone between the Atestine culture and the Slovenian groups settled across the Alpine chain. Limited quantities of red-and-black painted ware are also found in Emilia-Romagna (northern Italy) (Malnati, 1984; Buoite *et al.*, 2017), eastern Piedmont (northern Italy) (Mangani and Voltolini, 2016), plus Austria (e.g. Lippert and Stadler, 2009), Slovenia (Marchesetti, 1893; Teržan *et al.*, 1984, 1985; Tecco Hvala *et al.*, 2004) and Istria, Croatia (Mihovilić, 2001).

In the Atestine area, red-and-black painted ware is characterised by alternate chromatic horizontal bands (see Fig. 11a-b), but vertical bands (see Fig. 11d) and geometric patterns are also found (see Fig. 11c). Human or animal decoration is rare and later (see Fig. 11e) and Sassatelli (2013: 99) suggested it was influenced by Situla Art.

On the basis of a table of associations, Peroni (1975a) attributed the beginning of use of red-and-black painted ware in the Atestine area to Atestine period IIIB2, c. 625 BC. This date corresponds, more or less, to the transition between phase 1a (660/650 BC-630/625 BC) and 1b (630/625 BC-610/600 BC) of Situla Art according to Zaghetto (2017: 24-25, fig. 16). I believe this is no accident. It is my opinion that the chromatic bands characterising most of the red-and-black Atestine painted ware should be seen as a local re-elaboration of external influxes. On the one hand, the southern Orientalising influence, mediated through Etruscan taste, conferred particular emphasis on a narrative style based on horizontal panels which became the organising principle of Situla Art; decoration in panels might have also inspired the decoration on red-and-black painted ware in Veneto. Moreover, one of the most common divisions between the different bands of red-and-black painted ware was by cordons which I argue strongly resemble those employed to divide friezes in Situla Art. At least one Atestine red-and-black painted vessel has engraved decoration inspired by Situla Art decorative motifs: a *dolium* with men on chariots, each drawn by two horses. It was found in the cemetery of Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro (VR) and dates to the 6th cent. BC (Salzani, 2018a: 95; Ferrari and Salzani, 2018a: 111, plate 24; Fig. 12).

On the other hand, I believe that the red-and-black paint likely originated in the Alpine area and then spread, possibly as a fashion, into the Veneto region. In the Austrian cemetery of Bischofshofen-Pestfriedhof, for example, Lippert and Stadler (2009: plate 50, grave 194, n. 1;

plate 15, grave 40, n. 1) recorded the presence of painted red-and-black globular jars (*Kragenrandgefäss*) where incisions and excisions forming triangles and wavy patterns separated the red and black zones. These jars are dated by Lippert and Stadler (2009: 40) to Ha C2 phase, c. 725-650 BC.

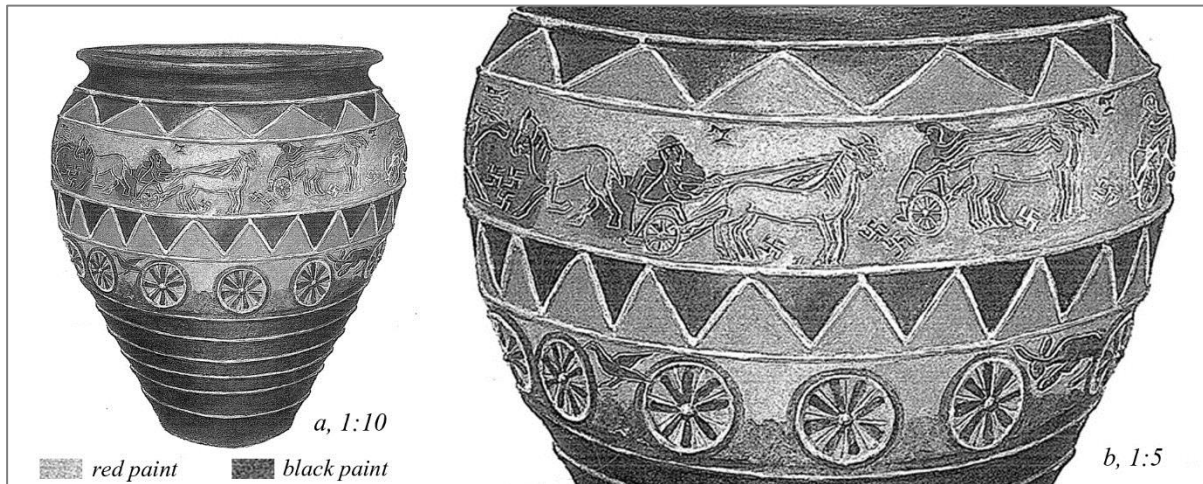


Fig. 12 – Red-and-black decorated *dolium* from Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro (VR), grave 4: a) whole form; b) decoration (Ferrari and Salzani, 2018a: plate 24).

2.3.3. *Ex votos*

Votive evidence in the Iron Age Veneto generally consists of bronze figurines, plaques and ornaments (Pascucci, 1990). Fig. 13 shows the Iron Age sites with the presence of one or more votive deposits known so far in the Veneto (Pascucci, 1990: figs 1 and 2; De Nardi, 2008: 407-427).

In the literature, the Iron Age Veneto votive deposits are generally interpreted as sanctuaries when evidence is found *in situ* and constituted by an abundance of bronze decorated plaques, bronze figurines, bronze ornaments, pottery, together with inscriptions, (burnt) faunal remains and, sometimes, standing structures (e.g. Este-Meggiano [PD], Balista *et al.*, 2002; Fiore and Tagliacozzo, 2002; Gambacurta and Zaghetto, 2002; Gregnagnin, 2002; Marinetti, 2002; Salerno, 2002; Zaghetto, 2002b; see Fig. 13, site 2).

One of the oldest sanctuaries known to date in the Iron Age Veneto is that at S. Giorgio di Valpolicella-Torre (VR) (see Fig. 13, site 16), in use between the 9th and the 4th cent. BC (Salzani, 2002b). Salzani (2002b: 191) reports the presence in this area of a stone podium,

pottery sherds, one with an inscription in Rhaetic alphabet, fibulas, pins and animal bones. A better-known sanctuary area is that at Este-Baratella, recognised as dedicated to the goddess *Reitia* thanks to the presence of a votive inscription mentioning her name: *meo Vants Egests donasto Reitai* (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: 24; Fig. 13, site 2; inscription in Fig. 16b). It was established at the end of the 7th cent. BC and was in use still in Roman times (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 14-15).

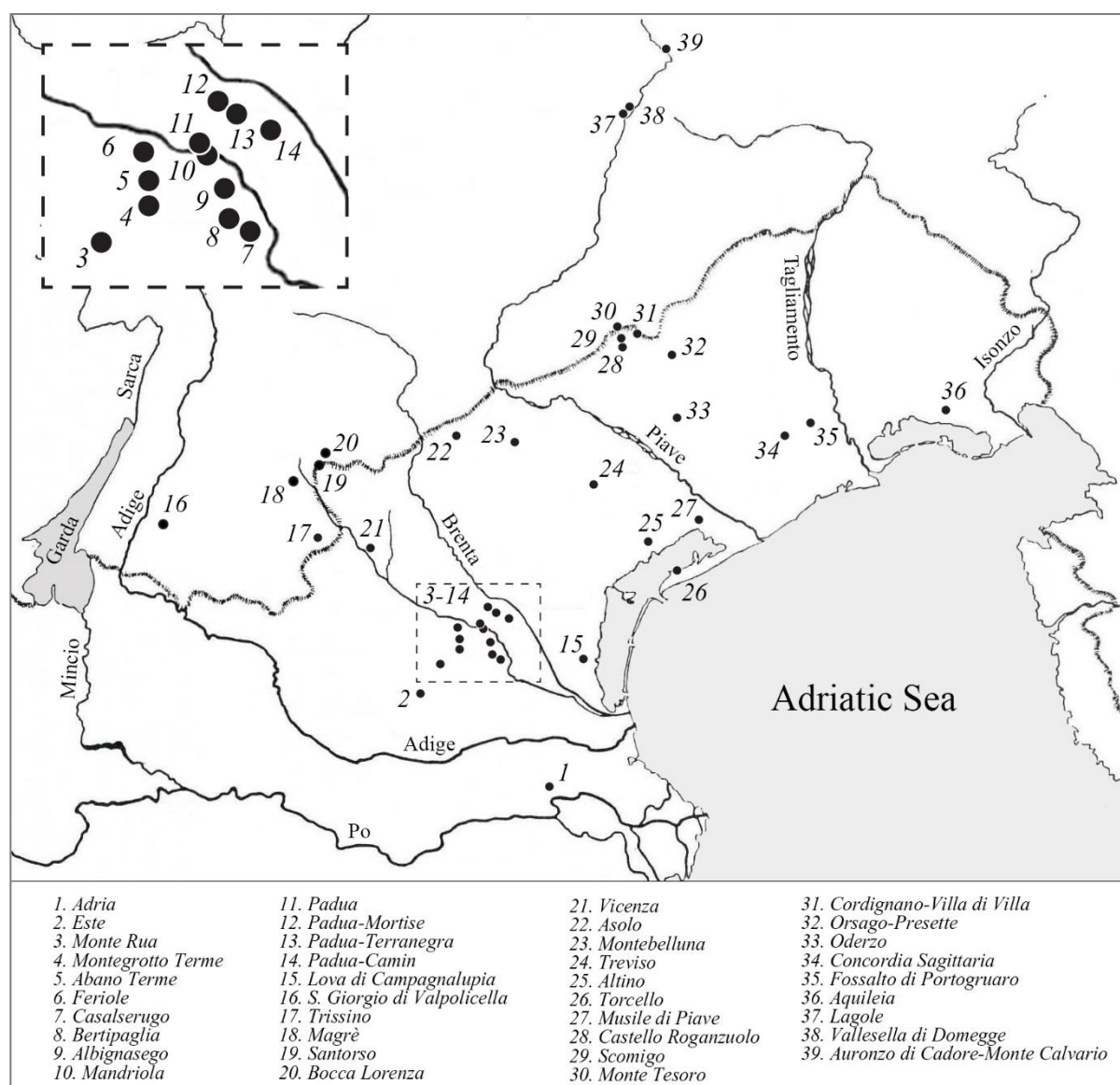


Fig. 13 – Iron Age Veneto votive deposits (after Pascucci, 1990: figs 1-2; De Nardi, 2008: 407-427).

It is generally accepted that metal *ex votos* seem to be deposited at most of the sites shown in Fig. 13 from the late 6th/early 5th cent. BC (Pascucci, 1990: 38; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 18), although some of them were already in use earlier. Pascucci (1990: 41-58) divided Atestine votive evidence into three main categories: 1) utilitarian objects (e.g. knives, pottery);

2) miniature and inscribed objects (e.g. personal ornaments); 3) votive objects (e.g. bronze plaques and figurines).

In the following lines, I will focus my attention only on the third group, which I will discuss in Chapters 7 and 8 in order to develop my argument on the Iron Age Veneto identity.

Votive plaques are thin bronze sheets which were mainly decorated with embossed or stamped human and/or animal images and dedicated in sacred areas of the Iron Age Veneto. Generally rectangular, they vary between a few cm (e.g. 2.9x3.1cm) to a few dozen cm in size (e.g. 34.7x23cm) (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 74, 108).

Capuis and Chieco Bianchi (2010: 18) claimed that votive plaques are a typical and unique Atestine phenomenon in comparison with the sacred production of pre-Roman Italy, which is mostly ceramic-based. According to the evidence known to date, votive plaques are recorded at 22 Atestine sites (Pascucci, 1990: 239-261; De Nardi, 2008: 407-427; see Fig. 110 in Section 8.3.). However, a very small number of plaques has been published so far compared to the total number discovered (Pascucci, 1990: 65; De Nardi, 2008: 407-427).

The limited available literature considers Atestine bronze votive plaques to derive from Situla Art (Fogolari *et al.*, 1961: 113; see also Zaghetto, 2017). In the 1961 Padua *Arte delle Situla dal Po al Danubio* exhibition catalogue, Fogolari and colleagues (1961: 113) labelled them as “persistences and derivations” (my translation) of Situla Art. In line with this statement, Fogolari and colleagues (1961: 113-117) attributed a recent date to the plaques, between the 4th and the 2nd cent. BC. Nowadays, on the basis of the evidence found at Este-Baratella, the sanctuary of the goddess *Reitia*, votive plaques are dated from at least the late 6th to the 1st cent BC (Chieco Bianchi and Capuis, 2010: 14; see Fig. 10, right). In the latter phase, bronze plaques take on the form of body-parts (see Fig. 14, n. 8) like the ceramic *ex votos* of the rest of Italy, possibly because of Roman influence.

A preliminary attempt at a stylistic-typological classification of the Atestine *ex votos* was undertaken by Pascucci in 1990 on the basis of the then published votive deposits from the Atestine area, plus Gurina, Austria. Pascucci (1990, fig. 27) divided votive plaques into 11 groups: 1) foot soldiers, 2) knights, 3) male civilians, 4) women, 5) figures processing, 6) men and animals, 7) animals, 8) body parts, 9) geometric decorations, 10) miniature discs and shields, and 11) alphabetic tablets (Fig. 14).

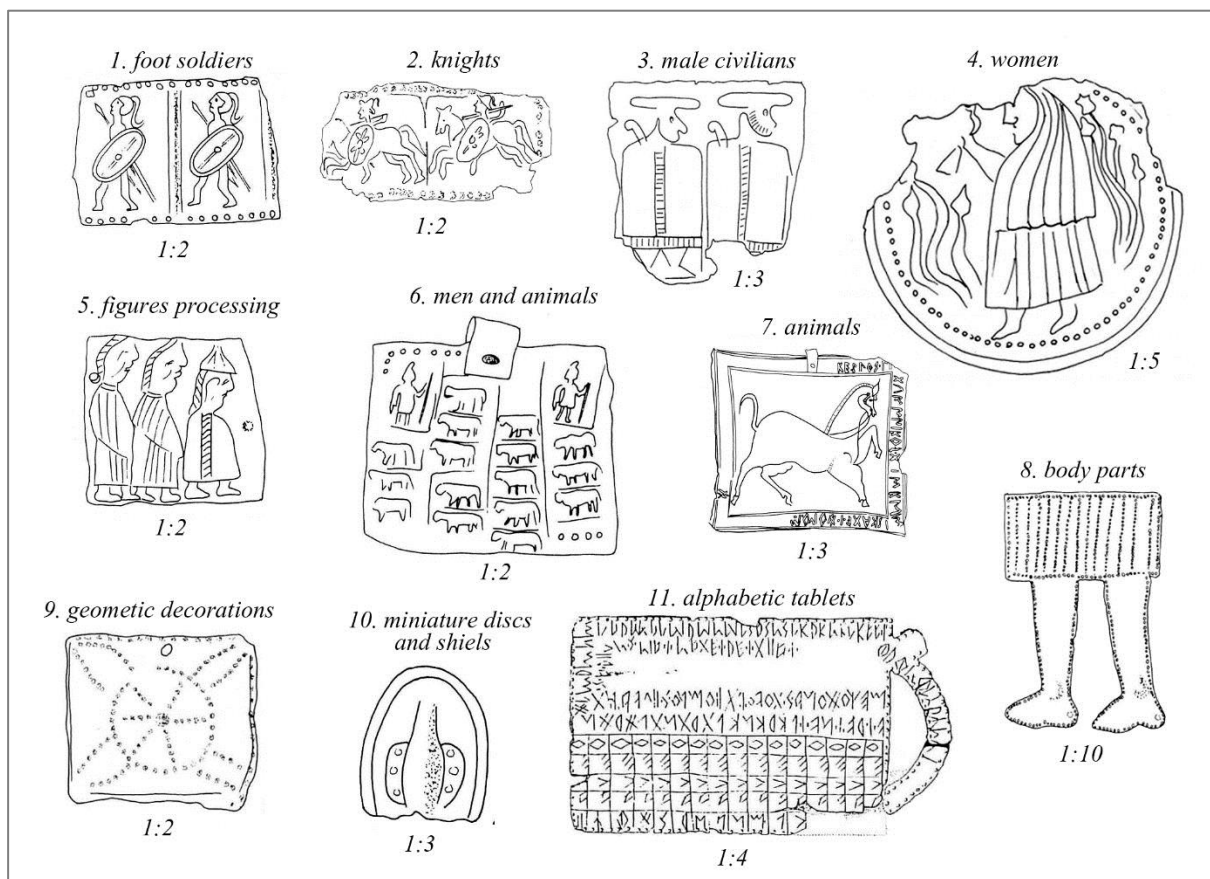


Fig. 14 – Pascucci's (1990: 59-92) typological classification of Atestine bronze votive plaques. Drawings from Pascucci (1990): 1) fig. 16, n. 5; 2) fig. 17, n. 2; 3) fig. 18, n. 1a; 4) fig. 19, n. 4; 5) fig. 20, n. 4; 6) fig. 21, n. 2a; 7) fig. 22, n. 2a; 8) fig. 23, n. 8a; 9) fig. 24, n. 2b; 10) fig. 25, n. 4; 11) fig. 26, n. 3.

Bronze votive figurines vary between c. 4cm and 18cm in height and chronologically between the 5th and the 3rd cent. BC (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: 24, 44, 50). Most of the sites in Fig. 13 have bronze figurines, a pattern interpreted by Pascucci (1990: 93 and fig. 39) as a common pattern for Atestine votive sites. Absence of such evidence might be explained by the limited fieldwork to date or the scanty literature (e.g. S. Giorgio di Valpolicella Torre; Salzani, 2002b). For some sites, it is possible to suggest that absence is linked to cultural behaviour as at the sites of Trissino (VI), Magrè (VI), Santorso (VI) and Bocca Lorenza (VI) (see Fig. 13, sites 17-20), which are assigned in the literature to the hybrid Atestine-Rhaetic cultural aspect called the Magrè group by Lora and Ruta Serafini (1992). Here, deer horns were mostly found, sometimes bearing bilingual inscriptions, in both Atestine and Rhaetic (De Nardi, 2008: 419-420).

In the literature, Atestine bronze figurines are interpreted as being influenced by Etruscan and north Umbrian production (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: 24). On the basis of the corpus known to 1990, Pascucci (1990: 93-111) defined seven different groups: 1) naked foot soldiers, 2) schematic naked offerors, 3a) dressed foot soldiers, 3b) dressed or naked offerors, 4) knights, 5) dressed women, 6) animals, and 7) body parts (Fig. 15).

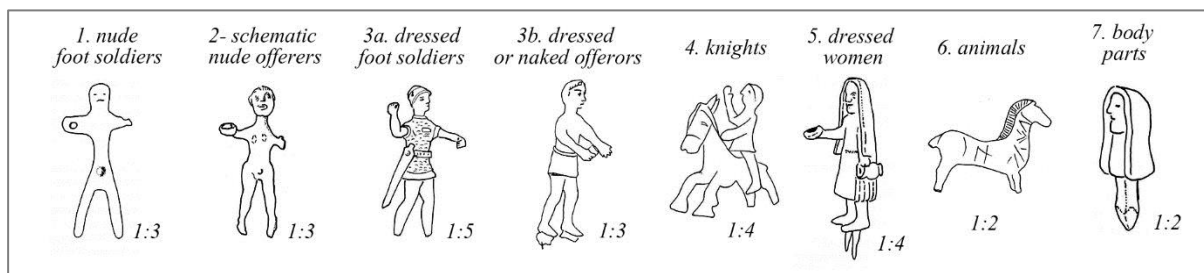


Fig. 15 - Pascucci's (1990: 93-118) Atestine bronze figurines typological classification. Drawings from Pascucci (1990): 1) fig. 29, n. 1a; 2) fig. 30, n. 2; 3a) fig. 31, n. 1b; 3b) fig. 32, n. 1b, right; 4) fig. 33B, second from the left; 5) fig. 34, n. 4a; 6) fig. 35A, n. 1c; 7) fig. 36, n. 1a.

The best known published context with bronze figurines is the sanctuary of *Reitia* at Este-Baratella (i.e. 185; Chieco Bianchi, 2002: 99; Fig. 13, site 2). According to Chieco Bianchi (2002: 23), most of the figurines at this site were attached to stone bases, as suggested, for example, by the presence of attachments under the feet of the statues and the heads 3b, 5 and 7 in Fig. 15. Stone bases were inscribed bearing the name of the offeror (Fig. 16a) and do not only have single statues (Fig. 16b) but also multiple statues, differentiated by gender and, possibly, socio-political role (Fig. 16c).

Interestingly, at the sanctuary of *Reitia* figurines interpreted as a god/goddess were also found, made not only of bronze but also of silver. Chieco Bianchi (2002: 23) lists three silver figurines, one of which is unfortunately lost. Without providing the grounds for her interpretation, Chieco Bianchi (2002: 23) proposed that two of them – the one missing and the one in Fig. 17a – depicted Minerva and attributed the silver figurine on a throne in Fig. 17b to an undefinable goddess (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: 23). According to Chieco Bianchi (2002: 20), these silver figurines should be assigned to a second phase of use of the sanctuary, 4th-3rd cent. BC, when the cult of Minerva was possibly introduced.



Fig. 16 – Este (PD), *Reitia* sanctuary, bronze figurines with inscribed stone bases: a) inscribed stone base (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: plate 5, n. 6a); inscribed stone bases with: b) single offeror (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: plate 29, n. 49b); c) multiple offerors (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: plate 16, ns 130, 29, 131, 126).

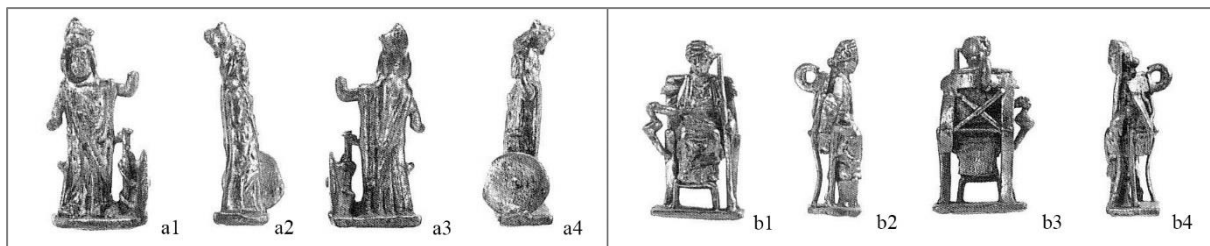


Fig. 17 – Silver figurines from Este-Baratella (PD), sanctuary of *Reitia*, scale 1:1: a) Minerva(?), b) undefinable goddess (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: plate 60, ns 182a-d and plate 59, ns 181a-d).

2.3.4. Tomb markers

In the literature, there are three classes of tomb markers in the Iron Age Veneto: *stelai*, *cippi* and *ciottoloni* (Lomas, 2011; Whitehouse, 2013; Fig. 18a, b, c).

They are defined by Whitehouse (2013: 287):

“The terms *stèle* (Greek; the Italian version is... *stèle*) and *cippus* (Latin; the Italian version is *cippo*) are both used to describe standing stones... there is a tendency to use *stèle* for rectangular stones with flat faces and *cippus* for other shapes, such as

cylinders or obelisk shapes... The Italian term *ciottolone* means literally ‘big pebble’...”

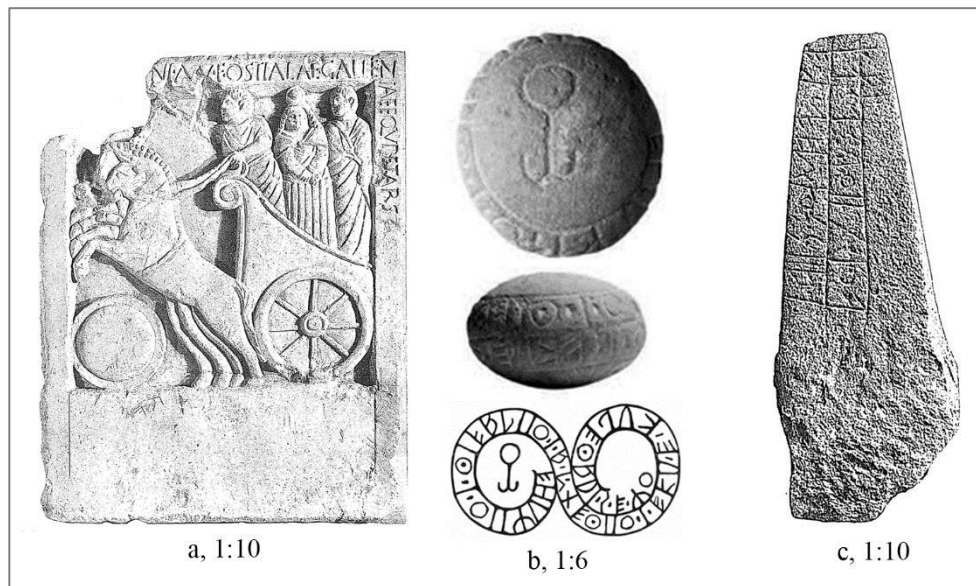


Fig. 18 – Veneto Iron Age tomb markers: a) stele from Padua (PD), 1st cent. BC (Pellegrini, 1967: 345); b) *ciottolone* from Trambacche (PD), 5th cent. BC(?) (Prosdocimi, 1988: 291); c) funerary *cippo* from Este-Capodaglio (PD), Atestine period III (Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 54).

However, I argue at least one other class of tomb markers exists in the Iron Age Veneto: statues. So far this class has only been documented at the Atestine cemetery of Gazzo Veronese-Colombara². Four funerary statues (a fifth decorated sandstone fragment may be part of a fifth statue) were found in this site, one of which still bore part of an inscription (Gamba and Gambacurta, 2011: figs 3, 5, 7-8; Malnati, 2006: fig. 5; Fig. 19, ns 1-5).

Gamba and Gambacurta (2011: 168-173) linked the presence of high-status bas-relief decoration on Gazzo Veronese statues to the Etruscan world and dated them, on the basis of parallels, to the beginning of the 6th cent BC. The sandstone employed seems to come from Montovolo, near Bologna (Gamba and Gambacurta, 2011: 175), so an Etruscan territory. Moreover, Marinetti (2011: 181) suggested that the alphabet of the inscription (see Fig. 19, n. 2b) is Etruscan but was in doubt concerning the language. The statues were found out of context, but close to a cremation grave with Atestine red-and-black painted pottery vessels and

² I interviewed Luigi Sfiller, discoverer of the evidence discussed, on 28 May 2016. He pointed out how the site of discovery was not Gazzo Veronese-Balaferi so as suggested by Gamba and colleagues (2011) but Gazzo Veronese-Colombara, few hundred metres to the west.

a bronze double-axe (Malnati, 2003; 2006; Fig. 19, n. 6). Malnati (2003: 65) stressed that the double-axe is an attribute of Etruscan magistrates, and is absent in the Atestine world.

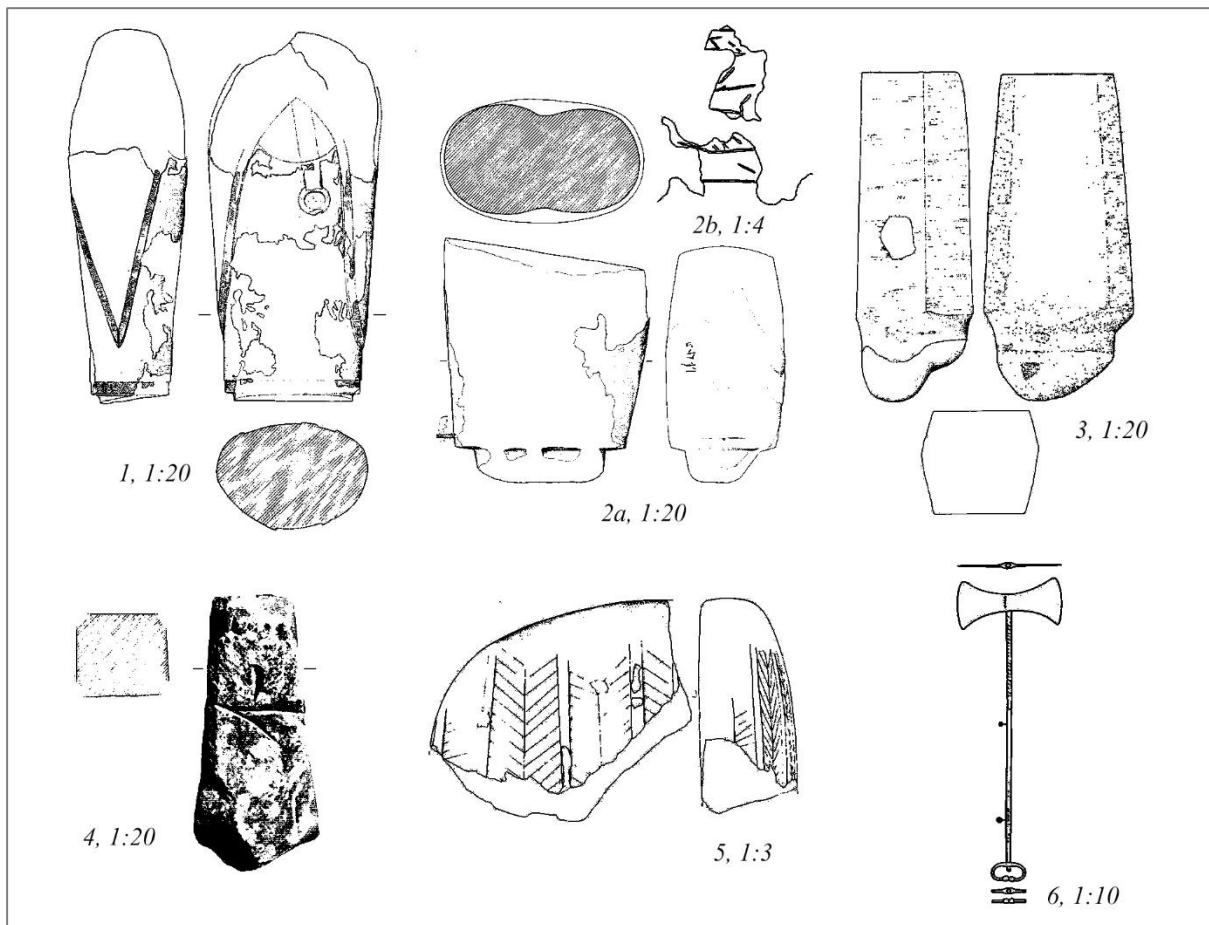


Fig. 19 – Gazzo Veronese-Colombara cemetery (VR): 1-5) limestone statues, one still bearing part of an inscription (2b) (Gamba *et al.*, 2011: figs 3, 5, 7-8); 6) bronze double axe from the grave 2 found in 1980 (Malnati, 2002: fig.1).

Fig. 20 shows the distribution of tomb markers in the Iron Age Veneto to date. *Stelai* and *cippi* are, usually, characterised by an unworked base which was inserted into the ground (see Fig. 18a, c). They are mainly known from the territory of Este and Padua (Voltolini, 2013a: 344-345) but at least one funerary *stela* is known from Levico Terme (TN) (Bassi and Marinetti, 2013: 361), while one funerary *cippus* was found at Altino (VE) (Scarfì, 1962). *Stelai* were found in funerary contexts at Padua (Pellegrini, 1967: 318-348), while *cippi* were found in votive (Marinetti, 2010) and funerary contexts (Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 48-93) at Este. *Cippi* were also used at Padua, but as boundary stones of the town (Gamba *et al.*, 2008: fig. 4).

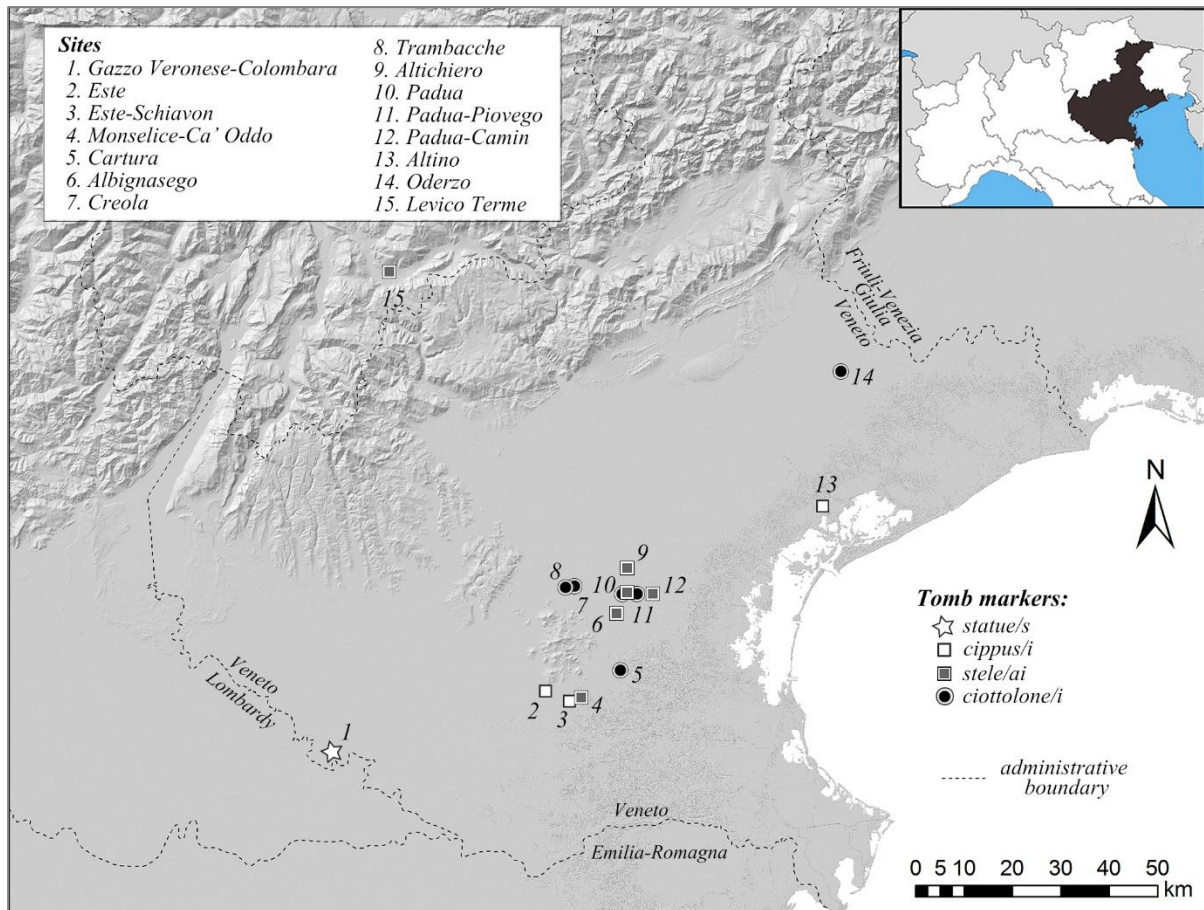


Fig. 20 – Distribution of tomb markers in the Iron Age Veneto. DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

Ciottoloni, on the other hand, seem to be restricted to the territory of Padua (Pellegrini, 1967: 349-355; Marinetti and Prosdocimi, 1994) with the only exception of the one found at Oderzo (TV), dated to the 5th-4th cent. BC (Prosdocimi, 1984). Padua *ciottoloni* are made of red porphyry, are around 30cm in diameter, and provided with a funerary inscription (see Fig. 18b) (Pellegrini, 1967: 349; Whitehouse, 2013: 281-282). So far, we know of at least 11 *ciottoloni* from Padua (Pellegrini, 1967: 349-355; Prosdocimi, 1988: 249, 288-292; Marinetti and Prosdocimi, 1994) dating between the late 6th and the 4th cent. BC (Capuis, 1993: 221; Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2014: 263).

So far, there are 20 *stelae* made of local limestone at Padua (Lomas, 2013: 108; Fogolari, 1988: 99). *Stelae*, here, date between the 6th and the 1st cent. BC (Gamba *et al.*, 2005: 28) and are generally around 90cm in height (Pellegrini, 1967: 324-348). They generally have a low-carved decoration characterised by a chariot, with one, two, or three figures on it, drawn by two horses (Fig. 21a). Fogolari (1988: 99) interpreted this decorative scheme as the voyage of the deceased to the underworld.

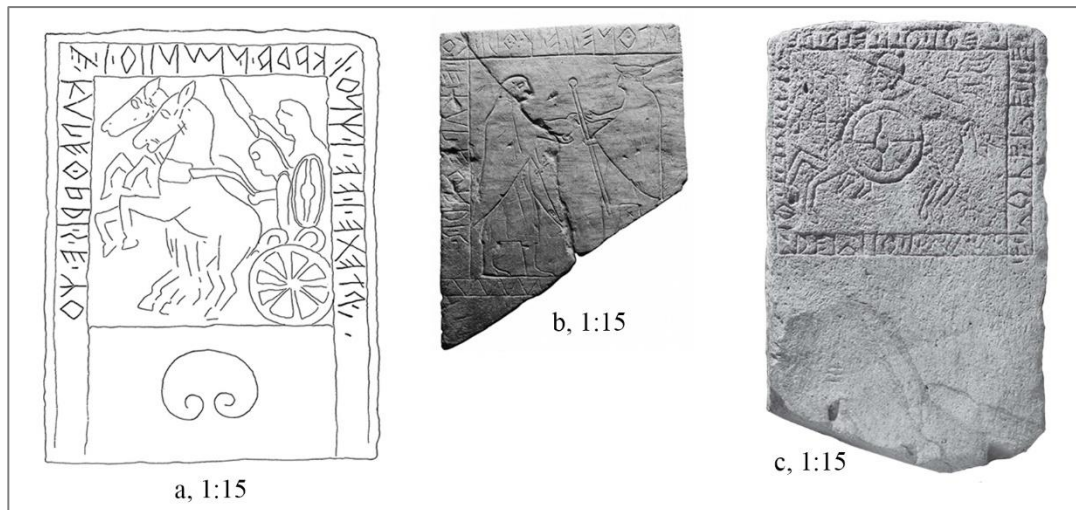


Fig. 21 – The different iconography in Iron Age Padua (PD) *stelai*: a) man on a chariot led by two horses, from the territory of Padua (Pellegrini, 1967: 330); b) man and woman greeting or taking leave from each other, Padua-Camin, 6th cent. BC (Lomas, 2011: fig. 1.9); c) knight, Padua-via Acquette, 4th cent. BC (Lomas, 2011: fig. 1.11).

There are exceptions. The oldest *stela* found (at Padua-Camin) dates to the 6th cent. BC and shows a woman and a man greeting or taking leave from each other (Fogolari, 1988: 99) (Fig. 21b). The man, located on the right of the scene, has a long cloak, a broad-brimmed hat and a rod with knobbed head in his left hand. He seems to be accepting an offering of a bird from the right hand of the veiled woman, located on the left of the *stela*. The woman also has two not well identifiable small cylindrical objects in her left hand. Fogolari (1970-71: 4-5) suggested the bird was an offering to the deceased or, alternatively, the soul of the dead (Fogolari, 1988: 100). The second iconographic exception at Padua is the knight, generally carrying a spear and a shield while riding a horse (Fig. 21c). In at least two cases (Pellegrini, 1967: 330; Lomas, 2011: fig. 1.12), the knight carries an oval shield, generally linked in ancient art to Gauls (Servadei, 2003). This argument is also supported by the chronology of the tomb marker, which is late 4th/3rd cent. BC (Fogolari, 1988: 103) and so contemporary or just after the intrusion of the Cenomani Gauls in the study area. In the light of the 3rd-1st cent. BC funerary evidence from Este and its territory it has been proposed that Cenomani Gauls were well integrated into the local Atestine communities in this phase (Chieco Bianchi, 1987; Voltolini, 2011).

Of the aforementioned 20 *stelai* from Padua, 10 were inscribed (Marinetti and Prosdoci, 2005: 44-47). The state of conservation of the remaining 10 does not allow us to know if they also were inscribed. However, all the inscribed *stelai* bear the same formula: personal name and *cognomen* (i.e. surname) + *ekupetaris/eppetaris ego* (Lomas, 2011: 17). Marinetti (2003:

144) suggested the epithet *ekupetaris/eppetaris* did not only mark the simple possession of a horse but also indicated an established socio-political role in the community, specifically as a knight/*eques*.

In the literature, *cippi* from Este are described as having an obelisk-like shape and as around 60-70cm in height (Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 48-93; see Fig. 18c). One exception is generally recognised, a rectangularly shaped *stela* similar to those recorded at Padua and dated to the mid 5th cent. BC (Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 51-54) (Fig. 22a). I would add another exception, the rectangular-shaped *stela* of *Fugia Andeatina Fuginia* found at Monselice-Ca' Oddo (PD), c. 7km east of Este, dated to the 5th-4th cent. BC (Capuis, 1993: 221; Fig. 22b).

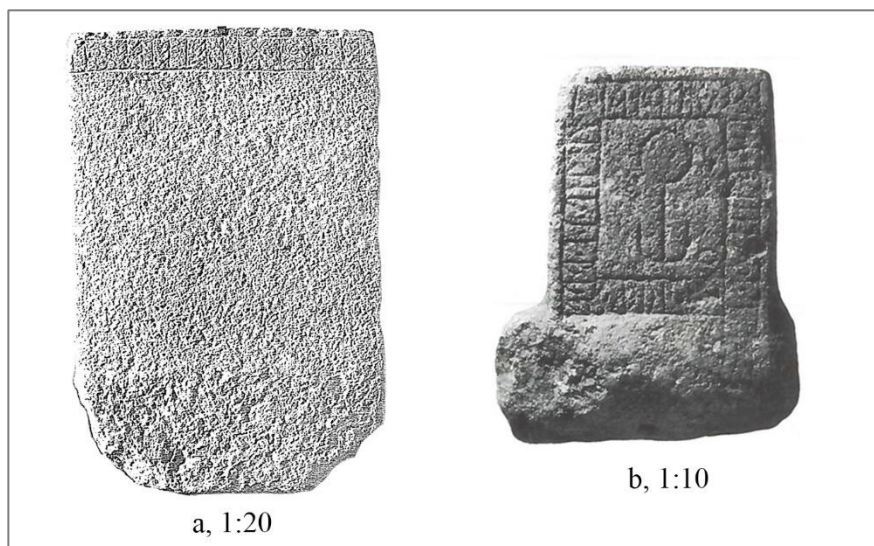


Fig. 22 – Iron Age *stelae* from: a) Este-Fondo Nazari (PD), mid 5th cent. BC (Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 52); b) Monselice-Ca' Oddo (PD), 5th-4th cent. BC (Martini Chieco Bianchi and Prosdocimi, 1969: plate 137a).

Prosdocimi and Pellegrini (1967: 48-95) listed 22 *cippi* made of trachyte in the area of Este, undecorated but all inscribed, dating between the 5th and the 3rd cent. BC. At Este, inscriptions generally do not include the epithet *ekupeteris/eppetaris* found at Padua but a more simplified formula with *ego* (possibly to be translated as 'I am [the tomb of]') + name of the buried individual (Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 50).

2.4. First considerations

This chapter shows how the literature has mainly focused on defining a relative and absolute chronology for the 1st millennium BC archaeological record discovered in the Veneto region. However, at least as regards the so-called Atestine periods I and II, the absolute chronology should be revised on the basis of the available Swiss pile-dwelling dendrodates for the transition between the FBA and the EIA (c. 1000 BC). This affects chronology at least until 750 BC, when the presence of Greek goods allow a good correlation with southern Italy and Greek dates.

An ethnic identity valency was generally assigned by Italian scholars to red-and-black painted ware on the basis of its distribution and concentration in the area between the rivers Mincio and Tagliamento (i.e. the present Veneto and western Friuli-Venezia Giulia regions) (Calzavara Capuis *et al.*, 1984), while funerary tomb markers were generally analysed using a classificatory approach focusing on form, raw material, decoration and the presence of inscriptions. Writing in English, it was Lomas (2009, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2018), who was the first to suggest they had an identity valency.

Lomas' (2009, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2018) identity argument will be discussed later in this thesis (see Chapter 7), but it will also be expanded by analysing the other material culture classes presented in Section 2.3. in identity terms.

Chapter 3 – The geography and geomorphology of the Po Plain

The Veneto region, north-east Italy, was and is a land shaped by rivers (Figs 23-24). Rivers, in fact, played a major role in the settlement pattern of this area over time by providing freshwater used for defence, growing crops and grazing but also impeded occupation due to flooding events and marshland. Rivers acted also as landscape markers and natural boundaries which defined and define the borders between communities. However, the course of rivers changed over time and so it is crucial to reconstruct these changes in order to highlight how these natural borders shaped the Veneto landscape during the Iron Age.

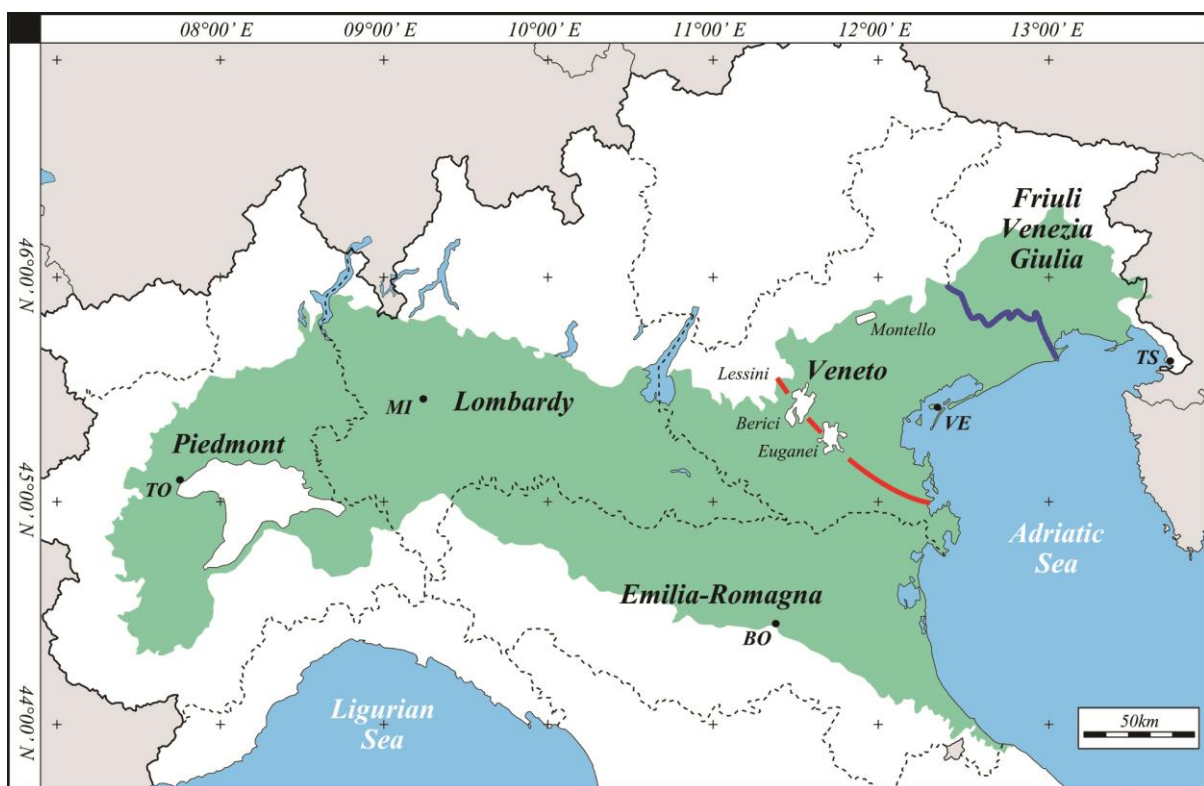


Fig. 23 - Administrative map of northern Italy with highlighted, in green, the Po Plain according to Castiglioni and colleagues (1997). The green area between the red and blue lines is the Venetian Plain, the green area east of the blue line is the Friulian Plain. Po Plain regional capitals are also shown: TO= Turin, MI= Milan, BO= Bologna, VE= Venice and TS= Trieste. Base map from d-maps.com.

The Veneto region mostly consists of an area of plain stretching between the Adriatic Sea and the pre-Alps (Figs 23-24, in green). This includes part of the so-called Po Plain, which is located in the modern-day regions of Piedmont, Lombardy and Emilia-Romagna and in the western Veneto as far as the line of the Lessini-Berici-Euganei hills (in Fig. 23, the green area between Piedmont and the red line). The so-called Venetian Plain is located between the line of the

Lessini-Berici-Euganei hills and the rivers Livenza and Tagliamento (see Fig. 23, between the red and blue lines; Fig. 24). Further east is the Friulian Plain, labelled with the name of the present-day region (i.e. Friuli-Venezia Giulia), stretching between the lower Tagliamento and upper Livenza valleys and the river Isonzo (see Fig. 23, east of the blue line; Fig. 24).

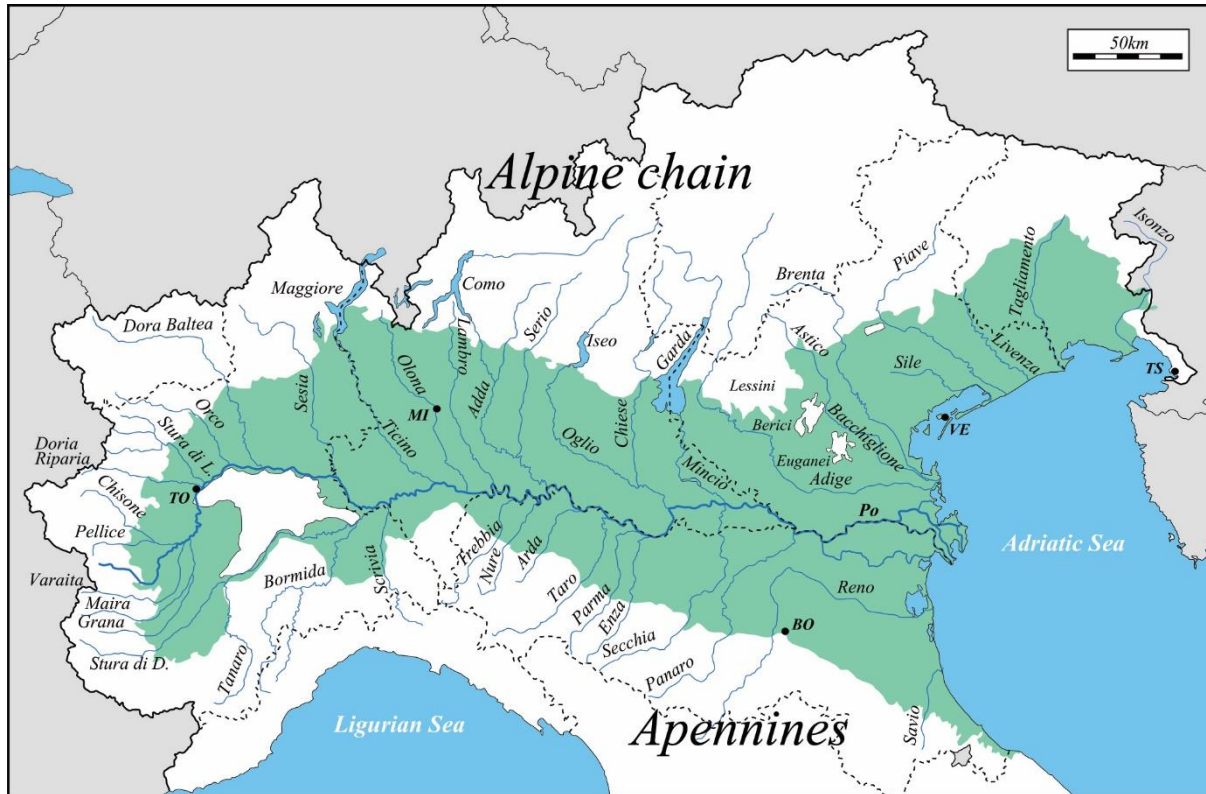


Fig. 24 – Present-day Po Plain river network superimposed on an administrative map of northern Italy. Po Plain regional capitals are also shown: TO= Turin, MI= Milan, BO= Bologna, VE= Venice and TS= Trieste (after Castiglioni *et al.*, 1997). Base map from d-maps.com.

The Po Plain takes its name from the river Po, the longest river of Italy (c. 652km; Marchetti, 2002: 361), whose course stretches across several northern Italy regions: Piedmont, Lombardy, Emilia-Romagna and the Veneto (see Fig. 24). Conversely, the Venetian and Friulian Plains only possess shorter rivers which are generally considered to be important only at the regional scale (see Fig. 24). Nevertheless, during the last glacial period (i.e. the Würm glaciation, c. 113000-28000 BC), when the Upper Adriatic area was dry land crossed by the river Po, the rivers of both the Veneto and Friuli-Venezia Giulia were tributaries of the river Po (Amorosi *et al.*, 2016: fig. 1, upper right). In the light of this, and in order to not confuse the reader, in the rest of this chapter the whole green area in Figs 23 and 24 will be generally referred to as Po Plain.

3.1. The geography of the Po Plain

The Po Plain is the largest Italian alluvial basin covering over 46000km², 15% of the land-area of Italy (Marchetti, 2002: 361). It has a triangular shape which extends mainly between the parallels 44th and 46th and is c. 396km in length, 80-120km wide and it has a coastline of c. 330km (Chevallier, 1988: 111; Bondesan *et al.*, 2001: 105; see Figs 23 and 24).

The Po Plain embraces most of the present-day northern Italy regions, touching, from west to east: Piedmont, Lombardy, Emilia-Romagna, Veneto and Friuli-Venezia Giulia (see Fig. 23). The current regional borders are only partially defined by Po Plain rivers (see Fig. 24): the river Po, for example, constitutes a section of the regional boundary between Emilia-Romagna, Lombardy and Veneto. To a lesser extent, it also acts as the boundary between Piedmont and Lombardy which is also defined by the rivers Sesia and Ticino (see Fig. 24). Further east the river Mincio acts as the boundary between Lombardy and Veneto as do the rivers Tagliamento and Livenza for the Veneto and Friuli-Venezia Giulia (see Fig. 24).

The Po Plain is naturally bordered by two mountain chains: the Alps, to the north and west, and the Apennines, to the south; the Adriatic coast marks its eastern boundary (see Fig. 24). Geographically, 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 75m within a square of 4x4km². Altitude is on average around 105m a.s.l. (Chevallier, 1988: 111) with a maximum value of 605m a.s.l. near Cuneo (CN), in south-eastern Piedmont, and a minimum value of -5m a.s.l. in the Po Delta area (Tellini, 2001: 21) (Fig. 25).

Altitude and geography strongly affect river sedimentation, so that we can distinguish different kinds of river courses (Bondesan, 2001: 38-39). Apennine and Alpine rivers have a different regime: both are seasonal but Alpine rivers have their maximum water discharge during summertime when ice melts (Bondesan, 2001: fig. 5.3). On the contrary, Apennine rivers have their maximum water discharge between autumn and springtime when rain is more frequent (Bondesan, 2001: fig. 5.4).

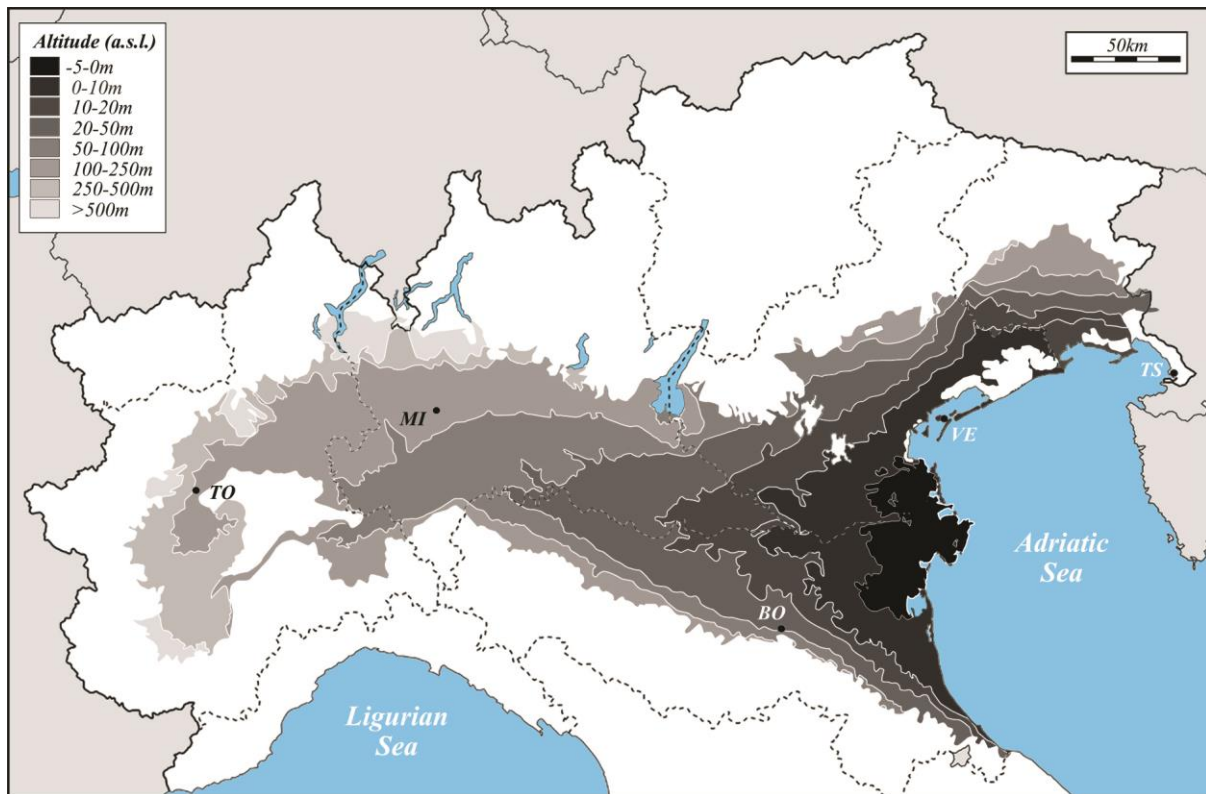


Fig. 25 - Contour lines of the Po Plain superimposed on the administrative map of northern Italy. Po Plain regional capitals are shown: TO= Turin, MI= Milan, BO= Bologna, VE= Venice and TS= Trieste (after Tellini, 2001: fig. 4.1). Base map from d-maps.com.

In the high plain, where there are fans and sandurs³ marked by terraces, both Alpine and Apennine rivers are recessed and have developed through erosion (see Fig. 25, light grey; Fig. 26a). Their course is braided (weaving) as long as gravity, gradient and water flow allow them to transport, and deposit, coarse grain size sediments (i.e. pebbles and gravels): this is the case of the river Po and its tributaries (e.g. Dora Baltea, Ticino, Scrivia, Adda) but also of some Venetian-Friulian rivers (e.g. Tagliamento and Piave) (Bondesan, 2001: 38; see Fig. 24). Then, generally in the mid-plain, the rivers' course turns to meanders as a result of their lower capacity to transport coarse sediments (Bondesan, 2001: 38-39). Sandy hanging riverbeds characterise the low plain where the deposition rate is higher than erosion (see Fig. 25, dark grey; Fig. 26b). The point at which these substantial changes in gradient, water flow, gravity occur are called in the literature nickpoints (Tinkler, 2004: 595-596) and are related to cycles of erosion and deposition which may affect different points of the riverbed over time due to changes in the aforementioned variables.

³ Sediment deposited by streams flowing away from a melting glacier

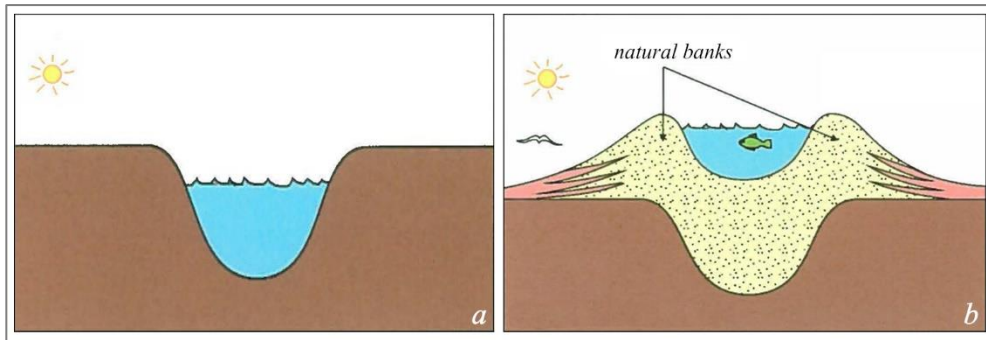


Fig. 26 – Riverbeds in the Po Plain: a) recessed; b) hanging (after Peretto and Piovan, 2018: 22).

The Po Plain can be divided into 3 main districts on the basis of slope: high slope ($>4\%$), medium slope ($1.5-4\%$) and low slope ($<1.5\%$) areas (Tellini, 2001: 26-29) (Fig. 27). Slope has an important role: it allows water to be drained.

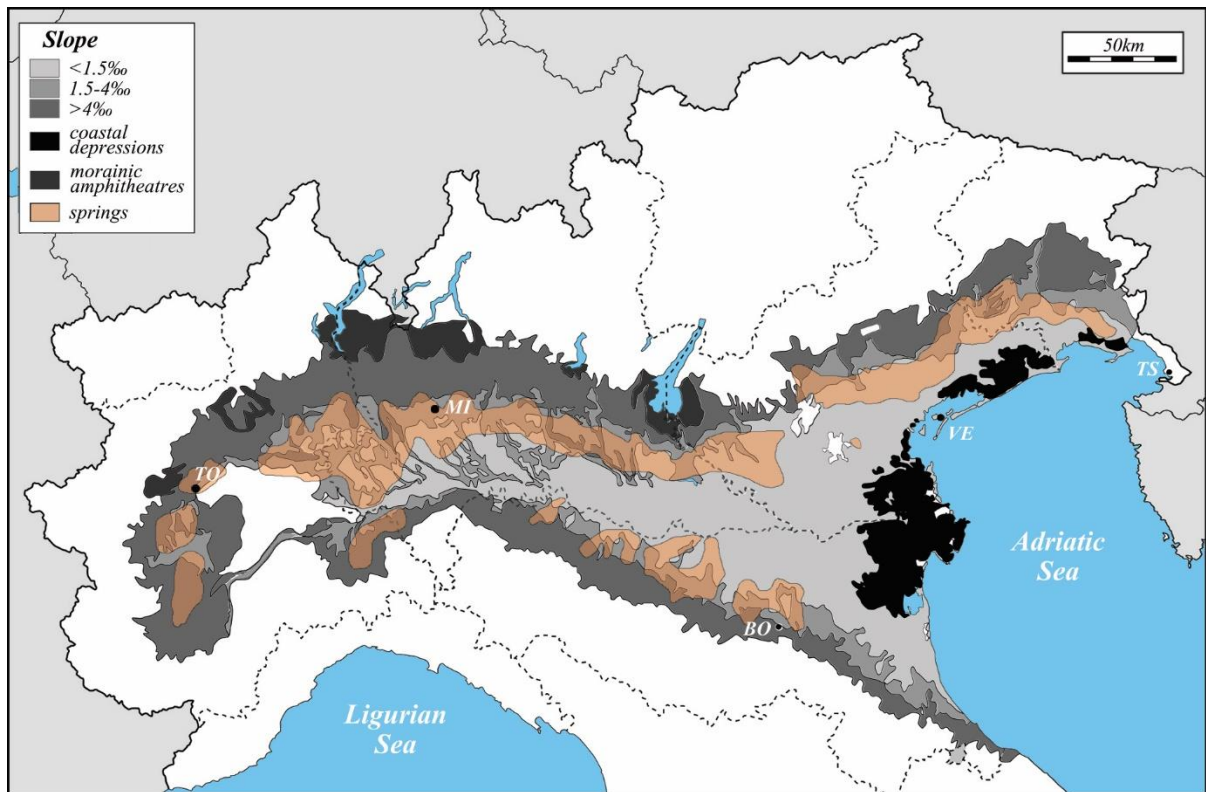


Fig. 27 – Po Plain slope districts with superimposed, in orange, the spring belt. Po Plain administrative borders and regional capitals are shown: TO= Turin, MI= Milan, BO= Bologna, VE= Venice and TS= Trieste (after Tellini, 2001: fig. 4.2 and Bondesan, 2001: fig. 5.1). Base map from d-maps.com.

High slope ($>4\%$) is recorded in the proximity of pre-Alpine and pre-Apennine reliefs and so, generally, near areas showing higher altitude values. Along the pede-Alpine reliefs, the high slope consists of a belt 20-25km wide, including pre-Quaternary and Pleistocene morainic reliefs as well as fans and pro-glacial plains (Tellini, 2001: 26). Various sectors of this belt

show a slope $>10\%$, especially in Piedmont, the Venetian-Friulian and Lombard plains (Tellini, 2001: 26). Along the Apennines, the high slope belt is barely 10km wide, and is followed by the course of the Roman road, the *Via Aemilia*, which connects Piacenza (PC) to Rimini (RN) in Emilia-Romagna (Tellini, 2001: 28).

The medium slope area, defined by Tellini (2001: 28-29) as having slope values between 1.5 and 4‰, consists of a transitional belt connecting the high and low slope areas of the plain. It is generally quite wide in the mid-western pede-Alpine area (c. 50m contour interval), but much less so elsewhere (c. 15m contour interval) especially along the Apennines and in the area between the province of Mantua (MN), western Lombardy, and Treviso (TV), north-east Veneto (Tellini, 2001: 28).

The low slope area ($\leq 1.5\%$) covers the most extensive sector of the plain and is triangular with its apex located in the valleys between Vercelli (VC) and Alessandria (AL) in eastern Piedmont; its base is along the Adriatic coast, where sunken areas below the sea level are found (Tellini, 2001: 29-31).

There is a belt of natural springs which is mainly found in the medium slope area (Bondesan, 2001: 42-43): it is continuous along the Alpine side, but patchy along the Apennine side. There are springs also in high slope areas, mainly in Piedmont (see Fig. 27, in orange). Those sectors of the plain are characterised by impermeable or semi-impermeable sub-soils where the gradient of the impermeable geological strata is lower than that of the surface and water emerges at the surface to feed rivers such as the Menago, Tartaro and Sile in Veneto (see Fig. 24) (Bondesan, 2001: 42). The Veneto and Friuli-Venezia Giulia also have karstic springs, one of which feeds the river Livenza (Bondesan, 2001: 42). Also important to mention are Alpine underground karstic water channels feeding the plain's aquifers; an example is at Abano Terme (PD) where thermal water coming from upper Vicenza province emerges at the surface (Bondesan, 2001: 43).

Finally, the coastal area. According to Bondesan (2001: 33-34), the present-day Adriatic coastal belt can be divided into three distinctive blocks: a straight coastline in Romagna (i.e. the eastern district of the Emilia-Romagna region), at present with almost no wetlands; a central irregular sector dominated by ancient and modern Po Deltas with coastal marshland, and a lagoon-rich area in the northern sector (Venice [VE], Càorle [VE], Marano [UD] and Grado [UD]) (see Figs 23 and 24).

Castiglioni (1999: 7) recognised at least four factors influencing the evolution of the Po Plain: 1) eustatic phenomena; 2) tectonic and neo-tectonic movements; 3) sedimentary deposition rate and 4) anthropogenic activity.

3.2. The geology and geomorphology of the Po Plain

The origin of the Po Plain is quite recent in geological terms: less than 1 million years ago this 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 originating from the erosion of the two mountain chains (Gasperi, 2001: 45).

The erosive sediments differ lithologically and chronologically in their spatial distribution (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001: 73) with older sediments to the northern side of the plain (Marchetti, 2002: 362). Alpine sediments, coarser and sandier, derive from the erosion of bedrock and glacial deposits, among them dolomite, limestone, siliciclastic and crystalline rocks (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001: 73). Apennine sediments, generally less sandy, derive from calcareous and clayey rocks (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001: 73-74). Mainly as a result of gravity and water-flow rate, 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).

In the Veneto, the Alpine chain protrudes into the plain in the form of the Lessini-Berici-Euganei hills (see Figs 23 and 24). They were affected by slight uplift, stasis and then sinking during the Plio-Quaternary (i.e. the last 5.3 million years) (Gasperi, 2001: 58). Then, the Montello hill, west of the Lessini-Berici-Euganei reliefs, originated as a result of late Quaternary overthrust phenomena (Gasperi, 2001: 67; see Fig. 23).

Climate has severely affected the shaping of the surface of the plain area, especially along the Alpine side where Pleistocene morainic amphitheatres are found. They attest to glacial progression during the Last Glacial Maximum (hereafter: LGM), dated to between c. 28000 and 17000 cal BC (Marchetti, 2002: 362-363; Orombelli and Ravazzi, 2005). Generally, they intrude into the plain up to 15-20km (e.g. the Lake of Avigliana and the amphitheatre of Ivrea in Piedmont, the major lakes between Piedmont and Lombardy and the amphitheatre of river Tagliamento in Friuli-Venezia Giulia), except for the Lake Garda amphitheatre, between northern Veneto and Lombardy, which intrudes c. 30km (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001: 69). They were variously shaped by solifluction, loess cover and erosive processes (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001: 69).

while, in more recent times, anthropogenic activity has caused major transformations due to agricultural terracing and levelling (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001: 69).

Another phenomenon connected to the LGM is the presence of depressed marshy basins, sometimes actual lakes, located at the foot of hills and delimited by alluvial barriers (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001: 98-99). Good examples, in the Veneto, are the so-called Valli di Fimon within the karstic Berici hills, which attests to the presence of deep pre-Quaternary erosive valleys, and the Upper Pleistocene (c. 13000-11000 cal BC; Orombelli and Ravazzi, 1996: tab. 1) marshy/lacustrine depressions among the Euganei hills (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001: 99). Other Veneto lake basins, now dried up, were located between the Euganei hills and the river Adige (i.e. Lake Vighizzolo, PD) and in the proximity of the Po Delta (e.g. Lake Griguola, west of Cavarzere, VE) (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001: 99).

In the northern Po Plain, beyond the course of the river Po, is the so-called "*piano generale terrazzato*"⁴ (Marchetti *et al.*, 1984: 31; hereafter: PGT). It is a geological sandy-clayey deposit developed during the Würm glaciation, when erosion and glacial outwash led the Alpine rivers to discharge a huge amount of sediments which combined to form the mid-plain (Marchetti *et al.*, 1984). It spreads, west-east, between the course of the river Dora Baltea, Piedmont, and Verona and, north-south, between the pede-Alpine reliefs and the Po erosive scarp (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001: 87; Marchetti, 2002: 364-365). It gently slopes towards south, its sediments simultaneously becoming less coarse (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001: 87). The present-day PGT is shaped by river valleys fed by Alpine water (Marchetti, 2002: 364; Fig. 28).

On the Apennine side, a belt of fluvial fan deposits (*bajada*) is recorded just north of the mountains which mainly developed at the same time as the Alpine PGT (see Fig. 28) (Marchetti, 2002: 364). Holocene alluvial deposits mark the middle of the plain, enclosed between the PGT to the north and the Late Pleistocene *bajada* to the south (Marchetti, 2002: 364). To a large extent, they are formed by fluvial aggradation of southern Po tributaries.

⁴ Instead of using the label *livello fondamentale della pianura* either translated as "main surface of the plain" (Marchetti *et al.*, 2001: 88, fig. 9.10) or "Po Low Plain" (Marchetti, 2002: 364), I preferred the old-fashioned "*piano generale terrazzato*" (Marchetti *et al.*, 1984) to define this geological unit, as in my opinion it describes the feature better.

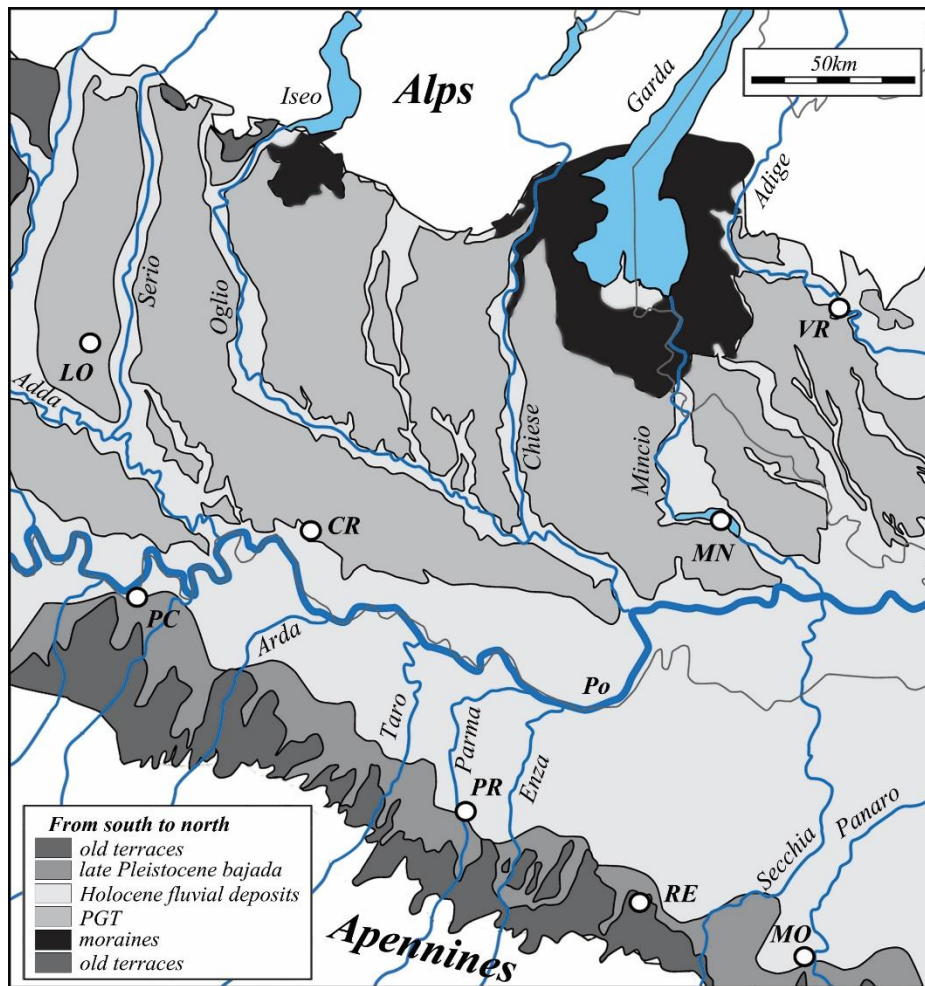


Fig. 28 - Portion of the central Po Plain showing the main geological units described. Provincial capitals are shown: LO= Lodi, CR= Cremona, MN= Mantua, VR= Verona, PC= Piacenza, PR= Parma, RE= Reggio Emilia and MO= Modena (after Marchetti, 2002: 363, fig. 2). Base map from d-maps.com.

River sedimentation processes, especially those related to the river Po, have shaped the coastal area over time, a process which is marked by lines of dunes. They are the outcome of strong marine winds modelling the coastal area (Balista, 2018: 179). Fig. 29a summarises the evolution of the Veneto Adriatic coastline over the last 4500 years.

According to Stefani and Vincenzi (2005: 39), the accumulation of sand deposits in the present coastal area began during the last glacial phase, between c. 38000 BC and 16000 BC, and ceased when warmer conditions occurred. This was followed by c. 8000 years of non-depositional activity with gentle continental erosion at least until c. 9000 BC, when transgressive coastal plain deposition is recorded, boosted by the Younger Dryas climate cooling (Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: 39-40). Rapid sea-level rise produced landward migration

and instability in the hanging river network which led to the emergence of marshy areas and shallow lakes (Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: 40).

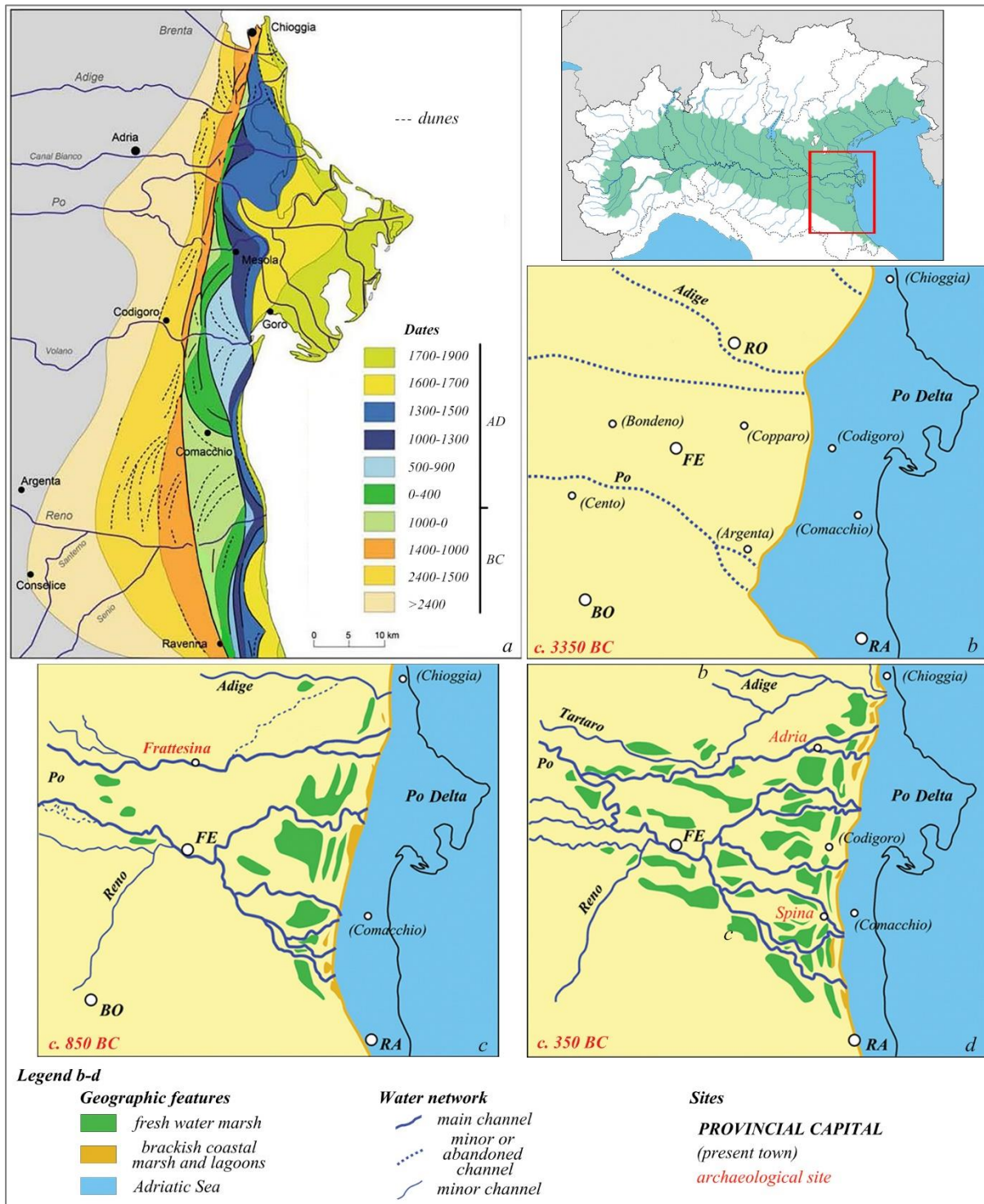


Fig. 29 – Evolution of the Po Delta over the last c. 5500 years (after Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: fig. 14; Balista, 2018: fig. 33).

The maximum marine transgression recognised in the area was between c. 4000 and 3500 BC (see Fig. 29b), but already during the early Atlantic (from 6000 BC onwards) eustatic rise slowed down leading to the development of large deltaic-estuarine sand bodies due to the advent of a warmer climate fluctuation (Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: 40).

A new cooler climate fluctuation and strong winds affected the coastal area about 1000-900 BC, enabling coarse alluvial sediments to deposit especially longshore and preventing any delta from protruding (Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: 41). In this phase, the ancient coastline was to be found 150-180km inland with smaller Po channels reaching the sea between Adria (RO) and Chioggia (VE) (Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: 41; see Fig. 29a).

From at least c. 800 BC (see Fig. 29c), a warmer climate oscillation produced a diversion of the course of the river Po (see discussion below) and enabled sediment progradation in the Po Delta (Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: 42) (see Fig. 29b-d). Warmer climate is also attested for the period spanning between c. 500 BC and 500 AD when a stable natural drainage structure was also enhanced by human intervention (Fig. 29d): erosion and sediment rate increased due to deforestation, agriculture and the construction of banks and dykes (Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: 42).

3.3. The evolution of the prehistoric fluvial network in the Veneto region

In the last part of this chapter, I shall focus on the Veneto and discuss the evolution of the principal water network: the rivers Adige and Po. There are two main reasons. Firstly, they are the main communication routes for the southern Iron Age Atestine world, but also, scholarship has particularly focused on these two fluvial routes so that the available literature on the evolution of the other Veneto rivers is poor (see Bondesan *et al.*, 2013).

For example, it is known that the rivers Brenta and Bacchiglione merged during the Iron Age at Padua (PD) (Fig. 30) while nowadays they do not (see Fig. 24) (Balista and Rinaldi, 2005). However, little is known concerning the course taken by the river Brenta to reach Padua and where it flowed after Padua (see Bosio, 1978: fig. 1; Bianchin Citton *et al.*, 1993; Balista and Rinaldi, 2005).

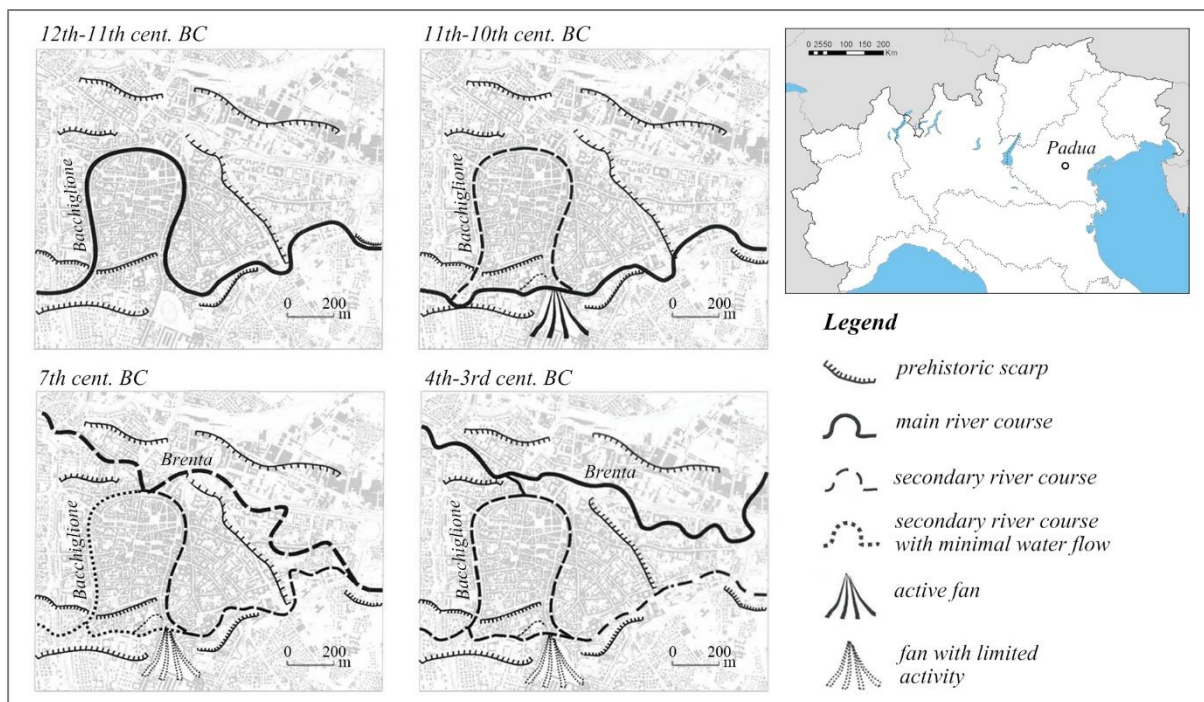


Fig. 30 – The evolution of the rivers Bacchiglione and Brenta at Padua (PD) between the FBA and Iron Age (after Balista and Rinaldi, 2005: fig. 12). In the upper right corner the location of the site of Padua.

On the other hand, the rivers crossing the PGT generally follow a similar course through time. This is because they are cut into river valleys, the so-called “*a cassetta*” (transl. “box-shaped”) valleys (Marchetti *et al.*, 1984: 33). Examples are the rivers Tagliamento and Piave, but also the river Mincio which acted as the natural boundary between the north Etruscan and Atestine worlds during the Iron Age (see discussion in Chapter 6).

The river Mincio, mainly characterised by meanders in its proximal and distal parts, is at present the easternmost major Alpine tributary of the river Po and the only emissary of Lake Garda (Ravazzi *et al.* 2013: 195). Interestingly, it has a wider flood plain (i.e. the Lakes Mantua and Bagnolo; Fig. 31) compared to nearby Alpine rivers, with palustrine/lacustrine deposits. According to Sestini (1957), this is the result of modifications in the river network after the Bronze Age. Nowadays, in the middle of its course are the so-called Lakes of Mantua, to which the river Mincio is both immissary and emissary.

Three cores (FOR 6, BAGN1 and 2; see Fig. 31) in the basin located between the hill where the Etruscan settlement of Forcello di Bagnolo S. Vito (hereafter: Forcello) – c. 540-390 BC (de Marinis, 2007a: 15) – was sited and the present-day town of Bagnolo S. Vito allowed the paleo-environmental reconstruction of the area between MBA – c. 14th cent. BC – and Middle Ages – c. 10th cent. AD (Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013: 200).

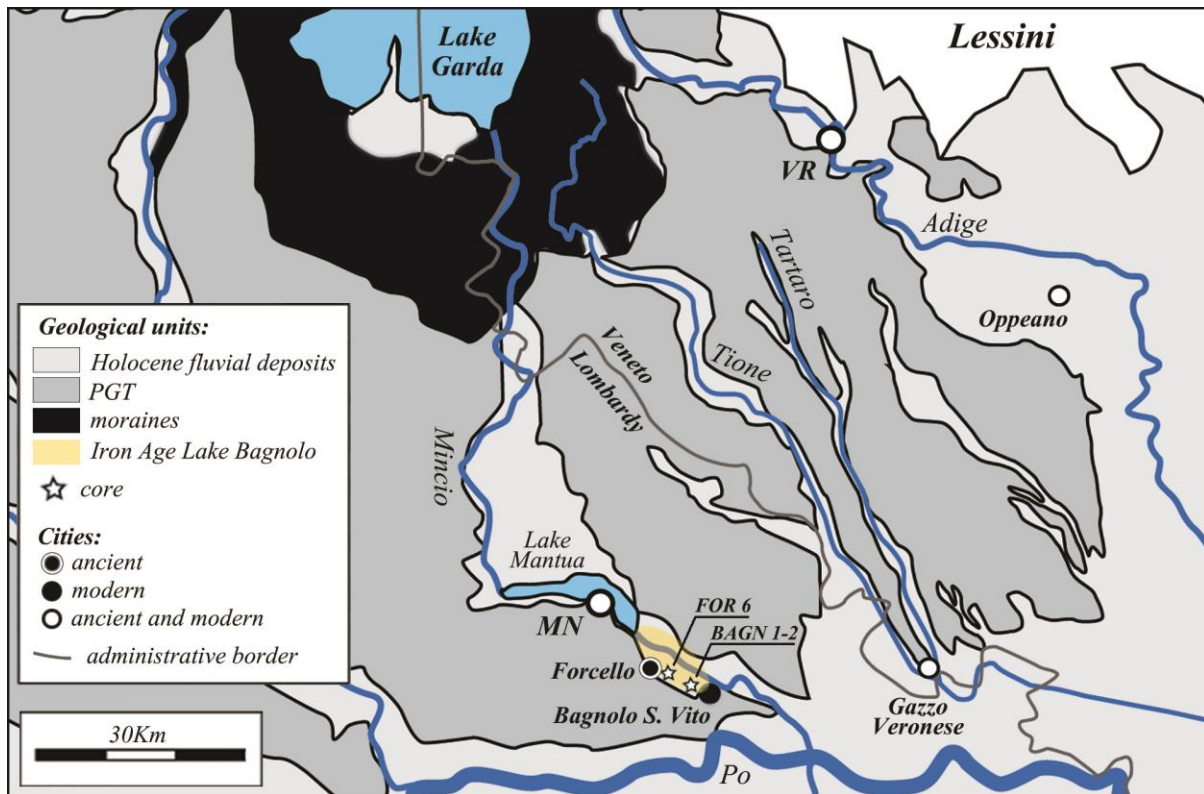


Fig. 31 - The river Mincio flood plain in its geological context. Archaeological sites and modern cities mentioned in the text are shown together with the cores analysed by Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). Administrative borders and provincial capitals are shown: MN= Mantua, and VR= Verona (after Marchetti, 2002: 363, fig. 2; Ravazzi *et al.* 2013: 196, fig. 2). Base map from d-maps.com.

Data from the analysis of the lower Mincio valley attest to a series of phenomena affecting the Plain as a whole: tectonic movements, climate change and water network transformations. During the Iron Age, a new drainage pattern was established: the Mincio saw a decrease in water flow due to the loss of the rivers Adda and Oglio as tributaries, which were now directly connected to the river Po (Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013: 203) (Fig. 32).

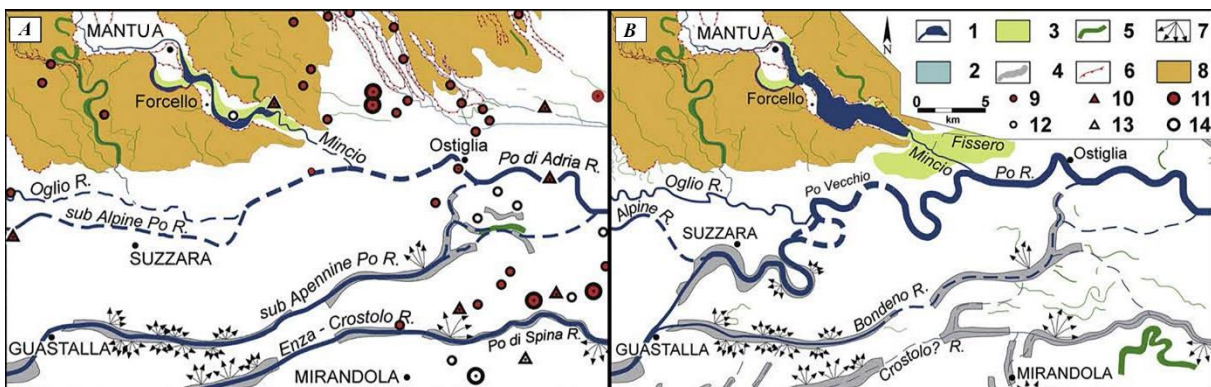


Fig. 32 – Geomorphological map of the lower Mincio flood plain, central Po Plain: A) Bronze Age; B) 5th cent. BC. Legend: 1) dashed line marks presumable water courses, 2) fluvial basins, 3) poorly drained

lowland, 4) alluvial paleochannel, 5) abandoned fluvial course, 6) main fluvial scarp, 7) crevasse splay area, 8) PGT unit, 9-14) archaeological sites (Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013: 200, fig. 6).

The new pattern caused damming and expansion of the Lake Bagnolo system as an increase in sediment load is recorded at the mouth of the river Mincio due to a reduction of the water flow (Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013: 203). This precise response of the river network could be related to climate deterioration recorded around the 8th cent. BC (i.e. the cold-wet climate fluctuation of Göschenen 1), which also explains the diversion of the course of the river Po (see discussion in the following lines) (Balista, 2009: 99). To a certain extent, human activity may have also played a part in it.

The palaeoecological record has also enabled different hydrological phases to be distinguished in the Bagnolo basin through time. There are sandy alluvial deposits at the bottom of the core before 1400-1130 BC (calibration in OxCal v4.3. of the measurement Ua-37684, 3025±35 BP, wood sample; Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013: tab. 1), followed by a c. 300-600 years palustrine phase until 800-540 BC (calibration in OxCal v4.3. of the measurement Ua-37683, 2530±35 BP, wood sample; Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013: tab. 1). After that, the regime of the basin switched to lacustrine, which possibly created a suitable environment for the Etruscans to settle in this area around the mid 6th cent. BC, when the settlement of Forcello (MN) was founded (de Marinis, 1999: 548).

Particular emphasis will be given below to reconstructing the ancient courses of the rivers Adige and Po, which are very different from their present-day courses. There are three milestone studies for the reconstruction of the ancient course of the rivers Adige and Po: Balista (2009) and Piovan and colleagues (2010, 2012). However, at least as regards the course of the river Adige between Verona (VR) and Bonavigo (VR) I will rely on the reconstruction by Zaffanella (1979: fig. 10), who, using the distribution of the Iron Age sites, proposed that the river Adige crossed the territory of Oppeano (VR), a major Atestine Iron Age site in the west (Guidi and Saracino, 2008). I believe his reconstruction may be also correct for the Bronze Age when settlements are also found in the territory of Oppeano (Salzani, 1985: 67-68).

During the first stages of scholarship, the ancient course of the rivers Adige and Po was reconstructed using aerial photographs, then using stratigraphic evaluations and radiocarbon dating. Fig. 33 shows the reconstruction of the course of the rivers Adige and Po for the Bronze Age in the study area.

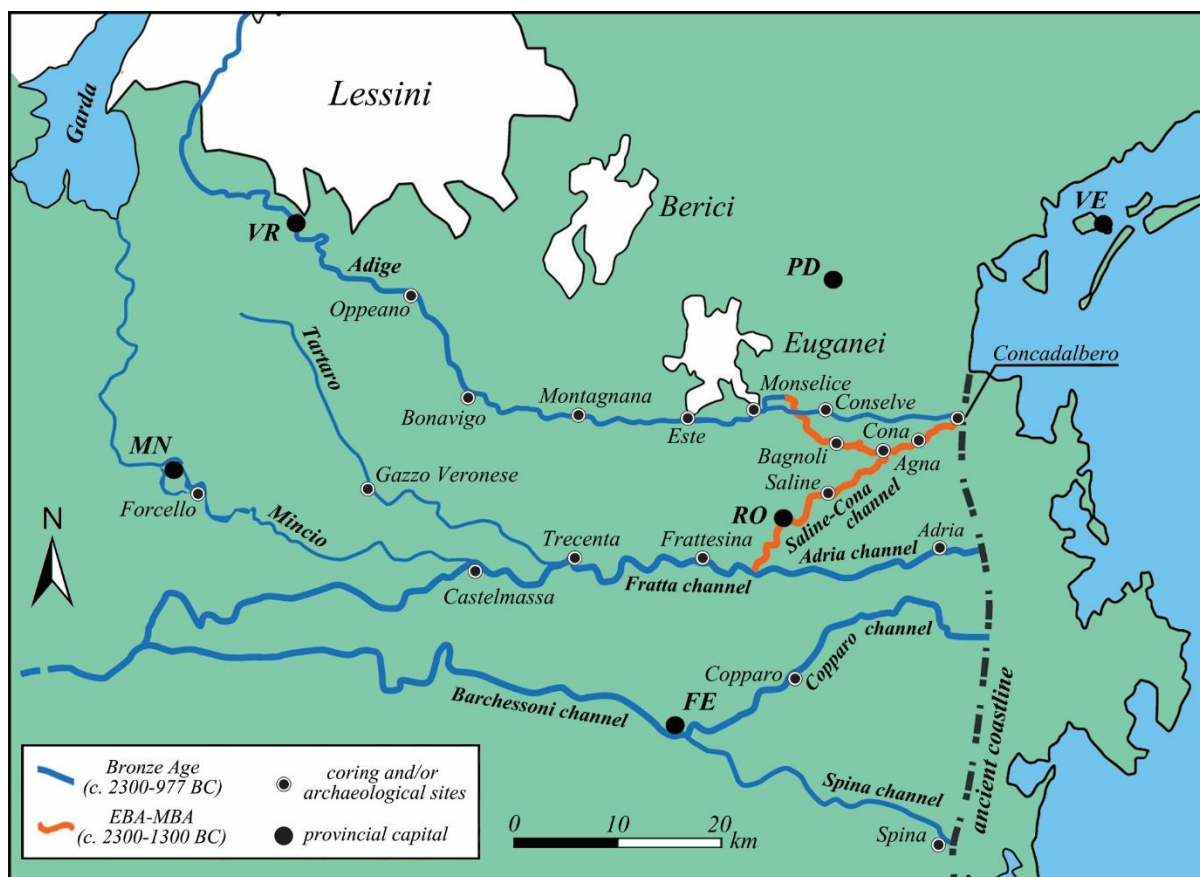


Fig. 33 – Reconstruction of the southern Bronze Age Veneto water network with highlighted the sites mentioned in the text. Provincial capitals are shown: MN= Mantua, VR= Verona, PD= Padua, VE= Venice, RO= Rovigo, and FE= Ferrara (after Zaffanella, 1979: fig. 10; Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: fig. 14; Balista, 2009: figs 1 and 14 ; Piovan *et al.*, 2012: fig. 1; Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013: fig. 6). Base map from d-maps.com.

Most of the evidence for the ancient course of the river Adige comes from archaeological work in the territory between Montagnana (PD) and Este (PD) (Arobba and Paganelli, 1998; Balista, 1998a, b). Towards east, after Este, the ancient river Adige might have divided into two courses: the first oriented west-east passing through Conselve (PD), while the other course possibly joined one of the channels deriving from the ancient course of the river Po at Agna (PD), the so-called Saline-Cona paleochannel, passing through Bagnoli (PD) (see Fig. 33; see discussion below).

On the basis of aerial photographs, a number of scholars (Veggiani, 1972, 1974; Castiglioni, 1978; Peretto, 1986, 2007; Balista, 2009, 2018) have proposed that the so-called Fratta paleochannel was the ancient course of the river Po between the Bronze Age and c. the 8th cent. BC, which passed through Castelmassa (RO), Frattesina di Fratta Polesine (hereafter: Frattesina) (RO), and Adria (RO) (see Fig. 33).

Tab. 2 summarises all the radiocarbon dates relating to the course of the river Adige.

Site	Province	Coord.	Material	Lab Code	Radiocarbon measurement	OxCal v.4.3. calibration at 95.4%
Bagnoli di Sopra-Cava S. Siro	PD	45°10'44" N 11°54'10" E	wood	n.d.	3255±90	1750-1302 BC
Conselve	PD	45°13'28" N 11°53'28" E	wood	Ua-37041	3040±30	1400-1210 BC
Conselve	PD	45°13'19" N 11°53'30" E	wood	Ua-37040	2065±30	180 BC - 0 AD

Tab. 2 - Calibration of radiocarbon determinations from the sites of Conselve (PD) and Bagnoli (PD) published in Piovan and colleagues (2012: tab. 1).

According to the geoarchaeological data from the site of Frattesina (RO), the Fratta paleochannel flowed nearby the settlement area from at least the RBA (1300-1150 BC; Balista, 2009: 91), when the site was first occupied (Bietti Sestieri *et al.*, 2015: 429). The location of the site in the vicinity of an active fluvial paleochannel is unusual and may attest that the river Po in this period had a quiet regime (Balista, 2009: 91). Nevertheless, flooding events affected the site at least from the late FBA – late 11th cent. BC, but did not result in breaks in occupation (Bellintani, 1992).

According to Balista (2009: 85), one of the main tributaries of the Fratta paleochannel in the Bronze Age was the river Tartaro, which originated from springs in the upper Verona province and joined the Fratta paleochannel near Trecenta (RO) (see Fig. 33). A few kilometres south of Rovigo (RO), the course of the ancient Po divided into two branches, the northernmost paleochannel called the "Saline-Cona" (Piovan *et al.*, 2010: 7), and the southernmost the "Adria" paleochannel (Balista, 2009: 103) (see Fig. 33). The first flowed SW-NE through Rovigo, Saline (RO), Agna (PD), Cona (VE), Concadalbero (PD) until discharging into the lagoon of Venice; the latter, flowed west-east passing the site of Adria (RO) and then into the Adriatic Sea. Petrographic analysis confirms that both these courses belonged to the river Po (Piovan *et al.*, 2010: 15-16).

Three radiocarbon determinations published by Piovan and colleagues (2010: table 2; 2012: table 1) suggest that the Saline-Cona paleochannel was active between at least the Copper Age and the MBA (Tab. 3).

Site	Province	Coord.	Material	Lab Code	Radiocarbon measurement	OxCal v.4.3. calibration at 95.4%
Saline-San Martino di Venezze	RO	45°10'25" N 11°59'16" E	peat	GX-32865	4390±150	3520-2620 BC
Cona	VE	45°10'25" N 11°59'16" E	wood	GX-32861	4280±160	3360-2480 BC
Saline-San Martino di Venezze	RO	45°06'50" N 11°51'42" E	peat	GX-32864	4130±140	3090-2290 BC
Cona	VE	45°10'19" N 11°59'18" E	peat	GX-32860	3960±110	2870-2140 BC
Cona	VE	45°10'07" N 11°59'22" E	peat	GX-32982	3500±130	2200-1500 BC

Tab. 3 - Calibration of radiocarbon determinations from the sites of Saline (RO) and Cona (VE) published in Piovan and colleagues (2010: tab. 2; 2012: tab. 1).

Balista (2009: 104) suggests that the Saline-Cona paleochannel was abandoned between the EBA and the MBA (2300-1300 BC) due to over-sedimentation, an effect of the Lössen cool-wet climate fluctuation (c. 1800-1350 BC; Zolitschka *et al.*, 2003: 96) which increased the water flow in the Adria paleochannel. Indirect proof of the abandonment of the Saline-Cona paleochannel before the FBA (before 1150 BC) is given by the site of Saline di San Martino di Venezze (RO) which was founded in the late FBA – late 11th cent. BC – on an abandoned natural fluvial paleochannel characterised by tree-cover (Bellintani, 1986). Recently, Gambacurta and colleagues (2018) discussed the stratigraphic record of the MBA (1700-1300 BC) site at Adria-Amolara (RO), reconstructing the different courses of the Adria paleochannel between the Bronze and the Iron Age in this area. A similar evaluation was also made by Balista and colleagues (2018) for the course of the so-called Copparo paleochannel, originated from the southern branch of the river Po – the so-called Barchessoni paleochannel, through the archaeological record at the MBA-RBA (1700-1150 BC) settlement of Copparo-Coccanile (FE).

According to Ferri (1985) and Castaldini (1996), the 8th cent. BC marks a dramatic change in the river network of the study area. Balista's (2009: 99) opinion is that a phase of climate deterioration is related to the Göschenen 1 climate fluctuation, documented at the transition between the Sub-Boreal and the Sub-Atlantic, so between c. 850-760 BC (van Geel *et al.*, 1996). Fig. 34 displays the river network in the study area in the aftermath of the 8th cent. BC Göschenen 1 climatic fluctuation.

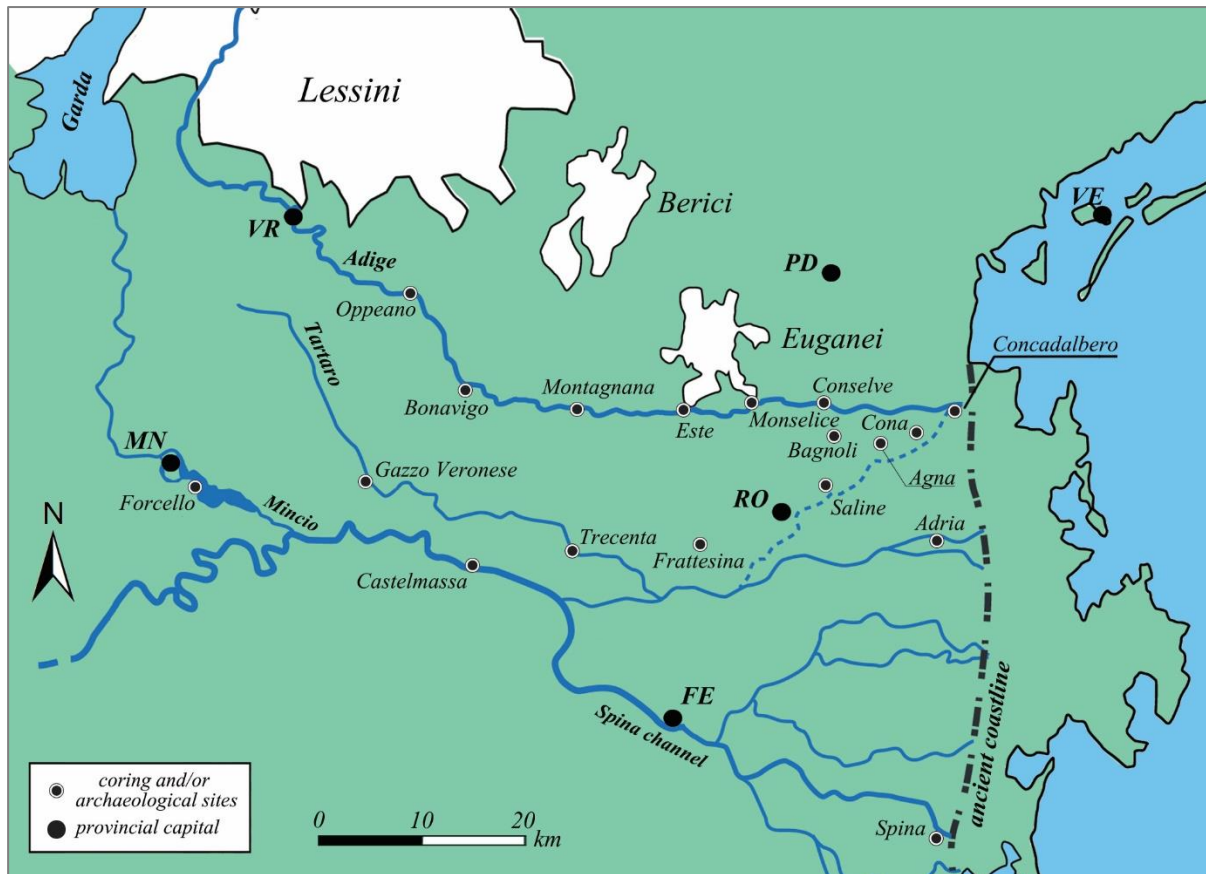


Fig. 34 – Reconstruction of the southern Veneto water network between the 8th and the 2nd cent. BC with highlighted the sites mentioned in the text. Provincial capitals are shown: MN= Mantua, VR= Verona, PD= Padua, VE= Venice, RO= Rovigo, and FE= Ferrara (after Zaffanella, 1979: fig. 10; Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: fig. 14; Balista, 2009: figs 1 and 14; Piovan *et al.*, 2012: fig. 1; Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013: fig. 6). Base map from d-maps.com.

During the 8th cent. BC the settlement of Montagnana (PD) was abandoned due to flooding events linked to the river Adige (Bianchin Citton, 1998: 430-431). The area was then used for agriculture until the 5th cent. BC, and subsequently a general abandonment is recorded until the 1st cent. BC when artificial levées were built in order to prevent further Adige flooding events (Bianchin Citton, 1998: 431).

The Adige's course through Bagnoli (PD) was, possibly, abandoned in this phase with a straight course between Este (PD) and Concadalbero (PD) (Piovan *et al.*, 2012: 435), a hypothesis which is supported by the radiocarbon dates from Conselve (PD) (see Tab. 2).

To the south, a new course of the ancient river Po is documented (see Fig. 34): the course of the Fratta and Adria paleochannels is now abandoned, which had been mostly fed by the river Tartaro (Balista, 2009: 86). The river Tartaro seems now free to reach the Adriatic Sea

independently via Adria (Calzolari, 2007) but possibly also through Concadalbero (PD) (Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005: fig. 14) (see Fig. 34). The so-called "Barchessoni" paleochannel (Balista, 2009: 94; see Fig. 33), previously feeding the paleochannels of Copparo and Spina, seems to be abandoned from this phase. A recorded avulsion phenomenon led to a shift towards north of the hanging course of the river Po, which now flowed through Castelmassa (RO) and Ferrara (FE) into the already developed Spina paleochannel (Balista, 2009: 94).

These c. 8th cent. BC modifications in the water network of the eastern Po Plain also characterised, with slight modifications, the entire Iron Age until c. the 2nd cent. BC (Balista, 2009; Piovan *et al.*, 2010; Piovan *et al.* 2012; Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013), and the present course of the rivers Adige and Po seems only to have been fixed in late Roman-early Medieval times (Zaffanella, 1979; Cremaschi and Gasperi, 1989; Balista, 2005a).

Chapter 4 - Culture, civilisation and identity

“We find certain types of remains – pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, house forms – constantly recurring together. Such a complex of regularly associated traits we shall term a ‘culture group’ or just ‘culture’. We assume that such a complex is the expression of what would to-day be called a ‘people’.¹ Only where the complex in question is regularly and exclusively associated with skeletal remains of a specific physical type would we venture to replace ‘people’ by the term ‘race’.” (Childe, 1929: v-vi)

Note 1: “As the adjective from ‘people’, corresponding to the German ‘völkische’, we use the term ‘ethnic’” (Childe, 1929: vi)

This chapter provides the theoretical grounds for my discussion of the Iron Age Veneto identity. It is divided into two main sections distinguishing the period before and after Childe’s (1929: v-vi) definition of an archaeological culture which is still crucial in current academic debate. Furthermore, in it the definitions of culture and ethnic identity are closely entwined. In the first section, I will try to retrace the grounds upon which Childe (1929: v-vi) proposed his definition. In the latter, I would like to discuss the legacy of Childe’s work in present-day archaeological debate.

4.1. The archaeological culture debate between Romanticism and Kossinna

According to historiographical studies, the premise for the emergence of the cultural discussion dates back to the 18th-19th cent., during the Romantic and post-Romantic period, when the emergence of nationalism in Europe led to debate on the origins of the people living in contested lands in the search for political legitimation and control (Trigger, 1996: 11). The term *kultur* emerged in late 18th cent. Germany thanks to Herder who borrowed it from Cicero (Gaillard, 2004: 2). However, it appeared in the Anglophone literature much later, in 1871, thanks to Tylor who was influenced by the Prussian Klemm (Tylor, 1865). Nevertheless, Tylor’s definition represented a radical break from the German tradition from which it was taken: in Germany, in fact, *Kultur* designated the slowly changing ways of life ascribed to small groups opposed to *Zivilization*, related to urban community centres that evolved rapidly through time (Trigger, 1996: 232).

"Culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." (Tylor, 1871: 1)

Mid-late 19th cent. Prussia was able to influence the rest of Europe thanks to its strong political expansionism and intellectual power (Trigger, 1996: 61-62). Conflict needed legitimation, and legitimation was sought in the past. I believe it is not an accident that it was the Prussian Klemm (1843) who distinguished humankind into two racial types: active (*Kulturvölker*) and passive (*Naturvölker*). The active race, which originated somewhere in central Asia and was most eminently represented by the Germanic race, was opposed to the passive races whose fate was to be dominated by the active race, so enabling the latter to develop. Moreover, Klemm (1843) distinguished three progressive stages in cultural development: savagery (*Wildheit*), domestication (*Zahmheit*) and freedom (*Freiheit*). These stages then influenced those proposed by Engels (1884): Savagery (*Wildheit*), Barbarism (*Barbarei*) and Civilisation.

The conquest of Schleswig-Holstein by the Prussian empire was crucial for the spread of the archaeological cultural issue. In 1864, Denmark lost Schleswig-Holstein – a third of its territory – to Prussia (Sørensen, 1996: 31). However, it has to be said that battle was not only fought on the battlefield but also using archaeology: the Danish archaeologist and historian Worsaae (1849), in fact, tried to legitimate Danish rule in Schleswig-Holstein through its monuments – the barrows, and the Bronze Age *lures* (i.e. golden horns), which he suggested were not present in Germany but common in the Danish landscape and archaeological record, and so linked to Danish ancestors.

According to Trigger (1996: 235), prehistoric archaeology, together with anthropology (see Gaillard, 2004: 5), began to professionalise themselves from at least 1869 with the establishment of the *Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* – German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistoric Archaeology (hereafter: GSAEPA) – thanks to the Prussian pathologist and left-wing politician Rudolf Virchow and his associates. The outcome was the incorporation of prehistoric archaeology along with physical anthropology and ethnology into a comprehensive prehistoric anthropology with the aim "to identify prehistoric cultures, to trace their origin and movements, and if possible to associate them with known peoples, often largely on the basis of pottery types, although grave types, settlement, and historical data were also considered" (Trigger, 1996: 235). Virchow was the mentor of Haeckel but was hostile towards Haeckel's (1889) racial determinism which led to

the belief that the Prussian race was superior to all others (Kuper, 1999: 12). On the other hand, Adolf Bastian, one of Virchow's colleagues, was recalled by Mauss (1930: 333-334) for his continuing huge influence on the international debate into the late 1920s, when scholars, among whom the German-American anthropologist Franz Uri Boas (1858-1942), were following Bastian's principles: 1) *Elementargedanke*, "l'idée élémentaire... trait de culture" (transl. "the basic idea... a cultural feature"); 2) *Geographische Provinz*, "secteur géographique... marqué par la communauté des faits de civilisation, par les langues... et... par les races uniques" (transl. "a geographic district... marked by shared features of civilisation, by languages... and... unique races"); 3) *Wanderlung*, "la transformation de la civilisation par emprunts des éléments, par migrations, par mixtures des peuples porteur de ces éléments, ou par activité autonome de ces peuples" (transl. "the transformation of civilisation through borrowed features, by migrations, by the mixing of people carrying these elements, or autonomous activity of these people") (Mauss, 1930: 333-334, my translation).

Around 1900 Bastian's concept of *Geographische Provinz* was transformed into *Kulturrekreis* (Frobenius, 1898) by the Austro-German School of Anthropological Geographers (hereafter: AGSAG): civilisation was thought to be the outcome of contacts with other groups distributed in cultural districts, each defined by a *Lebensraum* – a living space (Ratzel, 1901), and major importance was assigned to the environment.

Andriolo (1979: 134) argues that the concept of *Kulturkreis* was then adopted by the so-called Viennese School of Ethnology (*Wiener Schule der Völkerkunde*; hereafter: VSE), and that it was developed by Schmidt (1939: 104) who proposed four major stages of *Kulturkreis*: Primitive, Primary, Secondary and Tertiary. These stages were associated with the main European archaeological prehistoric stages, allowing the reconstruction of a limited number of original cultural districts from which culture spread via diffusion (Schmidt, 1939: 104-5). Culture was defined as consisting of *geists* – creative forces – and their physical expressions (Schmidt, 1937: 131).

Grünert (2002: 72; see also Childe, 1927: 54-55) and Adler (1987: 37) argue that the VSE influenced the work of Kossinna at the beginning of the 20th cent., and this is detectable in Kossinna's use of the term "*Kulturkreis*" and his reiteration of Virchow's opinion that "remnants of old pottery must serve as a leitmotif for the determination of the nationality of the citizens" (Adler, 1987: 37). It is not easy to discuss Kossinna, especially because of the *damnatio memoriae* (i.e. condemnation of memory) imposed upon him: his work, in fact, was

one of the grounds upon which Nazis sought legitimation and tried to expand their political influence in the first half of the 20th cent. (Mosse, 1966; Smolla, 1980). In the archaeological literature, Kossinna is defined as a fanatical nationalist (see Mosse, 1966; Smolla, 1980; Trigger, 1996: 238; Veit, 1989). Kossinna (1931: 92) himself, however, described his difficult social situation: having grown up in Tilsit, an eastern multi-ethnic border town under the Margraviate of Brandenburg, his Prussian identity was always questioned due to his Slavic origins (see also Grünert, 2002: 17, 230). According to Grünert (2002: 22-23), this even led Kossinna to modify his name through time – from Gustav Koshinna to Gustaf Kossinna – and thereby to take on an increasingly Prussian form and sound.

According to Veit (1989: 37), it is with Kossinna that the question shifts from being about culture to one concerning ethnicity. Kossinna (1911: 1) was certainly influenced by philology, the subject of his PhD: language, in fact, assumed a major role in his interpretations (Kossinna, 1921: 326). He was also influenced by prehistoric research through contacts with Montelius (Grünert, 2002: 185, 190) and by the work of the GSAEPA, AGSAG and VSE (Grünert, 2002: 72; see also Childe, 1927: 54-55).

Kossinna's major contribution to prehistoric debate is his *Siedlungsarchäologie* – Settlement Archaeology, where importance is conferred on continuity/discontinuity of the settlement pattern, analysed through a multi-scalar approach. “Ethnographic well-defined culture[s]” (Kossinna, 1896: 2) were defined as geographical districts with a circumscribed spatial extent and a number of distinct archaeological finds (Grünert, 2002: 73). On the other hand, a civilisation embraced broad geographical areas including different nations and peoples with different languages (i.e. the Mediterranean civilisation) (Durkheim and Mauss, 1913: 268-9).

The long-lasting contribution of Kossinna to the archaeological debate are his type-maps, an inseparable part of his method: the diffusion of archaeological types was the building block for reconstructing migratory events from an area of origin. This was defined as the area where a type had its strongest concentration from ancient times (Adler, 1987: 39). On this basis, Kossinna (1896: 14) identified the so-called *Urheimat* – the original homeland of the Germans, between Germany and Scandinavia on the basis of the area of origin of most of the Bronze Age types considered (Adler, 1987: 39). The outcome of Kossinna's (1896: 14) research bolstered his strong national conservative attitude developed since childhood (Grünert, 2002: 18), which was then supported by prehistoric evidence.

Later on, the Third Reich sought the legitimization for its political expansion at the expense of Denmark using archaeology. Interestingly, in fact, a 1936 reprint of Kossinna's 1912 *Die Deutsche Vorgeschichte* has a cover with a handsome blond youth with a La Tène sword on his hip sounding the symbol of Danishness, the *lur* (Fig. 35; see discussion above). Denmark was invaded in 1940 and by means of visual propaganda the Third Reich was legitimising its possession of the very land that just a century before had been strenuously defended by Worsaae against the Prussian invaders, using the same archaeological weapon.



Fig. 35 – 1936 cover of Kossinna's *Die Deutsche Vorgeschichte*. Reprint of the first, 1912 edition.

Childe (1927: 54-55) ascribed a commanding role and influence on archaeological research to Kossinna mostly because of his *Siedlungarchäologie* and distribution maps, but also because of the use of photographs and anthropological data in his works. He also attributed Kossina with a strong nationalist, not racist, attitude (Childe, 1927: 54). Childe (1958: 69) was heavily influenced by Kossinna's work; using distribution maps, Childe (1925: 306-307 and map 1) proposed two major routes for the diffusion of civilisation in Europe: the Mediterranean coasts and the river Danube.

To some extent Childe's 1929 (pp. v-vi, see the quotation at the head of this chapter) definition of archaeological culture, or culture group, can be regarded as the natural progression of the one presented by Kossinna in 1921: "Sharply defined archaeological culture-provinces coincide

at all times with quite definite peoples or tribes; cultural regions are ethnic regions, culture groups are peoples" (Childe, 1956: 28).

4.2. The archaeological culture debate between Childe and the present

I believe that in Childe's earliest works there is no clear distinction between the use of the labels "culture" and "civilization" as attested by *The Dawn of European Civilization* where he uses both "Danubian I civilisation" (Childe, 1925: 306) and "Danubian I culture" (Childe, 1925: 308). A clear distinction is given in 1933 where Childe talks of gatherer groups, dated 25000-10000 BC, living quite isolated from each other and whose culture is "based upon... collective experience and... geographically conditioned needs" (Childe, 1933: 413, 416). Civilisation, on the contrary, is "the product of... collective tradition, transcending all national frontiers" (Childe, 1933: 418) and chronologically firstly linked to Egypt, Sumer and the Indus valley, then to Greeks, Romans and even Celts and Germans (Childe, 1933: 418; see also Durkheim and Mauss, 1913: 268-269).

Then, in *What happened in History*, Childe (1942: 5; Fig. 36) provides Engels' (1884) socio-economic stages with a chronological framework linking the Palaeolithic to Savagery and the Neolithic to barbarism. Childe (1942: 120, 124) suggests that civilisation emerged in Egypt and India from the EBA, developing in Egypt around 3000 BC and before 2500 BC in India. Later on, civilisation spreads westwards from Egypt and eastwards from India (Childe, 1942: 130-150). Civilisation emerged in Crete around 2000 BC (Childe, 1942: 164), while China became "a full partner in civilization" only after 1400 BC (Childe, 1942: 162).

Childe had such a huge impact on later discussion that Andrew Sherratt (1989: 185) summed up the archaeological debate after 1957, the year of Childe's death, with the phrase "Prehistory is still a dialogue with the ghost of Childe".

I believe that the inheritance of the work of Childe may be partly understood in the Bordes-Binford dispute on the French Mousterian archaeological assemblage. Bordes (1963, 1973) in fact, interpreted the variability of the French Mousterian record as indicating the presence of different cultures; although he does not explicitly cite Childe, his statement seems to recall Childe's (1929: v-vi) definition of archaeological culture. Binford (1973), the father of the New Archaeology, proposed a "functional" interpretation. The New Archaeology proposed a

differentiation of archaeological artefacts on the basis of three functional classes: technomic, “manufactured for use in directly coping with the physical environment” (Binford, 1962: 220); socio-technic, functional to the social sphere of the cultural system; and ideo-technic, the materialisation of social ideology (Binford, 1962: 220). Each class, characterised by different functions within the cultural system, was believed to stimulate a distinct process of change (Binford, 1962: 220). At the same time, culture was acknowledged to be variable between the human organism and his environment (Binford, 1962: 218). Interestingly, Binford’s discourse strongly resembles the functionalist approach of Childe (1935: 3, 10), who saw culture as composed of facts, the ancient objects found during excavations, which were influenced by environment and collective experience (i.e. common social traditions).

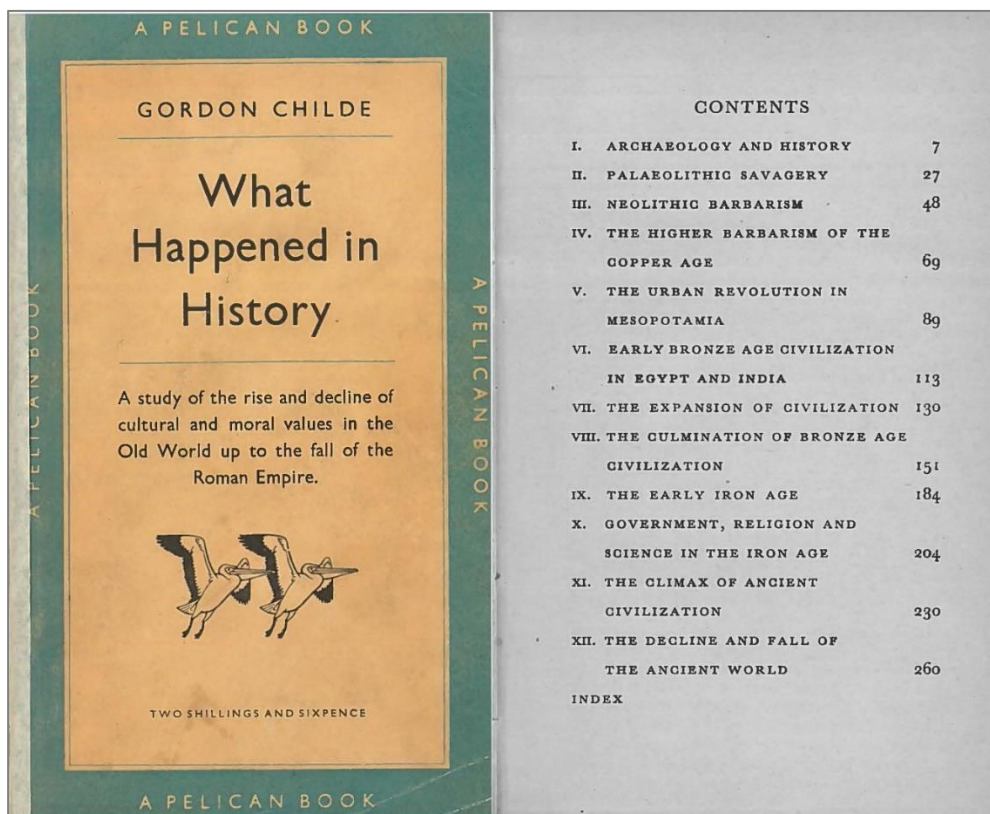


Fig. 36 – Cover and contents (p. 5) of Childe’s 1942 book, *What happened in History*.

The 1960s New Archaeology discourse was influenced by the work of two American anthropologists, Sahlins and Service (1960: 4) who saw culture as driven by evolutionary processes (cf. Tylor, 1871: 1-3, 7-9). Service (1964: 365) recognised culture as composed of "conceptually isolable elements ...differentially responsive to particular kinds of conditions" so that cultural similarity could be explained in three ways: 1) common ancestry; 2) diffusion or trade; 3) adaptive convergences to historical and environmental influences.

Roughly 80 years after Engels' (1884) prehistoric socio-economic stages – Savagery, Barbarism and Civilisation, Service (1962) distinguished four social arrangements, characterised by an increasing scale of complexity and population size, for ancient societies dated between Palaeolithic and “archaic civilization”: bands, tribes, chiefdoms and civilisation.

Service (1962) thought that bands and tribes were characterised by an unstratified society. Bands are distinctive of hunter-gatherer societies, without ruling figures and so egalitarian. In such societies, social differences are based on gender and age. Tribes consist of groups of hundreds of individuals practising pastoralism and agriculture, so with a more settled lifestyle. Basically egalitarian, leadership is chosen by the tribe and frequently changes. In these two social stages, power is ascribed to specific figures who emerge thanks to their natural inclination to command. They are defined as ranked societies, where power is not inherited. In opposition, a chiefdom society numbers thousands of people who rely mainly on agriculture. It is characterised by a stratified society with a chief and also a religious leader drawn from a specific social group where power is inherited.

Childe's work also greatly affected 1970s scholarship as is indicated by the dedication “To the memory of V. Gordon Childe” in Renfrew's (1972: v) *The Emergence of Civilisation*. Both the geographical area analysed and the chronological period discussed by Renfrew strongly overlap with the topic discussed by Childe in *What Happened in History* (1942). However, social arrangements are discussed in the light of Service's 1962 social stages (Renfrew, 1972: 363-365).

To a certain extent, Renfrew's (1972) definition of “culture” and “civilisation” reflects Childe's latest works. For Renfrew (1972) a culture, in anthropological terms, is seen as humanity's extra-somatic means of adaptation following White (1959: 8), who probably took it from Childe (1935: 10) who stated: “We see material culture as an adaptation to an environment”. Archaeologically, a “culture” is detected through differences in artefact assemblages reflecting specific environmental adaptations in functionalist terms, but characterised by “a constantly recurring assemblage of artefacts” (Renfrew, 1972: 4) as in Childe's (1929: v-vi) definition. “Civilisation”, on the other hand, was “a stage, level or state of cultural development” (Renfrew, 1972: 4) characterised by a greater socio-economic complexity compared to a culture (see Renfrew, 1973a: 193). To detect the presence of a civilisation, Renfrew (1973a: 193) required the presence of “town indicating a considerable concentration of population,

monumental buildings such as temples and palaces,... writing" and metallurgy (Renfrew, 1973a: 16).

At the end of 1970s, Renfrew (1977: 89) expressed major concern regarding the failure of the New Archaeology anthropological approach; he saw spatial analysis borrowed from modern human geography as the way to unravel archaeological cultures.

The influence of the so-called New Geography in Hodder's early works is unquestionable. At the end of 1970s Hodder followed the processual school of thought and, as a student of David Clarke, was very heavily influenced by the application of approaches borrowed from human geography to produce spatial models in archaeology. This is easily seen from the titles of his works in this phase: e.g. *Spatial Analysis in Archaeology* (Hodder and Orton, eds, 1976) and *The Spatial Organisation of Culture* (Hodder, ed., 1978). With the passing of the time a questioning Hodder, inspired by his ethnoarchaeological experience in the Baringo district – west Kenya (Hodder, 1978), expressed dissatisfaction with processual models. I believe Hodder's conversion can be described as being one of "Oedipal murders of academic 'fathers', where theory is used as a weapon against the 'old guard' to facilitate the emergence of a new academic generation" (Pearce, 2011: 82): New Geography principles and linked archaeological praxis were banished in order to allow a new generation to emerge.

In *Symbols in Action* (Hodder, 1982a), Hodder investigated material symbols through the analysis of the relationship between material culture, social, economic behaviours and resource distribution, recognising how social relations and the environment shaped ethnic, age, sex, status and family groupings. He noted a binary opposition in the meaning of symbols: on the one hand seeing them as (directly) manipulating and negotiating social status depending on the local context; on the other hand (indirectly) acquiring particular meanings in specific contexts.

In this stage, in fact, Hodder concentrated on the various meanings of symbols under the influence of Leach's structuralist thought as a result of his Baringo ethnoanthropological experience (Hodder, 1979: 450). Moreover, with reference to Barth (1975), Hodder (1982b: 9) also paid attention to those involved in the cultural discourse, to the people whose identity was negotiated and maintained through relational processes (Hodder, 1982b: 9) while not dismissing the functionalist approach, recalled in the words "culture... as the framework through which adaptation occurs" (Hodder, 1982b: 9).

I believe the major outcome of Hodder's work is in the way material culture is approached, no longer as types and type associations in space and time, but also through the understanding of its role "between structure and content" (Hodder, 1982b: 9) as with Saussure's *langue et parole* (Saussure, 1959).

"*Culture* is to be studied *as meaningfully constituting* - as the framework through which adaptation occurs - but the meaning of an object resides not merely in its contrast to others within a set. Meaning also derives from the associations and use of an object, which itself become, through the associations, the node of a network of references and implications. There is an interplay between structure and content." (Hodder, 1982b: 9, my emphasis in italic)

Consequently, using his anthropological experience, Hodder (1982c: 210-216) emphasised the contextual meaning of artefacts in order to untangle the variables involved in shaping their meaning.

However, culture for Hodder acquires an "additive" sense: on the one hand, culture is seen in Tylorian terms as the "sum of the values, beliefs, rules and behaviour patterns that are held in common by a group, at whatever scale" (Hodder, 1987: 4) but, on the other hand, culture "involves a commonality of recurrence of traits in contrast to that which is outside the culture" (Hodder, 1987: 4) with a strong reliance on Childe's (1929: v-vi) archaeological culture definition.

As recalled by Jones (1997: 1), between the 1980s and 1990s debate on archaeological culture shifted towards a more ethnic-driven approach in reaction to nationalist sentiments. Generally speaking, ethnicity was detected through the misapplication of the equivalence culture = ethnicity (Jones, 1997: 12). The reasons are probably to be found in the practicality of type distribution maps as evidence for ancient human groups but also because, in the same period, there was a profound reflection on ethnicity in anthropology, specifically addressed to understanding its appearance and the factors involved in shaping it.

For Gellner (1983), ethnicity is distinctive to the impact of the industrialisation on the society, while, in the previous stages of human history it was class identity that mattered. On the other hand, Smith (1986) identified the emergence of ethnicity in the first Ancient Near East city-states and kingdoms of the early 3rd millennium BC. Carter Bentley (1987: 36) takes a different position, suggesting that the conscious sensation of ethnic membership arises from "subliminal

awareness of objective commonalities" and so may occur at any point in time of human history. A more recent point of view recognises the origin of ethnicity as the outcome of the European colonialism in Africa (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992).

I believe that an ethnographic case study on the Samburu, Kenya, is a good example to explain the reasons why I agree with Carter Bentley's (1987: 36) argument. The Samburu are a sub-tribe of the Maasai ranked group and Larick (1985: 206) explained changes in their weapons style and form as related to the status of the male individuals living in the local community. Tempo is the key concept to understand the Samburu pattern: about every 15 years a cohort of age-mates acquires the physical, social and economic status necessary to become warriors, which leads to a generational change among the community, a change that leaves tangible traces (Larick, 1985: 209). Warriorhood creates strong bonds between age-mates who choose to define themselves by differing their weapons' styles and shapes from those of the previous generation of warriors in a cyclical pattern (Larick, 1985: 208-209; 1986). At the same time, Samburu warrior class, defined by a certain age, social and economic position in the community, appears also to define the ethnicity of the group as a whole through spear style differentiation in opposition to other warrior groups living in the same geographical area and possessing a similar socio-political structure (Larick, 1985: 211). What makes this discourse crucial is the different role played by the spear *vis à vis* different socio-political situations: it is the symbol of the warriors within the community but also the symbol of the entire community *vis à vis* other groups, and it allows to understand both Barth's (1969: 15) anthropological argument that ethnic identity emerges from a constant interaction with otherness, and Hodder's (1982b: 9; see also Hodder 1982a) argument that culture is meaningfully constituted (see discussion above).

The Samburu (Larick, 1985) allow me to argue against all the other three arguments presented above regarding the emergence of ethnicity. The Samburu tribe never reached a socio-political arrangement comparable to the Ancient Near East city-states and kingdoms of the early 3rd millennium BC and was not affected by industrialism until very recent times. Although Kenya was a British colony, Larick (1986: 269) suggests that spears had ethnic valency before the British conquest and that the British attempt "to eliminate interethnic raiding and warfare" by banning the use of weapons (Larick, 1985: 212) led to the collapse of "most ethnic/linguistic distinctions" (Larick, 1991: 305). Samburu ethnicity is linked to warriors and their spears, and emerges when interaction with other warrior groups occurs at the regional scale.

Between the 1980s and 1990s a period of academic reflection led archaeologists to approach ethnicity in different ways, but mostly seeing it as like the abominable snowman, difficult to see and catch, to use a very effective simile from Isaacs (1975: 27). In *The European Iron Age* (1984), John Collis approached ethnicity from a processualist point of view deriving from geographical and anthropological influences (Collis, 1984: 10), among the latter specifically the works of anthropologists such as Sahlins, Service, Malinowski and Polanyi (Collis, 1984: 181-183). In the first chapter – *Attitudes to the Past* – ethnicity is invoked as an underestimated problem when assessing cultures, and in particular the ‘Celts’. Despite the limitations imposed by the preservation of the archaeological record, Collis (1984: 14) suggested approaching the past through anthropological evidence. Especially in the case of diffusion or migration of human groups, he stressed the importance of the social and economic context and/or trying to understand changes in the meaning of things thanks to modern anthropological record (Collis, 1984: 14).

Hall (1997: 130) overtly criticised the one-to-one relationship between culture and ethnicity in contemporary archaeological practice, which he believed derived from a misleading 19th and early 20th cent. culture-historical approach to the archaeological record. On the basis of the Iron Age Greece evidence, ethnicity, for Hall (1997:182), is "something that needs to be actively proclaimed, reclaimed and disclaimed through discursive channels" and the variation of myths of ethnic origin in the literary record testifies to this continuing needs for construction-dismantling-reconstruction.

Following Max Weber's (1968: 389) definition of ethnic groups as "human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists", Hall (1997) gave importance to myths of shared (putative) descent as a criterion of ethnicity where these also display an association with a specific territory. Moreover, Hall (1997: 29, 31) considered ethnic groups not as monolithic entities but as subject to processes of assimilation and differentiation and employed highly effective adaptation and/or defensive strategies.

Even in recent papers, the question of ethnicity is not considered to be resolved, rather it is increasingly clear that opinion is split between two principal approaches: on the one hand the pessimistic view of those who regard the matter as impossible to resolve, especially in

archaeological terms (e.g. Whittaker, 2009); on the other hand, the optimistic view of those who ask for a shift in approach to assess past theory and methodology (Morgan, 2009).

Morgan, already in 1992, tried to approach ethnicity by describing it as affecting “only those categories of artefact selected to carry social or political meaning under particular circumstances, rather than the totality of a society's material culture” (Morgan, 1992: 134). This, however, implies undertaking a long-term historical analysis of the archaeological record:

"We cannot fully understand ethnicity as means of exercising or claiming power (in the widest sense of rights of some kind of access to particular socio-political discourses) without understanding the framework within which each claim is made... In other words, trying to trace the rationale for, and form of, a particular ethnic claim forces us to re-examine past assumptions about the complex of relations from which individual communities were constituted." (Morgan, 2009: 25)

According to Morgan (2009: 29), ethnicity may be approached from a number of points of view, differing case by case. For Bronze Age Greece, Morgan (2009: 29-30) adopted a bottom-up approach looking at broad data which enabled her to evaluate the nature of social complexity and how it operated across time. Morgan (2009: 29) also asserted that the continuous oscillation of fashion in archaeological and archaeology-related discourses leads to the creation of a vicious cycle where the formulation of new theory and/or approaches, critique, demolition and exhumation of previous procedures was the general praxis. Even if it considered misleading in the literature (see Jones, 1997: i, 13; Hall, 1999: 130;), one constant emerges in archaeological praxis, that considering ethnicity to be *a priori* detectable through material culture in a one-to-one relationship.

The literature on identity in archaeology is limited compared to that about ethnicity. In fact, identity is generally equated to ethnic identity (see Shennan, 1989: 20-21; Jones, 1997; Cifani and Stoddart, eds, 2012; Curta, 2014; Scopacasa, 2018). However, ethnicity is only one of the many possible strands under the identity label, which includes gender, age, status and religion (Popa and Stoddart, 2014; Diaz-Andreu, ed., 2005; Gosden, 1999), just to mention a few aspects. In this regard, I believe Popa and Stoddart (2014: 327) are right in suggesting Barth (1969) as a primary source on this matter. Barth (1969) talks about ethnic identity but his argument could be extended to identity in general terms. According to Barth (1969: 15),

(ethnic) identity boundaries are strongly rooted in social relationships between members of a society, possibly in the attachment to a specific piece of land; however, he poses little importance to the “cultural stuff that it [the group] encloses” (Barth, 1969: 15). Primordialists claimed that social bonds are established at birth (e.g. Shils, 1957); on the contrary, instrumentalists assign importance to how a group responds to external stresses (Cohen, 1969: ix).

Barth (1969: 15) believed that the constant interaction with otherness allowed the creation of boundaries which might change over time. According to Leach (1954: 287), these changes should be considered as naturally embedded and not “destructive of law, logic and convention” of the social system. Culture, instead, “provides the form, the ‘dress’ of the social situation... [as] a product and an accident of history” (Leach, 1954:16) so that the same structural relationship may be displayed in many different ways according to the culture considered. According to Barth (1969: 16), even in the case of persisting cultural contacts between groups, where a similarity in the customs can emerge through time, there are branches of cultural criteria that still mark differences, thus implying the necessity of evaluating a large and wide range of evidence in order to understand what created (ethnic) identity: among other factors the influence played by ecology, demography, religion and economy must be considered (Barth, 1969: 19-24).

Nowadays, it is very difficult to list all the different theoretical and methodological strands used by archaeologists to approach culture, and by proximity, identity: echoes of New Archaeology are still present in the academic debate whilst Post-Processualist approaches led to the borrowing from a wide range of sources including phenomenology, post-modernism, agency theory, cognitive science, structural functionalism, gender-based and feminist archaeology, and systems theory (Dobres and Robb, 2000; Hodder, 2001; Bintliff, ed., 2004; Knappett, 2005; Tilley *et al.*, 2006; Woodward, 2007). I believe it is rather too soon to assess whether the expectations and the enthusiasm brought by these new approaches have been fruitfully repaid, however a preliminary consideration will be made below.

Generally, this overproduction of theories and approaches caused "dissatisfaction" in the academic debate as is expressed by the phrase the "death of archaeological theory" (Bintliff and Pearce, 2011). The many streams of research based on new theories and approaches provided the basis for analysing archaeological culture and the identity problem in different ways, but they never became mature through a process of critical evaluation.

A recent conference held in December 2015 and organised at the Belgian Academy in Rome provides a good example in this sense. As stated in the call for papers by Jonas Danckers, the current Italian terminology, as well as the interpretation of the words *facies* and culture, need a reassessment. The term *facies*, introduced in 1838 by the Swiss geologist Gressly to define a body of rock with specified characteristics, was adopted by Italian archaeologists as the equivalent of culture, but also as an "aspect" of a civilisation (Mauss, 1930: 347), and was discussed by Peroni (1978; 1989; 1994; 1996; 1998) in numerous publications.

The idea that cultures are strongly related to ethno-anthropological entities in a one-to-one relationship was defined by Peroni (1994: 22) as "the dazzle of culture" (my translation). According to Peroni (1994: 24), culture *stricto sensu* is impossible to grasp because of the nature itself of the archaeological record, subject to poor preservation and influenced by the local context, especially as regards to prehistoric finds. It is preferable to use the term *facies* as "arrangements resulting from random assemblages of finds, mostly due to the preservation and transmission of material culture from archaeological sources" formed through "dynamics of transmission and circulation of information" and definable "through finds distribution analysis" (Peroni, 1998: 10, 27; my translation). Basically, it could be said that a *facies*, defined through the integration of several geographical distributions of types useful to build up a typo-chronological grid, is very similar to Childe's (1929: v-vi) definition of an archaeological culture.

Bintliff and Pearce proposed (2011: 2) a reassessment of teaching practice regarding the history of Archaeological Theory, focusing on building awareness of the strengths and weaknesses of past approaches: "reflexivity and eclecticism should be our watchwords for a future more democratic Archaeological Theory, and a healthy scepticism to being told what to read and not to read" (Bintliff and Pearce, 2011: 6). Interestingly, just 10 years before Bintliff and Pearce's (2011) statement, Hodder (2001: 3) talked of an era of "maturity" of archaeological praxis, no longer borrowing from other disciplines, but rather "accepting diversity and difference of perspective". I believe Hodder's 2001 statement is quite self-interested. On the basis of the data obtained by Austin (1987: 233) at the end of the 1980s, Julian Thomas (1995: 343-344) pointed out that in mid 1990s only about 15 out of the 200 archaeologists in academic positions in the UK were Post-Processualist. This number was surely much higher in 2001, probably reaching sufficient numbers to be labelled as the 'Post-Processualist school', able to spread knowledge to new generations and so becoming a mature community *sensu* Hodder (2001: 3). In 2011,

Pluciennik (2011:44), in fact, did not recognise any real theoretical change after Post-Processualism.

Even if two decades have passed, I strongly believe that there is still truth in Thomas' (1995: 339) words of 1995: "theory is nomadic, but none the less it is transformed by the context in which it is deployed, in relation to a set of concerns which it is used to address". Moreover, I believe nowadays archaeological theory is neither innocent (Clarke, 1973) nor mature (Hodder, 2001: 3), since it mainly borrows from other disciplines so that, as stressed by Thomas (1995: 339), "Archaeology is still a 'consumer' of (perhaps inappropriate) theories which originate in alien disciplines".

In 2011, Kristiansen (2011: 77) highlighted how the loss of importance of theory is a clear effect of the last 25 years archaeological praxis marked by increased importance given to studies at the local level, the effect of a growing of nationalist feeling with an increased focus on heritage management. This pattern contributed to self-restraint from assessing the "big questions" – such as the relationship between climate, culture, environment, but at the same time the debate and new agendas are still being driven forward, enabling him to think that we are moving towards "a more science based, rationalistic cycle of revived modernity" (Kristiansen, 2011: 77-78).

The future direction of archaeological theory, as predicted by Bruce Trigger (1996), and then re-stated by Kristiansen (2011: 78), should be looking to a period of "theoretical pragmatism, characterised by an expansion of the theoretical and methodological repertoire" where "theoretical paradigms are like dinosaurs... and that the future lies in a truly eclectic, theoretical open, approach to interpreting archaeological phenomena" (Pearce, 2011: 87). Archaeological theory is like a pendulum oscillating between positivism and subjectivism: "theory cannot die, but it can change direction and its role and relative importance may change in the process" (Kristiansen, 2011: 72).

Despite many open questions have emerged in this chapter, I have highlighted advantages and disadvantages of contemporary theoretical approaches to culture, civilisation and identity. According to the limited awareness of present methods and theory on identity, here intended in its broadest sense and not just as ethnic identity, I have decided to move on and develop my discourse according to an approach defined by Pearce (2011: 87) as "eclectic", "pragmatic". Therefore, to negotiate my scientific position according to the type of question to be addressed, and to choose each time the method of analysis that I believe best fits the problem to solve

through “cherry-picking the most effective tools and models and applying them at different levels of interpretation” (Pearce, 2011: 87).

Chapter 5 - The later Bronze Age Veneto: thugs, endemic warfare and epic voyages

The main goal of this chapter is to build a robust archaeological overview of the period immediately preceding the Iron Age in the Veneto region, from the MBA (begins c. 1700 BC) to the FBA. The latter is conventionally considered in the literature to end c. 900 BC, but this should be backdated to c. 1000 BC (see Section 2.2.). Particular attention will be paid to the evolution of the socio-political organisation over time. For this reason, the area considered will be the district between the river Mincio valley and Este (PD), which is the best known for the period under consideration. Archaeological evidence will be used to infer the presence of chiefdoms in the study area as defined by the relevant anthropological and archaeological literature. Maps will be used to display the evolution of the socio-political scenario before the emergence of the Atestine culture in the Iron Age Veneto.

Before the MBA, between c. 2300 BC and c. 1700 BC, the area between eastern Lombardy and Padua was characterised by lake-dwelling settlements linked to the EBA Polada culture (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 202-203). In the earliest phase (i.e. EBA1, 2300-2100 BC), the settlement pattern is “wetland oriented” (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 204) and concentrated in the area of the moraines around Lake Garda and in depressed marshy basins like the so-called Valli di Fimon within the karstic Berici hills. During the EBA2 (2100-1700 BC) settlements double in number and spread into the plain, especially along the courses of the rivers Tione, Tartaro and Menago whose sources are springs in upper Verona province (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 204). The material culture evidence suggests contacts across the Alps, especially with central-eastern Europe (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 205-206).

The funerary pattern for this phase is, so far, not clearly definable as there is very limited evidence. There is continuity in the funerary use of Copper Age caves in the area of the pre-Alps (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 207-208) but in the Verona plain the few known sites are single graves near settled areas, but the evidence is still too scanty to identify a pattern (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 208). In the central and eastern Veneto no funerary evidence is known to date (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 208) and the metal offerings in rivers (i.e. axes and dirks) are linked by Cupitò and Leonardi (2015: 208) to rituals performed by high-status individuals at

the head of the community. The scanty data, however, do not allow to make further interpretations.

In MBA1 (c. 1700-1550 BC) the so-called Camponi di Nogarole Rocca cultural aspect is recorded in the case-study area (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 209). However, both material culture and settlement pattern show continuity with the previous phase, the latter still characterised by lake-dwelling sites (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 208). This pattern changes in MBA2 (c. 1550-1400 BC) when material culture shows affinities with cultural aspects recorded south of the river Po (i.e. the Tabina di Magreta and Monteleoni cultural aspects; Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 209), possibly suggesting contacts also with central-eastern Europe as first noticed by Pigorini in 1876 and then suggested on the basis of high-status ornaments by Capoferri (1988: 200) and Peroni (1989: 129-130). Furthermore, so-called *terramare* settlements emerge and last until the late RBA (c. 1150 BC) (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 210). *Terramare* are recorded in both the Veneto and Emilia, the latter area being the *terramare* heartland (Bernabò Brea *et al.*, 1997a: 24). Scholars (Bernabò Brea *et al.*, 1997a: 25; 1997b) suggest that *terramare* generally share a specific package of features:

- defensive infrastructures (bank/s and ditch/es) surround the settled area, with freshwater channelled from nearby paleo-channels;
- an extremely regular settlement structure with wooden huts organised in rows and very often rebuilt on the same plot over time;
- a marked settlement hierarchy from, at least, the MBA3 (i.e. after c. 1400 BC).

Fieldwork performed by the AMPBV project led De Guio and colleagues to reconstruct the presence of a complex near-site network of irrigation channels at the MBA3-RBA (1450-1150 BC) *terramara* of Castello del Tartaro (VR) (Balista *et al.*, 1998; see also De Guio *et al.*, 2015). Limited fieldwork to date might explain why a similar pattern is not known from other *terramare* sites to date. However, I believe plausible to suggest that other sites might have had a similar infrastructure as they exploited freshwater channelled from nearby paleo-channels as recorded at Castello del Tartaro.

The *terramare* way of life collapsed around the end of the RBA, c. 1150 BC, and this crisis mainly affected those sites located south of the river Po in Emilia (Cardarelli, 2010: 449-450). The main causes for the crisis seem to be population increase (and related demographic pressure?), over-exploitation of the landscape and lowering of the water table (Cardarelli, 2010). Since the collapse is not recognised to the same extent north of the river Po, Cardarelli

(1997: 660) interpreted this as showing differing socio-political trajectories in the two areas. He argued that the *terramare* of Emilia-Romagna are “a cohesive, isonomic organism, whose social constituents are highly integrated within the community” with infrastructure works (i.e. defensive and agrarian infrastructures) “presumably carried out by obtaining community consent” (Cardarelli, 2010: 454; see also Cardarelli, 1997: 660) which meant that they were incapable of overcoming the tension between the emergence of elites and the need for an egalitarian social structure. Cardarelli (1997: 660) discarded coercion as an option, since he did not believe that this chronological phase was characterised by social complexity but by a more “socially useful” arrangement (Cardarelli, 1997: 660). Recently, on the basis of the MBA2/3-RBA (1400-1150 BC) funerary evidence at Casinalbo (MO), Cardarelli (2014: 853) suggested the presence of a hierarchical social arrangement at this site with sword bearers at the vertex of the community which was, however, masked by an unreal, egalitarian arrangement of the funerary archaeological record. Fragmented goods, including weapons and ornaments, were, in fact, not buried together with their owners but accumulated at ritual places located in particular sectors of the funerary area.

In the FBA (1150-1000 BC) the Veneto is marked by the so-called *Protovillanoviano Padano* cultural aspect, which is characterised by a different material culture compared to previous phases, depopulation and emergence of a small number of major sites (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 208). This period is that of the so-called “Frattesina phenomenon” (De Guio *et al.*, 1989: 184). The settlement of Frattesina (RO), in fact, is an important commercial and manufacturing centre in this phase, involved in a wide-ranging trading network spanning between the Baltic and the Eastern Mediterranean (Pearce, 2019: 344). At Frattesina, artefacts made of local and exotic raw material (i.e. amber, glass, ivory, ostrich eggshell, metal, antler, pottery) suggest that this site played a major role as a commercial hub in this trading network (Pearce, 2019). The funerary record at Frattesina suggests a hierarchical organisation of the society, headed by a chief, who carried a sword (Leonardi, 2010: 553), and that there were four other grades of wealth in the community as a whole, including infants (Cardarelli *et al.*, 2015).

5.1. Social complexity between the MBA and FBA in the western Veneto

Harding (2007: 83) characterises the MBA (1700-1300 BC) in Europe as seeing “the rise of large-scale violence” linked to the figure of the warrior. It is, however, possible that violence

also characterised the previous period. In Italy, for example, this might be suggested by the fact that there are 119 dirks in the EBA (2300-1700 BC) while there are 93 swords and 53 dirks in the MBA (1700-1300 BC) (Pearce, 2007: fig. 2.5). This pattern might be explained by advances in metal casting, with metalworkers now able to craft longer blades (i.e. swords) which took on the role played by dirks in the EBA (Pearce, 2007: 30).

In the literature, chiefs in prehistoric Europe have been seen either as selfish individuals devoted only to their personal well-being (e.g. Gilman, 1981), or devoted to that of the entire community (e.g. Renfrew, 1973b).

On the one hand, Gilman (1981) sees in MBA (1700-1300 BC) Europe the emergence of local thugs able to exercise coercive power on, at least, part of the community; like a sort of present-day Sicilian *Mafia* who could “offer ‘protection’ from violence in return for financial payoffs” (Earle, 1997: 109) in a climate of uncertainty. Large-scale violence possibly provided warriors with a way to bolster their socio-political position in the community, and possibly helped in making their leadership hereditary (Gilman, 1981: 20). Power might have been based on genealogical bonds, on the proximity, by birth, to a common ancestor (Service, 1962: 170-171) and was, I believe, maintained through the promise of protecting the community from harm. Power might have been exhibited through exotica, acquired by building *ad hoc* trading networks (Gilman, 1981: 1).

On the other hand, Renfrew (1973b) suggested the presence of chiefdoms in late Neolithic Wessex by critically rethinking communal infrastructures, mainly barrows and ritual places. He argued (Renfrew 1973b: 552) that the emergence of chiefdoms might have allowed the gathering of people from different districts, in some sort of confederation, which provided the workforce to construct monuments such as Stonehenge phase III. Renfrew (1973b: 554-555) used the monuments to argue for the presence of organisation of communal labour, craft specialisation and redistribution of food, all of which required some sort of central control. Moreover, he argued that the need for specialised figures, such as priests, to perform rituals was evidence for a differentiated (religious) social status among the community (Renfrew, 1973b: 555). Renfrew (1973b: 552) also interpreted the small number of burials with rich grave goods as further evidence for the presence of a differentiated socio-political group, the elite who acted as the coordinators of society.

In the development of this chapter, I have decided to follow Gilman (1981) and see MBA (1500-1300 BC) chiefs as thugs, whose power was based on coercion. This is mainly because of the selfish nature of humans (*sensu* Hobbes, 1651: 95).

Our knowledge of the Italian *terramare* is strongly biased by the differing attention paid to it south and north of the river Po, as a result of differing research policies. As well demonstrated in the volume edited by Bernabò Brea and Mutti (1994), Emilian *terramare* were quarried for their organically-rich earth used as fertiliser in the early 19th cent. but became known as archaeological sites only from the 1860s. However, there is a lack of MBA (1700-1300 BC) funerary evidence, especially in the area south of the river Po (Vanzetti, 2010: 241), with Casinalbo (MO) the only well-excavated cemetery to date (Cardarelli, ed., 2014). On the other hand, although settlements are also known in the Veneto region, rescue archaeology has mainly concentrated on the excavation of funerary evidence in this area.

So far, the best known funerary evidence north of the river Po is the cemetery of Olmo di Nogara (hereafter: Olmo, VR), dated between the MBA2, or even MBA1, and the RBA (1550-1150 BC, see the chronological discussion in Salzani, 2005a: 289-307; Cupitò and Leonardi, 2005: 144; Cardarelli, 2006: 274; Vanzetti, 2010: 245). Its long period of use allows us to consider long-term socio-political trends and to analyse changes in ritual practice, and related ideology, which shifted from MBA inhumation to RBA cremation. The archaeological record might allow us to detect the foundation upon which elite power was built and maintained through time, if this is what happened.

At the present, the cemetery lies just a few hundred metres west of the course of the river Tartaro in the area of Nogara (VR) (Fig. 37A). During the MBA and RBA (1700-1150 BC), the river Tartaro, which originated from springs in the upper Verona district, was a tributary of the ancient course of the river Po (Fig. 37B; see also Fig. 33 in Section 3.3.).

The cemetery of Olmo is not fully explored. So far, four main trenches (A to D, Fig. 37A) have been dug, bringing 533 graves to light (Pulcini, 2014: 19). Inhumations strongly outnumber cremations – 471 vs 62 – (Pulcini, 2014: 19) and the preservation of the funerary record is deeply affected by modern ploughing. To further complicate the picture, at least 15 graves show evidence of ancient looting⁵. This practice was probably facilitated by the presence of grave markers, especially for rich graves (e.g. grave 408, Salzani, 2005a: 294). Grave markers,

⁵ List of looted graves: 220, 425, 441, 443, 448, 449, 450, 451, 453, 455, 456, 464, 466.

however, were possibly widespread throughout the cemetery and may be attested by the fact that graves rarely overlap, with only 13 cases⁶ over a period of c. 400 years (Salzani, 2005a: 294).

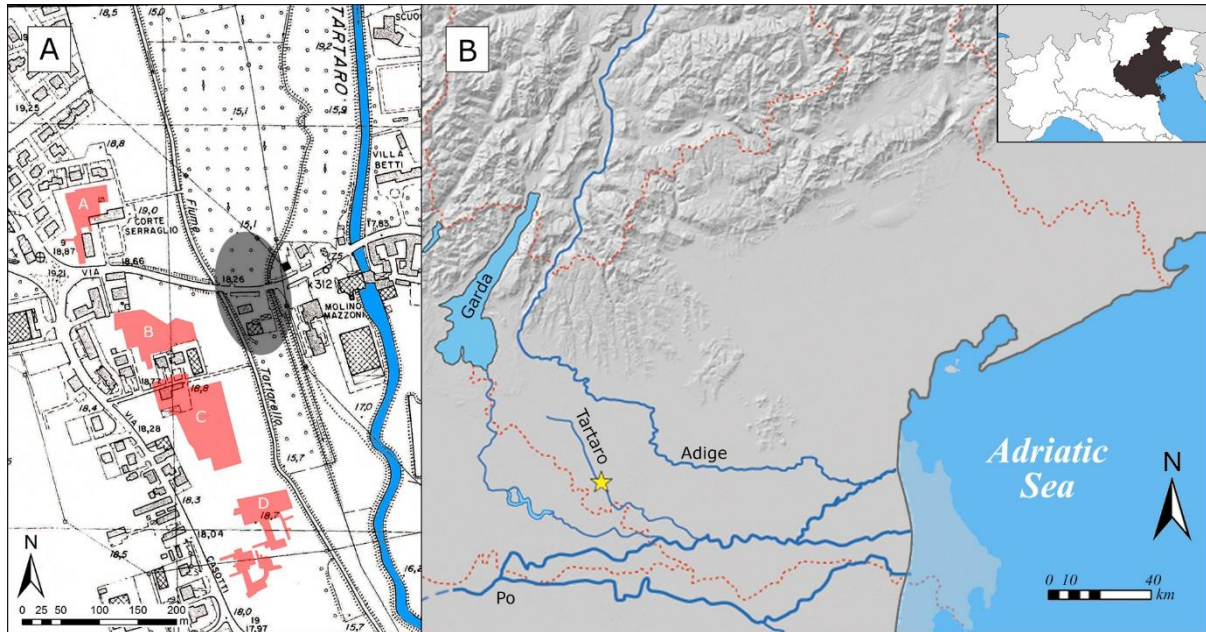


Fig. 37 – A) Nogara, CTR (Technical) map. In red the four different excavated areas of the prehistoric cemetery; the grey oval area marks the contemporary settlement. B) the Veneto region is highlighted in the upper right corner box; the rest of the image reconstructs the MBA-RBA (1700-1150 BC) river network; the site of Nogara (VR) is marked by a yellow star and the dotted red line marks the modern administrative border (after Balista, 2009, Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013; Salzani, 2005a: fig. 1, Cupitò and Leonardi, 2005: fig. 2). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

Vanzetti (2010: 245, 248) suggests that the small number of late MBA and RBA (1550-1150 BC) cremations and sub-adult graves is due to modern ploughing, arguing that they were destroyed because they were shallower compared to adult or other MBA (1550-1300 BC) graves. However, this pattern may also be due to restricted access to formal burial in the cemetery or the limited extent of the excavated area. On the basis of the number of individuals recorded so far (533) and the duration of the cemetery (c. 400 years), I calculate a population of at least c. 44 people at Olmo, employing Morris' (1987: 74) formula which assumes a death rate of around 30 per 1000 per annum for agricultural societies.

⁶ List of overlapping graves: 12/13; 506/507; 446/455/456; 488/493; 45/46; 57/58; 87-88/83; 94/100; 142/152; 139/155; 182/188/189; 197/199; 322/323.

$$p = \frac{1000}{[(30 \times dt)/n]} \quad \begin{array}{l} p = \text{population} \\ dt = \text{duration of the} \\ \text{cemetery (years)} \\ n = \text{number of buried} \\ \text{individuals} \end{array} \quad p = \frac{1000}{[(30 \times 400)/533]} = 44.42$$

However, calculated number does not account for the possible loss of graves so as suggested by Vanzetti (2010: 248) who argues that the excavated data only accounts for 50%, or less, of the original cemetery. Thus, Vanzetti's (2010: 248) estimate of c. 120-150 people at Olmo might be a more realistic number.

The cemetery data are mainly published in Salzani (2005a) and Pulcini (2014). The latter volume is an update of the data published by Salzani in 2005(a); it radically revises the sexing and ageing of the majority of the graves, originally carried out by Corrain and Capitanio (and published in Salzani, 2005a), and discusses new funerary evidence discovered between 2005 and 2009. I found discrepancies in the data, mainly in the associations between goods and graves. To overcome this problem I have built an excel file with all the possible information from both volumes and resolved the contradictions using published photos and plans. This meant following Salzani's (2005a) original descriptions. Although Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: 144-6) recognised at least five phases of use of the Olmo cemetery, I have decided to follow the three defined by Pulcini (2014) – 1) MBA2, 2) MBA3 and 3) RBA (1550-1150 BC) – in order to ground on her anthropological data to build my interpretations.

Graves with goods are mainly either of adult warriors, a total of 59 (Tab. 4), or of adult females with rich ornaments, 86 in total (Tab. 5). There are 25 rich sub-adult female graves, judged as such on anthropological data or on the basis of ornaments when bones are limited or lacking (Tab. 6). Male sex is only attributed to one sub-adult individual – grave 168, a 15-17 years old teenager buried with a dirk (Pulcini, 2014: fig. 31), while the sex of the sub-adult in grave 6, also buried with a dirk, was not anthropologically definable. I decided to attribute male gender also to the latter and to include him in warriors' table (see Tab. 4). Forty other individuals (8 male, 9 female and 23 not sexually definable) only had pottery grave goods, either whole or sherds.

Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: 143) defined at least four clusters - A, B, C and D - on the basis of the distribution of warrior and rich female graves in the four explored areas of the cemetery (see Fig. 37A). Particular attention was only paid to group B and C as there was limited evidence from the other two areas.

Olmo - burials info							Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)								Articular pathologies				Traumas				Grave goods					Notes				
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropologically defined)	age (years)	grave goods	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	lombar vertebra agensis	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	sopracondylar process	craniostosis	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	Schmört's hernia (when published)	Scheuermann's syndrome	Marie-Strumpell's disease	sacroilitis	accidental fractures	metal inflicted traumas	interpreted warfare traumas	cranial surgery traumas	sword		dirk	bonze studs (location)	others	pottery
MBA2	26	C	-54 (modern ploughing)	fair	M	25-35	YES	P																								
MBA2	28	C	-121	fair	M	35-45	YES	P																								
MBA2	31	C	-105	good	M	30-40	YES	P																						22 (head)		
MBA2	33	C	-72	good	M	30-40	YES	P																								
MBA2	48	C	-94	good	M	20-30	YES	P																								
MBA2	50	C	-116	good	M	40-50	YES	P																								
MBA2	54	C	-110	good	M	35-45	YES	P																								
MBA2	87	C	-78	good	M	35-45	YES	P																								
MBA2	88	C	-78	good	M	35-45	YES	P																								
MBA2	93	C	-83	fair	M	20-30	YES	P																								
MBA2	95	C	-61	good	M	senior	YES	P																								
MBA2	99	C	-71	good	M	30-40	YES	P																							4 (head)	
MBA2	113	C	-95	good	M	20-30	YES	P																								
MBA2	163	C	-86	good	M	30-40	YES	P																							7 (head)	

Olmo - burials info								Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)								Articular pathologies		Traumas				Grave goods					Notes						
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropologically defined)	age (years)	grave goods	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	lombar vertebra agensis	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	sopracondylar process	craniostostosis	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	Schmörl's hernia (when published)	Scheuermann's syndrome	Marie-Strumpell's disease	sacroilitis	accidental fractures	metal inflicted traumas	interpreted warfare traumas	cranial surgery traumas		sword	dirk	bronze studs (location)	others	pottery	
MBA2	168	C	-85	fair (modern trench)	M	15-17	YES	P																	left scapula wound								pathologies: genetic origin or linked to horse riding; oblique top-bottom perimortal wound
MBA2	201	C	-92	good	M	30-40	YES	P																						12 (head)			
MBA2	202	C	-134	good	M	30-35	YES	P																									
MBA2	389	B	-83	fair (modern trench)	M	35-45	YES	P																									
MBA2	392	B	-34	good	M	40-50	YES	P																						16 (head)			anterior collapse of the spine
MBA2	484	B	-97	good	M	40-50	YES	P																									
MBA2-3	35	C		destroyed (modern ploughing)	M	20-35	looted	P																									
MBA2-3	115	C	-89	good	M	30-40	Looted	P															coxo- femoral									limited use of right arm and incorrect deambulation	
MBA2-3	405	B	-52	poor (modern trench)	M	25-35	looted	P																	2 skull wounds					?			top-bottom perimortal oblique wounds; bronze oxidation on left side of the skull
MBA2-3	412	B	-81	fair (modern trench)	M	30-35	looted	P																									
MBA2-3	432	B	-108	fair (modern trench)	M	40-50	YES	P																			?		39 (head)			1 rivet (= sword?)	

Olmo - burials info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)								Articular pathologies				Traumas				Grave goods					Notes	
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropologically defined)	age (years)	grave goods	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wornian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	lombare vertebra agensis	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	sopracondylar process	craniostosis	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	Schmölz's hernia (when published)	Scheuermann's syndrome	Marie-Strumpell's disease	sacroilitis	accidental fractures	metal inflicted traumas	interpreted warfare traumas	cranial surgery traumas	sword	dirk	bronze studs (location)	others		pottery
MBA2-3 444	B	-85	poor (modern trench)	M	45-55	looted	P																				?					bronze oxidation on the right arm
MBA2-3 445	B	-79	poor (modern trench)	M	35-45	looted	P																				?					bronze oxidation on the left arm
MBA2-3 455	B	-77	poor (looted)	M	40-50	looted	P																				?					bronze oxidation on the left ribs and arm
MBA2-3 457	B	-69	poor (modern trench)	M	35-45	looted	P																				?					bronze oxidation on the right hand
MBA2-3 478	B	-91	poor (looted)	M	30-40	looted	P																				?					bronze oxidation on the left side of skull and left arm
MBA2-3 480	B	-65	poor (Medieval trench)	M	adult	looted	P																				?					bronze oxidation on the left forearm
MBA2-3 443	B	-80	poor (looted in ancient times?)	M	n.d.	looted	P																				?					bronze oxidation on the right side of the body
MBA3 6	A	-59	poor (only legs preserved)	n.d. infant	YES	C																										
MBA3 24	C	-47	fair (modern trench)	M	40-50	YES	P																							2 (head)	2	
MBA3 25	C	-80	good	M	45-55	YES	P																							3 (head)	flint	

Olmo - burials info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)								Articular pathologies				Traumas				Grave goods					Notes	
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropologically defined)	age (years)	grave goods	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	lombar vertebra agensis	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	sopracondylar process	craniostylosis	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	Schmörtl's hernia (when published)	Scheuermann's syndrome	Marić-Strumpeš's disease	sacroiliitis	accidental fractures	metal inflicted traumas	interpreted warfare traumas	cranial surgery traumas	sword	dirk	bronze studs (location)	others		pottery
MBA3	34	C	-133	good	M	30-40	YES	P																					15 (head)			
MBA3	40	C	-78	good	M	>60	YES	P																					6 (head)			
MBA3	42	C	-126	good	M	40-50	YES	P																								
MBA3	63	C	-69	good	M	35-45	YES	P																								
MBA3	69	C	-72	fair	M	45-55	YES	P																					20 (head)			
MBA3	131	C	-98	good	M	35-45	YES	P																					7 (feet)	ox humerus		
MBA3	132	C	-98	good	M	35-45	YES	P																					19 (head)			
MBA3	153	C	-98	good	M	25-30	YES	P																					3 (head)	flint		
MBA3	194	C	-43	good	M	40-50	YES	P																					28 (head)			
MBA3	391	B	-15	fair	M	30-40	YES	P																								
MBA3	410	B	-94	good	M	45-55	YES	P																					5 (head)			disabled individual recovered from possible tuberculosis
MBA3	442	B	-60	fair	M	35-45	YES	P																								
MBA3	472	B	-81	good	M	30-40	YES	P																								
MBA3	475	B	-74	good	M	35-45	YES	P																					11 (head)			on horse when first hit, then parrying wound on left arm
MBA3	477	B	-82	good	M	35-45	YES	P																								
MBA3	483	B	-86	good	M	30-40	YES	P																						10 (head)		
MBA3	486	B	-91	good	M	35-45	YES	P																						12 (head)		
MBA3	494	B	-98	good	M	40-50	YES	P																								

Olmo - burials info								Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)								Articular pathologies				Traumas				Grave goods					Notes			
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropologically defined)	age (years)	grave goods	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	lumbar vertebra agensis	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	sopracondylar process	craniostosis	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	Schmörz's hernia (when published)	Scheuermann's syndrome	Marie-Strumpell's disease	sacroiliitis	accidental fractures	metal inflicted traumas	interpreted warfare traumas	cranial surgery traumas	sword	dirk		bronze studs (location)	others	pottery
MBA3	500	B	-76	good	M	35-45	YES	P																								skull detached from the body in a second pit
MBA3	547	C			M	35-45	YES	P																								wormian bones possibly caused by reiterated immersions in cold water or by working in a smoky environment
RB4	41	C	-81	good	M	30-35	YES	P																								complete fusion of the right sacro-iliac articulation; perimortal wound
	207	C	-90	good	M	50-60	disturbed	P																T6 wound	1 bronze arrow between legs				1 (spine)			
	212	C	-46	fair	M	mature	YES	C																				1 (head)				
	343A	C	-72	fair	M	45-55	YES	P																					9 (head)			in the same grave bones related to other individuals
	415	B	-80 (modern trench)	fair	M	40-50	looted	P																				? o	?			fusion of vertebrae T4-6; bronze oxidation on left side pelvis
	448	B	-83 (looted)	poor (looted)	M	adult	looted	C																					1			no traces of oxidation on the bones

Tab. 4 – Warrior burials at Olmo (VR) (data from Salzani, 2005a; Pulcini, 2014).

Olmo - burials info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)							Traumas		Grave goods									Notes							
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropologically defined)	age (years)	grave goods	height (cm) 1st= Sjovald method 2nd= Trotter & Gleber method	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	lumbar vertebra agenesi	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	sacrocondylar process	craniosynostosis	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	fractures & contusions (vertebrae)	spine (T10-11)	L4	spondylitis (vertebra)	pottery	1 pin	2 different pins	2 similar pins		2 similar pins + 1 different pin	hair tie	clothes toggle (material)	comb (in bone if not specified)	knife	Others	needle/pin for shroud
MBA2	84	C	-40	good	F	25-35	YES		P												spine (T10-11)	L4													
MBA2	85	C	-80	good	F	>50	YES		P																										
MBA2	89	C	-85	good	F	40-50	YES		P																										
MBA2	112	C	-85	good	F	20-30	YES		P																								bone button	2	
MBA2	172	C	-77	good	F	25-35	YES		P																							bone button			
MBA2	390	B	-80	good	F	mature	YES		C																							spiral bead			
MBA2	422	B	-167	good	F	50-60	YES		P																										
MBA2	435	B	-111	good (modern trench)	F	40-50	YES		P																										
MBA2	437	B	-86	acidity + fair (soil modern ploughing)	F	adult	YES		P																										Povegliano type pins
MBA2	471	B	-70	good	F	20-25	YES		P																										
MBA2-3	440	B	-82	poor (modern trench)	F	35-45	looted		P														L5		2										bronze oxidation on left ribs and arm
MBA2-3	443	B	-80	poor (looted in ancient times?)	F	mature	looted		C																										
MBA3	32	C	-62	poor (modern trench)	F	25-35	YES		P																								bronze stud		
MBA3	56	C	-47	good	F	35-45	YES		P																										
MBA3	57	C	-45	fair	F	30-40	YES		P																										overlaps grave 58
MBA3	72A	C	-55	poor (modern trench)	F	50-60	YES		P																										

Olmo - burials info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)							Traumas		Grave goods									Notes						
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropologically defined)	age (years)	grave goods	height (cm) 1st= Sjevoid method 2nd= Trotter & Gleber method	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	lombar vertebra agenesis	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	sopracondylar process	craniostyosis	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	fractures & contusions (vertebrae)	spondylitis (vertebra)	pottery	1 pin	2 different pins	2 similar pins	2 similar pins + 1 different pin	hair tie		clothes toggle (material)	comb (in bone if not specified)	knife	Others	needle/pin for shroud	
MBA3	81	C	-71	poor (trench)	F	35-45	YES		P																				2 (amber)					overlapped by grave 94
MBA3	100	C	-80	good	F	35-50	YES		P																									
MBA3	106	C	-31	good	F	30-40	YES		P																									
MBA3	117	C	-35	good	F	50-60	YES		P																									
MBA3	145	C	-81	good	F	20-25	YES		P																									
MBA3	154	C	-72	fair	F	20-25	YES		P																				2 (amber)	?		amber beads		
MBA3	155	C	-53	fair	F	20-30	YES		P																						amber bead		overlaps grave 139	
MBA3	185	C	-30	fair (modern trench)	F	55-65	YES		P												Colle's fracture													partial immobility of right forearm
MBA3	411	B	-118	good	F	50-60	YES		P																		2		2 (amber)					
MBA3	493	B	-107	good	F	20-25	YES		P																				2 (amber)					
MBA3	16	A	-140	good	F	55-65	YES		P																		2							
RBBA	18	A	-106	fair	F	adult	YES		P																				2 (amber)					
RBBA	30	C	-67	poor (modern ploughing)	F	20-30	YES		P																				1 (amber)					
RBBA	94	C	-42	good	F	35-45	YES		P																									
RBBA	110A	C	-55	good	F	30-40	YES		P												L4-5								1 (bronze)					on top of grave 100
RBBA	122	C	-53	good	F	18-21	YES		P																							amber bead and spacer		
RBBA	171	C	-22	fair (modern ploughing)	F	25-35	YES		P																		2							
RBBA	178	C	-40	fair	F	50-60	YES		P																									

Olmo - burials info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)								Traumas		Grave goods									Notes						
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropologically defined)	age (years)	grave goods	height (cm) 1st= Sjoqvist method 2nd= Trotter & Gleber method	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	lombar vertebra agenesis	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	sopracondylar process	craniostyosis	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	fractures & contusions (vertebrae)	spondylitis (vertebra)	pottery	1 pin	2 different pins	2 similar pins	2 similar pins + 1 different pin	hair tie	clothes toggle (material)		comb (in bone if not specified)	knife	Others	needle/pin for shroud		
RRBA	190	C	-67 good		F	25-35	YES		P																							7 amber beads	2		
RRBA	191	C	-58 good		F	16-19	YES		P																										
RRBA	198	C	-35 fair (modern trench)		F	50-60	YES		P																										
RRBA	199	C	-43 good		F	30-40	YES		P																										
RRBA	208	C	-44 fair (modern ploughing)		F	50-60	YES		P																				1 (amber)			spiral bead	2		
RRBA	214	C	-58 good		F	55-65	YES		P																										
RRBA	231#	C	-47 destroyed (modern ploughing)		F	>25	YES		P																										
RRBA	240	C	-46 good		F	>50	YES		P																										
RRBA	244	C	-50 good		F	25-30	YES		P													L4		bone											
RRBA	245	C	-55 good		F	40-50	YES	146.57 146.7	P													L4					2								
RRBA	252	C	-61 poor (modern ploughing)		F	30-40	YES		P																				1 (amber)						
RRBA	259#	C	-29 destroyed (modern ploughing)		F	18-25	YES		P																					2		bone wheel			
RRBA	267	C	-57 fair		F	35-45	YES		P																										
RRBA	287	C	-22 good		F	35-45	YES		P																										
RRBA	295	C	-10 good		F	45-55	YES		P																							amber bead?			
RRBA	297	C	-50 good		F	50-60	YES		P																										
RRBA	304	C	-64 good		F	40-50	YES		P																										
RRBA	305	C	-66 poor (soil acidity)		F	mature	YES		C																										
RRBA	309	C	-35 good		F	35-45	YES		P													L5													

Olmo - burials info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)								Traumas		Grave goods										Notes				
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropologically defined)	age (years)	grave goods	height (cm) 1st= Sjoqvist method 2nd= Trotter & Gleber method	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	lumbar vertebra agenesi	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	sopracondylar process	craniostylosis	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	fractures & confusions (vertebrae)	spondylosis (vertebra)	pottery	1 pin	2 different pins	2 similar pins	2 similar pins + 1 different pin	hair tie	clothes toggle (material)	comb (in bone if not specified)		knife	Others	needle/pin for shroud	
RBBA	316	C	-33	good	F	50-60	YES		P																									overlaps grave 323
RBBA	322	C	-30	poor	F	18-21	YES		P																									
RBBA	323	C	-40	fair	F	30-40	YES		P																		2					1 bone disc 1 bronze disc 1 shell 2 bronze beads 1 ceramic bead	overlapped by grave 322	
RBBA	324	C	-52	good	F	50-60	YES		P													T11												
RBBA	342#	C	-36	fair (modern ploughing)	F	>25	YES		P																									
RBBA	345#	C	-19	(modern ploughing)	n.d.	n.d.	YES		C																									
RBBA	353	C	-61	good	F	>50	YES		P																		2?	1 (amber)						overlaps grave 354
RBBA	358	C	-48	fair (modern trench)	F	25-35	YES		P																									
RBBA	540	C		fair	F	50-60	YES		P																									
	B	A		poor (few bones left)	F	n.d.	YES		P																									
	129	C	-46	good	F	>50	YES		P																									
	137	C	-57	good	F	n.d.	YES		P																									
	225	C	-45	good	F	20-25	YES		P																									prone deposition (hands tied on the back?)
	226	C	-54	good	F	30-40	YES		P																									

Olmo - burials info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)								Traumas		Grave goods								Notes					
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropologically defined)	age (years)	grave goods	height (cm) 1st= Sjoqvist method 2nd= Trotter & Gleber method	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	lumbar vertebra agensis	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	sopracondylar process	craniosystosis	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	fractures & contusions (vertebrae)	spondylosis (vertebra)	pottery	1 pin	2 different pins	2 similar pins	2 similar pins + 1 different pin	hair tie		clothes toggle (material)	comb (in bone if not specified)	knife	Others	needle/pin for shroud
	247	C	-50	good	F	mature	YES		C																						bone bead	overlapped by grave 241	
	264	C	-40	fair	F	50-60	YES		P																								
	271	C	-86	fair	F	n.d.	YES		P																							2	
	302	C	-31	poor (soil acidity)	F	adult	YES		C																								
	313	C	-24	good	F	20-30	YES		P																								
	317	C	-32	good	F	35-45	YES		P											fracture of the left coxal iliac crest												juvenile trauma (18-22 years old)	
	346	C	-55	good	F	n.d.	YES		P																								
	347	C	-80	fair (modern ploughing)	F	25-35	YES		P																								
	348	C	-38	poor (modern trench)	F	n.d.	YES		P																						1 shell 1 bronze stud		
	354	C	-50	poor (ancient trench)	F	35-45	YES		P																							overlapped by grave 353	
	361	C	-62	good	F	50-60	YES		P																								
	420	B	-97	poor (modern trench)	F	senior	YES		C																								
	441	B	-62	poor (looted in ancient times)	F	mature	YES		C																						2 (amber)	spiral bead	
	450	B	-73	poor (looted)	F	adult	looted		C																						1 (amber)		bronze oxidation on the left scapula
	453	B	-80	poor (looted)	F	adult	YES		P																								

relative chronology	ID	454#	B	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropologically defined)	age (years)	grave goods	height (cm) 1st= Sjøvold method 2nd= Trotter & Gleber method	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	Olmo - burials info								Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)								Traumas		Grave goods										Notes	one is a possible Povegliano type pin																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				

Tab. 5 – Rich adult female graves at Olmo (VR) (data from Salzani, 2005a; Pulcini, 2014).

Olmo - burials info										Grave goods										Notes
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropological)	sex (archaeological)	age (years)	grave goods	analysed by Pulcini or Corrain	pottery	1 pin	2 different pins	2 similar pins	2 similar pins + 1 different pin	hair tie	clothes toggle (material)	comb (bone if not specified)	knife	others	
MBA2	388	B	-56	good	F	F	5-7	YES	P							2 (amber)	2		1 spiral bead	
MBA3	118	C	-40	fair	n.d.	F	0.6-1	YES	P										1 bronze pendant	
MBA3	138	C	-40	good		F	±10-11	YES	P										1 bronze pendant	
MBA3	487	B	-47	good	n.d.	F	±8	YES	P											
MBA3	497	B	-60	fair (modern ploughing)	n.d.	F	±2-3	YES	P											
RBA	4	A	-135	good		F	±3.5-4	YES	P										1 bronze pendant 1 bronze ring	
RBA	105	C	-41	good	F	F	±15	YES	P						3					2
RBA	228	C	-48	poor	n.d.	F	±4-5	YES	P										2 bone discs	
RBA	236	C	-97	fair	F	F	±5-6	YES	P						2				1 bronze pendant	
RBA	242	C	-50	good	M	F	±8-10	YES	P										1 flint scraper	
RBA	243	C	-45	poor (soil acidity)	n.d.	F	±1-3	YES	P										2 bronze pendants 4 amber beads 1 bronze stud 5 bronze spiral beads	
RBA	355	C	-80	good	n.d.	F	±2-3	YES	P										1 bronze pendant	
RBA	292	C	-34	fair	n.d.	F	±3	YES	P						2					
RBA	307	C	-49	poor (soil acidity)	n.d.	F	inf I	YES	P							1 (bone) 1 (amber)			1 bronze pendant	
RBA	366	C	-41	fair	n.d.	F	±1	YES	P											
	5	C	-72	good		F	8-9	disturbed	P						?					bronze oxidation on bones=hair tie?
	44	C	-77	poor (looted)		F	±15	disturbed	P						?					bronze oxidation on bones=hair tie?
	66	C	-68	poor (soil acidity + modern ploughing)	n.d.	F	juv	YES	C											
	151	C	-30	destroyed (modern ploughing)	n.d.	F	inf I	YES	C											
	256#	C	-28	fair (modern ploughing)	n.d.	F	14-18	YES	P								2			
	265	C	-50	fair	M?	F	juv	YES	C						2					
	296	C	-40	fair	n.d.	F	±9	YES	P								bronze		2 spiral beads	
	365	C	-50	fair (modern trench)	n.d.	F	±2	YES	P										1 bronze pendant 4 amber beads 1 flint blade	
	400	B	-29	good	F	F	16-18	YES	P										1 bronze pendant 1 bronze hook	
	403	B	-77	good	n.d.	F	±2.5-3.5	YES	P											
	407	B	-45	poor (soil acidity)	n.d.	F	inf I	YES	C											

Tab. 6 – Rich female sub-adult graves at Olmo (VR) (data from Salzani, 2005a; Pulcini, 2014).

Fig. 38 is my attempt at reconstructing changes in burial distribution between MBA2 and MBA3 (1550-1300 BC) in sectors B and C (see location in Fig. 37A). My main purpose is to highlight the presence of sub-clusters and modifications over time in the groups already defined by Cupitò and Leonardi in 2005.

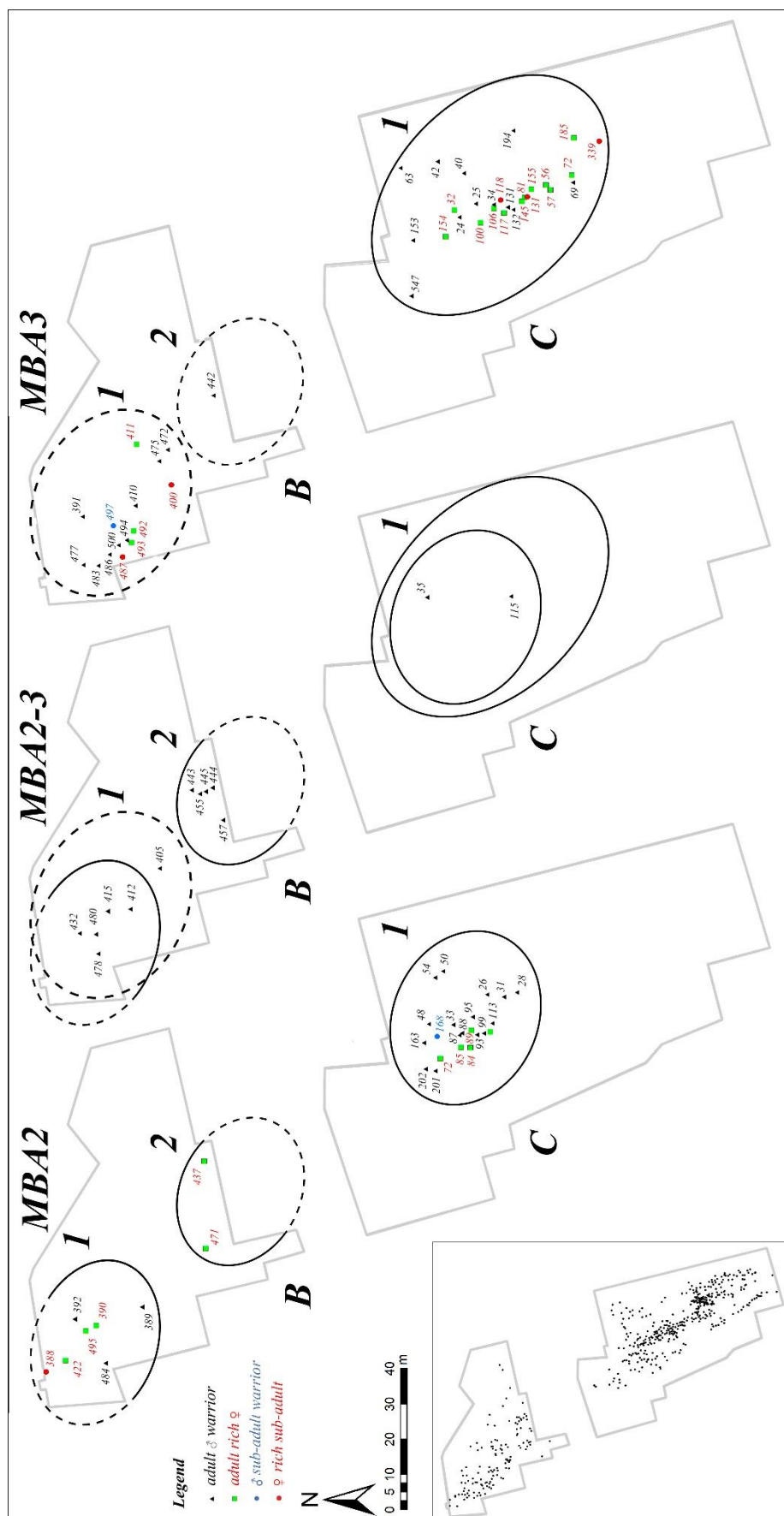


Fig. 38 – Plot of MBA2 and MBA3 (1550-1300 BC) graves at Olmo (VR), sectors B and C. GIS reworking of the data published in Salzani (2005a) and Pulcini (2014). The bottom left corner box shows all the graves found in sectors B and C.

According to Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: 143, 151), these clusters are high-status enlarged families, conic clans, where rank is manifested through the celebration of both warriors and wealthy female individuals. Disabled individuals bearing weapons (e.g. grave 410, see Fig. 38, MBA3, sector B1) may attest the transmission of warrior rank and power by inheritance at least from the MBA3 (= 1450-1300 BC; Cupitò and Leonardi, 2005: 143). Rank may here be defined *sensu* Service (1962: 155) as a peculiarity of chiefdom arrangements where socio-political inequality pervades the community and is attributed according to genealogical nearness to the chief. According to Gilman (1981: 1), evidence for hereditary elites is marked in Bronze Age Europe by rich sub-adult graves and an increase in rich female burials suggesting that female individuals could not attain status on their own merits.

It is possible to hypothesise the presence of a hereditary elite at Olmo thanks to epigenetic asymptomatic markers (i.e. wormian bones, frontal suture, vertebrae supranumerari, lombar vertebra agenesis, sternum fusion defects, olecranon foramen, supracondylar process, craniosynostosis, spina bifida occulta and osteoma; Pulcini, 2014: 72). They mainly characterise high-status figures, suggesting blood ties between them and may also indicate endogamy. Scholarship (e.g. Cupitò and Leonardi, 2005) generally places importance on the role played by men in reconstructing prehistoric socio-political arrangements. I would like to stress the possibility that at Olmo women might also have been equally important at the socio-political level. Rich female grave goods are found throughout the life of the cemetery, even in the RBA (1300-1150 BC) when there was an Urnfield taboo on the deposition of weapons in graves (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2005: 131) which attests to the importance of these figures among the community. Moreover, epigenetic markers suggest that their high-status role was linked to descent (see discussion above) rather than the man they married. However, strontium and oxygen isotopes analyses suggest that women were more mobile than men in this particular period and area (Cavazzuti *et al.*, 2019a, b), which excludes the hypothesis of a matrilineal society (*sensu* Service, 1962: 30-33) in MBA-RBA (1700-1150 BC) northern Italy.

Over the whole time span considered (c. 400 years), Olmo has a total of 155 graves showing at least one of the 10 epigenetic asymptomatic markers mentioned above, but never more than three in a single individual (Tab. 7A, B). Ninety-two of them have grave goods (Tab. 7A). Of these, 39 are warriors while 46 are wealthy female adult individuals; the rest (7) are mainly individuals possessing only poor grave goods (i.e. pottery). It is very important to stress that genetic markers can be found throughout the whole period of use of the cemetery. Furthermore, Pulcini's (2014: 72) hypothesis that they mark blood ties is supported by limited DNA analysis

by Obinu and colleagues (2005: 504) who suggest a genetic kinship tie at least between grave 493 (an adult female rich grave) and grave 475 (an adult male warrior). Both are dated to MBA3 (1450-1300 BC) and also characterised by an epigenetic marker: wormian bones.

The genetic evidence strongly supports the idea that there was a hereditary elite at Olmo, as suggested by Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: 151), and that high-status rank and power seem to belong to a specific lineage. It is fascinating that the same epigenetic markers are shared by at least two different clusters, B and C. Are they different branches descending from the same ancestor? It is hard to say with certainty but quite possible according to the data.

As is to be expected in chiefdom contexts, physical skills are not key-features for defining high-status socio-political position in the community. Warriors at Olmo are not the tallest, and possibly not the strongest, in contrast to ‘Big-Man’ societies (*sensu* Sahlins, 1963). Pulcini (2014: 64) calculates that the average height of male adults is around 166.7cm (Sjøvold method) or 168.8cm (Trotter and Gleser method, white male). On the basis of the data in our possession the male in grave 43 is the tallest civilian, 188.95cm (Sjøvold method) or 187.07cm (Trotter and Gleser method, white male) in height, while the tallest warrior is the man buried in grave 63, 178.11cm (Sjøvold method) or 177.55cm (Trotter and Gleser method, white male) in height (Pulcini, 2014: 64). The shortest warrior is buried in grave 483, who is (only) 157.51cm (Sjøvold method) or 159.46cm (Trotter and Gleser method, white male) in height (Pulcini, 2014: 64).

Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: 147) stated that warrior’s weapons assemblage seems not to be age driven and suggested the presence of four combinations of weapons: a) sword, b) sword and helmet, c) sword and dirk, d) sword, dirk and helmet (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2005: 146-147). I agree with Cupitò and Leonardi’s (2005: 147) argument since no correlation between age and sword type emerges from Tab. 8. Swords are defined as being more than 0.50m in length, while dirks are less than 0.23m in length (Tab. 8). The presence of (leather?) helmets has been suggested on the grounds of the placing of bronze studs near the head of 21 warriors (Fig. 39, grave 31), in one case substituted by a leather gorget, suggested by bronze studs on the chest of the individual buried in grave 33 (see Fig. 39) (Salzani 1997a; Cupitò and Leonardi, 2005: 147).

Burials general info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)								Infections				Traumas							Notes	
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropological)	age (years)	grave goods	analysed by Pulcini or Corrain	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	lombar vertebra agnesis	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	sopracondylar process	craniostylosis	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	tuberculosis	peritonitis	meningitis (lethal)	respiratory infections (not all data)	fractures & contusions	spondylosis (vertebrae)	accidental fractures	metal inflicted traumas	blunt object traumas	wartlike hypophysis traumas		cranial surgery traumas
	00	C		destroyed in 1990	F	25-35	NO	P																						
	8		-105	good	M	n.d.	NO	P																						overlapping grave 12
	13		-71	good	F	n.d.	NO	P																						
	14		-143	poor	F	n.d.	NO	P																						
MBA2-3	20	B	-94	fair (modern ploughing)	F	20-25	NO	P																						
	23		-92	good	M	n.d.	NO	P																						
																														top-bottom, right-left perimortal wounds
MBA2-3	38	C	-60	fair (modern trench)	M	25-35	NO	P																		skull and lombar vertebra stab wounds				
	43	C	-54	good	M	35-45	NO	P																						
	52	C		poor (modern trench)	M	25-35	NO	P																						
	53	C	-80	good	M	18-21	NO	P																						
	59A	C	-94	good	M	35-45	NO	P																						
	65A	C	-45	good	F	50-60	NO	P																						
	70	C	-67	fair (modern ploughing)	M	n.d.	NO	P																						
	73	C	-69	fair (modern ploughing)	F	20-25	NO	P																						
	79	C		destroyed (modern trench)	M	30-40	NO	P																						affected by acute sinusitis
MBA2-3?	80	C	-28	fair (modern ploughing)	M	40-50	NO	P																						
	98	C	-75	good	F	20-25	NO	P																						
	104	C	-50	good	F	35-45	NO	P																						
	109	C	-42	good	M	40-50	NO	P																						
	121	C	-99	fair	M	35-45	NO	P																						

Burials general info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)								Infections				Traumas							Notes		
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropological)	age (years)	grave goods	analysed by Pulcinì or Corrain	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	lomber vertebra agenesis	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	sacrocondylar process	craniostylosis	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	tuberculosis	perostitis	meningitis (lethal)	respiratory infections (not all data)	fractures & contusions	spondylosis (vertebrae)	accidental fractures	metal inflicted traumas	blunt object traumas	wartare hypothesis traumas		cranial surgery traumas	
	127	C	-60	good	M	>50	NO	P																							
	133	C	-39	destroyed (modern ploughing)	n.d.	infI	NO	C																							
	139	C	-45	good	M	senior	NO	C																						overlapped by grave 155	
	142	C	-61	good	M	40-50	NO	P															trocar fracture							juvenile debilitating trauma (biomechanical stress or horse-riding); overlaps grave 152	
MBA2-3?	148	C	-57	good	M	adult	NO	C																							
	156	C	-47	good	n.d.	6-8	NO	P																							
	159	C	-45	good (modern trench)	F	40-50	NO	P																							
	173	C	-50	good	M	25-35	NO	P																							
	177	C	-81	fair	M	35-45	NO	P																		bone arrow in left eye					perimortal
	180	C	-37	poor (modern ploughing)	F	adult	NO	C																							
	188	C	-56	poor	F	35-45	NO	P																						partially overlapped by grave 182	
	192	C	-77	fair	F	50-60	YES	P																							
	200	C	-34	good	F	50-60	NO	P																							
	213	C	-43	fair	M	adult	NO	P																							
	219	C	-52	fair	F	50-60	NO	P																							
	224	C	-54	good	F	>50	NO	P																							
MBA2-3	246	C	-50	fair (modern trench)	M	25-30	NO	P																				chin fracture			wound led slowly to death

Burials general info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)							Infections				Traumas							Notes		
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	sex (anthropological)	age (years)	grave goods	analysed by Pulcini or Corrain	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	lombar vertebra agenesis	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	sopracondylar process	craniostylosis	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	tuberculosis	peritonitis	meningitis (lethal)	respiratory infections (not all data)	fractures & contusions	spondylitis (vertebrae)	accidental fractures	metal inflicted traumas	blunt object traumas		warfare hypothesis traumas	cranial surgery traumas
	249	C	-50	good	F	adult	NO	C																						overlapped grave 250
	285	C	-30	fair	F	40-50	NO	P																						
RBA	298	C	-69	good	M	>55	NO	P																						
RBA?	311	C	-38	fair	F	25-35	NO	P																L4						
	326	C	-35	good	M	50-60	NO	P																						
	360	C	-51	good	F	45-55	NO	P																						
	379	C	-66	good	M	18-21	NO	P																						
	419	B	-118	only skull	M	45-55	NO	P																						
	421	B	-113	good	M	30-35	NO	P																						
MBA2-3?	423	B	-40	(modern trench)	M	25-35	NO	P																						
MBA2-3	424	B	-45	good	F	20-25	NO	P																						
	426	B	-45	fair	M	±50	NO	P																						
	428	B	-90	good	M	18-21	NO	P																						
MBA2-3?	436	B	-86	good	M	20-25	NO	P																						
MBA2-3	438	B	-90	good	M	50-60	NO	P																						
	439	B	-100	good	F	senior	NO	C																						parrying wound
MBA2-3	458	B	-112	good	M	50-60	NO	P																						parrying wound
	459A	B	-90	good	F	25-35	NO	P																						
	461	B	-146	good	M	45-55	NO	P																						
MBA2-3	463	B	-70	poor	M	50-60	NO	P																						3 arrow wounds (skull and pelvis)
	473#	B	-27		n.d.	18-25	NO	P																						
	474	B	-80	good	F	adult	NO	C																						
	476	B	-57	good	M	>55	NO	P																						
	479	B	-64	(modern trench)	M	18-21	NO	P																						
	485	B	-90	good	M	juv	NO	C																						
	545				F	45-55	NO	P																						

Tab. 7B – Olmo (VR), burials without grave goods but sharing genetic markers with elite (data from Salzani, 2005a; Pulcini, 2014).

Burials info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)				Articular pathologies			Traumas			Swords				Dirks			Others		Notes			
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	gender (anthropological)	age (years)	average age (years)	height (Corrain, cm)	grave goods	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wormian bones	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	Schmör's hernia (not all data)	Scheuermann's syndrome	sacroiliitis	metal inflicted traumas	warfare traumas	cranic surgery traumas	type	length to (cm)	blade length (cm)	weight (g)	type	length tot (cm)	blade length (cm)		pottery		
MBA2 26	C	-54	fair (modern ploughing)	M	25-35	30	165.4	YES	P													Boiu Ila/ Castions di Strada	73.5	67.5	488.51					bronze studs (location)		
MBA2 31	C	-105	good	M	30-40	35	162.3	NO	P											1 bronze arrow behind left humerus			Boiu Ib	69	63	569.69				22 (head)		
MBA2 33	C	-72	good	M	30-40	35	168.3	YES	P													Boiu Ila/ Castions di Strada	82	76	660.36	Pieve S. Giacomo var. A	11	10	8 (chest)			
MBA2 48	C	-94	good	M	20-30	25	161.3	YES	P													Boiu Ia/ Wildon	65.5	62	373.92							
MBA2 389	B	-83	fair (modern trench)	M	35-45	40	162.7	YES	P													Boiu Ib	57.2	50	263.63							
MBA2 54	C	-110	good	M	35-45	40	163.8	YES	P											4 arrow wounds on the skull			Boiu Ib	55	51	334.29						survived to surgery
MBA2 88	C	-78	good	M	35-45	40	162.8	YES	P													Boiu Ib	66.6	61	416.75	S. Ambrogio var. D	7.5	6.0			osteoid osteoma; shares grave with 87	
MBA2 93	C	-83	fair	M	20-30	25	160.7	YES	P													Boiu Ib	45	39	353.92							
MBA2 95	C	-61	good	M	senior	45	157.1	YES	P											skull			Boiu Ila/ Castions di Strada	78.8	71	512.72						survived to injury
MBA2 99	C	-71	good	M	30-40	35	159.6	YES	P													Boiu Ib (cropped)	29.8	25	158.31					4 (head)	shares grave with 101	
MBA2 163	C	-86	good	M	30-40	35	162.7	YES	P													Boiu Ia/ Wildon	53.2	49	256.63					7 (head)		

Burials info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)				Articular pathologies		Traumas			Swords				Dirks			Others		Notes				
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	gender (anthropological)	age (years)	average age (years)	height (Corrain, cm)	grave goods	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wornian bones	sternum fusion defects	olecranon foramen	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	Schmör's hernia (not all data)	Scheuermann's syndrome	sacroiliitis	metal inflicted traumas	warfare traumas	cranial surgery traumas	type	length to (cm)	blade length (cm)	weight (g)	type	length tot (cm)		blade length (cm)	pottery		
MBA2	201	C	-92	good	M	30-40	35	163.3	YES	P												Boiu Ila/ Castions di Strada	76	71	574.32				12 (head)	bronze studs (location)		
MBA2	50	C	-116	good	M	40-50	45	159.4	YES	P												Sauerbrunn	55.5	53	356.58						survived to surgery	
MBA2	87	C	-78	good	M	35-45	40	167.8	YES	P										back stabbed (T11)			Sombor	42.7	35.5	323.25						perimortal wound; shares grave with 88
MBA2	168	C	-85	fair (modern trench)	M	15-17	16	165.9	YES	P										left scapula wound							Monte Castellaccio	23	21			pathologies: genetic origin or linked to horse riding;
MBA2	113	C	-95	good	M	20-30	25	168.2	YES	P												Bigarello	61	57	502.34						oblique top-bottom perimortal wound	
MBA2	28	C	-121	fair	M	35-45	40	168.8	YES	P												Bigarello	57.6	54	359.63						ostecoid osteoma	
MBA2	202	C	-134	good	M	30-35	32.5	162.8	YES	P												Bigarello	62	58	403.2							
MBA2	392	B	-34	good	M	40-50	45	163.0	YES	P												Nehren	67	63	508.51					16 (head)	anterior collapse of the spine	
MBA2	484	B	-97	good	M	40-50	45	166.5	YES	P												Bigarello	62	57	484.2							

Burials info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)					Malnutrition markers		Infections		Traumas		Grave goods							Notes			
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	gender (anthropological)	age (years)	height (cm) 1st= Sjøvold method 2nd= Trotter & Gleber method	height (cm) Corrain	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	olecranon foramen	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	cribra orbitalia (not all data)	cribra cranii (not all data)	tuberculosis	respiratory infections (not all data)	accidental fractures	metal inflicted traumas	sword (type)	sword length (cm)	sword weight (g)	dirk (type)	dirk length (cm)	bronze studs (location)		others	pottery	
MBA3 24	C	-47	fair (modern trench)	M	40-50			165.9 P														Nogara	66.5	445.33	S. Agata	11.9	2 (head)		2		
MBA3 25	C	-80	good	M	45-55			160.9 P														Chiese	70.0	461.72			3 (head)	flint			
MBA3 34	C	-133	good	M	30-40			160.9 P														Asenkofen	80.8	545.52			15 (head)				
MBA3 40	C	-78	good	M	>60			157.9 P														Boiu IIB/Téor	72.8	580.99			6 (head)				
MBA3 42	C	-126	good	M	40-50			158.9 P														blade with two rivet-holes	56.7	442.49							
MBA3 63	C	-69	good	M	35-45		178.11 177.55	158.9 P														Nogara	66.7	473.18							
MBA3 131	C	-98	good	M	35-45			164.3 P														Boiu IIB/Téor	66.0	474.61	S. Agata	16.1	7 (feet)	ox humerus			
MBA3 153	C	-98	good	M	25-30			167.1 P														Boiu IIB/Téor	74.4	452.46	Capurso var. A	12.2	3 (head)	flint			
MBA3 194	C	-43	good	M	40-50			161.8 P														blade with eight rivet-holes	67.0	476.24	Bacino Marina	16.9	28 (head)				
MBA3 391	B	-15	fair	M	30-40			158.7 P														Chiese	61.0	414.1							
MBA3 410	B	-94	good	M	45-55			165.3 P										birth trauma				Asenkofen/Gusen	69.0	612.61			5 (head)			disabled individual	
MBA3 442	B	-60	fair	M	35-45			160.2 P										?				Boiu IIB/Téor	62.4	415.87						recovered from possible tuberculosis	
MBA3 472	B	-81	good	M	30-40			168.2 P														Nogara	70.0	484.67						on horse	
MBA3 475	B	-74	good	M	35-45			174.5 P														2 wounds (left leg and arm)	Sauerbrunn	63.2	363.87			11 (head)			when first hit, then parrying wound on arm

Burials info										Epigenetic markers (asymptomatic)				Malnutrition markers		Infections		Traumas		Grave goods								Notes			
relative chronology	ID	sector	grave depth from ground level (cm)	preservation (cause/s)	gender (anthropological)	age (years)	height (cm) 1st= Sjøvold method 2nd= Trotter & Gleber method	height (cm) Corrain	analysed by (Pulcini or Corrain)	wormian bones	frontal suture	vertebrae supranumerari	olecranon foramen	spina bifida occulta	osteoma	cribra orbitalia (not all data)	cribra cranii (not all data)	tuberculosis	respiratory infections (not all data)	accidental fractures	metal inflicted traumas	sword (type)	sword length (cm)	sword weight (g)	dirk (type)	dirk length (cm)	bronze studs (location)		others	pottery	
MBA3 477 B		-82 B	good		M	35-45		167.1	P													Olmo	65.0	581.24				25 small nails (sword's hilt)			
MBA3 483 B		-86 B	good		M	30-40	157.51 159.46	165.1	P													Treviso	61.8	405.78			10 (head)				
MBA3 486 B		-91 B	good		M	35-45		168.8	P													Boiu Ila or IIb	74.0	556.16	Capurso var. B	12.4 (head)	12 (head)				
MBA3 494 B		-98 B	good		M	40-50		167.6	P													Sacile	75.0	631.17	Capurso var. B						
MBA3 500 B		-76 B	good		M	35-45		163.7	P													Chiese	82.0	851.01	Capurso var. B						skull detached from the body in a second pit
MBA3 547 C		n.d. n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	M	35-45		n.d.	P													n.d.	n.d.	n.d.				20 (head)			
MBA3 69 C		-72 fair	fair		M	45-55		161.8	P																			19 (head)			
MBA3 132 C		-98 B	good		M	35-45		167.7	P																						

Tab. 8 – Olmo (VR), warrior graves with detailed information on associated weapons (data from Salzani, 2005a; Pulcini, 2014).

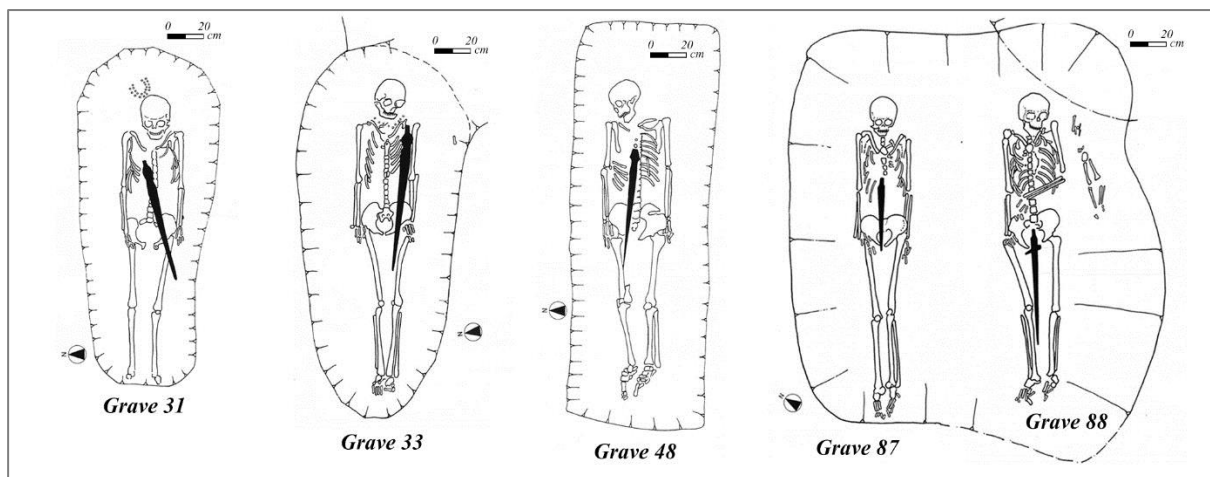
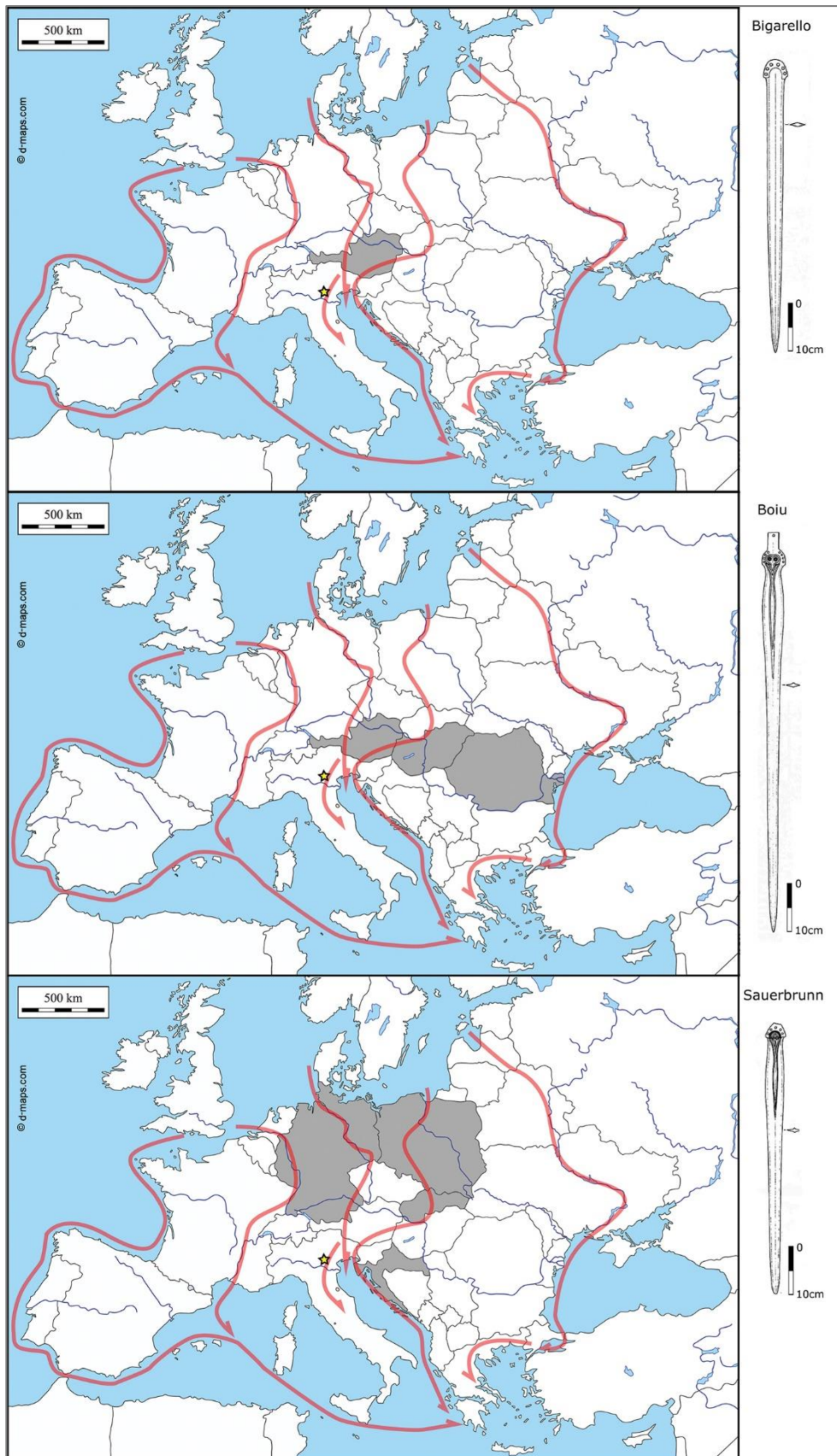


Fig. 39 – Sword position at Olmo (VR) (after Salzani, 2005a: figs 251, 254, 281, 317).

Shields might have been a different matter but only in (at least) two cases. The burial in grave 88 (Fig. 39, right) has his left arm bent as if he is carrying a shield. The possible presence of a shield in this burial might have led to the pattern of depositing weapons between warriors' legs, which seems like a phallic symbol. In this way, the weapons were not to be covered by the shield so that the shield should have been no more than 20-30cm in radius. Another, similar case, might have been grave 472 (see Salzani, 2005a: 91, fig. 170).

Swords at Olmo have parallels with areas far beyond the Italian borders, mainly with central-eastern and northern Europe; areas involved in the Amber Route(s) (de Navarro, 1925; Fig. 40). Drawing on archaeological and ethnographic case-studies, I would like to emphasise and explain the possible link between them. Kristiansen and Larsson (2005: 205) postulate that there is a large body of evidence in MBA (1700-1300 BC) northern and southern Europe – from Scandinavia to, possibly, the Aegean – demonstrating “the movement of warrior chiefs and artisans (smiths)” across foreign lands to “learn new skills of metallurgy and woodworking” (Kristiansen and Larsson, 2005: 206) and transmit elite culture and its symbols by establishing long term relationships with the locals through marriage alliances (Kristiansen and Larsson, 2005: 205). Kristiansen and Larsson (2005: 200) employed rock art, imported swords and axes as the basis for this statement. According to them, artisans and warriors spent years abroad in order to become skilled in warfare and craftsmanship, returning to their homelands with exotic goods, among which were swords (Kristiansen and Larsson, 2005: 207), which I believe might have been also the case of some of the warriors at Olmo.



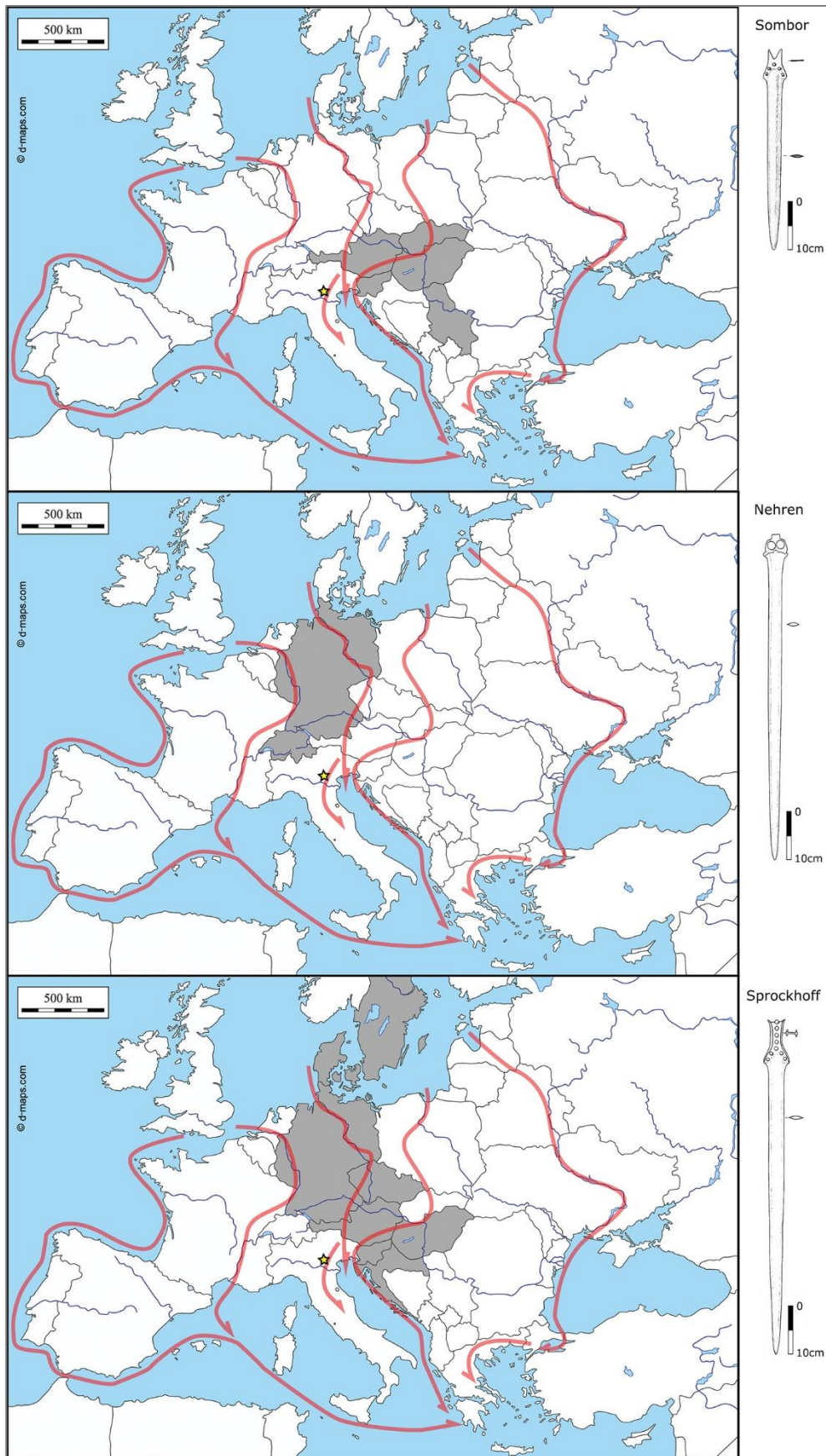


Fig. 40 – Amber Routes, displayed as red arrows, superimposed on distribution area of the swords found at Olmo (VR), in grey. The yellow star marks Olmo (Amber Routes after de Navarro, 1925: map 1;

Harding, 2013: fig. 20.2; swords drawings after Salzani, 2005a: plate 5, grave 33; plate 7, grave 50; plate 10, grave 87; plate 13, grave 113; plate 31, grave 392; plate 38, grave 477; swords distribution area after de Marinis and Salzani, 2005). Base map from d-maps.com.

From an ethnographic point of view, Helms (1988: 148) links “knowledge, power and foreign affairs”. To explain the Olmo funerary record I shall refer to the Trobriands, inhabitants of the Trobriand Islands, and their involvement in Kula trade consisting of a series of periodical overseas expeditions where exchange involved reciprocity (Malinowski, 1922: 70, 79). According to Malinowski (1922: 49), Trobriand chiefs’ power is based on wealth: higher rank individuals are enabled to develop partnerships with hundreds of Kula partners (Malinowski, 1922: 70) through reciprocity of exchange; more goods means more partners, so more power. An exchanged good – mainly arm-shells (*mwali*) and necklaces (*soulava*) (Malinowski, 1922: 66), in fact, stays a short time in the hands of the receiver who has to exchange it again with a different partner to continue to be part of the Kula exchange network (Malinowski, 1922: 62). According to Malinowski (1922: 62, 63), the Kula Ring had a dual purpose: create socio-economic relationships and facilitate ordinary trade in order to procure indispensable goods.

Recent isotope studies of Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (i.e. 1600-700 BC) European swords seem to suggest the importance, among others, of north-east Italian copper ore as raw material for the production of Scandinavian weapons (Ling et al, 2013, 2014, 2019; Melheim *et al.*, 2018). Ling and colleagues (2013, 2014, 2019) and Melheim and colleagues (2018) suggested that the movement of the copper as either raw material or finished goods followed both maritime and land networks similar to those followed by Baltic amber to reach the Mediterranean area (see de Navarro, 1925).

According to the data published by Ling and colleagues (2019), the importance of copper coming from north-eastern Italian ores increases over time between 1600 and 1100 BC. In the earliest phase, 1600-1500 BC, different copper mining districts were involved in an exchange network crossing Europe between the Mediterranean and the Baltic Seas (i.e. Wales, Austrian Alps, Slovakian Ore Mountains, South Spain, Cyprus) along with the Italian sources. Subsequently, between 1500 and 1100 BC, Italian eastern Alps ores seem to be the most important copper source in the exchange network.

The comparison between the Kula network and the Bronze Age Amber Route(s) presented above allows me to suggest that personal fame was directly linked to successful trading contacts

in foreign contexts. I may then speculate that the presence of foreign swords at Olmo is evidence of successful contacts with central-eastern (maybe also northern) European communities in order to acquire access to prestigious goods, i.e. amber. This may involve elites travelling in foreign areas or, as an alternative hypothesis, the presence of initiation journeys, in which the future ruling class at Olmo had to travel in order to build/keep/renew alliances with elite trading counterparts in central-eastern Europe. Evidence of a successful initiation might have been the bearing of an exotic sword, acquired during the journey. On the basis of the osteoarchaeological data it is possible to suggest that warriors returned from this journey aged 20 years old since this was the age of the youngest anthropologically male warrior found at Olmo with a sword (e.g. grave 113, see Tab. 4). This pattern might also find support in the study by Cavazzuti and colleagues (2019a, b) on strontium and oxygen isotopes ratios in northern Italy Bronze Age (i.e. 1900-1100 BC) burials. Their study shows that mobility is recorded from at least the MBA (1700-1300 BC) and the higher rate of female mobility may support the idea of marriage alliances, one of the possible outcomes of chiefs' journeys according to Kristiansen and Larsson (2005: 205).

At Olmo, at least 63 burials share an epigenetic marker with the elite group but were buried with no grave goods. These graves are all intact, not disturbed or looted. There may be three possible explanations for this pattern:

- a) these were cadet branches of the ruling clan, not entitled to inherit rank and the power (see for example the story of Esau and Jacob, Genesis 25, 25-34 and 27, 1-40). This would also allow us to hypothesise polygamy at Olmo;
- b) these were illegitimate sons and daughters, conceived outside marriage (see the story of Abraham, Hagar and Ismael, Genesis 16 and 21).
- c) these were individuals incapable of procreating and so of giving heirs to the ruling clan (and to the community). They, therefore, did not deserve to be buried with their personal belongings. Contemporary practice in the village of Agios Nikolaos, Lakonia – southern Greece, offers a good ethnographic comparison for this (pers. comm. Sarantos Minopetrou, 4 October 2018).

Explanations a) and b) at least guarantee the presence of a workforce. The literature (Sahlins, 1963; Service, 1962; Earle, 1997) suggests that in chiefdoms, ruling elites encourage the maximisation of production in order to accumulate surplus and so maintain their position of wealth and power (Gilman, 1981: 4). The osteoarchaeological evidence seems to support this

argument. Pulcini (2014: 157) was able to detect pathologies related to biomechanical stresses on 239 out of an observable sample of 249 individuals (96%). Her analysis considered mainly adults, with only six sub-adults sampled (Pulcini, 2014: fig. 115).

Interestingly, Pulcini (2014: fig. 115) also reports the presence of biomechanical stresses on elite individuals, both male and female. Unfortunately, Pulcini (2014) does not provide access to her database. My discussion will, therefore, rely on the limited information provided. Pulcini (2014: 157-184) generally explains stresses to the upper and lower limbs and pelvis as the outcome of intense and strenuous activities performed daily, mainly due to labour in the fields. This hypothesis seems also to be supported by paleoenvironmental data from the nearby site of Fondo Paviani (VR) (see Fig. 43, site 28) where, between MBA and RBA (1700-1150 BC), *Cerealia* are attested at around 5% in the pollen diagram published by Dal Corso (2018: fig. 17). This may also be seen as evidence for the maximisation of production, a condition listed by Gilman (1981: 4) for the emergence and development of chiefdoms. According to Pulcini (2014: 157-184), upper limb stresses might also be explained by the use of weapons such as spear and bow, whereas horse riding might be an alternative explanation for stresses found in the lower limbs and the pelvis.

The osteoarchaeological analysis also provides support for the view that the Bronze Age was a period of endemic warfare as suggested by Harding (2007: 83). Pulcini (2014: 135-42) found at least 11 burials at Olmo with evidence for bone traumas inflicted by sharp objects (graves 88, 87, 168, 405 and 475) or interpreted as caused by arrows (graves 177, 31, 207, 50, 95 and 54). These graves contain male individuals and, except for the burial in grave 177, are all characterised as warriors. The male in grave 177 died at the age of 35-45 years old because an arrow with a bone head hit his left eye. I believe this may have been a hunting accident for two reasons: this is the only civilian death caused by an arrow and because the other two arrows found related to traumas, and linked to the death of warriors, are in bronze (graves 207 and 31, Pulcini, 2014: 138).

Despite that, traumas testify violence and the need for protection for the community. We might expect other victims of violence at Olmo that had no bones outcome, and so were osteoarchaeologically invisible. Vanzetti (2010: 248) suggested at least 10 warriors per generation at Olmo on the basis of the total number of warriors graves found. Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: 151) suggested the absence of a military organisation at MBA (1550-1300 BC) Olmo in comparison with the more complex and hierarchical military structure attested in the

RBA (1300-1150 BC) which was based on limited numbers of sword bearers and a widespread presence of spear bearers. This pattern links MBA (1550-1300 BC) Olmo to Service's (1962: 115) "tribal warfare" with ambush and hit-and-run raids, but where a proper hierarchical military force is yet to be organised. Furthermore, in economic terms, the limited number of individuals involved is not able to take over new territories at the expense of other communities.

I believe bronze arrow traumas (graves 207 and 31, Pulcini, 2014: 138) indirectly allow us to argue that other people might have participated in combat, perhaps as backup groups (i.e. bowmen and/or spear bearers also indicated by biomechanical stresses). Unfortunately, no bows or spearheads were found in graves at Olmo. Arguing against their former hypothesis (see above), Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: note 21) suggested that spears were already used in northern Italy in the MBA on the basis of the hoards of Cascina Ranza (MBA1, 1700-1550 BC) and Oggiono Ello (MBA3, 1450-1300 BC) (Carancini and Peroni, 1999: tab. 9), but that they were tabooed in burials. If this statement is correct, it might be possible to suggest that spear bearers were those who were buried with only a helmet and/or a gorget at Olmo where the absence of the spear might be linked to this taboo. This hypothesis points towards a completely different picture, with the emergence of hierarchically well-defined groups of warriors already during the MBA (1550-1300 BC) at Olmo, those bearing swords and those bearing spears and bows(?).

Last, but no less important, are blunt object traumas. Pulcini (2014: 135-136) highlighted three cases: graves 246, 438 and 458, all dated to MBA2-3 (1550-1300 BC) and without grave goods (Pulcini, 2014: 135-136). Pulcini (2014: 136) suggested that a broken left arm, identified in graves 438 and 458, was probably the outcome of a parrying wound (Pulcini, 2014: 136) and not a big issue to overcome for the medical knowledge of the time (Pulcini, 2014: 120-121). It is, however, possible that Pulcini mistakenly attributes a left broken arm to grave 438. In the main publication of 2005, the illustration and the description of this grave clearly show that the left radius and ulna were missing (Salzani, 2005a: 74). This might be explained by taphonomy or, fascinatingly, as the result of combat. The individual buried in grave 246, on the other hand, suffered from a broken chin which eventually led to death. Interestingly, the burials in graves 246 and 458 share the same genetic markers with the ruling clan(s). I suggest two possible explanations for this pattern:

- a) they belonged to cadet branches of the clan and might possibly have acted as spear- or bow-men support to the warriors armed with swords. The fractures might be explained

as a blow from the shaft of the spear. This hypothesis also works for illegitimate sons of the ruling clan, even if I believe warriorhood was reserved to the senior (sword) or cadet (spear and bow) branches of the elite;

- b) another possibility is episodes of dissent against the ruling class which led to suppression and punishment. I believe capital punishment was generally avoided because it could have caused dissent, increase in violence and, above all, a reduction in the workforce.

However, in the case of hypothesis b) the presence of these individuals in the same cemetery with the elite seems odd: it appears to be a challenge to the elite's power. Nevertheless, I believe it can also be seen in other terms. The elite allowed these individuals to be buried in their cemetery to give a message to the community as a whole, to make them the symbol of their coercive power, a power not to be challenged. In order to mark their status, dissenters were possibly buried at the very edge of the core area characterised by warriors and rich female individuals (Fig. 41).

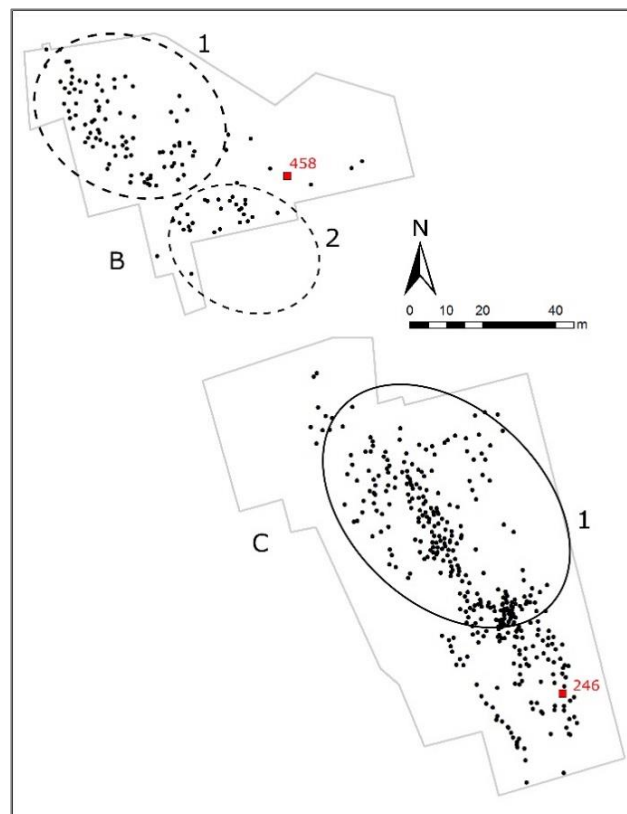


Fig. 41 – Olmo (VR), location of supposed dissenters (graves 246 and 458) in comparison with the MBA2-3 (1550-1300 BC) elite groups, defined by circles (see Fig. 38). GIS reworking of the data published in Salzani (2005a) and Pulcini (2014).

The Olmo cemetery has a different topographic pattern in the RBA (1300-1150 BC) which might indicate a different socio-political scenario (Fig. 42). Warrior graves disappear from the archaeological record in accordance with the Urnfield taboo (Vanzetti, 2010: 248); with a single exception, grave 41. Furthermore, sector B seems abandoned from this phase while another group emerges in sector C, named C2, characterised by adult and sub-adult rich female graves. Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: 151) saw this new pattern as the transition between an organisation of the community in conic clans to an arrangement dominated by an aristocratic society based on descent and client-patron relations (i.e. the so-called “*società gentilizio-clientelare*” *sensu* Peroni, 1978: 166) where power is only in the hands of clan C.

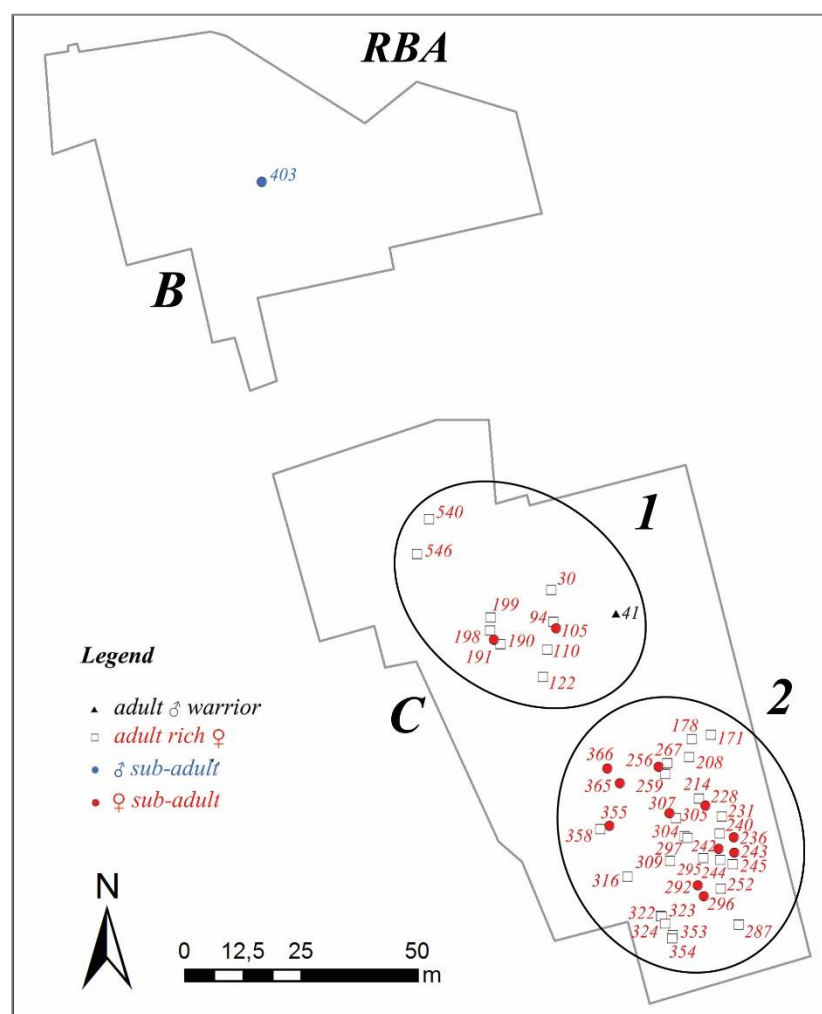


Fig. 42 – Plot of the RBA (1300-1150 BC) graves at Olmo (VR). GIS reworking of the data published in Salzani (2005a) and Pulcini (2014).

I do not agree, at least in part, with this statement. At RBA (1300-1150 BC) Olmo, the loss of political influence (maybe power?) by clan B is, I believe, counterbalanced by the emergence of another clan, C2, which replaced B in the local socio-political scenario. Even Cupitò and

Leonardi (2005: 151) stated how C2 strongly differs from C1 in the way that rank and wealth are exhibited, with no warriors but very rich female grave goods. For this reason, I cannot agree with Cupitò and Leonardi's (2005: 151) hypothesis that power was vested in group C as a sole socio-political entity since group C1 and C2 might be the expression of two different socio-political units. Moreover, the label "*società gentilizio-clientelare pre-urbana*" (i.e. pre-urban aristocratic society based on descent and client-patron relations) was coined by Negroni Catacchio and Peroni (1979: 36) to define socio-political scenarios after the Urnfield phase, the latter defined as "society with tribal or territorial arrangement" (Negroni Catacchio and Peroni, 1979: 34, my translation). According to Negroni Catacchio and Peroni (1979: 36), the *società gentilizio-clientelare pre-urbana* is characterised by the widespread presence of weapons among the community and the introduction of a military organisation. This led to the establishment of a hierarchical arrangement grounded on differentiated weapons and wealth grades which distinguished "*principes*" (transl. princes) from "commoners" (Negroni Catacchio and Peroni, 1979: 36-37).

However, in discussing the paper by Negroni Catacchio and Peroni (1979), Colonna (1979: 44) had already pointed out that the use of the label *società gentilizio-clientelare* was problematic for a so early phase. Scholars, in fact, tend to use it when talking about the socio-political arrangements in place in Italy from the 8th cent. BC, when it is associated with quite different archaeological evidence compared to the phase analysed by Catacchio Negroni and Peroni (1979). Following Colonna's (1979: 44) arguments, I refrain from using this label. Moreover, it is my opinion that to understand RBA (1300-1150 BC) Olmo, attention should be shifted towards to the hoard of Pila del Brancon (VR), generally dated to the RBA2-FBA1 (c. 1200-1100 BC), found just 1.5km SSE of Olmo along the course of the Tartaro river (Salzani, 1994: 83) (Fig. 43, site 13).

According to its discoverer, Mauro Campagnolo (pers. comm., 3 October 2018), the hoard was found in an area of peat bog and the objects were deposited on a number of occasions and had not "been simultaneously deposited in the river water" as suggested by Bietti Sestieri and colleagues (2013: 155). Bietti Sestieri and colleagues (2013: 158) also suggested that the hoard was deposited in a single container on the basis of the small area of distribution of the finds, while Salzani (1998a: 69) stated that no evidence for a container was found during the excavation at Pila del Brancon.

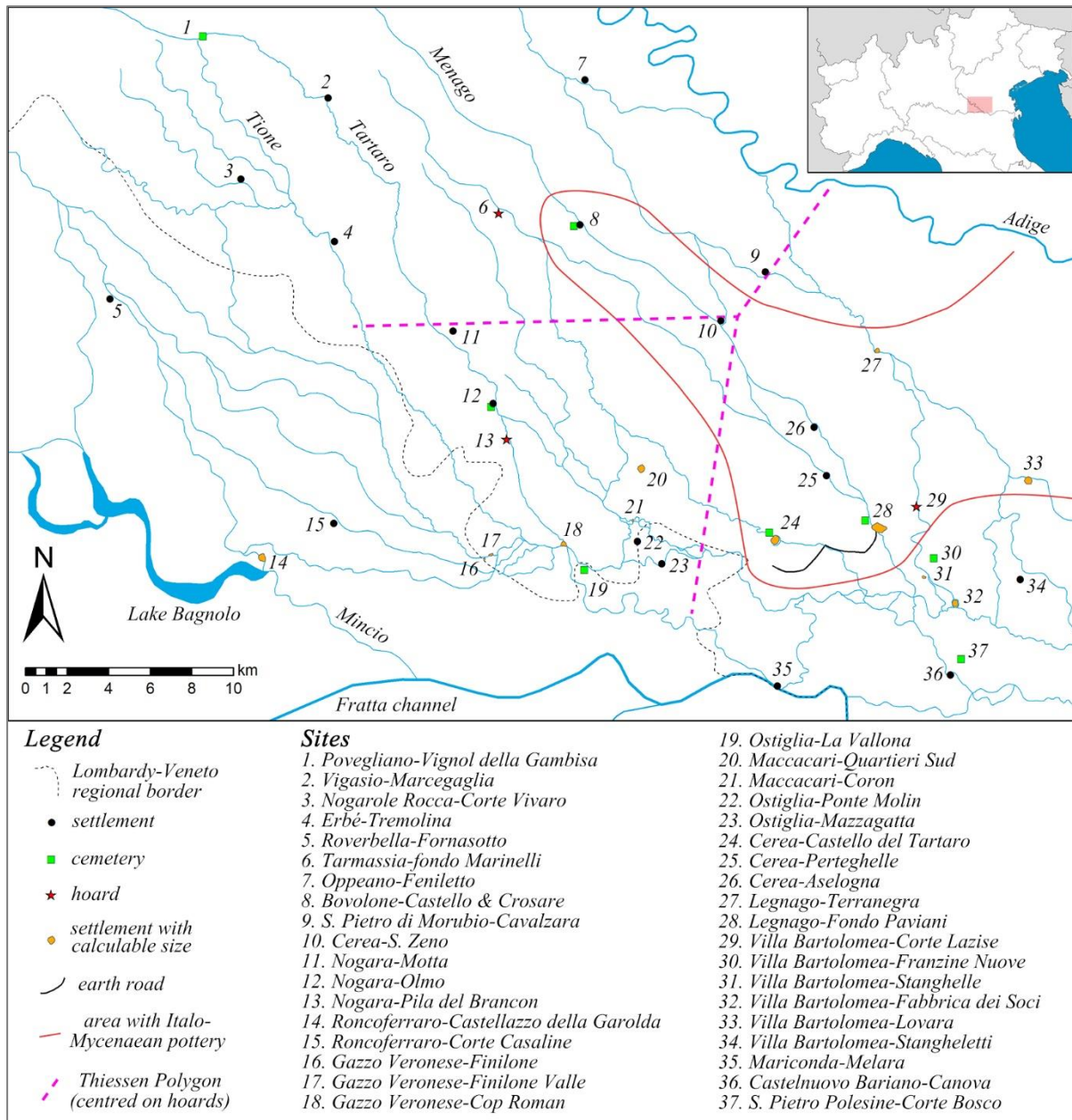


Fig. 43 – The RBA (1300-1150 BC) settlement pattern between the lower Mincio and the Adige valleys (site positions and size from aerial photographs and de Marinis, 1987a; Capuis *et al.*, eds, 1990; Salzani, 2005a; Salzani, 2006; Salzani *et al.* 2006; Gonzato *et al.*, 2015; Vicenzutto, 2017). Ancient river network reconstructed using ArcGIS through aerial photographs and Balista (2009); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013); De Guio and colleagues (2015).

Table 9 summarises the evidence found at Pila del Brancon according to Salzani (1994, 1998a) and Bietti Sestieri and colleagues (2013). On the basis of lead isotope analyses, Jung and colleagues (2011: 245) suggested that copper/bronze of same provenance was used all along the Adriatic Sea, at least from the Veneto to Calabria. They proposed that south-eastern Alpine

copper ore deposits were the source of the raw metal and ruled out a Tuscan provenance (Jung *et al.*, 2011: 245).

Finds	whole or almost whole	hilt and upper part blade	blade	socket	fragments	Minimum number	Interpretation
swords	8	2	3			10	Types: - Allerona - Cetona - Arco
dirks	1	1				2	Types: - Pertosa - S. Agata
spear or javelin heads	23		19	2	20	28	
axe(?)					1	1?	
bronze sheet fragments					73	4	Attributed to several objects: - a bell-helmet - one or two greaves - a corselet - a Kurd situla
pottery fragments					n.d.	3	offering pots?

Tab. 9 – The Pila del Brancon (VR) hoard finds (data from Salzani 1994, 1998a; Bietti Sestieri *et al.*, 2013).

The hoard was first interpreted by Peroni (2004: 163; cf. Hjortspring, Randsborg, 1995) as spoils from a raid while Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: 152) approached it in socio-political terms, seeing it as evidence for a hierarchically-arranged war band. All the finds were burnt and ritually fragmented or bent as is the RBA custom (1300-1150 BC).

I agree with Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: 152) in seeing the hoard as evidence for a chief with a sword at the head of spear-bearing warriors. Nevertheless, I believe the evidence at Pila del Brancon may also reflect Olmo's RBA (1300-1150 BC) socio-political organisation. My hypothesis is supported by the c. 1.5km distance between the hoard of Pila del Brancon, the contemporary MBA-RBA (1550-1150 BC) settlement and Olmo cemetery; all three are located along the same water course, the river Tartaro (Fig. 43, sites 12 and 13). I shall refer to another RBA (1300-1150 BC) funerary context in order to illustrate my hypothesis: Casinalbo (MO) (Cardarelli, ed., 2014).

At RBA (1300-1150 BC) Casinalbo (MO) there are fragmented goods in ritual places located within the funerary area (Cardarelli, 2014: 853), not therefore at a distance from it as for Pila del Brancon-Olmo. Both Casinalbo and Olmo seem to have an oval-shaped (wooden) platform which might be interpreted as a funerary pyre, or at least it was interpreted as such at Casinalbo

(Salzani, 2005a: 111-112; Cardarelli *et al.*, 2014: 66-70) (Fig. 44). The sharing of this feature and related cremation funerary ritual, however, is not enough to postulate the same socio-political organisation at the two communities.

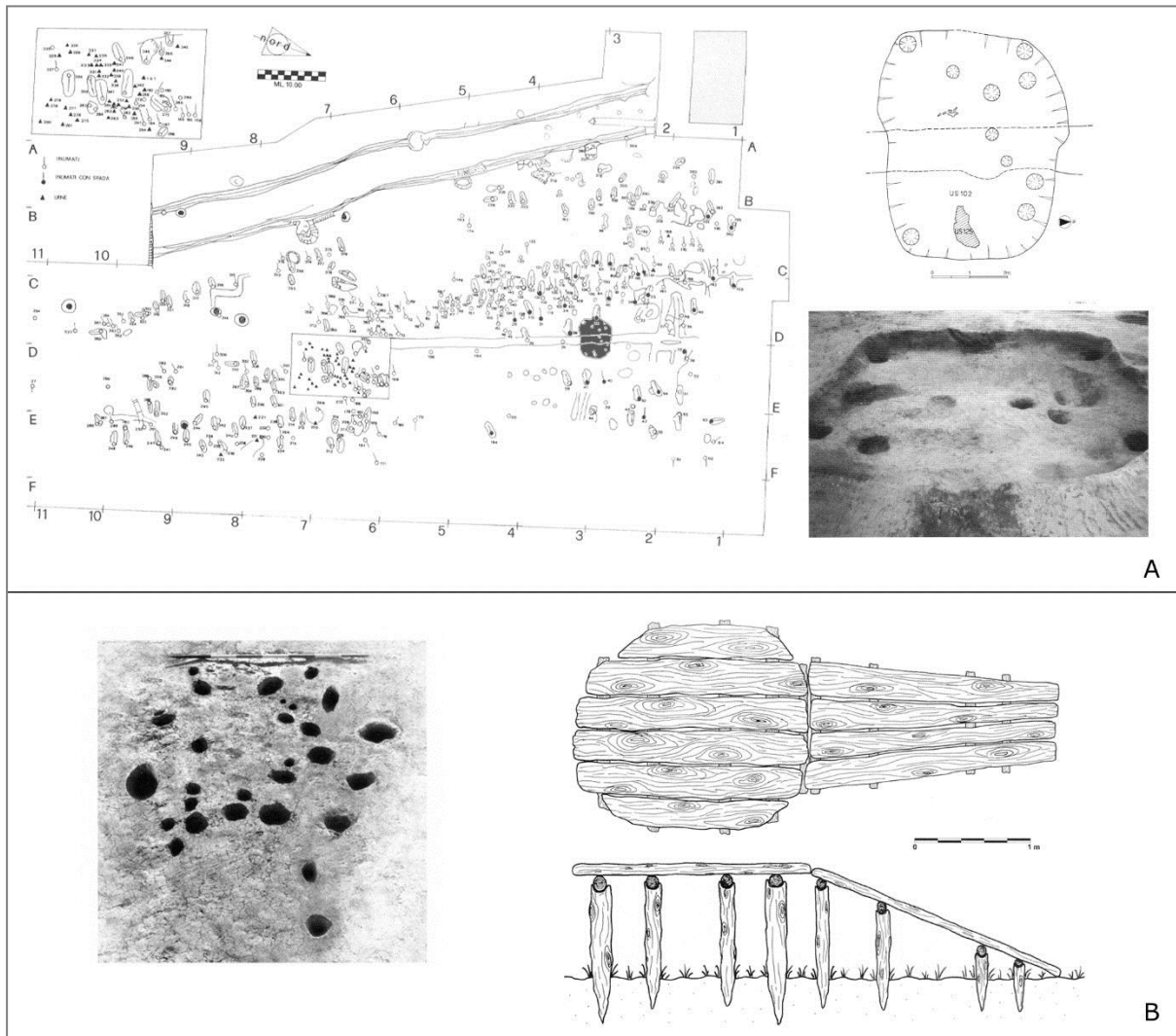


Fig. 44 – Possible funerary pyres at A) Olmo (VR) and B) Casinalbo (MO) (after Salzani, 2005a: figs 221, 226-227; Cardarelli *et al.*, 2014: 69).

In 2014, Cardarelli (2014: 853) claimed that Casinalbo funerary pattern served to mask the community's hierarchical arrangement by displaying an unreal, egalitarian arrangement. At RBA (1300-1150 BC) Olmo there was a (nearly) complete absence of male warriors from the cemetery, but there were still rich female burials in this phase. The idea that Pila del Brancon was the place chosen by warriors to perform rituals suggests a deliberate choice to show privileged access to the gods and, at the same time, to emphasise the socio-political differences within the community. In other words, it possibly represents the outcome of a developed chiefdom rather than a transition to an aristocratic society based on descent and client-patron

relations as supposed by Cupitò and Leonardi (2015: 227; see also Cardarelli, 1997: 660; Bietti Sestieri *et al.*, 2013).

Two other RBA hoards are known in the area between the lower Mincio and the Adige valleys: Villa Bartolomea-Corte Lazise (VR) and Tarmassia-fondo Marinelli (VR) (see Fig. 43, sites 29 and 6).

Over 50 metal objects have been found so far at Villa Bartolomea-Corte Lazise, some of which were ritually fragmented before being deposited (Salzani, 2006). Among them seven/eight swords, three daggers, five/six knives, one arrowhead, one spearhead, ornaments and possibly a weight (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 227). On the basis of the evidence found, Salzani (2006: 33) believes it to be the outcome of the repeated deposition of offerings in the waters by high-status figures between the RBA and the early FBA (1300-1100 BC). The presence of a possible weight might also suggest that prominent figures were involved in trading. The “ritual space”, as defined by Salzani (2006: 33), lies on the right bank of an ancient spring-fed palaeo-channel which flowed southwards to the *terramara* of Fabbrica dei Soci (VR) (Fig. 43, site 32). Nevertheless, topographically speaking, its position is in a close relationship with another *terramara*, Fondo Paviani (Fig. 43, site 28), located a little less than 2km to WSW – equivalent to the distance between Olmo (cemetery and settlement) and Pila del Brancon. Fondo Paviani is believed by De Guio (2000) to be the central place of the Valli Grandi Veronesi polity in the RBA.

The Tarmassia hoard was found in 1870 on the land of the Marinelli family (Facchi, 2005a: plates 2-3). Unfortunately, it is not possible to reconstruct its original composition since some finds were sold to a smelter (Castelfranco, 1908: 94). Castelfranco (1908: 94; Fig. 45) listed two axes (ns 1-2), one pin head (n. 3), the body of two other pins (ns 4-5), one bracelet (n. 6) and a grappling hook (n. 7). Salzani (1985: 32, 34) suggested that the hoard originally consisted of weapons, including axes and spearheads, ornaments (one bracelet and fragments of pins), utensils (at least a grappling hook), three and half kilograms of shapeless metal pieces and many fragments of a metal vessel (perhaps the vessel that originally contained the hoard). Unfortunately, he does not state the grounds on which he made this statement. Salzani (1985: 32, 34) also dated the hoard to the RBA (1300-1150 BC). The two axes have close parallels with the axe in the Oggiono Ello hoard, dated to MBA3 (1450-1300 BC). The heavy bracelet is also possibly dated to the MBA3 (Bz C2; type Haitz, Richter, 1970: 98-101), while the flat round-headed pin might fit to type Alfstedt (Laux, 1976: 114-5) dated between the FBA and

EIA (i.e. the later Urnfield period, 12th-9th cent. BC). For this reason, it is possible that this hoard was deposited in different phases starting from MBA3, the last of which is unlikely to be dated to RBA but rather to the FBA-EIA (c. 1000 BC).

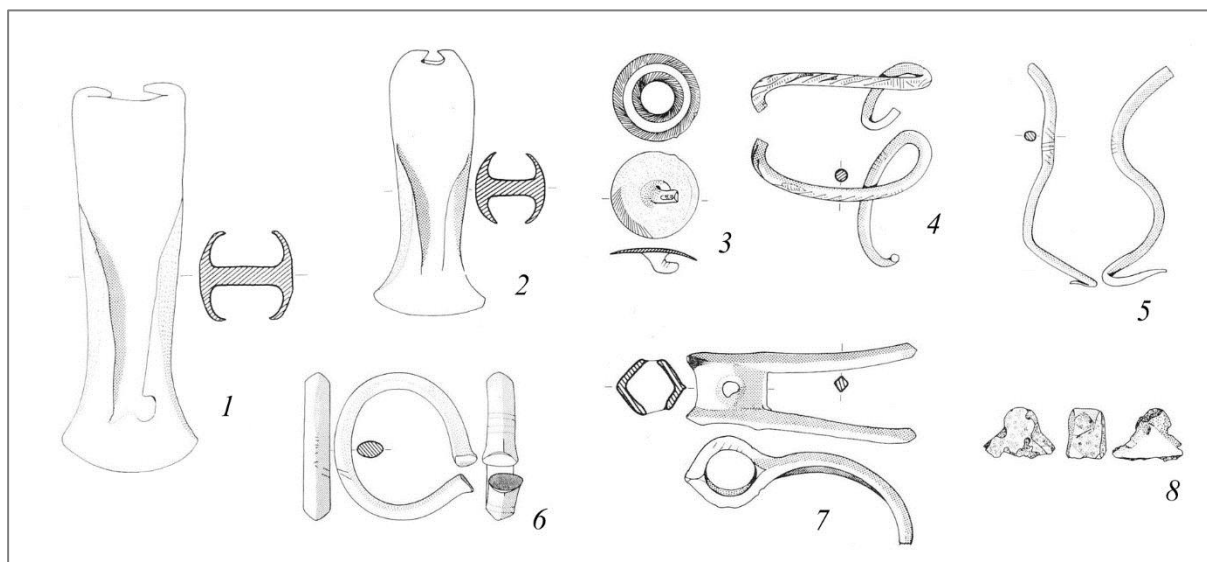


Fig. 45 – The remaining objects of the Tarmassia hoard (VR), scale 1:3 (after Salzani, 1985: fig. 30).

In my opinion, the three hoards may be helpful in suggesting the territories of three chiefdoms in the area. Using a Thiessen Polygon analysis centred on the three hoards I believe it is possible to estimate their size and which known settlements they included (Tab. 10; see Fig. 43).

Area of:	ID	Site	Comune	Province	Extension
Tamassia hoard	8	Crosare	Bovolone	VR	≥1ha
Pila del Brancon hoard	14	Roncoferraro	Castellazzo della Garolda	MN	10ha
	20	Quartieri Sud	Maccacari	VR	9ha
	18	Cop Roman	Gazzo Veronese	VR	5ha
	17	Finilone	Gazzo Veronese	VR	1.7ha
	21	Coron di Maccacari	Gazzo Veronese	VR	0.75ha
	16	Finilone Valle	Gazzo Veronese	VR	0.65ha
Corte Lazise hoard	28	Fondo Paviani	Legnago	VR	20ha
	24	Castello del Tartato	Villa Bartolomea	VR	12ha
	33	Lovara	Villa Bartolomea	VR	9ha
	32	Fabbrica dei Soci	Villa Bartolomea	VR	7ha
	27	Legnago	Terranegra	VR	≥4ha
	31	Stanghelle	Villa Bartolomea	VR	2ha

Tab. 10 - RBA (1300-1150 BC) site sizes calculated in GIS using aerial photographs. Site locations in Fig. 43.

According to the settlement sizes listed in Tab. 10, Fondo Paviani might have been the central place of the south-eastern chiefdom (i.e. the Valli Grandi Veronesi area; see Fig. 43). Fondo Paviani shows a complex phenomenon of interaction during the later Bronze Age trading

patterns amber from north-eastern Europe, copper from the Trentino, glass from the eastern Mediterranean basin (De Guio, 2000). It is the largest site and the central place of an area, the so-called Valli Grandi Veronesi, which included a number of minor sites: Fabbrica dei Soci, Castello del Tartaro, Lovara di Villa Bartolomea and, possibly, Mariconda di Melara (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015:221, see Fig. 43). Fondo Paviani might have drained resources from the Alpine area via a network of sites located along the course of the river Menago and connected by earth roads (De Guio *et al.*, 2015). In exchange, Fondo Paviani may have been able to redistribute exotic goods such as, for example, Italo-Mycenaean pottery (see its distribution in Fig. 43, the area defined by the red line).

The western area defined by the Thiessen Polygons is likely centred on the site of Nogara since its cemetery (i.e. Olmo; Fig. 43, site 12) is, so far, the most significant site found in this district. Cupitò and Leonardi (2015: 221) believe that Bovolone (VR) (Fig. 43, site 8) was the central place for the northern area defined by the Thiessen Polygons. Preliminary research published by Salzani and colleagues (2006: 1147) reports postholes related to huts spread over one hectare at this site (Salzani *et al.*, 2006: 1147) and evidence for metalworking (Salzani, 2010: 7). Moreover, funerary evidence at Bovolone seems not to show the same level of wealth as recorded at Olmo di Nogara (Salzani, ed., 2010). In my opinion, the possibility is still open that another major site will be discovered in this area.

The three defined territories seem to show evidence for a certain degree of interaction, possibly to be inferred by the presence of type Povegliano pins located all along the course of the river Tartaro, between Povegliano (VR; Pellegrini, 1878: plate 5), Olmo (VR; Salzani, 2005a: plate 36) and La Vallona di Ostiglia (MN; de Marinis, 1987: fig. 18).

According to De Guio (1991; see also De Guio, 2000; De Guio *et al.*, 2015: 316) the Valli Grandi Veronesi polity represents the intermediate stage of a trend towards social complexity which started as a tribal arrangement in the MBA (1700-1300 BC), developed into a chiefdom in the RBA (1300-1150 BC) and ended as "monarchy" during the FBA (1150-1000 BC) with the "Frattesina phenomenon" (De Guio *et al.* 1989: 184). I tend to agree with the latter part of De Guio's hypothesis since I believe that I have shown that Olmo was already a chiefdom from the MBA.

According to the material culture evidence, the FBA1 (1150-1100 BC) sees the abandonment of Fondo Paviani itself with surrounding sites already abandoned at the end of the RBA (c. 1150 BC; De Guio *et al.*, 2015: 317). The end of the Valli Grandi Veronesi polity is believed

to coincide with the beginning of the central place of Frattesina di Fratta Polesine (RO) (hereafter Frattesina), which emerged at the end of the RBA (Bellintani, 2000; Bietti Sestieri *et al.*, 2015: 429; 2019; Balista, 2019; Calcagnile *et al.*, 2019). On the basis of fieldwork and aerial photographs, Baldo and colleagues (2018: 9; see also Bellintani *et al.*, 2019) recently suggested that Frattesina was between 7ha and 12ha. Suggested extension is about half the size of Fondo Paviani but Frattesina is very different in terms of the evidence found. Frattesina, together with RBA-FBA (1300-1000 BC) Campestrin di Grignano Polesine (RO) (Bellintani, 2014; Bellintani *et al.*, 2015), was a centre of production of beads made of Baltic amber (Bietti Sestieri *et al.*, 2015: 429). Furthermore, Frattesina was also involved in the production of glass beads, discs made of ostrich eggshells, the working of elephant ivory and metals, the latter very well attested by the presence of four hoards with ingots and semi-finished artefacts, goods made of antler and pottery (Bietti Sestieri, 1975: 5-7; Bietti Sestieri, 1997; Bellato and Bellintani, 1975; Bellintani, 1984; Bellintani *et al.*, 2000; 2006; Bietti Sestieri, 2012: 261; Bietti Sestieri *et al.*, 2015; Saracino *et al.*, 2019; Bietti Sestieri and Giardino, 2019; Giardino and Guida, 2019; Giardino and Paternoster, 2019; Villa and Giardino, 2019; Giardino, 2019; Angelini, 2019a, b, c; Henderson *et al.*, 2015; Henderson, 2019). The site was at the centre of a complex network of long-distance trade which connected the Baltic area (i.e. amber) to the central and eastern Mediterranean Sea (e.g. ostrich eggshells and ivory, African or Levantine in origin) encompassing the south-eastern Alps for metal supply (Giardino and Villa, 2019).

It is, however, only in the later FBA (late 11th cent. BC) that it is possible to understand the complexity of the socio-political arrangement in the western Veneto (Fig. 46). Fig. 46 shows a diminished human presence in the area which is, possibly, balanced by concentration of population in a few very large sites (Tab. 11) located along key trading routes. As suggested by Capuis and Gambacurta (2015: 451), this pattern is similar to that of contemporary south Etruria (i.e. southern Tuscany and northern Lazio regions; di Gennaro and Guidi, 2000), though it is possible that in both areas these huge sites were only partially inhabited, with fields and grazing around the huts. These sites may be considered as the centres of proper chiefdoms with intermediate and minor sites surrounding them. The central places were located at strategic points for resource access and landscape control; the satellite sites were located for basic resource exploitation.

It is still difficult to fully understand the role played by Mantua (MN), eastern Lombardy, in this phase. Recent excavations (Menotti *et al.*, 2012a) have found only a little evidence attesting human presence in this area between the late RBA and the whole FBA (1200-1000 BC). The

excavators report that the pottery decoration has parallels in the Canegrate/Proto-Golasecca area (see Rittatore Vonwiller, 1953-54). In the light of this, the river Mincio valley should be seen as the border between cultures: the so-called Proto-Atestine on its left bank and Protogolasecca on its right bank.

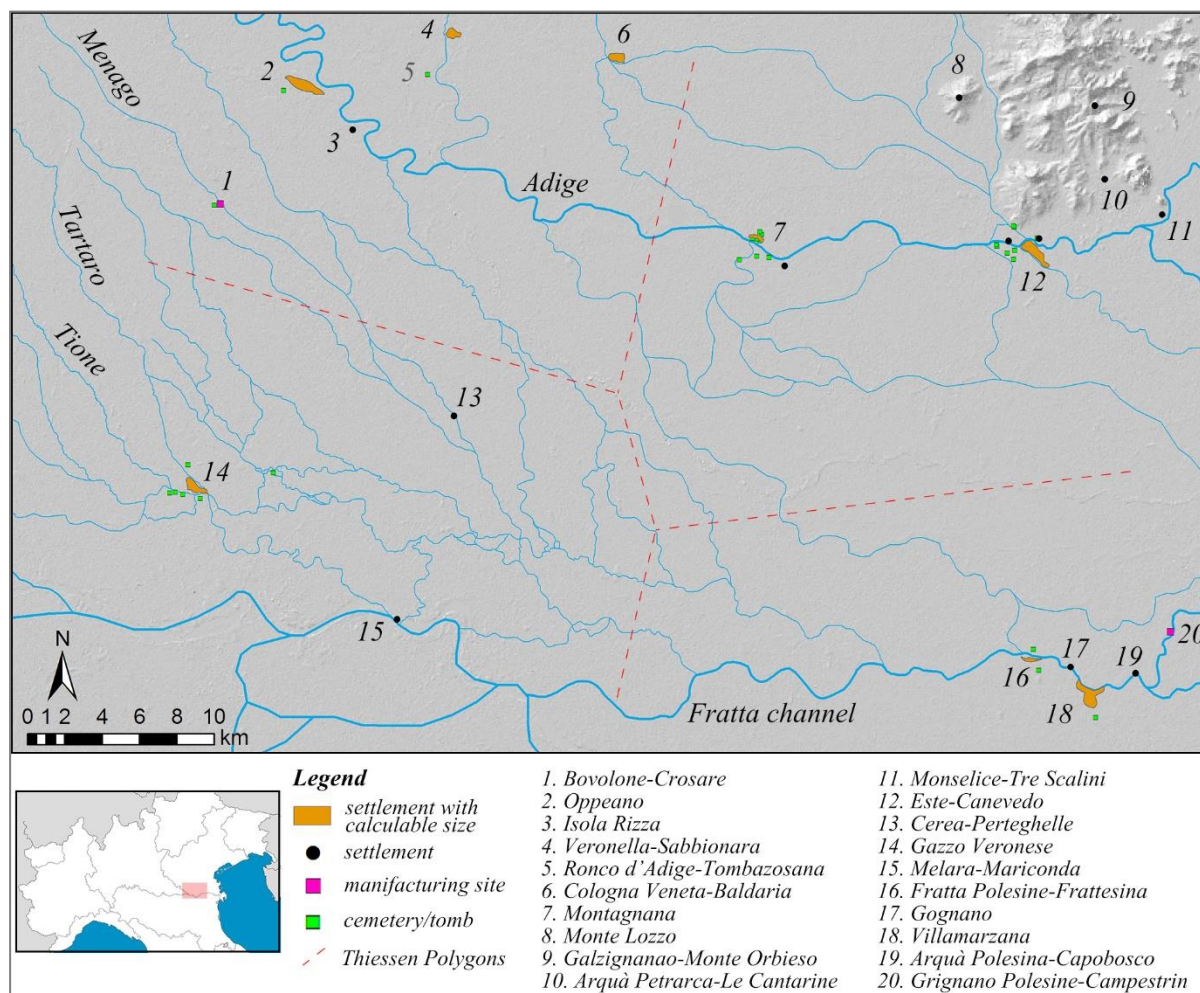


Fig. 46 – The late FBA (late 11th cent. BC) settlement pattern between the Fratta and the Adige paleochannels (site locations and size from Bianchin Citton, 2015; Gonzato *et al.* 2015; Bellintani *et al.*, 2018; Consonni, 2008; Salzani, 1993a-b; Bianchin Citton *et al.*, 2015; Bietti Sestieri *et al.*, 2015). Ancient river network reconstructed in ArcGIS using aerial photographs and Balista (2009); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

A few years ago, on the basis of site size and X-tent analysis, I suggested that the FBA/EIA (1150-900 BC) site of Gazzo Veronese-Coazze (VR) was part of the chiefdom of Oppeano (VR) and acted as an intermediate site controlling the Po and the Mincio area (Saccoccio, 2016: 250). Gazzo Veronese-Coazze, however, was possibly able to act with a certain degree of autonomy in this district (Saccoccio, 2016: 250). Between the late FBA and the very beginning

of the EIA, the settlement of Gazzo Veronese-Coazze is surrounded by five different cemeteries (Fig. 47, left), possibly linked to different lineages/clans of the community, all located beyond water courses from the settlement itself, which recalls the myth of Charon (see Pearce, 2006). The funerary evidence for Gazzo Veronese in this phase allows us to identify a hierarchical arrangement with a society headed by a chief, marked by a sword, at the head of spear-bearers (Fig. 47, right; Saccoccio, 2016: 250).

ID	Site	Comune	Province	Extension (c.)	Bibliography
1	Coazze	Gazzo Veronese	VR	37ha	calculated using GIS
3	Oppeano	Oppeano	VR	80ha	Guidi and Saracino, 2008: tab. 1
4	Sabbionara	Veronella	PD	30ha	calculated using GIS
7	Montagnana	Borgo S. Zeno	PD	20ha	Bianchin Citton <i>et al.</i> , 2015: fig. 3
9	Canevedo	Este	PD	70ha	Bianchin Citton, 2015: 263
11	Frattesina	Fratta Polesine	RO	7-12ha	Baldo <i>et al.</i> , 2018
13	Villamarzana	Villamarzana	RO	≤65ha	Consonni, 2008: 67

Tab. 11 - Later FBA (late 11th cent. BC) settlements size. Site locations in Fig. 46.

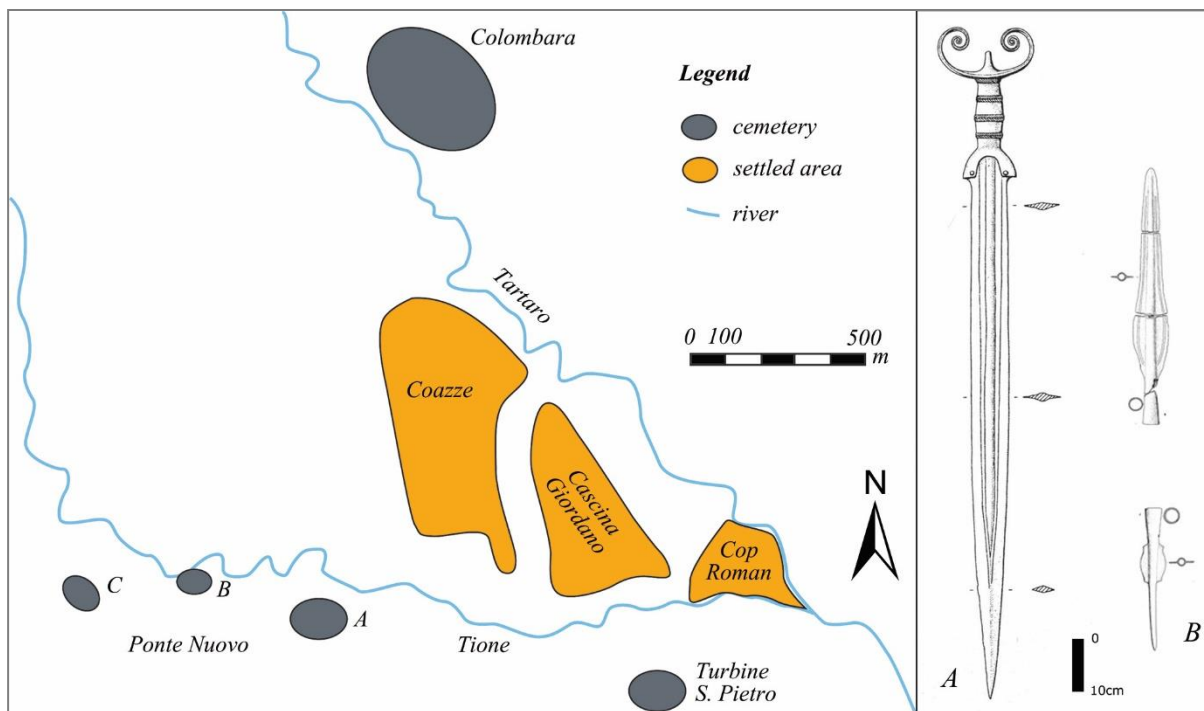


Fig. 47 – Gazzo Veronese (VR): left, the later FBA-early EIA (11th-10th cent. BC) settlement pattern (after Saccoccio, 2016: fig. 8); right: A) sword from Ponte Nuovo cemetery, grave A, EIA (10th-9th cent. BC); B) spearhead from Ponte Nuovo cemetery, grave 5, FBA3 (11th cent. BC) (Salzani, 2005b: fig. 168A and fig. 145D-L).

In topographic terms, Bietti Sestieri (2019: 10) very recently suggested that the area from Frattesina to Campestrin belonged to the central place of Villamarzana (RO), a substantially

unexplored but much larger site (see Tab. 11). However, is it at Le Narde, one of the two cemeteries belonging to Frattesina (see Fig. 46, site 16) that chiefs, *sensu* Sahlins (1963: 289), are attested by burials with swords or parts of a sword, as in the case of the grave 154 where a sword rivet was ritually deposited as *pars pro toto* (i.e. part for whole) for a sword (Leonardi, 2010: 553, note 18). Data, albeit not entirely published, span from the beginning of the FBA to the end of the FBA/beginning of the EIA (c. 1150-1000 BC) (Cardarelli *et al.*, 2015: note 1). Six graves with swords, or parts of swords, possibly one per generation, have been identified (Cardarelli *et al.*, 2015: 441). The very recent work on strontium and oxygen isotopes by Cavazzuti and colleagues (2019a: 637, 641; 2019b) on north Italian cemeteries found that the man buried with an Allerona-type sword in grave 168 at Le Narde trench 1 most probably moved to Frattesina some time after his early childhood from an area distant 20-50km, possibly from the central place of Fondo Paviani which was abandoned during the late 12th cent. BC. The sword suggests that he became a chief and the chronology of his grave goods, the 11th cent. BC (Salzani, 1989: 20 and fig. 12, n. 5) fits well with Cavazzuti and colleagues' (2019a: 637, 641) reconstruction. I believe it is interesting at this point to remark how a similar scenario was already suggested by Leonardi (2010: 555) a few years before when he stated that "the people and their elite who abandoned the banked sites of the Verona district are the same people that we then find in the Polesine along with their historical memory, that is to say a clear memory of the social processes that began in previous generations" (my translation; see also Balista and De Guio, 1997: 157; De Guio, 2000: 315).

On the basis of the grave goods found at Le Narde, Cardarelli and colleagues (2015: 441) defined five wealth classes, which suggests a pyramidal socio-political arrangement of the community. This interpretation is supported by the presence of rich grave goods in infant burials, leading Cardarelli and colleagues (2015) to accept the hypothesis of an incipient pre-urban aristocratic society based on descent and client-patron relations as suggested by Peroni in 2004 (p. 172). Here too I prefer to refrain from using of this label in the light of Colonna's (1979: 44-45) critique (see above). It is, in fact, commonly accepted by scholars that it is only from the 8th cent. BC that the emergence of this kind of social structure can be seen (Colonna, 1979; Torelli, 1979), which is also the period of emergence of proto-urban settlements in the Veneto (Leonardi, 2011).

5.2. Final remarks on the later Bronze Age western Veneto

This chapter shows how there is significant archaeological evidence dated between MBA and FBA (1550-1000 BC) in the western Veneto, which I used in order to reconstruct the history of the area but, above all, to reconstruct how the socio-political organisation change through time before the emergence of the Atestine culture in the Iron Age (9th cent. BC).

MBA to RBA (1550-1150 BC) *terramare* culture funerary evidence from the cemetery of Olmo (VR) attests to the presence of warriors whose power was probably based on coercion, so they were acting as thugs. This period was, in fact, defined by Harding (2007: 83) as characterised in Europe by the rise of large-scale violence. In such a scenario, communities needed protection which was probably provided by warriors who in this way bolstered their socio-political position in the community, and in doing so made their leadership hereditary. At Olmo, warrior rank may have been attributed according to the genealogical closeness to the chief (*sensu* Service, 1962: 155). Epigenetic asymptomatic markers characterising warriors and wealthy women (Pulcini, 2014: 72) suggest, in fact, that they had a common ancestor and that rank and power was transmitted by inheritance. This pattern is also supported by the presence of a weapon associated with a disabled man at least in MBA3 (1450-1300 BC) (grave 410, see Fig. 38, MBA3, sector B1).

During the RBA (1300-1150 BC), three hoards characterised by high-status goods (i.e. mainly weapons and ornaments) might indicate the presence of three chiefdoms in the area. This political system collapses at the transition to the FBA (c. 1150 BC), a phase which is characterised by the so-called *Protovillanoviano Padano* cultural aspect (Leonardi, 1979: 181) and by a different landscape of power where the diminished human presence in the considered area is, possibly, balanced by concentration of population at a few very large sites (see Tab. 11). The site of Frattesina emerges in this phase as a prominent hub linking continental Europe and the Mediterranean where a remarkable variety of goods in exotic materials were produced. Funerary evidence in this phase allows us to identify a pyramidal structure of the society where the chief, marked by a sword is at the head of spear bearers (Cardarelli *et al.*, 2015). Wealthy grave goods in infant burials might also suggest inheritance of power in this phase (Cardarelli *et al.*, 2015) while strontium and oxygen isotope analyses suggest the possibility that power was in the hand of individuals coming from nearby areas, at least in the early stages of foundation of new settlements (see Cavazzuti, 2019a).

Chapter 6 – The Iron Age Veneto: an overview

This chapter is the archaeological counterpart of Chapter 3. In the latter, in fact, the Po Plain, and the present-day Veneto region, were described in geographical and geomorphological terms. This chapter, on the other hand, tries to define the Iron Age Atestine culture by analysing its patterning over time and space using Childe's (1929: v-vi) definition of archaeological culture. A similar analysis was published in 1984 by Calzavara Capuis and colleagues (1984: 38) who argued for an uninterrupted evolution of the Atestine settlement pattern in the present-day Veneto region between 9th and 1st cent. BC, unaffected by catastrophes or disruptions of any kind.

I believe that this is not the case. Already in 1999, in fact, de Marinis suggested that the Etruscan colonisation from the 6th cent. BC along the western bank of the river Mincio affected the Atestine settlement pattern and socio-political landscape at least in the western Veneto district. Moreover, in the late 4th/beginning of 3rd cent. BC groups of Gauls migrated into this area producing a dramatic reduction in the Atestine settled area (Saccoccio, 2016: 256-257) which was not considered at all by Calzavara Capuis and colleagues (1984).

It is incredible that a work published by Arslan (1971-74: 1) about 45 years ago still describes the ongoing debate linked to the above Gaul migration: "generally, the problem is tackled on the basis of the classical sources instead of using the archaeological evidence, which is poorly known" (my translation). This is, for example, clearly illustrated by the definition for the "*Cénomans*" published by Kruta (2000: 532). Moreover, Arslan (1971-74: 2; 1977: 448) recognises that in the 4th cent. BC there is an abrupt change in the archaeological record of northern Italy, with a mosaic of cultural districts characterised by La Tène material culture which, however, are really hard to correlate with the ethnic identifications in the classical sources. This pattern led Rittatore Vonwiller and colleagues (1973-75: 297) to coin the label "*La Tène Padano*" (Po Valley La Tène) to define the entire cultural area occupied by Gauls in northern Italy during the later Iron Age. Following Livy (5, 35, 1-3), the Cenomani Gauls are conventionally recognised as having migrated to northern Italy during the 4th cent. BC and settled between the rivers Oglio and Tartaro, from where they impacted the Etruscans settled in eastern Lombardy and the Atestines of the western Veneto (Bonini, 1998; de Marinis, 2001: 220). Despite recent fieldwork, we still lack later Iron Age Gallic settlements in northern Italy

(Grassi, 1992: 54) and scholars still find it difficult to distinguish the Cenomani from the other Gallic communities who migrated to northern Italy on the basis of the funerary (see Grassi, 1992: 60; Arslan, 1990: 80; 2003: 73; Arslan *et al.*, 2008) or epigraphic record (Marinetti and Solinas, 2014). Some authors have proposed that the Cenomani can be distinguished from the other Gauls settled in northern Italy as they preferred inhumation over cremation to bury their dead and their women were buried with torques and armrings as grave goods (Arslan, 1994: 65; Kruta, 2000: 520; Arslan, 2003: 73; de Marinis, 2001: 221). Grassi (1992: 60) suggests that Cenomani warrior graves can be distinguished from those of other Gallic warriors because shields were deposited in their graves. I agree with Vitali (2014: 744) who argued that these ethnic hypotheses are inconclusive as they are based on very limited evidence. Therefore, in this chapter the label “Cenomani” will be used in geographical terms, referring to La Tène evidence from the 4th cent. BC onwards in the area between the rivers Oglio, to the west, and Adige, to the east, which Pliny (*NH* 3, 130) recalls as the area inhabited by the Cenomani.

Furthermore, Calzavara Capuis and colleagues (1984) did not consider the 2nd cent. BC onwards Roman colonisation of the Veneto which led to a progressive reduction of the territory characterised by Atestine material culture which had already been reduced by the late 4th/early 3rd cent. BC intrusion by the Cenomani. The Romans first occupied rural areas and then moved to the very centre of power as the funerary record at Este (PD) (Chieco Bianchi, 1984a: 724) and Padua (PD) (Chieco Bianchi, 1984b: 744) shows. Nevertheless, I believe the work by Calzavara Capuis and colleagues (1984) deserves attention, especially for the methodology employed: they plotted the then known Iron Age Atestine evidence on four maps trying to define the settlement pattern over time and, in doing so, to define the core Atestine area (Fig. 48).

The same methodology is employed in this chapter, which presents five maps plotting all the Iron Age evidence (9th to 1st cent. BC) known to date (i.e. 2019) for the area between eastern Lombardy and western Friuli Venezia-Giulia. The five phases I have adopted (i.e. 9th, 8th-7th, 6th-4th, 3rd, 2nd-1st cent. BC) do not perfectly match those by Calzavara Capuis and colleagues (1984; see Fig. 48) because there has been progress in scholarship in the last 35 years (see discussion below). In my maps, I have defined a site as Atestine when Atestine material culture, as described and classified by Peroni and colleagues in 1975, represents the majority of the Iron Age cultural assemblage recorded. This will allow me to analyse the Iron Age Veneto evidence over the long-term, re-assessing the 1984 discourse and making new considerations.

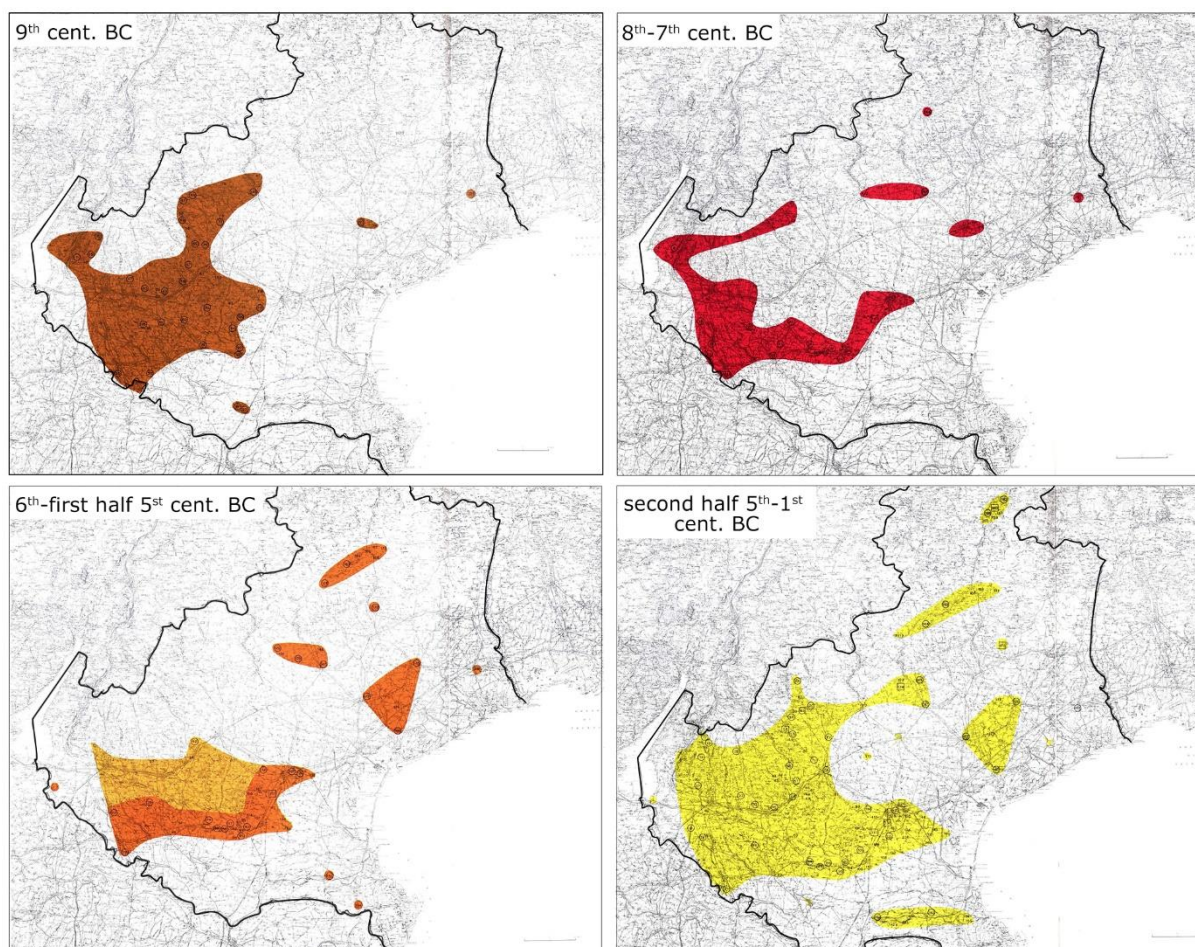


Fig. 48 – The development of the Veneto Iron Age settlement pattern as illustrated in Calzavara and colleagues (1984: figs 17-20). Site details are in the original publication.

However, it has to be stressed that the phases distinguished by Calzavara and colleagues (1984) followed the chronology proposed by Peroni and colleagues (1975) which, in turn, relied on the chronology of Müller-Karpe (1959), who believed that the beginning of the EIA should be placed at 900 BC. Guidi and Whitehouse (1996: 274, fig. 5) contested this late date for the Bronze Age–Iron Age transition but the new chronology was only accepted in Italy later, when Peroni and Vanzetti back-dated the FBA-EIA transition to around 977 BC on the basis of similar types of pin across the Alpine arc and the dendrodates obtained from the Swiss pile dwelling sites where they were found (Peroni and Vanzetti, 2005: 64) (see Section 2.1 and Fig. 3). The new and traditional chronologies are out of synchrony until at least c. 750 BC when dating is based on Greek imports in *Magna Grecia*.

Despite the new chronology proposed by Peroni and Vanzetti (2005), the Atestine period I is still considered in the literature as starting at 900 BC (see Bianchin Citton, 2015 who based her chronology on Bagolan and Leonardi, 2000). A revision of the Atestine relative and absolute

phases is strongly needed but this will not be undertaken in the course of my dissertation because it would be too large a project. In order to identify differences compared with the pattern suggested by Calzavara Capuis and colleagues in 1984 and develop my discussion, I have decided to rely on the traditional chronology despite being aware of the downsides of this choice.

My database, and related GIS, is very large and includes 740 points dated between (c.) the 9th cent. BC (see discussion above) and the 1st cent. BC. Many are multiple points in the same settlement as a result of repeated fieldwork and they probably refer to a minimum of 202 sites for the area and time span considered which is not very different to the 181 sites analysed by Calzavara Capuis and colleagues in 1984 (Tab. 12). Although fieldwork has not led to the discovery of many new sites, it has led to a better understanding of the settlement pattern of already known ones (Tab. 13, at the end of the chapter).

Chronology (Peroni <i>et al.</i> , 1975)		Number of sites considered in:	
relative	absolute	Calzavara Capuis <i>et al.</i> , 1984	this thesis (2019)
Atestine period I	9th cent. BC	51	81 (73 Atestine)
Atestine period IIA-C	8th cent. BC	46	90 (85 Atestine)
Atestine period IIIA-B2	7th cent. BC		
Atestine period IIIB2-D1	6th cent. BC	56	132 (103 Atestine)
Atestine period IIID1	first half 5th cent. BC		
Atestine period IIID1-2	second half 5th cent. BC	120	
	4th cent. BC		
	3rd cent. BC		75 (57 Atestine)
	2nd cent. BC		93 (67 Atestine/Roman sites)
	1st cent. BC		

Tab. 12 – Number of Iron Age sites considered by Calzavara Capuis and colleagues in 1984 compared to those considered in this thesis.

I have decided to divide the time span of c. 900 years here considered into five main phases on the basis of the literature (referenced below) and the knowledge that I acquired concerning the Iron Age Veneto during my MA (Saccoccio, 2014-15) and while writing this thesis:

- 1) 9th cent. BC: the phase when the material culture shifts from Villanovan-like forms to Atestine ones (Leonardi, 1979: 181);
- 2) 8th-7th cent. BC: the phase of development of “proto-urban” Atestine settlements (e.g. Este and Padua; Calzavara Capuis *et al.*, 1984: 38; see also Leonardi, 2011). Proto-urban settlements were defined by Peroni (1989: 21) being similar to subsequent urban

centres in size, population, territory exploited and controlled politically, but differing from the latter because of the absence of monumental architecture, buildings made of durable raw materials and sanctuaries. Moreover, Peroni (1989: 21-22) characterises proto-urban sites as showing the development of markets, specialised craft activities, an increase in production through standardisation and stable social and political differentiation.

- 3) 6th-4th cent. BC: marks the appearance and floruit of the red-and-black painted ware which is considered in the literature to be the type fossil for the Atestine periods IIIB2-D2 (625-350 BC; Peroni, 1975a; Carancini, 1975a, b, c) but is found until 250 BC (Atestine period IV; Bondini, 2008). Furthermore, Gauls are first documented in the case study area from at least the second half of the 6th cent. BC (Prosdocimi, 1988: 290-291), and, in the same phase, Etruscan sites were founded in eastern Lombardy along the lower course of the river Mincio (de Marinis, 1999: 548-56; Saccoccio, 2016: 253). Cemeteries characterised mainly by La Tène grave goods are found in eastern Lombardy from at least the 4th cent. BC (de Marinis, 2001);
- 4) 3rd cent. BC: the phase of decline in the incidence of red-and-black painted ware in the Atestine cultural area with La Tène cemeteries in the western Veneto as a result of the 4th cent. BC Cenomanic migration as recalled by Livy (5, 35, 1-3);
- 5) 2nd-1st cent. BC: the spread of La Tène cemeteries in the western Veneto as far as the Adige paleochannel with hybridization phenomena documented between Atestines and Gauls at least at Este and in its territory (Chieco Bianchi, 1987: 191; de Marinis, 2001: 220). In the same phase, archaeological evidence suggests a Roman colonisation of the Veneto beginning with the foundation of the colony of Aquileia (UD) in 181 BC (Foraboschi, 1992: 88).

Below, I provide five phase maps, one for each of the phases defined above. The maps show a reconstruction of the ancient river network, modern regional boundaries and sites distinguished by function (e.g. settlement, cemetery/grave, hoard, etc). Although I have used two different colour shades to differentiate the western and eastern Atestine areas, I believe that the Atestine phenomenon was unitary with a distinct area of settlement and similar material culture, language and (possibly) ethnic identity. This is in contrast with the single shade used by Calzavara Capuis and colleagues (1984) on their phase maps for the Atestine culture (see Fig. 48) even though they recognised differing trajectories for the two areas from at least the 8th cent. BC (in my view it is also true for the 9th cent. BC). Geographically, the western Atestine

area is connected to the central Alps via the rivers Adige and Tartaro and, in fact, at Gazzo Veronese-Ponte Nuovo and Gazzo Veronese-Colombara cemeteries (VR) Luco/Pfatten material culture evidence was found among the grave goods in some FBA3 graves (late 11th cent. BC) (Salzani, 2001; 2005b; see discussion below). On the other hand, the morphology of the eastern Atestine area makes it easier to connect along river valleys to the Eastern Alps, especially via the valley of the river Piave (Calzavara Capuis *et al.*, 1984: 39). This is possibly attested by the presence of red-and-black painted ware found in Slovenia and Istria (see Tecco Hvala, 2014; Mihovilić, 2001), but considered in the literature to be the type fossil for the Atestine periods IIIB2-D2 (625-350 BC; Peroni, 1975a; Carancini, 1975a, b, c). Both the western and eastern Atestine areas seem to show connections with the Villanovan world (i.e. mainly Tuscany and northern Lazio but it also included some areas of Emilia-Romagna and Campania; see Pallottino, 1991, fig. 1) at least from the 9th cent. BC onwards (Dore, 2015; see also Chieco Bianchi, 1994; Salzani, 2005b: 46-48).

I have decided to analyse the Atestine settlement pattern from the 9th cent. BC as this period corresponds with the first Atestine phase identified by Prosdocimi (1882) which was later reassessed by Ponzi Bonomi and colleagues (1975: 150) (Fig. 49). Nevertheless, as discussed above, the traditional chronology should be reconsidered as argued by Peroni and Vanzetti (2005).

In general terms, there is a qualitative and quantitative difference in the number of sites known between the western and eastern Atestine areas, and so there may be a recovery bias against the latter. This might have causes such as the preservation of the archaeological evidence, the lack of publication or of fieldwork, for example. This has led scholars to focus especially on the Verona and western part of the Padua provinces, in particular on Este with its huge number of excavated and well documented Iron Age graves (Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006). On the other hand, in the eastern district attention has only been given to limited areas pretty much corresponding to the modern cities of Treviso (TV), Oderzo (TV), Altino (VE) and Aquileia (UD) (see *La protostoria tra Sile e Tagliamento*, 1996).

In this phase, the settlement of Castellazzo della Garolda (MN) (Tamassia, 1979; de Marinis, 1988: 28-34, 36-39; Fig. 49, site 2), located on the east bank of the river Mincio, is the westernmost site culturally linked to the Atestine world which suggests that the course of the river Mincio seems to have played the role of natural boundary for the western Atestine area. This cultural boundary possibly existed from FBA (1150-1000 BC) when material culture

evidence found at the nearby site of Mantua (MN), located on the west bank of the river Mincio, seems more linked to the Golasecca culture (Menotti *et al.*, 2012).

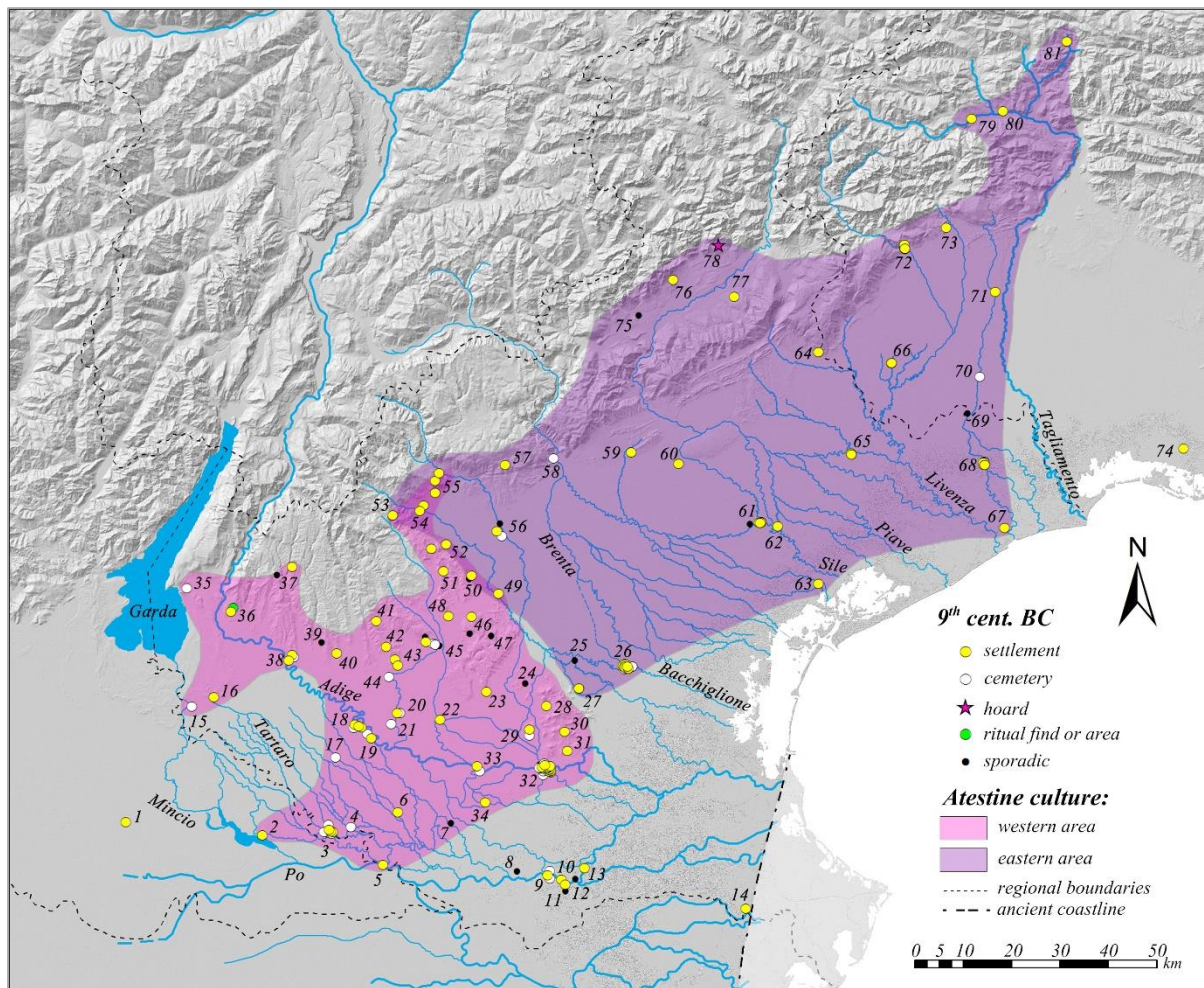


Fig. 49 – The 9th cent. BC settlement pattern between the Mincio and Tagliamento valleys (see Tab. 13 for site details). Ancient river network reconstruction after aerial photos and Balista and Rinaldi (2005); Balista (2009); Piovan and colleagues (2012: fig. 1); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

In the 9th cent. BC the southern boundary of the Atestine world corresponds to a line connecting the sites of Gazzo Veronese (Fig. 49, site 3) and Caorle (VE) (Fig. 49, site 67). Other sites are located along the same ideal line: Este (Fig. 49, site 32), Padua (Fig. 49, site 26) and Altino (VE) (Fig. 49, site 63). It is not possible to suggest with reasonable certainty if the Atestine area should be extended to Aquileia (Fig. 49, site 74) because there is a lack of evidence for this period (see Vitri, 2004) and so I have decided to set the eastern Atestine border along the course of the river Tagliamento. Further south is the area of the Frattesina polity (RO) (Fig. 49, sites 8-13) which, I believe, should not be assigned to the Atestine sphere because it represents

the last phase of a later Bronze Age society which lasted until around 800 BC (Pearce *et al.*, 2019; see Chapter 5). The port of San Basilio di Ariano Polesine (RO) is located at some distance away on the coast (Fig. 49, site 14), and the lack of intervening material may suggest that there was a marshy area between the southernmost Atestine evidence and the course of the Adria paleochannel (see Section 3.3.). Although it is a common belief that marshy areas are inhospitable environments in which to live, this might have not been entirely true at least according to Traina (1983), who discussed the Veneto in Roman times. Traina (1983: 92) discussed the area called “*paludes Tartari fluminis*” (i.e. the marshlands of the river Tartaro) by Tacitus (*Hist.* 3, 9) on the basis of discoveries at Cerea (VR): a Roman pile-dwelling settlement and a funerary monument bearing the inscription “*uenator p. hostilius campanus*” (transl. hunter P. Ostilius Campanus) and depicting a boar and a man. He suggests that boars characterise marshlands and that their hunting, recalled in the funerary inscription and its decoration, was most probably practised for economic purposes. Moreover, timber was also possibly exploited not only as raw material but also as fuel for the production of clay bricks.

Towards the north, sites are located all along the Veneto Pre-Alpine belt. To the east, the Upper Tagliamento valley (Fig. 49, sites 79-81) and the Bellunese area (Fig. 49, sites 75-78) are occupied in this phase too. To the west, sites are located in strategic areas for the acquisition of metal sourced from the Trentino, the control of important communication routes and the exploitation of natural raw resources (e.g. timber), grazing and agriculture (Fig. 49, sites 35-37, 52-58).

The high connectivity of the western Atestine world with its surrounding areas is illustrated in the 10th-9th cent. BC cemeteries at Gazzo Veronese (Fig. 49, site 3). Here bronze grave goods show connections with both the northern Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol Luco/Pfatten area (Fig. 50a-d), and the Southern Villanovan world (Fig. 50B). The razor and the fibula in Fig. 50e have parallels, for example, with cremation graves at Capua (CE) (Bianco Peroni, 1979: n. 102; see also Lo Schiavo, 2010: 635-636 and ns 5477, 5480) and Sala Consilina (SA) (Bianco Peroni, 1979: n. 181), Campania, where they are found in association.

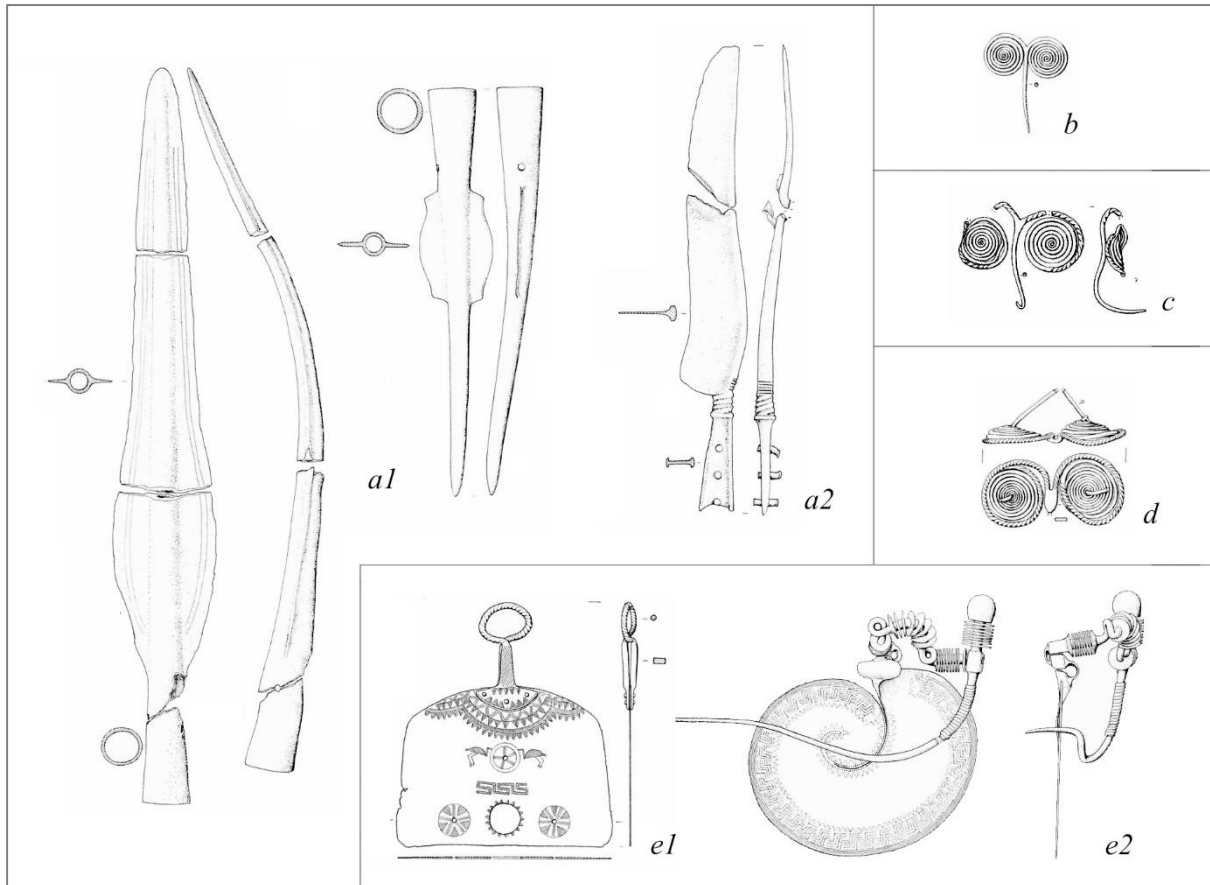


Fig. 50 – 10th-9th cent. BC weapons and ornaments of Luco/Pfatten (a-d) and Villanovan (e) type found in the cemeteries of Gazzo Veronese (VR), scale 1:4; a) Ponte Nuovo, grave 5 (Salzani, 2005b: fig. 145A, D, F, G, L and fig. 146C, E), b) Ponte Nuovo, grave 47 (Salzani, 2005b: fig. 153F); c) Colombara, grave 170 (Salzani, 2001: Fig. 25B, n. 3); d) Ponte Nuovo, grave 74 (Salzani, 2005b: fig. 162C); e) Ponte Nuovo, grave 61 (Salzani, 2005b: fig. 157B-C).

There is a lack of data for the eastern Atestine world (see discussion above) and so the settlement pattern in the map is less dense than in the western area. Padua, however, emerges as the major site as attested by the large amount of evidence (see Fig. 49, site 26; De Min *et al.*, eds, 2005). Water courses, but possibly also earth roads (see Betto, 2012-13: 160-164), were used for communication at a local level and possibly extending towards the north-east and the transalpine world through Alpine valleys.

The 8th-7th cent. BC phase map (Fig. 51) shows no major changes in the settlement pattern despite this being a period of major change in the river Po network (see Section 3.3). According to Calzavara Capuis and colleagues (1984: figs. 17-18), the 8th-7th cent. BC was characterised by a drop in the population in the area (from 51 to 46 sites; see Tab. 12). My updated 2019 data seem to contradict this trend (from 73 to 85 sites; see Tab. 12). However, a few areas occupied

in the 9th cent. BC were abandoned in this phase: the area of the former Frattesina polity (Calzavara Capuis *et al.*, 1984: 39; Pearce *et al.*, 2019), as well as the Berici hills. The former was possibly abandoned because of changes in the drainage network leading to flooding events and the creation of marshy areas (Balista, 2009). Recent data, however, seem to show human occupation during this phase in the Euganei hills, which was absent from the 1984 data (Calzavara Capuis *et al.*, 1984: 39).

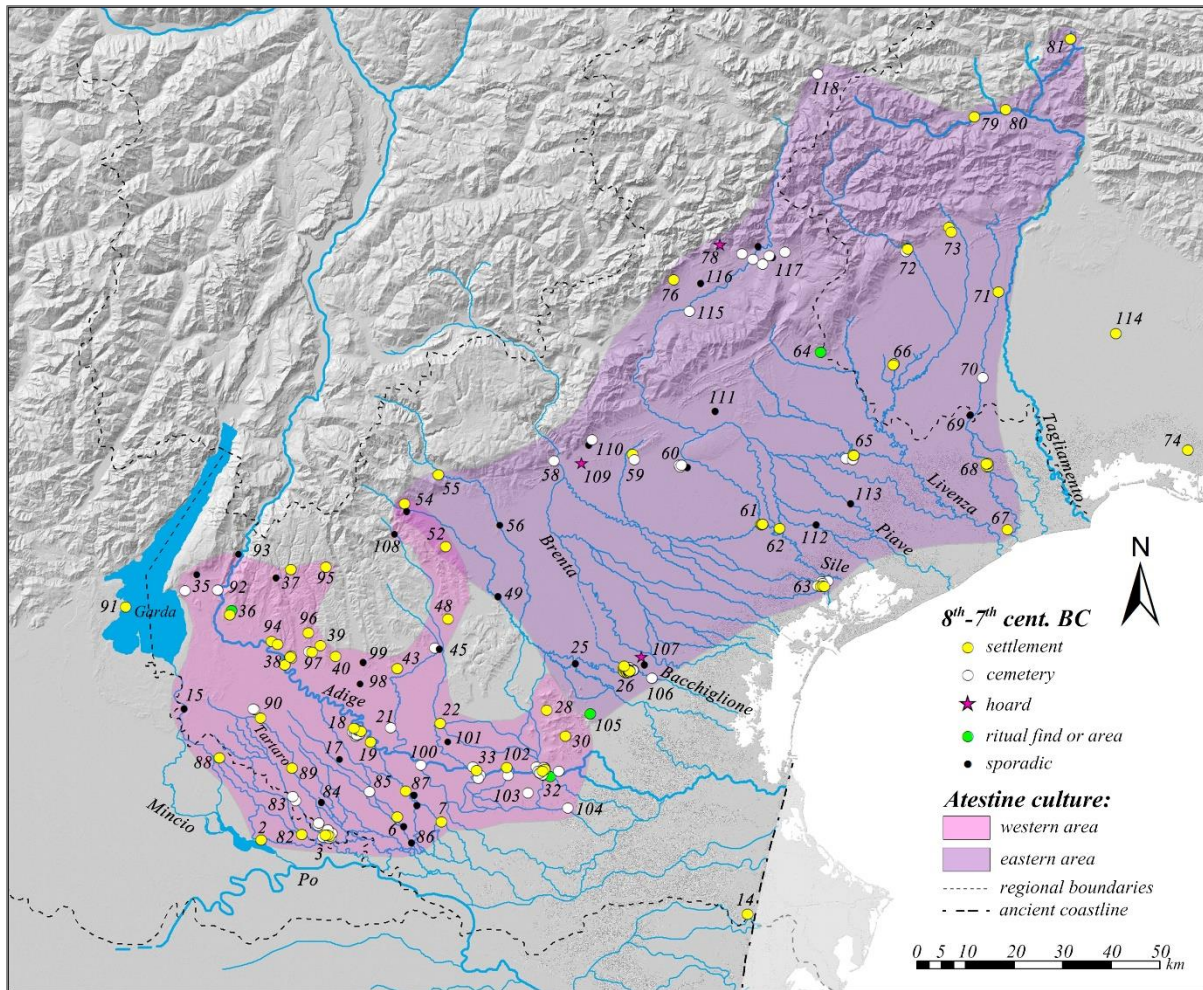


Fig. 51 – The 8th-7th cent. BC settlement pattern between the Mincio and Tagliamento valleys (see Tab. 13 for site details). Ancient river network reconstruction after aerial photos and Balista and Rinaldi (2005); Balista (2009); Piovan and colleagues (2012: fig. 1); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

In the western Atestine district, Verona (VR) (Fig. 51, site 38) and Oppeano (VR) (Fig. 51, site 18) are two important sites along the course of the river Adige between the Garda cemetery (VR) (Fig. 51, site 35) and the “proto-urban” site of Este (Capuis and Gambacurta, 2015: 455; Fig. 51, site 32), while another site along the river, Montagnana (PD) (Fig. 51, site 33) seems

to have been abandoned during the 8th cent. BC because of repeated flooding events of the river Adige (Balista, 1998b: 244).

In the eastern district, the 8th-7th cent. BC settlement pattern seems to suggest a more substantial network of sites linked by water courses and, possibly, by earth roads. The location of sites along Alpine valleys such as Lozzo di Cadore (BL) (Fig. 51, site 118) and the sites in the Upper Tagliamento basin and in the Bellunese area (Fig. 51, sites 79-81, 117) suggest connections with the Hallstatt world.

The major sites might be seen as separate political entities, dominating territories of varying size, characterised by intermediate, often with a bank and a ditch, and minor sites. I believe that at least six polities may be detected in Fig. 51:

- 1) a polity possibly centred on Garda (VR), east of Lake Garda (Fogolari, 1965; Fig. 51, site 35);
- 2) a polity possibly centred on Verona (VR), whose Iron Age history is still largely unknown (Aspes *et al.*, 2002; Fig. 51, site 38);
- 3) a polity centred on Oppeano (VR) in the middle section of the Adige paleochannel, a settlement which is already c. 90ha in this phase (Candelato *et al.*, 2008; Fig. 51, site 18);
- 4) a polity centred on Este (PD) (c. 100ha, Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008; Fig. 51, site 32) which I believe also encompassed the area of Montagnana (PD), now abandoned;
- 5) a polity centred on Gazzo Veronese (VR), located at the confluence of the rivers Tione and Tartaro (Gonzato *et al.* 2015; Saccoccio, 2016; Fig. 51, site 3);
- 6) a polity centred on Padua (PD) (Fig. 51, site 26) which has a territory characterised by satellite sites and even a sanctuary at Montegrotto Terme (PD) (Fig. 51, site 105; De Min, 1976), a place which is still well-known for its thermal waters. Within the territory of Este, its counterpart might be seen in the peri-urban sanctuary of *Reitia*, established in the late 7th cent. BC (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2002), about half a century after Montegrotto Terme.

The 6th-4th cent. BC (Fig. 52) marks a change in the Atestine settlement pattern. In the western district, Etruscan sites are found on the western bank of the river Mincio (*in primis* Mantua and Forcello of Bagnolo San Vito [MN]; Fig. 52, sites 134 and 135). It is still unclear whether in this phase the Etruscans were actually able to politically influence the area across the border defined by the course of the river Mincio at the expense of the Atestine Gazzo Veronese polity

(de Marinis, 1999: 548-56; Saccoccio, 2016: 253). A bronze double axe found in the early 6th cent. BC cremation grave 2/1980 at Gazzo Veronese-Colombara (see Fig. 19, n. 6 in Section 2.3.4.) is problematic. Malnati (2003: 65) suggests that it indicates an Etruscan magistrate and it is absent elsewhere in the Atestine area. The grave was found close to four (but possibly five, see Section 2.3.4.) limestone statues whose raw material, iconography and possibly script have been linked to the Etruscan world (Gamba and Gambacurta, 2011; Marinetti, 2011). In 2016 I suggested that this evidence might be read in two different ways. On the one hand, it might be seen as reflecting the adoption of Etruscan fashion by high-status Atestine individuals at Gazzo Veronese (Saccoccio, 2016: 251). On the other hand, it might show Etruscan dominance of the site of Gazzo Veronese which, however, retained a typical Atestine material culture (Saccoccio, 2016: 251-252).

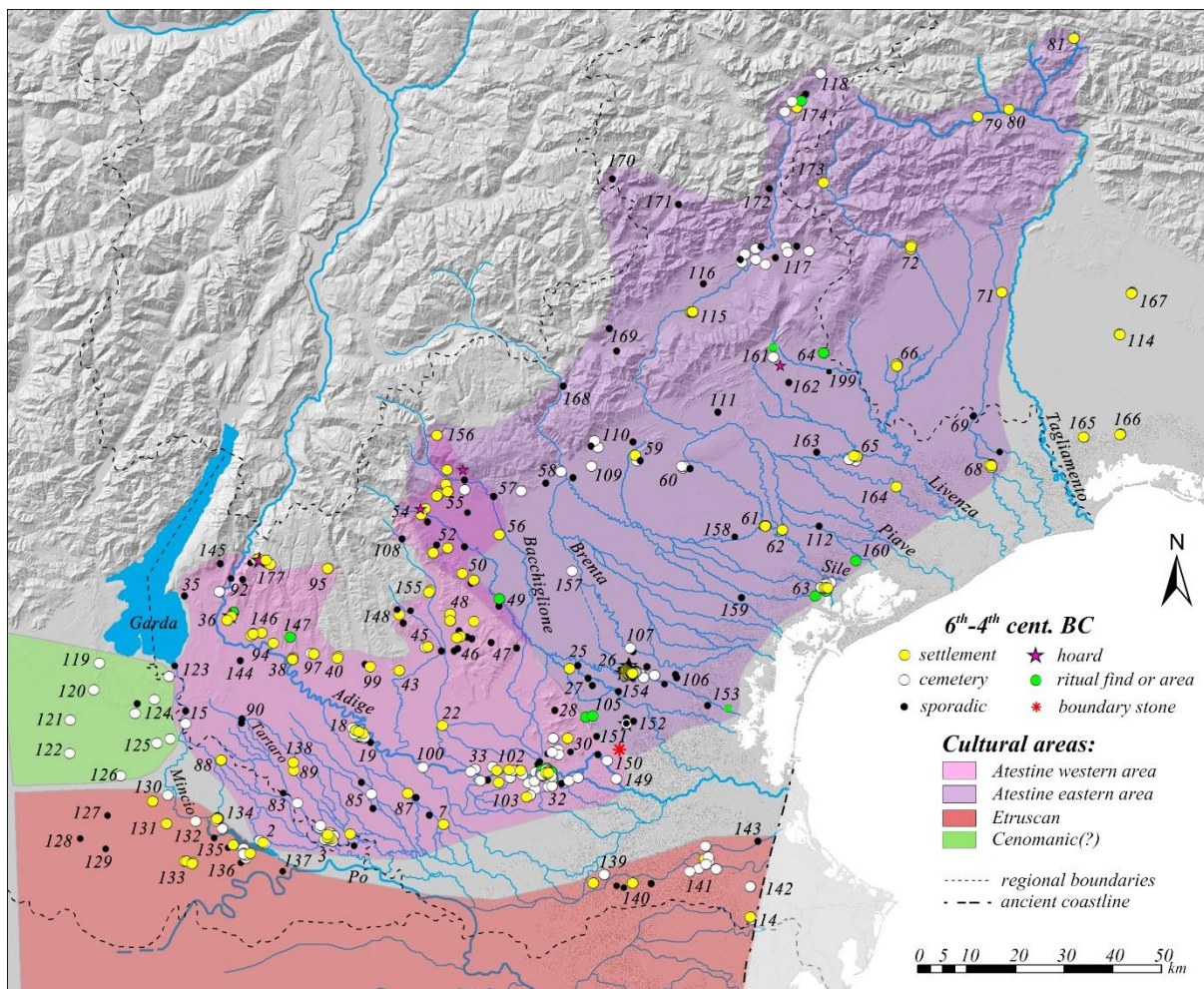


Fig. 52 – The 6th-4th cent. BC settlement pattern between the Mincio and Tagliamento valleys (see Tab. 13 for site details). Ancient river network reconstruction after aerial photos and Balista and Rinaldi (2005); Balista (2009); Piovan and colleagues (2012: fig. 1); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). The Etruscan cultural area is defined according to material culture and Marzatico (2012: fig. 1), while the

Cenomani Gauls presence is defined by the distribution of La Tène material culture. DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

One hundred and three Atestine sites are known in this phase (see Tab. 12), but they seem to be located in more defensive positions, especially in the western Atestine district. Here, in fact, sites concentrate all along the pre-Alpine belt, possibly as a response to pressure from Rhaetic groups from north, and around major sites (i.e. Gazzo Veronese, Oppeano, Este and Padua; Fig. 52, sites 3, 18, 32 and 26). According to a Thiessen Polygons analysis centred on these major Atestine settlements plus those listed by Balista and Gamba (2013: fig. 1), the territory of Este (PD) is most probably delimited to the east by the Berici-Euganei hills while towards west it should have stretched as far as the area of Montagnana (Fig. 52, site 33; Fig. 53). Moreover, on the basis of a X-tent analysis, I proposed that the border between the territories of the Atestine central places of Gazzo Veronese (VR) (Figs 52-53, site 3) and Oppeano (VR) (Figs 52-53, site 18) was a line between the sites of Isola della Scala (VR) (Fig. 52, site 138) and Terranegra (VR) (Fig. 52, site 87) (Saccoccio, 2016: fig. 4; see also Fig. 102 in Section 8.2.).

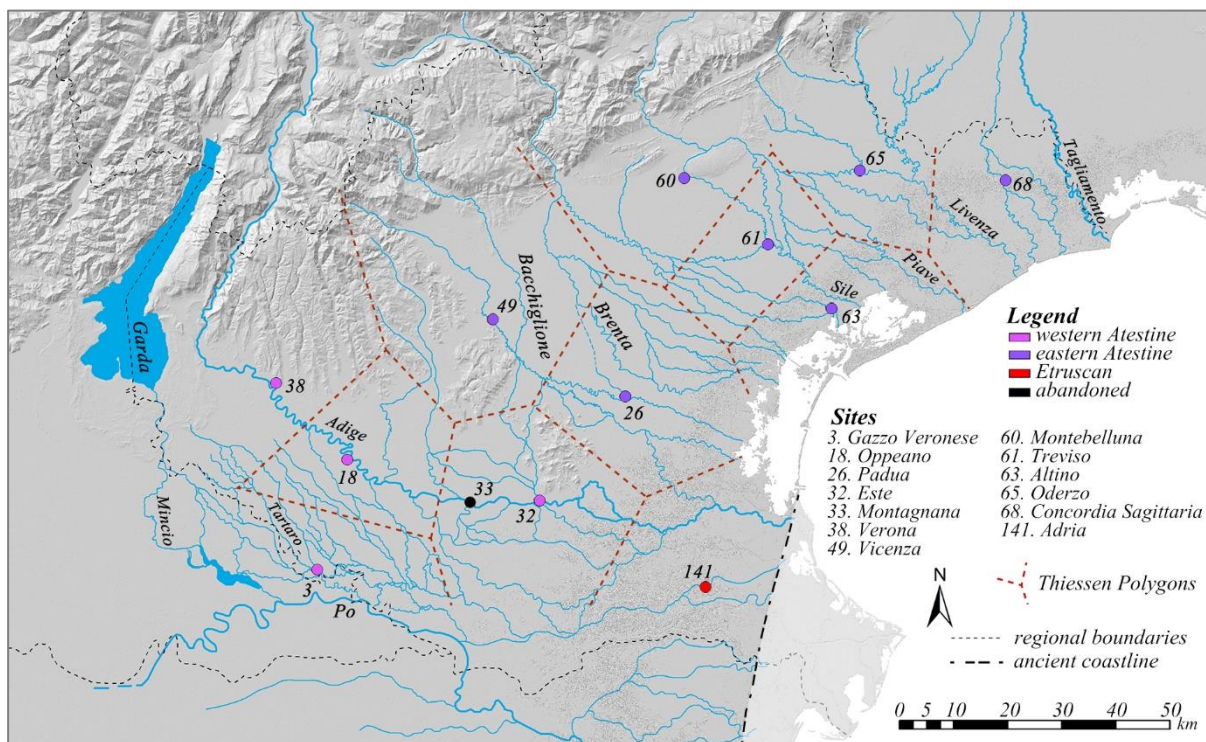


Fig. 53 – 6th-4th cent. BC Thiessen Polygons analysis centred on the major Atestine central places and the Etruscan site of Adria (RO). Central places according to Balista and Gamba (2013: fig. 1) and my arguments in this chapter. DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

On the other hand, the eastern Atestine district does not seem to be affected by the arrival of the Etruscans in Lombardy and in the Po Delta. In the latter area there are a large number of sites along the Adria paleochannel mainly linked to the foundation of Adria (RO) (Fig. 52, site 141) itself. Padua (Fig. 52, site 26) possibly enlarges its territory, as shown by the sites near the Adriatic coast, among which is a sanctuary (Fig. 52, site 153). However, it is also possible that this pattern was already in place in the previous phase and has not been recognised archaeologically because of the limited fieldwork to date. The network towards the Alps is now boosted with sites in the Bellunese area (Fig. 52, site 117) and in the Upper Piave basin (Fig. 52, site 169). I opted to draw the eastern Atestine border along the course of the river Tagliamento following other scholars (see Balista and Gamba, 2013) and to consider the area between the course of the river Tagliamento and the Alps as a buffer zone dividing the Atestine area from Slovenia and Istria. This is because of the poor data available for eastern Friuli-Venezia Giulia (Vitri, 2017) which does not allow a full cultural assessment of the archaeological record for the 6th-4th cent. BC.

During this phase, the western and southern border of the Atestine world is also indicated by a particular group of artefacts: Etruscan equipment for banquets, especially bronze *Schnabelkannen*. This metal form is totally absent in the Atestine area but it is found just outside it at Adria (RO), Borsea (RO), Mantua (MN), Peschiera del Garda (VR), Riva del Garda (TN) and is attested in the Golasecca area (i.e. Lombardy and Piedmont) and central Europe in this phase (Sassatelli, 1989: fig. 71; see also Frey, 1999; Fig. 54).

Sassatelli (1989: 70) suggested that the absence of *Schnabelkannen* in the Atestine area marked a conscious Atestine refusal to adopt Etruscan banqueting equipment and rituals in order to retain their local identity. Sassatelli (1989: 70 and fig. 26) based his argument on the grounds that no *Schnabelkannen* were found in the Atestine area except for that depicted on the belt plate from grave 38 in the Carceri cemetery (PD) (Fig. 55A). It shows a woman pouring liquids from a *Schanbelkanne* while handling a *kantharos*, or *kylix*, to a man with broad-brimmed hat lying on a *klinē* (i.e. a couch). It is, however, an *unicum* in the Atestine area.

Disagreeing with Sassatelli (1989: 70), Capuis (2001: 139-140) suggested that the ideology of the banquet spread in the Atestine area as a result of interaction with the Etruscans on the basis of the Carceri belt plate decoration, a pottery *Schnabelkanne* found in the territory of Este (Fig. 55B), and the presence of bronze instruments and vessels linked to the banquet in Atestine cemeteries (which, however, are not of Etruscan fashion).

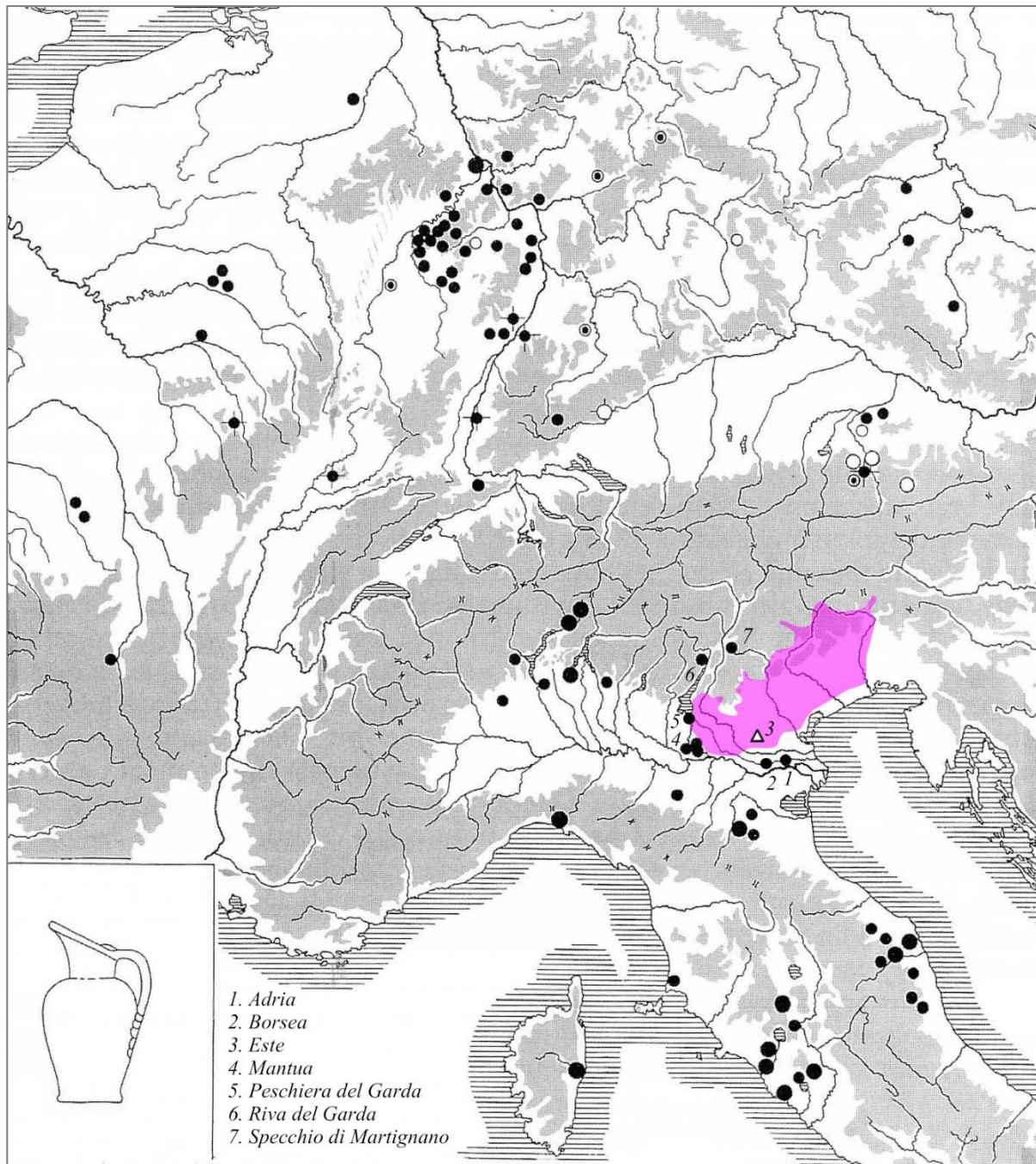


Fig. 54 – Distribution of Etruscan *Schnabelkannen*, black and white circles, compared to the 6th-4th cent. BC Atestine core area, in magenta. The white triangle marks pottery *Schnabelkanne* (after Sassatelli, 1989: fig. 26; Frey, 1999: fig.4; de Marinis, 2000: fig. 25).

Although a pottery *Schnabelkanne* was found in the territory of Este, I agree with Sassatelli's (1989: 70) argument that the Atestines might have consciously decided not to use the Etruscan banqueting equipment. However, I agree with Capuis' (2001: 139-140) hypothesis that interaction between the Etruscans and the Atestines led, at least from the mid 6th cent. BC (see also Maggiani, 2000: 89-90), to the transmission of the banquet ideology from Etruria to the

Veneto. It is then found as a ubiquitous motif in Situla Art (see Chapter 8). Moreover, it is possible that the Carceri belt plate and the pottery *Schanbelkanne* were found in the same grave: this is because they are unique in the Atestine material culture record, and the belt plate has an uncertain provenience “from the cemeteries of Este” (Capuis, 2001: 139). The town of Carceri is located at the outskirts of the present-day town of Este and so might correspond with the reported provenance. Unfortunately, my hypothesis can be no more than speculation given the limited information we have.

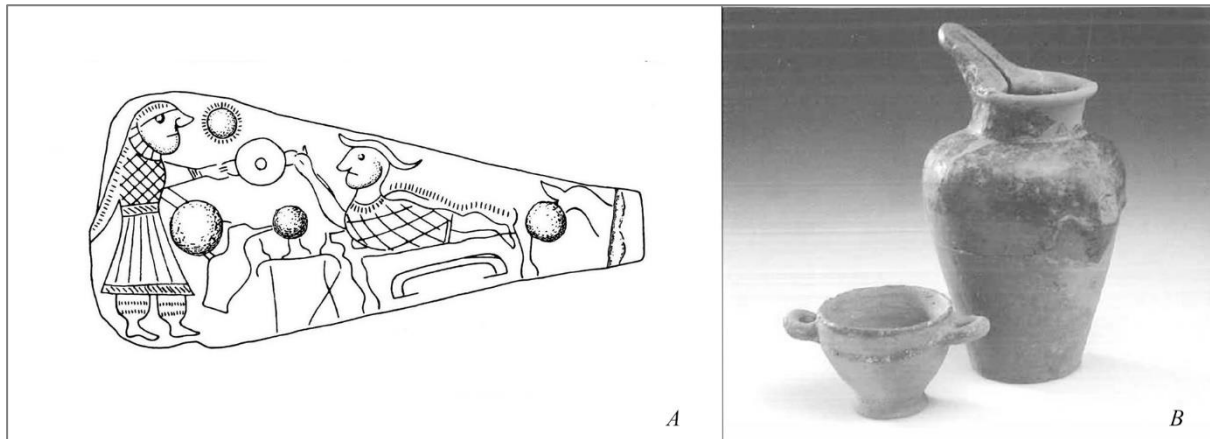


Fig. 55 – A) Carceri (PD), grave 38, belt plate, Veneto, scale 1:1 (after Frey, 1969: plate 67, n. 18). B) pottery *Schanbelkanne* and *skyphos* from the territory of Este (PD) (Capuis, 2001: 139, bottom fig.; scale not provided by Capuis, 2001).

The 6th-4th cent. BC is also the period of the explosion in the number of sanctuaries, distributed throughout the Atestine world, especially in border areas, such as S. Giorgio di Valpolicella-Torre (VR) (Salzani, 2002b; Fig. 52, site 36), Avesa-Grotta del Presepio (VR) (Aspes *et al.*, 2002: site 62; Fig. 52, site 147) and in the Pre-Alps (Fig. 52, site 174). Este (Fig. 52, site 32) has four sanctuaries in this phase: *Tempio dei Dioscuri* (Casale), Caldevigo, Meggiaro, and *Reitia* (Baratella) (Balista *et al.*, 2002). In the eastern Atestine district, sanctuaries are established along the river Bacchiglione (i.e. at Vicenza [VI], Fig. 52, site 49), the coast (i.e. Altino [VE] and Musile del Piave [VE], Fig. 52, sites 63 and 160) and on the route towards the Alps (i.e. Villa di Villa [TV] and Lagole [BL], Fig. 52, sites 64 and 174). Outside the Atestine world but close by is the sanctuary at Mantua-Piazza Santa Barbara (MN) (Fig. 52, site 134; Menotti and Maras, 2012) where inscriptions on vessels refer to the goddess *Zipna*. Intriguingly, some dedications were by Gauls whose name is given in Etruscan script. The sanctuary has been dated to between the beginning of the 5th and the 3rd cent. BC (Menotti and

Maras, 2012: 880-881) although this chronology is not shared by all scholars⁷. Although de Marinis does not agree with the dates proposed for the sanctuary at Mantua by Menotti and Maras (2012), Gallic individuals are recorded on tomb markers in the Atestine area from at least the late 6th cent. BC. For example, the inscribed *ciottolone* of *Tivalei Bellenesi* (Fig. 56a) was found in the eastern outskirts of Padua in the Piovego cemetery (Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2014: 263). Prosdocimi (1988: 240) suggested that he was the forefather of the *Andeti* family (see discussion below) and supposed him to be Gallic for the assonance of his name with *Bellovesus*, who Livy (5, 34, 3) reports led the Gallic invasion of Italy around 600 BC.

On linguistic grounds, Prosdocimi (1988: 380) suggested that *Fugio Tivalio Andetio* was *Tivalei*'s son, and that he had full rights in the local Atestine community on the grounds of the trinomial onomastic formula recorded on his *ciottolone* found at Trambacche (PD), c. 10km west of Padua (Fig. 56b). Another inscribed funerary *ciottolone* from a nearby locality, Creola (PD) (Fig. 56c), is possibly to be connected to the family since it is inscribed with the names *Voltigenes Andetiaio* and *Fremaisto Voltigeneio*. Prosdocimi (1988: 381) suggested that *Voltigenes* was the son of *Fugio Tivalio*, and possibly conceived with a freed slave named *Andetia*. The name *Voltigenes*, of Atestine origin, was possibly given him to underline that he belonged to the local Atestine community (Prosdocimi, 1988: 381). On linguistic grounds, Prosdocimi (1988: 381) also suggested that *Fremaisto Voltigeneio* was the grand-son of *Fugio Tivalio* and his reconstruction of the story of this family ends with a woman, *Fugia Andeatina Fuginia*, whose funerary inscription found at Monselice-Ca' Oddo (PD), close to Este (Fig. 56d), is dated by Capuis (1993: 221) to the late 5th – beginning of the 4th cent. BC. On the grounds of the inscription, Prosdocimi (1988: 381) suggested that she had married *Fugio Tivalio Andetio*, possibly an heir of the *Andeti* family. The *ciottolone* of *Fugio Tivalio Andetio* and the *stele* of *Fugia Andeatina Fuginia*, in fact, have the same symbol, possibly the symbol of the family, depicting a circle with some sort of anchor. Capuis (1993: 221) suggested it was a “Celtic key” (see Fig. 56b, e), which emphasises, the Gallic provenance of the family.

⁷ During the recent conference “Crossing the Alps. Early urbanism between northern Italy and central Europe (900 – 400 BC)” organised by L. Zamboni, M. Fernández-Götz and C. Metzner-Nebelsick at Milan, 29-30 March 2019, de Marinis questioned the dating of this evidence and suggested that Mantua was founded only later on during the 4th cent. BC.

Prosdocimi (1988: 379; see also Marinetti and Solinas, 2014: 80) suggested that another member of the family might be recognised from the partial inscription *ego Andl* (Fig. 56d or f) found on a *cippus* at Este-Morlungo (PD) which is dated to the Atestine period III (c. 700-350 BC; Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 84-85) so it is difficult to say if this inscription should be dated before or after that at Monselice-Ca' Oddo. The family possibly survived until the 1st cent. AD as attested by the inscription *Enoni Ontei Appioi Sselboisselboi Andeticobos Ecvpetaris* found on a situla at Belluno (BL), unfortunately now lost (Marinetti and Solinas, 2014: 80; Fig. 56g).

The evidence discussed shows that foreigners lived in the Atestine area at least from the late 6th cent. BC and the presence of the epithet “ekupetaris/eppetaris”, interpreted by Marinetti (2003: 144) as signifying knight/*eques*, suggests that after just one generation the members of the *Andeti* family were able to acquire a stable social position among the local Atestine community. It is an attractive hypothesis that the title acquired by *Fugio Tivalio Andetio* was inherited all along his family line, marked not only by the use of the epithet “ekupetaris/eppetaris” but also by the presence of the family symbol on the tomb marker of *Fugia Andeatina Fuginia*'s, who became part of the *Andeti* family through marriage. On the basis of the inscription found at Belluno (Marinetti and Solinas, 2014: 80) the family seems to survive, even maintaining its original socio-political status, after the Roman colonisation of the Veneto, which began in 181 BC when the colony of Aquileia was founded (Foraboschi, 1992: 88).

Moreover, tomb markers related to the *Andeti* family document at least five relocations in a time span of c. 600/650 years between the territory of Padua, Este and Belluno (Fig. 57). It is not possible to postulate with certainty the reasons for these relocations, but the uncertain socio-political situation in the 6th and 5th cent. BC might be a plausible explanation at least for the earliest phases. Moreover, the title of *eques* conferred, only after a generation, to foreigners might also have been influenced by socio-political uncertainty.

That the *Andeti* family is not an isolated example of the presence of Gauls in the Atestine archaeological record is suggested by the late 6th cent. BC votive inscription found at the sanctuary of Este-Meggiaro: *meگو Volt[i]omnos Bladio Ke[?]e-uns donasa Heno---toi* (Marinetti, 2002; Marinetti and Solinas, 2014: 78; Fig. 58).

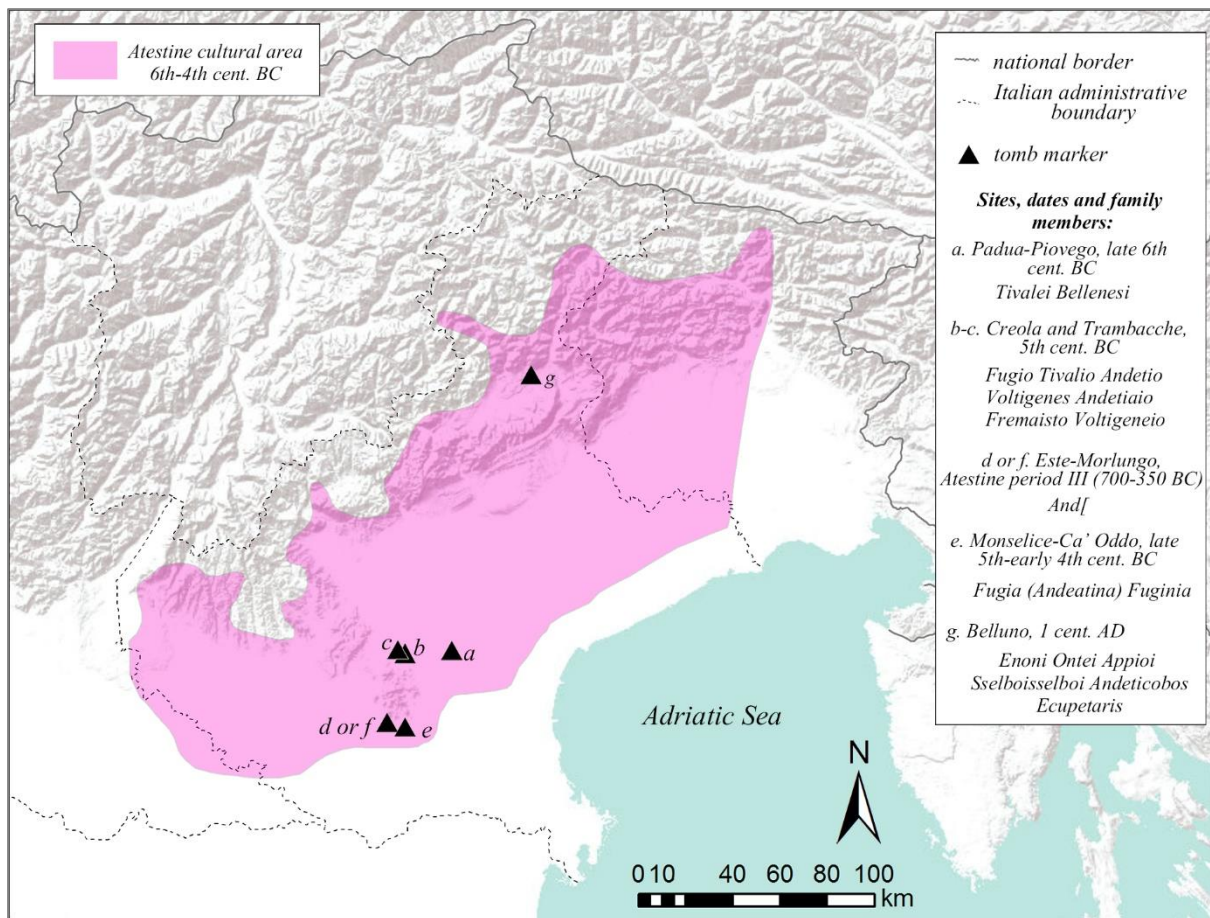


Fig. 57 – Late 6th cent. BC to 1st cent. AD relocations of the *Andeti* family. DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

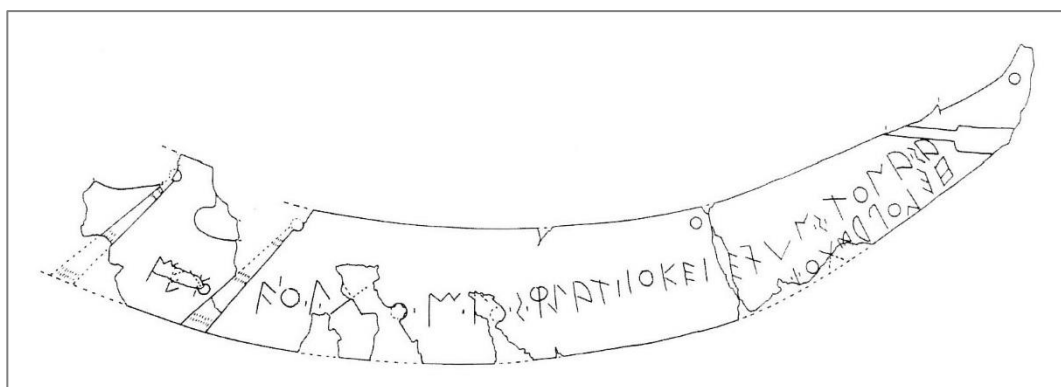


Fig. 58 – Late 6th cent. BC Gallic votive inscription on a bronze plaque from Este-Meggiano sanctuary (PD), scale 1:2 (Marinetti, 2002: 181, fig. 76).

Marinetti and Solinas (2014: 78-79) suggest that the name *Voltiomnos* is typically Atestine, like the above-mentioned *Voltigenes* (Prosdocimi, 1988: 381), while *Bladio* seems to find

parallels in Gaul (see Schmidt, 1957: 151). Like *Voltigenes*, *Voltiomnos* was most probably born in Veneto and this suggests that his Gallic parents, or at least his father, moved to the study area even before the arrival of *Tivalei Bellesesi* at Padua in the late 6th cent. BC as this is the date of *Voltiomnos*' offering. Furthermore, as for *Fugio Tivalio Andetio, Volt[i]omnos Bladio Kel[?]e-uns* might have had full rights in the local Atestine community on the grounds of the trinomial onomastic formula recorded in his votive inscription.

To some extent, this evidence might suggest that a migratory wave brought individual Gauls to the Veneto during the mid/late 6th cent. BC, some time later than the early 6th cent. BC migration reported by Livy (5, 34, 1-6) in which *Bellovesus* left Gaul and founded *Mediolanum*, present-day Milan. Epigraphic evidence, however, suggests the presence of individual Gauls in northern Italy from at least the late 7th cent. BC (Piana Agostinetti, 2004: 31), so the study area was possibly affected by several minor migratory waves of Gauls across time (see Bernardi, 1981) and not only by the two single huge episodes in the 6th and late 4th cent. BC which are reported by Livy (5, 34, 1-6; 5, 35, 1-3) and generally employed by scholars to reconstruct the chronology of the Gallic presence in the study area during the later Iron Age (see Grassi, 1992; Piana Agostinetti, 2004: 64-83).

There is no evidence in the Veneto region for a massive migration of human groups in the 6th cent. BC, but for the late 4th cent. BC the situation is different (see discussion below). Other than the evidence discussed above, the presence of Gauls in the Atestine area is attested from 450-400 BC on the basis of La Tène A grave goods (Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2017). Discussing these grave goods, Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini (2014: 260) consider ornaments as perhaps the outcome of trade, whereas they suggest weapons are less bound to fashion and more related to fighting tactics which require more time to be incorporated by the recipient community. I share the hypothesis of Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini (2014: 262; see also Bondini, 2005) that La Tène A weapons, found at most of the main Atestine towns and in crucial connective and border areas, should in this phase be related to the movement of mercenaries from Gaul (or from other northern Italy districts where Gauls had previously settled?) to the Veneto (Fig. 59).

In contrast to the phases described so far, in the 3rd cent. BC (Fig. 60) there is a counter-tendency in the Atestine settlement pattern with the shift of the western Atestine border to the east along the ancient course of the river Adige, and a major reduction in the number of Atestine sites compared to the previous phase. This is possibly due to the late 4th cent. BC migration of

the Cenomani to eastern Lombardy and the western Veneto reported by Livy (5, 35, 1-3), which in the western Veneto only seems to be archaeologically visible from the 3rd cent. BC at cemeteries mainly characterised by La Tène grave goods (Grassi, 1992: 54). According to Piana Agostinetti (1988), this migration also seriously impacted the north Etruscan world: Forcello was abandoned while Mantua and a few other minor sites survived but with a reduced trading area. The territory of Adria also shrank and population concentrates at Adria itself (Fig. 60, site 141), where La Tène evidence is also found (Bondini, 2008: 71-87; Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2014).

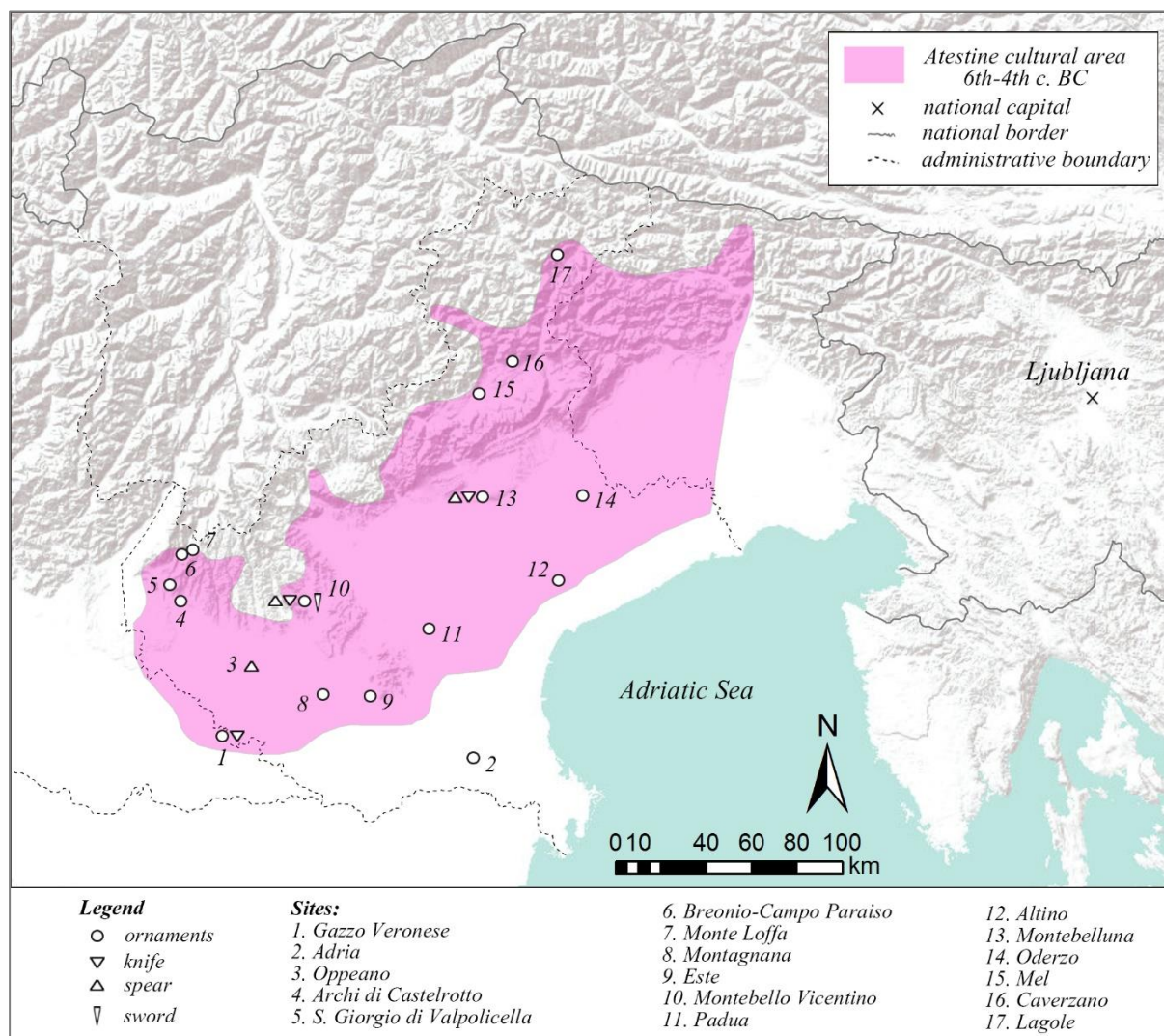


Fig. 59 – La Tène A (450-400 BC) evidence in the Atestine territory (after Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2014: fig. 1). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Hybridisation starts to be seen from this phase and is well documented in the territory of Este where, between the 3rd and 1st cent. BC, groups of Gauls were perfectly integrated among the local Atestine community as is attested by funerary inscriptions where the names of Gallic

husbands were conferred on Atestine wives and *vice versa* (Chieco Bianchi, 1987: 191; see also Voltolini, 2011).

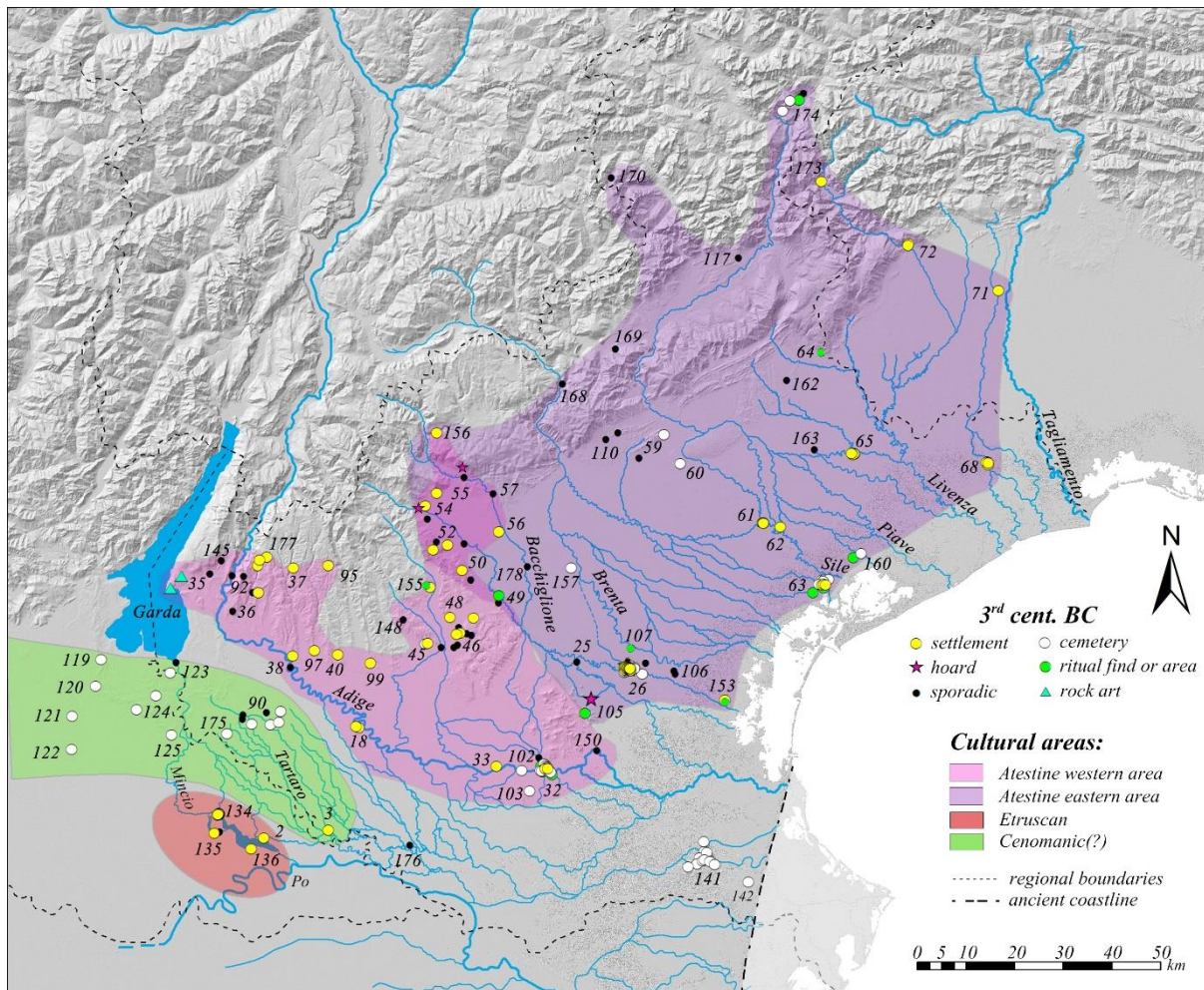


Fig. 60 – The 3rd cent. BC settlement pattern between the Mincio and Tagliamento valleys (see Tab. 13 for site details). Ancient river network reconstruction after aerial photos and Balista and Rinaldi (2005); Balista (2009); Piovan and colleagues (2012: fig. 1); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

The subsequent phase, 2nd-1st cent. BC, is even more different and documents the Roman domination of the study area (Fig. 61). In the early 2nd cent. BC the Romans founded important colonies such as Bologna (BO) in 189 BC, Modena (MO) and Parma (PR) in 183 BC and Aquileia (UD) in 181 BC (Foraboschi, 1992: 81-82, 88). The Atestine-Cenomanic landscape is now fragmented, criss-crossed by a web of roads connecting colonies and important local centres (Pearce *et al.*, 2000). There is a large number of centuriated areas in districts that were less densely occupied in previous phases (Fraccaro, 1957) which might indicate the strategy employed by the Romans in order to control the Atestine territory: firstly by occupying less

densely inhabited districts (see Fig. 61) while, later on, the funerary record shows a significant Roman presence also within the two most important Atestine centres of Este and Padua (Chieco Bianchi, 1984a: 724; 1984b: 744). The western pre-Alpine area was now characterised by the co-existence of Rhaetic and Atestine communities as indicated by bilingual inscriptions, Rhaetic and Atestine (Buchi, 1976: 77-78), while, in the eastern district, the Piave valley seems still to play an important connective role with the emergence of a new sanctuary at Auronzo di Cadore (BL) (Marinetti, 2008: 163-4; Fig. 61, site 197).

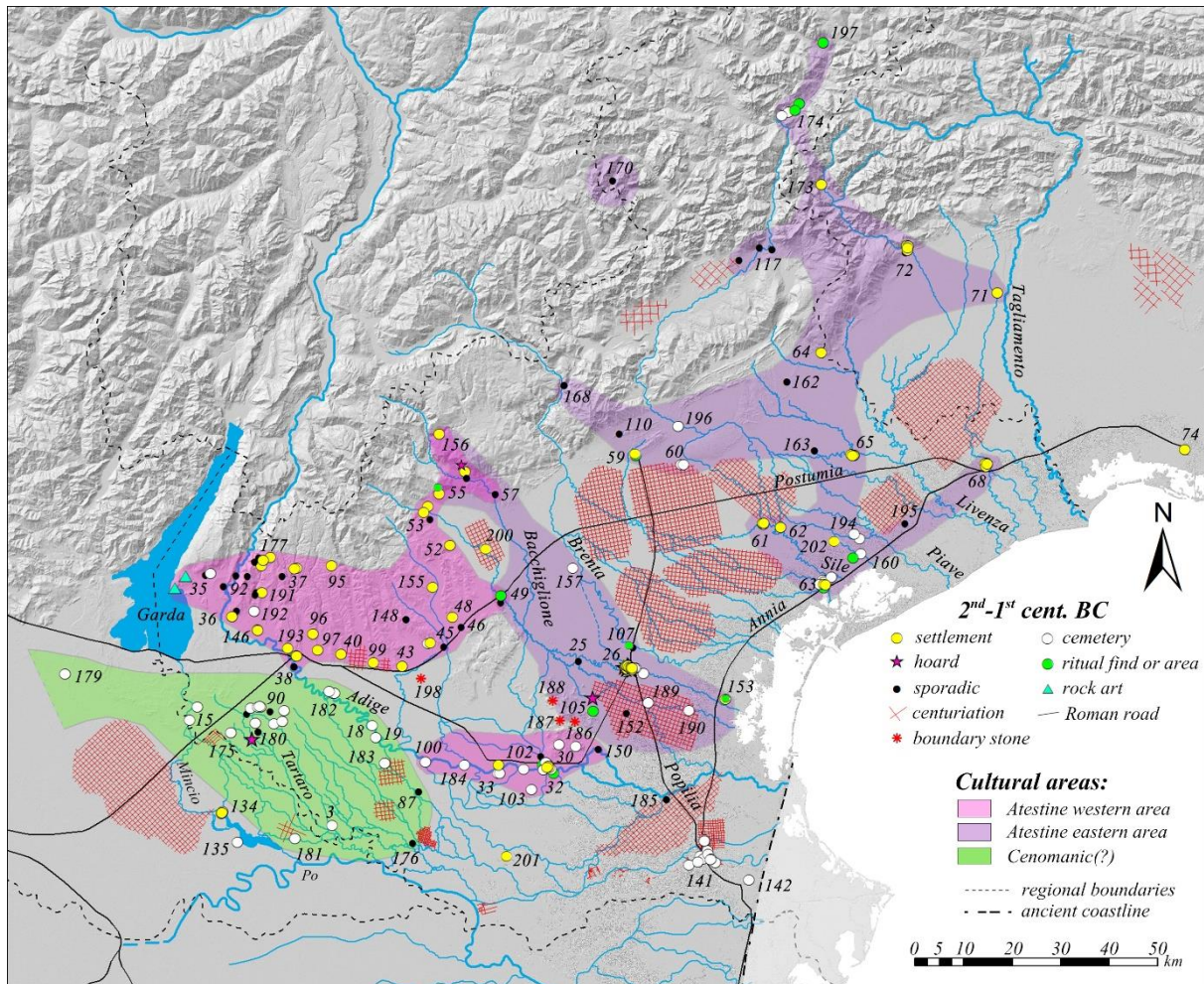


Fig. 61 – The 2nd-1st cent. BC settlement pattern between the Mincio and Tagliamento valleys (see Tab. 13 for site details). Ancient river network reconstruction after aerial photos and Balista and Rinaldi (2005); Balista (2009); Piovan and colleagues (2012: fig. 1); Ravazzi and colleagues (2013). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

To conclude. This chapter summarises the archaeological evidence known so far for the Veneto and nearby areas with the purpose of highlighting the area of distribution of the Atestine culture between the 9th and the 1st cent. BC. I believe this step to be fundamental to achieve the main aim of this PhD project: to analyse Atestine identity. In the following chapters, in fact, the

patterning in time and space of a range of material culture evidence will be analysed so as to identify what Morgan (1992: 134) defines “categories of artefact selected to carry social or political meaning under particular circumstances”, which may also carry identity valence.

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
1	Marcaria-Casatico	MN	S	x									Capuzzo, 2008-9: site 8
2a	Roncoferraro-Castellazzo della Garolda	MN	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			de Marinis, 1986; 1988
2b	Roncoferraro-Corte Vivaio	MN	C							x			Capuzzo, 2008-9: entry 9
2c	Roncoferraro-Garolda, Corte Cavriani	MN	C							x			Casini <i>et al.</i> 1988: 127
3a	Gazzo Veronese-Cop Roman	VR	S	x									Casini <i>et al.</i> 1988: 127
3b	Gazzo Veronese-Cascina Giordano	VR	S	x	x	x	x	x	x				Gonzato <i>et al.</i> , 2015
3c	Gazzo Veronese-Coazze	VR	S	x	x	x	x	x	x				Gonzato <i>et al.</i> , 2015
3d	Gazzo Veronese-Ponte Nuovo	VR	C	x	x	x	x	x	x				Gonzato <i>et al.</i> , 2015
3e	Gazzo Veronese-Turbine S. Pietro	VR	C	x	x	x	x	x	x				Gonzato <i>et al.</i> , 2015
3f	Gazzo Veronese-Colombara	VR	C	x	x	x	x	x	x				Gonzato <i>et al.</i> , 2015
3g	Gazzo Veronese-La Teza	VR	S		x	x	x	x	x				Gonzato <i>et al.</i> , 2015
3h	Gazzo Veronese-Core	VR	C		x								Gonzato <i>et al.</i> , 2015
3i	Gazzo Veronese-Dosso del Pol	VR	C		x	x	x	x	x				Gonzato <i>et al.</i> , 2015
3j	Gazzo Veronese-Turbine Chievo	VR	C		x	x	x	x					Gonzato <i>et al.</i> , 1997b
3k	Gazzo Veronese-Pradelle	VR	C		x	x	x						Gonzato <i>et al.</i> , 2015
3l	Gazzo Veronese-S. Pietro in Valle	VR	C		x	x	x						Gonzato <i>et al.</i> , 2015
3m	Gazzo Veronese-Le Basse	VR	S					x	x				Gonzato <i>et al.</i> , 2015
3n	Gazzo Veronese-Cassinato	VR	C							?	x	x	?
3o	Gazzo Veronese-Coron di Maccacari	VR	S						x				Salzani and Fredella, 2004
3p	Ostiglia-Ara di Spin	MN	spo						x				Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 124
4	Ostiglia-Ponte Molin	MN	C	x									Gonzato <i>et al.</i> , 2015: fig. 1
5	Melara-Mariconda	RO	S	x									Salzani, 1984
6a	Cerea-Perteghelle	VR	S	x	x	x							Cappelli, 2008-9: 88, 91
6b	Legnago-Corte Colarella	VR	spo		x	x							Salzani, 2015: 118
7a	Castagnaro	VR	spo	x									Capuzzo, 2008-9: entry 67
7b	Villa Bartolomea-Lovara	VR	S			x	x	x					Salzani <i>et al.</i> , 2006
7c	Villabartolomea	VR	spo					x					Gambacurta, 1990am
8	S. Bellino-Campagna Contarina	RO	spo	x									Marcassa, 1992a
9a	Frattesina	RO	S	x									Baldo <i>et al.</i> , 2018
9b	Frattesina-Narde	RO	C	x									Pearce <i>et al.</i> , 2020
9c	Frattesina-Fondo Zanotto	RO	C	x									Salzani and Colonna, eds., 2010
10	Villamarzana-Gognano	RO	S	x									Consonni, 2008: 57
11a	Villamarzana-Campagna Michela	RO	hoa	x									Consonni, 2008: plate 1
11b	Frassinelle Polesine-Chiesa Nuova	RO	spo	x									Consonni, 2008: 61
12	Arquà Polesine-Capobosco	RO	spo	x									Marcassa, 1992b
13	Grignano Polesine-Campestrin	RO	S	x									Bietti Sestieri <i>et al.</i> , 2015: fig. 1
													Bietti Sestieri <i>et al.</i> , 2015: fig. 1

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
14a	Ariano Polesine-S. Basilio, Tenuta Forzello	RO	S	x	x		x	x					Marcassa, 1994o
14b	Ariano Polesine-S. Basilio, Chiesa	RO	C				x						Marcassa, 1994b
15a	Valeggio sul Mincio-Borghetto	VR	spo			x	x						Gambacurta, 1990aa
15b	Valeggio sul Mincio-Borghetto, cimitero	VR	C	x									Gambacurta, 1990ab
15c	Valeggio sul Mincio-Cogolotto	VR	C					x					de Zuccato <i>et al.</i> , 2015: 161-164 and fig. 1
15d	Valeggio sul Mincio-via Gorizia	VR	C							x	x		Bondini, 2008: 89
15e	Valeggio sul Mincio-Le Buse	VR	C									x	Gambacurta, 1990b
16	Sommacampagna-Custoza	VR	S	x									Salzani, 1996-7
17a	Bovolone-Crosare	VR	C	x									Migliavacca, 1990a
17b	Bovolone	VR	spo		x								Basso, 1990d
18a	Oppeano-Le Franchine	VR	C	x	x	x	x	x	x				Gambacurta, 1990z
18b	Oppeano-Montara	VR	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			Rosi, 2008
18c	Oppeano-Fornace	VR	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			Gambacurta, 1990y
18d	Oppeano-Le Fratte	VR	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			Casarotto <i>et al.</i> , 2008
18e	Oppeano-Isolo	VR	S+hoa	x	x	x	x	x	x				Gambacurta, 1990af
18f	Oppeano-via Matteotti	VR	C		x								Gambacurta, 1990x
18g	Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro, Fondo Turrini Placido	VR	C		x								Gambacurta, 1990w
18h	Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro, Fondo Bedoni	VR	C		x	x	x						Gambacurta, 1990v
18i	Oppeano-Campo Sette Rive	VR	C		x	x	x	x					Gambacurta, 1990u
18j	Oppeano-via Napoleonica	VR	C		x								Ferrari, 2008: 14
18k	Oppeano-Le Franchine, Fondo Lanfranchini	VR	C			x	x						Gambacurta, 1990t
18l	Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro, Fondo Gambin	VR	C					x					Gambacurta, 1990s
18m	Oppeano-Fondo Mazzon	VR	C					?	?				Ferrari, 2008: 12
18n	Oppeano-via Roma	VR	S				x	x					Basso, 1990c
18o	Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro, Croce Rossa, Fondo Rinaldi	VR	spo				?	?					Gambacurta, 1990r
18p	Oppeano-Fondo Carlotti	VR	spo					x					Gambacurta, 1990q
18q	Oppeano-Belgioioso	VR	C						x				Gambacurta, 1990p
18r	Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro, Fondo Turrini Mario	VR	C						x				Gambacurta, 1990o
18s	Oppeano-La Piletta	VR	C									x	Gambacurta, 1990n
19a	Isola Rizza-Chiesa Parrocchiale	VR	C	x									Gambacurta, 1990m
19b	Isola Rizza-S. Fermo	VR	S	x	x	x							Gamba, 1990m
19c	Isola Rizza	VR	spo				x						Basso, 1990f
19d	Isola Rizza-Casalndri	VR	C								x	x	Salzani, 1998b
20a	Veronella-Sabbionara	VR	S	x									Salzani, 1993a: 22 and fig. 1
20b	Veronella-Desmonia	VR	C	x									Salzani, 1993b: 46 and fig. 9
21	Ronco d'Adige-Pezze di Tombazosana	VR	C	x	x								Salzani, ed., 2013
22	Baldaria-Cologna Veneta	VR	S	x	x	x							Salzani, 1995
23	Sossano-Monte della Croce	VI	S	x									Capuis and Gambacurta, 2015: figs 1-3, site n. 38
													Fontana, 1992a

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				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
24	Albetteone-Lovolo	VI	spo	x									Fontana, 1992b
25a	Saccolongo-Fiume Bacchiglione, SW/W	PD	spo	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		Fontana, 1992c-f
25b	Padua-Trambacche	PD	C					x					Marinetti and Prosdociini, 2005
26a	Padua-via S. Francesco 102	PD	spo	x	x	x	x						Gamba, 2005f: 99, n. 58
26b	Padua-via Patriarcato 16	PD	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Groppo, 2005a: 78, n. 4
26c	Padua-Palazzo Forzadura	PD	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Balista, 2005b: 83-84, n. 24
26d	Padua-Largo Europa	PD	S	x	x		x	x	x				Groppo, 2005b: 85-6, n. 31
26e	Padua-ex Storione	PD	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Groppo, 2005c: 89-91, n. 42
26f	Padua-S. Martino e Solferino	PD	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		Pirazzini, 2005a: 87-8, n. 39
26g	Padua-palazzo Emo Capodilista	PD	C	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Tuzzato, 2005a: 144-148, n. 6
26h	Padua-S. Francesco 29	PD	spo	x	x	x	x						Gamba, 2005a: 99, n. 59
26i	Padua-via Filzi 10	PD	S	x	x						x	x	Groppo, 2005d: 102, n. 66
26j	Padua-Odeo Cornaro	PD	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Groppo, 2005e: 96, n. 53
26k	Padua-via Ospedale 20	PD	S	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	Pirazzini, 2005b: 97, 99, n. 56
26l	Padua-Studio Teologico S. Antonio	PD	C	x	x								Pirazzini, 2005c: 162, n. 9
26m	Padua-via Tiepolo, scavi 1988	PD	C	x	x		x						Pirazzini, 2005d: 167, n. 26
26n	Padua-ex Tormene	PD	C	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		Gambacurta, 2005a: 168-170, n. 30
26o	Padua-Istituto Dorotee	PD	S		x	x	x	x					Groppo, 2005f: 78, n. 2
26p	Padua-via Rolando da Piazzola 17-23	PD	S		x	x	x	x					Salerno, 2005a: 83, n. 20
26q	Padua-ex Pilsen nord	PD	S		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Groppo, 2005g: 85, n. 26
26r	Padua-Palazzo delle Debite	PD	spo		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Groppo, 2005h: 87, n. 38
26s	Padua-via S. Canziano/via delle Piazze	PD	S			x	x	x	x	x	x		Facchi, 2005b: 88-89, n. 40
26t	Padua-Piazza Castello 8 (Casa del Clero)	PD	S		x		x	x	x	x		x	Pirazzini, 2005e: 80-82, n. 8
26u	Padua-via Rudena 23-25	PD	S		x	x	x	x	x				Gamba, 2005b: 94, n. 50
26v	Padua-Questura	PD	S		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Pirazzini, 2005r: 91-94, n. 46
26w	Padua-via Rudena/via Santo 58	PD	S		x	x	x						Sainati, 2005a: 94, n. 49
26x	Padua-via Ospedale 8	PD	S		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Groppo, 2005k: 97, n. 55
26y	Padua-via Battisti 257	PD	S		x	x	x	x	x				Groppo, 2005i: 108, n. 75
26z	Padua-via Gabelli 106	PD	S		x	x	x	x					Groppo, 2005j: 107-108, n. 74
26aa	Padua-Liceo Tito Livio	PD	spo		x	x	x	x	x				Groppo, 2005l: 91, n. 44
26ab	Padua-palazzo Zabarella	PD	S		x	x	x	x	x	x			Pirazzini, 2005f: 99-102, n. 60
26ac	Padua-via S. Sofia 25/via C. Battisti	PD	S		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		Groppo, 2005m: 102, n. 67
26ad	Padua-via C. Battisti 55-67	PD	S		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		Groppo, 2005n: 102, n. 63
26ae	Padua-Istituto di Farmacologia	PD	C		x	x	x			x			Pirazzini, 2005g: 157, n. 7
26af	Padua-Collegio Morgagni	PD	C		x	x							Pirazzini, 2005h: 162, n. 10
26ag	Padua-vicolo Fortebracci	PD	C		x	x	x						Gamba, 2005c: 164, n. 15
26ah	Padua-via Tiepolo	PD	C		x								Pirazzini, 2005i: 166, n. 17
26ai	Padua-via Ognissanti	PD	C		x					x	x		Pirazzini, 2005j: 166-167, n. 22
													Gamba, 2005d: 167, n. 23

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
26aj	Padua-via Cristofori 8	PD	C			x							Sainati, 2005b: 108, n. 82
26ak	Padua-via delle Piazze/via S. Martino e Solferino	PD	S			x	x	x					Grosso, 2005n: 89, n. 41
26al	Padua-ex chiostro S. Caterina	PD	S			x	x						Sainati, 2005c: 91, n. 45
26am	Padua-via Cappelli/via Bellano	PD	S			x	x						Tuzzato, 2005b: 96, n. 52
26an	Padua-via Cesarotti 10	PD	S			x	x	x	x	x	x		Sainati, 2005d: 97, n. 54
26ao	Padua-via C. Battisti 132/via Pieve	PD	S			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Grosso, 2005o: 102, 104, n. 68
26ap	Padua-via S. Sofia 67	PD	S			x	x	x	x	x	x		Pirazzini, 2005k: 104-107, n. 70
26aq	Padua-via Agnus Dei 26	PD	S			x	x	x	x	x	x		Tuzzato, 2005e: 107, n. 71
26ar	Padua-via S. Massimo 17-19	PD	C			x	x	x					Michielon, 2005a: 157-162, n. 8
26as	Padua-via S. Pietro 143	PD	S				x	x	x	x	x	x	Rinaldi and Sainati, 2005: 78, n. 1
26at	Padua-via dietro Duomo 16	PD	S				x	x					Grosso, 2005p: 79, n. 7
26au	Padua-via dei Tadi 10-12	PD	S				x	x	x				Gamba and Gambacurta, 2005: 78-79, n. 6
26av	Padua-via Patriarcato 17-19	PD	hoa/sac				x	x					Gregnanin, 2005a: 122, n. 1
26aw	Padua-via Patriarcato 17-19	PD	S				x	x					Marcassa, 2005: 78, n. 5
26ax	Padua-ex palazzo Zambelli	PD	S				x	x	x	x	x		Pirazzini, 2005l: 83, n. 18
26ay	Padua-Palazzo Forzadura	PD	hoa/sac				x	x	x	x	x	x	Gregnanin, 2005b: 122-123, n. 7
26az	Padua-ex Pilsen sud	PD	S				x	x					Grosso, 2005q: 85, n. 27
26ba	Padua-Camera di Commercio	PD	S				x	x					Grosso, 2005r: 85, n. 29
26bb	Padua-Piazza Garibaldi	PD	S				x	x	x	x	x		Grosso, 2005s: 86, n. 33
26bc	Padua-ex Stella d'Oro	PD	S				x	x	x	x	x		Grosso, 2005t: 86, n. 34
26bd	Padua-via G. Barbarigo 67	PD	S				x	x	x	x	x	x	Gamba, 2005e: 82, n. 11
26be	Padua-Piazza Eremitani	PD	hoa/sac						x				Gregnanin, 2005c: 128, n. 30
26bf	Padua-Piazza del Santo	PD	hoa/sac				x						Gregnanin, 2005d: 126, n. 24
26bh	Padua-cortile ovest del Giustiniano	PD	S				x	x	x				Gregnanin, 2005e: 108, n. 77
26bi	Padua-Intendenza di Finanza	PD	S				x	x	x				Grosso, 2005v: 102, n. 62
26bj	Padua-via S. Massimo 65	PD	C				x						Pirazzini, 2005m: 164, n. 12
26bk	Padua-Ricreatorio Garibaldi	PD	C				x	x	x				Bondini, 2008: 124
26bl	Padua-via Tiepolo/via S. Massimo	PD	C				x	x					Pirazzini, 2005n: 164, n. 14
26bm	Padua-ex orto Melchior	PD	C				x	x	x				Pirazzini, 2005o: 167, n. 24
26bn	Padua-CUS (Piovego)	PD	C				x	x	x	x		x	Basso, 1992a
26bo	Padua-Stazione Ferroviaria	PD	hoa/sac						x	x			Gregnanin, 2005e: 128, n. 28
26bp	Padua-viale Codalunga	PD	hoa/sac						x	x			Gregnanin, 2005f: 128, n. 27
26bq	Padua-Porta San Giovanni	PD	hoa/sac						x	x			Gregnanin, 2005g: 126, n. 25
26br	Padua-Reggia dei Carraresi	PD	S						x				Grosso, 2005w: 82, n. 13
26bs	Padua-Chiesa dei SS. Fermo e Rustico	PD	hoa/sac						x	x			Gregnanin, 2005h: 123-124, n. 8
26bt	Padua-ex Pilsen	PD	hoa/sac						x	x			Gregnanin, 2005i: 124, n. 9
26bu	Padua-Chiesa dei SS. Fermo e Rustico	PD	S						x	x	x	x	Sainati, 2005e: 85, n. 25
26bv	Padua-via S. Fermo 54	PD	S						x	x			Grosso, 2005x: 85, n. 30
26bw	Padua-Camera di Commercio	PD	hoa/sac						x	x			Gregnanin, 2005j: 124, n. 10

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
26bx	Padua-via Risorgimento 26	PD	S						x	x	x		Gamba, 2005g: 86, n. 32
26by	Padua-Piazza Cavour	PD	hoa/sac						x	x			Gregnanin, 2005k: 125, n. 14
26bz	Padua-ex Stiorione	PD	hoa/sac						x	x			Gregnanin, 2005l: 125, n. 15
26ca	Padua-Chiesa dei Servi	PD	hoa/sac						x	x			Gregnanin, 2005m: 125, n. 18
26cb	Padua-Piazza Castello	PD	hoa/sac						x	x		x	Gregnanin, 2005n: 122, n. 6
26cc	Padua-via Tiso da Camposampiero/via Riello	PD	C						x	x			Gamba, 2005h: 144, n. 2
26cd	Padua-via Paoli 4-8	PD	C						x	x	x		Michelini, 2005a: 144, n. 1
26ce	Padua-via Umberto I, 100	PD	hoa/sac						x	x			Gregnanin, 2005o: 128, n. 32
26cf	Padua-via Cappelli 40	PD	S						x	x			Gambacurta, 2005b: 94-96, n. 51
26cg	Padua-via Belzoni	PD	C						x				Gamba, 2005i: 166, n. 20
26ch	Padua-Fondo Baldan	PD	C						x	x			Gamba, 2005j: 166, n. 21
26dg	Padua-Madri Canossiane	PD	C						x	x			Pirazzini, 2005p: 168, n. 28
26ci	Padua-Piazza Castello	PD	hoa/sac						x		x	x	Gregnanin, 2005z: 122, n. 6
26cj	Padua-Corso Garibaldi, Arena	PD	hoa/sac						x	x			Gregnanin, 2005p: 128, n. 29
26ck	Padua-Istituto di Farmacologia	PD	hoa/sac						x	x			Gregnanin, 2005q: 128, n. 31
26cl	Padua-via dei Dondi dall'Orologio 6	PD	S						x	x	x	x	Grosso, 2005y: 83, n. 14
26cm	Padua-Palazzo Zambelli	PD	hoa/sac							x			Gregnanin, 2005r: 122, n. 3
26cn	Padua-Piazza Cavour	PD	S						x	x		x	Grosso, 2005z: 86, n. 35
26co	Padua-Canton del Gallo	PD	hoa/sac							x			Gregnanin, 2005s: 125, n. 16
26cp	Padua-via Boito 32	PD	C						x	x			Michelini, 2005b: 144, n. 3
26cq	Padua-via Boito 32	PD	S									x	Michelini, 2005b: 144, n. 3
26cr	Padua-chiostro della chiesa di S Francesco	PD	spo							?	?		Grosso, 2005aa: 99, n. 57
26cs	Padua-chiostro del Capitolo	PD	hoa/sac							x			Gregnanin, 2005t: 126, n. 23
26ct	Padua-via Battisti 132/via della Pieve	PD	hoa/sac						x		x	x	Gregnanin, 2005u: 126, n. 22
26cu	Padua-via Battisti	PD	hoa/sac						x	x	x		Gregnanin, 2005v: 126, n. 21
26cv	Padua-via S. Biagio 35	PD	hoa/sac						x	x			Gregnanin, 2005w: 125, n. 19
26cw	Padua-via S. Biagio 35	PD	S						x	x	x	x	Tuzzato, 2005d: 102, n. 65
26cx	Padua-Palazzo Polcastro	PD	hoa/sac						x	x	x	x	Gregnanin, 2005x: 125-126, n. 20
26cy	Padua-Terranegra	PD	C						x	x	x		Gamba, 1992s
26cz	Padua-Prato della Valle	PD	spo							x	x		Grosso, 2005ab: 109, n. 86
26da	Padua-via Marin/via Cavalletto	PD	spo							x	x	x	Grosso, 2005ac: 109, n. 85
26db	Padua-ITC Calvi	PD	S							x	x		Grosso, 2005ad: 94, n. 47
26dc	Padua-via S. Francesco 7	PD	spo							x	x		Gamba, 2005k: 91, n. 43
26dd	Padua-Campo Sportivo Petron	PD	C							x			Pirazzini, 2005q: 164, n. 13
26de	Padua-via Cornaro	PD	spo								x		Grosso, 2005ae: 110, n. 94
26df	Padua-via Rolando da Piazzola 8	PD	S									x	Grosso, 2005af: 83, n. 21
26dh	Padua-ex Stella d'Oro	PD	hoa/sac									x	Gregnanin, 2005y: 124, n. 13
26di	Padua-Piazzetta Pedrocchi 1-7	PD	spo									x	Balista <i>et al.</i> , 2005: 87, n. 37
26dj	Padua-Gabelli 64	PD	S									x	Grosso, 2005ah: 107, n. 73

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
26dk	Padua-ex Ponte dell'Ospedale	PD	spo								x	x	Grosso, 2005ai: 109, n. 91
26dl	Padua-Ponte dell'Ospedale	PD	hoa/sac								x		Gamba, 2005l: 128, n. 33
26dm	Padua-via Orsini 15	PD	hoa/sac									x	Gambacurta, 2005c: 126, n. 26
26dn	Padua-via Emanuele Filiberto	PD	hoa/sac									x	Gregnanin, 2005aa: 124, n. 12
26do	Padua-via J. d'Avanzo, Stazione centrale	PD	C									x	Peternò <i>et al.</i> , 2014: 30-37
26dp	Padua-Prato della Valle, ex Antonianum	PD	C									x	Peternò <i>et al.</i> , 2014: 37-41
27a	Teolo-Monterosso, Villa Bembiana	PD	spo	x									Fontana, 1992g
27b	Teolo-Monterosso, Scolo Rialtello	PD	S	x									Fontana, 1992h
27c	Selvazzano Dentro- fiume Bacchiglione, da Saccolongo a Sevazzano	PD	spo				x	x					Fontana, 1992n-o
27d	Selvazzano Dentro/Abano Terme-Strada Feriolo	PD	spo						x	x			Gamba, 1992d
28a	Vo-Monte Rovarola	PD	S	x		x							Fontana, 1992i
28b	Teolo-Monte Pendice	PD	spo				x	x					Fontana, 1992j
29a	Lozzo Atestino-Monte Lozzo, Prà, Rivale di Prà, Preara, Mezzarco	PD	S	x									Fontana, 1992k
29b	Lozzo Atestino-Vignalon	PD	C	x									Fontana, 1992l
30a	Galzignano-Monte Orbiesio	PD	S	x	x	x							Capuis and Gambacurta, 2015: site n. 76
30b	Cinto Euganeo-Preara di Fontana Fredda	PD	C				x	x					Gamba, 1992a
30c	Baone-Le Basse di Valcalaona	PD	spo					x					Gamba, 1992i
30d	Baone-Case Piombà, Fondo Pezzolo	PD	C					x					Gamba, 1992j
30e	Baone-Le Gattoline	PD	C					x					Gamba, 1992k
30f	Baone-Valle S. Giorgio	PD	C					x					Gamba, 1992l
30g	Arquà Petrarca-Fonteghe	PD	spo					x					Gamba, 1992m
30h	Arquà Petrarca-Monte Ricco	PD	C								x	x	Gamba, 1992n
31	Arquà Petrarca-Bignago, Le Contarine	PD	S	x									Gamba, 1992b
32a	Este-cimitero maggiore	PD	spo	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 21
32b	Este-Serraglio Albrizzi	PD	spo	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 22
32c	Este-Casa di Ricovero	PD	C	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985
32d	Este-villa Benvenuti	PD	C	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006
32e	Este-via Cavour	PD	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008
32f	Este-Ospedale civile	PD	S	x	x	x							Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 11
32g	Este-Ca' Mori	PD	C	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 12
32h	Este-Ca' Mori	PD	S	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 13
32i	Este-Fondo Morini	PD	S	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 10
32j	Este-via ex S.A.F.F.A.	PD	S	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 7-9
32m	Este-via C. Battisti	PD	S	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 6
32n	Este-via Rovigo	PD	S	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 5
32o	Este-Fondo Dal Bello	PD	S	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 4
32p	Este-ex Zuccherificio	PD	S	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 3
32q	Este-via Artigiani	PD	S	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 2
32r	Este-Fondo Baratella	PD	S	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 1

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
32s	Este-via Scarabello	PD	C	x	x	x	x	x	x				Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 18 Bondini, 2008: 50
32t	Este-Fondo Nazari	PD	C	x	x	x	x	x	x				Bianchin Citton, 2002: fig. 15, n. 9 Bondini, 2008: 56
32u	Este- Nuova Casa di Ricovero	PD	C	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 14
32v	Este-via Prà 10	PD	C	x									Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008
32w	Este-Fondo Lachini-Pela	PD	C	x									Bianchin Citton, 2002: fig. 15, n. 8
32x	Este-Prà, Fondo Destro	PD	C	x									Bianchin Citton, 2015: fig. 4, n. 15
32y	Este-Prà	PD	C	x				x	x	x			Marcassa, 1992aw, ax
32z	Este-Campagnola	PD	C		x	x							Marcassa, 1992c
32aa	Este-Casa Muletti-Prodocimi	PD	C		x	x	x	x	x				Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985
32ab	Este-Casa Alfonsi	PD	C		x	x	x	x	x	x			Bondini, 2008: 28
32ac	Este-Ponte Nuovo	PD	C		x	x	x	x					Marcassa, 1992d
	Este-Ponte della Torre	PD	C										Marcassa, 1992ay
32ad	Este-via Scarabello	PD	C		x	x							Bianchin Citton, 2002: fig. 15, n. 10
32ae	Este-Aia Capodaglio	PD	C		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Bondini, 2008: 57
32af	Este-Morlungo-Pela	PD	C		x	x	x						Zerbinati, 1982: 304-12
32ag	Baone-Rana	PD	spo		x	x							Marcassa, 1992v
32ah	Este-Baratella (Reitia sanctuary)	PD	sac			x	x	x	x	x	x		Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008 Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2002
32ai	Este-Sostegno	PD	spo					x					Marcassa, 1992e
32aj	Este-Fondo Bortoloni	PD	C					x					Marcassa, 1992f
32ak	Este-Caldevigo	PD	sac					x	x	x			Gambacurta and Zaghetto, 2002
32al	Este-Meggiano	PD	sac					x	x	x			Balista <i>et al.</i> , 2002
32am	Este-via Gambina	PD	S					x	x	x	x	x	Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008
32an	Este-Parco A. Corradini	PD	S					x	x	x			Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008
32ao	Este-via Ateste 4	PD	C					x	x		x		Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008
32ap	Este-Deserto	PD	spo					x	x				Marcassa, 1992g
32aq	Este-Schiavonia	PD	C					x	x				Marcassa, 1992h
32ar	Este-Castello	PD	C						x	x			Bondini, 2008: 44
32as	Este-via Principe Umberto	PD	S					x	x	x	x		Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008
32at	Este-Casale	PD	sac					x	x	x	x	x	Balista <i>et al.</i> , 2002
32au	Este-Fondo Costa Martini	PD	C										Bondini, 2008: 46
32av	Este-Capodaglio	PD	C						x	x	x	x	Balista <i>et al.</i> , 2002
32aw	Este-Fondo Randi	PD	C										Bondini, 2008: 47-49
32ax	Este-via Versori 59	PD	C						x	x	x	x	Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008
32ay	Este-Fuoghi	PD	C										Marcassa, 1992i
32az	Este-Fondo Rizzardi	PD	C						x	x	x		Marcassa, 1992j
32ba	Este-Idrovara di Valcaalona	PD	spo										Zerbinati, 1992a

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
32bb	Monselice-Ca' Oddo	PD	C					x	x				Zerbinati, 1992b
32bc	Este-Fondo de Antoni (ex S.A.F.F.A.)	PD	C						x	x			Bondini, 2008: 60-61
32bd	Este-Fondo Boldi-Dolfin	PD	C							x			Bondini, 2008: 64
32be	Este-Fondo Rebato	PD	C								x	x	Bondini, 2008: 24-25
32bf	Este-Morlungo	PD	sac								x		Gambacurta, 2002
33a	Montagnana-S. Zeno	PD	S	x	x	x							Bianchin Citton, 2015
33b	Montagnana-Ca' Nogare	PD	C	x	x								Capuis and Gambacurta, 2015: fig. 2, n. 37
33c	Montagnana-Prato della Valle	PD	C		x	x						x	Marcassa, 1992k
33d	Montagnana-Ca' Manin	PD	C		x	x	x	x					Marcassa, 1992l
33e	Montagnana-Ca' Negri	PD	spo			x	x	x					Marcassa, 1992m
33f	Montagnana-Ca' Zorzi	PD	C					x					Marcassa, 1992n
33g	Montagnana-Fondo de Togni	PD	C						x				Marcassa, 1992o
34	Casale di Scodosia-Vallerana, Castllari	PD	S	x					x	x			Marcassa, 1992p
35a	Garda-via S. Bernardo	VR	C	x	x								Marcassa, 1992r
35b	Caprino Veronese-Pesina	VR	spo		x								Migliavacca, 1990l
35c	Caprino Veronese-Pesina, Castello	VR	spo		x								Gambacurta, 1990ae
35d	Garda-Rocca di Garda	VR	spo				x						Gambacurta, 1990ap
35e	Caprino Veronese	VR	spo							x			Gambacurta, 1990al
35f	Garda-Villa Canossa, La Bocca del Trimelo	VR	rock art							x	x		Gambacurta, 1990c
35g	Costermano-Marciaga, Pietra delle Senge	VR	rock art						x		x		Gambacurta, 1990d
35h	Caprino Veronese-Sanguettara	VR	C							x	x		Bovo, 1990d
35i	Caprino Veronese-Boi di Pesina	VR	spo								x		Bovo, 1990c
36a	S. Giorgio di Valpolicella-Torre	VR	sac	x	x	x	x	x					Bovo, 1990b
36b	S. Giorgio di Valpolicella-La Torre	VR	C	x	x	x	x	x					Salzani, 2002b: 191
36c	S. Giorgio di Valpolicella	VR	spo										Leonardi, 2011: fig. 1.1, n. 2
36d	S. Giorgio di Valpolicella-II Cristo	VR	hoa						x	x			Gamba, 1990n
36e	S. Ambrogio di Valpolicella-Borgo Aleardi, scuola media	VR	S						x	x	x	x	Gamba, 1990o
37a	Grezzana-Rocca di Lugo	VR	S	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Gamba, 1990h
37b	Sant'anna d'Alfaedo-Monte Tesoro	VR	spo	x	x	x							Gamba, 1990a
38a	Verona-Piazza Cittadella	VR	S	x								x	Gamba, 1990ao
38b	Verona-via Disciplina/Carducci	VR	C	x									Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 62, n. 7
38c	Verona-via Redentore	VR	S	x	x						x		Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 68, n. 22
38d	Verona-via Valdonega	VR	spo										Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 67, n. 17
38e	Verona-Porta S. Giorgio	VR	spo										Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 63, n. 11
38f	Verona-via S. Carlo	VR	S		x								Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 62, n. 8
38g	Verona-via Valverde	VR	S	x	x	x			x	x			Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 66, n. 13
38h	Verona-via Monte Suello	VR	S	x	x								Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 61, n. 5
													Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 63-66, n.12

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
38i	Verona-Castel S. Pietro	VR	S						x	x			Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 66-67, n. 16
38j	Verona-Binastrova	VR	spo							x			Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 67-68, n. 19
38k	Verona-via Regaste Redentore	VR	S								x	x	Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 66, n. 15
38l	Verona-Ponte della Ferrovia	VR	spo								x	x	Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 62-63, n. 9
38m	Verona-Stradone Arcidiacono Pacifico 10	VR	S									x	Stuani, 2014
39	Montorio-La Pezza	VR	spo	x	x								Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 118, site 104
40	Lavagno-S. Briccio	VR	S+hoa+C	x	x					x	x	x	Gamba, 1990am
41	Tregnago-Monte Socio	VR	S	x									Gamba, 1990ak
42	Monteforte d'Alpone-Monte Castellaro di Brugnoligo	VR	S	x									Leonardi, 2011: fig. 1.1, n. 8
43a	Soave-Monte Rocchetta	VR	S	x									Leonardi, 2011: fig. 1.1, n. 9
43b	Monteforte d'Alpone-Monte Zoppegga	VR	S	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	D'Abruzzo, 1990b
44	S. Bonifacio-Villabella	VR	C	x									Migliavacca, 1990k
45a	Montebello Vicentino-Montelago	VI	spo	?									Migliavacca, 1990g
45b	Montebello Vicentino-Pegnare/Pignare	VI	S	x					x	x	x		Migliavacca, 1990f
45c	Montebello Vicentino-Mussolina	VI	C	x									Gamba, 1990aj
45d	Montebello Vicentino-Borgolecco	VI	C	x	x								Migliavacca, 1990e
45e	Montebello Vicentino	VI	spo	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		Migliavacca, 1990d
45f	Montebello Vicentino-Montelago, Gualiva	VI	C					x	x	x	x		Migliavacca, 1990c
45g	Montebello Vicentino-Montelago, Ca' del Lupo	VI	S+C					x					Gamba, 1990ar
46a	Brendola-Castello, area C	VI	spo	x					x	x	x		Fontana, 1992m
46b	Brendola-Ca' Nova	VI	spo							x	x		Menegazzi, 1990e
46c	Brendola-Casoni	VI	spo							x	x		Menegazzi, 1990d
46d	Brendola-Monte Spiado	VI	spo							x	x		Gambacurta, 1992a
46e	Brendola-Soastene-Fosso Gotoro	VI	S							x	x		Menegazzi, 1990c
46f	Brendola-Triveneta	VI	S							x	x		Menegazzi, 1990b
46g	Montecchio Maggiore-Alte Ceccato/raccordo autostradale	VI	spo							x	x	x	Gamba, 1990ag
46h	Altavilla Vicentina	VI	S	x						x	x		Gambacurta, 1992b
47a	Arcugnano-Valli di Fimon	VI	spo	x					x				Fontana, 1992p
47b	Longare-Lumignano, Grotta della Guerra	VI	spo						x	x			Fontana, 1992q
48a	Montecchio Maggiore-Colombara	VI	S	x				x	x	x	x		Gamba, 1990ai
48b	Montecchio Maggiore-Lovara	VI	C						x	x			Gamba, 1990ah
49a	Vicenza	VI	S	x									Capuis and Gambacurta, 2015: fig. 1, n. 50
49b	Vicenza-Ponte Marchese	VI	spo		x								Voltolini, 2013b
49c	Vicenza-Villaga di Barbarano	VI	spo						x	x			Gamba, 2013
49d	Vicenza-Santa Corona	VI	spo						x				Voltolini, 2013c
49e	Vicenza-Monte Berico	VI	spo							x	x	x	Gambacurta, 1992c-e
49f	Vicenza-Piazzetta S. Giacomo	VI	sac							x	x	x	Zaghetto, 2003
50a	Costabissara-Pignare	VI	S	x					x	x	x		Gambacurta, 1992f
50b	Costabissara-S. Valentino	VI	spo	x						x	x		Gambacurta, 1992g

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
50c	Isola Vicentina-Cima dell'Ignago	VI	S							?	?		D'Abruzzo, 1990a
51	Castelgomberto		S	x									De Guio, 1980
52a	Malo-Monte Palazzo di S. Tomio	VI	S	x		x		x	x	x	x		Gamba, 1990af
52b	Monte Malo-Priabona/Chiesa Vecchia	VI	S	x				x	x	x			Gamba, 1990ad
52c	Monte di Malo-Buso della Rana	VI	spo						x	x			Gamba, 1990ae
52d	Isola Vicentina-Fondo Antoniazzi	VI	spo						x	x	x		Gambacurta, 1992h
53a	Monte Civillina	VI	S	x									Leonardi, 2011: fig. 1.1, n. 14
53b	Torrebelvicino-Pievebelvicino	VI	spo			x							Gamba, 1988s
54a	Schio-Magrè, Castello	VI	S+sac	x				x				x	Gamba, 1988a
54b	Schio-Magrè, Castellon	VI	spo							x	x		Gamba, 1988b
54c	Schio-Magrè, Castello	VI	S	x					x	x			Gamba, 1988c
54d	Schio-Magrè	VI	hoa						x	x	x		De Nardi, 2008: 419
55a	Piovene Rocchette-Castel Manduca, Orto Barbieri	VI	spo	x	x	x				x	x	x	Gamba, 1988ar
55c	Santorso-Monte Summano, Colle del Castello e Valle Castello	VI	S	x			x						Gamba, 1988e
55b	Santorso-via Pozzati	VI	S	x				x	x	x			Gamba, 1988d
55d	Santorso-Collezione Cìbin	VI	spo		x								Leonardi, 2011: fig. 2.1, n. 13
55e	Piovene Rocchette-Castel Manduca, Podere Borriero	VI	S				x	x	x				Leonardi, 2011: fig. 1.1, n. 21
55f	Santorso-Bocca Lorenza	VI	S+sac				x	x	x	x	x	x	Gamba, 1988f
55g	Carrè-Castello	VI	spo				x	x	x	x			Gamba, 1988g
55h	Carrè-Castello	VI	C				?	?	?	?	?	?	De Nardi, 2008: 420
55i	Thiene-Duomo	VI	spo						?	?	?		Menegazzi, 1988a
55j	Cogollo del Cenghio-Collina dell'Olmo	VI	S										Gamba, 1988h
55k	Caltrano-Camisino	VI	spo						x				Gamba, 1988ad
55l	Caltrano-Castellare	VI	S+C+hoa						x	x	x	x	Gamba, 1988ae
56a	Montecchio Precalcino-Bastia	VI	S	x									Gamba, 1988aq
56b	Montecchio Precalcino-Capodisotto	VI	C	x									Gamba, 1988ap
56c	Montecchio Precalcino-Preara	VI	spo	x	x								Gambacurta, 1992j
57a	Lusiana-Monte Cornion	VI	S	x									Gambacurta, 1992i
57b	Zugliano-Torrente Astico	VI	spo				x	x	x	x	x		Gamba, 1988i
57c	Molvena	VI	C							x			Gamba, 1988j
58a	Bassano del Grappa-S. Giorgio di Angarano	VI	C	x	x								Gamba, 1988y
58b	Marostica-Marsan	VI	spo										Gamba, 1988ag
58c	Bassano del Grappa	VI	spo										Bianchin Citton, 1982
58d	Mussolente-Vallassina	VI	C				?	?					Gamba, 1988z
59a	Asolo-Casa Gotica	TV	S	x	x			x	x			x	Gamba, 1988aa
59b	Asolo-Biordo	TV	C			x							Gamba, 1988ab
59c	Asolo-via Marconi	TV	S									x	Bianchin Citton et al., 1998
													Gamba, 1988w
												x	Laresse and Mondin, 2014

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
59d	Monfumo	TV	spo				x	x					Gamba, 1988x
59e	Asolo-Villa d'Asolo, Casella	TV	spo						x	x	x	x	Gamba, 1988ai
59f	Cornuda-Madonna della Rocca	TV	C+spo							x	x		Gamba, 1988ao
59g	Asolo	TV	sac								x	x	Marinetti, 2008
60a	Montebelluna-via Civetta	TV	S	x	x								Bianchin Citton and Manessi Caron 1999
60b	Montebelluna-Posmon	TV	C		x	x	x	x	x	x			Bianchin Citton and Manessi Caron 1999
60c	Montebelluna-S. Maria del Colle	TV	C		x	x	x	x				x	Bianchin Citton and Manessi Caron 1999
60d	Montebelluna	TV	spo		x	x	x	x	x				Gamba, 1988k
60e	Montebelluna-Ospedale	TV	C			x	x						Gamba, 1988l
61a	Treviso-S. Giuseppe	TV	spo	x									Gerhardinger, 1994a
61b	Treviso-Piazza S. Pio X	TV	S	x	x								Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 3
61c	Treviso-via Diaz	TV	S	x	x								Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 7
61d	Treviso-Piazza dei Signori	TV	S	x	x	x	x	x	x				Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 9
61e	Treviso-Loggia dei Cavalieri	TV	S	x	x								Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 10
61f	Treviso-Piazza Filodrammatici	TV	S	x	x		x	x					Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 14
61g	Treviso-Palazzo Azzoni	TV	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 12
61h	Treviso-via Canoniche	TV	S				x	x					Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 2
61i	Treviso-riviera Garibaldi	TV	spo										Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 15
61j	Treviso-Piazzetta dei Lombardi	TV	S				x	x	x	x	x		Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 5
61k	Treviso-via Collalto	TV	spo				x						Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 6
61l	Treviso-Piazza S. Andrea	TV	S					x	x				Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 13
61m	Treviso-Ponte Dante	TV	spo					x	x				Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 16
61n	Treviso-via S. Nicolò	TV	spo							x	x		Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 18
61o	Treviso-via Manin, 52	TV	S								x	x	Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 4
61p	Treviso-C.so del Popolo	TV	C								x	x	Tomaello, 2004: 26-27, n. 8
62	Silea/Casier/Treviso-Fiume Sile da S. Antonino a Cendon	TV	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Gerhardinger, 1994b
63a	Altino-Altino	VE	S	x	x	x	x	x	x				Tirelli <i>et al.</i> , 1996; 2002
63b	Altino-Fornasotti	VE	C		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Tirelli <i>et al.</i> , 1996
63c	Altino-nord del Museo	VE	S			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Tirelli <i>et al.</i> , 1996
63d	Altino-est del Museo	VE	S			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Tirelli <i>et al.</i> , 1996
63e	Altino-I Portoni (1975)	VE	C			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Tirelli <i>et al.</i> , 1996
63f	Altino-Le Brustolade	VE	C			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Tirelli <i>et al.</i> , 1996
63g	Altino-I Portoni (1969)	VE	C			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Tirelli <i>et al.</i> , 1996
63h	Altino-Ca' Nuova	VE	C			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Tirelli <i>et al.</i> , 1996
63i	Altino-Fornace	VE	sac					x	x	x	x	x	Tirelli, 2000
63j	Altino-Pagliaia	VE	sac						x	x			Tirelli <i>et al.</i> , 1996
63k	Altino-Altino	VE	sac						x				Tirelli <i>et al.</i> , 1996
63l	Altino-via Annia	VE	C								x	x	Tirelli <i>et al.</i> , 1996

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
64	Cordignano-Villa di Villa, Monte Castellar	TV	sac	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Gamba, 1988n Leonardi et al., 2008
65a	Oderzo-via dei Mosaici	TV	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			Balista et al., 1996a
65b	Oderzo-via Savonarola	TV	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Balista et al., 1996a
65c	Oderzo-Piazza Castello	TV	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			Balista et al., 1996a
65d	Oderzo-via Garibaldi	TV	S			x	x						Balista et al., 1996a
65e	Oderzo-Mutera di Colfrancui	TV	C			x	x	x					Gamba, 1988m
65f	Oderzo-via Savonarola/Piazza Castello	TV	S					x	x	x	x	x	Balista et al., 1996a
65g	Oderzo-S. Martino	TV	S						x	x	x		Balista et al., 1996a
65h	Oderzo-via delle Grazie	TV	S							x	x	x	Balista et al., 1996a
65i	Oderzo-via Mazzini	TV	S								x	x	Balista et al., 1996a
66a	Palse di Porcia-Fondo Mansi	PN	S	x	x	x	x	x					Balista et al., 1996b
66b	Palse di Porcia-Fondo Viol	PN	S	x	x								Balista et al., 1996b
66c	Palse di Porcia-Fondo Del Ben	PN	S		x								Balista et al., 1996b
66d	Palse di Porcia-Fondo Borlacco	PN	S					x	x				Balista et al., 1996b
66e	Palse di Porcia-Fondo Faldati	PN	S						x	x			Balista et al., 1996b
67	Caorle-Casa Zucca	VE	S	x	x								Bianchin Citton, 1996
68a	Concordia Sagittaria-via Fornasatta	VE	S	x	x			x	x				Bianchin Citton et al., 1996
68b	Concordia Sagittaria-via Spareda	VE	S	x	x					x			Bianchin Citton et al., 1996
68c	Concordia Sagittaria-cimitero	VE	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Bianchin Citton et al., 1996
68d	Concordia Sagittaria-Fondo Corbetta	VE	S	x	x	x	x						Bianchin Citton et al., 1996
68e	Concordia Sagittaria-Fondo Arreghini	VE	S	x	x	x	x	x					Bianchin Citton et al., 1996
68f	Concordia Sagittaria-via Pozzi Romani	VE	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Bianchin Citton et al., 1996
68g	Concordia Sagittaria-via I Maggio	VE	S					x	x	x	x	x	Bianchin Citton et al., 1996
68h	Concordia Sagittaria-Asilo Nido	VE	S						x	x			Bianchin Citton et al., 1996
68i	Concordia Sagittaria-via S. Pietro 309	VE	C									x	Rinaldi and Vigomi, 2015
68j	Portogruaro-strada tra Fossalta e Portogruaro	VE	spo						x				Gamba, 1988ah
69	Sesto al Reghena	PN	spo	x	x	x	x						Cassola Guida and Pannozzo, 1996
70	S. Vito al Tagliamento	PN	C	x	x	x							Cassola Guida, 1996
71	Gradisca sul Cosa	PN	S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Balista et al., 1996c
72a	Monterea Valcellina-Hotel Spia	PN	spo	x									Balista et al., 1996d
72b	Monterea Valcellina-Monte Spia	PN	spo	x									Balista et al., 1996d
72c	Monterea Valcellina-via Monte Spia	PN	S	x	x	x	x				x	x	Balista et al., 1996d
72d	Monterea Valcellina-via Zennari	PN	S	x	x								Balista et al., 1996d
72e	Monterea Valcellina-Castello	PN	S	x							x	x	Balista et al., 1996d
72f	Monterea Valcellina-Dominu	PN	C		x								Balista et al., 1996d
72g	Monterea Valcellina-via Castello	PN	S					x	x	x	x	x	Balista et al., 1996d
72h	Monterea Valcellina-Acquedotto	PN	S					x	x	x	x	x	Balista et al., 1996d
72i	Monterea Valcellina-via Alpini	PN	spo								x	x	Balista et al., 1996d

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
73	Cavasso	PN	S	x	x	x							Capuis and Gambacurta, 2015: figures 1 and 2, n. 110
74	Aquileia	UD	S	x	x	x					x	x	Capuis and Gambacurta, 2015: figures 1 and 2, n. 114 Vitri, 2004
75	Feltre-Villabruna	BL	spo	x									Migliavacca, 1988a
76	Castel de Pedena	BL	S	x	x								Angelini and Leonardi, 2015
77	Limana-Monte S. Pietro in Tuba	BL	S	x									Capuis and Gambacurta, 2015: fig. 1, n. 96
78	Belluno-Bolzano, Monte Talvena	BL	hoa	x	x								Gambacurta, 1988a
79	Inviolino	UD	S	x	x	x	x	x					Capuis and Gambacurta, 2015: figures 1 and 2, n. 112
80	Socchieve	UD	S	x	x	x	x	x					Capuis and Gambacurta, 2015: figures 1 and 2, n. 111
81	Paularo	UD	S	x	x	x	x	x					Capuis and Gambacurta, 2015: figures 1 and 2, n. 113 Vitri, 2017
82	Forte di Attila	MN	S		x	x							Calzolari, 1993
83b	Sorgà-Valle Burgan/Fondo Perez	VR	C		x	x							Gambacurta, 1990l
83c	Sorgà-Moratica	VR	C		x	x	x						Gambacurta 1990i; 1990j
83a	Sorgà-Valle Burgan/Fondo I Guasti	VR	C			x							Gambacurta 1990k
83d	Castellaro Mantovano	MN	spo					x					Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 127
84	Nogara	VR	spo		?	x							Basso, 1990e
85a	Cerea-S. Vito	VR	C		x	x	x						Gambacurta, 1990h
85b	Cerea-Asporetto	VR	spo				x	x					Basso, 1990b
85c	Casaleone	VR	spo				x						Basso, 1990a
86	Legnago-Stanghelle	VR	spo			x							Gambacurta, 1990g
87a	Legnago	VR	spo		x	x	x				x	x	Gamba, 1990l
87b	Legnago-Terranegra	VR	S			x	x	x					Rizzetto and Salzani, 1977
87c	Legnago-Vigo	VR	spo			x	x						Gamba, 1990k
88	Castiglione Mantovano-Castello	MN	S		x	x	x	x					Menotti, 2015
89	Castion di Erbè	VR	S		x	x	x						Rossi, 2007-8
90a	Vigasio-Isolalta	VR	S		x								Bovo, 1990g
90b	Povegliano-Madonna dell'Uva Secca	VR	C			x					x	x	Bovo, 1990h; 1990i; 1990j; 1990k
90c	Povegliano-S. Andrea	VR	spo					x	x	x			Gambacurta, 1990ac
90d	Povegliano-Marine	VR	spo						x				de Marinis, 1997
90e	Povegliano-Campi Magri della Bora	VR	C							x	x	x	Gambacurta, 1990an
90f	Povegliano-Corte Pagnola	VR	C								x	x	Vitali and Fabry, 2015
90g	Vigasio-Forette	VR	spo								x	x	Gambacurta, 1990ai
90h	Vigasio-Campagna S. Michele	VR	C								x	x	Gambacurta, 1990ah
90i	Vigasio-Campagna Magra	VR	C								x		Gambacurta, 1990e
90j	Vigasio-Ciringhelli	VR	C								x	x	Gamba, 1990e
90k	Povegliano-via Crocetta	VR	C									x	Gambacurta, 1990ad
90l	Povegliano-Madonna dell'Uva Secca/Fondo Novaglia	VR	C									x	Bondini, 2008: 93
90m	Povegliano-Marinare	VR	spo									x	Bovo, 1990o

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
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91	Rocca di Manerba	BS	S		x								Capuzzo, 2008-9: site 19
92a	Rivoli Veronese-Castello, I Sabbioni	VR	C		x	x	x	x					Nicolis, 1990a
92b	Rivoli Veronese-Forte di Rivoli	VR	spo		x	x	x	x			x		Nicolis, 1990b
92c	Rivoli Veronese-Castello, Le Pietè	VR	spo				x						Gambacurta, 1990aq
92d	Dolcè	VR	spo						x		x	x	Gamba, 1990i
92e	Fumane-Forte Masua	VR	spo							x	x	x	Gambacurta, 1990ak
93	Brentino/Belluno-Servasa	VR	spo		x								Bovo, 1990l
94a	Monte Cavo	VR	S		x	x							Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 75-76, n. 36
94b	Parona-Porto	VR	S			x	x						Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 73, n. 32
95	Velo Veronese-Monte Purga	VR	S		x		x	x	x	x	x		Leonardi, 2011: fig. 2.1, n. 7
													Migliavacca, 1990b
96	Verona-Monte Marseghina	VR	spo		x						x	x	Gamba, 1990an
													Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 112, n. 93b
97a	Castello di Montorio	VR	S			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 116, n. 98
97b	Montorio-Ponte Florio	VR	C				x	x					Salzani, 2002b: 186
98	Belfiore d'Adige-Galaniga	VR	spo		x								Gamba, 1990ac
99a	Colognola ai Colli	VR	spo			x	x						Gamba, 1990ap
99b	Colognola ai Colli-Monte Casteggioni	VR	S						x	x	x		Gamba, 1990al
99c	Marano di Valpolicella-Monte Castelon	VR	S							x	x		Gamba, 1990q
100	Minerbe-Baruchella	VR	C			x	x				x	x	Salzani, 2002c
101	Pressana	VR	spo		?								Riera, 1990
102a	Saletto-Fosso ovest	PD	S		x	x	x	x					Marcassa, 1992s
102b	Saletto-via Arzarello	PD	C			x	x	x					Marcassa, 1992t
102c	Saletto-Fosso est	PD	C				x	x	x				Marcassa, 1992u
102d	Megliadino S. Fidenzio-Case Marzola	PD	C				x	x	x				Marcassa, 1992q
102e	Megliadino S. Fidenzio-Valli	PD	S						x	x	x		Marcassa, 1992au
102g	Megliadino S. Fidenzio-Ca' Moro	PD	C								x	x	Marcassa, 1992av
													Voltolini, 2011
103a	Carceti-via Lenguora	PD	C			x	x	x	x	x	x		Marcassa, 1992w
103b	Megliadino-Spino ovest	PD	S				x	x					Marcassa, 1992af
103c	Ponso-Granza	PD	S+C				x	x	x				Marcassa, 1992x
103d	Ospedaletto Euganeo-Case Casarin	PD	C						x	x	x		Marcassa, 1992ah
103e	Ospedaletto Euganeo-Dossi	PD	spo				x	x	x	x			Marcassa, 1992ag
103f	Ospedaletto Euganeo-Palugana	PD	C				x	x					Marcassa, 1992ai
103g	Ospedaletto Euganeo-Peagnola, Fondo Colombara	PD	C				x	x	x				Marcassa, 1992aj
103h	Carceti-Chiesa Abbaziale	PD	C						x				Marcassa, 1992y
103i	Ospedaletto Euganeo-Caneva	PD	C							x	x	x	Marcassa, 1992ak
104	Granze	PD	C			x							Marcassa, 1992z
105a	Montegrotto Terme-via Castello	PD	sac		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Gamba, 1992c

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)										Bibliography
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105b	Abano Terme-Hotel Kursaal	PD	hoa								x		Basso 1992b	
106a	Padua-Granze di Camin	PD	C		x	x							Gamba, 1992g	
106b	Padua-Camin	PD	C				x	x					Gamba, 1992h	
106c	Saonara-Villatora	PD	spo						x				Marcassa, 1994a	
106d	Vigonovo-via Dante	VE	spo							x	x		Marcassa, 1994i	
106e	Vigonovo-Sarmazza	VE	spo							x	x		Marcassa, 1994j	
107a	Padua-Mortise	PD	hoa		x								Gamba, 1992e	
107b	Padua-Zona Industriale, Le Grazie	PD	spo		x	x	x	x					Gamba, 1992f	
107c	Padua-Pontevigodarzere, via Dante	PD	spo					x	x	x	x		Gamba, 1992o	
107d	Padua-Allichiero	PD	C							x			Gamba, 1992p	
108	Valdagno-S. Quirico	VI	spo		x								Gamba, 1988o	
109	Romano d'Ezzelino-Colroigo	VI	spo		x								Gamba, 1988p	
110a	Borso del Grappa-Cassanego	TV	C			x	x						Gamba, 1988t	
110b	Borso del Grappa	TV	spo			x	x	x					Gamba, 1988u	
110c	Borso del Grappa-S. Eulalia	TV	C					x					Gamba, 1988v	
110d	Crespano del Grappa	TV	spo								x		Gamba, 1988am	
110e	Possagno	TV	spo								x	x	Gamba, 1988an	
111	Sernaglia della Battaglia	TV	spo		x	x	x	x					Gamba, 1988q	
112	Roncade-S. Andrea di Riul, Chiesa	TV	spo			x	x						Fornasiero, 1994a	
113	Salgareda	TV	spo		x	x							Gamba, 1988r	
114	Pozzuolo del Friuli	UD	C+S		x	x	x	x	x				Vitri, 2017	
115a	Mel	BL	C		x	x	x						Gambacurta, 1988b	
115b	Mel	BL	S				x	x					Gangemi, 2008	
116	Sedico-Curzoi	BL	spo			x	x						D'Abruzzo, 1988	
117a	Pieve d'Alpago	BL	C			x	x	x					Gangemi et al., eds., 2015	
117b	Ponte nelle Alpi-Pises	BL	spo			x	x						Gambacurta, 1988g	
117c	Ponte nelle Alpi-Cugnan	BL	C				x						Gambacurta, 1988h	
117d	Ponte nelle Alpi-Loasego	BL	C				x	x					Gambacurta, 1988i	
117e	Belluno-Levego	BL	C				x	x					Gambacurta, 1988j	
117f	Belluno-Sala di Caverzano	BL	C			x	x	x	x				Gambacurta, 1988k	
117g	Belluno-Caverzano, Font	BL	C			x	x	x	x				Gambacurta, 1988v	
117h	Ponte nelle Alpi-Le Andreane	BL	C				x	x	x			x	Gambacurta, 1988l	
117i	Belluno-Safforze	BL	C					x					Gambacurta, 1988p	
117j	Chies d'Alpago	BL	C				x	x					Gambacurta, 1988c	
117k	Pieve d'Alpago-Plois d'Alpago	BL	spo					x	x				Gambacurta, 1988d	
117l	Ponte nelle Alpi-Arsiè	BL	spo					x					Gambacurta, 1988e	
117m	Ponte nelle Alpi-Casan, SAS Bragadi	BL	C					x	x				Gambacurta, 1988f	
117n	Belluno-Castellin di Fisterre	BL	C					x	x				Gambacurta, 1988n	
117o	Belluno-Caverzano	BL	spo						x	x	x	x	Gambacurta, 1988o	

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
117p	Ponte nelle Alpi-Canevoi	BL	spo								x	x	Gambacurta, 1988m
118	Lozzo di Cadore-Riva del Brodevin	BL	C			x	x	x	x			x	Gambacurta, 1988t
119	Castiglione dello Stiviere	BS	C						x	x			de Marinis, 1997
120	Carpenedolo	BS	C						x	x			de Marinis, 1997
121	Casalmoro	MN	C						x	x			de Marinis, 1997
122	Lonato	BS	C						x	x			de Marinis, 1997
123a	Peschiera el Garda-imboccatura del Mincio	VR	spo					x		x			Bovo, 1990f
123b	Ponti sul Mincio	MN	C						x	x			de Marinis, 1997
124a	Bande di Cavriana	MN	spo					x	x				Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 129
124b	Cavriana		C						x	x			de Marinis, 1997
124c	Castellaro Lagusello	MN	C						x	x			de Marinis, 1997
125b	Volta Mantovana-Cereta	MN	C					x					Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 129
125a	Canale Virgilio	MN	C						x	x			de Marinis, 1997
126	Ceresara-Campo dell'Oson	MN	C					x					Menotti, 2011: 4
127	Redonesco	MN	spo					x					Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 130
128	Calvatone	MN	spo					x					Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 130
129	Bozzolo-Corte Alta Ceresse	MN	spo					x					Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 129-30
130a	Rodigo-Corte Castelletto	MN	S					x	x				Anghinelli and Anghinelli, 1998: 22
130b	Rivalta sul Mincio-Corte Colle Fiorito	MN	C					x	x				Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 128
131a	Castellucchio-Colombarina	MN	S					x	x				Anghinelli and Anghinelli, 1995-7: 28-31
131b	Rivalta sul Mincio-Settefrati	MN	C						?				Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 128
132	Castelnuovo gli Angeli-Casario	MN	spo					x					Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 128
133a	Curtatone-Corte Castiglione	MN	S					x					Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento della Provincia di Mantua in adeguamento alla L.R. 12/2005. Allegato C (2010): 21
133b	Curtatone-Valle Motta	MN	S					x					Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento della Provincia di Mantua in adeguamento alla L.R. 12/2005. Allegato C (2010): 21
133c	Curtatone-Sacca Barbieri	MN	S					x					Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento della Provincia di Mantua in adeguamento alla L.R. 12/2005. Allegato C (2010): 21
133d	Curtatone-Chiavica Papa	MN	S					x					Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento della Provincia di Mantua in adeguamento alla L.R. 12/2005. Allegato C (2010): 21
134a	Mantua-Piazza S. Barbara	MN	sac					x	x	x			Menotti and Maras, 2012
134b	Mantua-argine del Lago Inferiore, Pietole, Il Forte	MN	C					x					Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 127-128
134c	Mantua-Piazza delle Erbe	MN	S					x	x		x	x	Attene Franchini et al., 1991
134d	Mantua-Piazza Sordello	MN	S					x	x	x	x	x	Cazorzi and Roffia, 1983
134e	Mantua-Casa Rigoletto	MN	S						x	x			Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 128

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
134f	Mantua-Piazza Sordello, Seminario Vescovile	MN	S							x	x		Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 128
134g	Mantua-Piazza Sordello/Seminario Vescovile	MN	S							?			Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 128
134h	Mantua-Questura	MN	S							x	x		Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 128
134i	Mantua-Città Vecchia	MN	S							?	?		Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 128
134j	Mantua-via S. Martino, via Massari	MN	C							x			Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 128
134k	Mantua-Rotonda S. Lorenzo	MN	S								x	x	de Marinis <i>et al.</i> , 1987
134l	Mantua-Vicolo Pace, 1	MN	S									x	de Marinis, 1986
135a	Forcello di Bagnolo S. Vito	MN	S				x	x	x				de Marinis, 2007a-b
135b	Bagnolo S. Vito-Cavo Cavalletto	MN	spo					x					Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 126
135c	Virgilio-Corte Streggia	MN	spo					x		x			Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 127
135d	Virgilio-Corte Streggia	MN	S						?				Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 126
135e	Bagnolo S. Vito-S. Biagio	MN	C									x	de Marinis, 1986
136a	Virgilio-Corte Romane	MN	spo					x					Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 126
136b	Bagnolo S. Vito-Ca' Rossa	MN	C					?	?				Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 126
136c	Bagnolo S. Vito-Fondo Righelli	MN	C					x					Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 124-125
136d	Bagnolo S. Vito-Corte Delfine Nuove	MN	C					x					Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 124
136e	Bagnolo S. Vito-Corte Zaita, Ca' Rossa	MN	C							x			Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 126
136f	Bagnolo S. Vito-Chiesa Parrocchiale	MN	spo							x	x		Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 125-126
137	S. Benedetto Po-Brede	MN	spo						x				Casini <i>et al.</i> , 1988: 124
138	Isola della Scala-Palazzina/Fondo Castioncino	VR	S+C+spo					x	x				Gambacurta, 1990f
139a	Rovigo-Le Balone	RO	S					x	x				Balone. Insediamento etrusco presso un ramo del Po (1994)
139b	Rovigo-Borsea	RO	C							x			Marcassa, 1992aa
140a	Gavello	RO	spo					x	x				Marcassa, 1992ac
140b	Crespino-Romanina nord	RO	S						x	x			Marcassa, 1992ab
140c	Pontecchio Polesine	RO	spo						x				Marcassa, 1992ad
140d	Crespino-II Cantone	RO	spo						x				Marcassa, 1992ae
140e	Contarina	RO	spo							x			Marcassa, 1994g
141a	Adria	RO	S					x	x				Ascari Raccagni, 2013
141b	Adria-Tenuta Passionanza	RO	C							x	x		Marcassa, 1994n
141c	Adria-via Spolverin	RO	C						x	x	x	x	Bondini, 2008: 85
141d	Adria-Ca' Garzoni	RO	C							x	x	x	D'Abruzzo, 1994a
141e	Adria-Canal Bianco	RO	C							x	x		Bondini, 2008: 79
141f	Adria-Amolaretta	RO	C							x	x		D'Abruzzo, 1994b
141g	Adria-Ca' Cina	RO	C							x	x	x	Bondini, 2008: 75-76
141h	Adria-Campelli, Stroppa	RO	C							x	x	x	Bondini, 2008: 71
141i	Adria-Ritratto Donà	RO	C								x	x	Bondini, 2008: 78
141j	Adria-Artessura	RO	C										D'Abruzzo, 1994c
141k	Adria-Ponti Nuovi	RO	C									x	Marcassa, 1994c

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)										Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st		
141l	Adria-Piantamelon, Fondo Bettola	RO	C								x	x	x	Bondini, 2008: 84 Marcassa, 1994d
141m	Adria-Campelli, Belluco	RO	C									x	x	Bondini, 2008: 73
142	Taglio di Po-Ca' Zen	RO	C							x	x	x	x	Marcassa, 1994f
143	Loreo-Vallona	RO	spo							x	x			Marcassa, 1994e
144	Bussolengo-Ca' dei Cavri	VR	spo								x			Gambacurta, 1990aj
145	Caprino Veronese-La Motta	VR	spo							x	x	x		Bovo, 1990e
146d	S. Pietro in Cariano-S. Sofia di Pedemonte	VR	S						x	x				Gamba, 1990aq
146a	S. Pietro in Cariano-Archi di Castelrotto	VR	S							x			x	Bovo, 1990m
146b	S. Pietro in Cariano-Archi di Castelrotto/cimitero	VR	C							x	x		x	Gamba, 1990t
146c	S. Pietro in Cariano-Monte Sacchetto	VR	S							x				Gamba, 1990s
147	Avesa-Grotta del Presepio	VR	sac							x	x			Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 88, n. 62
148	Valdagno-Novale	VI	spo				x							Gamba, 1990r
148a	Chiampo-Monte Madarosa	VR	S				x			x				Migliavacca, 1990j
148b	Chiampo-Monte Madarosa	VR	spo				x			x				Migliavacca, 1990j
148c	Chiampo/Arzignano-Monte Parnese	VR	spo							x				Migliavacca, 1990i
148d	Arzignano-Monte Calvarina	VR	spo									x	x	Migliavacca, 1990h
149	Tribano	PD	C						x	x				Marcassa, 1992al
150a	S. Pietro Viminario-Ca' Masola	PD	C						x	x				Marcassa, 1992ar
150b	Cartura-Fondo de Marchi	PD	C						x					Marcassa, 1992at
150c	Pernumia	PD	spo							x	x	x	x	Marcassa, 1992as
151	Battaglia Terme	PD	spo						x					Marcassa, 1992am
152a	Masera di Padua	PD	spo							x			x	Marcassa, 1992an
152b	Masera di Padua-Bertipaglia, Fondo Penada	PD	C							x				Marcassa, 1992ao
152c	Masera di Padua-Bertipaglia	PD	hoa							x	x			Marcassa, 1992ap
152e	Casalerugo-Fondo Zara	PD	spo							x	x			Marcassa, 1992aq
153a	Campagna Lupia-Lova, Le Colombare	VE	sac							x				Marcassa, 1994h Bonomi and Malaerino, 2011
153b	Campolongo Maggiore-Boion	VE	spo								x			Marcassa, 1994k
153c	Campagna Lupia-Lova, Cornio	VE	spo									x	x	Giacometti, 1994
154	Albignasego-Mandriola	PD	spo							x	x			Basso, 1992c
155b	Trissino-strada Lavandara	VI	S							x	x			Gamba, 1990f
155a	Trissino-cimitero	VI	S							x	x	x		Gamba, 1990g
155c	Trissino	VI	sac									x		De Nardi, 2008: 420
156	Rotzo-Bostel, Castelletto	VI	S							x	x	x	x	Gamba, 1988af
157	Grantorto-Nisotto, Braio	PD	C								x	x		Gamba, 1992q
158	Quinto di Treviso	TV	spo											Fornasiero, 1994b
159	Venezia-Trivignano, Casa Moschin	VR	spo						x	x	x			Gambacurta, 1994a
160a	Musile di Piave	VE	sac											Croce da Villa <i>et al.</i> , 1996

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
160b	Musile di Piave-Fosso Gorgazzo	VE	C							x	x		Gambacurta, 1994b
161a	Vittorio Veneto-Ceneda, Teatro	TV	C					x	x			x	Gamba, 1988ac
161b	Scomigo	TV	hoa					x	x				De Nardi, 2008: 422
161c	Monte Altare	TV	sac					x	x	x			De Nardi, 2008: 422-423
162	S. Fior-Castello Roganzuolo, Fondo De Biasio	TV	spo						x	x	x	x	Gamba, 1988al
163	S. Polo di Piave-Caminada	TV	spo						x	x	x	x	De Nardi, 2008: 420-421
164	Chiarano-Villa Zeno, La Favorita	TV	S						x				Gamba, 1988aj-ak
165	Castelon di Palazzolo	UD	C+S					x	x	x			Rigoni, 1988
166	Carlino	UD	C+S					x	x	x			Vitri, 2017
167	Udine-S. Francesco	UD	S					x	x	x			Vitri, 2017
168	Cismon del Grappa-Santuario di Nostra Signora di Pedancino	VI	spo						x	x	x	x	Basso, 1988d
169a	Pedavena-Fistisei	BL	spo					x	x				Basso, 1988a
169b	Seren del Grappa-Porten	BL	spo						x	x			Basso, 1988b
170	Gares	BL	spo						x	x	x		Gangemi, 2008
171	Agordo	BL	spo						x				Gangemi, 2008
172	Castellavazzo-Podenzo	BL	C					x					Gambacurta, 1988q
173	Cimolais	PN	S					x	x	x	x	x	Vitri and Tasca, 1996: 329
174a	Pieve di Cadore	BL	S					x	x		x	x	Gangemi, 2008
174b	Pieve di Cadore-Pozzale	BL	C					x	x	x			Gambacurta, 1988r
174c	Valle di Cadore-Rusecco	BL	C								x	x	Gambacurta, 1988s
174d	Calalzo-Lagole	BL	sac						x	x	x	x	Fogolari and Gambacurta, eds., 2001
174e	Calalzo-Stazione Ferroviaria	BL	spo						x	x			Gambacurta, 1988t
174f	Domegge-Vallesella	BL	spo						x	x			Gambacurta, 1988u
175	Mozzecane-Stazione Ferroviaria	VR	C							x	x	x	Gambacurta, 1990ag
176	Legnano-Torretta	VR	spo							x			Gambacurta, 1990ao
177a	S. Anna d'Alfaedo-Covolone del Valentin	VR	S					x	x				Gamba, 1990ab
177b	S. Anna d'Alfaedo-Campo Paraiso	VR	hoa					x	x				Salzani, 1979
177c	Fumane-Dosso Lunardelli	VR	spo					x					Gamba, 1990aa
177d	S. Anna d'Alfaedo-Covolo della Roba	VR	spo					x			x	x	Gamba, 1990z
177e	S. Anna d'Alfaedo-Covolo dei Camerini	VR	spo+C					x					Gamba, 1990y
177f	S. Anna d'Alfaedo-Monte Loffa	VR	S					x	x	x			Gamba, 1990x
177g	S. Anna d'Alfaedo-Ca' del Vecio	VR	S					x					Gamba, 1990w
177h	Fumane-Casteion di Molina	VR	S							x	x		Gamba, 1990v
177i	Fumane-Castel Sottosengia	VR	S							x	x	x	Gamba, 1990u
177j	Fumane-Breonio	VR	spo									x	Bovo, 1990n
178	Bolzano Vicentino	VI	spo							x			Pastore, 1992
179	Montichiari	BS	C								x	x	de Marinis, 1986
180a	Nogarole Rocca-Ponte Mulinei	VR	spo								x	x	Gambacurta, 1990a

Number	Site	Province	Site type	Chronology (BC)									Bibliography
				9th	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
180b	Nogarole Rocca	VR	hoa							x	x		Rigoni, 1990
181	Roncoferraro-Casale	MN	C							x	x		Menotti and Rovesta, 2012
182a	S. Maria di Zevio-Laziseta	VR	C							x	x		Bondini, 2008: 105
182b	S. Maria di Zevio-Fenil Nuovo	VR	C							x	x		Bondini, 2008: 102
182c	S. Maria di Zevio-Mirandola	VR	C							x	x		Salzani, 1996
183	S. Pietro di Morubio	VR	C						x	x	x		Gamba, 1990j
184	Montagnana-Gomoria	PD	C							x			Vitali, 1989
185	Agnà-via Cimitero	PD	spo							x	x		Marcassa, 1994l
186	Galzignano-Fondo dalle Rose	PD	bound							x			Basso, 1992d
187	Cinto Euganeo-Monte Venda	PD	bound							x			Zerbinati, 1992c
188	Teolo	PD	bound							x			Gamba, 1992r
189	Ponte S. Nicolò-Roncaiette, Fondo Corinaldi	PD	C							x	x		Basso, 1992e
190	Campolongo Maggiore- presso argine Brenta	VE	C							x			Marcassa, 1994m
191a	Marano di Valpolicella-S. Rocco	VR	spo							x	x		Gamba, 1990d
191b	Marano di Valpolicella-Monte Castelon	VR	S							x			Gamba, 1990c
191c	Marano di Valpolicella-Pizzol	VR	spo								x		Gamba, 1990b
192	Fumane-Casterna	VR	C							x	x		Bovo, 1990a
193	Verona-S. Stefano	VR	S							x			Aspes <i>et al.</i> , 2002: 66, n. 14
194a	Meolo-Losson, Capo d'Argine, Nord scolo Correggio	VE	C								x		Rigoni, 1994a
194b	Meolo-Losson (Medade), Scolo Polombo	VE	S+C								x		Rigoni, 1994b
195	S. Donà di Piave-Fossa	VE	spo							x			Marinetti, 1996
196	Pederobba-Covolo, Le Cente	TV	C							x			Basso, 1988c
197	Auronzo-Monte Cadore	BL	sac							x	x		Marinetti, 2008
198	S. Bonifacio-Lobia	VR	bound								x		Menegazzi, 1990a
199	Orsago-Presette	TV	spo					x					De Nardi, 2008: 421
200	Caldogno	VI	S							x			Rossignoli <i>et al.</i> , 2015
201	Badia Polesine-via Dozza	RO	S									x	de Zuccato and Vigoni, 2015
202	Meolo-via Vallio	VE	S									x	Rinaldi <i>et al.</i> , 2015

Tab. 13 – List of the sites shown in Figs. 49, 51-52, 60-61; S= settlement, C= cemetery, spo= sporadic, bound= boundary stone, hoa= hoard and sac= sacred area.

Chapter 7 – Individual and collective identities in the Iron Age Veneto

In the literature, individual identity in the Iron Age Veneto is mostly linked to tomb markers (Lomas, 2011, 2013) and collective identity to *ex votos* (Lomas, 2009: 15). Nevertheless, as put by Lomas (2012: 188), “societies in Archaic Italy display a complex hierarchy of identities and interactions between different forms of identity”. I believe, in fact, that in some cases the same objects might bear, directly or indirectly, both individual and collective identity valencies. Collective identity is here considered as a broad label which includes gender, group (e.g. family, class, community) and territorial identities, just to mention a few aspects.

As already mentioned in Section 2.3.4., in the Iron Age Veneto tomb markers consist of four classes: statues, *stelai*, *cippi* and *ciottoloni*; bronze *ex votos* take the form of figurines and decorated plaques, as well as ornaments and utilitarian objects.

In the following section, individual and collective identities in the Iron Age Veneto will be analysed through tomb markers and selected bronze *ex votos* (i.e. figurines and decorated plaques) from the territory of Este (PD) and Padua (PD). This is because these sites are considered in the literature to be the two most important towns of the Atestine world (Fogolari, 1975: 64) and their archaeological record is relatively well-published (see Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967; Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985; Ruta Serafini, ed., 2002; De Min *et al.*, eds, 2005; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006; Bondini, 2008). Their territories were reconstructed in Chapter 6, Fig. 53, using a Thiessen Polygons analysis centred on the major Atestine settlements recognised by Balista and Gamba (2013: fig. 1) in the study area. Fig. 53 shows that the territory of Este was bound mainly by natural features: to the north and north-east are the Berici and Euganei hills, to the south and south-east are the Adria and Saline-Cona paleochannels. Possibly, also the western border also followed other ancient river courses. According to the Thiessen Polygons analysis, the borders of the territory of Padua are not clearly defined by water courses to the north, east and south but the Euganei hills most likely acted as the boundary with the territory of Este.

7.1. Identities through tomb markers and bronze *ex votos* from Este and Padua

As already pointed out in Section 2.3.4., tomb markers are dated in the Iron Age Veneto between the 6th and the 1st cent. BC and mainly found in the territories of Este and Padua (Lomas, 2009: 14-15; 2013: 107) as defined in Fig. 53 (in Chapter 6). It is possible to suggest that the use of tomb markers derives from Bologna (BO) which has the oldest funerary *stelai* known so far in north-eastern Italy, dated between the 8th/7th and the 4th cent. BC (Ducati, 1911; 1943; Cerchiai, 1988). Made of sandstone, they vary in shape over time, from anthropomorphic to horse-shoe like, the latter mostly characterising the Etruscan period (Cerchiai, 1988).

Chronology and geography suggest that tomb markers may have spread from Etruria to the Veneto via the Atestine site of Gazzo Veronese (VR) which at least between the 9th-4th cent. BC acted as the major western outpost of the Atestine world at the boundary with the north Etruscan district (Saccoccio, 2016: 253-256). At Gazzo Veronese-Coazze, four, but possibly five (see Section 2.3.4.), funerary statues were found and dated by Gamba and Gambacurta (2011) to the early 6th cent BC by comparison with Etruscan examples (see section 2.3.4.). The sandstone employed seems to come from Montovolo, near Bologna (Gamba and Gambacurta, 2011: 167-173). Moreover, Gamba and Gambacurta (2011: 167-173) linked the decoration of the statues to Etruscan influence and linked female dress possibly to Atestine fashion. Marinetti (2011: 181) suggested that the inscription uses the Etruscan alphabet but it is not clear in which language (i.e. Atestine or Etruscan) it was written. Furthermore, the presence of a bronze double-axe found nearby the statues underlines, even more, the close link between the statues and the Etruscan world (see Malnati, 2003: 65; see also Section 2.3.4.).

Lomas (2009, 2012) linked Atestine tomb markers to high-status figures and so to individual identity. But she also links them to family and class identities mostly on the grounds of their decoration and inscriptions. At Padua, tomb markers are in the form of rectangular-shaped and decorated *stelai*. When preserved, the inscription is characterised by the same formula with personal name and *cognomen* + *ekupetaris/eppetaris ego* (Lomas, 2011: 17), where *ekupetaris/eppetaris* could be seen as defining the established socio-political role played by the mentioned individual in the community as knight/*eques* (Marinetti, 2003: 144; see Chapter 6). Twenty have been found so far (Lomas, 2013: 108; Fogolari, 1988: 99) and the bas-relief decoration generally depicts a chariot, with one, two, or three figures on it, drawn by two horses. However, limited exceptions exist with at least three *stelai* depicting knights (Lomas, 2011:

figs 1.11-1.13) and one showing a man with a broad-brimmed hat and a veiled woman greeting each other (see Fig. 21b in Section 2.3.4.).

At Este, tomb markers are obelisk-like, undecorated but inscribed *cippi*, dating between the 5th and the 3rd cent. BC (Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 48; see also Lomas, 2012: 199). At Este, inscriptions do not include the epithet *ekupetaris/eppetaris* found at Padua, but a more simplified formula with *ego* (possibly to be translated as ‘I am [the tomb of]’) + the name of the buried individual (Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 50; see also Lomas, 2012: 199).

Prosdocimi and Pellegrini (1967: 48-93) listed 22 *cippi* in this area (Fig. 62a). However, at least two rectangular-shaped *stelai* are also recorded from an area close to Este which probably belonged to the town in ancient times (see Fig. 53 in Chapter 6), one at Este-Fondo Nazari and the other at Monselice-Ca’ Oddo (PD), dated to the 5th-4th cent BC (Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 52; Capuis, 1993: 221; see Fig. 22b in Section 2.3.4.) (Fig. 63). Both are inscribed; the former bearing the inscription formula typical of Este, the latter that typical of Padua.

On the basis of recorded tomb markers, Lomas (2011: 10) proposed that *stelai* marked individual tombs and/or family tumuli. At Este, *cippi* without inscriptions were used together with trachyte slabs to enclose families’ funerary areas (tumuli) from at least the 8th cent. BC (Ruta Serafini and Balista, 1998). Interestingly, trachyte slabs or *cippi* did not delimit family funerary tumuli at Padua, but rather wooden fences or gullies were used (Michelini and Ruta Serafini, 2005: 131). On the basis of topography, it might be argued that the two main cemeteries at Padua, one to the south and the other to the east, each served one of the two main settled areas enclosed by the meanders defined by the course of the river Brenta/Bacchiglione (Balista and Rinaldi, 2005: fig. 12; Fig. 62b).

At Padua, the epigraphic formula (i.e. personal name and *cognomen* + *ekupetaris/eppetaris ego*) found on *stelai* suggests that the named individual and their family had a prominent socio-political position in the community (Lomas, 2011: 21). At Este, inscriptions do not bear evidence of the role played by the named individuals in the community, which most probably was eminent because of the tomb markers themselves, as they are limited in numbers and located in topographically significant areas. I wonder if there was a different socio-political structure in place at these two settlements, more dominated by the aristocracy at Este, where the name of the family was enough to recall the role, and the authority, played in the community by a certain individual and their family, whereas at Padua the need to state the socio-political role played by named individuals was because of the newly established position of the *equites*

in the community, which the case of the *Andeti* family seems to suggest were a rising socio-political group (see Chapter 6).

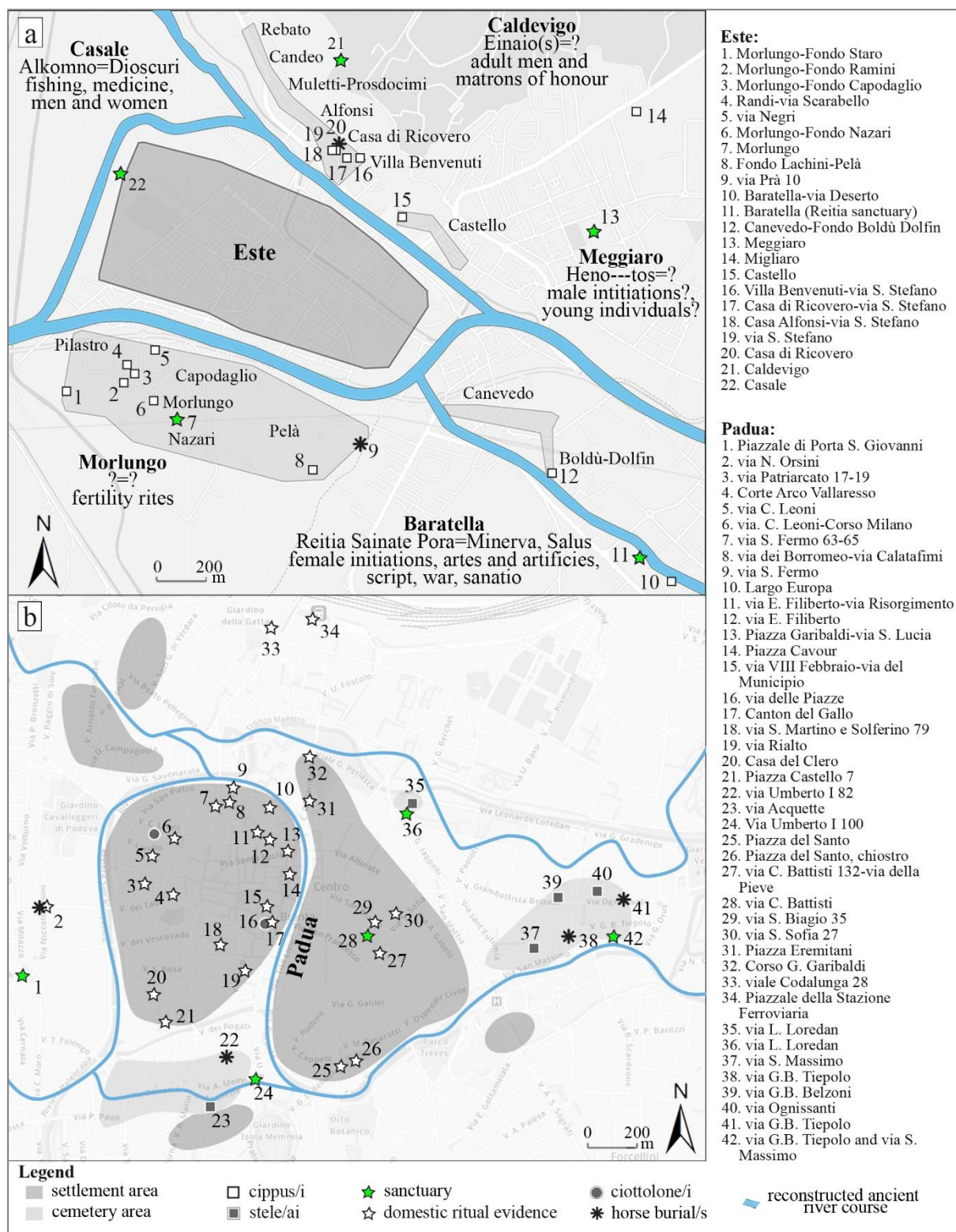


Fig. 62 – Este (PD) (a) and Padua (PD) (b) in the Iron Age: the distribution of tomb markers, *ex votos* and horse burials. Evidence is overlaid on the current Google Map of the area. Information regarding place names, the god/goddess possibly worshipped and rites performed at each of the sanctuaries of

Este is provided (sources: Maggiani, 2002: fig. 14; Balista *et al.*, 2002: fig. 27; Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008: fig. 1; Bondini, 2006; Ruta Serafini and Balista 1998: fig. 1; location of Este *cippi* according to Zerbinati, 1982: attachment 2; location of Padua evidence according to Marinetti and Prosdocimi, 1994; De Min, 2005: fig. 139; Gamba *et al.*, 2005: fig. 64; Michelini and Ruta Serafini, 2005: fig. 160; Gamba *et al.*, 2008: fig. 4; Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2009: fig. 1).

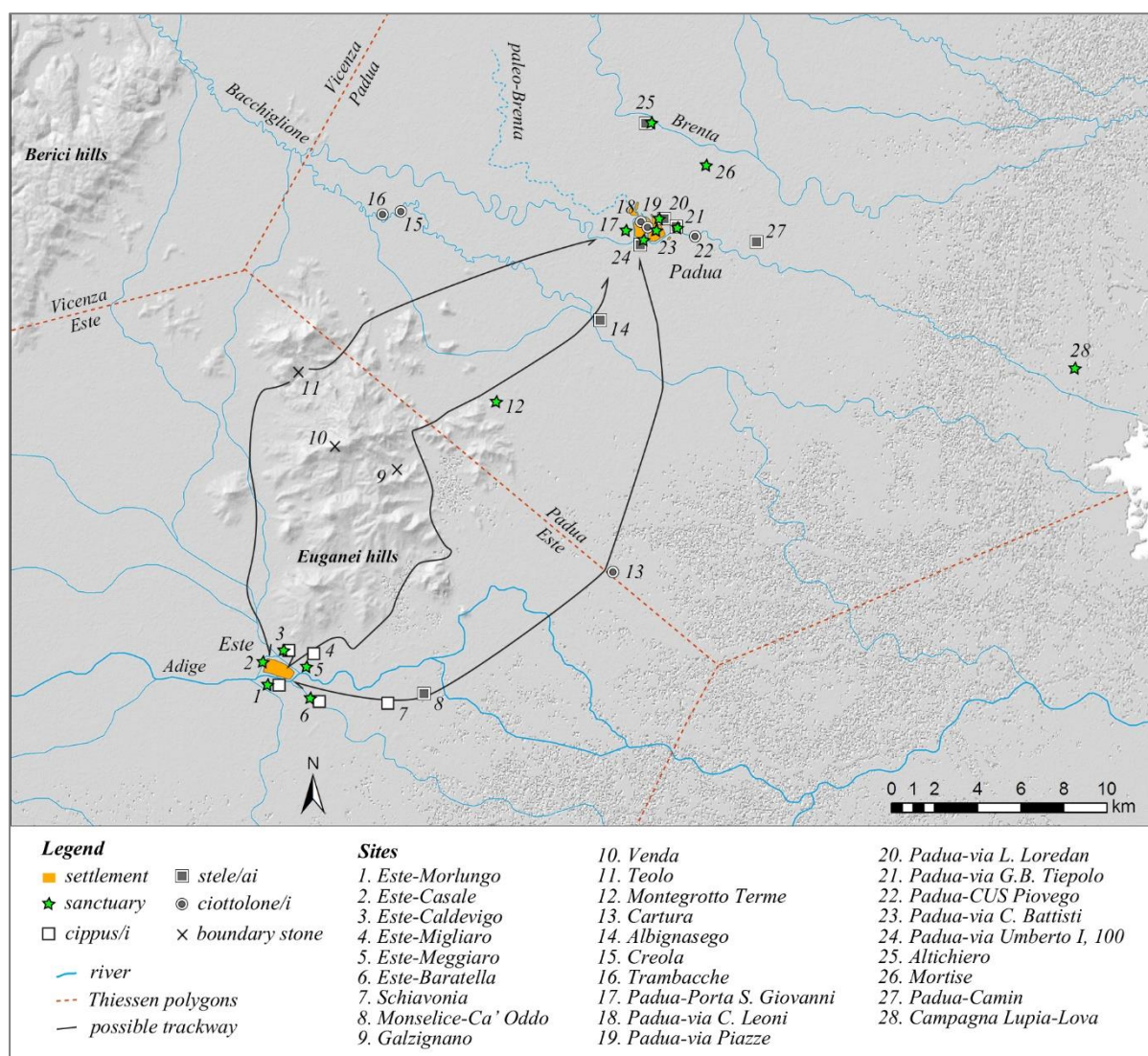


Fig. 63 – The Iron Age territories of Este (PD) and Padua (PD) defined by Thiessen Polygons. The ancient river network, sanctuaries, extra-urban funerary evidence, 2nd cent. BC boundary stones and reconstructed trackways are also shown (after Bosio, 1978: fig. 1; Boaro, 2001: fig. 8; De Min and Ruta Serafini, 2005: fig. 1; Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008: fig. 1; Piovan *et al.*, 2012: fig. 1; Balista and Rinaldi, 2005: fig. 12). DTM data from Farr and colleagues (2007).

On the basis of the inscriptions found on the *cippi* from Este, I was able to find a correlation between at least two of the *cognomina* (i.e. surnames) recorded according to their root: *Egest-*

(i.e. *Egestioi* in inscription Es 6, and *Egestn[ai]* in inscription Es 11; (Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 63, 75). They come from the same funerary area, Este-Morlungo (see Fig. 62a, site 7), so I believe it is likely that the same family was buried in the same area over time as suggested by Ruta Serafini and Balista (1998) for the cemetery of Este-Ricovero (see Fig. 62a for its location). It is interesting that the same name root is also found in the votive *cippus* found at the sanctuary of Este-Caldevigo – *meگو donasto [I]uvants Egests* (transl. I was given by Iuvants Egests) (Marinetti, 2010: 230), located at the opposite side of the settled area of Este (see Fig. 62a) and not at Morlungo. Another person who may have belonged to the same family, *Vants Egests*, dedicated a votive bronze figurine at the sanctuary of *Reitia* at Este-Baratella (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: 24; see Fig. 62a, site 11).

I wonder if this latter evidence is to be linked to the different rituals performed at each of the sanctuaries of Este (Maggiani, 2002), so that the sanctuaries of Caldevigo and *Reitia* were more fitting to the gender, age and role of the people recorded in the inscriptions. Another explanation might relate to visibility, so that at Este the importance of an individual, and their family, was linked to the ability to display wealth through the dedication of more than one marker in public places. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the inscription of the cippus of Este-Caldevigo - *meگو donasto [I]uvants Egests* (Marinetti, 2010: 230). However, it might also be that both these hypotheses are correct.

From a regional point of view, I believe tomb markers differing in form, raw material and inscribed formula, may have acted as territorial identity markers, and so possibly reflected a conscious choice made by the wealthy individuals of Padua and Este to distinguish themselves from each other. This hypothesis, which was proposed by Lomas (2011: 15) but never fully tackled, seems supported by the distance between Este and Padua, only c. 27km, so that encounters would have been frequent.

On the one hand, the raw material used indicates differing sources for the stone: trachyte from the Euganean area for the *cippi* at Este (Prosdocimi and Pellegrini, 1967: 48-95), while limestone from the Berici hills was mainly used for Padua *stelai* (Fogolari, 1988: 99). As mentioned above, trachyte was also used at Padua for slabs or blocks and for reinforcing river banks, for hut foundations (Gamba *et al.*, 2005: 69-70) and for boundary *cippi* (Gamba and Gambacurta, 2005: 78-79).

On the other hand, tomb markers seem also to indicate a distinction between Este and Padua based on form and geographical distribution. In both territories, tomb markers are not only

positioned at cemeteries close to the settled area (see Fig. 62a, b) but they are also located along (possible) trackways reconstructed by Boaro (2001) mostly on the basis of subsequent Roman roads and on fieldwork by Pellegrini (1917) in the Euganean hills (see Fig. 63). The boundaries of the territory of Padua seem also to be marked by *ciottoloni* (see Fig. 63), dated to between the late 6th and the 4th cent. BC (Capuis, 1993: 221; Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2014: 263).

Fig. 62 suggests that ritual practice was a major difference between the two Atestine towns of Este and Padua. At Este, five public sanctuaries are suggested to have bordered the area of the settlement: Baratella, Morlungo, Casale, Caldevigo and Meggiaro (Balista and Ruta Serafini, 2008: fig. 1; see Fig. 62a), each possibly characterised by different rituals and worshippers/offerors (Maggiani, 2002). Chieco Bianchi (2002: 24) suggests that the oldest ritual evidence recorded at the Baratella sanctuary was for libation on the basis of the deposition of drinking vessels dated at the end of the 7th cent BC (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 14). The sacred area/sanctuary seems still to be in use in Roman times, at least until the 2nd cent. AD (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 15).

In contrast to the public sanctuaries at Este, rituality at Padua is also private, votive evidence (i.e. pots and bronze miniatures of domestic tools) is, in fact, found scattered inside the settled area and related to domestic structures (De Min, 2005: 117-118; see Fig. 62b). I believe this pattern is, in part, biased by the different knowledge we possess for the two sites. Indeed, I would not be surprised if in the near future new excavations at Este will bring to light similar ritual domestic evidence since this site is so far mainly known from its funerary record (see Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006).

Moreover, De Min (2005: 117-121) recognises no sanctuary at Padua. I strongly disagree with this opinion since evidence similar to that used at Este to define sanctuary areas (mainly bronze figurines, but also votive plaques) was also found at Padua. Therefore, I have decided to mark such evidence⁸ in Fig. 62b with green stars, used in Fig. 62a to mark sanctuaries at Este.

Another crucial difference between the two territories is the presence of extra-urban sanctuaries, a pattern which was noted by Lomas (2012: 195) but not fully analysed in spatial terms. At Este, sanctuaries are located within a radius of c. 1.5km (see Fig. 62a), very close to the settled area; no extra-urban sanctuaries are recorded so far. Padua is different, there are at

⁸ It is doubtful whether the material from via C. Battisti was actually found there as there are no sanctuaries within the settled area at Este.

least four extra-urban sanctuaries active in its territory during the Iron Age (see Fig. 63). I agree with the idea of Marinetti and Cresci Marrone (2011: 288) that Padua's extra-urban sanctuaries also acted as boundary markers (see Fig. 63, ns 12, 25, 26 and 28) alongside tomb markers (Marinetti and Cresci Marrone, 2011: 290). In this respect, the topography and the chronology of the sanctuary of Montegrotto Terme (PD) (also known in the literature as S. Pietro Montagnon; De Min, 1976) are crucial (Fig. 63, n. 12). It is located on the western edge of the Euganei hills allowing it to visually dominate the plain towards Padua but close to the boundary between the territories of Este and Padua as defined by Thiessen Polygons (see Fig. 63). There is the chance that this boundary shifted over time as the evidence shown in Fig. 63 might suggest: the Thiessen Polygons analysis draws, in fact, a line between the position of the 8th-3rd cent. BC sanctuary of Montegrotto Terme (De Min, 1976: 199; Dämmer, 2002: 302; see Fig. 63, n. 12) and the 2nd cent. BC Roman *cippi* at Venda (PD), Galzignano (PD) and Teolo (PD) (Basso, 1992d; Zerbinati, 1992c; Gamba, 1992r; Fig. 63, ns 9-11). Therefore it is possible that the abandonment of the sanctuary during the 3rd cent. BC and the establishment of a new boundary marked by *cippi* on the Euganei hills during the 2nd cent. BC might correspond to a geo-political re-organisation of the area at the beginning of the Roman colonisation of the Veneto.

On the basis of pottery sherds, the oldest evidence at Montegrotto Terme is dated to the second half of the 8th cent. BC (De Min, 1976: 199), a period recognised by Leonardi (2011: 37) as important for the proto-urban development of sites like Este and Padua (see Fig. 51 in Chapter 6). From this point of view, I believe that Padua set in stone its presence in the area with the foundation of the sanctuary of Montegrotto Terme. This might be seen as an identity marker which is not only restricted to elite, specific groups of the society or gender, but belonging to all the citizens of Padua, strengthened by a horse cult which was, most certainly, practised there (see Millo, 2013). Horses, I believe, are the key to this pattern. Horse burials at the outskirts of Atestine towns are documented throughout the Veneto during the Iron Age (Bortolami, 2018). Fig. 62 shows that at both Este and Padua horses were buried at the outskirts of the settled area, as some sort of landscape marker (see also Gamba *et al.*, 2008). At Padua, a horse burial was found associated with a boundary *cippus* with inscription dated to between 6th and 4th cent. BC (i.e. Pa 14; Gamba *et al.*, 2008: fig. 14; Gambacurta *et al.*, 2014: fig. 5; Fig. 62b, n. 2). At Montegrotto Terme, at least 18 bronze figurines of horses, dated to the 5th-4th cent. BC, together with pots, bronze plaques and anatomic *ex votos* were found nearby a sulphurous thermal water basin (Dämmer, 1986: plates 10-14). Bone remains show that young animals, among which

pigs and sheep, were sacrificed at the site (Bassani, 2011: 231-232). Bassani (2011: 233-234) proposed the possibility that livestock was led to the sanctuary in order to be healed through the blessing of the god *Aponus* (then Apollo for the Romans; Bassani, 2011: 238). The cult and sacrifice of the horse, used in the Atestine world to delimit settled areas, might have been used at Montegrotto Terme to signal the south-west boundary of the territory politically controlled by Padua which, from the 5th cent. BC, seems also to be marked by the *ciottolone* found at Cartura (see Fig. 63, n. 13).

In identity terms, the *stele* of Monselice-Ca' Oddo (PD) (Fig. 63, n. 8; see also Fig. 56e in Chapter 6), probably to be related to the *Andeti* family, is emblematic. I believe it is plausible that the tomb marker of *Fugia Andeatina Fuginia* from Monselice-Ca' Oddo had an identity valency, not only linked to the single individual and her socio-political role among the community through the epithet "*eppetaris*" (see Fig. 56 in Chapter 6), but also for the *Andeti* family. Moreover, it clearly shows a connection with Padua due to the rectangular shape of the *stele* and the inscription formula, although it was made of Euganean trachyte as were Este *cippi* (Martini Chieco Bianchi and Prosdocimi, 1969: 511). This is the only evidence of this kind so I believe it does not mark an enlargement of the territory politically controlled by Padua at the expenses of Este but the presence of a high-status citizen of Padua, of Gallic origin, living in the territory of Este.

In contrast with Padua, at Este images of knights are not found on tomb markers but in sacred contexts either as bronze votive plaques or figurines. At Baratella, the location of the sanctuary of *Reitia*, votive evidence dates, interestingly, to between the 6th cent. BC, the period of the first arrival of Gauls in Veneto, and Roman times (Chieco Bianchi, 2002: 28; Capuis and Chieco Bianco, 2010: 15, 141), and comprises not only bronze plaques and figurines, but also pottery, personal ornaments and bronze body-part *ex votos* (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 15). At this site, votive plaques mainly show single persons, or people in procession, principally foot soldiers, knights and high-status women (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: plates 1-90; Fig. 64a-d). Depending on the details depicted, these women are sometimes interpreted as images of a goddess (Baggio Bernardoni, 2002: 280). Plaques were probably dedicated by individuals or groups whose socio-political role in the community is shown by the presence of horses, shields, helmets or dresses and veils, but their individual names were not indicated as there are no inscriptions. Interestingly, this latter information is provided at Este by contemporary *cippi*.

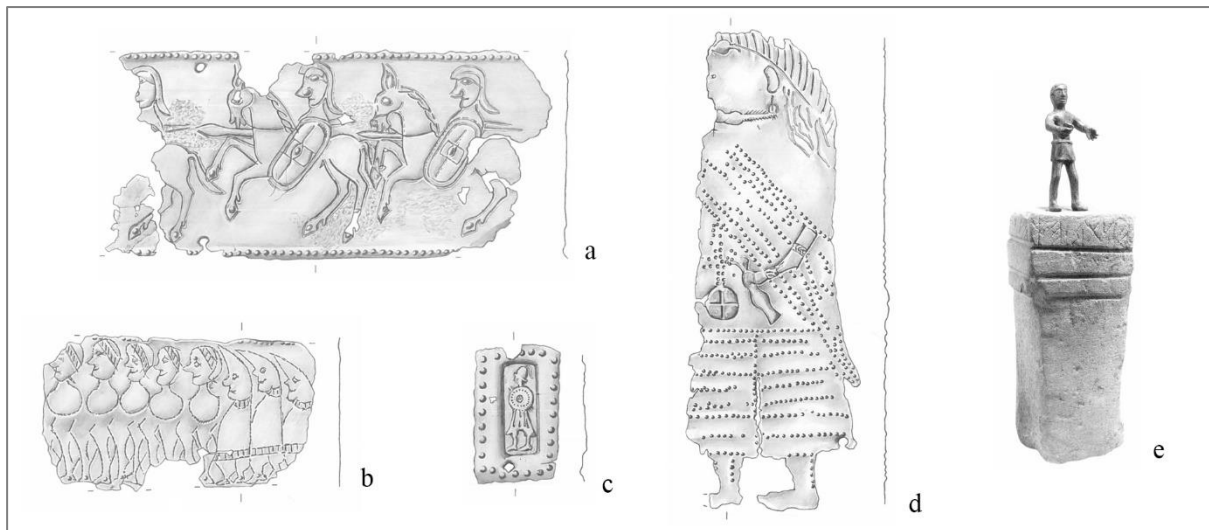


Fig. 64 – Este-Baratella (PD) votives, scale 1:3. Bronze plaques: a) knights (Chieco Bianchi, 2010: plate 21, n. 70), b) women in procession (Chieco Bianchi, 2010: plate 11, n. 42), c) foot soldier (Chieco Bianchi, 2010: plate 59, n. 254), d) woman, interpreted as the goddess *Reitia*(?) (Chieco Bianchi, 2010: plate 27, n. 90). Bronze figurine on inscribed stone base (e).

Nevertheless, at the same sanctuary, inscriptions on the stone bases of bronze figurines seem to show the strong desire of the offerors to be acknowledged and remembered (Fig. 64e). According to Chieco Bianchi (2002: plates 1-61), there are at least 185 bronze figurines at Este-Baratella, arranged both as single figurine or group of figurines on stone bases and they seem to depict all the classes recorded on the votive plaques.

Because of this, I believe it is plausible that, more than a socio-political difference, there was a ritual difference between votive figurines and plaques. The material used is the same (i.e. bronze), but production was much more simple, and so possibly more affordable, for the plaques which were produced mostly by stamping. Moreover, the amount of metal used is less for plaques compared to figurines but, I believe, the economic reason does not fully explain why votive plaques are more common than figurines at Este-Baratella (≥ 1000 vs 185; Chieco Bianchi 2002: plates 1-61; 2010: 15) since the offerors depicted seem to have been the same. Following this argument, bronze figurines, fewer in number compared to plaques and more expensive due to the greater quantity of metal used and the more complex production process, might be regarded as a second offering to the goddess once the requested blessing was received by a worshipper. On the other hand, plaques were possibly purchased close by the sanctuary and made on the spot by stamping a motif picked from a limited standardised *repertoire* to represent the status of the offeror. When wholly preserved, plaques have little holes for nails in the corners and this might imply that they were attached to the walls of the sanctuary as *ex*

votos while figurines, attached to stone bases, might have been easily placed in the proximity of the altar or to the statue of the goddess *Reitia*, if present. The presence of at least 24 styluses offered as *ex votos* at the site, which Lomas (2009: 20-21) linked to female gender identity in the light of their inscriptions, might be used to speculate on the presence of wax tablets at the sanctuary, possibly associated with the offerings(?). If there was one, the inscription on the wax tablets would have provided the name of the offeror and/or their request to the goddess but this hypothesis remains pure speculation given the evidence in our possession.

7.2. Final remarks on Atestine tomb markers and bronze *ex votos*

To conclude. This chapter shows how the boundary between individual and collective identity in the Iron Age Veneto is fluid, so that the identity valency of the same object might be read in different ways.

Funerary *stelai* and *cippi*, for example, might be considered as high-status tomb markers because of their limited number, location, the labour required for their production and because of their inscriptions. These, in fact, provide direct information on the identity of the associated individual. This pattern is found at both Este and Padua, the two case-study areas. Nevertheless, only at Padua does the inscription on tomb markers provide information both on the identity of the individual and on their exact role in the community through the epithet *ekupetaris/eppetaris* (i.e. a knight/*eques*). Interestingly, at Este this information is only provided in sacred areas as attested by the bronze figurines with inscribed stone bases at the sanctuary of *Reitia*.

At the same time, I believe the shape and the raw material used to make *stelai* and *cippi* was used to distinguish high-status figures between Este and Padua, but also the centres' respective territories through their location in the landscape. This is, I believe, indirect evidence of community identity which is defined by the Atestine word *teuter*, translated as community/*civitas* by Marinetti (1988: 344; see also Gambacurta *et al.*, 2014). This word appears as part of an inscription on a boundary *cippo* found at the outskirts of the settlement of Padua, dated to between the 6th and 4th cent. BC (i.e. Pa 14; Gamba *et al.*, 2008: fig. 14; Gamba *et al.*, 2014: fig. 5).

Another identity landscape marker was possibly the Paduan extra-urban sanctuary at Montegrotto Terme, as shown by its location at the boundary between the territory of Padua

and Este as indicated by Thiessen Polygons, its chronology – the late 8th cent. BC, the period of proto-urban development of the Atestine major sites, and the archaeological evidence found there – animal bones, pottery vessels and bronze votives. I believe the cult of the horse associated with this sanctuary may have possessed the same liminal valency as was played by horse burials found at the edges of the settled area of Este and Padua, in this case extended to the territory politically controlled by these sites.

At the same time, *ciottoloni* might be seen as another landscape marker related to the territory of Padua due to their unique distribution in this area especially as they bear the epithet *ekupetaris/eppetaris* as do Padua *stelai*. *Ciottoloni* bear evidence of individual, family and group identity at the same time.

The rectangular-shaped stele of *Fugia Andeatina Fuginia* found at Monselice-Ca' Oddo in the territory of Este is not a political landscape marker, I believe, since there is no other similar evidence in the considered area and time span. On the other hand, the inscription illustrates individual, family and group identities, but also the will of the owner to represent herself as a wealthy citizen of Padua with Gallic origin. In this case, it appears clear to me that the conscious identity valency played by the stele was perceived and displayed by its owner.

Chapter 8 – Local, regional and inter-regional identities in the Iron Age Veneto and nearby areas

In this chapter, selected categories of Iron Age archaeological evidence from present-day Veneto and surrounding areas will be critically analysed in identity terms. These are Situla Art, red-and-black painted ware and votive plaques which, using Morgan's (1992: 134) words for the Greek world, I believe were "selected to carry social or political meaning under particular circumstances" and thus are able to illuminate Atestine identity at three different multi-scalar levels: inter-regional, regional and local/community for the time span and area of study.

8.1. The Atestines through Situla Art

In this section, I will discuss whether Situla Art can be analysed in identity terms by focusing on its decoration. In the literature, more than 150 bronze objects can be assigned to Situla Art production (Sassatelli, 2013: 100) thanks to their Orientalising decoration arranged in friezes. According to Zaghetto (2017: 52-59 and figs 15-16), Situla Art is distributed across the Italian regions of Marche, Emilia-Romagna, Lombardy, Veneto, and Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol, plus Slovenia, Croatia, Switzerland and Austria (see Fig. 8 in Section 2.3.1.) and dated between c. 660 BC and c. 275 BC. Interestingly, there seems to be a gap in the distribution of Situla Art in Friuli-Venezia Giulia and in eastern Lombardy, but this pattern might reflect the lack of fieldwork to date. According to Sassatelli (2013: 99), whose opinion is widely shared (see also Bondini, 2012; Perego, 2013), also by me, the importance of Situla Art lies mostly in its common narrative language, which is strongly connected to the acquisition, exhibition and legitimization of power by high-status figures across the case-study area.

It is crucial to bear in mind that its area of distribution was shaped by different cultural aspects during the Situla Art period. In Fig. 65, 6th-4th cent. BC cultural districts are mapped following Zaghetto (2017: fig. 1) but refined using maps published by Pallottino (1991: figs 1-2 and 6), Marzatico (2012a: fig. 1) and Rondini (2017: fig. 6); the Atestine cultural area was mapped following its definition in Chapter 6 (see Fig. 52). I have relied on Gabrovec (1999: fig. 1) for the various cultural aspects in southern Austria, Slovenia and northern Croatia as it is still used in the more recent literature (e.g. Turk, 2005: fig. 6; Tecco Hvala, 2012: fig. 9).

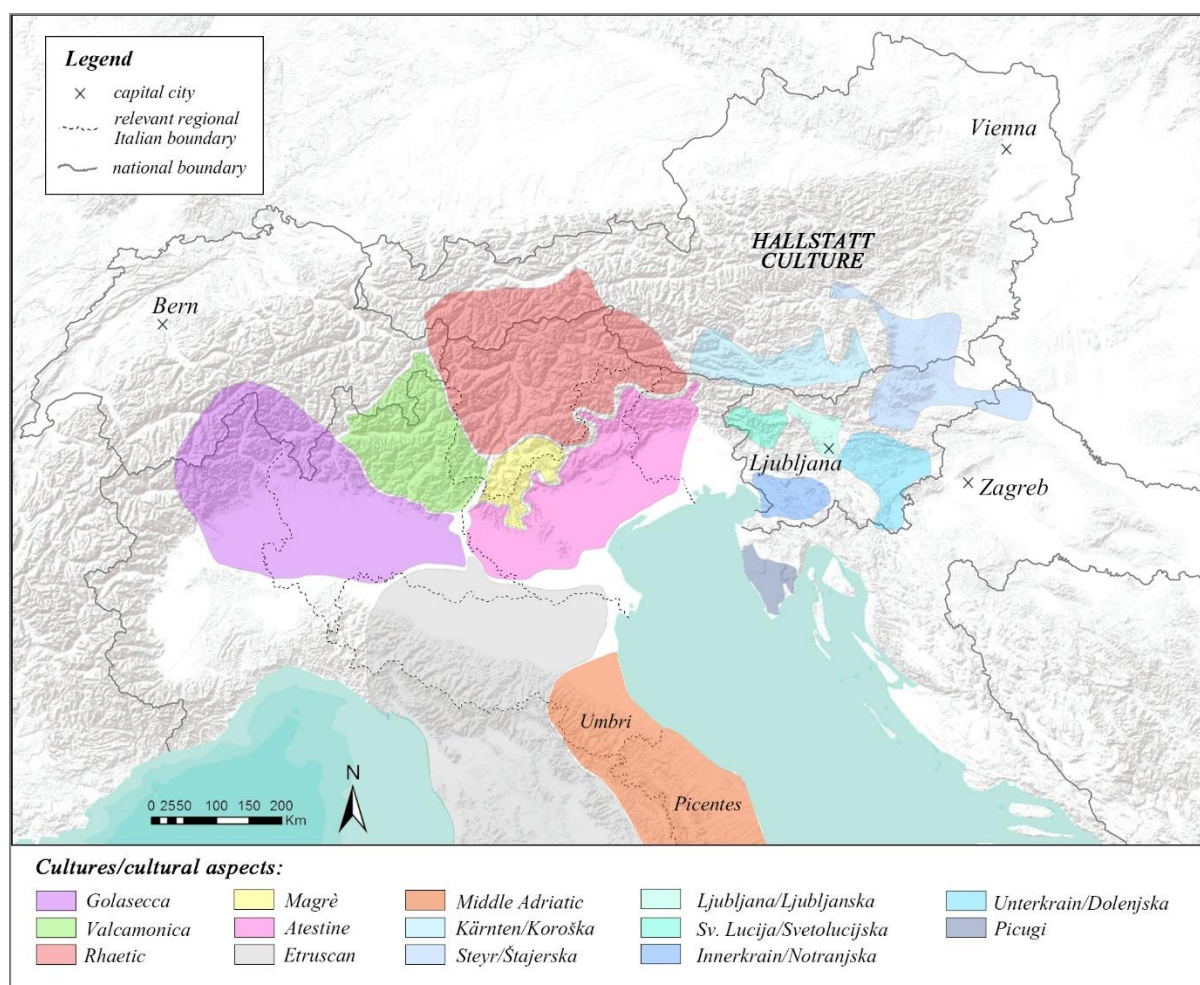


Fig. 65 – 6th-4th cent. BC cultural districts in the case-study area (after: Pallottino, 1991: figs 1-2 and 6; Gabrovec, 1999: fig. 1; Marzatico, 2012a: fig. 1; Rondini, 2017: fig. 6; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 1). DTM data from ESRI, USGS, NOAA.

In the course of my research I was able to identify 264 Situla Art objects from 58 different sites (Fig. 66) allowing me to include the Italian region of Abruzzo in the Situla Art distribution area as suggested by D’Ercole and Grassi (2000: 242, 249). The 264 Situla Art objects are c. 100 more than “the over 150 finds” recalled by Sassatelli (2013: 110, my translation) and 127 more than the 137 finds listed by Zaghetto (2017: 52-59). Tab. 14 lists them all. This number will probably increase in the future in the light of new excavation reports and the re-evaluation of old excavations, quite often not fully published.

In rough terms, this means that c. 0.7 Situla Art objects were made per year between 660 BC and 275 BC. This number cannot be refined on the basis of the data in our possession: Zaghetto (2001: plates 1-63; 2017: fig. 16), in fact, provides a chronology only for 104 of them and I shall not address this problem in the course of this PhD because it would require a large amount

of work, too much for the three years of this PhD as my research is not only focused on Situla Art. It is my hope to reassess the chronology of Situla Art in the near future. Situla Art objects were, most probably, valuable goods which were consequently carefully kept by their owners and possibly passed down to future generations as family heirlooms. This hypothesis seems to be supported by ancient repairs of Situla Art objects, documented, for example, by the Benvenuti situla (see Buson, 2002: 348).



Fig. 66 - Situla Art distribution between mid 7th and early 3rd cent. BC (after Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 15 with additions). DTM data from ESRI, USGS, NOAA.

ID	Object	Site number	Town	Country	Place name	Grave	Reference of the drawing	Note	Zaghetto proposed phase		Absolute chronology	Chronology of the context:	
									2017: fig. 16	2001: plates 1-63		relative	absolute
BEL.F1	scabbard	22	Belluno	Italy	Colle Castellir sopra Fisterre	-	Frey, 1969: plate 81, n. 42					IIIC	575-525 BC
BOL.A1	axe	6	Bologna	Italy	Arnoaldi	11 (1883)	Carancini, 1984: plate 101, n. 3443		1a	1a-b	660/650-630/625 BC	IIIB 1	650-625 BC
BOL.K1	bowl	6	Bologna	Italy	Certosa	108	Frey, 1969: plate 85, n. 50						mid 5th cent. BC
BOL.M1	mirror	6	Bologna	Italy	Arnoaldi	104	Macellari, 2002: plate 19, n. 11			4a	475/450-425/400 BC	IIID 2	450-425 BC
BOL.S1	situla	6	Bologna	Italy	Certosa	68	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plates 16-20, n. 4		2a	2a-b(?)	610/600 BC-550/530 BC	IIID 1	500-475 BC
BOL.S2	situla	6	Bologna	Italy	Providence	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: appendix 1		2a	2a	610/600 BC-550/530 BC	IIIC	575-550 BC
BOL.S3	situla	6	Bologna	Italy	Arnoaldi	96	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plates 63, n. 3 Macellari, 2002: plate 16 bis		3b	3b	520/510-500/480 BC	IIID 1-IIID 2	475-425 BC
BOL.T1	<i>tintinnabulum</i>	6	Bologna	Italy	Arsenale	Tomba degli Ori	Morigi Govi, 1971: plates 52, 54		1a	1a	660/650-630/625 BC	IIIB 1	650-625 BC
BRE.B1	belt plate	46	Brezje	Slovenia	Brezje	mound 1, grave 1	Barth, 1999: fig. 1 Turk, 2005: 31, fig. 42			2a	610/600-550/530 BC		
BRE.B2	belt plate	46	Brezje	Slovenia	Brezje	mound 13, grave 8	Barth, 1999: fig. 2 Turk, 2005: 23, fig. 22			(2b?)	(550/530-520/510 BC)	IIID 1	525-450 BC
CAM.L1	lid?	1	Campoli	Italy	Campovalano	42	D'Ercole and Grassi, 2000: fig. 37, n. 4						first half 5th cent. BC
CAR.S1	situla	8	Caravaggio	Italy	Caravaggio	Tomba della Situla	Longhi, C. and Vololini, C. (Eds.) 2020: plate 1						first half 5th cent. BC
CRC.B1	belt plate	15	Carceri	Italy	-	-	Frey, 1969: plate 67, n. 18			(2b?)3a-b	(550?)520/510-475/450 BC	IIID 1	525-450 BC
CAS.M1	mirror	7	Castelvetro	Italy	Galassina	1	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 21, n. 6		3a	3b	520/510-500/480 BC	IIID 1-IIID 2	475-425 BC
DOL.B1	belt plate	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 11, grave 21	Teržan, 1976: plate 69, grave XI/21, n. 8 Turk, 2005: 73, fig. 113				first half 5th cent. BC		
DOL.E1	earring	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 2, grave 2	Teržan, 1976: plate 4, grave II/2, n. 11						
DOL.E2	earring	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 2, grave 2	Teržan, 1976: plate 4, grave II/2, n. 12 Turk, 2005: 74, fig. 114						
DOL.E3	earring	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 2, grave 16	Teržan, 1976: plate 8, grave II/16, n. 4 Turk, 2005: 74, fig. 115				late 6th or early 5th cent. BC		
DOL.E4	earring	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 2, grave 16	Teržan, 1976: plate 8, grave II/16, n. 5 Turk, 2005: 74, fig. 115				late 6th or early 5th cent. BC		

ID	Object	Site number	Town	Country	Place name	Grave	Reference of the drawing	Note	Zaghetto proposed phase		Absolute chronology	Chronology of the context:	
									2017: fig. 16	2001: plates 1-63		relative	absolute
DOL.E5	earring	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 2, grave 16	Teržan, 1976: plate 8, grave II/16, n. 6 Turk, 2005: 74, fig. 115				late 6th or early 5th cent. BC		
DOL.E6	earring	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 2, grave 16	Teržan, 1976: plate 8, grave II/16, n. 7 Turk, 2005: 74, fig. 115				late 6th or early 5th cent. BC		
DOL.E7	earring	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 2, grave 30	Teržan, 1976: plate 14, grave II/30, n. 6 Turk, 2005: 74, fig. 116				6th-5th cent. BC		
DOL.E8	earring	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 2, grave 30	Teržan, 1976: plate 14, grave II/30, n. 7 Turk, 2005: 74, fig. 116				6th-5th cent. BC		
DOL.E9	earring	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 2, grave 30	Teržan, 1976: plate 14, grave II/30, n. 8 Turk, 2005: 74, fig. 116				6th-5th cent. BC		
DOL.E10	earring	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 2, grave 30	Teržan, 1976: plate 14, grave II/30, n. 9 Turk, 2005: 74, fig. 116				6th-5th cent. BC		
DOL.E11	earring	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 11, grave 12	Teržan, 1976: plate 66, grave XI/12, n. 4 Turk, 2005: 75, fig. 117				late 6th or early 5th cent. BC		
DOL.E12	earring	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 11, grave 12	Teržan, 1976: plate 66, grave XI/12, n. 5						
DOL.S1	situla	56	Dolenjske Toplice	Croatia	Dolenjske Toplice	mound 2, grave 23	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 72, n. 32		2b	2b	550/530-520/510 BC	IIID 1	525-450 BC
DUR.S1	situla	41	Dürnborg	Austria	Kranzbiel	346B	Zeller, 2004: 400, fig. 15		2a		610/600-550/530 BC		
DUR.C1	cista	41	Dürnborg	Austria	Eisfeld	137	Rabsilber et al., 2017: 339, fig. 2					La Tène A	475-400 BC
EPP.C1	cista	27	Eppean	Italy	settlement	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 62, n. 2		2b	2a	550/530-520/510 BC	IIID 1	525-500 BC
EST.B1	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Ospedaletto	Palugana 1	Frey, 1969: plate 68, n. 19			3a-b	520/510-475/450 BC		
EST.B2	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Ospedaletto	Palugana 2	Frey, 1969: plate 68, n. 20			(2b?)3a-b	(550?)520/510-475/450 BC	IIID 1	525-450 BC
EST.B3	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	sporadic 1	-	Frey, 1969: plate 71, n.27			(2b?)3a-b	(550?)520/510-475/450 BC	IIID 1	525-450 BC
EST.B4	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Muletti-Prodocimi	257	Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 244, n. 6			4a-b	475/450-350/325 BC	IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B5	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Capodaglio	31	Frey, 1969: plate 71, n.24			4a-b	475/450-350/325 BC	IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B6	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Nazari	161 (1882)	Chieco Bianchi 1984: 716, upper fig.			4a-b	475/450-350/325 BC	IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B7	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Alfonsi	1	Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 252, n. 8					IIID 3	350-300 BC

ID	Object	Site number	Town	Country	Place name	Grave	Reference of the drawing	Note	Zaghetto proposed phase		Absolute chronology	Chronology of the context:	
									2017: fig. 16	2001: plates 1-63		relative	absolute
EST.B8	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Boldu-Dolfin	52-53 (1876)	Bermond Montanari, 1960: 357, fig. 7			(4a-c?)	(475/450-275 BC)	IIID 2-IIID 3	450-300 BC
EST.B9	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	92	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 80, n. 24					IIIC-III D1	575-450 BC
EST.B10	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	-	sporadic 2	Baggio, 1978: fig. 29, n. 4			4a-b	475/450-350/325 BC	IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B11	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	86	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 71, n. 15					IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B12	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	86	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 72, ns 16-17					IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B13	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	81	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 60, n. 3					IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B14	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	93	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 83, n. 6					IIID 1-IIID 2	475-425 BC
EST.B15	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	94	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 86, n. 14					IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B16	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	94	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 87, n. 22					IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B17	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	105	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 105, n. 3					IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B18	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	110	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 112, n. 7					IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B19	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	110	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 114, n. 30					IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B20	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	111	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 117, n. 17					IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B21	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	115	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 128, n. 35					IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B22	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	119	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 139, n. 13						
EST.B23	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Ricovero	219	Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 149, a					IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B24	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Alfonsi	3	Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 254, n. 10					IIID 2	450-350 BC
EST.B25	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Capodaglio	-	Frey, 1969: plate 71, n. 25						
EST.B26	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Capodaglio	-	Frey, 1969: plate 71, n. 26						
EST.B27	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Caldevigo	-	Frey, 1969: plate 79, n. 37	later recycled as a votive plaque					
EST.B28	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Reitia	-	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: plate 4, n. 5	later recycled as a votive plaque					
EST.B29	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Ricovero	20 (1984)	Gregnanin, 1998a: 171, fig. 90						late 5th-early 4th cent. BC
EST.B30	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Ricovero	20 (1984)	Gregnanin, 1998a: 176, fig. 94						late 5th-early 4th cent. BC

ID	Object	Site number	Town	Country	Place name	Grave	Reference of the drawing	Note	Zaghetto proposed phase		Absolute chronology	Chronology of the context:	
									2017: fig. 16	2001: plates 1-63		relative	absolute
EST.B31	belt plate(?)	16	Este	Italy	Ricovero	21 (1983)	Panella, 1998: 184, fig. 98, n. 11						late 5th-early 4th cent. BC
EST.B32	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Ricovero	21 (1983)	Panella, 1998: 186, fig. 99						late 5th-early 4th cent. BC
EST.B33	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Ricovero	21 (1983)	Panella, 1998: 190, fig. 102						late 5th-early 4th cent. BC
EST.B34	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Ricovero	17 (1984)	Gregnanin, 1998b: 199, fig. 109, n. 5						first half 4th cent. BC
EST.B35	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Nazari	161 (1882)	Bondini, 2008: plate 206, n. 11						first half 4th cent. BC
EST.B36	belt plate	16	Este	Italy	Nazari	161 (1882)	Bondini, 2008: plate 207, n. 25						first half 4th cent. BC
EST.B37	belt	16	Este	Italy	Boldù-Dolfin	52-53 (1876)	Bondini, 2008: plate 237, n. 72						late 4th-early 3rd cent. BC
EST.E1	bench	16	Este	Italy	Ricovero	23	Chieco Bianchi, 1987: 210, fig. 39, n. 84			(4c?)	(350/325-275 BC)	IIID 3	300-250 BC
EST.F1	scabbard	16	Este	Italy	-	-	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 1992: 50, fig. 27	at Wien, Naturhistorisches Museum		2a-b	610/600-520/510 BC	IIIC	575-525 BC
EST.F2	scabbard	16	Este	Italy	Franchini	26	Frey, 1969: plate 66, n. 16			2a-b	610/600-520/510 BC	IIIC	575-525 BC
EST.F3	scabbard	16	Este	Italy	Ricovero	232	Frey, 1969: plate 67, n. 15			2a-b	610/600-520/510 BC	IIIC	575-525 BC
EST.F4	scabbard	16	Este	Italy	Franchini	18	Frey, 1969: plate 66, n. 17			3a-b	520/510-475/450 BC	IIID 1	(550?-) 525-450 BC
EST.F5	scabbard	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	93	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 85, n. 20			(2b?-)3a-b	(550?)520/510-475/450 BC	IIID 1	525-450 BC
EST.F6	scabbard	16	Este	Italy	Randi	1	Bianco Peroni, 1976: plate 21, n. 165			(2b?-)3a-b	(550?)520/510-475/450 BC	IIID 1	525-450 BC
EST.L1	lid	16	Este	Italy	Randi	34	Frey, 1969: plate 46, n. 3			1a	660/650-630/625 BC	IIIB 1	650-625 BC
EST.L2	lid	16	Este	Italy	Rebato	187	Frey, 1969: plate 40, n. 1		1a	1b	660/650-630/625 BC	IIIB 2	625-600 BC
EST.L3	lid	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	124	Frey, 1969: plates 64, n. 14		2a	2a	610/600-550/530 BC	IIIC	575-525 BC

ID	Object	Site number	Town	Country	Place name	Grave	Reference of the drawing	Note	Zaghetto proposed phase 2017: fig. 16	Absolute chronology	Chronology of the context:	
											relative	absolute
EST.L4	lid	16	Este	Italy	Capodaglio	38	Frey, 1969: plate 75, n. 32			4b	425/400-350/325 BC	IIID2 450-350 BC
EST.P1	palette	16	Este	Italy	Canevedo (settlement)	-	Rizzetto, 1978: fig. 27, 3					IIID1 525-475 BC
EST.P2	palette	16	Este	Italy	Ricovero	36	Chieco Bianchi, 1987: 228, fig. 54, 35					IIID3 300-250 BC
EST.P3	palette	16	Este	Italy	Ricovero	23	Chieco Bianchi, 1987: 217, fig. 35, 109					IIID3 300-250 BC
EST.S1	situla	16	Este	Italy	Randi	34	Frey, 1969: plate 45, n. 2			1a	660/650-630/625 BC	IIIB1 675-650 BC
EST.S2	situla	16	Este	Italy	-	-	Zaghetto, 2001: plate 16, n. 35 and plate 79, n. 35	at Wien, Naturhistorisches Museum	1b	1b	630/625-610/600 BC	IIIB 1-2 630-580 BC
EST.S3	situla	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	126	Capius and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: fig. 8		1b	1b	630/625-610/600 BC	IIIB2 625-600 BC
EST.S4	situla	16	Este	Italy	Capodaglio	38	Fogolari 1988: 84, fig. 108		4a	4a-b	475/450-425/400 BC	IIID2 450-350 BC
EST.S5	situla	16	Este	Italy	Boldu-Dolfin	52-53	Chieco Bianchi, 1984: 715, c		4b	4a	425/400-350/325 BC	IIID 2-3 450-300 BC
EST.S6	situla	16	Este	Italy	Boldu-Dolfin	52-53	Frey, 1969: supplement 2, n. 34		4c	4b-c	350/325-275 BC	IIID 2-3 450-300 BC
EST.S7	situla	16	Este	Italy	Boldu-Dolfin	52-53	Frey, 1969: plate 77, n. 35			4b	425/400-350/325 BC	IIID 2-3 450-300 BC
EST.S8	situla	16	Este	Italy	Prà	-	Frey, 1969: plate 76, n. 33			4b	425/400-350/325 BC	IIID2 450-350 BC
EST.S9	situla	16	Este	Italy	Capodaglio	38	Prosdoci, 1882: plate 6, fig. 13A			4a-b	475/450-350/325 BC	IIID2 450-350 BC
EST.S10	situla	16	Este	Italy	Capodaglio	38	Prosdoci, 1882: plate 6, fig. 15A			4a-b	475/450-350/325 BC	IIID2 450-350 BC
EST.S11	situla	16	Este	Italy	Capodaglio	38	Prosdoci, 1882: plate 6, fig. 13C			4a-b	475/450-350/325 BC	IIID2 450-350 BC
EST.S12	situla	16	Este	Italy	Capodaglio	31	Fogolari, 1988: 52, fig. 46			4a-b	475/450-350/325 BC	IIID2 450-350 BC
EST.S13	situla	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	122	Capius and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 141, n. 1					IIIB2 625-600 BC
EST.V1	bowl	16	Este	Italy	Benvenuti	122	Capius and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 141, n. 2		1a	1a-b	660/650-630/625 BC	IIIB2 625-600 BC
EST.X1	pix	16	Este	Italy	Ricovero	23	Chieco Bianchi, 1987: 212, fig. 32, n. 95					IIID3 300-250 BC
FLI.N1	plate	33	Fless	Austria	-	-	Sydow, 1995: plate 43, n. 329					
FOR.Y1	kardiophylax	4	Forlì	Italy	Rio Capena	-	Fogolari et al., 1961b: plate 3, n. 10			(1a?)	(660/650-630/625 BC)	IIIB2 575-525 BC
GAZ.B1	belt plate	12	Gazzo Veronese	Italy	Dosso del Pol	-	Sazani, 1987a: 129, fig. 132, ns 5-6			4a-b	475/450-350/325 BC	IIID2 450-350 BC
GAZ.B2	belt plate	12	Gazzo Veronese	Italy	Dosso del Pol	-	Sazani, 1987a: 129, fig. 132, n. 7					IIID2 450-350 BC
GAZ.B3	belt plate	12	Gazzo Veronese	Italy	Dosso del Pol	-	Salzani, 1976: fig. 30, n. 1			2a-b	610/600-520/510 BC	IIIC 575-525 BC

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									2017: fig. 16	2001: plates 1-63		relative	absolute
GAZ.B4	belt plate	12	Gazzo Veronese	Italy	Dosso del Pol	-	Salzani, 1976: fig. 32, ns 1-4					mid/late III-early IV (Frey, 1969)	525-300 BC
GAZ.B5	belt plate	12	Gazzo Veronese	Italy	Dosso del Pol	-	Salzani, 1976: fig. 32, ns 5-6					mid/late III-early IV (Frey, 1969)	525-300 BC
GAZ.B6	belt plate	12	Gazzo Veronese	Italy	Dosso del Pol	-	Salzani, 1976: fig. 33, ns 1-3					mid/late III-early IV (Frey, 1969)	525-300 BC
GAZ.B7	belt plate	12	Gazzo Veronese	Italy	Dosso del Pol	-	Salzani, 1988: 481, n. 6						5th cent. BC
GAZ.B8	belt plate	12	Gazzo Veronese	Italy	Colombara	-	Salzani, 1987b: 180, n. 1					II-III (Frey, 1969)	675-350 BC
GAZ.B9	belt plate	12	Gazzo Veronese	Italy	Dosso del Pol	2	Salzani, 1987b: fig. 3, n. 2						5th cent. BC
GAZ.B10	belt plate	12	Gazzo Veronese	Italy	Turbine Chievo	-	Salzani, 1997: fig. 1, n. 4						6th-5th cent. BC
GAZ.P1	palette	12	Gazzo Veronese	Italy	Turbine Chievo	-	Salzani, 1997: fig. 1, n. 5						6th-5th cent. BC
GRA.L1	lid	10	Grandate	Italy	Ca' Morta	I (1885)	Frey, 1969: plates 62 and 63, n. 13		1b	1b	630/625-610/600 BC	IIIB 2	625-600 BC
GUR.N1	plate	39	Gurina	Austria	Gurina	-	Meyer, 1885: plate 8, n. 8						
HAL.F1	scabbard	42	Hallstatt	Austria	Hallstatt	994	Fogolari et al., 1961b: plate 46, fig. 63						
HAL.L1	lid	42	Hallstatt	Austria	Hallstatt	696	Frey, 1969: plate 55, n. 7		1b	1b	630/625-610/600 BC	IIIB 1-III D1	650-475 BC
INN.P1	palette	36	Innsbruck	Austria	Aldrans	-	Tomedi and Applner, 2001: plate 4, n. 1						470-390 BC
INN.P2	palette	36	Innsbruck	Austria	Volders	-	Tomedi and Applner, 2001: plate 2, n. 1						470-390 BC
INN.P3	palette	36	Innsbruck	Austria	Aldrans	-	Tomedi and Applner, 2001: plate 4, n. 2						470-390 BC
INN.P4	palette	36	Innsbruck	Austria	Aldrans	-	Tomedi and Applner, 2001: plate 4, n. 3						470-390 BC
KLE.C1	cista 3	45	Kleinklein	Austria	Pommerkogel	-	Schmid, 1933: fig. 19 Prüssing, 1991: plate 109, fig. 334						
KLE.C2	cista 4	45	Kleinklein	Austria	Pommerkogel	-	Schmid, 1933: fig. 20 Prüssing, 1991: plates 110-111, figs 325-326, plate 114-115, fig. 337						
KLE.C3	cista 7	45	Kleinklein	Austria	Kröll-Schmedkogel	-	Schmid, 1933: plate 1a Prüssing, 1991: plate 109, fig. 336A; plates 112-113, fig. 336 Tarpini, 2003: fig. 1, n. 6					Ha D1	end 7th-beginning 6th cent. BC
KLE.C4	cista 8	45	Kleinklein	Austria	Kröll-Schmedkogel	-	Schmid, 1933: plate 1b Prüssing, 1991: plate 109, fig. 337A						
KLE.C5	cista 13	45	Kleinklein	Austria	Kröll-Schmedkogel	-	Schmid, 1933: plate 1c Prüssing, 1991: plates 120-121, fig. 340 Tarpini, 2003: 203, fig. 2, n. 4						

ID	Object	Site number	Town	Country	Place name	Grave	Reference of the drawing	Note	Zaghetto proposed phase		Absolute chronology	Chronology of the context:	
									2017: fig. 16	2001: plates 1-63		relative	absolute
KLE.C6	cista 11	45	Kleiklein	Austria	Kröll-Schmiedkogel	-	Schmid, 1993: figs 42-44 Prüssing, 1991: plate 116-117, fig. 338 Tarpini, 2003: 203, fig. 2, n. 1					Ha D1	end 7th-beginning 6th cent. BC
KLE.C7	cista 12	45	Kleiklein	Austria	Kröll-Schmiedkogel	-	Schmid, 1993: figs 45a-b Prüssing, 1991: plates 118-119, fig. 339 Tarpini, 2003: 203, fig. 2, n. 2					Ha D1	end 7th-beginning 6th cent. BC
KLE.L1	lid 13	45	Kleiklein	Austria	Kröll-Schmiedkogel	-	Schmid, 1993: fig. 46 Prüssing, 1991: plate 131, fig. 352						
KLE.S1	situla	45	Kleiklein	Austria	Pommerkogel	-	Schmid, 1993: 228 and figs 9, 10a-c Dobiat, 1980: plate A3 Prüssing, 1991: plate 18, fig. 102					Ha C2	second half 7th cent. BC
KOB.S1	situla	47	Kobarid	Slovenia	Kobarid	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plates 33, n. 19		2b	2b	550/530-520/510 BC	IIIC-IIID 1	575-475 BC
KUF.S1	situla	43	Kuffarn	Austria	Kuffarn	1	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 75, n. 40		3b	4a	500/480-475/450 BC	IIID 2	425-400 BC
LOT.B1	belt plate	30	Lothen	Italy	Lothen	-	Fogolari et al., 1961b: plate 25, n. 34			(4a?)-4b	(475?)425/400-350/325 BC	IIID 2-3	450-300 BC
MAG.B1	belt plate	52	Magdalenka gora	Slovenia	Preloge	mound 2, grave 46	Tecco Hvala, 2012: 170, plate 65, n. 4		2a	2a	610/600-550/530 BC	IIIC	575-525 BC
MAG.B2	belt plate	52	Magdalenka gora	Slovenia	Preloge	mound 2, grave 13	Tecco Hvala, 2012: 170, plate 65, n. 5		2b	(2b?)	550/530-520/510 BC	IIIC	550-525 BC
MAG.B3	belt plate	52	Magdalenka gora	Slovenia	Laščik	mound 5, grave 29	Tecco Hvala, 2012: 172, plate 66, n. 20						450-300 BC
MAG.B4	belt plate	52	Magdalenka gora	Slovenia	Laščik	mound 2, grave 58	Tecco Hvala, 2012: 170, plate 65, n. 11						525-450 BC
MAG.B5	belt plate	52	Magdalenka gora	Slovenia	sporadic	-	Tecco Hvala, 2012: 172, plate 66, n. 19		-	-	-	-	-
MAG.E1	earring	52	Magdalenka gora	Slovenia	Preloge	mound 13, grave 117	Tecco Hvala et al., 2004: plate 105, n. 1 Turk, 2005: 23, fig. 21				late 6th or early 5th cent. BC		
MAG.E2	earring	52	Magdalenka gora	Slovenia	Preloge	mound 13, grave 117	Tecco Hvala et al., 2004: plate 105, n. 2 Turk, 2005: 23, fig. 21				late 6th or early 5th cent. BC		
MAG.E3	earring	52	Magdalenka gora	Slovenia	Preloge	mound 13, grave 117	Tecco Hvala et al., 2004: plate 105, n. 3 Turk, 2005: 23, fig. 21				late 6th or early 5th cent. BC		

ID	Object	Site number	Town	Country	Place name	Grave	Reference of the drawing	Note	Zaghetto proposed phase		Absolute chronology	Chronology of the context:	
									2017: fig. 16	2001: plates 1-63		relative	absolute
MAG.E4	earring	52	Magdalenska gora	Slovenia	Preloge	mound 13, grave 117	Tecco Hvala et al., 2004: plate 105, n. 4 Turk, 2005: 23, fig. 21				late 6th or early 5th cent. BC		
MAG.E5	earring	52	Magdalenska gora	Slovenia	Preloge	mound 13, grave 117	Tecco Hvala et al., 2004: plate 105, n. 7 Turk, 2005: 23, fig. 21				late 6th or early 5th cent. BC		
MAG.E6	earring	52	Magdalenska gora	Slovenia	Preloge	mound 13, grave 117	Tecco Hvala et al., 2004: plate 105, n. 8 Turk, 2005: 23, fig. 21				late 6th or early 5th cent. BC		
MAG.H1	helmet	52	Magdalenska gora	Slovenia	Laščik	mound 4, grave 1	Tecco Hvala et al., 2004: plate 1, n. 1		1b	1b	630/625-610/600 BC	IIIB 2	625-600 BC
MAG.L1	lid	52	Magdalenska gora	Slovenia	Preloge	mound 2, grave p	Tecco Hvala et al., 2004: appendix 5			2b(-3a?)	550/530-520/510 (480?) BC	IIID 1-2	500-400 BC
MAG.S1	situla	52	Magdalenska gora	Slovenia	Preloge	mound 13, grave 55	Tecco Hvala et al., 2004: appendix 4		2a	2a	610/600-550/530 BC	IIID 1	525-500 BC
MAG.S2	situla	52	Magdalenska gora	Slovenia	Preloge	mound 2, grave a	Tecco Hvala et al., 2004: appendix 2		3a	2b	520/510-500/480 BC	IIID 1 (-IIID 2?)	525-450 (-400?) BC
MAG.S3	situla	52	Magdalenska gora	Slovenia	Preloge	mound 2, grave b	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 70, n. 23		3a	3b	520/510-500/480 BC	IIID 1 (-IIID 2?)	525-450 (-400?) BC
MAG.S4	situla	52	Magdalenska gora	Slovenia	Laščik	mound 5, graves 6-7-7a	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 71, n. 24	at Cambridge	4a	4a	475/450-425/400 BC	IIID 2	450-400 BC
MAG.S5	situla	52	Magdalenska gora	Slovenia	sporadic	-	Turk, 2005: 64, fig. 95				6th-5th cent. BC		
MAT.S1	situla	38	Matrei	Austria	Matrei, 1	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plates 58, n. 42a-b		2a	2a	610/600-550/530 BC		
MAT.S2	situla	38	Matrei	Austria	Matrei, 2	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plates 59, n. 42c-d			(3a-b?)	(520/520-475/450 BC)		
MAT.S3	situla	38	Matrei	Austria	Matrei, 3	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 59, n. 41		-	-	-	-	-
MBV.B1	belt plate	17	Montebello Vicentino	Italy	Fondo Gualiva-Pasquine	-	Bondini, 2005: fig. 5, n. 5						5th-half 4th cent. BC
MBV.B2	belt plate	17	Montebello Vicentino	Italy	Fondo Gualiva-Pasquine	-	Bondini, 2005: fig. 5, n. 6						late 6th-half 5th cent. BC
MBV.B3	belt plate	17	Montebello Vicentino	Italy	Pignare/Dal Dosso		Bondini, 2005: fig. 5, n. 15						late 6th-half 5th cent. BC
MEC.L1	lid	25	Mechel	Italy	Mechel, 1	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 28, n. 10			(4a-b?)	(475/450-350/325 BC)		

ID	Object	Site number	Town	Country	Place name	Grave	Reference of the drawing	Note	Zaghetto proposed phase		Absolute chronology	Chronology of the context:	
									2017: fig. 16	2001: plates 1-63		relative	absolute
MEC.L2	lid	25	Mechel	Italy	Mechel, 2	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 28, n. 11			(4a-b?)	(475/450-350/325 BC)		
MEC.N1/2	plates	25	Mechel	Italy	Mechel, 1-22	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 27, ns 8-9			(3a-4a?)	(520/510-425/400 BC)		
MEL.N1	plate	21	Mel	Italy	-	-	Gamba et al., 2013: 137, fig. 9, n. 4						550-500 BC
MÖD.L1	lid	40	Mörsdorf	Austria	-	-	Fuchs, 1996: fig. 354 Schaller, 2019: 116, n. 30						
MOL.B1	belt plate	51	Molnik	Slovenia	Molnik	mound 3, grave 10	Türk, 2005: 32, fig. 45 Tecco Hvala, 2017: plate 32, grave 17/10, n. 2		3a	3b	520/510-500/480 BC	IIID 1-2	475-400 BC
MON.C1	cista	20	Montebelluna	Italy	S. Maria in Colle	-	Gerhardinger, 1992: 58-59, n. 46	at Treviso, Museo di S. Caterina	2a	2a	610/600-550/530 BC	IIIC-IIID 1	575-525 BC
MON.S1	situla	20	Montebelluna	Italy	Posmon	244	Bianchin Citton, 2014: 1004, fig. 4		2b		550/530-520/510 BC		
MOR.B1	belt plate	29	Moritzing	Italy	Moritzing	12	Steiner, 2002: plate 7, n. 1			4a-b	475/450-350/325 BC	IIID 2	450-350 BC
MOR.C1	cista	29	Moritzing	Italy	Moritzing	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 66, n. 13		4c	4c	350/325-275 BC	(IIID2-3?)	(425-275 BC?)
MOR.S1	situla	29	Moritzing	Italy	Moritzing	2	Egg, 1992: fig. 11, n. 1 Steiner, 2002: plate 3, n. 5				second half 5th cent. BC		
MOR.S2	situla	29	Moritzing	Italy	Greifenstein/Castel del Porco	-	Egg, 1992: plate 4, n. 1 Steiner, 2002: plate 37, n. 2				second half 5th cent. BC		
MOR.V1	vase	29	Moritzing	Italy	Moritzing	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 30, n. 14			(3b?)	(500/480-475/450 BC)	(IIID 2-3?)	(450-275 BC?)
MOS.L1	lid	48	Most na Soči	Slovenia	North cemetery	351 (1900 excavation)	Frey, 1969: plate 60, n. 10		1b	1b	630/625-610/600 BC	IIIB 2-IIIC	600-575 BC
MOT.S1	situla	14	Montagnana	Italy	Montagnana	-	Buson 2015b: 261, fig. 4		4b		425/400-350/325 BC		
NES.B1	belt plate	57	Nesactium	Croatia	sporadic 4	-	Mihovilić, 2001: 356, plate 58, n. 6		-	-	-	-	-
NES.B2	belt plate	57	Nesactium	Croatia	sporadic 5	-	Mihovilić, 2001: 356, plate 58, n. 7		-	-	-	-	-
NES.L1	lid	57	Nesactium	Croatia	zone I	12	Mihovilić, 2001: 312, plate 14, n. 2						passage III-IV = c. 350 BC
NES.S1	situla	57	Nesactium	Croatia	under Temple B	Grave Vault (1981)	Mihovilić, 1996: 73, plate 3, n. 66 and appendix 3			3a	520/510-500/480 BC	IIID1(-D 2?)	525-450 (-400?) BC
NES.S2	situla	57	Nesactium	Croatia	under Temple B	Grave Vault (1981)	Mihovilić, 1996: 73, plate 3, n. 67			3b	500/480-475/450 BC	IIID1(-D 2?)	525-450 (-400?) BC
NES.S3	situla	57	Nesactium	Croatia	under Temple B	Grave Vault (1981)	Mihovilić, 1996: 74, plate 4, n. 68			4b	425/400-350/325 BC	IIID 2	400-350 BC

ID	Object	Site number	Town	Country	Place name	Grave	Reference of the drawing	Note	Zaghetto proposed phase		Absolute chronology	Chronology of the context:	
									2017: fig. 16	2001: plates 1-63		relative	absolute
NES S4	situla	57	Nesactium	Croatia	under Temple B	Grave Vault (1981)	Mihovilić, 1996: 74, plate 4, n. 68					IIID1-D2	525-350 BC
NES S5	situla	57	Nesactium	Croatia	zone I	12	Mihovilić, 2001: 311, plate 13, n. 1; appendices 1		2b	2a	550/530-520/510 BC	Nesactium II-V (Mihovilić, 2001: 37)	900-400 BC
NES S6	situla	57	Nesactium	Croatia	zone I	12	Mihovilić, 2001: 311, plate 13, n. 2; appendices 2					Nesactium II-V (Mihovilić, 2001: 37)	900-400 BC
NES S7	situla	57	Nesactium	Croatia	zone I	12	Mihovilić, 2001: 311, plate 13, n. 3					Nesactium II-V (Mihovilić, 2001: 37)	900-400 BC
NES S8	situla	57	Nesactium	Croatia	zone I	12	Mihovilić, 2001: 311, plate 13, n. 4					Nesactium II-V (Mihovilić, 2001: 37)	900-400 BC
NES S9	situla	57	Nesactium	Croatia	zone I	12	Mihovilić, 2001: 312, plate 14, n. 1					Nesactium II-V (Mihovilić, 2001: 37)	900-400 BC
NES S10	situla	57	Nesactium	Croatia	zone I	12	Mihovilić, 2001: 313, plate 15					Nesactium II-V (Mihovilić, 2001: 37)	900-400 BC
NES S11	situla	57	Nesactium	Croatia	zone I	12	Mihovilić, 2001: 314, plate 16, ns 5-7, 9, 13					Nesactium II-V (Mihovilić, 2001: 37)	900-400 BC
NES S12	situla	57	Nesactium	Croatia	zone I	12	Mihovilić, 2001: 314, plate 16, n. 12					Nesactium II-V (Mihovilić, 2001: 37)	900-400 BC
NES S13	situla	57	Nesactium	Croatia	sporadic 1	12	Mihovilić, 2001: 356, plate 58, n. 2						
NES V1	vase	57	Nesactium	Croatia	zone I	12	Mihovilić, 2001: 314, plate 16, n. 4					Nesactium II-V (Mihovilić, 2001: 37)	900-400 BC
NES V2	vase	57	Nesactium	Croatia	zone I	12	Mihovilić, 2001: 314, plate 16, n. 8					Nesactium II-V (Mihovilić, 2001: 37)	900-400 BC
NES V3	vase	57	Nesactium	Croatia	sporadic 2	-	Mihovilić, 2001: 356, plate 58, n. 3						
NES V4	vase	57	Nesactium	Croatia	sporadic 3	-	Mihovilić, 2001: 356, plate 58, n. 4						

ID	Object	Site number	Town	Country	Place name	Grave	Reference of the drawing	Note	Zaghetto proposed phase		Absolute chronology	Chronology of the context:	
									2017: fig. 16	2001: plates 1-63		relative	absolute
NOV.B1	belt plate	54	Novo Mesto	Slovenia	Kapieljska njiva	mound 3, grave 12	Križ, 1997: appendix 4			3a-b	520/520-475/450 BC	IIID 1	475-450 BC
NOV.B2	belt plate	54	Novo Mesto	Slovenia	Malensek mound	2	Turk, 2005: 66, fig. 99				end 6th-century beginning 5th cent. BC		
NOV.S1	situla	54	Novo Mesto	Slovenia	Kapieljska njiva	mound 3, grave 12	Križ, 1997: appendix 3		3b	3b	500/480-475/450 BC	IIID 1	475-450 BC
NOV.S2	situla	54	Novo Mesto	Slovenia	Kandija	mound 4, grave 3	Knez, 1986: appendix 2		3b	4a	500/480-475/450 BC	IIID 2	450-350 BC
NOV.S3	situla	54	Novo Mesto	Slovenia	Kandija	mound 4, grave 3	Knez, 1986: appendix 3		4a	4a	475/450-425/400 BC	IIID 2	450-350 BC
NOV.S4	situla	54	Novo Mesto	Slovenia	Kandija	mound 2, grave 6	Knez, 1986: appendix 1		4a	4a	475/450-425/400 BC	IIID 2	450-350 BC
NOV.S5	situla	54	Novo Mesto	Slovenia	Kandija	mound 3, grave 33	Egg and Lenhart, 2001: 236, fig. 5					IIID 2	450-350 BC
NOV.S6	situla	54	Novo Mesto	Slovenia	Kandija	mound 3, grave 33	Egg and Lenhart, 2001: 241, fig. 11					IIID 2	450-350 BC
NUM.L1	lid	3	Numana	Italy	Numana	-	Frey, 1969: plate 59, n. 9			1b	630/625-610/600 BC		
OBE.P1	palette	35	Oberperfuss	Austria	Oberperfuss	-	Tomei and Appeler, 2001: plate 5, fig. 1						470-390 BC
OPP.B1	belt plate	13	Oppeano	Italy	Fondo Gambin	-	Ferrari and Salzani, 2018c: 162, plate 47, n. 3						5th-early 4th cent. BC
OPP.B2	belt plate	13	Oppeano	Italy	Fondo Gambin	-	Ferrari and Salzani, 2018c: 165, plate 50				late 5th-late 4th cent. BC		
OPP.B3	belt plate	13	Oppeano	Italy	Isolo (zone 3)	-	Candelato et al., 2008: fig. 93, n. 22						9th-4th cent. BC
OPP.H1	helmet	13	Oppeano	Italy	Oppeano	-	Fogolari et al., 1961b: plate 15, n. 20				6th(?) 5th cent. BC		
OPP.S1	situla	13	Oppeano	Italy	Le Franchine	-	Salzani, 1985: 46, fig. 48					IIIB 2-IIID 1	600-475 BC
OSO.L1	lid	58	Osor	Croatia	Kavanela	-	Blečić Kavur, 2015: fig. 49A						6th-4th cent. BC
OSO.L2	lid	58	Osor	Croatia	Kavanela	-	Blečić Kavur, 2015: fig. 48B						6th-4th cent. BC
OSO.L3	lid	58	Osor	Croatia	Kavanela	-	Blečić Kavur, 2015: fig. 48C						6th-4th cent. BC
OSO.L4	lid	58	Osor	Croatia	Kavanela	-	Blečić Kavur, 2015: fig. 48D						6th-4th cent. BC
OSO.S1	situla	58	Osor	Croatia	Kavanela	-	Blečić Kavur, 2014: 32						6th-4th cent. BC
OSO.S2	situla?	58	Osor	Croatia	Kavanela	-	Blečić Kavur, 2015: fig. 48A						6th-4th cent. BC
PAD.B1	belt plate	18	Padua	Italy	Tiepolo	159	Capuis and Ruta Serafini, 1996: 39, fig. 2		2b	2b	550/530-520/510 BC	IIID 1	525-475 BC
PAD.B2	belt plate	18	Padua	Italy	Tiepolo	159	Capuis and Ruta Serafini, 1996: 40, fig. 3		2b	2b	550/530-520/510 BC	IIID 1	525-475 BC

ID	Object	Site number	Town	Country	Place name	Grave	Reference of the drawing	Note	Zaghetto proposed phase		Absolute chronology	Chronology of the context:	
									2017: fig. 16	2001: plates 1-63		relative	absolute
PAD.B3	belt plate	18	Padua	Italy	Piovego	89	Zaghetto, 2001: plate 116, n. 96			2b	550/530-520/510 BC	IIID 1	525-450 BC
PAD.B4	belt plate	18	Padua	Italy	Tiepolo	Madri Canossiane	Chieco Bianchi, 1976: plate 77, n. 22					III late (Frey, 1969)	450-350 BC
PAD.B5	belt plate	18	Padua	Italy	S. Massimo	I	Chieco Bianchi, 1976: plate 78					III middle-late (Frey, 1969)	525-350 BC
PAD.B6	belt plate	18	Padua	Italy	Vicolo Ognissanti	13	Frey, 1969: plate 80, n. 40					III middle (Frey, 1969)	525-450 BC
PAD.F1	scabbard	18	Padua	Italy	Piovego	2	Zaghetto, 2001: plate 114, n. 94			(2b-3b?)	(550/530-475/450 BC)	IIID 1	525-475 BC
PAD.N1	situla	18	Padua	Italy	river Bacchiglione	-	Bianchin Citton and Malnati, 2001: 221, fig. 9b			2b	550/530-520/510 BC		
PAD.P1	palette	18	Padua	Italy	Convento del Santo	-	De Min, 2005: 112, fig. 138					IIID 1-2	500-400 BC
PAD.P2	palette	18	Padua	Italy	Piovego	87	Zaghetto, 2001: plate 117, n. 99					IIID 2	450-400 BC
PAD.P3	palette	18	Padua	Italy	Piovego	106	Zaghetto, 2001: plate 117, n. 100					IIID 2	450-350 BC
PAL.S1	situla	23	Pieve d'Alpago	Italy	Pian de la Gnella	1	Gangemi, 2015: 117, fig. 3						end of 6th cent. BC
PIL.Z1	plate	34	Pillerhohe	Austria	Pillerhohe	-	Tschurtschenthaler and Wein, 1998: fig. 18, n. 1				5th cent. BC		
PIL.Z2	plate	34	Pillerhohe	Austria	Pillerhohe	-	Tschurtschenthaler and Wein, 1998: fig. 18, n. 2				5th cent. BC		
PTT.H1	helmet	2	Piuno	Italy	Monte Penna	31	Sgabini Moretti, 1992: 194, fig. 14		1a	1b	660/650-630/625 BC	IIIB 2	625-600 BC
ROV.B1	belt plate	24	Rovereto	Italy	Rovereto	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 32, n. 12			2a	610/600-550/530 BC		
SAN.S1	situla	26	Sanzeno	Italy	Sanzeno	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 67, n. 15		2b	3a	550/530-520/510 BC		
SCU.N1	plate	32	Schuls	Switzerland	Schuls	-	Frey, 1969: plate 62, fig. 11			(1b?)	(630/625-610/600 BC)		
SES.H1	helmet	11	Sesto Calende	Italy	Asilo Bassetti	Tomba del Guerriero B	de Marinis, 2009: 183, fig. 19, n. 2					IIIB2	625-600 BC
SES.L1	lid	11	Sesto Calende	Italy	Asilo Bassetti	Tomba del Guerriero B	de Marinis, 2009: 183, fig. 19, n. 1		1a	1b	660/650-630/625 BC	IIIB2	625-600 BC

ID	Object	Site number	Town	Country	Place name	Grave	Reference of the drawing	Note	Zaghetto proposed phase		Absolute chronology	Chronology of the context:	
									2017: fig. 16	2001: plates 1-63		relative	absolute
SES.S1	situla	11	Sesto Calende	Italy	Asilo Bassetti	Tomba del Guerriero A	Biondelli, 1867: plate 2						c. 640 BC
SES.S2	situla	11	Sesto Calende	Italy	Asilo Bassetti	Tomba del Guerriero B	de Marinis, 2009: 177, fig. 15					IIIB2	625-600 BC
SPI.B1	belt plate	5	Spina	Italy	valle Trebbia	552	Arte delle Situle dal Po al Danubio, 1961: plate 25, n. 33					IIID 2	450-400 BC
SPI.L1	lid	5	Spina	Italy	Valle Pega	185	Arte delle Situle dal Po al Danubio, 1961: plate 14, n. 19 Lucke and Frey 1962: plate 30, n. 16			(3a?)-3b	(520?) 500/480- 475/450 BC	IIID 1-IIID 2	500-400 BC
STI.B1	belt plate	50	Stična	Slovenia	Stična	mound 1, grave 104	Geupel, 1972: fig. 1		3a	3b	520/510- 500/480 BC	IIID 1	475-450 BC
STI.B2	belt plate	50	Stična	Slovenia	Stična	-	Gabrovec, 1978: fig. 8, n. 3 Turk, 2005: 71, fig. 106				6th-5th cent. BC		
STI.B3	belt plate	50	Stična	Slovenia	Stična	-	Gabrovec, 1978: fig. 8, n. 4 Turk, 2005: 71, fig. 106				6th-5th cent. BC		
STI.B4	belt plate	50	Stična	Slovenia	Stična	mound 48, grave 104	Turk, 2005: 71, fig. 108 Gabrovec, 1965: fig. 1, n. 2				late 6th or early 5th cent. BC		
STI.E1	earring	50	Stična	Slovenia	sporadic	-	Frey, 1969: plate 81, n. 43		-	-	-	-	-
STI.L1	lid	50	Stična	Slovenia	Grizze	-	Turk, 2005: 46, fig. 65			1b	630/625- 610/600 BC	IIIB 2	625-600 BC
TRE.S1	situla	9	Trezzo sull'Adda	Italy	fondo Mazza	-	de Marinis, 1974: plate 1						
VAC.B1	belt plate	49	Vače	Slovenia	Vače	-	Zaghetto, 2001: plate 127, n. 113	at Wien, Naturhistorisches Museum		3a	520/510- 500/480 BC		
VAC.B2	belt plate	49	Vače	Slovenia	Vače	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 53, n. 26 Turk, 2005: 72, fig. 110	at Oxford			6th-5th cent. BC		
VAC.B3	belt plate	49	Vače	Slovenia	Vače	-	Starč, 1955: plate 45, n. 1				-	IIID 1	525-450 BC
VAC.B4	belt plate	49	Vače	Slovenia	sporadic	-	Starč, 1955: plate 45, n. 1		-	-	-	-	-
VAC.E1	earring	49	Vače	Slovenia	Vače	-	Starč, 1955: plate 59, n. 27				6th-5th cent. BC		
VAC.E2	earring	49	Vače	Slovenia	Vače	-	Starč, 1954: fig. 26 Turk, 2005: 73, fig. 111				6th-5th cent. BC		

ID	Object	Site number	Town	Country	Place name	Grave	Reference of the drawing	Note	Zaghetto proposed phase		Absolute chronology	Chronology of the context:	
									2017: fig. 16	2001: plates 1-63		relative	absolute
VAC.E3	earring	49	Vače	Slovenia	Vače	-	Image not published but it formed a pair together with VAC.E2 so as mentioned in <i>Prehistoric Grave Material from Carniola excavated in 1905-14 by H.H. The Late Duchess Paul Friedrich of Mecklenburg</i> [née Princess Marie of Windischgrätz] (1934: p. 123, n. 147)		-	-	-	-	-
VAC.F1	scabbard	49	Vače	Slovenia	Vače	-	Starč, 1955: plate 1						6th cent. BC
VAC.S1	situla	49	Vače	Slovenia	Nad Lazom	-	Starč, 1955: appendix		2a	2a	610/600-550/530 BC	IIIC	575-550 BC
VAC.S2	situla	49	Vače	Slovenia	Vače	mound 1, grave 3	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 70, n. 34	at Oxford	4a	4a	475/450-425/400 BC	IIID 1-IIID 2	475-400 BC
VAD.B1	belt plate	28	Vadana	Italy	Vadana	14	Dal Ri, 1992: 505, fig. 13, n. 1a			4a-b	475/450-350/325 BC	IIID 2	450-350 BC
VAL.S1	situla	53	Valična vas	Slovenia	Valična vas	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 74, n. 37		4a	(3a-3b?)-4a	475/450-425/400 BC	IIID 1-IIID 2	475-400 BC
VAL.S2	situla	53	Valična vas	Slovenia	Valična vas	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 53, ns 38a-d Türk, 2005: 63, fig. 94				6th-5th cent. BC		
VIC.B1	belt plate	19	Vicenza	Italy	Villaga di Barbarano	-	Gamba, 2013: 218-219, fig. 2.3.14				late 6th-early 5th cent. BC		
VIN.B1	belt plate	31	Vinl	Italy	Vintl	-	Frey, 1969: plate 81, n. 41				III middle= 525-450 BC		
WAL.D1	flabellum	44	Waisenberg	Austria	Waisenberg	mound 1	Gleischer, 2011: 333, fig. 3				late 6th-5th cent. BC		
WAL.L1	lid	44	Waisenberg	Austria	Waisenberg	mound 2	Gleischer, 2009a: plate 3						5th cent. BC
WAL.L2	lid	44	Waisenberg	Austria	Waisenberg	mound 2	Gleischer, 2009a: plate 6						5th cent. BC
WAL.N1	plate	44	Waisenberg	Austria	Waisenberg	-	Gleischer, 1994: fig. 3						5th cent. BC
WAL.S1	situla?	44	Waisenberg	Austria	Waisenberg	mound 2	Gleischer, 2009b: 51, plate 14						5th cent. BC
WEL.N1	plate	37	Welzelach	Austria	Welzelach	-	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 60, n. 45			(2a-b?)	(610/600-520/510 BC)		
WEL.S1	situla	37	Welzelach	Austria	Welzelach	23	Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 76, n. 44 Prussing, 1991: plate 37, fig. 169B		2a	2a(-2b?)	610/600-550/530 BC		
ZAG.B1	belt plate	55	Zagorje	Slovenia	Zagorje	-	Türk, 2005: 32, fig. 43				late 6th or early 5th cent. BC		

Tab. 14 – List of Situla Art artefacts known to date. Relative dating phases of artefacts follow the chronological framework of Peroni and colleagues (1975), if not otherwise stated.

However, repairs sometimes dramatically modified the original decorative pattern raising the question whether the original meaning of the decoration was still understood, or whether the sole presence of the decoration would have sufficed to highlight the connection of the object with a high-status environment. This means that we cannot be sure that broken objects remained in the same family as heirlooms. It is worth considering that in some cases broken Situla Art objects might have been discarded by their original owners, while they might still have had huge socio-economic and political importance for other individuals near the family or outside of it, possibly thanks to the biography of the object itself and its intrinsic value. The belt plate from Brezje (Fig. 67), Slovenia, might be a good example for the latter as it is made up of bronze sheets from at least two different broken belt plates which might have been given away and then restored and used by somebody else.

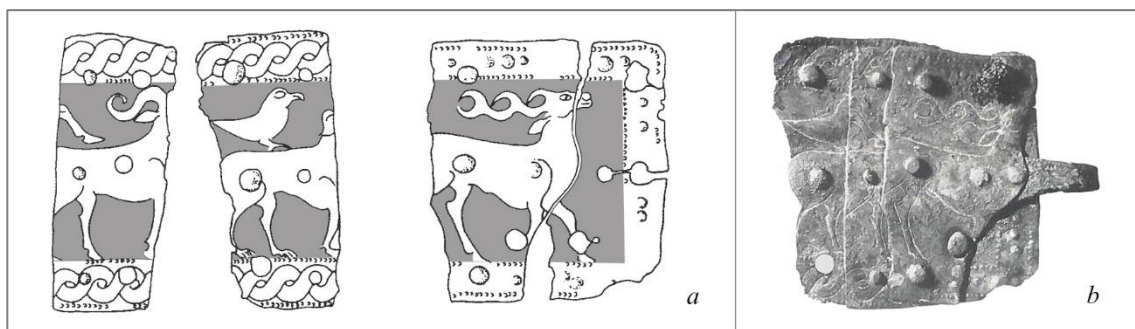


Fig. 67 - Belt plate from Brezje (BRE.B2), Slovenia, scale 1:2: a) drawing of the four different pieces; b) picture of the belt plate as found during excavation (after Barth, 1999: fig. 2; Turk, 2005: fig. 23; Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 32, n. 18). Note the differences between the decorated frames and the width of the sheets which implies that it is made from at least two original belt plates combined.

In the first of the following sections I shall analyse Situla Art diachronically following the chronology proposed by Zaghetto (2001, 2017). Zaghetto's chronology will provide the basis for assessing hypotheses concerning the emergence and development of Situla Art (see Section 2.3.1).

Then, following my arguments in Section 2.3.1, I shall link differences in Situla Art schemata to local identities (see Sassatelli, 2013: 100) by showing what distinguishes Atestine costume from that of others, translating into figurative art Barth's (1969: 15) sociological argument. So, by highlighting who is not Atestine (called the "others" by Barth, 1969: 15) it will be possible to understand who was Atestine in the Situla Art narrative scheme via a principle of exclusion.

It is, however, important to state that Situla Art is still mostly known from old drawings, sometimes dating to the late 19th cent., which have very often not been reassessed. Good examples are the decoration on the Sesto Calende situla (VA, Lombardy – Italy), found in the Tomba del Guerriero A and published by Biondelli in 1867 (plate 2), or on the Certosa situla from Bologna (BO, Emilia-Romagna – Italy) which is still known from the drawing published by Zannoni in 1876 (plate 35, n. 7). Old drawings are generally well-executed and show most of the details of Situla Art objects. Nevertheless, as the Benvenuti situla from Este (PD, Veneto – Italy) shows, not all of them were well illustrated in the original publication (cf. the drawing in Prosdocimi, 1882: plate 6, n. 1a with that in Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: fig. 8). Some very recent publications are also problematic. The drawing of the Pieve d’Alpago situla (BL, Veneto – Italy), for example, is published at so low a resolution that details are impossible to make out (Gangemi, 2015: fig. 3). Unfortunately, this is to date the only available illustration for this situla.

In this chapter, all the illustrations showing Situla Art have been shaded with a grey background in order to emphasise their decoration, and so highlight details which will be analysed in Section 8.1.2. Following Zaghetto (2001, 2017), each Situla Art object is generally identified by the first three letters of its findspot, followed by a dot, a letter giving the typology of the find (e.g. S= situla, F= scabbard, A= axe, K= bowl, M= mirror, T= *tintinnabulum* [i.e. a bell], B= belt plate, C= *cista* [i.e. a cylindrical box], L= lid, P= palette, Y= *kardiophylax* [i.e. a breastplate], X= pyx [i.e. a little container], E= earring, V= vessel, H= helmet, D= *flabellum* [i.e. a fan], N= plate) and a sequential number (see Tab. 14).

8.1.1. The diffusion of Situla Art: a diachronic analysis

The artefacts listed in Tab. 14 were plotted on a DTM to show the number of objects per site. Spatially, they are not equally distributed, and concentrations can be seen (Fig. 68). The multi-phase map Fig. 68 shows that the sites with the most finds are Este (66/25.0%), Veneto – Italy, followed by Nesactium (20/7.6%), Croatia, Magdalenska gora (18/6.8%), Slovenia, and Dolenjske Toplice (14/5.3%), Croatia. Most of the known finds are in the Atestine area (particularly in the Veneto) as defined in Chapter 6 (see Figs 49, 51, 52, 60-61): 104 artefacts, 39.4% of the Situla Art objects listed in Tab. 14 were found in this area.

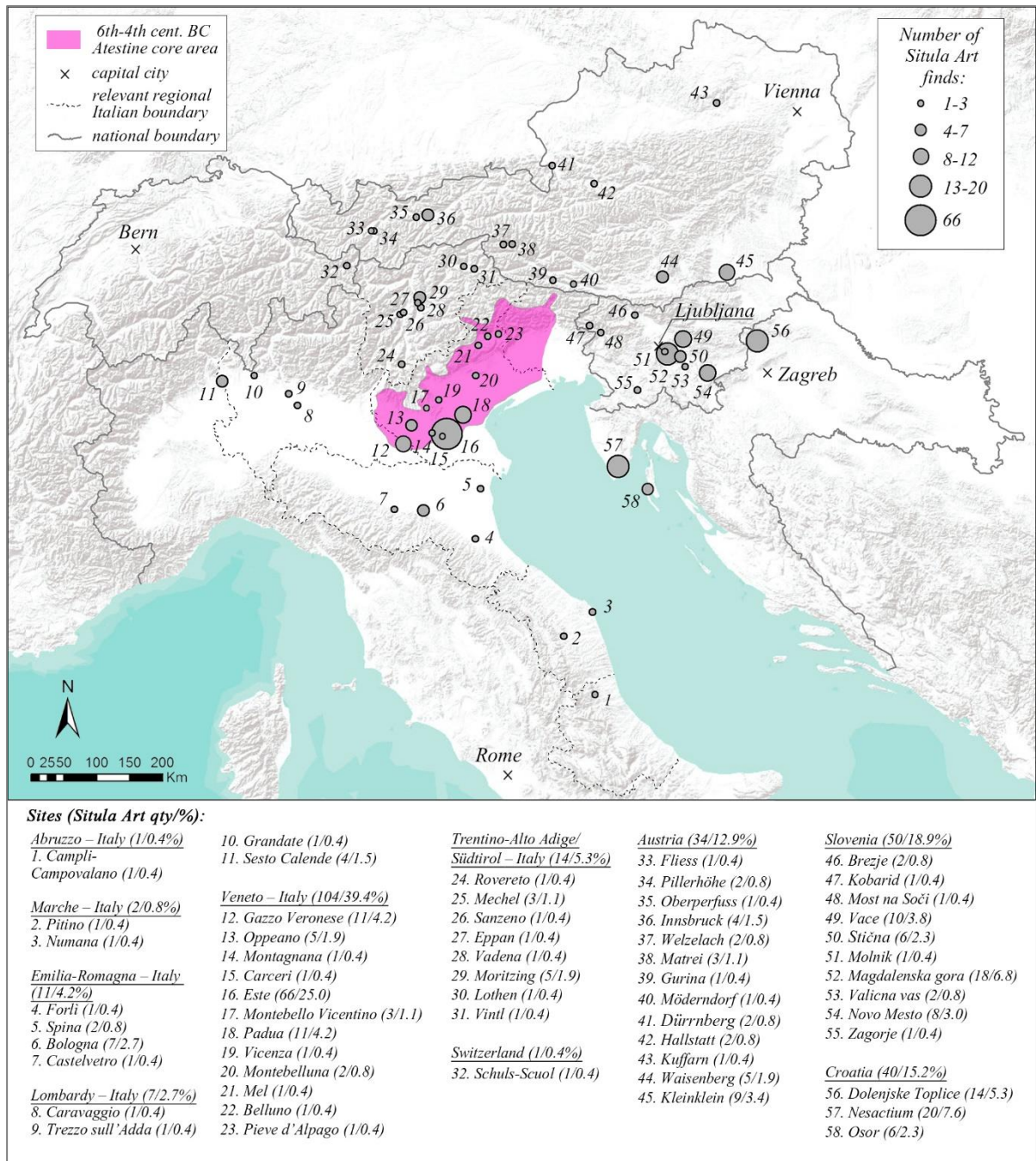


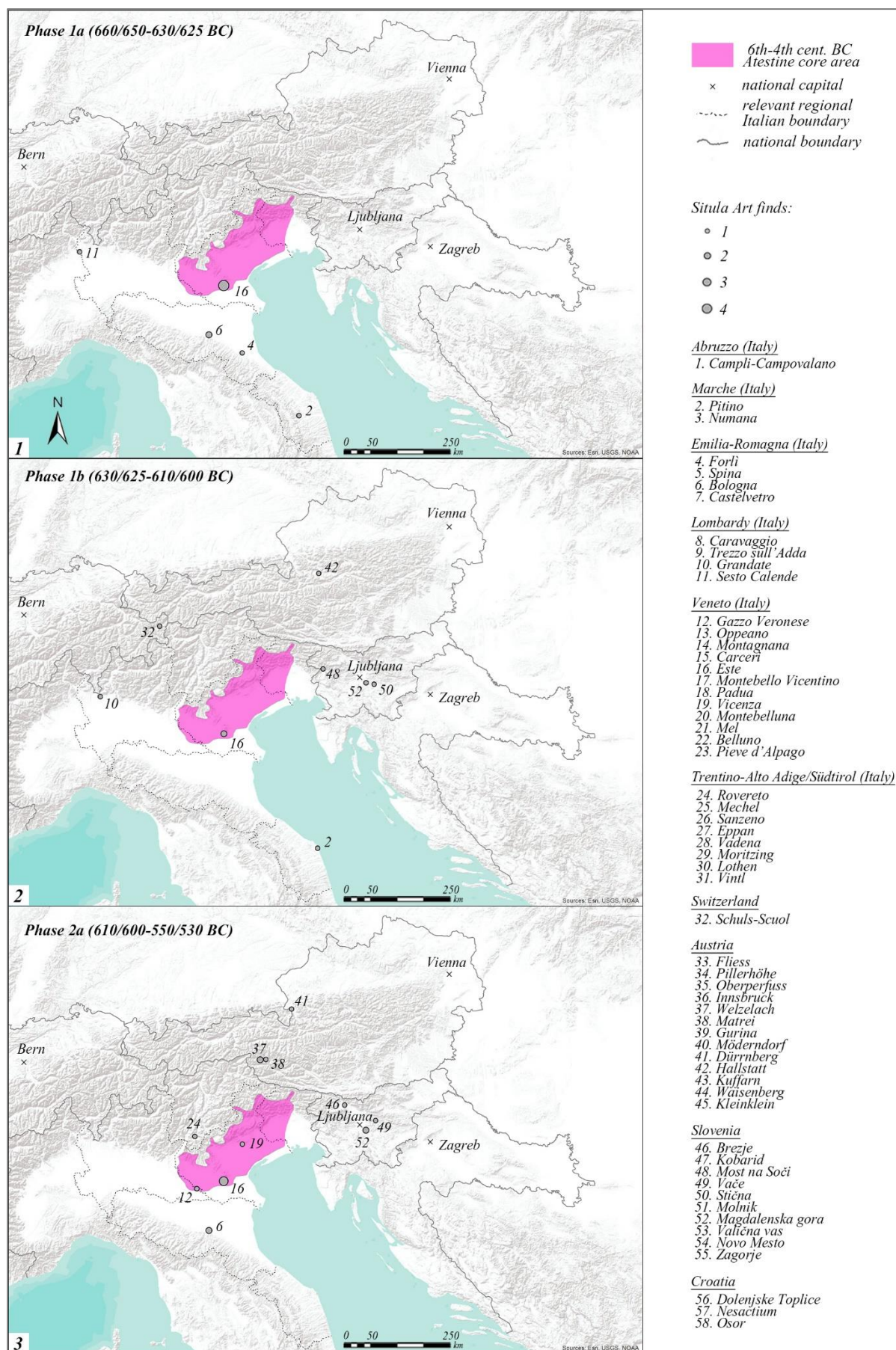
Fig. 68 – The distribution of Situla Art between the mid 7th and early 3rd cent. BC superimposed upon the Atestine core area, in magenta, as defined in Chapter 6. Different sizes of grey dots indicate relative numbers of objects at each findspot. DTM data from ESRI, USGS, NOAA.

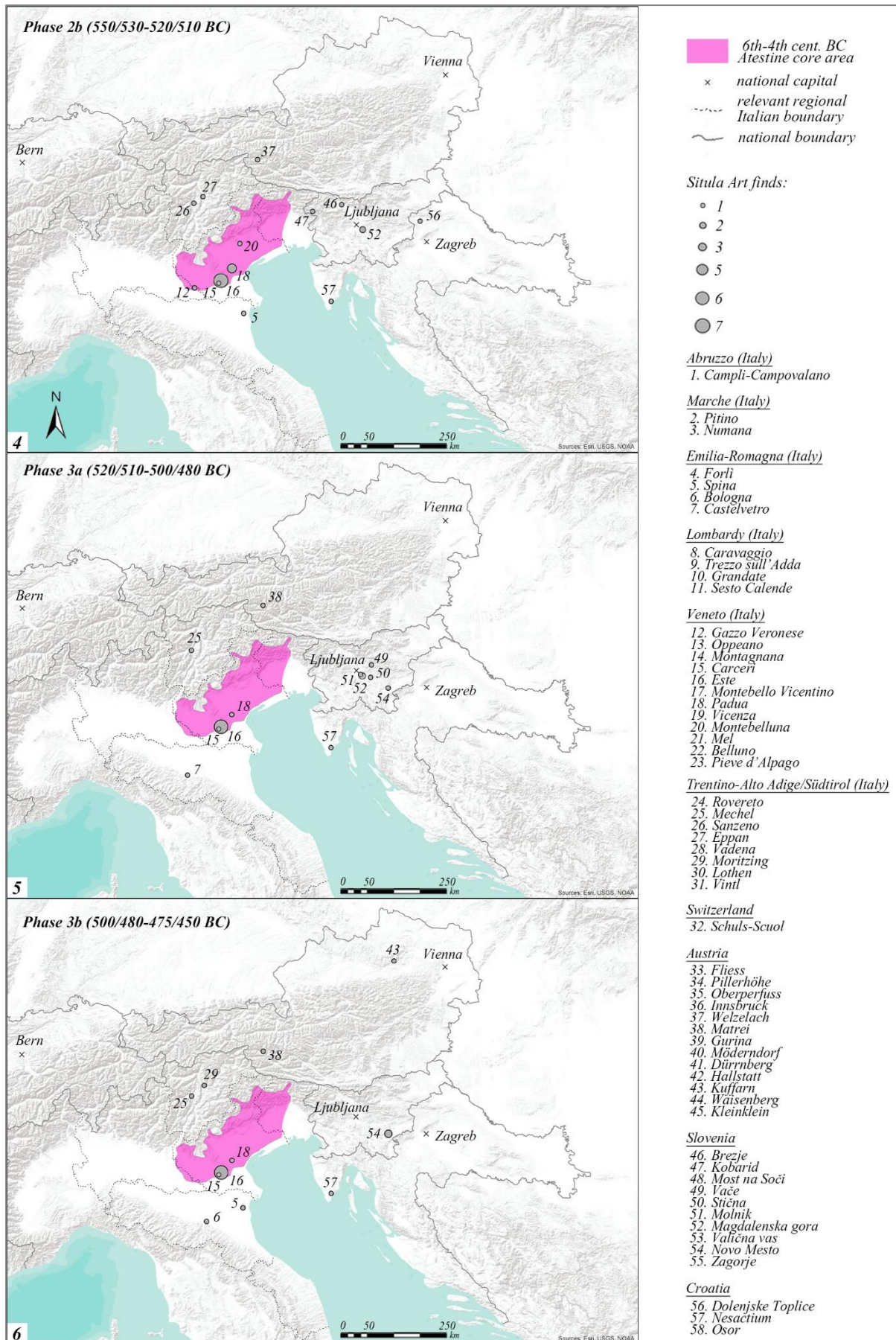
It seems strange that no-one has, so far, tried to analyse Situla Art in terms of its topographic distribution through time. A preliminary attempt for the first two phases of the Situla Art was made by Zaghetto (2001: fig. 225) in his PhD thesis, but it was never published. Poor Kossinna must be turning into his grave!

In the following paragraphs, I shall illuminate this question by means of maps showing the Situla Art distribution pattern for all the phases defined by Zaghetto (2017: 24-5, fig. 16; see Fig. 10 in Section 2.3.1.). Unfortunately, not all the artefacts listed in Tab. 14 were dated by Zaghetto (2001: plates 1-63; 2017: fig. 16). Although he (Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 16) seems to have used only 49 finds in order to create his table of associations, a relative date is assigned to a total of 104 artefacts in his PhD thesis (Zaghetto, 2001: plates 1-63). When provided, the dates given by Zaghetto in 2017 were preferred. These finds were sometimes assigned to more than one phase and are only 39.4% of the available record as listed in Tab. 14 (see also Tab. 15). Therefore, my diachronic analysis of the distribution of Situla Art shown in Fig. 69 should be regarded with caution.

On the basis of the distribution pattern and the number of finds recorded per phase, Este seems to be a centre of primary importance from phase 1a (660/650-630/625 BC; see Fig. 69, site 16). Only nine artefacts were dated to this phase by Zaghetto (2001; 2017), but four of them are from Este and only two from Bologna (Tab. 15). Interestingly, the findspots are all along the northern edge of the Apennines except for Este and Sesto Calende (see Fig. 69, sites 16 and 11).

According to current opinion (see Sassatelli, 2013 but also Colonna, 1980), the metalworking skills underpinning Situla Art must have originated in Bologna (BO, Emilia-Romagna – Italy) since the *tintinnabulum* found there (Morigi Govi, 1971; see Fig. 94 in Section 8.1.2.2.) is considered to be the earliest evidence for this art and is dated by Zaghetto (2017: fig. 16) to phase 1a (= 660/650-630/625 BC). I might offer a different suggestion: metalworking skills were already well developed in the Alpine and peri-Alpine area before the development of the Situla Art, as is demonstrated by the geometric and solar decoration on the Rivoli Veronese situla (VR, Veneto – Italy), dated to the 8th-7th cent. BC (Marzatico, 2012b: 316). Therefore Bologna should not necessarily be seen as bringing the metalworking know-how to the Atestine area. What is crucial, in my opinion, is its transmission of the Orientalising schemata that characterises Situla Art.





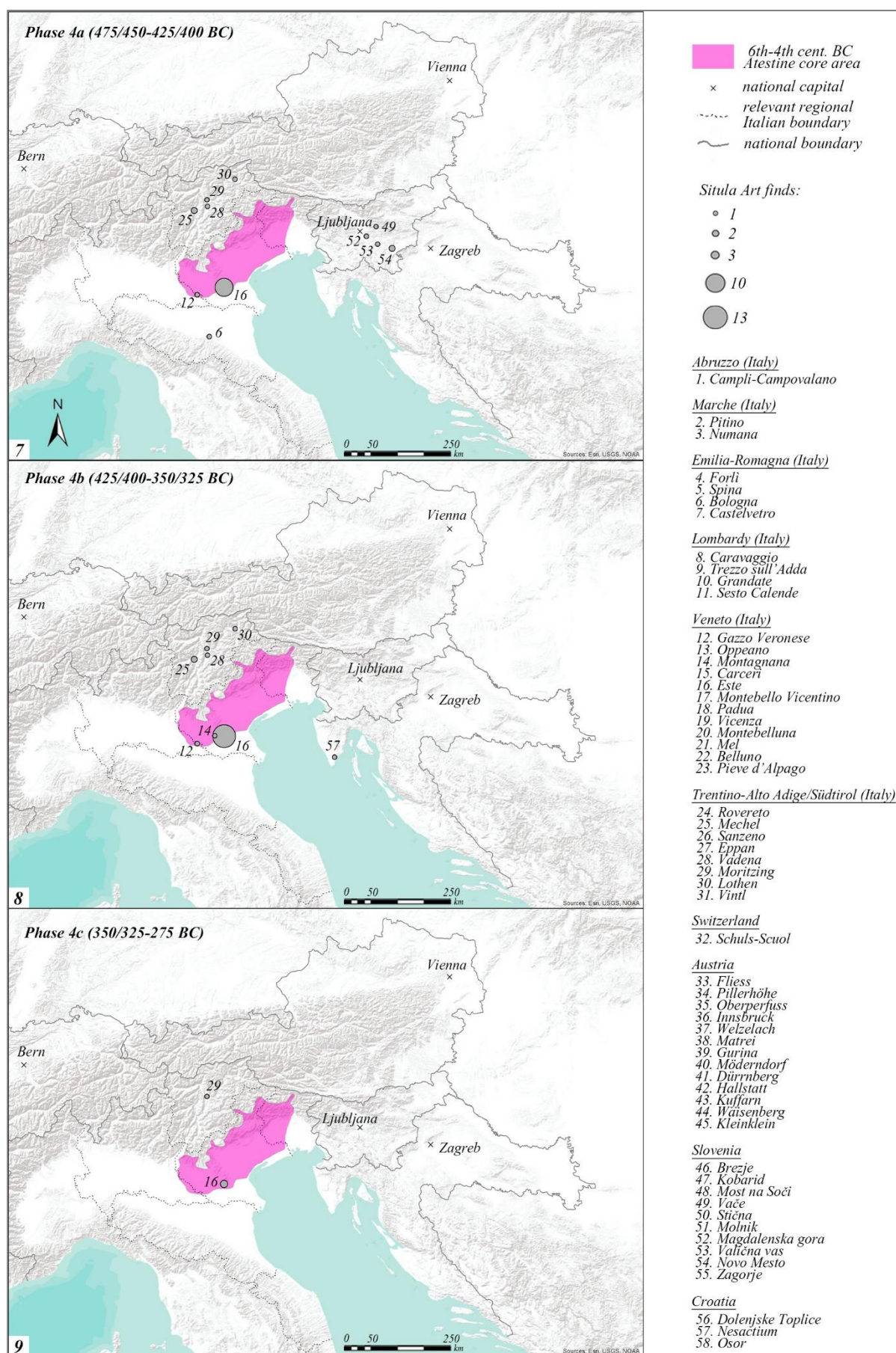


Fig. 69 – Mid 7th to early 3rd cent. BC distribution maps of Situla Art by phase, superimposed upon the

Atestine core area as defined in Chapter 6, Fig. 52. DTM data from ESRI, USGS, NOAA.

Country	Situla Art finds per country	Site	Number of Situla Art finds	Situla Art finds dated by Zaghetto (2001; 2017)	Zaghetto's (2017) Situla Art phases										
					1a (660-625 BC)	1b (625-600 BC)	2a (600-530 BC)	2b (530-510 BC)	3a (510-480 BC)	3b (480-450 BC)	4a (450-400 BC)	4b (400-325 BC)	4c (325-275 BC)		
Austria	34	Dürnberg	2	1			1								
		Fliess	1												
		Gurina	1												
		Hallstatt	2	1		1									
		Innsbruck	4												
		Kleiklein	9												
		Kufham	1	1					1						
		Matrei	3	2			1								
		Möderndorf	1												
		Oberperfluss	1												
		Pillerhohe	2												
		Waisenberg	5												
		Welzelach	2	2			1								
								1							
Croatia	40	Dolenjske Toplice	14	1				1							
		Nesactium	20	4				1	1	1		1			
		Osor	6												
		Belluno	1												
		Bologna	7	6	2		2				1	1			
		Campi-Campovalano	1												
		Caravaggio	1												
		Carcari	1							1					
		Castelvetro	1	1					1						
		Eppan	1	1				1							
		Este	66	32	4	2	1	3		2		8	4	2	
										4			1		
Italy	139	Forlì	1	1	1										
		Gazzo Veronese	11	2			1						1		
		Grandate	1	1		1									
		Lothen	1	1								1			
		Mechel	3	3							1				
		Mel	1										2		
		Montebelluna	2	2			1								
		Montebello Vicentino	3												
		Montizing	5	3							1		1	1	
		Montagnana	1	1											
		Numana	1	1		1									
		Oppeano	5												
		Padua	11	5					4						
											1				
Pieve d'Alpago	1														
Pitino	1	1	1												
Rovereto	1	1			1										
Sanzano	1	1					1								
Sesto Calende	4	1	1												
Spina	2	1													

Country	Situla Art finds per country	Site	Number of Situla Art finds	Situla Art finds dated by Zaghetto (2001; 2017)	Zaghetto's (2017) Situla Art phases									
					1a (660-625 BC)	1b (625-600 BC)	2a (600-530 BC)	2b (530-510 BC)	3a (510-480 BC)	3b (480-450 BC)	4a (450-400 BC)	4b (400-325 BC)	4c (325-275 BC)	
Slovenia		Trezzo sull'Adda	1											
		Vadena	1	1								1		
		Vicenza	1											
		Vintl	1											
	50	Brezje	2	2			1	1						
		Kobarid	1	1				1						
		Magdalenska gora	18	8		1	2	1	2		1			
		Molnik	1	1					1					
		Most na Soči	1	1		1								
		Novo Mesto	8	5							2			
		Stična	6	2		1				1				
		Vače	10	3			1			1		1		
		Valična vas	2	1							1			
		Zagorje	1											
Schuls	1	1		1										
Switzerland	1													

Tab. 15 – Number of Situla Art finds per country, site and phase. The table also shows the number of Situla Art objects dated by Zaghetto per site (2001; 2017).

As Sassatelli (2013: 100) has suggested, Este seems to have played both a formative and propulsive role in the development of Situla Art. This seems to be confirmed by the absence of evidence south of Este in the subsequent phase, 1b (= 630/625-610/600 BC; see Fig. 69), which should rule out giving Bologna any major role. Even though dated evidence is only 39.4% of the Situla Art record, six out of seven of the finds from Bologna were relatively dated by Zaghetto (2017: fig. 16) and the undated example cannot change the picture much (see Tab. 14). Moreover, it is interesting that Situla Art is recorded at Padua only from phase 2b (= 550/530-520/510 BC; see Fig. 69, site 18), while in the literature Padua is considered the other major Atestine town together with Este (Fogolari, 1975: 64).

Throughout the period considered, Este is a crucial node for the diffusion of Situla Art and always shows relatively high numbers in every phase (see Fig. 69), especially between phases 2b (= 550/530-520/510 BC) and 4b (= 425/400-350/325 BC; see Tab. 14). Fig. 69 shows other areas with high concentrations, especially in phase 4a (= 475/450-425/400 BC): the Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol, for example, also has a high concentration of Situla Art finds in phase 4b (= 425/400-350/325 BC) and the presence of Situla Art starts from phase 2a (= 610/600-550/530 BC); while Situla Art is found in the area around Ljubljana between at least phases 1b (= 630/625-610/600 BC) and 4a (= 475/450-425/400 BC), although neither of the areas shows numbers comparable to those of Este. As suggested by Lucke and Frey (1962: 48), it is most probable that these were also production areas, but no evidence for production has been found to date. Although Fig. 69 does not allow the identification of meaningful concentrations mostly because so few finds were dated by Zaghetto (2001: plates 1-63; 2017: fig. 16), there may be another area of production at Nesactium on the basis of the number of Situla Art artefacts found (total 20; Tab. 15). Este is the only major centre with evidence for phase 4c (= 350/325-275 BC), which is considered in the literature to mark the end of Situla Art (see Zaghetto, 2017: 12).

The Situla Art from Kleinklein, Austria (Fig. 66, site 45; Fig. 70a), Trezzo sull'Adda (MI, Lombardy – Italy) and Sesto Calende (VA, Lombardy – Italy) (Fig. 66, sites 11 and 9; Fig. 70b-c), shows a quite different taste in displaying Orientalising decorative motifs, filtered and shaped according to the local geometric Alpine tradition which characterises 8th-7th cent. BC Kurd-type situlas (see von Merhart, 1969: plates 44-47). It is interesting that Situla Art objects displaying this particular geometric decorative taste are found c. 550 km apart.

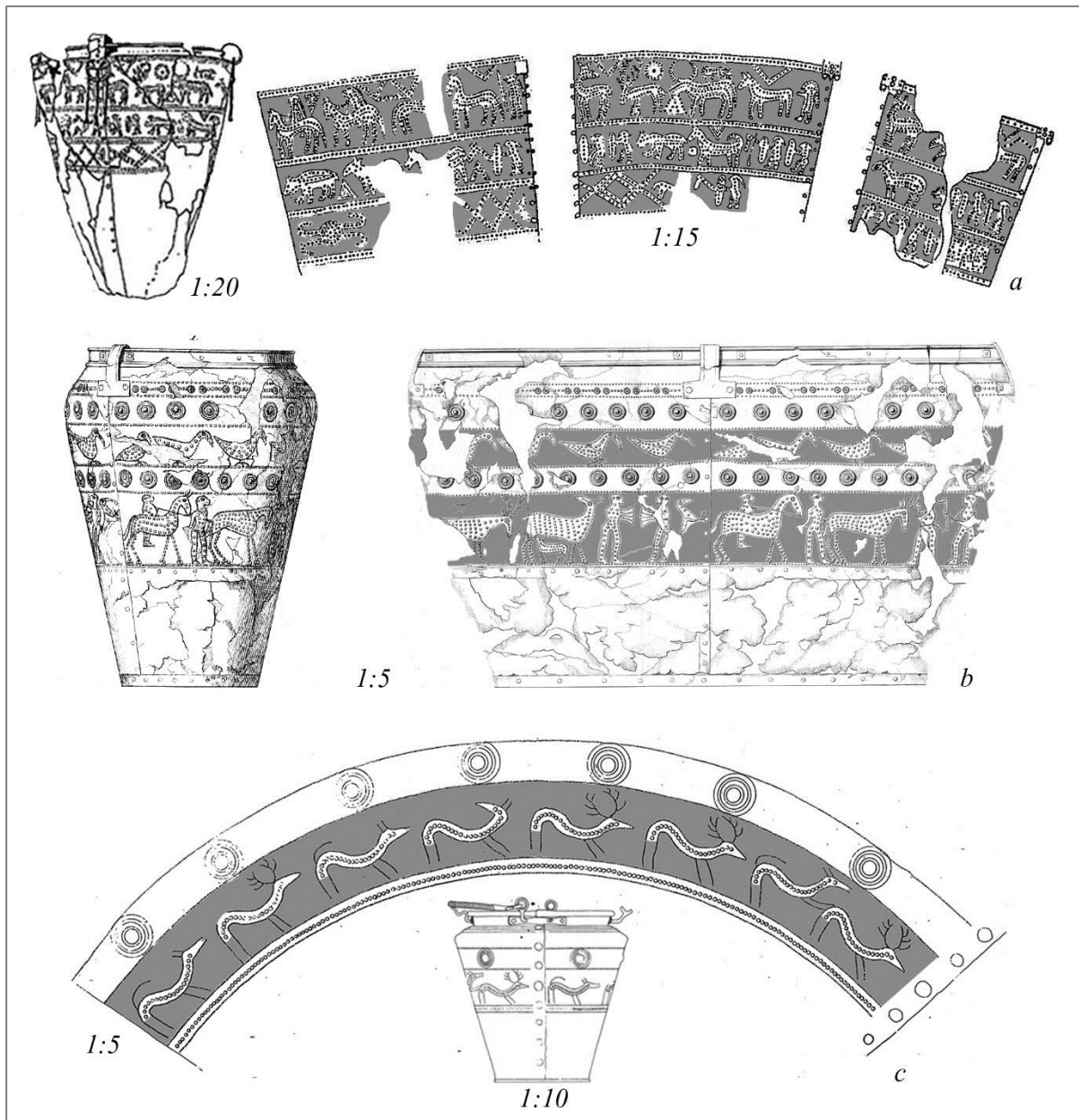


Fig. 70 – Decoration on Kurd-type situlas: a) Kleinklein-Pommerkogel (KLE.S1), Austria (after Schmid, 1933: 228; Dobiat, 1980: plate A3); b) Sesto Calende, Tomba del Guerriero A (SES.S1), Lombardy – Italy (after Biondelli, 1867: plate 2), c) Trezzo sull'Adda (TRE.S1), Lombardy – Italy (after de Marinis, 1974: plate 1).

8.1.2. Hats, thrones, socio-political roles and identities in Situla Art motifs

Since the main aim of this chapter is to provide insights into Atestine identity, it is worth discussing those figures depicted sitting on a throne in Situla Art as they should be those at the top of the socio-political arena in the area at the time.

Following Lucke and Frey's (1962: 48, 51; see also von Hochstetter, 1883; Ducati, 1923) argument that Situla Art decoration depicts real life defined by characteristic dress and that decoration might also show socio-political differences between depicted individuals, I shall examine the presence/absence and kinds of hats and the decoration attested on the clothing of the figures on thrones. This will allow me to define the socio-political relevance of specific individuals on Situla Art motifs and, possibly, to highlight the identity, or even ethnicity, of depicted individuals through differences in costume. The importance of hats was also suggested by Zaghetto (2002a: 36) but he did not analyse this pattern thoroughly.

I have been able to find only 20 artefacts with depictions of human figures on a throne among the 264 Situla Art finds listed in Tab. 14. These make up only 7.6% of the Situla Art record so it might be worth reflecting on the rarity of thrones in Situla Art. According to Sassatelli (2013: 99), Situla Art is strongly linked to high-status figures and so, I believe, more thrones should be expected as they are a symbol of socio-political power. Therefore, it may be that the meaning of Situla Art is much more complex and multi-faceted than commonly accepted, and is still only little understood by scholars.

Fortunately, the above 20 finds with thrones can be dated between late 7th and early 3rd cent. BC, covering pretty much the whole period of Situla Art as defined by Zaghetto (2017: 12 and fig. 16), and there are examples in most of its distribution area. The only two areas without such evidence are present-day Lombardy, northern Italy, which in the Iron Age was characterised by Golasecca material culture evidence, and Croatia, where no artefacts showing thrones are recorded so far. Of the 20 Situla Art finds, most are situlas (11, 55%), followed by belt plates (3, 15%), lids (3, 15%), one mirror (1, 5%), a *tintinnabulum* (i.e. bell; 1, 5%), and one plate which is difficult to relate to an object form (1, 5%) (Fig. 71).

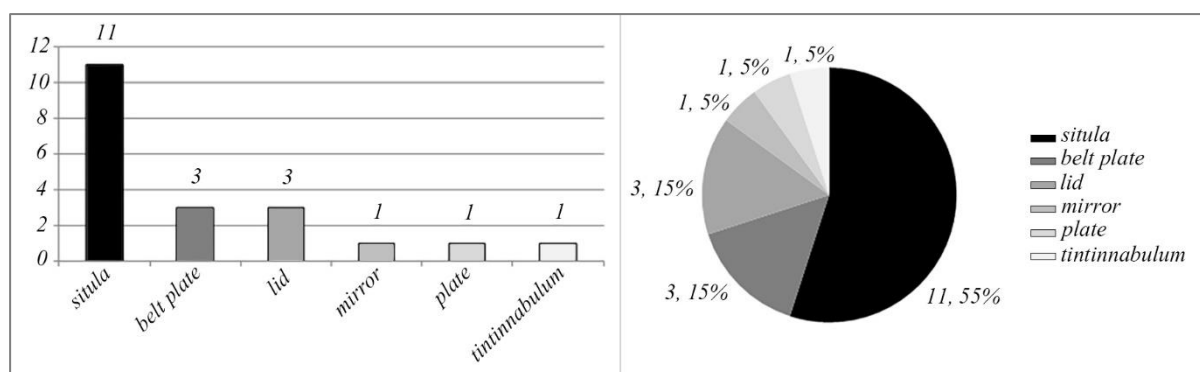


Fig. 71 – Bar and pie chart for the number and percentages of Situla Art objects on which figures on a throne are depicted.

In geographical terms, situlas with figures on a throne are widespread over the study area whereas belt plates are only found, so far, in Slovenia – one at Brezje (BRE.B1; Turk, 2005: fig. 42), and in the Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol region in northern Italy – one at Moritzing (BZ) (MOR.B1; Steiner, 2002: fig. 18, n. 2) and one at Vadena (BZ) (VAD.B1; Dal Ri, 1992: fig. 15) (Fig. 72).

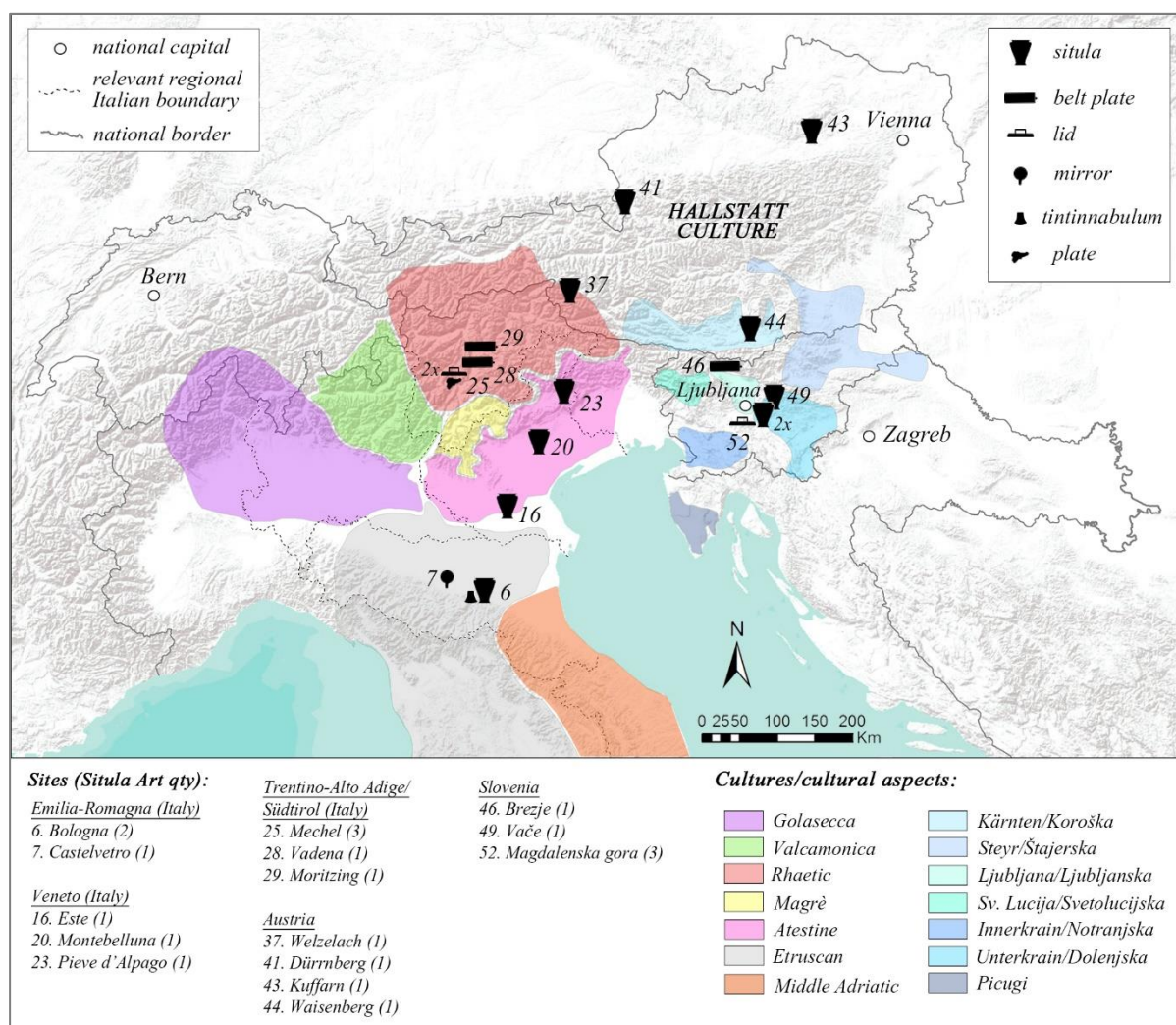


Fig. 72 – Distribution of Situla Art with depictions of figures on a throne distinguished by artefact type superimposed upon the 6th-4th cent. BC cultural districts in the case-study area (after Pallottino, 1991: figs 1-2 and 6; Gabrovec, 1999: fig. 1; Marzatico, 2012a: fig. 1; Rondini, 2017: fig. 6; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 1). DTM data from ESRI, USGS, NOAA.

The same pattern is found for lids showing figures on a throne: one is from Slovenia at Magdalenska gora (MAG.L1; Tecco Hvala *et al.*, 2004: appendix 5), while two were found in Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol at Mechel (MEC.L1 and MEC.L2; Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 28, n. 10 and 11) (see Figs 71-72). There is also the *tintinnabulum* from the so-called *Tomba*

degli Ori at Bologna (BO) (BOL.T1; Morigi Govi, 1971: plates 52, 54) and a mirror from grave Galassina 1 at Castelvetro (MO) (CAS.M1; Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 21, n. 6) (see Figs 71-72), both from Emilia-Romagna – Italy.

Three out of the 20 mentioned artefacts depict women on a throne: the belt plate from Brezje, Slovenia (BRE.B1; Barth, 1999: fig. 1; Turk, 2005: fig. 42), the situla from Pieve d'Alpago (BL), Veneto – Italy (ALP.S1; Gangemi, 2015: fig. 3) and the *tintinnabulum* from Bologna, Emilia Romagna – Italy (BOL.T1; Morigi Govi, 1971: plates 52). These objects will be discussed in Section 8.1.2.2.

In the following sections, male and female individuals on a throne depicted in Situla Art will be discussed. Particular focus will be given to dress and ornaments. I believe these are the most straightforward elements which might link Situla Art to identity, based on Lucke and Frey's (1962: 48) argument that Situla Art decoration depicts real life and dress, which I believe to be a very plausible statement.

8.1.2.1. Men on a throne in the Situla Art

The oldest artefact showing men on a throne is the so-called Benvenuti situla (EST.S3; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006; Fig. 73), found in the grave 126 at the cemetery of Este-Villa Benvenuti, Veneto-Italy. The richness of the grave goods buried with the two cremated individuals led Capuis and Chieco Bianchi (2006: 330-331; see also Zaghetto, 2017: 71) to suggest that it was the richest Atestine grave found in this cemetery and so linked to high-status individuals.

The situla is dated by Zaghetto (2017: 76; see also Coretti Irdi, 1975) to around 630/620 BC (phase 1b= 630/625-610/600 BC). The upper frieze of the Benvenuti situla shows high-status men in an elite environment: the scene shows feasting and boxing. In it, four broad-brimmed hats are depicted associated with cloaks; in three cases broad-brimmed hats are associated with thrones. From left to right the first man wearing a broad-brimmed hat, and what appears to be a (bronze?) button decorated cloak, is raising a cup, interpreted by Zaghetto (2017: 205) as in the act of blessing/toasting the horse in front of him. A sleeve can be seen with a plaid motif. On the basis of the decoration on the ivory pyx from Nimrud, dated to the 9th-8th cent. BC, Ducati (1923: 36) proposed that this motif was Oriental in origin. Zaghetto (2017: 85) widened

this argument, asserting that this textile motif is very old and typical of Eastern Mediterranean and Etruscan dress. Plaid clothing is, in fact, recorded at the 8th-7th cent. BC cemetery of Verucchio-Lippi (RN) (see Stauffer *et al.*, 2002), where there is extraordinary preservation of organic material (e.g. the wooden throne and the footrest). This particular pattern is also visible on the clothes of two figures in the top frieze of the second Pania pyx, dated between late 7th and early 6th cent. BC (Cristofani, 1979: 82 and fig. 10).

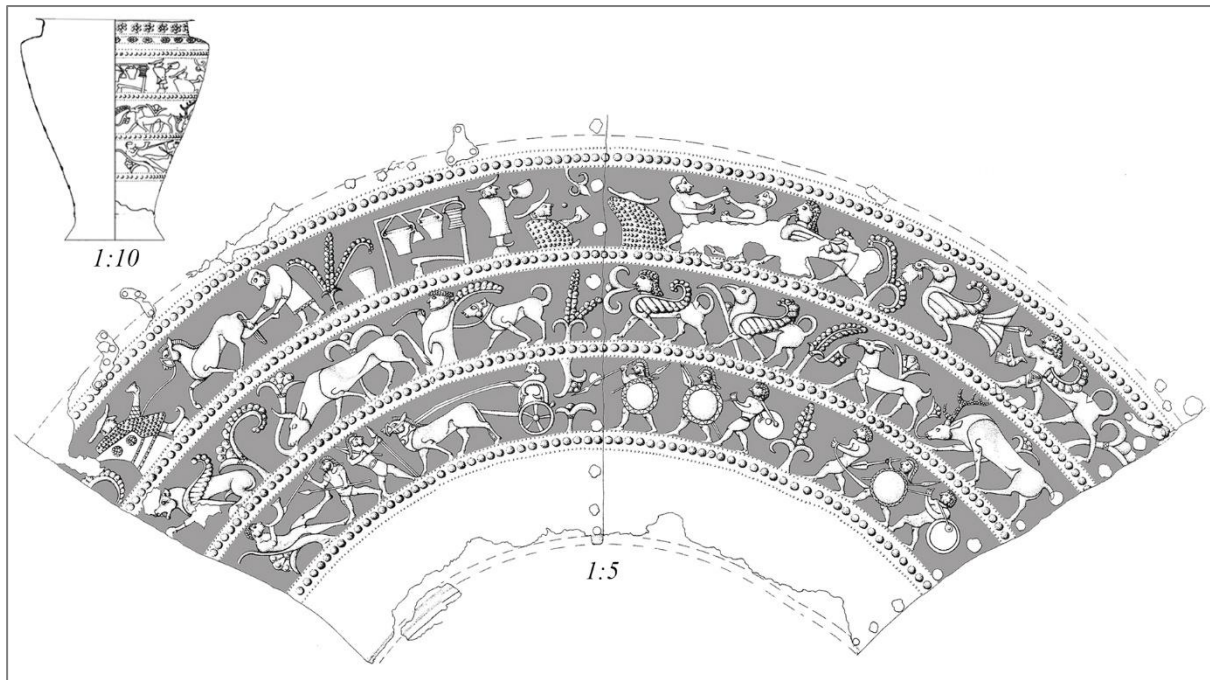


Fig. 73 – The Benvenuti situla and its decoration (EST.S3), Veneto – Italy (after Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: fig. 8 and plate 176, n. 1).

To the left of the top frieze of the Benvenuti situla a horse seems to be controlled by some kind of servant, who has no hat but possibly a hood. The second man on a throne, also wearing a broad-brimmed hat, is located in the middle of the top frieze holding a cup, or a *tintinnabulum* as proposed by Cassola Guida (1997: 204). Left of him is a standing man with undecorated cloak and broad-brimmed hat holding a cup. The last of the four broad-brimmed hats shown on the situla is related to a throne, the latter possibly covered by a cloak decorated by bronze(?) buttons. I believe that a decorated cloak may also cover the throne to the left of it. Moreover, the possible presence of a *tintinnabulum* might well fit with the boxing match, being used as a signal for the fighters by the high-status man on a throne.

The possibility that cloaks were decorated with bronze buttons is suggested by the presence of 104 of them in the Este-Benvenuti grave 126, which contained the cremated bones of two

females, possibly a mother and her three-year-old daughter on the basis of grave goods and anthropological analysis (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: 320-31; Buson, 2017: 277). The situla contained the urn with the remains of the younger female. The decoration of the Benvenuti situla suggests that if a cloak with bronze buttons was buried as a grave good, it possibly was a family heirloom as it characterises the male figures depicted. Reviewing the two main publications concerning the Atestine graves of Este (i.e. Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi 2006), I was able to identify at least 22 graves with at least one bronze button which can be possibly considered as a *pars pro toto* (i.e. part for whole) for decorated cloaks (graves Ricovero 149, 189, 212, 234, 3/1961, 246, 252 and within the sporadics found in 1882; Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985; Villa Benvenuti: 69, 70, 72, 78, 83, 85, 90, 103, 108, 122, 123, 278, 282, 290, 3 Pigorini; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006). The graves in which they were found contain multiple depositions which lack proper anthropological analysis so that it is not possible to link the bronze buttons to male or female individuals with certainty.

Interestingly, the decoration on a votive plaque from Padua-via Tiepolo/via S. Massimo (Veneto – Italy), dated to the 3rd cent. BC (Gambacuta and Ruta Serafini, 2009: 391; Fig. 74), can shed some light on this matter.

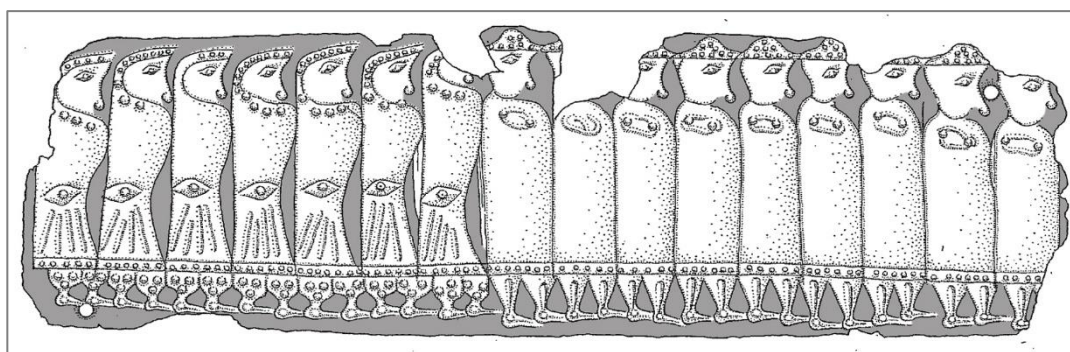


Fig. 74 – Bronze votive plaque from Padua-via Tiepolo/via S. Massimo, Veneto – Italy, scale 4:5 (Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2009: fig. 5).

It shows women and men in procession. The men seem to be wearing a broad-brimmed hat decorated with bronze(?) buttons (Gamba and Ruta Serafini, 2009: 391), which is similar, in form, to that depicted on the 6th cent. BC *stelai* from Padua-Camin (Lomas, 2011: fig. 1.3; see Fig. 21b in Section 2.3.4.) and, possibly, the broad-brimmed hats depicted on the Benvenuti situla (see Fig. 73). The lower hem of their cloaks seems to be decorated with a row of bronze(?) buttons. Interestingly, on the same plaque similar buttons also decorate the women's hoods,

together with the hem of their cloaks and their footwear. This pattern suggests that bronze(?) buttons decorated both Atestine female and male clothing. Moreover, at Pieve d'Alpago (BL, Veneto – Italy) (see Fig. 66, site n. 23), two cremation graves have a large number of bronze buttons, which may be linked to the same cultural behaviour. Voltolini (2015a, b) assigned them to female burials on the basis of the grave goods, even if he suggested that these graves may have contained more than one individual. Seventy-two buttons were found in grave 7 (Voltolini, 2015c) and 46 buttons were found in grave 6, with another 63 in a pit just north of grave 6 but possibly related to it (Voltolini, 2015d, e).

As we have seen, another possible use of bronze buttons is as hat decoration. In the middle frieze of the Benvenuti situla (see Fig. 73) there is, in fact, a fourth man on a throne, depicted as some sort of Lord of Nature (Zaghetto, 2017: 80). This time, the throne is in the form of a plant, and the man has a beret which seems to be decorated with rounded buttons (Zaghetto, 2017: 80), recalling the decoration on the votive plaque from Padua-via Tiepolo/via S. Massimo discussed above (see Fig. 74). The middle frieze of the Benvenuti situla seems to depict mythical creatures and the so-called Lord of Nature might be a mythical figure too. Kruta (1992: 254) suggested that the palm leaves are “Trees of Life” which divide the frieze into four scenes, and that the seven animals possibly correspond to the number of planets, days of the week and the strings on Apollo’s lyre with the bull symbolising the new year’s season for the Greeks. Kruta (1992: 253) also suggested that the arrangement and the figures on the Situla Art might evoke judiciously selected mythical episodes, possibly linked to Homer’s stories while, according to Cassola Guida (1997: 203), they were just random mythical scenes arranged in order to exhibit and legitimate power of depicted elite.

Zaghetto (2017: 84) claims that a decorated cloak similar to that on the Benvenuti situla (see Fig. 73) was also found outside the Veneto region, in the female grave 27 within mound 48 at Stična, Slovenia, dated around the 6th cent. BC (Guštin and Preložnik, 2005: 115; Hellmuth, 2010).

This is debatable. According to Guštin and Preložnik (2005: 115), Stična grave 27 belongs to the Ha C2-D1 phase (Stična 1-2; late 7th-early 6th cent. BC), when there is a lot of gold in eminent female graves, and not only in male warrior’s graves, as in the Stična 1 phase (i.e. Ha C2, mid/late 7th cent. BC). Stična grave 27 has a gold diadem and a cloak decorated with bronze buttons, gold ornaments and amber which, according to Hellmuth (2010), were arranged in a plaid pattern (Fig. 75, left). This decoration is not comparable with that shown on the Benvenuti

situla (see Fig. 73) where bronze buttons are arranged in equidistant rows, or the pattern shown on the votive plaque from Padua (see Fig. 74), while it might be comparable with plaid clothing spread across the Situla Art area. My view is supported by Teržan and Hellmuth (2010), who proposed that the area between Slovenia and the Caucasus had the parallels for the gold decoration on the cloak of Stična grave 27. On these grounds, Teržan and Hellmuth (2010: 188) see strong Scythian influence (Fig. 75, right). They find no parallels west of the Adriatic sea, where Zaghetto (2017: 84) sees a close parallel for this cloak decoration.

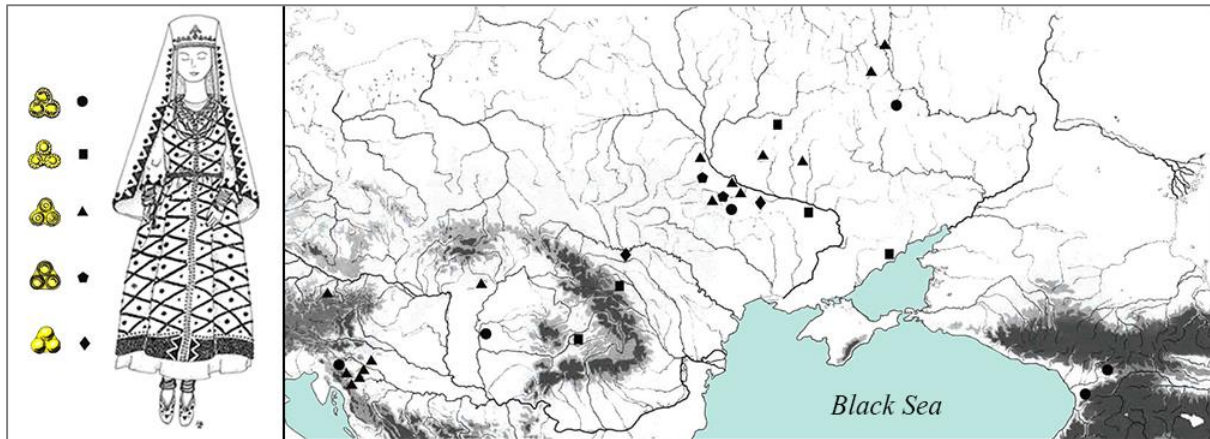


Fig. 75 - Stična grave 27, Slovenia: left, reconstruction of the decorated cloak; right, area of comparison for the cloak's decoration (after Hellmuth, 2010: fig. 5; Teržan and Hellmuth, 2010: figs 3 and 4).

On the basis of this evidence, I suggest that broad-brimmed hats and bronze button decorated cloaks might be symbols of Atestine identity. This idea will be tested in the following pages by discussing the other Situla Art artefacts depicting figures on a throne.

The Montebelluna situla (TV, Veneto – Italy) (MON.S1; Fig. 76), dated by Zaghetto (2017: fig. 16) to phase 2b (= 550/530-520/510 BC), is the only other Atestine artefact with a depiction of men on a throne. According to the drawing published by Bianchin Citton (2014: fig. 4), they do not have a button-decorated cloak, but they wear a broad-brimmed hat.

The preservation of the situla is not good, especially of the top frieze. Following my reasoning above, broad-brimmed hats are here seen as linked to Atestines, and the decoration of the situla might tell the story of the union of two families through marriage. I suggest this on the grounds of the parade scene in the top frieze, where high-status men in four-wheel carts and a woman in a two-wheel chariot are depicted. I see this woman as perhaps the bride to be, escorted by her parents and relatives to her wedding feast. They seem to bear gifts in the form of horses, as

livestock and/or to be sacrificed, given the depiction of a man with an axe over his shoulder. It seems that at least one prisoner/slave is depicted, perhaps he is also a gift.

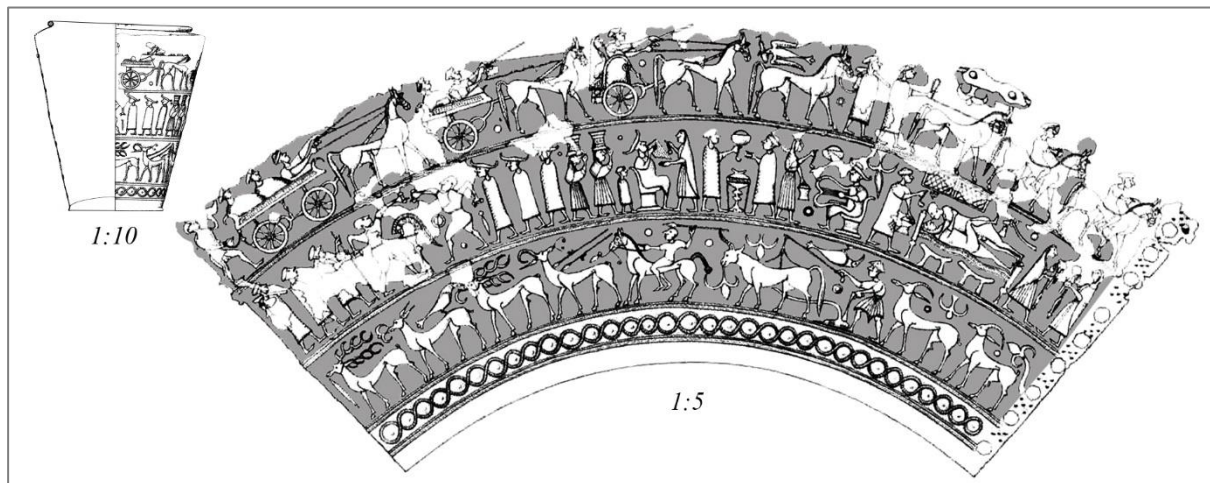


Fig. 76 – The Montebelluna situla and its decoration (MON.S1), Veneto – Italy (after Bianchin Citton, 2014: fig. 4).

The relatives of the bride are then found in the middle frieze of the situla to the left side of the boxing match. They are wearing berets and to the left of them is a man with the axe over his shoulder, who I believe is the same man depicted on the right side of the top frieze. The middle frieze also shows a feasting scene, possibly celebrating the marriage, and a scene of sexual intercourse as the symbol of the consumption of the marriage rite and the union of the two families. On the basis of similar evidence, Zaghetto (2002a: 40-41) interpreted the decoration of the mirror from Castelvetro (MO, Emilia-Romagna – Italy) (CAS.M1), dated to phase 3a (= 520/510-500/480 BC; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 16; Fig. 77), as showing a marriage negotiation. Therefore, I believe my argument to be plausible. It is worth mentioning that the man on a throne depicted on the Castelvetro mirror wears a beret like most of the men shown.

I believe there are two possible readings of the decoration on the Montebelluna situla. In my first reading, the two families belong to different socio-political classes, both Atestine: the men depicted on thrones playing the lyre and the Pan pipes with broad-brimmed hats and standing on the right side of the boxing match are upper-class, while the men depicted in the upper frieze of the situla and on the left side of the boxing match wearing a beret, but never seated on a throne, are middle-class.



Fig. 77 – The decoration on the Castelvetro mirror (CAS.M1), Emilia-Romagna – Italy, scale 1:2 (after Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 21, n. 6).

The second reading involves the union of families belonging to two different cultural, possibly ethnic, groups where the Atestines are those wearing a broad-brimmed hat, and those with a beret are Rhaeti from the Alps. One explanation for this might be that Iron Age Italian women were given in marriage to foreign high-status men for the purpose of establishing and consolidating socio-political, possibly commercial, bonds between neighbours as suggested by Vernant (1990: 60) for the Iron Age Greece on the basis of ancient Greek sources and myths. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the evidence from Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol, a Rhaetic cultural area during the Iron Age. The evidence from this region is much later, dated by Zaghetto (2017: fig. 16) to phases 4a-b (= 475/450-350/325 BC), so one or two centuries after the Montebelluna situla was made. The Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol (Italy) finds come from Mechel (TN) (MEC.L1 and MEC.L2; Fig. 78a, b), Moritzing (BZ) (MOR.B1; Fig. 78c) and Vadena (BZ) (VAD.B1; Fig. 78d) and show men on thrones wearing a beret, pretty much like those depicted on the Montebelluna situla to the left of the boxing match and in the top frieze.

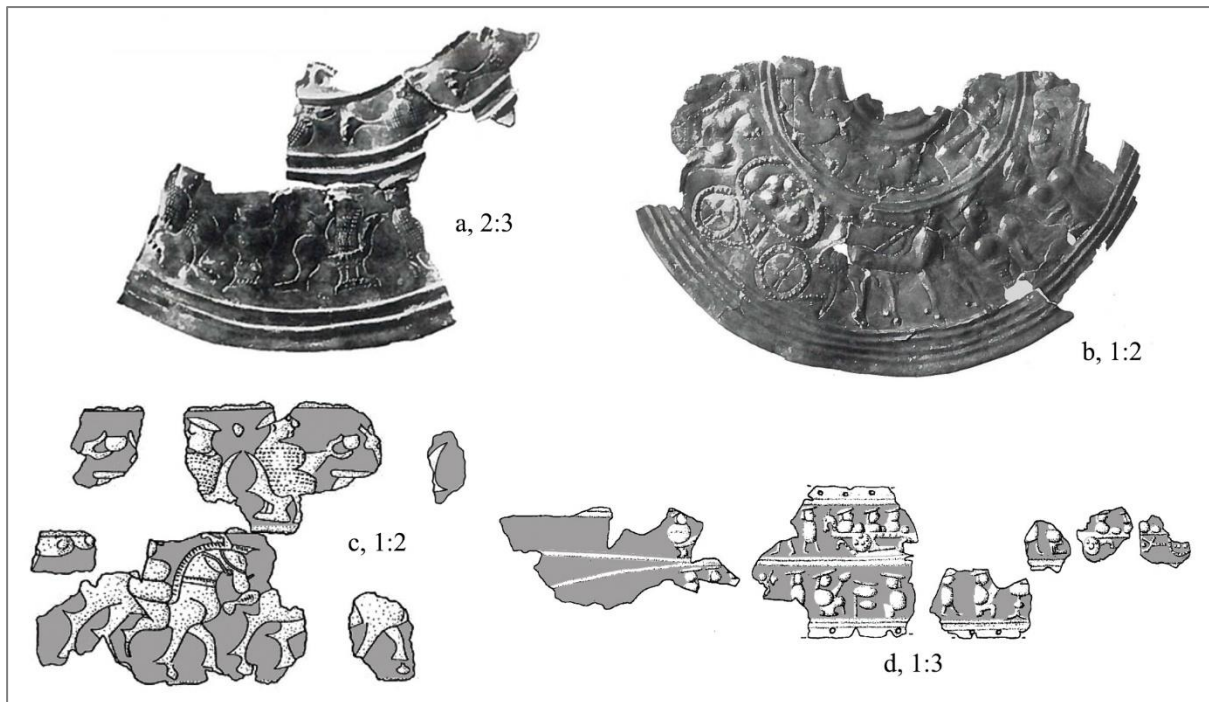


Fig. 78 - Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol (Italy) Situla Art depicting men on a throne: a-b) two lids from Mechel (Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 28, ns 10 and 11); c) belt plate from Moritzing, grave 12 (MOR.B1) (after Steiner, 2002: plate 7, n. 1); d) belt plate from Vadena, grave 14 (VAD.B1) (after Dal Ri, 1992: fig. 15).

Archaeologically speaking, the 6th cent. BC is a period of profound change in the socio-political scenario of north-eastern Italy, especially in the Atestine area where a new socio-political group (i.e. the *equites*/knights) seems to be progressively acquiring power. The Etruscans started to colonise the area of the lower Mincio valley, founding the site of Forcello (MN) and, subsequently, Mantua (MN), and the Po Delta with the foundation of Adria (RO) thus impacting both the western and southern Atestine borders (see Chapter 6). Furthermore, the huge expansion of Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol Rhaetic communities affected the northern Atestine border (Leonardi, 2011: 42-44). Gauls started to be recorded in the Atestine area, as attested by the *ciottolone* of *Tivalei Bellenei* from Padua-Piovego, dated to the late 6th cent. BC (Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2014: 263). I believe this was a period of alliances and, possibly, warfare for the Atestines in order to defend their boundaries. Leonardi (2011: 40) talks about “integration” in the case of the contact between Atestines and Rhaeti in the pre-Alps, while Lora and Ruta Serafini (1992) identified a new hybrid Atestine-Rhaetic cultural aspect, the “Magrè group”, which, according to the archaeological record at Magrè (VI), emerged in the Vicenza pre-Alps.

In the light of this historical reconstruction, I believe there is a possible explanation for the co-presence of men wearing both beret and broad-brimmed hats on thrones on one of the lids from Mechel (MEC.L2; see Fig. 78b). In the light of the positioning of the man wearing a broad-brimmed hat (an Atestine?) in the narrative scheme, it is possible to postulate that he is a guest at the court of a Rhaetic(?) dignitary since he is located in a secondary position, far from the cauldron/feasting table, behind the man on a throne wearing a beret.

A similar pattern, with two rows of men seated on a throne, seems also to be depicted on the Welzelach (WEL.S1; Fig. 79) and Providence (BOL.S2; Fig. 80) situlas, both dated by Zaghetto (2017: fig. 16) to phase 2a (= 610/600-550/530 BC). The latter, bought in the early 20th cent. on the art market, is stated by Lucke and Frey (1962: 1) to have a vague provenance from the Bologna-Certosa cemetery.

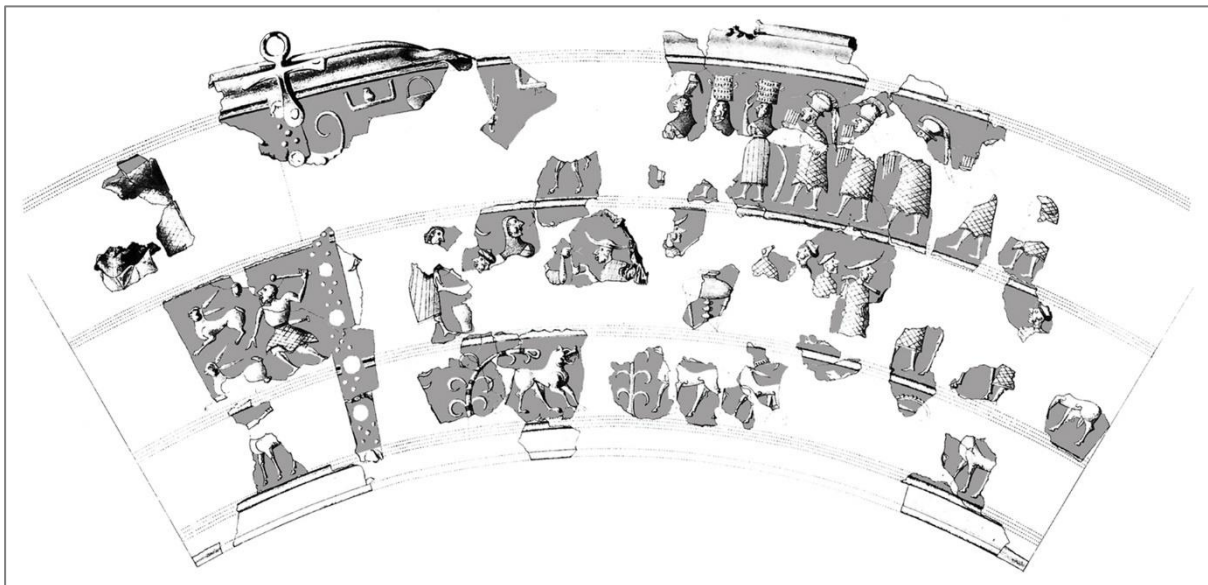


Fig. 79 – The poorly preserved decoration on the Welzelach situla (WEL.S1), Austria, scale 1:4 (after Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 76, n. 44).

In both cases, the man seated on the second row has a broad-brimmed hat while the man in the first row has a hat which is different from those encountered so far: on the Welzelach situla the hat is oval, puffy with a pointed crown; on the Providence situla the hat is oval, puffy with a rounded crown.

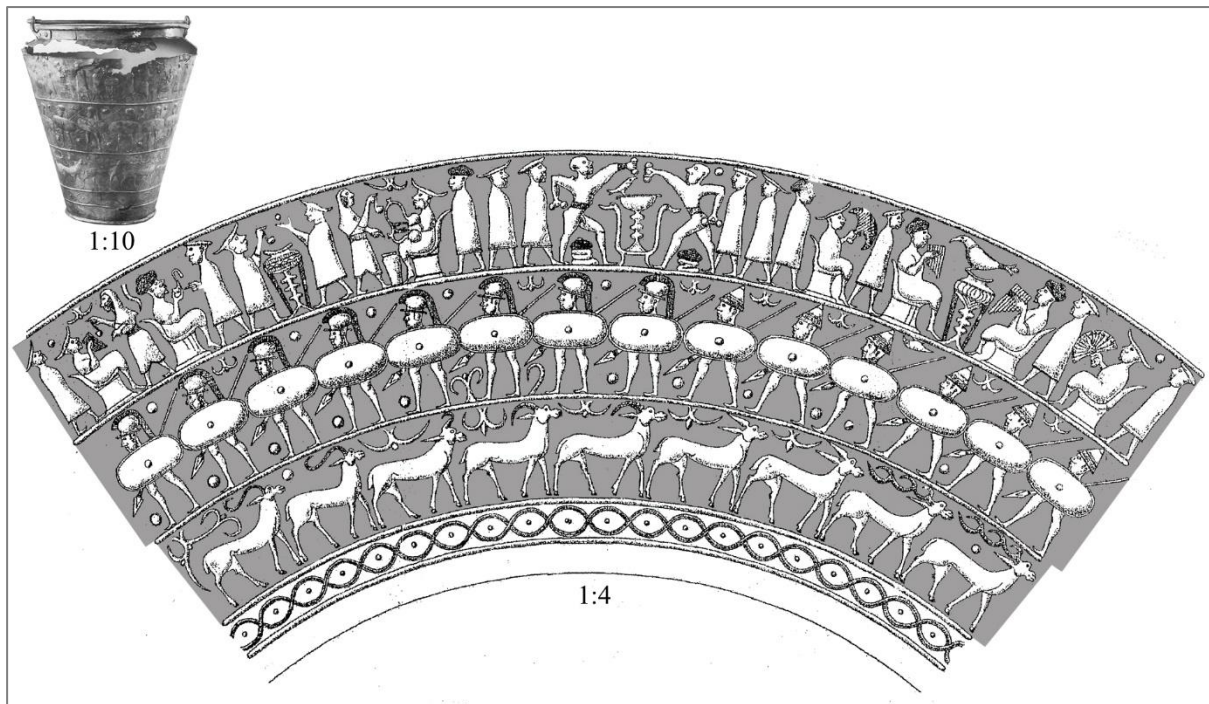


Fig. 80 – The Providence situla and its decoration (BOL.S2), Emilia-Romagna – Italy (after Lucke and Frey, 1962: appendix 1).

Interestingly, it is possible that the men depicted sitting on a throne with an oval, puffy hat with a rounded crown playing the Pan pipes in the top frieze of the Providence situla might also be the naked boxers since the clothes and hats on the ground by the boxers are remarkably similar to those worn by the men on the thrones (see Fig. 80). Of course boxing was a sport of the elites and worth rewarding with prizes in the *Iliad* (23, 700-739) when Ajax and Odysseus fought each other during the third competition in Patroclus' funeral games.

In the Slovenian area, men on thrones generally wear a quite different hat from those discussed so far, and their cloaks are not decorated with bronze buttons. According to Zaghetto (2017: fig. 16), the five known finds from Slovenia depicting thrones are dated between phase 2a (= 610/600-550/530 BC) and phase 3a (= 520/510-500/480 BC). They belong to two different cultural areas: Ljubljana/Ljubljanska and Unterkrain/Dolenjska (see Fig. 72).

The belt plate from Brezje (BRE.B1) is dated by Zaghetto (2017: fig. 16) to phase 2a (= 610/600-550/530 BC) and, according to the cultural groups defined by Gabrovec (1999: fig. 1; see Fig. 72), belongs to the Ljubljana/Ljubljanska cultural area. The belt plate shows at least three thrones according to the reconstruction published by Barth (1999: fig. 1; Fig. 81a). From left to right, a woman with a decorated hood and undecorated dress is seated on a throne and is having sex with a man with a decorated tunic and a wavy-shaped hat. Both, or at least the man

looks to the right, possibly towards another man in a symmetrical position and performing the same act. Barth (1999: fig. 1) suggested this reconstruction on the grounds of the third raised female foot. He also suggested that the third man, the one on the far right, had his legs raised while gazing to the left, where the sex scene is having place. The three pieces in Fig. 81a were found attached together by the excavators (Fig. 81b) and showed evidence of ancient restorations.

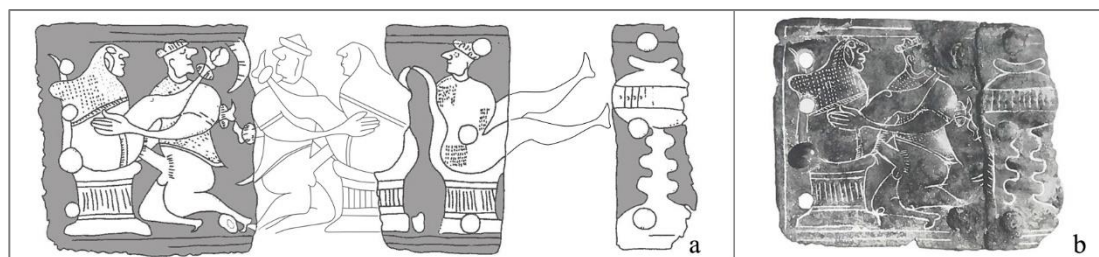


Fig. 81 – Brezje belt plate (BRE.B1), Slovenia, scale 1:2: a) drawing of the three plates with reconstruction of the decoration (after Barth, 1999: fig. 1; Turk, 2005: fig. 42); b) picture of the find as discovered (after Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 32, n. 17).

According to the cultural areas defined by Gabrovec (1999: fig. 1; see Fig. 72), the other four Slovenian examples from Vače and Magdaleska gora fall into the Unterkrain/Dolenjska cultural district.

The Vače situla (VAC.S1; Fig. 82) is dated by Zaghetto (2017: fig. 16) to phase 2a (= 610/600-550/530 BC). I believe the top frieze depicts a parade with men on foot leading animals, men on horseback and on animal-drawn vehicles (i.e. a two-wheeled chariot and a two-wheeled cart). All the men, except one, have a decorated or undecorated cloak and a beret. The only exception is the passenger in the cart, who wears a Phrygian-style hat. He should be regarded as the figure in charge, escorted by the men with berets.

I believe that the two men on thrones depicted in the middle frieze of the situla are the same ones represented during different stages of the feasting. They are recognisable from their clothes: both have Phrygian-style hats but one has a decorated cloak, the other does not. From left to right we have two standing men with berets preparing the drink that will be served to the men with Phrygian-style hats in the subsequent scenes. These men are at first both seated on thrones. The man with the undecorated cloak bears some sort of stick with two ornithomorphic heads, maybe he is blessing what is happening around him: a standing woman with a hood is offering something to eat/drink to the other man on the throne who has a decorated cloak. In

the next scene, the male with a Phrygian-style hat and undecorated cloak is standing behind the other sounding the Pan pipes. Then, it is the one with the undecorated cloak who is on a throne, while a woman with decorated hood pours him a drink. On the right side of the middle frieze both the protagonists attend a boxing match and, subsequently, one of them, the one with decorated cloak, seems to be making arrangements for the sacrifice of a ram as he is depicted near a man with an axe over his shoulder.

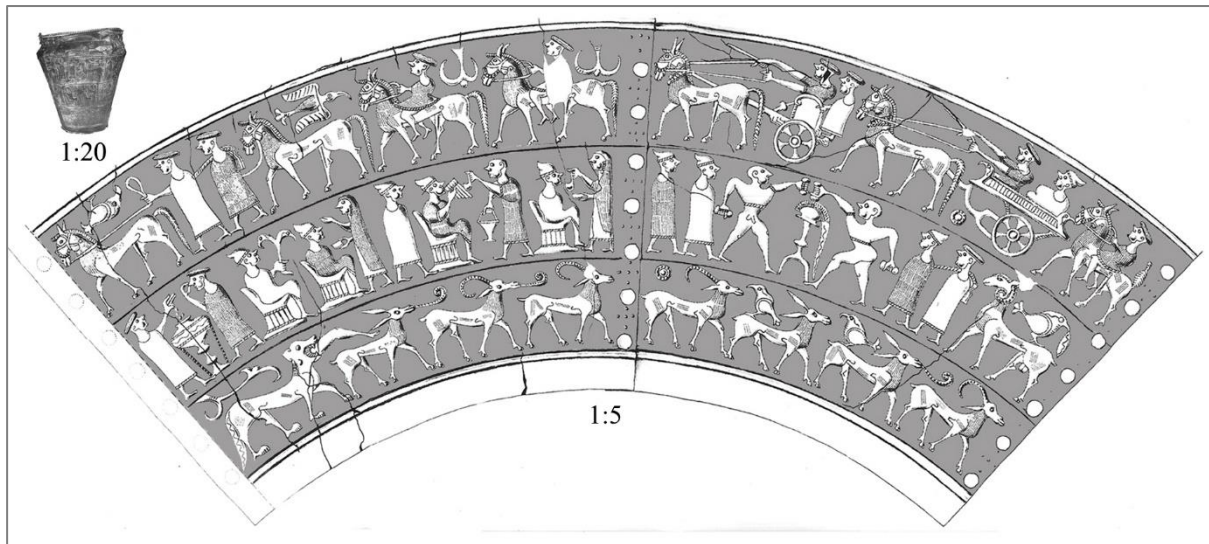


Fig. 82 – The Vače situla and its decoration (VAC.S1), Slovenia (after Starè, 1955: plate 103 and appendix).

The Magdaleska gora situla (MAG.S1; Fig. 83), dated by Zaghetto (2017: fig. 16) to the same phase as the Vače situla, has lacunae in the top frieze, but most probably depicts a procession with men wearing a beret leading animals using a lead or a stick. All the men in the top frieze are engaged in similar tasks, so none of them seems to have a higher rank. The middle frieze seems to show pretty much the same scenes as are shown on the Vače situla (VAC.S1, see Fig. 82) with two men wearing Phrygian-style hats seated on thrones and drinking or playing musical instruments. In this case too they seem to be characterised by different cloaks, so as to be easier to identify.

Due to the many affinities between the decoration depicted on the Vače (see Fig. 82) and Magdalenska gora (see Fig. 83) situlas I believe there is a chance that they were made to celebrate the same event, where the same two men on a throne, similarly characterised with Phrygian-like hats and decorated and undecorated cloaks, are shown. Their chronology seems to support this hypothesis.

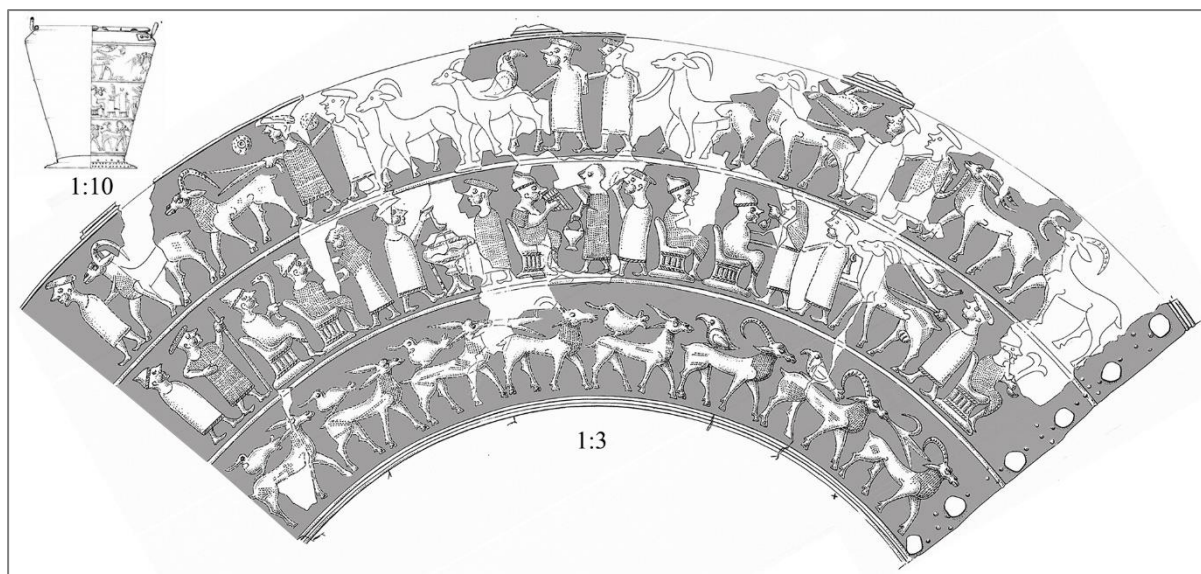


Fig. 83 – The Magdalenska gora situla and its decoration (MAG.S1), Slovenia (after Tecco Hvala *et al.*, 2004: plate 85, n. 17; appendix 4).

The Situla Art decoration on the Slovenian objects analysed so far allows to suggest the possibility that the Lubljana/Lubljanska cultural area is marked by wavy-shaped hats and that the Doljenska/Unterkrain cultural district is marked by Phrygian-style hats. However, this pattern seems not to be followed by the Magdalenska gora lid (MAG.L1; Fig. 84), dated by Zaghetto (2001) between phases 2b and 3a (= 550-480 BC). It is poorly preserved but at least one man seated on a throne can be seen on it. He carries a *bâton de commandement*, to stress his socio-political importance, and wears an undecorated cloak and a wavy-shaped hat, closer to that found on the belt plate of Brezje (BRE.B1, see Fig. 81) discussed above. Nevertheless, there may be at least two possible explanations for this exception. First, the poor preservation of the lid does not allow a full analysis of the decorative pattern, and it might be that there was a second figure to the left of the man on a throne. The decoration recalls, at least in part, that depicted on the Castelvetro mirror (see Fig. 77) so that the missing figure might have been depicted standing, and possibly female. On the other hand, the missing figure might have been on a throne facing or mirroring the one preserved. In the first case, the lid might have been a gift or the dowry of a bride from a nearby area or from some distance. In the latter case, it might have depicted a meeting between two high-status figures where the lack of preservation of the second man on a throne does not allow to distinguish his costume and related identity.

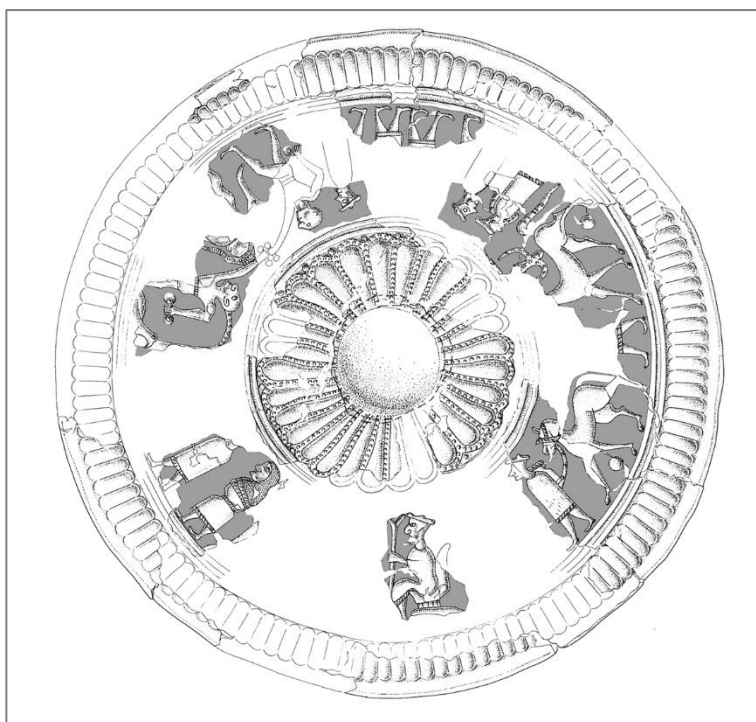


Fig. 84 – The Magdalenska gora lid (MAG.L1), Slovenia, scale 1:3 (after Tecco Hvala *et al.*, 2004: appendix 5).

However, it has to be considered that the site of Magdalenska gora is at a particular location at the border between two cultural districts, Unterkrain/Dolenjska and Ljubljana/Ljubljanska (see Fig. 72), so that encounters should be expected especially for marriage negotiations which might be one explanation for the decoration depicted on the Magdalenska gora lid (see Fig. 84).

Little can be said regarding the second situla from Magdalenska gora (MAG.S2; Fig. 85), dated to phase 3a (= 520/510-500/480 BC; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 16). It is poorly preserved and depicts at least two thrones. The only one which is clearly visible shows a man with an undecorated cloak and a crested helmet, which is also found on a situla from Nesactium depicting a sea battle (Fig. 86) and on four Situla Art objects from Emilia-Romagna (Italy): the Providence (see Fig 80), Certosa (Fig. 87a) and Arnoaldi (Fig. 87b) situlas and the Arnoaldi mirror (Fig. 87c). However, there seem not to be parallels for the form of the helmet in the votive record of the Grotta delle Mosche/Mušje Jame, San Canziano del Carso/Škocjanu na Krasu, Slovenia (Teržan *et al.*, 2016), but parallels can be found in crested helmets at the cemetery of Magdalenska gora itself (Tecco Hvala *et al.*, 2004: plates 11, 23, 34 and 50), and also at Kleinklein, Austria, (Schmid, 1933: fig. 34) and Dolenjske Toplice, Croatia (Teržan, 1976: plate 39, VII/5, n. 3).

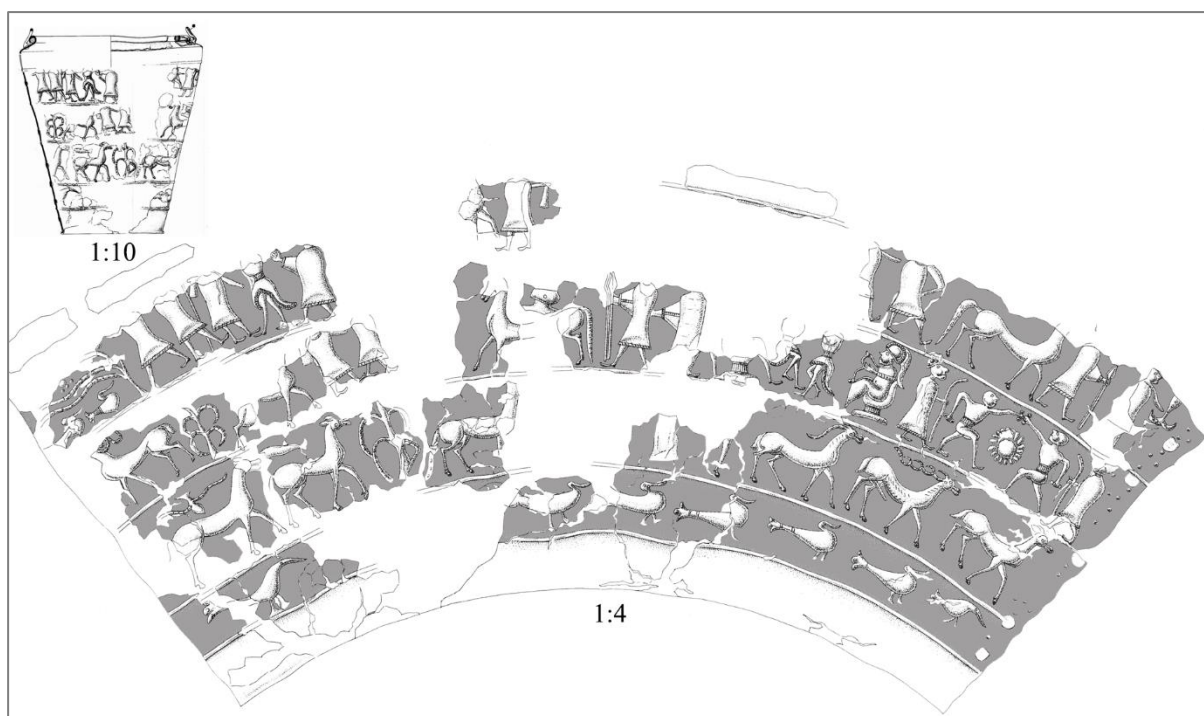


Fig. 85 – The Magdalenska gora situla and its decoration (MAG.S2), Slovenia (after Tecco Hvala *et al.*, 2004: appendix 2).

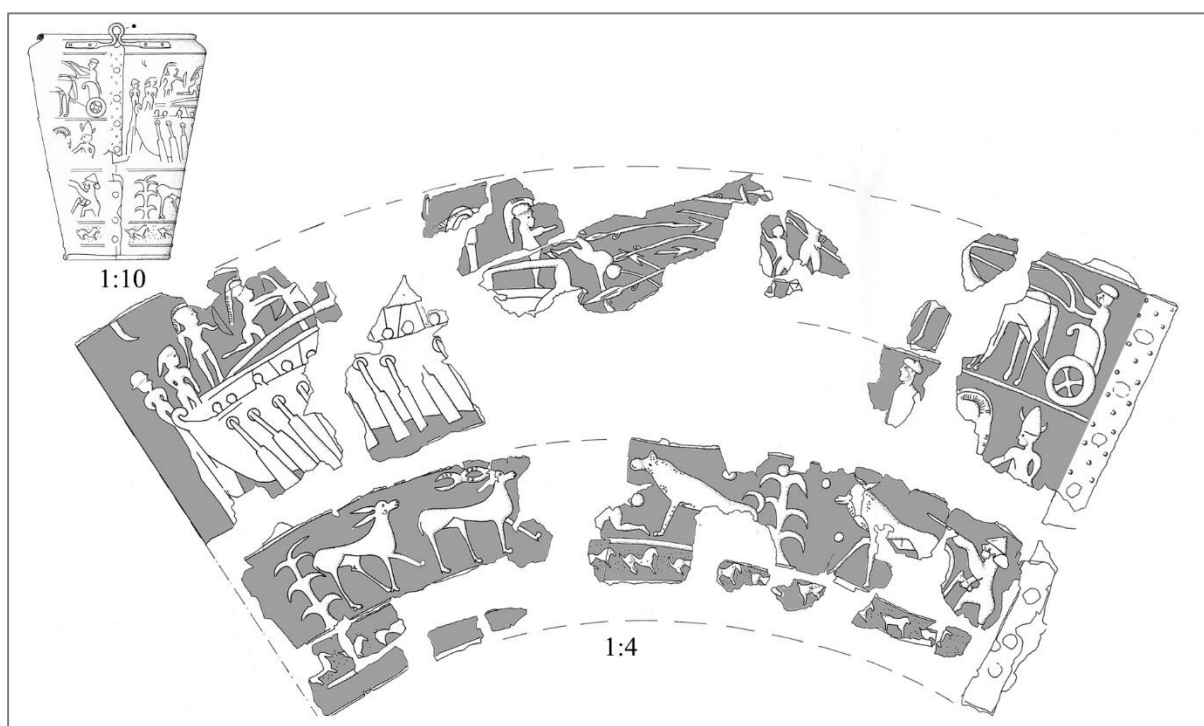


Fig. 86 – The Nesactium situla and its decoration (NES.S1), Slovenia (after Mihovilič, 1996: plate 3, n. 66 and appendix 3).

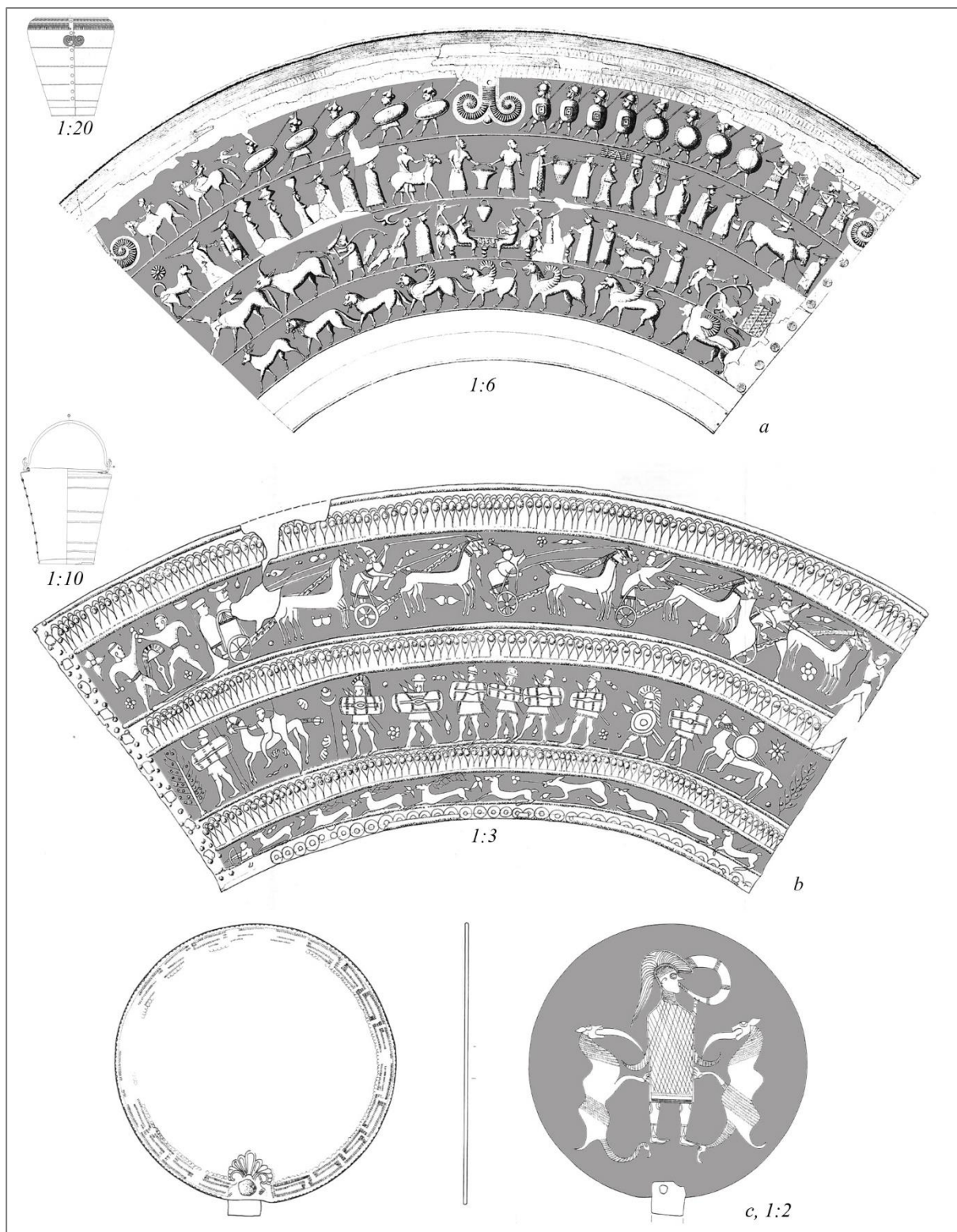


Fig. 87 – Situla Art from Bologna (Emilia-Romagna – Italy) depicting crested helmets: a) the Certosa situla and its decoration (BOL.S1) (Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 64, n. 4); b) the Arnoaldi situla and its decoration (BOL.S3) (Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 64, n. 4; Macellari, 2002: plate 16 bis); c) the Arnoaldi mirror and its decoration (BOL.M1) (Macellari, 2002: plate 19, n. 11).

There are no broad-brimmed hats but there are decorated cloaks in Slovenia. The decorated cloaks, however, seem not to have bronze buttons like those depicted on the Benvenuti situla (see Fig. 73), which argues against Zaghetto's (2017: 84) idea that they were widespread throughout the Situla Art area. Decorated cloaks on Slovenian Situla Art objects (e.g. MAG.S1, VAC.S1 and BRE.B1) are characterised by small incisions at regular intervals (Fig. 88a). On a closer look it appears that the same decoration also characterises all the ungulates depicted in Slovenian Situla Art discussed above (Fig. 88b), so I believe that the cloaks depicted were made of sheepskin(?), or wool, rather than being decorated by bronze buttons. Moreover, Slovenian Situla Art shows that this cloak decoration also characterises men of lower social classes, even servants (e.g. the Magdalenska gora situla, MAG.S1, see Fig. 83 and 88a, or the Vače situla, VAC.S1 see Fig. 82).

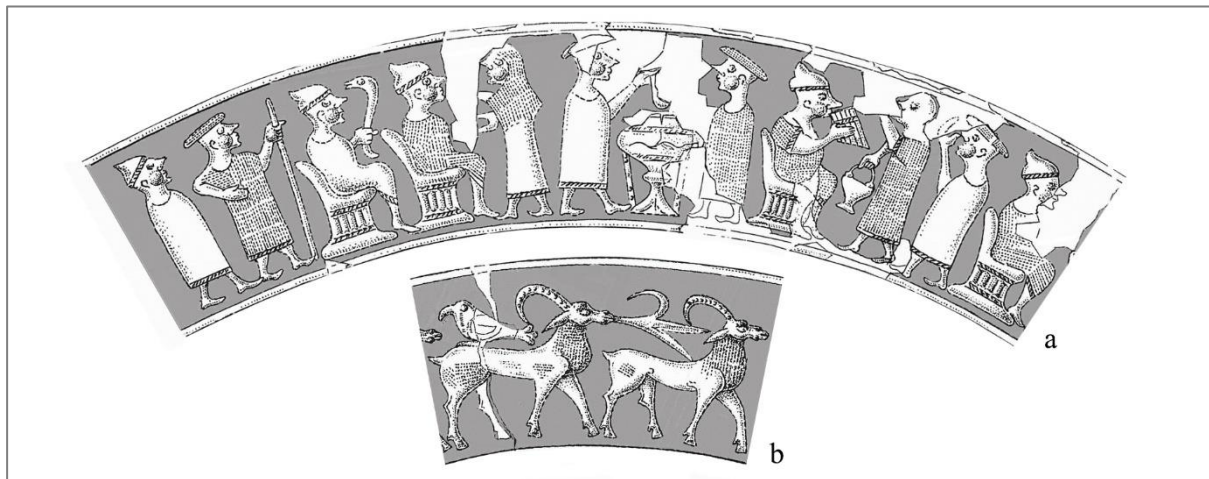


Fig. 88 - Wool cloaks? Comparison between cloaks decoration and the way animal fur is shown in the Magdalenska gora situla (MAG.S1), Slovenia, scale 1:2: a) middle and b) lower friezes (after Tecco Hvala *et al.*, 2004: appendix 4).

The Situla Art with thrones from Austria is problematic. This is mainly because the men on thrones wear a broad-brimmed hat like the Atestines. The Kuffarn situla (KUF.S1; Fig. 89), Austria, dates to phase 3b (500/480-475/450 BC; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 16) and depicts only one man on a throne. Three different hats are depicted in the narrative scheme: a broad-brimmed hat worn by the figure on the throne, a beret worn by various figures characterised by a plaid clothing involved in different activities ranging from bearing vessels to judging the boxing match, while a third hat, which I believe is a Phrygian hat, is worn by horsemen and charioteers. Except for horsemen and boxers, all the other figures, including servants with no hats, wear plaid clothing.

I believe this may be a local product which attempted to depict Atestine fashion (i. e. the Atestine elite way of feasting and dressing), but possibly without fully understanding it, as if it was known only by hearsay. Kuffarn, in fact, is geographically far away from the Atestine world (see Fig. 66, site n. 43). The broad-brimmed hat of the man on the throne is, in fact, not well drawn and appears to be an attempt to imitate those depicted on the Benvenuti situla. Nevertheless, he appears not to be properly seated like in the Benvenuti situla (see Fig. 73) but reclining, recalling the man on the *klinē* (i.e. a couch) on the Atestine belt from Carceri, grave 38 (CRC.B1; see Fig. 90), which is a unique motif in the Atestine decorative record. Moreover, the chariot race seems to follow a similar decorative pattern to that depicted on the upper frieze of the Arnoaldi situla, dated by Zaghetto (2017: fig. 16) to phase 3b (= 520/510-500/480 BC), and on the 6th cent. BC *dolium* found at the cemetery of Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro (VR, Veneto – Italy) (see Fig. 12 in Section 2.3.2.). On the Arnoaldi situla, the charioteers are also depicted with Phrygian hat and the beginning of the race seems marked by a man holding a ribbon located on the far right of the same scene (Fig. 87b). In the Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro *dolium* the poor preservation of the decoration means it is not possible to identify the hats characterising the charioteers.



Fig. 89 – The Kuffarn situla decoration (KUF.S1), Austria, scale 2:5 (after Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 75, n. 40). The unique frieze is reproduced in two strips with “X” marking the join.

There are also some non-Atestine elements: for example, the double-stick used by the judges of the boxing match strongly recalls those used to lead animals, as gifts and/or sacrifices, shown on the Magdalenska gora situla (MAG.S1, see Fig. 83).

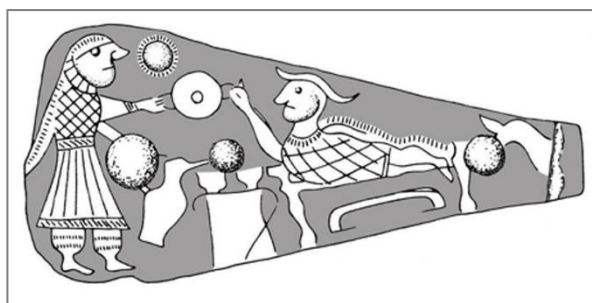


Fig. 90 - Carceri, grave 38, belt plate (CRC.B1), Veneto – Italy, scale 1:1 (Frey, 1969: plate 67, n. 18).

We may also speculate about the chariot race depicted on the right side of the frieze of the Kuffarn situla. In order to do so I will break my rule and refer to classical sources and to Zaghetto's (2017: 174-192) section *II.3. Intermezzo. Cavallo e cavalli*. According to Strabo (5, 1, 9) "It is a historical fact, however, that among the Heneti certain honours have been decreed to Diomedes; and, indeed, a white horse is still sacrificed to him...". According to Zaghetto (2017: 174), and plausibly in my opinion, the narrative scene depicted on the lower frieze of the Benvenuti situla (EST.S3; see Fig. 73) should be seen as depicting the return of the Atestine armies after a victory: hairy prisoners are in fact led bound in parade following the chariot of the victorious general(?) by Atestine foot soldiers. Zaghetto (2017: 164, 174; see also Cassola Guida, 1997: 204) suggests that this event is linked to the sacrifice of the horse depicted on the left side of the top frieze, which is blessed by the aristocrat and meticulously checked by a servant, vet or executioner.

On the basis of the 2nd cent. AD Roman historian Festus, Zaghetto (2017: 84) proposes that the event depicted in the Benvenuti situla might have happened in the month of October: October for the Romans was, in fact, the month of the *October Equus* and this was a festivity celebrating the end of the war season and the triumph of the troops returning from the battlefield. The principal ritual linked to this feast was the sacrifice of a horse:

"October Equus appellatur, qui in campo Martio mense Octobri immolatur quotannis Marti, bigarum victricum dexterior." (transl. "It is called October Horse, as a horse is offered annually to Mars, the one harnessed to the right side of the victorious chariot") (Festus, in Lindsay, 1913: 190)

Although it seems a bit of a stretch, I believe the words of Strabo (5, 1, 9) and Festus (in Lindsay, 1913: 190) might be mirrored by the chariot race scene on the Kuffarn situla, where each of the chariots depicted has, harnessed on the right-hand side, what may be a white horse,

distinguished from those to the left by the absence of decoration. If this is the case, one can argue that the race depicted on the Kuffarn situla might be linked to the horse sacrificed by the Atestines to Diomedes as recalled by Strabo (5, 1, 9).

I believe the decoration of the Kuffarn situla strongly recalls that on the Benvenuti situla at least as regards the gesture of the man on the throne. According to Zaghetto (2017: 205), the man on the throne in the top left frieze of the Benvenuti situla seems to be toasting the horse in front of him, which is possibly going to be sacrificed in accordance with the *October Equus* feasting ritual. On the Kuffarn situla, the man seems to be toasting, or drinking, while watching the race. It is possible that also in this case a horse is going to be sacrificed, in which case it could be the white horse harnessed on the right side of the victorious chariot in the race. Why else would horses have been distinguished in a similar way for all the depicted chariots? I believe there is a too good a correspondence between Festus' words and the Kuffarn situla decoration for it to be purely random.

Archaeological evidence supports the argument that horses were sacrificed in the Atestine area. The Atestine horse graveyard of via Prà at Este, for example, is located at the edge of a human cemetery and has at least 34 horses (Millo, 2013: 365). Only one of them is associated with a cup, generically dated between 6th and 4th cent. BC, and, as noted by Zaghetto (2017: 205), this strongly recalls the image on the Benvenuti situla showing the aristocrat on a throne toasting the horse.

Millo (2013: 364; see also Bortolami, 2018) notes that sacrifices of horses are well attested in the major Atestine centres (i.e. Padua, Este, Altino, Oderzo, Oppeano, Gazzo Veronese) and at the Etruscan Adria (RO) and this practice might recall the ritual sacrifice of four horses by Achilles on Patroclus' funerary pyre (Iliad 33, 171 and 242). At Altino-Fornace (VE) a deposit of equine bones dated to between the 6th and 5th cent. BC was interpreted as belonging to at least 20 sacrificed animals with selection of bones (Fiore and Tagliacozzo, 2011). A similar pattern is also recorded at Montegrotto Terme (PD) where young animals, among which pigs and sheep, were sacrificed at the site (Bassani, 2011: 231-232). Outside the current Veneto region a significative number of horse burials is also documented at Bologna and in Slovenia (Millo, 2013: 366).

The other Austrian Situla Art find depicting men on a throne is the Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl situla (DÜR.S1; Fig. 91) which, unfortunately, lacks of the top frieze. It was found in a middle La Tène grave (c. 250-230 BC; Zeller, 2004: 399) but, according to Zaghetto (2017: fig. 16),

stylistically belongs to phase 2a (610/600-550/530 BC). On it, there are two men on thrones and they are wearing broad-brimmed hats while playing the Pan pipes and a lyre. At least one of them is being served a drink by a servant with no hat. On the basis of the evidence discussed so far, the Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl situla has a different narrative scheme as livestock led by men are not located in the top frieze but in the lower one. This suggests that the story might be read from bottom to top and not *vice versa*. The lack of the top frieze, however, means it is impossible to fully interpret the decoration but it seems that the men with broad-brimmed hats on thrones in the upper frieze appear to be the hosts of the feast. The man with a beret depicted on the right fringe of the lower frieze is possibly another upper-class man who I believe is on a cart given his crouched position and voluminous form (cf. the top frieze of the Montebelluna situla in Fig. 76). If the story has to be read bottom to top, it was the man on a cart with the beret who brought the gifts to the two men with broad-brimmed hats seated on thrones. Otherwise, the animals depicted in the lower frieze were given as gifts and brought home by the man with beret. No matter which way it should be read, I believe this might be another case of upper-class Atestine-Rhaetic encounter. Nevertheless, the gap of c. 250 years between the date of the grave where it was found and the manufacture of the situla poses a huge problem for the reconstruction of the biography of this piece and poses the problem as to whether the story depicted was still understood.

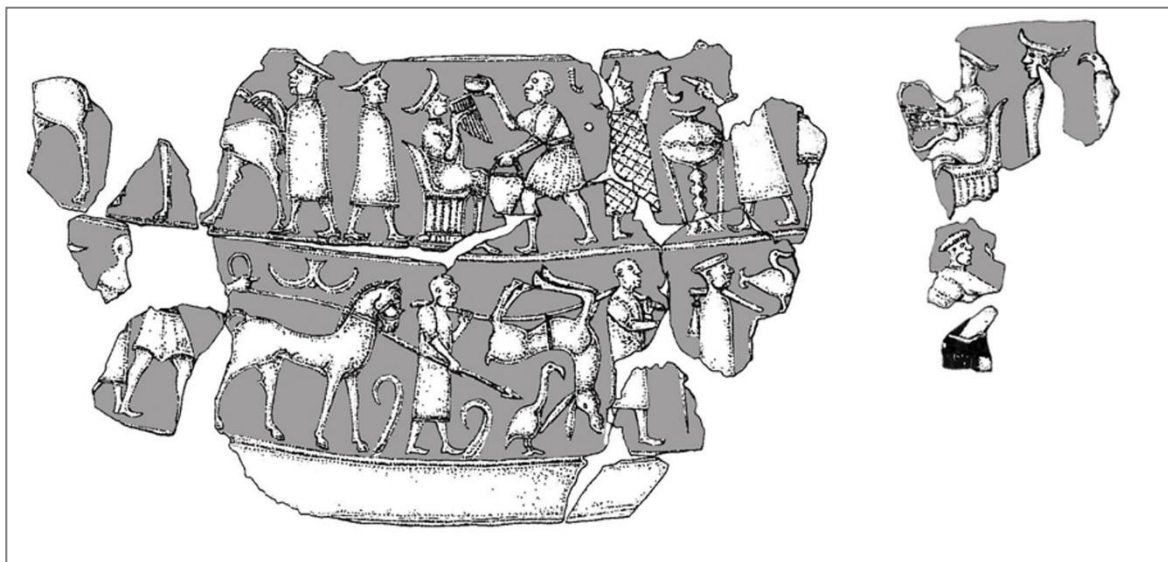


Fig. 91 – The Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl situla fragments (DÜR.S1), Austria, scale 2:5 (after Zeller, 2004: fig. 15).

The third and final Situla Art object I am going to discuss in this section was found at Waisenberg (Fig. 92), in the south-eastern Austrian district close to Slovenia. It is my opinion

that this situla should be dated to Zaghetto's (2017: fig. 16) phases 4a-b (475/450-350/325 BC). This is because in these phases seated individuals have hourglass-like bodies as on the Mortizing (MOR.B1) and Vadena (VAD.B1) belt plates (see Fig. 78c, d) which are a good comparison for the two men seated on thrones on the Waisenberg situla. The situla is very poorly preserved, with a dozen fragments of metal sheet collected during the excavation (Gleirscher, 2009: plate 14). As mentioned, two men on thrones are shown, but the whole body is preserved only for one of them. He has a beret and plays the lyre; his clothing is not decorated. It is also possible that the second figure on a throne was playing the same musical instrument as there is a fragment depicting a second lyre.

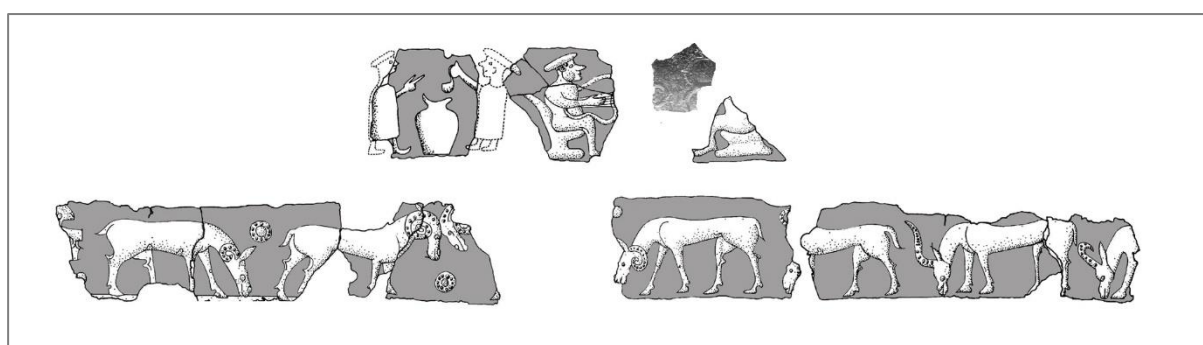


Fig. 92 – The Waisenberg situla (WAL.S1), Austria, scale 1:2. My attempt at reconstructing the decorative motif (after Gleirscher, 2009: plate 14).

Male figures with a beret are known in Slovenian late 7th and 6th cent. BC Situla Art (e.g. VAC.S1 and MAG.S1; see Figs 82-83) and possibly linked to the middle-class as they are never depicted on a throne. It is possible that the 6th cent. BC crisis recorded in the Veneto, partially linked to the expansion towards south of Rhaetic people (see Chapter 6), might have also affected other areas; the site of Waisenberg is, however, located at a certain distance from the Rhaetic cultural area as mapped in Fig. 71. Another possible way of looking at it is that there was a dramatically changed socio-political environment following the 6th cent. BC crisis, which affected at least central and northern Italy, producing socio-political shifts with more power in the hands of the middle-class. According to the evidence discussed so far, berets, in fact, seems both linked to Rhaeti (see Figs 76 and 78) and middle-class individuals in most of the above Situla Art artefacts.

8.1.2.2. Women on a throne in the Situla Art

As mentioned in Section 8.1.2., only three Situla Art artefacts depict women on a throne: the Brezje belt plate (Slovenia) (see Fig. 81a), the Pieve d'Alpago situla (Veneto – Italy) (Fig. 93) and the Bologna *tintinnabulum* (Emilia-Romagna – Italy) (Fig. 94).

The Brezje belt plate (BRE.B1; see Fig. 81a) perhaps shows two women on thrones having sex with men wearing a wavy-hat. There are four sex scenes on the lowest frieze of the Pieve d'Alpago situla (PAL.S1; see Fig. 93) and in one of them a woman on a throne is depicted. She is not directly involved in the sexual intercourse; she is facing the other direction but, I believe, her presence is necessary to ensure that the sexual intercourse is taking place to seal the marital arrangement shown to the far right of the same frieze. This pattern finds an ethnographic parallel in Kenya (Strobel, 1975: 38).

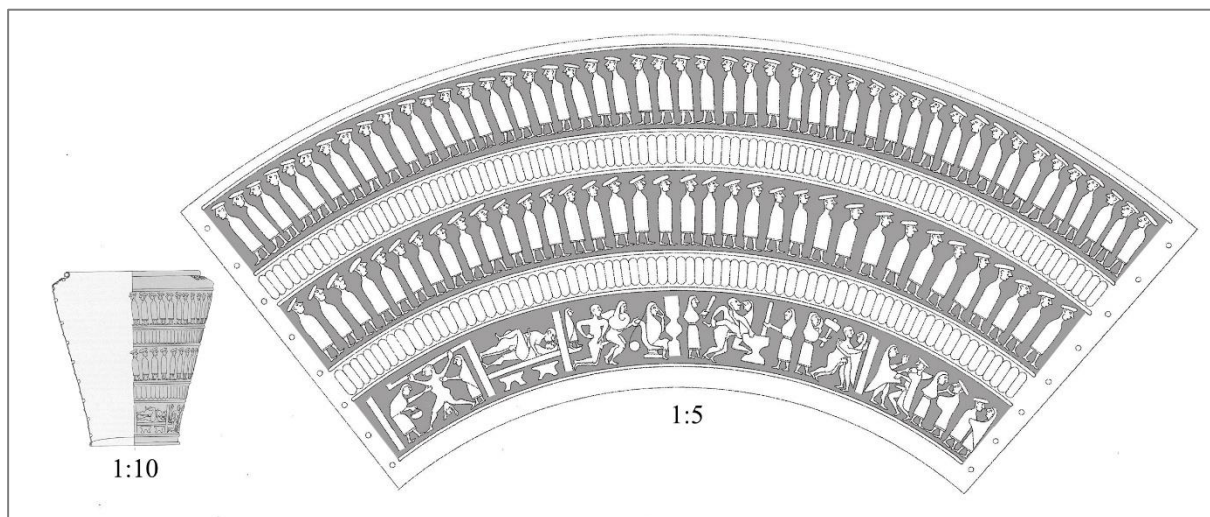


Fig. 93 – The Pieve d'Alpago situla and its decoration, Veneto – Italy (after Buson, 2015a: fig. 4; Gangemi, 2015: fig. 3).

The scene depicted on the *tintinnabulum* (i.e. bronze bell) found in the so-called *Tomba degli Ori* at Bologna is rather different (BOL.T1; Fig. 94). It is dated by Zaghetto to phase 1a (= 660/650-630/625 BC). The rich grave goods suggest that the individual buried was female and belonged to the elite group (see Morigi Govi, 1971). The decoration on the *tintinnabulum* supports this statement. This is, so far, the only Situla Art object that depicts only women, and they are in what seems to be an elite environment attested by decorated furniture, costume and hoods. The women are involved in textile production.

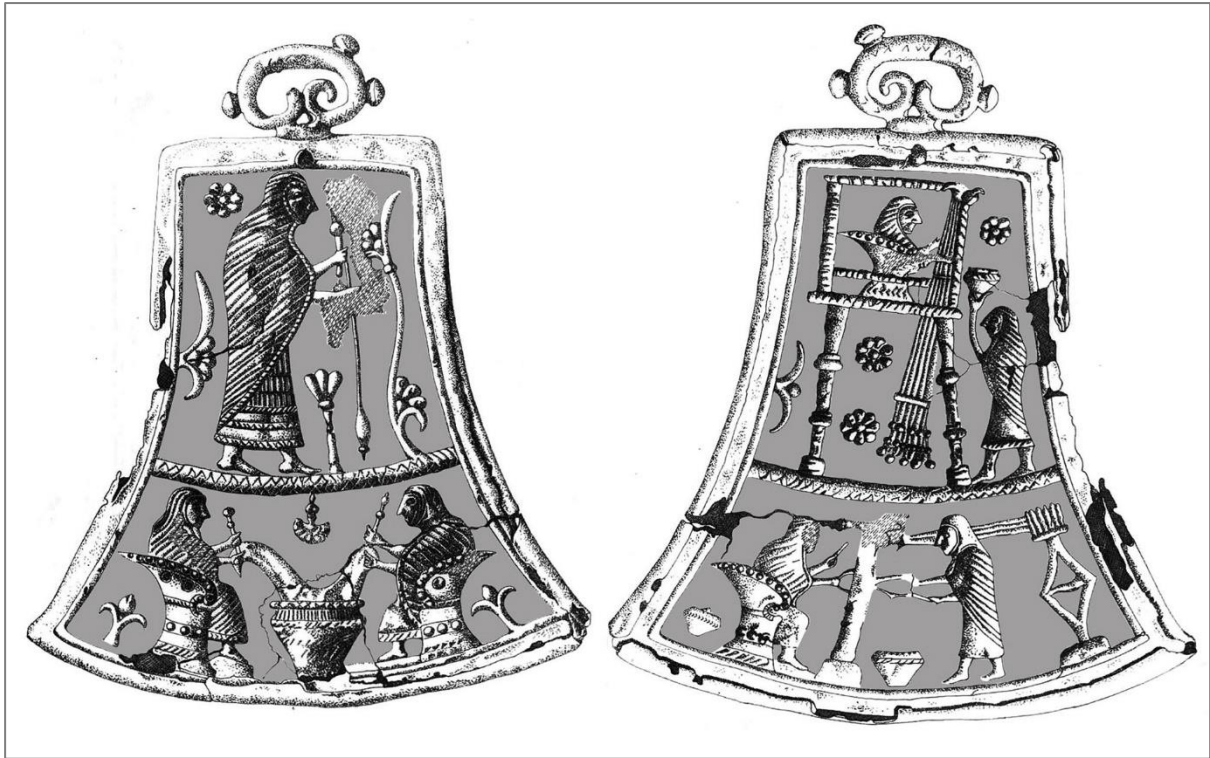


Fig. 94 - Bologna, *tintinnabulum* from the *Tomba degli Ori*, Emilia-Romagna – Italy, scale 4:5 (after Morigi Govi, 1971: plates 52, 54).

On the basis of the decoration, I would suggest that, although all the women most probably belong to the elite group, it is possible that those in the upper friezes were the most important in the socio-political order. On one of the two decorated sides, in fact, the woman on the upper frieze is much bigger than the other two; on the other side, the presence of a loom suggests that the woman associated with it is of higher status. On the basis of textile tools found in female grave goods, Bartoloni (2008: 27) suggested that high-status women in the Iron Age Italy were involved in textile production and defined them as *dominae*, mistresses of the household. The importance of textile production in the *Odyssey* (i.e. Penelope) and *Iliad* (i.e. Andromaca) is equated to war for men:

“...But go to the house and busy yourself with your own tasks, the loom and the distaff, and tell your handmaids to ply their work: and war will be the concern for men, all of those who live in Ilios, but especially for me.” (*Iliad* 6, 490-493)

The possible reference to Penelope on the Bologna *tintinnabulum* (Bartoloni, 2008: 27; 2012: 29; Sannibale, 2013: 104) might help sustain the idea that myths and mythical creatures might have been used to highlight the status and importance of one or more of the individuals depicted

on Situla Art (Kruta, 1992: 249, 252; Cassola Guida, 1997: 203). This pattern might find a good parallel in the Benvenuti situla (Fig. 73), which is slightly more recent, but where men belonging to the elite group are depicted within a mythical framework (see Kruta, 1992: 253; Cassola Guida, 1997: 203; Huth, 2003: 167) used, I believe, to reinforce the message, the legitimization of power, which was also that of the *tintinnabulum*.

8.1.3. Female earrings in the Situla Art

The throne-women combination does not provide enough evidence about identity as it does for the men. However, I have found that different female earrings may characterise different geographical areas in the Situla Art distribution. Specifically, I was able to distinguish two different kind of earrings depicted in Situla Art decoration, rounded and elongated, which seem also to be found as grave goods in Iron Age cemeteries within the Situla Art distribution area.

Rounded earrings seem mainly to be found in the area south of the Alps, mostly Italian territory, so it is not possible to use them as ethnic markers. Rounded earrings are associated with women on the Providence (BO, Emilia-Romagna – Italy; Fig. 95a), Certosa (BO, Emilia-Romagna – Italy; Fig. 95b) and Pieve d’Alpago (TV, Veneto – Italy; Fig. 95c) situlas, and the Castelvetro mirror (MO, Emilia-Romagna – Italy; Fig. 95d). Archaeologically, they are found as grave goods at least in the Atestine cemetery of Este-Villa Benvenuti (see Chieco Bianchi and Capuis, 2006: plate 176, ns 3-4; plate 180, ns 30-31).

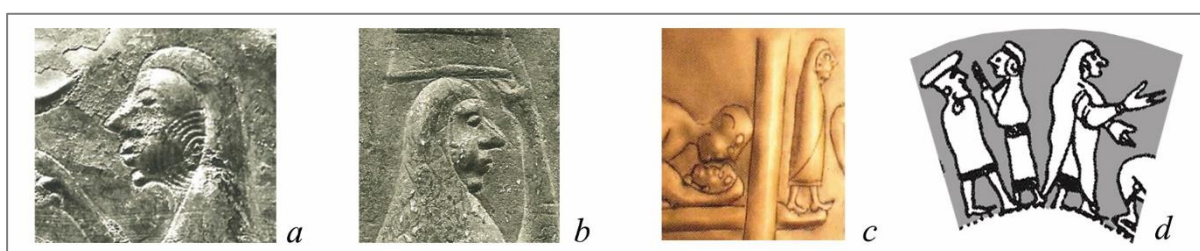


Fig. 95 – Rounded earrings in Italian Situla Art: a) Providence situla (BOL.S2) (after Umetnost situla, 1964: plate 75); b) Certosa situla (BOL.S1) (after Umetnost situla, 1964: plate 20); c) reproduction of the Pieve d’Alpago situla (ALP.S1) (after Buson, 2015a: plate 11); d) Castelvetro mirror (CAS.M1) (after Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 21, n. 6).

However, within the Situla Art record at least one exception exists, as rounded earrings are documented in Slovenia, on the Brezje belt plate (see Fig. 81a). On the other hand, elongated earrings are mainly found on eastern Alpine Situla Art objects such as the Vače (VAC.S1; Fig.

96a) and Welzelach (WEL.S1; Fig. 96b, c) situlas. This pattern is also documented archaeologically: three elongated earrings were found at Vače (one is shown in Fig. 96d), three pairs come from grave 117, mound 13, at Magdalenska gora-Preloge cemetery (one is shown in Fig. 96e), while 12 earrings were found at Dolenjske Toplice (one is shown in Fig. 96f), in four different graves (i.e. mound 2: grave 2, 16 and 30; mound 11: grave 12). One elongated earring also comes from Stična (Fig. 96g).

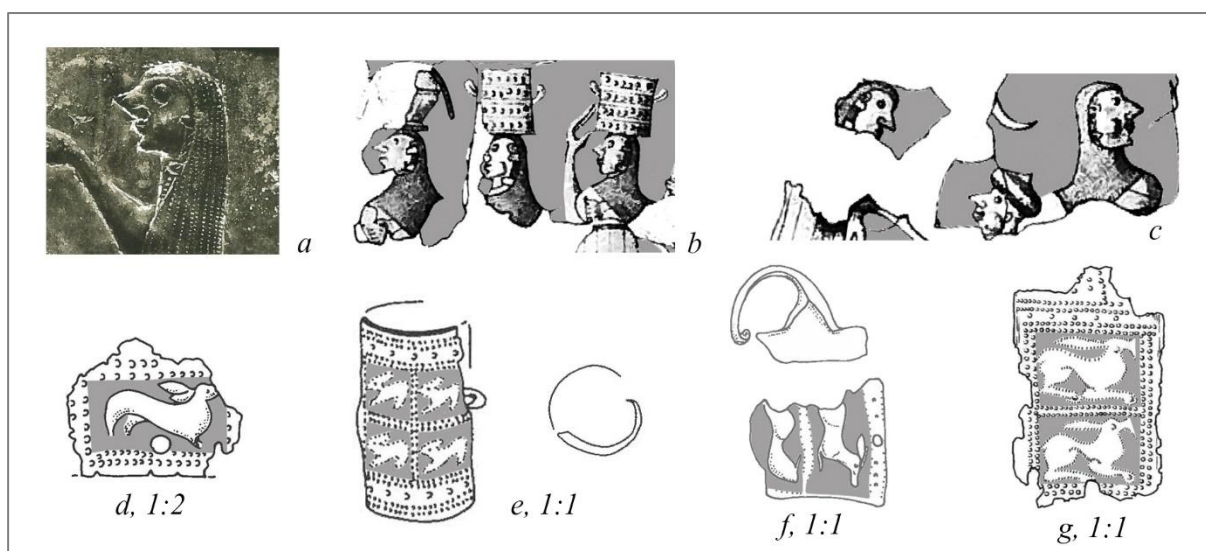


Fig. 96 – Elongated earrings in Slovenian, Croatian and Austrian Situla Art: a) Vače situla, middle frieze (VAC.S1) (Umetnost situla, 1964: plate 6); b) top and c) middle frieze of the Welzelach situla (WEL.S1) (Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 76, n. 44). Earrings from: d) Vače (VAC.E2) (Turk, 2005: fig. 111); e) Magdalenska gora (MAG.E6) (Turk, 2005: fig. 21); f) Dolenjske Toplice (TOP.E6) (Turk, 2005: fig. 116); g) Stična (STLE1) (Frey, 1969: plate 81, n. 43).

Elongated earrings also characterise the women depicted on the lower frieze of the Pieve d'Alpago situla (Veneto – Italy) (see Fig. 93). This is not clearly shown in the drawing of the situla, but it seems visible from the photographs of the reproduction made by Buson (2015a; Fig. 97a-c). Interestingly, on the same situla the female statue located on a shelf in the middle of the lowest frieze wears rounded earrings (Fig. 97c). Gangemi (2015: 115) proposes that this statue might have represented a goddess, specifically family ancestors recalled in the Roman religion as *Lares*. According to this evidence, it is possible to postulate that the woman depicted having sexual intercourse (Fig. 97a) was probably foreign, since she is wearing elongated earrings, and that she moved with her retinue (Fig. 97b, c; see also Fig. 93, lowest frieze) to Pieve d'Alpago in order to marry a local high-status Atestine(?) man.

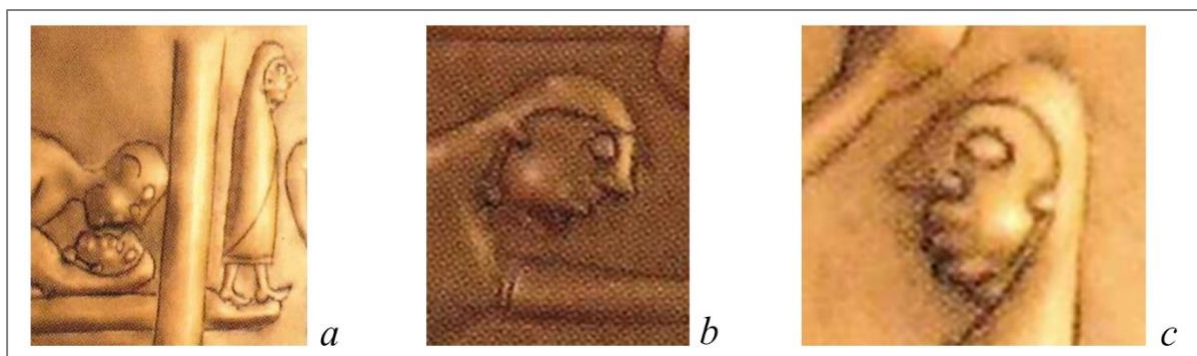


Fig. 97 – Earrings in the lowest frieze of the reproduction of the Pieve d'Alpago situla, Veneto – Italy: a) elongated and circular (after Buson, 2015a: plate 11, fig. 6); b-c) elongated (after Buson, 2015a: plate 11, fig. 7).

8.1.4. Situla Art and identities: final remarks

In the following lines I shall try to sum up what has emerged from the previous sections in order to highlight the role of Este in the emergence and spread of Situla Art and the possible identity valency of clothing characterising men seated on a throne.

In the earliest phase of Situla Art, I believe, the legitimation and display of power were the main factors underlying the narrative scheme. Scenes show individuals who seem to wear similar costume and, possibly, are socially differentiated. Moreover, the depiction of what may be mythical figures, such as Polyphemus on the Benvenuti situla (see Huth, 2003: 167) and, possibly, Penelope on the *tintinnabulum* of Bologna (see Bartoloni, 2008: 27; 2012: 29; Sannibale, 2013: 104), may have served to reinforce the importance of the individuals depicted, as already suggested by Kruta (1992: 253-254) and Cassola Guida (1997: 203), and were possibly picked to fit real events. Only subsequently, once Situla Art had become an established elite tool of legitimation and prestige, scenes involve, among others, encounters between high-status individuals characterised by different costumes to document alliances, partnerships and marriage negotiations. The narrative scheme, in this phase, seems more standardised with gift-bearing, feasting, boxing matches and possibly animal sacrifices which represented the common way of depicting an elite environment.

Although only a limited number of items was dated by Zaghetto (2001; 2017) (39.4% of Situla Art objects), it is still possible to make speculations on its development and spread (see Fig. 69). Este, in fact, seems to play a major role since the emergence of Situla Art, with more

evidence from the earlier stages than Bologna which is generally considered to be its place of origin (see Colonna, 1980) or, at least, the place where the requisite metallurgical skills came from (see Sassatelli, 2013). In my opinion, the requisite craft skills were already in place in the Alpine and peri-Alpine area before the emergence of this art, as was already suggested by Fogolari and colleagues (1961), while it was the Orientalising narrative scheme and language which I believe derived from Bologna.

Starting from Lucke and Frey's (1962: 48, 51) arguments that Situla Art decoration mirrors ancient real life and social stratification, I have focused my attention on clothes, hats and thrones to highlight differences in costumes of the people depicted in Situla Art, which may indicate identity. The evidence sampled was very low (7.6%), only 20 Situla Art finds out of 264. I suggest that male hats are the best ethnic indicators in Situla Art: broad-brimmed hats seem to characterise Atestines, berets the Rhaeti, wavy hats Slovenian Ljubljana/Ljubljanska men, and Phrygian-style hats the Unterkrain/Dolenjska men (Fig. 98).

It is not possible to define a clear identity pattern using hats for the two Situla Art objects depicting men on thrones found in Emilia-Romagna – Italy: the Castelvetro mirror depicts a beret (see Fig. 77) while the Providence situla has an oval, puffy, hat with a rounded crown associated with men on a throne (see Fig. 80). To further complicate the picture, the Certosa situla depicts two men with broad-brimmed hats on a *klinē* (i.e. a couch) who are playing musical instruments (see Fig. 87a). No evidence of this kind is known, to date, from the Golasecca cultural area (see Fig. 98) or Croatia, so they were not considered in the identity discussion.

Moreover, it is worth mention that I do not believe that the broad-brimmed hats worn by the men on a throne on the Dürrenberg (see Fig. 91) and Kuffarn (see Fig. 89) situlas mirror the identity of local high-status figures. As regards the first object, the context of recovery makes it impossible to understand the biography of the object. Moreover, its poor preservation does not allow a full reconstruction of the decorative scheme. However, I suggest that the figure with the beret on a cart was the protagonist of the story, which may tell of his encounter with the Atestine elite, characterised by broad-brimmed hats, who hosted a feast where he was invited as guest. I have suggested that a broad-brimmed hat is depicted on the Kuffarn situla because its decoration seems to imitate that of the Benvenuti situla. For these reasons, when preparing Fig. 96, I marked Dürrenberg with a black beret and Dürrenberg and Kuffarn with grey broad-brimmed hats.

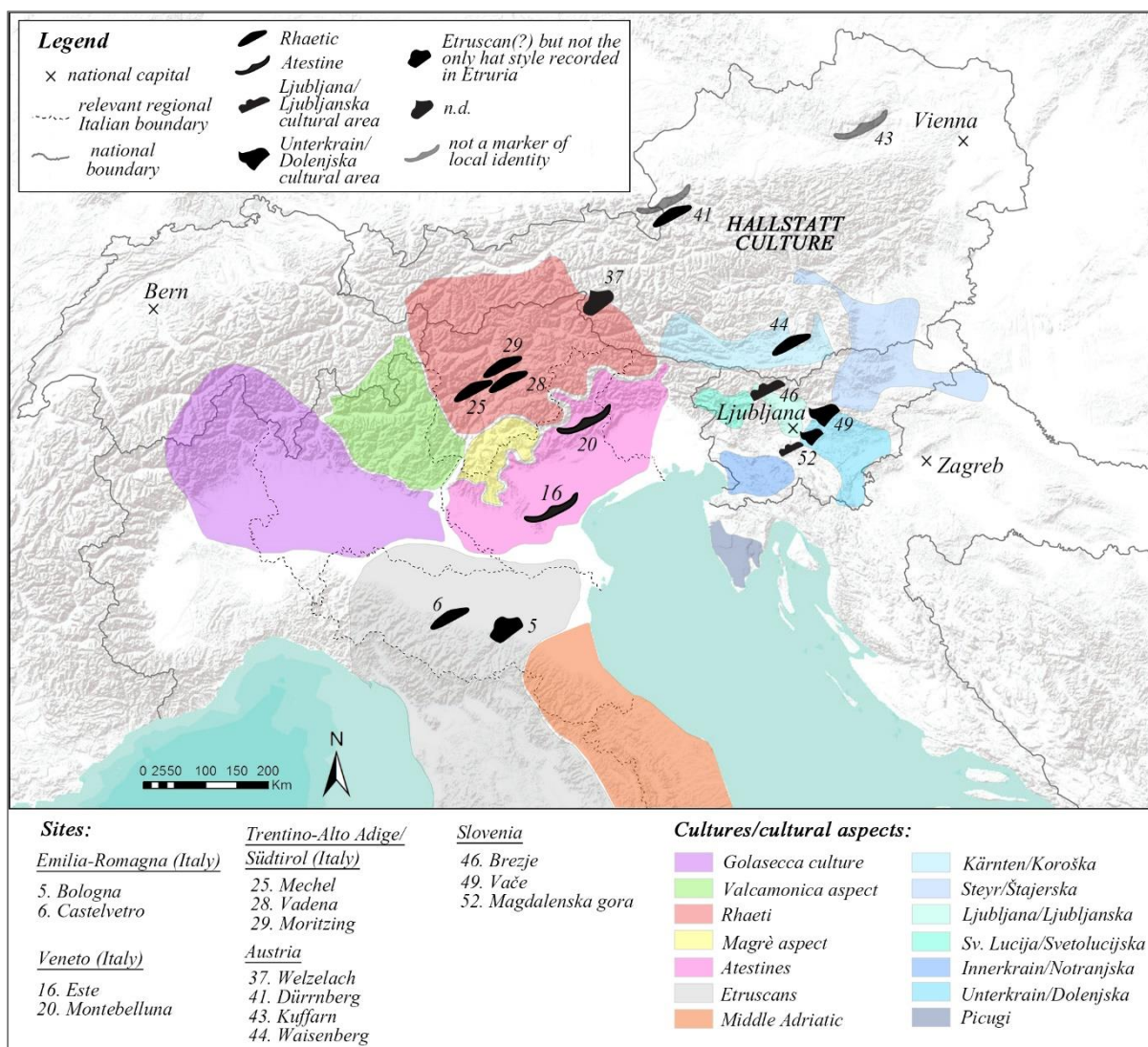


Fig. 98 – Hats and cultural districts: an attempt to link Situla Art and ethnicity (cultural districts after Pallottino, 1991: figs 1-2 and 6; Gabrovec, 1999: fig. 1; Marzatico, 2012a: fig. 1; Rondini, 2017: fig. 6; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 1). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

In Fig. 99 the hat distribution takes into account only those men seated on a second row throne at a feast, those that I assume are the guests.

The pattern plotted suggests that Atestine elite men, characterised by a broad-brimmed hat, were involved in socio-political, maybe economic, relationships outside the Atestine area. Their presence as guests, is documented at the Etruscan Bologna, Emilia Romagna – Italy (Providence situla, see Fig. 80), and in the Rhaetic area at Mechel, Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol – Italy (see Fig. 78b), and Welzelach, Austria (see Fig. 79). To date, there is no similar evidence in the Illyrian area, towards east.

However, encounters between Illyrians and Atestines may be attested by earrings. The distribution of earrings defines two districts (Fig. 100): elongated earrings are mainly found in the Illyrian area, but they are also recorded in the Veneto (Italy) at Pieve d'Alpago (see Figs 93, 97); rounded earrings are mainly distributed in Italy, with the exception of Brezje, Slovenia (see Fig. 81a).

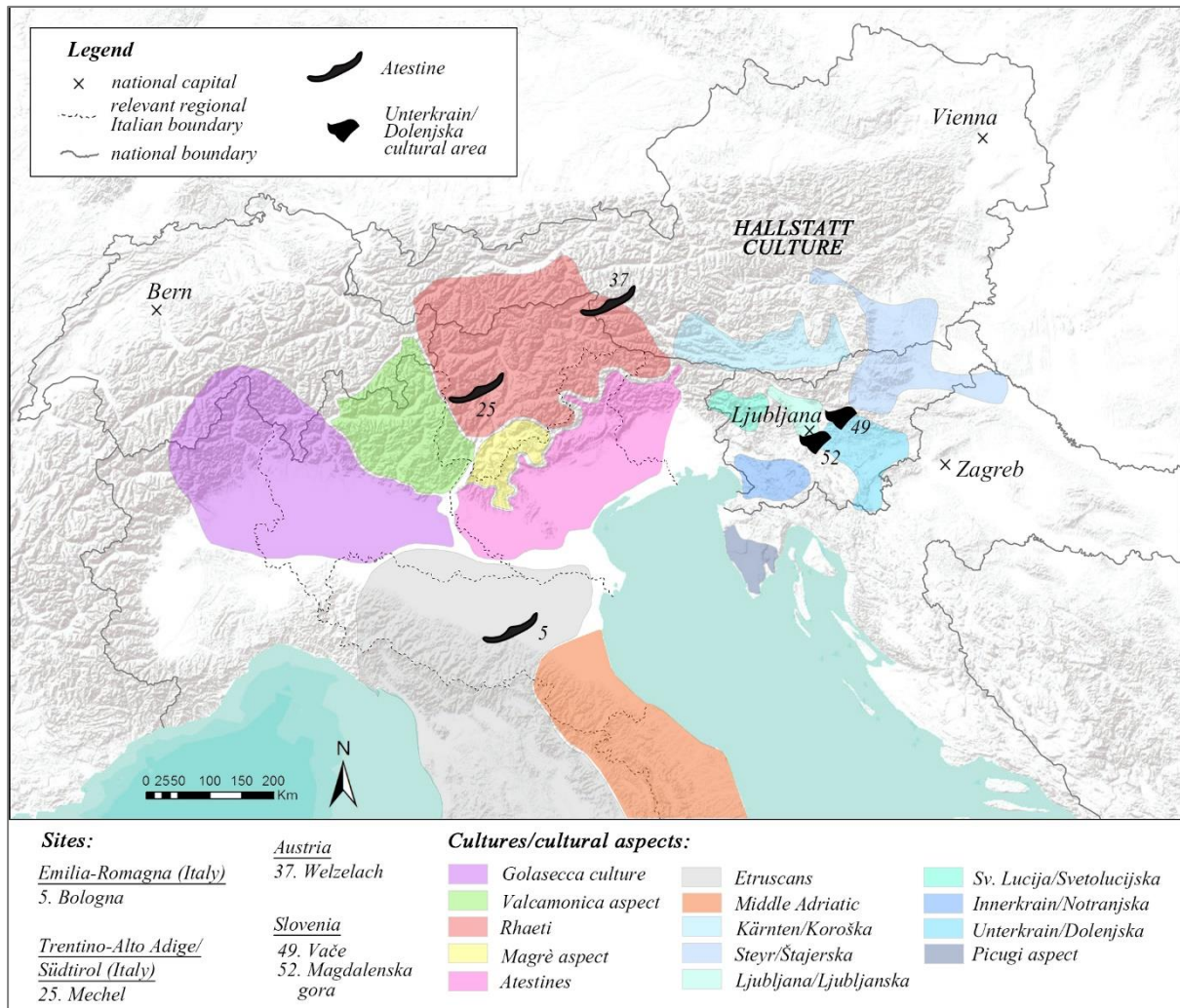


Fig. 99 – Guests' hats in feasting scenes, superimposed upon cultural districts (cultural districts after Pallottino, 1991: figs 1-2 and 6; Gabrovec, 1999: fig. 1; Marzatico, 2012a: fig. 1; Rondini, 2017: fig. 6; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 1). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Given these exceptions, it is possible to suggest the movement of women from northern Italy across the Alps and Karst and *vice versa*. This promoted interaction and bonding between families with different cultural backgrounds but who shared, I believe, socio-political and economic interests.

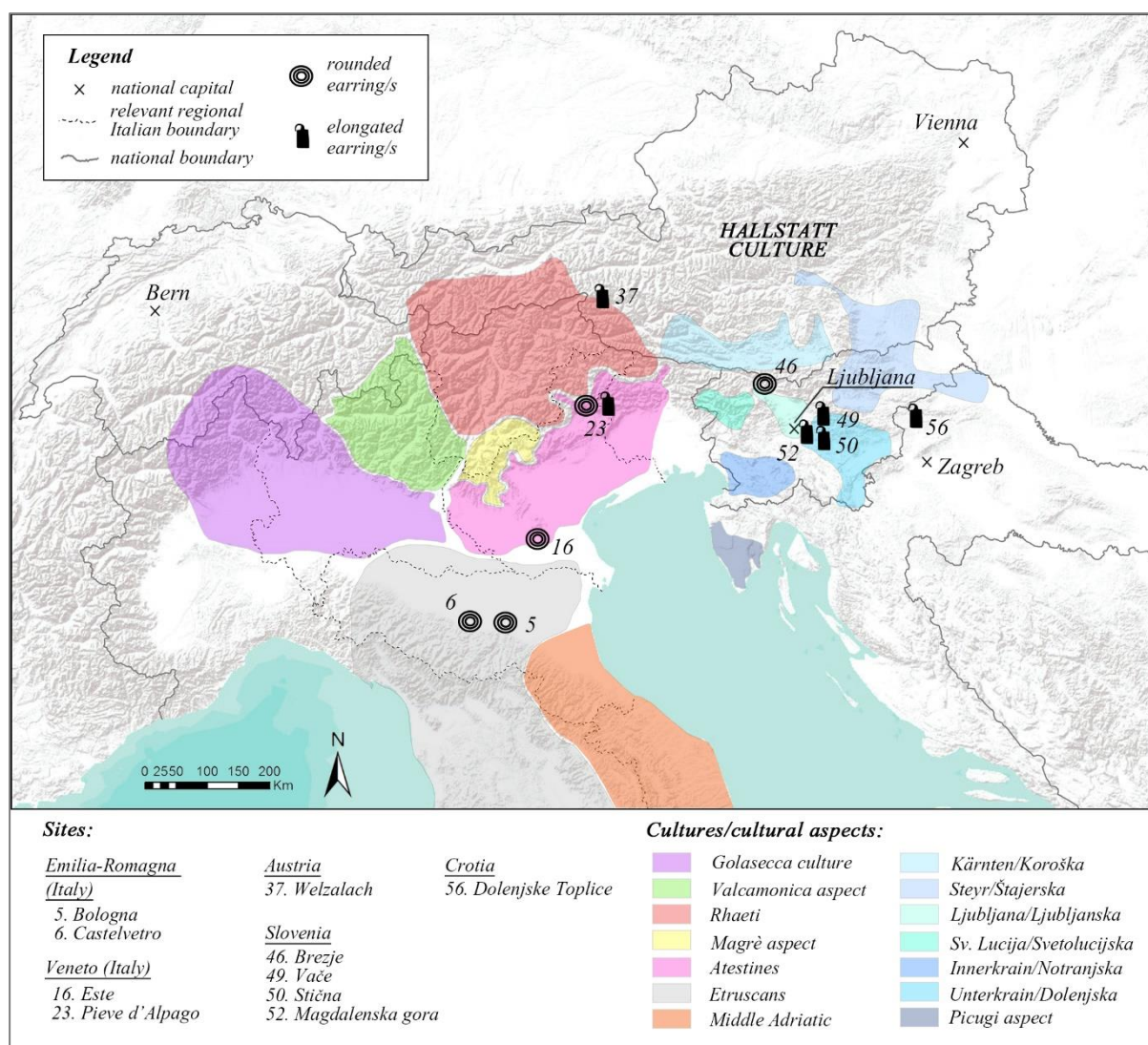


Fig. 100 – Earring type plotted on archaeological cultural districts (cultural districts after Pallottino, 1991: figs 1-2 and 6; Gabrovec, 1999: fig. 1; Marzatico, 2012a: fig. 1; Rondini, 2017: fig. 6; Zaghetto, 2017: fig. 1). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

8.2. Veneto Iron Age pottery as an identity marker?

In this section, I shall discuss Veneto Iron Age pottery evidence, focusing on the so-called red-and-black painted ware, which is generally regarded by scholars as an Atestine ethnic marker (Fogolari and Frey, 1965; Frey, 1969; Fogolari, 1975; Peroni et al., 1975; see Section 2.3.2.). The evidence and discussion in this section are taken from a very recent paper which I wrote (70%) with Dr Federico Biondani (Saccoccio and Biondani 2019): ‘*Lo stile decorativo Garolda-Coazze nella ceramica zonata atestina: i siti veronesi dell’età del Ferro di Gazzo Veronese-Coazze e Isola della Scala-Palazzina*’.

Ethnic valency is mainly ascribed to this pottery because of its distribution, which shows a significant concentration between the Mincio and the Tagliamento valleys, the area I have defined as the Atestine district in Chapter 6. However, a small amount of evidence is also found in other northern Italy regions – Emilia-Romagna (see Malnati, 1984; Buoite *et al.*, 2017), eastern Piedmont (Mangani and Voltolini, 2016), plus Austria (e.g. Lippert and Stadler, 2009), Slovenia (Marchesetti, 1893; Teržan *et al.*, 1984, 1985; Tecco Hvala *et al.*, 2004) and Istria (Mihovilić, 2001).

Red-and black painted ware is found in the Veneto between c. 625 BC and 250 BC (Peroni, 1975a; Bondini, 2008); generally the decoration consists of alternate red and black painted bands, but sometimes there are geometric patterns. It is possible that this decoration derived from the combination of two influences: the Situla Art frieze scheme, most probably originating in Etruria following Orientalising fashion (see Section 2.3.1.), and the red-and-black painted pottery found in central Europe from at least Ha C2 phase, c. 725-650 BC (see Lippert and Stadler, 2009: 40; see Section 2.3.2.).

I believe that scholars have not paid enough attention to the decorative details of the red-and-black painted ware, which might highlight regional differences within the Atestine world. This hypothesis is based on the research I have carried out for my MA dissertation (Saccoccio, 2014-15). With the permission of the then *Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Veneto* (now called *Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti E Paesaggio di Verona, Rovigo e Vicenza*), I was able to analyse the 7475 pottery sherds from the excavations undertaken in 1981 at the Iron Age Atestine settlement of Gazzo Veronese-Coazze (VR) (Salzani, 1987b: 32).

Out of this selection, I recognised 548 sherds red-and-black painted which could be attributed to a minimum number of 122 vases on the basis of sherd type, shape and typological classification. Nineteen had a quite distinctive division between the painted bands, not cordons, incisions or chromatism alone as generally recorded in the Iron Age Veneto (Fig. 101a, b), but small rectangular-like excisions in rows filled with white paste (Fig. 101c). This may have been done to create a better contrast between the red and the black painted areas. Since the excisions removed part of the surface of the pot along with the paint, I also believe they were executed before the pot was fired (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019: 67). This is the only way, I believe, to produce perfectly rectangular-shaped excisions; excision post firing leads to less defined shapes and requires greater work.



Fig. 101 – Samples of Atestine red-and-black decorative styles: a) cordons dividing horizontal chromatic panels, sporadic from Prosdocimi's 1882 excavation at Este (PD) (Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 51, a); b) incisions framing the red-and-black decoration, Este-Casa Alfonsi (PD) grave 15 (Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 51, d); c) rectangular excisions (Garolda-Coazze style), pottery sherd from Gazzo Veronese-Coazze 1981 excavation (VR) (drawing after Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019: fig. 4, n. 14; photo by F. Saccoccio).

During my MA dissertation work on the Gazzo Veronese-Coazze Atestine material (Saccoccio, 2014-15), I recognised the presence of a similar style at Castellazzo della Garolda (MN) (Tamassia, 1979: plate 82a; de Marinis, 1999: fig. 23) and Isola della Scala-Palazzina (VR); the latter unpublished at that time and displayed in the local archaeological museum of Isola della Scala. The results were then published by Gonzato and colleagues (2015: 510), who labelled this the Garolda-Coazze style, from the names of two of the sites. Moreover, Gonzato and colleagues (2015: 510; see also Saccoccio, 2016: 255) suggested that this style may have attested a western Veneto workshop tradition, which might have been linked to the polity centred on Gazzo Veronese-Coazze. From at least the 6th to the 4th cent. BC, the settlement of Gazzo Veronese-Coazze, in fact, seems to cover an area of c. 85ha which makes it the largest Atestine site of the western Veneto, along with Oppeano (VR) which covers 80-90ha (Guidi and Saracino, 2008: tab. 1; Candelato *et al.*, 2008). As suggested by Gonzato and colleagues (2015: 510), these two sites might have been the central places of wider polities, which I attempted to reconstruct in 2016 employing an X-tent analysis (Saccoccio, 2016: fig. 4; Fig. 102).

The map in Fig. 102 shows a socio-political reconstruction of western Veneto between 6th-4th cent. BC, at least as regards the boundary between Gazzo Veronese and Oppeano. At a recent conference,⁹ de Marinis questioned the accuracy of my reconstruction regarding the boundary between Mantua and Gazzo Veronese; de Marinis believes that Mantua was only founded during the 4th cent. BC and questions the 5th cent. BC dating of the ritual evidence from Mantua (MN) published by Menotti and Maras (2012), which is at the base of my reconstruction.

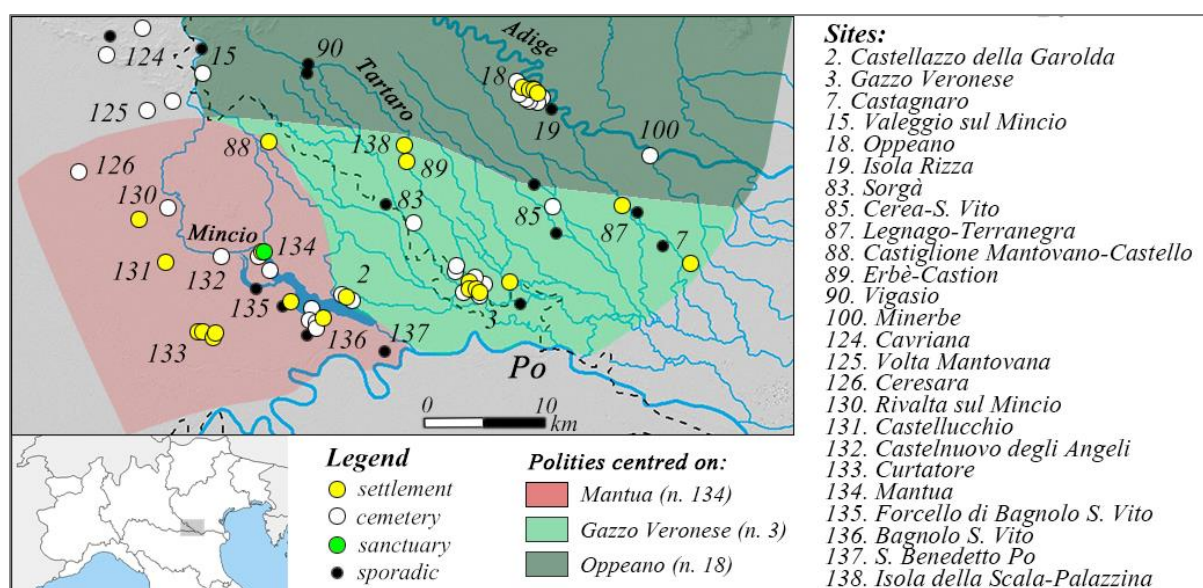


Fig. 102 – The territories of 6th-4th cent. BC Mantua (MN), Gazzo Veronese-Coazze (VR) and Oppeano (VR) according to the X-Tent analysis for the area between the rivers Mincio and Adige (after Saccoccio, 2016: fig. 4). Site number according to Fig. 52 and Tab. 13 in Chapter 6.

Our (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019) re-evaluation of the available literature and analysis of unpublished material from the sites of Gazzo Veronese-Coazze and Isola della Scala-Palazzina, allowed us to reconsider the hypotheses of Gonzato and colleagues (2015: 510) and Saccoccio (2016: 255) who saw the distribution of the Coazze-Garolda style at the sites of Castellazzo della Garolda (Fig. 102, site 2), Gazzo Veronese-Coazze (Fig. 102, site 3) and Isola della Scala-Palazzina (Fig. 102, site 138) as reflecting an artisanal tradition but also a possible socio-political marker of the polity centred on Gazzo Veronese which included the three sites (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019). We took into account a total of 23 sites (Fig. 103), picked because they have evidence of distinctive styles separating the red-and-black painted bands; our data is summarised in Tab. 16.

⁹ “Crossing the Alps. Early urbanism between northern Italy and central Europe (900 – 400 BC)” organised by L. Zamboni, M. Fernández-Götz and C. Metzner-Nebelsick at Milan, 29-30 March 2019.

We (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019) found Garolda-Coazze style pottery not only in the three sites of Gazzo Veronese-Coazze, Isola della Scala-Palazzina and Castellazzo della Garolda but also at Castiglione Mantovano (MN) (Menotti, 2015: fig. 5, n. 5), Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro (VR) (Ferrari and Salzani, 2018a, b), Montagnana-via Alberi Luppia 129 (PD) (Ruta Serafini and Paiola, 1995), Bologna (BO) (Buoite et al. 2017: fig. 8) and Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić, 2001: plate 35, n. 5) (Fig. 104). Moreover, we (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019) found a possible variant of the Garolda-Goazze style at Este and Padua, characterised by excisions that do not separate the chromatic bands in red-and-black painted ware.

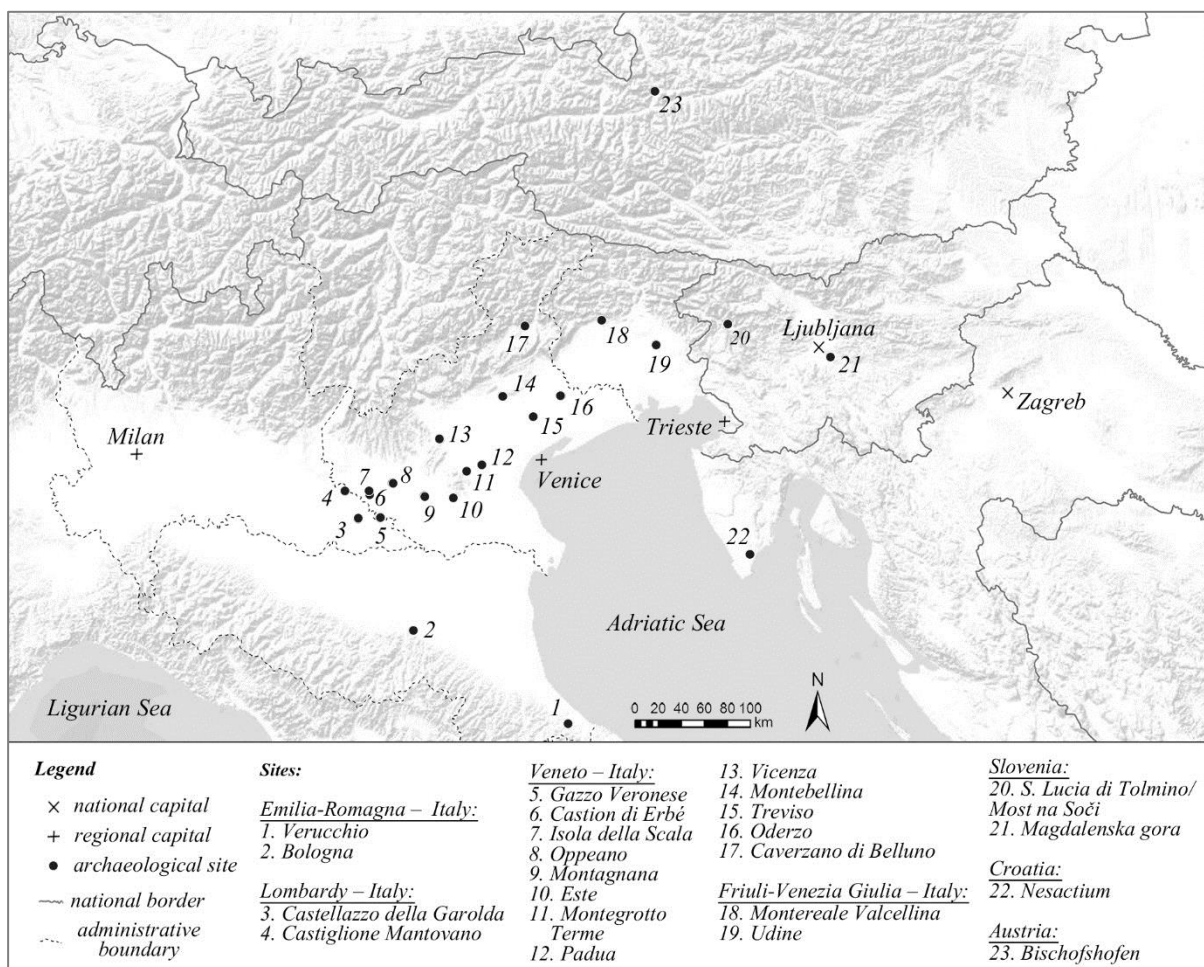


Fig. 103 – Sites analysed by Saccoccio and Biondani (2019: fig. 1) for Iron Age red-and-black painted ware styles. DTM data from ESRI, USGS, NOAA.

The finding of the Garolda-Coazze style decoration at Bologna (see Fig. 104, n. 2) is very significant as it highlights the existence of contacts between the Gazzo Veronese polity and this important Etruscan centre between the 6th and 4th cent. BC. A grave at Bologna-ex Manifattura Tabacchi has a red-and-black single-handled mug, possibly of a local form but decorated with red-and-black painted bands delimited by excisions (Buoite et al., 2017: fig. 8).

Site	Province	Context	Red-and-black pottery decorative styles						References
			Garolda-Coazze	Garolda-Coazze variant	borchiette bronzee	bugnette applicate	falsa cordicella	piccole cuppelle	
Bologna-ex Manifattura Tabacchi	BO	n	1						Buote <i>et al.</i> , 2017: fig. 8a to the left
Castellazzo della Garolda	MN	a	3						Tamassia, 1979: plate 82a de Marinis, 1999: fig. 23, nS 2-3
Castiglione Mantovano-Castello	MN	a	1						Menotti, 2015: fig. 5, n. 5
Gazzo Veronese-Coazze	VR	a	17	2			1	1	Saccoccio and Biondani, 2020: figs 2-4 Salzani, 1976: fig. 28, n. 4
Gazzo Veronese-Sapienza survey 2014-2017 (Coazze, La Teza, Cascina Giordano)	VR	a	12						Vanzetti and Saccoccio, 2015 Saccoccio and Vanzetti, 2016 Saccoccio <i>et al.</i> , 2017 Saccoccio <i>et al.</i> , 2018
Gazzo Veronese-Colombara	VR	n	7						Buccarelli, 2010: fig. 2, n. 20/1 Malnati, 2006: fig. 8, ns. 3 e 7 four sherds unpublished
Gazzo Veronese-Turbine Chievo	VR	n	1						unpublished
Isola della Scala-Palazzina	VR	a	11						Saccoccio and Biondani, 2020: fig. 5
Erbe-Castion	VR	a			1			1	Rossi, 2007-8: plate 4, n. 63; plate VI, C/Z84
Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro	VR	n	4	1	1	1(v)		1	Ferrari and Salzani, 2018a: plate 3B, n. 5; plate 7, n. 1; plate 8c, n. 1; plate 12A, n. 1; plate 17, n. 6 Ferrari and Salzani, 2018b: plate 27, n. 10; plate 28, n. 9; plate 30A, n. 1; plate 34A, n. 5
Oppeano-Montara	VR	a		1					Rosi, 2008: fig. 31, scodella IB
Montagnana-via Luppia Alberi 129	PD	n	1						Ruta Serafini, Paola 1995, fig. 3A, n. 2
Este-Villa Benvenuti	PD	n		1		5	5	10	Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 38B, n. 1; plate 56A, n. 46; plate 79, n. 1; plate 82, ns 33-34; plate 92, n. 2; plate 94, ns 46-47; plate 96, n. 21; plate 99, ns 5-6; plate 110A, n. 22; plate 116, n. 1; plate 118, ns 26-29; plate 129, n. 45; plate 163, ns 7-8
Este-Casa di Ricovero	PD	n			1	2	1	24	Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 103, n. 1; plate 116, n. 4; plate 120, n. 28; plate 150, n. 4; plate 181, a; plate 284, n. 41; plate 288, ns 85-86 Panella, 1998: fig. 100, ns 12-13; fig. 101, n. 28; fig. 103, ns 40-41, 43-47; fig. 104, ns 52, 54 Frey, 1969: plate 24, n. 4 e plate 25, ns 14-15 Bondini, 2008: plate 79, n. 1-2, plate 81, n. 12; plate 82, n. 20
Este-Pelà	PD	n			1	1	1		Frey, 1969: plate 30, ns 2, 15 and 26
Este-Castello Comunale	PD	n			1				Bondini, 2008: 205

Site	Province	Context	Red-and-black pottery decorative styles						References
			Garolda-Coazze	Garolda-Coazze variant	borchiette bronze	bugnette applicate	falsa cordicella	piccole cuppelle	
Este(?) -Collezione Obizzi	PD	n?			1				Woldrich, 1978: plate 7, n. 2
Este-Casa Muletti Prodocimi	PD	n				1		1	Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis 1985: plate 248, n. 3; plate 249, n. 1
Este-Capodaglio	PD	n						3	Bondini, 2008: plate 184, ns 7-8 Frey, 1969: plate 31, n. 26
Este-Boldù Dollin	PD	n						1	Bondini, 2008: plate 228, n. 10
Este-via S. Stefano	PD	n						1	Bianchin Citton, 1988: fig. 86
Este-Meggiaro	PD	s					1		Gregnanin, 2002: fig. 74, n. 176
Este-Baratella	PD	s			10				Meffert, 2009: plate 55, ns 932-935; tavv. 220-221, ns 3150-3155
Padua	PD	n?		1					Leonardi, 1988: fig. 92
Padua-palazzo Zabarella	PD	a		1					Pirazzini, 2005: fig. 122, n. 1
Padua-via dei Tadi 10-12	PD	n		1					Gambacurta and Tomaello, 2006-7: figs 26-26a
Padua-via P. Paoli 4-8	PD	n				1			Michellini, 2005: fig. 172, n. 2
Padua-via Tiepolo	PD	n					1		Ruta Serafini, 1990: fig. 12, n. 7
Vicenza-S. Corona	VI	a				1			Fogolari <i>et al.</i> , 1987: fig. 101, n. 7
Montebelluna-Posmon	TV	n				1			Manessi and Nascimbene, 2003: plate 43, n. 1
Oderzo-via Savonarola	TV	a					1		Bagolan <i>et al.</i> , 1996: fig. 11, n. 77
Treviso-Piazza dei Signori	TV	a					1		Gambacurta, 2007: fig. 13, n. 54
Caverzano di Belluno-Masiera	BL	n				1			Nascimbene, 1999: fig. 24, n. 11
Udine-S. Francesco	UD	a					1		Vitri, 2017: plate 2, n. 16
S. Lucia di Tolmino/Most na Soči	Tolmin	n					2	1	Marchesetti, 1893: plate 4, n. 2 Teržan <i>et al.</i> , 1984: plate 131, 1435, H, n. 3
Magdalenska gora	Ljubljana	n			1				Tecco Hvala <i>et al.</i> , 2004: plate 3B
Nesactium-Zone 4	Pula	n	1					1	Mihovilić, 2001: plate 7, n. 1; plate 35, n. 5

Tab. 16 – Summary of the evidence discussed in this section. Legend: C= cemetery, S= settlement, Sa= sacred area; v= variant (after Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019: tab. 1).

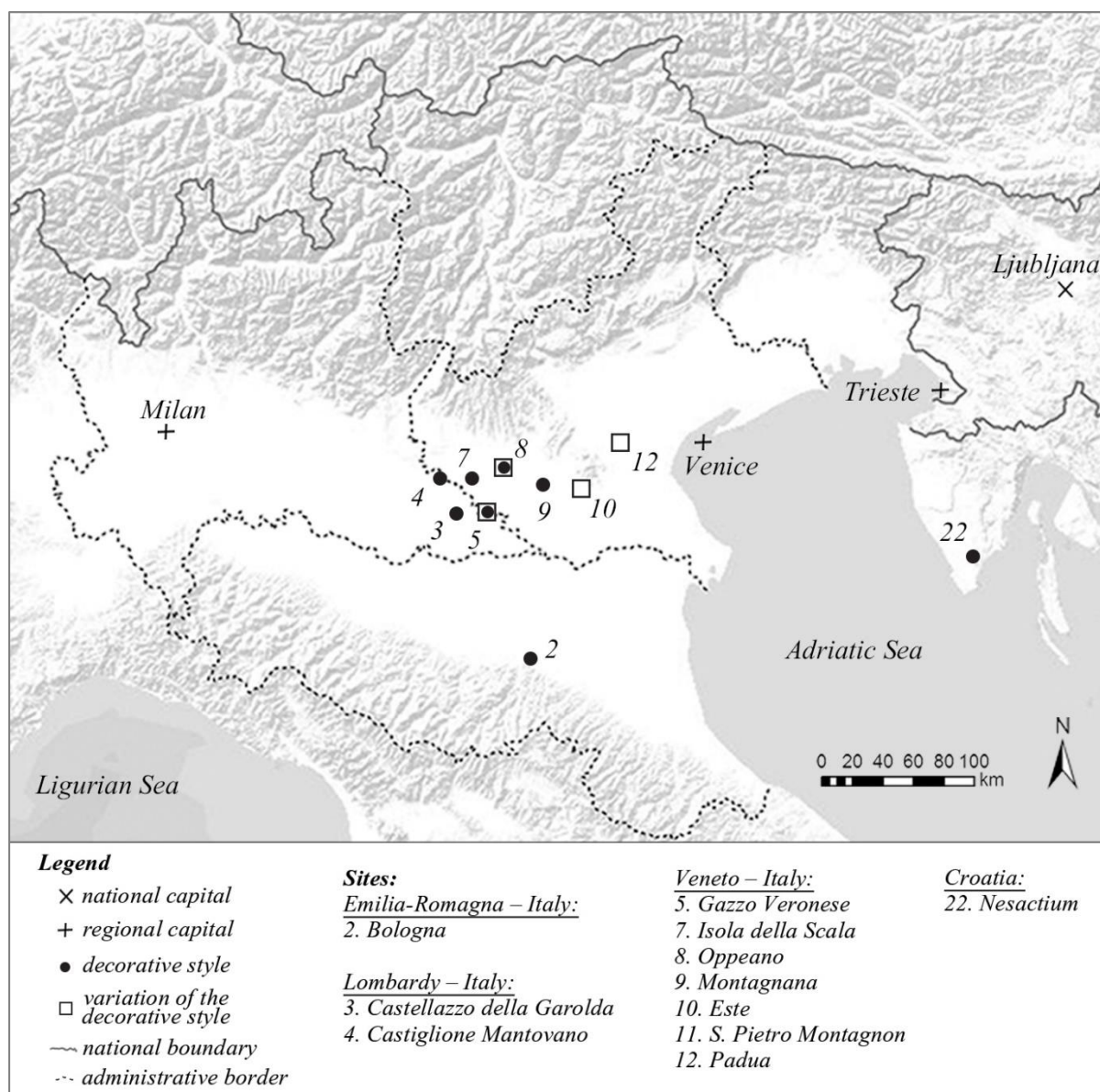


Fig. 104 – Distribution map of the Garolda-Coazze style and its variant (after Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019: fig. 7a). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

Interaction between Bologna and Gazzo is attested by grave goods from at least the 9th cent. BC. In grave 61 at Gazzo Veronese-Ponte Nuovo, a biconic pottery urn was associated with a *serpeggiante* fibula and a razor (see Fig. 50e in Chapter 6). Salzani (2005: 47) suggested that the latter had very close parallels in the Villanovan area of Vetulonia (GR) but I believe that there are better parallels in the area of Capua (CE) (Bianco Peroni, 1979, n. 102; see also Lo Schiavo, 2010: 635-636 and ns 5477, 5480) where a similar, albeit undecorated, razor is associated with a *serpeggiante* fibula.

There is a situla pottery vessel with Garolda-Coazze style excisions at Nesactium (see Fig. 104, n. 22). There is also a possible variant of the Coazze-Garolda style at Este and Padua (see Fig. 104, ns 10, 12): one pottery sherd at Este and three at Padua. However, this style is totally absent from the *ex voto* offerings at the sanctuary of *Reitia* at Este (see Meffert, 2009), regarded as the most important of the five sacred areas found at this site (Maggiani, 2002: 78), or at the Padua sanctuary of Montegrotto Terme (Dämmer, 1986).

One sherd documents the Garolda-Coazze style at Montagnana (Ruta Serafini and Paiola, 1995: fig. 3A, n. 2; see Fig. 104, n. 9), while four pottery sherds characterised by the Coazze-Garolda style and two sherds characterised by the variant of the Garolda-Coazze style were found at Oppeano (see Fig. 104, n. 8) (Rosi, 2008: fig. 31, *scodella* 1B; Ferrari and Salzani, 2018a: plate 8C, n. 1, plate 12A, n. 1; Ferrari and Salzani, 2018b: plate 28, n. 9, plate 30A, n.1, plate 34A, n. 5). The evidence found at Oppeano is problematic. As noted above, the settlement of Oppeano was, between the 6th-4th cent. BC, the other major Atestine site in western Veneto alongside Gazzo Veronese-Coazze and this seems to contradict the suggestions by Gonzato and colleagues (2015: 510) and Saccoccio (2016: 255) that the Coazze-Garolda style was an artisanal tradition but also a possible socio-political marker of the polity centred on Gazzo Veronese.

Garolda-Coazze style pottery makes up 3% of the red-and-black assemblage in the cemetery of Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro (Fig. 105c) but it is as much as 16% at Gazzo Veronese-Coazze (Fig. 105a). At the Isola della Scala-Palazzina settlement the incidence of Garolda-Coazze style pottery is even higher, c. 31% of the red-and-black ware assemblage (Fig. 105b), but this number was probably been biased by the excavator's policy of selecting only the significant material for keeping after the excavation (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019: 201). Moreover, at Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro the Garolda-Coazze style is found on no more than one vessel per grave, while at the cemetery of Gazzo Veronese-Colombara it may be present on three or more vessels per grave (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019: 205). At Este-Villa Benvenuti cemetery, the incidence of the style drops to 0.5% (Fig. 105d).

The pottery decorated in the Garolda-Coazze style from Gazzo Veronese-Coazze seems older than that recorded at Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro. At Gazzo Veronese it might date at least to the early Atestine period IIIB2, c. 625 BC, whereas at Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro the oldest evidence might date to the middle of Atestine period IIIB2, c. 600 BC (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019: 205).

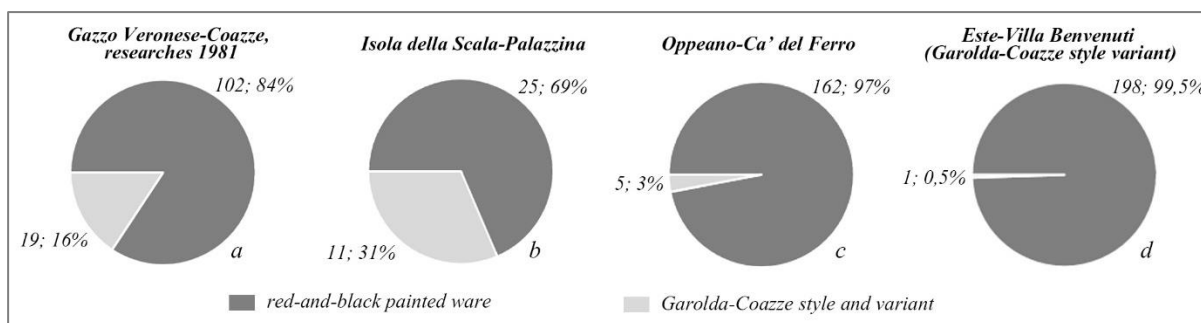


Fig. 105 – Estimate of the number and percentage of Garolda-Coazze style sherds compared to published red-and-black sherds (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019: fig. 9).

We (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019) interpreted the low incidence and later date of the Garolda-Coazze style pottery at Montagnana and Oppeano compared to that at Gazzo Veronese and Isola della Scala as evidence of interaction with the polity centred on Gazzo Veronese as I defined it in 2016 (Saccoccio, 2016: fig. 4; see Fig. 102), which has the most evidence for this style: at least 37 sherds at Gazzo Veronese, 11 at Isola della Scala-Palazzina, three at Castellazzo della Garolda and one at Castiglione Mantovano (Fig. 106; see also Tab. 16). Therefore, this pattern suggests that the Garolda-Coazze style might have been a territorial identity marker for the polity centred on Gazzo Veronese.

Following this hypothesis, it is worth analysing in identity terms the grave goods in the early 6th cent. BC Gazzo Veronese-Colombara grave 2, excavated in 1980 (Malnati, 2006: 285) which was given little attention by Saccoccio and Biondani (2019). It contains at least seven vessels, two of them constituting the urn with lid containing the ashes of the dead (Fig. 107, ns 1-2), two others decorated in the Garolda-Coazze style (Fig. 107, ns 3-4) and three undecorated vessels (Fig. 107, ns 5-7); there is also a bronze double axe (Fig. 107, n. 8). Malnati (2003: 65) points out that the double-axe is typical of Etruscan magistrates and is absent elsewhere in the Atestine area (see also Section 2.3.4.). In Chapter 6 I pointed out that this grave was found near to four (but possibly five, see Section 2.3.4.) limestone statues which were linked to the Etruscan world as regards their raw material, iconography and, possibly, script (Gamba and Gambacurta, 2011; Marinetti, 2011; see Fig. 19, ns. 1-5 in Section 2.3.4.) and that both the statues and grave goods in Gazzo Veronese-Colombara grave 2/1980 might be read in two different ways. On the one hand, they might be seen as reflecting the adoption of Etruscan fashion by high-status Atestine individuals at Gazzo Veronese (Saccoccio, 2016: 251) while, on the other hand, they might show Etruscan dominance at the site of Gazzo Veronese which, however, maintained a typically Atestine material culture (Saccoccio, 2016: 251-252).

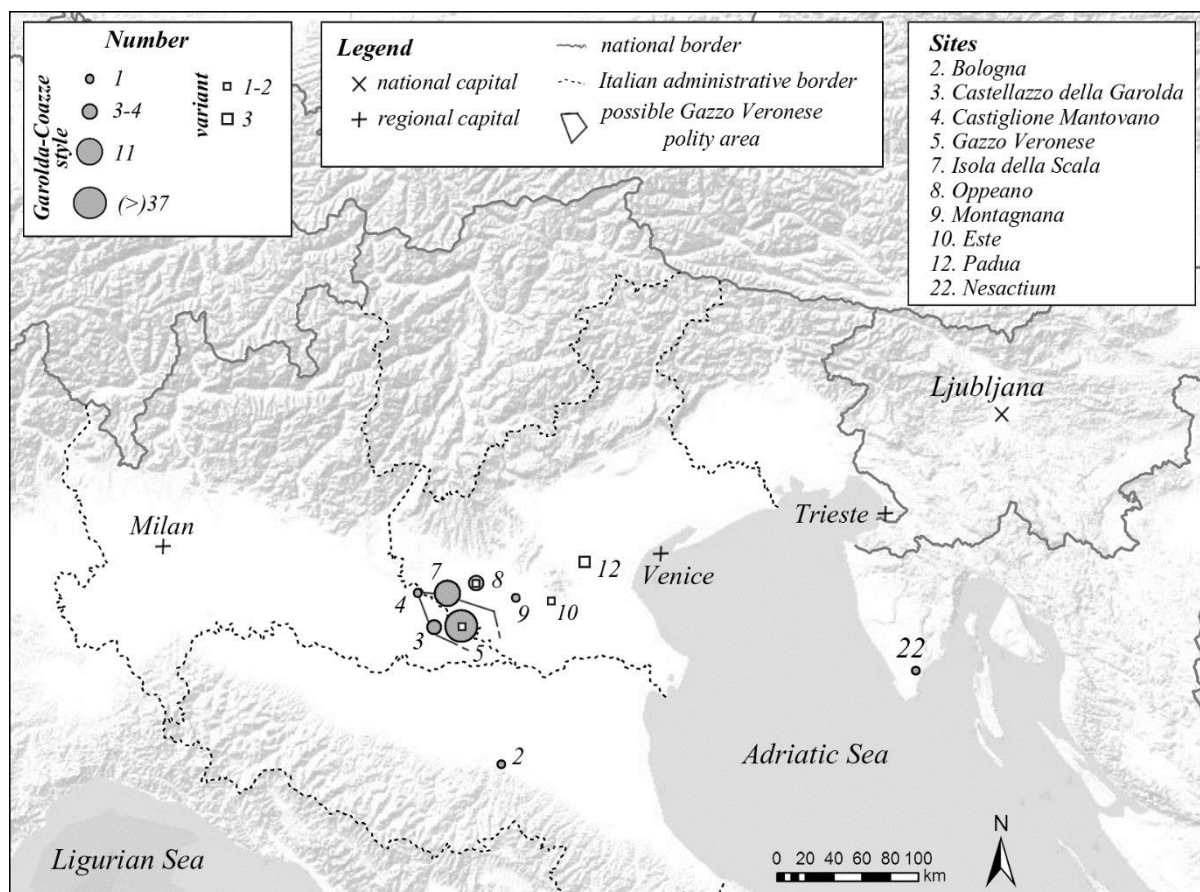


Fig. 106 – Number of the Garolda-Coazze style sherds and its variant per site (after Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019: fig. 8). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

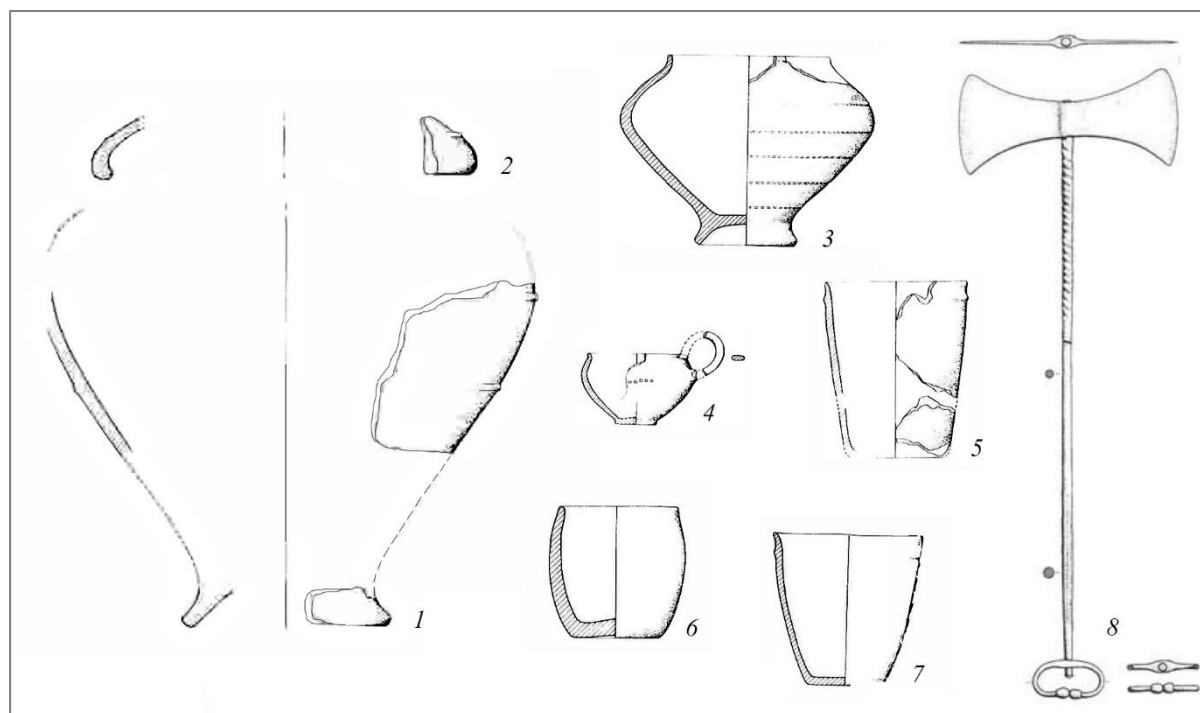


Fig. 107 – Grave goods from Gazzo Veronese-Colombara (VR) grave 2/1980, scale 1:5 (after Malnati, 2006: figs 6-8).

If the Garolda-Coazze style has an identity valency for the polity linked to the central place of Gazzo Veronese, the two vessels decorated with this style in the Gazzo Veronese-Colombara grave 2/1980 (Fig. 107, ns 3-4) should be seen as belonging to a local Atestine. However, the presence in the same grave of the bronze double axe, which Malnati (2003: 65) argues only pertains to Etruscan magistrates, and the presence, close by, of four (but possibly five, see Section 2.3.4.) statues also linked to the Etruscan world is odd (Gamba and Gambacurta, 2011: 167-183). I believe that this pattern might be more easily explained by the second hypothesis and documenting an Etruscan dominance or, at least, the presence of high-status Etruscans at Gazzo Veronese, which, however, maintained a typically Atestine material culture. In this case, I see the presence of the two vessels decorated in the Garolda-Coazze style as a way of integrating into the local community a foreign – Etruscan(?) – high-status individual who was, possibly, not alone as testified by the four (but possibly five, see Section 2.3.4.) statues one of which still preserving decoration showing Etruscan dress (Gamba and Gambacurta, 2011: 167-183). I believe that if an Etruscan domination affected Gazzo Veronese-Coazze, it lasted only one generation. This is because of the absence of similar evidence in the subsequent phase and because Etruscan material culture does not become dominant at the site. Furthermore, the axe was ritually broken into two pieces so that it could no longer be used (see Fig. 107, n. 8).

We (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019) also pointed out that there are at least five other styles with specific ways of separating the red-and-black painted bands on Iron Age Atestine pottery other than the widespread presence of incisions, cordons or simple chromatism: bronze studs (*borchiette di bronzo*; Fig. 108a), applied bulges (*bugnette applicate*; Fig. 108b), oblique impressions simulating impressed cord (*falsa cordicella*; Fig. 108c), circular impressions (*piccole cuppelle*; Fig. 108d) and tin sheets (*lamelle di stagno*; Fig. 108e); these are all organised in rows and are used for both simple and complex decorative patterns. The idea was to test if other traditions in the Iron Age Veneto had a similar territorial identity valency to the Garolda-Coazze style.

There is little evidence, possibly because the literature pays little attention to decorative styles characterising red-and-black painted ware. Fig. 109 plots all the sites where this evidence was found distinguished by style. There are only seven sherds of the so-called *borchiette di bronzo* style (Fig. 109a; see Tab. 16), so that it is difficult to identify a pattern. However, the *bugnette applicate* style seems to be characteristic of Este, where 19 finds are known, with a sherd in a possible variant of this style documented at Oppeano (Fig. 109b). It is also difficult to identify any identity pattern for the *falsa cordicella* and *piccole cuppelle* style distributions (Fig 109c-

d). The former is spread over the whole Atestine area; the latter is found in both the Veneto (Italy) and Croatia.

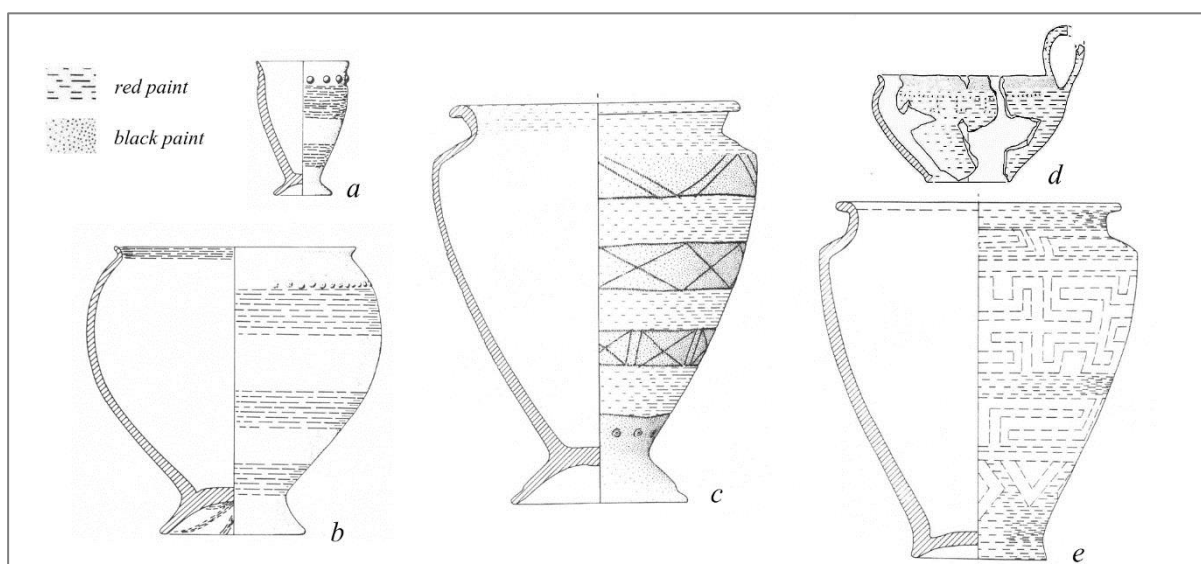
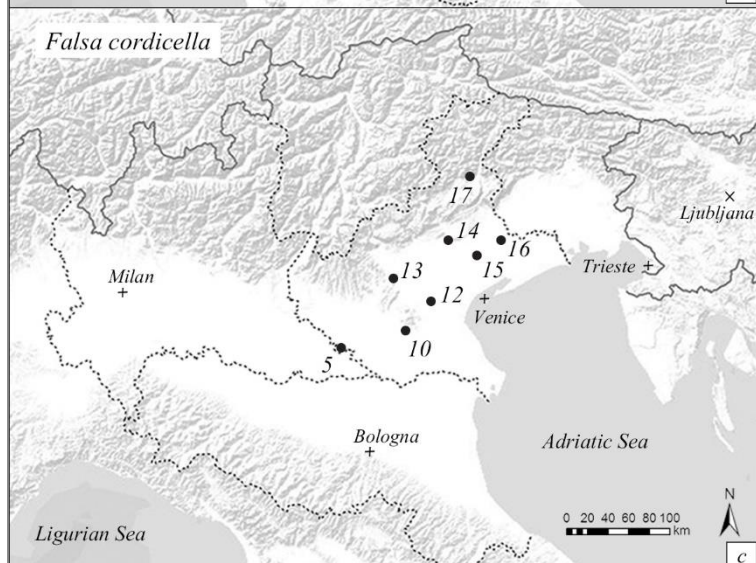
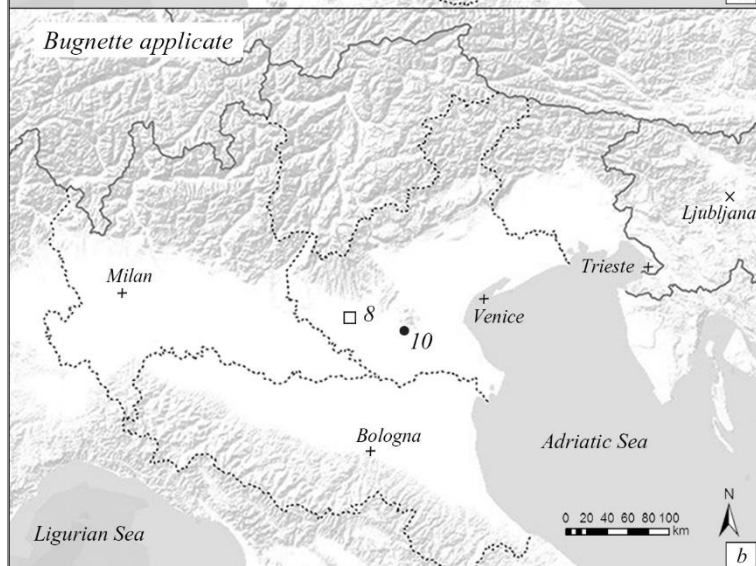
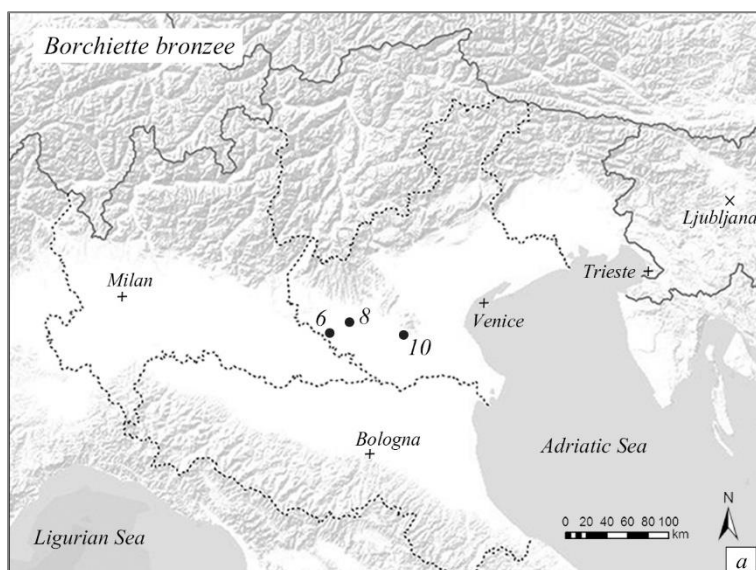


Fig. 108 – Other Atestine red-and-black decorative styles, scale 1:5: a) *borchiette di bronzo* style, Este-Ricovero (PD) grave 204 (Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 120, n. 28); b) *bugnette applicate* style, Este-Ricovero (PD) grave 192 (Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985: plate 103, n. 1); c) *falsa cordicella* style, Este-Benvenuti (PD) grave 124 (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 163, n. 7a); d) *piccole coppelle* style, Padua-via Tiepolo (PD) grave 1 (Ruta Serafini, 1990: fig. 12, n. 7); e) *lamelle di stagno*, Este-Villa Benvenuti (PD) grave 89 (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006: plate 73, n. 1).

On the other hand, the huge amount of evidence at Este for the so-called *lamelle di stagno* style (i.e. 40 occurrences; see Tab. 16) is promising for territorial identity (Fig. 109e). *Lamelle di stagno* are also documented at Padua, but associated with the so-called *stralucido* decoration (i.e. highly burnished surface) (see Cupitò, 2013). This pattern seems to suggest a possible identity valency for this style where red-and-black painted ware with the *lamelle di stagno* style is linked to Este, and the *stralucido* (heavily burnished surface) with the *lamelle di stagno* style to Padua. Capuis (1993: 165) already noted that *stralucido* pottery is characteristic of Padua.



Legend

- × national capital
- + Italian regional capital
- decorative style
- variation of the decorative style
- national boundary
- Italian administrative border

Sites

Emilia-Romagna – Italy:

1. Verucchio
2. Bologna

Lombardy – Italy:

3. Castellazzo della Garolda
4. Castiglione Mantovano

Veneto – Italy:

5. Gazzo Veronese
6. Castion di Erbé
7. Isola della Scala
8. Oppeano
9. Montagnana
10. Este
11. S. Pietro Montagnon
12. Padua
13. Vicenza
14. Montebellina
15. Treviso
16. Oderzo
17. Caverzano di Belluno

Friuli Venezia-Giulia – Italy:

18. Montereale Valcellina
19. Udine

Slovenia:

20. S. Lucia di Tolmino/Most na Soči
21. Magdalenska gora

Croazia:

22. Nesactium

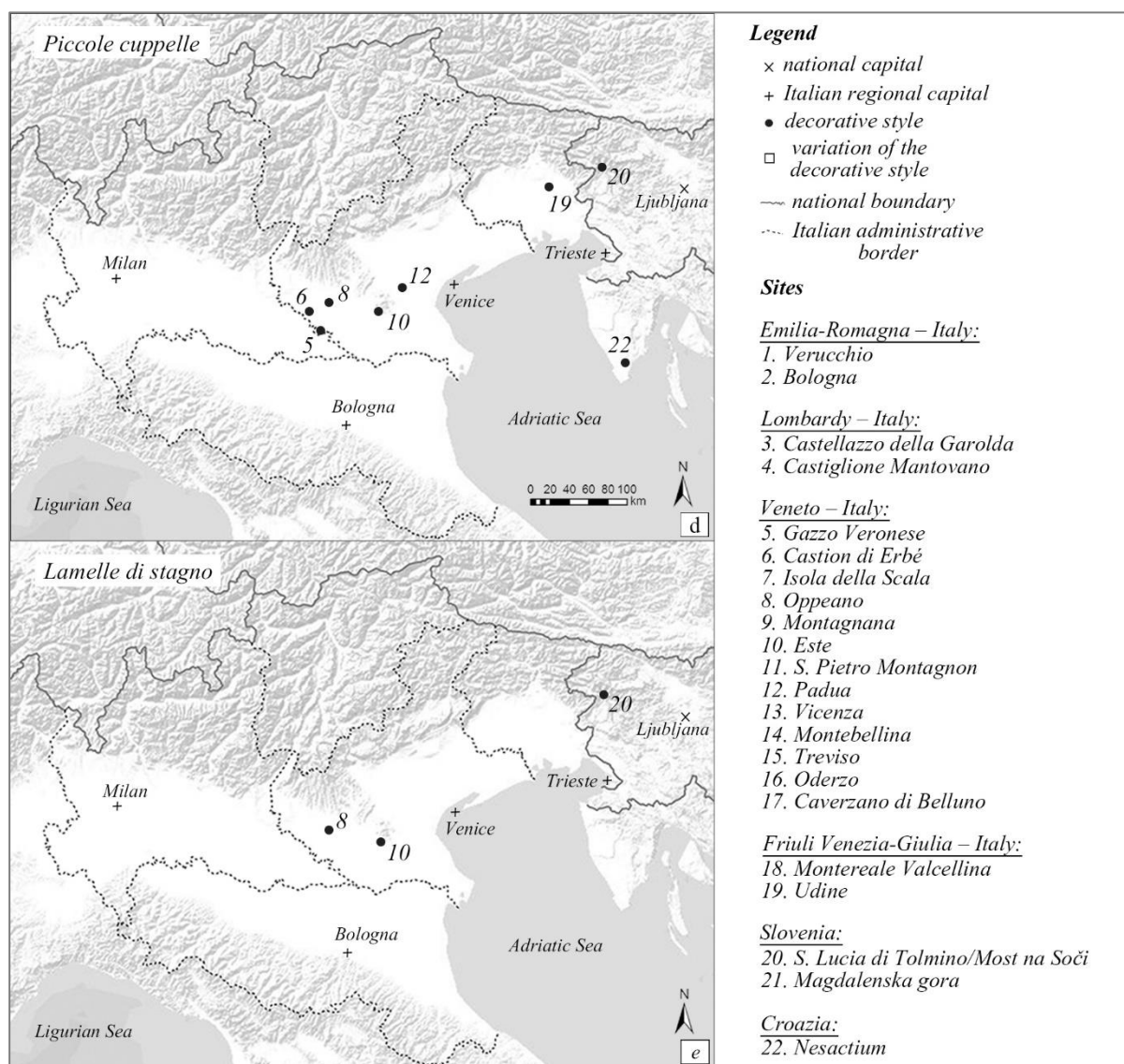


Fig. 109 – Distribution of the different styles of the red-and-black painted ware (after Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019: fig. 7b-e). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

8.3. Bronze votive plaques and local Atestine identity

Bronze votive plaques, documented in the Veneto between late 6th and 1st cent. BC (Chieco Bianchi and Capuis, 2010: 14) are generally believed in the literature to be “persistences and derivations” of Situla Art (Fogolari et al., 1961; see also Zaghetto, 2017). Capuis and Chieco Bianchi (2010: 18) suggested that votive plaques were a typical and unique Atestine phenomenon compared with votives in other parts of pre-Roman Italy, which are mostly ceramic-based. Like Situla Art, the earliest votive plaques have embossed or engraved

decoration, but are later stamped (see Chieco Bianchi and Capuis, 2010). They are generally decorated with human figures, but animal and geometric decorations are also known. Pascucci (1990: 70-88) also classified alphabetic tablets as votive plaques.

More than a thousand votive plaques are known just from Este-Baratella, the sanctuary of *Reitia* (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 14), but only a very limited number has been published to date (see Pascucci, 1990: 65). Votive plaques are found in at least 23 sites (Fig. 110), 22 of them Atestine.

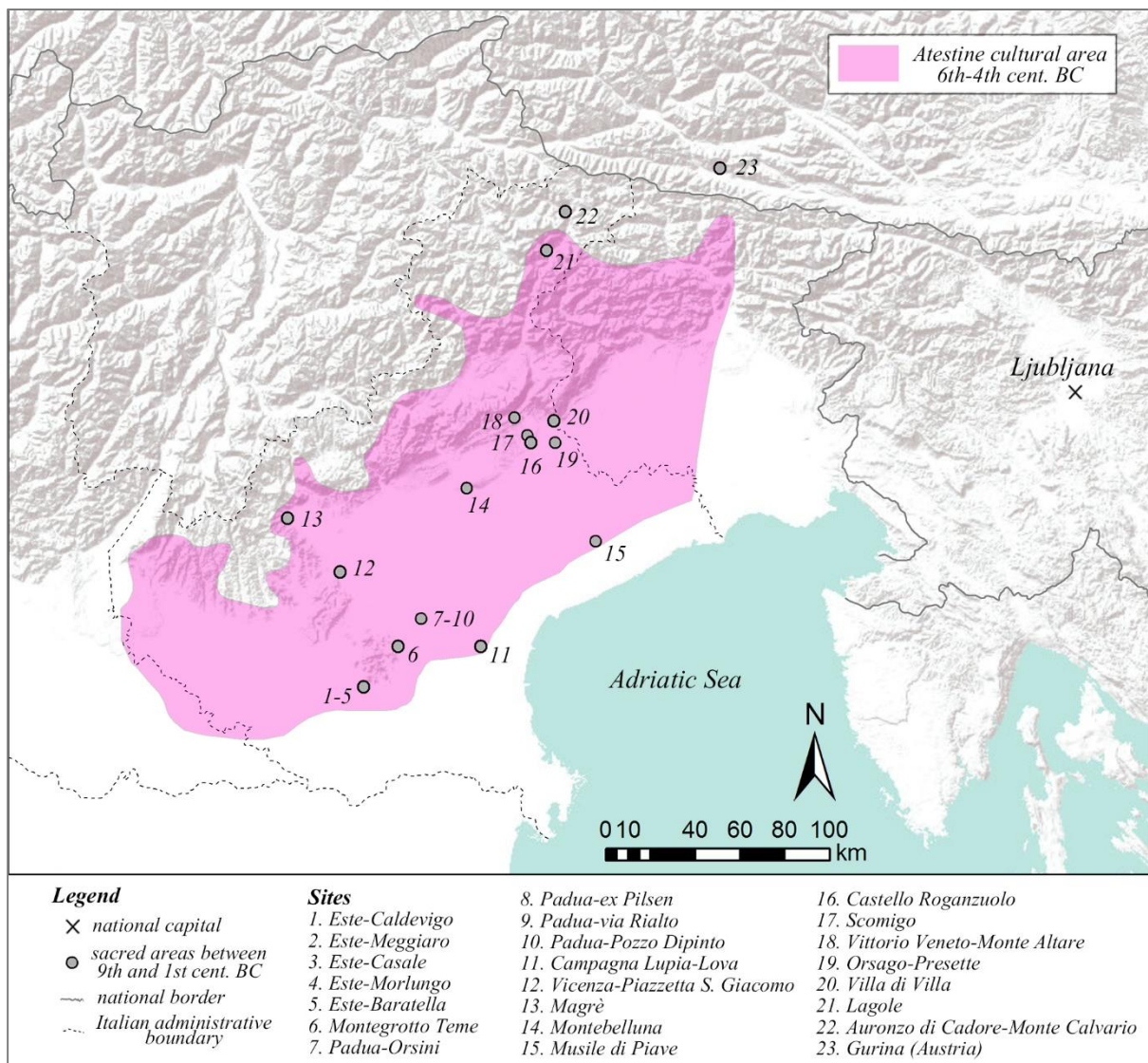


Fig. 110 – Distribution of votive plaques in the Iron Age Veneto (source De Nardi, 2008: 407-427). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

It is my opinion that from the 6th cent. BC the Atestine area, along with other areas, was affected by the spread of socio-political conflicts which, at least in part, might be related to insecure

borders and arrival of foreigners (see Chapter 6). This was the context, I believe, which led to the massive spread of votive plaques and suggests they may have had identity valency.

Capuis and Chieco Bianchi (2010: 25) suggested that votive plaques depicted different motifs compared to Situla Art which may have derived from a changing socio-political scenario in the 6th-4th cent. BC Atestine area where there was increasing involvement of the community in socio-political life. I believe that, on the basis of the evidence in our possession, it is possible to argue that at least the middle-class, but not the community as a whole, was able to acquire enough socio-political power to challenge elite offerings at sanctuaries (see discussion in the following lines).

This pattern finds a very compelling parallel in 6th cent. BC Etruria where, according to Riva (2017: 240), the shift to a more standardised production of drinking vessels is linked to a changing socio-political scenario with the involvement of new socio-political groups in rituals and symbols that until then had been the prerogative of the elite.

The 6th-5th cent. BC was a tumultuous period in Etruria, but also in Rome, where aristocratic power was seriously challenged. In Rome, for example, this is the period called the Conflict of the Orders (Raaflaub, 2005) which led to a major increase of the power of the plebs (Livy, 1-10). A good illustration in Etruria is Cerveteri-Vigna Parrocchiale (RM), where an Orientalising aristocratic household was found with architectural terracottas comparable to those at the aristocratic household at Murlo (SI) dated to the late 7th cent. BC (Maggiani, 2001: 121; Fig. 111a). The aristocratic block at Cerveteri-Vigna Parrocchiale was torn down at the beginning of the 5th cent. BC at the latest and turned into a sacred area with the construction of a Tuscanic temple which remained in use until the beginning of the 3rd cent. BC (Maggiani, 2001: 122; Fig. 111b).

I believe the role played in Etruria by drinking vessels (see Riva, 2017) and temples, the latter built upon a former aristocratic household (see Maggiani, 2001), was matched in Veneto by votive plaques.

As argued in Section 2.3.1, Situla Art seems to be connected to the acquisition, exhibition and legitimisation of power by high-status figures (Sassatelli, 2013: 99) who, except for in its early stages, acted in an inter-regional arena. I believe that, on the contrary, votive plaques functioned on the local Atestine stage, at the community level. To borrow quite a catching sentence from Riva's 2017 (p. 240) paper on Etruria, this pattern could be described as "elite person-gift was

superseded by the deity-gift at the sanctuary”. Interestingly, Situla Art and votive plaques co-existed in the Atestine area for at least 350 years. Regarding this, it is interesting to note that at one of the five sacred areas at Este, Caldevigo, a Situla Art belt plate dated to the Atestine phase IIID2 (450-350 BC; Gambacurta and Zaghetto, 2002: 287) was recycled as a votive plaque by embossing a foot soldier on it (Frey, 1969: plate 79, n. 37; Fig. 112). A similar instance is also known at Este-Baratella, at the sanctuary of the goddess Reitia (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: plate 4, n. 5).

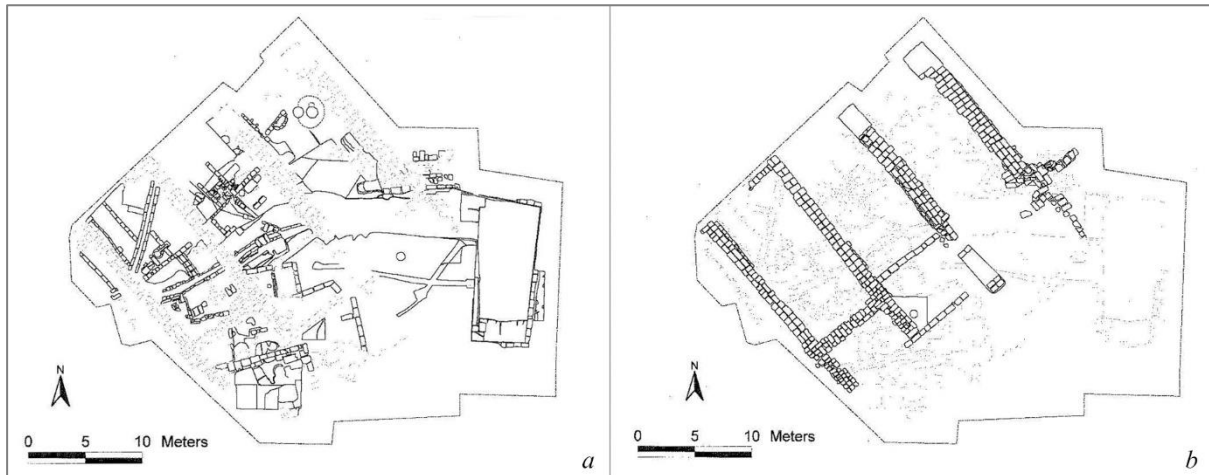


Fig. 111 – Cerveteri-Vigna Parrocchiale (RM): a) late 7th cent. BC Orientalising aristocratic household; b) overlying Tuscanic temple, dated at least from the beginning of the 5th cent. BC (Maggiani, 2001: figs 2 and 3).

Gambacurta and Zaghetto (2002: 289) suggest that the entire votive record at Este-Caldevigo dates to a period between the end of the 6th and the mid/late 4th cent. BC. Therefore the belt plate in Fig. 112 was turned into a votive plaque in a period when Situla Art was still being produced. This seems to support the idea of a changing ideology and socio-political environment, where, on the local stage it was the god/goddess at the centre of the attention of the community and no longer simply the legitimation of elite power. Moreover, the great number of votive plaques, more than a thousand found just at Este-Baratella (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 14), strongly suggests that they were not simply the result of elite offerings but an extension of this practice also to other members of the community.

Capuis and Chieco Bianchi (2010: 28-30) noted that the decoration on the oldest votive plaques offered at the Reitia sanctuary in Este still pertained to the elite sphere, as did Situla Art, with individual men and women depicted singularly but marked by aristocratic costume. Moreover, decoration was embossed and incised as in Situla Art.



Fig. 112 – Este-Caldevigo sanctuary, belt plate recycled as votive plaque, scale 1:2 (Frey, 1969: plate 79, n. 37).

Only from the 4th cent. BC, do Capuis and Chieco Bianchi (2010: 29) see a huge increase in votive plaque production, now with stamped decoration (Baldini Cornacchione and Buson, 2010), but they link this change to socio-political mutations in the 6th-4th cent. BC (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi: 2010: 29) so I believe it could be dated to an earlier phase. This process led to mass production characterised by standardised and less precise decoration which Capuis and Chieco Bianchi (2010: 29) attributed to increased demand from a larger sector of the community. Capuis and Chieco Bianchi (2010: 29) also suggested that aristocratic scenes disappeared from the archaeological record from this phase. Foot soldiers and knights become the majority of the subjects on votive plaques, and this pattern should not be underestimated. I believe the 6th cent. BC was a period of political uncertainty for the Atestines, since their borders started to be affected by the presence of newcomers and foreigners start to be attested in Atestine towns (see Chapter 6). I believe this climate of uncertainty was the principal factor which led to the development of offering votive plaques in sacred areas of the Iron Age Veneto. It should be noted that from at least the 5th cent. BC Mantua seems to have a sacred area where inscriptions on *ex votos* point towards the presence of Gauls in the case-study area already in this phase (Menotti and Maras, 2012).

As suggested in Chapter 6, the *Andeti* family was able to acquire a stable socio-political position as *equites*/knights among local Atestine communities after only a generation. Moreover, one possible hypothesis for the earliest of the five documented relocations of the *Andeti* family in a time span of c. 600/650 years between the territory of Padua (PD), Este (PD) and Belluno (BL) is socio-political uncertainty (see Fig. 57 and discussion in Chapter 6). Like other *equites*, the *Andeti* family would have been wealthy enough to offer bronze votive plaques, or even bronze figurines, dedicated in Atestine sanctuaries in the area between Este, Padua and Belluno shown in Fig. 113.

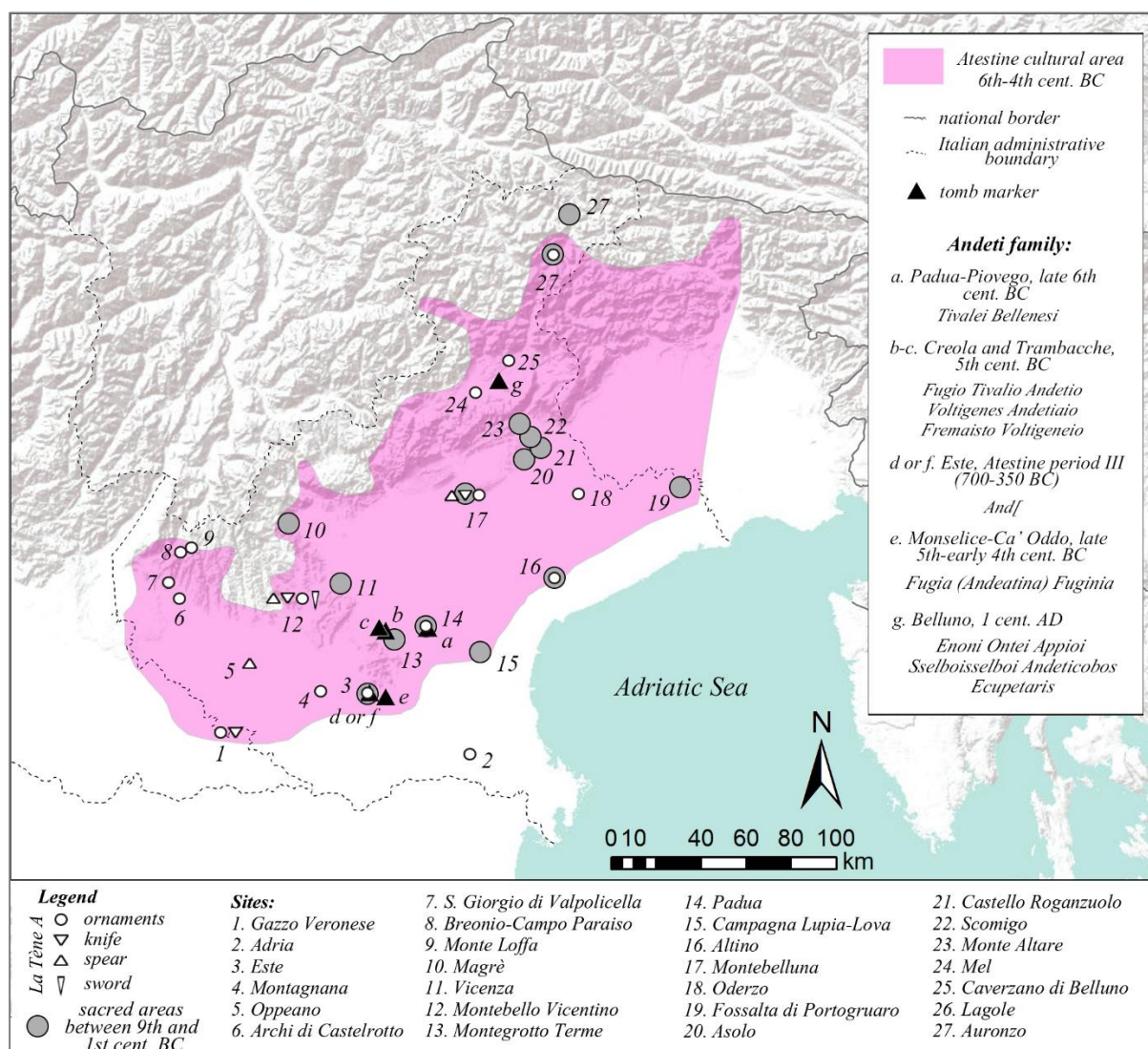


Fig. 113 – Late 6th cent. BC to 1st cent. AD relocations of the *Andeti* family, location of La Tène A (450-400 BC) weapons and Iron Age Atestine sacred areas with *ex votos* depicting foot soldiers and knights (source Pascucci, 1990: figs 1-2; De Nardi, 2008: 407-427). DTM data from ESRI, USGC and NOAA.

The story of the *Andeti* family, whose forefather seems to be the Gaul *Tivalei Bellenei*, should prompt a reconsideration of the first presence of Gauls in the Atestine area, which even recent literature maintains starts only with La Tène A, 450-400 BC (Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2017). They were perhaps able to join the local Atestine communities with full rights and transmit their socio-political status along the family line as did the *Andeti* family members.

The possibility that foreign mercenaries were able to offer *ex votos* in Atestine sanctuaries is supported by the presence of oval shields, as miniaturistic bronze *ex votos*, or characterising depictions of knights and foot soldiers stamped on votive plaques (see Figs 14, ns 1 and 10 in Section 2.3.3.; see Fig. 113) since according to Servadei (2003) the oval shield characterises Gaulish warriors in the Attic material from at least the mid 4th cent. BC.

The evidence discussed so far might well fit with the initial argument that Atestine society underwent a period of socio-political change when aristocratic power was challenged and possibly, in part, acquired by the middle-class, no matter whether they were Atestine in origin or not (see the example of the *Andeti* family). This process might have led to a greater involvement of the Atestine middle-class in socio-political and religious matters, at least from the 6th cent. BC.

In my opinion, Atestine identity at the local scale was built upon a sense of belonging to the community which recognised itself through *ex votos* (i.e. bronze plaques and figurines) offered to gods/goddesses at sanctuaries. The act of offering was no longer the prerogative of the elites as was Situla Art but, possibly, also at least involved knights and foot soldiers. According to this hypothesis, Situla Art is the means employed by the elite on the international stage to legitimate itself and search for socio-political and economic alliances while it seems to have had much less importance on a local, community, level as suggested by the Situla Art belt plate recycled as a votive plaque from Este-Caldevigo (see Fig. 112).

To conclude I must recall that Italian scholars tend to rely too much upon classical sources in order to reconstruct the history of the Veneto, but in general of pre-Roman Italy, during the Iron Age. Most (see Bondini, 2010) still use Polybius's (2, 17) statement "The part of the plain near the Adriatic had never ceased to be in the possession of another very ancient tribe called the Veneti, differing slightly from the Gauls in customs and costume and speaking another language" to infer the outcome of the intrusion of Cenomani into the study area during the late 4th cent. BC, which produced a reduction in the area inhabited by the Atestines (see Fig. 60 in Chapter 6) and phenomena of hybridization (Gambari and Bondini, 2013: 160). At Este, for

example, 3rd-1st cent. BC funerary record shows the presence of individual Gauls strongly integrated within the local Atestine community (Chieco Bianchi, 1987; Voltolini, 2011).

The tomb markers related to the *Andeti* family seem to suggest that Polybius' (2, 17) words might describe an older period, possibly the late 6th/early 5th cent. BC. Indeed, they possibly attest early phenomena of hybridization, much older than those related to the Cenomanic intrusion in a phase characterised by socio-political uncertainty and where the spread of votive plaques displaying foot soldiers and knights might be seen, at least partially, to be related to the presence of mercenaries in the Atestine area at least from the La Tène A period (450-400 BC).

Chapter 9 – Discussion

It is not new in the debate to comment that identity is a tricky field to analyse, especially when discussing ancient communities (see Popa and Stoddart, 2014). This is for two main reasons: the preservation of the archaeological record and the history of the discipline; the latter because archaeologists have mainly looked at identity in terms of ethnic identity (see Curta, 2014) while identity has a much wider meaning: individual, group, class, gender, to mention just a few aspects (see Lomas, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013).

Ethnic identity became a *leitmotiv* in archaeology in late 19th cent. Europe when an increasingly nationalist sentiment emerged in reaction to contemporary Prussian expansionism (Trigger, 1996: 11). Subsequently, after the 1940s, the ethnic question was deliberately avoided in archaeology because of the Nazis who based their territorial claims on the work of Kossinna. As a result, Kossinna was ignored by subsequent debate – the “Kossinna-Syndrom” (Smolla, 1980: 1; see also Jones, 1997: 5; Gramsch, 2011). Renewed interest in ethnicity emerged only later on in the 1980s thanks to post-processualism (Jones, 1997: 5); in the meantime, from the 1940s, the ethnic question found fertile ground in the anthropological debate (see Leach, 1954).

The debate also led to questioning when ethnicity emerged. There are four positions found in the literature; they strongly differ as to when it arose in time. Carter Bentley (1987: 37) suggested that ethnicity is “subliminal awareness of objective commonalities” and can emerge at any point in time of human history. Smith (1986) assumed that ethnicity emerged with the first city-states and kingdoms of the Ancient Near East in the early 3rd millennium BC. For Gellner (1983) it was following the impact of industrialisation on society, while Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) saw it as the outcome of European colonialism.

I agree with Carter Bentley’s (1987: 37) argument as according to Barth (1969: 15) ethnicity emerges via a constant relationship with otherness leading to the creation of boundaries between different groups which are created by humanity as a result of our inner social nature (Aristotle 1, 2, 1253a, 32-33). The evidence of the Samburu, a Kenyan Maasai sub-tribe (Larick, 1985, see Section 4.2.), for example, provides arguments against all the three other positions presented above. The Samburu tribe never reached a socio-political arrangement comparable to the city-states and kingdoms of the early 3rd millennium BC Ancient Near East and was affected by industrialism only in recent times. Although Kenya was a British

colony, Larick (1986: 269) suggests that spears had ethnic valency before the British conquest and that the British attempt "to eliminate interethnic raiding and warfare" by banning the use of weapons (Larick, 1985: 212) led to the collapse of "most ethnic/linguistic distinctions" (Larick, 1991: 305). As shown in Section 4.2., Samburu ethnicity is linked to a specific group of men, the warriors characterised by a particular type of weapon, who are differentiated from the rest of the community by age, sex and the socio-political role they play at the local scale while, at the regional scale, warriors are differentiated ethnically from other Maasai sub-tribes by the style of their weapons.

Weapon style is not fixed in the Samburu tribe and changes when a new warrior generation takes power, about every 15 years (Larick, 1985: 209). Archaeologically, this evidence might be interpreted as the outcome of migration, interaction or even the arrival of new groups while it responds to Leach's (1954: 287) argument that cultural changes should be considered as naturally embedded and not "destructive of law, logic and convention" of the social system. Nevertheless, due to the limited preservation of the archaeological record, Leach's (1954: 287) statement is very difficult to apply to archaeological interpretations which are still grounded on the definition of archaeological culture put forward by Childe (1929: v-vi). Although his definition has been hugely criticised over time under the label "culture-historical archaeology" (Jones, 1997: 5) because it led archaeologists to equate erroneously material culture patterning to ancient people (see Halls, 1997: 130), it remains an effective tool to interpret the past.

Smith (1986) and Hall (1997) provided us with a (long) ready-made recipe of criteria for the detection of ethnicity: a shared history, shared mythology or genealogy, shared social structure, religion and material culture (see also Childe, 1929: v-vi on this very matter), common language, common ethnic name and attachment to a specific piece of land. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Lomas (2012: 187), most of these criteria are generally very difficult to identify in the archaeological record. This, I believe, has led some scholars to throw in the towel and claim that "Archaeology cannot dig ethnicity" (Whittaker, 2009: 202) or to describe it as being like the abominable snowman (Isaacs, 1975: 27). Luckily, at the same time, others have tried to solve the problem by arguing that archaeologists do not need the entire archaeological record to detect ethnicity as "ethnic behaviour affects only those categories of artefact selected to carry social or political meaning under particular circumstances, rather than the totality of a society's material culture" (Morgan, 1992: 134).

However, the presence of at least two different identities was already suggested by Childe in 1929 (pp. v-vi) who provided a definition not only for cultural identity, i.e. archaeological culture, but also for ethnic identity when talking about a “people” (see Childe, 1929: note 1). As already pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, there are lots of other identities at stake: group, class, gender, just to mention a few. Often, scholars mistakenly put them all in the same box possibly because they all respond to a simple sociological rule: it is through the interaction with “others” that group boundaries are defined and might be identified (Barth, 1969: 15). The problem is that such interaction is undertaken at different levels (i.e. personal, familiar, class, inter-class, community, etc.) and it requires a multi-scalar analysis to grasp it, albeit partially.

Moreover, interaction might also involve landscape and climate, not only humans. In this regard, it is interesting to recall the 1960s-70s Binford-Bordes dispute on the interpretation of the French Mousterian assemblage. Binford (1973: 244) used a functional argument based on the climatic and ecological changes which characterised the Pleistocene to explain the French evidence. On the other hand, Bordes (1963, 1973) explained the French Mousterian archaeological assemblage in cultural terms recognising the presence of different cultural groups *sensu* Childe (1929: v-vi).

The Iron Age Veneto settlement pattern, analysed as part of this PhD thesis, is closely linked to the landscape. From a geographical point of view, the present-day Veneto region embraces a significant part of the so-called low Po Plain (see Chapter 3). This means that the relationship with water is crucial. On the one hand, the Alps bordering this region to the north were easily crossed thanks to glacial valleys and allowed interaction with central Europe throughout prehistory (Pearce, 1995: 145). On the other hand, the river courses of the Po Plain assumed the role of landscape markers and formed boundaries between communities. Nevertheless, due to their hanging nature, rivers changed their course over time mostly due to climate change and its effects. In Section 3.3. (see Figs. 33 and 34), the Bronze Age and Iron Age Veneto river network was discussed and reconstructed in order to provide the ancient geographical context upon which subsequent identity arguments were developed in the course of this PhD thesis. This represents quite a change compared to the general ongoing scholarship (see for example Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2017) which still relies on the current geographical background to discuss prehistoric Veneto patterning even though crucial literature on the ancient river network is available for the case-study area (Stefani and Vincenzi, 2005; Balista, 2009; 2018; Piovan *et al.*, 2012; Ravazzi *et al.*, 2013).

The importance of rivers in the prehistoric Veneto is shown by the settlement pattern. In both the Bronze and Iron Ages settled areas are surrounded by, or nearby, rivers. In the Bronze Age, western Veneto communities diverted the course of rivers to provide a water supply to settled areas (see the case of Castello del Tartaro [VR]; Balista *et al.*, 1998). Water was also used for defence, irrigation and grazing (Balista *et al.*, 1998). Interestingly, at least from the Iron Age cemeteries were often sited outside settled areas on the other side of river courses, recalling the myth of Charon (Pearce, 2006).

RBA (1300-1150 BC) hoards, mainly composed of finds linked to high-status figures (i.e. weapons, ornaments), were also located in relationship to water courses. The Pila del Brancon hoard (VR) was interpreted by Peroni (2004: 163; cf. Hjortspring, Randsborg, 1995) as booty from a raid while Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: 151) saw it in socio-political terms, as evidence for a hierarchically-arranged war band. I believe it might well mirror the local socio-political arrangement during the RBA, with sword bearers leading a band of spear bearers.

I argue that the three RBA hoards known so far from the south-western Veneto (i.e. Pila del Brancon, Corte Lazise and Tarmassia; see Chapter 5, Fig. 43) can be used to define three chiefdoms ruled by local thugs, warriors whose power was based on coercion (*sensu* Gilman, 1981).

The cemetery at Olmo di Nogara (VR) is the main site I have used to build this historical reconstruction as it is the best known in the MBA-RBA southwestern Veneto. Between c. 1550 and 1150 BC at least 533 graves were dug: 471 MBA inhumations and 62 RBA cremations (Pulcini, 2014: 19). Using Morris's (1987: 74) formula, I proposed a small community of at least c. 44 individuals but, due to the limited preservation of the archaeological record, it is possible that this number should be doubled or tripled (i.e. 120-150 individuals) as suggest by Vanzetti (2010: 248) (see Chapter 5). He also suggested that Olmo was ruled by a group of c. 10 warriors per generation (Vanzetti, 2010: 248). The presence of a disabled man at Olmo buried with a sword (i.e. grave 410) was interpreted by Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: 143) as evidence for the transmission of warrior's rank and power by inheritance from at least the MBA3 (c. 1450-1300 BC).

Anthropological analysis by Pulcini (2014) on Olmo warrior bones suggests that they were not characterised by superior physical skills compared to the rest of the community as we might expect for Big Men *sensu* Sahlins (1963). Interestingly, warriors, and female individuals characterised by rich grave goods, shared the same epigenetic markers throughout the period

of use of the Olmo cemetery, allowing me to suggest the possibility that they were descended from a common ancestor.

Biomechanical stresses on bones were widespread in the community and generally explained by Pulcini (2014: 157-184) as the outcome of labour in the fields. Nevertheless, at least for the warriors, the same bone traumas might be explained by the use of weapons, among them bow and spear, and horse riding (Pulcini, 2014: 157-184), but no direct evidence for bows and/or spears was detected at Olmo. However, they might be suggested on the basis of the traumas recorded: at Olmo at least 6 individuals bear evidence of traumas, or even died, because of arrow hits (Pulcini, 2014: 135-142). Spears were already in use in northern Italy from the beginning of the MBA (c. 1700 BC) as shown by the hoards of Oggiono Ello (LC) and Cascina Ranza (MI) (Carancini and Peroni, 1999: tab. 9), and Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: note 21) have suggested that spears were not deposited in graves due to a cultural taboo.

This poses the question whether other warrior classes in addition to sword bearers were already present at Olmo during the MBA (1550-1300 BC). Some of the graves which possessed warrior features, such as bronze studs possibly related to leather(?) helmets or gorgets, are lacking weapons. I believe there is the chance that such graves might be seen as those of spear bearers, where the spear was not deposited because of the taboo suggested by Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: note 21). If this is the case, it might be hypothesised that the basis for the subsequent hierarchical (military) social arrangement of the FBA (1150-1000 BC) was already in place at MBA (1550-1300 BC) Olmo, and not only from the RBA (1300-1150 BC) as suggested by Cupitò and Leonardi (2005: 151). However, at least during the MBA (1550-1300 BC), warriors might have had to undertake rites of passage consisting of travels to central Europe in order to establish, renew and consolidate relationships with other elites and develop leadership skills (see Kristiansen and Larsson, 2005: 205-206 for Scandinavia). In the specific case of Olmo this may in part have been linked to the procurement of amber which was then found as female grave goods in the form of ornaments. Such journeys may also be attested by central European swords buried at Olmo. Recent lead isotope analyses mainly performed on northern European Bronze Age objects (Ling *et al.*, 2013, 2014, 2019; Melheim *et al.*, 2018) suggest large-scale movement of copper from north-eastern Italy as raw material and/or finished goods. At the local northern Italian scale, human mobility is suggested by strontium and oxygen isotopes analyses on Bronze Age northern Italian human bone remains by Cavazzuti and colleagues (2019a, b).

Sword bearers at the head of spear bearers are attested at FBA/EIA (11th-9th cent. BC) Le Narde, one of the two cemeteries of the well-known manufacturing site of Frattesina (RO) (Cardarelli *et al.*, 2015), and at the Gazzo Veronese-Ponte Nuovo cemetery (VR) (Salzani, 2005b). This documents the presence of a hierarchical arrangement in place in this phase, but possibly attested from at least the MBA (1550-1300 BC; see above). From the FBA/EIA, however, power seems to be inherited along the same bloodline, as suggested by rich infant burials (Cardarelli *et al.*, 2015).

In the FBA/EIA, the area of the western Veneto between the river Mincio valley and Este, which is the best known to date in this period, seems to be depopulated (Cupitò and Leonardi, 2015: 208). The literature suggests that in this phase there was a changing landscape of power where the population was now concentrated in fewer major sites which reached a size of between 30ha and 100ha (i.e. Gazzo Veronese, Oppeano, Este and Villamarzana[?]) (Consonni, 2008; Guidi and Saracino, 2008; Bianchin Citton, 2015; Gonzato *et al.*, 2015). As suggested by Capuis and Gambacurta (2015: 451), this pattern is similar to that of contemporary south Etruria (di Gennaro and Guidi, 2000), though in both areas these huge sites were only partially inhabited, with cultivated fields and grazing around the huts. These sites may be considered the centre of proper chiefdoms with the presence of intermediate and minor sites surrounding them. The central places were located at strategic points for resource access and landscape control; the satellite sites were located for basic resource exploitation.

The subsequent Atestine settlement pattern, dated between the 9th and the 1st cent. BC, suggests the occupation of an area located between the Mincio valley to the west, the ancient course of the Po to the south, the Tagliamento valley to the east, and the pre-Alps to the north (see Chapter 6, Figs. 49, 51-52 and 60-61). I defined a site as Atestine when Atestine material culture finds, as defined by Peroni and colleagues in 1975, represented the majority of the Iron Age cultural assemblage.

The greatest number of Atestine sites dates to the 6th-4th cent. BC, even if this is a period of political and territorial uncertainty. The presence of foreigners (Gauls?) is recorded in this phase (e.g. the *Andeti* family, see Chapter 6) at least in the area between Padua and Este. Moreover, crisis is also suggested by the possible presence of mercenaries at least from the mid 5th cent. BC who are documented by the presence of La Tène A weapons (see Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2014; 2017). They are mainly found in crucial districts, such as boundary areas, important sites and connective nodes. Their presence may have been due to the expansion

towards south of the Rhaeti from Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol and of the Etruscans towards North from Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany. The first led to hybridisation phenomena between Atestines and Rhaeti in the pre-Alps, with the development of the so-called Magrè cultural aspect (Lora and Ruta Serafini, 1992; Leonardi, 2011; Migliavacca, 2012). The latter saw the foundation of the Etruscan trading sites of Forcello (MN) and Adria (RO) (de Marinis, 1999; 2007b: 21). A sacred area is recorded at Mantua-Piazza Santa Barbara (MN) from at least the 5th cent. BC, where votive inscriptions point towards the presence of Gallic offerors (Menotti and Maras, 2012).

The Atestine cultural territory as defined in Chapter 6 shrinks from at least the 3rd cent. BC as the outcome of the 4th cent. BC migration, from the west, of what Livy (5, 35, 1-3) describes as Cenomani Gauls (see Fig. 60 in Chapter 6). From this phase the western Atestine border shifts from the river Mincio valley to the Iron Age Adige paleochannel leading to a reduction of the Atestine area. Phenomena of hybridisation between the Atestine and the Cenomani are recorded from at least the 3rd cent. BC at Este and surrounding areas with names of Gallic husbands conferred on Atestine wives and *vice versa* (Chieco Bianchi, 1987: 91; see also Voltolini, 2011).

After the foundation of the Roman colony of Aquileia (UD) in 181 BC (Foraboschi, 1992: 88), the Atestine-Cenomanic landscape is criss-crossed by a network of roads connecting Roman colonies and important local centres (Pearce *et al.*, 2000; Bender *et al.*, 2000); the landscape is reorganised, with centuriated areas (Pearce *et al.*, 2000; Bender *et al.*, 2000). Funerary evidence shows that the Roman presence is great, even within the two most important centres of the Atestine world, Este and Padua (Chieco Bianchi, 1984a: 724; 1984b: 744).

I argue that different kinds of archaeological evidence in the Iron Age Veneto may carry identity valency, these are “categories of artefact selected to carry social or political meaning under particular circumstances” as identified by Morgan (1992: 134) in her interpretation of the Greek prehistoric record.

Tomb markers and *ex votos* have been argued to signify Atestine Iron Age identity, the former mainly linked to individual identity, the latter to collective identity (Lomas, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013). In Chapter 7, tomb markers (i.e. *stelai*, *cippi* and *ciottoloni*) from the territory of Padua and Este were employed to detect different levels of identity in place in the Iron Age Veneto. Lomas (2009; 2012) used tomb marker decoration and inscriptions to suggest their individual, family and group identity valencies. I used shape, raw material, inscription formula, and their

geographic distribution to argue for their territorial identity valency. At least as regards the territory of Padua, this pattern is strengthened by the placing of *ciottoloni*, unique to this area, and extra-urban sanctuaries (see Marinetti and Cresci Marrone: 2011). The extra-urban sanctuary at Montegrotto Terme (PD), founded at the eastern edge of the Euganei hills around the 8th cent. BC (De Min, 1976) and located not far from the boundary reconstructed by Thiessen Polygons between the territory of Padua and Este (see Fig. 63 in Section 7.1.), seems to define the eastern edge of the territory of Padua. This boundary seems also to be marked by 5th cent. BC *ciottoloni* (Capuis, 1993: 221) while, from the 2nd cent. BC, the Roman boundary stones seem to shift it to the west, possibly as the outcome of a changing landscape of power (see Fig. 63 in Section 7.1.).

The presence of the sanctuary at Montegrotto Terme from the 8th cent. BC is very interesting for many reasons. The Atestine proto-urban sites of Este and Padua emerge in this phase (Leonardi, 2011: 37) so that the sanctuary seems to have been founded with the purpose of marking the territory of Padua. The position of the sanctuary at the boundary between these two territories is liminal, also marked by its location at the eastern edge of the Euganei hills and its position near to a karstic thermal basin. Finally, I believe that the ritual linked to horses documented at this sanctuary strengthens my argument. Horses were sacrificed and buried at the edges of cemeteries in the Atestine world at least from the 9th cent. BC (Bortolami, 2018; see Fig. 62). They marked the boundary between two worlds, the human and the natural one. On the basis of this argument, chronology, topography and rituality suggest that the sanctuary of Montegrotto Terme also played a territorial identity role marking the western fringe of the district belonging to the central place of Padua.

In the development of this thesis I was also able to look at three different spheres, and levels, of identity: territorial identity through red-and-black painted ware decoration, Atestine ethnicity, which in this case is tangled with upper-class identity shown in the decoration of the Situla Art, and community identity through bronze votive plaques.

Veneto Iron Age red-and-black painted ware is dated between c. 625 BC (Peroni, 1975a) and the mid 3rd cent. BC (Bondini, 2008). It is characterised by a painted decoration of alternating red and black bands, but geometric patterns also exist. It is generally considered in the literature to be an Atestine ethnic marker (Fogolari and Frey, 1965; Frey, 1969; Fogolari, 1975; Peroni *et al.*, 1975) due to its concentration in a limited geographical area located between the Mincio and Tagliamento valleys.

In section 2.3.2. I have suggested that the chromatic bands characterising most of the red-and-black Atestine painted ware should be seen as a local re-elaboration of external influxes. On the one hand, southern Orientalising influence, mediated through Etruscan taste, conferred particular emphasis on a narrative style based on horizontal panels which became the organising principle of Situla Art; decoration in panels might have also inspired the decoration on the red-and-black painted ware in Veneto. The 6th cent. BC red-and-black *dolium* from Oppeano-Ca' del Ferro (VR) seems to support this hypothesis (see Fig. 12 in Section 2.3.2.; Salzani, 2018a: 95; Ferrari and Salzani, 2018a: 111, plate 24) as it has horizontal alternated painted bands, divided by cordons, and one of the bands has engraved decoration similar to that on Situla Art. On the other hand, the red-and-black decoration might have originated in the Alpine area, where it seems to be recorded from at least the late 8th cent. BC (see, for example, Lippert and Stadler, 2009), and then spread across the Alps, possibly as a fashion, into the Veneto region.

Atestine red-and-black painted ware had a number of different ways of distinguishing the painted bands. In a recent paper, we (Saccoccio and Biondani, 2019) highlight the presence of at least six styles together with the widespread presence of cordons, incisions and chromatism alone: the Garolda-Coazze (rectangular excisions), *borchiette bronzee* (bronze studs), *bugnette applicate* (applied bulges), *falsa cordicella* (oblique impressions simulating impressed cord), *piccole cuppelle* (circular impressions) and *lamelle di stagno* (tin sheets) styles. All were organised in rows and border both simple and complex geometric decorative patterns.

At least the Garolda-Coazze and the *lamelle di stagno* styles seem to have had territorial identity valency comparable to tomb markers for the territory of Padua and Este and the sanctuary of Montegrotto Terme for the territory of Padua. The Garolda-Coazze style, characterised by rectangular-like excisions in rows delimiting the alternating red and black painted panels, has a limited geographical distribution. It is principally found in a specific territory which, in 2016, I proposed on the basis of a X-tent analysis pertained to the central place of Gazzo Veronese (Saccoccio, 2016: fig. 4; see Figs 102 and 106 in Section 8.2.). This site is the major western outpost of the Atestine world which faced the 6th cent. BC Etruscan colonisation of the right bank of the low Mincio valley and was, likely, affected by it (Gonzato *et al.*, 2015; Saccoccio, 2016). The presence of this style outside the polity of Gazzo Veronese was interpreted as evidence of trade or interaction due to its later date and the very few finds recorded. Interestingly, this decorative style is not found at the Este sanctuary of Reitia (Meffert, 2009), or at Montegrotto Terme, linked to the territory of Padua (Dämmer, 1986).

At the same time, the distribution of the *lamelle di stagno* style on red-and-black painted ware seems characteristic of the site of Este (see Fig. 109e). The *lamelle di stagno* style is also documented at Padua where it decorates *stralucido* (burnished) pottery, which seems to be a typical local production (see Cupitò, 2013; Capuis, 1993: 165).

I argue that Situla Art was also able to carry an identity valency at the supra-regional level. This is based on the wide geographical distribution of this art and on the idea that Situla Art depicted real life and social stratification by showing characteristic costumes (Lucke and Frey, 1962: 48, 51). Situla Art comprises at least 264 bronze objects decorated in Orientalising taste which are geographically distributed in a triangular area with its corners set at Campi (TE, Abruzzo – Italy), Sesto Calende (VA, Lombardy – Italy) and Kuffarn (Austria) (see Fig. 66 in Section 8.1.). Zaghetto (2017: 12) dated Situla Art between 660/650 BC and 275 BC thanks to a table of association but he seems to have considered only 104 artefacts in its compilation (Zaghetto, 2001; 2017). According to Sassatelli (2013: 99), whose opinion is widely shared (see also Bondini, 2012; Perego, 2013), also by me, the importance of Situla Art mostly relies on the common narrative language used, which is closely linked to the acquisition, exhibition and legitimation of power by high-status figures across its area of distribution.

Although a limited number of Situla Art objects has been dated by Zaghetto (2001; 2017) (104 out of 264, 39.4%), their distribution per phase suggests that Este seems to have played a major role in the emergence of Situla Art – c. 660/650-630/625 BC – and its spread; in the earliest stage it has more evidence than Bologna which is generally considered to be the place of origin of this art (see Colonna, 1980) or, at least, the place where metallurgical skills linked to Situla Art originated (see Sassatelli, 2013). I argue that the requisite craft skills were already in place in the Alpine and peri-Alpine area before the emergence of this art, as was suggested by Fogolari and colleagues already in 1961, while it was the Orientalising narrative scheme, and language, which I believe derived from Bologna.

I argue that Situla Art was mainly made for two purposes. In the earliest phase it was produced for the legitimation and ostentation of elite power as scenes include only individuals characterised by similar cultural traits and where mythical figures might have been used to elevate the importance of depicted individuals (see, for example, the *tintinnabulum* of Bologna and the Benvenuti situla; Kruta, 1992: 253; Cassola Guida, 1997: 203; Bartoloni, 2008: 27; 2012: 29; Huth, 2003: 167; Sannibale, 2013: 104). Subsequently, I believe Situla Art was produced to consolidate socio-political and economic alliances between upper-class partners

and celebrate the establishment of new marriage alliances. So, the decoration shows individuals marked by different costumes which might indicate not only a differentiated socio-political role but also have ethnic valency.

Following Lucke and Frey's (1962: 48, 51; see also von Hochstetter, 1883; Ducati, 1923) argument that Situla Art decoration reflects real life and that its decoration might also show socio-political differences between depicted individuals, I decided to focus my attention on clothes, hats and thrones to highlight differences in costumes among the different figures displayed in the Situla Art. The purpose was to identify possible identity patterns. The artefacts in my sample were few (7.6%); in fact only 20 Situla Art objects out of 264 depict thrones so it might be worth re-thinking Sassatelli's (2013: 99) argument that Situla Art is closely linked to high-status figures as more thrones would be expected as symbols of socio-political power. Therefore, it is probable that the meaning behind Situla Art is much more complex and multi-faceted than commonly accepted and still only little understood by scholars.

Thrones are related to scenes of banqueting and boxing, which are generally found in the middle of the three friezes which characterise situlas. On the top frieze processions of men and animals are generally shown, most probably gifts for the host of the banquet. In the lowest frieze processions of animals might be regarded as evidence of the circle of life where animals, generally ungulates, are depicted from a young age until their death as the outcome of a carnivore attack. The differences between the animal species depicted in Situla Art might be linked to the geographical area where the Situla Art objects are found, but this needs further re-assessment; at the present, it is pure speculation.

According to my hypothesis, hats are the best ethnic indicators in the Situla Art decorative scheme: broad-brimmed hats seem to identify Atestines, berets the Rhaeti, wavy hats the Ljubljana/Ljubljanska cultural district and Phrygian-style hats the Unterkrain/Dolenjska cultural district. Since only two Situla Art objects depicting men on thrones have so far been found in Emilia-Romagna (Italy), it is not possible to define a clear identity pattern for Etruscan hats: the Castelvetro mirror shows a beret (see Fig. 77) while the Providence situla shows an oval, puffy, hat with a rounded crown associated with men on a throne (see Fig. 80). To further complicate the picture, the Certosa situla shows men with broad-brimmed hats reclining on a *klinē* (i.e. a couch) and playing musical instruments (see Fig. 87a). No thrones are known, so far, from the Golasecca cultural area (see Fig. 65 in Section 8.1.) and Croatia so these areas were not considered in the identity discussion.

Hats also enabled me to look at the ethnic identity of the partners involved in Situla Art scenes, specifically those displaying men on thrones distributed in two rows. I argue that those men closest to the feasting table, or cauldron, were the hosts of the banquet while the others were the guests. I was thus able to suggest that the Atestines – identified by broad-brimmed hats – mainly had interactions north, possibly with the Rhaeti, and probably south, with the Etruscans of Bologna. This pattern fits well with the political-territorial crisis following the establishment of the Etruscan settlements in Mantua province and the expansion, towards south, of the Rhaeti from Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol (see Chapter 6). Oddly, no evidence of interaction between Atestines and Iron Age Slovenians was detected in this way, even if archaeological traces of contact between them is given by the presence of red-and-black Atestine pottery as grave goods in Slovenian and Istrian cemeteries (see Mihovilič, 2001; Teržan et al, 1984; Tecco Hvala, 2014).

Unfortunately, little can be said concerning women on a throne since there are only three Situla Art objects that depict them (see Section 8.1.2.2.). However, interaction between Atestine and Slovenian communities is attested, I believe, by two different types of female earrings. On the one hand, rounded earrings seem related to the area south of the Alps, mostly Italian territory, with one only exception recorded on the Brezje belt plate, Slovenia (see Fig. 81 in Section 8.1.2.1.). Archaeologically, they are found, in huge numbers, at Este (see Chieco Bianchi and Calzavara Capuis, 1985; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2006). On the other hand, elongated earrings seem typical of Slovenia where they are found also as grave goods (see Frey, 1969: plate 81, n. 43; Lucke and Frey, 1962: plate 76, n. 44; Turk, 2005: figs 21, 111, 116). However, in at least one case elongated earrings are also found on the situla from Pieve d'Alpago, Veneto – Italy (see Fig. 97). This pattern, I would argue, should be seen as attesting contacts between these two areas through marriage alliances.

At the local, community level, Atestine bronze *ex votos* also had an identity valency. They are found at 22 Atestine sites (see Fig. 110 in Section 8.3.), with more than a thousand found just at Este-Baratella, and are dated to between the late 6th cent. BC (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 18) and the mid 1st cent. BC (Zaghetto, 2003). Recalling an expression used by Riva (2017: 240) in a recent paper on 6th cent. BC Etruria, I believe the relationship between Situla Art and votive plaques in the Iron Age Veneto might be significantly described as “elite person-gift was superseded by the deity-gift at the sanctuary”. Crucial evidence for this is Fig. 112 (in Section 8.3.), a bronze votive plaque dedicated at the sacred area of Caldevigo at Este (Gambacurta and Zaghetto, 2002: 287). It shows what was part of an engraved bronze belt plate

decorated with Situla Art which was recycled as an embossed decorated votive plaque depicting a foot soldier. The belt plate is dated to 450-350 BC (Gambacurta and Zaghetto, 2002: 287) and was possibly turned into a votive plaque by the mid/late 4th cent. BC (Zaghetto, 2002b: 289), so in a phase when Situla Art was still produced.

There are more than 1000 votive plaques at the Este-Baratella sanctuary alone (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 14) and, from at least the 4th cent. BC (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 29), plaques were made by stamping which was a more affordable production compared to the embossing and engraving typical of Situla Art and this supports the idea that they were not only dedicated by the elite. Moreover, the decoration on votive plaques is much less detailed and more schematic and repetitive compared to the repertoire of Situla Art: for example, no banquets, or boxing matches, are depicted. The depiction of foot soldiers and knights points to the possibility that these socio-political groups had access to these goods. Capuis and Chieco Bianchi (2010: 25) suggested an increasing involvement of the community in the socio-political life of the city between 6th and 4th cent. BC on the basis of this evidence. I argue that it was most probably the middle-class to have had the economic means to offer *ex votos* according to the number of evidence found and motifs depicted.

Tomb markers at Padua and Este show that from at least the late 6th cent. BC Atestine communities were not closed to foreign individuals. Indeed, these individuals were able to acquire full citizenship after only a generation as attested by the *ciottolone* of *Fugio Tivalio Andetio* (see Fig. 56 in Chapter 6), who was possibly Gallic in origin. Marinetti (2003) suggests that he was an *eques*/knight on the basis of the inscription (Prosdocimi, 1988: 291) and that he was able to pass down his status to new generations as testified by the *stele* of *Fugia Andeatina Fuginia* and the 1st cent. AD inscription from Belluno which recalls the *Andeti* family (Marinetti and Solinas, 2014: 80; see Fig. 56 in Chapter 6). Moreover, as we have seen, La Tène A (450-400 BC) weapons were interpreted by Bondini (2005) and Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini (2014: 262) as indicating the presence of Gallic mercenaries in the Atestine area and located in the principal Atestine towns, crucial connective and border areas (see Fig. 113 in Section 8.3.).

I argue that this process of opening up to foreign influxes and people was due to a period of crisis which started in the 6th cent. BC when the Atestine area was affected by Rhaetic and Etruscan pressure at the north, south and western Atestine borders (see Chapter 6). Moreover, the 6th cent. BC seems to be a period of social crisis not only in the Veneto, but at least also in Rome and Etruria. In the latter, according to Riva (2017), the shift to a more standardised and

less precise production of drinking vessels is linked to a changing socio-political scenario where new socio-political groups are more involved in rituals and symbols that were until then the prerogative of the elite. Moreover, at Cerveteri-Vigna Parrocchiale (RM) a late 7th cent. BC Orientalising aristocratic house was torn down at the latest at the beginning of the 5th cent. BC and turned into a sacred area with the construction of a Tuscanic temple which remained in use for a few centuries, until the beginning of the 3rd cent. BC (Maggiani, 2001: 122).

Atestine identity at the local scale is thus built upon a sense of belonging to the community which recognises itself through *ex votos* (i.e. bronze plaques and figurines) offered, between the late 6th and the mid 1st cent. BC, to gods/goddesses at sanctuaries where the act of offering might be considered no longer prerogative of the elites (as was Situla Art) but, at least, of knights and foot soldiers on the basis of the number of offerings found and motifs depicted.

On the other hand, at the regional scale, at least two decorative styles of red-and-black painted ware (i.e the Garolda-Coazze and the *lamelle di stagno* styles) and tomb markers from Este and Padua define distinctive districts among the Atestine cultural area.

Finally, at the supra-regional level, different cultural groups may be defined on the basis of the hats worn by men seated on a throne depicted on Situla Art between the mid 7th and the early 3rd cent. BC. Specifically, I argue that broad-brimmed hats characterise Atestines, berets the Rhaeti, wavy hats the Ljubljana/Ljubljanska cultural district and Phrygian-style hats the Unterkrain/Dolenjska cultural district.

Chapter 10 – Conclusions

I believe the major outcome of this PhD research project is to have provided a fresh and distinctive way of looking at the archaeological record of the Iron Age Veneto in identity terms. In the Veneto, identity was not only ethnic identity (see Shennan, 1989: 20-21; Jones, 1997; Cifani and Stoddart, eds, 2012; Curta, 2014) but embraced a long list of aspects, among others: individual, gender, group, status and territorial identities.

The literature review in Chapter 4 allowed me to highlight the advantages and disadvantages of past and present approaches to identity and, as a result, I have decided to not align with a specific school of thought or approach, even if it is considered promising in recent literature (Dobres and Robb, 2000; Hodder, 2001; Bintliff, ed., 2004; Knappett, 2005; Tilley et al. 2006; Woodward, 2007), but to analyse the Iron Age Veneto archaeological record in an “eclectic” and “pragmatic” way (*sensu* Pearce, 2011: 87), negotiating my theoretical position according to the type of question to be addressed, and to choose each time the method of analysis that I believe best fitted to the problem to solve. Furthermore, I have tried to detach myself from the historical imprint of Italian scholarship, which generally relies on classical sources in order to interpret Iron Age communities (see Bondini, 2010). On the contrary, I tended to use classical sources as backup to support my interpretations which are primarily grounded on the multi-scalar analysis of the archaeological record.

In order to build my discourse, I have also decided to pay careful attention to the evolution of the Veneto landscape between Bronze and Iron Ages, especially as regards the modification of the river network over time, which is generally considered to be static, especially by archaeologists (see Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2017). I have also tried to provide a reliable context to this research project by evaluating the settlement and socio-political patterning in the study area between the Bronze Age and the end of the Atestine culture in the 2nd cent. BC.

In this PhD thesis, I have analysed selected Iron Age Veneto cultural evidence on the basis that tomb markers, red-and-black painted ware, Situla Art and bronze votive plaques were, using Morgan’s (1992: 134) words for the Greek record, “those categories of artefact selected to carry social or political meaning under particular circumstances”, and were specifically linked to Atestine inter-regional, regional and local/community identities. My analysis has tried to

emphasise how fluid the boundary is between identities in the Iron Age Veneto, so that the same evidence might be read in different ways according to the identity valency it bore.

My interpretation of Situla Art decoration, for example, is that men depicted seated on a throne characterised by a broad-brimmed hat are Atestine high-status individuals. Likewise, berets seem to characterise the Rhaeti, wavy hats the Unterkrain/Dolenjska cultural district and Phrygian-style hats the Ljubljana/Ljubljanska high-status individuals. I argue that in the case of the Situla Art, elite identity, defined through peculiar dress, also has an ethnic valency.

Situla Art decoration also allowed me to speculate on encounters when feasting scenes depicted more than two thrones. In those cases, I have suggested that the men seated closer to the cauldron/feasting table were the hosts of the feast while those seated behind them were the guests. Hat style was in these cases used to suggest interaction between different ethnic groups and the pattern I identified was explained through considering the contemporary historical background.

I argue that female earrings depicted on Situla Art are not as good ethnic markers as hats but they still allowed me to discuss interaction patterning, involving marriage negotiations between Italian Iron Age communities and the communities across the Alps. The distribution of earrings defines two districts: elongated earrings are mainly found in the Illyrian area, with the exception of Pieve d'Alpago in Veneto (Italy) (see Fig. 93 in Section 8.1.2.2.); rounded earrings are mainly distributed in Italy, with the exception of Brezje, Slovenia (see Fig. 81a in Section 8.1.2.1.).

Lomas (2009; 2011; 2012; 2013) suggested that tomb markers at Este and Padua played some sort of individual, gender, family and group identity role thanks to their inscriptions and decoration. On the basis of the same evidence, I believe it is possible to extend this argument also to community and territorial identities. The distribution, form and raw material of tomb markers, in fact, seem to neatly distinguish the territory of Padua from that of Este, possibly suggesting that the high-status individuals of Este wanted to distinguish themselves from those of Padua and *vice versa*. In the same way, the sanctuary of Montegrotto Terme, belonging to the territory of Padua, also seems to have possessed not only a religious valency but also a territorial identity due to its liminal location and the horse cult. This cult seems to assume a liminal valency in the Atestine area as sacrificed horses are found in funerary areas at the outskirts of settlements (see Bortolami, 2018).

The decorative styles of the red-and-black painted ware seem in limited cases to have had a territorial identity valency related to well-defined Atestine districts. Six different decorative styles are identified in Section 8.2. but only in two cases can they be linked to the territory of a specific Atestine polity. These are the *lamelle di stagno* (tin sheets) and the Garolda-Coazze decorative styles. The former characterises red-and-black painted ware at Este while at Padua it characterises the so-called *stralucido* (heavily burnished) pottery. The Garolda-Coazze decorative style seems to characterise the western Veneto and I argue that it can be specifically linked to the polity centred on the central place of Gazzo Veronese on the basis of the amount of evidence and its chronology.

Finally, I have associated the emergence of bronze votive plaques in the late 6th cent. BC Veneto to Atestine community identity. This is the phase when the Atestine border started to be impacted by Etruscans, to the west and south, and by Rhaeti, to the north. Foreign, Gallic individuals are recorded from this phase in the Atestine area (for example, the *Andeti* family – Chapter 6), and were able to acquire a stable role among the local community in just a generation. This, I argue, might be related to a period of uncertainty for the Atestines, when inter-marriage negotiations between communities across cultural borders (see my interpretation of the Montebelluna situla, MON.S1; Fig. 76 in Section 8.1.2.1.) might have served to secure borders and create alliances. Another possible outcome might have been the opening of the Atestine society to others, with Gallic mercenaries attested at least from the mid 5th cent. BC (Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini, 2014; 2017), and where, using Riva's (2017: 240) quote for the 6th cent. BC Etruscan world, “elite person-gift was superseded by the deity-gift at the sanctuary”. Capuis and Chieco Bianchi (2010: 25, 29) suggest bronze votive plaques at first display high-status individuals and have embossed and/or engraved decoration like Situla Art, but between the 6th-4th cent. BC motifs change and now show mainly foot-soldiers and knights. However, they suggest that a more affordable means of production (i.e. stamped) with more standardised decoration is only introduced from the 4th cent. BC. I link the 6th-4th cent. BC change in *ex voto* motifs and production to the above-mentioned Atestine socio-political uncertainty. The large number of bronze votive plaques just at Este-Baratella (i.e. more than a thousand; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi, 2010: 14), and the motifs depicted, suggest that offerings are no longer just dedicated by elite but at least also by foot soldiers and knights with the latter constituting a well-defined socio-political group defined, according to Marinetti (2003: 144), by the Atestine word *ekupetaris/eppetaris*.

A number of questions have been raised in the course of this research which could be the subject of a Post-Doctoral project. Suggestions are listed below.

One question regards the chronology of the earliest phases of the Atestine culture where the Atestine phase I, associated with the EIA, is still dated to the beginning of the 9th cent. BC while recent Alpine dendrodates suggest that this date should be backdated by about a century (see Peroni and Vanzetti, 2005).

I believe it is possible to improve the distribution maps presented in Chapter 6 (Figs 49, 51-52, 60-61). This is for two reasons. The first is the chronological problem for phase I, still dated to the beginning of the 9th cent. BC while Peroni and Vanzetti (2005) demonstrated it should be backdated to c. 977 BC. The second regards the nature of the literature as archaeological reports are sometimes published in regional publications that have a very limited circulation and, of course, it is likely that new data will have been published while these words were written.

The Situla Art record might be thoroughly reconsidered, especially because there is no comprehensive Situla Art catalogue or reliable chronological framework to date. Although the most recent catalogue is only dated to 2017 (Zaghetto, 2017: 52-59), it lists only 137 objects while my Tab. 14 (in Chapter 8) numbers 264 of them. Moreover, Situla Art needs a chronological re-assessment since Zaghetto (2001; 2017: fig. 16) only dates 104 Situla Art objects. A chronological review might allow a better definition of the role of Este, Bologna, and the other sites considered, in the emergence, spread and decline of the Situla Art phenomenon between central Italy and Austria. As stated, the considerations made in Section 8.1.1. should be regarded with caution due to the very low number of objects dated by Zaghetto (2001; 2017: fig. 16): only 104.

There is still little discussion concerning the relationship between the processions of animals, generally located in the lowest frieze, and the rest of the decoration depicted in Situla Art. The literature, in fact, has tended to analyse them separately (see Lucke and Frey, 1962; Gleirscher, 2019a). At the same time, nobody has fully tackled the spread presence of birds and hares in Situla Art decoration. The latter is most probably to be linked to the diffusion of the cult of the hare from central Europe during the Iron Age. Interestingly, this cult seems not to be documented on *ex votos* in the Atestine area in the same phase. Why not?

Situla Art might also be analysed from different angles than those proposed in this thesis. For example, more emphasis should be paid to recognising mythical figures and scenes (e.g.

Polyphemus in the Benvenuti situla; Huth, 2003: 167) in Situla Art decoration in order to assess its provenance, use and meaning across time and space. In this regard, it is also interesting to note the very recent work by Gleirscher (2019b) questioning whether sex scenes in Situla Art depict sacred rituals linked to fertility or mythical births rather than events that really occurred.

Moreover, Situla Art districts can be identified which are characterised by different tastes in displaying the Orientalising decorative scheme. For example, the Situla Art objects from Kleinklein (Austria), Sesto Calende (VA, Lombardy – Italy) and Trezzo sull’Adda (MI, Lombardy – Italy) (see Fig. 70 in Section 8.1.1.), which were not thoroughly analysed in the course of this research (see Nebelsick, 2019).

On the basis of my interpretation of the Iron Age earrings, I believe that the search for identity might also be extended to other material culture classes not discussed during the course of this PhD, above all, ornaments (i.e. pin and fibulas).

Another possible branch of research might be the analysis, in ethnic terms, of archaeological evidence for the so-called ‘Cenomani Gauls’ from 4th cent. BC onwards in eastern Lombardy and eastern Veneto which, to date, is defined as such mainly on the basis of the classical sources.

Ancient sources

(translation has been taken from
<https://www.loebclassics.com/> if not stated otherwise)

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Polybius, *The Histories*.

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AION= Annali dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale".

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Atti IIPP= Atti della Riunione Scientifica dell'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria.

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Atti SEI= Atti del Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici.

AV= Archeologia Veneta.

BAR= British Archaeological Reports.

BollMusCivStNatVerona= Bollettino del Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Verona.

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IIPP= Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria.

JAS= Journal of Archaeological Science.

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MAL= Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei.

MemMusCivStNatVerona= Memorie del Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Verona.

NAB= Notizie Archeologiche Bergomensi.

NAVe= Notizie di Archeologia del Veneto.

NMS= Narodni Muzej Slovenije.

NS= Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità comunicate alla Reale Accademia dei Lincei per Ordine di Sua Eccellenza il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione.

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- RIASA= Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.
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- Gambacurta, G. (1990ae) 59. Caprino Veronese (VR) Pesina - Castello. In *CAV 2*, p. 52.
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- Gambacurta, G. (1990aj) 216. Bussolengo (VR) Ca' de' Cavri. In *CAV 2*, p. 81.
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