Scritti per il decimo anniversario di Aristonothos

a cura di Stefano Struffolino

ARISTONOTHOS
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Ledizioni

In copertina: Il mare ed il nome di Aristonothos. Le "o" sono scritte come i cerchi puntati che compaiono sul cratere.

Questa serie vuole celebrare il mare Mediterraneo e contribuire a sviluppare temi, studi e immaginario che il cratere firmato dal greco Aristonothos ancora oggi evoca. Deposto nella tomba di un etrusco, racconta di storie e relazioni fra culture diverse che si svolgono in questo mare e sulle terre che unisce.

"Allora è vero quanto ripeteva, se non erro, Archita di Taranto […]:
'Se un uomo salisse in cielo e contemplasse
la natura dell'universo e la bellezza degli
astri, la meraviglia di tale visione non
gli darebbe la gioia più intensa, come dovrebbe,
ma quasi un dispiacere, perché non avrebbe
nessuno a cui comunicarla'.
Così la natura non ama affatto l'isolamento e cerca sempre
di appoggiarsi, per così dire, a un sostegno,
che è tanto più dolce quanto più è caro l'amico."

Con questa frase di Cicerone nel *De Amicitia* (XXIII, 88)
vi ringraziamo tutti per aver voluto celebrare
con i vostri scritti il decimo anniversario di Aristonothos!

Federica Cordano, Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni

Sommario

Cultural Exchange in Northern Italy

Christopher Smith

In 1964, Guido Mansuelli organised the mostra *Arte e civiltà romana nell'Italia settentrionale* in Bologna, which began to open up our knowledge of the extraordinarily rich artistic culture of northern Italy before and during the Roman period[1]. Some fifty years later, as part of the celebrations around ExpoMilano 2015, Luigi Malnati and colleagues organised a major exhibition in Brescia, *Brixia: Roma e le genti del Po*. This essay, a short and inadequate homage to the excellent work of Federica Cordano and Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni on the series *Aristonothos*, reflects on that exhibition, and the current state of knowledge on northern Adriatic Italy. It does not pretend to be complete, but seeks rather to identify some key developments, and some future research challenges.

Brixia: Roma e le genti del Po was in many ways a game-changing exhibition. In its scope, scale and ambition, set in the extraordinary context of Brescia itself with the newly reorganised presentation of the Parco Archeologico, it revealed the extraordinary sophistication of the art and culture of northern Italy to a substantial new audience. The well-illustrated catalogue was accompanied by a separate, very important volume of essays, which sadly is extremely hard to find, and deserves to be reprinted or made available on line[2]. This book, which contains the underpinning research for the exhibition, makes clear how significant this area is for the understanding of the impact of Roman culture. This and other studies, however, have helped us to appreciate more clearly the complexities of the world with which the Romans engaged in the third and second centuries BC.

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[1] Mansuelli 1964.

[2] Morandi, Filli 2015; Malnati, Manzelli 2015. I am very grateful to Dr. Francesco Muscolino of the Soprintendenza Archeologia della Lombardia – Milano, for assisting me to access the latter. For other bibliography, I am, as ever, indebted to the British School at Rome Library, without which this essay would not have been possible.

This landscape of adaptation had already been the subject of waves of cultural contact. We have been rightly fascinated by the world of Magna Graecia and its place as a unique crossroads of culture[3]. However the north of Italy offers a different and complementary laboratory for understanding cultural exchange[4]. For the most part, this essay will focus on Emila Romagna to the south of the Po, and Lombardia and the Veneto to the north, with occasional glances at Liguria, Piemonte, Trentino-Alto Adige and the Marche, from prehistory to the arrival of the Romans[5]. My focus then is not on Romanization as such, but on

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[3] The literature on Magna Graecia is enormous of course, but specifically on the topic of cultural exchange and hybridity, see the forthcoming acts of the 54th Convegno Magna Grecia on *Ibridazione e integrazione in Magna Grecia*. For some recent theoretical approaches, focusing in particular on network theory, see MALKIN 2011 and BLAKE 2014; and for *Aristonothos'* own contribution, with a particular focus on writing, see COPANI 2012.

[4] It is surprising that there has not been a substantial account of this area since the superb but now outdated trilogy, CHEVALLIER 1980a, 1980b, 1983, though see the useful PEYRE 1979; and none which ranges across the whole period. See MARZATICO – GLEIRSCHER 2004 for an important and wide-ranging exhibition. The relatively new series *Archeologia delle Regioni d'Italia*, directed by Sergio Rinaldi Tufi, is beginning to address the lack of regional surveys, and has the huge merit of taking in the whole period from prehistory onwards; see BARBIERI – MANZELLI 2006; GRASSI – FRONTINI 2009, with *Archeologia nella Lombardia orientale* 2012; BONETTO 2009, with the important exhibition, GAMBA *et Alii* 2013; two helpful and reasonably up-to-date guides are ROSSIGNANI – ROSSI 2009, and see also the massive catalogue *I Liguri*, and accompanying volume of essays, DE MARINIS – SPADEA 2007; ROSSIGNANI – BARATTO – BONZANO 2009; for the Trentino see LANZINGER – MARZATICO – PEDROTTI 2001; BUCHI 2000. There are several important specialised journals: *Aquilieia Nostra*; *Archeologia Veneta*; *Notizie di archeologia del Veneto*; *Preistoria alpina*; *Notiziario, Soprintendenza archeologica della Lombardia*. Many local and regional periodicals cover prehistory and the Roman period alongside later periods. It must be emphasised that the notes here only scratch the surface of an immensely rich bibliography, and are heavily weighted to more recent Italian works.

[5] On chronology, the major issues are with the Middle to Final Bronze Age, the transition to the Iron Age, and ensuring that the subphases of early Iron Age culture are correctly aligned, since various regions develop at different paces; see PERONI 1975; BELARDELLI *et Alii* 1990; BARTOLONI – DELPINO 2005; BIETTI SESTIERI 2010.

the geographical, social and cultural conditions which supported, determined and constrained the ways in which northern Italy responded to Rome.

Geography and earliest history

The area in question is geographically defined by the southern Alps and the Appenines and its most obvious feature is the Po river, which created a vast alluvial plain. This relatively flat land continues into the Veneto where the sedimentary action of the Adige, Brenta, Piave and Tagliamento rivers produced a contiguous flat area. In total, this covers an area of 46,000 square kilometres, and is one of Italy's largest microregions. The Po-Venetian plain comprises nearly three quarters of the plains of Italy, and the Po is navigable up to 257 km from the sea[6].

The major characteristics of the area, which are of huge significance for understanding the way human activity developed, include the river course, afforestation, and the importance of the pre-Alpine niches to the north and their connectedness to Europe beyond. The Po, in antiquity variously called the Eridanus, Padus, or by the local people Bodencus[7] was naturally far less managed and prone even more than in recent times to flooding. We are used to a flat and relatively treeless landscape, whereas it was heavily forested in antiquity, and the Po was more divided as a river. Lakes were important focuses of human settlement. This means that the process of agriculture, when it started, needed to be highly organised to create usable space and manage risk[8]. The pre-Alpine area had developed hunting and animal husbandry already in the Mesolithic, and gradually integrated the Alps fully into agricultural strategies through transhumance practices, as well as growing metallurgical exploitation[9].

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[6] WALSH 2014, p. 89; the Po was also substantially navigable in antiquity, but one would like to know more in detail about this. For a Roman period laced barge on the River Stella in Udine, and parallels, see CASTRO – CAPULLI 2016.

[7] Pol. II, 16; cfr. Plin., *NH* III, 122 explaining Bodincus as bottomless. See ALESSIO 1949.

[8] Helpful summary in STARNINI 2017.

[9] MALONE 2003; FEDELE 1992; BIAGI – STARNINI 2015; PEARCE 2007; DE

Apart from the significant levels of progradation, the Po Delta itself was vulnerable to climatically induced change too. Simeoni and Corbau summarise the developments as follows:

> During the Late Bronze Age (ca. 3000 years BP) the Po presented two main courses: the northern is commonly known as Po di Adria and the southern flowed into the Adriatic sea close to the Etruscan town of Spina (Po di Spina). These hydrographical conditions were developed during a remarkable climatic worsening … characterised by an increase in the intensity and frequency of the flooding events. This climatic worsening was probably responsible for the almost complete disappearance of the Iron Age settlements … The Roman period was characterised by a warm climate and by riverine stability … associated with the development of a wide cuspate delta that extended from Ravenna to Comacchio and flowed seaward over 2–3 km from the actual shoreline.[10]

Similarly the Veneto had a constantly changing hydrographic aspect which required constant attention to water management[11].

In summary, the Po Valley and the pre-Alpine regions to the north offered a substantial range of opportunities and challenges. The potential fertility of the valley was balanced by the labour-intensive work of managing the land, whilst the pre-Alpine area encouraged the development of a variety of technologies. Climatic change clearly influenced the landscape and approaches to it. Human mobility across this landscape was probably substantial, and forms the backdrop to the events of the first millennium BC.

Prehistory of the Po Valley

With potentially good communications and fertility, the Po Valley was certainly a site of intense human activity[12]. The Po was already

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Marinis 2013.

[10] Simeoni – Corbau 2009; Balista 2013, pp. 159-192; Berti 2007, pp. 19-48.

[11] Gamba *et Alii* 2013, pp. 6-15.

[12] For detailed surveys of the period from Neolithic to Bronze Age, volumes of the series of conferences organised by L'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria are invaluable; see 29, 1994 (Friuli Venezia Giulia Istria); 31

a focus for settlement patterns in the Neolithic, although Walsh suggests that the abundant resources may have delayed the introduction of Neolithic farming practices which were of more relevance in more marginal areas[13]. Nevertheless, it is usually thought that the valley had already lost its original vegetation cover by the Bronze Age, and was steadily being deforested and put to agriculture[14]. The people of the Bronze Age Terramare culture will have been key to this transformation[15]. This culture is characterised by mainly rectangular settlements surrounded by an embankment and ditch into which water from rivers or canals was routed. The earthworks therefore both defended the site and helped organise the resources. The Terramare village huts were often raised up on stakes, and gathered into villages. Some of these settlements were of long duration, and some of considerable size; Santa Rosa di Poviglio at its maximum is 7 ha; Fondo Paviani 16 ha and Case del Lago 22,5 ha; the outer enclosure of Case Cocconi is 60 ha. The result is that they often created multi-layered deposits several metres thick. Population growth was high – the area has been estimated to have had a population of around 150,000 between the Middle and Recent Bronze Ages, and may have exhibited higher densities of population than anywhere else in Italy[16]. Yet it was a relatively egalitaran society, so far as we can tell from burial evidence[17].

It is important to note that Terramare culture was neither the only culture in this area, nor was it isolated. The settlements of the Valli Grandi Veronesi have been described as a polity in themselves[18].

1997 (Valle d'Aosta); 32, 1998 (Piemonte); 33, 2002 (Tentino Alto-Adige/ Südtirol); 38, 2005 (Marche).

[13] MALONE 2003, pp. 263-265.

[14] MARCHETTI 2002; MERCURI 2006. The critical issue is the rate of this deforestation; see *La protostoria tra Sile e Tagliamento* 1996, pp. 464-468.

[15] The essential guide to this cultural period is the exhibition catalogue, BERNABÒ BREA – CARDARELLI – CREMASCHI 1997. See also DE GUIO 2002; BIETTI – SESTIERI 2010, pp. 21-78; DE GROSSI MAZZORIN – CURCI – GIACOBINI 2013 for environmental evidence; BLAKE 2014, pp. 113-149.

[16] On settlement patterns, and suggesting more hierarchy than is sometimes thought, see BOUDRY 2015. On population estimates see BIETTI-SESTIERI 2010, pp. 77-78.

[17] One of the major necropolis sites is discussed in CARDARELLI 2014; cfr. ZANASI 2014.

[18] GAMBA *et Alii* 2013, pp. 27-34.

The Canegrate culture of pre-Alpine eastern Lombardy and eastern Piedmont is clearly visible in the Recent Bronze Age, and appears likely to have entered via migration from across the Alps[19]. Moreover there were significant long-distance connections. One interesting indication from the Middle Bronze Age are the so-called Tavolette Enigmatiche, clay tablets (usually – there are a few stone ones in Italy) with geometric marks, which are found on both sides of the Alps – as the name suggests, their function is much disputed[20]. The advanced metalworking of the Terramare culture rested on and led to imports and exports across the Alps. The Etruscan exploitation of the Colline Metallifere came later, although there was exchange in ceramics and bone-carving[21]. Blake has shown that Terramare culture was also connected down the central Adriatic coast[22].

The Terramare culture collapsed between around 1200 and 1150 BC, at exactly the same time as the late Bronze Age collapse in the eastern Mediterranean. Climate change may have been one factor, with diminishing agricultural returns having a high impact given the large population, but it was unlikely to have been the only one. Cardarelli has suggested that in addition, the relatively isonomic society of the Middle Bronze Age was replaced by increasing hierarchy, perhaps as a way of trying to cope with challenging conditions. Broader Mediterranean disruptions may have also impacted on the area[23]. For the area south of the Po, the effect seems to have been devasting, with a significant degree of depopulation, though this was not as marked in the south (Etruria) or in the Veneto[24]. As the Terramare culture collapses, so the Canegrate culture also becomes increasingly invisible, and is apparently absorbed into the subsequent cultural facies, called

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[19] Blake 2014, pp. 28 e 119.

[20] See Piccoli – Ruggiero 2015. Two proposals, not mutually exclusive are that these are tokens of exchange (Costa 2015) and symbolic representations of landscape (Deola – Pedron 2015).

[21] Blake 2014, pp. 117-118; on the long history of metallurgy here see Angelini *et Alii* 2013; and more specifically, Pearce 2007.

[22] Blake 2014, pp. 122-129. It thus maps very neatly on to the Gallic territories of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.

[23] Cardarelli 2010; Bernabò Brea – Cardarelli – Cremaschi 1997b.

[24] Bietti-Sestieri 1997; Cremaschi – Pizzia – Valsecchi 2006; Capuis 2009, pp. 51-52. For prior contacts with the Aegean world, see Bettelli – Vagnetti 1997.

Golasecca culture, after one of the distinctive burial grounds.

In very rough summary, Transpadane Italy divided in the wake of the collapse of Terramare culture and into two early Iron Age cultural facies, with local variations[25]. To the west, Golasecca culture diverges from Canegrate culture. Burial was exclusively cremation initially. A key early centre was Como[26]. Connections with the transalpine region were strong. For the 9th to 7th centuries the major necropoleis of Castelletto Ticino[27], Golasecca[28] and Sesto Calende[29] have provided significant evidence of wealth and social differentiation. Settlements were agglomerations of villages, much as proto-urban Etruria somewhat earlier[30]. One of the key sites, Felsina (Bologna), moves very rapidly into an urban phase, but its 'proto-urban' structures were already demonstrating high levels of organization[31].

Further to the east, in the Veneto, Oderzo, Concordia and especially Frattesina emerged quickly and powerfully, the latter having strong trading links into the Adriatic[32]. By the end of the ninth century, Este and Padua were emerging as important settlements[33]; indeed the Vene-

[25] Bietti-Sestieri 2010, pp. 175-208 for a more nuanced summary, and see Peroni 1975; Ridgway 1979. For an overall summary of the Varese region, de Marinis – Massa – Pizzo 2009; cfr. for recent work Grassi – Pizzo 2014.

[26] *Como fra Etruschi e Celti*, pp. 11-40.

[27] Gambari – Cerri 2011.

[28] Grassi – Mangani 2016.

[29] Kruta 2004; see also a number of essays in the new journal "Zixu: studi sulla cultura celtica di Golasecca", 2, 2015.

[30] de Marinis 1997; his argument that they were essentially Celtic fits with Blake's argument above that Canegrate culture was essentially the product of a migration. See also Gambari 2004.

[31] *La formazione della città preromana*; Sassatelli 2005, pp. 127-143. For a tabulated comparison of urbanization across the region and into southern France, and across a number of different factors, see Agostinetti 2012.

[32] *Venetorum Angulus,* pp. 31-156; Capuis 2004; Capuis 2009, pp. 52-67; Bietti-Sestieri 2010, pp. 204-208; *La protostoria tra Sile e Tagliamento* 1996. For Padova: Malnati, Gamba 2003, and a beautifully illustrated catalogue with helpful environmental data, De Min *et Alii* 2005. For Concordia, see Croce da Villa, Balestrazzi 2001. On Frattesina, specifically see *Il villaggio di Frattesina* 2010; in context, see *Venetorum Angulus*, pp. 159-288; Bietti Sestieri 1997b.

[33] Tosi 1992; Ruta Serafini 2002; Braccesi – Veronese 2013.

to experiences its most dramatic changes around 800 BC with the concentration of settlements on the major sites[34]. One of the characteristics of this culture is the burial with the deceased of bronze situlae or buckets, which came to absorb Greek influenced artistic decoration[35].

This broad division lasts from the tenth to the eighth century BC, and the seventh and sixth centuries show the increasing impact of the broader trading patterns of the Mediterranean, as well as the growing dominance of Etruria. Across the region, we can see variations again. For instance, in Liguria, the area closest to the Alps, around Turin, shows relatively little engagement with the Etruscans, and it has been suggested that the Taurini and Salassi who lived there were part of a migration movement, maybe in the sixth century[36]. The areas of Liguria closer to the lakes, which was dominated by the Insubri, and in the hinterland of Genoa, saw much more Etruscan influence. Insubrian Liguria developed significant settlements and elite behaviours very much in line with what we see across the Po Valley[37], and the southern area was part of the major development of trade and culture represented by the presence of the Phocaean Greek colony of Massilia and the substantial trade with Tyrrhenian Etruria[38]. It is to the Etruscans that we turn next.

The Etruscan expansion in northern Italy

The development of an Etruscan empire in the Po valley is an extraordinary phenomenon[39]. Archaeology demonstrates a deep penetration

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[34] Capuis 2009, pp. 91-98; 115-121.

[35] Bonfante 1981, pp. 33-65; *Venetorum Angulus*, pp. 487-500 (Montanari, on musical instruments as depicted on situlae) and 501-510 (Bonfante, on clothing represented on situlae); Frey 2011; Gamba *et Alii* 2013, 280-99. Celtic art, its influences and impact remain an important and challenging topic, on which see for instance Vitali 2003, Farley – Hunter 2015.

[36] Gambari – Gandolfi 2004, pp. 11-28; *I Liguri*, pp. 191-281; Gambari 2008; Rubat Borel 2006.

[37] Gambari – Gandolfi 2004, pp. 11-28.

[38] *Gli Etruschi da Genova ad Ampurias* 2006.

[39] For surveys see Sassatelli 2004; 2013; Sassatelli – Govi 2013. Beyond the Po Valley, see Capuis 2004; Aigner Foresti 2004; Maggiani 2004. See also Mantua, de Marinis 1988.

of the area, from the inland right across to Spina and the Veneto. The opportunity for Etruscan expansion seems to have been opened up by the collapse of the Terramare civilization and depopulation of the area south of the Po, and at the same time by the outward-looking interests of the Golaseccan and paleo-Venetic cultures which emerged to the north of the Po which we have just described[40]. Etruscan presence is already detectable in the ninth century BC, and accelerates in the seventh and sixth centuries, leading to the development of aristocratic and princely societies[41].

We have still barely begun to think through how to explain the northern expansion of the Etruscans. One probably unhelpful model is to reuse colonization, a term which is already hugely problematic both for the Greek and the Roman worlds. We simply do not have a good enough grasp of the nature of the movement in this period – how constant or how concerted it was[42].

Another problematic term may be 'empire'. Did the Po valley constitute an Etruscan imperial venture, and if so was it by all the Etruscans or just some[43]? There are two different traditions in the sources. One is a very messy piece of the Verona scholiast on Vergil *Aeneid* X, 200, which attributes to Aulus Caecina and Verrius Flaccus the foundation of Mantua, so called after the Etruscan name for *Dis Pater*, a chthonic deity associated with prosperity and fertility[44]. The tradition includes a reference to Tarchon as a leader (Archon in the *Schol. Ver.*, but Tarchon in Servius Danielis). The obvious conclusion would be that the ancient sources constructed a story which set the desire for ag-

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[40] HÄUSSLER 2007, who downplays massive migrations in favour of longer term processes, and emphasises the role of local populations. LORRE – CICOLANI 2009 and the essays in BARRAL – GUILLAUMET – ROULIÈRE-LAMBERT 2014.

[41] For the aristocratic world of north Italy see BARTOLONI 2000, pp. 79-80; 327-401; BURGIO – CAMPAGNARI – MALNATI 2010; MALNATI – GAMBA 2003.

[42] See the essays in DELLA FINA 2008 (including SASSATELLI's slightly sceptical essay); and for colonization and its problems see BRADLEY – WILSON – BISPHAM 2006; DONNELLAN – NIZZO – BURGERS 2016a; 2016b. For a different approach, see DELLA FINA 2013.

[43] Greater concentrations of material come from some Etruscan cities in the north such as Vetulonia, Volterra and Chiusi.

[44] It is interesting that Julius Caesar (*BG* VI, 18) claimed that the Gauls thought they were descended from this deity, which one can at least interpret as suggesting that they had a Celtic god with similar attributes.

ricultural land at the heart of the story. Another wave of Etruscan influ-
ence under Ocnus, king of Perugia, is attested in Servius in the same
gloss; giving way to his brother he went to found Felsina (Bologna)[45].

   These look like awkward versions of Greek colonization stories and
far less can be built on them than can be shown by the archaeological
evidence of a clear cultural shift from the ninth century onwards in the
southern Po valley, to a culture which we call Villanovan. In this Bo-
logna may indeed have been a leader[46]. The Etruscan presence arrived
in a thriving area, not as sometimes thought depressed by wider late
Bronze Age problems and we need to understand – at least in Bologna
– a process of acceleration not decline and rise[47]. Bologna's territorial
expansion is then phenomenal – both in terms of itself as a city but
also its territorial extent[48]. Moreover its major reserves of metal (for
instance in the remarkable find of nearly 1500 kg of bronze at Piazza
De' Marchi from the first quarter of 7th century BC)[49], some perhaps
brought in from southern Etruria, indicates a degree of exchange be-
tween old and new Etruria, as well as the success of the city itself.
This success seems to have led to growing inequality from the eighth
century onwards, as visible in burial evidence, but also to a significant
urban development across the region[50]. Alongside urban form, came
all the accoutrements of urban life, which at this point included artistic
motifs derived from the Greek and eastern worlds, the phenomenon
we somewhat awkwardly call orientalization[51].

   By the mid-sixth century, the Adriatic was becoming more impor-
tant due to the increasingly problematic conditions in the Tyrrhenian
seas. New foundations at Marzabotto, with its orthogonal plan, Spina,
the Venice of its time, and Mantua emerge strongly, and Bologna is

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[45] For a useful summary see Camporeale 2008.
[46] On Bologna see Taglioni 1999; Sassatelli – Donati 2005; Ortalli 2008;
Ortalli 2013, on which see the sceptical response by Sassatelli 2015, and a
reply by Ortalli 2016.
[47] Forte – von Eles Masi 1994.
[48] Bologna may reach around 200 ha.; for the nearby countryside see Neri
2012 and Burgio – Campagnari – Malnati 2010.
[49] Bentini 2005.
[50] *La formazione della città preromana*; Govi 2014.
[51] Riva – Vella 2006. For a specific example of the phenomenon see Marchesi
– Rossi – Baraldi 2011.

reorganised[52]. In the fifth century Bologna's horseshoe grave stelai are a marker of civic identity and pride[53]. They also set a standard for a culture of representation of political power and authority which is also found elsewhere in the region – this has now gone beyond an aristocratic world and towards a citizen body[54]. Similar processes can be seen in Este and Padua, and in the filling out of the Veneto countryside with sites such as Oppeano[55] and Gazzo Veronese near Este[56], and the development of Altino[57].

How can we explain this new world? And where is the previous population? Should we perhaps see a sharp and commercially determined Etruscan elite moving in to drive economic change and then benefit politically? Certainly in Spina we have to acknowledge that we are seeing an absolutely ruthless niche being built in the north Adriatic, but in the Veneto the local population seem to be exploiting a commercial opportunity[58]. In other inland areas, agricultural or domestic production must be more prominent, but as Bologna reaches up to the Po Valley we must assume that it was driving some of the necessary deforestation which opened the area to agriculture, whilst at Verrucchio, the two most evident features in the archaeological record, the celebration of textile manufacture and the import of amber from the head of the Adriatic are difficult to dissociate one from another[59].

Transpadane culture was clearly intimately connected to the burgeoning Etruscan economy, and benefitted by operating as an intermediary with the Alps and beyond. Independent systems of writing and elite culture can be seen from Genoa to Venice[60]. Moreover borders,

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[52] Govi 2014; on Marzabotto, its cults and artisanal activities, as well as a comparison with Altino, see Sassatelli, Govi 2005.

[53] Govi 2015 with bibliography.

[54] For the transformed world of the 5th century see Sassatelli 1990; Govi 2014.

[55] Morandini 2014.

[56] Salzani 2001 for the long continuity of the necropolis here from the 10th to the 6th centuries.

[57] Boaro 2001; Cresci Marrone – Tirelli 2003; Tirelli 2011 for an excellent catalogue.

[58] Spina: Cornelio Cassai – Giannini – Malnati 2013; cfr. Berti – Guzzo 1993; Ghinato 2004; Rebecchi 1998. Veneto: Capuis 1994.

[59] von Eles Masi 2007; von Eles Masi *et Alii* 2015.

[60] Sassatelli 2005; Bagnasco Gianni 1999, emphasising the role of women.

insofar as that term makes sense[61], were clearly permeable and already in the fifth century BC we see signs of La Tène culture from across the Alps infiltrating into Italy, and vice versa. It is not clear that the Etruscan presence in the Po Valley was exclusive, and indeed it is very difficult to see how it could have been, given the need to manage the large territory. As Sassatelli states, the ramping up of economic activity, with Bologna at the centre and with new foundations generating additional commercial opportunities, whilst also marking out their territories, 'made use of local human resources'[62]. This last point is important, because as we shall continue to see, mobility is at the heart of this story.

The Gallic invasion

The process of the arrival of the Gauls is disputed[63]. Polybius dates the arrival of the Gauls to the early fourth century, and at II, 17, 4-7 describes what happened. The Etruscans, he says 'were the oldest inhabitants of this plain' and the Celts, 'being close neighbours of the Etruscans and associating much with them, cast covetous eyes on their beautiful country, and on a small pretext, suddenly attacked them with a large army and, expelling them from the plain of the Po, occupied it themselves'. Polybius lists the tribes, and implies that the Veneto remained as it had been. He goes on to describe the Gallic way of life, emphasising a simplicity and mobility, and concludes 'for them, having followers is of the greatest importance, those among them be-

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[61] Lomas 2012 suggests that in the Veneto the boundary between individual cities was more important than any ethnic boundary. See also Bourdin 2012.
[62] Sassatelli 2004, p. 184. See also Neri 2015 for the importance of women in artisanal roles. We see a society-wide commitment to economic development. One important area may have been textile production on which see the important volume Busana – Basso 2012, though concentrating on the Roman period.
[63] Much recent work has focused on disentangling the Celts from the sources, and to some degree trying to bring an element of temporal development to what can be a rather synchronic approach. See Santoro 1978; Vitali 1987; the monumental exhibition Moscati 1991; Green 1996; Cunliffe 1997; Williams 2001; Carr – Stoddart 2002; Grassi 2009; Marzatico – Gebhard – Gleirscher 2011; Maier 2012; Farley – Hunter 2015.

ing the most feared and most powerful who were thought to have the largest number of attendants and associates'.

Polybius, Diodorus (XIV, 113), Justin (book XXIV) and others all associate this rapid success with the sack of Rome, in other words a very quick but effective invasion of northern Italy. Livy V, 33-34 however gives a different timescale, even if the tribes are in more or less the same order. He claims that Ambigatus split the Gauls into two groups to reduce population and sent them under his nephews into Germany and Italy. This happened at when Tarquinius Priscus was king at Rome. The Gauls win a battle against the Etruscans and set up near the lakes, and found Milan. A sequence of other tribes follow (the sequence is more or less the same as that in Polybius). Finally, the Senones entered Italy, and this was the tribe which attacked Rome.

It is impossible finally to reconcile these two accounts, except by suggesting that we have a process whereby there is a steady infiltration over a significant period of time[64]. The context of the Livian version is a refutation of the rather embarrassing story that the Gauls were invited in by one Arruns of Clusium in the early fourth century as revenge for having been cuckolded. One reasonable assumption would be that the account of long term defensive actions by the Etruscans was a more positive version than the very negative account of Arruns' selfish folly. Some modern authors have been highly critical of the Livian account, assuming it to be a simple retrojection, but everything we have seen so far points to a more porous system of continuous exchange, which would imply that what happened in the early fourth century was a change of pace[65]. However, it was a change of pace which left a significant mark on the world of northern Italy. The end result, a substantial Celtic presence in northern Italy, is clear and indisputable; it is confirmed by Strabo's accounts in Books IV and V, and by the archaeology. What kinds of models can we use to explain these movements?

The prevailing interpretation of the relationship between the Gauls and Italy is still close to that of Barry Cunliffe's core periphery model, which prioritises trade and the desire for luxury items from outlying areas, and the impact of collapsing chains of supply and demand on

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[64] Both D.Hal. and Pliny, *NH* III, 112 give versions which imply longer repetitive changes of culture in the area.

[65] Defente 2003; Bourdin 2012, pp. 592-600.

population movement[66]. However the complex relationships between the Mediterranean and Hallstatt Europe remain one of the most dramatic examples of cultural exchange[67]. The presence of Massilia as a funnel for trade in the whole panoply of Mediterranean luxury goods created demand which led to the emergence of chiefdoms in central Europe between 600 and 450 BC[68]. These prestige goods economies depended on a supply which began to falter as the Etruscans concentrated on the Po valley and the Adriatic trade routes, in response to their own difficulties in the congested Tyrrhenian sea.

This coincided with demographic increases in the Marne-Moselle group, part of the emerging La Tène culture. The combination of the weakening of Hallstatt culture as its economic support from the south dwindled, and a growing population, led to the massive wave of movements which brought the Gauls firmly and permanently into the Italian world. The sack of Rome was one element of a wider story, which included the evident presence of Gauls in Picenum, on the Adriatic coast of Italy[69].

There are indeed clear signs of destruction and damage in the late fifth and fourth centuries BC, the most evident being at Marzabotto and Spina[70]. However, la Tène goods remain relatively rare south of the Po. Should we perhaps recharacterize this as a spike in mobility? That leads us to question what mobility looks like in antiquity, and a good case has been made for pervasive mobility of small numbers of people[71]. This might imply that relatively small increases could create significant perceptions of invasion.

How military was the Gallic move? It seems reasonably clear that the Gauls were capable of amassing armies – perhaps more rarely of

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[66] CUNLIFFE 1988.

[67] Another inexhaustible bibliography exists on this subject and it is beyond this article to summarise it. There are helpful recent essays in SIEVERS – SCHÖNFELDER 2012; GÖTZ – WENDLING – WINGER 2014; and a broad account in KERN *et Alii* 2009. For a small but relevant indication of the 'trade in ideas' see VERGER 1998 on a piece of local pottery with an Etruscan graffito.

[68] On this, see the helpful collection of articles, BATS 2013.

[69] NASO 2000, pp. 251-255.

[70] GOVI in LENZI 2006.

[71] WOOLF 2016 offers a careful account of mobility related to connectivity, downplaying the numbers involved, whilst not denying the importance of the phenomenon. Cfr. BOURDIN 2012, pp. 592-600.

sustaining them. Yet, in an area which had already seen much movement of individuals, and perhaps family groups, what might the result of invasion have looked like? More than almost anywhere else in Italy, we face genuine difficulties over emic and etic definitions of ethnicity, as the later sources sought to identify groups which were by their nature hybrid. As a consequence the archaeological record and the historical record may be telling the same story, but in a different way.

Etruscan persistence in northern Italy

The recent and important conference volume, *Il mondo etrusco e il mondo italico di ambito settentrionale prima dell'impatto con Roma (IV-II secolo a.C.),* is a rich new account of precisely this ambivalence in our evidence[72]. The reflection of the historical account in the archaeological material is muted and partial. This is a case study in what to expect from the archaeological evidence in cases of major cultural shift, that is, a slower working out of the consequences rather than a sudden change. Previous cultural exchange between north Italians and Gauls may have led to a less obvious material changes after the acceleration of the late 5th and early 4th centuries BC.

Language change is another sensitive index of culture change, but seldom straightforward, and especially where the numbers of inscriptions are so small, and dating so difficult. Subsequent to the sixth century there are indications of an increasing rigidity and formulism, as we see also in Etruscan. There are important public inscriptions, including boundary markers, and an intriguing suggestion of a reference to *decumanus* at Padova. Onomastics show Celtic and Etruscan names, and a complex mix of naming systems[73].

At Spina, different excavations show very different results in terms of continuity or discontinuity around 300 BC, and perhaps worked hard in the fourth and third centuries to establish itself in Adriatic networks, whilst Adria was possibly more receptive to the Celtic world. This suggests that we should maybe look to the Roman intervention for an explanation of the final closure of Spina as a significant port,

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[72] Govi 2016.
[73] Marinetti – Solinas 2016; see also Marzatico – Gebhard – Gleirscher 2011, pp. 393-396.

and the rise of Ravenna and Adria. It is clear that Adria needs to be much better understood as a critical player, both in the Adriatic and in its own hinterland[74].

At Marzabotto the decline in the fourth century, following contraction in the fifth, is not necessarily the result of a single dramatic event, but rather of the generalised crisis of Etruscan commerce in the north. Celtic goods become more visible, especially in graves, including four by the temple of Tinia. Changes to the settlement pattern show a varied picture of use and non-use of the pre-existing structures. Marzabotto displays not simply Celtic influences, but also an impact from the Ligurians, which suggests an increase in their influence (also visible at Monte Bibele and elsewhere), and that Etruscan imports continued in the third century. The consequential picture makes Marzabotto less a settlement in dire crisis, and more one which displays similar patterns of accommodation and gradual co-existence, at least from the archaeological evidence[75].

Monte Bibele, with its sanctuary and votive deposit, settlement and necropolis offers a remarkably coherent and rich set of information. Its early phase (early fourth century) is predominantly characterised by Etrusco-Umbrian material in the votive deposit; in the second phase burial evidence includes some significant amounts of weaponry, with important transalpine elements, and ceramic votives in the sanctuary; the third phase from the mid-fourth century sees a continuing and increasing mix of influences; but the fourth and final phase into the third century shows increasing Celtic influence and the site ends at the end of the third or early second century BC[76].

The volume as a whole is full of riches and to a large extent bears out the complex picture which led Bourdin to speak of multi-ethnic societies[77]. The Etruscan influence is obviously pervasive, and the impact of the Celtic invasions is clear, but every site has its own trajectory. A myriad of individual circumstances and contingencies have intervened and we certainly cannot see a widespread collapse. This is

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[74] *Venetorum Angulus* 567-614 (Donati, Perrini); and see for Greek inscriptions on ceramics at Adria, and a useful overall statement, Baldassarra 2013, part of the important new series *Diabaseis*.

[75] Morpurgo 2016.

[76] Penzo 2016.

[77] Bourdin 2012.

important because this process of co-existence and difference explains much about the way the Romans have to manage northern Italy. Our Rome-centred sources give far too little attention to the sheer complexity of the society which they met, and the long-term strategies for success which they encountered.

Roman intervention in northern Italy

For the Romans, the area north of Etruria was defined first by the inhabitants who flowed in from the 5th century, the Gauls, and by the river. The Alps seem to have appeared late as a key border feature, no doubt influenced by Hannibal's march[78]. The area where the Sennones settled in the Marche was called *ager Gallicus*, and the Po valley came to be known as *Gallia Cisalpina*; *Gallia Cisalpina* was further subdivided into *Gallia Cispadana* and *Gallia Transpadana*[79]. Romans were aware that there was a distinction between this Gaul and the Gaul beyond the Alps; it was a distinction made sharper by the remarkable phrase *Gallia togata* for the Cisalpine area, and led to calls for citizenship to be extended here in the late Republic, which did indeed happen. It is a striking feature of the size and prosperity of this area that it would by the Augustan period occupy four of the eleven Augustan regions: *Regio VIII Gallia Cispadana*, *Regio IX Liguria*, *Regio X Venetia et Histria* and *Regio XI Gallia Transpadana*.

Roman sources are clear in describing a history of conflict with the Gauls after their arrival in northern Italy. The Gauls are depicted as a permanent threat to Rome, and Livy is full of references to Roman reaction to the perception of that threat, as well as active conflict; the phrases *metus Gallicus* and *tumultus Gallicus* for the emergency response are often cited, though modern sources may have given them more reality than they actually had[80]. Roman intervention in northern Italy was justified by the need for defence against an enemy, though there are hints of a strategy of unification of the country to the Alps[81]. The narratives partly reflect traditions of ethnography, hostile to out-

[78] Purcell 1990.
[79] Polverini 2010.
[80] Bellen 1985; Golden 2013; Kerremans 2016.
[81] Purcell 1990, p. 19; Williams 2001.

siders, and the representation of the Gauls needs to be understood as a highly constructed set of tropes, much influenced by later events. What follows is simply an outline account of relationships between Rome and northern Italy in the Republican period[82].

Once the Gauls were in Italy, they became a constant threat. The sack of Rome, evocatively presented in Livy Book V, is an event which seems to have been seared into Roman memory, and now there are some suggestions that we may have signs of destruction at roughly the right time. However, there is no doubt that it became symbolic of Roman vulnerability and totemic of Rome's need to strengthen her defences[83].

One aspect of the Gallic invasion is that whilst some Gauls may have stayed in the north, others seem to have been relatively mobile, and some remained in the vicinity of Rome or went further south[84]. It is unlikely that every engagement was motivated by a controlling strategy from the north, and as we have seen from Polybius and Livy's accounts, there were several different tribes who settled in Italy. It was the Senones who had settled in Picenum who occupied Rome in 396 BC, and may have continued to challenge Rome, just as they may also have contributed most of the mercenaries to Dionysius I of Syracuse[85].

It is in the context of these ongoing attritional encounters that the famous single combat between Manlius Torquatus and the Gaul took place in 361 BC[86]. Sulpicius Peticus defeated the Gauls in Latium in 358 (Livy VII, 12, 7-15, 8), and in 350 and 349 they had briefly settled in the Alban Hills, but were defeated and fled (Livy VII, 23-26). There

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[82] See WILLIAMS 2001 for a superb account; OAKLEY 1997-2007, I. 360-365; more recently, ANDO 2016. On Roman ethnography of the Gauls, see WOOLF 1998, pp. 48-76; ID. 2011. PURCELL 1990, pp. 20-21 includes monumental decoration such as the terracottas at Civita Alba.

[83] WILLIAMS 2001, pp. 140-205; DELFINO 2009.

[84] Livy mentions Gauls in Apulia (VII, 1, 3).

[85] For the idea that the early engagements were with a loose band of Gauls, or mercenaries, from the south, see SORDI 1960, 153-165, with OAKLEY 1997-2007, I. 363-364. See also BOUZEK 2014; RITCHIE – RITCHIE 1996 pp. 55-56. On the phenomenon of the mercenary see TAGLIAMONTE 1994; DELLA FINA 2013.

[86] *FRHist* 24: Claudius Quadrigarius F6; Liv. VII, 9-10, with OAKLEY 1997-2007, II. 113-148. On single combat, see OAKLEY 1985; RITCHIE – RITCHIE 1996, pp. 54-55.

were unsubstantiated rumours of an attack in 332 and 329 BC, these being themselves partly inspired by the fears of the Cisalpine Gauls over potential conflict with Transalpine Gauls. Yet it is interesting that they are also shown as operating alongside others, for instance Tibur and Praeneste,[87] and they are allegedly capable of forming treaty relationships, so, according to Polybius, in 332 BC or thereabouts, Rome signed a peace treaty with the Gauls[88]. This had fallen by 297 BC, by when the Gauls had joined the Samnites, and they linked also with the Etruscans in the great battle of Sentinum in 295 BC[89]. Conflict continued through the 280s with Rome increasingly gaining the upper hand, and Polybius refers to a decisive victory (II, 19, 7-12). The colonies of Sena Gallica (Senigallia) and Adria in 289 BC, and Castrum Novum (Giulianova) at around the same time suggest that policing the Picene area was Rome's primary concern. Her control was strengthened by the colonies of Ariminum (Rimini) in 268[90], and Firmum (Fermo) in 264 BC[91].

Polybius records fewer encounters than Livy, and this has encouraged the belief that Livy has turned the actions of an independent warrior band into something more organised. In general it may well be that we are seeing a record which has substantially exaggerated the actual skirmishes, reflecting perhaps a heightened sensitivity on the part of Rome to the Gallic threat, but also, perhaps, the nature of the records which Livy was using[92].

Rome upset a precarious balance in the 230s BC. Provocative actions in the territories of the Ligurians and the Boii, and preparations for the construction of the Via Flaminia, led to a Gallic attack on the colony of Ariminum. The aggressive policies of Gaius Flaminius in assigning land previously held by the Senones in the *ager Gallicus* to Romans led to a general sense of threat; Polybius (II, 21, 9) indicates that the Boii who were adjacent to the Senones, and others, felt they would be next[93]. A massive force was mustered, including the Insubres

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[87] Livy VII, 9; 12-15.

[88] Pol. II, 18, 9; Livy VIII, 20, 2-5 records a *tumultus* in the same year.

[89] Medri 2008.

[90] Lenzi 2006.

[91] For this area see now the exceptional work of Vermeulen 2017.

[92] On the pontifical annals, see *FRHist* I *Annales Maximi* (J.W. Rich).

[93] Valvo 1977; Vishnia 2012.

to the west and even Transalpine Gauls (Pol. II, 22-31). The Romans won a major battle at Telamon in 225 BC, and then begin to campaign determinedly in Cisalpine Gaul, but the Second Punic War intervened. When Hannibal invaded in 218 BC, the Gauls unsurprisingly joined with him and made up a very substantial part of his army; they scored a substantial victory in an ambush near Litana in Cisalpina (Liv. XXIII, 24)[94].

However, the Hannibalic War seems to have been disproportionately damaging to the Gauls, and when it was over, the Romans concentrated their efforts for fifty years or so on the north of Italy. The Insubres were heavily defeated in 197 BC (Liv. XXXII, 30-1) and in 193 BC, a major defeat of the Boii may have led to their departure from Italy[95]. In the 170s, the focus was on Liguria, with a series of campaigns, and the forcible removal of some of the tribes 'from the mountains to the plains', which might mean either to work the land for the Romans. The last confiscation was in the 140s[96]. The fear of the Gallic threat never quite dissipated; two pairs of Gauls and Greeks, a man and a woman each, were buried alive in the Forum Boarium in 228, 216 and at the time of Cimbrian Wars in 113 BC[97].

On one account then, the Romans reacted to threat, but from another point of view the actions of the Romans seem distinctly aggressive, and it is clear that even sources relatively hostile to the Gauls note that it was Rome which extended the field of operations from Picenum to the Cisalpina. Moreover, there is a remarkable story of an entirely peaceful migration. Livy tells us that in 186 BC, some Gauls crossed the eastern Alps to near the future city of Aquileia with the hope of founding a city themselves (Liv. XXXIX, 22). Roman envoys discovered that the tribe from which they had come had not approved the move, and although the settlers claimed in the Roman senate that the land had been vacant, the Romans took the view that the sway of the consul operated and sent them home (Liv. XXXIX, 54). Aquileia would be founded shortly afterwards (Liv. XL, 34) and Ando rightly notes Livy's acknowledgement that the colony was on the land of the

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[94] For the Gauls in the Hannibalic War, see Ciancio – Rossi 2016, pp. 61-86.
[95] Livy XXXVI, 38, 5-7, with Strabo V, 1, 6.
[96] Strab. IV, 6, 7.
[97] Eckstein 1982; Bellen 1985.

Gauls[98]. Forced resettlements were common in the period[99]. In the next section we will look further at the Roman strategy in northern Italy, and its wider significance.

The Roman model – colonization, Romanization, urbanization

One of the most characteristic elements of the Roman response to the challenge posed by northern Italy was the creation of colonies[100]. Ariminum (268, Latin), Firmum (264, Latin), Placentia and Cremona (218, Latin), Bononia (189, Latin), Pisaurum (184, Roman), Parma and Mutina (183, Roman) and Aquileia (181, Latin). The composition of the colonies has been much discussed; Cornell has argued that Roman colonies must have included Latins, and Erdkamp that Latin colonies must have included *socii*[101]. Many were veterans, and their military experience was important.

Colonies were accompanied by confiscations of land[102]. The treatment of this land was different from what we see in the rest of Italy, since the quantity of land was so great. Colonists received more land on the whole[103]; and whilst some of it was *ager publicus*, and so property of the Roman people, some was given away. Roselaar argues that 'the centuriations around most colonies in Cisalpina are enormous, and usually much larger than the amount of land that was needed for the colonists. Apparently the colonies received these lands as commu-

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[98] On Aquileia see Roberti 1989.

[99] Liv. XXXIX, 2, 9; XL, 38, 1-9; XL, 41, 1-6; XL, 53, 3; XLII, 22, 5-6; Ando 2016, pp. 281-282.

[100] Salmon 1969; Bandelli 1988, esp. pp. 1-34 for basic accounts.

[101] Cornell 1995, p. 367; Erdkamp 2011.

[102] See Roselaar 2010, pp. 299-326 for details. Note that this is – largely – the case for Cispadane Gaul rather than Transpadane Gaul where Rome operated through treaties, except for Cremona, Aquileia and possibly Eporedia. A good example is the Mediolanum, a key centre of Golaseccan and then Celtic culture, is not made a Roman colony until much later. On early Milan see now Mori – Pagani 2015.

[103] See Pelgrom 2008, p. 338 for a tabulation of what we know. See Erdkamp 2011 for arguments about differential allotments to different classes of soldiers.

nal lands to be administered and or rented out by the city'[104]. Although there are instances of forced removals, many of the original inhabitants (some of whom will have been descendants of Etruscans) will have remained – and critically we do not know when the centuriation of the area really got under way. The early divisions of the land may have been somewhat notional[105].

This network was crucially connected with the Roman road network – the Via Flaminia to Ariminum (220)[106], the Via Aemilia across the Padane plain (187) and the Via Postumia (148)[107] which linked the outpost of Aquileia into the broader network. However, as Guy Bradley has noted, the idea that this constituted a clear strategy is somewhat problematic[108]. The roads came considerably after the colonies, and did not necessarily join them directly[109]. The appearance of strategy is a post hoc interpretation, according to Bradley, of the situation. This fits with the current reinterpretation of colonies overall, spearheaded now by a major Dutch project, which has challenged the extent to which the colonies did indeed radically transform their surroundings[110]. Moreover, even if we accept that the intention of the colonies was directly connected to control of the territory it is clear that they were not always successful.

Placentia and Cremona are the two colonies which give us an indication of how difficult conditions were in the Po Valley in the late third and early second centuries BC. They were both founded after the defeat of the Gauls at Telamon in 225, on either side of the Po[111]. Each consisted of no fewer than 6000 colonists, with Latin rights. The colonies had barely started when the news of Hannibal's invasion encouraged the uprising of the Gauls, who attacked them, ravaged their territory, and drove many of the colonists to take refuge at Mutina.

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[104] Roselaar 2010, p. 53.

[105] See for instance Silvestri 1989. For a useful summary of evidence for Aemilia Romagna, see Calvani 2000, pp. 57-72.

[106] Luni 2002.

[107] Sena Chiesa – Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1998.

[108] Bradley 2014.

[109] An obvious counter is that the formal road network may have been preceded by a less formal one.

[110] Stek – Pelgrom 2014. See also Termeer 2015.

[111] Liv. *Epit*. XX; Vell. I, 14; Pol. III, 40; Ascon. *in Pison*. p. 3; Tac., *Hist*. III, 34.

Polybius and Livy both give us the detail that Placentia's land measurement was interrupted, indicating rarely visible processes of colonial development[112]. Placentia's port was attacked[113]. However the cities stood, and were still in the hands of the Romans in the following year, since Scipio quartered his army in them both before and after the battle of the Trebia[114]. Both colonies stayed loyal to Rome in 209 BC when others did not[115]. Placentia survived an attack by Hasdrubal in 207 BC[116], and the following year both cities appealed to Rome, because their colonists were abandoning them. The Gauls took Placentia in a surprise uprising in 200, assisted by Hamilcar, plundering and burning the town and taking its inhabitants into captivity[117]. Cremona held out, and the consul L. Furius defeated the Gauls outside Cremona in 200 BC. Livy claims that 35,000 Gauls were killed; 2000 captives from Placentia were restored to the colony; they marched in the triumph of Cornelius Cethegus wearing the *pileus* suggesting they had been freed from slavery[118]. This implies that the Gauls had set them to work. L. Valerius Flaccus repaired their losses in 195 BC only for Placentia to see its territory ravaged up to the walls in 193 BC[119]. By 190 BC, both colonies had to appeal again for reinforcements, having lost so many people due to war, disease and reluctance to live next to the Gauls. The Senate approved that 6000 families should be sent out to the two colonies, and two more colonies should be built[120], though in the event only Bononia was founded, replacing the old Etruscan town of Felsina, which had been taken over by the Boii.

How does the archaeological evidence, as discussed in *Brixia: Roma e le genti del Po* match this evidence[121]? Ariminum in the third century BC has an imposing defensive wall; organisation of the space inside may have come later[122]. Fourth and third century Bologna shows both

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[112] Pol. III, 40, 9; Liv. XXI, 25.

[113] Liv. XXI, 57, 59; XXVII, 39, 14 suggests a more significant attack.

[114] Pol. III, 40, 66; Liv. XVI, 25, 56, 59, 63; App., *Hann*. V, 7.

[115] Liv. XXVII, 10.

[116] Liv. XXVII, 39.

[117] Liv. XXXI, 10.

[118] Liv. XXXI, 21; XXXIII, 23, 6; Tarpin 2014.

[119] Liv. XXXIV, 22.

[120] Liv. XXXVII, 46-47.

[121] Malnati – Manzelli 2015, pp. 64-110.

[122] Calbi, Susini 1995; Fontemaggi, Piolanti 2000; *Le mura di Ariminum*

Etruscan and Celtic material in its burials, with a steep decline in all material evidence in the late third century. Third century BC Padua is highly successful, over 200 ha in size and with close attention to its urban and territorial divisions. Adria has a flourishing productive centre, strong trade with Etruria and a mixed Venetic, Etruscan and Celtic community. Similarly, Este shows a mixed affluent community and strong cultural and religious leadership. Brescia was the centre of the Cenomani, and yet clearly traded extensively with the Etruscan area in the third century BC. Milan also shows strong continuity in the few places we can see a stratigraphic record.

Through the second century, the Roman towns of Cispadane Italy and those associated with them develop rapidly, with ordered grid patterns and clearly defined perimeters; the colonial model, much questioned for earlier periods, looks more accurate for northern Italy. However, it is very clear that the small numbers of colonists cannot have managed the massive territory, notwithstanding the attempt to redistribute land to Roman citizens.

The distribution of land is one of the most significant interventions in the landscape, but dating centuriation patterns is extremely difficult and the attitude of our sources towards land distribution can be coloured by the violence which attended the proposals of the Gracchi. Polybius' very negative account of Flaminius, first that his land law was responsible for igniting war with the Gauls (II, 21, 9), that it led to the degeneration of the Romans (II, 21, 8), and lastly that he was a poor commander (II, 33, 7), may owe something to Fabius Pictor, and he is to an extent an unreliable witness[123]. However, there is no denying the fact that the confiscations and land allotments described above deprived local famers of land, and that the characteristic pattern of allotments constitutes a major reshaping of agricultural behaviour.

The difficulty as Pelgrom has pointed out is that it is very difficult to see these early stages. His suggestion that initially at any rate, colonists may have moved into the pre-existing *vici* is intriguing[124], the per-

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2013; Lenzi (ed) 2006. Purcell 1990 insists on the importance of Ariminum in the construction of a Roman concept of imperial space. Both Ariminum and Paestum seem to have had a similar foundation deposit ritual involving the sacrifice of a dog; Termeer 2015, pp. 128-132.

[123] Vishnia 2012.

[124] Pelgrom 2008

sistence of names such as Forum Gallorum and Forum Druentinorum suggests continued existence of local settlements, albeit administered from the colonies[125], and Roselaar has shown that attitudes to the presence of non-Latins or non-Romans differed from colony to colony[126]. In Cisalpine Gaul, given the history of antagonism between Rome and the Gauls, it is likely that the distinction was rather clearer, but archaeological evidence of Senonic culture was still visible in the marginal areas around Ariminum, the Boii still lived around Cremona, and Ligurians were still present around Luna.

One colony which stands out is Aquileia on the borders of the Veneto. The Veneto in general offers some very specific features. The Venetic culture we see around Este, Vicenza and Padua was distinctive, and although the Etruscan presence at Spina was important, and commerce evident, there was no sense that the Etruscans dominated here. Neither did the Gauls; surrounded by various Gallic tribes, the Veneti seem to have kept their distinctive language and cults[127]. Indeed there was a tradition that the Veneti tried to distract the Gauls as they invaded Italy, and that they formed a treaty with Rome as early as 225 BC[128]. So the colony at Aquileia was an interesting move into this area, and it is notable that the land offerings were huge as an incentive. It has been suggested that the Veneti invited the Romans in, and that they were involved in the land distribution which followed, which at over 375km2 was the largest of them all. Moreover, the settlement began slowly, its walls were admitted by the colonists to be weak. What we do not yet know, but a new Australian project will hopefully tell us, is how the territory was actually managed[129]. Overall, the impression is that Aquileia may have been more designed to control the approaches to Istria than the Veneto itself.

Roselaar summarises the evidence for names from Greek or the east, the Celtic world, Illyria, and southern Italy and states that Aquileia 'seems to have been a multi-ethnic community before and after its

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[125] Roselaar 2010, p. 54.

[126] Roselaar 2011.

[127] Bourdin 2012, pp. 653-660.

[128] Pol. II, 18, 2-3; II, 23, 2-3; II, 44, 7-8.

[129] Hillard – Beness 2016; Traviglia 2015. I am grateful to Tom Hillard and Lea Beness for sharing this work with me.

colonization'[130]. The vigorous engagement of the Veneti in trade along the Po, into the Alps and down into the Adriatic is very clear, so the Romans may have chosen to be regarded as simply another trading partner, albeit one with a physical presence in the area. Roman sensitivities over the Veneto were clear, as is shown by their expulsion of some optimistic Gauls (above). The world of Aquileia offers a perhaps extreme version of what Bourdin has identified as a broader trend of multi-ethnic societies, using evidence from the continuity of Etruscans and Umbrians after the Gallic invasions[131]. The fluidity of identity now looks more like a constant than something unusual.

So, just as the Etruscans persisted after the Gallic invasions, so after the Roman conquest the indigenous population continued to be present in the landscape. We have to assume a continuing mixed population in the second century BC, reflecting what we see in the towns of the fourth and third centuries[132]. Continuity of religious shrines may therefore reflect mechanisms of sustaining communities and economic ties; the shrine at Brescia, perhaps built on a local sanctuary as recently suggested, might indicate how towns were connected to the countryside through persisting ritual activity[133]. In the Transpadane area generally, where the Gallic influence was stronger, and the Roman physical presence limited, life will have changed even less. Cremona stands out with indications of the sort of architectural decoration and sophistication we see in other colonies to the south, but there is little indication that this spread into the countryside.

This survey indicates that the archaeological record again shows degrees of continuity where the historical record concentrates on rupture and change. This is unsurprising; first, continuity is difficult to describe and relatively uninteresting, and second the record which the Romans were using, the lists of magistrates, triumphs and notable occurrences, was event driven. From our point of view, this then can be interpreted as highly strategic and aggressive, or the evidence of archaeology, or apparent disparities and inconcinnities such as the lateness of roads, or the failure to support isolated colonies (Aquileia for instance, needed a

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[130] Roselaar 2011.
[131] Bourdin 2012, 592-666.
[132] Already argued by Gabba 1982; 1983.
[133] See Stek 2014; Malnati – Rossi, pp. 86-90 (Brescia); Fontemaggi – Piolanti 2000 (Ariminum).

second deduction in 169 BC) can be interpreted as showing that there was in fact no real strategy. The reality in northern Italy was that in the Roman conquest, as in the Gallic irruption, and almost certainly the Etruscan one too, new centres and structures overlay deeper and older ones; new populations co-existed with each other, and engaged in processes of unequal but not necessarily one-sided assimilation and acculturation[134]. This is consistent with a maximal interpretation of Roman imperial control, because Rome could at most hope to nullify or reduce risk, and benefit economically[135]. A good deal of Roman violence after the extraordinary concentration of effort in the first half of the second century BC was perhaps symbolic rather than physical, and the end result was a suppression of a distinct Gallic identity, but the opportunity for reinterpreted local identities[136].

Rome, Cisalpina and demography

One of the ways in which northern Italy has become of additional significance is over what it can tell us about the population of Italy. We have seen that the consequence of the Roman presence was an increase in the level and formality of urban settlement. We have also seen that in prehistoric times this area was highly populous. What was the situation in the Roman period?

This is of great significance to the debate over the size of the Roman population, a debate far too complex for summary here[137]. However, the basic problem is that the ancient census data can be read in one of two ways, one leading to a 'low count' of about 6 to 7 million inhabitants in total (including slaves) at maximum, or one of anywhere between 13 and 20 million, which is a population level not seen until the 19th century.

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[134] It has been suggested that the famous bilingual border marker at Vercelli reflects the continuity of Gallic boundaries, as we might expect north of the Po; see Wataghin Cantino 2011.

[135] For an example of Roman economic benefit, see Strabo IV, 6, 12 quoting Polybius and Pliny, *NH* III, 138, 33, 78 on Roman exploitation of gold mines.

[136] See now Haeussler 2013. It is unsurprising that Gallia Cisalpina learns quickly how to engage diplomatically with Rome: Bandelli 2005.

[137] Beloch 1886, Brunt 1971; Lo Cascio 1994; De Ligt – Northwood 2008, Hin 2013 and Hanson 2016 are some key milestones in the ongoing debate.

One way of potentially deciding this thorny problem may lie in northern Italy, because of its substantial carrying capacity, the enfranchisement of the area in the first century BC, as well perhaps as its presumably significant dependent labour population in agriculture. Part of Brunt's argument in defence of the low count rests on the maximum population of the Cisalpina not being so high as to make the low count impossible[138]. In other words, if one makes Cisalpine Gaul hugely populated, then the picture would become quite unbalanced. For this reason, Brunt emphasises a series of negative factors which would prevent a high population count: flooding, marshy conditions, afforestation, indications of non-intensive farming, inaccessibility to Rome especially, unsettled conditions with regular raiding, small allotments implying additional work on large estates (and hence fewer individual landowners).

If we grant for the moment that these points are correct, then the next issue will be the nature of the towns themselves. The key issue here is the urbanization rate – the proportion of the total population living in towns, and this has been discussed by Luuk de Ligt[139]. The difficulty is that according to his reading, even with optimistic calculations of the size and density of population in the seventy or so towns of northern Italy, one cannot get to any evidence supportive of the sort of urbanization rate needed to deliver a high count population. The urbanization rate would need to be around 15 to 20% which is two or three times the situation in c1600. The alternative is to fill the countryside, which runs against the Brunt line.

It has to be admitted that these conclusions have themselves been challenged. In an unpublished paper, Jeffrey Kron argued that 1600 was a poor choice of comparator, because the Italian population was actually historically rather low; that de Ligt missed out a lot of small settlements; that his measures of the size of cities and their potential populations is too conservative by a significant factor; that this is especially true because he depended too much on areas within city walls, thereby ignoring suburban populations; that higher population densities than de Ligt suggested are common, and can be managed by multi-storey buildings[140]. This would make the high count far more plausible[141].

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[138] Brunt 1971, pp. 166-203.
[139] De Ligt 2008.
[140] On the houses of northern Italy, see George 1997.
[141] Kron forthcoming; see also Bandelli 1999, also supporting a high count.

Interestingly, neither de Ligt nor Kron addressed Brunt's arguments about the countryside. Extensive centuriation is one of the most noticeable consequences of the Roman impact and one assumes completely transformed the Po Valley in the later Republic, not least because it was not simply a matter of legal distribution and social control, but also assisted with the management of water[142]. The massive organization of the landscape, accompanied by the road network, was a major step forward one must assume in productive capacity. Indeed, following Bradley's pertinent comments, one might well argue that the roads played a more significant role in bringing goods to market after the foundation of the colonies, than in linking the colonies for military purposes[143]. In other words, if the Romans had a strategy in north Italy, it was a commercial one.

Some of Brunt's points must stand. The Po Valley has been a notoriously difficult area in terms of water management and its climate can be difficult. However, it also offers an extraordinary routeway to the head of the Adriatic. Surprisingly, the role of the Adriatic is seldom foregrounded in the conversations over northern Italy, even though both the Gauls and the Romans clearly regarded it as a prize.

Gallic interest in the Adriatic is attested from the fourth century BC when some of the groups who moved south towards Italy split off down onto the eastern side of the Adriatic, as attested by Pompeius Trogus[144]. A potential story from this campaign emerges in Theopompus about the Gauls besting the Illyrians through lacing their food with laxative[145]. Polyaenus[146] states that the tribe attacked was the Autariatae. The Celts also send an embassy to Alexander the Great in 335 BC[147]. We find some occasional Celtic names in Illyria, and there are clear links through to the Veneto. Around 280, a large force of Celts moved through the eastern Adriatic, in the unsettled conditions following the death of Lysimachus, and this episode was a prelude to the

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[142] Chouquer Favory 1991; Calvani 2000, pp. 51-56 (dall'Aglio); Brigand 2010 with extensive bibliography for the Veneto.

[143] Bradley 2014.

[144] Justin, *Book* XXIV.

[145] *FGrHist* F 40.

[146] *Strat*. VII, 42.

[147] Strab. VII, 3, 8; Arr. I, 4, 6.

attack on Delphi, reported by Pausanias and Justin[148].

However the most significant intervention in this area was by the Romans, and here we touch on a complex issue of Roman policy. What is absolutely clear is that the Romans intervened massively in Illyria in 229 BC. The pretext of intervention was the rebuff to Roman envoys by Queen Teuta and protection of merchants on whom the Illyrians, noted for piracy, were preying[149]. The issue is how we should interpret this in the context of Roman strategy[150].

The evidence for a Roman interest in the Adriatic from an early period is as yet sketchy; Čašule has argued that the evidence is present in the third century BC and grows; Eckstein has claimed that precise dates are difficult and the evidence is slight[151]. The maximalist case would see a concerted Roman effort to engage with the Adriatic, from its colonies in Picenum through to the remarkably bold attempt to gain a hold towards the head of the Adriatic at Ariminum, through the massive intervention in the First Illyrian War[152]. The minimalist case – defensive imperialism or interstate anarchy – would see these as less strategic and more reactive, contextualised within a world of general violence.

Why might the Adriatic have mattered more to the Gauls and the Romans than this? Here we face one of the most tantalising and exciting opportunities for future research. To what extent was the eastern Adriatic coast an important periphery, market or goal for the sequence of cultures on the opposite coast? Were these two coastlines sporadically connected, or can we identify evidence for a more symbiotic relationship? In the Etruscan period, the quantities of Greek pottery show the evident flow of goods up the Adriatic. Brunt's claim that the Po Valley is isolated is an interesting comment on its relationship to

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[148] Pausanias, X, 23, Just., *Epit.* XXIV, 7-8. Inevitably, these stories of massive Celtic movements have come under the same sceptical scrutiny as those in northern Italy; see Džino 2008; Guštin 2008; Popa – Stoddart 2014.

[149] Policante 2015, pp. 3-27 on juridical notions of the sea and on the Roman defence of commerce. Cic., *De off.* III, 29 for the definition of the pirate as *hostis communis omnium*.

[150] See Derow – Erskine – Crawley Quinn 2015, pp. 21-45; Gruen 1984, pp. 359-436.

[151] Čašule 2012; Eckstein 2012.

[152] See Harari and Kirigin in Lenzi 2006 for some support for this argument.

the rest of Italy, but does it hold true if one looks across the sea to the coast of Illyria? This, it seems to me, is a critical question in the context of the previous discussion on the urbanization rates of northern Italy – and one might add the extraordinarily dense population of the Adriatic coast as revealed by Vermeulen's survey. There is much work still to be done on understanding how the two Adriatic coasts interrelated with each other, over space and over time[153].

Modelling cultural adaptation in northern Italy

At the end of this very hasty survey, what kind of models can we use to explain as well as describe cultural adaptations in the Po Valley?

As always we need to start from geography – from the realities of the Pianura Padana, but also from the Adriatic facing nature of this entire region of Italy. What can we say about the speed of deforestation of this area, its productivity and its water management?

Second, we need to continue work on the problem of the presentation of the Celtic peoples of northern Italy. It seems clear that warfare, or at least plundering, was a part of their culture, but there are interesting alternative storylines. The archaeological evidence shows a capacity for co-existence and there seems every reason to believe that agriculture was a critical part of their success in this area, and also intermediary trading. This would not be incompatible with the Polybian view that the Gauls were focused on the size of dependent groups. However, the characterisation of the Gauls as only interested in agriculture and war looks increasingly unconvincing, as we see evidence of the significance of trading routes across northern Italy[154].

If we wish to deconstruct the concept of the Gallic tribe, however, we need to be prepared to look at other modern constructs, such

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[153] VERMEULEN 2017. The BSR is proud to be partnering a team led by Enrico Giorgio (University of Bologna) in the investigation of the sanctuary at La Cuma di Monte Rinaldo, and we hope to continue working in the Adriatic.

[154] One area to explore is the circulation of coinage before the Roman period; see ARSLAN in LENZI 2006; HÄUSSLER 2007 on the Padane drachma; TERMEER 2015 on the coinage of Ariminum. The use of the head of a Gaul on the bronze coinage of Ariminum, and the weight standards which seem to look towards local conditions are much discussed; see ERCOLANI COCCHI – ORTALLI 2012.

as the Etruscan empire, the Roman colony, and indeed the nature of Romanization in this area[155]. This is not so much a call to rerun some very familiar arguments in the context of the Cisalpina, and more an encouragement to take seriously the concept that if individual agency and local conditions have to be taken into account, the Cisalpina offers a remarkable opportunity to see this in intense detail. Few areas have been so closely studied in depth. Equally, northern Italy was an area in which Rome had another laboratory for how to rule at distance. Faced with a vast territory, which unlike areas such as the Sabina, was fertile, largely navigable, and perhaps densely populated, Rome needed new solutions, but it might be better to say that Rome learnt new solutions in an environment of mutual invention, rooted in long histories of co-existence.

At least one way of reading the history of the Cisalpine region may be as a sequence of opportunities for leadership and commercial success. The fertility of the area invited and permitted a series of efforts to control the profits of exploitation, and one of those profits may have been prestige and status. Govi's volume concludes with an elegant and concise essay by Sassatelli, which emphasises the significance of the Gallic impact on northern Italy, and introduces a potent notion by saying that all north Italy, even the areas more dramatically affected, remained 'Mediterranean,' and the area retains an outward facing dynamism based around the Adriatic[156].

The recent archaeological evidence points much more firmly towards a deep continuity of productive activity across the first millennium BC, and whilst in the end it is difficult either to deny the significance of the Gallic invasions, or to understate the importance of raiding and warfare within their culture, the growing evidence of successful communities across the period from the sixth to second centuries suggests that we should see the invasions as a disruption rather than a catastrophe, and a disruption of their own patterns of life as well as of their neighbours. Moreover, whilst the Roman presence was clearly transformative, it was part of what evolved into a collective enterprise in Cispadane Gaul. Indigenous populations remained for the most part (the departure of the Boii being an exception). The

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[155] Häussler 2013 makes an important start for Liguria; see also *I Liguri*, pp. 447-527.
[156] Sassatelli 2016.

Roman narrative shows that there was resistance to the reshaping of local networks but the notion of Gallia Togata equally indicates that there was significant assimilation.

Cunliffe's model gives us an essentially economic explanation – core-periphery relations are constructed around prestige goods exchanges, and when the core weakens, the periphery moves into it or collapses. Thus disruption to the Tyrrhenian Sea circulation system impacted on the Hallstatt system, shifting focus towards the emergent la Tène culture. This set off the migrations, which brought the Celts into Italy. Models for Roman expansion into northern Italy suggest that it was driven by militarism, with a distinction made between those who see the Romans as uniquely expansionist and those who see them as part of an anarchic world system, between strategic imperialists, and accidental imperialists.

The Cisalpine area therefore in almost all these reconstructions is regarded as a repository of resources and an area of strategic significance within two contexts of social militarism (Cunliffe's phrase for the way both the Celts and the Romans embedded violence at a community level into their lives)[157]. From a local point of view however the emergence of state societies was a recurrent phenomenon from Liguria to the Veneto, many of them highly specialised exploiters of niche ecologies. What universes of values operated in these areas[158]?

The historical record is, as we have indicated already, much taken up with invasions and foundations, hard irruptions into continuities rather than the continuities themselves. The archaeological record shows the steadier pace of a predominantly rural landscape, but one which was highly productive. Given the significant levels of proto-urban or urban development, the notable displays of wealth and luxury, and the evidence of wealthy sanctuaries, we should assume that this potential was at least to some extent achieved. Strategies of stable exploitation and inheritance are therefore probable aspirations and outcomes, and this seems to be what the necropolis evidence shows us. Similarly borders were clearly necessary, but may have hardened over time[159], just as growing urbanization reflects shifts along a spectrum of the increased

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[157] CUNLIFFE 1988, p. 59.
[158] The phrase is borrowed from David Graeber; see below.
[159] CHEVALLIER 1992; WATAGHIN CANTINO 2011.

density of settlement rather than a momentous transformation[160]. However, this still leaves the explanatory force at a rather basic economic level. To move further will require more research, and we conclude with just a few examples of areas where we might look.

Water and land management across this vast area are clearly absolute core challenges. Work on the late Roman and early medieval period is beginning to reveal interesting patterns of urban to rural negotiation, with larger estates from the eight century onwards (as Brunt hypothesised for the late Republic and early imperial period) and early medieval strategies in which 'Italian communes in the Po Valley used their political authority in the countryside to push land clearance policies and to encourage (or impose) the plantation of crops that could feed the urban population (grain) or furnish a tradable surplus (vineyards)'[161]. Moreover, comparison with the Netherlands suggests two very different approaches to these challenges; Curtis and Campopiano summarise as follows:

> Medieval Holland was characterised by egalitarian distribution of property, high levels of freedom and autonomy for its inhabitants, secure rights to property and a modern system of property transfer, a wide range of specialised and commercialised (non-agricultural) economic activities, and a flexible and unrestricted market for commodities and capital. In contrast, the Po Valley was characterised by two different forms of repression (manorial and then urban), increasingly higher levels of polarised distributions of landownership, an entirely restricted and manipulated set of economic activities, and markets subject to domination by interest groups through monopoly.

One significant issue for the ancient Po Valley then is the extent to which land reclamation and water management was a collaborative or a coercive process, and what role slavery played. The extent to which agrigultural management became a highly urbanised phenomenon may have had significant consequences for the construction of the relevant market conditions. It would be interesting to speculate as to whether the Etruscan and Roman approaches were more like the later Italian approach – highly centrally driven and connected to a strong

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[160] TABORELLI 2007; cfr. VILLICICH 2007 for collections of evidence.
[161] CAMPOPIANO 2013; CURTIS – CAMPOPIANO 2014.

market orientation, whilst the period of Celtic domination was per-
haps more distributed, although the reference to the freed colonists of
Placentia may imply that they had been used by the Gauls effectively
as slaves[162]. Reframing the demographic argument as an argument
about urbanization rates then poses important questions, and may at
some stage offer answers, as to how we see the relationship between
the rural and urban world in the Roman period and where on the line
between the collaborative and coercive spectrum we should place the
Po Valley as its agricultural regimes became what Purcell described as
'productive, flexible, intensificatory'[163]. That in turn may depend on an
understanding of the quantity of dependent labour in northern Italy in
the early imperial period.

   It would also be interesting to know more about the impact of the
environment on customs and beliefs. This is a theme which has a par-
ticular resonance at the moment, when the Po Valley has become no-
table both as a locus of massive pollution and ecological risk, and for
protest and oppositional politics of various kinds. Studying long term
religious imaginaries would be challenging in an area where texts are
in short supply, but the exhibition Venetkens made a start[164]. Moreover,
some interesting work is being conducted away from the Po valley
around the complex ecologies in the shadow of the Alps, in the Valca-
monica for instance. The interpenetration of Roman and Celtic ideol-
ogies is and remains fascinating[165].

   All this speaks to a wider cultural geography of northern Italy than
we currently have, and one which takes advantage of the unique se-
quence of dominant but overlapping cultural groups (Terramare, Etrus-

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[162] TORELLI in VITALI 1995, pp. 1-7 argues for 'un cosciente rifiuto da parte
celtica del modello urbano' which led to a reduced productive capacity.
Whilst subsequent finds may have smoothed the curve, and the Etruscan and
Roman situations are not identical, the observation remains 'good to think
with'.

[163] PURCELL 1990, p. 19.

[164] GAMBA *et Alii* 2013 emphasises the importance of sanctuary evidence, and
some innovative soundscapes within the exhibition drew attention to the local
landscape features. PASCUCCI 1990, a survey of Venetic votive deposits, offers
fascinating material for further study. See also MASTROCINQUE 1987; CRESCI
MARRONE – TIRELLI 2001; 2009.

[165] *Archeologia nella Lombardia orientale*; PAVESE RUBINS 2014; SOLANO
2016.

can, Celtic, Roman, but also subsections such as Lepontic, Venetic and so forth)[166], and locates them within this complex but fascinating ecology. Northern Italy is a particular version of the Mediterranean world, facing not onto the more familiar Tyrrhenian or Aegean seas, but onto the Adriatic. David Graeber's challenge to see 'social worlds not just as a collection of persons and things but rather as a project of mutual creation, as something collectively made and remade' seems to me apposite here as a mechanism of interrogating our evidence[167]. What were the projects of northern Italy and what impact did they have?

In closing and as a final reflection on the Brixia exhibition, we should not forget that some part of this story must include the extraordinary literary achievements of a generation of north Italian writers, most notably Virgil and Livy. In Mantua and Padua, they began to find the resources for a construction of a particular vision of the Roman world. The brilliant exhibition showed the capacity of north Italian towns to achieve remarkable artistic and architectural sophistication, and to do so in a landscape in which citizen communities were clearly significant, but where the working out of social worlds against the backdrop of specific ecological conditions had been taking place for millennia. Livy's famous Patavinitas may precisely be the carrying forward of those values into the maelstrom of Rome at the birth of the Augustan age. In studying northern Italy, we are studying one of the crucibles of Rome's own identity.

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[166] ARSLAN 2007.
[167] GRAEBER 2013, p. 222.

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