

The Foundation of Bologna

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ABSTRACT – In this work the ancient peoples that participated to the foundation of Bologna are studied. In particular, the Etruscans are considered as a confederation of tribes belonging to two distinct lineages descending from Proto-Altaic and Proto-Indo-European peoples. In Bologna territory the members of these lineages were identified as *Rasna* and *Velsna*, or, in the dialect of the latter, *Ravona* and *Volvona*. Before Etruscans, the territory around Bologna was inhabited by Proto-Scythians and Proto-Umbrians. The role of all these peoples in the Bologna foundation is then investigated and referred to the archaeological finds discovered in the area.

KEYWORDS – Bologna, Felsina, Etruscans, Proto-Scythians, Proto-Umbrians.

INTRODUCTION

It is widely known that, before the Roman domination and the Gallic infiltration, in the territory of current *Bologna* an Etruscan city was located. Etruscans called this city by the name *Vélzena* (where the second vowel actually was a sound intermediate between Lat. *e* and *i*, corresponding to Greek letter), translated into Lat. *Félsina*. Since Etruscans frequently used in writing to omit internal unstressed vowels [1], the city name was usually written as *Velzna*. However *Velz na* / *Velzna* was not the only name used by the Etruscan people nor the oldest one referred to the place. In fact, even the current name *Bologna* has an Etruscan origin. Moreover, other peoples living in the area before and beside Etruscans left to us testimonies of the name by which the place was indicated at their time.

According to a recent diffusion theory [2, 3], Etruscans were a confederations of tribes descending from two distinct peoples: **Thyrg^w aunas* and **G^w aulg^w aunas*. The latter descended from *Proto-Scythians* and spoke a Proto-Indo-European language. Like their ancestors, they lived mainly on cattle breeding. **Thyrg^w aunas* descended from tribes living on the border (cf. Gr. *θυρα*, door) between *Proto-Scythians* and mongoloid morphology peoples. They resulted from the crossing of these populations and spoke Proto-Altaic dialects. Being a border people, they were subjected to commercial and cultural exchanges, developing the attitude to the commerce and reaching an higher cultural level. The tribes descending from **Thyrg^w aunas* that settled in Italy, specialised in commercing with the other Italic people, absorbing their cultural influence. They learnt the script, probably by Greeks [4], and developed an alphabet adapted to their own language. The Italic descendants of **G^w aulg^w aunas* probably acquired the script already elaborated by those of **Thyrg^w aunas* and use it in an ideographical way. That means that they wrote *Velzna* but they read this sign as the name by which they called the city in their own language. This is the reason for which in the Etruscan inscriptions we do not find alphabetical transliterations of this name. However, it survived with minor deformations until nowadays in the oral tradition. Moreover, we can reconstruct it, as well as other toponyms still used in the Etruscan age to indicate the place of current Bologna, by analysing ancient and modern geographical names in the territories occupied by Etruscans and their ancestors.

PROTO-SCYTHIANS AND PROTO-HIBERIANS

Proto-Scythians were originally known as the “cow breeder people”. The names reconstructed for their tribes [2] can in fact be derived from the term **swag^waus*, to which the meaning of “own cow”, “bred cow”, or “herd of cows” can be attributed. The most common derivations of this term are **Swag^wau-tas*, **Swag^wau-nas*, and **Swag^wau-las*, from which for example the historical Gr. forms [5] and - (as in - [6]), the Ass. *Askuzai* [7] and the Hebr. *Askenaz* [8, 9] (from the ablative **Swag^waun-at*, “from the country of cow breeders”) can in turn be derived. *Proto-Scythians* as well as *Proto-Hiberians* descended from **Suparsthas* [2], a caucasoid morphology population that concentrated on the mountains of Armenia probably as a consequence of a flood on Mesopotamia after the melting of glaciers of the last glaciation. From the name of **Suparsthas* those of the historical peoples of *Subarus*, *Hurrians*, *Parthians*, *Kurds*, *Hattians*, *Persians*, *Arsi*, *Ari*, *Asi* can be obtained through common phonetic changes [2].

While the ancestors of *Proto-Hiberians* (**Suparas* / **Subaras* / **Hubaras*) expanded northward through Caucasus, those of *Proto-Scythians* moved eastward through the Iranian highlands and northward into the grasslands of southern Russia, where they mingled with a minority concentration of mongoloid peoples. As a consequence of this crossing, the morphology of *Proto-Scythians* differentiated from that of *Proto-Hiberians*. The former were for example less dolichocephalic than the latter, having a flatter forehead and different orbital curvature.

In the last half of the III millennium BC *Proto-Scythians* started to move eastward from current Kazakhstan, forcing *Proto-Hiberians* to penetrate Europe or flow back through Caucasus. At the beginning of II millennium BC the border line between *Proto-Hiberians* and *Proto-Scythians* was approximately located from Anatolia to current Poland. In this border area some hybrid peoples generated from **Swag^waunas* and **Hubaras* (> **G^waunas Hubras* > **G^waumbras*) and from **Swag^waulas* and **Hubaras* (> **G^waulas Hubras* > **G^waulubras*): **G^waumbras* rose inside the Ún tice culture [], in a cultural exchange area where the main ancient commercial routes between Europe and Asia (along Rhine, Elbe, Vistula, Danube, and Boristhenes rivers) crossed; **G^waulubras* developed in the southern part of the border zone being the ancestor of the Anatolian *Chalybes* and the Italic *Calabri*. *Chalybes* were considered the inventors of metallurgy, while the italic descendants of **G^waumbras* started by the Adriatic coast a metal processing tradition which continued until nowadays and probably passed their name to the Latin word *faber* (< **g^wau'ber* < **g^waumbra*).

During the great migration of the beginning of the II millennium BC the borderline was displaced up to the Rhine valley while *Proto-Hiberians* and the hybrid peoples were pressed to the peripheral areas of Europe. In particular **G^waumbras* were forced to move to the North Sea and Baltic Sea and to descend on Italy, where they overlapped **Hubaras* / **Lubaras* (ancestors of *Ligurians*) previously immigrated. By analysing the names of the historical descendants of **G^waumbras* (*Cimbri*, *Cambri*, *Cumbri*, *Humber*, *Ambrones*, *Umbrians*), we can recognise the tendency of these peoples to transform the labiovelar *g^w* into unvoiced velar also aspirated and muted.

In the historical age the descendants of **G^waumbras* in Italy, *Ambrones* and *Umbrians*, were located in Liguria [11] and around Umbria, respectively. However, between these two regions some geographical names attest the past presence of relatives of these peoples. In particular, we can cite near Bologna the *Sambro* river and further south the *Ombrone* river, whose names can be derived from **G^waumbras* (for the change of *g^w* to *s* see below).

Shortly after the arrival of **G^waumbras*, *Proto-Scythians* started penetrating the italic peninsula. We can recognise the names of **Swag^wautas* / **Swag^waunas* / **Swag^waulas* in the historical names of *Sabates*, *Sabines*, and *Sabelli*, whose ancestors enter Italy from the north, and in those of *Sicani* and *Siculi* / *Asculi* (> *Apuli*), whose ancestors reached the peninsula through the Otranto strait.

In the historical age *Sabates* were mainly located by the Ligurian coast and in western Lazio, *Sabines* in eastern Lazio, and *Sabelli* further south. However some geographical names demonstrated the past presence of peoples descending from *Proto-Scythians* also in north-eastern Italy, and, in particular, in the area of Bologna and around. The names of *Aposa* torrent and *Savena* river can be in fact derived from **Swag^waus* (> **Savaus* > **Savos* > **Abos* > *Apo-sa*) and **Swag^waina* (> **Savaina* > *Save-na*), respectively. The change from *Abos* to *Apos* can be explained by noticing that in the Etruscan alphabet the voiced occlusives were missing and substituted by the respective unvoiced ones [12]. However, trace of the voiced labial remains in the diminutive form *Avesella*. Moreover, the Etruscan change from *b* to *p* leads us to find testimonies of peoples relatives of *Sabines* in Emilia-Romagna in the names of *Savio* (Lat. *Sapis*; but the voiced labial survives in current name) river and *Spina* (< **Sabina*; with Etruscan omission of the internal unstressed vowel) city, both near “Ravenna Sabinorum oppidum” [13]. Livy mentions a *Tribus Sapinia* inside the Roman army against Gauls *Boii* [14].

It is important to notice that **G^waumbras* spoke a language similar to that of **Swag^wainas*. In the historical age, the descendants of these peoples in Italy, *Umbrians* and *Sabines*, respectively, spoke dialects belonging to the Osco-Umbrian language family. In the endonyms of the descendants of **Swag^wainas* in northern and central Italy the labiovelar *g^w* then resulted probably in velar, as in the name of their relative *Sigynnae* [15], in the Danubian area and France, and of *Siculi* and *Sicani* in southern Italy. However, in northern and central Italy we received the names of the descendants of **Swag^wainas* through people in whose languages the labiovelar resulted in labial. In particular, in *Bologna* and its region we received this names through the descendants of **G^waulg^wainas*, who changed the labiovelar into *v* and later *b*. Therefore, we received the names *Savena* and *Sabina* as well as derived toponyms such *Savigno* or *Savignano* and family names such as *Savini*.

A trace of the Osco-Umbrian result in velar of the labiovelar *g^w*, can be found in the dialectal name of *Reno* river, which flows west of Bologna (Fig. 1). This river took its name after the descendants of **Thyrg^wainas* who settled in current Casalecchio to control the commercial route through *Reno* and *Ombrone* valleys. The name *Reno* is in fact a shorter form of Gr. *Tyrrh nos* corresponding to Etr. **Tarch na* (< **Targainas* < **Thyrg^wainas*). In Bologna dialect this river is called *Ragn* (< **Ragghena*), in which the voiced velars correspond to the sibilant in the name *Rasna* (see below).

Moreover, it is important to observe that in the name of **Swag^wainas* the most important part is *g^wau*, which indicates the cow breeder nature of the people. Therefore, this syllable was stressed. In the names of **Thyrg^wainas* and **G^waulg^wainas* the most important parts are *Thyr* and *G^waul*, which distinguish the one people from the other. Therefore, these peoples stressed the first syllable of their names and tended to do the same on the name of their neighbours. In Bologna, where the descendants of **Thyrg^wainas* and **G^waulg^wainas* were the majority, the accent on the first syllable (*Sävena*) prevailed, while by the Adriatic coast, where they were the minority, the second syllable remained stressed (*Sabina* > *Sapina* > *Spina*).

THE MIXED PEOPLE

**Thyrg^wainas* were originally located, as we said, in Central Asia on the northern border of **Swag^wainas*. In the III millennium BC the latter broke into the territory around *Volga* river, separating the former into two branches: the eastern one was forced towards Mongolia and China, the western one towards Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Eastern Europe [2]. The former would flow back westward during the great migration of the XIII-XII century BC, caused by the expansion of Mongol and Chinese peoples. **Swag^wainas* bordering on **Thyrg^wainas* then assumed the name **G^waulg^wainas*. In the course of time the two peoples fought each other, interacted and joined into a multilingual confederation of peoples, that in the Aegean area was known as **Mykg^wainas*, the *Mixed People*.

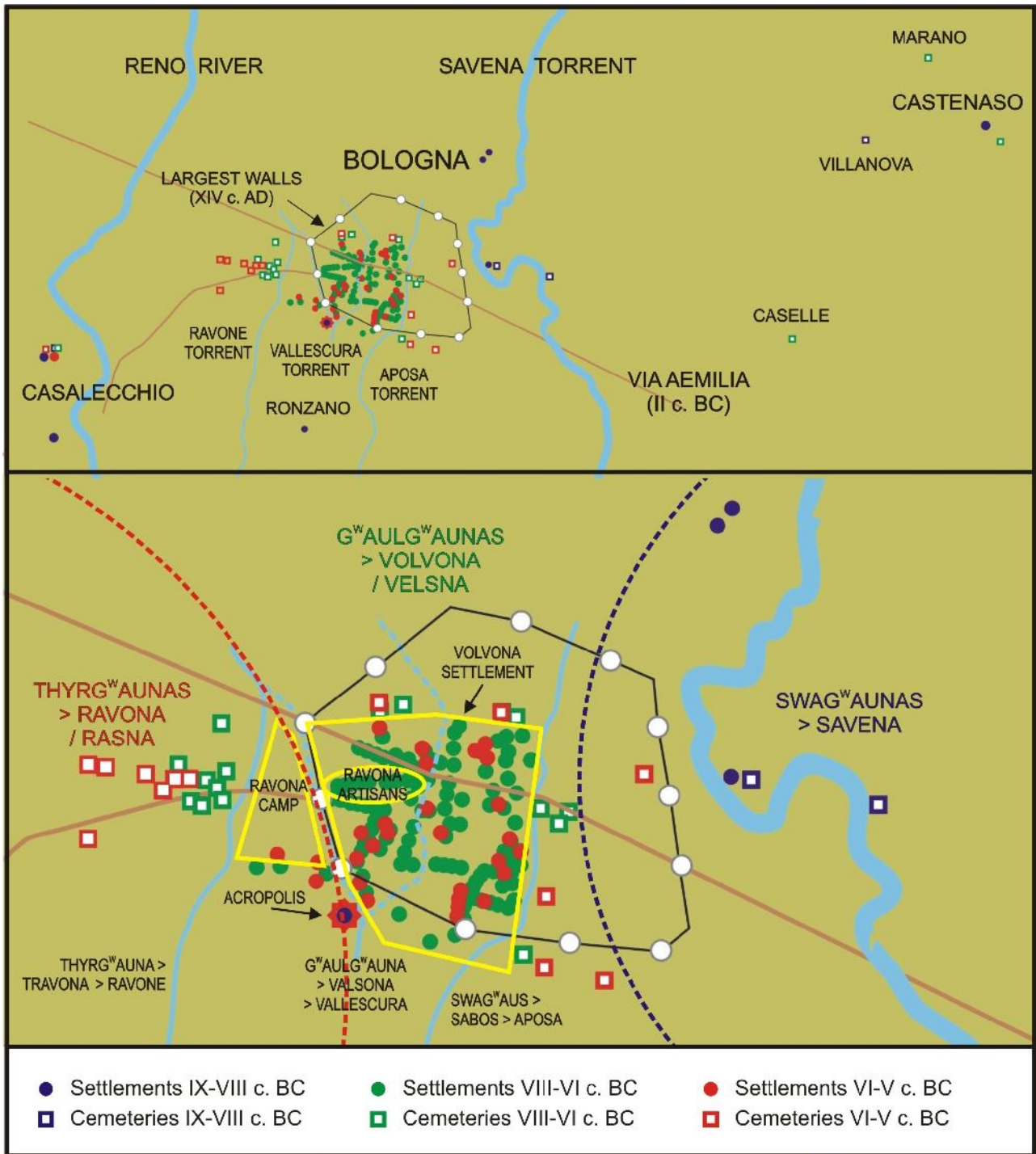


Figure 1 – Settlements and cemeteries dating back to the Etruscan age in Bologna and around.

By analysing the historical names of the peoples descended from **G^waulg^waunas* and **Thyrg^waunas* we can observe that the internal labiovelar *g^w* mainly results in labial or velar in Indo-European dialects, in unvoiced velar also aspirated or muted in dialects of *Western *Thyrg^waunas*, and in dental (*d*, *dh* or *z*) and *s* in dialects of *Eastern *Thyrg^waunas*. Moreover the initial labiovelar *g^w* results in labial, velar and less frequently in *s*, while the initial *th* results in *t*, *s*, and *ph* [3]. From the terms **G^waulg^waus* and **G^waulg^waunas* we can then obtain for example the historical names *Volga*, *Volcae*, *Belgae*, *Caledones*, *Halizones*, while from **Thyrg^waus* and **Thyrg^waunas* we can derive those of *Thraces*, *Phryges*, *Arzawa*, *Tarhun*, *Perk nas*, *Tyrsenoi*, *Tyrrhenoi*, *Shardana*. Finally, from the terms **Mykg^waus* and **Mykg^waunas* we can obtain the names of *Mysians / Moesians* (Gr. / [16, 17]), *Mygdonians* (Gr. [16]) and

Mycenaeans (Gr. [18]). Moreover, we can observe that in the course of time the derivations of the term $g^w auna$ lose the original meaning of “related to cow”, “group of cows”, “refuge for cows” and assume that of “group of cow breeders”, “community”, “fortified village”.

Western $*Thyrg^w aunas$ reached Central Europe between the end of the III millennium BC and the beginning of the second one and participated to the Ún tice culture. They were forced to Italy together with $*G^w aumbras$, to whom they had handed their tendency to aspirate the velars. They also reached the Italic peninsula by sea from Anatolia through stopovers on the African coast and the Italian islands. The descendants of Eastern $*Thyrg^w aunas$ reached Central Europe at the end of the great migration of XIII-XII century BC, pressing westward descendants of $*Swag^w autas$ ($*Sg^w etas$ / $*Sg^w ytas$ later *Sveti*, *Svitti* and *Itali*), *Proto-Gaul-Latins*, and the descendants of $*G^w aulg^w aunas$, all peoples who had settled in the area between Black Sea and Baltic Sea. These peoples entered Italy the one shortly after the other. The last to settled in the peninsula was the *Mixed People*, i. e. the confederation of the descendants of $*G^w aulg^w aunas$ and $*Thyrg^w aunas$.

In the historical age the *Mixed People* was known as *Tusci* or *Etrusci*, ethnonyms derived from the alternations of the names of the merchant tribes, who descended, as we said, from $*Thyrg^w aunas$ (or $Thyrg^w aus$ > *Turkas* / *Tursas* > Umbr. *Tursko* [19] > Lat. *Tu'sci* / Lat. *E-trusci*). They were settled mainly by the Thyrrenic coast from Liguria to Campania, on the border between Tuscany, Lazio, and Umbria and also in the Padanian Valley and by the Adriatic coast from Veneto to Marches. However, by analysing the geographical names we can find testimonies of the *Mixed People* in the whole northern Italy and we can recognise the presence of descendants of $*G^w aulg^w aunas$ inside the Etruscan people. In particular, the name *Velzna* or *Velz na* can be derived, through the discussed phonetic changes, from $*G^w aulg^w aunas$ (> $*Vaildaines$ > *Velz na* > *Velzna* / *Velsna*), thus appearing to be the name by which the tribes descending from this people were indicated by the other ones. Therefore the toponym *Velzna* (and later *Velsna*) indicated a place inhabited by descendants of $*G^w aulg^w aunas$. Beside *Bologna*, we know the existence of at least one other city which Etruscans called *Velzna*. It was probably located where is now Orvieto [20] or Bolsena [21] and was called *Volsinium* o *Volsinii* by Romans. However, several modern Italian toponyms can be derived from *Velz na*, as *Bolzano*, for example.

It is probable that *Velz na* also was the original name of *Vallescura* torrent, which in the Roman age flowed along the western side of *Bononia*. According to some authors [22], this torrent originally flowed approximately in correspondence with the western side of the XIV century walls of Bologna and was diverted in the late Etruscan age or later (Fig. 1). It is possible that Etruscans just created an eastern branch to bring water inside *Velz na* or Romans diverted the torrent to protect their city. The current name of the torrent in Italian means “dark valley”. However, this name does not corresponds to the torrent location. In fact, *Vallescura* torrent collected the waters from the northern side of Osservanza hill, where no deep or narrow valley is observable and the slope of the hill side does not cause shadow in most part of the day during the year. In early documents (XII century AD) the name of Via Vallescura, the street located at the hill side where the torrent flowed, is attested as *Val de Scura* and *Vallis Scuris* [23]. However, these names should be reformations of the popular voice, which was probably *Val Scôra*, a reinterpretation of the terms derived through the tradition from *Velsena*, *Volsona*, or *Valsona*, in turn derived from *Velz na*. To support this hypothesis, on the watershed between the *Vallescura* and *Ravone* basins is now a street called *Bellinzona*. The name of the street was reformed during the Fascist regime, as occurred to many toponyms (cf. Agrigento / Girgenti). Previously, the street assumed the name “Stradello dei Capuccini” after the Franciscan monastery [24], but the original name, alternately used, could be *Belzona* (< *Velzona* < *Velz na*), which sounded as a dialectal corruption and was corrected in *Bellinzona* by the reformers.

The descendants of $*Thyrg^w aunas$ called themselves *Tarchuna* [25] (< $*Targunas$ < $*Thyrg^w aunas$), *Rasna* or *Rasenna* (< $*Traz nas$ < $*Tardaines$ < $*Thyrg^w aunas$), *Sarsna* (< $*Sarz nas$ < $*Sardaines$ < $*Thyrg^w aunas$; whence *Sarsinates*), and *Phersna* (< $*Pherz nas$ < $*Terdaines$ < $*Thyrg^w aunas$; cf. *Phersna-las* [26]). By considering the Indo-European phonetic

changes and the current name of Bologna we can deduce that the descendants of **G^waulg^waunas* inside the Etruscan People called themselves *Volvona* or *Volvoni* and later *Bolboni*. *Volvona* and later *Bolvona*, *Bol'ona*, *Bol'onìa*, and *Bolbona* were the name by which they, and later the *Gauls*, called their settlements. When Romans founded their colony in 189 BC on the remains of *Felsina*, by the time deconstructed by *Gauls*, they gave it the name *Bononia* as an reinterpretation of Gaulish *Bolbona*. However the name *Bolonia* survived in the local population and we received it with just a minor change.

By comparing *Velsna* with *Volvona* we can deduce that the descendants of **G^waulg^waunas* called *Rasna* or *Rasenna* by the names *Ravona* or *Ravenna*. We can find attestations of this ethnonym in the territory of Bologna and nearby in the names *Ravone* and *Ravenna*. The former indicates a torrent which flows through western Bologna, the latter the city that *Rasna* probably refounded on the village of that people they called (at least in writing) *Sapina* or *Spina*.

As we said, *Volvona* called *Sàv na* (> *Sàvena*) or *Sàb na* (> *Sabina*) the descendants of **Swag^waunas* and *Ràvona* wrote the name of the latter as *Sapina* or *Spina*. Moreover, *Savena* spoke an Osco-Umbrian dialect, in which probably the labiovelar *g^w* had resulted in velar as in Umbrian. Therefore, they called **Kailkana* (< **G^waulg^waunas*) or **Kai'kana* (< **G^wau'g^waunas*) the descendants of **G^waulg^waunas*. The latter form contracted in *Kaikna*, *Ceicna*, and *Caicna*, is attested as family name in the area between Bologna, Volterra, and Volsinii [27]. In Bologna the family name *Kaikna* was particularly diffused. This family probably descended from some *Volvona* who originally lived where Osco-Umbrian speakers were prevalent. Their members subsequently immigrated in the Volvonian urban area and assumed Etruscan individual names showing the Volvonian origin, as in case of *Vel Kaikna* [28]. From the form **G^wau'g^waunas* also the name of *Faenza* (Lat. *Faventia* < **Faezna* < **Vaizna* < **G^wau'g^wauna*) and *Cesena* (Lat. *Caesena* < **Kaizna* < **G^wau'g^wauna*) can be derived. As in case of *Cesena*, several current geographic names derive from a mix of the Volvonian-Savenian or Ravonian-Savenian form. This is for example the case of *Calvana* mount chain and *Calenzano* city north of Florence or *Calbano* mount by Sarsina. In the following we call *Sàvena*, *Vòlvona*, and *Ràvona* the descendants of **Swag^waunas*, **G^waulg^waunas*, and **Thyrg^waunas*, respectively.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

The archeological finds dating back to the period commonly associated with the Etruscan presence discovered in the territory of Bologna can be classified referring to three phases [29]: formative (IX-VIII century BC), proto-urban (VIII-VI century BC), late-urban (VI-V century BC).

In the formative phase an initial increase can be observed in the concentration of the habitative structures, which were less distantly spaced with respect to the villages of the previous late bronze age. Most of the discovered habitations and cemeteries were located near the river *Savena* [Pallottino], which flowed further west than nowadays (Fig. 1).

In the proto-urban phase an additional increase can be observed in the concentration of the habitative structures, which were mostly located inside a limited area between the torrent *Aposa* and the western limit of the XIV century city, where probably *Vallescura* torrent or a branch of it originally flowed. Most of the structures of this phase were located along the streets of the current city, because they were mainly discovered during municipal works for canalisation and route restructuration, starting from those directed by Antonio Zannoni in the XIX century. Cemeteries were located east of *Aposa* torrent, west of *Ravone* torrent, and north of the urban area. The zone near *Savena* torrent, previously inhabited, was almost abandoned.

In the proto-urban phase, the habitations still were huts covered in straw as in the previous one. Walls were made of vertical poles joined by filling of clay or straw. The base shape was circular or elliptical. The archaeological finds concerning these huts consist in holes in the ground where poles had been driven and fragments of building materials. The other finds of this phase are objects

discovered in the inhabited zone and in the cemeteries. In particular, in the western part of the city several bronze objects and fragments have been found. In current San Francesco square, a vase was discovered containing nearly 15000 bronze pices probably destined to be fused [30]. This leads to think that this part of the city was dedicated to the metal processing. Moreover, in the adjacent zone up to *Ravone* torrent few holes have been found in the ground while cemeteries have been discovered across that torrent. This leads to think that this area could be occupied by less stable structures which left no trace. In cemeteries, tombs became in this phase monumental and decorations assumed orientalisising characteristics.

In the late-urban phase the urban characteristics of the city were enhanced. This is few appreciable on the basis of the scarce archaeological finds concernig the habitations. However this can be deduced by observing the development of an area dedicate to the rite and the sacrality in a high ground zone of the city (acropolis) in the middle between *Aposa* and *Ravone* torrents. Moreover, this can be understood by reading the inscriptions, mainly found in cemeteries, reporting the names of military and administrative roles which demonstrate a more specialised organisation of the city and control of the surrounding territory. The urbanisation of the city can be also appreciated in this phase by observing the development in the communication structures. In particular, the ancient route coonecting the city to the *Reno* valley was provided with a new cobble pavement and lateral drains, assuming monumental characteristics matched with those of the cemeteries that rose around. The particularity of this phase is therefore the fact that the habitative structures discovered in the city are not appreciably different from those of the previous phases. Tiles, which were a kind of roofing usual at that time in the near settlement by the *Reno* river (Casalecchio di *Reno*), have not been found in Bologna area except for the acropolis [31].

In the area surrounding Bologna archaeological finds have been discovered, which date back to the formative fase in Castenaso, Villanova-Ca' dell'Orbo, Ronzano, Casalecchio, to the proto-urban phase in Castenaso, San Lazzaro-Caselle, Casalecchio, to the late-urban phase in Casalecchio [32-34] (Fig. 1).

CONCLUSIONS

After having considered the earl archaeological finds discovered in Bologna and in the surrounding area, and the peoples that inhabited Italy at the corresponding times and some centuries before, we come to the following conclusions.

In the middle of the II millennium BC, the lands around Bologna were mainly inhabited by **G^waumbras* and **Swag^waunas*. The latter lived on cattle breeding, the former also on agriculture, craft and trading. **G^waumbras* had arrived in Italy as the first from Central-Eastern Europe (Ún tice culture). Shortly later **Swag^waunas* had occupied the Padanian Valley with their large herds of cows, chasing **G^waumbras* on the hills of the Apennine chain from Liguria to Marches.

Toward the end of the II millennium BC, new tribes of **Swag^waunas* (**Sg^wytulas* / **Sg^wetulas*), *Proto-Gaul-Latins* (**G^waulatanas*), and the *Mixed People* arrived in Italy. The first peoples just crossed the Padanian Valley, descending on Tuscany and diffusing along the Tyrrhenic coast, pressed by the *Mixed People*. The newcomers also forced a part of previous **Swag^waunas* to cross the Apennine and settle in Tuscany and later in Lazio, and **G^waumbras* to move eastward in the Apennine and to Romagna. Inside the *Mixed People*, **G^waulg^waunas* occupied the grasslands in the *Padanian Valley* and along the Tirrhenic coast and **Thyrg^waunas* headed to the commercial ports.

In the Villanovian age **G^waumbras* who previously had descended from the hills to the grasslands of Romagna breeding cattle, started concentrating in the hinterland of Rimini, while **Swag^waunas* who remained in the Padanian Valley concentrated in proximity of Bologna. They were nomads, probably moving through the grasslands on charriots and living in tents. In the Villanovian age they assumed an organisation with a central controll which required stable structures, similar to tents but with fixed larger poles more deeply driven into the ground. We can then observe in Bologna the

holes of the poles of such structures. They were mostly located by a torrent, the *Savena*, which took names after *Swag^w *au*nas. Near this structures were cemeteries. Probably, the most of the population still was nomad, living in structures which left no trace.

In the formative phase, the descendants of *G^w *aulg*^w *au*nas, the *Vòlvona*, started concentrating in *Bologna* and in the proto-urban phase took the control over the territory. The descendants of *Swag^w *au*nas, called *Sàvena* by *Volvona*, still lived in the area between *Aposa* and *Savena* torrents and further east, but the administrative structures were moved into the new city sector founded by *Volvona*. These were confederates of the descendants of *Thyrg^w *au*nas, the *Ràvona*, who called themselves *Ràsna* and had their villages along the commercial routes. Near *Bologna*, in particular, *Ravona* had settled in current *Casalecchio* by a river, the *Reno*, which took name after them. From *Casalecchio*, *Ravona* had the control over the commerce between the Padanian Valley and Etruria through the *Reno* and *Ombrone* valleys. They also had commercial exchanges with *Volvona* in *Bologna*, whom they called *Vèlsna* or *Vèlzna*. Probably, Ravonian merchants frequently visited the city of *Volvona* and lived in the closest part of the city, the western one, by the *Ravone* torrent, to which they left their name. They come with their charriots, put up their tents, and exposed their merchandise, remaining the period necessary to sell all their own goods and to buy wares from *Volvona* and other peoples visiting the city. It is also likely that in the course of the time some Ravonian artisans also settled beyond the western branch of *Vallescura* torrent around a street which now is called “Via del Pratello” and previously “Peradello”. This name may be derived from *Perdela < *Pherdaila < *Thyrg^w *aula* as well as other similar toponyms such as *Piratello* near *Imola* or *Fiesole* (Etr. *Vi sul*, with a Greek *rho*, *Visul*, and *Viesl* < *Phirzola < *Phyrdaula < *Thyrg^w *aula*) near *Florence*. For their activities, among which metal processing, such artisans required stabled structures which left traces in the ground. Ravonian merchants and artisans habitually visiting or settled by *Volvona* had their cemeteries beyond *Ravone* torrent.

In VI-V century BC Greeks took the control over Tyrrhenic Sea, forcing Etruscans to trade through the ports in Adriatic Sea and the routes toward the North. This caused an enhancement of the commerce between Etruria and Padanian Valley through the Tuscan-Emilian Apennine valleys and the plains further north and east. *Ravona*, who controlled some centers along the commercial routes, required the cooperation of *Volvona*, who occupied the surrounding countryside. Such a cooperation was particularly necessary in *Bologna*, whence the main routes to the Adriatic ports and to the North departed and *Volvona* controlled the *Savena* valley. Therefore, in the late-urban phase of the city the ancient route connecting *Casalecchio* was paved and *Ravona* participated to the restructuration of the city by erecting with their techniques new buildings for rite and sacrality in an high ground zona in the middle between *Aposa* torrent, the eastern limit of the previous *Volvonian* residential area, and *Ravone* torrent, the western limit of the previous *Ravonian* commercial area. Such kind of cooperation reflected in a restructuration of the city can be observed in other urban centers interested by the enhanced trading between Etruria and Padanian Valley as, for example, *Kainua* (*Marzabotto*) in the *Reno* valley [35].

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