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2

The Economic Contribution of Migrants to Ancient Societies. Technological Transfer, Integration, Exploitation and Interaction of Economic Mentalities

Panel 1.3

Raffaella Da Vela (Ed.)

Propylaeum
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Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology

Volume 2: The Economic Contribution of Migrants to Ancient Societies

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Edited by

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PREFACE

On behalf of the 'Associazione Internazionale di Archeologia Classica (AIAC)' the 19th International Congress for Classical Archaeology took place in Cologne and Bonn from 22 to 26 May 2018. It was jointly organized by the two Archaeological Institutes of the Universities of Cologne and Bonn, and the primary theme of the congress was 'Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World'. In fact, economic aspects permeate all areas of public and private life in ancient societies, whether in urban development, religion, art, housing, or in death.

Research on ancient economies has long played a significant role in ancient history. Increasingly in the last decades, awareness has grown in archaeology that the material culture of ancient societies offers excellent opportunities for studying the structure, performance, and dynamics of ancient economic systems and economic processes. Therefore, the main objective of this congress was to understand economy as a central element of classical societies and to analyze its interaction with ecological, political, social, religious, and cultural factors. The theme of the congress was addressed to all disciplines that deal with the Greco-Roman civilization and their neighbouring cultures from the Aegean Bronze Age to the end of Late Antiquity.

The participation of more than 1.200 scholars from more than 40 countries demonstrates the great response to the topic of the congress. Altogether, more than 900 papers in 128 panels were presented, as were more than 110 posters. The publication of the congress is in two stages: larger panels are initially presented as independent volumes, such as this publication. Finally, at the end of the editing process, all contributions will be published in a joint conference volume.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank all participants and helpers of the congress who made it such a great success. Its realization would not have been possible without the generous support of many institutions, whom we would like to thank once again: the Universities of Bonn and Cologne, the Archaeological Society of Cologne, the Archaeology Foundation of Cologne, the Gerda Henkel Foundation, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, the Sal. Oppenheim Foundation, the German Research Foundation (DFG), the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Romano-Germanic Museum Cologne and the LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn. Finally, our thanks go to all colleagues and panel organizers who were involved in the editing and printing process.

Bonn/Cologne, in August 2019

Martin Bentz & Michael Heinzelmann

The Economic Contribution of Migrants to Ancient Societies. Technological Transfer, Integration, Exploitation and Interaction of Economic Mentalities

Raffaella Da Vela

Introduction

Why and how should we talk about migration at a congress focused on ancient economies? Migrations and economy are in fact closely intertwined: Human mobility frequently depends on economic factors and at the same time plays a proactive role in economic processes. Although the discussion about migration has been very important in archaeology in the last 20 years,[1] the topic of the economic role of migrants, their embedding in local economies, and their role as brokers within the global economic system have often remained in the background.[2]

The economic focus of the 19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology in Cologne and Bonn offered a unique occasion to approach this topic. Ten junior scholars were invited to present their working proposals and build a discussion platform on migration and economy in ancient societies.[3] The aim of the meeting was to point out the potential of this research field for future studies, rather than to exhaustively cover its wider spectrum. The choice of case studies from different cultural and chronological frames, from Middle Kingdom Egypt to late Imperial Pannonia, demands that one focus on the general and methodological implications and invites one to consider the economic aspects of ancient migration as an entanglement between human choices and socio-environmental contexts.[4] Some common research questions have been proposed as a starting point of the discussion: which archaeological data are reliable indicators of the economic role of migrants? How did different economic and political systems affect the economic integration or segregation of migrants in local communities? How did different strategies of integration affect local economies? Did migrants have a networking role in ancient economic systems?

All these questions require complex answers. The lack of archaeological sources for many forms of migration, in particular on seasonal or temporary mobility, makes it challenging to individuate migrants in the fragmented archaeological record.[5] The collection and interpretation of the material sources related to their economic habits and to their participation in the economy of host societies is a further difficulty. But perhaps the hardest challenge is to deal with the potential bias inherent in archaeological research on such a sensitive topic, which is currently a focal point of contemporary international politics.[6] The topicality of the debate on global migrations can affect the analysis of the archaeological evidence and even more the restitution of the related narratives.[7] The way we are dealing with our sources, not just in terms of interpretation, but also in terms of preselection, might create divergent narratives on the same

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archaeological records. Tracing back the history of the archaeological research on the topic, we can for example note that attention has been paid in a very selective fashion to specific aspects of the economic role of migrants. The colonial approach created a dichotomic narrative on settlers and indigenous, coexisting with separate technical skills, consumption mentalities, labor division and exploitation needs.[8] This perspective has been overcome in the last decade by the postcolonial approach to archaeological contexts of interaction.[9] Not just the actuality of this debate in the archaeological literature, but also the actual sociological debate constitutes an opportunity to develop new research questions about consumerism, economic mentalities and the networking role of migrants.[10]

The consciousness of dangers and limits implicit in this analysis prompts discussion of different methodological approaches. In attempting to limit the damage caused by such biases, we have firmly located our debate in the history of research, discussed limits and potentialities of applied methodologies and contextualized ancient behavior in its cultural references.[11] The presence of a rich secondary literature on our case studies, although not directly focused on the topic, has further helped to maintain a balance between innovation and tradition. The collected contributions are presented chronologically.

Lukas Bohnenkämper approaches the methodological issue of the relationship between written sources and archaeological record, in an effort to interpret the economic role of migrants in Middle Kingdom Egypt. The resulting different narratives in the archaeological literature offer a chance to critically evaluate the potential and limits of such analyses. The two following contributions focus on the economic impact of the embodied technological habitus of migrants: Jeremy Hayne deals with the presence of groups of Phoenicians in Bronze Age Sardinia, pointing out how the interaction between local economic mentalities and new consumption models can result in a growing demand for new products, which can be satisfied by local producers introducing new know-how. Kewin Peche-Quilichini and Laura Pagliantini present a melting-pot society on the western Mediterranean islands of Sardinia, Corsica and Elba between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, discussing the relationships between general Mediterranean commercial networks and specialized forms of migration, such as the technology-driven migration of craftsmen.[12] Alexander Boix presents a paper on the entanglement between political decision-making, migration and economy, built around the case study of migration of Athenian potters to Boeotia after the Peloponnesian War. The next contribution by the editor deals with the consumerism of Ligurian migrants in Etruscan coastal centers at the late Hellenistic time, focusing on the ostentatious display of a specific consumption habitus in immigrants' funerary assemblages. In the last contribution, Jan Bulas deals with the complexity of implications of mobility across the borders of the Roman Empire, in Pannonia, between the 2nd and 3rd century CE, discussing the introduction of Roman coins and the stylistic and technological changes in pottery production within the local communities of the Przeworsk culture.

The fragility of archaeology in building explanatory models on complex non-linear human behaviors, such as the economic role of migrants, called for this short introduction, which ends in an invitation to consider the proposed materials thoroughly. The purpose of the meeting was to kick-start the discussion on the economic contribution of migrants to ancient economies and not to offer global explanatory models. This is the reason why the present book will offer more questions than answers.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to the organizers for having created the conditions for a constructive and fruitful scientific exchange. Furthermore, I wish to thank particularly Marion Bolder-Boos and Heba Abd el Gawad, who contributed to the discussion in preparation of the panel, and Hale Güney and Simeon Tzonev, who presented their papers within the panel. The discussion was opened to a wider audience, in a pre- and post-session on the platform academia.edu. In particular, I am grateful to Max Luaces, for his suggestion to take into consideration socio-psychological factors of ancient migrations and to Francesca S. Stein for asking interesting questions, which motivated us to refine our assertions. Gratitude is due also to all the peer reviewers of the contributions and to Matthias Hardt, Henry Heitmann-Gordon and Robinson P. Krämer for the revision of the introduction.

Notes

[1] In the last ten years, following the first attempts to define new methodological tools to detect migration in archaeology (Anthony 1990; Burmeister 2000; Andresen 2004), the interaction between archaeological data, interpretation and narratives has been reviewed and discussed (Hakenbeck 2008; Burmeister 2013; van Dommelen 2014; Burmeister 2017). In particular these works pointed out the necessity to move from a concept of migration as an explanatory category, to considering it a field of enquiry, which deserves to be studied with appropriate conceptual tools (Anthony 1990, 905; Hakenbeck 2008, 10 f.; Burmeister 2013, 229). Since mass migration can very seldom be proven in archaeology (even in the so called 'migration period': Heather 2017, 201), we are here rather aiming to understand the behavior of individual migrants or small groups of immigrants as economic actors. By dealing with groups of them, all contributors refer to family dimension or other small social clusters, based on the social position or on the technical role or function of migrants, as aggregative working corporations. In the present book, the term migration is thus considered to denote the different forms and dimensions of human mobility described in the works cited (Anthony 1990, 901–905; Prien 2005, 46 f.; Hakenbeck 2008, 19–21).

[2] The general economic implications of migrations are frequently considered push or pull factors of ancient migrations in Prehistory and Medieval Archaeology (Anthony 1990, 900 f.; Burmeister 2000, 543; Prien 2005, 19 f.). The agency of migrants can be rather detected in studies about the transmission of

innovation in production processes (Anthony 1990, 903. Initially as diffusionism and later as transnationalism: Hahn 2017, 71–75) and about migration and trade (Abay – Çevik 2005, 64–69).

[3] The junior researchers invited differed in background and academic outlook, so as to offer different approaches to the topic.

[4] Engaging with this complex puzzle offers a way of understanding migration as a multilayered process that is frequently neglected in archaeological analysis: Van Dommelen 2014, 479.

[5] On the risk of misinterpreting or overinterpreting the material sources to explain migration: Burmeister 2017, 58–60. On the relationship between forms of mobility and sources: Kelly 1992, 43. 57 f.; van Oyen 2017, 55. An earlier interest in non-mass-migration and the economic impact of small groups of people can be found in the research on itinerant craftsmen: Martelli – Cristofani 1977 (For the actual views on the topic: Jockey 2009).

[6] Ideological background and scholarly presumptions are the principal causes of this bias in: Abay – Çevik 2005, 62.

[7] The consciousness of this bias has partially paralyzed the archaeological research on a topic, which was growing in importance in sociological disciplines: Burmeister 2000, 539.

[8] For a recent review of colonial approaches in Classical Archaeology and Ancient History: van Dommelen 1997, 307–309; van Dommelen 2012, 396–398, with further literature.

[9] Postcolonial approaches were first taken into account in the conceptual field of romanization studies and Roman Imperialism (van Dommelen 2011). For a postcolonial approach in assessing the economic roles of settlers and indigenous in Magna Graecia: Zuchtriegel 2016, in particular 171–179.

[10] For the actuality of the topic of migration and economy in archaeological research see the thematic issue of the Review of the German Archaeological Institute Archäologie Weltweit 2.1,2014 "Vernetze Welten. Mobilität, Migration und Handel in der Antike" and the issue of the Excellence Cluster Topoi Raumwissen 18,2017 "Migration". The perception of the cultural value of the topic and of its impact in archaeology is growing also in the field of public archaeology and museum communication (Oswald 2017, 10–21).

[11] As a reaction to the problems linked to the research field, we proposed to revitalize the discussion rather than to avoid it, in accordance with the constructivist approach taken by Anthony (Anthony 1990, 895 f.).

[12] Both contributions must not be interpreted as an expression of diffusionism but rather as focused on the economic role of the implicit embodied technological habitus of migrants: Burmeister 2017, 61.

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Down to the River. Migration im ägyptischen Mittleren Reich[1]

Lukas Bohnenkämper

„Das Land Ägypten steht dir offen. Im besten Teil des Landes lass deinen Vater und deine Brüder wohnen!“[2]

Die Gesellschaft des ägyptischen Niltals stand während aller Perioden ihrer Geschichte mit den Bewohnern der angrenzenden Fluss- und Wüstenregionen in Kontakt. Im Mittleren Reich (ca. 2070/2060–1730/1710 v. Chr.)[3] führte die Intensivierung der von der königlichen Zentralverwaltung unternommenen Kampagnen zur Ressourcenbeschaffung (Gesteine, Metalle, Hölzer, Tiere, gelegentlich Menschen) zu einer Verstärkung der Außenkontakte. Die Ziele dieser „Expeditionen“ waren die ägyptische und nubische Ostwüste vermutlich bis zum heutigen Eritrea (Punt, Bia-Punt), der Südsinai (Bia) und die Levante (Retjenu).[4] Für das Gelingen der ägyptischen Kriegs-, Handels- und Minenaktivitäten war die Kooperation mit ortskundigen vorderasiatischen und nubischen Spezialisten von großer logistischer Bedeutung.[5]

Das unternubische Niltal (Wawat) wurde in der 12. Dynastie zudem bis zum 2. Katarakt besetzt und mit einer Kette von Festungen versehen, die das Gebiet gegen das im Süden angrenzende Kerma-Reich (Kusch) sicherte und den Handel mit diesem erleichterte.[6] Die unter Sesostris III. 1975/1964 v. Chr. gesetzte und durch die Festungen Semna, Kumma und Uronarti markierte Grenze durfte nur von denjenigen Nubiern Richtung Norden passiert werden, die als Boten kamen oder um in der Festung Mirgissa Handel zu treiben.[7] Mirgissa könnte somit als „Port of trade“ fungiert haben, der den alleinigen oder ersten Zugriff der Zentralverwaltung auf hochwertige Importgüter aus Obernubien und Gebieten weiter im Süden sicherstellte.

Während des Mittleren Reiches lassen sich sodann Personen nichtägyptischer Herkunft in Schriftquellen und archäologischen Hinterlassenschaften aus Ägypten fassen, die als Migranten[8] oder Kriegsgefangene[9] ins Niltal gekommen waren. Neben Kanaanäern, Niltal-Nubiern und Bewohnern der Ostwüste (entgegen der oben genannten „Einreisebestimmungen“) erscheinen vereinzelt Puntiter, Kuschiten und Libyer in den Quellen. Die Bevölkerung der Levante setzte sich aus Bewohnern städtischer Zentren (z. B. Lachisch, Aphek, Megiddo, Kabri, Hazor, Byblos, Ugarit, Qatna, Ebla, Aleppo, Alalach) und an der urbanen Peripherie lebenden Hirtennomaden zusammen. Auch die Stämme der libyschen Wüste und die „Medjay“ der Ostwüste waren wahrscheinlich in erster Linie Hirtennomaden. Die sogenannte „C-Gruppe“ des unternubischen Niltals lebte vermutlich vorwiegend von Ackerbau und Kleinviehhaltung.[10] Wichtige Siedlungen befanden sich in Aniba und Sayala. Die Zentralorte der im Prozess der Reichsbildung befindlichen obernubischen Kermakultur waren Kerma am 3. Katarakt und die Insel Sai.

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Infolge der unterschiedlichen Gesellschaftsstrukturen und geographischen Nähe zu Ägypten gestaltete sich der Zuzug der verschiedenen Nachbarbevölkerungen unterschiedlich. Vor allem im 1. oberägyptischen Gau, dessen Zentrum sich auf der Insel Elephantine an der ideologischen Südgrenze Ägyptens am 1. Katarakt befand, waren Nubier seit jeher ein fester Bestandteil der städtischen und periurbanen Bevölkerung.[11] Friedhöfe der C-Gruppen- und Pfannengräberkultur wurden zudem nördlich bis Hierakonpolis bzw. Rifa/Mostagedda gefunden (siehe unten). Neben längerfristig oder ständig in Ägypten lebenden und arbeitenden Nubiern werden nomadische Gruppen der ans Niltal angrenzenden Wüstengebiete im Rahmen saisonaler Wanderungen regelmässig ins Niltal und die Oasen gewandert sein. In der Levante angeworbene Spezialkräfte wurden in großem Umfang im Ostdelta angesiedelt, waren aber auch andernorts für die Zentralverwaltung und Privatleute tätig.

Thomas Schneider ermittelte in seiner umfassenden Studie[12] etwa 800 Personen vermutlich nichtägyptischer Herkunft, von denen ca. 150 Individuen in rund 100 Berufen oder Funktionen belegt sind. Archäologische Befunde und Funde liegen unter anderem in Form von Siedlungen samt vorderasiatischen Haus- und Tempeltypen sowie levantinischen und nubischen Bestattungen vor. In Siedlungen und Gräbern gefundene nubische und levantinische Keramiktypen können im Rahmen der üblichen interpretatorischen Grenzen wichtige Indizien für das Vorhandensein von Menschen außerägyptischer Herkunft sein.

Bei den Schrift- und Bildquellen handelt es sich nahezu ausschließlich um ägyptische Texte und Objektgruppen wie z. B. administrative Papyri aus der Zentralverwaltung und Privathaushalten, Expeditionsinschriften, Grabstelen und Siegelskarabäen. Personen nichtägyptischer Herkunft lassen sich durch Herkunftsbezeichnungen wie z. B. „der Asiat“, nichtägyptische Personennamen, genealogische Angaben oder Nennungen von Ausländerkontingenten und deren Befehlshabern nachweisen. In Bilddarstellungen weisen Physiognomie, Frisur, Kleidung und Bewaffnung gelegentlich auf eine nubische oder vorderasiatische Herkunft hin.

Dabei ist wichtig festzuhalten, dass ethnische Identität zwar ein soziales Konstrukt ist, welches über die Betonung bestimmter gesellschaftlicher Unterschiede die eigene Gruppe von anderen abgrenzt und darüber „das Eigene“ und „das Fremde“ essentialistisch definiert, in der Praxis aber kontingent ist. Archäologisch ist außerdem nicht immer nachweisbar, was als Ethnizitätsmarker diente (z. B. Sprache, religiöse Riten, Kleidung, Nahrung). Ägyptische Topo- und Ethnonyme wie z. B. „Medja“/„Medjay“, womit die Ägypter vom späten 3. Jt. v. Chr. bis Mitte des 2. Jts. v. Chr. ein Gebiet bzw. dessen Bewohner in der unternubischen Ostwüste bezeichneten, müssen darüber hinaus weder mit der Eigendefinition dieser Gruppen noch mit bestimmten archäologischen Ensembles deckungsgleich sein.[13]

Die von Schneider aufgeführten, schriftlich belegten Personen reichen von Königen[14] über teilweise hohe Amtsträger in Verwaltung und Kult, Soldaten, Seeleute, Handwerker, Lebensmittelproduzenten, Gutsverwalter, Schreiber, Ammen und Diener bis zu

Zwangsarbeitern. Ehen zwischen Ägyptern und Migranten bzw. deren Nachfahren sind am häufigsten zwischen ägyptischen Männern und Frauen nichtägyptischer Abstammung belegt. Personen mit „Migrationshintergrund" könnten seiner Schätzung zufolge bis zu 10 Prozent der ägyptischen Bevölkerung ausgemacht haben. Kanaanäer sind am häufigsten belegt, möglicherweise war unter ihnen der Gebrauch ethnischer Marker aber auch nur verbreiteter als unter Nubiern. Meist ist eine nichtägyptische Herkunft ohnehin nur noch durch einen einzigen Ethnizitätsmarker feststellbar. Dies kann entweder an einer (je nach Sozialstatus, Okkupation, individueller Entscheidung usw. variierenden) schnellen Aneignung einer ägyptischen Identität oder der Wirkmächtigkeit ägyptischer Repräsentationsregeln gelegen haben.

Einen gewissen Sonderfall stellt die im östlichen Nildelta gelegene Stadt Auaris (Tell el-Dabʿa) dar. In der Regierungszeit Sesostris' III. (1883/1872–1845/1834 v. Chr.) erlebte die Siedlung einen starken Zuzug levantinischer Siedler, die vermutlich bewusst von der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung als Spezialisten für den Land- und Seehandel mit Vorderasien angesiedelt wurden.[15] In der Stadt bildete sich im Verlauf des späten Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit eine Gesellschaft heraus, deren materielle Kultur ursprünglich levantinische und ägyptische Elemente in jeweils unterschiedlichen Kontexten zu jeweils unterschiedlichen Graden verband und damit etwas Neuartiges schuf.[16] Als Beispiel sei hier nur die Statue eines Eliteangehörigen aus Friedhof F/I genannt, die den ägyptischen Typus der Sitzstatue mit einer kanaanäischen Ikonografie vereint.[17]

Die Interpretation der ägyptisch-sprachigen Schriftquellen zur Anwesenheit von Migranten und deren Nachfahren in Ägypten ist mit diversen Unsicherheiten verbunden: Personennamen lassen sich vielfach nicht eindeutig einer bestimmten Herkunftssprache zuordnen, Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen sind häufig mehrdeutig und Funktionstitel erlauben oft wenige Rückschlüsse über Sozialstatus, Arbeitsort, Tätigkeitsdauer oder nur die genaue Tätigkeit und deren Einbindung in den Verwaltungsapparat. Personen mit niedrigerem Status sind zudem schlechter belegt als solche mit höherem. Allerdings stellen sich auch bei der Interpretation ägyptischer Bildquellen und der Korrelation textlicher und bildlicher Belege mit archäologischen Hinterlassenschaften etliche Herausforderungen. Hierfür sind im Folgenden zwei Beispiele angeführt.

Im Grab des Bürgermeisters von Menat-Chufu und Vorstehers der Ostwüste[18] Chnumhotep II. in Beni Hassan (BH 3) befindet sich die vermutlich am häufigsten überinterpretierte Quelle zur Anwesenheit von Semiten in Ägypten.[19] Die mit Beischriften versehene Wandmalerei (Abb. 1) zeigt eine Gruppe von 15 Männern, Frauen und Kindern, deren Tracht, Waffen und übrige Attribute auf die städtische Kultur der mittelbronzezeitlichen Levante und die umliegenden Wüstengegenden verweisen. Der zugehörige Text erläutert, dass Chnumhotep II. (oder dessen Sohn, der Expeditionsleiter Chnumhotep III.) im sechsten Jahr Sesostris' II. (1897/1886 v. Chr.) 37 „Aamu aus Schu" herbrachte, um Bleiglanz zu liefern. Die Gruppe wird von einem gewissen Abischarr angeführt, der als „Herrscher des Berglandes" tituliert wird. Möglicherweise bezieht

Abb. 1: Abischarr und die Aamu-Asiaten im Grab Chnumhoteps II.

sich die Szene auf ein ägyptisch-kanaanäisches Gemeinschaftsunternehmen zum Abbau von Bleiglanz in der Ostwüste. Die Herkunft der Aamu, die Art ihrer Tätigkeit und die Dauer des Aufenthalts in Ägypten, ein zentralen Kriterium für Migration, bleiben allerdings unklar. In ihrer Studie zur Szene und deren Interpretationsgeschichte resümiert Susan Cohen: *„These individuals have borne the responsibility of illustrating the physiognomy and appearance of patriarchs, Kenites, Canaanites, and Bedouin. They have represented the social and economic world of caravans, transhumant pastoralists, and nomads. They have infiltrated and wandered; they have crafted, played music, and mined. They have represented the produce of the desert, the chaos of the wilderness, and the power of Egypt over the desert. They have exemplified the character of whole eras and contributed to the chronology of others.“*[20]

Als zweites Beispiel soll die Gleichsetzung der in ägyptischen Text- und Bildquellen seit dem späten 3. Jt. v. Chr. belegten Medjay, der Hirtennomaden der nubischen Ostwüste, mit der archäologischen Pfannengräberkultur (Pan-Grave Culture)[21] dienen. Letztere ist hauptsächlich durch Friedhöfe im ägyptischen und nubischen Niltal zwischen Rifa/Mostagedda und Gammai[22] sowie durch einige Lagerplätze und Keramikfunde aus Siedlungen aus der Zeit zwischen dem späten 19. Jh. und dem frühen 15. Jh. v. Chr. belegt (spätes Mittleres bis frühes Neues Reich). In der Siedlung von Elephantine bestanden Züge der Keramiktradition im Rahmen des Merkmale verschiedener nubischer Traditionen vereinenden „spätmittelnubischen Verbundes“ bis ins 13. Jh. v. Chr. fort.[23]

Die namengebenden „Pfannengräber“ zeichnen sich oberirdisch durch flache Tumuli aus, die oft von einem Steinkreis oder Bukranien umgeben sind. Die Grabgruben sind

rund oder oval. Rechteckige, mit Steinplatten eigefasste Gruben treten v. a. bei Männerbestattungen der fortgeschrittenen Pfannengräberkultur auf und verweisen zusammen mit Veränderungen im Grabinventar auf die Aneignung bestimmter Elemente der ägyptischen materiellen Kultur. Die Friedhöfe befinden sich oft in der Nähe ägyptischer Nekropolen oder Friedhöfen der C-Gruppe.[24]

Medjay in ägyptischen Diensten erscheinen unter anderem in den Semna-Despatches, d. h. Kopien von im 3. Jahr Amenemhats III. (1851/1840 v. Chr.) in der Festung Semna geschriebenen und nach Semna geschickten Briefen, welche die Überwachung Unternubiens betreffen.[25] Medjay treten in diesen Briefen jedoch nicht nur als Patrouillen auf, sondern auch als Migranten. Despatch Nr. 5 berichtet über einer Gruppe von sieben Männern, Frauen und Kindern, die aufgrund einer Hungersnot der Wüste entfliehen und in Elephantine Arbeit suchen, dort aber abgewiesen werden.[26]

Seit Manfred Bietaks Studie zur Pfannengräberkultur[27] hat sich in der Ägyptologie die Identifizierung der Träger dieser Kultur mit ins Niltal eingewanderten Medjay durchgesetzt. Argumente, die für eine Gleichsetzung angeführt werden, beinhalten:

- Medjay sind als Soldaten und Wüstenpatrouillen belegt und in Pfannengräbern gibt es oft Waffenbeigaben.
- Pfannengräberfriedhöfe wurden am Ostufer des Nils in der Nähe des Eingangs zum Wadi Allaqi entdeckt.
- Skelette aus Pfannengräbern weisen stärkere negroide Merkmale auf als solche aus Gräbern der im Niltal ansässigen nubischen C-Gruppe. Aufgrund ihrer Größe seien erstere ideale Söldner gewesen.
- Die Friedhöfe beider Kulturen liegen oft nahe beieinander, sind aber räumlich getrennt.

Kate Liszka[28] hat kürzlich diese und andere Argumente überprüft und viele davon entkräftet:

- Zwischen der ersten Erwähnung von Medjay in ägyptischen Quellen und dem Auftreten der Pfannengräberkultur liegen etwa 400 Jahre.
- Medjay sind in ägyptischen Texten nicht nur als Söldner belegt und Waffenbeigaben finden sich auch in Gräbern der C-Gruppe, die deswegen zu Recht nicht zwangsläufig als Kriegerkultur interpretiert wird. Die Friedhöfe sprechen zudem für Familienverbände.
- Pfannengräberfriedhöfe befinden sich sowohl auf dem Ost- als auch auf dem Westufer des Nils.
- Die geringe Anzahl der bisher untersuchten Skelette ist nicht aussagekräftig.

Sie betont überdies, dass es zwischen der Pfannengräberkultur, der C-Gruppe und der Kermakultur viele Übereinstimmungen in der Architektur der Tumuli und dem keramischen Inventar gibt. Eigentümlich sei zudem, dass die Pfannengräberkultur keine interne Sequenzierung aufweise und nur über offene Keramikformen verfüge. Daher vermutet sie, dass die Pfannengräberkultur im Niltal aus der C-Gruppenkultur entstand. Die politische und ökonomische Problemsituation am Ende des Mittleren Reiches könn-

te zu geographischen, demografischen, beruflichen oder religiösen Auseinanderentwicklungen geführt haben, da die Verstärkung von Identitätsmarkern typisch für Krisenzeiten sei.

Für die Herkunft der Träger der Pfannengräberkultur aus der Ostwüste spricht aber, dass in den letzten Jahren vermehrt Pan-Grave-Keramik bzw. dieser Keramik ähnelnde Formen in der Region des Wadi Allaqi und Wadi Gabagaba, in Wadi/Mersa Gawasis und in Friedhöfen am 4. Katarakt gefunden wurde. Zudem gibt es viele Übereinstimmungen mit dem Keramikinventar der Jebel Mokram-Gruppe aus der sudanesischen Ostwüste, die außerdem fast zeitgleich mit der Pfannengräberkultur in Erscheinung trat.[29] Andrea Manzo schließt daraus, dass die bereits häufiger angenommene Klimaverschlechterung, welche möglicherweise die in den Semna-Despatches belegte Hungersnot auslöste, neue saisonale Wanderungsmuster bedingte, die Hirtennomaden aus der ägyptischen Ostwüste ins Niltal und in den Ostsudan abwandern ließ. Sie könnten dabei sowohl von der Schwäche der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung als auch von der Einbindung in das Handelsnetz des erstarkenden, von seinem Zentrum Kerma am 3. Katarakt ausgreifenden kuschitischen Herrschaftsgebildes profitiert haben.[30]

Ein weiteres Argument für die Herkunft der Träger der Pfannengräberkultur aus der Ostwüste ist zudem die einzige bekannte Inschrift, die vermutlich von einem Angehörigen dieser Kultur selbst verfasst wurde. Sie ist als Beischrift zur Bilddarstellung eines bewaffneten schwarzafrikanischen Mannes auf einem Bukranion angebracht, das zu Grab 3252 des Friedhofs von Mostagedda gehört (Abb. 2)[31]. Die Deutung der wohl „Qesmant“ oder „Qesdant“ zu lesenden ägyptischen Hieroglypheninschrift ist unklar. Es könnte sich z. B. um einen Personennamen oder eine Objektbezeichnung handeln. Aufgrund der in ägyptischen Texten überlieferten Personennamen von Medjay wird in der Forschung gewöhnlich angenommen, dass es sich bei der zugrundeliegenden Sprache um einen direkten Vorläufer oder zumindest nahen Verwandten der Sprache der heutigen Beja-Nomaden der Ostwüste handelt.[32] Im Hinblick auf die Verbindung ägyptischer und nichtägyptischer Elemente erweist sich das Bukranion als wahrhaft „hybrides“[33] oder „verwobenes“/„verschränktes“[34] Objekt, das einen typisch nubischen Grabschmuck mit einer Darstellung und einer nichtägyptischen Aufschrift in ägyptischer Bild- bzw. Schrifttradition verbindet.

Aus dem Angeführten geht hervor, dass bei der Formierung der Pfannengräberkultur im Niltal sehr wahrscheinlich hirtennomadische Gruppen aus der Ostwüste eine Rolle spielten. Gleichzeitig lässt sich aber nicht leugnen, dass Pfannengräberkultur, C-Gruppenkultur und Kermakultur im funerären Bereich viele gemeinsame Züge aufweisen. Inwieweit die antiken ethnischen Identitäten mit diesen drei modernen Kategorisierungen übereinstimmen oder ob emische Kategorisierungen vielleicht oft bestimmte Verbände im Niltal ansässiger Personen mit durch Verwandtschaft und/oder Traditionen verbundenen Gruppen von Hirtennomaden in der Ost- und Westwüste verbanden, bleibt vorerst ungewiss.

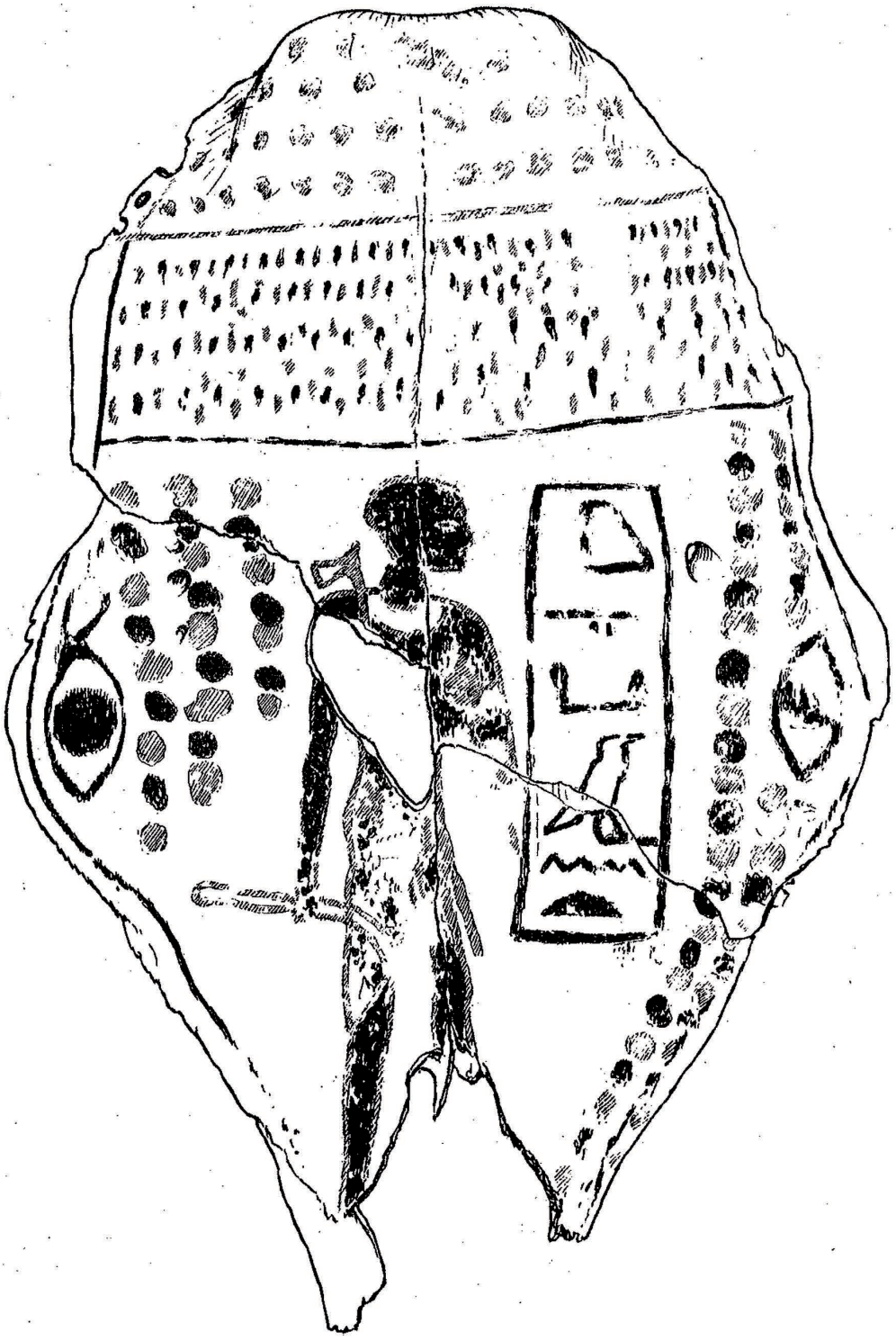

Abb. 2: Der Pan-Grave-Nubier Qesmant/Qesdant (?) auf einem Bukranion des Grabes 3252 in Mostagedda.

Anmerkungen

[1] Raffaella Da Vela, der Organisatorin des Panels „The Economic Contribution of Migrants to Ancient Societies", möchte ich an dieser Stelle herzlich für die Einladung und Unterstützung danken.

[2] Gen 47, 6.

[3] Mittlere 11.–mittlere/späte 13. Dyn. Die 12. Dyn. kann durch astronomische Daten in den Lahun-Papyri nach Gautschy 2011 auf 2002/1991–1797/1786 v. Chr. datiert werden. Gegen die Zuverlässigkeit ägyptischer astronomischer Angaben spricht sich Schneider 2008 aus. Zum Beginn der 15. Dyn. (Hyksos) und der sogenannten Zweiten Zwischenzeit während der mittleren/späten 13. Dyn. siehe Moeller – Marouard 2018; Höflmayer 2018; Schneider 2018b und vgl. Siesse 2019, 120–126. Zum Ende der Zweiten Zwischenzeit siehe Höflmayer 2019.

[4] Die Volumina der durch Expeditionen und Fernhandel erlangten Güter lassen sich nicht beziffern: Nutz 2014, 115–120.

[5] Besonders deutlich im Südsinai: Morenz 2011, 223–242; Goldwasser 2012–2013; Tallet 2018, 37–47. Zu neuen archäologischen Belegen für die Kooperation zwischen Ägyptern und Bewohnern der Ostwüste siehe Manzo 2012a; 2018c; Liszka 2017.

[6] Unternubien: Flammini 2008; Török 2009, 79–117; Raue 2019a. Ägyptische und sudanesische Ostwüste sowie Eritrea: Seyfried 1981, 5–152. 241–285; Breyer 2016; Bard – Fattovich 2018. Wie auch bei vielen anderen ägyptischen Fremdlandbezeichnungen ist die genaue Lokalisierung von Bia-Punt und Punt unklar. Vermutlich handelt es sich jedoch um Regionen im südöstlichen Sudan und an der eritreischen Küste. Südsinai: Seyfried 1981, 153–240; Tallet 2018, 139–226. Levante und Zypern: Flammini 1996; 1998; Marcus 2007; Allen 2008; Wastlhuber 2011; Altenmüller 2015; Cohen 2015b; 2017; Bader 2015, 10–13; Mourad 2015; Höflmayer 2017. Zur möglichen Migration von Kanaanäern nach Ägypten am Ende des Alten Reiches siehe zuletzt Höflmayer 2015, 120–123. Expeditionen in die Westwüste fanden im Mittleren Reich anscheinend selten statt: Förster 2015, 479–494. Zu Kontakten mit der Ägäis siehe Philips 2010; Bader 2015, 10–13; Höflmayer 2018; Lange-Athinodorou 2018; Kopetzky 2018. Sichere Hinweise für einen längerfristigen Aufenthalt von Ägäern in Ägypten gibt es aus dieser Zeit bisher nicht.

[7] Grenzstelen Khartum NM 451, Berlin ÄM 1157 und 14753, letztere mit den Handelsregelungen. Siehe dazu Meurer 1996; Muhs 2016, 86; Obsomer 2017. Zu Kusch als Handelszentrum siehe Hafsaas-Tsakos 2009.

[8] Migration ist laut Kleinschmidt 2002, 20: *„eine Wohnsitzveränderung über eine Grenze von anerkannter Signifikanz hinweg."* Zur Bedeutung von Migrationstheorien in der Geschichte der Ägyptologie siehe Priglinger 2018.

[9] Gegen ihren Willen nach Ägypten gebrachte Individuen fallen streng genommen nicht unter die Kategorie „Migranten"; vgl. Hunter 2017 zu Afroamerikanern und dem US-amerikanischen Immigrationsnarrativ.

[10] Adams 2013, 27–28 entgegen Hafsaas 2005.

[11] Siehe dazu ausführlich Raue 2018.

[12] Schneider 1998; 2003; vgl. Schneider 2010. Zu Nubiern in Ägypten siehe auch Meurer 1996 und Raue 2018; 2019b.

[13] Siehe dazu ausführlich Smith 2018 und allgemeiner Massad 2015. Zur Ethnogenese der Medjay infolge der Übernahme der ägyptischen Fremdbezeichnung durch einige Hirtennomadengruppen der Ostwüste aufgrund verstärkter Kontakte während der späten 12. Dyn. (19. Jh. v. Chr.) siehe Liszka 2011. Ab der Mitte des 2. Jts. v. Chr. verliert der Begriff seinen Ethnizitätsbezug und wird zu einer Berufsbezeichnung für Wüstenpatrouillen und Polizeikräfte.

[14] Levantinische Verbindungen lassen sich nur für Könige der Zweiten Zwischenzeit sicher ausmachen. Mourad 2015, 204 vermutet, dass die wachsende Akzeptanz für Kanaanäer in Ägypten seit dem frühen Mittleren Reich die Herrschaft der Hyksos ermöglichte. Ob bereits der Name des Königs Chendjer aus der frühen 13. Dyn. semitisch als „Eber" zu deuten ist, bleibt unklar: Schneider 2003, 157–159.

[15] Für eine durch die Zentrale unterstützte Einwanderungspolitik spricht sich auch Menu 2012 aus.

[16] Siehe z. B. Bader 2011; 2013; Mourad 2015; Moeller 2016, 321–326. 347–356; Candelora 2017; Priglinger 2019. Bader 2013, 276 folgert daher: *„Making a distinction according to the binary categories 'Egyptian' and 'Syro-Palestinian' in Avaris during the Hyksos period seems futile…"* Schneider 2018a, 83 kommt sogar zu dem Schluss, dass Tell el-Dabʿa *„implants in Egyptology the provocative seed to imagine a different Egypt, and a different discipline."*

[17] Schiestl 2006; 2009, 75–89.

[18] Zur Involvierung der Nomarchen des 16. oberägyptischen Gaus in Expeditionen in die Ostwüste und nach Nubien vgl. auch die Selbstpräsentation des Amenemhat, in dessen Grab (BH 2) zudem vorderasiatische Soldaten dargestellt sind: Newberry 1893, Taf. 16; Cooper 2014; Kanawati – Evans 2016, 26–27. 42. Taf. 5–6. 48. 53b. 54a. 84. 88. 102. Zum Grab Chnumhoteps I. (BH 14) und dessen Militärszenen siehe Newberry 1893, Taf. 47; Lashien – Mourad 2019.

[19] Newberry 1893, Taf. 28. 30–31; Kamrin 1999, 93–96; 2009; Schneider 2003, 129; Kanawati – Evans 2014, 48. Taf. 29. 42–48. 123–124. 128–129; Mourad 2014; 2015, 81–92; Cohen 2015a; Saretta 2016, 87–108.

[20] Cohen 2015a, 35.

[21] Zur Pfannengräberkultur in Ägypten siehe Meurer 1996; Schneider 2003; Giuliani 2006; 2013; Näser 2012; 2013; Raue 2012; 2018; 2019b; Hierakonpolis Expedition 2012–2019b; de Souza 2013; 2018; 2019; Gatto 2014; Weschenfelder 2014; Liszka 2015; Cooper – Barnard 2017.

[22] Verbreitungskarten: Weschenfelder 2014, 358 Abb. 1; Liszka 2015, 44 Abb. 1. Neufunde von Pan-Grave Friedhöfen und Lagerplätzen wurden in den letzten Jahren in der Umgebung von Elephantine/Assuan und Abydos gemacht: Giuliani 2013, 69–73; Gatto 2014; Raue 2014–2015; 2018.

[23] Raue 2012; 2018; 2019b, 578–582. Frühe Nachweise für die Pfannengräberkultur aus der Zeit der 12. Dynastie finden sich außer auf Elephantine auch in Hierakonpolis: de Souza 2017. Zum Ende der Pfannengräberkultur und der partiellen Übernahme von Elementen der materiellen Kultur Ägyptens, der C-Gruppe und Kermas siehe auch de Souza 2013; 2018; Weschenfelder 2014.

[24] Zur C-Gruppe in Unternubien und Oberägypten bis Hierakonpolis siehe Meurer 1996; Schneider 2003; Hafsaas 2005; Hafsaas-Tsakos 2010; Giuliani 2006; 2013, 67–69; Hierakonpolis Expedition 2012–2019a; Schröder 2018; de Souza 2018; Raue 2018.

[25] Papyrus BM EA10752: Smither 1945; Kraemer – Liszka 2016; Liszka – Kraemer 2016.

[26] Smither 1945, 9. Taf. 5–5a.

[27] Bietak 1966.

[28] Liszka 2015.

[29] Manzo 2012a; 2012b, 80–81; 2017a; 2017b, 43–54; 2018a; 2018b; 2018c; 2019, 354–360; Emberling et al. 2014.

[30] Auch Näser 2012; 2013 und Weschenfelder 2014 führen die Migration aus der Ostwüste auf die Auflösung des Handelsnetzwerkes des Mittleren Reiches zurück. Als Mittelspersonen zwischen den Bewohnern des Niltals und Hirtennomadengruppen der Ostwüste seien die Medjay vom Funktionieren des Handelsnetzwerkes abhängig gewesen.

[31] BM EA63339. Vgl. die Neuaufnahmen von Cooper – Barnard 2017, 369 Abb. 5.

[32] Zibelius-Chen 2007; 2014, 290–291; el-Sayed 2011, 34–41; Rilly 2014, 1170–1171. 1174–1175. Das tu-beḏawiɛ wird meist zum sogenannten kuschitischen Zweig der afroasiatischen Sprachfamilie gerechnet. Auch Cooper – Barnard 2017 halten eine Verwandtschaft zwischen der Sprache der Mostagedda-Inschrift und dem tu-beḏawiɛ für möglich, favorisieren aber eine Herkunft der Träger der Pfannengräberkultur aus dem Südosten.

[33] Bhabha 2004, 19: *„… hybridity, a difference 'within', a subject that inhabits the rim of an 'in-between' reality."*

[34] Stockhammer 2012, 50–51: *„… the creative energies originally released by the encounter and broadened within the process of appropriation result in the creation of a new object that combines the familiar with the previously foreign. This entangled object is produced at some place (which does not have to be the place where the object is found), but its materiality shows that it is not the result of local continuities, but of changes triggered by encounters with otherness. It is more than just a sum of the entities from which it originated. It is an indissoluble combination of all of them – a cultural ‚Geflecht' – and might be seen as a new entity."*

Abbildungsnachweis

Abb. 1: Nach Lepsius 1849–1859, Taf. 133. – Abb. 2: Nach Brunton 1937, Taf. 76.

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Phoenician Migrants in Sardinia? Economic Considerations with Special Reference to Nuraghe S'Urachi, San Vero Milis (OR)

Jeremy Hayne

Introduction

The concept of migration focuses our attention on the individual or group rather than on that of the more usual term of 'colonisation', often overlaid by preconceptions of power and inequality. In fact, migration in the sense of movement of peoples is a key concept in archaeology as the resulting change and/or continuity in host societies are often the most important study areas. This paper focuses on the movement of people during the first millennium in Sardinia, especially the formation of settlements in the south west of the island by Phoenician settlers. I use the term 'Phoenician' as short-hand for the heterogeneous group of traders and settlers coming from the Levant region.[1] Was the development of settlements a result of colonisation or migration? Secondly it examines the fauna and material culture of the Phoenician settlement at the indigenous site of S'Urachi, what economic role did the Phoenicians play in the later life of the nuraghe and how is this visible in the archaeological record?

Colonisation and Migration

The principal model for the movement of ancient people in the Mediterranean has usually been seen through the viewpoint of colonisation, by which I mean the deliberate founding and setting up of settlements which had the original mother city as the point of reference. Most often this has been focused on the Greek creation of *apoika* and *emporia* with reference to an original mythical founder.[2] Similar concepts have been used for Phoenician colonies[3] with planned settlements founded across the western Mediterranean. That this was not necessarily true can be seen by the development of that main cultic and collective ritual space, the tophet, whose presence is limited to the western Mediterranean and often only develops late in Phoenician communities and is not therefore a continuation of Phoenician religious ritual brought from the homeland.[4]

In Iron Age Mediterranean archaeology it is difficult to separate migration from colonisation as traditionally any migrating people were considered to be *de facto* colonists, a homogeneous group of ethnically related people imposing themselves on less sophisticated indigenous populations. On the other hand, the term 'migrants' focuses on individual movements of people, not necessarily intent on colonisation.[5] This relieves us of much of the cultural baggage found in the term colonisation which is often linked to this Hellenising perspective of unequal power relationships.[6]

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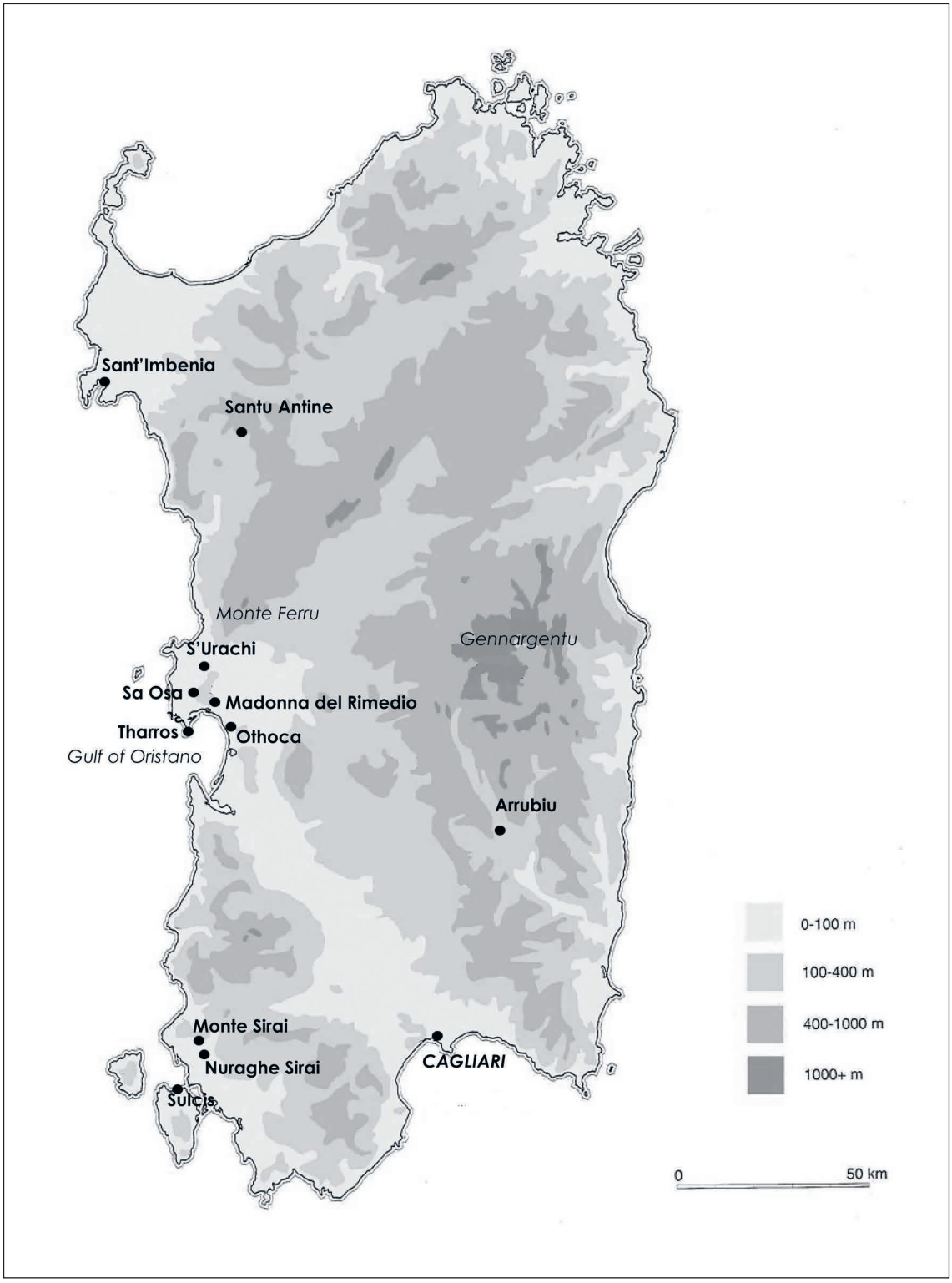

Fig. 1: Places mentioned in the text.

Equally importantly is the way that a focus on colonisation traditionally found in Iron Age Mediterranean studies does not take into account the agency of local populations nor the connectivity and fluidity of the Iron Age where new socio-political worlds were coming into being through the greater contact between people from different parts of the Mediterranean[7]; a process exemplified by the settlement at Pithekoussai, on Ischia. Its original labelling as a Euboean colonial settlement is now being seriously questioned by scholars who highlight its mixed burials and possible indigenous origins.[8]

Sardinia is a case in point here. Until recently its Iron Age phase (ca. 950–700 BC) was largely ignored as the scholarly tradition saw a net difference between the Bronze Age Nuragic culture and the colonial appropriation of the island by Phoenicians and Carthaginians in the first millennium BC.[9] More recently, focus on the continuing existence of the late Nuragic populations and their interactions with Phoenician newcomers has given way to a more nuanced view of interactions and consequently the formulation of new identities that existed in the early first millennium BC.[10]

Indeed, as part of this innovative approach, migration has recently become a hot topic, due also to the new interest in the genetic makeup of ancient people and the ability of scientists to sequence their genetic ancestry. In fact, recent research using isotope analysis or DNA is having a strong impact on the re-evaluation of migrations by giving fresh insight into past movements of peoples which is not solely based on the movement of objects.[11] It is not the place here to focus on the many questions raised by DNA analysis and its relationship to traditional archaeology[12] but one interesting aspect of DNA studies is the focus it allows us on individuals rather than groups of people. Seeing Phoenicians as migrants rather than colonists can open up new horizons.[13]

This paper first looks at the Phoenician migrants in the early Iron Age through the perspective of recent DNA analysis then using the faunal and ceramic remains I look at the effects that Phoenicians migrants had on two sites (Monte Sirai and S'Urachi) in the Iron Age. I suggest that a bottom up approach to the arrival of the Phoenicians can help us see how changes took place in Sardinia through interactions with the local populations.

Sardinia

Movements of peoples are often mapped through the presence of their material culture but it is often the case that there is no direct link between one and the other. Objects are transported and exchanged by different communities with the original meaning of circulating objects often being manipulated or transformed by host communities[14]. Direct links between producer and final resting place are also difficult to identify as there might be many stages between their starting and finishing points. DNA analyses on the other hand can help us give an idea of the origins of people found at specific sites. At Monte Sirai[15] an inland Phoenician settlement probably settled on a pre-ex-

isting Nuragic site, samples of mitochondrial DNA from several burials dating from between the 6th – 4th centuries BC have provided evidence of the genetic origins of its population.[16] The results highlight not only the mixed population at the settlement, something that is also seen by the different burial types found (inhumation, cremation, partial cremation)[17] but also underlines the concept of Phoenician migrants rather than colonisers by suggesting that individuals rather than large groups arrived there.[18] Furthermore, the mitochondrial data present emphasises the movement of women in these migrations undermining, perhaps, a commonly held belief that it was men who were principally involved.[19]

Although such small amounts of DNA data need to be used with caution they do suggest that the traditional view of groups of colonisers settling in Sardinia needs to be revised, especially for the later settled inland sites. The role of women is also necessarily highlighted and as they were generally the primary domestic providers and food preparers in communities this impacts on culinary traditions of the sites where they settled.[20] The evidence suggests that they were not only indigenous individuals but were part of the migrating population, *contra* the generally held idea that women were often brought into the community from outside to 'marry' foreign men.

S'Urachi

S'Urachi provides a useful test area for examining economic contributions of migrating communities. S'Urachi, a Bronze Age nuraghe is a centrally located in the hinterland of the Sinis peninsula conveniently situated near the Phoenician settlements of Tharros, Othoca and Neapolis, the former dating back to the earliest Phoenician presence on the island[21] and acting as a gateway to the more inland Nuragic communities along the Tirso river (fig. 2). The nearby Monte Ferru with its rich mineral resources and upland pastures provided excellent grazing for cattle and iron for metal hungry traders. The site is especially important for long term studies on socio-economic changes as it was inhabited for many centuries after the end of the Nuragic period (ca 800–100 BC)[22] and can shed light on Iron Age and later practices. It has been the focus of large scale recent excavation campaigns, led by Peter van Dommelen (Brown University) and Alfonso Stiglitz (Comune di San Vero Milis), of which the writer is part. Two areas have been investigated; Area D to the south of the nuraghe which comprises an area of about 15 × 20 sqm between the external wall of the nuraghe and the old Roman road. Various rooms can date the later layers to the 4th–2nd centuries BC whilst deeper levels (not yet completely explored) contain material dating back to the 7th–6th centuries BC[23] and Area E measuring 10 × 10 sqm situated to the east of the nuraghe, which comprises various floors used for the working and dumping of domestic food products. These surfaces are dated to between the 6th–4th centuries BC and overlie a massive ditch running parallel to the wall of the nuraghe, which may have had a defensive function and is

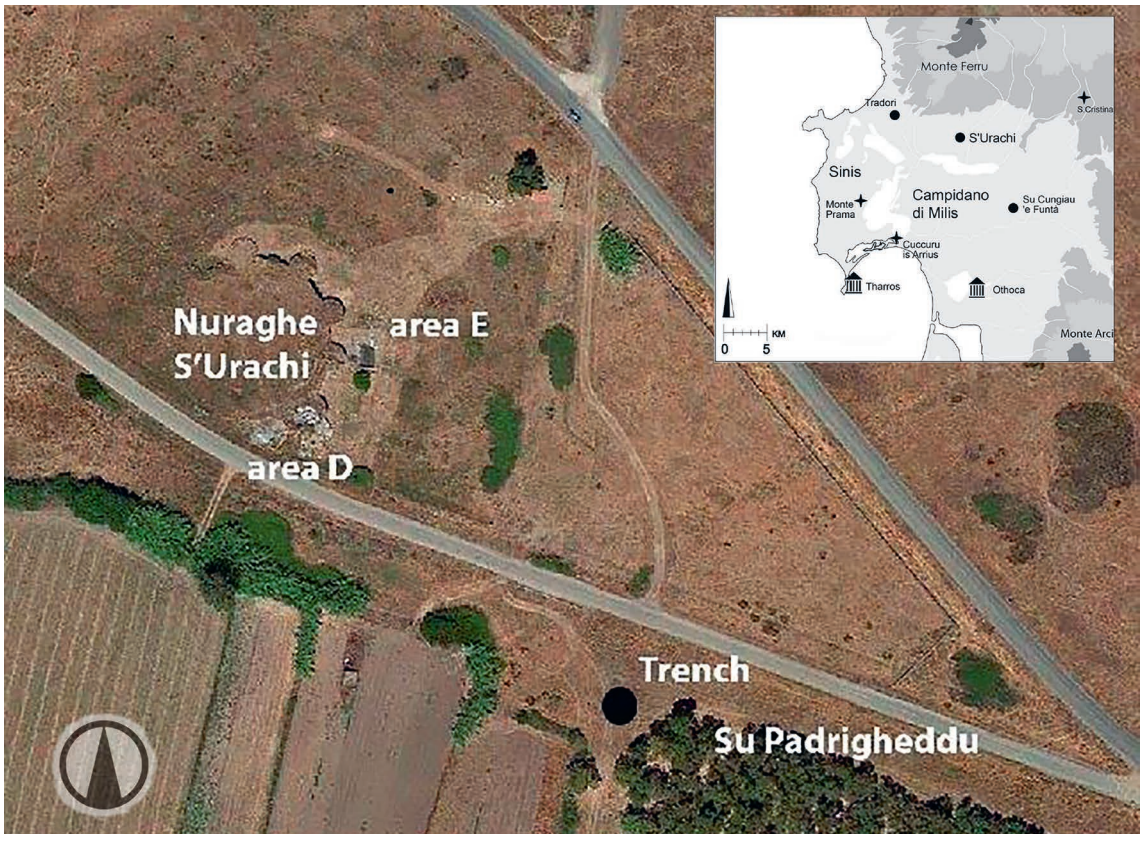

Fig. 2: S'Urachi.

dated to the 7th–6th centuries BC. A third area, a few hundred metres from the nuraghe, is that of the Nuragic village of Su Padrigheddu[24] where a test trench (ca 1.5 × 1.5 × 1 m) sunk near the area of the site produced a collection of material and faunal remains dating to the Iron Age.[25] The presence of mixed Nuragic and early Phoenician material (i.e. amphorae, table and fine-ware),[26] from here together with previous data from Su Padrigheddu[27] provides good evidence of indigenous/Phoenician interactions at the site.

Economic Considerations

Animal Husbandry

This section focuses on two aspects of the economy, transport/trade and food production. Phoenician migrants may not have been many in number but the influx of people and more especially, new techniques, had an impact on the local economies.

One area where this can be seen is with animal husbandry as changes in food consumption and agricultural practices are reflected in the faunal remains, and comparable statistics are available from nearby sites.

Fig. 3: Monte Sirai looking south to Sant'Antioco and Sulcis.

The charts (figg. 4 and 5) focus on domestic animals, which could be used as either work animals or food; generally animals for food are killed at an earlier age whilst those for work are slaughtered later so as to get full use out of them. Firstly, the data from pre-Phoenician Sardinia (fig. 4). The only relevant Mid-Bronze Age site is that of La Madonna del Rimedio (a few kilometres from S'Urachi). Evidence from here shows the use of mostly sheep and goats, closely followed by cattle. It is noticeable that the kill-off profiles were mixed suggesting that all animals were used for both food and work.[28] The Late Bronze Age site of Sa Osa shows a strong predominance of sheep and goats over cattle whilst the data percentages are similar in both the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Nuragic sites of Sant'Imbenia and Santu Antine. Sheep and goats predominate, never less than 40% of total domestic and deer bones.[29] Kill-off profiles at all three sites show that sheep and goats were generally killed at a young age, suggesting that they were principally used for meat, whilst cattle were mostly slaughtered when older (in their 3rd year or above), implying that they were mainly used as work animals. Pig kill-off, similar to sheep and goats, suggests they were likely used for their meat.

This data contrasts strongly with the Iron Age Su Padrigheddu where the most common species were cattle and deer:[30] the greater number of the latter was probably related to the proximity of Monte Ferru, which would have provided a good hunting ground.

The later Phoenician sites (fig. 5) show some differences; both nuraghe Sirai, an indigenous site settled by Phoenicians in the 7th century BC and the nearby Phoenician settlement of Monte Sirai have a large number of deer and pig remains (ca 70% of total

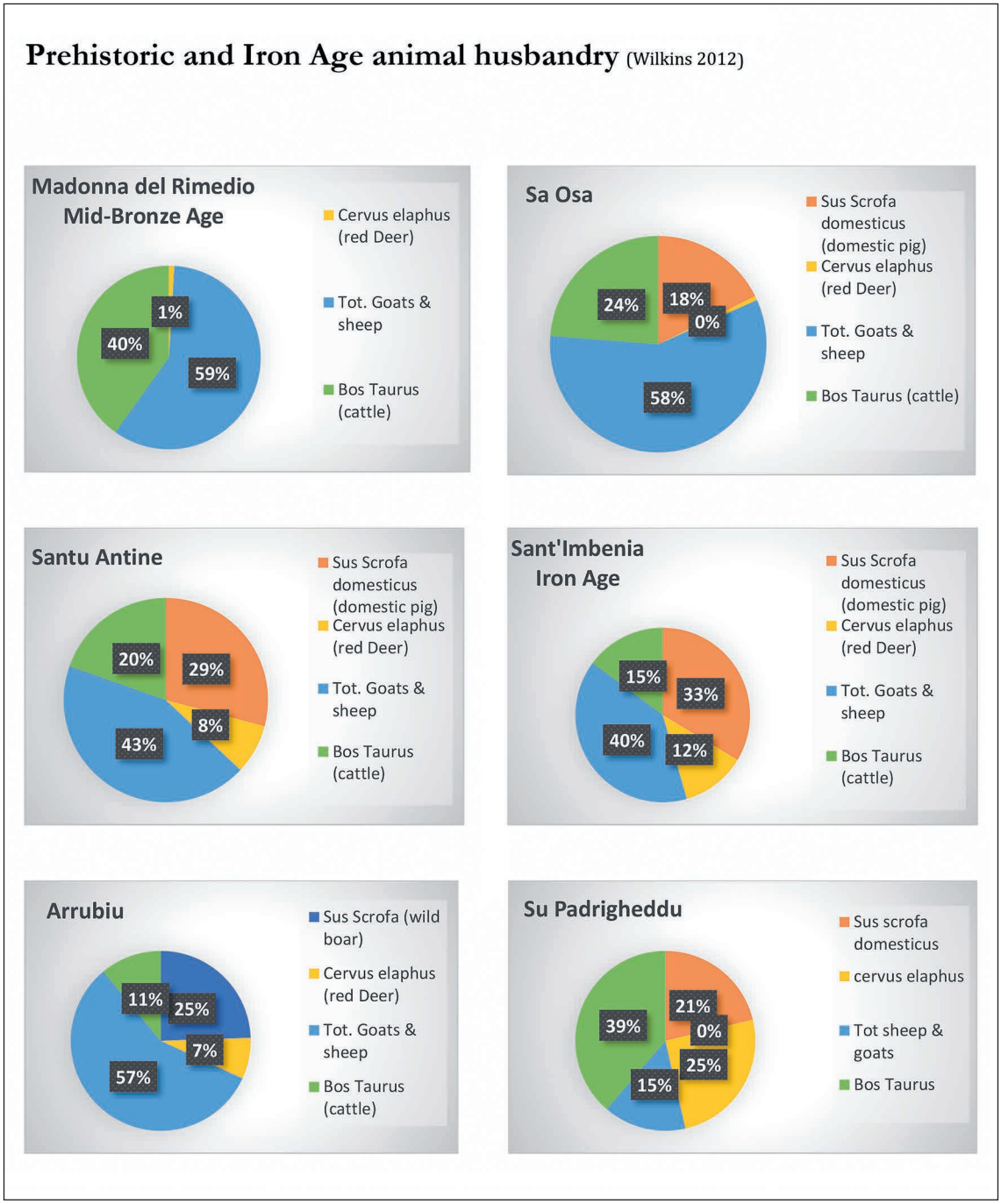

Fig. 4: Prehistoric animal husbandry.

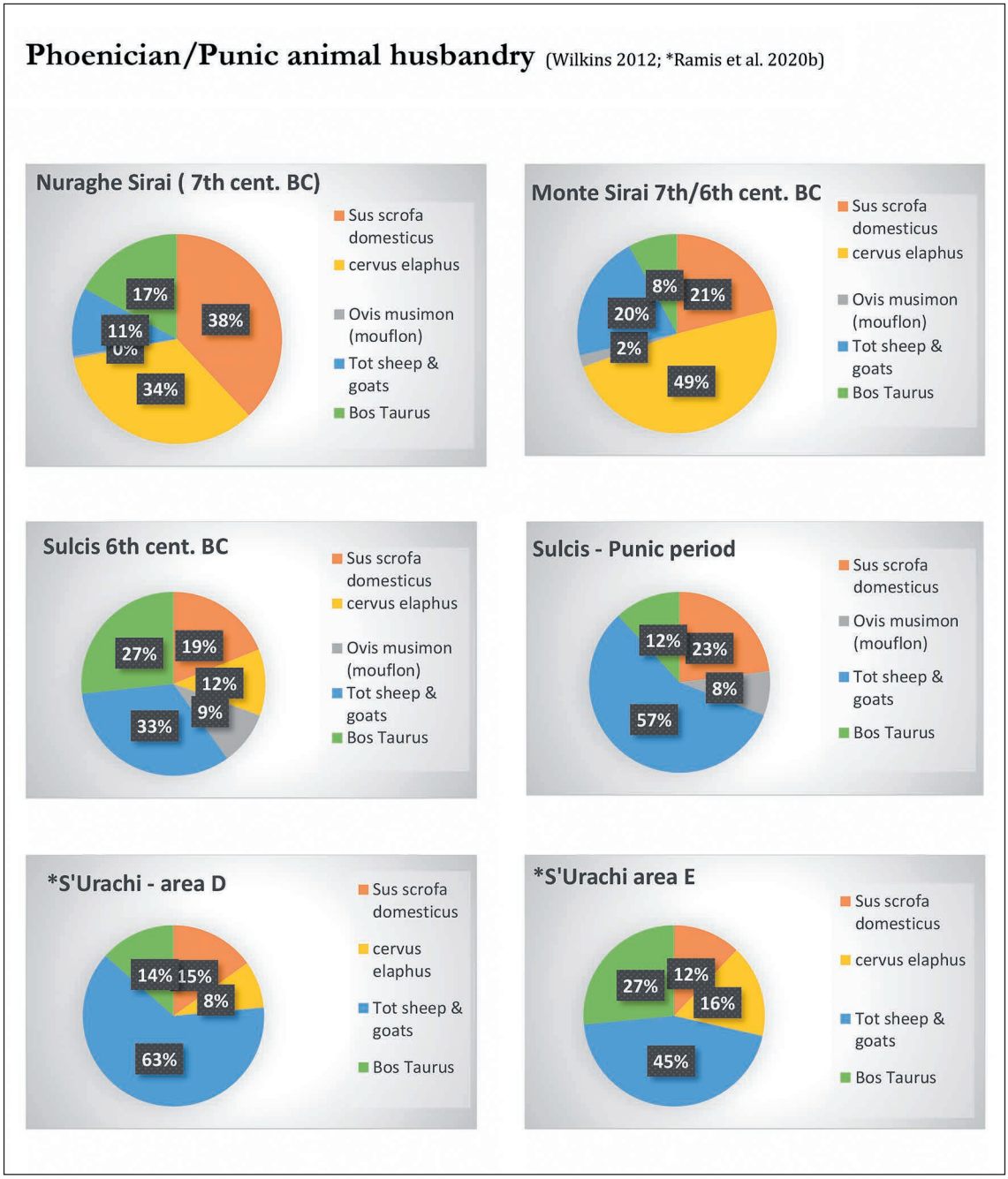

Fig. 5: Phoenician-Punic animal husbandry.

animals) and it seems likely that whilst the latter were primarily slaughtered for food the former, killed as adults, may have been used chiefly for their antlers.[31] On the other hand, sheep and goats only make up 11% of numbers at Nuraghe Sirai and 20% at Monte Sirai, which is considerably lower than numbers at the Iron Age indigenous sites. They were probably used for secondary products like milk or hair/leather.[32] The data from S'Urachi[33] is still partial but shows there was a dramatic decline in deer numbers between the Iron Age and the mid-first millennium BC, numbers which are mostly compensated for by sheep and goats which steadily increase from 15% of total animal bones in the Iron Age to 63% in the Punic period. This suggests a change of habits with less reliance on hunting and more on farmed animals. Cattle too see a significant and continuing decline between the early and later first millennium BC.

Kill-off dates match the Nuragic ones with most sheep and goats being slaughtered between 16–24 months and cattle being kept until adult before being slaughtered; presumably the former were killed for meat and the latter used more as work animals, a pattern that repeats from the Nuragic period. Interestingly, whilst the Iron Age trench at Su Padrigheddu reveals a different balance of domestic animals (with cattle predominating, followed by deer then pigs) the percentages of animal remains in Phoenician/Punic S'Urachi are more in line with other Bronze and Iron Age sites. This could be due to sampling methods but may also suggest continuity with pre-Phoenician husbandry. At S'Urachi the clear decline in the use of cattle throughout the first millennium BC and the increase in sheep and goats, is in line with the overall evidence from Phoenician/Punic sites where normally ovicaprines dominate.[34] This may also relate to changes in the environment which was becoming increasingly drier. There is also an increase in the number of pigs, a trend also found at Sulcis, which perhaps relates to how well they were regarded as food; many were killed in the first two years of life, even if the main period for slaughter was between the third and fourth year. The gradual increase in numbers of sheep and goats through the Punic period allows us to conclude that the Phoenician impact on animal husbandry became gradually more visible in the later Punic period.

Interesting data to emerge is that of the proportions of wild and domestic mammals. The Bronze/Iron Age sites do not show, as might be expected, that the highest proportion of meat came from hunting.[35] Only Arrubiu shows a large number of wild boar remains, whilst at other sites deer numbers are relatively contained. The only exception is Su Padrigheddu where deer make up 25% of mammal bones.[36]

A clearer difference between the Nuragic and Phoenician phases is found with the arrival of new animal species[37] probably introduced by the Phoenicians, these include horses, donkeys and chicken all of which were only found in Phoenician layers at S'Urachi.

Ceramics

If the DNA data from Monte Sirai is correct, there were few early Phoenicians settling in Sardinia, and their limited initial impact is perhaps confirmed by the modest early changes in animal husbandry. The impact of Phoenician presence on the economy can also be seen with the introduction of new ceramic forms. Communities from the Near East settling on Sardinia brought about changes in the mobility of goods, stimulating new markets with the island. The discovery of Iron Age Sardinian pottery in colonial settlements in Iberia and elsewhere is evidence of contact and trade with Sardinia. The production of the so-called Sant Imbenia amphorae from the mid–9th century BC is a case in point. First discovered at the homonymous site in North Sardinia they are emblematic of the contact between Nuragic people and Phoenicians. They appear to be a hybrid form of container, using local fabrics that combine handmade and wheel techniques to create a form that directly refers to near eastern prototypes.[38] The Sant'Imbenia amphorae are particularly pertinent as they document a type of container used for the movement/transport of goods, rather than just storage, which is a new addition to the local repertoire. Six such rims were found in a group of material from Su Padrigheddu made in a local fabric more generally used to make typical Nuragic material, meaning that they were created by people coming from a local tradition rather than foreigners. The manufacturing technique is also mixed, with the body being made by hand, and the rim added later. The same type of manufacturing technique has been identified for some more typically Phoenician cooking containers such as cooking pots and basins[39] again from Su Padrigheddu.

Certainly, if we view the economy from a macroscopic perspective the presence of Sant'Imbenia amphorae and the arrival of more typical forms of Phoenician transport amphorae imply that the local economy was being absorbed into a wider market. Most transport amphorae (46%) found between 760–675 BC from Carthage were from Sardinia.[40] Although their content is typically seen as wine, the lack of data concerning surplus wine production from Sardinia for this period allows us to think they contained other products. Chopped preserved meat was a possibility as evidenced from the contents of Ramon T-2.1.1.2. amphorae from Nora[41] – a form that gradually superseded the Sant'Imbenia type in the late 7th–early 6th centuries BC – and later (4th–3rd centuries BC) from the Santa Giusta lagoon only a few kilometres from S'Urachi. The preponderance of sheep and goat remains found within them corresponds to the increasing importance of ovicaprine husbandry at S'Urachi in the later Punic period.[42]

Tharros was probably the main contact point for trade and amphorae from S'Urachi show a marked predominance of Tharrense fabrics from the late 7th century down to the 4th century BC.[43] At the same time the evidence of a wide variety of transported foodstuffs from Sant Giusta show how the hinterland was being harnessed for trade and exports. Overall, however, the evidence points to a gradual decline in local traditions both in food and material culture over this period. At S'Urachi there appears to be some overlap between local and Phoenician material culture to the 7th century BC but

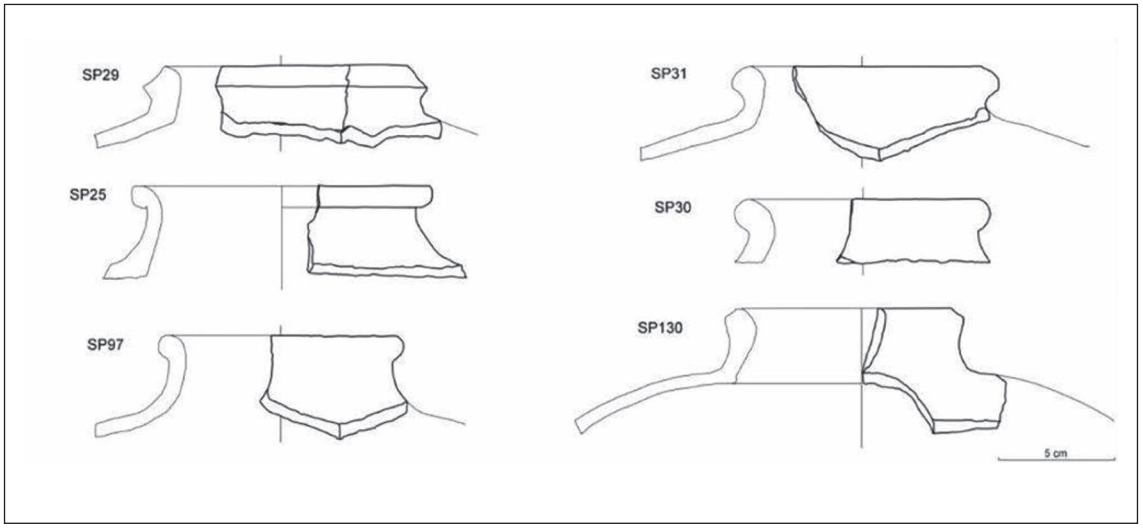

Fig. 6: Sant' Imbenia amphora – Su Padrigheddu.

in later periods only Phoenician/Punic material is present. Yet, continuation of local practices can be seen in the use of certain ceramic fabrics even when making objects in a Phoenician/Punic style. Of 199[44] fragments of cooking pottery produced between the 4th–2nd centuries BC 20 were still made using the SVM 1 fabric showing how indigenous traditions continued in the local economy through to the late first millennium, a continuity matched by evidence from other 'colonial' settlements in Sardinia such as Olbia.[45]

Conclusions

The evidence from DNA studies raises some questions about the role, number and gender of Phoenicians in Sardinia and consequently their impact on the local economy. It complements other material evidence which highlight the mixed and pacific nature of life in the new (and old) settlements after their first arrival. The data from animal husbandry practices presents a complex picture that varies from site to site. It suggests continuation with pre-Phoenician practices of mixed animal husbandry – at least in the early Phoenician period – at S'Urachi, with a gradual increasing dominance of Punic practices through the latter part of the first millennium, which combines with greater economic control over production and transportation. One area where we could see changes is in the kill-off dates for some animals at S'Urachi, which later than in the Bronze/Iron Ages could be linked to changes in cooking practices with the Phoenician use of deep cooking pots and casseroles, rather than the shallow pans of the Nuragic period. This may have allowed for the longer cooking of older animals and consequently freeing up herds to be used for producing secondary products of milk, wool and cheese. Finally, the continued use of certain ceramic fabrics at S'Urachi into the later first mil-

lennium BC suggest that they were produced by people within an indigenous tradition and highlight continuities of practices even during a period when the territory was considered Punic.

Notes

[1] There is a vast bibliography on the topic, cf. Quinn 2018, 24–62 for a detailed discussion; Aubet 2001, 6–25.

[2] Donnellan 2016, 11; van Dommelen 2012, 398 f.

[3] Aubet 2001, 235–242.

[4] Quinn 2018, 94 f.

[5] The International Organization for Migration (IOM) definition of migrant is "any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is" https://www.iom.int/who-is-a-migrant (retrieved 29. 05. 2018).

[6] Dietler 2005; van Dommelen 1997; van Dommelen 2012.

[7] Broodbank 2013; van Dommelen 2017.

[8] Donnellan 2016; Kelley 2012.

[9] The bibliography is increasing rapidly, cf. van Dommelen – Roppa 2014, especially 271 f.; Lo Schiavo et al. 2010, 281–283; Bernardini 2007; Perra 2018.

[10] Tronchetti 2014; van Dommelen 1998; van Dommelen – Roppa 2014.

[11] Reich 2018.

[12] Callaway 2018.

[13] Burmeister 2017.

[14] Appadurai 1986; van Dommelen – Rowlands 2012.

[15] Guirguis 2017, 147.

[16] Matisoo-Smith et al. 2018. It should be noted that mitochondrial DNA has the advantage of being easier to analyse but the disadvantage of not being able to give us a complete picture of the genetic make-up of individuals, and that only through the female line (Reich 2018, 29 f.).

[17] Piga et al. 2010.

[18] Matisoo-Smith et al. 2018, 14.

[19] The importance of women in knowledge transmission is also highlighted from a genetic study in Germany, Knipper et al. 2017; Matisoo-Smith et al. 2018, 14 f.

[20] Hayne et al. 2016.

[21] Stiglitz 2012, 244.

[22] The Nuragic period is generally held to be ca. 1600–800 BC.

[23] Stiglitz et al. 2015, 200 f.; van Dommelen et al. 2018.

[24] Roppa 2012; Roppa 2015.

[25] I warmly thank Linda Gosner for allowing me to use some of her data. Gosner – Smith 2018; van Dommelen et al. 2018.
[26] Gosner et al. 2020.
[27] Cf. notes 20 and 24.
[28] Wilkens 2012, 87.
[29] Included as they were an important meat resource.
[30] The local importance of deer is confirmed by recent analyses of the late Iron Age levels of S'Urachi Area E, where they accounted for 22% of total faunal remains analysed (Ramis et al. 2020).
[31] Campanella 2008, 24.
[32] Carenti 2005, 220.
[33] Data from S'Urachi is preliminary and I am indebted to Damià Ramis for his generous help in allowing me to use some of his data, the majority of which comes from Ramis et al. 2020.
[34] Campanella 2008, 67.
[35] As suggested by Campanella 2008, 22.
[36] Cf. similar data (22% of totals) from the late Iron Age deposits at S'Urachi, Area E (Ramis et al. 2020b).
[37] Carenti – Wilkens 2006.
[38] Oggiano 2000, 240–242.
[39] Roppa 2012, 10; Roppa 2015, 138.
[40] Bechtold – Docter 2010, 103.
[41] Finocchi 2009, 386.
[42] Del Vais – Sanna 2012, 217.
[43] Roppa 2015, 137 f.
[44] Data from the database of unpublished material from S'Urachi area D.
[45] Cavaliere 2008.

Image Credits

Fig. 1: Hayne. – Fig. 2: Gosner – Smith. – Fig. 3: Hayne; adapted from Wilkens 2012. – Fig. 4 and 5: Hayne; adapted from Wilkens 2012 & Ramis et al. 2020. – Fig. 6: Roppa 2012, 10 fig. 14.

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Migrations and Economic Interactions in the North Tyrrhenian Basin (1500 BC–100 AD): the Examples of the Straits of Corsica and Elba

Kewin Peche-Quilichini – Laura Pagliantini

The difficulties in interpreting the collective and/or individual processes in relation with the human behaviour, even though the observer cannot evaluate his/her ability to detach him/herself from his own reference system, are obvious. In archaeological studies the question of the synchronic expression of stylistic and material affinities, often schematized under the vague notion of "influence", is recurrent, especially for far epochs, because it imposes by itself the problematic of otherness. The nature, the importance, the meaning, the impact and, ultimately, the significance of the mechanisms at the origin of these occurrences is indeed the source of many debates and reflections in which the notion of contact between groups, and therefore the identities of these groups, is always underlying. By simple geocultural logic, the attempt to define contact dynamics between regions separated by the sea is more concrete and obvious than doing so in the case of more or less adjacent terrestrial territories because it allows for absolving and transgressing the biases linked to a multitude of transfer phenomena rarely highlighted by the methods of archaeology but long documented and catalogued in social anthropology, even in ethnoarchaeology. The high difficulties of the horizontal transfer of cultural dynamics logically generates a materialized response during protohistory by the development of navigation, for a purpose which remains to be defined with precision but is multiple, multipolar and evolutionary each according to the considered periods. The ways of affinity can themselves vary according to the processes from which they result – before eventually becoming the cause – whatever the contact mechanism that causes it: mobility of people, goods or ideas, within a social, family, commercial sphere, etc., that the archaeological survey can only touch with difficulty.

Within the framework of our study, the Tyrrhenian Strait, on average 80 km wide, would thus play the double role of barrier and bridge between Corsica and Tuscany. In fact, the diffusion of Italic cultural dynamics to the islands – and vice versa? – has always been at least filtered before a digestion whose contours are dictated by the independence of local learning spheres – vertical transfer – which have often given way to reinterpretations and appropriations. By attempting to take into account the tacit and fleeting complexity of the phenomena involved, we will attempt here to relate the obvious correspondences expressed by craft production of furniture of Corsican and Tuscan protohistoric groups in a diachronic and contextual perspective, focusing on the issue of migrations.

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The Case of Protohistoric Corsica

Preliminary Considerations about "Cultural Relations"

In this chapter we will try to present the material testimonies which illustrate direct relations between groups living in Corsica and in the neighbouring regions during the Bronze and the Iron Ages. In these contexts, the demonstration of technical or stylistic similarities between more or less distant regions makes it possible to envisage contacts and thus occasional, regular or institutionalized maritime migrations between the different territories.

The issue of the intrusion of exogenous elements into indigenous material systems is a recurring topic of the social sciences. In particular, it has been described in social sciences by Bronislaw Malinovski (1884–1942), who showed the various stages leading to the differentiated adoption of external models to their assimilation as an endogenous vector of identity.[1] In the North Tyrrhenian basin, to which there belong the shores of Corsica, Sardinia, Liguria, Tuscany (mainland and islands) and Lazio, these problems can be measured by the study of movements of stylistic models by sea or land.

The study of the links maintained by the Bronze and Iron Ages Corsicans with their island or mainland neighbours is not a new subject.[2] Indeed, the proximity of other regions has logically had a great influence on the development of research, considering the geographical proximity of Tuscany, Liguria and Sardinia. For example, archaeology provided early – and for all periods – direct evidence of imports of raw material, revealing the existence of supply networks across the sea since the Mesolithic and consequently the role of small groups of migrants for ensuring this distribution. This is particularly the case for lithic resources during the Neolithic.[3]

During the Bronze Age it is not only raw material but also stylistic repertoires that arrive on the island. The Sardinian archaeologist Enrico Atzeni must be granted the primacy of discoveries around this topic, particularly through his research at Filitosa.[4]

In our context, the question of maritime relations can only be posed by taking into account the climatic and meteorological rules which have provided so many constraints in favour of certain relations to the detriment of others. The influence of the prevailing winds on sailing is also an important topic to be taken into account.

Illustrations

The chronological development of testimonies attests to extra-island contacts and migrations of ideas, styles and people between Corsica and the neighbouring region.

The "international phase" of the Campaniform productions did not reach Corsica. Indeed, around 2500–2300 BC the island is in its terrinian period, which is marked by total stylistic and economic hermeticism. It is necessary to wait until 2200 BC for evidence of a particularly fugacious regional Campaniform (Bell Beaker), present today at only three or four sites (fig. 1).[5] Early Bronze 1 is part of a similar tradition. Later, in Early Bronze Age 2, contacts are established with Liguria and Southern France, illus-

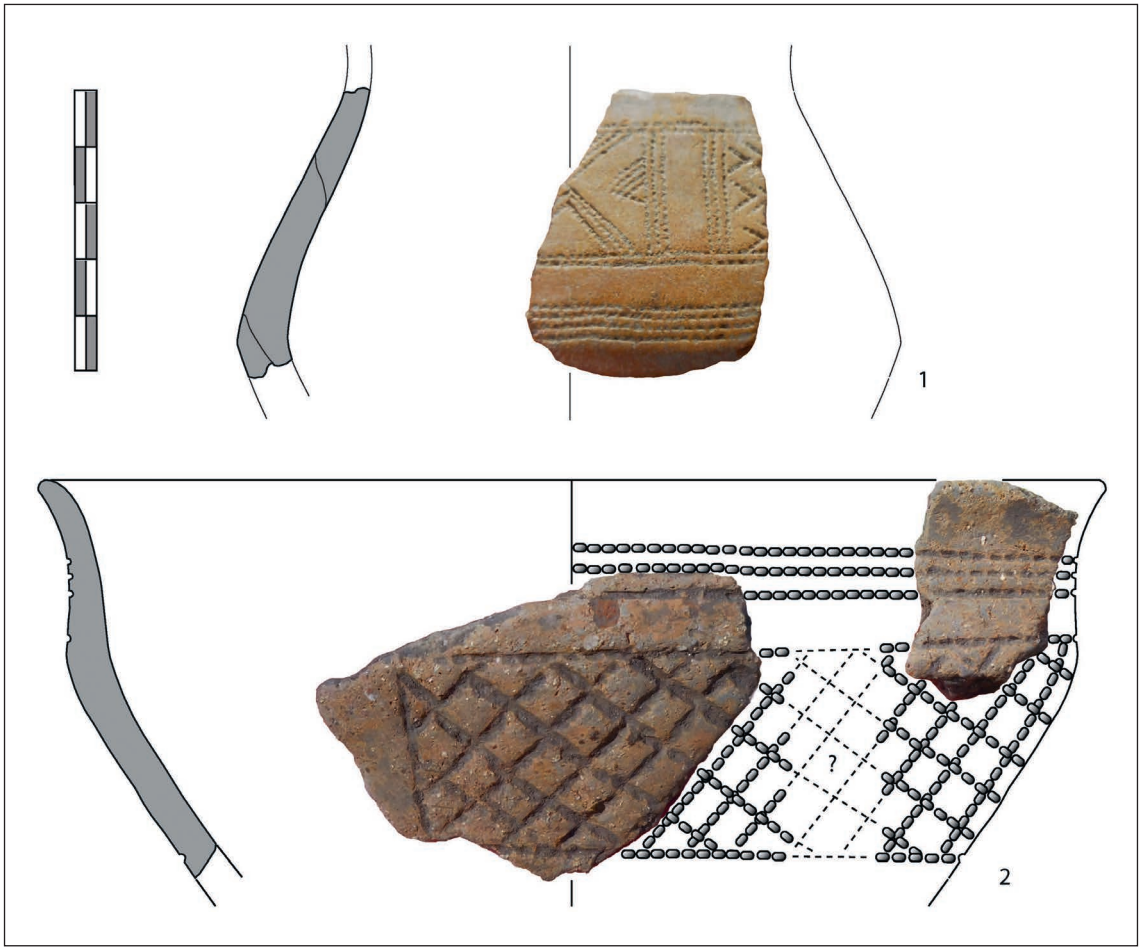

Fig. 1: Evolved Bell beaker decorated pottery from Corsica: 1. I Calanchi; 2. Monti Barbatu

trated by the diffusion of one-handled low hull cups (fig. 2).[6] But the most obvious exogeneous element is the Sardinian component in the pottery of Early Bronze Age 2, which is clearly distributed in Corsica along a south-north gradient. This influence is notably characterized by the diffusion of footed cups in the burials as well as bowls with a bent handle. At the same time, the pottery also illustrates connections with Tuscany, mainly in domestic contexts. Contemporary metallic productions, essentially bronze axes, follow a slightly different pattern: Sardinian influences seem to be less active, while those of Tuscany and northern Italy are obvious.

This trend increases with the transition to Middle Bronze Age 1, since the axes of this period have much in common with the productions of Lombardy, Piedmont and the Swiss plateau (fig. 3). This connection to Central Europe is also illustrated by the presence of two *brotlaibidole* in the north of the island.[7] These objects, of indeterminate function, date from around Middle Bronze Age 1. Their global spread extends from

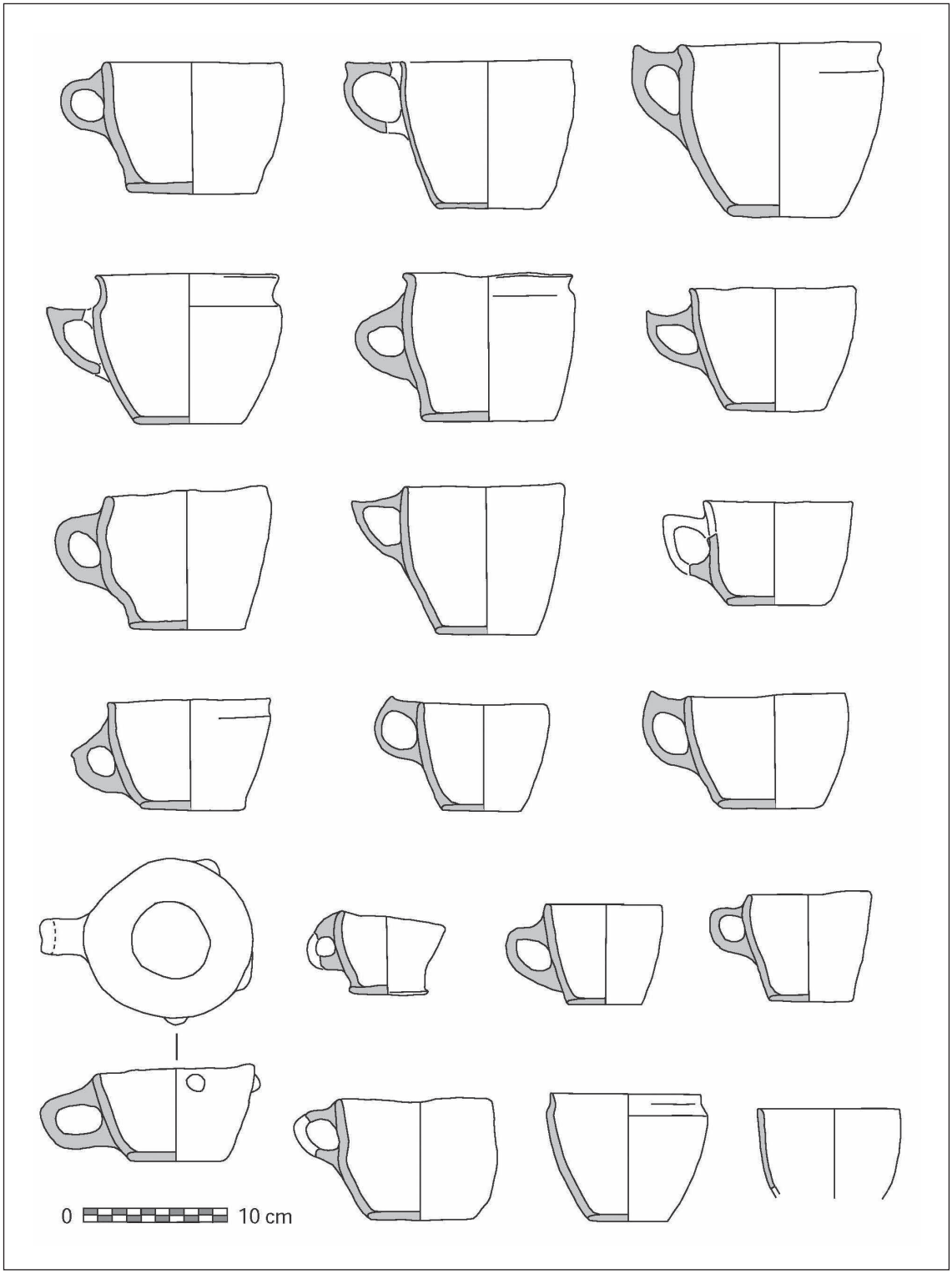

Fig. 2: One-handled low hull little cups from dolmen of Settivà

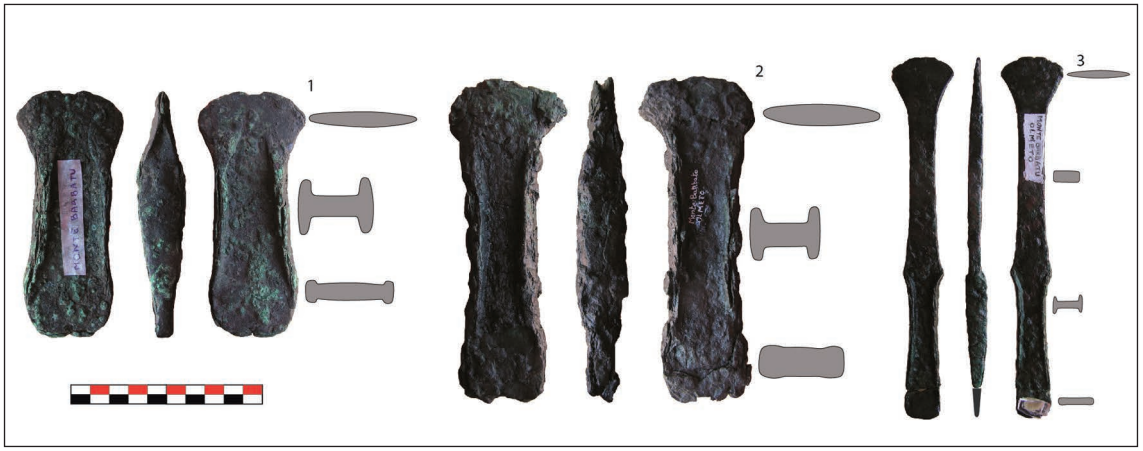

Fig. 3: Alpine and northern-Italy styles bronze axes from Monti Barbatu: 1. Allevard type; 2. Torbole type; 3. Cressier type

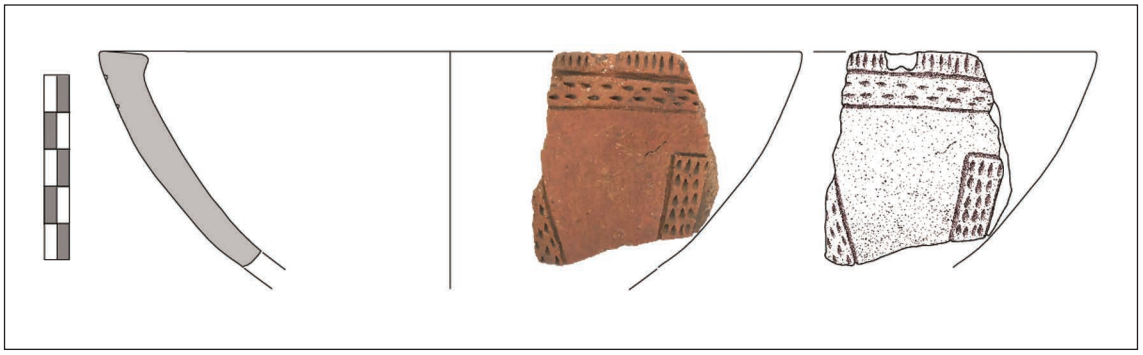

Fig. 4: Grotta Nuova style decorated bowl from Monti Barbatu

Southern Poland to Northern Italy, with an epicentre in Slovakia. One of them is present in Sicily. At the same time, Corsica massively adopts the ceramic forms and ornaments of the Proto-Apenninic, Grotta Nuova (fig. 4) and Viverone Italic styles.[8] This phenomenon is particularly strong around 1600/1400 BC; it loses importance later. Therefore, the introduction of Italic stylistic repertoires to Corsica happens initially by an integration of the models. Subsequently, the decorative and/or morphological registers are subject to local reinterpretation. This cultural infiltration betrays important relations, with presence on the island, at first of potters arriving from mainland Italy,[9] perhaps in the context of matrimonial alliances, from which then there developed a kind of tradition.

During the following period, the Late Bronze Age, these contacts with Italy become basically less intensive. At that time the material productions of the island undergo an autonomous evolution. However, it is during this phase that objects originating from the Eastern Mediterranean arrive in Corsica and Sardinia, probably thanks to a Mycenaean vector, which highlights the establishment of long-distance supply networks to this region, an epoch that marks the first globalization on a Mediterranean scale. The

analysis of the artefacts allows researchers to envisage that raw materials and artefacts were part of exchange networks connecting the Baltic region, Mesopotamia, Egypt and the Aegean shores to Corsica and mainly Sardinia, the final destination of *exotica* towards the West.[10] Concerning this interpretation, it seems that only this kind of goods is travelling, even if the nationality of sailors remains unidentified. However, there is an exception: Corsica has also delivered several moulds attesting to a very specific work of *repoussé* metallurgy, probably from metal sheets. This technique is not known in neighbouring regions at these times, but it is well documented for the Aegean area and Egypt. Here again we could evoke a possible link between Corsica and the Eastern Mediterranean, perhaps even the occasional passage of specialized craftsmen who could be described as "technical migrants", known for the mastery of their art and expertise. A very similar case is known from Southern Sardinia with the[11] immigration of Cypriot smiths at the same time or immediately after.[12]

At the beginning of the Final Bronze Age many changes affect the Corsican society. Cultural references are then shaken and renewed.[13] The south of the island looks back to Sardinia and objects are imported: Nuragic bottles with four handles, bronze axes, etc. Some pottery techniques are also introduced, perhaps indicating the crossing of the strait by Sardinian potters (women?), perhaps in a matrimonial perspective. This phenomenon is particularly illustrated by the identification of Northern Nuragic ceramic techniques, such as the use of baskets to flatten and standardize the bottoms of the vases.[14] Contemporarily, the relations with the Italic space are not abandoned. Certain funeral practices, but also forms of vases or bronze weapons reveal frequent contacts between Southern and the regions of Central and Northern Italy. A recent discovery confirms this aspect. It consists of a glass bead belonging to the typology and showing the chemical composition of the Frattesina type, found in a tomb in north-west Corsica. This object reveals a more or less direct connection with a workshop of the lower valley of the Po river, like Frattesina.[15]

The Early Iron Age shows stylistic and traditional continuity, but coupled with an evident cultural hermeticism. Only the burials illustrate contacts to the outside: to the Villanovian area in the Northern valleys,[16] to Sardinia in the south. Around 565 BC the Phocaean colony of Alalia is founded. One generation later the Greeks will be driven out by a coalition of Etruscans and Carthaginians, who will remain there until the Roman conquest in the third century BC. All along the classical period the city will have little influence on indigenous groups. With the rise of Roman commercial networks during the Republican period, Corsica is characterized by new complex dynamics, materialized in particular by the export of local products to Tuscany, Elba and Liguria.[17]

Discussion: Centre, Relay or Periphery?

If we put all this information into perspective, we can see that the history of relations between the Corsicans and their neighbours is full of changes particularly during the different phases of the Bronze and Iron Ages. At the beginning of the period, after a

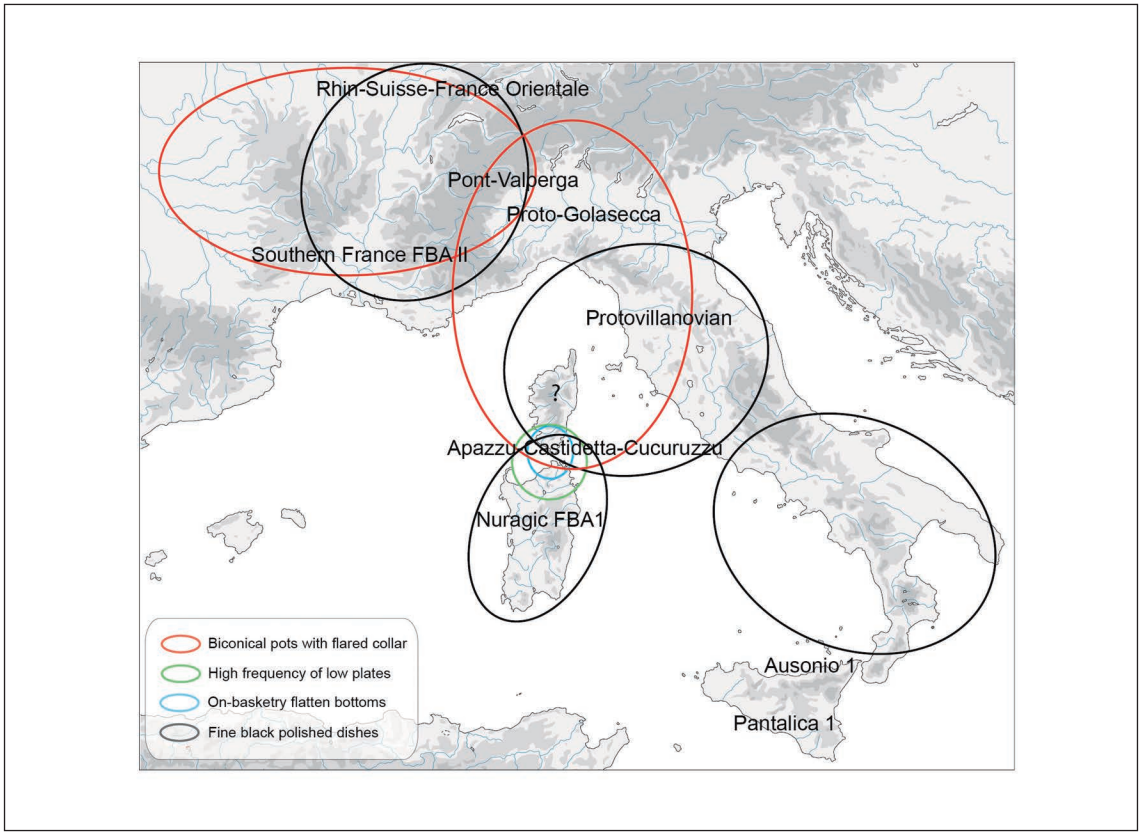

Fig. 5: Cultural relations in the Tyrrhenian context during the early FBA from the point of view of Southern Corsica pottery

long period of hermetism in the Chalcolithic, Corsica opens to the Western Mediterranean. At this time the occurrences of the Sardinian and Northern Italian repertoires serve as a cultural reference for local groups. Subsequently, in the Middle Bronze Age, the importance of Sardinia will decrease in favour of Tuscany. With the dwindling of relations with Etruria during the Late Bronze Age, Eastern Mediterranean imports will appear. In the Final Bronze Age, a rather global period of renewal, Northern Sardinia and Tuscany will once again play a key role in the formation of the repertoire of island industries (fig. 5). The middle/final phase of the Final Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age are characterized by a new moment of hermetism, materialized by a notable differentiation towards the neighbouring area. Only at the end of the Iron Age, maybe under the influence of Roman economic trends, new forms of contacts are born and propel the island into Antiquity.

In any case, the model of integrating new ideas brought by maritime migrants, for which reasons whatsoever, remains the same: first import or copy, later assimilation, finally reinterpretation. Unfortunately, archaeology only provides us with the distorted image of the consequences of these small migrations. Anyway, the positioning model

of Corsica in the protohistoric Mediterranean networks clearly refers to the idea of a peripheral sector, a territory receiving stylistic infiltrations from its closest and most dynamic neighbours. With the automatic assimilation of these characters, depending of phase, the island should be considered a centre, a relay and/or a periphery in the Tyrrhenian cultural systems. In concrete terms, the situation reveals relatively frequent relations between Corsican, Sardinian and continental groups from Early Bronze Age 2. These contacts are made through the navigation circuits, perhaps in a general context linked to the supply networks of raw materials. Nevertheless, the integration of stylistic models and, above all, technological know-how illustrates more advanced ways of collaboration which penetrated deeply into local learning spheres. One of the preferred hypotheses for explaining these processes is the practice of exogamy, which could be qualified as a specific kind of migration.

The Case of Elba

The island of Elba, the largest in the Tuscan Archipelago, has since antiquity been a key transit point between the Tyrrhenian route of cabotage and the itinerary linking the largest islands of the northern and central sector of the Tyrrhenian Sea (Corsica and Sardinia). The opportunities afforded by this location are complemented by those provided by the island's size, its morphology, its creeks (especially those of Portoferraio and Porto Azzurro), its resources in terms of water and agro-pastoral activities and, for the latter stages of Protohistory, mining (iron and copper).

A strong relationship between Elba, Sardinia and Corsica appears extremely consolidated already from the Copper Age, presumably due to the start of metallurgy and the circulation of technological knowledge. This situation is also reflected by the funerary practice on Elba until the early Roman period.

Between the Bronze Age and the early Iron Age an effective settlement network only exists for the sub-montane area of Monte Capanne and the mountain ridge around the Gulf of Portoferraio. Summit settlements – located at fairly constant distances – share many common elements such as natural defensive position, the presence of perennial springs of water a few meters away and the existence of a mixed economy, agricultural-pastoral, confirmed by the set of archaeological material discovered (fig. 6).[18]

The settlement of this phase also shows an established interest in the exploitation of copper ores, demonstrated from the same position of settlements and the presence of "depots" of bronzes in adjacent locations to mining areas.[19]

The typical bronze finds from depots and burials dating to the early Iron Age clearly indicate broader cultural horizons of reference, allowing for the reconstruction of a network not only within the Populonia area and the most advanced centres of the nearby Tyrrhenian coast but also with inner Central Italy (Bologna region) and, above all, with Corsica and Sardinia (fig. 7).[20]

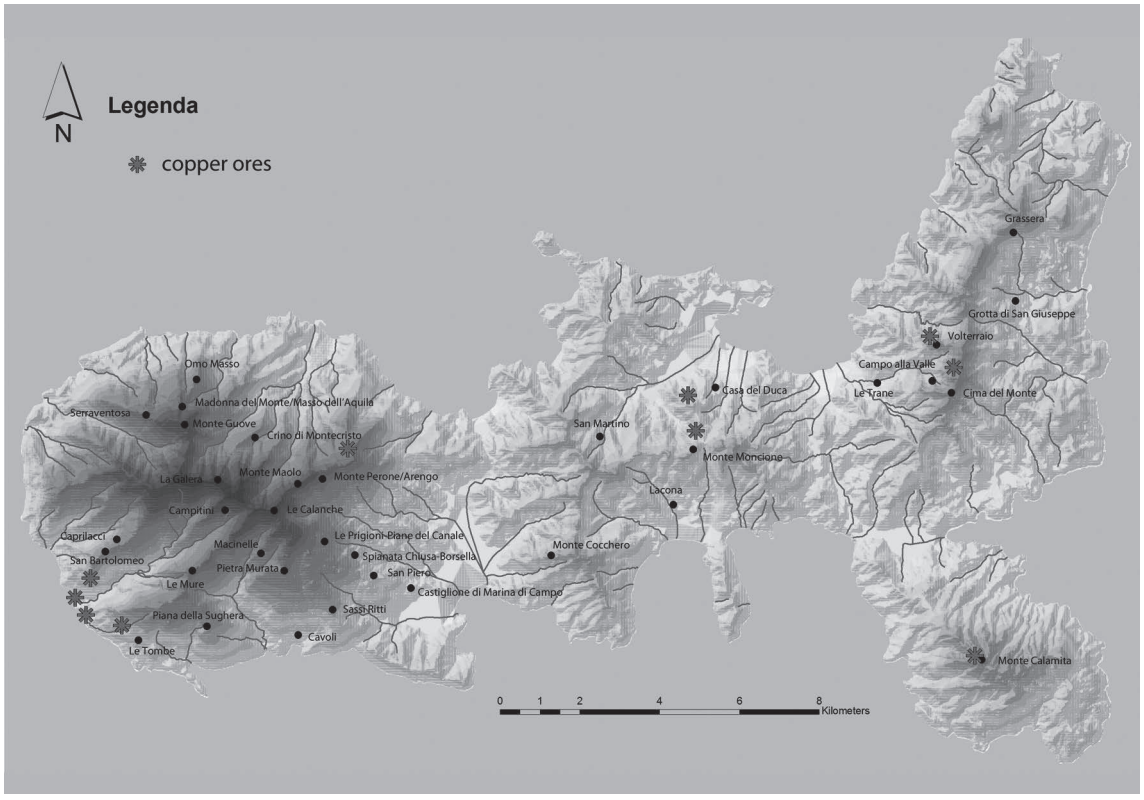

Fig. 6: The settlement on the island of Elba between the end of the Bronze Age and early Iron Age.

Still in the LBA-EIA, local burial customs (consisting of inhumation into rocky natural caves) are evidence of the cultural syncretism between Elba and the mid-western territories of Corsica and Sardinia.

Tombs at Monte Moncione, Monte Calamita and in a few caves in western Elba[21] are of greatest importance, due to the exceptional burial rite (fig. 8): inhumation in rocky caves is rare in Northern Etruria in the Iron Age, as it was replaced by incineration rituals.[22] In Etruria the use of rocky natural caves for burial purposes in the Villanovan age is documented only at Riparo Biserno (San Vincenzo, LI), near the Campigliese Hills.[23] It is not a mere coincidence that the same burial custom was at the same time in use in both these contiguous and directly connected mining districts (Elba and Colline Metallifere).

Inhumation into rocky natural caves is not found in Etruria but is widely spread in Corsica,[24] where up to the Late Iron Age collective burial in caves or gorges is the rule, with a few exceptions; the same ritual occurs in Gallura, Sardinia.[25]

As a consequence of the common Elban and Corsican funerary customs, the similarities between metal objects from rocky tombs at Moncione (Elba) and Corsica is not surprising.

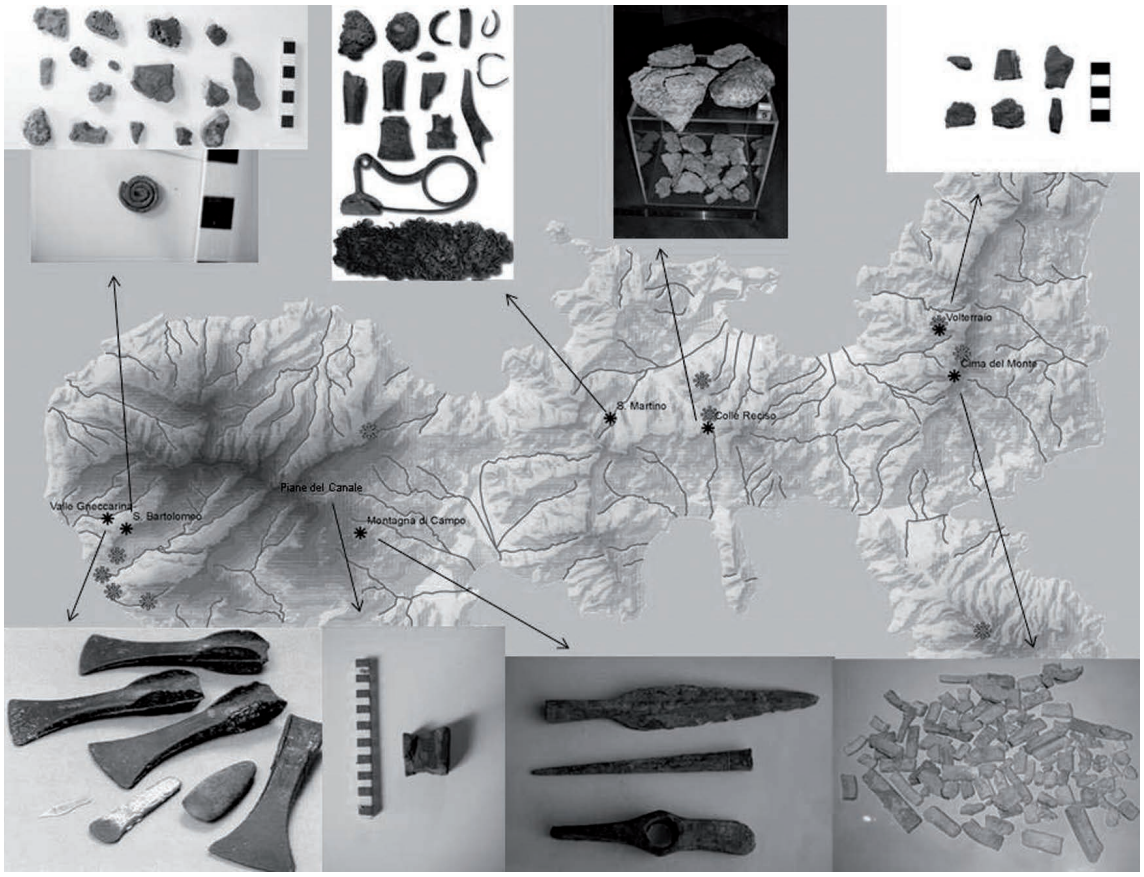

Fig. 7: "Deposits" of bronzes found on the island.

Plain bracelets from Elba graves are similar to Corsican items, and the presence of a biconical pendant is noteworthy that can be compared to the several olive or biconical pendants retrieved from the burial cave at Ordinaccio. These ornaments were considerably popular in Corsica between the 8th and 7th centuries BC.[26]

Ancient relationships between Corsica and Populonia through the island of Elba are suggested by a passage in the Servian comment to the Aeneis. There, three different versions of the legend of the foundation of Populonia are given: the first one connects Populonia to a people from Corsica; the second one defines it as a Volaterranean colony; the third one says that the Volaterraneans seized it from Corsicans. From these tales we may assume that in Servius' sources people from Corsica founded Populonia on the mainland, before or after the formation of the Etruscan confederation; then, Etruscans from Volaterrae seized it from the former dwellers and founded a colony in the same place.

Of course no archaeological evidence can be put forward to support the above tradition, though many findings of Peninsular objects testify for the circulation of people,

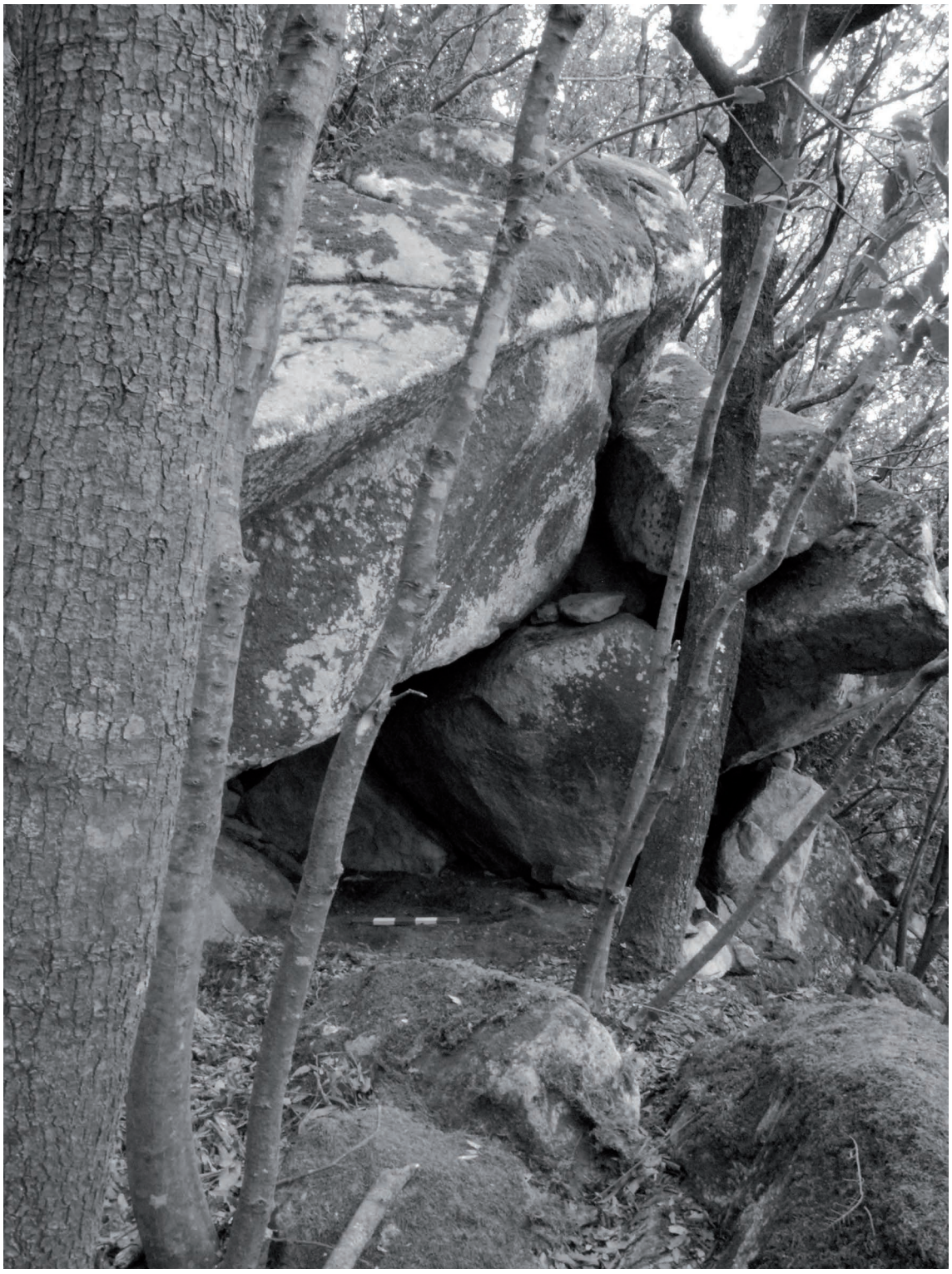

Fig. 8: Monte Moncione (island of Elba). Rocky natural caves used for burial purposes.

goods and artisanal designs between Corsica and the mainland;[27] but anyway new data from Elba supports several suggestions.

There is a long tradition in literature about ethnic commonality between Elba and Corsica peoples, focusing on the Middle Ages and relying on clear lexical and linguistic affinities which are not considered here.[28] From an archaeological point of view, the geographic location of Elba as a bridge between Corsica and the mainland; common burial customs and some aspects of material culture; a strong toponomastic influence from Corsica on Elba; all these issues together enlighten the strong relationship between Corsican and Elban communities and the possible presence of a Corsican group settling on Elba.

The continuity of use of rocky caves and gorges for burial purposes in the 6th century is again an unusual feature, unparalleled on the mainland. This choice could be interpreted as the will of the local people to represent themselves according to their tradition and to recall well established burial customs and social features, though by then living under Populonian rule.

The items composing these tomb assemblages consist mainly of Caeretan buccheroes and Etrusco-Corynthian probably from Vulci and are of the highest importance for tracing trade routes hat reached the island of Elba in the Archaic age, probably through Populonia.[29]

As a conclusion, we may assume that settlement patterns on Elba from the earliest times can be better understood through reference to the 'metropolis' of Populonia on the one hand and, on the other hand, to the various peoples frequenting the islands of the Tuscan Archipelago, which since the early Neolithic was a crossroads for sea routes reaching Tuscany from the South and from Sardinia and Corsica. The connection to the sea predisposes the island of Elba to international relationships and trade and to a bridging role in the Tyrrhenian sea, therefore enhancing from the beginning the multiethnic (Corsican, Sardinian, Greek and Populonian) feature of the island.[30]

Notes

[1] Malinoski 1922.

[2] It is therefore logical already at an early stage that the pioneers of archaeology were interested in this, with more or less success, such as Roger Grosjean (1966) who developed the famous theory of the invasion of Corsica by the Shardanas, an illustrious group of the Coalition of the Sea People. These ideas have now been abandoned.

[3] Le Bourdonnec et al. 2010.

[4] Atzeni 1966.

[5] Camps – Cesari 1991; Peche-Quilichini et al. 2019.

[6] Peche-Quilichini 2013.

[7] Graziani – Lorenzi 2010.

[8] Peche-Quilichini – Cesari 2014.
[9] It is interesting to note that some very particular techniques are incorporated by Corsican potters, especially a know-how consisting of enhancing the decorations of a white paste inlay made of crushed bone.
[10] Peche-Quilichini et al. 2016.
[11] Graziani et al. 2014.
[12] Lo Schiavo 2001.
[13] Peche-Quilichini 2014.
[14] Peche-Quilichini forthcoming.
[15] Peche-Quilichini et al. forthcoming.
[16] Acconcia – Milletti 2011.
[17] Piccardi – Peche-Quilichini 2013.
[18] Zecchini 1971, 20–24; Zecchini 2001, 62 f.
[19] Delpino 1981, 275; Maggiani 1988, 197; Zecchini 2001, 47; Colmayer 2007, 60; Lo Schiavo – Milletti 2011, 309–355; Alderighi et al. 2013, 67–81.
[20] Delpino 1981, 291 f.; Maggiani 1988, 197; Zecchini 2001, 71 f.; Ducci 2001, 222; Lo Schiavo et al. 2009, 203–213; Falchi – Milletti 2012, 1613–1617; Milletti 2012.
[21] Foresi 1867; Delpino 1981; Zecchini 2001; Maggiani 2006.
[22] Bartoloni 2003; Bietti Sestieri 2011.
[23] Fedeli et al. 1989, 149–185.
[24] Delpino1981; Lanfranchi – Weiss 1997.
[25] Ferrarese Ceruti 1968; Oggiano 1996.
[26] Lanfranchi – Luzi 1971, 127–140; Lanfranchi – Weiss 1997, 401 f.
[27] Milletti 2012; Bartoloni 2000, 33; Delpino 1981; Lanfranchi – Weiss 1997, 204.
[28] Sabbadini 1919–1920; Cardarelli 1934; Cardarelli 1963, 521.
[29] Martelli 1973; Maggiani 2006.
[30] Cambi et al. 2014, 375–394.

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Migration of Athenian Potters and Painters in the Late 5th Century BC

Alexander Boix

The paper focuses on the migration of Athenian potters and painters who in the light of the socio-economic crisis caused by the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) left Athens in order to find new employments in various regions of Greece. The intervention in social and economic structures brought about by the integration of the migrated artisans in existing or re-established workshops will be illuminated. The craftsmen introduce into their new homes, however, not only themselves, but moreover their expertise. In the present example, this is red-figure vase painting. Since the invention of the red-figure technique in the late 6th century BC in the Athenian Kerameikos red-figure ceramics were distributed into the entire Mediterranean region exclusively by Athenian traders for more than three generations. It was not until the second half of the 5th century that the technique was adopted by workshops in other regions.[1] The most famous are the extensive productions in southern Italy, Falerii and Etruria. But also in the Greek motherland smaller productions arose, for example in Boeotia, on Euboea, on the Peloponnese in Corinth, Laconia and Elis, on the Chalkidiki, in Macedonia, in northwestern Greece and on Crete.

On the basis of the Boeotian red-figure pottery, it is possible to exemplify the ways, in which indigenous decoration schemes were combined with the red-figure technique, which was presumably introduced by migrated craftsmen. There are vases, for example, which are decorated on one side with black-figure floral elements that are common in Boeotian vase painting, and on the other side with a motif carried out in red-figure technique.[2] Other red-figure vases show a drawing in an atticising manner on one side, while the other side is painted in the style of the Boeotian Kabiria Group.[3]

In Olympia, it seems that red-figure pottery was used, above all, as part of public dining by the visitors of the sanctuary.[4] Attic red-figure finds can be dated from the late 6th century BC until the 4th century BC, while its dissemination began to decrease in the late 5th century BC, when local workshops started to adopt the red-figure technique and to satisfy the demands with locally manufactured vessels. A direct comparison of motifs and shapes of Attic red-figure ceramic finds with those of the locally made ceramics shows how in this case the Attic imports were gradually replaced by local products and finally dried up almost completely.

The so-called Suessula Painter, named by Beazley due to the discovery of a series of painted amphorai in Suessula in Campania, is best known for his Attic red-figure vases.[5] His creative period can be dated into the last two decades of the 5th century and the first decade of the 4th century BC. In addition to his Attic works, however, there are also Corinthian red figured vases that can be assigned to his hand.[6] Ceramic tests carried out in 2003 confirm the Corinthian origin of these vases.[7] Supported by philological indi-

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cations, derived from a graffito on the underside of a vase by the painter's hand, it can be argued that the Suessula Painter was a Corinthian, who learned his craft in Athens, then returned home, but probably due to the limited demand on the local market, he migrated to Athens again.[8]

Finally, the motivation behind the migration of the craftsmen shall be considered.[9] In some cases, artisans may just have been co-migrated, for example in the course of the colonization of southern Italy or those who followed the sculptor Phidias to Olympia when he started to work on the Statue of Zeus.[10] Since, however, the productions began in most cases in the time of the Peloponnesian War, a close connection cannot be denied. Craftsmen who suffered from the stagnating production volume that occurred due to the socio-economic crisis caused by the war may have tried to find their luck in other places, while others who lived as metics in Athens may have been obliged to leave the city.[11]

Notes

[1] On locally produced red-figure pottery outside Attica, see Schierup – Sabetai 2014 with further reference.

[2] Mannheim, Reiss-Museum Cg 142, cf. CVA Mannheim (1) pl. 12, 1. 2. 4.

[3] Athens, Nationalmuseum 1406, cf. Sabetai 2012, 90 fig. 11.

[4] Cf. Bentz 2012, 105–107; Bentz 2009, 14–16.

[5] On the Suessula Painter in general, see ARV² 1344–1346. 1691; Beazley, Para. 482; Beazley, Addenda 367 f.; McPhee 1973, 161–207.

[6] Corinth C-1937-445, cf. Herbert 1977, 48 No. 77; Corinth C-1937-447, cf. Herbert 1977, 47 f. No. 76.

[7] Cf. McPhee – Kartsonaki 2010.

[8] Cf. McPhee – Kartsonaki 2010, 136 note 49; Pemberton 1997, 417; for a drawing of the graffito on the column-krater Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional 11045, cf. CVA Madrid (2) III I D 7 Taf. 11, 1 a. b.

[9] For a brief discussion, see MacDonald 1981.

[10] Cf. Mallwitz – Schiering 1964, 248 f.

[11] Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 21 refers to a decision made by the Thirty Tyrants that in order to pay the members of the occupying spartan forces metics shall be put to death, while their property is confiscated.

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Consumption Behaviors and Economic Mentalities of Migrants in Hellenistic Etruria

Raffaella Da Vela

Consumption is a frequently neglected aspect of the economic role of migrants.[1] However, the socio-economic personal and familial statement resulting from consumption behaviors plays a relevant role in the integration and self-positioning of migrants in ancient societies.[2] The general model of social integration of migrants in ancient communities, the so called "two worlds of migrants", suggests two opposite trends: the conservation of the traditional economic mentalities of the homeland on one hand, and the achievement of social status through integration in the new economic space on the other.[3] The balance between these two possible trends constitutes the main research question addressed in this paper, which is dedicated to two case studies from Hellenistic Northern Etruria.

Methodological Frame

The study confronts two methodological challenges: the individuation of (im)migrants in the Etruscan local communities, and the analysis of their consumption within the general consumption patterns of the region.

The detection of migrant identities within the archaeological record is only possible in cases where these identities have left specific visible markers in the material culture. Personal identities are not innate or genetically determined, but are rather dynamic, negotiated and shaped by environment, interaction, and education.[4] Their material traces are a consequence of specific choices regarding social positioning.[5] The analysis of the archaeological record of migrant identities needs to mediate between the rejection of identity labelling on the basis of the material culture, widely used in postcolonial and post-processual archaeology, and the comprehension of the communicative codes adopted by ancient actors to express their belonging.

A strong perception or ideologizing of ethnic belonging and the emergence of related narratives is attested in Etruria by epigraphic sources, where some of the onomastic record is modelled on toponyms and ethnonyms.[6] It is also attested in the iconographic sources, which demonstrate the oppositional use of stereotypes to represent strangers,[7] and in the literary and iconographic sources showing the existence of Etruscan myths of foundation.[8] The material assemblages, their contexts, and their semantic systems are the main sources used in the present analysis.[9] The expression of migrants' identities in funerary contexts is visible in the choice of grave goods, as well as in the adoption of non-local funerary rituals and grave architecture.[10] The capacity to express personal identities as outsiders was shaped by the cultural attitude of the related local

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communities.[11] A recent analysis of the Hellenistic necropoleis of Spina shows a clear tendency toward a hypercultural societal model in Etruria.[12] The public expression and acceptance of differences however did not imply equal political and civil rights.[13]

In the present study, funerary contexts have been related to (im)migrants, based on the presence of one or more of these parameters: a part of the grave goods is an intentional expression of distinctive ethnic identity, funerary rituals are uncommon for the local community but traditional in other cultural-geographic contexts, and the epigraphic record attests allogenous onomastics.

The second methodological challenge consists of our capacity to assume that funerary assemblages are representative of consumption patterns. Funerary consumption during the Hellenistic period was not always consistent with ordinary, daily consumption in the settlements.[14] Therefore in Etruria, the association of the richest grave assemblages with other status indicators, such as literacy or monumentality, shows a correspondence between the economic value of grave goods and the ostentatious display of economic power by families.[15] This assumption is also possible in necropoleis with a low degree of differentiation.[16] Moreover, although the expression of status through taste and lifestyle may have been limited by sumptuary laws, a synchronic, comparative approach to Etruscan necropoleis shows the maintenance of social segmentation in funerary contexts.[17] The consumption behaviors of migrants, as evaluated from observation of their funerary expressions, have been related and compared to local, regional, and supraregional patterns of consumption in a two-mode semantic network.

The Case Studies: Identification of Migrants

The two selected case studies are Castiglioncello, on the coast, and Balena, in the inland (fig. 1). Both locations present graves with identity markers belonging to immigrants, as well as graves with traditional identity markers.

Castiglioncello is located on the coast between the harbors of Volterra (Vada Volaterrana), and Quercianella. The local necropoleis revealed about 300 Hellenistic incineration graves.[18] The pottery assemblages can be dated between the end of the 4th and the first half of the 2nd century BC.[19] Ligurian identity markers at Castiglioncello have been examined by Adriano Maggiani,[20] by taking into account funerary ritual, as well as grave architecture and grave goods. Five individuals (7/97, 13/97, 15/97, 16/97, 17/97) present a combination of markers, the majority of which refer to Ligurian identity.[21]

Balena is located in the inland, at the crossroads of the communication routes between Volsinii, Chiusi, and Perugia.[22] Here six tombs in the form of parallel *dromoi* with more graves disposed on both sides in niches (*loculi*), closed by tiles, have been preserved. This form of funerary architecture is widespread in the territory around Lake Trasimeno, in the context of a newly formed rural society emerging during the period following the Punic Wars, after the middle of the 2nd century BC.[23] *Loculi* graves without

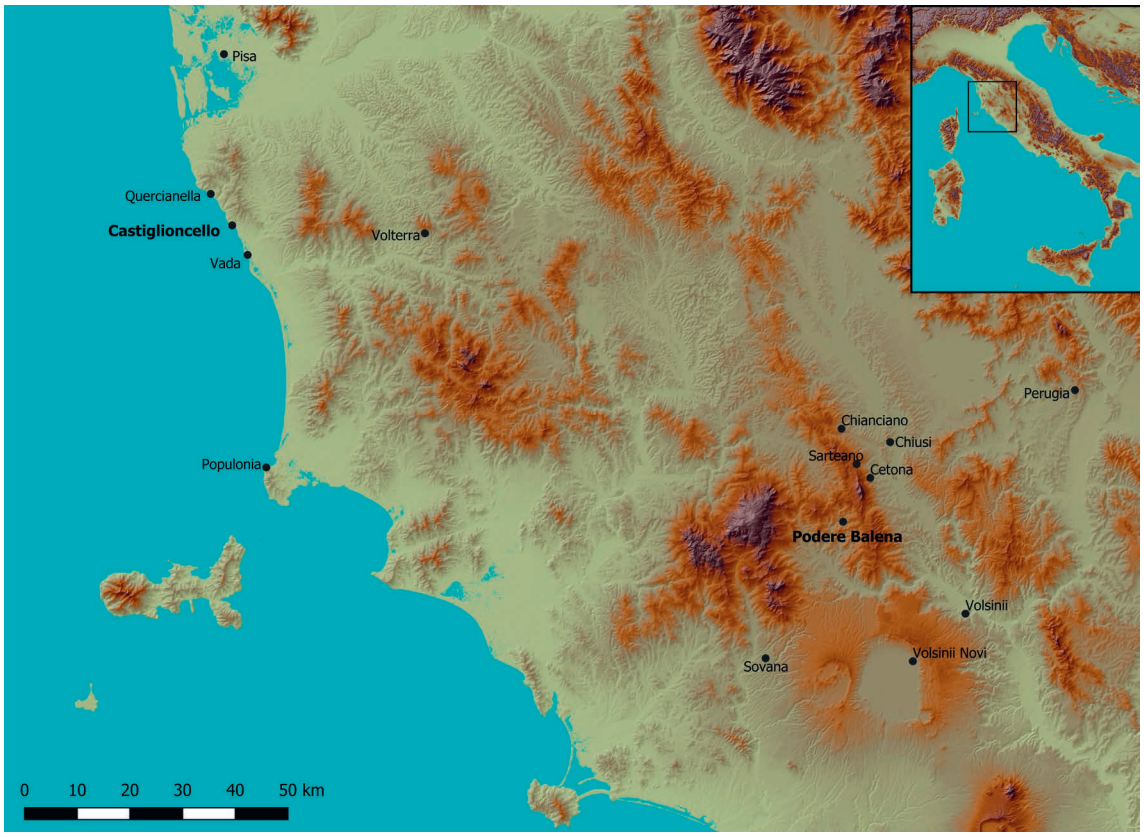

Fig. 1: Geographic position of the two case studies: Castiglioncello (Livorno) and Podere Balena (Siena)

main funerary chambers mark a breakdown in the Etruscan tradition of family tombs, since the epigraphic record indicates that the depositions are not pertinent to a family group.[24] Based on the ceramic assemblages, the tombs of Balena can be dated to between the first half of the 2nd and the second half of the 1st century BC.[25] The late chronology provides a possible explanation for the change in funerary rituals. Nevertheless, six graves (12, 24, 25, 33, 36, 82) have very traditional forms of cinerary containers: clay urns with a case molded in relief, and lids showing reclining banqueters, or bell-shaped urns. Traditional forms of urns were adopted by persons bearing local names, while the cinerary *ollae* are associated with non-local names, mostly referring to families from other Etruscan cities or sub-regions.[26] The epigraphic record attests to an internal or sub-regional migration, frequently associated with marriages, and demonstrating both male and female mobility.

The Consumerism of Migrants

Consumption choices are dependent on two factors: the commodity chain, and the need to affirm social status. During the Hellenistic period, the wide occurrence of commercial pottery such as black-glazed ceramic, *lagynoi,* and *unguentaria* is homogeneous in both Apuanic Ligurian, Umbrian and Etruscan settlements and necropoleis.[27] Nevertheless, there are some subtle distinctive features in local consumption patterns.[28] For this reason, the data-set has been analyzed in both cases as a two-mode semantic network based on a sample of graves representative of local and regional consumption areas (fig. 2).

The graves in Castiglioncello displaying Ligurian identity markers are completely integrated into the consumption patterns of the local community, as well as that of other Etruscan coastal centers, such as the nearby Vada Volterrana (fig. 3). Any form of economic segregation can be excluded. 'Ligurian' graves present different trends and quantities of grave goods, attesting to a social differentiation of migrants within the same local community.

The connections with Ligurian Apuanic graves are demonstrated by strongly symbolic, connotative objects such as weapons, elements of the dress,[29] and cinerary urns, more than by similar consumption mentalities (fig. 4).

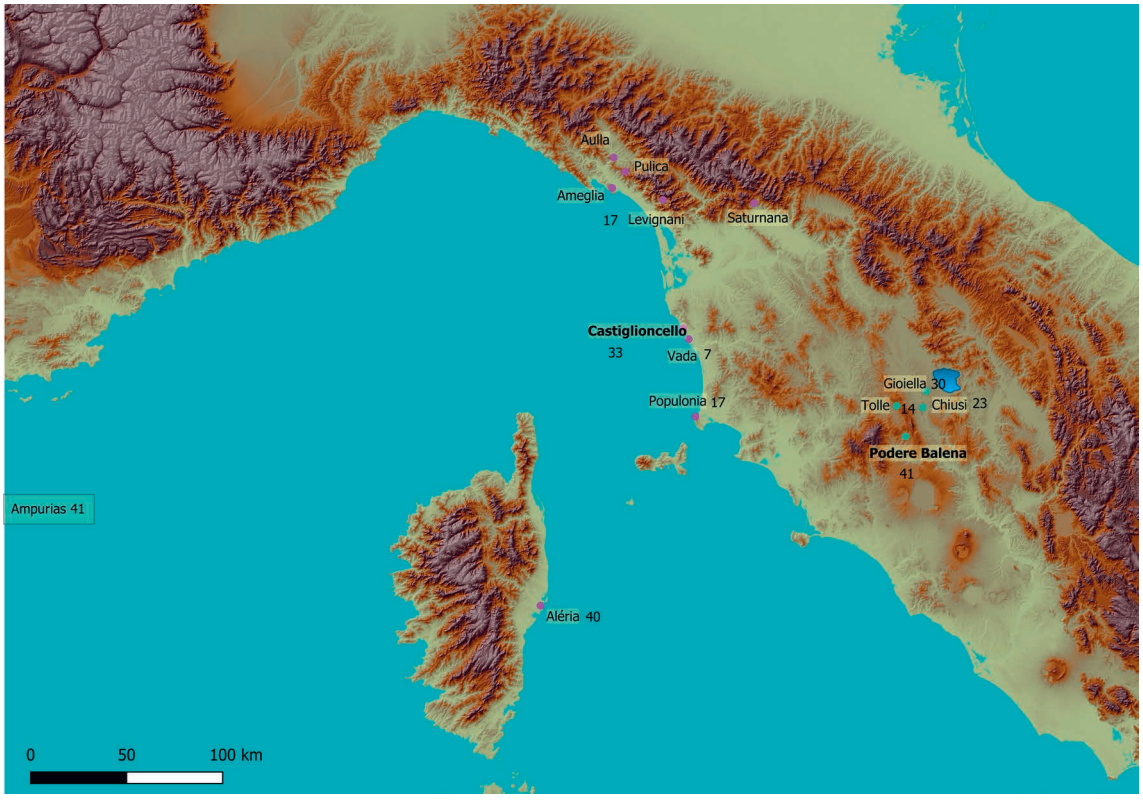

Fig. 2: Necropoleis of the data set of the affiliation network with the number of graves.

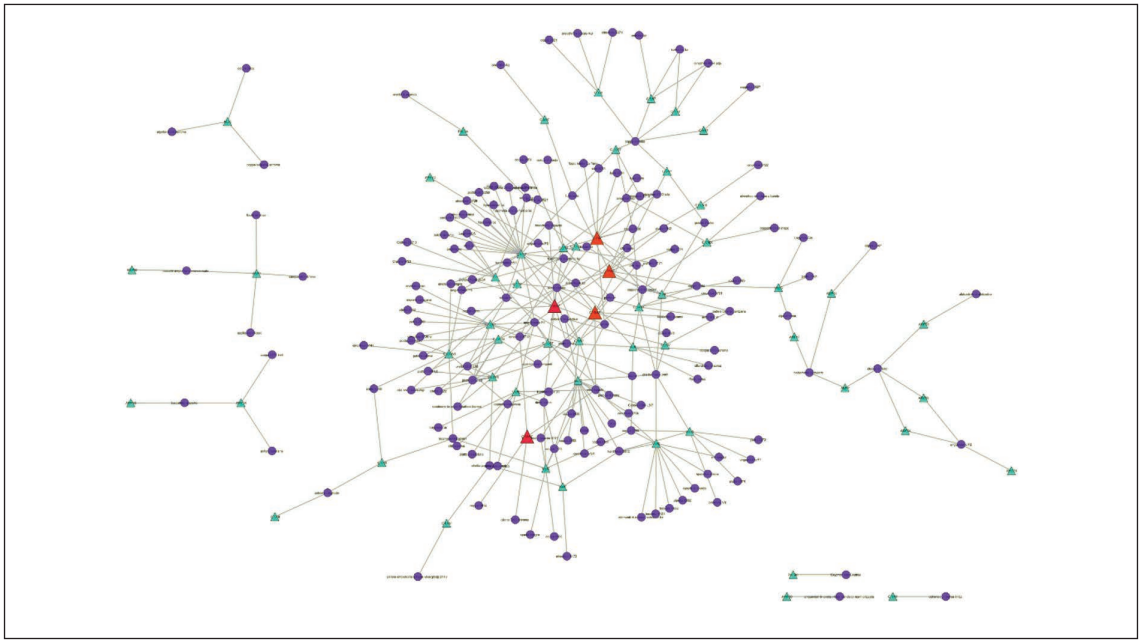

Fig. 3: Consumption patterns of migrants (whose graves are indicated with red triangles) within the necropolis of Castiglioncello.

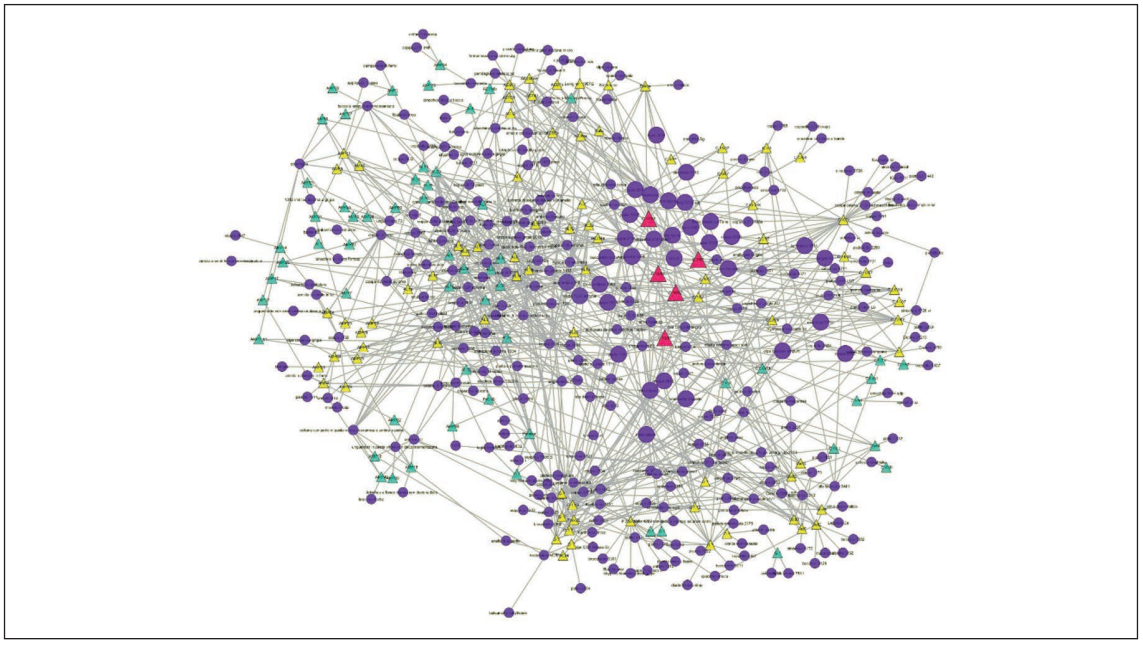

Fig. 4: Affiliation network of consumption in coastal necropoleis: graves are indicated with a triangle, consumption goods with a circle. Larger symbols belong to Ligurian migrants at Castiglioncello. Yellow triangles indicate graves sharing consumption choices with Ligurian migrants.

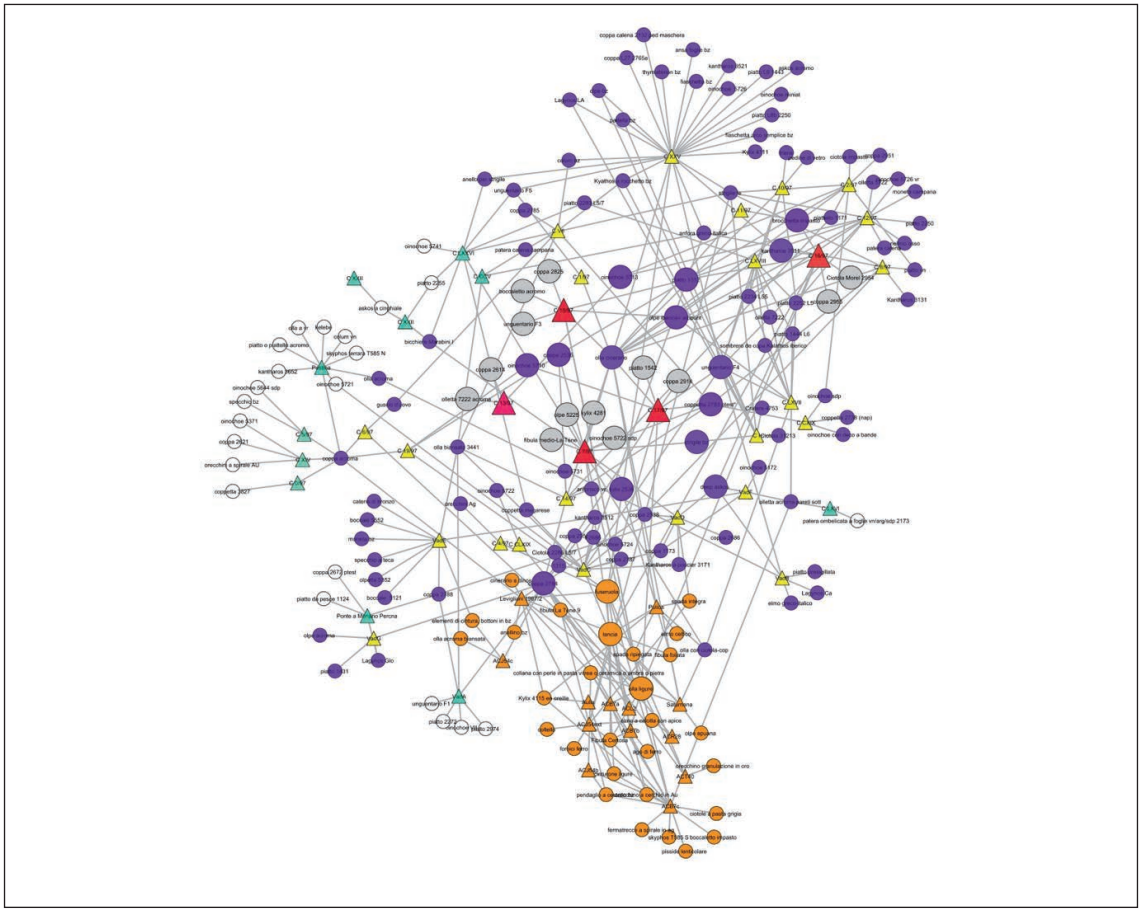

Fig. 5: Comparison of funerary consumption behaviors of Ligurian migrants in Castiglioncello (red triangles), of other graves in Vada and Castiglioncello, and of Ligurian necropoleis (orange triangles).

The extension of the multivariate analysis of Hellenistic graves in the coastal necropoleis of the north-western Mediterranean shows shared consumption patterns between the graves of Ligurian migrants, and the Etruscan graves of the region. This is indicated by the presence of more broadly distributed wares, such as the black-glazed pottery from the workshop of the 'Petites Estampilles' (fig. 5).[30]

In the inland necropolis of Balena, the consumption tends towards standardization. The assemblages are comprised of *unguentaria,* jars, and *strigiles* hanging on decorated bronze rings, and more seldom by black- or red-glazed bowls.[31] The recurrence of iron *strigiles* denotes a trend towards social elevation, since bronze and silver versions of these objects were displayed in elite graves of 3rd century BC of the same region.[32] In grave contexts of the 2nd century BC, the deposition of iron *strigiles* in graves of *lautni*[33] confirms this 'trickledown effect'.[34] The pattern of consumption that emerges from these grave assemblages with few objects, and with lower differentiation, therefore shows

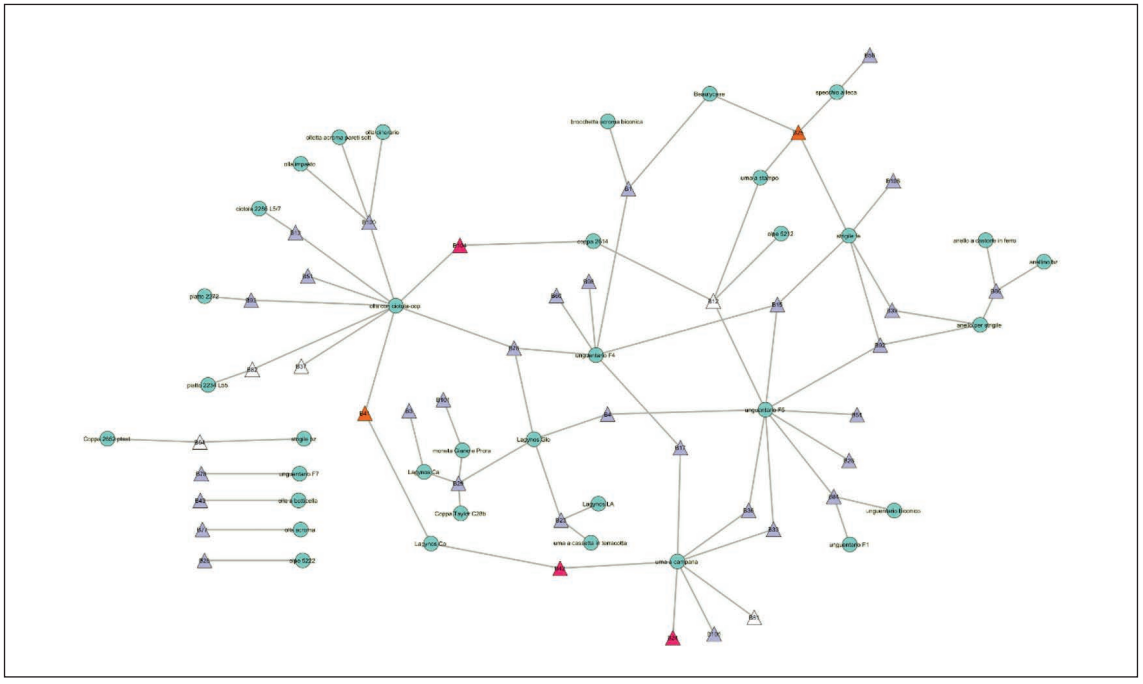

Fig. 6: Consumption choices of migrants (red/orange triangles) and their integration within the necropolis of Balena. Grave goods are represented with a circle, other graves with grey and white triangles.

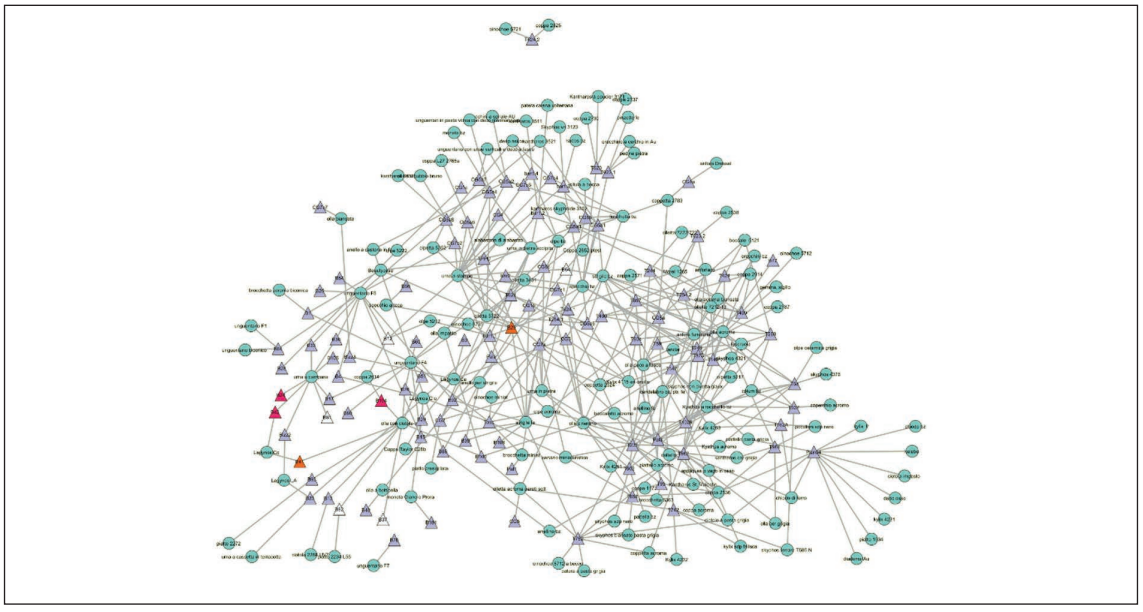

Fig. 7: Affiliation network of consumption in inland necropoleis: graves are indicated with a triangle, consumption goods with a circle. Red triangles represent graves with non-local onomastic at Balena.

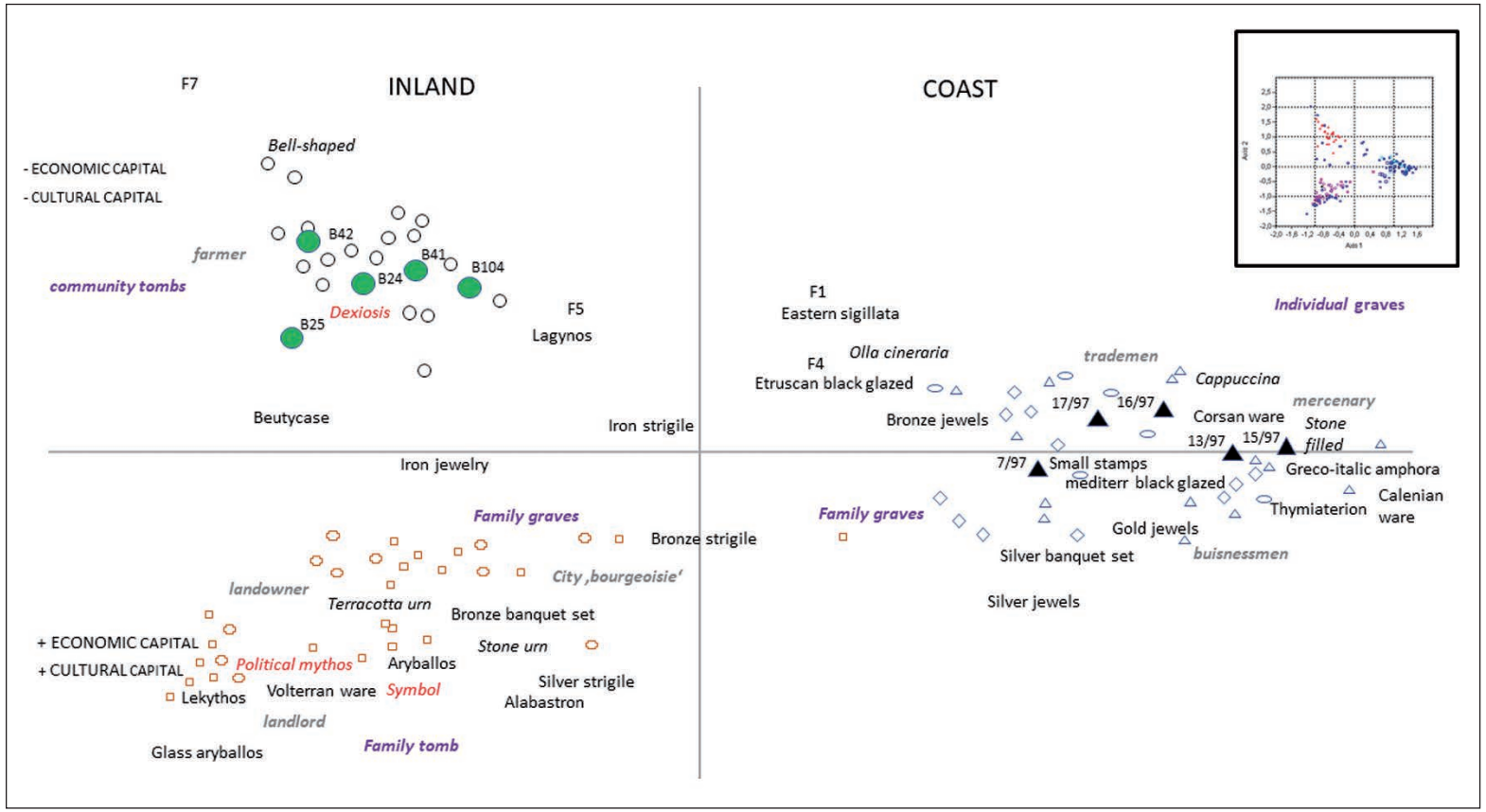

Fig. 8: Adaptation of the distinction diagram of Bourdieu. Habitus of migrants at Balena (green dots) and of migrants at Castiglioncello (dark triangles).

specific choices linked to the use of perfumed oils, metal jewelry, and black- and red-glazed imports. There is no detectable difference in the consumerism of persons with local and non-local names (fig. 6). On the regional scale, the graves of the necropolis at Balena have been compared with other inland necropoleis in the territories of Chiusi (fig. 7).[35] The network diagram shows a clear grouping of the overall population at Balena in one unique cluster, with a few exceptions (*loculi* 25 and 64), mostly connected with the Trasimenic site of Gioiella.

Conclusions

Adapting Pierre Bourdieu's distinction diagram, the consumption behavior of migrants in these case studies can be labelled as 'middle-class progressive' for Ligurians in the coastal commercial settlements of Castiglioncello, and as 'low-class social climbing' in the agricultural inland settlement of Balena (fig. 8)[36].

Different causes and forms of migration played a role in the construction of migrant *habitus:* the presence of Apuanic Ligurians in Etruria before the 2nd century BC was a consequence of agreements between the Etruscan and Ligurian elites,[37] while the inland settlers were called on as rural workers in the depopulated countryside.[38] A confirmation of their different attitudes can be found in the choices of grave architecture in the two case studies: individual, in the form of traditional Ligurian stone-filled pits at Castiglioncello, and collegial, in the form of *loculi* tombs, at Balena.

In both case studies, the graves with migration markers were topographically embedded in the necropolis, just as the consumption behaviors of their owners were embedded in that of the local community. Any limitation due to social segregation is apparently absent, and the diacritic use of markers of 'ethnic identity' does not imply a different consumption behaviors. The maintenance of traditional consumption mentalities is not attested. Moreover, specific needs of self-representation affected the consumption behaviors of migrants, with a trend toward the differentiation of taste, and expression of a negotiated construction of their new social space within the local communities.[39]

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Robinson Peter Krämer, who motivated me to not give up on Bourdieu's application to my data set. I would also like to thank Rubymaya Jaeck-Woodgate for her help in the editing of the English version of the article.

Notes

[1] More attention is paid to their role in production (e.g. sculptors: Maggiani 2004, 167–170; potters: Bruni 2013, 258. 300–305) or in trade (e.g. in the harbors: Bruni 2004, 233–242; Torelli 2004, 129–132; Krämer 2016, 82–88). The aspect of consumption is frequently considered in studies on the cultural impact of colonial encounters (see Dietler 2005, 57–62).

[2] For the impact of consumption studies in archaeology, with reference to colonial encounters: Mullins 2011, 135–142; Dietler 2015, 153–159.

[3] This model (Burmeister 2017, 61–63) suggests a behavioral adaptation of migrants to local codes in public, and a conservation of their own traditions in the private sphere. A clear division between public and private is frequently impossible, since funerary practices and devotion in sanctuaries played a huge role in the affirmation of personal or family social status within the community, and referred to specific socio-economic groups or corporations (Barther 2010, 25–31; Parker 2008, 207–209) while simultaneously carrying public and private value (Wallensten 2008, 146; Bottiglieri 2016, 14).

[4] Dietler 2010, 215 f.

[5] The term 'ethnicity' is intentionally avoided here, not just because an ethnic approach is not necessary to study migration in archaeology (Burmeister 2017, 61), but also because the research question deals with the collective identities of local communities and eventually with the personal cultural identities of migrants within them (Barther 2010, 28–31; Knapp – van Dommelen 2010, 4). As 'migrants identity' is here understood as the whole sum of the codes and values shared by migrants in the homeland and carried on when moving into a new group, which does not share or only partially shares these codes and values (host community).

[6] Pallottino 1984, 404 f.; Cherici 2004, 222–224; Colonna 2013, 10–15.

[7] In the Hellenistic period, Barbarian or Celtic warriors were represented with specific armors and red hair. The transmission of stereotypes from Greece and their use as functionalized images (Kistler 2009, 15–19. 247–256) does not exclude their socio-political use (Pirson 2005, 178; Pirson 2014, 190). The Etruscan consumers decoded images based on an ethnic stereotype, reached by a reduction and generalization of the strangers' habits.

[8] Recently: Biella – Michetti 2018, 439–466. These myths are more often linked to local representations of elite and poleis as to an Etruscan identity.

[9] The material records from open contexts such as sanctuaries and settlements have been excluded by the present analysis.

[10] Single 'special objects', untypical in a context can be an intentional evocation of a particular belonging (see Van Oyen 2017, 56) and constitute a reference to another group (see Müller-Scheeßel – Burmeister 2006, 9). When more allogenous identity markers are concentrated in one grave or in a group of graves

and display references to a specific geographic area, the iteration of these references indicates a cultural affiliation to this area: Da Vela 2016; Hallenkamp-Lumpe – Spiong 2018, 91–95.

[11] This attitude is nuanced, ranging from 'cultural essentialist' to 'hypercultural': Oswald 2017, 14.

[12] The analysis is based on the typology and distribution of both the archaeological and epigraphic record within the topographic context of the necropolis: Govi 2004, 117–120.

[13] Colonna 2013, 8 f. with further references to literary and epigraphic sources. In particular on the status of Greek potters working in Etruria during the Orientalizing period, see Camporeale 2004, 51; and on the status of Greek worshipers in *emporia,* see Colonna 2004, 71.

[14] This research question has been analyzed e.g. in Olynth; Fless 2002, 28–30.

[15] At Spina these elements are present in graves with topographic centrality (Govi 2004, 125). Socio-economic reasons are not covering the whole symbolic potential of the grave goods, which implicated as well personal and religious motivations. Their impact on the assemblages seems not to be very relevant in Etruria, were economic and political power of families with funerary representation is remarkable (see Govi 2004, 127 f.; Berrendonner 2007, 67; Maggiani 2013, 57). In general, the presence of containers and vases for the preparation and presentation of food can be considered expression of the 'commensal economy', resulting in an incorporated social habitus and in a theatrical disposition of goods in a 'politico-symbolic drama' (Dietler 1996, 89. 104).

[16] For the expression of differences in materially poor graves poor of materials: Maggiani 2014, 53.

[17] A similar form of juridical limitation of luxury at Chiusi has been proposed by Enrico Benelli: Benelli 2009, 136 s. Therefore, the sources on Roman *leges sunctuaria* suggest an ineffectiveness of such measures, which were more frequently politically, rather than ethically, directed: Zecchini 2016, 21–27.

[18] A small part of the necropolis had already been excavated at the end of the 19th century, and at the beginning of the following century, Adriano Milani recorded all that contextual associations of the graves, while less information is available about the topographic distribution of the graves: Massa 1974, 25; Gambogi 1999, 17–25; About 20 graves were excavated in 1997, recording all available data: Regoli 1999, 26–29.

[19] The chronology is mostly based on the presence of black glazed ceramic and few coins: Gambogi 2000, 60 f.

[20] Maggiani 2013, 205.

[21] Their architecture with a lithic case is a strong Ligurian marker: Armanini 2015, 141 f. The graves in the necropoleis of Cafaggio, Ameglia, e.g. at the estuary of river Magra, about 100 km away from Castiglioncello, are the nearest comparison: Durante 1982, 149.

[22] Some inscribed tiles or tile fragments had been already found in 1979 (Tamburini 1979). On the following excavation in 2007: Tuci 2014, 21–26.

[23] For the socio-economic status of the peoples buried at Balena on the basis of the inscriptions and of the grave goods: Maggiani 2014, 57; based on comparison with other *loculi* graves in the region: Salvadori 2014, 70.

[24] The inscriptions on the tile coverings or on the cinerary cases present a non-linear adoption of the Latin language and alphabet: Maggiani 2014, 54–57.

[25] Da Vela 2014, 27–35.

[26] See Maggiani 2014, 54–57. With the only exception of a freewoman: *Thana veinei crespesa numsis* (loc. 82) Ibid. n. 24, 55.

[27] On the coast in particular, the evidence of a 'mixed culture' (Denti 2016, 13) and common membership to the western Mediterranean *koinè* ('circuito dei porti': Martelli 1981, 171. 426) results in a strong interlocked use of ceramic forms, redistributed along the commercial sea routes. For Genua and Apuanic Liguria: Milanese 1982; Milanese 1993, 279–332; Melli 2004, 172 f.; Ciampoltrini 2004, 375 f.). In the inland, the distribution circuits of regional (of Volterra) and supraregional products used the Etruscan and Roman route networks, in particular in the Tiber Valley: see Di Giuseppe 2008, 612.

[28] These 'distinctive features' are consumption choices, directed towards the construction of social differences, and the definition of a social space: see Bourdieu 2010, 223–254.

[29] For these elements, in particular brooches and buttons: Melli 2004, 183 f.

[30] For the methodology s. Knappett 2011, 98–105; Da Vela 2015; 2017. The data-set contains 155 grave contexts: (33) Castiglioncello: Gambogi – Palladino 1999, 81–160; (17) Populonia: Baratti – Mordeglia 2007; Guzzi – Settesoldi 2009, 77–195; Milletti – Pitzalis 2015, 501–516; Apuanic Liguria: Armanini 2015, 236–240. 263–267. 281–290. 309 f. 367–372; Durante 1982, 148–164; Durante 2004, 404–441; (41) Ampurias, Bonjoan: Almagro 1953, 153–247; (40) Aléria: Jehasse – Jehasse 1973, 122–372; (7) Vada: Massa 1974. Older findings have been classified according to Morel (1994) typology, on the basis of photographs and drawings.

[31] Da Vela 2014, 32–35 (ead. Catalog in the e-book).

[32] In the chamber tombs of Chius and Perugia, bronze and silver strigiles are associated with elite status symbols: e.g. at Monteluce: Paoletti 1923, 31 f.; at Chiusi: grave of *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa:* Swaddling – Prag 2002; grave of *Fastia Velsi:* De Puma 2008.

[33] For example, in the grave of the *lautni zerapiu* (CIE 475) from a tomb with *loculi* and a chamber near Chiusi: Guardabassi 1880, 78. The world *lautni* indicates a person with lower civil or political rights.

[34] This term is intended to convey the spread of consumption goods and lifestyle into the lower social segments, who used them as a means of acquiring prestige: Dietler 1999, 145; with further literature; Schreg et al. 2013, 105. The same trickledown effect could explain the reduplication of drinking pots in graves of middle class persons at Spina (vs Govi 2004, 124).

[35] The dataset contains 108 graves contexts from the following necropoleis: San Casciano dei Bagni, Balena (41): Da Vela 2014; (23) Gioiella: Ponzi Bonomi 1977, 103–109; (30) Castelluccio La Foce, Tolle: Paolucci – Salvadori 2014, 18–169; (14) further graves in the Territory of Chiusi: Martelli 2007, 424–430; Albani 2010, 63–85.

[36] Bourdieu 2015, 13–23; on the archaeological use of the model: Daveloose 2017; Schreg et al. 2013.

[37] These agreements have been suggested for the *Ligures Apuani* in Norther Etruria (Maggiani 2013, 246 f.), as well in a later period with Romans in Samnium (Pagé 2012, 147–151).

[38] Maggiani 2014, 52 f. with further bibliography.

[39] For the deposition of weapons as marker of a professional identity (mercenary service): Maggiani 2013, 239–241.

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Figg. 1 and 2: author with QGIS 3.8; DEM Copernicus EU-DEM v1.1. – Fig. 3–7: author with Visone 2.17 (Brandes – Wagner 2004). – Fig. 8: Author with Software PAST.

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Trade, Conflict and Politics. Migrants from the North in the Upper Tisa Basin, in the 3rd Century AD

Jan Bulas

Migrations of large groups of peoples were one of the most important factors shaping the economy of destination regions. Migration in prehistory can be identified if it led to significant changes, reflected among others by the economy of the given region. More often migrations are identified when leading to the collapse of older, well-functioning settlement structures. They could cause of the collapse of economic centres, although it is important to underline that they could also result in a period of economic development. The latter is usually related to a period of stabilisation of a centre of political power, for there is no doubt that the economic development of prehistoric communities was inextricably linked to the political success of the elites that controlled production and trade.[1]

In this article, an example of migration will be described that took place at the end of the Early Roman period, associated with the Przeworsk culture, which is commonly correlated with the migration of the Vandals[2] described by Cassius Dio in "Roman History".[3] This migration from the regions located to the north of the Carpathians[4] is confirmed both by historical sources[5] and archaeological material,[6] the latter additionally indicating the influence of newcomers on the economy of the region. In the decades before the appearance of the archaeological materials of the Przeworsk culture, the region of the Upper Tisa Basin did not play an essential role as an economic or cultural centre or at least no definitive archaeological evidence would support such a claim.[7]

This article aims at outlining the problem of the impact of the newcomers on the economics of the region in the context of a changing political situation. The important point raised in the paper will be the issue of the role of mutual relations between immigrants and the Roman Empire and how the changing political situation influenced trade and production in the region. The latter will be described by the example of pottery production in the Upper Tisa Basin in the 3rd century.

The economic importance of this region changed as a result of the migration of the above mentioned population of the Przeworsk culture. It led to a considerable growth of the demographic potential[8] of the region, which is indicated by a significant increase in the number of sites dated to the end of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.[9] Archaeological materials confirming the described migration come from settlements as well as from burial grounds, where they are attested in both male and female burials.[10]

In archaeological terms, the described migration led to a relatively rapid change, which is clearly demonstrated by the archaeological record. The typical patterns of the population inhabiting this region in the previous centuries fade, and at the same time the finds associated with the Early Roman period Przeworsk culture become more numerous.

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Moreover, during the first half of the 3rd century the material culture of the newcomers changed as well, and the cultural model typical for the Early Roman period in the 2nd century was replaced by the new one, represented among others by a new type of pottery.[11] The changes briefly described here led to the emergence of a new cultural situation which in archaeological terms cannot be linked to any other established cultural unit, and on the other hand the described cultural elements are not sufficient for allowing for the separation of a new archaeological unit.[12]

The 3rd century AD is a period of significant changes also in other regions of the Central European *Barbaricum.* What is important is the fact that in comparison with other regions neighbouring the Empire the changes that took place in the Upper Tisa region were to a greater extent caused by the migration of the large population. The Vandals took control over the new lands and changed the mutual cultural and political relations in the middle Danube borderland, resulting in the economic development of the controlled region.

One of the most important factors shaping the cultural situation in the Upper Tisa region was the intensification of various links of the newcomers with the Roman Empire. Several factors shaped the manner in which the influence of the Roman Empire affected the population living in the region of the Upper Tisza Basin. The first factor was politics. The described population, associated with the Hasdingi mentioned by Cassius Dio, was in a different situation than other neighbouring groups. According to the above mentioned historian, the Vandal warriors reached the borders of Rome with their entire households.[13] The need to be provided with land led to an agreement with the governor of the province of Dacia. As a result, Rome gained an unexpected supporter, on the other hand, the Vandals secured the support of the strongest possible ally in the region. It seems highly probable that, following a military alliance, also economic relations were established.

Geography was another factor influencing the importance of these relations. The Upper Tisa region, after the conquest of Dacia, was located between two Roman Provinces, on the shortest route north to the Vistula Basin and the Baltic coast (fig. 1). Traders choosing the route through Upper Tisa had an advantage in crossing the Carpathians through the lowest passes beside the Moravian Gate. It is likely that the growing importance of the routes leading through the Upper Tisa Basin was due to the change of the mutual relations between Rome and the Marcomanni and Quadi in the aftermath of the Marcomannic Wars. The routes crossing the lands controlled by the above mentioned groups may have become too dangerous, and the road through the Upper Tisa region was at least a good alternative if not a preferable option. Control over those trade routes must have been an advantageous economic element allowing for the development of interregional contacts, as well as for the development of cross-border contacts between the indigenous population inhabiting the regions north of the limes and the merchants from the Roman provinces.[14] This control was, as usually, possible due to political factors resulting from the events of the Marcomannic Wars.[15]

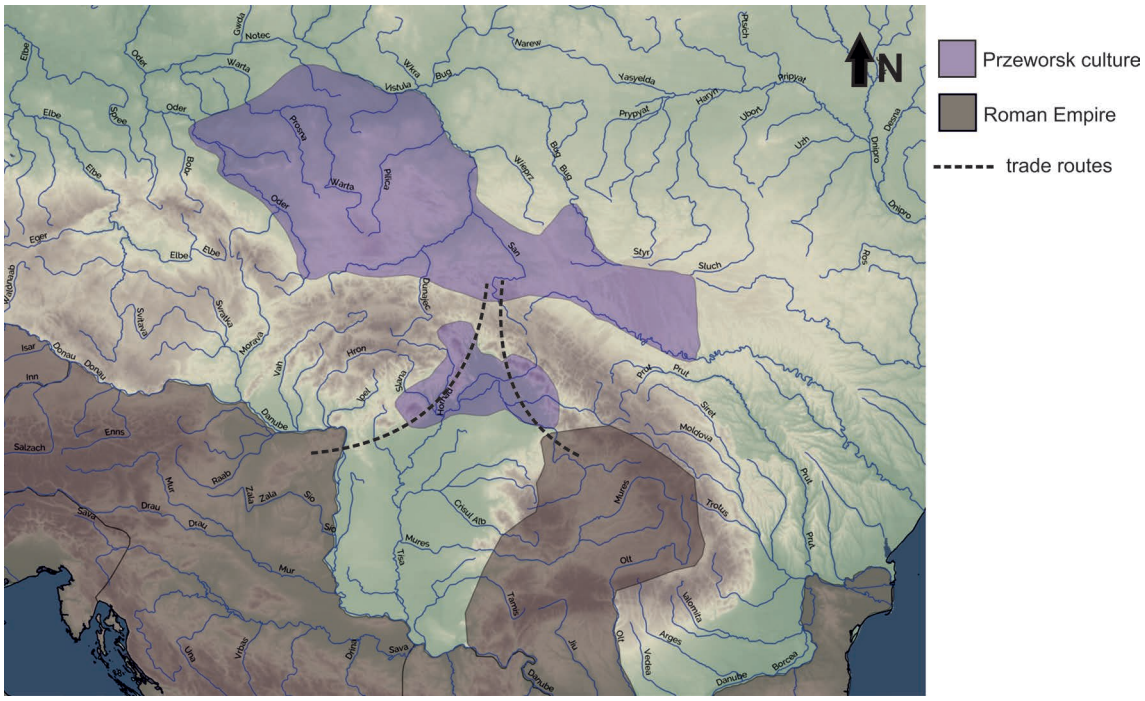

Fig. 1: Map of the Przeworsk culture with the possible trade routes at the beginning of the 3rd century.

Those two factors, politics and geography, shaped the economic potential of the region. The evidence for short and long-distance trade can be traced in the settlements.[16] While there is direct evidence demonstrating short distance trade, it is difficult to demonstrate long-distance exchange. However, the numerous Roman finds from the southern part of Poland as well as the known demand for amber[17] or slaves[18] in the Roman Empire can be perceived as indirect proof for such long distance contacts.

The appearance of large quantities of Roman *denarii* on the territory controlled by the Germanic groups is another phenomenon that may have had a significant impact on the economy of the region under analysis and also other parts of Central European *Barbaricum*. The reasons for the influx of such a massive amount of coins on the far side of the limes as well as their function for the indigenous societies are still a subject of the debate.[19] Nevertheless, the economic impact of such a large influx of Roman money must have been significant.

As has already mentioned above, the invaluable source for the study of the role of the Vandal migration for the shaping of the economies of this region is the "Roman History" by Cassius Dio. He describes peace conditions imposed on barbarians during both the reign of Marcus Aurelius[20] and his son Commodus,[21] among which the issue of access to trade markets was an important part.[22] Access to the markets continued to be part of the peace negotiations in the second half of the 3rd century, as confirmed by

the much less preserved work of Dexippus,[23] describing the peace treaty concluded between the Vandals and Emperor Aurelian, in which, apart from military matters, also issues related to access to commercial markets were included.

In the course of the 3rd century AD distinct archaeological materials of the Przeworsk culture disappear in this area, although no hiatus is observed when it comes to the settlement continuity in that period.[24] Cross-cultural interactions, undoubtedly including trade, contributed to rapid changes observed for the material culture. The most apparent example is the production of pottery. Specialised wheel-made pottery production replaced the old ceramic tradition of the Przeworsk culture, based on the characteristic hand-made pottery. During the first two centuries AD simple forms were common, most of all bowls and pots.[25] The most characteristic feature of the pottery of the Early Roman period Przeworsk culture was the black, polished surfaces of the tableware. This tradition of pottery production, including vessel forms and ornamentation, started to give way to the new fashion of pottery making, approximately around the turn from the 2nd to the 3rd century, and correlates well with the described migration (fig. 2).[26] The new population inhabiting the Upper Tisa Basin in this period started to produce wheel-turned pottery usually with grey surfaces.

The pottery produced in this area, the vessel forms and the way of their ornamentation started to imitate the ceramics produced in the province of Dacia. This is perhaps an example of one of the most accurate imitations of Roman products in the *Barbaricum* (fig. 3). It was a process on a mass scale, which is confirmed by numerous pottery centres producing ceramics decorated with stamped ornaments.[27] All these pottery production centres were located on the territory which had been taken over by the Przeworsk culture population in the previous decades.[28] In the 3rd century the copying of Roman products became more common, also outside the Tisa Basin. Recently it has been reliably demonstrated that in the *Barbaricum* not only Roman glass vessels[29] were copied but even coins.[30]

All this evidence demonstrates Rome's substantial influence on the economy of the population of the Upper Tisa Basin in the aftermath of the Marcomannic Wars. It is plausible that the development of the local production was triggered by the migration of the new population which was able to win over a land enabling for the control of the trade routes leading north towards the Vistula basin. It is essential to underline the role of the mutual relations between the Vandals and the Empire, with politics playing a critical role. Perhaps the described example of Roman policy is consistent with the *"divide et impera"* principle so commonly implemented towards neighbouring groups. It is obvious to state that always, according to this approach, there must be a group that benefits from maintaining peaceful contacts with the Romans. While it is more than plausible that mutual relations between the two sides did not remain peaceful through the whole 3rd century, it seems that during this period conflicts between the two sides were scarce and did not affect the economic stability of the Upper Tisa region. The described migration of the Przeworsk culture population may be an example demon-

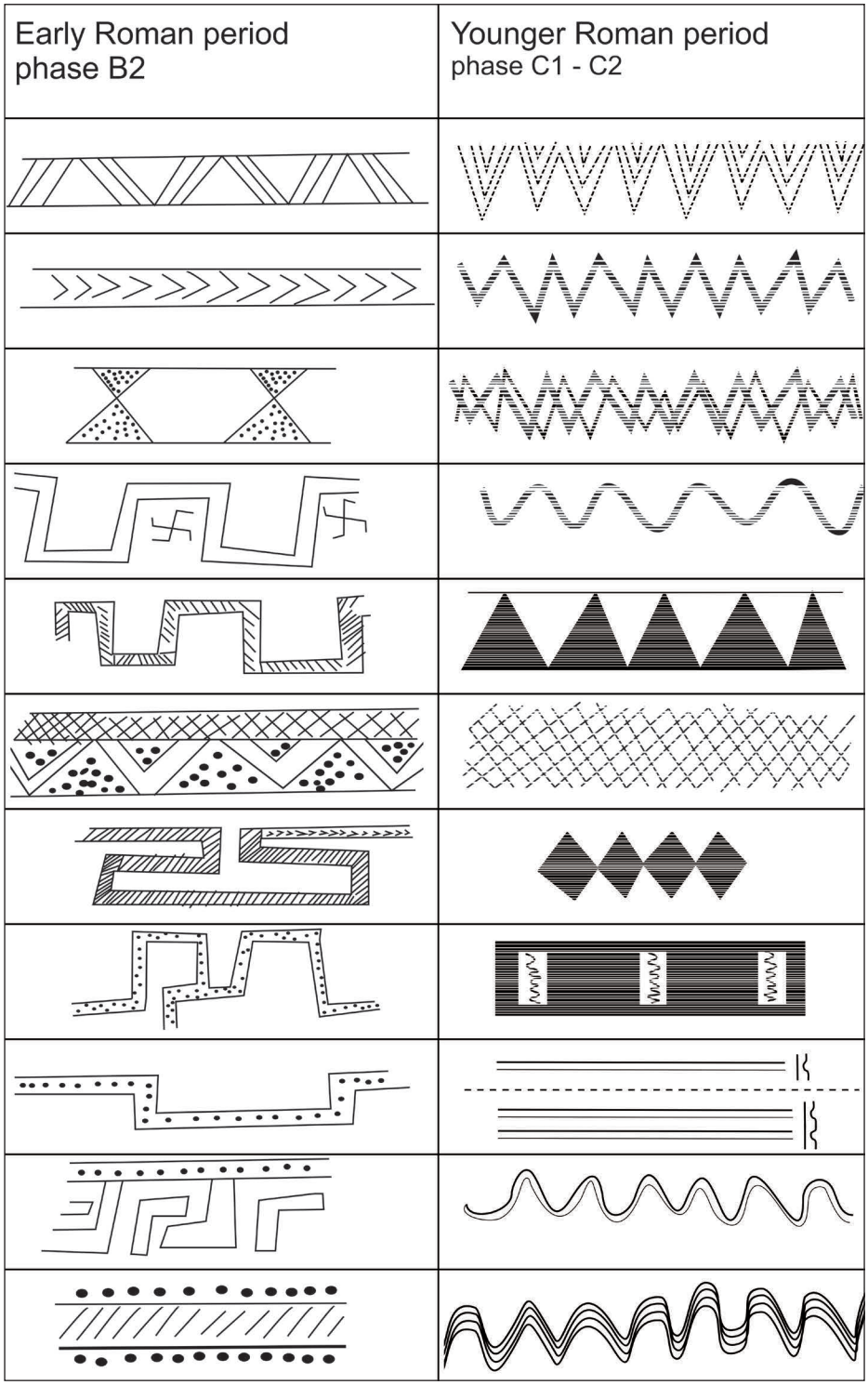

Fig. 2: Comparison of the selected ornaments of Przeworsk culture pottery from the Early Roman period (left) and the Younger Roman period (right).

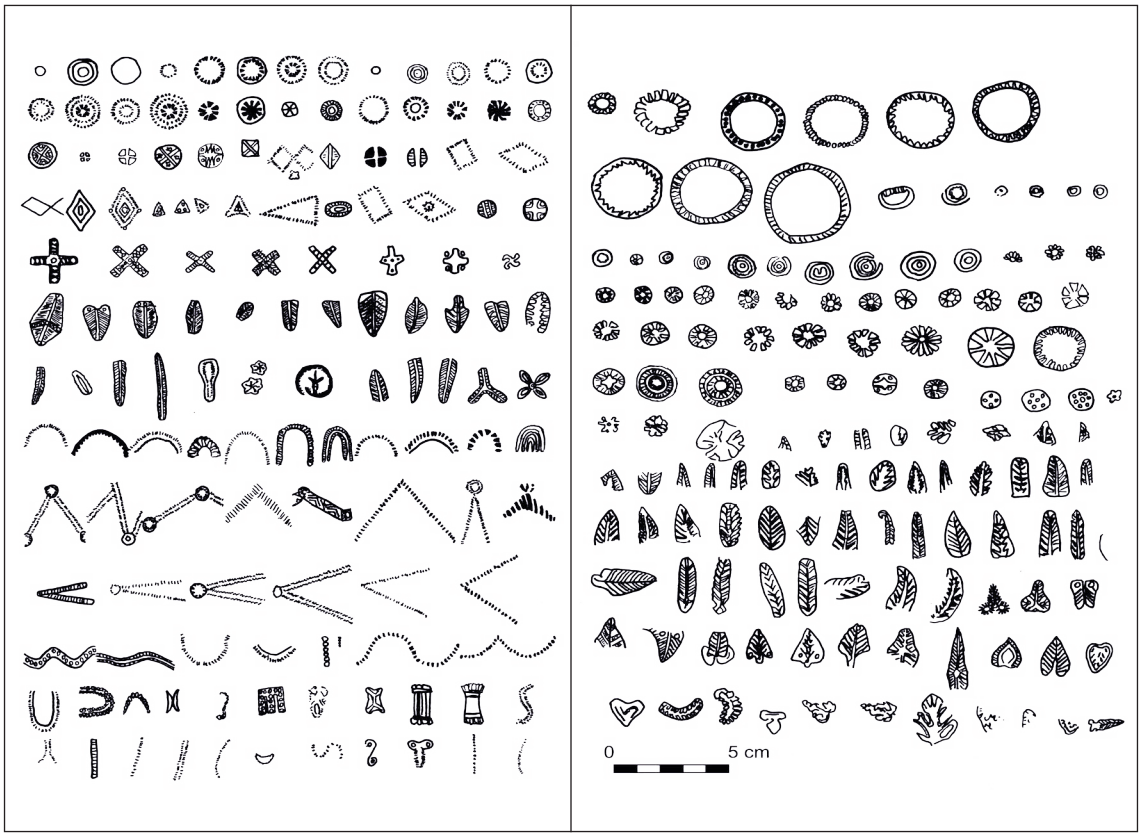

Fig. 3: Comparison of the stamp ornaments from the pottery produced in Upper Tisa Basin and in Roman Dacia.

strating how a new population can initiate a growth of the economic potential of a given region and of how the absorbance and transformation of outside influences can significantly change the original material culture of migrants. The movement of the Przeworsk culture influenced not only the migrants but also the population north of the Carpathians. Through the control of the Upper Tisa Basin, the Przeworsk culture population opened the "doors" through which, at least in the 3rd century, not only goods but also technologies and perhaps even ideas came to the North.

Notes

[1] Oka – Kusimba 2008, 345; Earle 2011, 34.

[2] Godłowski 1982, 48; Godłowski 1993, 71; Istvánovits – Kulcsár 1993, 32; Gindele 2005, 132; Prohászka 2006, 91–96; Ardeleanu 2009; Madyda-Legutko et al. 2013, 416; Istvánovits – Kulcsár 2017, 258–307.

[3] Dio. LXXI, 12, 1.

[4] On the literary sources about the Vandals and the correlation with the Przeworsk culture s. Kolendo 2004, 11–23.

[5] Nagy 1993, 157–184; Ardeleanu 2009; Ardeleanu 2011, 116.

[6] Gindele 2010; Gindele 2013; Gašaj – Rákoš 2015; Soós 2016.

[7] In the 1st and 2nd centuries AD this region was settled by a population whose material culture corresponds with Dacian cultures (Ioniță 1997), however also other elements, particularly La Téne, are traceable (Almássy 2006, 263; Ardeleanu 2011). The cultural relations changed after the Roman conquest of the later province of Dacia in the years 101–105 AD, and the fall of the power centres located there.

[8] For the research on estimating demography in prehistory see: Chamberlain 2006, 127.

[9] Kotigoroško 1995, 292 fig. 73; 330 fig. 122; Gindele 2013, 14.

[10] Horedt 1973, 83–89; Kotigoroško 1987; Budinsky-Krička – Lamiova-Schmiedlova 1990; Lamiova-Schmiedlova – Mačala 1991; Lamiova-Schmiedlova 1992; 75–79; Kobal 1997; Gašaj – Rákoš 2015.

[11] A similar change took place north of the Carpathians, where the Przeworsk culture continued to develop. However, it is important to underline that there are differences in the material culture of the Upper Tisa Basin and of the Upper Vistula Basin that resulted in many attempts to classify archaeological materials found on different sides of the Carpathians into different archaeological entities – cultures (Csallany 1966, 87 f.; Olędzki 1999a, 45–74; Olędzki 1999b; Olędzki 2007, 357–381).

[12] The attempts to establish a new culture in the Upper Tisa region were almost exclusively based on the analysis of pottery, and they lack in-depth analysis of the other elements of the archaeological culture.

[13] The fragment of "Roman History" revealing the agreement between Vandals and a Clemens, governor of Dacia, reveals a very unusual, as it seems, treaty between the Hasdingi and the Romans. According to Cassius Dio, the Vandals left their women and children under the protection of the Romans, while they themselves waged war upon the Costoboci (Dio LXXI, 12, 1).

[14] Nagy 1997.

[15] Voß – Wigg-Wolf 2017, 111. 117.

[16] Opreanu 2011, 126–128; Tóth 2014, 159–182; Gindele 2014, 337–343; Ardeleanu 2016, 111–129.

[17] Kolendo 1996, 225 f.

[18] Kolendo 2000.

[19] Bursche 1994, 472–475; Hunter 2009, 1625–1627; Dymowski – Myzgin 2014, 42–44; Voß – Wigg-Wolf 2017, 111–120.

[20] Dio. LXXI, 11.

[21] Dio. LXXII, 2, 3.

[22] As a conclusion by analogy, the fact that these fragments do not list the Vandals but mention other groups may be understood as indirect proof for the role of cross-border trade.

[23] Millar 1969, 12–29.

[24] Gindele 2010, 131–134; Soós 2016, 456–460.

[25] Liana 1970, 438–440.

[26] On the debate about the introduction and dating of wheel-turned pottery in the Przeworsk culture s. Rodzińska-Nowak 2011; Rodzińska-Nowak 2018

[27] Pastor 1961; Jurečko 1981, 169–206; Kotigoroško 1995, 135–154; Kotigoroško 1997; Gudea – Filip 1997; Gindele 2011, 434.

[28] While it is not certain when the production of stamped pottery in the Upper Tisa begun, it seems plausible that it happened during the first half of 3rd century (Gindele 2011, 434).
[29] Rau 1972, 116; Petrauskas 2018, 537.
[30] Horsnaes 2011, 142–148; Bursche 2013, 163; Bursche – Myzgin 2015, 249; Bursche – Myzgin 2017; Myzgin et al. 2018.

Image Credits

Fig. 1: after Andrzejowski 2010 – Fig. 2: by Jan Bulas, Magdalena Okońska-Bulas – Fig. 3: left, after Kotigoroško 1995; right, after Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007.

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Archaeological studies on migrants usually focus on their role in production activities, either as part of the labour force, or as specialized craftsmen dependent on local entrepreneurs, families or public institutions. This book aims to overcome this unidirectional discourse on dependency and to propose an alternative approach, examining migrants as actors in the economic life of ancient societies. The economic dimension of migration is thus analysed as part of the complex dynamics of integration and segregation in local communities. Migrants are considered as consumers, cultural mediators, social climbers, promoters of different lifestyles, and as 'triggers' for innovation. The papers in this volume suggest new methodologies and interpretative paths, dealing with a wide spectrum of case studies from the Middle Kingdom Egypt to the Bronze and Iron Age of the western Mediterranean, from Classical Greece to Hellenistic Etruria, concluding with the Przeworsk Culture of Pannonia. Overcoming the binary oppositions usually set up between colonists and indigenous peoples, locals and incomers, this book points out how economic mentalities are part of a greater entanglement of personal, social and economic identities.

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