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BETWEEN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD  
AND CENTRAL EUROPE**

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Griechen und Indigenen auf Sizilien zwischen dem 8. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.«

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## VORWORT

Vom 22. bis 24. Oktober 2014 fand am Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum in Mainz die internationale Tagung »Materielle Kultur und Identität im Spannungsfeld zwischen mediterraner Welt und Mitteleuropa« (»Material Culture and Identity between the Mediterranean World and Central Europe«) statt, in deren Rahmen 22 Referenten aus sechs Nationen fächerübergreifend die Bedeutung der materiellen Kultur für die Rekonstruktion von Identitäten diskutierten. Diese Tagung bildete zugleich den Abschluss des am RGZM angesiedelten Forschungsprojekts »Metallfunde als Zeugnis für die Interaktion zwischen Griechen und Indigenen auf Sizilien zwischen dem 8. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.« (»Metal Objects as Evidence for the Interaction between Greeks and Indigenous People in Archaic Sicily [8<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.]«), das über einen Zeitraum von drei Jahren hinweg von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft gefördert wurde<sup>1</sup>. Ziel war es, die im Projekt erzielten Ergebnisse in einen größeren, überregionalen Zusammenhang zu stellen und mit Spezialisten aus anderen Ländern, aber auch aus anderen Fachdisziplinen zu diskutieren. Der geographische Rahmen der Vorträge reichte von Griechenland über Sizilien und Unteritalien bis nach Frankreich und Mitteleuropa, versuchte also kulturvergleichend einen großen geographischen Raum in den Blick zu nehmen und Vertreter von Klassischer Archäologie, Alter Geschichte, Vor- und Frühgeschichte und Numismatik zusammenzuführen.

Das RGZM besitzt eine sehr lange Forschungstradition in kulturvergleichenden Studien zwischen dem Mittelmeerraum und Mitteleuropa, insbesondere in der späten Bronze- und der Eisenzeit. Bereits der Gründungsdirektor des Museums, Ludwig Lindenschmit d. Ä., setzte sich im 19. Jahrhundert mit griechischen und etruskischen Importgütern in frühlatènezeitlichen Prunkgräbern Süddeutschlands auseinander. Für Paul Reinecke – von 1897 bis 1907 Wissenschaftlicher Assistent am RGZM – lieferten mediterrane Importe unverzichtbare Fixpunkte für seine bahnbrechenden Studien zur Chronologie der Metallzeiten in der Zone nordwärts der Alpen. Später haben beispielsweise Friedrich-Wilhelm von Hase, Peter Schauer, Imma Kilian und Markus Egg diese Tradition fortgeführt und weiterentwickelt. Es ist kein Zufall, dass sich heute eines der »Forschungsfelder« des RGZM explizit dem Thema »Kulturkontakte«<sup>2</sup> widmet.

Die Idee zu dieser Tagung entstand während der Bearbeitung von Metallobjekten aus griechischen und indigenen Fundstätten archaischer Zeit auf Sizilien, deren weit gestreute Herkunftsregionen und überwiegend fragmentarischer Charakter wichtige Fragen nach der Funktion und Bedeutung der Fundstücke im jeweiligen Kontext aufwarfen. So waren bei den Ausgrabungen der Abteilung Rom des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts auf der Agora der griechischen Koloniestadt Selinunt im Südwesten Siziliens zahlreiche Buntmetallgegenstände aus den unterschiedlichsten Regionen des Mittel- und Schwarzmeerraums zutage gekommen; sie fügten sich exakt in das Bild ein, das Stéphane Verger wenige Jahre zuvor für das Fundmaterial aus dem Demeterheiligtum von Bitalemi bei Gela an der sizilischen Südküste gezeichnet hatte. Spiegeln sich in den Herkunftsregionen der Bronzen weit reichende Kontakte und Verbindungen der griechischen *Apoikien* Selinunt und Gela wider? Lassen sich die Objekte also tatsächlich als »Identitäts-Marker« und persönliche »Botschaften« ihrer Nutzer bzw. Träger verstehen, mit denen sich fromme Pilger in Bitalemi an die Göttin Demeter wandten? Oder verbergen sich hinter diesem Fundniederschlag doch ganz andere Ursachen und Hintergründe?

Diese Fragen, die im Projekt »Metallfunde als Zeugnis für die Interaktion zwischen Griechen und Indigenen auf Sizilien zwischen dem 8. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.« analysiert wurden, reichen in ihrer Bedeutung über Sizilien hinaus und können letztlich nur in einer breiten, transdisziplinären Perspektive einer Lösung nähergebracht werden. Ein Schwerpunkt der Tagung lag deshalb am ersten Tag auf Austausch- und Akkultura-



**Abb. 1** Der Generaldirektor des RGZM, Falko Daim, zwischen Elena Mango und Hans-Joachim Gehrke. – (Foto G. Rasbach).

tionsprozessen zwischen griechischen Siedlern und Einheimischen auf Sizilien. Das Thema wurde sowohl in theoretisch-methodischer Reflektion (vgl. insbesondere die Beiträge von Hans-Joachim Gehrke, Holger Baitinger / Tamar Hodos, Erich Kistler / Martin Mohr und Kerstin P. Hofmann) als auch anhand konkreter Fallbeispiele – also griechischer und indigener Fundplätze Siziliens (Siedlungen und Heiligtümern) – besprochen und diskutiert (vgl. die Beiträge von Holger Baitinger, Chiara Tarditi, Stefano Vassallo, Erich Kistler / Martin Mohr, Francesca Spatafora, Birgit Öhlinger, Nadin Burkhardt und Kerstin P. Hofmann). In der Diskussion wurde man sich der Komplexität dieser Interaktionen bewusst, aber auch der methodischen Probleme einer Bewertung archäologischer Spuren und Hinterlassenschaften. Ein besonders wichtiger Aspekt, nämlich der starke Zufluss französischer Hallstattbronzen nach Sizilien im letzten Drittel des 7. und in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., wurde im Vortrag von Stéphane Verger beleuchtet; die früheisenzeitlichen Horte vom »Launac-Typ« im Languedoc bildeten quasi das Scharnier und die Brücke zu Brucherzdeponierungen der (späten) Bronzezeit in Mittel- und Südeuropa, die am zweiten Tag in den Fokus rückten.

Fragmentierte, häufig intentional beschädigte und zerstörte Bronzegegenstände (»Brucherz«), wie sie auf Sizilien insbesondere die Komplexe aus Selinunt und Bitalemi kennzeichnen, spielten in Alteuropa in Hortfunden der späten Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit eine wichtige Rolle. Die Interpretation solcher Niederlegungen hat eine sehr lange und bewegte Geschichte und changiert mit allen Facetten von einfachen Gießdepots und Versteckfunden bis hin zu sakralen Niederlegungen und Opfergaben (vgl. die Beiträge von Svend Hansen, Claudio Giardino und Markus Egg). Auffällig ist jedoch, dass in der »hortreichen« Spätbronzezeit Alteuropas auch die in anderen Epochen meist recht »metallarmen« Siedlungsplätze häufig auffallend viele Bronzeobjekte geliefert haben, ein Umstand, der sowohl für die Schweizerischen Seeufersiedlungen als auch für urnenfelderzeitliche Höhensiedlungen Mittel- und Osteuropas gilt, deren weitere Erforschung und präzisere Verortung innerhalb des Siedlungsgefüges der Spätbronzezeit ein wichtiges Desiderat darstellt (vgl. die Beiträge von Viktoria Fischer und Christoph Huth).

In eine andere Richtung zielten die Vorträge des zweiten Tages, die sich mit Fundplätzen im ägäischen Raum auseinandersetzten. Das Auftreten sizilischer und unteritalischer Metallobjekte in bedeutenden Heiligtümern der Ägäis ist ein seit langem bekanntes Phänomen, das man als Beleg für mehr oder weniger enge Kontakte des betreffenden Heiligtums in den westlichen Mittelmeerraum, ja mitunter als Hinweis auf itali-sche Stifter oder Pilger deutet. Aber könnten diese häufig nur fragmentarisch erhaltenen Bronzeobjekte, die

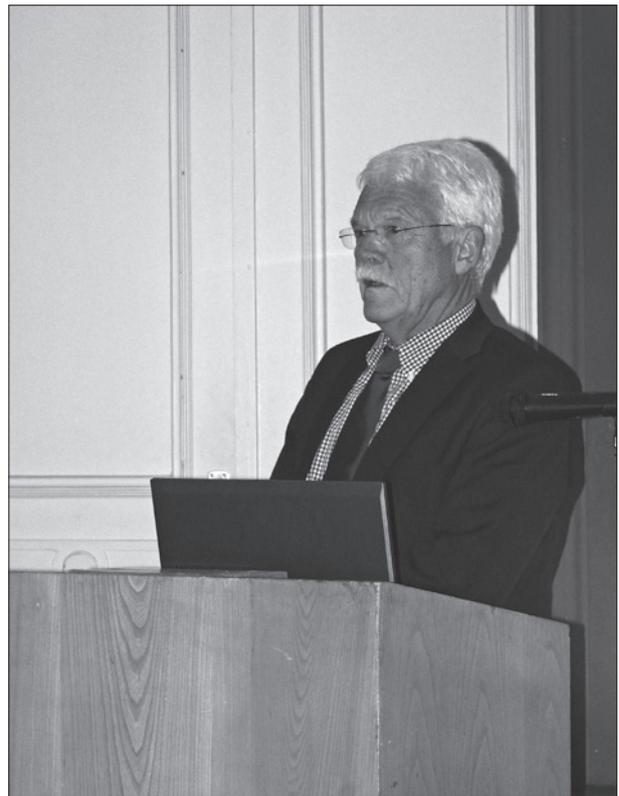
insbesondere in Olympia und Delphi in größerer Zahl entdeckt wurden (vgl. den Beitrag von H el ene Aurigny), nicht auch auf Brucherzweihungen aus dem Umfeld westgriechischer Koloniestadte hinweisen, auf die Stiftung thesaurierten »Altmetalls«? Zerst orungen an Votivgaben in griechischen Heiligt umern sind bekanntlich ein gelaufiges Phanomen, doch was lasst sich  ber den Zeitpunkt sagen, zu dem sie den Objekten zugef ugt wurden? Raimon Graells i Fabregat behandelt dieses Thema exemplarisch anhand der bronzenen Brustpanzer aus Olympia, die er derzeit in einem von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft gef orderten Projekt am RGZM bearbeitet. Angesichts der zahlreichen Metallfunde, die bei den Grabungen in Selinunt zutage kamen, stellte sich auch die Frage, ob andere griechische Stadte archaischer Zeit ahnliche Fundhaufungen zeigen oder nicht. Angesichts der nach wie vor geringen Zahl moderner Untersuchungen in archaischen Stadten der griechischen Welt kommt dem Fundbestand vom Kalabaktepe in Milet, den Helga Donder in ihrem Artikel behandelt, groe Bedeutung zu, zumal sich hier recht deutliche und schwerlich zufallige Unterschiede zum Selinuntiner Bestand offenbaren.

Eine weitere wichtige Frage betrifft die m ogliche (pra-?)monetare Funktion von Rohmetall und »Brucherz« im westlichen Mittelmeerraum in archaischer Zeit; sie wird von Andreas M. Murgan und Fleur Kemmers in ihrem gemeinsamen Beitrag aus Sicht der Numismatik beleuchtet, wodurch deutlich wird, welches Potential die Zusammenarbeit verschiedener wissenschaftlicher Disziplinen besitzt, um Interpretationsmodelle f ur grobraumig auftretende Phanomene wie der Thesaurierung von »Brucherz« zu erarbeiten.

Es ist mir eine angenehme Pflicht, an dieser Stelle all denjenigen zu danken, die zum Gelingen der Tagung und zur zeitnahen Publikation der Tagungsakten beigetragen haben, allen voran nat urlich den Referenten, die in so groer Zahl der Einladung nach Mainz gefolgt sind und trotz anderweitiger Verpflichtungen ihre Beitrage f ur diesen Tagungsband schriftlich ausgearbeitet haben. Ein besonderer Dank f ur vielfaltigen Rat und Unterst utzung bei der Planung und Vorbereitung der Tagung geht an Markus Egg und Hans-Joachim Gehrke; bei der Organisation und praktischen Durchf uhrung halfen mir insbesondere Patrick Zuccaro, Regina Molitor, Constanze Berb usse und Giacomo Bardelli – auch ihnen danke ich daf ur ganz herzlich. Clive Bridger-Kraus unterst utze mich tatkraftig bei der Redaktion der englischsprachigen Artikel dieses Bandes und  bersetzte die Zusammenfassungen, Giacomo Bardelli las die italienischen Beitrage. Schlielich sorgte Claudia Nickel vom Verlag des RGZM in bewahrter Weise daf ur, dass der Band eine so ansprechende Form gefunden hat; auch daf ur mein herzlicher Dank! Ein abschlieendes Dankesch on geht f ur die drei Jahre wahrende finanzielle F orderung des Projekts »Metallfunde als Zeugnis f ur die Interaktion zwischen Griechen und Indigenen auf Sizilien zwischen dem 8. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.« an die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, insbesondere an den Programmdirektor der Gruppe Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften Hans-Dieter Bienert.

*Holger Baitinger*

*Mainz, im Januar 2016*



**Abb. 2** Den  offentlichen Festvortrag hielt der ehemalige Prasident des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts, Hans-Joachim Gehrke. – (Foto G. Rasbach).

## **Anmerkungen**

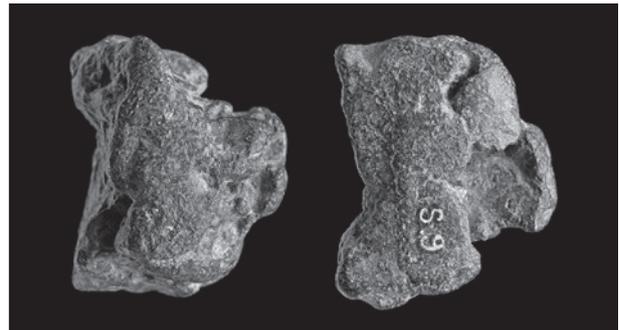
- 1) GZ EG 64/3-1 (1.1.2012-31.12.2014).
- 2) <http://web.rgzm.de/forschung/forschungsfelder/a/article/kulturkontakte.html> (26.8.2015).

## TEMPLES, HOARDS AND PRE(?)MONETARY PRACTICES – CASE STUDIES FROM MAINLAND ITALY AND SICILY IN THE 1<sup>ST</sup> MILLENNIUM B.C. \*

So-called premonetary objects, in the case of the ancient Mediterranean mainly chunks, lumps and bars of either precious or base metals, are insufficiently studied and understood<sup>1</sup>. Especially those made out of copper-alloys have often been neglected, perhaps because of their seemingly unattractive character. Yet, although seldom fully published, scholars almost offhandedly classify them as premonetary instruments and leave it at that. But what exactly is the role of these objects, how, where and when were they used, and do they differ from coinage in these aspects? This paper seeks to address these questions by focussing on premonetary material from a selected number of case studies in mainland Italy and Sicily. Before discussing these case studies, however, it is necessary to treat a number of theoretical aspects and to describe in some detail the material under investigation.

### CHARACTERISING THE MATERIAL

The material investigated here can be subdivided into formless chunks and lumps on the one hand, and bar-shaped pieces on the other hand. The first, the so-called *aes rude*, may be literally translated as raw copper or bronze. The lumps and chunks had no defined form or standardised weight (fig. 1). Apart from that, larger pancake- or wheel-shaped ingots existed. Furthermore, there were bar-shaped pieces of a more uniform design, still without being standardised in weight. The earliest of those bars, dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. onwards, were marked with the so-called *ramo secco* »withered branch« pattern (fig. 2). The later bars dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> cen-



**Fig. 1** *Aes rude*. Example with unknown provenance, Italy. – (© Trustees of the British Museum, No. 1867,0212.9).



**Fig. 2** Cast bar with *ramo secco* pattern. Example with unknown provenance. – (© Trustees of the British Museum, No. 1874,0714.102).



**Fig. 3** Cast bar with anchor and tripod. Example from Castel Gandolfo. – (© Trustees of the British Museum, No. R1867,0101.1).

tury, that seem to be associated with the heavy cast Roman *aes grave* coins, bear a wide variety of pictures, predominantly tools and animals<sup>2</sup> (fig. 3).

All objects consist of copper alloys, giving them at least an intrinsic value. Since none of the groups of *aes* described above had a standardised weight, the value estimation had to be done by weighing the objects. The chopping up of them to a desired amount, testified for all groups of *aes*, confirms the primary focus on weight.

This observation, and the fact that the material is regularly found in association with coins, has led scholars to classify the objects as an early form of money, as premonetary.

## ECONOMIC, MATERIAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF MONEY

The question of what is money, both in contemporary and past societies, has vexed economists, historians and anthropologists alike<sup>3</sup>. We neither wish to summarise the debate, nor pretend to be able to give new insights. Rather, we would like to address a number of aspects or qualities of money, on which there seems to be consensus, and ask how these relate to our material. One thing that is clear is that, in order to be used as money, an object needs to be able to fulfil one or more economic functions. These functions are the classics of the economic textbooks: medium of exchange, means of payment, store of value and unit of account. The first function refers to the ability of an asset to be regularly exchanged for goods and services within a society, in other words its use in market situations. The second function, although often confused with the first, relates to the possibility to use an object to discharge a debt or obligation, typical examples of which are fines and taxes<sup>4</sup>. A further economic function of money is the possibility to accumulate wealth by enlarging the amount of money-objects and to be able to store them for future use. This implies that those objects are not only money now, but also in the foreseeable future. Finally, there is the function of money as a *tertium comparandum*, a unit in which the value of goods and services can be expressed and compared. In some societies one type of money fulfils several or all of these functions, other societies have various kinds of money each of which is restricted to particular functions<sup>5</sup>. Yet before these economic functions can occur, the object category chosen as money should have certain material characteristics: the material should be homogeneous and thus enable people to accept all objects made of this material<sup>6</sup>; furthermore, the material should be divisible in order to portion off or create larger and smaller amounts; thirdly, durability is important, especially in the economic capacity of storing value; portable objects are to be preferred, in order to facilitate transport and, thus, potentially speed of circulation; finally, the material chosen should not be available in limitless and all too easily accessible amounts<sup>7</sup>.

These material characteristics seem straightforward enough and convincingly explain why in many societies metal is the preferred material for money. Likewise, the economic functions as set out above are deeply ingrained in our understanding of money. In combination, the observation that ancient coinage adequately covers both the material and economic aspects of money, and is therefore money, comes as no surprise. Yet, why then are the lumps, chunks and bars of copper-alloy described above then classified as *premonetary*, when they share the material aspects of coinage proper? Presumably, the answer lies in certain social aspects of money, which might be insufficiently present in these »uncoined« objects. In his study on early Greek money Seaford addressed these social aspects, although he did not explicitly qualify them as such, when he sought to find a fitting description of what money is and what money does<sup>8</sup>. These characteristics are not absolute requirements for something to function as money, but the more of them are present, the closer something is to being so-called all-purpose money.

First of all, money is socially constructed. This implies that the choice for certain materials or objects is not arbitrarily decided, but developed in a social process within a society. Furthermore, the objects chosen should have a link to a state or community, who recognises and guarantees their value, not only today, but in the longer term. Moreover, money has the power to meet social obligations, meaning that beyond its usage in market situations, it can be used in ceremonies, gift-giving, dedications and punishments. This usage of the material chosen as money should be generally acceptable, meaning that there is no preclusive right to it for certain groups only. Finally, exclusive acceptability is called for, meaning that the chosen form of money is the only form accepted in social and economic obligations, not just one among many.

To investigate the social aspects of *aes rude*, thereby further clarifying its monetary character, a detailed contextual analysis of this material is called for. Only through an analysis of where, how, when and in association with what other objects *aes rude* became part of the archaeological record, will we be able to proceed beyond a merely descriptive understanding on the one hand and an oversimplified interpretation on the other.

## CASE STUDIES

For such studies, one has to rely largely on well-published contexts, which are unfortunately very rare. The contexts available can be grouped into sanctuaries, hoards and graves. In this paper we want to focus on the first two categories<sup>9</sup>. The use of *aes* in sanctuaries will be examined on the basis of the *Thesmophorion* at Gela on Sicily and two complexes at *Satricum* in Lazio, Italy. The hoards will be exemplified by the cases of Vulci and Ardea, both situated in Lazio, and a cluster of three hoards in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. For both kinds of contexts, we have chosen examples that illustrate the chronological and the territorial range of this phenomenon.

### Sanctuaries

Gela (Sicily) – The *Thesmophorion* of Bitalemi

Directly opposite ancient Gela, on a sandy hill, lies the *Thesmophorion* of Bitalemi. The excavations undertaken by P. Orsi<sup>10</sup> and P. Orlandini<sup>11</sup> revealed a clearly distinguishable stratification. In the fourth and fifth layers a sanctuary could be unearthed. The fourth stratum contained the Greek sanctuary with architectural remains of stone. It was also this layer that provided some pottery fragments with inscriptions that showed that Demeter *Thesmophoros*, a chthonic goddess for fertility and birth, was venerated there. The temple's foundations were built on a layer of clay that had been intentionally placed on top of the sand to create a stable platform. This layer separated and sealed the stratum underneath, which contained the remains of an earlier stage of the same sanctuary.

Associated with this earlier sanctuary were several deposits, which contained dedications given to Demeter, placed and buried into the approximately 1.1 m thick layer of sand. These dedications were spread across the entire stratum and testify to vibrant cultic activities. Amongst the deposited objects were many pieces of pottery (*skyphoi*, *kalykes*, *stamnoi*, *hydriai*, *amphorai*, *alabastra*, oil flasks and lamps), as well as loom-weights, *pinakes* and figurines. Based on the stratigraphy and datable material like pottery, it is clear that the depositions belong to the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.

In 1967, Orlandini published the so-called »Depositivi votivi di bronzo premonetale« from the earliest sanctuary<sup>12</sup>, a label which already offered a clear interpretation of the material. The total weight of metal objects described in this publication amounted to about 102 kg, dispersed over 31 features, ranging from 350g to 7,095g per feature, with a lonely peak at 11,700g. Unfortunately, the weights of the individual items given in Orlandini's publication were rounded off to five grams, resulting in the smallest piece having a weight of 5g, and the heaviest object a weight of 3,300g.

Following the calculations of S. Verger<sup>13</sup>, 610 pieces with a total weight of 84kg belong to the lumps and bars labelled as »premonetale«. With about 80%, they represent by far the most frequent category of bronze objects. One fragment bears the Greek inscription Σ · Η, another is marked with a sign that is not so clearly readable, perhaps an A or an arrow. Two fragments of bar-shaped ingots were found, one is surely of the *ramo secco* type, the other one, poorly preserved, presumably so. A second group of bronze objects consisted of various bent or broken sheets and plates, which formerly were parts of tools (like axes, knives, graters or handles), vessels and comparable items. Some of them still bear decorations like punches. A last group included jewellery like rings, circlets and pendants, also very often broken up. Most of the depositions contained all groups of metal and were placed directly into the sand in distinct assemblages.

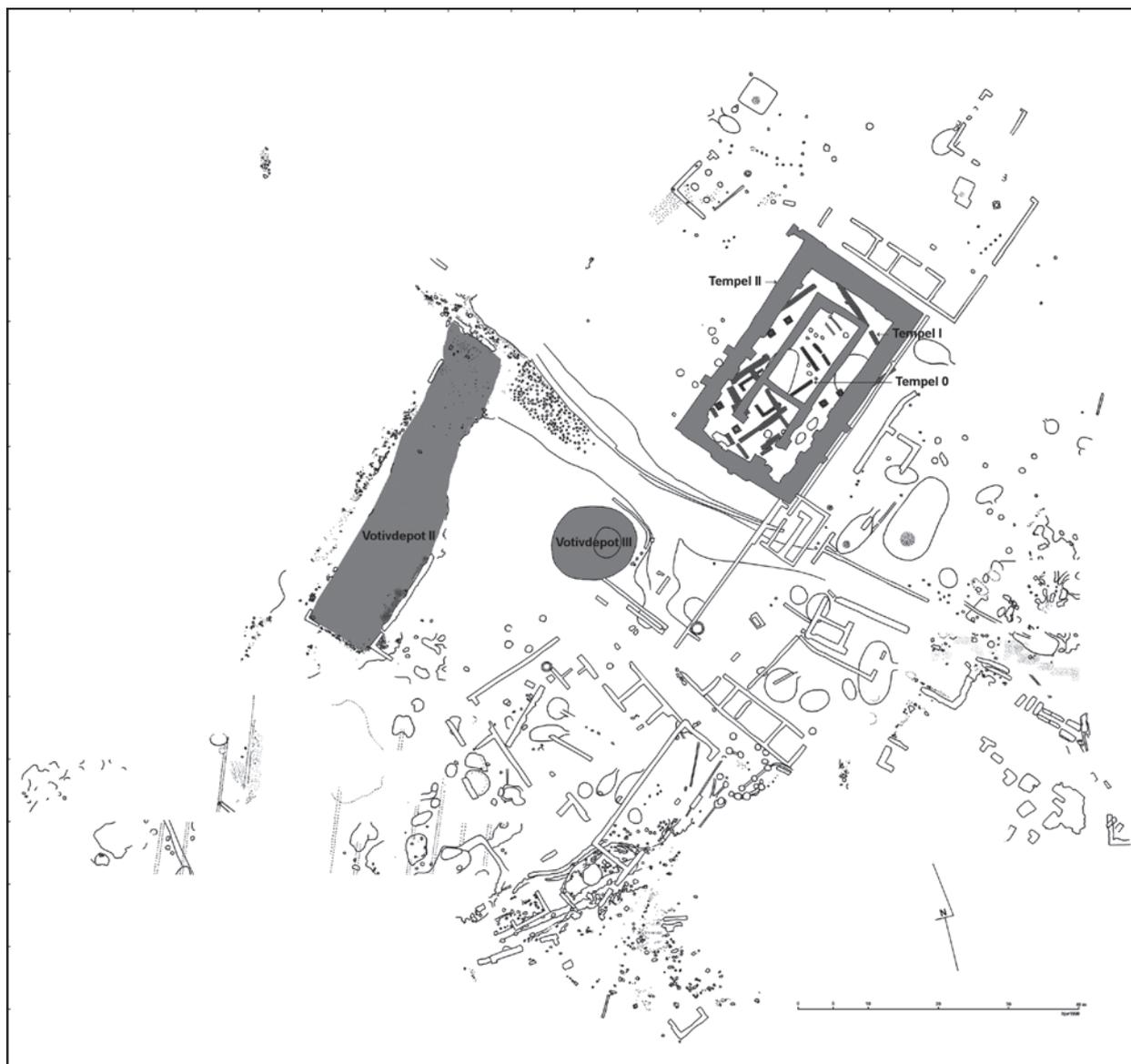
*Aes* is a repeatedly occurring phenomenon at this sanctuary, far more than one would assume on the basis of the existing publications. Thanks to an ongoing project that aims to publish the finds of the sanctuary in their entirety, we know that not only 31, but far more than 200 of the nearly 3,000 depositions in total contained dedications with metal, around three quarters of which contained metal only<sup>14</sup>.

As we know from inscriptions on the pottery found<sup>15</sup>, the rituals performed at Bitalemi were the *thesmophoria*<sup>16</sup>, a feast dedicated to Demeter in the hope of increasing the fertility of the fields and ensuring a gentle birth. The fertility aspect is thought to be visible in the pottery, as it was almost always deposited upside-down, presumably reflecting the chthonic character of the goddess<sup>17</sup>. Additionally, many of the dedicated objects like the jewellery, the loom-weights or the numerous *hydriai* are thought to fit very well in the female world<sup>18</sup>. Owing to this, many scholars have stressed the female character of this sanctuary.

But not all dedications can be explained so easily, since, for example, the broken tools such as axes neither fit into what is seen as a woman's world, nor are they thought to be connected with fertility. The same applies to the bronze lumps and bars. They rather seem to have been selected for their intrinsic value. However, it is also apparent that the material, which is traditionally considered to be premonetary, was deposited together with objects that normally are not considered to be items that embody or store value, like fragments of tools. Considering the amount of metal per dedication (in average about 3,300g), the value of the assemblages was notable. Additionally, several objects were imported over long distances (e. g. from Corinth, Rhodes, Crete, Ionia and southern France), while others come from a period by far predating their deposition<sup>19</sup>. Because of this, they were most likely loaded with non-material, ideal value<sup>20</sup>. Given the unimpressive size of this extra-urban sanctuary, these are remarkable observations, especially when we try to trace who chose the objects and why.

Rather than trying to pin-point responsible individuals, U. Kron suggested in her 1992 paper searching for the reasons behind a dedication instead<sup>21</sup>. Regardless of the gender or social status of the dedicant, a whole group could have benefited from a donation to the deity. One could imagine families as such a group, but also other communities that might have consisted of merchants or mercenaries. In this scenario, the dedicating individual would have been less relevant, while the group shared the costs and benefits of a sacrifice. These groups might explain the relatively high intrinsic and extrinsic value of the dedications.

At Bitalemi, when the hill was sealed by the layer of clay the cultic activities which comprised the burial of dedications like *aes* suddenly stopped and changes in the ritual practices occurred favouring other characteristics including stone-built architecture.



**Fig. 4** The acropolis of *Satricum* with its temple buildings and votive depots. – (After Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992, Supplementary map).

#### *Satricum* (Italy) – Temple of *Mater Matuta*

For our second example, we turn to Lazio in Italy. The remains of the ancient city commonly identified as *Satricum* are situated at Borgo Le Ferriere. Its sanctuaries show a long tradition of cultic activities, which also involved the deposition of *aes*.

In antiquity *Satricum* was famous for its Temple of *Mater Matuta*, which is thought to have been located on the so-called acropolis. The goddess was a deity for women, fertility, birth and the light-spending dawn<sup>22</sup>. Cultic activities there can be recognised from the 9<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. onwards, if not even earlier<sup>23</sup>. Several temple buildings, one above the other, indicate a long tradition of use and destructions<sup>24</sup>. In the closer surroundings of these constructions, three large deposits could be detected, which span a long period of time and are thought to have been connected with the adjacent sanctuary (fig. 4).

Votive Deposit I was situated under the temple building. Its precise position, as well as information about size and stratification, are unfortunately lost, as a result of its early excavation in the 1890s<sup>25</sup>. Regrettably,

from about up to 20,000 objects, only selected pieces were published<sup>26</sup>. Chronologically, the objects are thought to span the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> until the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. However, some of them might be even older and might originate from the 11<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>27</sup>. The most frequently deposited class of artefacts was a wide spectrum of both locally produced and imported pottery vessels, often in miniature. The presence of spindle-whorls and spools testifies to a connection with textile production. Furthermore, iron tools and weapons, miscellaneous jewellery pieces made of bronze, gold, silver, iron, lead, faïence, glass, amber, ivory and bone, as well as bronze figurines in form of *korai*, *kouroi* and various animals prove the great variety of dedications. About a third of the dedications consisted of bronze objects, such as tools, vessels, tripods and weapons. Additionally, at least seven bar ingots and numerous pieces of *aes rude* were found, possibly even over a thousand lumps and fragmented sheets<sup>28</sup>. Interestingly, a pair of scales for relatively small weights was also found in this deposit<sup>29</sup>.

Votive Deposit II was situated in an elongated natural pit, ca. 20 m west of the temple buildings. Compared to the other two deposits, this feature was very well excavated owing to its late discovery in the 1980s<sup>30</sup>. With a length of approximately 50 m and a width of about 15 m, the deposit is remarkably large. Thanks to the thesis of J. Bouma, the entire feature has been properly published<sup>31</sup>. The excavators could distinguish twelve partially overlapping strata. Six of them contained dedications, while the others functioned as founding or sealing layers. The ritual practices as visible in the depositions varied from layer to layer. Some strata contained small closed assemblages, which had carefully been directly deposited, while others had been the result of a secondary replaced dump, presumably following a clearing of the temple. The chronological time-span covered mainly the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. The principal dedications were pieces of pottery, showing again a wide variety in form and function, as well as in size. Remarkable is the reduced amount of imported ware. Some pieces were deposited upside-down and might reflect aspects of fertility comparable to Bitalemi. Considerably rare are the finds that belong to textile production, likewise figurines. A few anatomical votives are present. By contrast, the amount of architectural fragments was remarkably high. The sacrifice of animals was part of the ritual activities, as deposited remains, mainly from sheep/goat, but also from cattle and pig, prove. The amount of non-ceramic material is marginal and the main part consisted of bronze objects that may be grouped as jewellery, sheets, sheet figurines, nails, pins, wire and *aes rude*. On several occasions, the lumps and chunks had been deposited together with other dedications.

Votive Deposit III was placed into an old water basin and contained material datable to the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. Like Deposit I, this feature was detected and excavated at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which resulted in an incomplete publication in preliminary papers only<sup>32</sup>. Since many questions remained open and the position of the feature was fortunately known, the Dutch Institute in Rome was able to re-launch excavations in the 1980s<sup>33</sup>. Because the previous excavators had not examined the whole feature and had additionally refilled the trenches with the excavated earth containing many overlooked objects, it was possible to gain essential information concerning the inventory and stratification. The pit formerly used as water basin had been emptied, cleaned and filled up in several subsequent steps. The pit was subdivided by three walls, which seem to have sorted the deposited material in a way we cannot understand today. The complete feature had presumably been sealed by a layer of earth which contained Archaic objects. If the assumption is correct that this material derived from the cleaning and emptying of the pit, one has to think about a construction of the deposit in a rather brief period of time. The objects could mainly be dated into the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. The content of this deposit consisted of thousands of dedications. Unfortunately, this feature with its contents still awaits a proper publication that goes beyond selected pieces<sup>34</sup>. Compared to Deposit II, the ratio of pottery was remarkably smaller. Again, the ceramics showed a great variety of types, forms and materials. The imported ware was again more common. Hundreds of terracotta figurines, mainly in the form of females, but also in the form of deities, animals, fruits and temple models, were found, as

well as many anatomical pieces. This figural repertoire is enlarged by bronze figurines and sheet figurines. Jewellery and ornaments were of bronze, silver, amber, ivory and glass. Weapons and tools of bronze and iron and a large amount of lead in the form of sling bullets belonged to dedications with a practical use, accompanied by small pieces like nails. Furthermore, the deposit contained a few silver coins and about a hundred bronze coins from Campania, Rome and Western Sicily, some *aes grave* pieces and many *aes rude* pieces. Unfortunately, more information is not available in the publications.

The remains of cultic activities testify a wide range of rituals performed. *Aes* was found not only in the three deposits, but also in several other features<sup>35</sup>. Independent of the prevailing conditions, *aes* was an important factor, not in the sense that it dominated the dedications, but in its constant use through time.

### *Satricum* (Italy) – Southwest Sanctuary

The Temple of *Mater Matuta* was not the only sanctuary on the site. A second temple was situated about 400m south-west of the temple on the acropolis. This complex is not very well known today, maybe because of the fact that the sanctuary, which was excavated in 1909, remained unpublished for a long time. More by chance than intentionally, several finds re-appeared at the end of the 1970s in the archive of the Villa Giulia and with them many of the excavation records. Further research there did not succeed in completing all records, and no pictures or drawings were preserved. In 1996, B. Ginge published the available material<sup>36</sup>. Later research at the site failed, as the whole area had been disturbed by deep ploughing. The descriptions given in the records served as a basis for a hypothetic sketch (fig. 5). The temple had two building phases dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., but the cult surely persisted longer. The venerated deity remains unknown.

*Aes* was deposited virtually everywhere in the South-west Sanctuary: in the area of the *pronaos*, around the temple, in and around the foundation trenches and inside the *peribolos* walls. Most of the finds are not precisely localised, owing to the research conditions. Apart from the bronze lumps and chunks other objects include a few very worn bronze coins, various types of pottery, loom-weights, spindle whorls, a little bronze *kouros*, terracotta figurines, bronze jewellery and a *tufa* fragment that perhaps served as an altar. The material is datable from the 6<sup>th</sup> until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.

A closer association of dedications is given in the two deposits. The so-called Large Votive Deposit contained a remarkable amount of architectural fragments, various types of pottery, loom-weights, a fragment of a figurine, jewellery made out of bronze, a very worn bronze coin and at least 1.8kg *aes rude*. The material is datable from the 7<sup>th</sup> until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., with a focus on the 7<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Unfortunately, detailed information concerning the stratification is not available. Questions about the rituals that were performed cannot be fully answered anymore. The excavation records mention an upper stratum which covered the pit. This aspect is an argument for a secondary relocation of previously accumulated dedications, perhaps after a catastrophe. A second pit, the so-called Small Votive Deposit, lay directly adjacent to the former. Its contents differ clearly, since it consisted mainly of anatomical votives and terracotta heads. Additionally, various types of pottery and some animal terracotta figurines were recorded. Six completely worn bronze coins and about 400g of *aes rude* complete the material. The chronological time span begins in the 5<sup>th</sup> century and extends to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., with an emphasis on the Hellenistic period. Since no information concerning the stratification was given, there is no possibility to answer the question concerning the rituals performed at this pit. The finds at the South-west Sanctuary are comparable with the ones from the acropolis, but are of a more regional character. Over time, a remarkable change can be seen in the two deposits, in the sense that the later and smaller one showed a strong increase in anatomic votives. But despite this shift, *aes* again constituted an aspect of continuity.

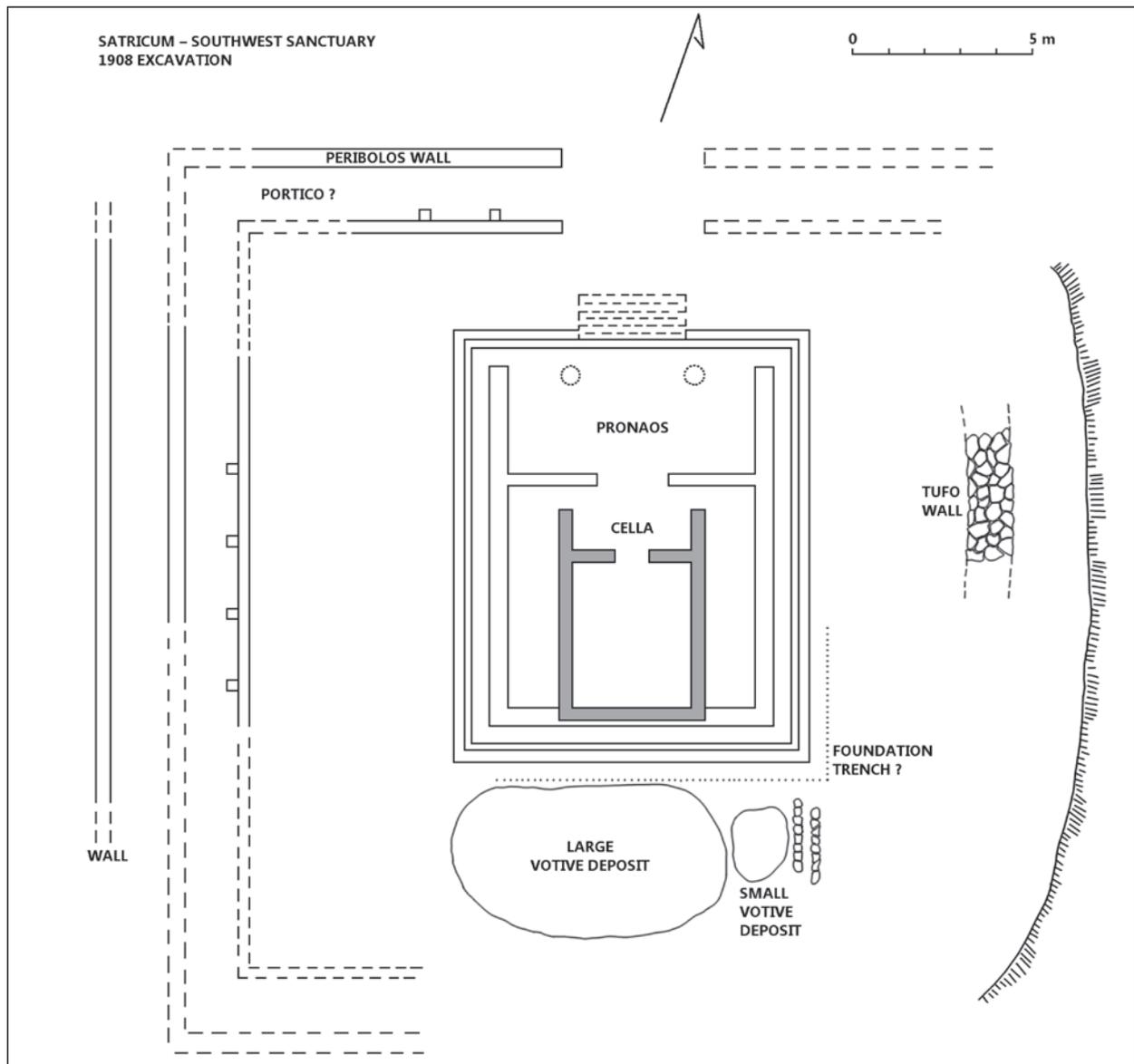


Fig. 5 Hypothetic map of the Southwest-Sanctuary at *Satricum*. – (After Ginge 1996, 77 fig. 24).

## Hoard

Apart from the usage of *aes* in the sanctuaries, lumps and bars of copper alloys were also deposited in hoards. Since hoards are not visibly marked, most of them are found by chance, for instance during agricultural activities or construction works. Consequently, many finds are not properly excavated or published and it would be surely a life-task to collect all potentially available find-spots. Therefore, three hoards are discussed here to serve as a *pars pro toto*.

The first example is a very early find that was made close to the Etruscan city of Vulci in Lazio, Italy, in 1828<sup>37</sup>. At the foot of the bridge that connects a monastery with the opposite river bank, a vessel was discovered about five handbreadths under the surface. The vessel was filled with a now unknown amount of bronze, which unfortunately seems to be partly lost<sup>38</sup>. About a sixth consisted of *aes rude*. Furthermore, fragments of bars with the *ramo secco* pattern, as well as bars with bulls on both sides and bars with hens and rostra could be detected. Finally, pieces of oval *aes grave*, the heavy cast bronze coins, completed the

finds. The bars with the pictures, as well as the *aes grave* pieces, date the find into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. This hoard constitutes an important example, because it clearly shows that lumps, bars and coins were stored together. The closed context in the vessel, isolated from any other finds, indicates a profane usage of these objects with presumably comparable functions. The adjacent bridge is an ancient Roman construction, the deposition beside a Roman road could be interpreted as a hidden treasure.

A second example was found about 30km south of Rome near Ardea in Lazio. In 1940, a large amount of bronze coins was uncovered by ploughing in a depth of approximately 50cm. The objects, that were not noticed at first, spread over an area of about 3m. Owing to the conditions of discovery, it is certain that we do not know all the items deposited in ancient times. It seems that some bar-shaped ingots were taken away by travelling workmen. After the Soprintendenza di Roma was notified, field research was initiated. It was possible to recover 31 pieces of *aes rude*, weighing from 1g to 459g, 160 pieces of *aes grave* and 17 struck coins. A container for the assemblage was not found, but close to the find-spot, blocks of *tufa*, tiles and Etrusco-Campanian pottery were detected that are thought to be the remains of a settlement from the Republican period<sup>39</sup>. Again, *aes rude* was found to be in the same context as coins, in this feature not only with cast ones, but also with struck ones, perhaps accompanied by some bar-shaped ingots. The settlement finds in the close vicinity may again indicate a profane accumulation, potentially to keep an amount of value secure. A last cluster of examples was situated far abroad from Italy. At least three hoards containing bronze objects are known to have been found in the territory of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first one, the hoard from Mazin in Croatia<sup>40</sup>, was found by chance in 1896 by farmers, after heavy rains had damaged a secondary road. The find was situated in a chamber built of stone slabs. Although many pieces were initially given away, it was possible to save most of the material for the National Museum at Zagreb. The total weight of the preserved material was approximately 100kg. About 77kg, 238 pieces, were *aes rude*. A group of at least ten specimens consisted of fragmented bars with the *ramo secco* pattern, furthermore, a second group contained 17 fragments of bars with pictures. Together with the lumps and bars several *aes grave*, cast and struck coins were hoarded. The provenance of the coins showed a remarkable distribution; coins from Italic and Sicilian mints were present, as well as pieces from Greece, Egypt, Numidia and about 500 from Carthage. The youngest coins dated the hoard into the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. A second hoard was found on the Vrankamen, a rocky outcrop between Krupa and Otoka in Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>41</sup>. This find was detected, again by chance, by a shepherd. It had been placed in a broken coarse ware vessel, and weighed about 35kg, but is most definitely not complete. Over 25kg were pieces of *aes rude* which were hoarded with at least 98 coins. All coins come from Africa, from Numidia, Egypt and Carthage, but in the closer surroundings a few specimens from Spain, Sicily and Italy were found. The youngest coin dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. The last hoard was found at Gračac in Croatia in 1925, where again *aes rude* was found, associated with eight bars and 345 coins. As in the other two cases, the large majority comes from Africa, dating down to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.<sup>42</sup>.

### **Aes in Context**

If we sum up the characteristics of *aes* in sanctuaries, as exemplified here by the sanctuary of Bitalemi on Sicily and the two complexes at *Satricum* in Lazio, we can see that *aes* was, amongst many other objects, an appropriate donation for deities. As mentioned above, provenance studies on the objects in the deposits of Bitalemi have shown that many objects came from far abroad, while others were locally produced. Since the small sanctuary had surely not such an enormous range of influence, one has to think of slowly »travelling« objects, for instance by trade. By that, the objects might have obtained an additional value being from far away. As at Bitalemi, the Temple of *Mater Matuta* showed many dedications from abroad, too, whereas,

in contrast, the south-west sanctuary at *Satricum* was of a more regional nature. But independent of the »internationality« or regionality, all sanctuaries discussed here had *aes* in their inventories, which might have been chosen because of its intrinsic value. Analysing the kinds of deposits, different contexts can be recognised. Some contained carefully laid down depositions, others were the result of temple cleaning. By all these differences, the *aes* constitutes a common ground, a peculiarity which spans a long time period. This remained the case even when the performed rituals changed, as it can be observed in the heavy increase of anatomical votives beginning in post-Classical times at *Satricum*<sup>43</sup>. Finally, *aes rude* and the bars were associated with coins. That shows that this genre was not replaced by coins, but accompanied them. Summarising the characteristics of *aes* in hoards, we can see that the material was hoarded over wide regions, from Italy to Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>44</sup>. Secondly, we can see that *aes* appeared in hoards over a long period of time and is by that a long term phenomenon. Thirdly, the association of lumps and bars with coins reveals the use as an object holding value and suggests that these objects had at least in parts comparable functions. Of course, the reasons for hoarding could be manifold and are archaeologically difficult to discern. But again, *aes* shows its universality, being usable in different ways.

### LONG TERM AND SHORT TERM EXCHANGE

Contrasting the two kinds of contexts, the sanctuaries and the hoards, one may realise again the universality and the apparently arbitrary exchangeability. Independent of the actual context, *aes* served profane and sacred needs, and had both an individual and an anonymous character. Especially as a dedication to the gods, the anonymous and exchangeable character seems to be strange, since other donations seem to stress individual features.

This paradox of the variability in the use of *aes* can be explained by a theoretical model that was developed in cultural anthropology and which bridges these contradictions very well. Apart from the problems deriving from dividing ancient life into a sacred and a profane sphere, it seems clear that, depending on the context, remarkable differences in use existed.

Following the theory of M. Bloch and J. Parry<sup>45</sup>, which was adapted by J. Aarts<sup>46</sup> for Roman archaeology, goods and services are handed from one person to the other. In exchange, an equivalent is given. In this case, this may have been pieces of *aes* which thus served monetary functions. This material remained in a profane sphere and travelled from one individual to the next. In a short term transaction, without delaying elements, objects were exchanged against goods or services in a liquidating deal. A totally different situation occurs when the *aes* is given into the sacred sphere, such as a sanctuary. The material, which is imbued with anonymous monetary functions, leaves the short term sphere and enters the long term sphere. By a certain ritual, which links the giver and the receiver in a process that creates an individual connection, objects transfer into the possession of the deity. The long term character becomes visible in the delaying element, as the favour of the god not immediately affected the giver, or, the other way round, a given favour was not reciprocated by a dedicant at the very same moment. The given objects remained in the sanctuary, were not accessible anymore and were thereby withdrawn from the profane sphere. This becomes visible in the processes that took place, when the accumulation of dedications through time surpassed the storage capacities of a temple or when renovations or new buildings were planned. To prevent theft of the deity's possessions, the dedicated objects were buried in pits situated within the *temenos*. By filling up those pits, the dedications were conserved and eternally preserved. This transition from the profane to the sacred sphere changes the functions of the objects, from exchangeable goods with monetary function, to dedications connecting giver and receiver, the dedicant and the deity, for a long term transaction. Normally, as a result of this con-

nection, dedications could not leave the sanctuary. Under some conditions, certain objects could return to the profane sphere, when objects were used in the interest of the deity. Objects of intrinsic value, which had served monetary functions before they entered the long term sphere, could be given back to the short term sphere. Used to pay repairs, renovations, buying new cult items or paying the craftsmen for their services, dedications lost their sacred character, took over again their monetary functions and were desecrated<sup>47</sup>. Depending on the context, this adaptable material could shift and serve different needs.

## FINAL THOUGHTS

Having presented *aes rude* in its various contexts and the apparent potential of the material to circulate in long-term and short-term spheres of exchange, we return to the questions posed in the introduction to this paper. Central to this was the function of these objects and if and in how far they differ from coinage. By confronting the evidence from our contextual analyses with the economic, material and social aspects of money we might be able to address this.

As mentioned above, the material criteria for money are easily met by the *aes rude*. The economic aspects seem to be well covered too. The hoards testify to its use as a store of value. Its presence in sanctuaries can be linked, especially so through the model of Parry and Bloch, to its function both as a means of exchange and a means of payment. The unit of account function is harder to grasp through a contextual analysis, but references in the Latin texts to the pound of bronze as a measure to value goods and services demonstrate this aspect. Considering the social aspects of money in relation to *aes rude*, its presence in temples seems to testify to its power to meet social obligations in the realm of human-divine relationships. The fact that *aes rude* can be found across wide regions and cultural landscapes, in manifold contexts and over a long period of time indicates the general acceptability of this material. However, the association of *aes rude* with bars and coins demonstrates that, at least after the introduction of coinage, exclusive acceptability was not the case. Since the *aes rude* objects do not carry signs or tokens that correlate them with specific states or communities, in strong contrast to coins, their functions and use seem to be entirely a result of the socially constructed and accepted value. Perhaps this anonymous character is precisely the key element in the widespread, universal and versatile use and long-term appearance of this material.

Picking up on the theme of this volume, material culture and identity, the contrast between *aes rude* and coinage seems to lie not, or not predominantly, in its various functions, but in the absence versus presence of markers of identity. Coins always show a clear sign of by whom they were issued and thus could certainly not circulate everywhere and for endless periods. One could perhaps argue that the impetus for creating coinages in the Western Mediterranean, and thus moving away from anonymous money, was triggered, at least to a larger extent, by the increased need for the demarcation of identities in the 6<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., a period characterised by growing tensions between cultural groups and hegemonic tendencies among some of them.

Linguistic corrections: C. Bridger

## Notes

- \* The research done for this paper was funded by the Volkswagen Foundation and is part of the larger research project »Coinage and the Dynamics of Power: the Western Mediterranean, 500-100 BC«.
- 1) A positive exception is García-Bellido/Callegarin/Jiménez Díaz 2011, the work of Parise (e. g. his 1992 publication) and Kroll 2008.

- 2) Crawford 1974, 131-133.
- 3) Hollander 2007, 2-5 for a brief sketch.
- 4) Hollander 2007, 31 f.
- 5) Maurer 2006 for an overview of the research history on this topic and a critique of the often oversimplified use of the labels general vs. special-purpose money.

- 6) Interestingly enough, in the debate on the origin of coinage *sui generis* in Asia Minor around 600 B.C., the non-homogeneous nature of natural electrum tended to be used as a trigger for the creation of sealed objects, guaranteeing the value regardless of the composition. Recent chemical analyses have shown that the earliest coins have a remarkably consistent silver : gold ratio, uncharacteristic of natural electrum. Thus, from the outset, homogeneity was artificially obtained; see de Callatay 2013 for an overview of recent research on the topic.
- 7) Seaford 2004, 18.
- 8) Ibidem 16-20.
- 9) On graves see Bergonzi/Piana Agostinetti 1987.
- 10) Orsini 1906.
- 11) Orlandini 1966; 1967; 2003.
- 12) Orlandini 1965-1967, but also recently Verger 2013b.
- 13) Verger 2011, 25.
- 14) We are grateful to Chiara Tarditi, who kindly gave us some preliminary information from the ongoing project. See as well her contribution in this volume.
- 15) See recently Verger 2011, 17; 2013c.
- 16) Kron 1992, 615-623; Quantin 2013.
- 17) Orlandini 1966, 29; Hinz 1998, 53. 59.
- 18) Orlandini 1966, 30; Kron 1992, 623-633; Verger 2011, 17-19.
- 19) Verger 2011, 25-58 and esp. 56 fig. 36; 2013a.
- 20) Gosden/Marshall 1999 for the concept of object biography in archaeology.
- 21) Kron 1992, 635-643. 649f.
- 22) Link 1930; Bouma 1996a, 250f.
- 23) Bouma 1996a, 73f.; Stobbe 2008, 24f.
- 24) de Waele 1981; 1997.
- 25) Graillet 1896, 135; Barnabei/Cozza 1896, 29; Barnabei/Mengarelli 1896, 190-192.
- 26) Della Seta 1918, 282-292; Bonacasa 1957, 549-559; Moretti 1967, 247-252; Euwe-Beaufort 1982a; 1986, 96; Knoop 1985; Berggren et al. 1986; Nieuw licht 1986, 71; Pasch et al. 1986; Bouma 1996a, 124-133. 137. 142-146 app. B, xvi-xxvi.
- 27) Bouma 1996a, 81-83.
- 28) Ibidem 146 with n. 270; Waarsenburg 1995, 218 and n. 638; Waarsenburg/Maas 2001, 45-48.
- 29) Nijboer 1994.
- 30) Beijer 1987, 280. 283 f.
- 31) Bouma 1996a; 1996b both with further references.
- 32) Barnabei 1896b, 99-101; 1896a; Barnabei/Mengarelli 1896, 191-193; Petersen 1896, 161. 173; Mengarelli 1904, 268.
- 33) Heldring/Gnade 1987, 290f.; Heldring 1988, 207-209; Heldring/Stibbe 1990; Heldring 2008, 78-81.
- 34) Della Seta 1918, 280. 293-318; Bonacasa 1957, 559-564; Euwe-Beaufort 1982b; Chiarucci/Gizzi 1985, 81-86; Euwe-Beaufort et al. 1986; Bouma 1996a, 133f. 138f. 146 with appendix B, xvi-xxvi; Kruijf 2008; Gnade 2008, 154-183.
- 35) For instance: in the early pits (Stobbe 2008, 24f.) or in the levelling layer for the temple building (Heldring 1985, 127).
- 36) Ginge 1996, 75-119.
- 37) Gennarelli 1843, 11-13; Mommsen 1860, 171; Crawford 1969, 44 no. 10.
- 38) Mommsen 1860, 171 n. 8.
- 39) Cesano 1942.
- 40) Bahrfeldt 1901 with further reference to the Croatian publications by J. Brunšmid; Crawford 1969, 78f. no. 142.
- 41) Truhelka 1893; Crawford 1969, 79f. no. 146.
- 42) Crawford 1969, 79 no. 145.
- 43) One might discern here stimuli which coincided with the Roman expansion, not in the sense that they intentionally initiated this, but rather functioned as a catalyst for ongoing changes. Bouma 1996a, 205-209; Ginge 1996, 97; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1997, 142.
- 44) Compare as well the distribution map at Bergonzi/Piana Agostinetti 1987, 170 fig. 2.
- 45) Bloch/Parry 1989.
- 46) Aarts 2005.
- 47) Compare for this Smith 2001, 19f.

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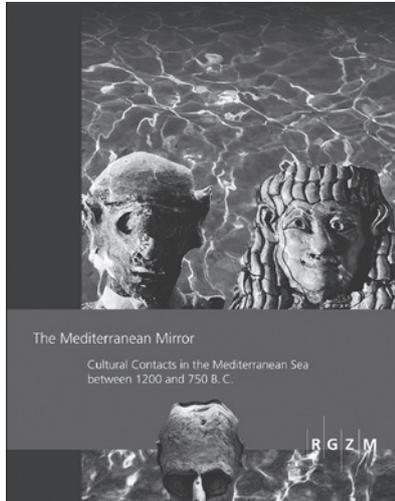
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## Summary

### Temples, Hoards and Pre(?)monetary Practices – Case Studies from Mainland Italy and Sicily in the 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium B.C.

Chunks, lumps and bars of different metal alloys are often thought to have served premonetary functions. But what exactly is the role of these objects, how, where and when were they used, and do they differ from coinage in these aspects? This paper seeks to address these questions by focusing on pre(?)monetary material from a selected number of case studies in mainland Italy and Sicily. In the first millennium B.C., it was a widespread tradition to deposit these valuable objects at selected places. The reasons therefore were manifold. On the one hand, the decision to deposit objects could have been ritually motivated, when the valuables were dedicated at holy places like temples, as a gift for a deity. On the other hand, profane reasons could also lead to a deposition, when people wanted to hide their valuables and store them securely, by burying them as a treasure in the earth. Depending on the context, the (pre)monetary pieces were used in conjunction with different other objects, while being involved in diverse ritual or profane activities. All of these features offer interesting insights into the behaviour of ancient people with (pre)monetary objects that could oscillate in their functions and meanings between profane money and ritual dedication. It is argued that the universality, continuity and widespread distribution of this material can be linked to its anonymous character, this in strong contrast to early coinage.

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### La Tomba del Guerriero di Tarquinia

Identità elitaria, concentrazione del potere e networks dinamici nell'avanzato VIII sec. a. C.

### Das Kriegergrab von Tarquinia

Eliteidentität, Machtkonzentration und dynamische Netzwerke im späten 8. Jh. v. Chr.

Il volume raccoglie i risultati di un'analisi sistematica e multidisciplinare. I numerosi dettagli formali, stilistici e tecnologici illuminano le dinamiche di formazione dei »circle(s) of identity«, le strategie di negoziazione e resistenza culturale, e i codici di rappresentazione del potere e le forme di scambio, esistenti in area medio-tirrenica nel corso dell'VIII sec. a.C.

Si delinea così il complesso fenomeno di glocalizzazione e transculturalità che presiedette al processo formativo di un'intraprendente classe dominante messa alla prova da una radicalizzazione delle competizioni sociali locali, e al contempo importante protagonista del »network« di contatti esistente tra l'Oriente e l'Occidente mediterraneo.

Dieser Band enthält die Ergebnisse der systematischen und interdisziplinären Auswertung eines frühetruskischen Grabfundes aus Tarquinia. Detailliert wurden Formen, Stil und Technik der Beigaben untersucht. In ihrer Vielfalt geben diese Befunde tiefe Einblicke in die Entstehungsprozesse und Dynamik der »circle[s] of identity«, in ihre zwischen Austausch und Abgrenzung oszillierende Positionierung gegenüber anderen Kulturen, in die Zeichen ihrer Machtrepräsentation sowie in die Handelsbeziehungen im Tyrrhenischen Meer und in Mittelitalien im 8. Jh. v. Chr.

Daraus resultiert ein faszinierendes Panorama früher Glokalisierung und kulturellen Austauschs. In diesem Klima formierte sich eine herrschende Klasse, die einerseits durch immer schärfere soziale Konkurrenz auf lokaler Ebene herausgefordert wurde, andererseits auf dem Parkett der internationalen Beziehungen zwischen westlichem und östlichem Mittelmeerraum eine wichtige Rolle spielte.

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