

народов Европы, культом Цзао-шэня – духа домашнего очага и одновременно семейного покровителя в Китае и др.²⁴ Для подобных культов характерны культ домашнего огня, особая роль женщины как его хранительницы, апотропейные и умиротворяющие ритуалы. Они имеют определенные аналогии в обрядности и предписаниях, касающихся Шаббата: зажигание свечей, вдыхание запаха специй, отделение части теста для шаббатного хлеба, особая роль женщины в ритуалах, семейный характер праздника. Таким образом, можно предположить, что Шаббат – очень архаичный институт, вобравший в себя, по-видимому, черты двух праздников – сакрального для отдыха, посвященного Яхве, и семейного (родового) праздника, связанного с культом домашнего очага и культом предков, а также с обрядами перехода. По-видимому, в эпоху вавилонского плена произошла контаминация этих двух праздников. По мере укрепления монотеизма Шаббат все более воспринимали как день Яхве, связанный с сакральным числом «семь» (бывшим также Божественным числом) и освященным отдыхом – табуированием работы в контексте предания о сотворении мира. Более же архаичные представления, связанные с культом предков и домашнего очага, в результате борьбы с язычеством постепенно отошли на второй план и со временем были вытеснены на периферию официальной культуры, сохранившись, однако, в народной культуре – в обычаях и обрядах Шаббата.

Е.Э. Носенко

THE ORIGINS OF SABBATH (ŠABBAṬ) IN THE LIGHT OF ETHNOLOGICAL DATA

Ye.E. Nosenko

The article considers the problem of origins and original character of the Hebrew Sabbath (šabbat). To solve the problem the author takes into account both the traditional sources (Biblical and Talmudic texts) and ethnological data (descriptions of rituals, folklore and the data of comparative ethnology). These data enable the author to conclude that Sabbath is a combination of two feasts: (1) a family feast connected with ancestor worship, homehearth and *rites de passage*, a feast accompanied by offerings to the spirit of the home, an expiatory offering to the ancestors and apotropaic rituals; (2) the sacral repose day devoted to Yahweh and connected with the sacred number of seven. The two feasts seem to have amalgamated with each other after the Babylonian Exile, when, as a result of suppressing the pagan cults, Sabbath began to be considered more and more in the context of the myth of Creation, while more archaic beliefs and practices were gradually marginalized by the official culture and survived only in the popular culture of Sabbath rites and customs.

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THE ORIGINS OF PASTORALISM AND TRANSHUMANCE IN ITALY

Introduction. In his extraordinary account of the Mediterranean world in the sixteenth century «La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II» (P., 1949), the French historian Fernand Braudel identified one particular theme as important before all others in the long-term history of Mediterranean settlement: the relationship between the lowlands and the uplands, farmers and shepherds – what he described evocatively as the «slow-furling wave»

²⁴ Фрэзер Дж. Золотая ветвь. М., 1983. С. 460 сл.; Штаерман Е.М. Социальные основы религии древнего Рима. М., 1987. С. 48–51; Токарев С.А. Первобытные формы религии. М., 1990. С. 245–251; Иванов В.В., Топоров В.Н. Домовой. Мифы народов мира. Т. I. М., 1987. С. 391 сл.; Васильев Л.С. Культы, религии, традиции в Китае. М., 1970. С. 391 сл.

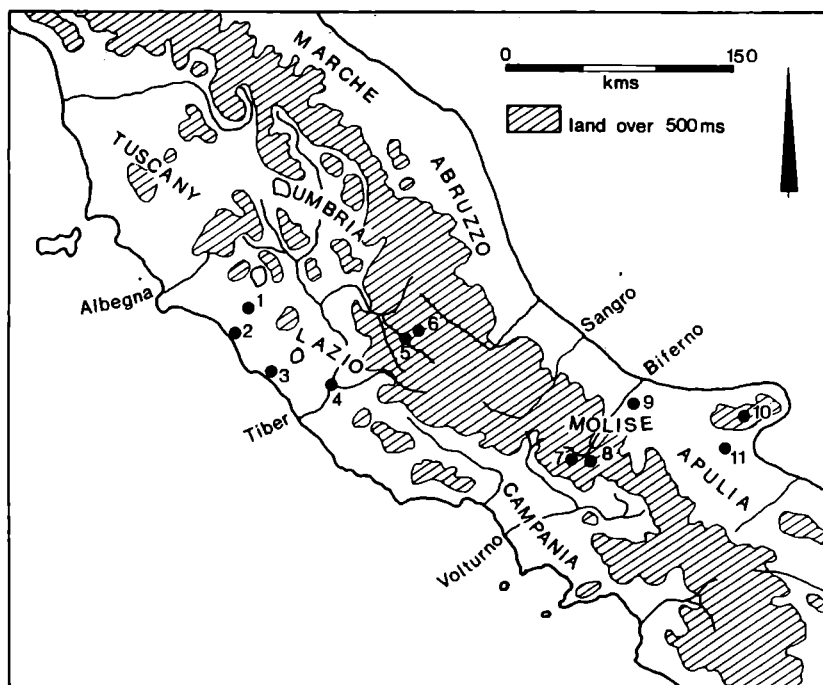


Fig. 1. Central Italy, showing the modern Regions and the sites mentioned in the text: 1 - Tarquinia; 2 - Tuscania; 3 - Cerveteri; 4 - Rome; 5 - Salto valley; 6 - Cicolano mountains; 7 - Bovianum (Boiano); 8 - Saepinum; 9 - Larinum (Larino); 10 - Gargano mountain; 11 - Tavoliere plain

of Mediterranean history. The most obvious example of the linkage between plain and mountain, he wrote, had been in the practice of transhumant pastoralism, the movement of herders and their stock from winter grazing on the lowlands to summer grazing in the uplands. In the period covered by his book, transhumant pastoralism was practised on a huge scale in many Mediterranean countries, amply documented in the archives because the herds and flocks were big business, the property of the state, the Church, or leading families.

In his introduction discussing the importance of understanding the history of the Mediterranean landscape in its entirety, Braudel lamented how the history of the lowlands had almost invariably dominated most previous studies. «The historian is not unlike the traveller. He tends to linger over the plain, which is the setting for the leading actors of the day, and does not seem eager to approach the high mountains nearby. More than one historian who has never left the towns and their archives would be surprised to discover their existence»¹. It is particularly fitting that my lecture, which discusses how archaeologists are investigating the initial history of pastoralism and transhumance in Italy, is dedicated to the memory of E.T. Salmon, an ancient historian who more than any of his generation raised his sights to include the high mountain in his analysis of the classical world. As his «Samnium and the Samnites» (Cambr., 1967) argues so powerfully, it is impossible to understand Samnite culture and history without investigating the history of their entire landscape from the sea to the high Apennines. Salmon's book was one of the major influences that led me to select the Biferno valley, within ancient Samnium, for a survey and excavation project in the 1970's designed to investigate the settlement archaeology of a typical Mediterranean valley (Fig. 1). The data collected from the Biferno valley form the principal archaeological case study in this lecture.

Mediterranean transhumance and pastoralism: the documented record. Today transhumant flocks in Italy are invariably driven between pastures by truck. Earlier this century and at the

¹ Braudel F. The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II. L., 1972. P. 29.

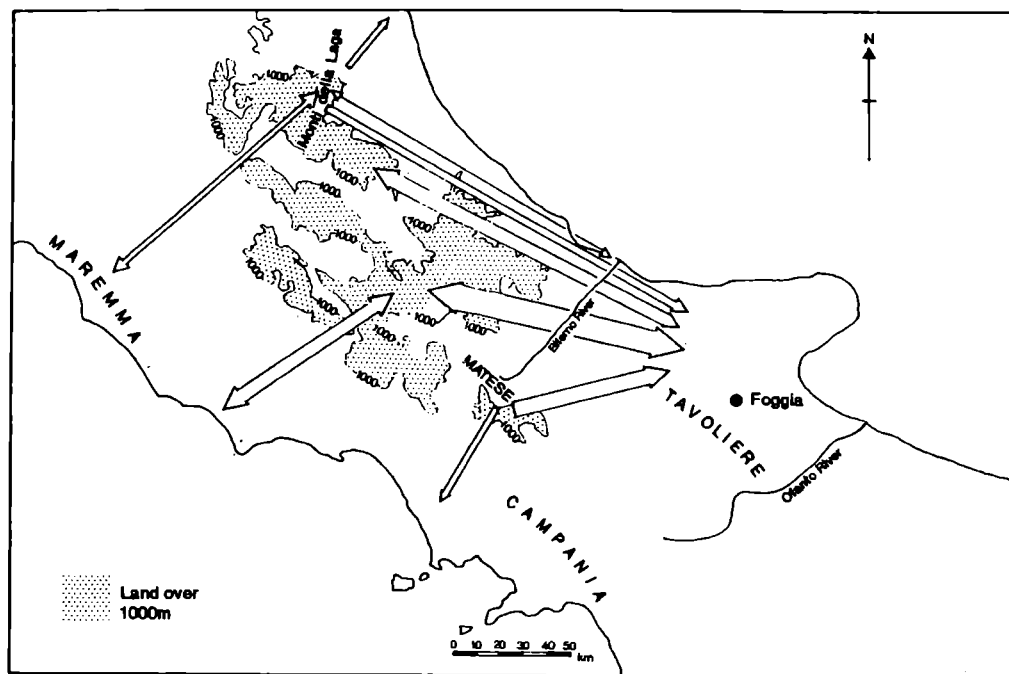


Fig. 2. Recent transhumant routes in central Italy

end of the last century many were taken by train to railheads and walked to the pastures from here. The traditional method, however, was to walk the flocks on foot using droveroads or *tratturi* (Fig. 2). These droveroads were wide swaths of grass, public land protected from cultivation by the state. With the steady decline of transhumance in the post-war-period, and particularly of transhumance on the hoof, the droveroads are disappearing, though traces of them can clearly be discerned for example in the air photographs of Abruzzo and Molise used for the 1959 «Carta della Utilizzazione del Suolo» and vestiges are still visible today.

The history of long distance transhumance in the Apennines, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, is the subject of much debate. The large-scale movement of animals over hundreds of kilometres clearly has to operate within a political context capable of protecting extensive areas of grazing and the droveroads connecting them, and has generally been a capitalist enterprise, whether state or private. The documentary evidence indicates that in Italy it certainly goes back to the Roman period, from the late Republic through the early empire². As this audience will certainly know, some of the best known evidence comes from Molise. The inscription over the gate of the town of Saepinum dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius registers a dispute between town officials and shepherds over taxes, and refers to a droveroad between Saepinum and Bovianum at the head of the Biferno valley. The modern droveroad also passes through Saepinum and Boiano. It has to be an open question whether or not the other five droveroads now crossing the Biferno valley also have their origins in Roman times. It seems unlikely that there could be a one-to-one correlation, though it is interesting that the *Pro Cluentio* speech of the Roman orator Cicero mentions what seem to be transhumant shepherds below the town of Larinum (Larino) in the lower valley, where one of the modern *tratturi* crosses. The important point, however, is the clear evidence for long-distance transhumance in Roman times rather than the case for and against precise correlations between Roman and recent practice.

² Gabba E. La transumanza nell'Italia romana. Evidenze e problemi. Qualche prospettiva per l'età altomedievale // XXXI Settimana di Studio sull'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 1985. P. 373–400; Pasquinucci M. La transumanza nell'Italia romana // Gabba E., Pasquinucci M. Strutture agrarie e allevamento transumante nell'Italia romana. Pisa, 1979. P. 79–182.

References to long-distance transhumance in the Apennines are common throughout the medieval period from the 8th century onwards³. The zenith of long-distance transhumance in Italy was when Abruzzo and Molise were within the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the period of Braudel's survey, when millions of animals walked the *tratturi* each year and the system was actively promoted by the government taxation office, the Dogana delle Pecore⁴. In the last century the scale of transhumance remained such that the English lord Keppel Craven, travelling in the Abruzzo Apennines, was able to report seeing vast flocks of sheep «plodding across the valleys of Abruzzo as far as the eye can reach»⁵.

Alongside such long-distance transhumance, Mediterranean pastoralism in historical times has also included smaller-scale movements of stock between lowlands and uplands carried out by families or individuals operating near or at a subsistence level rather than for large-scale market production. In this kind of small scale pastoralism in Italy, an upland or lowland family might have a small flock, from a score or so to a hundred animals, less commonly a few hundred animals. During the night they would be kept on the farm or in the village, in a pen or (especially in winter in the Apennine villages) in a covered stall. By day they could be taken away from the settlement by a shepherd to graze on vegetation within a couple of kilometre's radius – wasteland, roadside grass, fallow land, stubble fields after harvest, the rough grazing along river floors. In some seasons of the year, however, moving the stock a relatively short distance, just a few hours' or a day's walk at most, could ensure that, in the dramatic topography of the Italian peninsula, the animals could be taken to grazing of much better quality that was available in the vicinity of the farm or village.

The archaeology of pastoralism: potential strengths and weaknesses. One of the attractions of archaeological data is that all societies, and all segments of society, create archaeology by their actions, whereas much historical source material was written by the literate minority, frequently with a bias towards their own concerns. Theoretically, therefore, the strength of archaeology in investigating the prehistory and history of Mediterranean pastoralism should be its capacity to study not just the long-distance systems of transhumance that dominate the classical, medieval and post-medieval documentary record but also the other kinds of animal husbandry that operate at a smaller scale, and which we tend to assume must be of much greater antiquity⁶.

Modern archaeology, particularly archaeological science, can draw on a very wide range of material in the study of the prehistory and history of pastoralism⁷. On the one hand there is the direct evidence, the material culture, created by animal husbandry in the past: we can locate and excavate the settlements used by shepherds and recover the artifacts discarded on them. By careful systems of sieving for the bones and flotation (washing soil samples) on these excavations, we can collect samples of the food refuse discarded at such sites – animal bone fragments and microscopic plant remains. The techniques of archaeozoology can provide very detailed information on systems of animal husbandry: for example, whether sheep were being kept particularly for meat or the «secondary products» of the live animal – milk (for cheese), wool, and manure⁸. The techniques of archaeobotany can provide as subtle insights into the role of plant production for human and animal consumption and, for example, whether crops were locally

³ Clementi A. La transumanza nell'alto medioevo // *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di storia patria*. 1984. 74. P. 31–47; Leggio T. Medieval and post-medieval settlement: documentary sources // *Ancient and modern pastoralism in central Italy: an interdisciplinary study in the Cicolano mountains* / Ed. by G. Barker and A. Grant (PBSR 59). Rome, 1991. P. 37–41.

⁴ Braudel. Op. cit. P. 85–89; Di Cicio P. Il problema della Dogana delle Pecore nella seconda metà del XVIII secolo // *La Capitanata*. 1966. 4. P. 63–72.

⁵ Craven K. Excursions in the Abruzzo. L., 1838. P. 259.

⁶ Barker G. The archaeology of the Italian shepherd // *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*. 1989. 215. P. 1–19.

⁷ *Archeologia della pastorizia nell'Europa meridionale* / A cura di R. Maggi, G. Nisbet, G. Barker. V. I, II. Bordighera, 1991 (Istituto internazionale di studi liguri).

⁸ Clark G. The contribution of faunal analysis to the study of prehistoric and historical pastoralism in Italy // *Archeologia della pastorizia*... II. P. 67–80; Grant A. Identifying and understanding pastoralism and transhumance: an archaeozoological approach // *Ibid.* II. P. 13–20.

produced at a site or obtained by trade⁹. Chemical studies of human bones, and the analysis of tooth wear and signs of disease, can provide clues to diet and nutrition. Analysis of the chemical properties of sediments on archaeological sites, and microscopic organic remains within them, can indicate that animals were being stalled on site¹⁰. Environmental archaeology can also provide invaluable indirect evidence for pastoralism: fossil pollen, for example, which survives particularly well in waterlogged deposits such as lake sediments and peats, can often be a record not only of past vegetational history but also of the impact of human settlement on that vegetation in terms of forest clearance¹¹.

However, archaeologists are increasingly aware that many of their reconstructions of prehistoric, classical or medieval farming systems, including pastoralism, have been based on unwarranted assumptions: for example, that farmers use particular kinds of artifacts and structures and shepherds other kinds, or that sedentary farming creates one set of distinct zoological and botanical residues and mobile pastoralism another. For example, Salvatore Puglisi in his classic 1959 study of the bronze age societies of peninsular Italy argued that they were long-distance transhumant pastoralists for three reasons: first, the settlement record included caves high up in the Apennines; second, the artifacts included perforated sherds interpreted as fragments of strainers rather like the cheese-making equipment used by recent transhumant pastoralists; and third, the faunal collections were generally dominated by the bones of sheep and goats. However, whilst there may well have been a strong pastoral component to bronze age subsistence, this archaeological material does not of itself prove it: first, arable farming is still practised at the same elevations as the high altitude «shepherd» caves; second, non-transhumant shepherds today (who may be farmers too) use cheese-making equipment identical to that of the transhumant shepherds; and third, most excavated settlements of bronze age Italy, lowland as well as upland, produce faunal samples dominated by sheep and goat bones, and many have also produced plant remains with mixes of cereals, chaff, and weed seeds that are strongly indicative of sedentary cultivation systems. In the same way, Salmon concluded that «archaeology has proved that prehistoric Samnium already had a pastoral economy»¹² on the evidence of the high proportion of sheep bones at the neolithic/chalcolithic settlement of La Starza near Ariano, but other evidence suggests that the community most probably practised mixed farming.

Theoretically, different kinds of subsistence activity in the past should leave a recognisable imprint or signature on the archaeological record, enabling us to distinguish one activity from another either within a site or between sites. In recent years, therefore, many archaeologists have turned to studying the «ethnoarchaeology» of modern societies, the link between present-day behaviour and the archaeological «signatures» created by that behaviour, in order to improve our methodologies for interpreting excavated data from past societies¹³. Detailed studies of recent historical situation are also of considerable potential¹⁴. It was in the context of this need to improve methodologies for investigating the archaeology of Italian pastoralism, that in 1988

⁹ Hillman G.C. Reconstructing crop husbandry practices from charred remains of crops // *Farming Practice in British Prehistory* / Ed. by R. Mercer. Edinburgh, 1981. P. 123–62.

¹⁰ Courty M.A., MacPhail R.I., Wattez J. Soil micromorphological indicators of pastoralism, with special reference to Arene Candide, Finale Ligure, Italy // *Archeologia della pastorizia...* II. P. 121–150.

¹¹ Cruise G.M. Environmental change and human impact in the upper mountain zone of the Ligurian Apennines: the last 5000 years // *Archeologia della pastorizia...* II. P. 169–194; Scaife R. Pastoralism and upper montane tree limit in the Italian Alps // *Ibid.* II. P. 189–211.

¹² Salmon E.T. Samnium and the Samnites. Cambr., 1967. P. 69.

¹³ Binford L.H. *Nunamiut Ethnoarchaeology*. N.-Y., 1980; Chang C. The ethnoarchaeology of herding sites in Greece // *MASCA Journal*. 1984. 3 (2). P. 44–48; Chang C., Koster H.A. Beyond bones: towards an archaeology of pastoralism // *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*. 9 / Ed. by M.B. Schiffer. N.Y., 1986. P. 97–146; Gould R.A. *Living Archaeology*. Cambr., 1980; Hillman. *Op. cit.*; *idem*. Interpretation of archaeological plant remains: the application of ethnographic models from Turkey // *Plants and Ancient Man: Studies in Palaeoethnobotany* / Ed. by W. van Zeist and W.A. Casparie. Rotterdam – Boston, 1984. P. 1–41; Hodder I. *Symbols in Action*. Cambr., 1985; Jones G.E.M. Interpretation of archaeological plant remains: ethnographic models from Greece // *Plants and Ancient Man...* P. 43–62.

¹⁴ Moreno D. *Dal documento al terreno. Storia e archeologia dei sistemi agro-silvo-pastorali*. Bologna, 1990.

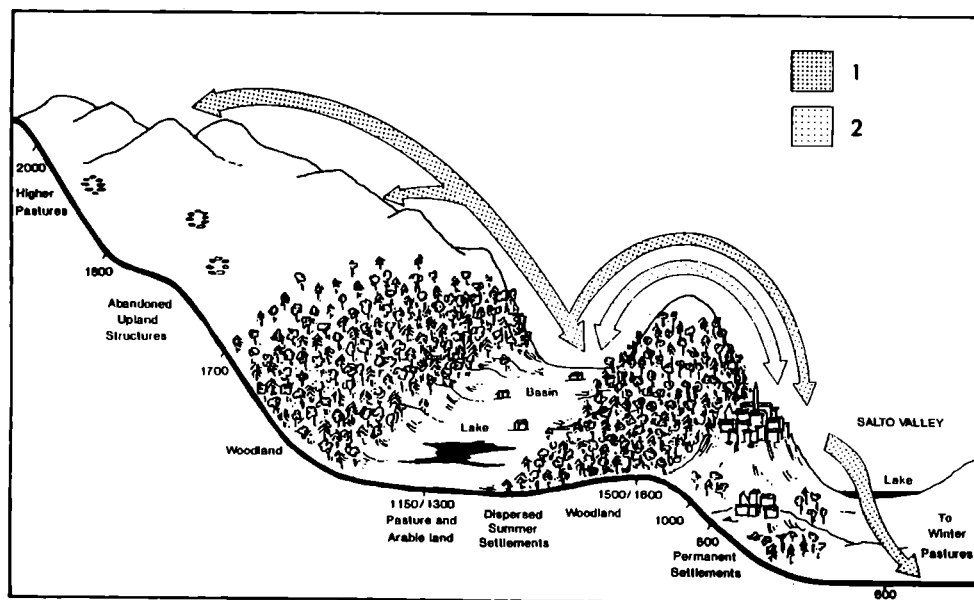


Fig. 3. A simplified model of settlement and land use in the Cicolano mountains. 1 – *transumanti*, long-distance shepherds; 2 – *stanziali* shepherds. Heights in metres above sea level. (Ancient and modern pastoralism... P. 25)

and 1990 we carried out an ethnoarchaeological study in the Cicolano mountains of central Italy¹⁵.

The ethnoarchaeology of Italian pastoralism: the Cicolano mountain project. The Cicolano mountains rise to almost 2000 metres above sea level. As in most of the limestone Apennines, steep ridges enclose a series of karstic basins, the *altipiani* of Aquilente, Campolasca and Rascino at 1100 metres, and Cornino at 1300 metres. There is no permanent settlement in the mountains today: the woodland, pastoral and agricultural resources are seasonally exploited by people living in the adjacent Salto valley, particularly in the *comuni* of Fiamignano and Petrella Salto. There are two principal socio-economic groups: people who practise various combinations of cultivation, woodland management and shepherding, and specialised (long-distance transhumant) shepherds (Fig. 3). The people all come from the same villages, and are frequently from the same families, and may change from one economic system to another during their lives – indeed we came across some shepherds who had moved in and out of long-distance transhumance several times because of changing economic and family circumstances.

Patterns of land use have changed dramatically in recent years with the construction of roads for motor vehicles, making daily journeys from the Salto villages to the Cicolano basins feasible. In the recent past, however, farmers came up from the Salto villages and cultivated the basins from April to October. Agriculture at such elevation is extremely marginal, important only for the poorest members of the community – *i cittadini più miserabili* according to one 19th century record – and most farmers supplemented their income by working as woodsmen, charcoal-burners and shepherds. Shepherding divided then, as it does today, into two groups: *pastori stanziali*, who take their animals into the Cicolano from May to September and stall them in the Salto villages in winter, practising short-distance transhumance therefore between the Salto valley and the mountains; and *pastori transumanti*, who take their stock into the mountains from mid June to mid August, taking them down to the plains around Rome in winter. The smaller scale transhumant shepherds (with flocks in hundreds) tend to grow hay

¹⁵ Ancient and modern pastoralism... (см. выше, прим. 3).

and crops such as wheat and potatoes in the basins, and they also tend to restrict their flocks to these areas. The large-scale transhumant shepherds, on the other hand, are more specialised: they have flocks numbering several thousands, rarely grow hay or crops, and generally take their animals to the highest pastures. Today they tend to camp in the basins and take their stock up each day, but in the past they camped for several days at a time in the high pastures, enclosing the stock in rope pens at night and themselves sleeping in simple shelters of stone and turf.

The typical settlement unit for the *pastori stanziali* consists of a house with living space, frequently a single room which is used for eating, sleeping, and cheese-making, an additional room for the storage of hay and other materials, a byre (under the living area, or alongside it) for folding the sheep at night in the colder periods and an enclosure for folding the sheep in the main period of the summer. The farmers who do not keep animals use very similar structures, but without the ancillary milking and night pens. The long-distance transhumant shepherds use a similar range of structures, but the pens are on a much larger scale. The most important difference noted in the «structural archaeology» associated with the different activities was the use of fields marked by drystone walls, associated with the farmers and *pastori stanziali* but not with the long-distance *pastori transumanti*, and the use of shelters at high altitudes by the latter.

The most important and distinct group of artifacts is that used in pastoral activities. The toolkit used by shepherds included a wooden mallet for hammering in the stakes of milking pens, a wooden yoke used to restrain the ewe during milking, a wooden milking stool, and metal and plastic container for milk. Cheese-making equipment includes a burner and gas cylinder, a large metal milk boiler, a wooden draining board, ladles, sieves, and plastic containers for the cheese. In the past much of this equipment would have been made of organic materials, unlikely to survive in the archaeological record: the main items to survive would be the milk boilers, which have to be of material capable of withstanding heat, and perhaps pottery strainers or metal utensils such as sieves and ladles. All groups of shepherds milk sheep and make cheese, and these tools do not provide any clues to distinguishing between *pastori stanziali* and *pastori transumanti* in the Cicolano. Moreover, the same equipment can be found on the lowlands being used by both kinds of shepherds. More specific as a guide to activity in the mountains is the equipment associated with crop husbandry such as the plough, harrow, sickle (*felca*), scythe (*serricchio*) and so on.

The main source of information that enables archaeozoologists to model animal husbandry systems from animal bones collected on excavations is the evidence from tooth eruption and wear and bone fusion for «mortality profiles» or slaughter patterns. The archaeozoologist in the project, Annie Grant, collected data from three kinds of Cicolano shepherd in order to carry out a computer simulation on their different flock dynamics. The three shepherds studied were a transhumant shepherd with 1000 sheep, a *stanziale* shepherd with 300 sheep, and another *stanziale* shepherd with 100 sheep. The data collected included neo-natal mortality, fertility, the age at first lambing, sex ratios of flocks, and killing ages.

The resulting figures show the mortality profiles of the three flocks, with the number of deaths in each age group expressed as a percentage of the total number of deaths, modelled on the assumption of stable herd size. The overall similarities between the mortalities of the three flocks are very striking, with a very large peak in the first year and much smaller peaks in the third and sixth/seventh years (Fig. 4). The first year peak reflects the very high price paid for *abbacchio*, the most important market product. The third year peak represents the killing of infertile females. The killing strategy of the transhumant shepherd, with more young deaths and a smaller proportion of his adult sheep in lamb, reflects the economic advantages of his large scale activity: taking his animals to the countryside around Rome in winter guarantees him good prices for his *abbacchio* and *pecorino*, and lower average feeding costs. However, the differences in the mortality patterns created by the three kinds of shepherding today are not large enough to be recognised by an archaeozoologist studying the kind of faunal material that would result from them.

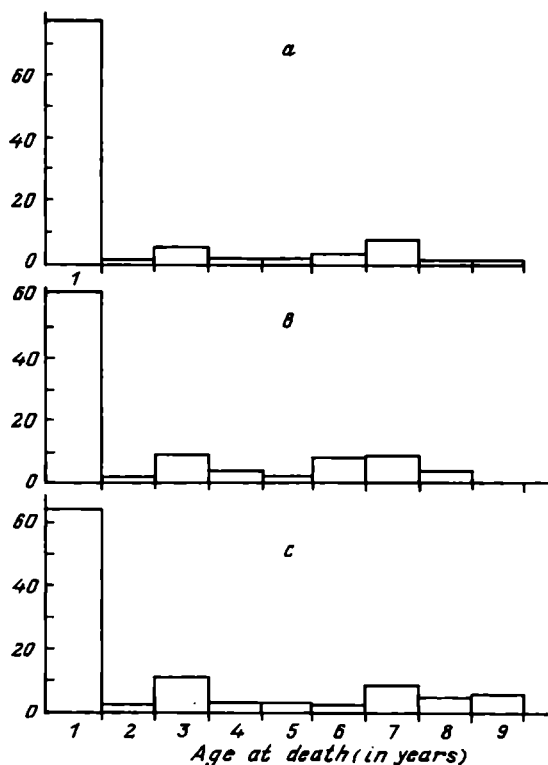


Fig. 4. Mortality model for three present-day flocks in the Cicolano mountains: (a) – transhumant flock, 1000 sheep; (b) – *stanziale* flock, 280 sheep; (c) – *stanziale* flock, 100 sheep. (Ancient and modern pastoralism... P. 75)

Of course all of the Cicolano shepherds are responding to a specific market need for *abbacchio*, and one might expect to find a very different pattern of mortality in a prehistoric, Roman, or medieval flock. The classical writers, for example, emphasise the importance of milk production in peasant sheep husbandry, compared with meat and wool production. In such a case, mortality patterns in archaeozoological samples from upland peasants might be expected to be somewhat similar to those of the modern Cicolano shepherds, with a predominance of females, but with fewer deaths in the first year, more female lambs living to maturity, and the killing of young males spread more evenly over the first, second and perhaps third years of life. With systems of small scale production for subsistence needs, differences between different scales and systems of shepherding might be much larger – and archaeologically more visible – than in the modern Cicolano example. Good faunal material from an archaeological excavation could also provide indications of the season of killing, from the evidence of tooth eruption and wear, though it depends on the assumption of when lambing took place – and in the Cicolano the flocks were lambing variously between September and April, although the main months were September for the transhumant flocks and November for the *stanziale*.

The study of cultivation systems in the Cicolano by our archaeobotanist, John Giorgi, also pointed to the difficulties of distinguishing between different kinds of upland landuse using archaeological data. The main means of preservation of archaeobotanical remains on archeological sites is by charring, either accidental or deliberate. In the Cicolano the crops grown today are all «free-threshing», that is, they do not need heating to dehusk the seeds as with some of the primitive wheats and barleys. The use of many of the products and by-products as animal food and bedding also limits the chance of plant remains coming into contact with fire. On the other hand, fire always has to be used for cheese-making, so pastoral activities do create opportunities

for charring of botanical remains, either from being used deliberately in the fire or coming into contact with it accidentally. The study of the weed seeds in the different crops growing today in the Cicolano also indicates that, with good plant remains from upland archaeological sites, it might be possible to distinguish between the different sowing times and harvesting methods (such as the height at which the straw is cut) practised by, for example, people who lived into the mountains on a seasonal basis to grow crops (as today) and a people who lived in the mountains all year round as we know in fact was the case in the medieval period, when a permanent village existed in the Rascino basin.

Our study of the ethnoarchaeology of the Cicolano mountains has above all underlined the difficulties facing archaeologists in distinguishing between different kinds of society and economy in upland Italy, and the dangers of making simplistic correlations between high altitude archaeological sites with a few animal bones and transhumant shepherding. Theoretically, as we have shown, we can expect to get more precise information from the archaeological record in the future with rigorous studies of excavated settlements and the artifacts, faunal and botanical samples contained in them. Clues to support seasonality of occupation in the mountains, and systems of land use, might include the absence of evidence for activities normally carried out in the winter – artefacts such as shears and wool-processing equipment, and bones of neo-natal animals. Also, given that the modern seasonal population of the Cicolano mountains is almost exclusively male, the absence of specifically female artifacts and ornaments on an upland archaeological site might also be significant. Evidence of crop processing but not storage or consumption, and of high altitude shelters, may be other useful pointers to seasonal shepherding, and evidence of food storage/consumption and clearly defined fields may in turn point to seasonal crop agriculture. On the other hand, we have to recognise that seasonal activity inevitably tends to create an archaeological record that is much poorer than that of large centres of permanent population. Indeed, one of the most striking conclusions we reached was that, from classical period onwards, the most abundant archaeological evidence for transhumant shepherding might be contained within the large faunal samples of the lowland cities.

Neolithic farming and the beginning of pastoralism. The first evidence for farming in Italy is from the Tavoliere plain of Apulia, where communities growing cereals (especially emmer wheat) and legumes, and keeping cattle, pigs, sheep and goat were probably established soon after 6000 BC. Farming does not seem to have spread out of the Tavoliere for another 1000 years, but it then seems to have developed throughout central Italy from Molise and Lazio to Marche and Toscana within a few hundred years, between 4500 and 4000 BC. The system of farming was fundamentally the same as on the Tavoliere, though barley replaced wheat as the principal crop – one reason may be that barley could tolerate the wider range of soils encountered in central Italy than wheat. Significantly, barley was the main crop at Monte Mauro, the neolithic settlement dated to about 4300 BC which I excavated in the lower Biferno valley, the nearest early neolithic site to the north of the Tavoliere sites.

The main earlier neolithic settlements in the Biferno valley located by survey were situated in the lower and middle valley (Fig. 5 A). The distribution of «sporadic» lithic material suggests that seasonal activities such as hunting and herding may have reached inland as far as the Boiano basin, but did not spread into the Matese Apennines above. The botanical and faunal remains from Monte Mauro, as from most other early neolithic sites in the peninsula¹⁶, indicate an integrated system of crop and animal husbandry. It is impossible to calculate the relative importance of plant and animal foods at such sites, though plant foods – cereals and legumes – are generally assumed to have dominated the diets of most early neolithic farming communities on the Mediterranean lowlands. In fact, pollen analysis makes it clear that the environment was predominantly forested at this time¹⁷, so it would have been impracticable to maintain large herds of domestic animals as well as uneconomic if, as seems to have been the case from the mortality evidence, meat was the primary product for which they were kept at this

¹⁶ Wilkens B. Il ruolo della pastorizia nelle economie preistoriche dell'Italia centro-meridionale // *Archeologia della pastorizia...* II. P. 81–94.

¹⁷ Maggi R., Nisbet R. Prehistoric pastoralism in Liguria // *Archeologia della pastorizia...* I. P. 265–296; Scaife. Op. cit.

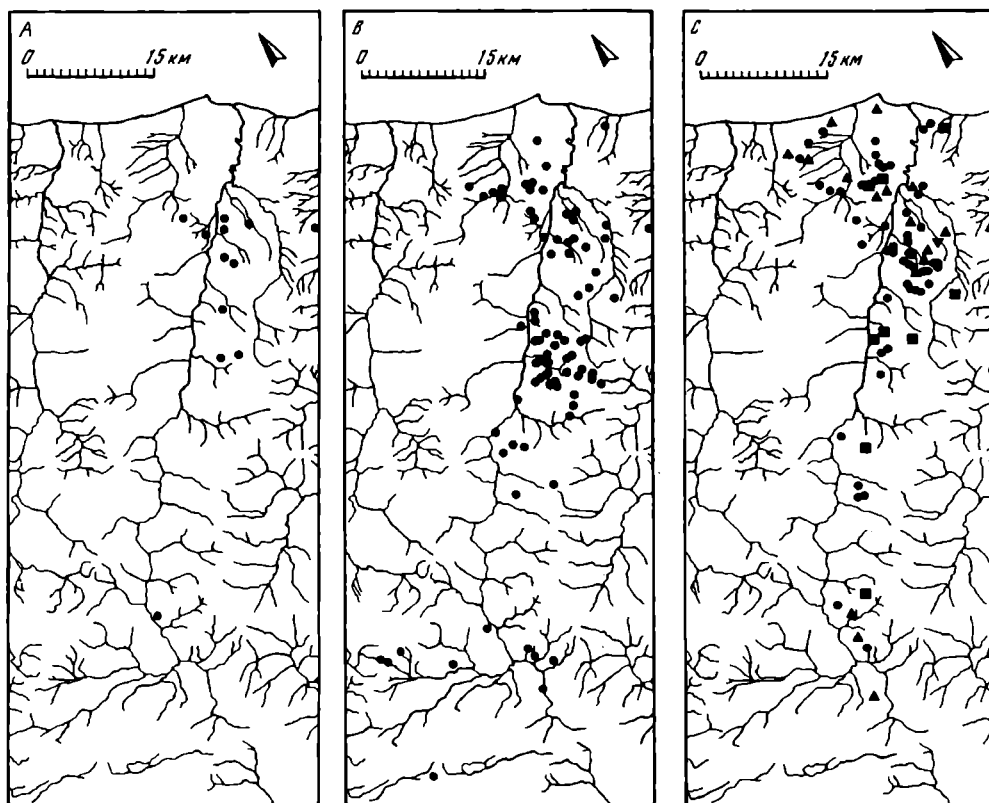


Fig. 5. The Biferno valley, showing some of the principal results from the archaeological survey (simplified): A – neolithic settlements (excluding «off-site» data for hunting and herding); B – bronze age settlements (excluding «off-site» data for hunting and herding); C – iron age settlement: the circles denote small settlements like those of the Neolithic and Bronze Age, the squares denote large nucleated sites (probably villages), and the triangles denote cemeteries

time. In fact, domestic animals may have been valued as much for social as for economic reasons by these societies: a number of ritual deposits of animal bones have been recognised recently in central Italian caves.

In the later neolithic period (c. 4500–3750 BC), the main settlements were again in the lower valley. Their inhabitants practised mixed farming, but one significant difference from before was the increasing importance of animal secondary products, particularly milk for cheese. The evidence for this consists of changes in the faunal samples from the settlements we excavated indicating more adult sheep deaths, and the appearance of pottery strainer sherds. The trend to an increasing importance in sheep husbandry is reflected in the use of a small rock shelter we excavated at Ponte Regio near Busso in the upper valley, which was used as a temporary camp-site, probably by shepherds. The evidence for intensification in the subsistence base was paralleled by evidence for increases in settlement size on the lowlands and social elaboration in terms of trade in exotic materials. The same trends in settlement form and distribution, social elaboration and subsistence intensification can be discerned throughout central Italy at this time¹⁸. They also correlate with evidence in the pollen diagrams for an increasingly open landscape, though the mountains were probably still heavily forested¹⁹.

¹⁸ Barker G. *Landscape and Society – Prehistoric Central Italy*. L., 1981; Maggi, Nisbet. *Op. cit.*

¹⁹ Cruise. *Op. cit.*

Bronze age pastoralism: the first transhumance? The lower Biferno valley remained the major zone of permanent settlement until the third millennium BC. During the second millennium, bronze age settlement extended into the middle valley as well, and also to a limited extent to the upper valley (Fig. 5B), and lithic material assumed to signify hunting and herding now spread for the first time into the Matese Apennines, to the *altipiani* at 1100 metres. On the evidence of our excavations and geophysical surveys at the Fonte Maggio (Petrella) and Masseria Mammarella (Guglionesi) bronze age sites found by the survey, the main settlements consisted of several huts, social units of perhaps three to five family groups. Although most pottery was locally produced, the decoration shows that there were now well established communication routes not only up and down the Adriatic lowlands but also across the Apennines to Campania. The farming system was fundamentally the same as that practised by later neolithic communities, but the significant change seems to have been the first systematic use of the high Apennines.

The process of settlement expansion in the Biferno valley during the Bronze Age correlates well with the general settlement trends observed at this time throughout central Italy, of a gradual filling out of the landscape, the permanent occupation of the intermontane basins, and the first systematic use of the mountains. In central Abruzzo, for example, the Grotta a Male cave at 1000 metres above sea level near l'Aquila seems to have been used as a seasonal hunting and pastoral site in the earlier Bronze Age, and then as permanent settlement in the later Bronze Age. In the Gran Sasso immediately above the Grotta a Male, surface collections of bronze age material have been found at 1500 metres, at such an altitude difficult to interpret as other than a seasonal shepherd camp.

Further west, there is the first prolific evidence for settlement at this time on the floor of the Rieti basin, and on the edge of the Salto valley there was a bronze age settlement at 900 metres above sea level in a cave in the Val di Varri²⁰. The material culture suggests sedentary mixed farming here as in the later phase of the Grotta a Male carbonised cereals and legumes, and a mixed fauna of cattle, pigs, and (predominantly) sheep and goat. Furthermore, pottery at this site with geological inclusions from Monte Velino indicates familiarity with the resources of the high Apennines by this time, and in the nearby Cicolano mountains our archaeological survey found pieces of flint likely to be of bronze age date associated with fragments of daub at 1100 metres, perhaps evidence of seasonal camps. Bronze age material has also been found on the Maiella at 2000 metres above sea level. The appearance for the first time during the Bronze Age of sites not only on the floors of the Apennine *altipiani*, at altitudes between 1100 and 1500 metres where marginal farming is possible but seasonal pastoralism more realistic, and of sites above 1500 metres which can only have been occupied in the summer months, surely indicates the development of seasonal exploitation of the Apennines during the second millennium BC, the most likely activity being shepherding. The pollen diagrams available for the Apennines, though still limited, also indicate more open vegetation now in the mountains.

Puglisi's 1959 model of large scale transhumance for the Apennine Bronze Age was undoubtedly exaggerated, and based on unreliable assumption about the archaeological record: mixed farming was clearly the dominant system of bronze age subsistence. In 1972 I first brought the evidence together in support of this contention, but I also argued for the possible development of long-distance transhumance as one element in the socio-economic system, a concept which also now seems unlikely in terms of bronze age social organisation. Nevertheless, the evidence accumulated in recent years confirms the fundamental basis of these theories, in the growing evidence for the first systematic use of the Apennine pastures during the Bronze Age by what can legitimately be termed a form of short-distance transhumance, albeit on a limited scale compared with that of historical times²¹. The development of more open country in the high Apennines during the second millennium BC may reflect a climatic trend to aridity (for

²⁰ Güller A., Segre A.G. La stazione enea del grottone di Val di Varri nell'Appennino abruzzese // Rivista di antropologia. 1948. 36. P. 269-281.

²¹ Cocchi Genick D. La pratica della transumanza dal Neolitico all'età del Bronzo nella Toscana settentrionale: evidenze archeologiche // Archeologia della pastorizia... I. P. 241-263; Maggi, Nisbet. Op. cit.

which there is other evidence), or woodland clearance by settlers, or both; but either way it is clear that as land became available for settlement, the agricultural systems of the period expanded to exploit it. The mountains now became a means of communication and interchange for the communities living on either side rather than a barrier.

Protohistoric pastoralism: the beginnings of long-distance transhumance? The most significant transformation in settlement and society in the Protohistoric period in Italy was of course the development of the Etruscan city states on the western side of Central Italy. The Etruscan settlement hierarchy was dominated by massive regional centres such as Cerveteri and Tarquinia some 100–200 hectares in size, in the territories of which were numerous small centres averaging 10 hectares in size²². Systematic survey around one of these, Tuscania, has revealed a dense pattern of small domestic sites, both hamlets and individual farms²³ and the same pattern has been found by survey in the Albegna valley to the north. Excavations of Etruscan farms show they were substantial structures, quite unlike the thatched huts of the Bronze Age. Moreover, there is increasing evidence that the development of the intensive pattern of rural settlement that formed the basis of the Etruscan state system also represented fundamental transformation in the agricultural system²⁴.

As well as cereals and legumes, the new farms produced wine and oil on an intensive scale. There is also evidence in the changing mortality structure of the faunal material (still very limited, it has to be stressed), for the increased importance of secondary products, in the case of sheep particularly their wool as well as milk. Excavations in farms and small centres are finding evidence for facilities for processing wool, for cultivating vines and olives, and for making wine and olive oil. The transformed agricultural basis of the Etruscan state system served three important objectives. First, it provided more food to feed the greatly enlarged rural and urban population of the Etruscan states – it is noteworthy that human skeletal evidence indicates that the ordinary Etruscan diet probably included less meat than, say, bronze age diet. Second, it produced invaluable commodities for export. Third, its products helped differentiate the aristocracy from the ordinary people: wine drinking was a critical component of the *symposion*, the banquet that was central to Etruscan (as Greek) social interaction amongst the nobility, and wool provided the high quality textiles that are so clearly represented in Etruscan tomb paintings. There is no direct evidence in terms of excavated contemporary settlements in the mountains inland from the Etruscan cities, but the evidence on the lowlands for the intensive processing and use of wool, combined with the evidence for the development of regional hegemony by the Etruscans throughout Etruria, suggests that the Etruscan city state system could well have provided the necessary social, economic and political context for the development of the first long-distance transhumance in Italy.

On the other side of the Apennines, the settlement evidence from Biferno valley fits in with that from elsewhere in Molise and Abruzzo for the development of complex proto-urban societies in Samnium by the middle of the first millennium BC. Our survey found clear evidence for the development of a settlement hierarchy, with substantial nucleated settlements presumably villages established for the first time (Fig 5C). Cemeteries also provide clear signs of a markedly stratified society. Moreover, there is evidence that this process coincided with similar changes in the agricultural system to those in Etruria. Excavations of iron age settlements indicate vine cultivation, though the evidence for olive cultivation remains uncertain, and the importance of prestige drinking vessels in these cultures suggests that the *symposion* was an important part of elite behaviour. At the Monte Saraceno settlement in the Gargano, sheep were the main stock, and the high percentage of adult deaths suggests the

²² Judson S., Hemphill P. Sizes of settlements in Southern Etruria, 6th–5th centuries BC // *Studi Etruschi*. 1981. 49. P. 193–202.

²³ Barker G., Rasmussen T. The archaeology of an Etruscan polis: a preliminary report on the Tuscania Project (1986 and 1987 seasons) // *PBSR*. 1988. 56. P. 25–42; Rasmussen T. Tuscania and its territory // *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region* / Ed. by G.Barker and J.A.Lloyd. (British School at Rome. Archaeological Monographs 2). L., 1991. P. 106–114.

²⁴ Barker G. The archaeology of the Etruscan countryside // *Antiquity*. 1988. 62. P. 772–785.

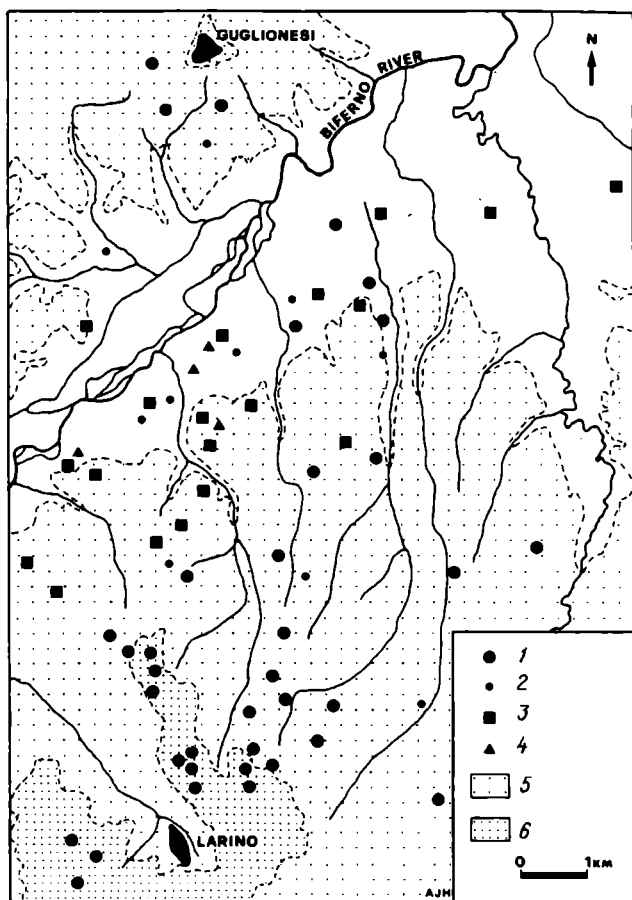


Fig. 6. Rural settlement in the lower Biferno valley in the Hellenistic period: 1 – farmstead; 2 – possible farmstead; 3 – villa; 4 – cemetery; 5 – land over 100 m; 6 – land over 350 m

importance of secondary products in the herding strategy²⁵. There are similar indications in the smaller faunal sample from the Arcora settlement in the lower Biferno valley, where is also evidence for what may be wool processing facilities²⁶.

Although urbanization on the Graeco-Roman model did not develop in Samnium until the first century BC, after the devastations by the Romans following the Social War (91–82 BC), the archaeological survey of the Biferno valley demonstrated a huge rise in rural settlement during the period of black glaze pottery production (the late 4th to the end of the 1st centuries BC), filling out the countryside to a level unparalleled in the valley's history until perhaps the early modern period (Fig. 6). Excavations of sites like the Samnite villa of Matrice show that cereals, legumes and vines were grown in the upper valley, and that olive cultivation was now introduced into the lower valley. Sheep, goats and pigs were the principal stock, cattle being kept mainly as plough animals. The major settlements such as the pre-Roman *vicus* at Saepinum were thriving centres of trade and manufacture in the 2nd century BC.

It is very unlikely that long-distance transhumance of the kind that developed in the Roman

²⁵ Fusco V. Ricerche faunistiche a Monte Saraceno (Gargano) // *Taras*. 1987. 2. P. 7–33.

²⁶ Di Niro A. Campomarino, sito protostorico // *Conoscenze*. 1984. 1. P. 189–191.

period, with droveroads between Abruzzo and Apulia traversing the valley, was able to be practised in Samnium before full Romanisation. However, whilst many Samnite farmers probably operated at a subsistence level, archaeology indicates that the wealthier landowners were certainly producing surplus commodities which they used to trade for exotic luxuries, or as benefactions at the religious sanctuaries. Most of these commodities were probably agricultural products. Loomweights are common at the Samnite farms found by the survey, particularly in the lower valley, and the abundance of stamps, graffito marks and decoration hints at their special significance. Certainly the landed nobility of the lower valley had close interests in stock at the close of the Samnite period according to Cicero, and the close links between Larino and Apulia, a centre of wool production, are surely significant.

As in Etruria, so later in Samnium, the evidence presently available indicates that organised transhumance comparable in structure if not scale with that of later periods probably began as one component of elite activity within the proto-urban societies and economies at the dawn of the classical era. As Salmon pointed out, some of the Samnite attempts at expansion and conquest may be interpreted as efforts to maintain control over their winter and summer pastures, and the routes connecting them²⁷.

Conclusion. As I have argued in this paper, archaeology has considerable potential to investigate the prehistory and history of pastoralism and transhumance even though we have tended to make simplistic assumptions in the past about the recognition of these activities in the archaeological record. We are increasingly aware of the difficulties of reliably distinguishing seasonal activities such as pastoralism and transhumance from other kinds of activity in the archaeological record. We need to develop much more ethnoarchaeological work to improve our understanding of the potential archaeological «signatures» of different kinds of human behaviour in the past. At the same time, we must also recognise the limitations of the archaeological record to contain signatures of seasonal behaviour that tends to create patterns of discard across a landscape rather than dense concentrations of activity at a single «site», and with material culture frequently dominated by organic remains unlikely to survive in most locations. Furthermore, as the Cicolano study shows, different seasonal behaviour may create rather similar kinds of archaeology in terms of structures, artifacts, and biological remains.

At the same time, however, I have also argued that archaeologists can make the most effective contribution to any study of settlement pattern in the past, including of the development of pastoralism and transhumance, by undertaking regional studies that integrate survey, excavation, and the full battery of archaeological analysis of the resulting data, integrating their results with similar approaches from history and geography. Taking the Biferno valley project as a case study, but integrating its results with those from other parts of the peninsula, I believe that we can begin outline the prehistory of pastoralism and transhumance from early systems of neolithic husbandry in the fifth and fourth millennia, the expansion of pastoralism in the fourth and third millennia, the first systematic use of the Apennine pastures on a seasonal basis in the later second millennium, to the beginnings of organised transhumance in the centuries immediately preceding Romanisation. Braudel commented that «the history of the mountains is chequered and difficult to trace»²⁸, and the same is certainly true of the archaeology, but I think we are at least beginning to discern their prehistory in Italy, and to realise how archaeology can best advance their study here as elsewhere in the Mediterranean in partnership with history and geography²⁹.

Graeme Barker

²⁷ Salmon. *Op. cit.* P. 69.

²⁸ Braudel. *Op. cit.* P. 44.

²⁹ *Archeologia della pastorizia... Passim.*

Грэм Баркер

В статье рассматривается, как археологи могут исследовать ранние этапы истории пастушеского и отгонно-пастбищного скотоводства в Италии. Широкомасштабное отгонно-пастбищное скотоводство – передвижения животных на сотни километров между летовками в горах и зимними пастбищами на равнинах – должно практиковаться в определенном политическом контексте, создающем возможности для защиты обеих зон пастбищ и соединяющих их путей перегона скота. Как правило, оно осуществлялось в форме капиталистического предпринимательства, государственного либо частного. Данные источников показывают, что в Италии такая система скотоводства наверняка восходит к древнеримской эпохе, к периоду Поздней республики и Ранней империи.

Для изучения природы пастушеского скотоводства в доримскую эпоху у археологов имеется широкий выбор технических методов, в частности, относящихся к археологии окружающей среды (археоботаника, археозоология, палинология и т.д.). Однако для совершенствования нашей методики распознавания признаков пастушеского скотоводства в данных археологических источников необходимо изучать этноархеологию современных обществ, с тем чтобы выяснить, какие именно археологические «метки» оставляют различные виды человеческой деятельности. О такого рода этноархеологических исследованиях в статье рассказывается на примере изучения пастухов и земледельцев, живущих в годах Чиколано в центральной Италии. Кроме того, описывается пример археологического исследования – комплексное изучение системы поселений в долине Биферно на основе данных разведок (survey) и раскопок. Это исследование показывает, что в хозяйствах земледельцев эпохи неолита имелось небольшое число домашних животных, которых забивали на мясо; в период позднего неолита (когда получение молока и шерсти стало столь же важной задачей овцеводства, как и получение мяса), возросло значение пастушеского скотоводства, а практика отгонно-пастбищного скотоводства началась – хотя и в очень небольших масштабах – вероятно, в конце бронзового и в начале железного века, когда поселения наконец распространились в горах Апеннин. Последние полевые археологические исследования показали, что общество и экономика самнитов в III–II вв. до н.э. были более сложными, чем считалось до сих пор. В действительности это было уже протогородское общество, и вполне возможно, что организованное отгонно-пастбищное скотоводство, по структуре – если не по масштабам – сопоставимое с тем, что существовало в более поздние периоды, возникло как один из видов деятельности элиты в рамках таких обществ.

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ГРАЖДАНСКАЯ ВОЙНА 68–69 гг. КАК ЭТАП СТАНОВЛЕНИЯ РИМСКОЙ СРЕДИЗЕМНОМОРСКОЙ ДЕРЖАВЫ

По словам Г. Бенгтсона, гражданская война 68–69 гг. явилась глубоким разрывом во всей истории Римской империи¹. Естественно, что она привлекала немалое внимание исследователей. Больше всего ученые обращали внимание на событийную сторону этого короткого, но бурного периода². Рассматривались и другие аспекты войны: отношения эфемерных принципсов к различным социальным группам римского

¹ Bengtson H. Die Flavier. München, 1979. S. 30.

² Stevenson G.H. The Year of the Four Emperors // CAH. X. 1934. P. 808–839; Wellesley K. The Long Year A.D. 69. Bristol, 1975; Greenhalgh P.A.L. The Year of the Four Emperors. N.Y., 1975; Syme R. Tacitus. Oxf., 1958. P. 157–175.