



Arm und Reich – Zur Ressourcenverteilung in
prähistorischen Gesellschaften
Rich and Poor – Competing for resources in
prehistoric societies

8. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag
vom 22. bis 24. Oktober 2015 in Halle (Saale)

Herausgeber Harald Meller, Hans Peter Hahn,
Reinhard Jung und Roberto Risch



Tagungen des
Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle
Band 14/II | 2016

Arm und Reich – Zur Ressourcenverteilung
in prähistorischen Gesellschaften
Rich and Poor – Competing for resources in
prehistoric societies

*8. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag
vom 22. bis 24. Oktober 2015 in Halle (Saale)
8th Archaeological Conference of Central Germany
October 22–24, 2015 in Halle (Saale)*

Tagungen des
Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle

Band 14/II | 2016

Arm und Reich – Zur Ressourcenverteilung in
prähistorischen Gesellschaften

Rich and Poor – Competing for resources in
prehistoric societies

8. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag

vom 22. bis 24. Oktober 2015 in Halle (Saale)

8th Archaeological Conference of Central Germany

October 22–24, 2015 in Halle (Saale)



Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt
LANDESMUSEUM FÜR VORGESCHICHTE

herausgegeben von
Harald Meller,
Hans Peter Hahn,
Reinhard Jung und
Roberto Risch

Halle (Saale)
2016

Die Beiträge dieses Bandes wurden einem Peer-Review-Verfahren unterzogen.

Die Gutachtertätigkeit übernahmen folgende Fachkollegen: Prof. Dr. Eszter Bánffy, Prof. Dr. Jan Bemann, PD Dr. Felix Biermann, Prof. Dr. Christoph Brumann, Prof. Dr. Robert Chapman, Dr. Jens-Arne Dickmann, Dr. Michal Ernée, Prof. Dr. Andreas Furtwängler, Prof. Dr. Hans Peter Hahn, Prof. Dr. Svend Hansen, Prof. Dr. Barbara Horejs, PD Dr. Reinhard Jung, Dr. Flemming Kaul, Dr. José Lull García, Prof. Dr. Joseph Maran, Prof. Dr. Louis Nebelsick, PD Dr. Jörg Orschiedt, Prof. Dr. Sitta von Reden, Dr. Alfred Reichenberger, Prof. Dr. Roberto Risch, Prof. Dr. Jeremy Rutter, Dr. Ralf Schwarz, Dr. Harald Stäuble, Dr. Claudio Tennie.

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://portal.dnb.de> abrufbar.

ISBN 978-3-944507-45-3

ISSN 1867-4402

<i>Redaktion</i>	Jan-Heinrich Bunnefeld, Konstanze Geppert, Anne Gottstein, Kathrin Legler, Janine Nähte, Toni Pook, Manuela Schwarz, Anna Swieder, David Tucker, Daniel Zank
<i>Redaktion und Übersetzung der englischen Texte</i>	Sandy Hämmerle · Galway (Irland), Isabel Aitken · Peebles (Schottland), David Tucker · Halle (Saale)
<i>Organisation und Korrespondenz</i>	Jan-Heinrich Bunnefeld, Konstanze Geppert, Anne Gottstein
<i>Technische Bearbeitung</i>	Thomas Blankenburg, Birte Janzen, Anne Gottstein
<i>Vor- und Nachsatz</i>	© Fotos J. Lipták, München; Gestaltung Brigitte Parsche
<i>Sektionstrenner</i>	Gestaltung: Anne Gottstein, Birte Janzen; S. 17 Anne Gottstein und Birte Janzen; S. 125 © J. Lipták, München; S. 281 © J. Lipták, München, und A. Hörentrup; S. 467 © bpk/RMN – Grand Palais/Franck Raux
<i>Umschlag</i>	© Foto J. Lipták, München; Gestaltung Anne Gottstein und Birte Janzen

Für den Inhalt der Arbeiten sind die Autoren eigenverantwortlich.

© by Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt – Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte Halle (Saale). Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt unzulässig. Dies gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen sowie die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

<i>Papier</i>	alterungsbeständig nach DIN/ISO 9706
<i>Satzschrift</i>	FF Celeste, News Gothic
<i>Konzept und Gestaltung</i>	Carolyn Steinbeck · Berlin
<i>Layout, Satz und Produktion</i>	Anne Gottstein; Birte Janzen
<i>Druck und Bindung</i>	Salzland Druck GmbH & Co.KG

Inhalt/Contents

Band I

- 11 Vorwort der Herausgeber/Preface of the editors**

Sektion Theorie und interdisziplinäre Ansätze/ Section Theory and Interdisciplinary Approaches

- 19 Roman M. Wittig**
Der Austausch von Ressourcen und enge soziale Bindungen – Biologische Märkte bei freilebenden Schimpansen
- 27 Reinhard Jung and Roberto Risch**
Why are we concerned with social inequality?
- 33 Roberto Risch**
How did wealth turn into surplus profit? From affluence to »scarcity« in prehistoric economies
- 49 V. P. J. Arponen, Johannes Müller, and René Ohlrau**
Artefacts, houses, and inequality
- 61 Detlef Gronenborn**
Some thoughts on political differentiation in Early to Young Neolithic societies in western central Europe
- 77 Philipp W. Stockhammer**
Arm und Reich in der Urgeschichte: Methodische Überlegungen
- 85 Martin Bartelheim, Roland Hardenberg und Anke K. Scholz**
Arm und Reich? Alternative Perspektiven auf Ressourcen und ihre Nutzung
- 101 Hans Peter Hahn**
Auf der Suche nach den Armen. Warum Armut in den Kulturwissenschaften so oft unsichtbar bleibt
- 111 Nicole Burzan**
Arm und Reich aus der Sicht der soziologischen Ungleichheitsforschung
- 119 Philipp Lepenies**
Das Ende der Armut und die Suche nach dem Glück – Betrachtungen zur Genese einer wirkungsmächtigen Vision

Sektion Ungleichheit in vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Gesellschaften/ Section Inequality in Pre- and Protohistoric Societies

- 127 Judith M. Grünberg**
»Arm« und »Reich«: Die Ausstattung der Toten in paläolithischen und mesolithischen Gräbern

- 147 Marion Benz, Yilmaz S. Erdal, Feridun Şahin, Vecihi Özkaya, and Kurt W. Alt**
The equality of inequality – Social differentiation among the hunter-fisher-gatherer community of Körtik Tepe, south-eastern Turkey
- 165 René Wollenweber**
One house like another? – Access to water wells as an indicator of social inequality in the Linear and Stroke-Ornamented Pottery Cultures
- 181 François Bertemes**
Thinking globally about early metallurgy – Resources, knowledge, and the acceleration of inequality
- 197 Svend Hansen**
»Arm und Reich« in der Bronzezeit Europas
- 219 János Dani, Klára P. Fischl, Gabriella Kulcsár, Vajk Szeverényi, and Viktória Kiss**
Visible and invisible inequality: changing patterns of wealth consumption in Early and Middle Bronze Age Hungary
- 243 Jan-Heinrich Bunnefeld**
Reiche Bauern, arme Bauern – Zur sozialen Differenzierung in der älteren nordischen Bronzezeit
- 273 Helmut Birkhan**
Zur Sozialstruktur der Kelten aus Sicht der Schriftquellen

Band II

Mitteldeutschland/Central Germany

- 283 Franziska Knoll und Harald Meller**
Die Ösenkopfnadel – Ein »Klassen«-verbindendes Trachtelement der Aunjetitzer Kultur. Ein Beitrag zu Kontext, Interpretation und Typochronologie der mitteldeutschen Exemplare
- 371 Bernd Zich**
Aunjetitzer Herrschaften in Mitteldeutschland – »Fürsten« der Frühbronzezeit und ihre Territorien (»Domänen«)
- 407 Juliane Filipp und Martin Freudenreich**
Dieskau und Helmsdorf – Zwei frühbronzezeitliche Mikroregionen im Vergleich
- 427 Harald Meller und Torsten Schunke**
Die Wiederentdeckung des Bornhöck – Ein neuer frühbronzezeitlicher »Fürstengrabhügel« bei Raßnitz, Saalekreis. Erster Vorbericht

Sektion Ungleichheit in staatlichen Gesellschaften/ Section Inequality in State Societies

- 469 Marcella Frangipane**
The development of centralised societies in Greater Mesopotamia and the foundation of economic inequality
- 491 Juan Carlos Moreno García**
Social inequality, private accumulation of wealth, and new ideological values in late 3rd millennium BC Egypt

- 513 Katja Focke**
Tavşan Adası – Reich durch Handel? Anzeichen von Wohlstand einer minoischen Hafensiedlung
- 531 Peter Pavúk and Magda Pieniżek**
Towards understanding the socio-political structures and social inequalities in western Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age
- 553 Reinhard Jung**
»Friede den Hütten, Krieg den Palästen!« – In the Bronze Age Aegean
- 579 Stefanos Gimatzidis**
Reich und arm: Weltssystemtheorie-Kontroversen in der früheisenzeitlichen Ägäis
- 599 Andreas E. Furtwängler**
Wertmesser, Finanzmanipulationen und die Geburt des Münzgeldes in der Antike
- 611 Maria Teresa D'Alessio**
Roman villas and social differentiation
- 623 Falko Daim**
Die Materialität der Macht – Drei Fallstudien zum awarischen Gold
- 637 Nad'a Profantová**
Social inequality in the Early Middle Ages in Bohemia: written sources and archaeological record

Roman villas and social differentiation

Maria Teresa D'Alessio

Zusammenfassung

Römische Villen und soziale Differenzierung

In der Klassischen Archäologie wird der lateinische Begriff Villa allgemein für das Bauschema ländlicher und/oder außerstädtischer Privatanwesen verwendet, die sich ab spät-republikanischer Zeit (Ende 3./Anfang 2. Jh. v. Chr.) im römischen Italien entwickelten und allgemein mit auf Sklaverei beruhender ländlicher Ausbeutung verbunden werden.

Konkret wurde die römische Villa bisher als standardisiertes Bauwerk definiert, welches aus dem axialen Kern eines Atriumhauses (pars urbana) und einem abgetrennten, für die Nahrungsmittelproduktion (Öl- und Weinpressen, Lagerräume etc.), Tierhaltung (z. B. Viehställe) und Sklavenunterkünfte vorgesehenen Teil (pars rustica) besteht. Durch die Entdeckung der sogenannten Auditorium Villa im nördlichen Suburbium Roms ist dieses Schema unlängst in Zweifel gezogen worden. Die Fundstelle gehört zu den interessantesten und meistdiskutierten archäologischen Befunden, die in den letzten Jahren in Rom zum Vorschein gekommen sind.

Der vorliegende Beitrag konzentriert sich auf die älteren Phasen des Gebäudes (mittleres 6. bis ausgehendes 4. Jh. v. Chr.), während derer ein kleiner archaischer Gutsbetrieb (300 m²) zerstört und um etwa 500 v. Chr. durch eine viel größere Anlage (600 m²) ersetzt wurde. Aufgrund der Dimensionen, Aufteilung, und möglichen Funktionen der Räumlichkeiten und/oder größerer Raumeinheiten des Gebäudes lassen sich schon bei diesem frühen Beispiel römischer Architektur verschiedene Elemente nachweisen, die für bestimmte Gruppen/Funktionen vorgesehen waren, darunter ein Wohnteil (pars urbana), ein Wirtschaftsteil (pars rustica) sowie mögliche Sklavenunterkünfte.

Introduction

The term »Roman villa« evokes a concept which appears to be well known and well defined, but in fact conceals diverse realities, and a complex history which, although substantially rewritten in recent years, still requires reflection¹. When we speak of a Roman villa, we are not referring to a private residential building sited in a decentralised, extra-urban location that varies according to its owner's taste, as its modern-day analogue immediately suggests. Or rather, we are not referring only to this. The ancient villa did, in fact, have these characteristics, but was far more complex, both

Summary

In Classical Archaeology studies, the Latin word villa has been generally used to indicate an architectural model for rural and/or extra-urban private estates, developed from the late Republican era (end of the 3rd/beginning of the 2nd century BC) onwards in Roman Italy and associated with rural exploitation based on slave labour.

In particular, the Roman villa has been seen as a standard type of building, comprising the axial nucleus of an atrium house (pars urbana) together with a separate area devoted to food production (oil and wine presses, store rooms, and so forth), animal breeding (e.g., stables), and slave compounds (pars rustica). This idea has been challenged by a recent discovery in the northern part of the Roman suburbium, the so called Auditorium Villa, which represents one of the most interesting and widely-discussed archaeological discoveries in Rome during the last few years.

The paper will focus on the earlier phases of this building (mid-6th to the end of the 4th centuries BC) when a small archaic farm (300 m²) was destroyed and replaced, around 500 BC, by a much more substantial building (600 m²). The sizes, distribution, and possible functions of rooms and/or larger parts of the building allow us to identify, even at this early stage in Roman architecture, different spaces reserved for different social groups/entities: a residential quarter (pars urbana), a productive area (pars rustica) and a possible slave compound.

architecturally, i.e., in the way its rooms were organised, and in its intended use, than any modern counterpart. There is no single definition of the ancient villa's intended use. This is particularly true of the so-called countryside villa – productive in type, with or without a residential quarter (pars urbana) – which will be discussed here, and for which hereafter the term »villa« will be used generically. However, this also applies to what are defined as »urban« villas, which lay closer to the city, and to other villas, often on the coast (villae maritimae), which may have been involved in productive activities, but which were mainly designed for their users' otium, or spare time, free from business, and/or civic

¹ Painter 1980; Carandini et al. 2006, 559–610; Marzano 2007; Becker/Terrenato 2012.

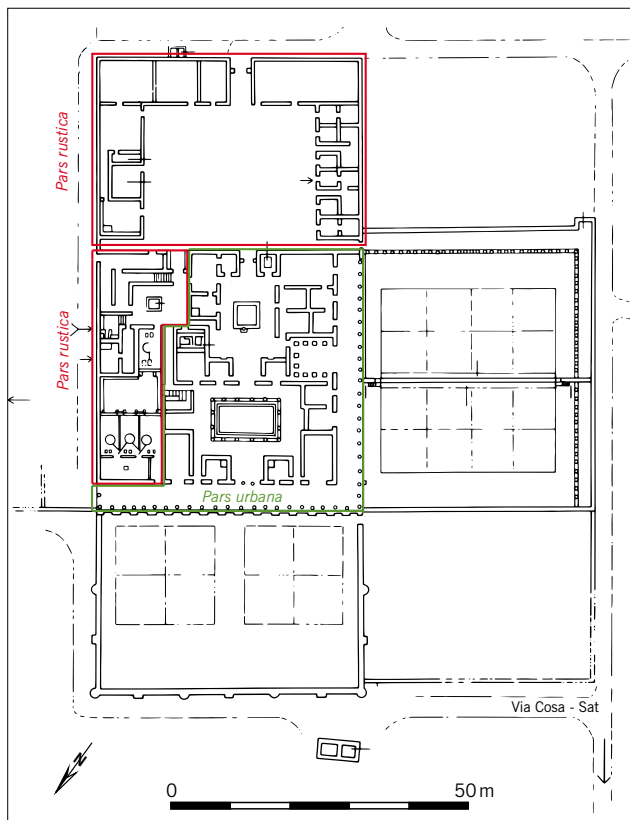


Fig. 1 The villa of »Settefinestre«, near Cosa, prov. Grosseto. Reconstructed overall plan of the Republican villa.

Abb. 1 Die Villa von »Settefinestre« in der Nähe von Cosa, Prov. Grosseto. Rekonstruierter Gesamtplan der republikanischen Villa.

or political activities, and usually spent in studying and relaxing, rather than in farm production.

Classical writers were perfectly aware of this complexity, and in Ancient Latin literature, starting from Cato's work (*De agri cultura*) in the 2nd century BC, there was a specific genre dealing with monuments of this type, which outlined their optimal arrangement, internal organisation, and farming specialisations, even illustrating the image of the *villa perfecta* coined by Varro, *Res Rusticae*, 3.2.7-18 in the mid-1st century BC. From this literature it can be seen that the villa was above all a precisely organised and functioning productive machine, thanks amongst other things to the use of servant and/or slave labour, and, as such, was in itself a source and locus of social differentiation.

In the archaeological tradition, this abstract notion of the villa has been generally associated with widespread settings dating from the middle Republican Age (late 3rd century BC) onwards, and in particular with economic systems based on the exploitation of the slave labour that became abundant in the Italic area following the Second Punic War (218–201 BC) and the consequent arrival of prisoners later sold as slaves. The advent of this conceptual model dates to the 1970s, and matured following the landmark excavation of the »Settefinestre« villa in the hinterland of Ansedonia, in south Etruria (Fig. 1; Carandini 1985). Here, A. Carandini and his team investigated a large, late-Republican property centred upon a self-sufficient, luxuriously-equipped villa, surrounded by rural-type out-buildings, as well as vegetable and flower gar-

dens, orchards, and fields, and covering a total of about 250 ha. As in many similar complexes of that time, the central building was divided into a refined part (*pars urbana* – reserved for the *dominus* and his family) and a rustic part – *pars rustica* – accommodating the facilities, mainly for wine and oil production, upon which the entire complex's economy was based. These were replaced in the Imperial Age (Fig. 2) by dwellings to house slaves and pigs. The model appears to correspond with that presented by Varro (*Res rusticae*). At this initial phase in the study of the villa, its operation and its farm and slave-labour production system were reconstructed in the light of modern economic categories (with a predominantly Marxist approach) applied to the ancient world, in which slave exploitation was associated with a supply and demand market system in a capitalist-type economy, including financial investment (buying land, villa, tools, animals, and slaves) and producing surplus profits (selling goods; Carandini 1976; Carandini 1979; cf. now Volpe 2012).

The Auditorium villa

More recent excavations in Rome's northern *suburbium* have brought to light a new discovery, which pointed to the existence of villas in the Roman world about three centuries earlier than previously thought, and thus linked the concept of »villa«, not to a particular type of production (based, in fact, on slave labour), but to the organisation of space within a given architectural type². The particular site which is meant here presents no particularly luxurious or urban aspects, and is closer to our concept of a farm, from which, as we shall see, it derived. However, its scale and organisation (both material and social) are quite different from those of the small farms already known in the Roman *suburbium*

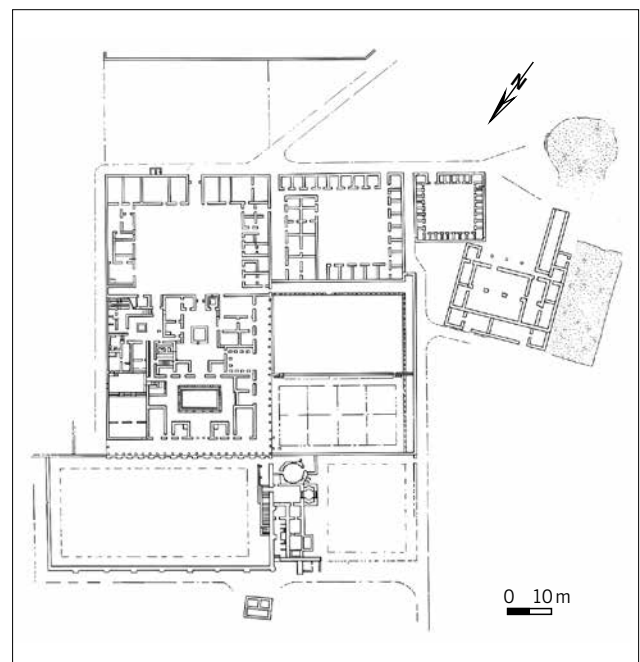


Fig. 2 The villa of »Settefinestre«, near Cosa, prov. Grosseto. Reconstructed overall plan of the Imperial villa (2nd century AD).

Abb. 2 Die Villa von »Settefinestre« in der Nähe von Cosa, Prov. Grosseto. Rekonstruierter Gesamtplan der kaiserzeitlichen Villa (2. Jh. n. Chr.).

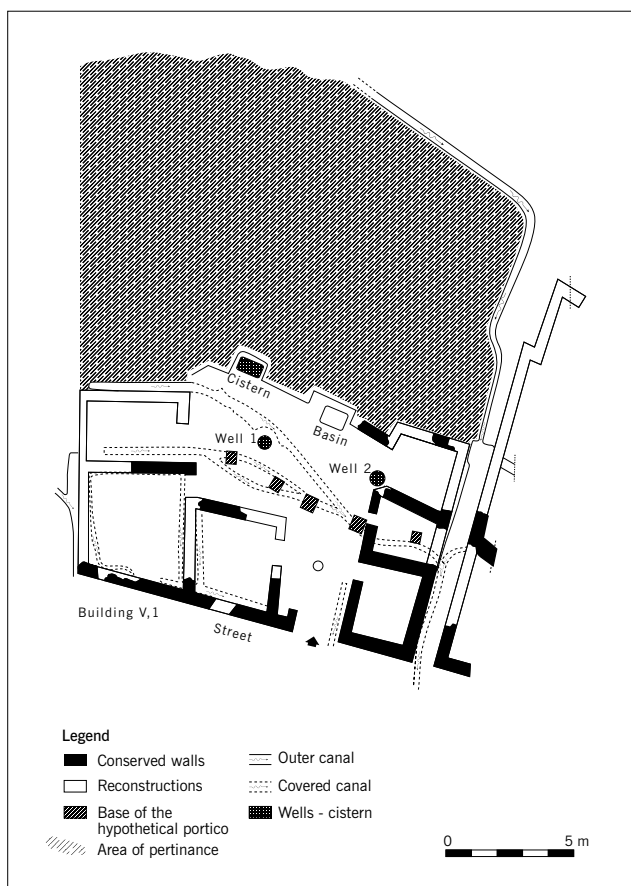


Fig. 3 The archaic farm in the suburbium of Rome, Acqua Acetosa Laurentina.

Abb. 3 Die archaische Farm im Suburbium Roms, Acqua Acetosa Laurentina.

from as early as the 6th century BC (Fig. 3; for example at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina or Torrino; Bedini 1981; Bedini 1984; Jolivet et al. 2009). The core problem that the excavations reopened was that of when villas proper began to appear alongside (and/or instead of) these farms.

The discovery dates to 1996 when, in Rome's Flaminio neighbourhood, an alluvial plain situated along the left bank of the Tiber (Fig. 4), works were underway at the foot of the Parioli hill to build the three concert halls for the renowned Auditorium³. According to the ancient topography, the site is on the route of the Via Flaminia, between mile II and mile III from the circuit of Rome's Servian walls, within the territory known as *ager Romanus antiquus*. Here (Fig. 5–6), at a depth of about 5 m, considerable remains and materials belonging to a rather complex and long-lived monument were unearthed; extending over a total of about 2000 m², it came into being around the beginning of 5th century BC, after an earlier farm had been destroyed, and remained in use until the early 3rd century AD. Analysis of the stratigraphic sequence allowed this long time span to be subdivided into six main periods, in turn broken down into phases, the complete examination of which was the subject of a publication edited in 2006 by A. Carandini, M. T. D'Alessio, and

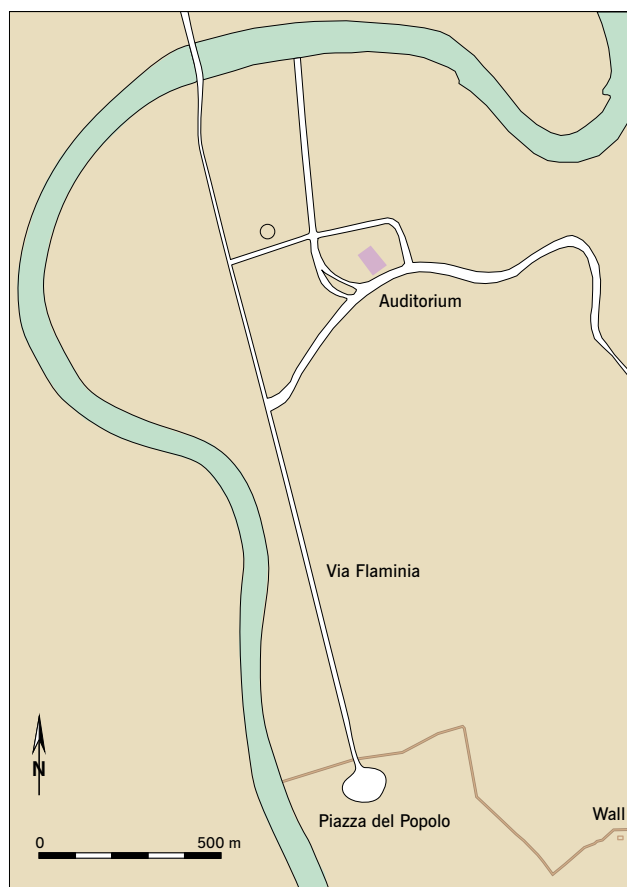


Fig. 4 The position of the Auditorium site in Rome.

Abb. 4 Lage der Auditorium Fundstelle in Rom.

H. Di Giuseppe⁴. During its numerous renovations, the building always had productive areas, residential areas, and large rooms arranged in accordance with an extremely rational scheme, which from the late 3rd century BC were organised around a regular atrium (Fig. 7). These structural elements provided the main basis on which an interpretation as a private, residential, and productive building was proposed. Despite the remote dating, the monument's size and state of conservation soon made it an interesting basis of comparison for the discussion of the rise and development of the villa. Here, in fact, a continuous sequence of superimposed renovations was recognised; starting as a farm around 550–500 BC, the building was transformed into a villa in the early 5th century BC, and rebuilt a number of times thereafter. The discussion will focus, in particular, on the first two phases of the site's occupation, during the Archaic and Classical Periods, and especially on the moment of transition from a small farm, covering about 300 m², to an enormous complex of twice that size, with an internal organisation of space that allowed us to define it, even at this early date, as a *villa*. With this definition, we established, for the first time, the use of the term »villa« to describe compound buildings whose beginnings may be dated at least as far

² See the two volumes of Pergola et al. 2003 and Jolivet et al. 2009.

³ Designed by the famous Italian architect Renzo Piano.

⁴ Carandini et al. 1997; Ricci/Terrenato 1998; D'Alessio 2004; D'Alessio/Di Giuseppe 2005; Carandini et al. 2006.



Fig. 5 Aerial photo of the Auditorium villa.

Abb. 5 Luftaufnahme der Auditorium Villa.

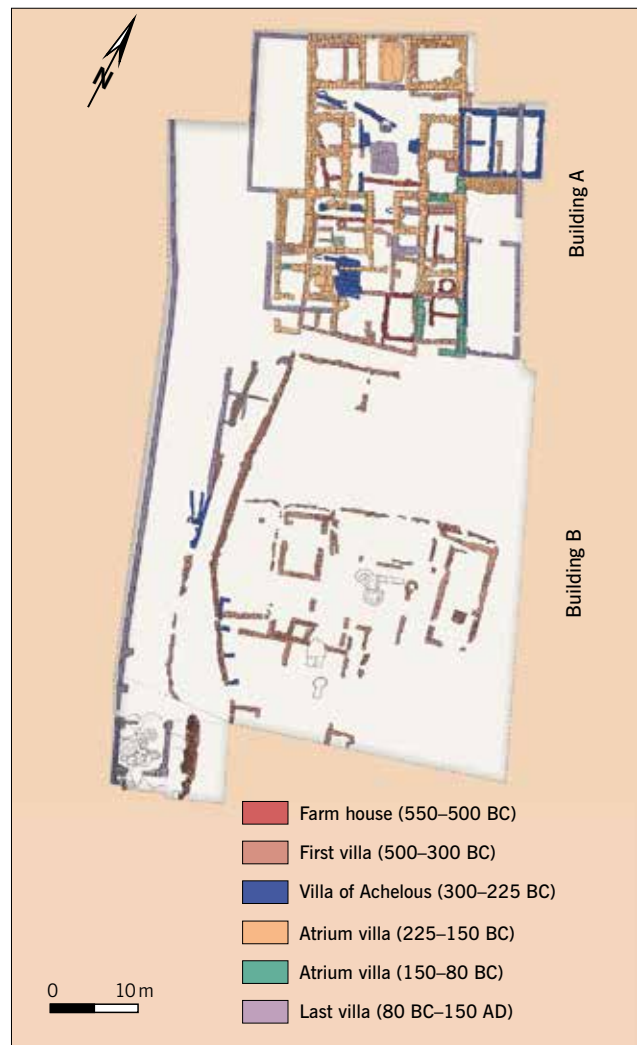


Fig. 6 Site plan of the excavated area, indicating the identified phases.

Abb. 6 Plan der Grabungsfläche mit den nachgewiesenen Phasen.

back as the 5th century BC⁵. This first *villa* (Building A), associated with a walled village (Building B), probably housing the workers, is the one that interests us most.

The farm house – Phase 1

In the second half of the 6th century BC, the first stable occupation in the area is attested by the construction of a small building – about 300 m² (Fig. 8–9; Carandini et al. 2006, 72–98), in which a farm may be recognised. All the walls belonging to this phase occupied the south-eastern portion of what was later to be Building A. Construction was quite primitive, with tufa fragments, clay walls, and a tile roof. Based on the preserved evidence and on the available comparisons, a single row of rooms has been reconstructed, arranged in a »U«

around a large courtyard, with the western side open towards the access road. The interpretation proposed for the functions of these rooms was based on the distribution of ceramic finds. To the north were the residential rooms; to the east were those dedicated to household activities such as cooking, including an oven room with a pantry; to the south were the storage rooms. The oven (Fig. 10) was formed of a circular, dome-shaped baking chamber with a 1 m internal diameter. Its walls were built with chips of yellow tufa, similar to those used in the construction of the farm's walls, lined with a thick layer of compact clay, also yellow; on the inside, this clay showed signs of combustion due to use, and thus varied in colour from red to black. The oven must have been intended for baking bread and other foods and resembles ovens from other similar complexes, identified above all in Etruria, which are also dated to the late 6th century BC⁶.

5 Contra M. Torelli (2012, especially 8–11) and N. Terrenato (2012) who, as far as the emergence of villas is concerned, sees only farms until the 3rd to 2nd centuries BC with a few cases of villas appearing only in the 1st cen-

tury BC. As for the »elite residences« built on a large scale in the 5th–4th centuries BC, using a perfect *opus quadratum* technique and large terracottas (as at the Auditorium site), Terrenato has still doubts about their

function and social context (see also Terrenato 2001).

6 On the oven of Acquarossa, near Viterbo: Östenberg 1975, 12; 106 with Fig.

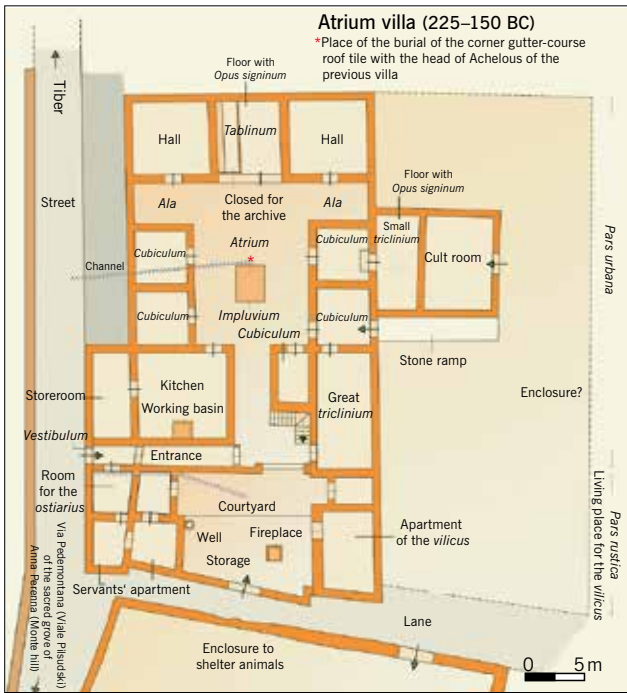


Fig. 7 Restored plan of the atrium villa (Phase 4).

Abb. 7 Rekonstruierter Plan der Atriumvilla (Phase 4).

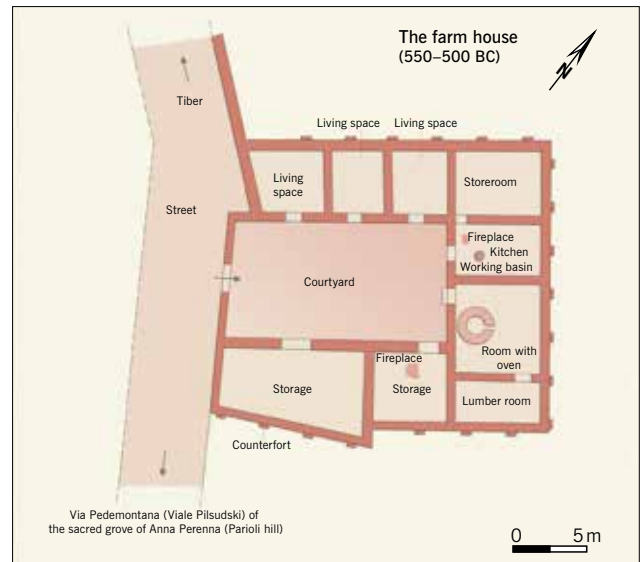


Fig. 9 Restored plan of the archaic farm (Phase 1).

Abb. 9 Rekonstruierter Plan der archaischen Farm (Phase 1).

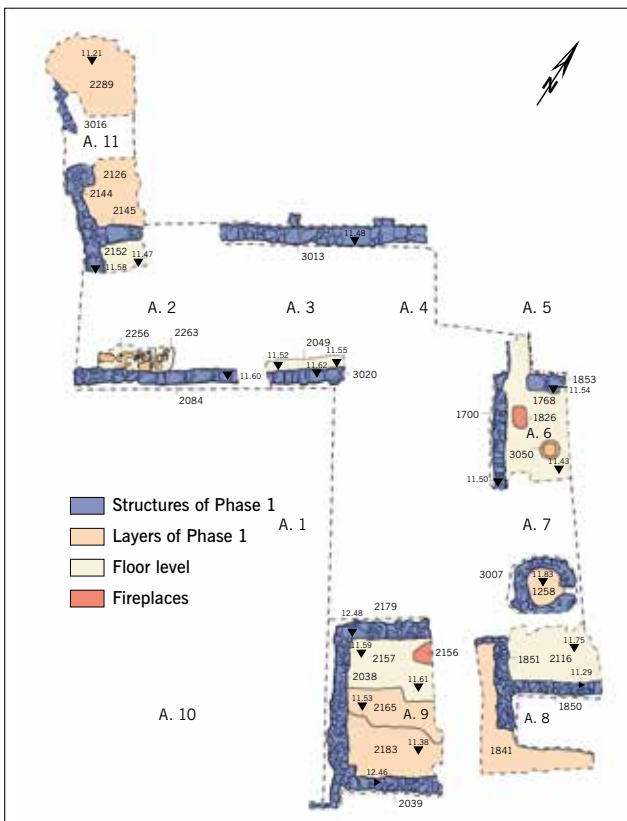


Fig. 8 Phase plan of the archaic farm (Phase 1).

Abb. 8 Phasenplan der archaischen Farm (Phase 1).

Near the farm, further south, ran a foothill road (corresponding to the present-day Viale Pilsudski), from which the road providing access to the building branched off.

To interpret this small structure, we have taken into consideration what we know about the organisation of the territory around Rome in the Archaic period, especially based on the literary tradition that attributes to King Servius Tullius (about the mid-6th century BC) a series of reforms to restructure the Roman State and reorganise land tenure (D'Alessio 2004). In fact, Servius Tullius is credited with creating the first rural tribes, by designating districts in which land was divisible and could be acquired by free citizens, outside the control of the aristocracy⁷. This land division led to the rise of small landholders. It is even possible that, thanks to the Servian reforms, the clients who controlled land on behalf of large landholders were able to obtain small plots to manage for themselves, thus initiating the creation of the new social group which, from 509 BC on, became the plebs. The farm we have identified, located within the territory of the *Pollia* tribe (Taylor 1960; Alföldi 1965), might therefore have been inhabited by a well-off Roman farmer who resided there with his family, either as a free independent farmer (owning the plot he exploited) or as a client of a noble aristocrat. The farm lasted for about two generations, but was razed to the ground in about 500 BC, possibly in connection with conflicts with the Sabines or with the nearby settlement of Antemnae, which opposed the Republic in favour of bringing King Tarquinius Superbus back to Rome. The late 6th century BC saw another aristocratic appropriation of countryside lands, but times had changed and the old noble families had by now been replaced by the new class of patricians.

A passage in Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 2.21–23), referring to 495 BC, illustrates the violent events that took place on the

7 Cornell 1995, 173–179. See also Colonna 2009, 678–679; Capogrossi Colognesi 2012, 34–35; Carafa forthcoming.



Fig. 10 The bread oven which was found in the archaic farm house (Phase 1).

Abb. 10 Der Brotbackofen, der in der archaischen Farm gefunden wurde (Phase 1).

occasion of the first conflict between patricians and plebeians. The patricians lived in villas and on lands some of which were near the city; these villas were starting to expand at the expense of farms owned by small landholders who, ruined by wars and indebtedness, ended up being subjected to the patricians. The destruction of the farm may have caused the farmer's bankruptcy and his subsequent enslavement.

The first villa – Phase 2

Lying immediately above the destroyed farm was an enormous complex (Fig. 11–12; Carandini et al. 2006, 103–189) built of squared-off tufa blocks and divided into two buildings that, although separate, were closely related to one another. Here we witness a clear change of scale. The northern building (Building A, about 600 m²) may be likened to our concept of a »proper« villa, being divided into a residential part and a rustic part. Access was from the north-southern road along the structure's western boundary. The residential part of Building A was quite well preserved. It was built around a courtyard surrounded on two sides by rooms. Among them were a large, rectangular room at the centre of the northern side (quite similar in plan, size, and chronology to Acquarossa's main room; Strandberg Olofsson 1985, 57; Strandberg Olofsson 1986, 81–89), and probably two lateral towers. A wooden portico housed a press for olive processing – its pressing base was preserved – and provided access to a storeroom behind. On the east side of the portico, as the finds showed, there was a cult room looking out towards the countryside (D'Alessio/Di Giuseppe 2005). The rustic part was also organised around a courtyard, with storerooms and a kitchen. In the kitchen, two tiles were discovered side by side, along with ashes and pots; they would have been warmed to provide a cooking surface.

At the same time, to the south, beyond a small road, a new section was built (Building B, Fig. 13). It extended over an area of approximately 1200 m². Unlike Building A, it was surrounded by a high wall (*maceria*), so that it resembled a walled village. The construction technique, using tufa fragments – similar to that used in the earlier farm – was of inferior quality to that used at the same time in Building A. Inside there was a large enclosure (perhaps to shelter animals), as well as a less organised section with large unroofed areas and small rooms; it is thought that these were for housing the servants employed in the villa's activities, as well as for storing tools and so on⁸.

In addition to being a large farming concern, the unit formed by the villa and its southern complex (Buildings A and B; Fig. 14) represents something quite new archaeologically. The organisation of space in the northern building, the size of the entire complex, and the presence of the walled village set it clearly apart from the earlier farm, from the subsequent building phase and those which followed on the same site, and from what has been known to date elsewhere. The features are such that »villa« appeared to us to be the only term we could use to define them, leading us to suggest that the architectural type began some centuries earlier than hitherto thought. Moreover, in the sources, the place in

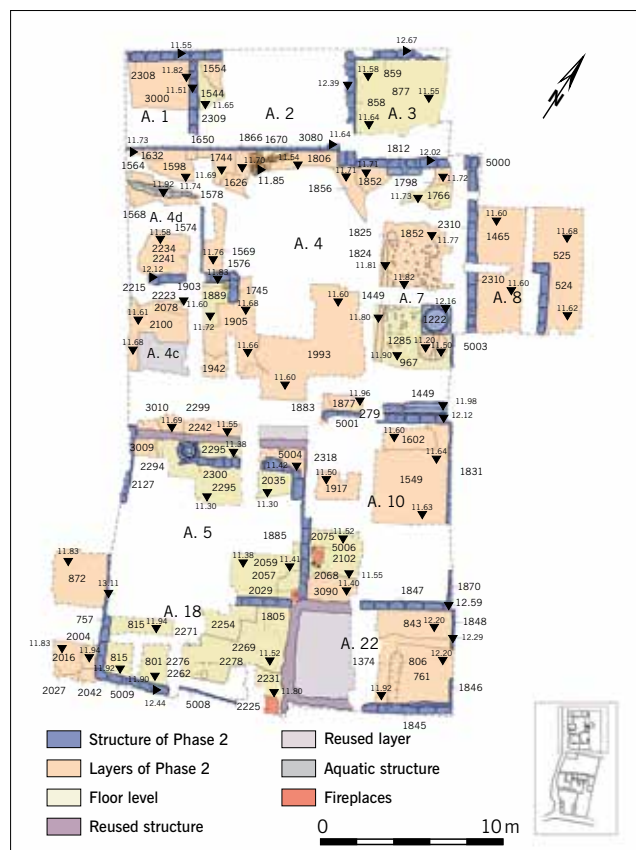


Fig. 11 Phase plan of the first villa (Phase 2, Building A).

Abb. 11 Phasenplan der ersten Villa (Phase 2, Gebäude A).

8 All we see from an archaeological point of view is a clear difference between Building A – a luxury residence including productive and storage quarters – and Building B – a

complex reserved for lower-level residents. The fact that the two buildings were built at the same time and the proximity between two residences, occupied by different social

groups, allows us to assume that people living in Building A had some sort of control over people living in Building B in a master-workers/servants relation.



Fig. 12 Restored plan of the first villa (Phase 2, Building A).

Abb. 12 Rekonstruierter Plan der ersten Villa (Phase 2, Gebäude A).



Fig. 13 Restored plan of the first villa (Phase 2, Building B).

Abb. 13 Rekonstruierter Plan der ersten Villa (Phase 2, Gebäude B).

Rome where the *census* was carried out from the 5th century BC onwards⁹ was called the *villa Publica* and, according to F. Coarelli (1997, 65), may have been one of the extra-urban properties which had belonged to the Tarquins and which were taken into public ownership – not unlike the *domus Publica* in the Forum. It is therefore possible that at least some rural buildings, perhaps particularly monumental or luxurious ones, were already defined as *villae* in the late Archaic period, and that the term is not merely an *a posteriori* projection of concepts known when the literary tradition took shape. The owner of this new complex was perhaps a patrician. His land may have been worked, at least in part, by the new category of debt servants (*nexi*), who would have been housed in the walled village. The chief and most profitable crop was the olive – as shown by the olive press – whose cultivation, according to Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 15.1), was introduced to Rome at the time of Tarquinius Priscus, that is, in the late 7th century BC. It would have been no accident that olive processing was housed in the villa's central building, under its owner's direct supervision.

The villa of Achelous – Phase 3

In about 300 BC (Fig. 15), the villa took on a new appearance, maintaining the clear distinction between the residential part to the north, organised around a courtyard, and the farmer's quarters to the south, but now no longer with a section for slave quarters. The section we have defined as being for servants was in fact obliterated. Only its enclosure wall was preserved, surviving solely as a fence, perhaps to protect animals and fruit trees. The oil press also disappeared, and an altar was placed at the centre of the residential courtyard, perhaps to celebrate the cult of the aristocratic family (*gens*) who lived there – a family wealthy enough to possess as

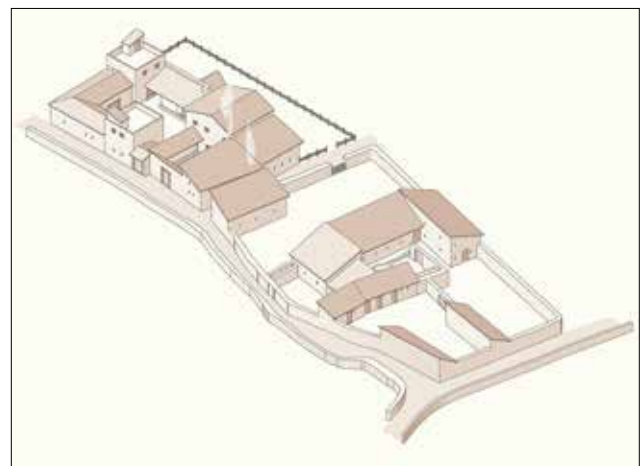


Fig. 14 Volumetric reconstruction of the first villa (Phase 2, Buildings A and B).

Abb. 14 Dreidimensionale Rekonstruktion der ersten Villa (Phase 2, Gebäude A und B).

prized an object as the corner gutter roof-tile with a protome of the river God Achelous which was found in the courtyard (Fig. 16). The farmer's quarters were still centred on a courtyard, with two hearths and a central *impluvium* with basin. The overseer of the villa (*vilicus*) – probably, by this period, a slave – lived here. The disappearance of the slave/servant quarters might reflect a change in the workforce employed at the villa. In 326 BC, the new law *Lex Poetelia Papiria de nexis*¹⁰ had abolished debt servitude, while the Samnite Wars brought Rome its first farm slaves as spoil.

⁹ Certainly from 435 BC, but probably from as early as 443 BC (Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 4.22.7; 4.8.7).

¹⁰ Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 8.28; Dion. Hal. Roman Antiquities 16.5; Cicero, *De re publica* 2.34; Varro, *Ling. lat.* 7.105.

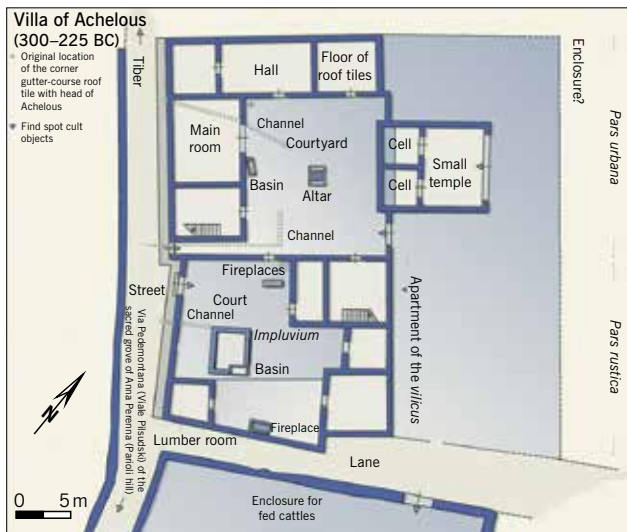


Fig. 15 Restored plan of the villa of Achelous (Phase 3, Building A).

Abb. 15 Rekonstruierter Plan der Villa des Acheloos (Phase 3, Gebäude A).

The atrium villa

By the late 3rd century BC (about 225 BC), the villa's *pars urbana* was centred on a regular *atrium* (see Fig. 7), supplemented by areas for the storage of produce (*pars rustica*), and was managed by slaves: this is the model Cato describes (*De agri cultura*). A noteworthy feature of this phase is the trace, on the floor of the *tablinum*, between the edge of the floor and the side wall, of what may have been a closet, where the scrolls and *tabulae* constituting the archive of the family which owned the villa may have been stored (*tablinum* derives from *tabula*). The modifications that took place in the Imperial Age did not change the earlier appearance very much, except for the addition of lateral structures, most probably store-rooms, and two stables, indicative of changes in cultivation and farming.

An alternative interpretation of the entire complex was proposed in 2002 by M. Piranomonte and A. La Regina (Piranomonte 2002a), who believed it to be the shrine (or annex thereof) dedicated to Anna Perenna, the nymph whom the Romans venerated on 15th March, the date of the most ancient Roman new year; however, the *Fasti Vaticani* placed this shrine in the *via Flaminia ad lapidem primum* (Piranomonte 2002; Piranomonte 2002a).



Fig. 16 Corner gutter-course roof-tile with the head of the river god Achelous.

Abb. 16 Dachtraufeneckziegel mit dem Kopf des Flussgottes Acheloos.

Conclusion

The discovery of the Auditorium villa has certainly revolutionised the interpretation of rural landscapes between the 5th and 3rd centuries BC. Where there had been villages and farms in earlier periods, it is now possible to identify settlements which are as large as villages but which are distinguished by finds indicating a certain degree of luxury, such as architectural terracotta. In light of what has been discussed, and as highlighted by Carandini (Carandini et al. 2006, 559–610), we suspect that these were villas from the Early or Middle Republic, once totally ignored, and now epitomised by the Auditorium villa (see also Jolivet et al. 2009; Volpe 2012).

However, some criticism still maintains that it is only possible to speak of villas from the 1st century BC onwards, and that rare earlier examples of »elite residences« since the 5th and 4th centuries are to be ascribed to forms of private aristocracy (Terrenato 2001). The form of dominion over territory exemplified by the Auditorium villa was indeed aristocratic, and we believe it to have been a form which was generalised and propagated precisely through the stable institution of the villa. What varies over time are the aristocracies that managed these villas (patrician, patrician-plebeian and the Late Republican *nobilitas*), and the procedures connected with production (using *nexi*, slave families, and teams of slaves specialised in the various farming activities), but the signs from this period onward are of strong occupation of territory, and the villa was to be one of the types of structure most characteristic of romanisation.

Sources cited

- Cato, De agri cultura**
Cato, *De agri cultura*. Cited after G. P. Goold, *Cato and Varro on agriculture* (Cambridge/Mass., London 1935).
- Cicero, De re publica**
Cicero, *De re publica*. Cited after G. P. Goold, *Cicero de re publica* (Cambridge/Mass., London 1928).
- Dion. Hal. Roman Antiquities**
Dion. Hal., *Roman Antiquities*. Cited after E. H. Warmington, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The roman antiquities* (Cambridge/Mass., London 1940).
- Livius, Ab urbe condita**
Livius, *Ab urbe condita*. Cited after R. M. Ogilvie, *Titi Livi, Ab urbe condita* (Oxford 1974).
- Pliny, Naturalis Historia**
Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*. Cited after G. P. Goold, *Natural History* (Cambridge/Mass., London 1942).
- Varro, Res rusticae**
Varro, *Res rusticae*. Cited after G. P. Goold, *Cato and Varro on agriculture* (Cambridge/Mass., London 1935).
- Varro, Ling. lat.**
Varro, *De lingua latina*. Cited after G. P. Goold, *Varro on the latin language* (Cambridge/Mass., London 1951).

Bibliography

- Alföldi 1965**
A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins*. Jerome Lectures, Seventh Ser. (Ann Arbor 1965).
- Becker/Terrenato 2012**
J. A. Becker/N. Terrenato (eds.), *Roman Republican Villas. Architecture, Context, and Ideology*. Papers and Monogr. Am. Acad. Rome 32 (Ann Arbor 2012).
- Bedini 1981**
A. Bedini, *Edifici di abitazione di epoca arcaica in località Acqua Acetosa Laurentina*. In: Comitato per l'archeologia laziale (ed.), *Archeologia Laziale 4*. Quarto incontro di studio del Comitato per l'Archeologia Laziale. A cura di Stefania Quilici Gigli. Quaderni arch. etrusco-italica 5 (Rome 1981) 253–258.
- Bedini 1984**
A. Bedini, *Scavi al Torrino*. In: Comitato per l'archeologia laziale (ed.), *Archeologia Laziale 6*. Sesto incontro di studio del Comitato per l'archeologia laziale. Quaderni arch. etrusco-italica 8 (Rome 1984) 84–90.
- Capogrossi Colognesi 2012**
L. Capogrossi Colognesi, *Padroni e contadini nell'Italia repubblicana*. Saggi storia antica 34 (Rome 2012).
- Carafa forthcoming**
P. Carafa, *Latinorum sibi maxime gentem conciliabat. Trasformazione dei paesaggi di Roma e del Lazio dal regno del Superbo all'inizio della Repubblica*. In: *The Age of Tarquinius Superbus. A Paradigm Shift?* Atti del Convegno tenuto a Roma, Royal Netherlands Institute and British School at Rome, 7–9 novembre 2013 (forthcoming).
- Carandini 1976**
A. Carandini, *Le forme di produzione dell'economia politica e le forme di circolazione dell'antropologia economica*. In: *Riuniti* (ed.), *Problemi teorici del marxismo*. Quaderni di Critica marxista (Rome 1976) 215–234.
- Carandini 1979**
A. Carandini, *L'anatomia della scimmia. La formazione economica della società prima del capitale, con un commento alle »Forme che precedono la produzione capitalistica« dai Grundrisse di Marx Nuova bible*. Scien. Einaudi 64 (Turin 1979).
- Carandini 1985**
A. Carandini (ed.), *Settefinestre: Una villa schiavistica nell'Etruria romana 1–3* (Modena 1985).
- Carandini et al. 1997**
A. Carandini/G. Ricci/M. T. D'Alessio/C. De Davide/N. Terrenato, *La villa dell'Auditorium dall'età arcaica all'età imperiale*. Mitt. DAI Rom 104, 1997, 117–148.
- Carandini et al. 2006**
A. Carandini/M. T. D'Alessio/H. Di Giuseppe (eds.), *La fattoria e la villa dell'Auditorium nel quartiere flaminio di Roma*. Bull. Comm. Arch. Roma, Suppl 14 (Rome 2006).
- Coarelli 1997**
F. Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio. Dalle origini alla fine della repubblica* (Rome 1997).
- Colonna 2009**
G. Colonna, *Discussione e Tavola Rotonda*. In: V. Jolivet/C. Pavolini/M. A. Tomei/R. Volpe (eds.), *Suburbium II. Il suburbio di Roma dalla fine dell'età monarchica alla nascita del sistema delle ville (V–II secolo a. C.)*. Coll. École Française Rome 419 (Rome 2009) 673–688.
- Cornell 1995**
T. J. Cornell, *The beginnings of Rome. Italy ad Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000–264 BC)* (London 1995).
- D'Alessio 2004**
M. T. D'Alessio, *La villa dell'Auditorium e la questione agraria: tra le riforme di Servio Tullio e la serrata del Patriziato*. In: E. C. De Sena/H. Dessales (eds.), *Metodi e approcci archeologici. L'industria e il commercio nell'Italia antica* (Archaeological Methods and Approaches. Industry and Commerce in Ancient Italy). BAR Internat. Ser. 1262 (Oxford 2004) 226–235.
- D'Alessio/Di Giuseppe 2005**
M. T. D'Alessio/H. Di Giuseppe, *La villa dell'Auditorium a Roma tra sacro e profano*. In: A. Klynne/B. Santillo Frizell (eds.), *Roman Villas around the Urbs. Interaction with landscape and environment*. Proceedings of a Conference at the Swedish Institute in Rome (September 17–18, 2004) (Rome 2005) 177–196.
- Fraioli 2009**
F. Fraioli, in A. Amoroso; M. Bianchini; M. Merlo; F. Fraioli; F. Di Gennaro, *Strutture semipogee nell'Ager Fidenatis*. In: V. Jolivet/C. Pavolini/M. A. Tomei/R. Volpe (eds.), *Suburbium II. Il suburbio di Roma dalla fine dell'età monarchica alla nascita del sistema delle ville (V–II secolo a. C.)*. Collect. École Française Rome 419 (Rome 2009) 347–367.
- Marzano 2007**
A. Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy. A Social and Economic History*. Columbia Stud. Class. Tradition 30 (Leiden, Boston 2007).
- Östenberg 1975**
C. E. Östenberg, *Case etrusche di Acquarossa* (Rome 1975).
- Painter 1980**
K. Painter (ed.), *Roman Villas in Italy. Recent excavations and research*. Brit. Mus. Occasional Paper 24 (London 1980).
- Piranomonte 2002**
Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae Suburbium I (2002) 59–63 s.v. *Annae Perennae Nemus* (M. Piranomonte).
- Piranomonte 2002a**
M. Piranomonte (ed.) *Il santuario della musica e il bosco sacro di Anna Perenna* (Rome 2002).
- Ricci/Terrenato 1998**
G. Ricci/N. Terrenato, *La villa dell'Auditorium*. In: M. Tosi/M. Pearce (eds.), *Papers from the EAA Third Annual Meeting at Ravenna 1997. Pre- and protohistory*. BAR Internat. Ser. 718,2 (Oxford 1998) 42–52.
- Strandberg Olofsson 1985**
M. Strandberg Olofsson, *Acquarossa. Zona F. La ricostruzione del complesso monumentale*. In: S. Stopponi (ed.), *Case e palazzi d'Etruria, catalogo della mostra* (Milano 1985) 54–57.
- Strandberg Olofsson 1986**
M. Strandberg Olofsson, *L'area monumentale di Acquarossa*. In: Ch. Wikander (ed.), *Architettura Etrusca nel Viterbese. Ricerche svedesi a San Giovenale e Acquarossa 1956–1986, catalogo della mostra* (Roma 1986) 81–89.
- Pergola et al. 2003**
P. Pergola/R. Santangeli Valenzani/R. Volpe (eds.), *Suburbium. Il suburbio di Roma dalla crisi del sistema delle ville a Gregorio Magno*. Collect. École Française Rome 311 (Rome 2003).
- Jolivet et al. 2009**
V. Jolivet/C. Pavolini/M. A. Tomei/R. Volpe (eds.), *Suburbium II. Il suburbio di Roma dalla fine dell'età monarchica alla nascita del sistema delle ville (V–II secolo a. C.)*. Collect. École Française Rome 419 (Rome 2009).
- Taylor 1960**
L. R. Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* (Rome 1960).
- Terrenato 2001**
N. Terrenato, *The Auditorium site in Rome and the origins of the villa*. *Journal Roman Arch.* 14, 2001, 5–32.
- Terrenato 2012**
N. Terrenato, *The Enigma of »Catonian« Villas: The De agri cultura in the Context of Second-Century BC Italian Architecture*. In: J. A. Becker/N. Terrenato (eds.), *Roman Republican Villas: Architecture, Context, and Ideology*. Papers and Monogr. Am. Acad. Rome 32 (Ann Arbor 2012) 69–93.
- Torelli 2012**
M. Torelli, *The Early Villa: Roman Contributions to the Development of a Greek Prototype*. In: J. A. Becker/N. Terrenato (eds.), *Roman Republican Villas: Architecture, Context, and Ideology*. Papers and Monogr. Am. Acad. Rome 32 (Ann Arbor 2012) 8–31.
- Volpe 2012**
R. Volpe, *Republican Villas in the Suburbium of Rome*. In: J. A. Becker/N. Terrenato (eds.), *Roman Republican Villas: Architecture, Context, and Ideology*. Papers and Monogr. Am. Acad. Rome 32 (Ann Arbor 2012) 94–110.

Source of figures

- | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | after Carandini 1985, Fig. 139,I | 7 | after Carandini et al. 2006, Fig. 151 | 13 | after Carandini et al. 2006, Fig. 73 |
| 2 | after Carandini 1985, Fig. 139,II | 8 | after Carandini et al. 2006, Fig. 33 | 14 | after Carandini et al. 2006, Fig. 235 |
| 3 | after F. Fraioli 2009, 366 Fig. 15 | 9 | after Carandini et al. 2006, Fig. 42 | 15 | after Carandini et al. 2006, Fig. 126 |
| 4 | after D'Alessio 2004, Fig. 1 | 10 | after Carandini et al. 2006, Fig. 38 | 16 | after Carandini et al. 2006, Fig. 201 |
| 5 | after Carandini et al. 2006, Fig. 23 | 11 | after Carandini et al. 2006, Fig. 55 | | |
| 6 | after Carandini et al. 2006, Fig. 16 | 12 | after Carandini et al. 2006, Fig. 72 | | |

Address

Prof. Maria Teresa D'Alessio
Sapienza – University of Rome
Department of Classics
Piazzale Aldo Moro 5
00185 Rome
Italy
mteresa.dalessio@uniroma1.it

DEFINING RICH AND POOR IN PREHISTORIC SOCIETIES		
Region considered: Suburbium of Rome		
Time considered: 6 th –1 st century BC		
Kind of evidence	Questions	
Funerary evidence	How large is the part of the ancient population represented by the available tombs? Is any section of the population missing from the available funerary evidence? Is it possible to state, if gaps in the funerary record are the product of economic factors?	We haven't found tombs here.
	Is the available funerary information representative of social groups? Which sectors of the society are we grasping in material terms?	
	Which material aspects (grave goods, funerary buildings, etc.) have been used in each society to express as well as to create differences inside society? Can these differences be interpreted in terms of power and/or economic exploitation or do they respond to other types of social divisions?	
	Are there hints pointing to a negative expression, a camouflage of property? Is there evidence to suggest that economic and social differences were not enhanced, but rather levelled in funerary ritual?	
	Which qualitative and quantitative criteria are used in each study to establish »wealth differences« between funerary contexts?	
	Where wealth differences are apparent, which proportion (%) of tombs would belong to the very poor and which to the very rich?	
	Which material differences exist between age and sex groups? More specifically, can we identify rich child and female burials or do only male accumulate wealth?	
Textual evidence	How do specific economic activities, property, taxation, etc. favour certain social classes/groups of others?	
Settlement or non-funerary evidence	Which is the evidence for storage and accumulation of wealth and surplus? Are products stored at the domestic level or centralised in certain buildings/areas? In the latter case, can we distinguish between private storage (e. g. in a palace) and public facilities?	The only evidence we have are rooms, part of a private rural building, possibly used as store-rooms.
	Can we identify a communal or supra-domestic architecture? Are these structures to be understood as communal property, as group property, or as private property of single persons?	Of course yes, because we are dealing with Rome, a fully urbanised society.
	What can be said about the economic organisation of a given society? Who profited from possible centralisation? What part of the economy do these centralised productions represent? Is there evidence of administration reflecting the appropriation of value by a restricted group of persons?	We have firm archaeological evidence for a market system, under a proto-capitalistic economy (offer-demand-surplus investment), at least from the end of the 3 rd century BC, managed by the highest senatorial noble class.
	Hoards can also be seen as a certain form of accumulation or of cancelling surplus. How do we interpret hoards in economic and social rather than ideological terms?	
	What is the role of violence in the establishment of class differences?	

Bislang erschienene Bände in der Reihe »Tagungsbände des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle«

Die Reihe der Tagungsbände des Landesmuseums wurde 2008 ins Leben gerufen. Anlass dazu war die Konferenz »Luthers Lebenswelten«, die im Jahr 2007 in Halle ausgerichtet wurde. Bereits der zweite Tagungsband widmete sich mit dem Thema »Schlachtfeldarchäologie« dem Mitteldeutschen Archäologentag, der seit 2008 jährlich von Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt veranstaltet und zeitnah publiziert wird. Dem großen Anteil internationaler Autorinnen und Autoren entsprechend, erscheinen

viele Beiträge dieser Reihe in englischer Sprache mit deutscher Zusammenfassung.

Mit dem bislang zuletzt erschienenen Tagungsband konnten die Vorträge und Posterpräsentationen des 7. Mitteldeutschen Archäologentags »2200 BC – Ein Klimasturz als Ursache für den Zerfall der Alten Welt?« in zahlreichen Artikeln renommierter Forscher verschiedenster Fachdisziplinen vorgelegt werden.

Lieferbar sind folgende Bände:

Band 1/2008 Harald Meller/Stefan Rhein/Hans-Georg Stephan (Hrsg.),

Luthers Lebenswelten.

Tagung vom 25. bis 27. September 2007 in Halle (Saale).

ISBN 978-3-939414-22-3, € 19,00

Band 2/2009 Harald Meller (Hrsg.),

Schlachtfeldarchäologie. Battlefield Archaeology.

1. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom 09. bis 11. Oktober 2008 in Halle (Saale).

ISBN 978-3-939414-41-4, € 35,00

Band 3/2010 Harald Meller/Kurt W. Alt (Hrsg.),

Anthropologie, Isotopie und DNA – biografische Annäherung an namenlose vorgeschichtliche Skelette?

2. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom 08. bis 10. Oktober 2009 in Halle (Saale).

ISBN 978-3-939414-53-7, € 19,00

Band 4/2010 Harald Meller/Regine Maraszek (Hrsg.),

Masken der Vorzeit in Europa I.

Internationale Tagung vom 20. bis 22. November 2009 in Halle (Saale).

ISBN 978-3-939414-54-4, € 19,00

Band 5/2011 Harald Meller/François Bertemes (Hrsg.),

Der Griff nach den Sternen. Wie Europas Eliten zu Macht und Reichtum kamen.

Internationales Symposium in Halle (Saale) 16.–21. Februar 2005.

ISBN 978-3-939414-28-5, € 89,00

Band 6/2011 Hans-Rudolf Bork/Harald Meller/
Renate Gerlach (Hrsg.),

Umweltarchäologie – Naturkatastrophen und Umweltwandel im archäologischen Befund.

3. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom 07. bis 09. Oktober 2010 in Halle (Saale).

ISBN 978-3-939414-64-3, € 32,00

Band 7/2012 Harald Meller/Regine Maraszek (Hrsg.),

Masken der Vorzeit in Europa II.

Internationale Tagung vom 19. bis 21. November 2010 in Halle (Saale).

ISBN 978-3-939414-90-2, € 32,00



Band 8/2012 François Bertemes/Harald Meller (Hrsg.),
Neolithische Kreisgabenanlagen in Europa.
Neolithic Circular Enclosures in Europe.
Internationale Arbeitstagung 7. bis 9. Mai 2004 in
Goseck (Sachsen-Anhalt).
ISBN 978-3-939414-33-9, € 59,00

Band 9/2013 Harald Meller/François Bertemes/
Hans-Rudolf Bork/Roberto Risch (Hrsg.),
1600 – Kultureller Umbruch im Schatten des
Thera-Ausbruchs? 1600 – Cultural change in the
shadow of the Thera-Eruption?
4. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom
14. bis 16. Oktober 2011 in Halle (Saale).
ISBN 978-3-944507-00-2, € 69,00

Band 10/2013 Harald Meller/Christian-Heinrich Wunder-
lich/Franziska Knoll (Hrsg.),
Rot – die Archäologie bekennt Farbe.
5. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom
04. bis 06. Oktober 2012 in Halle (Saale).
ISBN 978-3-944507-01-9, € 49,00

Band 11/2014 Harald Meller/Roberto Risch/
Ernst Pernicka (Hrsg.),
Metalle der Macht – Frühes Gold und Silber.
Metals of power – Early gold and silver.
6. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom
17. bis 19. Oktober 2013 in Halle (Saale).
ISBN 978-3-944507-13-2, € 119,00

Band 12/2015 Harald Meller/Helge Wolfgang Arz/
Reinhard Jung/Roberto Risch (Hrsg.),
2200 BC – Ein Klimasturz als Ursache für den
Zerfall der Alten Welt? 2200 BC – A climatic break-
down as a cause for the collapse of the old world?
7. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom
23. bis 26. Oktober 2014 in Halle (Saale).
ISBN 978-3-944507-29-3, € 109,00

Erhältlich im Buchhandel oder direkt beim
Verlag Beier & Beran
Thomas-Müntzer-Straße 103
08134 Langenweißbach
Deutschland

Tel. 037603 / 36 88
verlag@beier-beran.de