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Leder

Det er en glede for oss i redaksjonen å kunne invitere deg til å lese det første nummeret av RISS på fem år. Etter mye hardt arbeid har vi endelig klart å gjenoppta aktiviteten for RISS – et arkeologisk tidsskrift, drevet av arkeologistudenter ved UiB. Dette er vi veldig glade for, og vi håper vi har lagt et fundament for videre drift som varer i lang tid etter at dagens redaksjonsmedlemmer er uteksaminerte. Må det ikke gå fem år til neste nummer!

Ettersom RISS på et vis har blitt gjenfødt, føltes det passende å ha "gjenfødelse" som tema for dette nummeret. Arkeologi er muligens gjenfødelsens vitenskap mer enn noe annet; selve grunnidéen for arkeologisk forskning er sentrert rundt en gjenfødelses-aktivitet – nemlig å la noe under bakken bli født på ny som forskningsobjekt. Å ha dette som generell grunnidé gjør arkeologien til en ytterst allsidig vitenskap med mangfoldige muligheter for studenter og fagfolk, noe årets første RISS-utgave gir uttrykk for. Nummeret består av seks artikler som omhandler seks ulike perioder og seks ulike steder i verden, skrevet av forfattere fra flere ulike land. Likevel er de alle sentrert rundt gjenfødelse på en eller annen måte, enten fysisk endring av bruksområder, endring i forskningstilnærminger, endring av bosteds- og aktivitetsmønstre, eller idéer som blir gitt ny form.

Nummeret begynner med Žarko Tankosić, Paschalis Zafeiriadis og Fanis Mavridis sin artikkel om de nyeste funnene fra Gourimadi Archaeological Project sør på øya Evvia i Hellas, finansiert av det norske instituttet i Athen. Her får vi høre om hvordan studiet av denne lokaliteten bidrar til å endre mange tidligere oppfatninger om denne delen av Egeer-havet i sen-neolitikum (4-3000-tallet f.Kr.). Deretter beveger vi oss over til Alvheim fiskefarm på Hjartøy i Øygården og Hein Bjercks artikkel om samtidsarkeologisk aktivitet som del av Universitet i Bergen sitt pågående feltkurs for masterstudenter. Tema for denne artikkelen er hvordan materialitetens mangfoldighet i nær fortid (1900- og 2000-tallet) er relevant fra et arkeologisk perspektiv – «hvordan ting og tid sammenblandes i fenomener

og kontekster som også er gyldige i tradisjonelle arkeologiske situasjoner». Fra Vestlandet seiler vi over til Hebridene i Nordvest-Skottland, der Joseph Ryder forteller om gjenbruk av forhistoriske monumenter i norrøn tid (800-1250 e.Kr.). Med utgangspunkt i en rekke lokaliteter diskuteres det hvordan og, ikke minst, hvorfor de norrøne innvandrerne hadde et bevisst forhold til materielle manifestasjoner på tidligere folks aktiviteter i sitt nye hjemland. Fra Hebridene krysser vi Atlanteren og ankommer Mellom-Amerika der vi får høre fra Helene Robinson om hvordan europeiske kolonister tok med seg meningsladde objekter hjem og ga dem nye bruksområder. Basert på studier av et aztekisk obisidian-speil eid av engelskmannen John Dee (1527-1608/9), blir endring i objekters betydning, overføringskraft og kulturell appropriasjon diskutert fra et teoretisk perspektiv. Deretter følger min artikkel om Augustus' mausoleum (ferdigstilt på 20-tallet f.Kr.). Ved å referere til historiske hendelser og skape mytologiske assosiasjoner i gravmonumentets arkitektur, forsøker Romas første keiser å legitimere sin makt og presentere seg selv som leder i en ny gylden tidsalder etter senrepublikkens kaos. Til slutt vil Daniela Hoffmann diskutere aDna-teknologi og arkeo-genetikkens inntog i arkeologien med utgangspunkt i migrasjonsmønstre i Europa i neolitikum. Samtidig som arkeo-genetikk kan bidra til økt forståelse rundt forhistoriske bevegelsesmønstre, argumenteres det for nødvendigheten av brede forskningstilnærminger for fullt ut å forstå kompleksiteten i slike problemstillinger.

Vi gleder oss stort over å kunne presentere dette nummeret, fullt av spennende og variert lesing, som forhåpentligvis kan gi interessante synspunkter og inspirasjon til våre lesere. Vi håper også gjenfødelsen av RISS kan inspirere arkeologistudenter til å se mangfoldet i arkeologien og alle mulighetene som finnes der ute!

Med ønske om god lesing,

Redaktør
Aksel Teigen Breistrand

Filling the GAP: Gourimadi Archaeological Project and a renewed perspective on southern Euboea's Neolithic

Žarko Tankosić, Paschalis Zafeiriadis, Fanis Mavridis[1]

Introduction

In this paper we present some preliminary results of the Gourimadi Archaeological Project in light of its impact on our knowledge of the Late and Final Neolithic (c. 5th and 4th millennia BCE) periods in southern Euboea.[2] This section of Euboea, also known as the Karystia according to its largest modern town, consists of c. 240 km2 of land encircled by sea on three sides and linked to the rest of the island by the narrow Filagra isthmus to the North (fig. 1). The definition of the Karystia varies depending on the criteria one employs and the archaeological period

Fig. 1 Location of Gourimadi in the wider Aegean. From Tankosić et al. 2021b.

[1]Žarko Tankosić, SapienCE, AHKR, UiB; Paschalis Zafeiriadis, Norwegian Institute at Athens, UiB; Fanis Mavridis, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology.
[2] For more extensive information on the Gourimadi Archaeological Project and a full bibliography, see Tankosić, Ž., F. Mavridis, P. Zafeiriadis, and A. Psoma (2021) 'Gourimadi Archaeological Project: The results from the first excavation season (2018) of a prehistoric site in the Karystia, southern Euboea'. *Opuscula: Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* 14/2021, 7-26.

of interest. These diverse perspectives influence our understanding of the past population dynamics in the wider area. The Karystia resembles more the Cycladic islands to the south than the rest of Euboea in terms of geomorphology, vegetation, and general appearance, although it is geologically diverse in its own right and larger than any of the Aegean islands. Karystia's liminal geographical position is also evident in its prehistoric material culture that exhibits influences from both the Cyclades and the mainland infused in local traditions. This phenomenon indicates the connections of the local communities both with their direct surroundings and the wider Aegean world (for an overview of interactions between the mainland and the Aegaen during the FN-EBA, see Broodbank 2000; Kouka 2008; Nazou 2020; Tankosić 2011).

The Karystia is marked by the twin peaks of Mount Ochi, the Bay of Karystos, and two large plains, namely the coastal Karystian plain of Kampos and the Katsaronio plain. Both plains represent a significant diachronic agricultural resource. The bay is flanked by the Paximadi peninsula to the west and the Bouros-Kastri peninsula to the east.

The last forty plus years of research in southern Euboea has produced large quantities of data about the local prehistory (e.g. Cullen et. al. 2013; Keller 1985; Tankosić et. al. 2021a; Wickens et. al. 2018). Most of this research consisted of surface surveys with, until recently, several limited in scope rescue excavations. Despite this, there are still many gaps in our knowledge, especially when it comes to local prehistoric chronological sequence. The most problematic among them is the one related to the Neolithic period.

In terms of the prehistoric chronological sequence, and the presence or absence of certain phases thereof, the Karystia also resembles more the Cyclades than the mainland or the rest of Euboea. The area contains robust remains from the Final Neolithic (c. 4200-3100 BCE) and the first two subphases of the succeeding Early Bronze Age (c. 3100-2200 BCE). However, the preceding Neolithic phases were either entirely missing from the archaeological record (Early and Middle) or represented in a very limited way (Late). Also, the fi-

nal subphase of the EBA (EBA III) has also not been found thus far. In addition, there is currently only one Middle Bronze Age (MBA) site in the area, which is in line with the pattern of site number reduction in the Aegean during this period. Finally, unlike the rest of Greece, the Late Bronze Age (LBA) or the Mycenaean period is only very sparsely documented in the Karystia.

LN, the earliest Neolithic phase in the Cyclades is identified with the so-called Saliagos culture, represented - among other materials - with white-on-dark painted pottery. Until recently, similar pottery has been found at only one location in the Karystia, the Agia Triada cave. That site, however, is not habitational and its pottery had been produced elsewhere before deposited there. Repeated systematic surveys in the area had not produced any similar material and Agia Triada remained, until Gourimadi, the only LN site in southern Euboea.

This has been a somewhat unexpected situation because southern Euboea, with its plentiful agricultural resources and the advantageous location for prehistoric seafaring, seems like an ideal location for Neolithic habitation. Moreover, southern Euboea has long figured as one of the possible locations from where the populations that settled the Cycladic islands towards the end of the Neolithic could have come from. The research at Gourimadi changed this situation.

Gourimadi location

Gourimadi lies in the Katsaronio plain, c. 6 km from the modern town of Karystos (fig. 2). The site was discovered during the Norwegian Archaeological Survey in the Karystia project (NASK; 2012-2017) (Tankosić et. al. 2021a). Because of the size and composition of the surface artifact assemblage, it was immediately recognized as important. Particularly significant was the recovered pottery, the typological aspects of which indicated the presence of several chronological strata pointing to the occupation of the site during the FN-EBA I transition (roughly the 4th millennium BCE). The large quantities of surface obsidian (3660 pieces in total), including 180 tools of which 53 arrowheads, were also significant. We also found a well-preserved copper

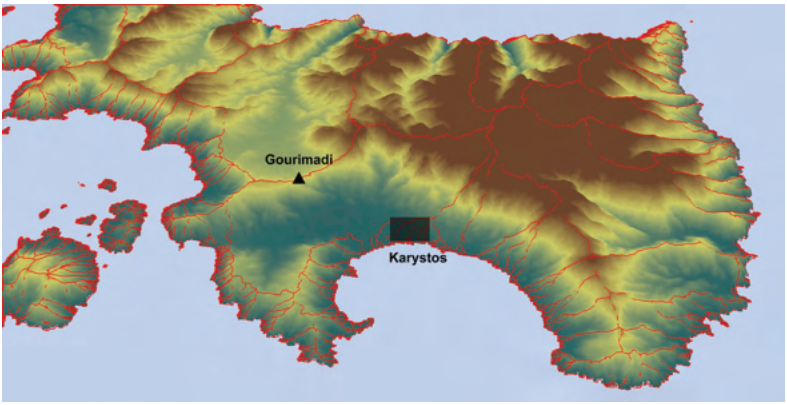


Fig 2. Gourimadi within southern Euboea (Karystia). Author M. Katsianis. From Tankosić et al. 2021b.

axe on the surface, which is an almost unique find for any field survey. The excellent defensive location of the site with unobstructed views of the entire area and the nearby Cycladic islands was also suggestive of its importance.

The site is placed on a hill that rises c. 400 masl, topped by a large natural rock outcrop. In morphological terms, the hill includes a very slightly inclined (east to west) area west of its summit, the relatively steep southern slopes, and the mildly inclined western and northern slopes. The prehistoric site covers the plateau on the summit as well as the north, west, and south slopes of the hill. The maximum extent of the site is c. 4 ha based on the size of the surface scatter but the distribution of surface artifacts can be affected by many anthropogenic and natural factors.

Although we encountered the thickest concentration of surface materials on the southern slopes of the Gourimadi hill, we attributed this to erosion and decided to begin our excavation by first targeting the plateau on the summit of the hill which would have preserved the best and likely most intact stratigraphic sequence.

2018-2021 Excavations

We began excavating at the site in 2018 with two trenches: trench 1 (7X4m) covering the central section of the plateau on the summit and trench 2 (4X4m)

on the southern section of the summit and c. 5 m south of trench 1 (Tankosić et. al. 2021b). In subsequent years we opened three additional trenches (3-5) south, northwest, and west of trench 1, for the total of five trenches (fig. 3).

To record the excavations, we designed methods around the principles of precision, simplicity, and flexibility. We use a FileMaker Pro-based database both for in the field recording (on iPad tablets) and for data storage and analysis purposes.

The excavation is done in "excavation units" that, where possible, follow the observable cultural stratigraphy and are designed to represent the three-dimensional space - primarily the excavated soil but also any positive or negative stratigraphic feature that occupies space (e.g. walls, pits, and similar). An excavation unit can also represent individual anthropogenic or natural events (e.g., geological depositions, fills, floor constructions, etc.) that left trace in the stratigraphy. Each excavation unit is recorded in a variety of ways to reduce the possibility of undetected errors with the total station as the main device to record spatial data for units and individual artifacts or groups thereof. We also rely heavily on

Fig 3. Location of trenches and exposed walls in 2021. Author D. Nenova.

photogrammetry as the main tool for visual recording and 3D data representation. All the soil is dry-sieved and a consistent percentage of the excavated soil from each unit is kept for flotation. We also systematically collect soil samples for geological analysis.

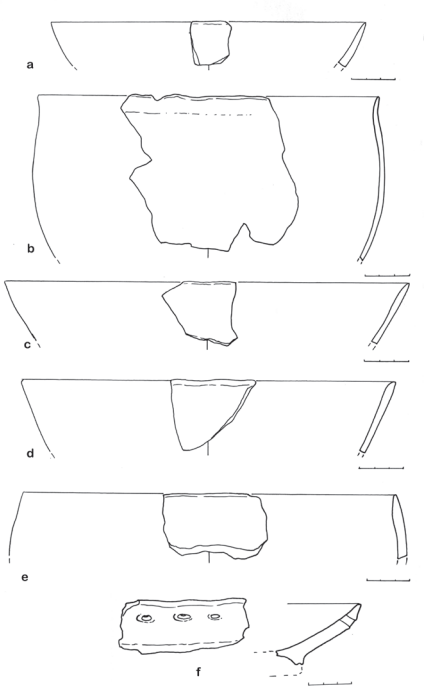
Results

The four years of excavation produced a number of important results consisting of both non-movable/architectural features and a wealth of movable archaeological material. We confirmed the expected presence of prehistoric architectural remains at the site, suggesting its more substantial use and permanent habitation. The architectural remains consist of numerous rectilinear and curvilinear, stone-built walls (fig. 4) and ancillary installations (e.g., hearths, oven, platforms, pits, etc.). The features excavated at the summit of the Gourimadi hill belong to several construction and reconstruction phases spanning at least a millennium of habitation, so far without an apparent hiatus.

The chronological span of the excavated pottery that ranges from the LN-FN (early and mid-5th millennium BCE) to the early part of the EBA (see below) further supports the above conclusion, though the radiocarbon dates are still not available. The pottery and lithics represent the most plentiful categories of finds. The local pottery fabrics are consistent with the region's geology characterized by the presence of schist, quartz, and mica (musco-

Fig 4. Example of walls. Author Ž. Tankosić.

Fig 5. Typical open pottery shapes from Gourimadi. From Tankosić et al. 2021b.



vite). Among the pottery shapes, both closed (fig. 5), open, and openmouthed shapes are present (fig. 6). There are rounded (fig. 5: a), straight-sided, usually shallow (fig. 5: c-d), deeper S-profile (fig. 5: b) or closed (fig. 5: e) bowls. Among chronologically sensitive shapes, "cheese pots" (fig. 5: f) are relatively numerous, a particular, usually coarse, shape with a row of perforations below the rim that is characteristically found on Aegean sites dated to the later 5th and 4th millennia BCE (Doukaki 2018, 59-81). There are also closed and open mouthed shapes with handles and lugs starting from the rim or just below it (fig. 6: a, j), jars with straight, in- or out-turned necks (fig. 6: b, c, d, i, f, g), jars with incisions below rim (fig. 6: e) and a unique closed shape with spherical body (fig. 6: h).

Medium monochrome ware, defined here as having a dark smooth surface with distinct thick burnished

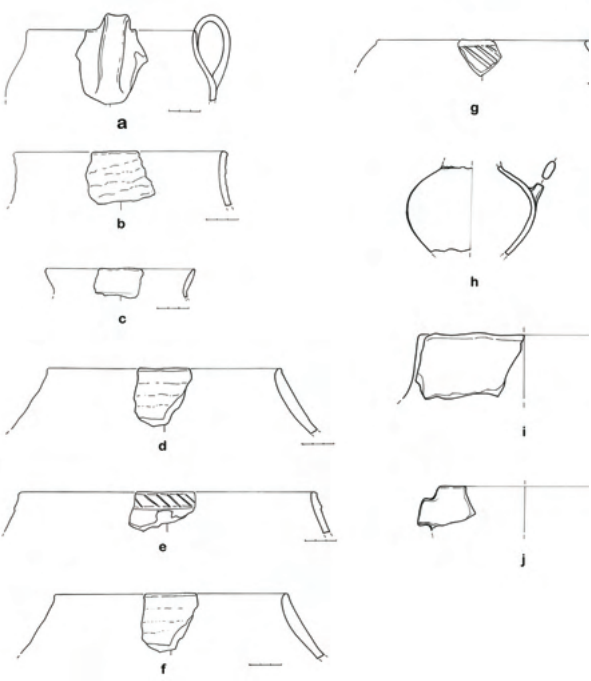


Fig 6. Typical closed pottery shapes from Gourimadi. From Tankosić et al. 2021b.

slip but no decoration and the fabric that is between fine and those with some (usually small stone fragments) inclusions is the most dominant. Coarse ware follows, while medium to fine usually dark faced burnished sherds are rather limited in number. This last category has black-gray surfaces and on occasion some traces of fugitive red color are present, indicating that the so-called crusted ware was used at the site; however, the preservation is poor. Several of the vessel bases have preserved matt impressions (fig. 7: a). Notable is also the presence of various kinds of horned handles in different types and wares (fig. 7: b, c). Tubular handles, various kinds of strap handles, lugs with vertical or horizontal perforation are also well represented.

Relief and plastic decoration consisting of ridges, knobs, buttons, mastoid projections (fig. 7: g), and similar are the most common types of dec-

oration, particularly finger-impressed raised bands ("rope decoration"). Incised and grooved pottery is also present (fig. 7: d-f). Jars with a raised band just below the rim decorated with incised patterns (usually triangles filled with diagonal lines) are found at Gourimadi and are common at sites such as Ftelia on Mykonos, Kephala on Kea, and others. Several handles may come from scoops, which is another shape distinctive of this prehistoric phase. Some sherds bear pattern-burnished decoration (fig. 7: i); however, the specimens preserved are few and small. A small number of sherds belong to rolled-rim vessels and vessels with T-shaped rims, indicating EB I presence. Some undiagnostic body sherds with buff and greyish clay may also belong to this later phase, or even to a more advanced phase of the EBA, however it is difficult to confirm this at this stage.

Particularly important is the identification of the so-called white-on-dark ware, reminiscent of similar pottery from the Agia Triada cave, also located in southern Euboea. This

Fig 7. Examples of decorated pottery from Gourimadi. From Tankosić et al. 2021b.

pottery points to the 5th millennium's so-called Saliagos horizon of the Cyclades, named after the excavation of the homonymous islet located between Paros and Antiparos in the 1960s. Some sherds with incised and *pointillé* decoration (fig. 7: e) may be of similar date. This is the first time that such pottery was identified on an open-air site in southern Euboea. In addition, this chronological horizon was not expected at Gourimadi, since it did not appear in its surface assemblage during the field survey of the site. White-on-dark pottery also represents the earliest evidence of human habitation in this part of Euboea known thus far (Mavridis 2017).

These preliminary observations on the pottery assemblage offer a first insight on the time range of the use of the site from approximately the early/mid 5th millennium to the beginning of the EBA, at the transition between the 4th and 3rd millennia BCE. Finally, a single matt-painted sherd from 2021 suggests that both mainland and Cycladic traits are present in the 5th millennium strata at Gourimadi. Such a pottery specimen is found for the first time in a southern Euboean site.

Several thousands of chipped stone tools, overwhelmingly made of Melian obsidian (approx. more than the 99.5%), constitute an equally important and voluminous part of the Gourimadi archaeological assemblage. As an illustration, 3175 pieces were collected only in 2018 and this number is far greater now.

Noteworthy is the large number of arrowheads that were found at the site with their current count standing at more than 200 pieces, either whole or fragmented. Most arrowheads are tanged and barbed (fig. 8: e, g) with bifacial retouch, bearing typological characteristics encountered in other LN and FN points at a number of sites in Greece. It is also worth mentioning that, among the tools, we uncovered two leaf-shaped points (fig. 8: a) that are similar to the obsidian points found at the LN sites of Ftelia and Saliagos. Further, the excavation of T1 yielded a round-shaped flake that bears resemblance to the "discs" tool types found at the site of Saliagos, where they were classified as "pieces of rejuvenation flakes or cores with sec-

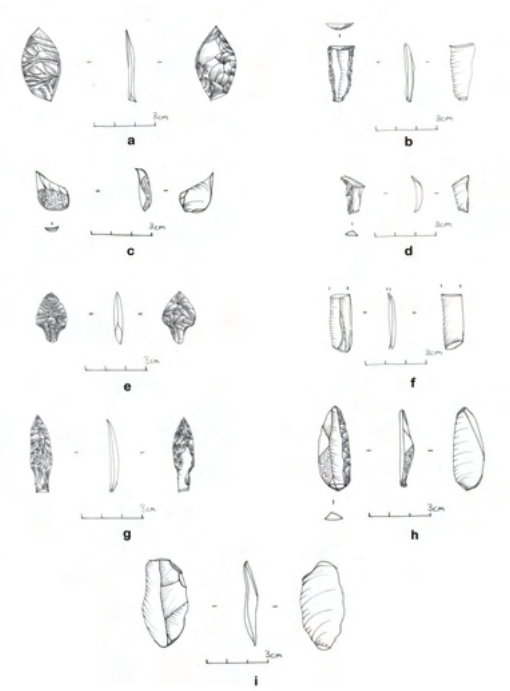


Fig 8. Representative obsidian lithic tools from Gourimadi. From Tankosić et al. 2021b.

ondary retouch" (Evans and Renfrew 1968, 52). Other characteristic tool types that we uncovered include blades with marginal and/or nibble retouch, blades without retouch, denticulates (fig. 8: b), end-scrapers, sidescrapers (fig. 8: h), notches, percoirs (fig. 8: c), retouched pieces, and becs (fig. 8: d).

Judging by the large quantities of obsidian debitage, we can conclude that core reduction took place extensively at the site. All phases of the reduction sequence were identified, and the site appears to have played a central role in lithic artifact production. The extensive presence of characteristic pieces such as cortical flakes and technical pieces suggests that the obsidian raw material was imported at the Gourimadi site in the form of unprepared nodules, which were subsequently shaped into blade or flake cores. The analysis shows that arrowheads were an important component of the site's lithic production and constitute the largest tool percentage at the site. The combi-

nation of survey and excavation lithic assemblages makes the Gourimadi obsidian projectile points collection the largest in southern Euboea and one of the largest in the Aegean. While some tool types indicate agricultural, domestic, and/or animal husbandry activities (e.g., blades with or without retouch, scrapers, perforating tools etc.), the specialized lithic production of arrowheads could be related to hunting activities. Another possibility is that the arrowheads were utilized as weapons for defensive purposes, if one considers the site's advantageous geographical location for controlling land or sea routes.

Conclusions

The rich cultural deposits at Gourimadi are for the moment unique in southern Euboea. Remains of architecture consisting of extensive stone-built walls indicate an extended habitation at this location and are the best-preserved prehistoric remains known in the Karystia at the moment. The unexpected presence of LN phases at the site is especially important. It significantly changes our understanding of the population dynamics in this part of the Aegean during the 5th millennium BCE. It has profoundly renewed and altered our knowledge of the Neolithic in the area and has the potential to continue to do so. Namely, we have not encountered bedrock in any part of the excavated area and, in fact, have strong indications that the cultural layers continue even deeper, possibly to even earlier Neolithic phases.

Finally, the archaeological periods represented at Gourimadi belong to an important phase of population movement into the islands during the 5th and 4th millennia BCE and the results can help shed light on the southern Euboean contribution to this process.

Acknowledgements

Although it is impossible to enumerate them all here, we are grateful to all the people and institutions that help Gourimadi Archaeological Projects thrive, and particularly the international teams of students and volunteers. We particularly thank the Norwegian Institute at Athens, for the permit and financial support as well as the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP) for their generous funding. Our work

would not have been possible without the support of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea and its director, Dr. Angeliki Simosi. Special thanks go to Dr Denitsa Nenova for revamping our recording techniques and who, together with Hüseyin Öztürk, made the project on the whole more enjoyable.

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Samtidsarkeologi på Feltkurs Hjartøy – Alvheim Fiskefarm

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Feltkurset Hjartøy i Øygarden gir MA-studentene ved AHKR basal og variert øvelse i arkeologisk feltmetodikk. Kurset er et samarbeid mellom instituttet og Fornminneseksjonen ved Bergen Museum. Fornminneseksjonen er ansvarlig for størsteparten av de arkeologiske utgravningene på Vestlandet, og samarbeidet sikrer både pedagogiske kvaliteter og at undervisningsopplegget er på linje med dagens feltpraksis – som foruten tradisjonell feltvirksomhet omfatter en rekke digitale verktøy.

Konkret omfatter Feltkurs Hjartøy utgravning av hustufter i Hjartøyvågen, et omfattende fiskevær fra Jernalder/Middelalder. Dessuten gjøres landskapsstudier av øya ved tidligere havnivåer og prøvestikkundersøkelser for å finne steinalderboplasser, og det øves ferdigheter i fotografering, GIS, HMS, formidling, dokumentasjon og rapportering. I dette allsidige opplegget er det også gitt rom for 'samtidsarkeologi'. Samtidsarkeologien inviterer til å

Fig. 1 Alvheim Fiskefarm på Hjartøy, tidligere Jonas Alvheim Sildesalteri. Bassenget i bakgrunnen ble brukt i vannforsyningen til smoltanlegget. Til høyre er 'Hydrokaia' som ble etablert i forbindelse med ilandføring av oljeledningen fra Nordsjøen (Foto: O. F. Unhammer).

Fig. 2. Kontor i 2. etasje i det gamle sildesalteriet (Foto: H. Bjerck).

studere ting fra nær fortid. Tingenes egenart og samhandlingen mellom mennesker og materialitet kan ofte være lettere å se i nettopp de kjente og familiære i tingene fra vår egen tid. Studiet av levninger fra nær fortid kan dermed belyse mer enn det samtidige - og samtidsarkeologi er en fruktbar innfallsport til å forstå arkeologiske spor fra fjernere tider. Det vil falle for langt å gå i dybden her, jeg anbefaler heller noen bøker som gir innsyn i forskningsfeltet - Burström (2007), Harrison & Schofield (2010), Olsen (2010), Olsen, Shanks, Webmoor & Witmore (2012) og tilfanget av artikler i *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology.*

Alvheim Fiskefarm

Feltkurset i samtidsarkeologi er knyttet til Alvheim Fiskefarm, et nedlagt produksjonsanlegg for smolt (lakseyngel) til de mange oppdrettsanleggene langs kysten. Fiskefarmen er tilpasset byggene i Jonas Alvheim Sildesalteri fra 1918, som senere ble utvidet med nye bygg rundt 1930 og 1950. Sildesalteriet ble nedlagt som en følge av sviktende sildefiske sist på 1950-tallet. Anlegget ble etter en tid ombygget til

smoltproduksjon (Alvheim Fiskefarm) som var i drift fra midten av 1980-årene og frem til 1994. Til sammen favner anlegget næringsvirksomhet i samme familie gjennom 100 år – i en verden med skiftende muligheter og begrensninger. Paradoksalt nok bidro fiskefarmen til sin egen undergang. Lakseyngelen de produserte var med på å stimulere veksten i oppdrettsnæringen; det oppstod etter hvert sykdom i laksemerdene – omstreifende sjøfugl spredte smitte som til slutt rammet selve fiskefarmen. Tapet i det etter hvert beskjedne og kanskje tungdrevne anlegget innebar at det ikke ble igangsatt ny drift.

Alvheim Fiskefarm er dermed en talende illustrasjon på hvordan næringsvirksomhet gis varierende muligheter/begrensinger i en eksisterende konstruksjon i samfunn og miljø som er i evig endring, og hvordan skiftende aktivitet preger byggene og hva som etterlates i dem. I en større sammenheng er det liknende krefter som har formet både fiskevær fra jernalder og leirplasser fra steinalderen, og styrt noe som engang fungerte mot avvikling og forfall.

Selv om hovedlinjen er klar

Fig. 3. Martin Aakre har nettopp oppdaget en avklarende detalj om vannforsyningssystemet i fiskefarmen (Foto: H. Bjerck).

Fig. 4. Noen av rommene i sildesalteriet var innredet for beboelse. Treskoene i grovkjøkkenet antydet at beboerne stort sett var menn – men kunne det gule skoparet i mindre størrelse være spor etter en kvinne? Var garnrestene på veggen et fiskeredskap til tørk eller en ting til 'hjemmekos'? (Foto: H. Bjerck).

er det utfordrende å finne ut av detaljene, utvidelser, renovering og tilpassing av ny virksomhet i eksisterende anlegg, skiftende innredning, utstyr og redskaper. En lang samtale med Kjell Alvheim, som var en av eierne/driverne av Alvheim Fiskefarm, kunne avklare mye om anlegg og drift. Men heller ikke et menneske som selv har deltatt i virksomheten kunne forklare alle detaljer – her var ennå mye tilbake som tingene selv måtte forklare. Hvordan hadde de fått på plass de store runde karene i et bygg der ingen av dørene var store nok og alle vegger synes å være eldre enn karene? Hvorfor hadde ikke sildesalteriet vind (heiseanordning) mot sjøen slik de vanligvis har? … hvordan kan man finne spor etter en vind som er fjernet? Hvordan kan man se at bygg er tilpasset til ny virksomhet? Hvem var 'Mizi', som hadde eget tannglass på kjøkkenet i andre etasje? Hvorfor fantes her aviser og ukeblad fra så sent som 2015 – mange år etter at fiskefarmen ble nedlagt? Var et opphengt garn noe annet enn et fiskeredskap til tørk? Hvorfor er det hengt en fjøl av et tønnelokk på veggen i gangen inn til fiskefarmens administrasjon?

Svarene på disse små og store spørsmål skal ikke avsløres her for ikke å 'spoile' kommende samtidsarkeologiske feltkurs. Men relevansen

Fig. 5. Yvonne W. Soleng og Karen K. Aase studerer produksjonsdatoen for en flaske oppvaskmiddel i tekjøkkenet/pauserommet i Alvheim Fiskefarm (Foto: H. Bjerck.).

i hvordan en 'moderne lokalitet' også kan gi perspektiver på hvordan mye eldre arkeologiske kontekster formes gjennom bygg, drift og forfall er åpenbar om en tar seg tid til å observere detaljer og reflektere over helheter.

Tydeligvis, det er dessverre ikke slik at levningene fra den tidligste virksomheten finnes i et 'bunnlag', og at senere aktivitet avleirer seg i nye lag som kan skilles med stratigrafisk presisjon. Ting fra ulik tid og virksomhet flyter omkring, ting gjenbrukes i nye sammenhenger, gamle bygg setter begrensninger eller byr på nye muligheter. Men kompleksiteten avleirer seg i ting og detaljer. Materialiteten viser tydelig at det er ingenting i arkeologien som er bare er 'rot' og 'uforståelig kaos'. Selv det som øyensynlig er sammenkastet er meningsbærende. Hva er tingene? Hva brukes de til, og hvorfor ligger de der de ligger, og i hvilken kombinasjon?

Det er kanskje nettopp dette som gjør en samtidsarkeologisk studie av anlegget spennende og instruktivt i forhold til tradisjonelle arkeologiske kontekster. Den viktigste forskjellen er kanskje at den materielle kompleksiteten er verre å få øye på i levninger som er sterkt nedbrutt. Men vi trenger ikke tvile på at fortidens bygg ble

renovert, bygningsdeler gjenbrukt, at funksjonsendring foregikk og at ting aldri legger seg til ro i vanntette kronologiske sekvenser. '*... there is no archaeology of the twenty-first century but only an archaeology of the twenty-first and all its pasts, mixed and entangled,*' skriver samtidsarkeologen Alfredo González-Ruibal (2008, 262).

Samtidsarkeologisk feltkurs på Hjartøy

Det metodiske opplegget i studien av Alvheim Fiskefarm er sentrert omkring å stimulere oppmerksomhet på bygg, rom og etterlatte ting gjennom observasjon, diskusjon og foto. Kurset gjøres i løpet av en dag. Små grupper (to-tre studenter) sendes alene ut på en befaring i anlegget og diskuterer det de ser underveis. Samtalen i små grupper har en tendens til å øke studentenes observasjonsevne. Eneste hjelpemiddel er en enkel planskisse over rommene i de tre byggene, i hovedsak som et system for å plassere observasjoner. Ellers får studentene lite forhåndskunnskap. Under den timelange innledende befaringen blir de bedt om å ha ekstra oppmerksomhet på kronologi, både eldst-yngst og håndfaste årstall i kalendre, etterlatte aviser, dokumenter, 'best før'-datoer på produkter, mm.

Når vi igjen samles etter den innledende befaringen vil jeg gjerne høre hva studentene har observert, hva de tror har foregått her, pussigheter, spørsmål, relativ og absolutt alder – før vi diskuterer funnene opp mot hva jeg etter hvert har fått vite om anlegget. Etterpå er det tid for en felles befaring for å se nærmere på observasjoner studentene har gjort, hva de kan bety, små og store ting som kanskje er oversett, forklarende detaljer og sammenhenger.

Jeg liker å legge merke til at studentene observerer uten å flytte rundt på ting, de bærer ikke ting med seg for å vise dem frem, men legger dem respektfullt tilbake på plass – i en slags intuitiv respekt for tingenes kontekst. Også intuitivt for studentene er at 'daterbare funn' ikke nødvendigvis daterer virksomheten i de mange rommene. Tingenes tendens til å flyte omkring i tid og rom, og å stadig inngå ny virksomhet er tydelig. Gamle ting brukes på ny, ofte til noe annet enn de opprinnelig var tiltenkt – slik det sannsynligvis også skjedde i dyp tid.

Fig. 6. Erlend Eide, Emilie Marki og Hanne Helgeland viser frem sjablongen som ble brukt til å merke tønner med 'salted mackrel' til bergensfirmaet Rolf Olsen as (Foto: H. Bjerck).

Studentenes observasjonsevne er varierende, men oftest imponerende. Det er forunderlig at nye studentgrupper *hver eneste gang* påpeker ting andre (eller jeg selv etter utallige rundturer) ikke har lagt merke til eller har forstand på. Enkelte studenter har stor oppmerksomhet på talende detaljer og er svært kreative til å følge opp spor som kan avklare sammenhenger, hvorfor ting finnes der de er, funksjonelle forbindelser – hva ting *gjør* og ikke bare hva de *er*. De mest observante kan finne meningsfulle sammenhenger mellom ting i ulike deler av anlegget, gamle og nye. Noen legger merke til ferske spor etter motorsag i gammelt trevirke (som viser at gammelt virke brukes i nye konstruksjoner – i så tilfelle hvor?). Noen stiller spørsmål om hvor ting som åpenbart er ute av kontekst kan komme fra, eller om ting/rom/bygg kan ha vært brukt på andre måter enn opprinnelig tiltenkt. Hvordan kan tingene avsløre dette? Igjen er relevansen åpenbar til tradisjonelle arkeologiske kontekster der sammenhengene er vanskeligere å avlese.

I levninger fra nær fortid er den evige kompleksiteten i tingene selv og samspillet med mennesker og ikke-mennesker lettere å forstå. Her er ingen fasit, men mye som gir innsikt i materiell kulturs mangfold og flertydighet – hvordan ting og tid sammenblandes i fenomener og kontekster som også er gyldige i tradisjonelle arkeologiske situasjoner. Kreativ gjenbruk er neppe en moderne ferdighet.

Samtidsarkeologi vil også være del av Feltkurs Hjartøy i kommende år. Alvheim Fiskefarm er under sanering og i forfall. Også dette er fenomener som kjennetegner alle andre lokaliteter arkeologer undersøker, og forringer neppe de pedagogiske kvalitetene i feltkurset. Kanskje snarere tvert om.

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The rebirth of pre-historic monuments in the Norse period of the Hebrides

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The Hebrides (fig. 1), the archipelago along the western coast of Scotland, are known for Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments, such as standing stones, cairns, stone circles, among others. In the Norse period (800-1250 AD), Scandinavian colonizers would have found these monuments in the landscape and interacted with them. Some of these pre-Norse, prehistoric monuments became enmeshed within their customs, such as their burial rites. This article will briefly explore the archaeology of the Norse use of pre-Norse, prehistoric monuments.

The monuments

From an archaeological perspective, the Hebrides are well-known for their Neolithic (4000-2500 BC) and Bronze Age (2500-800 BC) monuments. Many standing stones, stone circles or settings, chambered tombs, cairns, and other monuments still stand in the landscape today. Callanish (fig. 2), for example, is one of the most famous archaeological monuments in the Hebrides, and after Stonehenge, the most frequently visited stone circle in Britain. While these monuments fascinate people in the 21st century, they must have fascinated people for thousands of years after their original constructions, though attitudes toward them must have changed throughout the millennia.

In the Norse period (800-1250 AD), the Hebrides was colonized by Norse-speaking migrants, incoming from Western Norway, as part of the Viking expansion phenomenon that occurred throughout much of Northern Europe. From archaeological and place name evidence, we can see a replacement of the local, indigenous Celtic-speaking culture with a Scandinavian culture in Northern Scotland. While scholars have disagreed over the fate of the indigenous Celtic speaking peo-

Fig. 1: The Hebrides, Scotland. @wikipedia commons.

Fig. 2: The Neolithic stone circle/stone setting at Callanish, Lewis (Photo: J. Ryder).

ples, there is a consensus that the Norse at the very least replaced the culture and language of the native speakers.

The Norse migrants arrived in an already peopled landscape, with evidence of human activity in the landscape going back thousands of years. On agricultural land, they would have found physical anthropogenic evidence, from houses, to middens (rubbish-heaps), to boundaries and trackways, domestic animals, fishing stations, and so on.

The Norse would have also encountered millennia-old Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments, some of them physically striking, such standing stones upwards of 5 meters tall (fig. 3), imposing cairns with chambered interiors, or striking settings of megaliths such as at Callanish (fig. 2). Much like today, some of these may have been laying recumbent or in ruins, or had been buried by sand or peat, but many of these monuments would have been physically in the landscape. Some would have been visible from the farmstead or stood on agricultural

Fig. 3: Neolithic or Bronze Age standing stone at Trushal, Lewis. Standing some 5.8m tall, it is one of the largest standing stones in Britain, and is likely still in its original place of erection (Photo: J. Ryder).

land, where the Norse agriculturalists would have seen them daily. Other monuments would have been in the moors or the mountains or other liminal places, only encountered when treks out into the outfield were undertaken. Several monuments would have been located along the coast and visible while travelling by sea; many of the larger ones may have acted as waypoints for sailors in the Norse period, as they often were in modern times.

The majority of these monuments date to the Neolithic or Bronze Age, and their meanings to people would have changed over time. In the 19th century, many beliefs about these monuments from local communities were recorded by folklorists and others around Europe. People who lived near the monuments held diverse beliefs that ranged from associating them with dei-

ties or legendary figures, to reverence, to indifference, to fear and superstition. In the Norse Hebrides, it is not difficult to imagine that there were a plethora of beliefs relating to these monuments, and these beliefs could have differed chronologically and/or regionally. They could have even differed from monument to monument, with one cairn being feared due to a belief of it being haunted, while another cairn revered as the resting-place of an ancestor. Nevertheless, archaeological investigations have given us some insight about the Norse beliefs of these monuments. The next sections will explore and interpret some Norse re-use of a few select pre-Norse, prehistoric monuments.

Ardvonrig, Barra – re-use of a prehistoric standing stone

At Ardvonrig, Barra, there is clear re-use of a prehistoric monument for a Viking-period burial. The burial contained the remains of a high-status Viking-period woman. While the mound

Fig. 4: Likely standing stone that stood on the Viking Age burial mound at Ardvonrig, Barra (Photo: J. Ryder).

has been demolished, and the stone lies recumbent today (fig. 4), in the 19th century AD, it was a sandy mound, capped by a ca. 2m standing stone. The standing stone had been moved onto the mound during the Norse period, though it is not known whether the mound itself was pre-Norse due to the lack of systematic excavation. We can, with near certainty, know that the standing stone was likely a prehistoric monument when the Norse arrived in the islands. While standing stones and circles are known from Viking Age contexts in Scandinavia, they are rare, and it is unlikely that the Norse themselves quarried or carried the stone far to the resting place of the interred. It is more likely that the Norse moved the standing stone from its original location to place on their own burial mound. This must have not been an easy task, because the stone is estimated to weigh two tons. It must have been a difficult effort to lift, move, and then erect the stone on the mound. A similar Viking-period woman's burial was discovered under a standing stone on Islay. This shows that the Norse in the Viking Age considered these monuments to be significant and incorporated them into their own funerary monuments.

Re-used cairns at Tote and Kildonan – re-use of monuments

At Kildonan, Eigg, a mound that was likely a Neolithic chambered cairn was excavated in the 19th century. The chamber, which may have at one point contained a Neolithic-era human burial, was the resting place of a rich Viking Age male grave. Unfortunately, due to the nature of the original excavation, it is not known whether or not the Viking burial disturbed the original contents of the Neolithic cairn. Ca. 2m to the southeast of the monument is a second mound, also excavated in the 19th century, and contained another Viking-period rich male burial. Whether or not this was a pre-Norse mound/cairn or built in the Norse period is unknown. Ca. 400m to the north, in the middle of an agricultural field, another sword was found, with a silver-plated hilt, and represents a third burial in the area. It was discovered after the ploughing of a natural mound – but it is possible that this natural mound was interpreted by the Norse as an-

Fig. 5: Macleod's stone (circled) as viewed from the spot of the excavated Viking Age burial at Nisabost, Harris (Photo: J. Ryder).

other man-made funerary monument.

Similarly, at Tote, Skye, a cairn some 20m in diameter was re-used in the Viking period, interpreted as a cremation burial. Underneath the Viking Age grave was a Bronze Age burial. It appears that there was a tradition of re-using Neolithic/Bronze Age burials during the Norse period of the Hebrides, probably due to their similarity to mounds and cairns in the Scandinavian homelands.

Cnip, Lewis, and Nisabost, Harris – intentionality

At Cnip, Lewis, a total of 7 Viking-period graves from a cemetery were excavated. All 7 were inhumations, with 4 adults, 2 children, and 1 neonate. One of the burials, a woman's grave, contained rich grave goods including the remains of a silk garment. The 7 graves, the adults of which were buried under low-lying cairns, were placed just a few meters adjacent to a Bronze Age burial cairn. This has been interpreted

as intentional by past scholars, such as Ian Armit, James Graham-Campbell & Colleen Batey. Was this an effort by Norse-speaking migrants to assimilate into the local community by respecting the ancestors of their new homeland?

A Viking-period grave, interpreted as a man's burial, was found at the beach of Nisabost, Harris. The grave itself was heavily eroded, but likely was covered by a low cairn, similar to the burials at Cnip. What is striking is that the burial lies some 500m to the southwest to the so-called MacLeod's stone (fig. 6). The standing stone, and likely cairn, is set on top of a hill ca. 40m above sea level. It is striking in the landscape, and is visible from the site of the Viking Age burial at Nisabost. Unlike the direct use of the cairns at Tote, Skye, and Kildonnan, Eigg, or the moving of standing stones at Barra and Islay, the re-use of a prehistoric monument would have been more subtle, and is harder to prove if it was intentional or not.

Fig. 6: Macleod's stone with cairn, Neolithic or Bronze Age, at Nisabost, Harris (Photo: J. Ryder).

Macleod's stone was not moved by the Norse, and the Viking burial was placed under a modest set of stones, rather underneath or near the standing stone on the hill-top. Was it then just coincidental that MacLeod's stone is visible from the Viking Age burial, or was there some kind of intentionality to associate the burial with the standing stone?

The debate: appropriation or assimilation

Burials in the Viking Age took on many different forms, from inhumations to cremations, to burials with grave goods to without, and so on. The re-use of past monuments in the Viking Age has been discussed at length by various scholars, such as Eva Thäte, Allison Leonard, Shane MacLeod, and Jane Harrison. Burials in the Scandinavian Viking age are often interpreted as expressions of physical ownership of land, through the declaration of ancestry in what is termed as the *Odelsrett*. It is not unlikely that the Norse migrants brought this concept to Scotland; there is a system of laws titled *Udal*, present in Orkney and Shetland, directly descended from the *Odelsrett*, still practiced today. It is likely that the Norse brought with them a concept of landownership to the Hebrides. This may have been manifested through the use of the burial mound, cairns, or even standing stones. In a landscape already populated by non-Norse peoples, the Norse must have been aware that they were migrants. It may have been beneficial to claim a prehistoric monument, and thus, claim the ancestors of the dead as a way of legitimization in the landscape in order to have a claim over territory. Alternatively, situating their dead in a foreign landscape may have been a way for the Norse to respect, and thus assimilate, into their new environs.

Either way, the Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments of the Hebrides experienced a rebirth through their re-use by the Norse.

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The "rebirth" of artefacts – reflections on transitionary Aztec symbolic meanings and artefactual purpose

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As artefacts move through time, they acquire new meanings and usage through a shift in ownership. This conceptual transition can briefly be explored through Aztec obsidian mirrors, from their creation and origins, through the 16th century European cultural appropriation of exotic artefacts and finally as an element of present-day research. Although the experience of transmission can fragment their initial cultural significance, these artefacts will always retain fragments of past humans.

Reflections of the past – the importance of obsidian and mirrors in Aztec culture

Artefacts can be seen as a reflection of past human motivation, shaped by their social significance and meaning. As these artefacts move through time from person to person, their original purpose can become fragmented, with some experiencing an artefactual "rebirth" on a conceptual level.

An example of this "rebirth", is the recovery of artefacts through excavations. This typically involves further use in research, signifying a transition from its original intended purpose into an important tool in archaeological investigation. Still, there are various other forms of transition that could trigger a renewal of artefactual meaning and purpose. This article will explore this concept in consideration of Mesoamerican artefacts, primarily Aztec obsidian mirrors. Although these mirrors appear across Mesoamerica, focus will mainly be on Aztec examples.

The Aztec Empire was a triple alliance of three Nahua city-states: Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Tetzcoco and Tlacopan, with an ethnically diverse population. The three city-states hegemonically ruled most of Central Mexico from 1428, and although it is often referred to as an empire, it func-

tioned as a system of tributes rather than a single form of government. By the time of the Spanish conquest of the Aztec Empire (1519-21), Tenochtitlan had become dominant – with the other two city states taking subsidiary roles.

The strong economic and ideological importance of obsidian for the Aztec Empire and most of Mesoamerica, is indicated by long distance trade routes and the extensive production of obsidian weapons, instruments, religious and high-status objects. Social and ritual significance of obsidian is further apparent from the centrality of the deity Tezcatlipoca in Aztec religion. The few depictions of the deity distinctively involve obsidian mirrors, along with an obsidian knife and sandals. This affiliation with obsidian can be better understood through traditional beliefs concerning the material, as meaning initially begins with production.

Creation, meaning and purpose

Objects first attain meaning through the

Fig. 1: Map of Aztec area of study in the Mexico region. Copyright © Campbell et al, 2021. Published by Cambridge University Press on behalf of Antiquity Publications Ltd.

humans who create them, as a result of time and effort spent, and in choice of material. The transformation from a raw material to a finished object, is a renewal in purpose, but also meaning. In selecting a material, the suitability of its fundamental characteristics, for its intended final shape and use, would primarily determine choice. However, social and personal associations with the material could also influence selection.

As obsidian is a relatively easy material to work, and is extremely reflective when polished, it is not too surprising that it was one of the preferred materials for the production of Aztec mirrors. Obsidian was a prominent component in Aztec social and ritual interactions, perhaps partly due to its mysterious occurrence as volcanic glass. The material itself was tied to the genesis of humans, accessibility to knowledge, death and predictions of the future.

These associations further involved the belief that it was created when lightning strikes the earth – rendering it a product of both earth and sky. It was considered to have celestial origins while concurrently residing in the underworld due to its dark colour, thus existing in multiple realms. Alongside its intended purpose as a mirror, it was thus seen as a portal to other realms and a medium with which to communicate with the gods and underworld.

As the Spanish colonisation and conquest of the Americas led to the movement of Mesoamerican artefacts into Europe – a change concerning their initial purpose and societal significance was prompted.

The power of transmission and cultural appropriation of Mesoamerican artefacts

Through the transmission of objects between people or cultures, an implication of change or renewal concerning use and significance occurs. At a personal level of transferal, such as a gift – the interaction itself applies a new meaning to the gifted object. It becomes an element in the creation and maintenance of linkage between giver and receiver. Furthermore, it is a representation of their relationship, likely attaining sentimental value from the receiver.

On the other hand, economic anthropologist Chris Gregory argued

that this exchange is imprecisely defined as gift-giving and is in fact reciprocity. Reciprocity is the action of giving a gift, in order to establish a relationship in which the receiver is in debt – a true gift would involve no debt. In light of this, some artefacts may have become representative of power consolidation through the action of reciprocity.

A transferral of objects on a larger scale can often take the form of economic transactions. In contrast to gift exchange, it does not normally impact the receivers' social relationships. Any initial personal significance it attained from its creator would be lost, allowing an altered significance to its new owner. Due to the removal of Mesoamerican artefacts from their initial cultural context without consideration of it - they lost their original social and ritual meaning, becoming an element in a new societal arena in Europe.

Many foreign artefacts eventually entered the European "cabinet of curiosities" or "Kunstkammer" network. These were historical collections demonstrating various so-called notable exotic objects, assembled by wealthy individuals or families – often due to curiosity but also to establish or maintain social status. Although many of these artefacts were often designed as social tools, it was a demonstration of foreign domination instead of a previous manifestation of cultural history and pride. This transition involved the "rebirth" of these artefacts into features of cultural appropriation.

Further demonstration of the appropriation of artefacts, involved personal collection and in some cases usage for individual motivations. The occultic usage of an Aztec circular obsidian mirror by John Dee (1527-1608/9), reflects this. Dee was a scientific advisor, astrologer and confidant of Elizabeth I. As a strong advocate for the British colonisation of the New World, Dee had great interest in the accounts of Spanish encounters in Mesoamerica. With an increasingly growing fascination with the occult, he at some point acquired the mirror in order to communicate with other realms, specifically angels. Although the mirror's usage remained somewhat similar, its original cultural value was lost.

How Dee acquired the mirror is an undocumented – a commonplace

Fig. 2: John Dee's obsidian mirror, figure by S. Campbell. Copyright © Campbell et al., 2021. Published by Cambridge University Press on behalf of Antiquity Publications Ltd.

occurrence for the transmission of Mesoamerican artefacts in 16th century Europe. A genuine scholarly interest in the artefact's origins and meaning was sparked in the late 19th century, preceding present archaeological research.

Rediscovery and revival – new research methods

The rediscovery of artefactual origins and meaning aids in understanding previous sentimental value and cultural loss. Although the object will not bear the same emotional linkage, it becomes symbolic of past humans, and an element of information that was once lost.

In order to link museum items with their cultural origins, basic research methods often involve the trace of its history through past documentation, either beginning with latest documented evidence and working down, or with the earliest, and tracing it up.

Fortunately, archaeology is a rapidly evolving discipline with continued advancement of new research methods and technological innovations.

In October 2021, researchers from the University of Manchester, University of Missouri, and the Sobolev Institute of Geology and Mineralogy confirmed that the circular obsid-

ian mirror associated with John Dee, along with three other obsidian artefacts held by the British Museum, are of Aztec origins. The usage of portable X-ray fluorescence (pXRF) enabled the trace of the artefacts' provenance – through comparison with Mexican rock samples from Pachuca, Ucareo and Zaragoza. John Dee's mirror was a match with sampling from Pachuca. Although pXRF cannot assist in dating, similar circular mirrors appear illustrated in codices towards the end of the Aztec Empire (Campbell et al, 2021).

The confirmation of the Aztec origins of the mirror, reflects both a symbolic revival and rebirth of its meaning and use. Becoming a tool in archaeological research, it is a link to past humans' perspectives of the world.

Conclusion

Artefacts reflect cultural and symbolic connotations from their creators. As time passes, they can move from owner to owner, acquiring new meaning and purpose – conceptually it is an artefactual rebirth. The obsidian mirror associated with John Dee, provides an example of an object acquiring a new meaning by becoming an object of appropriation and fascination, like many exotic artefacts in Europe. As of present, it is a tool in archaeological research – thus acquiring yet another meaning. Even so, it retains something of its original purpose, as a portal to the realm of the underworld – possessing clues to past human motivation.

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Mausoleum Augusti: arkitektonisk selvrepresentasjon i overgangen fra Republikk til Keiserrike

Aksel Teigen Breistrand, masterstudent, AHKR, UiB

Allerede som ung mann, kort tid etter at han hadde kommet til makten, begynte Augustus å bygge sitt mausoleum på Marsmarken i Roma. Etter en periode fylt av borgerkrig og kaos var det nødvendig for den unge *princeps* å vise fram sin nyvunne posisjon i det romerske samfunnet gjennom å sette sitt preg på bybildet. Gjennom spesifikke arkitektoniske grep, som en bevisst symbolbruk kombinert med historiske og mytologiske referanser, skaper Augustus et mangefasettert bilde av seg selv som appellerer til hele det komplisert sammensatte romerske folk.

Introduksjon

Augustus var Romas første keiser og hans regjeringstid markerte overgangen fra Republikk til enevelde. Dette medførte et behov for å vise seg tydelig som Romas rettmessige og sterke leder, samtidig som det var viktig å vise ydmykhet, rettferdighet og gavmildhet for ikke å fremstå som en leder med dynastiske ambisjoner. Omtrent samtidig som han ble enehersker, mens han fortsatt gikk under navnet Octavian, begynte han å bygge sitt mausoleum nord på Marsmarken i utkanten av datidens Roma: en enorm konstruksjon som fungerte, på mange plan, som et monumentalt symbol i Romas bybilde på hans sosiale posisjon og status i samfunnet. Gjennom en omfattende symbolbruk i mausoleets arkitektur og utforming forsøker Augustus å vise til historiske hendelser, myter og tradisjoner, som skulle appellere, dog på forskjellige måter—noen åpenbare, andre skjulte—til alle sosiale lag i det romerske samfunnet og for byen Romas innbyggere. Arkitektur var en kanal Augustus visste å utnytte for å fremme sin keiserlige ideologi, og mausoleet fremstår som et prakteksempel på ut-

trykk for den augusteiske propaganda.

Etter Julius Caesars død og borgerkrigene som fulgte i dets kjølvann hadde Octavian arvet en rekke store byggeprosjekter i Roma, inkludert Basilica Iulia og tempelet til Divus Iulius, i tillegg til at han hadde lovet å bygge et tempel dedikert til Mars Ultor (Hevneren). Men disse brukte han lang tid på og valgte heller å fokusere på to bygg som fremfor alt forherliget hans egen rolle i de nylige hendelsene og det romerske samfunnet som helhet; tempelet til Apollon på Palatinerhøyden og, ikke minst, et mausoleum til seg selv og sin familie. Men hvorfor valgte den omkring 30 år gamle Octavian å bygge et enormt gravmonument til seg selv, til og med før det var helt sikkert at han kom til å bli enehersker? Zanker (1988: 72) forklarer valget med å bygge mausoleet før andre prosjekter var ferdig eller i det hele tatt påbegynt, som "an instance of Octavian's demagoguery", altså at Octavian, på populistisk vis, forsøkte å vinne folkets gunst gjennom å appellere til følelser og referere til *mos maiorum*, de gamle republikanske og mytiske skikkene som sto sterkt i det romerske samfunn.

Reaksjon mot Markus Antonius

I sitt testamente, som Octavian på ulovlig vis gjenga for offentligheten, skrev Marcus Antonius, Octavians tidligere kollega og senere fremste fiende, at han ønsket å bli begravet sammen med Kleopatra i Alexandria i Egypt. Octavian formidlet sin egen tolkning av dette som at Antonius hadde ønsket å flytte hovedstaden fra Roma til Alexandria og etablere et hellenistisk kongerike der, à la Alexander den store, som det var kjent at hadde blitt begravet i Alexandria. Dette inkorporerte Octavian i sin valgkamp og propaganda, og skapte således et skille mellom sine egne og Antonius' ambisjoner for Romas fremtid, ettersom det å ikke bli begravd i Roma var et brudd med veletablerte tradisjoner i det romerske samfunnet. Etter slaget ved Actium i 31 f.Kr. og Antonius' påfølgende selvmord året etter, ble han begravet i Alexandria sammen med de hellenistiske ptolemeiske kongene og dronningene. Samtidig hadde Octavian påbegynt byggingen av sitt mausoleum i Roma. Kontrastene han forsøkte å formidle kunne ikke vært mer åpenbare; Antonius' hellenistiske prosjekt hadde mislyktes, og

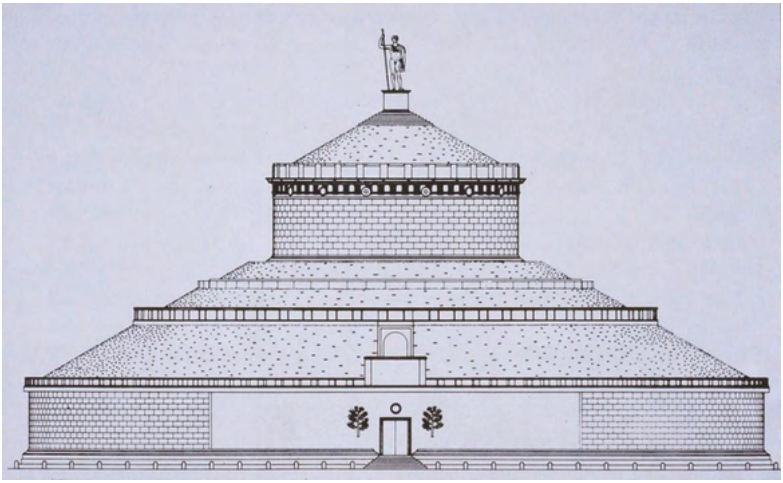

Fig. 1: Rekonstruksjon av Augustus' mausoleum (etter Zanker 1988: fig. 59).

igjen sto Octavian som den rettmessige vinner og hersker av Roma, noe mausoleet var et kraftfullt symbol på.

Mausoleets utforming og datering – videreføring og bryting med tradisjoner

I senrepublikken hadde en rekke byggeprosjekter funnet sted på Marsmarken i Roma, men under Augustus ble hele området forandret gjennom nye byggeprosjekter og restaureringsarbeid. Den greske historikeren og geografen Strabon (5.3.8), som levde samtidig som Augustus, beskriver Marsmarken som et sted fullt av søyleganger, med teatre og et amfiteater, dyrebare templer, alt i nærheten av hverandre. Dette ga inntrykk av at Marsmarken som område var arkitektonisk og kunstnerisk overlegen resten av byen, og derfor et hellig område, der romerne bygde sine gravmonumenter for å hedre sine mest fremstående kvinner og menn. I tillegg til begravelsesprivilegier gitt av Senatet til fornemme borgere, var det i senrepublikken og tidlig keisertid vanlig med private gravmonumenter, riktignok ingen i nærheten av den skalaen Octavian planla å bygge sitt mausoleum i. Octavian videreførte denne tradisjonen i stor grad ved at

mausoleet var det første bygget han konstruerte på Marsmarken. Blant gravmonumentene på Marsmarken nevner Strabon Augustus' mausoleum, som han beskriver slik:

> *The most noteworthy is what is called the Mausoleum, a great mound near the river on a lofty foundation of white marble, thickly covered with ever-green trees to the very summit. Now on top is a bronze image of Augustus Caesar; beneath the mound are the tombs of himself and his kinsmen and intimates; behind the mound is a large sacred precinct with wonderful promenades* (Strabon 5.3.8) (fig. 1).

Sveton (*Aug.* 100.3-4) beskriver hundre år senere at ved Augustus' død i 14 e.Kr., ble hans lik båret på skuldrene til senatorer, og at kremasjonen fant sted på Marsmarken (*ustrinum*), før fornemme medlemmer av ridderordenen plasserte asken i Mausoleet. Det skal til og med ha vært en ex-pretor som hevdet å ha sett en røyksky i form av Augustus selv under kremasjonen. Sveton daterer byggingen av mausoleet til Augustus' sjette konsulperiode (28 f.Kr.) og nevner også at det var da den nærliggende parken (*silvae et ambulationes*) ble åpnet for offentligheten. Cassius Dio (53.30.5), derimot, hevder at byggingen fortsatt pågikk da den første begravelsen der fant sted, nemlig Augustus' nevø Marcellus som døde i 23 f.Kr. Disse historikerne levde henholdsvis hundre og to hundre år etter Augustus, og deres informasjon knyttet til når mausoleet var ferdigstilt er egentlig ikke av stor relevans. Men

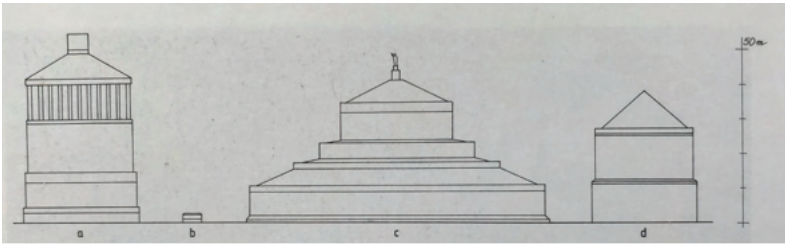

Fig. 2. Sammenligning i størrelse mellom ulike gravmonumenter. a) Mausoleet til Mausolos i Halikarnassos, 300-tallet f.Kr. b) Offentlig grav til konsulen A. Hirtius på Marsmarken (død 43 f.Kr.). c) Augustus' mausoleum. d) Caecilia Metellas mausoleum (etter Zanker 1988: fig. 58).

Fig. 3. Rekonstruksjon av Marsmarken på Augustus' tid. Augustus' mausoleum (nederst til venstre) i relasjon til Tiberen og Via Flaminia, samt andre monumenter, deriblant Ara Pacis, Horologium Augusti (soluret) og Pantheon (Progetto Katatexilux, www.katatexilux.com/virtual-ara-pacis).

fra Vergil i *Æneiden* (6.872-874) får man inntrykk av at mausoleet var nylig ferdigstilt ved Marcellus' begravelse: *What a funeral, Tiber, will you see as you flow past the fresh-built tumulus.*

Et mer interessant spørsmål er når det ble offentlig planlagt, noe som må ha funnet sted i tilknytning til slaget ved Actium. Slik kan Octavians avgjørelse om å bygge mausoleet tolkes som et uttrykk i monumental form for den fremtidige keiserens politiske ideologi og makten til den regjerende familien (Eck 1998: 121). Således var Augustus' mausoleum et dynastisk framfor et privat gravmonument. Det var et monument som fremfor noe annet demonstrerte Augustus' uomtvistelige makt, og derfor var navnet *mausoleum*, som det hadde fra starten av, helt legitimt. Det ga assosiasjoner til enorme størrelser, noe som overskygget alle tidligere liknende konstruksjoner i Roma, og kunne bare sammenlignes med graven til Mausolos i Halikarnassos bygget på 300-tallet f.Kr. (fig. 2). Mausoleets topografiske plassering og dens bredde på 87 m gjorde at den dominerte landskapet på hellenistisk vis mellom Tiberen og Via Flaminia, (fig. 3). Dens høyde på nesten 40 meter gjorde at den kunne ses fra disse to vik-

tigste veiene inn til byen fra nord. Dens rolle som landemerke er tydelig i Tacitus' (*Annaler* 3.9) beskrivelse av Pisos innseiling på Tiberen til Roma, ved at han legger til ved «the mausoleum of the Caesars». Hvis dens monumentale størrelse ga hellenistiske og orientalske assosiasjoner var dens utforming og påhengende vegetasjon en referanse til etruskiske tumulusgraver. Etruskerne var kjent for sine runde tumulusgraver, ofte plassert i *necropoleis* i grønne omgivelser. På samme måte lå Augustus' mausoleum i en offentlig park, og hadde en todelt sirkulær utforming, med en ytre vegg og et indre rom der selve gravkammeret var plassert (fig. 4). Gravmonumentet må ha gitt åpenbare assosiasjoner til tumulusgraver, fordi i tillegg til den populære betegnelsen *mausoleum*, ble monumentet også kalt *tumulus Iuliorum* (altså den julianske tumulus, ettersom Augustus gjennom adopsjon var medlem av den julianske familien). Disse to navnene, *mausoleum* og *tumulus*, viser altså monumentets todelte arkitektoniske arv, den gresk-hellenistiske og den italisk-etruskiske. Det var allerede tradisjon for å reprodusere den arkaiske runde

Fig. 4: Augustus' mausoleum. Mellom ytre vegg og selve gravkammeret (Foto: Aksel Teigen Breistrand).

Fig. 5: Kolossportrett av Augustus i marmor. Rekonstruert i renessansen. Cortile della Pigna, Musei Vaticani, inv. nr. 5137 (Foto: Aksel Teigen Breistrand).

tumulus-formen i gravmonumenter, slik som gravmonumentet til Caecilia Metella ved Via Appia. På toppen av mausoleet var en kolossstatue i bronse av Augustus plassert, som, basert på det 1.3 m høye Augustus-hodet i Cortile della Pigna i Vatikanmuseene, kan ha vært rundt 9 m høy (fig. 5).

Tvetydige budskap: likheter mellom Augustus' mausoleum og *Res Gestae*

Mausoleets dimensjoner og form, samt inkluderingen av kolosstatuen på toppen, er helt i tråd med Augustus' tvetydige bruk av symboler og assosiasjoner, som også er tilstede i andre arkitektoniske verk, som Mars Ultor-tempelet på Augustus' forum. Det ideologiske budskapet om en ny gylden tidsalder, sammen med spredningen av *Pax Romana*, den romerske fred, sto sentralt i den keiserlige propagandaen, og ble forsøkt fremmet gjennom bygg som *Mauseolum Augusti* og tekster som *Res Gestae Divi Augusti,* Augustus' selvbi-

ografi som sto inngravert på to bronsesøyler utenfor mausoleet. I augusteisk litteratur for øvrig er dette synlig blant annet i Vergils *Æneiden* (6.790-794):

Here's the man you've heard promised to you so often, he's here now: Caesar Augustus, born of a god, who will one day establish all through the farmlands of Latium once, long ago, ruled by Saturn, Ages of Gold.

Et viktig element var å forsøke å henvende seg til alle samfunnets klasser, og vise hvordan Augustus kunne representere dem alle sammen. Zanker (1988: 76) påpeker hvordan mausoleets arkitektoniske utforming gir et blandet uttrykk, ettersom det ble bygget i en kaotisk tid da Augustus hadde behov for å fremme en rekke ulike budskap og appellere til et splittet folk. Derfor står symbolbruken så sentralt hos Augustus, ettersom symboler kan tolkes på mange forskjellige måter, blant annet avhengig av hvilken sosial klasse man tilhører. Ved å bruke velkjente symboler trengte ikke Augustus eksplisitt å uttale sine framtidige dynastiske ambisjoner, han kunne simpelthen la folk tolke slik de ville. For eksempel kan mausoleets hellenistiske og dynastiske assosiasjoner tolkes som at Augustus henvender seg til og forsøker å finne støtte hos hæren, ettersom hellenistiske idealer, med idéen om et sterkt dynasti, sto sentralt i militære tradisjoner. Kolosstatuen på toppen av mausoleet kan i den sammenheng, i tillegg til Augustus' selv, tolkes som solguden Apollon som Augustus likte å assosieres med, en gud som også hadde militære assosiasjoner for mange romere. Blant annet dedikerte Augustus et tempel til Apollon Palatinus på Palatinerhøyden etter at han hadde lovet det under slagene ved Naoluchus mot Sextus Pompeius i 36 f.Kr. og slaget ved Actium mot Antonius og Kleopatra i 31 f.Kr. På samme måte vier Augustus mye plass i *Res Gestae* til sine militære erobringer, diplomatiske relasjoner og gavmildhet mot veteraner; bragder som var verdsatt av hæren, som nok besto av mange soldater som enten selv hadde kjempet for Augustus eller hadde familiemedlemmer som hadde gjort det. Andre aspekt av mausoleet, som dets *tumulus*-form og at det lå plassert godt utenfor *pomerium*, den hellige bygrensen, kan

tolkes som respekt for *mos maiorum*, de gamle skikkene som sto sterkt hos senatet og patrisierne. I *Res Gestae* henvender Augustus' seg også til aristokratiet gjennom å vektlegge sin hengivenhet for tradisjoner og beskrivelser av hvordan han bygget og restaurerte templer. I den sammenhengen er den topografiske tilknytningen mellom *Res Gestae* og mausoleet viktig, ettersom Augustus er påpasselig med ikke å hylle seg selv på offentlig grunn, men begrenser dette til sin egen private sfære. Flere av Augustus' viktigste byggverk lå på privat grunn, deriblant mausoleet og hans forum, der han er påpasselig med å beskrive hvordan han kjøpte opp land fra innbyggere i den nærliggende Suburra-bydelen. I tillegg plasserte han laurbærkransene han ble gitt av senatet da han fikk tittelen Augustus i 27 f.Kr. utenfor sitt eget hus. Inkluderingen av en park i tilknytning til mausoleet som sto åpen for offentligheten kunne bli tolket av plebeierne som en gave til folket, og at han satte dem fremfor aristokratiet. I *Res Gestae* vier Augustus mye plass til å beskrive sin generøsitet til folket. Kolosstatuen kan ha blitt tolket av samfunnets lavere klasser som en guddommelig statue, som samsvarer med Augustus' vektlegging av tittelen *pater patriae*, fedrelandets far, i *Res Gestae*; hans faderlige rolle i samfunnet kunne sammenlignes med en guddommelig status—både bokstavelig og billedlig sto han over og passet på folket—noe som var viktig å vektlegge ettersom han kom seirende ut av en tid fylt av kaos som fulgte mordet på hans adoptivfar Julius Caesar. Dette kan også ses i Ovids *Metamorfoser* (1.204): *Your subjects' loyalty is no less pleasing to you, Augustus, than theirs was to Jupiter.* Felles for alle mottagerne av budskapene presentert i både mausoleets arkitektoniske utforming og *Res Gestaes* litterære grep er at alt som foregår er sentrert rundt Augustus; han er det eneste synlige individ i mausoleet og alle hans bragder i *Res Gestae* er det han selv som står bak.

Konklusjon

De arkitektoniske grepene i Augustus' mausoleum bidrar til å sende et budskap, som i likhet med sin målgruppe, er bevisst både blandet og samlende på samme tid. Blandet i den forstand at symbolene som brukes, hendelsene

og personene, både historiske og mytiske, det refereres til, skal appellere til så mange som mulig. Samlende i den forstand at alle romere, uavhengig av klasse og tilhørighet, må ha oppfattet dette monumentet som en fysisk manifestasjon på ambisjonene til en sterk leder og hans familie. Det overordnede mål er simplistisk i sin form; Roma er ikke lenger en republikk og Augustus er enehersker; meritokrati er byttet ut med monarki og dynasti; den gamle tid er forbi og Roma har entret en ny gyllen tidsalder med sin *princeps* som veileder.

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A phoenix from the ashes – migration research in archaeology

Daniela Hofmann, professor, AHKR, University of Bergen

Reborn, or simply undead?

One of the most important changes to the archaeological discipline in recent years has no doubt been the contribution of new scientific methods to the study of the human past. Beginning with the reconstruction of individual lifetime mobility patterns and diet that was made possible by isotopes, the application of aDNA analysis has subsequently led to optimistic continental-scale reconstructions of population movements in many regions of the world and across time. One of the most hotly contested areas of debate has been the European Neolithic – both the arrival of agriculture and animal husbandry from the Near East, and the later social transformations of the early 3rd millennium, often associated with new burial customs (single graves, inclusion of weapons and beaker-type pottery). For both horizons, archaeogenetic data now tell us that substantial population movements were involved. In some cases, the associated further interpretations paint a rather lurid narrative of the social processes involved, which especially for the 3rd millennium seem to involve plague, violence and the abduction of women.

All this has led some researchers to suggest that we are seeing the rather unwelcome rebirth of very old, persistent, dangerous and flawed ideas with deep roots in the European nationalist and colonialist past. Scholars like Martin Furholt and others have rightly pointed out that the conflation of biological relatedness with some kind of ethnic group, which is then defined as internally homogeneous and connected to a specific language and material culture patterns, is too uncomfortably similar to the kind of archaeology that was, for example, misused during the Third Reich. This is particularly the case where we are talking about such closed, biologically defined groups as being in violent competition with each

other. Rather than the birth of a new idea, this is the zombification of an old one that is simply refusing to die, no matter the criticism launched at it.

These are important points to make, especially since some archaeogeneticists seem to be actively courting controversy or to have fundamentally misunderstood archaeological worries about their interpretations. For example, David Reich (2018, 247-73) has not only advocated the study of biological differences between human races as defined in modern Western societies (an idea immediately critiqued by other scientists), he also confesses to be puzzled that some archaeologists were uneasy with the picture being developed for 3rd-millennium BC Europe. After all, his model saw the arrival of Indo-European speaking migrants from the Russian steppes, the opposite direction to that proposed by Nazi archaeologists (Reich 2018, 112). Yet actually, it is not (just) the direction of the arrow on the map that is problematic, but the conflation of biology, (material) culture, language and character traits.

However, several years on, the picture is slowly starting to look less bleak. To begin with, many archaeogeneticists also clearly distance themselves from political misuse of their disciplines, while communication between archaeogeneticists and archaeologists has increased during many conferences, workshops and common publications. There is still some way to go, in particular in communicating less simplistic models and social reconstructions to a wider public, who are still all too often offered extremely basic and misleading headlines. Yet, it is also time to take stock and focus on the many positive outcomes that archaeogenetic research has had for our discipline. In many ways, the "rebirth" of migration narratives has been fruitful and exciting, and has allowed us to pose new questions, even though not all of them can as yet be answered.

Migration research reborn

As has been pointed out by several authors, migration research had been all too easily jettisoned, at least from many periods of European prehistory, following the advent of the Processualist school of interpretation. Even mentioning migration could, in some

Fig. 1: The spread of the Neolithic across Europe, with approximate 14C dates. The Linearbandkeramik is the large green blob in the middle of the picture (copyright: Österreichische Archäologische Institut).

quarters, lead variously to stifled gasps, eye-rolling and more or less diplomatic expressions of extreme disbelief. Retrospectively, this is unfortunate, as it has left archaeologists ill equipped for making a substantial and theoretically informed contribution to the debates that are now back on the table. Migration, as a complex social phenomenon, has many different definitions in different disciplines, can vary hugely in its duration, distance and social impact and also in its intensity over time and across space. The problem, from the archaeological viewpoint, is therefore not that migration has been put back on the table, but that this has happened in a very rough and ready kind of way that ignores how many possible options there are. We seem to be faced with a choice of either "sedentism" – involving virtually no migratory behaviour, and implicitly seen as the normal state of life ever since the beginning of agriculture – or "migration", imagined as a massive, wave-like influx of large numbers of people and requiring a correspondingly catastrophic and spectacular reason. The field between these two extremes is

wide and so far largely unploughed (to take a Neolithic metaphor way too far).

In what follows, I will briefly suggest some of the questions that can now fruitfully be addressed for the various migration scenarios. After all, mentioning "migration" is in itself not actually an explanation, or the end point of an interpretation, but rather its beginning: now we can start thinking about how such processes were working and what was actually involved. To illustrate this point, I will pick examples from two central European case studies. One is the Linearbandkeramik culture (LBK) – a phenomenon spread over large areas of central Europe, from Hungary to the Paris Basin and from Ukraine to the north German plains (fig. 1). Dating to the second half of the 6th millennium BC, the LBK is associated with the introduction of agriculture, large impressive wooden longhouses and new kinds of artefacts, such as pottery and polished stone axes, over most of this area. The second case study is the Corded Ware culture, with its various regional manifestations (e.g. Single Grave or Battle Axe culture), which was also very widespread (fig. 2). It is

Fig. 2: Approximate extent of the 3rd millennium BC Corded Ware culture, its alleged steppe source (the Yamnaya culture) and the partly contemporary Bell Beaker culture (source: M. Furholt 2020, figure 1; reproduced with kind permission of the author).

now associated with the fundamental genetic changes of the early 3rd millennium and primarily known for a new kind of burial rite, sometimes involving the deposition of battle axes as well as characteristic cord-decorated beakers.

New research, new questions

As an initial point, it seems clear that the artificial division between wave-like mass migration scenarios and complete stasis needs to be broken down – between those poles, many forms of movement existed. However, this is easier said than done. Many researchers have tried to come up with schemes of how to best classify kinds of migration, and have amongst others used the amount of people on the move, the distance covered, the possible reasons for the migration or the degree of perceived cultural distance between migrants and their new host societies. Yet as with many other questions of archaeological terminology, there is no one definition or typological scheme that will satisfy all situations and all research questions. In addition, the distinction between what makes a "migration" compared to routine mobility (e.g. seasonal changes in location) can be difficult to draw. In most research, it is implied that a migration would need to cross a significant social or cultural boundary (e.g. in a modern-day example a national boundary, as opposed to moving from one part of the city to the other) and implies relocation for at least several years and possibly for the remainder of an individual's life.

In this sense, both the spread of the Linearbandkeramik and the Corded Ware cultures did involve a migration – in both cases, people moved into areas that had initially been settled by others, following different conventions of material culture, and the relocation was permanent. But how long did this take, what happened next, and how did the process work? For the LBK, the cultural distance between newcomers and the resident hunting and gathering population was large. The economic system of the first farmers relied on domesticated crops and animals, although hunting and gathering continued to play a limited part. People lived in large, monumental longhouses, whereas central European hunter-gatherers are thought to mostly

have had a higher camp mobility, at least seasonally. Also in terms of the material culture spectrum (pottery, stone tools) there is very little overlap, with the exception of some few kinds of chipped lithics. Apparently, in an early phase geographically widespread earliest LBK settlements were established on favourable loess soils. Small pockets of sites were located far from each other, but the landscape subsequently filled in, as apparently the newcomers managed to maintain a very high level of population growth.

There is as yet only rare evidence that "converted" hunter-gatherers contributed much to swell LBK numbers. This in itself is highly interesting. Especially as LBK settlers used ever more of the landscape, for example upland areas (as shown by both isotopic signatures and survey work), they would have increasingly come into contact with hunter-gatherers, and would perhaps have begun to disrupt traditional routes, paths and territories. How did relations play out in such a context? While there is evidence for hunter-gatherer survival in parallel to the LBK – one could for example point to late dates for Mesolithic-style lithic inventories in the Rhineland and for Mesolithic-style graves in Saxony – we are as yet lacking precise chronological estimates for this persistence. The human remains from the Blätterhöhle cave in western Germany comprised individuals with genetic signatures characteristic of central European hunter-gatherers and practising a hunting and gathering lifestyle as late as the 4th millennium BC. However, they had considerably changed their diet compared to earlier, pre-Neolithic hunters and gatherers, as fishing now played a much larger role than before. It is therefore uncertain whether these individuals really represent long-term survivals, perhaps forced to exploit new resources as their territories shrank, or are rather representative of groups occasionally moving in and out of areas with a Neolithic presence from the nearby areas in the North European Plain, for instance the Low Countries, were Neolithisation happened much later. It is therefore also likely that there could have been considerable regional difference in how the interaction between LBK farmers and hunter-

gatherers panned out – more sustained contact near the boundaries in the west and north, where hunter-gatherer communities were stronger (and from where we so far have less aDNA work), and less interaction in central areas, where farmers perhaps squeezed out remaining hunter-gatherer groups.

In contrast, the migration of new groups into central Europe in the early 3rd millennium met with a very different situation. It has recently been argued that earlier communities had been substantially decimated by the arrival of the plague, but this now seems unlikely, as this disease was already circulating long before the migration event and, given the much lower population density, never reached the same catastrophic levels as the later Medieval and Modern plagues. The view of violent steppe invaders also relies on a change in lifestyle to a more mobile economy based on dairy production, which enabled better nourished, and therefore stronger, horse-riding warriors to sweep the indigenous population before them. This picture is also being modified. New genetic analyses of horses on the central Asian steppes has shown that initial migration into central Europe may not have involved these animals, rather "oxen could have pulled […] heavy, solid-wheeled wagons" (Librado et al. 2021, 3). Also, as more human samples from different regions are being analysed, the migration picture is diversifying: not only are several sources needed to create the steppe signature that later expands into Europe, suggesting that there was back and forth movement all the time, but it also seems clear that several different routes were taken, involving amongst others input from a likely eastern Baltic population along the way.

In addition to the genetic data, more classic, archaeological investigations have also shown that the transition was not always equally abrupt. In their work in Bulgaria, for example, Kaiser and colleagues could trace a gradual adaptation of elements of the burial rite practised by steppe populations into more local rituals, creating a blended pattern that is actually a better fit with what most central European Corded Ware burials looked like. There are also indications from archaeological surveys across cen-

tral Europe that upland areas are used more frequently and extensively already in the pre-Corded ware horizon; lipid analysis of pottery has recently shown that in some regions at least, this went hand in hand with the establishment of a dairying economy (this work is currently being prepared for publication). Key transformations previously associated with the influx of steppe populations were thus already in place some time previously, and further diminished the cultural distance between migrants and the resident population. Finally, a recent analysis by Wentink has suggested that in the Netherlands, many of the so-called battle axes were first and foremost used in forest clearance, so key cultural symbols may have been adapted to local needs and were perhaps not used in a homogenous way for very long.

All this is not to deny that there was no influx of migrants, or to claim that this was never violent – although it must be stressed that there is no increase in violence visible at this point (there are some mass graves across central Europe, but not more than in previous Neolithic periods). But what it does suggest is that the populations that came in contact with each other were actually quite similar from the outset, and may indeed have been in contact for several generations before. Rather than an abrupt, fast and catastrophic transformation, infiltration and migration into central Europe may have happened over centuries, and between culturally similar groups. The Corded Ware horizon would then largely form the endpoint of this longer process, one in which graves suddenly became visible (and available for DNA sampling) over a much wider area. Beyond funerary rites, the degree of cultural homogeneity could have been much lower, so that we cannot imagine "the Corded Ware" as one clearly defined ethnic group with a shared identity. How in particular Y chromosomes from the steppe became so dominant in the central European genetic sample is yet to be explained, but the picture is already substantially different from one big, wave-like event.

All this raises the question of why people move in the first place. In our modern society, sedentism (a steady job, an own home etc.) is a val-

ued goal, and much personal energy is invested in achieving it. Migration is therefore seen, and often portrayed in the media, as a last resort and crisis response – no one would move if they didn't have to for environmental reasons, as a response to warfare, or because of their economic situation. However, we cannot assume that things would have been the same in prehistory. If anything, some of the multi-period genetic studies (as that by Papac et al. for Bohemia) are showing many episodes of genetic exchange over time. Bearing this in mind, and looking at the archaeological evidence, we can also reinterpret some initially rather puzzling patterns. For example, where sequences are well dated, it could be shown that LBK sites did not have a static number of households throughout the several phases of their existence. Sometimes, villages grew and were relatively nucleated, while at other times there was dispersal into several adjacent sites, across the wider region, or perhaps even further afield. This has been documented amongst others for sequences in the Rhineland and in the Bavarian Lech valley, but to show this in detail requires many substantially excavated sites and a concerted effort at dating and synthesis.

In either case, studies such as these show that moving for one reason or another was apparently relatively common in many periods of prehistory, the Neolithic among them. Although not all situations may be as mobile and flexible as for example the Alpine lake villages, where dendrochronological dating shows relocation of villages after as little as 10 or 12 years, moving was certainly not only a response to large-scale crises, or an abnormal behaviour of last resort. Indeed, ethnographic parallels from other small-scale societies remind us that all manner of motivations, from escaping social pressure to gaining prestige and joining kin, could lead households and groups of households to pack up and move along. A further interesting question for the future is therefore how Neolithic communities created social mechanisms for the integration of new arrivals, forging bonds that were for example viable enough to maintain long-distance trade, construct impressive monuments, and keep the agricultural landscape going.

Conclusion

In sum, aDNA studies have put mobility at various social scales centre stage and have revived a topic we had long ignored. Yet much more than "just" genetics are necessary to properly interpret these patterns. Identities are complex mixtures, and in how far biological relatedness is a good predictor for them varies widely. The questions we are asking are becoming more difficult – why were people moving, how did migration really work, what happened to people's self-identification during movement, and how did they interact once they got to a new location? These questions, and the many others one can undoubtedly add to this list, need evidence from as many sources as possible to be tackled. Many disciplines, from aDNA and archaeological science to social anthropology, theoretical archaeology, fieldwork and artefacts studies are needed to even begin to scratch the surface. In this way, the rebirth of migration studies can also be an excellent avenue to build and foster wider networks amongst scholars.

In the long run, as archaeologists, we also have a long way to go in learning how the results of our research can best be communicated to a wider public. Here archaeogenetics has tended to dominate the media, but the time is ripe to also communicate more of the uncertainty and depth of our data. Perhaps the rebirth of RISS can be one step in this direction.

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Quiz

1. Hvilken katastrofal hendelse inntraff for om lag 8200 år siden i Norskehavet?

2. Hva var navnet på juristen og forfatteren som oppdaget de norrøne bosetningene i Newfoundland på 1960-tallet?

3. Hvilket land i verden har flest pyramider?

4. Hva kaller vi perioden mellom folkevandringstid og vikingtid, som er oppkalt etter et fransk dynasti?

5. I hvilket år ble Osebergskipet utgravd?

6. Nevn tre av de syv kongerikene som England var inndelt i under angelsaksisk tid.

7. I 1066 ble England er erobret av Wilhelm av Normandie. Hva var navnet på Wilhelms angivelig norske stamfar?

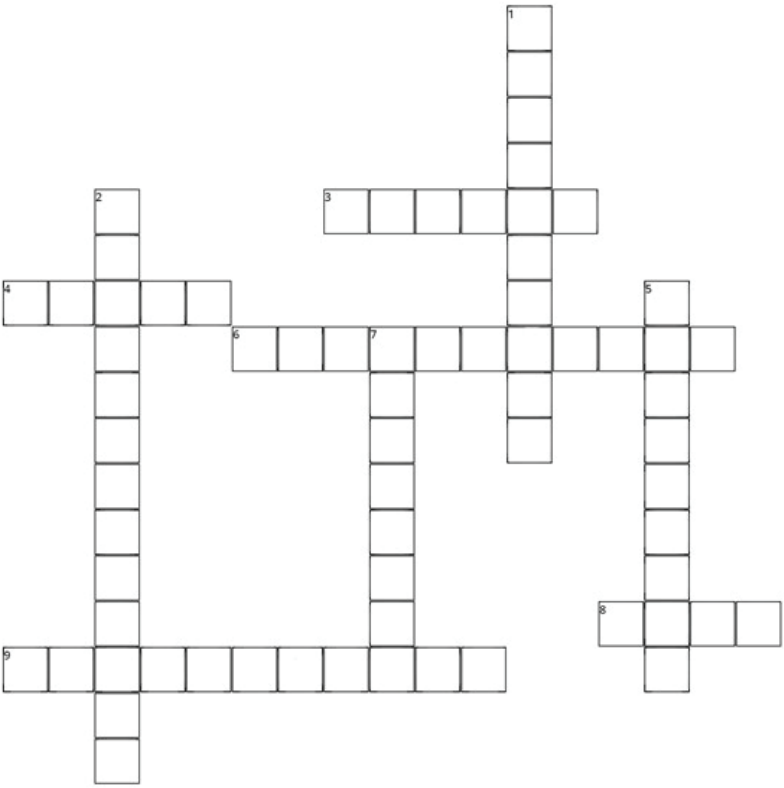
8. Ifølge kulturminneloven er fornminner automatisk fredet hvis de er eldre enn år …?

9. Det britiske imperiet er det største imperiet i historien. Hvilket rike, som eksisterte fra 1206-1368 evt., var nest størst?

10. Hva heter Riksantikvarens nettbaserte kulturminnedatabase?

SVAR: 1) Storeggaraset. 2) Helge Ingstad. 3) Sudan. 4) Merovingertid. 5) 1904. 6) Wessex, Essex, Sussex, Mercia, Kent, East Anglia, Northumbria. 7) Rollo/Rolv av Normandie. 8) 1537. 9) Det mongolske riket. 10) Askeladden.

Arkeologisk kryssord



Vannrett

3. Etternavn på mannen som lega utgravinga etter Tutankhamon sitt gravkammer i Kongenes Dal, Egypt

4. Hvilket material var vanleg å lage pilspissar av i yngre steinalder?

6. Kva for ein by vart begravd når vulkanen Vesuv hadde utbrudd i 79 e.Kr. og ofte blir nevnt i andre rekke etter den mest kjente nærliggande byen?

8. Norsk lokasjon der det lengste kjente langhuset frå jernalderen er avdekka og rekonstruert

9. Lagvis inndeling i jorda som kan avdekke menneskeleg aktivitet på ein lokasjon

Loddrett

1. Området som no ligg under Nordsjøen men som under steinalderen var eit busetningsområde

2. Steinalderbuplass i Hordaland

5. Kva for eit britisk område er kjent for to anglosaksiske gravplassar frå 500-600 talet?

7. Keiser under Romerriket

Nr. 2 2022: Mørke kapitler

Årets andre nummer, «Mørke kapitler», utkommer mot slutten av vårsemesteret 2022.

Mørke kapitler er en bevisst vag og åpen tematikk, som kan knyttes til en rekke arkeologiske problemstillinger. Det kan blant annet brukes om «mørke» perioder og tematiske problemstillinger, slik som nedgangstider, naturkatastrofer, fraflytting, krig, slaveri og undertrykkelse, eller, som vi alle har erfart i snart to år, sykdom, pest og epidemier/pandemier. I overført betydning kan mørke også bety det ukjente. Arkeologien kan til en viss grad sies å være studiet av det mørke og ukjente ettersom fortiden sjelden kan forstås fullt ut. Derfor vil vi også utforske perioder og emner som man ikke vet så mye om sammenlignet med andre temaer i arkeologien. Problemstillinger knyttet til dette kan videreføres til hvordan vi tilegner oss arkeologisk kunnskap. Hvorfor er det slik at vi vet mer om noen temaer, perioder, steder og kulturer enn andre? Og hvordan kan vi gå fram for å endre dette?

En slik bred forståelse av «mørke kapitler» ønsker vi å utforske i neste nummer av RISS. Bidrag fra alle tidsperioder, steder i verden og forskningsområder er velkomne. Vi tar imot fagartikler, essays, bearbeidede oppgaver, illustrasjoner, bok- og filmanmeldelser, og skjønnlitterære tekster fra studenter, fagpersoner og andre interesserte. Om du ønsker å bidra i neste nummer av RISS, send oss ditt bidrag innen **2. april 2022** til riss@uib.no.