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METALS, SALT, AND SLAVES: ECONOMIC LINKS BETWEEN GAUL AND ITALY FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE LATE SIXTH CENTURIES BC

Summary. This paper discusses the role of metals, salt, textiles, and slaves in the development of networks of reciprocal exchange that interlinked the élites of Etruscan Italy and Early Iron Age Gaul between the eighth and sixth centuries BC. Maritime and transalpine contact are considered separately. Certain regional specialisms in Gaul are discussed: metals in the west and centre, supporting prosperous HaD élites around the rim of the Massif Central, salt on coasts and in the east, perhaps in exchange for Italian textiles, and slaves perhaps especially from the sixth-century BC Aisne–Marne/Mont Lassois complex. A principal point is to establish the ubiquity and economic importance of women and children as domestic slaves both in Italy and Gaul and their consequent significance as valuable objects of élite exchange. Development in patterns of slave procurement during this period are considered.

I would like to raise some questions about the role of metals, salt, and slaves in the networks of reciprocal exchange that connected Villanovan and Etruscan Italy with Early Iron Age (HaC–D) Gaul between the eighth and late sixth centuries BC. During this period the emergence of urban civilizations in Italy was accompanied by an insistently increasing demand for foodstuffs, raw materials, and human labour from any suitable source. In Gaul and northern Italy pre-existing Urnfield nobilities developed into regional élites, each with its own characteristics yet in constant interaction. This was a process with an internal dynamic of its own that drew upon links of prodigious antiquity both with the Mediterranean world and with central Europe. Ninth- and eighth-century BC Villanovan bronze fibulae and, occasionally, razors, appear sporadically in Gaul from the Alps to the Atlantic and Midi, followed by many other bronzes in the seventh and sixth centuries BC, often from workshops at Vulci and Caere, while from the mid-seventh century BC onwards, Etruscan *bucchero nero*, ceramic wine transport amphorae, and banqueting wares become commonplace finds at sites in Provence and Languedoc and, less densely, at élite centres inland (Camporeale 2001, 78–129; *RIEIG*; Brun and Chaume 1997 *passim*).

INDIVIDUAL ADVENTURE

The social contexts in which valuables changed hands have been very thoroughly explored elsewhere (Bouloumié, 1988; Dietler 1999, 141–8). It is anachronistic for this period

to think in terms of ‘Greek’, ‘Etruscan’, or even ‘Caeretan’ or ‘Massaliote’ trade as though merchants were working under national flags of convenience. It is important not to lose sight of the role everywhere of enterprising individuals with intentions of their own, rich enough to own or load a boat and attract a crew, to assemble a raiding party, or to undertake hazardous overland journeys, making what for any given adventurer may never have been more than occasional visits to specific foreign destinations. These were high-status, high-risk, but potentially very profitable undertakings involving what might be several months or more away from home, dependent upon reciprocal hospitality amongst élites governed by rules that were widely respected.

On arrival, a respectable-looking traveller was offered food and hospitality before being asked who he was and what he had come for. News was exchanged, business was transacted, and on the guest’s departure the host typically offered him a gift as a memento (e.g. Homer, *Od.* IV. 587–92). It was implicit that the favour might be returned at some later time. In this way, precious goods – including, I shall argue, household slaves – changed hands repeatedly amongst mutually respectful élites. In Homer’s *Odyssey* (I. 180–4) the goddess Athena, disguised as an unexpected visitor, introduced herself thus to Telemachus, her host, as Mentès, son of Anchialus: ‘I rule the sea-faring Taphians [in the south Ionian Sea off Leukas]. I am here now with my own ship and companions, sailing the dark sea to foreign peoples and to Temese¹ for copper; I am carrying a cargo of gleaming iron.’ For most of the period under review the Homeric poems – recited, admired, and identified with by indigenous Italians as well as by Greeks – can provide useful illustrations of Mediterranean élite preoccupations if handled discreetly.²

Individual and cultural preferences inevitably governed what changed hands between guest-friends and business partners: Menelaus made a parting offering to Telemachus of a beautiful libation bowl as a personal memento with a fine chariot and three horses, but Telemachus gracefully declined the latter because he could not keep horses in Ithaca and asked instead for a keepsake that he could carry. Menelaus then gave him the most precious object in his treasury, a solid silver *krater* with a golden rim that his own royal friend, the king of Sidon, had given him (*Od.* IV. 594–608). In encounters between strangers, if one party made a specific request, it was difficult for the other to refuse: on first arrival in the New World, Europeans were unable to barter with the Indians until they realized that what the latter wanted was wampum. Some types of precious goods seem, however, to have had such widespread significance or utility that they circulated everywhere, ponding up in the archaeology of places inhabited by dominant élites.³ Amongst such universally regarded valuables in the networks linking Italy with Early Iron Age Gaul were livestock, metal ingots, salt, amber, crafted metalwork, fine textiles, banqueting paraphernalia including imported wine, and – I shall argue – domestic slaves. For convenience I shall consider the coastal networks before turning to the more complicated picture inland.

METALS AND SEA-TRADE WITH MEDITERRANEAN GAUL

Gaul had valuable metal resources, especially in the west and Massif Central (see Fig. 1), that had been exploited and exchanged amongst regional élites since the Bronze Age. Trade

1 Thought by some to be on the coast of Bruttium, where there were copper mines: Strabo, *Geog.* 6.1.5.

2 Poseidonios compared the second-century Gauls that he observed with Homer’s heroes (Diod. v. 28.4).

3 Menelaus’ palace glinted with treasures of copper, gold, silver, amber, and ivory (*Od.* IV. 71–5).

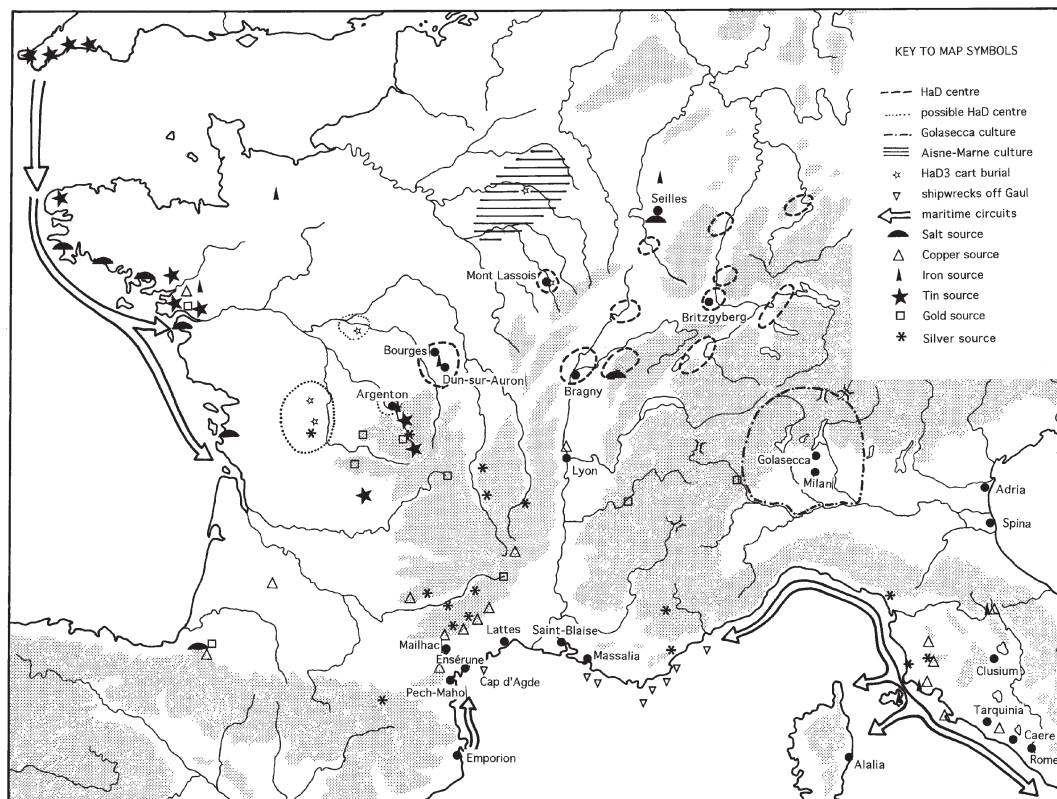


Figure 1

in Atlantic tin, purportedly through the Rhône corridor and Massalia, has long been implicated in the history of contact between Greeks, Etruscans, and Gaul, and has in particular been invoked to account for the success of the sixth-century West Hallstatt elites.⁴ This initial model is, however, losing conviction as the actual complexity of the picture is becoming more apparent (Brun 1997a; Eggert 1997). In an important conference paper, Milcent (2002) has filled out the map of western France with numerous Villanovan and Etruscan finds between Languedoc and Armorica, leaving no doubt whatever about the vigour of élite cultures in ninth- to sixth-century Languedoc, Charente, Limousin, and Poitou, especially ones able to exploit sea-salt or precious metal ores (cf. *RIEIG* III).

Tin was an extremely costly but necessary component in the bronze required for ornaments, arms, armour, and horse gear, and local sources in Brittany and the western Massif Central may perhaps have been exploited, their product joining copper, gold, and silver in circuits of élite exchange. By far the most prolific sources of tin were, however, on the Atlantic in Cornwall and Galicia, shuttled along the western coast of Gaul probably by Armoricans in

4 E.g. Joffroy 1960. Nash 1985, 51, fig. 3.1 now needs adjustment.

mixed cargoes of their own and exchanged with Gauls especially at points on riverine estuaries (Cunliffe 2001a, 302–6). This was an ancient circuit, ultimately linking Atlantic Gaul with Italy, since tin was required everywhere,⁵ but as demand increased in the Mediterranean during the seventh and sixth centuries BC the Loire and Garonne seem to have become increasingly important delivery points for the Atlantic tin that joined the other precious goods already changing hands until some of it reached Languedoc or – via the Loire – the Alps. Languedoc's Mailhac culture adopted and adapted many cultural items, including drinking wares and fibulae, that bear strikingly close similarities with north Italian models, mediated by whatever channels of contact (Hodson and Rowlett 1973, 159–78; Brun 1987, 129–33). Meanwhile, prosperous HaD élites flourished in Poitou, Touraine, and Berry,⁶ fringing the Massif Central and participating in circuits of élite exchange that involved metals, salt, probably slaves, and certainly Italian textiles with fancy bronze fibulae, ceramics, finished bronzes, and, exceptionally, wine. Structurally, their position was congruent with that of their better-known contemporaries in Burgundy.

The Mediterranean coast of Gaul had, however, also been known since time immemorial to small boats plying between the Tyrrhenian coast and Catalonia, and during the seventh century BC visits by larger ships from Italy with valued cargoes seem to have become increasingly important for those Languedocian élites able to exploit ready access to metals including good Atlantic tin. Beads of raw tin sewn into neat cylindrical bags were found amongst a large cargo of c.800 kg of copper ingots and over 1700 bronze objects in a shipwreck off Cap d'Agde dated to the end of the seventh or early sixth century BC (Garcia 2002, 39), and trade with Languedoc does seem to have been an enduring Etruscan specialism: Greek transport amphorae and ceramics – which were in any case routinely carried amongst Etruscan cargoes⁷ – are in a stark minority everywhere in the Midi until the late sixth century BC, and Etruscan imports were still rising at Lattes at the end of the century while they were in steep decline in Provence after c.540–530 BC.⁸ During the eighth–seventh century BC what had originally been rather uniform Bronze Age élite cultures throughout Mediterranean France resolved into markedly different cultural provinces in Iberic Languedoc and Ligurian Provence respectively, each with their own sets of foreign relationships. By the middle of the seventh century BC safe and suitable places for encounters and exchange between foreign visitors and local élites must have included somewhere near Pech Maho or Ensérune and certainly Lattes in Languedoc, and Saint-Blaise on the Rhône delta in Provence. Graffiti both on ships and on shore demonstrate the presence of Etruscans as visitors or residents at such places as Lattes, Saint-Blaise, and later, Marseille.

5 For instance a bar ingot was found at Paris in an early Hallstatt context with Navicella Italic fibulae (Gran-Aymerich 1997, 203).

6 In Vienne, for instance, there are cart burials at Gros-Guignon and Sénéret (Joffroy 1958), an important cemetery at Civaux (*Gallia* 1961, 402) and a rich female burial at Saint-George-les-Baillargeaux (*Gallia* 1965, 375); see also Hodson and Rowlett 1973, 178 and Brun 1987, map p. 80. For Berry: Willaume 1985; Gran-Aymerich 1997.

7 See Long *et al.* (2002, 25–62) for details with bibliography of eight sixth-century shipwrecks off the French coast.

8 95 per cent of amphorae at Lattes in c.500 BC were still Etruscan and *bucchero* was abundant until c.475 BC. Between c.475 and 450 these imports petered out (Bats and Janin 2002; Leveau 2002; Dedet and Py 2002). Transport amphorae had a secondary use in the Mailhac culture as burial urns.

Closer to Italy, Ligurian Provence had a cultural/ethnic boundary with the West Hallstatt zone between the Durance and the Drôme, and until the late sixth century BC Etruscan bronzes, cloth, wine and ceramics predominate as Mediterranean imports. Here, Saint-Blaise had been receiving foreign visitors carrying wine and banqueting wares for at least half a century before the Phocaeans arrived at Massalia in c.600 BC.⁹ This was exchange between the rich and the very rich. Commanding a prime position overlooking a sheltered lagoon on the Rhône delta, visible from afar, Saint-Blaise remained an important native port of call until c.520 BC when it seems to have lost its function and turned in on itself (Bouloumié 1992, 272), probably eclipsed by Massalia. Three-quarters of the hundreds of amphora sherds found in a small area at Saint-Blaise were Etruscan (Py 3A and 3B), especially from south Etruria, probably Caere. It has also produced the largest assemblage of *bucchero nero* so far known anywhere outside Etruria, and graffiti in Etruscan script confirm that it entertained educated foreigners. Saint-Blaise was in its prime between the late seventh and late sixth centuries BC when it faded into obscurity: what its Mediterranean visitors collected is unknown for sure, but probably included salt from nearby salines, iron, gold, and other minerals from the Massif Central and Alps, tin perhaps on relay from Languedoc, amber, salt, wool, and – I shall argue – luxury slaves.

Phocaeen Massalia was the first Greek outpost north of Etruria and for most of the sixth century BC seems to have functioned primarily as a safe harbour for large ships for whose crews it could provide onshore facilities. With a reassuringly civilized regime, the Massalites seem to have been on hospitable terms with some of the important families in coastal Etruria and were importing Etruscan wine until after c.540 BC when they planted their own vines and started producing wine for export.¹⁰ It certainly had a resident Etruscan quarter close to the present cathedral and may well have had a sixth-century shipyard.¹¹ Massalia only began to expand into a territorial city-state with a trading network of its own in Provence and the lower Rhône Valley at the end of the period under review – a time of far-reaching shifts in relationships throughout the central Mediterranean.

One version of Massalia's foundation legend is particularly useful for the present discussion because it illustrates the essentially individual nature of relationships between foreign ships' captains and resident élites in southern Gaul.¹² Attractive land on which to settle was spotted by passing Phocaeen adventurers to the east of the Rhône and two captains, Simos and Protis, were sent from Phocaea to secure the friendship of Nannus, king of the Segobriges on whose territory they hoped to build. Nannus was arranging his daughter's nuptial feast, at which by custom she would choose her husband by pouring water for one of the invited guests. The Greek visitors were invited, Gyptis chose Protis, and Nannus gave his new son-in-law land by the Vieux-Port of Marseille. A hilltop site close to the present-day city such as Baou Roux or Saint-Marcel could have hosted such an event.

9 Amongst the mainly Etruscan material at Saint-Blaise, early transport amphorae include a few datable seventh-century Corinthian and Attic/Euboeic SOS vessels (Bouloumié 1973, 35–6; id. 1992).

10 Rolley 1997, 240–1; Sourisseau 2002, 89–95. Cf. its reputedly early treaty with Etruscan Rome (Ebel 1976, 9) and the business deal between two Etruscans at Massalia recorded in Etruscan on a lead tablet found at Pech-Maho (Haynes 2000, 266).

11 Some of the vessels that sank off the French coast with Etruscan cargoes might have been of Phocaeen construction (Pomey 2002, 113–16). The Etruscans admired fine technology and could arguably have commissioned Phocaeen-built craft at Massalia: the early settlers there might have welcomed the revenues.

12 Pompeius Trogus ap. Justin, *hist.phil.epit.* xliii.3.4–12 and see Ebel 1976, 5–8.

SLAVES IN ARISTOCRATIC HOUSEHOLDS

One of the most elusive of all prehistoric objects of exchange is human labour, whether as slaves or as soldiers, but because of its role in élite economies it is important to attempt to trace its footprints amidst the more tangible evidence for other precious goods in circulation. The ubiquity of slaves at this period in wealthy households both sides of the Alps can, however, cautiously be assumed. European élites are nowhere known to have married numerous wives to increase the size and productive capacity of their households:¹³ instead, they bought slaves. Because of their role in domestic production, slave women and children were a costly and important object of élite exchange that had probably changed hands everywhere in Europe, Gaul included, since at least the early Bronze Age. For the period under review here, this can be illustrated with Mediterranean evidence that also introduces the sort of trade between Italy and Gaul with which this paper is primarily concerned.

In Homer's poems slaves helped to welcome guests, make cloth, serve food, and undoubtedly also to prepare it.¹⁴ Some became valued and trusted family servants with significant responsibilities: Telemachus' nursemaid had been purchased by his grandfather as a beautiful young girl for 20 cattle: an expensive transaction with her previous owner. In later aristocratic circles domestic slaves were numerous and feature at feasts. Greek nobles had always held banquets at which meat was eaten and wine was served, and from the seventh century onwards they were commonly followed by symposia. These formalized all-male wine-drinking ceremonies were conducted garlanded and perfumed, reclining on couches. Guests were entertained by hired musicians, dancers, and acrobats, played rowdy games, and there was sex: courtesans (never wives) might be present and there were always attractive and valuable young slaves serving as waiters, entertainers, and sexual playthings: the boy cup-bearer was, by convention, naked. Erotized idealization of beautiful youngsters, slave and free, boys and girls, was integral to Greek symposium culture. Sixth- and fifth-century Greek drinking songs¹⁵ confirm an impression conveyed on Attic painted pottery. In Greece, many such slaves were of Thracian and/or Middle Eastern origin (Taylor 2001): apart from their unquestioned utility as servants at a feast, sexual liberties could be taken with slaves that symposiasts might refrain from with their own children.¹⁶

Etruscan nobles had different traditions, feasting with their wives and, probably, older children, though sixth-century aristocrats appreciated good wine and adopted some aspects of symposium culture together with much else that they admired about Greek high life. The leading families of Caere were on good terms, for instance, with their counterparts in Sybaris before the latter's destruction in 510 BC. Timaeus¹⁷ reported that of all the peoples of Italy, the Sybarites liked the Etruscans best. Famous for its opulence, Sybaris was a significant source of fine Greek metalwork and an important port of call for merchants bound for the Aegean (Haynes 2000,

13 In a much later context, Julius Caesar (*de Bello Gallico* 1.53.4) described a German king, Ariovistus, as having two wives in 58 BC: one was Sueban and the other was the sister of a king of Noricum. These were exceptional, political alliances.

14 *Od.* I.136–43, 356–8, 397–8, etc.

15 See e.g. Anacreon's poems (fl. 563–478 BC), *Oxford Book of Greek Verse* (1946 edn.), nos. 173, 176, 177, praising boys and girls alike.

16 See Johns 1982, 99–102 for implicit rules governing sexual approaches to adolescent boys.

17 ap. Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 12.517D.

203, 258). It is clear from Etruscan tomb paintings and funeral meals that their sixth-century banquets could be lavish, colourful, and entertaining. Guests wore expensive clothes and jewellery. Food and drink were choice, plentiful, and served with the host's best tableware, including gold and silver plate in richer households. There were waiters, dancers, and acrobats accompanied by auloi. Servants at these occasions are unlikely to have been the host's own children, but skilled and expensive domestic slaves, depicted as young and often expensively clad.

I would like to suggest that from some point in the seventh century BC a regular component in the mixed cargoes that ships collected from ports of trade in Gaul was valuable young slaves for service in wealthy households in Italy and beyond. No Mediterranean urban élite could manage its lifestyle without them, and both Greek and Etruscan banquets required them to be young and beautiful. Because of this aesthetically driven requirement, there was also an everlasting demand for replacements. I would also like to suggest that by the late sixth century BC the procurement and transmission of slaves from Gaul not only from the Mediterranean coast but also, importantly, over the Alps into Padane Italy, was beginning to have identifiable consequences both for the communities that captured them and for the intermediate hands through which they passed *en route* (Nash 1985; Arnold 1987). Whilst it is difficult to find any convincing documentary evidence for Celtic slaves in Metropolitan Greece at this period, there is little reason to question their presence in the West. Slaves of distant and varied provenance were sought after to limit the risk of conspiracy or escape (Taylor 2001), Etruscan tomb paintings do suggest a varied ethnic mix, and Etruscans are known to have been in frequent contact with Gaul for other commodities.

Here it is pertinent to note that some of the servants in some of the earliest Etruscan tomb paintings (Tarquinia, last decades of the sixth century BC) were carefully portrayed with what to a modern observer look like unmistakably northern European features, often contrasted with black-haired Mediterraneans: tow-haired little musicians and jockeys,¹⁸ a red-haired, fair-skinned, amber-eyed dancing girl,¹⁹ or another making garlands.²⁰ There were people with such colouring in many parts of northern Europe (see e.g. Hdt. iv.109: Scythians), and the social dynamics here described were not unique to Gaul: slaves were undoubtedly also procured at the head of the Adriatic, but the history of that economic system is another subject. Rich Etruscans evidently selected horses on aesthetic grounds, with unusual coat and mane colours.²¹ Did they select expensive slaves with a similar eye? Children fathered on slave women could and did become respectable members of some archaic communities,²² and long, if sporadic, contact with northern Europeans both from Gaul and from as far north as the Baltic²³ may account for a number of free Etruscan banqueters who themselves have fair or red hair.

18 Tomba del Barone, Tarquinia (*EP* no. 44, c.510/500 BC).

19 Tomba dei Giocolieri, Tarquinia (*EP* no. 70, c.510 BC).

20 Tomba della Caccia e Pesca, Tarquinia (*EP* no. 50, c.510 BC).

21 E.g. Tomba del Barone, Tarquinia (*EP* no. 44, c.510/500 BC): several with black or chestnut coats and near-white mane and tail.

22 E.g. Homer, *Od.* IV. 3–14: Menelaus fathered his son, Megapenthes, on an unnamed slave when his wife, Helen, had no more children after bearing their daughter, Hermione.

23 E.g. the *Gesichtsurmen Kultur* of Pomerania (Griessa 1999, 135–6), presumably a source of amber (Cunliffe 2001b, 134–50) and furs.

PIRACY AND KIDNAP

Household slaves were always ethnic outsiders, preferably of mixed and distant origin (Taylor 2001) and originally the victims of someone's violence, whether sold by their families because of poverty or, more typically perhaps, kidnapped or taken prisoner in organized conflict, passing through at least one and probably several exchanges before arrival at their final destinations. The *Iliad* opens with a bitter dispute amongst Achaian warlords over captured women that had been distributed amongst them as prizes: Agamemnon felt obliged to surrender his woman, Chryseis, because his refusal to accept the ransom that her father, a priest of Apollo, had offered to pay for her release had brought a plague upon the Achaians. When he pulled rank by insisting instead upon taking Achilles' prize, beautiful Briseis, he incurred the wrath with which the epic begins (Homer, *Il.* I. 1–412). Lamenting what would happen to his wife Andromache if Troy were to fall to the Achaians, Hektor imagines her dragged off in tears by some bronze-clad Achaian into slavery, toiling in Argos for some other woman at the loom or carrying water from an alien well, a helpless drudge taking orders from others. 'There goes Hektor's wife', they will say . . . 'the champion of the horse-taming Trojans when Ilium was besieged' (*Il.* VI.454–61). Many similar examples could be cited.

In a world where nobles in all cultures sometimes bore arms, booty was a widespread component in elite economies, more so in some than in others. Odysseus, posing as the son of the Cretan Kastor (*Od.* 14.222–34) provides an idealized portrait of the mobile, booty-based lifestyle to which many eighth- to sixth-century aristocrats in Italy and Gaul might aspire, adventuring inland with horses as well as in boats on rivers or the sea. 'I never cared for farming, nor life at home, nor fathering fair children. I revelled in long ships with oars; I loved polished lances, arrows in the skirmish, the shapes of doom that others shake to see. Bloodshed suited me. . . . Before we young Achaians shipped for Troy I led men on expeditions in ships to raid strange coasts and had great luck, taking rich spoils on the spot, and even more in the division. So my house grew prosperous, my standing high among the Cretans.' However, he later got into trouble (*Od.* 17.424–33): 'Reckless greed carried my crews away to plunder the Egyptian farms; they bore off wives and children, killed what men they found.'²⁴ In the warfare of this period, high-born captives were especially prized, earning large ransoms if returned to their families and high prices as slaves if taken far enough from home neither to escape nor attract their kinsmen's counter-aggression.

Any shipowner might kidnap in passing, and the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus* tells a story known in Etruria, which may be understood in many ways but which offers relevant detail for the present theme. Portrayed as a beautiful youth, in the first flower of manhood, with cascading dark hair and a purple mantle, Dionysus is captured by Tyrrhenian adventurers who spot him from their ship, nod to each other, and leap ashore. They grab the boy, telling themselves that he must be the 'son of god-born kings', and bind his hands and feet. When the fetters fall off, the frightened pilot and crew want to return him to shore, fearing divine retribution. The captain refuses, rebukes the pilot, predicts that his captive will reach 'Egypt, Cyprus, the Hyperboreans, or further still', and expects that 'one day he will tell us about his friends, all his possessions, and who his relatives are'. In reality a kidnapped youth would have been helpless at this point, but Dionysus made magical mayhem, spared the pilot, killed the captain, and turned the crew into dolphins when they leapt overboard.

24 Trans. de Souza (1999), adapted.

Fantasy though it is, the song does hint at the special value accorded to sexually appealing and objectively high-born adolescents as targets for kidnap. The early Etruscans earned a reputation for piracy²⁵ which they shared with many other seafaring cultures, including Phocaeans and Phoenicians: it was suffering piracy – coastal raids as well as interference with merchant ships – that provoked an Etruscan fleet to drive Phocaean settlers from Alalia in 540 BC, whilst they had no quarrel with Phocaean Massalia (n. 10 above).

Naturally, not all Etruscans rich enough to equip a ship were pirates, but some otherwise engaged in packboat trading clearly did kidnap as a sideline, which must have rendered any unidentified ship an object of suspicion. Cf. Homer *Od.* III. 71–4: ‘Who are you sirs? Where have you sailed from? . . . Are you trading or are you cruising the seas on chance like pirates, who risk their lives to ruin other people?’ In our period, the Mediterranean coast of Gaul was both an increasingly frequented source of trade goods and a tempting coast to raid.

In the mid-seventh century BC, when places like Saint-Blaise and Lattes began to function as entrepôts, a shift was probably taking place away from opportunist raiding in favour of organized trade under protective agreement.²⁶ To safeguard links with local élites able to provide reliable markets in such essentials as salt and metals, Etruscan and Greek merchant-adventurers would have had to refrain voluntarily from raiding their hosts’ possessions.²⁷ Slaves – possibly always a minor but nonetheless a valuable cargo – had then to come from elsewhere: and I suggest that part of the deal was that ships’ masters would refrain from piracy if local chiefs could provide onshore hospitality and good cargoes, including suitable slaves, captured by others elsewhere, and I propose that they did this by providing inland visitors bearing metals and escorting captives with lavish entertainment on arrival and Mediterranean manufactured goods, sometimes including wine, to take home on departure.²⁸ It is important to acknowledge the modest and episodic nature of such transactions: even in the sixth century BC their social context remained embedded in reciprocal hospitality amongst élites between whom many other valuables routinely changed hands. I also envisage that most of what went inland into Gaul was being taken home rather than being ‘exported’ from the south.

TRANSALPINE EXCHANGE FOR METALS, SALT, AND SLAVES

Overland exchange through the Alps employing ox-drawn wagons and/or pack equids had linked Gaul with the Golasecca culture and Etruria since at least the Bronze Age and was integral to the history of Gaul’s HaC–D élites. There is unbroken cultural continuity between the Bronze Age Canegrate culture of the Ticino and the Early Iron Age Golsasecca culture (Kruta and Manfredi 1999, 23–43) and a seamless cultural continuum between the latter and the HaC–D élites of Switzerland and Gaul. From a Mediterranean point of view these were all Celts and were well known in Etruria. Katakina, bearer of a Celtic name, was buried with dignity at seventh-century Orvieto (Haynes 2000, 146) and an important legend explicitly linked late seventh- or early sixth-century BC Gaul, and the Bituriges from around Bourges and Insubres

25 E.g. Tyrrhenian pirates are said to have infested the coast of Sicily before the arrival of Chalcidian colonists at Naxos in c.736 BC: Ephoros ap Strabo vi.2.2. Cf. Haynes 2000, 195–7, 258.

26 For a model of shifts outwards from the core in the entire economic system at this time see Brun 1997a.

27 Cf. Dietler and Herbich 2001, 250: Kenya’s Luo refrain from attacking Samia travellers so as not to jeopardize their access to Samia iron.

28 Cf. Dietler 1999, 142–5.

from Burgundy in particular, with the Ticino (Golasecca culture) where the Insubres founded Milan (Livy, *Hist. Rom.* 5.34).

Berry did indeed have a complex and prosperous HaC–D élite (Willaume 1985; Gran-Aymerich 1997). Bourges itself was probably its richest single centre but there were several others whose various wealthy families were involved with outsiders, obtaining Villanovan metalwork and probably textiles since at least the eighth century BC. Gold and silver from the mountains behind Argenton-sur-Creuse were almost certainly exploited and employed in inter-élite exchange by another regional group, while the landscape south of Bourges had some of the best iron ore in Gaul: iron became valuable as it came into use for élite cutting weapons during the seventh century BC. Much evidence for its prehistoric exploitation in Berry has been destroyed by medieval and modern workings, but around Dun-sur-Auron, which is also close to important HaD tumuli (Brun 1997b), what are probably Iron Age ore diggings have survived in the form of deep shafts (*mardelles*) with galleries that run off sideways into the ores with vaulted joints and pillars to support the roofs (Dindinaud 1969).²⁹

Berry's Iron Age élites had as much in common culturally with their contemporaries in Touraine and western Gaul,³⁰ linked by the Loire valley, as they did with the West Hallstatt centres eastwards towards the Alps, and could in principle have obtained goods of Italian origin from either set of relationships, and it may be impossible to identify which, if any, Etruscan or Attic material arrived in Berry from sources in Provence, Languedoc, or northern Italy across the Alps, though it is clear that at the end of our period Berry's élites were obtaining Massaliote wine and ceramics, probably from intermediate centres on the Rhône/Saône corridor, well into the fifth century BC. Weapons-grade iron may well have been an important component in all their exchanges with external partners.

Where the Italian end of this system is concerned, metals, including gold from the Val d'Aosta, iron from several exceptional sources including Switzerland, Berry and the Meuse,³¹ and salt were undoubtedly amongst privileged trade goods hauled across the Alps. Intensive salt production around Seilles in Lorraine, for instance, generated more than three million cubic metres of briquetage during the Early Iron Age (*RIEIG* I, 116) and there were numerous other salt workings in Lorraine and Jura. The well-known surge in Early Iron Age salt production on Italy's landward periphery in Austria as well as in Gaul coincided with intensified competition within Italy itself for domestic sources of salt, for instance at Ostia, with spreading cereal cultivation in the Po plain – consumption of cereals requires salt – and undoubted demographic growth on both sides of the Alps. It also coincided with a marked increase in fine textile production in Etruscan Italy and the Este culture, in both of which spinning and weaving were integral to the social status and economic role of respectable women. When, for instance, Tanaquil (Gaia Caecilia), wife of Tarquinius Priscus, died, her distaff was preserved in the temple of Sancus and a robe she wove for Servius Tullius was kept in the temple of Fortuna (Pliny, *Nat Hist.* 8.194). Both were emblematic of her status as a royal consort, as indeed they might have been for Homer's Penelope. This was not so for their contemporaries in Gaul and

29 In the later Iron Age the Bituriges were renowned for their iron-working skills, their large iron mines, and their 'knowledge of all kinds of tunnels' (Caesar, *de Bello Gallico* 7.22.2), a skill that they shared with and could have learnt from Padane Etruscans (Haynes 2000, 60).

30 The Bituriges Vivisci, with a port of trade at Bordeaux, were not local Aquitanians (Strabo, *Geog* 4.2.1) and may have originated in central Gaul during the Early or Middle Iron Age.

31 E.g. the Haulzy group in the Argonne (Hodson and Rowlett 1973, 183).

the Golasecca culture, where the spindles and bobbins routinely buried with Etruscan/Este women are conspicuously absent. Their occasional presence in the vast native cemeteries of Languedoc³² is one amongst several unusual features associating the latter especially closely with Etruscan Italy.

Italian textiles, fine, complex, and colourful, pinned with voluminous fibulae, were therefore amongst the earliest manufactures to cross the Alps and were evidently much admired and sought after.³³ Dyeing wool and vegetable fibres requires mordants – alum, vinegar, and salt – to fix pigments that themselves had often to be traded for: transalpine salt and Italian cloth may well have been reciprocally exchanged. Slaves now come into the picture. Textiles so fine as sometimes to be transparent and often intricately embroidered, the cut and sewn clothing made, worn, and exported from central and northern Etruria in this period (Haynes 2000, 214–55), the countless everyday fabrics, rugs, and blankets, and the preparation and dyeing of wool and yarns, cannot possibly all have been done by Etruscans' wives and daughters alone: much of this required long labour, sharp young eyes, and nimble fingers. Neither can wives and children have raised all the crops and livestock and prepared all the food in households which routinely held banquets for guests: they must have been helped by slaves. Indeed, supervising slaves was part of the everyday work of a high-ranking woman. Telemachus, for instance, ordered his mother, Penelope, to return to her woman's work, 'the loom and the spindle, and tell the servants to get on with theirs . . .' (Homer, *Od* I. 356–8).

Transalpine women did, of course, also make cloth, but elaborate weaving seems not to have had the same social significance in West Hallstatt cultures as it had in Etruscan Italy or to have played the same part in élite exchange. When in the late sixth century BC intensive manufacturing did begin on some HaD2/3 settlements in Gaul, weaving appears not to have had status implications for respectable women, who were still never buried with distaff or spindle, although very fine woollen textiles together with bronze fibulae were certainly being made at late sixth-century (Ha D3) Bragny (Nicolardot 1997, 153; Collet and Flouest 1997) and Britzgyberg (Schweizer 1997, 63). The village site of Bragny, associated with the Chassey élite, was a settlement of middling prosperity where choice young cattle were also routinely eaten (Collet and Flouest 1997, 169): someone there had plenty of female labour for textile manufacture and feast preparation and had a plentiful supply of one- to two-year-old animals to slaughter for feasts, whether culling enormous herds of his own or, perhaps, exacting interest payments on cattle loans to less privileged dependants. However the status of larger élite settlements like Bourges or Mont Lassois is understood, they were certainly locations where even bigger feasts took place and where people worked, intermittently or continuously, on tasks such as potting with a wheel and fine textile manufacture that in Italy, at least, certainly required slave labour. These developments at the end of the period here considered probably represent a shift in the structure of the whole economic system linking Gaul with Italy (Brun 1997a).

HOUSEHOLD SLAVES AND VOLUNTARY LABOUR

Elites both in Italy and Gaul therefore needed to import both material resources and slaves, and I would like to suggest that the same web of contacts amongst sixth-century Gauls

32 Dedet and Py 2002: one sixth-century cremation in the cemetery at Saint-Julien-de-Pézenas contained a fibula of a Bologna type, a spindle whorl, and bracelets in an amphora urn.

33 For eighth-century fibulae see *RIEIG I passim*; on textiles see Banck-Burgess 1999 and Gleba 2002.

that satisfied their own requirements for household labour was tapped to supply slaves for even larger Mediterranean households, just as happened with the metals and other valuables obtained in Italy from Gaul.

It has sometimes been objected (e.g. Wells 1987, 208) that during the Early Iron Age there is no evidence for slave labour in, for instance, the salt mines at Hallstatt, which seem to have been worked by the prosperous individuals buried in the cemeteries nearby. In the model I propose, however, such men were most unlikely not to have had at least a slave or two in their households, looking after animals and helping their wives, while they themselves did indeed engage in such strenuous non-agricultural activities as digging ores, boiling salt, or going raiding to promote their status amongst peers and put them in a position to obtain more such luxuries as servants.

Michael Dietler and Ingrid Herbich (2001, 249–51) have shown how, even in societies without an organized élite, up to several hundred people can be motivated to toil on such projects as digging ramparts, building houses, or digging ores by a wealthy man able to provide a lavish feast in compensation for their labour. It is a model which I think has significant applications in European prehistory, where élites did demonstrably form.³⁴

They describe how Kenya's Samia extract iron from nearby hills which, like Iron Age Berry, have exceptionally fine ores and until the 1920s furnished all the iron used in an area of several thousand square kilometres. The principal objects produced were large iron hoe blades that were used in agriculture and, very importantly, served with cattle as bridewealth. A wealthy man was one who possessed many cattle and many wives to raise enough millet to brew enough beer and prepare enough food for lavish feasts. To get iron (or organize other projects) such a man would issue a general invitation for a feast on a given day, to be spent digging in the Samia hills. No-one was obliged to attend, but a host with a good reputation for generous feasts would find he had workers. After a day gathering ore, the men were treated to their feast and went home, leaving the ore with their host. It was his, compensating him for his feast. He then summoned a smelter to convert the ore into blooms and a smith to work the blooms into hoe blades: both craftsmen received some of the hoe blades in compensation for their work. With the rest, the host could, amongst other things, purchase more cattle or include them in the cost of another wife: despite the enormous expense of laying on large feasts, a man well reputed for his hospitality was likely to profit handsomely. In this way agricultural surplus was transformed into wealth to which the already rich had privileged access because of the inordinate outlay of food and domestic labour required to prepare a work feast.

As a model for protohistoric Italy and Gaul this works extremely well wherever voluntary labour was required for élite projects, including assembling a ship's crew or raiding band, and the importance of feasting with intoxicating drink is well attested in all their cultures (Dietler 1999). There was one important difference: in Europe, a rich man did not have numerous wives and children to prepare his feasts. Instead, Europeans kept slaves, replaced as they died, and purchased with accumulated wealth in livestock and metals or taken as prizes of war.

SLAVE RAIDING AND THE AISNE–MARNE CULTURE

I would like to propose that during the sixth century BC a large area of northern France with few other natural resources to exploit started becoming an important source of freshly

34 E.A. Thompson (1965, 10–16) described how wealth can accumulate within a (German) warrior society without an élite until an élite does form.

captured slaves. I will begin with the late sixth-century BC Vix/Mont Lassois élite in Burgundy, wealthy and successful despite having neither metal ores nor salt in their own neighbourhood whose exploitation might help to account for the exceptional prosperity and foreign connections of its élite. Yet Mont Lassois was an exceptional place with redistributive functions within its own domain and resident feasting and manufacturing. It must have attracted foreign visitors like an inland counterpart of Saint-Blaise, and the broken debris of Etruscan and Greek wine amphorae and imported pottery do suggest lavish feasting on the site by the standards of the region. Undoubtedly, its nobility needed slaves and was able to engage in gainful exchange with outsiders. Its geographical position near the headwaters of the Seine basin and close to an important ethnic boundary near the confluence of the Seine and Aube with the very differently structured Aisne–Marne culture (Demoule 1997, 303–4; Hodson and Rowlett 1973, 182–3; Nash 1985, 46) has also long suggested that it must have owed its success to privileged involvement with these neighbours.

The latter, however, on the chalk of Champagne, also lacked mineral resources to exploit for exchange, but were agriculturally rich and had a thriving population of armed agropastoralists. Assembling raiding bands, providing feasts with imported wine, if available, or home-brewed mead, beer, and/or fermented honeycomb washings, and leading them on gainful raids were the principal way in which this region's élite accumulated wealth – and for a couple of generations at the end of the sixth century BC, coincident with the apogee of the Vix/Mont Lassois élite, some of their leaders did indeed become outstandingly rich, reflected in the cart burial at Les Jogasses near Epernay (Marne). These restless élites lived in scattered open hamlets; their only fortified enclosures with evidence for contact with foreigners and élite consumption are on their borders with the West Hallstatt zone (Demoule 1997, 303). Nowhere within their own territories did they invest in settlements at which intensive manufacturing took place: in this strongly regulated society, wealth and prestige were otherwise derived.³⁵ When they did have something to sell – wool, hides, horns, foraged goods like furs, wax, and honey, exotica like amber, and booty – they took it to market elsewhere at places like Mont Lassois where some of these goods could be exchanged for metals and banqueting paraphernalia. Here, raiding was not one amongst many, but its élites' principal wealth-producing activity. Captured livestock and valuables could be kept, but without intensive manufacturing they needed fewer domestic slaves than the West Hallstatt élites. Most captives taken in conflict or raiding were therefore either ransomed back (a way of farming enemies), kept as hostages, killed, or sold on.

I would therefore like to suggest that the single most valuable item of booty that Aisne–Marne warlords could and did sell, especially at Mont Lassois, was women and children taken perhaps in conflicts with neighbours but especially on more distant raiding expeditions, and that these in turn were an important component in what the HaD3 Mont Lassois élite exchanged with its own partners elsewhere in Gaul and beyond. Once across the ethnic boundary, Aisne–Marne prisoners were well and truly enslaved and all of Gaul's agrarian élites, including those in Burgundy, Poitou, and Berry needed servants. Some of them also had contacts through whom especially valuable captives – the sons and daughters of 'god-born kings' – could be passed on towards Italy, mainly through the Alps, but during the sixth century also down the Rhône Valley towards Provence and perhaps Saint-Blaise in particular.

35 Cf. Caesar, *BG* 4.2.1: his first-century Belgae and Germans were very similar societies to these, who were ancestral to some of the Gauls who descended on Italy in the fourth century (Polyb. II.17.8–12). See Nash 1987, 39–46.

Captives might thus be escorted in relays over long distances from Champagne to external markets where specific prestige goods could be obtained in exchange, for instance transport amphorae of wine³⁶ or Etruscan beaked flagons and other metalware for feasts. Wine was an exceptional import in Gaul north of the Midi in this period: it is a distinct possibility that it was already being exchanged preferentially for slaves. Such a pattern of contact, characterized by booty taken to external markets, could in principle account for the very specific range of high value but eminently portable Italo-Etruscan bronze containers that occur in burials and deposits in the far reaches of north-western Gaul in this period (Wells 1980, 117). Fifth-century warlords in Picardy, Belgium, and Holland demonstrably did obtain, perhaps initially from West Hallstatt élites, the foreign metalwork, textiles and foodstuffs they coveted for banquets at home, though some individuals must have reached southern France and the Alpine margins of Etruscan Italy in the process.³⁷

The Vix 'princess', clearly an important woman, was around 30 when she died, perhaps from a blow to the back of her head, at the very end of the sixth century BC. She was probably a foreigner, though long enough resident in Burgundy to have been wearing the bronze arm- and leg-rings of her adoptive culture (Härke 1979, 184; Demoule 1997, 310; Kristiansen 1998, 273). Her treasures, mainly of Greek and Etruscan origin, including the famous bronze *krater* made perhaps at Sybaris or Paestum (Rolley 1997, 241), may well have been parts of her dowry. Amidst the reversals in fortunes in Etruscan Italy that were occurring during her lifetime (Haynes 2000, 201–3, 185, 197–212), some enterprising north Etruscan's interest in procuring exotic domestic slaves for Italian markets could very plausibly have involved him in contractual dealings both with the rich western Greeks with whom some of her dowry originated, and – by land across the Alps – with a family in Burgundy willing to pass on choice slaves.

The archaic slave trade was therefore in women and children to serve in and embellish aristocratic households: people who, when captured, were valuable and vulnerable, not necessarily numerous, and certainly inconspicuous to escort. It is true that concrete evidence for long-range slave trading has yet to be identified, but to seek it, for instance, in the form of slave chains or collecting pens (Arnold 1987, 188) would be anachronistic for this world: such relics are proper to much later and larger-scale trade in able-bodied men destined for the mines, vineyards, and quarries of Hellenistic city-states and Republican Rome. Their procurement nonetheless had significant consequences at both ends of the system. The capture and sale, especially of members of noble households, is likely to have had a disproportionately large impact amongst the raiding societies themselves, with their culture of endemic violence reminiscent of Homer's *Iliad*. Even the threat of capturing and selling adversaries' wives and children into slavery was an effective means of asserting dominance and imposing tribute. At the other end, their role in domestic production enabled already wealthy nobles both in Gaul and in Italy to engage in gainful hospitality and do profitable trade, becoming richer still.

The Vix/Mont Lassois complex seems to have dissolved at the end of the sixth century BC, soon after the death of the Vix 'princess'. The Aisne–Marne culture's early fifth-century (LTA) social hierarchy flattened out but the society itself thrived, with large numbers of small, independent warrior-farmers whose activities and way of life spread across the ethnic boundary

36 Dietler 1997, 355 makes the point that wineskins were most unlikely to have been used for long-range transport: *inter alia*, they are much more expensive than amphorae.

37 Imported bronze banqueting ware in the Low Countries: *RIEIG* IV 85–116; cf. Wells 1980, 136. This is probably a separate circuit from what fetched up at Bourges.

into eastern Gaul and was naturalized at the expense of the old West Hallstatt culture during the period of transition from the Early to the Late Iron Age (Demoule 1997, 303). Raiding expeditions were expensive and risky but inherently prestigious individual initiatives, inland versions of the maritime adventuring described above, understandably regarded by their victims as invasion. Attracted by good land, good raiding, and good opportunities to serve as hired spears, selling booty and services wherever they could, transalpine warriors were readily exploited by a growing fifth-century market for mercenary soldiers in Italy and beyond.

I wonder, however, whether it was what well-connected slaves from Gaul had been telling their Etruscan owners for generations about their ‘friends, all their possessions, and their relatives’ that alerted ambitious fifth-century Etruscans to novel possibilities for self-advancement. Thus, Arruns of Clusium (Livy 5.33), caught up in a sordid family feud, was blamed in hindsight for provoking the destructive fourth-century Celtic raids on Italy by inviting warriors to his assistance, sending fruits and wine across the Alps – provisions for a lavish feast with which to attract a warrior band but also samples of Italian booty to be captured in reward for their service. As Livy, a native of Padua, recognized, this stands for countless other individual dealings during the fifth century and long before, as rich Etruscans and transalpine élites alike pursued their parochial ambitions with every means at their disposal.³⁸

34 Thorncliffe Road
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ABBREVIATIONS

EP: STEINGRÄBER, S. 1986: *Etruscan Painting* (New York).

RIEIG: ADAM, R. (ed.), *Répertoire des importations étrusques et italiennes en Gaule* (Bulletin de l’Institut d’Etudes latines et du Centre de recherches A. Piganiol, *Caesarodunum*, Université de Tours, supplements I (1987), II (1989), III (1980), IV (1992)).

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38 For the role of mercenary service in the expansion of booty-based economies in the Hellenistic period see e.g. Nash 1985; 1987, 13ff. Etruscans were involved in this too: Velthur Spurinna’s descendants claimed he was the first Etruscan to take an army to Sicily (Camporeale 2001, 100).

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