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globular-bodied ceramic vessel, a silver finger ring with a lapis lazuli setting, a rectanguloid lapis bead, bronze finger rings, and iron and bronze horse (?) harness trappings were also recovered. The osteology is being studied by J. Lawrence Angel, Joy Bilharz Kolb, and John Bear at the Smithsonian Institution Department of Physical Anthropology.

The Aq Kupruk ceramic resembles Selucid and Parthian copies of Arretine from the European or eastern Mediterranean areas, and I believe it represents a local Central or South-Central Asian imitation of the Arretine. It is relatively certain that the ceramic was not manufactured in the immediate vicinity of Aq Kupruk, since that locality was merely a camp-site or way-station. Petrographic thin-section studies tend to confirm that the ware was produced somewhere to the south, possibly in Baluchistan.

Roman Arretine was produced at Arretium in northern Italy ca. 30 B.C.–A.D. 30 and was a highly prized and widely exported ceramic. It was related to "Pergameme" pottery and "Samian ware," made in the eastern Mediterranean during earlier times. Following the cessation of its manufacture in Italy, local imitations were made in Europe (Gaul, Spain, Germany, and England) and the Near East (especially Syria). Imitation and true Arretine wares reached the Indo-Roman trading station of Arikamedu (Pondicherry) on the Southeast Indian coast by sea routes between 25 and 45 A.D. (Wheeler, Gosh, and Deva 1946, Wheeler 1954). Present evidence suggests that a local imitation—Red Streak-Burnished Ware—was manufactured in the Baluchistan region ca. A.D. 150–400 (Kolb 1977:29–37). Strikingly similar ceramics relatively dated to the "Bronze Age" were reported from Gedrosia and in collections from Sutkagen-dor, a former Harappan seaport, by Stein (1931), but the Red Streak-Burnished Ware at Aq Kupruk definitely dates to A.D. 140–550 on the basis of radiocarbon dates and is incontrovertibly associated with the Han Dynasty mirror. It is postulated that one or more sites in Baluchistan or Gedrosia (present-day southeastern Iran and

western Pakistan) received Roman material culture and/or influence. Sutkagen-dor or other sites in the region could have been the manufacturing center(s) for a local "pseudo-Arretine" pottery, copying or imitating true or Eastern Mediterranean forms, during late and post-Roman times. It appears that this ceramic, among others (Red/Buf), was traded northward by Kushan and/or Surashtan peoples or others into Central Asia during the first and later centuries A.D. Selucid and Parthian ceramics did not typologically or technologically conform to the Sutkagen-dor specimens.

Aq Kupruk was a stopover on the north-south trade route from Baluchistan to Balkh and the Turkestan Plain and received quantities of the new ceramic. Some specimens of the ware have been found in the collections from Balkh in the Kabul Museum. The ceramic was possibly destined for Antiochia Margiana (Merv), Bokhara, etc. but is unreported from sites in northern Iran. A search of the Soviet Central Asian archaeological literature has as yet failed to uncover a similar ceramic ware. Further typological and technological studies are anticipated.

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Animal Brands and the Interpretation of Rock Art in East Africa¹

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East Africa is an area rich in prehistoric rock art, both paintings and engravings. Sites are known in Kenya, particularly in the Eastern Rift Valley (Odak 1976), in northern and central Tanzania (Shorter 1967, Odner 1971, Tanner 1953, Soper and Golden 1969, Chaplin 1974), and in western Uganda, especially in the area around Lake Victoria (Lawrence 1953, 1954; Lanning 1960, Morton 1964). Within this area, both naturalistic and geometric art occurs. Precise interpretation of this rock art, especially the numerous geometric symbols, has been extremely difficult and mostly subjective. This is because of the wide range of plausible interpretations for specific symbols. For example, some of the designs shown in figure 1 could easily be interpreted as male/female symbols or perhaps as hunting traps. Furthermore, attempts to link this art to specific prehistoric culture groups have been handicapped because relatively few excavated sites contain associations between dated cultural layers and art.

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Recent archaeological work near Lake Turkana in northern Kenya sheds much new light on these problems. While conducting fieldwork during 1975–76 at the site of Namoratunga (Lynch n.d.), we discovered what is clearly an important key to the interpretation of much of the geometric art that occurs in East Africa. The site, which is both a cemetery and a rock art site, is located along the Kerio River Valley near Lokori in northwestern Kenya. Namoratunga contains about 1,000 engravings, almost all geometric. They occur on the lava outcrops of two hills and on the massive upright slabs which surround

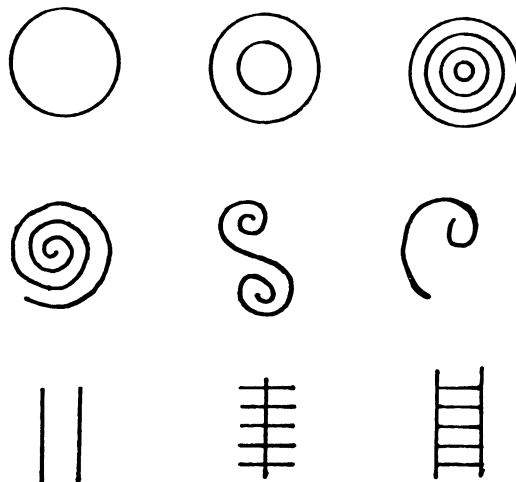


FIG. 1. Rock art designs from Namoratunga.

individual graves. The art consists of a variety of symbols, including circle, spiral, and rectangular designs. While initiating excavations at this site, we happened to observe a bull belonging to the Turkana, a pastoral people of the area, that was branded with several of these designs. The clear relationship between the brands and the rock art immediately led the research in a direction that had been largely overlooked, with the notable exception of Gramly's (1975) work at Lukenya Hill. We made an extensive inquiry into the brands of the Turkana as well as systematically recording all of the rock art symbols. (The symbols of fig. 1 are also brands.) Of the 160 geometric designs at the site, 154 were recognized by the Turkana as brands with individual names—this despite the fact that neither the art nor the graves are related to them. Many of these signs were subsequently observed on cattle, camels, donkeys, and other livestock in the area. The signs are marks of ownership, but not all the animals owned by an individual receive the same sign. Animals are sometimes differentiated on the basis of sex and species.

Since men inherit brand symbols through the male line, these symbols serve to delineate lineages (see Gulliver 1951 for discussion of Turkana social organization). Men possessing quite different brands but belonging to the same clan will identify their brands by the common clan name. Excavations of the cemetery showed that only the graves of males were decorated with symbols, suggesting that the relationship between males and inheritance of brands is ancient. This ideal, however, is often obscured by the fact that, for a variety of reasons, an animal may bear a number of different brands. Animals may be sold, traded, or given by one person to another. Some designs are the exclusive property of particular wealthy individuals, and these are applied in addition to the lineage brand. Finally, besides ownership marks some animals, especially cattle, may bear other designs simply for adornment.

Elsewhere in East Africa, we found that the Samburu, Pokot, and Masai shared a significant number of symbols found at Namoratunga and utilized them in a similar manner. For example, the Pokot near Kanyao shared at least 14% of the Turkana's brands and had some that the Turkana did not. Here it was reported that a new brand could be obtained as a result of a cattle raid in which the opponent was killed and his cattle were taken. This is one of the ways similar brands come to be used by different groups. More important, however,

shared brands strongly suggest common origins and historical relationships. While systematic information on brands has not been collected from most East African pastoralists, the ethnographic evidence available confirms our findings (Merker 1910, Tomikawa 1971).

Obviously, we do not suggest any one-to-one correspondence between the archaeological record and present practices. The association of the Namoratunga art with certain East African pastoralists is clear, however, as is the fact that the art has prehistoric origins and is widely distributed (our research led to the discovery of another site with identical art 110 mi. to the north, near Kalakol). There are also striking parallels between the Namoratunga art and some aspects of art found elsewhere in East Africa. Ultimately, the association of the art and herding peoples may prove to have major implications for documenting the spread of pastoralism in East Africa. In addition, it reaffirms the importance of the use of ethnographic data for archaeological interpretations.

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Intra-European Migration and Development in the Mediterranean Basin¹

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Throughout the past two decades of massive post-World War II labor migrations from Mediterranean countries to north-western Europe, it was widely assumed that migration constituted a spur to socioeconomic development in labor-exporting regions. In fact, recruitment of alien workers was officially portrayed as a form of "development aid" given by industrial Europe to the "underdeveloped" southern periphery (cf. Beijer 1969; Böhning 1975; Castles and Kosack 1973:180-207; Rhoades 1976a, b). In addition to relieving rural unemployment pressures and strengthening national balance of payments, two further developmental benefits theoretically accrued as a result of transnational migration: (1) originally rural and

unskilled workers acquired modern work habits and attributes along with industrial skills which served to upgrade the home labor force when migrants returned, and (2) foreign earnings were utilized to establish return-migrant businesses, industries, farms, and other enterprises conducive to revitalization of the rural sector.

In 1976, ethnographic research was initiated in southern Spain to test, on a regional level, the validity of the above purported benefits of emigration (Rhoades 1976b). This recent fieldwork follows two earlier research phases (1971-72 and 1974) in which Mediterranean migratory flows, especially Spanish and Turkish, to and from the Federal Republic of Germany were analyzed (Rhoades 1976a). Although the project covered numerous facets of past and present continental movements, this report outlines only those findings relevant to an understanding of the link between intra-European migration and socioeconomic development.

Intra-European migration from labor-surplus, low-wage agrarian regions to labor-demanding, high-wage industrial centers is a demographic pattern as old as European industrialism. Although contemporary transnational migrations are considered reversals of "traditional" transatlantic movements (Beijer 1969, Krane 1973, Marziale 1967), evidence suggests

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