

Exchange Networks and Local Transformations

Interaction and local change in Europe and the
Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age

Maria Emanuela Alberti and Serena Sabatini

OXBOW BOOKS
Oxford and Oakville

Published by
Oxbow Books, Oxford, UK

© Oxbow Books and the authors, 2012

ISBN 978-1-84217-485-2

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

This book is available direct from:

Oxbow Books, Oxford, UK
(Phone: 01865-241249; Fax: 01865-794449)

and

The David Brown Book Company
PO Box 511, Oakville, CT 06779, USA
(Phone: 860-945-9329; Fax: 860-945-9468)

or from our website

www.oxbowbooks.com

Front cover image: Afternoon lights on the Amalfi coast, Italy (courtesy of Mr B. Stoew)
Back cover image: The Gevelingshausen vessel (courtesy of the Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Frankfurt a. M.).

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Printed in Great Britain by

Contents

List of contributors.....	v
Abstracts	vii
Preface.....	xi
Introduction: Transcultural interaction and local transformations in Europe and the Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age.....	1
<i>Maria Emanuela Alberti and Serena Sabatini</i>	
1. Theorising exchange and interaction during the Bronze Age.	6
<i>Kristian Kristiansen</i>	
2. ‘Periphery versus core’: The integration of secondary states into the World System of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East in the Late Bronze Age (1600–1200 BC).....	9
<i>Nikolas Papadimitriou and Demetra Kriga</i>	
3. Aegean trade systems: Overview and observations on the Middle Bronze Age.....	22
<i>Maria Emanuela Alberti</i>	
4. The Minoans in the south-eastern Aegean? The evidence from the ‘Serraglio’ on Kos and its significance	44
<i>Salvatore Vitale and Teresa Hancock Vitale</i>	
5. Westernizing Aegean of LH III C	60
<i>Francesco Iacono</i>	
6. Malta, Sicily and southern Italy during the Bronze Age: The meaning of a changing relationship	80
<i>Alberto Cazzella and Giulia Recchia</i>	
7. External role in the social transformation of nuragic society? A case study from Sàrrala, Eastern Sardinia, Middle Bronze to Early Iron Age	92
<i>Luca Lai</i>	
8. Metalwork, rituals and the making of elite identity in central Italy at the Bronze Age–Iron Age transition.....	102
<i>Cristiano Iaia</i>	
9. Indigenous political dynamics and identity from a comparative perspective: Etruria and <i>Latium vetus</i>	117
<i>Francesca Fulminante and Simon Stoddart</i>	

10. Local and transcultural burial practices in Northern Europe in the Late Bronze Age:
Face, house and face/door urns134
Serena Sabatini
11. Migration, innovation and meaning: Sword depositions on Lolland, 1600–1100 BC146
Sophie Bergerbrant
12. Long and close distance trade and exchange beyond the Baltic coast during the Early Iron Age.....156
Jutta Kneisel
13. Ceramic technology and the materiality of Celtic graphitic pottery169
Attila Kreiter, Szilvia Bartus Szöllősi, Bernadett Bajnóczi, Izabella Azbej Havancsák, Mária Tóth and György Szakmány

List of Contributors

MARIA EMANUELA ALBERTI
Department of Archaeology
University of Sheffield, UK
memalberti@gmail.com

SOPHIE BERGERBRANT
Norwegian University of Science and Technology,
Trondheim, Norway.
sophie.bergerbrant@ntnu.no

BERNADETT BAJNÓCZI
Institute for Geological and Geochemical Research
Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary
bajnoczi@geochem.hu

ALBERTO CAZZELLA
Department of Sciences of Antiquity
Rome University "La Sapienza", Italy
a.cazzella@virgilio.it

FRANCESCA FULMINANTE
Department of Archaeology
Cambridge University, UK
ff234@cam.ac.uk

TERESA HANCOCK VITALE
University of Toronto, Canada
teresa.hancock@utoronto.ca

IZABELLA AZBEJ HAVANCSÁK
Institute for Geological and Geochemical Research
Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary
havancsaki@geochem.hu

FRANCESCO IACONO
Ph.D. candidate, UCL, London, UK
francesco.iacono@gmail.com

CRISTIANO IAIA
Heritage Department
University of Viterbo "La Tuscia", Italy
cris.iaia@tiscali.it

JUTTA KNEISEL
Christian Albrechts University of Kiel, Germany.
jutta.kneisel@ufg.uni-kiel.de

ATTILA KREITER
Hungarian National Museum, National Heritage
Protection Centre
Budapest, Hungary
attila.kreiter@mmm.mok.gov.hu

DEMETRA KRIGA
College Year in Athens, Greece
mimikakri@gmail.com

KRISTIAN KRISTIANSEN
Department of Historical Studies
University of Göteborg, Sweden
kristian.kristiansen@archaeology.gu.se

LUCA LAI
University of South Florida, USA/ University of
Cagliari, Italy
melisenda74@yahoo.it

NIKOLAS PAPADIMITRIOU
Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, Greece
npapad@cycladic.gr

GIULIA RECCHIA
Department of Human Sciences
University of Foggia, Italy
g.recchia@unifg.it

SERENA SABATINI
Department of Historical Studies
University of Göteborg, Sweden
serena.sabatini@archaeology.gu.se

SIMON STODDART
Department of Archaeology
Cambridge University, UK
ss16@cam.ac.uk

GYÖRGY SZAKMÁNY
Department of Petrology and Geochemistry
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary
gyorgy.szakmany@geology.elte.hu

SZILVIA BARTUS SZÖLLŐSI
Institute of Archaeological Science
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary,
szolloszilva@gmail.com

MÁRIA TÓTH
Institute for Geological and Geochemical Research
Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary
totyi@geochem.hu

SALVATORE VITALE
Università della Calabria, Italy
s.vitale@arch.unipi.it

Abstracts

1. THEORIZING EXCHANGE AND INTERACTION DURING THE BRONZE AGE

Kristian Kristiansen

The collection of articles in this volume integrates archaeological evidence and theory in new exciting ways, probing more deeply into the historical nature of Bronze Age exchange and interaction. The aim of this article is to briefly explore what meaning can be given to these generalizing concepts in the historical context of the Bronze Age. The reader will then be able to engage in reflections on their possible application in the various case studies presented. When approached with relevant theoretical categories and analytical tools to organize the evidence, we learn how communities responded to the dynamics of a globalized Bronze Age world by constantly negotiating its incorporation into local worlds.

2. 'PERIPHERY VERSUS CORE': THE INTEGRATION OF SECONDARY STATES INTO THE WORLD SYSTEM OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND THE NEAR EAST IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE (1600–1200 BC)

Nikolas Papadimitriou and Demetra Kriga

World Systems Theory, originally developed by I. Wallerstein for the study of modern capitalist economies, has proved a useful analytical tool for prehistoric archaeologists, too. Its emphasis on the *longue durée* and the interdependence of socio-economic phenomena and structures has allowed for the synthesis of seemingly unrelated processes into unified macro-historical approaches.

The Late Bronze Age was a period of intense interaction in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. From Mesopotamia to the Aegean comparable political institutions emerged, which were based on centralized 'palatial' economies, administered through sophisticated bureaucracies. Inter-regional exchanges ensured the wide circulation of raw materials (mainly metals) and luxuries but, also, artistic traditions, religious beliefs and ideological constructs.

World Systems approaches to the period have focused, so far, on the systemic role of the most powerful – economically and militarily – 'core' political formations of the region (the Egyptian and Hittite empires, Babylonia and Assyria). Our paper examines how smaller 'peripheral' states in the Levant, Cyprus

and the Aegean managed to integrate into that system. It is argued that such 'secondary' polities developed rather late and were largely dependent on maritime trade networks. This dependence imposed strategies of *economic specialization* in commodities favoured by the affluent elites of coastal urban centres, while at the same time necessitating the introduction of new forms of sumptuous behaviour that would further support the consumption of such commodities.

3. AEGEAN TRADE SYSTEMS: OVERVIEW AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

Maria Emanuela Alberti

The Aegean area has always been a sort of 'interface' between Eastern and Western Mediterranean and Central Europe. During the Bronze Age, it was the filter between urban and palatial Near East and less complex, generally tribal, European societies. This is the key of the historical developments of the Bronze Age Aegean, as we can reconstruct them.

At various levels, we can sketch out the history of the global Aegean area – and of its various parts – in the framework of a 'core'-'periphery'-'margin' system, the main and general 'core' being Near Eastern civilizations. Minor 'cores' can be individuated through time in various Aegean areas or societies. The overall picture sees the Aegean starting at the 'margin' of the Levant in the Early Bronze Age to enter the 'core', though in a liminal position, during the Late Bronze Age (with its own 'periphery' and 'margin' in the Balkans and central Mediterranean), Crete playing a pivot-role in this process.

These dynamics arise from the interaction between internal factors and developments and external inputs and influences. Trade systems – both at 'international' and local level – are essential in this view, and can be considered the key for the interpretation and reconstruction. Trade networks have strongly influenced social and economic developments in various periods and areas, and constituted the backbone of the growing Aegean economies. They had to go on, and they did, even after the 'collapse' of the palaces c. 1200 BC.

The aim of this article is to reconstruct the role of trade systems in the historical developments of Bronze Age Aegean. At the same time it also to reconstruct the history of the Aegean through archaeological

evidences of trade. Case studies, focusing on the crucial period of the middle Bronze Age, will be taken into consideration, in order to underline various levels of interpretation, general phenomena, common features, local initiatives and specific solutions.

4. THE MINOANS IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN AEGEAN? THE EVIDENCE FROM THE 'SERRAGLIO' ON KOS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Salvatore Vitale and Teresa Hancock Vitale

At the beginning of the Late Bronze Age period, the presence of Minoan and/or Minoanizing features, including Cretan-type pottery, wall paintings, and architecture, dramatically increases throughout the Aegean area. The widespread occurrence of the aforementioned characteristics has been variously interpreted as evidence for Minoan settlement, governed, or community colonies, thus implying a certain movement of people from the island of Crete abroad. While such a crucial phenomenon has been more thoroughly investigated in relation to the Cyclades (Kythira, Keos, Thera, and Phylakopi) and the south-western Anatolian coast (Miletus), the area of the Dodecanese has been so far relatively neglected.

The aim of the present paper is to reconsider the evidence for the presence of Minoan people in the southeast Aegean, with particular reference to the settlement of the 'Serraglio' on Kos. In so doing, a careful re-examination of the most important archaeological contexts, dating to the earliest Late Bronze Age Period (LBA IA Early to LBA IA Mature), will be proposed. Attention will be devoted to the following crucial points and their historical implications:

- a) Defining the comparative relative chronologies of Crete and Kos in the early 17th century BC;
- b) Determining the extent and the meaning of the interaction between the Koan 'local tradition' and the new Minoan elements;
- c) Comparing the evidence from the 'Serraglio' with that from the neighbouring islands of the Dodecanese and the Cyclades;
- d) Interpreting the nature of the possible Minoan presence in relation to the well known problem of the so-called Minoan Thalassocracy.

5. WESTERNIZING AEGEAN OF LH III C

Francesco Iacono

The twilight of Mycenaean Palaces and the subsequent post-palatial era have been always topics arousing an outstanding interest in the academic community as

well as among the general public. In the spectrum of hypotheses proposed in order to explain this puzzling transitory phase exogenous factors have periodically re-emerged as something which cannot be ruled out completely. These exogenous elements, or more specifically their material traces, are the principal data that I will discuss in this paper. They are by no means new; indeed they were recognised long ago as well as extensively treated by various authors in the last decades.

What is really new here is the will to openly challenge one of the more long lasting underlying assumptions in Mediterranean archaeology, namely that of directionality of cultural influence, from east to west, from the 'civilized' to the 'uncivilized'. Can cultural influence travel the other way round? My point here is that it is possible and I will try to show in this paper how, after the dissolution of mainland states, the contraction occurring in the sphere of cultural influence in the Mycenaean 'core' left room for a variety of 'peripheral' elements to be accepted and become largely influential in Greece.

6. MALTA, SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY DURING THE BRONZE AGE: THE MEANING OF A CHANGING RELATIONSHIP

Alberto Cazzella and Giulia Recchia

The elements connecting Malta and Sicily during the Bronze Age are well known, but the specific features of those links are still to understand. Luigi Bernabò Brea's hypothesis of Maltese 'colonies' seems to be difficult to accept in a literal meaning. Some year ago a few elements connecting southern Italy to the Maltese archipelago were recognized, but the meaning of this phenomenon remains unexplored.

The authors aim at discussing the role played by the interaction between Malta, Sicily and southern Italy during the Bronze Age. Their purpose is also to analyse possible causes and transformations of such interaction, examining more generally the changes occurred in the economic and social context of those areas.

7. EXTERNAL ROLE IN THE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF NURAGIC SOCIETY? A CASE STUDY FROM SÀRRALA, EASTERN SARDINIA, MIDDLE BRONZE TO EARLY IRON AGE

Luca Lai

The role of external contacts in the social history of the Nuragic culture of Sardinia has long been an issue. In this paper, the main theories formulated on the subject are measured against evidence from Sàrrala, in Eastern Sardinia. Here, despite poor stratigraphic evidence, a preliminary survey and mapping, with the contribution of oral knowledge for destroyed sites, and

the presence and distribution of materials of non-local origin allowed the assessment of spheres of interaction and their role, if any, in the progressive nucleation documented between the Middle Bronze and the Iron Ages (c. 16th through 7th century BC).

An outline of organizational evolution could be drawn, which is articulated into first signs of presence, evidence of fission and filling of the landscape with approximately 25 sites, beginning of enlargement and possibly competition, and finally progressive concentration of building activity at only five sites. The fact that non-local stone is used only at the most complex sites, and that at one of them Mycenaean sherds and ox-hide ingot fragments were retrieved, are discussed as a contribution to the debate on the relevance of external *vs.* internal factors in social dynamics. The conclusion is that a significant, direct role of extra-insular groups seems unsubstantiated until the last phase (Final Bronze–Early Iron Age).

8. METALWORK, RITUALS AND THE MAKING OF ELITE IDENTITY IN CENTRAL ITALY AT THE BRONZE AGE-IRON AGE TRANSITION

Cristiano Iaia

During the transition between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, in South Etruria, and in other zones connected to it, the emergence of a new kind of community, characterized by settlement and production centralisation ('proto-urban centres') results in a increasing openness to transmission of models through long-distance exchange: symptomatic of this is the elaboration of prestige items, particularly metal artefacts of highly specialised craft, whose typological, technical and stylistic features have both a intercultural character and a strong link to localized groups. Among these are elements of armours (helmets) and bronze vessels, which are very akin to similar central and northern European objects. A complex embossed decoration (Sun-ship bird motive) characterizes some examples of these symbols of power and social hierarchy, strictly related to a cosmological thought deeply rooted in north-central Italy since the Late Bronze Age. This is the first attempt at creating a material identity, particularly elaborated in burial rituals, of the emerging Villanovan warrior elites.

9. INDIGENOUS POLITICAL DYNAMICS AND IDENTITY FROM A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: ETRURIA AND *LATIUM VETUS*

Francesca Fulminante and Simon Stoddart

Within the major debate on Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean and European transformations, the authors will examine the tension between indigenous

political dynamics and connectivity in two, geographically related, but contrasting, political contexts: Etruria and *Latium vetus* (central Italy). The long established debate on urbanism in Etruria and *Latium vetus*, dating in Italy since at least the 1977 'Formation of the City' conference (*La Formazione della città nel Lazio*), will be updated in the light of current debates of settlement dynamics, political identity and the timing and significance of interaction in the central Mediterranean.

The settlement patterns in Etruria (Stoddart) will be contrasted and compared with the settlement patterns and social transformations, as mirrored in the funerary evidence, of *Latium vetus* (Fulminante), within the Mediterranean context of connectivity over the period 1200–500 BC, and in the light of new socio-anthropological models such as the network idea.

10. LOCAL AND TRANSCULTURAL BURIAL PRACTICES IN NORTHERN EUROPE IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE: FACE, HOUSE AND FACE/DOOR URNS

Serena Sabatini

Archaeological evidences from Late Bronze Age Northern Europe invite reflecting upon the presence of foreign objects belonging to traditions from the southern part of the continent. Also specific ritual practices appear travelling the same large distances to be adopted, not before undergoing significant local transformations. Within this framework, three burial practices (so called face, house and face/door urns) are analysed and compared with each other. They suggest not only the existence of intercultural interaction between variously far societies, but also of selective processes of negotiation and incorporation of external material culture. They study of face, house and face/door urns provides useful insights into the cultural complexity of Late Bronze Age Northern European communities within the larger continental framework. It unveils their capacity to perform phenomena of hybridization between practices with different cultural origins and allows discussing the complex role of material culture as marker of identity.

11. MIGRATION, INNOVATION AND MEANING: SWORD DEPOSITIONS ON LOLLAND, 1600–1100 BC

Sophie Bergerbrant

This article will consider the deposition of local and foreign swords on Lolland, a Danish island, between 1600–1100 BC. It focuses on the treatment of the earliest imported examples of Hajdúsámson-Apa swords (from the Carpathian Basin) and its local copies, and discusses the swords from the following periods.

Topics to be discussed include how the different types of swords were accepted and used, *i.e.* how and where they were deposited (hoards, burial or stray finds). A closer consideration of the use and treatment of this material helps us to understand how new innovations are accepted into a society.

Theoretical perspectives such as migration theory and concepts such as hybridity and third space will be used to shed light on the relationships between the meaning of an object in its area of origin and the transformation that occurs upon entering its new context, as well as how objects were accepted, copied and subsequently made into local types. The combination of a detailed study of use and the context of artefacts in a new area and theoretical discussions will give us a much better understanding of phenomena relating to transculturation. This study focuses on Lolland since it is an island with both imported and local copies of Apa-Hajdúsámson swords, and this can therefore help us to understand how a significant innovation like 'the sword' was accepted into south Scandinavia.

12. LONG AND CLOSE DISTANCE TRADE AND EXCHANGE BEYOND THE BALTIC COAST DURING THE EARLY IRON AGE

Jutta Kneisel

By considering the so called Early Iron Age Pomeranian Culture in Northern Poland it is possible to show close and distant trade contacts between the Baltic Sea and the Hallstatt-Area.

Close contacts appear through the analysis of clay lids of anthropomorphic urns. The lids are often found together with face urns and are decorated with complicated patterns. These ornaments facilitate a fine differentiation of decoration kinds, styles and forms.

GIS-analyses reveal linear patterns which reach from the Baltic coast to the southern rivers Varta and Noteć. The distribution of these ornaments in a linear way is striking, because lids are found in numerous burial sites next to these lines.

In contrast to the regionally restricted lid-ornaments, amber can serve as an example for long-distant contacts. Though amber is rarely found within the Pomeranian Culture, the large amounts of raw amber found at Komorowo, which lies farther South, indicates that there was a centre of amber processing. At the same time, the nearby burial site of Gorszewice, featuring Poland's northernmost Hallstatt-imports, indicates connections with the Hallstatt-Area. It is therefore argued that Komorowo was involved in the exchange of amber to the South – presumably to Italy.

13. CERAMIC TECHNOLOGY AND THE MATERIALITY OF CELTIC GRAPHITIC POTTERY

Attila Kreiter, Szilvia Bartus Szöllősi, Bernadett Bajnóczi, Izabella Azbej Havancsák, Mária Tóth, György Szakmány

This article examines the ceramic technology of Celtic pottery from Hungary focusing on graphite-tempered pottery. By the means of petrographic analysis, X-ray diffraction and X-ray fluorescence analyses, and scanning electron microscopy the use of ceramic raw materials and tempers are examined. The analyses put great emphasis on the provenance of graphite. The results suggest that all the examined vessels were locally made although the graphite incorporated into the ceramics was procured from a distant region. The examined society appears to be involved in long distance exchange networks and the results indicate complex social and economic organization.

Preface

The idea of this volume matured gradually over time, following a series of events. Originally, it was the aim of the editors to promote a large project investigating trade and exchange as a means for the development and expansion of societies in Bronze Age and Iron Age Europe and the Mediterranean. A convenient starting discussion for this project took place at a relevant session at the 14th annual meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists in Malta (September 2008).¹ The project has not yet materialized. However, following the session in Malta there was general agreement regarding the lack of comprehensive studies on the reciprocal relations between exchange networks and local transformations, particularly those focusing on the latter and their specific dynamics. We decided then to attempt to address this scientific gap. With an eye to our main areas and periods of interest (the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Mediterranean and Europe) we felt that such a study would benefit from including a large number of regions and chronological horizons.

We also agreed on the potentially fruitful results that could arise from overcoming the disciplinary barriers which often prevent dialogue between archaeologists working in the Mediterranean and in continental Europe. While this problem undoubtedly persists, the channels of communication have been opened, and we

feel the present volume represents a significant step in the right direction. Some of the articles in the volume were written by participants in the EAA session in Malta 2008 while others were written by scholars who were subsequently invited by the editors.

During the long editing process² we have had support from several colleagues and friends. In particular we wish to thank Kristian Kristiansen, who also contributed to the volume, as well as Paola Càssola Guida, Elisabetta Borgna, Renato Peroni and Andrea Cardarelli. As far as the very conception of this book is concerned, thanks must go to Anthony Harding for the inspiring talk right after the session in Malta 2008. We are also grateful to the organisers of the 14th annual meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists in Malta, who made the session possible. In addition, we wish to thank Göteborg University and the Jubileumsfond for its generous support. Of course we also extend warm thanks to all of the contributors to this book – your collaboration has been very stimulating in many ways. We wish to also thank very much Kristin Bornholdt Collins for considerably improving the language of the introductory parts of this volume. Finally, we would like to thank the publisher Oxbow Books Ltd for taking an interest in our work, and in particular Dr Julie Gardiner for help and support with the publication.

Note

- 1 The original title of the session was: Exchange, interactions, conflicts and transformations: social and cultural changes in Europe and the Mediterranean between the Bronze and Iron Ages.
- 2 The volume was completed at the beginning of 2011. Therefore, not all bibliographical references might be fully updated. Both editors equally worked on the volume.

Maria Emanuela Alberti and Serena Sabatini
2012

Introduction

Transcultural interaction and local transformations in Europe and the Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age

Maria Emanuela Alberti and Serena Sabatini

European and Mediterranean societies appear to have been involved in complex systems of exchange networks throughout their respective Bronze- and Iron Ages. This book seeks to investigate how these networks affected local customs and historical developments. Archaeological evidence suggests social and economic phenomena, cultural expressions and technological skills stemmed from multifaceted encounters between local traditions and external influences. Examples of cultural openness and transcultural hybridization can be found all over the continent in settlement patterns and organization, material culture and technology, funerary customs and ritual practices.

As far as the study of these phenomena is concerned, both in continental Europe and the Mediterranean, we believe two issues deserve wider investigation:

- the outcomes of the dynamic relationship between local traditions and exchange networks
- the possible parallels between patterns of interconnection and transformation.

At the core of this work is the assumption that people (as individuals or organized groups) always moved, although for different reasons and significantly different distances. In their movements they invariably carried with them means of sustenance, objects, goods, ideas, and narratives likely to be exchanged with other people, having consequences that can vary significantly from one context to another.

Archaeology today uses the term 'exchange' very freely to embrace a wide range of activities, regardless of their scale (from single site to regional and continental), their requirements (involving variously complex technologies and skills and/or long journeys), or their

outcomes (being at the origin of cultural, social, economic changes, production specialization, and/or intermingled with the building of ideological power). In this volume we do not question the general use of the term, although one might argue that is necessary; it should be made clear, though, that the term 'exchange network' is employed to identify movements (regardless of their purpose) of people and goods on an interregional scale, thus necessarily involving transcultural dialogues.

Exchange and transformation

A long tradition of contacts and exchange practices can be traced back to very early periods of prehistory in Europe and the Mediterranean. Bronze- and Iron Age societies appear to have been involved in a variety of complex systems of exchange and trade which have been widely investigated (*e.g.* Thrane 1975; Bousek 1985; 1997; Gale 1991; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; Sherratt 1993; 1997; Kristiansen 1993; 1998; Oates 1993; Scarre and Healy 1993; Dickinson 1994, 234–256; Pydyn 1999; Harding 2000, 164–196; Pare 2000; Peroni 2004; Kristiansen and Larsson 2005; Laffineur and Greco 2005; Galanaki *et al.* 2007; Vandkilde 2007; Cunliffe 2008; Clark 2009; Dzięgielewski *et al.* 2010; Wilkinson *et al.* 2011).

The particular aim of this volume is to apply a bottom-up strategy and thus discuss exchange patterns through the analysis of regionally contextualized archaeological evidence. Specifically, the focus is on the reciprocal relationship between material culture development and varying transformations and exchange networks, where the former represent

the epistemological means to reach the latter and not the other way around. At the core of this work is the conviction that tangible traces such as those seen in distribution maps of 'international' artefacts (e.g. Kristiansen 1993; von Hase 1992; Bousek 1985; Thrane 1975; Jockenhövel 1974) are not the only ones left by exchange. Its impact may also affect communities which receive or participate in the transmission of other people and material culture in less obvious ways as far as the study of archaeological evidence is concerned. People invariably learn from each other and significant changes may occur in reaction to contacts, even where the lack of foreign objects might cause one to question the existence of any exchange. We believe it is necessary to highlight contextual social, cultural, economic and technological transformations as relevant for the study of exchange networks and associated movements of material and non-material culture. As noted by Kristiansen (Chapter 1), in the last 50 years great advances have been made in archaeological sciences and in the use and interpretation of both textual and material evidence. There is therefore room for a better historical understanding of the relationship between individual actors or communities and the institutional, political, socio-cultural and economic framework in which they moved. The collected contributions examine and discuss those issues through case studies and from a theoretical point of view. Some of the papers discuss evidence of selection, negotiation, incorporation, eventual transformation or refusal of external inputs. Most discussions treat the occurrence of hybridization at various levels (*i.e.* within material culture, ritual, social and technological practices) and/or illustrate long or short term socio-cultural and economic transformations.

In Papadimitriou and Kriga's discourse (Chapter 2), when shifting the focus from the largest Mediterranean regions and cultures to minor communities, it appears clear that a multifaceted variety of strategies has been adopted to enter the international trade. Production specialization and internal cultural changes gain renewed meaning when analysed in the light of the interregional Mediterranean networking pattern. Alberti's work (Chapter 3) seeks to demonstrate how interaction and hybridization, along with resources and territorial management, seem to constitute the backbone of the historical development(s) in the Aegean in a crucial formative period known as the local Middle Bronze Age. In her analysis, the structure of the trade circuits appears at the same time to have been cause and consequence of society formations and transformations.

A careful study of local transformations may also provide new perspectives on long debated issues such as the possible stable presence of foreign

groups beyond local cultural changes and externally inspired production. Vitale and Hancock's study (Chapter 4) of the evidence from Kos and Cazzella and Recchia's analysis (Chapter 6) of the relations among Malta, Sicily and Southern Italy throughout the Bronze Age, reveal the necessity to question previous interpretations and to adopt wide-ranging approaches for the understanding of changes and transformation in reaction to large exchange networks. Along the same lines, Iacono's (Chapter 5) paper opens up a discussion about reverse influence patterns. His study of particular ceramic productions is a trigger for revisiting the traditional centre-periphery mechanisms to allow for the possibility of the adoption of westernizing elements in Late Helladic IIIC Greece.

Iaia's and Sabatini's (Chapter 8 and 10) contributions show in different ways how local transformation(s) in connection with exchange networks may also mirror identity strategies. Together with Bergerbrant's analysis of the incorporation of swords in the Nordic material culture (Chapter 11), they illustrate how material culture is rarely simply borrowed. Identity as much as ideological strategies involve negotiations and local elaboration of original meanings. In other words, these contributions show how external inputs do not affect internal developments, unless local societies are keen to negotiate and incorporate them into their own trajectories of transformation.

The articles in the volume also show how change is detectable out of very different archaeological sources. The studies of Lai (Chapter 7) and Fulminante and Stoddart (Chapter 9) demonstrate how complex combinations of economic, social and ideological factors may influence structural development in settlement patterns and organization.

It also seems that the rarer the exchanges the more subtle and less visible is the impact on local communities and cultures. However, as Kneisel's study (Chapter 12) illustrates, specific decorative patterns on the lids of Pomeranian face urns provide insights into exchange networks even where other evidence does not show consistent traces of intercultural interrelations.

When exchanges involve perishable materials or microscopic elements within complex final products, like for example ceramics, they are less easy to detect. In their work, Kreiter, Bartus Szöllősi, Bajnóczi, Azbej Havancsák, Tóth and Szakmány (Chapter 13) demonstrate how we can fruitfully derive evidence of exchange from the analysis of ceramic composition. Thus, even more transformations of varying nature might represent important evidence for an updated map of the movements of people and material culture throughout the continent and the Mediterranean basin.

Transculturality and hybridization

Two particular conceptual frameworks appear to inform the contributions to this volume: transculturality and hybridization. Both concepts belong, we could say, to the post-colonial study tradition and to discussions about the permeability of cultures. From the beginning one of the basic aims of post-colonial literature (e.g. Said 1978; Spivak 1988; Young 2001) has been to question the general supposition that so-called subaltern cultures (colonized) normally underwent processes of acculturation imposed by the dominant ones (colonizers). In doing so, post-colonial studies invited an innovative approach to interpreting the complex outcomes of any multicultural meeting (e.g. Bhabha 1994; Young 2003). Subaltern as much as dominant cultures negotiate and absorb each other at the same time as their merging together gives space to a variety of new expressions not belonging to any previous tradition, but being new and unpredictable (e.g. Rutherford 1990; Bhabha 1994). From such an exciting tradition of study, originally investigating pre-modern and modern societies within the colonial experience in its entirety and consequences, important theoretical frameworks have been borrowed for the study of ancient societies. Regarded through post-colonial sensitive lenses, material culture becomes not only a marker of transcultural dialogues, but a promising laboratory for the analysis of their forms of expression (see e.g. Bettelli 2002; Broodbank 2004; van Dommelen 2005; Stein 2005; Riva and Vella 2006; Streiffert Eikeland 2006; Anthony 2007; Antoniadou and Pace 2007; Cassel 2008; Habu *et al.* 2008; Knapp 2008; Vivres – Ferrándiz 2008; Dziegielewski *et al.* 2010).

Most of the articles in this volume discuss archaeological evidence to illustrate the negotiation and combination of external and endogenous stimuli. Hybridization between local elements and external input appears more a norm than an exception. Objects, rituals and technologies usually are not imported or copied *tout court* as they are, rather they enter new environments acquiring new forms or meanings. Upon first glance, they might appear to illustrate trajectories of acculturation from dominant groups or ideologies towards peripheral or 'subaltern' actors. However, archaeological evidence most often reveals processes of transculturation rather than acculturation, in the sense of conveying cultural instances from different environments into new forms of expressions.

As far as social and economic change is concerned, a post-colonial approach also provides fresh insights into established and largely debated interpretative frames of reference, such as the core-periphery model

(e.g. Wallerstein 1974; Rowlands *et al.* 1987; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1993; 1997; Frank 1993; Oates 1993; Sherratt 1993; 1994; Mathers and Stoddard 1994; Harding 2000, 414–430; Broodbank 2004; Laffineur and Greco 2005; Galanaki *et al.* 2007). The issue is addressed by various contributions in the volume presenting a range of reformulations, declinations and deconstructions of the model. It appears that the very status of centres, margins and peripheries needs to be readdressed, highlighting regional dynamics and local strategies. Economic forces and trends which come into play in each region and contribute to social and cultural changes appear to be multi-directional and multi-faceted. They involve external initiatives and agents, but are also grounded and eventually affected by the interplay between tradition and innovation, in a continuum of transforming combinations.

Continental Europe and the Mediterranean in the Bronze and Iron Ages

Another important goal for this volume has been to bring together studies investigating both the Mediterranean and continental Europe. We were well aware from the start that they are not only two different socio-cultural and economic environments, but that they conventionally belong to different study traditions as well. Scholars working on Mediterranean or European proto-history seldom have occasion to meet. They normally publish and discuss their respective field issues in separate forums. Lately, something seems to be changing and the environment is becoming more hospitable to open collaborations (e.g. Sherratt 1997; *Eliten* 1999; Kristiansen and Larsson 2005; Artursson and Nicolis 2007; Galanaki *et al.* 2007; Cunliffe 2008; Dziegielewski *et al.* 2010; Fredell *et al.* 2010; Kristiansen and Earle 2010; Wilkinson *et al.* 2011), but the situation still has far to go. We of course recognise that there are reasons for the traditional divide. Continental Europe and the Mediterranean basin are characterized in many ways by specifically local socio-cultural and economic dynamics and patterns of relations. In the volume, it is not by chance that transculturality recurs more often in the contributions dealing with mainland Europe, while core-periphery models are still more likely to inform the debate on Mediterranean interaction and state formation. Nonetheless, as a whole the content of this volume highlights how those worlds are not alien to each other. Territories and people from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean have been variously connected

throughout late prehistory. We fear that many of the supposed differences between them derive more from being objects of separate traditions of archaeological research rather than their actual existence. Very little effort is normally invested in order to combine and discuss common problems and achievements. We firmly believe that several specific phenomena acquire significant value when adopting a broader and more comprehensive approach that includes both zones. Therefore, the contributions in this volume discuss case studies from the Eastern Mediterranean to Scandinavia, although we have to regret the lack of papers discussing Western and Atlantic Europe and hope to include them in future works.

Despite our aim to combine different fields of study (Mediterranean and European), we had to concur, after much discussion, that the most logical order for presenting the various contributions was still geographical. The order in which the papers appear is determined by the principal areas where the various case studies develop. The volume thus offers a journey which takes off, after Kristiansen's introductory words, in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean (Nikolas Papadimitriou and Demetra Kriga, Maria Emanuela Alberti, Salvatore Vitale and Teresa Hancock and partly Francesco Iacono). It then transports the reader to the Central Mediterranean and the Italian peninsula (partly Francesco Iacono, Alberto Cazzella and Giulia Recchia, Luca Lai, Cristiano Iaia and Francesca Fulminante and Simon Stoddart), before ending with papers discussing case studies from Northern Europe (Sophie Bergerbrant and, in part, Serena Sabatini and Jutta Kneisel) and Central-Eastern Europe (Attila Kreiter *et al.* and, in part, Jutta Kneisel and Serena Sabatini).

The aim of this book is also ambitious from a chronological perspective since a broad spectrum of periods has been included:

- Eastern Mediterranean and Aegean Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age (Nikolas Papadimitriou and Demetra Kriga, Maria Emanuela Alberti, Salvatore Vitale and Teresa Hancock, Francesco Iacono);
- Central Mediterranean, Early to Late Bronze Age (Alberto Cazzella and Giulia Recchia);
- Italian Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age and the corresponding Halstatt period A-C1 *früh* in Central and Northern Europe (Luca Lai, Cristiano Iaia and Francesca Fulminante and Simon Stoddart, Sophie Bergerbrant and Serena Sabatini);
- Hallstatt C-D, La Tène A and B periods in Central and Northern Europe (Jutta Kneisel and Attila Kreiter *et al.*).

It is our sincere hope that this volume will reinvigorate the subject and pave the way for future work, and that

interdisciplinary collaborations will continue. Since our remotest past, people and goods have travelled great distances throughout the Mediterranean and the European continent ... we invite you now to join in this renewed journey towards understanding their traces and impacts.

References

- Anthony, D. W., 2007, *The Horse the Wheel and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders From The Eurasian Steppes Shaped The Modern World*, Princeton.
- Antoniadou, S. and Pace, A. (eds), 2007, *Mediterranean Crossroads*, Athens.
- Artursson, M. and Nicolis, F., 2007, 'Cultural Relations between the Mediterranean and the Baltic Seas during the Bronze Age? The Evidence from Northern Italy and Southern Scandinavia'. In Galanaki *et al.* 2007, 331–342.
- Bettelli, M., 2002, *Italia meridionale e mondo miceneo. Ricerche su dinamiche di acculturazione e aspetti archeologici, con particolare riferimento ai versanti adriatico e ionico della penisola italiana* (Grandi contesti e problemi della protostoria italiana 5), Firenze.
- Bhabha, H. K., 1994, *The Location of Culture*, London and New York.
- Bousek, J., 1985, *The Aegean, Anatolia and Europe. Cultural Interrelations in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 29), Göteborg.
- Bousek, J., 1997, *Greece, Anatolia and Europe. Cultural Interrelations during the Early Iron Age*, Jonsered.
- Broodbank, C., 2004, 'Minoanisation', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 50, 46–91.
- Cassel, K., 2008, *Det gemensamma rummet. Migrationer, myter och möten* (Södertörn Archaeological Studies 5), Huddinge.
- Chase Dunn, C., and Hall, T. D., 1993, 'Comparing World Systems: Concepts and Working Hypothesis', *Social Forces* 71, 4, 851–886.
- Chase-Dunn, C. and Hall, T. D., 1997, *Rise and Demise: Comparing World-Systems*, Boulder, Co.
- Clark, P., 2009, *Bronze Age Connections: Cultural Contacts in Prehistoric Europe*, Oxford.
- Cunliffe, B., 2008, *Europe between the Oceans. Themes and Variations: 9000 BC–AD 1000*, Yale.
- Dickinson, O., 1994, *The Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge.
- Dommelen, P. van, 2005, 'Colonial Interactions and Hybrid Practices: Phoenician and Carthaginian Settlement in the Ancient Mediterranean'. In G. J. Stein (ed.), *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters*, Santa Fe, 109–141.
- Dzięgielewski, K., Przybyła, M. S. and Gawlik, A. (eds), 2010, *Migration in Bronze and Early Iron Age Europe*, Kraków.
- Eliten 1999: *Eliten in der Bronzezeit. Ergebnisse zweier Kolloquien in Mainz und Athen* (Römisch – Germanisches Zentralmuseum Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte Monographien Band 43, 1), Mainz 1999.
- Frank, A. G., 1993, 'Bronze Age World System Cycles', *Current Anthropology* 34, 4, 383–429.
- Fredell, Å. C., Kristiansen, K. and Criado Boado, F. (eds), 2010, *Representations and Communications. Creating an Archaeological Matrix of Late prehistoric Rock Art*. Oxford.

- Galanaki, I., Tomas, H., Galanakis, Y. and Laffineur, R. (eds), 2007, *Between the Aegean and Baltic Seas: Prehistory across Borders: Proceedings of the International Conference 'Bronze and Early Iron Age Interconnections and Contemporary Developments between the Aegean and the Regions of the Balkan Peninsula, Central and Northern Europe: University of Zagreb, 11–14 April 2005* (Aegaeum 27), Liège.
- Gale, N. H. (ed.), 1991, *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XC), Jonsered.
- Harding, A. F., 2000, *European Societies in the Bronze Age*, Cambridge.
- Habu, J., Fawcett, C. and Matsunaga, J. M. (eds), 2008, *Evaluating Multiple Narratives Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies*, New York.
- Knapp, A. B., 2008, *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus. Identity, Insularity and Connectivity*, New York.
- Kristiansen, K., 1993, 'From Villanova to Seddin'. In Scarre and Healy 1993, 143–151.
- Kristiansen, K., 1998, *Europe before History* (New Studies in Archaeology), Cambridge.
- Kristiansen, K. and Earle, T., 2010, *Organizing Bronze Age Societies: The Mediterranean, Central Europe and Scandinavia Compared*. Cambridge.
- Kristiansen, K. and Larsson, T. B., 2005, *The Rise of Bronze Age Society*, Cambridge.
- Laffineur, R. and Greco, E. (eds), 2005, *Emporia. Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean: Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference, Athens, Italian School of Archaeology, 14–18 April 2004* (Aegaeum 25), Liège.
- Mathers, C. and Stoddart, S. K. F. (eds), 1994, *Development and Decline in the Mediterranean Bronze Age* (Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 8), Sheffield.
- Oates, J. (ed.), 1993, *Ancient Trade: New Perspectives World Archaeology* 24/3.
- Pare, C. F. E. (ed.) 2000, *Metals Make the World Go Round. The Supply and Circulation of Metals in Bronze Age Europe. Proceedings of a Conference held at the University of Birmingham in June 1997*, Oxford.
- Peroni, R., 2004, 'Sistemi transculturali nell'economia, nella società, nell'ideologia'. In Cocchi Genick, D. (ed.), 2004, *L'età del bronzo recente in Italia. Atti del Congresso Nazionale di Lido di Camaiore, 26–29 Ottobre 2000*, Viareggio, 411–427.
- Pydyn, A., 1999, *Exchange and Cultural Interactions* (British Archaeological Report International Series 813), Oxford.
- Riva, C. and Vella, N., 2006 (eds), *Debating Orientalizing: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Processes of Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*, London.
- Rowlands, M., Larsen, M. and Kristiansen, K., 1987, *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, Cambridge.
- Rutherford, J., 1990, 'Interview with Homi Bhabha'. In Rutherford, J. (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, London, 207–221.
- Said, E., 1978, *Orientalism*, New York.
- Scarre, C. and Healy, F. (eds), 1993, *Trade and Exchange in Prehistoric Europe*, Oxford.
- Sherratt, A. and Sherratt, S., 1991, 'From Luxuries to Commodities: the Nature of Mediterranean Bronze Age Trading Systems'. In Gale 1991, 351–386.
- Sherratt, A., 1993, 'What Would a Bronze Age World System Look Like? Relations between Temperate Europe and the Mediterranean in Later Prehistory', *Journal of European Archaeology* 1/2, 1–58.
- Sherratt, A., 1994, 'Core, Periphery and Margin: Perspectives on the Bronze Age'. In Mathers and Stoddart 1994, 335–346.
- Sherratt, A., 1997, *Economy and Society in Prehistoric Europe. Changing Perspectives*, Edinburgh.
- Spivak, G. C., 1988, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?'. In Nelson, C. and Grossberg, L., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Houndmills, 66–111.
- Stein, G. (ed.), 2005, *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters, Comparative Perspectives*, Santa Fe.
- Streiffert Eikeland, K., 2006, *Indigenous Households. Transculturation of Sicily and Southern Italy in the Archaic Period* (Gotarc Serie B, Gothenburg Archaeological Theses nr 44), Göteborg.
- Thrane, H. 1975, *Europæiske forbindelser, bidrag til studiet af fremmede forbindelser i Danmarks yngre bronzealder (periode IV–V)*, Copenhagen.
- Vandkilde, H., 2007, *Culture and change in Central European Prehistory 6th to 1st millenium BC*, Aarhus.
- Vivres-Ferrándiz, J., 2008, 'Negotiating Colonial Encounters: Hybrid Practices and Consumption in Eastern Iberia (8th–6th centuries BC)', *Journal of Mediteranean Archaeology* 21.2, 241–272.
- Wallerstein, I., 1974, *The Modern World System. Vol. I*, New York.
- Wilkinson, T. C., Sherratt, S. and Bennet, J. (eds), 2011, *Interweaving Worlds: Systemic Interactions in Eurasia, 7th to 1st Millennia BC. Papers from a conference in memory of Professor Andrew Sherratt*, Oxford.
- Young, R. J. C., 2001, *Postcolonialism: an Historical Introduction*. Oxford.
- Young, R. J. C., 2003, *Postcolonialism: a Very Short Introduction*. Oxford.