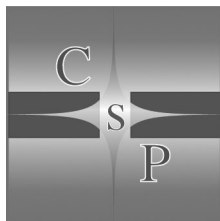


Social Orders and Social Landscapes

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Edited by

Laura M. Popova, Charles W. Hartley
and Adam T. Smith



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INTRODUCTION

LAURA M. POPOVA, CHARLES W. HARTLEY,
AND ADAM T. SMITH

In the last decade Eurasia¹ has become more accessible to archaeologists in the West. The development of new research projects and improved access to previously unknown data sets are now allowing for broad revisions in our understanding of the region's past and its potential contribution to a broad set of globally relevant anthropological and historical questions. Just a casual glance at the books on Eurasian archaeology published or in the pipeline since 2005 demonstrates the global nature of the region's expanded purview. For example, Kohl's *The Making of Bronze Age Eurasia*, Koryakova and Epimakhov's *The Urals and Western Siberia in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, Anthony's *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World* and Parzinger's *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens. Vom Neolithikum zum Mittelalter* are all long-awaited books by pioneering scholars who have opened up Eurasia's compelling past to the rest of the world. The University of Chicago Conferences on Eurasian Archaeology were created in order to forward the opening of this exciting archaeological frontier by providing opportunities for both new and established archaeologists to meet and discuss their research and their aspirations for future investigations.

The first Eurasian Archaeology conference, held in 2002, brought together more than 60 participants and 34 papers from all over the world (Russia, Spain, Ukraine, the United States, Turkey, etc.).² We broadened our scope for the second conference, encouraging archaeologists as well as researchers from a variety of related disciplines (e.g. art history, geology, paleoecology) to attend. In addition, we extended the invitation to scholars who work in regions that have been historically linked to the Eurasia: Eastern Europe, the Near East, and East Asia. We were surprised, but pleased, to find that when the second Eurasian Archaeology conference was held in 2005 the number of both attendees and papers had tripled. Although many scholars returned for the second conference, there were

also plenty of new faces representing a diverse collection of countries, including: Australia, China, France, Germany, Israel, Russia, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This edited volume is composed of selected papers presented at the conference by both established and new scholars in Eurasian archaeology. Our goal in compiling this volume was to avoid the considerable difficulties and delays involved in publishing an exhaustive proceedings volume while preserving a sense of the intellectual variability and vibrancy of the sessions. Thus while we regret that some papers were left out of the book, we are glad that production of the volume proceeded comparatively rapidly and that it thus provides a rather timely statement on the current state of the field.

The title of this book, *Social Orders and Social Landscapes*, reflects the theme of the 2005 Eurasian Archaeology Conference. We selected this topic in order to highlight a new direction in research for Eurasian archaeology that focuses on how people lived in their local environment and interacted with their near and distant neighbours, rather than on overarching comparisons of archaeological culture complexes. We wanted to see what would emerge if Eurasia was re-imagined as a complex landscape fragmented by historically contingent and shifting ecological and social boundaries rather than a bounded mosaic of culture areas or environmental zones. As the papers gathered here show, the ways in which the conference participants addressed the theme was strikingly varied. This diversity arises in large measure out of the field's remarkable intellectual flux driven by the principled engagement of the rich analytical traditions of the Soviet/CIS, Anglo-American, and European schools.

Despite the considerable variability in approaches and subject matter, a handful of key themes allowed us to draw together groups of papers into four discrete sections. The chapters in Part I examine how previously accepted notions of culture can be re-interpreted by focusing on particular aspects of social life. Part II addresses the production of social memory and its impact on the production of landscape and place. The authors in Part III exam how the built environment, regional networks, and population movements shaped Eurasian societies. Finally, the chapters in Part IV discuss how economic considerations can draw together social orders and social landscapes.

Part I: From Culture to the Institutions of Social Life

The chapters in this section are quite diverse in focus and intent, but they are united in an attempt to move beyond a preoccupation with the construction of archaeological cultures and culture history. Koryakova

(chapter 1) notes that an increase in the quantity of data from new research projects plus the re-dating of Bronze Age archaeological cultures using radiocarbon dates has pushed scholars in Russia to re-evaluate past theoretical models. As a result, there is no longer a single dominant model used to understand social complexity in Eurasia, nor should there be, according to Koryakova. Areshian echoes Koryakova's sentiments in his discussion of the Kura-Araxes cultural horizon (chapter 2). Chapman goes even further arguing that in order to change our understanding of past societies we need to change the way we practice archaeology. This transformation can occur, he says, when we stop looking at archaeology as the study of "rubbish from the past" and instead see it as "the science of deposition" (chapter 3). Both Popova and Wu (chapters 4 and 5) suggest that focusing on a particular aspect of social life, such as occupational strategies or art, can shift the focus from cultures and chronologies to practice.

Koryakova and Areshian are both primarily interested in social complexity, but argue that past research has failed to address all aspects of complexity; Koryakova blames the rigidity of social evolutionary categories commonly used in Russia for the problem, while Areshian sees it as more of a question of coverage. He argues that while archaeologists tend to look at technology, specialisation, exchange, and redistribution when discussing complexity, they neglect population growth, interaction other than long-distance trade, information and communication systems, and ideological systems. Koryakova utilizes a form of systems theory to create a new picture of social complexity in North-Central Eurasia during the Bronze Age, focusing on how centres of production and networks of exchange (both informational and material) were organized and what social strategies were used ("corporate" or "expansive"). Areshian is more broadly concerned with the architectural landscape, focusing on how settlements of the Early Bronze Age Kura-Araxes culture functioned in the Ararat Plain, looking in particular at settlement size, structure, and density.

Popova, on the other hand, elucidates the history of settlement patterns in one particular region, the Samara River Valley (Samara, Russia), but shifts the focus from complexity to human/environment interaction. Using data from a pollen core as her anchor, Popova discusses the way in which shifts in climate affected occupational, economic, and ecological strategies of the pastoralists who lived and utilized this pivotal river valley during the Bronze Age.

Wu and Chapman, alternatively, focus primarily on the history of artefacts, with Chapman looking at the practice of fragmentation and Wu focusing on the genealogy of stylistic influences. Referencing Mauss,

Chapman argues that each gift carries with it the history of all previous gift exchanges (what he refers to as “enchainment”). When a particular object is broken, it has the added benefit of allowing multiple people to share in the association with a particular place, person, and/or event at the same time, uniting the “owners” of the pieces. Using multiple case studies from all over Europe, dating in time from early prehistory to the present, Chapman demonstrates that identifying intentional fragmentation in the archaeological record makes it possible to recognize otherwise “invisible” social relationships. Wu, on the other hand, looks at the incorporation of Achaemenid imagery and iconography into Iron Age Siberian culture. She is interested, in particular, in how art from a largely agrarian society could be integrated into the society of mobile pastoralists. What she found was that the motifs did not change, but the style did. Moreover, the items that were decorated in the compound animal style were different for each society. Lastly, she reflects on how the Sakas acted as intermediaries between the Achaemenid Empire and the pastoral nomads to the north, ultimately making Achaemenid art more palatable for groups in Siberia. Although the authors in this section focused on many different aspects of social life (politics, economy, art, ecology, ritual, etc.) they are all united in their attempt to break away from rigid categorisations of the groups they study.

Part II: Social Landscapes and Memory

In Part II, we turn from direct examinations of the institutions of social life to studies of the ways in which landscape and place in Eurasia have participated in the construction of institutions. In particular, the authors direct our attention to the construction of “social memory”.

Allard et al. offers a new perspective on the continuity of ritual practices for the nomadic pastoralists of Mongolia (chapter 6). The connection between the landscape of the eastern Eurasian steppe, which has channelled societies into a nomadic lifestyle for many centuries, and community identity stands as the central focus of the chapter. The authors offer some preliminary interpretations as to why the practice of ritualised horse-culling appears to have maintained such meaning in the communities of the Khanuy Valley. Nevertheless, the question suggested by the authors as to whether these practices are translated into a ritual significance that is structured by a landscape-derived social memory remains open.

The next two chapters focus on more direct and long-lasting ways in which landscape, and in particular “territoriality” and place, influence the

creation and maintenance of the institutions of social life. Straughn highlights the challenges to archaeological interpretation posed by sites in the Arab frontier along the Byzantine border (chapter 7). While his chapter focuses on the difficulties of interpretation, fundamental to his argument is the construction of this frontier region in the first place. Straughn suggests that, in contrast to the ways in which the “frontier” has been constructed in the past as a state-sponsored project, it is more productive to understand the frontier as a historically specific product of the religious and social institutions of its time. However, acknowledging this as the case, the interpretation of the archaeological record becomes more complicated and necessitates a more nuanced approach to these sites.

Similarly, Shingiray addresses the construction and re-creation of identity by means of this interplay between “territoriality” and memory. The “ethnic group” known as the Sabir serve to orient a discussion of the fluid nature of identity around the “frontier” areas of the Sasanian and Byzantine empires, and the role played by geographic features, both “real” and imagined, in the maintenance of distinct spheres of cultural identity. What makes Shingiray’s discussion of this group so important is that she incorporates within her narrative the religious, social, and political forces that helped to shape the peoples of the Sabir confederation. Moreover, she demonstrates that the forces that brought about change within the confederation also affected groups that interacted with the Sabir.

In the final chapter of this section, Yazıcıoğlu provides an extensive account of the construction of Anatolia in the consciousness of Europe and the Republic of Turkey in general, and of the archaeological community in particular. She convincingly argues that the notion of Anatolia as a ‘bridge between East and West’ is primarily the result of the imagined geography of the Anatolian peninsula connecting the two great areas of civilization, namely the Christian West and the Muslim East, in the 18th and 19th centuries. These acts of creation are then combined with the active creation of an imagined identity of the Turkish people near the end of the 19th century, and the role of the archaeological community that interpreted the archaeological record within this “identity construction” paradigm. As she suggests in closing, we must be cognizant of the intersection of politics and archaeology, an observation that holds particular salience in the regard to the sometimes contentious nation-states of Eurasia.

Part III: Built Worlds

The chapters in this section directly confront the spatial production of social life in Eurasia through examinations of built environments, regional

networks, and population movements. Scale, both spatial and social, is one line of variability within the group. While the papers by Lin and Kidd focus on the role of geopolitics in shaping urban form and regional dynamics, the contributions by Lindsay and Cleary turn to more fine-grained accounts of architectural contexts to describe the production of space and place outside of elite interactions. The critical role of movement and migration in shaping social orders (most conspicuously in Stark's study of early Turkish immigration to Mawarannahr) serves as an important reminder that construction is only one way to "build" a world. Although long a pre-occupation of Eurasian archaeology, Stark makes clear that micro-movements can significantly impact the constitution of social life.

The papers represent a broad range of approaches to ancient Eurasia that draw to varying degrees from the generalizing theoretical interests of anthropological archaeology and the rich textures of historical reconstruction. Lin's paper, arguably the most theoretically self-conscious of the group, strives to unite the physicality of urban form with the propaganda work of spatial ideologies—a project for which Early Bronze Age China appears to be well-suited. In contrast, Kidd approaches the link between the general and the particular in a more historical vein, allowing her nuanced reading of Han-Xiongnu relations in the Ferghana Valley to serve as a model for their broader struggle to control eastern Eurasia.

But while the papers differ in key respects, they share a determination to mount a robust challenge to the traditional analytical apparatus for describing Eurasia's built worlds. For example, Cleary argues that the *kala* is not intelligible within the urban-rural dyad but rather was "part of an extended rural landscape", a unique formalisation of the social interstice between nomadic and sedentary communities. And Lindsay literally goes outside of fortified centres to reconstruct power within a dialectic of power that joins interiors to exteriors, elites to grassroots. As a result of their shared willingness to interrogate deeply embedded spatial assumptions, the papers in this section constitute a strong challenge not only to traditional understandings of specific built worlds, but to how we imagine the ancient landscapes of Eurasia.

Part IV: Economy and Society

The final section is primarily concerned with the way in which economic activities shape social orders and social landscapes. Anthony and Brown, as well as Monahan, evaluate claims about the way in which pastoralism was practiced in the Bronze Age. Monahan focuses on

whether or not the people who lived in the Southern Caucasus in the Early Bronze Age were mobile pastoralists, while Anthony and Brown seek to discern whether or not the groups who lived in the Samara River valley during the Late Bronze Age were truly agro-pastoralists. Alternatively, Pieniżek focuses on resource availability (especially timber and stone) and the way it affected house construction during the Late Bronze Age in Ukraine. Finally, Nedashkovsky, using published archaeological field reports as well as historical texts, offers an enlightening analysis of the productive economies and trade relations of the Golden Horde in the Southern Volga region.

A new trend in Eurasian archaeology seems to be the practice of re-evaluating the evidentiary basis for long-standing claims made for particular archaeological cultures. As a case in point, Monahan's chapter confronts the traditional assumption of many Kura-Araxes scholars who have assumed that this extraordinary phenomenon was created and spread by pastoral nomads. Although there seems to be some evidence that these Early Bronze Age groups in the Southern Caucasus were mobile, Monahan points out that there is very little evidence to prove they were *pastoral* nomads. Using data drawn from the Early Bronze Age settlement at Gegharot in the Tsaghahovit plain of central Armenia, Monahan demonstrates, through an analysis of the faunal record, that the inhabitants of Gegharot were not particularly mobile, even though they may have been quite pastoral, depending on domesticated goats, sheep, and cattle.

Anthony and Brown investigate, more generally, whether or not it is possible that gathering and pastoralism could have been combined in the past. It seems to be an unspoken rule, partially based on past social evolutionary schemes, that foraging and pastoralism are fundamentally opposed subsistence strategies. Looking at several Late Bronze Age sites in the Middle Volga region, but especially Krasnosamarskoe, Anthony and Brown reveal that it is highly likely that groups at the time practiced pastoralism and gathered wild grains. This new interpretation challenges the prevailing notion that Late Bronze Age groups in the Middle Volga region practiced agro-pastoralism (see also chapter 4).

Nedashkovsky works to break apart the popular notion that members of the Golden Horde were primarily warring pastoral nomads by focusing on other aspects of their economy. First, he shows that the Golden Horde grew, and preferred, millet, though they also traded with Italian and Greek merchants for other grains. They also had access to orchards, vineyards, and the produce from smaller gardens. Hunting was a popular sport and form of military training. Fishing, on the other hand, played a more central role in the economy of the Golden Horde. They not only consumed the

fish they caught but exported dried and salted fish as well as caviar to the Mediterranean. They were also concerned with salt extraction and the collection of honey and nuts. In the end, Nedashkovsky provides a much richer picture of the diet, occupations, and preoccupations of the Golden Horde in the Southern Volga River region.

Finally, Pieniżek is concerned with the settlement strategies of the Sabatinovka culture in Ukraine during the Late Bronze Age. She determines that most of the major Sabatinovka settlements are clustered near major steppe rivers. She suggests that people settled in these regions because timber and stone were readily available for building materials, the climate during the Late Bronze Age made this a pleasant place to live, and the rivers themselves were avenues of information and trade. Given that some of the settlements were near the Dnepr River rapids, she suggests that these villages were strategically located to help unload and haul boats to a more navigable section of the river.

Conclusion

Though the chapters in this edited volume represent many geographical contexts, stretching from Western Europe to China, and time periods, from early prehistory to the present, they are all united in their effort to understand the complex underpinnings of past social orders and the shifting social landscapes of Eurasia. It is heartening that a programmatic sense of shared purpose can emerge from such a diverse group of scholars. We are pleased that this volume represents both a step forward for a broadly shared analytical agenda and a true representation of the conceptual diversity that makes Eurasian archaeology so uniquely vibrant.

It would be remiss of us not to thank all of the participants in the second University of Chicago Eurasian Archaeology Conference. We should also mention that this conference, and thus this book, would not have been possible without the tireless work of the graduate students from the Department of Anthropology and the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilisations, including: the editors, Alan Greene, Tobin Hartnell, Hu Lin, Madeleine McLeester, Maureen Marshall, Kraig Odabashian, David Peterson, G. Bike Yazicioğlu, and Lauren Zych. Thanks are also due to the faculty of the University of Chicago who served as session moderators during the two-day event, including: Alan Kolata, Geoff Emberling, Michael Dietler, Mark Lycett, Shannon Dawdy, Steven Harvey and Kathleen Morrison. Lastly, we would like to extend our heartfelt appreciation to the institutions that provided us with support, both

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Notes

¹ There are many ways in which Eurasia has been defined. For the purposes of the conference and for this book we define Eurasia as the broad landmass that stretches from the Carpathian Mountains to the Korean Peninsula.

² The majority of these papers were published in the first conference volume (see Peterson et al. 2006).

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PART I:
FROM CULTURE TO THE INSTITUTIONS
OF SOCIAL LIFE

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL LANDSCAPE OF NORTH-CENTRAL EURASIA AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS DURING THE SECOND MILLENNIUM BC¹

LUDMILA KORYAKOVA

Introduction

Recently there has been a remarkable increase in the “complexity” of archaeological research concerning the Bronze Age in the Eurasian steppe and forest-steppe zone. There has been an increase in the quantity of data emerging from recent discoveries. As a result, new cultural types, sequences and models are being introduced causing old concepts to be revisited and sometimes changed or eliminated. Perhaps the most notable development concerns the re-dating of many, if not all, Bronze Age cultures to an earlier time (Fig. 1.1). All this new data makes the cultural and social landscape of the Eurasian Bronze Age quite complicated to study.

One indication of this complexity is the number of models currently being utilized to understand the Eurasian steppe in the Bronze Age. Russian archaeologists use the following major models, and/or a combination of these models, to explain the complexity of this dynamic landscape: (1) *technological determinism* which has been fleshed out most extensively in the theory of metallurgical provinces (Bochkarev 1995; Chernykh 1992; Rynadina and Degtyareva 2002); (2) *ecological and economic determinism* (Kosarev 1991); (3) *ethnic determinism* (traditional to Russian archaeology) which explains different stylistic patterns in reference to a presumably different ethnic “nature” (Kuzmina 1994; Matveyev 1998; Zdanovich 1995); and (4) *migration theory* (Chernykh and Kuzminykh 1989; Kuznetsov 1996).

In addition, the search for appropriate sociological models further complicates the situation. In examining Russian literature since the late

1980s, several dominant trends emerge. In these recent publications there are several phrases one sees repeated in reference to Bronze Age cultures of the 2nd millennium BC such as “Indo-European non-urban civilization of Eurasia stockbreeding province” (Malov 1995), “proto-urban” or “quasi-urban civilization” (Zdanovich 1997), “frustrated civilisation” (Zdanovich 1995), or “early complex societies with a non-urban path of development” (Masson 1998). These phrases indicate that there is a change in the paradigms used by Russian archaeologists to describe the social landscape from a form of primitivism to modernism. At the same time, traditional Marxist models, which describe Bronze Age cultures as the decomposition of a primordial communal order, are still in wide use. Alternatively, there are many archaeologists who share a general dissatisfaction with traditional theories, but are sceptical that one can use the archaeological record to reconstruct past social realities. According to these scholars, the only aspect of the social order which one can hope to understand is demography, revealed in terms of the age-sex structure reflected in burials.

Until recently, the development of social systems was predominantly regarded in terms of an evolutionary theory, which defined the state as the highest level in the social and political scale (Trigger 1998). This stage oriented approach is well represented by Soviet Marxist and the neo-evolutionist schools of social thought (Pavlenko 2000; Kradin 2001). The main criterion for differentiating evolutionary stages in these traditions is the degree of social heterogeneity (Tainter 1988; Rothman 1994).

It is important to stress that evolutionary theory has been critiqued and accused of being too rigid and unable to consider the great variety of social forms attendant to the problems of state emergence (see Korotayev 1997; Kradin, Korotayev et al. 2000). There are at least four main critiques. First, all forms of social evolution are greatly varied. Simple societies can exhibit the same variability in structural complexity as more complex societies. Even differences in sex and age produce the preconditions of inequality (Artemova 1993; Korotayev et al. 2000). Second, there is no direct, progressive connection between the stages of “tribe”, “chiefdom”, and “state”. A state can emerge from a community (*obshchina*) or be transformed into one as was demonstrated by Berent (2000) in his discussion of the Greek polis. He argued that a chiefdom can grow as a result of centralization within several communities (local groups), thus skipping the “tribe” stage. “Tribes” can, in turn, be created from chiefdoms or even states (Korotayev 2000; Korotayev et al. 2000). Third, social evolution proceeds not only through the differentiation of hierarchical structures but also in non-hierarchical ways. Fourth, a neo-

evolutionary model cannot serve as a model for holistic change. Many different evolutionary trajectories can exist and not all human societies fall into the progressive steps of the social evolutionary ladder (Yoffee 1993). It is only possible to use a multi-linear model of social development (Korotayev et al. 2000)

Another important issue is the correspondence between concepts of social and cultural complexity. In general, they are correlated, but not directly so (as will be shown below). In other words, can we infer social complexity from cultural complexity? Neo-evolutionary theorists would suggest that these two forms of complexity are correlated, but the evidence for such claims is not clear given the numerous examples of non-state societies which possessed “civilisational” attributes (such as monumental architecture, sophisticated cults, the arts, etc.).

One must start with the distinction between the concepts of “society” and “culture”. As Kroeber and Parsons (1958, 583) suggested a long time ago, the social is understood as a “specifically relational system of interactions among individuals and collectives” and “culture” is defined as a kind of human activity together with its results. Therefore cultural complexity is more related to the remains of human activity more than human interactions.

According to a systems theory of culture, change in one component of a system entails changes in others, although the scale and direction of these changes can be different. If one accepts the simplest representation of a culture as consisting of ecological and material spheres, which are means of economic activity, and spiritual and normative spheres, which are means of social activity, then one can see that human development occurred through the socialization of all other cultural components (Golovnev 1995). That is to say, the more economic productivity and the greater the increase in population, the more complex and sophisticated the social sphere, which produces a series of rules, norms and forms of potestal² organization. The development of material culture becomes a function of the spiritual and social sphere.

A significant issue, vital to an understanding of the processes of cultural and social development is the interactions between different societies and cultures. As Arutyunov (1989) has noted, an informational network of any social organism is based chiefly on horizontal (synchronic) connections. The vertical (asynchronic) communications dominate the ethnic communities. According to Kubbel (1988), a total informational network could be a kind of crystallized lattice where any point of intersection between horizontal and vertical lines can be passed by many informational connections creating informational clusters. These clusters

are more stable in a central (core) part of a culture and are thus responsible for the preservation of tradition. Due to contact with other cultures, peripheral clusters are more inclined to change. Gradually these changes pass into the central (traditional) clusters leading to a more general change. Close economic and cultural ties between interacting societies serves as a precondition for more successful penetration of external influences. Still, while two societies or cultures are interacting, the recipient-society only adopts very specific elements from the donor-society. Moreover, the very introduction of such elements is made possible by aspects of their own internal development (Arutyunov 1989, 62).

I argue that culture develops out of the interaction between different internal and external factors. The dynamics of cultural development are revealed in the interrelation between tradition and innovation, which fit together differently in different systemic spheres. The development and transformation of cultural systems is not a linear process; rather it should be viewed as a network of changes, as a change in one system entails changes in others. This principle of cultural interconnection serves as the foundation for this chapter. Below I examine the social landscape of North-Central Eurasia and its transformation during the 2nd millennium BC.

Social Changes during the Second Millennium BC

There is no doubt that terms such as ‘primeval society’ do not fairly describe the social characteristics of this period in North-Central Eurasia. Nevertheless, we cannot define Bronze Age social life in reference to models of a state. Consequently, it is only possible to use the concept of tribal organization in its simple to complex forms with “chiefdom” as the highest expression of tribalism.

Indices of increasing social complexity appear initially in the Eneolithic period and become clearly visible by the Early and Middle Bronze Ages. Unfortunately, it is not possible to describe what the social landscape of northern-central Eurasia was like at that time. Comparing the extant archaeological material with various models, one inevitably runs up against several contradictions, which will be emphasized here.

There is no doubt that the critical turning point in the social development of societies in the Urals was the beginning of the Bronze Age, which brought forth new social and economic situations. During the Early Bronze Age, the territory dominated by productive economies covered only a part of the southern zone (the Cis-Urals), although their influence went much further (both spatially and chronologically). A

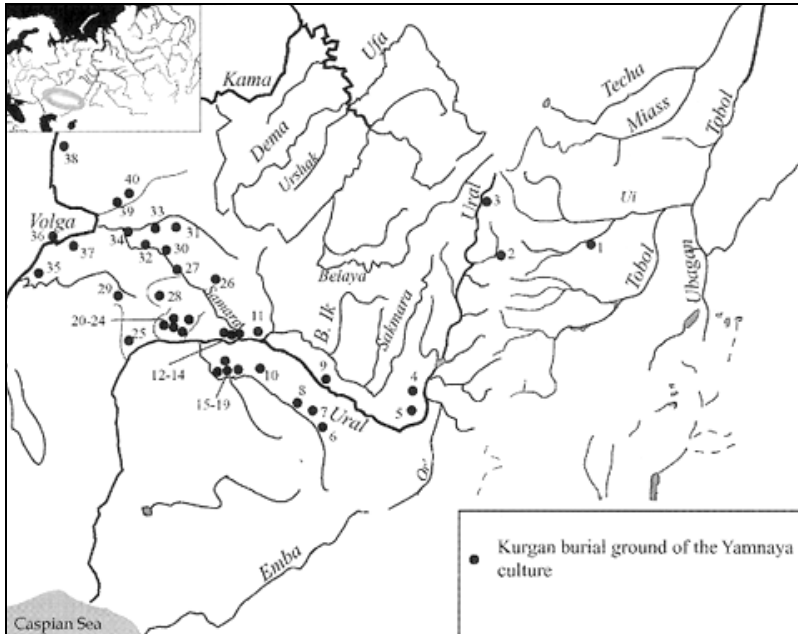


Figure 1.2: Distribution of Yamnaya culture sites in the Volga-Ural area.

productive economy provides a relatively stable subsistence base for local communities, which supports the emergence of specialized crafts, such as metallurgy. Livestock breeding as well as mining and metallurgy were important to the region's development.

Bronze metallurgy greatly advanced the efficiency of human labour. It stimulated the process of specialization and changed the character of exchange between Eurasian societies. Growing demand for bronze (as well as components of its production, such as tin, the deposits of which were relatively rare) inspired the emergence of regular exchange/trade networks. The introduction of metallurgy, hence, can be regarded as one of a number of significant stimuli that promoted interaction between groups in different areas and formed dependant relationships. In general, this thesis shows that the bronze industry, with its reliance upon raw material deposits, was the first to promote centripetal cultural development. It is partially due to this that, in the 2nd millennium BC, one sees the emergence