

„Aus der Arbeit mit Typologie und Chronologie hat das Interesse für die Leute, die die Bronzen gemacht, benutzt und vergraben haben, zum Studium der Siedlungen und weiter zu einer holistischen Betrachtungsweise, nicht nur der bronzezeitlichen Kultur, geführt. In weltweiten allgemeinen Zügen hat der Jubilar es unternommen, während ich es in kleinerem Maßstab auf der Insel Fünen versucht habe (S. 429)“.

Was dabei aber umso deutlicher wird, ist das auch von B. Gediga (S. 453) bemerkte Fehlen einer kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Begriff *Urnenfelderkultur*, der in dem geographisch ausgeweiteten Rahmen zu einem bloßen Zeitbegriff herabsinkt. Dabei bleibe dahingestellt, ob schon alle (fein)chronologischen Probleme gelöst und großräumige Parallelisierungen (v.a. in Ost-West Richtung) gelungen sind.

Hält man an den Begriffen *Urnenfelderkultur* bzw. *Urnenfelderzeit* fest und mißt ihnen weiterhin operative und analytische Substanz zu, dann scheinen Anstrengungen zum Auf- bzw. Ausbau eines konzeptuellen Gerüsts, in welches die zahlreichen (neuen) Ausgrabungs- und Fundmaterialien eingeordnet werden könnten bzw. für das sie selbst einen Teil der empirischen Evidenz abzugeben hätten, sinnvoll und notwendig. Das gilt für großräumige Subsistenzstrategien und Siedlungsentwicklungen ebenso wie für Grab- und Opfersitten, Kommunikationsnetze und anderes mehr. Es sollte dazu dienen, die charakteristischen kulturellen Elemente herauszustellen, die die spätbronzezeitlichen Kulturgruppen zwischen Atlantik und Schwarzem Meer verbinden.

D-44780 Bochum
Universitätsstraße 150

Svend Hansen
Lehrstuhl für Ur- und Frühgeschichte
Ruhr-Universität, Gebäude GA 6/58

*Kennst Du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühen,
Im dunklen Laub die Goldorangen glühen,
Ein sanfter Wind vom blauen Himmel weht,
Die Myrte still und hoch der Lorbeer steht?
Kennst du es wohl?
Dahin, dahin
Möcht' ich mit dir, o mein Geliebter, ziehn!*

CLAUDIO GIARDINO, *Il Mediterraneo Occidentale fra XIV ed VIII secolo a. C.* Cerchie minerarie e metallurgiche. The West Mediterranean between the 14th and 8th Centuries B. C. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 612. Tempus Reparatum, Oxford 1995. ISBN 0-86054-793-0. V, 400 pages and 135 figures, 4 tables and 10 plates.

Claudio Giardino's book offers us an approach to the Late Bronze Age/First Iron Age relations between the Central and the Western Mediterranean from a metallurgical point of view. It is both, an up to date book and a useful catalogue, whose handling has sagaciously been made easier by adding an English version to the original Italian one. In that way it will contribute to smooth away obstacles in the access to the Mediterranean record to those scholars who have problems in commanding other languages than English.

The work is structured in four main chapters or topics – chronological problems; metallurgical resources; mining technology; sea craft and sea routes – plus a typological catalogue followed by the author's conclusions.

Although the reviewer's general evaluation of Giardino's work is a positive one, some aspects of the book deserve a more detailed and, occasionally, a more critical comment.

Perhaps, the reviewer's main point of disagreement with Giardino lies in the author's attempt to de-contextualize metal and to analyse it by itself, i. e. independent of its archaeological context as well as of its social pattern of production and consumption (s. BRADLEY 1990; SHERRATT/SHERRATT 1991).

I do not see either what is the point of reviewing the metallurgical ores and mining techniques in the Central and Western Mediterranean, since in many cases there are no conclusive proofs of their exploitation during the studied period and what is more, since there is no attempt by the author of putting the metal items analysed in the next chapter, in relation with the ore areas previously reviewed.

One way to approach metal, its social or practical meaning as well as the trading routes by which metal items circulated and were exchanged and transformed, could be the tracking down of weight systems, a topic in which Italian archaeologists stand out (PARISE 1971; 1986; 1993; ZACCAGNINI 1986; 1991). One obvious advantage of this approach is, that it allows us to overcome the hindrance, already pointed out by Giardino (p. 181 Italian version/p. 319 English one), of the remelting of objects during the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition, that severely prevents from detecting the provenance of metal used. Thus, if we can not know where the metal came from, we can at least find out by weighing metal objects, the main trading areas and trading systems under which metal circulated and when and why these trading systems changed as well. One instance of what I am suggesting here is the Aegean weight system, first identified by PETRUSO (1978; 1979), and subsequently corrected by PARISE (1986). In view of the sheer evidences of Mycenaean trade in the Central Mediterranean (VAGNETTI 1991; 1992; 1993; JONES/VAGNETTI 1991), it would not be surprising to see the same Aegean weight system at work in that region, as it is the case with Central Europe (EIWANGER 1989) and Scandinavia (MALMER 1992; SPERBERG 1993; RUIZ-GÁLVEZ forthcoming a), both lengthily connected with the Aegean through the "Amber route". In fact ZACCAGNINI (1991) has detected the Aegean weight system in nuragic Sardinia and the reviewer has recently done the same in postargaric contexts of South-eastern Spain (RUIZ-GÁLVEZ forthcoming a).

Another weight system recently identified in Late Bronze Age Iberian Peninsula is the Microasiatic one (GALÁN/RUIZ-GÁLVEZ 1996, 153), very widespread in the Eastern and Central Mediterranean and recorded in nuragic Sardinia in Postmycenaean times also (ZACCAGNINI 1991, 334). To this very weight system belong a pair of bracelets in the Sardinian hoard of Flumene-longu (LO SCHIAVO 1976), as E. Galán has recently pointed out (GALÁN/RUIZ-GÁLVEZ 1996, 154). Therefore, it would be advisable to weigh other items included in that and in other hoards, as i. e. ingots, flat axes and palstaves, especially because the Microasiatic weight system has been tracked down in other West European assemblages of that same period (RUIZ-GÁLVEZ forthcoming a).

Lastly, the Phoenician weight system seems to be at work in some areas of Central and Western Europe at the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition (ZACCAGNINI 1986, 419; LENERZ-DE WILDE 1995; RUIZ-GÁLVEZ forthcoming a). In those regions, as it is the case of the Iberian Peninsula, where the Phoenicians established colonies, this weight system seems to have lasted, either under the heavy system or under the light one (HILDEBRANT 1993), until the Roman Conquest of Hispania (GALÁN/RUIZ-GÁLVEZ 1996, 157; RUIZ-GÁLVEZ 1996 and forthcoming a).

These three weight systems of Mediterranean origin apparently reveal the existence of three consecutive trade routes, clearly differentiated from a chronological as well as from a geographical point of view. They also have a very different socio-political meaning. Thus, the first one could be directly or indirectly related with the Mycenaean trading networks dominating most part of the Mediterranean and non Mediterranean Europe as well. The second one, with the collapse of the Mycenaean networks and the appearance of an opportunistic sea trade, an entrepreneurship trade after the SHERRATT'S (1991), where some islands and coastal areas, well suited for acting as „gateway communities“ (HIRTH 1978), were actively engaged in exchanges, that includes trade, but piracy too (POPHAM/LEMOS 1995). Among them, Cyprus and probably other less easily recognisable Aegean areas, but also Sicily, Sardinia and some points both at the Mediterranean and Atlantic sides of the Iberian Peninsula, were conspicuously interacting. The generalisation of the Microasiatic weight system during the Late Bronze Age, both in the Atlantic and in Sardinia (Sicily and Southern Italy as well?), seems to point in that direction and to

agree with Giardino's own view of the existence of a Western *koiné* (p. 284 Italian version/p. 340 English one).

Lastly, the third weight system, detected very especially in western contexts of the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition, is related with the Phoenicians, whose first settlement in the Iberian Peninsula is currently dated in the second half of the 9th century B. C., after several 14C calibrated dates from Spanish and Portuguese sites (AUBET 1994; TAVARES 1993). These dates agree with those from Late Bronze Age local contexts (RUIZ-GÁLVEZ 1995a, 79–83). One consequence of it is, that it is possible to understand the Phoenician colonisation as a result of previous Mediterranean–Atlantic exchange networks, which helped to create a local demand and in which native populations played an active role, better than as a consequence of a Pre-colonisation (Giardino's p. 90 and 281 Italian version/p. 300 and 339 English one), a concept which the reviewer deeply disagrees with.

Not wishing to extend my review more than what is sensible, I will proceed briefly to comment some other points:

A) I have to admit that I got lost in the jungle of local periodisations (Giardino's p. 15 Italian version/p. 291 English one). Could they not have been reduced and translated to a more general chronology? I do not ignore the dearth of 14C dates in most part of the Mediterranean. Anyhow, some recent publications offer either a dendro- or a calibrated 14C based chronology, that would have been of some help (BOCQUET 1989; GÓMEZ 1991; SHERRATT/SHERRATT 1991a; GONZALEZ MARCÉN ET AL. 1992; RUIZ-GÁLVEZ 1995a). Quite on the contrary I would have liked to read about Giardino's point of view on the discussion „historical versus absolute chronology in the Mediterranean“ raised by the publication of James' book (JAMES ET AL. 1991).

B) I do not think that hoards like Monte Sa Idda or Venat, which content mainly scrap and of very different origins, should be understood in a similar way than Huelva (Giardino's p. 281 Italian version/p. 339 English one), and I miss a book's wider view on the social meaning of metal (s. BRADLEY 1990).

C) On the possibility of a local casting of ox-hide ingots in Sardinia, suggested by the author (Giardino's p. 46 Italian version/p. 294 English one), there is not agreement among specialists. While the “British team” (GALE/STOS-GALE 1987, 156–161; GALE 1991, 216–218) maintains a Cypriot origin for them, the “American team” (LO SCHIAVO ET AL. 1990, 202 p.) claims that it is far from proved, since the Sardinian ingots lie toward the edge of Cypriot lead isotope analysis.

D) Giardino concludes that Late Bronze Age contacts across the Mediterranean consisted on know how exchanges more than on manufactures (p. 284 p. Italian version/p. 340 p. English one). In that same way could be understood the generalisation at that very time and all around the Mediterranean, from the Aegean to the Iberian Peninsula, of geometric-pattern wares (rich textiles?), frequently associated to fibulae, belt-brooches, cosmetic tweezers, razors, metal-but-tons etc. The whole kit apparently conveys the arrival in the area of a new form of aesthetic and of male dressing related, in my view, to a form of patriarchal political structure and to the growing importance of cattle as a “cash” in the Mediterranean basin (RUIZ-GÁLVEZ 1993; 1995b, 143 p.). Both, Oriental and Mediterranean literature of that time put an emphasis on the symbolical image of the King-Shepherd (SAMUEL I,16–18; ST. JOHN 10,11–16; 21,15–17; HOMER Iliad I,148; XI,648; XX,178; DEHN 1972). Also, the archaeological finds of obeloi, articulated spits, meat hooks, cauldrons, the male depictions on the SW warriors' stelae, as well as the faunal record of that period point in that same direction (ARMBERGER 1985; NIEMEYER 1985, 117; SNODGRASS 1989, 27; BARROS ET AL. 1993; CARDOZO 1993; GALÁN 1993; SHERRATT 1993, 34; DELIBES ET AL. 1995; MORALES ET AL. 1995, 534; RUIZ-GÁLVEZ 1995b, 143 p.; forthcoming b; CÁCERES forthcoming; MALLORY 1996, 80; PRYOR 1996, 322 p.).

Therefore I wonder if the allum, used for the dying of textiles and the tanning of hides and recorded among other mineral ores in Latium, Sicily and SE. Spain by Giardino (p. 109 and 138 Italian version/p. 304, 308 and 311 English one), could not have been one of the commodi-

ties exchanged, and also if cattle could not have been on the basis of the native populations' ability to compete, exchange, display and exhibit richness? I wonder if that local demand, more than the mineral ores, could not have made the "Far West" worthy to the Phoenician merchants? I wonder if it was cattle instead of the apples what was made of gold?

Summing up in few words my impressions after having read the book, I would say that it is the art of provoking thoughts and of putting one's brain to work its most outstanding contribution and what made its reading so exciting. These are the goals that every book should aim to achieve. Does not it?

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E-28040 Madrid

Marisa Ruiz-Gálvez Priego
Departamento de Prehistoria
Universidad Computense

Les installations agricoles de l'âge du Fer en Ile-de-France. Actes du Colloque de Paris 1993, édités par O. Buchsenschutz et P. Méniel. *Études d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Vol. IV.* Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure, Paris 1994. ISBN 2-7288-0198-3. 300 Seiten mit 164 Abbildungen und 13 Tabellen.

Dieser vierte Band einer unregelmäßig erscheinenden Reihe zur Frühgeschichte (zuvor: Gallia Cisalpina [1979], Pränestinische Spiegel [1980], Kelten in Pannonien [1988]) vereinigt 17 Vorträge einer Pariser Tagung vom Juni 1993. Thema sind landwirtschaftliche Anlagen der Eisenzeit, unter denen offene und eingefriedete Siedlungen sowie grabengesäumte Flurparzellen verstanden werden. Räumlich werden die acht Departements der Region Ile-de-France abgedeckt. Die Anordnung der Beiträge ist logisch gegliedert, was den Zugang zu dem Buch leicht macht. Auf die Einleitung (O. Buchsenschutz) folgt ein Katalog der eisenzeitlichen Fundstellen nach Departements. Die ersten vier Beiträge sind dem Osten und Südosten des Untersuchungsgebietes (Seine-et-Marne, Val-de-Marne) gewidmet, die zweiten vier dem Westen und Nordwesten (Val d'Oise). Die zweite Buchhälfte (S. 158 ff.) enthält sechs Beiträge zu Nachbarregionen, davon drei zum Norden und Osten (Picardie), drei zum Süden und Westen (Normandie, Bretagne, Vendée). Das Buch berücksichtigt Literatur bis 1994 und schließt wie jeder Beitrag mit einer Zusammenfassung (P. Méniel). Die Vorträge sind jeweils auf ein Objekt (7 Beiträge) oder Gebiet (7 Beiträge) beschränkt. Vergleiche mit Befunden im In- oder Ausland werden kaum angestellt, lediglich die Einleitung sucht mit über 50% fremdsprachigen Zitaten den weiteren Kontext. Somit ist klar, daß man von der Aufsatzsammlung keine verallgemeinernden Betrachtungen erwarten darf. Ihr Ziel und ihr Nutzen bestehen in einem Einblick in neue französische Grabungsergebnisse.

Buchsenschutz verfolgt, wie durch Luftbildarchäologie und Großbauprojekte ländliche Gegenden zu einem Schwerpunkt der französischen Vorgeschichtsforschung wurden (S. 9f.). Er sieht einen Kontrast zwischen der Siedlungskonzentration der Hallstattzeit und der Streubesiedlung der Latènezeit. Erst mit den Oppida werde wieder der Versuch unternommen, einen nicht-ländlichen Raum zu schaffen, der Wohn-, Wirtschafts- und rituelle Funktion vereine. Die Führungsschicht sei jedoch in „ferme indigène“ genannten grabengesäumten Gehöften auf dem Lande zu suchen (S. 11 ff.). Ein methodischer Abschnitt (S. 14–21) diskutiert interdisziplinäre Ansätze. Bemerkenswert ist, daß umfriedete Gehöfte in Frankreich von der Jungbronze- über die Eisen- bis hin zur Römerzeit verfolgt werden können (S. 22).

Von Hunderten von Luftbildbefunden sind nur wenige archäologisch untersucht. Die ergrabenen Beispiele zeigen Vielfalt im Detail, lassen sich jedoch in Typen gliedern. Obwohl es offene Siedlungen gibt, sind grabengesäumte Einfriedungen häufiger. Ihrer Form nach sind sie bisweilen kurvilinear, zumeist jedoch viereckig bei 0,1–16 ha. Am häufigsten liegen die Flächen unter 1 ha, in der Vendée bei durchschnittlich 1,5 ha. Es gibt Anzeichen für eine Abfolge von älteren, bis zu 1 ha großen Parallelogrammen mit Innen- und Außenbebauung hin zu jüngeren 0,3–0,6 ha großen Trapezen mit Innenbebauung. Auch die Verdopplung, Unterteilung, das Nachstehen der Gräben und die Verlagerung von Gevierten sind zu beobachten. Anzeichen für Wall