Archaic State Interaction

1

Introduction

Interaction and Ancient Societies

William A. Parkinson and Michael L. Galaty

> Anthropology and archaeology have been plagued with too many debates of the "either evolution or diffusion" variety in the past. Arguments of this sort resolve very little.
>
> *—D. E. Schortman and P. A. Urban,*
> Resources, Power, and Interregional Interaction

The study of ancient social interaction once was a burgeoning domain of archaeological research that promised to yield theoretical and methodological advances essential for understanding patterns in material culture that did not have good analogs in the ethnographic or ethnohistoric record. More recently, the study of interaction in ancient societies was preempted by the study of social evolution, relegating interaction studies to the role of handmaiden. Social interaction became interesting insomuch as it related to the emergence of complex social and political institutions. This unequal relationship between interaction and social complexity was exacerbated in recent years by the widespread adoption of theoretical perspectives that draw heavily from world-systems theory (see Hall 1999:4 for a discussion of the convergence of evolutionary and world-system approaches).

The current status of interaction studies in archaeology suffers from an increasing divide that separates those scholars who are sympathetic to world-systems approaches from those who find these of little, if any, value. This dogmatic separation of scholars interested in studying social interaction

into groups of "believers" (in world-systems approaches) and "skeptics" is, we argue, an intellectual hangover from the long-standing debate between "formalists" and "substantivists" that plagued studies of economics in non-Western societies (see Oka and Kusimba 2008 for a detailed discussion). Unfortunately, as with that stalemate, the current failure to find common ground between world-systems believers and their counterparts has resulted in a stagnation of theoretical development, especially with regards to modeling how early state societies interacted with their neighbors.

This book is an attempt to redress these issues. By shifting the theoretical focus away from questions of state evolution to state interaction, we seek to develop anthropological models for understanding how ancient states interacted with one another and with societies of different scales of economic and political organization. Rather than publish yet another book that either shamelessly sings the praises of world-systems theory (WST) or unabashedly condemns it, we have tried to identify a theoretical middle ground that is neither dogmatic nor dismissive. The result, we believe, is an innovative approach to modeling social interaction that will be helpful in exploring the relationship between social processes that occur at different geographic scales and over different temporal durations.

To explore these issues, we brought together nine scholars at the School for Advanced Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico, to discuss the nature of interaction in the Eastern Mediterranean during the later Bronze Age. Our goal during the advanced seminar was to use this geographic and temporal context as a case study for developing anthropological models of interaction that are cross-cultural in scope but that still deal well with the idiosyncrasies of specific culture histories. Conversely, we hoped to use existing models of interaction to understand cultural patterns in a part of the world where scholars have tended to approach the past from a regionally specific and cultural-historical, instead of cross-cultural and anthropological, perspective.

The group we invited to the seminar included international scholars from central and western Europe and the United States with varied training and specialties but whose work addresses the issue of state interaction, albeit from very different perspectives. By bringing together scholars who, because of either the geographic focus of their research or their discrete institutional histories, do not regularly interact with one another, we hoped to encourage them to use their expertise to address the nature of prehistoric interaction from their own unique perspective. In this regard, the seminar was a resounding success. Three of the participants were trained

as anthropologists in the United States (Galaty, Parkinson, and Kardulias), although their work focuses on Aegean prehistory, a research domain normally pursued by scholars trained in departments of classical studies. Others were trained as archaeologists in Britain (Cherry, Sherratt, and Wengrow), although the geographic focus of their research expertise varies from Egypt (Wengrow) to Cyprus and the Near East (Sherratt) to the Aegean (Cherry). Still others (Schon and Cline) were trained in departments of classical archaeology, Near Eastern studies, and ancient history, although they work in different parts of the Eastern Mediterranean. Helena Tomas is a Croatian archaeologist who received her doctorate in archaeology from Oxford, specializing in ancient scripts, but who works in Greece, Croatia, Israel, and Albania.

The SAR advanced seminar provided a unique opportunity for this eclectic group of scholars from various backgrounds to gather and focus their wide-ranging talents and expertise on addressing a common theme. We were especially pleased that the goals of our seminar dovetailed nicely with the recent reorganization of SAR to be more international in scope and more inclusive of scholars with wide-ranging scholarly backgrounds. The results of our seminar could not have been achieved without intensive interaction among this diverse group of experts. Unfortunately, few other venues offer such an opportunity.

This first introductory chapter briefly discusses the historical relationship between interaction and evolution studies in anthropological archaeology, focusing specifically upon how world-systems theory recently has influenced the study of ancient states and their neighbors. We then propose a strategy for modeling early state interaction that attempts to account for processes that occur at different geographic and temporal scales. We advocate an eclectic, explicitly nondogmatic theoretical approach that makes a conscious effort to rectify general, cross-culturally relevant processes with specific, cultural-historically correct patterns.

This chapter is intended for an anthropological audience and attempts to avoid the cumbersome terminology and details of chronology that make the Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age seem impenetrable to the nonspecialist. These details are saved for chapter 2, which demonstrates how to apply the multiscalar approach outlined here to a specific region. This second introductory chapter, the result of a collaborative effort by everyone who participated in the advanced seminar, outlines the cultural-historical narrative of interaction in the Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age and relates it to the more general, cross-cultural processes outlined here.

INTERACTION AND EVOLUTION IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

The analytical boundaries between studies of interaction and evolution in anthropological archaeology have a long, complicated history. Although the histories of interaction studies in North America and Europe share intellectual roots in diffusionist studies of the early twentieth century, the analytical relationship between processes of interaction and evolution underwent significant changes throughout the century on each continent. With the onset of the New Archaeology, concerns with understanding social evolution preempted interaction studies, and the analytical boundaries between the two became blurred. Within this context, world-systems theory provided an attractive framework for integrating the two research domains.

The widespread adoption of world-systems approaches at the end of the twentieth century has positioned scholars interested in exploring prehistoric interaction into two opposed camps—those who are sympathetic to world-systems approaches and those who are not. This theoretical rift derives from the formalist–substantivist divide of the mid-twentieth century and ultimately can be traced to primitivist–modernist arguments of the early part of that century (see Oka and Kusimba 2008). We suggest that it will be most beneficial for those interested in exploring the anthropology of interaction in ancient societies to identify a middle ground between these theoretical perspectives.

Diffusion, Interaction, and Evolution

Interaction studies in North American and European prehistory trace their roots to German geographico-diffusionist paradigms in the beginning of the twentieth century (see Oka and Kusimba 2008; Schortman and Urban 1992). But towards the middle of the century, the mechanisms of diffusion—in particular, their relationship to social evolution—came to be viewed very differently on the two continents. European prehistorians such as V. Gordon Childe favored an *ex oriente lux* framework within which diffusion was causal in the evolution of political complexity (for example, Childe 1964). By contrast, many American prehistorians favored models that downplayed the evolutionary importance of diffusion by emphasizing its tendency to increase homogeneity over large areas. Caldwell's (1964) notion of an interaction sphere, specifically as it related to Hopewell (see also Struever 1964), was proposed as a counterpoint to arguments that "great traditions" were associated only with politically and economically complex civilizations. From one perspective, interaction via diffusion was

viewed as causally related to the development of political complexity, thus introducing political and economic variability into a region; from another viewpoint, interaction spheres were seen to increase regional homogeneity between disparate social groups.

Despite these differences, both approaches viewed the archaeological study of interaction as an interesting analytical end in itself and the processes of social interaction as being on relatively equal ground with the study of social evolution. This analytical interest in interaction studies—for their own sake—gradually began to wane during the second half of the century. Although the study of social interaction retained a central role in history and the social sciences (for example, Wolf 1982), the main focus of such studies was to identify how interactive processes related to evolutionary processes, specifically, whether these increased or decreased economic and political complexity (see, for example, Trigger 1989:329–337).

Towards the end of the twentieth century, the study of the evolution of complex political and economic systems took precedence over interaction in ancient societies. Especially in the American tradition, interaction studies were undertaken primarily to aid the study of social evolutionary processes. Beginning with articles such as Flannery's (1968) discussion of social interaction between emergent elites in the Formative Valley of Oaxaca and the Gulf Coast Olmec in the late 1960s, the study of interaction became a handmaiden to the study of social evolution. Within the British tradition, the archaeological study of interaction maintained more theoretical autonomy, focusing especially upon sourcing studies and chemical analyses (for example, Renfrew, Dixon, and Cann 1968).

During the 1970s the relationship between interaction studies and social evolution was galvanized by research that sought to define more precisely how the processes of trade and exchange related to the emergence of socio-political complexity. Following on studies in the early 1970s that sought to define new methodological and theoretical perspectives on prehistoric exchange (for example, Hodder 1974; Renfrew 1975; Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975; Wilmsen 1972), anthropological archaeologists began to combine technological developments in sourcing technology (for example, Earle and Ericson 1977) with theoretical developments adopted from locational geography (for example, Haggett 1966; Hodder and Orton 1979) and systems theory to develop a systematics of exchange.

During the next decade, a divide developed between those scholars who favored a substantivist approach to modeling trade and exchange —one that "viewed exchange as the material base for society and as an organization 'embedded' in society's institutions" (Earle and Ericson

1977:3)—and those who preferred a more formalist economic approach (see Earle 1982:2)—one that sought to explore the results of rational decisions that operated along more modern notions of supply and demand. Oka and Kusimba (2008:344–345) relate this substantivist–formalist divide to an even longer-standing rift within the discipline between primitivists and modernists.

Despite explicit efforts at bridging this theoretical gap (for example, Ericson and Earle 1982), most anthropological archaeologists continued to link interaction studies directly to the emergence of political complexity, thus perpetuating the dominance of substantivist approaches in the discipline, especially in the United States (for example, Brumfiel and Earle 1987). Others favored more formalist perspectives on the past (see Renfrew and Shennan 1982 for a discussion). Both schools of thought, however, emphasized the importance of interaction studies primarily for understanding social evolutionary processes.

World-Systems: Believers and Skeptics

The development of theoretical frameworks throughout the 1980s and 1990s derived from world-systems theory perpetuated the historical division between substantivist and formalist approaches to trade and exchange, resulting ultimately in the dogmatically divisive theoretical landscape within which we now wander. This landscape is composed of those faithful to world-systems theory and its more formalist approaches to the study of interaction (the "believers") and the substantivists (the "skeptics"), who are more dubious about the value of the approach for interpreting the subtle dynamics of ancient social interaction. Kardulias (chapter 3, this volume) suggests that the issue is more general and has more to do with advocating particularistic or generalizing approaches. From our perspective, the division between believers and skeptics is unfortunate. It has replaced the substantivist-versus-formalist divide within the discipline and seems doomed to result in a similar theoretical stalemate. As a result, a main goal of this seminar was to bring together members of both groups to create a syncretic approach that provides common theoretical ground.

For an excellent overview of archaeological approaches derived from world-systems, see Kardulias's and Sherratt's contributions to this volume (chapters 3 and 4, respectively). World-systems theory, in its initial conception (that is, Wallerstein 1974), was intended to explain interaction between culturally different societies linked via the vital exchange of food and raw materials (Chase-Dunn and Grimes 1995:389). Wallerstein was concerned particularly with the nature of interaction as it developed

between different kinds of state and non-state societies. He focused on the tendency of more powerful cores to exploit less powerful peripheries.

Wallerstein's initial model was applied explicitly to very recent or modern capitalist systems, but several authors have adapted it to very different historical contexts, including smaller, noncapitalist systems, effectively extending its applicability several thousand years into the past (for example, Chase-Dunn and Hall 1993; Frank and Gillis 1993a; Friedman and Rowlands 1978; Kristiansen 1987; Schneider 1977; see Chase-Dunn and Grimes 1995 for discussion). A critical shift in these adaptations was a reworking of the model that, besides referring explicitly to vital goods that affect everyday life, included prestige goods and items of symbolic importance.

Chase-Dunn and Hall prefer a general definition of world-systems that facilitates comparisons of interactions between societies of dramatically different political and economic organization. They define world-systems as "intersocietal networks in which the interactions are important for the reproduction of the internal structures of the composite units and importantly affect changes that occur in these local structures" (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1993:855). This definition encompasses interactions between states and stateless societies by approaching WST from a broad-brush, lumping perspective that masks socio-cultural variability.

In Kardulias's contribution to this volume (chapter 3), he assumes a similar broad perspective, arguing that archaeologists should encourage more generalizing theoretical approaches that stress similarities over differences. To this end, Kardulias recommends approaches based on world-systems *analysis*, a term he uses to differentiate archaeological approaches derived from world-systems theory. Sherratt, in her contribution (chapter 4), also addresses many of the criticisms of world-systems approaches.

Although these adaptations to Wallerstein's initial formulation of world-systems permit the analysis of general relationships between societies at different levels of political and economic complexity, they have been criticized for diluting the descriptive and explanatory power of the model as initially formulated (for example, Frank and Gills 1993a). In addition, these modified world-systems approaches are most effective when operationalized at wide geographic and temporal scales, encompassing long units of time and large units of space. Critics argue that the utility of world-systems breaks down considerably when these are applied at narrow geographic and temporal scales, especially when detailed understandings of specific cultural histories with highly refined chronologies are brought to bear on the model (see Stein 1999a). In these instances, world-systems frameworks become significantly less useful for understanding interregional social interactions,

tending to encourage overly general, descriptive models of exchange, warfare, and intermarriage (see Parkinson and Galaty 2007 for discussion).

Undeniably the most influential theoretical approach to modeling interaction in ancient societies—especially between ancient complex societies—world-systems theory has effectively truncated the development of alternative approaches to modeling ancient interaction. To a large extent, this is a result of dogmatic—almost religious—adherence to the basic formalist underpinnings of world-systems approaches. We suggest that both the dogmatic adherence to world-systems approaches and the outright rejection of them have been detrimental to the theoretical development of interaction studies.

MODELING INTERACTION IN ANCIENT SOCIETIES

To resolve this standoff, we advocate an approach that is theoretically "eclectic," employing several theoretical perspectives that work effectively at different temporal, geographic, and social scales. We argue that generalizing models, such as world-systems approaches, which inherently mask local variability in order to emphasize shared characteristics, need to be developed alongside historically specific models that represent this masked variability. When specific and general models are applied at multiple social scales using appropriate types of archaeological information, they become more helpful in identifying patterns of similarity and variability within different societies.

Analytical Dimensions: Integration and Interaction

The term *interaction* as it is used in archaeology refers to a wide variety of social processes and seldom is explicitly defined. We suggest modeling social organization along two separate but intertwined analytical dimensions—units of integration and degrees of interaction. In keeping with the way these terms traditionally have been used in anthropology (for example, Steward 1955), we suggest that the term *integration* is helpful in referring to processes that incorporate individuals into specific organizational units. *Interaction* refers to a more diffuse process that operates between these units. In this sense, societies can be envisioned as integrating various social units—households, villages, polities—and interaction can be measured between various units at different scales. Smaller units of integration presuppose increased interaction (see Parkinson 2002a, 2002b, 2006a:4). The methodological challenge with regards to archaeology is to determine how different social units interacted over space and time. This is achieved by negotiating between general and context-specific models at these various scales.

Also, these analytical dimensions crosscut the false theoretical dichotomy that frequently is drawn between human agents and social structures. By exploring patterns at multiple temporal and geographic/social scales, a researcher can delineate the nature of interaction between the members of different integrative units (for example, households, settlements, and polities) and construct models of social interaction at various scales that clarify the relationship between individual human agents and the social structures they create and operate within. Specific sets of archaeological data can be used for inferring interactive relationships at these various scales.

Scales of Analysis

We advocate an approach that operates at multiple scales because the identification of processes at one scale can be used to help clarify processes that occur at other scales. By understanding how interaction occurred, for example, at the local scale, we can clarify how interactive processes operated at larger scales of analysis. Conversely, models of interaction at the macro scale can help us understand more local processes. Several have advocated for the adoption of multiscalar approaches in archaeology for comparative analysis (for example, Neitzel 1999), especially with regards to settlement pattern studies (Drennan and Peterson 2005). The application of a similar methodology for modeling interaction promises to yield similar results. Such an approach also enables the researcher to circumvent many of the analytical pitfalls resulting from theoretical dogmatism (see Parkinson 2006b). Working at multiple temporal and geographic scales, it is possible to explore interaction by using a variety of theoretical approaches and datasets that are appropriate for examining patterning at different scales.

The Macro Scale and the Long Term. We define the macro scale as geographically referring to patterns of long-distance, interregional interaction between discrete polities or sets of discrete polities (figure 1.1). Temporally, this scale includes Braudel's (1998) "longue durée"—durations of many hundreds or even thousands of years. We suggest that theoretical frameworks based on world-systems approaches are especially useful for investigating social interaction at the macro scale.

Such approaches, however, tend to fall apart at more local scales and at more refined temporal durations (but see Kardulias, chapter 3, this volume; see also Chase-Dunn and Mann 1998). When world-systems approaches are used to explore patterns of interaction at these smaller scales, many of the central tenets that make world-systems approaches powerful explanatory

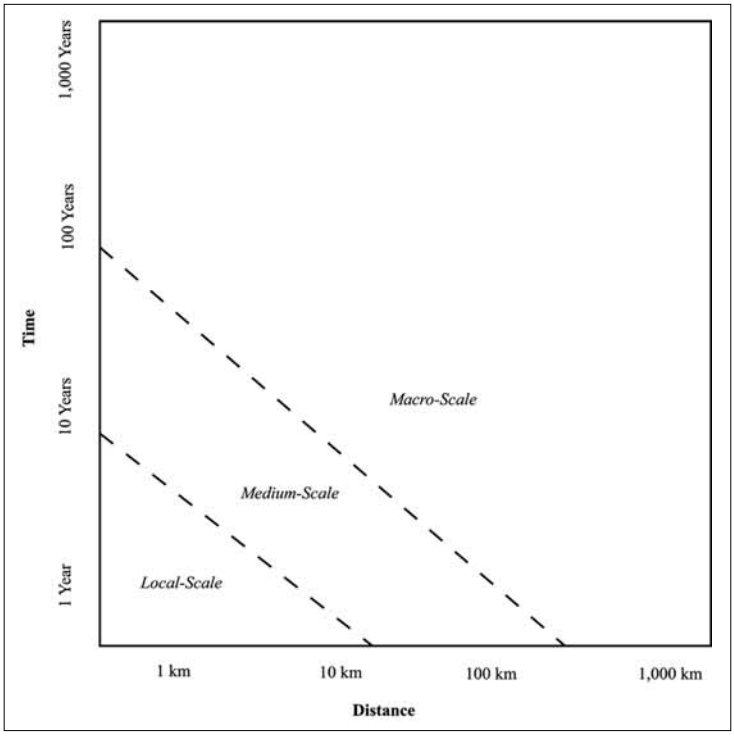

Figure 1.1

Scales of analysis for interaction studies. Jill Seagard, The Field Museum.

frameworks tend to be disregarded or abandoned completely. These central tenets include both interaction over long distances and a power differential between core, periphery, and margin (see Kohl 1987b), which usually appears archaeologically as differences in economic and political complexity. If even one of these central tenets is removed from the world-systems equation, then the approach loses much of its power for explaining change over time. If the power differential between, for example, a core and a periphery is removed, then the nature of interaction—between two or more polities with more or less similar systems of political and economic organization—is better approached from a perspective that emphasizes peer polity dynamics, instead of core–periphery dynamics. Similarly, world-systems approaches are contingent upon interaction over large distances. When used to examine patterns of interaction at shorter distances, world-systems approaches appear forced, and polities (which, in Wallerstein's initial formulation, were modern nation-states) become conflated with individual settlements or households (see Chase-Dunn and Hall

1997). We suggest that alternative theoretical approaches, such as peer polity interaction and dual processual theory, are more appropriate for examining strategies of interaction at these more local scales.

Stein (1999a) outlined alternatives to world-systems approaches, including Cohen's (1969) trade diaspora model and the distance parity model. Trade diasporas occur between culturally distinct groups when communication and transportation are difficult and where centralized state institutions cannot effectively protect long-distance exchange. In these contexts, members of a diaspora create an ethnic identity based on an ideology of shared descent or origin. The distance parity model of interregional interaction deviates from world-systems approaches by examining power and distance without assuming a dependent relationship between a core and a periphery. The model suggests that a core's power over a periphery decays with distance. As such, interaction between the core and periphery is viewed as a continuum in which the core's power over the periphery is contingent upon the constraints of transport and technological parity. This continuum is similar to Chase-Dunn and Hall's (1997:63) scalar notion of incorporation (refer to figure 3.1, this volume). Stein suggests that the trade diaspora and distance parity models work better than world-systems approaches in describing the nature of power relations and interaction between polities of different scale, particularly because they do not assume that core areas are necessarily dominant. Kardulias's (2007) notion of "negotiated peripherality" attempts to address a similar issue but does so within an explicitly world-systems framework.

For exploring long-term temporal patterns in political and economic organization, especially with regard to early state societies, Marcus (for example, 1993, 1998) has developed a "dynamic model," which focuses on the cycles of consolidation, expansion, and dissolution that states go through over time as centers extend their authority over formerly autonomous regions. Marcus proposes this model in lieu of models that contrast large, unitary "territorial states" to smaller "city-states." Rather than contrast these socio-political types, Marcus (1998:92) encourages us to think of them as "different stages in the dynamic cycles of the same states." Similar models have been proposed for explaining long-term variability in chiefdom (Anderson 1990) and tribal (Parkinson 2002a) societies, indicating that similar trajectories of integration, albeit not subjugation, can be identified also in unranked social contexts.

Marcus's model gets around the typological fuzziness surrounding primary and secondary states by referring to first-, second-, or third-generation states, depending on the timing of their appearance in a particular region.

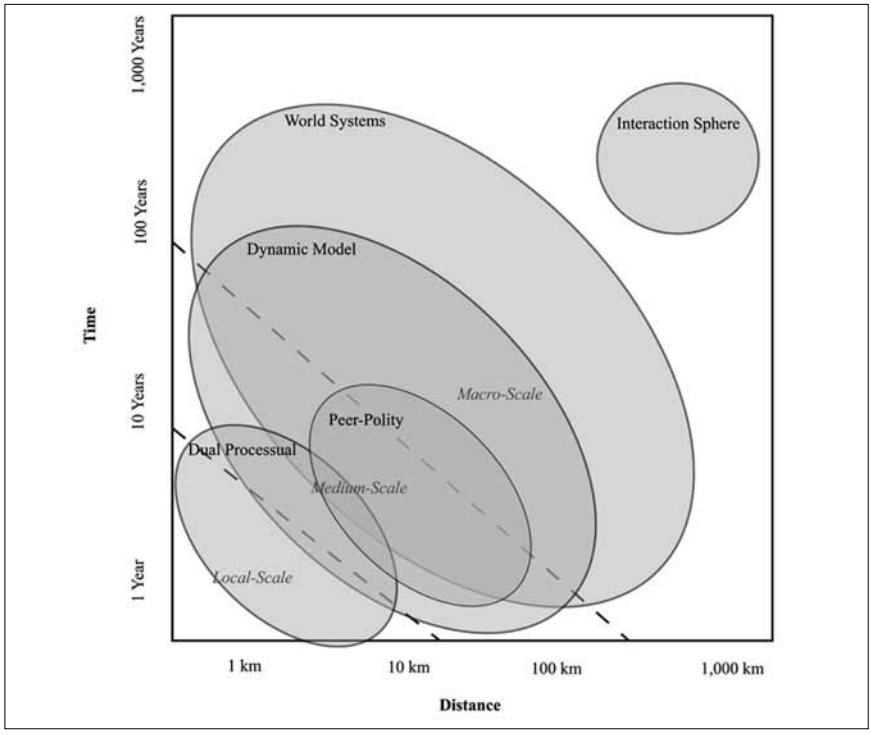

Figure 1.2

Appropriate scales of analysis for each theoretical approach to interaction. Jill Seagard, The Field Museum.

This important methodological device enables the analyst to distinguish between primary states (meaning "pristine, first-generation" states) and the first states emerging in a particular region (simply "first-generation" states), which may have occurred by various, primary or secondary (sensu Price 1978), processes.

The focus on the long-term historical dynamics of societies in specific regions brings an important temporal dimension to the study of variability in state societies. Although it is difficult to scale this model for examining precise patterns of cross-cultural variability in different regions, the model provides an excellent framework for discussing general trends of social change in different areas. To this end, it can be used alongside other approaches for developing more explicit models of social organization and change (figure 1.2).

Datasets appropriate for exploring macro-scale processes include epigraphic and literary information that refers to international relationships

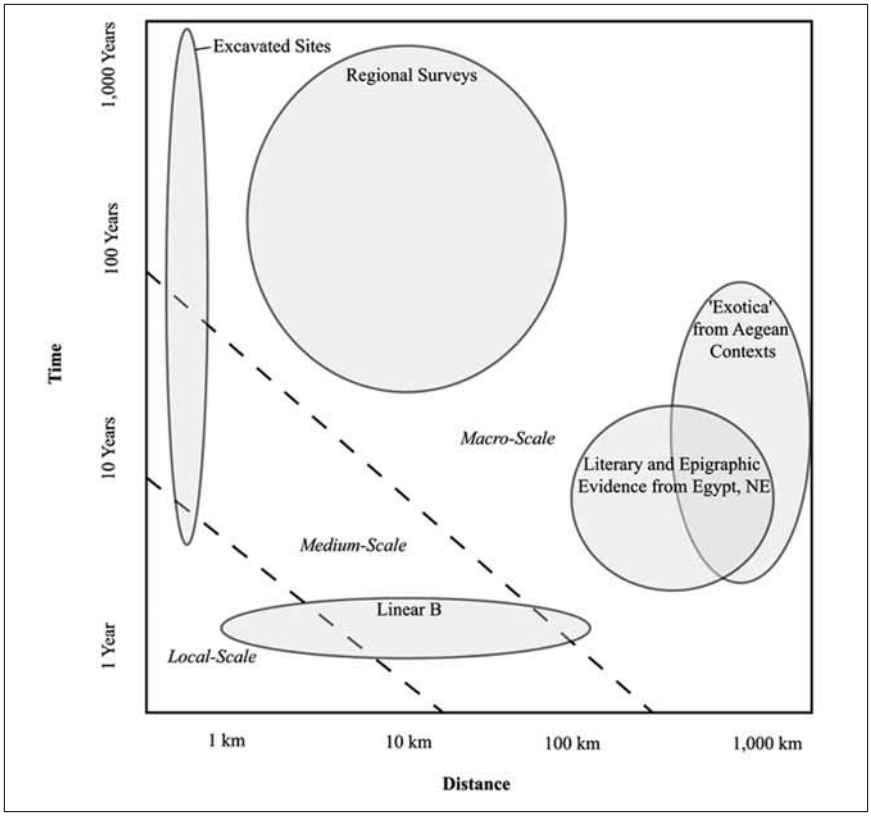

Figure 1.3

Types of evidence, and their origins, for investigating interaction in the Aegean Bronze Age. Jill Seagard, The Field Museum.

between states, as well as the analysis of "exotica," or artifacts created of nonlocal raw materials that can be chemically or macroscopically traced to another point of origin and therefore are indicative of the operation of long-distance exchange systems (figure 1.3). Obvious examples of the former from the Eastern Mediterranean are the Amarna Letters, documents from an archive at el-Amarna in Egypt that refer to diplomatic gift exchanges between elites throughout the Levant and Egypt from the reign of Amenhotep III through the reign of Tutankhamun (see Cline 1998a; Moran 1992). Examples of the latter from the same region include the large catalog of "exotic" materials recovered from Late Bronze Age Aegean contexts and created in Egypt and the Near East (see Cline 1994; Parkinson in press).

The Medium Scale. Spatially, the medium scale refers to regional or subregional patterns of interaction, usually between social units exhibiting similar scales and systems of organization. Whereas the macro scale refers to temporal durations on the order of centuries or millennia, the medium scale refers to social processes that occur over several generations. Theoretical frameworks appropriate for analysis at this scale include peer polity interaction (Renfrew and Cherry 1986) and the emergence of "high culture" (Baines and Yoffee 1998; Yoffee and Baines 2000).

The concept of peer polity interaction built upon Renfrew's (1975) concept of Early State Modules by proposing that the nature of interaction between polities themselves would encourage processes of social change, specifically those increasing hierarchical differentiation: "In a region with peer polities which are not highly organized internally, but which show strong interactions both symbolically and materially, we predict transformations in these polities associated with the intensification of production and the further development of hierarchical structures for the exercise of power" (Renfrew 1986:8). He identified three main types of peer polity interaction:

1. Competition (including warfare) and competitive emulation
2. Symbolic entrainment and the transmission of innovation
3. Increased flow in the exchange of goods

In John Cherry's (1986a) application of the concept to Bronze Age Crete, he argued that peer polity interaction could not be invoked as a model for explaining the emergence of Minoan polities but that the model did a very good job of explaining similarities in bureaucratic organization, architecture, writing systems, and ideology.

More recently, Baines and Yoffee have proposed the concept of "high culture." They define high culture as "the production and consumption of aesthetic items under the control, and for the benefit, of the inner elite of civilization, including the ruler and the gods" (Baines and Yoffee 1998:235). They suggest that high culture is used, among other things, not only for legitimating power by elites but also for delineating discrete realms of different sets of elite.

Baines and Yoffee restrict the use of the term *high culture* to refer to a phenomenon that occurs only within highly bureaucratic civilizations. We suggest that the basic concept can be extended to include precursors of high culture that occur in many societies when emergent elites deploy shared sets of symbols and behaviors associated with elevated social status. Such shared sets of symbols and behaviors are transmitted via peer polity

interaction as emergent elites seek to legitimate their tenuous power and authority. Examples of such precursors to high culture include the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex of the Mississippian period in the southeastern United States and the emergence of elite symbols within the Valley of Oaxaca during the Formative (Flannery 1968).

We suggest that an approach that combines peer polity interaction with this extended notion of high culture—what we call "emergent high culture"—may be useful in modeling social interaction at this intermediate scale, as well as provide interesting insights into when interaction, generally defined, becomes peer polity interaction and how shared sets of symbols emerge to define and legitimate elite authority.

Archaeological datasets appropriate for modeling interaction at this scale rely heavily on information collected from regional surveys, which fruitfully can be combined—with one another and also with archaeological and text-based information from site-based excavations—to model interactive processes at this medium scale. The recent explosion of regional-scale surface surveys throughout the Eastern Mediterranean makes the region ideal for such investigations (see discussion below).

The Local Scale and the Short Term. The local scale refers, geographically and socially, to processes that occur within specific polities, settlements, and households. Temporally, the short term refers to processes that occur on the order of years or, at most, within generations. Theoretically, this is the scale at which regionally specific, historical models of social change can be used as a barometer for measuring the utility of more general models, such as those discussed above, as well as generalizing models that try to characterize general social organization at these more local scales.

Recent models that attempt to characterize social organization at this more specific level include Blanton, Feinman, and others' dual processual model (for example, Blanton et al. 1996; Feinman, Lightfoot, and Upham 2000), Brumfiel, D'Altroy, and Earle's staple finance and wealth finance model (Brumfiel and Earle 1987; D'Altroy and Earle 1985), Clark and Blake's (1994) agent-based aggrandizing model, and Hayden's (1995) conspicuous consumption/feasting model. Although these generalizing models mask the detailed variability inherent in the regionally specific, historical models, they provide mechanisms necessary for comparing the specific features of different societies in a cross-cultural framework.

In contrast to recent approaches that seek to sever ties with the past few decades of processualist theory (for example, Pauketat 2007; Yoffee 2005), we advocate a more theoretically eclectic approach that draws from more traditional neo-evolutionary approaches that tend to emphasize pyramidal

hierarchy and from more recent frameworks that emphasize more dispersed forms of leadership and authority (Crumley 1995; Fowles 2003; Levy 1995).

Archaeological datasets appropriate for analysis at the local scale derive mostly from site-based excavations but also include information collected from regional and local surveys, as well as textual and epigraphic information that relates to the history and operation of specific sites. In this regard, the long history of systematic excavations at multicomponent sites in the Aegean and the accidental preservation of Linear B tablets at primary centers both play a critical role in our understanding of local-scale interactive processes in the region (see Galaty and Parkinson 2007a).

GENERAL MODELS AND SPECIFIC CULTURE HISTORIES

Throughout our discussion of multiple scales of analysis, we focus on integrating general theoretical frameworks with specific culture histories. As anthropologists, we recognize the importance of constructing general models for exploring cross-cultural patterns of variability. At the same time, such models need to be constructed in light of the more specific culture histories of given regions. A constant negotiation between general models and specific culture histories is necessary for ensuring that more general frameworks are not being imposed on specific historical trajectories, thus forcing specific historical trajectories to conform to the expectations of a general model, disregarding evidence to the contrary. Conversely, simply describing specific historical trajectories without generating more generalizing models also is insufficient. This has long been the tradition in the Aegean, where prehistoric periods historically have been investigated by scholars trained primarily as art historians and classicists (see Galaty and Parkinson 2007b).

In a recent synthesis of interaction in prehistoric Europe, Kristiansen and Larsson (2005) integrate general models with specific historical trajectories. Their ambitious book revisits models of diffusion and acculturation to emphasize similarities in the symbols and artifacts in different parts of Europe in the Bronze Age. By emphasizing the formation and transmission of institutions over time and space, the authors develop a theoretical and methodological framework for exploring how objects and symbols came to be associated with elites throughout the European continent during the Bronze Age. Central to their thesis is Mary Helms's (1988, 1993, 1998) notion of esoteric knowledge through long-distance travel and exchange in the legitimization of emergent elite authority.

The model presented by Kristiansen and Larsson (2005) is sophisticated and maintains its coherence at the continental scale of Europe. No

one familiar with the European Bronze Age can deny the importance of bronze artifacts, including swords and chariots, in the establishment and legitimization of hierarchy. Kristiansen and Larsson make an effective argument that the establishment of these "warrior aristocracies" is related to the long-distance transmission of symbols and materials throughout Europe, most of which ultimately derive from more politically and economically complex societies in the Near East. At first glance, the *ex oriente lux* framework smacks of Childean diffusionism and of pots once again equaling people. But a more detailed examination reveals a much subtler argument that attempts to tease apart the various kinds of interaction, including individual travel, symbolic transmission or "stimulus diffusion," and indirect transmission, that operated in the European Bronze Age.

Although the argument holds together well at the macro scale, the details of specific regional trajectories largely fall by the wayside as the authors shoehorn specific regional trajectories to fit the more general theoretical model. For example, as several chapters in this volume indicate, the nature of interaction between the fledgling states of the Aegean and their contemporaries in Egypt and the Near East during the Middle and Late Bronze ages was varied, complex, and mostly quite indirect. Even given the high quality of archaeological evidence to generate models of interaction between these neighboring polities, the degree of scholarly agreement on the nature of that interaction varies tremendously. This therefore makes it difficult to swallow neodiffusionist models that trace the symbolism of political hierarchy in northern Europe to the Hittite empire, especially when the models are not supported by specific regional datasets that link together these geographically remote regions (see, for example, Tomas, chapter 8, this volume).

Ultimately, general theoretical models are useful only if they elucidate specific regional trajectories and make them amenable to cross-cultural comparison (see Parkinson in press). The macro scale approach adopted by Kristiansen and Larsson, which necessarily needs to deal in a broad-brush fashion with specific regional trajectories, has to be augmented by complementary research at the regional and local levels. These finer scales of analysis clarify and add texture to the broader scale, thus keeping the more general models honest and tethered to empirical reality.

THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AS A LABORATORY FOR STUDYING ANCIENT INTERACTION

The present volume takes advantage of the long history of research in the Eastern Mediterranean to explore the nature of interaction between

the various societies that inhabited the region during the Bronze Age. The Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age makes an ideal laboratory for investigating interaction, because of the empirical variability in political and economic complexity of the societies represented, because of the well-refined chronology of the region, and because of the high quality of survey and excavation data available throughout the region.

Despite this, most Aegean prehistorians have failed to employ cross-cultural frameworks and to develop general theoretical models for understanding the emergence, functioning, and collapse of state-level societies in the region. This is not a new criticism. Over the past 30 years, scholars such as Cherry (1978, 1984, 1986b), Davis (2001), Renfrew (1972), and Wright (1995) have voiced similar frustration with the lack of generalizing frameworks and models for understanding the states of the Aegean Bronze Age. In recent years, some progress has been made in this regard (for example, Whitelaw 2001), but there remains in the region a general tendency to neglect the study of general processes in favor of developing increasingly detailed accounts of specific site histories and artifact seriations (see Davis 2001). Of course, the latter are essential tasks for unraveling the prehistory of any region, but local processes need to be related to more general models with cross-cultural applicability.

Because such generalizing frameworks are not considered critical elements of research strategies in the region, anthropological models of state formation seldom discuss the trajectories of development for state-level societies in the Aegean Bronze Age (see Galaty and Parkinson 2007a, for discussion). This is a puzzling fact, given the large amount of research that has been carried out in the Aegean. Few other archaic states have received the detailed archaeological examination that the Minoan and Mycenaean states have over the past 150 years. Although the vast majority of excavations have focused exclusively on the palatial centers, during the past 30 years these site-based excavations have been supplemented with information recovered from diachronic surface surveys that fills in several gaps in the prehistoric landscape (for example, Bennet 1999b; Cherry and Davis 2001; Davis et al. 1997).

In addition to the copious research directed at understanding the development of the Minoan and Mycenaean states, the Aegean boasts one of the highest-resolution ceramic chronologies with the greatest time depth in the world. This benefit can be attributed to the art-historical approach that has dominated research strategies into prehistoric periods since the earliest excavations in the nineteenth century. Although such an approach has not contributed greatly to the creation of generalizing mod-

els that can be used for understanding the Aegean in a cross-cultural context, it has produced a detailed understanding of ceramic chronologies that go back nearly 5,000 years and allows, in some cases, dating resolution to the generational level (Manning 1995a).

Despite the large amount of research and an established ceramic chronology, the states of the Aegean Bronze Age seldom are considered in anthropological models of state formation. Only a few general concepts that have emerged from research into the prehistoric Aegean have been applied in other cultural contexts—most notably, of course, peer polity interaction (for example, Cherry 1986a; Renfrew 1986) and Renfrew's (1975) Early State Modules. To some extent, this is because the construction of generalizing models has not been a critical goal of research in the Aegean, as discussed above.

We suggest that another important reason the Minoan and Mycenaean societies are seldom mentioned in anthropological considerations of state "ontogeny" is that they do not "fit" the models derived from the study of the development of "primary" states elsewhere—in particular, Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Valley of Oaxaca, and the Valley of Mexico. Over the past 30 years, these other regions have provided the majority of empirical evidence employed in understanding the development of state-level societies. The specific historical processes leading to their eventual development into "states" vary, but all can be considered more or less "pristine" or "primary" states: none seem to be derivative, either historically or geographically, from societies with more complex political arrangements. This simply is not the case with the Minoan and Mycenaean states. Both grew up in the shadow of much more mature, politically and economically complex states in Southwest Asia and northeastern Africa.

In other words, anthropological discussions of state development do not consider the Minoan and Mycenaean states because most anthropological models regarding state development have been designed explicitly to understand the development of "primary" states and both of the Aegean examples are "secondary" (see Parkinson and Galaty 2007). As such, their lack of influence on anthropological models of state formation and interaction can be attributed not to the way in which they have been studied (that is, from an art-historical, instead of a cross-cultural–anthropological, perspective), but to their idiosyncratic historical and evolutionary place in the grander context of world prehistory.

But this unique geographic and social context also makes the Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age an ideal location for investigating anthropological models of interaction between societies of various political, economic,

and demographic scales. From the mature states and city-states of Egypt and the Levantine coast, to the fledgling secondary states of the Aegean, to the tribal societies with emergent ranking of the Balkans and along the Adriatic coast, the area exhibits a very high degree of empirical variability in the organization and distribution of different kinds of societies, unparalleled in other parts of the world. Combined with the high-resolution chronology and the long history of excavation and surface surveys, the region also provides the archaeological evidence necessary for exploring social interaction.

MAJOR POINTS OF DISCUSSION: NEGOTIATING DIFFERENT SCALES OF INTERACTION

During the seminar, several topics emerged repeatedly—either as points that were unclear and needed to be clarified with additional research or as points of agreement. The main points of interest for a general anthropological audience include the following: the rectification of world-systems approaches with shorter-term, more local-scale processes; the emergence of peer polity interactions within societies with emergent ranking, and the relationship of the emergence of peer polity interactions to emergent elements of "high culture"; and the "domino effect" of interconnected systems of interaction.

World-Systems Approaches

There was no specific consensus amongst the participants about the general utility of world-systems approaches for modeling interaction between early states and their neighbors. Some who entered the symposium as skeptics and naysayers (for example, Cherry) did begin to see the value of world-systems as a generalizing framework that emphasizes similarities in interactive processes between early state societies. Others (for example, Parkinson) considered world-systems approaches most useful when conducted in concert with other theoretical approaches that seek to emphasize variability, such as dual processual theory. Sherratt and Kardulias were the most puritan in their belief in world-systems approaches, but both emphasized that such approaches necessarily need to be modified to deal with different social contexts.

One question we addressed specifically was whether world-systems approaches were appropriate in all social contexts or only when the core and the periphery differ significantly in economic and political organization. Some participants (for example, Galaty and Parkinson) argued that

world-systems are most powerful as descriptive and explanatory frameworks when applied judiciously to deal with societies that have significant differences in economic and political organization. If the differences in political and economic organization are removed from the world-systems framework, then the model becomes something more akin to peer polity interaction at a distance or, quite simply, just interaction. Along this line of reasoning, world-systems approaches are useful for understanding the differences that occur in the Eastern Mediterranean after the emergence of states in the Bronze Age but are not useful for modeling social interaction during the Neolithic or Paleolithic. Others, such as Kardulias, were more comfortable using the principles of world-systems approaches to model human social interaction back to the end of the Pleistocene when significant differences in economic organization began to emerge in the Levant.

Much discussion was dedicated specifically to the usefulness of world-systems for dealing with the local scale and the short term. Most of the participants agreed that world-systems approaches are useful for dealing with interaction over long distances and over the *longue durée*. Many (for example, Parkinson and Cline) suggested, however, that the framework falls apart when it is confronted with specific local histories that have high chronological precision.

One of the more vocal proponents of world-systems approaches in the symposium, Nick Kardulias, approached this issue with the concept of "negotiated peripherality." Kardulias uses this concept to model how groups at the periphery "take matters into their own hands." Negotiated peripherality attempts to inject agency into the periphery by focusing on the willingness and ability of people in the periphery to outline the conditions under which they participate in a larger world-system, thus forcing the core to outline the conditions of its interaction with peripheral regions. Kardulias, here and in other venues (for example, Kardulias 2007), has promoted this concept as a way to circumvent the tendency of world-systems approaches to emphasize top-down, or core-to-periphery, structures instead of more "grassroots" processes, which move from the periphery and margin into the core. We see the concept of negotiated peripherality as a major development in world-systems approaches. It integrates the importance of the role of emergent elites as participants in long-distance exchange networks (for example, Flannery 1968; Spencer 1993) with the more generalizing tenets of world-systems frameworks. In this regard, it goes a long way towards rectifying many scales of analysis and crosscutting the analytical dichotomy between agent and structure.

Peer Polity and Emergent High Culture

Another topic that repeatedly emerged related to the concept of peer polity interaction and how it connects both to world-systems approaches and to the emergence of high culture as described by Baines and Yoffee (1998). Similar to our consideration of when, and in what kinds of social contexts, world-systems approaches are appropriate (see above), we also discussed when peer polity interaction begins and how it differs from other sorts of interactive processes. Most of the participants agreed that the concept of peer polity interaction should be restricted to analysis of societies that are in close contact with one another and have emergent elites. From this perspective, peer polity interaction can help explain the emergence of common symbols and objects associated with prestige and elite status. As such, the development of peer polity interaction can be seen to correlate with the emergent, or incipient, form of high culture (discussed above). The combination of these two concepts—peer polity interaction and emergent high culture—can successfully help explain the formation of archaeological phenomena such as the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex and, in the Aegean Bronze Age, the items and symbols (for example, imported scarabs from Egypt and horns of consecration) that came to be associated with emergent elite culture on Crete.

Importantly, the combined application of these concepts can help differentiate these archaeological phenomena, which serve to legitimate elite authority within similarly organized regional systems, from "interaction spheres," which occur over larger geographic areas and encompass differently organized regional systems. The latter, which most famously include the Hopewell phenomenon of the Middle Woodland in the eastern United States, appear to be related to far-reaching ideological systems that do not seem to have been evoked to legitimate differential accumulation of wealth or prestige, although they may have helped to create social contexts that ambitious individuals could have "tweaked" to serve those ends.

The Domino Effect

Another topic that emerged from our discussion centered on the tendency of historical events, or small-scale processes, to reverberate throughout an interactive system and to generate unintended or unexpected changes down the line. This process, which we call "the domino effect," is similar to the "feedback loops" discussed by systems theorists in the 1970s (for example, Flannery 1968; Maruyama 1963). But unlike the processes identified by systems theory, which imply an increased effect of the initial process over time and down the line, the domino effect presumes only that

some historical events in one region can affect those regions with which it interacts. The domino effect does not presume that the effects of the interaction will become more pronounced or "amplified." In areas that provide fine enough chronological resolution, it is possible to identify the relationship between specific historical events in interactive regions, which may have more, or less, dramatic effects in different social contexts. The results of the domino effect seem to be more pronounced when those historical events directly affect interaction itself.

For example, the earliest occurrence of exotic materials on Crete at the end of the third millennium BC is associated chronologically with the "deregulation" of trade in Egypt during the First Intermediate period, a chaotic period in Egyptian prehistory during which state control—especially of trade—became decentralized. In chapter 2, we suggest that this would have encouraged traders to seek out alternative routes and establish new trading partners abroad. One result of that historic event—the deregulation of trade—was the establishment of contact with emergent elites on the island of Crete. Although the establishment of these sporadic trading relationships had little or no effect on the Egyptian state, they seem to have provided materials and objects that could be used in the Cretan system to symbolize and help to legitimate the tentative authority of emergent elites locally. A similar shift in Egyptian trading patterns at the end of the second millennium BC also may have encouraged the decentralization of trade throughout the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Bronze Age.

Cycles, Interaction, Causality, and Evolution

A final main point of discussion involved the effects of long-term cycles or trends in patterns of interaction on the emergence of novel social institutions, and vice versa. The trajectory of interaction in any given region was shaped by the precise historical events that occurred in that part of the world, but at a more general scale, specific trends or cycles can be identified. In the Eastern Mediterranean, these include historical shifts in the organization of trade and exchange (that is, public versus private; see chapter 2) and in the organization of trade routes. Often, it is tempting to identify these interactive processes as causal with regards to the emergence of novel social institutions, but interaction alone is an insufficient cause for explaining social change. As a result, causal models must account also for the local conditions under which interaction came to be adopted and negotiated (see Parkinson and Galaty 2007).

For example, we argue in chapter 2 that the exotic materials that arrived in the Aegean via long-distance exchange with Egypt and the Near

East came to be used to symbolize and legitimate the authority of emergent elites. This is *not* to say that long-distance exchange caused the emergence of early states on Crete. Rather, the materials and relationships acquired through long-distance exchange provided a set of symbols and objects that could help legitimate emergent elite authority. A similar phenomenon later happened on the Greek mainland, when symbols were acquired from Crete during the emergence of the Mycenaean states. In both these cases, interaction was a critical factor in the emergence of state systems. But interaction alone cannot explain the emergence—or evolution—of these novel social forms (see Cherry, chapter 5, this volume).

INVESTIGATING INTERACTION: STRUCTURE OF THE VOLUME

This chapter outlines the main goals of the seminar and delineates the highlights of our discussion. To make our conclusions more accessible to scholars who study interaction between states in other parts of the world, we have kept the discussion in this first introductory chapter more general and largely devoid of regionally specific jargon and the details of local chronology. These details have been reserved for the second introductory chapter (chapter 2), which tells the story of interaction in the Eastern Mediterranean that emerged from the seminar. To provide the reader with a sense of the levels of concurrence (and disagreement) amongst the participants, we (that is, Galaty and Parkinson) wrote a draft of chapter 2 and uploaded it to a wiki, where other participants of the seminar had an opportunity to comment upon and alter the text. Our hope was that this would permit us to focus in this chapter on more general issues regarding the anthropological study of interaction, as well as to provide the reader with a sense of the atmosphere we were able to create at SAR.

Chapters 3 and 4 were written by the most adamant proponents of world-systems approaches who attended the seminar, Nick Kardulias and Sue Sherratt, respectively. We invited Nick and Sue because we wanted to provide fair representation for world-systems approaches in archaeology and also wanted individuals who were not so dogmatic as to disregard other theoretical and methodological approaches out of hand. We chose wisely. Their contributions are forceful defenses of world-systems approaches in archaeology, and their comments during the seminar convinced some participants (sometimes to their own surprise) who previously had disregarded world-systems approaches (for example, Cherry) to see the value of world-systems as a useful generalizing framework for exploring macro-scale

patterns. Others remained skeptical of its utility (for example, Cline) and favored more historically specific models.

The next two chapters examine Crete from two unique perspectives. Chapter 5 was written by an Aegean prehistorian, John Cherry, and summarizes the status of our knowledge of long-distance exchange with Egypt and the Near East from a Cretan perspective, focusing on how items and symbols associated with long-distance trade were used locally during the emergence of palatial systems. By contrast, chapter 6, written by Egyptologist David Wengrow, examines the nature of long-distance exchange with Crete from the perspective of Egypt and the Near East at the beginning of the second millennium BC.

Chapter 7, by Eric Cline, summarizes and builds upon the results of his earlier extensive research into the distribution of "foreign" items discovered in Aegean contexts, as well as literary references to Aegean peoples in Near Eastern, Anatolian, and Egyptian contexts. Chapter 8, by Helena Tomas, brings together all the evidence for Aegean interaction with the Balkans and the northern Adriatic.

The final chapter, by Robert Schon, explores the concept of a world-system from an inside-out perspective, focusing on how the Mycenaean elite of a single center used imported goods to legitimate authority.

We hope that the chapters in this book will help to establish a common theoretical ground for exploring the anthropology of interaction in archaeological contexts. This common ground, we suggest, should be theoretically eclectic in perspective and multiscalar in scope, using appropriate archaeological datasets for investigating how humans and the societies they built interacted over time.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, we want to extend our sincere thanks to all the seminar participants, who made our week in Santa Fe stimulating, refreshing, motivating, and enlightening. We will never forget how Sue came through in a pinch for us on a desperate Southwestern evening or how Helena learned—eventually—to play one-up, one-down. John, Eric, David, Nick, and Rob all made the week unforgettable through their good humor and extraordinary pool-playing skills and two-step abilities. We learned a lot from all of you, and we are humbled that you took an entire week out of your busy schedules to spend with us in Santa Fe, not to mention all the time you spent working on your chapters. Thank you!

We also want to thank the wonderful staff at SAR, who made our travel plans seamless, our beds cozy, and our meals out-of-this-world, especially Nancy Owen Lewis

and Leslie Shipman. We also extend our sincere gratitude to John Kantner and James Brooks, who spent their own valuable time with us at dinner and on field trips. Catherine Cocks and Lisa Pacheco were persistent and patient with us as we brought this book to fruition, and we wish Catherine the best of luck as she begins the post-SAR phase of her career. Kate Whelan did a wonderful job copyediting the manuscript.

Finally, we thank all our friends and colleagues who took the time to comment on our proposals and manuscripts, including George Gumerman, Attila Gyucha, Joyce Marcus, Dimitri Nakassis, John O'Shea, Daniel Pullen, Richard Yerkes, Norman Yoffee, and two anonymous reviewers. Although he did not comment directly on our manuscript, the late Andrew Sherratt had an indirect impact on everything herein, and we dedicate the book to his memory.

