THE CIRCULATION OF THE METAL PIECE AT THE END OF THE BRONZE AGE AND THE BEGINNING OF THE IRON AGE IN THE SOUTH - WESTERM ROMANIA

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Abstract. Oltenia is characterized, from the point of view of the spreading of the metal objects, by the quite clear distinction between two zones of influence: the Danube area, oriented towards the middle Danube basin and the sub-Carpathian area oriented towards the northern, trans-Carpathian zone (we are referring to the typological hypostases of the Reutlingen type spades and, in a smaller degree, to the Celts of Transylvanian type). Along the Danube, upstream, but also in the Iron Gates area, the different types of bronze items (from all the categories mentioned above), present typological features that can also be found in the middle Danube area and further, in Central Europe. It is obvious that this phenomenon reflects the circulation of goods, including the technologic respect, but, in the same time, in a complementary reading, the circulation of mentalities, of ideas. These influences seen both in the material and ideological culture (understood as the collective mentality), can be compared in parallel with the presence in the Danube region of the incised ceramics, together with the symbolic signification motives of this category of ceramics and the related funerary practices.

Keyword: Prestige goods economy, metal pieces, Oltenia, the Bronze Age, the Iron Age.

The mechanisms regarding the circulation of products, essentially different from what we understand today through this process, were based into the Prehistory on the principle of reciprocity and redistribution. The system of the total prestation, met to all the traditional societies, implies not only the individual persons but especially the moral persons (families, clans), having as a result connections and alliances and the establishment of hierarchies. The circulation of products can be understood both as a redistribution through heritage or as gifts exchanges, "gift for gift"¹, and as accumulation for hoarding treasures. We also take into account the practices of renouncing at the objects by deposing them into graves, offering them as oblations or their intentional destruction (potlatch)².

An important amount of the metal pieces, interpreted as forms of representation of the social status are invested with prestige and become, therefore, "symbolic capital". Referring to the way in which the archaic societies value a certain type of exchanges and relationships of supra-regional communication, P. Bourdieu showed that "here, we must consider everything it deals with the symbolic, the symbolic capital, the symbolic interest, the symbolic profit. I call symbolic capital any category of capital (economic, cultural...), perceived according to some categories of perception, to some systems of classification. The symbolic capital is a capital with cognitive base, founded on knowledge and recognition"³.

M. Mauss, studying the custom of goods exchanging at the primitive societies shows that "there were never registered just some simple exchanges of goods, belongings, products. First of all, not the individuals but the collectivities are those that are obliging each other, exchange and contract. Furthermore, are exchanged not only goods but greetings, guests, rituals. This prestations and counter - prestations are more likely gifts"⁴.

In this situation, the gifts exchange functions also as a way to establish a position, a privileged status. In the same work, the author also notices that, beside the gifts exchanges that imply their destruction, there are "others with a more moderate spirit of competition where the parts rival in gifts. We have noticed these forms in the Indo-European world, at the Thracians"⁵.

The centralization and the hierarchization of the society can lead to the specialization in the production of bronzes which could suggest the existence of a power center that controls these products⁶. In the support of this interpretation comes the spreading of certain types of molds on a given area.

In the prehistoric deposits the items were deposed in a specific quantitative ratio, being commonly unused or destroyed intentionally. In fact this deterioration has been understood either as a fragmentation of the value, either as the wish to make an object unusable, possibly during some rituals that preceded the deposit of objects⁷.

¹ M. Mauss, *Eseu despre dar*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 1993.

² Ibidem; M. Mauss, H. Hubert, Eseu despre natura și funcția sacrificiului, Iași, Editura Polirom, 1997.

³ P. Bourdieu, *Rațiuni practice. O teorie a acțiunii*, Bucharest, Editura Meridiane, 1999, p. 120.

⁴ M. Mauss, op. cit, p. 40-41.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 44; cf. extracts from Xenofon, Anabasis VII, Tucidide II, commentated by A.Vulpe in IR, I, 2001.

⁶ P. Brun, La genese de l'etat: les apport de l'archeologie., in Les princes de la protohistoire et l'emergence de l'etat, 1999.

⁷ C. Metzner Nebelsick, Despre importanța cronologică și cultural – istorică a depozitelor din România în epoca târzie a bronzului și în epoca timpurie a fierului, în Descoperiri de bronzuri din Romania II, (ed. T.Soroceanu), 2005, p. 321, where he cites L. Nebelsick, Auf Biegen und Brechen. Ekstatische Elemente bronzezeitlcher Materialopfer - Ein Deutungsversuch., Acta Prachistorica et Arhaeologica, Berlin, 1997, p. 35-41; Idem, Rent asunder: ritual violence in Late Bronze Age hoards, în Metal Make the World Go Round. The supply and circulation of metal in Bronze Age Europe. Proceeding Conference Birmingham 1977, Oxford 2000, p. 160-175.

Understanding the significance of ritual destruction practiced by primitive peoples ethnological studied can provide to the archaeological research a model which could allow us to explain some specific situations encountered in archaeological practice. Colin Renfrew⁸ and Andrew Sherratt⁹, starting from the ethnographic model, consider that in the Prehistory – in the Bronze and Iron Ages – the exchanges of goods were made mostly in the form of exchange of objects with symbolic value, the metal pieces having a key role. Kristiansen¹⁰ issues the hypothesis of an economy based on prestige goods (*prestige goods economy*) and long distance exchange networks, created and sustained by the local elites. This created a dependency between regions located far away one from another, given the need of raw materials and finished products. Thus, changes occurred at one end of the network, could affect communities located at hundreds or thousands of kilometers away¹¹.

It can thus be seen as the links between the Aegean space and the western and northern Black Sea one can be also shaped through some pieces that appear less frequently, but which seem charged with significance.

It is interesting to watch that during the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Age until the occurrence of southern influences, coming from the Mycenaean world (or more broadly Aegean-Anatolian) in our cultural manifestations (the decoration on the Suciu culture ceramics, bone items etc.).

Starting with the end of the Bronze Age, it began to be noticed the spreading of some forms and decorative motifs from the Tei and Zimnicea Plovdiv cultures in the south region, situation met at Kastanas on the valley of the river Axios and at Assiros¹². The late Gârla Mare and Babadag I elements had been attested in the level VII B 2 from Troy, so we can talk now about an expansion from north to south (opposite than in the Bronze Age). To what extent these findings are the result of incursions and of massive displacements of populations from the north of the Danube, or just simple appearances due to the export and remote communication, we can not yet precisely define. We must yet remember that from Kastanas to the Southern Carpathians, in the period anterior to the level Troy VII B2 we can notice the existence of a wider cultural circle, recognizable especially through the kantharos type vessel frequently met in all the cultures from the Late Bronze¹³.

In Oltenia, the mentioned form is distinguished during the phases Verbicioara IV-V and sporadically in Gârla Mare and in Muntenia in the phases IV-V of the Tei culture and in the culture Zimnicea Plovdiv. Actually, the mentioned cultural circle isn't extended more in the western side of the river Olt but encompasses especially Muntenia and the south-eastern side of Romania. The moment the Gârla Mare culture stops its evolution and the new ceramics, the grooved one which is related to a certain type of forms, passes beyond the eastern line of the river Olt, this cultural circle loses its significance.

In the second millennium, and especially in its second half, the development of the bronze metallurgy and the perfecting of the techniques led to the intensifying of the exchanges and to the socio-economic restructuration of the society. And a proof for this are the discoveries such the hoard from Drajna de Jos (that contains the fragment from a sword blade of Mycenaean type, along with a Reutlingen type sword and a sceptre¹⁴), the treasure Rădeni and that from Vălcitrăn (that also contains golden vessels)¹⁵, the treasures from Perşinari (12 halberds, a short sword, 4 silver axes)¹⁶, Ţufalău (4 golden axes)¹⁷, Ţigănaşi and Hinova, Mehedinți county (golden adornments¹⁸).

All these discoveries can be attributed to the existence of a group of people, for whom the precious metal objects, as those enumerated above, bear a well-defined signification. There are prestige items that suggest in the same time the fact that they have the capacity to develop relations with distant areas such as Mycenae that, along with the Hittite Empire, represented the most important political power from that period.

The connection between the Mediterranean space and the western area of the Black Sea can be suggestively illustrated by the recent discovery made in Tekirdağ and the load belonging to the wrecked ship from Uluburun¹⁹. The

⁸ C. Renfrew, The Emergence of Civilization: the Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millenium B.C., London, 1972.

⁹ A. Sherratt, Socio-economic and demografic model for the Neolitic and the Bronze Age, in (ed. D.L. Clarke) Models in Archaeology, London, 1972, p. 477-542; Idem, Resources, technology and trade: an essay in early European metallurgy, in Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology, London, 1976, p. 557-581.

¹⁰ K. Kristiansen, *Europe before History*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 3 and next.

¹¹ Also see the theoretical discussion recently presented by Justyna Baron, *Anthropological theory of exchange*, in (ed. J. Baron, I. Lasak) *Long Distance Trade in the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age*, Conferință Wrocław, 2005, Studia Archeologiczne 40, Wrocław, 2007, p. 15-18.

¹² A. Hochstetter, Spätbronzezeitliches und früheisenzeitliches Formengut in Makedonien und im Balkanraum, in PAS, 1, 1982, p. 99-118.

¹³ N. Palincaş, Valorificarea arheologică a probelor ¹⁴C din fortificația aparținând bronzului târziu de la Popești, in SCIVA, 47, 3, 1996, p. 239-288.

¹⁴ M. Petrescu Dîmbovița, Depozitele de bronzuri din România, Bucharest, Editura Academiei, 1977, pl. 91-93.

¹⁵ A. Vulpe, V. Mihăilescu Bârliba, Tezaurul de la Rădeni - Neamț, în MemAnt, 12-14, 1980-1982, (1986), Piatra Neamț, p. 41-63.

¹⁶ A.Vulpe, *Tezaurul de la Persinari. O nouă prezentare*, in CCDJ, 15, 1997, p. 265-301.

¹⁷ A. Mozolics, Goldfunde des Depotfundhorizont von Hajdusamson, in Ber. RGK 46-47, 1965-1966, p. 1-67.

¹⁸ M. Davidescu, Un tezaur de podoabe tracice descoperit la Hinova, jud. Mehedinți, in Thraco-Dacica, 2, 1981, p. 7-22; M. Davidescu, A. Vulpe, Necropola de incinerație de la Hinova, jud. Mehedinți, Drobeta, XX, 2010, p. 117-178.

¹⁹ H-G. Buchholz, *Ein ausergewöhnliches Steinzepter im östlichen Mittelmer*, in PZ, 74, 1999, 1, p. 68-78; A.Vulpe, *IR*, I, 2001, p. 358.

hoard from Tekirda \tilde{g}^{20} own two swords, from which one is Mycenaean, a "Canaanean" type dagger, a spear head with a split handle that is frequent for the Aegean space, three double edged axes considered "Cretan-Mycenaean directing fossil" that can also be found in the Balkan and Danube area. The two flanged axes (types that, made of bronze, are present in Central Anatolia and in the south and north Danube region, but made of iron), were found together with a Celt and many hooked sickles, frequent in Thrace and near the Danube area, bronze vessels and a Keftiu type ingot. As the author of the article notice, "all the elements of the hoard from Tekirdağ are dated at the end of the 15th century or at the beginning of the 13th century B.C. Its importance is due to the fact that this hoard brings together – as rarely had been seen before in a similar discovery – in such a surprising manner, products from different metallurgic workshops, illustrating remarkably the long distance connections from those times".

From the same perspective we can interpret the discovery of the load from the Uluburun ship that "might be interpreted as a gifts sending, accompanied by a court official on his way from Egypt towards one of the Aegean space palaces. In this way, the load should be examined from the perspective of the distance trade, controlled by the masters of the palaces from the region and made as a gifts exchanging"²¹. The wreck of the ship contained copper ingots of 10 tone and tin ingots of 1 tone (from which could result 11 tone of bronze), along with different other items. It is interesting for us the sceptre with a curbed blade and semi-spherical back side, made of black volcanic rock, for which there is an analogy in the Drajna de Jos hoard²². Similar items had been discovered at Lozova II, in Basarabia²³, at Ljulin²⁴ and in the southern Danube, a fragment from Dodona, in Epirus²⁵ and another item at Pobit Kamāk, in Bulgaria²⁶. Must be mentioned that the hoard from Muntenia also contains a Mycenaean type spade, reused and modified.

It seems that between the function that involves the representation of the social statute and that of intrinsic value of the material of which the object was made (value that can be considered as monetary or not), there is a tight connection²⁷. If the Early Bronze, in the Central Europe area, the main metal items considered as representatives for the social statute were the halberd, the triangular daggers, the flat daggers with prominent edge (*Randbeile*) and the necklaces, in our space, a similar role it seems to have been played by the axe with the transversal hole for the handle (*Schaftlochaxt*). Later, in the UFZ period, in the western and central Europe, the forms in which the prestige was represented became diverse, this function being taken by the bronze spade, the spare, the fighting chariots.

Returning to the area covered by the study – South-West of Romania – the first observation refers to the quantity of bronzes discovered in the studied area, compared with neighboring areas. It appears quite clear that the number of bronzes from the studied area (especially Oltenia and the Danube area) is relatively small compared with the inter-Carpathian area or middle Danube basin. It is slightly higher but if you compare it to the southern regions, especially in Bulgaria. This observation is noted for clearer celts, sickles, and the swords. As stated, our area is part of the marginal area that includes the spreading of the socketed type axes, the number of specimens of this kind being in a clear decreasing from southern areas of the northern Balkans (Stara Planina).

Thus, the Eastern types – the Oinac type celt and those without lug - do not exceed the lower Olt area but isolate. The relations with the north-eastern regions (north-eastern Wallachia, Moldavia, southwest of Ukraine) on the one hand and the Balkan area on the other, are obvious. In the same way can be interpreted the spreading area of the bipennated bronze axes, of *Begunci* type, from Odessa to Macedonia²⁸. We can notice, this time too, as our area is affected only marginally by the effects of this cultural circle. Another example, also in this respect, is the way in which some objects from the north-eastern area, of a special structure, such as cups of gold, which clearly belong to the category of the representation properties, were spread to the southern Danube area. We consider here the Kryžovlin type golden cups (western Ukrain), found at Rădeni, Neamț county, but also at Vălči Trăn, in Bulgaria²⁹. The discovery from Călăraşi, Dolj County of a metal "lid"-disk (silver, gold and bronze) as those from Vălči Trăn³⁰, constitutes, in the actual stage, an isolated case, but might contribute to the discussion on the origin on this type pieces in the northern Balkan area: is that item a local imitation of the similar forms from the above mentioned treasure. Or does it represent an import? Nowadays we try to answer these questions³¹.

²⁰ S. Hansen, Noi cercetări asupra metalurgiei epocii bronzului în sud-estul Europei, in Descoperiri de bronzuri din Romania II, (ed. T. Soroceanu), 2005, p. 304.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 305.

²² M. Petrescu Dîmbovița, op. cit.

²³ V. Dergačev, Die äneolithische und bronzezeit Metallfunde aus Moldavien. PBF, XX, 9, 2002, Stuttgart, 37, nr. 113, pl. 35, 19.

²⁴ H.-G. Buchholz, Ein auβergewöhnliches Steinszepteraus dem östlichen Mittelmeer, PZ, 74, 76, fig. 6 a.

²⁵ N. K. Sandars, North and South at the of The Mycenean Age: Aspect of an Old Problem.Oxford Jurnal of Archaeology, 2, 1983, 56, fig. 12 b.

²⁶ B. Hänsel, Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an den unteren Donau, Bonn, 1976, pl. 1, 1-2.

²⁷ A. Vulpe, *IR*, I, 2001, p. 358, and next; Idem, *Tezaurul de la Perşinari. O nouă prezentare*, in CCDJ, 15, 1997, p. 265-301.

²⁸ A. Vulpe, Toporul de bronz cu două tăișuri de la Izvoarele, (jud. Ilfov), SCIV, 22, 1971, p. 485-491.

²⁹ A. Vulpe, V. Mihăilescu Bârliba, PZ, 60, 1, 1985, p. 47-69.

³⁰ D. Bondoc, Un disc de tip Vălcitrăn descoperit la Călărași (jud. Dolj), SCIVA 54-56, 2003-2005, p. 271-289, fig. 1-4; Idem, Tezaurul Muzeului Olteniei Craiova. Antichitate, Craiova, 2007, p. 16-23.

³¹ See the presentation of different hypotheses at A. Vulpe, V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, *op. cit.*, p. 41-63.

On the other hand, some types of swords (the map no. 3) and spearheads (the map no. 4) - both seen as signs of power and prestige - show undoubtedly relations with the area of the Helladic (Mycenaean) culture. The spreading of these forms does not exceed the Danube course from Oltenia towards the northern regions. They influence here especially the power structures of the communities from the Danube, including those represented by the necropolises of Gârla Mare or Bistret-Işalnita type. In a similar way, might be interpreted the treasure from Ostrovul Mare-Ţigănaşi³², that of golden adornments from Hinova³³, Mehedinți County, or the Vălčitrăn type disk mentioned above from Călăraşi³⁴, Dolj County.

Along the Danube, upstream, but also in the Iron Gates area, the different types of bronze items (from all the categories mentioned above), present typological features that can also be found in the middle Danube area and further, in Central Europe. It is obvious that this phenomenon reflects the circulation of goods, including the technologic respect, but, in the same time, in a complementary reading, the circulation of mentalities, of ideas. These influences seen both in the material and ideological culture (understood as the collective mentality), can be compared in parallel with the presence in the Danube region of the incised ceramics, together with the symbolic signification motives of this category of ceramics and the related funerary practices. It is also widely recognized the determinant role of the river for the circulation of goods and ideas upstream and downstream. Considering this context, we should explain the special role played by the communities settled along these regions, the role that involves controlling the exchange of objects and ideas.

The bronze items found in the south-Carpathian regions are obviously of Transylvanian origin. An explanation can be found in the relations involved by the phenomenon of flocks moving that constituted a permanent reality in the life of the communities from the both sides of the Meridian Carpathians. We are referring to the typological hypostases of the *Reutlingen* type spades and, in a smaller degree, to the celts of Transylvanian type (variant A, according to M. Rusu³⁵).

We can observe that in the area where we preponderantly find Transylvanian type bronze items, is partial superposed with the Govora type area. Although the ceramics reflects more likely than the bronze items an activity specific to some communities, the metal items represent, in a greater extent, the expression of some distance made exchanges³⁶.

As a conclusion, Oltenia is characterized, from the point of view of the spreading of the metal objects, by the quite clear distinction between two zones of influence: the Danube area, oriented towards the middle Danube basin and the sub-Carpathian area oriented towards the northern, trans-Carpathian zone.

How much do the influence directions that we have discussed before and the intercommunity relations that they imply affect the different behaviour of the communities from the studied area, might be determined after studying the character of few discoveries. Thus, in the hoard from Ovča Mogila³⁷, the explicit joining of two elements of attitude towards the metal pieces might offer some suggestions. On one hand, was deposited the apparently complete equipment, made of prestige items of a warrior under the influence of the Mycenaean palatial impact that they tried to imitate. On the other hand, the 32 Celts, all of them of eastern type, can be interpreted, first of all, as an "accumulation of the metal's value". In the first case we are dealing with a southern (Mycenaean) behaviour and in the second case with an attitude towards the metals of a type more likely to be European continental. This confers to the discovery a special signification because it reflects very well the interference of two types of behaviour.

We didn't want to realize a statistics with regard to these pieces – casting forms in the intra-Carpathian space. But, even on a general view, emerges in an obvious way the fact that, unlike in Oltenia, inside the Carpathian region, the huge number of bronze pieces found there and the general quantity of metal, in connection with the small number of the discovered casting forms (the map no. 2), recommend us a behaviour different from what we can notice in the space that we have studied. It is interesting that in Transylvania, more exactly at Lăpuş, is the only place where there had been found casting forms deposited even inside the funerary space³⁸. We don't necessary have to regard this as bearing implications on the metallurgical activity itself (mustn't be seen in association with a relation such: numerous casting forms = intense metallurgical activity), but actually it seems to be connected with a behaviour different from the custom of depositing the casting forms. But if we try to follow these customs related to the depositing of the casting forms, the discovered influences seem to lead us to the middle Danube line too. From this respect, the presence in Oltenia of some hoards made only of bronze casting forms (Plenița, Logrești), might be interpreted as the result after the circulation of

³² D. Popescu, V. Popescu, Asupra tezaurului de la Ostrovul Mare, SCIV, 6, 1955, 3-4, p. 65-881.

³³ M. Davidescu, op. cit.; M. Davidescu, A. Vulpe, Necropola de incinerație de la Hinova, jud. Mehedinți, Drobeta, XX, 2010, p. 117-178.

³⁴ D. Bondoc, Un disc de tip Vălcitrăn descoperit la Călărași (jud. Dolj), SCIVA 54-56, 2003-2005, p. 271-289, fig. 1-4.

³⁵ M. Rusu, Sargeția, 4, 1966.

 ³⁶ See also the theoretical discussion presented by Justyna Baron, Anthropological theory of exchange, in (ed. J. Baron, I. Lasak) Long Distance Trade in The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, Conferință Wrocław, 2005, Studia Archeologiczne 40, Wrocław, 2007, p. 15-18.
³⁷ R. Krauss, Der Denotfund von Ouže Magile, Krais Suitana (D. L. Lasak) Z. Studia Archeologiczne 40, Wrocław, 2007, p. 15-18.

³⁷ R. Krauss, Der Depotfund von Ovča Mogila, Kreis Svištov (Bulgarien): Zur Datierung der Bronzehorte von der unteren Donau über mykenische Schwerter (ed. B. Horejs, R. Jung, E. Kaiser, B. Teržan), Interpretationsraum Bronzezeit Bernhard Hänsel von seinen Schülern gewidmet, Bonn, 2005, p. 199-210.

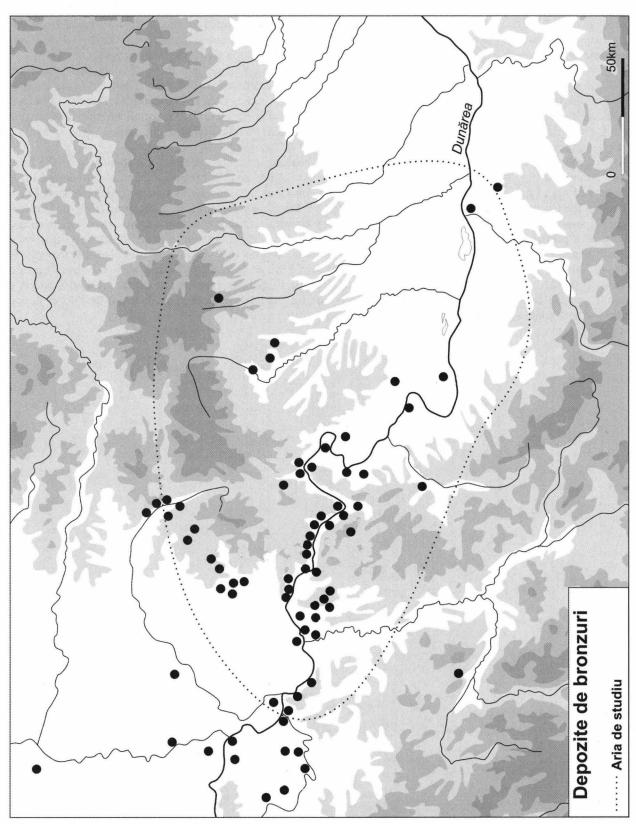
³⁸ Carol Kacsó, Zur Chronologischen und Kulturellen Stellung des Hügelgräberfeldes von Läpuş, in Der Nordkarpatische Raum in der Bronzezeit, Baia Mare, 1998, p. 231-278.

some qualified workers that came here, maybe, from the north side of Romania. But in this situation too, we must become aware of the fact that in most of the celts casting forms discovered in the studied area had been made Transylvanian type items. Casting forms for the celts without flanges didn't appear in our area, the closest discoveries of this kind of items being in the north-east of Bulgaria (Pobit Kamăk and Mala Gvardia, Varna region).

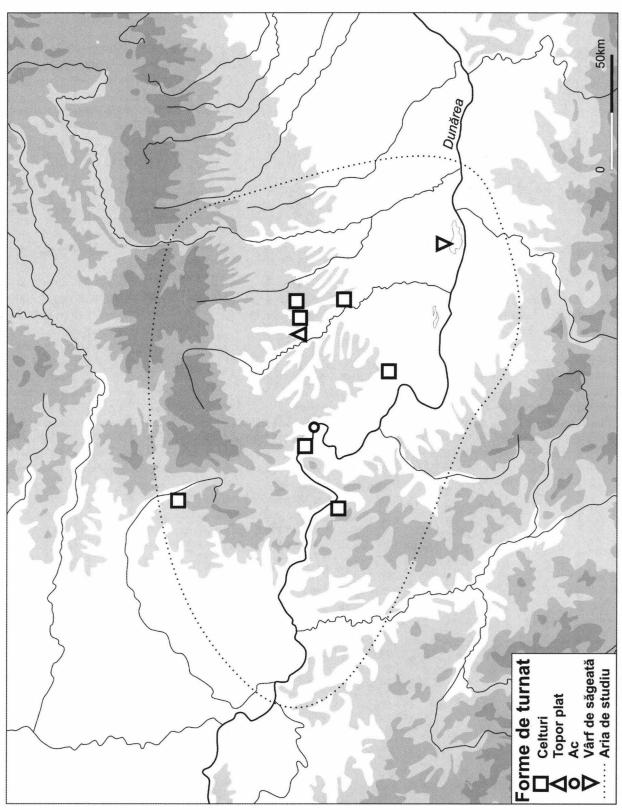
As a conclusion, the image given by the distribution of the bronze items (including the golden pieces) shows us clearly enough the grouping of the discoveries from two regions of the studied area: first, in Banat and in the north-east of Serbia (the inferior basin of Morava and the region Majdanpek) with a prolonging along the Danube through the Clisură and downstream; the second, feebler in discoveries of metal objects, includes the central and the sub-Carpathian Oltenia. This image corresponds in many ways to that resulting from the classifying of the ceramic groups and, most probable, reflects a historical-cultural reality.

Another aspect that should be discussed when we analyze the metal pieces is the frequency of the bronze hoards. After studying the disposing on the map of the hoards (the map no. 1), it results the fact already noticed in the placement of some types of bronze items: on one side, we can observe their concentration in the Danube area, before the entering in the Clisura Dunarii and in the Clisura area, and, on the other side, the relative big number of sites in Banat, especially around the town Vârşet (Vršac). These assertions could be connected with the more intense archaeological activity of the museographs from Vârşet (starting with Bodrog Milleker) and the intense researches made on the occasion of the works at the electric central from the Iron Gates during 1950-1960. Yet, it is plausible that this fact could also reflect a certain reality, sustained by the types of bronze items characteristic from this area. From the horological perspective, this area is closer to the hoards from the Carpathian Basin, as this notion is understood in the Central-European archaeology. On the other side, a role that we shouldn't neglect must have had the copper deposits from Bor-Majdanpek, exploited since the Eneolithic period³⁹.

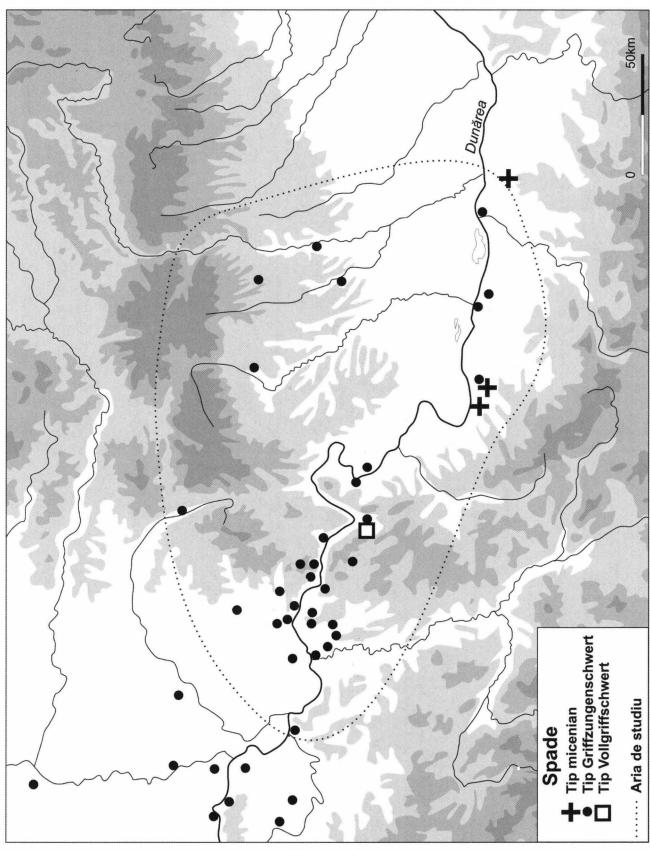
³⁹ B. Jovanović, Rudna Glava. Najstarije rudarstvo bakra na centralnom Balkanu, Bor-Beograd, 1982.



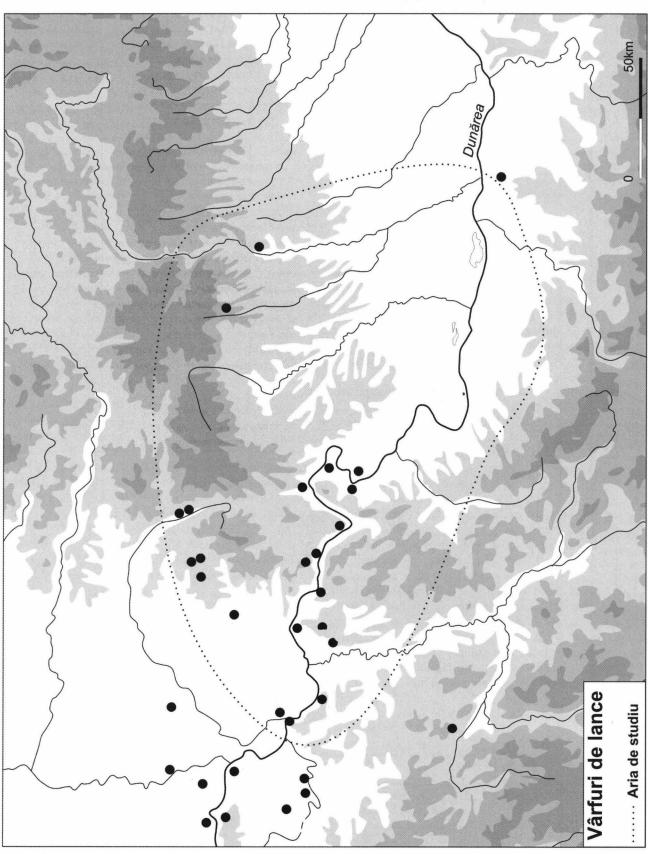
The map no. 1.



The map no. 2.



The map no. 3.



The map no. 4.