The Archaeology of Nucleation in the Old World: Spatiality, Community, and Identity

edited by

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Chapter 1

Nucleation as Social Process:
Built Environment, Community Organization, and Identity.
An Introduction to the Volume

Attila Gyucha and Roderick B. Salisbury

The relationship between community formation and physical settlement configurations has been the subject of scrutiny and design since Antiquity. From Plato to Thomas More, thinkers of social utopias emphasized habitation areas, and particularly cities, and have proposed markedly different ideas for organizing space to ensure livability and well-being (Baker-Smith 2000; Charbit 2002; for a summary of utopias, see Rosenau 1983). Ancient and historic architects and architectural manuals, including the Hindu vaastu shastras (Sinha 1998) and Joseph Smith's *Plat of the City of Zion* for Mormon communities (Hamilton 1995), also reflected the principal role of ideological agendas in settlement planning.

Some early efforts, such as those promoted by the Greek architect Hippodamus of Miletus, were explicit in aspiring to substitute organic spatial arrangements for regular, linear structure. In his famous and still relevant book *Town Planning in Practice*, Unwin (1909) presents the gridded layouts of the Greek city of Selinus and Roman Pompeii as examples of the early influence of this style (Figure 1.1). Regularity and administrative efficiency triumphed over human social interactions and natural landforms. Similar to these early works, social aspects were of central importance in settlement design manuals compiled for colonial settings from the 16th century onward, such as those issued by the Spanish Crown for its colonies in the Americas and the Philippines (Mundigo and Crouch 1977).

More recently, urban planners seeking recipes to achieve social unity and betterment have reconsidered the cities' built environment as a key determinant. In contrast to the classical approaches to urban planning, Fredrick Law Olmstead's plan for the Riverside suburb of Chicago followed natural contours and deliberately avoided right angles (Beveridge *et al.* 1998). As the well-known modernist examples of Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse (The Radiant City; Le Corbusier 1935),

Figure 1.1. A street in the ancient Greek city of Selinus (Selinunte) on the southwest coast of Sicily, showing the linear alignment of buildings and walls, facing south (photo by R. Salisbury).

Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City (Wright 1932), and Ebenezer Howard's Garden Cities (Howard 1902) demonstrate profound differences remain in how scholars view the role of the organization of the built form in shaping societies and what mechanisms facilitate community formation (see also Fishman 1982). Moreover, despite the millennia-long history of urban planning ideas, until recently, advanced theories rarely have been formulated concerning how and why the spatial organization of cities develops. The increasingly growing trend of urbanization in the past several decades, however, has resulted in an overall shift, and the principles, processes, and aftermaths of the evolution of city shapes and forms have become focal themes in urban theories (Batty 2005; Marshall 2008; Taylor 1998).

What these approaches have frequently in common is an assumption that spatial organization should be imposed on a community. Nevertheless, the history of urban spatial design indicates that universally optimal plans do not exist. Furthermore, tracking such approaches frequently imposes an archaeology of elites while ignoring the earliest, formative stages of settlement organization before the formalization of spatial structure (Stoddart and Malone 2002); this latter point being a key strength of archaeology. Moreover, some very successful urban plans, such as that of Teotihuacán in the Valley of Mexico, may have developed through collective action (Manzanilla 2017b). By concentrating on the origins and outcomes of variation in human settlement behavior, and those initiated at the community level, in particular, we will have a better chance to achieve and maintain resilience and sustainability in our present and future cities. Exploring the underpinning principles and trajectories in the formation of built forms as they relate to social developments over space and time should be an essential part of this process.

This volume aims to contribute to this body of scholarship from a cross-cultural and cross-temporal perspective. The diversity of methodological and conceptual approaches used by the authors, in conjunction with the breadth of historical contexts being analyzed, makes comparison both challenging and rewarding. Archaeology is, of course, comparative at its roots, whether we compare ceramic vessels to identify 'cultural' affiliation (e.g., Nelson 1985), or social responses to climate change (e.g., Fagan 2008), or examine diachronically the roles of motherhood (e.g., Romero and López 2018). With a particular focus on prehistoric and historic Old World, the authors of this volume explore the role of the built environment in expressing and shaping community organization and identity. Not all of the chapters are comparative by design, but the contributions provide theory-driven and data-rich case studies to interpret organizational

variability in the archaeological record. When taken as a whole, these contributions enable the analysis of archaeological data at multiple spatial and social scales. Comparing like to like produces little new information—comparative analyses of multiple cultures, times, and spatial scales can reveal the many ways how communities can structure their settlements and social life, get along, and deal with environmental, social, and economic stressors. This variability in past human responses has particular relevance to present, pressing issues in our rapidly urbanizing world (e.g., Smith 2010).

Recent advances in theory, as well as field and analytical methods in archaeology, allow investigations of nucleated settlements to an extent and depth of detail that was previously impossible. Taking advantage of these improvements, in particular related to the interplay between the spatial and social organization of communities, this volume addresses a few specific topics. Among these are how the built environment and location of activity zones can be used to understand social configurations, how various scales of social units can be identified and the resulting patterns interpreted, how collective actions contributed to settlement organization and community integrity, how changes in social relations are reflected in the development of the built environment, how cooperation, competition, and measures to decrease social and communication stress can be identified in the archeological record, and how the built environment was used to express or manipulate identity.

Most papers in this volume focus on large, nucleated settlements, and many of the contributors employ a multiscalar perspective. Throughout history, large settlements developed via the process of population aggregation, and co-dependency typified the relations of these settlements with their hinterlands in pre-industrial societies (e.g., Fox 1977; Hall 1998; Mumford 1961). Thus, the formation and evolution of nucleated settlements cannot be explored productively without shifting back and forth between various geographic scales, from local to microregional to regional. This multiscalar perspective, however, must be paired with a systemic approach to address the social, ecological, economic, and cultural dynamics that governed the development of nucleated settlements. Finally, these studies ideally are conducted in a diachronic framework that permits exploration of the temporal aspects of systemic transformations at these sites as well as in their hinterlands.

In the rest of this introductory chapter, we reflect on this complex approach and utilize historic and modern examples to demonstrate the reflexive relationship between the built environment, and social organization and identity formation.

Community and Space

Representing various conceptual approaches and perspectives, an array of definitions has been created by social scientists to describe the term 'community' (for summaries, see Canuto and Yaeger 2000; Mac Sweeney 2011; Salisbury 2012). However, it is widely accepted that shared social experiences, practices, and traditions generate a sense of community (Yaeger and Canuto 2000).

For this volume, the geographical community approach is particularly relevant. Mac Sweeney defined a geographical community as '*an identity-bearing social group whose conscious sense of collective belonging is rooted in the experience of residential proximity and shared space*' (2011: 32). Salisbury (2012) emphasizes that the community of space can develop not only at the settlement level but at any spatial scale that people recognize as their own geographic area. Thus, communities are not necessarily based on everyday face-to-face interactions, practices, and experiences (Anderson 1991), and this is manifested particularly well at large, nucleated settlements as geographical communities.

Young's (1990) community approach for cities is another conceptual framework that facilitates understanding not only the development and operation of modern cities but also those of ancient nucleated settlements. She views the city as the social construction of many small communities that do not constitute a community as defined by mutual identification and reciprocity. Instead, to satisfy their various needs and demands, mediation among these small communities and institutions is necessitated, and over the course of these processes, a single polity comes into being. Batty and Marshall share a similar notion, stating that the '*city is not conceived of as a unified whole following a developmental program, but is more usefully seen as a collection of inter-dependent, co-evolving parts*' (2009: 552).

Therefore, we find it useful to distinguish communities as social units and communities as identity units. Communities as social units develop through the organization of individuals and groups into an integrated, operative whole to meet existential needs as they relate to human existence and well-being, such as the provisioning of basic goods and services. Shared laws and norms, and their active enforcement, as well as social and economic agendas, are instrumental to achieve and maintain communities as social units. The construction of communities as identity units requires different and/or additional measures in order to create a sense of unity. From this perspective, the community is '*a mental construct rather than a natural or structural phenomenon*' (Mac Sweeney 2011: 35). Communities as identity units develop through the integration of individuals and groups by way of shared values and ideological agendas. Some measures taken to generate communities as social units and as identity units might correspond, and the built environment is one of the mediums that has played a major role in their creations throughout history.

Built Environment and Community Organization

The transformation of the physical environment has always been an essential means to bring order to societies (Bogucki 1999; Hodder 1990; Renfrew 2007). The construction and reconstruction of architectural features and their spatial configurations, together constituting the built environment, are instrumental measures to establish, maintain, and renew social order, and the built form embodies clues to identify laws and rules that operated in past societies.

Therefore, the built environment is a commonly used source to scrutinize the origins and trajectories of various developments in past societies (Kostof 1991; Pauknerová *et al.* 2013; Vis 2009). Regardless of scale, the architectural features and their spatial configurations testify to the interplay between social, cultural, and economic principles and dynamics, and changes in the built form and organization indicate shifts in one or multiple subsystems. We illustrate the timeless nature of these premises by a modern example. After World War II, East European countries became part of the Communist Bloc, resulting in fundamental and abrupt transformations in these societies. Settlement patterns across entire regions were profoundly altered in only a few years due to forced collectivization and a rapid pace of industrialization. Masses of people lost their lands, abandoned their farms or villages, and migrated to cities, several of which were built from scratch (Fallenbuchl 1970; Iordachi and Bauerkamper 2014). In many cases, the historic urban fabric also was dramatically reconfigured. Large factories were established and complete neighborhoods with apartment blocks housing tens of thousands of people were rapidly built (Popescu 2009). Furthermore, strikingly different architectural styles spread across the region, with civic and residential buildings erected using a constructivist approach as well as with central, monumental structures of so-called Stalinist style typically built in capital cities (Figure 1.2; Kelleher 2009; Moravčíková 2009). From an anthropological point of view, this example illustrates that highly centralized political control tends to bring about similar, groundbreaking, and expeditious developments, as well as overall standardization in the built form over large areas and at many different scales. These top-down processes are certainly not limited to the post-industrial era, as similar advancements occurred in pre-industrial contexts too (e.g., Yegül and Favro 2019).

Figure 1.2. Mosaic on the building of the National Museum of History in Tirana, Albania
(photo by A. Gyucha).

Many papers in this volume, however, substantiate the generative force of bottom-up processes in the development of built forms throughout history. Demonstrating the instrumental role of local needs and challenges, a high degree of variability may occur in the layout and organization of nucleated settlements within even the same sociopolitical units. When strong, centralized planning is not implemented, the spatial arrangement and architectural properties of the built environment primarily developed through the interplay of local social dynamics and cultural preferences (Kostof 1991; Sjoberg 1960; Storey 2006).

The built environment not only reflects but also structures sociocultural dynamics and processes, and its reconfiguration is a productive mechanism to achieve major sociocultural transformations. A historic example from the Medieval Age properly illustrates this process at the regional scale. At the beginning of the 11th century AD, the establishment of the Hungarian Kingdom coincided with the systematic introduction of Christianity to the pagan Hungarians. In addition to bishoprics, dioceses, and monasteries, King Stephen I ordered that every ten villages had to build a church across his kingdom (Kosztolnyik 2002). This measure produced fundamental modifications in the physical landscape and was a major tool to exert political control and impose an ideological shift throughout the realm.

Spatial and architectural reconfigurations in the context of nucleated settlements and cities even more apparently testify to the profound role of the built environment in sociocultural transformations. According to Giddens (1979, 1984), individual behaviors and interactions create social organization, and social reproduction is the process of reconfiguration of social relations through regular and ordinary practices and actions. Throughout history, the built form has been an arena, as well as a productive tool, for social reproduction, as practices and actions both occur in the physical landscape and transform it as an integrated, spatial component of these processes (see Lawrence and Low 1990).

As the application of constructivism in the cities of the Communist Bloc shows, changes in the built form are frequently utilized to engineer overall social shifts. Resonating with the physicalism perspective in urban theory, Batty and Marshall note in their paper on city evolution that *'changing the physical form of cities to meet social goals is a somewhat more effective way than broaching social change directly: that controls and instruments to engender physical change are somewhat less intrusive than the more direct forms of action'* (2009: 567). This approach is remarkably attested in ancient city planning as well, particularly when urban open spaces are concerned. For example, in Rome, through the implementation of architectural alterations, the fora shifted from places that encouraged the free flow of

people to places where a greater degree of control over movement and interaction could be imposed, and these transformations coincided with an increasing degree of centralized political control in the empire (Perring 1991).

By assuming that social challenges in urban contexts may be resolved through the manipulation of the built environment, physicalism is a useful approach to understanding the morphological development of nucleated settlements also in pre-industrial and stateless societies (Batty and Marshall 2009). As growth in population and density occurs at large sites, rules and orders to tackle organizational challenges and scalar stress must be introduced. Architectural planning, including the spatial configuration, and reconfiguration, of the built environment, is a widely used adaptive response to these problems. Similar to the communicative planning approach, where modern urban design is viewed as a form of communicative action (Healey 1996; Innes 1995), ancient societies might have incorporated a wide variety of stakeholders in decision-making processes. In all probability, these constituted the generative base for collective action more often than we previously thought (Blanton and Fargher 2016; Carballo 2013). The socio-spatial significance of clustering, boundary making, and the creation of public spaces and places is worth mentioning in this context (Carballo and Fortenberry 2015; Vis 2018; York *et al.* 2011).

The built environment is charged with messages regarding rules of conduct and behavior (Bradley 1998; Fletcher 1981; Rapoport 1994). These rules are particularly associated with interactions among community members, the scales, forms, locations, and timing of which unfold through the application of cultural and social norms, as well as everyday practices, to develop and sustain order and organization. Many elements of the built environment, from roads to homes and from fortifications to religious and civic structures, are specifically designed to promote and regulate the movements and encounters of people, and thus to shape human interactions. These interactions occur at many different social scales, from families to entire communities to societies, of which the architectural contexts vary. During the past decades, the introduction of new approaches has paved the way for a better understanding of interactions between people and the built environment in urban contexts, and environmental psychological studies have been proved to be particularly useful for anthropologists (Hillier and Hanson 1984; Lawrence and Low 1990). These studies address the important question of how variations in physical properties and configurations in the built environment influence the movement and interactions of people. For archaeologists, these investigations highlight the significance of considering

psychological factors and agency in the study of the development and use of built forms in order to get a more nuanced understanding of organization and order in past societies.

The subtitle of this volume refers to the complexity of relational systems in the evolution of the built environment. Changes in the physical landscape at any scale, from scattered residential structures to nucleated settlements, to fortifications, to sanctuaries and monuments, occur in the context of individual communities with their own histories and sociopolitical dynamics. Builders must consider these social and cultural contexts, just as they must acknowledge their physical and environmental settings. Thus, analyzing spatial layouts at various scales provide hints at the environmental, cultural, social, and political configurations of ancient communities.

Built Environment and Community Identity

The concept of collective identity as it relates to community building is paramount to understand the development of the built environment in past societies. We define collective identity as a shared consciousness of belonging to a group—a consciousness that originates from the recognition of the importance of one or more actual or imaginary commonalities and is sustained through recurring social practices by the members. As opposed to personal and social identities, the latter based on social roles and categories, such as age, gender, religion, or ethnicity in a society, collective identities are more elastic and transient, not a priori associated with or deriving from other forms of group identities (Melucci 1995; Snow 2001). Therefore, the formation and maintenance of collective identity require cognizant, active, and lasting work.

A collective entity of sets of individuals and groups commonly develops at and sustains close emotional ties to specific spaces in the physical landscape. The experience of shared locale may generate the sense of connectedness and is a major source for the creation and affirmation of place-based communities of identity (Furholt *et al.* 2012; Neustupný 1991; Tönnies 1963). However, at large nucleated settlements, residential proximity does not necessarily correspond to the formation of community identity (Mac Sweeney 2011). Similar to entire societies (see Castells 1997), large settlements tend to exhibit a higher degree of organizational complexity and diversity. Rather than facilitating shared identity, these factors can render the development of collective identity remarkably challenging. Conscious measures, incorporating primarily inclusive social practices and activities, are a prerequisite to an evolving sense of unity among occupants at these sites. These measures have spatial components that become charged with social

significance for the community members. Thus, when collective identity emerges at any scale, from settlements to entire societies, the process is embedded in the development of the built environment.

Group cohesion is a fundamental goal to sustain large settlements that typically form through the aggregation of multiple social groups. At these sites, the co-residence of corporate groups, corresponding to a plethora of social and organizational identities based on gender, kinship, origin, or ethnicity (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Tönnies 1963), is common. In the built environment and the associated material culture, lower-order group identities may manifest themselves by distinctive attributes spatially bound to specific territories within the confines of the settlements (Hegmon 1992; Manzanilla 2017a; Rapoport 1994). Physical and psychological boundaries may differentiate these subgroups within the fabric of these sites (Vis 2017).

The construction of collective identity and community rationale at large, nucleated settlements facilitate in overcoming social stress and conflicts among lower-order identity groups to ensure and sustain cohesion and commitment (Keller 1968; Simmel 1955; Young 1990). The identity work toward a collective entity can unfold through various processes, including mechanisms to complement, repress, and eliminate other, lower-order identities through social and political measures. Over the course of these developments, the major integrative role of the built environment at nucleated sites primarily occurs through its capability to evoke associations with shared ideology, including collective identity. Resources to recall, and disclose, collective identity incorporate an array of potential attributes, such as architectural features, including monumental structures, special building materials, color, decorations, and symbols, as well as the consciously configured spatial arrangements of these features. Thus, these attributes are proxies for identity and convey nonverbal messages for the community members who could decipher and perceive them as markers to incite a sense of connection (Cohen 1985; Fisher 2009). Moreover, the more inclusive and highly standardized performances at these integrative architectural features also are identity resources. The enactments of community aim to counteract differences between individuals and subgroups by accentuating and reiterating commonalities, such as the shared experience of co-residence and the formation of shared beliefs, among the occupants (Mac Sweeney 2011: 57).

Ideological agendas to foster the formation of collective identity have always impacted urban design and planning principles and remain important during the modern era as well (see Dibble *et al.* 2017: 18). A timeless instance of the interplay between spatial and ideological concepts of identity is the representation

of worldviews in the layout and architectural features of settlements. Although the interpretation of ancient cities as cosmograms is frequently debated (e.g., Baines *et al.* 2017; Carl *et al.* 2000; Smith 2007), there are many cases through the ages where cosmological principles are evident in urban designs (Janusek 2004; Landau 2015; Stencel *et al.* 1976). These principles unfolded to various spatial extents and through specific architectural elements and configurations, particularly in relation to communal performances in urban cores. Similar to ancient cities, architectural elements that suggest stability and convey the message of potential for future collective identity through their scale, materials, symbols, directionality, and centrality also are evident in modern urban contexts. In Astana, the new capital of Kazakhstan designed in 1997 and built from scratch, the central, 97-m-high Baiterek Tower is an outstanding example of imposed collective identity (Figure 1.3; Johnson 2014). The tower is one of the structures in the city that represent Kazakh history, myths, and symbols. Baiterek embodies a local origin myth and cosmology of the tree of life. Located at the top of the tree are the sacred bird and its golden egg, and at the bottom, there is a dragon who seeks to consume the egg. The golden egg symbolizes the Sun as the source of life and hope. Similar to other, ancient examples, such as the Forbidden City, this religious content of Baiterek was linked to the legitimization of political
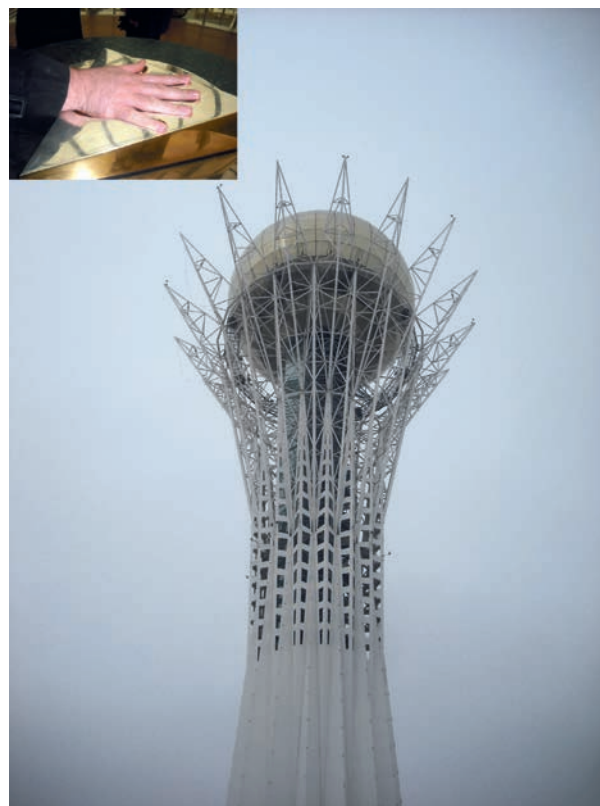

Figure 1.3. The Baiterek Tower in Astana, Kazakhstan. The inset shows the gilded handprint of the country`s former president in the tower (photo by D. Pugh).

power. In the egg, thus with the Sun as the center of the universe, the gilded handprint of the former president of the country, the commissioner of the construction of Astana, Nursultan Nazarbayev is found. Visitors are encouraged to place their hands in the handprint to make a wish, and through this act, the monument subversively suggests that the source of life and hope resides in the president. Astana's construction was a major part of a nation-building project consciously using the built form to reinforce collective identity via symbols that evoke deeply-rooted narratives and traditions (Anacker 2004; Schatz 2003).

Large settlements are dynamic entities, and transformations in the built environment are fundamental mechanisms in the creation of not only collective identities but also new group identities throughout their history. The historic Pilsen neighborhood in Chicago, for example, originally was established and inhabited predominantly by Bohemians in the early 1870s, and they expressed their ethnic identity through buildings constructed in the styles of and with decorations from their homeland (Pero 2011). In the 1960s and 1970s, a demographic shift occurred with increased migration of Mexicans from other neighborhoods of Chicago and elsewhere. Although Pilsen has largely retained its late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century character, public spaces have gradually and profoundly changed. In addition to the establishment of the National Museum of Mexican Art, symbols of Mexican heritage have been incorporated throughout the neighborhood, including a monument in Pilsen's central square, a park with prominent Mexican heroes, hundreds of murals featuring Mexican mythology and history, as well as manhole covers on the main street decorated with the Aztec Sun Stone (Figure 1.4). Although similar transformations are difficult to identify archaeologically at the neighborhood level, they might have occurred commonly in ancient and pre-industrial nucleated settlements.

The sense of unity, rooted either in spatial and/or social commonalities, is the most powerful force to trigger collective action and solidarity. There is a reflexive relation between collective identity and collective action (Carballo *et al.* 2014). The formation and maintenance of collective identities allow and inspire the group members to engage in collective actions, and these collective actions are generative forces during the establishment and reinforcement of collective entity as well as of individual group membership (Calhoun 1991). Throughout history, major, labor-intensive construction projects are frequently spectacular manifestations of resource mobilization strategies to achieve a shared goal and collective experiences as well as to build and sustain community identities. These collective projects, such as the above-mentioned construction of early Christian churches across the Hungarian Kingdom,

Figure 1.4. Manhole cover, depicting the Aztec Sun Stone in the Pilsen neighborhood of Chicago (photo by A. Gyucha).

created identity anchors in the social landscape and the associated, repeated activities, frequently at these focal venues of interactions, resulted in the development and regular re-enactment of positive emotional experiences and emotional unity (Bradley 1993; Pauketat 2009). Studies on relations between modern social movements and identity production indicate the marked importance of emotional involvement to bolster collective entities (Adams 2003; Fominaya 2010), and the emotional component of the sense of we-ness encourages solidarity in geographical identity groups as well.

Over the course of major sociopolitical shifts in societies, collective identities are regularly reshaped. This process commonly develops through the devaluation and replacement of principles and attributes of previous collective identities. Similar to horizontal self-definition processes to accentuate differences between coexisting groups (e.g., We and the Others), the built environment and the embedded symbols are principal targets during these advancements. At large settlements, the establishment of new and/or the reconfiguration of existing open public spaces to incorporate cues about new values and norms through alterations in architectural features, symbols, and their spatial arrangements play critical roles in this process. Redundancy in these cues, such as the Lenin statues and Soviet war memorials across the countries of the

Communist Bloc (Kelleher 2009), is a productive tool to '*ensure that social actors recognize the signs that remind them of "proper" or expected behavior*' (Fisher 2009: 455).

The Sections of the Book

The chapters in this book present a range of geographic, methodological, and theoretical approaches to investigating the role of the built environment in the formation of nucleated settlements. The contributions cover the Old World, from the first large, Neolithic sites to Medieval cities and present-day communities, providing a solid basis for cross-cultural comparisons. Moreover, many contributions are explicitly or implicitly multiscalar, providing greater depth to both data and conclusions.

E. Nurcan Yalman's chapter *What Does Settlement Layout Tell Us About the Community? An Ethnoarchaeological Study* opens with an ethnoarchaeological investigation into the relationship between the structure of human communities and settlement layout, with a case study from Central Anatolia. This chapter fundamentally challenges archaeological assumptions about 'culture groups' and common-sense similarities between settlements of the same culture in the same region. It turns out that in the absence of top-down sociopolitical structures, different groups of the 'same people'— sharing basic modes of subsistence, production, ethnicity, and ideology—can develop particular local modes of social organization, leading to quite different spatial organization. This research further demonstrates how important group identity is for structuring social space and social interactions.

The role of religion and sacred places in nucleation processes for early urban centers is the subject of *From Sanctuaries to Towns: The Role of Religion in Early Urbanization* by Manuel Fernández-Götz. Sacred or ritual sites are key attractors for social aggregation and important contributors to spatial patterning. In this chapter, the author examines Late Iron Age *oppida* of temperate Europe, with cult or ritual locations within many of them. When these contexts were present prior to the construction of these fortified urban centers, the most likely conclusion is that they served as focal points for population aggregation, regularly visited by people from the surrounding rural landscape. He contrasts these arguments with examples of other early aggregation centers, such as Göbekli Tepe. During the process of regional demographic centralization, these places provided a point of collective identity as well as being an accepted social meeting point.

The following chapters, drawing their data from prehistoric and historic landscapes and settlement contexts in Europe, are organized broadly chronologically. In the first of several papers focusing on the Neolithic of Central and East Europe, Roderick B. Salisbury's chapter *Activity Zones and Community Formation: The Role of Spatial Structure in Early Nucleated Villages* examines the role of spatial organization in early nucleated villages. Taking a cross-cultural comparison of settlement structure from several Late Neolithic cultures in the eastern Carpathian Basin, Salisbury looks for evidence of integrative mechanisms during this period of settlement and population aggregation. By contrasting the Hungarian data with comparative examples from North America, he presents significant differences in the use of space at fortified settlement mounds and flat, extended settlements. He concludes that there is little evidence for settlement-wide integration and that discrete communities lived close to each other, presumably interacting but never completely integrating.

Attila Gyucha employs a multiscalar approach in *Population Aggregation and Social Transformations in Middle-Range Societies: A Comparative Study of Neolithic Nucleated Settlements on the Great Hungarian Plain*. In a comparative framework, he elucidates the demographic and social development of three Late Neolithic nucleated villages on the Great Hungarian Plain. The author sees overall similarities in the origins and processes of population aggregation and emphasizes the importance of social behavioral drivers as pull factors in the evolution of these large sites. Based on settlement layout and integrative architectural features, Gyucha identifies a high degree of variability in the sociopolitical organization of the studied villages and argues that these differences emerged due to site-specific challenges related to population growth, density, and heterogeneity. The author concludes that these diverging local trajectories played a vital role in the dissolution of the Neolithic worldview across the region.

In *Large Settlements of the Funnel Beaker Culture in Lesser Poland: Instruments of Social Cohesion and Cultural Conversion*, Marek Nowak, Magdalena Moskal-del Hoyo, Marta Korczyńska, Klaus Cappenberg, and Jakob Ociepka investigate a process of settlement aggregation wherein some sites grew to be microregional centers, while many smaller sites were abandoned. Describing the sociopolitical organization as transegalitarian, the authors see evidence for nominal or incipient leaders who attempted to both control the distribution of certain goods and materials and exert decision-making authority over the nucleated settlements and neighboring satellite sites. The authors posit that the formation of a new identity— archaeologically 'Funnel Beaker'—was an essential component of the successful integration of people into these new social structures.

Cucuteni–Tripolye settlement systems are the subject of an analysis of the relationship between demographic

and economic factors and the spatial layout of large settlements in Aleksandr Diachenko and Ezra Zubrow's *Spatio-Demographic Structure and Social Organization: A Linear Trajectory or Overlapping Trends?* This paper deals with superficially similar settlement structures to those observed by Nowak and colleagues but takes a very different analytical approach. Applying Central Place Theory and computer simulations, Diachenko and Zubrow found that archaeologists likely underestimate the impact of random mortality factors on the size and duration of mega-sites. Results suggest that population growth leads to increased variability in social organization, similar in some respects to the variability observed by Salisbury and Gyucha in their chapters. Within an overall settlement system, satellite sites that branched off from large, aggregated settlements served as a mechanism of demographic self-regulation.

The contribution by Ruth Beusing, *Sanctuaries and Settlements: Spatial Organization in the Nuragic Landscapes of Sardinia*, takes us from the Middle Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age in Sardinia. This is the first paper in the volume to examine the role of monumental architecture in facilitating social integration and political manipulation, in this case, the Sardinian cultural landscapes of *nuraghi*, tombs, and sanctuaries. Beusing conducted intervisibility analyses between the buildings at two analytical scales—the entire island and a mesoregion—to address the changing relations between profane and religious architecture. This approach enables the assessment of the reciprocal relationship between different classes of monuments in their cultural and environmental contexts at two spatial scales. The author evaluates architectural inclusiveness and exclusiveness, as well as transformations in the social meaning of *nuraghi* over a millennium.

Two papers examine Early Iron Age settlements in Jutland, Denmark, where settlement aggregation occurred at the end of the Bronze Age. In *Settlement Mounds, Identity, and Continuity in the Settlement Organization of Iron Age Jutland*, Niels Haue elucidates the use of architecture to express and manipulate identity within societies commonly considered egalitarian. Despite the absence of archaeologically typical wealth indicators, such as weapons and imported goods in burials, Haue identifies indications of socioeconomic inequality, particularly in terms of the 'best addresses,' in a comparison of two, newly excavated villages and two other datasets from northern Jutland. In an excellent archaeological example of the ethnographic phenomenon presented by Yalman in Chapter 2, Haue notes that in each of the four villages, community organization, longhouse number, and longhouse occupational continuity varied based on local responses to sociopolitical, economic, or environmental stress. He adds that by the end of the pre-Roman Iron Age,

prestige goods began to appear in burials, and evidence for economic inequality became more marked.

Niels Algreen Møller and Scott Robert Dollar also investigate this period of aggregation in *Multilinear Settlement Development and Nucleation during the Early Iron Age in Southwestern Jutland, Denmark*. Møller and Dollar question unilinear evolutionary models of settlement nucleation, using distribution analysis and detailed microregional studies. Although employing a different methodological approach in a different landscape, their results indicate developments that were very similar to those observed by Haue—there was no single, traditional process for Early Iron Age nucleation. Rather, communities followed their own trajectories informed by local conditions and social configurations.

Francesca Fulminante discusses Etrurian population aggregation and the relative success of different centralization processes in her chapter *Nucleated Settlements as Assemblages: A Regional Network Approach to Built Environments*. Fulminante compares terrestrial and riverine networks in the Final Bronze Age and Archaic Era in Etruria and *Latium vetus* diachronically and at a regional scale. By examining networks of communication and transportation systems, the author concludes that the more nucleated settlement pattern of *Latium vetus*, with its consolidated political structure, enabled Rome to overcome the more dispersed and politically fragmented structure of the Etruscans.

Karolis Minkevičius explores the landscape context of Late Iron Age cremation burial monuments in East and Southeast Britain in his chapter of *Landscape as Metaphor: Burial Monuments and 'Landscapes of Power' in Late Iron Age Britain*. Similar to Beusing, Minkevičius conducted a GIS-based viewshed and spatial analysis of burial mounds in relation to other monuments (earthworks) and roads. He concludes that the burial monuments served as identity markers that helped to validate political power and demonstrated continuity of control. Further, the reuse of these sites for Roman temples and sanctuaries following the Claudian conquest suggests a deep history of place, which could have been manipulated by outsiders seeking to legitimize a new political structure.

Rokas Vengalis and Gintautas Vélius detail the relationship between spatial layout and social dynamics in the unique setting of *Kernavė Town in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Social and Cultural Patterns of Community*. Kernavė was one of the most significant economic centers in Medieval Lithuania and is notable for having distinctive quarters shaped by various social groups. The authors describe cultural differences between the Upper and Lower Towns, including both socioeconomic stratification and the importance of pagan and Christian identities. Archaeological research

indicates that the quarters retained their distinctive identities, although there is no record of this in historical documents.

In the final chapter, *The Creation and Maintenance of Powerful Places in Etruria*, Simon Stoddart summarizes the various challenges inherent in reconstructing nucleation processes from the built environment. Then, he demonstrates that the Etruscans successfully balanced opposing forces of dispersed political lineages, as indicated by burial evidence, and burgeoning centralization of power seen in the spatial organization of settlements. Stoddart offers a cautionary note, emphasizing that apparent uniformity in the built environment might mask significant differences in relationships between urban centers and their surrounding countryside, on the one hand, and with Rome, on the other. These differing relationships generated 'divergent patterns of nucleation' in Etruria, comparable to examples drawn from Mayan political centralization in Mesoamerica. As the final chapter in this volume, this paper exemplifies the rewards of comparative research and reflects our opening chapters.

Concluding Remarks

In this book, we collected papers about the role of the built environment in expressing and shaping community organization and identity in different times and places in the Old World, with particular attention to nucleated settlements. The contributors apply various methodological and theoretical frameworks, and, in some cases, started with rather different questions within a single region (e.g., chapters by Haue, and Møller and Dollar).

Several papers employ multiscalar analyses, with authors focusing on different aspects of cultural landscapes, including settlement patterns (e.g., Gyucha, and Diachenko and Zubrow), the role of monuments (e.g., Beusing and Minkevičius), and communication routes (Fulminante). Contrasts between macroregional descriptions of archaeological patterns and detailed local, or microregional, case studies provide not only a greater depth of understanding but also raise important questions. When we know that the processes of nucleation varied for nearly all settlements within a given region (e.g., Nowak and colleagues for TRB and Haue for Iron Age Jutland), we can challenge unilinear evolutionary models (e.g., Møller and Dollar).

Cross-cultural comparisons form a second analytical trend, with authors drawing from neighboring groups, as in Fulminante's evaluation of networks in Etruria and *Latium vetus*, or looking further afield, such as Salisbury's comparison of settlement spatial patterning in the Carpathian Basin and North America and

Fernández-Götz's comparison of Iron Age *oppida* across Europe with other early urban centers. Taken as a whole, papers in this book offer a cross-cultural examination of trajectories of settlement and demographic nucleation.

The overarching theme, with ramifications for all European archaeological research, is of similar culture groups, even within a given region displaying quite different processes of nucleation and aggregation (e.g., Møller and Dollar in southern Jutland and Haue in northern Jutland). Demonstrated ethnoarchaeologically by Yalman, and succinctly summarized in the chapter by Stoddart, this is more than a European phenomenon. As the papers in this volume amply demonstrate, variability arising from bottom-up processes of aggregation is not limited by time, space, or cultural group. One lesson to be learned for future archaeological studies is to take each research case as potentially unique, without imposing preconceived notions of how nucleation should occur, and then compare these to regional patterns and other archaeological or ethnographic examples. Nevertheless, the comparative approach produces positive results as well. Similar processes in action, such as the role of ritual architecture in providing an attraction point for creating nucleation (Fernández-Götz's cult sanctuaries, Beusing's *nuraghi* and water temples, and the burial mounds presented by Minkevičius, in this volume), or the localization of sub-communities within a nucleated settlement to maintain community (e.g., Salisbury, Vengalis and Vélius). In comparing case studies from a range of cultural contexts across the Old World and across time, we found commonalities in the human reasons for and responses to moving together.

Acknowledgments

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