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Consumption patterns in prehistoric Europe are consistent with modern economic behaviour

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1 Editor summary:
 2
 3 Prehistoric economic behaviour in Europe fits well with modern economic theory, based on a large database of metal objects from across Europe.
 4
 5 Peer review information:
 6
 7 Nature Human Behaviour thanks Maciej Kasiński and the other, anonymous, reviewer(s) for their contribution to the peer review of this work.
 8

9 Inventory of Supporting Information

10 1. Extended Data

Figure or Table #	Figure/Table title	Filename	Figure/Table Legend
Extended Data Fig. 1	Orders of magnitude	Ext_01.pdf	The boxplots show the distribution of the mass values balance weights pertaining to the <i>shekel</i> - and the <i>mina</i> -range, compared to the distribution of metal fragments and complete objects. Dotted lines indicate the approximate value of the weight units. Solid lines indicate the boundaries of the CQA sampling (7-200 g). <i>Shekel</i> : n=244, min.=0.16 g, max.=469.41 g, centre=9,.77 g, box bottom=4.08 g, box top=32.01 g, whisker bottom=0.16 g, whisker top=100.00 g. Fragments: n=6,881, min.=0.01 g, max.=9,220 g, centre=26.00 g, box bottom=7.90 g, box top=82.00 g, whisker bottom=2.70 g, whisker top=233.00 g. Complete: n=6,746, min.=0.27 g, max.=8,750 g, centre=181.00 g, box bottom=375.27 g, box top=210.00 g, whisker bottom=31.30 g, whisker top=340.00 g. <i>Mina</i> : n=367, min.=11.8 g, max.=5,050 g, centre=592.00 g, box bottom=375.27 g, box top=908.30 g, whisker bottom=235.20

			g, whisker top=998.36 g. Outliers method: 1.5*Interquartile range. Graph made with Wavemetrics Igor Pro 6.05.0.
Extended Data Fig. 2	CQA, diachronic results	Ext_02.pdf	Dotted lines represent the raw output of the quantal analysis. Solid lines represent the same output after smoothing. We indicate the number of measurements sub-sampled in each quantogram, and in parentheses the total sample size.
Extended Data Fig. 3	Monte Carlo Simulation	Ext_03.pdf	CQA of the sample of bronze fragments of Phases 2-3 compared to the CQA results for balance weights. Left Y axis: balance weights. Right Y axis: bronze fragments. The horizontal dashed line represents the 5% significance level for the Monte Carlo simulation ($\phi(q)=7.35$), lower than the peak value of bronze fragments ($\phi(q)=7.77$).
Extended Data Fig. 4	Binned Frequency Distribution Analysis of metal fragments	Ext_04.pdf	Bin size=1.11 g. The dots overlaid on the histograms represent multiples of 10 g (i.e., the approximate value of the Pan-European <i>shekel</i>); the boundaries represent a CV=5% at 1 SD. The dots' Y values are arbitrarily placed for visual clarity. Above: Phase 1 (n=397). Below: Phase 2 (n=3,339) and 3 (n=3,145).
Extended Data Fig. 5	Binned Frequency Distribution Analysis of complete metal objects	Ext_05.pdf	Bin size=11.1 g. The dots overlaid on the histograms represent multiples of the theoretical value of Pan-European <i>shekel</i> of 10 g; the whiskers represent CV=5% of each of these multiples at 1 SD. The dots' Y values are arbitrarily offset, in order to avoid visual confusion generated by the overlapping error margins. Above: Phase 1 (n=4,558). Below: Phase 2 (n=1,075) and 3 (n=1,113).
Extended Data Fig. 6	One-sample Kolmogorov Smirnov test for normality (two-sided)	Ext_06.pdf	The graphs compare the Cumulative Distribution Functions (CDF) of archaeological datasets and normal distributions. The p -values and test statistic D of each test are shown on the graphs.
Extended Data Fig. 7	Simulation scenario 2: Monetary fragmentation	Ext_07.pdf	Green area: CI=95% of the simulated results (DDF and Q-Q plots). Green line: mean values of the simulated results (DDF and Q-Q plots). Orange lines: KDE of the distribution of metal

			fragments. Orange dots: Q-Q plots of the distribution of metal fragments.
Extended Data Table. 1	Results of the bootstrapped two-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (two-sided)	Ext_Tab_01.pdf	The test compares the distribution of mass values of each chronological phase with a bootstrapped sampling of the simulation results for Scenario 1 – random fragmentation.

13

1. Supplementary Information:

14

A. PDF Files

15

16

Item	Present?	Filename Whole original file name including extension. i.e.: Smith_SI.pdf. The extension must be .pdf	A brief, numerical description of file contents. i.e.: <i>Supplementary Figures 1-4, Supplementary Discussion, and Supplementary Tables 1-4.</i>
Supplementary Information	No		
Reporting Summary	Yes	nr-reporting-summary_new.pdf	
Peer Review Information	Yes	PRFile_lalongo.pdf	

17

B. Additional Supplementary Files

18

19

Type	Number	Filename	Legend or Descriptive Caption
Supplementary Data	1	SI_01_metal objects.xlsx	Database of the metal objects from Bronze Age hoards considered in this study
Supplementary Data	2	SI_02_balance weights	Database of Bronze Age balance weights

20

21
22
23 **CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN PREHISTORIC EUROPE ARE CONSISTENT WITH MODERN ECONOMIC**
24 **BEHAVIOUR**

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32
33
34 **Abstract**

35 Have humans always sold and purchased things? This seemingly trivial question exposes one of the most
36 conspicuous blind spots in our understanding of cultural evolution: the emergence of what we perceive
37 today as ‘modern’ economic behaviour. Here we test the hypothesis that consumption patterns in
38 prehistoric Europe (c. 2,300-800 BCE) can be explained by standard economic theory, predicting that
39 everyday expenses are log-normally distributed and correlated to supply, demand and income. Based on a
40 large database of metal objects spanning northern and southern Europe (N=23,711), we identify metal
41 fragments as money, address them as proxies of consumption, and observe that starting c. 1,500 BCE their
42 mass values become log-normally distributed. We simulate two alternative scenarios, and show that: 1)
43 random behaviour cannot produce the distributions observed in the archaeological data, and 2) modern
44 economic behaviour provides the best-fitting model for prehistoric consumption.

45
46 **INTRODUCTION**

47 Standard microeconomic theory, at its core, assumes that humans will engage in transactions as a means to
48 fulfil their needs and wants¹. It is, in other words, grounded on the assumption that a particular form of
49 basic behaviour is recurrent and somehow predictable. But is such a behaviour a constant throughout
50 human history, or is it a product of advanced economic systems?

51 The late prehistory of Europe (c. 2,300-800 BCE) offers an ideal case study for the evolution of economic
52 behaviour in pre-modern economies. The substantial research investment of the last two decades has
53 provided impressive detail on production and trade in the Bronze Age². As a wide range of commodities
54 (such as copper, amber, tin, wool, salt) was in constantly high demand across the continent, regional
55 locales seem to have specialised in the production of single commodities for export³⁻⁸. Moreover, the idea
56 that money was widespread in late prehistoric Europe is becoming commonplace⁹⁻¹², supported by recent
57 studies aimed at its identification^{13,14}. Massive production and export are seen as the engines of an
58 exchange economy of continental reach. Regional locales act as firms in maximizing output for gains in line
59 with standard macroeconomic theory^{3-5,15}, while local elites organise the massive labour input required to
60 sustain the system, and entertain mid-to long distance relationships with peers across the continent to
61 maintain trade routes^{15,16}.

62 At a superficial glance, current models might appear to describe Bronze Age Europe as a fully-fledged
63 market economy, if it were not for the conspicuous difference represented by individual agency and
64 consumption patterns: elites unilaterally control production and trade and are the only actors with some
65 sort of entrepreneurial agency, while everyone else is the passive recipient of redistribution mechanisms,
66 and money never plays any active role^{15,17}. As a result, things are never ‘sold’ and ‘purchased’ but only
67 generically ‘exchanged’, and the economic agency of the vast majority of individuals – the so-called
68 ‘commoners’¹⁷ – remains virtually invisible¹⁴. The unbalance between production and consumption, then, is
69 explained by postulating that excess produce was destined to display and ritual destruction, with the
70 ultimate goal of reproducing social systems and reaffirming hierarchies^{18–21}.

71 In a way, current models portray an economy in which everyone produces but only very few consume,
72 which, from the perspective of standard economic theory, represents a paradox: simply put, economies are
73 assumed to produce approximately as much as they can consume, and individuals freely engage in
74 transactions proportionately to their economic capacity. It follows that, if we change this assumption, then
75 we can have a different kind of economic theory. Once highly influential^{22–24}, the notion that economic
76 behaviour in so-called ‘primitive’ economies was substantially ‘other’ than in modern ones is now generally
77 rejected in contemporary economic anthropology^{25–29}. It endures, however, in prehistoric archaeology to
78 justify the lack of economic agency outside of elite groups: either implicitly or explicitly, the absence of
79 economic agency is not as much of a consequence, but rather a theoretical precondition for an interpretive
80 model in which the ultimate end of production is not consumption, but rather display and destruction. The
81 supposed ‘otherness’ of prehistoric economic behaviour, however, is only based on conjecture and was
82 never tested empirically.

83 We test the hypothesis that economic behaviour in prehistoric Europe was not substantially different from
84 modern behaviour, i.e., that prehistoric individuals and households normally engaged in economic
85 transactions to fulfil their needs and wants. We address this hypothesis empirically, and test whether the
86 archaeological evidence is consistent with consumption patterns that are expected in contemporary
87 Western economies. Today, the distribution of transaction values in which households engage in a given
88 period of time (i.e., consumption) tends to follow a log-normal distribution, meaning that average
89 transactions are much smaller and vastly more frequent than very high ones, but only moderately bigger
90 and more frequent than very low ones^{30–33}. This reflects the tendency of the vast majority of households to
91 engage in moderate everyday transactions in order to sustain their livelihood, while only a very small
92 minority can afford very high expenses. We argue that, if we find that moderate expenses represent the
93 bulk of consumption in Bronze Age Europe, then we might be able to pinpoint the economic agency of the
94 ‘invisible majority’ of average, non-elite individuals, and conclude that prehistoric consumer behaviour was
95 not, in principle, fundamentally different from ours.

96 We explore the role of money in reconstructing consumption patterns, and test the consistency of the
97 consumer model with the archaeological data through simulations. This study is based on a dataset of
98 23,711 copper and copper-alloy objects distributed in a vast sample area stretching through northern and
99 southern Europe (Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Slovenia, and Germany) between c. 2,300-800 BCE (tab. 1; see
100 Methods for a detailed breakdown). The sample has been divided into three broad phases (fig. 1): Phase 1
101 (c. 2,300-1,500 BCE; n=8,417), corresponding to the Early Bronze Age (EBA) and the first half of the Middle
102 Bronze Age (MBA); Phase 2 (c. 1,500-1,100 BCE; n=7,759), corresponding to the second half of the MBA and
103 the early phase of the Late Bronze Age (LBA); Phase 3 (c. 1,100-800 BCE; n=7,535), corresponding to the
104 late phase of the LBA.

105 The problem we tackle first is the identification of a frame of reference to quantify consumption in
106 prehistoric Europe, i.e., the value of all transactions in a given time period. We briefly illustrate the state of
107 the debate around the identification of metallic money in the Bronze Age, and explore the evidence in

108 support. We specifically address the connection between the spread of weighing technology in the course
109 of the 2nd millennium BCE and the growing practice of metal fragmentation. We show that, starting c. 1,500
110 BCE, metal fragments represent the overwhelming majority of the sample of metal objects and
111 systematically comply with weight systems. We argue that, since mass was a universal measure of value in
112 the Bronze Age world, the evidence supports the interpretation of metal objects as money, intentionally
113 broken down to match transaction values. The positive identification of weight-regulated money opens the
114 way to address the observed mass values of metal objects as proxies of consumption in Bronze Age Europe.

115 We then find that mass values of metal fragments become log-normally distributed around 1,500 BCE, i.e.,
116 precisely when they start complying with weight systems. Our goal is to assess the likelihood that the log-
117 normal distribution of metal fragments was determined under conditions similar to contemporary Western
118 economies, i.e., that the distribution of household consumption is approximately equal to the distribution
119 of income, with supply and demand at equilibrium. We test our hypothesis by simulating different
120 scenarios and checking their consistency with the archaeological data. First, we test the null-hypothesis
121 that random fragmentation can produce log-normal distributions by chance. We find that the outcome of
122 random fragmentation is not consistent with the archaeological data after c. 1,500 BCE, and conclude that
123 log-normality cannot arise by chance, requiring instead some form of constrained behaviour. We then
124 simulate a monetary-exchange scenario, assuming that the available metal stock (=money) is random, but
125 the prices of goods available for purchase (=supply) are log-normally distributed. We then observe the
126 distribution of the metal that is given out in payment (=consumption) and show that, if supply is log-
127 normal, the final distribution of consumption will likely be log-normal as well. We find that results are
128 consistent with the archaeological data, and conclude that they support a model of log-normally distributed
129 consumption for Bronze Age Europe starting c. 1,500 BCE, with copper alloys fulfilling the function of
130 money.

131

132 **RESULTS**

133 *Weight-regulated money: challenges and perspectives*

134 The idea that bronze objects circulated as money in pre-literate Bronze Age Europe dates at least to the
135 end of the 19th century³⁴. Since then, research on this topic has largely focused on the relationship
136 between metal objects and weight systems, remaining somewhat sporadic for the best part of the 20th
137 century^{35,36}, until experiencing a renewed interest in the 1980s and 1990s³⁷⁻⁴⁰. Metrological research on
138 metal objects has never produced significant impact on the mainstream discourse, likely as a consequence
139 of two inherent limitations: on the one hand, the methodological framework is traditionally based on
140 merely descriptive statistical techniques, on the other – and perhaps most importantly – it was never
141 carried out in parallel with research on balance weights, until very recently.

142 These limitations are deeply interconnected. While there have been attempts at reconstructing the weight
143 units of Bronze Age Europe starting from metal objects^{37,41}, research on balance weights only began on the
144 verge of the 2000s⁴²⁻⁴⁴, and the first systematic assessment of bronze age weight systems came roughly 20
145 years later⁴⁵. It follows that, until very recently, there was no reliable comparative framework that could
146 validate or disprove metrological reconstructions based on metal objects. Furthermore, it was actually
147 research on balance weights that first introduced what today is considered the standard statistical
148 technique in metrological studies^{42,46}, which in turn was applied to metal objects for the first time only a
149 few years ago^{14,47,48}. From a methodological point of view, the importance of an independent assessment of
150 the metrological configuration of balance weights cannot be overstated. Simply put, weight-based
151 regulation cannot happen without balance weights¹², and if weights were used in the process of weight-

152 based regulation, then the weight-regulated material must have the same metrological configuration of
153 balance weights.

154 A further limitation of previous research is that it tends to single out only those artefacts whose typological
155 characters would seem to indicate an emphasis on formal standardization¹², such as ring- and bar-ingots in
156 the Early Bronze Age^{13,40,49}, and sickles and axes in the Middle and Late Bronze Age^{36,38,39}. While this can
157 facilitate data collection, it may also lead to overlook overarching patterns. Moreover, it entails the risk of
158 selection bias, that can in turn lead to circular argumentations.

159 Here, we analyse the complete sample of metal objects from Bronze Age hoards without typological
160 distinctions, and compare its metrological properties to widespread weight systems independently
161 reconstructed based on balance weights. Our rationale is that, if there is indeed a relationship between
162 metals and weight systems, then this relationship must be detectable on large samples, regardless of the
163 shape of the objects. The only meaningful distinction we make is between complete and fragmented
164 objects, as they imply two completely different purposes of weight-based regulation. For complete objects
165 to comply with weight systems, in fact, one must imply that the final mass was predetermined at the
166 production stage, and hence it must have been imposed onto the final products by specialised
167 metallurgists. On the contrary, weight-based fragmentation can have been enacted by any end-user – as it
168 does not require any specific skill or equipment^{50,51} – hence being entirely dictated by convenience and
169 circumstances.

170

171 *Fragmentation and money*

172 The term ‘hoard’ designates an assemblage of metal objects buried simultaneously, in most cases with no
173 clear spatial connection with settlements (fig. 2). For Bronze Age Europe, the vast majority of known
174 metalwork comes from hoards, vastly outnumbering any other source of archaeological materials, such as
175 settlements and burials. Hoards are one of the ‘hot topics’ in Bronze Age research, and are alternatively
176 interpreted as votive depositions, metallurgists’ stocks, and reserves of value⁵². Here, we do not focus on
177 why hoards were buried, but only on how objects circulated before being buried. Based on previous
178 research^{14,53}, we assume that, regardless of the reason behind their interment, hoards collect a statistically
179 relevant sample of all the metalwork that was in circulation around the time of their deposition.

180 Research on the monetary circulation of metals in the Bronze Age of Western Eurasia mainly focusses on
181 the intersection of metal fragmentation and weight-based regulation. Textual and archaeological evidence
182 from Bronze Age Mesopotamia unequivocally shows that the invention of weighing technology c. 3,000 BCE
183 produced a revolution in trade, establishing the concept of mass as the prime determinant of economic
184 value, and prompting in time the widespread use of weight-regulated metal scraps as money^{47,54–56}.

185 Recent research suggests that the spread of weighing technology in Bronze Age Europe produced the same
186 effects, indicating that bronze fragments fulfilled the same function of silver scraps in Mesopotamia⁴⁵; here
187 we illustrate a final assessment of the evidence based on our exhaustive database of European hoards.

188 Phase 1 hoards are composed almost exclusively of complete objects (92% on average; fig. 3), with many
189 hoards containing large selections of a single object-type (e.g., daggers, axes, ingots), sometimes so regular
190 in shape to suggest the possibility that they could come from the same mould^{57–60}. The configuration of
191 hoards changes dramatically in the course of the 2nd millennium BCE. Fragments tend to replace complete
192 objects in European hoards in the course of the Bronze Age, rising from 8% on average in Phase 1 to 75-
193 74% in Phase 2-3⁶¹ (fig. 3). The rise of fragmentation appears to be strictly correlated with the diffusion of
194 weighing technology (fig. 3). In Phase 1, weighing equipment is only sporadically attested in Italy⁶², hence it
195 cannot have been employed to regulate the complete objects that were deposited north of the Alps, where

196 the largest share of our Phase 1 sample comes from. In Phase 2, however, the sudden spread of weighing
197 technology between Northern Italy and Southern Germany is clearly correlated with the area of highest
198 frequency of fragments. Finally, the appearance of balance weights in Northern Germany in Phase 3
199 corresponds to a visible rise in the share of fragments in that region.

200 Our analysis is specifically aimed at verifying the possibility that metal objects were produced and/or
201 fragmented in order to comply with widely uniform weight systems that could rely on the widespread use
202 of weighing technology. We rely on previous research identifying a 'Pan-European unit' of c. 10 g (with CV
203 ≈5%), widely attested in Italy (starting c. 2,300-2,000 BCE), Central Europe (starting c. 1,500-1,350 BCE) and
204 Atlantic Europe (starting c. 1,200-1,100 BCE)⁴⁵. We use Cosine Quantogram Analysis (CQA) to test for
205 weight-based regulation, and analyse complete objects, fragmented objects, and balance weights
206 separately (Extended Data fig. 1-3). CQA is a standard technique in metrological studies of the Ancient
207 World^{46,63,64}, aimed at verifying whether a significant share of metrical measurements in a sample is the
208 product of a single 'quantum', i.e., a unit of measurement (see Methods).

209 Results show that, starting Phase 2, both balance weights and fragmented metal objects consistently
210 comply with the 'Pan-European unit' of c. 10 g, while complete objects never show signs of weight-based
211 regulation (fig. 4)⁶⁵. A detailed analysis of the frequency distribution of the analysed samples supports the
212 CQA results (Extended Data fig. 4-5, see Methods). The analysis of fragmentation patterns within individual
213 hoards provides further insight on the purpose of fragmentation itself. Quantification shows that matching
214 fragments within the same hoard are extremely rare, between 2-4% on average⁶¹ (see Methods). This
215 strongly suggests that objects were not broken immediately before being buried, rather supporting the
216 hypothesis that fragments with different provenances circulated for a long time before being eventually
217 buried^{14,41,53}.

218 In synthesis, results show that the fragmentation rate, the spread of weighing technology, and the
219 systematic weight-based regulation of fragments are closely correlated on a continental scale, and support
220 the hypothesis that metal fragments circulated as weight-regulated money starting c. 1,500 BCE.

221

222 *Weight-regulated metal fragments as proxies of consumption*

223 For the first time in history, the emergence of weight systems as a measure of economic value made it
224 possible to convert the values of different quantities of different goods into one another, based on shared
225 indexes of value^{55,66}. Hence, being able to identify a substance that circulated as money – i.e., metal –
226 provides us with the opportunity to indirectly measure the value of those transactions that involved
227 weight-based monetary exchange. It provides, in other words, the opportunity to measure consumption.

228 We observed how metal fragments tend to comply with multiples of the Pan-European unit, meaning that
229 they were broken down in order to match a predetermined transaction value. This, in turn, suggests that
230 each single fragment was potentially used at least once as the means of payment in a transaction, and that
231 the statistical distribution of their mass values is a proxy of the distribution of consumption. The Density
232 Distribution Functions (DDF) and the Quantile-Quantile (Q-Q) plots suggest that the mass values of
233 fragments become log-normally distributed starting Phase 2 (c. 1,500 BCE), while the fragments of Phase 1
234 and complete objects of all three phases show noticeable deviation from log-normality (fig. 5). The
235 Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for normality supports the visual assessment (Extended Data fig. 6, see Methods).
236 In particular, we find that the fragments of Phase 1 significantly depart from log-normality, the fragments
237 of Phase 2 are log-normally distributed, and the fragments of Phase 3 do not depart from log-normality to
238 such an extent that it invalidates modelling based on the assumption that they are log-normally distributed.

239 These observations suggest the possibility that, similarly to contemporary western economies,
240 consumption in prehistoric Europe tends to follow a log-normal distribution at least as soon as metal
241 fragments begin circulating as money. In contemporary western countries, households' income is unequally
242 distributed and tends to follow a log-normal distribution, meaning that average incomes are, at the same
243 time, vastly lower and more frequent than very high incomes, but only moderately higher and more
244 frequent than very low ones^{67,68}. Since households choose what to consume based on their income, it
245 follows that consumption is also log-normally distributed³⁰⁻³², i.e., average expenses are vastly smaller and
246 more frequent than very high expenses, but only moderately higher and more frequent than very low ones.
247 In other words, since households will spend proportionately to what they earn or expect to earn, and since
248 (expected) income follows a log-normal distribution, consumption does too.

249 In the next sections, we explore the circumstances under which we can expect the mass values of metal
250 objects to eventually follow a log-normal distribution. Since we only know the outcome of the process (i.e.,
251 the mass values of metal fragments), we assume that the initial distribution of metal is always random, and
252 we set out to determine the likelihood of different scenarios to produce log-normally distributed results
253 out of randomly-distributed populations. We simulate two scenarios: One in which fragmentation is
254 random and unrelated to consumption, and one in which it is functional to monetary exchange.

255

256 Simulation Scenario 1: Random fragmentation.

257 Traditional interpretations theorize that metal objects in Bronze Age Europe were broken down either for
258 ritual purposes – e.g., to symbolically 'kill' the object, or to create 'bonds' between the owners of different
259 fragments of the same object – or in order to facilitate remelting^{18,21,52,69,70}. These models acknowledge
260 neither weight-based regulation nor monetary circulation. Since both hypotheses imply that the main point
261 of fragmentation was simply to destroy the object, they can be easily modelled as random fragmentation⁵³.

262 Here we test the null-hypothesis that a completely random fragmentation process can produce a log-
263 normal distribution over time. We simulate a scenario in which a randomly-distributed stock of metal
264 objects is randomly fragmented, and measure the outcomes⁶⁵. Results show that the DDF of the simulated
265 data is visibly left-skewed, and the Q-Q plots significantly diverge from log-normality (fig. 6). The
266 archaeological sample of Phase 1 (which is not log-normally distributed) seems consistent with the random
267 fragmentation model (fig. 6.A). However, the simulation is not consistent with the log-normal distribution
268 of metal fragments of Phase 2-3 (fig. 6.B-C). A 2-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test coupled with bootstrap
269 resampling confirms these observations (Extended Data tab. 1). In synthesis, results exclude that random
270 fragmentation can produce log-normal distributions by chance, ruling out the ritual and recycling
271 hypotheses for Phase 2-3.

272

273 Simulation Scenario 2: Monetary exchange

274 Since random fragmentation is not consistent with the archaeological data of Phase 2-3, we simulate an
275 alternative scenario in which fragmentation is the result of monetary patterns of exchange. We designed
276 this scenario in order to recreate the conditions according to which log-normally distributed consumption is
277 expected to emerge in contemporary western economies. In Keynesian economics, production and
278 expenditures tend to keep an economy stable by fluctuating according to the balance of supply and
279 demand ('income-expenditure model')⁷¹. This is to say that an economy is expected to produce
280 approximately as much as it can consume, and therefore aggregate income, consumption, demand and
281 supply will theoretically tend to follow a similar distribution in the long run. It follows that, once the shape
282 of the distribution of either of these variables is known, the remaining ones can be theoretically inferred.

283 For the purpose of this study, we assume that supply is log-normally distributed, and simulate
284 fragmentation as the outcome of transactions at equilibrium prices, with the initial stock of metal having a
285 random distribution. More in detail, we simulate a sell/purchase scenario in which an agent is assigned a
286 random amount of metal stock and attempts to conclude transactions in a marketplace in which supply
287 (=the prices of goods available for purchase) is log-normally distributed, with metal objects (=money) being
288 fragmented to match transaction values⁶⁵.

289 Our expectation is that a randomly-distributed *initial* stock will produce a log-normally distributed *final*
290 stock, in turn composed by log-normally distributed consumption (=the distribution of the individual values
291 of all successful transactions) and a neglectable component of randomly-distributed ‘unspent small
292 change’, regardless of the exponential growth of the number of fragments and with the final amount of
293 metal in circulation remaining equal.

294 Our simulation consists of two input datasets (STOCK and SUPPLY) and one output dataset
295 (CONSUMPTION). The routine simulates the exchange of metal objects for goods of equal value in a
296 monetary fashion (fig. 7). STOCK simulates the randomly-distributed stock of complete metal objects
297 available to a potential buyer at the beginning of a hypothetical cycle. We imagine STOCK as a finite
298 quantity, gradually depleting after each iteration. We simulate SUPPLY as a virtually limitless, log-normally
299 distributed array of prices of goods that are randomly resupplied at each iteration. In so doing, we
300 intentionally emphasize the role of buyers, imagining them as a small group of people having potential
301 access to every good in the marketplace, provided that they own enough money to pay for it. Pairs of
302 potential buyers and sellers are randomly matched. When a potential buyer meets a potential seller, they
303 attempt to conclude a transaction. If the value of the buyer’s stock is approximately equal to the price set
304 by the seller (i.e., $\pm 5\%$, meant to account for the accuracy of Bronze Age balance scales⁴⁵), the transaction
305 takes place with the exchange of the full amount, and zero remainder (fig. 7.B). If the value of the buyer’s
306 stock is *significantly* higher than the price set by the seller ($>105\%$), the buyer will break down the object,
307 obtain a fragment whose value is equal to the value due in payment, and keep the remainder for
308 themselves (fig. 7.C). If STOCK is *significantly* lower than SUPPLY ($<95\%$), the transaction does not happen,
309 and the entire value of STOCK is kept for the next transaction attempt (fig. 7.A). Each time a transaction is
310 successful, its value is transferred to CONSUMPTION and removed from further iterations. Finally, if the
311 transaction has a remainder, this is transferred to the next iteration of STOCK.

312 The simulated datasets are all log-normally distributed (Extended Data fig. 7). The simulated data for Phase
313 1 produce very high dispersion, as expected due to the small size of the archaeological sample (Extended
314 Data fig. 7.A); despite this, the Q-Q plot shows higher divergence from the simulation than in the previous
315 scenario. On the contrary, the simulations for Phase 2 and 3 produce very low dispersion, and are
316 consistent with the archaeological datasets (Extended Data fig. 7.B-C). We take the outcome of the
317 simulations as a fitting representation of the archaeological record of Phase 2-3, ultimately composed by
318 fragments that actually played a role in at least one transaction during their ‘lifetime’.

319 The simulation results show that, under the assumption that metal fragments circulated in a monetary
320 fashion, their observed log-normal distribution can be explained by postulating an equally log-normally
321 distributed supply, starting c. 1,500 BCE. In synthesis, results support the hypothesis that the observed
322 distribution of consumption can be explained under the income-expenditure model.

323

324 **DISCUSSION**

325 To summarise, our results show that:

- 326 - Metal fragments of Phase 1 do not show signs of weight-based regulation, their mass values do not
327 follow a log-normal distribution, and their distribution is consistent with random fragmentation;
- 328 - Metal fragments of Phase 2-3 comply with weight systems, are approximately log-normally
329 distributed, are not consistent with random fragmentation, and are consistent with monetary-
330 fragmentation;
- 331 - Complete objects never show signs of weight-based regulation.

332 We find evidence that, starting c. 1,500 BCE, consumption in prehistoric Europe tends to follow a log-
333 normal distribution, similarly to contemporary Western economies. This suggests that, similarly to
334 individuals in today's Western countries, prehistoric individuals made economic choices based on what
335 they earned or expected to earn. Besides, log-normally distributed consumption also implies economic
336 inequality⁷². Our results urge rethinking economic agency in prehistory, suggesting that inequality was not
337 just a matter of prestige and status, but possibly affected the ability of individuals to fulfil their own needs
338 and wants through selling and purchasing things, and perhaps services.

339 The log-normal model of consumption implies that petty, everyday transactions represented the majority
340 of all transactions that took place within a period of time. This in turn suggests the existence of local
341 markets for massively exported goods, whose demand was fulfilled at least in part through many small
342 monetary transactions. This allows us to imagine a world in which individuals and households could
343 integrate what they did not produce themselves through economic transactions, for example by purchasing
344 common goods such as raw and processed food, textile fabric and clothes, tools, and novelty items.

345 The appearance of log-normally distributed consumption coincides with three correlated, continental-scale
346 phenomena: 1) the spread of weighing technology; 2) the formation of a 'Pan-European' unit of mass; 3)
347 the dramatic increase in the frequency of metal fragments and their circulation as weight-regulated money.
348 Starting c. 1,500 BCE, metal becomes widely used as money, its value measured by weight. This was made
349 possible by the introduction of weighing technology, which was not yet widespread in Europe before then.
350 When metal becomes weight-regulated money, the distribution of its mass values becomes a reliable proxy
351 of transaction prices.

352 Our findings neither imply that metal was the only form of money in prehistoric Europe, nor that money
353 was the only mode of payment: credit, barter and redistribution all remain viable options contributing to
354 the general picture. Rather, they suggest that monetary transactions paid in metal were frequent enough
355 to provide us with a significant sample of the prices of all transactions that actually took place between c.
356 1,500-800 BCE. At the same time, we cannot exclude that money already existed before then. Recent
357 research suggests that, centuries prior to the adoption of weighing technology, metallic money could rely
358 on a rudimentary form of deviceless regulation based on 'sensory perception by hand and eyes', but so
359 loose to be still compatible with the more generic notions of size and shape¹³ (see Methods). The lack of
360 device-based weight regulation is further supported by our tests, revealing no significant patterns in objects
361 dating to the Early Bronze Age (fig. 4). However, even if weight was not the major determinant of value, it
362 simply means that mass is not a reliable proxy of consumption, not necessarily that money did not exist.

363 While for earlier periods we find no evidence that metals are reliable proxies of consumption, we also find
364 that the absence of weighing technology prevents monetary fragmentation, which in turn prevents the
365 fulfilment of demand via the monetary circulation of metal *alone*. While this may cast doubts on the
366 viability of metallic money before weighing, it does not rule out that different monies coexisted alongside
367 one another. In the EBA, other substances (salt? Grains?) could also circulate as money, but we may not be
368 able to identify them because they are not preserved. These substances may not even have required
369 weighing technology, as they could be measured by volume. We know from Mesopotamian texts that
370 capacity measures vastly predate the invention of weighing technology, that granular substances were
371 measured by volume, and that some of them (e.g., barley) circulated as money^{54,73}. Metals could already

372 circulate as money in a limited fashion and concurrently with other substances, but their generalised
373 monetary use was hampered by the absence of the necessary technology for the accurate quantification of
374 their value.

375 By the same token, we cannot even exclude that consumption was already log-normally distributed before
376 c. 1,500 BCE. The fact that, before then, metal is not a good proxy for consumption only means that we
377 cannot take its statistical distribution as a reliable indicator, not necessarily implying that consumption was
378 not itself log-normally distributed. By looking at the archaeological record, the shift to log-normality does
379 not appear to have happened gradually but rather abruptly, as soon as weighing technology became
380 widespread. This might suggest that the new technology did not generate a new behaviour, but rather
381 facilitated the shift from a multitude of currencies that we are not yet able to detect towards a single main
382 one – metal – other things remaining equal.

383 In this article, we addressed a sample region of Bronze Age Europe as a case study of economic behaviour
384 in pre-modern economies. We found that general consumption patterns reveal widespread engagement of
385 all strata of the population, granting archaeological visibility to a social category – the so-called
386 ‘commoners’ – that is often overlooked by traditional models. Our results suggest that massive production
387 and long-distance trade were not only driven by elite groups, but also by small-consumer demand in local
388 markets. More generally, our results offer further empirical support to a growing body of research
389 challenging elite-exclusive models of economic organisation of pre- and protohistoric societies in Western
390 Eurasia: on the one hand, the wealth of written and archaeological evidence available for Bronze Age
391 Mesopotamia shows the existence of a thriving private economy^{73–76}, on the other, local networks are more
392 and more seen as foundational traits of international markets^{45,77–79}. We conclude that the application of
393 the concept of consumption to the quantitative analysis of prehistoric proxies of economic behaviour gives
394 results that are consistent with the expectations for modern economies. At the same time, we do not find
395 evidence that, as far as monetary exchange is concerned, the economic behaviour of prehistoric individuals
396 was, in principle, fundamentally different from modern behaviour.

397

398

399 **METHODS**

400 **The institutional setting of pre-literate Bronze Age Europe**

401 The emphasis on elite agency and the political economy of pre-literate Bronze Age Europe (c. 2,300-800
402 BCE) mirrors a growing body of research on the macroeconomy of early state societies in the
403 Mediterranean and the Near East throughout the third, second, and first millennia BCE, exploring the role
404 of economic institutions in the formation of international markets^{80–83}.

405 West of Greece, however, pre-literate Bronze Age societies seem to have never developed state
406 institutions. Although settlement patterns vary from region to region and from period to period, population
407 was always organised in relatively small villages that never reached the size of the urban centres that
408 developed elsewhere in Western Eurasia; they also never show unequivocal evidence of the embodiment
409 of state institutions in public buildings, such as Near Eastern temples and palaces^{84–86}. Compelling signs of
410 state formation only appear at the beginning of the 1st millennium BCE – on the verge of the Iron Age – and
411 tend to be concentrated in the Tyrrhenian basin, in those regions that would soon witness the rise of
412 Etruscan city-states and, slightly later, of Rome^{86,87}.

413 While it is possible that the absence of writing may have hidden incipient forms of state-like institutions in
414 the course of the 2nd millennium BCE, there is general consensus that the political landscape of Bronze Age
415 Europe was splintered into a myriad of local chiefdom-like polities, whose governing elites could not extend

416 their own authority much farther beyond regional boundaries^{88,89}. This is to say that there was no single
417 authority capable of providing the same kind of insurance that, say, the far-reaching political influence of
418 the city of Aššur (Iraq) granted to commercial expeditions in Anatolia and Mesopotamia roughly in the
419 same period⁸¹. There is also no clear evidence of informal institutions – such as associations of merchants –
420 although recent studies are beginning to acknowledge the intense activity of professional traders in long-
421 distance commercial networks^{45,90}.

422 At the same time, the absence of far-reaching authorities does not appear to have prevented the
423 integration of pre-literate Bronze Age Europe in international markets⁴⁵. The traditional model of a
424 decentralised, but widely interconnected network of a multitude of local elites – bound by a complex
425 system of alliances – offers then an alternative to state-formation to explain the evidence of long-distance
426 trade and organised production^{17,91,92}. This model, however, does not account for the agency of non-elite
427 individuals in local markets – the so-called ‘commoners’¹⁷ – who may have produced a great deal of the
428 available archaeological evidence, especially in an economic system in which institutions did not probably
429 play an overwhelming role.

430

431 **The sample area**

432 The sampled area (Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Slovenia, Italy) represents a north-south cross-section of
433 Europe, encompassing a wide diversity of geographical and cultural settings. Such a diversity is particularly
434 apparent in the distribution of natural resources. Northern Germany is poor in metal ores, but the Baltic
435 coast was a main source of amber, which was extracted and exported in large quantities across Europe and
436 the Mediterranean, reaching as far as Mesopotamia^{93–95}. The Erzgebirge region – a hypothetical source of
437 tin – is located between Eastern Germany and the Czech Republic^{96,97}. The Slovakian Ore Mountains –
438 located just outside our sample area – were probably a major copper supplier during the Early Bronze Age,
439 whereas mine districts located in the Eastern Alpine Arc seem to gradually take over in the later 2nd
440 millennium BCE^{6,98,99}. Finally, the most conspicuous natural resource of the Italian Peninsula – which could
441 probably also rely on local copper ores¹⁰⁰ – was likely represented by its far-stretching coastline, that
442 granted direct access to Mediterranean traffics¹⁰¹.

443 Within a coarse grained, inclusive perspective such as the one we adopt in this study, this area can be
444 considered as representative of a wider macro-territory, extending at least to its neighbouring regions. The
445 sampled area, in particular, represents the geographical core of the phenomenon of metal fragmentation,
446 which extended to the Danube Basin to the east^{69,102}, and to France and the British Isles to the west^{52,53}.

447

448 **The sample of copper-alloy objects**

449 The compilation of a database of European Bronze Age hoards has been carried out over the past 6 years as
450 part of several research projects^{14,61,103}. Data acquisition followed an inclusive strategy, aimed at the
451 exhaustive collection of all the evidence ever published up to 2021, with a few additions after this date.
452 Slovenia is the only exception, for which data collection is limited to the Late Bronze Age. While we cannot
453 quantify potentially missing data, we are reasonably confident that the vast majority of contexts that are
454 cited at least once in the scientific literature are accounted for. The full database is included in SI 1.

455 In total, 1,337 hoards were recorded, including 164 from Italy, 215 from Austria, 884 from Germany, 27
456 from Slovenia, and 47 from Switzerland. For each hoard, we recorded place of discovery (with geographical
457 coordinates), relative chronology, and the deposited objects. For each object, we recorded general
458 classification (e.g., axe, sword, collar, fibula, sickle, etc.), integrity/fragmentation, any potentially matching
459 fragments, and mass.

460 The determination of whether an object is complete or fragmented was based either on drawings/photos
461 or on the descriptions provided in the original publications. In cases where the conditions of the objects are
462 not described and images are not provided, the information was not collected, and consequently, those
463 objects were not used in our analyses. The mass values included in our database are those provided in the
464 original publications of each context.

465 Out of a total of 30,989 catalogued objects, we excluded items from hoards without chronological
466 information, as well as all objects made of gold, animal material, amber and stone, as they are not
467 considered in the analyses. Among the remaining 30,487 objects made of copper alloys, the
468 complete/fragmented status of 23,711 objects could be determined. These include 8,417 objects from
469 Phase 1 (complete = 6,968; fragmented = 1,449), 7,759 objects from Phase 2 (complete = 2,566;
470 fragmented = 5,193), and 7,535 objects from Phase 3 (complete = 2,746; fragmented = 4,789) (tab. 1).
471 For the purpose of log-transformations and Q-Q plots to establish the log-normality of the mass values of
472 complete and fragmented objects, the objects made of copper alloys with published weights amount to a
473 total of 13,627 (tab. 1), divided as follows: 4,955 from Phase 1 (complete = 4,558; fragmented = 397), 4,414
474 from Phase 2 (complete = 1,075; fragmented = 3,339), and 4,258 from Phase 3 (complete = 1,113;
475 fragmented = 3,145).

476

477 **Definition of chronological phases**

478 In the sampled area, at least four chronological systems coexist: the Central European, Nordic, and Italian
479 chronologies, in addition to the chronological horizons of the Late Bronze Age hoards from Slovenia. The
480 sample includes contexts dating from the Early Bronze Age (c. 2,300 BCE) to the beginning of the 1st
481 millennium BCE, except for Slovenia, for which sampling is limited to the Late Bronze Age (c. 1,350-800
482 BCE).

483 For the purposes of this study, we relied on the chronological attributions of the single hoards already
484 established in the literature (fig. 1). An updated framework establishes a system of chronological
485 horizons⁶⁰. For Central Europe, the chronological phases originally present in the works of H. Müller-
486 Karpe¹⁰⁴ and P. Reinecke¹⁰⁵ are still considered overall valid. For the approximate duration of each
487 chronological phase, we rely on widely shared dates supported by radiocarbon dating (Brunner et al. 2020
488 for Bz A to C¹⁰⁶, Müller & Lohrke 2009 for Bz C and D¹⁰⁷, and Sperber 2017 for Bz D to Ha B3¹⁰⁸). Our data
489 collection stopped at the Ha B2 phase, c. 900 BCE.

490 For the Nordic chronology, we used the system of *Perioden* established by O. Montelius¹⁰⁹, which is still
491 considered valid today. The absolute dates for the Late Neolithic and Period I phases were derived from
492 Vandkilde et al. (1996)¹¹⁰. For the later phases, we relied on more recent radiometric dating¹¹¹. Our data
493 collection stopped at the Period IV, c. 900 BCE.

494 The chronology of Slovenian hoards is based on the sequence established in Turk (1996)¹¹² and includes
495 only Late Bronze Age contexts. The first and second horizons correspond to Bz D and Ha A1 and A2 phases,
496 respectively. The third horizon corresponds to Ha B1 and B2 phases. The subsequent horizon was not
497 considered in this study.

498 For the Italian chronology, the division into periods is well-established (e.g., Carancini, Peroni 1999¹¹³).
499 However, most of the available absolute dates pertain to the Early Bronze Age and the beginning of the
500 Middle Bronze Age. Therefore, we mainly rely on cross-dating for the subsequent phases. For this study, we
501 used the chronological framework presented in Cardarelli (2018)¹¹⁴. The lower limit of our data collection
502 corresponds to hoards dated to the transition phase between Final Bronze Age 3 and Early Iron Age 1, c.
503 850 BCE.

504 In order to make it possible to compare developments across a wide region characterized by different local
505 chronological schemes, we created three macro-phases (fig. 1), each containing approximately the same
506 number of data (tab. 1).

507 The chronology of Bronze Age metallurgy in general, and of hoards in particular, almost entirely relies on
508 typological seriation. As hoards are generally fortuitous finds with no clear connection to stratigraphies,
509 direct absolute dating is generally impossible, and there is often no other way to date them than by relying
510 on widely established typo-chronological schemes. Moreover, hoards often contain objects belonging to
511 different chronological phases, or objects whose chronological attribution can be uncertain. Therefore, as a
512 methodological rule, the date of a hoard is determined by its latest recognizable object. This does not mean
513 that the chronology of hoards is uncertain: the typo-chronology of metalwork is solid and reliable, and
514 connected to absolute dates thanks to the association of metal types with organic materials in settlements
515 and burials. At the same time, the archaeological sequence is entirely conventional, and does not fully
516 account for the nuances that can occur at the threshold between two contiguous phases. As a result,
517 sometimes the attribution of single hoards can oscillate between two contiguous chronological phases.

518 This potential inaccuracy, however, is unlikely to affect our sample in any meaningful way. Part of the
519 reason why we chose to group the sample into three broad phases is to limit the effect of potential
520 chronological inaccuracy, by making sure that there would be no ambiguity for the majority of hoards
521 falling in the middle of each phase. Inaccuracy, however, can still happen at the threshold between two
522 phases, although its effects are likely negligible. The probability that the earliest hoards in, say, Phase 2 are
523 in fact contemporary to the latest hoards in Phase 1 is the same probability of the latest hoards in Phase 1
524 being in fact contemporary to the earliest ones in Phase 2. This is to say that, while there is indeed an
525 inevitable random error margin in the definition of archaeological phases, the symmetric distribution of this
526 error on the boundaries between each phase eventually produces a zero sum, and it is unlikely to
527 significantly affect the results of our analyses. Moreover, in such broadly defined phases, the error margin
528 only affects those hoards that are in close proximity to the chronological boundaries, which are in turn a
529 small minority.

530

531 **Note on the sample of balance weights**

532 The sample of weighing equipment considered in this study was collected and analysed in the last six years
533 in the framework of a completed research project funded by the European Research Council⁴⁵. The total
534 sample includes 696 balance weights and 18 balance beams distributed unevenly across Europe, and covers
535 a time span ranging approximately 2,300-700 BCE^{62,64}. The sampling strategy was aimed at assessing the
536 overall typological, chronological and metrological variability across Europe rather than at achieving
537 significant quantification on local basis. As a result, some regional locales were relatively thoroughly
538 sampled, while some others (such as Austria), were not sampled at all.

539 As illustrated in previous publications, European balance weights of the Bronze Age can be classified into
540 two distinct orders of magnitude, corresponding to multiples and fractions of two different units of mass: a
541 small unit of c. 10 g and a bigger unit of c. 400-450 g¹⁴. While the bigger unit – or *mina*, following the
542 standard terminology of the Ancient Near East – is only attested in Italy and Central Europe, the smaller
543 one – which one can call *shekel* – is attested virtually everywhere in Europe (hence dubbed ‘Pan-European
544 *shekel*). The subsamples for the *shekel*- and *mina*-ranges contain, respectively, 302 and 394 objects.

545 As illustrated in the next section, only the balance weights in the *shekel*-range were used in the statistical
546 analyses. The full sample is included in SI 2.

547

548 **Cosine Quantogram Analysis (CQA)**

549 CQA¹¹⁵ tests whether an observed measurement x is an integer multiple of a quantum q plus a small error
550 component ε . X is divided for q and the remainder (ε) is tested. Positive results occur when ε is close to
551 either 0 or q , i.e., when x is (close to) an integer multiple of q :

552
$$\phi(q) = \sqrt{2/N} \sum_{i=1}^n \cos\left(\frac{2\pi\varepsilon_i}{q}\right)$$

553 where N is the sample size, and $\phi(q)$ is the test-statistic.

554 Bronze Age units of mass of between Mesopotamia and Europe have been extensively researched, with
555 significant values ranging between c. 8.3 g ('Mesopotamian *shekel*'), and c. 10 g ('Pan-European *shekel*')⁴⁵.

556 The selection of the data to be analysed through CQA follows the guidelines described in Ialongo & Lago
557 2021¹⁴. The classification of balance weights into two orders of magnitude bears important implications for
558 the metrological analysis of metal objects. As shown in Extended Data fig. 1, the distribution of the metal
559 objects in our sample is approximately equal to or bigger than the distribution of weights in the *shekel*-
560 range – with fragments largely overlapping – but overall smaller than the distribution of the *mina*-range.

561 Due to the limitations of the methodology employed, we cannot test fractions of a theoretical unit, but only
562 its multiples. In other words, since most of the balance weights in the *mina*-range are heavier than most of
563 the metal objects, we lack a statistically-significant sample to attempt a comparison. For this reason, our
564 analyses are only aimed at testing the probability that the mass values of metal objects in European hoards
565 are multiples of a *shekel* of c. 10 g.

566 Considering the particular configuration of the samples of metal objects and balance weights, the CQA was
567 limited to a range comprised between 7-200 g, in order to avoid false positives and false negatives
568 (Extended Data fig. 2). After sub-sampling, the analysis addresses c. 2/3 of the total sample of metal objects
569 for which mass values are available (66% of fragments, 63% of complete objects). The blind-range of the
570 sample of metal fragments does not represent a problem, as it almost entirely includes mass values below
571 the lower limit of the analysis-range; below the *shekel* value, in fact, the accuracy of Bronze Age balance
572 weights tends to drop exponentially, hence values significantly lower than the unit should be excluded
573 anyway⁶⁴. The blind-range of the sample of complete metal objects, on the other hand, can be partly made
574 up for through Frequency Distribution Analysis, as illustrated below.

575 We analyse the chronological samples of balance weights, and complete and fragmented objects
576 separately, and find that complete objects never show any sign of weight-based regulation, while
577 fragments of Phase 2-3 give a high peak value at c. 10 g, corresponding to the 'Pan-European *shekel*'
578 (Extended Data fig. 2). In order to enhance readability, the typical jagged lines produced by CQA were
579 smoothed out with the 'smooth' function of the statistical package Wavemetrics IGOR Pro v. 6.0.5.0
580 (smoothing factor=1,000). We find that the balance weights do not show relevant values for the unit in
581 Phase 1, but it must be considered that only a very small sample (n=18) is available for this phase. The unit
582 of c. 10 g becomes relevant in Phase 2-3. In line with previous results¹⁴, the results obtained from a much
583 larger sample of metal fragments shows a similar pattern: The peaks for Phase 2-3 correspond to those
584 obtained for balance weights, while fragments in Phase 1 do not show any relevant values. Finally,
585 complete objects never show signs of weight-based regulation.

586 Quantograms of balance weights across Western Eurasia always produce roughly bell-shaped peaks around
587 the unit value, reflecting the normally-distributed error margin of Bronze Age weight units with CV \approx 5%⁴⁵.
588 The quantogram of complete objects produces a random signal that is not consistent with the expectations
589 for weight-regulated objects. On the other hand, the quantogram of bronze fragments produces a similarly
590 bell-shaped peak around the value of the Pan-European unit, although with a wider dispersion. This is likely
591 dependant on weight-regulated metal fragments having on average a wider error margin than balance

592 weights, as a recent experimental study suggests, potentially reaching as high as $CV \approx 30\%$ ⁵⁰. Experimental
593 research on the potential error margin of weight-regulated metal fragments, however, is only beginning
594 and still based on small samples. It seems likely that the very wide error margin recorded by these
595 experiments will shrink as sample size grows; at the same time, we should probably expect the inaccuracy
596 of weight-based fragmentation to remain higher than that of balance weights, due to propagation of
597 uncertainty.

598

599 **Monte Carlo test for statistical significance**

600 In metrological studies relying on CQA, it is standard practice to test the results' significance in order to
601 exclude potential bias^{62,63,116}. In our case study, the main potential source of bias is represented by the
602 potential inaccuracy of the measurements collected in our database. The mass measurements we use in
603 our analyses, in fact, were taken from a large and highly heterogeneous corpus of publications spanning
604 over 150 years of research on Bronze Age hoards. We could not check the accuracy of every measurement;
605 we can, however, frame the question as a problem of statistical significance.

606 We test the null-hypothesis that the recorded measurements are quantally-configured by chance. We
607 assume that the measurements are only slightly off as a result of inaccurate instruments or transcription
608 mistakes. We arbitrarily quantify potential inaccuracy as a random chance of each measurement of being
609 within an interval of $\pm 15\%$ from the recorded value, and run a Monte Carlo simulation. More in detail, we
610 want to test the likelihood that a slightly different dataset can give better results than the recorded
611 dataset. The rationale is that it is extremely unlikely that a dataset of thousands of measurements can give
612 highly significant results by chance; therefore, if we find that the recorded dataset does not give the 'best
613 possible results', then we should consider the possibility that the measurements are overall inaccurate.

614 We analyse the quantally-configured samples of metal fragments of Phase 2-3, run the Monte Carlo
615 simulation for 1,000 iterations, each time recording the highest score for $\phi(q)$, and set an alpha level of .05.
616 That is, if the randomised datasets give a value higher than the recorded datasets in more than 5% of the
617 iterations, it means that the null-hypothesis is supported, and we cannot exclude that the peak value is due
618 to chance.

619 The results of the Monte Carlo simulation are significant at $\alpha = .05$, and reject the null-hypothesis
620 (Extended Data fig. 3)⁶⁵. We conclude that even if some level of measurement inaccuracy occurred in
621 recording the data, it is unlikely to significantly affect the CQA results.

622

623 **Frequency Distribution Analysis**

624 Frequency Distribution Analysis (FDA) further clarifies the CQA results. Extended Data Fig. 4 shows the
625 binned FDA of the bronze fragments for the three chronological samples, overlaid by the approximate
626 distribution of the multiples of the Pan-European *shekel* of c. 10, visualised with $CV = 5\%$ (1 SD). We limit the
627 binned FDA to values up to c. 100 g, as beyond this value the sample only includes outliers (Extended Data
628 fig. 1). Note that, for this range of values, the theoretical values of the multiples of the *shekel* never overlap
629 at 1 SD. Despite being approximately log-normally distributed, the samples of Phase 2-3 are in fact roughly
630 multimodal distributions of quantally-configured concentrations (i.e., their mean values are approximate
631 multiples of the same quantum) with diffused background noise. The CQA detects these concentrations and
632 indicates a best-fitting quantum corresponding to the Pan-European *shekel*, while the Monte Carlo
633 simulation excludes that the background noise significantly affects the quantal configuration of the sample.
634 The same analysis for the sample of metal fragments of Phase 1 does not show any relevant concentrations

635 of values corresponding to multiples of the *shekel*, which is the reason why CQA cannot detect any relevant
636 quantum.

637 The same analysis also clarifies why weight-based regulation likely did not occur for complete objects
638 (Extended Data fig. 5). Complete objects show relevant concentrations of values in all chronological
639 samples, but several arguments can be made that lead to exclude that these concentrations are the result
640 of intentional weight regulation. The first argument is that the approximate mean values of these
641 concentrations are never multiples of one another: Phase 1, for example, shows two peaks, a small one at
642 c. 80 g and a much bigger one at c. 200 g, while Phase 2-3 have peaks at c. 100 and c. 170 g. If weight
643 regulation really occurred in the production of these objects, their value concentrations should correspond
644 to multiples of a unit-system, like in the case of fragments (Extended Data fig. 4) and balance weights in
645 general⁶⁴.

646 The second argument is that these concentrations are too loose to have been determined by weight-based
647 regulation. The concentration with mean c. 200 g visible in the FDA of Phase 1, for example, is so wide that
648 the lightest objects (c. 120 g) are c. two times lighter than the heaviest ones in the same concentration (c.
649 240 g) the difference being so conspicuous that it is beyond doubt that their users could recognize it at a
650 glance¹³. This is further supported by a comparison with the theoretical multiples of the *shekel* of c. 10 g.
651 The overlaid values clearly show that these concentrations are so loose that they each encompass several
652 possible multiples of the unit, and also that, at this magnitude, the error ranges of the multiples of the
653 *shekel* systematically overlap. Overall, these observations strongly suggest that the Pan-European *shekel*
654 cannot have been employed as a standard in the production of these objects, as it is also confirmed by the
655 CQA results.

656 The third argument is the absence of any evidence related to the existence of weighing technology in Phase
657 1 North of the Alps, which is where most of the complete objects in our sample are located during this
658 period.

659 These arguments are particularly relevant for evaluating the frequently proposed hypothesis that some
660 formally-standardised objects dating to the Early Bronze Age (corresponding to our Phase 1) circulated as
661 weight-regulated money^{13,40,49}. Since the available evidence does not support weight-based regulation for
662 complete objects in either chronological phase, there is no reason to think that the observed
663 concentrations of mass values are correlated to anything else than the generic size and shape of the
664 objects. In other words, complete objects were not regulated by the need to comply with weight systems,
665 but rather by the need to conform to a certain generic size. In addition, the diachronic analysis clearly
666 shows that loose concentrations of mass values are not unique to the Early Bronze Age, but they are a
667 recurring feature of Bronze Age metalwork throughout the whole 2nd millennium BCE. In conclusion, since
668 size (i.e., volume) and mass are obviously correlated, it makes little sense – in both analytical and
669 interpretive perspectives – to separate these concepts when there is no evidence that one was more
670 important than the other.

671

672 **Goodness-of-fit tests**

673 Research on contemporary western economies shows that sampling strategies slightly affect the shape of
674 the distribution of consumption. While the distribution always tends to remain ‘approximately log-normal,’
675 different sampling strategies show results that are alternatively more or less consistent with strict log-
676 normal models or with other distributions that look similar on charts, but that differ slightly in statistical
677 properties, such as the Double-Pareto distribution^{31,33}. This is reflected by log-normality tests, rejecting or
678 validating the null-hypothesis depending on different sampling strategies. Testing for log-normality is
679 further complicated by the very large size of the analysed samples, which dramatically lowers the

680 requirements for H_0 to be rejected, and hence can produce false positives even when the effect size is
681 extremely low^{117–119}. However, despite its slight volatility, the distribution of consumption never seems to
682 deviate from log-normality to such an extent that it invalidates general modelling based on the assumption
683 of log-normality.

684 Our proxy-sample of monetary transactions in Bronze Age Europe is most likely affected by a similar
685 sampling bias: it certainly documents only a part of all the theoretically-possible monetary transactions –
686 which also probably involved media of exchange different from metal, that are not preserved – which in
687 turn are only a part of the total amount of all theoretically possible transactions, which included
688 transactions that were both monetary and non-monetary in nature. Furthermore, the large sample size of
689 Phases 2 and 3 determines very low requirements for H_0 to be rejected. Therefore, similarly to research on
690 contemporary consumption patterns, our question is not whether our sample is log-normally distributed,
691 but rather whether the archaeological data deviate from a log-normal distribution to such an extent that it
692 invalidates modelling based on the assumption of log-normality.

693 Following previous research on contemporary consumption patterns in Western Economies³¹, we use the
694 Kolmogorov-Smirnov test to assess the log-normality of our chronological samples, at $\alpha=0.05$, while also
695 assessing the test statistic (D) to evaluate effect size (Extended Data fig. 6).

696 The Kolmogorov–Smirnov test was performed on the log-transformed data using the
697 `scipy.stats.kstest` function of the Python library `scipy`. The results for Phase 1 clearly reject H_0 , with
698 $p=0.00001086$ and $D=0.123$. The results for Phase 2, on the other hand, strongly suggest log-normality, with
699 $p=0.121$ and $D=0.020$. Finally, the test rejects H_0 for Phase 3 ($p=0.0002769$), but the very low effect size
700 ($D=0.037$) rather suggests that the difference between the sample distribution and the log-normal
701 distribution is very small, which in turn suggests that assuming log-normality would not practically affect
702 modelling in a significant way.

703

704 **Simulations**

705 To test the hypotheses described in scenarios 1 and 2, we conducted simulations using Python
706 programming (Python Software Foundation. (2022). Python (version 3.9.12) [Software]
707 <https://www.python.org>). All simulations were performed using an Ionic Series Laptop with the following
708 technical specifications: CPU: 12th Gen Intel(R) Core(TM) i9-12900H 2.50 GHz. RAM: 16,0 GB. GPU: NVIDIA®
709 GeForce® RTX 3070 Ti – RAM video 8,0 GB GDDR6.

710

711

712 ***Scenario 1 (random fragmentation)***

713

714 *Brief description*

715 We generate an initial dataset of 1,000 values, and simulate fragmentation by generating 1,000 random
716 fractional values, subtracting them from the initial dataset, and calculating the remainder, thus effectively
717 doubling the initial dataset. This process is repeated 6 times; as fragmentation always produces two pieces,
718 each time the number of objects is doubled, for a final dataset of 64,000 data points. For reference, we use
719 the minimum and maximum mass values of the complete sample of metal objects included in our database
720 (0.27–8,750 g) as boundaries for the generation of the initial random dataset. We repeat the entire process
721 100 times. In order to compare the results to the DDF of metal fragments, we randomly select 100
722 subsamples with the same number of data points of each chronological dataset (i.e., 397 for Phase 1, 3,339
723 for Phase 2, and 3,145 for Phase 3), standardize the data, visualize them in histograms, calculate the 95%
724 Confidence Interval of each bin, and overlay the distribution of the corresponding chronological dataset.

725

726 *Detailed description*

727 For scenario 1, we created a pandas DataFrame with 1,000 numbers that follow a uniform distribution,
728 with the minimum value equal to the mass of the lightest intact object (0.27 g) and the maximum value
729 equal to the weight of the heaviest intact object (8,750 g) in our sample.

730

```
731 min_value = 0.27
```

```
732 max_value = 8750
```

```
733 complete_obj = pandas.DataFrame(numpy.random.uniform(low=min_value,
```

```
734 high=max_value, size=(1000,1)))
```

735

736 From the DataFrame "complete_obj" we simulated the random fragmentation of objects by dividing each
737 element of "complete_obj" into two random parts and inserting the results into a list called
738 "fragm_list". The same process is then repeated with all the elements of "fragm_list", each time
739 doubling the number of elements. We performed the random fragmentation simulation six times, resulting
740 in 64,000 fragments for each simulation. The results of each simulation are recorded in a column of the
741 "fragm_obj" DataFrame. 100 simulations were conducted, resulting in 100 datasets, each containing
742 64,000 values.

743 The data obtained from the simulations were log-transformed using the code:

```
744 fragm_obj_log = numpy.log(fragm_obj)
```

745

746 and the columns were stacked into a single column of the DataFrame "united_fragm_obj".

```
747 united_fragm_obj = fragm_obj_log.stack().reset_index(drop=True).to_frame()
```

748

749 The data in "united_fragm_obj" were standardized:

```
750 mean_united_fragm_obj = united_fragm_obj.mean()
```

```
751 sd_united_fragm_obj = united_fragm_obj.std()
```

```
752 united_standardized_fragm_obj = (united_fragm_obj - mean_united_fragm_obj) /
```

```
753 sd_united_fragm_obj
```

754

755 At the same time, we imported the dataset containing the weight of the fragments for the three
756 archaeological phases:

```
757 Arch_data = pd.read_excel('DB_SI.xlsx')
```

758

759 From which we filtered the weight of fragments and complete objects for each phase:

760

```
761 phase1_real = Arch_data.loc[(Arch_data['Phase'] == 1) &
```

```
762 (Arch_data['complete/fragmented/undetermined'] ==
```

```
763 'fragment') &
```

```
764 (Arch_data['Weight_obj'] > 0)].copy()
```

765

766 Then, we log-transformed and standardized the data for each phase in Pandas series. The archaeological
767 data were plotted in subplots with histograms for each phase, showing the Kernel Density Estimation (KDE).
768 Additionally, Quantile-Quantile Plots were included. In the same subplots, the distribution of the simulation
769 data was also plotted, calculating the 95% CI based on 100 samplings, with each sampling consisting of a
770 number of data points corresponding to the number of archaeological data available for each phase (397
771 for Phase 1; 3,355 for Phase 2; 3,154 for Phase 3). For the Quantile-Quantile Plots, the statsmodels
772 library was used, while the histograms were created using the seaborn library. The time required to
773 execute the entire script is 88.91 seconds.

773 The code for Scenario 1 is included in SI 3.

774

775 **Scenario 2 (monetary fragmentation)**

776 *Brief description*

777 The simulation consists of two input datasets (STOCK and SUPPLY) and one output dataset
778 (CONSUMPTION). We simulate the fragmentation of 100 metal objects over a theoretical period of 100
779 iterations, and repeat the process for 100 runtimes.

780 We generate the data in the simulation by using the same parameters of the complete distribution of metal
781 fragments included in our database as a reference. More in detail, we used the minimum and maximum
782 mass values (0.27-8,750 g) as boundaries for the random generation of STOCK, and the average (3.207) and
783 SD (1.72) of the log-transformed data to generate SUPPLY.

784 At the end of the 100 runtimes, we extract 100 random samples whose size is equal to the number of data
785 points contained in each of the three chronological datasets (397 for Phase 1, 3,339 for Phase 2, and 3,145
786 for Phase 3). We then standardize the data, visualize them in histograms, calculate the 95% CI of each bin,
787 and overlay the DDF of the corresponding chronological dataset.

788

789 *Detailed description*

790 For scenario 2, we created two `pandas` DataFrames, simulating a stock of initially intact objects to be
791 fragmented from time to time for transactions. These transactions are not possible when the weight of the
792 object (or fragment) to be exchanged is lower than the value of the item to be purchased. The dataframe
793 'stock' is identical to 'complete_obj', with a uniform distribution of values ranging from a minimum
794 (0.27 g) to a maximum (8,750 g) based on the archaeological record, but with a size of 100 values.

795 The 'supply' DataFrame has a log-normal distribution of data, with the mean and standard deviation
796 based on the archaeological data:

```
797 mu = 3.207  
798 sigma = 1.72  
799 supply = pandas.DataFrame(numpy.random.lognormal(mu, sigma, size=(100, 1)))  
800
```

801 With the elements of 'stock', we simulate an attempt at an economic transaction by trying to purchase
802 the elements from 'supply'. The transaction is possible only when the value of 'stock' is greater than or
803 equal to (with a tolerance range of 5%, meant to take into account the accuracy of Bronze Age balance
804 weights⁴⁵) the value of 'supply'. When it is lower, the transaction does not occur. If the element from
805 'stock' used in the transaction is larger than that of 'supply', and not within the 5% range, fragmentation
806 of the object occurs. The weight of the element in 'stock' is updated by subtracting the mass of the
807 fragmented portion to execute the exchange. The value of all transactions – i.e., the weight of all
808 fragmented pieces or intact objects involved in acquiring a commodity from the 'supply' DataFrame - is
809 recorded in the 'consumption' DataFrame. The attempt at transactions is carried out 100 times, with the
810 'stock' DataFrame updating after each completed transaction, and the 'supply' DataFrame being
811 regenerated in each cycle. We performed 100 simulations following the described procedure.

812 At the end of the simulations, the data from 'consumption' and the remaining 'stock' were merged into
813 a single DataFrame called 'final_stock_consumption'. Similarly to what was done in the simulations
814 of scenario 1, the simulation data were log-transformed and standardized. We sampled 100 lists of
815 randomly selected numbers from the DataFrame 'final_stock_consumption', with the number of
816 elements corresponding to the number of archaeological data available for each phase (397 for Phase 1;
817 3,355 for Phase 2; 3,154 for Phase 3). From these 100 samples, we calculated the mean and 95% CI, which
818 were plotted alongside the KDE of the archaeological data and in a Quantile-Quantile plot with the

819 archaeological data. The archaeological data were imported using the same procedure described in
820 Scenario 1. The time required to execute the entire script is 728 seconds.
821 The code for Scenario 2 is included in SI 4.

822
823

824 **Simulation-scenario 1: Assessing goodness-of-fit**

825 We have prepared the results of the simulation for the two-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test. Given that
826 the DataFrame combining the results of all iterations performed in the simulation consists of about 6
827 million and 400 thousand data points, it was necessary to perform sampling of the same size as the
828 archaeological fragments phase by phase (i.e., Phase 1=397, Phase 2=3,339, Phase 3=3,145).

```
829 sample_united_fragm_obj_ph1 = numpy.random.choice(united_fragm_obj_std_flat,  
830 db_size_ph1, replace=False)
```

831 This operation was iterated in a loop for 1,000 times, calculating each time the p-value and the statistic (D)
832 of the data sampled from the simulation against the archaeological fragments. The test was performed
833 using the `scipy.stats.ks_2samp` function from the Python `scipy` library.

834 At each iteration, we collect the p-value and statistic (D) within a DataFrame and report the share of cycles
835 in which the KS test gives $p > 0.05$ (Extended Data tab. 1). At the end of the loop, we performed a bootstrap
836 sampling of the means of the p-values and statistics and calculated the mean and statistic (D) with their
837 Standard Deviations. The KS test results for Scenario 1 show that the simulation fits the data for Phase 1,
838 but reject H_0 for Phases 2 and 3 (Extended Data tab. 1). We conclude that the KS test supports the visual
839 assessment of the simulation outcomes, confirming that random fragmentation is consistent with the
840 archaeological data for Phase 1 but not with those of Phase 2-3.

841
842

843 **Data Availability**

844 The authors declare that all data supporting the findings of this study are available within the paper and its
845 supplementary information files.

846

847 **Code Availability**

848 Custom code that supports the findings of this study is available within the paper and its supplementary
849 information files, and publicly available on Zenodo (<https://zenodo.org/doi/10.5281/zenodo.10959515>),
850 under license CC BY-NC 4.0.

851

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857

858 **Author Contributions**

859 NI designed the research, performed data analysis, and wrote the article. GL performed data analysis,
860 wrote the article, and created the code.

861

862 **Competing Interests**

863 The authors declare no competing interests.

864

865

<i>fragments vs complete</i>							
		Italy	Austria	Germany	Slovenia	Switzerland	total
Phase 1	complete	575	1,313	4,886	0	194	6,968
	fragments	78	162	1,190	0	19	1,449
	undetermined	574	601	2,942		17	
Phase 2	complete	159	247	1,828	144	188	2,566
	fragments	667	1,545	2,155	668	158	5,193
	undetermined	312	95	779	16	85	1,287
Phase 3	complete	666	448	1,463	137	32	2,746
	fragments	2,456	1,275	812	232	14	4,789
	undetermined	532	217	560	40	6	1,355
<i>objects with known mass</i>							
		Italy	Austria	Germany	Slovenia	Switzerland	total
Phase 1	complete	350	1,204	2,887	0	117	4,558
	fragments	61	47	287	0	2	397
Phase 2	complete	30	131	762	129	23	1,075
	fragments	450	1,175	993	636	85	3,339
Phase 3	complete	239	262	456	135	21	1,113
	fragments	1,706	893	301	232	13	3,145

866

867 *Table 1. Breakdown of the sample of copper alloy objects.*

868

869

870

871 **Captions**

872 **Figure 1.** Chronological framework. Correlation of regional chronologies and illustration of the
873 chronological Phases used in this study.

874 **Figure 2.** The scrap hoard of Weißig (Germany). One of the largest hoards of the Late Bronze Age in
875 Northern Germany (c. 20 kg) the hoard is composed by 63 complete objects and 328 fragments (courtesy of
876 Landesamt für Archäologie Sachsen. Photo by J. Lipták).

877 **Figure 3.** Spatial analysis. Diachronic development of metal fragmentation in hoards and spread of weighing
878 equipment. The gradient represents the Kernel Density Estimation of the ratio of fragments in hoards.
879 Areas shifting to red have high frequency of hoards containing only (or almost only) fragments; blue-shifts
880 represent areas with high frequency of hoards containing only (or almost only) complete objects. Pie charts
881 show the total share of metal fragments in each chronological phase. Squares represent sites with weighing
882 equipment, mostly settlements and burials; a single site can contain more than one balance weight. White
883 squares represent balance weights actually documented in each chronological phase, while gray squares
884 indicate presence in the previous phase. When a white square is present in the same spot in two
885 consecutive phases, it means that a multi-stratified settlement has evidence of balance weights in both
886 phases.

887 **Figure 4.** Quantal analysis. Cosine Quantogram Analysis (CQA) of metal fragments, complete objects, and
888 balance weights, by chronological phase. $\Phi(q)$ is the test statistic (see Methods). Peaks indicate the value
889 of the best-fitting quantum (i.e., underlying unit).

890 **Figure 5.** Density Distribution Function, Kernel Density Estimation, and Quantile-Quantile plots of the
891 logarithmic distribution of mass values of metal fragments and complete objects, by chronological phase.

892 **Figure 6.** Simulation scenario 1: Random fragmentation. Green area: CI=95% of the simulated results (DDF
893 and Q-Q plots). Green line: mean values of the simulated results (DDF and Q-Q plots). Orange lines: KDE of
894 the distribution of metal fragments. Orange dots: Q-Q plots of the distribution of metal fragments.

895 **Figure 7.** Graphical model of simulation scenario 2: Monetary fragmentation. The model illustrates how the
896 output dataset 'CONSUMPTION' is created, through the interaction between the input datasets 'SUPPLY'
897 and 'STOCK'. When a hypothetical seller meets a hypothetical buyer, a single element is randomly extracted
898 from SUPPLY, representing the hypothetical price of a single good on the marketplace. The price-element is
899 then paired with another element randomly drawn from STOCK, representing a single metal object in the
900 possession of a potential buyer, who is planning to use that same object as money. T this point, the
901 simulation runs a test to verify one out of three possible scenarios: A) The money-object is less valuable
902 than the price-element. In this scenario, the transaction does not happen and the money-object returns to
903 STOCK, unspent; B) The money-object is as valuable as the price-element. The transaction takes place with
904 no remainder, and the transaction value is transferred to CONSUMPTION. C) The money-object is more
905 valuable than the price-element. The transaction takes place, and the money-object is broken down to
906 obtain a fragment whose value is equal to that of the price-element. The transaction value is then
907 transferred to CONSUMPTION, while the remainder (i.e., the 'leftover' fragment that was not used in the
908 transaction) returns to STOCK, unspent.

909

910 **Table 1.** Breakdown of the sample of copper alloy objects.

911

912

913 **EXTENDED DATA CAPTIONS**

914 **Extended Data Figure 1.** Simulation scenario 2: Monetary fragmentation. Green area: CI=95% of the
915 simulated results (DDF and Q-Q plots). Green line: mean values of the simulated results (DDF and Q-Q
916 plots). Orange lines: KDE of the distribution of metal fragments. Orange dots: Q-Q plots of the distribution
917 of metal fragments.

918 **Extended Data Figure 2.** Orders of magnitude. The boxplots show the distribution of the mass values
919 balance weights pertaining to the *shekel*- and the *mina*-range, compared to the distribution of metal
920 fragments and complete objects. Dotted lines indicate the approximate value of the weight units. Solid
921 lines indicate the boundaries of the CQA sampling (7-200 g). *Shekel*: n=244, min.=0.16 g, max.=469.41 g,
922 centre=9,.77 g, box bottom=4.08 g, box top=32.01 g, whisker bottom=0.16 g, whisker top=100.00 g.
923 Fragments: n=6,881, min.=0.01 g, max.=9,220 g, centre=26.00 g, box bottom=7.90 g, box top=82.00 g,
924 whisker bottom=2.70 g, whisker top=233.00 g. Complete: n=6,746, min.=0.27 g, max.=8,750 g,
925 centre=181.00 g, box bottom=375.27 g, box top=210.00 g, whisker bottom=31.30 g, whisker top=340.00 g.
926 *Mina*: n=367, min.=11.8 g, max.=5,050 g, centre=592.00 g, box bottom=375.27 g, box top=908.30 g, whisker
927 bottom=235.20 g, whisker top=998.36 g. Outliers method: 1.5*Interquartile range. Graph made with
928 Wavemetrics Igor Pro 6.0.5.0.

929 **Extended Data Figure 3.** CQA, diachronic results. Dotted lines represent the raw output of the quantal
930 analysis. Solid lines represent the same output after smoothing. We indicate the number of measurements
931 sub-sampled in each quantogram, and in parentheses the total sample size.

932 **Extended Data Figure 4.** Monte Carlo simulation. CQA of the sample of bronze fragments of Phases 2-3
933 compared to the CQA results for balance weights. Left Y axis: balance weights. Right Y axis: bronze
934 fragments. The horizontal dashed line represents the 5% significance level for the Monte Carlo simulation
935 ($\phi(q)=7.35$), lower than the peak value of bronze fragments ($\phi(q)=7.77$).

936 **Extended Data Figure 5.** Binned Frequency Distribution Analysis of metal fragments. Bin size=1.11 g. The
937 dots overlaid on the histograms represent multiples of 10 g (i.e., the approximate value of the Pan-
938 European *shekel*); the boundaries represent a CV=5% at 1 SD. The dots' Y values are arbitrarily placed for
939 visual clarity. Above: Phase 1 (n=397). Below: Phase 2 (n=3,339) and 3 (n=3,145).

940 **Extended Data Figure 6.** Binned Frequency Distribution Analysis of complete metal objects. Bin size=11.1 g.
941 The dots overlaid on the histograms represent multiples of the theoretical value of Pan-European *shekel* of
942 10 g; the whiskers represent CV=5% of each of these multiples at 1 SD. The dots' Y values are arbitrarily
943 offset, in order to avoid visual confusion generated by the overlapping error margins. Above: Phase 1
944 (n=4,558). Below: Phase 2 (n=1,075) and 3 (n=1,113).

945 **Extended Data Figure 7.** One-sample Kolmogorov Smirnov test for normality (two-sided). The graphs
946 compare the Cumulative Distribution Functions (CDF) of archaeological datasets and normal distributions.
947 The *p*-values and test statistic *D* of each test are shown on the graphs.

948

949 **Extended Data Table 1.** Results of the bootstrapped two-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (two-sided). The
950 test compares the distribution of mass values of each chronological phase with a bootstrapped sampling of
951 the simulation results for Scenario 1 – random fragmentation.

952

953

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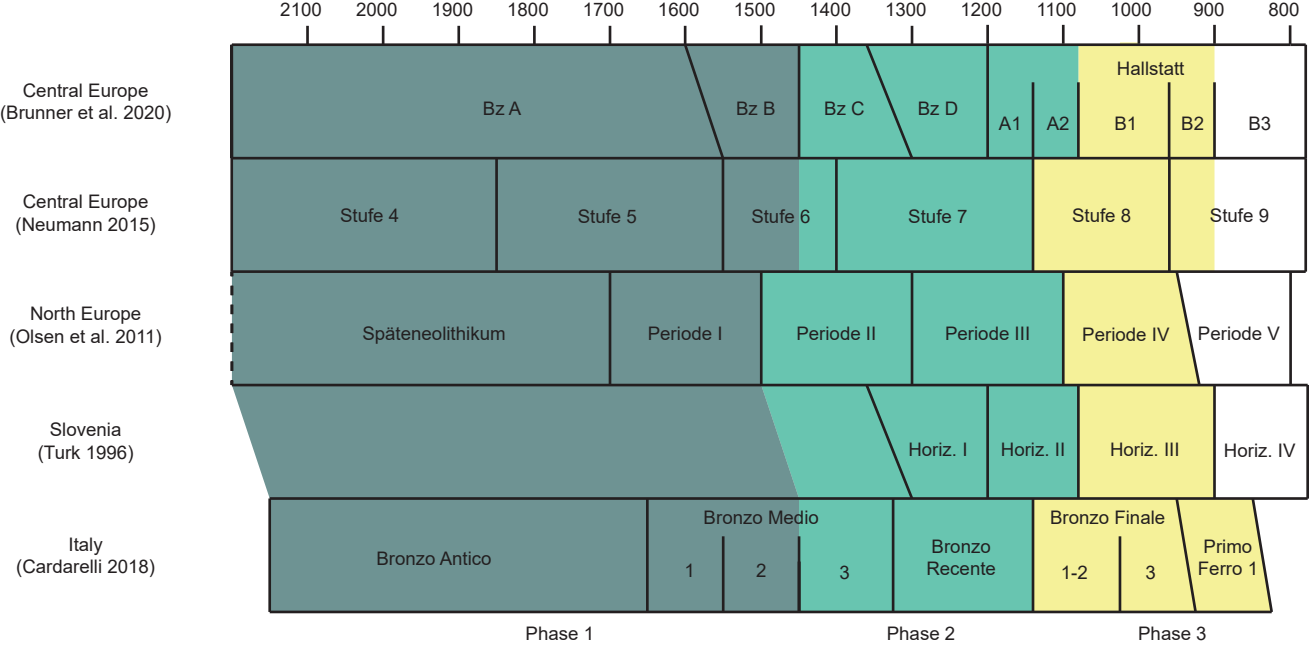
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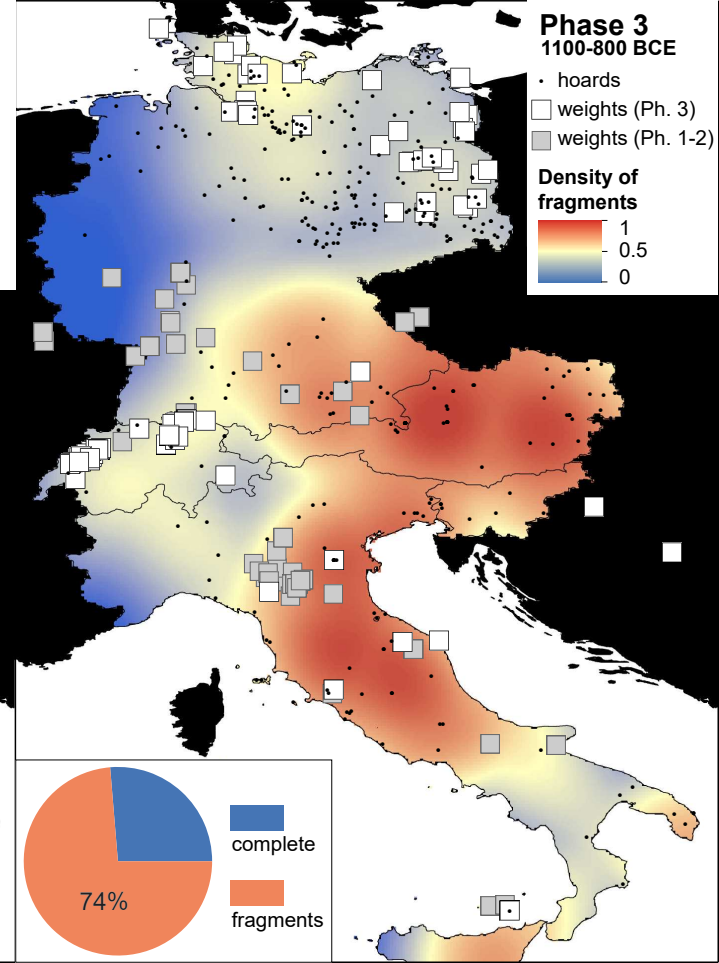
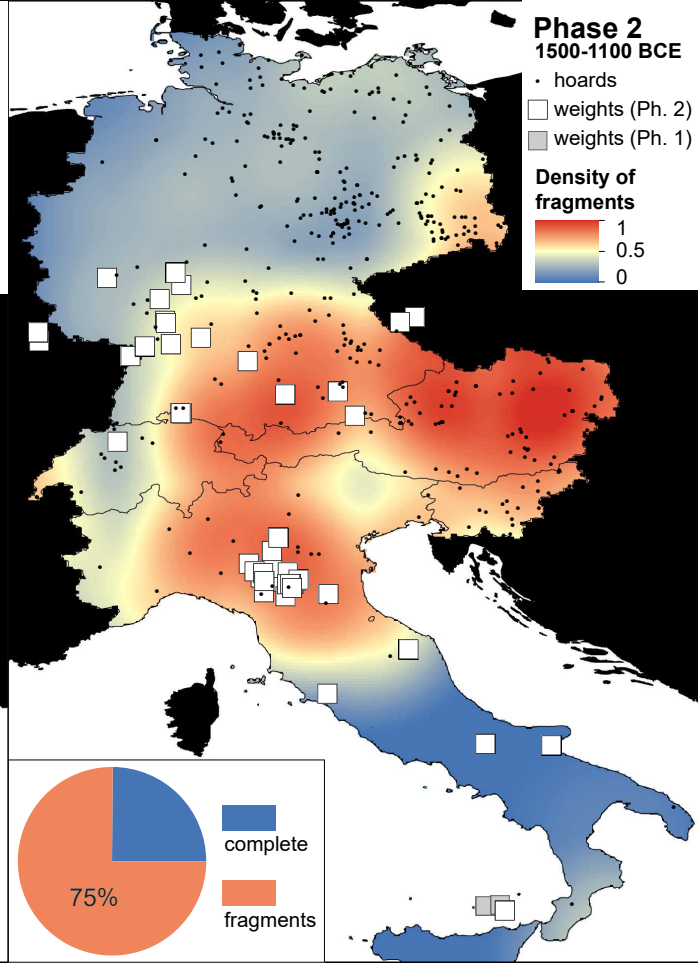
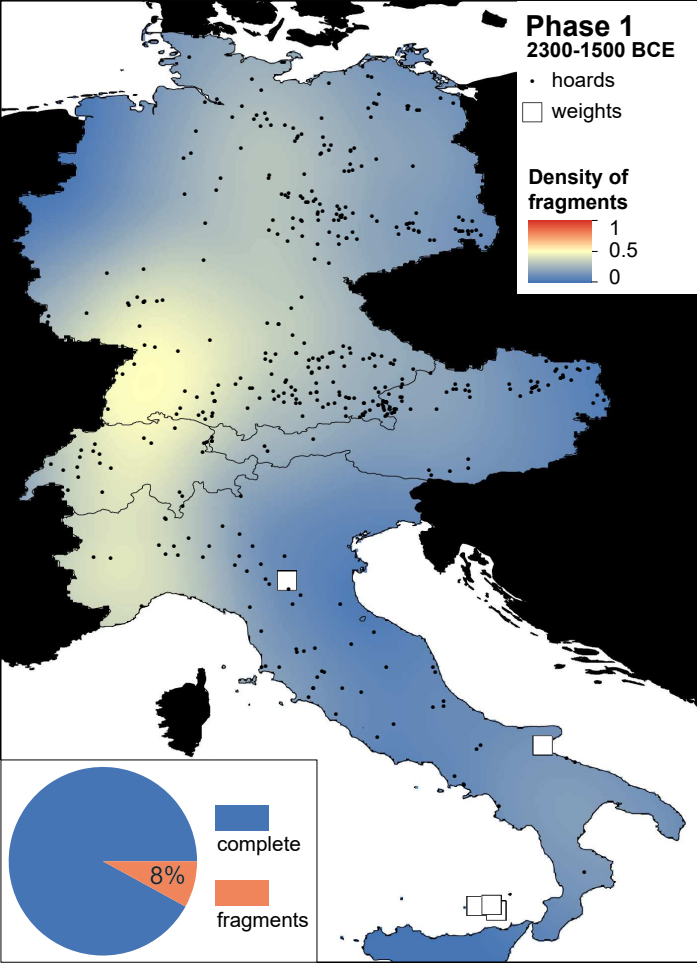
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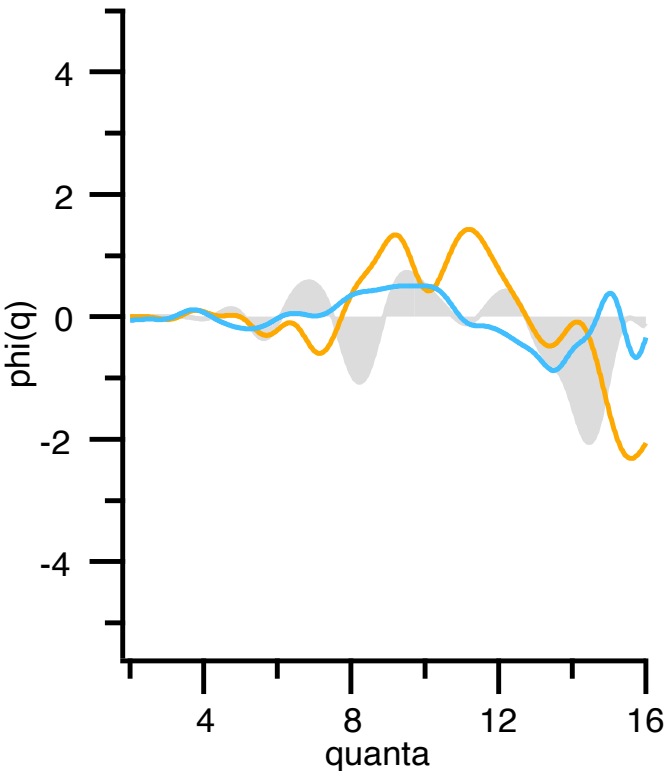
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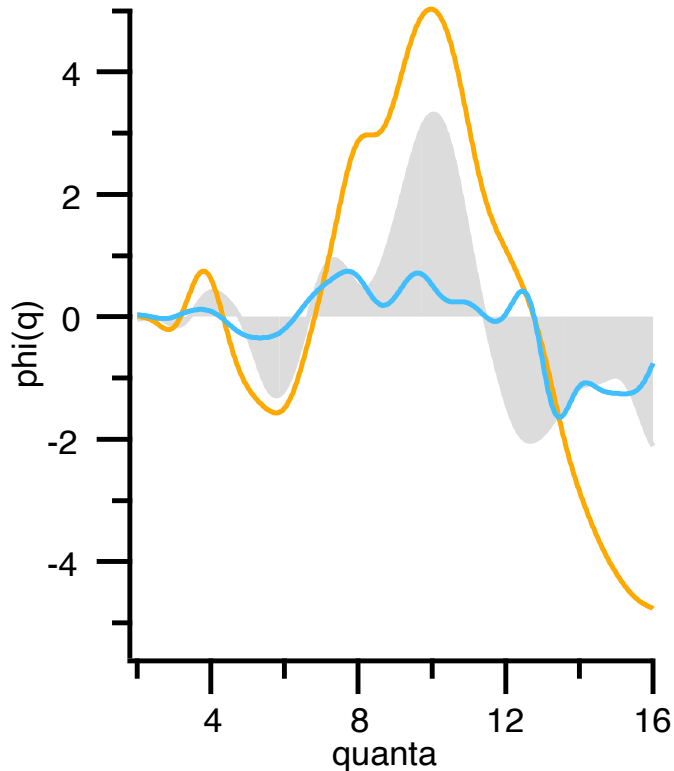


Phase 1
(2300-1500 BCE)



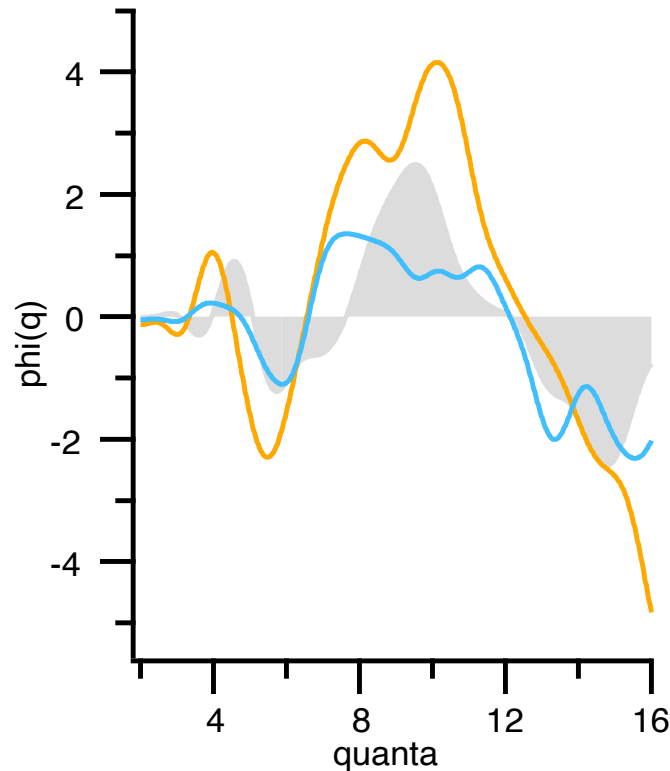
■ weights (n=16)
— fragments (n=254)
— complete (n=2705)

Phase 2
(1500-1100 BCE)



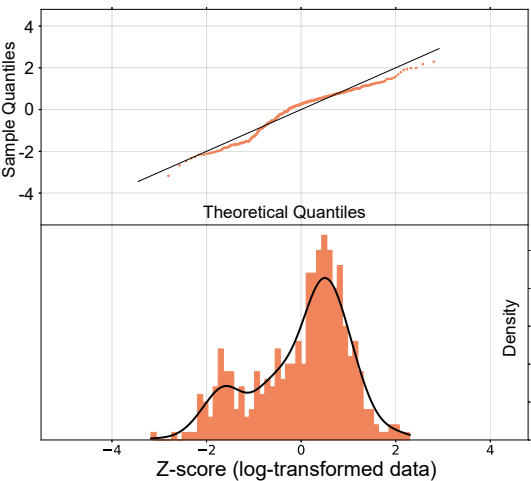
■ weights (n=63)
— fragments (n=2462)
— complete (n=809)

Phase 3
(1100-800 BCE)

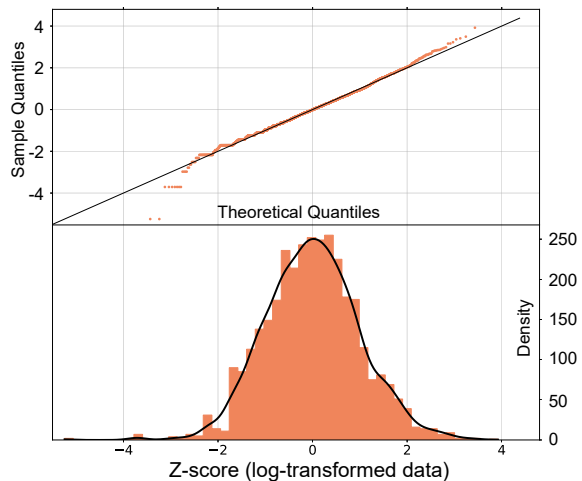


■ weights (n=41)
— fragments (n=1861)
— complete (=776)

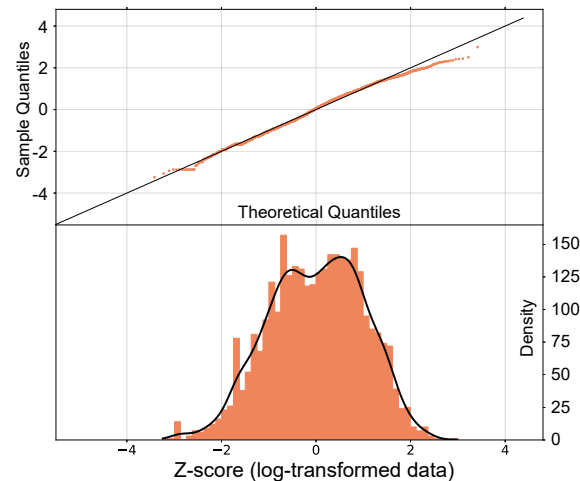
Fragments - Phase 1



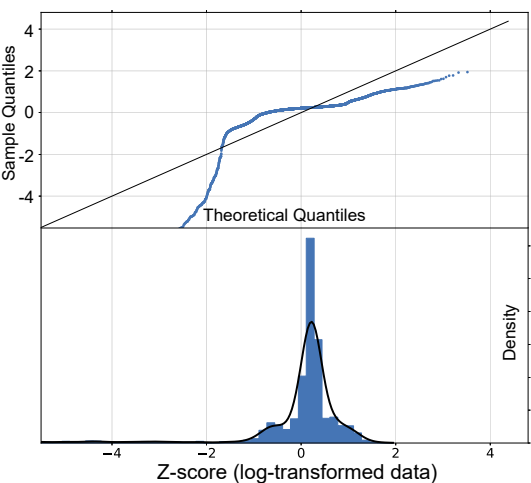
Fragments - Phase 2



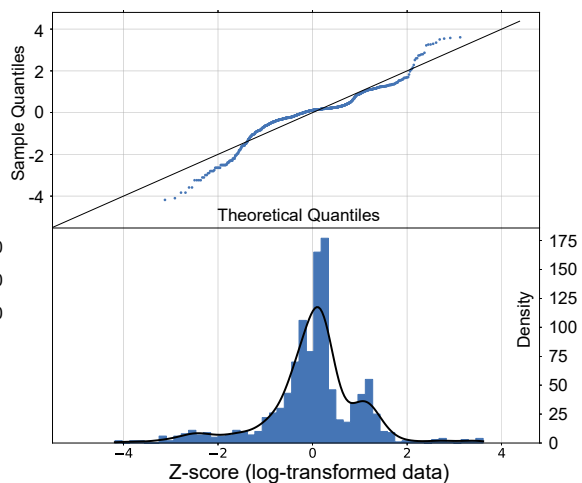
Fragments - Phase 3



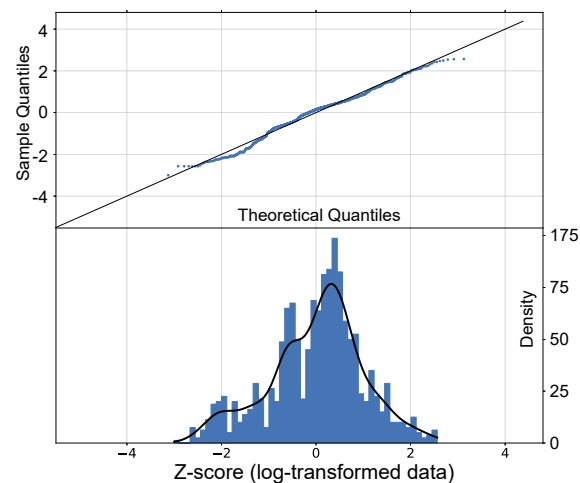
Complete objects - Phase 1



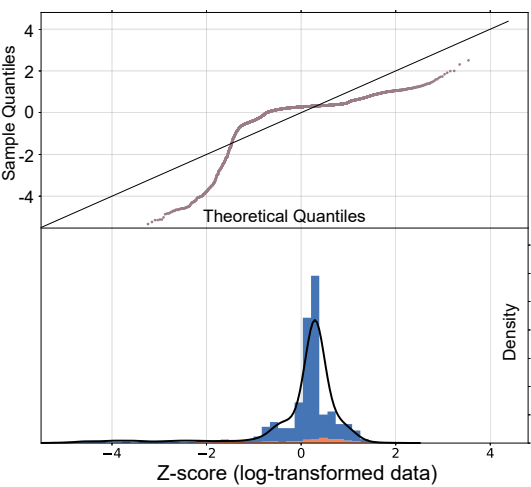
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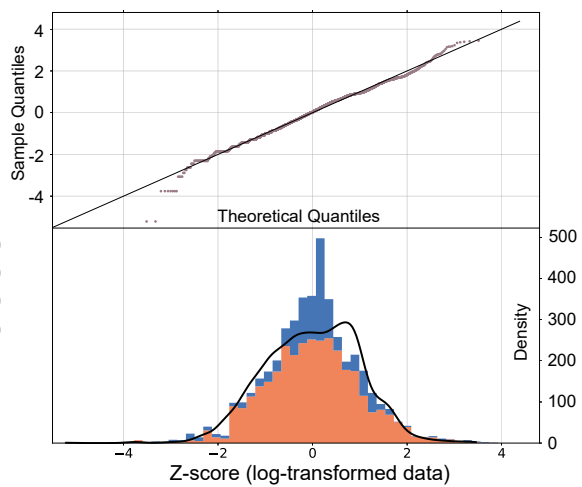
Complete objects - Phase 3



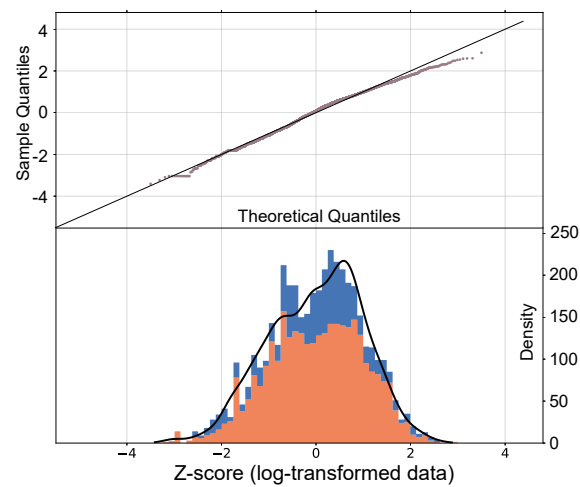
Fragments & complete objects - Phase 1

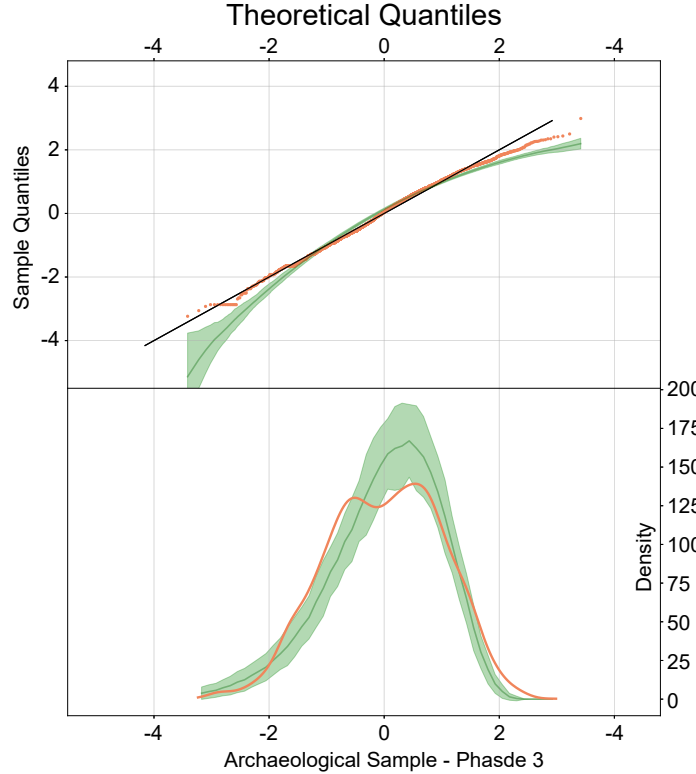
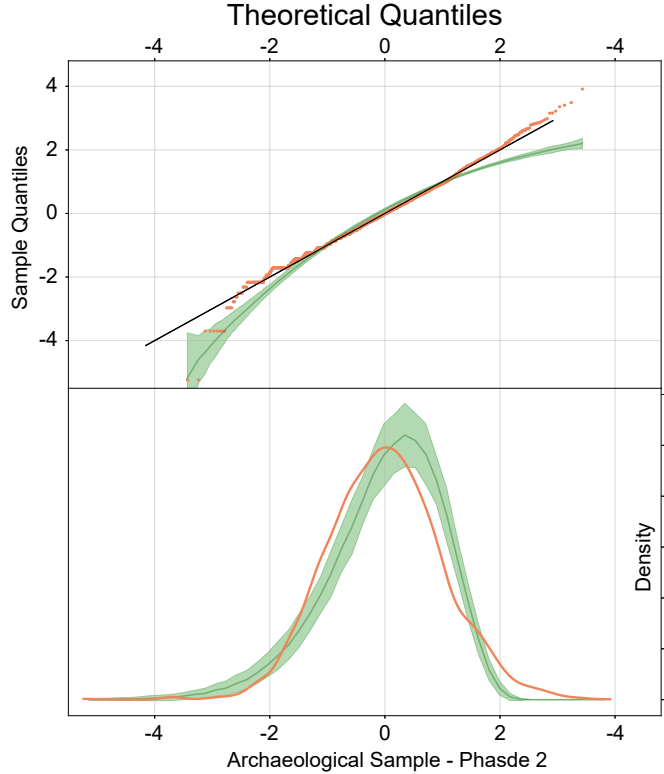
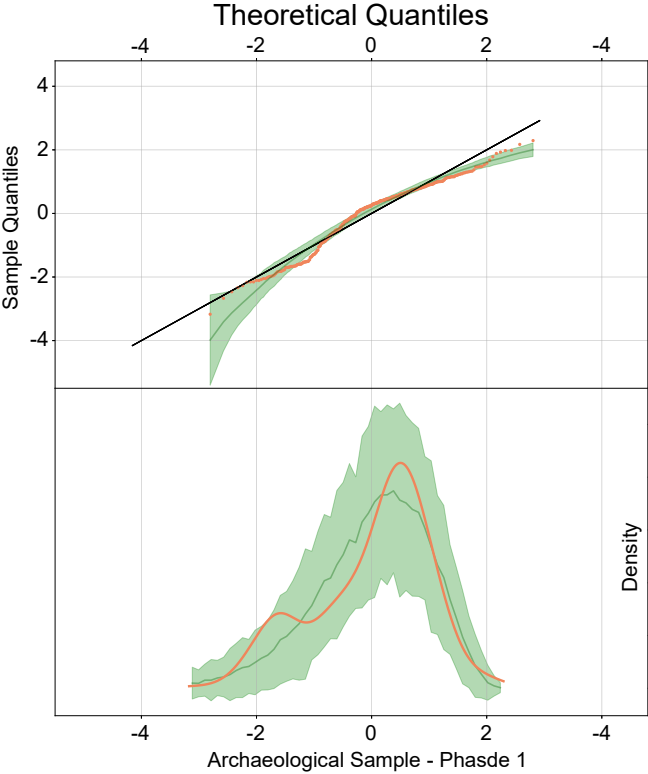


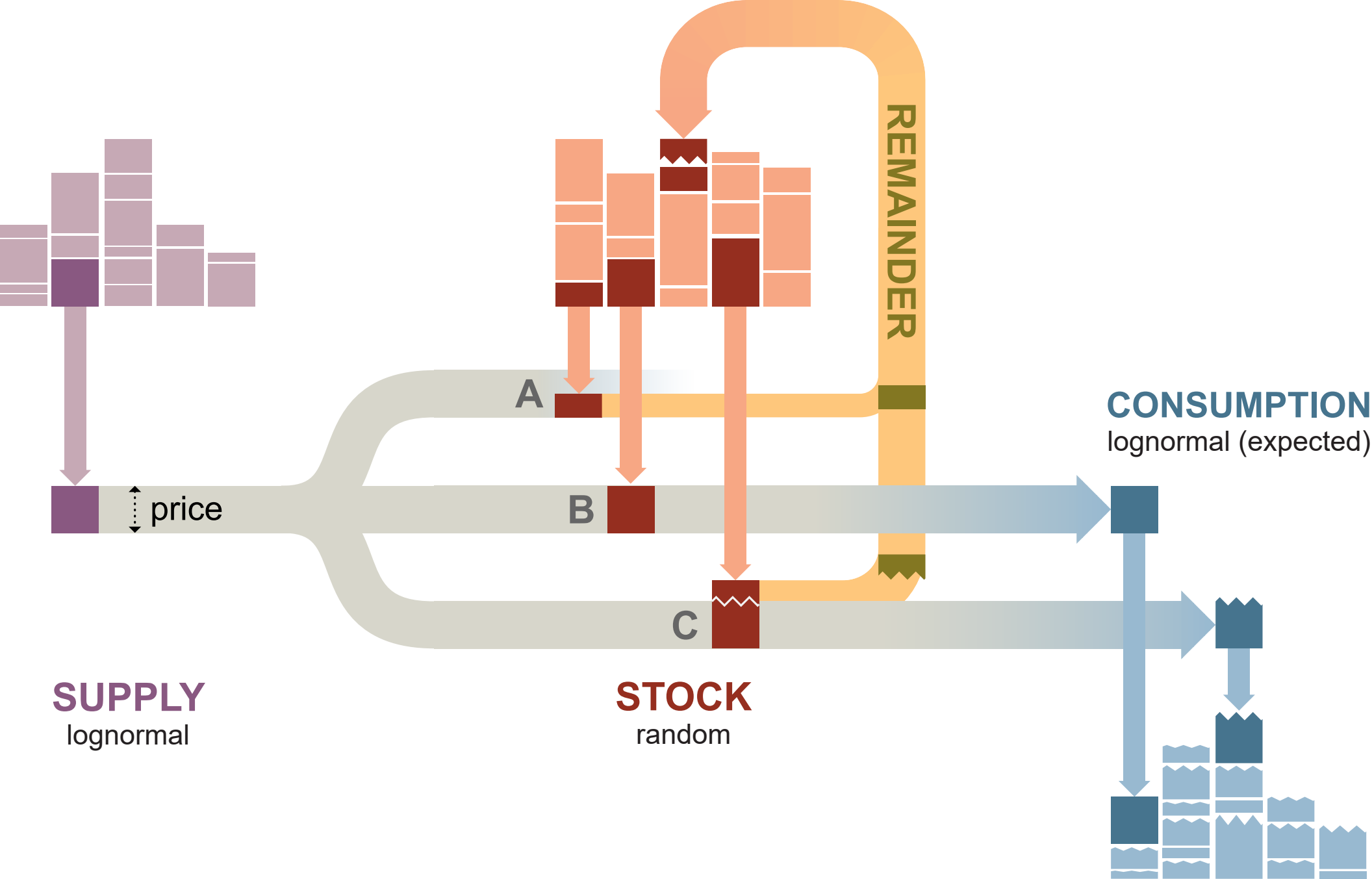
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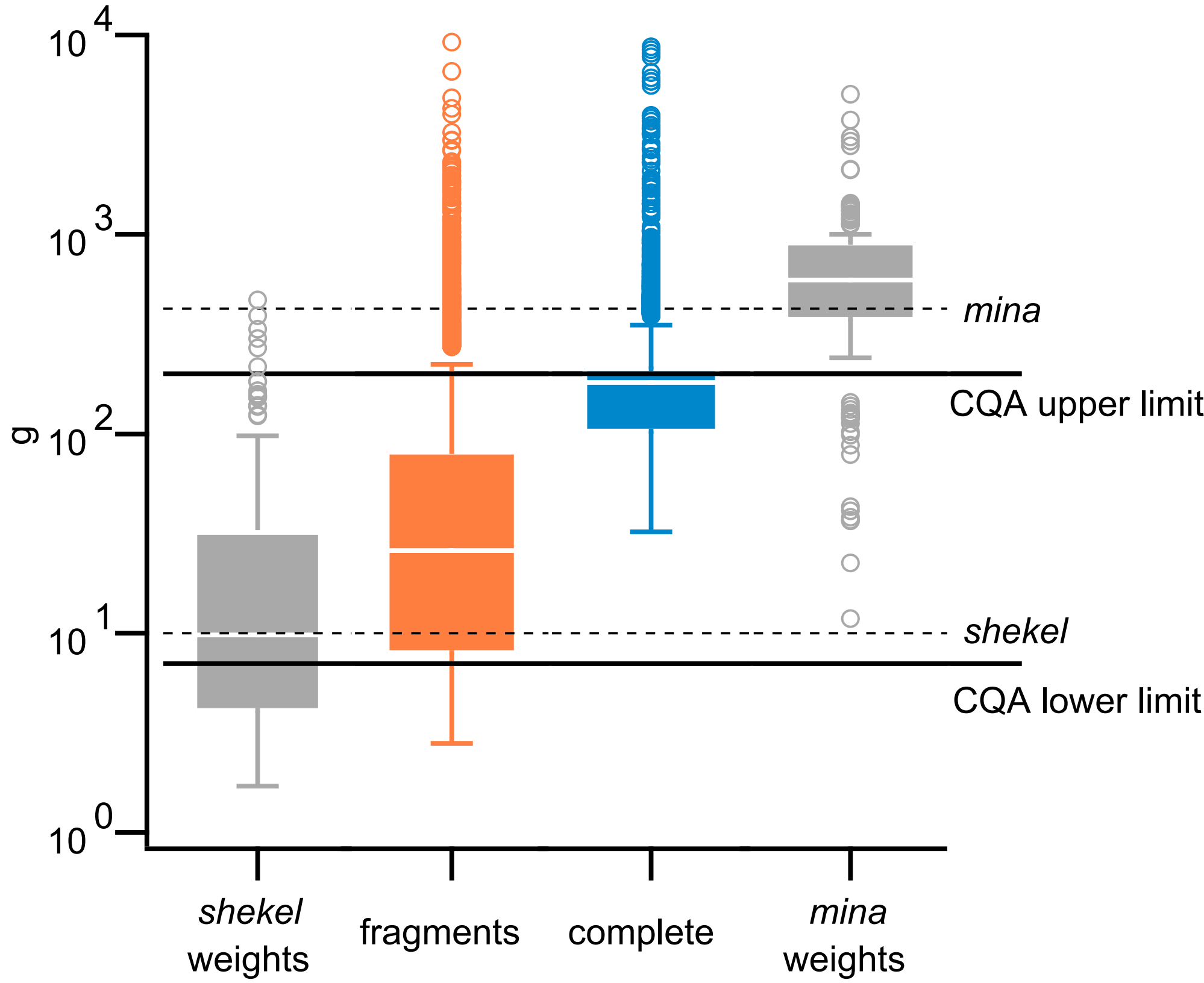


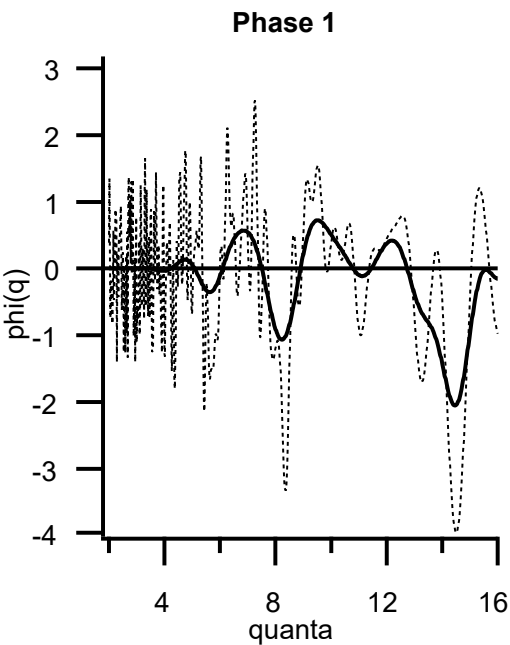
Fragments & complete objects - Phase 3



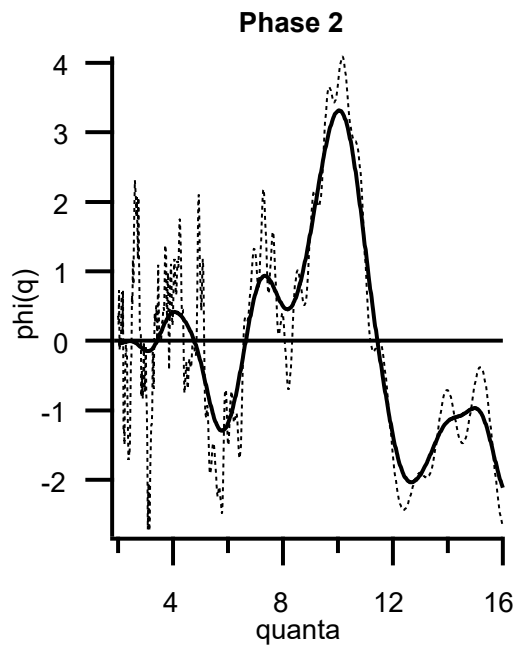




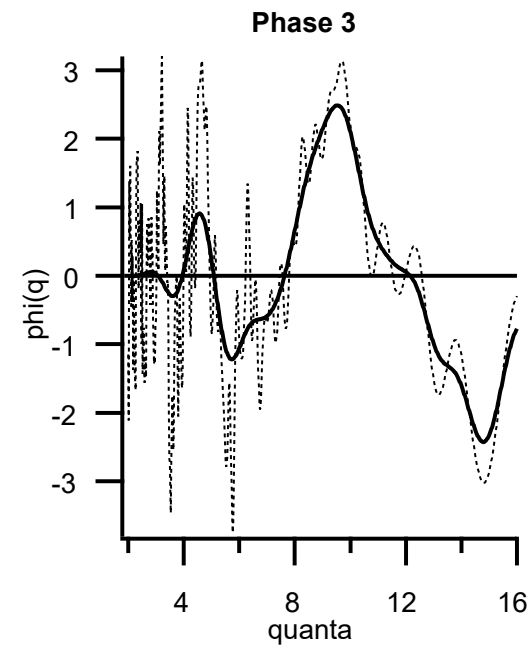




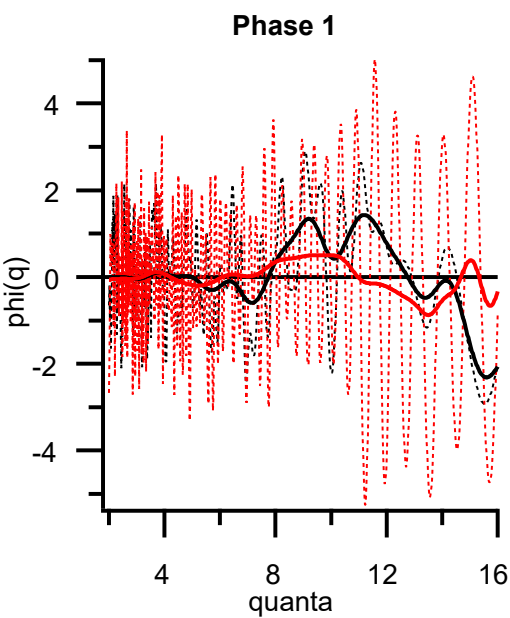
----- Weights_n=16 (18)
— Weights smooth



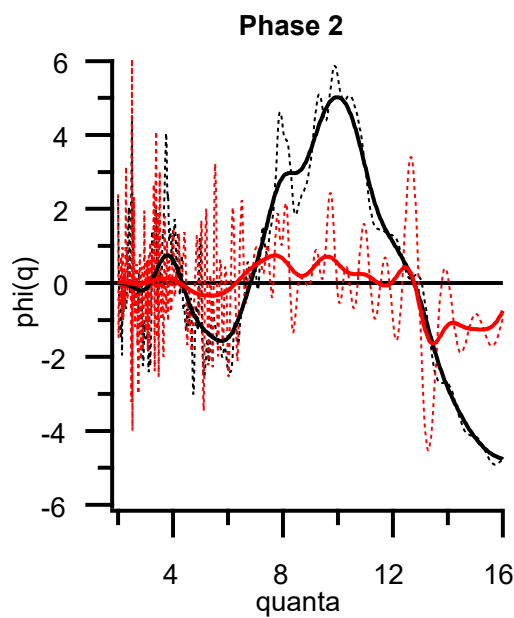
----- Weights_n=63 (134)
— Weights smooth



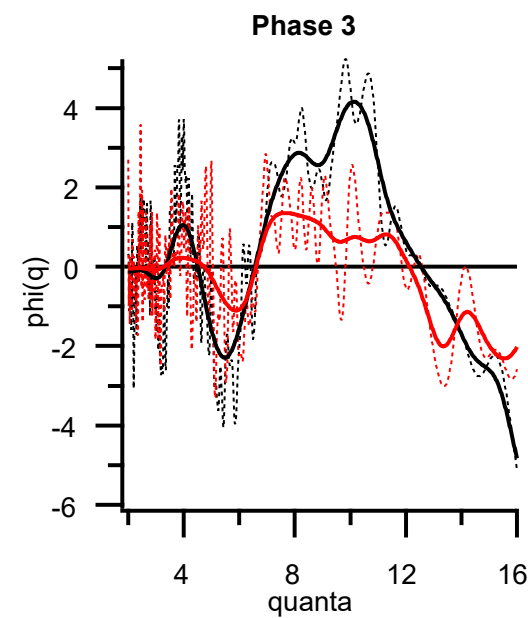
----- Weights_n=41 (69)
— Weights smooth



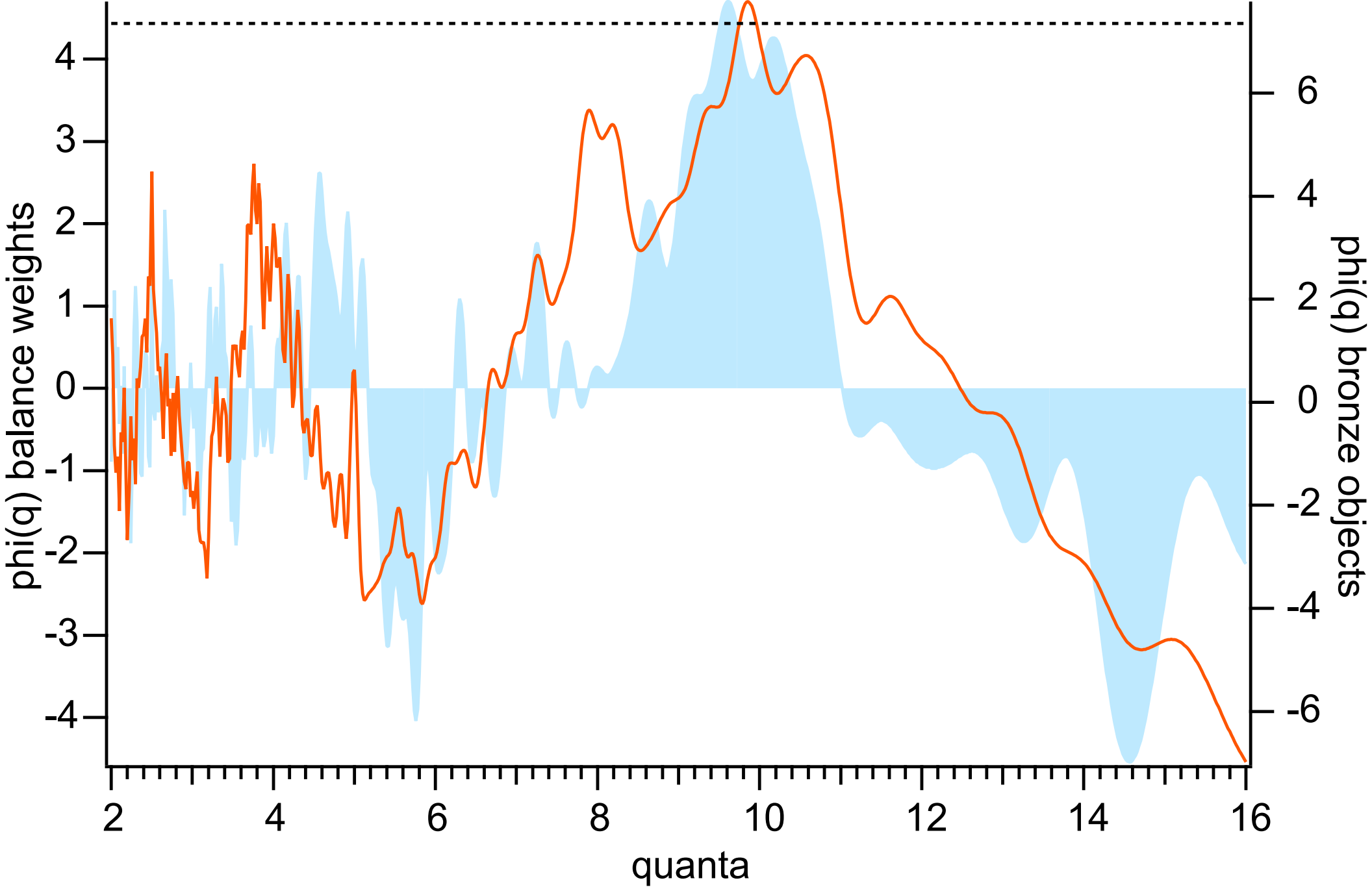
----- fragments_n=245 (396)
----- complete_n=2705 (4579)
— fragments smooth
— complete smooth



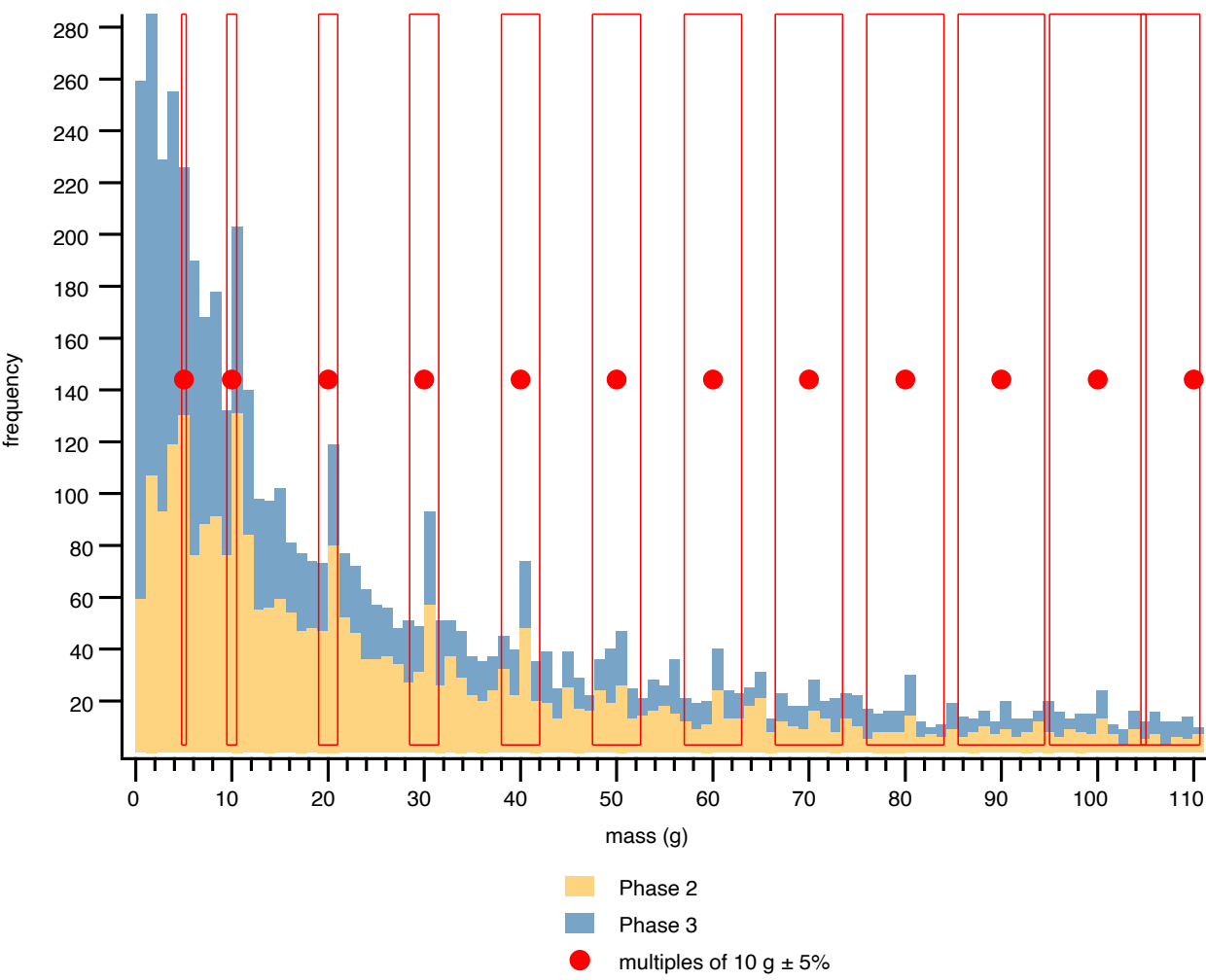
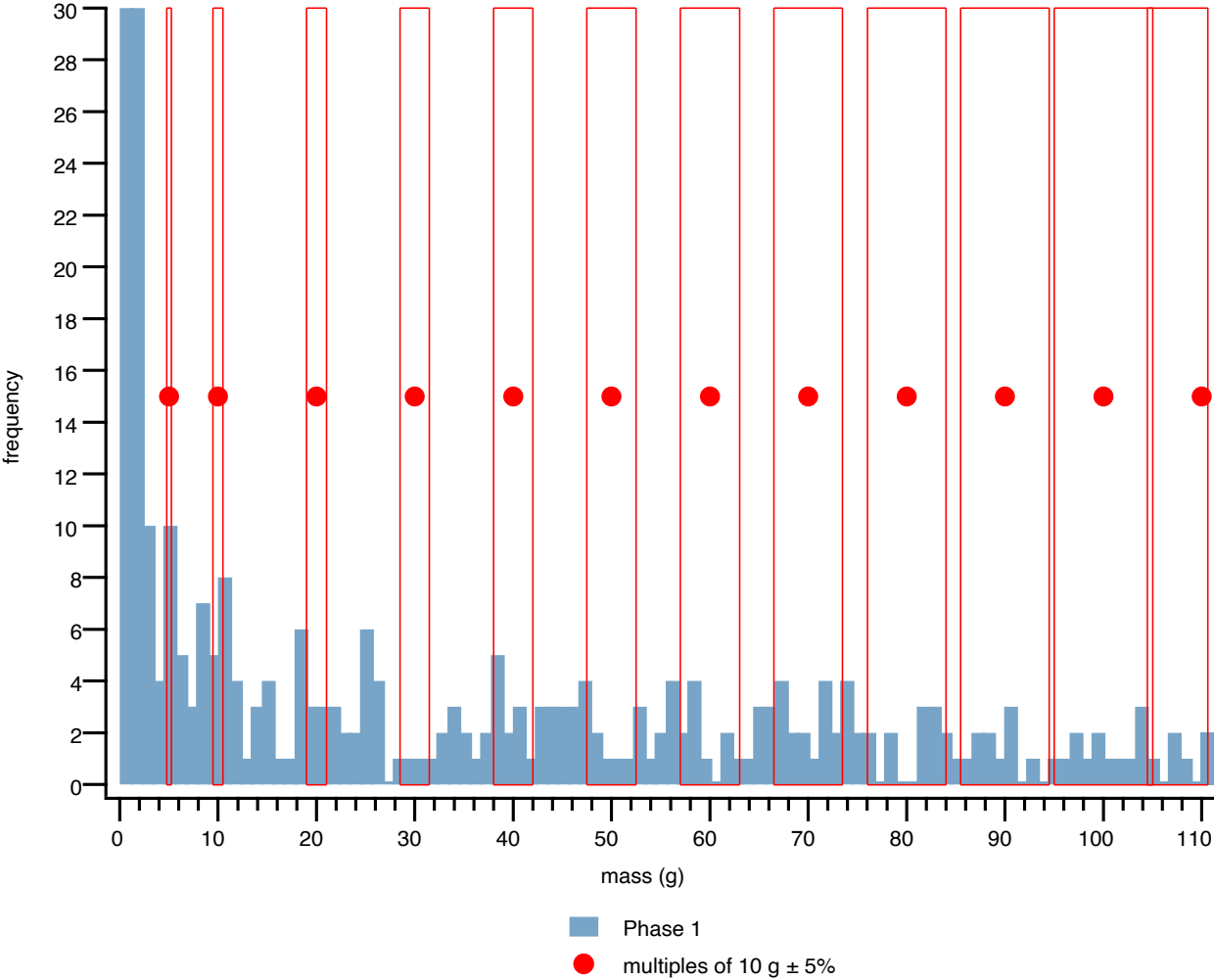
----- fragments_n=2462 (3355)
----- complete_n=809 (1111)
— fragments smooth
— complete smooth

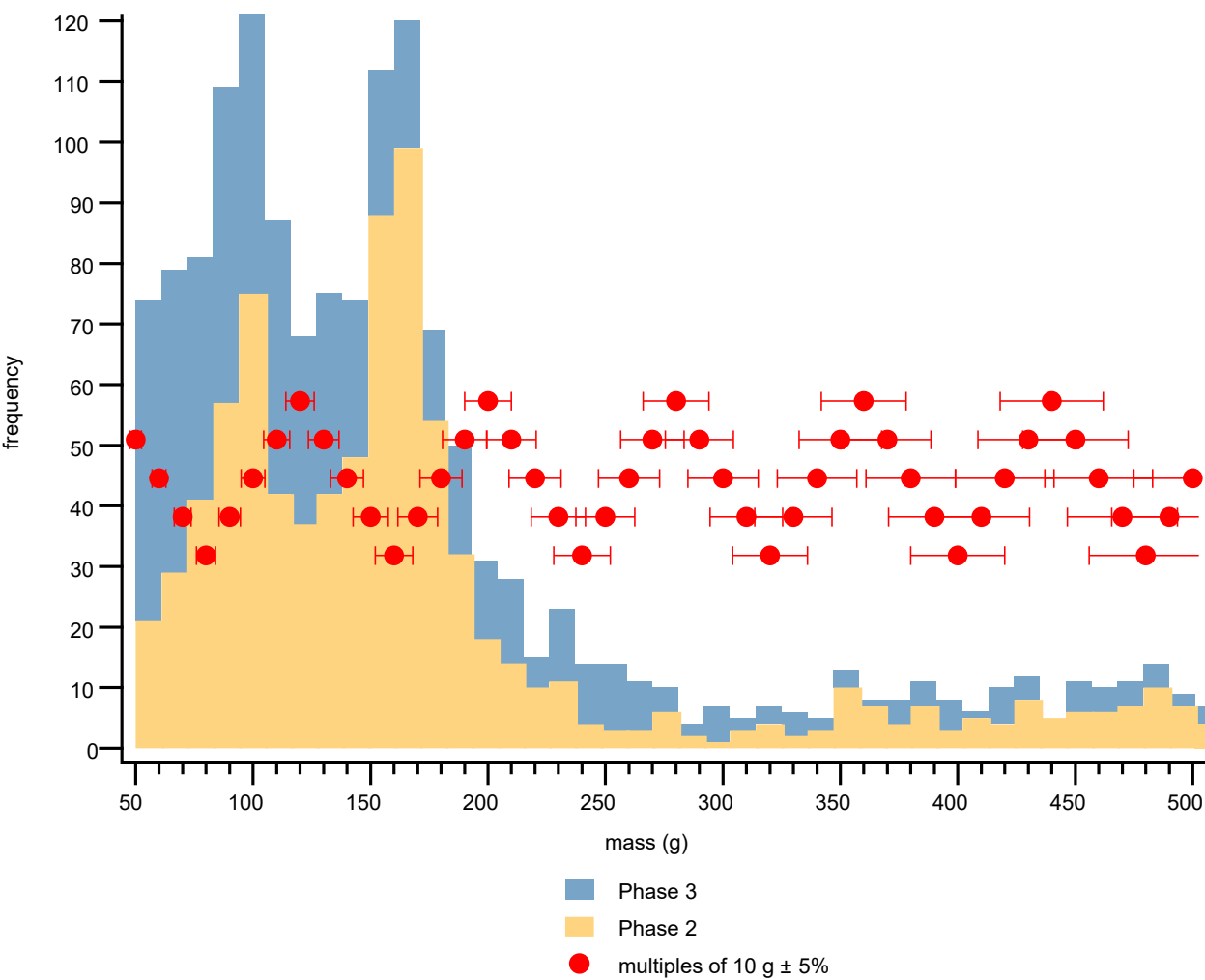
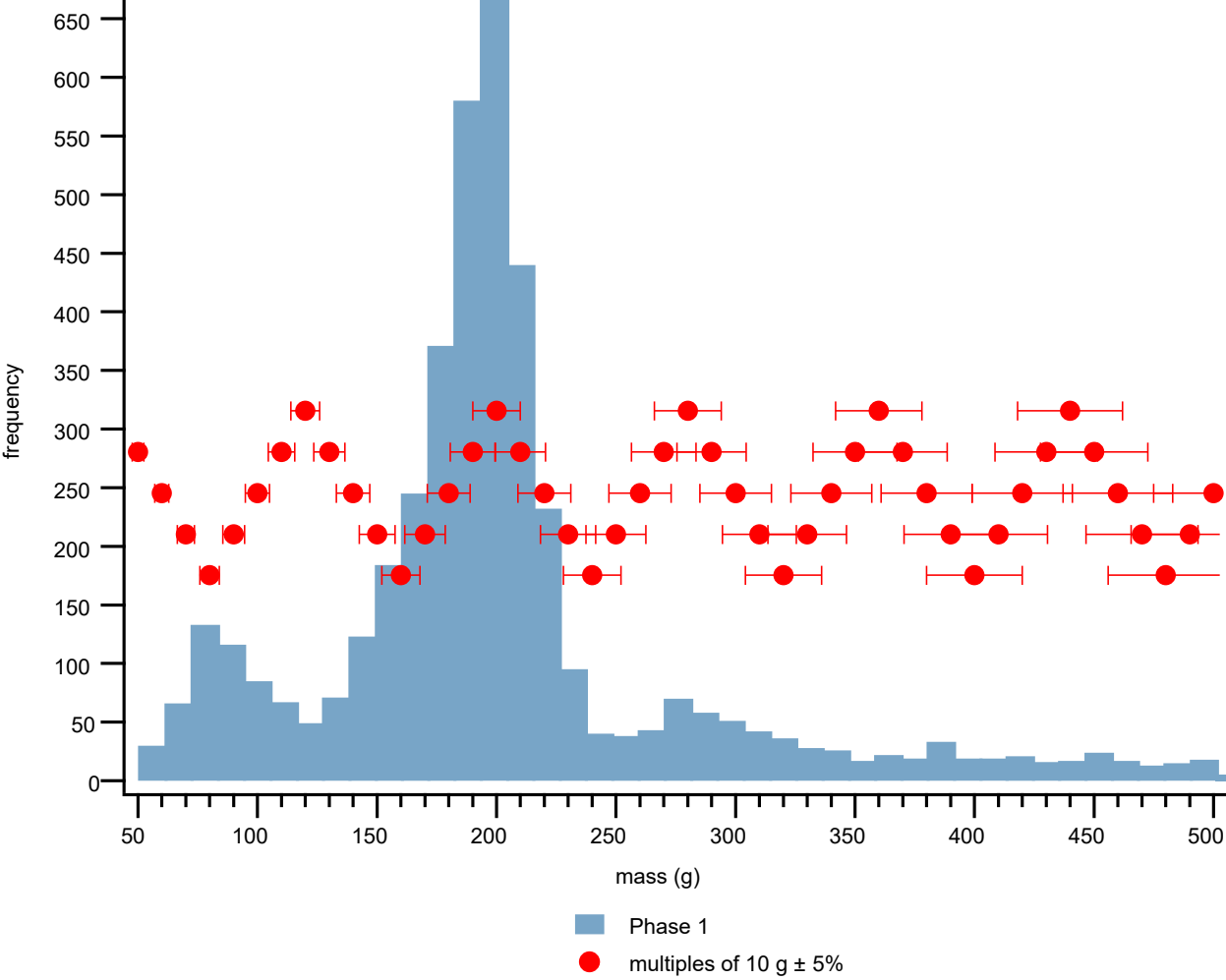


----- fragments_n=1861 (3154)
----- complete_n=776 (1126)
— fragments smooth
— complete smooth

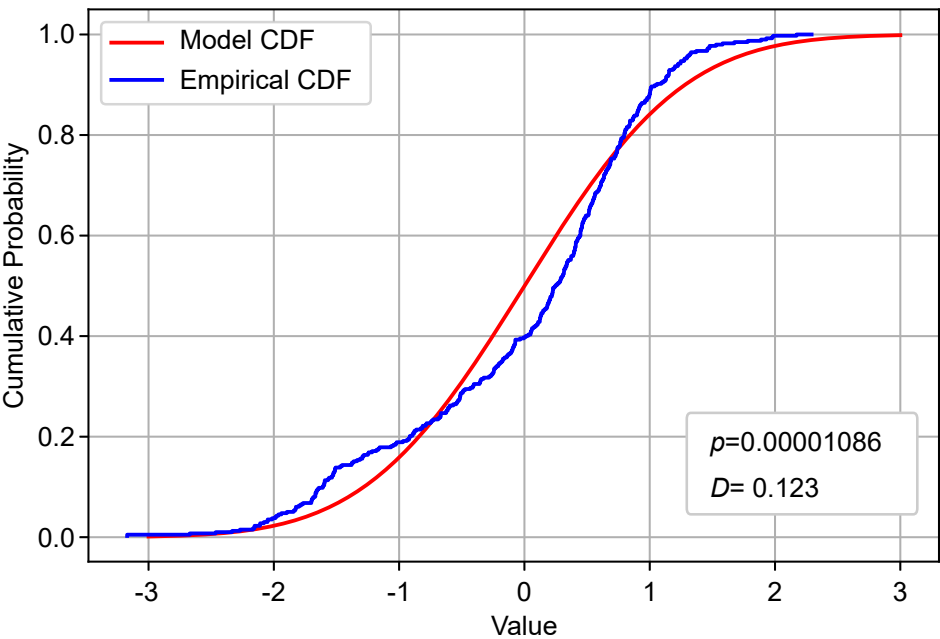


balance weights
bronze fragments
alpha 5% (bronze fragments)

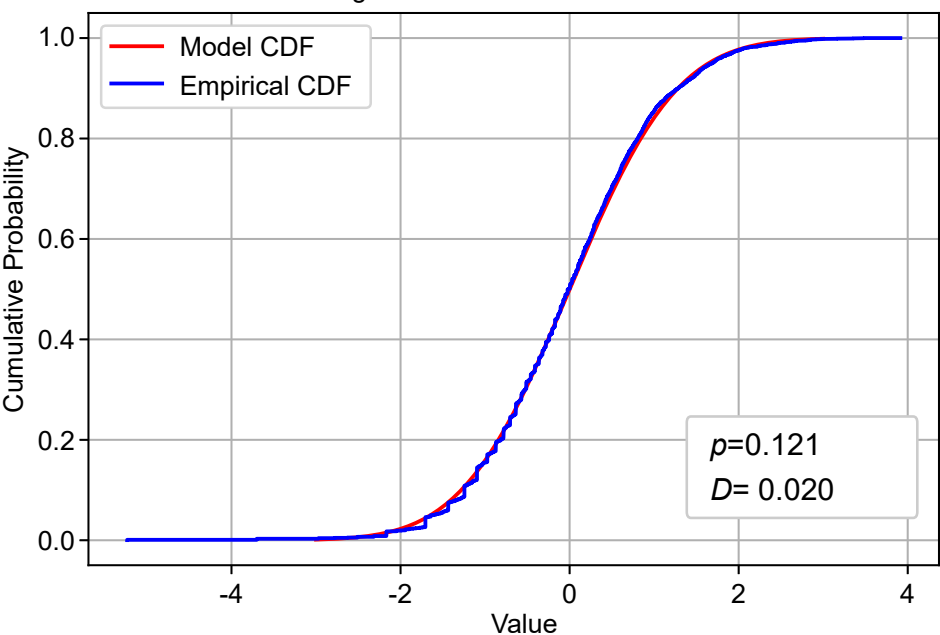




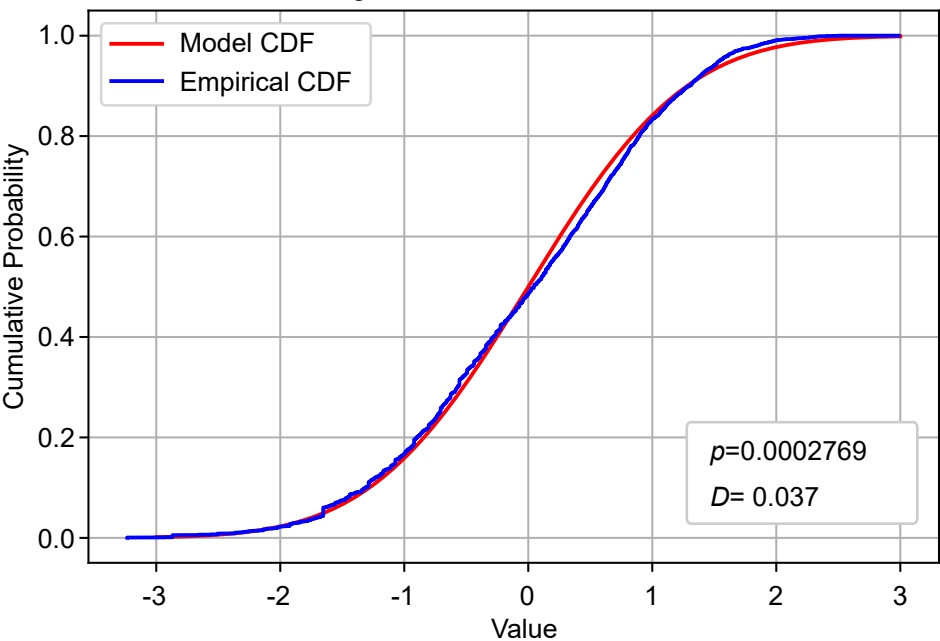
Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test Phase 1

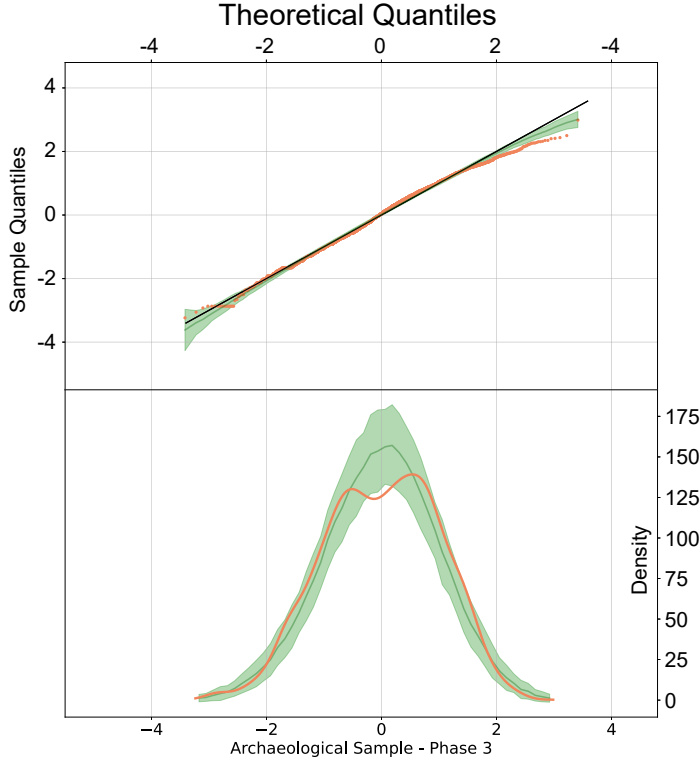
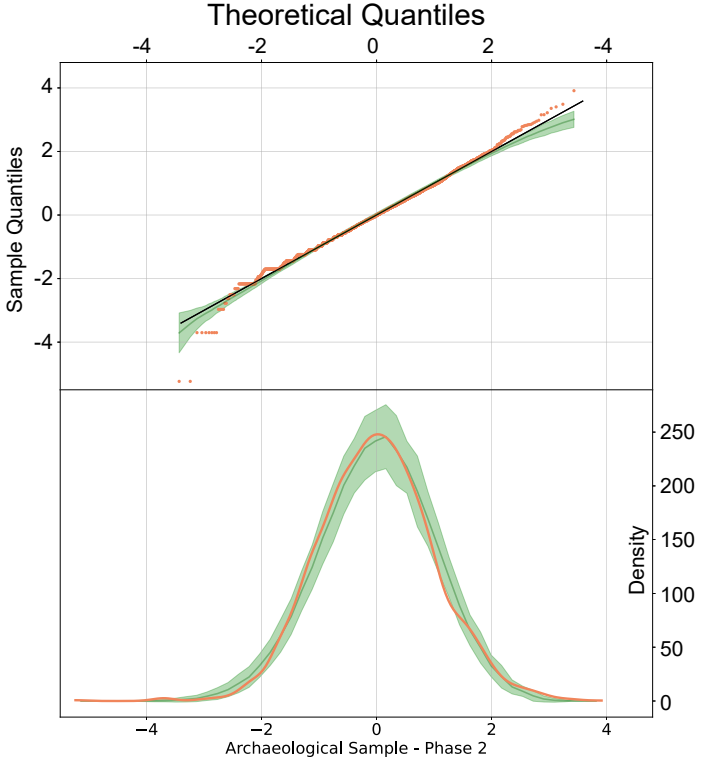
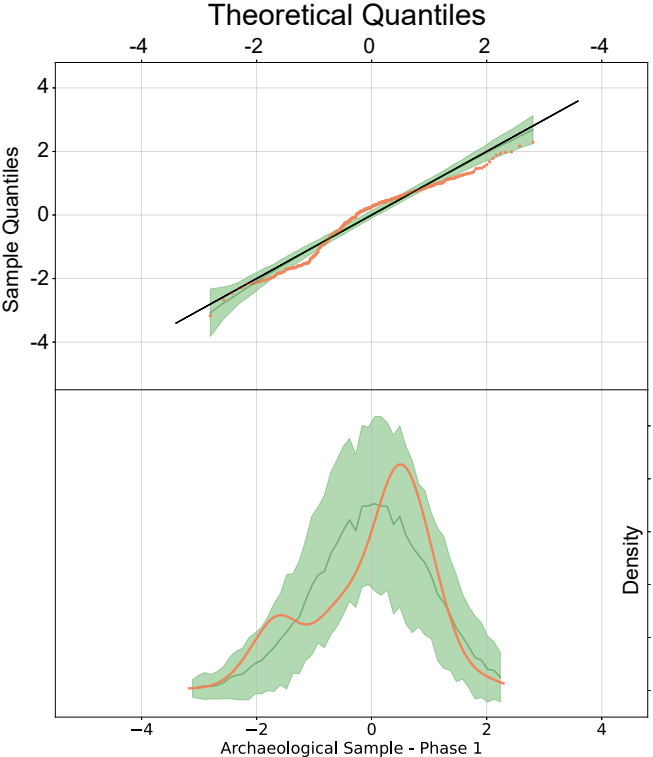


Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test Phase 2



Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test Phase 3





Two-Sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov (bootstrap - 1,000 cycles)

Scenario 1 - random fragmentation	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Mean of p-values	0.172192	0.000085	0.000382
Standard Deviation of p-values	0.001515	0.000003	0.000014
Share (%) of p-values exceeding 0.05	75.6	0	0