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PALILIA 33



Michael Kunst | Daniel Steiniger (eds.)

SETTLEMENT STRUCTURES AND METALLURGY

The Relations between Italy and the Iberian
Peninsula in the Early Chalcolithic

Papers of an International Conference Held in Rome,
Museo Nazionale Romano – Palazzo Massimo,
6–7 October 2011

For some considerable time right up to the present, almost all specialists have been dealing at various different regional levels with the topics of the conference published here. The expansion of the source material in the last decades has led to a comprehensive understanding of early metallurgy and its role in social, economic and settlement-structure terms. Despite this far-reaching progress, concrete questions are emerging more and more clearly that can only be answered at international and interdisciplinary levels. It is precisely this international communication that the conference on which the present volume is based has attempted to set in motion so as to address these complex questions. This publication pulls together and sets out the state of research on the topic at the beginning of the 21st century for the entire Central and Western Mediterranean regions.

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Michael Kunst | Daniel Steiniger (eds.)
SETTLEMENT STRUCTURES
AND METALLURGY

Palilia 33

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT

PALILIA 33

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Ortwin Dally und Norbert Zimmermann

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT

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Vorwort

von *Henner von Hesberg* und *Dirce Marzoli*

Ein offener Dialog, eine einsichtige Darstellung der jeweiligen Arbeitsweisen und die Bereitschaft, den anderen Forschern in die Archive Zugang und in die Ergebnisse eigener Arbeiten Einblick zu gewähren, sind Voraussetzungen eines fruchtbaren Austauschs. Sie führen zu einer vertieften Kenntnis der jeweiligen Erforschung einer archäologischen Epoche, ihrer lokalen Besonderheiten und überregionalen Verbindungen. Ausdruck einer solchen Art von Austausch, der selbst in Zeiten problemloser Kommunikation nicht immer selbstverständlich ist, bilden diese Tagung sowie deren jetzt vorliegende Publikation. Sie erfolgt bedauerlicherweise mit großer Verspätung, aber ihre grundlegende Botschaft ist nicht überholt: nur gemeinsam und länderübergreifend lässt sich das Thema angehen.

Der hier behandelten Kupferzeit Südwesteuropas widmen sich methodisch innovative und interdisziplinär angelegte Projekte, zu denen Ausgrabungen von Siedlungen, Nekropolen, Bergbauarealen ebenso zählen wie Material- und Umweltstudien. Immer komplexer werden dabei auch Einblicke in Gesellschaftsstrukturen, Wirtschaftsweisen, Handelswege und Technologien, zunehmend deutlicher lassen sich zudem die Wege der Übertragung von Fertigkeiten und Produktionsformen nachzeichnen. Einige Ergebnisse liegen schon in internationalen Referenzwerken vor, gleichwohl werden sie im Kontext der Tagung ergänzt und vertieft und um die Forschungsergebnisse aus nicht immer leicht zugänglichen lokalen Publikationen erweitert, welche zudem häufiger lediglich Vorberichte darstellen. Abgesehen davon aber bieten die Beiträge neue Resultate und Interpretationsansätze.

Gerade auf den Gebieten der Siedlungsarchäologie und ihrer Verbindung mit der Montanarchäologie und der Archäometallurgie sind nämlich sowohl auf der Pyrenäen- wie auch auf der Apenninhalbinsel in den letzten Jahrzehnten bahnbrechende Ergebnisse erzielt worden, die nach weiterem Austausch über die Beziehungen zwischen Italien und Südwesteuropa im Chalkolithikum verlangen. Für diese Thematik haben die beiden Abteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts – Rom und Madrid –, deren Aktivitäten diesem geographischen Raum vorwiegend gelten, als Veranstalter der Tagung und als Herausgeber der Publikation ein Forum geboten. Mit der Veröffentlichung der Tagung suchen sie der Diskussion im Bereich der Kupferzeitforschung weitere Impulse zu geben.

Die Tagung wurde zwar von den beiden Abteilungen organisiert, aber sie versteht sich als Projekt von Prähistorikerinnen und Prähistorikern aus vielen europäischen Ländern mit dem gemeinsamen Ziel, einen Beitrag zur Kenntnis der westlichen Hemisphäre der europäischen Kupferzeit zu leisten und Anstöße zu weiteren Zusammenarbeiten zu geben. Dabei ging es darum, die sehr unterschiedliche Situation der iberischen mit jener der Apenninhalbinsel zu vergleichen und zu prüfen, ob hier nur der Erkenntnisstand voneinander abweicht oder wir grundsätzlich zwei unterschiedliche Ausprägungen in einem historischen Horizont vor uns haben.

Die Veranstaltung dieser Tagung gewinnt über die fachwissenschaftliche Bedeutung auch eine forschungspolitische. Die Prähistorische Archäologie, die in den Abteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts anfangs nur sporadisch und seit den sechziger Jahren in zunehmendem Maße an Bedeutung erlangte, präsentiert sich hier mit einem eigenen Projekt, dessen Anfänge bis in die Zeit der 1954 gegründeten Madrider Abteilung zurückreichen. Zu den Mitarbeitern der ersten Stunde zählte ein Prähistoriker, zu dessen Schwerpunkten die Kupferzeit gehörte: Edward Sangmeister. Ab 1959 war Hermanfrid Schubart als Prähistoriker an der Madrider Abteilung tätig, die er von 1980 bis 1994 leitete. Ihre Forschungen auf diesem Gebiet, vor allem die von ihnen gemeinsam geleitete Ausgrabung in Zambujal bei Torres Vedras in Portugal sind bis heute wichtige Referenzen für die Kupferzeitforschung geblieben. Ihre Namen und der mit ihnen verbundene Grabungsplatz wurden zum Synonym für den Erfolg internationaler Zusammenarbeit, aus der immer weitere Netzwerke hervorgingen. 1994 übernahm Michael Kunst als Referent die prähistorische Forschung der Madrider Abteilung und führte vor allem auch die Grabungen in Zambujal fort.

Das seit 1829 aktive Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica war am Anfang ganz den wissenschaftlichen Zielen Johann Joachim Winckelmanns verpflichtet, die in vieler Hinsicht aus einer philologischen Tradition hervorgegangen waren. Deswegen blieben die Zeiträume ohne Schriftzeugnisse zunächst außerhalb der Überlegungen. Erst später, unter dem Einfluss der Entwicklungen in den skandinavischen und angelsächsischen Ländern, kamen einzelne Aspekte der Prähistorie hinzu, konnten aber nie größere Bedeutung erlangen. Immerhin hat Wolfgang Helbig mit seiner 1879 erschienenen

Schrift über „Die Italiker in der Poebene“ sich in diese Bereiche der archäologischen Wissenschaft vorgewagt und damit auch Luigi Pigorini beeinflusst, der seinerseits oft in den Adunanzien des Instituts in jenen Jahren vortrug. Ein gegenseitiger Austausch war vorhanden, aber die Prähistorie in Italien ging bald eigene Wege und das Germanico blieb in der Folgezeit auf die klassische Antike konzentriert, wenn man einmal von der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus absieht, in der aber stärker die Zeit der Völkerwanderung und damit als Wissenschaft die Frühgeschichte an Bedeutung gewann. Spätere Studien von Seiten der Prähistorie, die innerhalb der Abteilung Rom des DAI entstanden, widmeten sich meist der Eisenzeit und ergänzten somit methodisch die Versuche der Klassischen Archäologie, die Frühphasen der späteren Kulturen Italiens zu erschließen. Zu nennen sind hier etwa die 1959 und 1962 erschienenen Werke Hermann Müller-Karpes zu den Anfängen Roms. Später hat Kerstin Hoffmann als Forschungsstipendiatin der Abteilung im Rahmen des von der Gerda-Henkel-Stiftung geförderten Projekts zu den einheimischen Kulturen in Italien sehr intensiv den internen Dialog gefördert. Aber erst mit Daniel Steininger 2006 startete dann ein eigenständiges Projekt, das mit den traditionellen Forschungsfeldern der Abteilung Rom nichts mehr zu tun hatte und ganz im Chalkolithikum angesiedelt war.

Darin kommt ein umfassender Wandel in den Methoden und der Organisation von Forschung innerhalb des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts zum Ausdruck, der jüngst zu vielen Veränderungen geführt hat, etwa in der sogenannten Bildung von Clustern, also die Abteilungen übergreifenden Forschungsverbünden. Damit die unterschiedlichen Abteilungen des Instituts in den verschiedenen Kulturregionen Europas und der ganzen Welt untereinander weiterhin einen fruchtbaren Austausch pflegen können, zugleich aber auch für ihre Partner an den diversen Universitäten und übrigen Forschungsstätten anschlussfähig bleiben, muss die Konzentration auf einzelne archäologische Disziplinen zu-

gunsten einer breiteren Fächerung erweitert werden. Dadurch ist es möglich, verschiedene historische Horizonte und Epochen etwa im Bereich des Mittelmeeres, aber auch darüber hinaus, in ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden in den Blick zu bekommen. Zugleich profitieren die Disziplinen voneinander durch ihre methodische Vielfalt.

In einer solchen engen Verschränkung kann die Arbeit des Instituts eine wirkungsvolle Ergänzung zu dem Studien- und Forschungsbetrieb der Universitäten bilden, in denen bei aller Interdisziplinarität durch die Studienerfordernisse und Fächerdefinitionen die Grenzen stärker bewahrt werden müssen.

Die Tagung mit ihrer Thematik stellt einen weiteren Schritt in diese Richtung dar und bezeugt zugleich Öffnung und neue Verbindungen, die dadurch möglich sind. Ihr Konzept haben Daniel Steininger und Michael Kunst gemeinsam entworfen. Beide beschäftigen sich vorrangig mit der Kupferzeit und beide stammen von der Universität Freiburg, wo der eine 2007 und der andere 1982 promoviert hat, womit sie wiederum in der mittelbaren Tradition Sangmeisters stehen.

Ihnen gilt unser besonderer Dank. Danken möchten wir auch Patrizia Petitti und Christian Strahm für die Mitarbeit zur Vorbereitung der Tagung im wissenschaftlichen Komitee sowie allen jenen Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die durch Vortrag, Diskussion und schriftlichen Bericht zum Erfolg des Unternehmens beigetragen haben. Auch an alle anderen, die sich an der Betreuung der Tagung und an der Redaktion beteiligt haben, richtet sich unser Dank. Für die finanzielle Förderung gilt der Fritz Thyssen Stiftung unser besonderer Dank. Hervorheben möchten wir schließlich die Gastfreundschaft von Rita Paris und Anna Maria Moretti, die für die Tagung am 6. und 7. Oktober 2011 ihren schönen Vortragsaal im Palazzo Massimo in Rom zur Verfügung stellten.

Henner von Hesberg, Rom, und Dirce Marzoli, Madrid, Januar 2013

Social Inequality, Fortified Settlements and Enclosures in the Southern Iberian Chalcolithic (3rd Millennium BC)

An Open Discussion

by *José E. Márquez-Romero* and *Víctor Jiménez-Jáimez*

Introduction. Contextualising the Proverbial Social Complexity of the Southern Iberian Chalcolithic

Amongst many Mediterranean archaeologists the idea that the Iberian Peninsula, and especially its southernmost regions, witnessed the rise and development of some of the earliest complex communities in Western European Late Prehistory has become a commonplace. In particular, the Iberian Chalcolithic is predominantly considered a paradigm of early social inequality, a starting point for the emergence of state societies and the decline of kinship as the basis for most human social relationships. This perception is grounded on the scientific results of several research projects undertaken in the last three decades of the 20th century.

In the 1970s, the theoretical principles of Culture History and diffusionism, which had been so widespread among Iberian archaeologists, mainly due to the work of German researchers like G. and V. Leisner, W. Schüle or B. Blance to name just a few, began to lose popularity under the influence of processualists like Colin Renfrew, Robert W. Chapman or Antonio Gilman. With the demise of diffusionism and colonial theory, the emerging approaches turned to new driving forces for social change. Thus, the transition from the Iberian Neolithic to Chalcolithic (4th to 3rd millennia BC) was redefined to focus on population concentration (large villages), agricultural intensification (grain storage areas) and social conflicts (defensive systems). In the Iberian Southeast, for instance, new interpretative models arose, with an emphasis on demographic growth, climatic conditions

and the introduction of technologies like irrigation systems¹.

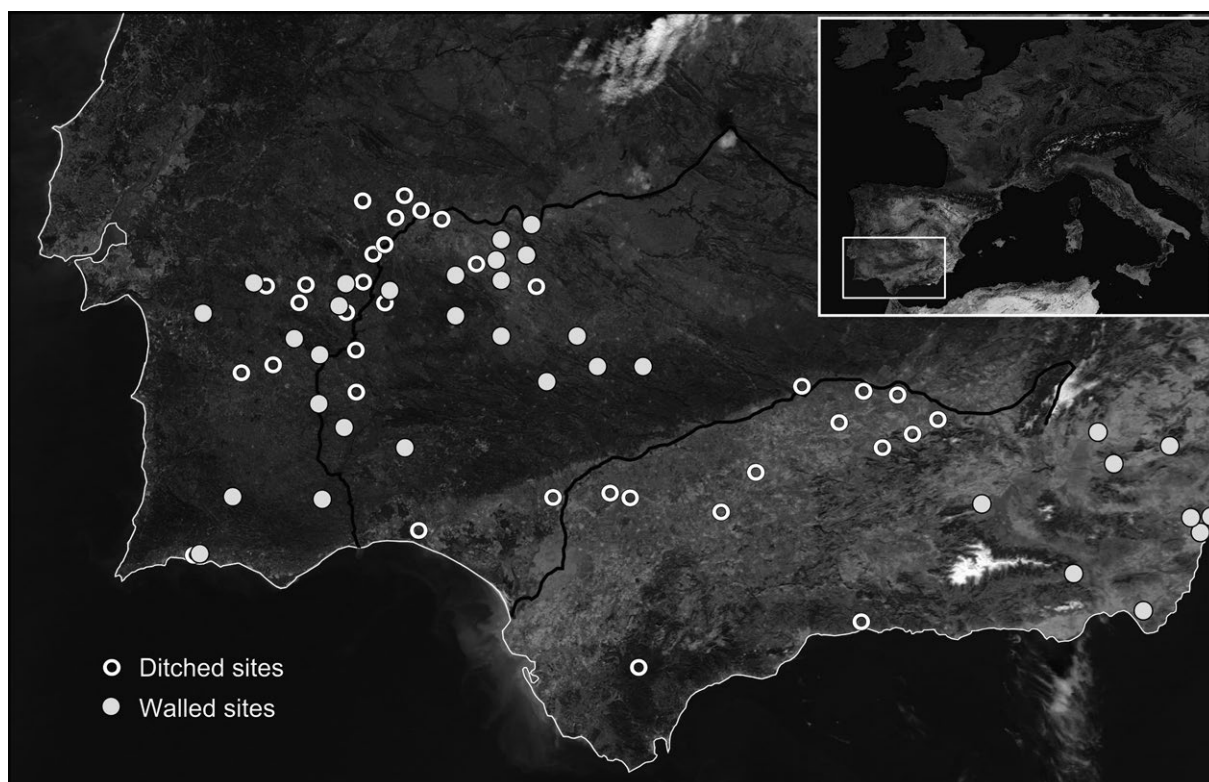
In the 1990s, a newer theoretical framework, rooted in Historical Materialism² and known as Social Archaeology, became prevalent. Social archaeologists generally assume that social, economic and political inequality in prehistoric times took the form of relations of production based on appropriation of surplus labour, coercion and/or ideology. Moreover, said inequality is thought to be reflected in the patterns of variability of the archaeological record – sites of different types and sizes, such as farms, villages, storage areas, fortified settlements, etc. – in a way that makes it possible for archaeologists to perceive it. Also essential is the concept of political territory, understood as the macro-spatial materialisation of an institutionalised coercion, in which settlements are hierarchically organised and surplus is controlled and redistributed by elites³. Within this approach, societies are conceptualised as territories ruled by centralised powers.

Both processualists and Marxists shared views on the social mechanisms behind megalithic monument building. For them, this phenomenon was the most visible result of early social complexity in European prehistory: the construction of megaliths could only be accomplished through concentration of surplus and labour. That implied that megalith builders were sedentary peasant communities who lived in permanent settle-

1 Chapman 1991; Gilman 1976; Gilman – Thornes 1985.

2 Ruiz et al. 1984.

3 Nocete 1984.



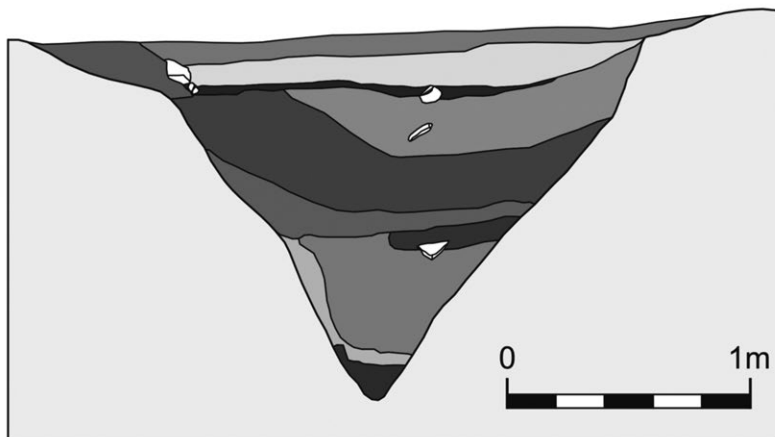
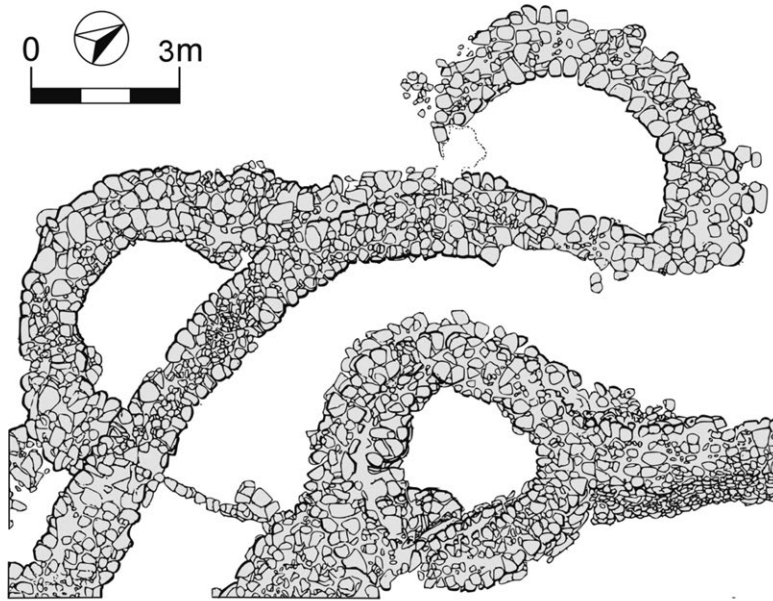
1 General distribution of Southern Iberian walled and ditched sites

ments, practiced a very productive agriculture and had appropriate storage facilities.

All these conceptual pieces were believed to seamlessly fit the archaeological data from prehistoric Southern Iberia. Not only are there hundreds of megalithic structures within the region, but many of the sites dating from the Chalcolithic period had traditionally been considered permanent and, more importantly, fortified settlements. We are referring here to two types of sites dating back to the 4th and, especially, the 3rd millennia BC: walled sites akin to the well-known Los Millares, discovered in the 19th century, and ditched sites, recorded for the first time in the 1970s (fig. 1). Thus, in the 1990s, both walled and ditched settlements were regarded by a good number of Southern Iberian archaeologists as evidence of social unrest, violence and, quite possibly, class struggle. In other words, the apparent defensive characteristics of such sites were seen as one of multiple signs of the existence of early state societies in the 3rd millennium BC⁴.

However, works published in the first decade of the 21st century have questioned the empirical basis of this so-called social complexity. Among other many weaknesses, it has been pointed out that current archaeological data does not support the interpretation of walled and ditched sites as fortified settlements. The present paper intends to highlight the multiplicity of interpretative approaches and the depth of the debate on this matter within the current Iberian academic context. After briefly describing the main features of walled and ditched Iberian sites, we shall make short historiographical review, finishing with some remarks about the relation between the two types of sites under study. Our objective is to encourage non-Iberian researchers to join the discussion and contribute to a redefinition of the role of Iberian Chalcolithic societies in the broader geographical context of prehistoric Mediterranean.

4 For example, Nocete 1984; Nocete 1989; Arteaga – Cruz-Auñón 1999; Nocete 2001; Morán – Parreira 2003; Molina et al. 2004; Molina – Cámara 2005; Nocete 2014.



2 Top: walls and bastions at the walled site of Monte da Tumba (Southern Portugal), a typical Copper-Age Southern Iberian walled site; bottom: section of a ditch at the ditched site of Martos, in the High Guadalquivir Valley (Southern Spain)

The Archaeological Evidence

The Southern Iberian Chalcolithic/Copper Age is a conventionally defined period between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age, encompassing roughly from the end of the 4th millennium BC to the transition from the 3rd to the 2nd millennia BC. In addition to the persistence of the enduring Neolithic tradition of burial in megalithic

tombs, the Iberian Chalcolithic distinguishes itself by a profusion of sites built following two quite different architectural styles: a) dry-stone masonry-based walled sites, with so-called bastions and towers; b) sites delimited by ditches and containing hundreds of pits (fig. 2). We shall now explore their most characteristic features.

Southern Iberian Chalcolithic Walled Sites

On the Iberian Peninsula, more than 70 Copper-Age walled sites are known to date (fig. 1). They seem to concentrate in the middle and low valleys of major western rivers like Douro, Tagus and Guadiana, and in the Southeast. A few of them stand out: Los Millares⁵ and Almizaraque (Almería)⁶, El Malagón (Granada)⁷, as well as the later phases at Marroquíes Bajos (Jaén)⁸ in the Southeast; Los Vientos (Huelva)⁹, Monte da Tumba (Torreão)¹⁰, San Blas and Palacio Quemado (Badajoz)¹¹ in the Guadiana Basin; Leceia (Oeiras)¹² and Zambujal (Torres Vedras)¹³ in the Low Tagus Valley; Castelo Velho¹⁴ and Castanheiro do Vento (Vila Nova de Foz Côa)¹⁵ in the Douro Basin. They are typical of the first half of the 3rd millennium BC, although some might have been areas of human activity a little earlier (late 4th millennium BC) or afterwards (well into the Bronze Age, 2nd millennium BC).

They can be described as mostly circular walled enclosures, normally comprising more than one concentric walled line (figs. 3 and 4). Every wall, built in masonry, is usually composed of two faces with gravel filler between them. Sometimes, adjacent to the outer side of the walls, circular or semicircular buildings, the so-called bastions and towers we just referred to, are found. Occasionally, passages or entrances may be monumental or elaborate. The enclosed space is occupied by a wide variety of stone-based features of uncertain function or meaning. Some of them appear to be circular huts with stone masonry foundations and floor deposits, while walls and roofs could have been built employing perishable materials.

Usual topographic locations include flat hilltops, cliff edges and high rocky tors, so they generally possess a good degree of visibility of the surrounding landscape (and from it to the place itself). Variability in size is noticeable: while most sites do not surpass 1 ha, there are some monumental exceptions, like Los Millares (6 ha), San Blas (30 ha) or the walled phase at Marroquíes Bajos (34 ha). Sites like Los Millares, San Blas or Almizaraque

are located in close proximity to necropolis of corbel dome megalithic tombs (*tholoi*).

They are one of the most controversial topics in Iberian Archaeology. After the discovery and excavation of Los Millares (Almería) by L. Siret in the late 19th century, many other sites with similar features were found and, to a certain degree, studied, particularly in the Low Tagus Valley (e.g. Vila Nova de São Pedro). Culture History scholars explained their emergence grouping them together in a Los Millares-VNSP culture and making use of a colonial hypothesis which remained relevant until the 1980s¹⁶. Nevertheless, regardless of their supposed origin, both diffusionists and autochthonists conceived them as fortified settlements, that is, permanently inhabited defensive systems, with thick stone walls, bastions and towers, positioned on prominent places in the landscape¹⁷.

Southern Iberian Ditched Sites

Ditched sites have been found in almost every region of the Iberian Peninsula, in a number that most likely surpasses 100. Only in the Iberian south there are about 40 known sites (fig. 1). They are generally located in the basins of major rivers, like Guadiana and Guadalquivir. Some of the most notable are Valencina de la Concepción¹⁸ and Carmona (Sevilla)¹⁹, Polideportivo de Martos²⁰ and Marroquíes Bajos (Jaén)²¹ in the Guadalquivir Valley; and Papa Uvas (Huelva)²², Porto Torreão (Ferreira do Alentejo)²³, Perdigões (Reguengos de Monsaraz)²⁴ and La Pijotilla (Badajoz)²⁵ in the Guadiana Basin and surrounding lands.

In the few instances where their ground plan has been observed as a whole, either through aerial photography or geophysical survey, they appear clearly as circular-shaped flat areas enclosed by one or more V- or U-shaped ditches (fig. 5). Enclosing ditches possess variable dimensions: normally between one metre and three metres deep and two metres or three metres wide. There are, nevertheless, individual features with outstanding size, reaching a depth of seven metres or a width up to twenty metres. Though still of overall circular appearance,

5 Molina et al. 2004; Molina – Cámara 2005.

6 Delibes et al. 1986.

7 De la Torre et al. 1984.

8 Zafra et al. 1999.

9 Piñón 1987.

10 Silva – Soares 1987.

11 Hurtado 2007.

12 Cardoso 2002.

13 Sangmeister et al. 1971; Kunst 1995; Kunst – Uerpman 2002.

14 Jorge et al. 2007.

15 Jorge et al. 2003d.

16 For example, Blance 1961; Savory 1969; Schubart 1969.

17 Almagro – Arribas 1959; Arribas et al. 1979; Monks 1997; Zafra et al. 1999; Nocete 2001; Molina et al. 2004.

18 Costa et al. 2010.

19 Conlin 2004.

20 Lizcano 1999.

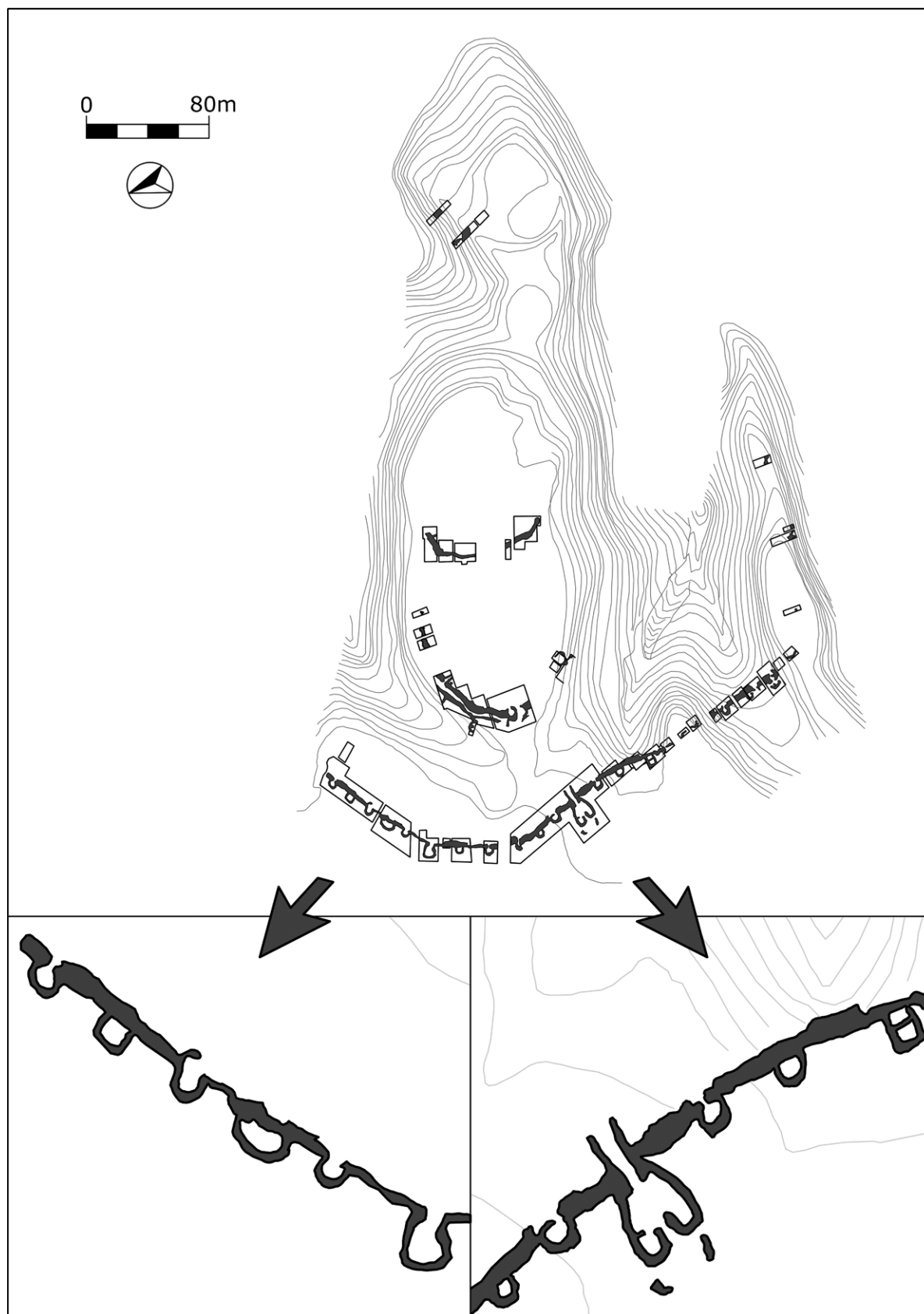
21 Zafra et al. 1999.

22 Martín de la Cruz – Lucena 2003.

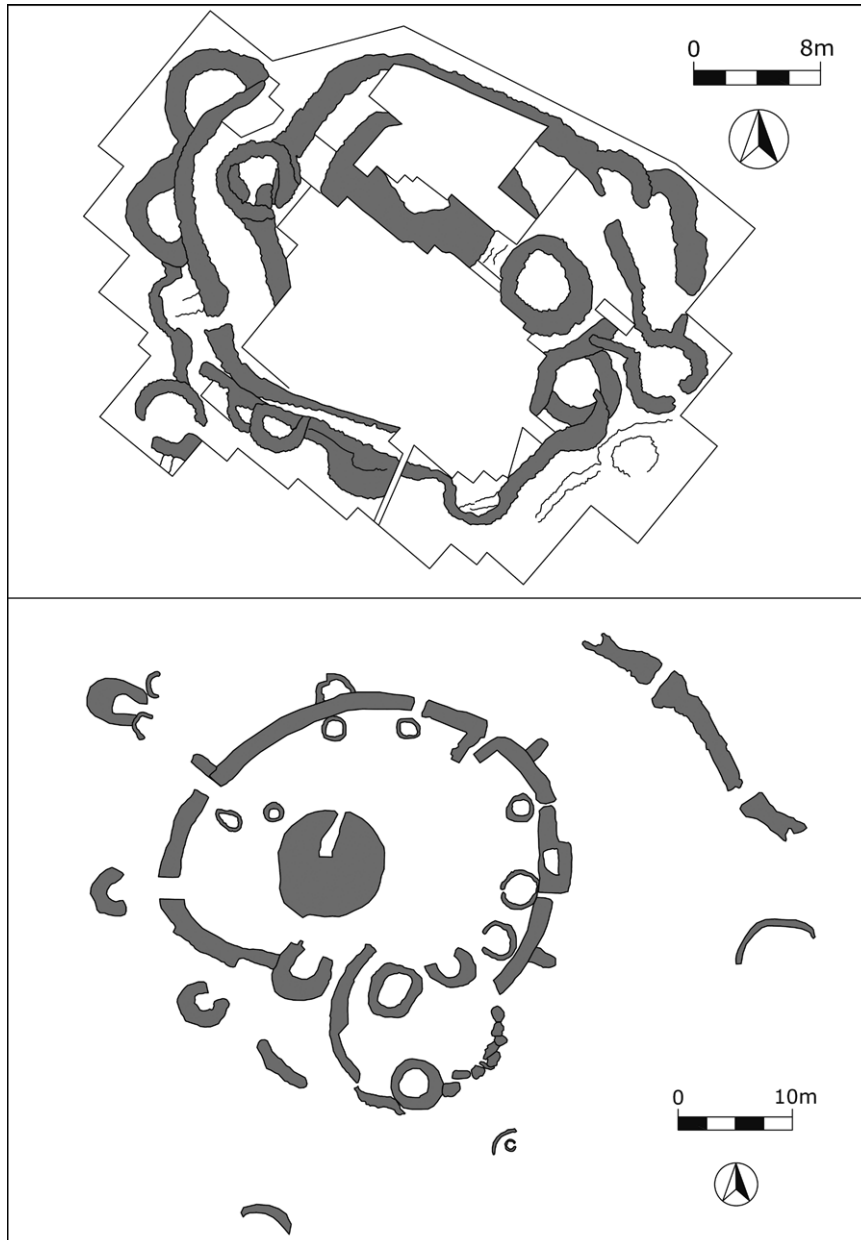
23 Valera – Filipe 2004.

24 Márquez-Romero et al. 2011.

25 Hurtado 2003.



3 Layout and two detailed views of the several walled lines at Los Millares (Southeast Spain)



4 Top: walled lines at Monte da Tumba (Southern Portugal); bottom: layout of Castelo Velho (Northern Portugal) in its Phase 2B, a walled site in the Douro Valley

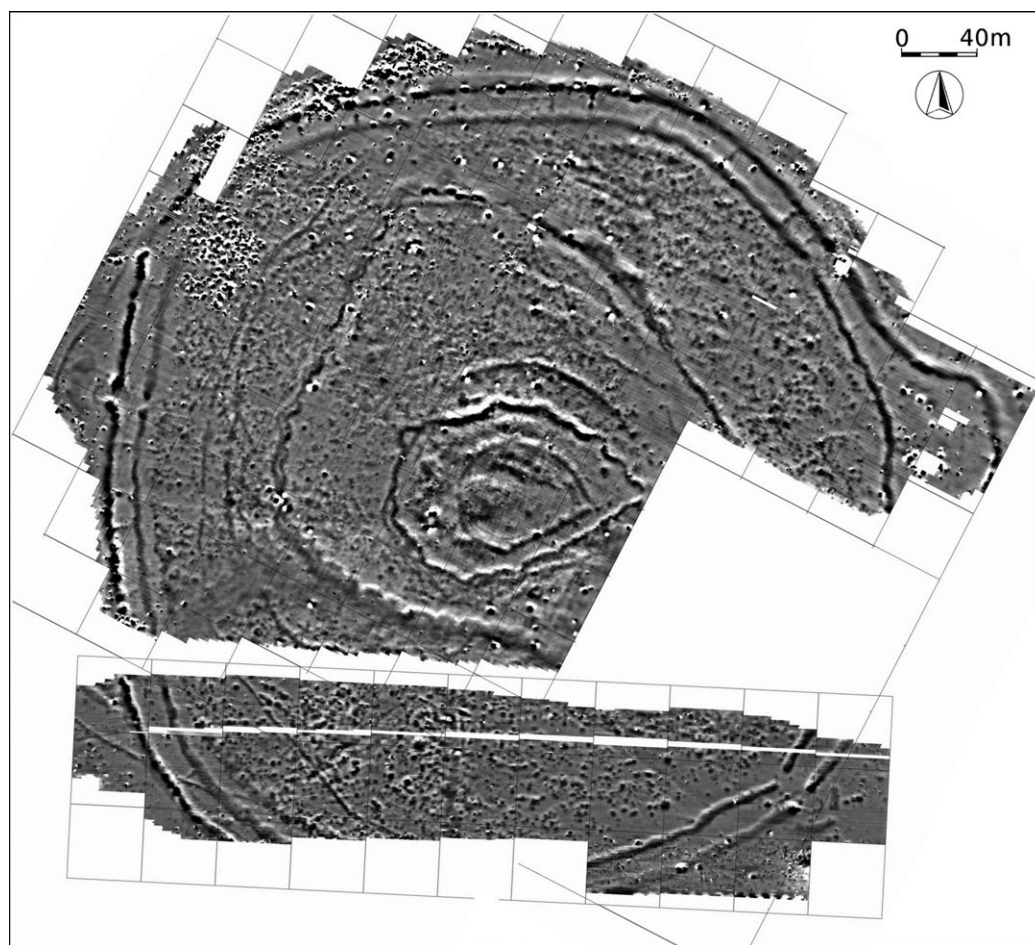
some recently observed layouts include wavy or sinuous ditches²⁶. Ditches are continuous, except for few interruptions that could have served as passages. At Perdigões, for example, 11 ring ditches have been documented, with 5 entrances or gates clearly aligned with astronomic entities. Some entrances were monumentalised with additional fence-like ditch segments. In the last few years, traces of possible banks and palisades par-

allel to ditches have been recorded at Perdigões and other sites through systematic geophysical surveys²⁷.

Certain Chalcolithic ditched sites, such as San Blas, Alcalar or Marroquies, contain circular huts with stone foundations and central hearths, as well as dry-stone walls. Similarly, at sites like Perdigões, La Pijotilla, Alcalar and Valencina, megalithic tombs of different types with human remains and rich and exotic grave goods

26 Valera 2012a; Valera 2012b.

27 Márquez-Romero et al. 2011.



5 Perdigões ditched site (Southern Portugal). Pits and ditches as seen in the magnetogram (geophysical survey carried out by H. Becker as part of the research activities of the University of Málaga)

have been found. However, the aggregate and diachronic nature of the archaeological record at these sites strongly suggests that they consisted mostly of underground features. In other words, within the area defined by the ditch systems, there were almost no standing or walled structures that can be directly associated with the ditches, only hundreds or thousands apparently randomly distributed pits. Pit dimensions range from a few centimetres deep by one metre in diameter, to three metres in both diameter and depth, with rare exceptions exceeding five metres in diameter. Site surface area, where known, is very variable, ranging from less than 1 ha to more than 70 ha for Porto Torrão, almost 100 ha for La Pijotilla, more than 110 ha for Marroquies and around 400 ha for Valencina.

They are usually placed in easily accessible, low-lying lands. Sometimes the surroundings are at a higher level

than the site area itself, what can be seen at La Pijotilla or Porto Torrão. There are examples of natural spaces shaped like a Greek theatre, e.g. Perdigões. The tendency to enclose areas prone to flooding or in the proximity of watery locations, such as rivers, marshes or swamps, is a further regularity.

Ditches and pits were filled with different combinations of soil, artefacts and ecofacts, either in one step or as a sequence of actions. Finds may include stones (often pebbles), potsherds, flint tools, flint knapping waste, quern stones, charcoal, ashes, seashells and small clay, stone or bone figures (possible “idols”). Most objects are broken; complete artefacts do exist but are rare. In addition to these, huge amounts of faunal remains and a small but significant number of human bones and complete bodies have been found²⁸.

28 Márquez-Romero – Jiménez-Jáimez 2010, Chapter 4.

The chronology of southern Iberian ditched sites appears to span from the first half of the 4th millennium BC up until the last third of the 3rd millennium, thus coinciding with the Late Neolithic and Early/Middle Copper Age, although in other Iberian regions Early Neolithic (6th millennium BC) sites have been documented²⁹. Ditch-digging seems to end in the late 3rd millennium BC.

Although some unenclosed pit-sites (without ditches) had already been identified at the end of the 19th century, Iberian ditched sites began to be known in the 1970s. From the outset, most Iberian Prehistorians considered ditched enclosures as the oldest evidence for fortified,

permanently occupied settlements, inhabited by sedentary peasant communities. Ditches were thought to set the boundaries of a delimited residential area, either with a defensive function or as part of an ancient drain system. In addition, pits were interpreted either as the underground half of some kind of semi-subterranean hut (dwelling-pits) or as grain storage pits (silos), indicating that large agricultural surpluses were accumulated and distributed on a macro-territorial scale. Whatever the primary function attributed to ditches and pits, it was assumed that at the end of their use-lives they were filled with 'rubbish' from the settlement.

New Answers to Old Questions

Today, approaches to the issue of Iberian Chalcolithic sites are multiple and diverse. In the last 15 years, several authors have challenged the claim that Southern Iberian Copper Age communities were indeed early state societies. Some have just proposed a lower degree of social and political complexity, without actually disputing the idea that walls and ditches were constructed primarily for defensive purposes³⁰. Others have highlighted certain shortcomings of the defensive hypotheses, although maintaining the conception of those sites as permanent, sedentary settlements³¹.

But the first and most substantial departure from these viewpoints came from scholars more or less influenced by post-processualist perspectives. Their ideas are grounded on data provided by the recent discovery and survey of many new sites, in a sort of empirical revolution taken place in the last ten years. It is also favoured by a theoretical shift which implies a conscious effort to avoid the sacred/profane dichotomy. This line of thought is represented in the study of walled sites by A. Whittle³² and, especially, researchers from the University of Porto (Portugal)³³, while ditched enclosures have been addressed by a group from the University of Malaga (Spain)³⁴.

Proposals from Porto and Malaga, although slightly different from each other, have some common features. The main one is probably a much broader geographical

scale of analysis, which does not set aside the usual contextual study of every site, notwithstanding. Thus, the inclusion of Iberian walled and ditched sites in the discussion about Neolithic causewayed and other prehistoric European enclosures³⁵ has been proposed, given the resemblances in chronology, layout and formation processes between the latter and Iberian sites (particularly in the case of ditched sites). New terms like 'walled enclosures' (*recintos murados*) and 'ditched enclosures' (*recintos de fosos*) have been used to refer to these Iberian prehistoric architectures. It is not, in any way, a return to the old-fashioned diffusionism. Basically, it is argued that only by recognising what is common to sites from Iberia, France, Britain or Jutland (the general patterns), we will be ready to perceive what is variable (the peculiarities of each site).

Consequently, the most prevalent views on Iberian Copper Age have received strong criticism. According to it, walled and ditched enclosures might have been neither fortified nor (stable, permanent) settlements. Instead, they might have been meeting-places visited repeatedly and for relatively short stretches of time by mobile and dispersed populations. As part of those social aggregations widespread ritualised depositional practices, especially within pits and ditches, are thought to have occurred³⁶. Nevertheless, the aforementioned authors do not intend to substitute the old notion of

29 Bernabeu et al. 2003.

30 Zafra et al. 1999; Hurtado 2003.

31 Díaz-del-Río 2004; Ramos 2007; Díaz-del-Río 2008; Costa et al. 2010; García Sanjuán – Murillo-Barroso 2013.

32 Whittle 1996, 337 f.

33 Jorge 1994; Jorge 2003a; Jorge 2003c; Jorge et al. 2003d; Jorge et al. 2006.

34 Márquez-Romero 2001; Márquez-Romero 2003; Márquez-Romero – Jiménez-Jáimez 2010; Valera 2012b; Márquez-Romero 2013; Márquez-Romero – Jiménez-Jáimez 2013; Márquez-Romero – Jiménez-Jáimez 2014; Márquez-Romero – Mata-Vivar 2016; García Sanjuán et al. 2017; Márquez-Romero et al. 2018.

35 For example, Darvill – Thomas 2001; Varndell – Topping 2002; Whittle et al. 2011; Andersen 2015; Jiménez-Jáimez 2015.

36 For example, Márquez-Romero 2001; Jorge 2003c, 29 f.

settlement for an equally simplistic concept of sanctuary or specialised ceremonial site³⁷. Quite the contrary, they

stress the multiplicity of activities carried out within the enclosed areas³⁸.

Why Walls and Ditches Might not have been Constructed Primarily for Defensive Purposes

In the following lines we shall summarise some of the questions raised about the correspondence between the idea of defensive systems and the archaeological record at Iberian walled/ditched sites.

Walls

- Location: only some walled sites are built on easy-to-defend places³⁹.
- Construction methods and materials used in wall building: It was always assumed that walls were made of stone masonry in its entirety, maybe with some kind of coating or covering layer. However, recent research suggests that only wall foundations were made using stone; the rest of the structure would be composed of clay, rammed earth or similar. Clay walls, obviously, would be weak, in need of continuous maintenance and, more importantly, not suitable for defence. The key to accept this argument is how certain concentrations of stones, regularly observed in the proximity of walls, are understood. Conventional hypotheses saw them as chaotic piles of stone slabs fallen to the ground as a result of the wall's collapse; given the amount of stones normally found, it was reasonable to imagine high and thick defensive walls. Advocates of the new approaches argue that the supposedly chaotic piles are instead buttresses: "systems of intertwined and mutually perpendicular slabs, embedded in clay, forming a sort of puzzle, adapted to the declivity or the slope, and constituting a whole of masses and forces in equilibrium"⁴⁰. Others have pointed out that wall foundations were too unstable to support stone walls more than 2 metres high⁴¹.

- The aggregate nature of walls: Walls are sometimes quite thick, up to 2 metres, but some researchers have argued that they were not designed that way. Rather, their thickness would just be a by-product of a process of perpetual transformation, the collapse of old lines and the addition of new ones right next to them⁴².
- The non-defensive character of towers, bastions and other features: these have been interpreted as domestic areas⁴³ or serving a multiplicity of purposes/meanings⁴⁴.
- The number of gates: small walled enclosures may possess more passages than we would normally expect in an actual fortress⁴⁵.

Ditches⁴⁶

- Location: ditched sites are predominantly situated on lowlands, plains or valley floors; for this reason they do not have the defensive advantage of sites on higher ground.
- Sites too large, with complex temporality: Enclosed areas are sometimes huge, what poses several problems for the fortified settlement hypothesis. Firstly, regular maintenance and, more notably, protection of such a long perimeter (several kilometres) would require an enormous amount of people. Secondly, it indicates that population density and spatial distribution do not follow the expected patterns in prehistoric permanent settlements or villages. Further, their extremely complex temporality suggests that they were not static entities but dynamic palimpsests. All this hints at recurrent stays rather than stable occupation.

37 Jorge 2003b, 8 f; Márquez-Romero 2003, 277 f.

38 Jorge 2003c, 31; Márquez-Romero 2003, 276; Márquez-Romero – Jiménez-Jáimez 2010, 486–489; Márquez-Romero – Mata-Vivar 2016, 42–44.

39 Ramos 2007, 39.

40 Jorge et al. 2006.

41 Ramos 2007, 39.

42 Jorge 2003c, 16; Ramos 2007, 39; Díaz del Río 2008, 134.

43 Ramos 2007, 39.

44 Jorge 2003c.

45 Jorge 2003c, 19.

46 See Márquez-Romero – Jiménez-Jáimez 2010, Chapter 7.

- Ditch dimensions: Individual ditches can be very wide and deep, but many are not narrow and shallow enough to be effective physical barriers. Moreover, size can be very variable at different points of the same feature, making it vulnerable.
- Pits and structured depositions: Pits could not have functioned as dwellings and most likely were not used as storage facilities, either. Hence, the so-called 'ditched settlements' have no preserved domestic features to speak of. Instead, pits seem to have been recipients of deliberate, ritualised depositions.

Walled Sites versus Ditched Sites

Walled and ditched sites coexisted in Southern Iberia for more than 500 years. Nonetheless, few attempts have been made to understand the relationship between them. The frequent construction of ditched instead of walled enclosures has been explained as a consequence of the availability or not of certain building materials (stone) in a specific environment⁴⁷, or as a supposedly natural evolution of defence technologies according to which walls would be a later and more effective form of fortification⁴⁸. From another standpoint, it has been suggested that both walled and ditched enclosures could have played similar but slightly different roles in the creation of meaningful landscapes: “‘walled enclosures’ are prominent places, circumscribed, within landscapes which ‘look’ (hanging micro-cosmos), in evident contrast with most ‘ditched enclosures’, actually, wide enclosed territories [...] more or less merged/blended in with the landscape (expressed macro-cosmos)”⁴⁹.

But should walled and ditched sites be subsumed under one broad category, whether it is ‘settlement’ or ‘enclosure’?⁵⁰ A quick comparison between Southern Iberian Copper-Age walled and ditched sites, and an assessment of their similarities and differences, results in the identification of some parallels and a lot of dissimilarities. Among other differences, we can highlight:

- Geographical distribution: walled enclosures have been discovered only on the Iberian Peninsula and areas of southern France, while ditched enclosures are spread all across Central and Western Europe.
- Chronology: while European/Iberian ditched enclosures span from the 6th to the 3rd millennium BC, most walled enclosures date back to the 3rd millennium BC.
- Location: unlike ditched enclosures, the majority of walled sites are built on natural features that stand above the surrounding terrain.

- Size: some ditched enclosures are among the largest sites in prehistoric Europe and, except for few exceptions (Los Millares, San Blas, Marroquíes Bajos), the average walled site is smaller than the average ditched site.
- Building methods: dry-stone masonry and possibly clay (walled sites) versus ditch and pit digging (ditched sites).
- Domestic features: ditched enclosures usually lack any huts or obvious domestic features. By contrast, most walled enclosures possess what could be interpreted as circular houses, workshops, etc.
- Pits: hundreds if not thousands of pits are often recorded at ditched enclosures, whereas they are rare at walled sites.
- Depositional practices: traces of deliberate, perhaps ritualised deposition are much more frequently found within ditches and pits at ditched sites than anywhere else at walled sites.

As claimed in a preceding work⁵¹, we honestly believe that conceiving both architectures as if they were interchangeable might be a mistake. There are similarities (monumentality, some layout characteristics, aggregate nature), but they could arguably be a by-product of their contemporaneity or simply mutual emulation.

In summary, Southern Iberian Chalcolithic walled/ditched sites are studied today from divergent viewpoints. This has resulted in at least two opposing ways of understanding the Copper Age in the region, as well as the process of emergence and consolidation of social inequality: ‘fortified settlements’ versus ‘enclosures’. In both cases, the relationship between walled and ditched sites remains unclear, leaving the discussion wide open.

⁴⁷ Ramos 2007, 43.

⁴⁸ Lizcano 1999, 10; Nocete 2001, 50.

⁴⁹ Jorge 2003b, 7.

⁵⁰ Márquez-Romero – Jiménez-Jáimez 2010, 520–533.

⁵¹ Márquez-Romero – Jiménez-Jáimez 2010, 533.

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Fig. 1 Background image by NASA Visible Earth, alterations by author

Fig. 2 Upper drawing modified from Silva – Soares 1987, fig. 3; section below modified from Lizcano 1999, 99

Fig. 3 Layout plan modified from Molina – Cámara 2005

Fig. 4 Upper plan modified from Silva – Soares 1987, fig. 4; plan below modified from Jorge 2003c, fig. 5

Fig. 5 GIS-image H. Becker

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Resumen

Desigualdad social, asentamientos fortificados y recintos en el Calcolítico del sur de la Península Ibérica (III milenio AC). Una discusión abierta entre los prehistoriadores del mundo mediterráneo predomina la idea de que la Península Ibérica, y más concretamente sus regiones más meridionales, fueron testigos de la emergencia y desarrollo de algunas de las más antiguas sociedades complejas de Europa Occidental durante la Prehistoria Reciente. El Calcolítico peninsular, como momento de inicio de las comunidades estatales, no basadas ya en el parentesco, es visto como el paradigma de la desigualdad social temprana. Esta percepción no es gratuita; muy al contrario, se asienta en una buena parte de las investigaciones llevadas a cabo en los últimos 20 años del s. XX.

La Edad del Cobre en el sur de la Península Ibérica debió de iniciarse a finales del IV milenio AC, finalizando en el tránsito del III al II milenios AC. Además de la continuidad de la tradición neolítica de los enterramientos en sepulcros megalíticos, el Calcolítico peninsular se

caracteriza por la existencia de dos variantes arquitectónicas fácilmente distinguibles, a saber: a) construcciones a piedra seca que configuran lienzos de muros provistos frecuentemente de bastiones; b) complejos sistemas de fosos excavados en el terreno.

La principal característica arqueológica de los yacimientos de muros del sur peninsular es la delimitación de los mismos por líneas de muros que se construyen con un doble paramento con relleno de gravas, a veces aprovechando afloramientos rocosos preexistentes para configurar los propios recintos. Los recintos pueden ser simples, con una única línea murada, o complejos, con varias, normalmente concéntricas. La forma predominante, aunque no la única, es la subcircular. Adosados a los muros, por su cara exterior, a veces se levantan construcciones circulares o semicirculares que tradicionalmente se han interpretado como bastiones y torres. En el interior de estos yacimientos abundan edificios con basamentos también de piedra seca, cubierta cónica y suelos de habitación típicos de

residencia doméstica. Existe una manifiesta variabilidad en la extensión de estos yacimientos que, si bien raramente sobrepasan la hectárea de superficie, en algunos casos presentan unas dimensiones considerablemente mayores (Los Millares 6 ha, San Blas 30 ha o el área murada de Marroquíes 34 ha).

Los yacimientos de fosos se definen principalmente por ser grandes espacios circulares o subcirculares delimitados mediante una línea formada por una o, a veces, dos zanjas con sección en V. Únicamente conocemos con algún grado de precisión la extensión y la planta de La Pijotilla, con unas 70–90 ha, y Perdígões, que no sobrepasa las 16 ha. Del resto, sólo manejamos estimaciones de superficie que llegan a apuntar, para algunos yacimientos, como Valencina, entre 100–300 ha. Las zanjas son muy irregulares, tanto en su profundidad (0,8–7 m) como en su anchura (2–4 m). En ocasiones se aprecia el trazado discontinuo de algunas de las zanjas. No existen, por el momento, claras evidencias de empalizadas asociadas a los fosos, aunque se han apuntado indicios de estas construcciones en Marroquíes Bajos y Perdígões. En el interior del área descrita por las zanjas no se encuentran estructuras aéreas o muradas que se puedan relacionar, claramente, con dichas zanjas, pero sí centenares de estructuras en negativo (tradicionalmente “fondos de cabaña” y “silos”) conteniendo decenas de metros cúbicos de relleno cultural. Las zanjas y todas estas estructuras se rellenan, en la mayoría de casos, de manera intencionada, bien de una vez o secuenciadamente. Los objetos incluidos en estos rellenos suelen ser fragmentos cerámicos, artefactos líticos y restos de talla, molinos fragmentados, etc. Junto a los artefactos, especialmente numerosos son los restos de grandes mamíferos, como ovis, caprinos, bóvidos, cerdos y perros, de igual manera son abundantes los restos de malacofauna. Por último, cabe reseñar la importante presencia de restos humanos, completos o incompletos, que pueden aparecer articulados o no en el fondo de muchas de estas estructuras en negativo.

A partir de este registro arqueológico, desde los años ochenta poco a poco se fueron distinguiendo dos tipos de “asentamientos” en el IV y sobre todo el III milenio AC en la Península Ibérica: por un lado, los yacimientos del tipo Los Millares/VNSP; por el otro, los llamados “poblados de silos y fosos”. Tales sitios, interpretados como poblados fortificados, comenzaron a ser percibidos como la materialización de fuertes tensiones sociales, violencia y jerarquización social, de modo que, desde los años 90, algunos autores vienen proponiendo la existencia de sociedades estatales en el III milenio AC en el sur de la Península Ibérica.

Sin embargo, en primera década del s. XXI han surgido trabajos que ponen en cuestión gran parte del sustento empírico de esta hipotética desigualdad social, al

señalar, entre otras debilidades, las dificultades existentes para conciliar el registro arqueológico conocido (los yacimientos de fosos o muros) con la noción de poblado fortificado sobre la que se sustentan dichas hipótesis.

En el momento actual, el panorama interpretativo es notablemente más diverso. El más temprano y mayor distanciamiento de las hipótesis dominantes en el siglo pasado ha venido de la mano de autores más o menos influenciados por la crítica posprocesualista. Para los yacimientos de muros, las propuestas proceden de A. Whittle y, sobre todo, investigadores vinculados a la Universidad de Oporto (Portugal). Para los yacimientos de fosos, los enfoques a los que nos referimos han sido impulsados desde la Universidad de Málaga (España).

Estas nuevas propuestas, aunque independientes entre sí y con matices propios, tienen algunos rasgos en común. La principal probablemente sea una ampliación de la escala geográfica de análisis que, no obstante, no olvida el imprescindible análisis contextual de cada sitio. En esta línea, se ha planteado la inclusión de los yacimientos murados y fosados ibéricos dentro de la discusión científica acerca de los recintos prehistóricos europeos, especialmente de los llamados “Neolithic causewayed enclosures”, dadas las similitudes cronológicas, morfológicas y formativas entre éstos y los yacimientos peninsulares (especialmente en el caso de los de fosos). Se habla así de “recintos murados” y “recintos de fosos” en la Península Ibérica. No se trata, en ningún caso, de un retorno al difusionismo clásico, sino de reconocer que sólo advirtiendo lo que yacimientos de la Península Ibérica tienen en común con otros de, por ejemplo, Francia, Gran Bretaña o Jutlandia, esto es, lo esencial, podremos percibir lo variable, es decir, lo contingente o coyuntural.

Como consecuencia, se ha producido una fuerte crítica al modelo predominante sobre el Calcolítico peninsular, poniendo en duda, no sólo el carácter supuestamente defensivo de muros y fosos, sino incluso la naturaleza esencialmente habitacional de estos yacimientos. Dichas lecturas inciden ahora en la posibilidad de que estos lugares no fueran permanentemente ocupados como asentamientos, sino visitados cada cierto tiempo por poblaciones dispersas. En suma, que actuaran como lugares de encuentro o agregación temporal.

En la base de esta crítica está, no sólo una revolución empírica que ha aportado nuevos datos, sino también un cambio teórico que conlleva el rechazo de la dicotomía sagrado-profano, de modo que, aunque se reconoce la existencia de intensas prácticas deposicionales ritualizadas, no se plantea la sustitución de la noción clásica de poblado por la de santuario o lugar ceremonial especializado. Muy al contrario, se pone el énfasis en la multiplicidad de actividades que se llevaría a cabo en su interior durante dichos encuentros.

Como puede verse, en el momento actual, los grandes yacimientos calcolíticos del sur de la Península Ibérica se abordan desde dos paradigmas antagónicos que da como resultado dos maneras muy diferentes de entender la Edad del Cobre y el proceso de surgimiento y consolidación de la desigualdad social: poblados fortificados versus recintos.

Sin embargo, debemos tener cuidado si pretendemos diluir ahora la dualidad yacimientos de fosos versus yacimientos de muros en la generalidad del término recinto, como ya se simplificó en su momento en la categoría poblado fortificado. Sin negar la existencia de ciertas analogías, nos resistimos a pensar que dichos yacimientos sean homólogos a la hora de realizar lecturas espaciales e históricas.

En suma, con el presente artículo pretendemos dar una idea de la multiplicidad de posturas interpretativas y de la profundidad del debate actual sobre el tema en el ámbito académico peninsular. Para ello, tras describir brevemente las principales características de los yacimientos de fosos y de muros peninsulares, haremos un rápido repaso historiográfico y un estado de la cuestión, para finalizar con unos apuntes propios sobre la relación entre ambos tipos de yacimientos. Nuestro objetivo con ello es inducir a otros investigadores de la Prehistoria mediterránea a sumarse a la discusión, contribuyendo con ello a resituar el Calcolítico del sur peninsular en su contexto mediterráneo.