

Guerre, violence opportuniste ou ritualisée, crispation territoriale, expression de la force et du pouvoir sont des notions fréquemment mises en avant pour caractériser l'âge du Bronze, époque marquée par une accélération des processus de hiérarchisation des sociétés.

À travers quatre sessions, l'objectif de ce colloque sera de discuter ces considérations à partir de sources relatives à l'organisation, individuelle ou collective, technique ou symbolique, des manifestations de violence et de guerre.



2023

Supplément

n° 12

APRAB

Âge du Bronze âge de guerre?

Violence organisée et expressions de la force au II^e millénaire av. J.-C.
(Ajaccio-Porticcio, Corse - 14-17 octobre 2020)

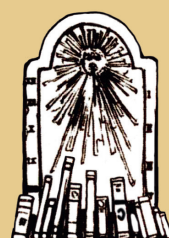
Sous la direction de :
Kewin Peche-Quilichini
Hélène Paolini-Saez
Hélène Blitte
Thibault Lachenal
Franck Leandri
Anne Lehoërf
Bénédicte Quilliec



APRAB

Association pour la Promotion des Recherches sur l'Âge du Bronze
UMR 6298 ARTEHIS - Université de Bourgogne - Faculté des Sciences
6 boulevard Gabriel - 21000 DIJON - <http://aprab.org>

Éditions Alain Piazzola 1 rue Sainte-Lucie, 20000 Ajaccio
Tél. : 06 09 53 38 48 - marie.do.piazzola@orange.fr



MINISTÈRE
DE LA CULTURE
Liberté
Égalité
Fraternité

CULLETTIVITÀ DI CORSICA
COLLECTIVITÉ DE CORSE

Inrap
Institut national
de recherches
archéologiques
préventives

IUF
institut
universitaire
de France

ASM
Archéologie
Sociétés Méditerranéennes

archimede
ARCHÉOLOGIE-HISTOIRE
DE LA MÉDITERRANÉE ET DE
L'ÉGYPTE ANCIENNES
Labex ANR-11-LABX-0032-01



Associu Cuciurpula

Groupement régional des
Sociétés Archéologiques de la Corse

LA
CORSE

GROSSETO PRAGNA
PORTICCIO



ISSN : 2257-1248
ISBN : 978-2-36479-156-5
Prix public TTC : 25 €

Supplément n° 12 au Bulletin de l'APRAB - 2023

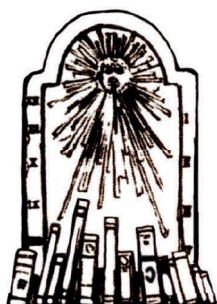


Âge du Bronze, âge de guerre ?

Notice bibliographique

Volume 12

PECHE-QUILICHINI K., PAOLINI-SAEZ H., BLITTE H., LACHENAL T., LEANDRI F., LEHOËRFF A. et QUILLIEC B. (dir.), 2023, *Âge du Bronze, âge de guerre ? - Violence organisée et expressions de la force au II^e millénaire av. J.-C., Ajaccio-Porticcio, Corse, (14-17 octobre 2020)*, Supplément n°12 au *Bulletin de l'Association pour la Promotion des Recherches sur l'Âge du Bronze*, 456 p.



Éditions Alain Piazzola 1 rue Sainte-Lucie, 20000 Ajaccio
Tél. : 06 09 53 38 48 - marie.do.piazzola@orange.fr



Association pour la Promotion des Recherches sur l'Âge du Bronze
UMR 6298 ARTEHIS - Université de Bourgogne - Faculté des Sciences
6 boulevard Gabriel - 21000 DIJON - <http://aprab.org>

Directeur de la publication : Claude MORDANT
Secrétariat de rédaction des Suppléments APRAB : Rebecca PEAKE
Secrétariat d'édition et mise en pages : Corine DESPREZ-MARCIGNY
Dessin de couverture : Florent MATTHIAS

© Tous droits réservés - APRAB 2023
ISSN : 2257 - 1248
ISBN : 978-2-36479-156-5



En application de la loi du 11 mars 1957 (art. 41) et du Code de la propriété intellectuelle du 1^{er} juillet 1992, toute reproduction partielle ou totale, à usage collectif, de la présente publication, est strictement interdite sans l'autorisation expresse de l'éditeur.



Âge du Bronze, âge de guerre ?

**Violence organisée
et expressions de la force
au II^e millénaire av. J.-C.**

Ajaccio-Porticcio, Corse (14-17 octobre 2020)

Sous la direction de :

Kewin Peche-Quilichini, Hélène Paolini-Saez,
Hélène Blitte, Thibault Lachenal, Franck Leandri,
Anne Lehoërff et Bénédicte Quilliec

Supplément n° 12 au Bulletin de l'APRAB - 2023

APRAB

Comité de lecture de ce numéro

Hélène Blitte
Sylvie Boulud-Gazo
Joseph Cesari
Mireille David Elbiali
Isabelle Kerouanton
Thibault Lachenal
Anne Lehoërrff
Emmanuelle Leroy-Langelin
Cyril Marcigny
Pierre-Yves Milcent
Marianne Mödlinger
Claude Mordant
Théophane Nicolas
Marilou Nordez
Hélène Paolini-Saez
Rebecca Peake
Kewin Peche-Quilichini
Bénédicte Quilliec
Mafalda Roscio
Marc Talon
Stefan Wirth

SOMMAIRE

Préface	7
Avant-propos et remerciements	9
Et la guerre fut... Introduction <i>Anne Lehoërff</i>	11
Introduction à la thématique de la guerre dans les sociétés anciennes	19
Le sentier de la guerre <i>Jean Guilaine</i>	21
Violence collective au Néolithique : une étude de cas dans la plaine du Rhin supérieur au V ^e millénaire av. J.-C. <i>Philippe Lefranc et Fanny Chenal</i>	41
« Des terres au bout du monde », les confins septentrionaux du Japon (IX ^e -XI ^e s.) <i>Pierre-François Souyri</i>	53
L'âge du Bronze en Corse et en Sardaigne : violence et instabilité sociale en question dans les îles	61
L'habitat fortifié de l'âge du Bronze en Corse : formes, rythmes, fonctions <i>Kewin Peche-Quilichini et Joseph Cesari</i>	63
Le territoire du site perché d'I Casteddi à Tavera, Corse-du-Sud : premières réflexions <i>Hélène Paolini-Saez, Bernard Gratuze, François-Xavier Le Bourdonnec, Arthur Leck et Thomas Le Flecher</i>	73
Guerriers, phallus, what else? De la pierre dressée à la pierre plantée et de l'épée figurée à l'épée suggérée Réflexions sur l'interprétation morphologique des statues-menhirs de Corse <i>Kewin Peche-Quilichini, Jean Graziani, Hélène Paolini-Saez, Laurence Pinet et Bénédicte Quilliec</i>	87
Attaquer, parer, riposter : hypothèses sur le rôle de la guerre dans la Protohistoire de la péninsule italienne et de la Sardaigne <i>Anna Depalmas, Vincenzo d'Ercole, Francesco di Gennaro, Marco Pacciarelli</i>	97
Raiders and travellers: Bronze Age Warriors in the Mediterranean and Beyond / Brigands et voyageurs : guerriers de l'âge du Bronze en Méditerranée et au-delà <i>Ralph Araque Gonzalez</i>	109
La sacralità delle armi in età nuragica <i>Gianfranca Salis, Chiara Pilo, Federico Porcedda</i>	119
Real vs symbolic war in Bronze Age Nuragic Sardinia: an alternative interpretation of the warlike paradigm <i>Mauro Perra and Fulvia Lo Schiavo</i>	133
Prendre les armes dans le sud de la Corse durant la seconde moitié du II ^e millénaire av. J.-C. : sens figurés vs sens propres <i>Kewin Peche-Quilichini, Franck Leandri, Joseph Cesari et Marianne Mödler</i>	143
Le projet « Shardana » et l'Égypte des Ramessides : perspectives et recherches <i>Giacomo Cavillier</i>	163
Tappa (Porto-Vecchio, Corse-du-Sud) et l'habitat fortifié de l'âge du Bronze autour du golfe de Portivechju <i>Kewin Peche-Quilichini</i>	173
La statue-menhir de Tavera : résultats d'un nouvel examen <i>Hélène Paolini-Saez et Xavier Villat</i>	183
Attaquer, parer, riposter : techniques et armements	191
Déposer les armes : quelles modalités d'abandon pour les épées de l'âge du Bronze dans les sociétés atlantiques et nord-alpines?	



<i>Francis Bordas, Sylvie Boulud-Gazo, Léonard Dumont et Stefan Wirth</i>	193
Le dépôt de casques de Bernières-d'Ailly (Calvados, Normandie)	
<i>Emmanuel Ghesquière et Cyril Marcigny avec la collaboration de Patrice Brun et Benoit Mille</i>	207
Hommes, armes et violence à l'âge du Bronze final. Notes sur le mythe du guerrier	
<i>Tobias Mörtz</i>	219
Les armes de protection corporelle de l'âge du Bronze européen	
<i>Marianne Mödlinger</i>	229
Prendre une place ou la défendre : les stratégies de la poliorcétique et de la bataille	245
<i>Warfare without wars? The case of the Cyclades in Mycenaean times</i>	
<i>Andreas Vlachopoulos and Ioannis Zogkos</i>	247
Conflits armés à l'âge du Bronze en Allemagne : indices de la prise du site du Sängersberg près de Bad Salzschlirf (Hesse)	
<i>Hélène Blitte</i>	261
L'épisode de violence dans la vallée de la Tollense dans le nord-est de l'Allemagne et sa signification pour l'âge du Bronze	
<i>Thomas Terberger, Ute Brinker, Joachim Krüger, Gundula Lidke et Sebastian Lorenz</i>	273
Une rixe à l'âge du Bronze ancien en bord de Seine : le site d'Alizay-Igoville (Eure, Normandie)	
<i>Cyril Marcigny, Erik Gallouin, Sylvain Mazet, Bruno Aubry et Emmanuel Ghesquière</i>	295
Entre le défensif et le symbolique : les sites de hauteur de l'âge du Bronze irlandais	
<i>Dirk Brandherm, Cormac McSparron et Linda Boutoille</i>	313
Un modèle d'architecture circulaire de type <i>ringwork</i> : les établissements à enceinte palissadée au Bronze final en Bretagne et en Angleterre, constructions symboliques et défensives	
<i>Sébastien Toron</i>	325
Isariens en ordre de bataille? Les places fortifiées de l'Oise occupées à l'âge du Bronze mises en miroir avec les armes découvertes en contexte ou à proximité	
<i>Samuel Guérin</i>	337
Le rempart du Bronze final IIIb de l'oppidum de Sextantio, à Castelnau-le-Lez (Hérault)	
<i>Isabelle Daveau, Michel Py, Christophe Ranché et Pierre Forest</i>	345
Du symbolisme à l'idéologie de la violence individuelle et sociale	353
<i>Structural violence and ideological permeability: exercise of coercion in southeast Spain during the Bronze Age</i>	
<i>Juan Antonio Cámara Serrano, José Andrés Afonso Marrero, Liliana Spanedda, Gabriel Martínez Fernández and Fernando Molina González</i>	355
Des armes aux hommes : tour d'horizon de la violence guerrière en Europe à l'âge du Bronze	
<i>Cyril Marcigny, Emmanuel Ghesquière, Emmanuelle Leroy-Langelin et Vincent Riquier</i>	365
Représentations de la guerre au Bronze moyen en Italie nord-occidentale : les armes dans l'habitat, les dépôts et les habitats fortifiés	
<i>Francesco Rubat Borel</i>	385
<i>The Professionalisation of Warfare in the Bronze Age</i>	
<i>Rüdiger Krause</i>	401
Épées virtuelles et violence réelle à l'âge du Bronze en Europe atlantique	
De la brute, épaisse, à la raffinée, décadente	
<i>Eugène Warmenbol</i>	419
Pointes de pierre et de bronze : la flèche et l'archer au Bronze égéen.	
Essai d'étude conjointe de la pierre taillée et de l'épigraphie mycénienne	
<i>Lola Legrand-Sibeoni, Marie-Philippine Montagné et Lolita Rousseau</i>	429
Les débuts de l'âge du Bronze dans le nord-ouest de la France, un âge de paix?	
<i>Clément Nicolas</i>	439
Violence et soumission au Proche-Orient à l'âge du Bronze – Manipuler le corps des victimes de la guerre, symbolisme et réalisme de « re-présentation »	
<i>Azadeh Yekdaneh</i>	449

Structural violence and ideological permeability: exercise of coercion in southeast Spain during the Bronze Age

Juan Antonio Cámara Serrano, José Andrés Afonso Marrero,
Liliana Spanedda, Gabriel Martínez Fernández and Fernando Molina González

Résumé

Les archéologues utilisent le terme de culture argarique pour les sociétés qui occupèrent le sud-est ibérique durant les âges du Bronze ancien et moyen (2100/2050-1550/1500 av. J.-C.). La fréquence des armes dans le mobilier sépulcral, ainsi que la variété des formes et des qualités, font penser à l'existence d'une société où le guerrier avait un rôle fondamental. La mobilisation et l'affichage des ressources inhumées étaient des pièces indispensables des mécanismes idéologiques de reproduction sociale. Pourtant, si la capacité d'acquiescer et de maintenir des armes, pour finalement les déposer dans des tombes, pouvait garantir une certaine position pour une personne, elle ne signifiait pas, dans la plupart des cas, une amélioration substantielle des conditions de vie. En ce sens, le secteur social de base des « guerriers » était loin des privilèges de l'élite. Néanmoins, son existence était une condition requise pour maintenir et propager l'illusion d'une possible amélioration des conditions sociales et la perpétuation de la situation de violence structurelle d'état qui caractérise les sociétés argariques. Dans cette contribution, nous discuterons de ces problèmes à partir du registre archéologique d'un groupe de sites archéologiques situés sur les hauts-plateaux orientaux de la province de Grenade (Espagne).

Abstract

Archaeologists refer to the societies that settled the Iberian Southeast during the Early and Middle Bronze Ages (2100/2050-1550/1500 cal BC) as the Argaric culture. The occurrence of weapons in male tombs together with their variability and quality underline the fundamental role of the warrior in these societies. The exhibition of wealth and power during the funeral were an essential part of the ideological mechanisms that allowed social regeneration. Although the ability to acquire, maintain weapons, and finally deposit them in the tombs could guarantee social recognition, in many cases, it did not mean a substantial improvement of living conditions. In this sense, the basal layer of "warriors" was far from the high status elite. However, its existence was an unavoidable in maintaining and propagating the illusion of a possible improvement in social status and perpetuating the ingrained violence that characterizes the Argaric societies. In this paper, we aim to discuss these issues using data from a series of archaeological sites located in the Eastern High Plateaus of Granada province (Spain).





Figure 1 - Location of sites mentioned in the text in relation to Argar Culture area (drawing: A. Dorado based on Bingmap).

1. Structural Violence as Way to Exercise Social Control

Beyond the temporary use of physical violence (wars, politics of terror, and revolts), to reproduce a system of exploitation (Micó, 2020), violence is exercised in multiple and continuous ways to promote and guarantee social submission. This allows us to state the existence of “structural violence” (Vila-Mitjà, 2013; Cámara *et al.*, 2016; Castro and Escoriza, 2016; Duboso and Gibaja, 2016). In fact, structural violence usually occurs in a hidden way, implying discrimination due to the institutionalization of restricted access to certain products or services (Dubosco and Gibaja, 2016), due to physical limitations to displacement (Cámara *et al.*, 2016), and, mainly, due to the constraints that ideological control imposes on the possibilities of subversion (Therborn, 1987; Redmond and Spencer, 2012). In this sense, structural violence, deep down, guides any other form of violence, political, symbolic or daily (Cámara *et al.*, 2016), all the mechanisms that can be used to limit the capacity for action of a sector of the population (Tyner and Inwood 2014). The dominated people channel their hopes, in this way, on utopias (Puente Ojea, 1989) or resort to other means of escape, often in the literal sense, and open revolt is rarely reached (Cancelado, 2008). Finally, it is often only the “threat” of aggression itself, although this usually does not take place, that guarantees system reproduction, thus based on violence,

and, as we shall see, the participation of the dominated classes in this process can acquire aspects of active collaboration in the repression promoted from the elite (Micó, 2020) as early as the European Bronze Age, in the II millennium cal BC.

2. Argar Culture in Southeastern Iberia

Argar Culture developed in Southeastern Iberia between 2100/2050 and 1300 cal BC (Molina *et al.*, 2019), although some authors consider that from 1550/1500 cal BC a post-argaric period should be considered because of the important transformations taking place and the drastic reduction of intra-site burials (Lull *et al.*, 2011). This Bronze Age culture is defined by traits such as terraced habitat, usually on easily defensible hills, specific objects (chalices, carinated vessels, and metal weapons fitted with rivets, for example), and, above all, a funerary ritual defined by individual (familiar) burials below houses. Concerning its social organization, the existence of classes has not only been proposed according to territorial and urban planning, and, differential consumption, especially in the form of grave goods (Lull and Risch, 1995; Cámara and Molina 2011; Lull *et al.*, 2011; Molina *et al.*, 2018), but also the constant use of physical violence or the threat of it has been emphasized from the location and design of the villages and, above all, the proliferation of weapons (Lull *et al.*, 2017 and 2018).

However, some authors tend to minimize violence by discussing the actual use of the so-called daggers as weapons (Brandheim *et al.*, 2011) and stating the small number of individuals with stab wound marks (Aranda *et al.*, 2009). Despite this last objection, in our opinion, there is no doubt that not the entire population was buried and, therefore, most of those killed by violence may be absent from the Argaric funeral records, and most of known cranial trauma have been recognized in surviving individuals (Jiménez *et al.* 2009). In any case, some possible examples of injuries by metallic weapons have been referred (Jover *et al.* 2018) although the most known example comes from a non-argaric site, La Motilla del Azuer (Daimiel, Ciudad Real) (Nájera *et al.* 2010). Furthermore, to characterize violence in society, we shouldn't prioritize the evidence of violent deaths but the constant presence and threat of violence (structural violence) and the importance of participating (as aggressor or victim) in the various forms of violence may have had for the generation / maintenance of the social position.

3. Weapon Access and Social Control in Eastern Granada Plateaus

Sample for this study consists of 240 individuals (157 adults, 71 men and 66 women among them) and 42 artifacts (37 daggers, 4 axes and 1 halberd) found as grave goods in 4 Argaric sites (fig. 1). The chronology covered for these settlements ranges between 1950 and 1500 cal BC. Data will allow us to discuss, firstly, the role of weapons as symbols of certain social positions, and, later, we will be able to assess the role of the threat of violence, rather than direct aggression, in the keeping of social order.

3.1. Cuesta del Negro (Purullena)

Cuesta del Negro site (fig. 2a) was excavated in early 1970's, defining 7 areas. Argaric huts, with graves below their floors, are located through areas A to E, while a special building, a *bastion*, and a separated hill-fort were located in areas F and G (Molina and Pareja, 1975; Molina *et al.*, 2019).

36 Argaric graves containing 48 individuals (15 infants and 35 adults, from which 14 males and 12 females) have been recorded. Eight of them are double (tombs 2, 6, 9, 10, 19, 21, 29 and 31) and two triple (tombs 4 and 8).

33 dating on human bones from Cuesta del Negro have been published, providing a time lapse between 1950 and 1500 cal BC for Argaric occupation (Molina *et al.*, 2019). A Late Bronze Age village was built over the remains of the Argaric village between 1450 and 1300 cal BC (Molina and Dorado, 2018). Among the different grave goods, 10 daggers have been found (Cámara and Molina, 2011), including 1 associated with an old woman (grave 29) and another with a child (grave 35).

3.2. Cerro de la Virgen (Orce)

Cerro de la Virgen site (fig. 2b) was first excavated in 1960's by W. Schüle (Schüle, 1980). After a Chalcolithic occupation from 2550 cal BC onwards (Molina *et al.*, 2017), different changes in urbanism and fortification systems took place (Cámara *et al.*, 2018), and Argaric features can be traced, at least, from 1900 to 1600 cal BC, as suggested by the 24 published dating of Argaric graves (Molina *et al.*, 2014). The Argaric sample includes 26 individuals (10 infants and 16 adults, from which 7 males and 7 females), in 20 tombs. The human remains of 3 graves were excluded since they are supposed to be pre-Argaric (tombs 30A, 30B and 30C) because their earlier dates and the absence of grave goods (Molina *et al.*, 2014 and 2016). As usual, several graves contained more than one individual (tombs 4, 6, 22 and 29), while others received the same numbering but are independent tombs (21A, 21B) (Molina *et al.*, 2016).

The grave goods assemblage is relatively abundant in metallic items, but there are only 5 daggers. One of them (the largest) is associated with a child-young adult (grave 1) and another with a possible old female buried in a monumental tomb (grave 14) (Molina *et al.*, 2016).

3.3. Terrera del Reloj (Dehesas de Guadix)

Terrera del Reloj site (fig. 2c) was excavated in early 1980's (Molina *et al.*, 1986). The published dating on domestic contexts and unpublished dating on human remains suggest an Argaric occupation between 1800 and 1600 cal BC. 20 individuals (8 infants and 12 adults, half of them female) in 15 tombs have been recorded and 2 axes, 1 knife and 3 daggers have been found as grave goods. A dagger is supposedly associated with a woman (grave 15) in a tomb where a couple was buried with two daggers. The most important feature to bear in mind about this site is the frequent use of axes as grave goods. This last has also been seen at the Castellón Alto site.

3.4. Castellón Alto (Galera)

Castellón Alto site (fig. 2d) was also excavated in early 1980s (Molina *et al.*, 1986) but extensive excavations were also performed in 1989, 2001 and 2002, allowing spatial analysis (Cámara and Molina, 2010) and adequate public dissemination (Moreno and Haro, 2008). The site has four main areas: Upper, Middle and Lower Terraces, and East Slope. They were defined according to natural and artificial features. Available dating show an Argaric occupation between 1900 and 1600 cal BC. Although 131 tombs have been identified, some were plundered before the 1983 campaign and others have yet to be excavated. A total of 109 contained human remains and 146 individuals have been studied (52 infants and 94 adults, from which 44 males and 41 females). The recovered grave goods include one halberd, two axes, and 18 daggers. There are two daggers associated with infants (graves 10 and 52) and another with a woman (grave 66).



Figure 2 - a) Cuesta del Negro site (photo: A. Dorado); b) Cerro de la Virgen site (photo: Paisajes españoles-Research Group HUM274); c) Terrera del Reloj site (photo: Paisajes españoles-Research Group HUM274); d) Castellón Alto site (photo: Research Group HUM274).

4. Did All The “Warriors” Belong To The Same Social Category?

First data already show that weapons are also associated with women and children. Both cases demonstrate the weapons’ symbolic value as an expression of full belonging to the community and, therefore, of a certain social rank (Cámara, 2001).

If we take into account the differences in measurements of weapons (Spanedda *et al.*, 2018) recovered at settlements as Cerro de la Virgen and Cuesta del Negro (fig. 3) a fragmentation of the Argaric culture in numerous independent social formations can be suggested, according to the absence of homogeneity. The same conclusion can be reached if regarding the differences in arsenic contents even between weapons of relatively near sites as Terrera del Reloj and Castellón Alto (Bashore *et al.*, 2014).

Variability within the settlements in weapons typology (Cámara and Molina, 2011; Spanedda *et al.*, 2018)

and arsenic contents (Bashore *et al.*, 2014) suggests differences in social position. In any case, to contrast this statement, other factors such as chronology (Lull *et al.*, 2017, 2018) or the sample provenance from particular areas within the sites should be considered. In fact, at Cerro de la Virgen appears to have been only excavated the area where the elite resided (Molina *et al.*, 2016). At this site, the monumental tombs (14, 21 and 22) served as a reference for the location of tombs in later periods, suggesting an attempt to establish a deeper connection with the most distant generations (Molina *et al.*, 2014).

At Cuesta del Negro there are notorious formal differences (fig. 4) between the weapons that co-occur with precious metals as graves goods and the other weapons recovered at this site (Cámara and Molina, 2011). Two special cases are the dagger associated to the infant buried in grave 35 (with prestige items as grave goods) that shows intermediate traits, and the dagger associated to the woman buried in grave 29 that shows special traits according to its measurements.

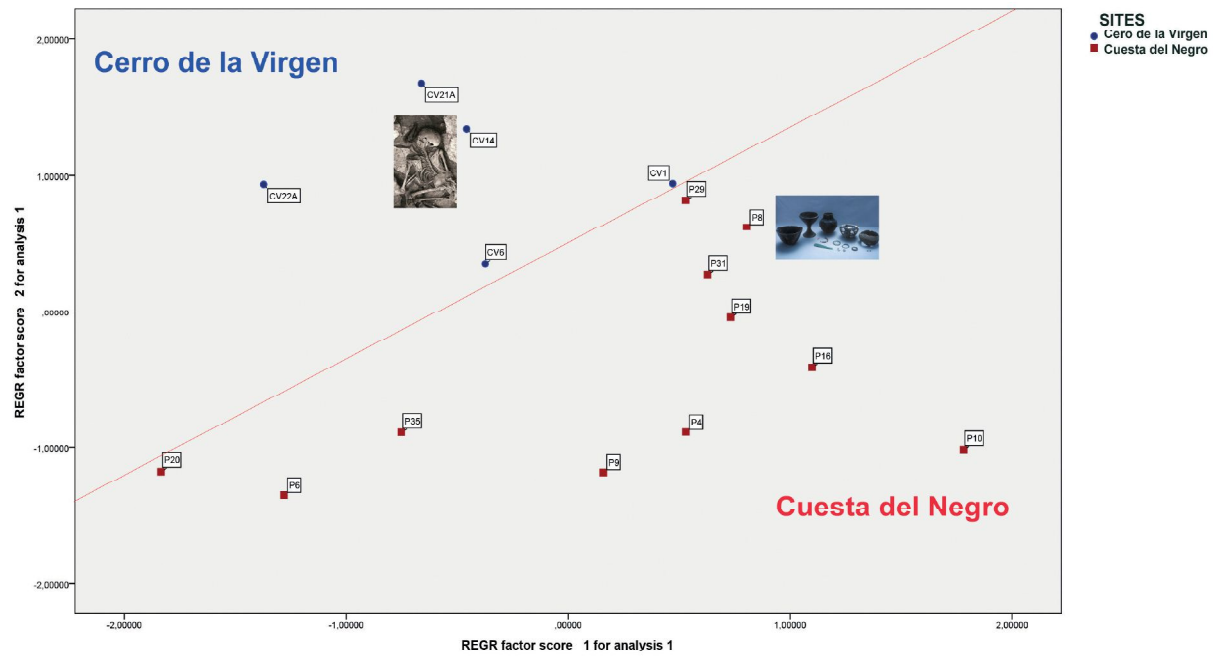


Figure 3 - Principal Components Analysis results on Cerro de la Virgen (CV) and Cuesta del Negro (P) daggers' dimensions (according to total length, maximum width, and handle plate length and width and rivets position). Graph of 1st and 2nd Component (photo of Cerro de la Virgen Tomb 14 by W. Schüle, photo Cuesta del Negro Tomb 8 by Reasearch Group HUM274, both of them from Research Group HUM274 archives).

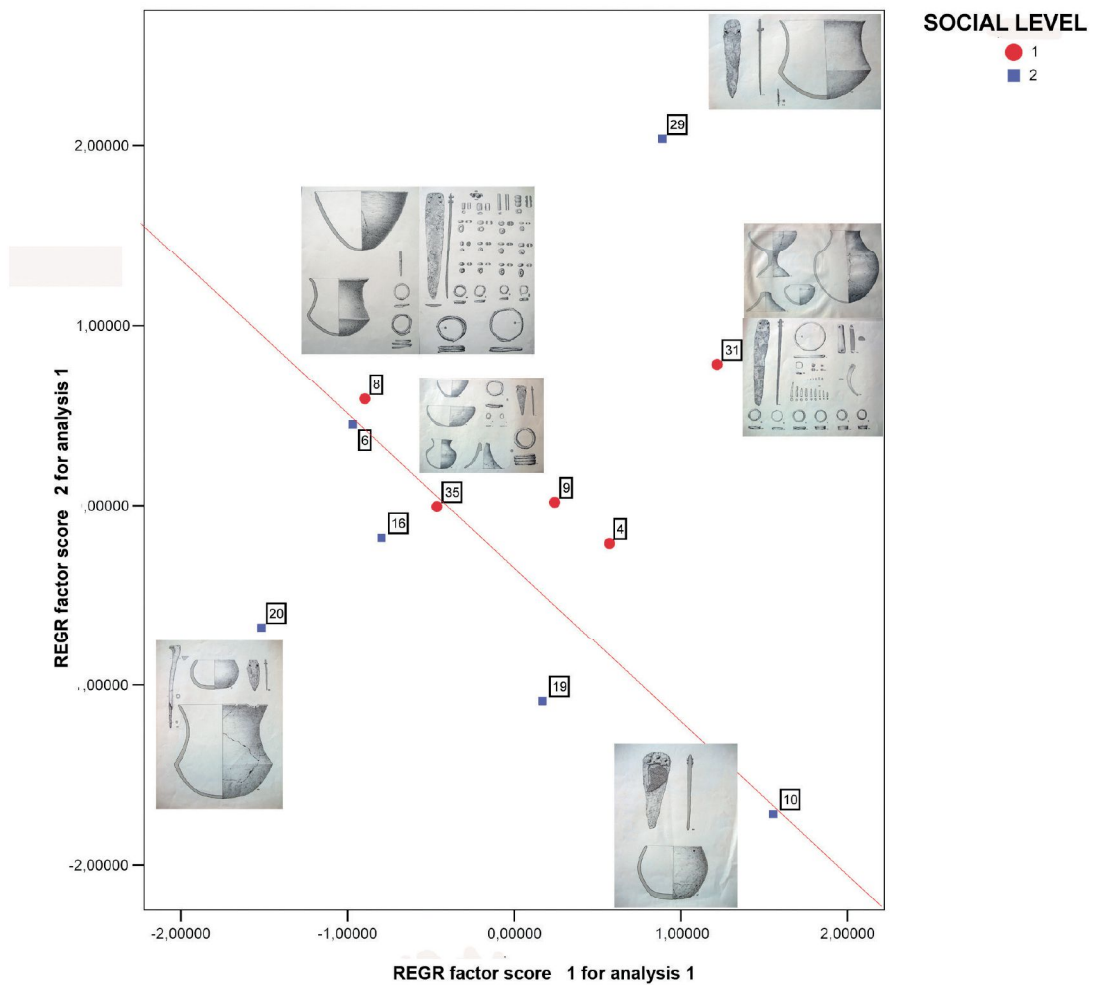


Figure 4 - Principal Components Analysis results on Cuesta del Negro daggers' dimensions (according to total length, maximum width, and handle plate length and width and rivets position). Graph of 1st and 2nd Component (drawings of grave goods from tombs 8, 10, 20, 29, 31 and 35 according Torre, 1974; Research Group HUM274).



Figure 5 - Halberd and long dagger from Castellón Alto grave 109 (photo: D. García-Research Group HUM274).

Clearly, armed individuals did not only belong to the upper social groups but also to the basal levels but not to the lower classes. Basal class individuals were not only able to use weapons (and other items) as symbols of full belonging to the community but also as instruments that, through threat or true aggression as service to the elite, guaranteed them access to extra resources. However, social differences became more acute over time, as seems to be seen even in protein consumption (Molina *et al.*, 2019).

These hypotheses can be better explored at Castellón Alto site, due to the extensive nature of the excavations in a small site (less than 200 inhabitants), where social differences, in any case, would be less marked (Cámara and Molina, 2011). At Castellón Alto Upper Terrace, there is a separate acropolis where, despite the high number of plundered tombs, there still were unearthened burials with rich grave goods. Tomb 109 is one of the few inland Argar examples with a long dagger and halberd (fig. 5), an association that in coastland Argar indicates a high status (Lull *et al.*, 2018). Available dating for this tomb 109 (Ua37889, 3435 ± 40 BP, 1872-1643 1σ cal BC according to the IntCal20 curve, Reimer *et al.*, 2020) is slightly late concerning the general proposals. In fact, it seems that from 1800 cal BC halberds were replaced by axes, extending the use of axe-dagger association to people not belonging to the highest class. In this late date the highest elite chose to exhibit its social position by a new type of weapon, the sword (Lull *et al.*, 2017 and 2018). This tendency towards weapons of greater length, related to new ways to fight, could explain the length of Castellón Alto tomb 109 dagger and also the sizes of other weapons assigned to the upper social classes at Cerro de la Virgen and Cuesta del Negro.

Another remarkable feature of the weapons recovered at Castellón Alto tomb 109 is that they show much higher arsenic contents than the remaining studied items at the site, including the weapons. So halberd offers the highest value with an arsenic weight percentage upper than 10, an aspect that only shared with the tomb 103 dagger, while only the tomb 109 long dagger and on the tomb 77 dagger have values between 5 and 10. An axe from tomb 5, at Terrera del Reloj, offers similar figures that stand out in an even arsenic percentages lower context (Bashore *et al.*, 2014).

In any case, given the small size of the Castellón Alto settlement, it is very likely that its leaders were only part of a secondary and peripheral elite, unable to access sufficient resources to guarantee a sumptuous display at their funerals.

In other areas of the Castellón Alto Upper Terrace but out acropolis, tombs lack grave goods suggesting dependency and extreme poverty as also proposed for some graves at Cuesta del Negro site (Cámara and Molina, 2010).

In any of the other village areas, Middle and Lower Terraces, and East Slope, some tombs show grave goods with precious metals (silver) and weapons. Sometimes there are even associations of axes and daggers as in tombs 38 and 121. While the axe itself, as Terrera del Reloj shows should be, like the dagger, a symbol of belonging to the community and of ability to serve the elite, the axe-dagger association reveals an ideologically intermediate level, as also seen in the arsenic content of some weapons (tombs 77 and 103 ones). These tombs are located at the ends of each settlement terrace or on their highest zones (fig. 6). From there, they control visibility towards the exterior, accesses, and the terraces' internal traffic and between them (Cámara and Molina, 2010).

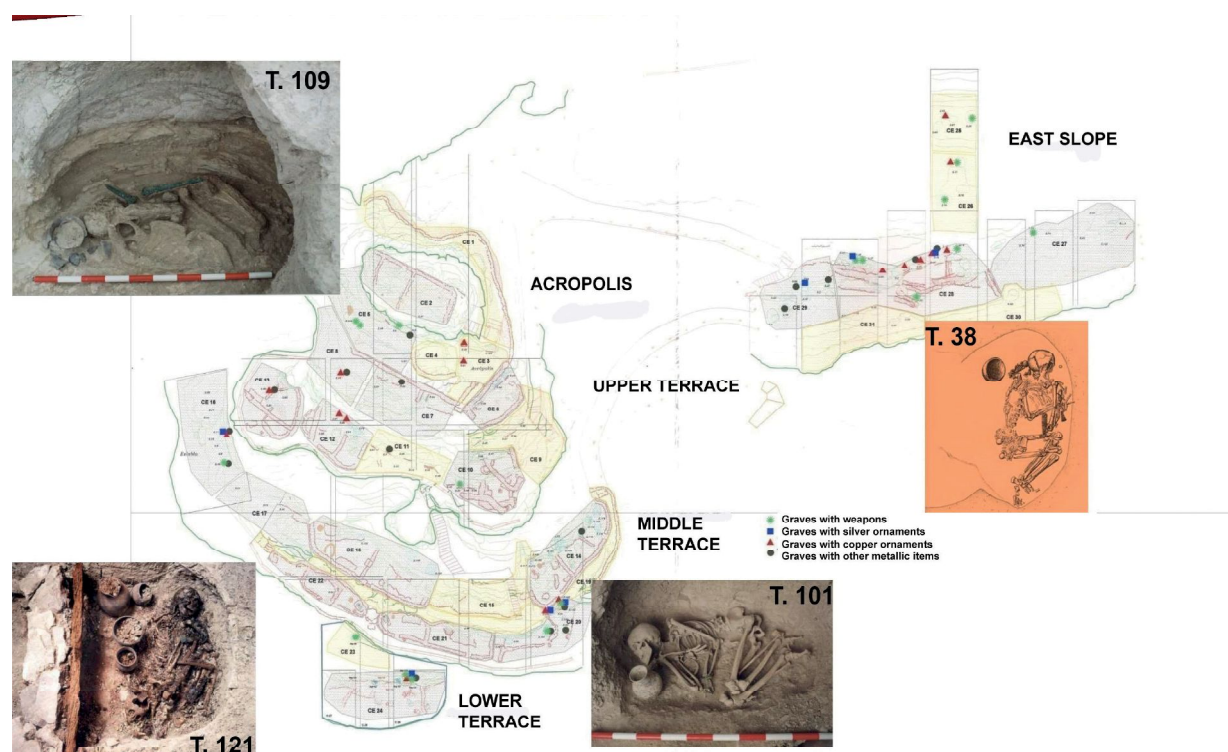


Figure 6 - Graves' distribution at Castellón Alto site with reference to metallic items (design and photos: Research Group HUM274).

The amortization of wealth in burials expresses a way for exhibiting and maintaining social position but also shows its improvement in some cases. The chronological data of the series of tombs in some houses support the last statement. The increasing benefits were possibly a compensation for services to Castellón Alto peripheral elite. This elite depended on central elites who lived at other sites (as Cerro de la Virgen burials can show). These active cooperators in social coercion, and especially the peripheral elites, were also able to exercise direct control over people in debt and who had to fall into bondage. This last assertion derives from burials with scarce grave goods located near the acropolis but can also be exemplified by women buried with almost no grave goods and engaged during their life in textile activities in which they even used their own teeth (Lozano *et al.*, 2020).

5. Status Vs Class: Social Position beyond Emulation

Although the ideology of emulation as well as the different character of the studied settlements can generate archaeological features that distort our vision of Bronze Age society, analysis on results obtained by stable isotope studies (Molina *et al.*, 2016 and 2019; Spanedda *et al.*, 2018), allows us to suggest some little differences between people buried with and without weapons at Eastern Granada Plateaus Argar sites. Thus, some of the members of the elite's "entourage" seem to have even benefited from better access to animal food

resources, according to their higher protein consumption.

In any case, there are more differences between those people who had access to precious metals as grave goods and those others who did not. These differences increase over time, as can be inferred from the Cuesta del Negro data (Molina *et al.*, 2019). This phenomenon is recorded both in Argaric sites in the Eastern Plateau of Granada and other areas (Molina *et al.*, 2019; Knipper *et al.*, 2020). These data shows that the real and central elites continued to maintain their distances even from their most loyal servants in restricting access to certain goods (not only luxury ones) while emphasizing a fictitious "equality" by the exhibition of aggression instruments (weapons), although different in size.

6. Conclusions: Hierarchy, Social Control and Structural Violence in Argar Culture

Hierarchy, social control, and structural violence were intrinsically associated aspects in Argar Culture. There are direct data on EXPLICIT violence, not discussed here, such as some wounded human remains, many of them with trauma (Jiménez *et al.* 2009), but there are also indirect data such as settlements location, fortifications, the hierarchical structure of the territory, and weapons display (Lull *et al.* 2014 and 2017).

In this sense, even the presence of the smallest weapons (daggers and axes) in graves is a reflection of the deposition of larger ones (swords and halberds) whose essential coercive function is out of doubt (Lull *et al.*, 2017 and 2018).

Firstly, this last reveals the outstanding role played by the weapons display (no matter which one may be available) in the “Ideology of Emulation” framework. This ideological mechanism involves the use of ancestors in the maintenance and improvement of social position through the mobilization of resources during the funeral. This system carries the risk of impoverishment for the most disadvantaged people forced to amortize at funerals, as symbols of their position and belonging to the group, a wealth they do not have (Cámara and Molina, 2009).

Secondly, people who can mobilize weapons show their social position, but they also remember to the other people, in an ideological sphere, that they can gain resources by aggression, and they can also serve as a protective force for the different elite statements as a way for ascending in the social ranking.

The *status quo* is maintained not by continuous physical aggression but because the entire ideological system, and the role given in it to weapons, works to emphasize the ability of the elite, and its entourage, to exercise inward and outward violence.

The possibility of EXPLICIT violence together with HIDDEN violence facilitates the perpetuation of the exclusion of some people from several resources, preventing them from free movement through the territory or settlements, or promoting a specific form of residence in them. In our opinion, these mechanism are nothing but ways to reproduce a process of unequal access to products and avoid any subversion of the established order. Finally, the system to reproduce itself must guarantee the affection of a section of the dominated population. To achieve this goal, it shows some flexibility with the possibilities that some social roles offer to maintain and even improve the social position and, therefore:

- On the one hand, both women and children can use weapons as grave goods as means to guarantee the perpetuation of the family social position.
- On the other hand, “warriors” who do not belong to the central elite obtain certain material benefits for participating in social control by being part of: a peripheral elite in the small villages, an entourage on prey expeditions and a kind of “police” force. In these circumstances, they could also be the outpost for the revolt (in extreme situations and for their own benefit). It is a state structure because it aims to perpetuate an unequal social order through an often hidden structural violence in a complex ideological system.

Acknowledgments

This work is an aftermath of the project “Estrategias agropecuarias y consumo en la Edad del Bronce del sur de la Península Ibérica. Análisis de plantas, animales y restos humanos (HAR2016-80057-P)”, funded by Spanish Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad.



Juan Antonio Cámara Serrano

Research Group HUM274 – Dpto. Prehistoria y Arqueología
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras – Universidad de Granada
Campus Universitario “Cartuja” s/n – 18071 Granada (Spain)
jacamara@ugr.es

José Andrés Afonso Marrero

Research Group HUM274 – Dpto. Prehistoria y Arqueología
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras – Universidad de Granada
Campus Universitario “Cartuja” s/n – 18071 Granada (Spain)
jaamarre@ugr.es

Liliana Spanedda

Research Group HUM274 – Dpto. Prehistoria y Arqueología
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras – Universidad de Granada
Campus Universitario “Cartuja” s/n – 18071 Granada (Spain)
spanedda@ugr.es

Gabriel Martínez Fernández

Research Group HUM274 – Dpto. Prehistoria y Arqueología
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras – Universidad de Granada
Campus Universitario “Cartuja” s/n – 18071 Granada (Spain)
gabmar@ugr.es

Fernando Molina González

Research Group HUM274 – Dpto. Prehistoria y Arqueología
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras – Universidad de Granada
Campus Universitario “Cartuja” s/n – 18071 Granada (Spain)
molinag@ugr.es

Bibliography

- ARANDA G., MONTÓN S., JIMÉNEZ S. A., 2009, « Conflicting evidence? Weapons and skeletons in the Bronze Age of south-east Iberia », *Antiquity*, 83, p. 1038-1051.
- BASHORE C., MORENO A., CONTRERAS F., MOLINA F., 2014, « La metalurgia argárica: nuevas aportaciones. Los yacimientos de Castellón Alto (Galera) y La Terrera del Reloj (Dehesas de Guadix) », in *X Congreso Ibérico de Arqueometría*, Valencia, Subdirección de Conservación, Restauración e Investigación IVC+R de CulturArts Generalitat, p. 304-321.
- BRANDHERM D., ARANDA G., SÁNCHEZ M., MONTÓN S., 2011, « Las armas en el Argar: aspectos sociales, rituales y funcionales », in SÁNCHEZ ROMERO M. (éd.), *La tutela del patrimonio prehistórico*, Primer Congreso de Prehistoria de Andalucía. (Antequera 22-25 de septiembre de 2010), Sevilla, Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, p. 607-610.
- CÁMARA J. A., 2001, « El ritual funerario en la Prehistoria Reciente en el Sur de la Península Ibérica », *BAR International Series*, 913, Oxford, Archaeopress, 346 p.
- CÁMARA J. A., AFONSO J. A., MOLINA F., 2016, « A Marxist Approach to Violence: Iberian Southeast in Late Prehistory », in GARCÍA-PIQUER A. and VILA-MITJÀ A. (éd.), *Beyond War: Archaeological Approaches to Violence*, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, p. 93-114.
- CÁMARA J. A., MOLINA F., 2009, « El análisis de la ideología de emulación: el caso de El Argar », *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad de Granada*, 19, p. 163-194.
- CÁMARA J. A., MOLINA F., 2010, « Relaciones de clase e identidad en El Argar. Evolución social y segregación espacial en los altiplanos granadinos (c. 2000-1300 cal. A.C.) », *Arqueología Espacial*, 28, p. 21-40.
- CÁMARA J. A., MOLINA F., 2011, « La jerarquización social en el mundo argárico (2000-1300) », *Quaderns de Prehistòria i Arqueologia de Castelló*, 29, p. 77-104.
- CÁMARA J. A., MOLINA F., PÉREZ C., SPANEDDA L., 2018, « Una nueva lectura de las fortificaciones calcolíticas del Cerro de la Virgen (Orce, Granada, España) », *Ophiussa*, 2, p. 25-37.
- CANCELADO M. H., 2008, « La dialéctica del poder y la ideología en las relaciones internacionales », *Revista de Relaciones Internacionales, Estrategia y Seguridad*, 3:1, p. 11-24.
- CASTRO P. V., ESCORIZA T., 2016, « Violence as an Ideological-Political Practice and Social Archaeology: Evidence of Prehistoric Settlements of the Nasca Valley », in GARCÍA-PIQUER A. and VILA-MITJÀ A. (éd.), *Beyond War: Archaeological Approaches to Violence*, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, p. 49-68.
- DUBOSCO S., GIBAJA J., 2016, « Evidences of Violence in the Neolithic Period in the North East of the Iberian Peninsula », in GARCÍA-PIQUER A. and VILA-MITJÀ A. (éd.), *Beyond War: Archaeological Approaches to Violence*, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, p. 115-140.
- JIMÉNEZ S. A., SOUICH, P. D., AL OUMAUI, I., 2009, « Possible Relationship of Cranial Traumatic Injuries with Violence in the South-East Iberian Peninsula From the Neolithic to the Bronze Age », *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 140, p. 465-475.
- JOVER F. J., MARTÍNEZ S., MIGUEL M. P. de, LÓPEZ J. A., TORREGROSA P., PASTOR M., BASSO R. E., 2018, « ¿Violencia física o accidente? Nuevos datos sobre el enterramiento infantil del asentamiento argárico de Caramoro I (Elche, Alicante, España) », *Arqueología Iberoamericana*, 38, p. 25-31.
- KNIPPER C., RIHUETE-HERRADA C., VOLTAS J., HELD P., LULL V., MICÓ R., RISCH R., ALT K. W., 2020, « Reconstructing Bronze Age diets and farming strategies at the early Bronze Age sites of La Bastida and Gatas (southeast Iberia) using stable isotope analysis », *Plos One*, 15(3), e0229398.
- LOZANO M., JIMÉNEZ-BROBEIL S. A., WILLMAN J. C., SÁNCHEZ-BARBA L. P., MOLINA F., RUBIO Á., 2020, « Argaric craftswomen: Sex-based division of labor in the Bronze Age southeastern Iberia », *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 105239.
- LULL V., MICÓ R., RIHUETE C., RISCH R., 2011, « El argar and the beginning of the class society in the western mediterranean », in HANSEN S. and MÜLLER N. (éd.), *Sozialarchäologische perspektiven: gesellschaftlicher wandel 5000-1500 v. chr. zwischenatlantik und kaukasus*, Berlin, Deutsche Archäologisches Institut-von zaborn, p. 381-414.
- LULL V., MICÓ R., RIHUETE C., RISCH R., 2014, « The la Bastida fortification: new light and new questions on early bronze age societies in the Western Mediterranean », *Antiquity*, 88, p. 395-410.
- LULL V., MICÓ R., RIHUETE C., RISCH R., ESCANILLA, N., 2017, « Halberdiers and combat systems in the Argaric », *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 36(4), p. 375-394.
- LULL V., MICÓ R., RIHUETE C., RISCH R., 2018, « Clases de armas y armas de clase: hachas metálicas en conjuntos funerarios argáricos », *Revista d'arqueologia de Ponent*, 28, p. 233-245.
- MICÓ R., 2020, « Physical Violence, Public Violence: Searching for Mechanisms of Social Domination », *Culture & History Digital Journal*, 9(1), e009.
- MOLINA F., AGUAYO P., FRESNEDA E., CONTRERAS F., 1986, « Nuevas investigaciones en yacimientos de la Edad del Bronce en Granada », *Homenaje a Luis Siret (1934-1984)*, Sevilla, Consejería de Cultura, p. 353-360.
- MOLINA F., CÁMARA J. A., AFONSO J. A., NÁJERA T., 2014, « Las sepulturas del Cerro de la Virgen (Orce, Granada). Diferencias cronológicas y diferencias sociales », *Revista atlántica-mediterránea de prehistoria y arqueología social*, 16, p. 121-142.
- MOLINA F., CÁMARA J. A., DELGADO A., JIMÉNEZ S. A., NÁJERA T., RIQUELME J. A., SPANEDDA L., 2016, « Problemas cronológicos y análisis de dieta en la Edad del Bronce de los Altiplanos granadinos: el caso del Cerro de la Virgen (Orce, Granada, España) », in *Del neolítico a l'edat del bronze en el Mediterrani occidental. Estudis en Homenatge a Bernat Martí Oliver*, Serie de Treballs Varios del Servei de Investigació Prehistòrica del Museu de Prehistòria de València (TV SIP), 119, p. 451-463.
- MOLINA F., CÁMARA J. A., DORADO A., VILLARROYA M., 2017, « El fenómeno campaniforme en el Sudeste de la Península Ibérica: el caso del Cerro de la Virgen (Orce, Granada) », in GONÇALVES V.S. (éd.), *Sinos e Taças. Junto ao Oceano e mais longe. Aspectos da presença campaniforme na Península Ibérica*, Estudos & memórias, 10, Lisboa, UNIARQ/ FL-UL, p. 258-275.
- MOLINA F., DORADO A., 2018, « Cuesta del Negro (Purullena, Granada) », in CONTRERAS F. et DORADO A. (dir.), *Yacimientos arqueológicos y artefactos. Las colecciones del Departamento de Prehistoria y Arqueología (I)*, Cuadernos Técnicos de Patrimonio, 7, Granada, universidad de Granada, p. 61-63.

- MOLINA F., NOCETE F., DELGADO A., CÁMARA J. A., MARTÍNEZ R. M., JIMÉNEZ S. A., MIRANDA M. T., RIQUELME J. A., SPANEDDA L., PÉREZ C., LIZCANO R., NIETO J. M., NÁJERA T., GRANADOS A., CARRIÓN F., 2019, « Diet and environment in southeastern Iberia during the Bronze Age based on isotope analysis of human remains », *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 38:2, p. 189-213.
- MOLINA F., PAREJA E., 1975, « Excavaciones en la Cuesta del Negro (Purullena, Granada) », *Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España*, 86, Madrid.
- MOLINA F., SPANEDDA L., CÁMARA J. A., 2018, « Indicadores de jerarquización social en el registro funerario argárico », in ESPINAR M. (éd.), *La muerte desde la Prehistoria a la Edad Moderna, Acción formativa de Doctorado Universidad de Granada Libros EPCCM Estudios*, 23, Granada, universidad de Granada, p. 153-206.
- MORENO M. A., HARO M., 2008, « Castellón Alto (Galera, Granada). Puesta en valor de un yacimiento argárico », *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad de Granada*, 18, p. 371-395.
- NÁJERA T., F. MOLINA, S. A. JIMÉNEZ, I. AL OUMAOU, M. G. ROCA, M. HARO & S. FERNÁNDEZ, 2010, « Un ejemplo de violencia interpersonal extrema durante la Edad del Bronce: el enterramiento 60 de la Motilla del Azuer », *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad de Granada*, 20, p. 381-394.
- PUENTE OJEA G., 1989, « Ideología e Historia. La formación del cristianismo como fenómeno ideológico », S. XXI, Madrid (4ª Ed.) (1974).
- REDMOND E. M., SPENCER C. S., 2012, « Chiefdoms at the threshold: The competitive origins of the primary state », *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 31:1, p. 22-37.
- REIMER P., AUSTIN W. E., BARD E., BAYLISS A., BLACKWELL P. G., BRONK RAMSEY C., BUTZIN M., CHENG H., EDWARDS R.L., FRIEDRICH M., GROOTES P. M., GUILDERSON T. P., HAJDAS I., HEATON T. J., HOGG A. G., HUGHEN K. A., KROMER B., MANNING S. W., MUSCHELER R., PALMER J. G., PEARSON C., VAN DER PLICHT J., REIMER R. W., RICHARDS D. A., SCOTT E. M., SOUTHON J. R., TURNER C. S. M., WACKER L., ADOLPHI F., BÜNTGEN U., CAPANO M., FAHRNI S., FOGTMANN-SCHULZ A., FRIEDRICH R., KÖHLER P., KUDSK S., MIYAKE F., OLSEN J., REINIG F., SAKAMOTO M., SOOKDEO A., TALAMO S., 2020 « The IntCal20 Northern Hemisphere radiocarbon age calibration curve (0–55 cal kBP) », *Radiocarbon*, 62(4), p. 725-757.
- SCHÜLE W., 1980, *Orce und Galera: zwei siedlungen aus dem 3 bis 1 jahrtausend v. chr. im südosten der iberischen halbinsel i: übersicht über die ausgrabungen 1962-1970*, Phillip von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein.
- SPANEDDA L., MOLINA F., DELGADO A., RIQUELME J. A., NÁJERA T., CÁMARA J. A., 2018, « Ideologia guerriera e distinzione sociale nella cultura argarica: il caso degli altiplani granadini (Granada, Spagna) », in NEGRONI CATACCHIO N. (éd.), *Preistoria e Protostoria in Etruria, Atti del Tredicesimo Incontro di Studi, Armarsi per comunicare con gli uomini e con gli Dei. Le armi come strumenti di attacco e di difesa. status symbol e dono agli Dei. Ricerche e scavi. Volume I*, Milano, Centro Studi di Preistoria e Archeologia, p. 439-450.
- THERBORN G., 1987, *La ideología del poder y el poder de la ideología*, S. XXI, Madrid (1980).
- TYNER J., INWOOD J., 2014, « Violence as fetish: Geography, Marxism, and dialectics », *Progress in Human Geography*, 38(6), p. 771-784.
- VILA-MITJÀ A., 2013, « Silent violence: structural violence in the social management of reproduction », *Cuadernos de prehistoria y arqueología de la Universidad de Granada*, 23, p. 25-34.