Social Inequality in Iberian Late Prehistory

Edited by

Pedro Díaz-del-Río
Leonardo García Sanjuán

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CHAPTER 3

Selection of data, determinism and scientific relevance in interpretations of social development in the Late Prehistory of the Iberian Southeast

Juan Antonio Cámara Serrano
Fernando Molina González
Universidad de Granada

Abstract

We believe that it is necessary to address four fundamental aspects when evaluating different hypotheses about social development in the late prehistory of the Iberian southeast: 1) the factors considered to be the driving forces behind social change, and their external (*e.g.* climate) or internal nature with respect to the society in question; 2) the elements whose control and appropriation are considered to be the key dynamic elements in the process of accumulation (products, labour force, means of labour, natural conditions of production, etc.); 3) the use of the available empirical base; and 4) the characterisation of the degree of social development and temporary changes (tribe, chiefdom, state, etc.). All these aspects are linked to the theoretical orientation of researchers, and are emphasised to a greater or lesser extent in their work over time. For this reason we have developed an analytical perspective that bears this evolution in mind by specially focusing on the different treatment of the second of these aspects.

Keywords: Iberian Peninsula; Late Prehistory; Social Hierarchisation; Labour Force; Means of Labour; Natural Conditions of Production; Social Classes; State.

Resumen

A la hora de valorar las diferentes hipótesis planteadas sobre el desarrollo social en la Prehistoria Reciente del Sureste de la Península Ibérica creemos que es necesario acometer la discusión de cuatro aspectos fundamentales: 1) el factor que se considera como impulsor del cambio social y su carácter externo (por ejemplo clima) o interno respecto a la sociedad en cuestión; 2) los elementos cuyo control y apropiación se consideran como dinamizadores del proceso de acumulación (productos, fuerza de trabajo, medios de trabajo, condiciones naturales de la producción, etc.); 3) la utilización de la base empírica disponible; 4) la caracterización del grado de desarrollo social y sus cambios temporales (tribu, jefatura, estado, etc.). Naturalmente todos estos aspectos están vinculados a la orientación teórica de los investigadores pero son remarcados en mayor o menor grado en sus obras a lo largo del tiempo por lo que desarrollamos una perspectiva de análisis que tenga en cuenta esa evolución a partir, sobre todo, de las diferencias en el tratamiento del segundo aspecto.

Palabras clave: Península Ibérica; Prehistoria Reciente; Jerarquización Social; Fuerza de Trabajo; Medios de Trabajo; Condiciones Naturales de la Producción; Clases Sociales; Estado.

3.1.- Social development in the Southeast

The sequence of transformations that led to class societies began in southern Iberia during the Late Neolithic (*c*. 4000 BC), although the process acquired greater depth near 3000 BC, when the exceptional settlement of Los Millares (Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería) (Molina *et al.* 2004:155-156) was already occupied (Table 3.1, Fig. 3.1).

Until a few years ago, data on the occupation of the lowlands of the Southeast between the 6th millennium BC and 3500 BC was limited and reduced to the presence of Neolithic materials in some caves in the mountains that encircle the lowlands, with the possible chronological addition of some cave paintings and materials located in shelters and caves throughout the areas intensely investigated by Louis Siret. Recently, more data has been supplied thanks to excavations at Cabecicos Negros-El Pajarraco (Cuevas del Almanzora, Almería) (Cámalich *et al.* 2004a: 94-97) and to systematic surveys carried out within the framework of the Los Millares Project (Alcaraz *et al.* 1994). Despite stratigraphic problems, the oldest findings at Cerro Virtud (Cuevas del Almanzora, Almería) correspond to this same time period (Ruiz & Montero 1999:209). This set of data has demonstrated the fallacy of a population vacuum. Among the classical sites, El Garcel (Antas, Almería) (Siret & Siret 1890: 6-7, 14 plate I; Siret 2001: 84, 89) shows the beginning of a process of sedentarisation that led to the formation of permanent and stable settlements in certain areas of the Southeast (Fig. 3.2).

In the second half of the 4th millennium the territory was

SITE NAME	*KIND OF CONTEXT*	*DATE B.P.*	*DATES B.C. (1 σ)*	*DATES B.C. (2 σ)*	*LABORATORY REFERENCE*	*REFERENCE*
LOS MILLARES (2)	FORTIFICATION LINE IV. PHASE 1	4410 ± 60	3095-2920	3325-2900	Beta124532	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (2)	FORTIFICATION LINE IV. PHASE 6	4200 ± 60	2890-2665	2910-2590	Beta124531	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (2)	FORTIFICATION LINE IV. PHASE 7a	4020 ± 60	2590-2465	2855-2400	Beta124529	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTIFICATION LINE IV. PHASE 9	3900 ± 60	2465-2290	2555-2190	Beta124530	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTIFICATION LINE III. PHASE 2	4220 ± 70	2900-2680	2920-2590	Beta124527	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTIFICATION LINE III	4030 ± 130	2865-2400	2900-2175	Beta124528	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTIFICATION LINE II. PHASE 2d	4460 ± 70	3325-2935	3355-2910	Beta124523	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTIFICATION LINE II. PHASE 1g	4420 ± 70	3285-2920	3340-2895	Beta124524	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTIFICATION LINE II	4150 ± 40	2871-2640	2879-2589	BM2343	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTIFICATION LINE II. PHASE 4c	3990 ± 60	2575-2455	2610-2325	Beta124522	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTIFICATION LINE I	4295 ± 85	3085-2710	3322-2625	H204-247	ARRIBAS, 1976.
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTIFICATION LINE I	4220 ± 70	2900-2680	2920-2590	Beta124526	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTIFICATION LINE I	4110 ± 110	2871-2504	2917-2347	BM2344	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTIFICATION LINE I	4040 ± 70	2610-2470	2870-2400	Beta124525	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTÍN I	4000 ± 70	2585-2455	2855-2310	Beta125862	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTÍN I	3980 ± 40	2575-2440	2845-2290	Beta125861	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (2)	FORTÍN I	3950 ± 40	2480-2440	2560-2325	Beta125860	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTÍN I	3920 ± 50	2474-2310	2568-2212	BM2536	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTÍN I	3880 ± 50	2458-2299	2473-2204	BM2537	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTÍN I	3880 ± 60	2460-2270	2485-2145	Beta125859	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTÍN I	3820 ± 40	2340-2155	2457-2141	BM2345	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTÍN IV	3830 ± 70	2430-2150	2475-2040	Beta135669	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTÍN V	3840 ± 50	2395-2205	2460-2140	Beta135670	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	FORTÍN V	3840 ± 70	2445-2195	2475-2050	Beta135671	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS MILLARES (1)	NECRÓPOLIS, THOLOS XIX	3380 ± 120	3325-2893	3482-2677	KN72	ALMAGRO, 1959; ARRIBAS, 1976.

Table 3.1. Dates from Los Millares (Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería). (1) Samples analysed by Standard radiometric, (2) Samples analysed by AMS. The stratigraphical phases are only referred to the belonging area.

occupied by open air settlements, some permanent, although the majority was still short-term (Molina 1988; Cámalich *et al.* 2004b:167-168). The material culture of these settlements reflects middle Neolithic traditions (less decorated ceramics, small flint blades and geometrics, etc.) but also a clear trend towards an increasing amount of open pottery vessels. Most of the necropolis classified by the Leisner's in Phase I of the Almeria Culture must be ascribed to this time period, with round sepulchres (*rundgräber*) in areas like Purchena or quadrangular tombs in Vélez. Both types lack passages and are defined by the presence of few individuals (Guilaine 1976:163). However, as the Tabernas case shows, their erection, which also took place in subsequent periods, was integrated into the progressive formation of a Copper Age ritual landscape next to more complex sepulchres (Cámara 2001).

The site of Los Millares (Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería) was founded by the end of the 4th millennium. It is composed by three lines of walls and an interior citadel, two external lines of small forts and an immediate cemetery of large sepulchres with circular chambers, often covered with corbelled vaults (*tholoi)*. It is the best example of the transformations that took place between the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic in the Iberian Southeast (Molina *et al.* 2004:152) (Fig. 3.3). Built at a slightly later stage, the surrounding small forts constitute internal guard posts of a territory that was previously assimilated through an increasing pressure on certain movable resources, a continued threat of force, and an integration of elites into a centralized control system. This is suggested by the presence of circular sepulchres and perforated stone slabs (doors) in some of the megalithic cemeteries like Huéchar, or by the presence of at least 3 megaliths

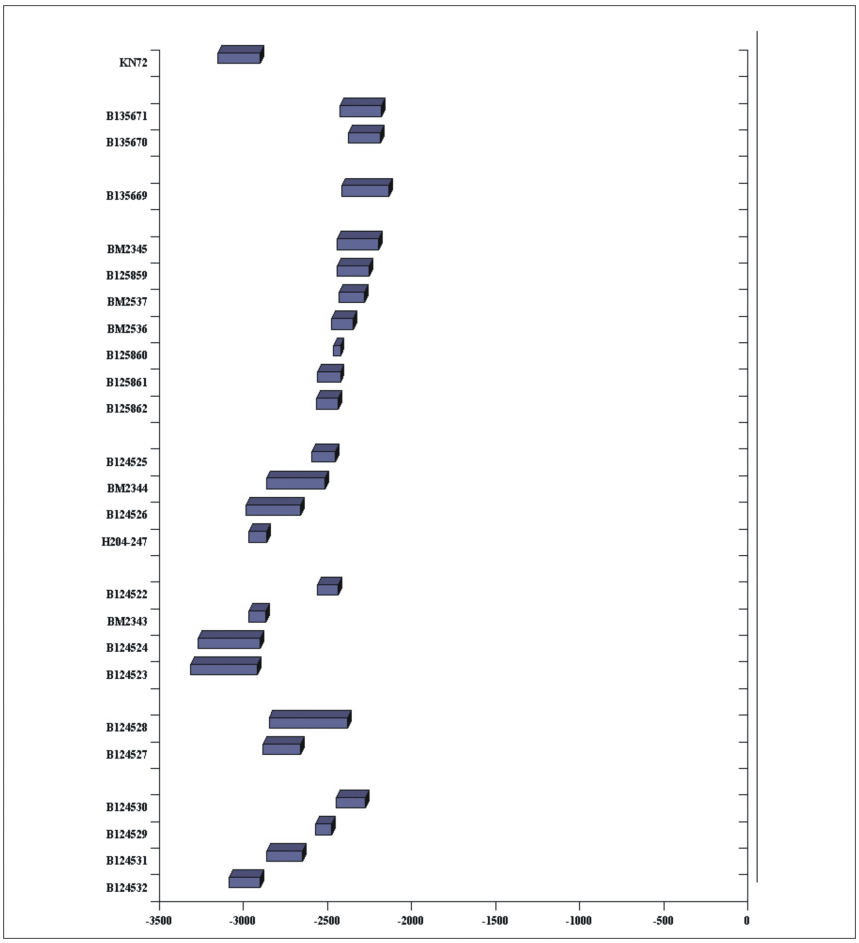

Fig. 3.1. Calibrated dates (1 σ) of different areas from Los Millares (following Molina *et al.* 2004).

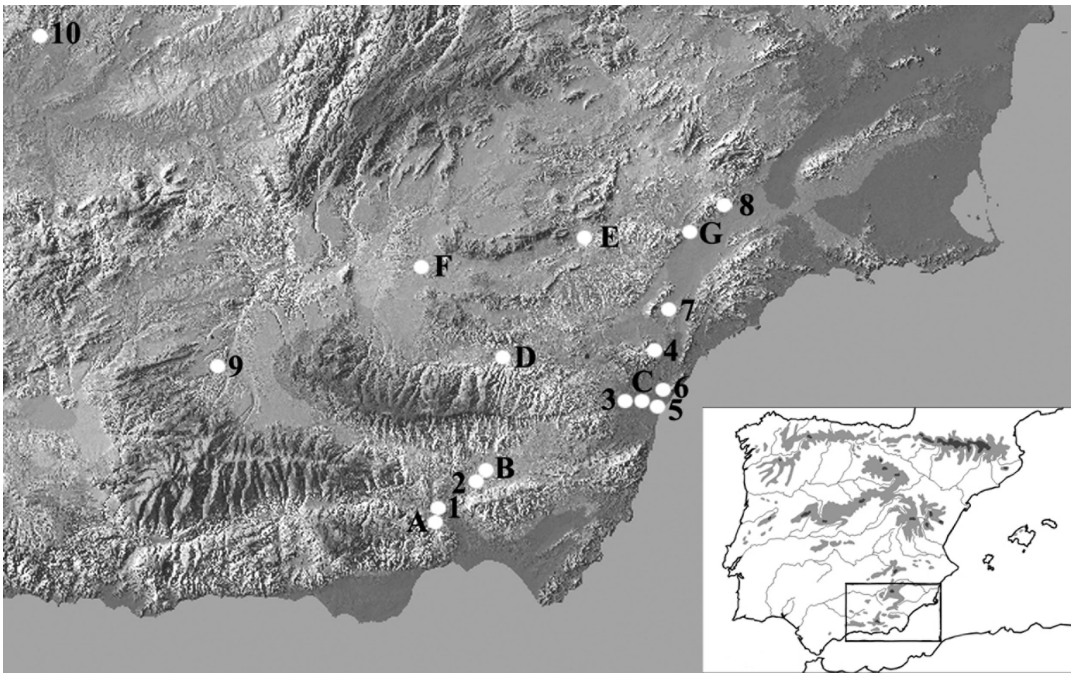

Fig. 3.2. Sites and areas mentioned in text: Areas – A. Huéchar-Alhama-Gádor, B. Tabernas Corridor, C. Vera Basin, D. Purchena, E. Vélez, F. Cúllar-Chirivel Corridor, G. Lorca; Sites – 1. Los Millares, 2. Terrera Ventura, 3. El Gárcel, 4. Fuente Álamo, 5. Cabecicos Negros, 6. Cerro Virtud, 7. El Rincón de Almendricos, 8. La Bastida, 9. La Cuesta del Negro, 10. Peñalosa.

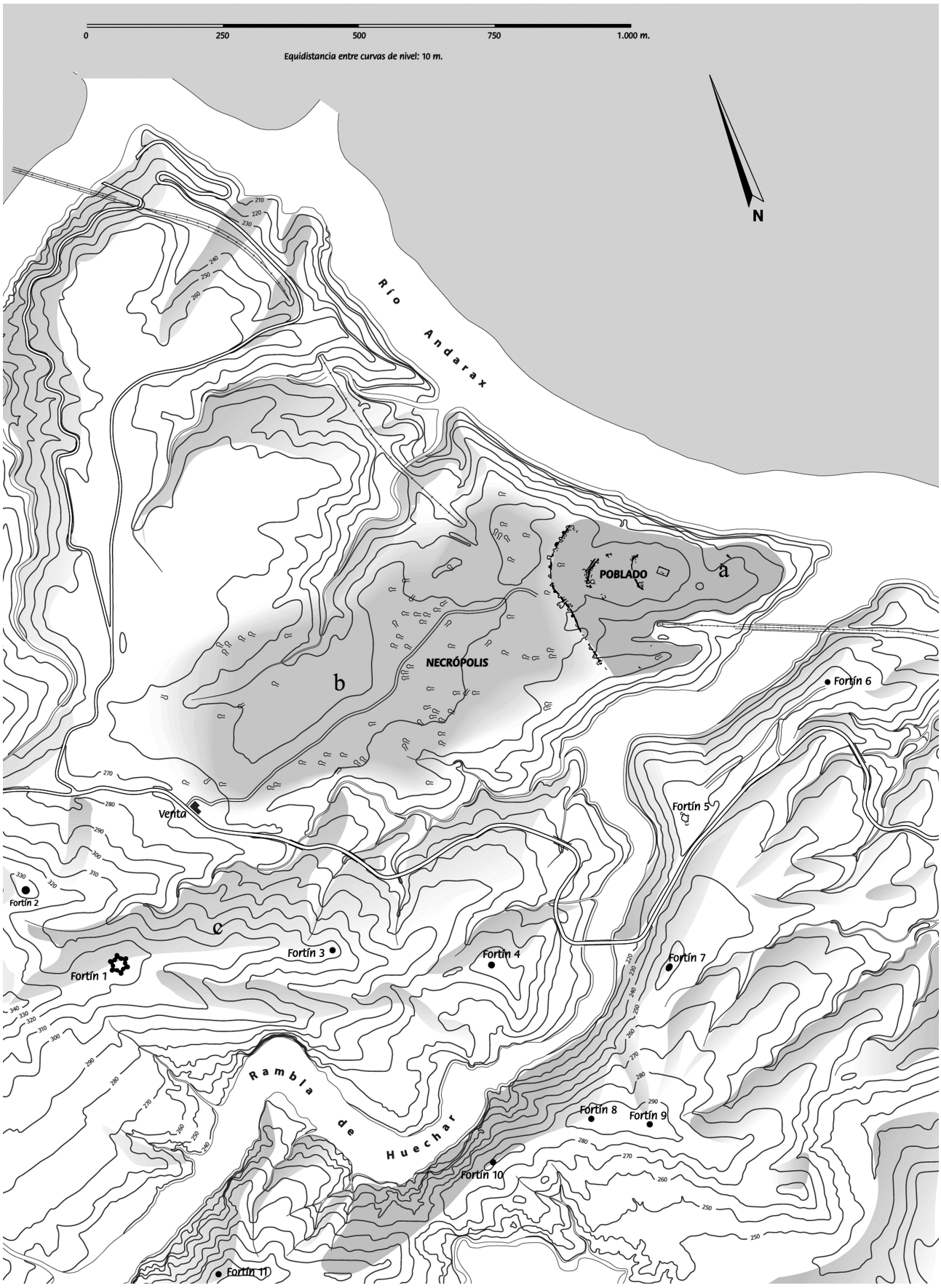

Fig. 3.3. Archaeological complex of Los Millares (Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería) including: a) fortified village, b) necropolis and c) hill-forts.

at Los Millares with certain funerary offerings that can be linked to the neighbouring dolmenic cemeteries of Gádor and Alhama. In any case, social differentiation between settlements has been argued for other areas like the Vera basin (Cámalich *et al.* 2004b), the surroundings of Lorca (Lomba 1999), Pasillo de Cúllar-Chirivel (Moreno *et al.* 1997) and Pasillo de Tabernas. In the last of these sites, a study of the distribution and position of the megaliths, together with an analysis of the settlement pattern has shown (Maldonado *et al.* 1992-93; Cámara 2001) the importance of the populations located next to the main waterways such as Terrera Ventura (Tabernas, Almería) (Gusi & Olaria 1991) during the 4th and 3rd millennia BC, in addition to an east-west opposition in settlement patterns or megalithic intervisibility. Some tholoi cemeteries are located next to these settlements, while more dispersed ones signal routes from valleys to mountains, with some small and possibly seasonal sites along them. There is a general lack of data concerning internal settlement differentiation, although meat consumption at Los Millares shows differences between the main settlement and the surrounding forts (Navas 2004). Moreover, some specialised arrowhead flint knapping and metallurgical activity areas have been located at Los Millares (Molina *et al.* 2004).

The Bronze Age extends between 2200/2100 and 800/600 BC (Castro *et al.* 1996). During the first part (2200-1450 BC), the El Argar culture developed in the Southeast, between the Vinalopó River in the northeast, Sierra Morena to the north and the western flank of the depressions of Jaén and Granada to the west (Molina & Cámara 2004: 455-458). In this time period, the process of consolidation of social hierarchies can be observed through the following evidence: (1) the articulation between walled settlements normally located on steep hills, although exceptions like El Rincón de Almendricos (Lorca, Murcia) do exist (Ayala 1986); (2) the internal differentiation of certain settlements with acropolis (Fuente Álamo, Gatas, El Oficio, Castellón Alto, etc.) and differential consumption patterns of certain products between dwellings (Sanz and Morales 2000); (3) the homogenisation of part of the portable material culture (Castro *et al.* 1999:69) that suggests the existence of a generalized measurement unit (Castro *et al.* 1999:65, 68; 2001: 202, 206); (4) differences between individual burial patterns generally located below dwellings (funerary offerings, living conditions, characteristics of the tombs, etc.) (Lull & Estévez 1986; Contreras *et al.* 1987-88; Jiménez & García 1989-90) (Fig. 3.4), suggesting the existence of aristocracies with attached servants at certain sites such as La Cuesta del Negro (Purullena, Granada), La Bastida (Totana, Murcia) or Peñalosa (Baños de la Encina, Jaén), where burials belonging to different social levels are associated to the same living space (Cámara 2001; Molina & Cámara 2004).

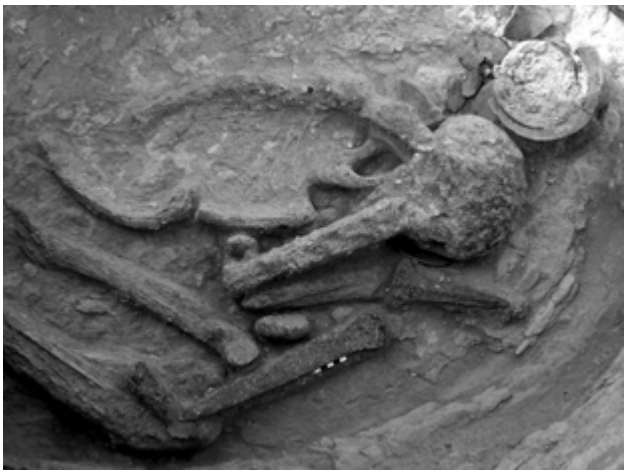

Fig. 3.4. Grave nº 109 from Castellón Alto (Galera, Granada) with metal grave goods.

3.2.- The historiography of hypotheses concerning the beginnings of social hierarchisation in the Southeast

3.2.a.- Introduction

When hypotheses on social development are expounded, they are usually presented (Hernando 1987-88; Chapman 1991; 2003; Arteaga 2002) as fully finished, as though the work of an author were homogenous from start to finish. It seems as if once a model has been set forth, it needs no change. Only the data that fits the model is sought. However, this is not an indisputable reality. On the contrary, the trajectories of many authors contain substantial changes, while certain models appear to be immutable (Gilman 1999; 2001). Time seems to have stopped in the year 1990 or earlier when presenting models of social change in southeast Iberia (Chapman 2003), especially when targeting anglo-american public. The main dilemma still seems to be the functionalist-diffusionist debate (Gilman 2001). These simplifications, connected with the delay that the latest Andalusian publications suffer in reaching international distributors (even in reaching authors who are familiar with our area of study), may serve as a sufficient excuse to undertake a review of our own perspective on the panorama put forward by these models (Cámara 2001). However, it may be convenient to elude a linear exposition of authors and proposals, offering our own point of view on three subject matters: (1) the importance given to certain components of social structure in the different models (means of labour, labour force, natural conditions of production and products); (2) the localisation and nature of the motors of social change; and (3) the definition of the resulting change.

This kind of perspective has two advantages: (a) it can allow us to appreciate not only the determinism (environmental, demographic, economic) of many approaches, but also the reductionism when characterising the production of a prehistoric society; (b) we can trace the influence of certain authors in the trajectories of others that present themselves as radically opposed. From this perspective, the greatest reductionism can be found not in authors that are or have been considered functionalists, but in the hasty adoption of "theoretical models" that try to fit isolated hypotheses together. Demonstrating this could alone be motive enough to justify the inclusion of not only complex models, widely cited in the literature, but also partial perspectives and views that are hidden in syntheses and articles on concrete topics. Furthermore, we believe to have an additional justification: the length of a theoretical exposition and the abundance of citations do not necessarily correspond to deeper perspectives. There are perfect examples for both extremes: the broad exposition of A. Ramos (1981) which hides a reductionist/deterministic model, and the excellent synthesis developed by F. Nocete (1989; 2001), integrating all social functioning into a perspective that brings together temporal and spatial variations.

3.2.b.- Driving forces in social development

Although some approaches lack almost any definition of the factor of social change, we have tried to limit the exposition to two large sets of factors: (1) external factors, mostly diffusionist models put forward by classical research and (2) internal factors, those integrated in the society under analysis. Most recent authors who emphasise the first set of factors do so on the basis of the idea that societies will remain under a stable equilibrium (result of their perfect adaptation to the environment) unless affected by external pressures or catastrophes. Almost all researchers who emphasise this factor must turn to two recurring causes in this type of interpretation: environmental pressure, in the form of ecological crises, climatic or edaphological constrictions, or demographic growth (being specific or general). This factor, although socially determined, is often placed as a constant given that, in the opposite case, it could not possibly explain why populations decide to occupy marginal lands (Chapman 1982; Mathers 1984). Anyhow, at times authors suggest that prehistoric groups do so when they have acquired the adequate technological level (Gilman 1976), without contextualising the technical advances in the framework of the society that produced them.

Other authors emphasise the demographic factor alone and, although referring to the need for an increasing food production, they separate this from any other social manifestation. Consequently, they reduce production to subsistence, and view trade as an autonomous sphere (Ramos 2004). They fall within the framework errors of substantivism, appropriately and often criticised (Carandini 1984). Additionally, part of the demographic factor presents important problems for empirical verification. In the first place, it is difficult to determine, especially from data gathered from surface surveys, the number and the significance of the settlements, as well as their contemporaneity. Secondly, neither the extension nor the amount of dwellings produce a clear correlation to the number of inhabitants. Finally, once growth has been determined, it is difficult to evaluate with the time scale that we use for Late Prehistory, whether it preceded or succeeded change, or both. These aspects are even under discussion for periods as recent as the Industrial Revolution. Inseparably linked to this factor is conflict between communities (Díaz-del-Río 2004: 91).

Finally, environmental changes can be of some importance, although the quick, seasonal ones that might have had more catastrophic effects (*e.g.* droughts that produce famines) are difficult to detect in the archaeological record except in exceptional cases. But we also must bear in mind that societies are not found in isolation from other human groups. For this reason, contact must be important not only in relation to the adoption of certain elements (whose influence in recipient societies must be evaluated in the first place by the fact that they had already generated the necessity [Afonso 1998; Risch 1998]), but also to the pressures, frequently violent, between societies. Nevertheless, these must be characterised attending to the internal contradictions in each specific society.

In this respect, it must be made clear that the last factor that drives transformation is conflict, that is, the accentuation of the control of certain elements in the productive system in order to direct the results in one specific direction (often not completely conscious) (Nocete 1989; 1994a; 2001; Lull 1983; Martínez & Afonso 1998; Castro *et al.* 1999). This conflict, whether overt or hidden, as shown in fights for the control of labour force, takes place not only between men and women (Lizcano *et al.* 1997; Castro *et al.* 1999; Castro & Escoriza in this volume), dominant and dominated classes, but also between members of the dominant group (Nocete 1989; 1994a; Cámara 2001).

3.2.c.- Elements of critical access

A large part of the interpretations of the development of social hierarchisation in the Iberian southeast have considered that the control of the natural conditions of production is the key factor for the consolidation of inequality and the development of elites. Independently of the fact that, as G. Lukacs (1985) showed so well, control of men in pre-capitalist societies was not exercised via control of things, but rather control of things was exercised through control of men, it is difficult to sustain that control of certain resources (*e.g.* water and land), or elements susceptible of being used as raw materials (*e.g.* minerals), could have been fundamental before their conversion into means of production by human work. In any case, at times it is difficult to know if the authors are suggesting that there was competition for resources (*e.g.* land) before

its conversion into a mean of labour (Gilman 1976; Vicent 1993) or afterwards (Arteaga 1993; 2001). In other cases, this factor becomes diluted in interpretations suggesting competition for a wide variety of resources (Pérez 2004: 234).

In the same way, the control of products, whether metal or flint tools, all of which share many of the problems referred to above, emphasize the role of products (Ramos 1998) especially as prestige elements (Shennan 1982; Mathers 1984; Molina 1988; Moreno 1993) or as means of labour (Lull 1983; Risch 1998; Castro *et al.* 1999). Some authors underestimate Iberian prehistoric production (Gilman 1987b: 31-33; 2001: 68-70; Montero 1993: 54-56; Müller *et al.* 2004: 51-52), overlooking the evidence for spatial concentration (Moreno *et al.* 2003; Nocete *et al.* 2001; Bayona *et al.* 2003), selection of raw material (Keesmann *et al.* 1997) and the implication of all of the processes that require cutting or puncturing tools (especially during the Bronze Age), except harvesting and threshing (Lull 2000: 589; Sanz & Morales 2000). Other means of labour such as domestic flocks have only received a secondary treatment (Gilman 1976; 1997; Molina 1983), occasionally reducing them to simple products (Harrison 1993). Only recently have they been emphasised for their role in the accumulation of wealth (Cámara & Lizcano 1996; Martínez & Afonso 1998; Cámara 2001).

Nevertheless, most complex approaches have accentuated the fundamental role of labour force control in the beginning of the process of hierarchisation (Nocete 1989; 1994a; 2001; Díaz-del-Río 2004: 85-86, 91). Some have stressed the initial importance of the control of women, both as labour force and as means of production in terms of the source of future labour (Castro *et al.* 1999; Cámara 2001; Afonso & Cámara in this volume). Others have considered women to be important in other moments of social development (Mathers 1984; Vicent 1993).

3.3.- Limitations and advances in the proposals

3.3.a.- Control of the natural conditions of production

R.W. Chapman (Fig. 3.5) has suggested that the lowlands of southeast Iberia were occupied as a consequence of demographic pressure only at the end of the Neolithic. These areas were previously unoccupied because of their excessive dryness. Processes of intensification (irrigation) were put into practice in areas with sufficient water (Chapman 1982: 46-48; 1991: 156-161), transforming land from a natural condition of production to a means of labour. The economic success led to the reproduction of demographic tensions, forcing new changes under limited technological conditions (Chapman 1991: 297). Copper metallurgy is only considered in relation to prestige objects (Chapman 1991: 232-233, 225-227).

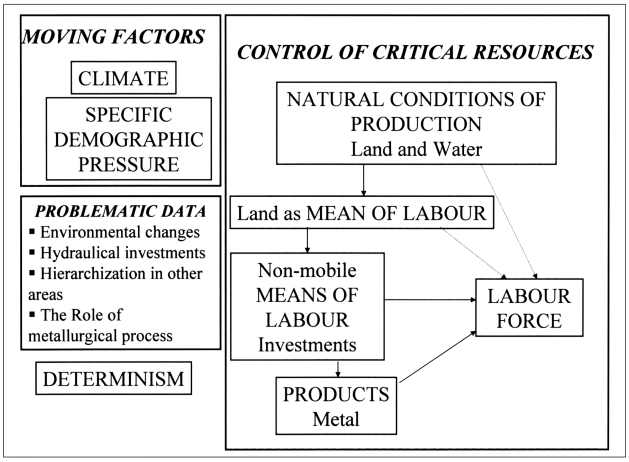

Fig. 3.5. Schematic diagram on R.W. Chapman's model.

The empirical limits of these approaches are particularly clear, especially because they overlook the processes of hierarchisation that occurred in wet areas of Iberia (Chapman 1991: 306-311), although at times they are linked to the interregional exchange of prestige goods (Chapman 1982; 1991; Gilman 1987c) and especially because they do not take into account the environmental data provided by Copper Age wildlife remains (e.g. Peters & Driesch 1990), anthracological data (Rodríguez & Vernet 1991) or lowland Neolithic settlement patterns (Cámalich *et al.* 2004a). One of the main theoretical limitations is their economic-environmental reductionism and their consideration of the beneficial role of elites (Gilman 1987b: 33; Hernando 1987-88: 59). R.W. Chapman has recently abandoned his model, more because of the data he recovered (including paleoenvironmental remains) than because of a recognition of its theoretical inconsistency (Chapman 2003: 156).

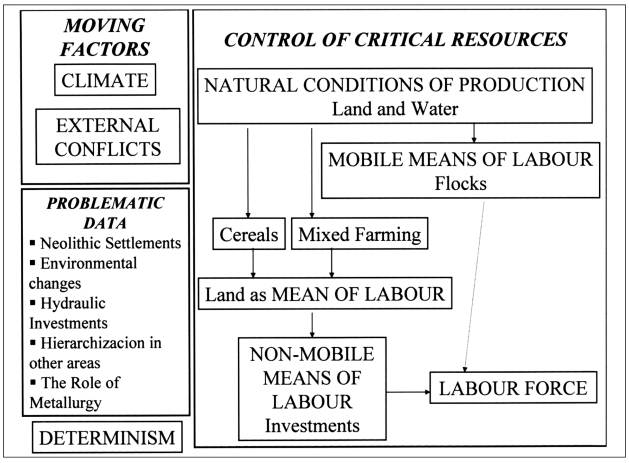

Fig. 3.6. Schematic diagram on A. Gilman's model.

A. Gilman (Fig. 3.6) also assumes that there were no stable settlements in the Neolithic since communities lacked the adequate technological level to subsist under a supposedly hostile environment (Gilman 1987a: 60-63; 1999: 79, 82-83; 2001: 61-62). Other authors emphasise

that the critical factor was not so much climatic conditions as the scarcity of arable lands throughout the Southeast (Hernando & Vicent 1987). According to Gilman, agricultural intensification based on mixed farming and irrigation, and the exploitation of herds in new forms occurred during the Copper Age because further development would have been impossible under the conditions of extensive rain fed agriculture (Gilman 1976: 314; 1987a: 60-63; 1987b: 33; 1997: 88; 1999: 84; 2001: 67, 70-74). However, he does not grant any role to livestock as an independent means of accumulation. According to the author, pastoral communities are at no time class based (Gilman 1997: 89). Other authors have extended the importance of irrigation to other areas where natural conditions did not require this kind of intensified production (Zafra *et al.* 1999: 89-90).

According to his hypotheses, farmers could not abandon their infrastructural investments, whether public works for intensive irrigation or cultigens with deferred yields (olive trees, grape vines, etc.). They were thus bound to their land (Gilman 1976: 315-316; 1997: 88; 1987a: 66; 1999: 84-87; 2001: 72-74, 81). Under these conditions, exploitation as labour force became easier, through mechanisms that he termed as *protection blackmail* (Gilman 1991: 141), also referred to by others as the *mafia model* (Shennan 1989: 93). Other authors consider these public works (and therefore investments), along with participation in ritual activities, as mechanisms preventing the flight of the labour force (Díaz-del-Río 2004: 86). Gilman, although stressing the interest of those who have made a heavy investment in a resource when appropriating it against the community (Gilman 1997: 84), has never suggested its importance as the base for differential accumulation. He does not determine how elites arrive to their position of power, or why - bearing in mind the low population density in the Southeast during Late Prehistory - people decided to occupy areas that were allegedly marginal.

The difference between Chapman and Gilman's approaches lies not only in the absence of any demographic-technological role as a basis for explaining initial colonisation in the latter (considered by some authors as a *teleology* [Hernando 1987-88: 69]), or in the emphasis placed on public works that could be small in size (Gilman 1976: 314), but in the repeatedly reiterated affirmation that elites did not favour public works or propel them, but only benefited from them (Gilman 1987a: 65-66; 1987b: 33; 1991: 140; 2001: 74-77). However, Gilman's criticism of the administrative interpretation is reduced to the lack of data on central administrations. The basic defect of this proposal is the fact that beneficial systems do not exist for any society as a group under conditions of exploitation. In this respect, Gilman does not accept the existence of the State, but does consider the presence of both social classes and tribute (Gilman 1987b: 33; 1997: 83-84; 1997: 83; 2001: 77 n. 27, 77-81). He accepts an evolutionist succession of stages (Gilman 1987a: 31; 1993: 106, 109; 1997: 83-84; 2001: 77-81), but does not use the term State for the Iberian southeast in order to avoid confusion with contemporary societies of the Aegean, to which the same term is applied (Gilman 1991: 142 n.2; 1999: 87-88). There is only one type of state according to him, a concept already criticised (Gailey & Patterson 1988: 79-80) even by previously functionalist authors such as Chapman (2003: 162-163). What they do not understand is that the State is simply the instrument of power of the dominant class (Marx & Engels 1987: 48).

Gilman tends to overlook various pieces of evidence that do not support his thesis: a) the presence of hierarchisation in humid regions; b) the size of settlements in the Guadalquivir valley; c) the existence of models of prehistoric states different to those from the Near East; d) the Neolithic settlements in Almería e) paleopathological evidence; f) the concentration of elements of production (lithic, metal, etc.) in certain places; g) the recycling of metal; and h) the common production of grains in dry areas.

Other theories link the appearance of a class society to the progressive territorialisation resulting from intergroup competition for land (Vicent 1993: 49, 53-58; Hernando 1993; Román 1999: 200, 204), although at times the causes for this competition are not made explicit (Díaz-del-Río 2004: 91). Starting with the circulation of adults, and later with the exchange of women for reproductive purposes as a way of controlling future labour force, the phenomenon provokes the adoption of a "peasant way of life" (Vicent 1993: 51-52). Permanent villages and megalithic tombs (or other collective burials) reinforce the community's right over the land as a means of labour, although other symbolic systems of cohesion, representation of social position, and exterior relationships are maintained (Vicent 1993: 46-51, 55-59).

The main problem with this hypothesis is that it underscores the cause of the phenomenon as its effect. Sedentarisation was the necessary condition for agricultural success, and the conversion of the land into a true means of labour, subsequently leading towards a true accumulation of capital. Other authors have emphasised competition over natural conditions of production within the framework of strong demographic determinism (Monks 1999:129, 132; Aranda & Sánchez 2004: 265).

Arteaga (Fig. 3.7) has shown the importance of the rise of "family" ties in relation to sedentarisation, with regards to the need to form tribal societies that claim a specific territory since the early Neolithic (Arteaga 2002: 259-260) and the progressive importance that land acquires as a means of labour as a result of frequentation (Arteaga 1993: 194; 2002: 271). The driving factor here is external conflict, which increases internal contradictions. Focusing exploitation on the circulation of labour force from dependent communities, he considers that the ownership of land, herds and instruments of work were still communal (Arteaga 2001: 130). Social differentiation increased because of the differing productivity of the land, requir-

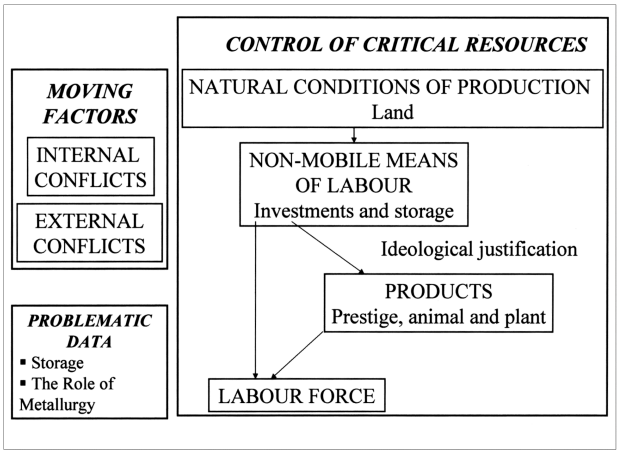

Fig. 3.7. Schematic diagram on O. Arteaga's model.

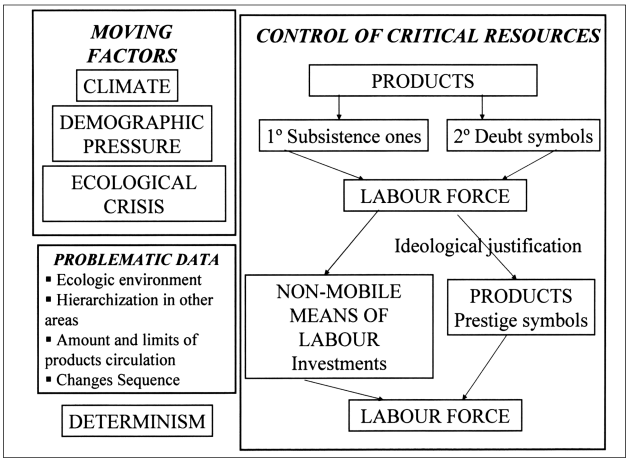

Fig. 3.8. Schematic diagram on C. Mathers's model.

ing new regulating mechanisms in order to avoid conflicts (Arteaga 1993: 193; 2002: 259). Thus, collective dependence has been suggested for the Copper Age (Arteaga 2001: 125, 129), described as a step from "communitary" to "collective", that is, the conversion from a communitary ideology to a masked ideology of inequality (Arteaga 1993: 193, 198; 2002: 258, 279-280). Influence is produced, via family relationships, in the possession of the means of production to control the labour force (Arteaga 1993: 196; 2002: 260). In this context, the production of arsenic copper is conceived as one more element integrated in a context of the circulation of prestige goods, which accentuated and displayed social inequality (Arteaga 2001: 125, 129, 133; 2002: 274, 278).

For El Argar, Arteaga suggests "private" appropriation, a specific and not unmasked form of private ownership of labour force, natural conditions and means of production (Arteaga 2001: 132, 141, 143, 173, 184). In this context, he defends both the existence of temple-palace-warehouses for the dominant classes and the mobility of the peasants as forms of social control (Arteaga 2001: 146-147).

3.3.b.- Control of the products

For Mathers (Fig. 3.8), high population density and technological limitations had propelled agricultural colonization towards high-risk marginal areas. Administration became fundamental to maintain economic stability, and systems of product circulation were organized to guarantee subsistence via zonal complementarity. Settlements located in the driest lowlands specialised in the production of prestige goods, among which metal. As indicators of a food debt with respect to the highlands, they were transformed into an ideological element of control during bad years (Mathers 1984).

The fundamental objections concerning the empirical base are shared with other determinist visions, although in this case, demographic pressure acquires a special importance as a key factor in the process. When placing emphasis on competition for products and prestige, exploitation is hidden, and cooperation and administration are emphasised as results and motors of social change, tending to indicate that rulers *were and are inescapable* (Moscoso 1986: 109, 386; Gailey & Patterson 1987: 5).

A. Ramos has investigated the importance of the control of products and their trade. In his early works he pointed to demographic pressure as the motor of social change, leading to an increasing number of settlements and the occupation of new lands for intensified extensive grain agriculture. In turn, all these led to competition between communities. However, he does not consider that this would give rise to a rigid social organization (Ramos 1981: 250-251, 256) because the differences between settlements derived only from the number of their inhabitants (Ramos 1998: 32). This minimises the role of practically all objects as means of labour, both metal and lithic ones, attempting to separate production of instruments from specialised production of prestige goods designed for trade, the collapse of which would explain the final Copper Age crisis (Ramos 1998: 13-18, 22, 26-36; 2004: 420). This is a process similar to that used by other authors to eliminate the role of herds as means of production, limiting their role to that of products (Harrison 1993: 294). The main miscalculation in this approach is that it separates "trade" from the overall social production through a substantivist approximation. This perspective has much in common with formalism (Carandini 1984: 290-292) since it masks exploitation by placing the emphasis on the forms of distribution and not on the relationships surrounding overall production, suggesting the existence of social differentiation only according to the control of distribution (trade) by *Big Men* (Ramos 1981: 249, 253; 1998: 33-34, 36). Neither does this approach penetrate the meaning of goods that the ringleader gives and receives. This theory does not admit the exploitative character of this society. It does not accept social conflict, even in contexts of accumulation of wealth, certain specialisation and its possible institution-

alisation (Ramos 1981: 247-248, 253; 1997: 674-679; 1998: 25-31, 33-34, 36; 1999: 601; 2004: 414-418).

In fact, new hypotheses developed by the author entail such an accentuation of the unilineal evolutionist perspective that one only has to ascribe the archaeological record to each one of the different stages in order to obtain a social explanation (Ramos 2004: 404, 414-415). Here, the reality of the archaeological record is secondary: interpretations are in no way based on proper archaeological evidence, whether with respect to the fortifications of the southeast or the chronology given to the sites themselves (Ramos *et al.* 1991: 129; Ramos 1997: 674-679; 1998: 17; 1999: 601; 2004: 414-418).

S. Shennan (1982: 159-160) has conceded an important role to metallurgy in the process of social hierarchisation. He notes that metal production can in some cases explain the differential degree of hierarchisation reached between certain areas. Also, metals associated to Bell-Beakers are used by aristocracies of different areas in Europe as a way of justifying their position. Prestige metal objects are presented as items acquired personally, not dependent on the dominated masses. Their deposition in tombs reinforces the timelessness of social inequality.

3.3.c.- Control of the labour force

From similar approaches that emphasise the control of products (Lull 1983: 457-458) with a catastrophist vision (ecological crisis) of the end of the Argaric world, the team of the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (Fig. 3.9) has recently underscored the importance of control of the labour force as a basic requirement for social development in the absence of technological advances (Castro *et al.* 1999: 31; 2001: 184-185, 203). However, the rigid separation between labour force and means of production, and the emphasis on the role of the social division of labour in the development of hierarchisation (Risch 1998: 107; Castro *et al.* 1999: 32-35, 26-30), create certain difficulties when explaining the first moments of the process (Late Neolithic). These regard limitations in the movements of people included in a specific group, their opposition to the exterior, and their connection to forms of earlier exploitation such as the exploitation of women.

They also point to the growing importance of increasingly specialised rain fed agriculture, in combination with valley horticulture, and non-transhumant herding patterns. The fact that the large Chalcolithic settlements were not especially located near the best lands suggests their dependence on smaller settlements that supplied them with agricultural products. Nevertheless, and according to the authors, there was no dissymmetry in consumption. Dissymetries can be found in the suprafamiliar organization of certain jobs, especially in larger sites (Castro *et al.* 1999: 44-46, 48-49, 52, 54). Control was not exercised through means of production that could be easily substituted (Castro *et al.* 1999: 55) but arose from control of labour force, usable territory and movable means of production such as herds.

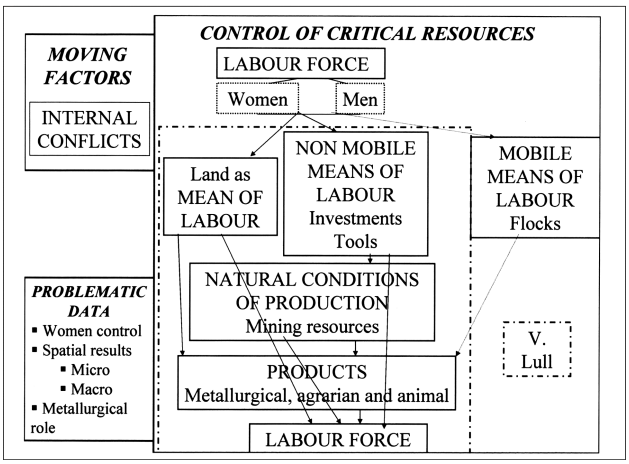

Fig. 3.9. Schematic diagram on UAB team's (Gatas Project) model.

The authors have suggested that a strong demographic increase took place during the Bronze Age. This was made possible by a greater emphasis on the control of labour force and of basic production through an increasing pressure on women. According to them, the process was accompanied by an increase in child mortality, reflected in a greater number of infant inhumations (Castro *et al.* 1999: 57-58; 2001: 192). The level of hierarchisation reached is expressed through funerary offerings, the increase of life expectancy among the dominant classes, and the inclusion of funerary offerings in children burials since at least 1800 BC onward (Castro *et al.* 1999: 69; 2001: 207).

Specialized extensive agriculture, mainly barley-based, would be most directly related to social change. In relation to demographic growth and degradation by deforestation, this agriculture entails an increase in the costs of production because of the growing distance and the use of worse lands, which must be left fallow for 1-2 years. On the plains, near the rivers where small settlements can be found, legumes and linen were cultivated in a limited horticulture (Castro *et al.* 1999: 59-61, 67-68; 2001: 195-196, 206-207; Lull 2000: 588).

Certain technological advances are also seen with *the elimination of production that demands a high level of preparation, reduction of the costs of production and transportation, improvement of the raw materials being used and greater specialisation and diversification of the instruments of work* (Castro *et al.* 1999: 63). Only specific raw materials such as minerals and volcanic rocks come from distant areas, as opposed to the majority during the Copper Age, something that the authors relate to a more restricted access to exotic elements (Risch 1998: 128-129; Lull 2000: 589-590; Castro *et al.* 1999: 61; 2001: 198, 208). Control of production and storage, especially in the central settlements, are forms of controlling

people (Castro *et al.* 1999: 59-61; 2001: 195-197, 206; Lull 2000: 588).

While works from other researchers initially emphasise that the control of groups according to age or gender guarantees access to products (Aguayo *et al.* 1993: 342), they disconnect this from the later processes and, although territorial deterrence is already mentioned for the Chalcolithic era, internal conflicts are denied and change is justified as a consequence of ecological, demographic and intercommunity competition (Carrilero & Suárez 1997: 87, 106-107). Despite this, the difference between owners and non-owners is discussed (Carrilero & Suárez 1997:108), suggesting that the only relations of production were the forms of surplus extraction, considered as extraeconomic (in an absolute sense) personal relationships (based on dependency in the majority of the cases) mediated by legal relationships such as the ownership of means of production (Aguayo *et al.* 1993: 342-344). This conception supposes a double error: 1) the separation of income or salary from the relationships of control and 2) the denial of any possibility of extracting income in Prehistory.

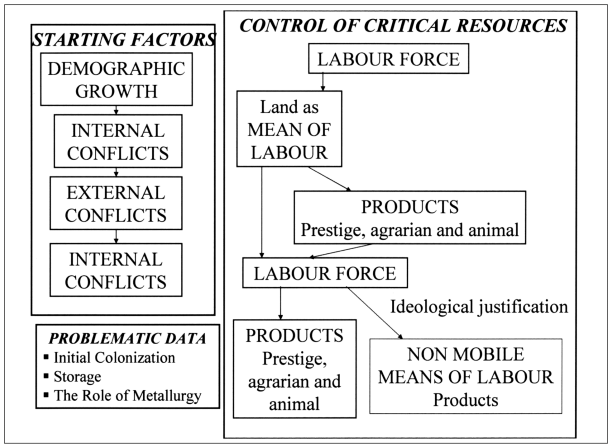

Fig. 3.10. Schematic diagram on F. Nocete's model.

F. Nocete's model (Fig. 3.10) is, without doubt, the most satisfactory of those offered to explain southern Iberia's late Prehistory. The main criticism (Lizcano *et al.* 1997) has focused on his view of the origins of the sedentarisation process in the Higher Guadalquivir valley as a result of a demographic growth. This impeded the reproduction of a *swidden* model of exploitation of the territory above the Guadalquivir river basin, forcing a colonising expansion (Nocete 1989: 154; 1994a: 277-279, 283-288). The importance of demographic pressure has also been maintained by other authors who emphasise control of the labour force (Jover & López 2004: 295-296).

Independently of this initial impulse, Nocete accentuates the role that control of the labour force has in social development, whether because of its simple increase or because of overexploitation (Nocete 1989: 183, 217). Here, development of social hierarchisation is two-fold: 1) an increase in the production space above that exercised by those in control; and 2) the increase in work hours by the dependent population, initially foreign, deriving from conflicts between the settlements in addition to concentration, although the slight control between some villages and others ought to have quickly led to stressing control of the labour force linked to each of them (Nocete 1989: 179, 183, 190). The incapacity to apply direct violence within the lines of relationship (Nocete 2001: 45-46) produced the following phenomenology: 1) the ideological apparatus develops; 2) circulation of the products on a supraregional scale is guaranteed and driven, these being scarce and distant products that entail significant compensation and whose control justifies and drives the inequality; 3) constant expansion of the system is sought, whether because of colonization or because of absorption/conquest, even producing transformation of the societies around them (Nocete 2001: 21, 26, 89), until reaching its limits around 2200 BC because of their resistance and because of the overexploitation on the periphery (Nocete 1994a: 360-361; 2001: 96-97, 139-140). Facing a technological block and the incapacity to free labour in the centre, especially in the system's extreme (central periphery), new mechanisms are generated to exercise violent control over the subordinated labour force (Nocete 2001: 96, 142, 152), expressed on a microspatial level in the development of settlements that specialise in coercion, like Cerro de la Coronilla (Cazalilla, Jaén) (Nocete 1994a: 39-40, 336-338; 2001: 96, 150, 152).

A triple conflict develops over the base of competition for the agricultural surplus. This is expressed by different forms of class conflict (Nocete 1989: 217-220, 242; 1994a: 334-338, 360-361, 1994b: 188, 191-195): 1) internal settlement conflict between the theoretical representatives of the community and those who truly carry the development on their own shoulders; 2) differentiation between settlements as a result of the justification of the subordinate position of the inhabitants in the conquered areas or integrated by other coercive means or, simply, placed in a precarious position because of debts, manifested in their cultural material; 3) contradictions between the elites in the centre and those in the periphery, the latter of which are necessary for the reproduction of the system but are also a burden for the tributary systems of the periphery.

We finally present our own model in a separate paper (Afonso & Cámara, this volume). It condenses previous published syntheses (Cámara 2001; Martínez & Afonso 1998; Molina & Cámara 2004).

Concluding, we believe that the most interesting studies on the social development of southern Iberia are those that have interpreted with greater or lesser success the social evolution of a specific area from a Marxist perspective (Nocete 1989; 1994a; 2001a; Arteaga 1993; 2001; 2002; Castro *et al.* 1999), especially when they have emphasized the control of the labour force as the key factor.

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