

Social Inequality in Iberian Late Prehistory

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CHAPTER 10

The role of the means of production in social development in the Late Prehistory of the Iberian southeast

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Abstract

Our work on the development of social hierarchization in Southeast of Iberia has taken into account that throughout history there have been different ways for groups to arrive at unequal accumulation of wealth. Although we emphasise that the control of labour force (female and male) is an initial factor, we also suggest that the control of mobile means of labour (animals) takes on fundamental importance as a condition for ensuring the position of the elites who, from this newly enhanced position, will exercise greater control over the labour force, not only directly, but also through the appropriation by the class-state of the inert means of production (land).

Keywords: Iberia; Late Prehistory; Social Hierarchization; Labour Force; Women; Livestock; Land; Social Classes; State.

Resumen

Nuestra propuesta sobre el desarrollo de la jerarquización social en el Sudeste de la Península Ibérica ha tenido en cuenta que, durante el devenir histórico, diferentes han sido las formas de acceder a la acumulación desigual de riqueza. De esta forma, aunque enfatizamos como factor inicial el control inicial de la fuerza de trabajo (femenina y masculina), mostramos la importancia fundamental que adquiere el control de los medios de trabajo móviles (los animales) como condición para asegurar la posición de las élites que, desde ese nuevo impulso, ejercerán un mayor control no sólo sobre la fuerza de trabajo directamente sino sobre ésta a partir de la apropiación por la clase-estado de los medios de producción inertes (la tierra).

Palabras clave: Península Ibérica; Prehistoria Reciente; Jerarquización social; Fuerza de Trabajo; Mujeres; Ganado; Tierra; Clases Sociales; Estado.

10.1.- Introduction

In the formulation of the various hypotheses regarding the development of social inequality in the Prehistory of Iberian Southeast, it is quite common to characterize the environment as a determinant factor. According to this line of thought, between the Late Neolithic and the Chalcolithic, the adversity of the environment contributed to the adoption of a series of changes that facilitated human settlement. These innovations led, in addition, to a significant increase in social hierarchization, either because managing elites became necessary (Chapman 1982), or because certain people took advantage of the investments to their own benefit (Gilman 1987). This assumption has been shown to be inexact by numerous paleo-environmental studies. The anthracological, carpological and faunal analyses performed have shown that the environment was far from arid and that, although rainfall was not much more abundant than nowadays, the presence of a denser vegetation cover guaranteed the conservation of moisture and the exploitation of certain plant resources, with no need for irrigation (Peters & Driesch 1990; Rodríguez & Vernet 1991; Araus *et al.* 1997; Buxó 1997). All of this led, in the final two decades of the 20th century,

to renewed theoretical reflection on the role that other factors may have played in the extension of inequality beyond that imposed by gender and age.

Within this context, the raising of livestock has been taking into consideration, not just in relation to the use of secondary products (wool, milk, etc.) and traction, but as a means of accumulation and exhibition of wealth. This seems to be the case of the differential consumption patterns, both in terms of the species present and the age of the consumed animals, documented at Los Millares (Navas 2004; Peters & Driesch 1990). Also falling within this context is the analysis of the technical process and the ideological signification of certain craft activities.

The control of metallurgy and the circulation of metal products, both as functional items and as prestige goods, has been a recurring argument in efforts to explain the stratification of prehistoric societies in southeast Iberia. It has been suggested that a series of social and technical conditions existed which facilitated its development. These may have been the search, since Neolithic times, for exotic and attractive raw materials, use of advanced extraction techniques, familiarity with strategies for con-

trolling oven temperatures, and the availability of copper resources, especially in this area. At Los Millares (Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería) particularly noteworthy are, not only the specialization of certain areas, but the production entity (Molina 1988: 261) and selection of raw materials with a high arsenic content in order to produce certain cutting pieces such as axes (Keesmann *et al.* 1997: 287, 290-291; Montero 1998: 212). However, the role of metallurgy in social development must be understood as an element that, rather than having a triggering effect, may have enhanced it by enabling certain social groups or populations to maintain their privileged positions through the accumulation of means of production, and the exhibition and circulation of certain prestige objects (Molina 1988; Cámara 2001).

During this period, the exploitation of different types of rocks also developed greatly, from quarries for construction materials found by F. Carrión in the surroundings of the settlement of Los Millares, as well as for the manufacture of tools in the surroundings of Cabo de Gata (Carrión *et al.* 1993). These quarries were controlled by Chalcolithic settlements such as El Barronal (Níjar, Almería) (Haro 2004: 56-57), or by others, as the well known flint quarries of La Venta (Orce, Granada) (Ramos *et al.* 1991; Moreno *et al.* 1997), in a process that is also known to happen in Southwest Spain (Nocete *et al.* 1997). More interesting is the exploitation of flint resources in the western Subbetic mountain ranges and the production of large blades for widespread circulation (Martínez 1997; Martínez *et al.* 1998; Nocete *et al.* 2005).

10.2.- Social production

Before setting forth our model of the process of hierarchization (Fig. 10.1), we should briefly reflect on the nature of social evolution, in order to avoid teleological arguments, and the supposed intentionality of social agents in the generation of inequality. One of the first tasks would be to distinguish between the concepts of evolution and change, given the current tendency to use the two terms interchangeably. Thus, while the latter is always provoked, induced, immediate and involves the transformation of some elements of social organization into different ones, the former always occurs gradually over time and is the result of a pseudo combinatorial operation involving the elements comprising all societies. Therefore, it is only possible to determine a line of evolution (phylogeny) when the process has taken place; societies do not have a tendency towards hierarchization, nor is there a simple causality that explains it, so an evolutionary model is never predictive or deductive but rather “postductive”.

However, our intention is not to set forth an exhaustive review of the different elements which must be taken into account in drawing up multi-determinate hypotheses on social development, but rather to set forth the general lines that give shape to this type of proposition. Resorting

to causality in the explanation of social phenomena, which the use of the concept social change presupposes, often leads either to determinism (economic, ecological) or to social reductionism that believes that all change is progress. In the evolutionary explanation, explicitly abandoning the line of causal reasoning makes it necessary to turn to a more complex logic, one which accounts for both randomness and peripheral or secondary social phenomena. On this subject, it may be wise to underline the idea that social formations are defined by the coexistence of distinct social relations articulated in a singular, unique structure, although it is true that only one of them is dominant, constituting the referent of the ideological reproduction of the society. The superseding of this particular articulation of social relations is only possible from the subordinate ones, although the “triumph” of one over the others has a “random” nature; that is, it is neither socially, culturally, or economically predetermined. In addition, the creation of a peripheral social action space contributes significantly to the contradictions between social praxis and the ideology that justifies it. The coherence of the system for the ideological justification and reproduction of social action is frequently violated by the everyday action of individuals and groups, and routes are thus opened, although not always followed, towards the superseding of the limits established by the degree of development of the productive forces.

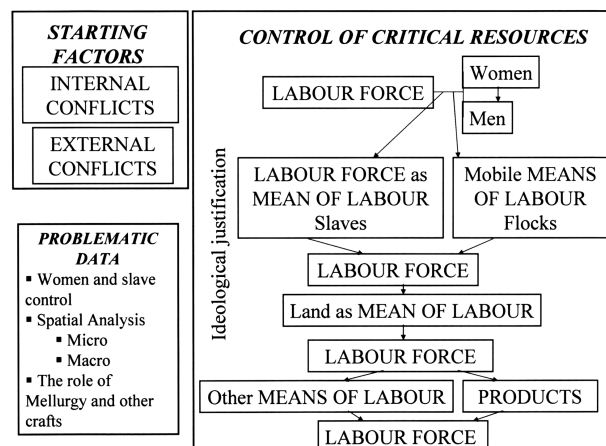


Fig. 10.1. Schematic diagram of our proposed model.

Bearing this in mind, we believe that the development of social inequality in communal systems (beyond the inequality established by gender and age) can only be explained by the success of certain processes that guaranteed differentiated access to the results of production.

These processes are all aimed at the control of the labour force as the only means of amassing goods, although they do function in a three-fold direction: the control of the labour force, the appropriation of herds as products and means of labour and the development of private ownership of land.

The advent of new forms of accumulation of wealth by means of the strengthening of new social relations (through the non-premeditated action of the various social agents), takes place at the limit of the communal system, using that which is only leniently regulated, or which is not considered a threat to the reproduction of the system. Despite this apparent absence of conflict, resistance is produced, mainly at two levels: from the sectors of the population that control the routes giving access to the positions from which the community is led, and from sectors of the population that have become dominated (Ste. Croix 1988). In the case of the superseding the communal system, this is the main area of resistance.

Such resistance is overcome or lessened through the ritual masking of exaction (symbolic, ideological, superstructural). But, if the emerging relations occupy at the beginning of the process a subordinate role in the reproduction of the society, how can it be possible that the ritual systems of the communal society are used in the justification of such relations? This is because, in all social formations, including transitional ones, nothing can be justified outside of the ideological realm that sanctions the socially correct. Therefore, in the justification of exaction and of the social relations that make it possible, previous ideological representation systems are used, often subverting their contents. That is, procedures which highlight the communal nature of production, or even the duty to share, are used (Zvelebil 2002).

10.3.- Control of the labour force

In its initial phase, labour domination is achieved by way of pressure on women and on the non-adult members of the community (Meillassoux 1987; Bender 1989). The communal society finds acceptable this type of division/discrimination because it is at the root of the conditions that enable its reproduction. Soon after, this coercion over female members of the community is channelled towards the control of the kinship system, and especially towards mechanisms for the acquisition of wives, as this permits not only to administer a larger labour force, as in these initial moments its increase is only possible through vegetative growth, but also the accumulation of means of production (labour force, both present and future, and products/means of labour), either produced directly or received in the form of dowry.

In any case, the control of women and their movement, both as labour force and in their capacity as producers of human beings (Castro *et al.* 1999; Estévez *et al.* 1999) is linked to the relationships between the settlements inside social formations originated by integration (synecism – the disappearance of smaller villages), and with the creation of symbols (dowries) to represent the debt of women which are necessary for reproduction (Meillassoux 1987: 94). All of this derives into relationships of inequality, in at least a three-fold way:

1.- Differentiating communities according to their capacity to mobilize labour force if there is no compensation for women-wives, or if the latter are acquired in exchange for elements, basically ideological items, that have acquired an ideal value in themselves (Meillassoux 1987: 103-104). These will eventually become a way of masking the circulation of tribute (Molina 1988) once they have been transformed into prestige items, moving either from the political nucleus, in order to show its capacity to mobilize resources, or towards the political nucleus, as compensation for other services.

2.- Obliging the integrated (conquered) communities to provide women without real compensation (although with imaginary compensation). This links this aspect to the pressure exerted over other groups, and to the tributary movement of other products once power has been consolidated.

3.- Linking animals, as dowry symbols, to women (Martínez & Afonso 1998), and developing a differential price for women according to their origin (Scarduelli 1988). This distinguishes noble families, which had already been able to accumulate products through the development of ownership over herds, and which had acquired a relevant role because of their capacity to provide services to the community, theoretically unsatisfied.

Subsequently, the control of labour force broadens, extending first to other men not belonging to the community (prisoners, e.g. members of integrated [conquered] communities) and, later, to male individuals belonging to the community who have fallen into a situation of dependence because of their incapability to compensate certain services rendered. In this way, two routes of access to servitude are formed, a general one and a limited one.

Understood in a broad sense, the first is earlier and more permanent, and results from the impossibility of accessing to a full possession of the land, due to the inability to give in return for the provided services. This is the first form of what will later be the fiscal and military “burdens” imposed by the state (class instrument). Thus, access to usufruct of the land can only be through ascription to the clan and the community. The limited form of servitude is the result of personal ascriptions and restrictions on mobility, and involves the rendering of personal services to a greater or lesser degree (the former being true servitude, the loss of the condition of community member and the latter being clientele, political association). This last item takes on the nature of an ascription to the lineage (family or individuals who represent it). In this sense, this servitude always implies the rendering of services, payment (Ste. Croix 1988: 163-164), but it also includes the so-called forms of “indirect collective exploitation” (Ste. Croix 1988: 243-246).

10.4.- Appropriation of herds

Herds, especially those comprised of large domestic animals, are in the ideological periphery of what is communal (they are not necessary for the survival and reproduction of the group). This makes their appropriation possible within the framework of an ideological system that emphasizes sharing as an element to guarantee the survival and cohesion of the clan. Also, the very nature of herds endows them with two features that make them easy to appropriate and accumulate. The mobility inherent to this type of product means that larger herds can be handled, and moved through larger and larger territories. Obviously, this generates conflicts with neighbouring communities. But the solution to these conflicts involves the control of more labour force and, through this, of more land as a condition for the monopolization of products based on herd ownership. But livestock have another important particularity; as a movable asset they can easily change from one owner to another. This allows the establishment of relationships between individuals or groups of individuals, and also their violent expropriation. Theft guarantees that maximum benefits are obtained with a minimal investment. There is no need to wait for the animal to grow. It is also a way by which certain people win followers from outside the clan (Cámara *et al.* 1996), therefore generating threats for the social system.

The appropriation of livestock thus constitutes an initial form of accumulation of wealth that is used for the control of the labour force. This allows, first of all, access to a greater number of women, and then to women of “better” quality, which creates the conditions for the foundation of political links between individuals of different sectors of a single social formation and, later, with members of other social formations. In addition, their accumulation enables certain people to hold large events (offerings) involving a large part of the community unable to return received “charity”.

On this subject matter, other authors have highlighted that large animals (cattle and horses) are important in the accumulation of wealth, because they can be used as traction (Martínez & Afonso 1998; Criado *et al.* 2001). But livestock, as a means of production, is also important because of the other so-called secondary products (wool, leather, dairy products) and, of course, for meat production. Furthermore, manure could fertilize fields, or animals could have been lent for certain tasks (transport, for example) becoming an investment with substantial return.¹ Nevertheless, it was of course better to obtain means of production/product with no previous investment by theft.

¹ A similar assessment of the possibilities of livestock accumulation has been presented by R. Peroni (2004:108-109) who makes more central the role of the control of products, of their movement and of craft specialization.

With dependence thus reproduced, and animals being accumulated, a new concentration of means of labour and other products is generated, either by applying the same labour force with a new organization of the technical process of work (through the use of the mobile means of labour), or by increasing the amount of the labour force used in the same work processes. The latter is an important means for controlling a larger fraction of the available labour force. The former constitutes a means for the appropriation of communal land. Thus the appropriation of livestock becomes a way to quickly and permanently accumulate goods and means of production, favoured by the growth of the herds when there are no access restrictions to the communal land, in such a way that, even without real distribution of the land, accumulation differences arise, and also by pillage. At the same time, the administration of a greater volume of production facilitates access to positions of prestige and control of the community, achieved through a process of indebtedness (real or fictitious), that makes it impossible to return the services provided to the community. From such positions of prestige it is possible to intervene more directly in the ritual and the systems of ideological reproduction of the community, which justifies in an indirect way the social relations which permit the acquisition of this new status.

Interest in the appropriation of the labour force led to a more strict control of the movement of women as sources of present and future labour force, and then to other forms of control over female workers, through the union of different groups (clans) in larger settlements. Another influence in this direction was the development of the movable ownership of herds which led to the formation of settlements located in territories offering the necessary resources for extensive livestock exploitation, as well as other economic strategies. These new social formations controlled mountains and plains, exploitation routes and territories for which boundaries would soon be defined, accompanying the rapid development of social classes. Initially, the boundaries would be symbolic, by way of monumental sepulchres or sanctuaries (Cámara 2001). Later on, they would take the form of small dissuasive forts (Nocete 1989; 2001), especially when products were obtained in these territories that could be accumulated, beginning with herds and then, thanks to the impetus of the tributary state, through other forms of wealth.

10.5.- Development of the ownership of land

The usurpation of the ownership of communal land to the benefit of some individuals is a process that, as seen above, cannot be separated from the control of the labour force and the appropriation of livestock. This did not mean the legal expropriation of the community, as the community remained the owner throughout the whole process. Rather, it is this collective nature that allows for the justification of the differential access to usufruct of

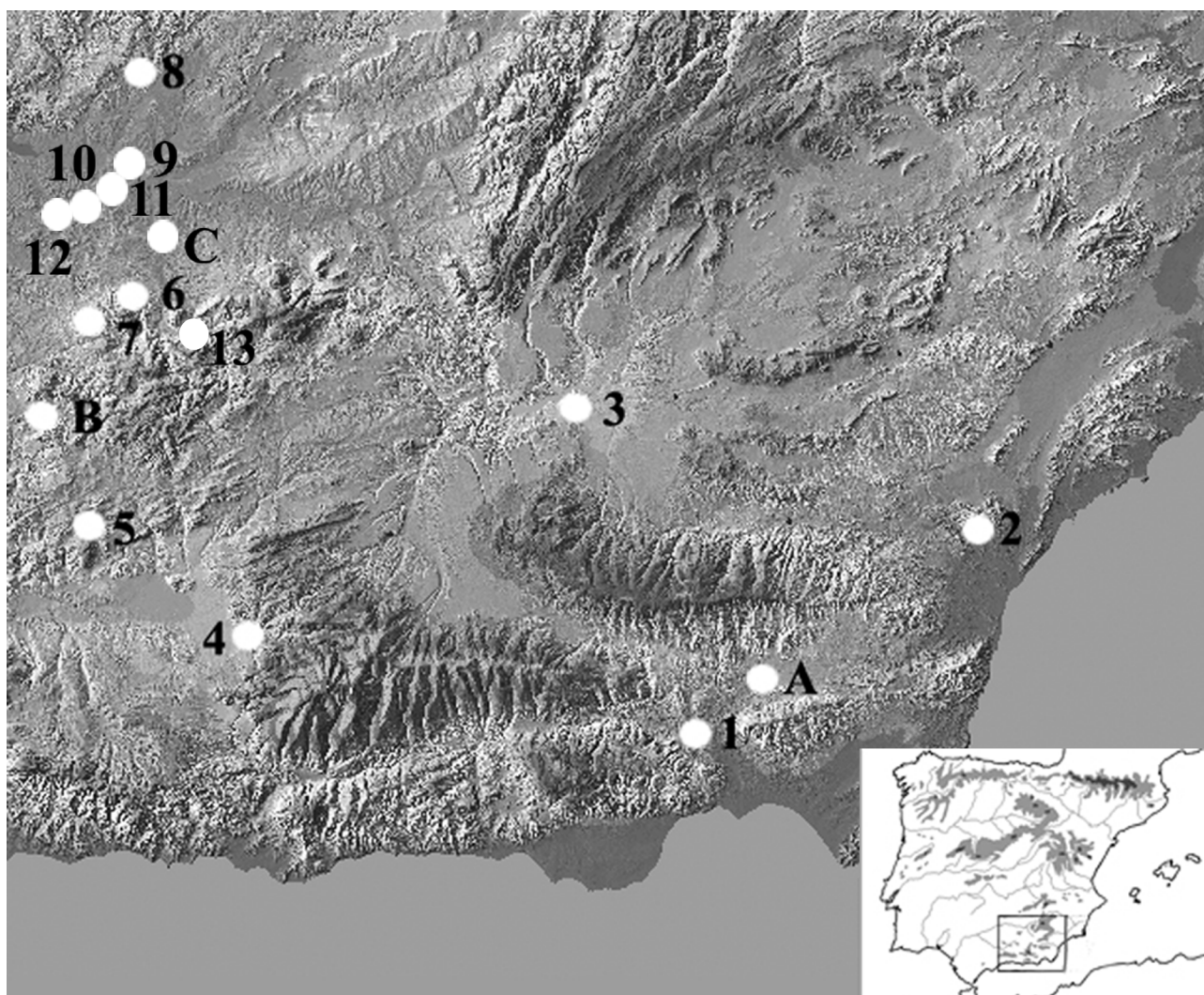


Fig. 10.2. Sites and areas mentioned in text: Areas – A. Tabernas Corridor, B. Alcalá-Moclín Corridor, C. Alto Guadalquivir valley; Sites – 1. Los Millares, 2. Zájara, 3. La Cuesta del Negro, 4. El Cerro de la Encina, 5. Los Castillejos en Las Peñas de los Gitanos, 6. Marroquíes, 7. Polideportivo de Martos, 8. Peñalosa, 9. Sevilleja, 10. Los Pozos, 11. Cerro de la Coronilla (Cazalilla), 12. Cortijo de la Torre, 13. Cerro de la Horca.

the land. First, by acknowledging the possibility that those who have larger families and livestock use more pasture land, and, later, by allowing a larger plot of land to be exploited by those who have acquired control of sufficient labour force and means of labour to do so. In the long run, these changes meant the real expropriation of communal lands and the development of true private ownership, with some individuals assuming the capacity to distribute plots among the members of the community.

Once the sedentarization of the communities had been furthered by the control of the labour force and the appropriation of herds, the conversion of land into a true means of production will only accelerate the process of social hierarchization. This process is favoured since the definition of the community has been based on comparison with exogenous characteristics, paving the way to personal dependence. Also because the control of kinship systems and women exchange has become a means of

other settlement dependency, those settlements that acquire debts because of something that presumably was never given to them.

10.6.- Conclusions

We believe that the threefold process described above, and the interrelation among its components, can be followed throughout the Late Prehistory of the Iberian Southeast (Fig. 10.2). The control of women is undoubtedly the aspect which is most difficult to trace using the archaeological record, especially considering the scarcity not only of anthropological analyses (including paleopathological ones), but also of excavations focusing on the Epipaleolithic and the Neolithic in general, and on the sepulchres in particular (Pellicer 1964; Rubio 1980-81; Pellicer & Acosta 1986; Riquelme 2002). In any case, certain findings do suggest the importance given to fe

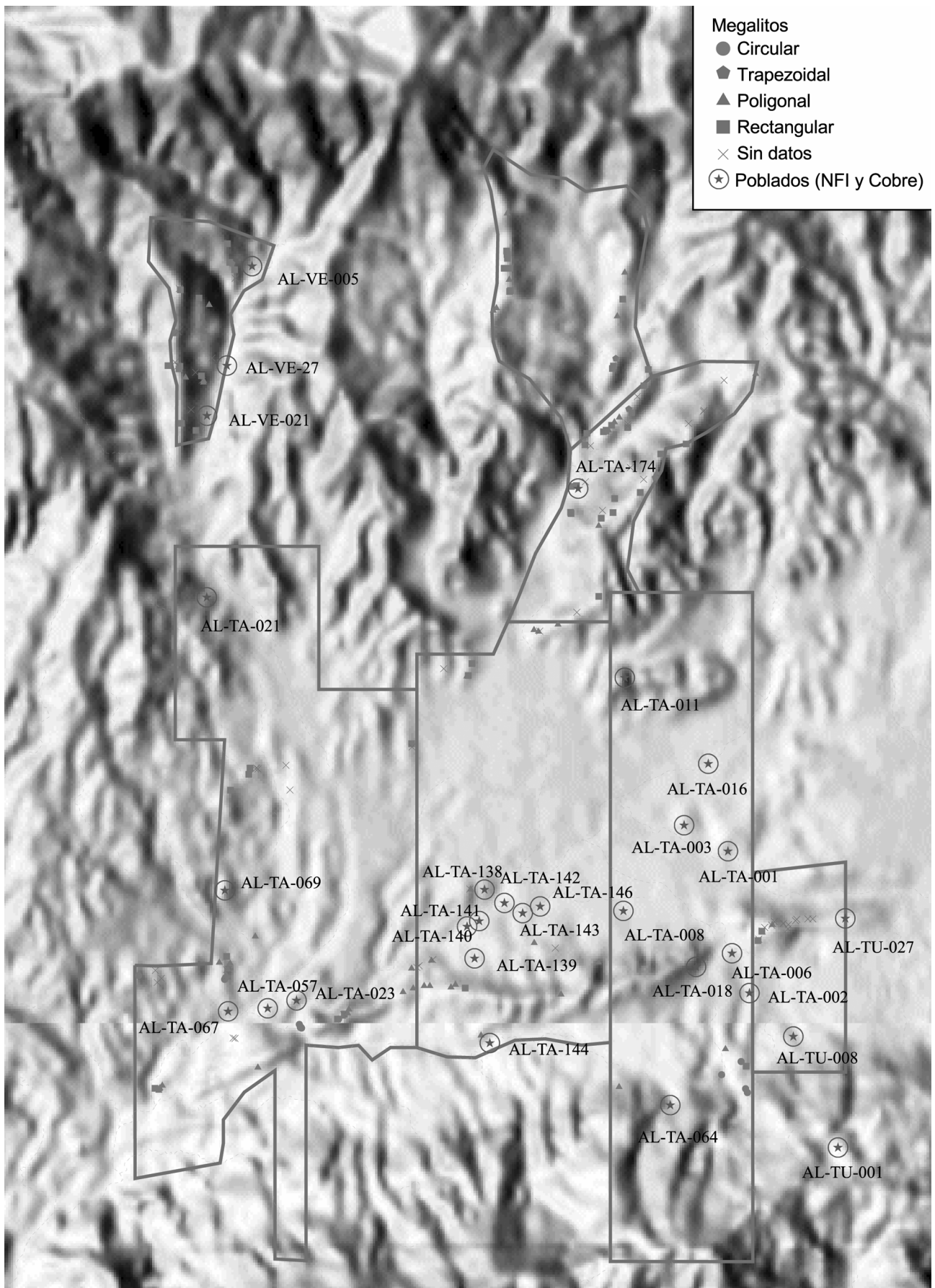


Fig. 10.3. Megalithic distribution in Tabernas Corridor (Almería).

male burials, found in pits within the settlement area, whether in the Late Neolithic as in the case of Martos (Jaén) (Lizcano 1999), or in advanced Chalcolithic times as in Zájara (Cuevas del Almanzora, Almería) (Cámlich *et al.* 1999). This evidence apparently clashes with the hypotheses put forward, although the scarcity of findings makes it impossible, for example, to determine if, as in other areas, differences existed in grave goods in contexts where there are indications of social differences apart from sex and age (Martín *et al.* 1996; Gibaja *et al.* 1997; Blasco *et al.* 1997; Zvelebil 1997) and where there are complex interpretations of the paleo-pathological data, with some authors arguing that there were dietary differences in favour of the men (Zvelebil 2002: 215) and others rejecting this argument (Meiklejohn *et al.* 2002: 231-234).

More interesting in terms of the subordination of women may be to estimate the value attributed to their work, in their two-fold aspect as members of the labour force and means of production as reproducers (Castro *et al.* 1999). On this matter, especially relevant as regards the expression of their undervaluation (Bender 1989; Lerner 1990; Estévez *et al.* 1999), may be the interpretation of the female figurines recovered in Cuccuru S'Arriu (Cabras, Oristano, Sardinia) that, in the published cases, are associated with male burials (Germanà & Santoni 1993; Santoni 1995). If future work confirms this exclusive association, it will be necessary to think that the process of undervaluing women through the appropriation of their productive and reproductive capacities was relatively stronger, or was masked to a lesser degree, in Sardinia, since, again, in Eastern Andalusia there is no evidence of a segregation of women from their reproductive role in terms of its expression in tombs, and in fact in Martos, two women are associated with three young men in tomb 13 (Cámara & Lizcano 1996; Lizcano 1999; Lizcano & Cámara 2004). However, indications of such discrimination can be found in the symbolic ceramics that highlight the reproductive role of men, as seen in the figuration of presumably natural scenes involving animals to which it is easy to give sexual characterization, such as stags (Martínez & Afonso 1998). In the same way, the emphasis placed on the ram's head, used as decoration in one of the dwellings of Martos, has been interpreted as sexual discrimination and the creation of two opposing genders (Cámara & Lizcano 1996).

Similarly, there are no specific studies on the underrepresentation of women in the megalithic tombs of the Southeast, although this has been constantly suggested (Mathers 1984). This is not surprising given the fragmentary nature of data, and the prolonged use of the tombs, making difficult to assess changes through time.

All this means that it is no surprise that, for now, we support our hypothesis concerning the control of the female labour force, regardless of some rituals or indications in other parts of Europe, in the need for demographic control and in ethnographic models (Meillassoux

1987), and stating that its intensification occurs with sedentarization (Lizcano *et al.* 1997), as had already been suggested (Vicent 1993), although emphasizing the need for control as a factor which fomented such sedentarization.

In this sense the process of aggregation was related to the control of the labour force and the control of the territory, but with the latter being understood in an extensive sense, as the medium for pastureland and areas of movement. The system thus represents a way to control men/women and the herds. In the Southeast of Spain, territory is delimited, starting in at least the Late Neolithic, by means of the succession and accumulation of symbols such as megaliths, as studied in Pasillo de Tabernas (Almería) (Fig. 10.3) in relation to routes, folds, and permanent boundaries (Maldonado *et al.* 1997; Cámara 2001), but we can also trace the creation of sacredness through the dispersion of cave paintings (Martínez García 1998) such as those found in Pasillo de Alcalá-Moclin, dating at least to the Middle Neolithic (Martínez & Afonso 1998).

These cave paintings may have constituted a precedent, but also an alternative, to the tumular (megalithic) forms of sacral control, although in a certain way with a greater degree of concealment and reserve which is even more accentuated in the case of burials, of animals and people, in pits or their successors, the artificial caves. This, in turn, like the compartmentalization in chambers and corridors, would link the process of access restrictions with secrets, the classification of persons and hierarchization (Barrett 1990; Thomas 1993; Tilley 1993).

This delimitation cannot be considered in isolation from opposition to the exterior, as a way of drawing together what is interior and of deviating pressure, even using aggression. It is therefore not surprising that early fortifications (ditches and palisades) develop at least at the beginning of the IV Millennium BC (Cámara & Lizcano 1997; Nocete 2001) and that we find the first rituals destined to affirm the community and its continuance. Independent of the extensive delimitation, this is how the particular definition takes place.

In fact, while the most recent excavations in Los Castillejos de las Peñas de los Gitanos (Montefrío, Granada) have shown the transformation of agricultural products in a specialized communal area (Fig. 10.4) in the Initial Neolithic (Ramos *et al.* 1997; Afonso *et al.* 1996), the first ritual forms that can be related to families take place in the Late and Final Neolithic and are related to the delimitation of the dwelling spaces. This is the case both in Montefrío and in Martos (Jaén) and includes, in the latter case, among the various related structures (Lizcano 1999), several which were used at certain times for ritual (Fig. 10.5) that we had principally related to the founding and cohesion of the settlement (Lizcano *et al.* 1997; Cámara & Lizcano 1996; Lizcano & Cámara 2004). On this matter, both stratigraphic and functional data support the domestic nature of most fillings and underground

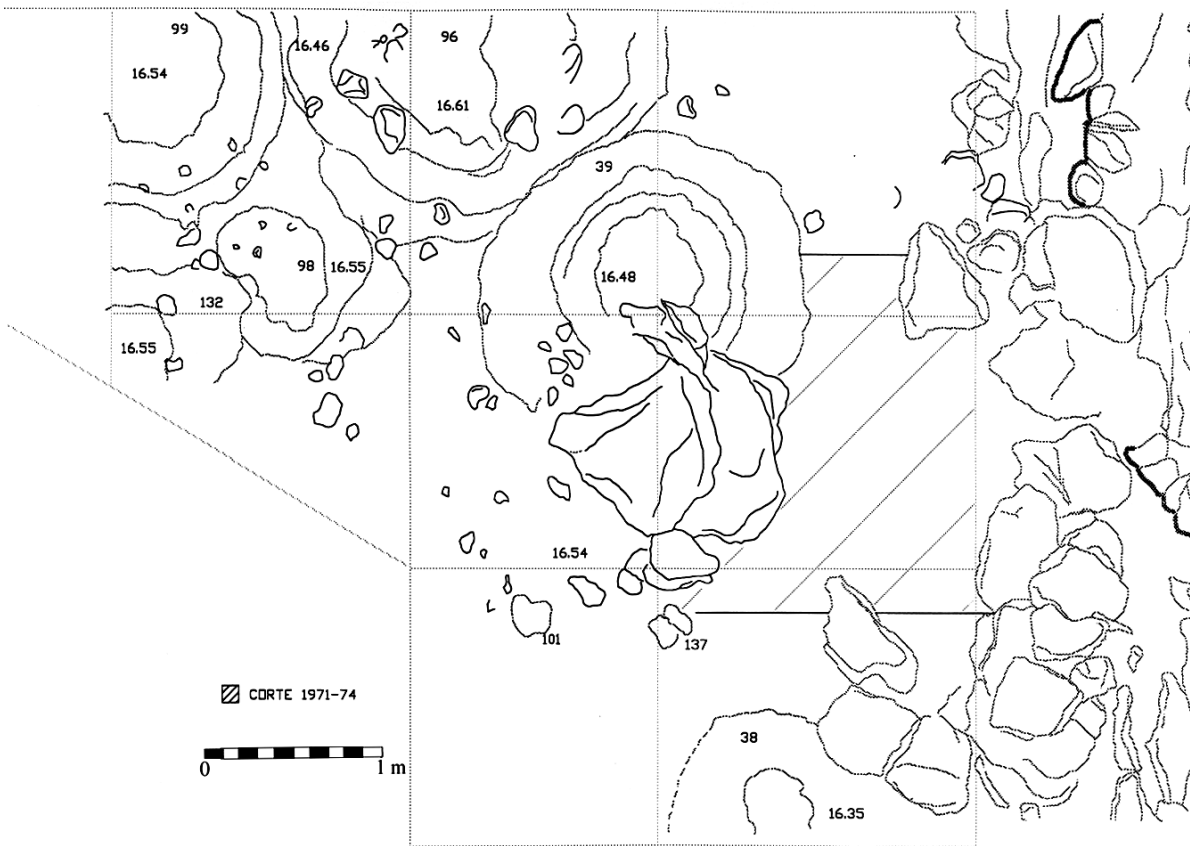


Fig. 10.4. Communal area of ovens at Los Castillejos en Las Peñas de los Gitanos (Montefrío, Granada).



Fig. 10.5. Young cattle burial from the site of Polideportivo de Martos.

structures that contain them, although not all researchers agree (Márquez 2002; Márquez in this volume). This practical nature is even more evident when evaluating the layers recovered from subterranean structures, some of them attributed to the Final Copper Age, found in Marroquíes (Jaén) (Lizcano *et al.* 1995: 65; Burgos *et al.* 2001a: 407; Burgos *et al.* 2001b: 425).

But the different rituals present (Cámara & Lizcano 1996) also show us, firstly, the importance of herds which in addition are consumed in a differential way, involving an association of a pair of bovines to each family unit and a disproportionate ratio of sexes and ages in the case of ovicaprines. This suggests not only the use of secondary products but also seasonal movement of the herds or their separation by sex and age (Lizcano *et al.* 1997) but in a context in which the accent is placed on large animals, especially but not exclusively in the centre of the valley (Nocete 2001) (Fig. 10.6). Secondly, the sacrifice of one of these animals (calf) regardless of its origin could be linked to the beginning of the social ascent of a family, which seems clearer in the case of the tomb (Cámara 2001; Cámara & Lizcano 1996), and which can be ascribed to Phase II of the Polideportivo of Martos.

In Los Millares (Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería), bovines dominate especially in the outlying areas of the external wall of the settlement, while they are extremely

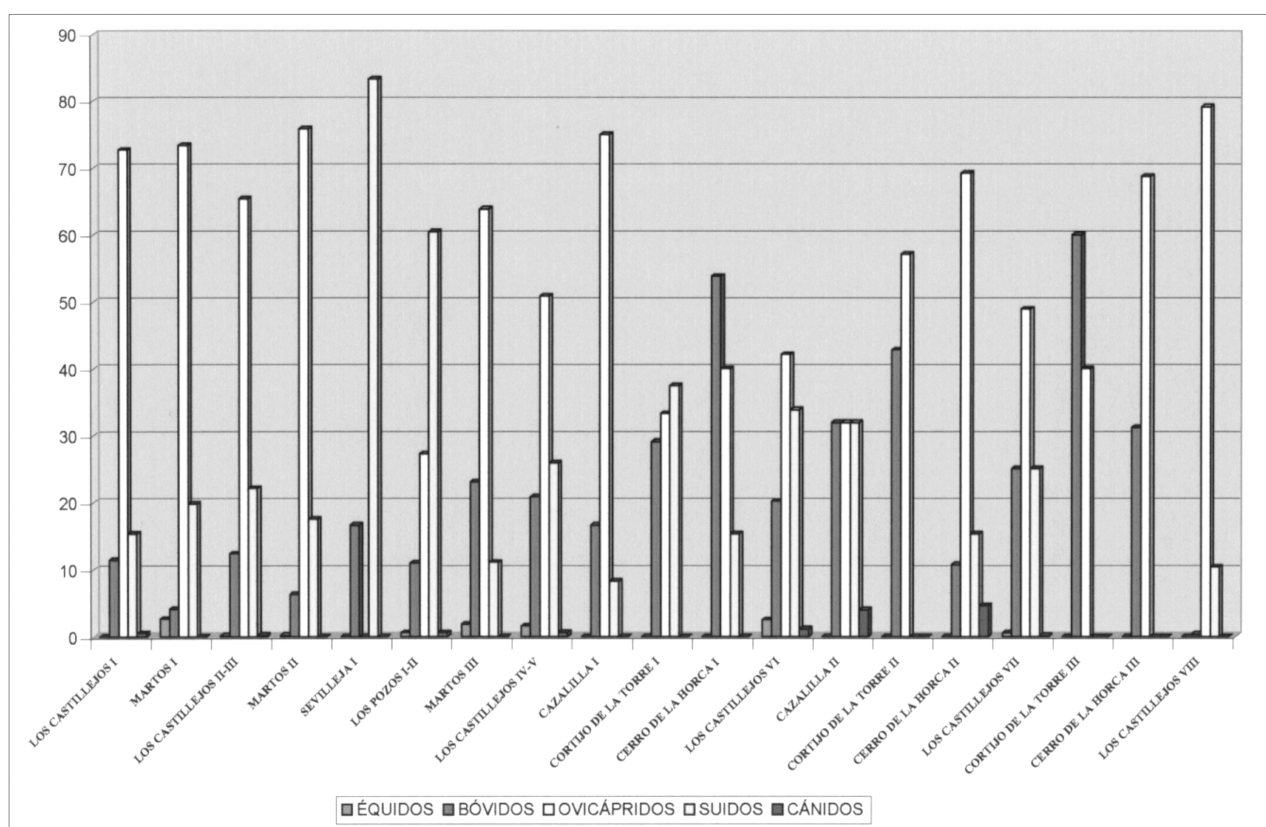


Fig. 10.6. Alto Guadalquivir faunistic data attending to the proportion of remains by spatial and chronological order.

rare in the forts that have been studied (1 and 5), in which there is also almost no presence of wild animal meat. With regard to bovines, areas devoted to carving and disposal have been documented outside the first wall, with the presence especially of parts of the skeleton with little meat, which indicates that carving took place in open areas, outside the living quarters, with the pieces to be consumed being taken elsewhere. This aspect is also supported by the overrepresentation of ovicaprine ribs in fort 5 (Navas 2004). Outside the second wall the presence of bovid phalanx may suggest the tanning of hides. The differences in consumption become even more evident if we look at ages. With regard to bovines the proportion of adults is much greater in the external section of the settlement, between the first and second walls, with the animals being sacrificed between the third and fifth year of life, suggesting their prior use as traction. This contrasts with the high representation of young specimens in the citadel. Pigs occupy the second position among domestic animals and they were generally sacrificed during the first or second year of life, at the end of the autumn or winter; in the citadel we find more adult specimens, mostly male and probably castrated.

It may be useful to remember that in some areas, such as Alentejo, the first megaliths clearly seem to also be associated with individual burials, and that therefore subsequent collectivization is not so much an expression of the

real community as an imposition of masking aimed at control and social classification (Arteaga 1993; Cámara 2001; Guidi 2000), although inequality among lineages, and within them, will soon become evident, as shown not only by Los Millares (Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería) (Chapman 1981) but also by the presence of certain tombs in the central necropolis of Pasillo de Tabernas (Almería) (Cámara 2001).

Such collectivization could also be related to the proliferation of ditches, mentioned above, aimed at increasing the cohesion of the settlement and also at defence, as shown by their depth and width, their design, their association with walls and palisades and even their continuity, later becoming structures made of non-perishable materials (Arribas & Molina 1984; Cámara & Lizcano 1996; 1997; Pérez & Cámara 1999; Lizcano *et al.* 2004) and, therefore, a form of exterior opposition that was not only delimiting but also integrating and conquering, as shown by the diffusion of symbols, as an expression of tribute, and the configuration of a landscape comprised of dominating and dominated points in the Bajo Andarax (Molina 1988; Molina *et al.* 2004) and in the High Guadalquivir (Nocete 1989; Lizcano *et al.* 1996).

As for the role of such symbols, we have highlighted the case of metal, whose acquisition of exchange value, first as a way of masking tribute, derives, because of its justi-

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<i>SITE NAME</i>	<i>KIND OF CON-TEXT</i>	<i>DATE B.P.</i>	<i>DATES B.C. (1 σ)</i>	<i>DATES B.C. (2 σ)</i>	<i>LABORATORY REFERENCE</i>	<i>BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCE</i>
LOS CASTILLEJOS (3)	Hearth. Phase 3. Ancient Neolithic	6120 ± 40	5065-4965	5210-4930	Beta135663	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS CASTILLEJOS (1)(2)	Hearth. Phase 7. Middle Neolithic	6470 ± 150	5545-5305	5660-5070	Beta135664	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS CASTILLEJOS (1)(3)	Hearth. Phase 7. Middle Neolithic	6250 ± 80	5310-5070	5365-4985	Beta145302	MOLINA et al., 2004
MARTOS	Phase I. Late Neolithic	5080 ± 40	4036-3706	4239-3542		LIZCANO, 1999
LOS CASTILLEJOS (3)	Collapse. Phase 16b. Final Neolithic	4480 ± 40	3335-3090	3350-3020	Beta135665	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS CASTILLEJOS (2)	Collapse cañizo-Occupation ground. Phase 20. Middle Calcolithic	3770 ± 70	2295-2050	2445-1975	Beta135666	MOLINA et al., 2004
ALBALATE		4080 ± 100	2860-2491	2895-2348		NOCETE, 1989
ALBALATE		4040 ± 100	2856-2467	2880-2301		NOCETE, 1989
ALBALATE		3890 ± 100	2480-2205	2829-2037		NOCETE, 1989
ALBALATE		3830 ± 100	2459-2147	2568-1980		NOCETE, 1989
CORTIJO DE LA TORRE		3830 ± 90	2457-2150	2562-2028		NOCETE, 1989
LOS CASTILLEJOS (2)	Occupation ground. Phase 22. Late Calcolithic	3910 ± 40	2465-2330	2480-2285	Beta135667	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS CASTILLEJOS (1)(2)	Collapse cañizo-Occupation ground. Phase 22. Late Calcolithic	3640 ± 120	2190-2165 2150-1880	2340-1695	Beta135668	MOLINA et al., 2004
LOS CASTILLEJOS (1)(3)	Collapse cañizo-Occupation ground. Phase 22. Late Calcolithic	3960 ± 50	2555-2535 2490-2445	2580-2310	Beta145303	MOLINA et al., 2004
MARROQUÍES	Fortified Wall UA23. E 2-4.	3910 ± 50	2464-2313	2554-2203	UtC 6458	ZAFRA et al., 1999
MARROQUÍES	Hut UA 23. E-2-4. Phase 3	3942 ± 40	2469-2365	2560-2312	UtC 6457	ZAFRA et al., 1999
LOS CASTILLEJOS (2)	Phase 23b. Final Calcolithic	3840 ± 35	2398-2206	2459-2201	GrN 7287	ARRIBAS, 1976
ÚBEDA		3791 ± 45	2291-2142	2453-2042	CSIC 1769	NOCETE et al., 2005
MARROQUÍES	House UA23. E-2-4. Phase 4	3706 ± 34	2138-1989	2191-1976	CSIC 1346	ZAFRA et al., 1999
MARROQUÍES	Top of the ditch fill. UA23 E-2-4. Phase 4	3705 ± 28	2136-2033	2183-1979	CSIC 1345	ZAFRA et al., 1999
MARROQUÍES	House UA23. E-2-4. Phase 4	3676 ± 30	2127-1978	2135-1953	CSIC 1344	ZAFRA et al., 1999
MARROQUÍES	Rock Bed under Phase 4. UA23 E-2-4	3760 ± 51	2031-1989	2187-1895	CSIC 1240	ZAFRA et al., 1999

Table 10.1. Dates from sites listed in figure 10.6. (1) Dates from the same sample, (2) Samples analysed by Standard radiometric, (3) Samples analysed by AMS

fication of position and not because of intrinsic value, into quite generalized, non mercantile, movement processes, which accentuate the processes of indebtedness and ascription when the only real compensation for the metal is true renewable wealth in the form of work or its results in means of production (herds or land at this point) or other food products and when access to it, in addition to symbolizing “freedom” itself, allowed for its use as a “means for war” with which to theoretically gain access to external benefits.

In this sense the previous accumulation mentioned above, in its generation of different starting points, was the real

base of exploitation, based upon this transfer of value that only made sense in a class society, that led to new accumulations thanks to the control of the state and the sanction of inequality, and in which the alternatives were aborted by force or the same force opened the escape valve, although insufficient, of external aggression, continually emphasised, in the absence of true qualitative changes in the productive forces which made it necessary either to extend the territory of domination (colonization or conquest) or to exert greater pressure over dominated groups (Nocete 2001). Given the immediacy of the benefits created by conquest or the increase of tribute, other forms (technical improvements, colonization, etc.) only

take place in times of open class conflict, which could explain the concentration of transformations in certain periods like, for example, the transition between the Final Chalcolithic and the Bronze Age, and not separately from new forms of exercising domination, as we shall see.

In this context, social differentiation is increased, as certain archaeological findings show. The differential accumulation of herds can be followed in different Argaric centres like Peñalosa (Baños de la Encina, Jaén), where the differences between the Structural Group X and the rest can be observed, either by the concentration of equine remains, even considering their differential conservation, or by the different proportion of species (Figs. 10.7 and 10.8). Such differential accumulation must be linked not with wealth arising from the exchange related to metal production; rather it should be considered the expression of some peripheral elites associated with the control of metallic items distribution (Contreras & Cámara 2002) and with an intrastate movement of tribute that is especially evident in the territory forming the Vega of Granada in relation to Cerro de la Encina (Monachil, Granada) where horses were abundant (Martínez & Afonso 1998), without forgetting the interstate movement found, almost in its entirety, in the framework of relations among the elites. It is also interesting that the appropriation of agricultural products and their movement as tribute has been suggested (Castro *et al.* 1999), even though the ownership of land is, while ideologically communal, exercised only in benefit of the class-state since the Chalcolithic (Cámara 1998), and for this reason certain authors have used the term “particular ownership” (Arteaga 2001). The separation of communal-state ownership from private ownership (also differential) will only take place very slowly and with the passage from the temporary division and distribution of land to permanent divisions (Peroni 2004).

Lastly, in relation to the exploitation of work and progressive indebtedness, the position of the burials within the Argaric settlements, the differences in grave goods, the type of tomb, the relationship they have with the houses where they are located and certain illnesses and malformations documented in the skeletons have enabled us to determine that true serfs existed in the Bronze Age of the South of the Iberian Peninsula (Cámara 2001) in a context in which territory is now defined strictly by means of the fortified hill-top settlements, although in non-Argaric parts of Andalusia the dispersion of external necropolises also means a sacredness of territory through aristocratic routes.

The tombs of these “serfs” are located in the houses of the families to which they were associated, and to whom they owed their work and the resources which would correspond to them in a hypothetical, and now non-existent, community ideal; their ownership clearly becoming a fallacy. This is how we have interpreted the findings of Peñalosa (Baños de la Encina, Jaén) and La

Cuesta del Negro (Purullena, Granada). This phenomenon could be read as a way to “award” their loyalty and to tie them to “service” in the hereafter, while at the same time also linking their descendents in this world, in a two-fold paradox that reveals the duality of the ritual aimed at masking and exhibiting inequality.

Here it would appear that there has been a change from a low rate of exploitation of a broad stratum of the population in the Chalcolithic to a high rate of exploitation of a reduced stratum in the Bronze Age (Cámara 2001; 2004). In no case does this mean a reduction in benefits for the elite, nor the existence of an unexploited middle stratum, since the rest of the population continues to render services in the form of defence of the state, which is also expressed in the possession of metal weapons, as much as these produce relative benefits.

This is the case of the “warrior” stratum: it is not homogenous and constitutes the highest number of Argaric burials. Their children, compared with those of the elite, have limited grave goods, or in any case, different grave goods, although the importance of marriage tends to maintain their position even in the case of the disappearance of the parents, in a context of inheritance and emulation conducive to the acceleration of unequal accumulation and the proliferation of indebtedness with no return, which, at least in advanced times, leads even to perpetuating and justifying inheritance through the appearance of children buried with rich grave goods, as seen in the case of Cerro de la Encina (Monachil) (Molina 1983:104).

This progressive indebtedness, intensified by the amortization costs of elements in the tombs to maintain social position, would provoke a crisis in the Argaric world, as a result of the struggle between classes, to the point that sepulchres completely cease to exist and the only ritual mobilizations of resources are linked to the elite (stelae, deposits...) thus further justifying their position with respect to the growing number of ascribed people (and their resources) which required a new urban system for their control (Cámara 2001).

An explanation of the development of inequality in the Late Prehistory of Andalusia based on the control of the labour force, as has been presented here, is more parsimonious than one based on competition for land because:

1° The latter accepts that such competition occurs only after the complete sedentarization of the populations, but it does not explain the process which leads to this sedentarization. Competition for agricultural land must be emphasized in the consolidation of social classes (Nocete 1989; 2001) but not considered the cause of aggregation. Prior to this phenomenon, pastures and areas for the movement of herds and people bring about certain competition, although, in this case, the accent must be placed on the competition for the elements that circulate and not on the land itself.

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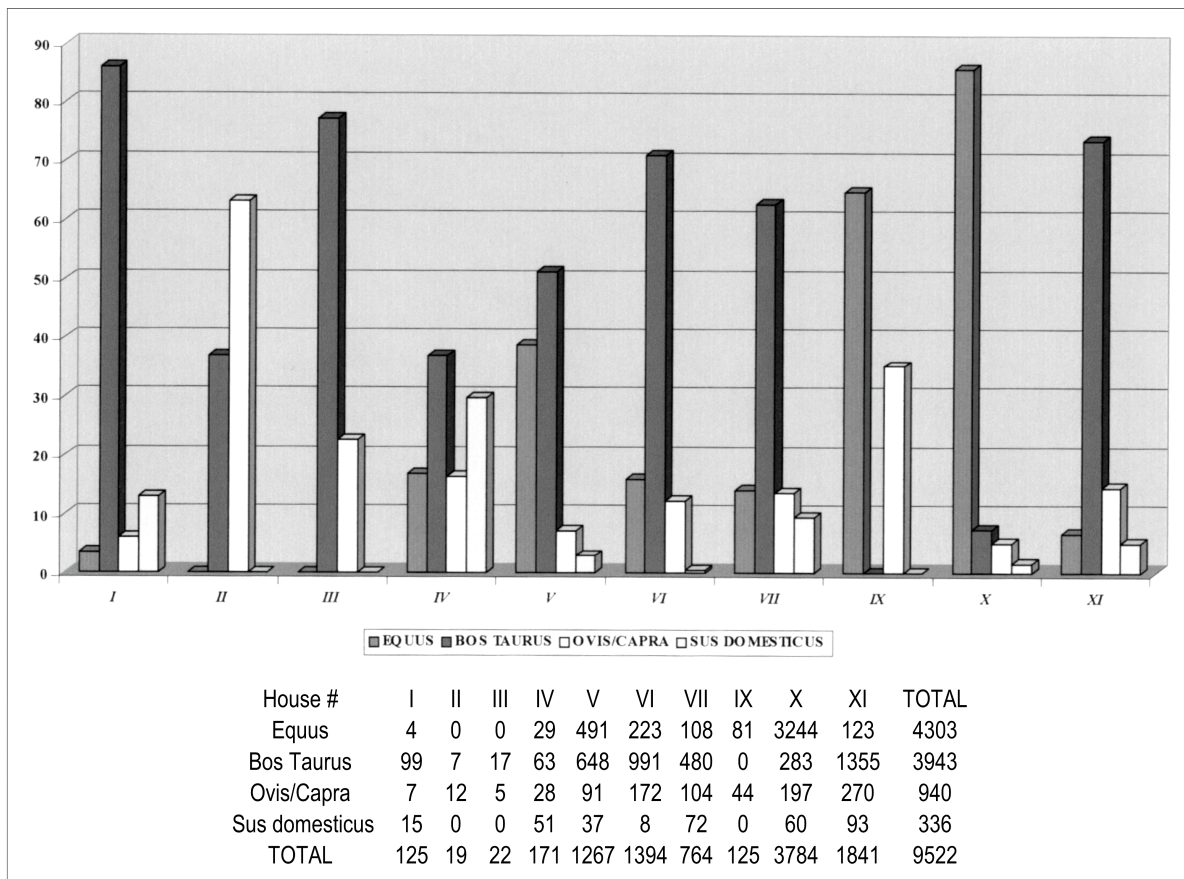


Fig. 10.7. Peñalosa archeozoological data. Proportional distribution from houses by weight.

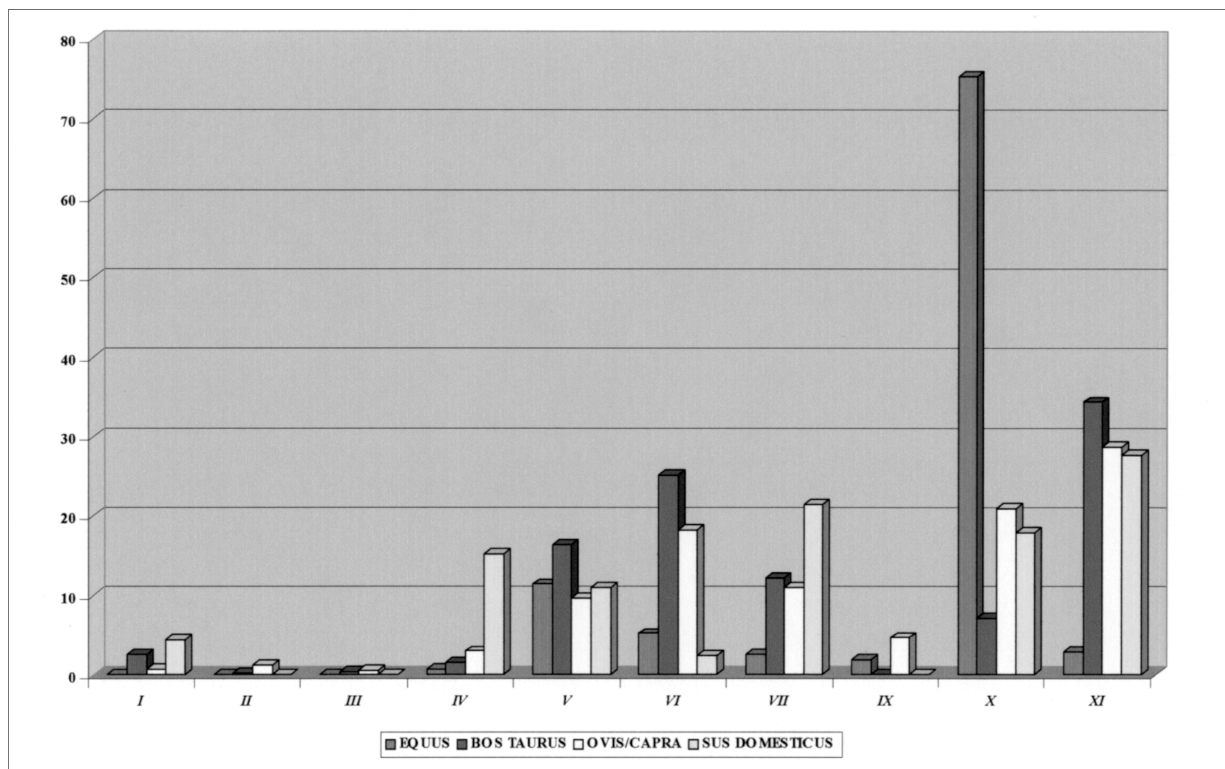


Fig. 10.8. Peñalosa archeozoological data. Proportion in every house on the houses by weight.

2° The emphasis on the control of land links the appearance of servitude not to the origin of classes and the beginning of exploitation, but to the appropriation by one of the classes of legal ownership of the land.

3° The emphasis on the labour force explains how the dissolution of the community and the formation of classes come about.

4° This proposal also presents models for how the appropriation of communal land by one class occurs (for example, more land is cultivated by those who have more means of labour, since means of labour allow them to exploit larger plots) and for how distribution is dominated/controlled by those who have come to lead the community through their control of the labour force and of herds.

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