

Rural “devolution”: the emergence of countryside in the inner Alentejo (Southern Portugal) in the early Iron Age

*Município de
Redondo

Rui Mataloto
rmataloto@gmail.com

“Round pegs in square holes tend to have dangerous thoughts about the social system and tend to infect others with their discontents.”

Aldous Huxley, Brave New World

Abstract The transition to the Iron Age marked one of the most profound cultural transformations in southern Portugal.

The collapse of the Bronze Age society in the interior of the Alentejo (Southern Portugal) allowed the appearance of an intense and diverse network of small rural occupations in the early Iron Age, strongly marked by its Mediterranean character, clearly resulting from the Phoenician colonial influence present on the coast. The social structuring of these rural communities has been much more complex than initially expected, as has been evident in both rural architecture and necropolises.

The interior Alentejo during the 6th and 5th centuries of the first millennium BC knew an exclusively rural, yet intricately structured society, in which urban contexts did not take place.

Resumo A transição para a Idade do Ferro marcou uma das mais profundas transformações culturais no sul de Portugal.

O colapso da sociedade da Idade do Bronze no interior alentejano permitiu o surgimento de uma intensa e diversificada rede de pequenas ocupações rurais no início da Idade do Ferro, fortemente marcada pelo seu carácter mediterrâneo, resultante claramente da influência colonial fenícia presente na costa. A estruturação social destas comunidades rurais terá sido muito mais complexa do que o inicialmente esperado, como ficou evidente na arquitectura rural e nas necrópoles.

O interior alentejano, durante os séculos VI e V do primeiro milénio a.C., conhecia uma sociedade exclusivamente rural, porém intrincadamente estruturada, na qual os contextos de perfil urbano não ocorriam.

1. Alentejo: the plains between the sea and the river

The Alentejo is an immense territory that extends from the granite massifs north of the São Mamede mountains, from the quartzite crests of Nisa and the sands of Ponte de Sor, to the undulating hills of the Algarve, which separates it from the sea to the south.

The immense diversity it encompasses is often unified as an endless plain. However, this is an oversimplified image, that doesn't represent the multiple Alentejan landscapes marked by extensive natural pathways (Fig. 1).

The territory defined as the “inner Alentejo” corresponds generally to the Guadiana basin and to the headwaters of the main tributaries of the Tejo and Sado rivers in Portugal. Although it is noted for its wide diversity of landscapes and geology, it presents some unity, with vast open landscapes consisting of plains, small mountains, the Guadiana valley, as well as the pathways which intersect it.

The region of Alto Alentejo is topographically demarcated by the ridgeline between the three large hydrographic basins in the south of Portugal, reinforcing its characteristics as a great natural corridor between the descending upper course of the Guadiana river and the final course of the Tagus and Sado rivers. So, it's a vast natural corridor that links the Middle Guadiana basin to the sea.

The scarce ancient ecological data, based on limited pollen analysis, suggests that this territory had an important vegetation cover, dense Mediterranean forest and important riparian coverages, which rapidly declined during the first half of the first millennium BC (Hernández, 2005; 2008).

The Baixo Alentejo presents a natural landscape of complex and diverse topography, dominated by the fertile soils of the plain of Beja. The harbours of Alcácer and Mertola, within the estuaries of the Sado and Guadiana rivers, have always been important ports of extra-regional trade connecting this region with the Mediterranean (Fig. 1).

To the south, the mountains of the Algarve establish a permeable border that nevertheless defines a separate geographic entity.



2. The Lords of the Mountains: the beginning of the first millennium BC and the end of the Bronze Age

From the middle second millennium BC, complex settlement networks were structured around large sites that, organized both in independent and interdependent ways, coordinated large territories surrounding the main hilltops (Mataloto, 2012). The location of the largest settlements on prominent summits, where they could see and be seen, allowed them to assume a fundamental role in the management of passageways, being almost always located in relevant nodal points of natural paths. This strategic location allowed the rise of certain groups whose power rested on the control and management of the passage of goods and people, of both regional and extraregional origin, as has been proposed for other parts of the West Iberian Peninsula (Vilaça, 1998, p. 348), or Central Europe (Kristiansen, 2007; Kristiansen & Earle, 2015). This dynamic eventually led to the strengthening of regional and interregional synergies, stimulating the appearance of intergroup alliances that came to control circula-

Fig. 1 – Inner Alentejo (Alto e Baixo Alentejo) in southern Portugal. Main sites mentioned in text:

- 1 – Torre de Palma;
- 2 – Tera;
- 3 – Herdade da Sapatoa;
- 4 – Espinhaço de Cão;
- 5 – Monte do Roncão 11;
- 6 – Pedrógão necropolises (Fareleira 2 and 3; Poço Novo 1).
- 7 – Vinha das Calças.

tion flows. This strengthened community bonds between identity and territory and in turn gave rise to processes of territorialization and consolidation of the social elements involved in them (Vilaça, 1998; Pavón, 1998).

Given the pressure over resources, the settlement systems developed around the main Alentejan mountain ranges, such as the Serra d'Ossa, Portel or the hills of Monsaraz, could only have functioned within a framework of close collaboration and synergy between neighboring villages which helped dilute any latent conflict. These social structures may have been integrated into regional networks of cooperation united by identity and family ties. This would facilitate exchange and circulation, thereby strengthening some groups position within the local settlement system.

This proposal, which led us to consider the appearance of the “Lords of the Mountains” (Mataloto, 2012), is essentially based on a structured view of the settlement patterns and its society. However, we are certain that these social groups cannot be understood as strongly hierarchical, or with reduced social mobility, nor did they approach proto-state form. Thus, without denying the possible existence of such social differentiation, we assume that in the late Bronze Age, society was still largely based on family structures of kinship and operated on a level of household production, in which, however, certain structural changes began to emerge. In fact, there are more dynamic and complex perspectives on the social system relying on household production, moving away from the more linear readings in Sahlins’ earlier proposals (Delgado 2001, p. 464).

The sociopolitical models that have been presented for the Bronze Age of central and northern Europe imply political, social and economic structures we think do not exist in our region during this period (Kristiansen & Earle, 2015).

These sociopolitical models are usually described as a “decentralized archaic state”, where, despite the difficulties of centralizing production systems, a clear social and territorial hierarchy exists. Moreover, these models propose that some individuals, living in central villages and detached from the productive structure, controlled groups of warriors, skilled craftsmen and the tribute from the peasants (Kristiansen, 1998, p. 48; 2007, p. 61; 2010, p. 169). However, we suggest that the absence

of archaeological evidence for the social organization of the settlements — large public buildings, housing structures, and any evidence of control of production, especially metallurgical or agricultural — and the lack of known specialized sites invites us to consider alternative social models, far from the rigid ones presented long ago by E. Service (1962) (Crumley, 1995, p. 3; Harding, 2000, p. 389). It’s possible we are facing societies with chiefs, but not chiefdoms, where differentiation exists, but not a rigid social hierarchy (Vilaça, 1995, p. 418). In the inner Alentejo, we propose that Late Bronze Age settlement networks were essentially composed of independent settlements relying on household production, which could achieve a high degree of quality and productive specialization, as suggested by Ana Delgado (2001, p. 469). However, by positioning themselves at strategic nodal points of circulation, it is plausible that some of these settlements controlled the flow of people as well exotic and luxury materials. This would have allowed the arising of socially prominent individuals who obtained wealth from this context, as has been proposed for other regions in Western Iberia (Vilaça, 1995, p. 419) and Europe (Kristiansen, 2007, p. 71; Kristiansen & Earle, 2015, p. 239). Across Europe, the end of the Bronze Age is marked by the spread of important weapon assemblages, carried by males interpreted as warlords (Kristiansen, 1999, p. 181). The Alentejo seems to follow this trend if we consider the record of several swords and spearheads in the region. Molds in the Castro do Ratinhos (Berrocal & Silva, 2010, p. 311) and in Coroa do Frade (Arnaud, 1979, p. 69) suggest that some of these were produced locally. These also point to the emergence of a warrior class in this territory, which has been associated with the foundation of large hilltop settlements with surrounding walls. Interestingly, sometimes these walls are more ostentatious in nature than defensive, as is evident in the Castro dos Ratinhos (Berrocal & Silva, 2010) and in the Passo Alto (Soares & *alii*, 2012).

The need to gather large groups of people in strategic locations, like hilltop settlements, suggests that tension or conflict must have existed, which in turn played a relevant role in structuring and consolidating settlements networks in the late Bronze Age. This consolidation is likely to have fostered an increasing inter-community

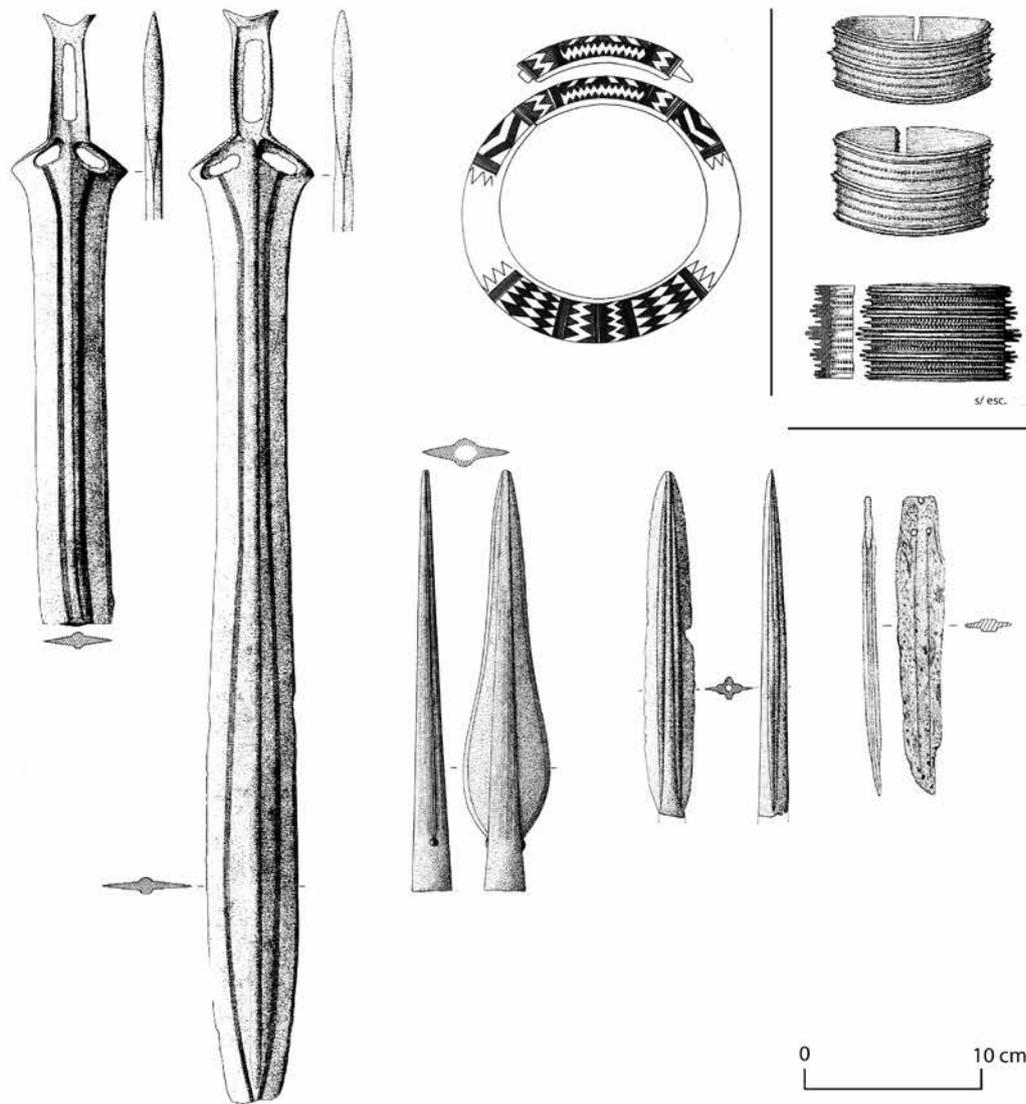


Fig. 2 – Final Bronze Age weapons and jewelry from Alentejo. Bottom: Monsaraz hills, final Bronze Age settlements.



group sense, which explains the progressive territorialization by communities of both mountains and plains, which eventually resulted in greater coordination and control of the territory.

In this context, it is possible that certain families assumed particular functions: for example, coordinating group actions or integrating important transregional languages that fostered and reinforced group identity. From these families emerge the “Lords of the Mountains”, decisive for the cohesion of their groups, assuming a strong identity position which integrated them into broad networks of communities, as

suggested earlier (Mataloto, 2012).

Group cohesion may have been consolidated in assemblies, held seasonally, which in turn mediated the transmission and distribution of power among the various lineages, centralized in the so-called patriarchs (Barceló, 1995, p. 585). These embodied the networks of family interaction and appear to have chosen a “*primus inter pares*”, which despite recent criticism of the more traditional readings, may have resembled the Homeric *Basileus* (Crielaard, 2011). These men would have directed communication between different communities, and as a sign of intergroup

reciprocity, displayed large weapons sets and women with impressive jewels as a strong sense of identity (Ruiz-Gálvez, 1988) (Fig. 2).

Yet, this type of social order is strongly dependent on trust and solidarity, necessitating continuous regulation and mediation of power to be effectively legitimate (Eisenstadt, 1988, p. 240). Once one of these assumptions is broken, the whole system is at risk of collapse, which is what we believe to have happened at the end of the first quarter of the 1st millennium BC. Thus, this social model disintegrated by the end of the 8th century BC, which coincided with the first influxes generated by the Phoenician presence on the Atlantic coast.

Castro do Ratinhos, whose hilltop orthogonal buildings have a presumed sacred function, supported by gold buttons with filigree elements (Berrócal & Silva, 2010, p. 420), suggests that new colonial knowledge and products were integrated into an attempt to reinforce the old identities with new languages which were beginning to spread. Yet, as is evident in the abandonment of this site shortly after the first colonial contacts, we believe that these novelties were not enough to maintain the communities’ cohesion. In turn, this led to group disintegration and the restructuring of settlement networks. The internal tensions generated by the social model at the end of the Bronze Age should then be the basis for their disaggregation at the beginning of the Iron Age.

Indeed, the imbalances and demands brought by the complexification of the social system at the end of the Bronze Age may have been stopped by the political, economic and technical constraints that the new forms of social structuring would require. The transition to a state or to a proto-state political form with sufficient aggregating capacity to hold together territories not already on an elective and redistributive basis but hierarchical, pyramidal, and coercive may have proved overly difficult to achieve.

Thus, we believe that this impossibility, which prevented the “progression” to new forms of aggregation and coexistence eventually lead to the disintegration of the extensive settlement systems that were established during the end of the Bronze Age. J. Tainter’s “Collapse Theory” (1988, p. 121) is particularly clear regarding the difficulty of maintaining a certain level of complexity without it being accompanied by new productive, political and technical forms capable of withstanding the constant transformation, eventually leading to systematic collapse.

There is evidence for an important interior-coastal migratory flow which may have resulted in or generated the collapse of the Bronze Age society in the inner Alentejo. The arrival of Mediterranean communities to Huelva and Cadiz between the end of the 10th century and the first half of the 9th century BC, already with a remarkable complexity (Gener & *alii*, 2014), the installation of a Phoenician colony at the river mouth of the Guadiana during the 8th century BC (García & *alii*, 2014), and the emergence of a whole new settlement network at the mouths of the Tagus and Sado rivers, from the mid- 8th BC onwards (Arruda, 2005) most certainly attracted the population of the Alentejo promoting this migratory flow.

3. A “Brave New World”: the beginning of the Iron Age and the emergence of a rural society

After the collapse of societies with some degree of complexity, new social systems based on restricted family structures seem to emerge, giving rise to smaller, more isonomic groups strongly linked by blood ties (Demoule, 1999, p. 130). This is what seems to have happened in the Alentejo at the transition between late Bronze Age and early Iron Age (Mataloto, 2012; 2013).

The theory of social collapse (Tainter, 1988; Yoffee & Cowgill, 1988; Schwartz & Nichols, 2006) and more recently the theory of “involution” or “devolution” (Hansen, 2012; Aranda, 2015) which integrates moments of “regression” in social complexity when a society returns to more basic forms of interaction — usually of a restricted family nature — has gained greater acceptance in recent research.

After the collapse of Mycenaean society around 1200 BC, such processes seem to have occurred (Morris, 2006, p. 74), emphasizing that a change in Mediterranean urban societies is neither linear nor univocal, in terms of a supposed increase of social complexity. However, as Yoffee (2006, p. 223) stresses, the return to more elementary forms of social structuring should not always be understood as an “involution”, derived from the failure of socially more complex forms.

In fact, the collapse of societies tending towards centralization of power may result in processes of “regeneration” with great dynamism, diversity and wealth (Sims, 2006). This process is based on simpler forms of social organization: the household. In the last decade, the “House” within so-called

“House Societies” (González, 2006; González & Ruiz-Gálvez, 2016) has been a useful model for explaining some stages of social complexity based on family.

We believe that was precisely the process of “devolution” and “regeneration” that took place between the 7th and 6th centuries BC in the inner Alentejo, stimulated by a profound cultural transformation derived from contact with the populations of the Atlantic coast. There, the settlement of foreign populations, both from within the Iberian Peninsula and from outside, had generated a significant transformation of local economic, social and cultural frameworks.

In the interior of the Alentejo there was an intense and systematic process of settlement ruralization from the end of the 7th century BC onwards. This phenomenon has been particularly well documented throughout the central Alentejo over the last few decades (Mataloto, 2004; 2009; Calado & alii, 2007; Marques & alii, 2013), improving our comprehension of the Alentejo’s rural occupation, that the pioneering studies of the 1970s and 1980s had already documented in the region of Ourique / Castro Verde, further south (Beirão, 1986; Maia, 1988).

Although the large hilltop settlements of the final Bronze Age suffered a process of widespread abandonment between the end of the 8th century BC and the 7th century BC (Mataloto, 2012; 2013), the intense rural occupation of the Alentejo began only a century later, essentially from the beginning of 6th century BC onwards, generating a “void” difficult to interpret.

While it is unlikely that the region was completely abandoned, it is possible that a considerable part of the population moved to the coast, which in that time period witnessed unparalleled settlement change and growth of human occupation (Arruda, 1999–2000). Although the systematic dissolution of continuity documented in Bronze Age sites and the usual *ex nihilo* foundation of small Iron Age rural occupations seem to support this hypothesis, further research is still needed.

Until now, more than thirty small rural sites have been excavated throughout the Alentejo (Beirão, 1986; Maia & Maia, 1996; Mataloto, 2004; Calado & alii, 2007). Only at Neves II (Castro Verde) can the direct overlap of a small Final Bronze Age site by an Iron Age rural occupation (6th/5th century BC) be attested, although there was a significant time gap in between them (Maia, 1988, p. 30). The most recent data, from sites like

Monte Bolor 3 (Beja) indicates that despite the presence of some ceramics similar to those of the final Bronze Age, the site began only in early Iron Age, having no continuity from a previous occupation (Antunes & alii, 2016, p. 162).

Throughout the 6th century BC, a dense network of small rural settlements developed in the Alentejo, when a real “hunger for land” seems to occur. This process would ultimately determine the exploitation of all available land, including less productive agricultural areas, in an act unprecedented in this part of the Iberian Peninsula. Consequently, the beginning of the Iron Age can be characterized by a significant movement of re-foundation of occupation in the Alentejo. This created a whole new natural and cultural landscape which was profoundly rural in nature.

The process of “ruralization” created a new social structure in the Alentejo where the restricted family unit was reinforced. This profound social reorganization was marked by an initial moment of relative isonomy, which became rapidly and increasingly more complex in the following centuries.

This new social model seems to be based on the exploitation of rural territory by small households, independent from the control of any big settlements or villages, which are not known at the time in this region of the Iberian Peninsula.

Occupation and agricultural exploitation must consequently have been based on the establishment of a differentiated and coordinated network of rural sites, composed of productive-housing units, which varied from the few tens to more than a thousand square meters (Calado & Mataloto, 2008, Mataloto, 2004; 2007; 2008). We can assume that by the middle of the 1st millennium BC a few great landlords (Mataloto & alii, 2008, p. 297; Rodríguez, 2009) coexisted with a huge mass of peasants, as has been demonstrated in other parts of Iberian Peninsula. On the other hand, it is likely that in unattractive and unproductive territories, distant from the best agricultural lands, small communities could live relatively independently, as seems to be the case of the Herdade da Sapatoa community (Mataloto, 2007).

For this reason, the countryside must have been a space of great diversity that cannot easily accommodate rigid and inflexible sociopolitical models. This perspective has been developed in recent years for Iron Age settlements in central and northern Europe, where the hierarchical and rigid models which have dominated interpretations of Mediterranean societies have no support (Thurston,

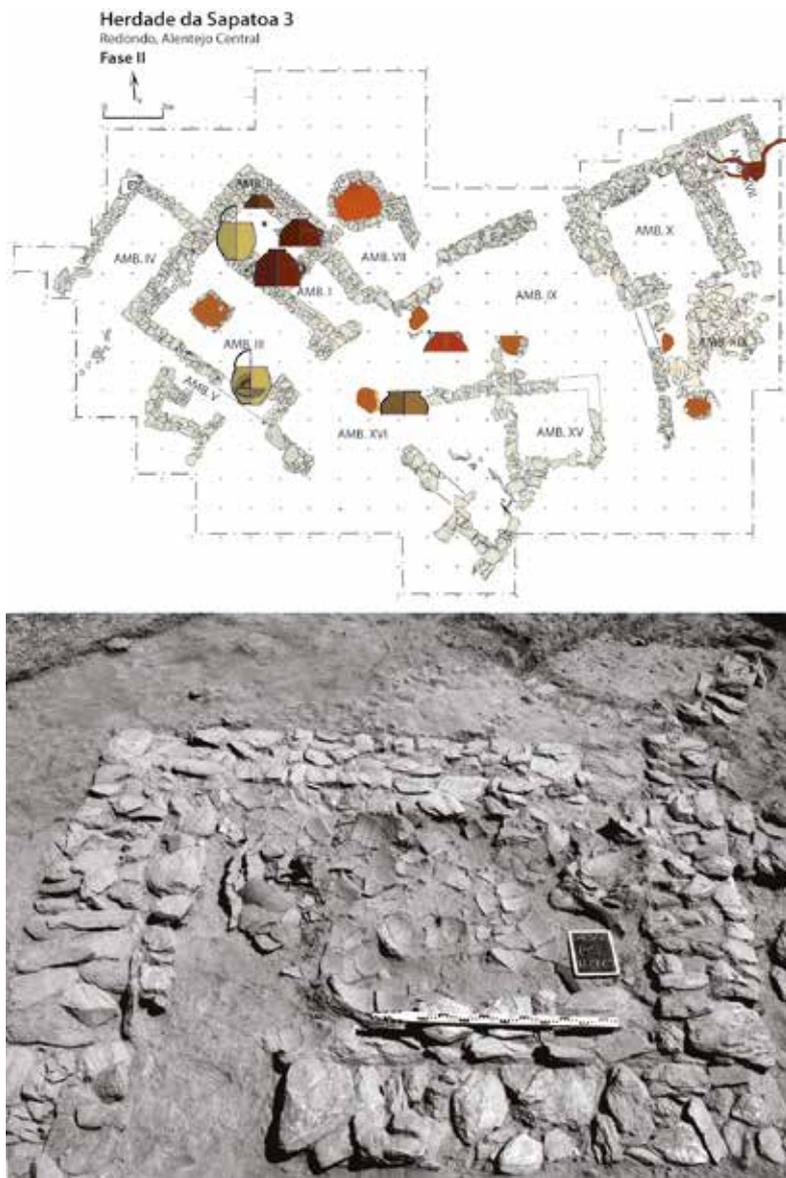


Fig. 3 – Plan of Herdade da Sapatoa 3 (Redondo) Herdade da Sapatoa 3 storage room.

2010). This approach is crucial, in our sense, for the understanding of rural settlement organization recognized in the Alentejo. The heterarchical model, or even the “cellular model” proposed for the territory of Extremadura (Rodríguez, 2009, p. 177), can coexist with a hierarchical organization of the society (Crumley, 1995). The “House Societies” (González, 2006) social model may also help us to understand the internal structure of rural occupation around big farmhouses like Espinhaço de Cão or Malhada das Taliscas (Calado & Mataloto, 2008).

Some of the bigger and more complex rural settlements may have controlled small territories, fostering both the atomization of power and their concentration into small units. Thus, in the early Iron

Age, the society would not have known large differences in organization, despite the architectural variances visible in the farmhouses and in the diverse grave goods collected in several necropolises (Mataloto 2010–2011; Jiménez, ed., 2017; Figueiredo & Mataloto, 2017).

The rural architectural evidence from the 6th and 5th centuries BC suggests that social and economic conditions of these populations in the Alentejo were diverse, but also that social complexity increased until the middle of the 1st millennium BC.

A new spatial organization of architecture and new construction methods were introduced into the Southern Portuguese countryside through interaction with Phoenician colonized areas in the early Iron Age, and rapidly spread through Alentejan territory, contributing to the transformation and segmentation of the rural societies. At the same time, the acquisition of new techniques and approaches could be an important indicator of the movement of people from the Atlantic coast into inner the Alentejo at the beginning of the 6th century BC, when rural occupation of the region was in early stages of intensification in a wholly new way.

Rural sites, such as Miguens 10 or Espinhaço de Cão (Calado & alii, 2007) present characteristics in their foundational levels that are consolidated at a later date. The orthogonal plan and the rammed earth/adobe construction technique spread immediately, accompanying the dispersion of wheel-made pottery, which seems to take longer to be fully integrated in the region.

In sites of bigger dimensions and greater complexity, like Espinhaço de Cão (Mataloto, 2009) or Monte do Roncão 11 (Marques & alii, 2013), it is possible to register progressive spatial segmentation already in the early Iron Age (Figs. 1 and 4). However in smaller rural sites with less complex architecture, such as those detected in the Herdade da Sapatoa (Mataloto, 2004) (Fig. 3), although there is some division of the inhabited space, most of the rooms were multifunctional, following an ancient tradition. Yet this does not avoid the identification of segregated spaces, such as storage areas. Moreover, inner courtyards, intrinsic to the Mediterranean urban tradition (Fig. 3), have been easily integrated even in these small rural sites.

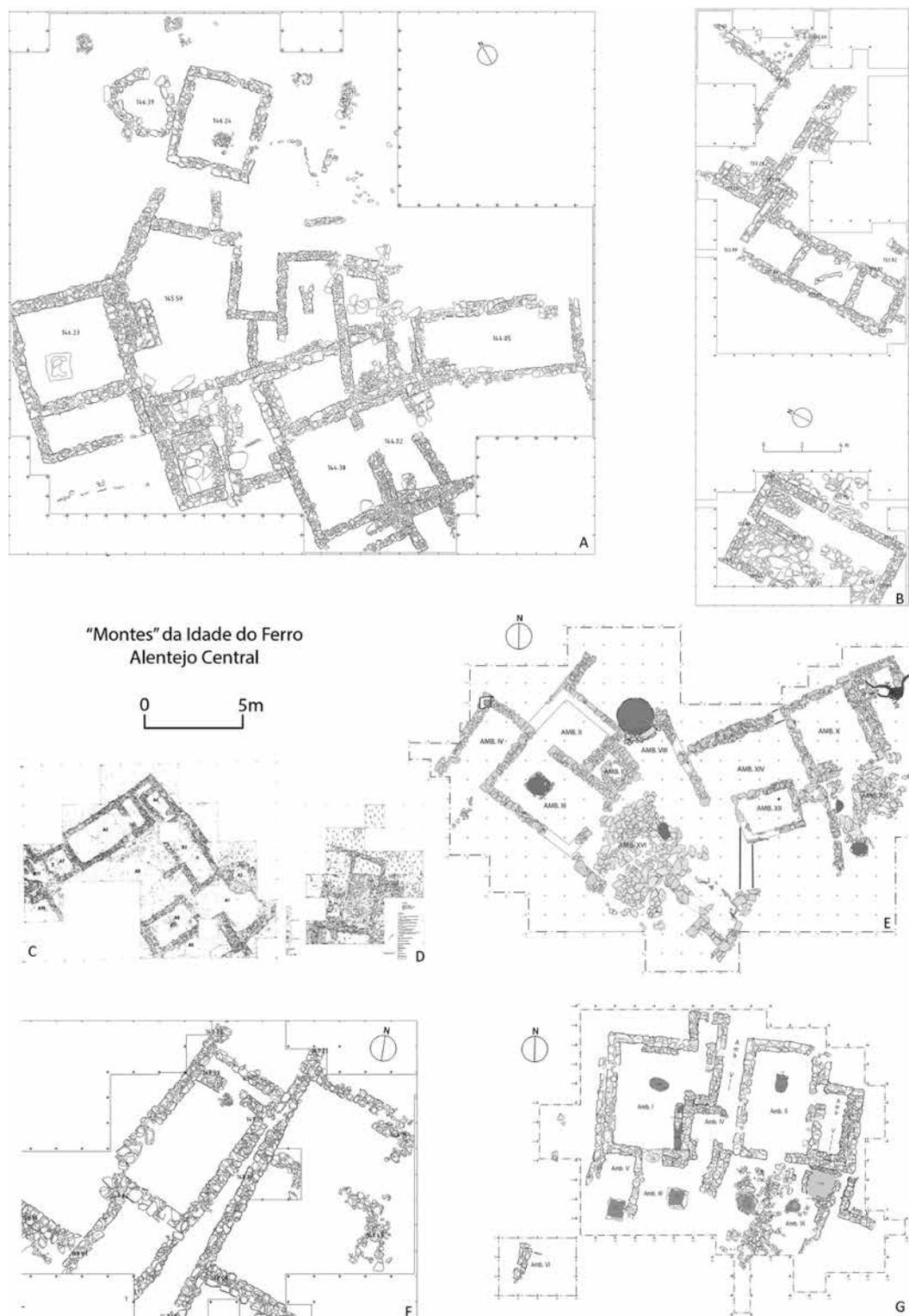


Fig. 4 – Plans of Alentejo rural settlements:
 A – Espinhaço de Cão; B – Malhada das Taliscas;
 C – Monte do Roncão 11;
 D – Espinhaço 9;
 E – Herdade da Sapatoa;
 F – Casa da Moimhola;
 G – Herdade da Sapatoa 1.

The architectural space thus seems to be first segmented from an economic point of view, with the segregation of production and storage areas like the circular structures documented in Herdade da

Sapatoa (Mataloto, 2004, p. 52) and Monte do Roncão 11 (Marques & alii, 2013, p. 45) or like the large storage building of the Malhada of Taliscas 4 (Calado & alii, 2007) (Figs. 1 and 4).

New agricultural crops, such as olive and vine, were introduced by the Phoenician colonies, as is evident in the surroundings of Huelva (Vera & Echevarría, 2013). These crops would certainly allow new possibilities for cultivation in rural communities of the Alentejo. The presence of regional amphorae, probably for wine, and *Vitis* pollen in sites such as Herdade da Sapatoa, suggests that wine was produced in the Alentejo already in the early Iron Age.

Religious structures seem to follow a relatively early segregation process. Cult areas appear early at sites like Espinhaço de Cão (Mataloto, 2009, p. 286) or Corvo I (Maia, 1988). These seem to have led to other forms of segmentation and segregation. For example, the closure and privatization of the central courtyard in front of the possible sanctuary of Espinhaço de Cão (Mataloto, 2009, p. 286) suggests increased focus on accessibility (Fig. 4). Similar processes are documented at sites like Cancho Roano or La Mata (Jiménez, 2005). Their presence represents not only the segmentation of space but also the first appearance of rooms dedicated to religious acts that seem to follow equally new rituals in a rural area of increasing complexity, indicating an evident need for legitimation (Jiménez, 2009, p. 76).

Nevertheless, data from smaller sites such as Herdade da Sapatoa 1 and 3 suggests that the household remains relatively multifunctional, with imperceptible differentiations in gender or age.

Following the great expansion of rural occupation in the early Iron Age, the Mediterranean tradition of organizing the household seems to remain in the Alentejan countryside until the end of the 5th century BC. However, in the second half of the millennium, there appears to be a strong decline in rural settlements, which coincides with a profound change in architectural models that rely on less complex construction techniques as well as the more frequent use of perishable materials.

In the 6th and 5th centuries BC, rural space in the interior of southern Portugal experienced unique social dynamics. This densely occupied, diverse and complex landscape was much more than a rural world made up of mere peasants.

4. Ashes to ashes, dust to dust¹: necropolises and rural society in the early Iron Age of the Alentejo (Southern Portugal)

The analysis of data obtained in rural necropolises of the 6th and 5th centuries BC excavated recently in the Alentejo (Mataloto, 2010–2011; Arruda & *alii*, 2017, Figueiredo & Mataloto, 2017; Pereiro & *alii*, 2017) gives further support to the social organization model of the early Iron Age rural society we have presented here. The transition to the Iron Age has been characterized by a complete change in settlement patterns as well a deep social transformation, patent in the creation of a whole new landscape, a process in which the necropolises seem to have played a decisive role.

The substantial modification in funerary rituals further enhances the profound transfiguration experienced in this time, especially if we emphasize that the burial areas clearly from the end of the Bronze Age were almost unknown throughout the southwest of the Iberian Peninsula until a few years ago (Belén & Escacena, 1995).

This situation has gradually been replaced by a more complex reality, dominated by the presence of pit burials (Mataloto & *alii*, 2013), or the re-use of megalithic monuments, but the existence of necropolises of final Bronze Age is still unknown in most of the Alentejan region.

The various hypogea that have been recorded in recent years throughout the Baixo Alentejo (Alves & *alii*, 2010; Filipe & *alii*, 2013) seem to have been in use mainly until the beginning of the second half of 2nd millennium BC, with only one extending into the first centuries of the 1st millennium BC (Valério & *alii*, 2018).

The burials in pits, usually without grave goods, at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC testify to the use of inhumation as a burial rite in the Alentejo. Whereas at the mouth of the Tejo river, the incineration ritual was already in use prior to Phoenician colonization (Vilaça & *alii*, 1999; Vilaça, 2015).

Facing the invisibility of funerary areas before the Iron Age, the profound transformation of society and settlement distribution at the beginning of this period will led to a greater visibility of the necropolis, giving the ancestors a central role in the identity of the groups as aggregators and legitimating elements of a “new world”.

The creation, manipulation and reconstruction

¹ *Book of Common Prayer*

of Memory, and then the Past, is an essential act in the maintenance of groups. The creation of new funerary areas can result from true acts of legitimating, and it is precisely in the founding myths that the collective memory of societies without writing is crystallized (Le Goff, 1988, p. 111).

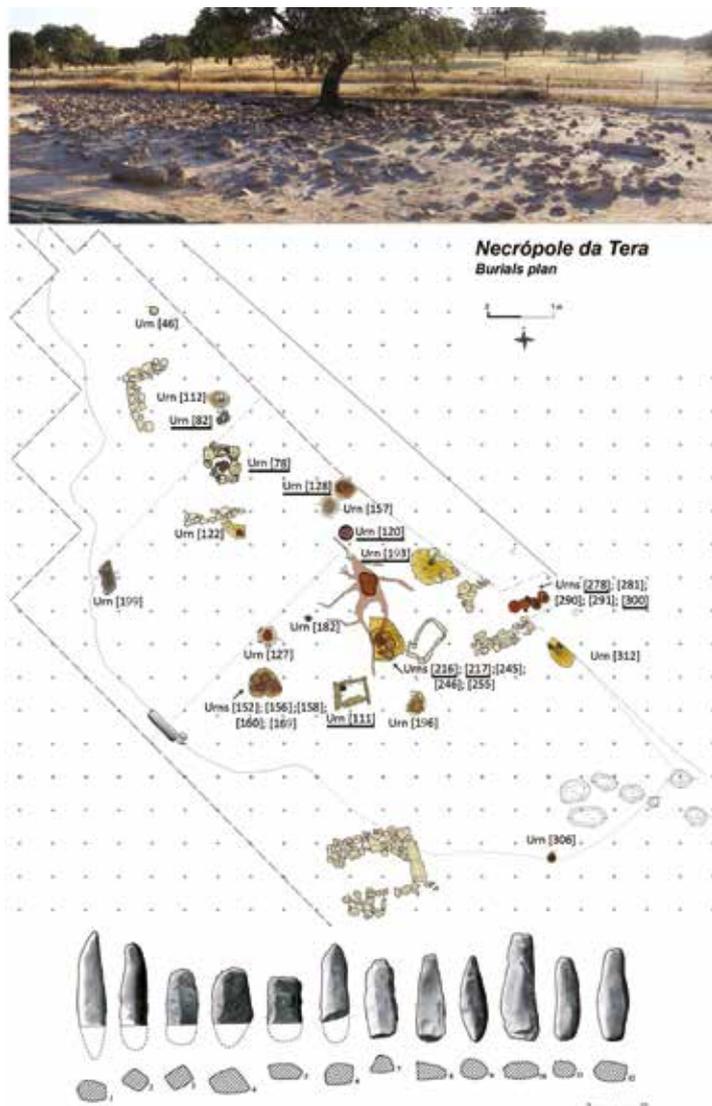
The Portel / Mendro mountains (Fig. 1) seems to be a territory of transition between two very different funerary realities, which may be a reflection of well-differentiated cultural dynamics, in the sense of an increasing regionalization and segmentation, derived from a greater territorialisation of groups, as would be expected in rural communities. To the north of these mountains, rural communities will choose the ritual of cremation in their funeral gestures, while to the south, the inhumation, now essentially in individual burials, will continue to be the most widely used ritual.

In the Alto Alentejo, the territory north of the Portel mountains, we know of only the necropolises of Torre de Palma and Tera for the 6th and 5th centuries BC, although there is limited evidence for some others.

Torre de Palma (Monforte) is an incineration necropolis, with the deposition of the cremated remains mainly inside urns (Langley & *alii*, 2007; Mataloto, Langley & Boaventura, 2008). The funerary sets here documented share great affinities with both the necropolis of Medellín (Mérida, Spain) (Almagro, 2008) and of Alcácer do Sal (Portugal), reinforcing the close connection of this territory with the historical and cultural process unrolled in the middle Guadiana basin (Extremadura, Spain) and at the mouths of the Tagus and Sado rivers.

The Tera necropolis near Pavia (Mora), about 50km southwest of Torre de Palma, also to north of Portel mountains, clearly shows not only the diversity of the cultural processes of “Mediterraneanization” present in the region, but also the strong local roots of the communities (Figs. 1 and 5).

The necropolis comprised a larger monument that included a meníric alignment, and would have been covered by a small stone mound surrounded, eventually, by a set of menhirs/standing stones (Fig. 5). The area excavated likely corresponds to about half of the necropolis, which would extended mainly to the East. The small stone mound seems to be the result of the integration of several quadrangular struc-



tures into a single one. The burial ritual is also cremation, with the deposition of the cremated bones in urns, having the *ustrinum* area not been clearly identified, although the south and south-east margin of the necropolis may have performed this function. In one case there were found four urns together (burials 34, 35, 38 and 39) in what seems to be a restrict family burial, when there is a male, a female, a non-adult and a child identified (Gonçalves & *alii*, 2015). The burials are concentrated in a central area of the necropolis, between two rectangular structures (Fig. 5). Although only half of the necropolis has been excavated, the number of burials identified is likely between 30 and 40 individuals depending on the excavation of the total of the urns.

The grave goods are rarely abundant, some-

Fig. 5 – Tera necropolis: burials plan. Bottom: Tera standing stones.

times only dishes and small perfume/oil bottles, deposited next to the urn (Fig 6). Silver, though scarce in the Tera necropolis, is represented in the urn [278] with a pendant and two rings and by crescent earring in urn [291]. The presence of these ornaments contrasts with the relative isonomy of the necropolis, in particular if we take into account that both were located in the same quadrangular structure. This apparent family pantheon is composed of a male adult burial [291], a female adult [278], a non-adult [300], and a young child [290]. It is also interesting to verify the association of perfume/oil bottles, rings and pendant to the female burial [278], while the association of only one pendant in silver to the male individual. This would have been an important family in Tera community, based not only on the grave goods, but also the distribution of others burials around the stone structure inside which they were buried (Fig 5).

At Tera necropolis weapons are almost absent as only a spearhead was found in a peripheral grave of the necropolis, together with a belt buckle of DIII3 / DIII5 type from Cerdeño (1978). The Alcores and Acebuchal / Bencarrón type broochs (Ruiz, 1989), as well some necklace beads and a small “heart shaped” bracelet (Fig. 6) suggest that the necropolis was in use around a hundred years, between the middle of the 6th century BC and the second half of the next.

The emulation of the ancestral megalithic constructions by the presence of menhir/standing stones at Tera (Fig. 5), following the ones erected few kilometers away (Vale d'El Rei or Figueiras cromlech/stone circle) (Calado, 2004), and the location of the necropolis near a group of passage graves, only 100 m away, display a clear desire to associate the funerary area to a context of strong identity, that could be easily read as an act of legitimizing the ownership and exploitation of the land and as an element of cohesion of the group.

By reintroducing marks from the past in the landscape through a megalithic architectural language, the Iron Age communities could intend to reinforce the identification of a group with its territory, particularly after traumatic movements of uprooting, such as what seem to have occurred after the collapse of the Bronze Age society. These new

rural communities, with a strong cultural integration of Mediterranean influences, evident in the use of cremation ritual, household architecture and clothing, needed to create deep roots in the territory as part of their own strategy for land legitimation and new identity development. This is especially true in peripheral areas like the Tera necropolis region.

To the south of the Portel mountains, funerary rituals are more diverse, but share the same cultural and imagery system as the Alentejo region to the north.

A large number of Iron Age necropolises have recently been excavated in the plains of Beja which have completely changed our knowledge of the funerary practices in the region (Fig. 1). The inhumation ritual is dominant, with deposition of the body in lateral decubitus in rectangular graves, which surround or centralized ditch enclosures of a rectangular plan. Sometimes these necropolises present complex architectures with various ditches enclosures aggregated (Fig. 7). Although only a few have been completely excavated, the burials can vary between less than 10 individuals to more than 50, as can be seen in the Poço Novo 1 necropolis (Figueiredo & Mataloto, 2017) or Vinha das Calças (Arruda & alii, 2017), respectively.

These necropolises are distributed throughout the region of Beja, being in use between the end of the 7th century BC and the mid-5th century BC. The funerary offerings are quite varied, presenting a cultural background of “orientalizing” Mediterranean hue, clearly evident in the adornments, which follow gender trends throughout the southern Iberian Peninsula (fibulae, belt buckles, bracelets, dressing sets, rings, pendants in silver and gold, Egyptian scarab beetles, necklace beads, etc.), following models diffused from the Phoenician colonies. Iron weapons are restricted to large spearheads along with small knives.

The necropolises of Pedrógão region were used throughout the 6th century BC, for a relatively short period of time (Figueiredo & Mataloto, 2017).

The Poço Novo 1 necropolis was dominated by female graves, arranged around a small “L” ditch (Fig. 7). In the graves, there were essentially elements of clothing, such as Type 3 and 4a belt buckles of Cerdeño (1981), a

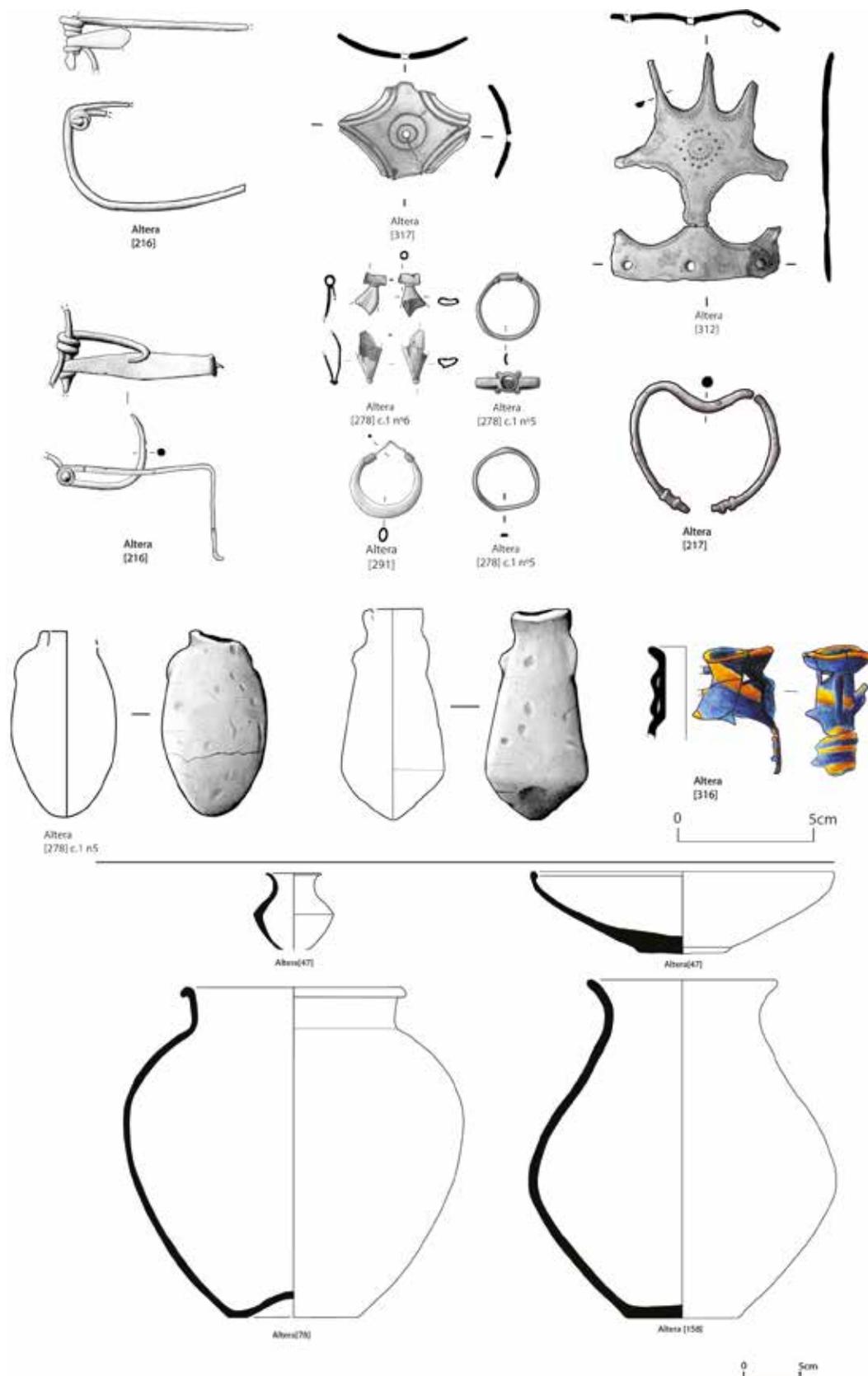
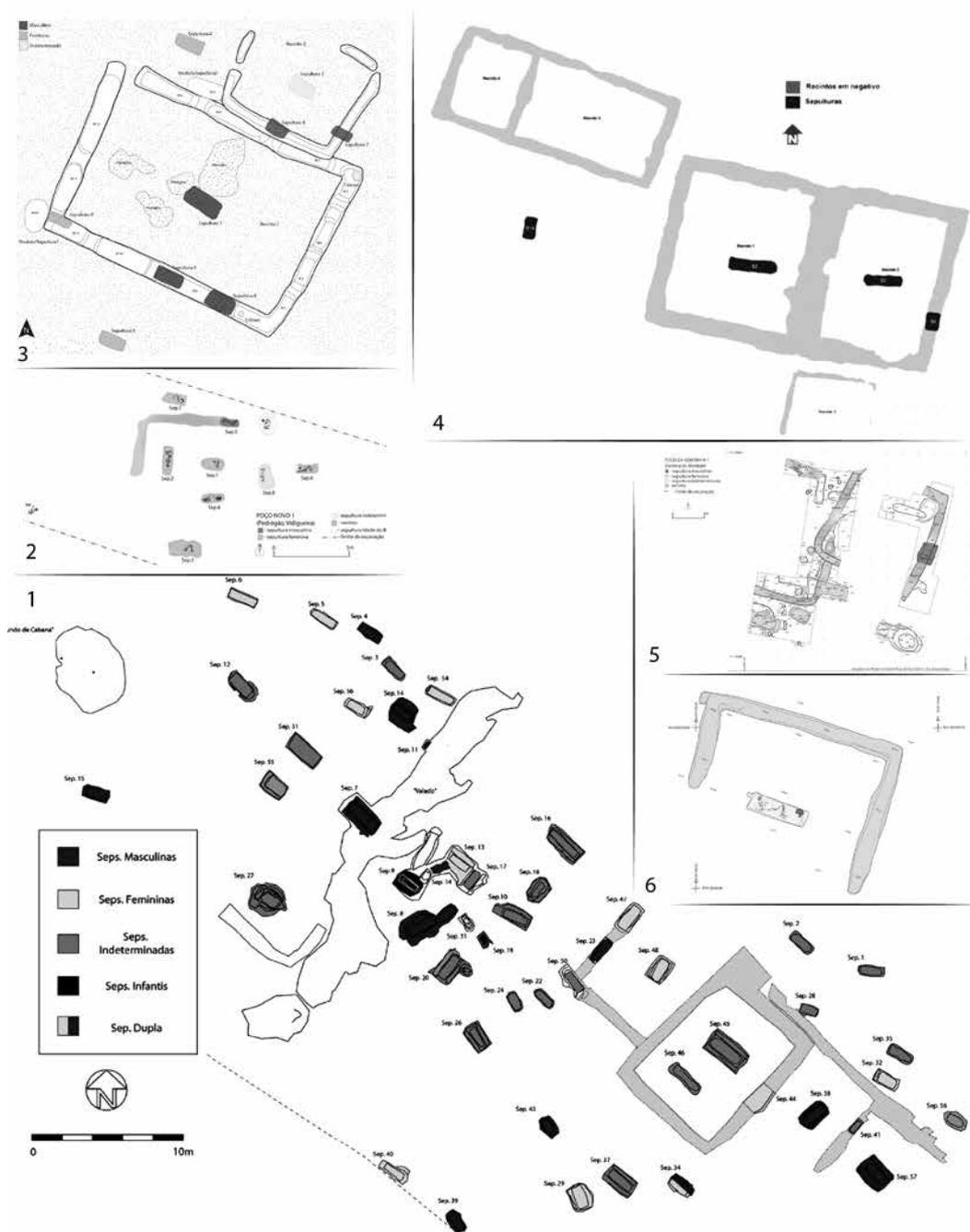


Fig. 6 – Tera urns and grave goods (fibulae, belt buckles, silver rings and earring, perfume/oil bottles).

Fig. 7 – Plan of ditch enclosures necropolises:
 1 – Vinha das Calças (Arruda & alii, 2017);
 2 – Poço Novo 1;
 3 – Estácio 6;
 4 – Carlota;
 5 – Poço da Gontinha;
 6 – Fareleira 3.



fibula of the Alcores type and some beads, along with scarce ceramics. The necropolis of Fareleira 2, located between the Poço Novo 1, to the East, and Fareleira 3, to the West, was composed of three dispersed burial areas, appearing to correspond to small family burials, composed of man-woman and man-woman-child (Fig. 7). The grave goods were simple, essentially

glass beads, and in one case what appears to be a spearhead and an Acebuchal fibula. The rectangular ditch enclosure of Fareleira 3, opened on the southwest side, was implanted in the southeast boundary of a high flattened hill where the necropolis was located (Fig. 7). The central area contained a single grave of an old man with a diverse collection of ceramic and metal grave goods, of

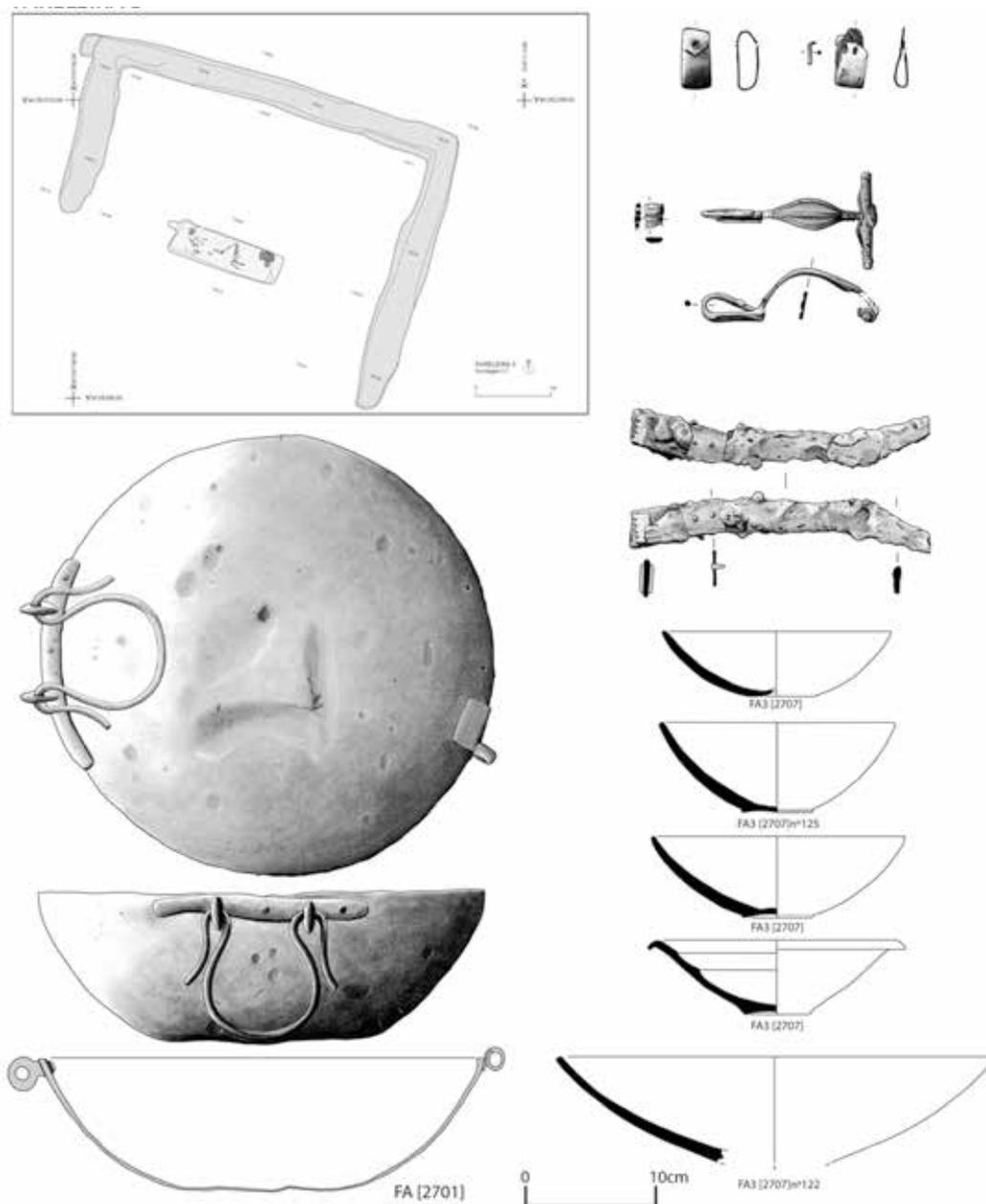


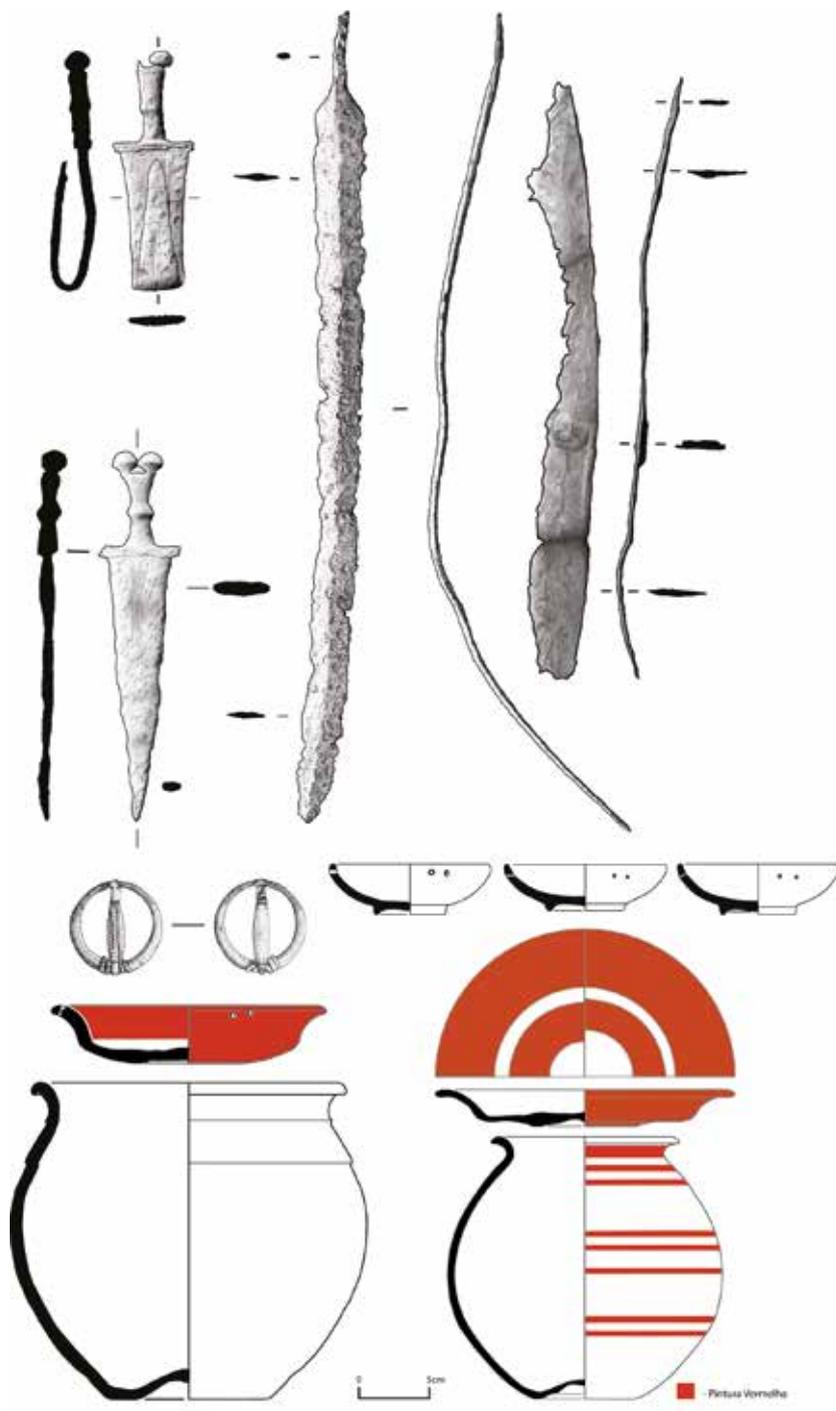
Fig. 8 – Fareleira 3: plan and grave goods.

which stands a type 2 bronze basin of Jiménez Ávila (2013) (Fig. 8). At his death, this man would have had a prominent role in the surrounding rural communities, as indicated by the ritual set with which he was buried (Fig. 8). He could have been the founder of the community buried along the hill. The location of his grave in the most conspicuous place of the hill should have created an identity landmark, around which a small rural community was structured, with their ancestor always positioned on the horizon.

The social model presented here according to the data obtained from Iron Age excavated farmhouses, based on the restricted family and a limited social inequality, supported by atomized power structures dispersed in small territories, with groups of a few dozen people, has a clear reflection in the necropolises. Indeed, as it was possible to verify through these rural necropolises, the differences, although they exist, do not assume an evident inequality, having a great similarity between the grave goods present in each them. Nev-

ertheless, there are obvious differences between graves within the same necropolis, where some concentrate more wealth than others. However, it is also clear that the differences between graves may result not only from wealth, but also from gender, age, among other issues.

Fig. 9 – Herdade das Casas (Redondo) weapons and urns.



5. Changing times: new warriors and villages in the countryside

From the middle of the 5th century BC onwards the gregarious process of the dispersed groups in occupations with defensive concerns begins, causing the abandonment of the majority of the rural settlements until the middle of the following century.

The countryside, depleted of the previous demographic density, will continue to be occupied, now in a more sparse way, presenting a wide social diversity evident in the small rural necropolises, where important warriors' arms sets show up, as happens in Herdade das Casas (Redondo) (Mataloto & alii, 2014, p. 23) (Fig. 9). In fact, the progressive way in which arms seem to arise in burials, beginning in the early Iron Age, show us precisely this slow but inexorable process of social complexity which will culminate in the amortization of vast arm sets during the second half of the millennium, instead of the monotonous series of long spears that seem to dominate during the second quarter of the 1st millennium BC.

Thus, the countryside will remain an important element in the social structure of the communities of the second half of the millennium, after the widespread abandonment of rural occupations around the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century BC.

Redondo, winter 2019

Acknowledgment

The author thanks Alex Elliott for the help in translating this paper to English, making it "understandable"... any error is exclusively the author's fault.

References

- ALMAGRO GORBEA, Martín, ed. (2008) – *La necrópolis de Medellín. II – Estudios de los hallazgos*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.
- ALVES, Catarina; COSTEIRA, Catarina; ESTRELA, Susana; PORFÍRIO, Eduardo; SERRA, Miguel; SOARES, António Monge; MORENO GARCÍA, Marta (2010) – Hipogeus funerários do Bronze Pleno do Sudoeste da Torre Velha 3 (Serpa, Portugal). *O Sudeste no Sudoeste? Zephyrus*. 66, pp. 133–153.
- ANTUNES, Ana Sofia; DEUS, Manuela de; ESTRELA, Susana; LARRAZÁBAL GALARZA, Javier; SOARES, António Monge; SALVADOR MATEOS, Rosa (2016) – Monte do Bolor 3, Monte do Pombal 2, Salsa 3 e Torre Velha 3: contexto de planície da Idade do Ferro do Alentejo interior. In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier, ed. – *Sidereum Ana III: el río Guadiana y Tartessos*. Mérida: Consorcio de la Ciudad Monumental, Histórico-Artística y Arqueológica, pp. 159–185.
- ARANDA JIMÉNEZ, Gonzalo (2015) – Resistencia e involución social en las comunidades de la Edad del Bronce del sureste de la Península Ibérica. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*. 72:1, pp. 126–144.
- ARNAUD, José Morais (1979) – Corôa do Frade. Fortificação do Bronze Final dos Arredores de Évora: escavações de 1971–1972. *Madrider Mitteilungen*. 20, pp. 56–100.
- ARRUDA, Ana Margarida (1999–2000) – *Los fenicios en Portugal: fenicios y mundo indígena en el centro y sur de Portugal*. Barcelona: Universidad Pompeu Fabra.
- ARRUDA, Ana Margarida (2005) – O 1.º milénio a.n.e. no Centro e no Sul de Portugal: leituras possíveis no início de um novo século. *O Arqueólogo Português. Série 4*. 23, pp. 9–156.
- ARRUDA, Ana Margarida; BARBOSA, Rui; GOMES, Francisco; SOUSA, Elisa (2017) – A necrópole da Vinha das Calças (Beja, Portugal). In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier, ed. – *Sidereum Ana III: el río Guadiana y Tartessos*. Mérida: Consorcio de la Ciudad Monumental, Histórico-Artística y Arqueológica, pp. 187–225.
- BARCELÓ ALVAREZ, Juan Antonio (1995) – Sociedad y economía en el Bronce Final tartésico. In *Tartessos 25 años después 1968–1993. Actas del Congreso Conmemorativo del V Symposium Internacional de Prehistoria Peninsular*. Jerez de la Frontera: Ayuntamiento, pp. 561–589.
- BEIRÃO, Caetano de Mello (1986) – *Une civilisation protohistorique du sud du Portugal*. Paris: De Boccard.
- BELÉN DEAMOS, María; ESCACENA CARRASCO, José Luis (1995) – Acerca del Horizonte de la Ría de Huelva. Consideraciones sobre el Final de La Edad de Bronce en el suroeste ibérico. In RUIZ-GÁLVEZ PRIEGO, Marisa, ed. – *Ritos de paso y puntos de Paso. La ría de Huelva en el Mundo del Bronce Final europeo*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, pp. 86–113.
- BERROCAL RANGEL, Luis; SILVA, António Carlos (2010) – O Castro dos Ratinhos (Barragem de Alqueva, Moura): escavações num povoado proto-histórico do Guadiana, 2004–2007. Lisboa: Museu Nacional de Arqueologia.
- CALADO, Manuel (2004) – *Menires do Alentejo Central: génese e evolução da paisagem megalítica regional*. Lisboa: FLUL (Tese fotocopiada). < <http://www.crookscape.org/tesemc/tese.html> >.
- CALADO, Manuel; MATALOTO, Rui (2008) – O post-orientalizante da margem direita do regolfo de Alqueva (Alentejo Central). In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier, ed. – *Sidereum Ana I: el río Guadiana en época post-orientalizante*. Mérida: Instituto de Arqueología de Mérida, pp. 219–249.
- CALADO, Manuel; MATALOTO, Rui; ROCHA, Artur (2007) – Povoamento proto-histórico na margem direita do regolfo de Alqueva (Alentejo, Portugal). In RODRÍGUEZ DÍAZ, Alonso; PAVÓN SOLDEVILA, Ignacio, eds. – *Arqueología de la tierra: paisajes rurales de la protohistoria peninsular: VI cursos de verano internacionales de la Universidad de Extremadura (Castuera, 5–8 de julio de 2005)*. Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, pp. 129–179.
- CERDEÑO SERRANO, María Luisa (1978) – Los broches de cinturón peninsulares de tipo céltico. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*. 55, pp. 271–306.
- CERDEÑO SERRANO, María Luisa (1981) – Los broches de cinturón tartésicos. *Huelva Arqueológica*. 5, pp. 31–56.
- CRIELAARD, Jan Paul (2011) – The ‘wanax to basileus’ model reconsidered: authority and ideology after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces. In MAZARAKIS AINIAN, Alexandros, ed. – *The ‘Dark Ages’ Revisited. Acts of an international symposium in memory of William D.E. Coulson, University of Thessaly, Volos, 14 -17 June 2007*. Volos: University of Thessaly, pp. 83–111.
- CRUMLEY, Carole L. (1995) – Heterarchy and the analysis of complex societies. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*. 6:1, pp. 1–5.
- DELGADO HERVÁS, Ana (2001) – *De guerreros a comerciantes: poder e intercambio en las comunidades del Bronce Final de la Andalucía occidental*. Barcelona: Universidad Pompeu Fabra.
- DEMOULE, Jean-Paul (1999) – La société contre les princes. In RUBY, Pascal, éd. – *Les princes de la protohistoire et l'émergence de l'État. Actes de la table ronde internationale de Naples (27–29 octobre 1994)*. Roma: École Française de Rome, pp. 125–134.
- EISENSTADT, Shmuel (1988) – Beyond collapse. In YOFFEE, Norman; COWGILL, George L., eds. – *The collapse of ancient states and civilizations*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, pp. 236–243.

- FIGUEIREDO, Margarida; MATALOTO, Rui (2017) – Necrópoles rurais sidéricas do Baixo Alentejo setentrional: sociedade e mundo funerário nos Barros de Beja. In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier, ed. – *Sidereum Ana III: el río Guadiana y Tartessos*. Mérida: Consorcio de la Ciudad Monumental, Histórico-Artística y Arqueológica, pp. 353–398.
- FILIFE, Victor; GODINHO, Ricardo; GRANJA, Raquel; RIBEIRO, Artur; VALERA, António Carlos (2013) – Bronze Age funerary spaces in Outeiro Alto 2 (Brinches, Serpa, Portugal): the hypogea cemetery. *Zephyrus*. 71:1, pp. 107–129.
- GARCÍA TEYSSANDIER, Elizabet; Marzoli, Dirce (2013) – Phönizische Gräber in Ayamonte (Huelva, Spanien): ein Vorbericht. *Madrid Mitteilungen*. 54, pp. 89–158.
- GENER BASALLOTE, José María; NAVARRO GARCÍA, Mariangeles; PAJUELO SÁEZ, Juan Miguel; TORRES ORTIZ, Mariano; LÓPEZ ROSENDO, Ester (2014) – *Arquitectura y urbanismo de la Gadir fenicia: el yacimiento del “Teatro Cómico” de Cádiz*. In BOTTO, Massimo, ed. – *Los Fenicios en la Bahía de Cádiz: nuevas investigaciones*. Pisa; Roma: Fabrizio Serra, pp. 14–50.
- GONÇALVES, David; CAMPANACHO, Vanessa; THOMPSON, Tim; MATALOTO, Rui (2015) – The weight of the matter: examining the potential of skeletal weight for the bioarchaeological analysis of cremation at the Iron Age necropolis of Tera (Portugal). In THOMPSON, Tim, ed. – *The archaeology of cremation burned human remains in funerary studies*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 63–96.
- GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL, Alfredo (2006) – House societies vs. kinship-based societies: An archaeological case from Iron Age Europe. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*. 25, pp. 144–173.
- GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL, Alfredo; RUIZ-GÁLVEZ PRIEGO, Marisa (2016) – House societies in the Ancient Mediterranean (2000–500 BC). *Journal of World Prehistory*. 29:4, pp. 383–437.
- HANSEN, Svend (2012) – The archaeology of power. In KIENLIN, Tobias L.; ZIMMERMANN, Andreas, eds. – *Beyond elites: alternatives to hierarchical systems in modeling social formations*. Bonn: Habelt, pp. 213–223.
- HARDING, Anthony F. (2000) – *European societies in the Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HERNÁNDEZ CARRETERO, Ana (2008) – Paleambiente y paleoeconomía en la cuenca del Guadiana durante el Hierro I. In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier, ed. – *Sidereum Ana I: el río Guadiana en época post-orientalizante*. Mérida: Instituto de Arqueología de Mérida, pp. 135–148.
- JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier (2005) – Cancho Roano: el proceso de privatización de un espacio ideológico. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*. 62:2, pp. 105–124.
- JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier (2009) – Modelos arquitectónicos en la Protohistoria del Suroeste peninsular: edificios en “tridente”. In MATEOS CRUZ, Pedro; CELESTINO PÉREZ, Sebastián; PIZZO, Antonio; TORTOSA ROCAMORA, Trinidad, eds. – *Santuarios, oppida y ciudades: arquitectura sacra en el origen y desarrollo urbano del Mediterráneo occidental*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, pp. 89–100.
- JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier (2013) – “Braseros” de bronce protohistóricos en Extremadura: viejos y nuevos hallazgos; nuevas y viejas ideas. *Onoba*. 1, pp. 55–78.
- JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier, ed. (2016) – *Sidereum Ana III: el río Guadiana y Tartessos*. Mérida: Consorcio de la Ciudad Monumental, Histórico-Artística y Arqueológica.
- KIENLIN, Tobias L.; ZIMMERMANN, Andreas, eds. – *Beyond elites: alternatives to hierarchical systems in modeling social formations*. Bonn: Habelt.
- KRISTIANSEN, Kristian; EARLE, Timothy (2015) – Neolithic versus Bronze Age social formations: a political economy approach. In TUREK, Jan; KRISTIANSEN, Kristian; ŠMEJDA, Ladislav, eds. – *Paradigm found. Archaeological theory, present past and future: essays in honour of Evz'en Neustupný*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 234–247.
- KRISTIANSEN, Kristian (1998) – *Europe before history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- KRISTIANSEN, Kristian (1999) – The emergence of warriors aristocracies in later European prehistory and their long-term history. In CARMAN, John; HARDING, Anthony F., eds. – *Ancient warfare*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, pp. 175–189.
- KRISTIANSEN, Kristian (2007) – The Rules of the Game. Decentralized complexity and power structures. In KOHRING, Sheila; WYNNE-JONES, Stephanie, eds. – *Socialising complexity: structure, interaction and power in archaeological discourse*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 60–75.
- KRISTIANSEN, Kristian (2010) – Decentralized Complexity: the case of bronze age northern europe. In PRICE, T. Douglas; FEINMAN, Gary M., eds. – *Pathways to power: new perspectives on the emergence of social inequality*. New York, NY: Springer, pp. 169–192.
- LANGLEY, Maia; MATALOTO, Rui; BOAVENTURA, Rui; GONÇALVES, David (2007) – A ocupação da Idade do Ferro de Torre de Palma: escavando nos fundos” do Museu Nacional de Arqueologia. *O Arqueólogo Português*. 4.ª série. 25, pp. 229–290.
- LE GOFF, Jacques (1988) – *Histoire et mémoire*. Paris: Gallimard.
- MAIA, Manuel (1988) – Neves II e a “facies” cultural de Neves-Corvo. 1.º Encontro de Arqueologia da Região de Beja. *Arquivo de Beja*. 2.ª Série. 3, pp. 23–42.
- MAIA, Maria; MAIA, Manuel (1996) – Arqueologia do Couto mineiro de Neves-Corvo. In REGO, Miguel, ed. – *Mineração no Baixo Alentejo*. Castro Verde: Câmara Municipal, pp. 82–93.

MARQUES, João; GÓMEZ MARTÍNEZ, Susana; GRILO, Carolina; BATATA, Carlos (2013) – *Povoamento rural no troço médio do Guadiana entre o Rio Degebe e a Ribeira do Álamo (Idade do Ferro e Períodos Medieval e Moderno)*. Bloco 14 – intervenções e estudo no Alqueva. Évora: EDIA.

MATALOTO, Rui (2004) – *Um “monte” da Idade do Ferro na Herdade da Sapatoa: ruralidade e povoamento no I milénio a.C. do Alentejo Central*. Lisboa: Instituto Português de Arqueologia.

MATALOTO, Rui (2007) – Viver no campo: a Herdade da Sapatoa e o povoamento rural centro-alentejano em meados do I milénio a.C. *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*. 10:2, pp. 135–160.

MATALOTO, Rui (2008) – O pós-orientalizante que nunca o foi: uma comunidade camponesa na Herdade da Sapatoa. In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier, ed. – *Sidereum Ana I: el río Guadiana en época post-orientalizante*. Mérida: Instituto de Arqueología de Mérida, pp. 219–249.

MATALOTO, Rui (2009) – Através dos campos: arquitectura e sociedade na Idade do Ferro alto alentejana. In BELARTE FRANCO, María Carme, ed. – *L'espai domèstic i l'organització de la societat a la protohistòria de la Mediterrània occidental (Ier mil·lenni aC)*. Actes de la IV Reunió Internacional d'Arqueologia de Calafell. Barcelona: Universitat, pp. 279–298.

MATALOTO, Rui (2010–2011) – Os senhores da terra: necrópoles e comunidades rurais do território alto-alentejano do sécs. VI–V a.C. *Arqueologia & História*. 62–63, pp. 77–100.

MATALOTO, Rui (2012) – Os senhores e as serras: o final da Idade do Bronze no Alentejo Central. In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier, ed. – *Sidereum Ana II: el río Guadiana en el Bronce Final*. Mérida: Instituto de Arqueología de Mérida, pp. 185–213.

MATALOTO, Rui (2013) – Do vale à montanha, da montanha ao monte: a ocupação do final da Idade do Bronze no Alentejo Central. *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*. 20, pp. 221–272.

MATALOTO, Rui; LANGLEY, Maia; BOAVENTURA, Rui (2008) – A necrópole sidérica de Torre de Palma (Monforte, Portugal). In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier, ed. – *Sidereum Ana I: el río Guadiana en época post-orientalizante*. Mérida: Instituto de Arqueología de Mérida, pp. 283–303.

MATALOTO, Rui; MARTINS, José M. Matos; SOARES, António M. Monge (2013) – Cronologia absoluta para o Bronze do Sudoeste: periodização, base de dados, tratamento estatístico. *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*. 20, pp. 303–338.

MATALOTO, Rui; WILLIAMS, Joey; ROQUE, Conceição (2014) – “...e daí desceo a dar-lhe batalha...”: a ocupação pré-romana e a romanização da região da Serra d'Ossa (Alentejo Central, Portugal). In SALAS TOVAR, Ernesto; MATALOTO, Rui; MAYORAL HERRERA, Victorino; ROQUE, Conceição, eds. – *La gestación de los paisajes rurales entre la protohistoria y el período romano: formas de asentamiento y procesos de implantación*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, pp. 17–44.

MORRIS, Ian D. (2006) – The collapse and regeneration of complex society in Greece, 1500–500 BC. In SCHWARZE, Glenn M.; NICHOLS, John J., eds. – *After collapse: the regeneration of complex societies*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, pp. 72–84.

PÁVON SOLDEVILA, Ignacio (1998) – *El tránsito del II milenio al I milenio aC en las cuencas medias de los Ríos Tajo y Guadiana: La Edad del Bronce*. Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura.

PEREIRO, Tiago do; MATALOTO, Rui; BORGES, Néilson (2017) – Alentejo, a sul de Beja: a necrópole sidérica da Quinta do Estácio 6. In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier, ed. – *Sidereum Ana III: el río Guadiana y Tartessos*. Mérida: Consorcio de la Ciudad Monumental, Histórico-Artística y Arqueológica, pp. 305–331.

RODRÍGUEZ DÍAZ, Alonso, ed. (2004) – *El edificio protohistórico de “La Mata” (Campanario, Badajoz) y su estudio territorial*. Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura.

RODRÍGUEZ DÍAZ, Alonso (2009) – *Campesinos y “señores del campo”: tierra y poder en la Protohistoria extremeña*. Barcelona: Bellaterra.

RUIZ DELGADO, Manuel María (1989) – *Fibulas protohistóricas en el Sur de la Península Ibérica*. Sevilla: Universidad.

RUIZ-GÁLVEZ PRIEGO, Marisa (1988) – Oro y política. Alianzas comerciales y centros de poder en el Bronce Final del Occidente Peninsular. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Prehistoria*. 1, pp. 325–338.

SCHWARZE, Glenn M.; NICHOLS, John J. eds. (2006) – *After collapse: the regeneration of complex societies*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

SIMS, Kenny (2006) – After state collapse. How Tumilaca communities developed in the Upper Moquegua Valley (Peru). In SCHWARZE, Glenn M.; NICHOLS, John J., eds. (2006) – *After collapse: the regeneration of complex societies*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, pp. 114–136.

SOARES, António Monge; ANTUNES, Ana Sofia; DEUS, Manuela de (2012) – O Passo Alto no contexto dos povoados fortificados do Bronze Final do Sudoeste. In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier, ed. – *Sidereum Ana II: el río Guadiana en el Bronce Final*. Mérida: Instituto de Arqueología de Mérida, pp. 249–276.

TAINTER, Joseph A. (1988) – *The collapse of Complex Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

THURSTON, Tina L. (2010) – Bitter arrows and generous gifts: what was a “king” in the European Iron Age? In PRICE, T. Douglas; FEINMAN, Gary M., eds. – *Pathways to power: new perspectives on the emergence of social inequality*. New York, NY: Springer, pp. 193–254.

- VALÉRIO, Pedro; ARAÚJO, Maria de Fatima; SOARES, António Monge; SILVA, Rui J. C.; BAPTISTA, Lídia; MATALOTO, Rui (2018) – Early imports in the Late Bronze Age of South-western Iberia: the bronze ornaments of the hypogea at Monte da Ramada 1 (Southern Portugal). *Archaeometry*. 60:2, pp. 255–268.
- VERA RODRÍGUEZ, Juan Carlos; ECHEVARRÍA SÁNCHEZ, Alejandra (2013) – Sistemas agrícolas del I milenio a.C. en el yacimiento de La Orden-Seminario de Huelva: viticultura protohistórica a partir del análisis arqueológico de las huellas de cultivo. In CELESTINO PÉREZ, Sebastián; BLÁNQUEZ PÉREZ, Juan, eds. – *Patrimonio cultural de la vid y el vino*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, pp. 95–106.
- VILAÇA, Raquel (1995) – *Aspectos do povoamento da Beira interior (centro e sul) nos finais da Idade do Bronze*. Lisboa: IPPAR.
- VILAÇA, Raquel (1998) – Produção, consumo e circulação de bens na Beira Interior na transição do IIº para o Iº milénio aC. *Estudos Pré-Históricos*. 6, pp. 347–374.
- VILAÇA, Raquel (2015) – As faces da morte. Do bronze para o ferro, entre o norte e o sul do território português. *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*. 53–55, pp. 83–105.
- VILAÇA, Raquel; CRUZ, Domingos; Gonçalves, António Huet Bacelar (1999) – A necrópole de Tanchoal dos Patudos (Alpiarça, Santarém). *Conimbriga*. 38, pp. 5–29.
- YOFFEE, Norman (2006) – Notes on Regeneration. In SCHWARZE, Glenn M.; NICHOLS, John J., eds. – *After collapse: the regeneration of complex societies*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, pp. 222–227.
- YOFFEE, Norman; COWGILL, George L., eds. (1988) – *The collapse of ancient states and civilizations*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.