

Raquel Vilaça | Miguel Serra

(editores)

Matar a fome, alimentar a alma, criar sociabilidades

Alimentação e comensalidade nas sociedades pré e proto-históricas

To feed the body, to nourish the soul, to create sociability

Food and commensality in pre and protohistoric societies



Raquel Vilaça | Miguel Serra

(editores)

Matar a fome, alimentar a alma, criar sociabilidades
Alimentação e comensalidade nas sociedades pré e proto-históricas

To feed the body, to nourish the soul, to create sociability
Food and commensality in pre and protohistoric societies

FICHA TÉCNICA

Título

Matar a fome, alimentar a alma, criar sociabilidades
Alimentação e comensalidade nas sociedades pré e proto-históricas

To feed the body, to nourish the soul, to create sociability
Food and commensality in pre and protohistoric societies

Coordenação editorial

Raquel Vilaça | Miguel Serra

Paginação e Edição de imagem

José Luís Madeira

Capa

Solveira (Foto: Carlo Bottaini)

Edição

Instituto de Arqueologia | Secção de Arqueologia | FLUC
Centro de Estudos Pré-Históricos da Beira Alta | CEPBA
Palimpsesto, Estudo e Preservação do Património Cultural Lda.

ISBN

978-972-99352-6-8

Suporte electrónico | Formato PDF

ÍNDICE

Introdução	9
Introduction	13
Gonzalo Aranda Jiménez - <i>Meat consumption as a social strategy: feeding new identities in Early Bronze Age societies in Iberia</i>	17
Vera Pereira – <i>Repastos Alentejanos. Dados preliminares da fauna de Porto Torrão (Ferreira do Alentejo)</i>	39
Eduardo Porfírio e Miguel Serra - <i>Bronze Age funerary commensality in the southwest of the Iberian Peninsula. A perspective from Torre Velha 3 and other hipogea sites found in the Portuguese left bank of the Guadiana river</i>	55
Maria de Jesus Sanches – <i>Animal bones, seeds and fruits recovered from Crasto de Palheiros. A contribution to the study of diet and commensality in the recent Pre-History and Iron Age of Northern Portugal</i>	85
Xosé-Lois Armada e Raquel Vilaça – <i>Rituales de comensalidad en el Bronce Final de la Iberia atlántica: artefactos metálicos, contextos e interpretación</i>	127
Bárbara Armbruster - <i>Recipientes proto-históricos de ouro da Europa ocidental e nórdica: morfologia, tecnologia e simbologia</i>	159
João Luís Cardoso e Ana Arruda - <i>Faunas domésticas e rituais funerários em Alcácer do Sal (Idade do Ferro)</i>	193
Virgílio Correia - <i>The western Iberia silver hoards: tradition and innovation in Later Iron Age societies commensality</i>	219

INTRODUÇÃO

O Outono de 2014 proporcionou a realização, em Coimbra, do colóquio internacional Matar a fome, alimentar a alma, criar sociabilidades. Alimentação e comensalidade nas sociedades pré e proto-históricas. / To feed the body, to nourish the soul, to create sociability. Food and commensality in pre and protohistoric societies.

Para discutir o tema proposto, com comunicações formais ou com intervenções nos tempos de discussão, juntaram-se aos investigadores portugueses e público presente outros colegas vindos de Espanha, França e Inglaterra (Granada, Cáceres, Toulouse, Londres).

O “apetite” pelo assunto despertou o interesse de muitos, fazendo jus à pertinente escolha de um tema que gerara, ao longo da preparação desse encontro, alguma resistência. Mas a realidade é que se registou, naquele dia de 31 de Outubro de 2014, sala cheia no Anfiteatro IV da Faculdade de Letras, com mais de 100 inscritos, numa maioria de estudantes universitários.

Eles foram o alvo humano da jornada, afirmando a dinâmica dos estudos em Arqueologia na Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, neste caso no que à Pré e Proto-história respeita. O êxito desta e de outras iniciativas passadas promovidas pelo Instituto de Arqueologia nos últimos anos em parceria com outras entidades e com figurinos vários¹, mas procurando sempre envolver os estudantes, quer na sua organização², quer participando através da apresentação de comunicações — como agora voltou a acontecer —, intervindo nos debates ou marcando presença, impele-nos a continuar.

Neste caso, juntámo-nos, num esforço conjunto e em profícua colaboração, o Instituto de Arqueologia/ Secção de Arqueologia do Departamento de História, Estudos Europeus, Arqueologia e Artes da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, o Centro de Estudos Pré-históricos da Beira Alta — CEPBA e a empresa Palimpsesto — Estudo e Preservação do Património Cultural, Lda., entidades com objectivos e atribuições específicas distintas, mas convergentes na investigação, preservação e divulgação do património arqueológico.

Institucionalmente, na sessão de abertura, o Departamento e a Faculdade fizeram-se representar, respectivamente, pelo seu Director, Senhor Prof. Doutor João Maria André, e pela Senhora Sub-Directora, Profª Doutora Ana Teresa Peixinho. O evento contou com os patrocínios da Fundação para

¹ Em 2009 o Instituto de Arqueologia promoveu as Primeiras Jornadas de Pré e de Proto-história, a que se seguiram, em 2011, as Segundas, neste caso traduzidas em livro [Vilaça, R. & Serra, M., coord., Idade do Bronze do Sudoeste. Novas perspectivas sobre uma velha problemática, 2014, Coimbra, Instituto de Arqueologia/Secção de Arqueologia FLUC, Palimpsesto, Estudo e Preservação do Património Cultural Lda., Centro de Estudos em Arqueologia, Artes e Ciências do Património. http://www.uc.pt/fluc/iarq/pub_online/pdfs_online/2014_Bronze_sw]. E em Maio de 2013, foram ainda organizados três workshops, Tu fazes, eu parto... juntos colamos. Contributos da etnografia e arqueologia experimental na interpretação de cerâmicas, que a Doutora Ana Bica Osório, então aluna de Doutoramento em Arqueologia da FLUC, dinamizou com a entusiasta participação activa de estudantes de 1º e 2º ciclos.

² No caso presente, como elementos do eficiente Secretariado, deixamos uma palavra de agradecimento a Ana Amor Santos, Ana Catarina Santos, Ana Rita Sampaio, Andreia Ribeiro, Luís Alexandre, Pedro Baptista, Sara Pereira e Steffan Davies.

a Ciência e Tecnologia (Ministério da Educação e Ciência), da Beta Analytic, Ltd. e ainda com o apoio do Banco BPI. A todos expressamos o nosso agradecimento.

Nas áreas da Antropologia e da Sociologia desde há muito tempo se reconhece o importante papel desempenhado pela comensalidade e pela ritualização a ela inerente, na definição e manutenção da identidade cultural dos grupos humanos, nomeadamente no que se refere à forma como estes conceptualizam e materializam as suas estruturas sociais e no modo como articulam as relações com o mundo e com outras comunidades envolventes. Também na História este tema, transversal no tempo, por conseguinte, omnipresente, pode ser perspectivado de distintos pontos de vista³.

No âmbito específico da Arqueologia, com um campo imenso a explorar, a relevância e actualidade do tema escolhido, expresso nas agendas científicas da América à “Velha Europa”, do Atlântico ao Mediterrâneo, tem sido menorizado pelos arqueólogos portugueses em fóruns específicos, em concreto da Pré e da Proto-história. Efectivamente, os estudos da alimentação e bebida com ênfase nas vertentes social e simbólica têm sido tratados de modo desigual face a outros elementos mais abundante e recorrentemente analisados, como as cerâmicas, os metais, ou os líticos.

Tidos no seu conjunto, os contextos associados à alimentação e à comensalidade assumem papel relevante na compreensão dos hábitos, vivências e interacção entre membros de uma comunidade. Integrando, mas também excluindo. A comida e a bebida, assim como todas as materialidades associadas ao seu processamento e consumo, para além das funções económicas e alimentares mais imediatas, de sobrevivência, converteram-se ao longo dos tempos, e daqueles tempos específicos de sociedades ágrafas, em poderosos veículos de desenvolvimento de integração cultural e de comunicação simbólica.

A edição que ora se materializa procura deixar alguns testemunhos que permitem dar continuidade ao debate, na sequência de outras publicações⁴. Partindo das principais perspectivas teóricas subjacentes às temáticas da alimentação e comensalidade, este livro tem como referente privilegiado a análise de contextos arqueológicos do Ocidente Peninsular, sem esquecer o espaço europeu, onde o consumo ritualizado de alimentos e de bebidas, bem como os instrumentos e alfaias manipulados nesses cenários, terão desempenhado papel relevante no desenvolvimento das estratégias de interacção, de vivências e de estruturação social das comunidades pré e proto-históricas.

O primeiro texto coube ao autor da conferência inaugural, Gonzalo Aranda Jiménez, investigador com largo percurso nesta temática e que centrou o seu contributo numa pormenorizada análise ao significado social do consumo de alimentos como criador de relações identitárias e construtor de

³ Refira-se a existência, na Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, de um mestrado em “Alimentação: Fontes, Cultura e Sociedade” e de um doutoramento em “Patrimónios Alimentares: Culturas e Identidades”. A vertente arqueológica, que estes cursos não integram, era assegurada na unidade curricular de 1º ciclo “Expressões Rituais e Simbólicas na Pré e Proto-história”, entretanto e infelizmente desaparecida com a Reforma da Oferta Formativa aprovada em 2014.

⁴ Entre outros: ARANDA, G., MONTÓN-SUBÍAS, S., SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M. (eds.) (2011) – Guess who’s coming to dinner. Feasting rituals in the Prehistoric Societies of Europe and Near East. Oxford and Oakville, Oxbow Books. BRAY, T. L. (ed.) (2003) – The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires. New York, Plenum. DIETLER, M. & HAYDEN, B. (eds.) (2001), Feasts. Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power. Washington and London, Smithsonian Institution Press. HALSTEAD, P. & BARRETT, J. C. (eds.) (2004), Food, Cuisine and Society in Prehistoric Greece. Oxford, Oxbow. PARKER, M. (ed.) (2003) – Food, Culture and Identity in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. British Archaeological Reports. International Series 1117. Oxford, Archaeopress.

memórias colectivas e individuais de sociedades pré e proto-históricas peninsulares.

Vera Pereira assina um texto dedicado aos “Repastos Alentejanos” no qual analisa dados arqueozoológicos provenientes de escavações realizadas no povoado de Porto Torrão (Ferreira do Alentejo) para distinguir hábitos de consumo das populações calcolíticas da planície alentejana.

Eduardo Porfirio e Miguel Serra conduzem-nos para o mundo do Bronze do Sudoeste onde, a partir da análise de dados obtidos no sítio de Torre Velha 3 (Serpa), discutem a importância dos actos de comensalidade funerária para a criação de laços sociais e da coesão comunitária como factor indispensável para a exploração do território.

Maria de Jesus Sanches mostra-nos como, a partir de discretas evidências arqueológicas (fauna, sementes e frutos) do Calcolítico e Idade do Ferro descobertas no Crasto de Palheiros (Mirandela) se podem intuir práticas de comensalidade onde o “fogo” surge como o elemento congregador.

Xosé Lois Armada e Raquel Vilaça centram-se nas “alfaias” metálicas (caldeirões, espertos articulados e ganchos de carne) vinculadas a festins e rituais de comensalidade do Bronze Final do Ocidente Peninsular, elaborando uma revisão crítica e discutindo o seu significado social face aos respectivos contextos.

Barbara Armbruster apresenta, numa síntese abrangente e interdisciplinar, os recipientes de ouro das Idades do Bronze e do Ferro do norte e ocidente europeu, analisando-os a nível tipológico e funcional, tecnológico e simbólico.

João Luís Cardoso e Ana Margarida Arruda estudam o conjunto faunístico da importante necrópole do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires (Alcácer do Sal), entendendo-o como resultante de oferendas, ou como alimentos consumidos em “banquete”, que valorizam face a outras práticas rituais de raiz oriental.

Virgílio Hipólito Correia remete-nos para os tesouros de prata de finais da Idade do Ferro do ocidente peninsular, enfatizando, numa perspectiva da prática do symposium, o significado das baixelas metálicas em articulação com cerâmicas gregas e outras locais.

E assim chega até vós este livro, cerca de dois anos após a realização do colóquio, livro que permitirá aos que não puderam estar então presentes “degustar” agora os assuntos abordados.

Outubro de 2016
Raquel Vilaça e Miguel Serra



Sessão de abertura

INTRODUCTION

In the autumn of 2014, the international colloquium “Matar a fome, alimentar a alma, criar sociabilidades. Alimentação e comensalidade nas sociedades pré e proto-históricas. / To feed the body, to nourish the soul, to create sociability. Food and commensality in pre and proto-historic societies” was held in Coimbra.

In order to discuss the proposed theme, through formal communications or through interventions during moments of discussion, other colleagues from Spain, France and England (Granada, Cáceres, Toulouse, London) joined Portuguese researchers and the public.

The “appetite” for the subject aroused the interest of many, justifying the pertinent choice of a theme that had generated, during the preparation of this event, some resistance. But the reality is that, on October 31, 2014, there was a full attendance in the Amphitheater IV of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, with over 100 enrolled, the majority of which were university students.

They were the human target of the project, thus affirming the dynamicity of the Archaeological studies in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Coimbra, in this case in respect to pre and proto-history. The success of this and other past initiatives supported by the Institute of Archaeology in recent years, in partnership with other entities and with various persons¹, but always attempting to involve the students, be it through their organization², or by their participation through the presentation of communications – as has happened again now - intervening in the debates or making their presence noted, impels us to continue. In this case, we have joined the Institute of Archaeology / Archaeological Section of the Department of History, European Studies, Archeology and Arts of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Coimbra, the “Centro de Estudos Pré-Históricos da Beira Alta” – CEPBA, and the company Palimpsesto - Estudo e Preservação do Património Cultural, Lda., entities with specific objectives and attributions, but convergent in their efforts for research, preservation and dissemination of archaeological heritage.

Institutionally, at the opening session, the Department and the Faculty were represented, respectively, by its Director, Mr. Prof. João Maria André, and the Sub-Director Prof. Ana Teresa Peixinho. The event was sponsored by the “Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia” (Ministry of Education and

¹ In 2009 the Institute of Archaeology supported the “Primeiras Jornadas de Pré e de Proto-hostória”, that were followed, in 2011, by the “Segundas Jornadas de Pré e de Proto-história”, that were converted in book format [Vilaça, R. & Serra, M., coord., *Idade do Bronze do Sudoeste. Novas perspetivas sobre uma velha problemática*, 2014, Coimbra, Instituto de Arqueologia/Secção de Arqueologia FLUC, Palimpsesto, Estudo e Preservação do Património Cultural Lda., Centro de Estudos em Arqueologia, Artes e Ciências do Património. http://www.uc.pt/fluc/iard/pub_online/pdfs_online/2014_Bronze_sw]. And in May 2013, three workshops were also organized, “Tu fazes, eu parto... juntos colamos. Contributos da etnografia e arqueologia experimental na interpretação de cerâmicas”, that Dr. Ana Bica Osório, then a pupil taking a Doctorate in Archaeology from FLUC, dynamized with the enthusiastic active participation of students of the 1st and 2nd study cycles (Bachelors and Masters degrees respectively).

² In the present case, as elements of the efficient Secretariat, we leave a word of appreciation to Ana Amor Santos, Ana Cata-cina Santos, Ana Rita Sampaio, Andreia Ribeiro, Luís Alexandre, Pedro Baptista, Sara Pereira and Steffan Davies.

Science), Beta Analytic, Ltd. and also counted on support from BPI Bank. We are grateful to all of you.

In the fields of Anthropology and Sociology, the important role played by commensality and the ritualization inherent in it, in the definition and maintenance of the cultural identity of human groups, has been recognized for a long time, with particular regard to the way in which these groups conceptualize and materialize their social structures and how they articulate relationships with the world and with other surrounding communities. Even in History, this timeless omnipresent theme, can be viewed from different points of view³.

In the specific context of Archeology, with an immense field to explore, the relevance and contemporaneousness of the chosen theme, expressed in scientific agendas that span America to "Old Europe", from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, has been debased by Portuguese archaeologists in specific forums, specifically from Pre and the Proto-history fields. In fact, studies pertaining to food and drink, with an emphasis on the social and symbolic aspects, have been treated unequally towards other more abundant and recurring elements, such as ceramics, metals, or lithics. Taken together, the contexts associated with food and commensality play a relevant role in understanding the habits, experiences and interaction between members of a community. They integrate but also exclude. Food and drink, as well as all the materialities associated with their processing and consumption, beyond the immediate economic and alimentary functions for survival, have become over time, and in these specific times of prehistoric societies, powerful vehicles for the development of cultural integration and symbolic communication.

This very edition seeks to leave some testimonies that allow the debate to continue, following other published works⁴. Stemming from the main theoretical frameworks underlying the themes of food and commensality, this book focuses mainly on the analysis of archaeological contexts of the Western Iberian Peninsula, not forgoing the remaining European territory, where the ritualized consumption of food and beverages, as well as the instruments and tools manipulated in these contexts, have played a relevant role in the development of strategies for interaction, living and social structuring of pre and proto-historical communities.

The first text was written by the author of the inaugural conference, Gonzalo Aranda Jiménez, a researcher with a long line of work in this subject, and who focused his contribution on a detailed analysis of the social meaning of food consumption and its role as a manufacturer of identity relationships and constructor of the collective and individual memories held in Pre and Proto-historical Iberian societies.

Vera Pereira presents us with a text dedicated to the "Repastos Alentejanos" (Meals from Alentejo) which analyzes archaeozoological data from excavations carried out in the site of Porto Torrão (Ferreira

³ It should be noted that in Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Coimbra there is a master's degree on "Alimentação: Fontes, Cultura e Sociedade" (*Food: Sources, Culture and Society*) and a doctorate degree on "Patrimónios Alimentares: Culturas e Identidades" (*Food Heritage: Cultures and Identities*).

⁴ Among others: ARANDA, G., MONTÓN-SUBÍAS, S., SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M. (eds.) (2011) – *Guess who's coming to dinner. Feasting rituals in the Prehistoric Societies of Europe and Near East*. Oxford and Oakville, Oxbow Books. BRAY, T. L. (ed.) (2003) – *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*. New York, Plenum. DIETLER, M. & HAYDEN, B. (eds.) (2001), *Feasts. Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington and London, Smithsonian Institution Press. HALSTEAD, P. & BARRETT, J. C. (eds.) (2004), *Food, Cuisine and Society in Prehistoric Greece*. Oxford, Oxbow. PARKER, M. (ed.) (2003) – *Food, Culture and Identity in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age*. British Archaeological Reports. International Series 1117. Oxford, Archaeopress.

do Alentejo) to identify consumption habits of Chalcolithic populations in the Alentejo plains.

Eduardo Porfírio and Miguel Serra lead us into the world of Southwest Iberia Bronze Age, and with the analysis of data obtained at the site of Torre Velha 3 (Serpa) they discuss the importance of funerary commensality acts for the creation of social bonds and community cohesion as an indispensable factor for territorial exploitation.

Maria de Jesus Sanches shows us how, from discrete archaeological evidence (fauna, seeds and fruits) from the Chalcolithic and Iron Age, discovered in Crasto de Palheiros (Mirandela), one can understand commensal practices where “fire” presents itself as the element of congregation.

Xosé Lois Armada and Raquel Vilaça focus on metal “utensils” (cauldrons, articulated skewers and flesh hooks) linked to feasts and dining rituals from the Late Bronze Age of Western Iberia, elaborating a critical review and discussing their social significance in relation to their respective contexts.

Barbara Armbruster presents, in a comprehensive and interdisciplinary synthesis, the gold containers of the Bronze and Iron Ages of northern and Western Europe, analyzing them typologically and functionally, technologically and symbolically.

João Luís Cardoso and Ana Margarida Arruda study the faunal complex of the important necropolis of Olival do Senhor dos Mártires (Alcácer do Sal), postulating that it is a result of offerings, or as foods consumed in “banquet”, things they value in comparison to other ritual practices with oriental roots.

Virgílio Hipólito Correia takes us to the silver treasures of the late Iron Age of Western Iberia, emphasizing, from a perspective that lies on practice of the symposium, the meaning of the metallic dishes in articulation with ceramics from Greece and other places.

And so this book comes to you, about two years after the colloquium, a book that will allow those who could not then be present to “savor” the topics here discussed.

October 2016
Raquel Vilaça & Miguel Serra

(Translated from Portuguese original by Steffan Davies)

Meat consumption as a social strategy: feeding new identities in Early Bronze Age societies in Iberia

Gonzalo Aranda Jiménez

Department of Prehistory and Archaeology. University of Granada
garanda@ugr.es

Abstract

Meat consumption in ritual feasting could be considered as key aspect in the construction of social identities since meat is endowed with deep symbolical and ideological meaning and a high degree of social conductivity. The slaughter and consumption of meat in Iberian Early Bronze Age funerary rituals would involve different purposes due to its polysemic nature. These rituals would have expressed and fostered a feeling of social cohesion and of belonging to the community. But at the same time, they would also have reproduced and legitimized asymmetrical social relationships to the advantage of the ruling groups. Meat feasting would suppose the embodiment of a “poisoned gift” that involve reciprocal obligations between the host and guest that would be transformed into different duties, debts, affinities, and social requirements.

Key words

Early Bronze Age, Iberian Peninsula, Commensality, Funerary Ritual, Feasting.

Resumen

El consumo de carne en prácticas de comensalidad debe ser considerado como un elemento central en la construcción de identidades sociales. Durante la Edad del Bronce peninsular el sacrificio y consumo, especialmente de carne de bóvido, en rituales funerarios debe analizarse a partir de su naturaleza polisémica. Por una parte, sería el medio de expresión simbólica que reproduce y legitima relaciones de asimetría social y, por otra, supone la creación de vínculos de cohesión y de identidad transversales a los diferentes sectores sociales. El consumo de carne supondría un “regalo envenenado” ya que implicaría obligaciones de reciprocidad entre organizadores e invitados que se traducen en obligaciones dispares, capacidad de influencia, reconocimiento del prestigio, estatus o de la posición social.

Palabras clave

Edad del Bronce, Península Ibérica, comensalidad, ritual funerario.

Introduction

Research on food and drink consumption has gained tremendous importance in the field of archaeology in recent years. Studying where, when, why, by whom and under what circumstances specific foods were prepared and consumed is increasingly recognised as fundamental to understanding the dynamics of past societies. It throws light on issues such as the construction and transformation of power and status relationships, the formation of various types of individual and collective identities, and the connection between human beings and the environment - it shows us how different ways of understanding the world were expressed (Dietler and Hayden 2001; Parker 2003; Bray 2003; Halstead and Barrett 2004; Dietler 2011; Aranda *et al.* 2011; Hayden 2015).

Feeding practices are some of the most fundamental activities in society- they help establish and sustain social life. Having food is not simply about feeding ourselves, nor is feeding a purely biological fact. Although food consumption is universal, the practices whereby it is materialised in each specific historical and spatial context are widely diverse. Social groups select foodstuffs and prepare and organize meals in accordance with cultural norms that define what can be eaten and how. The process involves historically determined social patterns, such as taboos, ritual prescriptions, and religious exclusions. Eating is basically a social activity (Sánchez Romero 2008; 2011; Aranda *et al.* 2011).

Through food consumption networks of personal relationships are created and maintained, and social bonds are constructed and expressed. The politics of food consumption plays a key role in the definition and creation of identity and difference, both at the individual and the collective scale (Dietler 2001; 2011). In this sense, the way foodstuffs are produced, prepared, distributed and consumed both generates and expresses ethnic and nationalistic feelings, as well as differences based on gender, class, age, etc. Preference for a certain type of food- or indeed, aversion to it-, along with rules regarding how it should be prepared, served and consumed, afford a sense of communal identity and belonging, helping to establish the contrast between those inside the social group and the outsiders. Food consumption is closely linked to one's self-image and how it is outwardly projected, and is also one of the fundamental cohesive mechanisms within any given community (Hayden 2015). Food universally expresses sociability and hospitality; sharing food creates and sustains a group's sense of communion.

The creation of a communal identity generates a feeling of cohesion and belonging, of a shared understanding of the general and the particular, the human and the divine. Quite often this is connected with events linked to intense personal and collective experiences: on special occasions such as births, weddings, deaths, rites of passage, religious festivities, sowing and harvesting, seasonal changes, etc., food consumption becomes emotionally charged; its patterns help define and structure the passing of time, and indeed life itself on both the personal and the social level. Food consumption is a privileged locus for the expression and reproduction of worldviews and belief systems and the symbolic structuration of reality (Hayden 2015). Dividing foodstuffs into categories such as healthy/unhealthy, ordinary/festive, good/bad, male/female, sacred/profane, pure/impure, for children/for adults, for masters/for slaves, etc. helps establish the norms defining our relationship with ourselves, with others, and with our social and natural environment.

Both collectively and individually, food consumption is, moreover, a vehicle for the transmission of memory, i.e. historically established knowledge. Communal and personal attitudes toward food are usually learnt within a social network- the family, the ethnic group, the social class, or the local or regional community. Culinary rules are part of the knowledge and skills acquired during

a human being's socialization process. Food embodies the values and relations of the society where one lives, which are both reproduced and modified by collective and individual behaviour (Lupton 1994; Sutton 2001; Vardaki 2004; Holzman 2006; Sánchez Romero 2011). What we eat- and how we prepare and consume it- is connected to our memory of the past, our definition of the present, and our construction of the future.

In the study of communal food consumption, its role in the representation and transformation of social relationships deserves special attention. Different food practices may afford opportunities for social mobility and transformation, as individuals and groups may seek to assert their status in front of others, competing for power, challenging order and authority, and in general pursuing their political and economic goals. In this context, food and drink consumption helps establish bonds of reciprocity which generate social credit, influence, prestige, debts and obligations, etc. The efforts and resources invested in commensality practices thus become extremely valuable- though intangible- assets: what has been defined as symbolic capital (Dietler 2001; 2011). The polysemic complexity of commensality practices results in transversal networks of cohesion that establish boundaries, with the concomitant feelings of inclusion and exclusion. Food behaviour signals social similarities as well differences; it hierarchically classifies individuals and groups, embodying worldviews and evoking such highly charged symbolic meaning that, as the saying goes, *we are what we eat*.

This paper deals precisely with the social, political and ideological dimensions of meat consumption in funerary feasting rituals during Early Bronze Age societies in Iberia. As I shall be arguing, mortuary feasts probably served different purposes: besides functioning as a community's cohesion force, they also provided politico-ideological scenarios for displaying, legitimating, negotiating, and even contesting social identities. These ceremonies may thus be seen as a perfect example of the active role of feasting in the establishment and evolution of social and cultural adscription.

In what follows, I will analyse firstly the relevance attained by the consumption of meat from an ethnographical point of view; secondly I will evaluate empirical evidence to ascertain the social patterns in meat consumption in Early Bronze Age societies (specifically: age, gender and social position of the dead), and, finally, I will discuss the role of these social practices in the construction of new identities.

The ritual consumption of meat

Meat consumption is particularly appreciated in human societies. In the majority of modern countries the higher the income level, the more animal products there are in the diet. This situation is also seen in ethnographic hunter-gatherer societies in which the consumption of meat is preferred over food of plant origin. The desire for eating meat also dominates the dietary customs of more complex societies. All over the world rulers and heroes celebrate their victories with banquets in which large amounts of meat are distributed and consumed. Thus, meat eating can be defined as a key event in social life (Cruz 1991; Contreras 1993; Harris 2007).

But why is meat so highly appreciated in such diverse societies? Different arguments – mainly nutritional and physiological– have been put forward in an attempt to explain such a widespread human behaviour. The preference for eating meat would be based on its higher nutritional properties. They are a better source of protein per cooked portion than the majority of foodstuffs. Meat, fish and milk are between 14 and 40% protein, whereas cereals once cooked

range between 2.5 and 10%. Moreover, the quality of the protein of animal origin is higher, as it contains more of the so-called essential amino acids needed by the human body. Likewise, meat and its by-products are the only source of Vitamin B12, a deficit of which causes anaemia, nervous disorders and psychotic behaviour (Harris 2007).

However, although nutritional properties may be the basis for the human preference for eating meat, its value must also be linked to their social meanings. The symbolic or ideological implications of certain foods are not necessarily related to their nutritional benefits. Foods consumed in ritual events, for instance, are not always those with the largest or highest quality of proteins or vitamins, but rather those with specific social meanings. This situation has been noticed in feasting practices of different ethnographic societies, in which the foods consumed are far from those that can be considered nutritionally optimum (Garine 1996).

Leaving aside the arguments that can be put forward for the social preference of meat, the fact is that its consumption in feasting practices is a very widespread phenomenon. Accordingly, meat could be defined as a foodstuff with large social conductivity and many symbolic and ideological connotations (Bloch 1999). Indeed, many ethnographic studies (Garine 1996; Clarke 2001; Parker 2000; Kim 1994; Hayden 2015) demonstrate how the slaughtering and consumption of different animals is one of the most frequent features in these social events. Between the different species slaughtered, large mammals especially bovines, are the preferred for feasting. Their use as symbols of power, wealth and prestige surpasses their nutritional or subsistence values to the point that in many societies they are only eaten in feasting rituals.

This is the case of ethnographic societies such as the Toraja of Indonesia in which meat consumption is reserved exclusively for feasting events (Fig. 1). Within the different ritual ceremonies, those organised on the occasion of funerals are possibly the most complex in terms of the number of animals slaughtered, the participants and their duration. It has been observed mortuary feasts that last from a single day, with the slaughtering of a bovine and a pig, to celebrations that go on for more than 27 days, with more than 16 bovines and over 36 pigs being slaughtered and eaten (Adams 2004).

A similar situation is documented among the Akha (Thailand). Meat consumption is also a central element in different feasting rituals, especially those associated with the death. During these ceremonies, which can last for several weeks, large amounts of meat are consumed, although the highest social value belongs to the bovines. The cost of these rituals tends to be very high removing surpluses accumulated over many years (Clarke 2001).

Also in ethnographic African societies meat consumption plays an important role in different types of ceremonies. This is the case of the Luo of Kenya, where once again bovines are highly valued as symbols of power. They are normally slaughtered and eaten in feasting occasions especially in mortuary rituals, the largest ceremonies in terms of the number of participants and the amount of meat and beer consumed. The prestige and ability to influence of each social group depends on the ostentation displayed at these celebrations (Dietler 2001).

As with the Luo, also the Tandroy of Madagascar use bovines to display wealth and to build social identities. The slaughter and consumption of bovines is mainly carried as part of funeral feasting. At the moment of death a single animal is slaughtered and consumed, traditionally an ox in the case of a man, a cow if the deceased is a woman and a calf if it is the case of a child. Subsequently, during the burial, which takes place several weeks or even months after the death, more animals are slaughtered for further feasting ceremonies. The bovine skulls are used as a symbol to be incorporated into the grave (Parker 2000).

In feasting practices such as those of the Torajan, Akha, Luo and Tandroy different types of

social relations are established between the hosts and the guests. Relations of reciprocity, alliances and obligations in different affairs such as dispute resolution, labour mobilization or help in case of economic adversity form part of the social strategies involved in this type of rituals. The size of feasting and the amount of food, especially bovine meat, would be used for the exhibition of wealth and power and to promote social asymmetries through competitiveness between different social groups. All these ethnographic cases show not only the importance of feasting rituals, but also how meat consumption is a key element. Its symbolic and ideological values go clearly beyond its economic connotations and nutritional properties.

Mortuary feasting: meat consumption in Early Bronze Age societies

Before going into meat consumption evidence in some detail, it may be worth presenting here some general information on Early Bronze Age societies in southeastern Iberia also known as Argaric Culture (c. 2200-1550 cal BC). Its classical archaeological definition is based on a combination of elements including a specific settlement pattern, the presence of certain kinds of metal tools and ceramic vessels, and a distinctive burial rite (Aranda *et al.* 2015).

As a general rule, settlement tended to be strategically located in mountains and hills with a commanding view of the surrounding area. Their differences in size, location and material culture suggest that there was a hierarchical settlement pattern, whereby different sites had specialized strategic, social and/or economic functions and mutually dependent relationships. Within each settlement, burials- comprising single, double, or (more rarely) triple inhumations- were usually located below the floors of houses, in four main types of containers: ceramic urns, cists, pit-graves and covachas (small artificial caves cut into the rock). Argaric communities generally buried their dead with a series of objects that constituted the funerary offering. Grave goods are different in number, type and quality, ranging from no grave goods at all in some tombs, to important accumulations of wealth items in others. Differences in funerary equipment have been interpreted as clear proof of social inequalities at the heart of Argaric communities. In fact, most scholars accept the image of a stratified society (Aranda *et al.* 2015).

Our interest in exploring the specific social practices through which Argaric people created, reproduced and disputed social identities and power relationships has guided the re-evaluation of their mortuary rituals, and led us to the view that feasting is a key factor for understanding their social dynamics. At present, there are two main types of empirical evidence connected with Argaric funerary rituals of commensality: special mortuary pottery vessels linked to the presentation and consumption of food and drink (Aranda and Esquivel 2006; Aranda 2010); and the recurrent presence of faunal remains in burials which is the main focus of this paper (Fig. 2) (Aranda and Esquivel 2007; Aranda 2008; Aranda and Montón-Subías 2011).

Traditionally, faunal remains from burials did not use to attract much attention from scholars, and only recently have they come to be regarded as essential to our understanding of socio-ideological practices (Liesau and Schubart 2004; Aranda and Esquivel 2007; Aranda 2008; Porfirio and Serra 2010; Aranda and Montón-Subías 2011; Valera and Costa 2013). Before very recent times animal bones recovered from Argaric tombs would just be evaluated as an integral part of the general archaeozoological sample. In fact, as in many other cases, the analysis of faunal remains was chiefly aimed at throwing light on economic issues such as the importance of hunting and husbandry practices per se (Montón 2002). In contrast with others grave goods such as ceramic and metallic items, zooarchaeological remains were considered irrelevant and went in most cases

unnoticed in terms of their significance for funerary behaviour.

To better understand how and why meat offerings were placed in Argaric burials, I focused first on the characteristics of the faunal samples, namely the species, the anatomical parts, and the age of the animals selected to be deposited. The first pattern revealed by the archaeological record shows that most of the slaughtered species were domestic animals: ovicapries (found in 59.6% of the tombs) and bovines (in 40.3%). Only very rarely have other domestic animals -such as pigs (1.7%) and horses (1.7%)-, and wild species -like red deer (3.5%)-, have been recovered. It seems clear, therefore, that Argaric people consciously selected bovines and ovicapries for mortuary purposes, and that those species were perceived as the ritual animals per excellence in the funerary contexts. Another important fact is that tombs usually contain the remains of a single animal. The presence of more than one animal must be considered exceptional.

Up to now, only animal limbs have been uncovered, which points to another standardised pattern (Fig. 3). These long bones are mostly tibiae, femurae, humerae, ulnae and radii. The preference for one or other of these anatomical parts has a geographical meaning, according to the two main geographical areas in which the Argaric territory can be divided. After conducting an X² test, there was a significant association between tibiae and the Mediterranean coastal zone and humerae and femurae with the inner area $\alpha < 0.001$ ($\chi^2 = 161.282$, $gl = 3$ y $\alpha = 0.0001$). Although more taphonomical data on cooking and butchery patterns is required, the frequent appearance of limbs in anatomical connection seems to indicate that they were introduced in tombs as complete pieces of meat.

The age of the animals considered suitable for these practices is another significant factor. Most of them (74.4%) were young individuals, ranging from newborns to subadults. Only 12.7% were adults, while the remaining 12% are classified as juvenile-adults, and thus may be seen to belong to either category. This seems to imply that, with few exceptions, non-adult animals, especially sheep and goats, were most commonly consumed in funerary feasting practices. Nevertheless, until further research on the animals' age is developed, it is difficult to reach definitive conclusions on this issue.

As Dietler and Hayden remark, "even in societies with a strong egalitarian ethos, feasts serve to define and inculcate social categories" (2001b 10). To elucidate whether the funerary consumption of cattle, sheep and goats may be interpreted in social terms I have considered gender, age and social position.

Since only individual tombs guaranteed an unequivocal correlation between gender and meat offerings, those were the only ones taken into account. No statistical differences ($\chi^2 = 0.030$, $gl = 1$ and $\alpha = 0.863$) could be established, neither in the species selected, nor in the number of male and female tombs containing meat offerings (Aranda and Esquivel 2007). This means that the presence of cattle, sheep or goats in burials did not possess a gender-related meaning (Sánchez Romero et al. 2007).

We get a very different picture, however, when the age of the deceased is considered. I studied both individual tombs and graves that, despite containing more than one inhumation, belonged to the same age group. All age categories can be connected with ovicaprine and bovine meat offerings, except infants, linked exclusively to sheep and goats (Fig. 4). Cattle seem to be ritually excluded from burials of children younger than twelve. Two reasons might account for this correlation: either age was indeed a relevant factor in the choice of meat for the offering, or the infant burials included in the sample belong to particular social sectors which are not representative of Argaric social variability. The latter possibility, however, seems unlikely, given that these burials show important differences in their grave

goods. Consequently, the association of only ovicaprines with children under the age of 12 must be related to age rather than social position.

Our third line of analysis dealt with the correlation between bovines and ovicaprines and the social position of the deceased. To study this relationship grave goods were divided into eight categories based on the normalised types of items found in funerary equipment: the first five categories were weapons, tool/weapons, tools, ornaments and pottery; I added silver and gold objects as two further categories and an extra eighth category labelled “other objects”, which comprised exceptional items whose presence, not being recurrent, had to be regarded as cumulative. Absolute frequencies of the items found in each tomb were established for each of the eight categories.

To process all these variables I resorted to discriminant analysis, trying to find significant differences between the types of items under study. The application of this statistical method yielded several discriminant functions based on linear combinations of variables selected to separate the different groups in the clearest possible way. The distribution of variables for the ensemble of tombs in our study could be accounted for by means of just two discriminant functions, which grouped 100% of the variance in the distribution of data.

The relevance of each of the variables was condensed into positive or negative values by the discriminant functions’ structure matrix (Table 1). Thus, discriminant function 1 arranged seven of the eight variables into positive values, though the categories of ornaments, pottery, tool/weapons and silver appeared to be much more important than weapons and gold. This function ordered tombs into a decreasing scale beginning with the funerary equipment exhibiting the highest occurrence of the most important variables (Fig. 5). Discriminant function 2 arranged four variables into positive values- namely, in order of importance: other objects, tools, pottery, and tool/weapons-, in contrast with the other four variables, which yielded negative values. In general terms, function 2 contrasted variables comprising what might be defined as production tools with those comprising weapons, ornaments, silver and gold.

When the type of meat offering was included as an independent variable in this distribution of data, there emerged a clear pattern that correlated cattle meat with tombs displaying the greatest quantity of grave goods, in contrast with ovicaprine meat, which showed the opposite trend. Differences in ritual consumption could therefore be clearly matched with the type of meat offering. Cattle meat was connected with funerary grave goods comprising a greater number and variety of items, whereas sheep and goats meat was linked to tombs where ritual consumption was much more reduced.

To a better understanding of this pattern, bovine and ovicaprine meat offerings have been connected with the five grave goods categories established by Lull and Estévez (1986). Burials containing meat offerings were linked to these specific categories of funerary equipment and then included in the distribution of tombs provide by the discriminant analysis (Fig. 6). As a result burials of the two upper categories, corresponding to the ruling social group, contained almost exclusively cattle meat offerings. These were the tombs of the highest social standing documented in each necropolis, which means that the ruling class in every settlement consumed bovine meat in rituals that defined them as a social group.

In third social category of funerary equipment, there is no significant correlation with the type of meat consumed. Though most of the offerings are sheep or goats, there is evidence of cattle meat in some of the burials. Specific discriminant analysis of this category, however, allows us to throw some light on this issue. As a result, cattle meat is predominantly correlated with tombs displaying the greater presence of grave goods, especially ornamental objects made of silver.

This is quite remarkable, since it suggests there were relevant difference between a sub-group of individuals associated with the distinctive funerary equipment of this category, and another one that also included objects from the upper social categories such as silver ornaments, and bovine meat offerings. The latter sub-group probably belonged to families whose ability to afford greater expenses in funerary rituals might reflect an attempt to achieve a higher social position. Cattle meat offerings thus reveal how rituals served not merely to represent social relationships, but also to challenge and transform power. In the fourth category of burials, there are exclusively sheep or goats meat-offerings.

By way of conclusion, it can be safely stated that there were clear social differences in the consumption of cattle, sheep or goats meat in Argaric funeral rituals. Bovine meat belongs within the tombs of social elites, though it may feature in the burials of a few individuals who, though not belonging to the ruling elites, assumed nevertheless some of their symbols for purposes of display and probably also of social confrontation. By contrast, sheep and goats are documented in most of the tombs with poorer grave goods, and in all of the burials of children under the age of 12. The consumption of meat in Argaric rituals played a fundamental role in establishing, differentiating and transforming social identities; beyond the simple display of wealth, it contributed to the social strategies that naturalised or challenged power.

Conclusions

Feasting rituals are a world-wide phenomenon (Dietler and Hayden 2001b; Hayden 2009; 2015). As corroborated by many ethnographical accounts, they also constitute one of the most complex ceremonies in terms of their length, scale, size, participants and the quantities of food and drink involved (Parker 2000; Clarke 2001; Dietler 2001; Wiessner 2001; Hayden 2003; 2009; 2015; Adams 2004). According to these studies, meat consumption can be considered a key factor in the performance of ritual, since meat is endowed with deep symbolical and ideological meaning (Bloch 1999). As we saw previously, in different ethnographic societies this role is played by cattle that symbolise wealth, power and prestige, and is only consumed during feasting rituals, especially funerals. Even in prehistoric communities cattle remains from feasting practices are often found associated with burials and ceremonial monuments (Davis and Payne 1993; Albarella and Serjeantson 2002; Parker 2003; Ray and Thomas 2003).

With regard to funerary feasting rituals in Argaric societies, obviously there is still much to understand about them, such as the size of the gatherings, their length and scale, the inclusion and exclusion of social units, the social distance between the people involved, etc. We may nevertheless safely assume that all these variables did not always remain equal, but probably depended on the social position of the deceased, and the power of the feast's sponsors to attract people and make them participate. Hayden (2001) suggests that the scale of these rituals may have a correlate in the archaeological remains left. Unfortunately, analysing such issues in Argaric societies is rather difficult. The very fact that burials are usually placed under the floors of the houses makes it rather complicated. It seems to us, however, these rituals probably had in many cases a communal dimension beyond the household, or even the kinship level, especially when cattle slaughtering was involved.

As was mentioned above, in many of the ethnographic or prehistoric societies studied, funeral feasts may exhibit manifold properties, and serve different -and even at some point, seemingly contradictory-purposes. They may bind people together, promoting a sense of communal solidarity, and at the same time create social distances inside the community by displaying and reproducing

socio-economic differences. We believe feasting rituals in Argaric societies were also polysemic. Access to burial and the slaughtering of animals for funerary meals probably created a sense of communal belonging and reinforce the sense of collective identity, strengthening transversal ties (Fig. 7). Share food would include participants within a given community, placing it in the centre of a well-defined universe – “as Argaric people we hold funerary feasting that identify us as such”.

That someone's death should be deemed an apt occasion for commensal rituals was not a random choice. On the contrary, the recurrence of funerals probably helped to reiterate social and communal ideologies and reinforce the group's cohesion and collective identity. Through repetition, a sense of continuity and connection with the past was built, and the social order became naturalised -as its arbitrariness and the possibility of alternatives became less perceptible.

At the same time that the funerary consumption of food and drink cuts across all the social levels, reinforcing the sense of community, solidarity and connection with ancestors, the polysemic nature of Argaric feasting rituals emphasized the social differences within the community, building perceptions of distance, asymmetry and social exclusion. The type of animals that were slaughtered and consumed separated people according to their social position, and was probably also a paramount issue when it came to negotiating and even challenging social distance.

Bovine meat, as we have analysed, were reserved for the social elite. In this sense, its communal consumption was a fundamental mechanism to express and negotiate power and flaunt wealth. It is not coincidental that the tombs containing bovine also display the most important grave goods which make their connection with the most powerful social sectors rather obvious. The rulers must have enjoyed, therefore, a funerary feast characterized by bovine meat consumption along with other elements (such as ceramic vessels specifically manufactured for ritual use) that heightened the display of wealth and identity. By contrast, commensality practices for members of the lower social groups involved only the consumption of goats or sheep but never cattle.

The collective consumption of food and drinks has important social and political implications as it involves reciprocal obligations between the host and the guest. The commensal hospitality supposed a specialized form of exchange in which the food consumed is destroyed and incorporated into the body. Feasting supposes the embodiment of a “poisoned gift” that also involves the intake of certain duties. Reciprocity obligations become in relations of superiority-inferiority. Surpluses consumed in feasting (economic capital) were transformed into intangibles goods (symbolic capital) such as the feeling of debts produced in the guests, the desirability of maintaining relations of partnership with the organizers, the feeling of fear or inferiority to such a display of wealth, the ability to attract allies and impress guests. Commensality rituals, therefore, would have contributed to promoting the legitimization of the dominant ideology in favour of rulers, who would have used the feasting practices as means of obtaining debts, obligations, and social affinities.

Feasting rituals can be understood as suitable scenarios for the representation and manipulation of social relationships - which agrees with the evidence on Argaric rituals we have been presenting in this paper. Two issues, probably connected with social promotion, seem to us particularly striking, however. The first one has to do with those tombs belonging to Lull and Estevez's (1986) third category where instead of ovicaprine meat, cattle offerings have been found, together with other grave goods such as silver ornaments also characteristic of the social elite. Should we interpret this as evidence of a situation of social unrest, when the social symbolism of funerary rituals could be borrowed and appropriated by groups challenging the social order or their position within it? Appropriating and displaying the symbols of the rulers could be seen as a token of defiance in a context of social conflict. In most of the cemeteries studied there is

evidence of third category tombs with typically high class grave goods, which suggests that this phenomenon occurred throughout the Argaric territory.

In the same sense, we also find it striking that some limbs of sheep and goats were deposited in a few tombs that contain no other grave-goods. Could this be interpreted as a symbolical investment in social promotion, at such highly meaningful ceremonies as funerals? To answer properly this question more research is needed. Nevertheless, as we have been trying to emphasise throughout this paper, feasting rituals not only constitute a mechanism for displaying or reproducing social relationships but also suppose a mean by which social groups compete for power and pursue economic and political goals.

Acknowledgement

This paper was carried out as part of the following research project I+D+i: "Innovation, Continuity and Hybridization. The Copper and Bronze Ages Societies in the Southern Iberian Peninsula" (HAR2013-42865-P) and research group: "GEA. Material Culture and Social Identity in the Recent Prehistory of Southern Iberia" (HUM-065). I would like to thanks Brian Hayden for Torajan pictures.

References

- ADAMS, R. L. (2004) – An Ethnoarchaeological Study of Feasting in Sulwesi, Indonesia. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*. 23, p. 56-78.
- ALBARELLA, U., SERJEANTSON, D. (2002) – Passion for pork: meat consumption at the British Late Neolithic site of Durrington Walls. In MIRACLE, P. and MILNER, N. (eds.), *Consuming Passions and Patterns of Consumption*, Cambridge: McDonald Institute, p. 33-49.
- ARANDA, G. (2008) – Cohesión y distancia social. El consumo comensal de bóvidos en el ritual funerario de las sociedades argáricas. *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad de Granada*. 18, p. 107-23.
- ARANDA, G. (2010) – Entre la tradición y la innovación: el proceso de especialización en la producción cerámica argárica. *Menga. Revista de Prehistoria de Andalucía*. 1, p. 77-95.
- ARANDA, G., ESQUIVEL, J. A. (2006) – Ritual funerario y comensalidad en las sociedades de la Edad del Bronce del Sureste Peninsular: la Cultura de El Argar. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*. 63(2), p. 117-133.
- ARANDA, G., ESQUIVEL, J. A. (2007) – Poder y prestigio en las sociedades de la cultura de El Argar. El consumo comunal de bóvidos y ovicápridos en los rituales de enterramiento. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*. 64(2), p. 95-118.
- ARANDA, G., MONTÓN-SUBIAS, S. (2011) – Feasting Death: Funerary Rituals in the Bronze Age Societies of South-eastern Iberia. In ARANDA, G., MONTÓN-SUBIAS, S. and SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M. (eds.), *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner. Feasting Rituals in the Prehistoric Societies of Europe and Near East*, Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books, p. 130-157.
- ARANDA, G., MONTÓN-SUBÍAS, S., SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M. (eds.) (2011) – *Guess who's coming to dinner. Feasting rituals in the Prehistoric Societies of Europe and Near East*. Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books.
- ARANDA, G., MONTÓN-SUBÍAS, S., SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M. (2011) – Appetite Comes with Eating: An overview of the Social Meaning of Ritual Food and Drink Consumption. In ARANDA, G., MONTÓN-SUBÍAS, S. and SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M. (eds.), *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner. Feasting Rituals in the Prehistoric Societies of Europe and Near East*, Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books, p. 1-7.
- ARANDA, G., MONTÓN-SUBÍAS, S., SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M. (2015) – *The Archaeology of Bronze Age Iberia. Argaric Societies*. New York and London: Routledge.
- BLOCH, M. (1999) – Commensality and poisoning. *Social Research*. 66, p. 133-149.

- BRAY, T. L. (ed.) (2003) – *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*. New York: Plenum.
- CLARKE, M. J. (2001) – Akna Feasting: An Ethnoarchaeological Perspective. In DIETLER, M. and HAYDEN, B. (eds.), *Feasts. Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, p. 144-167.
- CONTRERAS, J. (1993) – *Antropología de la alimentación*. Madrid: Eudema.
- CRUZ, J. (1991) – *Alimentación y cultura. Antropología de la conducta alimentaria*. Pamplona: Eunsa.
- DAVID, S., PAYNE, S. (1993) – A barrow full of skulls. *Antiquity*. 67, p. 12-22.
- DIETLER, M. (2001) – Theorizing the Feast: Ritual of Consumption, Commensal Politics, and Power in African Contexts. In DIETLER, M. and HAYDEN, B. (eds.), *Feasts. Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, p. 65-114.
- DIETLER, M. (2011) – Feasting and Fasting. In INSOLL, T. (ed.), *Oxford Handbook on the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 179-194.
- DIETLER, M., HAYDEN, B. (eds.) (2001a) – *Feasts. Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- DIETLER, M., HAYDEN, B. (2001b) – Digesting the Feast. Good to Eat, Good to Drink, Good to Think: An Introduction. In DIETLER, M. and HAYDEN, B. (eds.), *Feasts. Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, p. 1-22.
- GARINE, I. (1995) – Los aspectos socioculturales de la nutrición. In CONTRERAS, J. (ed.), *Alimentación y cultura. Necesidades, gustos y costumbres*. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, p. 129-170.
- HALSTEAD, P., BARRETT, J. C. (eds.) (2004) – *Food, Cuisine and Society in Prehistoric Greece*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- HARRIS, M. (2007) – *Bueno para comer*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- HAYDEN, B. (2001) – Fabulous Feasts. A Prolegomenon to the Importance of Feasting. In DIETLER, M. and HAYDEN, B. (eds.), *Feasts. Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, p. 23-64.
- HAYDEN, B. (2003) – Were luxury foods the first domesticates? Ethnoarchaeological perspectives from Southeast Asia. *World Archaeology*. 34(3), p. 458-469.
- HAYDEN, B. (2009) – Funerals as Feast: Why Are They so Important? *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*. 19(1), p. 29-52.
- HAYDEN, B. (2015) – *The Power of Feasts. From Prehistory to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- HOLTZMAN, J. (2006) – Food and Memory. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 35, p. 361-78.
- KIM, S. (1994) – Burials, Pigs, and Political Prestige in Neolithic China. *Current Anthropology*. 35(2), p. 119-141.
- LIESAU, C., SCHUBART, H. (2004) – Grabanlagen und Beigaben aus organischem Material im Bestattungsritus von Fuente Álamo. *Madrider Mitteilungen*. 45, p. 97-107.
- ULLV, V., ESTÉVEZ, J. (1986) – Propuesta metodológica para el estudio de las necrópolis argáricas. In *Homenaje a Luis Siret (1934-1984)*. Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, p. 441-452.
- LUPTON, D. (1994) – Food, memory and meaning: the symbolic and social nature of food events. *Sociological Review*. 42, p. 665-85.
- MONTÓN-SUBÍAS, S. (2002) – Cooking in Zooarchaeology: Is this Issue Still Raw? In MIRACLE, P., MILNER, N. (eds.), *Consuming Passions and Patterns of Consumption*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute Monographs, p. 7-15.
- PARKER, M. (2000) – Eating money. A study in the Ethnoarchaeology of food. *Archaeological Dialogues*. 7(2), p. 217-232.
- PARKER, M. (ed.) (2003) – Food, Culture and Identity in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. *British Archaeological Reports. International Series 1117*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- PORFÍRIO, E., SERRA, M. (2010) – Rituais funerários e comensalidade no bronze do Sudoeste da Península Ibérica: novos dados a partir de uma intervenção arqueológica no sítio da Torre Velha 3 (Serpa). *Estudos do Quaternário*. 6, p. 44-66.
- RAY, K., THOMAS, J. (2003) – In the kinship of cow: the social centrality of cattle in the earlier Neolithic of southern Britain. In PARKER, M. (ed.), *Food, Culture and Identity in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age*. British

- SUTTON, D. E. (2001) – *Remembrance of Repasts: an anthropology of food and memory*. London: Berg.
- SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M. (2008) – El consumo de alimento como estrategia social: recetas para la construcción de la memoria y la creación de identidades. *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad de Granada*. 18, p. 17-39.
- SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M. (2011) – Commensality Rituals: Feeding Identities in Prehistory. In ARANDA, G., MONTÓN-SUBIAS, S. and SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M. (eds.), *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner. Feasting Rituals in the Prehistoric Societies of Europe and Near East*, Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books, p. 8-29.
- SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M., ARANDA, G., ALARCÓN, E. (2007) – Gender and Age Identities in Rituals of Commensality. *The Argaric Societies. Treballs d'Arqueologia*. 13, p. 69-89.
- VARELA, A. C., COSTA, C. (2013) – Animal limbs in funerary contexts in southern Portugal and the question of segmentation. *Anthropozoologica*. 48(2), p. 263-275.
- VARDAKI, E. A. (2004) – Animal husbandry revisited: the social significance of meat consumption in a highland village of Mt Psiloritis, Central Crete. In HALSTEAD, P. and BARRETT, J. C. (eds), *Food, Cuisine and Society in Prehistoric Greece*. Oxford: Oxbow, p. 196-205.
- WIESSENER, P. (2001) – Of Feasting and Value: Enga Feasts in Historical Perspective (Papua New Guinea). In DIETLER, M. and HAYDEN, B. (eds.), *Feasts. Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, p. 115-143.
- WIESSENER, P., SCHIEFENHÖVEL, W. (eds.) (1996) – *Food and the Status Quest*. Oxford: Berghahn Books. *Archaeological Reports. International Series* 1117. Oxford: Archaeopress, p. 45-52.



Fig. 1 – Butchering of a bovine in a Torajan feast. Picture courtesy of Brian Hayden.

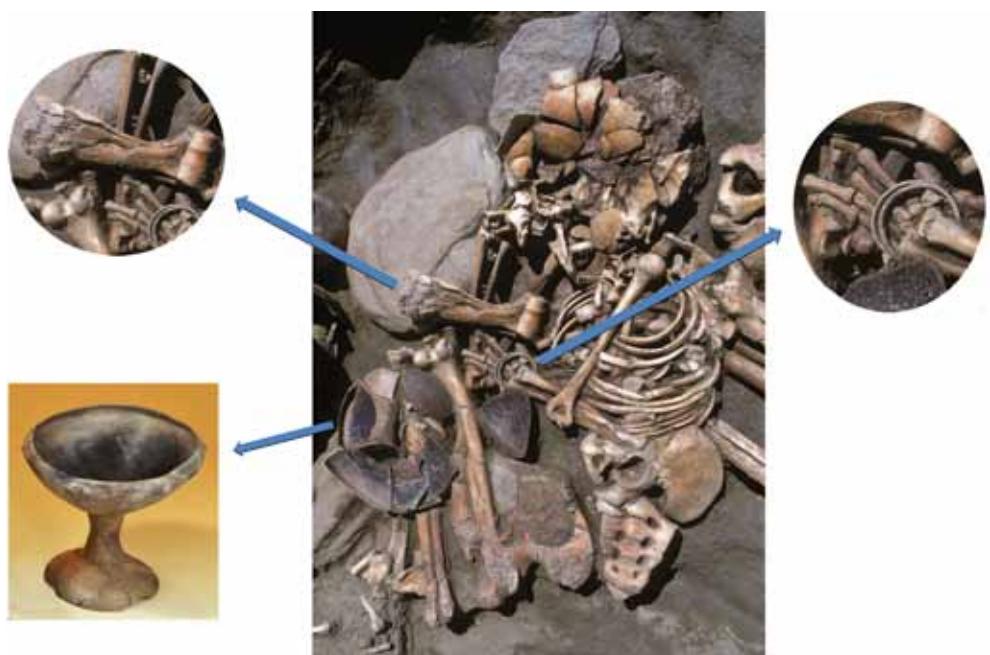


Fig. 2 – Women inhumation with different grave goods. Left up: bovine meat offering; left down: drinking vessel; right: cooper bracelets and silver ring.

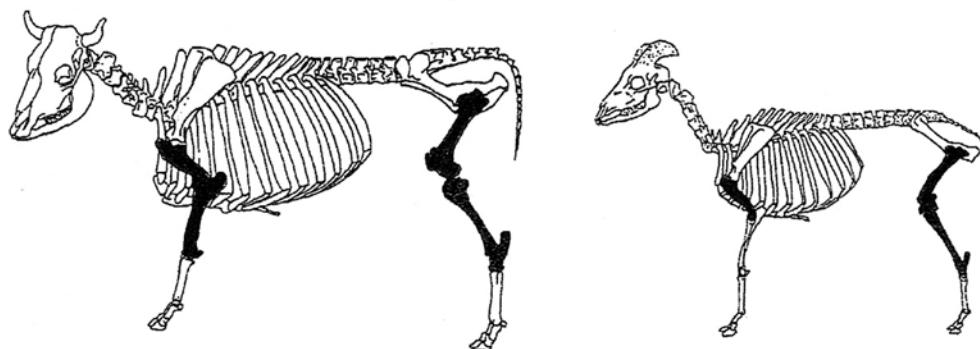


Fig. 3 – Anatomical parts of cattle and sheep/goats selected for meat offerings.

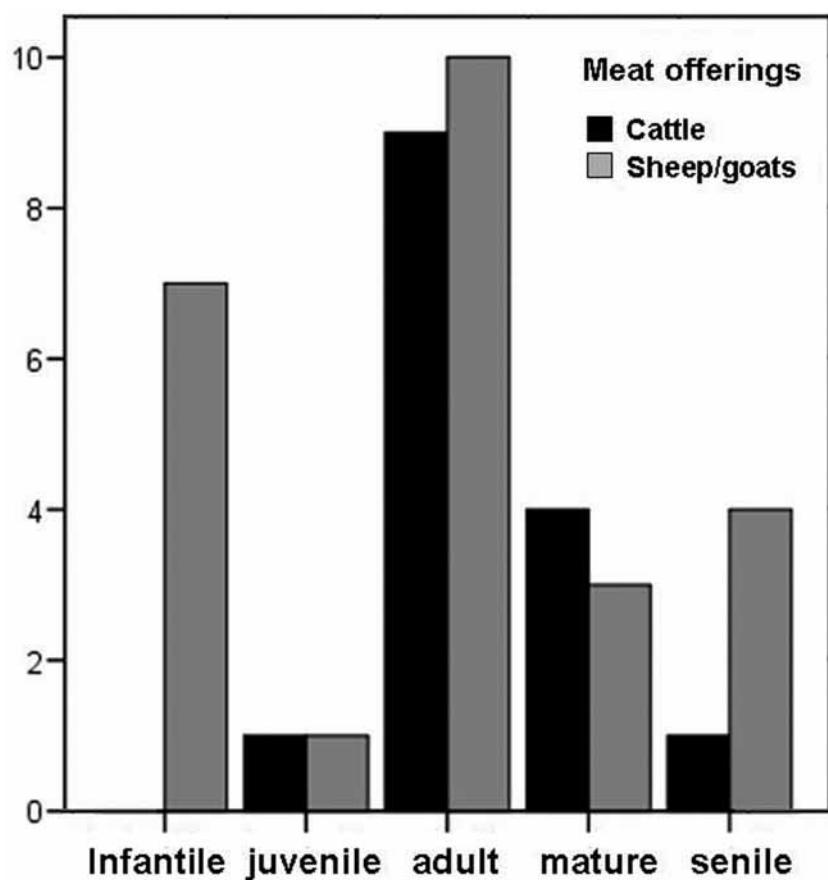


Fig. 4 – Relationship between meat offerings and the age of inhumations.

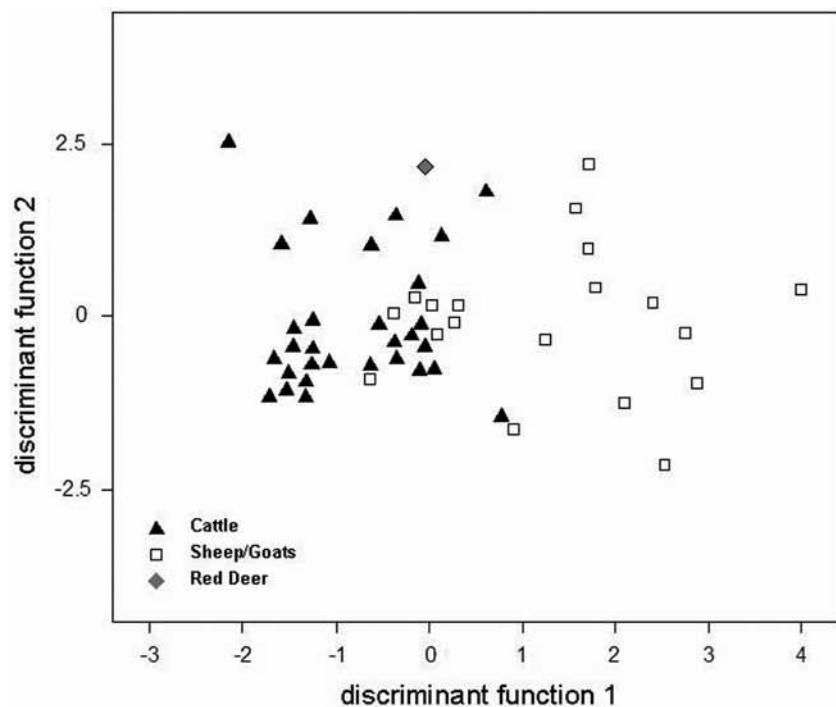


Fig. 5 – Relationship between meat offerings and the discriminant analysis of burials.

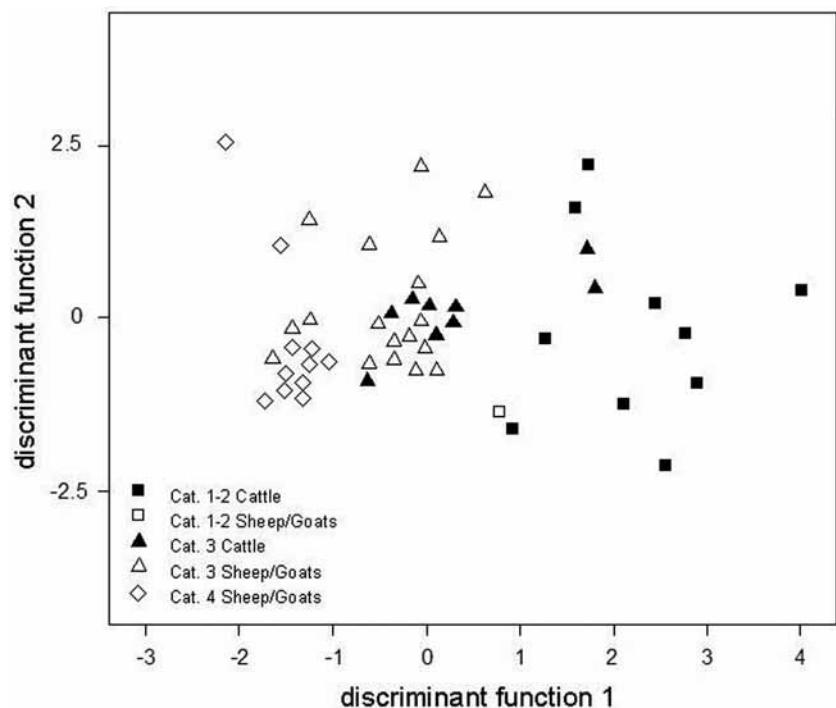


Fig. 6 – Relationship between grave goods categories, type of meat offering and the discriminant analysis of burials.

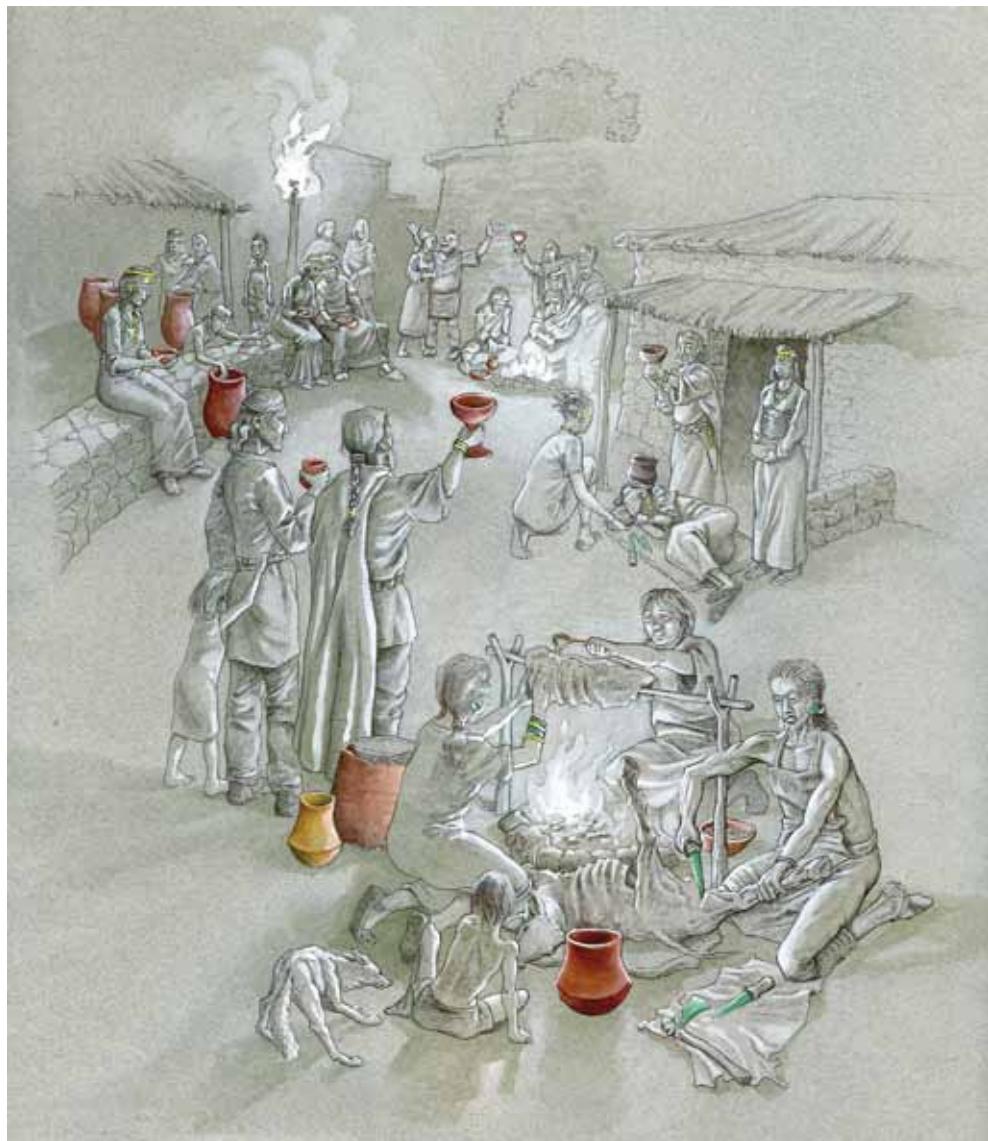


Fig. 7 – Ideal representation of a mortuary feasting in Early Bronze Age societies in south-eastern Iberia.

Cemetery	Tomb	Type of Tomb	Grave goods	Meat offering	Anatomical part/Age	Inhumations Sex/Age	Chronology	Source	Observations
Iltre	1	pottery urn	ζ^2	cattle	Humerus	IA 18-25Y	OxA-5049 1939-95 cal. BC	Siret and Siret 1890; Castro <i>et al.</i> 1993-94	
El Argar				abundant cattle	Tibiae, astragalus, calcaneus			Siret and Siret 1890	All tombs are considered as a whole
El Argar				goats	Tibiae (few humerae)			Siret and Siret 1890	All tombs are considered as a whole
Gatas	6	cist	ζ^2	cattle	femur			Siret and Siret 1890	
Fuente Álamo	7	cist	ζ^2	cattle	Tibia, astragalus, calcaneus	IF		Siret and Siret 1890; Liesau and Schubart 2004	
Fuente Álamo	9	cist	ζ^2	cattle	Tibia, astragalus, calcaneus	IM A IF A		Siret and Siret 1890; Liesau and Schubart 2004	
Fuente Álamo	52	cist	ζ^2	cattle	Rear limb (tibia), infantile-subadult	IF 20-30Y	OxA-4771 1944-50 cal. BC	Liesau and Schubart 2004; Kunter 2000; Castro <i>et al.</i> 1993- 94	
Fuente Álamo	54	rock-cut tomb	ζ^2	cattle pig	Rear limb (tibia) ζ^2	IM 40-60Y		Liesau and Schubart 2004;	
Fuente Álamo	58	rock-cut tomb	ζ^2	lalC, lphC, lbcN, lvc	ovicaprine	Rear limb (tibia)	IM 40-60Y IF 20-30Y	Schubart and Arteaga 1986; Kunter 2000	
Fuente Álamo	62	rock-cut tomb	ζ^2	deer ovicaprine	Humerus Rear limb (tibia)	IM 20-40Y		Liesau and Schubart 2004;	
Fuente Álamo	68	cist	ζ^2	lalP, lhpP, lphC, lbcC, 2vg, lvc, lcp	cattle	Rear limb (tibia)	IM	Schubart and Arteaga 1986; Kunter 2000	
Fuente Álamo	69	cist	ζ^2	lphC, lpcC, lvc	cattle horse	Rear limb (tibia), infantile-subadult ζ^2	IM 20-40Y IF 20-30Y	Liesau and Schubart 2004;	

Table I. Structure matrix of discriminant functions

Fuente Álamo	70	rock-cut tomb	IphC	cattle	Rear limb (tibia)	IF 20-40Y		Kanter 2000; Schubart 2004;
Fuente Álamo	75	rock-cut tomb	IalC, IphC, IboO, Icu, Ivb	cattle	Rear limb (tibia)	IM 55-65Y IF 20-30Y	1844-98 cal. BC OA-4973 1968-51 cal. BC	1987; Liesau and Schubart 2004; Kanter 2000; Castro <i>et al.</i> 1993-94
Fuente Álamo	80	rock-cut tomb	IphC, Icu	ovicaprine	Rear limb (tibia)	IM 60-70Y IF 60-70Y		Schubart <i>et al.</i> 1987; Liesau and Schubart 2004; Kanter 2000
Fuente Álamo	81	pottery urn	Ieu	ovicaprine	Rear limb (tibia)	1M 20-25Y		Schubart <i>et al.</i> 1986; Liesau and Schubart 2004; Kanter 2000
Fuente Álamo	84	pottery urn	Iva	ovicaprine	Rear limb (tibia), infantile-subadult	IN 0-3 months		Pingel <i>et al.</i> 2001;
Fuente Álamo	87	pottery urn	No metal or ceramic offerings	ovicaprine	Rear limb (tibia)	IN 2-3Y		Schubart 2004; Kanter 2000
Fuente Álamo	89	rock-cut tomb	1 or 2 va	ovicaprine	Rear limb (tibia)	IN 0-3 months		Pingel <i>et al.</i> 2001;
Fuente Álamo	90	rock-cut tomb	IphC, IpuC, Ivc, Ivb	cattle	Fore limb (radius-ulna), infantile-subadult	IF 50-65Y	OA-5047 1706-54 cal. BC	Liesau and Schubart 2004; splinters of an adult Kanter 2000
Fuente Álamo	95	rock-cut tomb	ζ^9	cattle	Fore limb (radius-ulna), adult	IM 60-70Y		1987; Liesau and Schubart 2004; Kanter 2000
Fuente Álamo	99	cist	IphC, IpuC	cattle	Rear limb (tibia), infantile-subadult	IF? 20-40Y		1990; Liesau and Schubart 2004; Kanter 2000

Table 1. Structure matrix of discriminant functions

Fuente Álamo	101	pottery urn	$1\mu\text{gC}$, $1\mu\text{gC}$, 2an C , 2anP , $1\text{or}^2\text{C}$	ovicapríne	Rear limb (tibia)	1F? 9-10Y		Schubart <i>et al.</i> , 1993; Liesau and Schubart 2004;
Fuente Álamo	108	pottery urn	1vc , 1eu	ovicapríne	Rear limb (tibia), infantile-subadult	1N 3Y		Pinget <i>et al.</i> , 1998; Liesau and Schubart 2004;
Fuente Álamo	109	cist	2vc	ovicapríne	Rear limb (tibia), infantile-subadult	1F 70Y		Pingel <i>et al.</i> , 1998; Liesau and Schubart 2004;
Fuente Álamo	111	pottery urn	$1\mu\text{gC}$, 4bc , 4paC , 1acC , 5pa P , 3anP , 50cn , (12cmP) , 1sp , 1vc , 1vp	cattle	Rear limb (tibia), adult	1F 16-18Y	KIA-18997 1808 ± 67 cal. BC	Kanter 2004; Liesau and Schubart 2004;
Cerro Negro de Jofre (Lorca)	1	rock-cut tomb	2vc , $1\mu\text{gC}$, 1chC , 26 da	ovicapríne	Limb (besides the skull)	1 Individual		Pinget 2004; Martinez <i>et al.</i> , 1996
Los Cipreses (Lorca)	3	cist	1alC , $1\mu\text{gC}$, 1chC , 1brN , 2orH , 2hp , 1vb , 1vc	cattle	Tibia, malleolar, astragalem and calcaneum in anatomical connection. 3-4 years	$1\text{M}\pm50\text{Y}$	1NC-2738 1817 ± 124 cal. BC	Martinez <i>et al.</i> , 1996; Castro <i>et al.</i> , 1993-94
Los Cipreses (Lorca)	6	cist	$1\mu\text{gC}$, 1brC , 2vc	ovicapríne	Tibia, malleolar, astragalem and calcaneum in anatomical connection. 18 months	1N 7-9Y		Martinez <i>et al.</i> , 1999; Martinez and Ponce 2005
Los Cipreses (Lorca)	9	cist	$1\mu\text{gP}$, $1\mu\text{gC}$, $1\mu\text{gC}$, 1flanda-H , 3vc	deer	Tibia and astragalum in anatomical connection, younger than 20 months	1F-50Y		Martinez <i>et al.</i> , 1999; Martinez and Ponce 2005
Madres Mercedarias (Lorca)	2	pottery urn	$2\mu\text{gP}$, $1\mu\text{gC}$, 1mm?	ovicapríne	Tibia	1M +40Y		Martinez and Ponce 2002
Madres Mercedarias (Lorca)	3	pottery urn	1vg , 1eu , 1mm	ovicapríne	Limb (under grinding stone). young	1F 40-50Y		Martinez <i>et al.</i> , 1996

Table I. Structure matrix of discriminant functions

Madres Mercedarias (Lorca)	4	pottery urn	Iep, 1vc	ovicaprine	Limb	1M+50Y 1F: 40-50Y		Martinez and Pence 2002
Madres Mercedarias (Lorca)	9	cist	Ivc, 1cu	ovicaprine	Limb immature	δ^2		Martinez and Pence 2002
Madres Mercedarias (Lorca)	11	cist	IpuC, 1vg	2 ovicaprine	I tibia (by F hip) 1 knucklebone (by M vertebrae)	1M 30-35Y 1F 28-35Y	OxA-7671 1726-48 cal. BC OxA-7672 1831-56 cal. BC	Martinez et al. 1996; Martinez and Pence 2002
Madres Mercedarias (Lorca)	12	cist	IphC, IpuC, 2pe P, 1vc, 1cu	cattle *	Limb (besides carinated vessel)	1M A*		Martinez et al. 1996
Calle Zapatería (Lorca)	6	pottery urn	Ivc, 1phC	ovicaprine	leg young	cenotaph		Martinez et al. 1996
Cuesta del Negro	3	Rock-cut tomb	IpuC, 1anC, 2peP, 1cu, 1vc, 1cp	ovicaprine	Femur (inside a pottery vessel). (Adult)	1I-F?		Driesch 1976; De la Torre 1974
Cuesta del Negro	5	Rock-cut tomb	2vc	goat	Humerus (adult)	1M A		De la Torre 1974; Driesch 1976
Cuesta del Negro	6	Rock-cut tomb	Iph C, IpuC, 1phH, 1cu, 1vc, 1et	cattle goat	Humerus (inside a pottery vessel), infantile	1M-A 1F?		De la Torre 1974; Driesch 1976
Cuesta del Negro	8	Rock-cut tomb	IphC, 2peC, 3anC, 2bcC, 1etC, 3cmMid, 9cmH, 4cmN, cu, 2et, 1bo, 1cp	cattle goat	Femur (subadult) humerus (infantile)	1M-A 2N		De la Torre 1974; Driesch 1976
Cuesta del Negro	13	Rock-cut tomb	IpuC, 2peP, 2phH, 2cu, 2vg	ovicaprine	Femur 3.5 years	IF-A		De la Torre 1974; Driesch 1976
Cuesta del Negro	18	Rock-cut tomb	IpuC	ovicaprine	Femur (infantile)	IF-A		De la Torre 1974; Driesch 1976
Cuesta del Negro	19	Rock-cut tomb	IphC, 2ve	ovicaprine	Femur and astragalus 3.5 years	1M-A IF-J		De la Torre 1974; Driesch 1976
Cuesta del Negro	20	Rock-cut tomb	IphC, IpuC, 1eu, 1vc	ovicaprine	Femur 3.5 years	IF-S		De la Torre 1974; Driesch 1976
Cuesta del Negro	21	Rock-cut tomb	2vc	ovicaprine	Femur (juvenile)	1M-A IF-A		De la Torre 1974; Driesch 1976
Cuesta del Negro	22	Rock-cut tomb	IpuC, 1eu, 1vg	sheep	Humerus (infantile)	1M-S		De la Torre 1974; Driesch 1976
Cuesta del Negro	23	Rock-cut tomb	IpuC, 1epP, 1enP, 1mc, 1eu, 1vc	ovicaprine	Femur (juvenile)	IF-A		De la Torre 1974; Driesch 1976
Cuesta del Negro	27	Rock-cut	no offerings	ovicaprine	Femur	1M-A		De la Torre 1974

Table I. Structure matrix of discriminant functions

			(infantile)	Femur (juvenile)	IA IA-M?		Driesch 1976
Cuesta del Negro	29	tomb	IphC, IafC, IinC, Ivc	ovicapríne	IA		De la Torre 1974; Driesch 1976
Cuesta del Negro	30	Rock-cut tomb	Ive, 2la	ovicapríne	IN		De la Torre 1974; Driesch 1976
Cuesta del Negro	31	Rock-cut tomb	IphC, Gmp, IbrP, IpcO, IbrN, 1gnH, 1enN, 1egZ, 15cnZ, 1ct, 1bo, 2cp	cattle	Femur (adult)	IMA IF-A	De la Torre 1974; Driesch 1976
Fuentes Amarga	9	Rock-cut tomb	IphC, 2ve	ovicapríne	d?	IMA IF-D	Fresneda <i>et al.</i> 1999
Cerro de la Encina	9	cist	2peO, IphC, Icp, 2ve, 1eu	cattle	Humerus (inside a pottery vessel)	IM 30Y	Aranda and Molina 2006
Cerro de la Encina	13	Rock-cut tomb	IphC, IpcC, Ioth, 1ve, 1eu	cattle	Humerus	IF 50-65Y	Beta-230003 1950-60 cal. BC
Cerro de la Encina	12	Rock-cut tomb	IbsP, IorP, IorH, cnN, 1sp, 2eu, 2bo	cattle	Humerus	IM 25-27Y 1J 13-15Y	Aranda and Molina 2006
Cerro de la Encina	14	Rock-cut tomb	1ve	ovicapríne	Limb	IM 40-45Y IF 40-45Y	Beta-230009 1715-35 cal. BC
Cerro de la Encina	18	Rock-cut tomb	IhsC, 1 hsp, IphC, IpcC, cnN, 3vg, 1eu	cattle	Humerus	IM 30-40Y IF 25-35Y IF 40-44Y	Aranda and Molina 2006; Aranda <i>et al.</i> , 2008
Cerro de la Encina	21	Rock-cut tomb			Humerus (adult)		Beta-230005 1555-55 cal. BC
			IphC, 4hcC, 2brP, 2pcP, 1anC, 1mp, 1pcC, 1clP, 1cbC, 1brN, 2cnC, 2cnN, 1cp, 2vg, 2bo, 2eu	3 cattle	Humerus, radius and ulna in anatomical connection (subadult) humerus (subadult)	IM 22-24Y IF 16-17Y	Aranda and Molina 2006; Aranda <i>et al.</i> , 2008
							Beta-230006 1600-70 cal. BC

Table I. Structure matrix of discriminant functions

Repastos alentejanos: dados preliminares da fauna de Porto Torrão (Ferreira do Alentejo)

Vera Pereira

Universidade de Coimbra, CEAACP

vera_lcpereira@yahoo.co.uk

Resumo

O presente trabalho reporta uma primeira abordagem ao sítio arqueológico do Porto Torrão, através do estudo da fauna. A análise integral pretende abranger todos os contextos escavados nos Fossos que circundam o povoado calcolítico, identificados no sector Sul do mesmo, aquando dos últimos trabalhos de escavações arqueológicas mas, uma vez que o estudo ainda se encontra a decorrer no contexto de tese de doutoramento, apresentam-se aqui dados preliminares das unidades estratigráficas [32018, 32043] e [32072] do Fosso I, do Sector 3 – Este.

O conjunto estudado evidenciou uma lista taxonómica muito idêntica à identificada no interior do povoado e constitui maioritariamente animais domésticos, com evidências do recurso pontual a espécies cinegéticas. Reconhece-se um predomínio esmagador de restos mamalógicos, onde os suíños se destacam claramente como espécie preponderante, seguidos do gado bovino e ovicaprino. A actividade cinegética abrange principalmente cervídeos, com especial enfoque nos veados e com reconhecimento pontual de corço, mas outros espécimes foram igualmente identificados, como é o caso do coelho. De carácter peculiar destaca-se a identificação de corvo comum, constituindo os únicos restos de avifauna presentes na amostra.

Palavras chave

Zooarqueologia; Calcolítico do Sudoeste; Alentejo.

Abstract

This paper presents a preliminary approach of the archaeological site of Porto Torrão, through the study of animal remains. The complete faunal assemblage under analysis includes all the archaeological contexts excavated in the two ditches that surround the Chalcolithic settlement, from the south section.

As the study is still in progress and intended for the PhD thesis, preliminary data is presented here, from the stratigraphic units [32018, 32043] and [32072] from Ditch I of the Section 3 – East.

The faunal assemblage comprises mainly domestic mammals, with a taxonomic list extremely similar to the one identified in the inner part of the settlement. Suids emerge as the main species, followed by cattle, sheep and goats. In comparison with the domestic ones, wild game has lower percentages within the faunal remains, comprising mostly cervids (higher percentages of reed deer and a sparse amount of roe deer), among other wild species as the European rabbit. The common crow is emphasized due to its peculiar identification, enclosing the few bird bones of the assemblage.

Key words

Zooarchaeology; Chalcolithic of Sudoeste; Alentejo.

Introdução

Identificado como um dos maiores povoados do Calcolítico do Sudoeste Peninsular, com uma dimensão estimada em 75 a 100 hectares, o sítio arqueológico de Porto Torrão afigura-se como um marco incontornável para o conhecimento das sociedades do 3º milénio a.C., numa região densamente povoada em época pré-histórica.

Muito embora apresente um enorme potencial de dados e conhecimento, quer a nível de estratégias de povoamento e organização/hierarquização social, quer ao nível das próprias estruturas – positivas e negativas – e o mais variado espólio (cerâmicas, líticos, fauna, metais, etc.), são ainda escassos os estudos realizados. Se por um lado apresenta dificuldade acrescida devido à enorme extensão do povoado – quase todo por descobrir, por outro, as áreas intervencionadas ao longo do tempo não se correlacionam entre si, pontilhando e dispersando no espaço a informação disponível.

Neste artigo apresenta-se uma introdução à tese de Doutoramento, com dados preliminares da análise faunística de unidades estratigráficas, provenientes dos dois fossos identificados nos Sectores 1, 2 e 3 Este do Porto Torrão (escavados na última fase de trabalhos arqueológicos entre 2008 e 2010). Com recurso à análise taxonómica, tafonómica e osteométrica da amostra, objetiva-se o reconhecimento de hábitos de consumo e economia de subsistência, à escala local, regional e inter-regional, importância das espécies domesticadas vs selvagens, tal como a manipulação antrópica dos animais e estratégias de aproveitamento, entre outros.

Enquadramento

Localizado no concelho de Ferreira do Alentejo, distrito de Beja (Fig. 1), o sítio arqueológico de Porto Torrão afigura-se junto à actual povoação de Ferreira do Alentejo, atravessado pela Ribeira do Vale do Ouro – sentido Este-Oeste, implantado na Carta Militar de Portugal nº 509 de Ferreira do Alentejo (Escala 1:25 000), com as coordenadas geográficas centrais de 38° 04' 19,04" N e de 8° 07' 34,78" W e uma altitude de cerca de 111 metros relativamente ao nível médio do mar.

A identificação deste sítio calcolítico teve como ponto de partida as recolhas de materiais de superfície de reconhecida conservação e importância, pelo vereador da Câmara Municipal de Ferreira do Alentejo Diogo Patrício, em 1981, seguido dos arqueólogos Clementino Amaro e Manuel Barreto. Será neste enquadramento que José M. Arnaud procede a prospecções arqueológicas sistemáticas no local, ainda em 1981, trazendo a luz um povoado de grandes dimensões, com uma extensão estimada de cerca de 50 a 100 hectares, que comportaria entre 1000 a 1500 habitantes de uma sociedade hierarquizada, perfeitamente enquadrável no Calcolítico do Sudoeste Peninsular (Arnaud 1982: 62).

No entanto, foi com a realização das primeiras sondagens de escavação arqueológica em 1982 e 1985, com um total de 34m² de área escavada numa zona central do povoado – assinalado com o rectângulo azul (Fig. 2), que se caracterizou efectivamente o sítio, através da identificação de múltiplas estruturas positivas, uma estratigrafia bem conservada e descrita em três estratos distintos, e os mais variados artefactos (cerâmicas, fauna, metais e líticos). Embora não se tenha atingido a rocha ou solo virgem, a escavação chegou a atingir até 1,5m de profundidade.

No decurso deste projecto, procedeu-se à realização de cinco datações de radiocarbono que permitiram a caracterização de duas fases cronológicas distintas: para o Estrato 3 apurou-se a datação de 4220 ± 45 BP (3035-2650 cal. AC) – Pré Campaniforme; e para o Estrato 1, a datação de 4290 ± 40 BP (3335-2800 cal. AC) – Campaniforme (Arnaud 1993: 45-46). Realizou-se por fim a análise petrográfica e química de amostras cerâmicas, cujo resultado indicou que as cerâmicas do povoado seriam de fabrico

local e com recurso a argilas das proximidades do povoado, incluindo as peças campaniformes (Arnaud 1993: 47).

O sítio seria intervencionado novamente em 2002 pela empresa ERA-Arqueologia S.A., no decurso do acompanhamento da linha de alta tensão Alqueva - Ferreira do Alentejo – Sines, promovido pela Rede Eléctrica Nacional (REN), cuja intervenção se fixava em áreas distintas dos trabalhos anteriores, sendo que dois dos pontos afectados se situam na periferia do povoado e apenas um no seu interior. Assim, e após a escavação integral das áreas de implantação dos três postes de apoio, apenas o “Poste 181” viria a revelar contextos arqueológicos conservados (Fig. 2, assinalado a verde), com a identificação de várias estruturas negativas escavadas no substrato rochoso – nomeadamente dois fossos aparentemente paralelos, Fosso 1 e Fosso 2, com larguras compreendidas entre os 3,50 m – 2,50 m e 5,90 m e profundidades de 3m e 3,40 m respectivamente; tal como diversas fossas – com preenchimentos complexos e conjuntos artefactuais distintos (Valera e Filipe 2004).

O espólio exumado nestes fossos permitiu uma primeira periodização dos enchimentos que viria a ser confirmada por um conjunto de datações de radiocarbono, onde se delineou uma sequência cronológica para os mesmos. Em resumo, o Fosso 1 (externo) terá sido aberto e preenchido quase na sua totalidade durante a segunda metade do 4º / início do 3º milénio a.C. – atribuível ao Neolítico Final; enquanto que o Fosso 2 (interno) terá a sua abertura em meados do 3º milénio e respectivo preenchimento durante o terceiro quartel do mesmo milénio – enquadrável no Calcolítico (Valera 2013).

A terceira e última intervenção do sítio arqueológico teve lugar entre 2008 e 2010, decorrente de trabalhos de minimização e salvaguarda do património, no âmbito da construção das infraestruturas do Bloco de Rega de Ferreira, Figueirinha e Valbom pela EDIA, S.A., levada a cabo por três empresas de arqueologia: Neoépica, Archaeo’Estudos e Crivarque Lda., distribuídas por seis sectores distintos (Fig. 2, assinalados a vermelho). Estes últimos trabalhos arqueológicos puseram a descoberto essencialmente estruturas negativas, escavadas na rocha, nomeadamente duas linhas paralelas de fossos nos sectores 1, 2, 3 Este e 6 (com larguras compreendidas entre os 7 m e os 8 m, e cerca de 6 m de profundidade, que aparentemente circundam o povoado, embora a sua conexão ainda não esteja efectivamente comprovada nos dois lados da ribeira – possível traçado assinalado a amarelo na Fig. 2) e quase quatro centenas de estruturas negativas de tipo “fossa” – de configuração, espólio e contextos muito distintos (Santos et al. 2014).

A superfície escavada é extensa, com mais de 3000 m² de área aberta, estratigrafias diversas e complexas, que necessitam ainda de ser estudadas e bem articuladas entre si, assim como todo o espólio exumado. Está prevista uma fase de estudo multidisciplinar dos materiais e sítio, datações e publicação dos resultados em monografia, como medida compensatória imputada ao promotor da obra, mas que até ao momento não foi realizada e apenas estão disponíveis os relatórios de escavação arqueológica com a síntese da informação e um ou outro artigo pontual.

Dados faunísticos publicados – Interior do povoado

Na generalidade, poucos são os estudos realizados ao espólio do Porto Torrão, quer sejam das intervenções de Arnaud nos anos 80, das intervenções da ERA nos anos 2000 ou até das últimas intervenções executadas já em 2010 para implantação de infraestruturas da EDIA. Contudo, José Arnaud apresenta no artigo de 1993 uma primeira análise de material faunístico, realizada por Angela von den Driesch que, embora de carácter muito sumário, é sem sombra de dúvida uma contribuição fundamental para o conhecimento da dinâmica deste grande povoado e

sua exploração dos recursos animais.

A interpretação dos dados fornecidos deve ter em conta o seu carácter sucinto e amostral, já que não nos é fornecida a dimensão total do conjunto osteológico analisado, quantificações de NRD (Número de Restos Determinados), NMI (Número Mínimo de Indivíduos) ou outras, e a proveniência exacta dos restos (apenas é referida como proveniência uma sondagem de 4 m², no interior do povoado, cuja escavação não atingiu o substrato rochoso). Todavia, as percentagens apresentadas têm como base dois estratos arqueológicos distintos e bem datados, onde é possível assinalar diferenças significativas na presença e/ou ausência de espécies entre os períodos de ocupação pré-campaniforme e campaniforme (Fig. 3).

O conjunto analisado compõe-se maioritariamente de animais domésticos, sendo que os suídeos e os bovídeos (vacas, ovelhas e cabras) se destacam com percentagens elevadas. Na verdade, é muito evidente que o porco doméstico parece ter um papel de relevo para estas populações, muito provavelmente pela sua facilidade e rapidez de criação, a sua dieta omnívora e concepção de várias crias em cada gestação, fazendo deste um óptimo recurso de carne. Por outro lado, a fauna cinegética surge-nos com quantificações bastante reduzidas, destacando-se o veado (*Cervus elaphus*) como o espécime mais caçado.

Assinala-se ainda neste gráfico uma clara alteração no comportamento dos habitantes do Porto Torrão, do período pré-campaniforme para o campaniforme, com um acentuar do recurso a animais selvagens, nomeadamente o veado (*Cervus elaphus*), o javali (*Sus scrofa*), o cavalo (*Equus ferus; Equus caballus*) e ainda o auroque (*Bos primigenius*), sendo que apenas o coelho (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*) decresce ao longo do tempo.

Por fim, refere-se ainda no artigo o facto da amostra faunística anunciar uma tendência geral para abater o gado bovino e caprino, tal como veados e javalis, em idade adulta, enquanto que os porcos domésticos são mortos entre 1,5 a 2 anos de idade (Arnaud 1993: 45).

Pressupostos metodológicos

O plano doutoral incide unicamente sobre os materiais recolhidos na última fase de escavações arqueológicas, entre 2008 e 2010, resultantes da escavação em área para vala de implantação de infraestruturas de rega da EDIA, S.A. O volume de espólio exumado aquando destes trabalhos é de dimensão tão avultada que foi necessário restringir o conjunto em estudo, optando-se pela análise de todas as Unidades Estratigráficas (UE) com fauna proveniente dos dois Fossos na zona limítrofe Sul do povoado, identificados nos sectores 1, 2 e 3 Este e escavados pelas empresas Neoépica e Crivarque, Lda.

A análise faunística teve como base o registo de dados em Excel, com campos pré-definidos onde se registam a proveniência da amostra (empresa, ano, sector, quadrícula, Unidade Estratigráfica e número de saco), a identificação do fragmento ósseo (espécie, elemento ósseo, porção, lado, estado de fusão epifisiária e/ou idade), os indicadores tafonómicos (derivados da acção antrópica, animal e/ou físico-química), medições osteométricas e outras observações consideradas relevantes (patologias, por exemplo).

A identificação taxonómica mamalógica teve como principal suporte os manuais de Schmid (1972), Barone (1976) e France (2009), sendo que para a avifauna se recorreu a essencialmente a Olsen (1996). Foram igualmente utilizados artigos especializados que auxiliaram nas distinções de espécies esqueléticamente muito similares, como é exemplo o caso da ovelha e da cabra (Zeder e Lapham 2010; Zeder e Pilaar 2010; Prummel e Frisch 1986; Boessneck 1969). Para a dissipação de dúvidas e

esclarecimentos adicionais na identificação quer dos elementos quer da espécie, recorreu-se ainda à osteoteca de referência do Laboratório de Arqueociências da Direcção-Geral do Património (DGPC). Quando não determináveis até à espécie, considerou-se o enquadramento dos elementos ósseos segundo grupos de tamanho pré-definidos, já que outras informações importantes se podem retirar destes – representação anatómica; percentagens de jovens vs adultos; etc.

Na distinção de marcadores tafonómicos seguiram-se genericamente os procedimentos descritos por Lyman (1994) e por Reitz e Wing (2008), adaptados à realidade em estudo.

Sempre que possível, quer pela conservação da superfície articular óssea quer pela ausência de marcadores tafonómicos destrutivos ou de obstrução, seguiu-se uma componente osteométrica segundo os parâmetros definidos por Angela von de Driesch (1976) e complementados por Simon Davis (1996), com recurso a paquímetro digital.

A idade do animal aquando do abate foi também um dos parâmetros a ter em conta na análise, através do estado de fusão epifisiária descrita para as principais espécies mamalógicas e por elemento osteológico em Reitz e Wing (2008: 72), ou através do desgaste dentário, com especial enfoque nos ovino-caprinos (Payne 1973; 1987) e ainda nos suínos (Wright et al. 2014).

Por fim, utilizaram-se métodos de quantificação dos dados, para um melhor manuseamento e compreensão dos mesmos, nomeadamente o Número Total de Restos (NTR), o Número de Restos Determinados (NRD = NISP) e o Número Mínimo de Indivíduos (NMI).

Contextualização e caracterização da amostra

Até ao momento já foram analisados um total de 7016 restos faunísticos, contudo apenas 25% dos mesmos permitiram identificação taxonómica, com 1754 fragmentos determinados até à espécie. A análise permitiu discernir pelo menos 11 espécies mamalógicas e uma de avifauna, notando-se ainda uma ausência quase total de elementos ósseos de muito pequena dimensão e de micro vertebrados (muito provavelmente devido à dureza e falta de crivagem dos sedimentos, imposta pelos constrangimentos de tempo na realização de escavação de salvaguarda e minimização de impacte).

Embora os dados aqui expostos não sejam ainda absolutos, pareceu-nos de interesse apresentar resultados de dois contextos estratigráficos muito distintos, sitos no Fosso I (interno) do Sector 3 – Este: UE's [32018=32043] e [32042] (Fig. 4), com vista à caracterização da exploração dos recursos animais do Porto Torrão, em articulação com dados estudados por Angela von den Driesch e sinteticamente anunciados por Arnaud (1993: 44-45), de estratigrafia provinda do interior do povoado.

As Unidades Estratigráficas [32018] e [32043] resultam de um único contexto de sedimento amarelo, siltoso, moderadamente duro, designado por “Nível de Ocupação 2”, com a associação de duas lareiras e variado espólio, nomeadamente restos faunísticos. Genericamente a fauna apresenta-se muito fragmentada, onde 89,8% dos restos apresentam fracturas de carácter recente, provavelmente ocorridas aquando da escavação, recolha e/ou acondicionamento da mesma, o que representa dificuldade acrescida na identificação da espécie e do elemento. Foram analisados até à data 186 restos deste contexto, dos quais foi possível determinar-se taxonomicamente 68, relativos a seis espécies mamalógicas – (Tabela 1).

A UE [32072] localiza-se quase na base do Fosso I, caracterizando-se por um sedimento argilo-siltoso e macio, de coloração castanha, do qual se retiraram blocos pétreos, cerâmica, fauna e restos humanos (com reconhecimento de algumas conexões anatómicas, mas sem a presença de esqueletos

inteiros), considerado pelos arqueólogos como o resultado de uma utilização funerária, de contornos de deposição ainda por descortinar. A fauna analisada constitui presentemente um total de 637 restos, dos quais 250 se conseguiu a identificação do elemento e respectivo taxa, relativos a oito espécies de mamíferos e uma única espécie de aves – (Tabela I).

NRD: [32018-32043] [32072]

<i>Oryctolagus cuniculus</i>	5	3
<i>Canis</i> sp.	0	8
<i>Equus</i> sp.	2	6
<i>Sus</i> sp.	27	92
<i>Cervus elaphus</i>	4	15
<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>	0	1
<i>Bos</i> sp.	16	63
<i>Ovis/Capra</i>	14	57
<i>Corax corax</i>	0	5
Total	68	250

NMI: [32018-32043] [32072]

<i>Oryctolagus cuniculus</i>	1	1
<i>Canis</i> sp.	0	1
<i>Equus</i> sp.	1	1
<i>Sus</i> sp.	2	3
<i>Cervus elaphus</i>	1	2
<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>	0	1
<i>Bos</i> sp.	1	3
<i>Ovis/Capra</i>	1	2
<i>Corvus corax</i>	0	1
Total	7	15

Tabela I – Número de Restos Determinados (NRD) e Número Mínimo de Indivíduos (NMI) por espécie.

Mamíferos

Leporídeos

Com quantificações muito tímidas em ambos os contextos – cinco restos determinados na [32018/43] e três na [32072] e um de número mínimo de indivíduos cada – acreditamos que a presença de lagomorfos fosse maior do que os números o indicam, já que constituem uma espécie abundante e fácil de caçar. A ausência quase total de micro vertebrados parece advir das condicionantes da escavação arqueológica e da ausência de crivagem, fazendo com que os elementos e/ou fragmentos ósseos mais pequenos não fossem recolhidos. Ainda assim, os elementos analisados parecem corresponder a coelho (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*). Na camada [32018/43] todos os restos exibem fracturas de carácter recente, coincidente com a dureza do sedimento, enquanto que na UE [32072] tal facto não se verificou.

Canídeos

Com oito restos determinados na amostra e pelo menos um indivíduo adulto, o cão (*Canis* sp.) surge-nos apenas na camada de utilização funerária – [32072]. A dimensão osteométrica dos restos sugere-nos tratar-se de cão doméstico.

Embora se tenham exumado vários esqueletos quase completos e em conexão anatómica em outros contextos do povoado, maioritariamente dentro de fossas, os restos desta unidade apresentavam-se espalhados e sem qualquer tipo de articulação aparente.

Equídeos

De presença pouco expressiva no conjunto estudado, apenas dois restos de equídeo (*Equus sp.*) foram exumados do contexto doméstico e seis derivam da camada funerária, ambos com um número mínimo de um. Não foram encontrados marcadores expressivos na distinção das espécies doméstica e selvagem, mas assume-se como mais provável tratar-se de *Equus ferus* – cavalo selvagem – pois ainda não foram identificados espécimes domésticos em contextos calcolíticos portugueses.

Suídeos

Os suínos surgem claramente como o táxon dominante na amostra, denominados aqui por *Sus sp.*, com 119 restos determinados no total, e um NMI de dois para a [32018/43] e três para a [32072].

Considerando a idade aquando do abate, também aqui surge um padrão muito claro relativo a estes animais, na medida em que mais de 50% dos suídeos foram abatidos em tenra idade, antes ou até aos 12 meses de idade (segundo os critérios estabelecidos por Reitz e Wing 2008: 72). Na realidade, 36,1% constituem ossos longos não fusionados de todo, quer sejam diáfises ou epífises, e 17,6% correspondem a elementos ósseos cuja placa epifisiária da diáfise se funde com a respectiva epífise até aos doze meses de idade (nomeadamente úmero distal, rádio proximal, acetábulo e segunda falange proximal), perfazendo 53,7% de animais juvenis, em absoluto contraste com 5,9% de ossos longos de animais já adultos, que se fundem com 24 ou mais meses de idade (no caso, tibia distal e metacarpo ou metatarso distal).

Embora a distinção entre o doméstico (*Sus domesticus*) e o selvagem (*Sus scrofa*) não tenha sido ainda conseguida (a distinção entre porco doméstico e javali da Península Ibérica é muito difícil de se conseguir a nível esquelético, devido a dimensões muito similares dos mesmos e cruzamentos frequentes entre espécies), os marcadores tafonómicos e a elevada percentagem de juvenis acima descrita parece indicar que a grande maioria destes animais poderiam já ser domésticos, ou pelo menos, podiam estar cativos no povoamento como aporte primário de carne. Assume-se aqui que a caça tão acentuada de animais jovens poderia por em risco a sobrevivência da espécie e levaria à quebra destes como recurso alimentar disponível, sobretudo para um povoado destas dimensões.

Cervídeos

Corso – Capreolus capreolus

Com a identificação de um fragmento proximal de metacarpo esquerdo, é possível atestar a presença de corço no povoado, em particular na UE [32072].

Veados – Cervus elaphus

Espécie cinegética de maior expressão nos contextos estudados, o veado surge na camada [32018/43] com quatro de restos e um número total de 15 na UE [32072]. Com um número mínimo de um e dois indivíduos presentes, a maioria dos elementos osteológicos apresenta-se fundido, com intervalos de tempo entre os 20 e os 42 meses de idade, constituindo assim animais adultos.

Bovídeos

Vaca – Bos sp.

Espécie domesticada bem representada em ambos os contextos, com 16 restos na camada de uso doméstico e 63 no estrato funerário, com NMI de um e de três, respectivamente. De um modo geral os elementos apendiculares apresentam-se fundidos e parecem corresponder a animais adultos. Destaca-se que na [32072] foi possível estimar a idade do abate mais amiúde, através de quatro fragmentos de tibia (dois proximais não fusionados e dois distais fusionados), que teriam mais de 24/30 e menos de

42/48 meses, resumindo, entre os dois e os quatro anos de idade.

Equaciona-se ainda, e apenas no contexto funerário, a presença de auroque (*Bos primigenius*), mas tal hipótese necessita ainda de análise mais aprofundada, com medições, confronto de paralelos e articulação da restante fauna.

Ovelha/Cabra – *Ovis/Capra*

As ovelhas (*Ovis aries*) e as cabras (*Capra hircus*) apresentam dificuldade acrescida na identificação até à espécie devido à extrema semelhança esquelética. Assim, e devido ao carácter preliminar do estudo, optou-se pela sua integração em grupo, designado por ovino-caprinos.

De presença assídua em sítios arqueológicos do Calcolítico do Sudoeste, também nos Fossos do Porto Torrão foi possível a sua identificação, com 14 restos osteológicos na UE [32018/43] e 57 na UE [32072]. Com números mínimos de indivíduos de um e de dois, a maioria dos restos apresenta-se bastante segmentada (fracturas de carácter recente) e sem possibilidade de se retirarem medidas osteométricas.

Aves

Corvo comum – *Corvus corax*:

Os restos faunísticos identificados na amostra como aves são escassos, constituindo um total de 6 fragmentos ósseos, todos da mesma espécie – corvo comum (*Corvus corax*), provavelmente do mesmo animal.

A identificação deste corvídeo foi possível através de fragmentos de coracoide, úmero, rádio e tibiotarso esquerdos e ainda um fragmento proximal de escápula direita, todos com fracturas recentes e sem qualquer marca de manipulação antrópica identificada.

Discussão e conclusões preliminares

De um modo geral, a lista taxonómica identificada nos Fossos do limite sul do povoado não difere muito da que já tinha sido apresentada por Arnaud para o interior do mesmo.

O conjunto faunístico comprehende maioritariamente animais domésticos, com claro predomínio do porco, seguido de ovelhas, cabras e vacas. Estes espécimes surgem como testemunho de uma população maioritariamente sedentária, com recurso à pecuária como base da subsistência alimentar das populações, complementada com alguma actividade cinegética. Esta propensão esmagadora dos espécimes domesticados tem sido identificada em outros sítios do Calcolítico do Sudoeste Peninsular, nomeadamente no Mercador (Moreno e Valera 2007), no Monte da Tumba (Antunes 1987) e nos Perdigões (Costa 2010), onde também se evidencia o predomínio dos suíños – facto que parece ainda persistir na gastronomia actual do Alentejo.

As idades do abate estimadas parecem indicar que o porco, presumidamente doméstico, era criado e utilizado maioritariamente pelo seu aporte cárnico, já que 53,7% dos restos analisados são de animais até aos doze meses de idade, enquanto que os bovinos aparecam ser mortos já em idade adulta – possivelmente utilizados não só pela elevada quantidade de carne, mas numa primeira instância como força de tracção e para exploração do leite.

Os cervídeos surgem como a família selvagem melhor representada, com percentagens maiores de veado e uma ocorrência pontual de corço. No interior do povoado, a percentagem de veado aumenta consideravelmente no período campaniforme, facto que também sucede no Monte da Tumba e, embora tais acontecimentos ainda não possam ser confirmados no conjunto em estudo por falta de

cronologias mais exactas, seria muito interessante perceber se também ocorre esta mudança – vários autores defendem que na segunda metade do 3º milénio (final do Calcolítico) dá-se uma fragmentação e consequente abandono dos povoados e seus sistemas de produção mais sedentária, fortificados ou em recintos de fossos, com recurso a estratégias de exploração mais móveis, que levam ao início da Idade do Bronze (Valente e Carvalho 2014: 10-11).

A ausência quase total de pequenos vertebrados limita o conhecimento mais aprofundado do método de exploração no seu todo, porém foi possível a identificação de coelho e de corvo, sendo que os leporídeos resultam provavelmente de restos alimentares, enquanto que a presença do corvo já não parece ser tão clara, uma vez que nenhuma marca de manipulação antrópica foi identificada.

Por fim, e embora ainda não se tenham conseguido definir cronologias a fino dentro dos contextos calcolíticos estudados, parece existir uma diferença interessante entre os dois contextos (Fig. 5).

Na verdade, as espécies presentes na amostra das camadas [32018/43], cuja conotação doméstica está atestada pelas duas lareiras que lhe surgem associadas, parecem perfeitamente enquadráveis com uma área de processamento e/ou consumo de alimentos.

Contudo, o cão, o corso e o corvo estão unicamente presentes no contexto funerário (UE 32072), sem que se consiga ainda designar uma razão para tal. Mais trabalho é necessário para verificar se estas espécies só aparecem neste contexto funerário ou se surgem em mais alguma das unidades estratigráficas do Fosso I, do sector 3 – Este, na medida em que poderão existir outras conotações dadas a esta fauna que se encontra misturada com os restos humanos.

Agradecimentos

Bolsa de Doutoramento Individual SFRH / BD / 77256 / 2011, pela Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT), no âmbito do QREN - POPH - Formação Avançada, comparticipado pelo Fundo Social Europeu e por fundos nacionais do MEC. Cordial agradecimento aos orientadores de tese Raquel Vilaça e João L. Cardoso, e também aos representantes das empresas Neoépica e Crivarque pela disponibilização da fauna em estudo, relatórios e todos os materiais de apoio solicitados.

Bibliografia

- ANTUNES, Miguel (1987) – O povoado fortificado calcolítico do Monte da Tumba, IV – Mamíferos (Nota preliminar). *Setúbal Arqueológica*.VIII, p. 103-144.
- ARNAUD, José (1982) – O povoado calcolítico de Ferreira do Alentejo no contexto da bacia do Sado e do Sudoeste Peninsular. *Arqueologia*. 6, p. 48-64.
- ARNAUD, José (1993) – O Povoado Calcolítico de Porto Torrão (Ferreira do Alentejo): síntese das investigações realizadas. *Vipasca*. 2, p. 41-60.
- BARONE, Robert (1976) – *Anatomie comparée des mammifères domestiques*. Paris. Vigot Freres Editeurs.
- BOESSNECK, J. (1969) – Osteological differences between Sheep (*Ovis aries* Linné) and Goat (*Capra hircus* Linné). BROTHWELL, D. e HIGGS, E. (ed.) *Science in Archaeology*. London:Thames and Hudson. p. 311-358.
- COSTA, Cláudia (2010) – Os restos faunísticos de animais vertebrados do Sector I dos Perdigões (fossas e fossos 3 e 4). *Apontamentos de Arqueológica e Património*. 6, p. 53-74.
- DAVIS, Simon (1996) – Measurements of a Group of Adult Female Shetland Sheep Skeletons from a Single Flock: a baseline for zooarchaeologists. *Journal of Archaeological Science*. 23, p. 593-612.
- DRIESCH, Angela (1976) – *A guide to the measurement of animal bones from archaeological sites*, Bulletin 1. Cambridge.

- FRANCE, Diane (2009) – *Human and Nonhuman Bone Identification – A color Atlas*. United States of America. CRC Press.
- MORENO, M. e VALERA, António (2007) – Os restos faunísticos de vertebrados do sítio do Mercador (Mourão). *Vipasca*. 2ª série, 2, p. 139-152.
- LYMAN, R. (1994) – *Vertebrate Taphonomy – Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology*. Great Britain. Cambridge University Press.
- OLSEN, S (1996) – *Fish, Amphibian and Reptile remains from archaeological sites, Part I – Southeastern and southwestern United States*. USA. Harvard University.
- PAYNE, Sebastian (1973) – Kill-off Patterns in Sheep and Goats -The Mandibles from Asl̄yan Kale. *Anatolian Studies*. 23, p. 281-303.
- PAYNE, Sebastian (1987) – Reference Codes for Wear States in the Mandibular Cheek Teeth of Sheep and Goats. *Journal of Archaeological Science*. 14, p. 609-614.
- PRUMMEL, Wietske e FRISCH, Hans-Jörg (1986) – A guide for the distinction of species, sex and body side in bones of sheep and goat. *Journal of Archaeological Science*. 13, p. 567-577.
- REITZ, Elizabeth e WING, Elizabeth (2008) – *Zooarchaeology – Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology*. United Kingdom. Cambridge University Press.
- RODRIGUES, Filipa (2012) – Skeletons in the ditch: funerary activity in ditched enclosures of Porto Torrão (Ferreira do Alentejo, Beja) - PWP. International meeting Recent Pre-History Enclosures - Funerary Practices, Lisboa [Disponível em: https://www.academia.edu/22480800/_2012_Skeletons_in_the_ditch_funerary_activity_in_ditched_enclosures_of_Porto_Torr%C3%A3o_Ferreira_do_Alentejo_Beja. Acesso em 17/09/2016].
- SCHMID, Elisabeth (1972) – *Atlas of Animal Bones*. Amsterdam-London-New York. Elsevier Publishing Company.
- SANTOS, Raquel; REBELO, Paulo; NETO, Nuno; VIEIRA, Ana; REBUJE, João; SÁ, Anabela; CHÉNEY, António; RODRIGUES, Filipa; CARVALHO, António (2014) – Intervenção arqueológica em Porto Torrão, Ferreira do Alentejo (2008-2010): Resultados preliminares e programa de estudos. *Memórias d'Odiana*. 2, p. 74-82.
- VALENTE, Maria J. e CARVALHO, António F. (2014) – Zooarchaeology in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Southern Portugal. *Environmental Archaeology*. 19 - 3, p. 226-240.
- VALERA, António (2013) – Cronologia absoluta dos Fossos 1 e 2 do Porto Torrão e o problema da datação de estruturas negativas “tipo fosso”. *Aportamentos de Arqueologia e Património*. 9, p. 7-11.
- VALERA, António e FILIPE, Iola (2004) – O povoado do Porto Torrão (Ferreira do Alentejo). *Era-Arqueologia*. 6, p. 28-61.
- WRIGHT, Elizabeth; VINER-DANIELS, Sarah; PEARSON, Mike; ALBARELLA, Umberto (2014) – Age and death of pig slaughter at Late Neolithic Durrington Walls (Wiltshire, UK) as detected through a new system for recording tooth wear. *Journal of Archaeological Science*. 52, p. 497-514.
- ZEDER, Melinda e LAPHAM, Heather (2010) – Assessing the reliability of criteria used to identify postcranial bones in sheep, *Ovis*, and goats, *Capra*. *Journal of Archaeological Science*. 37, p. 2887-2905.
- ZEDER, Melinda e PILAAR, Suzanne (2010) – Assessing the reliability of criteria used to identify mandibles and mandibular teeth in sheep, *Ovis*, and goats, *Capra*. *Journal of Archaeological Science*. 37, p. 225-242.

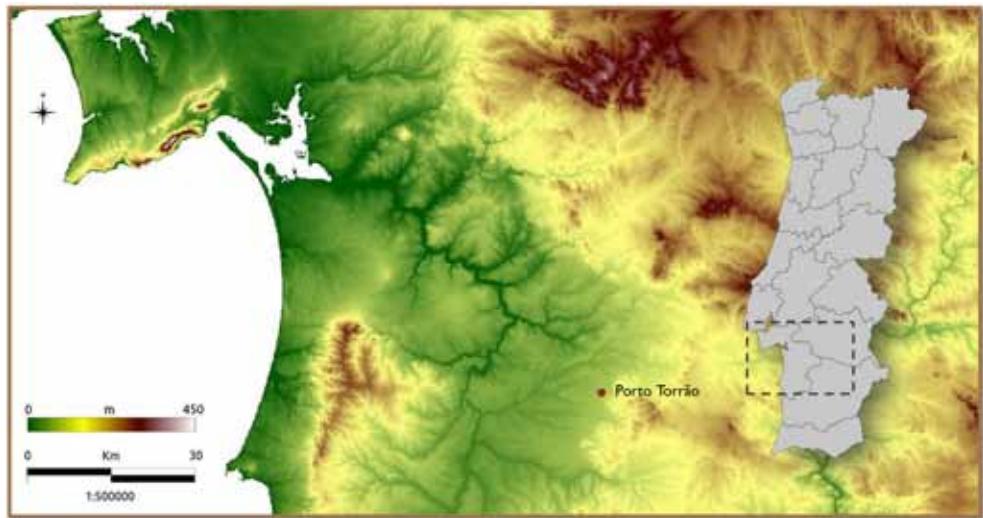


Fig. 1 – Localização do sítio arqueológico Porto Torrão.



Fig. 2 – Localização das várias intervenções arqueológicas: intervenção de J.Arnaud assinalada a azul; da ERA Arqueologia a verde; e da Neoépica, Crivarque e Archaeo'Estudos a vermelho. A amarelo arrisca-se uma conjectura da orientação dos Fossos.

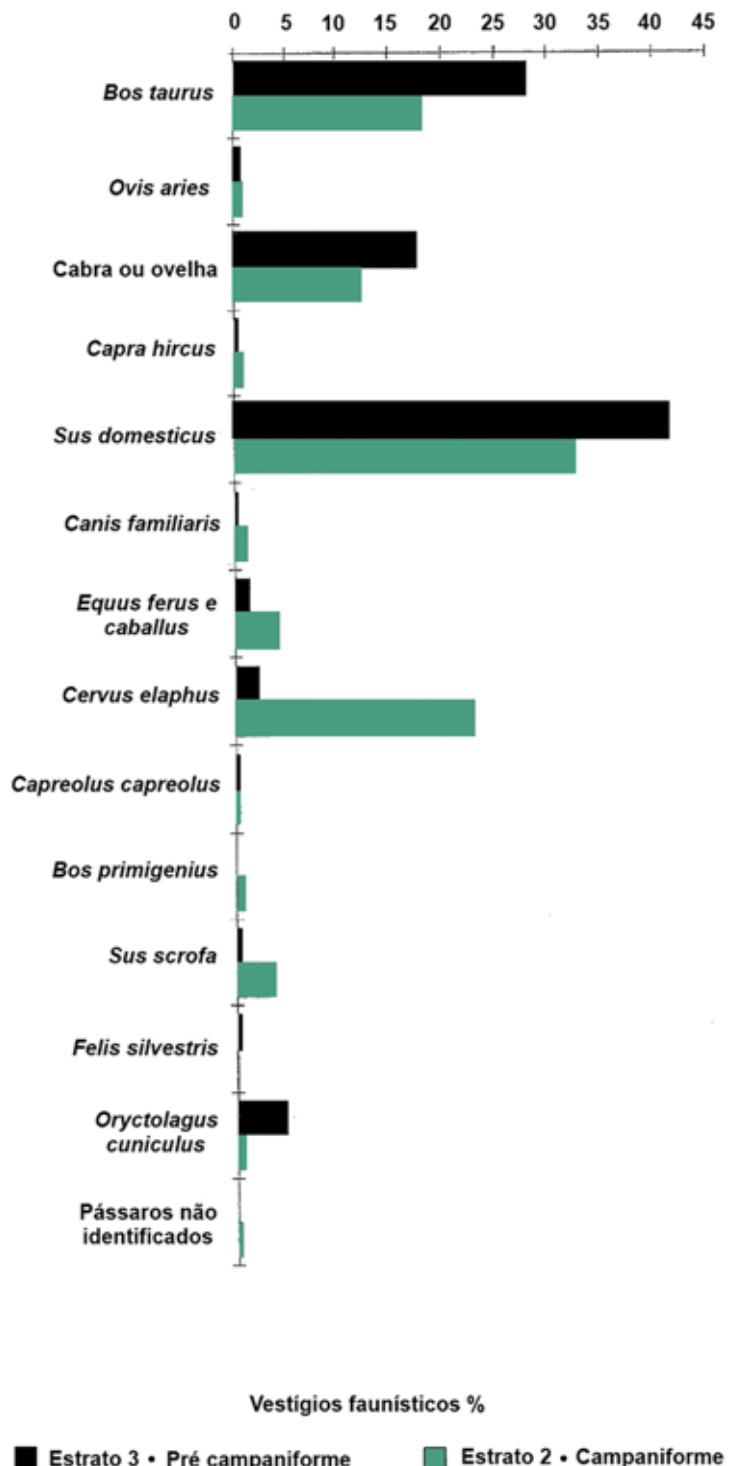


Fig. 3 – Classificação taxonómica percentual de Angela von den Driesch
(Adaptado de Arnaud 1993: 59).

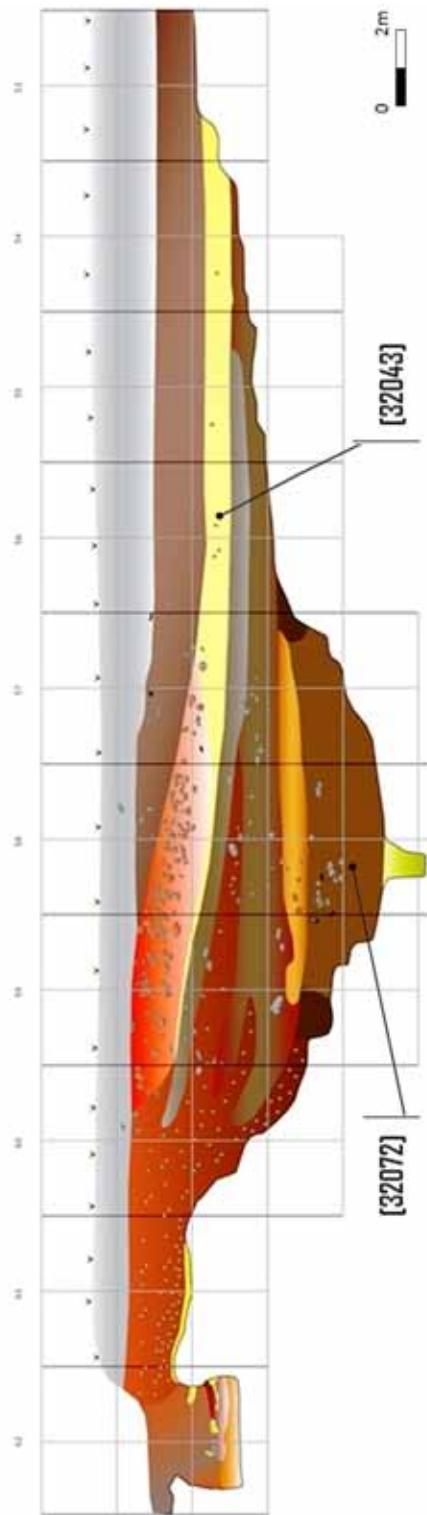


Fig. 4 – Desenho do corte do Fosso I, com a localização das unidades estratigráficas em estudo. (Adaptado de Rodrigues 2012).

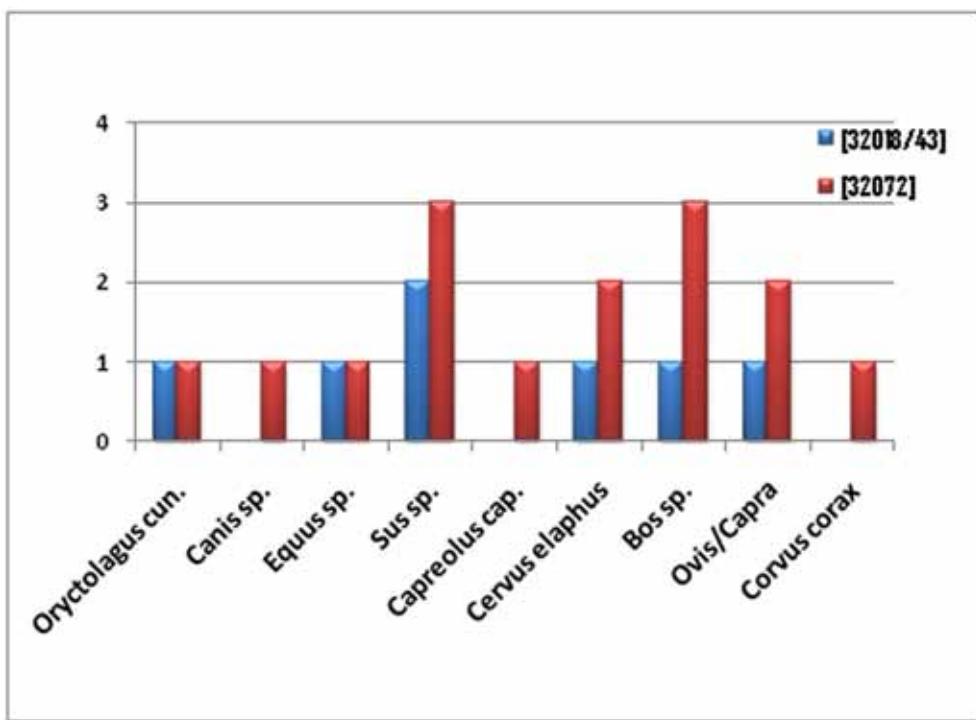


Fig. 5 – Número Mínimo de Indivíduos por espécie e Unidade Estratigráfica.

**Bronze Age funerary commensality in the southwest of the Iberian Peninsula.
A perspective from Torre Velha 3 and other hipogea sites found in the Portuguese
left bank of the Guadiana river.**

Eduardo Porfirio e Miguel Serra

Palimpsesto Lda./CEAACP
eduardoporfirio@palimpsesto.pt; miguelserra@palimpsesto.pt

Abstract

The burial practices reflected in Middle Bronze Age hypogea from Torre Velha 3 (Serpa, Portugal) show a certain degree of standardization. This is evidenced by the architectural structure of tombs; by a preference for individual burials in the flexed position; and also by the inclusion of faunal remains among funerary gifts. Such remains are meat offerings deposited within the structures, as part of the deceased's grave goods. The zooarchaeological study of faunal remains revealed some tendencies regarding the selection of body parts deposited (always comprising the front limb distal extremity) and the animal species chosen (in nine out of ten cases the bones are bovine, while there is only a single example of sheep).

Some of the main characteristics found in the hypogea funerary record from Torre Velha 3, like the presence of meat offerings, are similar to findings from other necropolises located in the Portuguese left bank of the Guadiana river. However, in many cases, faunal analysis studies are rare or their publication is preliminary. Despite that, the available data allows verifying that meat offerings are an important part of these funerary contexts, as are pottery vessels, metallic artefacts or decorative elements.

The data indicates that commensality played an important role among these communities' burial practices and ceremonies. By bringing the living and the dead together in the same setting it allowed reaffirming social ties. As a result community cohesion would be reinforced, which was crucial to economic territorial exploitation. Simultaneously, it should be noticed that both archaeological remains of meat offerings and practices of funerary commensality have parallels in the Argaric world. Therefore, in conjunction with other evidences, these practices may express the existence of contacts between the Southwestern and Southeastern areas of the Iberian Peninsula during the Bronze Age.

Key words

Hypogea; burial practices; Commensality; Bronze Age; Southwest of the Iberian Peninsula.

Resumo

O rito funerário de hipogeus da Idade do Bronze Pleno de Torre Velha 3 (Serpa) caracteriza-se por uma certa normatividade, patente na estrutura arquitectónica dos sepulcros, na preferência pela inumação individual em posição fetal, mas também na inclusão de restos faunísticos entre as dádivas funerárias, constituindo na realidade, oferendas cárneas depositadas como parte integrante do espólio funerário dos inumados. O estudo zooarqueológico daqueles elementos revelou algumas tendências evidentes quer ao nível da seleção das partes anatómicas depositadas, que são sempre constituídas pela extremidade distal do membro dianteiro, quer relativamente à espécie animal escolhida, pois em dez casos, nove correspondem a ossos de bovinos contra um único exemplar de raça ovina.

Algumas das características principais do registo funerário dos hipogeus de Torre Velha 3, nomeadamente a presença de oferendas cárneas, podem grosso modo replicar-se para outras necrópoles da margem esquerda portuguesa do Guadiana, isto apesar da raridade dos estudos da componente faunística e do carácter preliminar de muitas das publicações. No entanto, a partir dos dados já disponibilizados é possível verificar que as oferendas cárneas constituem uma parte importante nos acervos funerários referidos, a par das formas cerâmicas, dos artefactos metálicos e dos elementos de adorno.

Partindo destas evidências, parece verificar-se que a comensalidade desempenharia um papel relevante no ceremonial funerário destas comunidades, pois através da reunião de vivos e mortos no mesmo cenário os laços sociais seriam reafirmados, contribuindo igualmente para o reforço da coesão comunitária, componente determinante para a exploração económica do território. Por outro lado, tanto os vestígios arqueológicos das oferendas cárneas em si, como as práticas de comensalidade funerária, encontram paralelos no mundo argárico, podendo assim, e em conjunto com outros elementos constituir uma evidência da existência de contactos entre a faixa ocidental e oriental da Península Ibérica durante a Idade do Bronze.

Palavras Chave

Hipogeu; Ritual Funerário; Comensalidade; Idade do Bronze; Sudoeste da Península Ibérica.

Introduction

In recent times, several hypogea from the Middle Bronze Age have been identified in Alentejo. This has been one of the major Bronze Age archaeological novelties since H. Schubart conceptually systematized the “Bronze Age Culture of the Iberian Peninsula’s Southwest”, in the seventies (Schubart, 1975). Following up on previous research, like that of F.N. Ribeiro (1965) or M. Tarradell (1965), the German author provided the “Bronze Age of the Southwest” with its own individuality by comparison to other coetaneous peninsular cultures. This culture is materialized by a specific type of grave, the cist; and a typological set of metallic and ceramic artefacts, geographically widespread through an area comprising the Alentejo, Algarve and Western Andaluzia. The first phase of this culture, titled “Bronze of the Southwest I”, was characterized by cist burials where the corpses were placed in lateral decubitus with flexed limbs. The pottery assemblage from this period is composed of containers displaying carinated profiles with slightly concave walls, whose surfaces generally show a “metallic lustre” resulting from polishing or intense burnishing. The metallic assemblage displays the characteristic riveted knives or daggers, tanged arrowheads, spiral rings, plain axes, “Montejícar”- style halberds and archer’s wrist guards. During the next phase, the “Bronze of the Southwest II”, pottery presents a higher morphological variety, in contrast to morphologies from the initial phase. Some earlier shapes are still in use, like bowls type “Atalaia”. Nevertheless, new shapes turn up, like bottles decorated with grooves and narrow neck containers, sometimes decorated in horizontal bands or, alternatively, in vertical ribs. Carinated shapes have lower angle carinations than previously and some are decorated on the internal surface of the base, as in bowls type “Santa Vitoria”. Overall, metallic assemblages maintain some “Bronze of the Southwest I” morphological types, like the riveted knives or daggers and plain axes. But in the latter case there is a tendency for size decrease and some axes show conical appendices (Schubart, 1971a and 1975). Despite the relative scarcity of “Bronze of the Southwest II” metallic objects found in cists, the information about them is balanced by their representation increase on the “Alentejo type stelae”. In fact, when the stelae pictorial elements are appraised as a whole most motifs correspond to metallic objects (excluding the representation of an anchor-like object, of sandals and bows). It is the case of axes, swords, halberds and chisels.

Hypogea necropolises are usually found within a wider array of archaeological features that in Portugal are usually named “negative structures”. Those negative archaeological features witness an intense and extensive territorial occupation through time. It is common to identify numerous structures that belong to different chronological and cultural periods, particularly when large territorial areas were archaeologically intervened (as in Torre Velha 3, Montinhos 6 and Outeiro Alto 2). Usually, “negative structures” date back at least to the Neolithic/ Chalcolithic and forward to Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages. In most cases these structures have diverse typologies and stratigraphic sequences, probably related to their functionality. The only thing they have in common is that they were excavated in the geological stratum.

The aggregation of large clusters of negative structures in the same area, dating from many chronological-cultural periods, unavoidably affected the older evidences every time that newer contexts were built (stratigraphically moving, removing or redepositing their archaeological materials). Furthermore, in many of these sites, the upper layers are absent, probably due to soil shallowness and to its constant disturbance by mechanized agriculture. As a result, it is impossible to stratigraphically correlate many structures from the same archaeological site. Evidently this has many implications on dating and interpreting structures and materials, a subject already addressed elsewhere (e.g. Valera, 2013 and Almeida et al., 2014). A clear example of this situation is hypogea [968] from Torre Velha 3. Its burial chamber was totally devastated by the excavation of a pit in Late Antiquity. However, inside

the pit there was a bronze awl (n.º395) whose morphology and chemical composition indicate that it may have been part of the grave goods from the tomb that was destroyed (Valério et al., 2013). In some sites there are structures preceding the construction of the hypogea and their access chambers. It is the case of tombs type A.I.2, B.I.2 e B.2.2 from Montinhos 6 (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 36). A similar situation was found at Outeiro Alto 2 where hypogea No. 46, 55, 57 and 64 also revealed a pit at the base of their access chambers (Filipe et al. 2013: 124).

Almost all archaeological interventions carried out at these sites resulted from impact minimization processes on cultural heritage, driven by the execution of public construction works, namely the Alqueva Multi-purpose Project, developed by EDIA S.A. Also noteworthy are the archaeological excavations included in the research project titled “Late Bronze Age of the Southwest in the Portuguese left bank of the Guadiana. Fortifications, ritual areas, chronologies”¹. The majority of sites intervened, however, resulted from contract archaeology works. Consequently, the areas of archaeological excavation were almost exclusively defined by the ground limits established for infrastructure construction. Another consequence concerns the naming and numbering of archaeological sites found during such interventions and now requiring some caution when being analysed. The proximity between Alto de Brinches 3 and Horta do Folgão suggests that they are a single archaeological site, and the same happens to Torre Velha 3 and 12, despite the fact that they are separated by the creek of Barranco da Laje. The dispersal of chronological and culturally contemporary structures throughout several relatively close clusters may be an intrinsic characteristic of these sites. This is both shown at Montinhos 6 (Baptista et al. 2012; Costa and Baptista, 2014) and Outeiro Alto 2, where several Bronze Age hypogea and a coetaneous funerary pit show up distributed in clusters B and D, the latter (still being excavated) being named Monte do Gato de Cima 3 (Filipe et al. 2013).

These matters are very important because they show how incomplete is our knowledge about these sites (and particularly about hypogea). In fact, hypogea show up reduced to their underground architectural features, without any remaining positive features. Furthermore, they show up stratigraphically isolated from the other graves that form the burial ground, thus sharply contrasting with the Bronze of the Southwest funerary world. For example, in Atalaia and Alcaria monumental necropolises there is an interaction between architecture and local topography. Most importantly, there is an horizontal stratigraphic record that clearly temporally links the various graves. Thus, the first, or primaeval, tomb founded the monument, usually occupying a central and higher position, but then several other tombs were successively added, until the last one was built, marking the end of the process (Parreira, 1995; 1998).

As to Alentejo's hipogea, for the moment it isn't completely certain if their clustering distribution reflects several necropolises, in the strict sense of the word, implying a clear physical separation between the world of the living and that of the dead. Since there are more negative structures in the nearest surroundings of the hypogea and some provided materials dating from the Bronze Age, it should be considered that the space for the living may lay nearby the burial ground, either on site or at its closest proximity (Alves et al., 2010, 148, Filipe et al., 2013: 126 e Porfirio, 2014: 36). In fact, the scarcity of evidences undoubtedly related to a living area could be explained by the destruction caused by agriculture or other human activities through time. On the other hand, it is also necessary to have

¹ The project was developed between 2005 and 2009. It was coordinated by António Monge Soares in co-direction with Ana Sofia Antunes and Manuela de Deus and funded by the National Plan of Archaeological Work (Portuguese Institute of Archaeology/ Management Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Heritage).

in mind that the Bronze of the Southwest settlement types and strategies are still poorly known and, in that regard, what really stands out is their little archaeological and architectural visibility (Alves et al., 2010).

Considering the available knowledge it is clear that this subject requires deeper research and a larger set of data. Nevertheless, the results from many sites, recently identified, are yet to be published. Furthermore, the scope of analytical information for each site is quite wide, requiring truly interdisciplinary teams. Contradictory to this shortage in publications is the fact that some interventions were published very quickly. Such publications are not site-monographies and only present to the archaeological community particular aspects of the sites, which frequently question the empirical data taken as granted until recently.

Despite the limitations mentioned, recently some synthesis studies have also been presented, approaching the Bronze Age in this region and including the new data gathered during impact minimization interventions (Antunes et al. 2012; Baptista, 2013; Soares, 2013; Valera, 2014). Some of these studies have been proposing that there is a correlation between hypogea and local geomorphology because hypogea are mainly placed in the areas having the most fertile soils (Baptista; 2013: 674). Therefore, it is relevant to address regional geography.

The region

The geographic area discussed in this article roughly matches Serpa's municipality, being administered by the district of Beja and included in the Lower Alentejo region. Within that wider region, Serpa's landscape occupies an inland position, located on the left bank of the Guadiana River. Like all other water courses of relatively big dimension this river plays a double role. On the one hand, its schist carved valley is deep and narrow (sometimes with height differences of 100m) seeming to play the role of a border, or a territorial and landscape mark that has some impact over the human eye and scale. On the other hand, the Guadiana's waterflow is seasonal, generating great floods (Feio, 1947), and its course is punctuated by geomorphological landforms that hinder navigation, nevertheless, it runs into the ocean and has historically relevant ports. Consequently it has played an important communication role between the coast and the hinterland, perhaps attenuating the inland character of this region (Fig. 1).

In clear contrast to the regime of the Guadiana River (which either rapidly and impulsively increases its flow, or loses its strength, depending on seasonal rainfall) the region's topography is broadly characterized by a big land extension that tends to be flat. This is particularly clear in the area between the villages of Brinches and Pias and the neighbouring municipality of Moura. To evoke a more concise and visually charged description, nothing better than to recall the words of Orlando Ribeiro (2011: 203): "*The originality of Alentejo (...) lies both in the immensity of its flat land, occasionally broken by loose undulations, and in the climate, whose lack of humidity condensation barriers erases all oceanic characteristics.*"

The region described by the doyen of Portuguese geographers is integrated in the peneplain of Alentejo. It occupies a vast territory extending from Serra de Barrancos and the border with Spain until the sedimentary basin of river Sado and Serra da Vigia, in the East-West direction. In the North-South direction, it starts at a clear northern boundary, located on the cliff of Vidigueira, but to the south the limit is less clear, being situated near the Castro Verde area, where the peneplain gains altitude up to Serra do Caldeirão (Feio, 1952: 31-32; Oliveira, 1992: 11).

Considering pedology and oro-hydrography, Serpa's municipality can be divided in two sub-regions with a unique and distinctive identity. The first region, so-called Serpa Fields (Campo de Serpa), broadly covers the territory around the city. It is characterized by an undulating topography, that may also tend

to be flat, whose soils are particularly suitable for farming. To the East and South, the topography gains height on the horizon. It becomes rockier and rugged, presenting higher altitudes and schist soils that are thin and shallow. Therefore, this second sub-region is known as Serpa Hill (Serra de Serpa) naturally extending into the Hills of Barrancos (Serrania de Barrancos). This sub-region has a lower agricultural potential and has been more oriented towards cattle breeding (Lopes et al., 1997: 17; Soares, 2005: 112). Nonetheless, the poverty of these lands is somewhat relative because, in fact, the schist hills of Barrancos are rich in copper ores. Copper can also be found in the area between Vila Verde de Ficalho and Moura, at a dolomite formation where other minerals abound as well (Soares, 2013: 274).

The hypogea necropolises

All Middle Bronze Age hypogea necropolises here analysed are located in Serpa municipality. Nevertheless, this type of structure is not exclusive from this geographical area and they are also found on the right bank of the Guadiana. Some examples are the sites of Bela Vista 4 (União de Freguesias de Santa Vitória e Mombeja, Beja), Pexem (Baleizão, Beja) and Monte das Aldeias, the latter located in the parish of Pedrogão, at Vidigueira municipality (Pereiro and Figueiredo, 2011 and Baptista et al., 2013). On the other hand, not all sites from the left bank of the Guadiana having hypogea are here discussed. This is due to the following reasons: some are still unpublished, like the cases of Lameiral 5 and Maria da Guarda 3 (Baptista, 2013: 676); their assemblages do not include meat offerings, like at Horta do Folgão (Ponte et al., 2013.); they did not present any cultural material remains, like at hypogeum [439]-[440] from Alto de Brinches 3. In this last case it should be noted that only the architectural typology supports its dating within the Bronze Age (Alves et al. 2014).

In fact, the archaeological contexts from Serpa municipality have been published more intensely than in other areas. Thus, at this point, despite the differences between publications and the preliminary nature of some of them, there are several anthropological and zooarchaeological studies available, alongside radiocarbon dating information, accompanying the results of archaeological excavations. Therefore, the quality and amount of information available was deemed sufficient for a global evaluation of the meat offering phenomenon.

The sites here analysed are the Belmeque grave (União de Freguesias de Vila Nova de São Bento e Vale de Vargo), the hypogea necropolises of Torre Velha 3 and 12 (União de Freguesias de São Salvador e Santa Maria), Montinhos 6 (Brinches) and Outeiro Alto 2 (Brinches) (Fig. 2).

Focusing on the negative features here named hypogea, as the definition implies, they are graves that were dug underground and have also been called rock-cut graves or caves. Although each hypogeum shows specificities, when they are considered as a whole a set of shared architectural characteristics becomes clear and these are distinct enough to establish a typological category. One of such characteristics is the double conceptualization of funerary architecture, divided in a burial chamber and an antechamber. Although the vast majority of hypogea follow this general trend, there are some variants. For example, the hypogea H118, H155 and H159 from Montinhos 6 has a single antechamber shared by several burial chambers (Baptista and Costa, 2014: 36). Other exceptions are the hypogea [1662]-[1664] from Torre Velha 3 and those labelled 46, 52 and 63 from Outeiro Alto 2, where the deposition of human osteological remains was not circumscribed to the burial chamber, extending into the antechamber (Alves et al. 2010: 139 and Filipe et al. 2013: 110). Despite the exceptions, the general rule for hypogea necropolises shows that the burial chambers' morphology tends to be circular, presenting curved walls and flattened bases. This last attribute is also shared by the antechambers, but these are more diverse in wall shape. Some examples are nearly circular or ovoid, and others quadrangular or rectangular, as it is

shown in the published hypogea typologies from Montinhos 6 and Outeiro Alto 2 (Costa and Baptista: 2014 and Filipe et al., 2013). There are still other variants, quantitatively less significant, like the presence two tubular antechambers in Torre Velha 3 (Alves et al., 2010) (Fig. 3).

Sometimes there is a height difference between the antechamber and the burial chamber, which is usually overcome with a ramp, or, far less frequently, with one or more excavated steps (Alves et al., 2010; Baptista et al., 2012; Filipe et al., 2013; Gomes et al., 2013, and Ponte et al., 2013). Concerning morphology, the case of seven type A hypogea from Outeiro Alto 2 should also be mentioned due to the authors' indication that this type of structures may have an anthropomorphic plan (Filipe et al., 2013: 111) (Fig. 4).

In many cases, burial chambers are sealed with stone slabs (sometimes quite large) and locked with smaller stones. Finally, the closing structure was further strengthened by the application of a "greasy" clay layer, usually black. This clayey sediment was sampled for laboratory analysis. Two samples were collected at hypogea [1489]-[1490] and [1712]-[1713] from Torre Velha 3 and one more at hypogea 3 from Horta do Folgão. The results showed that the clay was mixed with propolis and beeswax, which would increase the clay's waterproofing ability by becoming more hydrophobic (Frade et al., 2014: 144). In Outeiro Alto 2 "greasy" clay was also found, associated with the stone structures that sealed the burial chambers of hypogea type A and B. This material, however, was absent from the hypogea type C (Filipe et al., 2013: 112) (Fig. 5).

These findings are not unprecedented and, in fact, previous analyses of greasy clay found in a cist stone lid from Herdade do Montinho (União de Freguesias de Vila Nova de São Bento e Vale de Vargo, Serpa) had already revealed an animal fatty substance, most likely corresponding to pork fat. In this respect it may also be noted that during the excavation of a cist at the burial ground of Folha das Palmeiras, in the county and parish of Mourão, a "...sealing black clay" layer was identified, probably waterproofing that tomb (Paço and Leal, 1963: 22). Nevertheless, it was not compositionally analysed.

Concerning funerary rituals related to hypogea, each site shows many particularities and it is relevant to notice the heterogeneity of corpse and grave orientations. However, it is possible to identify general characteristics shared by different necropolises. Firstly, concerning corpse placement there is an almost absolute predominance of the flexed position, i.e. inhumations placed in the left or right lateral decubitus, having the upper and lower limbs flexed. For example, in the 25 hypogea from Torre Velha 3 only one burial did not follow that rule. It was interment [2032] where the corpse was placed in a supine position, having the lower members flexed. This burial's uniqueness is probably either explained by the individual's big size and physical condition, or by the limited space available for inhumation (Alves et al. 2010: 140).

The tendency identified in Torre Velha 3 is confirmed by the analysis of primary inhumations from Montinhos 6, Outeiro Alto 2 and Torre Velha 12. As to the Belmeque grave, the conditions surrounding its identification did not allow registering the anatomic position of the two individuals buried (Schubart, 1974 and Soares, 1994). At Montinhos 6 ten cases were identified where individuals were placed in the right lateral decubitus, and seven were placed in the left lateral decubitus. At this site three burials exemplify less frequent choices: two inhumations showed a supine position, having the lower limbs flexed to the left; and another presented a prone position (Costa and Baptista: 2014: 36). An equivalent situation is found at the hypogea from Outeiro Alto 2, showing six depositions in the right lateral decubitus, four in the left lateral decubitus, one in the supine position and another in the prone position. As to the individual buried in pit 1, he was placed in the supine position, having the members flexed to the left. (Filipe et al., 2013: 117 and 118). Finally, in Torre Velha 12 the individual from the hypogea found in trench 9 was inhumated in the left lateral decubitus, while the inhumation from the tomb found in trench 10 was placed in the right lateral decubitus (Gomes et al., 2013: 716 e 718).

A second point to note is that most hypogea were built to receive only one inhumation, thus showing the individual character of the funerary ritual practised by these communities. This is particularly clear at Torre Velha 3 where, within a total of 21 primary burials, 16 individuals are not accompanied by other human bone remains. In fact, the identification of reduction processes associated to other burials is clearly a minority, coming down to five cases². Two of them are primary burials accompanied by bones resulting from a reduction process, in hypogea [2550]-[2551] and [2497]-[2498]; while the other three are double burials associated to bones resulting from reduction processes, in hypogea [1662]-[1664], [1947]-[1948] and [2471]-[2472]. Two other contexts are worth mentioning since they showed human osteological remains of undetermined characteristics and currently remaining in study (Fidalgo, 2014: 100).

When other necropolises are considered, however, the tendency found in Torre Velha 3 towards burial individuality becomes less expressive. In fact, at Montinhos 6, nine out of 17 burial chambers contain individual interments, while the remaining eight provided osteological remains belonging to a number of individuals ranging from two to five (Costa and Baptista: 2014: 36). At Outeiro Alto 2, the seven type A hypogea are largely dominated by individual burials, presenting five cases. In contrast, in the four hypogea type B and C all burials are accompanied by other human bone remains. Nevertheless, when all the data from Outeiro Alto 2 is considered, the relevance of those five individual burials is counterbalanced by the six tombs that received osteological remains from more than one individual (Filipe et al. 2013: 119 –120).

In addition it is worth mentioning that the skeletal remains recovered at the Belmeque grave belong to two individuals (Smith 1994: 185), while in Torre Velha 12, the situation is similar. In fact, the hypogea from trench 9 contained a single burial and that from trench 10 had an inhumation and an ossuary (Gomes et al. 2013: 716 e 718).

Despite the fact that some hypogea burials do not show funerary gifts, the vast majority of inhumations had grave goods. Regarding this subject, pottery and metallic objects play an extremely important role, as well as decorative elements (although these are quantitatively less).

At Torre Velha 3 the most common pottery types have relatively simple shapes, hemispherical, with oval profiles, rounded rims and convex bases; or showing vertical rims, convex bases and a spherical or oval structural morphology. Carinated profiles are also present in several variants, such as: low carination bowls; high and lightly angular carination containers, having a narrow neck; and also bowls type "Atalaia", "Santa Victoria" and "Odivelas". Also present, but in much smaller numbers, are some typical shapes from the Bronze of the Southwest repertoire. Some examples are vessels decorated with vertical ribs and a bottle showing incised pointed arches. On the other hand, there are also some uncommon pottery shapes within the cist and hypogea cultural worlds. It is the case of two pedestalal cups, recovered from tombs [1662] - [1664] and [2471] – [2472], which have their closest parallels in the Argaric cultural circles (Alves et al. 2010: 142) (Fig. 6).

In Outeiro Alto 2's hypogea the most common pottery type is the carinated bowl. One of the bowls (from grave No. 46) shows a pre-firing graffito on the external surface. There are also hemispherical bowls with slightly incurved rims; carinated vessels with strap handles placed near the rim; S-shaped profiles with narrow necks; pottery types showing everted rims and low

² This counting of anthropological contexts differs from other published texts, which only mentioned data from field analysis. In the meanwhile, a deeper anthropological study was performed (Fidalgo, 2014) constituting the latest reference in this subject.

carination vessels with handles (Filipe et al. 2013: 125 – 126) (Fig. 7).

The full pottery assemblage recovered in the hypogea from Montinhos 6 consisted in 31 containers, showing open and closed shapes (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 36). Amongst them, there are several carinated bowls; some simple spherical shapes; and other carinated vessels, whose carination is decorated with lugs, presenting a high-neck and everted rim (Baptista et al, 2012: 162-163). The two hypogea from Torre Velha 12 provided a spherical container with a high neck and flat base and another spherical shape with a high and narrow neck (Gomes et al., 2013: 716 e719) (Fig. 8).

Focusing on metallic artefacts, only 13 hypogea from Torre Velha 3 provided grave goods fitting this category. The predominant functional type is the awl, summing 11 specimens. It is followed by daggers, in number of four. It is noted that awls never show up alone. On the contrary, they are always found alongside other funerary gifts like pottery, metallic artefacts or meat offerings. In three hypogea – [1267]-[1792], [1298]-[1695] and [2417]-[2418] – awls were associated with daggers and in other two – [2250]-[2251] and [2215]-[2231] – besides an awl or a dagger there were other metallic artefacts, like necklace-beads and a spiral-shaped ring (Alves et al., 2010: 142 and Porfírio et al., 2013).

All metallic artefacts from Torre Velha 3 were analysed at “Instituto Tecnológico e Nuclear – Instituto Superior Técnico” (Technological and Nuclear Institute – Technical University of Lisbon), including those recovered from Bronze Age hypogea. The analytical conclusions from that study point towards a quite diversified metallurgy in this period. While arsenical coppers play the main role, the objects made of bronze, silver and copper have an almost residual percentage, which is quite expressive. Most of these productions (either in arsenical copper or bronze) resulted from long *chaines opératoires* of production that included one or more hammering stages in order to increase hardness. Nevertheless, there are some exceptions, as shown by an arsenical copper awl and a bronze dagger. In these cases the annealing operation was not satisfactory producing some defects. However, even these exceptions show evidences of mechanical work. It was also found that morphological type and object functionality influence the *chaine opératoire*. This is particularly clear in the case of the spiral-shaped ring, since it did not undergo a final hammering stage, most likely because its function as a decorative element didn't require much hardness (Valério et al., 2014 e Porfírio et al., 2013).

The characteristics of the metallic assemblage from Torre Velha 3, particularly concerning typology and percentages, are somewhat similar to those of Outeiro Alto 2 (Valera and Filipe, 2010: 52 and Filipe et al., 2013), Montinhos 6 (Baptista et al., 2012: 153 and Costa and Baptista, 2014: 32) and Torre Velha 12 necropolises. It should be noted that in this last site a large ring made in a copper alloy was found near the left temporal bone of the individual buried in the hypogaeum from trench 10. In addition, the piece collected in trench 9 is slightly longer than the standard measure (25 to 30 cm) used to distinguish large knives from swords (Gomes et al., 2013: 727, fig 12 D) leading the researchers to classify it as a dagger (Gomes et al., 2013: 725) (Fig. 9).

The discussion about the Belmeque grave was intentionally left to the end, firstly because it is an extremely well-known and published monument (Schubart, 1974, Soares, 1994, and Soares et al., 2004) exempting us from a detailed presentation; and secondly because of the uniqueness of its assemblage. In fact this assemblage clearly stands out from other funerary collections exhumed in the necropolises here presented. This is shown by the presence of a unique pottery type, which Schubart (1974: 83) named *vase with tubes*, and by the characteristics of the metallic offerings. These comprise buttons or tacks, a knife and a bronze dagger (having *circa* 14% tin) with native silver rivets, which is the same metal used to make the tacks. As for the knife rivets, the analysis revealed they were made of native gold and silver, showing the typical composition of the alloy *electrum* (Soares, 1994: 183 and Soares et al., 2004: 131). In spite of the differences, some characteristics of the Belmeque grave have currently found parallels in several hypogea necropolises from the Portuguese left bank of the Guadiana. It is the case

of the faunal remains that can be interpreted as meat offerings and related to the practice of funerary commensality (Fig. 10).

Concerning absolute dating, currently there are a few relevant dates that should be articulated in order to temporally locate the archaeological realities addressed in this paper. Thus, for Torre Velha 3 there is a series of nine dates obtained on human bones (hypogea [1267]-[1792], [2356]-[2357] and [2417]-[2418]), or on meat offering bone remains (hypogea [1489]-[1490], [1662]-[1664], [1949]-[1950], [2119]-[2120], [2498]-[2497] and [2550]-[2551]). There are also two dates from Outeiro Alto 2/Monte do Gato de Cima 3. One concerning the individual inhumated in pit I and the other obtained from the osteological material of the individual deposited in hypogea 5 (Tomé et al., 2013: 857). Finally, there is also a date for the Belmeque grave, obtained from the remains of one of the individuals here inhumated (Soares, 1994: 183). The combined assessment of these dates (considering hypogea burials and the pit burial from Outeiro Alto 2) indicates that the funerary commensality phenomenon in the Bronze Age of the Southwest is roughly dated in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C., more precisely in its second quarter, extending until the third quarter. The comparison between these dates and those obtained for some cist necropolis shows that they are roughly contemporary (Alves et al., 2010: 150). All the implications that derive from this situation are yet to be understood, particularly those behind the coexistence of architectural and funerary rituals expressed by different formulae, in the same geographical space, thus revealing the complexity of societies worldviews in this period (Fig. 11).

Meat offerings

Generically, meat offerings are osteological remains, corresponding to the leg extremity of an animal that was deposited as part of the grave goods accompanying the inhumations performed in hypogea and, until now, in only one pit. The radius is the most represented bone and it is present in all cases studied ($n = 18$). It is followed by the ulna ($n = 12$) and by carpal bones ($n = 9$) of several types. Their individual identification was only performed in the archaeozoologic study of Montinhos 6 (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 39), so we know that bovine meat offerings found in hypogea H118 and H155 are composed by the left radius and ulna, accompanied by the scaphoide, the lunar, the pyramidal and the pisiform. In turn, in hypogea H59, the meat offering identified was composed of the right radius, ulna and scaphoide of a sheep. In Torre Velha 3, carpal bones are present in five graves, although in variable amounts. Their presence is important since it indicates that the meat offering bone remains were articulated with the distal radius joint when they were deposited (Alves et al., 2010: 145) (Table I).

The analysis of Table I shows that the most common bone remains belong to *Bos* ($n = 14$), followed by *Ovis/Capra* ($n = 4$). Concerning the last group a specimen found in hypogea [1662]-[1664] from Torre Velha 3 is classified as *Ovis Aries* (Alves et al., 2010: 145). This ratio doesn't change when it includes bone remains that only allowed the classification of animal size. There are three cases in this situation, two belonging to a large animal (*Bos?*) found in the burial chambers of hypogea of 62 and 65 from Outeiro Alto 2 (Costa and Cabaço, 2012: 47), and another referring to a medium-sized animal (*Ovis/Capra?*), collected in hypogea H169 at Montinhos³ (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 38) (Fig. 12).

³ Regarding this subject it should be taken into account that in hypogea H102 the faunal remains were not directly associated with the human remains, being found at the base of the burial chamber. Therefore this case was not counted (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 37).

Hypogea Burial Ground	Grave Type	Structure Number	Gender	Human Age Range	Species	Bones of the Meat Offering	Laterality	Animal Age Range	References
Belmeque	Hypogeaum	N/A	♂/♀	2 Adults	Bos	2 radius and 2 cubitos	left	Medium size	Souza 1994
	Hypogeaum	[1086]-[1622]	♂	Adult	Bos	radius (PE+D), ulna (D), carpalis (4)	left		Alves et al. 2010 and Fidalgo 2014: 100
	Hypogeaum	[1267]-[1792]	♀	Adult	Bos	radius (PE+D), ulna (D)	left		Alves et al. 2010 and Fidalgo 2014: 100
	Hypogeaum	[1298]-[1695]	Und.	Adult	Bos	radius (D), ulna (D), carpalis (1)	left		Alves et al. 2010 and Fidalgo 2014: 100
	Hypogeaum	[1489]-[1490]	♂	Adult	Bos	radius (PE+D) DU, ulna (D)	left		Alves et al. 2010 and Fidalgo 2014: 100
	Hypogeaum	[1662]-[1664]	Und.	Adult	Ovis/Aries	radius (C)PFDF	left		Alves et al. 2010 and Fidalgo 2014: 100
	Hypogeaum	[1662]-[1664]	♂	10-14 years	Bos	radius (PE+D) DU, ulna (D)	left		Alves et al. 2010 and Fidalgo 2014: 100
	Hypogeaum	[1947]-[1948]	♂	Adult	Bos	radius (PE+D) DU, ulna (D)	left		Alves et al. 2010 and Fidalgo 2014: 100
	Hypogeaum	[1947]-[1948]	♀	Adult	Bos	radius (C) PFDU, ulna (D+DE) DU, carpalis (4)	left		Alves et al. 2010 and Fidalgo 2014: 100
	Hypogeaum	[1949]-[1950]	♀	Adult	Bos	radius (C) PFDU, ulna (D+DE) DU, carpalis (4)	left		Alves et al. 2010 and Fidalgo 2014: 100
Torre Velha 3	Hypogeaum	[2119]-[2120]	♂	Adult	Bos	radius (PE+D), ulna (D)	right		Alves et al. 2010 and Fidalgo 2014: 100
	Hypogeaum	[2356]-[2357]	♀	Adult	Bos	radius (PE+D), ulna (D), carpalis (4)	left		Alves et al. 2010 and Fidalgo 2014: 100
	Hypogeaum	[2498]-[2497]	♂	Adult	Bos	radius (PFDF), ulna (D), carpalis (4)	right		Alves et al. 2010 and Fidalgo 2014: 100
	Hypogeaum	H59			Bos	Bos - radius, lunar and carpal; Ovis/Capra - radius, ulna and scaphoide	Bos - left e Ovis/Capra - right	Sub-adult	Costa and Baptista, 2014: 38-39
	Hypogeaum	H102			Ovis/Capra	N/A		Sub-adult	Costa and Baptista, 2014: 38-39
	Hypogeaum	H118			Ovis/Capra and medium size animal	N/A		Sub-adult	Costa and Baptista, 2014: 38-39
	Hypogeaum	H153	♀	Adult	Oryctodilus Cuniculus	radius, ulna, scaphoide , lunar, pyramidal, pisiform	left	Sub-adult	Costa and Baptista, 2014: 38-39
	Hypogeaum	H155			Bos and Oryctodilus Cuniculus	N/A		Sub-adult	Costa and Baptista, 2014: 38-39
	Hypogeaum	H159			Ovis/Capra	radius, ulna, scaphoide , lunar, pyramidal, pisiform	left	Sub-adult	Costa and Baptista, 2014: 38-39
	Hypogeaum	H169			Medium size animal	radius	right	Sub-adult	Costa and Baptista, 2014: 38-39
Montinhos 6	Hypogeaum	52		Adult?	Bos	N/A	N/A		Filipe et al. 2013: 120
	Hypogeaum	57	Und.	Adult	Bos	radius diaphysis			Filipe et al. 2013: 120
	Hypogeaum	62	♂	Adult	Bos	Medium size animal			Filipe et al. 2013: 120; Costa and Cabral, 2012: 47
	Hypogeaum	65	Und.	Adult?	Bos	Medium size animal			Filipe et al. 2013: 120; Costa and Cabral, 2012: 47
	Hypogeaum	68	♀	≥ 25 years	Bos	radius diaphysis			Filipe et al. 2013: 120
	Hypogeaum Pit	1	♀	Adult?	Bos	radius diaphysis			Filipe et al. 2013: 120
	Hypogeaum	9.4	♀	Advanced Age	Bos	radius and ulna in articulation	N/S		Gomes et al. 2013: 718 - 719
	Hypogeaum	10	♂	Adult 5-6 years	N/S	N/S	N/S		Gomes et al. 2013: 718 - 719
	Hypogeaum								
	Hypogeaum								

Table I – Summary table of the characteristics of meat offerings. Abbreviations: Und. - undetermined; N/S - Non Specified; N/A - Not Applicable; PE+D - Proximal element + diaphysis; D - Diaphysis; DU - Distal joint not epiphysed; C - Complete; PFDF - Two joints epiphysed; D+DE - Diaphysis + distal element.

Concerning this last burial ground, two hypogea provided bone remains belonging to a *Oryctolagus Cuniculus*. In one case, hypogeum H155, we know that two skeletal remains were collected in the sediment that sealed the burials inside the chamber; therefore, there is some doubt if their deposition was deliberate. A very different case was recorded inside the crypt of hypogeum H153, where an incomplete skeleton of *Oryctolagus Cuniculus* was collected alongside the human burial of an adult female. This context is somewhat exceptional, because human osteological remains were piled up in small clusters, and only the left shoulder blade, the lumbar and thoracic vertebrae and the sacrum were in the normal anatomical order. The incomplete skeleton of *Oryctolagus Cuniculus* (consisting of bone parts of the anterior and posterior legs and some vertebrae) was in a central position relatively to the human remains (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 38). According to the authors, the stratigraphy that filled the hypogeum's burial chamber resulted from the chamber's downfall and consisted of an archaeologically poor layer, which did not completely enlighten the possibility that this animal's presence had an intrusive nature. On the contrary, some evidence seems to confirm the hypothesis that both skeletons were relatively contemporary. The contemporaneity is said to be relative, because the skeletal remains, at least the human ones, show evidences of post-mortem handling. The evidences of burial contemporaneity lay in the fact that both skeletons were found at the same altimetry, under the base of the burial chamber, and that they both presented similar superficial bone erosion rates (Costa e Baptista, 2014: 39). It is necessary some caution when dealing with this context since the stratigraphic position and relation between faunal and human remains does not unequivocally and clearly testify for their direct association. On the contrary, it is said that the "... bones were found disarticulated and scattered over the base of the chamber indicating post-mortem events that are difficult to explain" (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 37). For this reason, these two cases, whose depositional intentionality is not sufficiently attested, were not included in this study.

In addition to purely biological information, the osteological remains found as meat offerings can provide another type of data, useful to clarify their handling. These are visible as anthropogenic bone surface alterations, such as, for example, carcass butchery-marks. In the case of Torre Velha 3 the preservation of most osteological remains fully hindered such an evaluation, as well as the determination of slaughter age. As to Montinhos 6, the *Bos taurus* (hypogea H59, H118 and H155) and *Ovis/Capra* (hypogea H59, H159) remains had cut-marks along the joints, thus implying intentionality in selecting these parts of such animals (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 38) (Fig. 13).

Despite the poor preservation of most osteological remains it was possible to assess the slaughter age of some animals, particularly in four cases from Torre Velha 3. Regarding the *Bos taurus* meat offerings exhumed at hypogea [1489]-[1490], [1947]-[1948] and [1949]-[1950] the radius distal joint was not fully fused, an evidence that they were young-adult animals, aged no more than 3 years and a half. As for the bovine bones from hypogeum [2497]-[2498], their preservation state allowed noticing that the animal was a mature-adult, aged more than 4 years. Furthermore, it was possible to calculate its withers height (= 1.05 m) (Alves et al., 2010: 145). Concerning Montinhos 6, all *Bos* and *Ovis/Capris* offerings that were clearly associated with human burials belong to young-adult animals (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 38).

Another zooarchaeological contribution to this subject is the evaluation of the animal sides represented by bone remains, which was studied in the cases of Torre Velha 3, Belmeque and Montinhos 6. In the first burial ground 8 out of 10 meat offerings were posterior left limbs (including the only *Ovis Aries* meat offering), and the remaining two were right limbs (Alves et al., 2010: 145). At Montinhos 6, *Bos taurus* offerings matched that animal's left sides, while *Ovis/Capris* belonged to the right sides (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 39). This finding is somewhat replicated by what was found in the Belmeque grave, since all *Bos taurus* bones belong to the left side of the animal (Soares, 1994: 186).

Another aspect to consider concerns the location of meat offerings inside the funerary space and their spatial relationship either with other grave goods, or with other inhumations. In Torre Velha 3 there is only useful information in seven cases (out of 10 with meat offerings). This results from the fact that in two hypogea - [1662]-[1664] and [2498]-[2497] - the animal bones were associated with human bones resulting from reduction processes whose primary position is unknown. Finally, the meat offering from hypogea [1489]-[1490] was also found in a secondary context due to the post-depositional disturbances that affected this funerary structure. Nevertheless, in all other seven cases mentioned, faunal remains were deposited nearby the inhumated skull. In four situations they were found in a posterior position to the skull, in two in the frontal position and, in a single case, nearby the superior part of the skull (Fig. 14).

At Montinhos 6 spatial distribution of meat offerings inside the funerary space is also relative to the human burial position, however, their location shows greater variability. Thus, besides offerings being found nearby the skull (inhumations from hypogea H155 and H169), they can also be located near the feet (hypogea H59), or in the space between the thorax of the inhumation and the burial chamber's wall, situated opposite to the entrance (burial chamber 2 from hypogea H118 and hypogea H159) (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 37).

At Torre Velha 12, the offering from trench 9's hypogea was found above the skull, having a copper alloy dagger with four rivets by its side. As to the hypogea from trench 10 the publication doesn't clearly state the meat offering's placement (Gomes et al. 2013: 716 and 719).

At Outeiro Alto 2, in the case of hypogea 57, two meat offerings were deposited near the human corpse's inferior limbs. As for pit I, the meat offering was found close to the individual's knees, having a pottery vessel nearby (Filipe et al. 2013) (Fig. 15).

Anthropological analysis

The degree of anthropological study of the populations buried in hypogea presents different development stages, ranging from preliminary field analyses to deeper studies carried out within masters' theses (e.g. Fidalgo, 2013). The result is a very uneven morphological characterization of the inhumations, and also a high level of individuals for whom sex determination is not minimally secure. On the other hand, despite the fact that the sealing of hypogea burial chambers shows some care, as we have seen, it did not prevent osteological elements to be affected by animals or soil acidity, resulting in the loss of relevant information. Furthermore, anthropic activity also contributed to the destruction of some funerary contexts. This is even more relevant when one deals with long-term archaeological sites, whose main characteristic is the overlapping of occupation stages and where numerous disturbances of the oldest contexts are created when the latest structures are built.

A cross-sectional review of all the analysed necropolises shows that the human age group associated to meat offerings is totally composed of adult individuals. Such finding directly reflects the fact that non-adults were rarely individually buried in hypogea. Thus, in Torre Velha 3 only five non-adult burials were identified and, counting two exceptions, most of them are associated with adult osteological remains resulting from a reduction process. The individual [1534], whose age at death was estimated between 10 to 14 years-old, was buried near the bones resulting from a reduction process of an adult female [1532]. The same situation is repeated concerning individuals [2367] and [2368], who were 5 to 9 years old at the time of death and were deposited in a burial chamber formerly occupied by an adult male. The exceptions are the non-adult [1565] integrated in the age range from 5 to 9 years old at death, and the

teenager [2004] that would be between 14 and 19 years old at the date of his death (Fidalgo, 2013: 102).

Similarly, in the neighbouring burial ground, Torre Velha 12, it was found that the only non-adult individual found within a hypogea – represented by ossuary [1013] and aged 5 to 6 years old at death time – was placed near a primary burial [1014] identified as a male adult (Gomes et al., 2013:719).

Regarding Outeiro Alto 2, all burials that presented meat offerings (either inside hypogea, or in the circular pit) belonged to adults whose age at death is estimated to be greater than, or equal to, 25 years old. In this burial ground only a single interment of a non-adult individual (of estimated age between 8 to 10 years old at death) was identified in a hypogea, showing no meat offering associated. The corpse was placed inside a tomb whose morphology (a circular pit having a small chamber excavated in its SE wall) is clearly different from the typology (type C) of such graves at Outeiro Alto 2 (Filipe et al. 2013:115).

In Montinhos 6 we have no data allowing to analyse the distribution of grave goods and the age of the population buried in each hypogea. Nevertheless, the data published shows that adult burials overwhelmingly predominate when compared to non-adults. This is found regarding primary burials (counting 18 adults and only two non-adults); and also in secondary depositions (12 adults against two non-adults) (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 36).

The study of human osteological remains recovered in the Belmeque grave point in the same direction. Two adult individuals were deposited in the grave and one of them features male morphological characteristics (Soares, 1994: 185).

Besides Belmeque, only Montinhos 6 and Torre Velha 3 have available information relating gender and meat offerings. In Montinhos 6 faunal remains are mainly associated to female burials and to a male individual buried in hypogea H169 (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 38). The data presented in the anthropological study of Torre Velha 3 (Fidalgo, 2014) shows that in this burial ground there was no gender differentiation that could be related to this subject. In fact, excluding two cases that didn't allow linking the meat offering to a specific burial - hypogea [1662]-[1664] and [2498]-[2497] – their distribution seems balanced: there are four male and four female burials. This situation isn't significantly altered if we also consider the data from hypogea [2498]-[2497], where two male individuals were buried (Fidalgo, 2014: 100).

In conclusion

After analysing all funerary contexts where faunal remains are part of the grave goods some common characteristics can be highlighted, showing a pattern or tendency towards standardization. Within the meat offering phenomenon there is a preferential selection of the distal extremities of mostly young-adult animals; there is also a preference for certain *taxa*, as shown by the predominant role given to bovines, which are, by far, the most common animals. Their presence is in clear contrast to that of sheep/goat, which are clearly a minority. Animal side selection is another relevant factor in assessing the existence of a standardization attitude and this is particularly clear in Torre Velha 3, Belmeque and Montinhos 6 (the only necropolis that provided data about this indicator). In the first case, counting two exceptions, it was found that the left paw of the animal was usually selected and the same happened in Belmeque, which only accounts for a single grave. The data for Montinhos 6 does not assertively confirm the tendency observed in Torre Velha 3 and Belmeque, even though, it also does not disprove it. In spite of the low amount of relevant data (see Table 1), Montinhos 6 shows an interesting situation, because sheep/goat offerings always include the right paw ($n = 2$), excluding a single case for which this indicator couldn't be assessed, while bovine offerings are solely

represented by osteological elements of the left paw ($n = 3$).

Furthermore, it was also found that the meat offerings belong to a single animal and a single taxon. Up to this date no burials were identified having osteological elements that belong to two animals of the same genus or family. Nevertheless, the case of hypogea H102 from Montinhos 6 should be taken into account since the faunal elements found at the base of the burial chamber may have been moved from their original position (inside the burial chamber) as a result of the structure's reuse, which is suggested by its complex stratigraphic sequence (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 39).

The material evidences of meat offerings found within some hypogea burials and the existence of a certain degree of standardization presiding their selection, have close parallels in the Argaric world. The presence of meat offerings within that cultural circle's graves is a relatively common phenomenon, ruled by a strongly standardized ritual pattern. This pattern is defined by the species selected, namely sheep/goat and domestic bovine, slaughtered before adulthood, and also by the animal parts deposited. Those faunal remains, collected inside the funerary space, are the distal extremities of rear and front animal limbs, belonging to a single individual or species. It has also been noted that sometimes the bones show up in the normal anatomical order, indicating that a full piece of meat was deposited alongside the remaining grave goods (Aranda Jiménez and Esquivel Guerrero, 2007). The presence of meat offerings and their standardized characteristics show that commensality was a part of Argaric communities' burial practices and rituals and that such activities had well structured patterns, reflecting the position of the deceased within social hierarchy (Aranda Jimenez and Esquivel Guerrero, 2006).

It isn't possible to draw conclusions about the importance of grave goods, and particularly of commensality rites, within the social structure of these communities until the funerary contexts from hypogea necropolises here mentioned aren't more extensively published. However, if one considers the anthropological dimension of this phenomenon it is already possible to identify some preliminary tendencies. Thus, it was found that gender isn't a deciding factor for the execution, or not, of commensality rituals, since meat offerings show up alongside both female and male burials. The same cannot be said regarding age. In fact, as shown in Torre Velha 3, meat offerings always show up associated with adults and a similar situation was found in Outeiro Alto 2 (if adulthood integrates individuals older than, or equal to, 25 years old) and Montinhos 6. However, this fact should be put into perspective, since it is quite clear that in all the hypogea necropolises here studied the non-adult individuals are poorly represented, except when they accompany adults. This suggests that, in these communities, the youngster age-groups had no access to hypogea funerary rituals and that they might be reserved for adult individuals of both sexes.

On the other hand, it is also necessary to consider that not all burials in hypogea show evidences of commensality rituals involving animal sacrifices⁴. In Torre Velha 3 only 10 out of 25 hypogea contained burials with meat offerings, while in Montinhos 6 meat offerings were found in 5 hypogea, out of a total of 14 (hypogea H102 and H153 were not counted because of the aforementioned reasons). As to Outeiro Alto 2, meat offerings were identified in 6 out of 11 hypogea. Concerning this last burial ground, the identification of a meat offering alongside the

⁴ The relevance given to animal sacrifices is a direct reflection of faunal bone recovery from the archaeological record of the hypogea necropolis. Nevertheless, we should not forget all other food components whose remains have not survived to the present day, or whose elements are yet to be analysed, as is the case of pottery contents or residues.

individual buried in pit 1 is also noteworthy. In fact, this context is unique since burials found inside such structures are usually characterized by having few archaeological materials. Despite the fact that this case is an isolated find, at least so far, it suggests that commensality practices may not have been exclusive of funerary rituals in hypogea. Such an hypothesis had already been raised by the authors that published the cist burial ground of Vinha do Casão (Vilamoura, Loulé), attributed to the Bronze of the Southwest. In that case it was proposed that the fireplaces found in the funerary space may have had a ritual use, due to the low quantity of food remains recovered (Gomes et al., 1986).

In the present state of knowledge it is too early to draw major conclusions from the facts here presented. Nevertheless, one has to consider that commensality rituals certainly played a relevant role in these societies. In fact, it is well accepted that commensality is a factor that requires consideration⁵, amongst others, when social relations are being created, maintained or restructured. It integrates individuals within a chain of political and social interrelationships, consolidating solidarities between people that belong to communities from diverse geographical horizons. Therefore, it may cover local and domestic groups, but also reach regional and extra-regional solidarities (Aranda Jiménez and Esquivel Guerrero, 2006; Dietler, 2001).

Commensality effectively and specifically intervenes over community relationships through the creation and maintenance of prestige and symbolic value within and between participants, and these elements will be latter expressed in further social interactions. On the other hand, commensality activities can also be the scenery for the creation and legitimization of unequal social relationships, whether through their cyclical repetition or through the use of certain foods and cooking practices only available to specific social groups (Dietler, 1996, 2001). Adding to these, there are also other social differentiation elements, such as music and dance, and they would play an important role in the scenic ambience of commensality practices (Hayden, 1996, 2001).

Holding funerary ceremonies that would bring the living and the dead together in the same space would undoubtedly be an important moment to reaffirm and restructure social relations. These would bond the community as a whole or, alternatively, only bond a part of it, which would significantly stand out from the social whole. In any case, social relations established during such emotionally charged episodes necessarily had a reflection over the way these communities structured their “micropolitics of everyday life” (Dietler, 2001: 66).

References

- ALMEIDA, Miguel; NUNES, Susana; NEVES, Maria João e FERREIRA, Maria Teresa (2014) – Workshop Dryas’09: Estruturas negativas da Pré e Proto-história peninsulares – estado actual dos nossos conhecimentos... e interrogações. Actas do 4º Colóquio de Arqueologia do Alqueva – O Plano de Rega (2002-2010), 24 -26 de Fevereiro de 2010. Évora: EDIA e Direcção Regional de Cultura do Alentejo, p. 271-275.
- ALVES, Catarina; COSTEIRA, Catarina; ESTRELA, Susana; PORFÍRIO, Eduardo; SERRA, Miguel; SOARES, A. M. Monge e MORENO-GARCIA, Marta (2010) – Hipogeus Funerários do Bronze Pleno da Torre Velha 3 (Serpa, Portugal). O Sudeste no Sudoeste?! Zephyrus. LXVI, p. 133 -153.
- ALVES, Catarina; ESTRELA, Susana; PORFÍRIO, Eduardo; SERRA, Miguel (2014) – Intervenção arqueológica no sítio

⁵ Concerning this subject we refer to a previously published essay (Porfírio and Serra, 2010) reflecting about commensality in the Bronze Age of the Southwest, and presenting some bibliography references.

Alto de Brinches 3 (Reservatório Serpa – Norte): Resultados preliminares. *Actas do 4º Colóquio de Arqueologia do Alqueva – O Plano de Rega (2002-2010)*, 24 -26 de Fevereiro de 2010. Évora: EDIA e Direcção Regional de Cultura do Alentejo, p. 96-102.

ANTUNES, Ana; DEUS, Manuela; SOARES, António Monge; SANTOS, Filipe; ARÊZ, Luís; DEWULF, Joke; BAPTISTA, Lídia e OLIVEIRA, Lurdes (2012) – Povoados abertos do Bronze Final no Médio Guadiana. In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, J. (ed.) – *Sidereum Ana II. EL río Guadiana en el Bronce Final (Anejos de AEspA LXII)*. Mérida, p. 277-308.

ARANDA JIMÉNEZ, Gonzalo; ESQUIVEL GUERRERO, Juan Antonio (2006) - Ritual funerario y comensalidad en las sociedades de la Edad del Bronce del Sureste peninsular: la Cultura de El Argar. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*. 63 (2), p. 117-133.

ARANDA JIMÉNEZ, Gonzalo; ESQUIVEL GUERRERO, Juan Antonio (2007) - Poder y prestigio en las sociedades de la cultura de El Argar. El consumo comunal de bóvidos y ovicápridos en los rituales de enterramiento. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*. 64 (2), p. 95-118.

BAPTISTA, Lídia (2013) - A Idade do Bronze no concelho de Serpa: um primeiro esboço de um conhecimento em construção. In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier; BUSTAMANTE, Macarena; GARCÍA CABEZAS, Miriam. (Ed.), *VI Encuentro de Arqueología del Suroeste Peninsular* (Villafranca de los Barros, 4 - 6 Octubre de 2012). Mérida: Ayuntamiento de Villafranca de los Barros, p. 660-707.

BAPTISTA, Lídia; RODRIGUES, Zélia; PINHEIRO, Rui. (2012) - Espacialidades dos cadáveres em Montinhos 6: contributos para uma compreensão das práticas funerárias da Idade do Bronze no Sudoeste Peninsular. In DEUS, Manuela de (Ed.) - *V Encontro de Arqueología do Sudoeste Peninsular - Almodôvar - 18 a 20 de Novembro de 2010*. Almodôvar : Município de Almodôvar, p. 149-170.

BAPTISTA, Lídia; GOMES, Sérgio; PINHEIRO, Rui; RODRIGUES, Zélia; VALE, Nélson; GRILLO, José; MENDONÇA, Rodry; LUÍS, Liliana; SARAIVA, André e MOTA, Ricardo (2013) – Ponto de situação dos trabalhos de minimização de impactes sobre o património cultural decorrentes da execução do Circuito Hidráulico de Pedrógão – Fase de Obra (1ª fase) (Vidigueira e Beja, Portugal). In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, J.; BUSTAMONTE ÁLVAREZ, M. e GARCIA CABEZAS, M. (eds), *Actas del VI Encuentro de Arqueología del Suroeste Peninsular*. Villafranca de los Barros, p. 2537-2571.

BRONK, Ramsey , C. and LEE, S. (2013) - Recent and planned developments of the program OxCal. *Radiocarbon*, 22(2-3), p. 720-730.

COSTA, Cláudia and BAPTISTA, Lídia (2014) - The inclusion of faunal remains in Bronze Age funerary practices in Southern Portugal. Montinhos 6 - a case study. In DETRY, Cleia e DIAS, Rita (ed.) *Proceedings of the First Zooarchaeology Conference in Portugal*, Held at the Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon, 8th-9th March 2012, BAR International Series S2662, p. 33-46.

COSTA, Cláudia and CABAÇO, Nelson (2013) – Associação de restos de animais vertebrados a contextos funerários da Pré-história Recente: o caso do Outeiro Alto 2. *Apontamentos de Arqueologia e Património*. 8, p. 43-47.

DIETLER, Michael (1996) - Feasts and commensal politics in the political economy. Food power and status in Prehistoric Europe. In WIESSNER, Polly; SCHIEFENHÖVEL, Wulf (Ed.) *Food and the status quest. An interdisciplinary perspective*. Berghahn Books: Providence/Oxford, p. 87-125.

DIETLER, Michael (2001) - Theorizing the feast: ritual of consumption, commensal politics, and power in African contexts. In DIETLER, Michael; HAYDEN, Brian (Ed.) *Feasts archaeological and ethnographic perspectives on food, politics, and power*. Smithsonian Institution Press: Washington and London, p. 65-114.

FEIO, Mariano (1947) – *Os terraços do Guadiana a jusante do Ardila*. Lisboa: Instituto para a Alta Cultura, Centros de estudos Geográficos.

FEIO, Mariano (1952) – A evolução do relevo do Baixo Alentejo e Algarve. *Estudos de Geomorfologia*. Lisboa: Instituto para a Alta Cultura - Centro de Estudos Geográficos.

FIDALGO, Daniel (2014) - Contextos funerários e estudo antropológico dos restos ósseos humanos dos hipogeus de Torre Velha 3 (São Salvador, Serpa): Uma aproximação ao estudo das comunidades humanas do Bronze do Sudoeste. Tese de Mestrado, Departamento de Ciências da Vida. Faculdade de Ciências e Tecnologia da Universidade de Coimbra.

FILIPE, Vítor; 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*. LXXI, p. 107-129.

FRADE, José C.; SOARES, António Monge; CANDEIAS, António; RIBEIRO, Maria Isabel M.; PONTE, Teresa Nunes da; SERRA, Miguel e PORFÍRIO, Eduardo (2014) - Beeswax and propolis as sealants of funerary chambers during the Middle Bronze Age in the South-Western Iberian Peninsula. In SCOTT, Rebecca B.; BRAEKMAN, Dennis; CARREMAN,

Mike; DEGRYSE, Patrick (Ed.) - *Proceedings of the 39th International Symposium for Archaeometry, Leuven (2012)*. Centre for Archaeological Sciences, KU Leuven, p. 141-145.

GOMES, Sérgio; BAPTISTA, Lídia; RODRIGUES, Zélia (2013) – Tradições de inumação durante a Idade do Bronze em Torre Velha 12 (Salvador, Serpa). In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier; BUSTAMANTE, Macarena; GARCÍA CABEZAS, Miriam (ed.) *VI Encuentro de Arqueología del Suroeste Peninsular* (Villafranca de los Barros, 4 – 6 Octubre de 2012). Mérida: Ayuntamiento de Villafranca de los Barros, p. 710-732.

HAYDEN, Brian (1996) - Feasting in the Prehistoric and traditional societies. In WIESSNER, Polly; SCHIEFENHÖVEL, Wulf (Ed.) *Food and the status quest. An interdisciplinary perspective*. Berghahn Books: Providence/Oxford, p. 127-147.

HAYDEN, Brian (2001) - Fabulous feasts: a prolegomenon to the importance of feasting. In DIETLER, Michael; HAYDEN, Brian (Ed.) *Feasts archaeological and ethnographic perspectives on food, politics, and power*. Smithsonian Institution Press: Washington and London, p. 23-64.

LOPES, Maria da Conceição, CARVALHO, Pedro Carvalho e GOMES, Susana. M. (1997) – *Arqueologia do concelho de Serpa*. Serpa: Câmara Municipal de Serpa.

OLIVEIRA, J.T. (1992) - *Carta Geológica de Portugal. Escala 1/200 000. Notícia Explicativa da folha n.º 8*. Lisboa: Serviços Geológicos de Portugal.

PAÇO, A. and LEAL, J.B. (1963) - Sepulturas Argáricas da Folha das Palmeiras (Mourão). *A Cidade de Évora*. 45-46, p. 21-24.

PARREIRA, R. (1995) – Aspectos da Idade do Bronze no Alentejo interior. In JORGE, Susana Oliveira (ed.), *A Idade do Bronze em Portugal: discursos de poder*. Lisboa: Instituto Português de Museus/Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, p. 136-139.

PARREIRA, R. (1998) – As arquitecturas como factor de construção da paisagem na Idade do Bronze do Alentejo interior. In JORGE, Susana Oliveira (ed.), *Existe uma Idade do Bronze Atlântico?*. Lisboa: Trabalhos de Arqueologia. 10, p. 267-273.

PEREIRO, Telmo do; FIGUEIREDO, Álvaro (2011) – Intervenção arqueológica de um hipogeu do Bronze Pleno no sítio da Bela Vista 4 (Mombeja, Portugal). Poster apresentado no *VI Encuentro de Arqueología del Suroeste Peninsular* (Villafranca de los Barros, 4 - 6 Octubre de 2012).

PONTE, Teresa Nunes da; SOARES, António M. Monge; ARAÚJO, Maria de Fátima; FRADE, José C.; RIBEIRO, Isabel; RODRIGUES, Zélia; SILVA, Rui J. C. e VALÉRIO, Pedro (2012) - O Bronze Pleno do Sudoeste da Horta do Folgão (Serpa, Portugal). Os Hipogeus Funerários. *O Arqueólogo Português*. Série V, 2, p. 263-293.

PORFÍRIO, Eduardo (2014) - O povoamento aberto no Bronze Pleno do Sudoeste. Algumas reflexões a partir do sítio de Torre Velha 3 (Serpa). In VILAÇA, Raquel e SERRA, Miguel (ed.) *Idade do Bronze do Sudoeste. Novas perspetivas sobre uma velha problemática*. Coimbra: Instituto de Arqueologia. Secção de Arqueologia. FLUC, Palimpsesto Lda. e CEAACP, p. 25-49.

PORFÍRIO, Eduardo and SERRA, Miguel (2010) – Rituais funerários e de comensalidade no Bronze do Sudoeste da Península Ibérica: novos dados a partir de uma intervenção arqueológica no sítio da Torre Velha 3 (Serpa). *Estudos do Quaternário*. 6, p. 49-66.

PORFÍRIO, Eduardo; SERRA, Miguel; VALÉRIO, Pedro; SOARES, António Monge; ARAÚJO, Maria de Fátima; SILVA e Rui J. C. (2013) – Os metais da Idade do Bronze de Torre Velha 3 (Serpa) e os seus contextos arqueológicos. *Actas do I Congresso da Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses*. Lisboa: Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, p. 563-571.

REIMER, P. J., BARD, E., BAYLISS, A., BECK, J., BLAKWELL, P., BRONK Ramsey, C., GROOTES, P., GUILDERSON, T., HALLIDASON, H., HAJDAS, I., HATTZ, C., HEATON, T., HOFFMANN, D., HOGG, A., HUGHEN, K., KAISER, K., KROMER, B., MANNING, S., NIU, M., REIMER, R., RICHARDS, D., SCOTT, E., SOUTHON, J., STAFF, R., TURNER, C. & Van Der Plicht, J. (2013) *IntCal13 and Marine 13 Radiocarbon Age Calibration Curves 0-50,000 Years cal BP*. *Radiocarbon*, 55(4).

RIBEIRO, Fernando Nunes (1965) – *O Bronze meridional português*. Beja

SCHUBART, Hermanfrid (1974) - Novos achados sepulcrais do Bronze do Sudoeste II. *Actas das II Jornadas Arqueológicas*. Vol. II. Lisboa: Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, p. 65-86.

SCHUBART, Hermanfrid (1975) - *Die Kultur der Bronzezeit in Südwesten der Iberischen Halbinsel*. Berlim: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

SOARES, António Monge (1994) – O Bronze do Sudoeste na margem esquerda do Guadiana. As necrópoles do concelho de Serpa. *Actas das V Jornadas Arqueológicas* (Lisboa 1993). Lisboa: Associação

dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, p. 179-197.

SOARES, António Monge (2005) - Os povoados do Bronze Final do Sudoeste na margem esquerda portuguesa do Guadiana: novos dados sobre a cerâmica de ornatos brunidos. *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*. 8:1, p. 111-145.

SOARES, António Monge (2013) – O sistema de povoamento do Bronze Final no Baixo Alentejo – Bacia do Guadiana. *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*. 20, p. 273-302.

SOARES, António Monge, ARAÚJO, Maria de Fátima e ALVES, Luís (2004) – Análise química não-destructiva de artefactos em ouro pré e proto-históricos: alguns exemplos. *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*. 7:2, p. 125-138.

TARRADELI, Miguel (1965) – El problema de las diversas áreas culturales de la Península Ibérica en la Edad del Bronce. In *Miscelánea en Homenaje al Abate Henri Breuil (1877-1961)*. Barcelona. II, p. 423-430.

TOMÉ, Tiago; SILVA, Ana Maria; VALERA, António Carlos (2013) – Bioantropologia da Pré-história recente do Baixo Alentejo: dados complementares do estudo de um conjunto de séries osteológicas humanas da região de Brinches (Serpa). In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier; BUSTAMANTE, Macarena; GARCÍA CABEZAS, Miriam (ed.) *VI Encuentro de Arqueología del Suroeste Peninsular* (Villafranca de los Barros, 4 – 6 Octubre de 2012). Mérida: Ayuntamiento de Villafranca de los Barros, p. 853-875.

VALERA, António Carlos (2013) - Cronologia dos recintos de fossos da pré-história recente em território português. In ARNAUD, José Moraes, MARTINS, Andrea e NEVES, César (eds.) - *Arqueologia em Portugal. 150 anos*. Lisboa: Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, p. 335–343.

VALERA, António Carlos (2014) – Continuidades e descontinuidades entre o 3.º e a primeira metade do 2.º milénio a.n.e. no Sul de Portugal: alguns apontamentos em tempos de acelerada mudança. *Antrope - Série Monográfica* 1, p. 298-316.

VALERA, António Carlos and FILIPE, Vítor (2010): Outeiro Alto 2 (Brinches, Serpa): nota preliminar sobre um espaço funerário e de sociabilização, do Neolítico Final à Idade do Bronze. *Aportamentos de Arqueologia e Património*. 5, p. 49-56.

VALERA, António Carlos and COSTA, Cláudia (2013) - Animal paws in funerary contexts in southern Portugal and the segmentation problem. *Anthropozoologica*. 48(2). p. 263-275.

VALÉRIO, Pedro, SOARES, António Monge, ARAÚJO, Maria de Fátima, SILVA, Rui J. C., PORFÍRIO, Eduardo e SERRA, Miguel (2014) – Arsenical copper and bronze in Middle Bronze Age burial sites of Southern Portugal: the first bronzes in Southwestern Iberia. *Journal of Archaeological Science*. 42, p. 68-80.

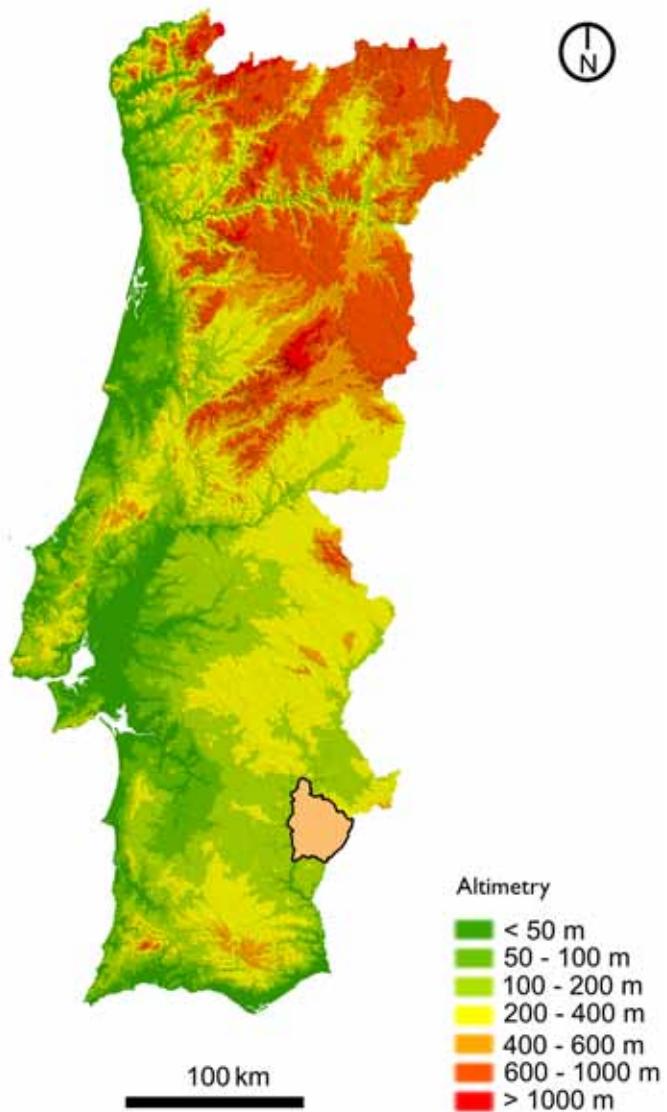


Fig. 1 – Location of the municipality of Serpa on the portuguese territory.

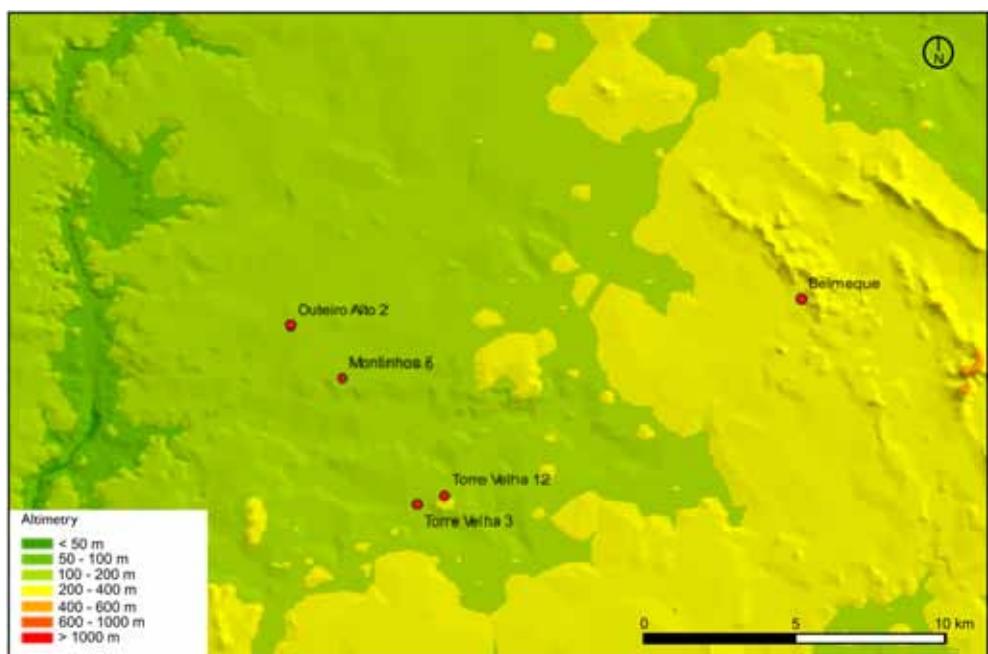


Fig. 2 – Map showing the location of the hypogea necropolis in the portuguese left bank of Guadiana).

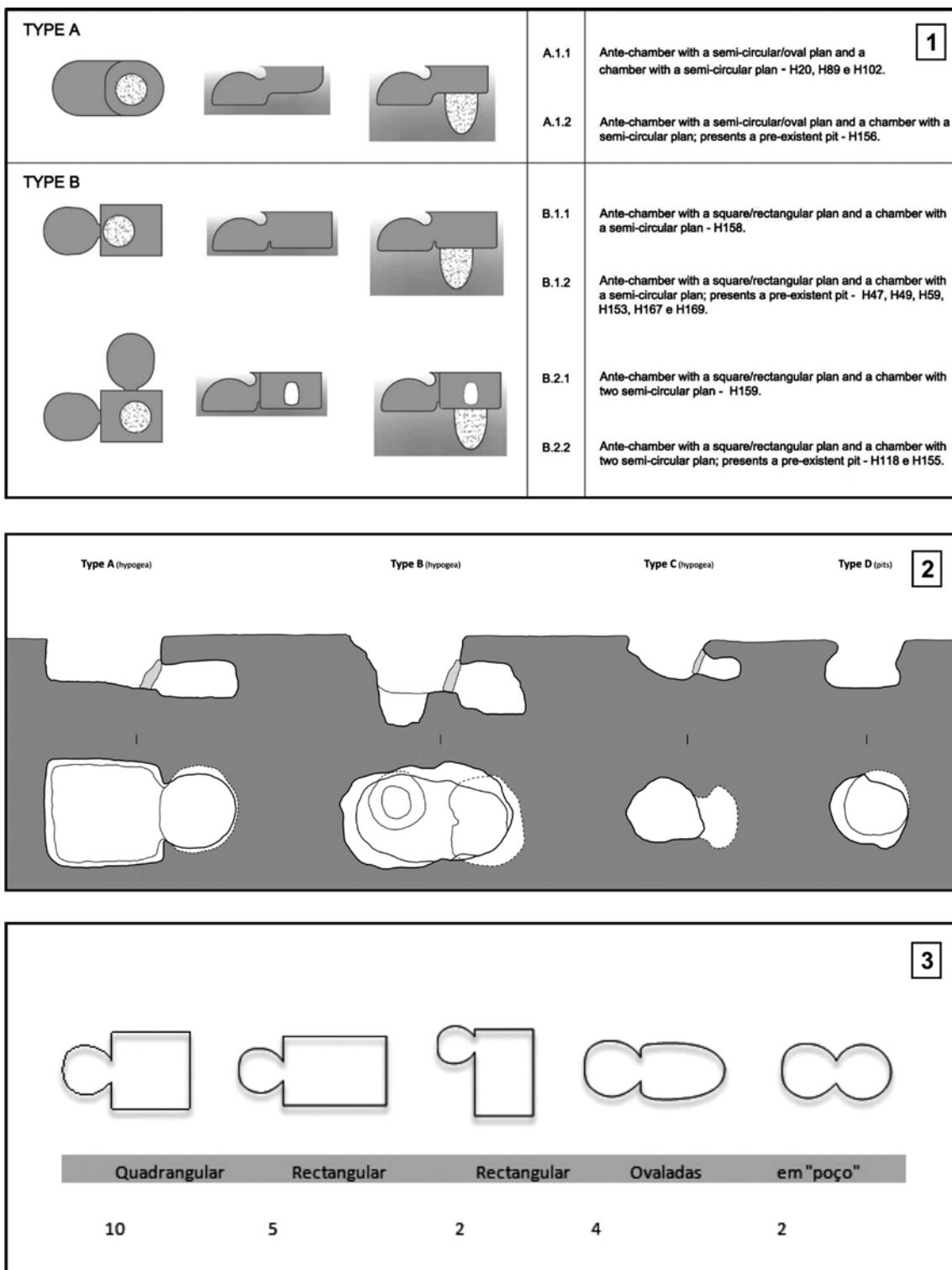


Fig. 3 – Types of hypogea: I - Montinhos 6 (adapted from Costa and Baptista: 2014: 36); 2 - Outeiro Alto 2 (adapted from Filipe et al., 2013: 111); 3 – Torre Velha 3 (adapted from Alves et al., 2014:107).



Fig. 4 – Some examples of the passage between the antechamber and the burial chamber at Torre Velha
3. 1 – hypogeum [2550]-[2551] with a ramp; 2 – hypogeum [1662]-[1664] with tubular antechamber;
3 - hypogeum [1489]-[1490] with excavated steps).

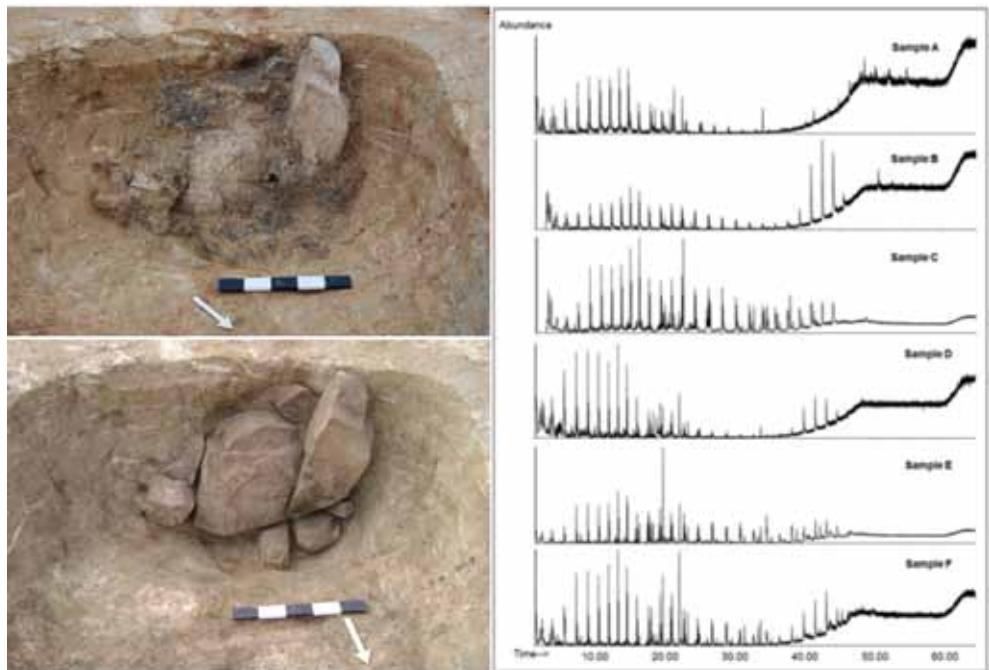


Fig. 5 – Burial chamber of hypogeum [1489]-[1490] closed with stone slabs and sealed with a black “greasy” clay layer. Chromatograms of samples from hypogea of Horta do Folgão and Torre Velha 3 (adapted from Frade, et al., 2014:144).

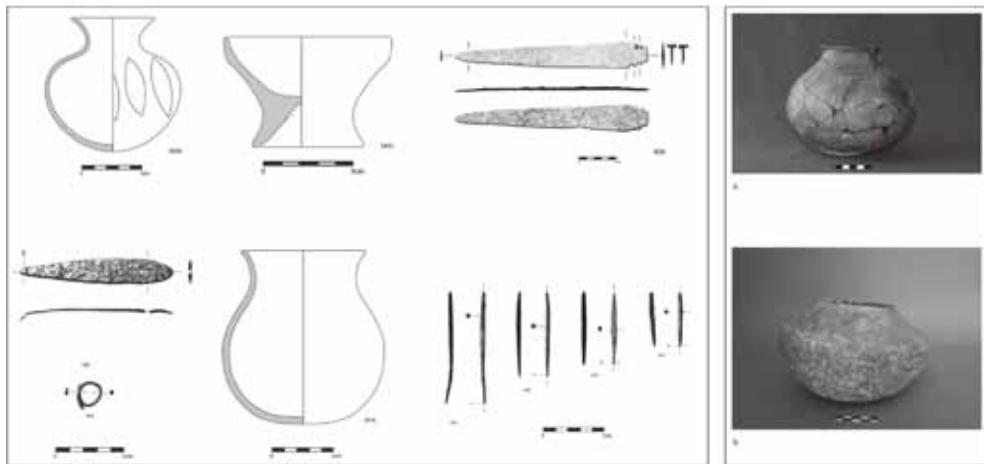


Fig. 6 – Some examples of funerary gifts from the hypogea of Torre Velha 3 (adapted from Alves et al., 2014:108).



Fig. 7 – Funerary gifts from the hypogea of Outeiro Alto 2 (adapted from Valera and Filipe, 2010: 52 and 54).



Fig. 8 – Funerary gifts from the hypogea of Montinhos (adapted from Baptista, et al., 2012: 164 to 166).



Fig. 9 – Funerary gifts from the hypogea of Torre Velha 12 (Gomes et al., 2013: 727). Note: The ceramic vessel letter C and the dagger letter G aren't from hypogea.

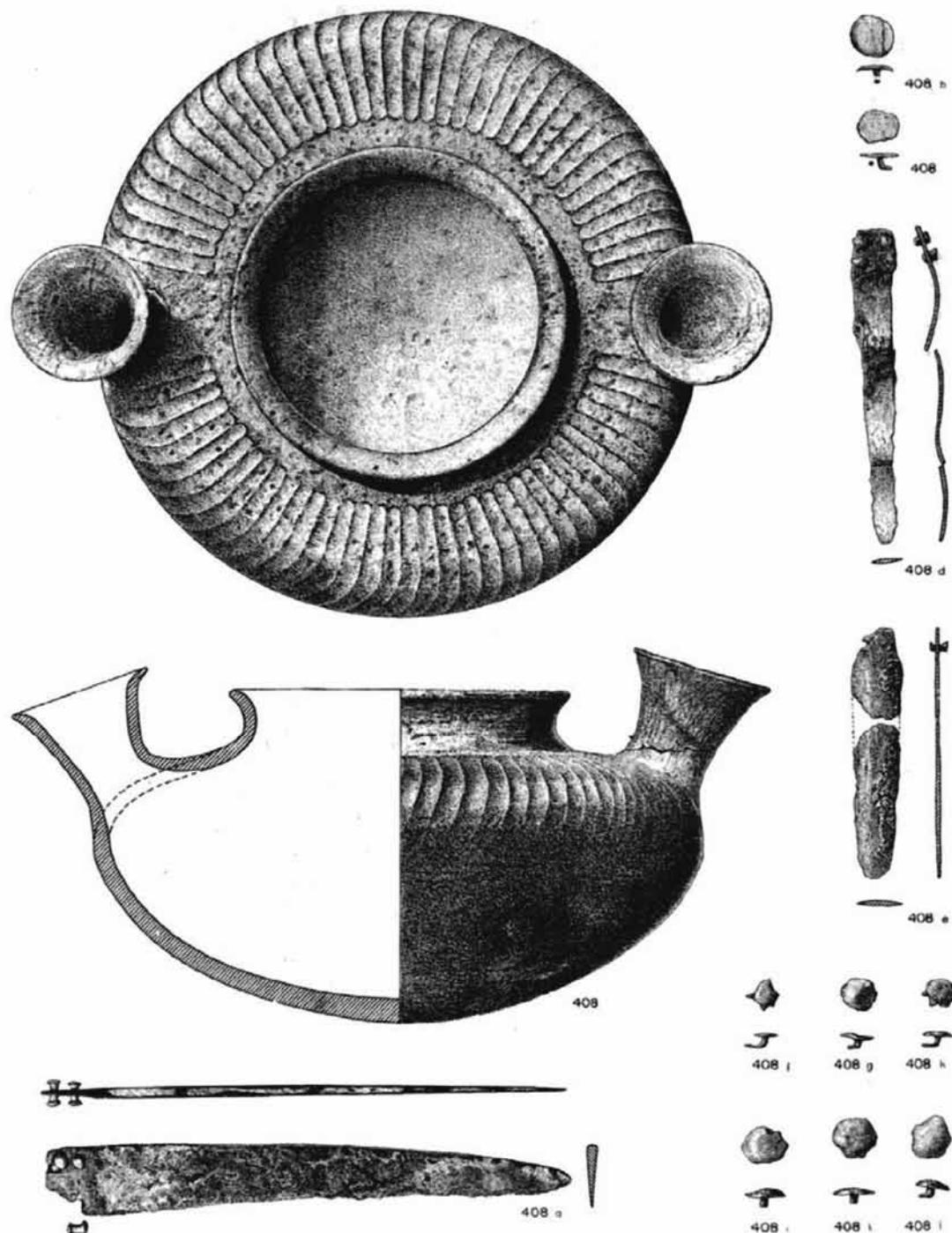


Fig. 10 – Funerary gifts from the grave of Belmeque (Schubart, 1975: lam. 59).

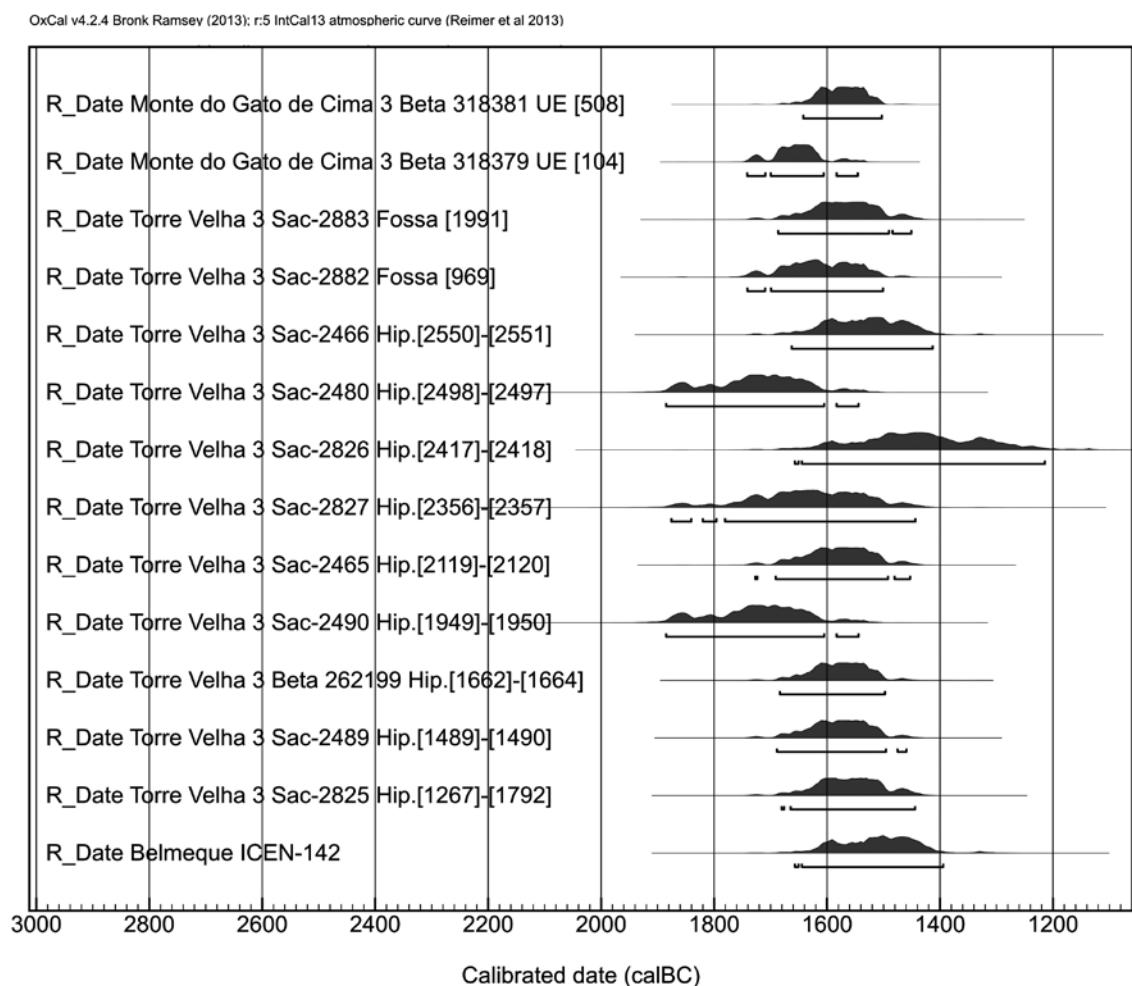


Fig. 11 -- Calibrated radiocarbon dates using the IntCal09 calibration curve (Reimer et al., 2013) and OxCAL program (V4.1) (Bronk Ramsey, 2013).

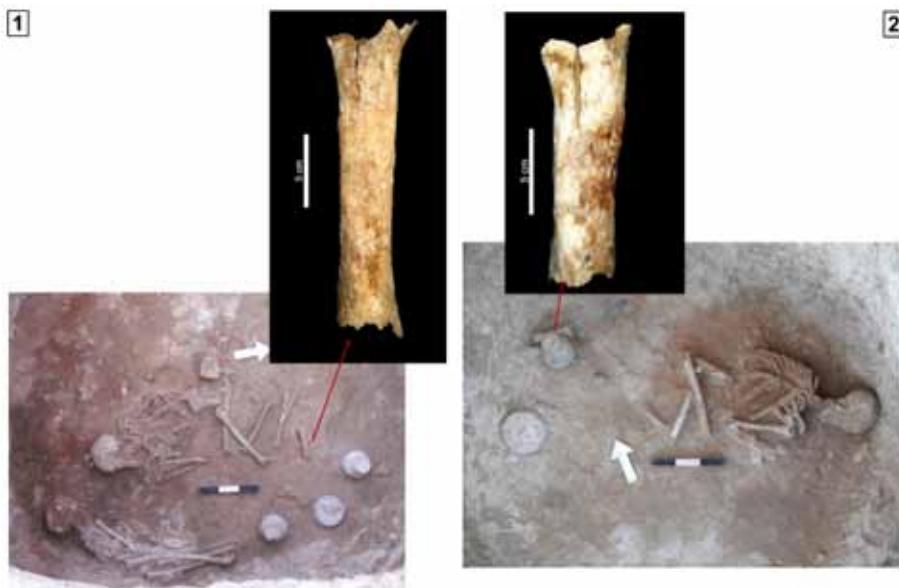


Fig. 12 – Meat offerings from Outeiro Alto 2. 1 - hypogem 62; 2 - hypogem 65 (Costa and Cabaço, 2012: 45 - 46).

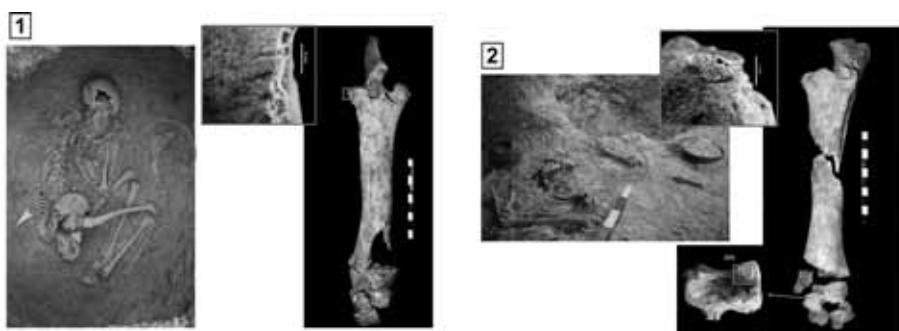


Fig. 13 – Meat offerings with cut marks from Montinhos 6. 1 - hypogem 118; 2 - hypogem 155 (Costa and Baptista, 2014: 41 - 42).



Fig. 14 – Meat offerings and their funerary contexts at Torre Velha 3. 1 – hypogea [1086]-[1622]; 2 - hypogea [1298]-[1695]; 3 - hypogea [1267]-[1792]; 4 - hypogea [1947]-[1948]; 5 - hypogea [1949]-[1950]; 6 - hypogea [2356]-[2357].

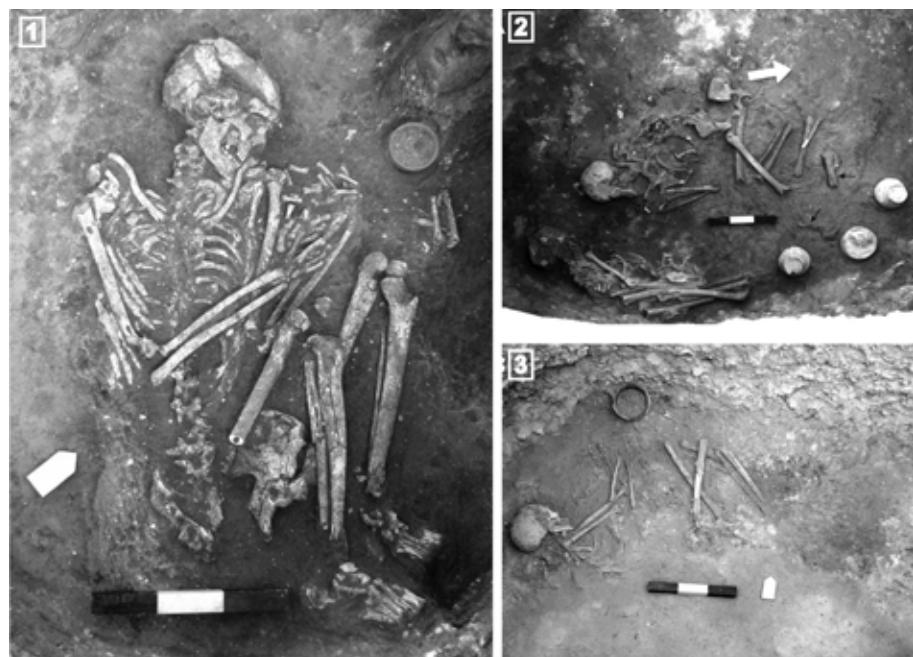


Fig. 15 – Meat offerings and their funerary contexts at Outeiro Alto 2. 1 – pit I; 2 - hypogea 57; 3 - hypogea 5 (adapted from Filipe et al. 2013: 119 and 117).

**Animal bones, seeds and fruits recovered from Crasto de Palheiros.
A contribution to the study of diet and commensality in the recent Pre-History
and Iron Age of Northern Portugal**

Maria Jesus Sanches

Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Porto; Interdisciplinary “Culture, Space and Memory”
Research Centre (CITCEM)
mjsanches77@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper is built on the spatially contextualised study of seed, fruit and faunal remains of consumption in Crasto de Palheiros during the Chalcolithic and Iron age, and attempts to interpret the archaeological evidence from both periods to understand: a. diet; b. collective consumption, contexts of commensality and their possible relation to feasting; and c. the social and political circumstances in which the production and consumption of domesticated animals and agricultural goods was situated. Particular emphasis is given to the overall characterisation of the “architectonic” and “functional” contexts of the site, the use of bell beaker ceramics in the Chalcolithic, and the presence of riveted bronze cauldrons and Attic style ceramics (kraters) in the Iron Age. Together, the archaeological, archaeozoological and archaeobotanical results from Crasto de Palheiros are discussed in the context of the north of Portugal and north-west of the Iberian Peninsula.

Key words

Chalcolithic; Iron Age; consumed fauna; commensality; riveted bronze cauldrons.

Resumo

Apoiando-se no estudo espacialmente contextualizado dos vestígios de fauna, sementes e frutos consumidos no Crasto de Palheiros durante o Calcolítico e a Idade do Ferro, este texto procura interpretar o conjunto dos vestígios arqueológicos no sentido de perceber, em ambos os períodos cronológico-culturais: a) a dieta alimentar; b) o consumo colectivo e contextos de comensalidade eventualmente relacionadas com festins; c) as condições sociais e políticas de produção e consumo de animais domésticos e de bens agrícolas. É dado enfase particular à caracterização global dos contextos “arquitectónicos” e “funcionais” do Crasto, destacando-se assim, por ex., a utilização de cerâmica campaniforme, no Calcolítico, e a de caldeiros de rebites em bronze, bem como a cerâmica ática (krater), na Idade do Ferro. No seu conjunto, os documentos arqueológicos, arqueozoológicos e

arqueobotânicos são integrados e discutidos à escala do Norte de Portugal e do Noroeste da Península Ibérica.

Palavras-Chave

Calcolítico; Idade do Ferro; fauna consumida; comensalidade; caldeiros de bronze

I. Introduction

"In traditional societies commensality encapsulates a wealth of meaning, and is why the historical religions have transposed the ceremony of the table onto holy rituals."

Fernandes 1997, p.16 (author's translation)

Pre-historic archaeology has always been concerned with the diet of people in the past and, since its early days, archaeozoology has aimed not only to identify the remains of consumed animals and patterns of consumption, but also to find out more about the economic relationship between men and animals (hunted and/or domesticated). However, it was only with the development of new techniques for the retrieval and identification of plant remains between the 1960s and '80s that its results achieved greater significance. During this period Jane Renfrew's "The Prehistoric Food and Plants of the Near East and Europe" (1973) became one of the most influential texts on subsequent work in the area.

If the knowledge of people's diet in the past has been and still is on the archaeological agenda, the realisation that animals and plants (whether grown, hunted, or fed and cared for) in a social and political context are much more than just food, has forced us to look at the archaeological remains and their contexts of "use", "abandonment", and "deposition" in as multifaceted a way as is permitted by anthropology (Ingold 2000; Bradley 1998). Of course the consumption of food, in the form of a meal, is indispensable for sustaining human life and as various authors have pointed out, is much more than merely ingesting proteins and vitamins. Meals, because they are routine, are constructed through the *habitus* (Bourdieu 1980) in a privileged area within social life where the formation of identity is both founded and projected. They provide almost unlimited possibilities for learning, as much in the "formation of tastes", as in the techniques and methods used in the preparation of foodstuffs, the instruments used in their preparation and serving, what is permitted and excluded, and other considerations (Dietler 2015, 154). Meals are, by their very nature, instruments of socialisation and, as the Latin *cum panem* suggests, make companions of those that break bread together (Fernandes 1997, 13). As anthropology shows (Bradley 2005; González-Ruibal 2006-7, I:158), meals that follow a communal calendar and/or take place in special places, and the scheduled meetings between groups or segments of groups, can be subject to a large number of norms and in general sense, be more ritualized. These norms can be expressed as much in the order in which foods are served to whom, by the inclusion or exclusion of certain foods, ingredients, or drinks, or in the use of tableware seen as appropriate for the occasion, as certainly in Pre-History or the Iron Age the objectives of feasts and banquets were more diverse than they are today.

With regards to Pre-History, we could say that the so-called "archaeology of food", which already has a published encyclopaedia (Metheny & Beaudry 2015), has developed more systematically in recent decades due to the possibility of chemically identifying ancient residues of food and drink, primarily on the interior of ceramic vessels (Juan-Tresseras 1998; Juan-Tresseras & Matamala 2005). In the Chalcolithic of the Iberian Peninsula the identification of alcoholic drinks (wheat, barley beer, and even mead) and fats (indicating the presence of meat) in bell beaker pottery coming from both funerary and "domestic" contexts is sometimes interpreted as the remains of ritualized meals related to funerals, and others to so-called "work-party feasts" (Garrido-Peña et al. 2014, 110-11, 116). The latter would have served political objectives, such as the recruitment of supporters or manual labour in times of political instability. Although bell beaker pottery is normally very good quality and appropriate for serving food, certainly other fine pottery from local traditions would also have been used, and as such this sort of analysis should be extended to other types of ceramic vessels in order to enrich our understanding of the different types of meals in Pre-History.

In Crasto de Palheiros, bell beaker pottery is present only in the upper enclosure, which points to a spatial distinction of functions and performances that took place in this area – this is translated into the archaeological record by depositions, as described in point 3. However, other culinary and consumption practices in the lower enclosure are also considered.

Fine tableware intended for feasting and/or rituals have been identified in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age in the north-western Iberian Peninsula and worth underlining are the riveted bronze cauldrons (related to the consumption of meat) from Iron Age, which are almost always associated with domestic contexts (settlements) (González-Ruibal 2006-7, I: 2012-13), as is the case in Crasto de Palheiros.

The systematic sampling of faunal and charred plant macro remains in recently excavated late Pre-Historic and Iron Age sites in Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro will contribute to a more exact knowledge of the animal and plant foodstuffs consumed, consumption practices, and even social norms that regulate group consumption. However, pending the results of the analysis of the recently discovered Sabor Valley sites and others excavated as the result of commercial archaeology, such as Puio (Picote, Miranda do Douro), only a small number of excavated sites in the region have provided relevant results (Costa 2007). The fauna exhumed from Crasto de Palheiros has already been studied and published by J. L. Cardoso (2005) and the macro-remains by Isabel Figueiral (2008, Figueiral & Sanches 2003), and in this text the archaeozoological data, and to a lesser extent, the paleobotanical results from Crasto de Palheiros (and the Tua river basin during the Chalcolithic and Iron Age) will be discussed. The data will be contextualised in order to permit interpretations of the use of different spaces as areas for the preparation of routine meals and/or feasts since previous work has predominantly focused on paleo-economic aspects (Figueiral 2008; Sanches et al 2007; Cardoso 2005).

Although there are no known regional settlements in the Tua river basin in the 2nd millennium BC, and few traces from the first half of the 1st (mid to late Bronze Age), the analysis of the macro remains from the Iron Age occupation of Crasto de Palheiros show, after Figueiral (2008), that the area was subject to intense farming and pastoral activities in the period. Thus, the data relating to routine practices of consumption, or the commensality practices of Crasto de Palheiros during the Iron Age, although they appear to be chronologically isolated, give evidence of regional habits that in the absence of other remains, must be valued. The presence of bronze cauldrons and a krater in Iron Age will be discussed within the framework of practices of commensality where meat and alcoholic drinks would be the preferred components of the meal (Armada 2014).

2. Crasto de Palheiros

2.1. Location and chronology

Crasto de Palheiros is situated at 590m above sea level, on a quartz ridge that dominates the lowlands of south-western Mirandela (Fig. I). It is located in Murça, in the Vila Real district. It has been the subject of several publications (Sanches 2008; Morais 2005; Pinto 2011), and as such only a synthesis of the archaeological results will be given here. On the basis of stratigraphy, carbon dates, and artefacts three main “phases of construction” have been identified: I, II and III; and two phases of occupation: I and II-III. Occupation phase I roughly covers the third and beginning of the second millennium BC (*circa* 2900-2200/1900 BC), and falls chronologically in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age. This first phase corresponds to the monumentalisation of the hill, and its subsequent intentional sealing. What follows is an interruption in the occupation of the site until 800/900 BC (late Bronze Age), when the second major occupation phase, II-III, begins. This phase shows apparent continuity with phase III. In construction phase II, we can see the punctuated occupation of some areas of the site, and it is in this

period, between Bronze Age and Iron Age, that a settlement develops that gradually comes to occupy the whole hill. Construction phase III-took place between 550/500 BC and 80/130 AD and corresponds to the Iron Age¹. Between the 6th and 5th centuries BC and the 2nd century AD Crasto de Palheiros was an Iron Age settlement with a clear regional identity with regards to topography, architecture, space, artefacts and both routine and special activities (Fig. 2).

2.2. Crasto I: architecture, space, and the contextualization of faunal remains

During construction phase I, in the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, Crasto de Palheiros could be described as a mega-construction of stone (quartz and quartzite) and clay, which, due to the regional socio-political circumstances and decisions of the community on a regional scale over a period of a thousand years, would become a monumentalised hill, totally transformed by human action (Sanches 2008).

The monumentalisation of the site began around 2900/2800 BC with the construction of a large embankment of stone and clay that enclosed the highest part of the site. From the beginning, a wall with a foundation of stone and body of perishable material (possibly adobe) was constructed atop the embankment creating the Upper Enclosure. Built at between 577 and 582 metres above sea level it dominates the lower areas of the site and the surrounding area. In the upper enclosure two areas were excavated: one in its eastern area, the Upper Eastern Platform (PSL) and its embankment, and in its northern area, the Upper Northern Platform (PSN) and its respective embankment. In the eastern area of the Upper Enclosure (Fig. 3 and 4) the excavation continued until reaching bedrock, and dwelling units were discovered inside. In the northern area, intentionally sealed structures were discovered (but incompletely excavated).

We are convinced that it is during the construction of the Upper Enclosure that the permanent occupation of the lower platforms of the hill, and in particular the so-called Lower Eastern Platform (PIL) began. This platform (PIL), located at approximately 566m, was surrounded by an external embankment and a wall constructed from perishable materials, and encircled the Upper Enclosure. On the lower platform, habitation structures that in later periods would become integrated into the enclosure were constructed and others were located in the area that would be later covered by the expansion of the Outer Eastern Embankment (TEL). These small habitation structures can be interpreted as traces of occupation by small groups who possibly would have maintained the existing structures of Crasto de Palheiros.

All of the architecture and in particular the embankments and walls, required great collective effort with regard to the transport of raw materials whether from the surrounding area or from the base of the hill to the top, which is a difference in altitude of 25m. In this way, the remains of consumption at the site could also be related to the presence of large groups of people who occupied the site for much shorter periods of time than those who were permanent residents. As such, the temporary occupation of the site, whether ceremonial or scheduled, is of course to be considered here. Absolute dates place the occupation of the Lower Enclosure between 2860/2700 and 2400/2300 BC, the limit of 2300-2200 BC coinciding with the intentional sealing of the enclosure in its eastern side. This is paralleled by a similar act that seems to have happened earlier, around 2600/2500 BC, in the Upper Enclosure. But in this last area it is possible that the intentional sealing of contexts extended into the second half of the 3rd millennium BC (2500-2200 BC) during the period in which the North Exterior Embankment was built and the 2nd Eastern Exterior Embankment (TEL2) was enlarged. These embankments cover small platforms with remains of “domestic” occupation.

The intentional sealing of the enclosures, which should be seen as a succession of actions through

¹ Traces of contact with the Roman world are insignificant.

time, also required great human effort. It consisted of the demolition of walls, and the heightening and “elongating” of embankments with a stone covering or paving over large areas of the platforms. In some areas clay deposits were used to “seal” what had come before and, because of this, the pavement has a discontinuous character. It is also worth mentioning that this intentional closing was accompanied by the deposition of lithics (mostly hammer and millstones), ceramics, and animal bones. This was particularly common in the Lower Eastern Platform (PIL) and the Upper Northern Platform (PSN), as we shall refer to below (Fig. 3).

It should be noted that a date of 2200-1900 BC proposed for the final occupation of Crasto I is based on a sample from a hearth (Lx. 9) found in the Upper Enclosure (Sanches 2008, 46-notes 13 & 14). For contextual reasons, this date should be considered with caution, and more reliable dates should be hoped for in the future.

The faunal samples that are the subject of this text were collected in the three areas described below.

- a) The Upper Enclosure/Eastern Platform: areas and archaeological layers containing “habitation” structures. Two consumption areas were defined here: 1 and 2 (Fig. 4 and 7, Table 1).
- b) The Upper Enclosure/Northern Platform: archaeological layers showing evidence of intentional sealing, that form a sort of “barrow” (Fig 4 and 9, Table 1).
- c) The Lower Enclosure/Eastern Platform: areas and archaeological layers showing evidence of “habitation” structures containing consumption areas 3 and 4, and a moment of intentional sealing (Fig. 4 and 8, Table 2).

Some seeds and fruits were clearly identified in consumption areas 3 and 4, unfortunately, this is not the case in areas 1 and 2. To date, the layers showing evidence of intentional sealing (by stone covering/paving) have not provided any plant macro-remains.

Samples from the Outer Eastern Embankment 2 (TEL 2) and the Outer Northern Embankment (TEN) were excluded as they did not allow the identification of faunal sample and only provided small quantities of seeds/fruits. However, it should be noted that the consumption/storage of tree-strawberry (*Arbutus unedo*) berries was identified under TEN and in TEL 2, the consumption of peas (*Pisum sativum*)², seen no where else in the site, was also identified.

2.3. Crasto III: architecture, space and the contextualization of faunal remains

The Iron Age settlement used the layout created by the Chalcolithic structures, as well as the raw materials of which they were made, in the creation of habitation platforms on pre-existing embankments. This occupation seems to have developed by around 550-500 BC from a previous occupation, and its final phase occurred in the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Two sub-phases of construction, separated by a fire that seems to have engulfed the whole settlement (although with different intensity in different areas) around 80 AD, were identified. In the second phase we can see that the fire provoked profound changes, and that shortly after it the settlement was encircled by two lines of concentric walls constructed more or less on top of the primitive Chalcolithic embankments. Habitation structures then began to fill the space between the walls. The sub-phase before the construction of these walls (III-1) is well documented and had a duration of about 600 years. Sub-phase III-2 seems to have lasted no longer than half a century, however, it is not well documented as agriculture in more recent times has caused significant damage to the stratigraphy.

² See Figueiral 2008, table 4: samples from context 143.4 (which should be read 148.3) and context 20.1.

Table 1 Crasto de Palheiros: Chalcolithic

<i>Upper enclosure : Eastern and northern areas</i>			Amount of identified fragments (NR)	Amount of identified fragments (NR)	Amount of identified fragments (NR)	total
Eastearn upper platform (PSL)	Context	number of samples	sheep/goat	domestic cattle	pig/ boar	
	<i>consumption area: 1</i>	13	tooth-1; long bone-1	tooth-1; carpal bone-1		5
	<i>consumption area: 2</i>	4	tooth-1			
	lower level	2		carpal bone-1		1
Northern upper platform (PSN)	<i>intentional deposition/ condemnati- on</i>	4	tooth-2			2
	Sum : NR	23	5	3		8
%	%		(62,5%)	(37,5%)		100%

Table 2 Crasto de Palheiros: Chalcolithic

<i>Lower enclosure/Eastern platform(PIL)</i>			Amount of identified fragments (NR)	Amount of identified fragments (NR)	Amount of identified fragments (NR)	total
Context		number of samples	Sheep/goat	domestic cattle	pig/ boar	
<i>Consumption areas</i>	3	20	tooth-2; long bone-2; humerus-1	tooth-5; long bone-5; inconclusive fragment-2	tooth-1	19
	4	2		tooth-1		----- 46,34%
<i>intentional deposition/ condemnation</i>	pack 1	4	tooth-4	tooth-5; long bone-2; astragalus -1	tooth-2; phalange ?-1	22
	pack 2	5	humerus-1; radius-1; rib-1; phalange-1; Sacrum-1	long bone- 1; cranium bone-1		56,35%
	Sum: NR	31	14	23	4	41
	%		(34,14%)	(56%)	(9,75%)	100%

Table 1 and 2 – Faunal remains from the Chalcolithic layers.

In phase III-I various structures and dwelling units (made of perishable materials) were found in three areas:a) the Eastern Lower Platform (PIL) and a new platform contiguous to it constructed on the upper levels of the Eastern Exterior Embankment; b) on the Lower Northern Platform (PIN) and the new platform contiguous to it constructed on the upper levels of the Northern Exterior Embankment (Fig. 5, 6, 10 and 11). In the oldest part of phase III-I (circa 550-300/200 BC) the occupation seems to have been more intense on two topographically distinct platforms in the eastern area. The innermost was later surrounded by a small wall, creating Enclosure L and it is the creation of this enclosure that allows us to distinguish an earlier, and more recent sub-phase. Both platforms contained stony outcrops, hearths, and a lot of archaeological material. In the earliest phase of the most elevated platform (circa 550-300/200 BC) six fragments of a bronze cauldron³ with circular rivets, similar to those from the late Bronze Age (Pinto 2010), and 12 fragments of krater ceramics, were all found in close proximity to one another⁴ (Fig. 13).

It was in this sub-phase (III-I), between 200 BC and 80 AD, that Enclosure L was built on the lower platform in the eastern area. A low dry stone wall with an entrance separates this habitation area from that of the eastern embankment (Fig.5).The foundation of this wall included a deposition of human bone fragments, bronze and stone decorative objects, contained in a structure similar to a barrow, named the Funerary Deposition Structure (EDF) (Nunes & Ribeiro 2000; Sanches 2008, Fig. II.13).The dwelling units of Enclosure L (units 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5), and to a lesser extent Settlement Area 6, that provided the majority of the charred seed samples.These samples all suffered the effect of a large fire that must have occurred during a time of year when the food stores were still full. Settlement Area 7 is also located on the platform of the Eastern Embankment (which in this period occupies the exterior of Enclosure L) and dwelling units 9, 10, 11, 12 and 14 are situated on the northern lower platform (Fig. 6, 10 and 11).

The fire in Enclosure L permitted to identificate the outlining of distinct sub-circular dwelling units, constructed in perishable material (wood and clay) (Sanches & Pinto, 2006) and the soil showed evidence of beaten earth floors and decentred hearths. Meanwhile, the study of the forms and dimensions of ceramics undertaken by Pinto (2011), suggests that Enclosure L was used for both large scale storage as well as consumption. One of the dwelling units (4) is distinguished by the fact that the centre of its floor is paved with attractive blue, white and rose coloured slabs of schist and quartzite. Here 16 fragments of riveted bronze cauldron were found (Pinto 2010). Seven fragments of another cauldron, also in bronze, were found in dwelling unit 2, which adjoins number 4 (Fig.10).

Beside dwelling units 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, in the eastern area it was not possible to identify the outlines of other individual units and as such the remains were organised in the settlement areas defined above: Settlement Area 6, inside Enclosure L; and Settlement Area 7, on the platform of the embankment (Fig.10). Because of damages to the site resulting from the construction of a dirt road in the northern area, dwelling structures 9, 10 and 12 were partially destroyed. Dwelling units 10, 11 and 12, are considered as a group because they adjoin each other and 14 is considered individually (Fig. 11). We should add that in dwelling unit 10, an iron spike (of 69 mm in length) was uncovered (Pinto 2010).

For this text the sample were organised by dwelling units or settlement areas of origin: table 3 and 4.

It should be noted that when compared to the eastern area, the northern area contained a

³ We would like to thank Dulcinea Pinto for the information relating to the composition of the metal alloys (still unpublished).

⁴ As it is the same vessel, we interpreted the fragments found in the embankment platform as being in secondary stratigraphic position.

reduced number of macro remains. This, coupled with the size of ceramic vessels found within would suggest that it was not used as a specialized storage area. However, it should be remembered that the storage of some liquids or solids would have taken place here on a small scale in a domestic context (Pinto 2011).

3. Fauna consumed at Crasto de Palheiros

3.1. Introductory remarks on the published results

Although a large number of faunal samples were collected during the excavation of the site, the species to which the remains belonged was only identified in a reduced number of cases⁵. J. L. Cardoso (2005:66) attributes this to a number of factors, namely, the high acidity of the soil, culinary practices, and the use of bones as fuel (burning). It is clear that the use of broken bones in stews or soups (and to a lesser extent for grilling) led to the destruction of a large quantity of remains, something illustrated in the huge number of unidentifiable bone chips discovered in the archaeological layers. On the other hand, this fragmentation, coupled with evidence for exposure to intense heat (after consumption?), has facilitated the conservation of some bones due to mineralisation. As such, it could be possible that many more bone chips once existed but were not preserved by exposure to fire (Cardoso 2005, 71). The archaeological remains preserved do not give us a very precise idea of the amount of meat consumed at the site, the culinary practices or preferences for certain animals and parts of animals. In any case, specific parts of only 4 animal species were identified: *Bos Taurus* (cattle), *Ovis aries/Capra hircus* (domestic sheep/goat), *Sus domesticus/Sus scrofa* (domestic pig/wild boar) and it was not possible to calculate the minimum number of individuals of each species (Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4).

Taphonomic studies were not undertaken at Crasto de Palheiros, which means that all results should be considered with caution. Especially if we consider the results of the taphonomic study of a collection from *Castanheiro do Vento*, a site located approximately 80 kilometres south west of Crasto de Palheiros with similar climatic conditions and soil ph. (Costa 2007). The anatomic and taxonomic identification study of several contextualized samples by J. L. Cardoso (unpublished) demonstrates that Crasto de Palheiros has a high percentage of unidentified faunal remains, as was also found in *Castanheiro do Vento*. In Crasto de Palheiros as in *Castanheiro do Vento*, there is an over representation of dental, limb, and long bones remains (2007:107; 121-22), something that could be accounted for by both natural and cultural (intentional breaking of bones) taphonomic processes.

In the Chalcolithic as in the Iron Age, the first thing that must be highlighted is the exclusive consumption of domestic mammals – cattle and sheep/goats– and possibly domestic pig. However, domestic pig could potentially be wild boar, and if so it would be the only reference to the practice of hunting in this community. The second thing is that as many parts of the skeleton with no nutritional value, such as teeth and hooves/feet, are found within the settlement, it suggests that the animals were slaughtered within (Cardoso 2005; Figueiral et al 2006).

⁵ 171 samples were collected and 74 provided conclusive data. The tables presented in this text only account for samples from the studied contexts: in the set of 153 bone samples, 97 faunal remains were identified.

Table 3 *Crasto de Palheiros: Iron Age. Faunal remains*

			Amount of identified frgments (NR)	Amount of identified frgments (NR)	Amount of identified frgments (NR)	total
	Context	number of samples	sheep/goat	domestic cattle	pig/boar	
Eastern Lower Plataform: Precinct L (PIL)	Dwelling Unit 2 and 5	6				27
	Dwelling Unit 3	5		tooth-1		
	Dwelling Unit 4	2		tooth-1; metapod-1; metacarpus-1; falange-1		
	Settlement area 6 A	16	tooth-1; long bone-2	tooth-4		
	Other areas	2	scapula-1	tooth-1		
-----	Eastern Lower Enbankment	20	tooth-2 long bone-1	tooth-3 long bone-6	tooth-1	
Lower Plataform: northern area (PIN)	Dwelling Unit 10+11+12	43	tooth-2; Long bone-5; tálus/astragal us-2; femur-1; inconclusive fragment-1	tooth-3; long bone-2; metatarsos-1		21
	Dwelling Unit 9	0				
	Dwelling Unit 14			tooth-3; long bone-1		
		99	18	29	1	48
			(37,5%)	(60,41%)	(2%)	100%

Table 3 – Faunal remains from the Iron Age layersTable 4 *Crasto de Palheiros. Faunal remains : comparison between Chalcolithic and Iron Age layers*

Chalcolithic	number of samples	sheep/g oat	%	domestic cattle	%	pig/ boar		su m	%
	54	19	19,58%	26	26,08%	4	4,12 %	49	50,51%
Iron Age	99	18	18,55%	29	29,89%	1	1%	48	49,48%

Table 4 – Percentual comparision of identified faunal remains between Chalcolithic and Iron Age layers.

The number of cattle remains, which is slightly above those of the ovids/caprids, does not necessarily lead us to believe that these animals were the most frequently consumed as—perhaps because of their increased size their remains were better preserved. In any case, the slaughter of a cow would have represented a large dietary “investment”, and in a sub-Mediterranean ecosystem, such as was the region in both the 3rd as in the 1st millennium BC (Figueiral 2008), the breeding of goats and sheep as food resources would have been much more appropriate on the poor pasture and fallow agricultural land of the area. Cattle require fresh pasture and permanent grassland, which in this region are rare, small in area, and only found on the banks of some streams and rivers (Sanches 1997: 185-213). In this environment it is likely that the winter feeding of these animals required the cutting and conservation of hay and straw as oats were not identified at in the site. Also, even if cattle were slaughtered at different ages, from young (five to nine months to one year) to adults (above two years), it would still have been more productive to breed sheep and goats as they reach adulthood at around eight months to one-year-old, and can reproduce twice a year. On the other hand, environmental studies (Figueiral & Sanches 2003) emphasise the reduction in forestry (such as evergreen oak) from the Chalcolithic to the Iron Age and the increase in scrubland, something that indicates repeated burning, and the practice of clearing large areas of forest. It should also be added that the slaughter of one bovine would imply forms of conservation or preservation, unless the meat was to be consumed immediately at a special occasion in which the whole community met, probably as part of a community celebration of some kind. Similarly, goat and sheep could have also made part of a feast, but almost certainly would have been consumed more routinely.

3.2. Contextual analysis of the remains of food consumption and the deposition of remains in the Chalcolithic

In the eastern area of the upper enclosure (PSL) there is an area defined by habitation structures: a hearth and sub-rectangular/polygonal structures surrounded by upright stones and postholes (Fig.7 and 4). This area is surrounded by a rammed earth wall and high cliffs, (with some walls being made of other perishable materials such as mud and clay) and although traces of consumption in this area are centred around the hearth, two distinct consumption areas were identified (1 and 2). Area 2 was intentionally covered by a stone pavement, while area 1 was in use for much longer and is associated with very small fragments of bell beaker. Area 2 is associated with the deposition of a complete ceramic vessel⁶ and bell beaker fragments, which were found in both the layer from which the bone samples were taken and in the stone covering (Barbosa 1999). Of four samples from this consumption area, only one sheep/goat tooth was identified (Table 1).

Area 1 is larger but was subject to both erosion and agriculture and so it is possible that originally it was much richer in remains. In the 13 samples collected, an equal amount of sheep/goat and cattle were identified. With the exception of samples found in the sub-rectangular structure (SR-Fig.7), these remains appear to be associated to continual consumption and are mixed with burnt earth, charcoal and seeds. We can hypothesise that the stone structure of area 1 could have been used for the storage of parts (leftovers or bones) of cattle, as the bovine remains were the only ones found in its interior, and around its exterior only sheep/goat bones were recovered. However, from the very earliest layers

⁶ This vessel is undergoing residue analysis in order to determine its contents.

to the latest in the upper enclosure the presence of cattle is verified and the context in which they are found (burnt earth) suggests that, like in Castanheiro do Vento, that the bones last “function” was to be used as fuel (Costa 2007, 128-130).

In the Lower Enclosure (PIL) we can also distinguish two spatially separate areas of consumption, areas 3 and 4 (Fig. 8 and 4), the majority of remains identified coming from area 3. This area sits against the wall on its southern side, and it would have contained “walls” made of perishable materials (wood and clay). With an area of approximately 24m squared, it contains two hearths (CS-Fig.8) between which two sub-rectangular stone structures are located. All 20 samples come from the continued use of this area as they were taken from a mixture of burnt earth and remains of consumption (cereals and beans). In area 3 the consumption of cattle stands out, and could point to non routine collective consumption as in the Upper Enclosure. This area also contains traces of pig/wild boar (Table 2). In consumption area 4, where the overlapping of hearths and burnt earth suggest the continual use of the area, it was not possible to identify the bone remains in the small stone structure (lx. 118) that was surrounded by stones and contained what seemed to be an intentional deposit of several artefacts (an axe/pottery) in a clay matrix that with the bones was part of the intentional sealing of the structure. In this area cattle are found in another sample. However, the almost total absence of skeletal remains in this area (and other vegetal remains of consumption), if not explained by intentional cleaning (which could have left stratigraphic evidence), could lead us to believe that this might not be an area of consumption. In fact, the bottom four layers of area 4, which contain several hearths, do not have any evidence of meat consumption, contrary to what is found in area 3.

In short, area 3, located in the extreme south of the platform/enclosure, is the only area which we can associate with the consumption of the three species of animal and/or the use of their bones as fuel. In this area we also find two elongated, thin slabs of quartzitic schist which could have been used to grill meat or bake some sort of bread.

In both the Upper and Lower Enclosure, cereals (*Triticum dicoccum*; *Triticum spelta*); and legumes (broad bean - *Vicia faba*) were found. In other areas of Crasto de Palheiros evidence of peas (*Pisum sativum*) were also identified (Figueiral 2008, quadro 4). However, almost all samples contain only trace amounts of carbonised fruit as we only find those that were lost during the cooking process.

A second group of cattle, pig/wild boar and goat/sheep remains come from the levels showing evidence for the intentional sealing found in the northern area of the Upper Enclosure (which was incompletely excavated) (PSN) (Fig. 4) that contains two goat/sheep teeth, and the Lower Enclosure (PIL) (Tables 1 and 2). In the Lower Enclosure two “packages” (package 1 and 2-Table 2) of bones wrapped in clay were found embedded between the stones of the “covering” that intentionally “closed this area”. It is in these packages that the majority of identified species are found and all four species of animal found at the site are represented. This deposition of animal bones, which happened after the consumption of said animals, seems to be part of a set of depositional practices particularly linked to “constructive acts” of “closing” or sealing areas of the site.

3.3. Contextual analysis of the remains of food consumption and deposition of remains in the Iron Age

Bones were found in all of the dwelling units and settlement areas excavated from this period, but only in a few cases was it possible to identify the species present for similar reasons as to those in the Chalcolithic period. On the whole, the same species were represented: cattle, sheep/goat and pig/wild boar (Tables 3 and 4), but as already stated above, due to the lack of taphonomic studies, how many animals were actually consumed should be looked at with care. If we consider the dwelling units

individually we should emphasise the presence of faunal remains rather than the absence, as their absence could be due to a number of factors. For example, in areas that were not badly affected by fire, such as Settlement Area A6 and A7 (Fig. 10) and Dwelling Unit 10, 11, 12 and 14 (Fig. 11), cattle and sheep/goat bones were found, where as in the others only cattle bones remained. As such it is quite probable that in all dwelling units and settlement areas both sheep/goat and cattle made part of more regular consumption but for natural taphonomic reasons (and perhaps cultural) they are no longer present.

For reasons we now believe relate to the historical traditions of Crasto de Palheiros, the eastern area (perhaps associated with foundation rituals) (Fig. 12) (Sanches 2008, 119-120) is where we would hope to find more evidence for communal, and perhaps extra-communal consumption practices (such as celebrations or feasts). While we cannot prescribe specific functions related to consumption or storage to particular parts of the eastern area, the analysis of the data allows us to highlight a period at the end of phase III-I in Enclosure L, (which has a monumentalised entrance (Fig. 5), in which it was associated with food storage. This contrasts with Settlement Area 7, where we only find evidence for consumption (along with other activities, such as bronze working).

Located outside enclosure L, Settlement Area 7, when compared with other areas of the settlement, is the area in which the use of ceramic vessels related to individual consumption (i.e. contain less than one litre), such as bowls, beakers and “s-shaped vases”, clearly stand out (54% of examples). “S-shaped vases” are distinguished for both their quantity and quality, and were obviously manufactured with much care. In north western Iberia, these forms are usually interpreted as drinking vessels (Pinto 2011, 523-525). Also in this area, other individual vessels were found that are exceptional both in the material from which they are made and the treatment of their surfaces, and show no traces of having been used for cooking. Some of these have detailed decoration (with stamped and anthropomorphic patterns) (Fig. 20:2-3) that indicate, according to Pinto, connections with Iron Age communities both in the Meseta and on the north west coast of the Iberian Peninsula (Pinto 2011). Pinto has already suggested that these “dinner sets” (to use our own term), which include finely manufactured containers, and others decorated with patterns linked with outside communities, would be well suited for serving special meals or feasts, and could constitute an exhibition of the community and its leaders in front of their peers or those of neighbouring and distant communities (Pinto 2011, 1, 524). In this context of commensality, which would have followed its own norms, the offering of abundant food, particularly of meat, would have had socio-economic ends such as the realization of pacts or other inter-community affairs. Even more, we should also highlight the fact that this settlement area also contained vessels adequate for cooking and serving, but not the large containers for storage that dominate the dwelling units of enclosure L, which would suppose that the storage of agricultural goods was not one of the functions of this area. All told the consumption of cereals, legumes, sheep/goat, pig/wild boar and cattle were identified in this area.

Within enclosure L, dwelling unit 4 should be mentioned. Besides being architecturally different from the other dwelling units mentioned above (Fig.10), it contained an elevated number of cattle remains in two samples. Given that only one third of this dwelling unit's original area was preserved, it can be supposed that it originally would have contained an increased number of samples. Besides a large amount of wheat, it is the only dwelling unit in which hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) is the most common cereal present, and broad beans (*Vicia faba*) were also registered. Whether judged by the quantity of wheat and barley, or by the amount of large ceramic vessels (> 5 litres; ≥ 10 litres; ≥ 20 litres) (Pinto 2011, 1:524), this dwelling unit must have been used for storage (as were unit 1, 2 and 3). However, evidence of individual consumption is also registered if we look at the quantity of small vessels present (≤ 1 litre; < 5 litres). However, they are not represented in the same quantity as in Settlement

Area 7. The presence of a bronze cauldron would make it appear that here meetings could have taken place in which only high status elements of the community, their peers, and others from neighbouring communities could attend. All these elements relating to consumption, and the exhibition of abundance (of both meat and cereals) could have been part of the prerogatives of the meeting, which could have been accompanied by the consumption of drinks, possibly fermented, like barley or wheat beer (although the relevant analysis to prove their consumption has not yet been undertaken). Furthermore, Dwelling Unit 2, which is contiguous to 4, is where remains of another cauldron were found and was used to store large amounts of wheat, barley, broomcorn millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) and beans. Although the level of degradation of bone samples did not allow for the identification of the animals consumed there, during excavation both Dwelling Units (2 and 4) were interpreted as being complimentary, and that due to their proximity there was probably an access way or door joining the two. Unit 2 could have also communicated with Dwelling Unit 1, which was also equally rich in agricultural goods. Thus, Dwelling Units 1, 2 and 4 (and possibly 3) can be interpreted as having an important function – the stockpiling of foodstuffs – but also could have served as a location for meetings where the sharing or/and offering of food, with an emphasis on meat and drink, and the display of agricultural goods would have made part of the creation and maintenance of social networks.

We are far from learning what specific consumption practice were undertaken in the eastern area of Crasto de Palheiros in phase III-I, but the archaeological evidence suggests that the settlement areas on both the exterior and interior of Enclosure L could have been used interchangeably, or to compliment each other, depending on the event or community calendar on which they were based. It is likely that Enclosure L, in which foodstuffs could probably be conserved for an average of one year (approximately), that the feasts were oriented towards the community of Crasto de Palheiros itself.

4. Discussion

4.1. Opening

As J. L. Cardoso (2005) has noted, the consumption of domestic animals, such as sheep/goat, cattle, and probably pig, were common in Crasto de Palheiros. However, it is worth noting that we cannot distinguish the remains of wild boar from that of pig in the remains found at the site. In any case, if by the small size of the teeth identified in the samples from the site, we assume that the pig was domesticated (*ibid*), it only represents a small part of the meat consumption at the site.

A diversification in the types of domestic animals consumed, as well as the other products they provide, such as milk, wool, or hide, seems to be a strategy adopted in the Chalcolithic that continues into the Bronze and Iron Age (Fernandez & Pérez 2007). This diversification can also be interpreted as an intensification of the agro-pastoral economy, whereby a combination of different eco systems is used in the breeding of animals, from wet valleys and meadows for cattle, to plateaus and the poorest hillsides for sheep and goats. Animals would also participate in crop rotation systems that would increase the production and consumption of both animals (meat and milk) and plants, as has been pointed in the Chalcolithic of north Portugal (Sanches 1997; 2000; Bettencourt et al 2007) and the Spanish Meseta (Fabián 2006, 461), as well as for the Iron Age of the north-western Iberian Peninsula. However, as noted above, the consumption of cattle in the 3rd millennium BC, as in the 1st would still have been exceptional due to the elevated investment implied in the breeding of these animals in the ecosystem of the north east of Portugal. A study on the capacity of forestland to renew itself, carried out for prehistoric settlements in the north east of Portugal, which combines information on microclimates, soil quality, and proximity to water courses, places Crasto de Palheiros, with some limitations, in a small group of

sites that would had an intensification of their economy based on the breeding of cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs in conjunction with the farming of cereals and pulses. However, it would still only permit the breeding of small herds of cattle. Furthermore, the ecosystems most suited to the breeding of cattle are situated around two to four hours away from Crasto de Palheiros by foot (Sanches 1997, 185-213). This territory is theoretically what would have been exploited by other communities in the Chalcolithic as in Iron Age (Sanches 1997, I:201).

So, although the identification of domestic animals (and crops) that have been bred and consumed in Crasto de Palheiros I and II-III suggest similar socio-cultural contexts and consumption patterns, the analysis of other contextual factors (whether the scale of the settlement within its own boundaries, or its scale at a regional level), are subject to different interpretations.

4.2. Production and consumption in Crasto de Palheiros during the Chalcolithic

Crasto de Palheiros I is an architectural mega-construction that was in continuous “construction and reformulation” for over a thousand years. It is also unique on a regional scale as all other known settlements only show evidence of perishable dwelling structures. Its similarity to other enclosures from the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC in Zamora (El Pedoso) (Delibes et al. 1995), the Alto Douro (Castelo Velho and Castanheiro do Vento) (Jorge, S. 2005; Jorge, V. et al 2006), and Beira Alta (Castro de Santiago) (Valera 2007), seem to suggest it is part of a regional settlement pattern during the 3rd millennium BC, which although still based on weak political leadership, is possibly less dependent on ideas of ancestry and kinship (more characteristic of the Neolithic), than values connected to generosity, ostentation and redistribution. Collective construction creates community cohesion and works to create identities. The topography of Crasto de Palheiros, which highlights its quartz outcrops as much as its embankments, also displays its own memories, something certainly used to the advantage of those who claimed them. The construction and maintenance of structures, both permanent and perishable, the preparation and consumption of food, and copper metallurgy all must have been structured by a calendar and by the different interior spaces they occupied in order to meet specific social goals set within the cosmology of the communities that took their identity from Crasto de Palheiros. We must also admit that participation in different activities or practices in itself is a mode of a social inclusion in different social groups in contexts in which identities and leadership was being continually negotiated.

Since we assume the economic intensification due to agricultural and pastoralism in the region (Jorge, S. 2005; Sanches 1997; 2000) would create some surplus on an annual basis, cattle and other domestic animals could have come from surrounding settlements, and may have been given in the form of an “offering” for the construction, continual reformulation and maintenance of Crasto de Palheiros. The same could also have happened with the cereals and legumes that were processed and consumed there. Although we admit that a small group with functions related to the maintenance and “occupation” of the space lived in Crasto de Palheiros in this period, the site cannot be understood as a settlement due to the disproportion between the reduced dwelling spaces, in which people can live, and those in which they cannot, the scarce traces of the preparation and consumption of food (Barbosa 1999; Amorim 1999), and the small scale nature of metal working, and production of ceramics⁷.

⁷ This hypothesis could change when the north slope is excavated, as it will considerably enlarge the area of this site.

In reality, “offerings” and an “obligations” must have been very similar in the social contexts of prehistoric communities because people’s integration and social position in a group would necessarily have depended on them. These “offerings” could have included other products consumed at Crasto de Palheiros, with a focus on “domesticated” or “cultivated”, such as wheat, barley, beans and peas, as only small amounts of gathered or collected products, such as tree-strawberry, have been identified (Figueiral 2008). Here it is worth mentioning the neighbouring rock shelter site Buraco da Pala in the Serra de Passos, where precisely in the first half of the 3rd millennium BC (between 2800 and 2500 BC) there was evidence for the consumption, storage and destruction by fire of agricultural and gathered foodstuffs that can be paralleled in their objectives with Crasto de Palheiros I (Fig. 14). In level I and II in a restricted area of the rock shelter, foodstuffs and probably drinks, derived from cultivated products, wheat, barley, beans, linseed, peas, and pine nuts – and gathered, like acorn were consumed (Fig. 15 and 16). The opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) was also stored on a small scale, and when considered together with other elements, indicates a socially restricted and scheduled consumption. However, most of the useable space in the shelter, which also has three panels of schematic rock paintings, was destined for the storage of wheat, barley, beans, and acorn in quantities equalling almost 2000 litres in level I (Sanches 1997). Its destruction by fire and the fact that the carbonised remains were left there (which reduced the available space in the shelter) (Fig. 14), along with the activities which took place (that include the deposition or abandonment of gold and variscite beads, a copper axe and a tool related to the refinement of copper) in the interior of the space, point to ritualised ceremonies or communal celebrations/feasts, like potlatch (Mauss 2001), that could take place on the exterior platform near the entrance and were open to a broad section of the community.

As in Crasto de Palheiros I, the “foodstuffs” in Buraco de Pala would have had their origin in different settlements of that region. If we understand destruction by fire as one form of collective consumption and at the same time as a form of debt payment, but whose conceptual and cosmological framework are unknown, the offerings of Crasto de Palheiros I and Buraco da Pala I and II valorise the agro-pastoral way of life and the territory, while at the same time naturalise the material and social conditions of production and cement the fragile regional leaderships of the 3rd millennium BC. In reality, the investment in the breeding of cattle, and the construction, reformulation, maintenance and sealing of the enclosure in Crasto de Palheiros, as activities that develop continuously over time, is paralleled in the investment in the creation, destruction and maintenance in the burnt store of Buraco da Pala. In both examples, surpluses are consumed in a variety of ways, and the destruction transforms the remains into relics with social memories that can be manipulated by elites for socio-political purposes as social memory is always conditioned and selective (Hodder & Cressford 2004; Joyce 1999).

The archaeological record does not allow us to distinguish or differentiate between routine meals and others in Consumption Area 1, 2 and 3 of Crasto de Palheiros I, although in all meals foodstuffs are processed (Amorim 1999; Barbosa 1999). Nevertheless, in area I of the eastern platform of the upper enclosure, an elevated percentage of bowls (type 3 and 4) and beakers (type 5, 8, 9, 10 and 11) of a small size ($0,5 < < 1,2 <$ litres) suitable for individual consumption (Barbosa 1999) were found. In this collection a group of polished vessels with complex decorations stand out, including several bell beakers (type 9, 10 and 11) (Fig. 17) and small carinated beakers and bowls (type 8 and 3), whose incised decoration mimics the bell beaker type decoration (Fig. 18).

The deposition of the bones of domestic animals in intentionally sealed contexts deserve attention not only because of the quantity of samples collected in the lower enclosure, but because of the clear contextual association between these bones with the sealing of the upper

enclosure, where approximately 50 fragments of bell beaker pottery were found in the northern area (PSN), and ten fragments of bell beaker ceramics were identified in the eastern area (Sanches et al 2016, in press). The gradual sealing of the Upper Enclosure in its northern area defined, in the centre of the platform and against a rocky outcrop, what could be described as a circular barrow⁸ (Sanches, Fig. II.7), containing fragments of pottery with sharp, angled edges, copper smelting remains, and broken mill and hammer stones (Morais 2005), deposited neatly together amongst clay and stone (the assemblage is still under study). This “barrow” (Fig. 9), which is not yet fully excavated, resembles (in both its architecture and the deposition of fragmented pottery) the site and deposit of El Alto III in the Ambrona Valley, Soria (Garrido-Pena et al 122-3), and it seems to suggest that ceremonial consumption, restricted to certain elites, and other parallel formalised activities were “represented” in a sealed deposit, in order to transform them into collective memory. It also resembles the El Morcuero barrow at Gemuno-Avila, although in that case the remains of both humans and sheep along with fragments of bell beaker and other artefacts were found in the deposit (Fabián 2006, 333-5).

Organised deposits of animal and human bone, coupled with grains (cereals and poppy), weights (loom weights?) and fragmented ceramics also occur in the so called “ritual structure” of Castelo Velho de Freixo de Numão. This structure was sealed and located in the ramp/embankment of the upper enclosure of the monument, and according to S. Jorge (2005; Jorge et al 1998-99) along with other deposits in Castelo Velho, it points to the symbolic representation of spheres of activities connected with subsistence, and we believe, with the creation of an organised set of memories that could be politically manipulated by prominent members of regional communities in contexts of leadership negotiation.

Similarly, even though it did not hold faunal remains, the stone covering that seals the eastern area of Crasto de Palheiros’ Upper Enclosure contained nine fragments of maritime bell beaker (from four vessels of type 10 e 11) and two vessels with an incised decoration that seems to imitate bell beaker style, that seem to have been intentionally destroyed after use.

On a regional scale in the north of Portugal, domestic animals seem to be consumed in greater frequency, and those that are hunted, such as horse, deer, wild boar and rabbit are residual (Cardoso and Costa 2004; Costa 2007). The same occurs in Avila (Fabián 2006), in the north west of the Iberian Peninsula, where the faunal data is doubly useful due to the fact that evidence exists from four well preserved settlements. The consumption pattern there is also dominated by domestic animals, with an emphasis on sheep over cattle, with pig/boar remains being residual. However, the horse is also systematically consumed in Aldeagordillo, a site that also has several funerary barrows containing adult burials showing evidence for a diet rich in meat, and poor in cereals and vegetables.

The data from different excavations are susceptible to multiple interpretations, but in Crasto de Palheiros I, although systematic sampling was carried out, the limitations imposed by the poor preservation of fauna (and of macro remains on the upper platform), and by the absence of taphonomic studies, oblige the hypotheses about consumption that we have been making to be subjected to further investigation.

⁸ Which is called the ETS- Estrutura Terminal subcircular (Sanches 2008, Fig. II.7)

4.3. Production and consumption in Crasto de Palheiros during the Iron Age

In the Iron Age, Crasto de Palheiros III is a settlement with characteristics that seem “archaic” when compared to others of the same period in the north west of the Iberian Peninsula (González-Rubal 2006-7), the two sites that were recently extensively excavated in the Sabor Valley (north east Portugal), Castelinho and Crestelos (Santos et al 2012; Pereira et al 2014). However, the results from the excavations in the Sabor Valley have not yet been published in detail, which prevents their evaluation in the context of Iron Age regional settlement patterns, it is possible that the patterns that they reveal will be diverse, both in terms of location and urban layout, as well as their development through time, particularly between the 6th century BC and the 2nd AD.

In the oldest sub phase of Crasto III-I, which coincides with the foundation of the settlement⁹, no site boundary or delimitating structure (walls, etc.) of permanent character surrounds the site. Since its inception the eastern area is particularly important. It is marked by ritual practices in its foundation—the deposition of three complete, but broken, ceramic vessels in habitation area 7 of the platform of the eastern embankment (Fig 12)—and in a level dated to between 400 and 200 BC in the adjoining, slightly higher platform, six fragments of a bronze riveted cauldron (typologically similar to those of Bronze Age (Pinto 2010)) were found associated contextually with imported attic pottery (of which it was possible to reconstruct at least one krater¹⁰ (Arruda 2007) (Fig. 13). The krater is a vessel associated with the consumption of wine, or rather, with the reducing of the alcohol content of wine by mixing it with water. Although the vine (*Vitis vinifera*), certainly wild, was present in the in the 4th and 3rd millennium BC in the Mirandela basin and in the Baixa Tamega basin by the end of the 1st millennium BC (Sanches et al 2007), along with other sites in the north west of Portugal (Tereso 2013), it was not present in any of the hundreds of samples collected in Crasto de Palheiros. So it is likely that in Crasto de Palheiros wine was not consumed, but instead other fermented or exotic drinks. However, we should remember that in Mediterranean (and Atlantic) contexts, cauldrons are associated with feasting that includes alcoholic drinks. However, the krater might only have been used as a luxury item, intended merely for display, but of course it would still have been associated to special meals, with limited social access, similar to those that took place in the Bronze Age.

Somewhat later, in the eastern area, but now in Enclosure L (with its monumental entrance and low wall previously mentioned), we find a foundation ritual — the structured deposition of human bone and bronze adornments—and the presence of fragments of two bronze cauldrons with quadrangular rivets, characteristic of the Iron Age (Pinto 2010). In Dwelling Unit 2 and 4, these bronze fragments had been associated with both the storage of agricultural goods (wheat, barley, beans, and millet), bronze adornments, and even animal remains (sheep/goat and cattle). As mentioned in section 3.3, the consumption of meat is registered in all settlement areas and shows that sheep, goats and cattle are part of the diet, where as pig/wild boar is much rarer. This diet of meat (dominated by domestic animals), is similar to other Iron Age settlements in the north west of the Iberian Peninsula (Fernández & Pérez 2007), however the consumption of meat must have been supported by a routine diet of cereals. Wheat (including *Triticum spelta*), barley, millet – and beans (Tereso 2013) all were found in Crasto de Palheiros (oats were not found at the site).

⁹ Underpinned by less substantial occupations dated to the late Bronze Age I: Crasto de Palheiros II.

¹⁰ The fragments all belong to the same vessel. Post depositional factors can explain the presence of some of the fragments in a lower area, in the settlement area of the eastern embankment.

A joint archaeobotanical and archaeological analysis allows us a glimpse of some sort of functional specialisation in the eastern area and, in Enclosure L, we can see the reserves of agricultural goods and the “workshop” for the manufacture of glass and gold beads (Settlement Area 6) (Sanches 2008) (Fig. 10), in the creation of which bones were systematically used¹¹, and some bronze workings. In Settlement Area 7 there was considerable evidence of both bronze working and weaving principally in the dwelling units of the northern area (Pinto 2011, I: 549). In all areas and dwelling units, routine activities are registered associated with the preparation and consumption of food, but collective consumption, in a community context or as part of festivities, seems to have taken place only in the eastern area of the settlement: in Settlement Area 7 and the dwelling units in the extreme east of enclosure L – most noticeably in units 4 and 2, that were “functional units” but could have had several complimentary roles, as mentioned above.

We suggest that community feasts that follow the internal calendar of the settlement, such as fertility rituals, redistribution, initiation ceremonies, and other community affairs, could have taken place in Enclosure L as the store must have been linked to the internal management of production and consumption of a community that we believe must have had a regional status identical to many others, i.e., be controlled by a similar autonomous socio-political leadership. Other feasts or meetings that gathered regional leaders (private meetings of the elite) would have taken place outside the enclosure, in Settlement Area 7, where fine table ware would have contributed to the performance of the meal.

The absence of bronze cauldrons in the later area is not to be given to much importance, as the excavation of this area was limited to an area of 42m², and the structures clearly extended outside the area of excavation.

Besides this, the cauldrons could have been part of the “stored products of exceptional value” being kept in Enclosure L when it caught fire. Alternatively, the cauldrons could also have been used for the settlement’s internal feasting, which would show a diversification of their social functions, and, at the same time, an internal valorisation of the leadership of Crasto de Palheiros. According to González-Ruibal (2006-07, I: 215), in the Iron Age of north western Iberia, cauldrons stop appearing in liminal places or “deposits”, and instead become fixed in the settlements, as in Crasto de Palheiros. This illustrates that the leaders or chiefs, in promoting collective feasting, would cement their internal power, but become indebted to the population who participates, face to face with them, in the feasting.

The topographic or architectural distinction of private spaces within settlements—interpreted as an area for the meeting of elites for feasting—, occurs from Bronze Age in fortified settlements in the north west of the Iberian Peninsula and Asturias, and is also recorded during the Iron Age (González-Ruibal 2006-7, I:212-214). However, the relationship between cauldrons and traces of meals (ordinary and feasts), or with the storage of agricultural products, is not developed in the archaeological literature of the region. That being said, recent research would suggest a link between cauldrons and communal consumption, including that of cereals and legumes, as observed in the Iron Age site of Frijão (Braga), which is not interpreted as a settlement (Silva & Tereso 2013). Such little evidence of this in the archaeological record perhaps stems from the different practices related to the destruction of the cauldrons (and their “taking out of circulation”), that is, their life after their use as a culinary tool, and simultaneously their connections with the cosmologies, or identities, which in each settlement, or other meeting places like Frijão, connected different spheres of social and political life. If certain practices can be shared by neighbouring populations,

¹¹ The collection of these samples was extremely difficult due to the fact that the bones were almost reduced to dust.

others would be based on local communal practice and traditions, which is the case in Crasto de Palheiros, which since its foundation as a settlement, a relationship exists between architectonic space and non routine social practices that developed over time in its eastern area¹².

Finally, the absence of horse in the faunal samples excavated at Crasto de Palheiros III must be mentioned. Although this animal would have competed with man for food (like cattle), and in Crasto de Palheiros the cultivation of oats was not recorded, these draught animals referenced frequently in the classical sources, are systematically registered in the north west of Iberia and Asturias (Bettencourt 2001; Fernández & Pérez 2007). In any case, they always appear in small number, and never clearly as a foodstuff.

But given that in north eastern Portugal, in similar ecosystems to that in which Crasto de Palheiros is located, such as the Sabor, Douro and Côa Valley, hundreds of schist outcrops are engraved with images of horses—alone, breeding, being ridden, fighting and hunting (Luís 2008, 114)—and the fact that it is the dominant animal represented on a collection of 531 engraved slabs used in both built and excavated structures in the enclosure of Castelinho (Santos et al 2012; Neves & Figueiredo 2015), mean that the absence of horses in Crasto de Palheiros should be reconsidered. Clearly, the enclosure Castelinho and the settlement Crasto de Palheiros are different in their architecture, topographic location, and possibly the duration of their occupation, but they both were occupied during the 5th century BC to the 2nd century AD (Santos et al 2012).

In our view, Castelinho cannot be seen as a settlement in the common sense of the word given its location, the small area between its walls, its multiple ditches, complex stone structures (walls and stone turrets), and continual architectural changes (Santos et al 2012). Instead, it can be interpreted as a central enclosure related to the regional negotiation of collective identities, and as an arena for the exhibition and the negotiation of power on behalf of regional leaders, i.e. a place of praxis (perhaps cyclical) where regional communities would identify and proclaim their shared histories, and where the engraved stones, in their multiple uses and meanings, symbolically bring together a territory in which other similar symbols (horses, daggers, spears, warriors, etc.) are engraved to be displayed and to mark the possession of hundreds of rocks throughout the landscape of the Alto Douro. Although studies of the abundant faunal samples recovered at the site have still not been published, it's probable that they will reveal patterns of consumption similar to those seen at Crasto de Palheiros and/or other sites of north western Iberia, i.e. the absence or weak traces of the consumption of horse, which, although sometimes represented in herds, here must be above all indicators of personal prestige on behalf of their owners, whether in front of their peers or in the “local Roman world”.

Hunting became associated with pleasure, reserved for the elite in the “Roman world” and in Romanised settlements (Fernández & Fuertes 2007), although it must be admitted that some time since the 1st century AD the influences of the Mediterranean world (including the pre-Roman) can be felt in the Iron Age of the Sabor Valley (Pereira et al 2014). Hunting on horseback, accompanied by close quarters combat, has already changed character and has become a way of expressing prestige.

But graphic representation is of course not a direct translation of reality, and at this point we cannot forget that cattle, which appear in almost all Iron Age assemblages, and which also seems to have been of considerable importance, is only sporadically represented in the engravings of Castelinho (Neves & Figueiredo 2015).

In short, pending the chronologically contextualised results of the settlements excavated in the

¹² The absence of substantial excavations in the “citadel” (acrópole) cannot allow us to consider it important during the Iron Age.

north east of Portugal in proximity to Crasto de Palheiros, such as the settlement of Crestelos and the enclosure of Castelinho, we assume that, in the context of regional settlement, there are marked differences in status between the three sites during the second half of the 1st millennium BC and the 1st/2nd century AD. These differences separate, in our opinion, the Castelinho enclosure form and the settlements of Crestelos and Crasto de Palheiros. If this hypothesis was to be explored in future work over these sites it could contribute to a better understanding of regional settlement patterns in the Iron Age.

5. Final notes

Through the contextualised analysis of the excavated faunal remains from Crasto de Palheiros (during the Chalcolithic and the Iron Age), we attempted to understand the ways in which different animals were incorporated into the diet and meals. However, it is difficult to interpret the role that each animal had in the meal when the majority of their remains are found in secondary position. That is, the manipulations to which the animal, cereal or legume remains were subject, masked their primary use and gave them other functions. However, it is precisely the identification of this multiplicity of uses, of both animals and other agricultural products, in archaeological contexts in the north west of the Iberian Peninsula and the Meseta, which points to the diversity of situations in which products that, at first analysis only serve to stave off hunger, feed the soul and create sociability in social contexts characteristic of pre-Roman communities.

Although limited by the lack of taphonomic studies, in this text the remains of consumption from Crasto de Palheiros I and III were discussed in relationship with the contexts of use and deposition and, to summarise, the following features were highlighted: a) The economic intensification of agriculture on a regional scale since the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC extends up to the Roman occupation of the region, however the social and political context underpinning this varies substantially between the 3rd millennium and the second half of the 1st millennium BC; b) Collective consumption has different faces and objectives, such as the destruction (the act of taking out of circulation) of goods in the Chalcolithic as a way to maintain fragile regional leaderships in the 3rd millennium BC; c) The topographical, architectural and spatial characteristics of the settlement of Crasto de Palheiros III, coupled with its complex “biography of occupations”, shows us a regional Iron Age settlement (Iron Age II), where production and collective consumption internally cement relationships between leaders and its inhabitants creating a politically self sufficient settlement, that at the same time made part of the network of alliances that must have been established between regional leaders and involved restricted feasts in private areas of the settlement – the pretext for the exhibition of power and prestige during the negotiation of pacts and alliances on a regional scale.

Porto, 31st of January 2016

Andrew May translated this text to English

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Rafael Morais for his help in the preparation of the tables and graphics in this text and Dulcinea Pinto for discussion. The opinions expressed above are the author's.

Maria de Jesus Sanches is part of the Research Project UID/HIS/04059/2013 (FCT) and this work was supported too by FEDER through the COMPETE 2020 ((POCI-01-0145-FEDER-007460).

References

- AMORIM, Isabel Simas Bettencourt (1999) – *Crasto de Palheiros (Murça). As Ocupações da Pré-história e da Proto-história na Plataforma Inferior*. Dissertação de Mestrado. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto (policopiada).
- ARMADA, Xose-Lois (2014) – Feasting metals and the ideology of power in the late Bronze Age of Atlantic Iberia. In. G. Jiménez Aranda, S. Montón-Subias & M. Sanchez Romero (eds.), *Guess who's coming to Dinner. Feasting Rituals in the Prehistoric Societies of Europe and the Near East*. Oxbow books, pp. 158-183.
- ARRUDA, Ana Margarida (2007) – Cerâmicas Gregas encontradas em Portugal. In RAPOSO, Luís (coord.), *Vasos Gregos em Portugal - Aquém das colunas de Hércules*. Lisboa: Instituto Português de Museus – Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, pp. 135-140.
- BRADLEY, Richard (1998) – *The Significance of Monuments*. Routledge.
- BRADLEY, Richard (2005) – *Ritual and Domestic Life in Prehistoric Europe*, Routledge.
- BARBOSA, Sandra Carla Pais (1999) – *O Crasto de Palheiros-Murça. Contributo para o entendimento do fenómeno campaniforme em contexto doméstico no Norte de Portugal*, Dissertação de Mestrado. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto (policopiada).
- BETTENCOURT, Ana Maria dos Santos (2001) – Considerações em torno de alguns aspectos económicos do Ferro inicial no Noroeste português. *Arqueologia*. 26, pp. 41-55.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre (1980) – *Le Sens Pratique*. Paris: Minuit.
- BUENO RAMÍREZ, Primitiva; BARROSO BERMEJO, Rosa; BALBÍN BEHRMANN, Rodrigo (2010) – Megalitos en la cuenca interior del Tajo. *Munibe Suplemento-Gehigarria*, 32, pp. 152-187.
- CARDOSO, João Luis (2005) – Restos faunísticos do Crasto de Palheiros (Murça). Contributo para o conhecimento da alimentação no Calcolítico e na Idade do Ferro do Nordeste português. *Portugalia*, XXVI (nova série), pp. 65-75.
- CARDOSO, João Luis e COSTA, Claudia Maria Cordeiro (2004) – A study of the faunal assemblage from the prehistoric enclosure of Castanheiro do Vento (Vila Nova de Foz Côa). *Journal of Iberian Archaeology*. 6, p. 83-92.
- COSTA, Cláudia Maria Cordeiro (2007) – *Zooarqueología e tafonomía de Castanheiro do Vento*. Dissertação de Mestrado em Arqueologia. Universidade do Algarve. <http://hdl.handle.net/10400.1/669>
- DELIBES, G.; HARRAN MARTÍNEZ, J. I.; SANTIAGO PARDO, J. de; VAL RECIO, J. del (1995). Evidence for social complexity in the Copper Age of the Northern Meseta. In K. Lilius (ed.), *The Origins of Complex Societies in Late Prehistoric Iberia*. Ann Arbor: International Monographs in Prehistory, pp. 44–63.
- DIETLER, Michael (2015) – Rencontres culinaires: Colonialisme et la culture matérielle incarnée. In Réjane Roure (ed.), *Contacts et Acculturations en Méditerranée occidentale*. Arles/Aix-en-Provence: Errance/Centre Camille Jullian, pp. 153-159.
- FABIÁN, J. Francisco Garcia (2006) – *El IV y III milénio AC en el Valle Amblés (Ávila)*. Serie Monografía, nº 5. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León.
- FERNANDES, António Teixeira (1997) – Ritualização da Comensalidade. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto: Sociologia*. 7, pp. 7-30.
- FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ, Carlos; FUERTES PRIETO, Natividad (2007) – La romanización del noroeste de la Península Ibérica y las modificaciones en la presencia, uso y consumo de mamíferos. In S. O. Jorge, A. M. S. Bettencourt & I. Figueiral (eds.). *A concepção das paisagens e dos espaços na Arqueologia da Península Ibérica*.

Universidade do Algarve: Faro. Atas do 4º Congresso de Arqueologia Peninsular, Faro - Setembro de 2004. Centro de Estudos do Património da Universidade do Algarve, pp. 207-217.

FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ, Carlos; PÉREZ ORTIZ, Lucía (2007) – Caza y domesticación en el noroeste de la Península Ibérica durante la Prehistoria. Datos arqueozoológicos, In S. O. Jorge, A. M. S. Bettencourt e I. Figueiral (eds.). *A concepção das paisagens e dos espaços na Arqueologia da Península Ibérica*. Universidad e do Algarve: Faro. Atas do 4º Congresso de Arqueologia Peninsular, Faro - Setembro de 2004. Centro de Estudos do Património da Universidade do Algarve, pp. 165-176.

FIGUEIRAL, I. (2008). Crasto de Palheiros (Murça, NE de Portugal): a exploração dos recursos vegetais durante o III/inícios do II milénio AC e entre o I milénio e o séc. II DC. In M. J. Sanches, *O Crasto de Palheiros (Fragada do Crasto), Murça-Portugal*. Murça: Municipio de Murça, pp. 79-108.

FIGUEIRAL, Isabel; SANCHES, Maria de Jesus; CARDOSO, João Luís (2006) – Crasto de Palheiros (Murça, NE Portugal): a case study on diet and material culture, from the 3rd to the 1st millennium BC. [disponível em <http://crastopalheiros.no.sapo.pt/artigos.htm>]

FIGUEIRAL, I., & SANCHES, M. J. (2003)-Eastern Trás-os-Montes (NEPortugal) from the late Prehistory to the Iron Age: the land and the people. In E. F. (Ed.), *The Mediterranean World Environment and History*, Paris: Elsevier, pp. 315-329.

GARRIDO-PENA, Rafael; ROJO-GUERRA, Manuel; GARCIA-MARTINEZ, Iñigo; TEJEDOR-RODRIGUEZ, Cristina (2014) – Drinking and eating together: the social and symbolic context of comensality rituals in the Bell Beakers os the interior of Iberia (2500-2000 cal BC). In. G. Jiménez Aranda; S. Montón-Subias & M. Sanchez Romero (eds.), *Guess who's coming to Dinner. Feasting Rituals in the Prehistoric Societies of Europe and the Near East*, Oxbow books, pp. 158-183.

GONZÁLEZ-RUIBAL, Alfredo (2006-2007) – Galaicos poder y comunidad en el noroeste de la Península Ibérica (1200 a.C. - 50 d.C.). *Brigantium*. 18-19, vols. I e II, Museo Arqueológico e Histórico Castelo de San Antón, A Coruña.

HODDER, Ian; CRESSFORD, Craig (2004) – Daily Practice and Social Memory at Çatalhöyük, *American Antiquity*. 69, nº 1, pp. 17-40. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4128346>

INGOLD, Tim (2000) – Things, plants, animals and children. In *The Perception of the Environment. Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*, Routledge, pp. 77-88.

JORGE, Susna Oliveira (2005) – *O Passado é Redondo. Dialogando com os Sentidos dos Primeiros Recintos Monumentais*. Porto: Afrontamento.

JORGE, Susana Oliveira; OLIVEIRA, Maria de Lurdes Cunha de; NUNES, Susana Andreia; GOMES, Sérgio Alexandre da Rocha (1998-1999) – Uma estrutura ritual com ossos humanos no sítio pré-histórico de Castelo Velho de Freixo de Numão (Vª Nª de Foz Côa). *Portugália*. 19-20, DCTP-FLUP, pp. 29-70.

JOYCE, Rosemary A. (2000) – Heirlooms and houses. Materiality and social memory. In R. A. Joyce, S. D. Gillespie (eds.), *Beyond Kinship. Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies*. Filadelfia: University of Pensylvania Press, pp. 189-212.

JUAN-TRESSERRAS, Jordi (1998) – La cerveza prehistórica: investigaciones arqueobotánicas y experimentales. In J. L. Maya, F. Cuesta & J. L. Lopez-Cachero (eds.), *Genó: un poblado del Bronce Final en el Bajo Segre (Lleida)*. Barcelona: Publicaciones de la Univ. de Barceona-SERP-San Miguel, pp. 239-252.

JUAN-TRESSERRAS, Jordi; MATAMALA, Juan Carlos (2005) – Estudio de resíduos microscópicos y compuestos orgánicos en utilaje de mollido y de contenido de las vasijas. In. P. Bueno, R. Balbin & R. Barrosos (eds.). *El Dolmen de Azután (Toledo). Áreas de habitación y áreas de Funerarias en la Cuenca Interior del Tajo*. Alcalá de Henares. Univ. de Alcalá de Henares-Diputación de Toledo, pp. 235-241.

LUIS, Luís (2008) – *A arte e os artistas do Vale do Côa*, PAVC e Associação de Municípios do Vale do Côa.

MAUSS, Marcel (2001) – *Ensaio sobre a dádiva. Perspectivas do homem. As culturas. As sociedades*. Lisboa: Edições 70.

METHENY, Karen B.; BEAUDRY, Mary C. (2015) – *Archaeology of Food - An Encyclopedia*. Rowman & Little Publishers.

MORAIS, Pedro Rafael (2005) – *Criação de uma base de dados informatizada para o Crasto de Palheiros – Murça. Sua aplicação na caracterização e interpretação do espólio lítico da Plataforma Superior Norte*. Seminário de Projeto

defendido na FLUP.

MORAIS, Pedro Rafael (2008) – *A fauna do Crasto de Palheiros. Contextualização e interpretação dos restos faunísticos para o Calcolítico e a Idade do Ferro*. Trabalho apresentado à UC Seminário I do Mestrado de Arqueologia, FLUP.

NEVES, Dário; FIGUEIREDO, Sofia (2015) – Quinhentas placas gravadas da Idade do Ferro do sítio fortificado do Castelinho (Nordeste Portugal): temas figurados e padrões de distribuição. *Arkaeos*, 37 [XIX International RockArt Conference-IFRAO], pp. 1589-1605.

NUNES, Susana Andreia; RIBEIRO, Ricardo Ávila (2000) – Uma estrutura funerária da Idade do Ferro em contexto habitacional no Crasto de Palheiros – Murça (NE de Portugal), *Actas do 3º Congresso de Arqueologia Peninsular*, V, ADECAP, pp. 23-42.

OLIVEIRA, César; MORAIS, Rui; MORILLO CERDÁN, Ángel (eds.) (2015) – *Archaeoanalytics. Chromatography and DNA analysis in Archaeology*. Espoende, Município de Espoende.

PINTO, Dulcinea Bernardo (2008) – Artefactos metálicos do Crasto de Palheiros. In M. J. Sanches (org.), *O Crasto de Palheiros (Fragada do Crasto)*, Murça-Portugal. Murça: Município de Murça, pp. 142-150.

PINTO, Dulcinea Bernardo (2010) – Os artefactos metálicos da Idade do Ferro do Castro de Palheiros-Murça, Norte de Portugal. Breve introdução à gramática decorativa dos adornos metálicos do Nordeste de Portugal. *Revista Douro, História e Património*, vol. I, pp. 89-132.

PINTO, Dulcinea Bernardo (2011) – *O Crasto de Palheiros na Idade do Ferro. Contributo da aplicação de uma nova metodologia no estudo da cerâmica*. Tese de Doutoramento defendida na Universidade de Coimbra-Faculdade de Letras.

RENFREW, Jane (1973) – *The Prehistoric Food Plants of the Near East and Europe*. Columbia: Univ Press.

SANCHES, Maria de Jesus (1997) – *Pré-história Recente de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro* (2 vol.), Textos, 2, Porto: SPAE.

SANCHES, Maria de Jesus (2000) – As gerações, a memória e a territorialização em Trás-os-Montes (Vº-IIº mil. AC). Uma primeira aproximação ao problema. *Atas do 3º Congresso de Arqueologia Peninsular*. Porto. ADECAP-Vila Real. Vol. 3, pp. 123-145.

SANCHES, Maria de Jesus (ed.) (2008) – *O Crasto de Palheiros (Fragada do Crasto)*, Murça-Portugal. Murça: Município de Murça.

SANCHES, Maria de Jesus; PINTO, Dulcinea Bernardo (2006) – Terra, madeira e pedra- materiais de construção de um povoado proto-histórico de Trás-os-Montes: o caso do Crasto de Palheiros-Murça. In M. Correia e V. O. Jorge (eds.) *Terra: Forma de Construir*, Argumentum com a col. de Escola Superior Gallaecia, DCTP-FLUP e CEAUCP, pp. 83-9.

SANCHES, Maria de Jesus; VIEIRA, M. A.; BARBOSA, M. H. (2016, in press) - Bell beaker contexts of Northern Portugal. In A.C. Sousa (eds.) Colóquio Campaniformes.

SANTOS, Filipe; SASTRE José; FIGUEIREDO, Sofia.; ROCHA Fábio; PINHEIRO Eulália; DIAS Rodrigo (2012) – El sitio fortificado del Castelinho (Felgar, Torre de Moncorvo, Portugal). Estudio preliminar de su diacronía y las plaquetas de piedra con grabados de la Edad del Hierro. *Complutum*. 23 (1), pp. 165-179.

TERESO, João Pedro (2013) – Continuidade e mudança nas estratégias agrícolas na Idade do Ferro e época romana no noroeste peninsular. In J. M. Arnaud, A. Martins, C. Neves (eds.) *Arqueologia em Portugal – 150 Anos*, Lisboa: Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, pp. 693-701.

TERESO, João Pedro; SILVA, Vítor Manuel Fontes Silva (2014) – Fruits and seeds from an Iron Age ritual of commensality in Frijão (Braga, NW Portugal). *Estudos do Quaternário*. 11, APEQ, Braga, pp. 67-72 (<http://www.apeq.pt/ojs/index.php/apeq/article/view/74>)

JORGE, Vítor Oliveira; VALE, Ana; CARDOSO, João Muralha (2006) – Recintos murados e/ou colinas monumentalizadas no Nordeste de Portugal? O caso de Castanheiro do Vento, Vila Nova de Foz Côa. *Terra Forma de Construir, Arquitectura-Antropologia-Arquitectura*, 10º Mesa Redonda de Primavera, Porto, pp. 98-105.

VALERA, António Carlos (2007) – *Dinâmicas Locais de Identidade: estruturação de um espaço de tradição no 3º milénio AC (Fornos de Algodres, Guarda)*. Município de Fornos de Algodres.

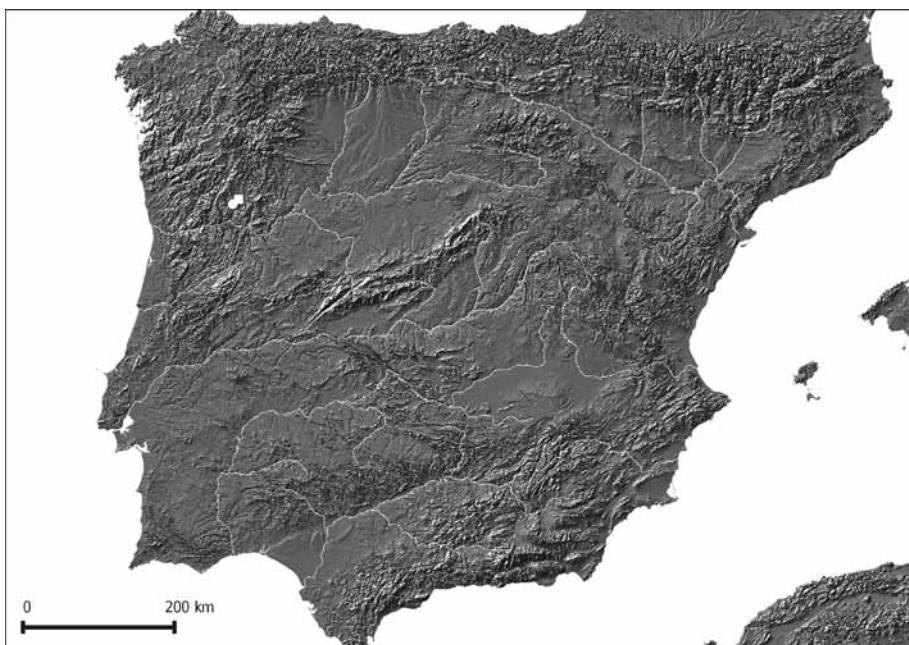


Fig. 1 – Geographical location of Crasto de Palheiros site (circle) and Buraco da Pala Rock Shelter (lozenge) in the NW of Iberia (Map by Luís Luís).



Fig. 2 – Crasto de Palheiros viewed from the North, with its Interpretive Center in the foreground.



Fig. 3 – Schematic drawing of Crasto de Palheiros at the end of its constructive phase I (Chalcolithic) (Drawing by Dulcinea Pinto).

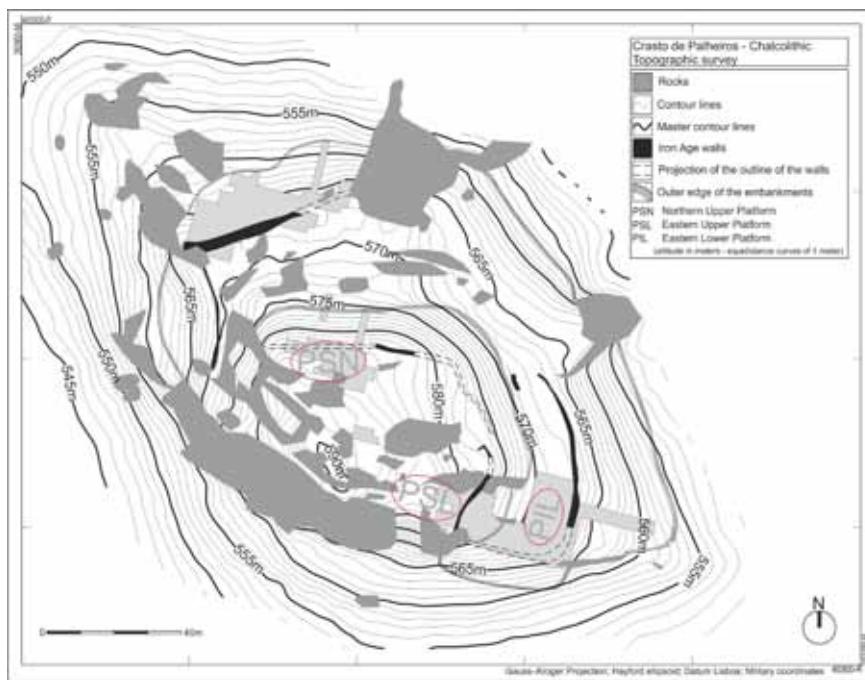


Fig. 4 – Chalcolithic topographic Survey of Crasto de Palheiros site. In red we have marked the three areas where archaeofauna was found.



Fig. 5 – Schematic drawing of Crasto de Palheiros at the end of its constructive subphase III-I (Iron Age). We can see Precinct L with a monumental entrance at the left of the image (Drawing by Dulcinea Pinto).

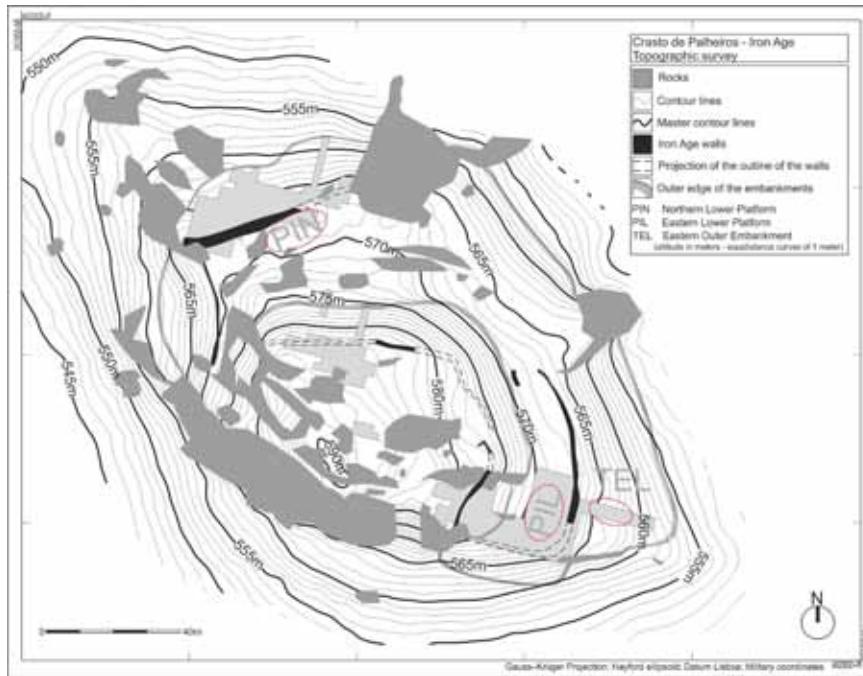


Fig. 6 – Iron Age topographic Survey of Crasto de Palheiros site. In red we have marked the three areas where archaeofauna was found.

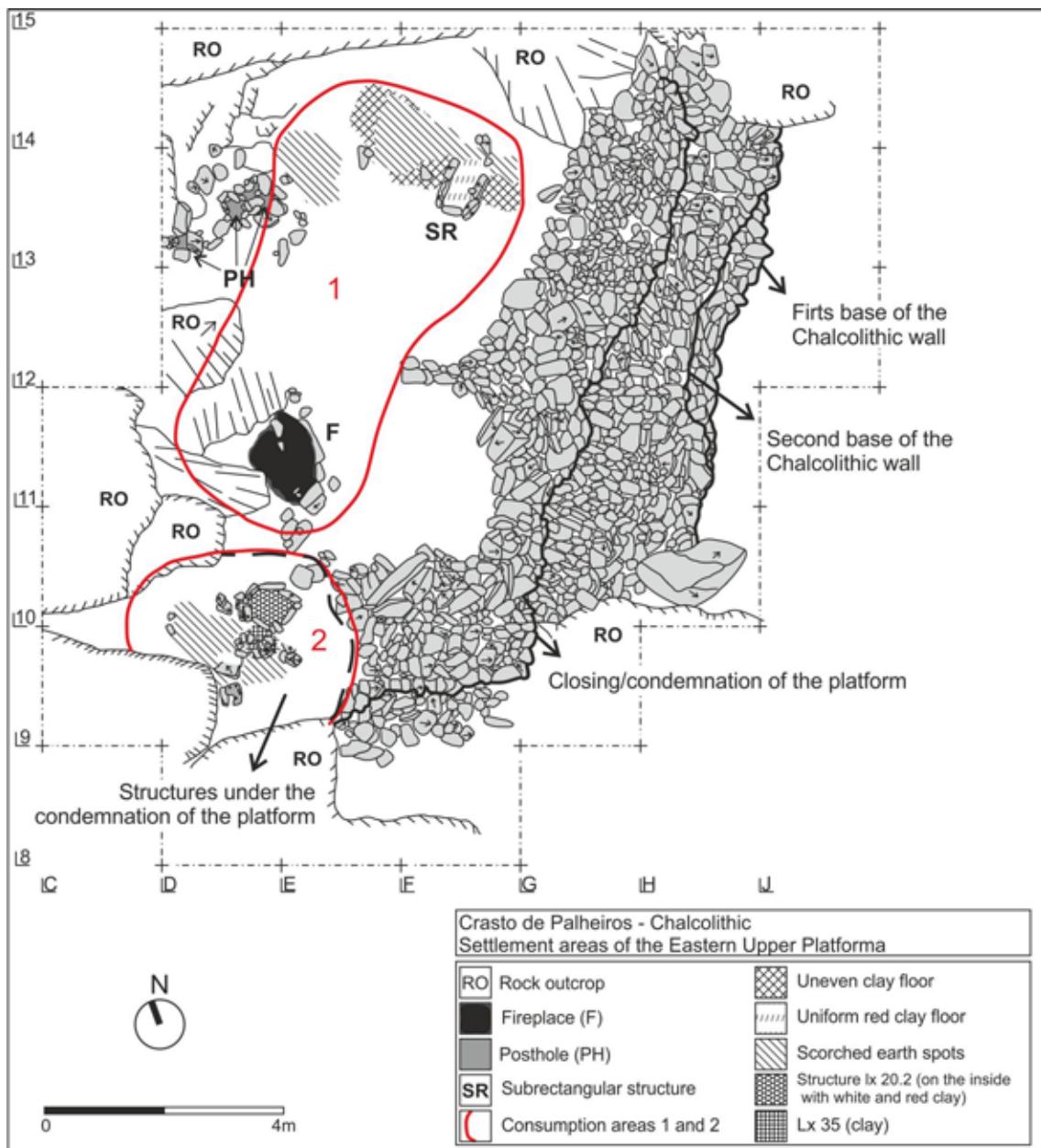


Fig. 7 – Consumption areas I and 2 of the Eastern Upper Platform (Upper Enclosure) during the Chalcolithic.

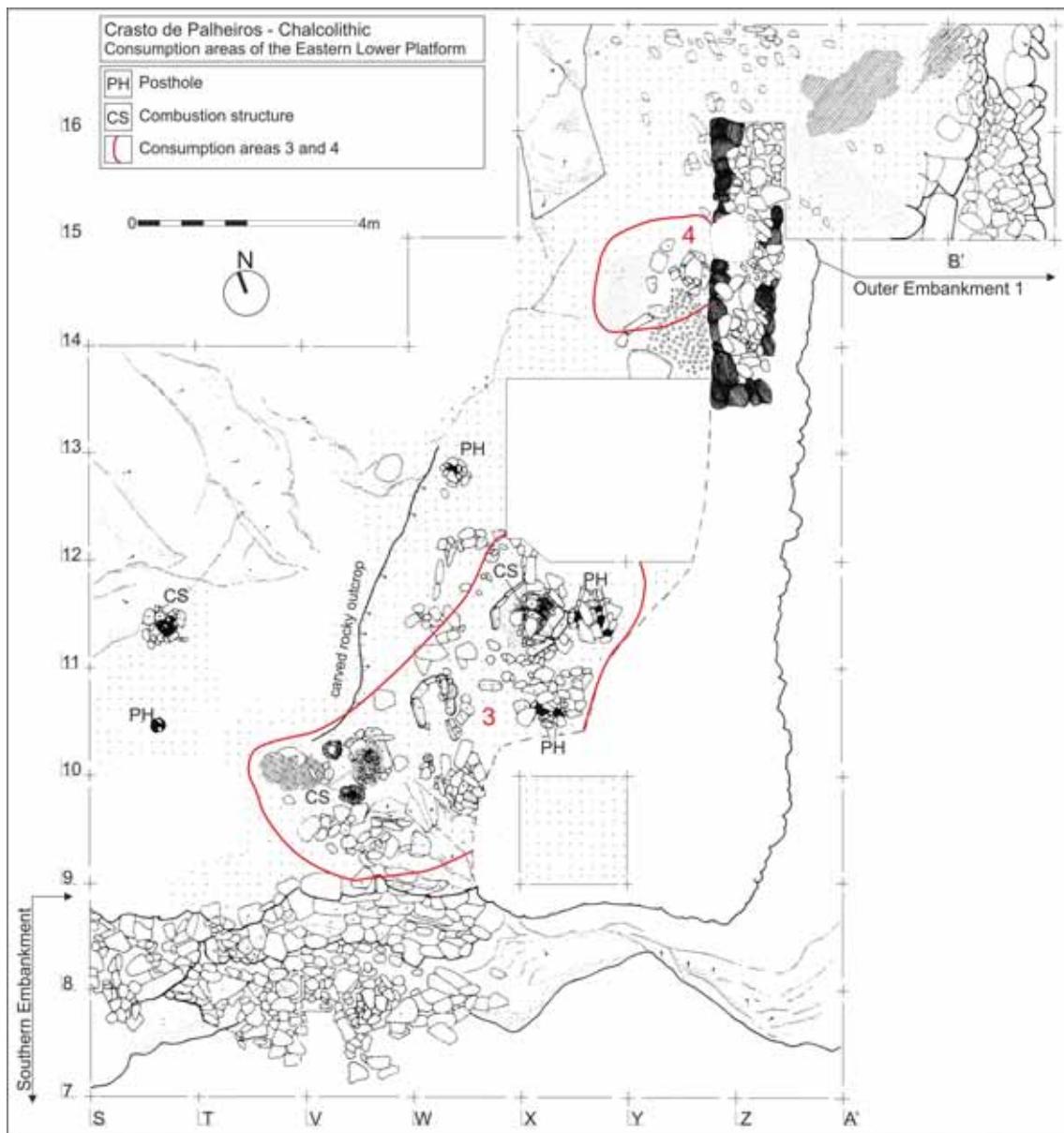


Fig. 8 – Consumption areas 3 and 4 of the Eastern Lower Platform (Lower Enclosure) during the Chalcolithic.



Fig. 9 – Northern Upper Platform (Upper Enclosure): condemnation structure similar to a sort of “barrow” (Chalcolithic).

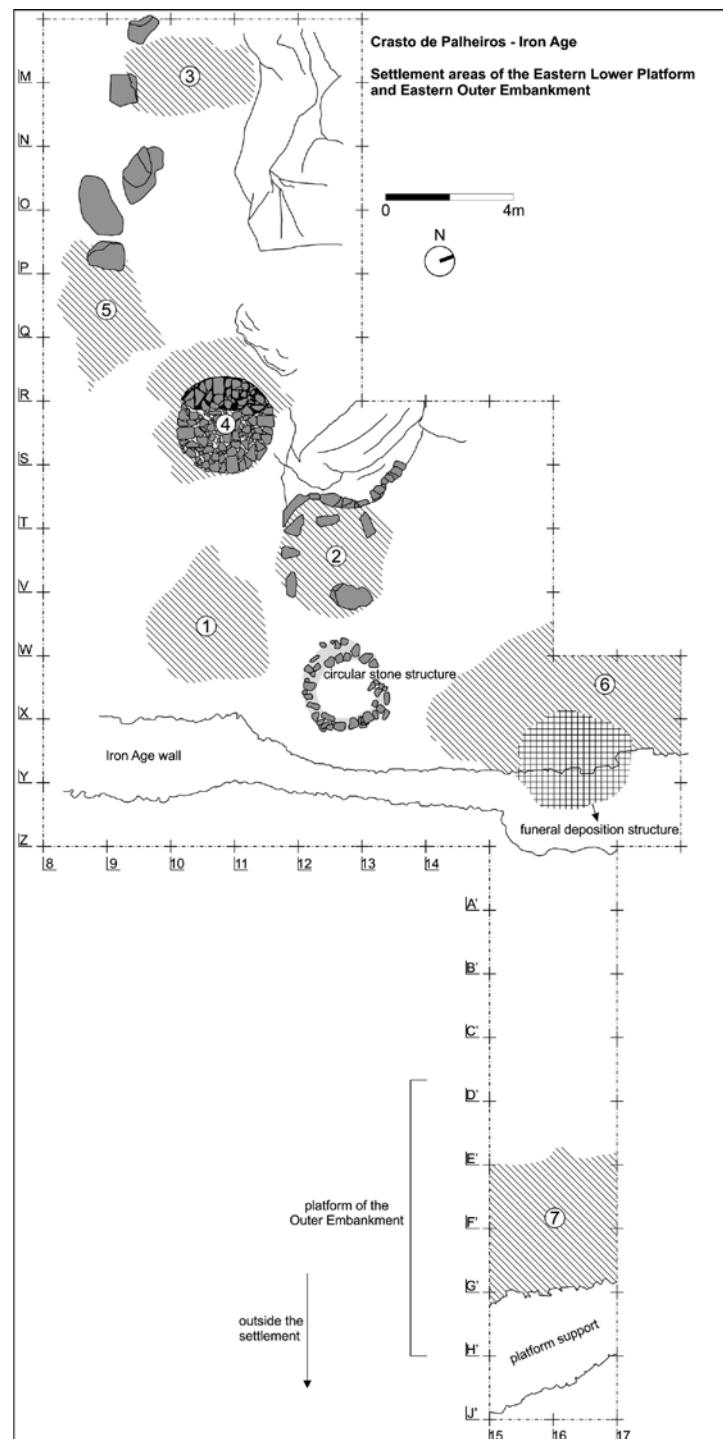


Fig. 10 – Contexts of Iron Age faunal remains. Eastern Lower Platform (Precinct L): dwelling structures 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 plus settlement Area 6. Settlement area 7 is located in the Outer Embankment platform.

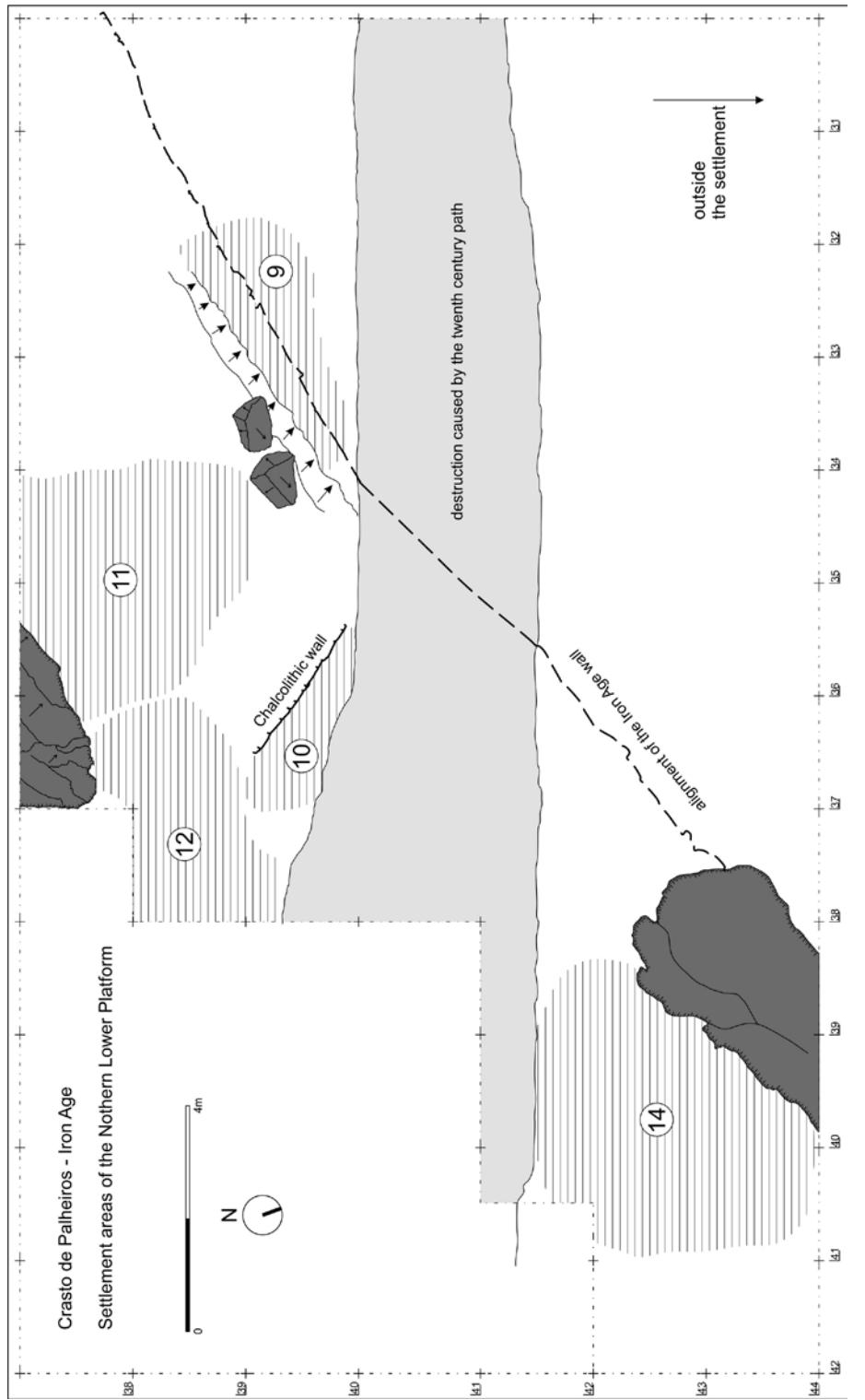


Fig. 11 – Contexts of Iron Age faunal remains. Northern Lower Platform: dwelling structures 9, 10, 11, 12 and 14.

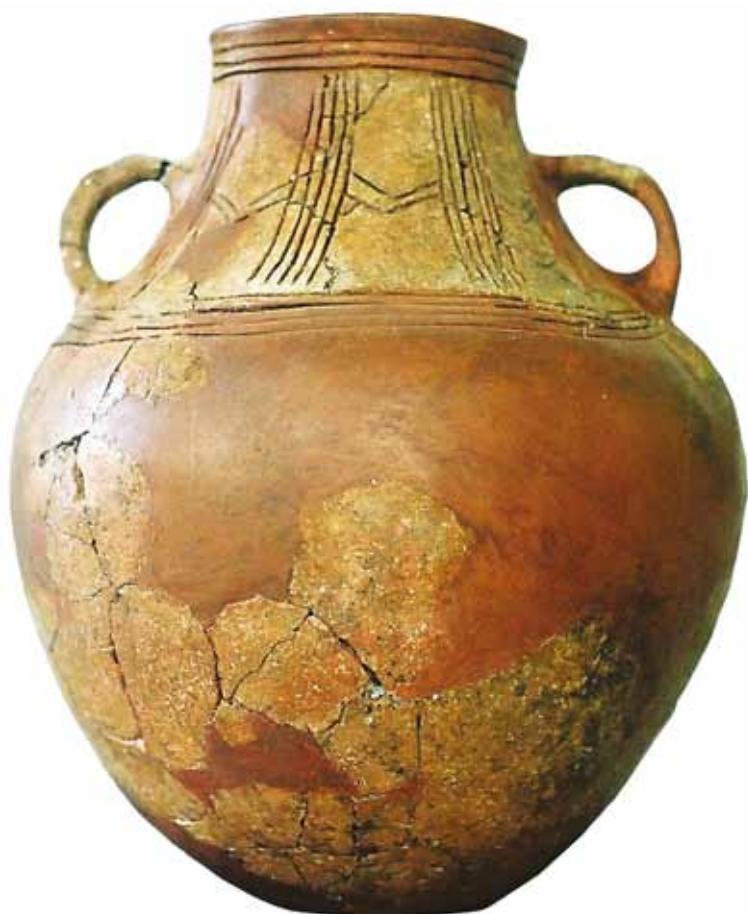


Fig. 12 – Restored ceramic vessel which was intentionally broken in the foundational ritual of settlement area 7 (Iron Age). [The vessel is 28 cm high].

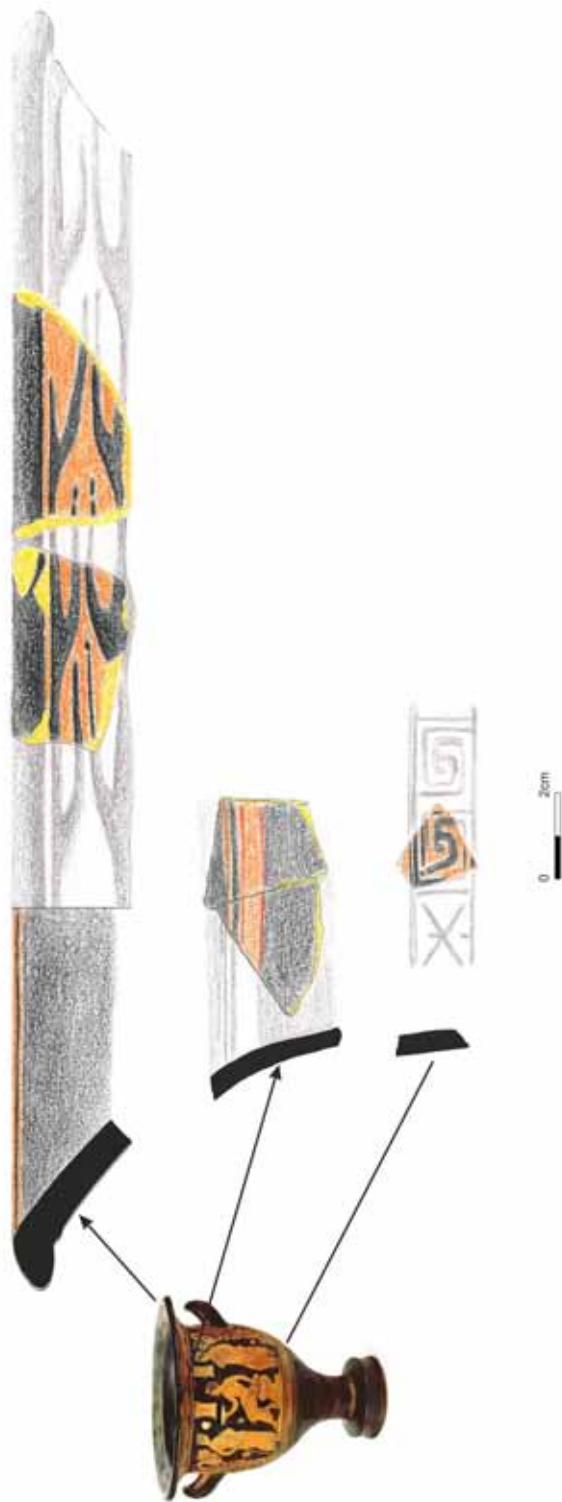


Fig. 13 – Ceramic fragments of a bell krater (Pinto 201 I, 2, Est. XI)

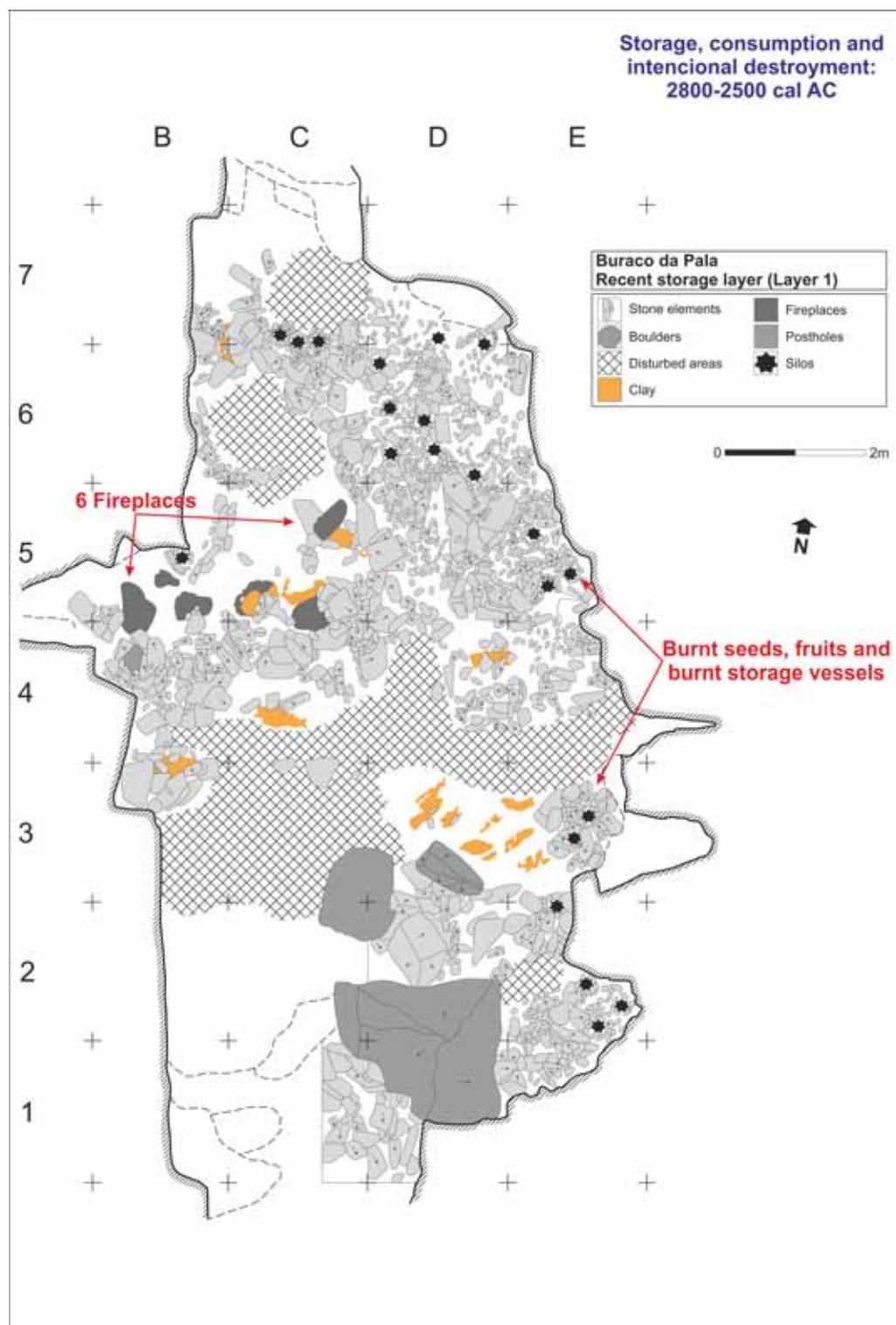


Fig. 14 – Buraco da Pala Rock shelter. Layer I[1]: fireplaces and storage area.

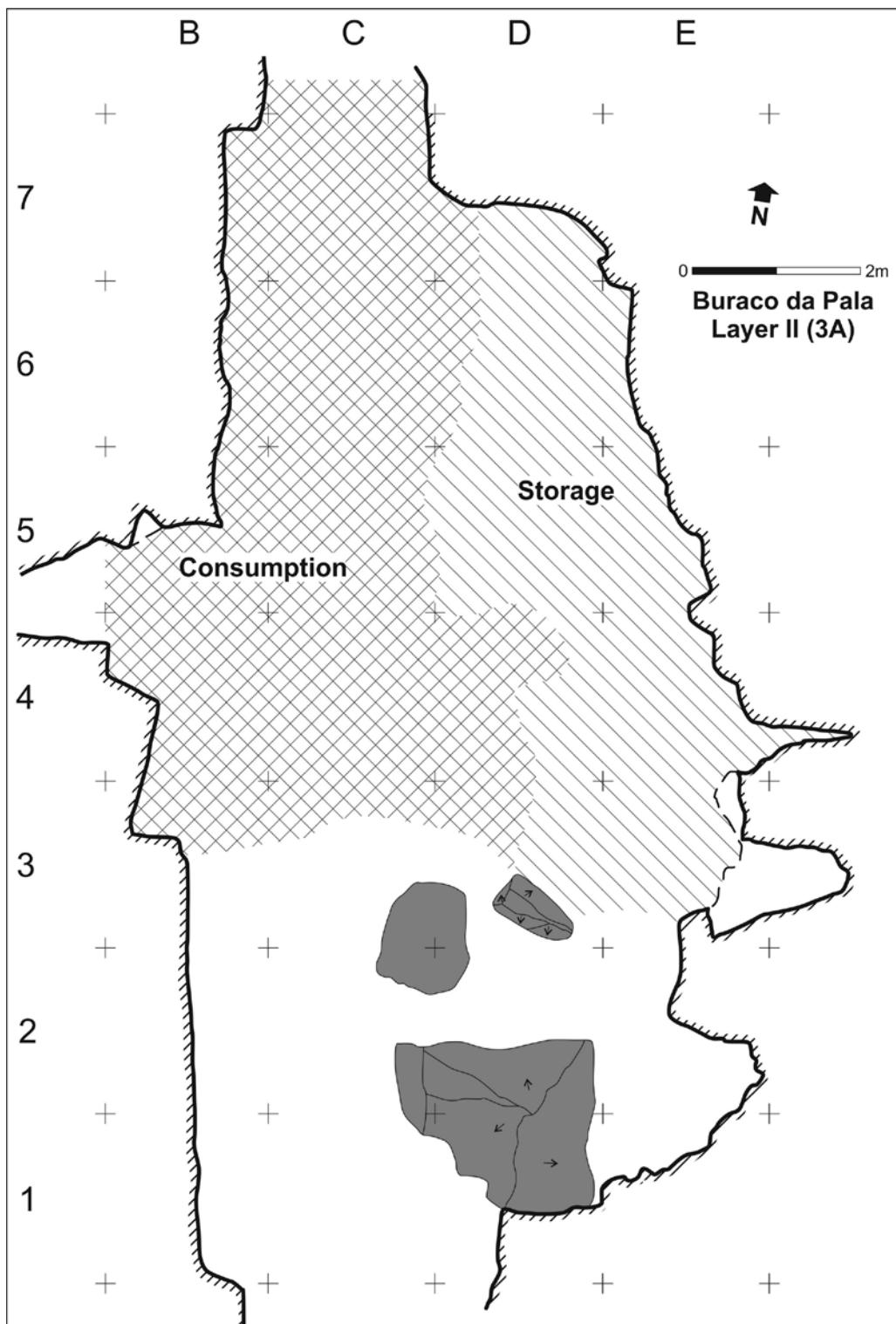


Fig. 15 – Sketch drawing of layer II [3A] of Buraco da Pala with emphasis on the relative areas of storage and consumption [2800-2500 BC].

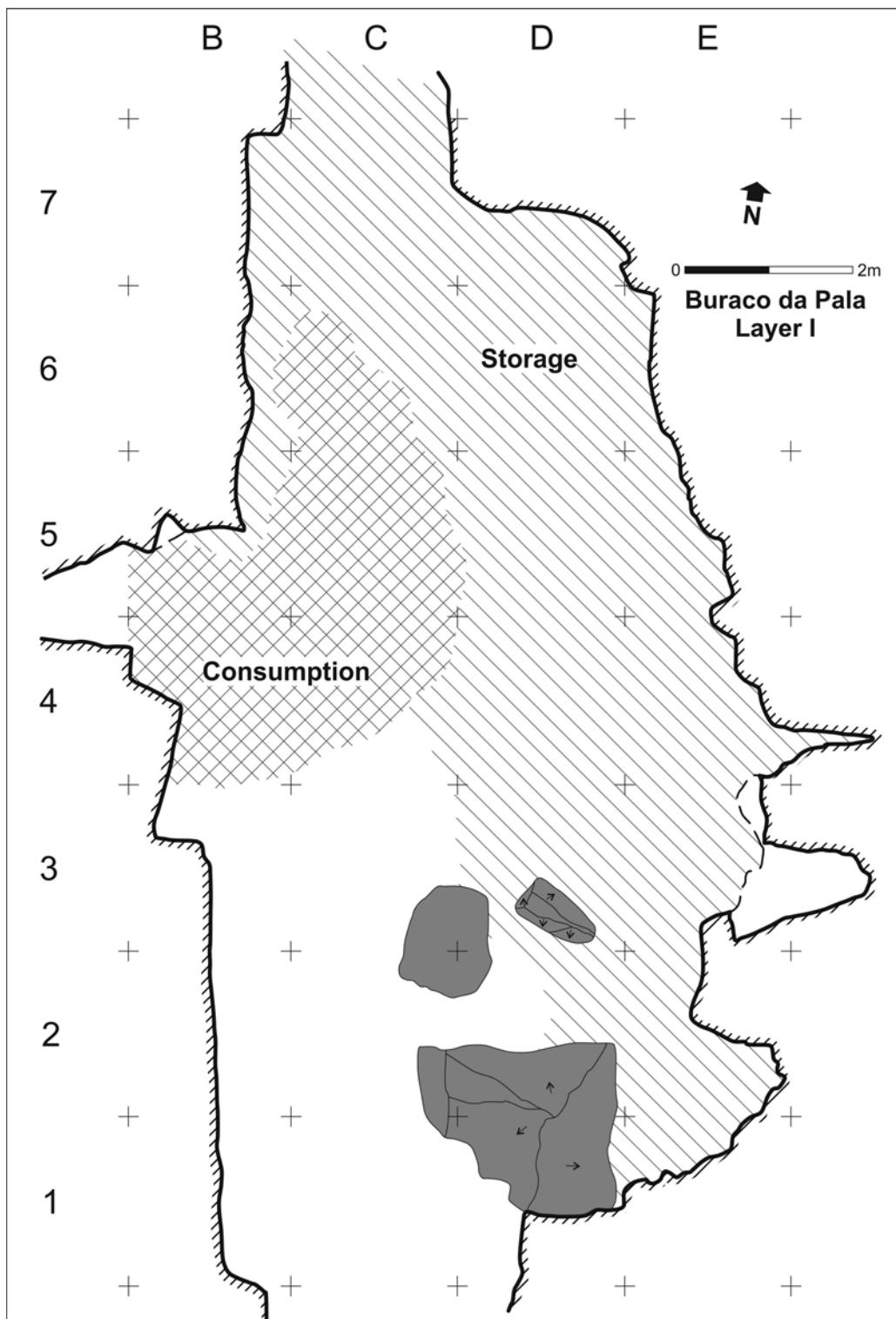


Fig. 16 – Buraco da Pala. Sketch drawing of layer I [I - that is stratigraphically superimposed over layer 3 A] with emphasis on the relative areas of storage and consumption [2800-2500 BC].

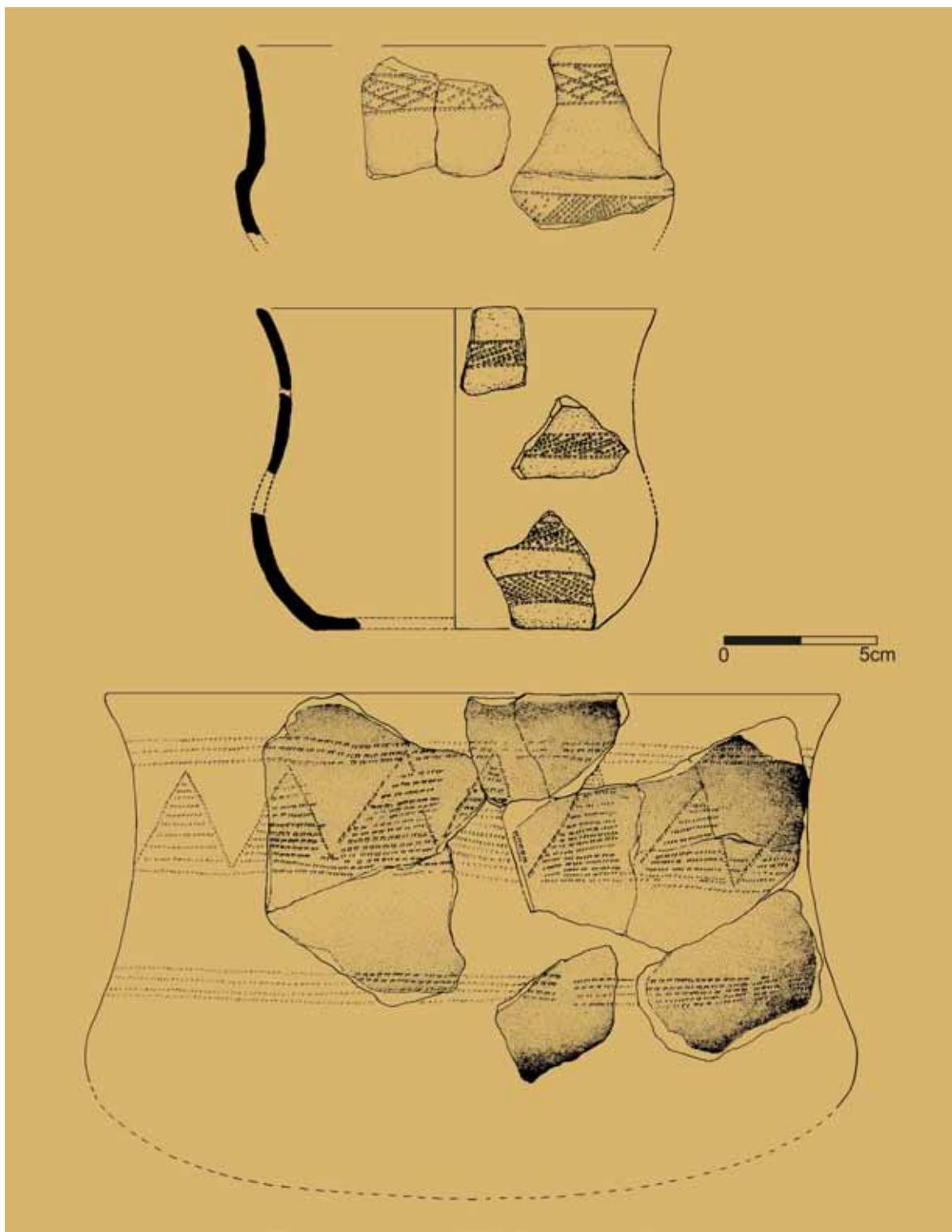


Fig. 17 – Bell beaker recipients from Eastern Upper Platform (Crasto- Chalcolithic).



Fig. 18 – Small carinated recipients and bowls, both decorated in a sort of an “incised beaker style” (Crasto- Chalcolithic). [Both are 9 cm high].

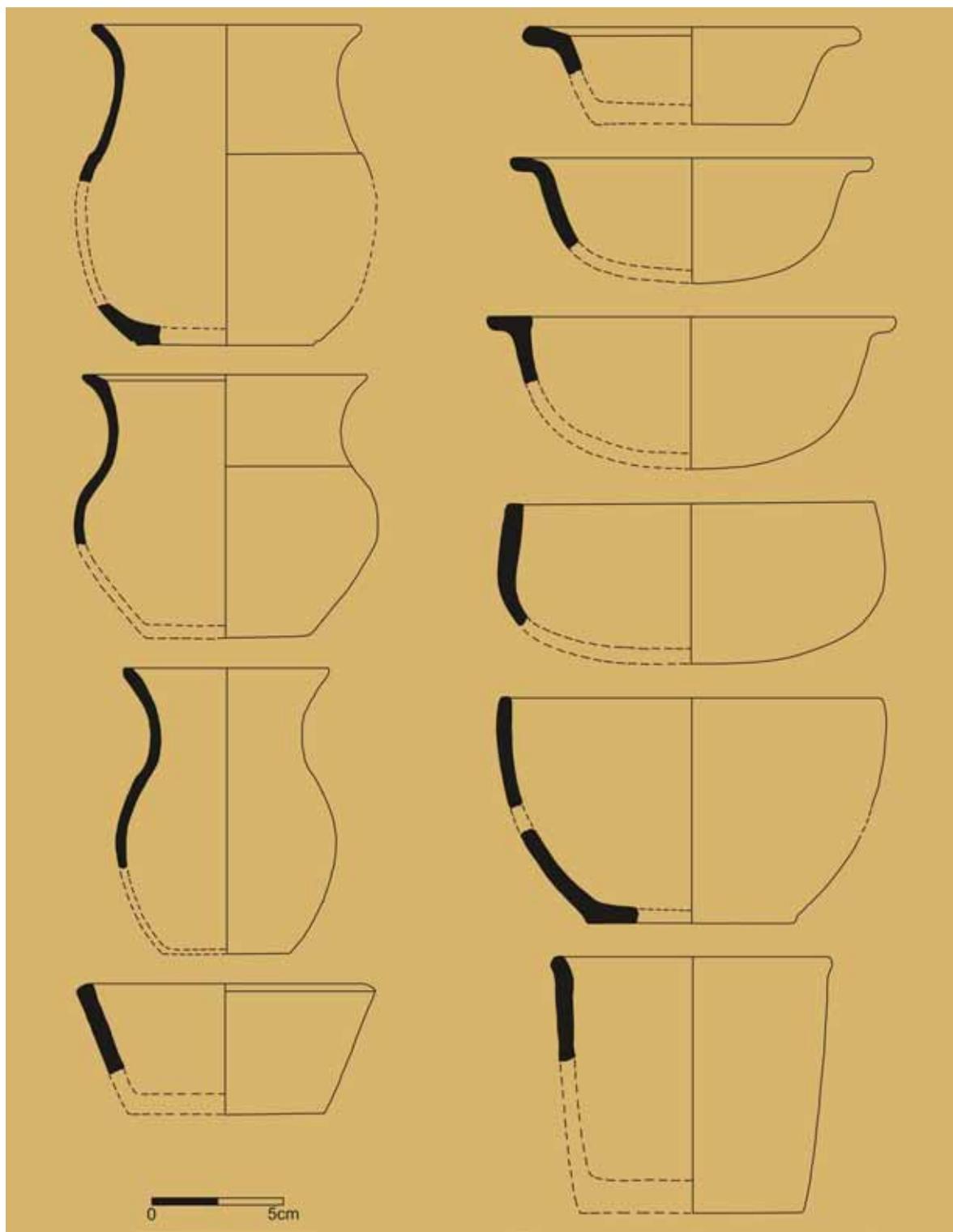


Fig. 19 – Ceramic vessels of small and medium size (bowls, beakers and vessels with "S" profile). Iron Age: constructive subphase III-I (Pinto 2011, 2, Est. CIII, CVII, CVIII, CXI, CXII, CXXVIII).

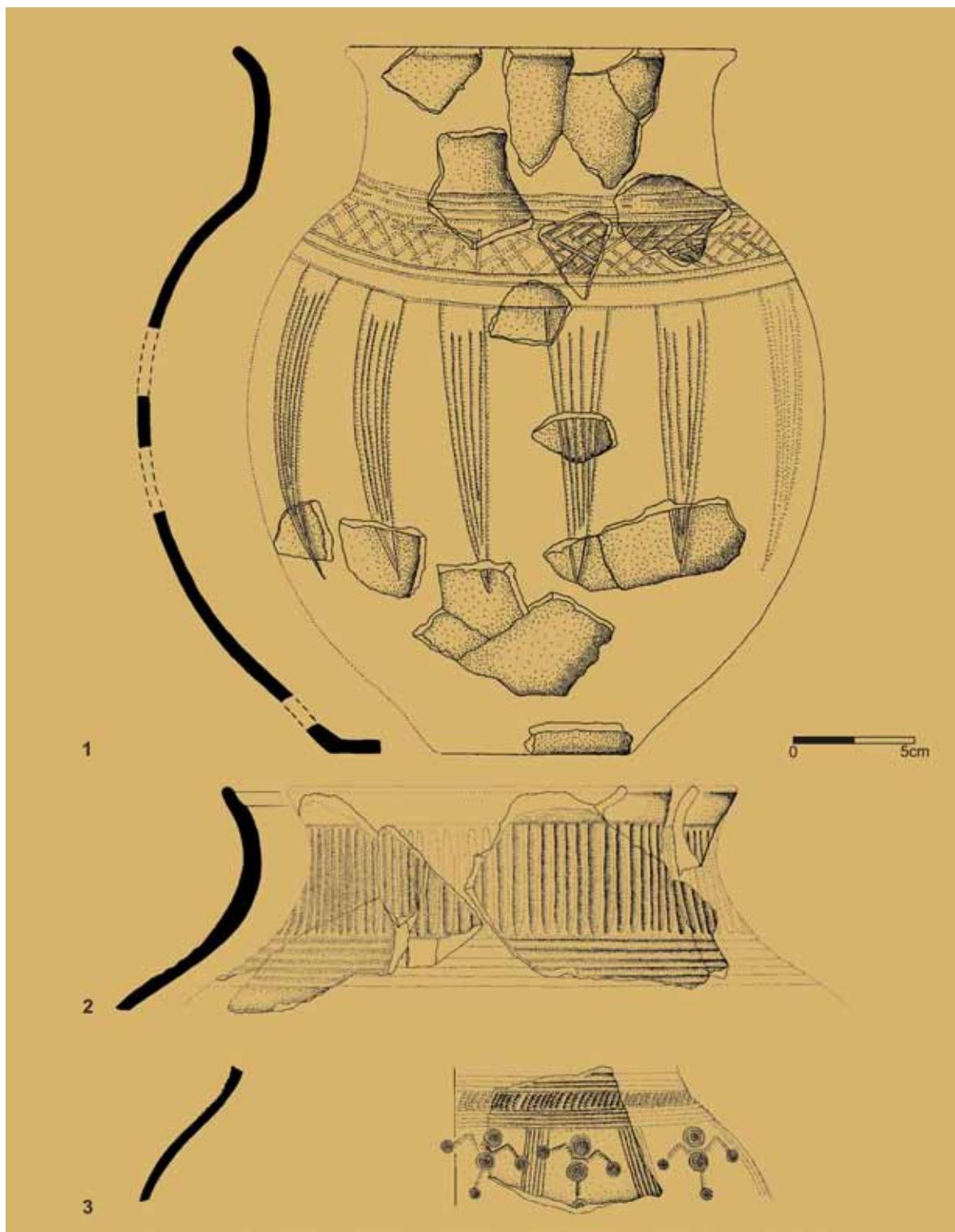


Fig. 20 – Medium sized finely decorated ceramic containers (possibly used to serve liquids). Iron Age: constructive phase III-I. 1: Enclosure L; 2, 3: Settlement area 7 (Pinto 2011, 2, Est. LX, LXVI).

Rituales de comensalidad en el Bronce Final de la Iberia atlántica: artefactos metálicos, contextos e interpretación

Xosé-Lois Armada

Instituto de Ciencias del Patrimonio (Incipit). Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC). Santiago de Compostela.
xose-lois.armada@incipit.csic.es

Raquel Vilaça

Instituto de Arqueología. Universidade de Coimbra. CEAACP. Centro de Estudos em Arqueologia, Artes e Ciências do Património.
rvilaca@fl.uc.pt

Abstract

At the beginning of the Late Bronze Age a set of metallic objects (cauldrons, flesh-hooks and, a little later, rotary spits) appeared on the Atlantic façade. They were associated with ritual feasts in which meat consumption seems to have played an important part.

Large numbers of these objects are found in the territory of present-day Portugal and Galicia and we use these as a common thread in our paper to study the Late Bronze Age feasting rituals of that area. We review the available evidence and consider its spread, characteristics and contexts, as well as its social role within the framework of the Late Bronze Age communities.

Keywords

Atlantic; meat consumption; social inequality; metallurgy; cauldrons; flesh-hooks; rotary spits.

Resumen

Desde inicios del Bronce Final aparecen en la fachada atlántica europea objetos metálicos (calderos, ganchos de carne y, un poco más tarde, asadores articulados) vinculados a la celebración de banquetes rituales en los cuales el consumo cárnico parece desempeñar un papel destacado.

Un buen número de estos objetos aparecen en los actuales territorios de Portugal y Galicia y nos sirven como hilo conductor en este trabajo para estudiar los rituales de comensalidad del Bronce Final en dicha área. Revisamos la evidencias disponibles y consideramos su dispersión, características y contextos, así como su significado social en el marco de las comunidades del Bronce Final.

Palabras clave

Atlántico; consumo cárnico; desigualdad social; metalurgia; calderos; ganchos de carne; asadores articulados.

I. Introducción

Los artefactos metálicos relacionados con los rituales de comensalidad (calderos, ganchos de carne y asadores articulados), así como los contextos en los que aparecen, constituyen el principal testimonio material para el estudio de este tipo de prácticas en la fachada atlántica de la Península Ibérica durante el Bronce Final. Las cerámicas conforman de momento una fuente de información más problemática, aunque se ha planteado la asociación de algunos tipos concretos con los banquetes (Vilaça, 2000: 37; González Ruibal, 2006-07: 153-159). Los contextos arqueológicos asociados a celebraciones son también escasos, si bien conocemos algunos ejemplos para etapas cronológicas anteriores, como los restos calcolíticos del poblado de Carrascal (Oeiras) (Cardoso, 2009), y posteriores, como los de Frijão (Braga) (Silva, 2013; Tereso y Silva, 2014; Martín-Seijo et al., 2015) y, más al interior, Castrejón de Capote (Higuera la Real, Badajoz) (Berrocal-Rangel, 1994), ambos pertenecientes a la Edad del Hierro. Para el período que nos ocupa y por su singularidad contextual es de especial interés el depósito votivo de Moita da Ladra (Vila Franca de Xira), que integraba cerca de 50 vasos asociados a intensas combustiones y a deposiciones de partes de animales que conservaban parcialmente las conexiones anatómicas, junto a otras ofrendas metálicas como alfileres, fíbulas y argollas (Cardoso, 2013; Monteiro y Pereira, 2013).

Sin embargo, el uso de calderos, ganchos o asadores como fuente para el estudio de los rituales de comensalidad ha sido más bien tardío. Durante varias décadas, la investigación se centró en su análisis cronotipológico y en el potencial informativo que ofrecían para el estudio de las relaciones atlánticas y mediterráneas. Ha sido en los últimos 25 años, en paralelo con la publicación de nuevos hallazgos, cuando su interpretación en clave social e ideológica ha pasado a un primer plano (Delibes et al., 1992-93; Vilaça, 1995: 343-347; Almagro-Gorbea, 1998; Ruiz-Gálvez, 1998).

La tesis doctoral de uno de nosotros (Armada, 2005) supuso el primer estudio sistemático e integrado de estos materiales en la Península Ibérica, así como el planteamiento de algunas líneas interpretativas que se han desarrollado en trabajos posteriores (Armada, 2008, 2011, 2015). Desde entonces se han publicado algunos nuevos hallazgos, ha aparecido la extensa monografía de Gerloff (2010) sobre los calderos en la Europa atlántica y se han planteado nuevos modelos sobre el origen de estos artefactos y sus connotaciones rituales en ámbito peninsular (Ruiz-Gálvez y Galán, 2011-12). Por nuestra parte, en los últimos años hemos tenido ocasión de avanzar en la revisión de algunos materiales y en su caracterización arqueométrica.¹ En este último aspecto han incidido también otros trabajos recientes, tanto en la Península Ibérica (Valério et al., 2006; Bottaini, 2012; Bottaini et al., 2015) como en otros lugares de la Europa atlántica (Bowman y Needham, 2007).

El objetivo de esta contribución es, en primer lugar, ofrecer un inventario actualizado del repertorio de materiales en la fachada atlántica peninsular, concretamente de los actuales territorios de Portugal y Galicia. En segundo lugar, incidimos en sus posibles vías de interpretación, revisitando algunos de nuestros planteamientos a la luz de los nuevos datos y propuestas recientes. La información arqueométrica que hemos generado en las últimas fechas será presentada y discutida en otras publicaciones específicas, actualmente en curso.

¹ Estas tareas se han llevado a cabo en el marco de los proyectos de investigación *Del taller al cuerpo: el metal como expresión de poder en la protohistoria del Noroeste peninsular* (10 PXIB 606 016 PR), financiado por la Xunta de Galicia; y *Atlantic Late Bronze Age interaction through metal hoards* (ALBIMEH) (Project number 628959), financiado por el programa Marie Curie IEF dentro del 7th European Community Framework Programme.

2. Los materiales: una revisión del inventario

A continuación presentamos en forma de tablas el inventario actual de calderos, ganchos de carne y asadores articulados recuperados en los actuales territorios de Portugal y Galicia en contextos del Bronce Final (c. 1300-800 BC) (figura 1). Es importante esta acotación cronológica, ya que tanto calderos como ganchos de carne aparecen en esta área geográfica durante la Edad del Hierro, aunque en ocasiones con características morfotipológicas diferentes; también se documentan asadores de bronce, al menos uno de los cuales, el de Monte da Costa Figueira (Vilela, Paredes) (Cardozo, 1946; Silva, 2007: 302, n. 321, est. XCV.I), puede considerarse una evolución de los ejemplares articulados. Si bien en esta ocasión nos centramos exclusivamente en el Bronce Final, aludiremos a estos objetos más tardíos cuando resulte pertinente. Las tablas mantienen los números de inventario de un trabajo anterior (Armada, 2011), pero están actualizadas incorporando los nuevos materiales y suprimiendo otros dudosos o que deben definitivamente descartarse. El inventario se acompaña de un texto que describe las principales características del repertorio y presenta la nueva información.

Calderos

Los calderos de remaches se encuentran entre los objetos visualmente más impactantes de la metalurgia del Bronce Final. Los ejemplares recuperados a lo largo de toda la fachada atlántica han merecido una amplia bibliografía, en la cual sobresale el extenso y sistemático estudio de Gerloff (2010). A esta autora debemos la propuesta crontipológica más actualizada, que muestra con claridad que la producción de calderos en la fachada atlántica europea abarca la totalidad del Bronce Final. No obstante, el estudio de los calderos en ámbito peninsular presenta como principal limitación su elevado grado de fragmentación, que impide el estudio de sus características originales (borde, sistema de suspensión, perfil, dimensiones, etc.). Únicamente dos calderos del Bronce Final, los de Cabárceno (Penagos, Santander) y Lois (Riaño, León), se han recuperado en un estado de conservación óptimo a estos efectos (Schubart, 1961; Fernández Manzano y Guerra, 2003; Blas Cortina, 2007; Gerloff, 2010: 200-204, pl. 110-114). En la mayor parte de los restantes casos lo conservado se limita a fragmentos de chapas unidos con remaches que no permiten reconstruir las características básicas del recipiente y, en ocasiones, tampoco su interpretación segura como fragmentos de calderos. En este sentido, cabe señalar que los diversos repertorios de recipientes peninsulares incluyen de manera acrítica ejemplares que, en nuestra opinión, deben ser descartados o al menos revisados. Durante algún tiempo ha existido cierta tendencia a considerar que cualquier fragmento de chapa con remache es un resto de caldero, lo cual resulta bastante cuestionable.

Tal como puede verse en la tabla 1, el inventario de calderos de remaches del Bronce Final en los actuales territorios de Galicia y Portugal comprende un total de 13 hallazgos razonablemente seguros. Con mayor o menor detalle, todos ellos han sido descritos en la bibliografía que aportamos, por lo que — del mismo modo que haremos con ganchos de carne y asadores articulados — no reiteraremos aquí esta información.

Desde el punto de vista morfotipológico el hallazgo más relevante lo constituyen los fragmentos de un depósito conservado en el Museo Arqueológico e Histórico de San Antón (A Coruña) y que procedería de algún lugar de la provincia de Lugo.² El depósito (nº inv. 3902), todavía inédito, está

² En anteriores trabajos uno de nosotros adscribe este hallazgo a la provincia de A Coruña (Armada, 2005: 133-134, nº 10; 2011: 163-164, 177, nº 7, fig. 9.4). Agradecemos a José María Bello Diéguez y Ana Martínez Arenaz que nos hayan facilitado la consulta de las fichas de inventario del Museo, que nos permite ahora corregir este dato.

Núm.	Procedencia	Descripción	Contexto	Referencias
1	Buraco da Moura de São Romão, Seia, Guarda	Dos fragmentos de caldero consistentes en chapas unidas con remaches	Abrigo	Senna-Martinez <i>et al.</i> , 1993; Armada, 2008: 129-130, nº 2; Gerloff, 2010: 216, nº 95, pl. 116
3	Cachouça, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco	Varios fragmentos de chapas con remaches, pertenecientes a uno o más calderos	Poblado	Vilaça, 2000: 37, fig. 5.7
8	Coto da Pena, Caminha, Viana do Castelo	Dos pequeños fragmentos de un caldero con remaches de pirámide cuadrangular	Poblado	Silva, 2007: 34, 289, nº 247-48, est. LXXXIV.6-7; Armada, 2008: 130-132; Gerloff, 2010: 215, nº 91, pl. 116
10	Hío, Cangas do Morrazo, Pontevedra	Ocho fragmentos (y un posible noveno) de un caldero de remaches de buena factura	Depósito	Ruiz-Gálvez, 1979; Gerloff, 2010: 206-207, nº 75, pl. 114
7	Lugo (provincia)	Restos de calderos que incluyen tres armellas o enganches de asa y varios fragmentos de chapa con remaches, formando parte de un depósito de fundidor	Depósito	Armada, 2005, 133-134; 2008: 137-138, lám. II; Bordas, 2016: 147, fig. 24
13	Monte Airoso, Penedono, Beira Alta	Pequeños fragmentos de chapa remachada, pertenecientes posiblemente a calderos	Poblado	Vilaça, 1995: 340, 360, n. 29
33	Monte da Falperra, Esporões, Braga	Fragmento de chapa con remaches y un fragmento de chapa curvado con acanaladuras que podría pertenecer a un enganche de asa	Poblado	Gerloff, 2010: 214-215, nº 90, Pl. 116
14	Nossa Senhora da Guia, Baiões, Viseu	Varios fragmentos de chapas con remaches, pertenecientes a un caldero	Poblado	Armbruster, 2000: 102, 200, Taf. 18.5-6; Gerloff, 2010: 216-217, nº 96, pl. 116
16	Santa Luzia, Viseu	Cuatro fragmentos de caldero de remaches	Poblado	Vilaça, 1995: 340; Senna-Martinez y Pedro, 2000: 231; Gerloff, 2010: 217, nº 97, pl. 116
17	Santinha, Amares, Braga	Pequeño fragmento de caldero con dos remaches de cabeza piramidal	Poblado	Bettencourt, 2001; Armada, 2008: 132
18	São Julião, Vila Verde, Braga	Pequeño fragmento de caldero compuesto por varias chapas de bronce unidas mediante cuatro remaches, así como un remache suelto de bronce	Poblado	Bettencourt, 2000
19	São Martinho	Un remache y un pequeño fragmento de chapa con otro remache, posiblemente pertenecientes a un caldero	Poblado	Vilaça, 1995: 340; Farinha <i>et al.</i> , 1996: 48
21	Torroso, Mos, Pontevedra	Varios fragmentos de calderos con remaches cónicos, planos y piramidales, así como un asa de bronce y el extremo de otra	Poblado	Peña Santos, 1992: 25-30, fig. 62, lám. 48; Armada, 2005: 153-154, nº 39; Gerloff, 2010: 212-213, nº 86, pl. 115

Tabla I – Inventario de los calderos de remaches del Bronce Final en los actuales territorios de Portugal y Galicia.

integrado por 151 fragmentos metálicos que suman unos 15 kg de peso, buena parte de los cuales presentan defectos de fundición. Los restos de caldero (figura 2) consisten en tres enganches de asa — dos mal fundidos — y al menos cinco fragmentos de chapas o remaches (Armada, 2005: 133-134, nº 10). Los enganches de asa tienen forma de T y presentan decoración de líneas, en unos casos verticales y en otros oblicuas. A pesar de su inequívoca singularidad muestran ciertas semejanzas con los ejemplares del yacimiento de Sanchorreja (Ávila) (Armada, 2005: 148-150, 164-168, nº 30) y recientemente se ha apuntado su proximidad con los calderos tipo Cloonta y con otros recipientes atlánticos del Bronce Final 3 (Bordas, 2016).

Los restantes hallazgos portugueses y gallegos consisten, como ya hemos señalado, en fragmentos de chapas con remaches. En parte de los casos su interpretación como calderos es verosímil y la información contextual aprovechable; nos referimos a los hallazgos de Cachouça (Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco), Coto da Pena (Caminha, Viana do Castelo), Hío (Cangas do Morrazo, Pontevedra), Nossa Senhora da Guia (Baiões, Viseu) (figura 3), Santinha (Amares, Braga), São Julião (Vila Verde, Braga) y Torroso (Mos, Pontevedra), donde además se recuperó un asa de bronce de sección cuadrado-romboidal y extremos vueltos, así como el extremo de otra (Peña Santos, 1992: 25-30, fig. 62, lám. 48; Armada, 2005: 153-154, nº 39). Otros ejemplares resultan algo más problemáticos, bien por sus particularidades (Buraco da Moura) o bien por tratarse de hallazgos de superficie o con información contextual insuficiente (Monte Airoso³, Monte da

³ Desconocemos el paradero actual de los fragmentos de Monte Airoso, en su momento revisados por una de nosotros (RV)

Falperra, Santa Luzia⁴ y São Martinho⁵).

Nos detendremos a continuación en los materiales que, a nuestro modo de ver, son merecedores de una revisión crítica o deben excluirse del inventario.

Debemos a Coffyn (1985: 390, 395) la atribución al supuesto depósito de Caldelas (Amares, Braga) de restos de caldero consistentes en fragmentos de chapas con remaches. Sin embargo, Monteagudo (1977: 246, nº 1703-04) publica dos hachas de cubo y anillas sin hacer ninguna referencia a restos de caldero, mientras que Gerloff (2010: 207, nº 76, pl. 114) únicamente pudo identificar en el museo un fragmento de placa sin remaches, cuya atribución a un caldero y al depósito no creemos que pueda darse por segura con los datos actualmente disponibles. De hecho, la propia naturaleza de depósito de estos materiales no está del todo clara debido a la ausencia de informaciones fiables (Bottaini, 2012: 505).

A la zona de Porto se atribuye un hallazgo consistente en una barra doblada y varios fragmentos de chapas, uno de los cuales podría pertenecer a un borde de caldero mientras que otro presenta varias dobleces y diversos agujeros para remaches (Schubart, 1961: Abb. 13D.1-2; Coffyn, 1985: 395, pl. LXI.16-19; Gerloff, 2010: 215, nº 92, pl. 116). Uno de los fragmentos de chapa ha sido analizado por Bottaini (2012: 464-470) dando como resultado una aleación binaria, también utilizada en otros ejemplares peninsulares del Bronce Final. Sin embargo, debido a la ausencia de información contextual y a las peculiares características del material, preferimos mantenerlo fuera del inventario.

También consideramos muy dudoso el fragmento de chapa con tres agujeros del depósito de Porto do Concelho (Mação) (Gerloff, 2010: 207, nº 77, pl. 114), aunque en este caso los materiales asociados (hachas, puntas de lanza, hoces...) tienen una inequívoca cronología del Bronce Final (Monteagudo, 1977: 212, nº 1347-48, Taf. 153A y 154).

Un caso similar lo constituyen los fragmentos de O Crasto de Tavarede (Figueira da Foz), recuperados en las excavaciones de Santos Rocha y sobre los cuales ya expresó dudas Coffyn (1985: 395). Del yacimiento proceden materiales del Bronce Final y I Edad del Hierro y la presencia de fragmentos de caldero ha sido mencionada por diversos autores, entre quienes nos incluimos (Vilaça, 1995: 340; Armada, 2011: 177; Gerloff, 2010: 216, nº 94, pl. 116). Sin embargo, nuestra reciente revisión de estos materiales (figura 4) en el Museu Municipal Santos Rocha de Figueira da Foz nos lleva a descartar su interpretación como restos de calderos debido a las características

en los antiguos Serviços de Arqueología de Coimbra donde se encontraban junto con algunos fragmentos cerámicos. Pesquisas posteriores en el Museu Nacional de Arqueología (Lisboa), donde se conservan 17 piezas de este yacimiento (en buena parte inéditas), en la Delegação Regional de Cultura de Coimbra (heredera de los citados servicios) y en el Museu Municipal de Penedono, han resultado infructuosas.

⁴ Repetidamente citados pero poco conocidos. Originalmente estudiados por I. Pedro (1995: 135, 149, Est. LX) y después también descritos y dibujados en Gerloff (2010: 217, nº 97, pl. 116). La observación de los fragmentos permitió a una de nosotros confirmar que se trata efectivamente de restos de posibles calderos, pero también pudimos identificar una posible navaja de afeitar (SL-27-II) de lámina ovoide con pedúnculo, característica del área atlántica (Vilaça, 2009: 500-501, fig. 7; 2011-2012: fig. 4-1).

⁵ Hallazgo de superficie efectuado por Álvaro Baptista en la plataforma de la cima, tras la capilla. La observación de los fragmentos conservados en el Museu de Francisco Tavares Proença Júnior, en Castelo Branco, permitió identificar apenas un pequeño fragmento (988.2.288.7) con remache subcircular y unas dimensiones de 13 x 12 mm; esp. chapa 1,1 mm.

de la chapa y los remaches o la disposición de estos últimos.⁶

Por último, tampoco creemos oportuno incluir el fragmento de chapa remachada de Castelo Velho de Caratão (Maçao), mencionado por Gerloff (2010: 217, nº 98) a partir de referencias de Kalb, ni los fragmentos del castro das Margaritas (Samos, Lugo) (Gerloff, 2010: 212, nº 84). En cuanto al primero, una de nosotros (RV)⁷ tuvo la oportunidad de analizar el repertorio metálico de este sitio en 2012 y no fue posible identificar ningún fragmento de caldero metálico, que tampoco aparece mencionado en Delfino et al. (2013). En cuanto al castro lucense, pudimos revisar los fragmentos hace años en el Museo Arqueológico e Histórico de San Antón (Armada, 2005: 137-138, nº 17) y, aunque su adscripción a un caldero es factible, no existe indicio fiable de su datación en el Bronce Final al tratarse de un hallazgo casual realizado en 1979 y sin datos contextuales más precisos.

Ganchos de carne

En nuestra área de estudio se encuentran cuatro de los siete ganchos de carne seguros conocidos en la Península Ibérica (tabla 2). Los otros tres proceden de Barrios de Luna (León), Cantabrana (Burgos) y el río Genil (Sevilla) (Delibes et al., 1992-93; Armada y López Palomo, 2003; Needham y Bowman, 2005; Armada, 2011). Aun teniendo en cuenta el escaso número de ejemplares conocidos, los ganchos peninsulares muestran una cierta diversidad en lo tipológico al mismo tiempo que conexiones con ejemplares de otras áreas de la Europa atlántica (figura 5).

Núm.	Procedencia	Descripción	Contexto	Referencias
10	Hío, Cangas do Morrazo, Pontevedra	Dos ganchos de enmangue tubular y un solo garfio	Depósito	Ruiz-Gálvez, 1979
14	Nossa Senhora da Guia, Baiões, Viseu	Gancho de fuste tubular y triple garfio	Poblado	Silva et al., 1984; Silva, 2007: 300, est. XCV.1-4; Armbruster, 2000: 122, 200, Taf. 18.5-6
25	Solveira, Montalegre, Vila Real	Gancho de enmangue tubular y doble garfio	Depósito	Gonçalves da Costa, 1963; Bottaini et al., 2015

Tabla 2 – Inventario de los ganchos de carne del Bronce Final en los actuales territorios de Portugal y Galicia.

El depósito de Hío (Cangas, Pontevedra) contiene dos ganchos de enmangue tubular y un solo garfio (figura 5.9). Algunos autores han propuesto la existencia de un tercer gancho, pero coincidimos con Needham y Bowman (2005: 98) en interpretar esa pieza como una herramienta de enmangue tubular (tal vez un cincel). Los otros dos ganchos, como igualmente apuntan estos autores, plantean también algunos problemas de identificación debido a su mal estado de conservación, pero su interpretación parece más segura. Este tipo de enmangue tubular y un solo garfio es el más antiguo de la serie atlántica y puede situarse en los siglos XIII-XII a.C. según las dataciones absolutas asociadas a los ejemplares de

⁶ Otros autores se han manifestado en la misma dirección. Así, Gerloff (2010: 216, nº 94B) se refiere a uno de los fragmentos como “probably not vessel fragment” y Neves (2013: 80-81, est. XIII, s/n 12-15), basándose en la opinión de A. M. Arruda, propone su interpretación como posibles elementos de *diphroi*. Esta identificación genérica como elementos de revestimiento asociados a madera u otros materiales perecederos parece más apropiada que la de calderos, hipótesis que podría ser, quizás, considerada para otros casos.

⁷ Fue posible observar, en compañía de Barbara Armbruster, el repertorio metálico de este yacimiento arqueológico gracias a la amabilidad de Davide Delfino, a quien expresamos nuestro agradecimiento y que tiene en curso de estudio estos materiales procedentes de las excavaciones realizadas por María Amélia y Thomas Bubner en la década de los 80 del siglo pasado.

Feltwell y Flag Fen (Needham y Bowman, 2005; Armada, 2011: 159-161). Sin embargo, en Hío se asocian a materiales algo más tardíos. Brandherm (2007: 12-14, 83-84), a partir de criterios tipológicos, ha propuesto situar el horizonte cronológico de este depósito entre 1130 y 1050 a.C.

Los ganchos portugueses de Nossa Senhora da Guia (Baiões, Viseu) (figuras 5.6 y 6) y Solveira (Montalegre, Vila Real) (figura 5.5) también son bien conocidos en la literatura arqueológica. Ambos han sido clasificados por Needham y Bowman (2005) dentro de su *class 3* (*elaborate socketed flesh-hooks*) y el primero muestra claras semejanzas con el gancho irlandés de Dunaverney (figura 5.4) (Bowman y Needham, 2007; Leonard, 2014). La cronología de estos ganchos es posterior a los de enmangue tubular y un solo garfio, pudiendo situarse en los siglos XI-IX a.C. En esta dirección apuntan las dos dataciones de restos de madera asociados al gancho de Dunaverney (OxA-10004: 2839 ± 37 BP; OxA-10005: 2818 ± 37 BP) (Bowman y Needham, 2007: 82), las dataciones publicadas de Nossa Senhora da Guia (GrA-29095: 2745 ± 40 BP; GrA-29097: 2680 ± 40 BP; GrA-29098: 2650 ± 35 BP)⁸ (Vilaça, 2008: 384-385; Armada, 2011: 160) y una nueva datación radiocarbónica —en vías de publicación— de la madera de uno de los tramos tubulares del gancho de este yacimiento portugués. Recientemente se ha propuesto fechar el depósito de Solveira en torno al siglo X a.C. (Bottaini, 2012: 48-49; Bottaini et al., 2015: 128). El estudio arqueometalúrgico de su peculiar gancho muestra una aleación binaria típica del Bronce Final portugués, aunque en este caso con un porcentaje de Sn algo superior a la media (16 %) y una cantidad elevada de impurezas de Sb (1,9 %) (Bottaini et al., 2015).

Código de laboratorio	Edad radiocarbónica (BP)	Cal. 1 σ (AD)	Cal. 2 σ (AD)	13C/12C Ratio (δ 13C)
Beta - 318862	1150 ± 30	778-790 (6.3%) 828-840 (4.9%) 864-904 (25.1%) 916-967 (31.9%)	776-971 (95.4%)	-25.7 o/oo

Tabla 3 – Resultado de la datación ^{14}C AMS de una muestra de madera del interior del tubo de bronce de la región de Alpiarça (Casa dos Patudos - Museu de Alpiarça) (Programa OxCal 4.2; curva de calibración Intcal13).

Enumerados los ejemplares que la investigación reconoce de manera unánime como ganchos de carne del Bronce Final, nos detendremos en otros casos que resultan dudosos, de cronología posterior o que deben ser descartados: Nossa Senhora da Cola (Ourique, Beja), Cabeço das Frágua (Pousafoles do Bispo, Sabugal, Guarda), Penedo de Lexim (Mafra, Lisboa) y un fragmento tubular supuestamente procedente de la región de Alpiarça (Santarém).

De Nossa Senhora da Cola, junto a otros materiales que se han fechado en el siglo VIII a.C., procede una pieza, con decoración incisa y terminada en una argolla, que algunos autores proponen interpretar como parte de un gancho de carne (Arruda, 2008: 365; Vilhena, 2006: 78, Est. XXXVI-I; Vilhena y Gonçalves, 2012: 526). No hemos tenido ocasión de revisar esta pieza, por lo que de momento

⁸ La fecha GrN-7484 (2650 ± 130 BP), obtenida a partir de la madera del enmangue de una punta de lanza de este yacimiento, es de interés menor teniendo en cuenta su elevada desviación estándar (Kalb, 1974-77).

mantenemos el carácter provisional de esta interpretación.⁹

Las recientes excavaciones en el entorno de la conocida inscripción lusitana de Cabeço das Fráguas han permitido recuperar, entre los materiales de la segunda fase, dos garfios que supuestamente pertenecerían a un gancho de carne (Santos, 2010: 135; Santos y Schattner, 2010: 103-104). Esta segunda fase de uso se fecha entre inicios de la II Edad del Hierro (ss. IV-III a.C.) y el siglo II-I a.C., siendo su interpretación funcional dudosa. En todo caso, parece claro que ninguna de las tres fases documentadas tiene una función habitacional (Santos y Schattner, 2010) y resulta muy sugerente la presencia de un gancho de carne en un santuario que, al menos en su última fase, acogió el sacrificio de víctimas animales a la divinidad. Se trataría del primer ejemplo en ámbito peninsular de un gancho de carne de bronce en un contexto posterior al Bronce Final, por lo que cabe esperar una publicación más pormenorizada de estos garfios y de dicho contexto. En cualquier caso, no incluimos este hallazgo en nuestro inventario ya que aparece en una cronología de la Edad del Hierro.

Entre los materiales del yacimiento de Penedo de Lexim conservados en el Museu Nacional de Arqueología (Lisboa) se encuentra un tubo decorado con líneas en diagonal (figura 7) que debe corresponder al posible gancho de carne decorado mencionado por Kalb (1980: 32), sin aportar imagen del mismo.¹⁰ Hemos tenido la oportunidad de revisar y de analizar este tubo (inv. 2082.55.1), que mide 8,1 cm de longitud, 2,2 cm de diámetro máximo y 1,2 cm de diámetro mínimo, pesa 30,5 gr y cuyo grosor de chapa es de 1,1-1,4 mm.¹¹ El análisis de composición química muestra que se trata de un objeto de latón.¹² Aunque en el yacimiento se han recuperado objetos metálicos del Bronce Final¹³ (Sousa et al., 2004), y recientemente se han identificado en Portugal objetos de latón en cronologías atribuidas a finales de la Edad del Bronce o inicios de la Edad del Hierro (Loureiro et al., 2014)¹⁴, creemos que tanto las características morfológicas del tubo de Penedo de Lexim como su aleación permiten desestimar su identificación como un fragmento de gancho de carne.

Nos referiremos por último a un tubo metálico de procedencia atribuida a la región de Alpiarça

⁹ No en vano, por las informaciones disponibles, es probable que haya que descartarla ya que se trata de un vástago plano, de sección rectangular, cuyo grosor máximo, aunque no esté indicado, puede estimarse en c. 0,6 cm a partir de la escala de la imagen (Vilhena, 2006: est. XXXVI-1). Una posible interpretación alternativa sería que correspondiese al extremo de una empuñadura de asador.

¹⁰ Ver también Ruiz-Gálvez (1984: 187), dando la pieza por desaparecida.

¹¹ Agradecemos al Director del Museu Nacional de Arqueología, Dr. António Carvalho, la autorización concedida para su estudio.

¹² La aleación contiene un 63,6 % de Cu y un 36,0 % de Zn con trazas de Fe, Ni, As y Pb. La pieza fue analizada sin limpiar con un espetrómetro de FRX portátil en el marco del proyecto ALBIMEH. Los resultados analíticos y los protocolos de análisis serán objeto de una publicación específica.

¹³ Los primeros hallazgos remontan al s. XIX y a inicios de los años 70 del siglo XX, en el curso de trabajos de exploración de una pedrera en el lugar; otros materiales metálicos fueron registrados, concretamente dos hachas de anillas. No existe información en el Museu Nacional de Arqueología respecto a las condiciones de hallazgo del tubo o a su incorporación (año de entrada, eventual donación, etc.).

¹⁴ En la publicación mencionada, relativa al yacimiento de Moinhos de Golas (Montalegre), los autores admiten que la diversidad tipológica de los artefactos y de las aleaciones (además de latón, el conjunto también incluye cobres y bronces) puede indicar la existencia de deposiciones accidentales a partir de finales del Bronce Final o inicios de la Edad del Hierro (Loureiro et al., 2014: 65).

que conservaba restos de madera en su interior.¹⁵ Aunque algunas características como el grosor de la chapa o la decoración lo diferencian también de los ganchos de carne del Bronce Final, obtuvimos una muestra de la madera interior para su datación radiocarbónica. El resultado se presenta en la tabla 3, mostrando una cronología de época medieval que, de nuevo, nos permite descartar la interpretación del tubo como parte de un gancho de carne.¹⁶

Asadores articulados

Los asadores articulados, al igual que los ganchos de carne más complejos, constituyen un exponente de la elevada calidad técnica alcanzada por la metalurgia del Bronce Final en ámbito atlántico. Su fabricación requiere la unión de varias piezas y la combinación de técnicas como la cera perdida, el vaciado adicional o el martillado (Armbruster, 2000, 2002-2003; Armada *et al.*, 2008). El resultado son objetos con un original diseño que permite la rotación del asador en una pieza fija que se remata habitualmente con una representación zoomorfa en bulto redondo (Burgess y O'Connor, 2004: 184-185; Armada *et al.*, 2008: 483-484).

Núm.	Procedencia	Descripción	Contexto	Referencias
35	Alhais de Cima, Alto das Orquinhos, Vila Nova de Paiva	Tres asadores probablemente articulados, desaparecidos en la actualidad	Depósito	Russell Cortez, 1945-46: 352; Vilaça y Cruz, 1999: 88; Vilaça, 2006: 65-66
3	Cachouça, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco	Dos fragmentos pertenecientes a un asador articulado: uno corresponde a la varilla de sección rectangular (19'9 cm de longitud) y el otro a la parte articulada, que incluye una figura zoomorfa cuadrúpeda (cérvido) y ha perdido las patillas de soporte	Poblado	Vilaça, 1990; 1995: 345, 475-477
26	Canedotes, Vila Nova de Paiva, Viseu	Fragmento de pomo de asador correspondiente a la zona de contacto con la pieza articulada y fracturado en el extremo proximal	Poblado	Vilaça y Cruz, 1995
34	Castelo Velho do Caratão, Maçao	Pequeño fragmento de la parte articulada y dos fragmentos de varilla de sección rectangular que podrían pertenecer a la misma pieza	Poblado	Delfino <i>et al.</i> , 2013: 186, 191, fig. 1-3
30	Marzueira, Alvaláizere	Tres asadores articulados. Uno de ellos, con doble decoración ornitolomorfa, se conserva completo y presenta un pomo rematado en anilla. Los otros dos son similares, aunque de dimensiones ligeramente inferiores y se encuentran incompletos	Depósito	Almagro-Gorbea, 1974: 355-357; Armbruster, 2000: 199, Taf. 10; Vilaça, 2006: 73-74, fig. 34
14	Nossa Senhora da Guia, Baiões, Viseu	Asador articulado conservado en varios fragmentos. La anilla presenta tres acanaladuras laterales y una figura zoomorfa, rematando el pomo en una anilla actualmente fracturada	Poblado	Kalb, 1980: 30, Abb. 9.43(21), Silva, 2007: 301-302, est. XCV.7; Armbruster, 2000: 180-181, 200, Taf. 23.3, 24
28	Outeiro dos Castelos de Beijós, Carregal do Sal, Viseu	Dos pequeños fragmentos de un asador articulado, correspondientes a la zona de articulación con el soporte y a un trozo de la varilla	Poblado	Senna-Martinez, 2000
29	Reguengo do Fetal, Batalha, Leiria	Dos asadores articulados incompletos. De uno se conserva solo un fragmento de varilla y del otro parte de la varilla con un pequeño fragmento del pomo y de la pieza articulada, también incompleta	Depósito?	Ruivo, 1993

Tabla 4 – Inventario de los asadores articulados del Bronce Final en los actuales territorios de Portugal y Galicia.

Aunque la distribución de los asadores articulados abarca los ámbitos atlántico y — en menor medida — mediterráneo, el actual territorio portugués (tabla 4) y la vecina región de Extremadura

¹⁵ La pieza pertenece a la colección de la Casa dos Patudos - Museu de Alpiarça. Agradecemos a su Director, Dr. Nuno Prates, la autorización concedida para su estudio. Expresamos también nuestra gratitud a Philine Kalb por las informaciones relativas a la procedencia del tubo.

¹⁶ La datación se ha realizado en el laboratorio Beta Analytic y los resultados se presentan calibrados con el programa OxCal 4.2 (Bronk Ramsey, 1995; Bronk Ramsey y Lee, 2013) y la curva de calibración Intcal13 (Reimer *et al.*, 2013).

concentran el mayor número de piezas. Los restantes ejemplares atlánticos se localizan en el occidente de Francia (seis piezas), sureste de Inglaterra (un fragmento en el depósito de Hayne Wood) y Channel Islands (St Mary's hoard) (Burgess y O'Connor, 2004; Armada *et al.*, 2008: 483-484). Los ejemplares mediterráneos proceden del depósito sardo de Monte Sa Idda y de una tumba de la necrópolis chipriota de Amatunte (Karageorghis y Lo Schiavo, 1989; Vonhoff, 2011). Aunque el área de mayor concentración de hallazgos no necesariamente se corresponde con el área de fabricación o de origen del prototipo, los asadores articulados peninsulares son muy probablemente una producción local. Tanto los datos arqueométricos ya publicados (Armada *et al.*, 2008: 484-485; Bottaini, 2012: 467-470) como los que daremos a conocer próximamente muestran el empleo de aleaciones binarias características del Bronce Final portugués. Lamentablemente, el resto de los ejemplares atlánticos y mediterráneos no han sido objeto de estudios analíticos.

El repertorio de asadores articulados en Portugal, tal como ha sido recogido en las más recientes publicaciones (Burgess y O'Connor, 2004; Armada, 2011), comprende los ejemplares de Cachouça (Idanha-a-Nova) (figura 8), Canedotes (Vila Nova de Paiva) (figura 8), Nossa Senhora da Guia (Baiões, Viseu) (figura 9), Outeiro dos Castelos de Beijós (Carregal do Sal), Reguengo do Fetal (Batalha, Leiria) (dos ejemplares) (figura 10) y Marzigueira (Alvaiázere) (tres ejemplares). A ellos cabría sumar en ámbito peninsular los tres ejemplares de Orellana la Vieja (Badajoz) (Enríquez, 1984). Todos ellos han sido adecuadamente descritos y estudiados en la bibliografía que aportamos, por lo que evitaremos reiterar aquí esta información.¹⁷ Creemos conveniente, sin embargo, referirnos a un asador menos conocido y a otros tres actualmente desaparecidos. No entraremos a discutir otros hallazgos de varillas de bronce como los de Moreirinha (Idanha-a-Nova) o Coroa do Frade (Évora), que pudieron haber pertenecido también a asadores articulados.

Entre los materiales de las excavaciones de los años 80 de A. Horta Pereira y T. Bubner en Castelo Velho do Caratão (Mação), y otros hallazgos realizados en el lugar en circunstancias poco claras, se encuentran un pequeño fragmento de la parte articulada y perforada de un asador (n.º inv. 404) y otros dos fragmentos de varilla de sección rectangular que podrían corresponder al mismo ejemplar. Una de nosotros (RV) pudo identificar estos materiales en 2012 en el Museu de Mação.¹⁸ Posteriormente fueron publicados en fotografía de conjunto (en grises y color), de escala muy reducida y con una imagen de deficiente calidad sin otras consideraciones (Delfino *et al.*, 2013: 186, 191, fig. 1-3; Delfino *et al.*, 2014: fig. 14). Ignoramos, pues, sus dimensiones, peso y características morfológicas específicas.

El otro caso que merece una mención es el hallazgo, referido por Russell Cortez, de tres asadores en una fosa excavada en el suelo y cubierta con una laja pétreas, en un contexto no habitacional, en el lugar de Alhais de Cima (Alto das Orquinhas, Vila Nova de Paiva) (Russell Cortez, 1945-46: 352; Vilaça, 2006: 65-66). Aunque no hay noticia del paradero actual de las piezas, sus avatares pueden rastrearse parcialmente (Vilaça y Cruz, 1999: 88, n.º 36), de ahí que consideremos bastante fiable la información. Por otra parte, el hallazgo conjunto de tres asadores cuenta con otros dos paralelos en Marzigueira y Orellana la Vieja, lo que configura un patrón deposicional de inequívocas connotaciones simbólicas en torno al número tres.

La mayoría de los asadores articulados proceden de depósitos, excavaciones antiguas o hallazgos

¹⁷ A día de hoy hemos podido revisar directamente todos los ejemplares peninsulares con la excepción de los tres de Orellana y del pequeño fragmento de Outeiro dos Castelos de Beijós, correspondiente a la zona de articulación del asador con el soporte (Senna-Martínez, 2000: 56, fig. 12) y del cual desconocemos dimensiones e imágenes de buena calidad.

¹⁸ Ver nota 7.

de superficie, por lo que la información cronológica disponible resulta relativamente escasa. Sin embargo, no cabe duda que su origen es posterior al de los calderos y ganchos de carne, que como ya vimos se documentan en la fachada atlántica desde inicios del Bronce Final. En el estado actual de nuestros conocimientos los asadores articulados pertenecen a la fase intermedia del Bronce Final, a partir del siglo XI, aunque siguen en uso a inicios de la fase posterior. Burgess y O'Connor (2004: 193-195) los sitúan en su *Hío-Arganil stage/LBA 2*, entre 1140/1100-1000/950 a.C. El ejemplar más antiguo asociado a una datación radiocarbónica es el de Outeiro dos Castelos de Beijós, mientras que el ejemplar de la tumba de Amatunte ha sido fechado —no sin ciertas discrepancias posteriores— en torno al 1000 a.C.¹⁹ En una cronología algo posterior, de inicios del primer milenio, podemos situar el ejemplar de Nossa Senhora da Guia (Vilaça, 2008: 384-385).

3. Objetos, contextos y comunidades locales

Cumplido el primer objetivo que nos propusimos, i.e. la presentación crítica de un inventario actualizado de materiales relacionados con el banquete durante el Bronce Final en los territorios seleccionados, pasaremos ahora a un análisis reflexivo en torno a las posibles vías de interpretación o, por lo menos, a aquellas que consideramos merecedoras de mayor atención. En relación a este segundo objetivo creemos indispensable observar y comentar dos vertientes en especial. Por un lado, atender a la naturaleza de los contextos, *muy variables*, de los distintos materiales, incluyendo, siempre que sea posible, el análisis micro-contextual en una perspectiva relacional. Por otro lado, creemos esencial incorporar al análisis el aspecto ‘biográfico’ de cada una de las piezas, en la medida en que también ellas poseen *biografías muy distintas*.

Estos dos aspectos —contextos muy variables y etapas biográficas distintas— expresan, en consecuencia, pautas comportamentales, rituales y simbólicas igualmente diversas. Nuestra línea de trabajo, que pone en valor una realidad material polisémica, difícilmente se articula, a nivel interpretativo, con lecturas cerradas que legitimarían posiciones apriorísticas seguras. Por el contrario, entendemos que el debate reflexivo resultará en una aproximación más fecunda al conocimiento y la compresión de la alteridad de las comunidades del pasado. Conviene subrayar, de entrada, que una característica contextual del instrumental metálico de banquete en la Península Ibérica es su mayor tendencia a aparecer en lugares de habitación, a diferencia de lo que sucede en otras áreas del ámbito atlántico. Veamos, pues, el tipo y naturaleza de los contextos de procedencia, así como las condiciones físicas de las piezas, de acuerdo con el inventario propuesto.

Comenzando por los calderos, existen en ámbito peninsular algunos hallazgos que remiten con claridad a una actividad ritual o simbólica y que, por sus propias condiciones deposicionales, se conservan en mejor estado. Se trata de los ejemplares ya mencionados de Cabárceno y Lois (Fernández Manzano y Guerra, 2003; Blas Cortina, 2007; Gerloff, 2010: 200-204) o de los fragmentos recuperados en Cueva Lóbrega (Armada, 2008), en la gran cabaña fortificada de Chao Samartín (Villa y Cabo, 2003; Armada, 2011: 170-171, fig. 9.7) o en el conjunto habitacional y funerario de Sanchorreja (González-Tablas, 1990; Armada, 2005).

Los ejemplares de Galicia y Portugal, procedentes en su mayoría de contextos habitacionales, apenas proporcionan información microcontextual relevante al tratarse de fragmentos de pequeño

¹⁹ Un breve comentario de ambos contextos en Armada *et al.* (2008: 485-486).

tamaño mezclados en unidades estratigráficas de naturaleza sedimentaria, cuando no hallados en superficie. No se trata, en general, de materiales que han sido depositados intencionalmente sino de calderos que han agotado su vida útil y han terminado en fragmentos, a veces retroceados de manera consciente para su posible refundición.²⁰ En este marco general, con sus especificidades y muy diferente grado de información contextual, podemos situar los ejemplares de Coto da Pena, Monte da Falperra, São Julião, Santa Luzia o São Martinho.

En algunos casos, sin embargo, características específicas de los yacimientos o de ciertos materiales recuperados en ellos nos remiten a prácticas rituales que dotan de sentido a los hallazgos de calderos. Un caso muy significativo, sobre el que luego volveremos, es el de Nossa Senhora da Guia, un poblado que además de los fragmentos de caldero (figura 3) ha proporcionado un completo conjunto de objetos metálicos vinculados al banquete ritual que incluye un gancho de carne (figura 6), un asador articulado (figura 9), varios cuencos hemisféricos y tres soportes con ruedas, materiales no obstante recuperados en distintas situaciones (Silva et al., 1984; Silva, 2007; Armada et al., 2008; Vilaça, 2008). Otra asociación significativa de materiales —a la que también nos referiremos a continuación— se da en el asentamiento de Cachouça, del que proceden un asador articulado (figura 8) y fragmentos de caldero.

El pequeño fragmento del poblado de Santinha procede de una estructura circular rodeada por piedras que parece delimitar una cabaña interpretada por su excavadora como “semi-subterrânea” (Bettencourt, 2001: 25). Aunque el repertorio cerámico se relaciona con prácticas cotidianas de cocina, transporte y almacenaje, los hallazgos del fragmento de caldero y de una cuenta de vidrio oscura con incrustaciones hacen pensar a su excavadora en una utilización paralela de este espacio como “palco de actividades de carácter ritual” (Bettencourt, 2001: 31) en un ambiente de privacidad y secretismo que reforzaría una posición social de privilegio. También apunta a la esfera ritual, y concretamente a la quema de sustancias aromáticas, el hallazgo de un vaso con agujas de pino carbonizadas en su interior (Bettencourt, 2001: 44, 59). En todo caso, el reducido tamaño del fragmento de caldero hace que debamos mantener ciertas cautelas respecto a su asociación funcional con este espacio.

Consideraciones similares merece el caso del castro de Torroso. Los fragmentos de caldero aparecen dispersos y muy troceados, lo que ya en su momento llevó a su excavador a interpretarlos como material reciclado para refundición (Peña Santos, 1992: 29). Sin embargo, el castro cuenta con una gran cabaña en forma de L con 15 m de longitud en el eje mayor y señales de combustión abierta en la zona central del sector circular (figura 11); de su interior procede un pequeño fragmento de vaso broncíneo con remaches y en las inmediaciones de la construcción aparecieron otros fragmentos de calderos. La cronología de esta construcción se situaría en los siglos VIII-VII a.C. El propio Peña Santos (1992: 20) destacó la excepcionalidad e importancia de esta gran cabaña en función de su situación en el poblado, proponiendo su probable uso comunitario.

Los fragmentos de caldero pertenecientes a depósitos plantean también problemas interpretativos. El depósito de la provincia de Lugo conservado en el Museo de San Antón requiere todavía un estudio en profundidad, si bien dos de los enganches de asa están semifundidos y uno de los fragmentos de chapas remachadas envuelve lo que parece una masa de plomo (figura 2). La conexión del depósito con la actividad metalúrgica, tal vez a modo de material para refundición, es factible.

El depósito de Hío ha sido interpretado con frecuencia como un conjunto de chatarra, una idea que otros autores cuestionan. Así, Gerloff (2010: 208) sostiene que únicamente el caldero, los ganchos

²⁰ La propia naturaleza del material – generalmente chapas de bronce cuyo grosor varía entre 0,6 y 1,5 mm – lo hace de fácil rotura.

de carne y la espada estaban fragmentados en el momento de su hallazgo, tratándose de un depósito votivo aunque contenga un lingote y restos de fundición. El conjunto apareció en torno a 1913 en el lugar de Liméns-Covapodre (Hío, Cangas de Morrazo, Pontevedra), en una grieta del acantilado granítico; Suárez Otero (2000: 34) ha matizado que el hallazgo no tuvo lugar en línea de costa, sino en la falda del Monte do Castro, dentro de la actual aldea de Liméns y a más de un kilómetro del mar. González Ruibal (2006-07: 139-140) ha defendido que ni el lugar de deposición ni el contenido del depósito son aleatorios o casuales. Los materiales que lo forman, de hecho, pueden considerarse una representación metafórica de áreas de actividad cruciales para la reproducción social, como la guerra, el banquete, la metalurgia, la agricultura y el intercambio.

En Buraco da Moura de São Romão se recuperaron dos pequeños fragmentos en un contexto de compleja interpretación debido a las peculiares condiciones deposicionales que a menudo presentan cavidades y abrigos. La presencia de un hogar y de los fragmentos de caldero conforma para sus excavadores una asociación de “*inequívoco significado*” (Senna-Martinez et al., 1993: 127), si bien ambos testimonios proceden de unidades estratigráficas diferentes (los fragmentos, concretamente, de una UE superficial). Por otro lado, las diferentes cavidades han proporcionado materiales de cronología muy posterior y el análisis que se ha publicado para el caldero ofrece también un resultado extraño, con un porcentaje de hierro superior al 4 % que suscita ciertas dudas. En todo caso, la eventual asociación de los fragmentos de caldero al contexto del Bronce Final no plantea problemas de contextualización crono-cultural ni tampoco su hallazgo en abrigos, cuevas o cavidades, que en ámbito peninsular cuenta con casos como el de Cueva Lóbrega (Torrecilla en Cameros, La Rioja) (Armada, 2008: 135-137, 144-146). Aunque por lo general estos contextos no son fáciles de interpretar y merecerían una discusión específica, sus connotaciones simbólico-rituales resultan inequívocas.

En lo que atañe a los ganchos de carne, el extremo occidental de la Península cuenta con cuatro ejemplares que podrían ser encuadrados en contextos de depósitos. El de Solveira (Costa, 1963: 124-125), recuperado a cerca de 6 m de distancia y en el margen derecho de un riachuelo, podría ponerse en relación — al menos indirecta — con el medio acuático. Al depósito de Hío, que incorporaba dos ganchos de enmangue tubular y un solo garfio, nos hemos referido ya al ocuparnos de los fragmentos de caldero. Por su parte, el gancho de Baiões procede de un contexto aparentemente habitacional, si bien de características muy peculiares y susceptible de interpretaciones diversas.²¹ Veamos más detenidamente estos dos casos portugueses.

El gancho de Solveira (figura 5.5) se encontraba asociado a dos puntas de lanza y a un hacha de talón de dos anillas; ésta y una de aquellas se encuentran completas, mientras que la otra lanza presenta una pequeña rotura en el enmangue y se conserva incompleto uno de los dientes del gancho (Bottaini, 2012: 55). En su conjunto suman un peso de 1250 g (155 g, 68 g, 62 g y 965 g, respectivamente).²² Esta condición física de los objetos y la localización del hallazgo, a unos 1,30 m de profundidad y cerca de un pequeño curso de agua, fue ya debidamente señalada (Kalb, 1980: 29, Abb. 6; Cardoso et al., 1992: 246) y valorada ésta en términos simbólicos de deposición de artefactos metálicos en las aguas o en sus márgenes (Vilaça, 2006: 51-58). No obstante, otras perspectivas, como la de corresponder a un depósito destinado a refundición, fue también propuesta (Ruiz-Gálvez, 1995: 151). Más recientemente, como ya hemos señalado, este depósito ha aportado novedades a nivel arqueometalúrgico y fue también

²¹ Principales perspectivas recogidas y discutidas en Vilaça (2008: 377-378, 382-385) y Armada et al. (2008: 470-495).

²² El conjunto se encuentra actualmente en el Ecomuseu do Barroso, Câmara Municipal de Montalegre.

abordado en una perspectiva global (Bottaini, 2012: 44-57; Bottaini *et al.*, 2015).

Conforme ha subrayado este último investigador (Bottaini, 2012: 57), los cuatro artefactos remiten, desde un punto de vista funcional, a distintas esferas de la vida de estas comunidades — actividades prácticas (hacha), belicistas (lanzas) y rituales (gancho). Pero su condición de depósito diluye doblemente esta vertiente práctica e individual en detrimento de un carácter ritual de conjunto.

Mucho se ha escrito ya sobre el gancho de Nossa Senhora da Guia (Baiões) (figuras 5.6 y 6), como ya hemos apuntado. Importa ahora subrayar seis aspectos. En primer lugar, su micro-contexto, que apunta a una posible deposición conjunta en la cual se integraban otros artefactos de carácter ritual vinculados al banquete, tal como el propio gancho, cuencos hemisféricos y soportes (Silva *et al.*, 1984); segundo, su contexto local, que también proporcionó otro elemento de banquete, concretamente un asador articulado, recordemos, bastante completo (figura 9) (Kalb, 1980: Abb. 9-27), lo que permite concebir el conjunto de todos los materiales como un “kit ritual” de piezas que ganan mayor sentido relacionadas entre sí (Vilaça, 2008: 384); tercero, la combinación de dos técnicas — la cera perdida y el martillado, además de la fundición adicional — en la fabricación del gancho, así como del asador, por razones de tipo funcional, como bien demostró Armbruster (2002-03), relacionables con un uso efectivo de estos artefactos; cuarto, la circunstancia de que el gancho, compuesto por cuatro partes independientes — gancho propiamente dicho y tres tubos que integraban el fuste — se encontrase casi completo (únicamente uno de los tres garfios fracturado), faltándole, claro, el núcleo de madera que unía los elementos tubulares; quinto, la existencia de restos del núcleo de madera en el interior de uno de los tubos, los cuales, además, posibilitaron la realización de una datación de C14 (todavía inédita), sugiriendo la eventual deposición de la pieza montada; y sexto, que el conjunto principal parece corresponder a una ocultación en un poblado que muestra, al mismo tiempo, una relevante actividad metalúrgica (Senna-Martínez y Pedro, 2000; Figueiredo *et al.*, 2010) y que bien pudo albergar a un broncista especializado que fabricase dichos objetos.

De la presente revisión destaca el hecho de que, desde un punto de vista físico, todas las piezas en discusión se conservan bastante completas, no siendo compatibles con fragmentos metálicos amorfos clasificables como chatarra.

Por otra parte, en contextos rituales conectados con la comensalidad los artefactos manipulados en la preparación — y conviene también enfatizar la ritualidad de ese proceso — y consumo de alimentos podrían haber sido, en determinadas circunstancias, intencionalmente destruidos (rotos, doblados, quemados, etc.) por los propios participantes como acto simbólico y último, vale decir de condena de los artefactos, vetando de este modo cualquier posibilidad de ser reutilizados por otros. En este sentido, incluso determinados objetos fragmentados pueden, por esto mismo, ser igualmente entendidos como testimonio de rituales de elevada complejidad.

En relación a las condiciones de hallazgo, se confirma la existencia de distintos contextos, pero todos ellos, sean deposiciones vinculadas a las aguas, sea en medio terrestre, de carácter ritual, en sintonía con el uso primario de esta categoría de artefactos. Podríamos decir que, de la transposición de las piezas de sus contextos primarios de uso — presumibles acciones en el ámbito de ‘banquetes’ — para sus contextos secundarios de deposición — amortización de bienes de elevado valor socio-simbólico — no se habría perdido la matriz ritual de su concepción de origen.

Esta situación se repite, aunque solo en parte, con los asadores articulados. De los testimonios conservados de los ocho lugares mencionados, cabría empezar destacando la notable diversidad de casuísticas respecto al estado de conservación de las piezas, por un lado, y a la cantidad de piezas por yacimiento, por otro.

En tres de los casos se trata de pequeños fragmentos, por lo demás con roturas bien patinadas y por lo tanto antiguas, que podrían ser entendidos como meros fragmentos de bronce cuyo valor no iría

más allá que el de su peso y masa metálica. Dentro de esta casuística, la situación más expresiva es la del pequeño fragmento de la parte articulada de un asador procedente del Castelo Velho do Caratão, cuyas dimensiones y peso desconocemos. Como ya señalamos, su hallazgo es resultado, conjuntamente con el de otros materiales (incluyendo el fragmento de varilla), de las excavaciones realizadas en ese poblado por Pereira y Bubner en los años 80 del siglo XX. Se desconocen los contextos específicos de hallazgo, pero el conjunto de los diversos artefactos metálicos, que alcanza casi cuarenta elementos — todavía por estudiar con la necesaria profundidad — fueron interpretados como testimonio de la existencia de un taller metalúrgico que reciclaría chatarra, siendo expresamente mencionado en este contexto el fragmento de asador (Delfino et al., 2014: 170).

También los dos pequeños fragmentos de Outeiro dos Castelos de Beijós, mencionados como correspondientes a la parte de la zona de articulación del asador y un fragmento de la varilla, han sido interpretados como “restos de sucata destinados a refundición”, recuperándose la primera cerca del área de fundición excavada, aunque fuera de la misma (Senna-Martinez, 2000: 53, 56).

El fragmento de empuñadura del asador de Canedotes (figura 8), recogido en superficie en trabajos de prospección (Vilaça y Cruz, 1995), no permite grandes consideraciones en términos micro contextuales, pero es inequívoca su relación con un contexto habitacional, como las excavaciones desarrolladas posteriormente vendrían a confirmar (Canha, 2002). Esta asociación de asadores a poblados del Bronce Final es, por lo demás, un aspecto bastante específico del extremo occidental de la Península Ibérica en contraste con la naturaleza de los contextos europeos, tal como ha sido ya subrayado (Vilaça y Cruz, 1995: 258; Armada, 2011: 169).

En otro nivel distinto, desde el punto de vista de su significado, deben ser incluidos los asadores de Cachouça (figura 8) y de Nossa Senhora da Guia de Baiões (figura 9). Ambos están fragmentados, si bien bastante completos dado que se conservan las empuñaduras, las anillas con iconografía zoomorfa (ver *infra*) y las varillas. Esta circunstancia permite admitir como posible la hipótesis de haber sido manipulados en los respectivos contextos de hallazgo cuando todavía eran funcionalmente operativos.

El primero fue recogido en prospecciones (Vilaça, 1990) en un sitio posteriormente excavado que reveló información — estructuras, materiales y “arte rupestre” (fossettes) — compatible con la existencia de actividades rituales enmarcadas escénicamente (Vilaça, 2007: 69-70). En relación a los materiales vinculados al tema en discusión recuérdese la existencia de otros testimonios como fragmentos de caldero y de cuchillo bimetálico (hierro con remaches de bronce), el cual es viable relacionar con un uso ritual vinculado al sacrificio de las víctimas animales (Almagro-Gorbea, 1998: 88).

Sobre las condiciones específicas de hallazgo del segundo, en excavación, poco se sabe (Silva, 1979), pero también este sitio, teniendo igualmente presentes los demás artefactos de bronce, fue muy probablemente escenario de actividades rituales de diversa naturaleza, incluyendo las relacionadas con el consumo ritual de carne.

Por consiguiente, en estos dos casos se repite el tipo de estación arqueológica en que se enmarcan los asadores más occidentales, de carácter habitacional pero con particularidades específicas, más allá de funciones vinculadas a la alimentación, estrictamente domésticas y pautadas por la vida diaria. Los espacios habitados del Bronce Final expresan con frecuencia la capacidad de autotransfigurarse, o sea, habrían sido lugares de espacialidad ambi(poli)valente y heterogénea, incorporando actividades culturales y rituales fulcrales en la construcción y reproducción de la práctica cultural de las comunidades (Vilaça, 1998: 215; 2000: 34-35).

En cuanto a los restantes casos, la situación es distinta dado que parecen corresponder a depósitos, si bien, una vez más, resulten bastante limitadas las informaciones relativas a sus circunstancias de hallazgo.

Es lo que sucede con el conjunto de Reguengo do Fetal, conformado por dos asadores y un hacha de cubo de dos anillas (figura 10). En este momento y a este respecto poco podemos añadir a lo ya conocido (Ruivo, 1993), siendo reseñable, no obstante, que la zona de hallazgo, concretamente las proximidades del sitio de Zambujal, en la región de Leiria, merece investigación en un futuro próximo por la significativa concentración de hallazgos del Bronce Final de matriz atlántica. Los asadores se encuentran incompletos. Uno de ellos se reduce a la varilla, que mide, no obstante, 31,2 cm de longitud, dimensión que no distará mucho de la original teniendo en cuenta que una de las extremidades corresponde a la zona de encaje con el pomo y a la otra le falta apenas la punta. El segundo asador tiene igualmente la punta de la varilla fracturada, conservando la parte intermedia rotativa, también incompleta, de unión con el pomo. Este no se conservó y fue, concretamente, cortado. Mide 24,5 cm de longitud. Téngase en cuenta además que, de confirmarse que el conjunto se trata de una deposición intencional, tendríamos, igual que en el caso siguiente y en otros (ver *supra*), un depósito compuesto por tres objetos, número de más que probable valor simbólico (Vilaça, 2006: 73).

Precisamente, sería ese el número de asadores que conformaban el depósito en fosa de Alhais de Cima, en el Alto das Orquinhas en Vila Nova de Paiva, referido por Russell Cortez (1945-46: 352), pero cuyo paradero se desconoce. Nada podemos añadir, en el momento actual, a lo previamente publicado (Vilaça y Cruz, 1999: 88, n. 36).

Nos falta mencionar el caso excepcional del conjunto triple de Marzugueira, frecuentemente tratado en la bibliografía como “asadores de Alvaízere”, nombre, que, por lo demás, como es bien sabido, fue adoptado como referencia tipológica para esa categoría de asadores articulados (Almagro-Gorbea, 1974).²³ La excepcionalidad resulta, sobre todo, del estado de conservación de las piezas, una de ellas prácticamente completa y la otra, la que posee doble decoración zoomorfa (figura 12), completa. Es obvio que no cabe aquí hablar de chatarra, sino más bien de un contexto lleno de simbolismo, por el número, por el tipo y el estado de conservación de las piezas. Cabe añadir que el propio lugar de hallazgo, en las proximidades de un naciente de agua y en una zona de paso situada al pie de la vertiente norte de la sierra de Alvaízere, donde se localiza el importante poblado, apunta a que se trata de un “depósito periférico” (Vilaça, 2006: 73, fig. 35) y, por consiguiente, evocando un lugar ritual y con sentido relacional respecto al lugar habitado, es decir, de integración de las comunidades y más propiamente de sus élites.

En síntesis, del análisis de los asadores resulta un cuadro en el que destacan asimetrías propias de la época y de la región, por la diversidad de contextos y por la forma en que las comunidades manipularon estos objetos de prestigio, bien reduciéndolos a meros fragmentos que se difuminan conjuntamente entre muchos otros y donde su valor vendría dictado por el peso, bien conservándolos funcional y simbólicamente activos, como piezas fundamentales de emulación social.

4. Consideraciones finales

Como señalamos al principio, la motivación de este trabajo ha sido revisitar los artefactos metálicos relacionados con la comensalidad en el Bronce Final de la Iberia atlántica desde una doble perspectiva. Por un lado, hemos pretendido poner al día el inventario de hallazgos, incorporando algunos nuevos y revisitando críticamente algunos otros mencionados con frecuencia en la literatura arqueológica pero

²³ El estudio pormenorizado de los asadores, en sus varias vertientes, merecerá nuestra atención en un trabajo específico, en curso de elaboración.

que, en nuestra opinión, deben ser puestos en cuestión o directamente descartados. Por otro lado, partiendo de dicha actualización hemos pretendido retomar algunos de los problemas interpretativos planteados por este material. Otros aspectos igualmente importantes, como la secuencia cronológica o las tecnologías de producción y su caracterización arqueométrica, no han sido considerados en esta ocasión.

En particular, nos ha parecido oportuno subrayar la diversidad que muestran los materiales en cuanto atañe a su grado de integridad y a su contexto deposicional. Esta variabilidad remite a biografías y connotaciones simbólicas complejas, en muchos casos difíciles de analizar desde el presente. Sin embargo, el hecho de que calderos, ganchos o asadores se conozcan a menudo en forma de pequeños fragmentos es únicamente ilustrativo de las últimas etapas biográficas de estos objetos, que lógicamente han tenido un recorrido previo (y en ocasiones prolongado) de vida útil. Este último aspecto no debe ser infravalorado cuando procuramos definir las cronologías de materiales de prestigio o uso excepcional, como son, precisamente, los que tratamos en este texto. Materiales de esta naturaleza son particularmente susceptibles de pasar de generación en generación y, por consiguiente, podrían ser muy distantes en el tiempo las cronologías de fabricación, uso y amortización.

La opinión más extendida es que la presencia de calderos, ganchos y asadores en ámbito atlántico es resultado de contactos con el Mediterráneo. En opinión de Almagro-Gorbea (1998) su presencia en Occidente sería resultado de los contactos precoloniales a través del Sur peninsular. Por su parte, Ruiz-Gálvez y Galán (2011-12) defienden una trayectoria dual y más compleja, en la cual calderos y ganchos habrían llegado a Francia y las Islas Británicas a través del comercio micénico con el Mediterráneo central mientras que los asadores articulados serían resultado de los citados contactos precoloniales, en un momento posterior, a través de la Península Ibérica. Esta hipótesis permite dar cuenta de la dispersión diferenciada que en ámbito peninsular muestran calderos y ganchos, por un lado, y asadores articulados, por otro, y que había llevado a la citada autora a hablar de la posible existencia de dos códigos de consumo diferenciados (Ruiz-Gálvez, 1998).

No hemos querido tampoco detenernos en esta compleja cuestión de los orígenes de dichos artefactos en Occidente porque hemos preferido poner el foco en la resignificación y adaptaciones que experimentaron en ámbito atlántico, donde no cabe duda que formaron parte del repertorio artesanal de los broncistas de la época. Por lo tanto, los usos y significados que pudieron asociarse a los primeros metales para el banquete llegados a Occidente desde el Mediterráneo fueron hibridados, reinterpretados y resignificados por las comunidades locales, que seguramente contaban ya con sus propios rituales de consumo cárnico desde momentos antiguos. Esta reinterpretación de los usos y significados foráneos afectó también a objetos metálicos vinculados a la comensalidad mucho menos arraigados en territorio peninsular como son vasos, pequeños recipientes metálicos o soportes con ruedas: la pátera de Berzocana (Cáceres) se depositó con orfebrería local; los cuencos hemisféricos y los soportes de Baiões, de probable fabricación autóctona, se asocian a los objetos típicamente atlánticos que ya hemos comentado aquí; y las calderetas con soportes de anteojos de Nora Velha (Ourique, Beja) o Casa del Carpio (Belvís de la Jara, Toledo) se depositaron en sendas tumbas, en el primer caso una cámara reutilizada (Armada *et al.*, 2008).

La revisión presentada en este trabajo nos lleva a discrepar de la idea según la cual la mayoría de los calderos y ganchos peninsulares habrían llegado en su condición de mera chatarra, por lo que su uso no habría arraigado en la Península Ibérica (Ruiz-Gálvez y Galán, 2011-12). Al contrario, y en línea con lo ya expuesto en otro lugar (Armada, 2015: 128-129; Vilaça, 2011-2012: 22), los testimonios disponibles muestran asociaciones significativas y funcionalmente coherentes de materiales (Nossa Senhora da Guia), depósitos donde la presencia de ganchos de carne o de asadores no creemos que pueda deberse a su mera condición de chatarra (Solveira, Hío o Marzugueira), contextos segregados

y de seguras o muy probables connotaciones simbólicas (Cueva Lóbrega, Chao Samartín, Buraco da Moura de São Romão, etc.) o representaciones zoomorfas y ornitomorfas en ganchos y asadores (en los casos estudiados – Nossa Senhora da Guia y Marzugueira, con pájaros, Cachouça, con cuadrúpedo, posiblemente un ciervo) que parecen corresponder a un acervo simbólico extendido en todo el ámbito atlántico, con sus posibles particularidades locales o regionales (Needham y Bowman, 2005; Leonard, 2014).²⁴ Por otro lado, en refuerzo de esta línea interpretativa cabe añadir el significativo hallazgo de una tibia de oveja en el castro dos Ratinhos (Moura) que presenta un orificio realizado con un objeto perforante de sección subcuadrangular, posiblemente un diente de garfio o un asador (Liesau y García, 2010: 330-332, fig. 152; Vilaça, 2011-2012: fig. 7).

Calderos, ganchos y asadores muestran una evolución diversa a partir del Bronce Final. El caldero es un objeto funcionalmente versátil, por lo que experimenta una larga trayectoria a lo largo de toda la protohistoria (y evidentemente en tiempos históricos), conviviendo ejemplares de muy probables connotaciones simbólico-rituales (de chapas remachadas y gran tamaño) con recipientes más pequeños y sencillos de uso cotidiano. Los ganchos de carne son muy difíciles de rastrear durante la Edad del Hierro, aunque los dos garfios recuperados en el santuario de Cabeço das Frágas sugieren que, al menos en casos puntuales, el uso ritual de estos objetos pudo haber perdurado. En cuanto a los asadores, la Edad del Hierro muestra el surgimiento de diversos tipos no articulados, en bronce y en hierro, cuya conexión genealógica con los ejemplares articulados del Bronce Final es difícil de establecer. No obstante, el ejemplar de Monte da Costa Figueira (Vilela, Paredes) (Cardozo, 1946; Silva, 2007: 302, n. 321, est. XCIV.I) puede considerarse una evolución de estos últimos y su deposición junto a un carro con representación sacrificial, tal vez en algún momento de la I Edad del Hierro, resulta elocuente respecto a la perduración de las connotaciones funcionales y simbólicas de este artefacto (Armada, 2015: 131-134).

Como es obvio, y a pesar de los innegables avances de la investigación reciente, son muchos los interrogantes que todavía plantea la valoración de estos materiales y de los rituales de comensalidad en la fachada atlántica. En este trabajo nos centramos exclusivamente en las tres principales categorías de artefactos rituales de bronce asociadas al consumo cárnico, no siendo descartable en el caso de los calderos un uso complementario vinculado a bebidas alcohólicas, estimulantes o sagradas. En efecto, no podemos perder de vista que los rituales de comensalidad y el banquete incorporarían la bebida como elemento ritual con similar estatuto simbólico, fomentador de prácticas sociales de afirmación identitaria o de poder. En este sentido, quedaron fuera de nuestro análisis otras realidades materiales (recipientes cerámicos y, tal vez, de madera) que serían igualmente manipuladas en el transcurso de acciones simbólicas pautadas por el consumo ritual de alimentos, sólidos y líquidos.

Conviene recordar también que los materiales revisitados, con independencia de que remitan a modos distintos de preparar/consumir alimentos (Needham y Bowman, 2005) y no obstante su valor singular, son artefactos, todos ellos, que se asocian a acciones realizadas en grupo, es decir, que únicamente tienen sentido en la medida que utilizados como elementos agregadores, incluso a una escala restringida, manipulados por élites. Esperamos que estas páginas contribuyan al debate y a un mejor conocimiento del repertorio material que sirva de base a futuros estudios.

²⁴ En el caso de la iconografía de aves, incluso más allá del Atlántico, incluyendo a Europa central como recientemente ha sido subrayado a propósito de su representación en soportes de bronce (Becker, 2012-13).

Bibliografía

- ALMAGRO-GORBEA, Martín (1974) – Los asadores de bronce del Suroeste peninsular. *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*. 77(1), p. 351-395.
- ALMAGRO-GORBEA, Martín (1998) – “Precolonización” y cambio socio-cultural en el Bronce Atlántico. En S. O. Jorge (ed.): *Existe uma Idade do Bronze Atlântico? Trabalhos de Arqueologia*, 10. Lisboa: IPA, p. 81-100.
- ARMADA, Xosé-Lois (2005) – *Formas y rituales de banquete en la Hispania indoeuropea*. Tesis Doctoral. Universidade da Coruña.
- ARMADA, Xosé-Lois (2008) – ¿Carne, drogas o alcohol? Calderos y banquetes en el Bronce Final de la Península Ibérica. *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad de Granada*. 18, p. 125-162.
- ARMADA, Xosé-Lois (2011) – Feasting metals and the ideology of power in the Late Bronze Age of Atlantic Iberia. En G. Aranda, S. Montón-Subías y M. Sánchez (eds.): *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner. Feasting rituals in the Prehistoric societies of Europe and the Near East*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, p. 158-183.
- ARMADA, Xosé-Lois (2013) – Big men showing off: The ideology and practice of social inequality in the Atlantic Late Bronze Age of Iberia. En M. Cruz Berrocal, L. García Sanjuán y A. Gilman (eds.): *The Prehistory of Iberia: Debating early social stratification and the state*. New York: Routledge, p. 267-291.
- ARMADA, Xosé-Lois (2015) – Sacrificio, consumo cárnico y religión del Bronce Atlántico a los celtas occidentales. En F. J. García Fernández, F. Lozano Gómez y A. Pereira Delgado (eds.): *El alimento de los dioses. Sacrificio y consumo de alimentos en las religiones antiguas*. Spal Monografías, XX. Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, p. 123-156.
- ARMADA, Xosé-Lois; LÓPEZ PALOMO, Luis A. (2003) – Los ganchos de carne con vástagos torsionados: un nuevo ejemplar en el depósito acuático del río Genil (Sevilla). *Revista d'Arqueología de Ponent*. 13, p. 167-190.
- ARMADA, Xosé-Lois; RAFEL, Núria; MONTERO, Ignacio (2008) – Contactos precoloniales, actividad metalúrgica y biografías de objetos de bronce en la Península Ibérica. En S. Celestino, N. Rafel y X.-L. Armada (eds.): *Contacto cultural entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico (siglos XII-VIII ANE). La precolonización a debate*. Madrid: CSIC, p. 465-508.
- ARMBRUSTER, Barbara (2000) – *Goldschmiedekunst und Bronzetechnik. Studien zum Metallhandwerk der Atlantischen Bronzezeit auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*. Monographies Instrumentum, 15. Montagnac: Monique Mergoil.
- ARMBRUSTER, Barbara (2002-03) – A metalurgia da Idade do Bronze Final atlántico do Castro de Nossa Senhora da Guia, de Baiões (S. Pedro do Sul, Viseu). *Estudos Pré-históricos*. X-XI, p. 145-155.
- ARRUDA, Ana M. (2008) – Estranhos numa terra (quase) estranha: os contactos précoloniais no sul do território actualmente português. En S. Celestino, N. Rafel y X.-L. Armada (eds.): *Contacto cultural entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico (siglos XII-VIII ANE). La precolonización a debate*. Madrid: CSIC, p. 355-370.
- BECKER, Sebastian N. (2012-13) – The materiality of religious discourse in Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Central Europe: A study of birds on bronzes. *The European Archaeologist*. 38, p. 5-8.
- BERROCAL-RANGEL, Luis (1994) – *El altar prerromano de Capote. Ensayo etno-arqueológico de un ritual céltico en el Suroeste peninsular*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- BETTENCOURT, Ana M. S. (2000) – *O povoado de São Julião, Vila Verde, Norte de Portugal, nos finais da Idade do Bronze e na transição para a Idade do Ferro*. Braga: Cadernos de Arqueologia – Monografias, 10.
- BETTENCOURT, Ana M. S. (2001) – *O povoado da Santinha, Amares, Norte de Portugal, nos finais da Idade do Bronze*. Braga: Cadernos de Arqueologia – Monografias, 12.
- BLAS CORTINA, Miguel Ángel de (2007) – Los calderos de Lois (León) y Cabárceno (Cantabria) y su paradero subterráneo: ¡azar u oblación a la tierra? En J. Celis, G. Delibes, J. Fernández Manzano y L. Grau (eds.): *El hallazgo leonés de Valdevimbre y los depósitos del Bronce Final atlántico en la Península Ibérica*. León: Junta de Castilla y León – Diputación de León, p. 238-256.
- BORDAS, Francis (2016) – Trois nouveaux fragments de chaudrons des types de Cloonta et de Portglenone découverts dans le Nord-Ouest de la France. Notes préliminaires sur la découverte du dépôt de la Chapelle des Roches (Le Châtellier, Orne), Bronze final atlantique 3. *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française*. 113(1), p. 131-152.

- BOTTAINI, Carlo E. (2012) – *Depósitos metálicos no Bronze Final (sécs. XIII-VII a.C.) do centro e norte de Portugal. Aspectos sociais e arqueometalúrgicos*. Tese de Doutoramento. Universidade de Coimbra.
- BOTTAINI, Carlo E.; GIARDINO, Claudio; PATERNOSTER, Giovanni (2015) – The Final Bronze Age hoard from Solveira (northern Portugal): a multi-disciplinary approach. En A. Hauptmann y D. Modarressi-Tehrani (eds.): *Archaeometallurgy in Europe III*. Der Anschnitt, 26. Bochum, p. 125-133.
- BOWMAN, Sheridan; NEEDHAM, Stuart (2007) – The Dunaverney and Little Thetford flesh-hooks: history, technology and their position within the Later Bronze Age atlantic zone feasting complex. *The Antiquaries Journal*. 87, p. 53-108.
- BRANDHERM, Dirk (2007) – *Las espadas del Bronce Final en la Península Ibérica y Baleares*. Prähistorische Bronzefunde, IV(16). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- BRONK RAMSEY, Christopher (1995) – Radiocarbon calibration and analysis of stratigraphy: the OxCal program. *Radiocarbon*. 37 (2), p. 425-430.
- BRONK RAMSEY, Christopher; LEE, Sharen (2013) – Recent and planned developments of the program OxCal. *Radiocarbon*. 55(2-3), p. 720-730.
- BURGESS, Colin; O'CONNOR, Brendan (2004) – Bronze Age rotary spits: finds old and new, some false, some true. En H. Roche, E. Grogan, J. Bradley, J. Coles y B. Raftery (eds.): *From Megaliths to Metal. Essays in honour of George Eogan*. Oxford: Oxbow, p. 184-199.
- CANHA, Alexandre (2002) – *Canedotes: um povoado do Bronze Final no Alto Paiva*. Dissertação de Mestrado. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto.
- CARDOSO, João Luís (2009) – O povoado pré-histórico do Carrascal (Oeiras) e os rituais associados a grandes bovídeos. *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*. 17, p. 357-370.
- CARDOSO, João Luís (2013) – Moita da Ladra 2 (Vila Franca de Xira), um sítio ritual do Bronze Final da região de Lisboa. *Homenagem a Armando Coelho Ferreira da Silva, Revista da Faculdade de Letras. Ciências e Técnicas do Património*. XII, p. 49-67.
- CARDOSO, João Luís; GUERRA, M. Filomena; BRAGANÇA GIL, Fernando (1992) – O depósito do Bronze Final de Alqueva e a tipologia das lanças do Bronze Final português. *Mediterrâneo*. I, p. 231-250.
- CARDOZO, Mário (1946) – Carrito votivo de bronce, del Museo de Guimarães (Portugal). *Archivo Español de Arqueología*. 19, p. 1-28.
- COFFYN, André (1985) – *Le Bronze Final Atlantique dans la Péninsule Ibérique*. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.
- COSTA, João G. (1963) – Achado arqueológico encontrado em Solveira, concelho de Montalegre, em abril de 1961. *Lucerna*. 3, p. 119-125.
- DELFINO, Davide; CRUZ, Ana; GRAÇA, Ana; GASPAR, Filomena; BATISTA, Álvaro (2014) – A problemática das continuidades e descontinuidades na Idade do Bronze no Médio Tejo Português. En A. Cruz (ed.): *A Idade do Bronze em Portugal: os dados e os problemas*. Série monográfica, I. Tomar: Antrope, p. 147-202.
- DELFINO, Davide; OOSTERBEEK, Luiz; COIMBRA, Fernando; BAPTISTA, João Carlos; GOMES, Hugo; BELTRAME, Massimo; CURA, Pedro (2013) – A proto-história no Concelho de Mação: Novas investigações, novas abordagens, novos dados. En A. R. Cruz, A. Graça, L. Oosterbeek y P. Rosina (eds.): *I Congresso de Arqueología do Alto Ribatejo. Arkeos*. 34, p. 181-193.
- DELIBES, Germán; FERNÁNDEZ MANZANO, Julio; CELIS, Jesús (1992-93) – Nuevos ‘ganchos de carne’ protohistóricos de la Península Ibérica. *Tabona*. 8(2), p. 417-434.
- ENRÍQUEZ NAVASCUÉS, Juan Javier (1984) – Una nueva estela de guerrero y tres asadores de bronce procedentes de los alrededores de Orellana la Vieja (Badajoz). *Museos*. 2, p. 9-13.
- FARINHA, Ana Cristina; PINTO, Clara V.; VILAÇA, Raquel (1996) – Contributo para o estudo de materiais do Bronze Final provenientes do Monte de S. Martinho (Castelo Branco). *Materiais [II Série]*. 0, p. 45-64.
- FERNÁNDEZ MANZANO, Julio; GUERRA DOCE, Elisa (2003) – El caldero de Cabárceno. En C. Fernández Ibáñez y J. Ruiz Cobo (eds.): *La Arqueología de la Bahía de Santander* (t. I). Santander: Fundación Marcelino Botín, p. 335-349.
- FIGUEIREDO, Elin; SILVA, Rui J. C., SENNA-MARTINEZ, João Carlos; ARAÚJO, M. Fátima; BRAZ FERNANDES, Francisco M., INÊS VAZ, João L. (2010) – Smelting and recycling evidences from the Late Bronze Age habitat site of Baiões (Viseu, Portugal). *Journal of Archaeological Science*. 37, p. 1623-1634.

- GERLOFF, Sabine (2010) – *Atlantic Cauldrons and Buckets of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages in Western Europe with a Review of Comparable Vessels from Central Europe and Italy*. Prähistorische Bronzefunde, II(18). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL, Alfredo (2006-2007) – *Galaicos. Poder y comunidad en el Noroeste de la Península Ibérica (1200 a.C. – 50 d.C.)*. Brigantium, 18-19. A Coruña: Museo Arqueológico e Histórico.
- GONZÁLEZ-TABLAS, Francisco Javier (1990) – *La necrópolis de “Los Castillejos” de Sanchorreja. Su contexto histórico*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.
- KALB, Philine (1974-77) – Uma data de C-14 para o Bronze Atlântico. *O Arqueólogo Português*. Série 3. 7, p. 141-144.
- KALB, Philine (1980) – Zur Atlantischen Bronzezeit in Portugal. *Germania*. 58, p. 25-59.
- KARAGEORGHIS, Vassos; LO SCHIAVO, Fulvia (1989) – A west Mediterranean obelos from Amathus. *Rivista di Studi Fenici*. 17, p. 15-29.
- LEONARD, Katherine (2014) – Birds of the Otherworld: sacral symbolism and the Dunaverney flesh-hook. *The Journal of Irish Archaeology*. 23, p. 123-142.
- LIESAU VON LETTOW-VORBECK, Corina; GARCÍA GARCÍA, Jesús (2010) – La fauna de Ratinhos: estudio de la fauna y de la industria ósea procedente de la tercera línea de muralla. En L. Berrocal-Rangel y A. C. Silva: *O Castro dos Ratinhos (Barragem do Alqueva, Moura)*. Escavações num povoado proto-histórico do Guadiana, 2004-2007. O Arqueólogo Português - suplemento 6. Lisboa: Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, p. 329-348.
- LOUREIRO, Joana; FIGUEIREDO, Elin; SILVA, Rui J. C.; ARAÚJO, M. Fátima; FONTE, João; BETTENCOURT, Ana M. S. (2014) – Estudo arqueometalúrgico do conjunto metálico do sítio arqueológico de Moinhos de Golas (Montalegre, Norte de Portugal): primeiros resultados. *Estudos do Quaternário*. 11, p. 59-66.
- MARTÍN-SEIJO, María; SILVA, Vítor M. F.; BETTENCOURT, Ana M. S. (2015) – Carbonised wooden objects and wood charcoal from an Iron Age feasting context in North-western Iberia: The case study of Frijão (Braga, Portugal). *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*. 2, p. 538-550.
- MONTEAGUDO, Luis (1977) – *Die Beile auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*. Prähistorische Bronzefunde, IX(6). München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- MONTEIRO, Mário; PEREIRA, André (2013) – Um depósito votivo da Idade do Bronze na Moita da Ladra (Vila Franca de Xira): Síntese dos trabalhos realizados e resultados preliminares. *Cira-Arqueología*. 2, p. 63-94.
- NEEDHAM, Stuart; BOWMAN, Sheridan (2005) – Flesh-hooks, technological complexity and the Atlantic Bronze Age feasting complex. *European Journal of Archaeology*. 8(2), p. 93-136.
- NEVES, Sílvia G. (2013) – *O Crasto de Tavarede (Figueira da Foz) no quadro das problemáticas da I Idade do Ferro no Baixo Mondego*. Dissertação de Mestrado. Universidade de Coimbra.
- PEDRO, Ivone (1995) – *O Povoamento Proto-histórico na região de Viseu*. Dissertação de Mestrado. FLUP. Porto.
- PEÑA SANTOS, Antonio de la (1992) – *Castro de Torroso (Mos, Pontevedra)*. Síntesis de las memorias de las campañas de excavaciones 1984-1990. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia.
- REIMER, Paula J.; BARD, Edouard; BAYLISS, Alex; BECK, J. Warren; BLACKWELL, Paul G.; BRONK RAMSEY, Christopher; BUCK, Caitlin E.; CHENG, Hai; EDWARDS, R. Lawrence; FRIEDRICH, Michael; GROOTES, Pieter M.; GUILDERSON, Thomas P.; HAFLIDASON, Haflidi; HAJDAS, Irka; HATTÉ, Christine; HEATON, Timothy J.; HOFFMANN, Dirk L.; HOGG, Alan G.; HUGHEN, Konrad A.; KAISER, K. Felix; KROMER, Bernd; MANNING, Sturt W.; NIU, Mu; REIMER, Ron W.; RICHARDS, David A.; SCOTT, E. Marian; SOUTHON, John R.; STAFF, Richard A.; TURNEY, Christian S. M.; VAN DER PLICHT, Johannes (2013) – Intcal13 and Marine13 radiocarbon age calibration curves 0-50,000 years cal BP. *Radiocarbon*. 55(4), p. 1869-1887.
- RUIVO, José S. (1993) – Os espetos articulados de Reguengo do Fetal (Batalha, Leiria). *Estudos Pré-Históricos*. 1, p. 105-110.
- RUIZ-GÁLVEZ, Marisa (1979) – El depósito de Hío (Pontevedra) y el final de la Edad del Bronce en la fachada atlántica peninsular. *El Museo de Pontevedra*. 33, p. 129-150.
- RUIZ-GÁLVEZ, Marisa (1984) – *La Península Ibérica y sus relaciones con el Círculo Cultural Atlántico*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense.
- RUIZ-GÁLVEZ, Marisa (1995) – El significado de la ría de Huelva en el contexto de las relaciones de

- intercambio y de las transformaciones producidas en la transición Bronce Final/Edad del Hierro. En M. Ruiz-Gálvez (ed.): *Ritos de paso y puntos de paso. La ría de Huelva en el mundo del Bronce Final europeo*. Complutum Extra, 5. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, p. 129-155.
- RUIZ-GÁLVEZ, Marisa (1998) – Peripheral, but not that much....!. En S. O. Jorge (ed.): *Existe uma Idade do Bronze Atlântico? Trabalhos de Arqueologia*, 10. Lisboa: IPA, p. 101-113.
- RUIZ-GÁLVEZ, Marisa; GALÁN, Eduardo (2011-12) – A meal fit for a hero. On the origins of roasted meat, spits and the male ideal. En M. E. Aubet y P. Sureda (eds.): *Interacción social y comercio en la antesala del colonialismo. Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea*, 21. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra, p. 43-69.
- RUSSELL CORTEZ, Fernando (1945-46) – Ponteira em ouro dum punhal visigótico de Vila-Nova de Paiva. *Ampuriás*, 7-8, p. 351-354.
- SANTOS, Maria João C. (2010) – O Cabeço das Frágas e a concepção de espaço sagrado na Hispania indo-europeia. *Iberografias*, 6, p. 131-145.
- SANTOS, Maria João C.; SCHATTNER, Thomas G. (2010) – O santuário do Cabeço das Frágas através da arqueologia. *Iberografias*, 6, p. 89-108.
- SCHUBART, Hermanfrid (1961) – Atlantische Nietenkessel von der Pyrenäenhalbinsel. *Madritser Mitteilungen*, 2, p. 35-54.
- SENNA-MARTINEZ, João Carlos (2000) – O problema dos primeiros ferros peninsulares em contextos do Bronze Final da orla atlântica: os dados do ‘Outeiro dos Castelos de Beijós’ (Carregal do Sal). *Trabalhos de Arqueologia da EAM*, 6, p. 43-60.
- SENNA-MARTINEZ, João Carlos, PEDRO, Ivone (2000) – Between myth and reality: the foundry area of Senhora da Guia de Baiões and Baiões/Santa Luzia metallurgy. *Trabalhos de Arqueologia da EAM*, 6, p. 61-77.
- SENNA-MARTINEZ, João Carlos; VALERA, António C.; TEIXEIRA, Cristina; VENTURA, J. M. Quintã (1993) – A ocupação do Bronze Final da ‘Sala 20’ do Buraco da Moura de São Romão. *Trabalhos de Arqueologia da EAM*, I, p. 125-135.
- SILVA, Armando C. F. (2007) – *A Cultura Castreja no Noroeste de Portugal* (2^a ed.). Paços de Ferreira: Câmara Municipal.
- SILVA, Armando C. F.; SILVA, Celso T.; LOPES, António B. (1984) – Depósito de fundidor do Final da Idade do Bronze do Castro da Senhora da Guia (Baiões, S. Pedro do Sul, Viseu), Lucerna. Porto. Centro de Estudos Humanísticos, p. 73-95.
- SILVA, Celso T. (1979) – O Castro de Baiões (S. Pedro do Sul). *Beira Alta*, 38(3), p. 511-531.
- SILVA, Vítor M. F. (2013) – Caldeiro de rebites do sítio arqueológico de Frijão (Braga, Noroeste de Portugal). *Estudos do Quaternário*, 9, p. 15-21.
- SOUSA, Ana C.; VALÉRIO, Pedro; ARAÚJO, M. Fátima (2004) – Metalurgia antiga do Penedo do Lexim (Mafra): Calcolítico e Idade do Bronze. *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*, 7(2), p. 97-117.
- SUÁREZ OTERO, José (2000) – Las hachas de talón sin anillas. Sobre la introducción del Bronce Atlántico en el NO hispánico. *Boletín Auriense*, 30, p. 9-46.
- TERESO, João Pedro; SILVA, Vítor M. F. (2014) – Fruits and seeds from an Iron Age ritual of commensality in Frijão (Braga, NW Portugal). *Estudos do Quaternário*, 11, p. 67-72.
- VALÉRIO, Pedro; ARAÚJO, M. Fátima; SENNA-MARTINEZ, João C.; VAZ, João Inês (2006) – Caracterização química de produções metalúrgicas do Castro da Senhora da Guia de Baiões (Bronze Final). *O Arqueólogo Português* [série IV], 24, p. 289-319.
- VILAÇA, Raquel (1990) – Broche à rôtre articulée de Cachouça (Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco, Portugal). *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française*, 87(6), p. 167-169.
- VILAÇA, Raquel (1995) – *Aspectos do povoamento da Beira Interior (Centro e Sul) nos finais da Idade do Bronze*. Lisboa: IPPAR.
- VILAÇA, Raquel (1998) - Hierarquização e conflito no Bronze Final da Beira Interior. En S. O. Jorge (ed.): *Existe uma Idade do Bronze Atlântico? Trabalhos de Arqueologia*, 10. Lisboa: IPA, p. 203-217.
- VILAÇA, Raquel (2000) – Notas soltas sobre o património arqueológico do Bronze Final da Beira Interior.

En *Beira Interior. História e património*. Guarda, p. 31-49.

VILAÇA, Raquel (2006) – Depósitos de bronze do território português. Um debate em aberto. *O Arqueólogo Português* [série IV]. 24, p. 9-150.

VILAÇA, Raquel (2007) – A Cachouça (Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco). Construção e organização de um caso singular de inícios do I milénio AC. En S. O. Jorge et al. (eds.): *A concepción das paisagens e dos espaços na Arqueología da Península Ibérica. Actas do IV Congresso de Arqueología Peninsular*. Promontoria Monográfica, 8. Faro: Universidade do Algarve, p. 67-75.

VILAÇA, Raquel (2008) – Reflexões em torno da ‘presença mediterrânea’ no centro do território português, na charneira do Bronze para o Ferro. En S. Celestino, N. Rafel y X.-L. Armada (eds.): *Contacto cultural entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico (siglos XII-VIII ANE). La precolonización a debate*. Madrid: CSIC, p. 371-400.

VILAÇA, Raquel (2009) – Sobre rituais do corpo em finais do II milénio/inícios do I milénio a.C.: do espaço europeu ao território português. *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*. 17, p. 489-511.

VILAÇA, Raquel (2011-2012) – Late Bronze Age: Mediterranean impacts in the Western End of the Iberian Peninsula (actions and reactions). En M. E. Aubet y P. Sureda (coords.): *Interacción social y comercio en la antesala del colonialismo*. Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea, 21. Barcelona: Universidad Pompeu Fabra, p. 13-30.

VILAÇA, Raquel; CRUZ, Domingos J. (1995) – Canedotes (Vila Nova de Paiva, Viseu). Povoado pré-histórico do Bronze Final. *Estudos Pré-Históricos*. 3, p. 255-261.

VILAÇA, Raquel; CRUZ, Domingos J. (1999) – Práticas funerárias e cultuais nos finais da Idade do Bronze na Beira Alta. *Arqueología*. 24, p. 73-99.

VILHENA, Jorge (2006) – *O sentido da permanência. As envolventes do Castro da Cola nos 2º e 1º milénios A.C.* Dissertação de Mestrado. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa.

VILHENA, Jorge; GONÇALVES, Miguel (2012) – “Muralhas revestidas de cobre”. A problemática de rochas vitrificadas em povoados do Bronze Final de Odemira e Ourique. En J. Jiménez Ávila (ed.): *Sidereum Ana II. El río Guadiana en el Bronce Final*. Mérida: CSIC – Junta de Extremadura, p. 517-554.

VILLA VALDÉS, Ángel; CABO PÉREZ, Luis (2003) – Depósito funerario y recinto fortificado de la Edad del Bronce en el castro del Chao Samartín: argumentos para su datación. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*. 60(2), p. 143-151.

VONHOFF, Christian (2011) – The phenomenon of feasting in Early Iron Age Cyprus. Bronze and iron obeloi from Cypriot tombs as evidence for elite self-conception, social networks and trans-Mediterranean cultural exchange. *Cahiers du Centre d’Études Chypriotes*. 41, p. 133-152.

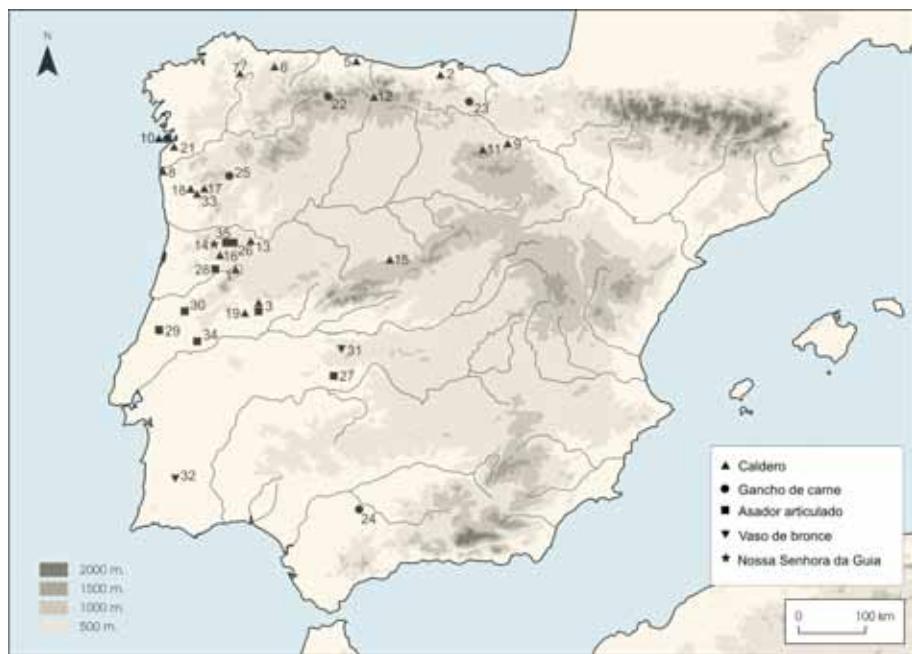


Fig. 1 – Distribución de los artefactos de bronce relacionados con el banquete en el Bronce Final de la Península Ibérica (ver numeración en tablas 1, 2 y 4 para los ejemplares de Portugal y Galicia; y Armada 2011 para el resto de la Península).



Fig. 2 – Fragmentos de caldero de un depósito de procedencia atribuida a la provincia de Lugo (Museo Arqueológico e Histórico de San Antón, A Coruña) (Foto: X.-L. Armada).



Fig. 3 – Fragmentos de caldero de Nossa Senhora da Guia (Baiões, S. Pedro do Sul, Viseu) (Foto: X.-L. Armada).



Fig. 4 – Fragmentos de chapas con remaches del poblado de O Crasto de Tavarede (Figueira da Foz, Coimbra) (Foto: proyecto ALBIMEH).

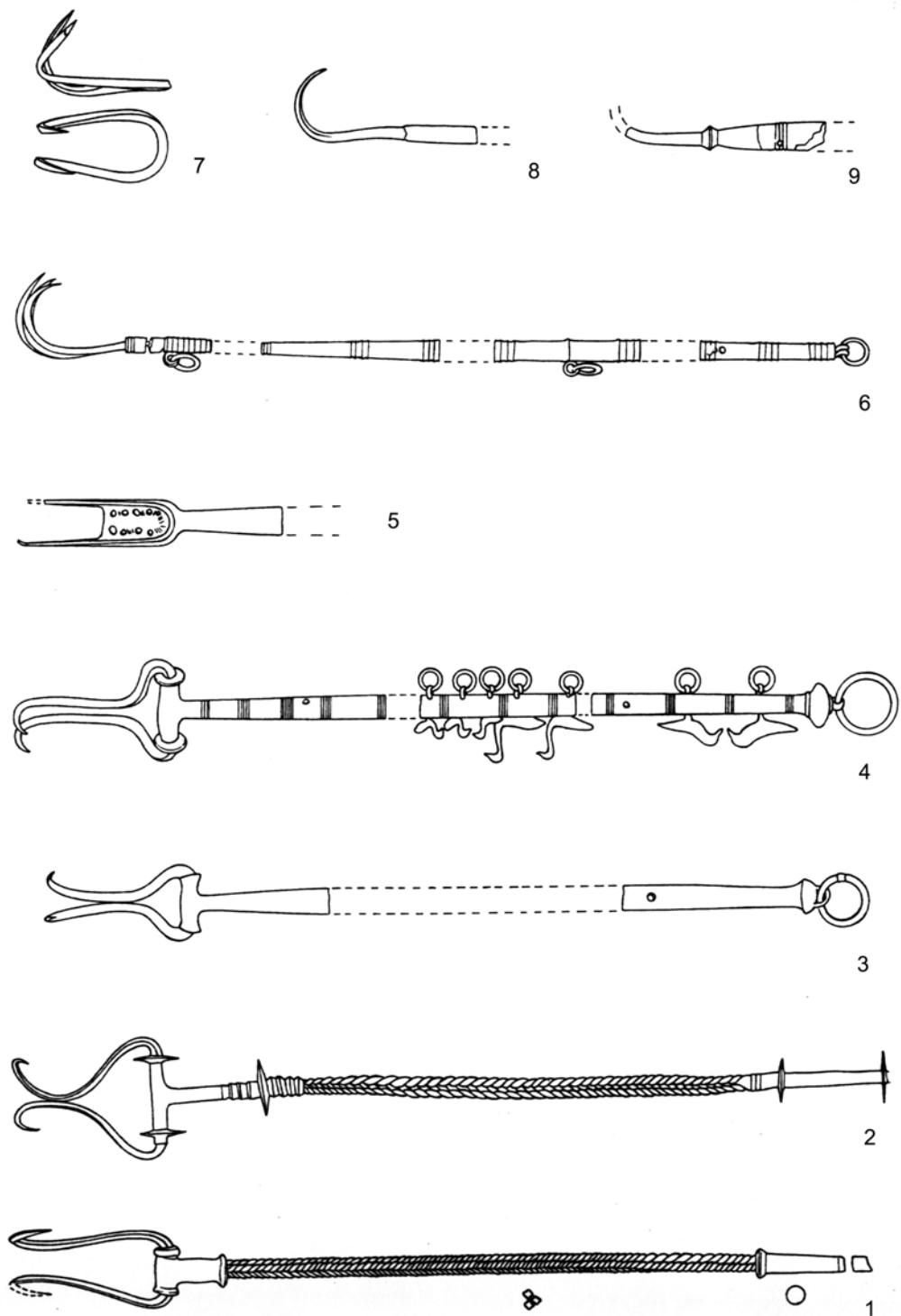


Fig. 5 – Ganchos de carne atlánticos (según Delibes et al., 1992-93): 1) Cantabrina; 2) Thorigné; 3) Argyll; 4) Dunaverney; 5) Solveira; 6) Nossa Senhora da Guia; 7) Barrios de Luna; 8) Feltwell; y 9) Hío.



Fig. 6 – Gancho de carne de Nossa Senhora da Guia (Baiões, S. Pedro do Sul, Viseu) (Foto: X.-L. Armada). No se incluye un fragmento tubular que se encontraba separado del conjunto cuando realizamos la fotografía.



Fig. 7 – Tubo de latón de Penedo de Lexim (Mafra, Lisboa) (Foto: proyecto ALBIMEH).



Fig. 8 – Asadores articulados de Cachouça (Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco) (arriba) y Canedotes (Vila Nova de Paiva, Viseu) (abajo) (Foto: X.-L.Armada).



Fig. 9 – Asador articulado de Nossa Senhora da Guia (Baiões, S. Pedro do Sul, Viseu) (Foto: X.-L.Armada).



Fig. 10 – Asadores articulados y hacha de cubo de Reguengo do Fetal (Batalha, Leiria), que posiblemente formarían un depósito (Foto: proyecto ALBIMEH).

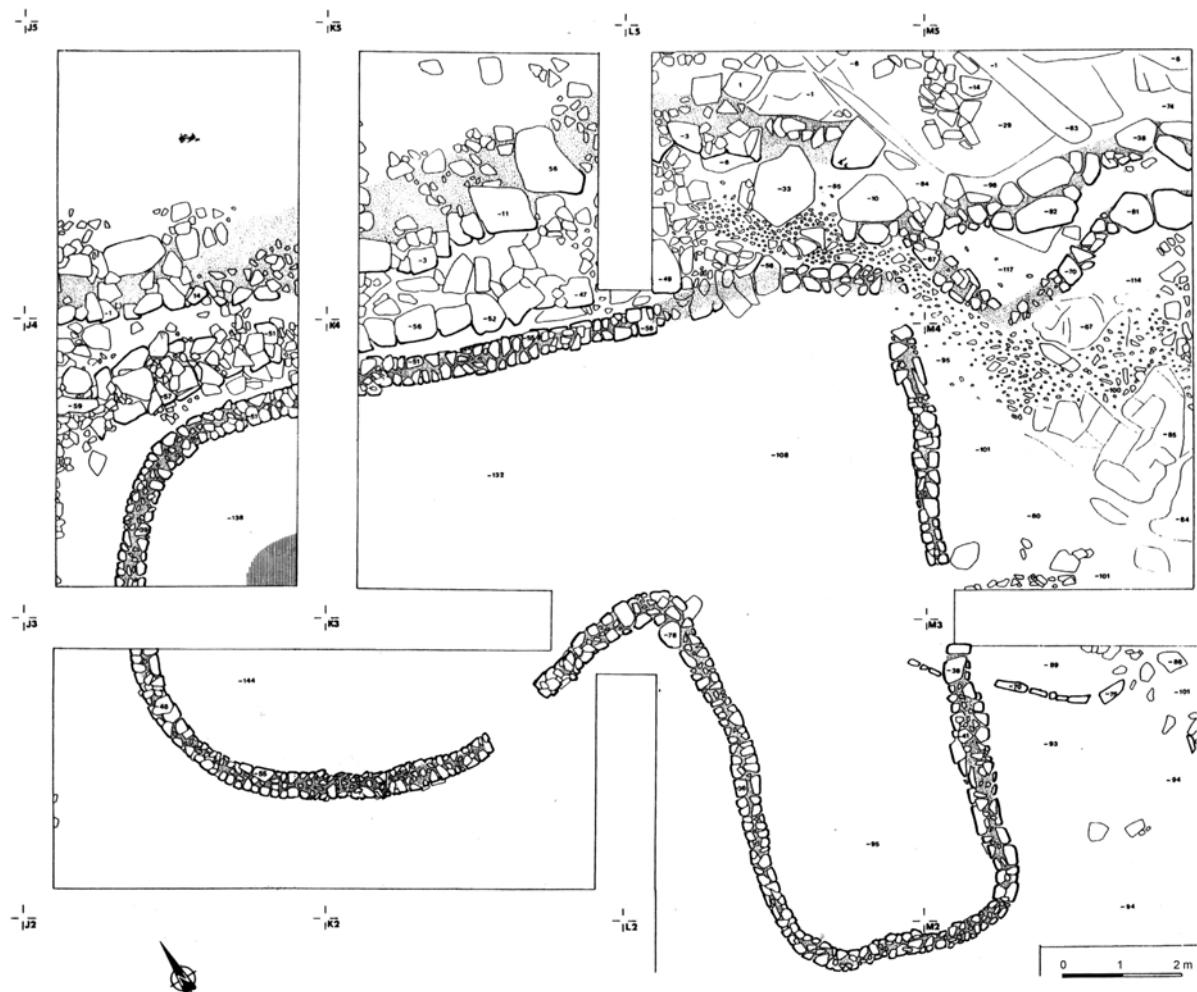


Fig. II – Dibujo en planta de la gran cabaña, pasillo enlosado y muro de aterrazamiento del castro de Torroso (Mos, Pontevedra) (según Peña Santos, 1992).



Fig. 12 – Decoración ornitomorfa doble de uno de los asadores de Marzigueira (Alvaiázere)
(Foto: proyecto ALBIMEH).

Recipientes proto-históricos de ouro da Europa ocidental e nórdica: morfologia, tecnologia e simbologia

Barbara Armbruster

TRACES – UMR 5608 du CNRS, Toulouse, France
barbara.armbruster @univ-tlse2.fr

Abstract

The gold vessels from the western and northern European Bronze and Iron Ages constitute a significant group of luxury table ware with symbolic meaning. This paper deals with the typological, symbolical and technological aspects of production of these precious metal vessels. Tool mark and surface structure analyses are important research methods in this field. This study aims in the reconstructing steps in the operational chain, tools and their handling. Further on, techniques of decoration and repairs are considered. This study also demonstrates the evidence of tool finds for sheet vessel production. The interdisciplinary approach combines archaeological methods with archaeometallurgy, ethnoarchaeology and experimental archaeology, with information from antique and medieval written sources and graphic depictions of metalworking.

Keywords

Gold vessels; Bronze Age; Iron Age; Fine metal working; Western and Northern Europe.

Resumo

As vasilhas de ouro da Idade do Bronze e do Ferro da Europa Ocidental e do Norte constituem um grupo significativo de utensílios de mesa de luxo com significado simbólico.

Este artigo trata dos aspectos tipológicos, simbólicos e tecnológicos da produção dessas preciosas vasilhas metálicas. Análises de marcas de ferramentas e da topografia das superfícies são importantes métodos de investigação neste campo. O estudo tem como objectivo a reconstituição das fases da cadeia operatória, das ferramentas e do seu manuseamento e aborda ainda as técnicas de decoração e reparações, bem como as ferramentas utilizadas na produção de recipientes em chapa. A abordagem interdisciplinar combina métodos arqueológicos com arqueometalurgia, etnoarqueologia e arqueologia experimental, com informações de fontes escritas antigas e medievais e representações gráficas do trabalho do metal.

Palavras-chave: vasos de ouro, Idade do Bronze, Idade do Ferro, metalurgia, Europa Ocidental e do Norte.

Introdução

A produção, utilização e deposição de recipientes de ouro, como vasos, taças, copos, ou garrafas, ocorrem em várias partes da Europa durante a Idade do Bronze (Fig. 1).

O presente artigo trata de vasos de ouro proto-históricos, sobretudo da Idade do Bronze, e de alguns exemplos da Idade do Ferro, uma época menos rica em vasilhas de ouro. Aborda-se a diversidade e evolução das formas, decorações e técnicas de fabrico na criação destes artigos de luxo. Serão apresentadas as possíveis funções práticas e sociais dessas vasilhas metálicas, assim como serão discutidos os prováveis modos do seu uso no banquete e em oferendas religiosas. O forte significado ritual e simbólico do ouro como matéria destes artefactos deve-se, por um lado, à raridade e preciosidade do material, por outro, à sua cor amarela, tal como a do sol. O simbolismo solar reflete-se também nas ornamentação e nas formas.

O objetivo deste estudo é de lançar luz sobre os aspectos tipológicos, simbólicos e tecnológicos das vasilhas de ouro, cuja produção é baseada em métodos de deformação plástica, e de explicar a cadeia operatória do encadeamento de operações especializadas nos processos de fabrico de produtos tão significativos da arte da ourivesaria. As vasilhas de ouro também estão presentes durante a Idade do Ferro, mas com menor frequência. Da Europa atlântica conhecem-se quantidades significativas de obras proto-históricas em ouro. Essa produção especializada consistia em joias, objetos decorativos e sagrados, e os recipientes que nos interessam particularmente neste estudo. Também na Escandinávia e no norte da Alemanha, apesar destas áreas geográficas não terem quaisquer depósitos geológicos de ouro, existem evidências da abundância de artefactos em ouro. Mais de 60 exemplares de recipientes em ouro, principalmente em contexto de depósito dos períodos IV-V (Bronze Final), são conhecidos na Idade do Bronze nórdica, porém raramente em contexto funerário. Trata-se do grupo mais importante de vasilhas de ouro na Europa (Fig. 1) (Armbruster 2012; Ebbesen e Abrahamsen 2012).

Durante a Proto-história, a produção artesanal dos ourives atinge um alto nível em termos de quantidade e de qualidade de objetos. As investigações sobre o ouro da Idade do Bronze em geral e sobre os vasos em particular têm uma longa tradição de pesquisa arqueológica na Europa (Pingel 1998; Armbruster 2003; Perea e Armbruster 2008; Armbruster 2012). O estudo científico da ourivesaria arcaica baseia-se numa metodologia interdisciplinar, combinando noções da história da arte e da arqueologia, da etnografia e da arqueologia experimental, de representações iconográficas e da filologia, pelas informações em fontes escritas antigas e medievais, e, enfim, de análises físico-químicas no domínio das ciências exactas (Armbruster 2011). Além disso, estudos da arqueologia experimental e da etnoarqueologia desempenham um papel importante na compreensão das técnicas de fabrico antigas (Armbruster 2014). O exame óptico e a documentação de marcas de ferramenta e da topografia das superfícies são realizados com macro e microscopia (Perea 1990).

Os aspectos funcionais e simbólicos dos vasos de ouro

As vasilhas em ouro e sua decoração, como o caso de recipientes de outras matérias preciosas, sempre tiveram uma função não só prática, mas também ritual e social. Os recipientes metálicos serviam para líquidos ou materiais sólidos, para o consumo e a comensalidade, a libação ritual e oferendas, como dom político, como meio de prestígio, de exibição em santuários, como símbolo de poder, de status e de convicções.

Ainda hoje, o cálice e a pátera em metais nobres fazem parte da liturgia Cristã. Uma exposição dos ouros pré-históricos e medievais do norte da Alemanha mostrou numa vitrina vasilhas da Idade do

Bronze ao lado de um cálice e de uma pátera em ouro do convento Cisterciense de Uetersen, datando de 1504 (Bleile 2006: 64-70).

Atribuem-se várias funcionalidades aos vasos de ouro da Idade do Bronze, como funções rituais, práticas e sociais. Por causa do material valioso, mas também pelo seu valor simbólico, pela sua cor do Sol, e a sua inalterabilidade sempre ligada com a eternidade, as interpretações da função de recipientes de ouro relacionam-se com o sagrado, o culto e o ritual, como oferta, como um marco de prestígio e de *status*, ou ainda como um favor de carácter político, tal como está estabelecido nos épicos homéricos (Pingel 1998, 327; Grossmann 2003; Ebbesen e Abrahamsen 2012). Não é possível determinar a função concreta dos vasos de ouro antes da sua deposição na terra; além do seu caráter simbólico-religioso, entre outras coisas, podiam servir como recipientes de armazenar, de transportar, ou de derramamento de líquidos ou alimentos de consistência sólida no âmbito das atividades de culto; ou ainda poderiam ter sido utilizados apenas na apresentação como objetos de culto, puros e vazios. Também poderiam ter servido como vasilhas de luxo no banquete. Durante o longo período de uso de um objeto valioso, a sua utilização pode igualmente mudar, como também o seu simbolismo e o seu valor. Os vasos de ouro atlânticos e nórdicos possuem vestígios de uso, de modo que foram concebidos não só para deposição, como sacrifício, ou bens funerários. A interpretação de vasos de ouro como chapéus parece absurda.

Na Idade do Bronze ocorrem diferentes formas de recipientes com capacidades variadas. A vasilha maior (250 mm de diâmetro) e mais pesada de todas (907 g) é a taça de Zurich-Altstetten (Fig. 2) que, do ponto de vista tipológico e técnico, se articula com as taças do conjunto de Villena, Alicante (Fig. 3) (Armbruster 2004). Existem grandes vasos em forma de taça, pequenas tigelas, canecas, até garrafas (Fig. 4).

Na primeira Idade do Ferro mantém-se a produção de taças, mas distinguem-se das peças da Idade do Bronze pelas formas e pela decoração menos estandardizadas, sendo também mais ligeiras de peso (Fig. 5). Nesta época aparece uma nova forma de vasilha de influências orientais. Trata-se de um recipiente largo de pouca altura e com ônfalo ao centro, a “fiale”, servindo como objeto de libação (Fig. 6).

Exemplos de vasilhas em chapa de ouro da Idade do Bronze da Europa atlântica são as de Rillaton, Cornwall (Fig. 7) e Ringlemere, Kent (Bronze antigo), os vasos ou garrafinhas do conjunto de Villeneuve-Saint-Vistre, Marne (Fig. 4; Bronze médio), assim como os copos de Axtroki, Guipúscoa (Fig. 8), os de Villena, Alicante (Fig. 3), ou a taça de Forêt de Paimpont, Ille-et-Vilaine (Fig. 9; Bronze final) (Déchelette 1912; Armbruster 2004: 131-141; Needham 2006).

As três vasilhas do conjunto de ouro de Caldas de Reyes, Pontevedra, datando do Bronze médio, são uma exceção por causa da sua técnica de fabrico pelo método da cera perdida (Armbruster 1996). Estes copos têm formas globulares com asa, um peso importante relativamente ao volume e são os únicos exemplos desta técnica que resulta em objetos de paredes espessas (Fig. 20).

A cultura de Hallstatt ocidental, da primeira Idade do Ferro, é rica em adornos e objetos de luxo provenientes de depósitos funerários em túmulos aristocráticos, masculinos e femininos (Armbruster; Pernicka; Schwab, no prelo). Mas as vasilhas de ouro do início da Idade do Ferro aparecem com muito menor frequência do que na Idade do Bronze. Ocorrem sobretudo em contextos sepulcrais hallstátticos, como a taça do túmulo de Hochdorf, Ludwigsburg (Fig. 5), ou a fiale com ônfalo do túmulo de Apremont, Haute-Savoie (Fig. 6) (Biel 1985; Perron 1880). Estes objectos são considerados, tal como para o período precedente, como símbolos de poder e de prestígio. Estes achados de ouro estão sempre associados a outros objetos de prestígio em materiais valiosos e exóticos, locais e importados, e muitas vezes com um equipamento de banquete em bronze. Por exemplo, o copo do túmulo aristocrático de Hochdorf encontrou-se associado ao grande caldeiro de bronze.

Para manusear os vasos preciosos devemos notar que, dependendo do tamanho e peso, e tendo

também em conta o conteúdo provável, deveriam ser segurados com uma ou duas mãos. A pega de uma faca em bronze da Idade do Bronze de Itzehoe, Holstein, Alemanha, tem a forma de uma figura feminina que segura um vaso com ambas as mãos (Fig. 10) (Jørgensen e Petersen 1998: 98 fig. 71). Veste uma saia e é adornada com um címbalo, um colar e um brinco. Aparentemente, esta representação figurativa simboliza uma prece.

Alguns vasos em chapa possuem uma asa. As vasilhas do Bronze antigo apresentam asas em forma de uma larga tira de chapa fixada ao vaso por rebitagem, como é o caso dos copos de Rillaton, Cornwall (Fig. 7), de Ringlemere, Kent, ou de Fritzdorf, Nordrhein-Westfalen; ou ainda o recente achado italiano de Montecchio Emilia (Needham; Parfitt; Varndell 2006: 83-88; Brea Bernabò; Gambari; Giumlia-Mair 2014). A chávena de Forêt de Paimpont, Ille-et-Vilaine, tem uma pequena pega feita em fio fixada por rebitagem no bordo (Fig. 9). Vários exemplos do Bronze nórdico recente possuem uma asa de grande dimensão, apesar de um volume relativamente pequeno, decorada com uma cabeça de cavalo elaborados (Fig. 11 e 12) (Thrane 1989; Armbruster 2012: 43, 394, 420). Estas asas figurativas com motivos zoomórficos são compostas por uma parte maciça em bronze enfaixado de elementos de fio e de chapa fina de ouro.

A maioria dos vasos da Idade do Bronze estão bem preservados e raramente têm danos que possam ser considerados como intencionais. Por conseguinte, as peças em contexto de depósito não foram aparentemente destruídas por motivos rituais antes da deposição no solo. No entanto, as asas que faltam nos copos dos depósitos dinamarqueses de Ladegård, Haderslev, de Midskov, Odense, e de Avernakø, Svendborg, terão existido anteriormente (Armbruster 2012: 407-410; 422-424; Ebbesen e Abrahansen 2012: 356 fig. 14).

Muitos vasos de ouro possuem um fundo redondo e, portanto, não poderiam ter sido exibidos sem suporte, fossem cheios ou vazios. Alguns têm um fundo com um pequeno ônfalo, ou ainda outros um fundo plano, como dois copos dinamarqueses de Borgbjerg (Fig. 11).

Alguns vasos de ouro tinham como última etapa da sua utilização a função de bens funerários ou urna. Exemplos em contexto sepulcral são o copo de Rillaton, País de Gales (Smith 1936), ou a taça do túmulo de Gönnebek, Segeberg (Fig. 14), um dos mais antigos vasos de ouro da Idade do Bronze Nórdica (Armbruster 2012: 162-402). Na descoberta de dois vasos da Idade do Bronze nórdica recente de Albersdorf, Dithmarschen, os dois recipientes, que continham cinzas, foram colocados um sobre o outro (Armbruster 2012: 404-407). Este uso de dois recipientes de ouro como urna de cremação é comparável com o achado de Unterglauheim, Dillingen. Este depósito, que pode ser interpretado como espólio de um funeral excepcional, contém dois copos de ouro juntamente com duas bacias e um balde de bronze (Wirth 2003).

Contextos de achado

A maioria dos achados de vasos de ouro provém de depósitos da Idade do Bronze recente. Uma das descobertas mais importantes é o conjunto espanhol de Villena, Alicante, que reúne 59 objetos de ouro, num total de cerca de 9 kg de ouro e 600 g de prata. Os 11 vasos, 2 garrafas de ouro e 3 de prata de Villena foram encontrados com mais objetos de ouro, de âmbar e ainda 2 objetos decorativos em ferro (Soler 1965; Armbruster 2004; Hernandez Pérez; Gracia Atiénzar; Barciela González 2014). Outros conjuntos marcantes provêm da Dinamarca, como o depósito de Mariesminde, Fyn, com 11 vasos com asa num peso total de 1154 g achados dentro dum afora de bronze (Fig. 12) (Thrane 1989; Armbruster 2012: 400-402), e do Norte da Alemanha, onde o conjunto de ouro de Eberswalde, Brandenburg, contém 81 objetos dum peso global de mais que 2500 g, entre eles 8 vasos associados a joias, objetos quebrados e lingotes (Hänsel 2013).

Elementos de decoração

As vasilhas de ouro da Idade do Bronze estão maioritariamente decoradas com elementos repetidos, como círculos, pequenas corcovas, pontilhados, linhas, motivos cordeados entre outros, ordenados em zonas horizontais e em motivos geométricos. Os vários motivos decorativos dos vasos e discos de ouro da Idade do Bronze têm sido amplamente discutidos (Schuchardt 1914; Schauer 1986). A sua importância está nas informações codificadas baseadas no simbolismo complexo dum culto do sol da Idade do Bronze europeia. Consequentemente, as diferentes variações de círculos concéntricos, de representações solares, de cruzes e de rodas têm um significado religioso e identitário, assim como uma função social. Os padrões da decoração realizada por cinzelagem das vasilhas de ouro estão relacionadas com artefactos de chapa de bronze, decorados com motivos estilísticos do mesmo carácter codificado (Kaul 2003; Wirth 2006b). Estes elementos decorativos e simbólicos estão presentes em toda a Europa durante a Idade do Bronze. Assim, não foram limitados geograficamente nem reservados aos objetos metálicos. Chamamos a atenção para a estreita ligação dum simbolismo comum na comparação dos padrões da barca solar sobre a ânfora de bronze de Mariesminde (Fig. 13 e 13 a) e dos dois copos de ouro de Borgbjerg (Fig. 11 e 13 b). Enquanto o mesmo ícone, uma combinação de círculos concéntricos, de raios duma roda e de uma coroa de raios oblíquos em volta, aparece nos dois tipos de objectos distintos na forma e no material. Este padrão está formado em plano, num conceito bidimensional sobre a ânfora de bronze (Fig. 13 a) e, num conceito tridimensional sobre os dois níveis dos copos de ouro (Fig. 11). É particularmente interessante que o padrão complexo só seja reconhecível nos copos quando estes são observados pelo lado do fundo. Uma parte do padrão, a roda com círculos concéntricos no centro, está executada sobre o fundo, enquanto os raios oblíquos estão realizados mais acima sobre a parte biconica do corpo do copo.

À parte dos motivos solares mencionados, há também alguns exemplos de representações figurativas, de aves aquáticas ou de cabeças de cavalo, ambos animais relacionados com o culto solar (Kaul 2004; Wirth 2006a). Uma série de imagens de uma ave aquática estilizada decora a chávena de Forêt de Paimpont, Ille-et-Vilaine (Fig. 9). Também há elementos estilizados sobre os dois copos de Axtroki, Guipúzcoa (Fig. 8) interpretados como representações de aves. O cavalo, que faz parte da simbologia de um rito solar nórdico, presente nas asas de copos dinamarqueses (Fig. 11 e 12), está igualmente testemunhado em imagens sobre lâminas de barbear, bem como no carro de bronze dinamarquês de Trundholm (Kaul 1998; Kaul 2010). Este carro votivo é composto por um suporte de seis rodas sobre o qual foi fixada uma escultura de cavalo e um disco solar revestido parcialmente por uma chapa fina de ouro representando o sol.

O material das vasilhas preciosas

Matéria divina, o ouro proto-histórico sempre foi e continua a ser uma matéria de luxo e de prestígio. Durante a Idade do Bronze os ourives utilizavam maioritariamente na produção de vasilhas ouro aluvial, uma liga natural de ouro com grande conteúdo de ouro (75-85%), menor conteúdo de prata (15-25%), escasso teor de cobre (0,3-3%) e muito pouco de estanho. O ouro possui um alto ponto de fusão (1064°C), uma grande densidade (19,34) e uma cor amarela ligada ao sol. Esta substância nobre é muita maleável, extensível e quase inalterável. O ouro, metal precioso por causa de suas propriedades físico-químicas, é especialmente apropriado para o fabrico de joias, enfeites e vasos, seja por fundição, seja por técnicas de deformação plástica (Grimmwalde 1985).

O ouro pode ser derretido, ligado e fundido. O forno de carvão vegetal utilizado para derreter o

ouro num cadinho deve ser equipado com uma ventoinha para atingir uma temperatura por volta de 1000° C, ponto de fusão de ligas naturais do ouro, com alguma prata e pequenas quantidades de cobre. É muito elástico e pode ser polido com intenso brilho. O metal precioso endurece na deformação plástica a frio, martelado, cinzelado, punctionado, dobrado ou por torção. Para evitar fissuras ou rupturas, metais preciosos são recozidos a cerca de 750° C. Durante o recozimento a estrutura metálica rígida pela deformação plástica recristaliza-se. Excepto durante a fusão, fundição, soldagem e tratamento térmico do recozimento, o ouro é trabalhado a frio. Como o ouro é resistente à maioria das influências químicas, a sua cor luminosa permanece inalterada mesmo durante milénios.

Aspectos tecnológicos dos vasos de ouro

Os aspectos tecnológicos dos vasos de ouro são, falando de modo específico, relativos a tudo o que é necessário para o seu fabrico. Começa-se com o fornecimento de matérias-primas e os conhecimentos dos ourives, dos materiais utilizados e das suas propriedades físico-químicas, tanto para o metal nobre como para as ferramentas indispensáveis, tais como a dureza, a elasticidade, a extensibilidade e também a cor. Incluem-se também as ferramentas, os processos de criação, as técnicas de decoração, os elementos construtivos e as técnicas de ligação de vários elementos, o volume em relação ao material disponível, assim como o peso e o manuseamento da peça. Reparações e reciclagem pertencem igualmente aos aspectos técnicos da produção de objetos de ouro. Por fim, questões já discutidas acima, como as preferências tradicionais e sociais, assim como a função do objeto, desempenham um papel importante para determinar a forma, estrutura e decoração.

São bastante raros os estudos tecnológicos fiáveis sobre vasilhas proto-históricas em ouro (Foltz 1979; Armbruster 2003). Patrick Nagy, que apresentou um estudo técnico detalhado e descritivo sobre a grande taça de ouro de Zurique-Altstetten, foi aconselhado por um ourive experiente (Nagy 1992). Estudos aprofundados para a produção dos grandes cones em chapa de ouro achados na Alemanha e em França foram realizados por profissionais experientes do restauro e da tecnologia (Fecht 1986; Born 2003). Arthur Pietzsch dedicou toda uma série de experiências a processos de produção de vasos de bronze, que coincidem com a maioria das operações da cadeia operatória dos recipientes de ouro (Pietzsch 1952; Pietzsch 1968). Ainda hoje as suas obras são de grande valor para o estudo das técnicas de deformação plástica e de decoração de vasilhas da Idade do Bronze devido à sua perícia artesanal e à sua observação pormenorizada.

Duas fontes escritas dos séculos XII e XVI dão descrições detalhadas do trabalho do ouro e do bronze. Os métodos artesanais pré-industriais, descritos nestas obras, podem servir como analogias e modelos de explicação para as técnicas dos ourives das Idades do Bronze e do Ferro. De interesse particular é a descrição por Benvenuto Cellini da produção de um recipiente em forma de ovo, ajudando na compreensão do fabrico de garrafas (Fröhlich e Fröhlich 1974). A técnica do embutido na produção de recipientes proto-históricos de chapa encontra-se bem explicada. O processo para obter a forma de recipientes com gargalo estreito e a técnica de decoração realizada com cinzelagem feita a partir do exterior do recipiente foram descritos com detalhe por Theophilus no século XII (Hawthorne e Smith 1963; Brepoli 1987: 165-168). Também um estudo realizado em oficinas no Laos mostra claramente as várias ferramentas e operações do fabrico de taças de prata, conforme as fontes escritas antigas (Anónimo 1999). Assim, ainda hoje ourives tradicionais que não têm acesso a chapas pré-fabricadas por máquinas de laminadora trabalham exclusivamente segundo este procedimento.

Representações figuradas em sepulturas egípcias fornecem igualmente informações preciosas sobre o trabalho de ourives da Idade do Bronze, entre elas no fabrico de vasilhas metálicas, tal como

sobre as ferramentas aplicadas e os gestos dos artesãos (Garenne-Marot 1985; Scheel 1989). As pinturas das paredes do túmulo de Rekhmire (1450 a.C.) são particularmente informativas (Fig. 15a) (Armbruster 2003: fig. 4). Os ourives egípcios trabalham exclusivamente com martelos e bigornas de pedra tanto para obter a chapa como para dar a forma e o volume aos vasos. Um martelo de pedra é igualmente aplicado em combinação com um cinzel na decoração (Fig. 15b).

Basicamente, nos achados proto-históricos há evidências das seguintes três formas de produção de recipientes metálicos: fundir uma forma de recipiente pela técnica da cera perdida; martelar e embutir um vaso a partir de uma placa circular previamente fundida; e juntar várias chapas marteladas com rebites (Armbruster 2003). Talvez a técnica de martelar um vaso a partir de um percursor fundido em forma de cúpula, como foi proposto para os cones, fosse também aplicável (Fecht 1986). Erroneamente, o método moderno de martelar a partir de uma chapa laminada é frequentemente descrito como um processo pré-histórico, portanto, sem ter em conta que as chapas industrialmente pré-fabricadas não estavam disponíveis nas Idades do Bronze ou do Ferro.

A técnica do martelado dos vasos em chapa

A técnica de fabrico de vasilhas de ouro proto-históricas era maioritariamente o martelado de chapa. Este método de criação de formas ovas é bem apropriado às propriedades do ouro e suas ligas por ser altamente extensível e elástico. O trabalho do metal nobre com martelo e bigorna é uma técnica de deformação plástica em que a secção transversal duma peça se obtém em estado frio.

A martelagem e o embutido são processos da deformação plástica caracterizados por uma proteção da borda do recipiente, enquanto o centro da placa é fortemente deformado por alongamento. Além de vasos de gargalo estreito e das garrafas, o diâmetro do produto final varia em geral apenas ligeiramente do produto (a placa) inicial. Os moldes para a produção de um lingote discoidal, que servem como material de partida para a produção de vasilhas, são extremamente raros. Um molde em pedra, no qual pode ser fundido num lado uma barra, no outro lado uma placa discoidal, provém de Ballajura, Maughold, Isle of Man (Tylecote 1987: 19 fig. 1.8).

No fabrico de recipientes há várias fases principais: a fundição de um produto preliminar, a martelagem para dar a forma tridimensional, a decoração e o acabamento. Seguem-se muitas etapas para se transformar uma placa achatada de metal até se obter um corpo tridimensional oco, correspondente à forma do vaso final (Fig. 16). Começa com a martelagem de uma placa redonda fundida (Fig. 16, 1). Seguem-se várias etapas de deformação plástica (Fig. 16, 2-5) até se acabar a forma e o rebordo ou o gargalo (Fig. 16, 6-9). Durante esta deformação plástica faz-se o recozido em intervalos regulares.

Conhecem-se bem martelos e bigornas da Idade do Bronze, mas possuem uma distribuição desigual no tempo e no espaço na Europa Proto-histórica. Eram já utilizados no início da metalurgia, no Calcolítico e no Bronze antigo (Armbruster 2006; Brandherm 2000). Os martelos e as bigornas em pedra têm formas quase paralelepípedicas ou de machados achatados. Durante a Idade do Bronze desenvolvem-se as ferramentas em bronze (Thevenot 1998; Armbruster; Comendador Rey; Perea; Pernot 2003; Jantzen 2008). As formas das bigornas de bronze são mais variadas que as de pedra e existem suportes de impactos simples e complexos (Ehrenberg 1981). Os martelos aparecem sobretudo como martelos de alvado e podem ter uma mesa de trabalho variada, plana, curva ou em forma de telhado. Na Idade do Bronze só se conhecem duas ferramentas de bronze especializadas utilizadas para o trabalho e o fabrico de vasilhas de gargalo estreito (Hundt 1986), tendo sido achadas na ilha de Creta (Fig. 17).

Para a Idade do Ferro desconhecem-se, até hoje, ferramentas especializadas para o fabrico de vasilhas metálicas.

As marcas de ferramentas deixadas pelos golpes do martelo e as marcas da bigorna podem ser claramente observadas na superfície dos vasos, por exemplo na taça de Zurich-Altstetten (Fig. 2). Em certos casos estas marcas de martelagem estão disfarçadas pelo polimento, mas podem ser observadas por meio de radiografia (Born 2003: 89; Armbruster 2012: 406, 413). Na imagem radiográfica de objetos de chapa martelada estas marcas de ferramenta aparecem como estruturas nubladas graças às mínimas diferenças de espessura da chapa (Fig. 14b).

Os bordos dos vasos de ouro têm várias formas de acabamento. A maioria tem o rebordo reforçado e comprimido por martelagem, podendo ser duplicados na espessura por dobragem, ou incorporarem uma alma metálica no rebordo (Armbruster 2012: 385-387).

Técnicas da decoração de vasilha em chapa

A técnica decorativa predominante dos vasos de ouro é a cinzelagem, incluindo o repuxado e o traçado de linhas. Estes métodos de ornamentação são técnicas de deformação plástica tendo sido executados com cinzéis e um martelo sobre a chapa fina, que é fixada em cima de um cimento de cinzelagem ou outro material adequado para o amortecimento do choque (Destree 1983; Steines 2001). Motivos decorativos cinzelados complexos são muitas vezes combinados com linhas traçadas. Vários cinzéis e punções serviram para criar os ricos motivos decorativos dos vasos de ouro. As principais formas são motivos circulares concéntricos simples ou múltiplos, com ou sem uma corcova central, motivos de rodas com raios, elementos e séries de pequenos pontos, e cinzéis complexos que incorporam uma série de motivos, por exemplo cordados. Cinzéis simples serviam na marcação de linhas ou sulcos e elementos ornamentais com traços paralelos. Estas formas básicas foram brilhantemente variadas.

Uma representação figurada na sepultura egípcia de Rekhmire (1450 a.C.) mostra o uso de um cinzel metálico e de um martelo em pedra sem haste como instrumento de percussão na decoração de um vaso pela superfície exterior (Fig. 15b). O recipiente devia ser enchido com cimento de cinzelagem e, como se vê na representação, posto sobre um suporte macio para não danificar o objeto durante esta operação de decoração. Esta maneira de cinzelagem a partir do exterior aplica-se sobre garrafas e outras vasilhas de gargalo fechado (Fig. 4a-b). O corpo oco deve, por isso, ser enchido com cimento de cinzelagem (Anónimo 1999). Vasilhas com abertura larga podem ser decoradas aplicando os cinzéis por dentro ou por fora.

Consequentemente, os cinzéis existem em relevo negativo ou positivo. São conhecidos da Idade do Bronze final vários cinzéis com círculos concéntricos e de desenho complexo, por exemplo dos depósitos franceses de Génelard, Saône-et-Loire (Fig. 18), e de Larnaud, Jura, entre eles dois pares de motivos correspondentes em negativo e positivo (Armbruster 2008). No entanto, eles não foram usados como uma matriz, mas para cinzelagem dos dois lados de um vaso. Conhecem-se marcas de um cinzel circular oco em muitos vasos com uma decoração de pequenos cones semiesféricos, por exemplo o de Zurich-Altstetten (Fig. 2) ou de Villena, Alicante (Fig. 3). Mas só há um achado conhecido de um cinzel decorativo circular e oco (Fig. 19), proveniente da Moreirinha, Beira Interior (Vilaça 1995, I , 228; II, pl. 245, 3). Este tipo de cinzel serve para criar motivos circulares, ou para trabalhar os contornos de pequenos cones. Também há cinzéis em forma recta, os contornadores, para a execução de desenhos linhados ou motivos compostos de impressões rectas.

As garrafas de ouro e de prata do conjunto de Villena, Alicante, decoradas com nervuras horizontais e verticais, ilustram perfeitamente um ornamento obtido por repuxado pelo lado exterior (Armbruster 1995). O ourives trabalhou neste caso a partir de um desenho preparatório realizado com a ajuda de um compasso, depois com cinzéis para baixar por repuxado umas partes da superfície (Fig. 4b).

Um caso de exceção - Vasilha fundida a cera perdida

Só se conhece um exemplo de vasilhas de ouro da Idade do Bronze executadas pelo processo da fundição. O conjunto achado em Caldas de Reyes, Pontevedra, datando do Bronze médio, é um caso excepcional dentro do grande grupo das vasilhas da Idade do Bronze (Armbruster 1996; Comendador Rey 1998). Este depósito é o mais significativo na Europa ocidental em termos de acumulação de objetos de ouro, com cerca de 29 kg no momento da descoberta. Os três copos com asa (Fig. 20) têm formas globulares e são bastante pesados (640 g, 630 g e 541 g). Este elevado peso resulta do método de fabrico pela fundição. As paredes destes recipientes são grossas comparadas com as medidas (com diâmetros da abertura de 85 mm, 50 mm e 80 mm).

A cadeia operatória do processo de realização começa com o modelado de um modelo em cera do objecto desejado juntamente com canais de fundição, seguindo-se o revestimento com argila (Armbruster 2000: 74-85; 2001). Neste caso de vasilhas ocas, o molde de argila é constituído por um núcleo e pelo revestimento por fora. Depois da secagem do molde, este é aquecido e a cera evacuada. O ouro derretido num cadinho é em seguida vertido no molde para encher o vazio deixado pela cera perdida. Depois do arrefecimento o molde é quebrado para extraír o bruto de fundição e os canais são cortados com um cinzel. O acabamento envolve o polimento da superfície com abrasivos e, finalmente, a decoração com cinzelagem e linhas traçadas.

Um caso especial - A capa do túmulo da Idade do Bronze Antigo de Mold, País de Gales

Mencionamos um último exemplo, um caso especial, o maior artefacto tridimensional em chapa fina de ouro conhecido na Europa. Trata-se da capa de ouro de Mold, País de Gales, uma obra de ourivesaria extraordinária datada do Bronze antigo, que tem um tamanho adaptado às costas do corpo humano e é interpretado como adorno ritual de um sacerdote (Fig. 21); Needham 2000). Este objeto decorativo tem uma forma e uma tecnologia comparáveis às vasilhas marteladas a partir de uma placa. Encontrada em estado muito deformado num túmulo, esta peça encontra-se hoje restaurada. Foi produzida de maneira comparável ao fabrico de uma vasilha grande, a partir de uma única chapa, com grande minúcia na composição da decoração em relevo. Pequenos orifícios ao longo dos bordos seriam utilizados para prender a peça sobre um vestido ou suporte. Está planeado um projeto experimental de reconstrução do Museu Britânico e o do Museu Nacional do País de Gales para compreender a complexa cadeia operatória desta obra-prima.

Notas finais

Desde os primórdios da metalurgia do ouro, os ourives da Idade do Bronze na Europa ocidental e nórdica desenvolviam o trabalho de chapas finas em relevo para produzir objetos tridimensionais, ocos e de corpos volumosos. Destaca-se a importância da simbologia solar e das funções rituais e do serviço de banquete da vasilha de ouro, antes da deposição em túmulos ou num depósito.

O presente artigo trata dos aspectos morfológicos, funcionais e tecnológicos de vasilhas de ouro proto-históricas. Os corpos metálicos ocos foram maioritariamente obtidos por fundição, martelagem, ou por montagem de várias partes. As formas, os padrões de decoração, assim como as ferramentas aplicadas e os processos de fabrico foram-se diferenciando ao longo do tempo e do espaço. Os aspectos tecnológicos foram discutidos em pormenor, atendendo às ferramentas. Fabricadas desde o Bronze

antigo, as vasilhas de ouro fazem parte da ourivesaria arcaica testemunhando um elevado nível artístico e artesanal e também uma especialização, bem como uma grande habilidade no trabalho do metal.

Em primeiro lugar, a tecnologia de produção de recipientes atingiu um nível magistral nas Ilhas Britânicas, onde existem os primeiros testemunhos de vasilhas no Bronze antigo (Needham; Parfitt; Varndell 2006). A Idade do Bronze nórdica produziu o maior número de vasos de ouro, sobretudo durante o Bronze recente, mas não há provas de extração de ouro local (Armbruster 2012). Na primeira Idade do Ferro, na cultura de Hallstatt ocidental, os recipientes de ouro aparecem em túmulos aristocráticos juntamente com recipientes de bronze (caldeiros e cratera).

Estudos futuros deveriam ser de cariz diacrónico e interdisciplinares comparando recipientes de ouro da Europa ocidental com os da Europa oriental, do mundo Mediterrâneo e do Próximo Oriente.

Bibliografia

- ANÓNIMO (1999) – The shine of silver. *Essential Laos* 2, p. 60-65.
- ARMBRUSTER , B. (1995) – Zur Technik der Goldflaschen aus dem bronzezeitlichen Schatzfund von Villena (Alicante). *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 36, p. 165-171.
- ARMBRUSTER, B. (1996) – Zu den technologischen Aspekten der Goldfunde aus dem bronzezeitlichen Schatzfund von Caldas de Reyes (Prov. Pontevedra). *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 37, p. 60-73.
- ARMBRUSTER, B. (2000) – *Goldschmiedekunst und Bronzetechnik. Studien zum Metallhandwerk der Atlantischen Bronzezeit auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*. Monographies instrumentum 15. Montagnac.
- ARMBRUSTER, B. (2001) – Metallguß (Stichwort). In: BECK, H.; GEUENICH E, D.; STEUER, H. (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 19. Berlin, New York , p. 622-642.
- ARMBRUSTER, B. (2003) – Edelmetallgefäße der Bronzezeit – eine technologische Betrachtung. In: GROSSMANN, G. U. (ed.), *Gold und Kult der Bronzezeit*. (Nürnberg 2003), p. 64-85.
- ARMBRUSTER, B. (2004) – Die bronzezeitliche Goldschale von Zürich-Altstetten und die Edelmetallgefäße aus dem Schatz von Villena. Neue Erkenntnisse zur Herkunft und Datierung. *Helvetia Archaeologica* 140, p. 119-151.
- ARMBRUSTER, B. (2006) – L'outillage en pierre du métallurgiste ancien. In: ASTRUC,V.; BON, F.; LÉA,V.; MILCENT, P.-Y.; PHILIBERT, S. (ed.), *XXVIe rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes. Normes techniques et pratiques sociales. De la simplicité des outillages pré- et protohistoriques*. Antibes, p. 321-332.
- ARMBRUSTER, B. (2008) – Outillage de métallurgiste de l'âge du Bronze : les dépôts de Larnaud (Jura) et Génelard (Saône-et-Loire). *Bulletin de l'APRAB* 5, p. 38-41.
- ARMBRUSTER, B. (2011) – Approaches to metal work – The role of technology in tradition, innovation and cultural change. In: ARMADA PITA, X.-L.; MOORE, T. (ed.), *Atlantic Europe in the First Millennium BC: Crossing the divide*. Oxford, p. 417-438.
- ARMBRUSTER, B. (2012) – Goldgefäße der Nordischen Bronzezeit – eine Studie zur Metalltechnik. *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 87, p. 370-432.
- ARMBRUSTER, B. (2014) – Ethnoarchäologie und experimentelle Archäologie in der Erforschung prähistorischen Goldes. In: MELLER, H.; RISCH, R.; PERNICKA, E. (ed.), *Early gold and silver. 6th Archaeological Conference of Central Germany, October 17–19, 2013 in Halle (Saale)*. Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle. Halle, p. 323-334.
- ARMBRUSTER, B.; COMENDADOR REY, B.; PEREA, A.; PERNOT, M. (2003) – Tools and tool marks. Gold and bronze metallurgy in Western Europe during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages. In: *Proceedings of the International Conference "Archaeometallurgy in Europe"*, Milano 24-26 September 2003.Vol. I. Milano, p. 255-265.
- ARMBRUSTER, B.; PERNICKA, E.; SCHWAB, R. (ed.) (no prelo) – *Iron Age gold in Celtic Europe. Proceedings of the International Toulouse Conference*. Forschungen zur Archäometrie und Altertumswissenschaften. Mannheim.
- BIEL, J. (1985) – *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf*. Stuttgart.
- BLEILE, R. (ed.) (2006) – *Magischer Glanz. Gold aus archäologischen Sammlungen Norddeutschlands*. Schleswig.
- BORN, H. (2003) – Herstellungstechnische Voruntersuchungen am Berliner Goldhut. In: G. U. Großmann (ed.),

Gold und Kult der Bronzezeit. Nürnberg, p. 86-97.

BRANDHERM, D. (2000) – Yunques, martillos y lo demás – herramientas líticas en la producción metalúrgica de las edades del cobre y del bronce. In: OLIVEIRA JORGE, V. (ed.), *Actas del 3. Congresso de Arqueología Peninsular.* UTAD, Vila Real, Portugal, Setembro de 1999. Pré-História recente da Península Ibérica Vol. 4. Porto, p. 243-249.

BREA BERNABÒ, M.; GAMBARI, F.M.; GIULMIA-MAIR, A. (2014) – Preliminary remarks on the gold cup from Montecchio Emilia, northern Italy. In: MELLER, H.; RISCH, R.; PERNICKA, E. (ed.), *Early gold and silver. 6th Archaeological Conference of Central Germany*, October 17–19, 2013 in Halle (Saale). Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle. Halle, p. 495-504.

BREPOHL, E. (1987) – *Theophilus Presbyter und die mittelalterliche Goldschmiedekunst.* Wien, Köln, Graz.

COMENDADOR REY, B. (1998) – El depósito de as Silgadas: un hallazgo excepcional en el noroeste peninsular. In: COMENDADOR REY, B.; DOMATO CASTRO, X. M. (ed.), *El tesoro descantado. As Silgadas (Caldas de Reis).* Concello de Caldas de Reis, Pontevedra. Santiago, p. 57-70.

DÉCHELETTE, J. (1912) – Les trésors de Rongères et de Villeneuve-Saint-Vistre. In: *Monument Piot.* 19. Paris, p. 8.

DESTREE, M. (1983) – Repoussée, stamping, chasing and punching. In: HACKENS, T. e WINKERS, R. (ed.), *Gold jewelry. Aurifex 5.* Louvaine la Neuve, p. 171-180.

EBBESEN, K. e ABRAHAMS, D. (2012) – Zeremonielle Goldgefäße der Bronzezeit. *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 87, 2, p. 338-369.

EHRENBERG, M. R. (1981) – The anvils of Bronze Age Europe. *The Antiquaries Journal* 61, 1, p. 14-28.

FECHT, M. (1986) – Handwerkstechnische Untersuchungen. In: SCHAUER, P. (ed.), *Die Goldblechkegel der Bronzezeit. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturverbindung zwischen Orient und Mitteleuropa.* RGZM Monographien 8. Bonn, p. 80-103.

FOLTZ, E. (1979) – Einige Beobachtungen zu antiken Gold- und Silberschmiedetechniken. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 9, p. 213-222.

FRÖHLICH e FRÖHLICH, R. (1974) – *Benvenuto Cellini. Abhandlungen über die Goldschmiedekunst und die Bildhauerei.* Basel.

GARENNE-MAROT, L. (1985) – Le travail du cuivre dans l'Egypte pharaonique d'après les peintures et les bas-reliefs. *Paléoorient* 11, p. 85-100.

GRIMWALDE, M. (1985) – *Introduction to precious metals.* London.

GROSSMANN, G. U. (ed.) (2003) – *Gold und Kult der Bronzezeit.* Nürnberg.

HÄNSEL, A. (2013) – Die Bedeutung des Hortfundes von Eberswalde im kulturellen Kontext der späten Bronzezeit. In: PIOTROVSKI, I.e BO KAREV, V.S. (ed.), *Bronzovyj vek - Evropa bez granic : cetvertoe - pervoe tysjaocetija do n. e. : katalog vystavki : Sankt-Peterburg, Gosudarstvennyj Ermitaż, s 21 ljunja po 8 sentjabrja 2013 g. : Moskva, Gosudarstvennyj Istoriceskij Muzej, s 15 oktjabrja 2013 g. po 14 janvarja 2014 g. = Bronzezeit - Europa ohne Grenzen : 4.-1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*

HAWTHORNE, J. G. e SMITH, C. S. (1963) – *On diverse arts: the treatise of Theophilus.* Chicago.

HERNANDEZ PÉREZ, M. S.; GARCIA ATIÉNZAR, G.; BARCIELA GONZALEZ, V. (2014) – The treasures od Villena and Cabezo Redondo, Alicante, Spain. In MELLER, H.; RISCH, R.; PERNICKA, E. (ed.), *Early gold and silver. 6th Archaeological Conference of Central Germany*, October 17–19, 2013 in Halle (Saale). Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle. Halle, p. 593-607.

HUNDT, H.J. (1986) – Zwei minoische Bronzegeräte zum Treiben von Metallgefäßen aus Kreta. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 16, p. 279-282.

JANTZEN, D. (2008) – Quellen zur Metallverarbeitung im Nordischen Kreis der Bronzezeit. *Prähistorische Bronzefunde XIX, 2.* Mainz.

JØRGENSEN, L. e PETERSEN, P.V. (1998) – *Guld, magt og tro. Gold, power and belief. Danske guldskatte fra oldtid og middelalder.* København.

KAUL, F. (1998) – *Ships on bronzes. A study in Bronze Age religion and iconography.* Publications from the National Museum. Studies in Archaeology and History 3. København.

KAUL, F. (2003) – Der Mythos von der Reise der Sonne. Darstellungen auf Bronzegegenständen der späten Nordischen Bronzezeit. In: GROSSMANN, G. U. (ed.), *Gold und Kult der Bronzezeit.* Nürnberg, p. 37-51.

KAUL, F. (2004) – *Bronzealderens religion. Studier af den nordiske bronzealders ikonografi.* Nordiske Fortidsminder (Kopenhagen 2004).

- KAUL, F. (2010) – The sun image from Trundholm (The Chariot of the Sun) – a commented history of research. In: MELLER, H. (ed.), *Der Griff nach den Sternen – Wie Europas Eliten zu Macht und Reichtum kamen*. 2 Bände. Internationales Symposium in Halle - Saale, 16.-21. Februar 2005. Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle - Saale, Band 5. Halle, p. 521-536.
- NAGY, P. (1992) – Technologische Aspekte der Goldschale von Zürich-Altstetten. *Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte* 75, p. 101-116.
- NEEDHAM, S. (2000) – The development of embossed goldwork in Bronze Age Europe. *The Antiquaries Journal* 80, p. 27-65.
- NEEDHAM, S. (2006) – Precious cups of the early Bronze Age. In: NEEDHAM, S.; PARFITT, K.; VARNDELL, U. G. (ed.), *The Ringlemere cup. Precious cups and the beginning of the Chanel Bronze Age*. The British Museum Research Publication no. 163. London, p. 53-67.
- NEEDHAM, S.; PARFITT, K.; VARNDELL, U. G. (ed.) 2006 – *The Ringlemere cup. Precious cups and the beginning of the Chanel Bronze Age*. The British Museum Research Publication no. 163. London.
- PEREA, A. (1990) – Estudio microscópico y microanalítico de las soldaduras y otros procesos técnicos en la orfebrería prehistórica del sur de la Península Ibérica. *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 47, p. 103-160.
- PEREA, A. e ARMBRUSTER, B. (2008) – L'archéologie de l'or en Europe. Perspectives I, p. 29-48.
- PERRON, E. (1880) – La motte d'Apremont (Haute-Saône). *Matériaux pour l'histoire primitive et naturelle de l'homme*, p. 337-359.
- PIETZSCH, A. (1952) – Technologische Bemerkungen zum Bronzegefäßfund von Dresden-Dobritz. *Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte der sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege* 2, p. 162-172.
- PIETZSCH, A. (1968) – Rekonstruktionen getriebener Bronzegefäße. *Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte der sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege* 18, p. 105-127.
- PINGEL, V. (1998) – Goldgefäße. In: BECK, H.; GEUENICH, D.; STEUER, H. (ed.), *Hoops Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 12. Berlin - New York, p. 327-333.
- POWELL, T. G. E. (1953) – The gold ornament from Mold, Flintshire, North Wales. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society NS* 19, p. 161-179.
- SCHAUER, P. (1986) – Die Goldblechkegel der Bronzezeit. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturverbindung zwischen Orient und Mitteleuropa. *RGZM Monographien* 8. Bonn.
- SCHEEL, B. (1989) – *Egyptian metalworking and tools*. Aylesbury.
- SCHUCHARDT, C. (1914) – Der Goldfund vom Messingwerk bei Eberswalde. Berlin.
- SMITH, R.A. (1936) – The Rillaton gold cup. *British Museum Quarterly* 11, p. 1-3.
- SOLER, J. M. (1965) – *El tesoro de Villena*. Excavaciones de España 36. Madrid.
- STEINES, A. (2001) – *Moving metal. The art of chasing and repoussé*. Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.
- THEVENOT, J. P. (1998) – Un outillage de bronzier : Le dépôt de la Petite Laugère, à Génelard (Saône-et-Loire, F). In: MORDANT, C.; PERNOT, M.; RYCHNER, U.V. (ed.), *L'atelier du bronzier en Europe du XXe au VIII siècle avant notre ère. Actes du Colloque International "Bronze '96, Neuchâtel et Dijon, 1996. Tome II session Dijon. Du minerai au métal à l'objet*. 2. Paris, p. 123-144.
- THRANE, H. (1989) – De 11 guldskåle fra Mariesminde – vidnesbyrd om en bronzealder-helligdom? *Fynske Minder*, p. 13-30.
- TYLECOTE, R. F. (1987) – *The early history of metallurgy in Europe*. London.
- VILAÇA, R. (1995) – *Aspectos do povoamento da Beira Interior (Centro e Sul) nos finais da Idade do Bronze*, 2 vols. Trabalhos de Arqueologia 9. Lisboa.
- WIRTH, S. (2003) – Die Goldbecher von Unterglauheim. In: GROSSMANN, G. U. (ed.), *Gold und Kult der Bronzezeit*. Nürnberg, p. 133-141.
- WIRTH, S. (2006a) – Le mystère de la barque solaire : quelques considérations à propos des décors sur les situles du type Hajduböszörmény et sur une situle inédite du Bronze final. In: BARAY, L. (ed.), *Artisanats, sociétés et civilisations : hommage à Jean-Paul Thevenot*. Suppléments à la Revue archéologique de l'Est 24. Dijon, p. 331-345.
- WIRTH, S. (2006b) – Vogel-Sonnen-Barke. In: BECK, H.; GEUENICH, D.; STEUER, H. (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*. 32. Berlin, New York, p. 552-563.



Fig. I – Distribuição de recipientes em ouro do Bronze Antigo e o Bronze Final.

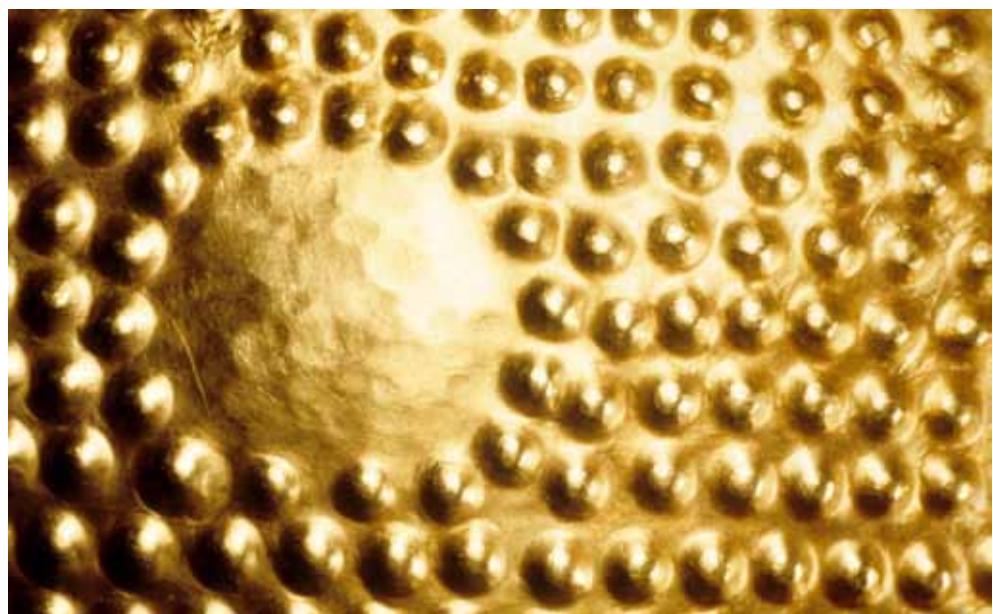


Fig. 2 – Taça de Zurich-Altstetten, Suíça.



Fig. 3 – Taças do conjunto de Villena, Alicante, Espanha.



Fig. 4a – Garrafas de Villeneuve-Saint-Vistre, Marne, França.



Fig. 4b – Garrafas do conjunto de Villena, Alicante, Espanha.

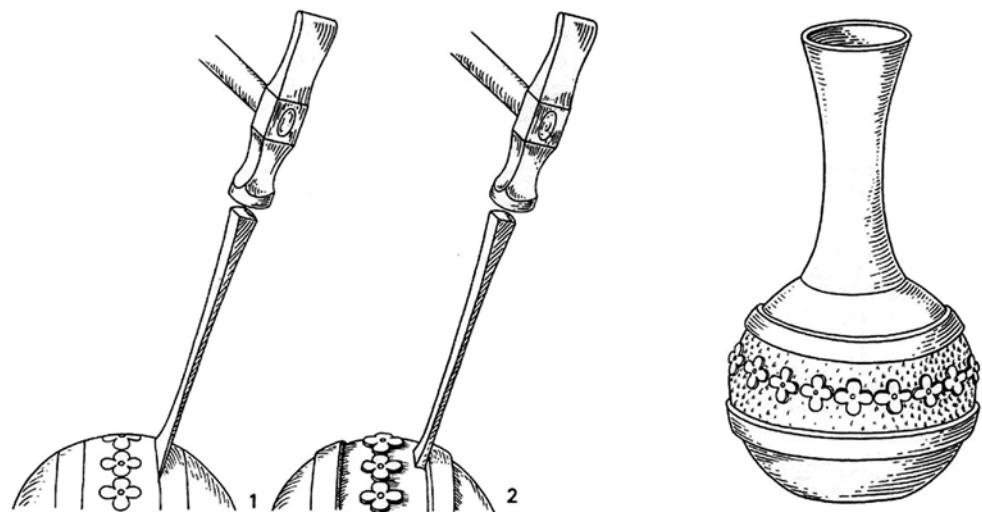


Fig. 4c – Repuxado duma garrafa descrito pelo monge Teófilo no século XII (Brepohl 1987, 166 fig. 58.1).



Fig. 5 – Taça de Hochdorf, Ludwigsburg, Alemanha.



Fig. 6 – “Fiale” de Apremont, Haute-Savoie, França.



Fig. 7 – Caneca de Rillaton, País de Gales, Grã-Bretanha.



Fig. 8 – Axtroki, Guipúzcoa, Espanha.



Fig. 9 – Chávena de Forêt de Paimpont, Ille-et-Vilaine, França.



Fig. 10 – Desenho da faca de Itzehoe, Holstein, Alemanha (Jørgensen e Petersen 1998: 98, fig. 71).



Fig. 11 – Conjunto de Borgbjerg, Dinamarca; taça grande, canecas, copos com asas.



Fig. 12 – Vasos do depósito de Mariesminde, Fyn, Dinamarca.



Fig. 13 – Ânfora



Fig. 13a – Pormenor da ânfora de Mariesminde.



Fig. 14a – Vaso de Gönnebek, Segeberg, Alemanha.



Fig. 14b – Pormenor da taça de Gönnebek, Segeberg, Alemanha.

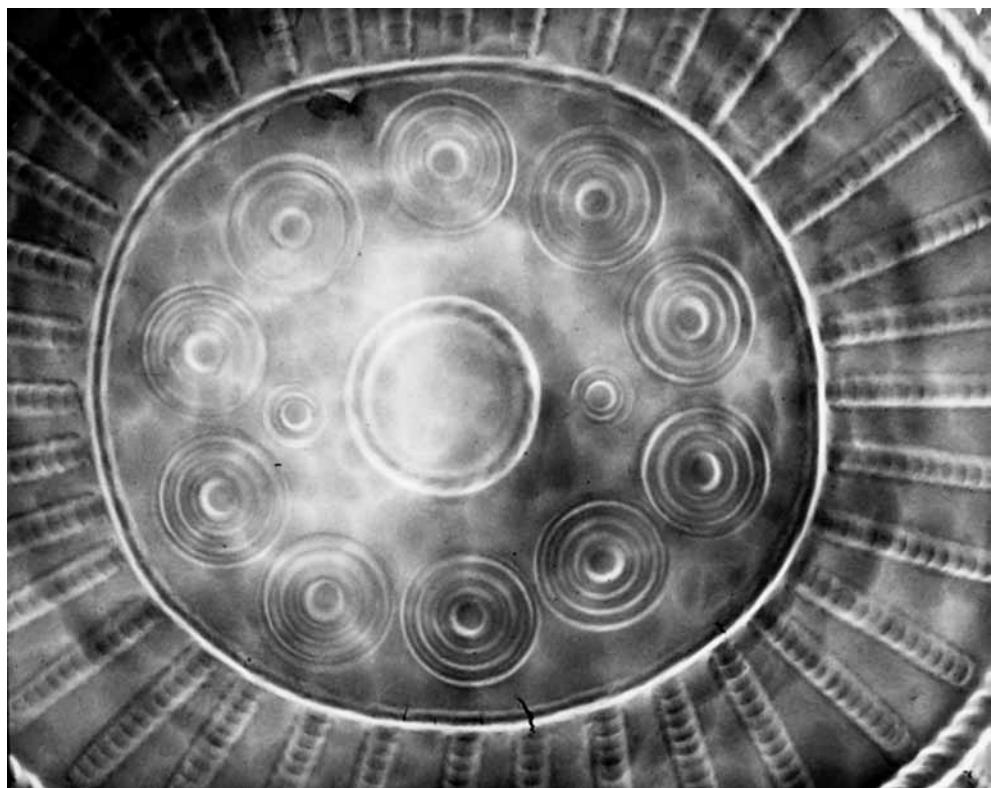


Fig. 14c – Radiografia com marcas do martelado.

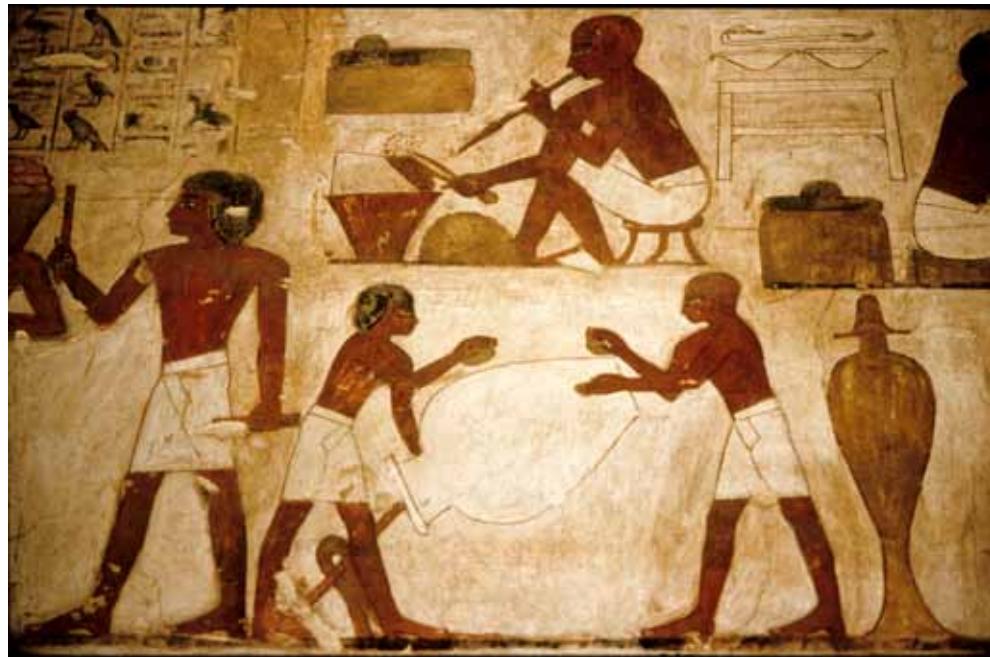


Fig. 15a – Pinturas das paredes do túmulo de Rekhmire, Egito.



Fig. 15b – Pinturas das paredes do túmulo de Rekhmire, Egito.

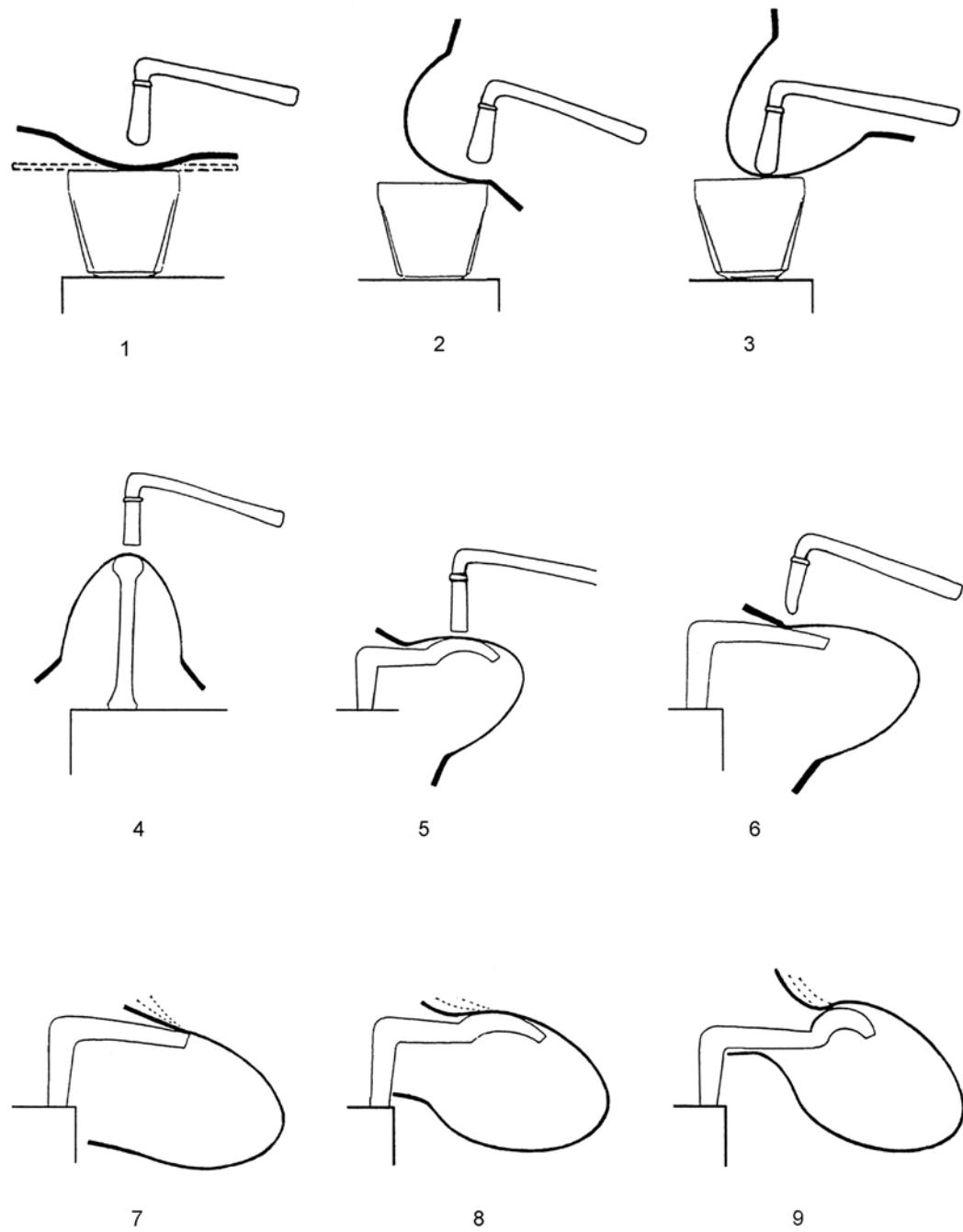


Fig. 16 – 1-9 esquema das etapas do fabrico dum vaso.

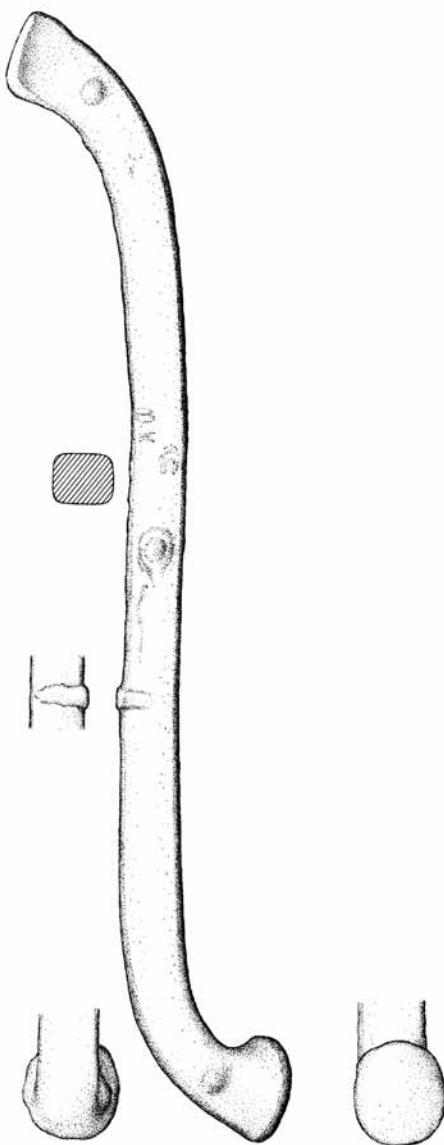


Fig. 17 – Estacas ou tás de bronze de Creta, Grécia.



Fig. 18 – Cinzeis de padrão de círculos concêntricos, negativo e positivo de Généralard, Saône-et-Loire, França.

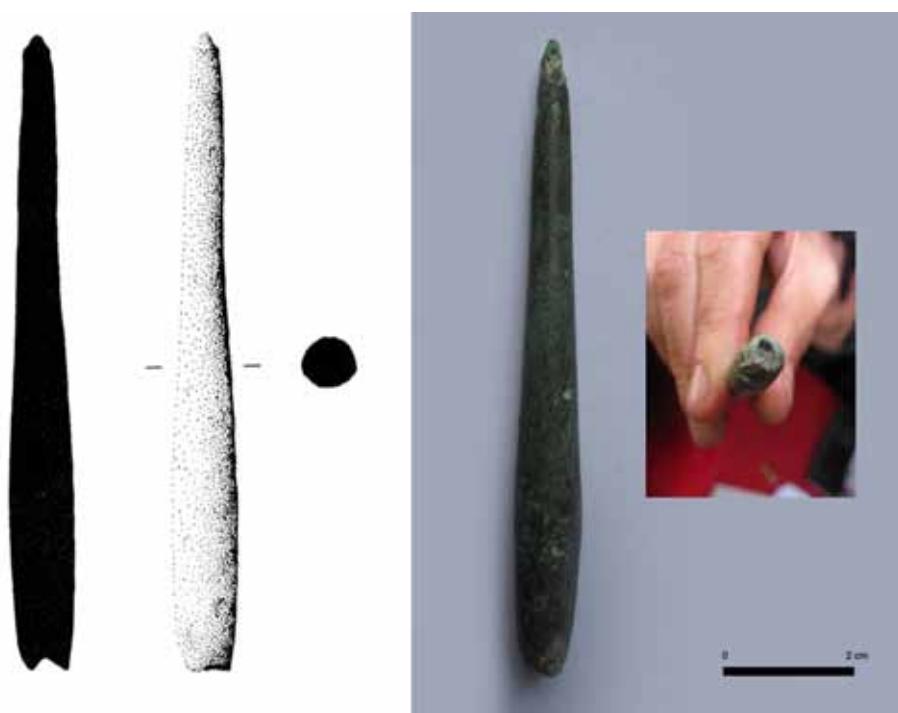


Fig. 19 – Cinzel decorativo circular e oco, Moreirinha, Beira Interior, Portugal (Vilaça 1995, I, 228; II, pl. 245, 3).



Fig. 20 – Copos com asa de Caldas de Reyes, Pontevedra, Espanha.



Fig. 21 – Capa de Mold, País de Gales (copyright: Trustees of the British Museum)

Faunas domésticas e rituais funerários em Alcácer do Sal (Idade do Ferro)

Domestic faunas and funeral rituals in Alcácer do Sal (Iron Age)

João Luís Cardoso

Universidade Aberta, UNIARQ - Centro de Arqueologia da Universidade de Lisboa e
Centro de Estudos Arqueológicos do Concelho de Oeiras (C.M.O.)
cardoso18@netvisao.pt

Ana Margarida Arruda

UNIARQ - Centro de Arqueologia da Universidade de Lisboa
a.m.arruda@letras.ulisboa.pt

Resumo

As escavações das décadas 20, 60 e 80 do século XX na necrópole da Idade do Ferro do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires, em Alcácer do Sal, as primeiras sob a responsabilidade de Vergílio Correia e as duas restantes dirigidas por António Cavaleiro Paixão, permitiram recolher um importante conjunto faunístico.

Os restos, variados quanto às espécies e no que diz respeito às partes do esqueleto representadas, foram recuperados quer no interior das sepulturas quer na área entre elas. A análise contextual que foi possível concretizar permite leituras acerca dos rituais praticados, que não se esgotam na clara evidência da prática de actividades que se relacionam com o consumo de alimentos na área da necrópole. Este consumo, que pode ter assumido o carácter de “banquete”, é aqui estudado, tendo em consideração as espécies consumidas, que são também abordadas na perspectiva de oferendas aos indivíduos sepultados.

Por outro lado, as características desta necrópole, cujos espólios e arquitectura evidenciam forte relação com o Mediterrâneo central e oriental, são determinantes na discussão das práticas de rituais orientais, no Extremo Ocidente, como as agora descritas.

Palavras-chave

Alcácer do Sal, necrópole, Idade do Ferro, fauna, banquete funerário.

Abstract

In the archaeological works carried out by Vergilio Correia and António Cavaleiro Paixão in the 20's and 60/80's decades of the last century an important faunal set was collected. The remains, of different species and of different parts of the carcasses, were recovered either inside the graves or in the area there between them. The contextual analysis allows interpretations about the rituals practiced, which are not only related with the consumption of food in the area of the necropolis. This consumption, which may have assumed the character of "feast", is here studied, taking into account the consumed species, also discussed in the context of offerings to the buried.

On the other hand, the characteristics of this necropolis, whose data (materials and architecture) show a strong relationship with the central and eastern Mediterranean, are crucial in the discussion of the practices of oriental rituals, in the Far West of the Mediterranean world.

Key words

Alcácer do Sal, necropolis, Iron Age, fauna, funerary feast.

I. Introdução: a necrópole do Senhor dos Mártires em Alcácer do Sal

Alcácer do Sal é um dos mais bem conhecidos sítios proto-históricos do território português. A sua importância, reconhecida internacionalmente, reside, justamente, na sua necrópole, descoberta no século XIX e escavada, extensivamente, nas décadas de 20, 60 e 80 do século passado, por Vergílio Coreia, primeiro (Correia 1925a; 1925b; 1925c; 1928; 1930a; 1930b), e António Cavaleiro Paixão, depois (Gamer-Wallert e Paixão 1983; Paixão 1970; 1971; 1982; 1983; 2014). Esta encontra-se directamente relacionada com o povoado correspondente, implantado sob o Castelo medieval (Silva et al. 1980-81), a qual se situa a Sudoeste daquele, estendendo-se até à margem direita do Sado, numa área com declive suave (Figs. 1, 2).

Existem outras áreas do actual núcleo urbano onde se detectaram importantes vestígios da Idade do Ferro, como a Rua do Rato (Arruda et al. no prelo) e o sub-solo do Museu Pedro Nunes (escavações de Marisol Ferreira).

Os espólios recolhidos na necrópole são abundantes e foram já publicados por diversas vezes e em sínteses diversas (por exemplo, Schüle 1969; Paixão 1971; 2014; Gamer-Wallert e Paixão 1983; Rouillard et al. 1988-89; Frankenstein 1997; Fabião 1998; Arruda 1999-2000; Arruda et al. 2015). Saliente-se a matriz orientalizante da sua cultura material, bem como a da própria arquitectura funerária (Arruda *idem*; 2000; 2004).

Neste contexto, importa recordar que à fase mais antiga de utilização deste espaço como necrópole, séculos VII-VI a.C., correspondem sepulturas em fossa rectangular (com e sem canal central, de incineração *in situ*) (Fig. 3) e sepulturas de incineração em *busta*, com a deposição em urna de tipo Cruz del Negro (Correia 1928; Paixão 1970; Fabião 1998; Arruda 1999-2000; 2000; 2004), mesmo que não seja ainda perceptível a relação estratigráfica entre estes dois tipos de sepultura. De qualquer modo, ambos estão bem documentados em necrópoles de idêntica cronologia e matriz cultural, de que a de Puig des Molins, em Ibiza (Gomez Bellard 1984; 1990; Gomez e Costa 2005), a de Cádis (Perdigones et al. 1990), a de Jardin (Schubart e Mass Lindemann 2007) e a de Villaricos (Siret 1907; Astruc 1951; Jiménez Flores 2002), se podem considerar excelentes exemplos.

Na fase mais tardia, do século IV a.C., as incinerações são exclusivamente em urna, tendo sido usadas com essa função os conhecidos krateres áticos de figuras vermelhas e muito possivelmente as *Pelikes* com a mesma origem (Pereira 1962; Rouillard et al. 1988-89). A filiação da maior parte do espólio que se pode associar a este momento tardio da necrópole é ainda, fundamentalmente, mediterrânea.

2. As evidências faunísticas e o seu significado ritual

Ainda que a visibilidade da necrópole do Senhor dos Mártires seja grande no panorama científico nacional e internacional, os dados faunísticos permaneceram inéditos, até ao momento.

A fauna recolhida é, em termos gerais, consideravelmente limitada do ponto de vista das espécies representadas, o que, de certa forma, contrasta com o observado no povoado correspondente, onde é mais diversificada, apesar de representada por ainda mais escasso número de exemplares, estando presentes espécies selvagens, como o veado e, possivelmente, o javali, a par de espécies domésticas, representadas por caprinos e bovinos (Cardoso 1995; 1996).

2.1. Inventário

982.58.80

0001 OSM 322

Bos taurus

- fragmento de úmero
- esquírola indeterminada com marca de corte

Sus cf. domesticus

- metade distal de úmero de pequenas dimensões, compatível com animal doméstico

T.F.IX

S-B

Q-g/10 m

20/11/80

Cf. *Canis familiaris* (?)

- diversos restos muito fragmentados inclassificáveis

OSM f81/54 3191-I

Bos taurus (Fig. 4)

- extremidade distal incompleta de fémur conservando-se parte da superfície articular
- três rótulas
- extremidade distal de úmero conservando parte da superfície articular, com marca de corte por cutelo, tendo-o seccionado totalmente
- diversos fragmentos de costelas
- diversos ossos inclassificáveis, com marcas de fogo

Sus cf. domesticus

- esquírolas com marcas de corte intencionais

3197 – 2 – vol OMS 576 TAI 25/35 cm

Cf. *Ovis aries/Capra hircus*

- diversas esquírolas com marcas de fogo e fendas de estalamento

T. F. IX S.B.A g/10 20/11/80

Cf. *Canis familiaris*

- fragmentos de diversos ossos inclassificáveis

2.9.80

T.F.X S.C. (geral) 200

- Conjunto de esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

3208 26/12/67 OMS 412

Talhão 3 (?) 8' entre 40 e 60 cm.

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

- concha de *Cerastoderma edule*

3212 vol. I AS 68 E-O OSM 626

15,80 – 19,10

Ovis aries/Capra hircus

- rádio

- esquírolas inclassificáveis

OMS 417 Talhão B-7' 40-60 da superfície 26/12/67

Ovis aries/Capra hircus

- dois astrágalos de pequenas dimensões

- esquírolas com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

- parte posterior de calcâneo de espécie indeterminada com marcas de fogo

Tf IX/X Q h/g; 10 -1,2

Interior da sepultura escavada na rocha

Bos taurus

- fragmento de astrágalo com estalamento por acção do fogo

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Cont. 3208

2 Sond. B.I 0 a 25 cm. 21/12/67 OMS 426 Terra castanha

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Sepultura 3 OMS 15 982.2.5 (Fig. 5)

Bos taurus

- duas extremidades distais de fémures com marcas de fogo de indivíduos diferentes

Ovis aries/Capra hircus

- astrágalo com marcas de fogo de indivíduo juvenil

- cúbito de pequeno tamanho de indivíduo juvenil, com a extremidade distal articular em falta

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Tj – IX S.A 9 ½ + ½ j/1,2 m.

Bos taurus

- esquírola de grande osso indeterminado

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Sepultura 3 29/10/80 Q 9/1,2 C – 3,39

Bos taurus

- dois astrágalos

Ovis aries/Capra hircus

- três astrágalos com marcas de fogo

30/10/80

NSM T F-X S.C. Q. C /2,3 Sepultura 24/80 C 3,46

Ovis aries/Capra hircus

- diáfises de úmero

- diáfise de tíbia
- astrágalo com fragmento da extremidade distal da tíbia ainda em conexão
- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Prolongamento Sul do Ustrinum que ladeia a Norte a sepultura dupla 19678 8/4/68

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Sond. D (N-S) 2° N 0-50 20/12/68

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

TG b) 40-860 2/4/1968

- esquírolas inclassificáveis (humanas e faunísticas) com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

TK 3 120-197 20/12/67

Sus cf. domesticus

- 1.ª falange de indivíduo sub-adulto com falta da epífise proximal

Oryctolagus cuniculus/Lepus sp.

- duas tibias
- esquírolas inclassificáveis sem marcas de fogo

Prolongamento Sul de TG parte oriental. Sup. 6/4/1968

- esquírolas inclassificáveis (humanas e faunísticas) com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

TK 12 de 50 -80 c,m da superfície de 28 29/12/67

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

2ª Son Sector al Terra castanha. 25 cm.

- esquírolas inclassificáveis (humanas e faunísticas) com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Talhão G/S SG H I 30-40 20/12/67

Conchas de *Scrobicularia plana*

Sem indicação

Bos taurus

- cabeça de fémur
- porção de metacárpico correspondente a parte distal da diáfise sem marcas de fogo
- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

TA I) 90-100 da superfície

Ovis aries/Capra hircus

- extremidade distal de úmero
- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Murete F (?) G. de 80 a 90 cm

Cabeceira da sep. (?) 3-4 1968

Bos taurus

- dois corpos vertebrais, um deles com corte diametral
- esquírolas inclassificáveis
- fragmentos de ossos longos inlcassficáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Prolongamento Sul de TO T.G I de c b de 30-60 cm. 08/04/1968

Terra castanha escura com laivos cinzentos.

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Prolongamento do Sul do talhão G-I sobre as pedras de protecção da sepultura (zona de cinzas), sobre os pés

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Prolongamento Sul do *Ustrinum* que ladeia a Norte a Sepultura dupla

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento
- fragmentos de ossos longos inclassificáveis

OSM 575 T.AI' 25-35 cm

- esquírolas inclassificáveis (indícios de fogo menos intensos que nos outros casos)

Sondagem G1 de 80 a 110 cm. Último estrato de cinzas antes de atingir a terra cozida que precede a Sep. G3A., 06/01/68

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

NSM T.F.X S.A, Q 9/I 7.II.80

Material obtido no rebaixamento da 1ª banqueta circular e acima do nível do cinzeiro.

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

N.S.M.T. F. – X S.A Q G/I,20 cm X: -;Y: -; C: 3,64

- fragmentos de ossos humanos e esquírolas indeterminadas

Sepultura II NSM TF X AS Q g,h,i 3

Bos taurus

- costelas indeterminadas do mesmo indivíduo, não havendo marcas de fogo (Fig. 6)

Ovis aries/Capra hircus

- calcâneo e astrágalo do mesmo indivíduo

STF X AS Q 9/I – 3 7/I/80 - 3

- esquírolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

STF – X MAS Q 9/I – 3 2.^a banqueta

Ovis aries/Capra hircus

- fragmento de coxal com estalamento por acção do fogo

STF – X AS Q 9/I – 3 7/II/80

Ovis aries/Capra hircus

- fémur, osso coxal e tíbia de indivíduo juvenil

- astrágalo, calcâneo e rótula, provavelmente do mesmo indivíduo anterior
- superfície articular proximal de tibia, do indivíduo a que pertencem os restos anteriores
- esquirolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

T.F.- IX SB Q g/9.10 Parte nascente

Bos taurus

- astrágalo seccionado intencionalmente a todo o comprimento com marcas de fogo
- duas porções de dois astrágilos de indivíduos diferentes
- astrágalo seccionado longitudinalmente na parte mediana

Ovis aries/Capra hircus

- fragmento de rádio com marcas de fogo
- esquirolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

NSM TG – X SBD Q e f 18.9 Ao pé da sepultura II. Acima deste nível X -; Y -; C 3,04

Ovis aries/Capra hircus (Figs. 7 e 8)

- diversos fragmentos de costelas
- diáfise de úmero, omoplata, cúbito com falta de epífise e rádio eventualmente com fractura antiga na parte média da diáfise e falta da epífise distal, de indivíduo subadulto, com vestígios de fogo.
- fragmento com superfície articular distal de úmero associado a porção de rádio, com evidentes sinais de fogo.

Cont. 3187 Vol 6 Murete FG – Canto Ocidental da sep. 95-110 cm

Ovis aries/Capra hircus

- Diáfise de úmero de juvenil sem marcas de fogo
- esquirolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

T.F – X-IX S. B/A Q-f-j/ 4.10-1.23 Camada de revestimento de + 70 cm

Fragmento de tróclea distal de metápodo de boi ou cavalo

Esquirolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Prolongamento Sul do *Ustrinum*, que ladeia a Norte a sepultura dupla OSM 692

- esquirolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Sondagem F 0-40 cm (e) OSM 2962

- esquirolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

NOSM 579

T.A 2' Sepultura a Sul. 120-130 cm. 1967. C. Paixão

- esquirolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

Prolongamento Sul do T.G. I 30-60 cm Camada de terra escura suprajacente à terra vermelha. 9/4/68

Bos taurus

- superfície articular de omoplata de indivíduo de grandes dimensões sem marcas de fogo

Ovis aries/capra hircus

- Metade anterior de fêmur de juvenil com falta da extremidade articular proximal

- metade distal de tíbia de juvenil, com falta da epífise distal compatível com o mesmo indivíduo anterior
- fragmento de astrágalo compatível com o indivíduo anterior
- esquirolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

T. G. – XI S.A. Q ½ f /2 j

Ovis aries/Capra hircus

- fragmento de 3.º molar superior
- esquirolas inclassificáveis com intensas marcas de fogo e estalamento

No conjunto, avultam os restos de boi doméstico, representados por porções dos membros anterior e posterior, a par de restos do esqueleto axial, com exceção do crânio. Situação semelhante observa-se para os resos de caprinos (ovelha e cabra), onde são quase exclusivos, igualmente, os ossos longos do esqueleto apendicular e elementos do esqueleto axial. Faltam as extremidades dos membros (falanges), por certos elementos com pouco interesse nos rituais de comensalidade ou como oferta funerária, contrastando com a abundância de astrágalos, tanto de boi doméstico, como de caprinos, por vezes seccionados longitudinalmente ou polidos, relacionados com manipulações de carácter propiciatório.

É de destacar a ausência de fauna caçada, com exceção de escassos restos de coelho e/ou lebre e ainda a ocorrência excepcional de moluscos, representados por espécies existentes localmente, no rio Sado, o berbigão (*Cerastoderma edule*), e a lamejinha (*Scrobicularia plana*), que assim fariam também parte das oferendas ao morto, ou do próprio banquete funerário.

Enfim, a presença provável do cão doméstico, bem como a do porco doméstico, deve ser valorizada, por razões diversas, como será adiante justificado.

2. 2. Significado ritual

Os dados faunísticos da necrópole do Senhor dos Mártires devem ser valorizados tendo em consideração os seus contextos específicos de recolha, correspondentes a deposições em sepulturas ou no espaço exterior às mesmas, parecendo evidente que ambas as situações deverão ter leituras diversas. De facto, os espólios arqueológicos recolhidos em necrópoles que não podem ser abordados em bloco, uma vez que é necessário distinguir entre aqueles que correspondiam aos artefactos que o defunto usava ele próprio no momento do seu funeral, os que tinham sido depositados junto dele pelos que o acompanharam nas exequias, e os que foram utilizados por estes últimos durante a cerimónia fúnebre. Por outro lado, convém não perder de vista que os restos faunísticos identificados podem ser interpretados como o resultado das oferendas destinadas ao próprio morto, mas também corresponder a actividades de tipo sacrificial, podendo, igualmente, traduzir rituais de *simposia*, ou ainda significar culto continuado, ao longo dos anos, praticado pela família.

A fauna que pôde ser associada a sepulturas concretas tem especificidades próprias, que devemos distinguir da que foi recuperada no espaço exterior, mas anexo às sepulturas.

No primeiro dos casos, é notório o bom estado de conservação dos ossos, sobretudo dos que correspondem a bovídeos, ainda que alguns dos restos apresentem evidentes sinais de exposição ao fogo, correspondendo a marcas de estalamento. Parece tratar-se de porções de considerável dimensão. Segundo Vergílio Correia (1928), a fauna concentrava-se num dos topo das sepulturas, estando colocada sobre o espólio.

Tratando-se de sepulturas em que o rito praticado era a incineração *in situ*, tudo indica que os animais ou parte deles eram depositados junto do cadáver antes da cremação, sendo a incineração conjunta. Aliás, sabe-se que com o espólio cerâmico e metálico, a mesma situação se verificou. Esta realidade não é rara em ambientes sepulcrais peninsulares, tendo sido documentada em várias necrópoles de idêntica cronologia e filiação cultural, como as do sul da Andaluzia (Jiménez Flores 2002).

A fauna encontrada no interior das sepulturas pode ser considerada como evidência das oferendas alimentares feitas ao defunto pelos familiares, explicação que é habitualmente atribuída a este e a outros tipos de restos, como é o caso de alguns vasos cerâmicos que os podiam conter. Esta situação é bem conhecida em várias cronologias, desde pelo menos o Neolítico, encontrando-se reportada também no território português.

Contudo, não podemos deixar de referir também que outros ritos podem justificar esta realidade, concretamente o da prática de sacrifícios, como já foi proposto para as cabras da sepultura II da necrópole de Jardín (Jiménez Flores 2002: 234) e da zona D da de Puente de Noy (*Ibidem*: 235). A mesma hipótese foi considerada para os mamíferos e aves de várias sepulturas de Villarcos (*Ibidem*: 237). Porém, nos casos acima indicados, os esqueletos encontram-se bastante completos, ainda que em Alcácer do Sal o estado fragmentário se possa justificar pela deposição de apenas uma parte do animal sacrificado num ritual funerário bem conhecido, em vários cenários durante a Antiguidade. Lembre-se que o sacrifício de animais foi praticado no mundo antigo, quer, em ambiente greco-latino, quer no de raiz semita, ainda que, como se sabe, não exclusivamente em contextos funerários, mas sempre ocupando papel de relevo em actividades de carácter ritual (Lipinski 1995: 466). Concretamente para o Mediterrâneo de matriz fenícia contamos com as preciosas informações contidas nas “tarifas púnicas” de Cartago e Marselha (Guzzo 1993), que estão de acordo com o que se pode deduzir do Antigo Testamento e dos textos sírios do II milénio a.C. (Niveau 2009: 195) e no que está também bem explícito em alguma iconografia do *tophet* de Cartago (Benichou-Safar 1982).

No que concerne à realização deste ritual em ambientes sepulcrais, contamos com dados arqueológicos da Península Ibérica, onde, para além dos casos já citados, surgiram evidências igualmente em Cádiz (Niveau 2006; 2009), suportadas também por dados textuais. Arriano refere que em Cartago se ofereciam sacrifícios sobre as sepulturas (*Lib.*, 84 e 89), prática que permanece até momentos tardios na própria Fenícia, como se deduz do texto de Luciano (*Dea Syria*, 6).

O distinto significado da ocorrência de restos faunísticos quer em santuários quer em necrópoles fenício-púnicas ocidentais foi questão já discutida a propósito do estudo das necrópoles dos arredores de Cartago. Com efeito, síntese recentemente apresentada é muito clara a tal respeito, merecendo por isso larga transcrição, até por os considerandos expostos se aplicarem sem dificuldade à necrópole sadina:

“Pour la survie symbolique du défunt, des aliments solides et liquides étaient mises à sa disposition dans la tombe. Ce rituel d’offrandes est établi à Carthage et dans les villes phénico-punitiques dès le VIIe. S.av.J.-C. Mais la question qui se pose, c’est de savoir s’il s’agit d’offrande alimentaire destinée au mort ou des restes d’un repas funéraire ou alors des restes d’un sacrifice funéraire? Il est difficile de répondre avec certitude à ces questions, mais nous supposons comme d’autres chercheurs, que l’offrande ne devait pas nourrir le corps du cadavre, mais son âme. D’ailleurs, les formes de céramique fermées, telles que les amphores, les cruches et les oenochoés trouvés à l’intérieur des tombes ont été destinés à contenir des offrandes liquides probablement de l’eau qui constitue une source de vie, alors que les offrandes solides étaient déposées dans des formes ouvertes. Donc, cette vaisselle en terre cuite constituait dans les croyances des Puniques,

des objects utilitaires pour la survie du mort" (Khelifi 2014: 583).

O carácter ritual atribuído aos restos faunísticos de bovinos e de caprinos encontrados nas sepulturas de Alcácer do Sal ganha ainda mais significado se tivermos em consideração que, no âmbito Mediterrâneo, durante a Idade do Ferro, os touros, enquanto símbolos de poder e de prosperidade, se tornaram animais sagrados, estando representados em ambientes cultuais de natureza diversa, sob formas muito diversificadas, mas sempre em artefactos carregados de carga simbólica. Para o actual território português, podiam referir-se as tampas de *thymiateria* alentejanas, ou a peça recentemente identificada na necrópole de Cinco Reis 5 na área de Beringel (Arruda, no prelo). O significado de uns e de outros parece, contudo, distinto, tudo indicando que os bovinos de bronze tentam encenar uma realidade sacrificial (Jiménez Ávila 2000: 341), atendendo ao facto de pertencerem a artefactos associados ao fumo e, por outro lado, à própria atitude (boca aberta, língua pendente), insinuando-se uma relação preferencial com actividades rituais, tipo sacrificial (*Ibidem*). No caso de Cinco Reis 8, o sentido iconológico parece ser outro, podendo estar relacionado com a representação de uma divindade, eventualmente oriental (Arruda 2016).

A relevância do touro associado a actividades rituais é particularmente visível na necrópole de Alcácer do Sal, onde, a par dos restos faunísticos existe a sua representação figurativa, em cerâmica, quer no interior das sepulturas quer no exterior, havendo um exemplar intacto (Fig. 9). Outros existiriam, uma vez que Vergílio Correia faz referência a vários fragmentos (Correia 1928), dos quais pelo menos uma pata se encontra em depósito no MNA. Neste caso concreto, e ainda que as formas do ritual sejam distintas, quer no suporte quer na própria organização dos ritos que elas indiciam, o significado parece ser um único, remetendo os restos de bovinos das sepulturas e os elementos coroplásticos que foram encontrados no seu interior e também no espaço adjacente, para sacrifícios rituais, os primeiros, e para a sua encenação, os segundos.

Refira-se a este propósito que, também em Alcácer do Sal, mas na área do Castelo, o santuário escavado por A. Cavaleiro Paixão e João Carlos Faria, datável entre o século IV/III a.C., ofereceu vários ex-votos, de bronze, que representam touros (Paixão 2001; Gomes 2009), evidenciando o valor simbólico do animal, bem como a sua associação a actividades de carácter religioso. Mas torna-se difícil sustentar que tais peças representem a própria divindade, até porque estão acompanhadas de muitas outras de igual tipologia, matéria prima e funcionalidade, onde as figuras humanas (masculinas e femininas) e ainda as de outros animais (canídeos e equídeos) são numerosas. A presença de estes ex-votos, que traduz devoção, pode tentar reproduzir a consagração à entidade cultuada de sacrifícios cruentes, pelo menos no que se refere aos taurinos.

Os contextos (interior das sepulturas) e sobretudo as evidências da exposição ao fogo de muitos destes restos de bovinos (que terão sido incinerados conjuntamente com o corpo do defunto) tornam difícil a sua interpretação no âmbito da actividade do "banquete funerário", propriamente dito, apesar de não ser impossível pensar que o animal sacrificado pudesse ter sido, posteriormente, consumido pelos intervenientes no funeral, e uma sua porção, eventualmente sempre a mesma, fosse colocada junto do cadáver.

O interior das sepulturas continha peças inexistentes nos espaços exteriores. Trata-se de um conjunto expressivo de astrágulos, quer de bovinos, quer de caprinos. Neste caso, a interpretação é, apesar de tudo, mais clara. Lembramos que a recolha de astrágulos não é rara em ambientes sepulcrais da Idade do Ferro, quer no Oriente, onde são abundantíssimos, quer no Mediterrâneo Central, como é o caso de Cartago (Lancel 1982 *apud* in Almagro Gorbea 2008: 483). Na necrópole de época púnica de Útica, dita "de la Berge", foi recolhida na sepultura I, do século IV/III a.C., um astrágalo polido atribuído a bovino. Na Península Ibérica, foram identificados nas necrópoles do Sudeste e do Levante e nas do vale do Guadalquivir, como Cruz del Negro, e ainda na Extremadura, concretamente em Medellín

(Almagro Gorbea 2008: 483). Nesta mesma região, conjuntos significativos de astrágalos foram também identificados em contextos sacros, nomeadamente em Cancho Roano (Maluquer 1981: 365) e em La Mata (Rodríguez Dias 2004). Na Rua do Rato, Alcácer do Sal, também considerado um santuário, foram igualmente recolhidos astrágalos de caprinos polidos nas faces laterais (Arruda et al. no prelo). Aliás, estas peças possuem larga diacronia, que em contexto mediterrâneo ascendem pelo menos ao século IX a.C., como indicam os exemplares recolhidos em contexto fenício no Corte 20 de Útica, Tunísia (Cardoso et al. 2016).

Cabe referir que, em contexto continental europeu, exemplares homólogos foram encontrados nas necrópoles de campos de urnas da Europa Central (Wiesner 2013), sublinhando assim a vasta distribuição geográfica e diversidade de culturas a que estas peças estão associadas, apesar da sua especificidade.

Os astrágalos têm vindo a ser conectados com a adivinhação, prática que parece ter sido importada do Oriente, o que justifica o seu aparecimento recorrente em contextos funerários e sacros. A reprodução de astrágalos em bronze, foi já documentada, por exemplo na Sicília (Spatafora e Vassalo 2002: 71-72, fig. 133c), e reforça essa sua dimensão simbólica, bem como a sua própria funcionalidade. Também nas necrópoles de Cartago se recolheram reproduções miniaturizadas de astrágalos, utilizados como pendentes, de carácter propiciatório.

Já foi proposto que outros contextos de recolha traduzam funcionalidades de tipo doméstico (raspagem de peles), sobretudo quando muito polidos nas faces posterior e anterior. É o que poderia defender-se para alguns exemplares de Útica, ou de Monte Molião (Detry e Arruda 2013), estes últimos de época romana, apesar das actividades lúdicas estarem também relacionadas com estes artefactos, desde a Antiguidade até aos nossos dias.

Estes dados, a que se juntam outros que, de acordo com as indicações que podemos colher nas etiquetas onde estavam contidos, estavam directamente associados a sepulturas, permitem afirmar que a maior parte dos restos faunísticos devem ser interpretados no quadro de actividades rituais, como é o caso dos restos de caprinos, e por que corresponderiam a oferendas funerárias, o que explica o seu estado de conservação, enquanto outros, como os astrágalos, devem ser interpretados no âmbito simbólico.

A fauna identificada nas áreas anexas às sepulturas é também abundante, sendo as espécies identificadas as mesmas, bovinos e caprinos, sendo os fragmentos ósseos de pequena dimensão, alguns com marcas de estalamento por acção do fogo. Neste caso, é provável que se trate de oferendas colocadas junto das piras funerárias e assim inteiramente consumidos pelo fogo. Ainda assim, e como já tivemos oportunidade de referir anteriormente, tais restos poderiam pertencer a animais cujas partes, para além de oferendas, poderiam ser destinadas a sacrifícios cruentes desenvolvidos durante o funeral, antecedendo o seu consumo em banquetes rituais pelos membros da comunidade.

3. Discussão

São escassos os elementos comparáveis susceptíveis de enquadrar a realidade identificada na necrópole de Alcácer do Sal. Os restos faunísticos resultantes de sacrifícios de animais recolhidos no nurague de Genna Maria di Villanovaforu pertencem a época muito distinta do conjunto em apreço, situando-se entre os séculos IV a.C. e VII d.C., pelo que é escasso o seu interesse comparativo (Fonzo e Vigne 1993). Em Malta, o santuário fenício-púnico de Tas Silg, continha uma bacia para ablucções, a qual foi colmatada entre a segunda metade do século II e o século I a.C. (Mazzorin e Battafarano 2012), pelo que se afigura abusivo estabelecer comparações com o conjunto agora em estudo. Mais

importante para o fim em vista é o conjunto faunístico recolhido nos níveis púnicos da área B situada no exterior do templo (Corrado, Bonanno e Vella 2002). A formação do depósito, que continha elevado número de fragmentos de recipientes, dos quais 16% tinham colagem, foi atribuída a acção intencional relacionada directamente com as práticas rituais ali realizadas. Com efeito, a liturgia semita obrigava a cozinhar e consumir os animais sacrificados no próprio local da celebração, prescrevendo a ulterior prática de destruir o recipiente utilizado e enterrando os fragmentos com os restos alimentares e as cinzas (Niveau 2006). Os caprinos eram de longe os animais mais abundantes, com 96% dos restos identificados. Os 4% remanescentes correspondiam a restos de bovino, embora outros sectores da escavação se tenha registado a presença de porco. Tal predominância está de acordo com o ambiente natural da ilha de Malta, rochoso e semi-árido. A predominância de caprinos expressa, por outro lado, a sua utilização maioritária, em rituais sacrificiais de época fenício-púnica. Com efeito, a placa (tarifa) de Marselha, afixada no santuário ali existente, menciona frequentemente aqueles dois animais (Guzzo 1988). Neste santuário encontram-se presentes todos os segmentos anatómicos, visto as carcaças serem esquartejadas *in loco*, sendo depois ali mesmo consumidas, como parte intrínseca do ritual. Marcas de fogo observam-se apenas nas partes do animal sacrificado dedicado à divindade; dada a baixa percentagem de restos ósseos com tais marcas (apenas 2% do total), a possibilidade admitida pelos autores é a de tais oferendas corresponderem às partes moles, sendo as restantes consumidas exclusivamente em cozidos. Tal realidade possui a confirmação no Levítico, como a forma mais frequente de consumir a carne (Guzzo 1988: 105).

Geograficamente mais próxima é a gruta-santuário púnica de Es Culleram (Eivissa).

Também aqui é nítida a predominância de restos de caprinos; apenas se reconheceu um osso de bovino e nenhum de suíno, aproximando-se assim estes resultados dos observados na necrópole em análise neste trabalho. Ao contrário do observado em Malta, todos os restos cranianos de caprinos ostentavam marcas de fogo, prova de que seria aquela a parte da carcaça oferecida à divindade, podendo-se intuir que a cabeça seria queimada no altar (Morales Pérez 2003; 2013). O esqueleto pós-craniano está representado por todos os seus segmentos anatómicos, indicado o sacrifício do animal inteiro, ulteriormente esquartejado pelos ofertantes e pelos sacerdotes. Quanto à forma como estas partes seriam consumidas, as abundantes marcas de fogo observadas (por exemplo, dos 22 restos de rádio, 10 ostentam marcas de fogo), indicam a importância dos “churrascos”, o que é compatível com as escassas evidências de extracção da medula óssea. Tanto no templo maltês, como nesta gruta-santuário, e à semelhança do observado na necrópole de Alcácer do Sal, o porco está ausente, ou quase. Esta realidade tem paralelo nas listas de animais das tarifas sacrificiais de templos fenício-púnicos, onde não consta tal espécie, o mesmo se verificando nas fontes escritas clássicas sobre os animais que os povos semíticos podiam comer, sendo os autores unâimes relativamente ao porco.

No entanto, este preceito encontra-se por vezes contrariado, mesmo em contextos de carácter ritual: na Fossa 2625 de El Carambolo, da transição do século VIII para o século VII a.C., os 783 restos identificados foram reportados a três bois, dois porcos, sete ovelhas e um coelho; no conjunto proveniente da fossa escavada por Mata Carriazo em 1958 no mesmo sítio arqueológico, cuja exploração se concluiu em 2002, cerca de 100 anos mais recente do que a Fossa 2625, o porco mantinha-se presente, sendo ambas as estruturas atribuídas a um depósito onde se acumularam os restos das oferendas realizadas no santuário, variando a importância relativa dos bovinos e dos caprinos nos dois conjuntos (Bernáldez Sánchez et al. 2010).

No poço púnico HX-I de l’Hort d’en Xim, Ibiza (Saña 1994), destinado à captação de água, e cuja cronologia do enchimento se situa na segunda metade do século III a.C., o porco apresenta-se como a espécie representada pelo maior número de restos, sendo a segunda o cão doméstico, possuindo alguns exemplares marcas de corte. A inusitada abundância do cão doméstico sugere que o enchimento do

poço, perdido o seu carácter funcional, pode ter adquirido um carácter ritual, ou aproveitado materiais de enchimento resultantes de rituais realizados na sua envolvência.

A presença de cão doméstico, espécie representada residualmente na necrópole do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires, é bem conhecida em contextos fenício-púnicos peninsulares que ultrapassam o simples estatuto de animal de companhia ou de trabalho. É conhecido na Península Ibérica desde o Mesolítico (Detry e Cardoso 2010), sempre representado por um número escasso de restos, em função do papel específico desempenhado pela espécie no seio das respectivas comunidades humanas. As marcas de corte por vezes observadas, como nos restos do Cerro da Rocha Branca, Silves (Cardoso 1993), são frequentemente relacionadas com sacrifícios, e não com o consumo primário da espécie, embora seja aceitável o seu consumo ritual (Cardoso e Gomes 1997). Com efeito, já o esqueleto mesolítico do Cabeço da Arruda, Muge, evidencia marcas de violência que estiveram na origem da morte, a menos que tenham sido provocadas *post-mortem* (Detry e Cardoso 2010). Tais práticas prolongaram-se no tempo. Um dos exemplos mais importantes foi recentemente identificado num contexto do Bronze Pleno do interior peninsular (Liesau, Esparza Arroyo e Sánchez Polo 2014). Tais evidências são abundantes em contextos fenício-púnicos peninsulares, associadas a práticas rituais envolvendo sacrifícios de cães (Cardoso e Gomes 1997; Niveau e Ferrer 2004; Niveau 2008). Os escassos restos agora identificados na necrópole do Senhor dos Mártires não exibem quaisquer marcas, o que não significa que não tivessem sido objecto de sacrifício ritual.

A outra espécie que se encontra residualmente representada na necrópole do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires é o porco/javali, contrastando, sobretudo, com os dados conhecidos de sítios domésticos fenício-púnicos, onde são em geral mais abundantes. Assim, enquanto na necrópole Villaricos (Almería) foi reconhecida a presença do cavalo, coelho, caprinos e bovinos, mas nenhum resto de porco (Castaños 1994; Riquelme 2001), já na correspondente área urbana daquela cidade, identificou-se a presença de porco/javali, em níveis do século V e VI a.C. (Cardoso 2011). Tal realidade é compatível com a observada em diversos sítios orientalizantes de carácter habitacional como Santarém, no Baixo Tejo (Davis 2006), Almaraz, Almada (Barros, Cardoso e Sabrosa 1993), no estuário do Tejo, o santuário-palácio de Abul (Cardoso 2000), no estuário do Sado, ou o Cerro da Rocha Branca (Cardoso 1993), no antigo estuário do Arade, e possui ainda paralelos em contextos fenícios andaluzes: notou-se a preferência pelo consumo de suínos imaturos no Castillo de Doña Blanca, atingindo 4,7% do número total de restos identificados (Morales et al. 1994); no Cerro del Villar, em Toscanos, e no Cerro de la Tortuga, o porco é igualmente abundante (Riquelme 2001, Tabla 1).

Em conclusão, os dados faunísticos agora estudados indicam, no respeitante à presença residual do porco/javali, uma prática não muito distinta da observada na maioria dos contextos funerários e rituais fenício-púnicos do ocidente do Mediterrâneo, contrastando com os correspondentes sítios de carácter doméstico, onde a ocorrência de restos de suídeos, domésticos ou selvagens é bem conhecida.

Assim, na necrópole do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires encontra-se documentada a prática de uma actividade ritual pública centrada quase exclusivamente no consumo de bovinos e caprinos, em banquetes funerários, a par da sua utilização como oferendas aos mortos, a qual parece poder relacionar-se com o orientalismo de que se reveste a quase totalidade do espólio funerário e a própria arquitectura da necrópole.

De facto, é no Oriente que tais práticas melhor se documentam, pelo menos ao nível textual, que serão transportadas para o Mediterrâneo Central e para o Ocidente pelos colonizadores fenícios, como foi evidenciado no Norte de África (Benichou-Safar 1982: 278ss.), na Sardenha e na Sicília (Spanò-Giannellaro 2004) e na Península Ibérica (Ramos Sáinz 1990; Jiménez Flores 1994; 2000; Niveau 2009), tendo-se prolongado até pelo menos ao século III a.C., pelo menos em Cartago (Guzzo 1993).

As informações que o Antigo Testamento transmite não deixam dúvidas sobre a existência da

prática do banquete, aliás severamente criticada no “texto sagrado”.

Em Salmos, em Jeremias, em Isaías e no Levítico existem referências a práticas de banquetes fúnebres que existiram no Próximo Oriente, ainda que fossem severamente criticadas pelos textos bíblicos, como já foi devidamente explicitado (Xella 1991: 106 e ss; Jiménez Flores 1994: 128-129; 2002).

Em alguns textos sírios e babilónicos do II milénio a.C. (Nuzi, Ebla, Mari y Ugarit) também existem referências aos banquetes funerários.

No que se refere aos textos sírios, a prática de um ritual funerário que inclui um banquete está descrita e é aceite. Nas tabuínhas de Mari, por exemplo, o *Kispum* (como é referido) pode descrever-se como: «o dever dos familiares que permaneciam vivos de, sob a responsabilidade do membro mais importante da família, ocupar-se do que se pode chamar *culto dos mortos*: um pouco de água, vertida de vez em quando sobre a sepultura, juntamente com alguns restos de alimentos e, no final de cada mês, no momento em que a lua desaparecia e, de alguma forma, morria, uma refeição em família que se chamava *kispum* (em acádio a palavra alude a «repartição de comida»).

A relação entre o cuidado com os defuntos e a dádiva de comida é muito estreita, como pode observar-se no seguinte texto, um conjuro mágico encontrado em Mari: «X, que jaz morto sobre o leito, filho de Z, morto que jaz na sepultura. X: invoquei o teu nome juntamente com os restantes defuntos durante o *kispum*. Entrando agora em tua casa me encarreguei de verificar se te alimentavam: ofereci um *kispum* aos teus familiares [...]» (LKA 83,1-10).

Ainda na cidade de Mari, a prática do *kispum* está bem documentada graças aos textos administrativos, em que se indicam as oferendas dedicadas provavelmente aos «reis» ou aos membros da família real.

Outro termo que parece, pelo menos em parte, comprometido com os banquetes funerários é o de *Marzhea*, vocábulo que aparece nos textos do Oriente Médio ao longo de mais de três milénios, desde o III milénio a.C. até ao século VI d.C., entre eles em Ebla, em Emar e sobretudo em Ugarit, cidade em que, na sua última fase (ca. 1500-1200 a.C.), foram encontrados os textos (ca. 1370-1200 a.C.), em distintos arquivos que continham material literário ou textos administrativos e diplomáticos (Jiménez Flores 1994: 127 e ss).

Nestes textos, o vocábulo *Marzhea* encontra-se escrito em Acádio ou no dialecto próprio da cidade (Lipiński 1995).

No Oriente, as necrópoles que comprovam a existência do banquete funerário não abundam. Contudo, nas recentes escavações arqueológicas de Tiro Al Bass, Maria Eugenia Aubet e colaboradores encontraram abundantes vestígios faunísticos e restos de vasos em redor e sobre as sepulturas, parecendo estar documentada a prática descrita nos textos (Aubet 2015; Aubet et al. 2004).

A colonização fenícia para Ocidente transportou também rituais funerários, havendo dados que comprovam a prática de banquetes funerários.

É por exemplo o caso da necrópole de Nora, antiga colónia fenícia da Sardenha, onde, segundo Cícero, no século I a. C. se celebrava uma festa em honra dos defuntos (*Parentalia*).

Os estudos sobre as necrópoles fenícias do litoral de Málaga confirmam tais afirmações, dado que há aqui, como em nenhum outro lugar arqueológico, dados importantes sobre a prática do banquete funerário.

Em primeiro lugar, verifica-se que os mortos estão acompanhados por um conjunto ritual que reproduz, em grande parte, a cerimónia fúnebre oriental: lucernas, ânforas, jarras trilobadas, jarros de boca de cogumelo, recipientes para comida, que podem ser pratos de engobe vermelho, e vasos para beber. Na necrópole de Trayamar (Niemeyer e Schubart 1976), estes últimos, bem como as ânforas, apareceram quer no interior da câmara (*ibidem*), indicando a prática do banquete numa fase imediatamente posterior à deposição do cadáver (Ramos 1990; Jiménez Flores 1994). Tratar-se-ia de prática efectuada no exterior da sepultura (*ibidem*, *ibidem*), hipótese que contraria a que foi colocada

pelos próprios escavadores (Niemeyer e Schubart 1976), mas que parece a mais plausível no quadro actual dos nossos conhecimentos. Ainda na costa de Málaga, os dados da necrópole de Jardín não se diferenciam, substancialmente dos obtidos nos hipogeus comentados anteriormente (Mass-Lindemann 1995), tal como, aliás, os recuperados em Puente de Noy, em Almuñecar (Molina e Huertas 1983).

Nas necrópoles de Cádis, apareceram restos de atum e ossos de animais, junto ao crânio do defunto (Niveau 2009), mas a maior parte das evidências directas documentaram-se no exterior dos enterramentos, ainda que estejam conectados com eles (*ibidem*). São restos que aparecem junto das sepulturas, sobre as suas coberturas, ou nas suas proximidades, geralmente dentro da fossa funerária, depositados quando o enterramento se fecha (*ibidem*).

Uma vez que os restos orgânicos aparecem misturados com materiais cerâmicos fragmentados de forma intencional, estes vestígios têm vindo a ser considerados como evidência de banquetes funerários, que teriam lugar em momento imediatamente posterior ao encerramento da sepultura (*ibidem*).

4. Síntese conclusiva

Os dados que analisámos da necrópole do Senhor dos Mártires de Alcácer do Sal não deixam dúvidas sobre as oferendas de carne, bem como o consumo de alimentos, no espaço sepulcral.

Os restos de fauna encontrados quer no interior das sepulturas quer no seu espaço exterior, configuram um conjunto de situações que remetem para a existência de complexos processos rituais, revestidos de simbologia mediterrânea, de que os sacrifícios cruentes e a comensalidade são parte importante.

Sendo quase exclusivos os restos de bovinos e de caprinos, à semelhança do que se verifica nos espaços funerários e rituais do Mediterrâneo ocidental, não deixa de ser interessante a ocorrência residual de restos de cão doméstico, cujo cunho ritual é evidente, sendo por muitos exemplos comparáveis; a presença de porco/javali é igualmente residual, o que se encontra igualmente sublinhado em consonância com a realidade observada nas escassas necrópoles fenício-púnicas e em alguns espaços sacralizados daquela época.

Os rituais a que estes restos se encontravam associados têm, nos últimos anos, sido interpretados no quadro teórico do pós-processualismo, que, como sabemos, dá uma particular importância a este tipo de situações com pesadas cargas simbólicas (Dietler 1996; 2001; Haydeen 1996; 2001). A comensalidade praticada num momento carregado de forte emoção, como é a morte, pode, efectivamente, produzir o cenário perfeito para, por um lado, criar vínculos com os antepassados, e, por outro, gerar uma memória social indispensável à própria coesão da comunidade. Serviu também para criar identidades e sentidos, e justificar, naturalizando-as, as ideologias dominantes.

Bibliografia

- ARRUDA, A. M. (1999-2000) – *Los fenicios en Portugal: Fenicios y mundo indígena en el centro y sur de Portugal*. Cuadernos de Estudios Mediterráneos. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra.
- ARRUDA, A. M. (2000) – Práticas e rituais no Sul de Portugal durante a Proto-História. In *Actas do 3º Congresso de Arqueología Peninsular*. Porto:ADECAP, 5, p. 101-108.
- ARRUDA, A. M. (2004) – Necrópoles proto-históricas do Sul de Portugal. In *El Mundo Funerario. Actas del III Seminario Internacional sobre temas fenicios*. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, p. 457-494.
- ARRUDA, A. M., FERREIRA, M., SOUSA, E., LOURENÇO, P e LIMA, J. (no prelo) – Contributos para o

conhecimento da Idade do Ferro de Alcácer do Sal: os dados da Rua do Rato. In *1º encontro de Arqueologia de Alcácer do Sal*. Alcácer do Sal: Câmara Municipal de Alcácer do Sal.

ARRUDA, A. M.; LOURENÇO, P.; LIMA, J. (2015) – Bronces fenicios en Portugal: a propósito del hallazgo de un jarro piriforme en la necrópolis do Senhor dos Mártires (Alcácer do Sal). In JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, J. (Ed.) – *Phoenician bronzes in Mediterranean*. Madrid, p. 447-456.

BÉNICHOU-SAFAR, H. (1982) – *Les tumbes puniques de Carthage. Topographie, structures, inscriptions et rites funéraires*. Paris.

BERNALDEZ SÁNCHEZ, E., GARCÍA-VINAS, E., ONTIVEROS ORTEGA, E., GÓMEZ MORÓN, A., OCAÑA GARCÍA de VEAS, A. (2010) – Del mar al basurero: una historia de costumbres. In: BANDERA ROMERO, M. L., FERRER ALBELDA, E. (Eds.), *El Carambolo. 50 años de un tesoro*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, p. 345-385.

CARDOSO, J. L. (1993) – Contribuição para o conhecimento da alimentação em contexto fenício. Estudo dos restos da Rocha Branca (Silves). *Estudos Orientais*. 4, p. 109-126.

CARDOSO, J. L. (1995) – Fenícios e indígenas em Rocha Branca, Abul, Alcácer do Sal, Almaraz e Santarém. Estudo comparado dos mamíferos. In: AUBET-SEMMLER, M. E., BARTHELEMY, M. (coords), *Actas IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Fenicios y Punicos (Cádiz, 1995)*. I. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, p. 319-327.

CARDOSO, J. L. (1996) – Bases de subsistência em povoados do Bronze Final e da Idade do Ferro do território português. O testemunho dos mamíferos. In: *De Ulisses a Viriato. O primeiro milénio a.C.* Lisboa: Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, p. 160-170.

CARDOSO, J. L. (2000) – Les mammifères d'Abul. In: MAYET, F., SILVA, C. T. (eds.), *L'Établissement phénicien d'Abul (Portugal)*. Paris : Diffusion De Boccard, p. 281-291.

CARDOSO, J. L. (2011) – A fauna de mamíferos de Villaricos: materiais recolhidos na campanha de 1987. In: LÓPEZ CASTRO, J. L., MARTÍNEZ HAHNMULLER, V., MOYA COBOS, L., PARDO BARRIONUEVO, C., *Baria I Excavaciones arqueológicas en Villaricos. La excavación de urgencia de 1987*. Almería: Editorial Universidad de Almería, p. 145-150.

CARDOSO, J. L., GOMES, M. V. (1997) – O consumo de cão, em contextos fenício-púnicos, no território português. *Estudos Orientais*. 6, p. 89-117.

CARDOSO, J. L.; LÓPEZ CASTRO, J. L.; FERJAOUI, A.; MEDEROS MARTÍN, A.; MARTÍNEZ HAHNMULLER, V. e JERBANIA, I. (2016) – What the people of Utica (Tunisia) ate in the 9th century BC. *Zooarchaeology of a North African early Phoenician settlement*. *Journal of Archaeological Science*.

CASTAÑOS, P. (1994) – Estudio de la fauna de la necrópolis de Villaricos (Almería). *Archaeofauna*. 3, p. 1-12.

CORRADO, A., BONANNO, A. & N. C. VELLA (2004) - Bones and bowls: preliminary interpretation of the faunal remains from the Punic levels in Area B, at the temple of Tas-Silg, Malta. In S. JONES O'DAY; S. W. VAN NEER & A. ERVYNCK (eds), *Behaviour behind bones: the zooarchaeology of ritual, statues and identity*. Oxford: Oxbow: 47-53.

CORREIA, V. (1925a) – Um amuleto egípcio da necrópole de Alcácer do Sal. *Terra Portuguesa*. 5, 41, p. 90-93.

CORREIA, V. (1925b) – Uma conferência sobre a necrópole de Alcácer do Sal. *Biblos*. I (7), p. 347-363.

CORREIA, V. (1925c) – Fechos de cinturão da necrópole de Alcácer do Sal. *Biblos*. I (6), p. 319-326.

CORREIA, V. (1928) – Escavações realizadas na necrópole de Alcácer do Sal em 1926 e 1927. *O Instituto*. 75, p. 190-201.

CORREIA, V. (1930a) – Alcácer do Sal. Esboço de uma monografia. *Biblos*. I (7), p. 40-59.

CORREIA, V. (1930b) – As fíbulas da necrópole de Alcácer do Sal. *Biblos*. 6 (7-8), p. 504-509.

DAVIS, S. J. (2006) – *Faunal remains from Alcáçova de Santarém, Portugal*. Lisboa: Instituto Português de Arqueologia.

DE GROSSI MAZZORIN, J., BATTAFARANO, M. (2012) – I resti faunistici provenienti dagli scavi di Tas-Silg a Malta: testimonianze di pratiche rituali. In: DE GROSSI MAZZORIN, J., SACCÀ, D., TOZZI, C. (Eds.), *Atti del 6º Convegno Nazionale di Archeozoologia, San Romano in Garfagnana, 2009*. Associazione Italiana di Archeozoologia-Università di Pisa, p. 357-363.

DETTRY, C.; ARRUDA, A. M. (2013) - A fauna da Idade do Ferro e época romana de Monte Molião: continuidades e rupturas na dieta alimentar. *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*. 16, p. 213-226.

DIETLER, M. (1999) – Rituals of commensality and the politics of state formation in the «princely» societies of early Iron Age Europe. In RUBY, P. (ed.) *Les princes de la protohistoire et l'émergence de l'état*. Naples/Rome, p.

135-152.

DIETLER, M. (2001) – Theorizing the Feast: Ritual of Consumption, Commensal Politics, and Power in African Contexts. In DIETLER, M. & HAYDEN, B. (eds.): *Feasts. Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington and London, p. 65-114.

FERNÁNDEZ GÓMEZ-PANTOJA, F., COSTA MAS, B. (2005) – Mundo funerario y sociedad en la Eivissa arcaica: una aproximación al análisis de los enterramientos de cremación en la necrópolis del Puig des Molins. In GONZÁLEZ PRATS, A. (ed.) *El mundo funerario (Actas del III Seminario Internacional sobre Temas Fenicios – homenaje al prof. D. Manuel Pellicer Catalán)*. Alicante, p. 315-407.

FONZO, O., VIGNE, J. D. (1993) – Reperti osteologici. In: LILLIU, C., CAMPUS, L., GUIDO, F., FONZO, O., VIGNE, J. D. *Genna Maria II, I. Il deposito votivo del mastio e del cortile*. Cagliari: Università di Cagliari, p. 161-173.

GAMER-WALLERT, I. e PAIXÃO, A. (1983) – A inscrição do escaravelho de Psamético I, da necrópole do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires. Novos elementos para a sua interpretação. *Arqueólogo Português*. 4, 1, p. 267-272.

GARCÍA BELLIDO, A. (1970) – Algunas novedades sobre la arqueología púnico-tartesia. *AEspA*. 43, p. 3-49.

GOMES, M.V. (1986) – Oenochoe piriforme dos arredores de Beja. *Trabalhos de Arqueologia*. 1, p. 49-57.

GÓMEZ BELLARD, C. (1984) – *La necrópolis del Puig des Molins (Ibiza): Campaña de 1946*. Madrid.

GÓMEZ BELLARD, C. (1990) – *La colonización fenicia de la isla de Ibiza*. Madrid.

GUZZO AMADASI, M. G. (1988) - Sacrifici e banchetti: Bibbia ebraica e iscrizioni puniche. In C. GROTTANELLI & N. F. PARISE (Eds.), *Sacrificio e società nel mondo antico*. Bari: Edizione Laterza: 97-122.

GUZZO, M. G.A. (1993) – Sacrifici e banchetti: Bibbia ebraica e iscrizioni puniche. In GROTTANELLI, C. e PARISE, N. F. (Eds.), *Sacrificio e Società nel Mondo Antico*. Bari: Edizione Laterza, p. 97-122.

HAYDEN, B. (1996) – Feasting in the Prehistoric and traditional societies. In WIESSNER, P. & W. SCHIEFENHOVEL, W. (ed.) *Food and the status quest. An interdisciplinary perspective*. Oxford, p. 127-147.

HAYDEN, B. (2001) – Fabulous feasts: a prolegomenon to the importance of feasting. In DIETLER, M. & HAYDEN, B. (ed.) *Feasts archaeological and ethnographic perspectives on food, politics, and power*. Washington and London.

JIMÉNEZ FLORES, A. M. (1994) – Ritual funerario y sociedad: el banquete funerario en las necrópolis fenicias de la Península Ibérica. *Kolaios (publicaciones ocasionales* 3), p. 127-144

JIMÉNEZ FLORES, A. M. (2000) – Imagen y ritual: Las representaciones simposíacas en contextos funerarios púnicos. In *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos (Cádiz, 1995)* 3. Cádiz, p. 1177-1184.

JIMÉNEZ FLORES, A. M. (2002) – Pueblos y tumbas. *El impacto oriental en los rituales funerarios del Extremo Occidente*. Écija.

KHELIFI, L. (2014) – *La présence phénico-punique dans la région de Bizerte*. Thèse de Doctorat. Tunis: Faculté des Sciences Humaines et Sociales.

LIESAU VON LETTOW-VORBECH, C., ESPARZA ARROYO, A., SÁNCHEZ POLO, A. (2014) – ¿Huesos en la basura o depósito ritualizado? Los perros descuartizados de La Huelga (Dueñas, Palencia). *Zephyrus*. 74, 2, p. 89-115.

LIPINSKI, E. (1995) - Dieux et Deesses de l'univers phénicien et punique (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta). Louvain: Peeters.

MASS-LINDEMANN, G. (1995) – La Necrópolis de Jardín (Vélez-Málaga): Los Materiales. *Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea*. 1. Barcelona, p. 121-213.

MOLINA FAJARDO, F. e HUERTAS, C. (1983) - La tumba fenicia E de Puente de Noy. *Almuñécar. Arqueología e Historia*, p. 57-88.

MORALES PÉREZ, J.V. (2003) – Estudio de la fauna de la cueva-santuario púnica de EsCulleram (Sant Joan, Eivissa). *Saguntum*. 35, 113-122.

MORALES PÉREZ, J.V. (2013) – Sacrificios de animales en EsCulleram (Ibiza) y otros lugares de culto púnicos en el Mediterráneo: aproximación al hecho ritual desde la Zooarqueología. In *VI Congresso Internacional de Estudos Fenicios e Púnicos (Lisboa, 2005)*. Actas. Lisboa: Centro de Arqueología da Universidade de Lisboa, 1, p. 342-349 (Estudos & Memórias, 5).

MORALES, A., CEREIRO, M. A., BRANNSTOM, P., LIESAU, C. (1994) – The mammals: In Castillo de Doña Blanca. *Archaeoenvironmental investigations in the Bay of Cadiz, Spain (750-500 BC)*. Oxford: Archeopress, p. 37-79.

- NIVEAU,A. M. (2006) – Banquetes rituales en la necrópolis púnica de Gadir. *Gerion*. 24, p. 35-64.
- NIVEAU, A. M. (2008) – ¿Compañero en la muerte o guía hacia más allá? El perro en la liturgia funeraria púnica. In: FERRER ALDELDA, E., MAZUELOS, J. ESCACENA, J.L. (Eds.), *De dioses y bestias. Animales y religión en el mundo antiguo*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, p. 93-137.
- NIVEAU,A. M. (2009) – *Ofrendas, banquetes y libaciones. El ritual funerario en la necrópolis púnica de Cádiz*. SPAL Monografías 12. Sevilha.
- NIVEAU,A. M., FERRER ALBELDA, E. (2004) – Sacrificios de cánidos en la necrópolis púnica de Cádiz. *Huelva Arqueológica*. 20, p. 63-88.
- PAIXÃO,A. C. (1970) – *A necrópole do Senhor dos Mártires, Alcácer do Sal - Novos elementos para o seu estudo*. Lisboa.Tese de Licenciatura, policopiada.
- PAIXÃO,A. C. (1971) – O recente achado de três escaravelhos na necrópole do Senhor dos Mártires em Alcácer do Sal. In *Actas do II Congresso Nacional de Arqueologia*, p. 309.315.
- PAIXÃO,A. C. (1982) – Alcácer do Sal. *Informação arqueológica*. 2, p. 76-79.
- PAIXÃO,A. C. (1983) – Uma nova sepultura com escaravelho da necrópole proto-histórica do Senhor dos Mártires (Alcácer do Sal). *O Arqueólogo Português*. 4, 1, p. 273-286.
- PAIXÃO,A. C. (2014) – A necrópole do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires (Alcácer do Sal). Novos elementos para o seu estudo. *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*. 21, p. 429-460.
- RAMOS SAINZ, M. L. (1990) – *Estudio sobre el ritual funerario en las necropolisfenicias y púnicas de la Península Ibérica*. Madrid.
- RIQUELME CANTAL,J.A. (2001) – Ganadería fenicio-púnica:un ensayo crítico de sínteses. In: De la Mar y de la Tierra. *Producciones y productos fenicio-púnicos*. Eivissa : Museo Arqueológico d'Eivissa y Formentera, p. 111-120.
- ROUILLARD, P.; PAIXÃO, A. C.; VILLANUEVA-PUIG, M. C.Y DURAND, J. L. (1988-89) – Les vases grecs d'Alcácer do Sal (Portugal). *O Arqueólogo Português*. 4, 6/7, p. 45-108.
- SAÑA, M. (1994) – Análisis zooarqueológico del Pozo HX-I. In: RAMON,J., *El pozo púnico del Hort d'en Xim (Eivissa)*. Eivissa: Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esports, p. 71-81.
- SCHULE,W. (1969) – *Die Meseta-Kulturen. Der Iberischen Halbinsel*. Madrider Forchungen. 3. Berlim: Walter de Gruyter.
- SILVA,C.T.;SOARES,J.;BEIRÃO,C.M.;DIAS,L.F.E COELHO-SOARES,A.(1980-81) – Escavações arqueológicas no Castelo de Alcácer do Sal (campanha de 1979). *Setúbal Arqueológica*. 6-7, p. 149-218.
- SPANÒ-GIAMMELLARO, A. (2004) – I luoghi della morte: impianti funerari nella Sicilia fenicia e punica. In GONZÁLEZ PRATS,A. (ED.), *El mundo funerario.Actas del III Seminario Internacional sobre Temas Fenicios (Guardamar del Segura, 2002)*. Alicante, p. 205-252.
- WIESNER, N. (2013) – Astragali in Gräbern der mitteleuropäischen Urnenfelderkultur. *Germania*. 91, p. 89-113.
- XELLA, P. (1991) – *Imago mortisen la SiriaAntigua*. In XELLA, P. (ed.), *Arqueología del Infierno. El Más Allá en el mundo antiguo Próximo-Oriental y Clásico (Verona, 1987)*. Sabadell, p. 99-124.



Fig. I – Fotografia aérea com a localização estimada da necrópole do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires (círculo maior) e com a localização a área investigada por A. C. Paixão (Paixão, 2014, Fig. I).



Fig. 2 – Vista parcial das escavações efectuadas por A. C. Paixão na necrópole do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires, no final da década de 1960 (Paixão, 2014, Fig. 4).



Fig. 3 – Mosaico fotográfico com o conjunto das sepulturas escavadas na necrópole do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires, no final da década de 1960 (Paixão, 2014, Fig. 2).



Fig. 4 – Conjunto de restos de boi doméstico (*Bos taurus*) proveniente de uma sepultura. Em cima, rótula; à esquerda, extremidade articular distal incompleta de fêmur; à direita, extremidade articular distal de úmero, seccionada verticalmente por cutelo (Foto J. L. Cardoso).



Fig. 5 – Materiais ósseos provenientes da Sepultura 3. À esquerda e ao centro, fragmentos de diáfises de fémures de boi doméstico (*Bos taurus*), com marcas de fogo evidentes (escurecimento e estalamento); astrágalo e cúbito de caprino (*Ovis aries/Capra hircus*), aquele com marcas de fogo (escurecimento); e dois ossos longos inclassificáveis, com intensas marcas de fogo por estalamento (Foto J. L. Cardoso).



Fig. 6 – Sepultura GII, aos pés da qual se observam três costelas de bovídeo, correspondentes a oferenda de um naco de carne (Paixão, 2014, Fig. 16).



Fig. 7 – Materiais ósseos provenientes do estrato de cinzas sob o murete separador EII-FII (Paixão, 2014, Fig. 14).



Fig. 8 – Materiais ósseos provenientes do local da foto anterior. Da esquerda para a direita: fragmentos de omoplata, de cùbio, de rádio e de húmero de caprino (*Ovis aries/Capra hircus*) (Foto J. L. Cardoso).



Fig. 9 – Estatueta de bovídeo de terracota, da necrópole do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires (Foto J. L. Cardoso).

The western Iberia silver hoards: tradition and innovation in Later Iron Age societies commensality

Os tesouros de prata do Ocidente da Península:
tradição e inovação na comensalidade das sociedades da Idade do Ferro Tardia

Virgílio Hipólito Correia

Museu Monográfico de Conimbriga

Centro de Estudos de Arqueologia, Artes e Ciências do Património

Abstract

Western Iberia silver treasures are archaeological complexes remarkable for the fact that, in their diversity, they reveal significant trends about the practice of the *symposion* in the communities of the Later Iron Age of the region.

Among these trends one can count the treasuring and para-monetary ostentation of wealth directly associated with the objects included in the treasures, something which is a tendency of Hellenistic origin but inscribed in a set of traditional practices.

Another element of analysis is the comparison of the use of precious metal serving sets with the use of other sets, namely of Greek vases but also local wares.

Lastly, and to the limited extension to which it is possible, the comparison of the settings in which these commensality practices occur is revealing of the mix of innovation and tradition in the social *praxis* of these communities.

Keywords

Iron Age, Rituals, Silver vases, Symposion.

Resumo

Os tesouros de prata do ocidente peninsular são conjuntos arqueológicos notáveis por, na sua diversidade, revelarem algumas tendências significativas relativas à prática do *symposion* nas comunidades da tardia Idade do Ferro da região.

Entre estas tendências conta-se o entesouramento e a ostentação para-monetária de riqueza, associada diretamente aos objetos, que é uma tendência de origem helenística, mas que se inscreve num conjunto de práticas tradicionais.

Outro elemento de análise é a comparação das práticas inerentes à utilização das baixelas de metal precioso com outras práticas congéneres utilizando outros conjuntos de utensilagem, nomeadamente a cerâmica grega mas também as cerâmicas locais.

Por último, na limitada medida em que é possível, a comparação dos quadros em que estas práticas de comensalidade decorrem é reveladora da interpenetração de inovação e tradição, na *praxis social* destas comunidades.

Palavras-chave

Idade do Ferro, Rituais, Vasos de prata, Simpósio.

Introduction

The aim of this text is to understand and explain an important problem of the evolution of precious metals workmanship and social use in the later stages of the Iron Age of Western Iberian Peninsula: the substitution of gold by silver and the appearance of table ware produced in this latter metal.

The obvious relation of that tableware with commensality practices was, no doubt, in the mind of the organizers of the conference who invited the author to present some ideas on the issue, and indeed there is a relation between those subjects that is worth studying, but the problem is more complex and has other implications that go beyond the practices of commensality.

There is a basic assumption that the issue of the use of silver from the IV c. BC onwards is the result of peninsular communities being faced with a new Mediterranean world, changed dramatically by the conquests of Alexander both in the political realities and the economic ones, in the latter case due to the vast amounts of Persian booty brought to the Greek world (Correia et al. 2013: 117; cf. Rostovtzeff 1941: 74-126).

This is a starting point and also a *parti pris*, that extends to societies in the West the traditional narrative of Hellenistic impact in Rome and the broader West (Grimal 1975: 260-263; Rostovtzeff 1926: 5-6) on the basis of the same arguments that are used to propose the existence of a “world system” as far back as the Bronze Age (for the concept Wallerstein 1990: 337-346; cf. the studies by M. Rowlands, K. Kristiansen and P. Brun published in Kristiansen & Jensen 1994). Understanding (and explaining, from that point of view) the range of issues involved, sheds light on an important period of the life of those communities.

The context of the hoards

The silver vases that K. Raddatz (1969 I: 22-25; II karte 2) called “Tagus Group” were exclusively found in deliberate occultations which must relate, due to the historical era in which the vases were used, to major demographic and military upheavals; for these reasons such groups of objects cannot be analyzed as functionally assembled sets without prior examination.

This analysis can be especially useful in two respects: the first is the relationship between hoards, inasmuch their chronological or geographical distribution trends testify the existence of specific phenomena that lead to concealment; the second is the internal relationships of pieces in them (Raddatz 1969: 34-44), considering that its composition can bear witness to a preliminary selection process, which can give indications on the use of such items before their amortization in the hoards. That use is unproblematic regarding coins; not so much with regard to jewelry, but that is a topic for some other occasion; the original use of the vases is problematic and that is what makes it crucial for the present purposes.

Considering that the vases sometimes appear with jewelry, and the latter, with some frequency, appear along with coins and, in one case, the three categories of materials were grouped in a single hoard (Chão de Lamas), spreading the first approach of this issue to all those materials is an essential step, the result of which is presented in the table annexed. Hoards with unclear or insufficient information, either on its composition or about its chronology, were left out (Table 1).

The summary table recalls all hoards including silver objects, down to the times of the Sertorian wars, which apparently are an important turning point in the military and economic life of the area. The upper chronological limit of the selection, of course, cannot be precisely determined, due to the lack of clear indicators, such as coins, but typological analyses of some pieces do not suggest dates much earlier than the III c. BC, which is one of the reasons that the assumption that most of these pieces belong to Hellenistic times gains credence. There is, however, some danger of circularity in the argument.

Hoard	Jewelry	Ag	Au	Romans	Iberian	Date BC	Vases Ag	Others	References
Romariz (Vila da Feira)	1 lunula	1 bracelet (?)		71 denarii	1 denari	74	An amphora (?)	-	Centeno 1977, 209-219; Blázquez 1988, 128 n°72; Villaronga 1993, 54 n°123
Viseu	-	1 lunula, 1 torque		-	-	-	-	-	Raddatz 1969, 283.
Coíço (Penacova)	1 fragmented torque	-	20 denarii	-	82-81	-	-	-	Ruivo 2002, 145-156.
Chão de Lamas (Miranda do Corvo)	1 lunula, 2 twisted torques 1 large figured lunula	-	7 denarii	-	138 (Vill. 148)	2 type Bandera VIIb and a lid.	Fragments of another torque, reduced to scrap?	Raddatz 1969, 274-6; Villaronga 1993, 44 n°76. Figure 1.	Villaronga 1993, 53 n°114. Martin 1966, 338, n°32.
Cabeça da Corte (Soure)	-	-	158 denarii	1 sekobrikos denari	74	-	-	-	Ruivo 1997, 23 n°1.
Fonte do Alvorge (Ansião)	-	-	17 denarii	-	100	A patera (?)	-	-	Ruivo et al., in p.
Casal Ascenso Antunes (Feneira do Zêzere)	-	-	15 denarii	-	79	-	-	-	Raddatz 1969, 279-80; Fabião 2004.
Monsanto I (Idanha-a-Nova)	4 fibulae, 4 twisted torques, 1 torque with filigree, 2 plain torques and 3 bracelets	-	-	-	-	1 type Bandera IB, 2 type Bandera II, 1 type Bandera VIIc	-	Gomes & Beirão 1988. Figure 2.	Raddatz 1969, 278; Villaronga 1993, 53 n°117.
Idanha I (Idanha-a-Nova)	1 twisted torque.	-	-	4 denarii.	89	-	-	-	Blázquez 1988, 122 n°52;
Idanha II (Idanha-a-Nova)	-	-	1346 denarii	21 moedas	100	-	-	-	Villaronga 1993, 42 n°60.
Penhagarcia (Idanha-a-Nova)	-	2 fragmented bracelets, remains of na articulated necklace (?)	110 denarii	-	91 (Vill. 104)	-	-	-	Raddatz 1969, 282; Villaronga 1993, 45 n°82
Monforte da Beira (Castelo Branco)	3 (or 4) twisted torques	1 twisted necklace	Non-specified denarii	-	Sec. I	-	-	-	Raddatz 1969, 278; Faria 1992, 87-92.
Padrao (Proença-a-Nova)	-	-	-	-	-	2 type Bandera II, 2 type Bandera VII B (a large and a smaller one).	-	Raddatz 1969, 280; Beirão & Gomes, 1985, 482-3. Figure 3.	Barbosa 1994, 239-244; Ruiivo 1997, 34-37 n°16
Santarém	-	-	192 denarii	-	74	-	-	-	Viegas & Parreira 1984; Villaronga 1993, 49 n°98; Ruiivo 1997, 38-40 n°18.
Santana da Camota (Aleinquer)	3 torques (1 twisted)	10 earrings	134 denarii	2 coins	76	-	1 frag. ingot	-	Hipólito 81-82, n°116.
Pinhal do Alvarinho (Aleinquer)	-	c. 1000 denarii	-	c. 125	1 vase with inscription Sucinini(us) Asedi filius	-	-	-	Raddatz 1969, 273-4. Figure 4.
Pragança (Cadaval)	1 torque, 3 lunulae	1 torque	-	-	2 type Bandera VIIc (1 severely damaged)	-	-	-	Villaronga 1993, 53 n°115; Ruiivo 1997, 39-32 n°12.
Columbeira (Bombarral)	-	-	968 denarii (Ruiivo 980)	-	82	-	-	-	Bombarral
Bombarral	3 torques (1 twisted)	3 Segura/Serradil la type plaques, 1 earring	? ?	? ?	1 type Bandera II	1 simpulum, 1 dagger	-	-	Ferreira 1977, 203-218; Cardoso 2004, 267-269.
Charmeca (Torres Novas)	-	9 denarii	1 bolskan coin	82	-	-	-	-	Villaronga 1993, 54 n°125; Ruiivo 1997, 32-33 n°14-15.

Table I – Silver hoards in the region between Douro and Tejo.

Geography and chronology: two conjoining realities

The geographical distribution of hoards and their chronology are not two absolutely independent variables, because they are - at least partly - product of military activities, either directly as concealments carried out by soldiers who treasured their stipend or booty (or a combination of both), or indirectly, as indigenous occultations (by individuals or communities) trying to put their possessions to safety, under the threat, real or perceived, of the same military operations. This fact is demonstrated by the relative abundance of hoards of the Sertorian period in the region between the Tagus and the Douro, compared to its shortage in the Guadalquivir Valley (Chaves 1996: 497), obviously a result of a substantial shift of the theater of military operations to the North.

From the point of view of geography, the treasures can be grouped into three distinct areas: the southern access to the Mondego basin (5 hoards, Fig. 11, 3-7), the access to the Cova da Beira (7 hoards, Fig. 11, 8-12) and the peninsula of Lisbon (7 hoards, Fig. 11, 13-19); there are other isolated spots in the territory; such as there is diversity in the chronology of occultations. But what seems a significant point is that the hoards of the last region (Lisbon) are of all Sertorian time, with three uncertain exceptions: Pragança with residual inclusion of vessels; Bombarral altogether uncertain and Pinhal do Alvarinho, of which only three coins could be identified from the thousand originally found, hence of uncertain chronology. The two other regions have more hoards of early date (securely, or presumed because of the unique presence of vases and / or jewelry).

However, the Beira Litoral and Beira Interior show a different chronological spread of hoards:

- In the Mondego region and its southern access, there is not a clear concentration of hoards in any specific time interval; this may be due to the fact that on a commonly used circulation corridor (as the region was, at least since the expeditions of Decimus Brutus Junius), there could have been a multitude of reasons and local problematic occasions leading to occultations, maybe sometimes due to minor events, which left no trace in the sources, but locally perceived as very important. It is also apparently an area where the hoarding was made in smaller amounts than in any of the other regions.

- The Beira shows a clear concentration of treasures (with coins) in 100-89 and an equally important set of occultations without coins. This can be interpreted in two alternative ways: i) a moment of hoarding on a date prior to the dissemination of currency in the territory (Ruivo 1997: 81); ii) hoarding processes carried out simultaneously by communities with a radically different economic behavior. This second model would configure itself clearly as a very marked duality, where the Roman troops hid their salary (and some looted jewelry) while the indigenous hid their tableware and jewels, but this explanation begs out of being simplistic.

Favoring the chronological interpretation, emphasizing the criterion of presence/absence of coins as its indicator for all the regions involved (and not as an indicator of different ethnically explained behaviors) the Chão de Lamas hoard could represent the tipping point where the occultation of vases and jewelry occurs for the first time with the presence of Roman coinage in appreciable amount. The typology of the *lunulae* (with very close parallels in Pragança and Viseu) suggest that these various occultations took place in a rather close timespan (even if the jewelry may have had a long life, it should be noted that *lunulae* are relatively fragile objects and that none of them shows signs of heavy use).

The hoarding of silver vases between the Tagus and the Douro could therefore be generally attributed to dates ranging from the second half of the III c. BC to the first half of the I c. BC, and mostly due to indigenous communities not integrated yet in Roman economic circuits; and indeed the military situations leading to the occultation of the hoards could have nothing to do with the Romans directly, but with the Carthaginian movements in the region, as J. S. Ruivo (*loc. cit.*) has suggested. The hoard at Santana da Carnota would probably represent an exception, of an occultation by Roman soldiers

that would have looted some jewelry from an indigenous site (very likely Vaiamonte) and hid it with a substantial part of their salary.

These suggestions are important because if indeed we're mainly dealing with occultations uncontaminated by looting activity, then it can reasonably be assumed that the vase sets roughly correspond to actual tableware sets, as they were used by their possessing communities and in this sense not only the pieces individually, but the configuration of the sets themselves can be taken as a significant factor in the study of their original use.

The typological problem: production and exchange

Hemispherical vases

In 1969, K. Raddatz (1969: 86-89) was faced with a typological problem posed by the hemispheric vases present in the Iberian silver hoards (Bandera 1986: 607-694: type I, with variants), combining on the one hand, the evidence of their Mediterranean parallels and on the other, the irregular distribution (with cases in the Black Sea, rare in Italy and Continental Greece, just one Syrian example, and unknown elsewhere). The author decided at the time this academic problem arguing for a "Hellenic model" which would manifest itself, for example in black glaze vessels from Megara, although the exact location of the production or indeed the very nature of the model (metallic vases? pottery?) could not be ascertained.

Interestingly enough, two decades later, the same kind of paradox of the silver vases under consideration was evident regarding the distribution of a particular type of black slip pottery (Shefton 1995: 136-138): the stemless cups with inset lip commonly designated "Cástulo cups" that, generally considered in the Attic pottery class, are in fact rare in Athens and show a peripheral distribution (Black Sea, Iberia).

In both cases it is difficult to indicate the location of the center of production that, for various reasons (largely indeterminate) has resulted in a distribution pattern so irregular, although phenomena like the "preferential market" or the "specific indigenous taste" could have played a role.

In the peninsular case it is in fact highly likely that there is a center of production for many of the vases; in the case of the associated jewelry, the *lunulae* of Pragança, Chão de Lamas and the gold one from Viseu (Correia et al. 2013: 119; Silva 2007: 358) such a center should be assigned to a single workshop and, as the distribution of these objects is uniquely Western, this should also be the location of their workshop, in general terms.

Further still, the concentration of hoards in the Castelo Branco region has been suggested as indication for the location of a production center (Fabião 2004: 167); this would be consistent with the existence of earlier metallurgical activities in the region (Vilaça 1998: 350-358), but it is precisely in this same area that there is evidence of the import of silver vases (Gomes & Beirão 1988: 135), rather than their local production.

In any case, the typological precision that has to be done is the fact that the use of the Greek term *mastos* for these vases (Gomes & Beirão 1988: 127-128) should not be seen as a perfect extension of the use of the term for the ceramic pieces in the shape of a female breast (Richter & Milne 1935: 30). True Greek *mastoi* were often provided with two asymmetrical wings and decorated with satyrs or other Dionysian scenes, betraying its very specific use, which seem indeed not to survive to advanced dates (they are notoriously absent from frequent Dionysian representations in IV c. BC pottery; cf. Metzger 1951, *passim*). The use of the term can actually be authorized by popular uses, notably in Cyprus (Daremberg & Saglio, 1873, 3.2 1625, s.v. *mastos*), but these silver vases from the West are something different and their use certainly obeyed to specific dispositions.

In fact the Greek term that probably most directly refers to the type of silver vase under consideration is *cymbè* (Daremburg & Saglio 1873, I.2 1698, s.v. *cymbè*, *cymbium*), which relates to the *phiale* and the *rhyton*, as vessels in a category very specifically destined to a ritual use.

However, that ritual use did not remove them from possible uses in private commensality because both spheres intertwine on occasions and should not be considered as separate areas of activity of an individual or of a community.

The typology (and the specific nature of their distribution pattern) is therefore a key indicator of the use of these vessels and of particular commensality practices.

Carinated vases

K. Raddatz (1969:83-85) emphasized the originality of the decoration of the carinated vases of the hoards of the West of the Peninsula (Bandera 1986, 607-694: type 7, with variants) and of the decorated cover piece associated with them in the hoard of Chão de Lamas, which should give an indication of its production area.

It should also be noted that this form was popular, from very early dates, in pottery productions. This can only mean that it performs a specific, perhaps irreplaceable function, deeply rooted - for reasons that cannot be determined with the information available - in commensality rituals of these societies.

The shape is, in particular, very characteristic of certain productions of fine gray pottery from Conimbriga (Alarcão 1974: 66 n. 246-249. Figure 5), constituting a clear case of imitation of metallic forms by local potters, something which is still visible in other ceramic types (cf. Correia 1993: 245).

There is not a sure proof that in Conimbriga such ceramic forms predate the use of silver vessels because the earlier stratigraphies of the Roman city have not been identified in primary, undisturbed positions, at least for dates prior to the second half of the I c. BC., but apparently the form already exists in Santa Olaia (Rocha 1971: 67 n. 152 est. XVII), which indicates their dating prior to the IV c. BC, at least. Neither should be ruled out the resemblance of the generic form with carinated pottery forms from the Late Bronze Age; hence, there are equivalent possibilities of potters imitating silversmiths or just the opposite.

Local vases and imported vases

The traditional character of the shapes of the vessels, as proposed, collides *prima facie* with the fact that, demonstrably at least in one case (Monsanto), we are faced with an import from the celtiberian area: the vessel originally belonged to an individual who is recognized as "Belaisco" ('of Contrebria Belaisca', according to Gomes and Beirão 1988: 132-134). The overall distribution of the vases makes this plausible.

However, the fact that the silver vessels are mostly produced in another region, is not necessarily incompatible with the traditional character of their use and of the basic rituals in which it took place, because there is no prior notion invalidating that the conditions of the choice of ritual vase models could be basically the same in the various peninsular regions, and in any case physicochemical inquiry to determine if all vessels can indeed be assigned to a single production center would still be necessary.

The situation looks as if it can be better explained as consisting of a set of ritual determinants for the choice of prestigious objects widely shared by the various peninsular communities, be it caused by a strong community of traditional practices, or by an intense circulation sphere of people and their ideas on those dates. Against this background, workshops and production centers concentrated their activity in specific categories, responding to local requests but also to the wider geographical areas needs. This scenario has already been identified, for example, in the Northwestern "Castro's" jewelry (Silva 2007:

330-331) or the activity of the jewelry workshop based in Vaiamonte (Correia in print).

Large specter exchange and use of local production capacities are thus the two volleys of the diptych that lead to the formation of these prestigious tableware sets.

The composition of services: typology and commensality

The existence of services for socially representative functions of eating together is not a novelty of advanced Iron Age societies. In the region between Douro and Tagus such services in metal, are known from the Late Bronze Age (Senhora da Guia; cf. Silva et al. 1984: 81-89) and the traditional aspect of some forms of silver vessels in question reflect just that.

The important phenomenon that is crucially new is the use of precious metal in tableware. This requires addressing some interconnected aspects, necessarily with different methodological approaches; they are:

- The relationship of silverware with other tableware, prestigious or otherwise of special use, by these and other communities.
- The ideological aspects to the formation of the hoards and their original use.
- The socio-political framework of commensality rituals, as much as it is possible to reconstitute it.

The composition of tableware sets

The dual role of silverware, as prestige goods and conviviality element, suggests its contrast with other sets that in many ways bring together similar qualities. Greek pottery, which is imported and is associated with the *symposion* played a role, if not identical, at least symmetrical to these sets of silver vases in dates not very different (although probably somewhat earlier).

In addition to the chronological question it is also necessary to refer to a geographical differentiation, for the distribution of Greek ceramics north of the Tagus is sparse and the sets do not allow the same type of group analysis as they do south of that river. The distribution map, however, is punctuated enough (Arruda 1997: 81-84; id. 2007: 135-140) for stating that the spread of Greek pottery on the Atlantic was something more than just episodic. It is a fair deduction from that pottery the possible spread of the *symposion* practice, a subject that meets extensive bibliography; some details on the extreme West of the Peninsula are nonetheless required.

The first observation is that, as far as it is possible to evaluate the available evidence, sets in the peninsular west differ from what P. Rouillard (1991: 184-185) called the “Andalusian service”, normally comprising bell crater and stemless cup with continuous curve wall. In southern Portugal two cases (Alcácer do Sal and Cerro Furado; cf. Rouillard et al. 1989: 56-78, and Arruda & Lopes 2012: 404-409, respectively) show the use of the *krater* with *skyphoi*. That is not explainable by the simple effect of imports “in series”, but certainly reveals something of the specific choices of local purchasers of Greek pottery. It will be interesting to see if the pattern is repeated further north, where most of the identified pieces actually are craters, but as said the sets are too fragmentary to fully understand its composition.

Second observation is the more systematic presence on sites of stemless cups with inset lips (the “Cástulo cups”) that are plentiful even in small habitats like Alto do Castelinho da Serra (Gibson et al. 1988: 207; cf. Jiménez & Ortega 2004: 123-134) and are notoriously absent from funerary contexts such as Alcácer Sal. It seems as if there is, on the part of purchasers of Greek pottery, a selection of uses and contexts of disposal for such pieces.

This conclusion, although very partial within the global reality of the phenomena, is important because it is legitimate to make the argument that these communities, being able to do functional selections with results recognizably different in the archaeological record concerning scarce materials (imported ceramics) certainly did not fail to do so on their own productions, either in the selection of the forms of traditional products chosen, or in the progressive selection of innovations admitted in pottery when imitating imports (pottery, metal or other).

It is therefore especially important to look for evidence in the archaeological record of that local manipulation of aristocratic symposium-related practices in their dissemination among lower levels of society (levels measured for this purpose by the ability to access the imported material).

For its “immediate” nature, the fossilized remains of the communal meal in the altar of Capote (Berrocal 1992: 192-201; id. 1994, *passim*. Figure 6) are of greatest interest. There it was possible to reconstitute a “service” majorly consisting of beaker and cup, accompanied by medium-sized containers and some special specimens, including the burners (Berrocal 2010: 270-272). Garvão (Beirão et al. 1985: 45-135), perhaps even richer than Capote in what regards total number of preserved vases, shows nevertheless the disturbed character inherent to its secondary deposit condition; and yet it is possible to reconstruct comparable services.

Quantitatively the most significant set of Garvão is the pair formed by the beaker of S-shaped profile and a hemispherical cup, wheel turned and fired in an oxidizing atmosphere kiln. In a strictly functional interpretation this set can be assimilated at the pair carinated vase / *cymbè* that the Padrão or the Chão de Lamas hoards clearly demonstrated to exist as an operative set.

But the materials in the deposit of Garvão show the coexistence of another pottery tradition, hand turned pottery fired in reduction environment (or, simply, in artisanal ovens), often exuberantly decorated, where the hemispherical cups are replaced by small ovoid beakers.

In either type of production burners are remarkable, by their number and by the obvious investment (in formal imagination and in decorative care) put into in these objects.

It can be considered somewhat natural, that actually used sets included parts of both productions. That is what happens with group IX in the deposit (Fig. 7), identified and published as such, which shows the presence of a *oenochoe* and a carinated vase (wheel turned) and another small carinated vase, two beakers and a small *thymiaterion* in manual pottery.

These elements reproduce, with the manifest temporal and qualitative distances of the material, the orientalizing ritual equipment that is known, paradigmatically, in tomb 17 of the La Joya necropolis at Huelva (Garrido & Orta 1978: 63-128) that show the presence of three rituals acts: fluid eversion, libation and fumigation. They also appear in funerary evidence, contemporary with the sites and sanctuaries discussed, as is shown by the equipment of tomb 15 of the El Mercadillo necropolis, one of the funerary sites of the ancient Tamusia (Hernández & Galán 1996: 40-43. Fig. 8).

Throughout the archaic religion of the Mediterranean (where we meet more direct sources about the Greek and Roman), these acts are part of the sacrifice, indistinctly public or private, properly religious or of more open social nature (Rudhardt 1992: 158-161; Dumézil 2000: 549-551). This happens because religious offering, where rituals acts are performed, is immediately succeeded by consumption by the community (regardless of the circumstantial definition of it) of the unconsecrated parts of the sacrificial victim (which may even be the larger part of it). But, symmetrically, the private feast is preceded by an act of atonement, where the ritual acts are essentially the same. And these two processes, symmetrical and complementary, occur whether we speak of private piety acts, of public or official religion activities, of commensality (proper) or of offering of meals to the community at large. In short, the question of the ritual character versus the utilitarian nature of these sets (including silver treasures, cf. Prados 2010: 252-261), runs the risk of becoming a redundant inquiry, either on

the effective use of the pieces, about whose life we know nothing, or on their ideal (and properly ideological) classification, since all everyday use includes a ritual and sacralized element and all the ritual eventually has an ultimate utilitarian function.

What are then the acts that make part of those ritual and social practices? From the evidence that has been visited they can be counted as: maintenance of liquid (large vases); its distribution or mixing with other liquids or elements (smaller vases), consumption (cups); accessorially Capote shows the use and distribution of meat cooked on a grill over fire, and several instances document the use of fumigation. The relevance given to the liquid element, presumably wine, by the use of exotic material (silver, Greek pottery) hence must give some indication of the prestige associated with it, whilst the polymorphism of the sets and the traditional nature of some of its elements is a good indicator of the integration of exotic practices and products in the local sphere (Dietler 2006: 232-235).

The meaning of the hoards

The existence of a continuum of ritual and socially ritualized practices, where it is not immediately distinguishable what is sacred and what is secular in purpose (nor should they be completely compartmentalized), makes it important to look at the composition of treasures, namely that particular aspect which is the coexistence of vessels and jewelry in some sets.

The simultaneous presence of jewelry and vases is most suggestive in sets such as Chão de Lamas, but the presence of jewelry, including a bracelet of twisted silver threads, among material of the altar of Capote (Berrocal 1994: 239-244) is an important archaeological fact and an element sufficient to demonstrate that the jewelry display is part of the set of practices that are also associated with ceremonies where silver vessels could have been used. It is therefore very important to deepen the analysis of these jewels, including those from Chão de Lamas, where the decorated great *lunula* reveals a set of ideological data that, in this perspective, is relevant to understand the practices associated with use of the vases, the display of jewelry and the social and cultural context in which such acts take place.

The decoration of the Chão de Lamas *lunula* (Prados 2010: 251-261. Fig. 9), consists of three distinct elements: an animal, in all likelihood a swine or perhaps a bovid; a bird that, by design, seems to want to pose as a scavenger and a human head inside a border; these elements, interspersed with geometric motifs, are distributed in the *lunula* in two symmetrical lines in the indicated order, with the heads in the center of the piece.

The central motif, the severed head, is an artistic motif with a deep ideological root in the traditions of Iron Age societies of Western Europe (ever since Reinach 1913: 38-286; for recent surveys of the basic issue – actually severing the head of someone: Sterckx 2005 and Dedet 2013, *passim*), and raise a very significant set of questions about the *Weltanschauung* of the communities that we are dealing with.

It must be said immediately that the presence of this motif in the *lunula* of Chão de Lamas is not an isolated instance in the archaeological record. The severed heads appears in Orientalizing and later jewelry of the West, such as a ring from Aliseda (Almagro 1977: 209 n. 73), an unidentified object from Pajares (Celestino & Blanco 1999: 112-115; id. 2006: 141-143), and the Segura de León necklace (Enriquez y Rodriguez 1985, *passim*; Celestino & Blanco 2006: 144-145) with parallels in one of the Serradilla hoard plaques (Almagro 1977: 223-225; Celestino & Blanco 2006: 146-148) and on the comparable pieces of Bombarral (Ferreira 1977: 203-218; Cardoso 2004: 266-268), one of which shows the head surrounded by psychopomp birds (these are also present at Serradilla). This set from Bombarral was published in association with some silver vessels (cf. table I), but unfortunately it is not clear that it is a real archaeological unit, or if we have just an assembling of pieces after the find, and having they been

lost, never subject to autopsy after publication, the case cannot be easily decided.

Second, the severed head comes up at the altar of Capote, represented in pottery (one unfortunately incomplete vessel. Berrocal 1994: 427 n. 4482), multiplying this representation in different media echoing a feature that is generally European.

Lastly, it is essential to recall the likely foundational sacrifice which presided over the deposition of the *bothros* at Garvão (Correia 1996: 101-102, with the earlier references; Alfayé 2009: 287-288): the deposition of the head of a middle-aged woman, felled with blows from a stone ax. This case should put in perspective some metallic and choroplastic representations from the same sanctuary (Beirão et al. 1985: 112-118) and also some anatomical votive pieces representing the lower jaw (*id. 94, n. 115*), that may very well echo of ritualized practices of corpse mutilation associated, in Central Europe, with the same issue of severed heads (Moinat 2009: 5-8).

What is the meaning of these rituals and, above all, of the representation of this ritual in jewelry and apparatus pieces? The answer, surely, will never be simple, not even unambiguous, and its pursuit falls outside the intent of this text, but it is nevertheless essential in this context to develop parts of it.

The “cruelty of the Celts” is an element of a certain ethnography of horror, which has deep roots in classical culture and that through Posidonius, wins real buzzword status, being transmitted by Strabo (Geog. IV, 4, 5) and Diodorus Siculus (*Bib. Hist.* V, 29) and comes to shape almost all reasoning about the phenomenon, archaeologically documented, of the handling of corpses and / or ritualized processes to execute some people, occurring (commonly, can actually be said) in non-Mediterranean Europe (and which were not, however, unknown to classic Mediterranean cultures as very proper acts, imbued with tradition and ritual value. Cf. Dumézil 2000: 449-450).

It is current to find two different approaches to this practice as a form of cultural, ideological and social expression between communities of the European Iron Age: one more connected to their interpretation eminently as a warrior practice, as an expression of elites of knights and raiders, as a statement of invincibility and magical domain of the enemy, even after his physical extinction; the other values more the community aspects of ownership of extinct friends or enemies, as a form of physical and metaphysical world domain (cf. Gallay 2012 for a more nuanced perspective. Personally I think some of the observations, oblique as they are, of Lorenz 1959 are still useful). The different hypotheses, which clearly are not incompatible, may have been present in the field of intentions of the communities who observed these practices. Even if it is possible to determine, in specific acts, if there prevailed the one interpretation or another, the decisively “timeless” character of this act gave it the potential to evolve, from an original intention, through successive generations who can manipulate, according to their own intentions, its meaning. Ultimately, the individual act of the warrior who, according to the Posidonian narrative, collects the head of his enemy as proof of victory, and if this victory was truly significant, has the potential to be remembered by later generations; it created a ritual device, a magical object whose value, meaning and concrete use these generations will determine without necessarily respect the initial set of intentions.

It is also important to stress the idea that the archaeological evidence of the Iberian Peninsula (read from the above occurrences and others directly comparable to them) shows quite eloquently, that these practices cannot be considered as exclusive of what is commonly referred to as Celtic Europe, because if indeed they were quite common among the *Keltoi* (and it is to them Posidonius’ narrative refers) and took place between communities related with them in the Iberian area, as the *Celtiberi* or the *Celtici* of *Baetouria*, they are also present among other communities, which are designated by other ethnonyms and which appear to have belonged to other linguistic and cultural environments, and indeed they are referred to amongst the *Lusitanii* (Strabo, Geog., III, 3, 6), which would be the *ethnos* to which the silver hoards can more readily be ascribed.

Hence it seems advisable to address our research to non-immediate interpretations of the rites underlying the manipulation of the body of victims (against the case of Garvão:Alfayé 2009, loc. cit.) and non-binding interpretations with respect to the communitarian or ethnic identification of their perpetrators. Considered with sufficient amplitude, motivational factors of ritual performance or of handling of the corpse, resulting from the former or from other circumstances, the laudatory or punitive nature of the reaction to this act (which can be - and probably were - different as different communities were differently affected) and the evolution of these conditions over time (particularly when exceeded the existential limits of direct actors), the ideological device of the "severed head" may gain a plurality of different meanings and emphases.

Among these different meanings there is, of course, the mere use of anthropomorphism as an artistic device of mere stylistic – if not just ludic – meaning, as seems to be the case with some well-studied examples of Celtic art (Jacobsthal 1969: 12-24).

However, the peninsular environments do not suggest such an extension of the use of the ideological device:anthropomorphism was not in any way a decorative motif abundantly represented. Using the representation of the severed head is sufficiently rare to be certain to have assumed a special ritual character, which certainly remained present in the minds of the creators and users of its products, as indeed also seems to happen in comparable dates in the Italian peninsula, where the motif is known among the Gauls of Cisalpine, but where it is used with a parsimony that only reinforces its ideological importance (as with the Manerbo sul Mella pateras.Arslan 1991: 466-468).

The representation of severed heads in jewelry used in occasions when silver tableware was also used – the circumstance that mainly interest us - was therefore an effect of public display of ideological devices of great significance in the socio-cultural structures of these communities. Commensality can be an ostentatious occasion for this ideological device, for it refers mainly to the history of an individual or of an individual's ancestors, or to the historical circumstances of the community where diners are integrated (and non-diners excluded). Commensality, ritual and historical (or mythological) evocation are thus the main circumstance for community statement, be that community family, clan or ethnic entity, that is called to bring together a number of related individuals, or the inhabitants of a village, or other groupings of population that may have existed (as *fratírai* type organizations; cf. Coulanges 1980: 139-144 [Homer, *Iliad*, II, 362], actually stressing the commensality aspects of the institution).As said, commensality and ritual are to a large extent, one and the same thing: the important issue at stake is the extent to which the *symposion* (with its ritual element) affirms the *syggeneia* between (selected) members of the community with their gods (for the italic situation: Pairault-Massa 1992; Menichetti 1994: 37).

We are then in a position to argue that the use of silver pieces found in hoards and the use of associated jewelry and, in other circumstances, the use of special tableware types, pre-determined or determined by the very concrete circumstances in which the ritual took place, are part of the performative array available to the communities, to ensure their cohesion through the mithopoietic function of evocating a common history. And this mithopoietic function is especially important because in some cases it might have led to narratives, currently unknown to us, but which certainly were highly complex, as is witnessed by the bas-reliefs of the Pozo Moro monument (Almagro 1978: 251-278) or the engraving in one of Tivissa's pateras (Raddatz 1969: 259-264), illustrating myths of which we unfortunately lost all elements of narrative. But its existence is enough to suggest that identical narratives once explained the choroplastic decorations of Garvão and its region (Beirão & Gomes 1984: 450-482; Gomes 2011: 99-102), just as we should imagine that the circumstances of manipulation of these objects, their use and their occultation, may have given rise to other accounts - mythical or mythicizable - such as those that may have surrounded the obliteration of Capote's altar,

the concealment of the *bothros* of Garvão, or the condemnation of sites like Cancho Roano (Jiménez 2012: 190-202); also possibly the very concealment of the silver hoards we're dealing with.

The social cohesion that the mithopoietic function of manipulating these objects with the set of social practices associated with it produces develops itself in the historical path of communities and it is its perennial survival in social memory which gives them importance. For this reason, in certain circumstances, it gained architectural expression - certainly understood as the more enduring expression of all - as in the paradigmatic sanctuary of Roquepertuse, with lintels decorated by skulls and topped by the figure of a psychopomp bird, who presides to the representation of the worshiped gods (Benoit 1969: 59-69; Gantés 1990: 162-164). The *lunula* from Chão de Lamas, with the representation of severed heads, scavengers and "verracos" echoes this combination of ideological elements.

In the region that particularly interests us - the West between the Tagus and the Douro - a similar demonstration, no longer architectonic (from what survived) but epigraphic is known: inscriptions in indigenous language, recorded in the Roman period, commonly called Lusitanian inscriptions.

Rituals and sacrifices

The evidence of Lusitanian inscriptions (Tovar 1985: 227-254; Untermann 1997: 725-758; for the latest addition to the *corpus* Carneiro et al. 2008: I-11 and Prósper & Villar 2009: I-32) is especially relevant for the study of the practices associated with the silver hoards of the Tagus group for several reasons: first the coincidence of the find-spots of the hoards with the location of inscriptions in the same broad region; second is the narrower chronological gap between hoards and inscriptions than among hoards and some of the phenomena recalled in this analysis, which in some cases date back to ancient times in the Iron Age – this still stands with the uncertainty of the dating of the Lusitanian inscriptions for which chronologies well within the imperial era were sometimes suggested; lastly hoards and inscriptions undisputedly belong to the same cultural world, the local societies of the Iron Age - even if dated from the Roman Imperial period and using the Latin alphabet and partly Latin in their text, these inscriptions reflect a religious practice of local and traditional nature and are dedicated to a local pantheon, using the indigenous language by a deliberate choice, which can be connected to an injunction that would prevent the invocation of the gods in a language other than the traditional.

The large offerings made to the gods, registered on the rocks of Cabeço das Frágas (Schattner & Santos 2010, *passim*) and Lamas de Moledo, on the boulders of Arroyo del Puerco and Arronches (which may have had a more or less elaborate architectural framework) and even on the altar of Marecos (which most likely had such a framework correspondingly to a stronger Romanization of ritual practice observed here; cf. Le Roux & Tranoy, 1974: 252-255), are the best possible example for the type of circumstances in which silver treasures may have been manipulated.

The best archaeological example of these practices are (yet again) the remains of the ritual meal at the altar of Capote, showing the tableware used by the co-celebrants / diners who consumed the non-sacrificial fraction of the offerings, along with the equipment used in its processing (grills, skewers, knives) and other objects belonging to some of these individuals, as weapons and jewelry (Berrocal 2010: 270-272).

Archaeology also offers us some direct representations of at least some aspects of the ceremonies, the choreography of these rituals, such as the votive car from Vilela and others

(Correia 2000b: 182-183; Armada & García-Vuelta 2006: 164-175), showing a sacrifice with accompaniment distributed in two rows, separated by gender, while in other cases the vases used and jewelry (especially the torque) that accompany these social acts return.

The communal status of the Lusitanian inscriptions fits in the more general phenomenon of clan or ethnic affirmation through appropriation of acts of their members carried out on specific occasions; appropriation happens through the registration of those, which almost could be called *ad perpetuam rei memoriae*. Communitarian integration of individual actions of godly devotion or violent actions against other individuals traditionally become part of the relationship between community and individual, by which the former recognizes social relevance to the latter in return for the individual effort of protection of the community (magical or concrete, real or perceived), just as the community is able to exact censure, if individual acts are perceived as malign or just inadequate.

This interplay between individual and community could raise the issue of the silver ware being individually owned or common property, but on closer examination it is clear that this issue is as redundant and idle as the wish to determine whether the acts in which they were used were private occasion or religious rituals.

As an inscription celebrates an act of communal piety and states which were the specific individuals responsible, and probably as a priest who officiated was at other times, an individual with other functions in the community, these treasures (jewelry and vessels) may have had an ambivalent character, perhaps transient in some episodes of their life. Appropriated by the community as a whole, or by specific individuals with possibilities to do so within it, the circumstances of their initial acquisition or production, their use in concrete situations throughout its existence as useful objects and finally their amortization or occultation (temporarily or permanently), all of these situations formed their cultural biography, which in turn was part of the social memory of that community through the mithopoietic function that these prestige objects perform.

		Maintenance of liquid	Mixing and distributing liquid	Consumption	Fumigation
Silver vases	In hoards	Bandera type VII (large)	Bandera type VII (small)	<i>Cymbè</i>	
Greek pottery	In necropolises	Bell crater		<i>Skyphos</i>	
	In sites			Cástulo cup	
Local pottery	In necropolises	Carinated vase		Cup	<i>Thymiaterion</i>
	Garvão	Carinated vase	S-profiled vase	Open cup, small cup	<i>Thymiaterion</i>
	Capote	Carinated vase	S-profiled vase	Open cup, small cup	<i>Thymiaterion</i>

Table 2 – Archaeological evidence for ritual acts.

Conclusions

The use of silver plate by the communities of the late Iron Age in the region between the Douro and Tagus rivers, communities of which we know so little otherwise, is part both of traditional historical currents and very innovative processes.

The manipulation of community subsistence through resource management and its calendar, provisioning by booty when in conditions of scarcity and the statement of warrior prestige that comes in its wake, the control of the relationship with the sacred through coopting processes of the elite born of this prestige, were three traditional forms of power assertion in these communities, among others – might we assume. For all of them, the control of community relations with their more or less distant neighbors and with individuals from other regions (such as merchants), was decisive, because the effects of change capable of causing substantial alterations in local balances are most likely to arise from these spheres, something which, regardless of the degree of isolation that one wants to reconstruct about these communities, didn't cease to happen throughout the late Bronze Age and the entire Iron Age.

From the IV c. BC onwards, the situation surely changed, quickly and exponentially. The enlargement of the Carthaginian *epicrateia* (Arteaga 2001: 235-238) in Iberia and its effects (primarily tributes and recruitment of mercenaries, which may in certain circumstances have been one and the same thing or two complementary aspects of the same reality), were able to decisively affect the local balances. The exposure, directly or indirectly, to the typical practices of Hellenistic aristocracies (of which the Barca family is the westernmost example; cf. Polybius *Hist.* VIII, 9 *apud* Grimal 1975: 358-359) and, most likely, the mere narrative element of the context of these practices (by the recruiters or by returning mercenaries, for example), can have played a dramatic role as an element of change.

All the cultural elements discussed in this paper with regard to the vessels of silver do raise an issue that may have been important at the local level: the permutation of a wide range of elements and ritual and ideological common practices, originally traditional in specific regions of Western Europe and the Iberian Peninsula. That permutation is a more easily understandable situation if intercultural contact is a factor entered into the equation. It was imposed by the very existence of the *epicrateia* of Carthage under the Barca family and the very direct effect it had through recruiting mercenaries from different regions and integrating them into common military bodies (perhaps an inevitable practice considering the feeble regional demographics that it can be presumed to have existed). How many mercenaries actually returned will never be determined, but the sheer impact of their recruitment and the enormous potential of any story about them should not be underestimated (García y Bellido 1934: 2-16).

The introduction of currency, in the form of silver coins, as a tangible factor of top economics, linked directly to the tribute after the Roman conquest and with the effect of substantial parts of the local wealth being excised of the traditional domain of society, was another process cumulative with these new realities. It contributes to put into focus the underlying social problem the silver occultations testify: the impossibility of traditional structures of social and political domination, based on the charismatic power of some of its individuals (Weber 2005: 25-32) to respond effectively to change (Correia 2000a: 420-421). This impossibility did not have to do with the exercise of that power by external parties (something that the elites had more than a thousand years' experience in accommodating) but with the very circumstances in which the parties establish the relationship, an unsuspected echo of Alexander's conquests, which paves the way for the historic step of Romanization.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Raquel Vilaça and Miguel Serra for the invitation to participate in the colloquium. The year that has passed since then has been very fruitful in evolving personal views on these issues - hence the present text bears only a resemblance of core arguments with the paper read at Coimbra, October 31st, 2014.

José Ruivo (Museum of Conimbriga) was invaluable helping with the numismatic bibliography and his insights in the matter. Carmen Soares (Un. Coimbra), Mário Varela Gomes (Un. Nova de Lisboa), João Luís Cardoso (Un. Aberta), Luís Berrocal Rangel (Un. Autónoma Madrid), Ana Isabel Palma dos Santos (Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa) and the Documentation Department of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, were of great assistance.

References

- ALARCÃO, Jorge de (1974) – *Fouilles de Conimbriga V – La céramique commune locale et régionale*. Paris: De Boccard.
- ALFAYÉ VILLA, S. (2009) – *Santuarios y rituales en la Hispania Céltica*. Oxford: Archaeopress, BAR International Series 1963.
- ALMAGRO GORBEA, Martín (1977) – *El Bronce Final y el Período Orientalizante en Extremadura*. Madrid: CSIC, *Biblioteca Praehistorica Hispana* 14.
- ALMAGRO GORBEA, Martín (1978) – Los relieves mitológicos orientalizantes de Pozo Moro. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*. 35, p. 251-278.
- ARMADA, Xose-Lois & GARCÍA-VUELTA, Óscar (2006) – Symbolic forms from the Iron Age in the North-West of the Iberian Peninsula: Sacrificial bronzes and their problems. In GARCÍA QUINTELA, Marco; GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA, Francisco J. & CRIADO BOADO, Felipe (eds.) *Anthropology of the Indo-european world and material culture*. Budapest: Archaeolingua, p. 163-178.
- ARRUDA, Ana Margarida (1997) – As cerâmicas áticas do Castelo de Castro Marim. Lisboa: Ed. Colibri, Arqueologia & História Antiga 2.
- ARRUDA, Ana Margarida (2007) – Cerâmicas gregas encontradas em Portugal. In PEREIRA, Maria Helena Rocha (coord.), *Vasos Gregos em Portugal*. Lisboa: IPM, cat. exb. MNA, p. 135-140.
- ARRUDA, Ana Margarida & LOPES, Maria da Conceição (2012) – Dois vasos gregos da necrópole do Cerro Furado (Baleizão, Beja, Portugal). *O Arqueólogo Português*. 2, s.V, p. 401-415.
- ARSLAN, Ermanno A. (1991) – The transpadane Celts. In MOSCATI, Sabatino (coord.) *The Celts*. Milan: Bompiani, cat. exb. Pallazzo Grassi, p. 461-470.
- ARTEAGA, Oswaldo (2001) – La emergencia de la polis en el mundo púnico occidental. In ALMAGRO GORBEA, Martín; ARTEAGA, Oswaldo; BLECH, Michael; RUIZ MATA, Diego & SCHUBART, Hermanfrid, *Protohistoria de la Península Ibérica*. Barcelona: Ariel prehistoria, p. 217-282.
- BANDERA ROMERO, María Luisa (1986) – Objetos de plata que acompañan a las tesaurizaciones. In CHAVES TRISTÁN, Francisca, *Los tesoros en el Sur de Hispania*. Sevilha: Fund. El Monte, p. 607-694.
- BARBOSA, M. B. (1994) – Um tesouro sertoriano da região de Santarém. In GARCÍA-BELLIDO, María Paz & CENTENO Rui (eds.) *La moneda hispánica: ciudad y territorio*. Madrid: CSIC, *Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología* XIV, p. 239-244.
- BEIRÃO, Caetano de Mello & GOMES, Mário Varela (1984) – Coroplastia da 1ª Idade do Ferro do Sul de Portugal. In *Volume d'Hommage au géologue Georges Zbyzewsky*. Paris: Ed. Recherches sur les Civilizations, p. 450-482.
- BEIRÃO, Caetano de Mello & GOMES, Mário Varela (1985) – Grafitos da Idade do Ferro do Centro e Sul de Portugal. In HOZ, Javier de (ed.), *Actas del III Coloquio de Lenguas y Culturas Paleohispánicas*.

- Salamanca: Ed. Universidad de Salamanca, p. 465-502.
- BEIRÃO, C. M., SILVA, C., SOARES, J., GOMES, M.V. & GOMES, R.V. (1985) – Depósito votivo da II Idade do Ferro de Garvão. Notícia da primeira campanha de escavações. *O Arqueólogo Português*. 3, s. IV, p. 45-135.
- BENOIT, Fernand (1969) – *Art et Dieux de la Gaule*. Paris: Arthaud.
- BERROCAL Rangel, Luís (1992) – *Los pueblos célticos del Suroeste de la Península Ibérica*. Madrid: Ed. Complutense.
- BERROCAL Rangel, Luís (1994) – *El altar prerromano de Capote*. Madrid: Un. Autónoma.
- BERROCAL Rangel, Luís (2010) – Creencias y ritualidad en la Céltica del Suroeste. In TORTOSA ROCAMORA, Trinidad & CELESTINO PÉREZ, Sebastián (eds.) *Debate en torno a la religiosidad protohistórica*. Mérida: IAM, Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología LV, p. 265-284.
- BLÁZQUEZ, Cruces (1988) – Tesorillos de moneda republicana en la Península Ibérica. Addenda a Roman Republican Coin Hoards. *Acta Numismática*. 17-18 (1987-1988), p. 105-142.
- BRUN, Patrice (1994) – From Halstatt to La Téne period in the perspective of the Mediterranean world economy. In KRISTIANSEN, Kristian & JENSEN, Jorgen (eds.) *Europe in the first millennium BC*. Sheffield: J.R. Collis pub., Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 6, p. 57-66.
- CARDOSO, João Luís (2004) – *A Baixa Estremadura dos finais do IV Milénio AC até à chegada dos romanos: Um ensaio de história regional*. Oeiras: Câmara Municipal de Oeiras, Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras 12.
- CARNEIRO, André; ENCARNAÇÃO, José; OLIVEIRA, Jorge & TEIXEIRA, Carlos (2008) – Uma inscrição votiva em língua lusitana. *Palaeohispanica*. 8, p. 1-11.
- CELESTINO PÉREZ, Sebastián & BLANCO FERNANDÉZ, José Luís (1999) – El conjunto áureo de Pajares. In CELESTINO PÉREZ, Sebastián (ed.) *El yacimiento Protohistórico de Pajares, Villanueva de la Vera, Cáceres I. Las necrópolis y el tesoro áureo*. Mérida: Junta de Extremadura, Memorias de Arqueología Extremeña 3, p. 109-138.
- CELESTINO PÉREZ, Sebastián & BLANCO FERNANDÉZ, José Luís (2006) – *La joyería en los orígenes de Extremadura: el espejo de los dioses*. Mérida: IAM, Ataecina 1.
- CENTENO, Rui M. S. (1977) – O tesouro monetário do Castro de Romariz (Portugal). *Santuola*. 2, p. 209-219.
- CHAVES TRISTÁN, Francisca (1996) – *Los tesoros en el Sur de Hispania*. Sevilla: Fund. El Monte.
- CORREIA, Virgílio Hipólito (2000a) – Modelos de interpretação e arqueologia proto-histórica. In JORGE, Vítor Oliveira (coord.), *Protohistória da Península Ibérica*. Porto: ADECAP, Actas do 3º Congresso de Arqueologia Peninsular V, p. 413-426.
- CORREIA, Virgílio Hipólito (2000b) – Carro votivo. In AZEVEDO, Carlos A. Moreira & SOALHEIRO, João (coord.), *Cristo, Fonte de Esperança*. Porto: Diocese, cat. exb., p. 182-183.
- CORREIA, Virgílio Hipólito (in print) – An Iron Age gold workshop in South-West Iberia. Reflections on Vaiamonte and other earrings. In SCHWAB, R. & ARMBRUSTER, B. (eds.), *Iron Age Gold in Celtic Europe*. Stellerloh: Verlag Marie Leidorf, Forschungen zur Archäometrie und Altertumswissenschaft 6, in print.
- CORREIA, Virgílio Hipólito; PARREIRA, Rui & SILVA, Armando Coelho F. (2013) – *Ourivesaria arcaica em Portugal*. Lisboa: CTT.
- COULANGES, Fustel de (1980) (10th ed.) – *A cidade antiga*. Lisboa: Liv. Clássica ed.
- DAREMBERG, Charles Victor & SAGLIO, Edmond (1873) – *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*. Paris: Hachette.
- DEDET, Bernard (2013) – La tête coupée, symbole de mise à mort supreme en Gaule meridionale? Des textes anciens aux données de l'archéologie. In GRUAT, Philippe & GARCIA, Dominique (eds.), *Stèles et statues du début de l'âge du Fer dans le Midi de la France (VIIIe-I^{er} s. av. J.-C.) : chronologies, fonctions et comparaisons*. Aix-en-Provence: ADAM ed., *Documents d'Archéologie Meridionale*. 34 [2011], p. 281-289.
- DIETLER, Michael (2006) – Culinary Encounters: Food, Identity, and Colonialism. In TWISS, Katheryn C. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Food and Identity*. Carbondale III., Southern Illinois University, Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper 34, p. 218-242.
- DUMÉZIL, Georges (2000) (2nd ed.) – *La religion romaine archaïque*. Paris: Payot.
- FABIÃO, Carlos (2004) – O tesouro de prata de Monsanto da Beira, Idanha-a-Nova. In FERREIRA, Ana

- Margarida (coord.) *Arqueologia: colecções de Francisco Tavares Proença Júnior*. Castelo Branco: Museu FTPJ, p. 65-72.
- FARIA, António (1992) – Três tesouros monetários romanos de época republicana. *Nummus* 2^a s., 14-15 (1991-1992), p. 87-92.
- FERREIRA, Octávio da Veiga (1977) – Notícia de algumas estações pré e proto-históricas e objectos isolados inéditos ou pouco conhecidos. *Boletim Cultural da Assembleia Distrital de Lisboa*, s. III, 83, p. 203-218.
- GALLAY, Alain (2012) – Notes de lectures. Available at http://www.archeo-gallay.ch/7a_Lectures9.html, 5/12/2015.
- GANTÉS, Lucien-François (1990) – Roquepertuse, le site archéologique. In *Voyage en Massalie*. Marseille: Musées de Marseille/Edisud, cat. exb., p. 162-165.
- GARCÍA y BELLIDO, Antonio (1934) – Factores que contribuyeron a la helenización de la España prerromana. I. Los iberos en la Grecia propia y en el oriente helenístico. Madrid: Academia de la Historia.
- GARRIDO ROIZ, Juan Pedro & ORTA GARCÍA, Elena M^a. (1978) – *Excavaciones en la necropolis “La Joya” Huelva II*. Madrid: MEC, Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 96.
- GIBSON, Catriona; CORREIA, Virgílio H., BURGESS, Colin B. & BOARDMANN, S. (1998) – Alto do Castelinho da Serra. *Journal of Iberian Archaeology*. 0 [sic], p. 189-244.
- GOMES, Francisco B. (2011) – Um ciclo iconográfico feminino na Idade do Ferro do Sul de Portugal. *Cadmo*. 22, p. 89-104.
- GOMES, Mário Varela & BEIRÃO, Caetano de Mello (1988) – O tesouro da coleção Barros e Sá. (Monsanto da Beira, Castelo Branco). *Veleia*. 5, p. 125-138.
- GRIMAL, Pierre (1975) (2nd ed.) – *Le siècle des Scipions. Rome et l'hellénisme au temps des guerres puniques*. Paris: Aubier.
- HERNÁNDEZ HERNÁNDEZ, Francisca & GALÁN DOMINGO, Eduardo (1996) – *La necrópolis de “El Mercadillo”* (Botija, Cáceres). Mérida: Junta de Extremadura, Extremadura Arqueológica, VI.
- HIPÓLITO, Mário Castro (1961) – Dos tesouros de moedas romanas em Portugal. *Conimbriga*. 2-3 (1960-1961), p. 1-166.
- JACOBSTAHL, Paul (1969) (2nd ed.) – *Early Celtic art*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier (2012) – Muerte y transfiguración: cremaciones, hecatombes y sacrificios en el final de Cancho Roano (Zalamea de la Serena, Badajoz). *Menga*. 3, p. 187-207.
- JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA, Javier & ORTEGA BLANCO, José (2004) – *La cerámica griega en Extremadura*. Mérida: MNAR, Cuadernos Emeritenses, 28.
- KRISTIANSEN, Kristian (1994) – The emergence of the European world system in the Bronze Age. In KRISTIANSEN, Kristian & JENSEN, Jorgen (eds.), *Europe in the first millennium BC*. Sheffield: J.R. Collis pub., Sheffield Archaeological Monographs, 6, p. 7-30.
- KRISTIANSEN, Kristian & JENSEN, Jorgen (eds.), *Europe in the first millennium BC*. Sheffield: J.R. Collis pub., Sheffield Archaeological Monographs, 6.
- LE ROUX, Patrick & TRANOY, Alain (1974) – Contribution à l'étude des régions rurales du N. O. hispanique au Haut-Empire: deux inscriptions de Penafiel. In *Actas do III Congresso Nacional de Arqueología*. Porto: MEN, p. 249-258.
- LORENZ, Karl (1959) – The role of aggression in group formation. In SCHAFFNER, B. (ed.), *Group processes. Transactions of the Fourth Conference 1957*. New York: Macy Found., p. 181-252.
- MARTÍN VALLS, Ricardo (1966) – La circulación monetaria ibérica. In *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*. 32, p. 207-366
- MENICHETTI, Mauro (1994) – *Archeologia del potere*. Milan: Longanesi.
- METZGER, Henri (1951) – *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle*. Paris: De Boccard, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 172.
- MOINAT, Patrick (2009) – Corps en tous sens. In *Le Mormont. Un sanctuaire des Helvètes en terre vaudoise vers 100 avant J.-C.* Lausanne: Archaeodunum, p. 5-8.
- PAIRAULT-MASSA, Françoise Hélène (1992) – *Iconologia e Politica nell'Italia Antica*. Milan: Longanesi.
- PRADOS TORREIRA, Lourdes (2010) – Tesorillos y depósitos votivos. Algunas reflexiones sobre su

- iconografía y significado. In TORTOSA ROCAMORA, Trinidad & CELESTINO PÉREZ, Sebastian (eds.), *Debate en torno a la religiosidad protohistórica*. Mérida: IAM, Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología, LV, p. 245-264.
- PRÓSPER, Blanca M. & VILLAR, Francisco (2009) – Nueva Inscripción Lusitana procedente de Portalegre. *Emerita*, 77-1, p. 1-32.
- RADDATZ, Klaus (1969) – *Die Schatzfunde der Iberischen Halbinsel*. Berlim: Walter de Gruyter vg., Madrider Forschungen, 5.
- REINACH, Adolphe (1913) – Les têtes coupées et les trophées en Gaule. *Revue Celtique*, 34, p. 38-60 and 253-286.
- RIBEIRO, Orlando; LAUTENSACH, Hermann & DAVEAU, Suzanne (1987) - *Geografia de Portugal*. Lisboa: Ed. João Sá da Costa.
- RICHTER, Gisela M. A & MILNE, Marjorie J. (1935) – *Shapes and names of Athenian vases*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- ROSTOVTEFF, Michail I. (1926) – *The social and economic history of the Roman empire*. New York: Biblo & Thannen pub.
- ROSTOVTEFF, Michail I. (1941) – *The social and economic history of the Hellenistic world*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- ROUILLARD, Pierre (1991) – *Les Grecs et la Península Ibérique du VIIIe au IVe siècle avant Jésus-Christ*. Paris: De Boccard, Publications du Centre Pierre Paris, 21.
- ROUILLARD, Pierre; PAIXÃO, António Cavaleiro; VILLANUEVA-PUIG, Marie-Christine & DURAND, Jean-Louis (1989) – Les vases grecs d'Alcácer do Sal (Portugal). *O Arqueólogo Português*, s. IV, 6-7 (1988-1989), p. 43-108.
- ROWLANDS, Michael (1994) – From 'the gift' to market economy: the ideology and politics of European Iron Age studies. In KRISTIANSEN, Kristian & JENSEN, Jorgen (eds.) *Europe in the first millennium BC*. Sheffield: J.R. Collis pub., Sheffield Archaeological Monographs, 6, p. 1-6.
- RUDHARDT, J. (1992) (2nd. ed.) – *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique*. Paris: Picard.
- RUIVO, José da Silva (1997) – Circulação monetária na Estremadura Portuguesa até aos inícios do séc. III. *Nummus* 2^a s., 16-20 (1993-1997), p. 7-176.
- RUIVO, José da Silva (2002) – O tesouro do Coiço (Concelho de Penacova, Distrito de Coimbra). *Nummus* 2^a s. 21-24 (1998-2002), p. 145-156.
- RUIVO, José; LOURENÇO, Sandra; BARROS, Pedro & SALES, Pedro (in print) – O tesouro romano-republicano do Casal Ascenso Antunes (Ferreira do Zêzere, Santarém). *Conimbriga*, in print.
- SCHATTNER, Thomas G. & SANTOS, Maria João Correia (coord.), (2010) – *Porcom, Oilam, Taurom. Cabeço das Fráguas: o santuário no seu contexto*. Guarda: Centro de Estudos Ibéricos, Iberografias, 6.
- SHEFTON, B. B. (1995) – Greek imports at the extremities of the Mediterranean, West and East: reflections on the case of Iberia in the fifth century BC. In CUNLIFFE, B. & KEAY, S. (eds.), *Social complexity and the development of towns in Iberia*. Oxford: Un. Press, Proceedings of the British Academy, 86) p. 127-156.
- SILVA, Armando Coelho Ferreira da (2007) (2nd. ed.) – *A cultura castreja no noroeste de Portugal*. Paços de Ferreira: Câmara Municipal de Paços de Ferreira.
- SILVA, Armando Coelho Ferreira da; SILVA, Celso Tavares da & LOPES, António Baptista (1984) – Depósito de fundidor do final da Idade do Bronze do castro da Senhora da Guia (Baiões, S. Pedro do Sul, Viseu). In *Homenagem a D. Domingos de Pinho Brandão*. Porto: Centro de Estudos Humanísticos, Lucerna n° ext., p. 73-110.
- STERCKX, Claude (2005) – *Les mutilations des ennemis chez les Celtes préchrétiens*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- TOVAR, Antonio (1985) – La inscripción del Cabeço das Fráguas y la lengua de los Lusitanos. In HOZ, Javier de (ed.), *Actas del III Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Paleohispanicas*. Salamanca: Ed. Universidad, p. 227-254.
- UNTERMANN, Jürgen (1977) – *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum. Band IV, Die tartessischen, keltiberischen und lusitanischen Inschriften*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert vg.
- VIEGAS, João Rosa & PARREIRA, Rui (1984) – Der schatzfund von Santana da Carnota (Alenquer,

Portugal). *Madridrer Mitteilungen*. 25, p. 79-91.

VILAÇA, Raquel (1998) – Produção, consumo e circulação de bens na Beira Interior na transição do II para o I Milénio a.C. In *Actas do Colóquio “A pré-história na Beira Interior”*. Viseu: CEPBA, Estudos Pré-Históricos 6, p. 347-374.

VILAÇA, Raquel (2000) – Notas soltas sobre o património arqueológico do Bronze Final da Beira Interior. In FERREIRA, M. C.; PERESTELO, Osório, M. & MARQUES, A. A. (eds.), *Beira Interior. História e Património*. Guarda: Câmara Municipal da Guarda, p. 31-50.

VILLARONGA, Leandre (1993) – *Tresors monetaris de la Península Ibérica anteriors a August: repertori i anàlisi*. Barcelona: Ass. Numismatica Espanola.

WALLERSTEIN, Immanuel (1990) – *O sistema mundial moderno*. Lisboa: Ed. Afrontamento.

WEBER, Max (2005) – *Três tipos de poder e outros escritos*. Lisboa: Tribuna.



Fig. 1 – The hoard from Chão de Lamas (Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Photo: Francisco Rodríguez Pérez-Conjunto 252).

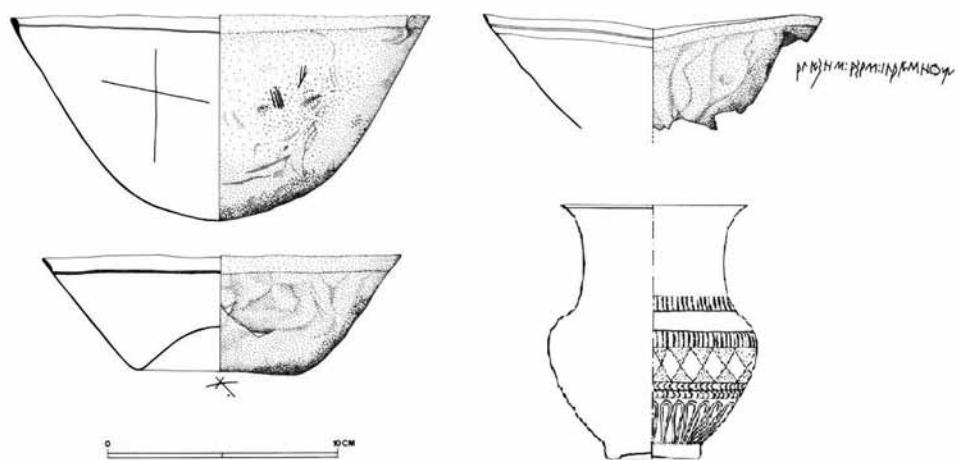


Fig. 2 –The hoard from Monsanto (from Gomes & Beirão 1988, figs. 2 and 8, modified. Originals courtesy of Mário Varela Gomes).



Fig. 3 – The hoard from Padrão (from Beirão & Gomes 1985, est. VII-A. Courtesy of Mário Varela Gomes).



Fig. 4 – Silver vase of the hoard from Pragança (Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photo: José Pessoa/DGPC/ADF-Inv.Au212).

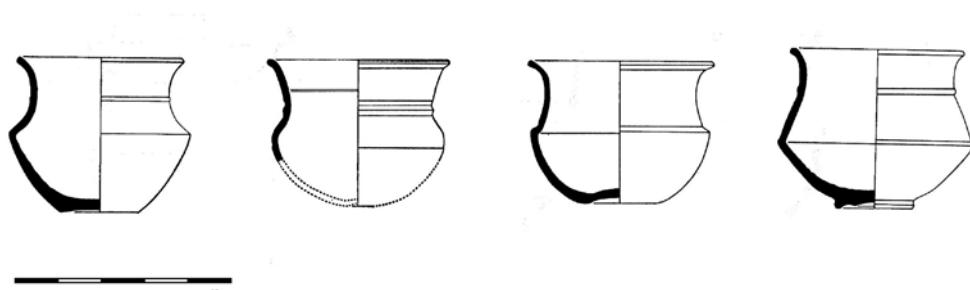


Fig. 5 – Carinated vases produced in fine gray ware, from Conimbriga (from Alarcão 1975, pl. XII).

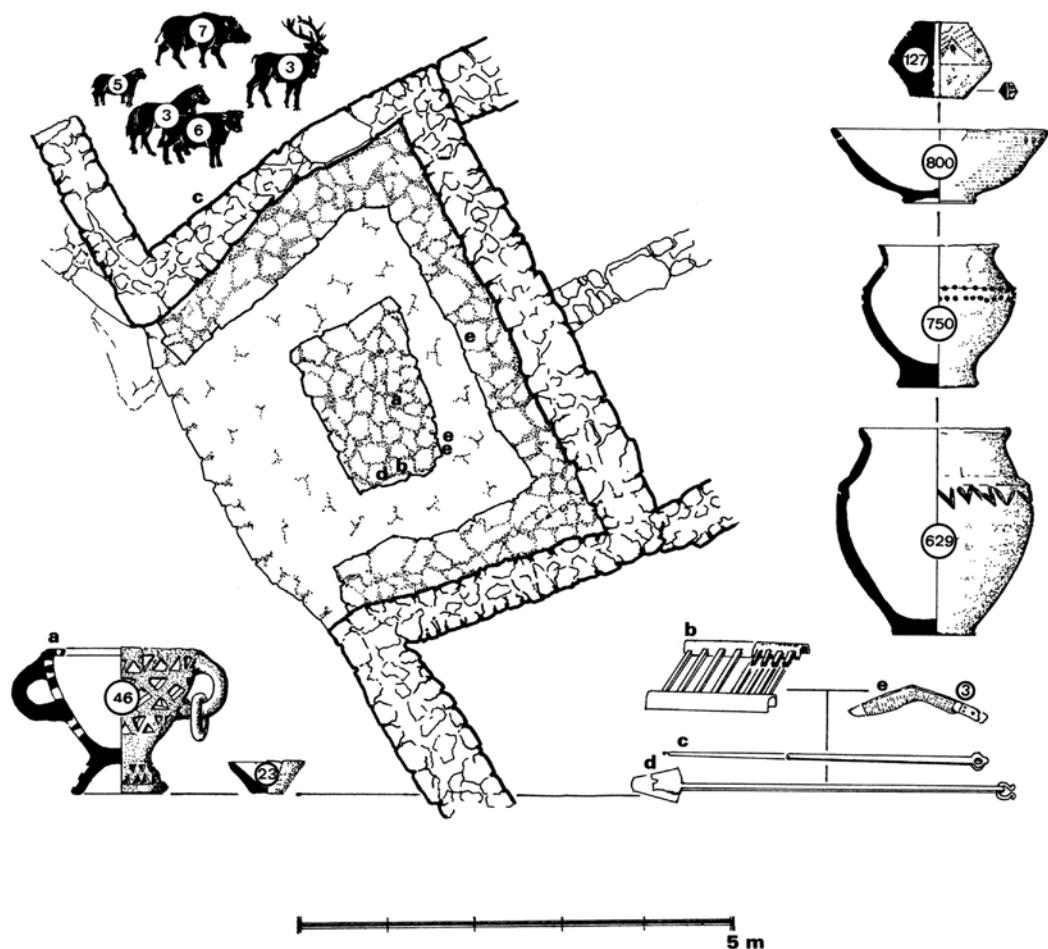


Fig. 6 – The sanctuary at Capote reconstructed (from Berrocal 2010, fig. 3. Courtesy of Luís Berrocal Rangel).



Fig. 7 – Ceramic set of group-find IX from Garvão (from Beirão et al. 1985, fig. 39, modified).

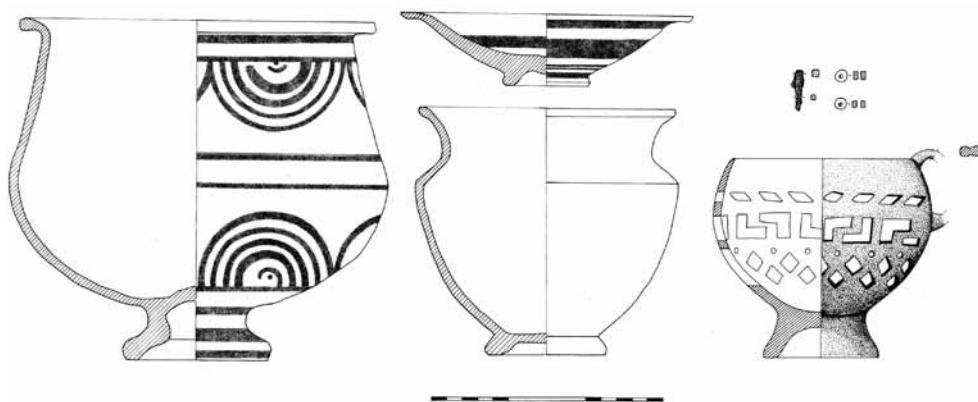


Fig. 8 – The funerary equipment of tomb 15(2) of El Mercadillo necropolis (from Hernández & Galán 1996, figs. 17 and 18, modified).



Fig. 9 – Figured lunula from the hoard of Chão de Lamas (Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Photo: Ángel Martínez Levas-N.I. 28589).

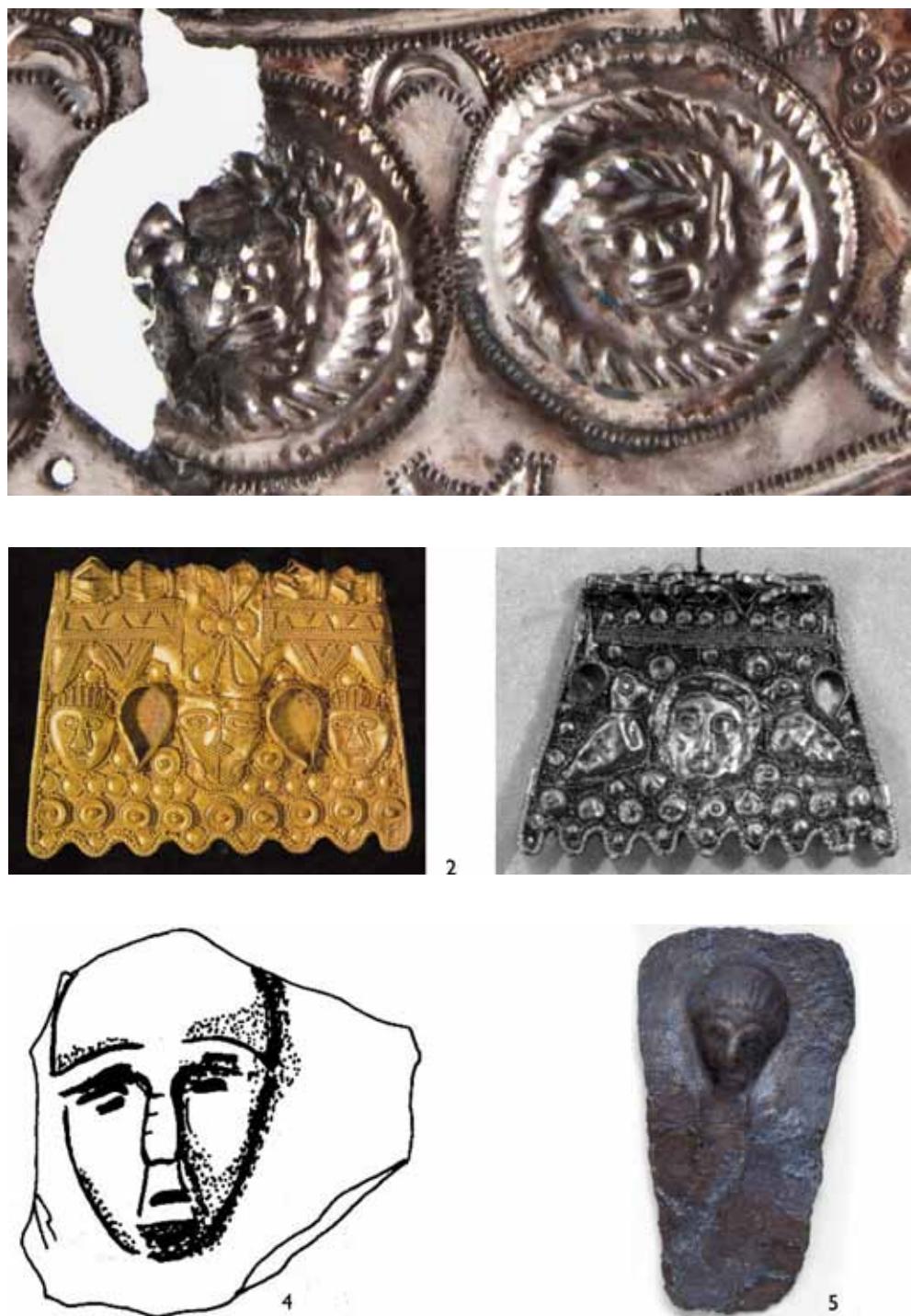


Fig. 10 – Severed heads representations: 1 – Chão de Lamas; 2 - Segura de León; 3 – Bombarral; 4 – Capote; 5 – Garvão (1, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Photo: Ángel Martínez Levas-N.I. 28589; 2 and 4, courtesy of Luis Berrocal Rangel; 3, courtesy of João Luís Cardoso; 5, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photo: José Pessoa/DGPC/ADF-Inv.Au I 159).

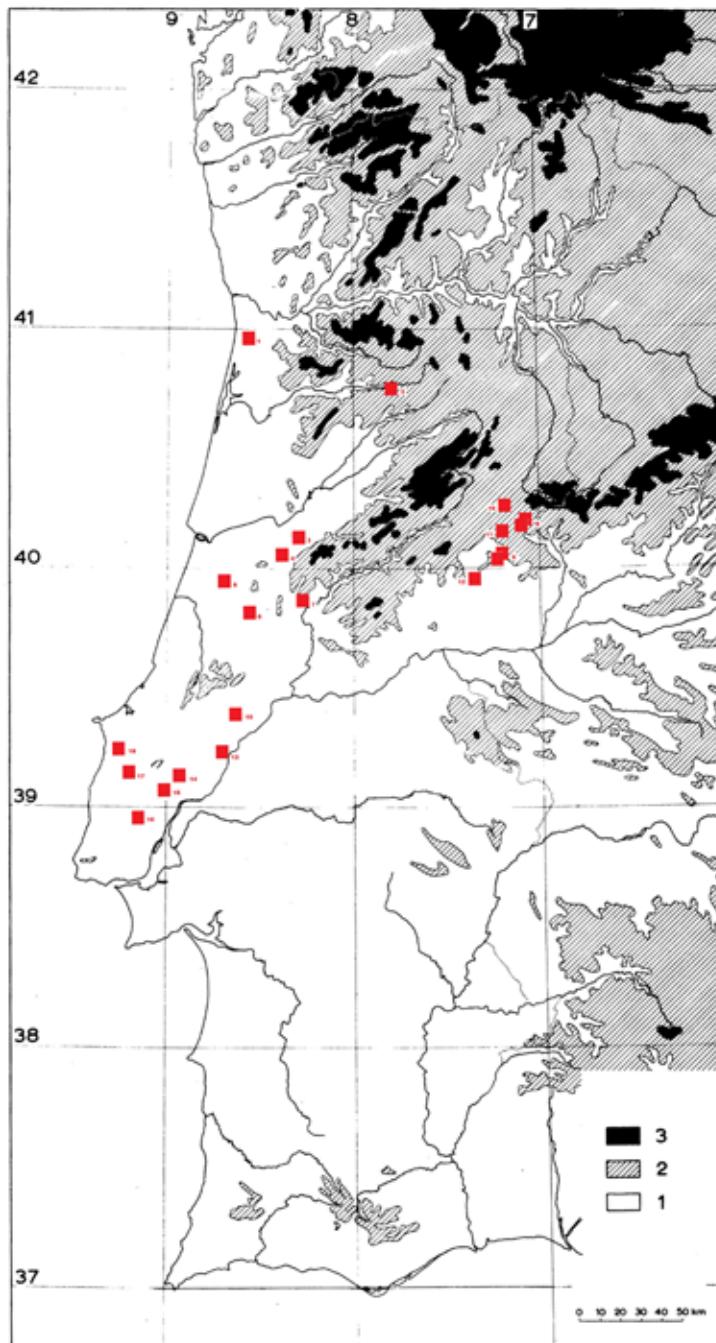


Fig. 11 – Approximate location of hoards discussed: 1 – Romariz; 2 – Viseu; 3 - Coiço (Penacova); 4 - Chão de Lamas; 5 - Cabeça da Corte; 6 - Fonte do Alvorge; 7 - Casal Ascenso Antunes; 8 – Monsanto; 9 – Idanha; 10 – Penhagarcia; 11 - Monforte da Beira; 12 – Padrão; 13 – Santarém; 14 - Santana da Carnota; 15 - Pinhal do Alvarinho; 16 – Pragança; 17 – Columbeira; 18 – Bombarral; 19 – Charneca. (Base map: Ribeiro et al. 1987, I 169; Heights: 1 - < 400m; 2 - >400m, <700m; 3 - >1000m).



Imagens do Colóquio



FACULDADE DE LETRAS
UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA
DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTÓRIA
ESTUDOS EUROPEUS,
ARQUEOLOGIA E ARTES

