

O conceito de Bronze  
Atlântico no quadro  
do pensamento arqueológico  
do século XX

# Introductory Remarks

■ ANTONIO GILMAN\* ■

For most of this century the passage from Neolithic to Bronze Age was considered in Three Age terms, as an essentially technological advance (e.g., Childe, 1969). Copper and bronze implements would permit production to be carried out more effectively than their stone counterparts. Metal cutting implements are generally sharper and can be recycled effectively, and these improvements would have rippling benefits throughout the technological system in the form of better means of production, transport, and so on. At the same time, metal production would involve craft specialization, and this separation of segments of the social whole from the tasks of basic, agricultural production would have over time pervasive effects on social organization. The technological benefits of bronze metallurgy would also be at the root of the expansion of metallurgy. The demands for the finished products being high, and the necessary raw materials being relatively scarce, established centers of production would be driven to increase their scope of operation. At the same time, the stone age societies on the periphery would be eager to adopt the technologies and associated cultural practices provided by the centers of advanced production. In the Iberian Peninsula, for example, explanations of later prehistoric culture change that relied on this underlying logic predominated until very recently.

It is easy, however, for a prehistorian of the Iberian Peninsula to understand the difficulties that have led to the general abandonment of a technologically driven account of Bronze Age development. Neither the nature of the objects produced (mostly weapons and ornaments), nor the volume of metallurgical production (apparently very small and thoroughly unresponsive to efficiencies of scale), nor the contexts in which metal is mostly found (in the earlier Bronze Age, burials; in the later Bronze Age, hoards/votive deposits) speak to the technological importance of metal in facilitating more effective means of production. Likewise, it seems difficult to accept Childe's (1954, p. 158) suggestion that metal weapons would have afforded their possessors control over what Goody (1971) has termed the means of destruction: a mob of peasants armed with slingshots (a traditional Iberian weapon) would have been more than a match for the best-equipped Bronze Age hero. The significance of metal in the Bronze Age of Iberia (and western Mediterranean and Atlantic Europe generally) has little to do with its practicality.

The alternative view which has developed over the past twenty years or so interprets the significance of metal-working in social terms. Copper and Bronze Age societies are those, as Serge Cleuziou (1994, p. 34) puts it, "où, d'une manière ou d'une autre, des éléments traduisant une stratification sociale sont apparents dans les données archéologiques." Here metal is seen as a means of concentrating wealth in a durable, divisible form, wealth which for the most part enters the archaeological record as a result of the conspicuous consumption of the limited social segment that controls it. This view of matters raises a series of questions, to which I would hope the communications at this meeting would serve to contribute answers, or discussions that would help us formulate better questions.

How does the social segment that hoards or sacrifices wealth come to possess it? D'Altroy and Earle (1985) have argued that elites obtain the resources they require by two strategies. One is staple finance, the collection of agricultural produce or livestock from pri-

mary producers. This surplus can then be deployed to support retainers (craftsmen retained to produce goods of high quality, for example), to sponsor feasts, to fund mass labor-intensive construction projects, and so on. The other is wealth finance, the exchange of scarce goods that members of the elite control to obtain other scarce goods that they do not directly control (but can be used, once they have been procured, as means to attract supporters). The nature of the archaeological record of the Atlantic Bronze Age will lead us to emphasize the latter strategy, but it is clear that any stable system of wealth exchange (one that leaves a substantial archaeological trace) depends in the end on the ability reliably to command the labor that creates wealth, that is to say, on staple finance. The elites of a pre-capitalist world system may think globally, but they will not do so very long unless they act locally.

How, then, was primary production (crop growing and livestock raising) organized? Some elite control over this sector must be posited for the reasons I have just mentioned, but the extensive, pastorally-oriented strategies that are proposed to account for the paucity of settlement evidence from the Late Bronze Age cannot straightforwardly be made to square with the existence of constraints of primary producers that would cause them to deliver surplus to overlords [or, as Michael Mann (1986) puts it, with the “caging” of commoners]. To state matters another way, if the pattern of intensified agricultural production that I and others (e.g., Gilman; Thornes, 1985) have argued (not entirely without evidence) was the basis of the stable pattern of long-term fortified settlements in the Copper and earlier Bronze Ages in Iberia was broken, how and why did this rupture take place? The lacunae of the odd and biased archaeological record of Late Bronze Age Iberia can have any number of specific historical explanations, but these scenarios must be susceptible to archaeological tests. I hope to understand how to grapple with this issue better by Saturday.

One way around this problem would be to argue that Late Bronze Age Iberian societies were not characterized by a stable system of social stratification, that leaders were not members of a substantially hereditary elite, but attracted followers without caging them by the provision of a variety of services (distributing surpluses generated by their own hard work, providing successful military leadership, and so on). On the face of it, this would not seem an unreasonable reading of the evidence provided by, say, Cogotas I communities in the Meseta. This, of course, raises the same issue I have just raised in terms of production strategies in social terms. Several scholars have recently argued that societies in southern and eastern Iberia in the early second millennium were organized as states (e.g., Arteaga, 1992; Nocete, 1994; Lull; Risch, 1996), but even if the Argaric and other groups of the “classic” Bronze Age are, so to speak, demoted to “chiefdoms” (as I would prefer, and I concede the issue may simply be one of semantics), this would require a substantial involution from the earlier to the later Bronze Age. Such events can occur, but once again they must be plausibly documented.

A “primitive” reading of the social landscape of Late Bronze Age Iberia would, I think, raise problems with attempts to explain the extended network of relations demonstrated by the distribution of various types of bronzes in terms of a “world system” approach. Ruiz-Gálvez Priego has developed interpretations along these lines in a number of recent publications (1988, 1994, 1995), arguing that, over the course of the Late Bronze Age, Iberia passed from being “marginal” to being “peripheral”. Now if I understand matters correctly, a peripheral area within a world system has an established relation of dependency on the core. Emissaries from the center must expect to find reliable partners, compradore elites, on the periphery during their visits. In other words, to become suitable for incorporation into a regular system of international exchanges, an area must have elites that can sustain their position over time: the social organization

must be one in which hereditary succession is fairly reliable. Such an organization must involve some degree of caging of commoners.

I recognize that a call for, as it were, a class analysis of the prehistoric social landscape must seem particularly futile in the case of the Atlantic Bronze Age, a phenomenon about which it would not be entirely unfair to say that the most salient characteristic of its archaeological record is its incompleteness. Our best efforts to develop more complete evidence will be futile, however, unless we set ourselves goals that are guided by a realistic account of historical processes.

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\* Department of Anthropology, California State University, California, U.S.A.

# O conceito de Bronze Atlântico na Península Ibérica

■ ANA M. S. BETTENCOURT\* ■

**RESUMO** Efectuou-se um breve historial sobre a aplicação do conceito de Bronze Atlântico na Península Ibérica, caracterizando as perspectivas teóricas subjacentes aos diversos. De seguida elabora-se uma desconstrução dos critérios que sustentaram o conceito durante décadas a partir de novos dados contextualizados e de uma nova postura epistemológica. Conclui-se da inoperância do conceito pela constatação de que a região englobada por uma pretensa metalúrgica corresponde, de facto, a uma diversidade de “passados” em termos materiais, sócio-económicos e simbólicos.

**ABSTRACT** This paper begins traces a brief history of the use of the concept of an “Atlantic Bronze Age” in Iberian Peninsula’s archaeology. That concept presupposes an unity in aspects like metalurgy, mining resources and absence of tombs and settlements in the archaeological record. The author tries to identify the theoretical underpinnings of the various discourses produced by different writers. Then, based in contextualised fresh data and in a new epistemological approach, she deconstructs the criteria used to support that conception for more than 40 years. Finally, the author proposes that concept to be discarded, because it doesn’t fit the heterogeneous reality (material culture, environment data) that it pretends to account for.

## Introdução

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Pretendemos, com este trabalho, perspectivar a evolução do conceito de Bronze Atlântico até à actualidade e verificar a pertinência ou não da sua utilização à luz dos dados e pressupostos teóricos actuais.

Iniciámos com um breve historial e passámos posteriormente para a revisão do conceito a diversos níveis: o que se entende afinal por Bronze Atlântico? Será uma cultura no sentido histórico-culturalista do termo? Uma província cronotipológica ou cronotecnológica? Constituirá uma área de filiação dos artefactos metálicos comum ou tratar-se-á de uma zona comum de identidade socio-simbólica?

Ao tentarmos dar resposta a estas questões, muitas outras foram surgindo, o que gradualmente nos permitiu pôr algumas reservas à utilização do conceito.

## Breve historial

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O conceito de Bronze Atlântico foi criado por Santa Olalla (1938-1941<sup>1</sup>), com base em critérios puramente tipológicos associados à produção metalúrgica e às suas filiações extra-peninsulares.

O autor divide a Península em dois grandes períodos: o Bronze Mediterrânico e o Bronze Atlântico que se sucederia cronologicamente ao primeiro. As fortes influências

orientais do Bronze Mediterrânico foram substituídas, por ligações com a Europa central e nórdica, a França, a Grã-Bretanha e a Irlanda, no segundo período.

Numa perspectiva evolucionista e linear tão ao gosto da época, o Bronze Atlântico corresponderia ao Bronze III (1200 a 900 a.C.) e ao Bronze IV (900 a 650 a.C.) da sua periodização para a Península.

Na primeira fase o autor enquadra os machados de talão com dois anéis, que considera uma produção peninsular, os machados de aletas, os punhais e as espadas de nervura central.

Na segunda, e de forma sucessória, integra os machados de alvado, as foices, as pontas de lança, as navalhas de barbear e as espadas e punhais em língua de carpa.

As mudanças periódicas foram explicadas por factores exteriores à Península, através de vagas migracionistas oriundas da Europa central, enquadrando-se numa perspectiva difusionista da arqueologia.

MacWhite (1951) restringe a área do Bronze Atlântico à fachada atlântica peninsular. Incluiu neste conceito apenas o Noroeste e o Sudoeste (toda a zona a Sul do Douro). Considera a Península como área de diversidade cultural demasiado vasta para ser englobada sobre uma designação comum. Conclui, igualmente, que a periodização efectuada por Santa-Olalla é baseada em critérios meramente tipológicos e preconiza para trabalhos futuros, a identificação de vários grupos culturais ou étnicos a que correspondam os diferentes achados. Inscreve-se assim numa perspectiva histórico-culturalista.

Aceita as duas fases de Santa-Olalla embora com amplitudes cronológicas e áreas de distribuição geográfica distintas: o Bronze III (1200-800 a. C.) que restringe ao Noroeste, com influência principalmente francesa e o Bronze IV (800-400 a. C.) com fortes influxos Irlandesas. Anteriores a estas duas fases identifica um Bronze II ou Proto-Atlântico que coloca entre 1700 e 1200 a. C. Esta fase, sincrónica de El Argar, distanciar-se-ia pelas fortes influências atlânticas e centro-europeias na cultura indígena. Encara o Bronze Atlântico como um fenómeno ligado à via marítima e exclui as migrações como factor de mudança.

Savory (1951<sup>2</sup>, 1974<sup>3</sup>) adopta a mesma área geográfica de MacWhite ao Bronze Atlântico. Tal restrição atendendo igualmente à diversidade cultural, não só na metalurgia, mas também na cerâmica, nas características do povoamento e nas tradições sepulcrais de algumas zonas. Para o autor Bronze Atlântico centraliza-se no Noroeste e é resultado de influências francesas e cantábricas. A cronologia que aponta para este período vai desde o século VII ao III/II a.C. Admite também a existência de um grupo no Sudoeste cuja origem se encontraria nas influências simultaneamente atlânticas e mediterrânicas, sendo posteriormente transformada por influxos de Hallstatt recente, oriundos de França.

Como factor de mudança não exclui algum migracionismo embora em pequena escala.

Em 1968 considera já o conceito pouco “satisfatório” face à realidade arqueológica peninsular.

Almagro-Gorbea (1977 e 1986<sup>4</sup>) defende, também para os finais da Idade do Bronze, “um círculo cultural de origem atlântica” (*Id. ibidem*, p. 344) com cinco áreas distintas, mas com fortes relações metalúrgicas com a fachada costeira da Europa atlântica e, esporadicamente, com países escandinavos. As áreas culturais personalizam-se pela distribuição espacial de artefactos em bronze e ouro que acompanham os elementos comuns: as armas e a tecnologia que se explicam pela complementaridade dos recursos mineiros de uma zona oceânica.

Considera uma área no Noroeste, com penetrações na Meseta Norte, uma outra entre Douro e Tejo, com influências na Meseta e Estremadura espanhola, uma terceira em

Huelva e baixo Guadalquivir<sup>5</sup>, outra na zona Astur-Cantábrica e por fim, uma última no Sudoeste.

Apesar desta distinção espacial o autor elabora uma periodização evolucionista e linear a saber:

- Bronze Final I (1250-1150 a.C.); Bronze Final II (1100-900 a.C.) fase de plena de incorporação da Península no Bronze Atlântico; Bronze Final III (900-850 a.C.); Bronze Final IV (800-750/700 a.C.) e Bronze Final V (700 a.C.) que se restringe ao Noroeste, com uma metalurgia residual.

A cada um destes períodos o autor atribui um conjunto de objectos-tipo que os individualizam. O mais antigo enquadraria, entre outros, espadas de tipo “Ballintoper”, machados de talão com um anel e pontas de lança; o Bronze II registaria espadas pistiliformes, capacetes, foices de alvado, punhais de tipo “Porto de Mós”, machados de talão com dois anéis, pontas de lança e a ourivesaria de tipo “Berzocana”; o Bronze III corresponderia ao depósito da ria de Huelva, bem como à introdução de caldeiros, fúrculas, espetos, machados de alvado e cinzéis; o Bronze IV integraria as espada de tipo “Vénat” e perduraria até à introdução do ferro na Andaluzia. Do Bronze V fariam parte os machados de talão com duplo anel, punhais de antenas e espada de antenas em ferro.

A tecnologia é também subdividida: para os períodos I, II e III as combinações seriam binárias com proporções de estanho entre os 5 e os 10%. No último, seriam ternárias com bronzes pobres em estanho, na ordem dos 7,5%, e com teores de chumbo entre 50 a 75%.

A mudança nas estruturas socio-económicas e ideológicas das sociedades explicar-se, fundamentalmente, pelo papel da metalurgia.

#### As várias sínteses dos anos 80: P. Kalb, Ruiz-Gálvez Priego e Coffyn

Cabe a P. Kalb (1980a; 1980b) afastar-se de critérios puramente metalúrgicos e valorizar a distribuição espacial dos objectos metálicos em associação com as cerâmicas e as jazidas mineiras do país. Cria para Portugal, três áreas de povoamento, economicamente distintas, afectas ao Bronze Final:

- o Norte e as Beiras, associadas às jazidas de estanho, que subdivide em duas sub-regiões (uma com base na cerâmica de “tipo Penha” e outra, mais meridional, associada às cerâmicas de tipo Baiões/Santa Luzia). Nesta área seriam frequentes os machados de talão;
- o Centro, correspondente à Estremadura, sem grandes jazidas metalíferas, mas com grande quantidade e diversidade de objectos em ouro e bronze, ligar-se-ia à cerâmica de “tipo Alpiarça”. Aqui seriam mais frequentes os machados de alvado do que no Norte, pelo que se admite sincronia destas formas se bem com funcionalidades distintas;
- o Sul que se relaciona com o Bronze do Sudoeste, criado por Schubart, assossia-se directamente com as minas de cobre.

É a esta autora que devemos, pela primeira vez, a chamada de atenção para o facto de muito achados metalúrgicos serem provenientes de povoados.

Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (1984) inclui toda a fachada ocidental e o Norte da Península no Bronze Atlântico ou cultura atlântica, expressões com as quais não concorda. Em sua substituição propõe o termo “mundo atlântico” (*Id. ibidem*, p. 539) para explicar a uniformidade da metalurgia/ourivesaria e a abundância de depósitos, encontrados numa posição geográfica litoral, dentro das variadas regiões que o conceito abarca.

Defende, pela primeira vez, a origem dos contactos atlânticos no Bronze Inicial, com início em 1900/1800 a.C. mas só elabora uma periodização fina para o Bronze Final. Sub-

divide-o em três fases: Bronze Final I (1200-1000 a.C.); Bronze Final II (1000-900 a.C.); Bronze Final IIIa (900-800 a.C.) e Bronze Final IIIb (800-700 a.C.).

No primeiro momento inclui os machados de rebordo e de talão, sem ou com anéis, as pontas de lança pequenas de folha arredondada e de tipo “Penha/Rosnoen” e os braceletes lisos, abertos, de secção circular. O Bronze Final II seria o momento das espadas pistiliformes e de tipo “Ballintoper”, dos punhais de lingueta, das pontas de lança em forma de chama, dos machados de apêndices e de talão, das navalhas de barbear e dos braceletes lisos, abertos, de secção romboidal ou quadrangular.

O Bronze Final IIIa corresponderia ao “horizonte da ria de Huelva”. Caracterizar-se-ia essencialmente, por espadas em língua de carpa e por todo o conjunto de objectos que compõem o depósito. As ligas seriam binárias.

No Bronze Final IIIb dar-se-ia a introdução das espadas de tipo “Vénat”, dos machados de talão unifaciais, dos machados de alvado, dos arreios de cavalos, dos espetos articulados, dos caldeiros, das foices de tipo “Rocanes” e “Castropol”, das fíbulas, das navalhas de barbear, dos alfinetes de cabeça, dos braceletes decorados com incisões, entre outros, que a autora denomina de “metalurgia de tipo Baiões/Vénat”, por comparação com os depósitos epónimos. A zona de expansão teria sido o Centro de Portugal.

A mudança cultural é explicada através do aumento do comércio extra-peninsular, quer com o atlântico, quer com o mediterrâneo, nas últimas fases.

Coffyn (1985) caracteriza o Bronze Atlântico como uma identidade geográfica personalizada em regiões do extremo ocidental da Europa, com vocação marítima e riqueza em jazidas minerais, nas quais integra o Noroeste, o Centro-Oeste e o Sudoeste peninsular.

Segundo o autor a frequência das relações comerciais entre as zonas oceânicas dos países Bálticos, da Grã-Bretanha, da Irlanda, da Bretanha francesa e da Península Ibérica permitiram contactos tecnológicos e culturais, manifestados por produções metalúrgicas standardizadas que permitem falar de uma “Oikoumène” atlântica (*Id. ibidem*, p. 274).

Os grupos cerâmicos, as estratégias de povoamento e de tumulação deverão ser encaradas como complementares e subsidiários da produção metalúrgica (Coffyn [*et al.*], 1991, p. 180). Defende que o conceito deverá alargar-se a toda a Idade do Bronze (Coffyn [*et al.*], 1981, p. 67; 1985, p. 9) atendendo ao facto de se terem verificado contactos entre as zonas atlânticas desde cerca de 2000 a 1800 a.C.

A sua periodização para a Península corresponde assim às seguintes fases: Bronze Antigo (2000 a 1800 a.C.) com objectos de cobre e de ouro; Bronze Médio, mal individualizado, com uma produção arcaizante e estagnada<sup>6</sup>; Bronze Final I (1200-1050 a.C.); Bronze Final II (1050-900 a.C.) e o Bronze Final III (900-700 a.C.) período que caracteriza como um momento de “europeização” das relações comerciais e culturais.

Ao B.F.A. I atribui espadas derivadas das do tipo “Rosnoen”, pontas de lança de alvado longo, machados de talão com ou sem anéis e machados de apêndice.

Para o B.F.A. II só refere as espadas pistiliformes devido à escassez de dados.

No B.F.A. III incluiu as espadas em língua de carpa, embora ressalve a sua raridade, as pontas de lança losângicas, as foliáceas e as de folha moldurada, os capacetes de aresta, os cinzéis de alvado, os machados de talão unifaciais e bifaciais, os machados de alvado, as foices, as fúrculas, os objectos de enfeite e os punhais de tipo “Porto de Mós”.

O Bronze Inicial, Médio e Final I e II, por escassez de materiais, foram impossíveis de subdividir em “ateliers”.

O Bronze Antigo III foi dividido em vários grupos metalúrgicos. A cada um deles o autor faz corresponder produções específicas, apesar do “fundo comum” (a espada de língua de carpa) que considera um verdadeiro fóssil director do “atlantismo” (*Id. ibidem*, p. 7).



Cria o grupo “Lusitano”, com início na segunda metade do século IX a.C. e apogeu no século VIII a.C. Localiza-o no Centro-Oeste de Portugal e considera-o um grupo simultaneamente receptor e produtor de originalidades, assemelhando-o a outros “ateliers” atlânticos. A zona seria privilegiada geograficamente pela facilidade de ligação com os mundos atlântico, mediterrânico e, indirectamente, com o continental.

O grupo do Noroeste, que compreende as Astúrias e ocidente da Meseta Norte abrange, no século VIII a.C., toda a região embora se tenha iniciado antes.

O grupo de Huelva ou do Sudoeste é considerado problemático pela escassez de dados.

Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (1987) considera agora o Bronze Atlântico como um fenómeno de introdução recente, só aceitável a partir do Bronze Final. A excepção vai para o Noroeste onde a metalurgia de carácter atlântico parece verificar-se antes, embora de forma marginal.

Discute e desmonta com mais auidade, do que em 1984, a identidade cultural deste conceito.

Para a autora as características comuns de “cultura atlântica” são ambíguas, pois com excepção da metalurgia, desconhecem-se todas as demais características de âmbito socio-económico. Alguns dos pressupostos que caracterizam o conceito são igualmente postos em causa. Em primeiro lugar nem todas as regiões possuem jazidas minerais, como é o caso da Estremadura portuguesa, cujo desenvolvimento se deve associar ao facto de ser uma área charneira entre zonas ricas em diferentes minérios e com boas facilidades de escoamento. Refere ainda que muitos dos objectos de tipologia idêntica, encontrados nas regiões abrangidas pelo Bronze Atlântico, não são mais do que cópias de protótipos da Europa continental. A união tecnológica também é avaliada para se concluir que as combinações ternárias não existem simultaneamente em todos os locais.

O conceito também não determina uma sincronia entre as diferentes regiões que o compõem<sup>7</sup>. Para Ruiz-Gálvez Priego os pontos comuns, não são mais do que a grande acumulação de depósitos metálicos, a inexistência de tumulações com arquitecturas visíveis e a ausência de outro dados, características cujo significado poderá ser variável nas diferentes zonas de ocorrência.

Termina este artigo reflectindo sobre as dificuldades existentes em descodificar o papel que representa a metalurgia no desenvolvimento cultural e económico das populações. Reforça assim a sua posição contra a existência de uma “cultura atlântica” preferindo falar de “culturas ligados ao comércio atlântica” com uma metalurgia comum (*Id. ibidem*, p. 253).

Em termos de periodização elabora algumas precisões para o Bronze Final III que subdivide em três fases: fase I (século IX a.C.) associada ao “horizonte da ria de Huelva”, cuja combinação binária afasta dos outros “ateliers” atlânticos, com ligações ternárias; fase II (século VIII a.C.) correspondente ao período orientalizante no Sudoeste e à metalurgia Baiões/Vénat no Centro de Portugal e fase III (segunda metade do século VII a.C.) com os últimos “ateliers” atlânticos, no Noroeste.

Recentemente Coffyn e Sion (1993), analisando novos dados, elaboram uma revisão sobre o Bronze Final Atlântico e subdividem-no apenas em duas fases: o Bronze Final I (1100-950 a.C.) e o Bronze Final II (950-750 a.C.). A este último período incluem os grandes depósitos peninsulares como o de Baiões e Huelva.

Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (1995b), adapta a periodização, baseada em datas calibradas, propostas por Gómez para a Europa atlântica. Admite um: Bronze Final I (1250/1200-1100 a.C.); um Bronze Final II (1100-940 a.C.) e um Bronze Final III (940-750 a.C.).

Da periodização mais antiga fariam parte as espadas Rosnoen, as pontas de lança pequenas, de alvado curto e os primeiros machados bifaciais de um anel, talão comprido e folha larga.

Do Bronze Final II seriam típicas as espadas pistiliformes, as pontas de lança losânicas, os machados de talão de um ou dois anéis e o aparecimento das primeiras fíbulas de codo.

As espadas de tipo “Huelva” e as de punho maciço, as pontas de lança lanceoladas, os contos e a perduração das fíbulas de codo seriam exclusivas do último período.

### Síntese

Na ausência de “habitats” escavados e de contextos tumulares conhecidos, os trabalhos sobre o Bronze Atlântico peninsular dão um ênfase muito grande à tipologia e optam por estudos diacrónicos, numa perspectiva evolucionista.

É grande o número de periodizações sobre este período, embora tenhamos privilegiado as mais importantes e recentes. Verificámos que a maioria dos autores considera o Bronze Atlântico peninsular como um fenómeno dos finais da Idade do Bronze, circunscrito ao Norte, Noroeste, Centro-Oeste e Sudoeste.

O conceito tem também funcionado, para esta região, como uma identidade cronotológica e cronotecnológica, com produções metalúrgicas de filiação preferencialmente atlântica, sem exclusão das influências continentais e mediterrânicas. Além das semelhanças artefactuais estas regiões estariam ligadas pela posição oceânica, pela riqueza em jazidas minerais e pela ausência de povoados e de contextos tumulares.

Não esquecendo que o objectivo principal deste trabalho é questionar a natureza e validade das identidades propostas e perceber a pertinência, ou não, do conceito, face aos novos dados que o registo arqueológico apresenta, passemos à fase seguinte.

### **Bronze Atlântico como identidade cultural**

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Apesar da dificuldade em caracterizar “cultura” vamos experimentar aplicar aos nossos dados o conceito histórico-culturalista. Nesta proposta teórica a recorrência de associações de objectos-tipo (sepulturas, habitats, depósitos, objectos materiais) que se associam e se repetem numa determinada área, identifica um grupo cultural e corresponde a uma identidade étnica (Childe, 1956 em Shennan, 1994).

Os dados disponíveis para o Noroeste, o Centro-Oeste e o Sudoeste, durante o II e os inícios do I milénio a.C, apesar de escassos, são em número suficiente para demonstrar divergências na cultura material, nas estratégias de tumulação e nas expressões artísticas<sup>8</sup> o que inviabiliza a aceitação do Bronze Atlântico como uma cultura.

Uma certa uniformidade baseada num conjunto de artefactos metálicos, em bronze e ouro, com um “certo ar de família” não parece indicador suficiente para adoptar uma uniformidade cultural e muito menos étnica, para a área em estudo.

Muito pelo contrário os dados indiciam a provável existência de grupos particularizados, com tradições distintas, que urge compreender através do aumento de estudos locais que privilegiem, tanto aspectos sincrónicos como diacrónicos, sem que tal proposta se confunda com propósitos histórico-culturalistas.

Se não é uma cultura, como aliás muitos autores já defendiam (Almagro-Gorbea, 1986; Ruiz-Gálvez Priego, 1884, p. 7, 539, 1987), resta-nos analisar os dados que fomentam uma identidade cronotológica, cronotecnológica e de filiação comum na área atlântica.

## Bronze Atlântico como uma identidade cronotecnológica e cronotipológica face às descobertas mais recentes

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### *Relação tipologia/cronologia*

Começamos por explicitar que só usámos datas calibradas segundo o programa de M. Stuiver e P. J. Reimer (1993), na versão 3.03.

A análise dos quadros 1, 2 e 3 permite-nos alguns comentários. O primeiro, relaciona-se com o facto de muitos dos objectos que caracterizam a Idade do Bronze serem anteriores ao século X a.C. sem que se excluam pervivências. Artefactos como argolas fechadas, braceletes abertos e lisos (com vários tipos de extremidades), caldeiros de rebites, cinzéis maciços, espadas de tipo “Huelva”, foices de tipo “Rocanes”, fíbulas de codo e de enrolamento no arco<sup>9</sup>, machados de talão unifaciais de uma argola, pinças com olhal, alguns tipos de pontas de lança, pontas de seta com pedúnculo e aletas, punhais de tipo “Porto de Mós”, “tranchets” e os primeiros objectos de ferro de importação<sup>10</sup>, fazerem parte da lista que incluímos antes daquela data<sup>11</sup>.

O segundo é de que o período de maior dinamismo e diversidade metalúrgica, situado, por grande parte dos autores (Almagro-Gorbea, 1986; Coffyn, 1985, p. 205, 213; Ruiz-Gálvez Priego, 1984, p. 270, 293-294; 1987), no Bronze Final Atlântico III (900 a 850/700 a.C.) e no Bronze Final Atlântico II (950-750 a.C.), da nova periodização de Coffyn [et al.] (1993), poderá não corresponder à realidade. O período “áureo” parece ter ocorrido entre os séculos XIII e o século X a.C., ou se quisermos, no último quartel do II milénio a.C. o que não parece relacionar-se directamente com a colonização fenícia, como também têm sido sugerido.

Em abono desta hipótese, que é necessário confirmar devido à escassez de dados, os quadros 1, 2 e 3 parece revelar novas associações de objectos em povoados com ocupações posteriores ao século X a.C. Apesar da pervivência dos caldeiros, das pontas de seta com pedúnculo e aletas, dos punhais de tipo “Porto de Mós”, dos objectos de ferro e eventualmente dos machados de talão bifaciais de dupla argola, parecem ser novidade as facas, os machados de alvado e todo um grupo de objectos de adorno (pendentes em campânula-esféricos ou alongados-contas de colar), entre outros, pelo menos para o Noroeste.

Uma outra ilação a tirar dos quadros 1, 2 e 3 é a introdução de objectos de ferro em contextos dos finais da Idade do Bronze. Os dados indiciam o seu aparecimento em momentos anteriores ao século X a.C., no Centro-Oeste (Vilaça, 1994, p. 809 e nota 63) e no primeiro quartel do I milénio a.C., no Noroeste (Bettencourt, 1994). A possibilidade da entrada deste metal em contextos do Bronze Final, por volta do século X a.C., já tinha sido levantada por Burgess (1991) em relação ao depósito de Huelva e da Sra. da Guia/Baiões. Muito recentemente, objectos de ferro do depósito de Villena e do povoado de Peña Negra, no Sudeste, foram considerados anteriores à colonização fenícia peninsular (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego, 1995a) que parece ter-se verificado no Sul da Espanha no século IX a.C., e no Algarve e estuário do Tejo nos finais do século IX, inícios do VIII a.C.<sup>12</sup> (Belén [et al.], 1995).

Ocorre ainda uma série de questões para as quais não temos resposta mas que merecem menção. Uma delas prende-se com a cronologia dos machados de alvado, contextualizados apenas no Castro de Torroso, Galiza, entre os séculos VIII e os meados do VI a.C. Corresponderão estes objectos exclusivamente à fase de transição Bronze/Ferro no Noroeste ou esta cronologia será abrangente a outras regiões peninsulares, nomeadamente ao Centro-Oeste, onde não foram encontrados nas inúmeras escavações aí efectuadas anteriores a esta data?

Sem esgotarmos as problemáticas, salientamos que ao pretendermos verificar arqueograficamente a validade das periodizações para o Bronze Atlântico peninsular acabámos por ter dificuldades em enquadrar os artefactos, datados por  $^{14}\text{C}$ , em tais propostas.

As periodizações tradicionais são demasiado rígidas para as amplitudes cronológicas fornecidas pelas calibrações.

A calibração das datas não se compadece com compartimentações estanques e parece inviabilizar periodizações rígidas, ao ponto de alguns autores terem defendido a anulação da divisão tripartida para a Idade do Bronze (Bettencourt, 1995; Marcén [et al.], 1992, p. 106).

A ilusão de tabelas cronológicas bem definidas, à semelhança do que existe para datar alguns artefactos romanos, é absolutamente impossível de adequar à realidade com a qual trabalhamos. A calibração das datas de  $^{14}\text{C}$ , obriga-nos a “perder a inocência” ao não permitir a precisão cronológica evolucionista a que nos habituámos durante cerca de 30 anos e deixa-nos, como solução, a reaprendizagem de manipularmos novas dimensões de tempo.

Não parece pois viável defender uma identidade cronotipológica para o Bronze Atlântico peninsular.

### *Relação tecnologia/cronologia*

Começamos por explicitar que as observações a fazer se baseiam em objectos provenientes de jazidas datadas pelo radiocarbono ou por comparação “absoluta”.

Embora seja usual dizer que os finais da Idade do Bronze Atlântico se caracterizam por ligas ternárias os dados dos quadros 1, 2 e 3 indiciam que elas seriam essencialmente binárias para o Sudoeste, o Noroeste e o Centro-Oeste peninsulares, até ao século X/IX a.C. Veja-se como exemplo os artefactos dos povoados do Cabeço do Castro de S. Romão, da Moreirinha e Monte Frade, bem como o depósito da ria de Huelva, entre outros, onde apesar de não serem desconhecidas combinações ternárias, o adicionamento intencional de chumbo ou arsénio manifesta-se sempre em quantidades pouco significativas.

Para o Noroeste a manutenção das ligas binárias parece verificar-se no primeiro quartel do I milénio a.C., como se pode comprovar nos povoados da Lavra II e de S. Julião e só no segundo quartel deste milénio é que conhecemos combinações ternárias e, mesmo assim, sem exclusão da liga binária. Tal verifica-se, para já, apenas na camada mais recente do povoado de Torroso, Pontevedra.

Permanece pois em aberto a cronologia dos machados de alvado e de talão, de duplo anel, com altas percentagens de chumbo. Serão exclusivos dos finais da Idade do Bronze/inícios do Ferro ou mesmo já da Idade do Ferro do Noroeste?

Se considerarmos esta hipótese, que combinação química terão objectos similares noutras regiões e em que momento cronológico os deveríamos situar?

A combinação ternária será característica do Noroeste durante a transição Bronze/Ferro ou este fenómeno será sincrónico no Centro-Oeste e no Sudoeste peninsular onde ainda não foram detectadas jazidas deste período?

Deveremos considerar a combinação ternária como um indicador de diacronia e evolução tecnológica ou aceitá-la como uma particularidade regional, tal como sugeriram Belén [et al.] (1995, p. 158)?

Neste caso como explicar a sincronia de combinações distintas, em épocas recentes do Noroeste? Poderão as combinações ternárias revelar apenas opções funcionais, aplicadas a objectos específicos?

As análises de Terroso apontam para um aumento do chumbo em detrimento do cobre, pois 93% das peças contêm mais de 15% de estanho. Serão as combinações ternárias mais frequentes em áreas pobres em jazidas de cobre<sup>13</sup> ou corresponderão a uma característica meramente cultural?

Se atendermos à primeira suposição, que motivo terá dificultado o abastecimento de cobre no Noroeste, a partir do segundo quartel do I milénio a.C.?

É do conhecimento geral que na Grã-Bretanha e na fachada atlântica da França as combinações dos bronzes são fundamentalmente ternárias já antes do Bronze Final III, isto é, anteriores a 900 a.C. No Centro-Oeste e no Sudoeste da Península a realidade é distinta (Belén [et al.], 1995; Gill [et al.], 1989; Rovira, 1995; Vilaça, 1994, p. 815-828) o que afasta estas regiões dos “ateliers” atlânticos sincrónicos. Resta-nos questionar como articular os dados peninsulares com a área mediterrânica, onde as composições metalúrgicas são desde muito cedo essencialmente binárias (Belén [et al.], 1995)?

Perante as inúmeras questões que se levantam à investigação parece difícil estabelecer cronologias para a tecnologia peninsular e aceitar o pressuposto de que a Península funcionaria como uma província metalúrgica, dividida em fases precisas, consoante as diferentes combinações.

### *Filiação geográfica*

Desde cedo foi usual defender-se que a metalurgia peninsular se filiava em protótipos atlânticos, oriundos da Grã-Bretanha, da Irlanda e da Bretanha francesa, sem exclusão de influências continentais, nórdicas e mediterrânicas, numa fase mais recente.

A inclusão da Península no mundo das produções atlânticas ligar-se-ia a uma intensa rede socio-económica de relações ou de interações supra-regionais entre estas diversas regiões (Almagro-Gorbea, 1986; Coffyn, 1985, p. 274; Kalb, 1980a e 1980b; Ruiz-Gálvez Priego, 1984, p. 503-514) ou a factores migracionistas (Santa-Olalla, 1946; Savory, 1951, p. 324).

Analisando, no entanto, a bibliografia mais recente parece-nos que a questão não é de modo nenhum consensual. Verificamos que se tem acentuado o peso das importações e filiações mediterrânicas e da Europa central e nórdica nas produções peninsulares (Gomes, 1990; Jorge, 1990; Kalb, 1991; Ruiz-Gálvez Priego, 1995; Silva, 1990), pelo que a dimensão das afinidades tem que ser redimensionada.

Igualmente importante parece ser o estudo do contributo das produções endógenas na Idade do Bronze local.

Até que ponto as analogias com as áreas atlânticas são em maior número do que com o mediterrâneo ou com a Europa central ou nórdica?

A escassez de informação bem como as divergências de alguns autores quanto à filiação de certas peças, obriga à prudência. De qualquer modo parece difícil defender, sem reservas, a ideia de que a produção peninsular se inscreve maioritariamente numa “província” metalúrgica atlântica onde objectos com o mesmo ar de família se distinguiriam das produções sincrónicas da Europa central e mediterrânica (Lungworth, 1994).

A situação geográfica e a riqueza mineira da Península, parecem ter feito desta região ponto de encontro de variadíssimas influências, o que terá certamente contribuído para uma grande vitalidade e originalidade dos “ateliers” ibéricos, desde, pelo menos, a 2<sup>ff</sup> metade do II milénio a.C..

A metalurgia do bronze atesta-se já, no estuário do Tejo, no povoado da Tapada da Ajuda, Lisboa, onde escórias de fundição de estanho e uma argola de bronze datam de entre os séculos XV/XIV a XI/X a.C.<sup>14</sup> (Cardoso, 1995a e b).

É igualmente significativo o número de povoados com vestígios de prática metalúrgica, quer no Centro e Norte de Portugal, quer na Galiza, durante os finais do II e os inícios do I milénio a.C..

A estes dados podemos adicionar os indícios desta actividade provenientes de outras jazidas<sup>15</sup> ou de achados descontextualizados (Bettencourt, 1988; Coffyn, 1985, p. 195, 221, 223, 232; Fontes, 1916 em MacWhite, 1951, p. 78)<sup>16</sup> para os quais não possuímos cronologia de <sup>14</sup>C, mas que, por comparação relativa, se enquadram nos finais da Idade do Bronze peninsular.

### Síntese

Se é incongruente defender Bronze Atlântico como cultura no sentido histórico-culturalista; se é difícil estabelecer periodizações fechadas face à tipologia dos objectos conhecidos para o denominado Bronze Atlântico, quer pela amplitude das datas calibradas, quer pela pervivência de muitos artefactos; se alguns objectos tradicionalmente enquadrados neste período parecem inserir-se em contextos mais recentes; se é imprudente tentar estabelecer regularidades tecnológicas para a Idade do Bronze peninsular, sem ter em conta a possível diversidade regional; se a filiação geográfica dos objectos está a ser redimensionada; se são mais as questões do que as respostas – que valor atribuir ao conceito de Bronze Atlântico?

### A procura de alternativas teóricas

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O Bronze Atlântico criado na primeira metade do século XX, é um conceito historicamente datado. Apesar dos avanços da produção teórica, o conceito foi sendo aceite e caracterizado, até aos meados dos anos 80, com base em achados metalúrgicos descontextualizados e a sua arrumação imbuída de pressupostos empiristas e evolucionistas, acompanhada, por vezes, de um certo difusionismo, como factor explicativo de mudança.

Mas, ao encararmos a leitura do passado como um fenómeno constantemente inacabado (Hodder, 1989), é natural que as problemáticas levantadas após novos achados, bem como as recentes posturas teóricas de interpretação arqueológica, tornem este conceito ambíguo e polissémico.

É assim que abandonando as perspectivas anteriores do conhecimento e abraçando um conjunto de pressupostos da Arqueologia Social, Ruiz-Gálvez Priego, em 1993, relê os dados existentes para a Idade do Bronze do Noroeste peninsular na procura de uma “identidade” de natureza sócio-política e simbólico-ritual.

Refere que os elementos metálicos encontrados em vários povoados do Bronze Final, além de se associarem à figura do guerreiro, reflectem um mundo simbólico/ritual, uma organização social e convenções comuns às da Europa ocidental, de âmbito atlântico. Tal materializar-se-ia por rituais funerários idênticos (nas águas), por cerimónias comunitárias (associadas ao uso de caldeiros e de espetos) e pelos mesmos *itens* de ostentação e exibição como forma de poder (adornos e armas), por parte de uma elite, que controla e manipula estes bens. A autora sustenta que as formas de intercâmbio e de interacção entre as elites atlânticas deverão ter criado códigos de comunicação comuns que poderão estar na base das línguas existentes antes da História.

A circulação de objectos de ourivesaria e bronze com o mesmo “ar de família”, em diversas comunidades, bem como de pessoas e ideias criariam pontos de interacção entre as diferentes regiões, ligando-as a vários níveis, ao ponto de podermos admitir a existência de “convenções comuns de âmbito atlântico” (*Id. ibidem*, p. 14).

A autora cria assim uma alternativa interpretativa afluorando uma nova unidade ou identidade atlântica para definir essa manifestação de semelhança artefactual, que será simultaneamente social, simbólica e ritual.

Se bem que esta postura abra novas perspectivas de leitura para o Bronze Atlântico a identidade encontrada poderá ser comprometedor em termos dos interesses políticos e ideológicos da Europa actual.

A construção do passado tem sido frequentemente usada para fundamentar o presente, muitas vezes através da criação de comunidades com memórias colectivas ou “partilhadas” (Rowlands, 1994, p. 142; Shack, 1994, p. 115). Deste modo não podemos deixar de perguntar o que significaria a uniformização simbólica de uma vasta zona europeia?

O passado que construímos hoje e as razões porque o fazemos estão profundamente ligadas ao interesse pessoal, aos nossos valores de ordem política e moral, à necessidade de nos tornarmos intelegíveis, à contextualização socio-político em que nos encontramos (Shanks [et al.], 1987, p. 23-28; Tilley, 1989).

A identificação de Bronze Atlântico com uma identidade socio-simbólica não seria o reflexo, talvez inconsciente, da conjuntura política actual, que pretende construir um passado que justifique ou fundamente, em termos arqueológicos, ao conjunto de interesses da União Europeia?

Levantada a questão analisemos o trabalho mais recente sobre o assunto. Cabe de novo um papel de destaque a Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (1995a). A autora vai agora aplicar à Idade do Bronze peninsular o modelo de “Economia – Mundo” mas afastando-se das perspectivas de Gómez de Soto (1993)<sup>17</sup>, entre outros, ao defenderem na panóplia de objectos metálicos afins, dos finais da Idade do Bronze europeia, uma linguagem simbólica e socio-política comum. Gómez de Soto (1993, p. 196) chega mesmo a defender “...uma forma arcaica de integração europeia”, muito comprometedor politicamente.

Parece-nos ver aqui a pretensão de criar uma unidade/identidade europeia que remonte à Idade do Bronze e a construção de um passado que possibilite aos cidadãos europeus partilhar uma memória.

Ao afastar-se das generalizações, dominantes na arqueologia europeia, Ruiz-Gálvez Priego defende que os contextos onde os artefactos se encontram diferem de região para região, pelo que os seus significados e os rituais em que se inscrevem devem ser distintos. Assinala ainda que muitos objectos são aceites pelo seu valor material, independentemente do estatuto de origem e que serão adaptados à linguagem ideológica local. Termina preconizando que a associação de objectos de influência ocidental, ou oriental não representam fenómenos de “aculturação” ou “imitação” mas de “emulação” onde os símbolos originais “...são manipulados e adaptados à linguagem local e aos conceitos próprios de poder” (*Id. ibidem*, p. 154).

O texto acaba por valorizar implicitamente os estudos regionais e estar de acordo com a linha de investigação que preconiza a necessidade da “criação de realidades individuais” e de estudos micro-regionais (Rowlands, 1994, p. 140) contra as generalizações e as meta-regularidades hoje propostas.

## **A importância dos contextos regionais e artefactuais face à lógica dos vários modelos interpretativos**

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A bibliografia e os dados mais recentes (quadros 1, 2 e 3) demonstram que é usual encontrarmos objectos metálicos em contextos distintos: aparecem em povoados diversificados, em santuários (?), em grutas, em túmulos, em depósitos (fluviais e terrestres), nas estelas do Sudoeste e Centro-Oeste ou nas estátuas-menires do Noroeste. A tal variedade contextual faze-

mos corresponder uma polissemia de interpretações<sup>18</sup> rejeitando a criação de significados uniformizantes e “europeus”. É preciso fazer notar que sem a contextualização dos achados as regularidades poderão ser apenas aparentes, pelo que qualquer tentativa de sistematização socio-económica e simbólica terá que ser cautelosa no estado actual dos conhecimentos.

As generalizações do significado dos objectos, por não questionarem os motivos pelo qual eles se enquadram em determinada sociedade<sup>19</sup>, escamoteiam o papel das diferentes tradições e condições sociais locais, decisivas no papel que as “deslocações de bens” (Needham, 1993) terão na sociedade.

A Etnografia tem revelado que os valores simbólicos e funcionais dos mesmos objectos variam de sociedade para sociedade (Bradley, 1985b; Needham, 1993) e que quanto mais longo for o percurso a percorrer, desde o seu local de produção até ao fim da cadeia, maior será a distorção do seu significado original, através da informação oral (Renfrew, 1977 em Bradley, 1990; Needham, 1993) o que os fará inscrever em novos contextos de uso (Hodder, 1989). Deste modo só contextualizando os objectos é que poderemos perceber o/ou os seus significados (Bradley, 1990, p. 193)<sup>20</sup>.

A pretensa unidade socio-simbólica encontrada através da metalurgia – meta-regularidade redutora das diversidades que o comportamento humano comporta – deve ser completada com uma investigação regional e micro-regional, que passa necessariamente por trabalhos de escavação e por renovadas leituras do material disponível.

Só assim perceberemos os mecanismos sociais em que se movem os actores que manipulam os objectos bem como as estratégias económicas e simbólicas em que se integram objectos semelhantes, em grupos e áreas distintas. Dito de outro modo, só o estudo das histórias locais, “das micro-estruturas da vida diária” (Sherratt, 1993, p. 128) e da determinação do momento do “ciclo de vida social dos objectos” (Appadurai, 1986 em Bradley, 1990, p. 33; Needham, 1993, p. 166-167), face às interacções estabelecidas com diferentes zonas longínquas da Europa atlântica, continental, mediterrânica ou nórdica, tornará possível leituras de intelegibilidade simbólica dos objectos e de reconstrução social dos diferentes grupos em que são encontrados.

É por esse motivo que temos dificuldade em aceitar estudos e generalizações efectuados com base em mapas de distribuição de objectos como meio de atingir os objectivos propostos. Estes não representam os “sistemas de troca ou de interacção” (Renfrew, 1993, p. 14), os contextos, o momento de vida em que os objectos foram abandonados, pois temos de ter presente os processos posdeposicionais e tafonómicos. São apenas “mapas de recuperação” que não representam mais do que o local onde os achados se efectuaram, sem que entre eles se possa estabelecer um valor comum (Needham, 1993, p. 165-166). Revelam “contextos opacos”, incomparáveis e não adequados para extrair leituras/construções de ordem social, simbólica ou ritual generalizantes, nem para quantificar a densidade de objectos que circularam em determinada região<sup>21</sup>.

Só a comparação de diversos estudos regionais poderia revelar a existência de áreas geográficas com padrões de sistema de valor material idênticos, tornar inteligível as mudanças no valor dos artefactos e os motivos porque tal ocorreu e permitir, posteriormente, uma visão mais alargada do passado.

## Considerações

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Desmontados os diferentes critérios que definiam o conceito de Bronze Atlântico peninsular verificámos que ele não pode ser encarado como uma cultura no sentido étnico ou material, como uma província com uniformidade cronotipológica ou cronotecnlógica e que não



oferece consenso como área de filiação artefactual “atlântica”. De igual modo parece difícil sustentar que represente uma identidade simbólica e social para uma área tão vasta como o Ocidente e o Norte peninsular.

O conceito tem valorizado essencialmente as semelhanças formais na metalurgia do bronze e do ouro, entre as diferentes regiões, esquecendo as diferenças que de facto existem, bem como o significado destas diferenças.

Ao considerarmos a região que compreende Bronze Atlântico como uma “realidade” plural em termos culturais e cronológicos, tecno-tipológicos e socio-simbólicos o conceito esvazia-se de “identidade”, torna-se redutor, normativo e fechado e de pouca utilidade prática.

A sua admissibilidade, durante mais de meio século, e sobretudo nesta última década, poderá explicar-se no âmbito do poder e do “status” académico dos seus defensores. Mas a comunidade arqueológica não pode continuar a aceitar frases como a de Chevillot (1991, p. 162) em que se afirma que o complexo atlântico “...não pode ser posto em causa” e que compreende “...uma realidade socio-económica que se desenvolve desde o início da metalurgia até ao grupo das espadas em língua de carpa”, sem se questionar sobre o conteúdo desse conceito, sobre a realidade socio-económica e simbólica das comunidades que manipulam os objectos nele implícitos e sobre o papel da metalurgia nas diferentes sociedades. Tal fraqueza seria partir do pressuposto de que há verdades absolutas e indiscutíveis e inviabilizar a discussão.

Porque é obrigação do discurso académico problematizar os conceitos vigentes, a posição manifestada pretende apenas levantar algumas questões e contribuir para dar início a uma discussão que parece pertinente.

## **Agradecimentos**

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*Coimbra, Marvão, 1995*

## QUADRO I

### Noroeste

TIPO/COMP. QUÍMICA ELEMENTAR	CONTEXTO*	C14 (2 SIGMA) CALIB. STUIVER & REIMER 1993	BIBLIOGRAFIA
*Caldeiro *Fíbula de tipo Alcores-Bin. *Foice tipo "Rocanes"	<b>Coto da Pena</b> , Caminha <b>Noroeste</b> Povoado fortificado	<b>UGRA 200</b> : 2930±100 BP (1406-842 AC) <b>UGRA 220</b> : 2920±100 BP (1401-836 AC)	Silva, 1986; Senna-Martinez, 1995b
*Fíbula de tipo Acebuchal *Pendentes em campânula *Sanguessugas-Ter. (1 delas)		(Bronze Final/Ferro Inicial)	
*Cinzel de alvado *Machado de talão bif. 1 anél *Ponta de lança losângica *Ponta de lança de folha irregular e base alargada	<b>Sta. Catarina/Penha</b> , Guimarães <b>Noroeste</b> Povoado de altura	<b>GrN 5568</b> : 2880±65 BP (1260-863 AC) Contexto: material (ponta de lança losângica)	Cardozo, 1968, 1971; Vilaça, 1994
*Foicinha/falcata de ferro	<b>S. Julião</b> , Vila Verde <b>Noroeste</b> Povoado fortificado	<b>ICEN 829</b> : 2660±45 BP (899-790 AC)	Martins, 1988; Bettencourt, 1994; Senna-Martinez, 1995b
*Bracel. liso, aberto extrem. em botão-Bin. *Fíbula de enrolamento no arco (?)-Bin. *Fragmentos de lâminas-Bin. *Dados inéditos fornecidos pela autora <b>Lavra II</b> , Marco de Canavezes	<b>Noroeste</b> Povoado aberto	<b>ICEN 414</b> : 2980±70 BP (1402-993 AC) <b>CSIC 824</b> : 2665±65 BP (915-772 AC) <b>OxA-5434</b> : 2675±50 BP (910-791 AC)	Sanches, 1995
*Botão *Faca *Ponta de seta *Moldes	<b>Castelo de Matos</b> , Baião <b>Noroeste</b> Povoado fortificado	<b>OxA 1759</b> : 2730±70 BP (1010-794 AC) <b>OxA 2147</b> : 2710±90 BP (1036-767 AC) <b>OxA 2146</b> : 2700±90 BP (1024-610 AC)	Figueiral, 1988; Queiroga [et al.], 1989; Vilaça, 1994
*Espada pistiliforme-Bin. *Ponta de lança losângica-Bin. *Ponta de lança perfurada-Cobre (?) *Sanguessuga-Ter.	<b>San Esteban del Rio Sil</b> , Ourense <b>Noroeste</b> Depósito	<b>CSIC 215</b> : 2880±70 BP (1263-847 AC) Contexto: material (ponta de lança perfurada)	Coffyn, 1985; Rovira, 1995; Ruiz-Gálvez Priego, 1995b
*Alfinete de cabeça quadrada. *Bracel. inciso, aberto de extrem. em botão *Caldeiros *Objectos de ferro *Pendente em campânula *Ponteira cônica *Punhal de tipo "Porto de Mós" *Lingotes *Cadinhos *Restos de fundição-Bin. e (?)	<b>Torroso</b> , Pontevedra. <b>Noroeste</b> Povoado fortificado	<b>GrN 13706</b> : 2555±30 BP (801-549 AC) <b>GrN 13678</b> : 2515±30 BP (792-520 AC) Contexto: camada 2	Peña-Santos, 1992; Ruiz-Gálvez Priego, 1995b
*Alfinete de cabeça enrolada-Ter. *Argola-Ter. *Argolinha de colar-Bin. *Asas de caldeiro-Ter. *Caldeiro-Bin. *Conta de colar-Ter. *Fíbula indeterminada -Ter. *Mach. talão bif. 2 anéis *Mach. de alvado *Objectos de ferro *Pendente alongado-Ter. *Pendentes em campânula *Pendente esférico-Ter. *Ponta de lança indeterminada- Ter. *Placa de cinturão-Ter. *Sanguessugas-Bin. *Vaso *Lingotes-Bin. e Ter. *Cadinhos *Moldes *Restos de fundição-Bin. e Ter.		<b>GrN 13705</b> : 2540±30 BP (798-538 AC) Contexto: camada 1	

*Caldeiro-Bin. *Punção-Bin.	Castro da Santinha, Amareze Noroeste Povoado de altura	Finais da Idade do Bronze	Bettencourt, 1995b
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\* As datas apresentadas dizem respeito ao contexto dos achados salvo exceções específicas.

## QUADRO 2

### Centro-Oeste

TIPO/COMP. QUÍMICA ELEMENTAR	CONTEXTO	C14 (2 SIGMA) CALIB. STUIVER & REIMER 1993	BIBLIOGRAFIA
*Argola *Escória de estanho	Tapada da Ajuda, Lisboa Centro-Oeste Povoado aberto	ICEN 96: 3090±50 BP (1437-1211 AC) ICEN 97: 3010±60 BP (1406-1032 AC) ICEN 184: 3000±100 BP (1444-921 AC) ICEN 100: 3090±40 BP (1426-1224 AC) ICEN 99: 2980±50 BP (1383-1019 AC)	Cardoso [et al.], 1993; Cardoso, 1995a, 1995b; Senna-Martinez, 1995b
*Argolinhas-Bin. *Fíbula de enrolamento no arco- Ter.(?) *Mach. talão unif. 1 anel-Bin. *Ponta de lança indeterminada-Bin. *Punção-Ter.(?) *Moldes	Cabeço de S. Romão, Seia Centro-Oeste Povoado fortificado	ICEN 198: 2970± 35 B.P. (1301-1041 AC) ICEN 197: 2910± 35 B.P. (1252-949 AC)	Senna-Martinez, 1989
*Argolas fechadas-Bin. *Bracel. liso, aberto ext. aguçada- Bin. *Hastes/varetas-Bin. *Lâmina de ferro *Pinça com olhal-Bin. *Ponta de seta peduncul. com aletas- Bin. *Punhais tipo "Porto de Mós"- Bin. *Tranchet-Bin. *Moldes	Monte Frade, Penamacor Centro-Oeste Povoado de altura	ICEN 970: 2780±100 BP (1251-792 AC) ICEN 969: 2920±50 BP (1263-932 AC) ICEN 971: 2850±45 BP (1127-900 AC) GrN 19660: 2805±15 BP (995-904 AC)	Vilaça, 1994
*Argolas fechadas (25)-Bin. (1 Ter.) *Botão-Bin. *Bracel. liso, aberto ext. indiferenciado- Bin. *Cinzéis-Bin. *Disco/ficha-Bin. *Escopro-Bin. *Espeto (?) -Bin. *Facas de ferro *Hastes/varetas-Bin. *Lâmina de ferro *Punção-Bin. *Punhais tipo "Porto de Mós"-Bin. *Serra de ferro *Virola sub-rectangular-Bin. *Moldes *Cone de fundição-Bin. *Restos de fundição-Bin.	Moreirinha, Idanha-a-Nova Centro-Oeste Povoado de altura	ICEN 834: 2940±45 BP (1266-998 AC) ICEN 835: 2910±45 BP (1257-931 AC) GrN 19659: 2785±15 BP (977-857 AC) OxA 4095: 2780±70 BP (1117-805 AC)	Vilaça, 1994
*Argola-Bin. *Foice de talão (?) -Ter. *Hastes-Bin. *Moldes *Cadinhos *Restos de fundição-Bin.	Castelejos, Sabugal Centro-Oeste Povoado de altura	Finais da Idade do Bronze	Vilaça, 1994

<p>*Alfinete em aro-<b>Bin.</b>  *Argola-<b>Bin.</b>  *Botão-<b>Bin.</b>  *Conto-<b>Bin.</b>  *Escopro-<b>Bin.</b>  *Espada indeterminada-<b>Bin.</b>  *Furador-<b>Bin.</b>  *Hastes/varetas-<b>Bin.</b>  *Ponta de seta peduncul. com aletas-<b>Bin.</b>  *Punhal-<b>Bin.</b>  *Rebite-<b>Bin.</b>  *Virola-<b>Bin.</b>  *<b>Molde</b>  *<b>Cadinhos</b>  *<b>Restos de fundição-<b>Bin.</b> e Ter.</b></p>	<p><b>Alegrios, Monsanto</b>  <b>Centro-Oeste</b>  Povoado de altura</p>	<p>Finais da Idade do Bronze</p>	<p>Vilaça, 1994</p>
<p>*Caldeiro-<b>Bin.</b></p>	<p><b>Buraca da Moura de S. Romão, Seia</b>  <b>Centro-Oeste</b>  Gruta</p>	<p><b>ICEN-600:2770±90 BP</b>  (1153-794 AC)</p>	<p>Senna-Martinez, 1989</p>
<p>*Argolas fechadas  *Bracel. liso, aberto de ext. aguçada  *Bracel. liso, aberto de ext. em botão  *Carro/suporte  *Espeto (?)  *Fíbula de dupla mola  *Foíce de alvado  *Fúrcula-<b>Bin.</b>  *Mach. talão unif. ranél  *Mach. talão bif. 2 anéis  *Ponta de lança foliácea  *Ponta de lança moldurada  *Ponta de seta peduncul. com aletas  *Punhal de bronze/ferro  *Taças  *Tranchet  *<b>Moldes</b>  *<b>Restos de fundição</b></p> <p><b>Ourivesaria</b>  *Bracel. de fita larga  *Bracel. tipo “Berzocana”  *Xorca tipo “Berzocana”</p>	<p><b>Srffi Guia/Baiões, S. Pedro de Sul</b>  <b>Centro-Oeste</b>  Povoado? / Santuário?</p>	<p><b>GrN 7484: 2650±130 BP</b>  (1112-405 AC)  Contexto: material</p>	<p>Kalb, 1974/77; Silva, 1979; Silva [et al.], 1984;  Kalb, 1995; Rovira, 1995; Senna-Martinez, 1995b</p>
<p>*Espeto articulado-<b>Bin.</b></p>	<p><b>Cachouça, Idanha-a-Nova</b>  <b>Centro-Oeste</b>  Povoado de altura</p>	<p>Finais da Idade do Bronze</p>	<p>Vilaça, 1990; 1994</p>
<p>*Argola  *Conto de base alargada-<b>Bin.</b>  *Foíce de alvado-<b>Bin.</b>  *Ponta de lança foliácea-<b>Bin.</b></p>	<p><b>Alto das Bocas, Rio Maior</b>  <b>Centro-Oeste</b>  Povoado de altura</p>	<p>Finais da Idade do Bronze</p>	<p>Carreira, 1994; Seruya [et al.], 1994</p>
<p>*Argola  *Fíbulas de enrolamento no arco-<b>Bin.</b>  *Navalha de barbear-<b>Bin.</b>  *Tranchet-<b>Bin.</b></p>	<p><b>Abrigo Grande das Bocas, Rio Maior</b>  <b>Centro-Oeste</b>  Gruta</p>	<p>Finais da Idade do Bronze</p>	<p>Carreira, 1994; Seruya [et al.], 1994</p>
<p>*Bracel. liso, aberto  *Taça (?)</p>	<p><b>Paranhos, Tondela</b>  <b>Centro-Oeste</b>  Cista n.º 2</p>	<p>Finais da Idade do Bronze</p>	<p>Coelho, 1947</p>

## QUADRO 3

### Sudoeste

TIPO/COMP. QUÍMICA ELEMENTAR	CONTEXTO	Cl4 (2 SIGMA) CALIB. STUIVER & REIMER 1993	BIBLIOGRAFIA
*Alfinete *Argolas ou anéis *Placa decorada	<b>Pontes de Marchil, Faro Sudoeste</b> Povoado aberto	<b>ICEN 648:</b> 2970±50 BP (1377-1009 AC)	Monteiro [et al.], 1980; Soares [et al.], 1995
*Agulha- <b>Bin.</b> *Alfinete de cabeça discoidal- <b>Bin.</b> *Argolas- <b>Bin.</b> *Botões cônicos- <b>Bin.</b> *Botões discoidais- <b>Bin.</b> *Capacete de arestas- <b>Bin.</b> *Contas cilíndricas- <b>Bin.</b> *Conto de base alargada- <b>Bin.</b> *Cinzel- <b>Bin.</b> *Espada de “língua de carpa”- <b>Bin.</b> *Espada pistiliforme- <b>Bin.</b> *Espada de punho maciço- <b>Bin.</b> *Fecho de cinturão- <b>Bin.</b> *Fíbula de codo- <b>Bin.</b> *Ponta de lança de folha perfurada- <b>Bin.</b> *Ponta de lança foliácea- <b>Bin.</b> *Ponta de lança losângica- <b>Bin.</b> *Ponta de seta pedunculada- <b>Bin.</b> *Ponta de seta peduncul. com aletas- <b>Bin.</b> *Punhal “língua de carpa”- <b>Bin.</b> *Punhal de lingueta- <b>Bin.</b> *Punhal tipo “Porto de Mós”- <b>Bin.</b> *Punhal triangular- <b>Bin.</b>	<b>Ria de Huelva Sudoeste</b> Depósito nas águas	<b>CSIC 202:</b> 2830±70 BP (1198-821 AC) <b>CSIC 203, 206, 207:</b> 2820±70 BP (1160-817 AC) <b>CSIC 205:</b> 2810±70 BP (1154-817 AC) <b>CSIC 204:</b> 2800±70 BP (1128-809 AC) Contexto: material	Almagro-Gorbea, 1977; Ruiz-Gálvez Priego, 1995b
*Bracel. liso, aberto, de ext. simples *Espada de língua de carpa *Fíbula de codo *Ponta de seta pedunculada com aletas	<b>Cerro de la Miel, Granada. Sul</b> Povoado de altura	<b>UGRA 143:</b> 3030± (?) BP	Carrasco [et al.], 1985

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- \* Unidade de Arqueologia da Universidade do Minho, Av. Central, 39, 4710 Braga. Tel./Fax 053-275320. Email: Anabett@ci.uminho.pt
- <sup>1</sup> Informação retirada de MacWhite (1951, p. 14 e nota 3).
- <sup>2</sup> Tradução portuguesa do artigo intitulado - The atlantic bronze age in South Western Europe, publicado nos *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 1949, nº 15, p. 128-155.
- <sup>3</sup> Tradução da obra *Spain and Portugal*, publicada em 1968.
- <sup>4</sup> O autor defende, no trabalho efectuado nesta data, algumas ideias já preconizadas em 1977.
- <sup>5</sup> Área que o autor considera intermédia por receber influxos atlânticos e mediterrânicos.
- <sup>6</sup> A estagnação deste período poderá explicar-se pela escassez de contactos extra-peninsulares, devido a uma possível mudança nas rotas de abastecimento de minério, por parte da Europa atlântica (Coffyn, 1985, p. 27).
- <sup>7</sup> A autora defende que na Bretanha francesa, no Sudoeste de Inglaterra e na Galiza o “Bronze Atlântico” começou antes dos finais da Idade do Bronze. No Centro/Sul de Portugal, no Sudoeste espanhol e na zona de La Charente/Paris, este fenómeno só chegou no Bronze Final.
- <sup>8</sup> Se analisarmos a distribuição espacial da olaria encontrada em contextos de escavação verificamos que existem na Península do “Bronze Atlântico”, se bem que definidas grosseiramente, várias áreas cerâmicas distintas. Tal diversidade recusa qualquer identidade neste aspecto da cultura material. Para mais informações sobre este assunto consultar Cardoso (1995b); Fabião (1992) e Jorge (1990). Parece oportuno lembrar a diferença formal e iconográfica entre as estelas do Sudoeste e do Centro-Oeste em relação às estatuas-menires do Noroeste, que igualmente apelam à diversidade cultural, entre outros dados não quantificados.
- <sup>9</sup> Spindler *et al.* (1973/4, p. 125-126) coloca estas peças entre o século X e os inícios do IX a.C. atendendo a que aparecem na Sicília nos séculos XI e X a.C. A diferença de cronologia entre as regiões deveria atender à suposta diferença entre o momento de uso na zona de origem e a sua exportação.
- <sup>10</sup> Também encontrados na gruta de Quéroy à Chazelles, Charente, em contextos dos finais da Idade do Bronze (Gomez de Soto, 1991).
- <sup>11</sup> Nesta perspectiva e por associação com estes artefactos, datados por <sup>14</sup>CH, admitimos colocar, senão na totalidade, pelo menos parte do depósito da ria de Huelva e os achados da Sr.<sup>3</sup> da Guia/Baiões em momentos anteriores ao século X a.C. Neste último caso e atendendo à cronologia proposta por Kalb (1991) para a ourivesaria, não seria de excluir que todo o depósito se datasse da segunda metade do II<sup>o</sup> milénio a.C.
- <sup>12</sup> Datas dos níveis fenícios, mais antigos do Morro de Mezquitilla, em Espanha e de jazidas como Rocha Branca, Alcáçova de Santarém e Quinta de Almaraz, em Portugal.
- <sup>13</sup> A hipótese de que as combinações ternárias com chumbo, no Noroeste peninsular, se relacionam com a substituição do cobre foi posta por Sierra [et al.] (1984).
- <sup>14</sup> Resultado de cinco datas. A média de quatro delas permite aceitar uma cronologia em torno do século XIII a.C. para a ocupação do povoado.
- <sup>15</sup> Citemos o caso do Castro de Sta. Catarina/Baiões, no Centro-Oeste e o da Côroa do Frade, no Sudoeste, ambos com vestígios de moldes.
- <sup>16</sup> Como exemplo referiremos os moldes de foices de talão de Casal de Rocanes, Centro-Oeste e do Castro de Álvora, Noroeste, bem como os vários moldes de machados de talão com dois anéis, em ambas as regiões referidas.
- <sup>17</sup> Segundo o autor, por detrás de diferentes tecnologias na produção do bronze e do aparente contraste entre os complexos atlânticos e os da Europa central, nórdicos e mediterrânicos, há um mundo comum de ostentação cerimonial, de simbolismo religioso e um universo mental unido.
- <sup>18</sup> Vejamos o caso concreto dos achados de Baiões, que Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (1995a) considerou como depósito para reciclagem, devido ao estado fragmentário das peças. A hipótese é viável mas se valorizarmos a acidez dos terrenos graníticos do local em que foram encontrados e os processos posdeposicionais que atingiram as peças mais frágeis, outras propostas são possíveis. O seu contexto, no interior de um povoado ou santuário, (Kalb, 1995) além de revelar acumulação de riqueza poderia ter resultado de oferendas votivas em momentos cerimoniais ou constituir um grupo de objectos para práticas rituais e ostentatórias de poder. De igual modo poderia tratar-se de um “entesouramento” impeditivo da circulação destes objectos e funcionando como factor regulador do prestígio ou poder de quem os manipulava (Levy, 1982, p. 117 em Bradley, 1990, p. 37). Também não podemos excluir que o seu significado fosse plural, combinando várias destas hipóteses. Só o alargamento de escavações na jazida, bem como todo um trabalho de âmbito local permitiriam uma leitura mais contextualizada deste achado e a sua avaliação no âmbito do quadro socio-económico e político-ritual da região. Outro bom exemplo de polissemia é o do depósito da ria de Huelva cujas interpretações tem sido variadíssimas: naufrágio de um barco saído ou chegando do porto, necrópole funerária, depósito votivo com funções rituais e socio-económicas várias (Belén [et al.], 1995; Ruiz-Gálvez Priego, 1995a).
- <sup>19</sup> Como tem acentuado Needham (1993, p. 162), os objectos podem encontrar-se numa determinada sociedade por variadíssimas razões (por dote, como oferendas, por troca, pela presença de artesãos itinerantes, por deslocções de populações, pelo pagamento de tributos, entre outros), pelo que o termo “troca” deve ser substituído pelo de “deslocação de bens” mais vasto e abrangente.
- <sup>20</sup> Num recente trabalho sobre ourivesaria, Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (1995c) põe a hipótese dos colares de tipo Berzocana, poderem ter passado de dotes individuais para objectos de valor social em momentos de crise. Dá assim um exemplo de como os artefactos podem mudar de significado consoante o seu tempo de vida e as conjunturas sociais e económicas de uma determinada população, numa determinada época.
- <sup>21</sup> Como acentua Needham (1993, p. 166), as lacunas nos mapas de distribuição não significam que nessa região os objectos metalúrgicos não tenham circulado abundantemente. Eles poderão ter sido assimilados e usados de modo a que o seu ciclo de vida não permitisse a sua sobrevivência futura. Podem ter sido depositados nas águas, reciclados ou sofrido destruições de ordem.

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# Le complexe culturel atlantique: entre le cristal et la fumée

■ PATRICE BRUN\* ■

**RÉSUMÉ** Le propos est de préciser quelques aspects théoriques et méthodologiques de la notion de complexe culturel, et de présenter, en guise d'illustration, une étude de cas sur l'Armorique qui occupe une position centrale dans le complexe culturel atlantique. On renvoie dos-à-dos le typo-culturalisme suranné et le localisme différentialiste en vogue actuellement et on plaide pour une conception plus riche et plus souple de la notion d'entité culturelle en tant que très utile matérialisation des réseaux d'échanges préférentiels.

**ABSTRACT** The aim is to precise some theoretical and methodological aspects of the cultural complex notion, and to present, as an exemple, a case study about Armorica which has a central position inside the atlantic cultural complex. One nonsuit both parties: old-fashioned typo-culturalism and differentialist localism now in fashion, and one argue for a richest and flexible conception of the cultural entity notion as a very useful concrete expression of preferential exchange networks.

De grandes similitudes unissent les régions de la façade atlantique de l'Europe dès la période néo-chalcolithique. Toutefois, le phénomène des monuments mégalithiques ou celui de la céramique campaniforme ont débordé assez largement la zone en question. C'est pour l'âge du Bronze que les types d'objets semblables, répartis depuis la péninsule ibérique jusqu'à l'Ecosse, ont conduit plusieurs spécialistes à formuler l'idée d'un ensemble culturel atlantique. Certains réfutent cette idée. Ils tirent leurs arguments de la faiblesse documentaire en général et du caractère métallique de la majorité de ces documents en particulier. Ces considérations, d'ailleurs indéniables, leur permettent de juger l'échantillon disponible insuffisant, donc non représentatif de la réalité passée. Ils s'en tiennent ainsi à l'hypothèse d'un vague commerce faisant circuler, de manière plus ou moins aléatoire, des objets résistant aux transports lointains, ou au passage entre de nombreuses mains. Après avoir, moi-même, utilisé le concept de complexe culturel atlantique et tenté de définir plus méthodiquement ce qu'il recouvre (Fig. 1) (Brun, 1991), je voudrais préciser ici quelques aspects théoriques et méthodologiques, et présenter, en guise d'illustration, une étude de cas sur l'Armorique qui occupe une position centrale dans ce complexe culturel.

## Le problème documentaire

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Il convient de rappeler que dès le début de l'âge du Bronze des liens culturels très étroits unissent plusieurs régions étendues de la Loire au Rhin et de la Moselle à l'océan. Pour le Bronze ancien et moyen, plusieurs éléments de la culture matérielle (objets métalliques, poterie, pratiques funéraires) témoignent de l'intégration culturelle de l'ensemble du monde nord-atlantique. Pour le Bronze final, la documentation domestique et funéraire fait en grande partie défaut dans toute la zone étudiée; les types d'objets communs sont alors des pièces d'armement, surtout des épées, trouvées en dépôts terrestres ou aquatiques. La

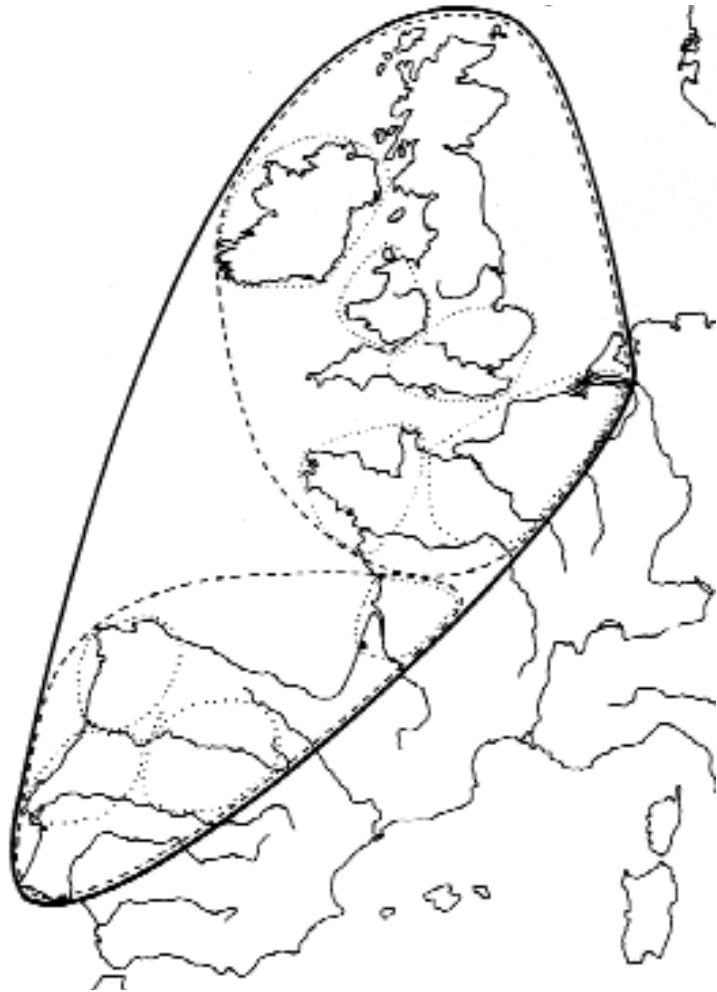


FIG. 1 – Carte schématique du complexe atlantique et de ses subdivisions au Ha B2/3.

documentation céramique est encore peu abondante et elle a, de plus, été envisagée selon un point de vue “orientalocentriste”.

En y regardant de plus près, on peut découvrir qu’un corpus-clé existe depuis un demi siècle. Il est resté longtemps inexploité au Musée des Antiquités Nationales et n’a pas été pleinement compris lors de sa publication. Il s’agit de la poterie de l’établissement fortifié de Sorel-Moussel “Fort-Harroard” (Fig. 2) (Bouet, 1987; Mohen et Bailloud, 1987). Une partie de la vaisselle ressemble certes aux productions de la culture Rhin-Suisse-France orientale du 10<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., mais la majorité ne leur est pas strictement comparable; un pourcentage important leur est même étranger. Considérant la position géographique du site et l’appartenance culturelle de la plupart des bronzes, je suis conduit à déduire que cette poterie est celle du Bronze final atlantique si évanescence par ailleurs; d’autant que ses formes peu typées et ses rares décors ne sont pas sans évoquer les *plainwares* britanniques.

Avec l’intensification de l’archéologie de sauvetage en France, de nombreux sites d’habitat arrivent à notre connaissance. Pour peu que les sites soient moyennement riches en poterie, on constate que des types orientaux sont présents jusqu’aux côtes atlantiques, mais qu’ils accompagnent toujours une majorité de formes non typiquement orientales (Beurion,

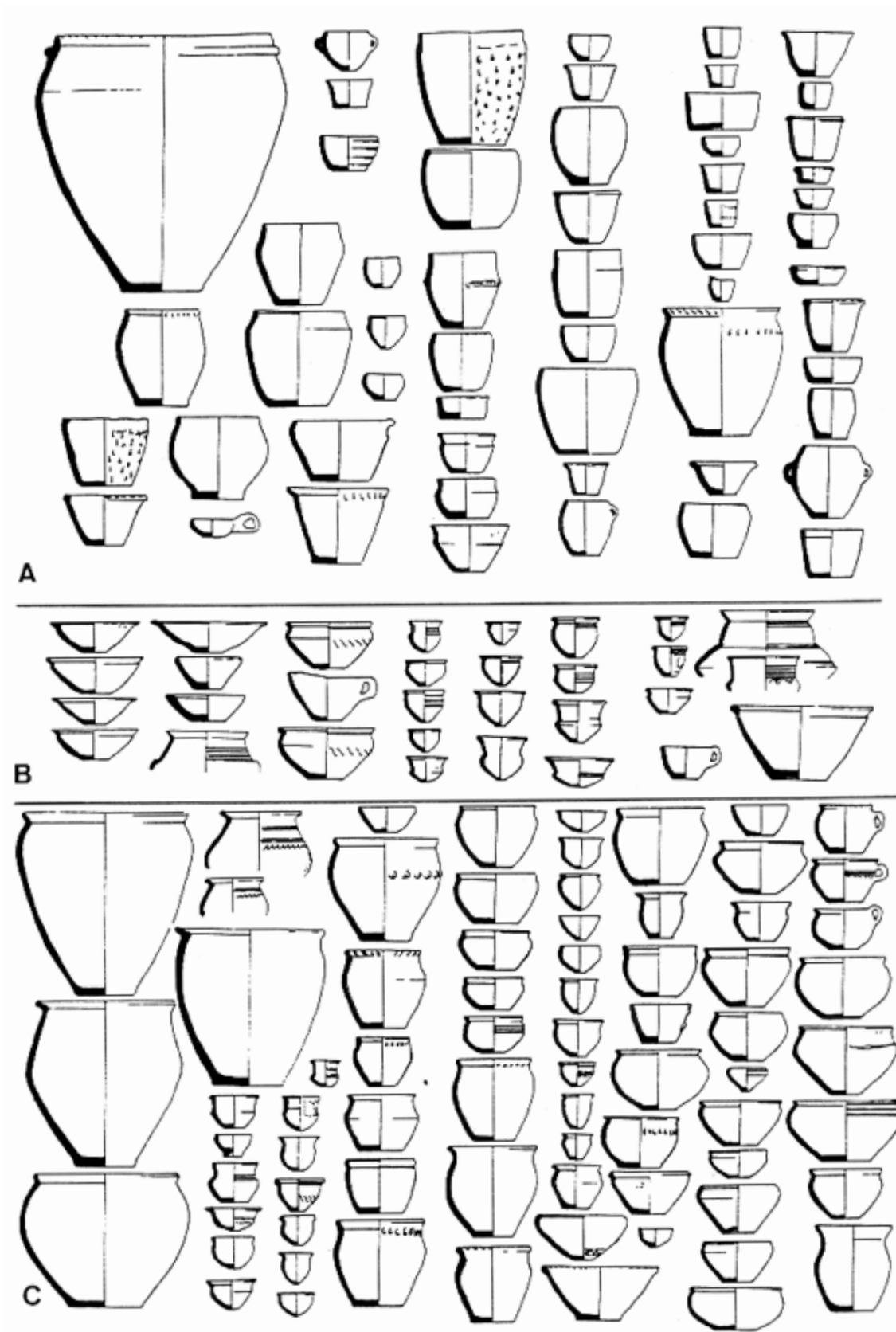


FIG. 2 – Synthèse des types céramiques du Ha A2-B1 découverts à Sorel-Moussel “Fort Harrouard”; A: types atlantiques, B: types de la culture Rhin-Suisse-France orientale du complexe nord-alpin, C: types indéterminés.

1993, fig. 7, 8; Tessier; Bernard, 1995, fig. 1, 2, 8). E. Warmenbol (1991) fait exactement le même raisonnement en examinant le mobilier des champs d'urnes flamands. Les formes de ces poteries ressemblent à celles du Hallstatt C, plus à l'est. Il faut alors s'attendre à ce que des poteries du Bronze final atlantique aient été classés par erreur au Premier Age du Fer. Si cette hypothèse est correcte, les poteries "atlantiques" représentent, très prosaïquement, la même géographie culturelle que les bronzes atlantiques.

L'ensemble nord-atlantique ne possède des similitudes incontestables avec le sud-ouest français et l'ouest ibérique qu'à partir du Bronze final. Les documents du Bronze ancien et moyen sud-atlantique sont trop peu abondants pour savoir si les contacts, qui s'étaient manifestés à travers le phénomène de la céramique campaniforme, se sont poursuivis sans interruption jusqu'au Bronze final. Quelques indices le suggèrent (Coffyn, 1985; Briard ce volume), mais ils restent trop ponctuels pour être décisifs.

Les épées du type pistilliforme atlantique expriment au Ha A2-B1 l'existence d'une vaste zone d'échanges préférentiels. Elles sont fréquemment associées à la boulerolle de section losangique, à l'embout cylindrique ou conique et à la pointe de lance à courte douille (Coombs, 1988). Au Ha B2/3, ces pièces d'armement font place, dans la même aire géographique, à l'épée du type en langue de carpe, à la boulerolle en sac et à la virole de pommeau. L'épée et ses accessoires dominent là encore. En cette fin de l'âge du Bronze, le complexe atlantique se démarque nettement de ses homologues nord-alpin et nordique qui, eux aussi, se définissent principalement par des combinaisons d'éléments de panoplies guerrières.

Là où la documentation est suffisante, il devient possible de discerner plusieurs niveaux subalternes d'entités spatio-culturelles emboîtées, dans la distribution des types de parures et des styles céramiques en particulier (Brun, 1991). Lorsque la documentation est présente en quantité suffisante, une étude attentive des poteries permet d'identifier des spécialités propres à chaque maisonnée (Pétrequin [*et al.*], 1985). Par conséquent, rien n'interdit a priori de distinguer des aires stylistiques très réduites. Cela signifie que lorsque nous parlons d'homogénéité pour des zones plus vastes, ce concept revêt un sens relatif; un peu comme pour les êtres humains qui, sauf l'exception rarissime des jumeaux, sont tous différents, mais qui peuvent être classés en familles, groupes, etc, sur la base de combinaisons de caractères génétiques communs. Dans tous les cas, nous devons raisonner sur des degrés de ressemblance.

Ici, intervient la question fondamentale de l'échelle d'observation utilisée. Plus l'espace étudié est petit, plus les critères descriptifs retenus sont particuliers et plus l'image restituée est spécifique et diversifiée. A l'inverse, plus cet espace est large, plus les critères sont généraux et plus l'image obtenue apparaît simplifiée et uniforme. Dans le premier cas, on ne parvient pas à hiérarchiser les éléments pour distinguer le significatif de l'anecdotique; dans le second, on écrase la perspective, au risque de masquer des caractères discrets mais essentiels. La meilleure méthode consiste bien sûr à travailler à diverses échelles, renvoyant dos-à-dos le typo-culturalisme suranné et le localisme différentialiste en vogue actuellement.

Il en va de même pour l'échelle temporelle, car la réalité passée fut mouvante. Les entités observables subissent des dilatations et des contractions. Certaines purent même échapper à leur ensemble d'origine pour s'intégrer à un voisin. Cette dynamique heurtée tend à brouiller les limites. C'est pourquoi, dans un environnement naturel et humains parfois chaotique, sujet à des catastrophes, le plus étonnant réside précisément, à mon sens, dans la résilience de ces entités. Souvent, elles conservèrent le même centre de gravité pendant des siècles, malgré de profonds changements internes et externes. Cette résistance procède de leurs principes constitutifs qui renvoient à la définition et à la signification d'une culture en archéologie.

## La question de l'identité culturelle

La délimitation des entités culturelles se fonde, comme on le sait, sur la répétition de types associés: ils doivent être associés avec une plus grande fréquence dans une aire donnée qu'à l'extérieur de celle-ci (Klejn, 1982). L'archéologie permet ainsi de repérer des communautés humaines qui entretiennent davantage de contacts entre elles qu'avec les autres. Des travaux maintenant classiques (Barth, 1969) et des approches systémiques (Vullierme, 1989) permettent de mieux comprendre la question de l'identité culturelle. Les échanges de biens et de personnes nécessaires à la reproduction physique et biologique d'une communauté impliquent des échanges d'informations, donc de représentations symboliques entre interlocuteurs; ce qui entraîne l'unification de leur vision du monde. Les individus sont ainsi amenés à percevoir et interpréter leur environnement de la même manière et, par conséquent, à s'exprimer oralement, gestuellement et stylistiquement de façon similaire. L'homogénéisation émerge ainsi spontanément de l'interaction entre communicants. Elle s'élargit en fonction du nombre, de la durée et de la forme des interactions individuelles et collectives. D'où la création de systèmes de connaissances, de techniques, de règles, de croyances et de moyens d'expression communs que nous appelons des entités culturelles et qui peuvent être très vastes.

Ce processus ne représente qu'un versant de la genèse culturelle (Fig. 3): celui de l'appropriation mimétique de modèles comportementaux. L'autre versant, c'est la différenciation sans laquelle l'identité ne peut s'affirmer. La formation de l'identité, qui semble bien nécessiter un modèle à imiter, exige de plus un contre-modèle dont il faut se démarquer, afin de se distinguer. Ce principe psycho-social, qui opère à diverses échelles, permet d'expliquer la formation, la différenciation et la hiérarchisation scalaire des entités culturelles. Il reste pour chaque cas concret à préciser le volume, la fréquence et les modalités des échanges en cause. Ce principe identitaire justifie, en particulier, la recherche de corrélations entre les entités culturelles saisissables par l'archéologie et les aires linguistiques. Il souligne aussi qu'il convient d'entendre par ethnies des formations surtout sociales procédant toujours par amalgames et acculturations réciproques entre communautés échangeistes. Les ethnies ne sont que partiellement des formations biologiques, c'est-à-dire fondées sur une commune ascendance. Ce sont les mythes qui ont construit après coup une fiction dissimulant ces inclusions sous l'apparence d'un arbre généalogique. Il s'agissait de faire paraître naturel un processus éminemment culturel, afin d'en assoir la légitimité et ainsi préserver le lien social.

L'échange produit l'homogénéisation culturelle en fonction, rappelons-le, du nombre, de la durée et de la forme des interactions. De la sorte, si les connexions d'un réseau fonctionnent assez souvent, assez longtemps et publiquement, ce réseau, qui se caractérise initialement par un ensemble de lignes reliant des points et affranchies de la surface, produit une relative standardisation culturelle de l'espace qui environne chacun de ces points. Ainsi, le complexe culturel atlantique procède vraisemblablement de réseaux d'échanges à longue distance, animés par les élites sociales, qui se mettent en place avec la généralisation de la métallurgie.

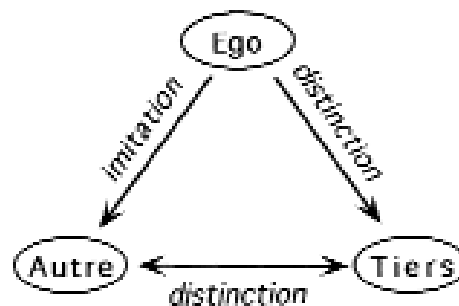


FIG. 3 – Schématisation du processus de genèse culturelle.

Ces réseaux doivent logiquement être déterminés par la localisation des ressources, les moyens de transport et de communication et l'organisation sociale des participants. Les ressources en cuivre sont très inégalement réparties en Europe; et plus encore les ressources en étain. De plus, rarement les gisements de ces deux composants du bronze se localisent à proximité l'un de l'autre, sauf dans les Balkans, dans l'Erzgebirge, en Etrurie, dans l'ouest de la péninsule ibérique, en Armorique et dans le sud-ouest britannique. De ce point de vue, le complexe atlantique apparaît privilégié, puisque les trois dernières localisations citées s'y trouvent réunies. Ce potentiel métallurgique était renforcé par les grandes facilités que le cabotage marin offrait pour les transports pondéreux. D'autant que des réseaux de grande envergure avaient déjà été établis dès le milieu du troisième millénaire BC, comme en témoigne la distribution de la céramique campaniforme et des pièces d'armement associées (Harrison, 1986; Shennan, 1986). Ce n'est probablement pas un hasard si les deux régions atlantiques où l'ostentation sociale fut la plus grande au Bronze ancien se situaient non loin de gisements de cuivre et d'étain, possédaient des débouchés côtiers et se trouvaient déjà connectées aux réseaux maritimes d'échanges lointains. Il s'agit du Wessex et de l'Armorique.

Bien que lacunaire pour les régions sud-atlantiques, la documentation permet d'écartier l'idée que les cartes de distribution expriment un simple réseau déconnecté du substrat culturel; bref, un simple trafic d'armes. Le réseau a fonctionné trois siècles au minimum sur l'ensemble du complexe atlantique, plus de mille ans avec certitude dans sa moitié nord, mieux documentée. D'autre part, Les élites qui contrôlaient les échanges à longues distances se trouvaient en contact avec le reste de la population puisqu'il s'agissait des chefs des communautés locales, même si un niveau d'intégration supérieur a pu exister (cf. infra). Par conséquent, au delà de l'uniformisation des élites, une percolation lente mais inévitable s'opérait à travers la totalité du tissu social, même si certains insignes restaient réservés aux puissants en tant que symboles de statut.

### **L'exemple de l'Armorique au Bronze ancien**

L'organisation sociale dans le Wessex à l'époque de Stonehenge est devenue une référence fameuse depuis les travaux de Fleming (1971) et Renfrew (1973). Dans toutes les synthèses, cette référence accompagne les mentions faites au phénomène social analogue de Saxe-Thuringe (Otto, 1955). Le Bronze ancien armoricain n'est pas traité avec le même relief. Ses tombes tumulaires, parfois très volumineuses et très riches (Briard, 1984), soutiennent pourtant la comparaison. L'abondance de ces données permet d'esquisser d'intéressantes perspectives sociologiques, malgré les réserves d'usage à faire concernant des observations et des fouilles anciennes pour la plupart. Ces documents ont été réunis et étudiés en détail dans quelques travaux où j'ai puisé (Briard, 1984; Léon, 1994).

Ces tumulus se composent de deux séries successives, qui ont dû se chevaucher en partie: les tumulus à pointes de flèches et les autres qui contenaient souvent un vase en terre cuite (Cogné et Giot, 1951). Parmi les tumulus de la première série, trois sortent nettement du lot par leur volume (Fig. 4): Plonéour-Lanvern "Kerhué Bras": 8591 m<sup>3</sup>, Plouvorn "Kernonen": 6000 m<sup>3</sup> et Melrand: 4971 m<sup>3</sup>; à titre de comparaison, celui de Leubingen n'atteint que 4178 m<sup>3</sup>. Les suivants mesurent 3205 m<sup>3</sup> pour les deux plus gros, puis le corpus décline plus régulièrement jusqu'à des volumes inférieurs à 300 m<sup>3</sup>. La richesse de ces tombes se révèle impressionnante dans plusieurs cas (Fig. 5), avec leurs superbes pointes de flèches en silex, leurs poignards qui peuvent être au nombre de huit, certains ayant un



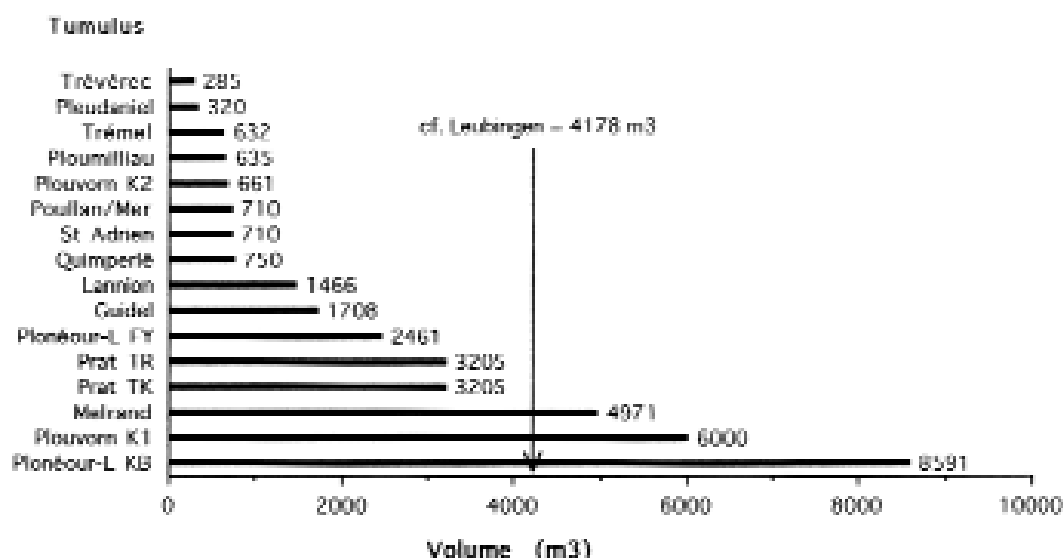


FIG. 4 – Histogramme des plus gros tumulus armoricains de la 1ère série.

Tombe	F	P	H	A	Autres
Quimperlé L.	X	4	1		pendentif jadeite, perles Or, Ag, Bz, bracelets Bz, ciseau Bz, brassard archer
Ploudaniel M.B.	16	8	4	1	boîte bois, 5 épingles (3 = Ag), meule
Lannion M	7	7	2	1	boîte bois, petite boîte or (brassard archer ?)
Plouvoan K1	60	4	4		11 pendentif ambre, brassard archer ? ambre, paquet boisée
Trévénec	20	8	2	1	boîte bois, épingle, petite javelot ?
Guidel	14	4	1		1 frag. age Bz, meule
Metrand St-F.	2	7	2		vase Ag
St Adrien	45	4	1		vase Ag
Ploumilliau	25	4	2		2 épingles
Plouvoan-L. KB	33	7	2	1	
Plouhinec L.	17	4	1		vase céramique
Trézel	29	4	1		boîte bois
Prat T.K.	30	7			boîtes bois, 2 épingles
Plouvoan K.	24	5	3		
Olven	28	3	1		
St Vougay	16	2	1		
Poullan/M. KS	9	1	2		
Beuzec-Cap-S.	3	2	1		
Pratac		7	2		
Plouzis C.G.	2	1			
St-Thégonnec	19	5			
Prat T.R.	46	4			
Poullan/Mer	43	4			
Plouvoan K.	10	2			
Plouvoan-L. FY	32	2			
Plouvoan-L. C.	22	2			
Plouhinec K.	38	1			
Plouignacou	33	1			
Plouhinec-L.	22	1			
Bourg-Blanc	17	1			
Cléder K.	2	2			
Plouvoan L.	1	2			
Poullargat K.	1	2			
Bez	1				violation gallo-romaine

**Légende :** F = pointe de flèche, P = poignard, H = hache, A = aiguiseur (Ag = argent, Bz = bronze)

FIG. 5 – Tableau du mobilier funéraire contenu dans les tumulus armoricains de la 1ère série.

manche parsemé de petits clous en or et se trouvant rangés dans un coffret en bois, leurs haches en bronze, jusqu'à quatre, leurs parures en ambre, jadéite, or, argent ou bronze et, dans deux cas, un vase en argent. Il n'est pas indifférent de noter la présence d'une meule dans deux des tombes les plus riches: Pleudaniel "Mouden Bras" et Guidel.

Pour classer les tombes de la première série sur une échelle de richesse, j'ai adopté le critère du nombre de catégories fonctionnelles, plutôt que celui de la quantité brute d'objets, afin de mettre l'accent sur la complexité des ensembles. Ce nombre constitue, en effet, une approximation statistique simple et satisfaisante de la quantité et de la qualité du travail nécessaire par la fabrication des produits finis, ainsi que de la difficulté d'approvisionnement en matières premières. Le corpus suggère une tripartition avec quatre tombes très riches, huit tombes riches et douze tombes pas riches (Fig. 6). Les trois tumulus les plus gros couvrent chacun une tombe riche ou très riche. Les autres se partagent les tombes riches ou non, sans corrélation entre leur richesse et leur rang volumétrique.

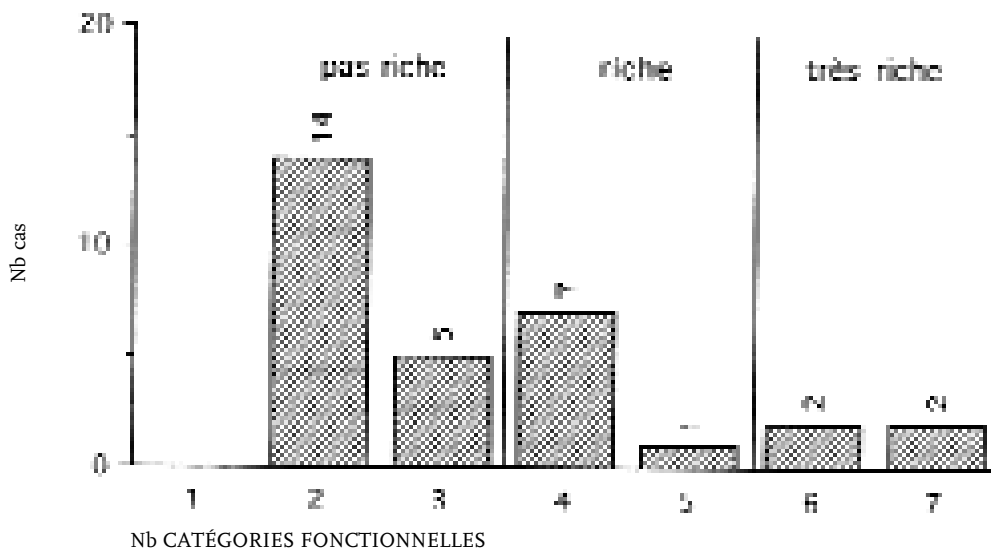


FIG. 6 – Définition des trois niveaux de richesse dans les tumulus armoricains de la 1<sup>ère</sup> série.

La distribution spatiale des tertres montre, à l'échelle de l'Armorique, deux cas de figures (Fig. 7, B): des tumulus groupés (dans le Trégor et le Léon au nord, dans la Cornouaille au sud) et des tumulus plus isolés (ailleurs). A l'échelle des zones denses, une certaine régularité apparaît, les distances s'échelonnant entre 5 et 18 km, la moyenne étant de 10 km (Léon, 1994). Cette dimension suggère bien entendu un module territorial de 5 km de rayon pour la communauté de base. A l'échelle régionale, la distribution des groupes de tumulus et des exemplaires isolés montre aussi une certaine régularité. La localisation des tertres les plus gros et/ou des tombes riches confirme cette tendance. Les distances entre ces pôles supra-locaux supposés s'échelonnent entre 18 et 68 km avec une moyenne de 40 km. Cela évoque des entités politiques centralisées de 12 à 27 km de rayon, pour la plupart, ce qui est assez comparable avec les chefferies de 15 à 20 km de rayon proposées pour le Wessex durant la même période.

Il est intéressant de noter que la distribution des centres du Bronze ancien est "annoncée", en quelque sorte, par la répartition des sites qui ont livré de la céramique campanifor-

me (Fig. 7, A) (L'Helgouach, 1984). Cela suggère une filiation qui s'exprime aussi par l'équipement des élites: flèches, poignard, brassard d'archer, hache. Cette persistance des lieux de pouvoir liés aux échanges à longue distance de biens de prestige se poursuit dans la seconde série des tumulus armoricains (Fig. 7, C). Pour cette série, les quatre tertres de plus de 3000 m<sup>3</sup> se situent dans le proche rayon d'un tertre riche ou très riche de la première série; mais pas à proximité immédiate. Cela signifie probablement que le tombeau était érigé près de l'établissement au moment du décès et que l'habitat se déplaçait de façon cyclique.

Dans quelques cas, le déplacement entre les tertres des deux séries excède 10 km, laissant penser que le pouvoir suprême pouvait être capté par d'autres chefs de communautés de la même chefferie. Dans plusieurs cas, les territoires théoriques antérieurs semblent même s'être fragmentés. Leur nombre s'accroît d'un tiers et la distance moyenne entre ces centres supposés chute à 23 km, mais nous constatons la persistance de deux niveaux d'intégration. Malgré la réduction de leur échelle d'intégration, ces centres de pouvoir expriment par leur pérennité une tendance vers une transmission héréditaire du pouvoir. A Kersaint-Plabennec, la tombe d'un jeune enfant porteur d'un poignard, signalée par un tertre de 2000 m<sup>3</sup>, en constitue un indice supplémentaire. D'autre part, il n'est pas indifférent de constater que les tumulus de la seconde série montrent une densification dans les secteurs riches en métaux: cuivre près de Huelgoat (Berrien), étain autour de Saint-Renan (Plabennec). C'est aussi là que se situent les plus riches et les plus volumineux.

Pour résumer, un système de chefferies contiguës semble se développer, en Armorique, sur près de 22 000 km<sup>2</sup>, à partir d'un réseau d'échanges à longue distance de biens de prestige. Il s'agit de formations politiques mesurant en moyenne 1600 km<sup>2</sup>, placées sous le pouvoir d'un chef et composées de communautés locales dominées chacune par un leader. L'existence de deux niveaux d'intégration est une caractéristique récurrente des chefferies simples (Earle, 1991). Les biens les plus exotiques: objets en argent et en ambre, sont fréquemment associés aux mobiliers les plus diversifiés, mais aussi aux produits en bronze les plus abondants; les poignards, en particulier, qui supposent une grande maîtrise technique. Nous pouvons penser que les objets en bronze circulaient par le canal des échanges cérémoniels entre les élites sociales. La présence de ces armes, symboles de prestige et de pouvoir, dans les tombeaux plus modestes, dispersés sur certains territoires peut être interprétée comme le résultat d'une redistribution faite par le chef aux leaders de communautés locales qu'il met ainsi sous sa dépendance. Ceux-ci adoptent une partie des insignes de leur supérieur.

Si notre échantillon de tombes est représentatif, nous pouvons retenir un développement plus rapide du processus le long des principaux axes de communication: côtes maritimes et rivières; ce qui induit la primauté du contrôle des échanges à longue distance parmi les causes du phénomène. Le fait que chaque leader de communauté locale se trouve connecté au réseau "international" assure une grande porosité de cette société aux nouveautés qui arrivent. Il pouvait s'agir de contacts de proches en proche, de chef en chef, puis de chef en leader, ou bien de transmissions médiatisées par des épouses originaires d'autres zones, par des artisans itinérants et par des conteurs plus ou moins spécialisés. Les biens transmis pouvaient être matériels: matières premières et produits finis à forte charge symbolique, ou immatériels: informations techniques, mais aussi idéologiques (légendes, mythes, mots, connaissances par exemple). Certains éléments étaient sans doute monopolisés par les élites qui, selon leur niveau hiérarchique, les utilisaient dans leur stratégie de distinction. Cependant, les autres éléments atteignaient inévitablement le peuple. Cette acculturation devait être d'autant plus active que les biens exotiques étaient valorisées par les leaders. De plus, l'imitation des élites poussait probablement ces derniers à renouveler de manière concomitante leurs insignes statutaires, afin de maintenir leur distinction,

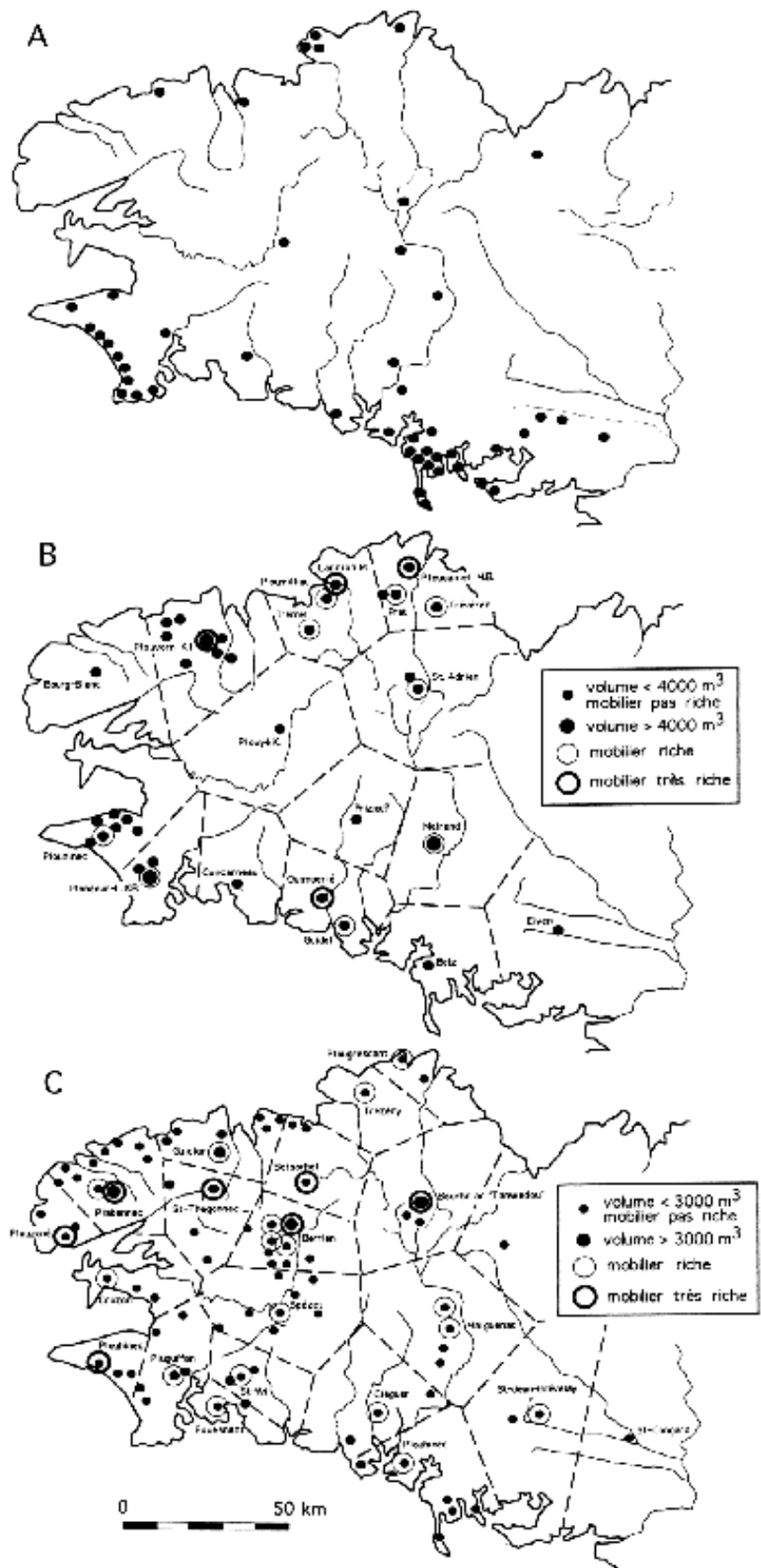


FIG. 7 – Analyse spatiale; A: Sites à poterie campaniforme, B: Tumulus de la 1ère série et territoires théoriques, C: Tumulus de la 2e série et territoires théoriques, mobilier riche = 1 poignard et une poterie, mobilier très riche = 2 poignards ou bien exotique et poterie.

conformément au mécanisme bien étudié par P. Bourdieu (1979) dans les rapports entre les classes sociales contemporaines.

Un tel mode de fonctionnement, où les échanges lointains jouent un rôle nécessaire, suppose toutefois la préexistence d'une hiérarchie dont la base est locale. Il n'est pas indifférent de noter, à cet égard, que les élites paraissent entretenir des liens étroits avec l'économie locale: les ressources métalliques, bien sûr, lorsqu'elle existent, mais aussi agricoles, comme le suggèrent les meules présentes dans deux sépulcres privilégiés. Enfin, la superposition relativement étroite des centres de pouvoir depuis le milieu du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C., jusqu'au milieu du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C. plaide pour une durée de fonctionnement des réseaux "internationaux" largement suffisante pour que la totalité de la société soit affectée par une homogénéisation qui ne touche, dans un premier temps, que les élites.

Il reste à insister sur l'utilité du concept de complexe culturel. Les complexes culturels sont de vastes aires de diffusion des nouveautés matérielles et idéelles percolant à travers toute l'épaisseur du tissu social. Cette caractéristique implique la capacité de modifier la vitesse et la direction de la diffusion des changements; cet entrelacs de relations privilégiées qu'est un complexe culturel peut sans doute amplifier rapidement une légère modification très circonscrite au départ, en particulier à partir des marges. En somme, il s'agit d'un élément potentiel majeur de la structuration des sociétés et de leur évolution. A titre d'exemple, je rappelle que la reconnaissance des complexes culturels a permis de repérer les zones intermédiaires, dites encore zones-tampons où des phénomènes sociaux spécifiques se produisent: des innovations stylistiques certes, mais surtout des innovations sociales avec une tendance marquée à la complexification (Brun, 1993).

Cette notion de complexe culturel est entendue ici dans un sens beaucoup plus riche que celui des culturalistes d'antan qui cherchaient des ethnies intangibles dans la distribution spatiale de quelques types d'objets. Tant au point de vue éthique que méthodologique, les excès d'une telle conception ont suscité de justes critiques; mais certains ont versé dans l'excès contraire par le rejet pur et simple des catégories analytiques nommées groupes culturels, cultures ou complexes culturels. Une attitude voisine consiste à mettre l'accent sur l'hétérogénéité irréductible des données. Ses tenants travaillent plutôt à l'échelle régionale et croient mettre en échec ceux qui recherchent un ordre en brandissant quelques contre-exemples supposés. Ils les accusent ensuite d'avoir manipulé le passé d'une manière plus ou moins consciente.

Procéder à l'analyse critique, au démontage des concepts est certes de bonne méthode; j'ai pratiqué cet exercice avec profit sur la notion de "Civilisation des Champs d'Urnes" (Brun, 1986). Toutefois, si elle supprime les relations entre les éléments, la déconstruction peut aller jusqu'à dissoudre son objet propre. En réduisant un ensemble à ses seuls constituants envisagés morceau par morceau, objet par objet, on peut aboutir, en effet, à une perte totale de signification. C'est pourquoi j'ai entrepris d'argumenter sur deux fronts: contre les nomothètes et contre les idiographes, pour reprendre les termes d'I. Wallerstein (1991), c'est-à-dire contre les classificateurs rigides, adeptes de la permanence et du déterminisme d'un côté, et contre les déconstructeurs exaltés, amateurs du désordre et de la contingence de l'autre côté. Ce positionnement m'avait conduit à terminer un précédent article consacré au complexe atlantique (Brun, 1991) sur la belle métaphore du cristal et de la fumée, utilisée par H. Atlan (1979) comme titre d'un de ses livres. Ce théoricien de l'ordre à partir du bruit expliquait que les organisations dynamiques sont "apparues comme des compromis entre deux extrêmes: un ordre répétitif parfaitement symétrique dont les cristaux sont les modèles physiques les plus classiques, et une variété infiniment complexe et imprévisible dans ses détails, comme celle des formes évanescences de la fumée" (p. 5). Il m'a semblé qu'il n'était pas inutile d'insister sur cette idée, d'où le sous-titre de cet article.

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\* Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, France.

# Gordon Childe and Iberian Archaeology

■ MARGARITA DÍAZ-ANDREU\* ■

**ABSTRACT** In this essay I aim to analyse the mutual influence exerted by Childe and his Iberian colleagues. Using the Iberian case as an example, I will propose that on occasion historiographical analyses of the influence exerted by Childe have failed to take into account the social context and the different types of readings which Childe's texts allow. Moreover, I will analyse the nature and frequency of contact between Childe and his Iberian colleagues. Finally, I will pay special attention to the discussion of the Atlantic Bronze Age in Childe's work, later explaining why its existence was not considered by Childe until his latter works, and then only very incidentally.

**RESUMEN** Este trabajo examinará la relación entre Childe y la arqueología española y portuguesa. Comenzaré utilizando este estudio como excusa para una reflexión más general sobre la historiografía que se viene habitualmente realizando sobre Childe y propondré que ésta no ha tenido en cuenta los diferentes tipos de lecturas posibles de los textos de Childe ni el contexto social en el que éstas se produjeron. Como ejemplo de esto analizaré la naturaleza y frecuencia de los contactos de Childe con sus colegas ibéricos. En último lugar, me centraré en el lugar que el Bronce Atlántico ocupó en la interpretación childeana de la prehistoria europea y propondré una explicación de por qué éste fue considerado únicamente en sus últimas obras, y aún así de manera muy secundaria.

In this essay I propose to analyse the mutual influence exerted by Childe and his Iberian colleagues. Using the Iberian case as an example, I will argue that on occasion historiographical analyses of the influence exerted by Childe need further refinement. This is because these accounts do not examine the social context which underlie the texts, which most of the time point to the actual nature and extent of Childe's influence. On the one hand, most historiographies do not consider that very different -and even oppositer readings of Childe are possible. On the other hand, I will argue that in order to examine Childe's real influence on other archaeologists it is not enough to check whether he was cited. Instead, it is necessary to examine the actual presence of Childe's ideas in other archaeologists' interpretations. This is so because citing Childe may have had more to do with using his name as a prestige token as a way to reinforce the author's own prestige than to a genuine belief in the accuracy or theoretical originality of Childe's narrative of prehistoric archaeology.

Most historiographical accounts on Childe practically ignore his connections with both Spain and Portugal. The fact is that although, on the one hand, Iberia was not central to Childe's writings, he paid some attention to its archaeology, and this is something that has not been analysed until now. On the other hand, despite Childe not being a central figure in Iberian archaeology, he did have *some* influence. This has not been considered either by non-Iberian or Iberians historiographers of Childe. In the biographies of Childe written by non-Iberian archaeologists, such as those by Trigger (1980) and Green (1981), and in other studies of his work (McNairn, 1980; Harris, 1994), Childe's contacts with his Iberian colleagues are not even mentioned. Although such contacts are considered by some Iberian archaeologists, their accounts are, in my opinion, either incomplete or not accurate. I do not agree, for exam-

ple, with José Alcina Franch (1987, p. 10-11) when he states that Childe's publications were taboo under the Franco regime. The books acquired by the Seminar of the Primitive History of Man (the name given to the Department of Prehistory of the University of Madrid from 1922 to 1953) point in the opposite direction. These books are in English (Childe, 1947a) and in French (Childe, 1949), and, although I cannot show this was also the case in Portugal, they show that there is no basis to the assumption made by Jorge V. O. and Jorge S. O. (1995, p. 256) that Childe was not read in Portugal until his translation into Portuguese in the 1950s'. In fact, as Carvalho (1989, p. 107) explains, there was at least one Portuguese archaeologist influenced by Childe in the 1940s, Eduardo da Cunha Serrão. Moreover, not only were Childe's works read and reviewed from the 1930s and 1940s but, as I will explain, Childe himself also actively contributed to Spanish and Portuguese archaeological journals in these years.

Finally, I will pay special attention to the (almost non-existent) discussion on the Atlantic Bronze Age in Childe's work. I will suggest an explanation why some hypotheses maintained by Iberian scholars, such as the existence of an Atlantic Bronze Age, were not considered by Childe until his latter works, and then only very incidentally. Was then Childe's original lack of interest in the Atlantic Bronze Age influential in the approaches of his Iberian colleagues? Or did they actually prompt him into taking it into account in his final works? Was this a direct relationship, or did it need the work of an intermediary to bring it to Childe's attention? The study of Mac White's work will answer these questions.

### **Is a revision of current views on Childe's influence in world's archaeology needed?**

As Peter Ucko (1995, p. 5) states, Childe's work was and *'is still currently by far the most profound individual influence on international archaeology'*. Although I have no problem with this, I propose that we need to assess more critically the actual influence which Childe today exerts and exerted in the past. Because it is his theoretical historical materialist stance which is at present mostly celebrated, we might assume that it was this facet of Childe's work which was the most influential in his time. However, as Antonio Gilman points out, 'Gordon Childe was universally accepted as the major European prehistorian, not because he embraced historical materialism but because he claimed to have traced the unity of European civilisation back to its prehistoric roots' (Gilman 1988, p. 50, my translation). The unimportance of Childe's historical materialism was explicitly expressed at the time. Pericot, one of the Spanish archaeologists who had most contact with Childe, said in his obituary that 'In some of these works Professor Childe subscribed to points of view which we could not accept. His friends commented that his materialist interpretations made him appear as an extremist. Yet they gave little importance to this in comparison with his goodness and scientific honesty'. He continued: 'What should really be emphasised in Childe was his sincerity, the wide range of sources he used, his synthetic vision of prehistoric problems and the importance he gave to their cultural and economic aspects. In this respect his work is first class and has built up a following' (Pericot, 1957, p. 298-9, my translation). It was, therefore, not Childe's political-theoretical stance which was admired at the time, but the accuracy of his culture-historical description of the archaeological record. Thus, we have to bear in mind that, at least in Spain in the 1950s (but, I would propose, everywhere at that time), he was influential because of one of his facets, his culture-historical account of Near Eastern and European prehistory (but also, as I will explain, because of his prestige). However, he is currently still influential there, as in the rest of the world for a different reasons, primarily through his role as a theoretician. In both periods, I would argue, the prestige conferred by the mentioning of Childe (but not nec-



essarily either the adoption of his interpretations or the understanding of his hypotheses) is a key factor when considering the abundance of citations of him.

Prestige is, as I contend, an element to consider. What Childe was, for example, really influential in the 1950s? Was he most influential as the person who restructured the Prehistory of the Near East and Europe, or as professor and eminent European scholar? If it is as the former, Childe's hypotheses would have had an important influence on his colleagues' interpretations of archaeological sequences, and they would have referred to him in their main texts. If it is as the latter, colleagues would have referred to Childe only in their introductions, possibly in their conclusions and in their reviews. In Iberian archaeology we find almost exclusively the latter. The following example will illustrate Childe's use as a prestige token. In his obituary, Pericot stressed Childe's personal relationship with Spanish archaeologists, making a link with patriotism (a concept which in Spain at this time entailed the acceptance of the dictatorship, but to which Childe would undoubtedly have subscribed). Pericot (1957, p. 298-9) proudly explained that Childe had provided Spanish archaeologists and the Spanish fatherland with numerous examples of his friendship [simpatía]. In this paper, other examples of this use of Childe will be offered, and Childe's superficial influence in Spanish archaeology will be discussed.

### **Childe and Spanish archaeology before the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39**

Childe first visited the Iberian Peninsula in 1928, probably in the early months of the year. This visit has largely remained unnoticed by Childe's biographers. The visit is not mentioned either in Green (1981), or in McNairn (1980), Trigger (1982) and not even in Bosch Gimpera (1980). There seems to be a reasonable explanation for the latter's omission. Prof. Pere Bosch Gimpera, who was one of the two leading prehistorians in Spain at the time [the other one was Prof. Hugo Obermaier (Díaz-Andreu, 1997)], describes his movements in 1928 in his memoirs. He reports that in 1928 he went to a conference on the Etruscans held in Florence, then to the Convegno at Rhodes and before going back to Spain he stopped for some days in Rome (Bosch Gimpera, 1980, p. 122-4). Therefore, it is possible that he was not in Barcelona when Childe went there, and that his disciple, Pericot, looked after him. This could have been the origin of the close relationship between Childe and Pericot<sup>2</sup>.

The main aim of this visit to Spain, however, seems to have been the excursion to the site of Los Millares, in the southeast of Spain. He had mentioned this site in *The Dawn of European Civilisation* published in 1925. 'In the Dawn of 1925, emphasizing the sea coast route, he attributed the rise of the Iberian Civilisation to colonization from the East, but by the 1927 edition he had relegated these voyagers to a secondary role and acknowledged the supremacy of the Danube thoroughfare' (Green, 1981, p. 53). However, it seems that as a result of his visit to Los Millares, in 1928 Childe reconsidered the importance of the Iberian Peninsula in his works. In 1929, in *The Danube in Prehistory*, he wrote: 'Britain undoubtedly absorbed influences from the Eastern Mediterranean long before Caesar landed, but those influences were for the most part indirect. The missing links lie in the Iberian Peninsula or the Danube valley' (Childe, 1929, v). The book, however, centred its attention on the Danube. In 1930, in his book on the Bronze Age, Childe also considered the Iberian Peninsula in relation to the invention of metallurgy, although he considered this possibility as unlikely (Fernández-Miranda, 1994, p. 15).

The Atlantic Bronze Age was not mentioned in Childe's major books of this period, *The Dawn of European civilisation* (1925), *The Most Ancient East* (1929) [and *New Light on the*

*Most Ancient East* (1934)], *The Danube in Prehistory* (1929) and *The Bronze Age* (1930). In the latter it could have been easy to do so, because he stressed the similarities among the art of Galicia, Newgrange and Brittany, but he also saw in them Mycenaean influences (1930, p. 166). He also considered the possibility of commerce between Britain, the Iberian Peninsula and the North Sea (but also with central Europe) (1930, p. 167). It could have also been simple to refer to an Atlantic Bronze Age in his article published in the *Spanish Journal of Archivists, Librarians and Archaeologists*<sup>3</sup> in 1934. In this article his intention was to ‘recapitulate the fresh evidence for intercourse between Scotland and Spain in early prehistoric times’ (Childe, 1934, p. 197). He pointed out that ‘the agreements can hardly be fortuitous. If the parallelism between Caithness and Algarve denote maritime intercourse between southern Spain and Scotland, the analogies just cited imply similar voyagings from or to North Spain or South France’ (1934, p. 204). He saw a ‘line of commercial penetration from the Mediterranean, ultimately extended along the Atlantic coasts to Denmark’ (1934, p. 204).

In fact, it is easy to see that the definition of an Atlantic Bronze Age by Childe could not even have been possible. The reason for this is the way in which the argument was conceived. The direction of ‘culture’, of ‘civilisation’, came from east to (north-)west, and therefore it was not even thinkable to suppose a culture circle (culture province), contrary to the established route, independent of the geographical progression Childe had elaborated.

Did Childe have an influence on Iberian archaeology? Childe was not mentioned in Pericot’s 1923 *Prehistory of the Iberian Peninsula*. However, Bosch Gimpera cited *The Dawn of European civilisation* in his *Ethnology of the Iberian Peninsula* (1932, p. 30n, 89, 226), and stressed Childe’s acceptance of some of his own hypotheses (1932, p. 89). But a comparison between the number of citations of Childe (and other English-speaking archaeologists) and of German archaeologists makes it clear that the possible influence of Childe, or indeed of English-speaking archaeology, was minimal. Most of Bosch Gimpera’s citations were from German literature, not surprisingly after his German training in archaeology (Díaz-Andreu, 1995b).

How did personal contacts influence the relation between Bosch Gimpera and Childe? Although it seems that Bosch Gimpera did not meet Childe in 1928, he mentions that they met in Berne in 1931, in Paris in 1932 and in Edinburgh in 1936. Until this last meeting, the relationship between them seems to have been very superficial and accidental. They met each other because they went to the same conferences, but for no other reason. Edinburgh 1936 seems to have been more productive, as Bosch Gimpera lodged with Childe (Bosch Gimpera, 1980, p. 139-140, 212-4). Bosch Gimpera (1980, p. 212-3) explains that, when talking, discussions lasted all morning and that they did not usually agree. But why was Bosch Gimpera previously uninterested? As already said, Bosch Gimpera had been trained as an archaeologist in Germany and, therefore, formed part of the influential German lobby to which Childe did not directly belong. By the time Bosch Gimpera might have realized the (not accidental) similarities between Childe’s approach and that of German archaeologists, it was too late for him, as Franco’s success in the Civil War forced him into exile in 1939.

### **Pericot as the first Childean Spanish archaeologist**

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We can say that Luis Pericot, from 1934<sup>4</sup> professor at the University of Barcelona, was the archaeologist who introduced Childe to Spanish and Iberian archaeology. From 1941 to

1949 Pericot reviewed at least ten of Childe's works (Pericot, 1941, 1944a-d, 1945-46a-f, 1949), only possible perhaps in Francoist Spain because of Pericot's very conservative stand that made him legitimate in the eyes of the regime<sup>5</sup>. He also reviewed Mac White's work (1945g-h).

As a response to Pericot's review in 1941, Childe, on his part, reviewed a book in *Antiquity* that his colleague had recently sent to him (Pericot, 1945, p. 345), Pericot's book on the Upper Palaeolithic cave of Parpalló (Childe, 1944a). Pericot exploited Childe's deference and translated Childe's review into Spanish to be published in *Ampurias*, the archaeological journal published in Barcelona (Childe, 1944b), and also wrote a short note on the *Antiquity* review in *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina* (Pericot, 1945)<sup>6</sup>.

In all Pericot's reviews Childe was praised. 'The indefatigable professor of Edinburgh remains centred on his work of systematisation. This is very welcome for those of us who cannot follow in detail the progressive development of prehistoric science and who find in his books useful syntheses and data difficult to find elsewhere' (Pericot, 1944a, p. 351). Childe was also applauded as a popularizer of archaeology to non specialists: in his *Primitive Spain* Pericot said that he had not dared 'to make the jump from the well-equipped science to literature, nor to hide his work under titles such as the one used by Gordon Childe in his English Prehistory, *Prehistoric communities of the British Isles*' (1950, p. 8).

Pericot pointed out, however, their political discrepancies. *What Happened in History* was a low cost book, and may be referred to as a book written under war conditions, which has 'an acute sense of the social issues and points of view which we shall restrain ourselves from judging' (Pericot, 1944b). No such mention was made about the articles on the USSR (Pericot, 1944d), two years after the Spanish troops - the so called blue division - had been fighting (and losing) together with the German troops on the Russian front. Silence was the best protection for possible political reprisals against Pericot.

Although Pericot's hypotheses differed greatly from Childe's, no mention was made of these disagreements. In *Primitive Spain* Childe's hypotheses were simply ignored, not mentioned, except in the case of a typological parallel (Pericot, 1950, p. 190). The real influence of Childe on Pericot's theories was minimal, if any. Why then was Pericot so interested in reviewing Childe's work? I think that the answer to this is that Pericot was most interested in using Childe's prestige to reinforce his own. It might be because of this that he even went to visit Childe in Edinburgh in 1946 (Pericot, 1957, p. 298). Visiting Pericot in Barcelona, however, was not something that Childe did in return.

Out of all the differences between their ideas (and, therefore, the lack of Childe's influence on Pericot), I must mention that Pericot defended an Atlantic Bronze Age in the north and west areas of the Iberian Peninsula, and connected to Brittany and Ireland. 'It gives the impression of an ethnic, or at least cultural unity, embracing all these regions placed as an arc surrounding a dangerous sea... In historic texts and in Irish traditions the remembering of those relations and exchanges remains' (Pericot, 1950, p. 207).

## **Childe, Eoin Mac White and Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla. The Madrid period (1945-1951)**

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After his relationship with his Catalan colleagues, that is, with Bosch Gimpera and Pericot, Childe turned his eyes on Madrid, and this change involved some consideration of the Atlantic Bronze Age. The reason for this change was Eoin Mac White. It might well have been Mac White who was the one interested in Madrid (and not in Barcelona). In 1943 Eoin

Mac White achieved his B.A. Degree in which Prof. Seán P. Ó Ríordáin was the internal examiner and Prof. Childe the external examiner (Eogan pers. comm. 23.10.95). In 1944 he obtained a Travelling Studentship of the Irish National University (Eogan, pers. comm. 18.4.96) to go to Madrid. It may be interesting to point out that both in a note written in 1947 (without author, 1947a) and in the introduction to the book resulting from Mac White's thesis (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1951) the role of Childe in Mac White presence in Spain is stressed, while Seán P. Ó Ríordáin is not mentioned. However, as Prof. Eogan insisted, "the person, under NUI regulations, who would have 'sent' Mac White to Spain would have been his Professor, Seán P. Ó Ríordáin" (Eogan, pers. comm. 18.4.96). As Prof. Eogan explained to me, "Seán P. Ó Ríordáin was already aware of the significance of the Spanish Bronze Age as his paper on halberds (*Archaeologia* 86 (1937, p. 195-321) shows". Furthermore, as Prof. Eogan kindly explained to me in his letter, "Spain is an important Bronze Age land but in 1944 it would have been a bout the only 'safe' place to go. Incidentally, a couple of years previously Michael J. O'Kelly (subsequently Professor in Cork) was unable to avail of the travelling provisions of the Studentship due to wartime conditions and simply had to remain in Ireland" (Eogan, pers. comm. 18.4.96).

Eoin Mac White spent the academic years of 1945-46 and 1946-47 in Madrid, wrote his Ph.D thesis under the supervision of Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, who was by then the leading figure in Spanish archaeology (Díaz-Andreu 1993). Mac White collaborated in the journals edited by his supervisor (Mac White, 1946, 1947). He had his viva for his Ph.D thesis on 15 March 1947<sup>7</sup>, published in the department of Madrid series in 1951<sup>8</sup>.

Childe himself went to Madrid in 1947. In fact, previous contacts might had been made in 1946, because Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla included his book on *Scotland before the Scots* in a list of selected recent publications published in the journal of the Department of Madrid, *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva (CHP)*. On 11 April 1947 Childe gave a lecture to the Society of Ethnography, Anthropology and Prehistory (*Sociedad de Etnografía, Antropología y Prehistoria*, a society directed by Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla), to which he had been invited (without author, 1947c). His lecture was published in *CHP* (Childe, 1947b). As a 'donation' for his visit, Childe received a collection of north African prehistoric pottery (without author, 1947b) gathered by the department in the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco (Díaz-Andreu, 1995a). For his part, Childe gave money to assist the department's development<sup>9</sup>, 'a significant sum of money out of his own pocket to help our work', as the published note remarked 'a much greater sum than the single contribution we receive from the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy to which we belong' (without author, 1947c). Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (1947) also published a review of the second edition of Childe's *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles*. The book was considered of high standard and as a model to follow. The common historical problems of Spanish and British archaeology were also underlined. Similar opinions were expressed in a different review by Fernández de Avilés (1948).

As mentioned above, like Mac White, Childe also collaborated in the Madrid Department's journal, *Cuadernos de Prehistoria Primitiva* from 1947. In his article of 1947, Childe argued the lack of good stratigraphies in Spain, the scarcity of deposits, and the vain attempts by some archaeologists (such as Bosch Gimpera in 1934 or Kossinna) to apply Montelius' Scandinavian Age Bronze scheme. Similar critiques were pointed out in the 4th and 5th editions of *The Dawn of European Civilisation* published in 1947 and 1950. Childe praised Martínez Santa-Olalla's (1946a) scheme (Childe, 1947b, p. 11, 17), and used his theories in the article, although he made some critical remarks about dates which he thought had to be changed (Childe, 1947b, p. 17).

Childe's relationship with Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla seem to have lasted as long as Mac White's thesis writing. From 1948 to 1950, and after the publication of Mac White's thesis in 1951, neither Childe nor Mac White appeared again in the publications of Madrid. This has a double explanation. On the one hand, Mac White left archaeology to become a diplomat (Eogan, pers. comm. 18.4.96). Despite this, Mac White and Martínez Santa-Olalla continued seeing each other for a long time, as it is shown by their joint visit to Prof. George Eogan to his excavations at Knowth on 10 August 1971 (Eogan pers. comm. 18.4.96). On the other hand, once the absence of Mac White from publications in Madrid is explained, Childe's absence can be explained as the result of a shift of power in Madrid and in Spanish archaeology in general, resulting from Martín Almagro Basch's success in obtaining officially the professorship of the Department of Prehistory of the University of Madrid in 1953, thus displacing Martínez Santa-Olalla<sup>10</sup>. The crude enmity between Almagro and Martínez Santa-Olalla surely caused the absolute eradication of Childe from Madrid publications. Childe's 1953 article in the Valencian *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina* is easily explained as a Martínez Santa-Olalla influence, for the professor in Valencia at that time, Prof. Julián San Valero, was a former pupil of Martínez Santa-Olalla.

Did Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla influence Childe? He certainly did, but only through Mac White. This influence can be picked up in expressions such as the use of Hispanic instead of Iberian by Childe in his 6th edition of *The Dawn of European civilisation* published in 1957. Peter Gathercole, a Childe student in 1952-54 (Gathercole *et al.*, 1995) still remembers how impressed Childe was with Mac White's thesis, 'Childe thought that Mac White had done much to sort out problems of the Iberian Bronze Age, which had bedevilled re search for a long time' (Peter Gathercole, pers. comm 2.5.1993). He cited Mac White's thesis in his 1953 article and in the 6th (1957) edition of *The Dawn of European Civilisation*.

What, then, was Mac White's contribution to Iberian archaeology? Mac White centred his attention on the Bronze Age and, for the first time, assigned great importance to the Atlantic culture circle. Mac White's (1951) thesis showed two major influences: Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla and Childe<sup>11</sup>. Mac White partly followed Martínez Santa-Olalla's (1941 and 1946a) chronological scheme. Martínez Santa-Olalla had distinguished between the Mediterranean Bronze Age (2000-1200 a.C.) and the Atlantic Bronze Age (1200-900 a. C.), something that none of the previous authors (Siret and Bosch Gimpera in particular) had done. Mac White partly followed Martínez Santa-Olalla, for he agreed that a distinction between Mediterranean Bronze Age and Atlantic Bronze Age as a fundamental one. The transition from one to the other was transcendental, 'perhaps the most transcendental of all post-quaternary transitions [changes]' as it meant the cultural integration of the Iberian Peninsula into the European world (Mac White, 1951, p. 15). However, he did not follow his Spanish thesis supervisor in terminology, as he rightly considered it confusing to use the term 'Atlantic Bronze Age' to refer to a chronological period in the whole of Iberia, including the Mediterranean area (1951, p. 121-2). Instead, he gave the Atlantic Bronze Age a cultural meaning.

Mac White saw the root of the Atlantic culture circle in the western Neolithic (originating in the East and arriving via North Africa in Iberia, an alternative route to the Danubian one). The Atlantic Block was formed by Brittany, Ireland, Britain and the Atlantic area of the Iberian Peninsula (1951, p. 122). It was characterized by a cultural, ethnic and linguistic unity (1951, p. 18). A maritime exchange network based on metal had been the basis on which this cultural unity had been maintained during the Bronze Age (1951, p. 19). The appearance of iron would have brought this situation to an end, as the easier access to

raw material and the cheaper price broke the previous network. Mac White considered, therefore, the Bronze Age in western Europe as the period of Atlantic relations *par excellence* (1951, p. 19). These relations seemed to go from south to north (and this made it possible for him to speak, for example, about the Galician art of Ireland and Britain). He saw that ‘the Hispanic Peninsula played the role of an intermediate between the civilized Near East and the barbarian North’ (1951, p. 43). The direction of this relation would change in the following period, the Bronze II, when the Iberian Peninsula became integrated into the European area (1951, p. 59). This integration would follow during Bronze III and IV, in which, however, sometimes the Iberian Peninsula would on occasion continue to be an intermediate area between Near East and the North Atlantic.

Childe took into account Mac White’s work. Instead of prioritizing a continental route, as he had done in *What Happened in History*<sup>12</sup>, in his article published in the journal of the Department of Madrid (Childe, 1947b) he considered that maritime exchange activity both in the Atlantic and in the Mediterranean began from 1500 bC. He, therefore, admitted the existence of an Atlantic route, beginning in the Eneolithic [or Martínez Santa-Olalla’s Mediterranean Bronze Age I (1947b, p. 18-9)]. This route had become crucial during the period denominated by Martínez Santa-Olalla as Atlantic Bronze Age IV<sup>13</sup>. As an example of the existence of the Atlantic route in the latter period, Childe (1947b, p. 17) pointed to a particular kind of shield, the Herzsprung shield, found both in Ireland and Spain (a type of shields on which, by the way, Mac White had also written an article in 1947).

Childe (1947b), therefore, seriously considered for the first time the importance of Atlantic relations. However, he did not define a particular Atlantic culture circle, as Mac White had done. Nor did he in his article in 1953 and in his 6th edition of *The Dawn of European civilisation* (1957), although in the latter he almost did so when he spoke about the ‘Late (Atlantic) Bronze Age’, using Atlantic in brackets (1957, p. 285). For Childe, to define an Atlantic Bronze Age would have meant to change completely the structure — and theory behind it — of *The Dawn of European civilisation*<sup>14</sup>.

I will briefly mention the last two articles published by Childe in Iberian journals. One appeared in *Ampurias*, a journal published in Barcelona, in 1951, and the other in *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina* (Childe, p. 1953). Their subjects do not relate to the Atlantic Bronze Age, but they mark the maintenance of the Childe-Pericot-Martínez Santa-Olalla relationship.

## Childe and Portugal

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Alapraia, S. Pedro do Escoural, others such as Monge in the Sintra region, in north Portugal the Citânia de Sanfins, and finally some megaliths in the area of Evora and Montemor-o-Novo. He also went to the museums of Guimarães, Lisboa (those of Belém, Carmo, Escola Colonial and Serviços Geológicos), Porto, further north the Museu da Sociedade Martins Sarmiento and then, in Evora, to the Regional Museum (Carvalho, 1989, p. 106). Among his companions were the most prestigious Portuguese archaeologists at the time: Coronel Mário Cardozo, Father Eugénio Jalhay, Dr. Manuel Heleno, Major Ismael Spínola, Major Afonso do Paço, together with Ruth and Marion Jennings (Carvalho, 1989, p. 107-8).

In an endnote, António Carvalho points out that ‘V. Magalhães Godinho and J. Borges de Macedo, responsible for a new perspective of Portuguese historiography, per-

ceived the importance of Childe's work. They promoted the translations and spreading of it already in the 1940s, even when they were not directly involved in archaeology. However, it seems that Portuguese archaeologists remained unaffected by their opinion' (Carvalho, 1989, p. 113n). The only exception was Eduardo da Cunha Serrão (Carvalho, 1989, p. 107).

As a result of his visit, Childe published an article in the Portuguese journal *Guimarães* in 1950 on the similarities between some prehistoric pottery from Britain and Portugal. It seems that he was gradually being convinced of something called the Atlantic Bronze Age. The usefulness of the idea of the Atlantic Bronze Age, as we have already seen, will emerge, although in brackets, in his 6th edition (1957) of the *The Dawn*.

## Discussion

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This essay has concentrated first, on establishing the existence and dates of Childe's relationship with Spanish and Portuguese archaeologists, and second, on a discussion of the kind of influence Childe exerted upon his colleagues. I have shown an earlier presence of Childe in Spanish and Portuguese archaeology than that pointed out by some Iberian authors (Alcina, 1987; Jorge, V. O. and Jorge, S. O. 1995). This presence consisted of citations of Childe, reviews of some of his works and even publication of some articles in Spanish and Portuguese journals. However, contrary to what might be expected, these were not followed by a greater influence of Childe's hypotheses on Iberian archaeology. As has been shown, his Marxist stance does not seem to have been the reason for this lack of influence, because not all Iberian archaeologists were aware of it (no Marxist theories were developed in his articles published both in Spain and Portugal), and the ones who were conscious of his Marxism, considered it as something that could be read over; not taken into account. However, given all these citations, reviews and articles, what is really revealing is Childe's lack of influence on the pure culture-historical hypothesis of his Iberian colleagues. The thesis developed in this article is that Childe was used as a prestige token, that Childe's image was used to reinforce his colleagues's own prestige. Pericot, the professor at the University of Barcelona, and Martínez Santa-Olalla, the professor at the University of Madrid, cited, translated and visited Childe, the eminent professor at Edinburgh and London, because of the prestige it conferred on them. However, as seen above, they did not pay attention to Childe's ideas.

Was Childe conscious about this use of his image? He probably was. His intention in going to Spain and Portugal was to acquire data for his own volumes, and he probably did his best to be on good terms with his Iberian colleagues: review some of their publications, publish in their journals, give lectures in a society directed by a colleague who had agreed to be supervisor of one of 'his' students, even if this colleague was a falangist... These relationships seem to have been effective in the sense that a great number of the citations in Childe's books are from colleagues he had been in contact with. However, his colleagues' ideas had a limited influence on his own, as can be seen by his reluctance to use concepts such as 'Atlantic Bronze Age' commonly employed by Iberian archaeologists.

It would not be appropriate, however, to conclude that Childe's theories and hypotheses were not influential at all in Iberian archaeology. The first academics to be attracted to his ideas were not archaeologists but historians. In the Portuguese case, in the 1940s the historians V. Magalhães Godinho and J. Borges de Macedo had already realized the impor-

tance of Childe's approach in the interpretation of history (Carvalho, 1989, p. 113n). Archaeologists only became interested in Childe's explanation of the archaeological record in the late 1960s. In a speech of homage to the late Prof. Fernández-Miranda held at the University Complutense of Madrid on the 25<sup>th</sup> January 1995, Prof. Domingo Plácido said that he had first heard of Manuel Fernández-Miranda from his students. Plácido and Fernández-Miranda, then in their first academic years of their lecturerships, were asking the students to read Childe. Prof. Domingo Plácido asserted that they had been the first ones to direct the students to Childe's work<sup>15</sup>. On hearing this, I realised that what happened in the late 1960s and early 1970s was that the use of Childe as prestige had already expired, and therefore they were not conscious of this past use. What was taking place then was the beginning of a completely different reading of Childe. They were now interested in the Marxist aspect of Childe (but not in the cultural-historical hypothesis that had become outdated). Childe, for the first time, began to be influential in Spanish -and Portuguese?-archaeology.

In the last two decades a growing interest in Childe has emerged, resulting in the publication of a number of books dealing with Childe's biography and work (Gathercole [et al.], 1995; Green, 1981; Harris, ed., 1994; McNairn, 1980; Trigger, 1980). Some of them stress the broad influence exerted by him. 'There can be few if any archaeologists in the world, old or young, who have not heard of, and probably read something by, Vere Gordon Childe... Childe, although dead since 1957, remains the most renowned and widely read archaeologist of the 20th century' (Harris, 1994, p. 1). A detailed analysis of the extent to which he was read and known, however, reveals unexpected issues that, in my opinion, have to be taken into account if we want to examine accurately Childe's importance. As uncovered in the study of the Iberian case, there were two very different readings of Childe – the first from 1940s to the 1950s, and the second from the late 1960s till today –, and I suspect that only the second one is taken into account nowadays, i.e. Childe's novelty and influence as a Marxist archaeologist. If the Spanish and Portuguese case can be transposed to other countries, there is a different kind of influence exerted by Childe which has not been taken into account in current analysis. This relates to a first use of Childe's citations as a way of making his colleagues' texts more prestigious, without in fact being influenced by his ideas.

The relationship between theory and the social and political context in which theories develop and are included in academia can be analysed on different levels, and the one usually forgotten by historiography is the scientific social arena. It is within this frame work that we have to look critically at the relationship between individuals, quotations, translations, etc. Without taking it into account we might obtain a very distorted image of what was really going on.

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- \* Department of Archaeology, University of Durham, U. K.
- <sup>1</sup> The first translation of Childe into Spanish was also made in the 1950s, in 1954, by the Mexican publisher Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- <sup>2</sup> Childe's activities in Barcelona did not only include archaeology. He seems to have had some leisure time, as Pericot (1957, p. 298) explains: 'We remember him determined to come down from the summit of the Tibidabo mountain on a snowy day. In this he succeeded in showing his interest in mountaineering'.
- <sup>3</sup> I have decided to translate some of the titles of books and journals into English. For the original titles see the bibliographical references at the end.
- <sup>4</sup> He was professor from 1925, first in Santiago de Compostela and then in Valencia. Only in 1934 was he able to return to Barcelona.
- <sup>5</sup> This is my answer to Pether Gathercole. 'It is intriguing that Pericot felt able to review *What Happened in History*, a clearly marxist work. How was he able to do this in 1944, and to give detailed attention to two of Childe's quite summary articles on Prehistory in the USSR (prompted by the latter's entry into the War)? Was the political climate such that a 'minority' intellectual enthusiasm could get away with such 'lapses', or have I got the situation quite wrong?' (Peter Gathercole, pers. comm. 14.4.1993).
- <sup>6</sup> Pericot also used Childe's prestige to defend some of his ideas, such as his hypothesis of the Africanness of Spanish Solutrean (Pericot, 1945, p. 49, see also Díaz-Andreu, 1995a).
- <sup>7</sup> The Ph.D thesis pannel was formed by Ciriaco Pérez Bustamante, Bernardo Alemany Selfa, Jesús Pabón y Urbina, Carmelo Viñas Mey and Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla himself (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1951, p. 7).
- <sup>8</sup> MacWhite would later be the Irish ambassador to Australia and New Zealand based in Canberra (Pether Gathercole, pers. comm. 2.5.1993) and died prematurely in a car accident in the Netherlands, where he had gone as Ambassador (Peter Gathercole, pers. comm. 20.5.1993, George Eogan, pers. comm. 23.10.95).
- <sup>9</sup> In the original text the word empresa is used, a term frequently used at the time by francoist discourse.
- <sup>10</sup> The chair officially belonged to Prof. Hugo Obermaier, who had left Spain during the Civil War and was then not allowed to come back (perhaps because Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla impeded it, a possibility made possible by his political influence as a falangist). The death of Prof. Hugo Obermaier in Germany in 1946 and, most importantly, the decline of the importance of the Falange in the Francoist regime (leaving a political space which was then mainly occupied by the Opus Dei), made it possible to reconsider the situation. In the normal course of events, it would have been Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla who obtained the chair. Instead, Martín Almagro Basch was the successful candidate.
- <sup>11</sup> However, MacWhite (1951, p. 9) began with a quotation of the then exiled Catalan archaeologist Bosch Gimpera. This did not prevent him from making some criticisms of him later in his work (MacWhite, 1951, p. 21).
- <sup>12</sup> He stated, for example, that 'a regular trade in metal linked up the whole of Central Europe from Upper Italy to the Harz Mountain and from the Vistula to the Rhine into one economic system which joined on to a second in the British Isles and was subsequently extended to embrace Denmark where metal was bartered for amber' (Childe, 1960, p. 121).
- <sup>13</sup> Childe refers to Martínez Santa-Olalla Atlantic Bronze Age II, but this is obviously a mistake. Martínez Santa-Olalla divided, somewhat illogically, the Bronze Age into Mediterranean BA I, Mediterranean BA II, Atlantic BA III, and Atlantic BA IV.
- <sup>14</sup> But the change was significant, if we consider the difference between this 6th (1957) edition of *The Dawn* and the old structure still maintained in his book on *Prehistoric migrations in Europe* of 1950.
- <sup>15</sup> This assertion is similar to this made by Alcina Franch (1987, p. 10-11) already quoted in the introduction. In it Alcina claimed that Childe's publications were taboo under the Franco regime.

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## JUAN VICENT GARCÍA:

I shall try to synthesise the many ideas we have listened to this morning.

In his opening lecture Professor Gilman offered us an illuminating perspective of the main problems we are discussing. He presented us the problematic of the Bronze Age in terms of understanding how the metallurgy can be interpreted in historical terms:

– In traditional views technological change is the basis of social change but in the case of the Iberian Peninsula the scale and functional nature of metallurgical production provide the basis for an alternative view. Metallurgy must be interpreted, in social terms, as a means of value accumulation in a context of increasing social division.

The dichotomy between a staple finance system and a world finance system provides a useful framework for understanding these problems. In fact, as Gilman says, it is not possible to have a world finance system without a staple finance system.

This, I think, is the main problem with the Atlantic Bronze Age: we have a superstructural and idiosyncratic archaeological record, but we have a lack of information on the subsistence techniques and habitat. In the case of the Iberian Peninsula, there is a great contradiction between the pastoralist strategies that are proposed to have existed and the supposed degree of social division and stratification.

The apparent lack of a hereditary system of social stratification and how does that relate to the degrees of political integration of Bronze Age communities is also to be discussed.

Then, the main problem could be put in the terms that I have proposed: the contradiction between archaeological information, almost exclusively ideographic and superstructural, and the need to integrate this information in a more general framework of infrastructural information.

In the lecture of Ana Bettencourt – on the Atlantic Bronze Age concept and its pertinence – we were offered a systematic and useful synthesis of the development of the concept from an Iberian perspective. In this perspective the concept of Atlantic Bronze Age seems to emerge as an internal demand of the systematisation of Iberian Prehistory, in the formative process of its periodization, in the 40's and the 50's. From a European perspective though, this concept represents a problem of trans-regional periodization of the whole of European Prehistory. After Bettencourt's critical synthesis of evidence and of methodological and chronological data the "Atlantic Bronze Age" concept seems to me to appear as an "optical illusion" as far as cultural identity is concerned.

Atlantic Bronze Age identity seems to be superimposed over a real variety of cultural contexts and it will be elucidated only on the basis of the analysis of such local contexts and their articulation. We need, of course, new concepts for thinking the articulation – as innovative ways based on the world system model demonstrate.

The third paper was very interesting because I think that it was very contradictory with the views we had just had. Patrice Brun put on the table an important fact: Atlantic Bronze Age seems not to be the first Atlantic horizon of cultural identity.

He presented us evidence on the *longue durée* of the hard core of cultural homogeneity: an Atlantic cultural complex from Neolithic times. This complex is not defined only by

metallic objects but by all the classes of archaeological data, like pottery and others. Brun exposed an interesting view of the nature, in terms of cultural identity, of that archaeological complex.

This concept was presented in terms of ideational terms, as a result of permanent exchange networks. He defended a social nature for this complex, based on the concept of chiefdom, and arguing for political systems to be the basic structure of this identity.

The needs of chiefdom élites would explain the operation of the networks and its political interaction; here we have an adherent to the idea of Atlantic identity as a real historical entity.

M. Díaz-Andreu presented an interesting approach to a hidden factor of the problems we are discussing: the dynamics of present archaeological thought as the ultimate factor of the development of the reconstruction of the past. This dynamic is mediated by political factors but also by personal and academic ones. The development of Iberian periodization appears, under this light, as a complex process of interpretations and reinterpretations, of readings of ideas linked with social and political factors.

I think that Margarita Diaz-Andreu's views give us the possibility for opening a new front for debate of the *meta-level* of this conference:

- Why are we discussing prehistoric cultural identity?
- What is the political background for such discussion?
- In which terms could our views be reduced to factors related to our biographical, academic and political trajectories, as individuals or members of groups?

To me, evidently we are discussing a very general topic that goes beyond the concrete problem of Atlantic Bronze Age; we are discussing the concept of cultural identity.

Atlantic Bronze Age is a good reference for this discussion because of the fundamental ambiguity of the archaeological record – basically ideographic and superstructural information with a real lack of infrastructural basic information.

We listened to different views on this topic, but perhaps P. Brun has been the only supporter of an essentialist view of a historical entity under the archaeological record.

Oposing this perspective we have heard claims for the dissolution of the concept of Atlantic Bronze Age in the context of a coherent historical thought provided by a more materialistic approach: it could be the world systems approach or other possible processualist views.

I think the main debate this morning could be around this opposition of different views: the essentialist and culturalist view around the concept of cultural identity and the more sceptical view based in the need of integrating various levels of archaeological information in the framework of historical thought.

#### VÍTOR OLIVEIRA JORGE:

Je voulais dire, simplement, quelques mots sur l'intervention de P. Brun. Je suis à l'opposé de ses perspectives. A la vérité, quand il a cité Pierre Bourdieu, j'ai pensé qu'il allait nous présenter une vision quelque peu différente, mais, en évocant un auteur si complexe et justement un auteur qui nous conduit à déconstruire les choses, je vois que cette citation n'est peut-être qu'un simple recours rhétorique.

Pensons à cette dicotomie que Juan Vicent García vient de citer – la vision essentialiste de l'identité *versus* la vision plus sceptique de cette identité. Mon point de vue se situe sur un terrain que je développerai en deux mots: je crois que l'identité culturelle est quelque chose que se construit de façon continue, la tradition est quelque chose que se rebâtit à tous moments. Il n'y a pas des identités permanentes, unidimensionnelles et ayant un sens deter-

miné. Une identité, n'importe laquelle, est un produit de l'argumentation et de la négociation permanente, et j'ajoute: quand une identité se présente comme hégémonique c'est un effet du jeu de l'argumentation et c'est par la volonté politique de s'imposer aux autres. Je ne suis pas du tout du côté de ceux qui pensent qu'il y avait des identités fixes pendant la Préhistoire ou pendant n'importe quelle époque – même dans cette salle il y a beaucoup d'identités en discussion.

**PATRICE BRUN:**

Une réponse courte, je pense. La référence à Bourdieu se rapporte à la façon dont les élites sociales, les chefferies donc, utilisaient un certain nombre de symboles pour marquer sa distinction. Je n'entrerai pas dans tout le processus épistémologique de déconstruction utilisé un peu à la façon de "soap operas" par les post-processualistes.

En ce qui concerne la remise en jeu permanente de l'identité, ma position est opposée à la vôtre, je pense en effet qu'il est tout à fait surprenant de constater la longue permanence, la résistance d'un certain nombre d'entités culturelles sur des mêmes lieux pendant des siècles et des siècles. Quand on a la profondeur du temps qui nous donne l'archéologie, on est frappé par cet aspect là.

**MARIE LOUISE SØRENSEN:**

I was quite fascinated by the very different views on identity formation we heard in the papers by Bettencourt and Brun, so I would like to ask the opposite question to both of them.

I would like to ask Brun how one should understand his model about contact, in a way creating a natural process of homogenisation? Why should that not mean that the contact with the Rhine-Swiss culture would create an even greater complex of similarity? How does the process of similarity stop, as long as contact goes on?

There are limits, border posts and differences through time that I find difficult to understand through your model.

I would like to ask a similar question to Bettencourt, that talked about the objects getting their meaning specifically in a particular cultural context. How does she explain the long term similarities which seem to be one of the reasons why we have developed this concept of an Atlantic Bronze Age? If the object only had meaning through that particular context would she not expect to find a more diverse cultural phenomenon, particularly through time?

**ANA MARIA BETTENCOURT:**

I think that similarities between objects can not be looked at isolated, they must be put in context.

Only the context of objects may provide their meaning to us: what apparently could be a similarity, can, when observed in a precise context, have very different meanings.

Similarity is a concept to be discussed.

**KRISTIAN KRISTIANSEN:**

I think that when we discuss this we have to be more specific; we have to qualify what kinds of identity are we actually talking about when talking about identity.

When Brun is talking about an Atlantic identity he is referring to a certain set of objects, related to an élite or a chief group. I also think that when we talk about identity, on a certain level we should remember that the meaning of these objects was inscribed in the ritual domain.

When Vítor Oliveira Jorge, for instance, talks about identity changing on a day-to-day context – even if it is a fashion to say that – I have to disagree. We should be aware that in the Bronze Age, in pre-state societies, ritual and ideology are very strong in shaping concepts of power. In such societies ritual is very traditional and unchangeable; it is much less open to negotiation than social relations we find in other kinds of society.

I think we have to realise that the tradition linked to much of the Bronze Age is linked to the force of ritual which is the legitimising force of power. It is very much traditional and it is not negotiable as in a more developed society.

I would also like to comment on the notion of similarity: similar objects can have different meanings. Again we have to qualify that.

How different is a meaning when we talk about a carp-tongue sword or a cauldron? How different a meaning could there be between Brittany, Ireland or Portugal?

It is also fashionable to say that things can have different meanings, but we have to be specific. I do not believe there can be wide different meanings; I believe that objects that are similar are linked to cosmologies that are transmitted between people, when you have contact between them.

Oral tradition and ritual are very strong in pre-literate societies and they are not open to negotiation in the same way as we are used to in our societies. You can cite lots of ethnographical examples about how oral tradition travels and how objects that circulate carry with them stories. They are transmitted from one group to another; thereby they transmit the same kind of meaning, the same cosmology, for hundreds of kilometres.

So I have rather to support the idea that we have to go into a discussion of defining and qualifying these concepts to a much higher degree, get away from the fashion about “what these things mean” and be much more concrete.

#### VÍTOR OLIVEIRA JORGE:

I agree with Kristian Kristiansen when he says that we have to be specific about meanings, but we need to make some general statements.

What I would like to stress is that these divisions between prehistoric societies, embedded into very strong and permanent values, and our society, where value would be permanently in negotiation, would be a new version – and also a fashionable one – of the very old debate between the savage and the modern, between the modern and the primitive, and between the cold societies and the historical societies which Levi-Strauss talked about.

I do not know what happened in Prehistory because I was not there, so what I have is my imagination. My imagination is based on facts that are occurring now, or quite near to our times, in societies like the Australian ones. There we see, even in very “simple” technological societies, the changing and transformation of myths, of legends, of stories, of things people tell about nature; their meaning is continuously changing.

If we are going to turn into a discussion about entities, based on contexts, I would prefer to discuss any particular region where we have settlements, daily life, tombs, rock-art and whatsoever. The case Brun presented, the case of Armorica and Britain where the difference is always presented between two kinds of tombs, would not be my choice; I don't believe in that kind of discussion about tombs only, I need to discuss settlements and other parts of the landscape, I need to discuss entire landscapes.

#### JOÃO CARLOS SENNA-MARTINEZ:

I would like to point out that I think it is extremely interesting to see being brought to an argument three different things about our prehistoric past: the supposed homogeneity of megalithic monuments; of bell-beakers; and of late bronze age metals.

If one thing is becoming clear to a lot of researchers in the Iberian Peninsula is that the bell-beaker phenomenon covers with only apparent identity very different situations in the various regions. It can no longer be interpreted as one homogenising phenomenon having the same meaning in every region. Density of finds and local reproduction of artefacts varies a lot between regions; I entirely agree with Vítor Oliveira Jorge in that only the study of regions and of the different dimensions of archaeological data in them, including settlements, landscapes and so on, can give us an approach to what the meaning of a certain category of artefacts might have been.

**DOUG BRANTON:**

I would have a remark to what Vítor Oliveira Jorge said.

It is always nice if you have the settlements, you have the tombs, the rock-art, the hoards, but, that's an ideal case, you certainly do not have it most of the time. As settlements and its structures, the way people settle in a landscape, is largely dependent on the landscape and the environment, I would rather have the tombs if I can not have it all.

Tombs tell much more about ritual, about ideology; that is what Kristian Kristiansen indicated; I think that settlements and the social and economical basis are very important but tombs, hoards and rock-art are more specific ways to express ideology and they shed more light on what we would call identity.

**VIRGÍLIO HIPÓLITO CORREIA:**

Just an observation: even if one can agree, conceptually, that the variability of the meaning of objects is large, it is obvious (to me) that some common ground has to exist between those various meanings. For many of those objects we are talking about objects that were actually exchanged and traveled from one community to another; were there not some common meaning, and probably that exchange would not have taken place.

We have there a direct indicator that, beyond meaning variability there is some convergence on the meaning actually attributed to objects.

Another point is that transfer of objects itself, with all that goes with it, confers homogeneity to communities previously non-homogeneous – Patrice Brun's image of homogeneity pervading social fabrics seems to me to be quite appropriate.

**RICHARD BRADLEY:**

I would like to make three comments on three points to be made in the discussion.

First of all, the continuity of ritual and oral tradition: I think it is a very devious proposition. The ethnographic evidence from Old Gaelic is that it is unable to retain its same verbal content over more than a century, despite an expliciting tension to tell the same story with the same words. In fact human memory is so fallible that where we have ethnographical evidence it can often, quite fortuitously loose its character in a short time. There is of course also the fact of deliberate interpretation of traditional sources to make them more appropriate to the needs of the time. I have in mind an interesting paper by Elisabeth Vester-Gore – she looked at two successive transformations of the German origin myths, particularly the Nibelungen myth.

The second comment relates to the last speaker: surely it is not necessary for an object to be understood for it to form a significant element in exchange. Mary Helms has shown, very elegantly, how much social value and social prestige come from access to the strange, the foreign, the exotic and from the ability to interpret, in a local community, things that are unfamiliar. So it is perfectly possible for objects that are actually quite strange to be reinterpreted and social power to come from that.



The last comment is that I find a little disturbing that when we are talking about the relative merits of the social landscape, monuments and settlements, to be told that because the ecology determines the settlement pattern they have essentially no ideological content. Surely that is simply a projection of our own view of the world, in which settlements are practical things, monuments are something quite different. I do not think you can do that – we need a holistic view in which settlements are just so socially constructed as hoards, rock-art or what-you-will.

**MARIE LOUISE SØRENSEN:**

If I can just pick up in the last point made by R. Bradley, it also struck me very much.

If you want to start a discussion clarifying some of the concepts we are using it might be essential also to recognise some of the differences between the formation of identity and the reflection, expression and ritualization of those identities. From the sociological point of view, the formation of identity seems very much to happen in the domestic space; that is the place where you grow up and learn roles. If we push the domestic space and the settlements out of scene, being just environmental, we are at the same time negating the fact that the people lived in an already built environment, with a long history, and memories that affect very much what they do and how they experience that place.

**KRISTIAN KRISTIENSEN:**

A brief response to R. Bradley: we can find ethnographic examples for nearly everything. So we also have to put in context our ethnographic analogies, when we use them.

There are ethnographic examples of memories about chief's stories and family graves stretching back hundreds of years. That has been tested and they were very accurate.

There are ethnographic examples of how you manipulate on a small scale, again there is the case of how much that manipulation will attain over time.

I want to stress here that when I refer to the Atlantic Bronze Age, I mean the brief period of the Late Bronze Age, between the 10th and 9th century; we are talking here of a time of about two hundred years; within that, I believe, we have a certain core of common cosmology transmitted. Of course this is interpreted locally; obviously it must be recontextualized, but there must be a common core meaning.

When you refer to change and redefinition, that is a very interesting and important phenomenon when you have a change in social formation of political leadership and political system, when you relegate an old myth to marginal status and introduce a new one. Such things happen, but again you have to situate them in the historical process of changing social formations: this could also happen when you introduced Mediterranean myths in the Atlantic system; obviously they would be reinterpreted and recontextualized.

I am not a subscriber to cold prehistoric societies, to reply to Vítor Oliveira Jorge; if I am a subscriber to anything, I am a subscriber to luke-warm societies.