Power on the hills. Warfare, symbolic violence and landscape in the eastern Iberian Iron Age

Ignasi Grau-Mira

University of Alicante, Institute of Research in Archaeology and Heritage (INAPH), Ap. Correus 99, Alacant, Spain

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the fortified landscape as a symbolic context for the development of political processes, using the Iberian Iron Age landscape of the Valley of Alcoi as a case study. The development of fortified urban settlements reflects the importance of warfare in this period in which a warrior group accessed power and ruled Iberian society. An analysis of the spatial relationships between fortified settlements and their dependent villages through GIS analysis of visual structure is carried out. We interpret this spatial structure in terms of the ideological discourses that gave shape to the social relations inscribed in the landscape. Funerary rituals show the emergence and relevance of warrior rulers in this historical context.

1. Introduction

The Iron Age in the Iberian Peninsula dated mainly from the 8th to 1st centuries BCE and was marked by a series of deep political, economic and social changes. There was the development of regional groups with different historical backgrounds (Armada and Grau-Mira, 2018). In the Mediterranean area of the peninsula these communities were characterized by the development of complex forms of patron-client social relationships, the emergence of urbanism, early states and economic development with interregional exchange (Ruiz Rodríguez, 2008).

These transformations are expressed by the dynamics of centralization and urbanization of Iberian communities. In this process, a series of medium-sized urban sites, generally between one and 10 ha, were remarkably important in shaping landscapes. These sites are named *oppida*, a Latin term adopted to describe the fortified nuclei generally built in prominent locations that facilitated visual control over the surrounding countryside and nearby subordinate rural settlements. *Oppida* are settlements with many quadrangular houses that are adjoined to form dense urban centres with straight streets. The main public buildings of these sites are defensive structures, as walls, towers and gates. The development of these *oppida* resulted in the configuration of an Iberian fortified landscape that is typical of this culture and, to a certain extent, typical of other areas on the Peninsula.

This landscape of fortified settlements reflects the instability of this period, one in which warrior groups ruled society. The armed elite are also archaeologically represented in the individual burials of males with their warrior's panoply (Blázquez and Antona, 1992). Other elements of the iconography and archaeological record add to this social characterization. Thus, during this period, warfare was an important element in shaping social dynamics and in providing the access to power that allowed a dominant warrior aristocracy to rule Iberian groups, projecting a heroic ideology (Ruiz Rodríguez, 2008; Almagro-Gorbea, 2005).

This general point of view, with which I largely agree, usually omits the dynamic and discursive meaning of the social process. It gives total prominence to the hegemonic groups of society that were able to impose their interests by masking them with ideological components. Namely, this perspective overlooks how different groups (the elite and the commoners), whose interests were usually opposed, contributed to the creation of the society. The underlying idea is that the archaeological record relating to violence shows that the dominant groups used force to attain power and maintain their status in a society that evolved towards the institutionalization of inequality and the appearance of the State.

In other papers I have addressed the discursive relationship between the landscape and the configuration of the society in eastern Iberia, and I related the settlement patterns and the dynamics of the political, economic and symbolic landscape (Grau Mira, 2011). Among

Email address: ignacio.grau@ua.es (I. Grau-Mira)

the elements of analysis, I referred to the idea of protection that comes from the role of the *oppida* as fortified places for refuge. However, such work does not profoundly analyse the aspects related to warfare in the way of the present study.

The fortifications and fortified landscapes need to be considered more than just military devices. We need to explore them according to their symbolic nature and consider the social role they played. This point of view integrates the functional and symbolic aspects of the fortified settlements. In a study of *oppida* in southern England, I. Armit (2007) claims that there is an unnecessary polarization of ideas between those who defend a militaristic conception and those who hold a post-processual ideology that reinterprets the fortresses as isolation symbols. The author claims that the two points of view are not mutually exclusive and should be combined to understand the social role of fortresses in the different areas in which they are located.

Regarding the Iberian Peninsula, there are interesting proposals concerning the connection between the fortified landscape and social processes. The development of concentrated and fortified settlements during the Iron Age in north-western Iberia can be interpreted to form a cohesive community that could withstand the development of inner social inequalities. Monumental fortifications channelled collective material resources and diverted the problems within the group to rivalries between different communities. However, fortification presupposed the social approval of violence and opened the way for the final emergence of social inequality, since fortification was the reason warriors appeared and stood out in society (González et al., 2011).

Considering archaeological evidence, ranging from the fortified landscape to ritual practices, the purpose of this paper is to transcend the mere functional role of conflict and to develop a better understanding of how conflict contributed to social dynamics. Therefore, warfare needs to be addressed not just as an eventuality but also as the cause and effect of social transformation (Arkush and Allen, 2006, p. 14). In the following pages, I analyse the fortified landscape as a symbolic context for the development of the political processes using the Iberian Iron Age as a case study. The elements related to warfare and its ideological manipulation can help in the understanding of the appearance and consolidation of inequality and of the role of symbolic violence used by individuals to direct group activities.

2. Warfare, symbolic violence and landscape

The role of violence and warfare has been a tradition focus of archaeological studies and has recently received special attention (Arkush and Allen, 2006; Eisner, 2011; González Ruibal and Moshenska, 2015; Otto et al., 2006; Ralph, 2013). In this extensive research, we found some studies that pay special attention to the social aspects of warfare, and we consider the historical contingencies of each case (Nielsen and Walker, 2009). This is important because the concept of conflict has a wide range of cultural significance and needs to be interpreted according to the social context, beyond the functionalist and generalist aspects (Nielsen, 2012, pp. 16–17).

In this framework, the proposal of this paper is developed around three axes: (1) the assessment of conflict as a form of symbolic violence for domination and power struggles; (2) how systems of representation and the ideological materialization of discourses are expressed in a fortified landscape; and (3) how these discourses find their endorsement in the systems of symbolic representation of the funerary record with the emergence of armed and powerful individuals.

Conflict is a symbolic field of social action and its meaning can be found by searching for the specific cultural logics that regulate conflicts and the many agencies that take part in it (Nielsen, 2007, p. 10). Considering this perspective, I am interested in assessing the role of violence not only as physical coercion but also in its subtler form of vio-

lence as symbolic action (Aijmer and Abbink, 2000; Riches, 1986). As I will argue, the implementation of certain strategies related to the need for defence and to contain intergroup violence, could lead to other subtle forms of symbolic violence exerted on an intragroup scale. That is, some social practices generate new ones. Conflict allowed for the development of new forms of relationships as groups fought to appropriate power and maintain their dominance over the community.

In taking a contextual and symbolic approach towards the violence in the archaeological record, discussions of Bourdieu's "symbolic violence", familiar to archaeologists, become opportune. The concept of "symbolic violence" is one of "unrecognizable, socially recognized violence" (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 191–192). Symbolic violence is a kind of symbolic capital that represents a situation of dominance whereby the dominators have shifted their power away from overt coercion and the threat of physical violence and towards symbolic manipulation (Swartz, 1997, p. 82; Orser, 2006, p. 29). Declared violence, physical or economic, and the most refined symbolic violence, coexist without any contradiction in the pre-modern economy and are at the very heart of each social relationship. These elementary forms of domination, in the absence of institutionalized forms of power, ensure the reproduction of the established order (Fernández, 2005, p. 10). For this reason, this symbolic domination becomes relevant to the study of the early forms of inequality.

This type of violence requires the complicity of those who suffer it (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 167) and at that point is convenient to relate symbolic violence with the ideological discourses which support it, as "a mainstay of ideology is the production of consent (Bernbeck and McGuire, 2011, p. 4). Consensus, the collective approval of the use of force, is the most powerful force in political power (Godelier, 2000, p. 19). This suggests the creation of ideological messages that justify the use of violence and encourage community approval. Ideological discourses not only serve to justify the unequal forms of exercising power but also help to create and maintain it. These ideological discourses are visible in a series of closely intertwined ideas and practices (Bourdieu, 2007, p. 51; DeMarrais et al., 1996, p. 16; Rowlands, 2004, pp. 198–199; Bernbeck and McGuire, 2011, p. 3). For this reason, the ideological discourses materialize in physical and tangible aspects that are present in the everyday contexts of individuals within a society. These are monuments, objects of daily life, images, texts and landscapes, so they can become the subject of archaeological inquiry (Demarrais et al., 2004, pp. 11–12).

Landscape is the most powerful form of ideological materialization and therefore most frequently used by societies throughout history. When a group aspiring to hegemony materializes its ideological discourses through the landscape, it is employing one of the most effective tools for the construction of power (Earle, 2001, p. 107). In this sense, the landscape is a social construction endowed with a network of meanings that are used by people to perceive, construct and live in their environment (Tilley, 1994, p. 34). The landscape, endowed with meanings consistent with the political interests of groups aspiring to acquire and maintain power and control, becomes an ideological discourse that actively contributes to the social fabric.

The landscape is directly experienced through associated images, symbols and narratives, and these are frequently composed of coherent systems of non-verbal signs and symbols (Orser, 2006, p. 31). In the case of the Iberian Iron Age we find a complete set of precise signs and symbols that, as we will see in the following pages, refer to the weapons used in funerary rituals and are even found on the vessels decorated with scenes of warriors used in elite commensality practices (Grau Mira, 2016, fig. 7). Thus, symbolic violence linked to the landscapes becomes a political strategy together with other relevant mechanisms such as rituals (Murphy, 2016) or commensality practices (Dietler, 1990).

3. Iberian Landscapes: Settlements and spatial patterns

Research relating to the organization of the Iberian Iron Age landscape has detected the existence of similar dynamics regarding the emergence of hierarchical settlement patterns. A series of medium-sized sites acquired remarkable importance; these were generally fortified and built in prominent locations. Significant variations appear in the way these territories were structured, particularly with regard to differences in the way the social groups that lived in these areas were organized and how the lands were exploited (Ruiz and Molinos, 1993).

In this study, I will focus on the Alcoi Valley (Fig. 1), a geographical area in the central-southern part of the modern Valencian Region. This area constitutes a moderately mountainous region close to the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula. In this area, surveys and landscape studies have allowed to recognize a dense Iron Age occupation

formed by eighty sites. The settlement pattern has a clear hierarchical structure, according to the size and function of sites.

Ten urban-type settlements have been identified in this region. They are *oppida*, or urban sites, fortified hilltop settlements of between 1.5 and 4 ha (Fig. 2). They have large fortifications (Fig. 3) and dense well-defined urban layouts. *Oppida* are situated in prominent places in the landscape, generally on hilltops, from where they exercised a visual control of their respective surroundings. They were usually some distance apart to avoid competition for the control and exploitation of the territory. An average separation would have been some 8–10 km and they would have been in different valleys or landscape units, whose physical limits would have marked the confines of their respective political spaces.

These territories contained the subordinate rural nuclei, farming settlements consisting of groups of houses with rural installations (Fig. 4), or simple clusters of a few houses – farmsteads – distributed across the farming areas on the valley bottom. The visual connections be-

Fig. 1. Location of the Valley of Alcoi in the Iberian Peninsula.

Fig. 2. Archaeological plans of four *oppida* of the Valley of Alcoi. (A) El Puig d'Alcoi, (B) El Xarpolar, (C) La Covalta and (D) El Cabeco de Mariola.

Fig. 3. Archaeological plans and artistic recreation of Iberian fortification of two oppida of the Valley of Alcoi. El Puig d'Alcoi, up, and La Serreta, down.

Fig. 4. Plans and photographs of the village of El Punxó in the Valley of Alcoi. (A) Oval hut. (B) Stone quadrangular house; (C) Paved road.

tween the fortified centre and the outlying rural settlements, together with the natural limits of each valley, clearly sketched out the local-scale population networks by means of which the community of each valley was organised.

The settlement pattern constituted a grid of small neighbouring territories, in which no particular site appears to have had primacy over another during the 7th–4th centuries BCE. Although some differences of an economic or territorial control nature can be seen, their establishment in the landscape suggests an equilibrium between the *oppida*. This landscape of local polities draws what scholarship call a heterarchical

situation (Crumley, 1995; Schoep, 2002, p. 107). Here, each territory is formed by social groups that were very competitive, because the destruction and abandonment of particular places was very common (Bonet et al., 2015, p. 232).

The economic structure of these territories was orientated towards agricultural production, with importance given to the cultivation of cereals, fruit trees and vines. This was complemented by stockbreeding and the exploitation of the resources of woodland areas. The complex economy of surpluses allowed the development of dense trade networks orientated towards exterior trade with the Mediterranean and

governed by the social elite who deployed social strategies such as ritual commensality and the redistribution of prestige goods (Armada and Grau-Mira, 2018, p. 17).

During the 3rd century BCE one of the existing *oppida*, La Serreta, increased in size, functioned as a religious and political centre, and was raised to the category of capital town of the valley. However, in terms of territorial organization, the other *oppida* continued to serve as local centres for each of the valleys (Grau Mira, 2002). So, I will focus on the local areas that shaped each community in the area.

4. Materials and methods of spatial analysis

The relations between the *oppida* and their surrounding areas with dependent peasant settlements are filled with functional and symbolic meanings that contributed to the creation of Iberian social landscapes. Therefore, we can analyse and interpret the spatial relations in terms of the discourses that gave shape to the social relations inscribed in the landscape. I will try to explore these aspects with the possibilities offered by spatial analysis, and particularly by the study of the visual structure of the archaeological landscape.

Archaeological visual analysis has developed strongly since the generalization of computer applications, mainly GIS (Wheatley and Gillings, 2002). This geospatial technology has allowed for conducting different analyses beyond the simplistic approach of the simple *viewshed* carried out during the fieldwork (Renfrew 1979; Fraser 1983). Furthermore, GIS-based techniques have developed different approaches beyond just considering the area visible from a given site or area to include a more complex analysis of the visual properties of a landscape (Gillings, 2009; Gillings and Wheatley, 2001; Lake, 2007; Llobera, 2003, 2007; Wheatley and Gillings, 2000).

Theoretical proposals of visibility analysis have developed parallel to technical and procedural improvements. The studies focusing on the functional purpose of strategic control over territories and their re-

sources (Lock and Harris, 1996; Stančič, 1994, p. 78), or on the visual relationships between settlements (Swanson, 2003; Topouzi et al., 2002), have been complemented by other perspectives that seek to understand cognitive aspects related to the perception of places and spaces. In this paper, I am interested in the approaches that have focused preferentially on places that have a conspicuous presence in the landscape with their outstanding natural forms, monuments or fortifications (Bernardini et al., 2013; Earl and Wheatley, 2002; Fontijn, 2007; Garcia-Moreno, 2013; García-Sanjuán et al., 2006; Mitcham, 2002; Sakaguchi et al., 2010).

In this case study, I have applied some of the methods used in current GIS research, as mentioned below. To increase the strength of my approach, I have also incorporated direct observations during fieldwork. Recent investigations have suggested the convenience of incorporating aspects of the visual perception of landscapes, especially from the information obtained through direct experimentation (Renell, 2012), as well as information about how the inhabitants perceived their space (Fitzjohn, 2007).

This detailed analysis will focus on the local territory of the Iberian *oppidum*, taking as an example one of the valleys the study region named La Canal d'Alcoi. This area is an intermountain basin of approximately 100 sq km with physical boundaries that are clearly defined by surrounding mountains. This valley is very similar to the other Iberian territories in the region in which visual connections between the fortified centre and the outlying rural settlements, together with the natural limits of each valley, clearly sketched out the local-scale population networks by means of which the community of each valley was organized (Fig. 5).

To carry out the analysis of the visual structure of the landscape, I created a digital elevation model (DEM) with 5m resolution, appropriate for the scale of our study. I located the archaeological sites using georeferenced points. I placed four rural villages established in the plains, with an extension of 3000–5000sqm. As the archaeological

Fig. 5. Digital elevation model of the terrain of the valley of Alcoi with the visual networks of the Iberian Iron Age settlements.

record suggests, these villages were occupied by groups of peasant families that formed hamlets. Simultaneously, I also located the main village, the *oppidum* of El Puig d'Alcoi (Grau Mira and Segura, 2013, pp. 237–246). Due to its size, it was placed into the GIS program as a polygon, defining the inhabited area (Fig. 6).

With the DEM and the referred points, I carried out the following analysis of the visual structure.

1. Visibility from the *oppidum*. From the main settlement, I defined the viewshed from 20 visibility points located around the perimeter of the fortified settlement, which simulated the viewing possibilities from this site and were added to create an accurate visible terrain. I chose an observation height of 1.8m without including the height of the fortification, although there is no reliable information that confirms this aspect (Fig. 7). The chosen radius for visibility was 6 km, the distance

Fig. 6. Digital elevation model of La Canal, the territorial domain of the *oppidum* of El Puig d'Alcoi with the rural settlements.

Fig. 7. Digital elevation model of La Canal with the viewshed from the oppidum of El Puig d'Alcoi with the rural settlements. Lines mark the visual connections between the *oppidum* and the villages; arrows mark the natural accesses to the valley.

at which it is possible to effectively distinguish groups crossing into the territory.

The results of this analysis show the orientation of the viewshed towards the near and intermediate distances within a radius of 3–5 km. This viewshed only allowed for the occasional observation of distant areas such as peripheral reliefs and, particularly, other *oppida* in the region. Second, at an intermediate distance, it is important to note that visual orientation is towards the southern quadrant, where its assumed territory extends. This is a hilly area with a topographical roughness that creates non-visible spaces from the *oppidum* due to the reliefs blocking the view. However, the visual control of the most inhabited areas ensures the protection of the farmers living in the valley.

2. Visibility from Second, I inspected the sections of the local terrain that are more visible from the inhabited rural areas. To achieve this, I checked the visibility from multiple points and then analysed the addition of those visibilities, in what is called a *cumulative viewshed* (Wheatley, 1995). This analysis proposes the creation of a gradient that shows the quantity of sites that can observe a specific portion of terrain.

I attempted to identify the locations that would have been most visible by the peasants who lived and worked on the plains. The first step was to obtain the observation points in the areas frequented in everyday routines, and those points would have been the village itself and the nearby farmlands. Arguably, one of the most important contexts of viewing is from the place of residence of the observer; this is the most frequent view and typically the most heavily loaded with meaning (Tuan, 1977).

To analyse the location of the fields closest to the Iberian villages I developed a GIS-based analysis of accessibility using *cost surface analysis*, one of the most common GIS techniques used to analyse circulation and movement across the landscape. In the scholarship, different cost analysis approaches have been developed, allowing us to assess the accessibility of some points based on the characteristics of the terrain (Van Leusen, 1999; Wheatley and Gillings, 2002, pp. 147–162). I used the formula proposed by Gorenfo and Gale (1990) (Fig. 8) and limited the isocrone of 30 min of distance from the villages (Fig. 9). Several

studies have suggested a similar one-hour round-trip threshold as the main intensively used terrain (Bevan et al., 2004, p. 230).

Once the areas closest to the villages were established, I located 75 random points inside the most accessible terrain at intervals of approximately 100–150 m (Fig. 9). The cumulative viewshed from these observation points was a map with a continuous gradient (Fig. 10). I simplified this by mapping the most visible areas, those which can be seen by more than the 66% of the observation points (Fig. 11).

I wanted to corroborate the information achieved with the GIS procedures with the observations taken in the field. This way, we could verify the two main features of the visual structure described by GIS modelling techniques. Inside the valley (Fig. 12), the screen effect of the hillsides that frame the local territory is clearly perceived. More importantly, the location of the *oppidum* can be clearly seen and stands out from the surrounding areas.

From this analysis it is possible to conclude that the visibility from the Iberian rural areas mostly focused on two points. The first is the rocky sides of the hill where the *oppidum* is located, which would reinforce the dominant role of the fortresses, and the second is the peripheral reliefs that frame the valley. This later aspect would have helped to identify the limits of the community's own territory and contributed to their feeling of belonging to a place and a local group. In traditional societies the horizon often symbolizes the boundary between known and unknown, safe and dangerous, familiar and foreign land (Tuan, 1974).

5. Social strategies inscribed in the landscape

The visual structure must be interpreted in the historical and social context in which it acquires meaning. The Iberian fortified landscape transmitted messages to reinforce the cohesion of the community in a period of conflict and increased social complexity. Therefore, I suggest that the fortified landscape focused the ideological strategies to transmit messages of identity and protect the community. Consequently, cohesion and collaboration among families and groups were reinforced. However, symbolic violence, in form of intimidating messages from

Fig. 8. Cost surface from the rural sites of La Canal with bands representing isochrones of 30 min.

Fig. 9. Cost surface from the rural sites of La Canal with the area representing the isochrone of 30 min and 75 random points inside the areas.

Fig. 10. Cumulative viewshed from the points closest to rural sites of La Canal. The most intense colours indicate the portions of terrain most visible.

powerful warriors, also played an important role in spreading fear and thus in control over the population. Many strategies of coercion and consensus, sometimes contradictory, were promoted at different moments to unify the community in a context of increasing inequality.

5.1. Protection: the oppidum as place of refuge

The most common type of Iberian fight was the *razzia* or surprise attack by small hostile groups that entered the territory for brief raids and faced local defenders. Sometimes the struggle would turn into a confrontation in the open field between two groups engaging in combat with formations of light troops. There were also conflicts that were

Fig. 11. Mapping of the most visible areas, which can be seen by more than the 66% of the observation points.

Fig. 12. Schematization of the areas visually outstanding. Note that it corresponds to the *oppidum* and the peripheral ridges in the valley.

settled in single combats or with competitions among champions. The goal of these conflicts was to gain spoils and prestige, not massive annihilation or territorial annexation by organized armies. This larger type of war only reached Iberia at the end of the 3rd century BCE, during the Second Punic War (Moret, 1996; Quesada, 1997).

In this context, methods of defence and protection were reflected in the construction of simple fortifications in the *oppida*, which enclosed access to the inhabited area, protecting the settlement and serving as a temporary refuge for the population dispersed across the territory during an attack. Simultaneously, towers and fortifications were excellent observation points that increased visual control over the area.

As I already stated, the visual control to ensure the protection of the inhabitants of the territory is proved by the control over the geographical paths of access to the area. Most importantly, all of the peasant settlements on the plains were also under visual control of the *oppidum*, establishing the visual communication that allowed for a warning in case of an attack.

There is no doubt that the construction of fortifications in the *oppidum* greatly improved visual control, a very important strategic aspect. Visibility was essential to effectively control the territory and to prevent any surprise attack. Fortifications also gave the dispersed rural populations a strong sense of security, since they had a place to take refuge in case of an attack, as well as a direct visual line for easily sending out warning signals.

5.2. Creating local identity: the *oppidum* as cultural landmark

The location of the Iberian *oppida* was carefully selected to guarantee their inaccessibility by taking advantage of the rough topography in the surroundings. The main obstacle to reach the inhabited area was indeed its topographic location at mountain heights, always with inaccessible flanks. Furthermore, the construction of fortifications created a

system that combined natural and built elements to protect the *oppidum*.

The fortifications and cliffs surrounding the inhabited area created an appearance of inaccessibility, real or fictitious (Fig. 13). The *oppida* are clearly visible from a distance due to their location between the exposed rocky hills, which makes them seem impregnable. This factor seems to have a double meaning: on the one hand, it acted as a deterrent against enemies that tried to attack the fortification, and, on the other hand, it was a source of security for the inhabitants of the plains, who easily saw the location of the main settlement of the territory.

The *oppida* were landscape landmarks with notable physical properties that attracted the attention of those who observed the landscape and that added value to those parts of the valley. The places of the *oppida* have the properties of clear shapes, in contrast with the background and prominence which, according to Higuchi (1983, p. 183), landmarks ideally have. This turned them into important features in a socially constructed landscape (Molyneux, 2006). The exposure of the *oppidum* encouraged connections among the inhabitants and created the identification of people with their space. Therefore, the *oppida* were a powerful element of ideological reinforcement.

Not only were the natural landmarks widely perceived, so were the fortifications in the *oppidum*, which additionally contributed to the con-

nection between the community and the landscape. The construction of walls, gates and towers show the great effort behind the use and management of collective resources. In practical terms, such constructions were sometimes unnecessary because they simply involved the remodelling of fully operational and existing structures, as has been proved in the cases of El Puig d'Alcoi or La Bastida de Les Alcusses (Grau Mira and Segura, 2013, pp. 64–66; Bonet and Vives-Ferrándiz, 2011, pp. 239–240). Thus, we need to consider the social role of construction and its meaning as a monument that represents and identifies the community. As pointed out by some authors, collective constructions are a powerful tool of social exchange (Barrett, 1994), which then serve as a material reminder of the collective identity acquired through communitarian tasks.

5.3. Intimidation: the *oppidum* as power scenography

A device linked to symbolic violence can be used to protect but also to threaten; it is a double-edged sword. The constant visual presence of the *oppidum* and its fortifications from any point of the valley, especially from the dependent peasant settlements, caused a constant feeling of being watched over and inspected. Archaeological research has hardly explored this issue and the research is more concerned with the

Fig. 13. Pictures of six *Oppida* of the Valley of Alcoi from the near plains. Note the rocky conspicuous locations.

functionalist control of the territory rather than with other cognitive effects, including the visual impact of the construction of symbolic meanings in landscapes. However, some previous studies have investigated these aspects and are of great interest in regard to exploring those effects (Yekutieli, 2006).

Social science research that deals with the societal control from the surveillance effects has a fundamental reference point in *Surveiller et Punir* by Foucault (1975). The French philosopher created a theory about the modern forms of discipline and obedience based on psychological control. Such modern forms were opposite to the pre-modern methods, which were based on physical punishment and execution. To illustrate the modern forms of disciplinary control, Foucault revised the concept of the *Panopticon* or “inspection house” described by the British philosopher J. Betham in the 19th century. This is a facility to control prisoners in disciplinary institutions and reformatories. According to its operative principle, modern society is under a strong social control that is based on the strategy of feeling observed by those in power and, sometimes, by real devices such as closed-circuit television.

The Iberian *oppida* could have had the same intimidating effect over the dependent peasants, who should have felt constantly observed. The high location of the *oppidum* and their fortifications reinforced the visual impact and created a scenography of power that produced the feeling of being constantly observed by sentries in the *oppidum*. This visual control could spread the psychological sensation of control and spread messages that constantly reminded peasants of their submission in everyday situations.

In sum, the landscape defined by fortresses located on hilltops, which are part of the visual horizon, determines everyday practices and routine movements, reinforcing the transmission of ideological messages. Therefore, in addition to the functional sense of protection and defence, we must consider the symbolic aspect of violence and its decisive presence in the daily life of the Iberian people.

6. Warriors ideology, rituals and social dynamics

The social process towards inequality and the archaic Iberian states developed during the Late Prehistory transformed Iberian social structures from kinship relations into political relations. As a result, few families controlled and ruled society, attracting dependents to their cause (Bonet et al., 2015; Grau Mira, 2011; Ruiz Rodríguez, 2008).

One of the key issues in this process is to understand why the dependents supported dominant groups when this behaviour was often prejudicial to their interests. To explain these relationships, we must understand the use of different strategies such as reciprocity, coercion and/or ideological manipulation. As has already been pointed out in other social contexts of state emergence, the manipulation of ideology by dominant groups is a key aspect in the development of urban society. This ideological change included the control of ritual and authority by the elite, the promotion of external conflict and the development of a social identity for those in power (Joyce and Winter, 1996).

In this complex game of power, some elements linked with symbolic violence acquired relevance. This is the framework for competition among the different factions wanting to gain power and justify their privileged position. This context of instability was used and recreated to vindicate the role of the leaders and it was essential for the origin of Iberian inequality and its endurance over time.

I propose that the overt or latent instability present in the monumental fortified landscape favoured the emergence of ideological strategies of social differentiation based on warrior values. This allowed the warrior leaders to rise and consolidate their power, and it allowed for acceptance of the ruled. The symbolic meaning of the violence present in the fortifications was socially assumed and later accepted through ritual and funerary practices. We already reviewed the

symbolic values connected to the fortifications, and now we will review the funerary ritual.

The main evidence relating to the institutionalization of inequality in Iberian society is found in the funerary record (Blázquez and Antona, 1992; Ruiz Rodríguez, 2008). A detailed analysis and interpretation of funerary practices is beyond the scope of this paper. Here, I focus on a single aspect related to the appearance and consolidation of a warrior identity among the rulers.

Most of the *oppida* had a necropolis where the elites were buried, accompanied by their relatives and their clientele. Necropolises documented a similar funerary pattern related to social segregation because most of the Iberian population was not buried in the funeral spaces (Quesada, 1997, p. 632). Their low rank meant that they did not have access to funerary space.

People buried in the necropolis followed a uniform funerary pattern for the rituals that treat the body and the depositing of its remains. This means that they shared a worldview that is expressed in ritual practices, although there can be differences in the constructions and funerary objects buried as personal grave goods (Vives-Ferrándiz and Mata Parreño, 2011, p. 45). These rituals materialized the ideological values (DeMarrais et al., 1996) that shaped the social strategies of distinction and the adoption of shared ideologies that were translated into recognizable funerary practices. At this point, I would like to emphasize how the figure of the warrior clearly emerged and was consolidated. However, such a figure appeared gradually over time, once the fortified landscape was already configured.

The apparition of the *oppida* and the fortified landscape took place in our study area between the 9th and 7th centuries BCE (Bonet and Mata, 2001; Grau Mira, 2002, pp. 242-246). At this time, the construction of the *oppida* and their fortifications used most of the communities' material resources. The archaeological record shows no individual enrichment and no considerable wealth or status differences among individuals and households. For example, the rulers who controlled Mediterranean imports offered other members of the group the possibility of participating in wine-drinking feasts. In this context, Mediterranean goods were used to create a similar dynamic of social competition to that proposed for other Iron Age societies (Dietler, 1990). This ideological manipulation of participation in feasts controlled by some groups strengthened client relationships but no exclusionary strategies are detected (Grau Mira, 2011, pp. 155-156).

Regarding the funerary pattern, during this early period there is little evidence of burials and funerary areas. One of those, El Mas de Regall (Fig. 14), shows a uniform panorama based on the simplicity of burials (Grau Mira and Segura, 2013). These were small groups of tombs in holes that held the cremated remains of individuals who were buried inside local or imported urns with very few objects, mostly ornaments but never weapons.

The quality of the urns and small objects do not show large differences in wealth and status. It can be said that the main difference is that only few individuals had access to these rituals. Funerary practice does not indicate the appearance of armed individuals, suggesting that they were not armed elite. This does not mean that there were no warriors in society. They possibly existed, according to the discovery of some weapons in the archaeological record (Vives-Ferrándiz and Mata Parreño, 2011, p. 48), but the figure of the warrior was not socially approved by the ritual.

In sum, there were no significant differences between groups and individuals. This does not mean that there were no differences between households based on different access to economic resources or exchange goods but suggests that, in this first phase, corporate behaviour still prevailed. However, the social acceptance of violence, which we found in the fortified landscape, opened the door to the appearance of a warrior elite that stood out later in society. In a similar way to the one described for NW Iberia (González et al., 2011), the fortified land-

Fig. 14. Tomb dated in the 7th cent. BC of El Mas del Regall in the territory of El Puig d'Alcoi.

scape was the breeding ground for the subsequent development of ideological strategies based on protection and defence.

During the 6th and the first half of the 5th centuries BCE, there was continuity in funerary practices, but there were also important changes. In this phase, a small number of weapons appeared in the Iberian necropolises of the area. We found mostly spearheads and knives in approximately 15% of all of the burials (Ruiz and Molinos, 1993, p. 223). This is the most evident change from the previous phase and suggests the construction of identity related to weapons (Vives-Ferrández and Mata Parreño, 2011, p. 48). What we find especially important is that real or symbolic violence is now ideologically approved in the funerary rituals.

From the late 5th century until the end of the 4th century BCE, the necropolises in the study area suggest that weapons turned into a clear social indicator of the elite. In the necropolis of La Serreta (Cortell et al., 1993) (Fig. 15), several social levels were identified, according to the type of arms included in the grave goods (Grau Mira, 2011, pp. 164–165). These were discovered in approximately 30 of the 80 tombs in the cemetery.

The importance of elite warriors in this necropolis is emphasized in different ways. The highest rank in society is represented by two male burials in which the persons are represented as 'knights' with horses. In one case, an accumulation of weapons is exhibited, and in another there is the exceptional metallurgical work of a damascene falcate-sword. The status of two other warriors is displayed by a minor accumulation of weapons or with rich metalwork, such as a bronze umbo shield (Cortell et al., 1993, Fig. 14). These tombs, 5 per cent of the burials, were of a few aristocrats of the highest rank in the local Iberian society.

The second social level was represented by 31 per cent of the burials, in which the grave goods included weapons. This second group displays considerable variation; hence we find some tombs with a single weapon, always of an offensive nature (the falcate-sword or the spear), and others that include a complete warrior's panoply of both defensive and offensive weapons. In either case, this is fully functional equipment, ready to be used in combat.

The remaining burials do not have weapons. The status of the persons buried was indicated by elements other than weapons, perhaps due to their gender or activity. They were members of society who did not have the right or resources to possess weapons but whose social ties with the dominant members permitted their access to ritual and funerary space. It is possible that they were relatives or clients whose relationship with the rulers was perpetuated in the funerary landscape. Finally, it is important to mention the segment of the population absent from the necropolis.

This evidence suggests that this period saw the consolidation of social inequalities based on the existence of a dominant group of armed people who rose to the top of the social structure and, most likely, ruled society. However, this emergence was possible only after the consolidation of the fortified landscape and the symbolic strategies and social values linked to it.

7. Conclusion

The fortified landscape must be understood beyond the functional role inherent in defensive constructions. We must consider all possible meanings in the historically established fields of action. In this sense the analysis carried out is an example of the active role of the landscape in the construction of the figure of the warrior as an expression of leadership and social differentiation. Thus, this study confirms accepted interpretations of the importance of warfare in social dynamics and adds the importance of symbolic violence as ideological discourse.

The origin of the fortified landscape during the 9th–7th centuries BCE cannot be directly related to increasing inequality. There is scarce documentation about this period and so we need to be cautious, but the funerary and settlement records show no prominent individuals or households in the community. The wide distribution of Mediterranean prestige goods suggests that they did not belong to just a few people. We propose that there was cooperative behaviour in the community and no strong social differences among families. In that first moment, the construction of fortifications must have used most of the resources in the community. These fortifications were a symbol of common ground and guaranteed the community's survival. In this regard, they can mean "the subordination of the individual to the group" (Sharples, 2010, p. 297), preventing the emergence of inequality. This is demonstrated in the funerary practices by the small number of tombs and by the few signs of wealth or status.

However, with the creation of the fortified landscape and the consolidation of the *oppida*, the process of social differentiation had already begun. The social context of conflict favoured the differentiation of people according to their roles in the defence of the collective. Certain individuals and groups consolidated their dominant positions due to their active roles in combat. Then, arms became symbols of author-

Fig. 15. Tomb dated in the 4th cent. BC of La Serreta (elaborated from Cortell et al. (1993)).

ity and power and, as such, became the main grave goods in the tombs of leaders and powerful groups. Furthermore, the fortresses on the hill-tops became a constant reminder of who held power and where they held it.

Thus, conflict became a historically created field and symbolic violence acquired significance in Iberian social processes. This does not mean that the strategies described were the only ones used in the power relationships of the Iberians. Also relevant was the role of ritual commensality and religious practices (Grau Mira, 2011). A detailed study of these aspects from the perspective of landscape archaeology will help to develop an understanding of the dynamics that shaped ancient Iberian society.

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