

**IRON AGE HILLFORTS
OF BOTICAS**

POVADOS FORTIFICADOS DA IDADE DO FERRO DE BOTICAS

Catalogue of the parallel exhibition
held in the "International Symposium:
Cultural Interactions and Changing Landscapes
in Europe (2nd century BC / 2nd century AD)"
Catalogo da exposição paralela
ao "Simpósio Internacional: Interações Culturais
e Paisagens em Mudança na Europa
(séc. 2º a.C. / séc. 2º d.C.)"

CULTURAL INTERACTIONS AND CHANGING LANDSCAPES IN EUROPE

**CULTURAL INTERACTIONS
AND CHANGING LANDSCAPES IN EUROPE**
(2nd century BC / 2nd century AD)

INTERAÇÕES CULTURAIS E PAISAGENS EM MUDANÇA NA EUROPA
(séc. 2º a.C. / séc. 2º d.C.)

Proceedings book of the International Symposium:
Cultural Interactions and Changing Landscapes
in Europe (2nd century BC / 2nd century AD)
Boticas, 11/12/13 October 2018

Atas do Simpósio Internacional: Interações Culturais
e Paisagens em Mudança na Europa
(séc. 2º a.C. / séc. 2º d.C.)
Boticas, 11/12/13 outubro 2018

CREDITS CRÉDITOS

International Symposium: Cultural Interactions and Changing Landscapes in Europe (2nd century BC / 2nd century AD)
Simpósio Internacional: Interações Culturais e Paisagens em Mudança na Europa (séc. 2º a.C. / séc. 2º d.C.)

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DESIGN **Tiago Rodrigues**

PRINTING IMPRESSÃO **PUBLITO. Estúdio de Artes Gráficas**

EDITION EDIÇÃO **Unidade de Arqueologia da Universidade do Minho**

LOCAL OF EDITION LOCAL DE EDIÇÃO **Braga 2018**

LEGAL DEPOSIT (DL) N° **446081/18**

ISBN **978-972-9382-25-3**

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Cultural Interactions and Changing Landscapes in Europe (2nd century BC / 2nd century AD)

Interações Culturais e Paisagens em Mudança na Europa (séc. 2º a.C. / séc. 2º d.C.)

Luís Fontes, Gonçalo Cruz & Mafalda Alves (Orgs)

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HONOR COMMISSION 6 COMISSÃO DE HONRA 6

PREAMBLE 8 APRESENTAÇÃO 9

INTRODUCTION 10 INTRODUÇÃO 14

PAPERS ARTIGOS

From Iron Age *Oppida* to Roman Cities: The Transformation of Cultural Landscapes in Europe (2nd century BC-2nd century AD). Dos *Oppida*, na Idade do Ferro, às Cidades Romanas: a transformação das Paisagens Culturais na Europa (Séc. II a.C. - Séc. II d.C). **21**

Cultural change and landscape transformation in southern Iberia (2nd century BC - 2nd century AD). A mudança cultural e a transformação das paisagens do vale do Baixo Guadalquivir entre a República e o Império (Séc. II a.C. - Séc. II d.C). **39**

Cultural interaction in times of conflict: metals and rituals in the hillforts of north-western Iberia (2nd-1st centuries BC). Interação cultural em tempos de conflito: metais e rituais nos castros do Noroeste da Iberia (Séc. II a.C. - Séc. I d.C). **55**

Northern Portugal in the transition of Era: from the hillforts, through the *oppida*, till the roman integration. O Norte de Portugal na transição da Era: dos castros, pelos *oppida*, até à integração romana. **73**

Aerial archaeological research of Late Iron Age fortified settlements in Western Hungary (Transdanubia). A Arqueologia Aérea na investigação dos povoados fortificados da Idade do Ferro Final no oeste da Hungria (Transdanubia). **91**

'Elective Affinity' and the Iron Fist of Imperialism: Responses in Britain to the advent of Rome. 'Afinidade Eletiva' e o Punho de Ferro do Imperialismo: Respostas na Grã-Bretanha ao advento de Roma. **105**

The Construction of the Terva Valley's Cultural Landscape between the 2nd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D.) A construção da Paisagem Cultural do Vale do Terva, entre o século II a.C. e o século II d.C. **125**

POSTERS

The "top-down" representation of plate 130 of Castelinho (Trás-os-Montes, Portugal): from creation to condemnation in the transition of the period. A representação zenital da placa 130 do Castelinho (Trás-os-Montes, Portugal): da criação à condenação na transição do período. **147**

Excavation, study and musealisation of "Casa Romana" of Castro de São Domingos: Preliminary Results of the 5th Campaign. Escavação, estudo e musealização da Casa Romana de Castro de São Domingos: Resultados preliminares da 5ª campanha. **153**

Trás do Castelo (Vale de Mir, Pegarinhos, Alijó) - a roman agricultural settlement on the verge of the first century AD. Trás do Castelo (Vale de Mir, Pegarinhos, Alijó) - um assentamento agrícola romano no limiar do primeiro século dC. **15**

Uncovering the landscape of the Romanization process of Citânia de Sanfins (Paços de Ferreira, Portugal). Primary approach for a macro and semi-micro Spatial Analysis. Descobrendo a paisagem do processo de romanização da Citânia de Sanfins (Paços de Ferreira, Portugal). Abordagem preliminar para uma macro e semi-micro Análise Espacial. **163**

Changes and continuities in the Sabor River valley between the end of Second Iron Age and early Roman times. Mudanças e continuidades no vale do rio Sabor entre o final da Segunda Idade do Ferro e o início dos tempos romanos. **169**

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PREAMBLE

Promoting the Historical, Cultural and Natural Heritage of Boticas has been one of the major priorities of our Municipality, seeking to enhance its attractiveness and to create added value, endorsing local development and economical fomentation. To this end, the role played by the Terva Valley Archaeological Park has been fundamental, projecting actions over the last years that allowed us to promote our municipality and our region internationally.

Maintaining the main goals of this project, we are seeking to consolidate the national and international reputation of the Terva Valley Archaeological Park, and at the same time, to reinforce its importance in the valorisation of our cultural heritage. For that, it is fundamental to continue betting on the accomplishment of events and initiatives that promote the interchange and the sharing of experiences, related not only with archaeological practice itself, but also with other cultural valorisation axis. It was in this spirit that the Boticas Municipality hosted the International Symposium “Cultural Interactions and Changing Landscapes in Europe”, between 11 and 13 October, bringing together experts from all over Europe, taking along new elements and contributions both in the archaeological research field as in the valorisation of cultural heritage.

The partnership between the Municipality of Boticas and the University of Minho has resulted in a significant investment in the scientific research, valorisation and dissemination of the archaeological heritage of the Terva Valley, making it possible to know more and more about this territory and in particular, about the fortified settlements of the Iron Age and Roman sites that marked the changes observed in the landscapes of Europe between the second century BC and the second century AD, when the indigenous communities were committed to a strong Roman influence, which led a change in the habits and in the cultural patterns. The Symposium “Cultural Interactions and Changing Landscapes in Europe” allowed us to understand a little bit better the backgrounds of these changes, as well as the inevitable alterations and effects it produced not only amongst the local communities, but especially in the landscapes. This book is the result of the contributions provided here, which will certainly be an important tool for the study and understanding of these issues. Aware of the role we have taken to promote a deeper knowledge of our history and, simultaneously, to preserve and valorise our heritage, I reaffirm the total availability of the Municipality to continue this work. Because, as our People wisely mentions, “Whoever does not preserve the culture, history, and traditions of the Past, is not worthy of the Future.”

Fernando Queiroga

Mayor of the Boticas Municipality

APRESENTAÇÃO

Dar a conhecer o Património Histórico, Cultural e Natural do Concelho tem sido uma das grandes prioridades do Município de Boticas, que procura potenciar a sua atratividade e criar mais-valias geradoras de desenvolvimento local e fomento da economia. Para tal, o papel desempenhado pelo Parque Arqueológico do Vale do Terva tem sido fundamental, cujas acções desenvolvidas ao longo dos últimos anos permitiram projectar internacionalmente o nosso Concelho e a nossa região.

Dando a continuidade que se pretende a este projecto, e procurando consolidar a notoriedade nacional e internacional do Parque Arqueológico do Vale do Terva, bem como cimentar a sua importância na valorização do nosso património cultural, é fundamental continuar a apostar na realização de eventos e iniciativas que promovam intercâmbios e permitam a partilha de experiências tanto na área da arqueologia propriamente dita como da valorização cultural. Foi dentro deste espírito que Boticas acolheu, entre os dias 11 e 13 de outubro, o Simpósio Internacional “Interações Culturais e Paisagens em Mudança na Europa”, que reuniu especialistas de toda a Europa, aportando novos elementos e contributos no domínio da investigação e valorização do património cultural.

O trabalho desenvolvido em parceria entre o Município de Boticas e a Universidade do Minho tem resultado num investimento significativo ao nível do estudo, valorização e divulgação do património arqueológico do Vale do Terva, que tem permitido ficar a conhecer cada vez melhor este território e em particular os povoados fortificados da Idade do Ferro e sítios romanos que marcam a mudança verificada nas paisagens da Europa entre o século II a.C. e o século II d.C., altura em que as comunidades indígenas sofreram uma forte influência romana, que levaram à alteração de hábitos e padrões culturais.

O Simpósio “Interações Culturais e Paisagens em Mudança na Europa” permitiu-nos perceber um pouco melhor o contexto dessas mudanças, bem como as inevitáveis alterações e efeitos que produziu não só junto dos povos, mas sobretudo na paisagem, e dos contributos aqui aportados resulta este livro, que por certo se constituirá como uma importante ferramenta para o estudo e compreensão destas temáticas.

Consciente do contributo que temos dado para um conhecimento mais profundo da nossa história e, simultaneamente, para a preservação e valorização do nosso património, reafirmo a total disponibilidade do Município para dar continuidade a todo este trabalho. Porque, como o nosso Povo sabiamente refere, “quem não preserva a cultura, a história e as tradições do Passado não é digno do Futuro”.

Fernando Queiroga

Presidente da Câmara Municipal de Boticas

INTRODUCTION

Luís Fontes¹, Gonçalo Cruz² e Mafalda Alves¹

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When we do archaeology, we do so in the theoretical perspective that the production of knowledge about societies of the past hails from the need to answer the questions that the present poses to us (Criado Boado, 2012: 29) and, in this sense, we assume the social commitment that the practice of archaeology implies, contributing pedagogically to the discussion of controversial topics, a discussion of increased importance in terms of scientific education, when aimed at the exercise of an active citizenship (Almeida, 2011: 659).

We've experienced this level of social commitment in 2014, when we organized the International Symposium on "Ancient Mining Landscapes in Western Europe" (Fontes, 2014), then moved by the urgency of responding to the threat of mining exploring of the Site of Public Interest in the former mining complex of the Terva River Valley, which would have had profoundly negative consequences for the preservation and enhancement of the cultural and natural heritage of the PAVT / Terva Valley Archaeological Park and, consequently, for the quality of life of the resident populations occupying its territory.

As in 2014, so in 2018 the matters of the moment are focusing on globalization, multiculturalism, environment and sustainable development, technological innovation, ecumenism. These are some of the controversial areas issues, among others, that are currently being discussed, stressing in Europe some sensitive issue, such as migration, the resurgence of nationalism or historical negationism.

This is why the Symposium was structured over the problematics of the contact processes between cultures, in the transition to the Common Era, in Europe.

In fact, between the second century BC and the second century AD, societies throughout Europe experienced remarkably complex cultural dynamics. As the Roman Empire was emerging as a territorial and cultural self, Europe met several cultural transition processes that occurred at different rates. These processes were conditioned by numerous aspects, amongst which were geographical criteria, different cultural stages amid a wide number of coexisting protohistoric communities, the striking events that marked the late days of the Republic in Rome and the emergence of the imperial regime through a set of historically documented political and military movements.

INTRODUÇÃO

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Quando fazemos arqueologia, fazemo-lo na perspetiva teórica de que a produção de conhecimento sobre as sociedades do passado tem como ponto de partida a necessidade de responder às interrogações que o presente nos coloca (Criado Boado, 2012: 29). Neste sentido, assumimos o compromisso social que a prática da arqueologia implica, contribuindo pedagogicamente para a discussão de temas controversos, discussão de acrescida importância na educação científica quando voltada para o exercício de uma cidadania ativa (Almeida, 2011: 659).

Assim foi em 2014, quando organizamos o Simpósio Internacional sobre Paisagens Mineiras Antigas na Europa Ocidental. Investigação e Valorização Cultural (Fontes, 2014), movidos então pela urgência de responder à ameaça de exploração mineira que pairava sobre o Sítio de Interesse Público do Complexo Mineiro Antigo do Vale do Rio Terva que, a concretizar-se, teria consequências profundamente negativas ao nível da preservação e valorização do património cultural e natural do PAVT/Parque Arqueológico do Vale do Terva e, conseqüentemente, sobre a qualidade de vida das populações que ocupam o seu território.

Também neste ano de 2018 assim é: globalização, multiculturalismo, ambiente e desenvolvimento sustentável, inovação tecnológica, ecumenismo, são alguns dos controversos domínios, entre outros, que no presente suscitam discussão, destacando-se na Europa a sensível questão das migrações, da ressurgência dos nacionalismos ou do negacionismo histórico.

Por isso, o Simpósio tem como tema a problemática dos processos de contato entre culturas na transição da Era, na Europa.

O período que medeia entre o século II a. C. e o século II d. C. é uma época caracterizada por interessantes e complexas dinâmicas históricas e culturais, um pouco por toda a Europa. Coincidindo com a formação territorial e consolidação cultural do Império Romano, a Europa passou por processos de transição cultural, que ocorreram a ritmos diferentes. Estes processos foram condicionados por vários aspetos, designadamente por critérios de ordem geográfica, características culturais diversas de várias comunidades proto-históricas, os acontecimentos marcantes da última fase da República, em Roma, e o surgimento do regime imperial, decorrentes de um conjunto de dinâmicas político-militares historicamente documentadas.

From the Iberian Peninsula to the Pannonian Basin, from the Rhone Valley to the British Isles different cultural and landscape contexts have been identified as important pre-existences to the territorial integration in the Roman Empire. This fact led to the discussion of the concept of “Romanization”, motivated by the identification of different levels of cultural phenomena (Hingley, 2005). As of so, a growing complexification of the settlements during Iron Age was recognized as consensual, as well as the existence of different hierarchy status between sites, partially resulting from the growing dynamics of products and ideas exchange throughout not only the Mediterranean Basin, but also its neighbouring hydrographical basins, and by the emergence of the first urban experiences in indigenous context, known as *oppida* (González-Ruibal, 2007: 328-338).

These aspects are understood to have led to the diplomatic action of Roman administrative agents over vast local communities, resulting in the establishment of buffer zones, and, ultimately, in the Roman conquest of vast territories, finally ensuing in the development of different provincial cultures.

All of these aspects, which have been approached by different generations of researchers from different areas of specialization, require today a status sum and an overall reflection aiming to clarify the historical interpretation of this chronological period, and hopefully, through this event of knowledge sharing, to reach out to new research perspectives.

The Terva Valley, in Boticas, northern Portugal, holds a unique set of Iron Age settlements that are imprinted with the transitional aspects that reflect the progressive roman influence over an existing complex indigenous society, which at one point changed the settlement patterns and the landscape structure, driven by the existence of considerable mining resources and climatic and environmental changes (Fontes, Osório, Alves e Guerreiro, 2017).

The Municipality of Boticas and the University of Minho have been making a significant investment in the study, conservation, valorisation and dissemination of the archaeological heritage, with particular emphasis on fortified settlements of the Iron Age and Roman sites.

The CEDIEC-European Center for Documentation and Interpretation of Castreja Sculpture and the PAVT-Archaeological Park of the Terva Valley are infrastructures resulting from the work already done, through which it is sought to maintain an updated research dynamic, thus contributing to the promotion of knowledge, for the enhancement of cultural heritage and for the sustainable development of populations.

This international meeting will bring together, in Boticas, researchers from several European countries, who will regard the state of the art of the Late Iron Age and Roman period research trends carried out in different geographic areas, thus contributing to a

Da Península Ibérica à Planície da Panónia, do vale do Ródano às ilhas Britânicas, diferentes contextos culturais e paisagísticos têm vindo a ser identificados como importantes pré-existências à integração territorial no Império Romano. Tal facto acabou por conduzir à relativização do conceito de “Romanização”, diferenciando-se múltiplos fenómenos culturais (Hingley, 2005).

Tem vindo a ser consensualmente reconhecida a complexificação e hierarquização do povoamento na Idade do Ferro, em parte resultante do crescimento das dinâmicas de intercâmbio de produtos e ideias por todo o Mediterrâneo, e nas bacias subsidiárias, bem como o surgimento das primeiras experiências urbanas em contexto indígena, conhecidas como *oppida* (González-Ruibal 2007: 328-338).

Estes aspetos terão propiciado a diplomacia dos agentes administrativos romanos sobre vastas comunidades locais, dando origem à criação de áreas de influência e ao domínio romano de vastos territórios, culminando no surgimento de diferentes culturas provinciais.

Todas estas questões, que têm vindo a ser estudadas por diferentes gerações de investigadores, e diferentes áreas de especialização, requerem uma reflexão de conjunto que possa contribuir para clarificar a leitura histórica deste período cronológico e, através deste encontro de partilha de experiências, incentivar novas perspetivas de investigação.

O Vale do Terva, em Boticas, no Norte de Portugal, constitui precisamente um território em que se verifica a consolidação de um conjunto de povoados da Idade do Ferro, a complexificação da sociedade indígena e uma progressiva influência romana, que a dada altura parece conduzir a uma mutação nos padrões de assentamento. Estas dinâmicas estão também relacionadas com a existência de consideráveis recursos mineiros e mudanças de ordem climática e ambiental. (Fontes, Osório, Alves e Guerreiro, 2017).

O Município de Boticas e a Universidade do Minho têm vindo, justamente, a fazer um investimento significativo no estudo, conservação, valorização e divulgação do património arqueológico, com particular incidência em povoados fortificados da Idade do Ferro e sítios Romanos.

O CEDIEC-Centro Europeu de Documentação e Interpretação da Escultura Castreja e o PAVT- Parque Arqueológico do Vale do Terva são infraestruturas resultantes do trabalho já realizado, através das quais se procura manter uma dinâmica de investigação atualizada, contribuindo desse modo para a promoção do conhecimento, para a valorização do património cultural e para o desenvolvimento sustentável das populações.

Este encontro internacional junta, em Boticas, investigadores de vários países europeus que, abordando temas e áreas geográficas diversas, fazem um balanço da investigação realizada sobre os contextos datáveis entre o final da Idade do Ferro e o início da época

global reading of this chronological period.

Manuel Fernández-Götz offers us an up-to-date and comprehensive synthesis on the emergence of urbanism in the late Iron Age in non-Mediterranean Europe, exploring the diversity of the *oppida* and the existence of unfortified agglomerations, the equally diverse meaning of fortifications, and the transformations resulting from the impacts of the Roman Empire affirmation.

Enrique García Vargas and Eduardo Ferrer Albelda address the structural process of change in the settlement patterns and cultural transformation of the Lower Guadalquivir region landscape, between the Roman conquest and consolidation of the province of *Baetica* as of the Flavian Age.

Xosé-Lois Armada, Óscar García-Vuelta, Cristina Seoane-Novo expose all the complexity of the cultural interactions that went along with the long process of the Roman conquest and domination of the Peninsular Northwest, analysing a particular aspect of material culture: metallic artefacts linked to symbolic representations of prestige and rituality.

Gonçalo Cruz rehearses an appraisal of the historical dynamics in the North of Portugal between second century BC and the second century AD, attempting to overcome the different perspectives and methodologies that guided the archaeological studies in the region since the late nineteenth century, confronting the development of the *oppida* as urban areas, with the foundation of the Roman city of *Bracara Augusta*.

Zoltán Czajlik explores topographical data extracted from aerial photography, to provide us with an up-to-date summary of the diversity of settlements in the Iron Age in the Transdanubia region of western Hungary, relaunching the debate about the complexity associated to the fortified settlement structure and to the urban phenomena at the end of the Iron Age.

Steven Willis presents an updated synopsis of the new perspectives with which the Roman phenomena in Britain has been problematized, now understood as a complex process of change, with differentiated impacts, evinced through the perceivable diversity in regional experiences or in the settlement and material expressions almost everywhere in the Roman province of *Britannia*.

Bruno Osório addresses the cultural landscape structuring process in the Terva River valley, in Boticas, northern Portugal, in the centuries related to the transition to the Common Era, confronting both the diversity and density of Iron Age hillforts with the alterations in the settlement structures brought by the Roman occupation, to conclude that the exploitation of the auriferous mineral resources seems to have been a determinant factor to the structuration of the settlement matrix, as well as to the landscape

Romana, contribuindo assim para uma leitura global atualizada deste período cronológico.

Manuel Fernández-Götz oferece-nos uma atualizada e abrangente síntese sobre a emergência do urbanismo nos finais da Idade do Ferro na Europa não mediterrânica, explorando a diversidade dos *oppida* e a existência de aglomerados não fortificados, o igualmente diverso significado das fortificações, e as transformações resultantes dos impactos da afirmação do Império Romano.

Enrique García Vargas e Eduardo Ferrer Albelda abordam o processo de alteração estrutural dos modelos de povoamento e a transformação cultural das paisagens da região do Baixo Guadalquivir, entre a conquista romana e a consolidação da província da Bética a partir da época flávia.

Xosé-Lois Armada, Óscar García-Vuelta, Cristina Seoane-Novo expõem toda a complexidade das interações culturais que acompanharam o longo processo de conquista e domínio do Noroeste Peninsular, analisando um aspeto particular da cultura material, como são os artefactos metálicos vinculados a representações simbólicas de prestígio e ritualidade.

Gonçalo Cruz ensaia uma leitura das dinâmicas históricas no Norte de Portugal entre os séculos II a. C. e II d. C., procurando ultrapassar as diferentes perspetivas e metodologias que orientaram os estudos arqueológicos da região desde os finais do século XIX, confrontando o desenvolvimento dos *oppida* como aglomerados urbanos com a fundação da cidade romana de *Bracara Augusta*.

Zoltán Czajlik explora os dados topográficos da fotografia aérea para nos proporcionar uma atualizada síntese da diversidade de assentamentos da Idade do Ferro na região da Transdanubia, no ocidente da Hungria, relançando o debate sobre a complexidade da estrutura de povoamento fortificado e do fenómeno urbano nos finais da Idade do Ferro.

Steven Willis apresenta-nos uma síntese atualizada das novas perspetivas com que se tem problematizado o fenómeno Romano na Grã-Bretanha, agora entendido como processo complexo de mudança, de impactos diferenciados, que se evidenciam na diversidade das experiências regionais, do povoamento e da expressão material um pouco por toda a província romana da *Britannia*.

Bruno Osório aborda o processo de estruturação da paisagem cultural do Vale do Terva, Boticas, Norte de Portugal, nos séculos em torno da transição da Era, confrontando a diversidade e densidade dos povoados fortificados da Idade do Ferro com as mudanças provocadas pela ocupação romana, para concluir que a exploração dos recursos minerais auríferos parece ter constituído um fator determinante da estruturação do povoamento.

transformation process.

The contributions made to this symposium were complemented by the posters of **Andreia Silva** and **Sofia Soares de Figueiredo**, of **Javier Larrazabal Galarza**, of **Paulo André Lemos**, of **Pedro Pereira** and **Tony Silvino**, and of **Sílvia Maciel**, **Natália Botica** and **Rebeca Blanco-Rotea** who, addressing different themes, disseminated new data on archaeological research in Portugal, confirming the extraordinary diversity of the cultural expressions existing in the addressed period.

We expect that the widespread of knowledge about the processes of interaction and change in the transition to the Common Era in Europe can help us to better understand the present and to project an equally better future - that is our ambition. And this book, welcoming the contributions of the authors mentioned above, plus the catalogue of the exhibition "Hillforts of Boticas", organized in parallel to the symposium, is addressing the same ambition.

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mento e das transformações da paisagem.

Os contributos para este simpósio completam-se com os posters de **Andreia Silva** e **Sofia Soares de Figueiredo**, **Javier Larrazabal Galarza**, **Paulo André Lemos**, **Pedro Pereira** e **Tony Silvino**, e **Sílvia Maciel**, **Natália Botica** e **Rebeca Blanco-Rotea** que, abordando temas diversos divulgam novos dados da investigação arqueológica em Portugal, confirmando a extraordinária diversidade das expressões culturais do período aqui abordado.

Esperamos que o conhecimento sobre os processos de interação e mudança na transição da Era, na Europa, nos possam ajudar a compreender melhor o presente e a projetar um futuro igualmente melhor - é essa a nossa ambição. E esta publicação, acolhendo os contributos dos autores acima referenciados, acrescida do apêndice correspondente ao catálogo da exposição "Castros de Boticas" organizada paralelamente ao simpósio, serve também esse desígnio.

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PAPERS





**FROM IRON AGE OPPIDA TO ROMAN CITIES:
THE TRANSFORMATION OF CULTURAL
LANDSCAPES IN EUROPE
(2ND CENTURY BC-1ST CENTURY AD)**

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From Iron Age *Oppida* to Roman Cities: The Transformation of Cultural Landscapes in Europe (2nd century BC-2nd century AD)

Abstract

Since the late 2nd century BC, large fortified sites known as *oppida* developed in the landscapes of temperate Europe. Many of these settlements can be classified as cities or towns, representing a phenomenon of early urbanisation that predates the Roman conquest. The *oppida* have been explored archaeologically since the 19th century, but new research is providing exciting information about aspects such as public spaces, sanctuaries and neighborhood organisation. Moreover, it is increasingly acknowledged that we need to take into account other forms of large, non-fortified agglomerations that in many cases preceded the *oppida* by some decades. The picture that emerges is much more complex than traditionally thought, allowing new insights into Late Iron Age societies. The Roman military conquest brought with it profound transformations, although with very different outcomes depending on the specific regions and sites.

Key-words Iron Age, *Oppida*, Open Agglomerations, Urbanism, Roman conquest.

Resumo

A partir de finais do séc. II a.C. começam a desenvolver-se, nas paisagens da Europa temperada, grandes povoados fortificados, conhecidos como *oppida*. Muitos destes povoados podem classificar-se como cidades, representando um fenómeno de urbanização que antecede a conquista Romana. Apesar de serem objeto de investigação arqueológica desde o séc. XIX, os programas de investigação que recentemente se focaram nos *oppida* têm revelado dados estimulantes, sobre aspetos como os espaços públicos, os santuários ou a organização de quarteirões. Além disso, é cada vez mais reconhecida a necessidade de ter em conta outros tipos de aglomerados, de grande dimensão e não fortificados, que muitas vezes precedem os *oppida* em algumas décadas. O cenário que agora emerge é de veras mais complexo do que aquele que é tradicionalmente considerado, permitindo novas perspetivas sobre as sociedades no final da Idade do Ferro. A conquista militar romana trouxe consigo transformações profundas, embora as consequências dessas transformações tenham tido resultados diferenciados, alocados às especificidades da região e dos próprios sítios.

Palavras-chave Idade do Ferro, *Oppida*, Aglomerados abertos, Urbanismo, Conquista Romana.

1. The emergence of Late Iron Age urbanism

The last two centuries BC in temperate Europe witnessed the appearance of large fortified settlements known as *oppida* (Fichtl 2005a). These sites are traditionally regarded as the 'first cities' north of the Alps (Collis 1984), although new research has shown that an earlier phenomenon of fragile urbanisation already took place in the 6th-5th centuries BC with sites such as Heuneburg and Bourges (Fernández-Götz and Ralston 2017; Krausse *et al.* 2016). There are currently more than 150 *oppida* from the 2nd and 1st centuries BC documented between France in the west and Hungary in the east (Fichtl 2005a, 2018; Rieckhoff and Fichtl 2011), to which we could add some examples in Britain (Haselgrove 2000; Moore 2012) and numerous similar sites in central-northern Iberia (Álvarez-Sanchís *et al.* 2011) which have traditionally not been taken into account by mainstream narratives. In this paper, I will focus on the evidence from continental non-Mediterranean Europe, with some occasional reference to Britain and Iberia (Fig. 1).

After the period of the so-called 'Celtic' migrations documented in classical sources, a trend towards urbanisation can be traced archaeologically in temperate Europe since the 3rd century BC and then increasingly in the early 2nd century BC. At this time, a number of large open agglomerations developed between the Atlantic and Eastern Europe (Collis *et al.* 2000; Fichtl 2013; Salač 2009, 2014). Sites such as Levroux and Aulnat in France, Basel Gasfabrik in Switzerland, Bad Nauheim and Berching-Pollanten in Germany, Lovosice, Némčice and Prague-Bubeneč in the Czech Republic and Sajópetri in Hungary are located predominantly on economically favorable positions in lowlands. They fulfilled an important economic role, and their size could be

considerable, with some centres reaching several dozen or even more than 100 hectares. Although some of them present an enclosure or symbolic demarcation, they do not exhibit any formal fortification. Defensive considerations do not seem to have played any role in their appearance and configuration.

To acknowledge the complexity of Late Iron Age agglomerations and the multiplicity of settlement trajectories, Salač (2009) has proposed to distinguish between the following four categories of sites, of which only the last two were fortified: 1) production and distribution centres (PDC); 2) centres of the Némčice-Roseldorf type (NRC); 3) mountain *oppida*; and 4) lowland *oppida* (Fig. 2).

From a paths-to-complexity perspective, the fact that many open agglomerations started earlier than the fortified *oppida* has important consequences for our understanding of Late Iron Age centralisation and urbanisation processes (Collis 2016; Fernández-Götz 2018; Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2014; Kaenel 2006). The appearance of large centres needs to be understood as part of a broader trend of demographic growth, increase in agricultural and artisanal production, and flourishing trade that can be observed since the 3rd century BC (Fichtl and Guichard 2016). Therefore, the roots were primarily endogenous, although in later stages the process was accelerated by external contacts, most notably with Rome.

In this context, the proliferation of fortification works at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st centuries BC – newly founded sites with walls or building of artificial defenses at some pre-existing open settlements – could suggest, at least in Gaul, a direct or indirect link with cer-

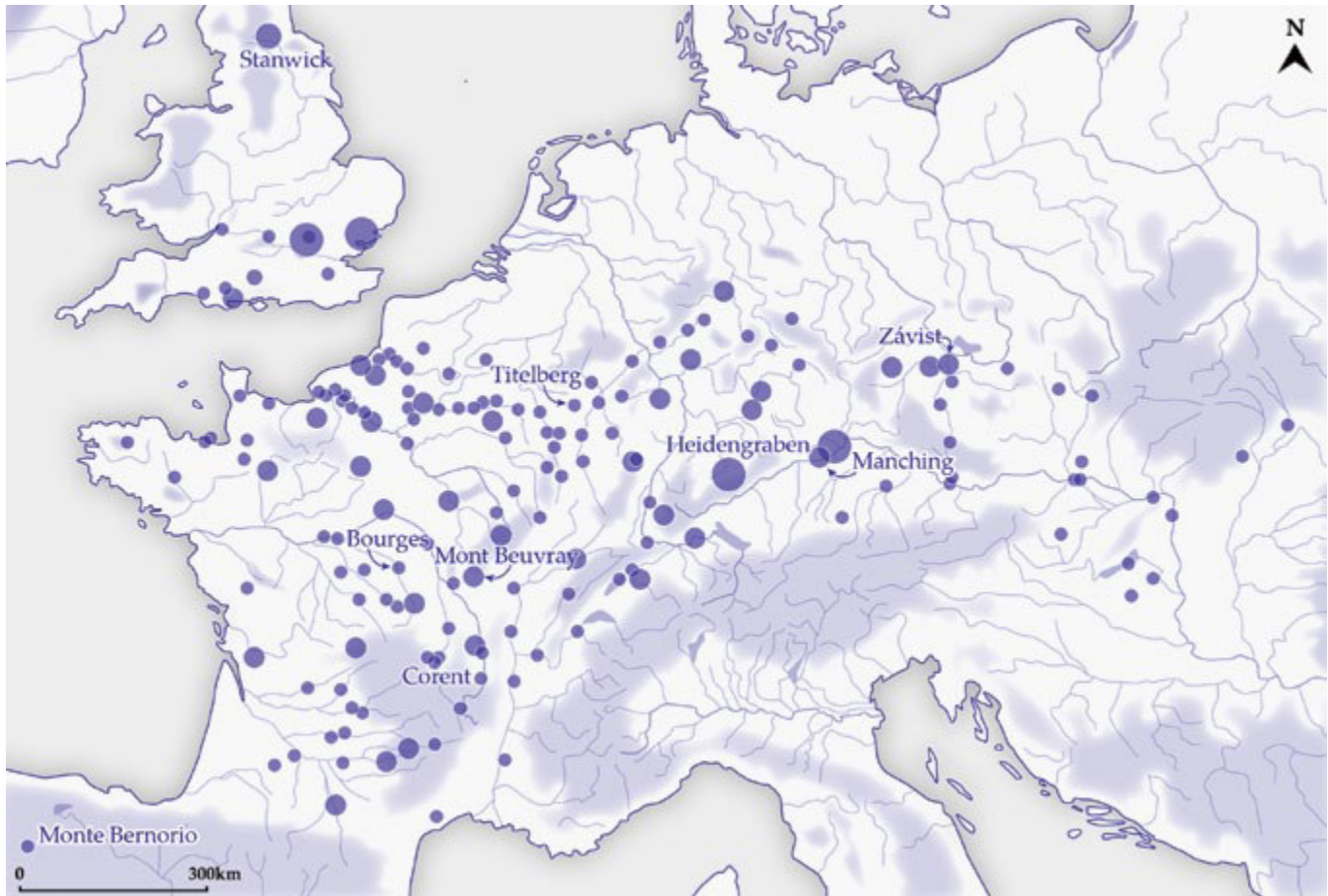


Figure 1
Distribution of fortified *oppida* with some of the main sites indicated, 2nd-1st centuries BC (after Fernández-Götz 2018, based on data from <http://www.oppida.org/>, with additions).

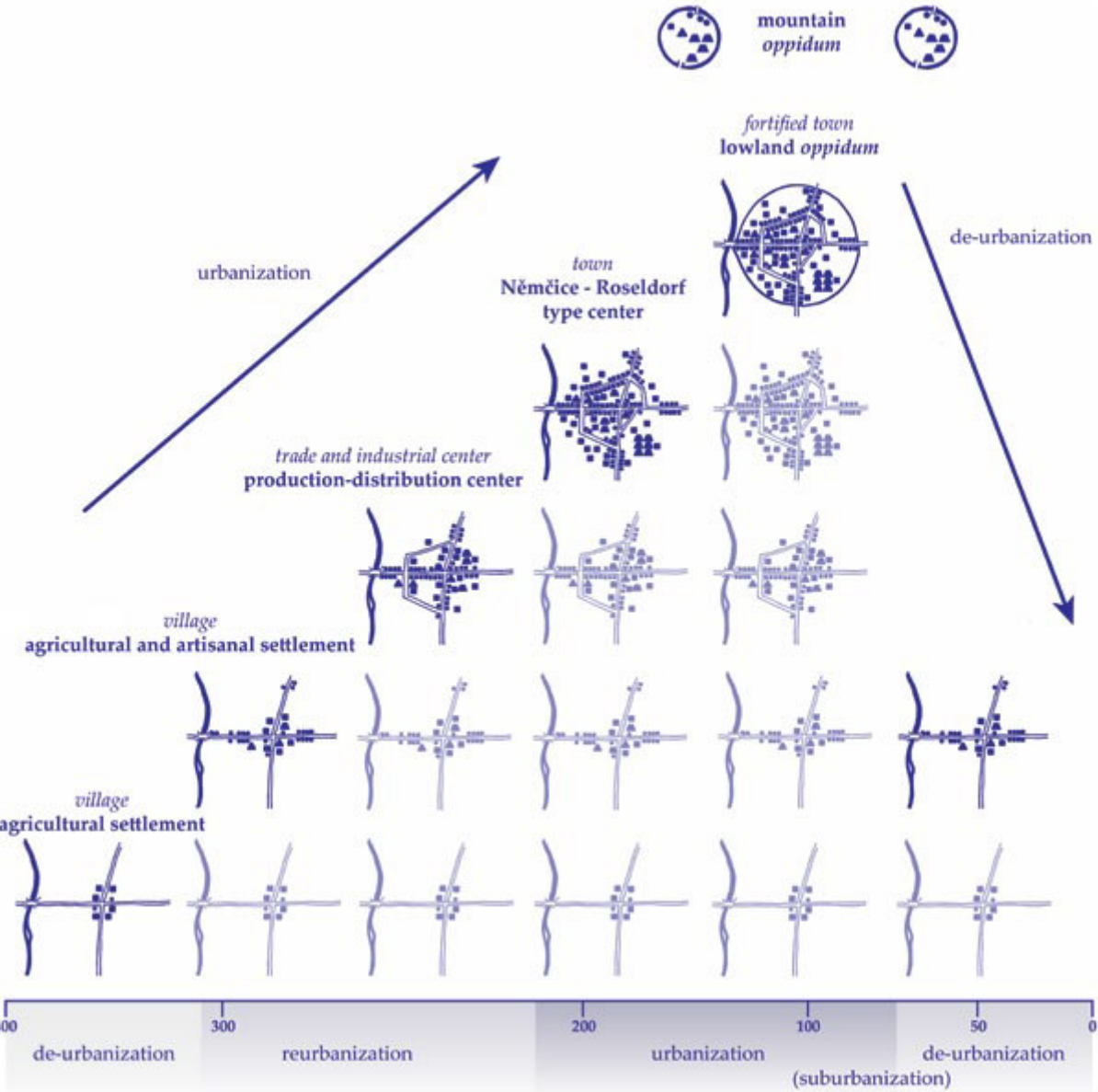


Figure 2
Late Iron Age urbanisation cycles (after Salač 2014, modified by author).



tain historical events of external pressure. This may have included the real or perceived threat caused by the territorial expansion of Rome and the population movements of the Cimbri and Teutones (Moret 2018). But at the same time, we also need to take into account the articulation of internal political control in a framework of growing socioeconomic complexity: The *oppida* are the expression of more unequal societies, and at the same time they contributed to the reinforcement of those inequalities (Fernández-Götz 2014a; Rieckhoff 2014). The role played by emulation, control and prestige competition in peer polity interaction deserves consideration. Rather than looking for a monolithic explanation, it is necessary to acknowledge the existence of multiple factors, often inter-related, that led to the rise of the *oppida*.

2. The diversity of the *oppida*

In the context of Gaul, the use of the term *oppidum* goes back to Julius Caesar, who used it repeatedly in his writings when describing his military campaigns. However, he did not offer a precise definition of the term and sometimes applied it to very different situations (Boos 1989). In any case, from his account we can deduce that he referred to economic and political centres that occupied the most important position among the hierarchy of Gallic agglomerations, going as far as using the Latin term *urbs* for places such as *Alesia*, *Gergovia* and *Avaricum*. Among archaeologists, the use of the term *oppidum* became established since the excavations undertaken in the second half of the 19th century at sites such as *Alesia* and *Bibracte*, and later through the influential overview work published by J. Déchelette (Fichtl 2012a).

The principal cause of dispute over the different definitions is the minimum area an archaeological site has to have to be included in this category: 10 hectares (Duval), 15 hectares (S. Fichtl), 20-25/30 hectares (J. Collis), 30 hec-

tares (W. Dehn), 50 hectares (J.-P. Guillaumet), etc. (Fichtl 2005a). In this paper, I have opted for the approximate figure of 10 hectares, bearing in mind that this is merely for orientational purposes. Given that, as we will see, both the topographical location and the internal functions or organisation of the *oppida* present a wide variety of situations, I believe it is preferable to opt for a wide-ranging general definition to begin with and then to be more specific at a local and regional level. For temperate Europe, I propose the following general definition of *oppidum*: “A fortified site from the end of the Iron Age with a minimum area of 10 hectares”.

In addition to their fortifications and large inner areas, most *oppida* share some characteristics such as housing a significant population, being places for craft production and exchange, and fulfilling a political and religious role (Collis 1984; Fichtl 2005a). Common material culture items found at numerous *oppida* include wheel-turned pottery, metalwork on an almost industrial scale, coins, keys, glass beads and bracelets, and Roman imports such as wine amphorae. However, there are exceptions to this general picture. In fact, archaeology reveals a multiplicity of scenarios and trajectories that can vary between different areas and sometimes even within the same region. Among the examples we can note are:

- Chronology: While certain *oppida* were occupied for only a short time, perhaps one or two generations, others have long settlement trajectories that can extend over several centuries. Some *oppida*, particularly in Gaul, continued to exist during the Roman period and sometimes even in medieval and later times (e.g. *Vesontio* → *Besançon*, *Avaricum* → *Bourges*, *Durocortorum* → *Reims*).
- Size: Whereas some *oppida* cover several hundred or even more than a thousand hectares (Kelheim, Heidengraben, etc.), others barely reach the minimum area to be included in this category (Otzenhausen, etc.).
- Topography: While some sites were situated on the

plain (Manching, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, etc.), many others were placed in elevated locations (*Bibracte*, Donnersberg, Závist and a long etcetera). V. Salač (2009, 2014) has emphasised the importance of distinguishing between ‘lowland’ and ‘mountain *oppida*’, attributing a certain set of characteristics to each type.

- Urbanism: Some centres such as Manching, *Bibracte*, Corent or Titelberg can be described as urban based on criteria such as evidence of a preconceived plan, housing a population of several thousand inhabitants, bringing together different categories of people and activities, and acting as central places for the communities in the hinterland (cf. Smith 2016). Other *oppida* sites, however, appear to have been fortified enclosures with very little or no internal occupation (for example *Zarten/Tarodunum*, *Finsterlohr* and *Mont Vully*). In this paper, I follow a context-dependent definition of ‘city’ which recognises the high levels of variation that often exist between and within different urban traditions: “A numerically significant aggregation of people permanently living together in a settlement which fulfils central place functions for a wider territory” (Fernández-Götz and Krausse 2013: 480).

The latter point also leads us to question the role of walls as proxies for urbanism (Moore and Ponroy 2014). In fact, some open agglomerations are closer to a contextual definition of cities than many *oppida* (Salač 2009), acting as large production and distribution centres that performed economic functions equivalent to those of the most prominent fortified sites. Among the evidence found at open sites are coin minting, imports originating in distant regions, large-scale metallurgy production and manufacture of glass objects (Collis *et al.* 2000; Fichtl 2013; Salač 2009, 2014) (Fig. 3). Therefore, we can discard the traditional idea that significant industrial and trading activities were exclusively concentrated in the *oppida*. Moreover, the interrelations between both categories of sites were highly complex. Whereas some open agglomerations were aban-

Site	Category	Excavation over 1 ha	Coins	Glass Bracelets
Berching-Pollanten	POC / NRC	+	98	430
Hrazany	Mountain oppidum	+	3	0
Lovosice	POC	-	-	23
Manching	NRC / Lowland oppidum	+	1342	620
Némöce	NRC	-	430 (2000)	518
Neubau bei Linz	POC / NRC	+	162	7
Roseldorf	NRC	-	1500	7
Stradonice	Mountain oppidum	-	1400 (-700)	143
Staré Hradisko	Mountain oppidum	+	91	62
Třsov	Mountain oppidum	+	6	9
Závist	Mountain oppidum	+	16	4

Figure 3 Table showing the number of coins and glass bracelets found in different open agglomerations and *oppida* of Bavaria, Bohemia, Moravia and Austria (after Salač 2009, with some modifications).

doned at the time of the foundation of the *oppida*, others continued to exist, and some others were even founded somewhat later. This is the case, for example, of the Sources de l’Yonne agglomeration, located in the immediate vicinity of *Bibracte* (Moore *et al.* 2013) (Fig. 4).

3. Fortifications between defense and symbolism

The frequently monumental fortifications of the *oppida* are probably their most eye-catching feature, being in many cases still visible elements in the landscape. Some of them are several kilometers long; for example, seven



kilometers in the case of Manching or the exterior enclosure of *Bibracte*. Their function and meaning have been much discussed (Fichtl 2010; Moret 2018) and, as is to be expected, the interpretations have been strongly influenced by the sociopolitical and intellectual context. Thus, whereas during a large part of the 20th century the fortifications were seen mainly from a military point of view as efficient defenses, in recent decades their symbolic role has been emphasised (Fichtl 2005b), to the point that some authors have questioned that they had any real defensive purpose or value. However, rather than seeing the defensive and symbolic aspects as mutually exclusive, we should acknowledge that both perspectives complement each other, as also indicated by ethnographic analogies (Armit 2007). Caesar's account is full of references to the defensive and military role played by the *oppida*, which were able to act as operational bases that could accommodate numerous contingents of troops and as fortresses from which to resist a siege (Deyber 2013; Moret 2018).

Reflections on the functionality of fortifications are often limited to discussing their utility once built, without considering that the act of organising and carrying out the work may sometimes have been equally important, if not more so (Rieckhoff 2014; Woolf 1993). The implementation of these large-scale projects, the most ambitious collective tasks undertaken by Iron Age communities, would have required a major effort of planning and prior preparation, not to mention considerable coordination and an ability to mobilise human and natural resources. In this way, their construction and maintenance constituted an efficient means of reproducing power and dependency relations, at the same time as establishing and consolidating feelings of collective identity (Fig. 5).

In addition to being material, the limits set by the *oppida*'s defenses would also have been immaterial, perhaps endowed with similar notions to that of the Roman *pomerium* (Fichtl 2005b). The discovery of burials, human or ani-

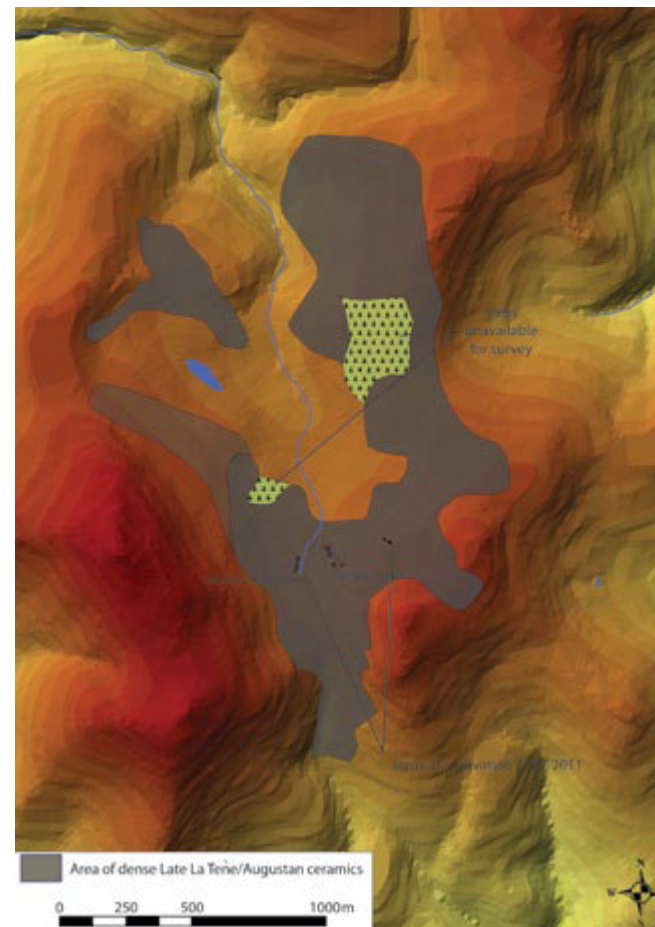


Figure 4
Plan of extent of Sources des l'Yonne agglomeration near *Bibracte* as identified from Dressel 1 and other ceramic finds (after Moore and Ponroy 2014).

mal bones and depositions of diverse objects – iron tools, coins, weapons, etc. – inside or close to the fortifications confirms that rituals were carried out there, indicating that walls, ditches and gates had a legal, political and sacred significance similar to that seen in the Mediterranean areas (Nicolai 2014).



Figure 5
The monumental fortification wall of the Otzenhausen *oppidum* (photo: Fernández-Götz).



4. Low-density urbanism and open spaces

Together with their impressive fortifications, the main characteristic of the *oppida* is their large size, covering several dozens, hundreds or even more than 1,000 hectares. Due to the limitations that this imposes on excavations, we have only a very limited knowledge of their internal occupation. Even in the case of Manching, the most-extensively researched *oppidum*, less than 10% of its inner area has been excavated (Sievers 2007). Although geophysical surveys and airborne techniques such as LIDAR are helping to overcome this shortage, it remains very difficult to establish how many people lived permanently within the *oppida*. Demographical estimations fluctuate between 1,000 and 20,000 inhabitants. Realistic figures of 5,000-10,000 inhabitants have been proposed for both Manching and *Bibracte*, which would result in a population density of 13-26 inhabitants per hectare in the case of Manching (380 hectares) and 37-74 for the second fortification phase of *Bibracte* (135 hectares).

What seems clear is that even those sites with a significant internal occupation (e.g. Manching, *Bibracte*, Corent, Titelberg, Martberg) present large free areas inside the fortified space. The rather low-density population figures and the existence of open spaces and often agricultural fields have been used by some authors as an argument to deny the urban character of the *oppida*. However, this would be misleading, since throughout history many urban sites have been characterised by low-density occupation of often fewer than 50 people per hectare. R. Fletcher (2009) has defined this as 'low-density' urbanism, which represents an alternative to the traditional notion of concentrated, densely occupied urban sites. Famous examples of low-density urbanism worldwide are Angkor, Cahokia and Great Zimbabwe, but a significant number of Late Pre-historic European sites can also be added to the list. As indicated by Fletcher himself, the Late Iron Age *oppida* fit well into the notion of low-density urbanism, an idea that

has been recently developed by T. Moore (2017).

In this sense, the 'empty spaces' could serve a variety of economic and social purposes, from areas for agriculture to spaces for political assemblies and places of refuge in case of danger (Fernández-Götz 2018). More important than the number of people that lived permanently within the *oppida* was the role of these sites as central places and objects of identification for the populations of a wide rural environment. In a world where the immense majority of the population continued to live dispersed in the countryside, the *oppida* served as focal points of reference that were periodically visited by inhabitants of the rural hinterland on the occasion of markets, political celebrations and religious festivals.

5. From sacred locations to urban sites

During the course of the last few decades, archaeological research has identified an increasing number of public spaces for religious and political gatherings within the *oppida* (Fernández-Götz 2014a; Fichtl 2012b; Metzler *et al.* 2006). One of the best investigated examples is Titelberg, where a public space of 10 hectares was separated from the rest of the *oppidum* by a mudbrick wall and a ditch containing traces of ritual activities (Metzler *et al.* 2016) (Fig. 6). Evidence for political decision-making within the public space is provided by the presence of voting installations from the first half of the 1st century BC, whereas the enormous quantity of animal bones suggests the existence of large-scale communal feasting. A monumental building, developed in several stages on the highest point of the site, was finally transformed into an impressive Gallo-Roman temple in the early centuries AD.

The discovery of public places and sanctuaries at *oppida* such as Manching, Titelberg, Martberg, *Bibracte* and Corent sheds light on the political and religious life of Late Iron

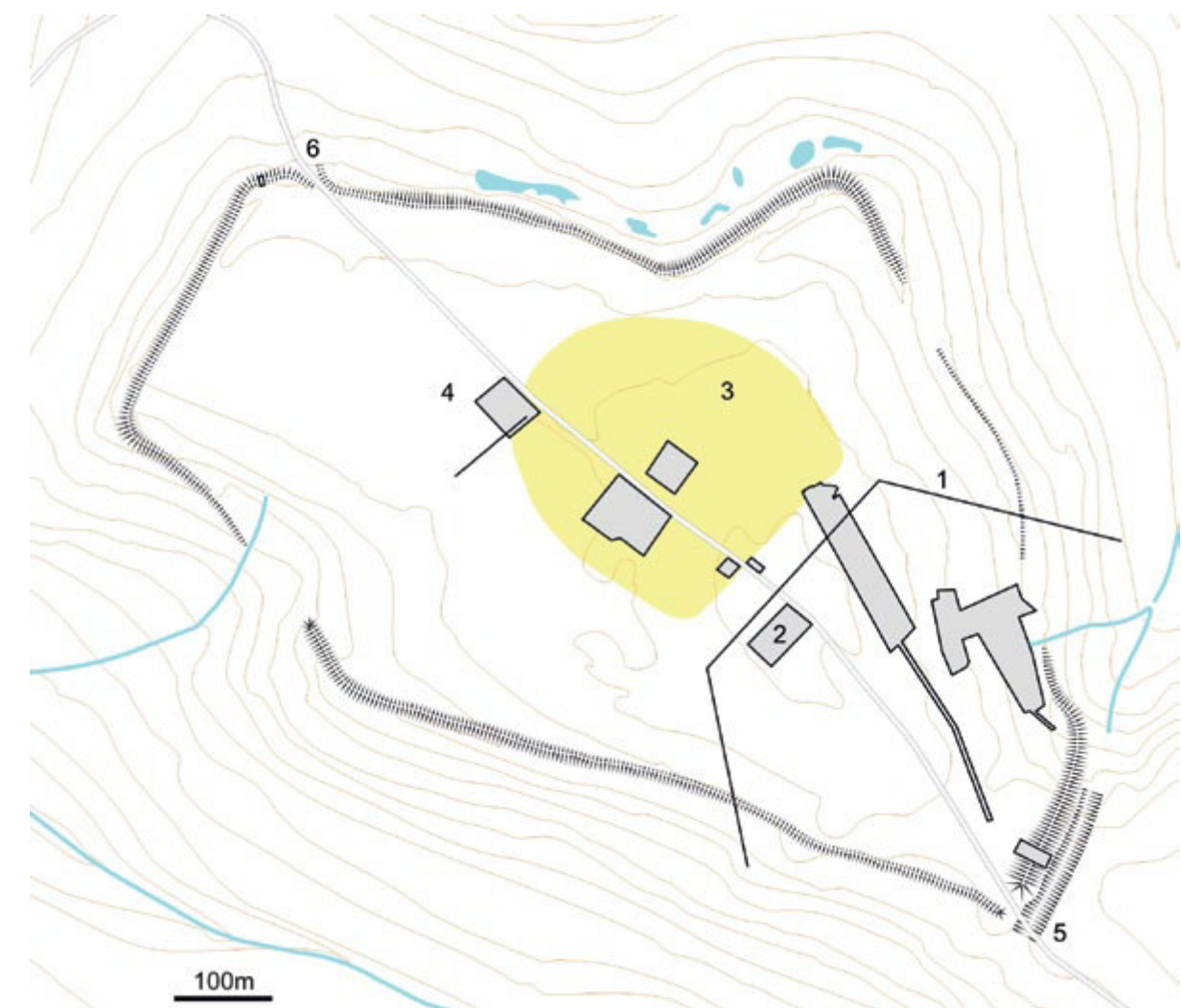


Figure 6
Plan of the Titelberg *oppidum* in Luxembourg: 1) cultic ditch that marks the boundary of the public space of ca. 10 ha; 2) excavation of the monumental centre (re-drawn after Metzler *et al.* 2006).



Age communities. These public spaces were fundamental arenas for interaction and collective negotiation. The enormous quantity of animal bones found at sites such as Titelberg, or the large number of wine amphorae documented at *Bibracte* and *Corent* provide evidence for communal festivals and banquets, probably linked to political assemblies, religious celebrations, and sometimes also fairs. In this sense, the public gatherings and celebrations held at the *oppida* must have been key elements in the construction of supra-local identities (Fernández-Götz and Roymans 2015). Written sources, particularly Caesar, describe the existence of political institutions such as public assemblies and senates among temperate European societies (Fernández-Götz 2014b), and it seems that many *oppida* acted as locations for those political bodies.

Going a step further, many temperate European *oppida* might have had their origin in spaces for ritual and political gatherings (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 2014b; Fichtl *et al.* 2000; Metzler *et al.* 2006). There are several sites at which the existence of a place for cult activities and assemblies preceded the concentration of a significant number of people or even the fortification of the area. This phenomenon is particularly evident at Manching. At the centre of this *oppidum* was temple A, the first phase of which dates back to the end of the 4th century BC (Sievers 2007). Nearby was a paved space that may have been used as a meeting place, and several votive deposits of materials dating from between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC (Fig. 7). The existence of a sanctuary pre-dating the development of an *oppidum* in the same location is also clearly visible at Gournay-sur-Aronde: While the famous sanctuary's origin lay in the 4th/3rd century BC, the *oppidum* itself did not develop until well into the 1st century BC (Brunaux *et al.* 1985). In the case of Moulay, the *oppidum* was preceded by a sanctuary from the 3rd century BC (Fichtl *et al.* 2016). At the *oppidum* of *Corent* the excavations indicate that the sanctuary was founded before the settlement developed (Poux 2012), whereas at *Bibracte* isotopic and dendro-

nological dating suggest that the public space known as 'La Terrasse' could have been established in the 3rd century BC (Fleischer and Rieckhoff 2002).

In the north-western Iberian Peninsula, for its part, the site of San Cibrán de Las in Galicia provides an exceptional case study of sacrality in the *longue durée* (Álvarez-González *et al.* 2017). Radiocarbon dates imply that the site was regularly frequented from at least the 4th century BC; however, the *oppidum* did not develop until the late 2nd/early 1st century BC, when a large fortification and the urban layout were established. The highest part, the so-called acropolis or *croa*, remained free of any living structure but was enclosed and separated from the rest of the *oppidum* by a wall (Fig. 8). Occupation in the *oppidum*

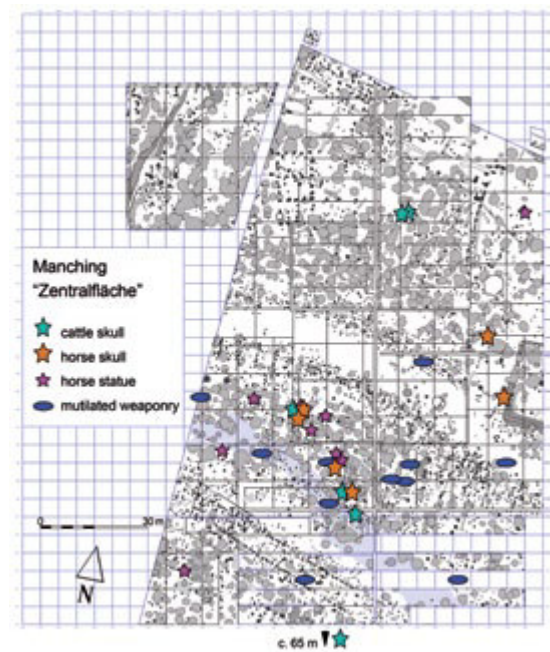


Figure 7
Manching. Distribution of deposited horse and cattle skulls, fragments of a horse statue and mutilated weaponry indicate the location of a sacred area in the centre of the settlement (H. Wendling).



Figure 8
Aerial view of the *oppidum* of San Cibrán de Las, with the enclosed area of the acropolis on the highest point (after Álvarez-González *et al.* 2017).

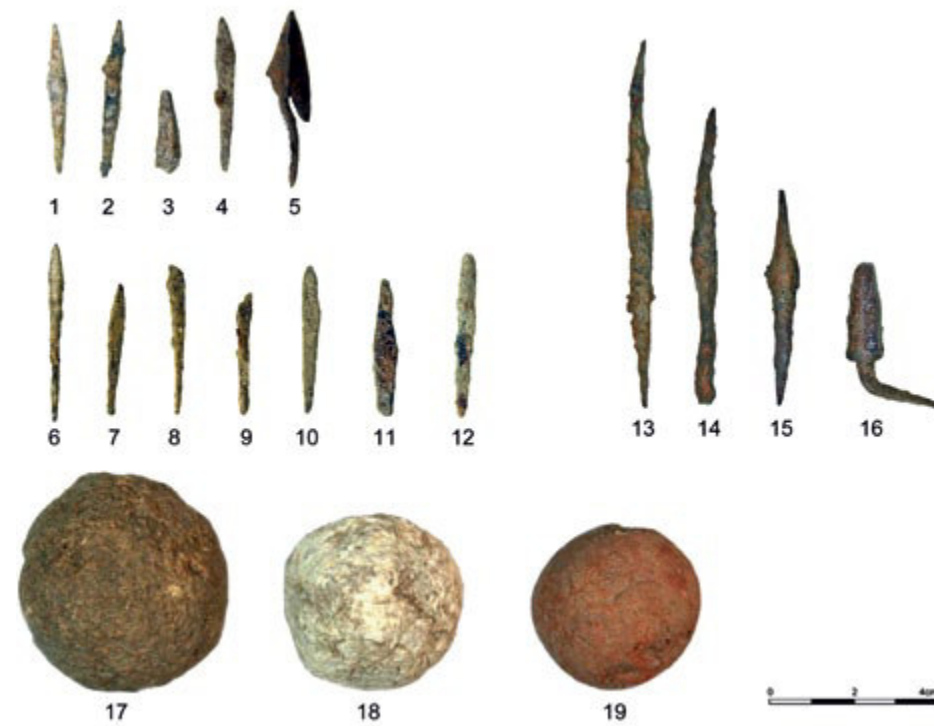


Figure 9
Selection of Roman projectiles found at Monte Bernorio (IMBEAC).

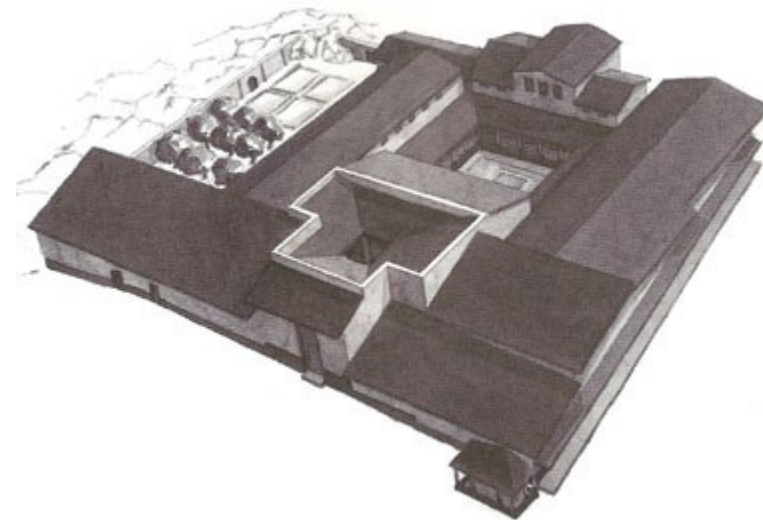


Figure 10
Bibracte, idealised reconstruction of the large *domus* of Parc aux Chevreaux 1, late 1st century BC (after Paunier and Luginbühl 2004).

declined in the Roman period, but several inscriptions on the acropolis refer to different deities that were worshiped there. It seems that the sacred significance of the acropolis of San Cibrán de Las can be traced back several centuries before the development of a large settlement, and continued after the *oppidum* was abandoned.

6. Into the Roman period: Continuities and ruptures

In most areas of temperate Europe the end of the *oppida* is related to the Roman conquest, which took place between the 2nd and the late 1st centuries BC in central-northern Iberia, from 58 to 51 BC in Gaul, and from AD 43 in Britain. Several *oppida* were conquered by the advancing Roman army, and although many of the sites continued to exist for a certain period of time, there are also examples of violent destruction followed by definitive abandonment. An example of the latter, the most violent outcome, is the attack and destruction of the *oppidum* of Monte Bernorio in northern Spain by the troops of Emperor Augustus during the Cantabrian Wars (Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2018) (Fig. 9).

This general framework related to the Roman conquest does not apply, however, to most regions east of the Rhine. The decline of the large *oppida* of southern Germany took place several decades before the arrival of the legions. The existence of a population hiatus has been proposed for southern Germany, and although this may not have been a complete depopulation, the Roman urban settlement patterns show little to no relationship with the previous Late Iron Age occupations (Rieckhoff 1995). In these regions, as well as in central Germany and the Czech Republic, the abandonment of the *oppida* in the course of the 1st century BC could have been related to the arrival of new populations from southern Poland and eastern Germany in the context of the historically documented migrations of 'Germanic' groups (Salač and Bemmann 2009; Wigg 1996).

Be that as it may, in most regions incorporated into the Roman Empire the military conquest did not automatically cause the end of the *oppida* (Fichtl 2005a; Paunier 2006). In fact, many Gallic *oppida* experienced a period of flourishing in the decades between 60 and 20 BC. In the case of Titelberg, excavations have identified an area in which Mediterranean merchants would have been established since before the Gallic Wars, and were joined in the third quarter of the 1st century BC by a Roman military presence (Metzler 2008). At *Bibracte*, for its part, we observe a direct Roman architectural influence after the conquest, as exemplified in some major aristocratic residential structures (Paunier and Luginbühl 2004; see Fig. 10) and a *basilica* following Roman prototypes (Szabó *et al.* 2007). But both Titelberg and *Bibracte* were finally replaced by new foundations on the plain in Augustan times: *Augusta Treverorum* and *Augustodunum*.

This chronology fits well within a pattern observed at a larger scale in Gaul, where the major break took place not at the time of the Caesarian conquest, but during the reign of Augustus. Between the last two decades of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD, numerous *oppida* were abandoned or experienced a significant decline. However, there are also some examples of long-term continuity of *oppida* that successfully developed and prospered during Roman times and even into later periods (e.g., Besançon, Bourges).

In global terms, it is possible to differentiate three different outcomes for the *oppida* following the Roman conquest (Fichtl 2005a):

- Transition from an *oppidum* to a significant Roman city on the same location, exercising an important administrative role for example as capital of a *civitas* (Langres, Metz, Besançon, Paris, Bourges, etc.).
- The conversion of an *oppidum* into a secondary agglomeration of variable size, but with a decline in importance.



- The abandonment of the *oppidum* in favor of a Roman city normally situated on the plain, as occurred in the archetypal case of the substitution of *Bibracte* by *Augustodunum* in central France or the move from Ulaca to Ávila in central Spain.

With regard to the causes of the decline of numerous *oppida*, the first motives we can mention are topographic and economic, concerning above all the 'mountain *oppida*'. Although from a macro-perspective many of these settlements were located on the major trading routes, on a micro-regional scale they did not occupy the best possible sites from a strictly economic point of view. Neither did their hilltop locations help them to adapt to the new order, and it is not by chance that almost all the new Roman establishments were on the plains, in positions better suited to the logic of trade and production. This circumstance was further aggravated by the restructuring of the roads under Augustus and Agrippa, which left numerous Gallic *oppida* marginalised. However, together with this already undoubtedly decisive factor, we also have to take into account the role that would sometimes have been played by the desire to establish new urban sites free from the inherent symbolism of the ancient Late La Tène power centres. This would have been a way of reinforcing the new socio-cultural order and of undermining possible attempts at resistance. Moreover, Rome brought an end to the intra- and inter-ethnic wars. This 'internal demilitarisation' made the old monumental fortifications obsolete, both from a practical and a symbolic point of view.

As an echo of their previous importance, the religious symbolism of the hilltop sites meant that many 'mountain *oppida*' continued to have temples developing during the first centuries AD despite the decline or even abandonment of their settlements. The Treveran territory is a particularly well-documented example of this phenomenon, with cases such as Titelberg, Martberg and Walendorf (Krause 2006; Metzler *et al.* 2016). Finally, some

ancient *oppida* locations such as *Bibracte* continued to be frequented in medieval, modern and even contemporary times for pilgrimages or fairs (Romero 2006). Nevertheless, their former role as key sceneries of political decision taking had been lost forever.

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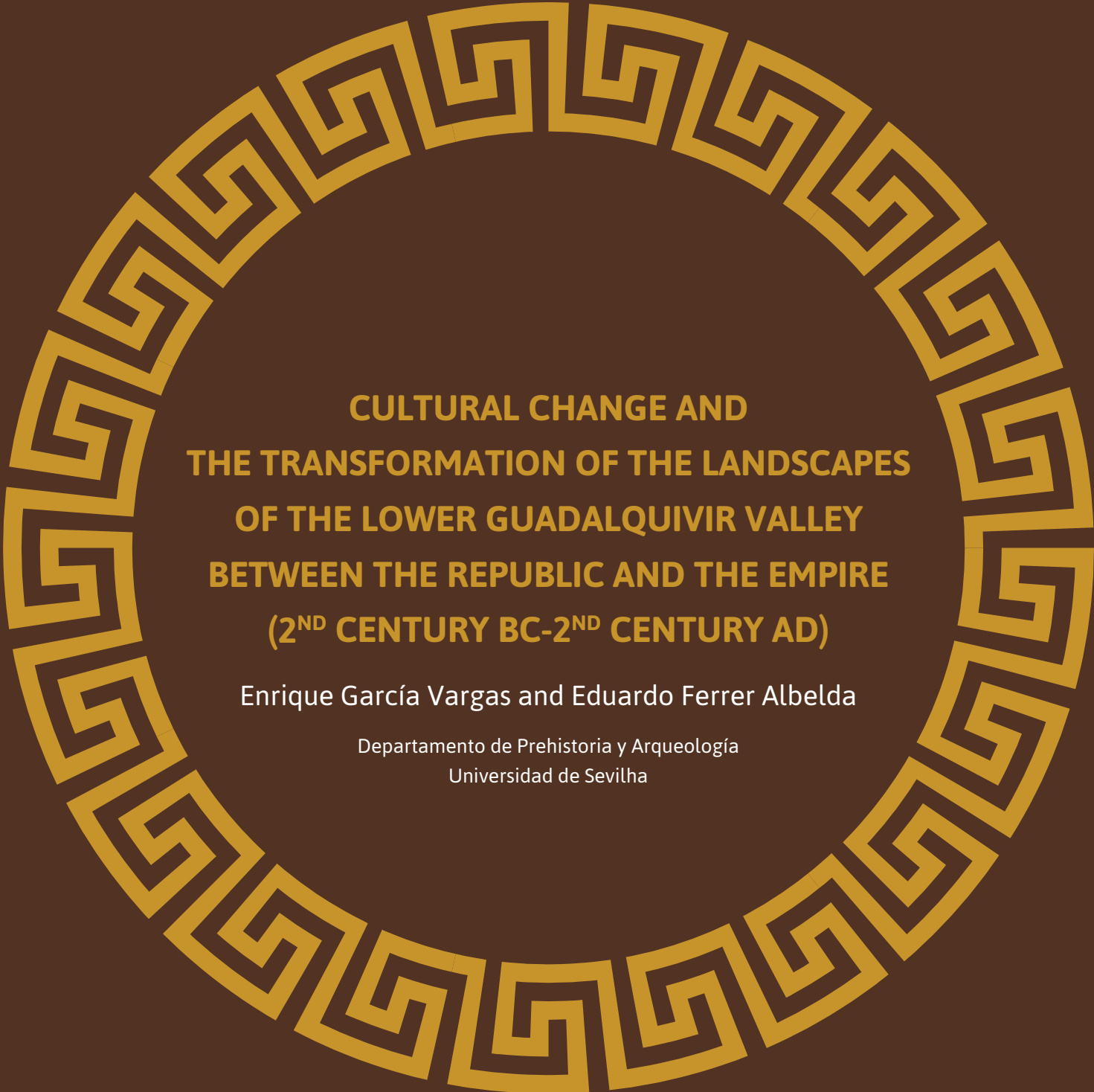
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**CULTURAL CHANGE AND
THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE LANDSCAPES
OF THE LOWER GUADALQUIVIR VALLEY
BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC AND THE EMPIRE
(2ND CENTURY BC-2ND CENTURY AD)**

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Cultural Change and the Transformation of the Landscapes of the Lower Guadalquivir Valley Between the Republic and the Empire (2nd century BC-2nd century AD)

Abstract

The present work aims to update two articles published a few years ago, presenting a archaeological perspective of the profound changes undergone by the territorial structures in the cultural landscapes the Lower Guadalquivir between the Roman conquest and the consolidation of the province of Baetica in the Flavian period. The territory under consideration is not a totally homogeneous geographical unit, and different areas may be distinguished:

- The northern shores of the *Lacus Ligustinus*, which were dominated by mining, the southern farmlands being fundamentally oriented towards the supply of the mining districts
- The riverine farmlands of the Guadalquivir, where the landscape evolved chiefly in connection with agricultural and stock-breeding activities, among which olive oil production became increasingly important. The commercialisation of olive oil largely depended on the navigability of the rivers (which has led us to extend our study to the valley of the Genil, bordering with the middle course of the Guadalquivir)
- The estuaries in the mouth of the Guadalquivir, which were dominated by fluvial canals and estuaries, extending as far as the farmlands of the Lower Guadalete.

The present article undertakes a general historical approach, but also pays attention to specific archaeological horizons which have been subject of recent archaeological research. These illustrate several important historical processes:

- The constitution of supraterritorial mining districts (mines of Aznalcollar and the lower Guadiamar valley).
- The transformations introduced in the landscape by the adoption of colonial centuriations (*Astigi* = Écija).
- The changes in the landscape introduced by Roman territorial organisation models and market-oriented agricultural practices (*Hasta Regia* = Mesas de Asta, em Jeréz de la Frontera)

Resumo

O trabalho que apresentamos pretende ser uma actualização dos artigos publicados há já uns anos pelos autores e que se dedicaram ao estudo, numa perspectiva arqueológica, das profundas mudanças verificadas nas estruturas territoriais e nas paisagens culturais do Baixo Guadalquivir entre a conquista romana e a consolidação da província da Bética a partir da época flávia. O território considerado não é uma unidade fisiográfica completamente homogênea, podendo-se diferenciar ao menos três áreas bem destacadas:

- A margem septentrional do *Lacus Ligustinus*, de vocação fundamentalmente mineira, mas com campos meridionais dedicados ao sustento e aprovisionamento alimentar das áreas mineiras.
 - Os campos ribeirinhos do Guadalquivir, onde a evolução paisagística está fundamentalmente ligada à exploração agro-pecuária, com um predomínio evidente e crescente do cultivo da oliveira e da produção do azeite, sendo este muito dependente, na sua comercialização, da navegabilidade dos rios (o que faz com que, neste ponto, o nosso estudo se estenda para Leste até atingir o vale do Genil, no limite com o Guadalquivir médio)
 - Os estuários da foz do Guadalquivir, com uma paisagem dominada pelos canais e esteiros fluviais e alargado neste caso até aos campos do Baixo Guadalete.
- No presente trabalho, apresenta-se um percurso histórico-geográfico de carácter geral, mas também casos específicos que têm sido objecto de estudos arqueológicos recentes e que podem concretizar e ilustrar situações históricas fundamentais, como:
- A constituição dos espaços mineiros extraterritoriais (minas de Aznalcollar e ribeira do baixo Guadiamar).
 - As mudanças paisagísticas derivadas da implantação colonial, com as respectivas centuriacões (*Astigi* = Écija).
 - As transformações paisagísticas relacionadas com a ordenação territorial romana e a exploração agrícola com vista à exploração comercial dos seus frutos (*Astigi* e *Hasta Regia* = Mesas de Asta, em Jerez de la Frontera)

1. Introduction: the origins of urbanisation in the Lower Guadalquivir Valley

In the historiography of the Turdetania-Baetica, the urbanisation of the region is often linked with the process of Romanisation. Behind this historical narrative lie the attempts of Greek and Roman authors to claim the spread of civilisation in the West for their own cultures, beginning with the mythical endeavours of Herakles-Hercules, who was the precursor of the substitution of order for chaos in the region. However, this narrative was not undisputed, and certain Classical authors, for instance Strabo, claimed that the Turdetanian and Phoenician cultures had already laid the foundations for a civilisation, the features of which the Augustan public could recognise: urbanisation, Latinisation, peace and prosperity.

Both narratives are little more than *a posteriori* ideological constructs, as opposed to the result of archaeological analysis. In contrast, the present contribution makes use of the scarce written sources and the abundant archaeological evidence to undertake a territorial analysis of the Guadalquivir Valley, and to propose various hypotheses concerning the occupation of this territory.

To begin, we suggest that the geomorphological and agricultural conditions were determinant factors in the occupation and exploitation of this landscape throughout Prehistory and Antiquity. Indeed, these conditions were especially significant for the population of the Guadalquivir Valley. Although some areas remained virtually untouched by human hand until the Modern Age (e.g. the western coast and the margins of the Guadalquivir marshes), other areas were populated without interruption from the Neo-

lithic onwards (estuaries). As such, there is no single population model, but rather multiple models which relate to the quality of the soil, orography, and the proximity of communication routes (rivers, estuaries), mines and harbours².

The proximity of rivers and mines, in addition to the fertility of the soil, led to the early emergence of various kinds of urban structure in the vicinity of the *Baetis* (Guadalquivir): domestic settlements, which were located on high ground, on the right bank of the river (*Ilipa*, a pre-Roman *Italica*, *Osset*, *Caura*); and *emporia* (Cerro Macareno, **Spal*), located on the alluvial plain, on the left bank, which were characterised by abundant commercial and industrial facilities³. The function of the commercial and industrial centres was to redistribute foodstuffs and to channel commercial relations between Phoenician cities and the settlements located up-river, in the Alcores and the farmlands that sprawled on either side of the tributaries of the Guadalquivir⁴.

In the mining areas, occupation patterns changed depending on the strategies used to transport the minerals and to control reserves, which during the Roman period are known to have been established abroad, and not at a local level, since mineral extraction was policed directly by the Roman state. Archaeological surveys have demonstrated that the Guadiamar River (known as *Mainoba* during Antiquity) was made navigable during the imperial period, and that prior to the arrival of the Romans, connections between mines and fortresses were horizontal (E-W), instead of vertical (N-S). The transition between these models was heralded by changes in territorial control strategies, and the substitution of the newly founded Roman *Italica* for



the pre-Roman *Ilipa Magna* (Alcalá del Río, Seville).

During the pre-Roman periods, various processes of urbanisation unfolded in the farmlands and riverside areas to the south-east of the river, the occupation of which dated back to the adoption of productive economic strategies, and also to the north-east of the river, where cities were few and were located dozens of kilometres from the river (Tejada la Vieja, *Iptuci*, related to E-W mining routes). We also have clear evidence for dense habitation on the inner shores of the estuary of the Guadalquivir (Carambolo, Seville), where the earliest settlements do not pre-date, and seem to be a direct consequence of Phoenician colonisation (9th century BC).

The early foundation in El Carambolo of a Phoenician sanctuary provides us with a glimpse into the interactions with the local population: the Phoenician presence was a catalyser for processes of synoecism which, from the 8th century BC onwards, crystallised in the emergence of urban structures, the basic features of which (materials, techniques and designs) responded to Near-Eastern models⁵.

2. The city, its territory and resources during the Roman period (2nd century BC-2nd century AD)

The list of cities in the *Conuentus Hispalensis* presented by Pliny (*NH.* 31.3.11) is organised geographically around the Guadalquivir and the rivers that converged on the great estuary known as *lacus Ligustinus*⁶ (fig. 1). Aside from the *oppida* located up-river from *Ilipa*, this list includes *Ilipa* (Alcalá del Río), *Italica* (Santiponce), *Hispalis* (Seville) and *Osset* (San Juan de Aznalfarache) (cf. *Str.* 3.2.2), as well as ports located along the lower course of the river, and also *Oripo* (Torre de los Herberos, Dos Hermanas) and *Caura* (Coria), which were located on both banks of the river mouth. The remaining cities are mentioned in relation to



Figure 1
Cities in the *Conuentus Hispalensis* presented by Plinius.

the *Maenuba* (Guadamar), which was a navigable river to the west to the Guadalquivir, and the estuaries that converged on the southern shore of the *lacus Ligustinus*. The cities located near the *lacus Ligustinus* are *Nabrissa* (Lebrija), *Colobana* (*Conobaria*: Las Cabezas de San Juan) and *Hasta Regia* (Mesas de Asta, Jerez de la Frontera); the cities located near the course of the *Maenuba*, which are listed in the following paragraph (31.3.12), are *Olontigi* (Aznalcázar?), *Laelia* (Cerro de la Cabeza, Olivares) and *Lastigi* (Aznalcóllar?).

2.1. The western bank of the *Lacus Ligustinus* and the emergence of a 'mining' territorial model

Although the earliest modern landscape studies in the region focused on the north-western sector of the province of Seville⁷, later research efforts paid little attention to the area, which remains largely understudied from an archaeological point of view. This oversight was not corrected until after the so-called Guadamar 'catastrophe', when a large pool of residual water full of mineral waste collapsed, gravely polluting the course of the river between

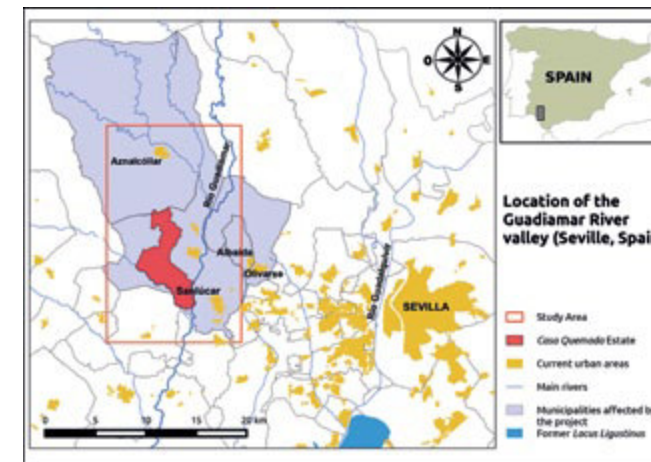


Figure 2
Guadamar Project area⁸.

the Aznalcollar mines and the point where the Guadamar runs into the Guadalquivir. The works carried out to repair the damage done to the natural environment in the area and associated geophysical and land surveys meant that the investigation of the historical dynamics governing the landscapes around the Guadamar resumed. The results of this research (fig. 2) have yet to be published⁸, but the information available to date confirms the overarching importance of mining⁹: it has been the most important factor in terms of the landscape, from Protohistory onwards, and indeed this is still the case even today.

The crucial role played by mining in the landscapes of the Guadamar, even during periods in which little or no mining activity was undertaken, is articulated around three key elements: the mines, to the north of the area; the 'conurbation' of *Laelia*, to the south-east; and the transversal fluvial axis formed by the streams of Chichina and Tejada,

A/B AMORES, Fernando et al. *Los paisajes del Guadamar. Reconstrucción histórica y valoración arqueológica*. Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla and Fundación FOCUS-ABENGOA.

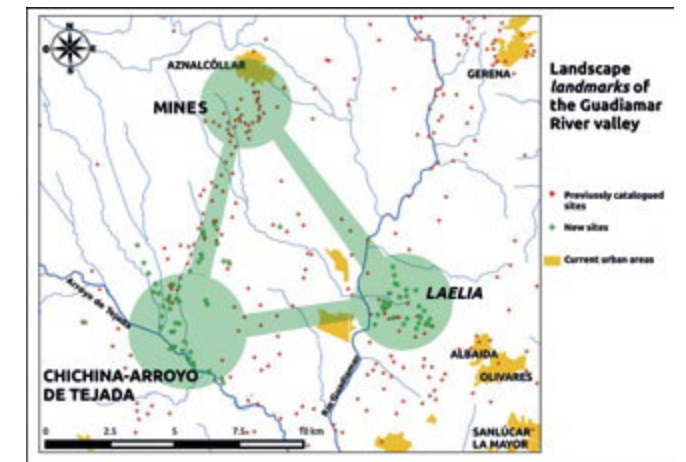


Figure 3
The landscapes of the Guadamar valley: the mines, the 'conurbation' of *Laelia*, and the axis of Chichina and Tejada (Amores et al. Forthcoming)⁹.

to the south-west (fig. 3)¹⁰. During the final years of the Republic and at the beginning of the Empire, the orientation of communication and settlement, which had previously drawn horizontal lines between Tejada and the Guadamar and between the middle course of the Guadamar and the Guadalquivir, towards *Ilipa*, changed drastically: the foundation of the Roman settlement of *Italica* led to the constitution of a vertical axis which stretched up to *Maenuba*, and this resulted in the spectacular growth of the conurbation of *Laelia* (fig. 4) and the decline in links with Tierra Llana via the stream of Tejada. In parallel, the number of rural settlements on the farmlands of the Guadamar increased significantly, apparently owing to the need to supply the mining areas to the north (thus constituting a classic relationship between mining regions and farmlands¹¹).

The occupation model prevailing in nearby mining districts which also used rivers as communication routes between the mines and the cities would likely have differed little from that defined by recent research in the Guadamar



Figure 4
Laelia, Cerro de la Cabeza (Olivares, Seville).

area. If this hypothesis is true, the exploitation of the mines to the south-west would justify the efforts undertaken in relation to the territorial organisation and colonisation of an area which, theretofore, had remained but scarcely populated. Settlement was organised along the river courses that linked each mining area with a central *oppidum* (Laelia and the Guadiamar; *Ilipla* and the Tinto, *Myrtilis* and the Guadiana) and the terrestrial route (Antonine Itinerary 431.8 ff) that linked many of these *oppida* with one another, passing through *Onuba*, *Ilipla*, *Ituci* and *Laelia*.

Although, in general, the Turdetanian settlement pattern seems to have been barely affected, at least as far as the main population nuclei are concerned, the new role of these settlements as receptors of mineral and suppliers of the mining districts led over time to the vertical organisation of the landscape. This then led to large-scale changes in the way the territory was organised, especially concerning the definition of large non-territorialised areas which had to be supplied from outside¹².

2.2. The valleys of the Guadalquivir and the Genil and their agricultural model: continuity and rupture

Matters were also changing in the farmlands of the Guadalquivir, where prior to the Roman occupation indigenous cities such as *Carma* (Carmona) and *Ilipa Magna* (Alcalá del Río), reigned uncontested. Recent research by the Anglo-Spanish team led by Simon Key has stressed, based on intervisibility patterns (fig. 5), the political importance of *Carma* in the Turdetanian ethno-political mosaic, which is also indicated in *Carma's* agrarian *centuriae* of an inscription reported as have been discovered in the city by the end of 18th century and now missing (CIL II, 128). Towards the north, the territory of the city extended between the *Baetis* and the territory of *Munigua*; to the south, it reached as far as the end of the Alcor (Gandul); to the east, it reached the *Singilis* River (Genil) towards *Segovia* (Isla del Castillo, Écija); and to the west, it stretched as far as *Ilipa Magna*. The cognomen *Magna* indicates that *Ilipa* also played a significant role in the Turdetanian socio-political structure. F. Chaves's work¹³ on the distribution of *Ilipa's* coinage and P. Garrido *et al.* research¹⁴ on settlement patterns suggest that *Ilipa's* sphere of influence extended towards the north-west of the river, and was connected with the mining district of the higher course of the Guadiamar; a number of intermediate settlements probably channelled the metal towards the Guadalquivir and *Ilipa*, upriver from which the Guadalquivir is no longer navigable.

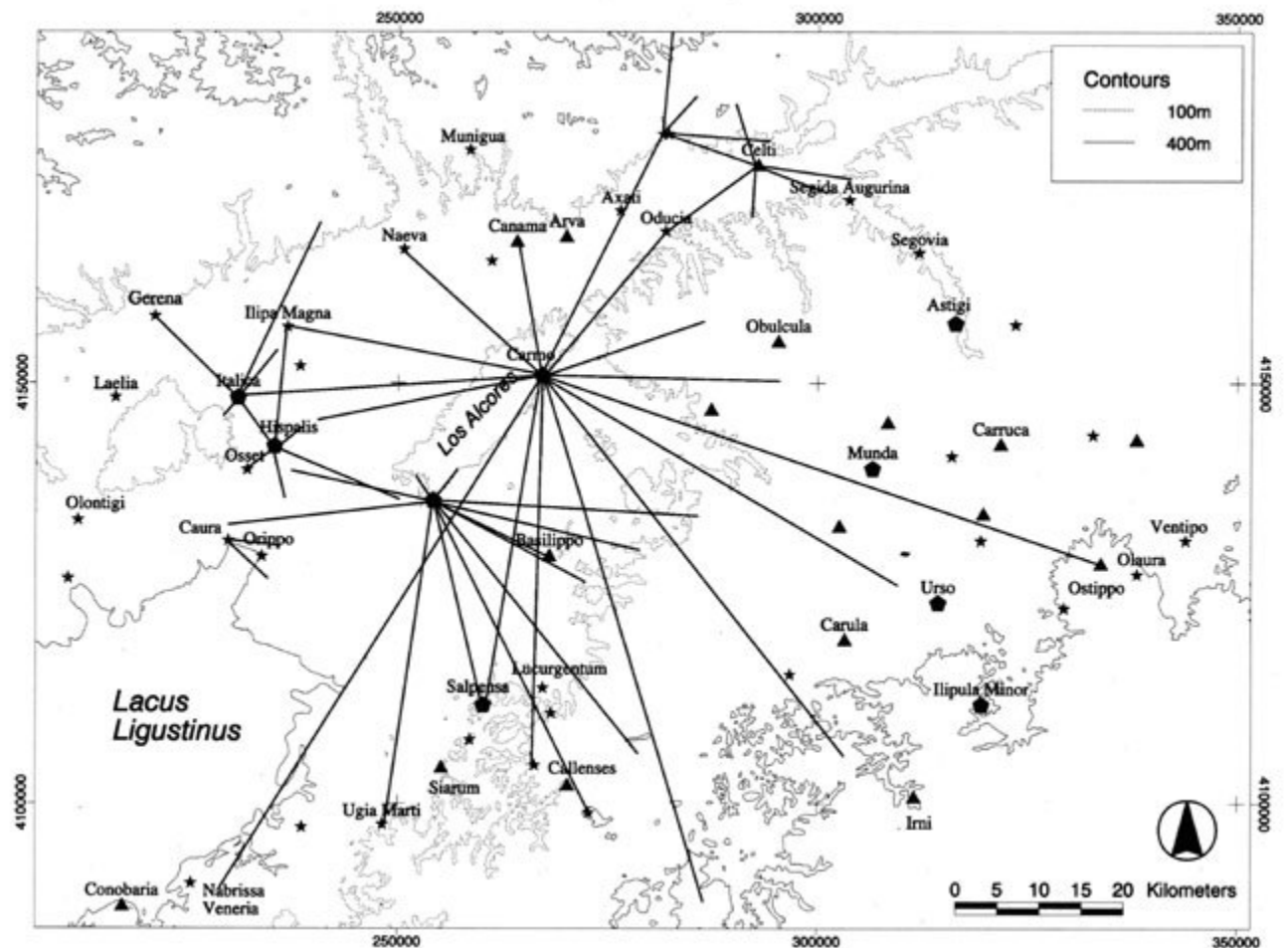


Figure 5
Intervisibility patterns from *Carma*.

C KEAY, Simon, WEATHLEY, David and POPPY, Sarah. The territory of Carmona during the Turdetanian and Roman periods: some preliminary notes about visibility and urban location. In CABALLOS RUFINO, Antonio, ed. *Carmona romana*. Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla and Excmo. Ayto de Carmona, 2001, p. 543-564.



The coins from both cities (fig. 6.1 and 2) depict an ear of wheat¹⁵, which emphasises (if numismatic iconography and actual economic activity can be linked with any degree of certainty) the city's role as the breadbasket of the mining regions, thus stressing the classic model of regional complementarity (*supra*).

Concerning the organisation of the territory, the foundation of *Italica* in 205 BC (immediately after the Punic Wars) seems to have been the catalyst for significant changes to the exploitation of the mining area at the easternmost tip of the Iberian Pyrite Belt, which now revolved around *Italica*. P. Garrido *et al.* have gone so far as to suggest the construction of a line of fortifications between the mines of Aznalcóllar and *Italica*, which would have replaced the fortresses that were theoretically subordinate to *Ilipa* and would have controlled access to the mining areas during the II Iron Age¹⁶. Similar defensive systems have been attested in other mining areas, such as Riotinto, which were also reorganised in the aftermath of the Punic Wars. From this time onwards, and throughout the Republican period, some changes were also made within the mining districts, where vertical communication routes towards *Laelia* replace, to a large extent, the transversal routes that had previously articulated the territory during the pre-Roman period.

However, the thorough reorganisation of this large region, which went beyond the basic changes introduced in the aftermath of the conquest, could not be undertaken until the Roman presence was more firmly grounded. In fact, archaeological surveys of the area to the south of the Guadalquivir, from the Alcores to the Genil, have confirmed some degree of continuity of Turdetanian rural settlement patterns (despite the destruction of the less pliable *oppida*)¹⁷. This situation did not begin to change until the second half of the 1st century BC, but the Romanisation of material culture and social structures are clearly visible by the last third of the 2nd century BC.



Figure 6
Coins of *Carmo* (1), *Ilipa Magna* (2 y 3) and *Cunbaria* (4).

However, underneath this apparent cultural homogeneity, there was a substantial degree of ethnic diversity, which affected settlement patterns, at least until the implementation of Caesar's homogenising project.

Although for the purposes of this paper, we must limit ourselves, it is worth noting that the well-defined ethnic areas apart from some well defined ethnic areas in the periphery of the territory as Turdulan and Celtic Baeturia (outside our strict area of study), toponymy, the written sources and sometimes also inscriptions, attest to the attest in the core area of Guadalquivir valley to a certain mix of ethnic identities with the existence of clear Celtic and even Semitic substrata alongside the dominant Tartessian element, at least in the most important cities. Sometimes, for instance in *Carmo* and *Ilipa*, the three elements appear to coexist in the same settlement. It is uncertain when this coexistence came about, or how it was articulated, but it has been suggested¹⁸ that the famous *centuriae* from *Carmo*, in an inscription dedicated to Ceres (*supra*), are related (despite its latinized name) to a typically Celtic kinship-based organisation of the territory; even in such a 'Turdetanian' centre as *Ilipa*, Neo-Punic language was

used¹⁹, and the legend on the city's coins (ILSE²⁰: fig. 6.3) may suggest an alliance with local Celtic elements, if the interpretation of these coins as a joint *Ilipa/Segida* production is correct.

It is clear that the names of certain *oppida*, such as *Segovia*, *Segida* (both on the *Singilis*) and *Celti* (on the *Baetis*) are of Celtic origin. This Celtic footprint²¹ is also attested in the peripheral territories, where some unadulterated Celtic ethnonyms have been noted and whose organisation must have resembled more that of *civitates sine oppidis* than that of highly urbanised territories²². It is interesting to note that Julius Caesar's reorganisation of the territory had a greater impact on these poorly urbanised, but strategically important, territories. As pointed out by María Luisa Cortijo²³, the defence of the territory was organised by Cesar whereas Augustus undertook the internal reorganisation of the territory.

According to toponymy and the written record, some of these strategically important settlements (they controlled access to the Guadalquivir Valley), were Celtic in nature, and now began adopting Caesarian *cognomina*: e.g. *Ilenses*, *Lulenses*, *Seareses Fortunales*, *Callenses Aeneanici*, which indicates that they were given special status and that, since these toponyms must in fact be regarded as ethnonyms, their degree of urbanisation was not particularly advanced. The subsequent division of the *Aeneanici* between the *conventus* of *Hispalis*, *Gades* and *Astigi*, and the eventual assignation of an *oppidum* to each part of the territory of the *Callenses* suggests that the administration wished to ultimately replace this kinship system with a more 'political' system²⁴.

Even in the territory of *Carmo*, a late piece of epigraphic (*supra*) evidence such as the Ceres inscription (which has been dated to the Flavian period) could be interpreted as evidence for the fossilisation of the local religious organisation of a past ethnic-based territorial division of a

'Celtic' nature, as has been suggested by G. Chic Garcia²⁵. However, by the Flavian period, the process of Romanisation had completely erased the effective elements of this territorial organisation, and they were replaced with a typically Roman model.

The fact that the province was granted the *ius latii* during Vespasian's reign 'certifies' the culmination of the Romanisation process, and this coincided with the disappearance of the last epigraphic testimonies of pre-Roman personal names²⁶. These final legal changes, however, could not have occurred without the deep structural transformation that had been taking place since the Augustan period. The reasons behind the Vespasian's edict of municipalization likely include the need to increase tax collection and to bind local elites to their communities in order to make them responsible for their financial autonomy; this was only possible long after these communities had adopted Roman organisation models. Some of them were, effectively, Roman communities – colonies and *municipia* – while other had already adopted Roman models for their magistracies and their socio-economic and territorial organisation.

Indeed, Augustus' territorial policy involved the division of the former *Ulterior* province into two new provinces: *Baetica* and *Lusitania*. This was followed by the creation of a large number of colonies inhabited by the veterans of the Cantabrian wars, which came to an end in 19 BC. It was for this reason that, earlier, we spoke about Augustus' work on organising the interior of the region, the boundaries of which had previously been organised by Caesar (who fortified the main communication routes). However, these structural changes²⁷, which are indicative of a wide-ranging territorial outlook, went beyond the creation of the aforementioned colonial settlements, and also included two infrastructure projects that were to determine the regional landscape for a long time to come: the construction of the *via Augusta* and the refurbishment of the



Guadalquivir to increase its navigability²⁸. Neither of these measures was novel. The river was navigable to the end of the estuary –that is, as far as *Ilipa Magna*– but the construction of transversal dykes and parallel retaining walls made the river navigable as far as the provincial capital (although only by flat-bottomed craft); these works were completed with the construction of longitudinal roads alongside the river banks. The road that was to become the *via Augusta*, on the other hand²⁹, already ran alongside the Guadalquivir (some sections ran along the southern, and others along the northern bank), connecting the riverine territories. Now, as well as being paved and neatly outlined, the road diverted from its original route to reach strategic points, such as the newly founded *Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi* (Écija, Seville), located at the point where the *Singilis* River (modern Genil, which is the main tributary of the Guadalquivir) became navigable. This was a substantial diversion from the original route; as a result, the road no longer crossed the *Singilis* at the old city of *Segovia*, which was now a stipendiary community, but at the new colony, which was to become the new point of reference at the territorial level.

The new settlers of *Astigi* were veterans of the VI *Victrix*, IV *macedonica* and II *Pansiana* or *Augusta*³⁰, and must have arrived in approximately AD 14. It is well known that the arrival of a colonial contingent (formed by around 3000 men) involved not only the definition of an urban *pomerium* and the assignation of a plot of land to each colonist for the construction of their home, but also of a rural property for cultivation. The size and quality of the land granted depended on the social category of the recipient, which was, in turn, related to his military rank. In this case, however, the important point is not the personal lot of each of the recipients, but the large-scale agronomic operation that this allocation involved; large land units were subdivided (*limitatio*) into smaller plots (*divisio*), which were distributed among the colonist (*divisio*). This distribution followed a regular geometric pattern; the basic unit was a

square-shaped plot of land or *centuria* (hence the name of the operation: *centuriatio* or centuriation), each side measuring 20 *actus* (1 *actus*: 710 m). These *centuriae* were then subdivided into smaller plots, which were then distributed among the colonists³¹.

The impact of these operations on the landscape must have been enormous. They generated an orthogonal landscape, in which the roads (*cardines*, *decumani*) and drainage channels ran alongside agricultural boundaries. Centuriation tended to promote dispersed rural settlement patterns (as the distribution began on the outside margins (*limitatio*) in order to force the colonists to be on the land as much as possible. Initially, these colonists lived in *tuguria* (from *tego*, which were small huts covered by *tegulae*) that, over time, turned into veritable *villae* (in fact, *fundus* and *villa* were considered the two inseparable elements of a single unit).

Using various computer techniques, P. Sáez Fernández's team detected³² an area of *centuria* (fig. 7) located to the south-east of *Astigi*. This centuriated area was, obviously, only a minor part of the initial territorium of the city whose complete extension has been supposed to roughly coincide with the extension of the territory mentioned (1264) in the repopulation documents (*repartimiento*) dating to the time after the christian conquest to spanish muslims.

The location of these *centuria*, which is, inevitably, very eschematic owing to the limited information available, was based on the fossilisation of old roads and land boundaries, which can be detected on historical maps and aerial and satellite photography. It is, however, impossible to reconstruct the irregular spaces that all centuriation processes involved: *subcesiva* or 'cut outs'; public land, belonging to the state or the colony; pre-existing properties that were not encroached upon by the centuriation process, which formed small (or large) 'leopard spot' patterns within the regular pattern of the centuriation; and, public *silvae* and *pascua*.



Figure 7
Centuration of Astigi⁰.

D SÁEZ FERNÁNDEZ, Pedro, ORDÓÑEZ AGULLA, S. and GARCÍA-DILS DE LA VEGA, Sergio. Carta arqueológica municipal de Écija. 2. El territorio (Sevilla 2011). Unpublished Document, Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía.



Another source of evidence concerning the *territorium* of Écija is the large number of pottery workshops, which specialised in the production of Dressel 20 amphorae, found on the banks of the Genil³³. Amphoric epigraphy, which mentions the *figlinae* and oil presses located on both river banks –*Scimniana, Catoniana, Suburbana, Segoviana* etc.– has provided valuable information about the local toponymy of the area between Écija and Palma del Río (Córdoba), where the Genil flows into the Guadalquivir. From the 1st century AD onwards, the state met its logistic needs by acquiring large quantities of Baetican olive oil, and this led to increased prosperity for the cultivators and indirectly, unless they were the same people (sometimes, the expressions *ex fundo* and *ex figlina* found on the amphorae are fully interchangeable), also the amphora manufacturers who populated this typically rural context, which was characterised by disperse production nuclei. From the late 2nd century AD onwards, these same inscriptions reveal radical changes in the status of the workshops, which were then occasionally related to the employment of *coloni*³⁴, and the property of which tended to be concentrated in a few hands³⁵. This process must not be confused with the constitution of large agricultural properties, as during this period properties tended to be scattered across the land, forming relatively small units.

2.3. The estuaries at the mouth of the Guadalquivir: the early Romanisation of an inter-tidal region

According to Pliny (31.3.11), the most important urban nuclei along the estuary of the Guadalquivir were the *oppida* of *Nabrissa* and *Conobaria* and the colony of *Hasta*. *Hasta* and *Nabrissa* feature a century earlier in Strabo (3.2.5), who also claimed that these communities had thrived on the back of the tidal dynamics which facilitated navigation towards the interior, and that the local population had improved navigation by building canals between estuaries and rivers. This account effectively describes the

region, which was characterised by marshlands and deep estuaries, a landscape in which the land was intertwined with the maritime and fluvial dynamics.

In this region, between the Guadalquivir and the Bay of Cádiz, Roman settlement models emerged much earlier than in the interior of the valley. Older and more recent archaeological surveys³⁶ have revealed the considerable presence of Campanian wares and Republican amphorae in the rural settlements near El Cuervo, El Bujón and Trebujena, which probably belonged to the colonial *perita* of *Hasta Regia*.

While the centuriations related to *Colonia Hasta Regia Felix* have not been detected securely, J. Rodríguez Mellado's study –using SIG technology to explore optimal settlement areas and routes (SO-NE)– strongly suggests that the territory to the south of the colony was divided into a geometric pattern. It has been repeatedly argued that this territory presents ideal conditions for the practice of viticulture³⁷; in addition to this, the presence of oil presses and pottery workshops, which specialised in the production of ovoid amphorae, especially imitations of the Dressel 1 type, as well as many examples of the 4.3.3.3 type (wine containers too?)³⁸; good communication facilities (the *via Augusta*) and the proximity of the *Portus Gaditanus*³⁹, provided an ideal setting for market-oriented enterprises. However, we suggest that the hypothesis which has been put forward concerning the cultivation of vines with the aid of wooden structures (*cum pedamentum*) instead of the traditional cultivation system is insufficiently supported by the available evidence⁴⁰. We believe that arguing for the use of this agricultural model on the basis of the Italian origin of the colonists, or the ideal optimal solutions presented in Latin agronomical treatises (*uineas/riparia*) (especially Columella) is very risky without an accompanying in-depth morphological study of the territory.

At any rate, inscriptions such as that found in Bonanza (Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Cádiz)⁴¹, at the modern mouth of the river, which mentions a *fundus Baianus, qui est in agro qui Venerensis vocatur, pago Olbensi*, suggests that this territory, as was the case for those farmlands to the south of the Guadalquivir (where several inscriptions mentions *pagi*⁴²), or at least the territory which had colonial status, was divided according to the classic Roman land-division models⁴³, and that the settlement pattern was similarly organised in *villae* and *vici*. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that this process took place much earlier around the estuary than was the case further inland⁴⁴.

Concerning the role played by the maritime-fluvial environment in transport and trade, it may be necessary to investigate the monetary emissions of *Conobaria* or *Cunbaria* (Las Cabezas de San Juan, Seville)⁴⁵. During the late 2nd century BC, and by the mid-1st century BC this city issued a series of bronze coins featuring a male head, sometimes with an ear of some kind of cereal on the obverse and a fish (Allis shad?) on the reverse (fig. 6.3), alongside the legend CVN/BARIA. Much has been written on the economic, ethnic or religious nature of numismatic iconography⁴⁶, and we do not want to concentrate on that topic in the present work, beyond briefly stating that economic signification is not incompatible with other meanings. It is clear that identities played an important role in the selection of numismatic iconographies, but also that the economic structure of a community occupies a central place in the collective imaginary, as demonstrated by many Hellenistic examples; economy, religion and society were more intimately entwined in Antiquity than they are today.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that in this early Romanised area, near Cádiz, pre-Roman economic structures were as deeply rooted as they were in the interior of the Guadalquivir Valley, specifically in the region of *Carmo-Ilipa*⁴⁷ (which not coincidentally had the surname *Magna*, as *Hasta* had the surname *Regia*). The famous Turris Lascu-

tana inscription, 'Emilio Paulo's decree', dated to 189 BC⁴⁸, by which the Roman magistrate granted freedom *dum populus romanus uellet* to the citizens of *Lascuta* (who had hitherto been considered the slaves of *Hasta*) indicates the territorial importance of *Hasta* in pre-Roman times⁴⁹ –*Lascuta* (Alcalá de los Gazúles, Cádiz) is no less than 60 km away from *Hasta*– and the radical social and territorial transformation undergone by the region during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. These transformations did nothing but accelerate with the foundation of the Caesarian and Augustan colonies, after which the Guadalquivir Valley became highly Romanised, and one of the most important provinces for the survival of the western half of the Empire.



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CULTURAL INTERACTION IN TIMES OF CONFLICT: METALS AND RITUAL IN THE HILLFORTS OF NORTH-WESTERN IBERIA (2ND-1ST CENTURIES BC)

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Cultural interaction in times of conflict: metals and ritual in the hillforts of north-western Iberia (2nd-1st centuries BC)

Abstract

In this paper we analyse certain aspects of the cultural interaction between the local communities of the north-western Iberian Peninsula and the Roman conquerors through the metal artefacts linked to rituality and prestige. We hypothesise that the animal sacrifices and objects of a ritual nature, such as situlas and torcs, existed before the beginning of the conquest, but underwent intriguing transformations in the long period of interaction between the first Roman incursions in the north-west (139-137 BC) and the definitive domination of the Iberian Peninsula under the command of Augustus. We suggest that the regularities detected in the precious metalwork, situlas and sacrificial iconography correspond to a standardisation of a ritual nature, and cannot be explained merely as the result of cultural interaction as the conquest was taking place.

Keywords Bronzes with sacrificial motifs; Roman conquest; goldwork; situlas.

Resumo

Neste trabalho analisam-se alguns aspetos da interação cultural entre as comunidades locais do Noroeste Peninsular e os conquistadores romanos, através dos artefactos metálicos vinculados à ritualidade e prestígio.

Propomos que os sacrifícios de animais e objetos de carácter ritual, como as sítulas ou os torques, existiam com anterioridade aos inícios da conquista, mas experimentam sugestivas transformações ao longo do período de interação que decorre desde as primeiras incursões romanas no Noroeste (139-137 a.C.) até ao domínio definitivo da Península Ibérica com Augusto.

Defende-se que as regularidades detetadas na ourivesaria, nas sítulas ou na iconografia sacrificial, respondem a uma estandardização de natureza ritual, não podendo explicar-se como mero resultado de uma interação cultural durante o processo de conquista.

Palavras-chave Bronzes com motivos de sacrifício; conquista romana; ourivesaria, sítulas.

Introduction

The Roman conquest of north-western Iberia was a long and complex process, the analysis of which has given rise to an extensive bibliography.¹ Beginning with Quintus Servilius Caepio's campaign in 139 BC, the three main stages are considered to have been Decimus Brutus' campaign (137 BC), which incorporated the territory between the Rivers Duero and Miño into the *Provincia Ulterior*; that of Julius Caesar, whose army arrived by sea at Brigantium (A Coruña) in 61 BC and was decisive in the domination of the northern territories; and the Cantabrian Wars (29-19 BC), during which, under the command of Augustus, Rome completed its conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Today we believe that the territory of Galicia was already under Roman dominion in this final phase of the conflict, although it was undoubtedly a strategic enclave for organising the military operations in the Asturian-Cantabrian area.

At the beginning of the conquest, the north-west (the so-called Castro-culture) was a culturally and geographically diverse territory.² This diversity also conditioned the very complex and extremely interesting processes of cultural interaction that took place both before and during the conquest. The imposition of a homogeneous admin-

istrative system did not occur until the end of Augustus' military campaigns. Therefore, the extraction of resources by the conquerors was materialised through subjection pacts and indemnities specific to a war economy.³ In this context, an important role was played by the punishment campaigns and incursions that took place between the three principal milestones of the conquest. These are also recorded in the classical sources.

In recent years, notable advances have been made in the research into the protohistory and initial Romanisation of the north-west. Nevertheless, the dynamics and origin of some of the phenomena recorded at that time continue to be the subject of intense debate. One example is the *oppida* or large hillforts –the denomination is part of the debate– that emerged in part of the north-western territory, above all in the coastal areas of southern Galicia and northern Portugal from the 2nd century BC. In the opinion of some experts, the synoecism and territorial hierarchisation that explain their emergence were present before the conquest began,⁴ while others make the case that they were a direct consequence of it.⁵

Far from aiming to offer a systematic view of these questions, the objective of this contribution is to analyse a particular aspect of the complex interactions that occurred in north-western Iberia during the 2nd-1st centuries BC. Specifically, and based on our own studies, we wish to focus on certain manifestations of the material culture –espe-

¹ A brief summary can be seen in MORAIS, R., BANDEIRA, M. and SOUSA, M.J. (eds.) *Celebração do bimilenário de Augusto. Ad nationes, ethnous kallaikon*. Braga: Câmara Municipal de Braga, 2016, in particular in the work of CURRÁS, B., SASTRE, I. and OREJAS, A. Del castro a la civitas: dominación y resistencia en el Noroeste hispano (p. 124-135); and MORILLO, A. El territorio galaico durante las guerras cántabras: nuevas perspectivas (p. 54-72). For the initial stages, see also ALONSO TRONCOSO, V. Primeras etapas en la conquista romana de Gallaecia. *Militaria*, 8, 1996, p. 53-66.

² Among the studies that emphasise this diversity, we can mention that of REY CASTIÑEIRA, J. Cuestiones de tipo territorial en la cultura castreña. In *Actas del XXII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología* (vol. II). Xunta de Galicia: Vigo, 1995, p. 165-171. More recently GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL, A. *Galaicos. Poder y comunidad en el Noroeste de la Península Ibérica (1200 a.C.-50 d.C.)*. Brigantium, 18-19. A Coruña: Museo Arqueológico e Histórico de San Antón, 2006-07; PARCERO-OUBINA, C., ARMADA, X.-L. and AYÁN, X. M. Castros en la escalera: el Noroeste entre la normalidad y la indiferencia. In CELESTINO, S. (ed.) *La protohistoria en la Península Ibérica*. Historia de España, II. Madrid: Istmo, 2017, p. 813-878.

³ CURRÁS, B., SASTRE, I. and OREJAS, A. Del castro..., op. cit., p. 130-32.

⁴ With different arguments GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL, A. El castro de Saceda y la jerarquización territorial de la segunda Edad del Hierro en el Noroeste ibérico. *Zephyrus*, 58, 2005, p. 267-284; ÁLVAREZ GONZÁLEZ, Y., LÓPEZ GONZÁLEZ, L., FERNÁNDEZ-GÓTZ, M. and GARCÍA QUINTELA, M. V. El *oppidum* de San Cibrán de Las y el papel de la religión en los procesos de centralización en la Edad del Hierro. *CuPAUAM*, 43, 2017, p. 217-239.

⁵ For instance CURRÁS, B., SASTRE, I. and OREJAS, A. Del castro..., op. cit., p. 127-28.



cially metals linked to the sphere of prestige or rituality—that, in our opinion, are important for understanding the dynamics of change and cultural contact in the aforementioned period. We are referring to bronzes with sacrificial motifs, situlas and the use of silver for making jewellery and in economic transactions. These material situations can be traced back to social practices and uses that had their origins in the period prior to the contact with Rome, but which underwent thought-provoking transformations in the new era.

Materiality in times of conflict

The bronzes with sacrificial motifs

In the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula we know of a total of ten bronzes whose iconography alludes to animal sacrifice and have a definite or probable geographical attribution. To the examples we have published in previous papers, we can now add a find from Monte da Trinidade (Vilamor, Mondoñedo, Lugo), currently conserved in the Vila-donga Hillfort Museum (Figure 1).⁶

These pieces, which have no obvious practical use, are characterised by the representation of six motifs that are repeated on almost all that are in an acceptable state of conservation: protomes, zoomorphs, torcs, axes, cauldrons and roped or braided motifs. All the bronzes found to date have at least four of these motifs, either disposed statically or as part of sacrificial scenes (Figure 2). The new Mondoñedo find has a simpler design, with the torc and the axe being the only two elements of the habitual repertory depicted.

⁶ The first six examples are described in detail in ARMADA, X.-L. and GARCÍA VUELTA, O. Bronces con motivos de sacrificio del área noroccidental de la Península Ibérica. *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 76, 2003, p. 47-75. On the subsequent finds see, among other references, ARMADA, X.-L. Sacrificio, consumo cárnico y religión del Bronce Atlántico a los celtas occidentales. In GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, F. J., LOZANO GÓMEZ, F. and PEREIRA DELGADO, A. (eds.) *El alimento de los dioses. Sacrificio y consumo de alimentos en las religiones antiguas*. Spal Monografías, XX. Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2015, p. 123-156; ARMADA, X.-L. and GARCÍA VUELTA, O. O machado figurativo de bronce da praia da Basteira (Cariño): novos datos para unha revisión. *Terras do Ortegal*, 2, 2015, p. 157-172. The Mondoñedo find is presented for the first time in this article and will be the subject of an upcoming detailed study.

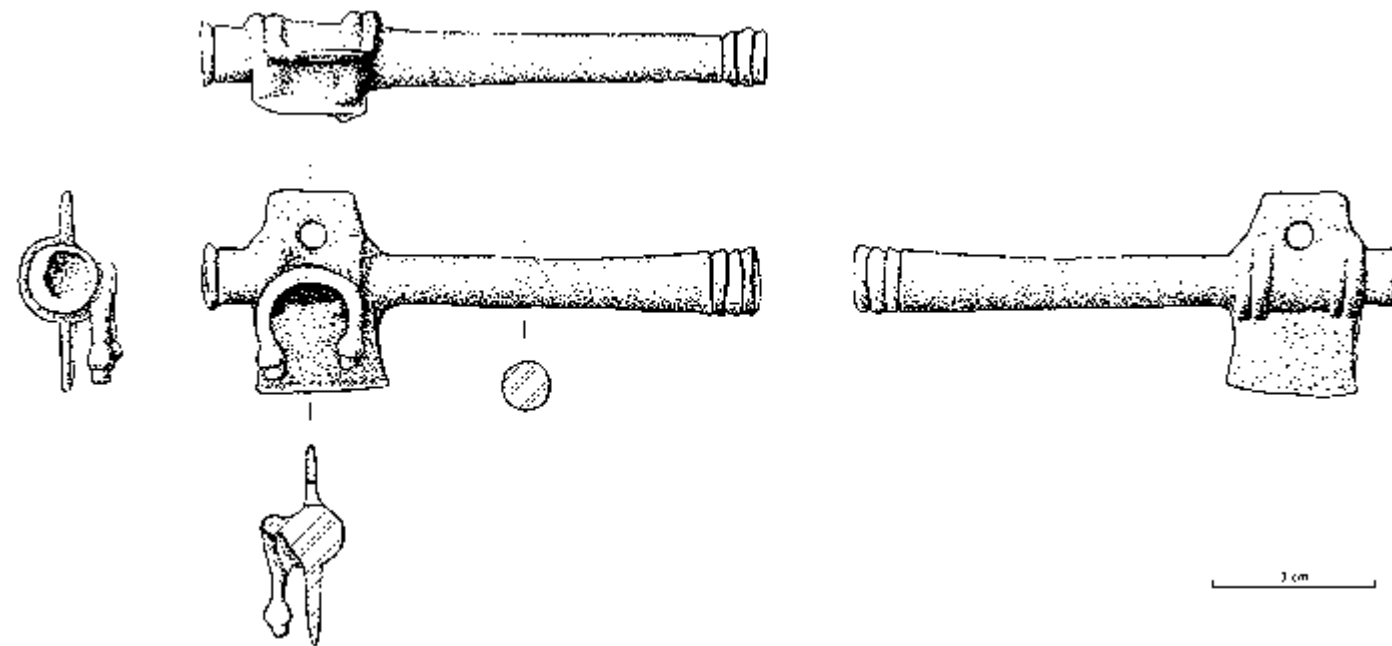


Figure 1
Bronze with sacrificial motifs from Monte da Trinidade (Vilamor, Mondoñedo, Lugo), Museo do Castro de Viladonga (drawing: Anxo R. Paz).

In previous studies we have carefully analysed the possible significance and symbolic connotations of the different motifs: the animals are sacrificial victims; the axe and the cauldron are objects related to the ritual action and the roped or braided motifs appear to serve to delimit the space in which the action takes place. Even more enigmatic is the recurring presence of torcs, perhaps a symbol of the community or an offering.⁷ Diverse epigraphic testimonies, mainly the inscriptions in the Lusitanian language and the Latin alphabet from Cabeço das Fráguas (Pousalofes do Bispo, Sabugal, Guarda), Lamas de Moledo (Castro D'Aire, Viseu) and Arronches (Portalegre), show that sacri-

⁷ We refer mainly to ARMADA, X.-L. Sacrificio..., op. cit., p. 141-44; ARMADA, X.-L. and GARCÍA VUELTA, O. Os atributos do guerreiro, as ofrendas da comunidade. A interpretación dos torques a través da iconografía. In *O torques de Centraña cen anos despois*. Pontevedra: Cátedra - Monografía 3, 2014, p. 57-91.

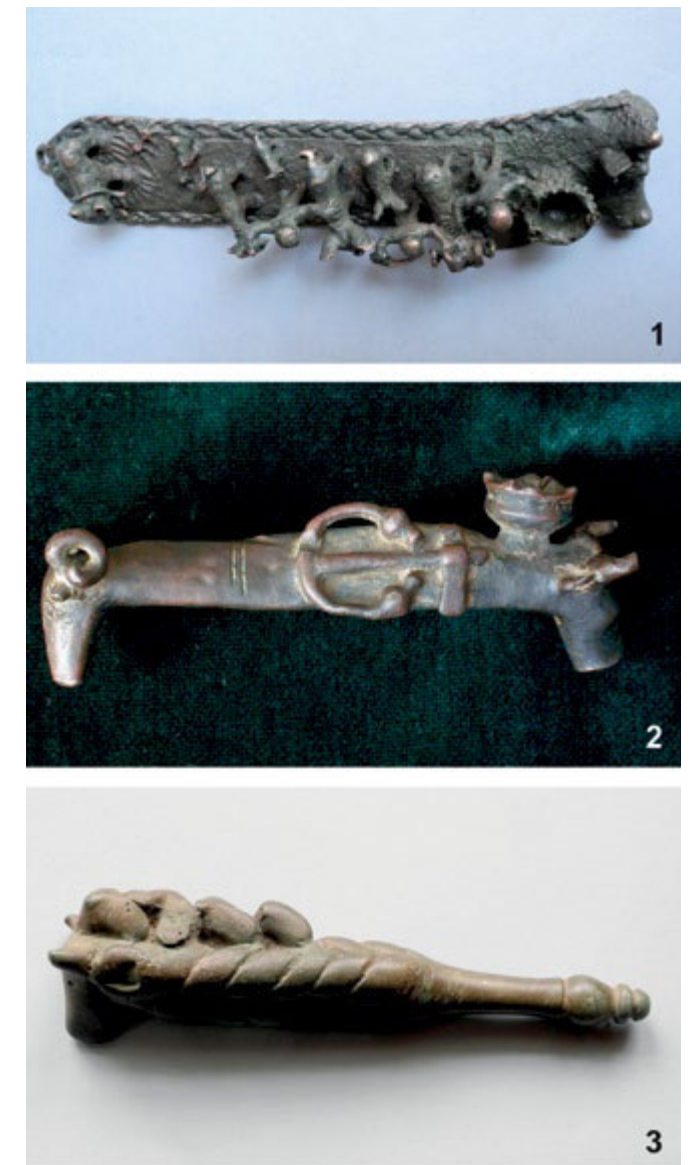
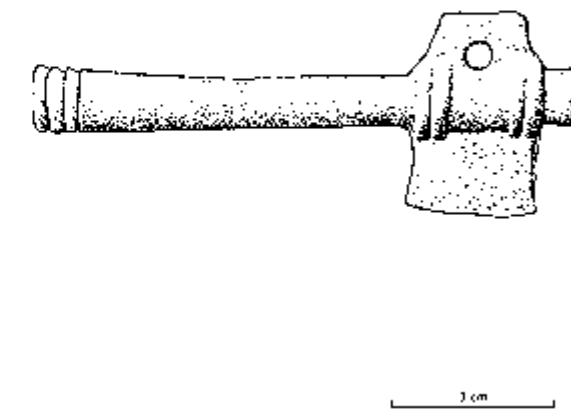


Figure 2
Bronzes with sacrificial motifs: (1) Unknown provenance, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan; (2) Unknown provenance, Museo Arqueológico Nacional; (3) Punta Atalaia (Cervo, Lugo) (photos: OGV-XLA).

ficial rituals were held on the Iberian Peninsula. In them animals were offered to various divinities in a combined and hierarchised way.

Although this type of sacrifice has similarities to the *suovetaurilia*, it was probably practised by the communities of western Iberia before the Roman presence. The main indication that this was the case can be found in the hillfort of Capote (Higuera la Real, Badajoz), where the excavations revealed an altar around which, at some time during the mid-2nd century BC, a combinatorial sacrificial ritual was held and followed by a grand collective banquet. It would have been held to mark an exceptional event, probably connected to war and linked to the Roman



conquest of the territory.⁸ However, the chronology of the rest of the testimonies appears to be largely between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. A dating of the 1st century BC is proposed for the Arronches inscription, although some authors suggest the following century, and for Cabeço das Fráguas the 1st century AD is proposed, without ruling out the following century.⁹ The three bronzes with associated contextual information (Punta Atalaia, Lugo and Mondoñedo) appear to be from the turn of the era: two are from hillforts –Punta Atalaia (Cervo, Lugo) in an excavation context from that chronology– and the Lugo fragment comes from a Flavian-period urban context, although it was found in a fill stratum and already fragmented, meaning that its use must have been earlier.¹⁰

There are two more significant aspects when analysing cultural interaction. The first is the combination of local traditions and Roman influences reflected in the bronzes (Figure 3).¹¹ Among the former, we can mention a cauldron in the place of the altar, the presence of torcs and braids, the sequential variation in the animal procession, the absence of a bull in the sacrificial scene (although the object is usually finished off with a bull's head) and the presence of a bear, an animal with strong symbolic connotations among the local communities, in one of the bronzes. Roman features, or at least those usually depicted on Roman monumental reliefs, are the location of the central point of the action next to the altar (a cauldron in this case) where the procession ends, the dramatic connotations involved in the act of killing the animal, the presence of the *victimarius* in the Celorico do Basto bronze and the presence of the axe, a highly significant instrument in the Roman sacrifice.¹²



Figure 3
Part of a bronze conserved in the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan. It has the representation of a cauldron, a torc, a bovid protome, the appendix in the shape of an axe and a braided perimeter (photo: OGV).

The other important aspect is the high degree of symbolic and ritual standardisation that can be seen in the bronzes. The recurring representation of the six aforementioned motifs is highly significant, if we bear in mind that among the more northern examples –Cariño and Punta Atalaia– and those from farther south –Celorico do Basto– there is a distance of some 260 km as the crow flies (Figure 8). We will return to this detail below.

The situlas with geometric decoration

On some of the bronzes with sacrificial motifs there are particularly detailed depictions of cauldrons, suggesting a symbolic importance of this object among the hillfort communities of the north-west. A number of bronze cauldrons, belonging to a specific profusely decorated type, are well-known in this area, although they are always found fragmented; they were compiled for the first time by X. Carballo, who maintained the denomination of situla. This

name had been used by earlier authors, which is how the parallelism with other metal receptacles from continental Europe came about.¹³ Later studied by different scholars, they were revised and updated in the doctoral thesis of one of us (CSN).¹⁴

These situlas present formal characteristics and profuse decoration that make them specific to the area of the north-western hillforts. Most of the preserved pieces correspond to handle-attachments and rims/necks, while the vessel bodies in the main part consist of plain riveted sheets. We also have recorded finds of numerous fragments of the ceramic moulds used to make these items (Figure 4). The updated inventory of finds, which is included in the aforementioned doctoral thesis, includes 88 fragments of bronze (max. no. of individuals: 76) and 232 mould fragments (max. no. of individuals: 181) from some 53 archaeological sites with a fairly regular dispersion throughout the north-west, although with a greater presence in the coastal areas (Figure 5). It is important to state that bronze situla fragments are occasionally found south of the Duero, although not the moulds that attest their manufacture.

The chronology of the situlas continues to be a subject of debate. Although their period of maximum dissemination is undoubtedly between the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD, the data currently available –in particular cases such as Forca (A Guarda, Pontevedra) or Chao Samartín (Grandas de Salime, Asturias)– place their origin in the pre-Roman period, at least in the 4th-3rd centuries BC.¹⁵

¹³ CARBALLO ARCEO, L. X. Aportación al estudio de las situlas en el occidente de la Península Ibérica. *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, 34 (99), 1983, p. 7-32.

¹⁴ At the time of writing, the thesis is in its final stages. A preliminary overview can be seen in SEOANE-NOVO, C. Situlas de bronce y barro en la Edad del Hierro del Noroeste peninsular: motivos, técnicas y patrones decorativos. In ÁLVAREZ, C., TEJEDOR, C. and GARCÍA, I. (eds.) *Arqueología en el valle del Duero. Del Paleolítico a la Edad Media*, 5. Valladolid: Glyphos Publicaciones, 2017, p. 192-206.

¹⁵ In the case of Chao Samartín, situla moulds were found in a context with which the datings CSIC-1473 (2400 ± 27 BP) and CSIC-1652 (2288 ± 31 BP) are associated. Information published in VILLA VALDÉS, A. Orfebrería y testimonios metalúrgicos en el castro de Chao Samartín (Asturias, España): estudio cronoestratigráfico (siglos IV a.C.-II d.C.). In PEREA, A., MONTERO-RUIZ, I. and GARCÍA-VUELTA, O. (eds.) *Tecnología del oro antiguo: Europa y América*, Madrid: CSIC, 2004, p. 253-264.

Our attention is drawn to the degree of standardisation seen in these pieces, although it is a different type of standardisation to that we see in the case of the bronzes with sacrificial motifs. This aspect has already been pointed out by Fernández-Posse and colleagues. They emphasised the considerable similarity between the situla moulds from El Castrelín in San Juan de Paluezas, El Bierzo, and those found in the hillforts of the Rías Baixas in Galicia, zones with many differences in other aspects of the archaeological record. The local manufacture of the El Castrelín moulds –confirmed through the archaeometric study of the ceramic pastes– is evidence of a high degree of formal and technological uniformity in a type of specialist production, for ritual use, that is not detected in other facets of the hillfort material culture.¹⁶ Recently, Alonso Burgos proposed that this formal uniformity would not necessarily have been accompanied by a similar functional or symbolic meaning and could have been associated with different modes of conviviality.¹⁷ Nevertheless, this does not take away importance from the high degree of formal standardisation; on the contrary, it could be even more significant if we assume the supposed variability in the forms of conviviality, which are not easy to determine with the record currently available. Unfortunately, we lack archaeological contexts that tell us about the functions and uses of the situlas and specifically about their use in banquets.¹⁸

¹⁶ FERNÁNDEZ-POSSE, M. D., MONTERO, I., SÁNCHEZ-PALENCIA, F. J. and ROVIRA, S. Espacio y metalurgia en la cultura castreña: la zona arqueológica de Las Médulas. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 50, 1993, p. 197-220. The archaeometric study of the ceramic pastes in GALVÁN, V., FERNÁNDEZ-POSSE, M. D., SÁNCHEZ-PALENCIA, F. J. and GALVÁN, J. Tipos cerámicos y geoquímica: El Castrelín de San Juan de Paluezas (León). *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 66, 1993, p. 248-257.

¹⁷ ALONSO BURGOS, F. Situlas y banquetes divergentes en el mundo castreño del s. I a.C. *Conimbriga*, 56, 2017, p. 41-73.

¹⁸ In addition to the aforementioned representations of vessels on the bronzes with sacrificial motifs, rituals that in many cases would have been accompanied by collective banquets, as occurs in the hillfort of Capote. We should also mention here the representations of situlas or cauldrons on the diadems from Moñes that allude to a different symbolic sphere; regarding the latter, see GARCÍA VUELTA, O. *Orfebrería castreña del Museo Arqueológico Nacional*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2007, p. 204-36.

⁸ BERROCAL-RANGEL, L. *El altar prerromano de Capote. Ensayo etno-arqueológico de un ritual céltico en el Suroeste peninsular*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1994, p. 270-76.

⁹ References to this chronological debate in ARMADA, X.-L. Sacrificio..., op. cit., p. 147.

¹⁰ We are grateful for this information to E. González Fernández, the excavation director. More details in ARMADA, X.-L. and GARCÍA VUELTA, O. O machado..., op. cit., p. 166-67.

¹¹ The influence of Roman iconography, particularly on the pieces with sacrificial scenes, has also been highlighted by SCHATTNER, T. G. Breve observação sobre a representação processional no ocidente hispânico. *Iberografías*, 6, 2010, p. 109-129.

¹² Regarding this detail we refer to ALDRETE, G. S. Hammers, axes, bulls, and blood: Some practical aspects of Roman animal sacrifice. *Journal of Roman Studies*, 104, 2014, p. 28-50.



Figure 4
Fragments of situlas and the moulds used to make them: (1) Metal plate from the hillfort of Vigo (Vigo, Pontevedra), Museo Quiñones de León (photo: CSN); (2) Mould for a metal plate from *Bracara Augusta* (Braga, Portugal), Museu Regional de Arqueologia Dom Diogo de Sousa (photo: CSN); (3) Fragment of situla from the hillfort of Borneiro (Cabana de Bergantiños, A Coruña), Museo Arqueológico e Histórico Castelo de San

Antón (photo: CSN); (4) Mould for situla from El Castrelin de San Juan de Paluezas (Carracedelo, León), Instituto de Historia-CSIC (photo: M. D. Fernández-Posse); (5) Handle-attachment from the hillfort of Coto de Altamira (As Neves, Pontevedra), Museo de Pontevedra (photo: CSN); (6) Mould for a handle-attachment from *Bracara Augusta* (Braga, Portugal), Museu Regional de Arqueologia Dom Diogo de Sousa (photo: CSN).

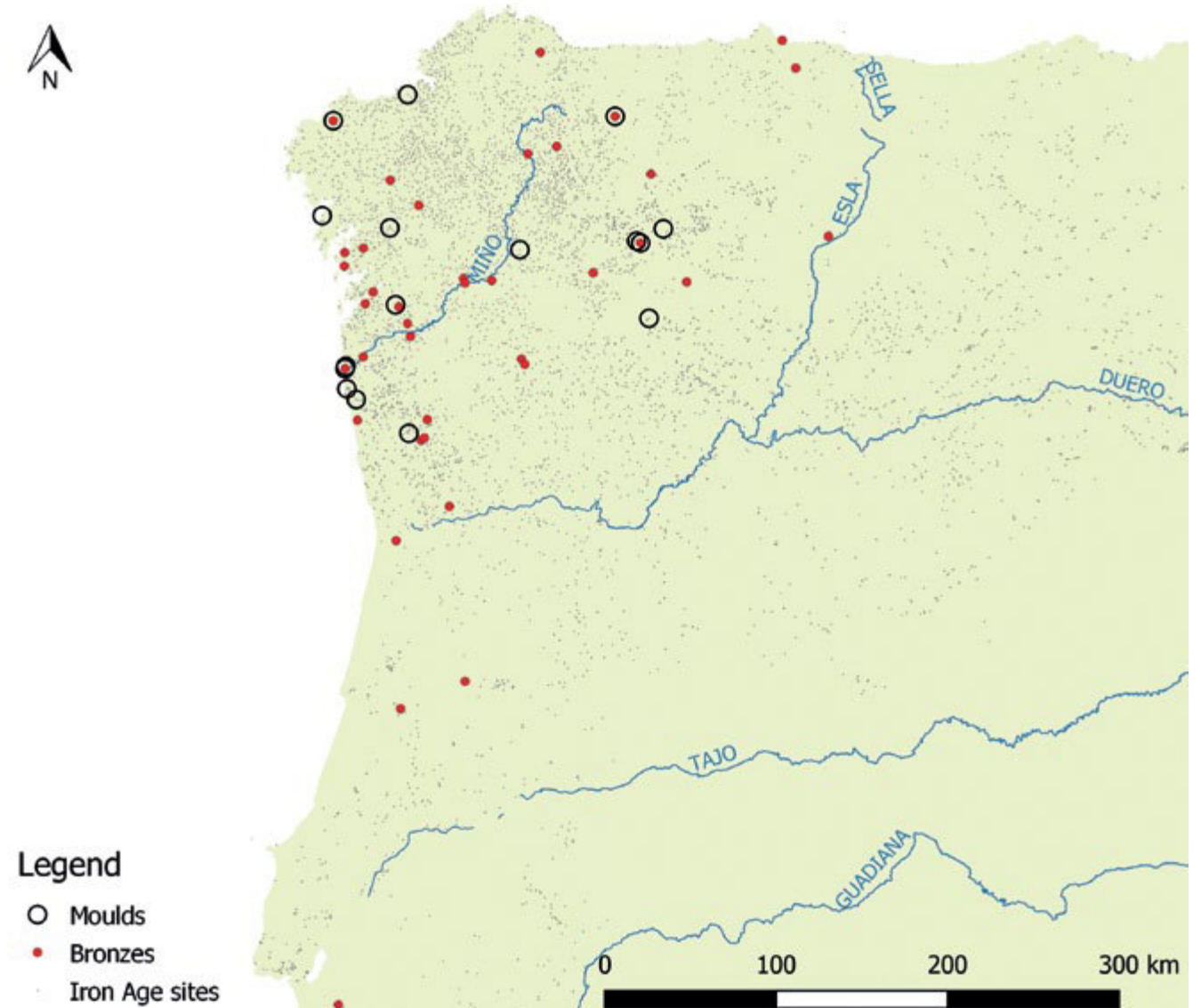


Figure 5
Distribution of the Castro-culture situlas and the moulds for their manufacture (map: CSN; source: IDEPatri, <http://idepatri.cesga.es>).



Precious metalworking and other uses of silver

The third aspect we wish to focus on has to do with the rich goldwork of north-western Iberia and the role played by silver –a scarce metal in that area– in the precious metalwork and as a proto-monetary or economic transaction element.

Although the Castro-culture precious metalwork used gold as its main raw material (Figure 6), the increasingly numerous elemental composition analyses reveal the frequent use of intentional alloys with high percentages of silver, often more than 20%.¹⁹ If we look at the chronology of the main indications of silver circulation in the north-west, it is not farfetched to propose a later dating in the 2nd-1st centuries BC for much of this precious metalwork. In fact, based on the information provided by the archaeological contexts, many authors defend the hypothesis that Castro-culture precious metalwork developed after contact with Rome.

This is not an insignificant question as, although it is true that in the north-west we find a rich precious metalworking tradition in the Bronze Age, in other areas, such as the British Isles, it has also been suggested that precious metals disappear from the record between the 8th and the 3rd centuries BC.²⁰ However, although there can be no doubt that there was an eclosion of Castro-culture precious metalwork from the beginning of the 2nd century BC, we believe that in our case there are arguments to propose that the production continued throughout the Iron Age. Firstly, we have to mention the evidence of precious metalwork production found at Chao Samartín and the earring from A Graña (Toques, A Coruña) in contexts radiocarbon-dat-

ed to before the beginning of the conquest.²¹ Secondly, it is worth noting that the torcs and bracelets with less voluminous terminals attributed to the Early Iron Age – such as those from Gondeiro, Malhada or Rendar– have a bronze parallel at the archaeological site of O Cepo found in a context dated to the transition between the 5th-4th centuries BC with the support of a radiocarbon dating (Beta-413080: 2320 ± 30 BP).²² Thirdly, and although this is not conclusive, it is significant that the compositional analyses of several of these examples attributed to the Early Iron Age –Malhada or Soalhães– reveal percentages of silver below 20% and of copper below 1%, thus differentiating them from the more habitual alloys in the Castro-culture precious metalwork of the 2nd-1st centuries BC.²³ Last but not least, it could also be of consequence, as Perea accurately pointed out, that the idea of a hiatus –and the consequent disappearance for centuries of complex technologies– hinders the explanation of ‘the techniques and morphological features that directly connect both stages.’²⁴

We need to understand the major development in the production and circulation of gold objects during the 2nd-1st centuries BC in a context of the consolidation of social inequalities and leaderships that emerged or were reinforced in the face of the threat of Roman power. At that time, jewellery, unrefined metal and the first coins used as elements of transaction and wealth accumulation would

¹⁹ Both cases are described, including the reference bibliography, in ARMADA, X.-L. and GARCÍA-VUELTA, O. Iron Age gold in Northwestern Iberia: technology, chronology and social meaning. In SCHWAB, R., MILCENT, P.-Y., ARMBRUSTER, B. and PERNICKA, E. (eds.) *Early Iron Age Gold in Celtic Europe. Forschungen zur Archäometrie und Altertumswissenschaft*, 6(1). Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2018, p. 321-338. Regarding Chao Samartín, see also VILLA VALDÉS, A. *Orfebrería...*, op. cit.

²² PARGA CASTRO, A., PRIETO MARTÍNEZ, P. and SÁNCHEZ BLANCO, F. Datación de un yacimiento no fortificado de la Edad del Hierro en Galicia: El caso de O Cepo (San Cibrao de Viñas, Ourense). In BARCELÓ, J. A., BOGDANOVIC, I. and MORELL, B. (eds.) *IberCrono 2016. Actas del Congreso de Cronometrías para la Historia de la Península Ibérica. CEUR Workshop Proceedings*, vol. 2024, 2017, p. 260-271, <http://ceur-ws.org/Vol-2024/IberCrono_19.pdf>.

²³ The examples of Paradelo do Rio contain somewhat higher percentages of copper and silver (0.7% – 2.0% Cu and 21.1% – 22.9% Ag), although they also have more voluminous terminals that prelude those of the Castro-culture goldwork in its peak period. All these analytical results are given in GUERRA, M. F. and TISSOT, I. Bronze Age and Iron Age gold torcs and earrings from the Iberian Atlantic façade: a non-invasive multi-analytical approach to the characterisation of the alloys and the corrosion. *X-Ray Spectrometry*, 45, 2016, p. 5-13.

²⁴ PEREA, A. Los torques castreños en perspectiva. *Brigantium*, 14, 2003, p. 139-149 (quoted sentence in p. 147).

¹⁹ An aspect already highlighted by, among others, MONTERO, I. and ROVIRA, S. El oro y sus aleaciones en la orfebrería prerromana. *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 64, 1991, p. 7-21; LADRA, L. and MARTÍN-TORRES, M. Variacións tecnolóxicas e preferencias culturais: estudo analítico dos ouros do castro de Viladonga. *Croa*, 19, 2009, p. 32-43.

²⁰ GARROW, D. and GOSDEN, C. *Technologies of Enchantment? Exploring Celtic Art: 400 BC to AD 100*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 134-37.



Figure 6 Northwestern Iberian gold torcs of the Ártabro type from Bardaos (Tordoia, A Coruña), Viladonga (Castro de Rei, Lugo) and Viveiro (Lugo) (left to right), Museo Provincial de Lugo (photo: OGV).



also have coexisted.²⁵ Strabo (III, 3, 7) tells us that the people of the northern mountains used clipped silver in their transactions, a correlation for which can be found in the Castro-culture flat-convex ingots that often present chisel cut marks. The radiocarbon dating of the charcoal remains on an ingot from Calvos de Randín (Ourense) and a melting mass from Recouso (Oroso, A Coruña) also indicate – despite the limitations of this type of sample – that they come from that time (Figure 7).²⁶ In recent years we have had the opportunity to study and analyse a large number of these finds. The results show, on the one hand, a wide variability in the sizes and weights, and, on the other, that the majority of the cakes or ingots were made with intentional gold-silver-copper alloys.²⁷ It is quite likely that many of these pieces served the twin purpose of raw material and a proto-monetary element. The latter use appears to be clear in the Calvos de Randín hoard, which comprises 17 silver ingots with fairly standard weights found in a pottery vessel, probably inside a hillfort (Figure 7).²⁸

We believe there are various reasons that explain the recurrent use of silver as an alloyed element in the Castro-culture goldwork; one of them may even be a cultural preference for the particular colouration of these alloys.²⁹ In any case, the availability of larger quantities of silver in the form of objects, cakes and coins would have been of some importance, even in the face of possible conflict with the Roman armies or perhaps precisely because of it. In Centeno's opinion, and following a thread in Strabo's text, the coins may have been used by the local populations as small ingots that could be cut up and used in transactions during the period between the 2nd century BC

and the beginning of the Roman Empire.³⁰

Cultural interaction, metals and ritual: an open-ended epilogue

Some of the main discussions regarding the hillfort record of the north-west have for years revolved around the question of the autochthonous or Roman nature of their main manifestations. This not unimportant question has often diverted attention from other, possibly more pertinent matters; for example, the transformations these communities and their material culture underwent during the long period between the beginning of the conquest and their definitive integration into the Empire. Thus, a large part of the typical repertory of the Castro-culture cannot be considered either completely autochthonous or fully Roman, but the result of a rich cultural interaction and hybridisation process. In our opinion, animal sacrifices, situlas and precious metalwork already existed in the hillfort communities prior to the 2nd century BC, although they underwent various changes following contact with Rome.

Understanding the rates, intensities and nuances of these transformations is one of the main challenges of current research. Important studies have been undertaken in this respect, both on a general level and in the specific case of the north-west, although we can not refer to them in this short article. With regard to the latter area, some years ago V. Alonso carried out a brief but intriguing applied test of the concepts of active acceptance, passive acceptance, passive opposition and active opposition, typified by G. Balandier and also used by E. Will to analyse the Greco-Macedonian penetration into the Hellenist East.³¹ There can be no doubt that, as defended in the aforementioned

study, all these phenomena coexisted in the case we are dealing with.

The circulation of objects and ideas between local communities and Roman contingents would have been frequent through actions that would have ranged from gifting or peaceful trade to violent seizure. In this respect, we could explain assemblages such as that of Alvarelos (Trofa, Porto), which comprises more than 5000 denarii dated to between 211 and 27 BC and at least nine flat-convex silver ingots, two of them with the mark CAESAR; Centeno believes this hoard belonged to a military unit and, for unknown reasons, had fallen into indigenous hands.³² Others are that of Montedor (Carreço, Viana do Castelo), which included clipped denarii together with ingots and the remains of manufactures and was hidden on a hillside near the hillfort in the mid-1st century BC,³³ and the recently-published hoard from Castromaior (Lugo) that comprised eleven denarii dated between 106 BC and the Augustan period, which was found in a hillfort where there is a strong dominance of local productions.³⁴ Among the evidence of circulation in the opposite direction, from Castro-culture populations into Roman hands, of particular interest is a supposed tin ingot with a triskelion mark – a motif absent in the southern area – found in the military settlement of Chões de Alpompé (Santarém), that Fabião and colleagues link to Decimus Brutus' campaign,³⁵ and the finds of situla fragments to the south of the Duero, to which we have already referred.

Social interaction and the circulation of objects no doubt favoured some standardisation, above all in the most dynamic areas that had the greatest exposure to contacts

from the outside, for example, the coastal counties of northern Portugal and southern Galicia. However, and it is important to emphasise this fact, we do not believe that the phenomena analysed in this study can be explained solely from that perspective. In fact, other manifestations of the hillfort record – particularly those linked to day-to-day life such as pottery – demonstrate a much greater variability between different areas of the north-west.³⁶ The standardisation phenomena we are concerned with here are of a different nature, probably ritual.

This idea has been defended by Perea for the torcs. In her opinion, those objects 'present elemental and extremely standardised morphological features, and (...) that standardisation, which I have called ritual, is maintained, once set, for the whole of their production; in other words, during the development of the Castro culture, from the classical stage until well into the Romanisation period'.³⁷ Another characteristic of the torcs highlighted by the same author is their *polysemy*, which we must understand on both a synchronic and a diachronic level. It is no wonder that this variety of meanings and functions, which include the use of this object as an attribute of the warlords, as well as their presence in sacrificial rituals, is well attested in the iconography.³⁸

We can probably also apply this ritual standardisation to the bronze situlas, if we take into account the outstanding role played by the representations of metal vessels on the bronzes with sacrificial motifs (Figures 2 and 3) or on the diadems of Moñes. The abundance and dispersion of the casting moulds used in the manufacture of situlas (Figure 5) indicates a widely distributed production with

25 GARCÍA-BELLIDO, M. P. Hackgold and hacksilver in protomonetary Iberia. In GARCÍA-BELLIDO, M. P., CALLEGARIN, L. and JIMÉNEZ, A. (eds.) *Barter, money and coinage in the ancient Mediterranean (10th-1st centuries BC)*. Madrid: CSIC, 2011, p. 121-135.

26 ARMADA, X.-L. and GARCÍA-VUELTA, O. Dating Iron Age goldwork: First direct AMS ¹⁴C results from Northwestern Iberia. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 72(2), 2015, p. 372-382.

27 These results are given in detail in an article by O. García-Vuelta and X.-L. Armada that, at the time of writing, is almost completed.

28 ARMADA, X.-L. and GARCÍA-VUELTA, O. Dating..., op. cit.

29 For a discussion of the subject, see LADRA, L. and MARTINÓN-TORRES, M. Variacións..., op. cit., p. 38-41.

30 CENTENO, R. M. S. Da República ao Império: Reflexões sobre a monetização no Ocidente da Hispânia. In GARCÍA-BELLIDO, M. P., CALLEGARIN, L. and JIMÉNEZ, A. (eds.) *Barter, money and coinage in the ancient Mediterranean (10th-1st centuries BC)*. Madrid: CSIC, 2011, p. 355-367.

31 ALONSO TRONCOSO, V. La cultura castreña en Galicia: historiografía arqueológica de los últimos años (1980-1996). *CuPAUAM*, 22, 1995, p. 101-124.

32 CENTENO, R. M. S. Da República..., op. cit., p. 364-65.

33 CENTENO, R. M. S. Da República..., op. cit., p. 362-63.

34 OREJAS SAGO DEL VALLE, A., MONTERO RUIZ, I., ÁLVAREZ GONZÁLEZ, Y., LÓPEZ GONZÁLEZ, L. F., LÓPEZ MARCOS, M. A. and RODRÍGUEZ CASANOVA, I. Roman denarii from North-Western Hispania, findings from Castromaior (Lugo). A contextual, numismatic and analytic approach. *Madriditer Mitteilungen*, 56, 2015, p. 232-257.

35 FABIÃO, C., PEREIRA, T. R. and PIMENTA, J. Coleção de metais do sítio arqueológico dos Chões de Alpompé – Santarém. *Cira Arqueologia*, 4, 2015, p. 110-150. From this archaeological site we also have various small silver ingots with cuts and a filiform gold ingot.

36 REY CASTIÑEIRA, J. A olaria castreja de tradição Minho. In MORAIS, R., FERNÁNDEZ, A. and SOUSA, M. J. (eds.) *As produções cerâmicas de imitação na Hispania* (tomo I). Porto: FLUP – SECAH, 2014, p. 289-302; GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL, A. *Galaicos...*, op. cit.

37 PEREA, A. Los torques..., op. cit., p. 142. Spanish text: 'presentan unos rasgos morfológicos elementales extremadamente normalizados, y (...) esa normalización, que yo he llamado ritual, se mantiene, una vez fijada, a lo largo de toda su producción, es decir, durante el desarrollo de la cultura castreña, desde la etapa clásica hasta bien entrada la romanización'.

38 ARMADA, X.-L. and GARCÍA VUELTA, O. Os atributos..., op. cit.



Figure 7
Hoards with flat-convex ingots from Recouso (Oroso, A Coruña), Museo das Peregrinacións e de Santiago (left); and Calvos de Randín (Ourense), Museo Arqueolóxico Provincial de Ourense (right) (photos: OGV-XLA).



a marked local nature that nevertheless maintained quite rigid formal and decorative canons, although with some variations.

The bronzes with sacrificial motifs suggest that torcs and cauldrons played a central role in the sacrificial ritual over a wide geographic area, taking in at least the area from the north of Galicia to Celorico do Basto (Portugal). If we widen our focus and also include the Lusitanian inscriptions and the altar of Capote, we can see that the sacrifice characterised by the combination and hierarchisation of the animal victims shows a widespread dispersion in western Iberia (Figure 8). In contrast, it is interesting to corroborate that these bronzes are not found, at least not until now, in other areas of the north-western quadrant, as in the case of both the coast and the interior of the Asturian-Cantabrian area, which present different rates and models of Roman implantation.³⁹

Explaining the reasons for the widespread dispersion of this type of sacrifice falls outside the remit of this contribution.⁴⁰ However, we are concerned with the fact that it took on a notable visibility –in the form of bronzes, inscriptions and other manifestations– during a specific historical phase and reflects a curious hybridisation of local and foreign elements. In an intriguing study, Marco Simón analyses the continuity in the use of pre-Roman worship sites in the Roman period and shows that Rome stimulated the role of rural shrines as a factor of cultural integration.⁴¹ In the opinion of J. de Hoz, the use of Lusitanian in the religious inscriptions, when use of that language was already in decline, would have been an expression of the desire of the Lusitanian elites to differentiate themselves

by using that language as a self-identifier.⁴²

It seems clear that the sacrificial ritual constituted, at that time, an element of cultural and self-definition negotiation, although it is not easy to explain why. It is tempting to believe that when the Romans arrived in western Iberia, they found that its inhabitants carried out combined and hierarchised sacrifices similar to those of their *suovetaurilia*.⁴³ This situation would have offered a privileged environment for a subtle identity negotiation in terms of similarities and differences. Overcoming the distance, Strabo (III, 3, 7) would have applied a similar dialectic on describing the commensal uses of the northern highlanders.⁴⁴ However, the main audience of Strabo's discourse was far from the north-west, while the self-defining negotiation around the sacrificial ritual cannot be understood without the agency of the local communities.

Acknowledgments

We would like to express our gratitude to the organisers of the international symposium *Interações Culturais e Paisagens em Mudança na Europa (séc. II a.C – séc. II d.C.)* (Boticas, 11-13 October 2018) for their kind invitation to participate. This study is part of the *Innovación tecnológica, circulación del metal y artefactos metálicos de prestigio en la Europa atlántica (s. XIII-I ANE)* research project (IN607D 2016/004) financed by the Xunta de Galicia in its Projects of Excellence modality.

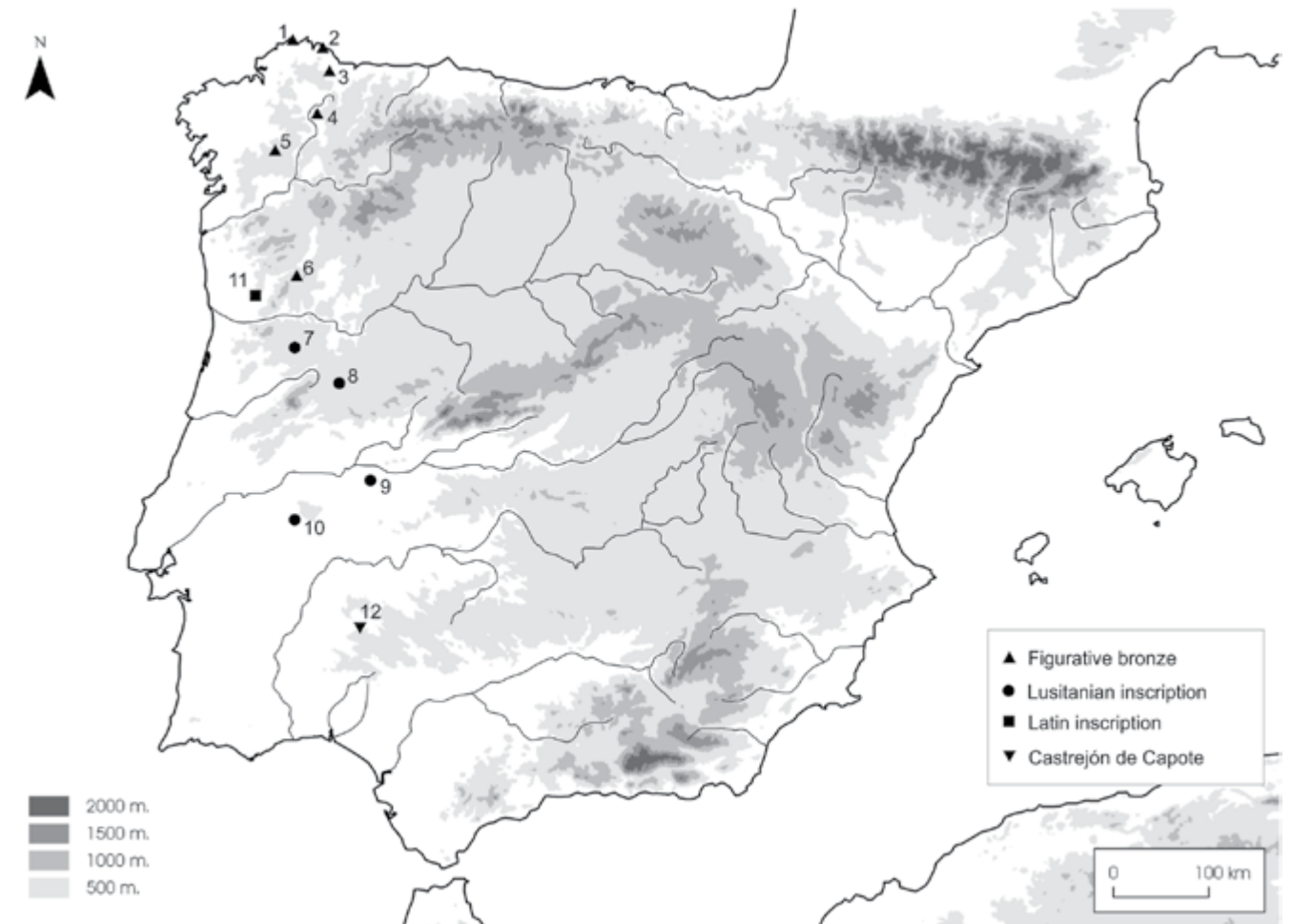


Figure 8
Distribution of the evidence of combinatorial sacrifices from the Second Iron Age and the Roman period in western Iberia. *Figurative bronzes*: (1) Cariño; (2) Punta Atalaia; (3) Mondoñedo; (4) Lugo; (5) Lalín; (6) Celorico de Basto. *Lusitanian inscriptions*: (7) Lamas de Moledo; (8) Cabeço das Fráguas; (9) Arroyo de la Luz; (10) Arronches. *Latin inscription*: (11) Marecos. *Settlement with sacrificial remains*: (12) Castrejón de Capote (map: XLA).

39 Regarding these models FERNÁNDEZ OCHOA, C. and MORILLO, A. La romanización atlántica: modelo o modelos de implantación romana en el Noroeste peninsular. *Portvgalia*, n.s., 36, 2015, p. 183-197.

40 A hypothesis in ARMADA, X.-L. Sacrificio..., op. cit., p. 149-51.

41 MARCO SIMÓN, F. Romanización y aculturación religiosa: los santuarios rurales. In REBOREDA, S. and LÓPEZ BARRIA, P. (eds.) *A cidade e o mundo: romanización e cambio social*. Xizno de Limia: Concello de Xizno de Limia, 1996, p. 81-100.

42 DE HOZ, J. La epigrafía lusitana y la intersección de religión y lengua como marcador identitario. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras – Ciências e Técnicas do Património*, 12, 2013, p. 87-98.

43 Regarding the characteristics of these sacrifices, see, among others, ARMADA, X.-L. Sacrificio..., op. cit.; GARCÍA QUINTELA, M. V. Sacrificio y adivinación en el área galaico-lusitana de Iberia. *Gerión*, in press.

44 Important in this respect is the work of BERMEJO BARRERA, J. C. La géopolitique de l'ivresse dans Strabon. *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne*, 13, 1987, p. 115-145.



**NORTHERN PORTUGAL IN THE TRANSITION OF ERA:
FROM THE HILLFORTS, THROUGH THE *OPPIDA*,
TILL THE ROMAN INTEGRATION**

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Northern Portugal in the transition of Era: from the hillforts, through the oppida, till the roman integration

Abstract

The present paper is a limited work of synthesis about the general historic dynamics in Northern Portugal, roughly between the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD. These chronological barriers encompass two historic epochs: the later phase of Iron Age, and the beginning of Roman period. Being aware of the arguable validity of this traditional periodization, we will try to describe the evolution of the local communities, since its typical organization with the fortified sites as a general pattern of settlement, through the gradual complexity of society, with the appearance of the known *oppida* sites as first examples of urban experiences. We will explain then the integration of the region in the Roman Empire, and the consequences of this political and cultural deed, that led to a different settlement organization and cultural identity of the communities that inhabited Northern Portugal in the beginning of the Common Era.

Being a large period of time, and one with a particularly complex set of historical events and cultural change, an overview of this phase is limited by different archaeological sources, with works made since late 19th century till nowadays, in a large number of sites, corresponding to different kinds of settlements, studied by teams with quite different historical views and research methods. The ideas that we are going to present correspond, therefore, to an attempt to have a rational and realistic general view of this quite interesting historic phase.

Different themes and sites are here highlighted, like some of the most known Iron Age *oppida*, like Briteiros, and the centre of the Romanization process in Northern Portugal, the city of *Bracara Augusta*.

Keywords: Northern Portugal; Iron Age; Romanization.

Resumo

O presente artigo é um trabalho limitado de síntese acerca das dinâmicas históricas no Norte de Portugal, aproximadamente entre os séculos II a. C. e II d. C. Estas barreiras cronológicas integram duas épocas históricas: a fase final da Idade do Ferro e o início da época romana. Tendo presente a validade discutível desta periodização tradicional, tentaremos descrever a evolução das comunidades locais, desde a sua organização típica tendo os povoados fortificados como padrão generalizado de povoamento, através da complexificação gradual da sociedade, com o surgimento dos *oppida* como primeiras experiências de aglomerados urbanos. Explicaremos então a integração desta região no Império Romano e as consequências deste feito político e cultural que conduziu a uma distinta organização do povoamento e identidade cultural das comunidades que habitaram o Norte de Portugal nos inícios da nossa Era.

Tratando-se de um amplo período cronológico, com um conjunto particularmente complexo de acontecimentos históricos e mudança cultural, uma visão de conjunto desta fase é limitada por diferentes fontes arqueológicas, com trabalhos realizados desde os finais do século XIX até aos dias de hoje, num grande número de sítios arqueológicos, correspondentes a diferentes tipos de assentamento, estudados por equipas com diferentes perspetivas históricas e métodos de investigação. Posto isto, as ideias que iremos apresentar são uma tentativa de obter uma leitura geral, racional e realista, desta interessante fase histórica.

Vários temas e sítios serão aqui sublinhados, alguns dos mais conhecidos *oppida* da Idade do Ferro, como Briteiros, e o centro do processo de Romanização no Norte de Portugal, a cidade de *Bracara Augusta*.

Palavras-chave: Norte de Portugal; Idade do Ferro; Romanização.

1. Researches on northern Portuguese hillforts and roman sites

Coincident with the birth of the Portuguese Archaeology, the researches of Francisco Martins Sarmento¹ in the second half of the 19th century are the first systematic works related with pre-roman and roman contexts in Northern Portugal, after some written references from the 17th and 18th centuries (image 1). Mostly centred in the territory of Guimarães, particularly in the *Citânia de Briteiros* hillfort, but with general surveys made in different sites of the region, the works of Sarmento were followed by other local interested men, like Rocha Peixoto in Póvoa de Varzim, and Albano Belino in Braga. Along the 20th century, archaeological research was made in specific sites, depending on the initiative of different personalities, like Abade de Baçal, Mário Cardozo, Afonso do Paço, Eugénio Jalhay and Santos Júnior. Only since the 1970s, however, the archaeological researches start to be oriented by the universities, some of them of recent creation, with the most need actualization in scientific terms. Ferreira de Almeida² published important works of historical revision, together with the first archaeological works carried out with registration of stratigraphy³.

The history of Northern Portugal Archaeology, in what refers to the period of transition to the Common Era, was marked by researches much more oriented to the hillfort “castro” sites, than to roman settlements. This can be explained by the fact that roman sites are here quite dis-



Image 1
The *oppidum* of Briteiros (Guimarães) during the excavation works of Martins Sarmento. Photography of Francisco Martins Sarmento, circa 1880. Collection of the Martins Sarmento Society.

guised, due to the existence of vestiges in nowadays urban centres, or because many sites are quite covered by sediments⁴, being mostly located in lands on the valley. Under contrary, the pre-roman fortified settlements known as “castros” are quite evident still nowadays, located on hill tops, and preserving part of the monumentality of its massive stone walls. This particular aspect led to the general misguided view that, on one side, Northern Portugal was scarcely romanized⁵, without large roman cities, typical of other regions of Iberia, and on the other, hillforts, particularly the larger ones, were a product of direct roman influence⁶, explaining thus the apparently lack of roman vestiges. A similar phenomenon happened in Britain, with

¹ Sarmento 1933; see biographic notes in Lemos 2013.

² Almeida 1983.

³ Excavations with registration of stratigraphy became generalised in Northern Portugal since the 1970s, after a first experience led by C. Hawkes in 1958 (Hawkes 1971).

⁴ Carvalho 2008: 31-32.

⁵ Carvalho 2008: 14-16.

⁶ See a general discussion about this matter in González-Ruibal 2006-07: 328-338).



some sites known as “Caesar camps” being, in fact, Iron Age *oppida*. Only the development of academic systematic works, from the 1980s onwards, made it possible to have a much clearer historical view on the matter.

Concerning Iron Age settlement, some academic works became notable by its totally new approach supported by scientific excavation programs, like the project of Manuela Martins⁷ in the Cávado valley, or by its capacity to systematize the known information about the so called “Castro Culture”, like the work of Armando Coelho Silva⁸. These two published PhD projects created, besides other important aspects, the typological tables still in use as a reference to the Iron Age pottery. Different projects related with the study of hillforts are being carried out nowadays in sites like Briteiros and Bagunte, the hillforts of the Terva river valley in Boticas⁹, or the different sites recently explored in the Sabor valley¹⁰.

In what concerns the roman period, the most notable step was made after the appearance of the *Bracara Augusta* project¹¹, that originated a boom in archaeological works in Braga, and its surroundings, led by the University of Minho, with a massive study of the foundation and evolution of what was the most prominent roman city in the North-west of Iberia. Besides the study of *Bracara*, other smaller projects were undertaken about the roman rural settlements¹², and about the roman road network¹³, as well as a more clear interpretation, supported by archaeological fieldworks, about the roman city of *Aquae Flaviae* (Chaves)¹⁴.

2. Late Iron Age in Northern Portugal

For most of the 1st millennium BC, the settlement pattern in northern Portugal was marked by the seemingly generalized existence of fortified sites, locally known as “castros”. The beginning of this pattern was dated back to Late Bronze Age, in a phase most known by the coexistence of lowland open settlements, according to Bronze Age tradition, together with the first examples of fortified sites located in the most visible hilltops¹⁵. Despite some authors continue to support an expressive cultural change around 500 BC¹⁶, it is now quite consensual that the evolution of the “castro” settlements followed a lineal course from the late 7th to the 2nd centuries BC¹⁷. This evolution was, indeed, marked by the introduction of new technologies (image 2) and a progressive complexity of the defensive and domestic structures of each hillfort. A general scenario of autarchic and relatively isolated communities seems to characterize most of the Iron Age in Northern Portugal, till the roman military expedition led by Decimus Iunius Brutus in 138-136 BC that we know solely by written classical sources¹⁸.

In fact, the expedition of Brutus, held in a context of pacification of the *Hispania Ulterior* province, followed by an exploration or punishment journey to the lands that form now the North of Portugal, *id est*, the territory to the north of the Douro river, has been highlighted since the early researches as an historic mark in the Iron Age communities of this region. Besides some specific cases where archaeological contexts were identified with destruction layers possibly resulting from this expedition¹⁹, the interpretation of this historical event is much more related with a considerable change in the pattern of settlement of the local fortified sites, which has been recorded in a



Image 2
An example of a typical wheel-made late Iron Age vessel from Northern Portugal. Martins Sarmiento Society Archaeological Museum.

large number of archaeological fieldworks in different hillforts²⁰. For some authors, particularly those that still stand for the definition of the so called “Castro Culture”, the expedition of Brutus marks, arguably, the beginning of the Romanization process²¹. A more rational perspective can help us, on the other hand, to realize that the phenomenon of Romanization, as we know it in other areas of the Iberian Peninsula, started only after the end of the Cantabric Wars²², in late 1st century BC. The last phase of Iron Age in Northern Portugal, corresponding to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC can thus be considered as a period in which local communities evolved from an autarchic, agrarian and relatively isolated context to a much more dynamic, densely populated and generally peaceful territory, open to cultural and technological influences from abroad²³. Therefore, despite the aforementioned expedition of Brutus can still be considered an important historic mark, the main changes that are visible in this phase can

be related with a process slightly prior to this roman expedition, encouraged by the general awareness of historical and military ongoings on different areas of Iberia²⁴, and by a progressive increase in the sea trade routes along the Atlantic coast. This somewhat “immemorial” Atlantic route can be documented in Late Iron Age as a communication circuit apparently coordinated by the city of Gadir²⁵, and controlled by the Punic, and later, Roman powers. The progressive higher presence of imported goods in many different hillforts have been documented in recent years in the North-west on the Peninsula²⁶, showing evidences of a stable communication with the south, particularly in the coastal settlements. With the circulation of products and people, comes the spread of ideas and values that propitiate the cultural change of the communities of a specific territory.

These aspects were crucial, together with the demographic growth of the territory in this phase, for the significant changes that we can observe (image 3). In fact, there was a considerable growth of the number of hillforts in the last two centuries BCE, and new terrains start to be used for its emplacement, being now quite common to have “castros” in small hills close to the bottom of the valleys, and even close to river banks, that testify activities of land clearance and consequent growth in farming production²⁷. Accordingly, different settlements start to reorganize, abandoning its traditional autarchic model, and giving way to a settlement hierarchy. For the first time in this region we can define territorial areas larger than the simple hillfort itself, with different settlements forming part of a defined land and with a larger hillfort as a central place (image 4).

The appearance of these larger hillforts, that seem to act as regional capitals, is a phenomenon that can be compared

7 Martins 1990.
8 Silva 2007. Reference to the 2007 new edition, after the first publication from 1986.
9 For instance in the *Castro de Sapelos* hillfort (Osório 2017).
10 For instance in the Castelinho fortified settlement (Santos *et alii* 2012).
11 With archaeological works carried out since 1976, continuous till nowadays, with an upgrade in recent years made possible by a large number of excavation campaigns in Braga and academic works led by the University of Minho. See Martins 2014.
12 Ribeiro 2018; Tereso and Barranhão 2010.
13 Lemos 2008.
14 Ribeiro 2010.

15 Martins 1990: 114.
16 Silva 2007.
17 Martins 1990.
18 Tranoy 1981: 126-127.
19 Hawkes 1971; Gomes and Carneiro 2005.

20 This idea is quite supported in the publications of Silva 2007 and Martins 1990, based in systematic archaeological works of these authors in a wide range of portuguese hillforts.
21 Silva 2007: 24.
22 Cruz 2015: 411.
23 Martins 2009: 218.

24 Like, for instance, the Second Punic War, in which the participation of warriors from the north of the Douro river has been referred by the classical sources, through Tranoy 1981.
25 Morais 2007.
26 González-Ruibal *et alii* 2010.
27 Martins 2009: 218.



Image 3
A map of the North-western corner on nowadays Portugal, with the location of the most known oppida, and the names of some pre-roman populi.



Image 4
A partial view over the acropolis of the oppidum of Briteiros (Guimarães). At the top, the two dwellings reconstructed by Francisco Martins Sarmento.



with similar dynamics in other regions of Western Europe, like in the North-west of the Iberian Plateau²⁸, the Rhône river basin²⁹ and the south of England³⁰, for instance. These sites are known by the Latin expression *oppida*, used by Caesar in his comments to the Gallic Wars. Corresponding to different chronologies and different cultural realities, the phenomenon of the appearance of European *oppida*, like the later phenomenon of Romanization, seems to have a pattern, sharing causes and results, throughout Western Europe. *Oppida* can thus be considered the first examples of urban sites, if we attend to its main characteristics and the reasons that led to its creation.

Despite different possible reasons to their location³¹, in some cases as *ex novo* foundations, in others as reoccupation of early hillforts, or a simple continuity in the occupation of a hillfort, *oppida* seem to have been a solution to the evident demographic growth of this phase, together with the necessity for control and stability of the territory, that abandoned its typical communitarian organization, and faced the deepening of social inequality and hierarchy³². These larger sites concentrate population, that should have reached the few thousands in some cases³³, but they assemble as well specific functions, that we can define as of political, economic and cultural nature, including here aspects related with the worship of the gods³⁴. *Oppida* are, as well, the most clear evidence for the existence and consolidation of a strong local elite, that based its representation in warfare aspects, like warrior statues (image 5) and massive stone walls, encompassing hectares of terrain that were added to the inner area of these sites. Since Brutus, though, war seems to be no more a current affair for these communities. Production, wealth and trade seem to be now the main goals of the commu-



Image 5
A granite warrior statue collected close to the Outeiro Lesenho hillfort (Boticas). National Archaeology Museum, Lisbon.

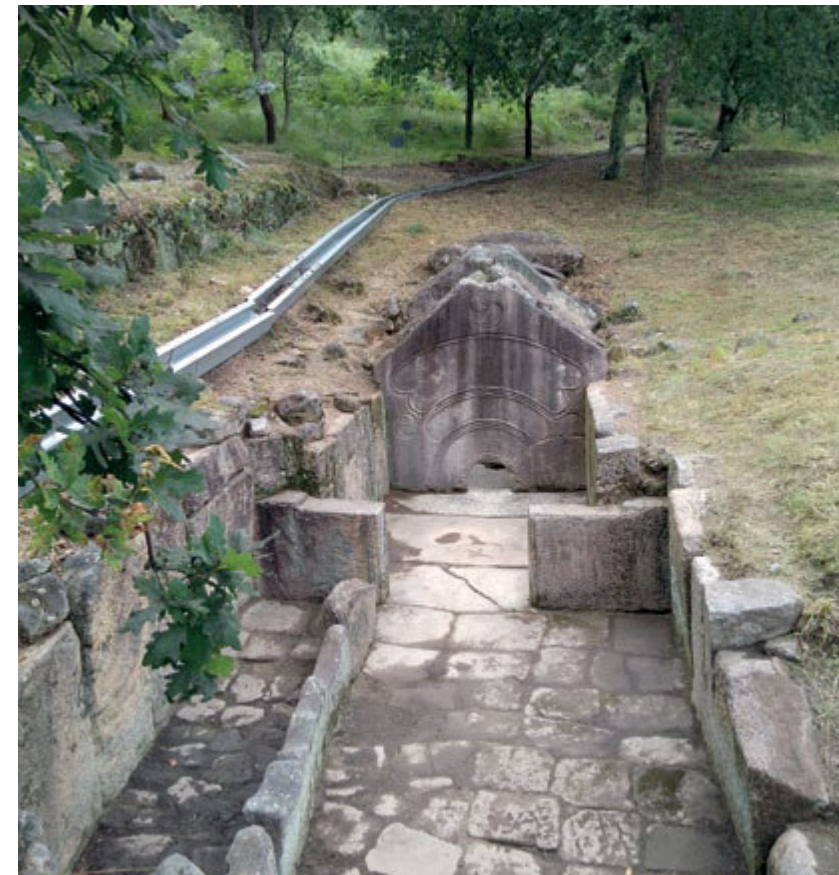


Image 6
A view of the southern bathhouse of Citânia de Briteiros (Guimarães), with a characteristic *Pedra Formosa* stone, dividing two functional areas.

nities that lived in Northern Portugal throughout the 1st century BC³⁵. However, these dynamics were not common to all the territory corresponding nowadays to Northern Portugal, being characteristic to the western part of the territory between the Douro and Minho rivers. Far inland, it has been suggested that the region now known as Trás-os-Montes maintained some aspects characteristic of previous centuries, with small hillforts, and segmental social

models, in what refers to the nowadays district of Bragança. On the other side, the region of Chaves-Vila Real, where the Lesenho hillfort is located, can be considered as a buffer zone, where central places existed in this phase, being though smaller than the large *oppida* of the western territory³⁶.

Besides some aspects of the *oppida* of the territory between the Douro and the Minho rivers, like the existence of a specific type of Iron Age bathhouses (image 6), that correspond to important artistic expressions, and other public spaces related with political and religious activities, some of these sites show clear evidences of a projected urban plan. If there are examples of large *oppida* that don't seem to have a specific previous organization of the space, some of them show a roughly concentric plan, some others a typical orthogonal organization of the urban space³⁷ (image 7). Traditionally, this orthogonal organization has been attributed to the roman influence³⁸, or even as an evidence of existence of "roman colonies", created during the roman conquest, or even after that³⁹. This evident chronological misconception, that can be justified by the dating results of a specific site (Monte Mozinho, near Penafiel) as a hillfort founded in the time of Augustus, that can be considered an exception, doesn't match with the results of the archaeological fieldworks in the *oppida* of Briteiros⁴⁰, São Julião⁴¹ and Santo Ovídeo⁴², where the road networks were dated from late 2nd and early 1st centuries BC. The same happens in Galice, with similar results achieved for sites with road grid plans, like Castromaior⁴³ and San Cibrao de Las⁴⁴. Now, the influence of the "romanized" territories of the south cannot be underestimated, as cannot the in-

28 Alvaréz-Sanchís 1997.

29 Woolf 1993; Fernández-Götz 2011.

30 Pitts and Perring 2006.

31 Fernández-Götz 2011.

32 Martins 2009: 218-219.

33 Lemos and Cruz 2011.

34 Cruz 2015: 404.

35 Martins 2009: 219-221.

36 Lemos et alii 2012: 194-195.

37 González-Ruibal 2006-07: 568.

38 Silva 2007: 24.

39 Queiroga 2007: 175.

40 Cruz 2015.

41 Martins 1990.

42 Martins 1991.

43 Lopéz Marcos et alii 2011.

44 Prieto Martínez et alii 2017.



Image 7
A general plan of the *oppidum* of Briteiros, with the known archaeological structures. One can see the orthogonal grid formed by the public roads.

fluence of prior urban experiences in southern Iberia, but think of local hillforts projected with orthogonal grids as a direct action of the roman power is not consistent with the fact that the areas to the north of the Douro continued out of the control of Roman power till the reign of Caesar Augustus. The awareness that these pristine forms of urban orthogonal planning were not a local creation makes us think of possibilities that can explain its origin. Its Mediterranean roots seem incontestable, but the ways and time when these ideas were transmitted remain unclear. Recently, it started to be assumed an influence from the *Meseta*⁴⁵ (the Iberian Plateau), to explain the urbanism of sites like Castromaior (Lugo, Galice), where roads made through a concentric plan were recently registered⁴⁶. This influence regards the slightly earlier urban experiences in the region of the Celtiberian, whose *oppida* are being studied by recent research teams⁴⁷. Anyways, the origin of the urbanism of the *oppida* of Northern Portugal, a common context with south Galice, and the reasons to explain why only some sites show clear evidences of orthogonal planning, remains an open question.

After the expedition of Brutus, and its apparent impact in the reorganization of indigenous communities, the region here in study remained outside the limits of the roman province of *Hispania Ulterior*⁴⁸, maintaining these communities their economic and political autonomy, although under a growing influence of southern territories. The expedition of the Proconsul Brutus, in 138-136 BC, must be seen in the context of more or less random military expeditions led by provincial governors under the decentralized power of the Roman Republic, as a way to obtain wealth and political reputation and influence. In this specific case, it could be an expedition motivated

by punishment, but as well by need of exploration of unknown and even mysterious territories, as suggested by the myths that surrounded the journey of Brutus⁴⁹. This kind of geographic and economic exploration could have motivated a less known expedition of another governor from *Ulterior*, Publius Crassus, in 96-94 BC⁵⁰. Years later, the naval expedition led by Julius Caesar in 61 BC, after another pacification campaign in the territory of the *Lusitani*, in nowadays central Portugal, can be seen as a successful attempt to restore the Atlantic trade route along the coast of the Northwest of Iberia⁵¹.

By the beginning of the Roman imperial regime, the region of nowadays Northern Portugal was a cohesive group of clearly autonomous territories, each one centred on an *oppidum*, led by firmly established local elites, with apparent good relations with its neighbours, and with the Roman territories of the south.

3. The integration in the Roman Empire

The integration of the territory of Northern Portugal in the political sphere of the Roman state can be somewhat related with the establishment of the imperial regime and the proclamation of the reign of Caesar Augustus. It is now a general assumption that the integration of the North-western corner of Iberia was a central decision of the first Roman emperor, ending thus roughly two hundred years after the first Roman intervention in Iberia. The moments and the concrete steps that led to a new administrative reality and, in time, a profound cultural and economic change, are not clearly known. There are not much doubts, however, that there was not a military conquest of this region, as happened with the territories of Northern Galice, Asturias and León⁵², that were the main stage of the much

45 Ayán Vila 2013: 50.

46 Lopéz Marcos *et alii* 2011.

47 Jimeno Martínez 2011.

48 Quoting Alfredo González-Ruibal: "In fact, the northernmost roman establishment known before the arrival of Augustus is the Caesarean epoch camp of Lomba do Canho in Arganil (...), in the skirts of the Estrela Mountains, 100km south straight of the Douro river." (González-Ruibal 2006-07: 335)

49 Tranoy 1981: 127-128.

50 Martins 2009: 220.

51 Morais 2007: 103-104.

52 Martins *et alii* 2005.



famous Cantabrian Wars, between 26 and 19 BC.

It is still unclear the real involvement of the communities of Northern Portugal in the Cantabrian Wars. The local *populi* known by the classical sources, the *Callaeci* (in the origin of the name of the later Roman province of *Callaecia*), the *Bracari* (in the large territory encompassed by the Ave and Cávado river basins), the *Grovii*, the *Equesi*, the *Turodi*, the *Lapiteae* and, in the far East of Trás-os-Montes, the *Zoelae*, for mention some examples, seem absent from the descriptions of the military manoeuvres undertaken by the generals of Augustus. The name of Publius Carisius, governor of the then recently created province of *Lusitania*, stands out as the general responsible for the legion that acted in the Cantabrian Wars from the South⁵³, *id est*, peacefully crossing the territory of Northern Portugal. This aspect, together with the beginning of Roman currency circulation⁵⁴, with the first coins (known as “*caetra* coins”) minted probably, at least some of the coinages, by order of Carisius himself, can show the general acceptance of Roman military presence, and the spirit of agreement that marked this region during the conquest of the northern territories, inhabited by the *Astures* and the *Cantabri* (image 8).

After 19 BC, the whole of the Northwest of Iberia will enter a long process of change, largely encouraged by the policies of the Roman state, but adapted to the different realities of each geographic and cultural context that formed this large part of Iberia. Official measures included the establishment of a solid administration, including the native elites in the process, and the foundation of three large cities in the Northwest, *Bracara*, *Lucus* and *Asturica*, that will become the administrative centres of the three *conventus* then created, and crucial in the consolidation of imperial policies⁵⁵.

53 Tranoy 1981: 137.

54 García-Bellido 2003.

55 Martins 2009: 221.



Image 8
An example of a bronze *caetra* coin, minted in the Northwest of Iberia in late 1st century BC. Martins Sarmiento Society Archaeological Museum.

The entire region that forms now the North of Portugal would have been initially part of the province of *Lusitania*, and then integrated a shortly living province called *Transduriana*⁵⁶. However, the region became integrated in the province of *Hispania Citerior*, most known in imperial times as *Tarraconensis*, and formed the *Conventus Bracarum*, whose limits extended to nowadays Galice and León⁵⁷. The

56 Martins *et alii* 2005: 281.

57 Lemos *et alii* 2012.



Image 9
The granite pedestal found in Semelhe (Braga), with an honorific inscription dedicated to Augustus. Martins Sarmiento Society Archaeological Museum. Photography of Eduardo Brito.

foundation of the city of *Bracara Augusta*, that should have happened by the year 15 BC⁵⁸ was then the most notable event in this region. Few years after the foundation of the city, allegedly around 3 to 2 BC⁵⁹, the *Bracaraugustani* dedicated a monument to Augustus (image 9), in the birthday of *Propraetor* Paulus Fabius Maximus. The making of this

58 Martins 2009: 227.

59 Redentor 2011 vol. 2: 114.

monument show, besides the particular protagonism of Fabius Maximus, the early existence of a civic *corpus* in this new city founded *ex novo*⁶⁰.

In fact, the place where the city of *Bracara Augusta* was founded seems to have been previously chosen, in an area that probably have been seasonally used, in Late Iron Age, as a meeting place for peoples of different neighbouring hillforts, gathering in trade and religious activities, as the sanctuary of *Fonte do Ídolo*, dedicated to an indigenous deity, but in full use in Roman time, seems to suggest⁶¹. Anyway, contrary to the founding and the first years of the cities of *Lucus Augusti* and *Asturica Augusta*, the beginning of the occupation of *Bracara* show a mostly civilian context and a rapid assimilation of imperial ideals, at least by the local elites, that formed part of the political and ideological process, with native personalities obtaining wealth, prestige and important official post in the new city⁶².

In what regards the large territory that formed the *Conventus Bracarum*, the implementation of the official imperial policies implied, besides the foundation of the *conventus* capital of *Bracara*, the juridical establishment of what seems to have been pre-existent territorial and cultural divisions: the transformation of the native *populi* in Roman *civitates*. This system allowed the creation of a decentralized administration, making possible to collect tribute and other administrative functions in a large scale, but letting the local government under responsibility of the traditional aristocratic groups⁶³. This policy, together with the high complexity, hierarchy and organization of the indigenous communities already in Late Iron Age, propitiated a long period of stability, in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, marked by the important political steps in the time of Augustus, but as well during the Flavian dynasty, with the attribution of municipal status to the cities of the North-

60 Martins 2009: 227.

61 Lemos 2010.

62 Martins 2009: 228.

63 Martins *et alii* 2005: 281.



Image 10
Remains of the public baths of *Alto da Cividade* (Braga), founded in early 2nd century AD, over the remains of a 1st century public building. University of Minho. Martins 2011: 22.

west of Iberia⁶⁴. For this period onwards, *Bracara* testified as well a program of construction of large public equipments (image 10), like the public baths and the theatre, both constructed in the beginning of the 2nd century AD⁶⁵.

The joint policy of foundation of the capital of the *conventus*, and the creation of a dense road network, centred in *Bracara*, allowed the emergence of a high number of new settlements, particularly non fortified lowland sites, like the *villae* and smaller farming estates. In between, the capitals of *civitas* acted as secondary urban settlements, located along the layout of the road system⁶⁶. This can be the case of *Tongobriga*, *Oculus Calidarum*⁶⁷, *Castelum Madiae*⁶⁸ or *Pinetum*⁶⁹.

In what concerns the late Iron Age hillforts, most of them continued to be inhabited for most of the 1st century AD. Some of them became important urban centres in Roman time, due to their strategic location close to the layout of the new roads, as seems to be the case of Alvarelhos, Trofa⁷⁰. However, a large number of hillforts were abandoned, giving way to new open settlements, sometimes in its proximity. The old Iron Age *oppida* became smaller rural settlements, but its population passed by the same process of cultural change, adopting new ways of lifestyle, new products, starting to use currency, Latin and completely new approaches to architecture⁷¹.

4. Conclusion. The *oppida* and the Romanization process in Northern Portugal

As a synthesis, it is possible to characterize the last phase of Iron Age in most of the territory of nowadays Northern Portugal as a period of considerable growth and relative calm, when compared with the instability that characterized other geographic contexts. These phase testified the first examples of urban landscapes, with the emergence of the *oppida* as central places and a reflexion of a more centralized and stable power, held by local elites. This context made possible what seems to have been a diplomatic approach by the end of the 1st century BC, which allowed a rapid and stable Romanization process that changed the living standards and the landscape of most of this large territory.

Contrary to what happens to be a traditional view on this matter, the Romanization process here seems not a break in what was a temporal Iron Age culture, but one other step in the evolution of the local communities.

⁶⁴ Martins 2009: 224.

⁶⁵ Martins 2009: 230.

⁶⁶ Carvalho 2008.

⁶⁷ Nowadays Caldas de Vizela. Martins 2009: 224.

⁶⁸ Close to Alvarelhos, Trofa. Moreira 2009.

⁶⁹ In the East of the Trás-os-Montes region. Lemos *et alii* 2012.

⁷⁰ Moreira 2009.

⁷¹ Cruz 2015: 411.



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**AERIAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF LATE IRON
AGE FORTIFIED SETTLEMENTS IN WESTERN HUNGARY
(TRANSDANUBIA)**

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Aerial archaeological research of Late Iron Age fortified settlements in Western Hungary (Transdanubia)

Abstract

The aim of our study is to present the aerial archaeological research of the late Celtic fortified settlements identified in Transdanubia, the western part of Hungary. The topographical data collections based on aerial photographs were mainly resting on the work of Éva Petres, Miklós Szabó and Gyula Nováki, but during the research we conducted our own field observations at each site. Furthermore, we participated in excavations on Velem – Szent Vid-hegy and Gellérthegey, while we could carry out our own at Bába – Öreghegy. Results of aerial photography from 2000 to 2017 constitute the backbone of this study, which allowed to refine and complement the picture drawn from previous researches. We identified previously unknown fortification traces and collected archaeological finds outside the inner parts in several cases as well, which changed our knowledge on the size and intensity of the settlements, and made it possible to differentiate more precisely between the *oppida* and other, smaller fortified settlements.

Keywords Transdanubia, Late Celtic fortified settlements, aerial archaeology.

Resumo

O objetivo do nosso estudo é apresentar a pesquisa arqueológica aérea dos assentamentos fortificados Celtas identificados na Transdanubia, a parte ocidental da Hungria.

As recolhas de dados topográficos obtidos por fotografia aérea basearam-se principalmente nos trabalhos de Éva Petres, Miklós Szabó e Gyula Nováki, a que acrescentamos as nossas próprias observações de campo em cada local. Participamos ainda em escavações em Velem - Szent Vid-hegy, Gellérthegey e em Bába - Öreghegy, estas últimas dirigidas por nós.

Os resultados da fotografia aérea de 2000 a 2017 constituem a espinha dorsal deste estudo, o que permitiu refinar e complementar a imagem de pesquisas anteriores.

Identificamos vestígios de fortificação anteriormente desconhecidos e recolhemos achados arqueológicos no exterior dos recintos, o que alterou o nosso conhecimento sobre a dimensão e intensidade dos assentamentos, possibilitando uma diferenciação mais precisa entre *oppida* e outros assentamentos fortificados menores.

Palavras-chave Transdanubia, assentamentos fortificados célticos tardios, arqueologia aérea.

1. Introduction

The first detailed topographical summary of the Late Iron Age fortified settlements in Transdanubia was compiled by Éva Petres in 1976.¹ The next important step in the modern research was the Hungarian-French program in 1988-1994, during which important new data were obtained on two *oppida* of European significance. In the case of Velem – Szent Vid-hegy² and Gellérthegey³ the dating and even the theoretical reconstruction of their fortifications is considered to be successful.⁴ The latest detailed synopsis containing numerous new data was published by Miklós Szabó in 2015, in his work covering the Celtic culture in Hungary.⁵

One of the aims of the Hungarian-French aerial archaeological cooperation between 1993 and 2000 related to the aforementioned program was the aerial archaeological research of the Late Iron Age sites in Transdanubia. Thus, the aerial photography of Velem – Szent Vid-hegy took place for the first time,⁶ but new photographs were taken of Százhalombatta – Sánc as well.⁷ Taking advantage of the capabilities of the GIS Laboratory created in 1993 in the Institute of Archaeological Sciences, Eötvös Loránd University, we started registering the archaeological sites in Hungary in the second half of the 1990s, beginning with the topographical data of prehistoric fortified settlements.⁸ From the 2000s onwards, we have the opportunity

to conduct their systematic aerial archaeological research during which we take photographs on a regular basis in different seasons, under various land cover conditions.⁹ In the fields under agricultural activity, soil and crop or other vegetation marks can be observed, while most of the fortified settlements in forested areas should be photographed when they are covered by snow.

Considering that there is a distinction in Celtic research between the *oppida* and smaller, less significant fortified settlements, we also use this grouping when presenting each site. The *oppidum*, as the product of the Late Iron Age urbanization process in continental Europe, can be properly defined in topographic terms if the industrial and commercial activity related to urbanization, furthermore its size and prestige objects indicates the high importance of the settlement. Based on previous research, part of the late Celtic fortified settlements match the definition of the *oppida*;¹⁰ however, as it will be shown, this classification has not changed much, but rather supplemented and refined by new topographic research.

2. Late Celtic oppida in Transdanubia

The well-known prehistoric earthworks of Velem – Szent Vid-hegy were built during the Late Iron Age, which came out as a result of the Hungarian-French excavations. The chronological position of the external earthworks identified in the summer of 1994 – after the excavations have

¹ Petres 1976

² Szabó *et al.* 1994, Guillaumet *et al.* 1999

³ Barral 1998

⁴ Szabó 1992, 60-64.

⁵ Szabó 2015, 62-73.

⁶ Gogúey – Szabó 1995, 66.

⁷ Gogúey – Szabó 1995, 71.

⁸ Nováki *et al.* 2006

⁹ Aerial photography has been supported by the Nature Reservation Office, the Foundation for Hungarian Higher Education and Research, the grants of the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund 43762 and 68824, the NRDIO 111058 grant and the Interreg DTP 1-1-248-2.2 Iron-Age Danube Program of the European Union.

¹⁰ Szabó 2015, fig. 82.



Figure 1
Velem – Szent Vid-hegy (Zoltán Czajlik, 24th June 2017).



Figure 2
Esztergom – Várhegy and its surroundings (Zoltán Czajlik, 21th June 2017).



Figure 3
Budapest – Gellérthegy on the right bank of the Danube (Zoltán Czajlik, 7th July 2015).



Figure 4
Féccamp-type rampart in Százhalombatta – Sánc (Zoltán Czajlik, 22nd November 2017).

been completed – is questionable, but it can be assumed that it was also built in the Iron Age. A more detailed observation of the earthwork's structure was also made during the excavations at Velem, and it was possible to identify the wooden construction supporting the steep fortification running down the mountain and the phyllite sheets (velemer schist) that were covering it.¹¹ The size of the fortified area (cca. 40 hectare, not taking the possible external earthworks into account) makes Velem one of the largest Late Celtic fortified settlements in Hungary, and the finds from the excavations by Kálmán Miske¹² and the modern research, confirmed the classification of the settlement as an *oppidum*. In the case of Velem – Szent Vid-hegy, only the geographical location, the course of the western great rampart and part of the terraces of the settlement situated on the last extension of the Eastern Alps can be documented in the forested area, on the basis of the aerial photographs (fig. 1.).

The situation of Sopron – Várhegy is considered more prob-

lematic. It is well-known that the significant Early Iron Age fortress was rebuilt in Celtic times and that the excavations also exposed Late Iron Age settlement features in addition to the parts of the Celtic earthworks.¹³ However, its published Celtic material lacks evidence for (prestigious) objects related to commercial or industrial activity, characteristic for *oppida*. Since it is covered by a tall forest, its aerial photography can only be effective during snowy periods, but we have not been able to observe new fortifications or any other Late Iron Age phenomenon yet.

From a topographic point of view, it is surprising that the next known hilltop settlement east of Bratislava along the Danube that can be considered as *oppidum* is Esztergom – Várhegy (fig. 2.). Although the location of the fortifications is only presumable due to the transformations during the 19th century, an *oppidum* can be assumed here.¹⁴ On the basis of the ever-expanding series of Late Iron Age features from the territory of Esztergom, a series of settlements belonged, or connected to the *oppidum* can be re-

constructed.¹⁵ In this zone, according to current data, the Szent György-mező settlement was the most significant.¹⁶ This idea is supported by the existence of Celtic pottery kilns and coins, painted pottery, etc. in the find material.

The elaboration of the excavations at Budapest – Gellérthegy and Tabán before World War II was published by Éva B. Bónis in 1969.¹⁷ The modern research of the *oppidum* (fig. 3.) that is completely built in or landscaped today took place in 1989-1992 under a Hungarian-French-Swiss cooperation project.¹⁸ The most important result was the identification of the *Pfostenschlitzmauer*-type rampart, that theoretical reconstruction was made by Philippe Barral.¹⁹ From the area within the two-phase late Celtic fortifications, essentially only buildings from before World War II, published by Éva Bónis are known, which cannot be clearly identified today. At the same time, more and more data are being collected from the neighbouring territories,

such as from the Tabán area (even from the Buda Castle and the Gellért square), which could be interpreted – similarly to Esztergom – as a part or an extensive «agglomeration» of the *oppidum*.²⁰ As it was already published by Éva Bónis,²¹ the potter settlement in Tabán is considered part of the urban settlement in a topographical point of view. It is logical that the highly flammable industrial activities have always been carried out in the outer zone of the *oppida*, separated from the residential area.

The northern part of Százhalombatta – Sánc is one of the most prominent and most undamaged Hungarian examples of the so-called *Féccamp*-type ramparts, which in this way can be dated to the Late Iron Age without any excavation (fig. 4.). The fortification on the edge of the loess plateau is difficult to climb even in today's state; the gate can be presumed to be from the direction of the rampway. Unfortunately, the results of both the old and more recent excavations are unpublished, so the classification of the hillfort as an *oppidum* is supported mostly by stray

11 Guillaumet *et al.* 1999
12 Miske 1908

13 Petres 1976, 63-67.
14 Bónis 1971, 1971a

15 Horváth *et al.* 1979, 78., 128., 156., 158-159., 162.
16 Horváth *et al.* 1979, 207-208., Lázár 2006
17 Bónis 1969
18 Barral *et al.* 1996
19 Barral 1998

20 Maráz 2005
21 Bónis 1969



Figure 5
Tihany – Óvár (Zoltán Czajlik, 8th February 2010).

coins, an important stone statue head²² and painted pottery finds besides the spectacular rampart. In 2017, we reconstructed the possible extent of the former Iron Age settlement based on the Second Military Survey.²³ In the framework of the Iron-Age-Danube project, using magnetometer geophysical surveys, possible fortification ditches north of the *Fécamp*-type rampart have also been identified.²⁴ Although the age of the latter is still unclear, both data suggest that the former Late Celtic settlement could have been much larger than previously assumed, which reinforces the hypothesis of defining the fortified settlement as an *oppidum*.

In the case of Tihany – Óvár, the existing earthworks was probably built using the *Fécamp*-type Late Iron Age fortification (fig. 5.) that can be detected despite the supposed medieval transformation.²⁵ The modern excavation in 1999 shed light on a large amount of Celtic find material,²⁶



Figure 6
Lake crossing at Balaton. The Late Celtic fortified settlement is located at the part of the peninsula in the forefront (Zoltán Czajlik, 8th February 2010).

but – besides its notable extent – the interpretation of the fortified settlement in Tihany as an *oppidum* is only supported by its excellent strategic position so far, as the Tihany peninsula (former island) was the most important crossing place at the largest lake of Middle Europe, the Balaton (fig. 6.).

In Southern Transdanubia, numerous fortified, Late Celtic settlements are known that were already classified as *oppidum* by earlier researches, and topographical surveys provided important details to support these assumptions. Nagyberki – Szalacska has been kept count for a long time as an *oppidum* based on the Celtic coin workshop, since Kálmán Darnay's early researches.²⁷ Due to aerial photography and field survey, topographic arguments also seem to confirm this label. The most important of these is the recognition of the two “*Zangentor*” characteristic for the Late Iron Age, which presumably also mark the main road of the settlement. It is important to note, however, that these are not a “classic”, but a peculiar adaptation of the *Zangentor* scheme to the loess plateau (fig. 7.).

²⁷ Darnay 1906



Figure 7
Nagyberki – Szalacska, *oppidum*. Zangentor scheme entrance (Zoltán Czajlik, 8th February 2010).

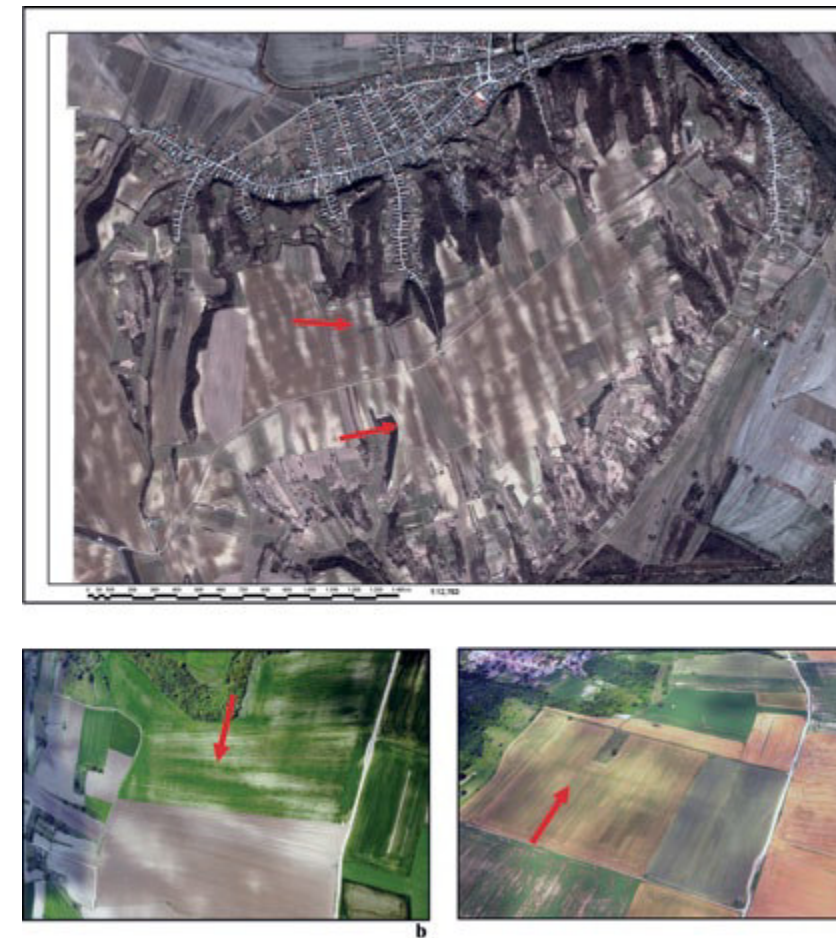
²² Szabó 2005, 169.

²³ Czajlik et al. 2017, fig. 4.

²⁴ Czajlik et al. 2017, fig. 6.

²⁵ Nováki – Uzsóki 2002, 66.

²⁶ Regénye 2002



The fortification of Regöly – Sánc refers to the *Fécamp* scheme again, with the remark that – especially on the east side – the transformation of the edge of the loess plateau might also arise. The southern earthworks were identified by our aerial archaeological research and the western end of the rampart was reconstructed in two versions.²⁸ The newly reconstructed fortification can be counted among the larger ones in Hungary with its 44-50-hectare area, which well supports the definition of the settlement as an *oppidum*. An interesting idea was suggested by Stephan Fichtl about the eastern gate: if it existed in prehistoric times, the aim of the road to the confluence of rivers Kapos and Koppány could only be to reach a smaller port. Based on the observations made during the floods in 2010 (fig. 8.), this could have been located close to the gate in a small “bay” at the bank of the river Kapos.

Attention to the importance of the hilltop settlement Bata – Öreg-hegy was drawn by Éva Petres previously on the basis of an outstanding bronze wild boar figurine.²⁹ A detailed study of the Google Earth images by Balázs Holl has made a decisive turn in the research of the site. We have identified several external fortification lines that were confirmed by aerial photography³⁰ and in the spring 2011 also by geophysical survey (fig. 9.). Based on the 2009 field surveys, the rampart consisting of a double-ditch and an elevated rampart was established in the Late Celtic time. Thanks to these, we gained new points of reference for the extension of the *oppidum* supported by further important topographic data (traces of iron smelting, news on a coin find from the beginning of the 1900s). The fortified settlement of at least 70 hectares is the largest in Hungary known today, its size is significant even among European ones as including the settlements of the *Scordiscus* territory. In the central area – which was formerly thought as fortified exclusively – we conducted a short trial excava-

Figure 8
Regöly – Sánc. *Oppidum* at the confluence of Kapos and Koppány rivers during the early summer floods of 2010. (Zoltán Czajlik, 28th June 2010).

Figure 9
Bata – Öreg-hegy. The fortification reconstructed using Google Earth imagery (a) and the details of the double trench (b, c) on the aerial photographs (Zoltán Czajlik, 18th May 2009) on the loess plateau at the confluence of the Danube and the Sárviz river.

²⁸ Czajlik – Holl 2003, 67-70., fig. 2-5.
²⁹ Petres 1976, 59.
³⁰ Czajlik 2010, fig. 9.



tion in 2008, during which it was found that the centuries-old vine cultivation destroyed late Celtic layers and phenomena approx. 90 cm deep (we could only document a part of a pit). An important find from the related metal detector survey, a fragment of a belt plate and its southern relations was published by Miklós Szabó.³¹

In the absence of stray finds or excavations, the Late Celtic period of the fortified settlement of Pécs – Jakabhegy is almost unknown, so we have to accept the topographic observations of Gyula Török.³² According to our field experiences, Pécs – Jakabhegy – similarly to Sopron – Várhely – was also heavily transformed in the Late Iron Age. The difficulty of interpretation is also due to the massive Early Iron Age history; it is questionable where was exactly the Late Iron Age settlement in the area inside of the ramparts.³³ The earthworks in the woods provide a gratifying theme for aerial archaeologists thanks to their imposing height, which is also well represented by the trees.³⁴ On the latest map based on an ALS survey, a previously unnoticed, external rampart can be observed on the south-eastern side of the fortified settlement,³⁵ which means that the former 53-hectare fortification could have been considerably larger. Despite the fundamental topographic problems mentioned above, it cannot be excluded that Pécs – Jakabhegy was an *oppidum*-like settlement.

3. Smaller late Celtic fortifications in Transdanubia

The Sopron zone was important in the Late Iron Age, as evidenced – besides the late Celtic transformation of Sopron – Várhely – by the newly built fortification of Sopron – Sánchegy (fig. 10). Its extremely small (1,2 ha) area and the scarce surface finds indicate a possible lookout/guard



Figure 10
The fortification of Sopron – Sánchegy. (Zoltán Czajlik, 1st March 2018).

post.³⁶ Besides Sopron – Sánchegy, two smaller Late Celtic fortified settlements (Nagysimonyi/Ostffyasszonyfa – Földvár major³⁷ and Gó – Kápolna-domb³⁸) have become known in Northern Transdanubia thanks to the research carried out in the last third of the 20th century, which cannot be considered as *oppida*. While aerial archaeological research provided little new evidence, our field surveys were very successful in their cases. It has been proved that the Late Celtic settlements extended to a much larger area than the fortified central zone, and even in the case of Nagysimonyi – confirming, partly supplementing the results of Mária Károlyi³⁹ – a significant number of ceramic sherds were found on the surface west and south of the well-known fortification. In the latter zone, landforms indicating the former outer ramparts could also be observed. However, it should be noted in regard to the ramparts that both Gó – Kápolna-domb⁴⁰ and Nagysimonyi – Földvár major⁴¹ they have been cut through, but only relatively simple constructions

³⁶ Czajlik *et al.* 2013
³⁷ Károlyi 1985
³⁸ Ilon 1998
³⁹ Károlyi 1985, 392–393.
⁴⁰ Ilon 1998
⁴¹ Károlyi 1985, 395–402.

³¹ Szabó 2012

³² Török 1950, 4.

³³ Petres 1979, 191.

³⁴ Bertók – Gáti 2014, 127., Szabó 2016, fig. 152.

³⁵ Bertók – Gáti 2014, 129.



Figure 11
Balatonföldvár – Kelta sánc. Fortified Celtic settlement on the southern bank of the lake Balaton not far from the crossing at Tihany. (Zoltán Czajlik, 8th February 2010).

of horizontal lumbers can be mentioned, the external plane of which was not protected either with a stone construction or a row of vertical posts that could be interpreted as *Pfostenschlitzmauer*. Based on the previous excavations and the material collectible on the surface, we cannot speak about serious industrial activity, or long-distance trade in the case of these settlements yet. At the same time, there are no indications that we could designate these sites as a *castellum* inhabited by the elite. Thus, these were probably large-scale, but more likely agricultural settlements.

The case of Pomáz – Nagy-Csikóvár is certainly different: the settlement in the southern part of the Pilis, only fortified in Celtic times seems to be a lookout/guard post similar to Sopron – Sánchegy, from which the areas south of the Pilis could be well controlled. Due to the lack of surface finds and significant terraces, it is difficult to imagine that a serious settlement was located in the fortified area. Based on the attempts to research raw materials (iron ore) until the mid-20th century, it cannot be excluded that the purpose of the fortress was to protect the potential source of the raw material.

The case of Balatonföldvár – Kelta sánc is again different; its role can obviously be interpreted in the context of the crossing point at Lake Balaton. The important question of the triangular fortification, whether the actual situation of the side facing the lake was similar in the Late Celtic period (fig. 11.) seems to be decided by now, as there is no indication of destruction at the northern part of the settlement that could imply the continuation of a former earthworks.⁴² Its more detailed topographic evaluation is made difficult by its built-up density, which hampers any excavational research as well. It is unlikely that it will ever be considered as an *oppidum*. At the river crossing of Sió, another Late Celtic fortified settlement of Southern Transdanubia was built. In the case of Szabadhídvég – Pusztavár, Celtic surface finds – if only in a small compass – can be found in the zones further outside the fortification as well.

Conclusion

The intensive aerial archaeological research of the Late Celtic fortified settlements for nearly two decades has been producing different results depending on the previous knowledge of the sites and the vegetation cover. Aerial photography of settlements in built-up areas (Esztergom – Várhegy, Budapest – Gellérthegy) is suitable for presenting the geographical situation. Fortified settlements in forested areas can be found during snow-free periods only in exceptional cases (Pécs – Jakabhegy), while most of the earthworks can be observed when they are covered by snow (e.g. Tihany – Óvár, Sopron – Sánchegy, Balatonföldvár – Kelta sánc, Nagyberki – Szalacska). It is clear, however, that airborne laser scanning has a much more important role in the research of these sites (e.g. Pécs – Jakabhegy, Sopron – Sánchegy), while the real advantage of studying aerial photographs and satellite imagery reveals itself in the exploration of open, often partially eroded settlements (e.g. Regöly – Sánc, Bába – Öreghegy).

⁴² Nováki 1961, 6.

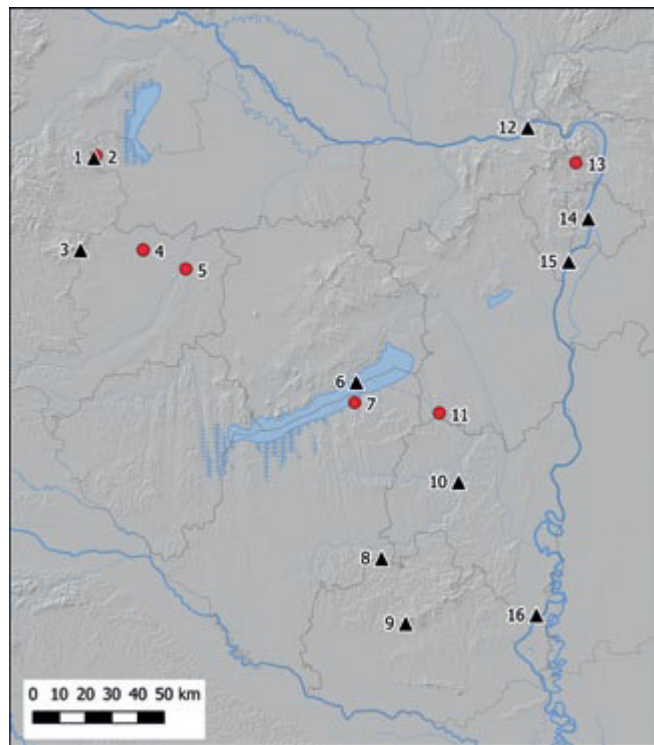


Figure 12
Late Celtic fortified settlements in Transdanubia (Western Hungary): Sopron – Várhely (1), Sopron – Sánchegy (2), Velem – Szent Vid-hegy (3), Gó – Kápolna-halom (4), Nagysimonyi (Ostffyasszonyfa) – Földvár-major (5), Tihany – Óvár (6), Balatonföldvár – Kelta sánc (7), Nagyberki – Szalacska (8), Pécs – Jakab-hegy (9), Regöly – Sánc (10), Szabadhídvég – Pusztavár (11), Esztergom – Várhegy (12), Pomáz – Nagy-Csikóvár (13), Budapest – Gellérthegegy (14), Százhalombatta – Sánc-hegy (15), Bata – Öreg-hegy (16). Larger sites (*oppida*) were marked by black triangles, smaller sites were marked by red dots (Balázs Holl, 2018).

In the case of the latter and Százhalombatta – Sánchegy, frequent aerial photography helped the successful geophysical mapping by which further important discoveries are expected.

Summing up the topographical data of the Transdanubian *oppida* (fig. 12.), it is still conspicuous that at least three of them (Esztergom – Várhegy, Budapest – Gellérth-

egy and Bata – Öreg-hegy) are located along the Danube, and even taking Százhalombatta – Sánc into account, this number can be further increased. These settlements can be placed in a row which continues with Braunsberg (Austria) and Devin / Dévény (Slovakia) in the west, and Stari Slankamen (Serbia) in the south. It is also worth noting that between Velem – Szent Vid-hegy (the antecedent of the ancient Savaria) and the Danube, oppida are still not known in Northern Transdanubia, and even similar urban settlements are missing south of Velem. Szalacska and especially Regöly suggest a greater importance of Southern Transdanubia in the Late Celtic period, which is also supported by other fortified settlements from this era.

Among the smaller fortified settlements, Gó – Kápolnádomb (crossing point of the river Répce), Nagysimonyi – Földvár-major (crossing point of the river Rába) and Balatonföldvár – Kelta sánc (crossing point? of lake Balaton) appear to be small but intensely inhabited settlements, possibly with a strategic function (water crossings?) and Szabadhídvég – Pusztavár (crossing point of the river Sió) could also had a similar role. The settlement function of the smallest Late Celtic fortresses is doubtful – in the case of Sopron – Sánchegy and Nagy – Csikóvár, they could possibly be guard posts related to important zones (routes, raw materials?).

(translated by András Jáky)

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'ELECTIVE AFFINITY' AND THE IRON FIST OF IMPERIALISM: RESPONSES IN BRITAIN TO THE ADVENT OF ROME

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'Elective Affinity' and the Iron Fist of Imperialism: Responses in Britain to the advent of Rome

Abstract

In line with broad trends in the study of the Roman phenomenon, the examination of Rome's influence upon and subsequent conquest of much of Britain has undergone shifts in views and comprehension in recent decades. In part this is a matter of how Roman imperialism was viewed in philosophy and practice. Continuities with some structures and forms of the preceding Iron Age could be identified but how they should be interpreted became a matter of much debate. Recognition of the extractive and draconian nature of modern imperialisms also came to be influential in recent thinking; and from this perspective Roman Britain would pay for the honour of being a part of the empire. More commonly agreed amongst scholars is, above all, the diversity in regional experiences, in settlements, and material expression across the Roman province; the heterogeneity of impact and response. All this makes the study of Britain during the Roman era more fascinating and demanding of attention than had hitherto been realized.

Resumo

Nas últimas décadas e de acordo com as tendências gerais existentes sobre o estudo do fenómeno Romano, a análise da influência de Roma sobre grande parte da Grã-Bretanha e a sua subsequente conquista sofreu alterações de prisma e compreensão. Não obstante, esta é uma questão de como o imperialismo romano foi visto na filosofia e prática. A identificação de continuidades em algumas estruturas e formas da Idade do Ferro era possível, mas o modo como elas deveriam ser interpretadas tornou-se um assunto de grande debate. O reconhecimento da natureza extractiva e draconiana dos imperialismos modernos também se tornou influente no pensamento recente: e, partindo dessa perspectiva, a Grã-Bretanha romana pagou pela honra de ser parte do império. Mais comumente aceite entre os académicos é, acima de tudo, a diversidade existente ao nível das experiências regionais, do povoamento e da expressão material um pouco por toda a província romana; a heterogeneidade do impacto e a respetiva resposta. Tudo isso torna o estudo da Grã-Bretanha durante a era romana atualmente muito mais fascinante e criterioso.

1. Introduction

The transition from Iron Age societies to the creation of the Roman province of Britannia was a major process of change. Within that process there were profound alterations in practice and experience but also many dimensions of continuity; this was a complex and varied reconfiguration. The transformation has proved a challenge to interpreters raising questions about the nature of the indigenous societies, Roman imperialism and the response to Roman expansion. This has led to contrasting views and more latterly the realization that accounting for the character of change is not straight-forward. In terms of the Roman conquest of Britain we know how it happened, how it was possible and largely why. Yet at the political-cultural level deeper questions remain especially regarding post-conquest changes. How forced was this shift? What forms did this imperialism take? What degree of choice and possibility did the new circumstances engender? How did forms of expression alter as the advent of Rome was experienced? Why was this process arguably so successful? How different were these societies in the first place? This examination will start by looking back at some earlier thinking and then consider recent approaches, with the recognition that there are no simple answers. It will be seen that most commentators see power and material culture as key foci.

For much of the 20th century the transition in southern Britain from Iron Age 'tribal' society to Roman province was simply seen in terms of an historical sequence of events and an adaptation to new styles under Roman imperialism. A certain receptiveness in southern Britain to the coming of Roman was broadly accepted (following

initial patchy hostility), while an underswell of latent antagonism and periodic violence was envisaged in the area that is now northern England (the territory of the *Brigantes*) and with peoples inhabiting Scotland. The study was focused upon sites and 'facts', often influenced by a search to verify the limited statements found in ancient historical sources. From the 1970s, but gaining particular momentum in the 1980s, more theoretical assessments emerged and the nature of Iron Age society, Britain under Rome, and the nature of transition were more problematized. New dimensions in the archaeological record were recognized and innovative theories and methodologies for exploring them have flourished over the last three decades. This has made for a richer, more stimulating and varied field for study. There has then, been continual evolution in thinking over the past thirty years, enhanced by fieldwork and excavated discoveries. To comprehend current approaches, examination of the developments in explanation provides an introduction. Accordingly the first section here outlines the historiography and trajectories of thought. These paths have brought us to a point at which it is fruitful to consider the character of the transformation from a number of angles. How different was Iron Age society in its institutions, customs and expressions in southern Britain from those of the Roman world? How close or contrasting were Roman imperial systems in Britain from what had gone before? Was the transition largely about 'change at the top', taking a comparatively laissez-faire course, or was the burden heavy, extortionate and plain nasty. Questions of structure and agency, choice, or the lack of choice (disempowerment), are relevant. What degree of affiliation with what Rome represented was there amongst the indigenous elites and in turn amongst the peoples of southern Britain? Was there willing choice in 'jumping on-board



the Roman bandwagon' (an elective development). Was the empire in fact tolerant and accommodating of variety and the creator of conditions of opportunity: peace, prosperity and well-being?

2. Earlier Trajectories of Study

2.1 The status quaestionis before 1980

Studies of the Iron Age in Britain before c. 1980 were dominated by the investigation of hillforts which had been a preoccupation from the 1930s following Wheeler's work at Maiden Castle, Dorset (Wheeler 1943). Cunliffe's seminal work at Danebury, the hillfort in Hampshire that is the most extensively explored example in Britain, had been underway since 1969 (Cunliffe 1984). The prevailing view was that hillforts were about power. They were seen as the product of stratified societies following a chiefdom model. The difficulty was that there was no direct evidence that this was the case, certainly at the time when hillforts were at their most prominent in the Middle Iron Age (MIA). Nonetheless this idea, influenced by medieval social organization, was popular despite its weakness (cf Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978, 73-4).

The investigations at these and other sites, showed that hillforts in southern Britain had become less important after the MIA after c. 200 BC. Investigations had also extended to the exploration of the Late Iron Age (LIA) oppida-like complexes spread over large areas, with associated earthwork dykes and banks, such as the major foci outside Verulamium (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936) and Colchester/Camulodunum (Hawkes and Hull 1947). By the mid-1970s Cunliffe was also investigating the coastal site at Hengistbury Head, Dorset, a place of manufacturing and consumption of Continental imports that had its heyday in the later second and earlier first centuries BC (Cunliffe 1987). The LIA cremation cemeteries at Aylesford and Swarling

in Kent indicated associations in practice between southern Britain and northern Gaul (Evans 1890; Birchall 1965). With further discoveries the Aylesford-Swarling burial rite was seen to extend across much of southern England, with continuities in furnished cremation into the Roman era, as on the Continent. Pioneering studies of amphorae by Peacock (1971) and Gallo-Belgic fine wares by Rigby (1973) showed the importation of goods and artefacts into Britain for decades prior to the Claudian invasion, though in the case of amphorae numbers were low compared to Gaul. By c. 1980 quite an amount was known on the LIA, imports and close Continental connections. Iron Age scholars were also more open to theory and models through the decades before c. 1980 than their Romanist counterparts. This tendency arose partly from the need, given the absence of a framework provided by ancient history, for the interpretation of the evidence, and the sequence of development through the Iron Age. Examples occur in contributions to the volume edited by Jesson and Hill (1971) where various models follow Processualist-type thinking. The advance of theoretical studies with applied methodologies can be seen with the volumes edited by Cunliffe and Rowley (1976) and Cunliffe and Miles (1984).

By contrast before c. 1980 there was very little by way of theoretical approaches to the study of the Roman era in Britain. The literature was dominated by narratives that told the 'unfolding story' of Roman Britain based around the historical development of sites and with considerable deference to the small amount of ancient Roman sources mentioning Britain. *Britannia*, by Sheppard Frere (1967), then Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire at Oxford University, was typical. It was a very widely read text of 'conventional authority' (cf similarly Salway 1981; Todd 1981). The academic questions being asked revolved around issues of chronology and stratification such as the sequence on the northern frontier (Hadrian's Wall etc.), town development (dating of town walls), and 'the end of Roman Britain'. In large part this was a reflection of the

Classical education of the scholars involved and an enduring mind-set that did not see the study of the past much in terms of people, ideas, expression or processes. This determined what was attended to in research, though it was also a function of the types of sites mainly explored at this time: military sites (largely an academic sponsored focus), towns (driven by post-war reconstruction and modern redevelopment (eg Canterbury, London and Winchester)) and villas (a focus for amateur local societies).

2.2 Interpreting change: the passing of dominant paradigms

During the 1970s and especially the 1980s an influential narrative was the idea that the absorption of Britain into the empire was the outcome of, if not an inevitable historical process, then a logical progression. Two tenets of this thinking were Cunliffe's view of the emergence of towns and the interpretation of the phenomenon of Roman/Continental imports into LIA Britain.

2.3 From the Hillfort to the Town?

With the first of these, Cunliffe forwarded the idea of the emergence of towns in Roman Britain (and thereafter) from Iron Age precursors. This model envisaged a development from hillforts, through 'oppida', to early towns of Roman Britain (Cunliffe 1976). The sequence proposed a closely unfolding set of steps, proceeding from the MIA to the 'emergence' of urban life in the Roman era. This idea was bound up with Processualist thinking characteristic of the time, which saw all three types of sites primarily as 'central places', with an emphasis on presumed fundamental economic and political roles and functions. Hence they were, from this view, performing the same roles as time progressed, serving regional hinterlands, often in the same place, or at close-by geographic locations. This was an influential model. From this perspective the Roman civitas capital of Cirencester, which became the second

largest town in *Britannia*, was seen in terms of a progressive relationship to the LIA Bagendon complex 4.5km to the north-east (Moore 2007). Equally the model could be thought to apply to the Roman town of Canterbury. Here a hillfort type site at Bigbury, on the high ground to the west of the valley in which Canterbury was subsequently constructed, was seemingly abandoned in the second half of the first century BC, and around this time the first occupation in the area of what was to be Canterbury is attested, by imports and structural remains of Augusto-Tiberian date (Blockley *et al.* 1996). This settlement, with oppidum like elements, was in turn re-manifested at this location following the Claudian conquest as the Roman town of *Durovernum Cantiacorum*, civitas capital of the *Cantiaci*. In this model the scale of sites (indicated by earthworks and spreads of finds) and proximity or over-writing of an earlier site, attested in several instances (Silchester being another) were taken as indicators of a continuity of centralized authority, production, commerce and consumption. However, what seemed on the face of it a readily interpretable, logical progression, ran up against awkward questions, often coming out of the site data or lack of it. On examination chronologies did not fit smoothly and we now have a more nuanced view of the changing role of hillforts in Britain, which sees a central place function as no longer a necessary reading of these sites, for they had other and changing roles. Whereas in the Processual era they were seen as the precursor to towns, with oppida as proto-urban 'steps along the way', we are now more hesitant in using such loaded terms, though Moore (2017) has revisited the oppida/urban question. Regional and specific variety, complexity, and difference between sites have come more to the fore and new comprehension results from the more extensive data to hand (Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997). Such configurations thereby complicate earlier attempts to generalize and propose streamlined models.



2.4 The active role of material culture in the LIA

Imports from the Roman world, including Italian wine and metal accoutrements for its preparation and serving, plus fine pottery from Italy and Gaul, were seen in the 1970s and 1980s as indices of a process of change, indeed, an 'active' bringer of change. Present in well-furnished burials (eg Stead 1967; Foster 1986) and at sites where other indicators of status and power occur such as so-called coin-mould trays (Elsdon 1997), these items seemed preferentially to have been acquired by elites in Britain. The idea that chieftoms were an Iron Age reality seemed to be confirmed by the historical sources and wide striking of coin in the LIA by people claiming kingship and dynastic legitimacy, as coins became prolific in southern and eastern Britain. In the last decades of the Iron Age some of these dynasts imprinted their names and those of their capitals' onto coins in abbreviated Latin. Some striking items of silverware, Arretine and Gallo-Belgic cups, plates and beakers, together with sets of amphorae and firedogs attested (by conventional interpretation) to privileged lives. These finds and assemblages were read as expressions of conspicuous consumption, by the elevated few, and formed the starting-gate for some influential interpretative thinking. Their novelty in Britain made them powerful, as exotic items in themselves (often shiny, ultra-smooth, in unprecedented shapes, of different technology and decoration), but also for what they represented. In terms of the model proposed by Haselgrove, an association with the super-power of Rome, and the control of the distribution of these 'luxuries' was seen as a motor for political change. Haselgrove (1982) posited a gift exchange-patronage system in which imports from the Roman world were key to political authority. The price paid for 'the gift' was that of loyalty and allegiance in politics and conflict.

These imports were the vanguard of what was to become a change in style – of material culture and consumption patterns, as Britain moved into the Roman period. The



Figure 3
Some of the repaired *terra sigillata*/early samian from the Later Iron Age complex at Bagendon (showing drilled holes for repair via lead rivets). These fine table ware vessels date to before the Claudian conquest and may represent luxury imports or diplomatic gifts. (Photos: Lloyd Bosworth, University of Kent).

role of artefacts in this process remains a key focus (Willis 1994). The level of interest (and difficulty in replacing) can be seen in the frequency and care taken to repair broken sigillata vessels at pre-conquest Bagendon where riveting is common (Fig. 3). Yet what explained that wide change in consumption, style, and choice? During the 1980s and into the 1990s this change was seen as a fundamental expression of Romanization (Millett 1990; Blagg and Millett 1990). From the Romanization perspective the wide uptake of 'things Roman' by the people of the new province of Britain was seen as unproblematically straightforward (see below). Indeed, Romanization was argued by Haselgrove, in some of his earliest work (1984), to be underway before the Roman conquest, with the interest in wine and the adoption of Roman artefacts in second

and first century BC Gaul and Britain seen as akin to a softening up-process leading elites to identify with Rome, covert the imports, and the control of access to and distribution of these commodities as means to power. This was seen as in part explaining why Caesar met some political ('tribal') groups who could be allies. Rather than 'trade following the flag' this was the flag following trade. Caesar's conquest of Gaul, whilst fulfilling a personal agenda was consistent with the interests of the Roman state. The flag followed trade as with much of the territorial acquisition of the British Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries. The acquisitive possibilities were attractive to both traders and the State.

2.5 Towards Romanization

Remaining with artefacts, just as Haselgrove had seen imports as a catalyst for a new configuration of elite relations and connections with the Roman world, the Romanization theory (see below) saw material culture as having a vital role in social change, in the transition of indigenous groups to provincial society under Roman rule. The approach sought to explain the seeming ready up-take of Roman lifestyles in urban and villa living, the widespread adoption of Roman forms in material culture and saw a relatively smooth transition in the case of Britain into the imperial domain. The Boudiccan revolt, severe as it was, could be attributed to specific local causes. Accordingly, that event might be excepted, as that episode apart, there was a lack of rebellion or resistance to Rome in southern and eastern England following the initial conquest (Webster 1993). Earlier, in Gaul, following its conquest in the 50s BC, bloody and traumatic as that decade was, there seems to have been relatively little resistance or revolt. The 'Roman peace' was perhaps surprisingly firm and early to take hold, seeming to support an idea of Gallic peoples being relatively amenable to Roman ways. Likewise the commentators of the late 20th century saw a relatively smooth transition in southern Britain. The role of the elite

was seen as crucial (Haselgrove 1987; Millett 1990; Woolf 1998), following the maxim perhaps that the leading ideas of any age are the ideas and practices of the ruling elite (paraphrasing Marx). In terms of the Romanization perspective local elites threw their lot in with Rome in order to preserve their status under new conditions. From this view, indigenous elites adopted Roman cultural expression from self-interest. Emulation of the elite by lower social ranks, following in line, was seen as the explanation for the stability of these new provinces. The thinking seems to have been that non-elite people would desire Roman style items as represented status and desirable fashion; that equally might be displayed as a sign of one's own standing. Motivations and alternatives were not explored and this came to be seen as a major flaw of the model.

For a few years the Romanization 'explanation' held sway, dominating narratives. This can be seen in titles of books and articles appearing at this time. On the face of it this 'smooth adoption' seemed self-evident to archaeologists and historians, through the presence of Roman style pottery in graves, mass imports of samian, unprecedented local production of flagons and mortaria, the relatively rapid construction of towns (at least in the time of the second generation, post-conquest) and the broad practices of consumption that seemed to mirror metropolitan Roman mores. All seemed testimony to the people adopting a 'follow my leader' path: a population consenting to the ways of empire.

2.6 Romanization

Millett's *The Romanization of Britain* (1990) was the culmination of what was then the new thinking. It included a distinct methodological approach drawing much more on the archaeological data (collated, quantified and synthesized) than previous general books on the province. It proved a seminal for its methods, ideas, and interpreta-



tive, context-based, analysis. Millett's Romanization model can be characterized thus: LIA society was stratified (as indicated by coins and privileged burials) with levy/tribute/tax' likely to be common. Soon after contact with the Roman world or following conquest, most local elites one way or another 'opted-in' with Rome to retain their power (land, herds, authority). These stratified societies were familiar with hierarchy so the coming of Rome was essentially 'change at the top' so the impact was not profound (1990, fig 14). Rome had no large bureaucracy and was disinclined to interventions so the local elites found a role ruling for Rome through office holding. Millett saw the outcome as effectively Rome ruling with a 'light hand'. The indigenous elites continued to enjoy privilege (as suggested by Fishbourne palace and other first century AD villas), with lifestyles of conspicuous consumption, retention of lands, civic status, and office holding peppered with acts of public munificence. They invested in urban/civic amenities for the public good with a dedication recording their name/s as the benefactors.

This model also inclined to see a climate of deference to and desire for things Roman: a Roman hegemony. This saw lower ranks following the elite through emulation, implicitly as they wanted their 'piece of the action' and 'followed the fashion', as with the infamous 1980s 'yuppie' trend for 'fast money' and flash goods, wantonly displayed, which may have subconsciously influenced the model. Overall this was a 'top down' model of change permeating society; the sub-theme being that all had something to gain from membership of this first European Union. Thus in 1990 provincial society looked Roman or looked to become Roman: the thought-logic being, who would not want to live in a villa?

Regions of "unsuccessful Romanization" as Millett saw it were two-fold. Firstly the frontier hinterlands where, the model suggested, there was a distorting impact of the presence of the garrisoning Roman army as military rule

stifled civic governance, and where a military command economy was a drain, or had a skewing effect, precluding a 'normal' economic interactions. Secondly, there was an evident lack of uptake of Roman style and institutions in areas such as the south-west peninsula (the civitas of the *Dumnonii*), much of Wales and in upland England (Figs. 1 & 2). This was accounted for by the fact that these were areas where there was apparently no firm elite/stratified society in the Iron Age; that is areas with no oppida, no embedded coin use, comparatively low levels of material culture, and very few imports. Hence there was no existing elite to emulate nor seemingly a culture involving status display via artefacts. Thus, in terms of this model there was unlikely to be receptivity to the coming of Rome. Put another way, Rome had little to work with and Romanization could not take root. There was a marked overlap with these areas being the 'upland zone' and having an extensive presence of the Roman military. A significant consideration though were the 'positive aspects' of a Roman military presence: income and markets, representing the possibility of improved life-chances for some. If the Roman frontier guard had its downside why was it that along the German Limes there was flourishing trade, urban life, villas, craft-technological application, and social integration; this was seemingly 'successful' Romanization on the frontier.

2.7 Challenges to Romanization

Romanization and the thinking proposed was soon to draw critical fire. Fundamentally it was seen as too Processualist, published when thinking in Roman studies was about to move with pace towards a Post-Processual perspective. Soon this would be a paradigm shift, reflecting the wider contemporary fashion of post-modernist approaches. Romanization implied an inevitable, near universal, conscious or unconscious positive embrace of the empire and the changes it carried with it, but, the critics argued, the reality was more complex and problematic, both theoretic-



Figure 1
The tribal areas of the Late Iron Age in England and Wales which became the *civitates* of the Roman province (based on Millett 1990 fig 16, with amendments).



Figure 2
The principal towns and legionary centres of the Roman province (square symbols) together with later Iron Age sites mentioned in the text (circle symbols). (Prepared with Lloyd Bosworth, University of Kent).

cally and in practice: not all embraced the change.

Consistent with a Processualist approach, Millett's book was seen to 'lack people', with limited attention to the circumstances and varied customs of people and the 'choices' available to peoples when confronted by Rome. A review by Freeman saw it as too elite focused and following an assumption that everyone 'wanted in' on what Roman represented (Freeman 1993). Others saw weakness in the argument that the trappings of Iron Age elite power (martial equipment, 'the right to bear arms', warrior status, etc.) could

be replaced by emulation and 'conspicuous consumption' of imported luxuries and up-take of *Romanitas*. It was argued that the archaeological record shows a varied reaction to the advent of Rome than the Romanization model acknowledged or accounted for. The evidence, it was argued, pointed to a differential uptake of Rome forms with marked regional variation, which in the critique, came to be termed 'discrepant experience' (Mattingly 1997). Terrenato (1998) in more nuanced evaluation pointed to the uptake of Roman institutions and material forms but alongside variation, regional selection and distinction he termed 'bricolage'.



Whilst large regions of the south and east of England, and to an extent south Wales, appeared more readily to embrace Rome, with evidence for developed Roman culture/life styles, other regions and social strata, it was highlighted, showed selective opting into the Roman world, or an endurance of old traditions. In the case of the latter: a lack of interest in towns; the endurance of vernacular building traditions; little uptake of Roman material culture. Pennine England and Cumbria, for instance, had few villas, settlement centres or deep engagement with Roman artefacts.

By the late 1990s the critique of Romanization and discussion around the issues had taken published form (Mattingly 1997). Webster initiated the concept of 'creolization' following observations of the adaptation of peoples of African descent shipped into slavery in the Americas in response to circumstances of dislocation and profound disempowerment. Expressions encoded tradition and 'resistance' in a subverting underworld of diverse forms from song to material item as new identities were fashioned to cope and overcome (Webster 2001): was this how it was for many in Roman Britain? This reminded scholars of Roman Britain that experiences of empire are often not positive, especially for the majority. A 'post-colonial' view of Roman imperialism was forwarded, particularly by Mattingly and Hingley: imperialisms tend to be harsh and exploitative, with a net negative impact upon the colonized. Thus Rome was not a 'light hand' but an iron fist' (Mattingly 2006; Willis 2008). The paradigm had changed. What was now seen as central for study were identity, power relations, gender, 'resistance', landscapes, meaning in objects, diversity in the military community and textured in-depth local studies exploring experience, hybridity and adaptations under the Roman yoke.

2.8 The Iron Fist of Empire?

Mattingly's *An Imperial Possession* (2006) was a culmination of new thinking on Britain in the empire and in significant part a response to *Romanization*. It reflected post-colonial and Post-Processual perspectives emergent through the 1990s as applied to the Roman era, following in the vein of the *Dialogues* (Mattingly 1997). In the 2006 book we again see archaeological study exploring changing paradigms: new thoughts reflecting wider contemporary intellectual trends. The author declared this to be a controversial book (Preface xi), something one could not imagine Salway or Frere suggesting of their works a generation earlier; he wished to stride into new realms of assessment. He tells the reader the book will explore: "identity, communities and regions", "discrepant identities in the Roman empire" and "the experience of people in Britain under Roman rule and as such it is far more social history than political history" (2006, xv, xii; 5, 17), areas not covered by Frere, Salway, Todd or Millett.

The book was uncompromising and the view of imperial exploitation imposed on the province made for grim reading. If lay readers happened upon the book expecting to reinforce an ambrosia view of the convivial productive villa estate in summer sun (promoted maybe by visiting excavated villas on public display) they were in for a different type of tour (2006, 524). Mattingly outlined the impact of Roman rule as he saw it, the political, economic and cultural consequences and the limitations it brought. The bleak experience of imperial subjugation, in what he argues was a military province, was to pay for itself. The province had an unusually high proportion of troops holding Wales, deployed across the centre of Britain and used in campaigning and patrols in Scotland. In Mattingly's view Rome would not have subsidized the province in maintaining this garrison: local taxes would ensure holding Britain was not a financial burden. Hence the army was a central player in the province from Mattingly's perspec-

tive, not simply a policing force. Coloured by knowledge of 19th and 20th century imperialisms he saw a Roman agenda of exploitation and the imposition of enforcement via a harsh fist of iron (2006, 12). This permeating hegemonic extractive rule, as he saw it, was in marked contrast to the 'light hand' approach implied by Millett; Mattingly saw in Britian outcomes equivalent to the underdevelopment and social limitations of recent empires.

Millett had emphasized cultural continuities from the Iron Age and a minimal impact of the imperial system upon the politics and economics of localities. From Mattingly's contrasting view what scope was there for community or individual expression of identity? The structure and agency debate was weighed by Mattingly and the scope for choice and autonomy considered, in relation to oppida and towns, cultural identity and expression (2006, 267, 319). However, more was at work in the province than the imperial agenda and that agenda did not break some indigenous traditions: regionality endured. Creighton's *Britannia*, published at the same time as Mattingly's tome, highlighted the role of past monuments and understanding of landscape and power in the creation of the new province. Custom and practice endured, to be remade, despite Roman impositions.

3. on

3.1 Why incorporate Britain in the Empire?

Weighing the reasons for the Roman invasion of Britain in AD 43 is a popular question for University essay questions. Examining the context of the invasion can shed light on the nature of LIA Britain and its relations with Rome, and raises questions about the deeper value Rome may have seen in a successful long term acquisition, not just immediate goals. Prominent in any list of explanations is the orthodox deduction that the new emperor Claudius needed the legitimacy a military victory would provide, and se-

lected a relatively soft target that Rome had been eyeing for some while. Other factors warrant consideration. One driver of the rolling Roman expansion of this era was the Roman military, the dominant institution of state, unless there was a strong emperor. Roman army officers had careers to think about and pressure for campaigning from the military was doubtless a factor as success served collective and individual purposes. These though were short term motives.

One debateable realm was whether Britain was viewed as rich in metals and minerals to justify conquest and sustained incorporation. Certainly Britain's geography and physical resources seem to have been known from an early date, as with the early quarrying of Purbeck marble. Metals were listed by the geographer Strabo as an export of LIA Britain (*Geog.* II 4.5). Not long after the conquest Rome was exploiting Wealden iron and lead and silver from the Mendips and Derbyshire, together with gold from south Wales. Some of these sources do not seem to have been important in the Iron Age, but were exploited with a great intensity in the Roman era. The level of silver being extracted in the LIA is not known; judging from its infrequent use in fashioning artefacts it was not a favoured metal (cf *Conquest of Gaul* V.12). Only when there was a shortage of gold was silver used for coins (eg Score 2012). Caesar may have encountered little booty (Mattingly 2006, 47) yet rumours or knowledge of precious metals may have been at play. Gold is seen widely in artefacts of LIA Britain, in torc hoards and coin deposits (Stead 1993), and this prominence may have been known to Rome. Gold sources existed in Scotland and Ireland in addition to Wales. Yet these were remoter parts of the British Isles and, given only the latter was successfully incorporated into the empire, it seems unlikely that securing these sources was a priority.

The acquisition of slaves has been thought a reason for Rome's interest in Britain. In LIA Gaul the exchange value



was allegedly one slave for an amphora of wine, and this report might not be too wide of reality (Tchernia 1983, 99). At that time late Republican Italy had a wine glut (Sealey 2009) and a huge appetite for slaves. The numbers of amphorae arriving in Gaul became colossal (Loughton 2003) so if they may be regarded as a rough proxy for numbers of slaves passing into Roman captivity then the scale of human 'traffic' is astounding even if it were ten amphorae per slave. By the mid-Augustan period the flow of wine to Temperate Europe was in marked decline as demand in Rome and metropolitan Italy had risen such that there was little to spare for export (Sealey 2009). War (and diplomacy, via tribute) as a means to acquire slaves from the empire's neighbours, may have held attraction, especially if emperor and state had a stake in the profits from sale. Was such thinking a motive for the Claudian invasion? We are told by Strabo (*Geog.* 4.5.1) that one of the principal exports from LIA Britain was slaves. Finds of shackles and a padlock at Bigbury, Canterbury, of this period, where they were associated with high status metalwork (Thompson 1983), seem testimony to this trade in humanity. The proximity of Bigbury to the Continent seems to underscore this probability. Slave chains are rare in Iron Age and Roman Britain so it is pertinent to note their presence amongst the Llyn Cerrig Bach hoard on Anglesey, by the coast, raising the possibility of slave exchange of this period across the Irish Sea. Securing Britain as province could formalize on-going access to slaves, 'manpower', and military recruits.

Prominent in Rome's calculations will have been agricultural produce, primarily grain, a British export noted by Strabo (*Geog.* II 4.5). The Iron Age in Britain was an exceptional period of arable expansion and intensive grain cultivation (Millett 1990, 56-7) fostering population growth. Rome had an enduring need for secure grain supplies to feed its large army and wider population, and this was central to the political economy of the state (Hopkins 1983). Britain probably looked like an attractive source,

and following conquest is likely to have fulfilled this role. Military and state contracts to supply grain almost certainly lined the purses of British farmers, providing prosperity that was in turn invested in Roman forms of display in the rural villas.

The case for the conquest of Britain being more than a Claudian 'vanity project' or short term expediency lies in the fact that Rome invested in the enterprise after his passing and despite the psychological and material blow suffered by the Boudiccan revolt of AD 60/61 when the province was almost lost. Britain was to be a long term project, too good to give up. A refortification of the south followed for a number of years, which explains the temporary halt of expansion of the province. The Flavians, given their personal/family connections with the Claudian victory campaigns were unlikely to give the province up, and nor were the consolidators, Trajan and Hadrian. Besides, the assets of the new province were thriving economic communities, not least London which established itself as an extraordinarily vibrant port, entrepôt and commercial hub (Perring 2015).

3.2. Contact and its traces revisited

On completion of his PhD thesis, which included a catalogue of imported material culture from the Continent, Fitzpatrick (1989a; 1989b) argued that the absolute quantity of imports was comparatively meagre. Likewise Rigby, British Museum expert on imported Gallo-Belgic pottery, was wont to say that all such pottery found in Britain could have fitted onto one ship. Maps of the distribution of Dressel 1 amphorae from the 1990s (Tyers 1996, fig 55) have not altered in general emphases, though numbers of findspots have increased. Equally, the general picture with regard to Gallo-Belgic pottery has not broadly changed since the 1980s (Timby 1987; Timby and Rigby 2007). That said, a series of site discoveries show importation was at least higher and more frequent than had been thought thirty

years ago (eg Manley and Rudkin 2005; Atkinson and Preston 2015). Whilst Britain was on the fringe of distribution systems and quantities were moderate the evidence attests to sustained contact in the 150 years prior to the Claudian invasion, pointing up firm levels of familiarity and interaction between Britain and the Continent.

On-going work at Silchester has enhanced previous indicators that this oppidum was a major complex with an orthogonal street grid, rectilinear structures and property plots and in receipt of Gaulish and Roman imports in the decades prior to the Claudian invasion (Fulford and Timby 2000). In these fundamentals its morphology resembles that of oppida in northern France, exemplified in the Aisne Valley. It develops to become the civitas capital of the *Atrebates* (Figs 1 & 2). New work at the Bagendon complex, including extensive geophysical survey has enhanced knowledge of this oppidum. Unlike Silchester its heyday ends with the Claudian conquest (with a campaign fort established nearby at the site that then develops as the regional civitas centre: Cirencester). The publication of fresh evidence from Stanwick, North Yorkshire (Haselgrove 2016) shows that contacts with the Roman world were not limited to the south as Stanwick is far to the north of shores facing the Continent (400kms north of London). At Stanwick, a likely tribal centre, a wide range of pre-conquest amphorae, exceptional terra sigillata and other fine wares show an extraordinary level of contact. These top quality suites from Italy and Gaul at Bagendon and Stanwick may well represent diplomatic goods rather than traded luxuries. Rome was well-versed in the art of diplomacy as a means to secure its holdings, further its interests and out-flank hostile tribes. Given the prevalence of feasting in the Classical and Barbarian world one can envisage a scenario in which these goods are not simply passed over but for table setting: the feast ingredients, the means to prepare, cook and serve might have been brought with the embassy, along with master chefs as otherwise the gifting might not fulfil its potential in a con-

vivial atmosphere or be mis-interpreted on receipt. Taking the long view these complexes had chequered histories: Silchester and Canterbury saw continuity beyond the conquest; Bagendon and Stanwick ceased to be 'centres', replaced by Roman developments nearby; Camulodunum became a Roman colony (Fig 4): transitions varied.

3.3 Friendly kings and foes

Creighton's *Coins and Power* (2000) demonstrated a sea-change in coin imagery and inscriptional evidence on LIA British coinages that he related directly to the system of 'hostage' taking by Rome from her allies and tribes paying tribute. This was the system whereby children of the top echelon of families of Rome's neighbours were schooled and socialized in Rome. Thereby coming to internalize Roman culture, and on maturity, returning to their homelands to live and perhaps rule, in a manner echoing Roman customs. And perhaps they remained 'loyal' as client kings under Roman patronage and (ultimately) authority (Braund 1984).

Three intriguing discoveries suggest potentially close relationships between the British rulers and Rome. From the Lexden Tumulus at Camulodunum came a medallion with the image of the emperor Augustus (Foster 1986). The burial is thought to date from c. 10BC and the presence of this potent symbol implies a positive recognition by the *Trinovantes/Catuvellauni* of the importance of Rome and the emperor. Secondly, an unexcavated Roman fort at Camulodunum is known from aerial photography in the Gosbecks area, long thought to be at the core of the oppidum (Crummy 1997, 16). Its date is uncertain but Creighton has raised the possibility that both this fort and pre-palace features and finds at Fishbourne could represent units of the Roman army in Britain before the Claudian conquest, supporting – or perhaps policing – 'friendly kings' (Creighton 2001; 2006, 54-64).

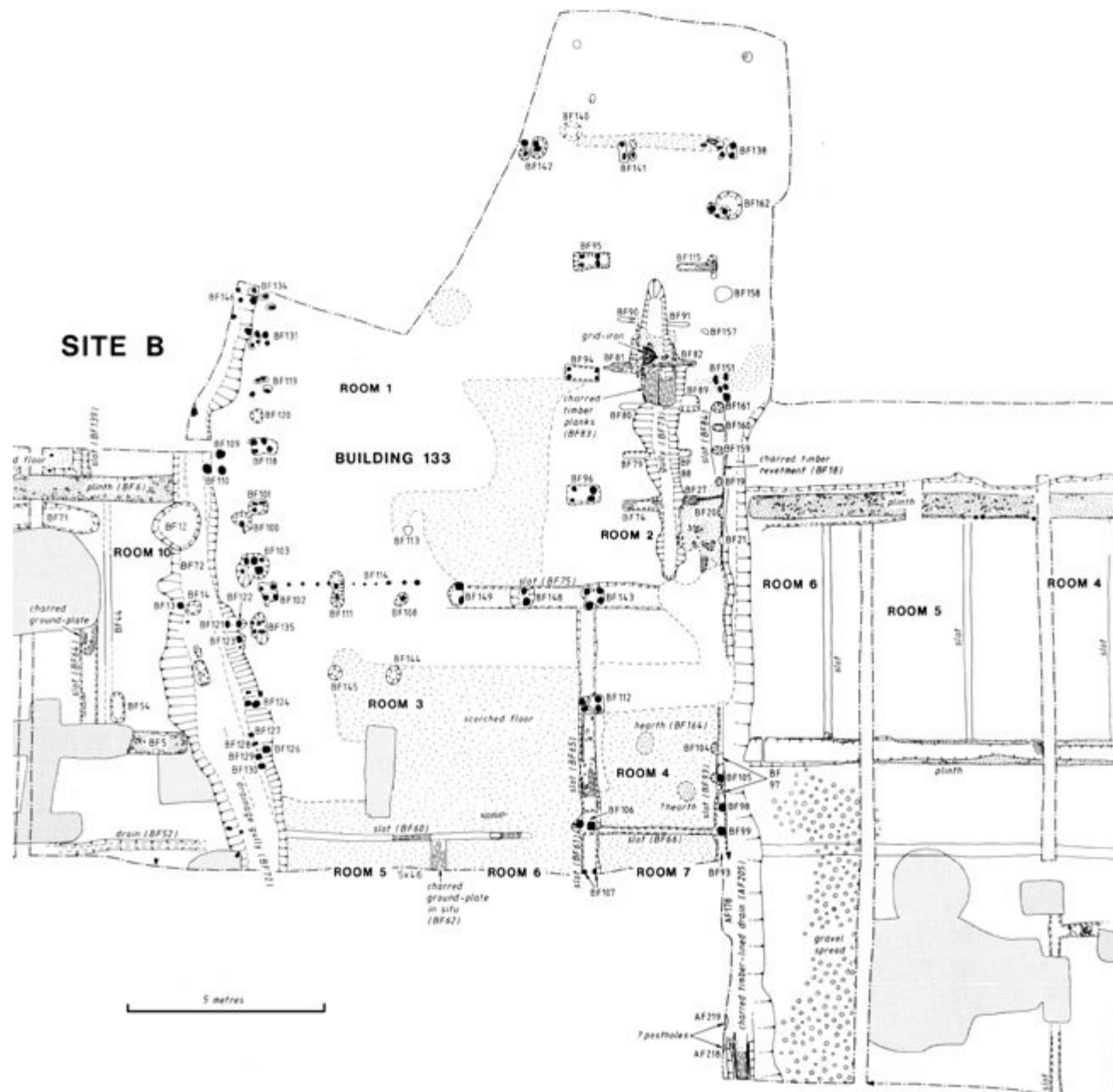


Figure 4

The Roman march through southern Britain in AD 43 and formalized surrender and disarmament of a proportion of the British tribes that followed was a swift process. This has been regarded as evidence of the receptiveness to Rome of the elites and populous of the southern tribes, and if not a *fait accompli* to adjust to, rather than resist to the death. This would explain the fact that few forts of the conquest period are known in southern Britain; those that are known for this period (and slightly later in date) cluster by the Fosse frontier between the Humber and Exeter: defining the area of initial Roman 'land grab'. This fertile arable lowland of south-eastern Britain proved in the long run the most prosperous and the most embracing of Roman institutions.

Cogidubnus, ruler of the southern *Atrebates* and recognized by Rome as a 'rex in Britain' seems to have been a friendly king complicit in the invasion (Hind 1989; Manley 2002). This underscores Roman diplomacy and that some local elites already marched in step with Rome, facilitating a relatively smooth period of absorption into the empire, for some. Resistance was fierce though in the Durotrigian area to the west (Webster 1993, 107-10), so again regional variation is a marked feature.

3.4 Romanization: the view from here

Romanization came to be regarded as a precarious word, almost a toxic term, for it implied thinking that was widely critiqued. If used, then the term is seen to need qualification, expressing an awareness that the writer knew the term to be problematically charged. Nonetheless it seems to still have use as a convenient shorthand word by students of the era, a label endeavouring to convey a complex set of cultural changes and long term processes that when it is not used need more 'long-hand' sketching. Employing provisos these days might not be necessary but be taken as given. There is a view that Millett was taken too literally as presenting a grand theory rather than this being a more

heuristic tool. It is interesting to note leading Dutch scholars rehabilitating the approach in the light of enhanced perspectives (Roymans and Derks 2015, 12). Millett moved on, noting more recently, in assessing the results of the Hayton, East Yorkshire, survey, that Roman rule may have created 'landscapes of opportunity and resistance' but there were others of "mutual indifference" (2015, 545).

Mattingly envisaged draconian imperialism with territories divided to create extensive imperial lands at the expense of local civitates (Mattingly 2006), but this is unproven, *Centuriation* for settling veterans does not seem to have had a major footprint and contestation may have been localized (Black, 2006, 44-5). There is no evidence that Britain was taxed to the point of extortion: no 'taxes riots' are documented, and Fulford (1984) had argued that on the contrary the net flow of wealth was from the empire to Britain.

Many people within the borders of empire did 'opt for Rome' and a globalization occurred (Hingley 2005). As Beard (2012) has emphasized the success of the empire was that despite its authoritative systems, its patrician structures it could accommodate, could offer, could enable. That is a strong explanation as to why it came to stay. 'Roman' meant the coming together and was the outcome of a complex mix of peoples, traditions and ideas. There was no uniformity of response; outcomes varied, but where they did so this was within a broad diverse cultural shell, where some elements were shared by many, others less so. Selective parts of the Roman package were taken up here and there, as with the regionality of the LIA of Temperate Europe (Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997, 7). This was the success of the Roman phenomenon, integrated through flexibility, accommodation, and the ability to include many strands.

The many roadside settlements, Small Towns and villas in southern and eastern England with stone rectilinear build-



ings and other Roman forms may be taken as indices of a successful transition under Roman rule or at least the upside of Roman infrastructure and investment in minerals and produce. Yet variability in the uptake of Roman forms and the endurance of traditions is instructive. Region-wide vernacular choices were made and re-made, in some realms (both social and geographic) wherein little seemed to change from the Iron Age. Reception of Roman pottery varied: some LIA traditions endured, while elsewhere there was adaptation and firm uptake: so-called London ware from the Thames estuary comprised bowls in the form and zoning of samian prototypes but fired grey not red following indigenous custom (Fig 5). Curiously, settlement in the second century AD between Roman Gloucester and Cirencester includes traditional roundhouse forms, but in stone, combined with high levels of samian (Mudd *et al.* 1999). At Ingleby Barwick in north-east England, the villa complex combines Roman structural forms with remarkably low levels of material culture, reflecting the LIA pattern of modest artefact assemblages (Willis and Carne 2013). Nearby Faverdale has a mortarium made in an Iron Age fabric: a real hybrid! Selections from the 'Roman package' were often combined with prior custom; things changed at varying pace and encoded different agendas. These were all ways of being in the Roman empire, whether those inside its bounds were enthusiastic, hostile or indifferent.

3.5. *Britannia*: A distinct Roman province?

Mattingly saw distinctiveness to the British experience under the empire, including the prominence of the military and the comparatively slow urbanization (2006, 278). Quite why there was such a large force garrisoning Britain is a conundrum unless one accepts a long term lack of accommodation with Rome amongst the garrisoned zones and enduring threat from Ireland and Scotland. A failure to pacify Scotland may support this view. Frequent unrest in the northern frontier zone is suggested by historical,

epigraphic and numismatic records. On the other hand the idea that Hadrian's Wall was more a tax barrier and an inhibitor to cattle rustling has been posited by a renowned scholar of the Wall (Dobson 1986). A slow urbanization in Britain is broadly discerned (away from London and the *coloniae*) but that was also the case in Gaul in the decades following Caesar's conquest. The picture is not simple. Tacitus (*Agricola* 21) states that the construction of civic amenities was encouraged, though provides no evidence. The roadside shops at Insula XIV in Verulamium are of very early construction and argued to be of local initiative (Millett 1990, 69-70 fig 18). Roman towns in Britain are, however, comparatively small with modest levels of investment compared to some cities in Gaul. Perhaps this is an index of population density or indeed how heavily Britain was taxed rather than its productivity and wealth generation, much profit being creamed off by the state (if Mattingly is right). It was not until well into the Flavian era that forum-basilica structures were in place at London and Silchester, perhaps as a proportion of the money to build them came from local citizens and funds needed to accumulate. Small Towns and roadside settlements in Gaul are often more elaborate with a greater range of civic features than seen in Britain.

4. Conclusion

In the south and east of Britain in the LIA elites developed relationships with the Roman state, often perhaps pragmatic and precarious. There was an influx of imports evidently positively received. How these imports are understood and relate to change remains a key focus. Politics and trading do not explain Roman invasion and the transformation but they are the background that offer some explanation to the changes that occurred. The nature of Roman *Britannia* was complex. We no longer believe in single sweeping models as it is now seen as a nuanced process. At a broad level the province is a tale of two ex-

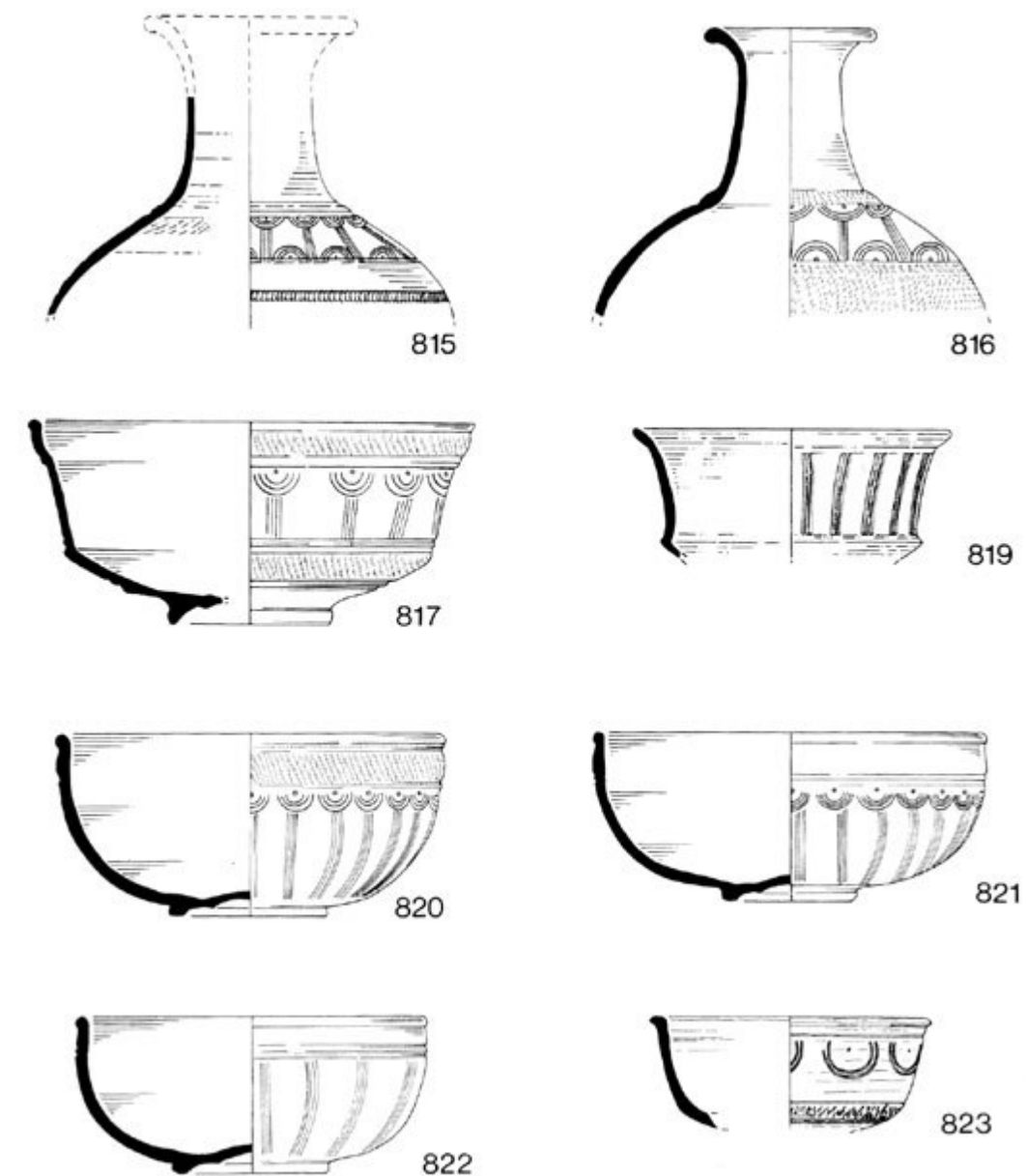


Figure 5



periences: the lowland south-east with numerous villas, developed towns and roadside settlements, rural industries and high levels of material culture. To the west and north almost the opposite is true, though as we have seen this needs some qualification (Taylor 2007). Groenman van Waateringe (1980) suggested (to paraphrase) that the empire expanded to incorporate those societies that were essentially similar to itself, in terms of hierarchic political/power systems, cultural customs, mixed economies and firm levels of material culture/consumption, but struggled to deal with those that were not similar in these ways. The British experience and variability of cultural expression in transition arguably exemplifies these fundamentals. Accounting for contrasting responses must include recognition of the geographic fundamentals of landscape (for agriculture, resources and movement), cultural tradition and possibilities of choice. The regions and peoples that embraced Roman forms most fully were those of the lowland south and east, with mixed high yield farming, accustomed through the LIA to hierarchy and Continental and then Roman contact, where traditions were less enhanced and adaptable. Who lived there is unlikely to have been static and will have included people of various backgrounds, certainly after the conquest. This area, and especially its elites, gained most from being in the empire; elsewhere the stories differ.

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THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TERVA VALLEY CULTURAL LANDSCAPE BETWEEN THE 2ND CENTURY B.C. AND 2ND CENTURY A.C.

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The Construction of the Terva Valley Cultural Landscape between the 2nd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D.

Abstract

This work has as main objective to portray the structural process behind the construction of the Superior Valley of the Terva River's cultural landscape, between the second century BC and the first century AD, pinpointing two of its major landscape transformations, visible through the high settlement density in the Iron Age and, later on, through the coexistence with the roman settlements, roads and mining structures.

The settlement in the Iron Age is the most prevalent occurrence in the process of formation of this landscape, with a notable concentration of 9 fortified settlements attributable to this period. The second great marker is the implantation of several strategic roman settlements, located close to the mining centres, where a major road was implemented, linking *Bracara Augusta* to *Asturica Augusta*.

The ongoing investigations are aimed at characterizing and analyzing the hillforts of the Upper Terva River Valley, seeking to understand the determining factor of their implementation and to verify whether or not the settlement matrix was hooked on the specialized exploitation of the mineral resources in the Terva River Valley. On the other hand, it is also our objective to clarify whether or not was there a liaison between the Roman foreigners and the locals, based on data from two intervened archaeological sites, the Roman settlement of Batocas and the Hillfort of Sapelos.

Key-words Cultural Landscape, Fortified Settlements, Ancient Mining.

Resumo

Neste artigo procuramos abordar o processo de estruturação da paisagem cultural do Vale do Terva, tendo por referência os dois grandes movimentos transformadores da paisagem entre os séculos II a.C. e século I d.C., manifestos na elevada concentração de povoados fortificados na Idade do Ferro e, mais tarde, na coexistência da grande maioria destes com povoados e infraestruturas de mineração e de circulação romanas.

O povoamento na Idade do Ferro configura-se como o fenómeno de maior amplitude no processo de formação desta paisagem, sendo de destacar a notável concentração de 9 povoados fortificados atribuíveis a este período. Já o segundo grande marcador prende-se com a implantação estratégica de diversos povoados de época Romana junto das frentes de exploração mineira aurífera e com o atravessamento do território por uma das mais importantes vias romanas que ligava *Bracara Augusta* a *Asturica Augusta*.

As investigações em curso direccionam-se para a caracterização e análise dos castros do Vale Superior do Rio Terva, procurando chegar à compreensão dos fatores determinantes da sua implantação e verificar se a matriz de povoamento esteve ou não dependente da exploração especializada dos recursos minerais existente no vale. Por outro lado, é também nosso objetivo caracterizar o contacto/relação existente entre o povoamento Romano e o povoamento Proto-Histórico, tendo por base os dados de dois sítios arqueológicos intervencionados, o Povoado romano das Batocas e o Castro de Sapelos.

Palavras-chave Paisagem Cultural, Povoados Fortificados, Mineração Antiga.

Geographical and Geomorphological Context - The Terva Valley

Our research focuses on the area of the Terva Valley Archaeological Park, with an extent of 56 km² in the NE of Boticas Municipality, district of Vila Real. The Park currently includes 5 villages: Ardãos, Bobadela, Nogueira, Sapelos and Sapiãos. (picture 1).

The Terva River, tributary of the right bank of the river Tâmega, and running from north to south, is a major landscape moulder at the Upper Valley. In its first 8 kilometres of its route the Terva flows between the Pastoria Mountain, to the east and to the west by the Leiranco Mountain. Joining at the north side, in Ardãos / Seara Velha, both of the mountains form together the headwaters where the Terva River has its origins, draining from innumerable water lines that run down the slopes towards the water bank near Sapelos.

The river Terva takes its name after the confluence of the Videiro and Calvão streams, in the region between Bobadela and Sapelos. The river flows in this region in an enlarged valley with a preferred NNE-SSW orientation, formed by a fracture parallel to the Régua-Verin fault, with the same orientation. After the confluence of these water courses, the river Terva takes a NE-SW orientation, structured by the existing fracture, forming a relatively wide valley until the region of Sapiãos, where it receives the contribution, among others, of the Vale Stream, that drains the SE part of the Leiranco Mountain.

We usually designate this initial 8 km section of the Terva



Picture 1
Geographical framework of the study area in the Portuguese Northwest.

River as the Upper Valley, a vast flattened alveolus, punctuated by numerous hills and hillocks. The land uses are diverse, forming a mosaic landscape, with wide meadows developing around the villages, forests dispersed by the valley and rock peaks covered by extensive patches of brushwood.

The geological substrate of the PAVT territory has a granitic matrix, composed mainly of two medium-grain granite outcrops, commonly known as "granite of Chaves". It is a granite of homogeneous texture constituted by quartz, feldspar potassium, albite, and muscovite. The quartz fila-

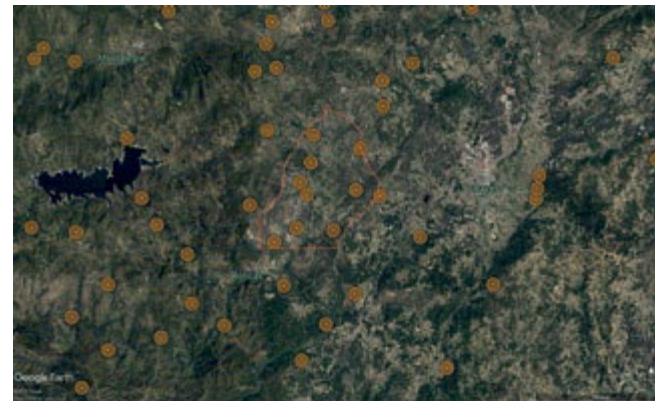


ments are frequent in the region, and it is worth noting the large, quartz-like loamy mass that extends for 28 km between Chaves and Fiães do Tâmega. Within the study area, there are smaller ones, with ENE-WSW orientation, in the parish of Ardãos, and in Bobadela with the N-S direction.¹

The Fortified Settlements in the Iron Age

The dense network of fortified settlements identified at the headwaters of the Terva River, related to the Iron Age, reveals different constructive solutions and varied options of implantation in the valley. As a result of the archaeological works that have been developed in recent years, particularly in the 9 fortified settlements and in greater incidence in the Sapelos Hillfort, we can already sketch a first comparative analysis among them, highlighting some singular characteristics present in some of these hillforts. (picture 2).

The settlement model existing in the PAVT is similar the existing models in Western Trás-os-Montes, revealing a clear adaptation to the topography of the valley and simultaneously valuing the dense hydrographic network that gives rise to the Terva river. The settlements are distributed in the border of the valley, in positions that vary between the base of the slopes, visible on the west side of the valley (cases of the Hillforts of Cerca de Sapiãos, Brejo and Malhó), highlighted in half-way points (Hillforts of Cabeço and Nogueira) and on the ridge line (Murada da Gorda). In the north band where the terrain is rugged, the Muro de Cunhas hillfort stands in a highlighted position. In the gentle slopes of the East side of the valley, hillforts were implemented on the tops of spurs or granitic boulders, with the exception of Cerca de Sapelos Hillfort, set in the western slope of the Lapabar Mountain. (picture 3).

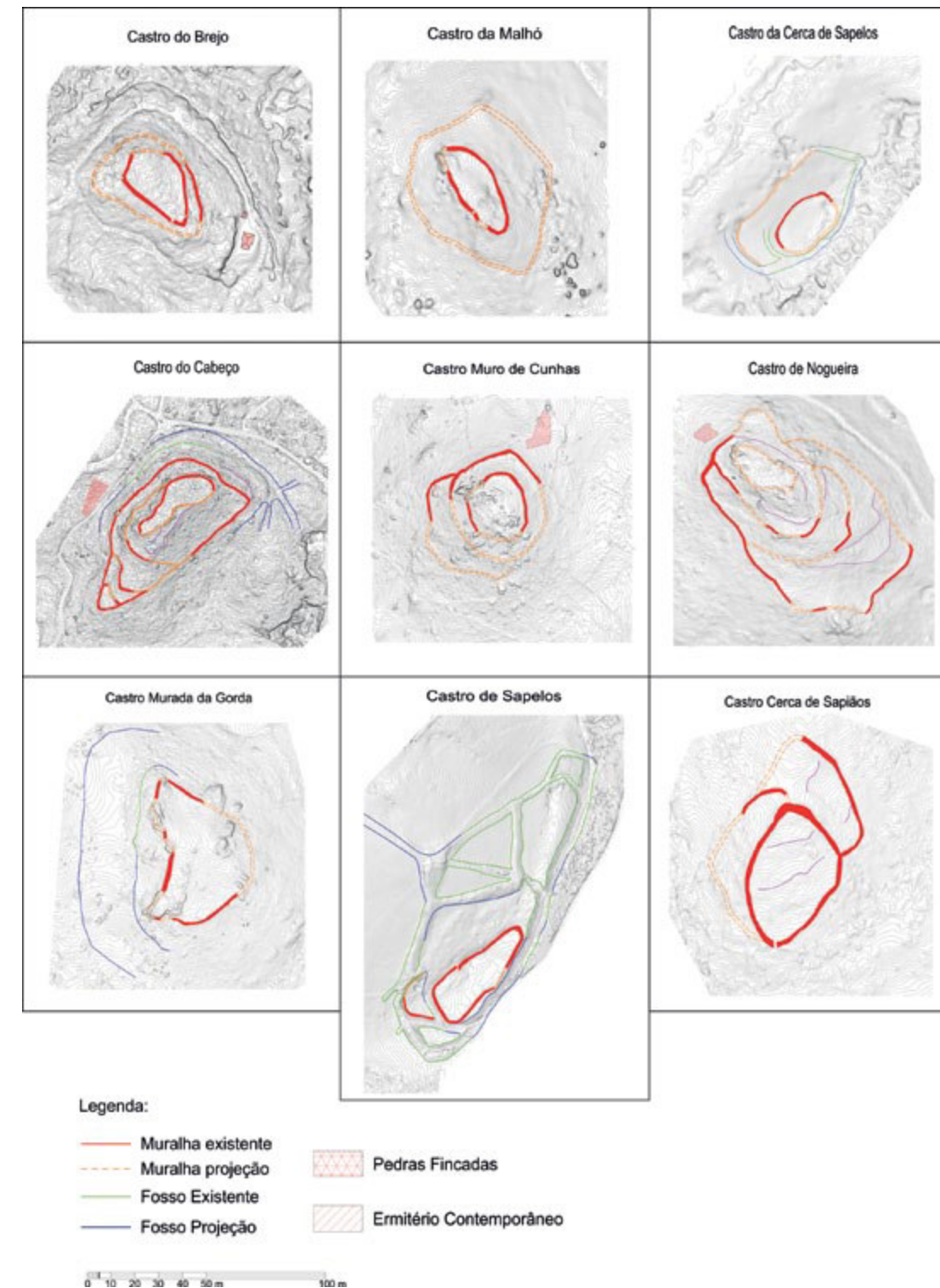


Picture 2
Distribution of the fortified settlement within a radius of 50 km, with emphasis on the PAVT area in red.

These settlements have an area of occupation with variable dimensions, between 1.5ha and 9ha. Although some of these settlements only occupy a modest space, they did not neglect the monumentality of their defensive structures. (picture 4).

In fact, in all the villages studied, there are imposing walls of massive stone and monumental apparatus², characterized by the construction of batter walls in the external face, formed by blocks disposed in *pseudoisodomum* technique, as in the Malhó Hillfort (parish of Ardãos) and Cerca de Sapelos (parish of Sapiãos). The interior elevations are less careful, with irregular polygonal apparatus, formed by smaller blocks.

The width of the walls varies between 2 m and 3.50 m, maintaining a vertical expression preserved between 0.70 cm and 1.20 cm. The number of walls per hillfort is also variable, ranging from one to three defensive lines, drawing equally variable plants in apparent correlation with the topography of the terrain where they are implanted. It



Picture 3
Fortified settlements registered in the Terva valley with the different options of physiographic implantation and defensive structures.

¹Ramos, J. 2010: 27-45.

² González Ruibal 2006-7: 294-295.



Povoado Fortificado	N-º Muralhas	Área(ha)	Altitude
Muro de Cunhas	3	1.5	705
Murada da Gorda	1	2	840
Malhó	1	2	680
Nogueira	3	7	910
Brejo	2	1.5	660
Cerca Sapiãos	2	1.5	610
Cabeço	3	6	750
Sapelos	2	9	610
Cerca Sapelos	1	2	570

Picture 4
Occupied area registered in the fortified settlements of the PAVT.

is still observed, in some of the hillforts of the study area, imposing ditches, as well as the characteristic *cheveux de frise* or *pedras fincadas* stone fields.

Archaeological investigations carried out in the area of the PAVT revealed the existence of an environment of great investment in the construction of complex defensive systems, in the detriment of the intramural spaces, in which there does not seem to have been an equal investment, since those that are known have architecturally modest buildings.

The great venture in the construction of walled defensive lines but also in intricate nets of ditches is very evident in some of the Terva's hillforts, like in Sapelos and Cabeço, projecting their geometrical design into the landscape. However, we consider that the wall would not only be a defensive structure, also acting as the boundary of an economic territory³. In fact, as we see it, the location of these fortified settlements in strategic places in the valley seems to be linked to objectives that go beyond the defensive sphere and can be related to the need to control the mineral and agro-silvo-pastoris resources. Therefore, in our opinion, the hillforts positioned in the valley's de-

limiting ridges would have the additional function of territorial control, reserving for the ones that are implanted the half slope and bottom of slope the function of the exploitation of the endogenous resources.

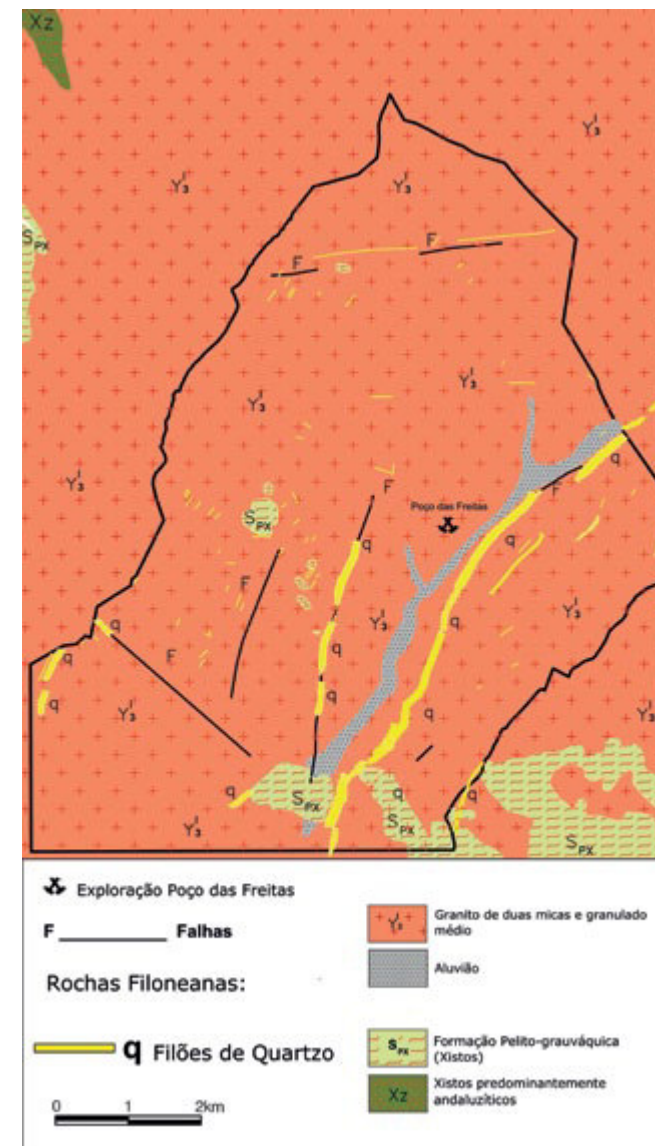
In our opinion, there is a clear association between the anomalous⁴ concentration of hillforts in the headwaters of the Terva, branded by the monumentalization of their defensive structures and the exploitation of important mineral resources, namely gold. The gold exploitation was later on, with the romans, intensively approached in the sites of Poço das Freitas, Batocas, Brejo, Malho, Fragas da Peninsula, Fragão do Fôjo and Alto do Picão. (picture 5).

The communities in the valley would already have the necessary technologies to identify the mineralized zones and the capacity to carry out their exploitation. In the particular case of the gold exploration in this territory, we can consider three hypotheses:

In the first hypothesis, the usage of panning – we consider this in the cases of the Brejo hillfort, overlooking the Brejo stream, the Malho hillfort, contiguous with the Ferrugento stream and the hillfort of Sapelos, near the Calvão stream. These sites are examples of settlements that are implanted in rocky formations embedded next to lines of water that in turn cross zones of concentration gold.

The second hypothesis would be the deep-vein exploration, through direct chipping of the ore deposits, using tools such as a pickaxe, in places where the granites were sensed to be more altered⁵, as in Fragas da Peninsula, Fragão do Fôjo or Alto do Picão. This kind of mining technique might also have been used in Freitas and Limarinho, but subsequent intensive exploration in Roman times will have overlapped and therefore eliminated any traces of previous exploration. This possibility is suggested by

³ Sastre, I. 2002: 213-248.
⁴ Fontes et alii 2017.
⁵ Fonte, I. et alii 2008: 313.



Picture 5
Geology of the Upper Terva River valley, extracted from geological chart 1: 50,000, Sheet 6-B Chaves, DGMSG.

the density of quartz heaps scattered around the perimeter of practically all the hillforts in the PAVT area, where no mining zones are identified.

Finally, directed mining, by artificial retention of sandy sediments, diverting the watercourses to large ditches where bating would have been made, could also have been carried out here in the Terva, although we did not identify any traces that could be associated with it, to this modality.

If one relates the choice for the implantation site of some hillforts, along with the mining technological panorama available at the time, the hillforts of Cerca de Sapelos and Brejo, both in mining buffer zones, can acknowledge as “Miner’s villages”, possibly enlarged through the first century AD, when, through roman influence, the exploitation for gold became both intensive and extensive, probably erasing the signs for previous explorations, in hillforts mining zones such as the ones near Murada da Gorda, Malhó, Nogueira, Cabeço and Muro de Cunhas.

The Sapelos Hillfort

The Sapelos Hillfort, located in the parish of Sapiãos, presents an area of occupation of approximately 9 hectares, making it one of the largest settlements in the valley. Implanted on a broad spur promontory, on the left bank of the river Terva and with extensive dominance over the natural circulation corridor of the valley, it has an average altitude of 610 m. (picture 6).

The archaeological research developed between 2014 and 2017 allows us to sketch a first schema of the structural solutions used for its construction, in particular of the housing architectural matrixes and of the defensive system, embodied of great complexity. The remains found allows us to propose the chronological horizons associ-



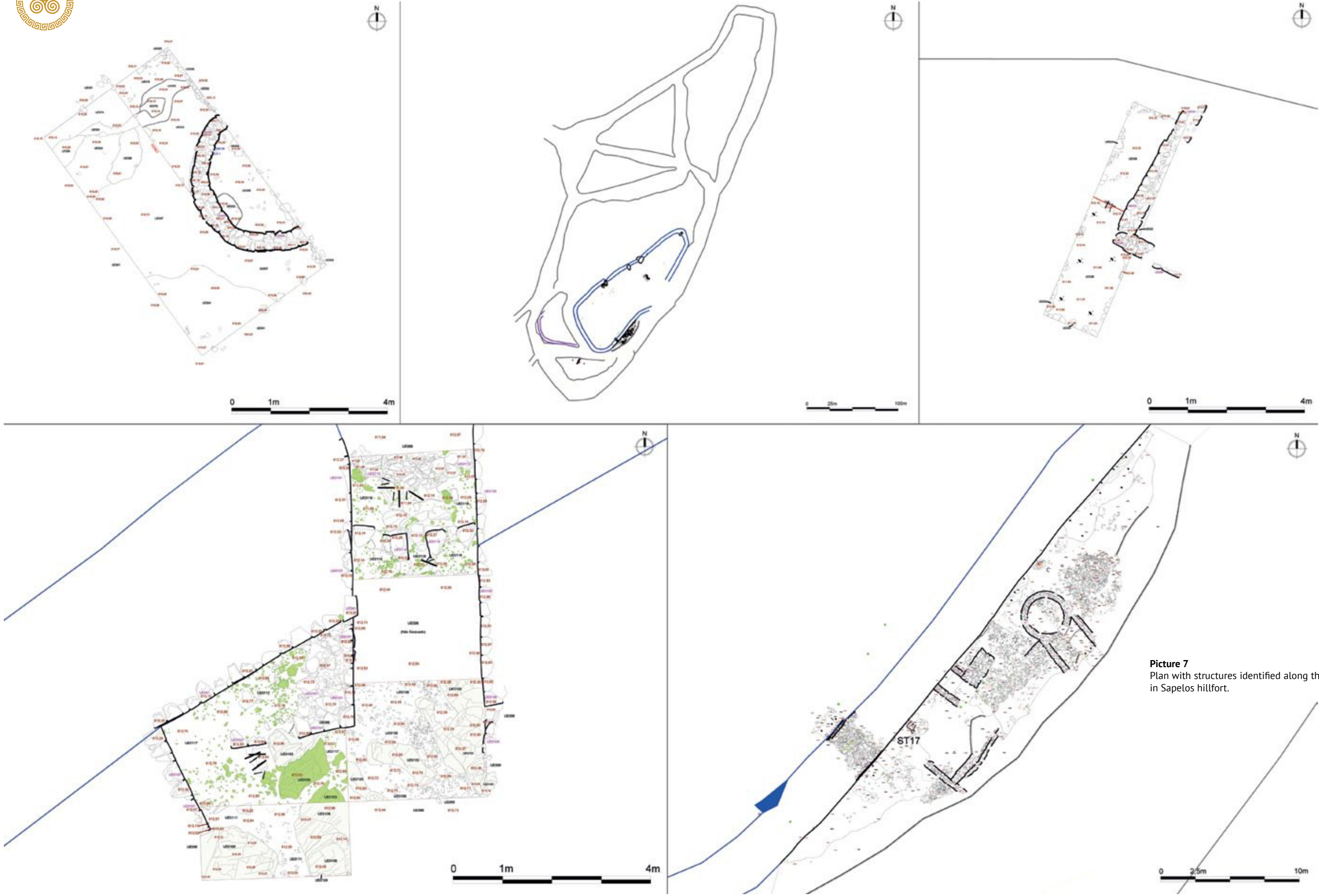
Picture 6
General view on the Sapelos Hillfort, with particular emphasis on its intricate network of ditches.

ated with the occupation of this iron age village.

The 9 ha of recognizable area surpasses all the other hillforts known for the study area, being very close to the Nogueira Hillfort (7 ha) and to the Cabeço Hillfort (6 ha). The archaeological research held (archaeological prospection, topographical survey, geophysical survey and archaeological excavations) made it possible to highpoint the upper platform, circumscribed by an imposing irregular oval wall, formed by two parallel faces, filled by granite and quartz stones. The Wall presents a width which varies between 3.40 m and 3.50 m, in the better preserved sections.

The wall's facings have different characteristics: the interior, less cared, conserves 4 to 5 courses of irregular granite blocks, in some places disposed in rampart, presenting its core filled with earth mortar; the outer surface is slightly battered, presenting a high quality apparatus of *opus pseudoisodomum*, built with rectangular ashlar, mounted in drystack horizontal courses. To the west of the upper platform, over the ridge of the defensive ditch, we identified a second line of wall that presents similar characteristics to the first line. The upper wall would have had an allure, as the access ramps and staircases are still visible at some points on the inner face of the wall. (picture 7).

Given the survey we've conducted in the entire upper wall, we are now aware that there was a single access gate to the superior platform, disposed at the top of the delta ditches confluence, fronting the Terva valley. The gate maintains 6 courses of ashlar at each lateral wall, with 2.70 m of width, presenting an apparatus and constructive typology similar to the external face of the upper wall. The location of this monumental entrance proved that the access to the village was only possible through the intricate network of ditches facing the valley, providing access to a residential area located near the gate, perceivable through the ruins visible on the surface .



Picture 7
Plan with structures identified along the various archaeological interventions in Sapelos hillfort.



The village is surrounded by a large ditch in V section, with 7 meters wide and 4 meters deep. On the NW slope, we can observe smaller ditches, open in several directions, but interconnected with each other, drawing a deltoid figure. This network of ditches structures a sort of labyrinth, leading to the entrance door. The extracted soils were used to modulate level platforms near the outer face of the wall, which were later occupied by dwellings. This circumstance is easily perceptible on the large platform existing up against the upper wall, where we can observe alignments of large blocks of quartz against each other, which would act as a retaining rampart, allowing the creation of small terraces, thus overcoming the slope of the ground.

The enormous workforce it took to dig the defensive ditches and to conclude the regularization of some of the platforms, presupposes a great collective effort, only possible if we assume the existence of a complex social organization, which may have benefited from the cooperation of members of the other hillforts in the valley.

Both the material evidences collected in the Sapelos Hillfort and the dates obtained by the method of C14 confirm a first phase of occupation of the site in the 1st century BC, linked to the construction of the first line of the defensive wall, which circumscribes the entire upper platform. The archaeological surveys conducted inside this platform preceded by studies of geophysical prospecting, allow us to assume a construction matrix where circular buildings tend to prevail.

In a second moment, around the 1st century AD, by now in a clearly roman influenced environment, orthogonal buildings start to appear in Sapelos Hillfort, along with other roman material evidences, such as a roman *asse*, from the coining center of the Victrix colony Iulia / Lepida Celsa (44-36 BC) and an omega bronze brooch type Ponte B51.2 (1st to 4th centuries AD).

The archaeological research also allowed us to identify a circular plant building that undergoes two different occupation moments. A first moment linked to its constructive circular trajectory typically associated with Iron Age constructions and a second moment of occupation, visible in the implantation of a rectangular annex up against the previous building⁶ (Figure 8).

Analysing the data collected so far, we realise that the new constructions, built upon roman architectural concepts, did not over layered the pre-existing constructions. In fact, to our knowledge, the constructions built from the 1st century AD onwards were made in unoccupied areas in the outer periphery of the wall's perimeter.

The Roman Settlement

The significant presence of important gold mineral resources at the Terva Valley, duly recognized by the imperial structure, justified extensive exploration actions, evident on the mining fronts of Batocas, Limarinho and Freitas and in the enumerated areas of heaps dispersed through the valley.

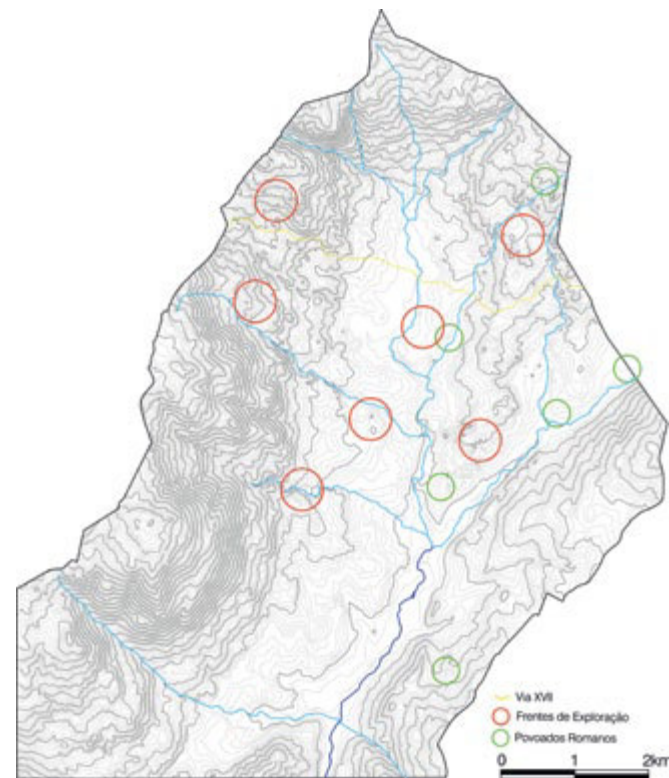
The Upper Terva Valley, like other territories under Roman influence, seems to undergo a reorganization of the territory according to the economical purposes established. Indeed, we strongly believe that villages that would have been previously engaged in exploiting this resource more incipiently were, in this new scenario, active participants in this large-scale exploitation scenario. At the same time, at least two "workshop" settlements dedicated to support mining and subsequent activities of gold metallurgy were established: Batocas and the Carregal (Figure 9).

Between the 1st and the 4th centuries AD, the settlement patterns undergo an adjustment. So new occupation

⁶ Osório 2017.



Picture 8
Circular structure with a rectangular attachment identified in the 2016 campaign, verse and obverse of a roman *asse*, from the coining center of the Victrix colony Iulia / Lepida Celsa (44-36 BC) and an omega bronze brooch type Ponte B51.2 (1st to 4th centuries AD).



Picture 9
Plan of the study area, with the historical mining fronts, the identified Roman settlements and the Antonine's Itinerary Route XVII, that linked *Bracara Augusta* to *Asturica Augusta*.

points are established preferably on the centre of the valley, privileging the roads or the mining fronts surroundings areas⁷. Alto Ribeira, Senhora das Neves and Fragas do Pintassilgo are roman sites that are full examples of this new settlement option.

These non-fortified settlements would have been the local expression of the roman administrative framework, thus playing a key role in the process of mining control, and perhaps even in the management of the indigenous

workforce, inhabitants who continued to occupy their fortified villages.

It is also worth mentioning the proximity between these Roman settlements and the Route 17 of the Antonine Itinerary, which linked *Bracara Augusta* to *Asturica Augusta*, crossing the headwaters of the Terva on the north side. Route 17, along with the alternative routes recognized in the valley, operated as a major structuring element regarding the settlement decisions and the according layout. These communication network would have certainly been defined according to the economic outflow needs, resulting from the gold absorption logics in the imperial economical system.

In this context, the foundation of *Aquae Flaviae*, less than 10 km north of the Upper Terva Valley, and justly served by Route 17, acquires particular importance.

The Batocas Settlement

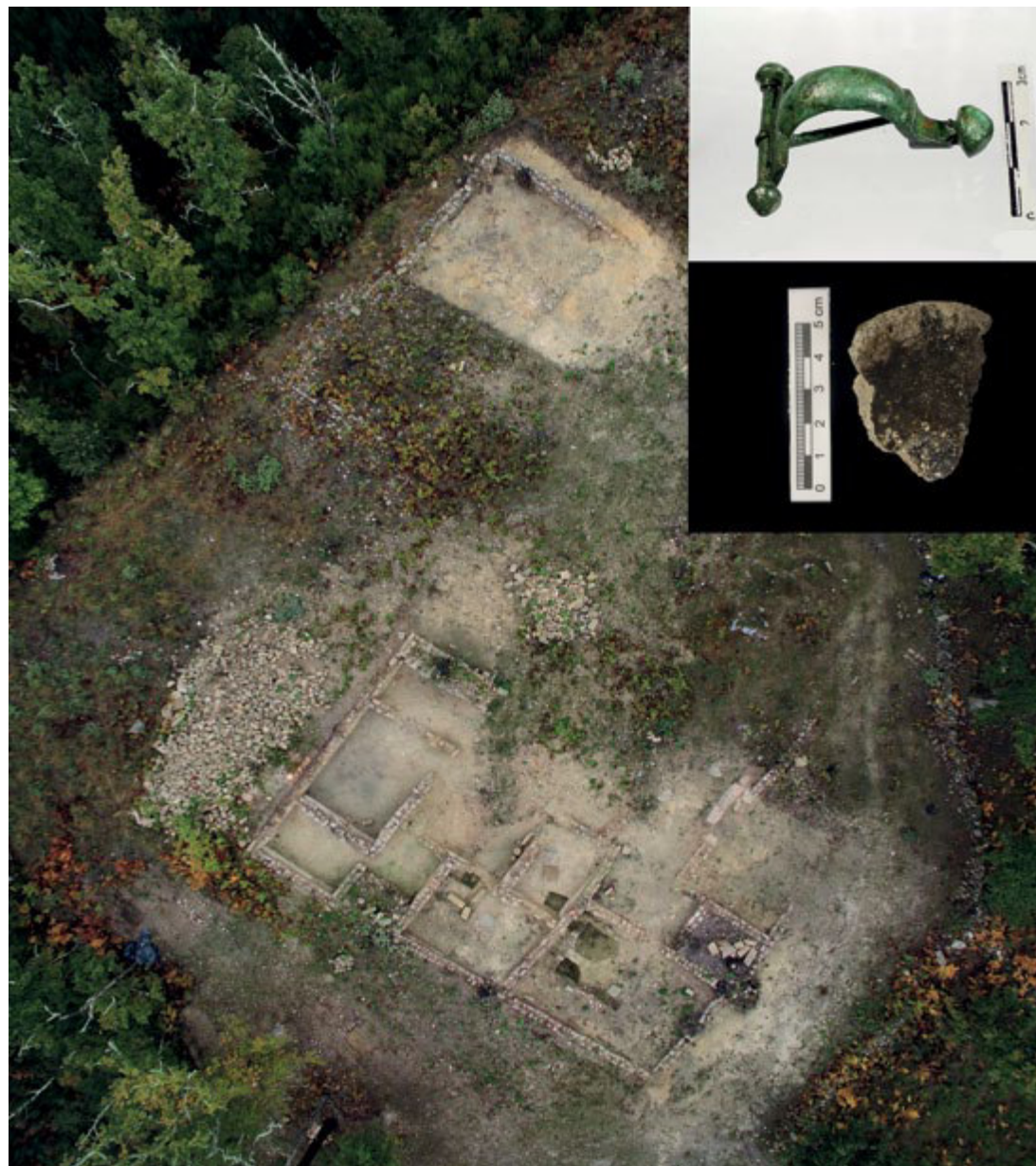
The settlement of Batocas, located in the union of parishes of Ardãos and Bobadela, presents a surface of occupation with approximately 1 hectare, at an average altitude of 550m. In Batocas we found a cluster of structured buildings, built over a hill that confronts with the homonymous mining front. (picture 10).

The remains found at Batocas are suggestive of two distinct strategies for managing the built space: in the northern area, set on the highest part of the site, the buildings are orthogonally disposed in WSW-ENE and SSE-NNW orientation; in its southern half, the edifications appear, in an equally orthogonal form, disposed in the orientation SW-NE and SE-NW. We believe, at this stage, that the two sets are contemporary and that the changes are due to the adaptation of the constructed space to the area's topography. The archaeological data consistently point out to an



Picture 10 (A)
Plan of the Roman settlement of Batocas with identified structures.

⁷ Fontes et alii 2017.



Picture 10 (B)
Aerial view of the zone of intervention. Fragment of crucible in refractory clay with gold drips concreted on vitrified walls and fibula aucissa or Ponte 42, subtype d / 1b (mid-1st century to the first half of the 2nd century).

occupation that occurred around the 1st century AD.⁸

As a result of the last archaeological interventions, two important considerations can be drawn: the first is that B Wing have had a relatively short occupancy spectrum, taking into account the exhumed materials, situated between the mid- 1st century AD and mid-2nd century II AD. The second is that, at some point, some of the building's areas were used for gold smelting. In the archaeological excavation we've conducted at the site, we found evidence of gangue residues and fragments of crucibles, with gold drips still visible on the vitrified clay. These evidences were found in two compartments of the B Wing.

Evidence of combustion has also been detected and hopefully will, in future campaigns, reveal more about the foundry structure itself, along with evidence related to the initial mineral processing that occurred at site.⁹

Discussion and Closing Remarks

During the years we have been studying the Upper Terva Valley it became more and more clear to us that this area presents a unique set of specific aspects related to its human occupation patterns, particularly in the Iron Age, where the great number of fortified hillforts dispersed over a relatively small geographical area takes a stand. Presenting different characteristics, both of morphological and physiographic implantation, the hillforts' different strategies regarding each one's position in the landscape and each one's defensive structuring seems to reveal a concern with the proximity and dominance of a territory where mineral resources, namely gold, were concentrated.

The idea of an existing 'territoriality' in the Upper Terva Valley is an issue that becomes particularly important if

one considers the references to ancient territorial borders identified in its periphery, namely the inscription *TERM / C · L*¹⁰, wrote in a boulder in a place called *Cavalo dos Mouros* or Horse of the Moors, near the village of Noval, in the parish of Soutelo, already in the administrative area of Chaves Municipality, but geographically adjacent to the Terva Upper Valley and particularly close to the Muro de Cunhas hillfort, evidencing the existence of a 'frontier' in the valley.

Would the head of the Terva constitute a territory with a differentiated ethnical identity, in which the recorded 9 hillforts would be inscribed? Would they be one of the peoples referred to in the famous "Padrão dos Povos" standing at the roman bridge of Chaves, a roman column, inscribed with the names of the ethnic groups said to have had collaborated in its construction at the time of the emperor Trajan?

Although it is not yet possible to establish a differentiation of functional specialization between the settlements of the Iron Age, the proposal of its direct articulation with the exploitation of the mineral resources existing in the valley during the Roman dominion and its active role in the continued exploration seems gain strength when we speak of a settlement determined by specialized economic factors.

The archaeological surveys made so far, in sites such as the Sapelos Hillfort and the Batocas settlement provided a panorama of possible cooperation aimed at the efficient exploitation of these resources.

On the other hand, the proven coexistence, in the same timeline, of occupation of the fortified settlements of the Upper Terva Valley, with the Roman occupation of the Tâmega valley, in which the foundation of the city of Aquae Flaviae stands out, allows us to underline the character of

⁸ Fontes et alii 2017.

⁹ Fontes et alii 2015.

¹⁰ Rodriguez Colmenero, A. 1987.



articulation, interconnection and ' evolution in the continuity 'type of society in an Era of interaction between two distinct cultures, gradually drawing a new culture, which we may well call Galician-Roman.

This is an ongoing research in due progress, which we are aware will require a greater sampling of data, that we expect to obtain in archaeological surveys in the remaining proto-historical fortified villages and roman settlements of the valley. We are aiming not only to gauge chronologies, but also to contribute to enlarge the existing knowledge about the settlement patterns of Western Trás-os-Montes in the Iron Age and for the comprehension of the subsequent process of change resulting from the roman influence.

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POSTERS





**THE “TOP-DOWN” REPRESENTATION OF PLATE 130
OF CASTELINHO (TRÁS-OS-MONTES, PORTUGAL):
FROM CREATION TO CONDEMNATION
IN THE TRANSITION OF THE PERIOD.**

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Keywords: mobile art; top-down perspective; Iron Age; Romanisation.



The “top-down” representation of plate 130 of Castelinho (Trás-os-Montes, Portugal): from creation to condemnation in the transition of the period.

Introduction

In this presentation we will introduce plaque number 130 from Castelinho, which portrays a “top-down” (translated from the Portuguese *perspectiva zenital*) motif of an undetermined typology. In order to do this, we would like to divide our work in several parts., presenting the context in which this particular example was found, describe it within its Iberian framework, and finishing with a possible interpretation of the piece.

Context

Plaque 130 is a part of the assemblage of mobile art found at Castelinho (Felgar, Torre de Moncorvo) during the archaeological excavations that took place as part of the



Figure 6 Location of the Castelinho in Portugal and Trás-os-Montes.

construction of the Baixo Sabor hydroelectric dam (Figure 1). This site is a hill-fort, that is chronologically situated between the second Iron Age and the Roman period and is formed by a large defensive structure composed of walls, bastions and several ditches. The mobile art assemblage is made up of over five hundred artefacts (Neves *et al* 2015), making it a unique collection and indeed site in the context of the Iberian Peninsula.

Plaque 130 was found (in secondary deposition) in a negative defensive structure (a ditch) named *Fosso II*, in a layer sealing the structure (Figure 2). Although several depositional moments were contained within this one layer, it was interpreted as one deposit due to the short chronological period in which its deposition took place (in the Roman period) (Santos 2014). It was in this deposit that the majority of plaques from the northern section of Castelinho were found (a total of 88). However, the plaque on which we will concentrate here is unique amongst the assemblage, but has parallels in the central and Eastern Northern Meseta.

A description of plaque 130

Plaque 130 is medium sized and irregular, due to its elevated level of fragmentation, and contains motifs produced with filiform and picking techniques. The filiform engravings are more numerous, and in this case, that which we intend to analyse. Along with the abstract motifs and an incomplete animal in one of the extremities of the piece is a representation of an animal in a “top-down” perspective positioned visually in the centre of the other motifs contained in the plaque (Figure 3 and 4). Although it has been impossible to determine the species of the

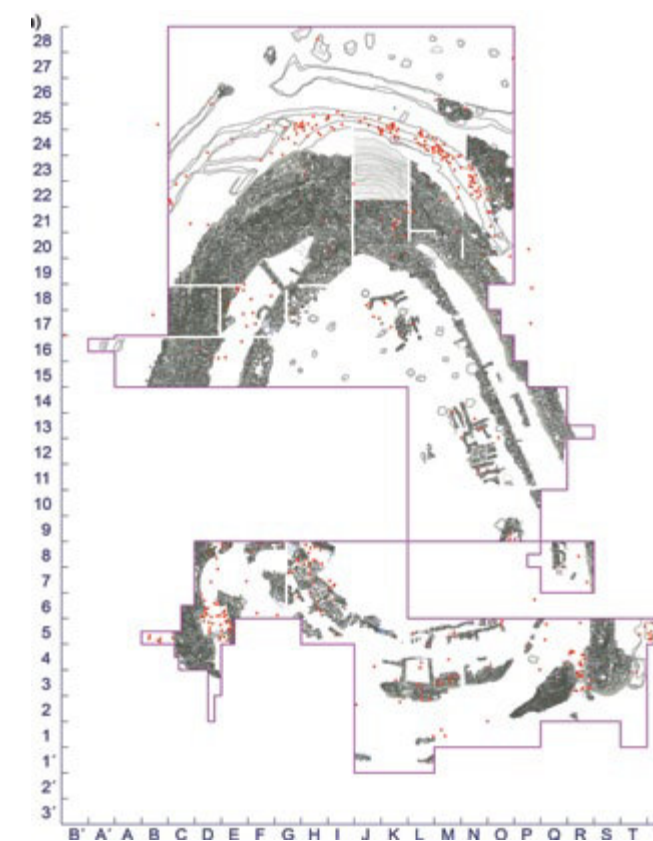


Figure 2 Excavation plant with the location of the plaques.

animal, it has an oval head, directly linked with two arched limbs finishing in five fingers, or claws. The arms/legs are then connected to a small torso which opens to a pronounced, rounded stomach, which after narrowing again, is filled by a line that represents the inferior limbs in the same way as the others.

“Top-down” representations in the interior of the Iberian Peninsula

Motifs represented in a top-down perspective have been found on a variety of archaeological artefacts, such as, gold diadems, bronze fibulas, weapons, gold belts, torques, decorated pottery, game pieces, stelae, and rock art. These representations are common in the central Iberian Peninsula and more specifically in the upper and middle Douro,



Figure 3 Graphic survey of plaque 130.

and constitute characteristic elements of the *arévaco-vaccea* iconography (Romero Carnicero 2010).

Representations on stone are found on a variety of supports. On the one hand, they are found on stelae, among which is the stela of Necrópole de Las Ruedas (Valladolid) and the two stelae of *Nova Augusta* (Burgos). On the other, they are found integrated in constructions, such as in the case of the engraved stone of Castro de las Merchanas (Salamanca). Finally, these motifs are also found in the form of paintings, as in the shelter of La Lastra del Monte (Soria) (Romero Carnicero, 2010). However, the top-down representation found in Castelinho is the only example of this type of motif found on a portable stone plaque.

The majority of pieces with top down representations are decontextualized and as such are dated through parallels. Nevertheless, some pieces have been found in context, as is the case of some ceramics, which were possible to situate between the end of the 3rd century BC, and the 1st century AD (Romero Carnicero 2010).

Normally, top-down representations are interpreted as animals. But save for a few more true to life representations,

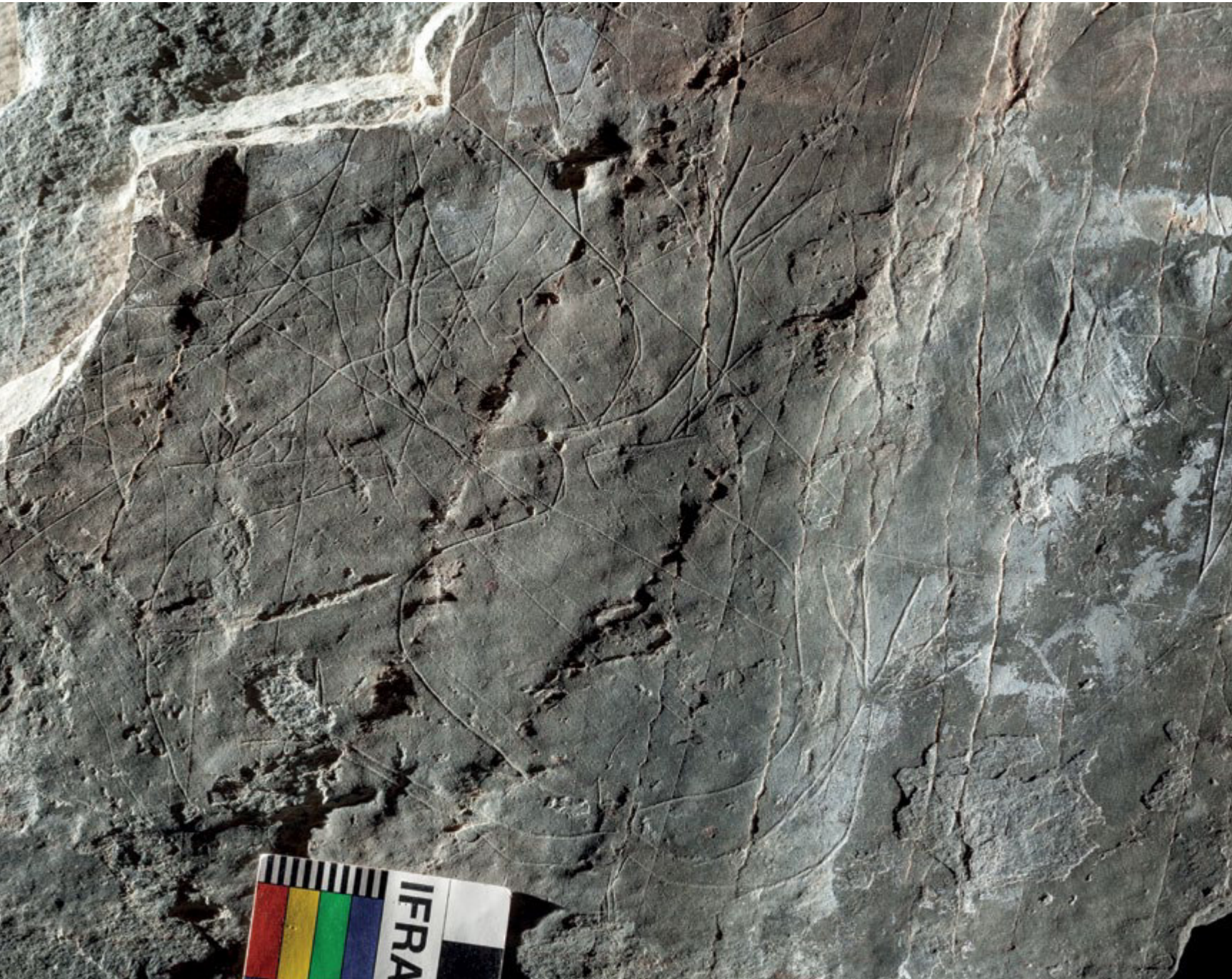


Figure 4
The "top-down" representation of plate 130 (picture of Adriano Borges).

due to the schematic nature of the forms it is impossible to determine the species of the animal. However, this does not prohibit some investigators from postulating hypotheses identifying these images as amphibians, spiders, serpents, horses, dogs and wolves. In a general sense, these images are associated with the world of beliefs, religion and magic, and are suggested to represent prophylactic or protective deities. Some authors suggest they are related with some form of animal worship (Abarquero Moras 2006-2007).

A possible interpretation

Plaque 130, due to the top-down representation common in the interior of the Iberian Peninsula, must have been engraved in a period before Roman occupation or coinciding with the first Roman presence in the region. It could have originally been part of a wall, an idea that is reinforced by the interpretation of these motifs as being associated with protection and the importance it could have had in the resistance of a new culture. In the Roman period, the destruction of the ditch and the fact that it was filled with Iron Age engraved plaques suggests a rejection of old beliefs by the new colonisers in a process by which motifs such as the one we are discussing lose their meaning.

Conclusion

In this presentation we have given a preliminary introduction of plaque 130, which contains an iconography distinct to the other engravings found at the site and which only has parallels on the other side of the Portuguese/Spanish border (although still within the basin of the River Douro). In future work, we would like to deepen our understanding of the iconography found on this piece of mobile art and the rest of the assemblage from Castelinho, which is notable due to both its size and quality.

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**EXCAVATION, STUDY AND MUSEALISATION
OF “CASA ROMANA” OF CASTRO DE SÃO DOMINGOS:
PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF THE 5TH CAMPAIGN**

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Keywords: Roman Times; Iron Age; Pits.



Excavation, study and Musealisation of “Casa Romana” of Castro de São Domingos: Preliminary Results of the 5th Campaign

Castro de São Domingos is the largest and best preserved proto-historical settlement identified in the basin of Mezio river (Nunes, Sousa e Gonçalves, 2008) (Figure 1). Its conquest, and subsequent destruction, probably over the Cantabrian Wars, (26-19 B.C.), are the starting point for a spatial reorganisation of the settlement, which would lead to the gradual abandonment of the mount's summit in favour of the half-slope platforms. In this context, the construction of a Roman housing pole located on the SE

slope was found, within the so-called “Casa Romana” (Roman House) of the settlement, where the dependencies of a Roman house (I to III Centuries A.D.) were identified, having appropriated an area from the Iron Age (I Century B.C.) (Figure 2).

The archaeological works carried out by José Marcelo S. Mendes Pinto in the 1990s, and the progressive acknowledgement of the importance of the settlement in scientific and heritage terms led Lousada Town Hall to develop the research project *A “Casa Romana” do Castro de S. Domingos: intervenção arqueológica e valorização patrimonial* (2009-2011) (“Casa Romana” of Castro de S. Domingos: archaeological intervention and heritage valorisation), which emerged as a measure to safeguard the information concerning the archaeological site, namely the Roman settlement of the half-slope of S. Domingos Mount. Yet, due to financial imperatives, this project was not concluded. Thus, the present research project (PNTA) of *Excavation, study and musealisation of “Casa Romana” of Castro de São Domingos*, under the scientific coordination of the signatory, aims at concluding the archaeological intervention and correspondent heritage valorisation of the site, which was started in the previous project.

The excavations carried out by Mendes-Pinto (2008:55-56) revealed the remains of a Roman house, which took over a slab patio and an old circular house. Two compartments were excavated; the first, at the Northeast end, quadrangular in shape, measuring about 4,5 metres on the side, features a door facing Southeast, which communicated with a room, of which only the beginning of one of the walls and the remains of the earthen floor subsist. The second compartment is incomplete, but it would have



Figure 1
Location plan of Castro de São Domingos.



Figure 2
Final photo of the excavation campaign carried out in 2017 on the SE slope of the so-called “Casa Romana” of Castro de São Domingos.



had rectangular shape, measuring at least 4x6 metres, to which Mendes-Pinto attributes probable chronology dating back to the I Century. Outside the house, in its South-west side, the slab of a patio belonging to a circular *castro*-type house was found (Figure 3).

The Roman house suffered a fire, and was later subject to remodelling, which reduced the annex space (probably in the second half of the III Century). The circulation level was raised by about 0.80 meters, with the rubble of the previous house having been reused, and the previous walls were used in the foundations of the new construction. Of that older building, only the lower remains of its walls and compacted earthen floors have subsisted. Upon these, fallen tegulae and imbrex prove the collapse of the roof, once more originated by a fire, presumably dating back to the mid V Century, during the Visigoth invasion (Mendes-Pinto, 2008:56).

The actions carried out during the 2017 excavation campaign in the SE side of the *castro*, spanning a surface of approximately 700 m², enabled the continuing of the perception of the occupational dynamics of the space. Works revealed considerable power and stratigraphic complexity, even though the area has been subject to earthmoving works which deeply affected the space, and multiple



Figure 3
Detail of the remains of a Roman house, at the West boundary of the area undergoing intervention.



Figure 4
Space delimitation structure identified at the East boundary of the excavated area.

occupational levels were identified, distributed throughout the space undergoing intervention, showing different chronology.

In the central part of the area which underwent intervention a wall delimiting an old path of Contemporary/ Modern Times was also identified, crossing the area in SW-NE direction, and which used to connect Mezio valley to the top of the settlement.

At the East boundary of the excavated area a space delimitation structure of Medieval Times was identified, composed by a pile of small to medium-sized mostly corneal stones, structured but not mortared, covered by disaggregated earth, built in NE-SW direction, being currently perceptible along an extension of 8 metres, with 2 metres width and 0,50 metres height (Figure 4).

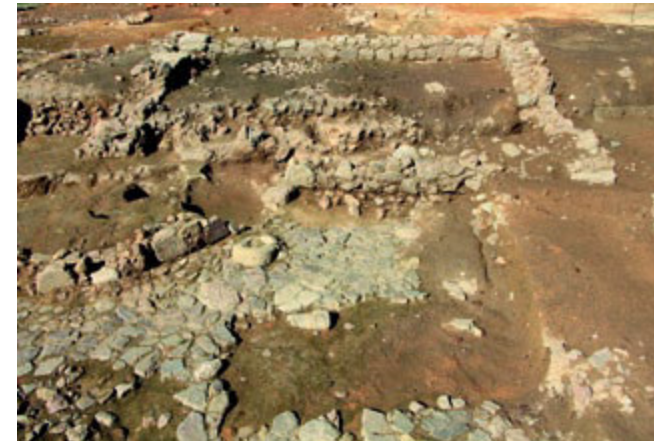


Figure 5
Detail of a Roman house of quadrangular configuration, built over Iron Age levels, located at the central part of the excavated area.

Still as a result of the excavation actions, two graves were identified at the SW boundary of the area, with apparent connection with the above-mentioned wall structure, which prove a cemeterial use of the space. They feature canonical orientation, having been excavated in the natural geology, being limited essentially by medium-sized corneal stone and occasional granite. Their complete dimensions, as well as the possible presence of individuals in primary inhumation, have not yet been verified, as the excavation works in this zone have not been concluded, given the great land holdings which cover these graves, reaching almost two metres at this point.

In this campaign the excavations revealed the remains of yet another Roman house, of quadrangular shape, featuring an internal area of 18 m² and correspondent door facing SW, which has taken over a previous space with constructions dating back to the Iron Age, composed by two distinct areas, both featuring a slab patio and a circular house (Figure 5).

Simultaneously, four more circular houses were identified in the surroundings of the Roman house, NW-SW from the previous ones, and two more East, about 10 metres from the Roman house. These structures display different states of conservation and in general there are scarce remnants of the correspondent constructions, which have been



Figure 6
Detail of pits excavated at natural geological level, located at the North boundary of the area undergoing intervention.

deeply affected by the already-mentioned earthmoving works, as well as the continued agricultural activity carried out in this area of the settlement.

It is worth mentioning the identification of nineteen pits excavated at natural geological level, occupying the space in an apparently random manner. These pits join those which have already been identified and are now almost fifty (Figure 6).

They feature variable morphology, and are sometimes round, oval or irregular in shape, even though their contours are generally not regular. The diversity of shapes and dimensions may relate to matters of functionality, to specific characteristics of the products to store or access to them.

At temporal and chronological level, it was possible to define different moments which presided the opening of the pits, as they intersect themselves quite frequently, although those construction phases are very likely to have been taken place in close periods of time between each other. Generally speaking, this building moment crystallises in a moment which is prior to the existence of all housing structures present at the so-called "Roman House".



The pits were opened in different times and with different purposes. At least at the end of its service life, most of the pits have had a detrital function, having intentionally been filled with earth coming from the surface of the housing space, where the materials of the different levels of occupation would have been mixed, thus signalling a terminus for those whose structures overlap them (Martins, 1988:60).

While the detrital function prevails in the archaeological record, it is very likely that the main purpose of those pits was storage, namely of food products.

As to the remaining pits identified, we are probably before other silos, or they may otherwise correspond to the negative of mining activity developed at this site ("gravel sites"?). While one use does not invalidate the other, it is a fact that the pits featuring more irregular shapes and higher depth adjust less to the purpose of storage, so they are more likely to have been used to obtain gravel or clay. Both hypothesis (gravel sites and silos) present limitations which, based on a preliminary data analysis prevent, prevent the adoption of one over the other (Nunes, *et al*, 2011; Novais, *et al*, 2014).

The same occurs from the chronological standpoint. Although it is believable that the building time can go back to the early days of the occupation of this settlement, given that the opening of the pits did not cut any archaeological stratum and the only effective time limit is given by the destruction, in the I Century B.C., of Pits 13 and 14, it cannot be ignored that the opening of pits is a constant action in the Bronze Age communities (Martins, 1988:79), which is why the existence of these structures in the Iron Age reinforces the idea of a certain continuity between the Final Bronze Age and the Iron Age (Dinis, 2001:122).

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TRÁS DO CASTELO (VALE DE MIR, PEGARINHOS, ALIJÓ) - A ROMAN AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT ON THE VERGE OF THE FIRST CENTURY AD.

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Keywords: Douro Valley; Romanization; Roman Agriculture.



Trás do Castelo (Vale de Mir, Pegarinhos, Alijó) - a roman agricultural settlement on the verge of the first century AD.

The Trás do Castelo site is located in the edge of the Alijó plateau, near the village of Vale de Mir, in the midst of the northern Douro valley. The top of the hill is occupied by a proto-historical settlement, commonly known in the north of Iberian Peninsula as a *castro*, while the site is located in the eastern hillside of this small promontory.



Figure 1
Map and ortofotography with the localisation of Trás do Castelo (Vale de Mir, Pegarinhos, Alijó).

The Projecto de Investigação sobre a Ocupação Humana em torno da aldeia de Pegarinhos, or PIOHP, which had its first phase between 2012 and 2016, was organised after the discovery of the site during the cleaning of a dirt road that connected Pegarinhos and Vale de Mir, when ceramic shards and other roman materials and structures were detected.



Figure 2
Plan of the excavated areas in Trás do Castelo.

With the support of Porto Gran Cruz, EVEHA Archeologie, Alijó's city hall and several other entities, the first phase of PIOHP has allowed to partially discover a roman *villa*, through its *pars rustica*, with an occupation between the first and fourth century AD.

Through a series of surveys, it was possible to understand that the site was occupied during two main phases. The first, from the I to the III century, is marked by the construction of the settlement, which involved the construction of large artificial platforms so that it was possible to build the several structures, using large well-cut stones and *opus signinum*, mostly around a paved road and a courtyard.

The several structures found in the site from this first phase tell us a very compelling story on agricultural practices on the Douro valley in the transition between the endogenous Iron age and the roman period.



Figure 3
Stable areas, Trás do Castelo.

The find of three quadrangular walled spaces in 2014 appears to be connected to husbandry. Considering that in this area it was also possible to find remains of cows¹, that this type of stable is relatively common in the rest of the Mediterranean in the same chronological frame and its proximity to the paved road, which leads to wider ranges and to the main road, that passes between the Castro de

Vale de Mir and the Castro de Castorigo and beyond, this is the most probable hypothesis on the usage of this building.



Figure 4
Tannery, Trás do Castelo.

Nearby, in 2015, a small division was partially excavated with a series of small structures, such as a small tank, supplied through an aqueduct, a stone roll and a small stone mortar base. These appear, at the first sight, to be associated to the practice of dyeing tissues. A closer look at the organisation of the several buildings and considering that the same scheme might be used, we are convinced that



Figure 5
Mill, III century AD, Trás do Castelo.

these were used for a tannery.

As it is normal in such sites², the production, storage and milling of cereals is common place. Several mills were discovered throughout the entire site, including a complete structure. Also, the building directly placed to the south of the courtyard has a re-enforced structure, similar to other grain storages found in the Mediterranean³.

In the further Northern area of the site, a room was found

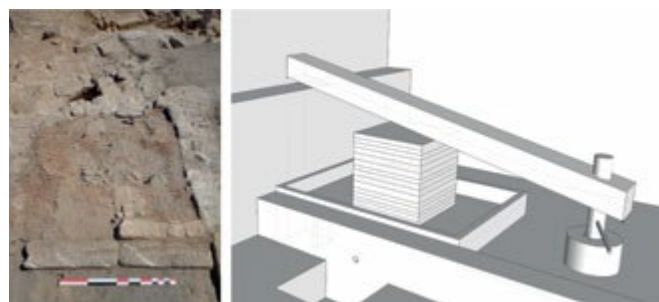


Figure 6
Wine cellar and restitution, Trás do Castelo.

with a central space, covered with *opus signinum*, connected to a lower depression, appears to have been used as a wine press. Analytical analysis of the *opus* has proven this hypothesis. Also, the discovery of a silver denarius from the I century AD, in near mint condition, in the middle of the *opus*, appears to be a foundational act⁴. This relative dating effectively shows this to be the oldest known wine press in the Douro Valley⁵.

The site appears to suffer a generalised abandonment during the final years of the III century only to be re-occupied a century later. A re-occupation of some of the structures, the construction of new spaces, with new, though poorer, construction techniques and the disappearance of imported ceramic vessels, mark this last occupation, that appears to be short lived, in the middle of IV century AD. In the near future, the PIOHP will start a new phase. The structures found will be the target of a stabilisation and localised *mis en valeur* and an area to the South, where roman materials are still visible will have an intervention, since the *pars urbana* and living quarters of this agricultural exploration site are still to be found.

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UNCOVERING THE LANDSCAPE OF THE ROMANIZATION PROCESS OF CITÂNIA DE SANFINS (PAÇOS DE FERREIRA, PORTUGAL). PRIMARILY APPROACH FOR A MACRO AND SEMI-MICRO SPATIAL ANALYSIS.

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Keywords: Landscape Archaeology; Geospatial Tools; Romanization.



Uncovering the landscape of the Romanization process of Citânia de Sanfins (Paços de Ferreira, Portugal). Primarily approach for a macro and semi-micro Spatial Analysis.

Introduction

This work is developed in the scope of a master's thesis in Archaeology at the University of Minho (Braga) entitled "A paisagem na Idade do Ferro e Romanização da Citânia de Sanfins, Paços de Ferreira. Análise macro-espacial". With this poster we present the initial data obtained through the methodology developed to characterize the dynamics occurred in the Iron Age and Roman landscape of the hillfort of Citânia de Sanfins located in Paços de Ferreira (Portugal).

Study Area

The study area is part of the geographical space of the Porto District (Figure 1) located in the north of Portugal. This territory is characterized by the long-term occupation of Iron Age hillforts that appear in a significant number in this area. At this point we are focusing on the physical area of the mountain ridges implanted in Paços de Ferreira and Santo Tirso (Figure 2 and Figure 5). In this area we can observe the existence of prominent hillforts such as Sanfins that may have had an important role as a central place (Silva, Armando 1986) and Monte Padrão (Santo Tirso) that is close to the hillfort of Sanfins and is well characterized by its roman occupation (Dinis, António 1993).

The hillfort of Sanfins has 15 hectares of extension and is surrounded by four lines of wall that circle the settlement (Figure 3, right image), it also has several trenches. The excavations allowed the identification of two main axes of circulation inside the settlement, as well as 33 habitational units and a bath (Silva, Armando 1986). It has also traces of medieval/Christian occupation associated with a necropolis and a potential chapel from the XII

century dedicated to S. Romão. In terms of chronology it's estimated that the site was occupied between the V and III centuries b.C. and it was abandoned around the IV century a.C. (Silva, Armando 1986).

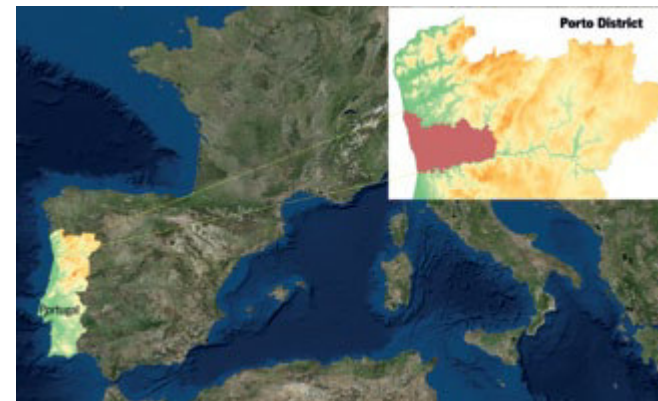


Figure 1
Location of the study area.

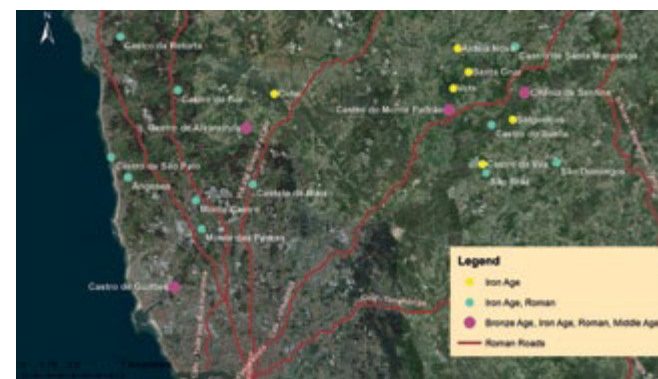


Figure 2
General view of the study area with the distribution of the hillforts and the roman roads (based on the study www.viasromanas.pt).

Main lines of research

Since the XIX century it has been developed a great deal of bibliography regarding the Iron Age and Roman occupation of this area. Some of the studies were structured to systemize the hillfort 'culture' while others were produced in a regional sphere. And in this context, there are some studies that we consider important for the development of our work such as the doctoral thesis of Armando Silva "A cultura castreja no Noroeste de Portugal" (1986) or the thesis of Manuela Martins entitled "O povoamento Proto-Histórico e a Romanização da bacia do curso médio do Cávado" (1990).

The research made in the last three decades has allowed us to identify different types of settlements regarding the different stages of occupation through time. And with the arrival of the romans to the territory it is noticeable the development of hillforts that are distinguished by its size, internal organization and by its economic, social and cultural importance. Based on the development of these studies we intend to apply a model of spatial analysis used in Landscape Archaeology which aims to understand spatial relationships between elements, to identify the spatial structure of the study object (Mañana Borrazás, Patricia, *et alii* 2002).

Centered in this model, our research focuses primarily on a semi-micro level (Figure 3) concerning Sanfins and Monte Padrão to understand their relationship with the territory in terms of mobility, visibility and accessibility to certain resources and the possible articulation between them and the hillforts around them. Later, we intend to apply it in a wider territory at a macro spatial level to understand its dynamics, since in this research the landscape is understood as a socio-cultural product that objective the social action on the physical environment (Criado Boado, Felipe 1996). With this approach we try to understand how this *Objectification* is represented.

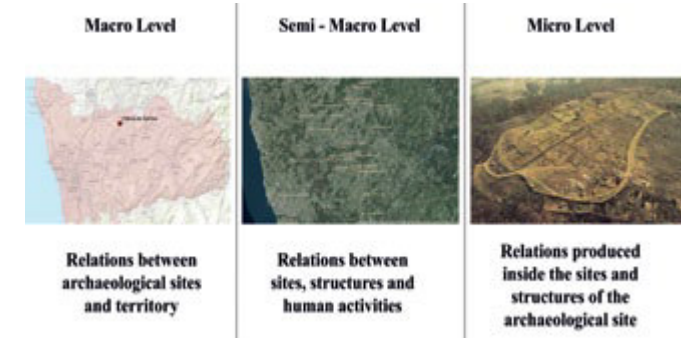


Figure 3
Scales of analysis. The third image is an aerial photograph of Sanfins taken from: <http://www.portoenorte.pt/pt/o-que-fazer/citania-de-sanfins/>

Objectives

Landscape archaeology presents itself in nowadays as an important perspective to understand the communities that inhabited the territory. It allows us to study landscape in four important dimensions as the environment, the economy, the social and political context and the symbolic world (Parceró Oubiña, César 2002). In this perspective we established as a main objective to study the existing diachronic and synchronic relationships in the landscape concerning Citânia de Sanfins and the involving territory, as well as the existing settlements and resources.

Methodology

Using the preexistent information of the study area obtained by other authors (*e.g.* Jalhay, Eugénio 1944; Paço, Afonso 1952; Silva, Armando 1986) we decided to apply a different model of analysis, organized in six stages of work. We started by **gathering all the available data** concerning the bibliography, cartography, photography and the already existing inventory from the Portuguese *Portal do Arqueólogo* (<http://arqueologia.patrimoniocultural.pt/index.php?sid=sitios>).

After this, **the information is analyzed and inserted in a database 2ArchIS** (Figure 4) structured specifically for this project. This database is modular and integrated and can be used in similar projects as well as in a next stage of development of this work, such as a doctoral program.

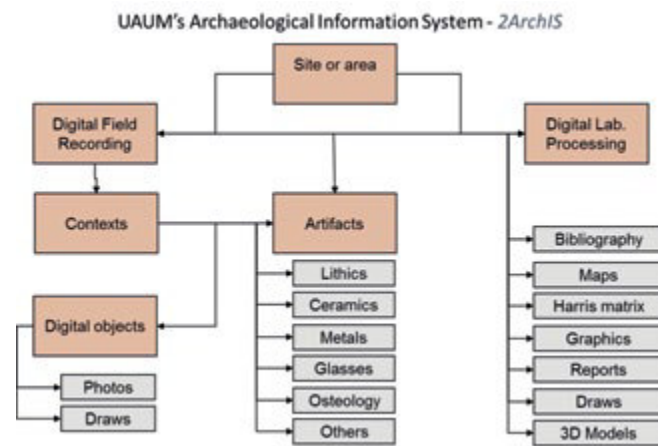


Figure 4
Back office of the database 2ArchIS.

After all the data is inserted it's needed it's **validation *in situ*** and if additional information is required it can be added at the database.

We use the Geographical Information System "ESRI ArcMap" to conduct geospatial analysis like **visibility, location and mobility**. To obtain data about these three types of analysis we can examine the topography of the settlements and area resorting to Digital Terrain Models (DTM) as well as lithology and hydrography maps. We have experimented calculating the Least Cost Path from the hillfort of Sanfins to the hillfort of Monte Padrão. In this analysis we included the hydrography, the visibility based on a 2 km range from each hillfort, and the roman roads established on a study previously made (www.vias-romanas.pt) and we came across some interesting results (Figure 5). We also made an anisotropic map with lines of 15 minutes, which indicates the time it takes to travel a certain distance on foot, considering the slopes. So, we can have an approximate calculation of the time to arrive from one site to another, to reach the main river and even to the closest possible agrarian spaces. And as in the previous map we included the 2km visibility to observe if it is articulated with the agrarian spaces (Figure 6).

Nevertheless, we are currently working on calculating the variables as smaller rivers and water mines, solar exposi-



Figure 5
Map containing Visibility Analysis of the hillforts present in this area and the Least Cost Path Analysis between the hillfort of Sanfins and the hillfort of Monte Padrão. We can see that the Least Cost Path has a similar path to the proposed roman and that the visibility of the sites in the space between Sanfins and Monte Padrão is oriented to this road.



Figure 6
Map with the anisotropic analysis and the potential agrarian spaces. We included too the Visibility Analysis (2 km) The visibility of the hillforts of Santa Margarida, Aldeia Nova, Santa Cruz and Vela is oriented, fundamentally, to the areas in which are located the soils with better agricultural aptitudes and to the main water courses. These hillforts are not located in the highest areas, but in the middle of the hillside. Sanfins and Monte Padrão are situated in the highest areas, and together with the hillforts of Salgueiros and Castro de Busto (located in the middle of the hillside), they seem to control the path of the roman route.

tion map, soil usage cartography, lithology and mining exploitation areas. We intend to match this information with other archaeological remains associated with the roman roads that have already been studied by other authors, so we can have a more approximated model.

In a final stage we will combine all the information collected and proceed to its study and interpretation hopping to obtain crucial data that will allow us to build a model of landscape analysis for this territory understanding it's dynamic in time and space. In the future, it will be necessary to carry out archaeological interventions in these sites so that we can characterize them chronologically and functionally, to better perceive the articulation of the territory in relation to the specialization of the sites in this period.

Final Considerations

This study is revealing its importance step by step as we face ourselves with relevant questions, as to why the need to create secondary roman routs that are parallel to the primary roads in the territory where Sanfins and Monte Padrão are located? It may be an indicator of the importance of these places in the romanization process and at an economic, social and political level. In a closer look we want to understand why the roman road Cale-Vimaranis and the least cost path outlined between Sanfins and Monte Padrão only coincides in three passage points. What type of relation was there and how did this road affected the development of these hillforts? And with the 2 km visibility analysis we can see that most of the hillforts have visual control of rivers, does this articulate with the soil exploitation and the solar exposition in that area? And so on, we are left with many questions at a macro and semi-micro level that we intend to explore until we are left with some answers or new questions.

With this we expect to build a model of landscape analysis in this territory and we also hope we can start to comprehend the changes that occurred in the landscape in the Iron Age and Romanization in this area. In the same way, the aim is to verify if this methodology is operational for this purpose and could be exportable to other areas of study.

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**CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES IN THE SABOR RIVER
VALLEY BETWEEN THE END OF SECOND IRON AGE
AND EARLY ROMAN TIMES**

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Keywords: Baixo Sabor; Iron Age and Romanization; ritualized and productive landscapes.



Changes and continuities in the Sabor River valley between the end of Second Iron Age and early Roman times

Research on the Iron Age in northern Portugal has traditionally focused over the study of communities associated with the Atlantic coast and representative of the 'Castro Culture'. Its singularity is rooted in a particular type of settlement, the 'castro', upon which rests the definition of all the Protohistory of the region.

However, another North exists, the hinterland one, and referring to a territory where protohistoric research has yet much to flourish on. Here, an almost complete lack of archaeological records has contributed towards a sizeable knowledge gap that in turn underlines the need for a strong commitment in constructing the sequences of both pre-Roman and Roman times.

Heritage preventive works carried out across several municipalities of eastern Trás-os-Montes since 2010 and related with the implementation of the Baixo Sabor Hydroelectric Project, stand as an important turning point in this respect. Excavations and surveys took place in lower valley areas and revealed models of protohistoric occupation that widely differ from the strictly 'castreja' viewpoint applied to date to the area in question. In Roman times, particularly from the middle of the first century AD onwards, an intensification focused on the agricultural potential of territories located next to water lines was registered.

Several sites located on soft hills existed in the inner meanders of the enclaves registering fortified protohistoric occupations, as the case of *Quinta de Crestelos* (Mogadouro), or established over small spurs right next to the Sabor River, as *Castelinho* (Torre de Moncorvo). Other sites mainly accounting for groups of ditches filled with ceramic and metallic materials (*Chã* and *Quinta das Laranjeiras*) may



Figure 1
Geographical scope of the Baixo Sabor Hydroelectric Project and location of *Quinta de Crestelos*.

suggest practices that would go beyond common domestic uses. Of high interest was the discovery of numerous schist slabs with iconographic representations similar to those found at the Côa valley. The anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images, in addition to the weapons and wider schematic and abstract motifs documented in both *Castelinho* and *Quinta de Crestelos*, invite us to reflect upon the social organization, as well as the mentality and the rituals inherent to the groups who settled in Baixo Sabor throughout the Second Iron Age.

Quinta de Crestelos exemplifies some of the changes and continuities that impacted the region in the transition to Roman times. The site stands over a small schist hill of around 40 meters height, positioned inside a meander of the Sabor River and adjacent to its confluence point with

the Medal brook, where another key Upper Palaeolithic¹ and Bronze Age² archaeological site is located. It was the object of excavations between August 2011 and January 2014, with works covering an area of 10,800 m² distributed between the higher part of the hill and a wide platform extending southerly downwards.



Figure 2
Aerial view of the Sabor River and the Medal brook confluence point.

First and foremost, the amplitude of the site occupational sequence should be emphasized, ranging from the Chalcolithic and Middle Bronze Age to the present time, passing through the Iron Age, the Roman Era, Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, with the Second Iron Age period performing one of its better represented moments.

In pre-Roman times, the crest of the hill was endowed with a complex fortified system that encompassed several wall lines made of schist preceded by excavated cuts into the geological substrate. The few uncovered domestic contexts on site do not seem to be in line with the abundant combustion structures detected inside the cuts (with more than twenty registered in Ditch 1), sometimes even defining clear groups. The by-products generated by activities practised at these households were accumulated *ex profeso* in other sectors of the crest, at times reaching a strong accumulation of ashes and archaeological materials that measured up to 2 meters thick. Ceramics recovered from these deposits corroborated the context of

these households as being from Second Iron Age. Among the discovered metallic elements, there were several meat hooks with a twisted stem and even elegant iron knives with 'afalcatado' backs and ivory handles that suggested a probable ritualized character of combustions, perhaps related to celebration and commensality practices.



Figure 3
Walls, cut (Ditch 1), combustion structures and associated ceramic and metal materials.

On the Lower Platform, in a seemingly open and non-fortified environment, domestic contexts proliferated. They included circular huts erected with perishable materials (wood and clay) that overlapped each other and formed powerful occupational sequences³. The remains coming from these environments were similar to those recovered at the crest ash deposits, thus suggesting a long occupation for the site, between the 5th and 1st centuries BC, and revealing a visible similarity with some assets characteristic of the western part of the *Meseta* from Second Iron Age.

At an unknown moment during the 1st century BC deep changes in the site occupation sequence took place. The ditches at the crest were filled and the walls transformed into powerful stone platforms that expanded and accommodated the buildable surface. Gradually, the rehabilitated spaces were occupied by small *horrea* of circular (probably of older chronology) and rectangular plan. Meanwhile, on the lower platform the adobe huts were replaced by circular ones, with their constructions being decisively based upon the use of stone.

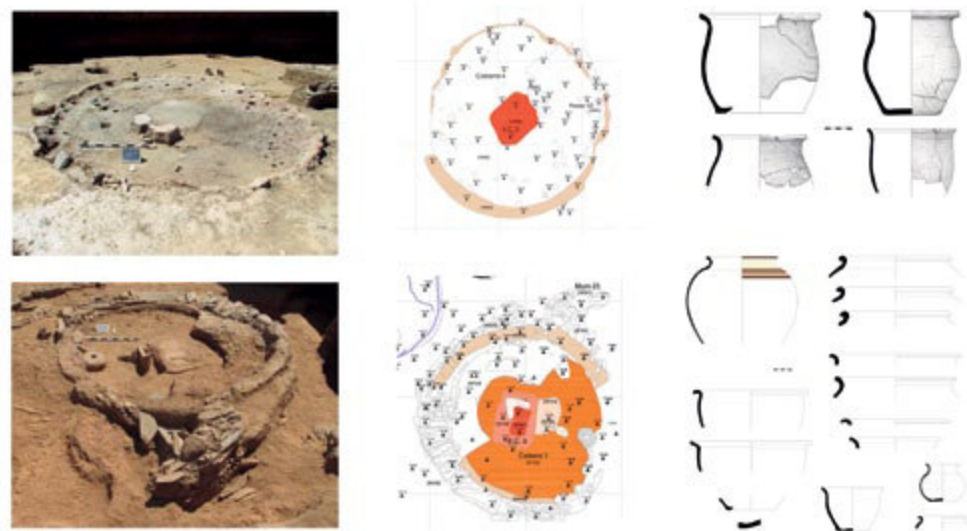


Figure 4
Circular adobe huts (Surveys 18 and 36) and associated ceramic materials.

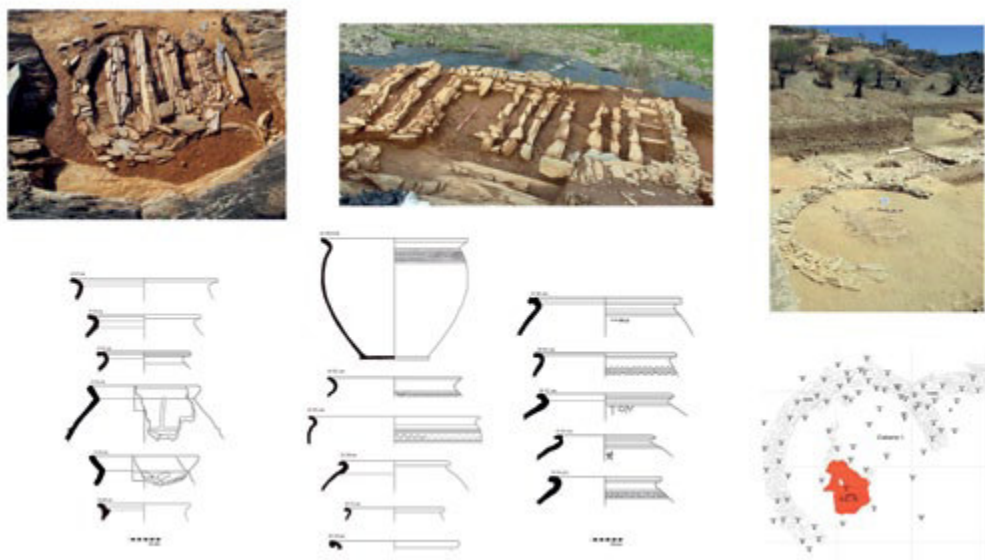


Figure 5
Horrea of circular and rectangular plan, circular hut with a schist basement and associated ceramic materials

The material culture drastically broke with the traditions from the previous phase. Among the ceramic materials, there were plentiful common large storage containers made with micaceous clays that adopted the common shapes allusive of both the *bracarense* and *lucense* areas⁴. The innumerable closed profiles with faceted and multifaceted edges facing the interior highlight the shift in terms of geographical affiliation, which by now focused on the coast and the wider Romanized 'castrejo' world.

The lower valley productive vocation intensified as the 1st century AD advanced, especially from its second half onwards. On the lower platform and the southern slope of the *Crestelos* site new buildings of rectangular plan emerged

tions, oriented perhaps towards the supply of the communities dedicated to mining and metallurgical activities of the critical ferric veins located at the Torre de Moncorvo municipality.

In short, some archaeological enclaves located at the Baixo Sabor valley and registering long diachronic occupations, as the *Quinta de Crestelos* site, revealed deep changes in their stratigraphic sequence right close to the change of Era, thus suggesting the passage from a protohistoric ritualized landscape into a Romanized productive one.

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2 Gaspar, R., Carrondo, J., Nobre, L., Rodrigues, Z. & Donoso, G. (2104): Espaço para a morte. O Terraço da Foz do Medal (Vale do Sabor, Nordeste de Portugal) durante a Idade do Bronze, *Estudos do Quaternário*, 10, 59-72.

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4 Báez, B., Batalha, L., Carvalho, L., García Villanueva, I., Larrazabal, J., Roselló, M. & Santos, C. (2016): Recipientes de armazenamento no vale do Baixo Sabor (Portugal), da época romana à antiguidade tardia. Ensaio cronotipológico. In R. Járrega y P. Berni (Edit.) *Amphorae ex Hispania: paisajes de producción y consumo*, Monografías Ex Officina Hispana III, 898-917.



Figure 6
Aerial view of both Roman and early medieval structures adjacent to the Crestelos farm.

(among them several *horrea* of broader dimensions than those implanted on the crest), whereas in terms of ceramic vessels new imported productions appeared (Gallic and Hispanic TS and thin walled pottery), which complemented the traditional kitchen and storage containers.

This evolution was paralleled with the settlement of numerous small sites with agricultural potential along the valley. At this particular time, *Quinta de Crestelos* may have had a redistributive role with regards to these produc-

CREDITS CRÉDITOS

International Symposium: Cultural Interactions and Changing Landscapes in Europe (2nd century BC / 2nd century AD)
Simpósio Internacional: Interações Culturais e Paisagens em Mudança na Europa (séc. 2º a.C. / séc. 2º d.C.)

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EDITORS EDITORES

Luís Fontes, Gonçalo Cruz e Mafalda Alves

DESIGN **Tiago Rodrigues**

PRINTING IMPRESSÃO **PUBLITO. Estúdio de Artes Gráficas**

EDITION EDIÇÃO **Unidade de Arqueologia da Universidade do Minho**

LOCAL OF EDITION LOCAL DE EDIÇÃO **Braga 2018**

LEGAL DEPOSIT (DL) N° **446081/18**

ISBN **978-972-9382-25-3**

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Iron Age Hillforts of Boticas

Povoados Fortificados da Idade do Ferro de Boticas

Luís Fontes, Bruno Osório, Mafalda Alves,
Maurício Guerreiro & Paulo Bernardes

Catalogue of the parallel exhibition held
in the “International Symposium:
Cultural Interactions and Changing Landscapes in Europe
(2nd century BC / 2nd century AD)”

**Catálogo da exposição paralela ao “Simpósio Internacional:
Interações Culturais e Paisagens em Mudança na Europa
(séc. 2º a.C. / séc. 2º d.C.)”**

Boticas, 11/12/13 October/outubro 2018

BÓTICAS
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INTRODUCTION **182** INTRODUÇÃO **183**

CATALOGUE CATÁLOGO **187**

MAP MAPA **188**

ALTO DO CASTRO **190**

BREJO **192**

CERCA DE SAPELOS **194**

CERCA DE SAPIÃOS **196**

CABEÇO **198**

CARVALHELHOS **200**

CÔTO DOS CORVOS **204**

ERVAS RUIVAS **206**

GESTOSA **208**

LAVRADAS **210**

LESENHO **212**

MALHÓ **216**

MOURIL **218**

MURADA DA GORDA **220**

MURO DE CUNHAS **222**

NOGUEIRA **224**

OUTEIRO PARDO **228**

POIO **230**

RIO MAU **232**

SAPELOS **234**

VILARINHO SÊCO **238**

INTRODUCTION

With an area around 200 km², the Municipality of Boticas extends from the Tâmega River, on its eastern side, to the Alturas Mountains, to the west, being limited to the north by the Leiranco and Pastoria Mountains and to the south by the elevations of the Mountains of Melcas and Marcos.

Geomorphologically, this area is located in the transition zone from the North Plateau to the Galaico-Duriense Massif, corresponding to what is generally referred to as the Barroso region. The topography develops at altitudes that generally surpass the 700 meters high, reaching the highest point in Couto do Sudro, in the Alturas Mountain, with 1231 meters.

Hydrologically, it is situated in the right-hand bank of the Tâmega River basin, having the Beça and Terva Rivers as the two major water lines crossing its territory, flowing north to south.

Its position, right in the middle of the transition zone, had its topographical diversity as a major outcome, having an assortment of landforms going from the wide alluvial plains and plane summits to the deep entrenched valleys or stony peaks in the mountains. This diversity results in climatic variations: the higher lands usually have severe winters, often with snow, and very hot summers; at the same time, in the valleys, more sheltered, the seasons are milder, we could even say fully Mediterranean, along parts of the Tâmega River valley.

The present Municipality of Boticas, created under the territorial and administrative reform of 1836, has an wide-ranging archaeological layer, amongst which is a dense occupation associated with the Iron Age, materialized in 21 fortified settlements, all of which with ruins of defensive walls, buildings in the interior platforms and ceramics. Some of these could be from previous period, perhaps from the Bronze Age, as evidenced by some handmade ceramics and the findings of bronze pieces (Castro do Brejo), while others had a wide occupation range, seeming to have lasted until the time of the Suevo-Visigothic domain.

In spite of the discovery of four Gallaecian Warrior Statues near the Lesenho Hillfort, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, widely publicized by the greatest specialists of that time (Hubner 1871, Sarmiento 1896, Pereira 1908 and 1915, Vasconcellos 1895 and 1913), this particular hillfort did not meet any further investigations, such as the ones that Martins Sarmiento undertook in the oppidum of Citânia de Briteiros and that in 1880 attracted the visit of the participants of the International Congress of Pre-historic Anthropology and Archaeology, which in that year took place in Lisbon (Caldas, 1996).

From the mid-twentieth century on, and following the renewed interest in the study of the great oppida of the Atlantic zone, such as Sanfins, Santa Luzia, Terroso or São Julião, the Iron Age layer existing in the area of Boticas knew a first and fundamental impulse, due to the action of Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos Júnior, who directed systematic excavations and restorations in the Carvalhelhos Hillfort, begun in the 50s of the 20th century, followed by a systematic inventory of the 'castrejos' settlements of the Municipality of Boticas (Júnior, Santos and Júnior, 1983 and 1986), a work that remains of mandatory consultation for any researchers who want to approach the theme.

In 2005 the municipal archaeological inventory, originally made in 1991-92, was reviewed, in order to inform the revision of the Municipal Land Director Plan (Fontes, 1992, Fontes and Andrade, 2010). Scratching from these works, in 2010, the Unit of Archaeology of the University of Minho and the Municipality of Boticas implemented the project "Conservation, Research, Valorisation and Dissemination of the Old Mining Complex of the Upper Terva River Valley, Boticas", followed by the PoPaTERVA2013-2016 / Populations and Landscapes in the Upper Terva River Valley. Both these research programs resulted in the publication of the Atlas of Archaeology of the Terva Valley Archaeological Park (Fontes, Osório, Alves, and Guerreiro, 2017).

In 2015, João Fonte focused his research on the area that corresponds to the present-day Galician-Portuguese border zone of Alto Tâmega and Cávado, rehearsing a primary analysis of the transition from the Iron Age to the Roman

INTRODUÇÃO

Com cerca de 200 km² de área, o concelho de Boticas estende-se do rio Tâmega, a nascente, até à Serra das Alturas, a Oeste, sendo limitado a Norte pelas Serras do Leiranco e da Pastoria e a Sul pelas elevações das Serras de Melcas e dos Marcos.

Geomorfologicamente integra-se na zona de transição do sistema planáltico da Meseta Norte ao Maciço Galaico-Duriense, correspondente ao que geralmente se designa como região do Barroso. Desenvolve-se a uma altitude média superior aos 700 metros, atingindo o ponto mais elevado no Couto do Sudro / Serra das Alturas, com 1231 metros.

Hidrologicamente enquadra-se na margem direita da bacia do rio Tâmega, sendo os rios Beça e Terva as duas principais linhas de água que atravessam o concelho no sentido Norte / Sul.

A sua posição de transição expressa-se na diversidade dos relevos que oferece, desde as amplas veigas planálticas e cumeadas aplanadas até aos profundos vales encaixados e picos pedregosos das montanhas. Esta diversidade conhece correspondência nas variantes climáticas, com Invernos rigorosos, frequentemente com neve e Verões quentes, nas zonas altas e desabrigadas, e estações mais amenas nos vales protegidos, revestindo mesmo características mediterrânicas em alguns troços do vale do rio Tâmega.

É neste espaço, correspondente ao actual concelho de Boticas, criado no âmbito da reforma administrativo-territorial de 1836, que se documenta arqueologicamente uma densa ocupação associável à Idade do Ferro, materializada em 21 povoados fortificados, todos com vestígios de muralhas, ruínas de edificações nas plataformas interiores e espólio cerâmico. Alguns serão de fundação anterior, talvez da Idade do Bronze, como evidenciam algumas cerâmicas manuais e o achado de peças de bronze (Castro do Brejo), e outros conheceram uma ocupação que parece ter-se prolongado até ao tempo do domínio Suevo-Visigótico.

Apesar da descoberta de 4 estátuas de guerreiros galaico-romanos nas proximidades do castro do Lesenho nos finais do século XIX e inícios do século XX, amplamente divulgada pelos maiores especialistas da época (Hubner 1871; Sarmiento 1896; Pereira 1908 e 1915; Vasconcellos 1895 e 1913), o povoado não suscitou o desenvolvimento de quaisquer outras investigações, como as que Martins Sarmiento havia empreendido no povoado de Briteiros e que em 1880 atraíram a visita dos participantes no Congresso Internacional de Antropologia e de Arqueologia Pré-históricas que nesse ano se tinha realizado em Lisboa (Caldas, 1996).

A partir de meados do século XX, e acompanhando o renovado interesse pelo estudo dos grandes oppida da zona atlântica, como Sanfins, Santa Luzia, Terroso ou São Julião, o povoamento da Idade do Ferro no território de Boticas conhece um primeiro e fundamental impulso graças à ação de Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos Júnior, que dirigiu continuadas escavações e restauros no Castro de Carvalhelhos, iniciadas na década de 50 do século XX, prosseguindo depois com o inventário sistemático dos povoados 'castrejos' do concelho de Boticas (Júnior, Santos e Júnior, 1983 e 1986), trabalho que permanece de consulta obrigatória para quaisquer investigadores que queiram abordar a temática do povoamento antigo da região.

Em 2005 e para informar a revisão do Plano Diretor Municipal, procedeu-se a uma atualização do inventário do património arqueológico do Concelho de Boticas realizado em 1991-92, abarcando todas as épocas (Fontes, 1992, Fontes e Andrade, 2010). Foi a partir destes trabalhos que em 2010 se desenvolveu o projeto "Conservação, Estudo, Valorização e Divulgação do Complexo Mineiro Antigo do Vale Superior do Rio Terva, Boticas" e posteriormente um outro projeto de investigação promovido pela Unidade de Arqueologia da Universidade do Minho (PoPaTERVA2013-2016/ Povoamentos e Paisagens no Vale Superior do Rio Terva), que culminaram com publicação do respetivo Atlas da Arqueologia (Fontes, Osório, Alves, e Guerreiro, 2017).

domain, exploring the most recent data on the settlements of this period, also provided by the archaeological sites of Boticas.

In 2018, in anticipation for the “International Symposium on Cultural Interactions and Changing Landscapes in Europe (2nd century BC / 2nd century AD)”, we’ve updated all the records available concerning the Iron Age Hillforts of Boticas, putting a special effort in the collection of detailed topographical plans, obtained from high resolution aerial photography. These are the results we’re presenting in this book.

Although the hillforts might be seen dispersed throughout most of the present area of the Municipality of Boticas, the careful analysis of its distribution reveals two major groups: one in the north-eastern zone, linked to the initial basin of the Terva River, and another one in the central and western zone, in the basin of the Beça River.

The first set includes eleven settlements, of different sizes, but generically implanted in hills of the higher slopes or in promontories at the lower or at the base of the slopes; nine of them are not more than 4 km apart from each other; four of these are aligned on the right bank of the river, at the base of the eastern slope of the Leiranco Mountain, in a buffer line of 5 km.

The second group is formed by ten hillforts, also of different sizes, dispersed over a larger area and more distant from each other, presenting diverse implantation solutions, sometimes exposed in the peaks, as we can see in the case of the Coto dos Corvos Hillfort, or sheltered in the bottom of valleys, implanted in spurs standing above water lines, such as the example of Ervas Ruivas or Poio hillforts.

The concentration of fortified settlements in the first 10 km of the course of the Terva River is quite remarkable. In addition to the favourable phyto-edafoclimatic conditions, we assume that the settlement of populations in this initial section of the basin is especially related to the exploration of the auriferous and stannous reefs of Poço

das Freitas and Batocas. We are thus considering the existence of a specific group of hillforts specialized in mining and, probably, in the associated metallurgical activity.

In some of the settlements of the second set, one can also identify traces of metallurgical activity, associated to mining areas, which may lead to the conclusion that the present-day territory of Boticas would have been, in the centuries around the transition of the Era, an area of great economic development, boosted by the specialization core activities related to bronze, iron, silver and gold metallurgy (Amaral 1993, 105-107).

Both in the first set as in the second, some of the settlements conserve constructive remains imprinted with an infrequent monumentality when it comes to this type of archaeological sites. Due to its size, the imposing walls and its geo-strategic positioning, one could highlight, in this case, the hillforts of Muro de Cunhas, Carvalhelhos, Lavradas, Giestosa, Cabeço and, above all, the imposing fortified hillforts of Nogueira and Lesenho.

Dominating the main natural routes of communication and covering in its surroundings the fertile alluvial plains and alveoli of the Terva and Beça river basins, some of these settlements would have been central places within the proto-historic settlement framework of the region, to which several indigenous populi are referred to. One of these central places was, indisputably, the hillfort of Lesenho, from which four Gallaecian Warrior Statues are said to originate from.

The fortified settlements of Boticas are a cluster of high patrimonial value and of great scientific interest, offering extensive possibilities of valorisation. Its protection, conservation and valorisation have been a priority of the Municipality, through the integration of some of them in the Network of Hillforts of the Northwest, namely of the hillforts of Lesenho and Sapelos, the latter still in appreciation.

Em 2015, João Fonte (2015) debruçou-se sobre o espaço que corresponde à atual zona de fronteira galego-portuguesa do Alto Tâmega e Cávado, ensaiando uma primeira análise do processo de transição entre a Idade do Ferro e o domínio romano, explorando os mais recentes dados sobre o povoamento deste período proporcionados pelos sítios arqueológicos de Boticas.

Em 2018 e antecipando a realização do “Simpósio Internacional: Interações Culturais e Paisagens em Mudança na Europa (séc. 2º a.C. / séc. 2º d.C.)”, atualizaram-se os registos relativos a todos os povoados fortificados da Idade do Ferro no concelho de Boticas, investindo-se especialmente na obtenção de levantamentos mais detalhados através do recurso a fotografia área ortoreificada de alta resolução. É esse trabalho que aqui se apresenta.

Embora se dispersem por quase todo o território do actual concelho de Boticas, a análise atenta da sua distribuição revela dois conjuntos distintos: um na zona Norte e Este, vinculado à bacia inicial do rio Terva, e outro na zona central e ocidental, na bacia do rio Beça.

O primeiro conjunto integra onze povoados, de diferentes tamanhos mas genericamente implantados em outeiros da vertente alta ou promontórios de vertente baixa; nove deles não distam, cada um, mais de 4 km em relação ao mais próximo; quatro destes alinham-se na margem direita do rio, no sopé da vertente oriental do maciço do Leiranco, no curto espaço de 5 km.

O segundo conjunto é formado por dez povoados, também de diferentes tamanhos, dispersos por uma maior área e mais distantes entre si, apresentando soluções de implantação diversificadas, ora expostos nos cumes, como o povoado do Coto dos Corvos, ora resguardados no fundo de vales cavados, em esporões sobranceiros às linhas de água, como os de Ervas Ruivas ou do Poio.

A concentração de povoados fortificados nos primeiros 10 km do curso do rio Terva é notável. Para além de mais favoráveis condições fito-edafoclimáticas, admitimos que a instalação de populações neste troço inicial da bacia se

relacione especialmente com a exploração dos flões auríferos e estanhíferos do Poço das Freitas e das Batocas. Estaremos, assim, perante um conjunto de povoados ‘castrejos’ especializados em mineração e, provavelmente, na actividade metalúrgica associada.

Em alguns dos povoados do segundo conjunto também se identificam vestígios de actividade metalúrgica e regista-se a existência de zonas de mineração, o que poderá significar que o território do actual território de Boticas terá constituído, nos séculos em torno da transição da Era, uma zona de grande desenvolvimento económico, assente na actividade especializada da metalurgia do bronze, ferro, prata e ouro (Amaral 1993, 105-107).

Tanto no primeiro conjunto como no segundo, alguns dos povoados conservam restos construtivos com uma monumentalidade pouco frequente neste tipo de sítios arqueológicos. Pelo seu tamanho, pela imponência das muralhas que conservam e pelo seu posicionamento geo-estratégico, destacam-se os ‘castros’ de Muro de Cunhas, de Carvalhelhos e de Lavradas, de Giestosa, de Cabeço e, entre todos, os imponentes povoados fortificados de Nogueira e do Lesenho.

Dominando as principais vias naturais de comunicação e abrangendo nas suas envolventes as férteis veigas e alvéolos das bacias dos rios Terva e Beça, alguns destes povoados terão sido lugares centrais no quadro do povoamento proto-histórico da região, para a qual se referenciam vários populi indígenas. Um desses lugares centrais era, inequivocamente, o povoado do Lesenho, de onde provêm quatro estátuas de guerreiros galaico-romanos.

Os povoados fortificados de Boticas constituem um conjunto de elevado valor patrimonial e de grande interesse científico, oferecendo amplas possibilidades de valorização. A sua proteção, conservação e valorização têm constituído uma prioridade do município, designadamente através da integração de alguns deles na Rede de Castros do Noroeste, como acontece com o Castro de Lesenho e de Sapelos, este último ainda em apreciação.

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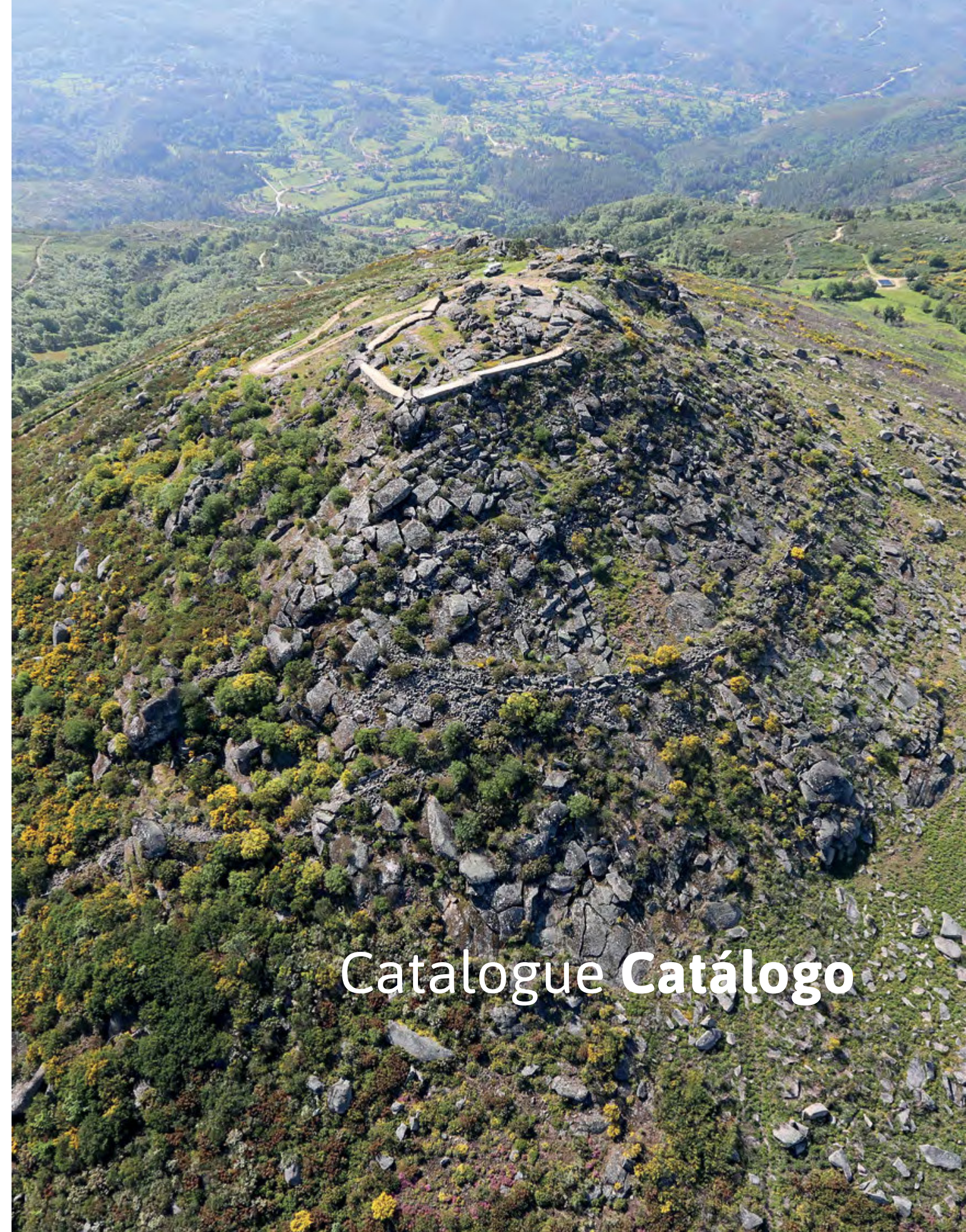
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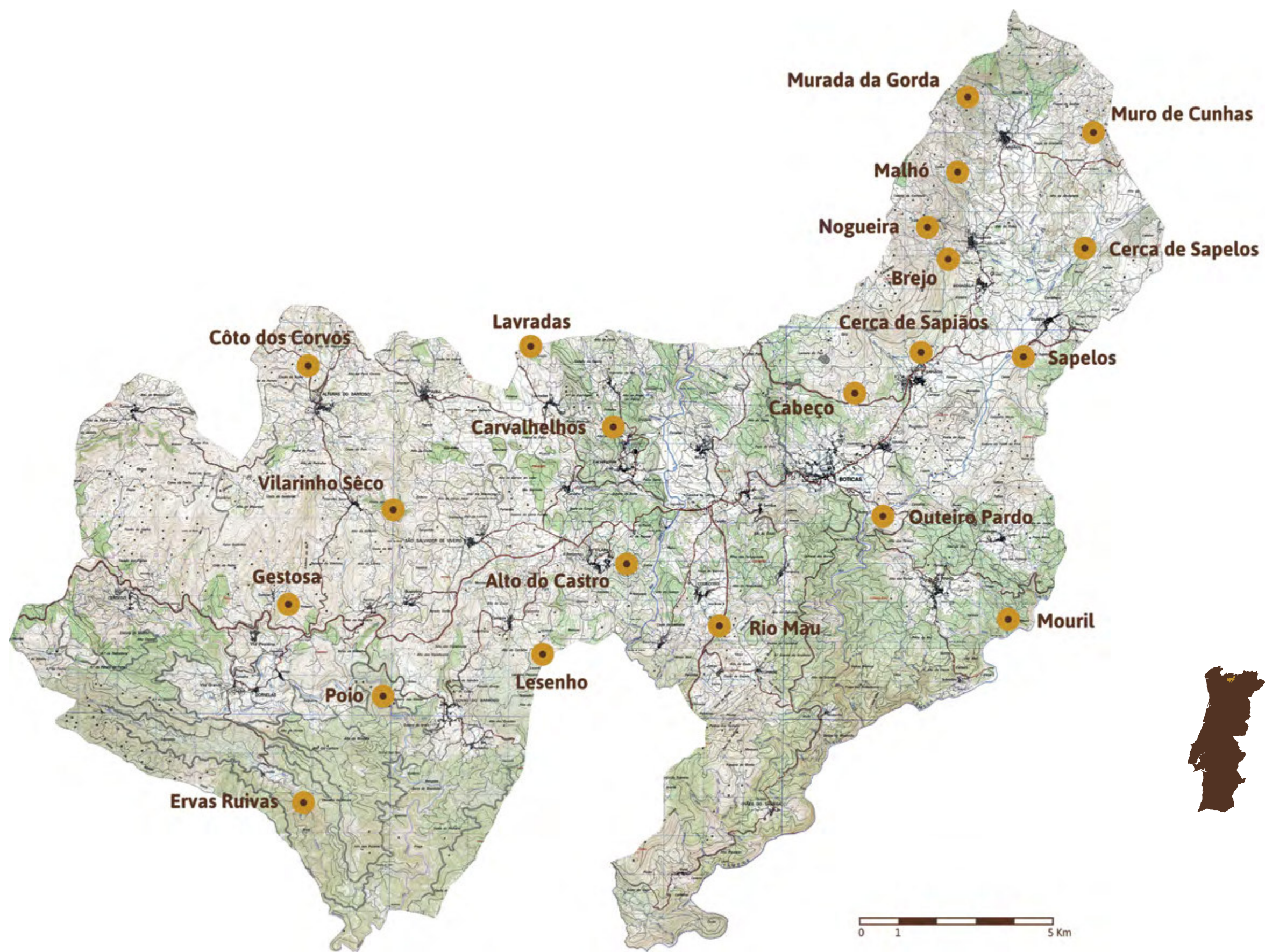


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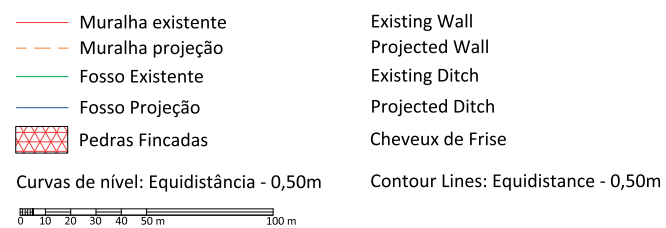
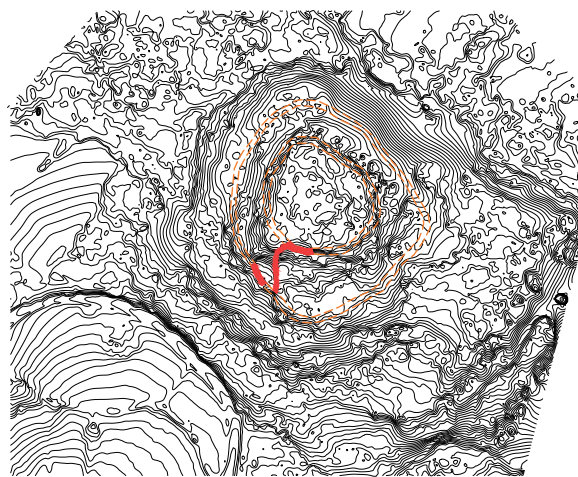
Boticas

MAP MAPA

Iron Age Hillforts of Boticas Povoados Fortificados da Idade do Ferro de Boticas



Alto do Castro



Alto do Castro is a small hillfort, with about 2 ha, implanted in a rocky hillock, to the east of the village of Vilar and near the confluence with the Beça River.

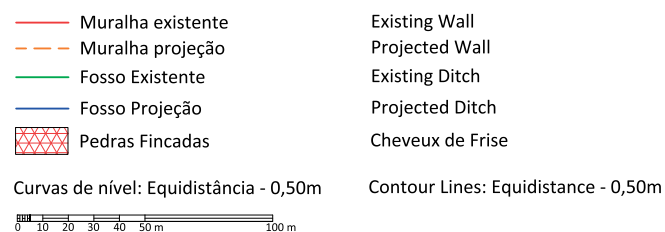
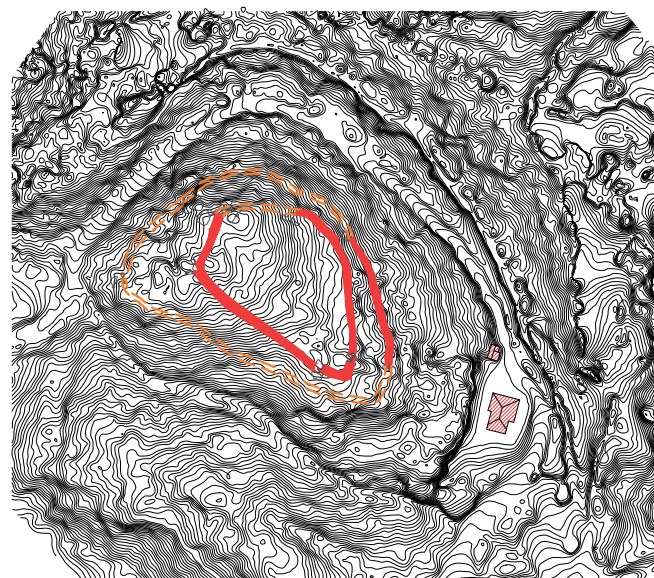
The defensive system holds two lines of walls, which retain, in the best preserved places, 3.50 m thick. Through the first line the polygonal apparatus is perfectly visible in the 3 to 4 courses still conserved, amongst its impressive and large dimension ruins. The second wall line, parallel to the first and with the same morphological characteristics, is only perceptible on the north and east sides of the hillfort.

In the platform created by the second wall line, there are some traceable alignments of circular structures and their respective ruins. This hillfort shows no signs of Romanization.

Implantado num cabeço rochoso, a leste da aldeia de Vilar e próximo da confluência com o rio Beça, localiza-se um povoado fortificado de pequenas dimensões, com cerca de 2 Ha.

O sistema defensivo é constituído por duas linhas de muralhas, que nas partes melhor conservadas apresentam uma largura de 3,50 m. Na primeira é perfeitamente visível o aparelho poligonal das 3 a 4 fiadas que ainda se observam, destacando-se ainda a enorme dimensão do ser derrube. A segunda linha de muralha, paralela à primeira e com as mesmas características morfológicas, somente é perceptível dos lados Norte e Este.

Na plataforma criada pela segunda linha de muralha são perceptíveis alinhamentos de estruturas circulares e seus derrubes. Não apresenta indícios de romanização.



Brejo Hillfort

Brejo hillfort is located on a rocky hillock at the base of the east slope of the Leiranco Mountain, on the right bank of Brejo's stream talweg. Brejo's hillfort sits below Nogueira hillfort.

This hillfort displays a defensive system composed by two wall lines that adapt to the granitic ridges and boulders, in a tendentially oval plane. The first wall defines the acropolis, fitting between the boulders. The second line, quite destroyed, is particularly visible in the east slope, over the old mining area of Brejo.

The wall's cyclopean foundations are preserved, along with small sections of irregular polygonal apparatus.

There are records of pottery fragments of indigenous tradition being found on the hillfort's surface, as well as tegulae fragments and a significant amount of iron slags. Santos Júnior recorded that, at the time of his studies, the retrieval of a bronze double looped palstave, of a distaff and a spindle and some coins was referred to him by Mr. Eusébio Barja, an inhabitant from Bobadela. He also stated that some locals offered him a flat axe, in bronze, and a flat quadrilateral stone axe, said to be found in this hillfort.

Castro do Brejo

O Castro do Brejo está implantado sobre um cabeço rochoso na base da vertente nascente da Serra do Leiranco, no limite direito do talvegue do ribeiro do Brejo, que tem sobranceiro a si o Castro de Nogueira.

Apresenta um sistema defensivo composto por duas linhas de muralha, que se adaptam aos afloramentos graníticos, numa planimetria tendencialmente ovalar. A primeira linha de muralha define o espaço da acrópole, encaixando entre a penedia. A segunda linha, bastante destruída, é visível, sobretudo, na vertente voltada a nascente, dominando a zona de exploração mineira antiga das Minas do Brejo. Conservam-se sobretudo os embasamentos ciclópicos das muralhas e pequenos troços de aparelho poligonal irregular.

À superfície da área do povoado foram identificados alguns fragmentos de cerâmica de tradição indígena, fragmentos de tegulae, e bastantes escórias de ferro. Santos Júnior regista que, à data dos seus estudos, lhe fora referido pelo Sr. Eusébio Barja, de Bobadela, o achado de um machado de bronze de dupla aselha, uma pequena roca e fuso de metal e algumas moedas e que alguns habitantes locais lhe ofereceram dois machados, um de talão, em bronze, e um plano de secção quadrangular, com indicação de proveniência deste local.

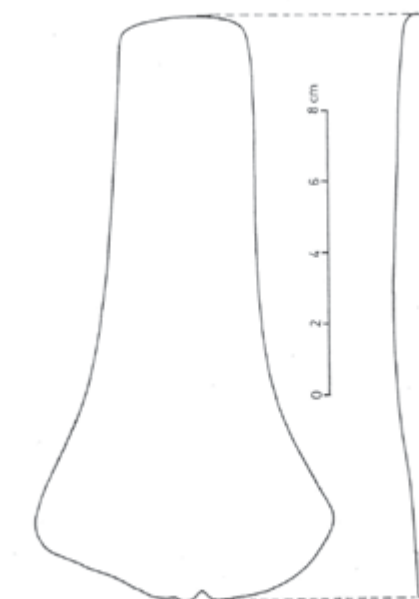


Fig. 47 — Machado de bronze com 648 gr achado no Crasto do Brejo (Bobadela).

In Santos Júnior (1986:77).

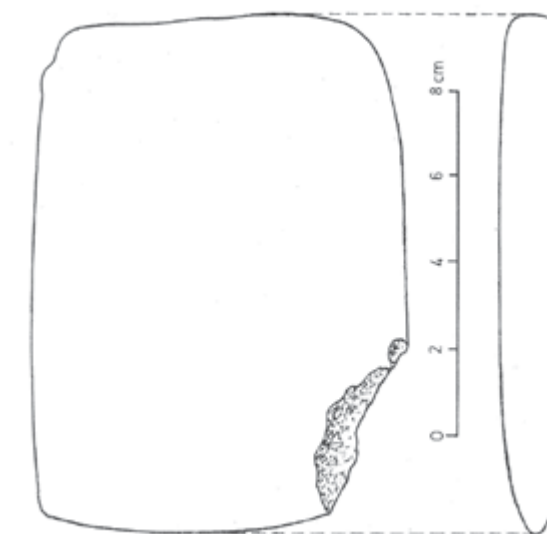


Fig. 46 — Machado chato de pedra (dolerite) achado no Crasto do Brejo.

In Santos Júnior (1986:76).

Cerca de Sapelos



Iron Age Hillforts of Boticas
Povoados Fortificados da Idade do Ferro de Boticas

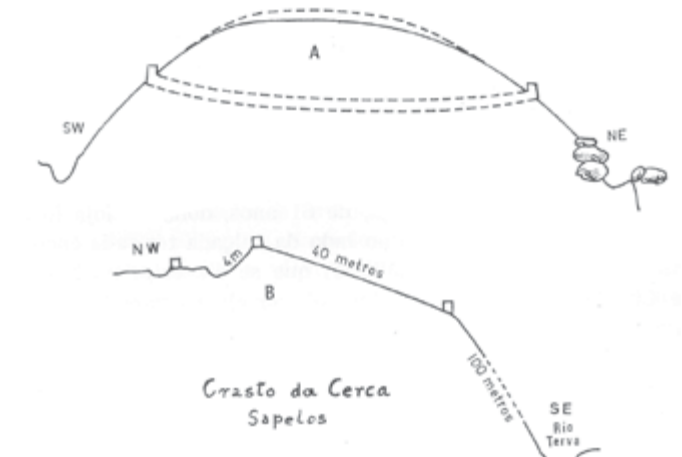
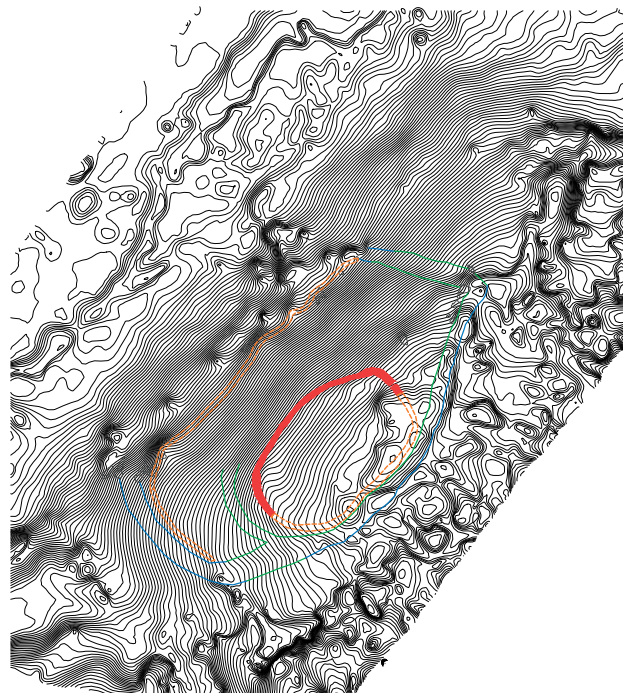


Fig. 3 — Perfil e corte do Crasto da Cerca ou do Muro, de Sapelos.

In Santos Júnior (1986:13).



Muro Hillfort

The Muro Hillfort or Cerca de Sapelos, implanted in the western slope of the Lapabar Mountain, is a fortified settlement, structured over an extensive spur above the left bank of the Calvão Stream and very close to the mining fronts of Poço das Freitas.

The defensive system is constituted by a single wall line and a defensive ditch, drawing a quasi-ellipsoidal perimeter, with less than 0.5 Ha. In the north side of the wall, constructed in polygonal apparatus with granite masonry, it was identified what appears to be one of the hillforts gates, with approximately 1 m wide.

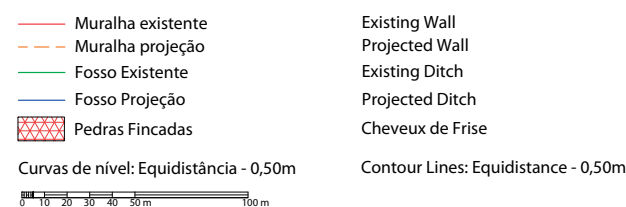
Most of the structures are revealed by quartz heaps and milled stones, revealing what seem to be the preferential of the local raw materials. Some micaceous ceramic fragments, attributable to the Iron Age, were collected from site.

Castro do Muro

O Castro do Muro ou Cerca de Sapelos, implantado na vertente Oeste da Serra de Lapabar, é um povoado fortificado assente num relevo em esporão alargado que se desenvolve à margem da Ribeira do Calvão e muito próximo das frentes de exploração mineira do Poço das Freitas.

O sistema defensivo é composto por uma linha de muralha e por um fosso defensivo, desenhando um perímetro tendencialmente elipsoidal com menos de 0,5 Ha.. No lado norte da muralha, contruída em alvenaria de granito de aparelho poligonal, identificou-se o que parece ser uma das portas do povoado, com aproximadamente 1 m de largura.

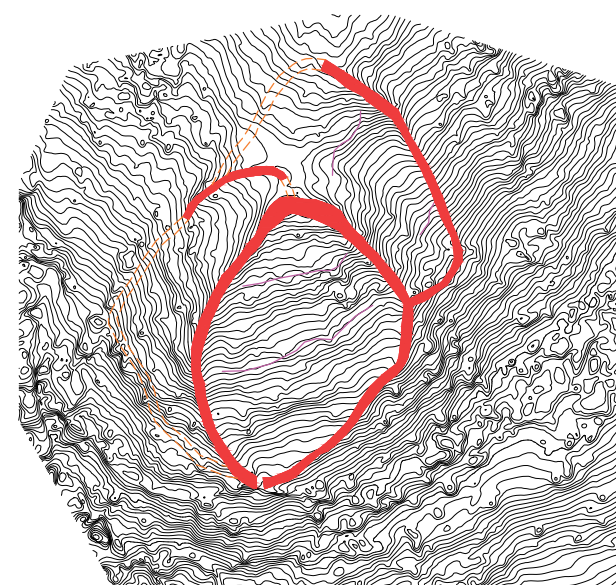
A maior parte dos vestígios de estruturas são revelados por alguns derrubes de pedra partida de quartzito leitoso, revelando um aproveitamento da matéria-prima local. À superfície do solo detetaram-se alguns fragmentos cerâmicos micáceos atribuíveis à Idade do Ferro.



Cerca de Sapiãos



Iron Age Hillforts of Boticas
Povoados Fortificados da Idade do Ferro de Boticas



Located to the north of the village of Sapiãos, the Cerca de Sapiãos Hillfort stands on a small hillock at the base of the southeast slope of the Leiranco Mountain, on the left bank of the Corga Funda brook, at an altitude of 610 meters.

Traces of three wall lines are perceivable, constructed in irregular polygonal apparatus and based by cyclopean foundations. Covering an area of approximately 1 Ha, the first line, with about 3.5 m wide, is preserved in its entirety, surrounding the entire upper platform, with an entrance facing south. A section of an intermediate wall, northwest of the former is also identifiable and one can recognize a substantial part of a third wall developing on the north side.

No vestiges of buildings were identified inside the walls. Some iron smelting slags were collected on the surface.

Povoado implantado a norte da aldeia de Sapiãos, num pequeno outeiro na base da vertente sudeste da Serra do Leiranco, na margem esquerda do ribeiro da Corga Funda, a uma altitude de 610 metros.

Identificam-se vestígios de três linhas de muralha, em aparelho poligonal irregular sobre alicerces de aparelho ciclópico, que abarcam uma área aproximada de 1 Ha: uma primeira linha que se conserva na totalidade e que circunda toda a plataforma superior, com cerca de 3,5m de largura, com uma entrada virada a sul; um troço de uma muralha intermédia, a noroeste da anterior; e parte substancial de uma terceira muralha que se desenvolve no lado norte.

Não se identificaram vestígios de edificações no interior do recinto. À superfície recolheram-se algumas escórias de fundição de ferro.

- | | | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | Muralha existente | Existing Wall |
| | Muralha projeção | Projected Wall |
| | Fosso Existente | Existing Ditch |
| | Fosso Projeção | Projected Ditch |
| | Pedras Fincadas | Cheveux de Frise |
| Curvas de nível: Equidistância - 0,50m | | Contour Lines: Equidistance - 0,50m |

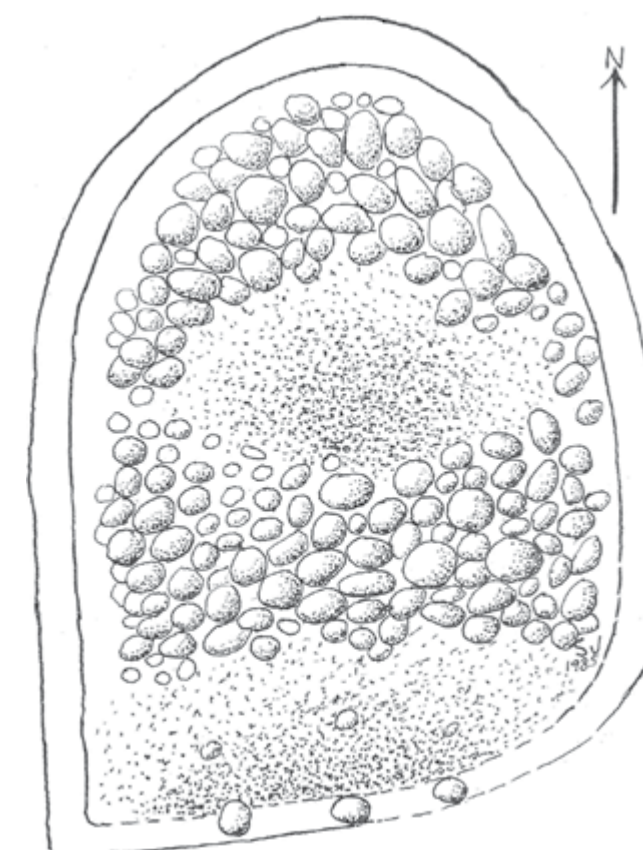


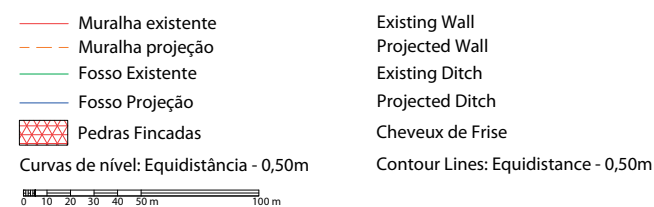
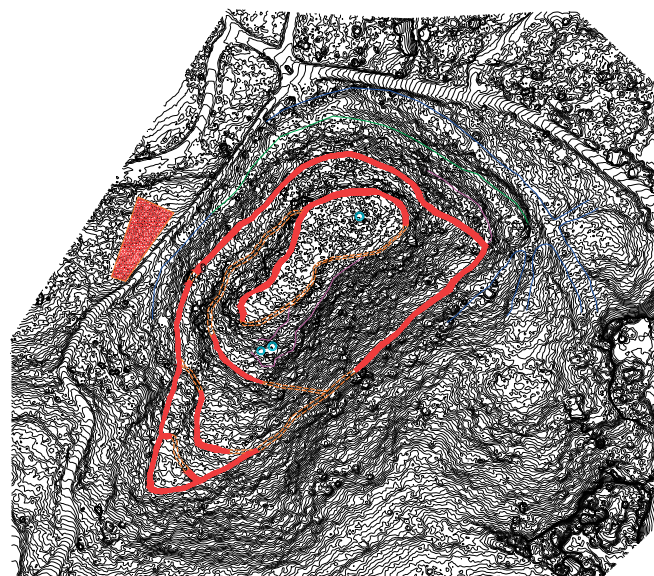
Fig. 19 — Esquema do Crasto do Muro, de Sapiãos.

In Santos Júnior (1986:39).



Fig. 3 — Perfil do Castro do Cabeço no alinhamento N. S.

In Santos Júnior (1983:412).



Cabeço Hillfort

On a promontory, halfway along the southern slope of Leiranco Mountain, stands a large fortified settlement, displaying visual control over broadly the entire Terva River valley, all the way from Bobadela to Boticas. The hillfort is defended by two strong surrounding walls and two small radial sections, preceded on the east side by a broad and deep ditch, with outer rampart. A *cheveux de frise* or *pedras fincadas* stone field was identified to the west of the hillfort, near the northern boundary of the ditch.

On the inner platforms there are ruins of circular plan houses, some with paved pavements and polygonal apparatus walls still standing.

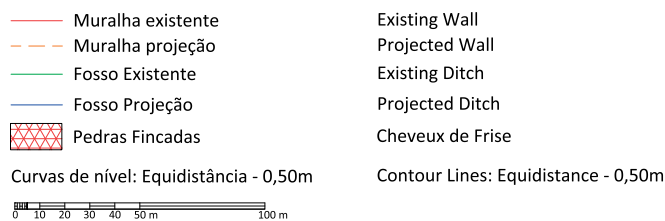
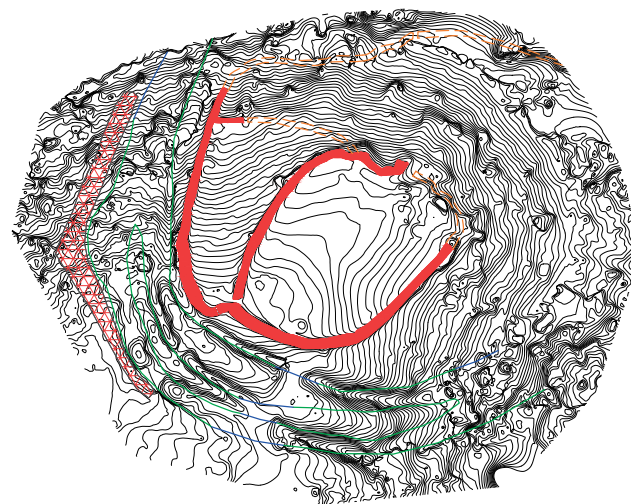
This hillfort accounts for previous archaeological excavations, where the findings of a coin, a fragment of millstone and some fragments of bronze have been recorded. This hillfort presents evidences of roman occupation up till its base. In the SW zone, some engravings were found over a granitic boulder, composed by several cupmarks and some lines, carved into a slightly flattened surface facing South.

Castro do Cabeço

Sobre um promontório a meio da vertente Sul da Serra do Leiranco, dominando a ampla veiga sobre o rio Terva desde Bobadela até Boticas, ergue-se um amplo povoado defendido por duas robustas muralhas circundantes e dois pequenos tramos radiais, antecedidas no lado nascente por um fosso largo e fundo, com talude exterior. A Oeste do povoado e junto do limite superior do fosso foi identificado um amplo campo de pedras fincadas.

Nas plataformas interiores observam-se ruínas de casas de planta circular, algumas com pavimentos lajeados e revelando nos troços de paredes visíveis o característico aparelho poligonal.

Foi já objeto de escavações arqueológicas, recolhendo-se aí uma moeda, um fragmento de mó e alguns fragmentos de chapa de bronze. Este povoado apresenta evidências de ocupação, em época romana, até ao sopé. Na zona SO, foi encontrado um penedo granítico, com algumas gravuras, entalhadas numa superfície aplanada ligeiramente virada a Sul, compostas por várias covinhas e alguns sulcos.



Carvalhelhos Hillfort

Located near the village of Carvalhelhos, at an altitude of 860 meters, the Carvalhelhos Hillfort is implanted in a small spur on the right bank of a stream, tributary of the river Beça, overlooking the Carvalhelhos hot springs.

Classified as a Monument of Public Interest in 1951, it holds an imposing defensive system, formed by two lines of walls, accessed by several doors and with interior access ramps. The walls are preceded by two large ditches and a well preserved *cheveux de frise* stone field. In the interior platforms one can observe the preserved ruins of circular and rectangular houses.

This hillfort was the subject of several archaeological excavation and restoration campaigns, beginning in the mid-twentieth century, led by Professor Joaquim R. dos Santos Júnior. It shows records of occupation from the Iron Age until the Roman period, as evidenced by the indigenous ceramics, *fibulae* and vestiges of *tegulae* collected. Equally important was the discovery of a cassiterite deposit, spear-heads and slag, associated with iron metallurgy activities.

Castro de Carvalhelhos

Localizado nas proximidades da aldeia de Carvalhelhos, a uma altitude de 860 metros, o Castro de Carvalhelhos implanta-se num pequeno outeiro em esporão, na margem direita de um pequeno afluente do rio Beça, sobranceiro às caldas de Carvalhelhos.

Classificado como Imóvel de Interesse Público em 1951, apresenta um imponente sistema defensivo formado por duas linhas de muralhas com rampas interiores de acesso e portas abertas nas mesmas, antecedidas por dois fossos de grandes dimensões e um campo de pedras fincadas bem preservado. Nas plataformas do interior conservam-se ainda restos de construções de planta circular e retangular.

Foi alvo de inúmeras campanhas arqueológicas de escavação e de restauro a partir de meados do século XX, dirigidas pelo professor Joaquim R. dos Santos Júnior.

Foi ocupado desde a Idade do Ferro até à época romana, como comprovam as cerâmicas indígenas, fíbulae e vestígios de *tegulae* recolhidas, destacando-se ainda o achado de um depósito de cassiterite, pontas de lança e escórias, associáveis a atividades de metalurgia do ferro.

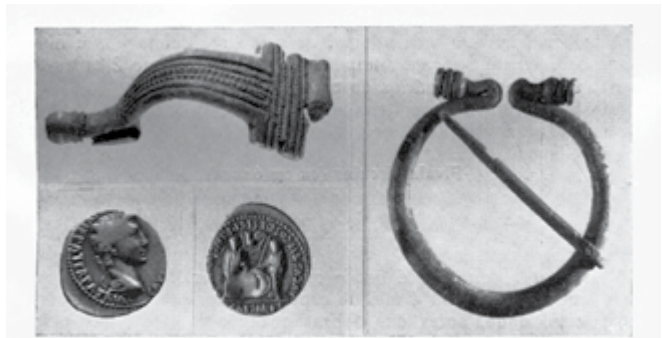


Fig. 2 — Fíbula, moeda e fivela do castro de Carvalhelhos. Tamanho natural

In Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia Vol. XX (1966:412).

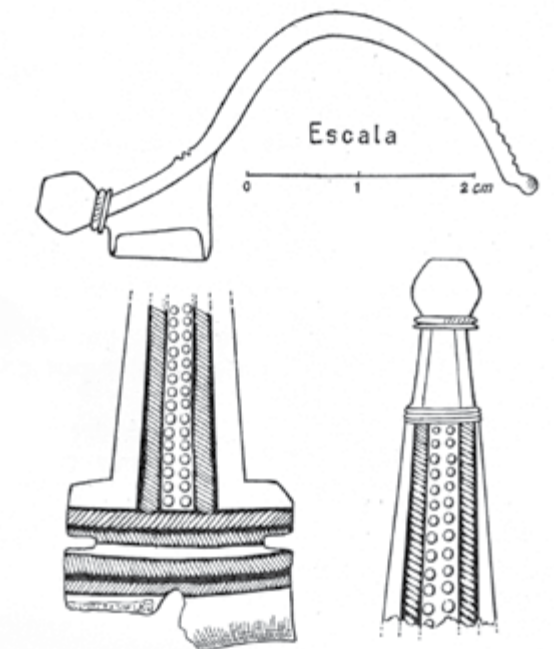


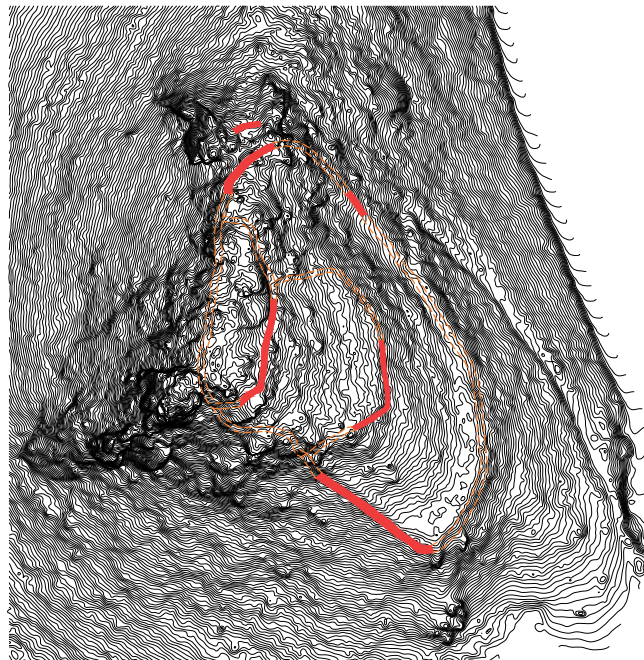
Fig. 3 — Fíbula de bronze do castro de Carvalhelhos

In Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia Vol. XX (1966:413).

Carvalhelhos



Planta topográfica do castro de Carvalhelhos.
In *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia* Vol. XX (1966:182).



Coto dos Corvos Hillfort

Located in the parish of Alturas do Barroso, at an altitude of 1200 meters, the Coto dos Corvos Hillfort occupies one of the most prominent reliefs of the region, dominating the wide valley of the middle course of the Rabagão River.

Occupying an area of approximately 6 Ha, its defensive system still conserves three lines of walls, built in irregular polygonal apparatus of granite masonry, that develop parallel to the east slope of the elevation, taking advantage of the existing outcrops and boulders. The hillfort's arrangement in the slope is disposed in two large platforms. In its best preserved parts, it is still possible to observe the external and internal faces of the walls, presenting an average width of 3.70 m wide.

One can still see, dispersed all over the hillfort's surface, a significant number of dressed stones and few fragments of indigenous micaceous pottery. This hillfort shows no signs of Romanization.

Castro do Coto dos Corvos

Localizado na freguesia de Alturas do Barroso, a uma altitude de 1200 metros, o Coto dos Corvos ocupa um dos mais proeminentes relevos da região, dominando o amplo vale do curso médio do Rio Rabagão.

Ocupando uma área aproximada de 6 Ha, conserva ainda três linhas de muralha em aparelho poligonal irregular de granito, que se desenvolvem paralelas à vertente Este da elevação, aproveitando os afloramentos existentes e organizando a encosta em 2 grandes plataformas. Nas partes melhor conservadas é ainda possível observar o paramento externo e interno da muralha, com cerca de 3,70 m largura.

Dispersas na superfície, observam-se abundantes pedras afeiçoadas e recolhem-se poucos fragmentos de cerâmica micácea indígena. Não apresenta indícios de romanização.

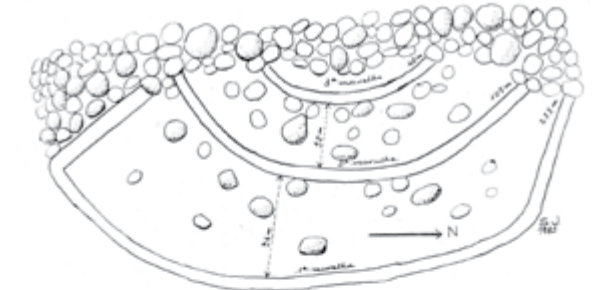
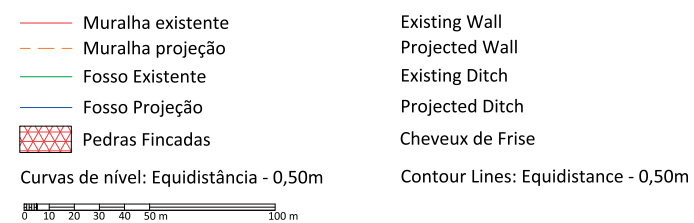
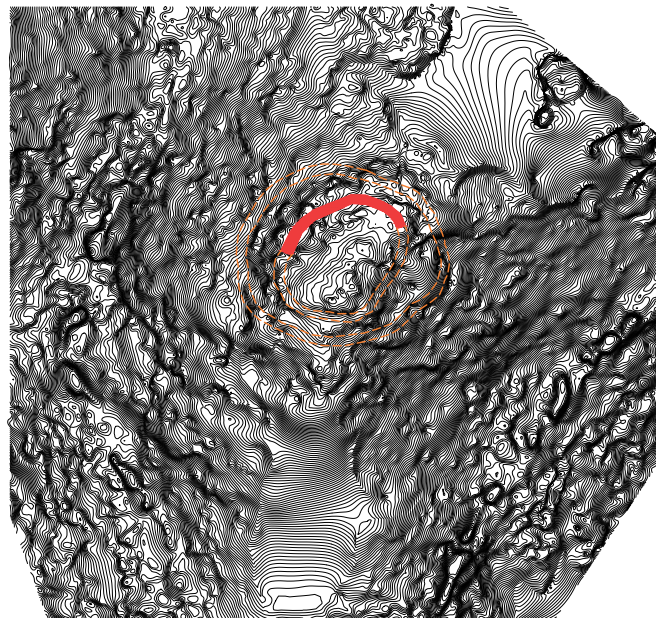


Fig. 41 — Esquema das 3 muralhas da vertente do monte do Crasto ou Coto dos Corvos, de Alturas de Borroso.



Fig. 42 — Esquema da muralha no alto da vertente do lado poente.

In Santos Júnior (1986:71).



Ervas Ruivas Hillfort

This hillfort is located in the parish of Dornelas, implanted in a spur on the left bank of Lousas stream, at an altitude of 570 meters.

On site, the ruins of two lines of walls are easily recognizable, covering an area of 1 ha. The extensive rubble from the ruin of the first wall extends through the ridge, although a portion of the faces of the wall, both interior and exterior, can still be seen in an extension of more than 80 meters in length. Constructed in irregular polygonal apparatus with shale blocks, this wall frame preserves a width of 5 m wide.

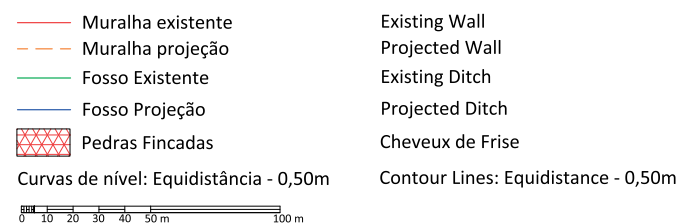
The second wall line is 12 m distant from the first. With considerable difficulty, one can still observe a small preserved section of the wall, approximately 1.50 m high by 3.50 m wide, presenting a similar constructive apparatus.

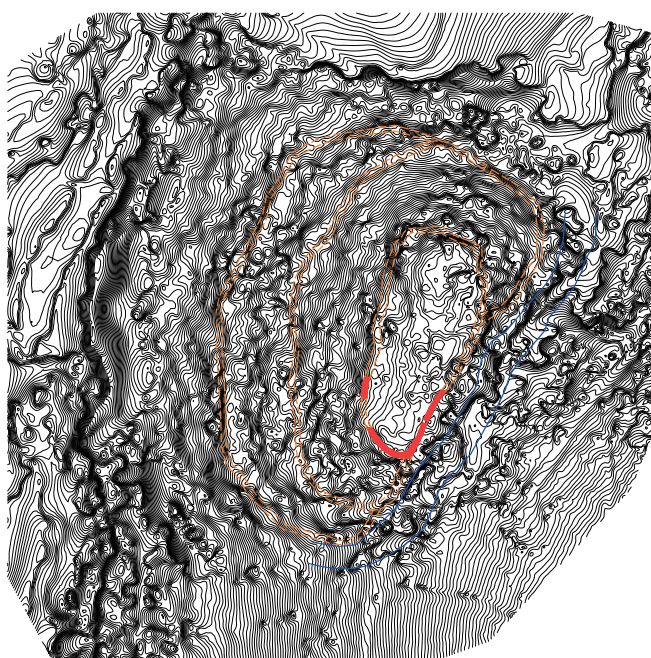
Castro de Ervas Ruivas

Povoado localizado na freguesia de Dornelas, implantado num relevo em esporão na margem esquerda da Ribeira de Lousas, a uma altitude de 570 metros.

São facilmente perceptíveis as ruínas de duas linhas de muralhas, abrangendo uma área de 1 Ha. Da primeira muralha, conserva-se um grande derrube que se prolonga pela zona do cume, sendo ainda evidente uma extensão de 80 metros de um dos paramentos em aparelho poligonal irregular de blocos de xisto, conservando uma largura de 5 m.

A segunda linha de muralha dista da primeira 12m e nesta identifica-se com dificuldade um pequeno troço com aproximadamente 1,50 m de altura por 3,50 m de largura e de aparelho igual à anterior.





Gestosa Hillfort

The Gestosa Hillfort is located near the village of Gestosa, in the parish of Couto de Dornelas. It is located on a hillock embedded in the left bank of the Gestosa stream, at an altitude of 770 meters.

It has three well-preserved defensive walls, constructed in polygonal apparatus, with 2.50 m to 3.50 m wide. Both in the northeast zone as in the upper platform, one can distinguish two access gates. Throughout the entire upper platform there are evidences of circular houses.

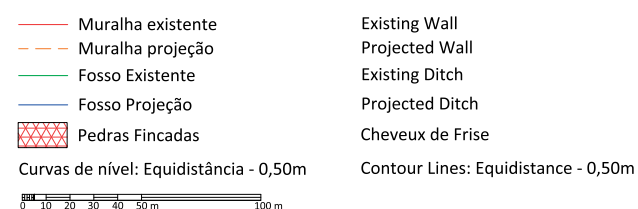
The hillfort has two ditches, a first one that starts from the South sector and extends along the eastern side of the promontory, with a 9 meter wide by 3 meter deep, in V section, and a second that runs along the village's east slope .

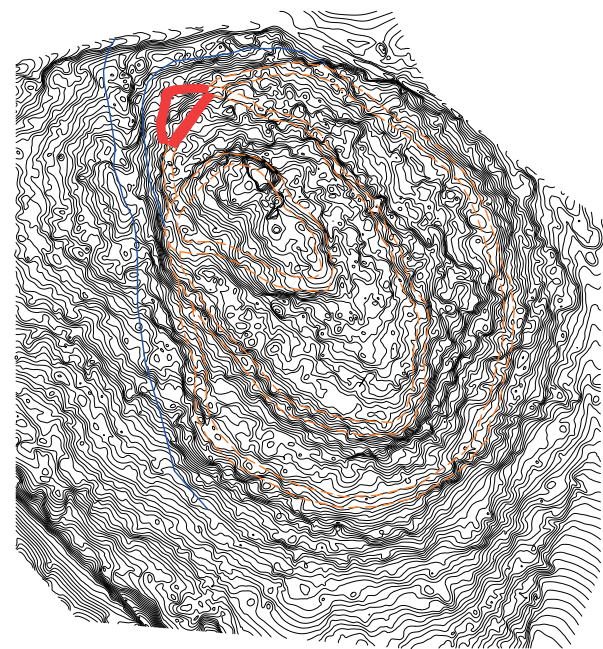
Castro da Gestosa

O Castro da Gestosa localiza-se nas proximidades da aldeia do mesmo nome, na freguesia do Couto de Dornelas. Implanta-se num outeiro encaixado na margem esquerda da Ribeira da Gestosa, a uma altitude de 770 metros.

Apresenta três linhas de muralha ainda bem conservadas, de aparelho poligonal cuidado, com uma espessura que varia entre os 2,50 m e os 3,50 m. Na zona Nordeste e plataforma superior do castro foram identificadas duas portas de acesso ao povoado, bem como evidências de habitações circulares em toda a plataforma superior.

São visíveis ainda dois fossos, um primeiro que arranca do setor Sul e se estende pelo lado oriental do promontório, de perfil em V com 9 metros de largura e 3 metros de profundidade, e um segundo que se desenvolve ao longo da encosta nascente do povoado.





Lavradas Hillfort

The Lavradas Hillfort is located in the parish of Beça, implanted in a hill on the border of the villages of Lavradas (Boticas) and Lamachã (Montalegre), at an altitude of 1000 meters, dominating a wide plateau.

The ruins of the hillfort are well preserved and extend over an area of 2.5 Ha. One can observe the existence of three lines of defensive walls, built in polygonal apparatus with granite masonry, presenting an average width of 3.50 m in the best preserved places.

In the two artificial platforms of the hillfort, there are numerous remains of circular buildings and ceramic fragments of indigenous tradition, showing no signs of Romanization.

Associated to the last defensive wall is a deep ditch, in V section, with approximately 5 m wide by 3 m deep.

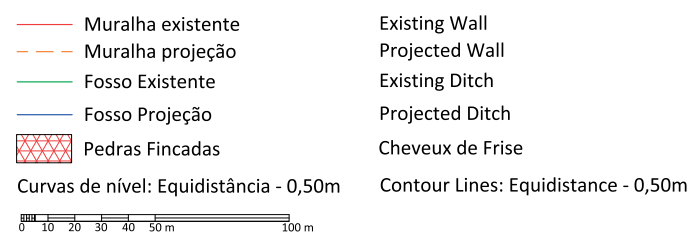
Castro de Lavradas

O Castro de Lavradas localiza-se na freguesia de Beça, implantando-se num outeiro no termo das aldeias de Lavradas/Boticas e Lamachã/Montalegre, a uma altitude de 1000 metros, dominando um amplo alvéolo planáltico.

As ruínas do povoado, em bom estado de conservação, estendem-se por uma área de 2,5 Há, sobressaindo três linhas de muralha em material granítico e aparelho poligonal, com uma largura média de 3,50 m nos locais melhor preservados.

Nas duas plataformas criadas pela edificação das muralhas identificam-se inúmeros vestígios de habitações circulares e materiais cerâmicos de tradição indígena, não apresentando indícios de romanização.

Em redor da última linha defensiva e acompanhando a mesma surge um fosso de secção em V, com uma largura de 5m aproximadamente e 3m de profundidade.





Iron Age Hillforts of Boticas
Povoados Fortificados da Idade do Ferro de Boticas

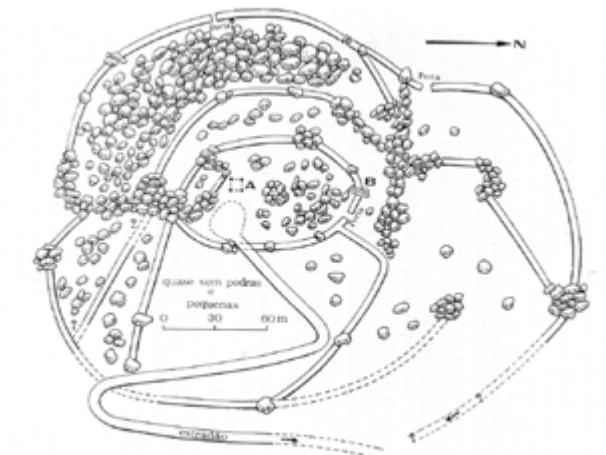
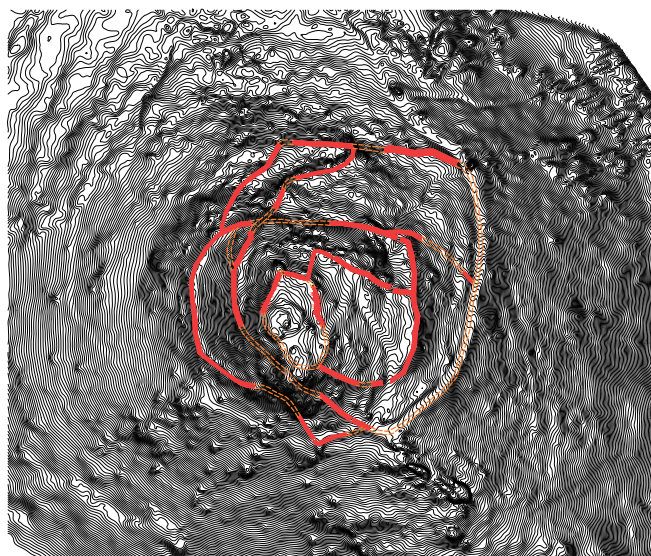


Fig. 32 — Complexo das muralhas do Castelo do Lesenho e estrada que leva ao alto, ao posto de vigia dos Serviços Florestais.

In Santos Júnior (1986:58).



Outeiro Lesenho Hillfort

The Outeiro Lesenho Hillfort, classified in 1990 as a Monument of Public Interest, is located in the Union of Parishes of Vilar and Viveiro, on a conical hill overlooking the village of Campos.

The hillfort holds a powerful set of defensive walls, constructed in 2 to 3 m wide, designing three large platforms, which are divided by shorter, but equally robust, radial walls of masonry. The construction process is homogeneous in all the identified sections: cyclic or irregular apparatus of granitic masonry, built with ashlar in the exterior face of the wall.

The hillfort has, at least, six gates, disposed in several sections of the walls, mainly concentrated on the east slope. Recent studies point out to the possibility of nine gates.

Four *Gallaecian Warrior Statues*, collected in the region in the eighteenth century and currently deposited in the National Museum of Archaeology, are acknowledged to proceed from the Outeiro Lesenho Hillfort.

Castro de Outeiro Lesenho

O Castro de Outeiro Lesenho, classificado em 1990 como Imóvel de Interesse Público, localiza-se na União de Freguesias de Vilar e Viveiro, num monte cónico sobranceiro à aldeia de Campos.

O povoado encontra-se dotado de um poderoso conjunto de muralhas, com larguras entre os 2 e 3 m e que desenhavam, de forma geral, três grandes plataformas, as quais se encontram parceladas por panos radiais de alvenaria mais curtos, mas igualmente robustos. O processo de construção é homogêneo em todos os tramos identificados, em alvenaria de aparelho ciclópico ou irregular, faceada no alçado exterior.

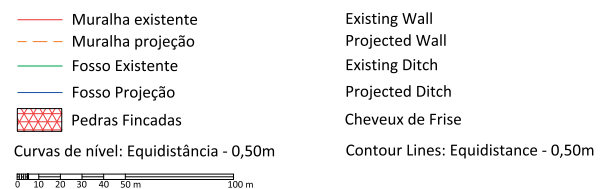
São perceptíveis 6 portas de acesso em diversos tramos das muralhas, dispostas maioritariamente sobre a vertente voltada a Nascente. Estudos mais recentes apontam para a possibilidade de existirem 9 entradas.

A este povoado associam-se, desde o séc. XVIII, 4 estátuas de guerreiros, atualmente depositadas no Museu Nacional de Arqueologia e dadas como provenientes do Castro do Outeiro Lesenho.



Fig. 39 — Gravura labirintica da pedra de lameiro na base nordeste do Castelo do Lesenho.

In Santos Júnior (1986:68).





Lesenho

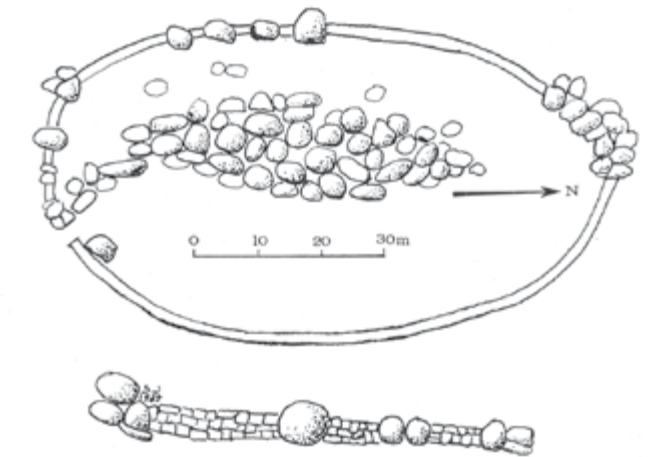
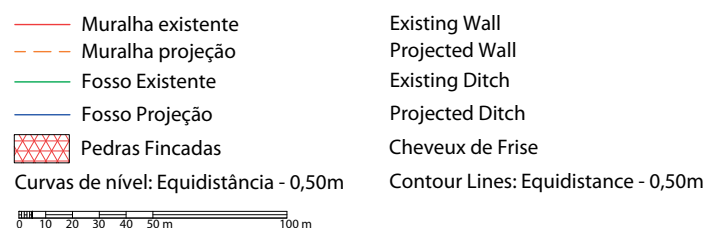
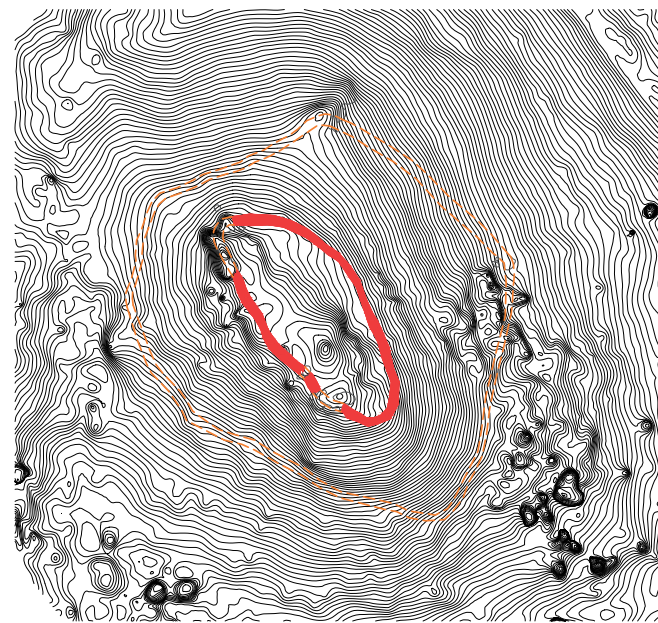


Fig. 1 —Esquema do Castro do Malhó ou do Amalhó e do troço da muralha, junto da porta aberta a sul.

In Santos Júnior (1986:10).



Malhó Hillfort

Malhó Hillfort, located near the village of Ardãos, is implanted on a granite hillock, embedded in the base of the slope of the Leiranco Mountain, above the Ferrugento stream.

It presents a defensive system composed of a single wall line and a *cheveux de frise* stone field. The visible parts of the wall fit between the granitic ridges and boulders of the upper slope, built, on the outer face, with a solid pseudoisodomon apparatus, defining an ellipsoidal plane for the acropolis.

The housing structure seems to have been more expressive in the south and east slopes, in the areas outside the wall. According to this circumstance, and considering the existence of a *cheveux de frise* field at the base of the east slope, one can consider the existence of more defensive wall lines, currently imperceptible due to the dense vegetation that covers the whole area.

Castro da Malhó

O Castro da Malhó, localizado nas proximidades da aldeia de Ardãos, assenta num outeiro granítico, encaixado junto à base da vertente da serra do Leiranco, sobranceiro à Ribeira do Ferrugento.

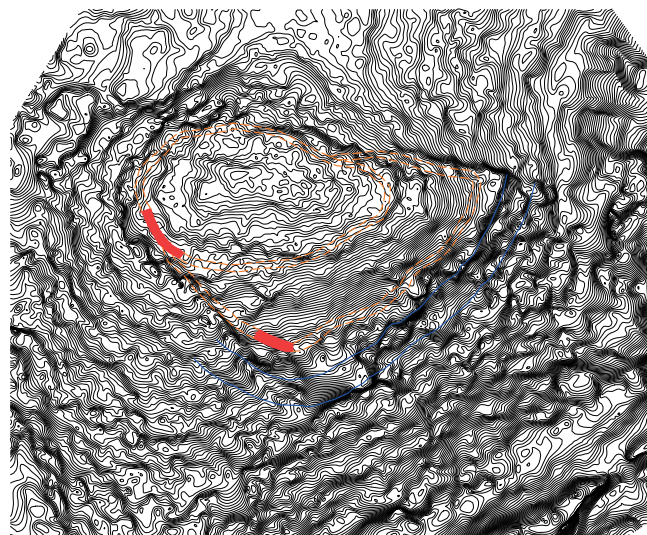
Apresenta um sistema defensivo composto por uma linha de muralha e um campo de pedras fincadas. O pano de muralha perceptível dispõe-se por entre a penedia da vertente superior, definindo para o espaço da acrópole uma planimetria elipsoidal, que se constitui, na face exterior, por um sólido aparelho pseudo-isódomo.

A estrutura habitacional parece desenvolver-se, com maior expressão, nas vertentes Sul e Este, fora da muralha. Admitimos, face a esta circunstância e à presença do que parece ser um campo de pedras fincadas na base da encosta voltada ao vale, que possam existir mais linhas de muralha, atualmente impercetíveis face à densa vegetação que cobre toda a área.



Fig. 10 — Perfil do sul para norte do Castro do Mouril. Com as pedras das muralhas do lado norte fizeram-se paredes de suporte de terra da quinta do Mouril anexa ao castro.

In Santos Júnior (1983:419).



Mouril Hillfort

Located to the east of the parish of Pinho, at an altitude of 390 meters, the Mouril Hillfort is implanted in a spur, overlooking the Tâmega river, at the confluence of the Sampaio stream, which borders the hillfort to the west.

There are still two visible defensive wall lines, constructed in schist and pitched dressed granite blocks, disposed in rampart, with 2 to 2.5 m wide by 0,50 to 0,60 m height, in the best conserved places.

Between the two walls, there's a platform with approximately 12 meters wide, where one can find visible alignments of circular houses and fragments of indigenous ceramics. This hillfort shows no signs of Romanization.

Castro de Mouril

Localizado a nascente da freguesia de Pinho, a uma altitude de 390 metros, o Castro de Mouril encontra-se implantado num relevo em esporão, sobranceiro ao rio Tâmega e na confluência da Ribeira de Sampaio, ribeira que limita o castro a poente.

Conservam-se ainda bem visíveis duas linhas de muralha, construídas em xisto e granito de face picotada e dispostas em alambor, com 2 a 2,5 m de largura e nos locais melhor conservados 0,50 a 0,60 m de altura.

Entre as duas muralhas conforma-se uma plataforma com aproximadamente 12 metros de largura, onde são visíveis alinhamentos de configuração circular e materiais indígenas à superfície, não apresentando indícios de romanização.

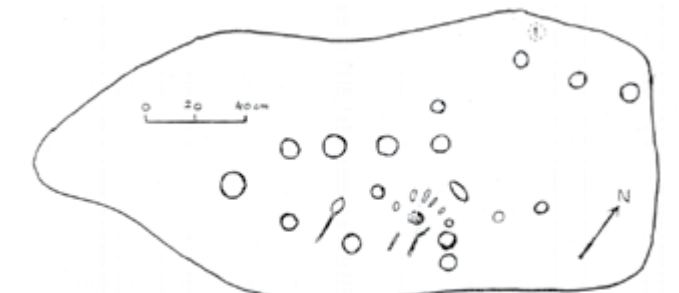
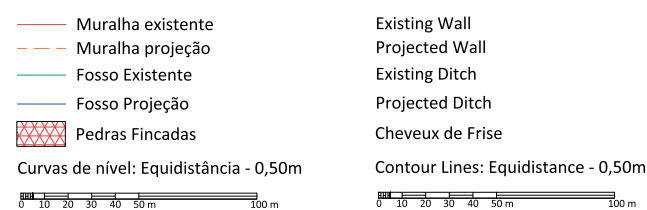


Fig. 49 — Pedra com 19 covinhas e palmira de mão direita, descoberta a cerca de 100 m da vertente norte do Castro do Mouril.

In Santos Júnior (1986:80).



Murada da Gorda



Iron Age Hillforts of Boticas
Povoados Fortificados da Idade do Ferro de Boticas

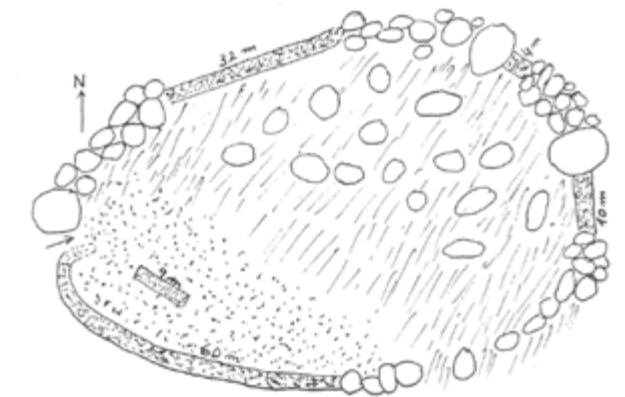
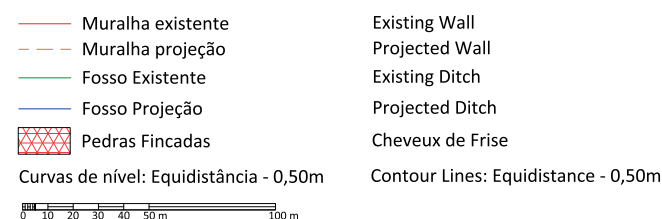
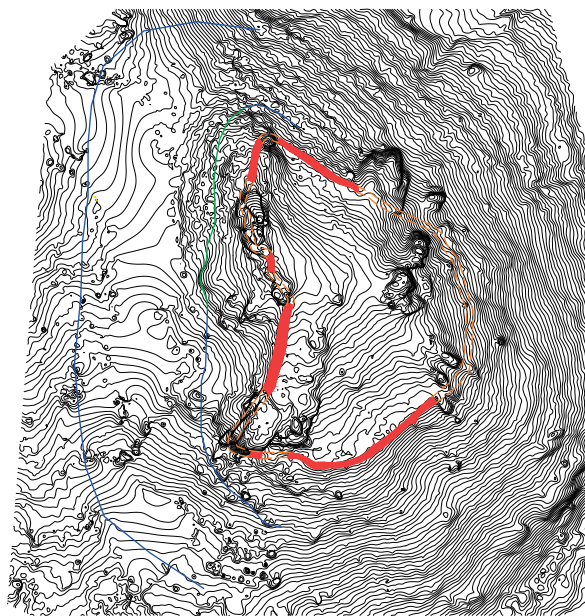


Fig. 2 — Desenho esquemático do Castro da Gorda (Ardãos) com 82 m de comprimento por 63 de largura máxima. O pontuado, a um e outro lado do murete de 9 m de comprimento, 1 de largura e 80 cm de altura, representa a área com terra. O tracejado é rocha viva semeada de alguns pedregos.

In Santos Júnior (1983:409).



Murada da Gorda Hillfort

Implanted over the steep cliffs where the Leiranco Mountain meets the Meixedo Mountain, at an altitude of 840 meters, the Murada da Gorda Hillfort holds a geostrategic position over the entire headwaters of the Upper Terva River Valley.

Naturally protected by the orography to the north and to the east, to the west the summit line develops on a small mountain pass, where the natural gap was closed by a wall section, built-in between the boulders and that today is seen overturned. To the north and east the wall is only visible in the exterior face, presenting three courses in the best preserved parts of the wall, being possible to observe its pseudoisodomon apparatus. The width of the wall panels varies between 1,80m, to the north, and 3.8 m to the west.

In the broader platform of the settlement, defined by the north and the east wall, some alignments are still visible, which may have belonged to the hillfort's housing complex. To the south, on the border of the wall, there is a natural shelter formed by granite boulders, currently used as a hunting and grazing shelter.

Castro da Murada da Gorda

Implantado sobre os recortes escarpados onde a Serra do Leiranco se encontra com a Serra de Meixedo, a uma altitude de 840 metros, o Castro da Murada da Gorda assume uma posição geoestratégica proeminente sobre toda a cabeceira do Vale Superior do Rio Terva.

Se a Norte e a Este se encontra naturalmente protegido pela orografia, a poente a cumeada desenvolve-se sobre uma pequena portela, o que terá motivado a construção do grande pano de muralha entre os batólitos existentes e que atualmente se vê derrubado. A Norte e nascente a muralha conserva visível o alçado exterior, com três fiadas nos pontos mais

bem conservados, sendo-nos possível observar a sua composição em aparelho pseudo-isódomo. A largura dos panos de muralha varia entre 1,80m a norte e 3,8 a Oeste.

Na plataforma mais ampla do povoado, definida pela muralha a Norte e a nascente, são ainda visíveis alguns alinhamentos, que podem ter pertencido ao conjunto do edificado do povoado. A Sul, sobre o limite da muralha, existe um abrigo natural formado por batólitos de granito, utilizado atualmente como abrigo de caça e de pastoreio.

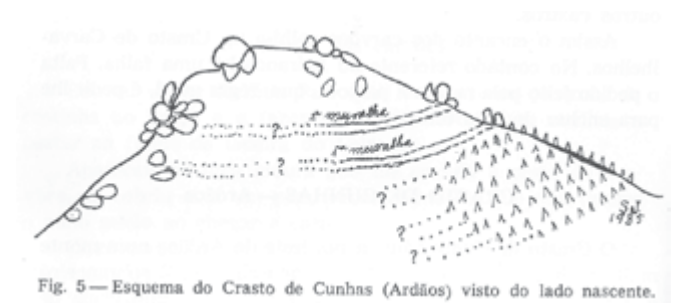
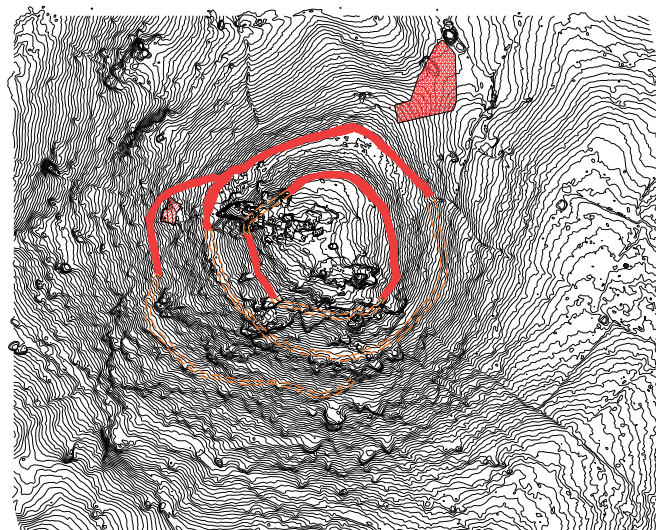


Fig. 5— Esquema do Crasto de Cunhas (Ardãos) visto do lado nascente.

In Santos Júnior (1986:20).



Muro de Cunhas Hillfort

The Muro de Cunhas Hillfort stands out for its position, centred on the headwaters of the Terva River, dominating the entire access corridor to the valley, both from Portela do Pindo, to the northwest, and Seara Velha, to the northeast.

Occupying an area of approximately 2 Ha, the Muro de Cunhas Hillfort occupies a truncated cone-shaped hill. The defensive system is composed by three wall lines, with 2,00 to 2,10 m wide, and a prominent *cheveux de frise* stone field, built in a little meadow in the south access trail.

To the east, where the slope is steeper, the walls that are still preserved have a solid construction, in pseudoisodomon apparatus, rising in a slight batter slope. To the west, where to the natural slope is added by ridges and boulders, the wall was embedded between them, constructed in polygonal apparatus.

In the acropolis, there are traces of stone alignments and cut-outs in the granite boulders, probably related to the housing structures of the hillfort.

Castro do Muro de Cunhas

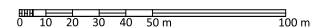
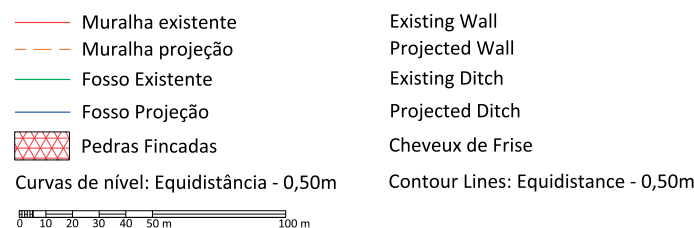
O Castro do Muro de Cunhas destaca-se pela sua posição centrada na cabeceira do Rio Terva, dominando todo o corredor de acesso ao vale, quer pela Portela do Pindo, a NW, quer por Seara Velha, a NE.

Ocupando uma área de aproximadamente 2 Ha, o Castro do Muro de Cunhas ocupa um monte tronco-cónico, vincado por um sistema defensivo composto por três linhas de muralha, com largura entre os 2,00 e 2,10 m, às quais se associaria um destacado campo de pedras fincadas numa pequena chã de acesso a Sul.

A nascente, onde a pendente é mais íngreme, os panos de muralha que ainda se conservam

apresentam uma construção sólida, em aparelho pseudo-isódomo, elevando-se em plano ligeiramente rampante. A poente, onde ao declive natural se somam, com maior expressão, afloramentos graníticos, a muralha surge entre os remates da penedia, dispondo-se em aparelho tendencialmente poligonal.

Na acrópole são perceptíveis vestígios de alinhamentos e de recortes nos afloramentos graníticos, provavelmente relacionados com as estruturas habitacionais do povoado.



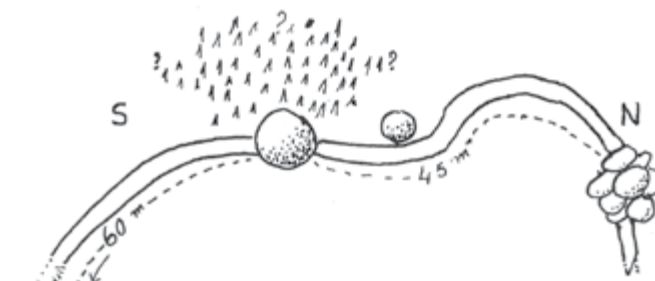


Fig. 4 — Esquema do troço cimeiro da muralha do Crasto de Nogueira (Bobadela).

In Santos Júnior (1986:16).

Nogueira Hillfort

The hillfort is implanted in a granite spur, at an altitude of 910 meters, settled between steep talwegs that drain the waters of the eastern slope of the Leiranco into the meadows of the Nogueira village.

The fortified settlement is one of the largest and most complex examples of Iron Age hillforts in the Upper Terva River Valley, occupying an area of approximately 9 hectares. It displays a defensive system composed by four lines of walls, constructed, tendentially, in an irregular polygonal apparatus, added by a *cheveux de frise* stone field, in the northwest access trail.

The first line defines the acropolis, closing the upper platform between the dense boulder outcrops. The second line, which defines the second platform, has an average width of about 3 m wide, merging both to the northwest as to the northeast with the fourth wall line. The third line, with approximately 3 m wide, defines a transitional platform and is only visible on the southeast slope of the settlement. The fourth wall line dominates the mountain pass by northwest, presenting here a variable width between 4 to 5.5 m wide.

One of the most interesting aspects of this site is the extraordinary density of ceramic fragments one can see at its surface, presenting remains from a wide-ranging chronology, from the Chalcolithic to the Middle Ages.

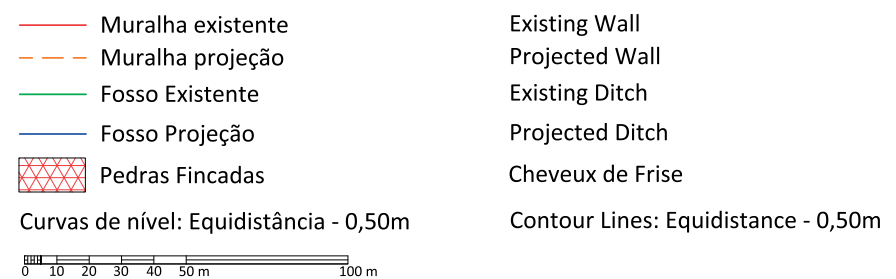
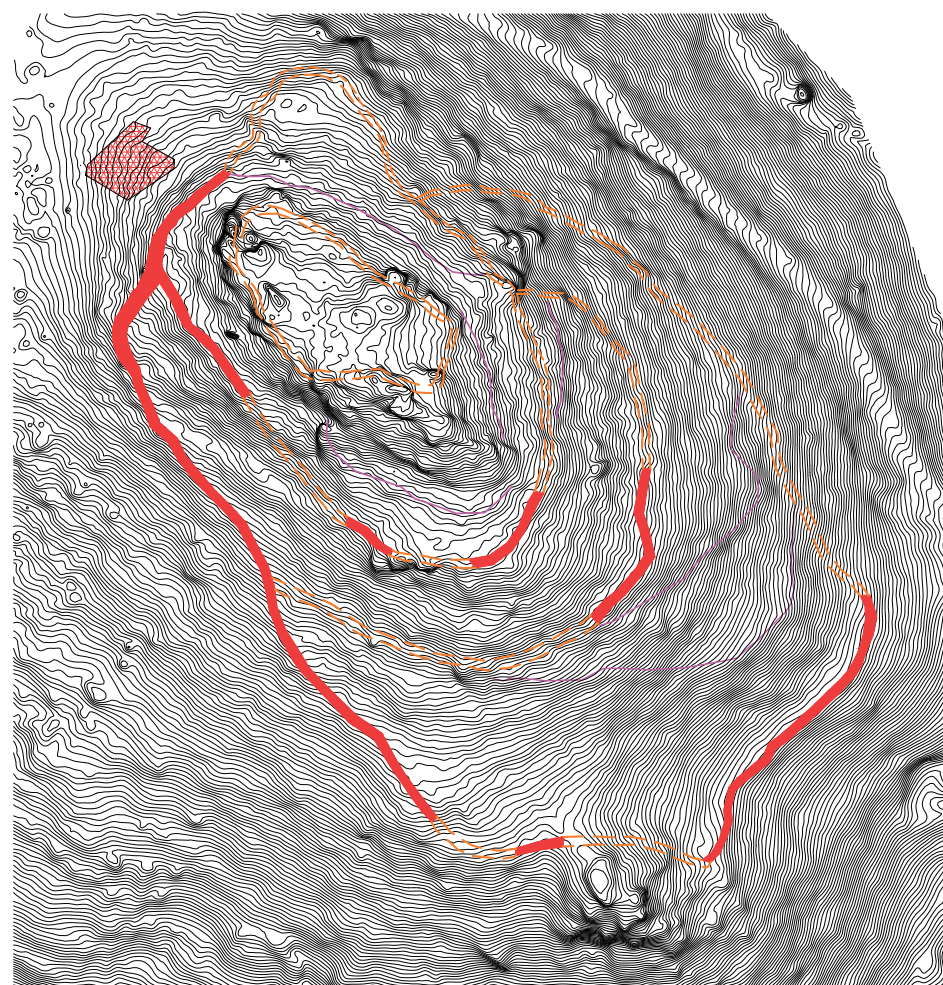
Castro de Nogueira

O povoado está implantado num esporão granítico a uma altitude de 910 metros, encaixado entre talwegues acentuados, que drenam as águas da vertente oriental do Leiranco para a veiga da aldeia de Nogueira.

O povoado fortificado constitui um dos maiores e mais complexos núcleos de ocupação da Idade do Ferro existentes no Vale Superior do Rio Terva, ocupando uma área de aproximadamente 9 hectares. Apresenta um sistema defensivo composto por quatro linhas de muralha, dispostas em aparelho tendencialmente poligonal irregular, e um campo de pedras fincadas, na portela de acesso ao lado NO do povoado.

A primeira linha de muralha define-se no topo do povoado, no espaço que consensualmente se define como a acrópole, fechando a plataforma superior por entre a densa penedia. A segunda linha, que define a segunda plataforma, apresenta uma largura média na ordem dos 3 m adossando, a NO e a NE, à quarta linha de muralha. A terceira linha, com uma largura aproximada de 3 m, define uma plataforma intermédia e é apenas visível na pendente SE do povoado. A quarta linha de muralha domina a portela a NO, apresentando aqui uma largura variável entre os 4 e 5,5 m.

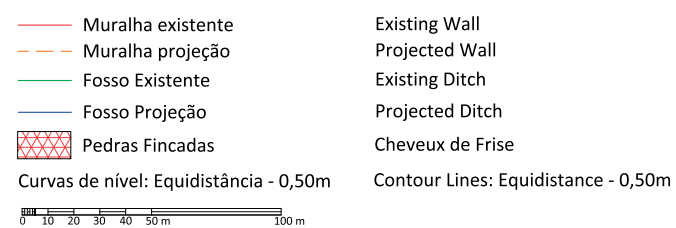
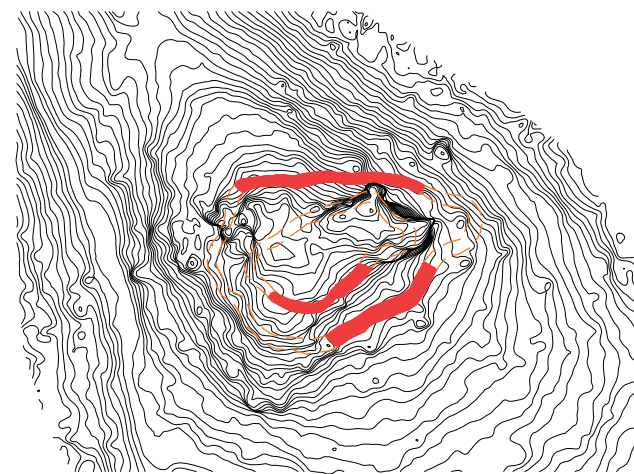
Um dos aspetos mais interessantes deste sítio é a extraordinária densidade de materiais cerâmicos que oferece, de produções atribuíveis a um amplo período cronológico, do Calcolítico à Idade Média.



Vitreous bead of necklace decorated with circles. Conta de colar em pasta de vidro, decorada com círculos.



Idolliform plate in amphibolite.
Placa idoliforme em anfibolito.



Outeiro Pardo Hillfort

This hillfort is located in the parish of Boticas, at an average altitude of 490 meters, occupying a small hillock on the right bank of the Terva River, which flows at its base.

Two panels of the single defensive wall are still identifiable: one near the summit, in an extension of 20 m and 3.50 m wide; and another at the base of a small elevation that is located in the North zone of the spur, with an extension of 30 m. In this place it is possible to perceive the existence of what seems to be a platform, likely due to the existence of a reinforcement structure.

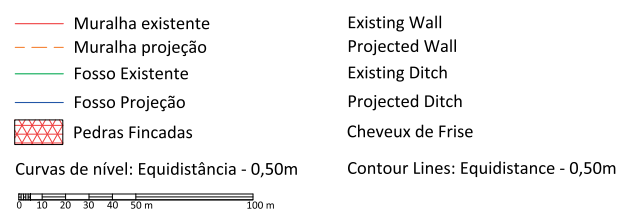
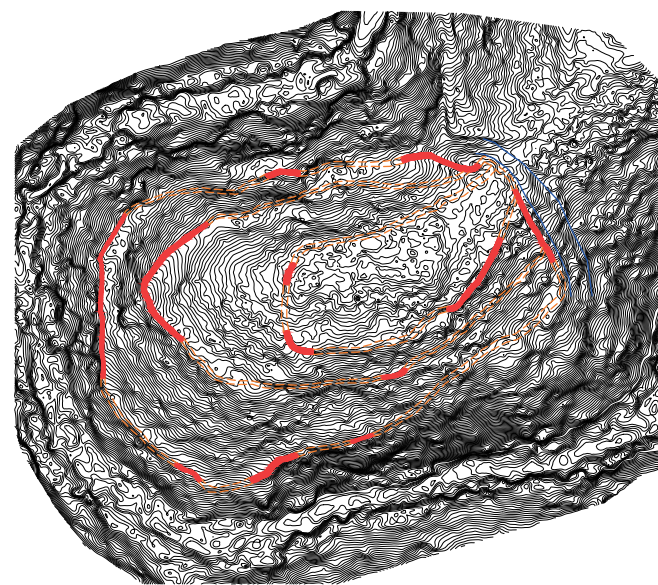
Considering the fragments of indigenous micaceous ceramics and tegulae, the occupation of the hillfort would have taken place from the Iron Age until the Roman period.

Castro de Outeiro Pardo

Povoado localizado na freguesia de Boticas, a uma altitude média de 490 metros, ocupando um pequeno outeiro na margem direita do rio Terva, que corre na sua base.

Ainda são identificáveis dois panos de muralha: uma junto à cumeada, numa extensão de 20 m e com 3,50 m de largura; e outra no sopé de uma pequena elevação que se situa na zona Norte do esporão, com uma extensão de 30 m. Neste local percebe-se a existência de um patamar mais ou menos aplanado, sendo provável a existência de uma muralha de reforço.

Considerando os fragmentos de cerâmica micácea indígena e de tegulae, a ocupação do local terá decorrido desde a Idade do Ferro até ao período Romano.



Poio Hillfort

Located at the border of the parish of Covas do Barroso, the Poio Hillfort occupies a small hill at 590 meters of altitude, embedded in the left bank of the Couto stream, which surrounds it on three sides.

Occupying an area of approximately 3 Ha, it presents reasonable defence conditions, except on the northeast side, where there may be a large ditch, camouflaged by the dense vegetation. There are two lines of wall still visible, with approximately 2.50 m wide, built in a poorly assembled apparatus using shale materials. The start point of a third wall line, identically built, is also recognizable.

The vegetation that covers the hillfort doesn't ease further field observations, but the local population refers the existence of circular and rectangular structures, indicating an occupation later than the Iron Age. Archaeological surveys carried out on site recorded the findings of ceramic fragments, slags, some metallic objects and millstones, all traceable to the Iron Age.

Castro do Poio

Localizado no termo da freguesia de Covas do Barroso, o Castro do Poio ocupa um pequeno outeiro a 590 metros de altitude, encaixado na margem esquerda da ribeira do Couto, que o rodeia por três lados.

Ocupando uma área de aproximadamente 3 Ha, apresenta razoáveis condições de defesa exceto no lado NE, onde poderá existir um grande fosso camuflado pela densa vegetação. São visíveis duas linhas de muralha de aparelho pouco cuidado em xisto, com aproximadamente 2,50 m de largo e o arranque de uma terceira com as mesmas características das anteriores.

A vegetação que o recobre não facilita outras observações, mas a população local refere a existência de estruturas circulares e retangulares, indiciando uma ocupação posterior à Idade do Ferro. Sondagens arqueológicas aí realizadas permitiram recolher fragmentos cerâmicos, escórias e alguns objetos metálicos e mós circulares, atribuíveis à ocupação da Idade do Ferro.

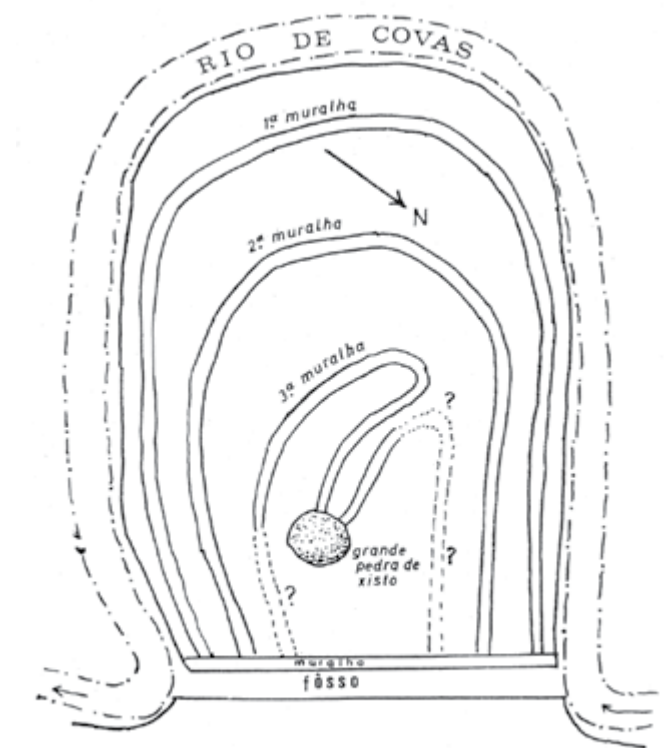


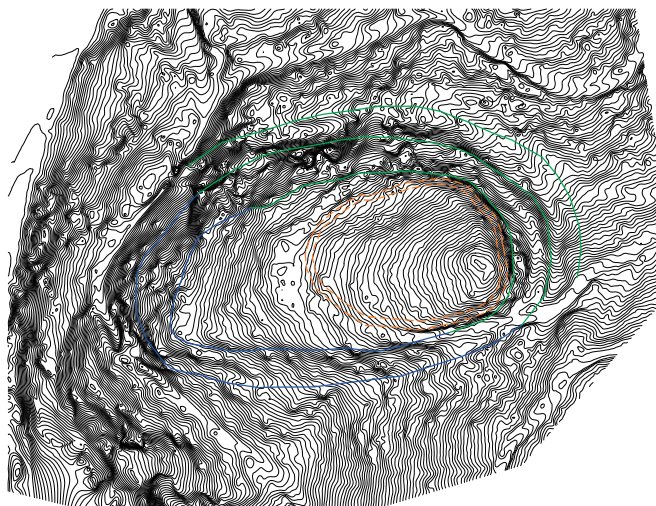
Fig. 18 — Esquema do Crasto do Poio que o rio de Covas o rodeia por 3 lados.

In Santos Júnior (1986:35).



Fig. 26—Esquema do perfil do Crasto de Codeçoso visto do lado poente.

In Santos Júnior (1986:49).



Rio Mau Hillfort

Located in the parish of Codeçoso, it occupies a conical spur at 840 meters of altitude, covering an area of approximately 2 Ha, and dominating the springhead of the Monte Meã brook.

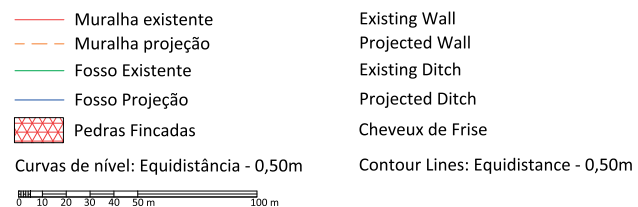
One can observe large ruin rubbles that appear to correspond to the first line of the defensive wall and a double ditch, built in V section, with 5 m wide by 4 m deep. The ditch has a subcircular perimeter, next to the most logical access trail leading to the hillfort. Although no type of housing structure is observable on site, fragments of indigenous micaceous ceramics, of *tegulae* and iron smelting slags were collected on its surface, suggesting the occupation of the site from the Iron Age to the Roman period.

Castro de Rio Mau

Localizado na freguesia de Codeçoso, ocupa um esporão cónico a 840 metros de altitude, que domina a nascente da Corga do Monte Meã.

Identificam-se vestígios de grandes derrubes de pedra afeiçoada que parecem corresponder à 1ª linha de muralha e de um duplo fosso de secção em V com 5 m de largo por 4 m de profundidade e de perímetro subcircular, junto à zona ideal de acesso ao povoado, que abrange uma área de aproximadamente 2 Ha.

Apesar de não serem visíveis quaisquer tipos de estruturas habitacionais, à superfície recolhem-se fragmentos de cerâmica micácea indígena, de *tegulae* e de escórias de fundição de ferro, sugerindo uma ocupação do local desde a Idade do Ferro até ao período Romano.



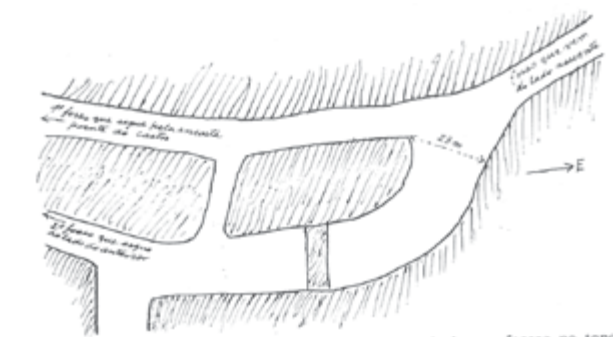


Fig. 15 — Desenho muito esquemático da malha de largos fossos no topo sul do Castro de Sapelos.

In Santos Júnior (1983:428).

Sapelos Hillfort

Implanted in an elongated spur that develops south of the village of Sapelos, on the left bank of the river Terva, the Sapelos Hillfort is one of the most complex fortified sites in the upper valley of the Terva River, due to the articulation between the defensive walls and the defensive ditches. One can clearly observe two lines of wall, with 3 m wide, constructed in granite masonry, which delimit an area of approximately 6, 5 Ha.

Between the exterior face of the wall and the east slope there is a small platform, with about 270 m², where several structures were identified, some of circular plant, added by rectangular section vestibules, as well as separate set of orthogonal walls, although seemingly belonging to the same building.

In addition to the wall structure, the defensive system is composed by a complex set of ditches, excavated in the slopes of the hillfort: a main ditch, of larger size, surrounds the hillfort from the east side and unfolds in a deltoid design on the west slope, where it connects to three more ditches, that design two triangular platforms.

Recent archaeological works revealed a monumental gate entrance to the hillfort, facing the valley, located on the top of the trench that surrounds the acropolis. The gate is flanked by what it appears to be the ruins of two turrets.

Castro de Sapelos

O povoado implanta-se num esporão alongado que se desenvolve a sul da aldeia de Sapelos, sobranceiramente à margem esquerda do rio Terva.

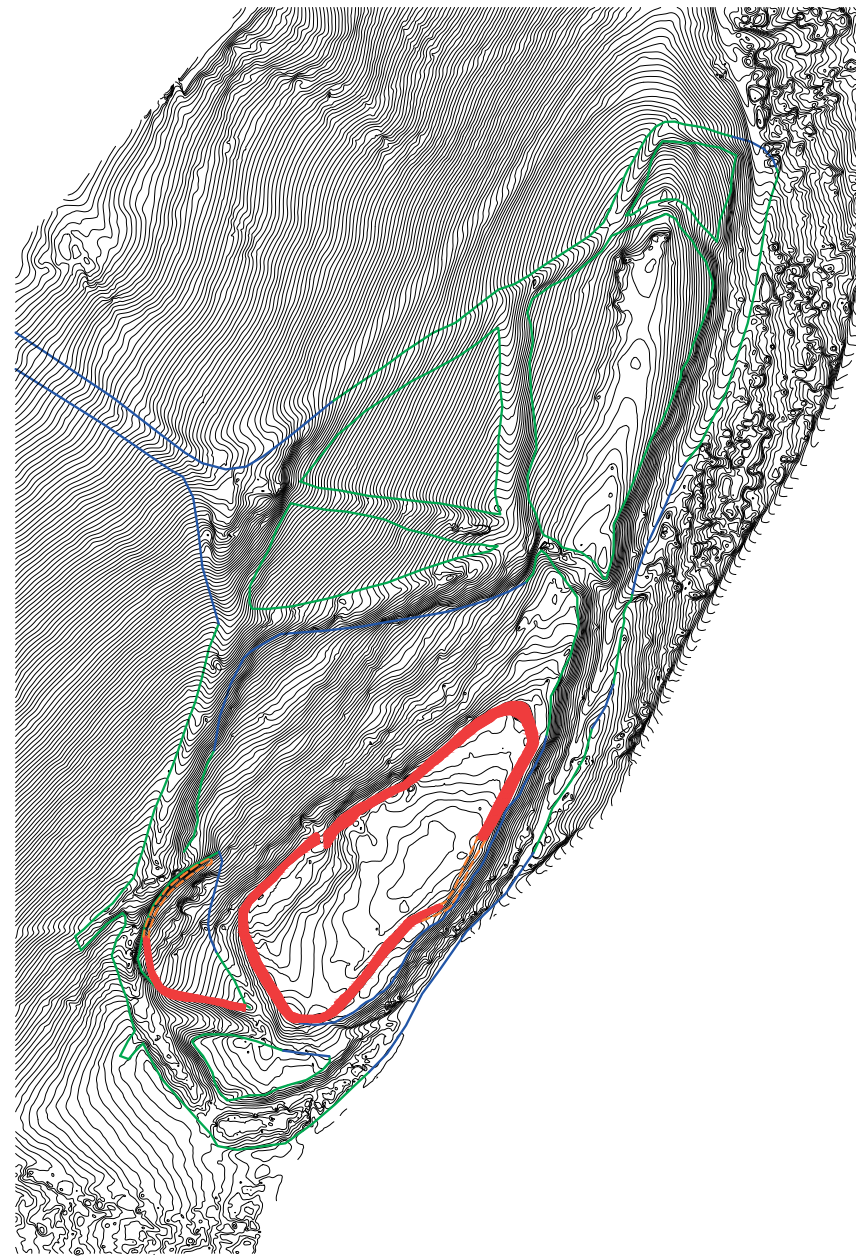
O Castro de Sapelos é um dos mais complexos locais fortificados do Vale Superior do Rio Terva, pela articulação que realiza entre as linhas de muralha e os fossos defensivos, distinguindo-se bem duas linhas de muralha, com cerca de 3 m de largura e constituídas por alvenaria de granito, delimitando uma área de aproximadamente 6,5 Ha.

Entre a face da muralha e a vertente nascente do castro encontra-se uma pequena plataforma, com cerca de 270 m², onde foram identificadas várias estruturas correspondentes a um edifício de planta circular com vestibulo de

secção retangular e um conjunto de paredes ortogonais que, provavelmente, pertencerão à mesma estrutura.

Para além das estruturas de amuralhamento, o sistema defensivo é composto por um complexo conjunto de fossos escavados nas vertentes do castro: um fosso principal, de maior dimensão, rodeia o povoado pelo lado nascente e desdobra-se em planta deltóide na vertente voltada ao vale do Terva, articulando-se com mais três fossos que desenhavam duas plataformas triangulares.

Trabalhos arqueológicos recentes permitiram revelar uma monumental entrada do povoado, virada ao vale, localizada no enfiamento do fosso que circunda a acrópole e la-deada pelo que aparentam ser vestígios de dois torreões.



- | | |
|--|------------------|
| — Muralha existente | Existing Wall |
| - - - Muralha projeção | Projected Wall |
| — Fosso Existente | Existing Ditch |
| — Fosso Projeção | Projected Ditch |
| ▨ Pedras Fincadas | Cheveux de Frise |
| Curvas de nível: Equidistância - 0,50m | |
| Contour Lines: Equidistance - 0,50m | |
- 0 10 20 30 40 50 m 100 m



Omega bronze brooch type Ponte B51.2 (1st to 4th centuries AD).

Fíbula- Fibula tipo ómega ou Ponte B51.2 (séc. I a IV d.C.).



Verse and obverse of a roman asse, from the coining center of the Victrix colony Iulia / Lepida Celsa (44-36 BC).

Moeda - Verso e Anverso asse romano associado ao centro de cunhagem da colónia de Victrix Iulia/Lépida Celsa (44-36 a.C.).

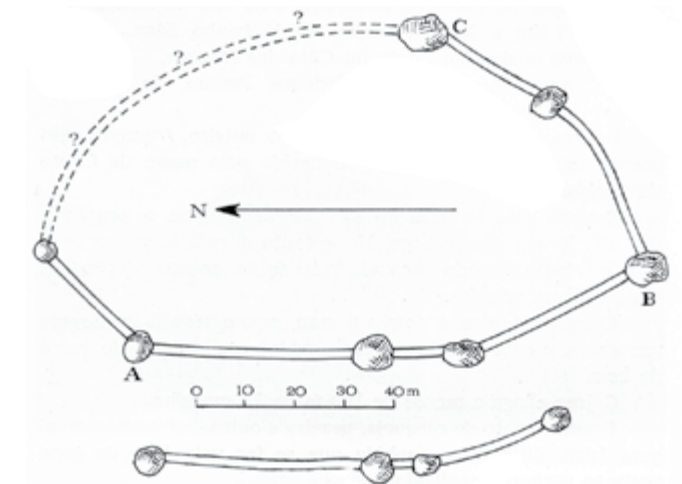
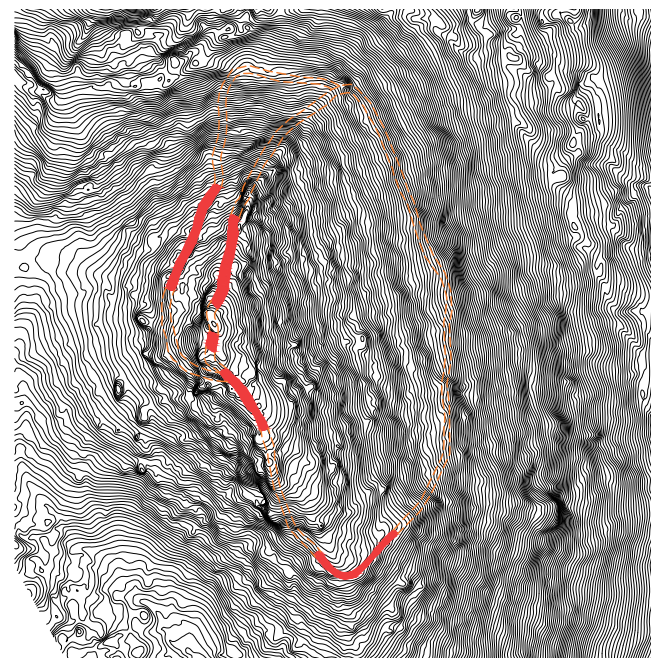


Fig. 28—Crasto da Coroa de Vilarinho Sêco. A B linha da muralha na Crista do outeiro. O pequeno troço de muralha a ligar 4 pededos é, digamos o primeiro estorvo para entrar ao recinto muralhado.

In Santos Júnior (1986:52).



Vilarinho Sêco Hillfort

Located near the village of Vilarinho Sêco, this hillfort is implanted in the western promontory of the Alturas Mountain, overlooking the Urzimeira stream, at an altitude of 960 m.

Occupying an area of approximately 2.5 Ha, it has a defensive structure composed of two lines of wall, built in irregular polygonal apparatus made of granite masonry. The first line of the wall, with 3.5 m wide, extends along the crest, inflecting both at North as at South.

The whole slope shows traces of the walls' ruins. On a small platform facing the river, there are evidences of housing structures. The site shows no signs of Romanization.

Castro de Vilarinho Sêco

Povoado localizado perto da aldeia de Vilarinho Sêco, implantado no promontório ocidental da serra das Alturas sobranceiro à ribeira da Urzimeira, a uma altitude de 960 m.

Ocupando uma área aproximada de 2,5 Ha, possui uma estrutura defensiva composta por duas linhas de muralha, construídas em alvenaria granítica de aparelho poligonal irregular. A primeira linha de muralha, com uma largura de 3,5 m, estende-se ao longo da crista do relevo, infletindo quer a Norte quer a Sul.

Toda a encosta apresenta vestígios de derrubes das muralhas e na pequena plataforma virada à ribeira observam-se vestígios de estruturas habitacionais, sem que se percebam indícios de romanização.

