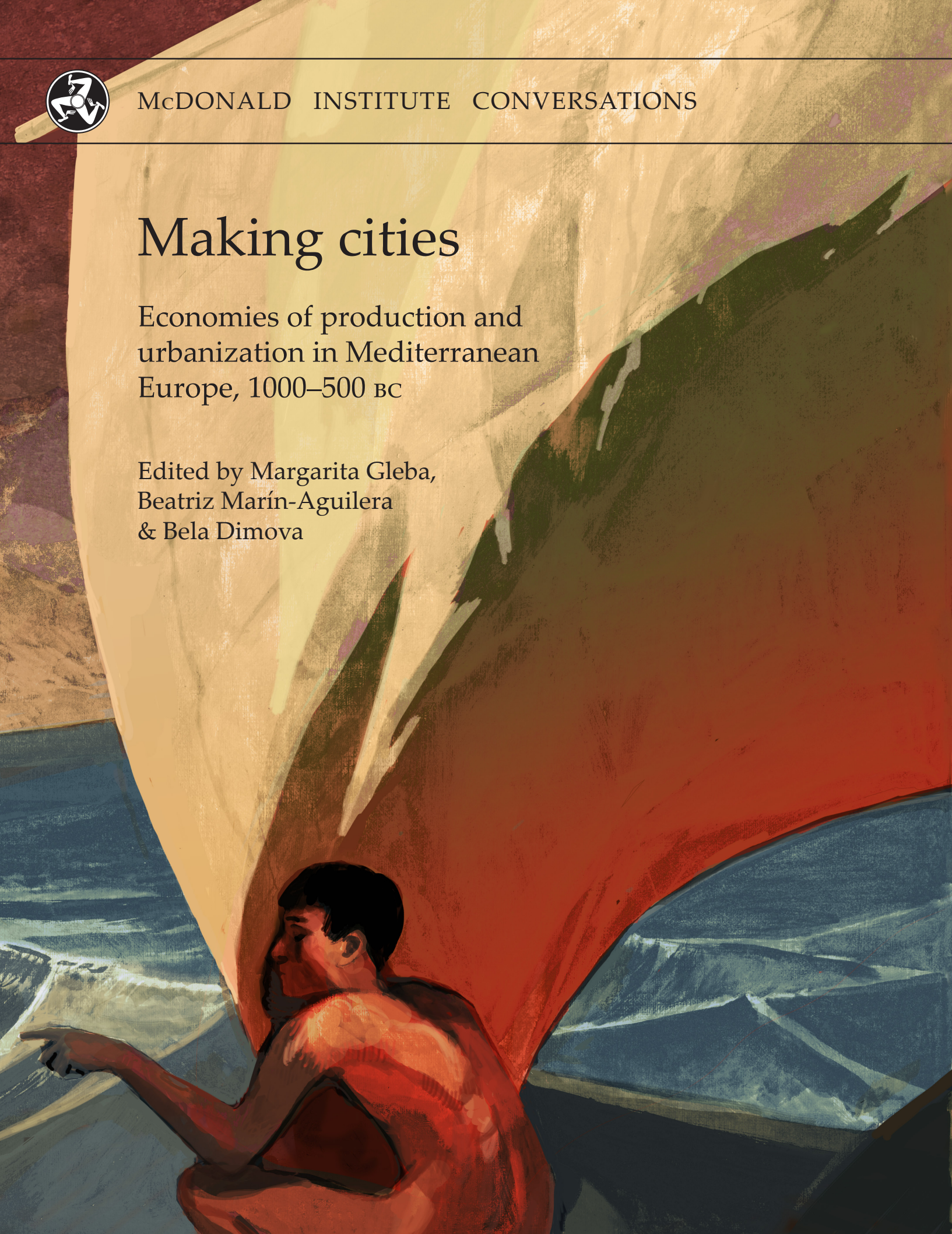

McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

Making cities

Economies of production and urbanization in Mediterranean Europe, 1000–500 BC

Edited by Margarita Gleba,
Beatriz Marín-Aguilera
& Bela Dimova

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with contributions from
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Chapter 26

Not all that glitters is gold: urbanism and craftspeople in non-class or non-state run societies

Marisa Ruiz-Gálvez

One characteristic of the emergence of cities is craft specialization, with the appearance of workshops located in specific quarters. *Oppida* in temperate Europe are interpreted as indicating political centralization, industrial growth and occupational specialization (Woolf 1993; Fernández-Götz 2015; 2018). Several volumes have recently dealt with this topic (Álvarez *et al*. 2011; Sievers & Schönfelder 2012; Fernández-Götz & Krausse 2017). Among the most distinctive features of urbanism are: fortifications, a regular town plan with a network of streets, public buildings and industrial areas or artisanal quarters (cf. Gambacurta in this volume). Specific crafts areas can be seen in Heuneburg, Bourges or in the Celtiberian *oppidum* of Pintia (Gómez & Sanz 1993; Fernández-Götz 2015, 24).

We find also workshop districts in the Greek and Phoenician colonies in the central and western Mediterranean, such as Mazzola, the industrial district of Greek Pithekoussai in Italy (Ridgway 1997), or the Phoenician warehouse next to the harbour of Toscanos in Spain (Schubart 2002). Other examples are a district of metallurgical workshops in Morro de Mezquitilla and the industrial and commercial area related to the making of transport containers to the north of the colony in Cerro del Villar (Aubet & Delgado 2003).

Craftspeople and workshops in Iberia

In the case of the Late Iron Age Iberian Culture (*c*. sixth–second century BC), *oppida* are considered to be the materialization of social, political and economic changes, resulting in the dissolution of kinship relations in favour of a system of clientship and bonded labour (Ruiz & Molinos 1993; Ruiz 1998; Ruiz, Rísquez & Molinos 2011). The complexity of some fortifications and public buildings, the delicacy of the ritual and funerary sculpture and painted pottery, as well as the sophistication of weapons and gold and silver jewellery, suggest the existence of craft specialization. Nevertheless, it is difficult to detect artisans in the archaeological record, to the extent that some authors suggest the existence of independent and itinerant craftspeople in the Iberian Culture (Blech & Ruano 1998; Quesada *et al*. 2000).

Greek and especially Phoenician and Punic epigraphy inform us – sometimes with their patronymic – of painters, sculptors, jewellers, carpenters, perfume makers, masons, blacksmiths, potters, etc. (Graells 2007a, 335ff). In our case study, we do not enjoy this advantage, as the Iberian language has not yet been deciphered, and we cannot fully understand the *graffiti* or painted or engraved inscriptions (de Hoz 2011). Therefore, the criterion used to assign a profession to the person buried in a certain tomb is, as a rule, the interpretation of some of the grave goods as specialized tools. As we know, grave goods do not necessarily represent the social identity of the buried person, and could also have been used to transmit an idealized message of power relations. Moreover, our own subjectivity plays a non-negligible role, sometimes biasing our interpretation (Parker-Pearson 1999). So, if we cannot easily assign gender through the grave goods, neither is it easy to assign occupation, as we shall see in the following examples of diverse chronology.

The first case concerns the richest cremation of the Orientalizing Tumulus A of Setefilla, Tomb 20, belonging to an adult/old man interpreted as a blacksmith (Aubet *et al*. 1996). The case is interesting because the grave, despite being rich, was peripherally located, which could be interpreted in connection with the marginality that blacksmiths suffer in certain societies (Budd & Taylor 1995). Nevertheless, when examining the grave goods of Tomb 20, nothing allows us to identify the cremation as belonging to a blacksmith, except for a clay object interpreted as a nozzle, an interpretation that should be questioned, due to the excessive width of its inner diameter (Fig. 26.1).

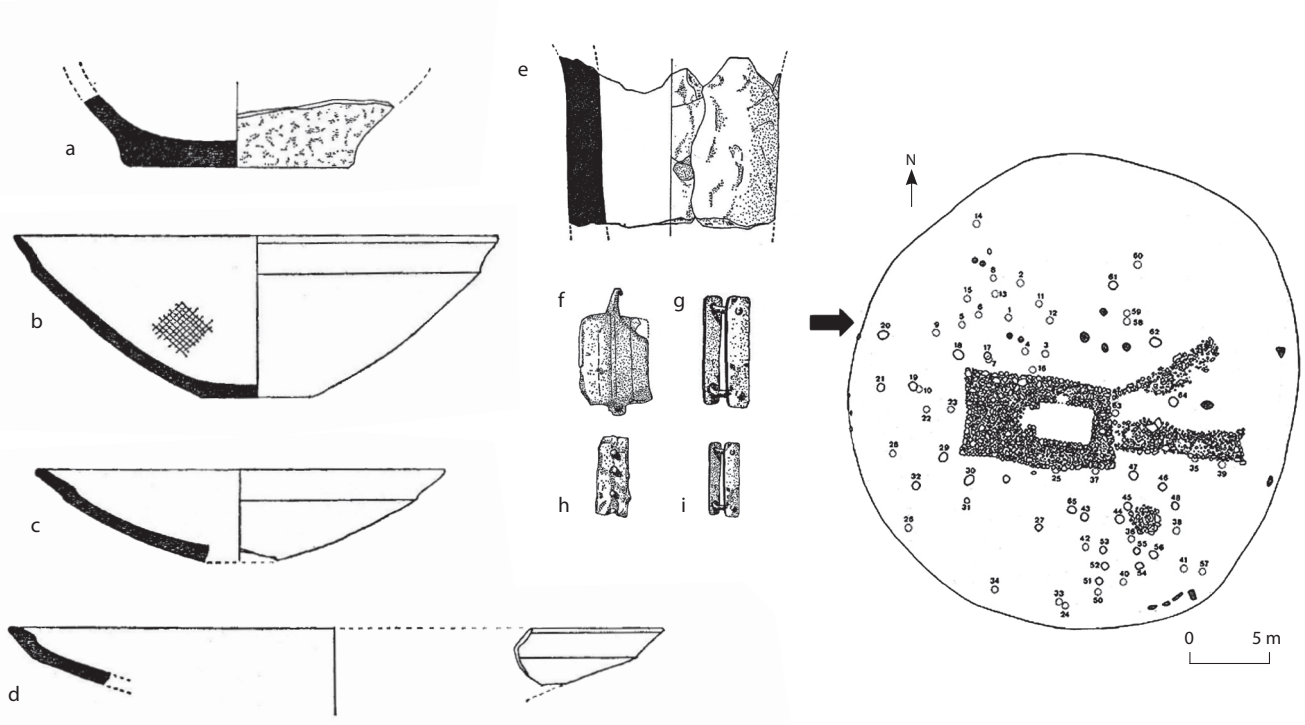

Figure 26.1. *Tumulus 'A' at Setefilla. Left – grave goods (Scale 1:4) from Tomb 20, the so-called smith's tomb: a–d) pottery; e) the supposed nozzle; f) bronze belt hook; g–h) undetermined bronze items; i) iron knife handle with bronze rivets. Right: Tumulus A plan and peripheral location of Tomb 20 (adapted from Aubet 1975).*

The second case comes from the rich Iberian necropolis of El Cigarralejo, dated between end of the fifth and the first centuries BC, although a great number of the tombs belong to the fourth century BC. A total of 187 out of 548 graves have been anthropologically identified (Santonja 1993). Most of them had been previously assigned according to their grave goods as male graves if there were weapons in them, or female if there were spindle whorls, loom weights or other items connected with textile production. In cases where there were weapons and textile tools in the same grave, the tomb was interpreted as a double, male/female cremation. However, the forensic analysis proved that, although all the analysed graves with weapons belonged to men, not all those with textile tools belonged to women. As Rafel (2007), who reviewed them emphasizes, the puzzled anthropologist who studied them described at least two of them – Tombs 122 and 158 – as belonging to 'an androgynous woman', since the person buried was a male without weapons but with textile tools.

Of no lesser interest is the lavish Tomb 100 of the Iberian Cabezo Lucero necropolis labelled as the 'Goldsmith's grave', because of the tools and goldsmith's matrices deposited in the western corner of the tomb, while a set of weapons was placed in its eastern corner (Fig. 26.2). Among the tools there were two bronze instruments for making metal thread, a bronze and an iron anvil, a hammer, a gouge, an awl, a possible bronze scale pan, and a pair of iron tongs, together with more than 30 bronze matrices with a complex oriental iconography, probably alluding to a religious iconographic programme. The tomb is dated to the first half of the fourth century BC by the imports of Attic ceramics. Uroz (2006, 166), who published the 'goldsmith's set', assumed that they were the personal belongings of a goldsmith and that he had not enjoyed a privileged social position in his community, using Tomb 137 – considered outstanding within the necropolis – as the reference for high status burials. Surprisingly, Tombs 100 and 137 included the same set of weapons: an iron *soliferreum* or throwing spear, a shield, of which only the iron handle was preserved, an iron knife, an iron sword of the *falcata* type with its scabbard, and an iron spear. Tomb 137 had a ferrule as well.

The individuals in Tombs 100 and 137 were both cremated with some personal belongings: bronze tweezers, one annular fibula of the Hispanic type, two faience beads, and three bone beads in Tomb 100; and a bronze annular fibula of the Hispanic type, a bronze belt, and a bronze ring with three bezels in Tomb 137. A spindle whorl was deposited in each grave. Only the quality of the Attic imports differentiated the grave

goods. Tomb 100 contained an Attic red-figure low-foot cup and three black-slip bowls with impressed pattern, while Tomb 137 included an Attic red-figure bell krater with the scene of a symposium, fragments of an Attic black-slip bowl, of a *kylix* or *skyphos*, an Attic fish dish and an Iberian *amphora*. If the symposium set of Tomb 137 is exceptional, the matrices and goldsmith kit of tomb 100 are unique. Therefore, if Tomb 137 is classified as an elite tomb (Uroz & Uroz 2010), Tomb 100, dated a generation earlier, should also be. Graells (2007b), who accepts the interpretation of Tomb 100 as belonging to a goldsmith, stresses the high status granted to certain craftsmen. Yet, it could also be that the individual buried in Tomb 100 was not an artisan, but the person who controlled the wealth and the means of producing the gifts to the gods and the insignia used in ritual or political ceremonies. This latter interpretation was suggested for the Early Iron Age Knossos Tekke Tomb 2, traditionally attributed to a ninth-century BC oriental goldsmith. Kotsonas (2006, 159–61) reinterpreted it as belonging to a member of the local elite, who enjoyed privileged access to precious resources and exercised a monopolistic control over certain objects considered gifts to the gods, or the material for producing them, such as gold bars. Considering that in some Linear B texts the *basileus* was described as the master of a guild of smiths, Kotsonas concluded that the people buried in that family tomb were most probably the elite patrons, who controlled and supplied gold to the Tekke workshop. The fact that matrices found in Cabezo Lucero Tomb 100 were in use between the fifth and mid-fourth centuries BC, suggests that they had been passed on at least over four or five generations before being deposited in the tomb. Similarly, the discovery of a complex multipurpose goldsmith's matrix, anvil, and a lead brick used to stamp metal plates in a ritual area of La Serreta de Alcoy *oppidum* (Grau *et al*. 2008) might give support to the idea that Cabezo Lucero Tomb 100 was the burial of an aristocratic person rather than a goldsmith.

How then should we interpret such burials as El Cigarralejo Tombs 145, 200 and 305 (Cuadrado

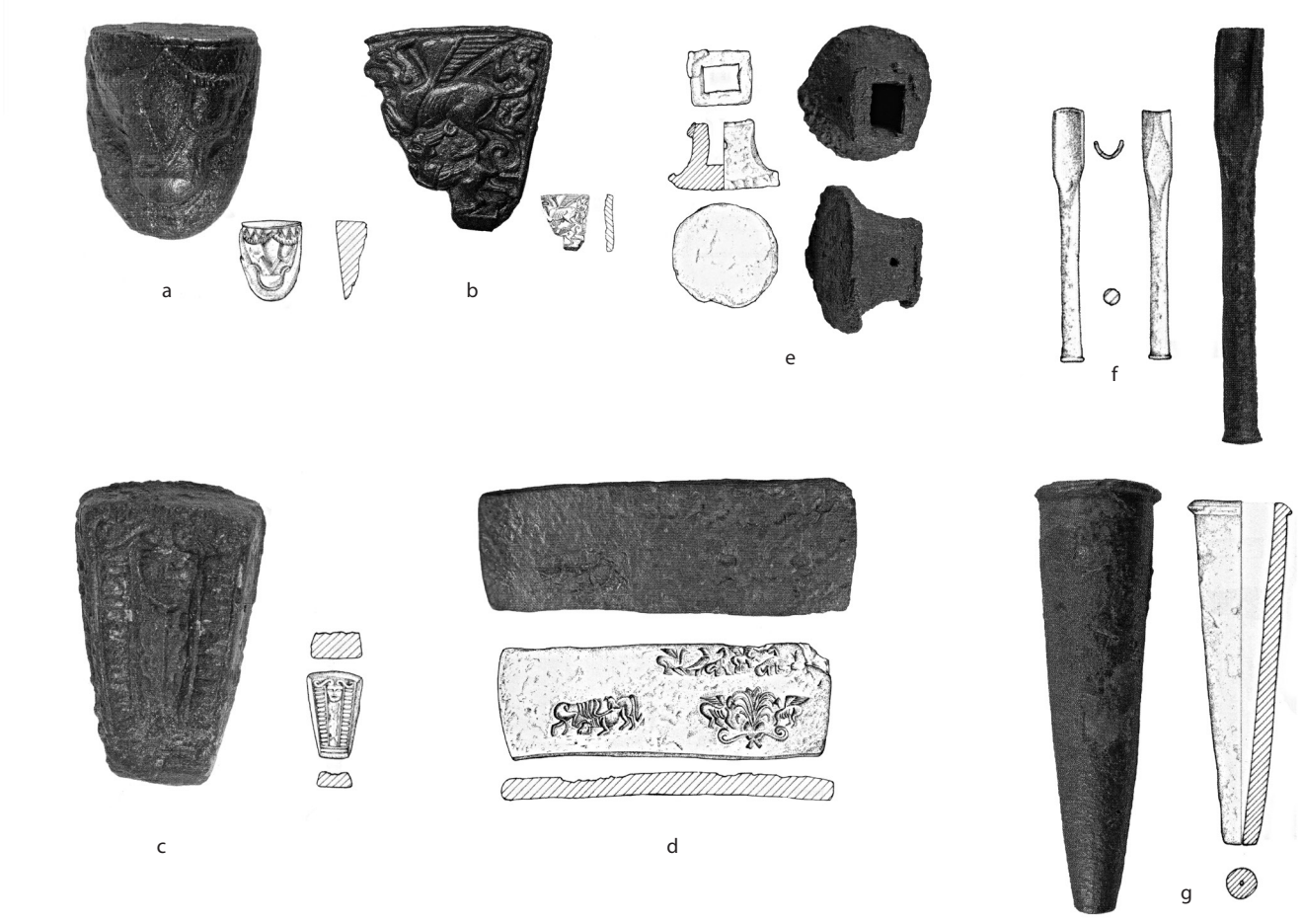

Figure 26.2. *Sample of matrices and tools from the so-called goldsmith's graves at Cabezo Lucero: a–d) matrices with Orientalizing motives; e) bronze anvil; f) bronze gouge; g) bronze wire-drawing tool (adapted from Uroz 2006).*

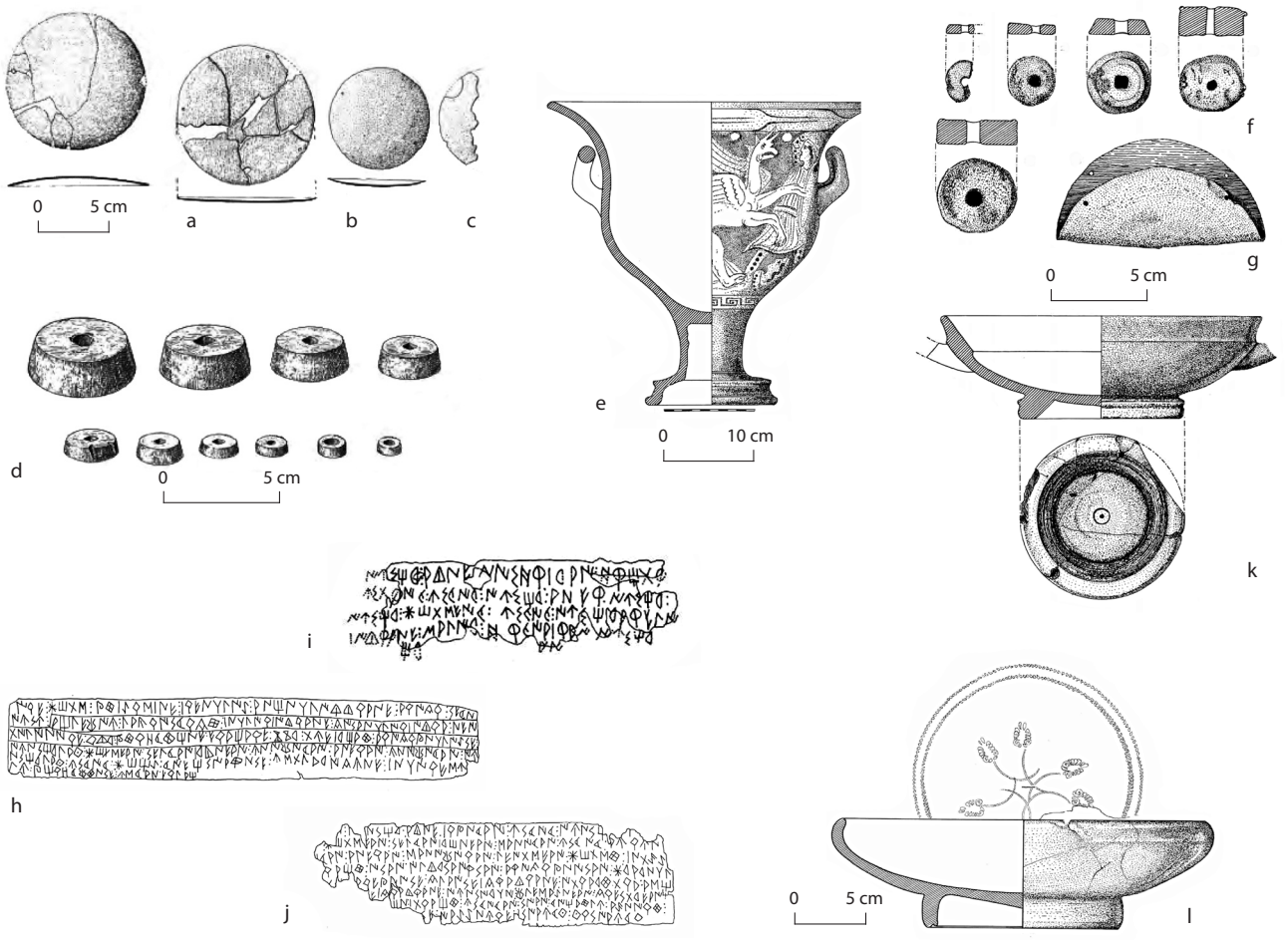

Figure 26.3. *Iberian tombs with grave goods connected with weighing metal: a) El Cigarralejo Tomb 145; b) El Cigarralejo Tomb 305; c) Cabezo Lucero Tomb 2; d) El Cigarralejo Tomb 200; e–l) grave goods from Orley Tomb 2 (a–d adapted from Cuadrado 1987; e–l adapted from Lazaro* et al. *1981).*

1987), Cabezo Lucero 2 and 36 (Aranegui *et al*. 1993, 194ff and fig. 39), or Orley 2 (Lázaro *et al*. 1981, 32ff and fig. 14), all of which were provided with bronze scale pans, some of them also with weights? In some cases, as in the lavishly furnished Tomb 2 at Orley, dated to the first half of the fourth century BC, and Tomb 200 at el Cigarralejo dated to the late fifth-early fourth century BC, we could hypothesize that they belonged to members of the elite who controlled the means of production. The case of Tomb 200 at Cigarralejo deserves some additional comments. It is a conspicuous funerary building, isolated from other tombs and slightly overlapping Tomb 277, the other 'princely' tomb at El Cigarralejo (Lucas 2001–2002). Inside Tomb 200, a funerary urn and lavish grave goods, including weapons, horse gear, a set of bronze weights, 300 *astragaloi* – part of a game or, as Rísquez & García (2007, 162) suggest, counting tokens – a basket full of wheat and acorns, and many spinning and weaving tools. As the cremated bones were not analysed, we could interpret with Cuadrado (1987), who conducted the excavation, that it was a double, male and female grave. Another possibility would be that the grave belonged to the head and ancestor of a group, living in the unexcavated *oppidum* to which the necropolis belonged, who controlled the *keimelion* or family riches and means of production, among them, land, metals and precious fabrics.

As for the other tombs mentioned above, the answer is not that easy. Are they merchants, goldsmiths, craftsmen specialized in the cupellation technique for extracting silver from lead? Or are they lesser members of an aristocratic group (Fig. 26.3)?

Workshops in Iberia

If we look at the spatial distribution of tools connected to specialized craftsmanship in the Iberian *oppida*, with

very minor exceptions, no industrial areas are distinguishable. Limited information has been published up to now about the spatial distribution of tools inside the houses of Puente Tablas (Ruiz & Molinos 2007), the *oppidum* upon which the *gentilician* organization model of the Iberian society is based. Nevertheless, we could at least say that textile activities took place at home and not in workshops (Risquez *et al*. 2020). Better known is the distribution of tools in domestic areas at the fourth century BC *oppidum* of La Bastida de les Alcusses, Valencia (Bonet & Vives-Ferrándiz 2011; Vives-Ferrándiz 2013 and in this volume). Domestic and working spaces were shared here. Even in small houses of less than 25 sq. m, food processing, weaving and metallurgical activities took place in the same space. There was no designated place for weaving, and not all the scale pans were found in the same rooms where cupellation or other metallurgical activities have been attested. Agricultural tools were not concentrated in a unique space, but scattered within the different clusters of houses, although not every cluster of houses had a plough. Thus, although differences of wealth between the different domestic units are visible, craft activities took place within the domestic sphere, sometimes sharing the same space rather than occupying specific areas.

Good spatial information comes also from other coeval sites of the Valencia region such as Puntal dels LLops (Bonet & Mata 2002) and Castellet de Bernabé (Guérin 1999). Puntal dels LLops is a small fortified enclave, subsidiary to the *oppidum* of Edeta, occupied from the end of the fifth century BC to the first quarter of the second century BC. It controlled communications to Edeta, but also an area rich in minerals. The spatial distribution of iron ingots and lead plates at the site indicates metallurgical activities on the spot. I have selected this site for several reasons: it has been fully excavated in its two occupational periods, the Late Bronze Age and the Late Iron Age; its life came to an end violently and many items were preserved *in situ*; and, finally, because as in the case of the *oppidum* of La Bastida de les Alcusses, it has been thoroughly studied and published. It consisted of a walled settlement with a tower, probably crowned with battlements on one end and a single gate opening in the north side. Seventeen rooms were defined, although not all of them could be labelled as dwellings. Only in a few rooms – numbers 2 and 14, and with some doubts, number 7 – there are hearths. In most of them, several different activities coexisted. Grinding, cooking, weaving and silver cupellation took place in room 2; several millstones in room 4 share the space with weaving tools, agricultural tools, and a complete set of chariot terret, horse bit, bridle and spurs. Only room 1 apparently fulfilled a specialized function as a cultic space with a hearth, clay figurines, and a set of vessels for eating and drinking, or for libations and food offerings, although seven lead weights and two scale pans were also found there. Under the floor of room 1, a newborn child was buried. In view of the limited number of hearths and domestic ware in the different rooms of the site, Bonet and Mata (2002, 218–22), considered the inhabitants of Puntal dels LLops to be members of an extended family, whose head might have been living in room 4, where the horse equipment and the Attic imported pottery were found.

Another well preserved and documented site is Castellet de Bernabé, small, walled settlement in Valencia province (Guérin 1999), that was put to fire and abandoned in the late third century BC, with a second and brief reoccupation at around 200 BC. According to the published data, there is a slightly isolated house, bigger than the rest, which consisted of at least six rooms, each of which had a hearth and a loom. The big house was divided into a public space (room 22), with weapons and all the working tools found there, and a private space, consisting of five other rooms with domestic equipment (hearths, loom weights, grinding mills, etc.). Based on the spatial distribution of items in each room, Guerin (1999, 92) concluded that the big house could be understood as a household, hosting an extended family comprising the head of the house and his partner, with their maiden daughters because there were four looms in the house – one in each room – and his married son. The other dwellings housed people connected with the head of the household, either as clients, lesser members of the family, or workers. There were also two workshops (rooms 12 and 13), which were integrated into the household (Fig. 26.4).

In other areas, for example in northeastern Spain, Belarte (2010, 125) pointed out the coexistence of big and small houses and suggested that the bigger ones represented extended families. Many of these big houses are the result either of the union of two or more spaces, previously separated in an agglomerated pattern, or of the privatization of a previously public space, as happened in Ullastret, Alorda Park, Mas Castellar de Pontós, El Oral, El Puig de Alcoy, and many others. Similarly, Grau (2013, 63–5) has coined the term *plurifocal house* to describe houses joined around a connecting space, usually a courtyard, with several hearths and multifunctional rooms, such as the one described above in El Castellet de Bernabé, as aggregations of nuclear families, where several generations of a family were living under the same roof.

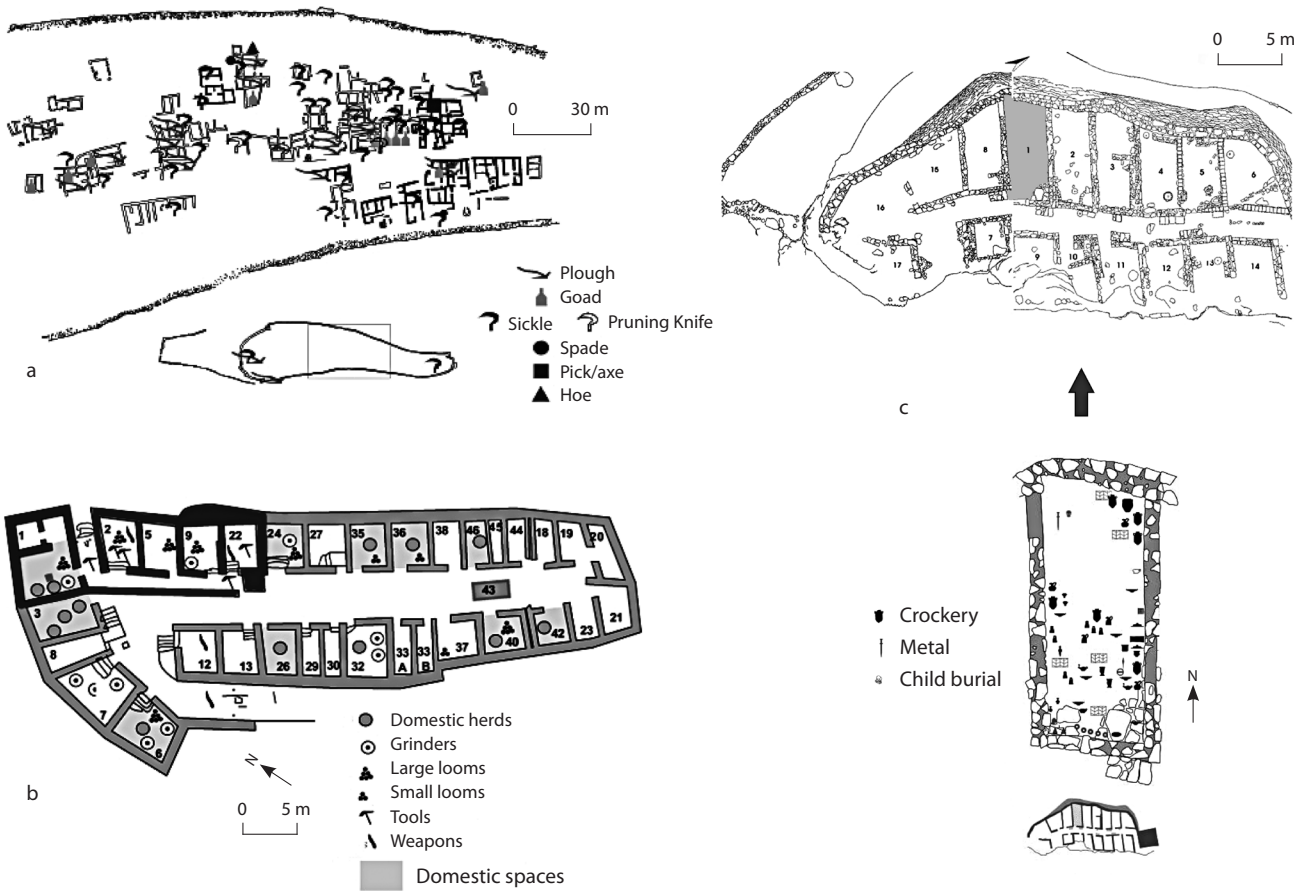

Figure 26.4. *Spatial distribution of tools in rooms of Iberian* oppida*: a) La Bastida de Les Alcusses; b) Puntal dels LLops; c) Castellet de Bernabé (adapted from Bonet & Vives-Ferrándiz 201; Bonet & Mata 2002; Guérin 1999).*

The Iberians as a House Society

At this point I need to go back to the *gentilician* model proposed by Ruiz (1998) to define the Iberian social structure. This model, taken from the Etruscan and Latial archaeology and expounded by Carandini (1997) and Torelli (1988), has been recently criticized by Riva (2010, 7), who questions the retrojection to the Italian Early Iron Age of an institution we know in Rome and Latium, but not in Etruria, through written texts from later periods. She suggests that it is not clear, to what extent the patronymic name could have meant anything more than the patrilineal descent of someone.

In a recent paper, Gonzalez Ruibal and I (2016) reviewed the features that characterize Levi Strauss' House Society model from an archaeological point of view, and applied it to the categorization of several Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean societies, among them the Etruscans. I now propose to do the same for Iberian society. This is not new, as Vives-Ferrándiz (2013) recently made the same suggestion. What I hope to do here is to complete and widen the scope of his model, proving that Iberian society fulfilled all the characteristics that Gonzalez and I described as typical of a House Society.

Levi-Strauss (1983, 174 & 1991,434–6), inspired by the Medieval European and Japanese noble houses, defined the house as: 'a moral person, keeper of a domain composed simultaneously of material and immaterial possessions, which perpetuates itself by the transmission of its name, of its fortune and of its titles in a real or fictive line considered legitimate on the sole condition that this continuity can express itself in the language of kinship or alliance, and most often, both'.

Based on this, Gonzalez Ruibal and I (2016, 386) understand House Societies as: 'A sociopolitical organization based on corporate institutions enacting a bilateral system of endogamous alliances geared toward the perpetuation and enlargement of their physical and moral patrimony. These corporate institutions are best defined as '*Houses*', because

they do not fit the concept of clan, lineage, moiety or other forms of kinship organization, whereas the house, as a building and a social institution, appears as the mechanism that brings together immaterial and material wealth'.

In our paper we describe a House Society from an archaeological point of view as follows:

1) House Societies are in between kin-based societies and the State, although this does not imply the existence of an evolutionary model. What matters is that this trait separates House Societies from gentilicial societies, which, although theoretically based on blood ties (Torelli 1996, 55–7), were arranged in social classes with neat labour division and specialization.
2) House Societies are hierarchical, because there are visible inequalities in size, wealth and power between houses, but they are heterarchical at the same time, because they compete among themselves for supremacy, wealth and status, and there is not a single and centralized instance of power.
3) House Societies emerge in complex agricultural systems, where there is a dearth of good soils, or where high densities of population are concentrated in the best agricultural tracts, control of which allows some families to gain power. In this case, the resulting strategy is the preservation, enlargement and enrichment of property, which is passed down from generation to generation, through a single heir of the male line, so as to avoid splitting the inheritance and to perpetuate the House name.
4) House Societies are not equivalent to chiefdoms, because in the latter it is labour control rather than land ownership that lies at the heart of these systems' political economy. Nevertheless, some chiefdoms could evolve into House Societies.
5) House Societies are endogamous, cognate systems, where father patrilineage and mother patrilineage are equally important, as also women, through the dowry system, are capable of transmitting land or political patrimony or of inheriting it if there is no male heir. This explains cases of matrilocality or uxorilocality attested in the archaeological record, and the existence of lavish female graves, sometimes associated with power insignia usually connected to men, or, as in Etruria, the sculptures of the couple who were founders of a lineage. Of course, this need not mean that women exercise real power, but that they could transmit rights to the ruling office to their descendants.
6) Following Levy-Strauss' idea of the head of the House as a moral person and as repository of material and immaterial values, Houses have shrines or are shrines in themselves and there is a strong investment in their decoration, emblems, or visual marks of their prominence. Spaces of material and immaterial wealth can be integrated in a single, multi-room building or aggregate domestic compounds or house clusters.
7) A strong concern with the past is also reflected in the continuous occupation of the same residence or of the same grounds, the existence of heirlooms, and of ancestor cult in the form of figurines, foundational offerings, or burials of newborn children and animals beneath the house floor.
8) Cemeteries are laid around the burial of the founder, or of the founder couple of the House, as at Lefkandi in Greece or Veii-Quattro Fontanili and other Early Iron Age Etruscan cemeteries. Family tombs are frequently laid under the residence floor, as in Ugarit and Megiddo in the Levant, perpetuating in that way the House through the dead and living generations sharing the same roof. In other cases, as in Etruria, the house of the dead mimics the house of the living.

Several of the above-mentioned social groups described as House Societies, were urban, many of them called small 'Kingdoms' or 'City-States' in the archaeological literature; they practiced writing, engaged in long-distance trade and collected taxes. Nevertheless, they did not have independent craftsmen or labour division, since specialists, including religious specialists, worked for and were members of the Houses, one of which was the King's House. Therefore, they cannot be labelled as States (Schloen 2001; Riva 2010).

In a seminal paper, V. Gordon Childe (1950) defined ten characteristic features of ancient cities, among them bureaucracy and the existence of full-time specialists supported by and at the service of the palace. Subsequently, other authors assimilated the term 'urban' with 'State' and class societies (Adams 1966; Fox 1977, 24; Smith 2002, 4; Cowgill 2004, 526). Smith (2002; 2007) stressed the great variety and diversity of planning in early cities, while Fernández-Götz (2018, 124–5) demonstrated that cities emerged in Iron Age temperate Europe in non-state contexts. Likewise, Ur (2014) noted that models used to reconstruct the middle-late third-millennium BC Mesopotamian urban society based on written records obviated the local terminology connected to kinship and the importance of the household, and wrongly assumed a preconceived model of a bureaucratic, class-based, state society. Based on Schloen's 'Patrimonial model' (Schloen 2001)

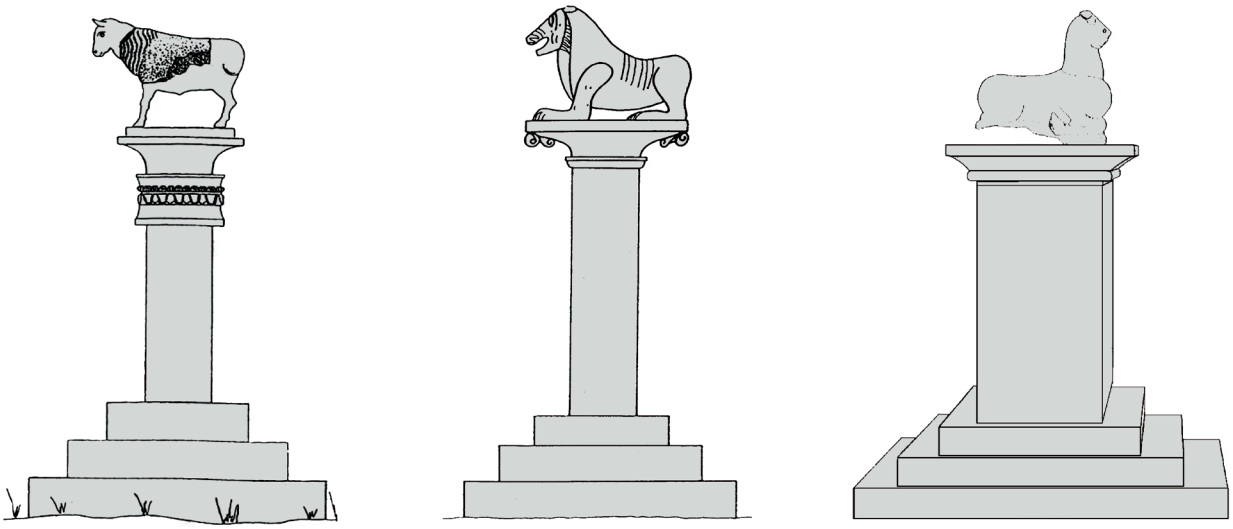

Figure 26.5. *Iberian funerary pillars crowned by heraldic beasts: a) Los Nietos necropolis; b) Coy necropolis; c) Los Capuchinos necropolis (adapted from Almagro 1983; 1990; Izquierdo 2000).*

and Levy-Strauss' (1983) 'House Society model', Ur (2014, 254–5) showed that Ur III texts lack a term for state and, although the word 'palace' does exist, its original meaning in Sumerian was 'The great House'. Nor was there a true bureaucracy, since officials gained their positions because of their kinship with the king. Ur (2014, 264) thus denied the appropriateness of the State model for Mesopotamia, because despite being urban, kinship continued to be the most important institution in this Bronze Age society.

I contend that Late Iron Age Iberian society, despite being urban, developing writing and – in some cases – even minting coins, is not a state or class society (contra Ruiz & Molinos 1993) but instead has all the features of a House Society.

Funerary towers with complex iconographic programmes, sculpted pillars or stone funerary structures crowned by heraldic animals such as bulls, lions, wolves, sphinxes or anthropomorphic sculptures mark and organize burial areas of aristocratic groups between the end of the sixth and the fifth centuries BC in south-east Iberia (Fig. 26.5). Oddly enough, some of these funerary monuments were wilfully and systematically destroyed at different moments between the mid-fifth and the fourth centuries BC, as can be seen at Cabezo Lucero (Uroz 2006), Elche, Corral del Saus, Cabecico del Tesoro, El Cigarralejo and many others (Izquierdo 2000). An outstanding case is Cerrillo Blanco in Andalusia, where a group of sculptures, dated to the mid-fifth century BC and representing hunting scenes (combats of men with beasts or men with men), fantastic creatures, etc., was systematically destroyed and more than 1000 fragments thrown into a ditch next to a tumulus of the seventh century BC, housing 24 single inhumations in pits, and one polygonal chamber with a double, male/female inhumation, isolated from the rest (Ruiz & Molinos 2007). The connection between the area chosen to discard the sculpted pieces and the tumulus cannot be accidental. These recurrent iconoclastic cases are typical of the instability of heterarchical societies, where Houses compete for supremacy.

Fourth-century BC family tombs, such as those at Galera, Toya and Castellones de Ceal in Andalusia, emulate the layout and pattern of inner circulation of coeval great houses, according to analysis carried out by Sanchez (1998). Outstanding female burials such as the one of Baza Tomb 155, or Tomb 22B of Los Villares, in which the women were offered weapons as grave goods, or the representation of women – but never of men – seated on thrones, betray the existence of cognatic systems, through which female members of great Houses were transmitters of their patrilineage rights to the House patrimony and rule (Fig. 26.6) (Quesada 2010).

Emphasis in decoration and in visual emblems of the House's power is particularly evident in the towers, frequently crowned by crenellations, as found at Coll del Moro, La Quéjola, Puntal dels LLop and many others. Public buildings for sharing communal banquets among the members of the lineage are recorded in Ullastret, Burriac, Alorda Park, Puig de Alcoy, La Bastida building 5, etc. (Fig. 26.7) (Bonet & Vives-Ferrándiz 2013, 89).

Figure 26.6. *Enthroned Iberian ladies: a) Cerro de los Santos; b) Baza (adapted from Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Ministerio de Cultura, España).*

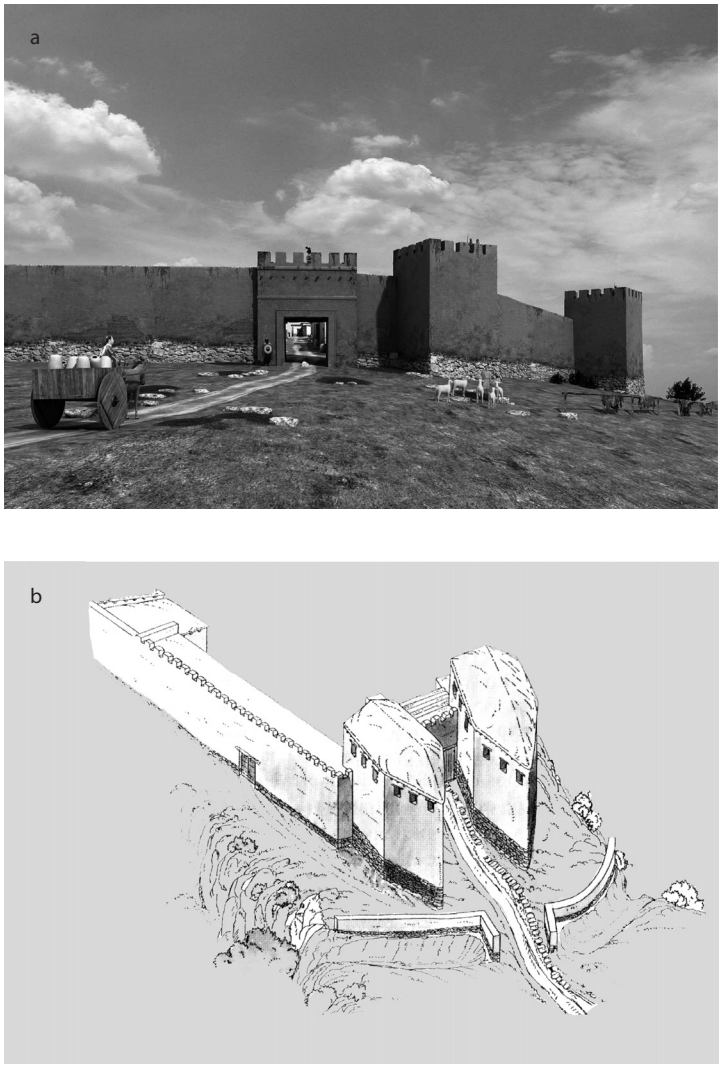

Figure 26.7. *a) Reconstruction of the wall with crenellations of la Bastida de les Alcusses (adapted from 'Arquitectura Virtual' in Bonet & Vives-Ferrándiz 2011). b) reconstruction of the gate of El Castellet de Banyoles* oppidum *(adapted from Gracia* et al. *2000).*

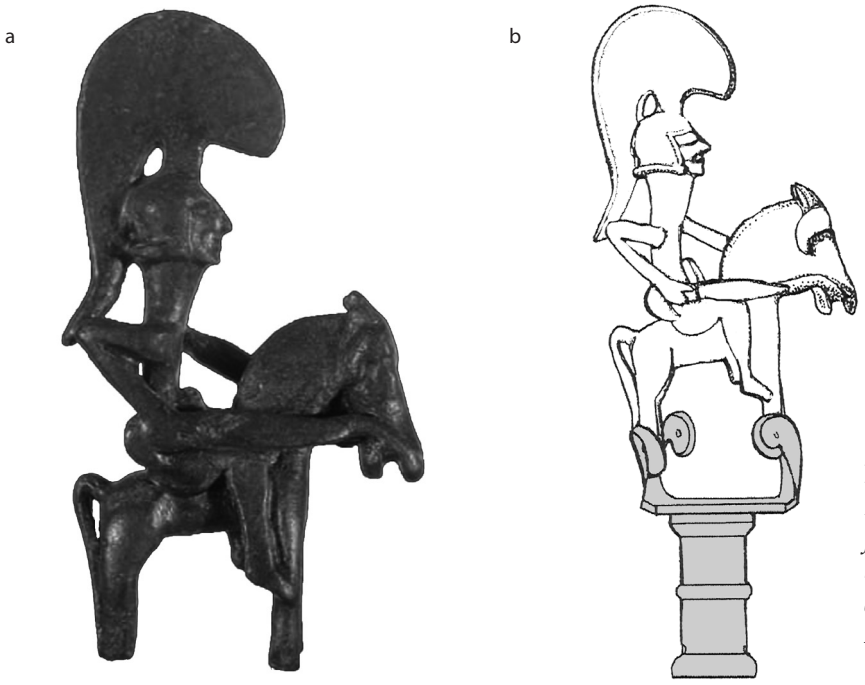

Figure 26.8. *a) Bronze horseman from La Bastida de Les Alcusses (adapted from Bonet & Vives-Ferrándiz 2011); b) reconstruction of the horseman as a sceptre (adapted from Lorrio & Almagro 2004)*

Several households, resulting from the addition of new rooms and with different levels of wealth, have been detected in La Bastida de les Alcusses by Vives-Ferrandiz (2013, 105), who sees them as hosting five different lineages or Houses. In that same way, Puntal dels Llops and El Castellet de Bernabé could be understood as the seat of a lineage or House, with the head of the House occupying the bigger house and the lesser members of the lineage living in the small houses attached to the main house. We have already seen other cases of houses that increased their size by absorbing previously public spaces such as Alorda Park and Mas Castellar de Pontós, interpreted as hosting extended families (Belarte 2013, 83–5).

In fact, big and small *oppida* such as Puente Tablas (Jaén) (Ruiz & Molinos 2018, 63–4), Castellet de Banyoles (Tarragona), Alorda Park (Tarragona), Mas Castellar de Pontós (Gerona) (Belarte 2018), El Castellet de Bernabé (Guérin 1999), Puntal dels Llops (Bonet & Mata 2002), La Bastida de les Alcusses (Valencia) (Vives-Ferrandiz 2013), as well as El Puig and La Serreta de Alcoy (Alicante) (Grau 2013) could be seen as a 'House of houses', as Grau and Vives-Ferrándiz (2018, 92–3) define them.

Heirlooms are usual in House Societies, and are connected with the House's concern with its own past and past deeds. We can interpret as an heirloom the small bronze figurine of a nude horseman wearing a crested helmet, recovered in room 218 at La Bastida. This piece was originally the top of a sceptre that had been cut at its lower end and transformed into an ex-voto, perhaps representing a heroic ancestor, as Lorrio and Almagro (2004–2005) suggest. This could also be the case with the kit of matrices of Cabezo Lucero Tomb 100, which were in use for at least 100 years before being deposited in the tomb (Fig. 26.8).

Domestic ritual areas, which respond to the same concern with the ancestors, are also present in certain rooms of many Iberian *oppida* and are represented by clay figurines, *obeloi* or special ceramics used for libations. Even more importantly, Houses are considered living beings, which have to be fed. This is the reason for foundation offerings such as the one next to the western gate of La Bastida de Les Alcusses, or the frequency of newborns and animals being buried beneath the room floors. In many cases, these offerings accompanied every refurbishment of the house (Grau *et al*. 2015; cf. Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez in this volume).

Conclusion

In a recent paper, Grau (2019, 15–18) gives some thoughts to cities and urban societies of the Late Iron Age Iberian Culture, stressing the absence in them of significant installations for processing agrarian resources or of craft workshops. He further points out the decentralized character of the urban fabric, the absence of religious or administrative centralized facilities, and their rare or modest monumentality. On the contrary, public works such as terracing, urban walling and fortifications denounce in his view the

persistence of a communal ethos pervading these urban societies, which he considers of heterarchical character.

Traditionally, the existence of full-time craftsmen as a social class is considered one characteristic of urban centres. Nonetheless, as the saying goes, not all that glitters is gold, so not all urban or proto-urban societies should be necessarily be interpreted as class societies. Concern with the past, as seen in the Iberian hero monuments at Porcuna (Negueruela 1990) and El Pajarillo (Molinos *et al*. 1998), the use of heraldic animals such as wolves, sphinxes, bulls or lions on top of the pillars to mark the funerary area of the family group, the competition among houses and the instability of power, betrayed by the systematic destruction of hero monuments and other family emblems such as the funerary pillar-stelae, are all compatible with the interpretation of the Iberian culture as a House Society system.

The fact that most of the settlements that I have reviewed lack specific areas for crafts suggests that most of the activities took place within the household. Of course, craft specialization must have existed: there were sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, etc. Yet, the fact that most of them are invisible to us in the archaeological record could be due either to methodological shortcomings or to the fact that they were part-time specialists, attached to the elite and producing on their patrons' demand. Therefore, the equation of urbanism with state and class societies does not always work. Quite the contrary: many urban processes arose within heterarchical and kin-based societies, which should better be called House Societies rather than States.

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Making cities

Large and complex settlements appeared across the north Mediterranean during the period 1000–500 BC, from the Aegean basin to Iberia, as well as north of the Alps. The region also became considerably more interconnected. Urban life and networks fostered new consumption practices, requiring different economic and social structures to sustain them. This book considers the emergence of cities in Mediterranean Europe, with a focus on the economy. What was distinctive about urban lifeways across the Mediterranean? How did different economic activities interact, and how did they transform power hierarchies? How was urbanism sustained by economic structures, social relations and mobility? The authors bring to the debate recently excavated sites and regions that may be unfamiliar to wider (especially Anglophone) scholarship, alongside fresh reappraisals of well-known cities. The variety of urban life, economy and local dynamics prompts us to reconsider ancient urbanism through a comparative perspective.

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