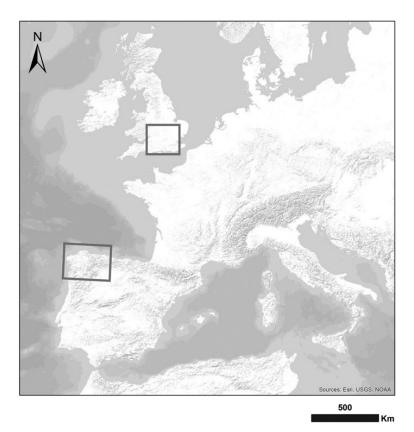# SIX

SOCIETIES AGAINST THE CHIEF? RE-EXAMINING THE VALUE OF "HETERARCHY" AS A CONCEPT FOR STUDYING EUROPEAN IRON AGE SOCIETIES

Tom Moore and David González-Álvarez

INTRODUCTION

Carole Crumley's (1979; 1995a; 1995b; 2015) explorations on the applicability of heterarchy as a concept within archaeology have been highly influential in Anglo-American discourse on social organization. Despite largely emerging from Crumley's work on Iron Age France (Crumley, 1979), however, the relevance of heterarchy as a concept for challenging hierarchical models of European Iron Age societies has largely been restricted to Britain (e.g. Moore, 2007a; Hill, 2011), where evidence for "elites" seems most obviously lacking. Northwestern Iberia has also been a locus for discussion of acephalous and nonhierarchical social forms (Fernández-Posse & Sánchez-Palencia, 1998; González-García et al., 2011; González-Ruibal, 2012; Sastre-Prats, 2011), but one where explicit discussions of heterarchy have rarely featured. More recently, it has been argued that almost all European Iron Age societies can be regarded as "broadly heterarchical" (e.g. Bradley et al., 2015: 260), although the wider implications of this have yet to be explored. What is the place, then, of heterarchy in Iron Age studies? Has it merely become a label for all nonhierarchical models (Fernández-Götz, 2014: 36), creating various Iron Age "societies against the state" (Clastres, 1977), or does it offer ways of exploring not just alternatives to hierarchies but thicker descriptions of how all Iron Age societies worked?

Here we argue that a current hierarchy/heterarchy dichotomy within European Iron Age studies may be obscuring the concept's wider implications. To examine its continued potential, we explore how social organization has been discussed in Southern Britain and Northwestern Iberia (Figure 6.1). These two regions share similarities in their Later Iron Age archaeological records; both, for example, are largely devoid of elaborate burials on which hierarchical "Celtic" models often rely. More importantly, both have witnessed explorations of alternatives to hierarchical models. We suggest, though, that both regions retain the potential for thinking about forms of Iron Age heterarchy: for Southern Britain we argue that a tendency to regard the Late Iron Age as hierarchical may underestimate the negotiated nature of power in those societies. For Northwestern Iberia, where the term heterarchy has rarely been used, we examine the nonhierarchical models that emerged in opposition to concepts of Celtic hierarchies. We explore whether the multiplicity of models that now exist in this area effectively achieve heterarchical visions through recognizing regional social diversity. In both areas we explore the

6.1. Location of case study regions (Southern Britain and Northwestern Iberia) (drawn by David González-Álvarez).
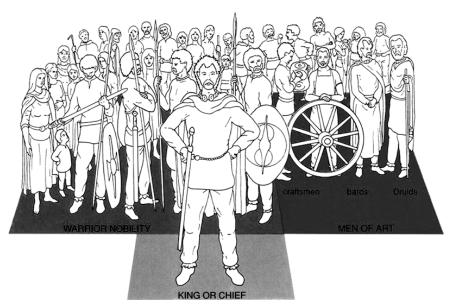
usefulness of heterarchy for driving discussions of the ways in which power operated. In so doing, we argue that heterarchy remains a useful heuristic device (DeMarrais, 2013), not simply for replacing "triangles" with "trapezoids" but for facilitating more nuanced understanding of power in societies of all types and complexities.

Chronological models for both regions vary, but for simplicity's sake we refer in Southern Britain to the Middle Iron Age (4th–1st century BC) and Late Iron Age (1st century BC–mid 1st century AD) whilst recognizing the problems within such definitions (Haselgrove & Moore, 2007: 2). For Northwestern Iberia, we broadly define the Later (Second) Iron Age as the 4th century BC to the Roman conquest around the turn of the millennium (Jordá Pardo et al., 2009), although there is significant regional diversity.
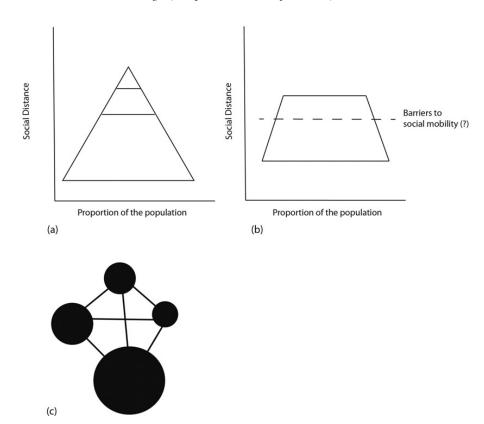
WHAT ARE HETERARCHIES?

Crumley defines heterarchy as the "relation of elements to one another when they are unranked or when they possess the potential for being ranked in a number of different ways" (1995a: 3). This can also be understood as "social power obtained and displayed in a multiplicity of ways through separate and cross-cutting structures based on religion, military power or economics" (Hill, 2011: 245). Heterarchy recognizes that societies (and other systems) can operate in complex ways without rigid hierarchical structures. It does not present a particular model of how a society operates and, as we will explore below, a variety of social systems can broadly be described as heterarchical. Instead, it prompts us to move away from labelling social systems to consider the ways in which elements of society related to each other and the place and nature of power within them (Pauketat, 2007: 63).

For European Iron Age studies, heterarchy's usefulness was primarily in emphasizing that many societies do not fit what had become a uniform hierarchical "Celtic" model of chiefs or kings ruling over vassals and peasants (Figure 6.2). This vision was based on allying textual sources to archaeological evidence, underpinned by concepts of a uniform Celtic "culture" (see Hill, 1996: 96). This is perhaps best summed up by Hill's (2006; 2011) compelling visual analogy, contrasting triangular, hierarchical societies with flatter, trapezoid forms (Figure 6.3; cf. Ruiz-Zapatero, 2009: 226, fig. 1). More recently, the trapezoid is envisioned as representing an "alternative hierarchy," with heterarchy better represented by a network of nodes (Mytum, 2018: Figures 6.3, 6.6). Such contrasting visual analogies emphasize how, despite its place in the deconstruction of the Celtic visions, heterarchy remains somewhat enigmatic in discourse on the European Iron Age. Understanding how it is currently envisioned and how we might explore it in the future are thus worthy of further consideration.

6.2. Traditional Celtic triangle (after James 1993, with permission).

6.3. Comparison of (a) triangular (hierarchical) and (b) trapezoidal (heterarchical) representations of social organization (after Hill 2011) and (c) an alternative representation of heterarchy (after Mytum 2018, redrawn by Tom Moore).

BRITISH IRON AGE SOCIAL MODELS

The development of Crumley's (1979; 1995a, 1995b) ideas on heterarchy coincided in British archaeology with emerging critiques of the orthodox vision of Iron Age societies (e.g. Cunliffe, 1984; 1991) as uniformly hierarchical. Hingley's (1984) influential discussion of the relevance of Germanic modes of production envisioned egalitarian social entities in the Thames Valley. This was followed by Hill's (1995) critical reconsideration of social organization in Wessex which, through analysis of storage capacity, levels of production, and house form, indicated there was little evidence for social stratification or for the existence of warrior elites. To begin with, heterarchy saw relatively limited adoption (e.g. Hill, 1996: 112), only later gaining popularity (e.g. Cripps, 2007), partly a result of concerns that previous models presented too atomized a vision of the Iron Age (Moore, 2007a). Most successfully perhaps, it was used to explain the place of production and exchange in societies where direct control seems weak (Ehrenreich, 1995).

The subsequent twenty-five years have witnessed intense discussion over social organization (see Hill, 2011 for overview). These have largely been represented by regionalized deconstructions of existing hierarchical models encouraged by burgeoning archaeological data sets and recognition of regional diversity (e.g. Bevan, 1999; Cripps, 2007; Moore, 2007a). These models can be roughly divided into the not necessarily mutually exclusive ways in which they regard society and the basis of power. One group, exemplified by use of concepts of Germanic mode of production (Hingley, 1984; Hill, 1996), emphasizes the social independence and (relatively) egalitarian nature of communities, building on segmentary social models (e.g. Fortes & Evans Pritchard, 1940). Such perspectives sometimes indicate the existence of larger social entities (clans, tribes, networks) and that forms of achieved leadership could be present (Hill, 2011: 255), but they emphasize that the locus of power, through agricultural production, remained at the household level. The dynamics through which households negotiated access to resources is often perceived through forms of material or labor reciprocity (e.g. Moore, 2007a), sometimes evident in "gang working" by different families or households (Wigley, 2007). Some perspectives regard this more as a process of competition between households demonstrating greater social connections. These share similarities with clientage models (e.g. Karl, 2011), but the latter emphasize an essentially feudal relationship, with power being unidirectional (Hill, 2011: 256). The alternatives propose more reciprocal notions of power, with all possessing potential to acquire greater access to it.

Other models envisage more competitive social forms and/or emphasize that power was focused through a larger "community" than the household

(Tullett, 2010). Sharples (2007), for example, suggests that hillfort ramparts are the conspicuous consumption of labor in a form of potlatch by communities, with feasting a crucial element of display. An "elite" can still be argued for, driving competition (cf. Wolf, 1999), but this is a competitive process where power is fluid, with different communities able to compete. Sharples (2010: 296–300) argues that these societies provide evidence of strong group relations with the community, not the individual, as the locus of power.
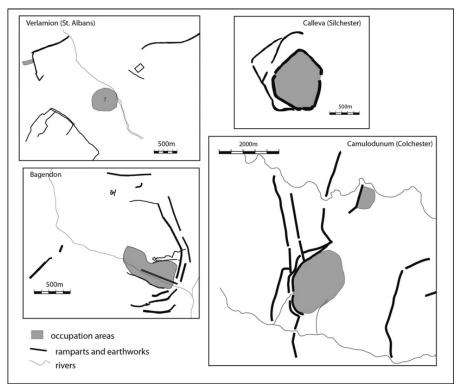
Despite variations, many models of Early and Middle Iron Age societies argue for the existence of "levelling mechanisms" (Bohem, 1993) to constrain the accumulation of power. This has also led to Clastres' (1977) notions of "societies against the state" being used to emphasize that most societies were designed to resist the development of a permanent elite (Hill, 2011: 258).

Developing Heterarchical Approaches in British Iron Age Studies

Critiques of the "Celtic chiefdom" paradigm have moved studies of social organization away from socio-evolutionary labels to explore how power worked at different scales. Limited evidence for burials with rich grave goods, a lack of clear settlement hierarchies and relatively uniform material assemblages made challenging notions of hierarchy for most Early and Middle Iron Age societies relatively straightforward and, even if the term is not used explicitly, heterarchical models might be argued to have become dominant.

Discussions of the last decades of the British Iron Age are different. The appearance, from the early 1st century BC, of new burial rites containing grave goods (sometimes including Roman imports) alongside new and widespread forms of material culture, such as brooches, seems to indicate increasing individualism and has been used to argue that distinctions in social status were more significant. Meanwhile, the emergence of larger social centers (*oppida*) covering hundreds of hectares (Figure 6.4) alongside the appearance of coinage has led many to regard the Late Iron Age of Southern Britain as represented by hierarchical kingdoms (Creighton, 2000), equivalent to forms of "tribal" states (Collis, 2007). Hill (2011: 258), for instance, suggests that Southeast England, from 20 BC onward, could "fit the classic social triangle." Although some discussions of Late Iron Age societies have described them in nuanced terms, arguing for the existence of oligarchies (Collis, 2000) where power amongst elite families was fluid (Cunliffe, 1988: 88–90), these societies remain hierarchical.

Considering the archaeological record of the Late Iron Age, arguing for a hierarchical model may seem straightforward. Crumley (1979; 1995b), however, argued for heterarchy on the basis of evidence from Late Iron Age France which might be regarded as not dissimilar to Late Iron Age Britain. This contrast in perspective between the Middle and Late Iron Ages marks the

6.4. Plans of polyfocal *oppida* in Britain (drawn by Tom Moore).

ways in which heterarchy is perhaps somewhat misconceived in studies of the British Iron Age. Studies which accept forms of heterarchical social organization do so because societies appear to lack elements of apparent social complexity, for example, evidence of long-distance trade, ranked burials, and monumental centers. Where these exist, for example, in Middle Iron Age East Yorkshire or Late Iron Age southern Britain, hierarchy seems necessary to explain them. Studies elsewhere have regarded this as the re-emergence of hierarchy, regarding negotiated forms of power as reactions to the collapse of more complex, hierarchical societies (e.g. Demoule, 1999). This view regards social complexity and hierarchy as intertwined. Clastres' (1977: 174) notion of negotiated power of the chief ("primitive societies") is also set up in opposition to hierarchical "states," seemingly regarding the latter as uniform entities rather than processes (cf. Wolf, 1990: 592).

Equating hierarchy with complexity is problematic. Leaving aside nebulous definitions of social complexity (see Kohring, 2012; Kohring & Wynne-Jones, 2007), complexity and hierarchy are not symbiotic (cf. Crumley, 1995b: 30; Souvatzi, 2007). Highly monumentalized structures and elaborate exchange systems exist in societies that do not fit hierarchical triangles (McIntosh, 1995). Hierarchy, defined as direct control by one group/individual, can instead be

regarded as a "temporary solution to the problem of maintaining order" (Crumley, 1995b: 31) rather than heterarchy, the break from the norm. Heterarchies and hierarchies can also exist side by side, with societies including elements of both (DeMarrais, 2013: 345). Some suggest that heterarchies are dimensions of all societies (Pauketat, 2007: 63).

A reluctance to envision the Late Iron Age as heterarchical may relate to considerations of how and why societies change. In many nonhierarchical visions, modes of negotiation over resources appear relatively stable and static, a criticism levelled at many segmentary models (González-García, 2017: 302). If access to resources is negotiated between households whose power is equally dispersed, how does change occur? One of the advantages of hierarchical models is that they are underpinned by a mechanism for change. Put simply, competition within and between hierarchical societies assumes power was based on violence, with individuals and communities always seeking to dominate others. This reflected a widespread social evolutionary approach that competition creates ever more complex hierarchical, social forms: chiefdoms, then states (see Hill, 1996: 95–96). It followed a general perspective that, despite its complexities, power is ultimately about the use and threat of force (Cunliffe, 1988: 91; cf. Radcliffe-Brown, 1940, xiv; Weber, 1978: 54).

By contrast, many heterarchical visions struggle to explain why change occurs (Schorman, 2014: 170) falling back upon external forces (such as the Roman Empire) as necessary causal factors. This is perhaps due to a slight misrepresentation of heterarchy. Within heterarchies elements are not static but continually shift their relations, resulting in structural readjustment (Crumley, 2015). This might be in relation to changing conditions (for example, new avenues for increased mobilization of power or new social networks) but may also be driven by the agency of actors within the heterarchies themselves. Even in social forms which constrain the power of an elite, such as "Big Men" societies, segmentary societies or those with potlatches, individuals can be ambitious and competitive (Roscoe, 2012; Sharples, 2010: 302). This is, however, channeled not into direct power over others by force, but by achieving prestige. The status of those individuals is dependent on the transfer of power from other members of society (Clastres, 1977: 176; Wolf, 1999: 91).

Addressing these issues may partly lie in moving on from useful but constraining shape analogies to consider heterarchies as processes in the ways power worked rather than as fixed social forms (Crumley, 1995a: 4; Wolf, 1990: 592). How was power expressed? How did power transfer between individuals, groups and communities, and when was power stable or unstable? To answer these questions we need to accept that power operates in a range of different ways and levels across societies (Wolf, 1990: 586). Many explorations of power have moved away from regarding it simply as the enforcement of an

individual's will (Thurston, 2010), but an assumption often continues that power is acquired (through trade goods, violence, esoteric or technological knowledge) as a resource to be hoarded and exerted. Power might be better envisaged as a network of relationships (Schorman, 2014) and an aspect of human agency that can be transferred and invested in individuals or institutions (Wolf, 1990), often through recognition that it is better expressed through collective action (Thurston, 2010: 203). In some ways, this reflects the archaeological record of much of the European Iron Age where, rather than having been underpinned by capacity for violence, it seems to have been expressed through labor in the form of earthworks and agricultural production. Accepting power as more than exertion of force, we can move away from seeing it as transferred up or imposed down to relationships where power is dynamic and multifaceted. Within such notions "household" and "community" may not be uniform, defined or nested social entities, synchronous with settlement or house (Bruck & Goodman, 1999: 11; Harris, 2014), but scales at which power operates and entities which are frequently reformulating (cf. Wolf, 1990: 590). With these considerations in mind, it is possible to revisit the aspects regarded as evidence of hierarchy in the Late Iron Age and assess whether these might be considered as more heterarchical. Comparisons with other social forms may allow us to propose more nuanced ideas of "kingship" more akin to a "big man" (Roscoe, 2012) or Clastres' (1977) vision of a chief. Indeed, in doing so we might better explain some of the apparent idiosyncrasies of the archaeological record which hierarchical models find hard to explain, such as the limited amount of imports and the nature of large, but empty, central places, and the reasons for how these changes occurred.

Reconsidering Late Iron Age Kings as "Big Men"

Assessing whether Late Iron Age southern Britain can be regarded as heterarchical rests on re-examining our notions of Late Iron Age "kingship" (Thurston, 2010). By the end of the 1st century BC the term "*REX*" (king) was used by classical sources to identify certain individuals beyond its borders (Creighton, 2000: 170). Considering the potential for its misunderstanding or misrepresentation by Classical authors, and the pejorative nature of "king" in 1st century BC Rome (Erskine, 1991), we need to be wary of the implications and use of this term. Its use on some coinage (Figure 6.5) indicates, however, that certain Iron Age individuals in Britain adopted the term, and this evidence has been used to argue for the indication of the emergence of kingship.

What might "king" mean in this context? Some models regarded the power of these individuals as economic, controlling trade with Rome, allowing access to and distribution of resources. The presence of imports within some burials and central places was argued to be an expression of the importance of trade to

6.5. Example of Late Iron Age western inscribed coinage from Britain (with permission, The Celtic Coin Index, School of Archaeology, University of Oxford).

their status (Cunliffe, 1988: 200). Power was also, often implicitly, argued to have been accrued and expressed through violence, ensuring resources for trade could be obtained and members of society could be controlled or seek protection, whilst others could be dominated.

That control of trade was the main source of power seems unlikely. The small number of imports and focus on objects such as drinking equipment suggests the role of these individuals was not primarily as "middle men" (Fitzpatrick, 2001). Far more likely these were incorporated into displays of feasting (Hill, 2007: 27) and "gift exchange," creating social obligations between Rome and these societies (Sharples, 2007: 176). Creighton (2000) has argued the power of these "kings" was largely political, with individuals owing their status (as "client kings") to Roman political and military power. His analysis is largely based on certain coins, which appear to emphasize connections to Rome. This perspective retains the threat of force as the ultimate source of power (Creighton, 2000: 54), with these individuals establishing clientage networks.

Both perspectives argue that Late Iron Age societies were hierarchical with power underpinned by the threat of force. That violence was the main mode of obtaining and exerting power can be challenged, however. The small number of burials with weapons in Britain (Hunter, 2005) suggests that, although this could be one way of gaining prestige or demonstrating a leader's worthiness (cf. Clastres, 1977: 177; Roscoe, 2012: 42), it was only part of a complex situation. As in other societies where leaders were more akin to "big men," violence seems likely to have been on behalf of the collective (Hill, 1996: 108) rather than enforcing the power of individuals, and just one aspect of power relations.

Similarly, it need not have been the control of economic resources which represented the source of the leader's power or their aim to exploit others to

obtain it. Instead it seems more likely that their "ultimate interest was social: the pursuit of renown" (Roscoe, 2012: 48; cf. Clastres, 1977). The appearance of monumental centers (known as polyfocal *oppida*: cf. Figure 6.4) has been argued to represent the emergence of central places from which kings exerted power (Hill, 2007: 31). Many aspects of these complexes, however, may represent collective power. Despite their size, unlike urban centers or large hillforts, the resident population at many *oppida* appears to have been small, perhaps only a few hundred. Their provision of large, empty spaces implies, however, that they were for the congregation of large numbers of people. This practice seems to have been temporary, probably as some form of assembly, when the wider, dispersed community congregated to make decisions over war, negotiate relationships, adjudicate disputes, such as access to resources, or conduct communal rituals (Moore, 2017). This need not be a "king" exerting personal power but a director, similar to the role of a chief or big man, whose status is reliant on his ability to organize such events, often combining skills of oratory, negotiation and ritual (cf. Clastres, 1977: 175; Roscoe, 2012: 49). Whilst *oppida* might be permanent residences for such a "big man," that these places did not result in the coalescence of large-scale permanent populations might stress that *power over* and enforcement directly on the wider population was not the big man's or these places' role.

One of the most striking characteristics of British *oppida* is their long, outer earthworks, often encompassing huge areas (Moore, 2017). These appear to have had limited martial effectiveness, instead aimed at demonstrating the power of those who constructed them. Their form, contrasting the bounded nature of hillforts, has been argued as representing the power of individuals rather than of the community (Sharples, 2010: 173). This association may be questioned. The renown of "big men"[1] rests on their ability to organize; one way of demonstrating that is through monumental construction (Roscoe, 2012: 42). This need not have been "kings" extracting peoples' labor for their own advantage; the wider community benefitted from their inclusion in a group project which expressed collective power whilst acknowledging the role of the "king" to act as leader. Earthworks at these complexes could act as a metaphor that all participants understood. Earthworks were a "language" of labor consumption, which was widely visible in the landscape, from the scale of hillforts to small enclosures. Their form might be less about signifying a non-communal role than about allowing a large assembly of the population, who did not reside at these places, whilst acting as theatrical spheres, channeling movement to locations where power was enacted and encoded (Moore, 2017). The location of *oppida* on the periphery of existing settlement patterns (Hill, 2007) might relate less to the development of new forms of power and more to their role as neutral places outside existing social and power networks.

Other aspects of the material record can be explored in alternative ways. Coins with names on them are often used as evidence of the newly emergent power of individuals (Creighton, 2000: 31). Should we assume, however, that such coinage marked their indivisible power? For many regions, use of the term *REX* is unknown, and its usage even by its adopters was limited, perhaps because these individuals' power was assumed (Creighton, 2000: 170). An alternative is that "kingship," as understood in the classical world, was not widely recognized or desired. In some regions, such as western and eastern England, portraits of individuals on coins are uncommon, despite the presence of names (Figure 6.5). Rather than regarding such regions as peripheral, we might consider that this reflects different concepts of "leaders," which resisted symbols that equated power with an individual. The production of coins, even with names, may be less about the individual demonstrating power over those communities than a mutual acknowledgement of their power to represent those communities. Overlapping coin distributions (Leins, 2008) suggest fluid power networks with the use of different coins on the same settlement reflecting communities' willingness to engage in multiple allegiances, maximizing social stability. Participation in such networks did not simply mark the authority of kings through clientage, with individuals accruing more obligations in return for protection or gifts or allegiance to a kingdom (Moore, 2011). Power could be held by both parties, with coin use signaling affiliation to a group and individual as part of a mutual reciprocity of power.

Burials with grave goods are also seen as symbols of kingship. Discussion of similar burials elsewhere has emphasized, however, the ways in which they can symbolize the power of the individuals not as "kings" but as social organizers or as representatives of the community (McIntosh, 1995). In those regions where coinage seems to play down the individual, such as East Anglia, Western and north-eastern England, the lack of such burials may suggest a more overt desire not to express the status of the individual, emphasizing that their power was held temporarily in trust. A similar argument has been made for elaborate neck rings (torcs) from East Anglia found in votive deposits rather than burials. These may have been temporary badges of office bestowed by the community rather than permanent symbols of kingship (Hill, 2011: 256).

Explaining Late Iron Age Transformations

These alternative perspectives on the nature of power may explain the changes in the Late Iron Age. Rather than representing a stark contrast, similarities in the form of power may suggest closer links to preceding societies. Whilst Middle Iron Age (4th–1st centuries BC) societies varied across southern Britain, there is little evidence of centralized power or a hierarchy of communities (Hill, 2007: 20–21; Moore, 2007a). Whilst certain households might have

obtained greater social capital, there is little indication that any became dominant. How and why, then, did individuals who required larger central places and coinage to express their power, and that of the community, emerge? The ways in which Big Men emerged elsewhere may provide an analogy: in New Guinea "a big man could only become visible if he was able to display his organizational talent" (Roscoe, 2012: 43). In the small-scale communities of the Middle Iron Age, power was dispersed between scattered farmsteads. There was limited need or opportunity for collective displays of power. Although varied status within and between households probably existed, its physical manifestation will be hard to identify, perhaps visible only in variations in the size of earthworks around settlement. The difference in the Late Iron Age is in the scale of society. As Roscoe (2012: 45) argues, the transformer for allowing the emergence of Big Men is the density of settlements and population. Clastres (1977: 180) too argued, it is demographic changes that are most likely to unsettle existing social order. Evidence increasingly points towards an increase in settlement density and probable demographic growth from ca. 400 to 300 BC (Bevan et al., 2017). This is matched by a widespread desire to define communities through enclosure and increased settlement stability (Bradley et al., 2015; Moore, 2007b). At the same time, in many regions, communities were increasingly interconnected through the use of regional pottery and other materials (salt, querns, glass beads, iron) which were produced at centralized locations (Moore, 2007a).

By the 1st century BC, household-sized farmsteads, although still largely self-sufficient, were enmeshed in networks of exchange and relationships which extended across large geographical areas. It seems likely that previous modes of managing relationships, through the exchange of labor, for example, were insufficient to ensure stability between communities and avoid conflict. That gave rise to the opportunity for "big men" to emerge who could act as a conduit for negotiations. These need not have been in opposition to existing power frameworks but borne from them. It is likely that Middle Iron Age communities already had places in the landscape where communities could negotiate power, be they at hillforts (Lock, 2011: 360) or less archaeologically visible places, such as common land (Oosthuizen, 2016). The emergence of *oppida* in seemingly peripheral locations might be explained as the monomialization of some of those locations, as well as the creation of new ones (Moore, 2017). Locating them away from existing settlements would allow the creation of places where dispersed communities could gather without infringing on existing power relations. In such a perspective, the potential for these "kings" already existed in social capital discrepancies within existing heterarchies, but the opportunity for them to display their abilities more overtly was only made possible by the increasing population and density of settlement that emerged in the last few centuries of the millennium. The transition might be regarded as from one form of heterarchy to another rather than to a hierarchy.

Dynamism, Colonialism and "Big Men"

Recognizing that forms and expressions of power are subject to constant re-negotiation does not require contrasting internal social dynamics and external influences as drivers of change; both operated at the same time in a variety of ways. External relationships, such as with Rome, might offer individuals and communities alternative ways of obtaining and displaying prestige (cf. Wolf, 1999: 128 on potlatch). Rome, meanwhile, may have sought to engender forms of kingship which could impose power over the wider community, even if this had not existed previously (Moore, 2011). This was not an evolutionary process towards increased complexity. The variability of *oppida* or ways in which coinage was used emphasizes that societies had different expressions of power, despite the fact they were seemingly experiencing similar pressures. This both reflects existing regionality in social forms and emphasizes that this was not the result of demo-graphic determinism (Clastres, 1977: 180). The fluidity of heterarchies means that multiple networks of power are likely to have operated (including those which have previously been seen as preeminent: violence and economic control), assert-ing themselves at different times in the colonial tumult of Roman conquest.
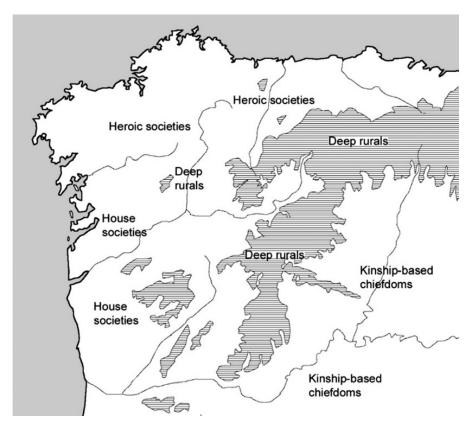
IRON AGE SOCIETIES IN NORTHWESTERN IBERIA

Northwestern Iberia represents another area where nonhierarchical social forms have been proposed and well-developed for understanding Iron Age societies. The contrast with Britain is in whether the multiplicity of models proposed can coexist under a heterarchical umbrella and if the concept of heterarchy has anything more to offer in reaffirming a challenge to the often implicit assumption of hierarchical Celtic societies.

Iron Age communities in Northwestern Iberia inhabited hillforts, known as *castros*, which were monumentalized by massive stone walls and impressive ditches, with unenclosed, lowland settlements virtually unknown. While hillforts were the only settlements in parts of the region, Southern Galicia and Northern Portugal saw the emergence of larger fortified sites, known as *oppida* after the 2nd century BC (Prieto-Martínez et al., 2017). This period has thus traditionally been defined by the term "Castro culture" which depicts a static image of pre-Roman societies from a culture-history perspective (Ayán-Vila, 2015; Fernández-Posse, 1998; Marín-Suárez, 2011b). This vision offers a homogenous representation of social organization for the entire Iron Age across the whole region. In contrast, recent accounts have emphasized social and economic diversity in both chronological and geographical terms (Ayán-Vila, 2013; González-Ruibal, 2006–2007; Marín-Suárez, 2011a; Parcero-Oubiña, 2000).

These reassessments of the archaeological record have paved the way for a more complex picture, going beyond dichotomist hierarchical/nonhierarchical views on

Late Iron Age social organization. The development of multiple interpretative models for Northwestern Iberia (Figure 6.6), which can be broadly identified as heterarchical, has led to debates that allow us to explore how archaeologists have applied anthropological analogies to understand the management of power during the Iron Age. To analyze their potential for building richer discussions on Iron Age social interpretation, it is first necessary to analyze these models and their genealogy. Following this, particularly focus will be given to the upland communities who lived in the western Cantabrian Mountains. This area demonstrates how heterarchical models can illustrate power management in small-scale communities during the Late Iron Age, and the impact of changes triggered by the expansion of Roman imperialism after the conquest of the region in 19 BC. Written sources (Costa-García, 2018) suggest that this area was home to indigenous groups reluctant to embrace Roman expansion. The apparent ferocity of these mountain communities led to arguments that they were hierarchical kinship–warrior groups (Álvarez-Peña, 2002; Schulten, 1943). By contrast, recent interpretations emphasize their nonhierarchical social organization (Marín-Suárez, 2011a; Sastre-Prats, 2008).

6.6. Late Iron Age regionalization in relation to social organization models according to González-Ruibal (2012: 255).

Diversity in Nonhierarchical Models of Later Iron Age Societies in Northwestern Iberia

Social organization of Iron Age communities in Northwestern Iberia was traditionally envisioned as an example of Celtic-warrior societies with hierarchical or pyramidal-shaped models (Bermejo-Barrera, 1981; Brañas, 1995; García-Quintela, 1993). The foundations of these hierarchical perspectives were classical sources, broadly referring to Iberian northerners or specifically to the *gallaeci*, *astures* or *cantabri*, which sometimes alluded to warrior-chiefs, alongside an uncritical assumption of the existence of a pan-European "Celtic" social model. Recently, different proposals have emerged for interpreting social structure in the Later Iron Age (4th–1st centuries BC) following debates mainly developed in British archaeology (e.g. Hill, 1995; see above). Explicit use of heterarchy as a concept has not been the stimulus for redefining Iron Age social organization in Northwestern Iberia, however. Instead, several models have emerged deriving from theoretical concepts in anthropology, philosophy or materialist theory. This diversity of interpretations has generated lively debate, with the region becoming a focus for discussion on reconstructing Iron Age social organization in Europe (Moore & Armada-Pita, 2011).

Despite these approaches, many still assume that Later Iron Age societies were hierarchical, as in the traditional "Celtic" model (e.g. Torres-Martínez, 2011), a view also held by most of the general public (González-Álvarez & Alonso-González, 2013). Other archaeologists working in Northwestern Iberia avoid addressing social organization altogether, focusing instead purely on description (e.g. Camino-Mayor, 2003; Celis-Sánchez, 1996; Villa-Valdés, 2007b). There remains significant scope, therefore, to consider how nonhierarchical approaches can be employed and whether placing societies within a heterarchical framework might challenge traditional hierarchical models.

The first attempt to generate thick description of Iron Age societies in Northwestern Iberia resulted in their characterization as "peasant communities" through a direct projection of ethnographic accounts from local, rural landscapes (dating from the 18th–20th centuries AD) onto Iron Age settlement patterns and agrarian production methods associated with hillforts (Criado-Boado, 1993; Parcero-Oubiña, 1995). Within these peasant models, some authors emphasized the relevance of warfare in hierarchical social organization (Parcero-Oubiña, 1995: 130–131).

Later critiques of these models (Fernández-Posse & Sánchez-Palencia, 1998) used similar archaeological evidence from a number of hillforts in León, which suggested relatively uniform production levels between different households and communities (Fernández-Posse & Sánchez-Palencia, 1988; Sánchez-Palencia & Fernández-Posse, 1985) and domestic architecture, to challenge notions of traditional Celtic chiefdoms and emphasize a heterarchical

management of power (Fernández-Posse & Sánchez-Palencia, 1998). Materialist social scientists such as Shanin (1972), Chayanov (1981 [1924]) and Wolf (1966), and Marxist archaeologists such as Gilman (1993; 1997) and Vicent (1991) provided the theoretical underpinning of these interpretations. Similar to the use of the Germanic mode of production in Britain (e.g. Hill, 1995; Hingley, 1984), each hillfort was regarded as having exploited their surrounding environs self-sufficiently, without an accumulation of agricultural surplus (Fernández-Posse & Sánchez-Palencia, 1998: 139–140). "Peasant families" were regarded as the basic unit of production and consumption in hillforts. The absence of substantial differentiation in house size, storage capacity per household, spatial hierarchy or differentiation in material assemblages encouraged the authors to propose a nonhierarchical social model (Fernández-Posse & Sánchez-Palencia, 1998). Specialized production, such as ironworking, took place within the local communities, without leading to differentiation within or between groups (Fernández-Posse et al., 1993). These models highlighted the absence of larger social bodies, such as states or chiefdoms, which were argued not to have emerged until the spread of the Roman Empire.

Archaeological investigations across Northwestern Iberia, particularly enhanced by increasing developer-led excavations, provided increased data to a new generation of archaeologists who were more connected to European trends in archaeological and anthropological thinking. The first impact of the new situation in the 2000s was the overturning of a unified vision of the Northwestern Iberian Iron Age. Regional diversity in the archaeological record was clearly emphasized (Ayán-Vila, 2013; Carballo-Arceo & Fábregas-Valcarce, 2006; González-Ruibal, 2006–2007; Marín-Suárez, 2011a; Parcero-Oubiña et al., 2007), and this regional diversity was translated into regionalized social organization debates (González-Ruibal, 2012).

The models proposed by Fernández-Posse were developed by Inés Sastre-Prats (2002; 2011) to understand political organization during the Later Iron Age in those regions (central and eastern Galicia, Asturias and Northern León) where large *oppida* did not emerge. Reflecting approaches used in Britain (e.g. Hill, 1995), these models defined these societies as "agrarian segmentary societies" which were self-sufficient communities divided at different levels into segments of the same size and shape among which the power was negotiated: the family/the household; the local community/the hillfort. Fission and formation of new identical segments were regarded in this model as the mechanisms by which demographic pressure or internal problems were negotiated. Similar to Hill's (1995) arguments in Britain, conflict and warfare are seen as less significant and not evidence of social hierarchy (Sastre-Prats, 2008), with the ramparts of the *castros* considered as expressions of the internal unity of each hillfort community.

In coastal areas of Northern Galicia and Asturias, where *oppida* likewise did not emerge, an alternative social form was proposed: "heroic societies" (García-Quintela, 2002; Parcero-Oubiña, 2002; 2003). Here, hillforts are of similar sizes, suggesting little social or settlement hierarchy at the landscape scale (Fábrega-Álvarez, 2005; Parcero-Oubiña, 2000). However, members of the community were probably ranked through symbols of local prestige, such as elaborate metalwork (especially torcs), owning of cattle or roles as war leaders. Several changes occurred in settlement patterns over the Later Iron Age with an intensification of agriculture compared to the Early Iron Age, which may have created more opportunities to accumulate surplus by some communities (Parcero-Oubiña, 2000; Parcero-Oubiña & Ayán-Vila, 2009).

Southern coastal areas of Galicia and Northern Portugal were in close contact with Mediterranean societies from at least the 5th century BC (González-Ruibal, 2004; 2006b). Here, *oppida* emerged as a result of processes of synoecism, acting as central places for large territories. The social organization model for these communities was proposed as a form of "house societies," following Levi-Strauss (González-Ruibal, 2006a). Monumentalized households set up the context for the reproduction of the political economy and constituted the arena for intra-site tensions and competition between families for gaining greater social capital and power, with negotiation crucial among them (González-Ruibal, 2006a: 145, 161). The ancestors played a central role in these discourses, with material devices such as statues of warriors used to claim links between families and communities with ancient referents of prestige (Da Silva, 2003; González-Ruibal, 2006a: 165).

Contrastingly, Later Iron Age communities in the mountainous areas of inner Galicia, Asturias and Northern León show a strong sense of collective self-identification. These were small autonomous groups living in small, self-sufficient hillforts showing resistance to change or external input. The anthropological model of "deep rural communities" developed for border regions situated marginally to centralized and hierarchical powers (Boehm, 1984; Jedrej, 1995) has been used to explain the archaeological traits we can identify in these areas (González-Álvarez, 2016; González-Ruibal, 2012; Marín-Suárez, 2011a). The Roman state by the end of this period and Later Iron Age "kinship-based chiefdoms" located to the south of these mountainous landscapes were centralized powers against which these groups would have reacted. *Oppida* emerged in the latter regions in the Later Iron Age, and power was controlled by local elites with shared common discourses and long-distance connections, including Rome and Carthage (Romero-Carnicero et al., 2008).

Following Pierre Clastres, some archaeologists have recently argued that the success of Later Iron Age social organization represents a reaction of "hillforts against the state" (González-García, 2017; González-García et al., 2011). Resisting the spread of central powers at supra-local territorial levels resulted
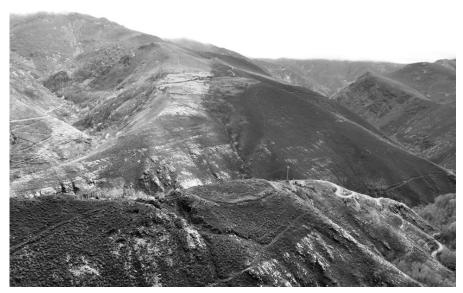
in a growing internal cohesion within the communities who inhabited the hillforts. This model proposes that warrior ideologies controlled by male elites would have helped to reinforce the communal efforts, such as building and maintaining large-scale defensive structures. Some of these emergent warriors might be related with the weapons and metalwork more common in these areas than elsewhere (Parcero-Oubiña, 2003). We cannot deny, however, that these might just as easily be communal goods (Sastre-Prats, 2011: 281) or, as argued for torcs in Britain (see above), symbols of temporary authority.

UPLAND COMMUNITIES IN THE WESTERN CANTABRIAN MOUNTAINS (NORTHWESTERN SPAIN)

The diversity of social models within Northwestern Iberia challenges us to ask: can such models coexist and to what extent do uniform terms such as segmentary societies advance our understanding of the power dynamics within and between communities? Are there, for instance, similarities between the disparate rural communities of Northwestern Iberia? Examination of a specific area, in this case the western Cantabrian Mountains, is useful for exploring how nonhierarchical societies managed power within a heterarchical frame.

Castros in the Western Cantabrian Mountains are small, with an area of less than one hectare (Figure 6.7). These hillforts constitute the basic settlement unit acting as self-sufficient cells for production and consumption, even for complex activities such as metalworking (Farci et al., 2017). There is little evidence for competition or tensions between families within these hillfort communities: there are, for example, no monumental households, and prestige goods are very scarce (Marín-Suárez, 2011a). All the domestic units are similar in size and shape, with domestic assemblages extremely similar; a similar pattern was used to argue for segmentarian communities in Western areas of León (Fernández-Posse & Sánchez-Palencia, 1998). Equally, there is evidence for strong community ties within the hillforts, such as foundation deposits within household structures seemingly related to feasts and communal celebrations, and the monumental defenses, which undoubtedly required cooperation.

The construction of ramparts around settlements is often understood to be a result of hierarchical societies and significant levels of conflict. Chiefs, however, are not the only drivers of communal labor. Instead, ramparts might represent shared experiences organized by the community (see above) that embodied collective endeavors and naturalized, through performativity, communal identities in the small *castros* of the Western Cantabrian Mountains. These efforts also represented great investments of labor and resources, which may have helped avoid internal conflicts between families or individuals. In this sense, the ramparts that define and monumentalize these small hillforts can be interpreted as material expressions of the communal strength of the group that

6.7. Os Castros hillfort in Samartín del Valledor (Ayande, Asturias, Spain) (David González-Álvarez).

built them, while manifestations of competition between families or individuals are scarce. This contrasts with the archaeological record in areas further west (see above). So, there would not necessarily be any permanent status differences between those families in the Western Cantabrian Mountains, providing a scenario where assemblies and negotiation mechanisms would be enough to manage power discrepancies. A type of stone wall peculiar to Later Iron Age hillforts in this area, the so-called "modular wall," may be significant here (Figure 6.8). These have been interpreted as the result of external influences from the Mediterranean (Camino-Mayor, 2000), denying local social dynamism. Instead, each module in the "modular walls" might be regarded as the contribution of a particular family within the hillfort to the construction and maintenance of these monumental structures (Marín-Suárez, 2011a; Villa-Valdés, 2007a), echoing arguments on communal gang labor proposed elsewhere (e.g. Wigley, 2007).

The relevance of the community in political terms and the resistance to hierarchical organization in the Later Iron Age would need to find mechanisms for self-regulation and avoiding internal tensions. So conflict and violence may have been directed towards neighboring communities, following Clastres' (1977) ideas that have been applied to Later Iron Age Northwestern Iberia (e.g. González-García, 2009; Sastre-Prats, 2008). In a landscape characterized by small but strongly monumentalized sedentary hillforts, we can consider that

6.8. Modular wall at San Chuis hillfort (Ayande, Asturias, Spain) as recovered during 1985 excavations (Prof. Francisco Jordá-Cerdá's personal archive, reproduced with permission).

warfare was a discursive referent to redirect internal problems outwards for the benefit of community integration and the mitigation of power instabilities.

We can regard these highlander groups as heterarchical, but that does not mean some individuals sometimes did not assume leadership or undertake some special responsibilities. It seems likely this would be through consent or negotiated action sanctioned by the community, similar to examples of Big Men in Papua New Guinea (Roscoe, 2012), as suggested for southern Britain above. Power would not be accumulated in the long term, or automatically transferred to other family members. In this sense, we can consider the lack of mentions in classical sources of indigenous leaders for the communities who resisted the expansion of the Roman state during the 29–19 BC military campaigns in these mountains as significant (cf. Schulten, 1943).

It seems, however, that this situation changed after the Roman conquest, when some of these charismatic leaders may have become intermediary agents in the administrative and political control of these groups. Epigraphic evidence with the mention of some "princeps" in Latin seems to imply power more directly associated with individuals emerging from their communities (Marín-Suárez & González-Álvarez, 2011; Sastre-Prats, 2001). Instead of considering these as evidence of the existence of previous hierarchical leadership, we might argue that the Romans would have identified the fluidity of heterarchical social organization in these areas and aimed to consolidate the temporary empowerment of some of these individuals with the support of Roman military and political state power, using new titles and dignities to ensure stability. A similar process took place within colonial African contexts defined

as the "indirect rule" (Crowder, 1964; Swartz et al., 1966) and was proposed for Late Iron Age Britain (Moore, 2011, see above). It might even be argued that the use of "princeps" might deliberately denote accepted authority rather than "prince" or "king," as a divine ruler.

The Roman conquest of Northwestern Iberia is a useful framework for assessing pre-Roman social organization, since indigenous social and political landscapes – and their diversity within the region – had an impact on the ways cultural change took place. Recently, postcolonial views on this historical process (González-Ruibal, 2003) have challenged traditional approaches. Previous reflections often considered regional diversity in this process only in relation to different economic interests for the Roman state, the geographical characteristics or the economic constraints within different areas (Fernández-Ochoa & Morillo-Cerdán, 2015). However, the diversity in which the Roman province was coproduced in relation to the regional diversity of existing Later Iron Age social organization is a line of enquiry yet to be fully explored (Marín-Suárez & González-Álvarez, 2011). In this sense, the way that the highlanders of the Western Cantabrian Mountains faced the Roman conquest, reflected by the classical sources as being the most ferocious, desperate and difficult for the Roman army to control, may point to the lack of central authority or elites with which the Roman state could negotiate. This is in contrast to other areas of Northwestern Iberia where deals were signed with elites representing larger communities (Peralta-Labrador, 1993), or where conflict is not apparent (Costa-García, 2018). A similar process of resistance to external conquest witnessed in the Western Cantabrian Mountains can be observed within some of the societies from which the original interpretations of "deep rural communities" emerged in Africa (Jedrej, 1995) and Montenegro (Boehm, 1984; 1993) (Figure 6.9).

Later Iron Age Societies in Northwestern Iberia: A "Heterarchical Umbrella"?

Recent developments in Iron Age studies have produced an intense debate with several detailed models that address the ways in which societies in Later Iron Age Northwestern Iberia organized themselves. Discussions on social organization have opened promising lines of inquiry that go beyond the mere characterization of these societies as "heterarchical" or presenting a dichotomist opposition to traditional hierarchies. These debates have not uniquely depicted non-pyramidal representations of Later Iron Age societies; instead, we have now a deeper knowledge about these communities and better research questions for future investigations aimed at understanding the social mechanisms that structure power.

The diverse theoretical backgrounds of different scholars involved in Later Iron Age research in Northwestern Iberia and the different anthropological and

6.9. Roman stele of NICER CLUTOSI, *princeps* of the Albioni (Wikimedia Commons).

ethnographic analogies used have produced a wide variety of models for this region. Are all these models or labels accurate or justified? There is no doubt that it is important to recognize that some of these proposals question the validity of the others. More importantly, these discrepancies should be linked to the fact that archaeology in Northwestern Iberia is actually dealing with the mechanisms and exploring the processes involved in the flow of power within the communities that inhabited hillforts. If we move aside from simple labels, we are likely to find more common traits and converging assumptions than differences between these societies, regarding aspects such as the communal social value of hillfort ramparts, the absence of overarching territorial power structures, or the ritualized way in which warfare and conflict worked within the Later Iron Age landscapes. Going beyond mere labels and developing thick description can help us emphasize that heterarchies offer a more complex reality than a simple black box for placing nonhierarchical societies.

Another substantial factor in the development of these discussions has been the recognition of regional diversity during the Later Iron Age in

Northwestern Iberia. The abundant use of anthropological and ethnographic analogies in close attention to the archaeological record has been fundamental in allowing archaeologists to understand regionalization and deconstruct the previous, static "Castro culture" (Marín-Suárez, 2011b). This has opened prospective paths for alternative ways to consider later processes such as the Roman conquest and the cultural, political and economic change which started after this conflict. In this sense, exploring the internal diversity of heterarchies has helped archaeologists connect regionality in material culture or settlement patterns with other sociological traits that better characterize Later Iron Age societies.

CONCLUSIONS

By arguing that the ways in which power was manifest in Iron Age societies varied in these two regions, we have emphasized that heterarchy is more than simply a rejection of hierarchy. Its benefit lies in leading us to consider the place of power in these societies and more nuanced explanations for transformation and change. Rather than a shift from one social model to another, which requires internal collapse or an external transformer, shifting dynamics in heterarchies mean change might often come out of, draw on, or transfigure existing power relations. The use of the big man analogy to re-examine kingship in Late Iron Age Britain and linking regional diversity to different social organization models in Northwestern Iberia are just some attempts to demonstrate that heterarchy can be used to create thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) on the ways in which power operated. We are not arguing for the conflation of different societies into one nonhierarchical model but suggesting that heterarchy and social competition are not mutually exclusive, and that social complexity does not require triangular hierarchy.

Recognizing the diverse ways in which power worked in heterarchical societies, our aim has not been to draw direct comparison between Northwestern Iberia and Britain, although they undoubtedly show some strong affinities. As research in Northwestern Iberia demonstrates, the ways in which power operated need to be explored in their own context. Similarities between them do emphasize, however, that Iron Age societies often sought to limit expressions of power by the individual. Often, even when the individual appears more clearly, there appear to have been mechanisms to moderate the ways in which they held power. Rather than all, in Clastres' term, "societies against the state," these societies developed ways in which complex social organizations could flourish in nonhierarchical forms. Far from reflecting the peripheral nature of the Northwestern Iberian and British Iron Age, it is likely that forms of heterarchy were widespread across Europe.

Concepts of heterarchy have much to offer, not as a shorthand for egalitarian societies but as a way of conceiving how elements of society relate to each other and the power dynamics between them. To return to the title of our chapter, despite the usefulness of Clastres' (1977) "societies against the state," heterarchy has something of an advantage in offering a less binary approach to power, not regarding the "state" as uniform or setting up a dichotomy between "primitive society" and the "state." Its use in other disciplines reminds us that we should explore how heterarchy can develop from hierarchy (Crumley, 2015), turning the socio-evolutionary trajectory on its head, and examine the place of heterarchy within what appear at first glance to be hierarchies.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

NOTES

1   While using the anthropological concept of 'big men' societies, it should be remembered that power in Iron Age societies was not determined by gender.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Álvarez-Peña, A. (2002) *Celtas en Asturias*. Gijón, Picu Urriellu.

Ayán-Vila, X. M. (2013) Todo queda en casa: Espacio doméstico, poder y división social en la Edad del Hierro del North-western de la península ibérica. In S. Gutiérrez-Lloret & I. Grau-Mira (eds.) *De la estructura doméstica al espacipo social. Lecturas arqueológicas del uso social del espacio*, 39–56. Alicante, Universidad de Alicante.

Ayán-Vila, X. M. (2015) Territorios en fuga: estudios críticos sobre las fortificaciones de la Edad del Hierro del Noroeste. In O. Rodríguez, R. Portilla, J. C. Sastre, & P. Fuentes (eds.) *Fortificaciones en la Edad del Hierro: Control de los recursos y el territorio*, 31–50. Valladolid, Glyphos.

Bermejo-Barrera, J. C. (1981) La función guerrera en la mitología de la Gallaecia antigua. Contribución a la sociología de la cultura castreña. *Zephyrus* 32–33, 263–275.

Bevan, B. 1999. *Northern Exposure: Interpretative Devolution and the Iron Age in Britain*. Leicester, Leicester Monograph 4.

Bevan, A., College, S., Fuller, D., et al. (2017) Holocene fluctuations in human population demonstrate repeated links to food production and climate. *Proceedings National Academy of Sciences of the USA* 114 (49), E10524-E10531.

Boehm, C. (1984) *Blood Revenge. The Anthropology of Feuding in Montenegro and other Tribal Societies*. Lawrence, University Press of Kansas.

Boehm, C. (1993) Egalitarian behavior and reverse dominance hierarchy. *Current Anthropology* 34 (3), 227–254.

Bradley, R., Haselgrove, C., Vander Linden, M., & Webley, L. (2015) *The Later Prehistory of North-Western Europe: The Evidence of Development-Led Fieldwork*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Brañas, R. (1995) *Indíxenas e Romanos na Galicia Céltica*. Santiago de Compostela, Librería Follas Novas.

Bruck, J. & Goodman, M. (1999) Introduction. In J. Brück & M. Goodman (eds.), *Making Places in the Prehistoric World: Themes in Settlement Archaeology*. UCL Press, London, 1–19.

Camino-Mayor, J. (2000) Las murallas compartimentadas en los castros de Asturias: bases para un debate. *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 73, 27–42.

Camino-Mayor, J. (2003) Los castros de la Ría de Villaviciosa: contribución a las interpretaciones de la Edad del Hierro en Asturias. *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 60, 159–171.

Carballo-Arceo, L. X. & Fábregas-Valcarce, R. (2006) Variacións rexionais nas sociedades pre e protohistóricas galaicas. In R. Álvarez, F. Dubert, & X. Sousa (eds.) *Lingua e Territorio*, 67–91. Santiago de Compostela, Consello da Cultura Galega.

Celis-Sánchez, J. (1996) Origen, desarrollo y cambio en la Edad de Hierro de las tieras leonesas. In *ArqueoLeón. Historia de León a través de la arqueología*, 41–67. León, Junta de Castilla y León.

Chayanov, A. (1981) [1924] Sobre la teoría de los sistemas económicos no capitalistas. In *Chayanov y la teoría de la economía campesina*, 49–79. México DF, Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Clastres, P. (1977) *Society against the State (trans. by Robert Hurley)*. Oxford, Blackwell.

Collis, J. (2000) "Celtic" *oppida*. In M. H. Hansen (ed.) *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures. An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre*, 229–240. Copenhagen, CA, Reitzels Forlag.

Collis, J. (2007) The polities of Gaul, Britain and Ireland in the Late Iron Age. In C. Haselgrove & T. Moore (eds.) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, 523–528. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Costa-García, J. M. (2018) Rediscovering the Roman Conquest of the North-Western Iberian Peninsula. In M. Fernández-Götz & N. Roymans (eds.) *Conflict Archaeology: Materialities of Collective Violence from Prehistory to Late Antiquity*, 141–151. New York, Routledge.

Creighton, J. (2000) *Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Criado-Boado, F. (1993) Límites y posibilidades de la arqueología del paisaje. *SPAL* 2, 9–55.

Cripps, L. (2007) Resituating the Iron Age in Cornwall and Devon: New perspectives from the settlement record. In C. Haselgrove & T. Moore (eds.), *Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, 140–155. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Crowder, M. (1964) Indirect rule: French and British style. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 34 (3), 197–205.

Crumley, C. (1979) Three locational models: An epistemological assessment for Anthropology and Archaeology. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 2, 141–173.

Crumley, C. (1995a) Heterarchy and the analysis of complex societies. *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 6, 1–5.

Crumley, C. (1995b) Building an historical ecology of Gaulish polities. In B. Arnold & D. B. Gibson (eds.) *Celtic Chiefdom, Celtic State: The Evolution of Complex Social Systems in Prehistoric Europe*, 26–33. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Crumley, C. (2015) Heterarchy. In R. A. Scott & S. M. Kosslyn (eds.) *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences: An Interdisciplinary, Searchable, and Linkable Resource.* Hoboken, Wiley.

Cunliffe, B. (1984) *Danebury. An Iron Age hillfort in Hampshire. Vol 2.* York, CBA Research Report 52.

Cunliffe, B. (1988) *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians.* London, Batsford.

Cunliffe, B. (1991) *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (3rd ed.). London, Routledge.

DeMarrais, E. (2013) Understanding heterarchy: Crafting and social projects in pre-Hispanic northwest Argentina. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 23 (3), 345–362.

Demoule, J.-P. (1999) Chronologie et société dans les nécropolis celtiques de la culture Aisne-Marne du VIe au IIIe siècle avant notre ère. *Revue Archeologie de Picardie* Numero special 15.

Erskine, A. (1991) Hellenistic monarchy and Roman political invective. *The Classical Quarterly* 41 (1), 106–120.

Fábrega-Álvarez, P. (2005) Tiempo para el espacio. Poblamiento y territorio en la Edad del Hierro en la comarca de Ortegal (A Coruña, Galicia). *Complutum* 16, 125–148.

Farci, C., Martinón-Torres, M., & González-Álvarez, D. (2017) Bronze production in the Iron Age of the Iberian Peninsula: The case of El Castru, Vigaña (Asturias, North-western Spain). *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 11, 338–51.

Fernández-Götz, M. (2014) *Identity and Power: The Transformation of Iron Age Societies in Northeast Gaul.* Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

Fernández-Ochoa, C. & Morillo-Cerdán, A. (2015) La romanización atlántica: modelo o modelos de implantación romana en el noroeste peninsular. *Portugalia, Nova Série* 36, 183–197.

Fernández-Posse, M. D. (1998) *La Investigación Protohistórica en la Meseta y Galicia.* Madrid, Síntesis.

Fernández-Posse, M. D., Montero-Ruiz, I., Sánchez-Palencia, F. J., & Rovira-Llorens, S. (1993) Espacio y metalurgia en la Cultura Castreña: La zona arqueológica de Las Médulas. *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 50, 197–220.

Fernández-Posse, M. D. & Sánchez-Palencia, F. J. (1988) *La Corona y El Castro de Corporales II.* Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura (Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España 153).

Fernández-Posse, M. D. & Sánchez-Palencia, F. J. (1998) Las comunidades campesinas en la Cultura Castreña. *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 55, 127–150.

Fitzpatrick, A. (2001) Cross-Channel exchange, Hengistbury Head, and the end of hillforts. In J. Collis (ed.) *Society and Settlement in Iron Age Europe. Actes du XVIIIe colloque de l'AFEAF, Winchester 1994*, 82–97. Sheffield, JR Collis Publications.

Fortes, M. & Pritchard, E. E. (1940) *Introduction.* In M. Fortes & E. E. Pritchard (eds.) *African Political Systems*, 1–24. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

García-Quintela, M. V. (1993) Viriato y la ideología trifuncional indoeuropea. *Polis: Revista de ideas y formas políticas de la Antigüedad clásica* 5, 111–138.

García-Quintela, M. V. (2002) *La Organización Socio-Política de los Populi del Noroeste de la Península Ibérica: Un Estudio de Antropología Política Histórica Comparada.* Santiago de Compostela, Laboratorio de Arqueoloxía e Formas Culturais (TAPA 28).

Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, 3–30. New York, Basic Books.

Gilman, A. (1993) Cambio cultural y contacto en la Prehistoria de la Europa mediterránea. *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 50, 103–111.

Gilman, A. (1997) Cómo valorar los sistemas de propiedad a partir de los datos arqueológicos. *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 54, 81–92.

González-Álvarez, D. (2016) *Poblamiento y Antropización de la Montaña Occidental Cantábrica Durante la Prehistoria Reciente: Una Aproximación desde la Arqueología del Paisaje.* Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (PhD dissertation available at: http://eprints.ucm.es/39363/).

González-Álvarez, D. & Alonso-González, P. (2013) The "Celtic-Barbarian Assemblage": Archaeology and cultural memory in the Fiestas de Astures y Romanos, Astorga, Spain. *Public Archaeology* 12 (3), 155–180.

González-García, F. J. (2009) Between warriors and champions: Warfare and social change in the later prehistory of the North-Western Iberian Peninsula. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 28 (1), 59–76.

González-García, F. J. (2017) Exploring alternative pathways to social complexity in the European Iron Age: The Northwestern Iberian peninsula as a case study. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 27 (2), 295–311.

González-García, F. J., Parcero-Oubiña, C., & Ayán-Vila, X. M. (2011) Iron Age Societies against the State: An Account of the Emergence of the Iron Age in North-western Iberia. In T. Moore & X. L. Armada-Pita (eds.) *Atlantic Europe in the First Millennium* BC: *Crossing the Divide*, 285–301. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

González-Ruibal, A. (2003) Restoring Ontological Security: Roman and Native Objects in Early Roman Gallaecia (North-western Iberia). In G. Carr, E. Swift, & J. Weekes (eds.), *TRAC 2002: Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, 29–47. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

González-Ruibal, A. (2004) Facing two seas: Mediterranean and Atlantic contacts in the North-West of Iberia in the First Millennium BC. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 23(3), 287–317.

González-Ruibal, A. (2006a) House societies vs. kinship-base societies: An archaeological case from Iron Age Europe. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 25 (1), 144–173.

González-Ruibal, A. (2006b) Past the last outpost: Punic merchants in the Atlantic Ocean (5th–1st centuries BC). *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 19 (1), 121–150.

González-Ruibal, A. (2006–2007) *Galaicos: Poder y Comunidad en el Noroeste de la Península Ibérica (1200 a.C. – 50 d.C.).* A Coruña, Museu Arqueolóxico e Histórico Castelo de San Antón (Brigantium; 18–19).

González-Ruibal, A. (2012) The politics of identity: Ethnicity and the economy of power in Iron Age northern Iberia. In G. Cifani & S. Stoddart (eds.) *Landscape, Ethnicity and Identity in the Archaic Mediterranean Area*, 245–266. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Harris, O. (2014) (Re)assembling communities. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 21, 76–97.

Haselgrove, C. & Moore, T. (2007) New narratives of the Later Iron Age. In C. Haselgrove & T. Moore (eds.), *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, 1–15. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Hill, J. D. (1989) Re-thinking the Iron Age. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 6, 16–24.

Hill, J. D. (1995) How should we understand Iron Age societies and hillforts? A contextual study from Southern Britain. In J. D. Hill & C. G. Cumberpatch (eds.) *Different Iron Ages. Studies on the Iron Age in Temperate Europe*, 45–66. Oxford, Tempvs Reparatvm (BAR International Series 602).

Hill, J. D. (1996) Hillforts and the Iron Age of Wessex. In T. Champion & J. Collis (eds.), *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, 95–116. Sheffield, Sheffield University Press.

Hill, J. D. (2006) Are we any closer to understanding how later Iron Age societies worked (or did not work)? In C. Haselgrove (ed.) *Celtes et Gaulois, l'Archéologie face à l'Histoire, 4: les mutations de la fin de l'âge du Fer. Actes de la table ronde de Cambridge, 7–8 juillet 2005*, 169–179. Glux-en-Glenne: Bibracte, Centre archéologique européen.

Hill, J. D. (2007) The dynamics of social change in Later Iron Age eastern and south-eastern England c 300 BC - AD 43. In C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds.) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, 16–40. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Hill, J. D. (2011) How did British Middle and Late Pre-Roman Iron Age societies work (if they did)? In T. Moore & X. L. Armada-Pita (eds.) *Atlantic Europe in the First Millennium BC. Crossing the Divide*, 242–263. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Hingley, R. (1984) Towards a social analysis in archaeology: Celtic society in the Iron Age of the upper Thames valley. In B. Cunliffe & D. Miles (eds.) *Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain*, 72–88. Oxford, OUCA Monograph 2.

Hunter, F. (2005) The image of the warrior in the British Iron Age. Coin iconography in context. In C. Haselgrove & D. Wigg-Wolf (eds.) *Iron Age Coinage and Ritual Practices*, 43–68. Mainz, Verlag Phillip Von Zabern (Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike band 20).

James, S. (1993) *Exploring the World of the Celts*. London, Thames and Hudson.

Jedrej, M. C. (1995) *Ingessana: The Religious Institutions of a People of the Sudan-Ethiopian Borderland*. Leiden, Brill.

Jordá-Pardo, J. F., Rey, J., Picón, I., Abad, E., & Marín-Suárez, C. (2009) Radiocarbon and chronology of the Iron Age hillforts of northwestern Iberia. In R. Karl & J. Leskovar (eds.) *Interpretierte Eisenzeiten. Fallstudien, Methoden, Theorie. Tagungsbeiträge der 3 Linzer Gespräche zur interpretativen Eisenzeitarchäologie*, 69–86. Linz, Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum.

Karl, R. (2011) Becoming Welsh: Modelling first millennium BC societies in Wales and the Celtic context. In T. Moore & X. L. Armada-Pita (eds.) *Atlantic Europe in the First Millennium BC Crossing the Divide*, 336–357. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Kohring, S. & Wynne-Jones, S. (2007) *Socialising Complexity: Structure, Interaction and Power in Archaeological Discourse*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Kohring, S. (2012) A scalar perspective to social complexity: Complex relations and complex questions. In T. L. Kienlin & A. Zimmerman (eds.) *Beyond Elites: Alternatives to Hierarchical Systems in Modelling Social Formations*, 327–338. Bonn, R. Habelt.

Leins, I. (2008) What can be inferred from the regional stylistic diversity of Iron Age coinage? In D. Garrow, C. Gosden, & J. D. Hill (eds.) *Rethinking Celtic Art*, 100–112. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Lock, G. (2011) Hillforts, emotional metaphors and the good life: A response to Armit, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 77, 355–362.

Marín-Suárez, C. (2011a) *De nómadas a castreños. Arqueología del primer milenio antes de la era en el sector centro-occidental cantábrico*. Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (PhD dissertation available at: http://eprints.ucm.es/14435/).

Marín-Suárez, C. (2011b) La Edad del Hierro en el occidente cantábrico: de la cultura arqueológica al grupo arqueológico. *Férvedes* 7, 123–132.

Marín-Suárez, C. & González-Álvarez, D. (2011) La romanización del Occidente Cantábrico: de la violencia física a la violencia simbólica. *Férvedes* 7, 197–206.

McIntosh, S. (1995) Pathways to complexity: An African perspective. In S. McIntosh (ed.) *Beyond Chiefdoms. Pathways to Complexity in Africa*, 9–30. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Moore, T. (2007a) Perceiving communities: Exchange, landscapes and social networks in the later Iron Age of western Britain. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 26(1), 79–102.

Moore, T. (2007b) The early to later Iron Age transition in the Severn-Cotswolds: enclosing the household? In C. Haselgrove & R. Pope (eds.) *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the Near Continent*, 259–278. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Moore, T. (2011) Detribalizing the later prehistoric past: Concepts of tribes in Iron Age and Roman studies. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 11(2), 334–360.

Moore, T. (2017) Alternatives to urbanism? Reconsidering oppida and the urban question in Late Iron Age Europe. *Journal of World Prehistory* 30(3), 281–300.

Moore, T. & Armada-Pita, X. L. (2011) Crossing the divide: Opening a dialogue on approaches to Western European first millennium BC studies. In T. Moore & X. L. Armada-Pita (eds.) *Atlantic Europe in the First Millennium BC. Crossing the Divide*, 3–77. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Mytum, H. (2018) The Iron Age today. *Internet Archaeology* 48.

Oosthuizen, S. (2016) Beyond hierarchy: Archaeology, common rights and social identity. *World Archaeology* 48 (3), 381–394.

Parcero-Oubiña, C. (1995) Elementos para el estudio de los paisajes castreños del Noroeste peninsular. *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 52, 127–144.

Parcero-Oubiña, C. (2000) Tres para dos. Las formas de poblamiento en la Edad del Hierro del Noroeste ibérico. *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 57, 75–95.

Parcero-Oubiña, C. (2002) *La construcción del paisaje social en la Edad del Hierro del Noroeste ibérico*. Ortigueira, F. M. Ortegalia.

Parcero-Oubiña, C. (2003) Looking forward in anger: Social and political transformations in the Iron Age of the north-western Iberian Peninsula. *European Journal of Archaeology* 6 (3), 267–299.

Parcero-Oubiña, C. & Ayán-Vila, X. M. (2009) Almacenamiento, unidades domésticas y comunidades en el Noroeste prerromano. In R. García-Huerta & D. Rodríguez-González (eds.), *Sistemas de almacenamiento entre los pueblos prerromanos peninsulares*, 367–422. Cuenca, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha.

Parcero-Oubiña, C., Ayán-Vila, X. M., Fábrega-Álvarez, P. & Teira-Brión, A. M. (2007) Arqueología, Paisaje y Sociedad. In F. J. González-García (ed.) *Los pueblos de la Galicia céltica*, 131–258. Madrid, Akal.

Pauketat, T. (2007) *Chiefdoms and Other Archaeological Delusions*. Lanham, Altamira Press.

Peralta-Labrador, E. (1993) La tesera cántabra de Monte Cildá (Olleros de Pisuerga, Palencia). *Complutum* 4, 223–226.

Prieto-Martínez, M. P., Álvarez-González, Y., Fernández-Götz, M. A., et al.(2017) The contribution of Bayesian analysis to the chronology of Iron Age north-western Iberia: New data from San Cibrán de Las (Galicia, Spain). *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 16, 397–408.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. (1940) Preface. In M. Fortes & E. E. Pritchard (eds.) *African Political Systems*, xi–xxiii. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Romero-Carnicero, F., Sanz-Mínguez, C., & Álvarez-Sanchís, J. R. (2008) El primer milenio A.C. en las tierras del interior peninsular. In F. Gracia-Alonso (ed.) *De Iberia a Hispania*, 649–731. Madrid, Ariel.

Roscoe, P. (2012) Before elites: the political capacities of Big Men. In T. L. Kienlin & A. Zimmerman (eds.), *Before Elites: Alternatives to Hierarchical Systems in Modelling Social Formations*, 41–54. Bonn, Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH.

Rouse, J. (2006) *Power/Knowledge*. In G. Gutting (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*, 95–122. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Ruiz-Zapatero, G. (2009) Casas, comunidades y tipos de sociedad en el área céltica de la Peninsula Ibérica. In M. C. Belarte (ed.) *L'espai domèstic i l'organització de la societat a la protohistòria de la Mediterrània Occidental (Ier mil·leni aC)*, 225–243. Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona.

Sánchez-Palencia, F. J. & Fernández-Posse, M. D. (1985) *La Corona y El Castro de Corporales I. Truchas (León)*. Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura (Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España 141).

Sastre-Prats, I. (2001) *Las Formaciones Sociales Rurales de la Asturia Romana*. Madrid, Ediciones Clásicas.

Sastre-Prats, I. (2002) Forms of social inequality in the Castro Culture. *European Journal of Archaeology* 5 (2), 213–248.

Sastre-Prats, I. (2008) Community, identity, and conflict. Iron Age warfare in the Iberian northwest. *Current Anthropology* 49 (6), 1021–1051.

Sastre-Prats, I. (2011) Social inequality during the Iron Age: Interpretation models. In T. Moore & X. L. Armada-Pita (eds.) *Atlantic Europe in the First Millennium* BC. *Crossing the Divide*, 264–284. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Schorman, E. M. (2014) Networks of power in archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 43, 167–182.

Schulten, A. (1943) *Los cántabros y astures y su guerra con Roma*. Madrid, Espasa-Calpe.

Shanin, T. (1972) *The Awkward Class. Political Sociology of Peasantry in a Developing Society: Russia 1910–1925*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Sharples, N. (2007) Building communities and creating identities in the first millennium BC. In C. Haselgrove & R. Pope (eds.) *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the Near Continent*, 174–184. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Sharples, N. (2010) *Social Relations in Later Prehistory. Wessex in the First Millennium* BC. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

da Silva, A. C. F. (2003) Expressões Guerreiras da Sociedade Castreja. *Madrider Mitteilungen* 44, 41–50.

Souvatzi, S. (2007) Social complexity is not the same as hierarchy. In S. Kohring & S. Wynne-Jones (eds.) *Socialising Complexity: Structure, Interaction and Power in Archaeological Discourse*, 37–59. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Swartz, M. J., Turner, V. W., & Tuden, A. (1966) Political anthropology: An introduction. In M. J. Swartz, V. W. Turner, & A. Tuden (eds.) *Political Anthropology*, 1–41. Chicago, Aldine Publishing.

Thurston, T. (2010) Bitter arrows and generous gifts: What was a king in the European Iron Age? In T. D. Price and G. Feinman (eds.) *Pathways to Power. New Perspectives on the Emergence of Social Inequality*, 193–254. New York, Springer.

Torres-Martínez, J. F. (2011) *El Cantábrico en la Edad del Hierro. Medio Ambiente, Economía, Territorio y Sociedad*. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia (Bibliotheca Archaeologica Hispana 35).

Tullett, A. (2010) Community – finding the middle ground in studies of prehistoric social organisation. In M. Sterry, A. Tullett, & N. Ray (eds.) *In Search of the Iron Age. Proceedings of the Iron Age Research Student Seminar 2008*, 61–82. Leicester, Leicester Archaeology Monograph.

Vicent, J. M. (1991) Fundamentos teórico-metodológicos para un programa de investigación arqueo-geográfica. In López, P. (ed.) *El Cambio Cultural del IV al II Milenios a.C. en la Comarca Noroeste de Murcia, vol. I*, 31–117. Madrid, CSIC.

Villa-Valdés, A. (2007a) El Chao Samartín (Grandas de Salime) y el paisaje fortificado en la Asturias Protohistórica. In P. Moret & L. Berrocal-Rangel (eds.), *Paisajes fortificados en la Protohistoria de la Península Ibérica*, 191–212. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia.

Villa Valdés, A. (2007b) Mil años de poblados fortificados en Asturias (siglos IX a.C.–II d. C.). In J. Fernández-Tresguerres (ed.) *Astures y romanos: nuevas perspectivas*, 27–60. Oviedo, RIDEA.

Weber, M. (1978) *Economy and Society. Trans./edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich.* Berkeley, University of California Press.

Wigley, A. (2007) Rooted to spot: the "smaller enclosures" of the later first millennium BC in the central Welsh Marches. In C. Haselgrove & T. Moore (eds.) *Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, 173–189. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Wolf, E. (1966) *Peasants*. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall.

Wolf, E. (1990) Distinguished lecture: Facing power-old insights, new questions. *American Anthropologist* 92, 586–595.

Wolf, E. (1999) *Envisioning Power. Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis*. Berkeley, University of California Press.