2006
lisboa
uispp
XVcongresso

Conceptualising Space and Place

On the role of agency, memory and identity in the construction of space from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Iron Age in Europe

C41 - The creation of 'significant places' and 'landscapes' in the Northwestern half of the Iberia, during Pre and Proto-historic times. Theoretical, recording and interpretation issues from case studies in this region
C72 - Space, Memory and Identity in the European Bronze Age

Edited by

Ana M. S. Bettencourt
M. Jesus Sanches
Lara B. Alves
Ramon Fábregas Valcarce

THE INNER SCENOGRAPHY OF DECORATED NEOLITHIC DOLMENS IN NORTHWESTERN IBERIA: AN INTERPLAY BETWEEN BROAD COMMUNITY GENEALOGIES AND MORE LOCALIZED HISTORIES

Maria de Jesus SANCHES

Department of Heritage Studies (DCTP), Faculty of Arts, University of Porto (FLUP), Portugal,
Researcher of CEAUCP (Centre for Archaeological Studies of Coimbra and Porto Universities)
Email: msanches@vianw.pt.
http://crastomurca.com.sapo.pt/; http://crastopalheiros.com; http://www1.ci.uc.pt/iauc/cea/

*Abstract: This text discusses the process of construction-use-closure of decorated dolmens in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula. The "decoration" is perceived as one of the aspects of collective social negotiation underlying the construction of the monument. In fact, the construction and decoration reflect the maintenance, recreation and alteration of specific memories, identities and ideologies in the Neolithic communities of the region. Each monument contains a specific inner scenography that is anchored in the scenographic, mythographic and ideological traditions of the wider region.**
Keywords: dolmens; northwestern Iberia; architectonic construction; idea motif/graphic motif; social differentiation

INTRODUCTION

This article examines the motifs used in decorated dolmens in northwest Iberia during the process of building, usage and closure, approached from an anthropological and contextual perspective.

It focuses upon 57 monuments, listed in Table 1.1, which were the object of a recent study (Sanches, 2005; Sanches, 2006) that emphasised the location of the decorated slabs within their original archaeological and architectonic context (as they are inseparable from the monument's "architectonic body"[1]). That study concentrated upon the inner megalithic structures (chambers and corridors) of the monument and access structures such as interior passages and atriums. The present work, however, takes account of the whole construction, including the mounds, and structures already mentioned.

The actions involved in the "building-use–closure" sequence of the different decorated and undecorated dolmens only become significant if understood as collective social actions, which acquired increased architectonic and ideological expression during the Neolithic period (in this region, as in other parts of Europe).

By emphasizing the collective character of the social action, I wish to emphasise that these monuments were shared *loci* of collective negotiation, a negotiation that would have had a direct effect on both community and individual life. The megalithic monument, including the dolmen, represents above all an investment by the Neolithic communities, a kind of excess (manifested in the effort required to construct the tomb, and manufacture and deposit the artefacts), redirected towards the rituals connected to the construction and use of these sites. These had multiple purposes, as we shall describe here.

There were various different actions, or *coordinated action sequences*, connected to these megalithic monuments, which seem to have functioned as collective memory devices, whose essence appears to lie in the accurate fulfilment of a precise intention, manifested at a particular time and place (i.e. during the physical existence of the people involved in the construction of the monument and at the site where it is built). The action was therefore performed by the people involved in the ritual and naturally required the participation of the whole community as a social entity.

The creation and usage of engraved, painted or "sculpted" images on the megalithic structure of the dolmen (its "decoration") would have been part of that specific intention, manifested in a particular way in each monument. That is to say, in each "present", the "architecture" and "drawings" were linked in a particular manner in order to achieve a desired "fusion" between past and future, as I have argued in a recent paper (Sanches, 2006). Indeed, for the Chalcolithic and Neolithic communities (agricultural and pastoral communities) of the period between the end of the 5th and * the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC, * the memory (i.e. the Past, as a retained and continuously recreated element by the present) would have been undoubtedly present. In this, I am drawing closely on T. Ingold's "relational model" (as opposed to the "genealogical model") of indigenous societies. In his words (Ingold, 2000: 143), "the fact that deceased persons are no longer present does not mean that they belong to a past that has been irrevocably left behind,

---

* This text was translated to English by Karen Bennett.
[1] Consequently, that study (Sanches, 2006), and also this text, have excluded all decorated slabs whose location inside the dolmen is unknown. Both are based upon "Public Lesson" presented at the Faculty of Letters, University of Oporto on * 10th *January * 2006 in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Aggregation in the Department of Heritage Studies (DCTP), Faculty of Arts.
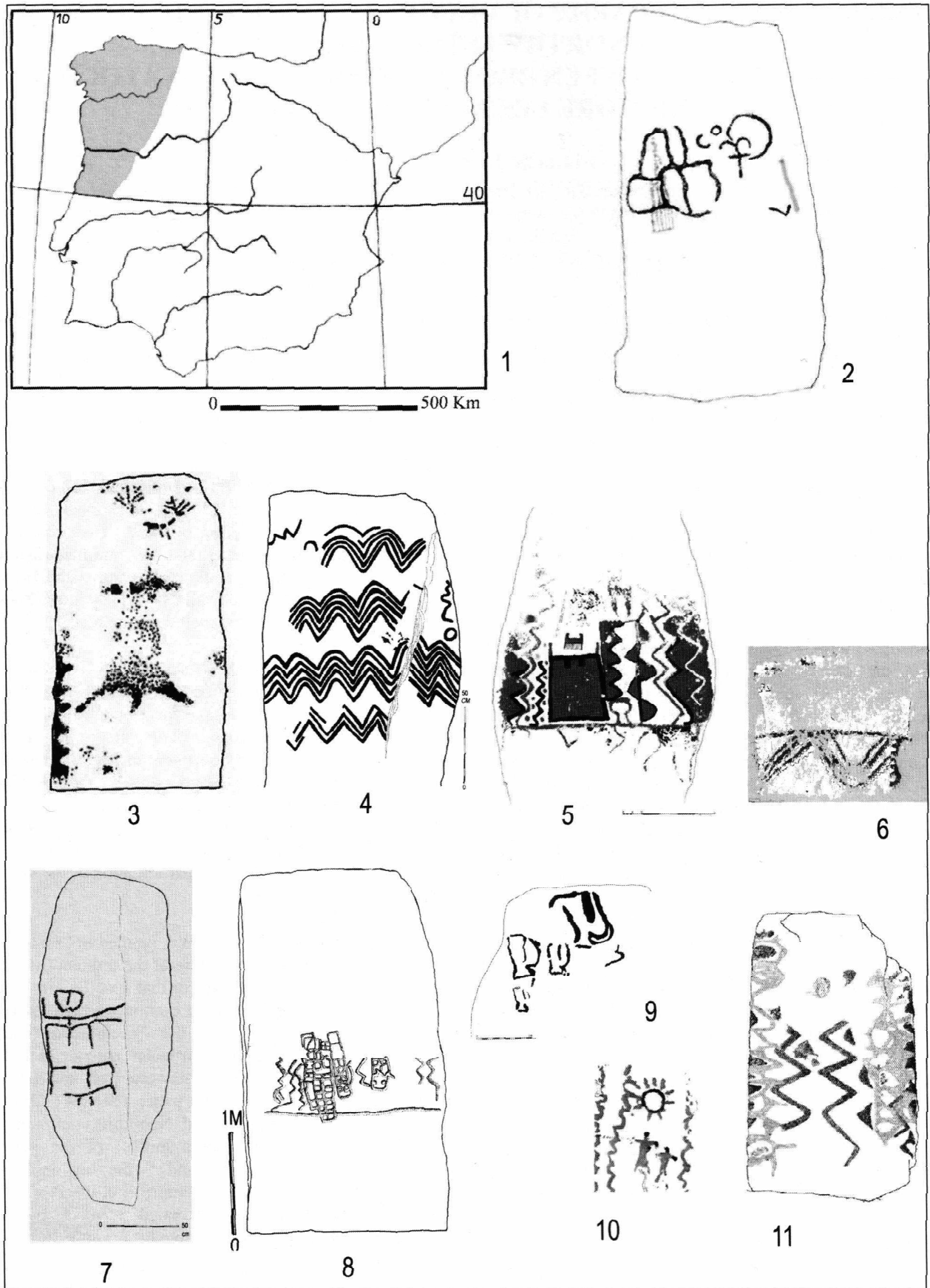
Fig. 1.1. 1- Iberian peninsula – the study area is marked in grey; Backstones: 2- Madorras 1 (Vila Real); 3- Orca dos Juncais (Viseu); 4- Portela do Pau 2 (V. Castelo); 5- Antelas (Viseu); 7-Picoto do Vasco (Viseu); 8- Areita (Viseu); 9-Chã de Parada 1 (Porto); 11-Capilla Sta Cruz (Oviedo). Passage: 6- Dombate (Coruña). 10- Orthostat of Padrão (Porto)
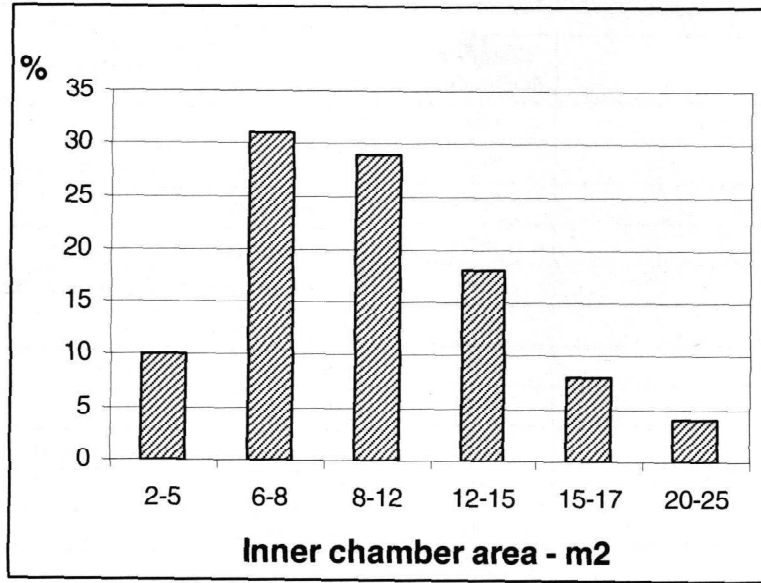
Tab. 1.1. Chamber Height

| Monument	Chamber height (cm)
Dólmen de Vale da Cabra	140
Mamoa 3 do Rapido	150
Dólmen 11 de Espiñaredo	155
Chan de Castiñeiras 2	160
Mamoa do Taco 1	160
Alviada 1 -Escariz 2	167
Mamoa 1 do Castelo (dólmen)	170
Dólmen 4 de Alagoas	178
Anta da Arcã	180
Antela da Portelagem	180
Dolmen 1 de Penausem	180
Mamoa 7 do Alto das Madorras	180
Mamoa da Eireira	180
Pedra da Moura 1	180
Dólmen de Lamoso	190
Mamoa 3 de Chã de Parada	190
Lobagueira 4 (ou Mamoa 1 da Lameira do Fojo)	198
Dólmen da Sobreda	200
Mamoa V de Chã de Arcas	200
Pala da Moura de Vilarinho da Castanheira	200
Dólmen de Rozas de Modias A	205
Mamoa 2 do alto da Portela do Pau	205
Casa da Moura de Zedes	210
Orca de Picoto do Vasco	210
Dólmen de Chão Redondo 2	220
Dólmen do Fontão	220
Dólmen do Juncal	220
Pedra da Moura	220
Capilla de Santra Cruz	225
Forno dos Mouros	234
Anta de Mamaltar de Vale de Fachas	250
Antelas	250
Orca de Forles	250
Dólmen da Arquinha da Moura	258
Dólmen da Barrosa (Lapa dos Mouros)	280
Fonte Coberta da Chã de Alijó	280
Orca dos Juncais	290
Casota do Paramo	295
Dólmen 1 de Chã de Parada	300
Dólmen da Pedralta	300
Orca de Corgas da Matança	300
Orca de Cortiçô de Algodres	300
Casa da Orca da Cunha Baixa (Casa da Moura)	320
Grande dólmen de Dombate	330
Casa dos Mouros de Dumbria	350
Dólmen de Areita	350
Madorras 1	350
Orca de Santo Tisco (Mina dos Mouros)	350
Orca do Tanque	350
Pedra Coberta	380
Dólmen de Carapito 1 (Casa da Moura)	440
Chã de Castiñeiras 1	?
Dólmen de Chão do Brinco 2	?
Dólmen do Padrão	?
Mamoa 1 de São Romão do Neiva	?
Mamoa da Braña	?
Mamoa do Rei	?

but rather that they have departed from the living, along a path that takes them to what is often conceived as another land. Co-presence may be temporally bounded, but existence not. (...) the past may be absent for the present but it is not extinguished by it. (...) Thus, far from calling for the replacement of one generation by another, death affirms the continuity of the progenerative process. Life (…) is itself intrinsically temporal". Thus, each "present" only includes the future to the extent that each action is always "prospective"; i.e. "the life of every being (...) contributes at once to the progeneration of the future and to the regeneration of the past (Ingold, 2000:143).

Assuming that these megalithic monuments were collective constructions with a public nature in their character, they also created private areas, secret spaces for ritualistic functions, which would have been spatially and socially restricted (Sanches, 2005; 2006; Jorge, V. 1997). However, in my opinion, not enough attention has been given to the sequence of public acts (i.e. when the building process began and how it proceeded) that culminated in the erection and subsequent use of the monument. We may suppose that the whole community would have had more or less unrestricted access (i.e. irrespective of gender, age, or other restrictions) to these more public sequences of actions and events. On the other hand, after the placement of the chamber and corridor slabs, the construction of the *tumuli* and entrance leading to the interior (and the subsequent almost total sealing-off of the whole edifice), the interior of the dolmen would only have been accessible via a narrow entrance (at least, in most cases) (Fig. 1.2). Thus, access to the interior of the dolmen and its drawings (or "decoration") will have been restricted to a small select group of people, as has been argued by several authors.

Throughout this text, I will use the term "monument" to refer to the whole construction, including the *tumulus* (mound) and other structures, such as chambers, corridors, antechambers, atriums, etc.

Graph 1.1. The area of the inner chambers of 49 decorated dolmens from northwest Iberia
(those where calculation of the inner areas was possible)
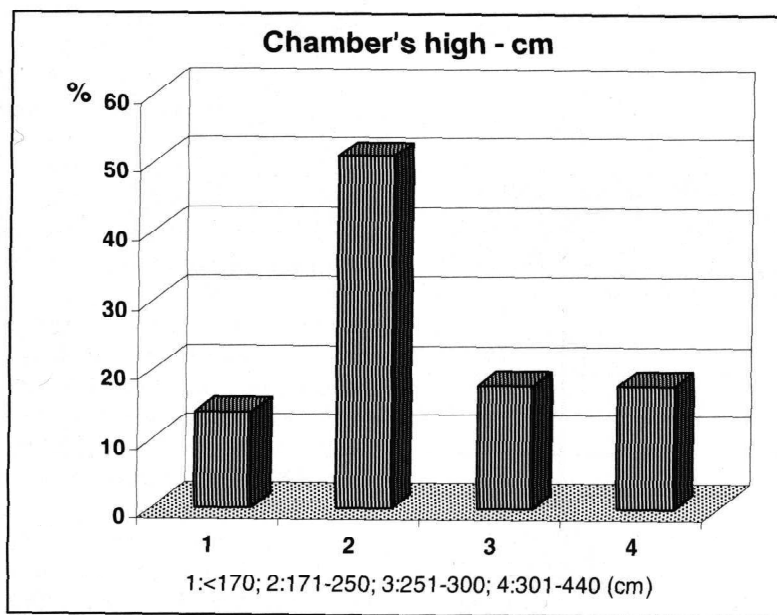
Graph 1.2. Chamber Height

THE DOLMENS OF NORTHWEST IBERIA

The chambers of dolmens in northwestern Iberia with iconography are generally quite small.[2] In area, they are really very tiny: 38% of these chambers would only be able to hold three to eight people at the same time; 50%

could hold about ten, and in 12% of them, more than ten people would fit (Graph 1.1). But even if the internal rituals were open to a larger number of people (as would theoretically have been the case with the large decorated dolmens of Carapito 1, Orca da Cunha Baixa, Dombate and Madorras 1, which could hold more than ten people), that number would always be relatively small compared to the number of people that would have been involved since the beginning of the construction of the monument, up to the placing of the capstone(s) on the chambers and access corridors.

Of course, this estimation of the number of people that would be able to fit and move around inside the dolmen is

[2] Undecorated dolmens also vary greatly in size. Indeed, a comparison of decorated and non-decorated dolmens is required on both regional and local levels in order to assess occasional differences and/or similarities between them and establish the extent to which size is a differentiating factor amongst decorated dolmens in the context of a necropolis or region. While decorated dolmens appear to be larger in size in some necropolises (Bueno e Balbin, 2006: 178), elsewhere this is not the case (Sanches, 2006; 2006).

merely methodological, since the dolmens were not physically "empty" spaces, but rather "containers" – containers of corpses, or corpses parts, bone heaps and diverse "artefacts", which would also have limited the presence and movement of people inside. For instance, the dolmen Arquinha de Moura (Tondela), in addition to a large quantity of human bones (Silva, A.M. 1995; Cunha, 1995), also contained several dozen axes, arrow heads, blades and ceramic containers (personal observation).

Moreover, in many cases, the height of the chamber also limits the number of people able to fit and move around inside, and their ability to perceive the motifs on the slabs.

As is shown in Graph 1.2 and Table 1.1, it is not possible to move around in an upright position in 14% of the chambers, obliging those inside to constantly stoop (eg. at Mamoa 3 of Rapido and at Mamoa of Taco 1). In most chambers (51%), it is possible to move around with ease if there are few people inside.[3] This case is particularly true inside dolmens with chambers that are between 1.70 and 2 metres high (Mamoa V of Chã de Arcas, Mamoa of Eireira, Dólmen of Lamoso) (Sanches, 2005; 2006). These chambers belong to the second category (see Graph 1.2). However, in the same category we also include those movement-friendly chambers, which may reach 2.50 metres in height (Casa da Moura de Zedes, Pala da Moura de Vilarinho da Castanheiro, Forno dos Mouros, Antelas, etc). 18% (cat. 3) reach 3.00 metres in height, such as in the Dolmen of Barrosa, Dólmen 1 of Chã de Parada, Casota do Paramo, Fonte Coberta da Chã de Alijó, Orca dos Juncais, Dólmen da Pedralta, etc. Another 18% have heights between 3.00 and 4.40 metres (Casa da Orca da Cunha Baixa, Areita, Dombate, Madorras 1, Carapito 1, etc). These last ones also have larger areas (between 14 and 25 m^2), making the chambers wider. These chambers would have certainly allowed for a greater number people and "memory-objects" (corpses, instruments, etc.) to be inside, or even used for ritualistic activities where mobility was a key factor.

Consequently, one idea to consider in our approach to the decorated dolmens directly relates to the degree of collective participation implied in the construction of the monument, and also the evaluation and acceptance of specific iconographies placed on the exterior as well as in the interior of chambers and corridors. Following the completion of the dolmen, the social and physical restrictions upon the access to its interior, would have been far greater than those imposed during the building process.

The construction of these megalithic monuments (*tumulus* and dolmen) would have required evaluation, choices and negotiation concerning the shape, colour and origin of the

stones used in each part of the dolmen (not to mention the effort required in finding, loading and bearing earth and rock to the construction site) (Sanches, 2005; 2006; Carrera, 2006; Bueno & Balbin, 2006), and about the kinds of drawings to be placed on different parts of the slabs used in the chambers, corridors and other access structures (Sanches, 2006). After the completion of the construction process, these drawings (those that we already mentioned) will only be accessible to the people who would perform, or were included in the execution of rituals inside monument. Indeed, in some cases, the drawings would have remained "eternally" on the back or side part of the stones used in the chamber, corridor or mound – Mamoa do Castelo 1 (Fig. 1.2). In fact, the monument as a whole, whether decorated or not, would certainly have been undertaken as a collective enterprise in which various aspects of power would have been negotiated on different levels, through the memory embodied in this particular action. It is, ultimately, a performance and an investment that each community uses to its own advantage, exploiting its ancestral heritage as a resource.

Thus, theorically, many members of the community (or its subgroups) would have participated in the construction of decorated dolmens and even in some of the choices regarding the drawings ("idea drawings" / "memory drawings") considered suitable for that particular dolmen. However, at the same time, these individuals, or subgroups, would have certainly accepted not being able to participate in all of the aspects of the construction or iconographic processes. Thus, it is my belief that any dolmen (or monument) reveals specific traces of collective negotiation, which would have created or reinforced status differences between individuals or groups within the community.

In northwest Iberia, the dolmen manifests a specific intention relating not only to the general purpose (which could have been to mobilize the group in the construction of a space that would evoke the presence of the ancestors, within the worldview of that community) but also serving a particular circumstantial purpose related to the community's "ordinary life". All dolmens appear similar in their general architectural design (or, at least, that is how they appear); however, it is what distinguishes/ differentiates them that interest us here. Those distinguishing features are not merely architectural details, but also involve a sequence of actions and a particularly timeframe in relation to the construction and usage of each monument; as I have tried to show in the diagram concerning Mamoa 1 do Castelo (Fig. 1.2). The same happens with the iconography. The motifs, whether recurrent or isolated, the way they are arranged and the order in which they were inserted into the structure as a whole, will be generate a specific creation for each particular dolmen.

In a recent work, I gave particular emphasis to the dynamic relationship between the iconography and the

---

[3] In an earlier article (Sanches, 2006: 138) I indicated a percentage of 57% based upon documentation gathered mostly from publications. The figures presented here are more reliable, since the height of some chambers has been confirmed *in situ*.

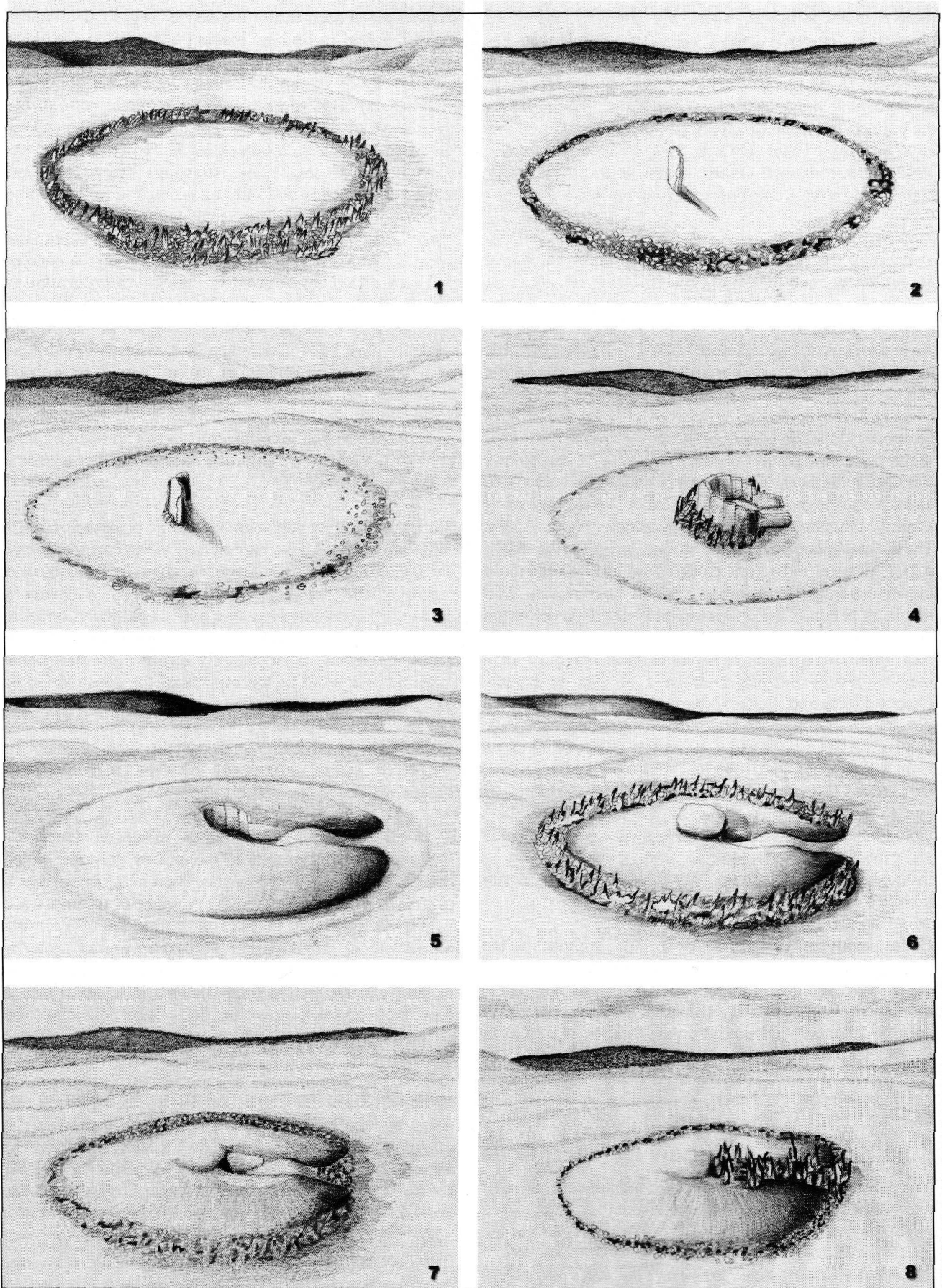Fig. 1.2. Schematic representation of the process of construction-use-closure of Mamoa do Castelo 1 (Jou, Murça)
(see Annex. 1)

architecture of dolmens, suggesting that different discourses would have emerged from this combination that would be particular to each one. It would mostly have been planned at the outset, although this does not mean that every collective action relating to the construction and decoration of the dolmens would have been conscious. Rather, I am suggesting that such actions would have involved a blend of tradition (of which they may have been largely unaware) combined with the intention to create something new, which would have operated in precise circumstances.

In this text, I shall take a different approach, focusing upon the geographical distribution of the drawings or graphic motifs found within the interior of the dolmens; i.e., the geographical distribution of dolmens "containing" or "not containing" particular types of painted and/or engraved motifs. In this way, I hope to assess these Neolithic communities' dependence on tradition and on a cosmogony that may have been shared with communities over a broader regional level than their immediate territory of "ordinary life". I will also assess the degree to which specific populations reinvented or updated that cosmogony (on the local or regional level) by comparing the motifs found in each dolmen with those spread across geographically restricted areas.

Firstly, however, it is necessary to clarify some concepts, such as art (megalithic art), since the process of "architectonic construction", which takes place over a considerable time span, is indicated in the building-use-closure of Mamoa 1 do Castelo (Fig. 1.2), (Sanches *et all*, 2005). In any case, this concept will be brought up again, as understood within the context of the small-scale agro-pastoral societies of northwest Iberia responsible for the construction of the dolmens.

MEGALITHIC ART

An "aesthetic" approach to megalithic and pre-historic art seems to be of little use to our purposes for reasons already discussed by other archaeologists and anthropologists (V. Jorge, 1997; Bradley, 1997; Morphy, 1994; Gell, 1998; Ingold, 2000). Although these reasons vary between authors, they all agree that the "sculptures" and images of indigenous ("primitive") peoples, which we tend to perceive as visual "works of art", do not have that status in the societies that made them, nor would that concept have existed in pre-history. Indeed, the concept of art as a superior expression of the spirit of a culture developed specifically as a result of western philosophy and the importance attributed to the individual artist by Romanticism. Such a concept, essentially aesthetic, has never been recorded in societies studied by Anthropology, even though records were only taken after European colonization. This does not mean, however, that the indigenous communities would not have negotiated the acceptability of a work of art (which to some extent may be considered "aesthetic" judgments). Those perspectives,

and decisions about whether or not to accept certain isolated motifs or configurations, would have been generated within a cultural and social system, and it is this cultural and social system that "has to be elucidated" in the words of A. Gell (1998:2). The same anthropologist also claims that those stateless societies would, nevertheless, have had some kind of "institutional" bodies that would have performed a similar role to western institutions (such as museums, galleries, critics, etc) that attribute "aesthetic value" to each work. "Works of art", in the stateless indigenous communities studied by anthropology are generally integrated into actions of a social nature, such as barter (exchange, gift–exchange) or diverse rituals regulated by norms. That is to say, there will exist some hierarchical value system according to which works will be accepted or rejected, and even classify in terms of their perceived value. In each culture, therefore, there exists a sort of "ideational system", which is of course always changing. However this argument does not definitively explain the role that each work would have performed in its context of production and circulation. Drawings or engravings, as physical objects, penetrate specific contexts of action, where they perform an active role in social relations. It is this role that needs to be understood, since that function varies with different contexts, even within the same society.

Alfred Gell emphasises the need to understand art within a system of action or actions "intended to change the world rather than encode symbolic propositions about it" (1998:6), and he calls this system "agency". Along similar lines, the anthropologist Tim Ingold (2000) also perceives the paintings and masks created by Australian "totemic" societies and the drawing and masks of "animistic" societies of the northern circumpolar region as elements integrated into social actions designed to "dwell" the word according to a specific world view. Like Gell, he claims that the power of "art" does not reside in the fact that it expresses a more or less codified system of communication or conduct, but rather in the contribution that it makes to the development of social life within a framework in which life has significance. That is to say, he emphasises both *action as intention* and *action as a means of regulating both* individual and collective life. To my mind, that action is based on continuity (which we could call a "system"), though, nevertheless, incorporating change. The meaning of life, the "principles of existence" (Ingold, 2000: 112) vary, accordingly, to the ontology of the community concerned.

For this reason, anthropological studies have often been used, since the beginning of the 19th century, to interpret archaeological records, particularly of pre-historic societies. Despite accepting or denying the structuralist assumption that there are "non empirical" unconscious mental models underlying the conception and formal organization of "images/symbols" in pre-historic art (Leroi-Gourhan, 1971), I will focus here on the ways by which the images from megalithic monuments in

northwest Iberia would have been intentionally included in the "construction-usage-closure" process.

Although these drawings do not follow the linear rules of verbal language, we believe that they have however semantic value (Gell, 1998:6), producing discourses that are theoretically as arbitrary as the performances they embody (Derrida, 1978: 282 op. Cit. de Corby et all., 2006:369). They function like the legends and stories of the oral tradition, which are constantly being retold *without the necessary existence of an "orthodox" version* (Corbey *et all*, 2006: 370); each story is told anew in accordance with the place, the audience and the intentions of the people performing the ritual.

Recently Lucia Rosas (2007, withdraw) has argued, "...iconography generates iconography and generates compositions, and is therefore not only the artistic expression of a text". This specialist in Medieval art and architecture describes how representations of St Christopher (patron saint of travel, both physical and spiritual) have been subjected to iconographic crafting throughout Middle Ages. Even when these representations closely follow the "orthodox" Gospel narrative, they may differ widely in terms of quantity of motifs displayed, and in terms of the addition or subtraction of new motifs (icons), while the attribution of new "powers" to the saint, may serve to make the original narrative much more complex.

Likewise, the specific motifs to be painted or engraved (as well as a sacred history) become active markers of permanence or change, depending upon how they are told or arranged, and upon the rhythms and timings given to the narrative. They may either maintain or alter *the status quo* represented by the role that a particular "primeval narrative" plays in the social group. This interplay between permanence and change involves both the performance and the collective evaluation of the manipulated objects (graphic elements, tools, building stones, etc).

We should, however, remember that all societies *have a clear notion of how a story should be told* (Layton, 1991 2ª), *just as they will understand the accepted way to build a dolmen*. Although many individuals would never have the chance to participate in the construction of a dolmen, since the average life span of Neolithic man was only 25 to 30 years, the elders of the community would retain this knowledge and transmit it to next generations.

Telling a "genealogical history", thereby evoking the past in the present, and/or building a dolmen, may be understood as elements of collective knowledge or "habitus" (Bourdieu, 1984, op. Cit. from Corby *et all.*, 2006). In this study, the process of building dolmens in northwest Iberia and the iconographic decoration of those monuments is understood as a part of the same general "overarching performance" or "discourse".

The context, *index* (repertoire of available motifs) and the interrelations between these two aspects in the building process will be key factors to consider. Behind the "narrative and intention" underlying each dolmen, there will be a communication system that at least some of the group members (the elders?) would have understood. This system may of course change over time, within each community. If we return to the different medieval representations of Saint Christopher, we notice that the system itself is not static, but instead continuously incorporates new elements and new meanings. Thus, the great variety of motifs used in dolmens, and the great diversity of spatial arrangements, may only be understood in this way.

At this point, it should be explained that the term "art" is applied to the engravings, paintings and proto-sculptures of megalithic monuments only as a default expression; likewise, I shall continue to use the traditional terms "decorated" and "undecorated dolmens", despite the fact that the designs found inside them cannot in any way be considered "decoration" as such.

THE PROCESS OF BUILDING AND DECORATING DOLMENS IN NORTHWEST IBERIA

Most of the dolmens in the northwest of the Iberian peninsula did not undergo structural transformations during their period of usage, though there are *some cases* in which one monument covered another, *incorporating it*. This is the case of Dombate, where the primitive monument (Dombate 1, an undecorated dolmen) is doubly closed by being "submerged" in the *tumulus* of Monument 2 (Dombate 2 or "the Great Dolmen of Dombate") (Bello, 1994; 1996). A similar situation occurred with Forno dos Mouros 5 (Fabregas & Vilaseco, 2006:18). This is very important if we consider that, in *most cases, the laying of the backstone seems to represent* the "founding act", and that all subsequent structures, including architecture and drawings, would have implied a degree of social activity, to some extent, planned.

There are even some cases, like Cotogrande 1 (Vigo) (Fabregas & Vilaseco, 2006:15) where a single undecorated stone orthostat forms the mound's inner structure; this orthostat was initially placed on the edge of a pit in the centre of the mound, and was subsequently and intentionally knocked down. In other cases, such as Mamoa da Pereira 1 (Sanches & Botelho, 1990-91), a single undecorated stone orthostat was placed upright on the ground in the centre of the Mound. In both cases, there was no plan or intention to build a dolmen. However we gave these but these examples to illustrate the fact that the "founding act" (rooted to the funerary tradition of these Iberian Neolithic populations (c. De 4300– 2800 A.C.), resided in the act of placing a vertical slab in the approximate centre of the space where the tumulus was to be built. However, I reiterate, each dolmen would have

resulted from a "particular plan"[4] prepared in accordance with the community's worldview, and with techniques of building and decorating accepted by the community as a whole, or by those who had the power to evaluate innovation.

Fig. 1.2 shows the various steps involved in the process of building, deposition, engraving and closure of Mamoa 1 do Castelo (Sanches, *et all*, 2005). The use of fire in selected areas of the construction and during the closure process is noteworthy. Other recently excavated monuments, such as Mamoa da Alagoa (Sanches et al, 2004), Dólmen do Picoto do Vasco (Cruz, 2001), Dólmen de Areita (Gomes, *et al.*, 1998), Madorras I (Gonçalves e Cruz, 1994), Chão Redondo 2 (Santos, F. *et al.* in this vol.), also show that the building-use-engraving/painting-closure process in each case manifests a particular program, specific to that monument. However, as described below, when there is a dolmen, the first stone to be placed in the ground is usually the backstone, in some cases preceded by fires of local vegetation.

We should also point out that many drawings are made at the beginning of the construction process and become invisible later on. This has been registered on the backstones of the dolmens Mamoa do Castelo 1, Cortiçô de Algodres Dolmen (Cruz, 1993, a) and Orca da Cunha Baixa (Vilaça & Cruz, 1990). In other cases, other orthostats, excluding backstones, were also engraved before or during the "architectonic arrangement" of the dolmen. Examples of this are: orthostat C2 of Casa dos Mouros de Dumbria (Carrera, 2005:549); orthostat C6 of Anta do Meixoeiro (Carrera, 2006:82); two orthostats in Dombate's chamber (depicting representations of "the thing") and the orthostat on the right side of the backstone in the chamber at Chão Redondo (Santos, F. *et al.* in this vol.). Many backstones show evidence of shaping and smoothing on both faces, such as Capilla de Santa Cruz (Blas, 1997). There seem to have been cases, though rare, in which motifs were repaired, or slightly altered, during the chamber's lifespan (Antelas, Forno dos Mouros) (Carrera, 2006:107); however, further research is required on this matter, as I have recently pointed out (Sanches, 2006).

Returning to the matter of the chamber's height (see point 2 above), where we concluded that it was not possible to stand upright in 14% of chambers (as in Vale da Cabra, Espiñaredo or Rapido), we may suppose that their iconographies might have been made during construction or, at least, before the placement of the capstone. On the other hand, in the decorated corridors of Alagoas 4, Lobagueira 4 and Chão Redondo 2, it is also not possible to stand upright or to move around (the

corridors are narrow). Although it would have been theoretically possible to have painted and/or engraved the motifs from a sitting or lying position, it is more likely that they were placed there before the corridors lintels were laid.

To summarise, then, it seems clear that the designs that appear in certain parts of the monument would have been made during the course of the building process, and, in the specific situations described above, would have preceded the placement of the corridor and chamber capstones. In every case, the drawing process would have been observed and evaluated by many members of the community or by some of its subgroups (depending on gender, age, etc.), in accordance with a process through which the access to such iconographies (and/or their semantic value) may socially distinguish certain individuals or social segments.

Likewise we can also assume that some of the painted or engraved motifs woud have been amongst the "first artifacts" to be placed on the monument during the construction process. Just like what happens with the axes the axes, arrow heads, quartz crystals, *débitage* tools, quartz and flint knapping waste, millstones, ceramic pots, necklaces, etc, these motifs tell a story as well, a story which has been organised with a particular purpose.

Thus, the iconographic motifs and "objects" together form "a series of networks of significance, involving places, the personal histories of people, substances, skills and symbolic references" (Thomas, 1996:159). The deposition would have been negotiated amongst the community, or at least amongst certain subgroups within it. This, then, is likely to be the *loci* where social distinctions were manifested, between those who participated in, and were permitted to see the deposition of artefacts and iconographic motifs, and those who were barred.

To conclude, the building-use-engraving/painting-closure process should be regarded as a *process of social segregation* for the maintenance and activation of order and collective memory. Changes introduced are mimetically prefigured during performances involved in the construction and use of a megalith, basically linked to this tradition. P. Bueno & R. Balbin (2006) put forward this idea of social hierarchization, with which I concur, though they concentrate their analysis on the presence of the anthropomorphic figure (anthropomorph-sun; anthropomorph-stele) on certain parts of the dolmen and in the representation of "hunting scenes". Without denying the crucial role played by the anthropomorphic figure in many dolmens, it is my belief that one of the main complexities of these monuments derives from the overlapping of different graphic discourses. These graphic discourses are mostly based upon geometrical motifs and a general geometrical layout of the areas of representation, and should be understood as closely related to particular parts of the dolmen.

---

[4] There are, of course, many *tumuli* in northwest Iberia that do not have dolmens in their interior. However, the act of placing a vertical orthostat in the earth, at the start of the construction process, is a technical and conceptual procedure that is deeply rooted in regional tradition. This first orthostat always seems to form the backbone of the dolmen structure.

Within a phenomenological perspective, the significance of the otherwise ambiguous graphic discourse is to some extent fixed by the constraints that the architecture imposes upon the movement of people within the chambers and the positions that they are obliged to assume. Hence, the graphic motifs and/or compositions, when interpreted in conjunction with the architecture as a whole, may be perceived as a way of hierarchically ordering the internal space of the dolmens, as I have argued in recent works (Sanches, 2005; 2006).

THE INDEX ICONOGRAPHIC MOTIFS: THEIR DISTRIBUTION INSIDE THE DOLMENS, AND DOLMEN GEOGRAPHIC DISPERSION AROUND NORTHWEST IBERIA

Initial considerations

The graphic motifs painted and/or engraved on dolmens should not be perceived as discrete isolated elements; rather, they should be interpreted together as integral parts of graphic "compositions" with "composite meanings". Hence, we can find compositions on the scale of the individual slab, whether located inside or outside the dolmen, and also compositions on the scale of the dolmen as a whole. The dolmen is therefore understood as a three-dimensional space.

This text will focus on two important aspects that complement the phenomenological analysis described above (Sanches, 2005; Sanches, 2006). Firstly, following an exhaustive inventory of the kinds of motifs found on dolmens in northwest Iberia and their specific location inside and outside the chambers, I have attempted to establish (using a structuralist analysis) whether any basic recurring pattern of organization could be identified, even on a very broad level. This could indicate the presence of an underlying "ideational system" or general dolmen mythography, shared to different degrees (from the point of view of its significance as "genealogical history") by all the peoples occupying the region. If such a graphic organization were to be detected, it could constitute a methodological starting point for a *regional* or even *local* level exploration of procedures and habits shared by the Neolithic people of this region. That is to say, I expect to identify common procedures or ways of acting amongst communities, rooted in the *habitus* (regionally shared genealogies), alongside local ways of dynamically linking local community identities to those broader regional ones. I have thus attempted to detect an underlying ideology that would be manifested not only in the presence or absence of certain motifs (idea motifs), but also by the position that these occupied within the dolmen.[5]

---

[5] V.O. Jorge (1997) has already used this methodology in a similar way on a smaller sample of megalithic monuments, while P. Bueno e R. Balbín (2003) has undertaken a more general study of megalithic art extending across the whole of the Iberian peninsula, which uses other analytical parameters.

Analysis of the iconography of dolmens in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula

The following parts of the chambers were considered (Table 1.2): A – the rear of the chamber (this includes motifs found only at the very back), i.e. the backstone and the two orthostats on either side of it; B – backstone (motifs found only on the backstone); C – right half of the chamber (motifs found only on the right hand side), i.e. motifs found in the right half but excluding the backstone; D – left half of chamber (motifs found only on the left half), i.e. motifs found on the left half, excluding the backstone; E – backstone and left half of chamber (motifs found on the left hand side and on the backstone); F – backstone and right half of the chamber (motifs found in the right half and on the backstone); G – chamber (motifs found anywhere in the chamber). As regards the corridor, the chart given below merely indicates the presence of motifs in this area, without distinguishing between left and right locations.

The first observation to be made, which does not figure in the chart, is that there is no statistical difference between the number of motifs found on the left and right hand sides of monuments, when taken as a whole. However, as regards the variety of motifs, there is a much greater diversity on the left hand side. Thus, if we exclude the rear of the chamber (the backstone and two orthostats that flank it), the monuments of northwest Iberia are distinguished by a wide range of different motifs on the left-hand side, as V.O. Jorge (1997) also inferred during the study of a smaller number of monuments.

Table 1.3 "Index of motifs and their geographic distribution across northwest Iberia" will be discussed together with the results expressed in Chart 1.2.

It should be pointed out that there are few motifs that are exclusive to dolmens. Those that are include the *skin skeuomorph*, *"the thing"*, *"comb"*, *vertical band of triangles/lozenges / squares* and *banded (boxed) serpentiform / zigzag motifs*. The rest also appear in open-air art (paintings and/or engravings) across the region (northwest Iberia). Thus, it would be interesting to explore the extent of local or regional expression of the motifs also found in open-air art (as we have attempted to do in Table 1.3 with regards to dolmen art). The same methodology may be used to explore possible "recurrences" or associations between dolmen and open-air art, using a perspective similar to that developed by P. Bueno and R. Balbin in Spanish Extremadura (2000). These authors have detected similar associations of motifs in open-air and dolmen art, and suggest that this may reveal the existence of mythographies shared between the different communities in those regions. These mythographies would have been graphically "encoded" in a similar way, whether they were placed on rocks in the open air or were inside dolmens.

Table 1.2: The Index: repertoire of motifs and their spatial distribution within the chambers of dolmens in the northwestern Iberian Peninsula

A	t	B	t	C	t	D	t	E	t	F	t	G	t
												"the thing"	6
												simple rectangle/ square	6
												wooden rake » (4)	10
												anthropomorph »	10
												single Us or Vs	9
												boxed Us or Vs	4
												circle »	14
												penannular circle	9
												"stars" (4)	3
												vertical straight lines »	15
												horizontal straight lines »	16
										concentric circles	5		
												isolated zigzag line	6
												single wavy line	13
												meandering line »	11
												complex meandering figure	7
										unboxed parallel wavy / zigzag lines » (9)	7		
												banded (boxed) wavy / zigzag lines »	17
												single cupmark	7
												grouped cupmarks	7
												grid (1)	2
												vertical band of triangles/ lozenges	3
												Horizontal band of triangles/lozenges »	2
												coloured dots »	3
												anchor-like motif	3
												others » (5)	16
								sawtooth motif	6				
										concentric circles	5		
								skin skeuomorph	4				
								stag with antlers	2				
								trapezoidal figure	3				
								plaque (6)	2				
								crook	3				
								zoomorphic figure (2)	3				
										"suns"(8)	8		
						bow » (a)	1						
						fishbone	1						

A	t	B	t	C	t	D	t	E	t	F	t	G	t
moon/crescent	1			*moon/crescent*	1					*moon/crescent*	1		
				"eyes"	2					*"eyes"*	3		
radial lines and outer circle	1	*radial lines and outer circle*	1										
"comb"	1	*"comb"*	1										
tree motif	1	*tree motif*	1										
triangle	1	*triangle »*	1										
phallic anthropomorph	4					*phallic anthropomorph*	2						
rectangular idol	5			*rectangular idol*	3								
segmented square / rectangle	3			*segmented square/rectangle*	1			*segmented square/rectangle »*	3				
circle plus cupmark (7)	2							*circle plus cupmark (7)*	1				

A- Motifs exclusively found at the rear of the chamber: backstone; orthostats to the right and left of backstone; B- Motifs found exclusively on the backstone; C- Motifs found exclusively in the right half of the chamber, excluding the backstone; D- Motifs found exclusively in the left half of the chamber, excluding the backstone; E- Motifs found on the backstone and on the left side of the chamber; F- Motifs on the backstone and right half of the chamber; G- Motifs found anywhere in the chamber (including the passage): these are marked with a ».

T- this refers to the total number of dolmens containing motifs in that position (not the total number of motifs).

1) *Grid* – Horizontal band of triangles/lozenges
2) *Zoomorphic figure* – general (all kinds of zoomorphic figures, except stag with antlers)
3) *Stars* – dot/cupmark with radial lines, or radiating lines from an imagined point
4) *Wooden rake* – figure consisting of a base line joined to a series of parallel vertical lines
5) *Others*– diverse abstract motifs
6) *plaque* – formalized rectangular figure
7) *Circle with cup mark* – Circle with a central cupmark
8) *"Suns"*- circles with radiating lines
9) In two dolmens, these were only found in the passage. This motif appears in 9 dolmens.
(a) This also appears in the passage of Dolmen 4 in Lobagueira.

Table 1.3: Index of motifs and their geographic distribution within northwest Iberia

A- Motifs that only occur inside a single dolmen:
    A1- *Moon/Crescent; "comb"; fishbone; radial lines in an outer circle* – Viseu
B- Motifs that occur in very restricted geographic areas, present in only one, two or three dolmens
    B1- *bow; zoomorphic figure; stag with antlers; "plaque"* (formalized rectangular figure)- Viseu-Aveiro
    B2- *"eyes"/oculado*- Oporto/Vila Real
    B3- *vertical band of triangles/lozenges* – Viseu
C- Motifs that occur in restricted geographic areas.
    C1- *crook; anchor-like motif* – Viseu/Vila Real-Bragança
    C2- *circle with a central dot; "Sun"* (circle with radiating lines) – Viseu-Aveiro/Viana do Castelo
D- Motifs that occur over a broader region
    D1- *phallic anthropomorph; single U's or V's* – Viseu-Aveiro/Oporto/Vila Real/Bragança
    D2- *radial-line motif; simple rectangle/square; trapezoidal figure* –Viseu-Aveiro/Oporto/Viana do Castelo
E- Motifs that occur over very wide regions
    E1- *circle with radiating lines; boxed U's or V's; meandering line; unboxed parallel wavy/zigzag lines*- Viseu-Aveiro/Viana do Castelo/Pontevedra/Corunha/Oviedo
    E2- *concentric circles; penannular circle; single wavy line; (rake figure) base united parallel vertical lines; grouped cupmarks* – Viseu-Aveiro/Oporto/Vila Real-Bragança/Viana do Castelo/Corunha
    E3- *anthropomorphic figure; single circle; vertical straight lines; horizontal straight lines; single cupmark*- Viseu-Aveiro/Oporto/Vila Real-Bragança/ Viana do Castelo/Pontevedra
    E4- *"the thing"*- Viseu-Aveiro/Oporto/Viana do Castelo/Corunha
    E5- figure: *skin skeuomorph; segmented square/rectangle*- Viseu-Aveiro/Vila Real-Bragança/Corunha
    E6- *rectangular idol* – Viseu-Aveiro/Vila Real/Viana do Castelo
F- Motifs that occur all over northwest Iberia
    F1- *Banded (boxed) wavy/zigzag lines*
G- Motifs that are present in a small number of dolmens situated in distant sub-regions: Viseu/Corunha
    G1- *horizontal band of triangles/lozenges (grid); sawtooth motif*

By proceeding in the same way, we should be able to assess with some degree of confidence which motifs or associations of motifs would have been used by particular Neolithic populations in each sub-region of northwest Iberia during the building-use-closure process of their dolmens. Ideally, the same procedure should be followed for open-air spaces (shelters, exposed rocks, etc). However, in the absence of such an analysis, we have assumed, for the purpose of this study, that the open-air art of northwest Iberia also draws upon an index shared by the Neolithic and Chalcolithic communities of the region, while also assuming that the motifs in that index will have distinct sub-regional expression.

Chart 1.2 shows that the motifs that are *exclusive to backstones* (B) (*radial lines with an outer circle, "comb", tree motif and triangle*) only occur in one dolmen each. Those dolmens are all located in the Viseu/Aveiro region. This suggests that these 3 motifs may have been used to *semantically distinguish that particular dolmen*, and that the practice may be exclusively related to the Neolithic populations of the Viseu/Aveiro region (south of the Douro river).

However, in many cases, most of the motifs are clustered at the rear of the chamber; i.e. on the backstone and the two orthostats that flank it (A). If we exclude those motifs that are only found on backstones (B), the following motifs are found *exclusively at the rear of the chamber*: the *phallic anthropomorph, the rectangular idol, the segmented square/rectangle* and *the circle with central dot/cupmark* (Chart 1.2). The *phallic anthropomorph* is found in chambers in the Viseu/Aveiro–Oporto–Vila Real/Bragança region (Table 1.3- D1), while the *rectangular idol* and *circle with central cupmark* are found in the Viseu/Aveiro–Vila Real–Bragança– and/or Viana do Castelo regions (Table 1.3- E6 and C2). The *segmented square/rectangle* motif occurs over a very wide region (E5), and thus may be considered as an idea-motif with similar significance across the whole of this broad region of the northwest Iberian Peninsula.[6]

Analysis of the geographical distribution of the motifs found only in the rear of the chambers (A – Table 1.2) suggests that these "idea-motifs" are shared by communities across a broader region than the motifs that are exclusive to backstones (B – Table 1.2). If we consider the rear area, both *the specific drawings* and their *spatial positioning within the chamber* appear to be shared.

As regards motifs that appear on the right-hand side of the chambers (Table 1.2), there continues to be a motif that particularizes a dolmen in the Viseu area (A1), namely the *moon/crescent*, while another (the *"eyes"*) distinguishes a small sub-region (B2) located between Oporto and Vila Real (Table 1.3).

A similar thing can be seen with motifs from the left half of the chambers (Table 1.2). The *fishbone* motif occurs only in one dolmen in the Viseu area (A1); the *bow* occurs in two dolmens in the Viseu area (B1), occupying the left half of the Orca dos Juncais dolmen and the left half of the passage of the Lobagueira dolmen 4. The *phallic anthropomorph* motif, already mentioned, is found, as I have said, in the sub-regions of Viseu–Oporto–Vila Real–Bragança (Table 1.3).

At this point, I should point out that there are some motifs that are used in each dolmen to distinguish them from others within a restricted geographical area or sub-region (namely the *moon/crescent; radial lines in an outer circle; "comb"; tree motif; triangle: "eyes" and fishbone* (Table 1.3). As I have already mentioned, these motifs seem to reveal a very specific intention, namely the purpose behind the construction of each dolmen ("that dolmen in particular"). That is not to say that dolmens are individualized only by the motifs specific to it; on the contrary, the dolmen will also be characterised by the grouping of other motifs and by the graphic and spatial organization of the whole. In this perspective, we should emphasise the importance and variety of associations of motifs in dolmen art,[7] and the close relationships that certain motifs or associations of motifs seem to have with certain parts of the chambers and/or passages.

In any case, the inclusion of these motifs particular to certain dolmens (*comb, fishbone*, etc) will have been authorised by the community as a whole, or more probably, by some of its segments. Two different, but equally viable, hypotheses may be put forward with regards to this: a) one of the social segments would have been aware that idea-motifs were being incorporated into that dolmen that were not present in other dolmens, which it knew either empirically or by hearsay; b) it would have been usual to include in dolmens idea-motifs taken from other contexts of community life (body decoration, initiation rituals, etc), irrespective of whether or not they were familiar with the dolmen motifs most frequently used by neighbouring communities. Both of these hypotheses involve innovation, which should be interpreted within the context of "agency", as defined by A. Gell (1998).

The presence of a motif in only 2, 3 or even 4 dolmens within a sub-region (*vertical band of triangles/lozenges* (B3) in the area of Viseu; the *bow, zoomorphic figure, stag with antlers, "plaque"* or *"formalized rectangular figure"* (B1) in Viseu/Aveiro; *"eyes"* (B2) in the Oporto–Vila Real sub-region (Table 1.3) may indicate a certain chronological proximity in the construction of these dolmens within each of these sub-regions. This supports the hypothesis that these motifs, while manifesting

---

[6] The same appears to be true with an anthropomorphic figure that is very specific to the dolmen art of the northwest Iberian Peninsula, namely the *skin skeuomorph*.

[7] This important topic is not explored in this text for lack of space.

specific community intentions, at the same time *gave rise to a local mythographic tradition.* That local mythographic tradition may be related to the specific genealogy of the populations that inhabited that geographical area, i.e. the people that identified both with that territory and with the group belonging there. That genealogy is, for its part, expressed on different scales with other broader genealogies, shared to varying degrees between the Neolithic and Chalcolithic populations of the other sub-regions of northwest Iberia.

To the motifs listed above may be added those included in Groups C and D (Table 1.3). C refers to motifs that *occur in restricted geographic areas*: C1- *crook, anchor-like motif* – in the Viseu/Vila Real-Bragança sub–region; C2- *circle with central dot, "sun" (radiating circle)* – in the Viseu-Aveiro/Viana do Castelo sub–region. D refers to motifs that occur *across broader regions*: D1- *phallic anthropomorph; single U's or V's* – Viseu-Aveiro/Oporto/Vila Real/Bragança region; D2- *radial-line motif, simple rectangle/square, trapezoidal figure* — in the Viseu/Aveiro-Porto/-Viana do Castelo region. This list shows that prehistoric communities in the different sub-regions of northwest Iberia had a broad range of motifs that were considered suitable for their funerary monuments. At the same time, these motifs were shared across a geographic area that is a little wider than the local.

Probably, the reality will have been somewhat more complex than this. In addition to the fact that "associations" between motifs have not been taken into account here, the iconographies mentioned above will have occupied differentiated spaces within the chambers and/or passages of the dolmens (see Table 1.2). *Some of those motifs may be found anywhere in the chamber (anchor–like motif, single Us or Vs, radial line motifs or "stars", single rectangle/square)*, suggesting that their "place" or spatial position had not been previously fixed by the genealogical history that was current at the time of building-use-closure of the dolmens concerned. It is worth inquiring whether these motifs would have had a "fixed" meaning *per se*, irrespective of their position on the monument, or whether, on the contrary, their semantic charge was so vague that it would only have been established in relation to other motifs and structural parts of a particular dolmen. This is a very important question for the interpretative process, but one which we are unable to respond to at present.

On the other hand, the *trapezoidal figure* and the *crook* are always found on the backstone and in the left half of the chamber; the *"sun"* figures are on the backstone and in the right half of the chamber, while the *phallic anthropomorph* (described above) is always at the rear. The use made of those last four motifs, which may occur in both very restricted geographical areas and broader regions (see Tables 1.2 and 1.3), may indicate that the dolmens would have evoked/told stories or attributed significance to genealogical narratives, which *would*

already have had marked expression in Neolithic communities spread across broader regions than the simple local or sub-regional communities. This concerns the geographic scale in which the communities lived, moved and related to other communities. Thus, alongside the localized or restricted genealogical histories, which we can perceive in monuments that display exclusively local idea-motifs (B- Table 1.3),[8] new narratives would have been created or existing narratives reorganized on the sub-regional level, through the inclusion of other idea-motifs used by neighbouring communities (C and D – Table 1.3).

Incidentally, within the sphere of local or sub-regional mythographic traditions, 3 "mythographic excerpts" were perceived that may have been shared by communities settled in the geographic areas mentioned below. These "mythographic excerpts" would seem to be present in 3 types of composition:

1- the "animated composition" formed by the motif *"the thing"* in various positions, suggesting a circular movement, as found in two dolmens in Corunha: Dombate (Bello, 1997: Fig 13) and Forno dos Mouros (Carrera, 2005; Sanches, 2006: Fig.2);

2- "representations" or "suggestions" of hunting scenes in the area of Viseu (Orca dos Juncais; Lubagueira 4);

3- the association of the *skin skeuomorph/trapezoidal figure* to *stags with antlers* (Orca dos Juncais – backstone and C1 slab) or to a *zoomorphic figure* (Arquinha da Moura– backstone; Orca dos Juncais C1 slab), which also occurs in the Viseu area.

Of the motifs that appear in these compositions, only *"the thing"* and the *skin skeuomorph* occur over very wide regions (Table 1.3); the first (E4) in the Viseu/Aveiro–Oporto–Viana do Castelo–Corunha regions; the second (E5) in the Viseu/Aveiro–Vila Real– Bragança/Corunha regions. These two motifs are also specific to the interior space of dolmens (that is, they do not occur in open-air art). However, it should be pointed out that, across these broader regions, the motifs do not occupy the same topographical position inside the dolmens. While the *skin skeuomorph* is always located on the backstone and/or in the left half of the chamber, the motif *the thing* may be found anywhere inside the chamber (although never in the passage). As other authors have long understood (Shee, 1981), these are two of the motifs that may indicate the presence of a generic (though not orthodox) mythography, shared by genealogical narratives throughout the different sub-regions of northwest Iberia, and exclusively connected to the space of the dolmen. In connection with this, the regional populations will have created differentiated mythographic excerpts, of which the 3 mentioned above may be considered examples. The motifs shared by populations of the broader regions will therefore have been organized in different ways by local

---

[8] Or motifs that are only found in one dolmen: A, Table 1.3.

communities, thereby becoming identity markers: a small geographic area near the city of Corunha; another in the vicinity of Viseu.

This generic mythography may also be perceived by the presence of the motif *banded (boxed) wavy/zigzag lines* which not only appears in many dolmens (17), but is also present in all the sub-regions of northwest Iberia.

Other problems concerning interpretation

The interior space of the dolmens of northwest Iberia is graphically organized by means of predominantly geometric motifs, some abstract figures and, less frequently, subnaturalist or semi-schematic motifs. These give rise to very diversified compositions, though with a predominance of geometrical forms; indeed, this is one of the most distinctive characteristics of dolmen art in northwest Iberia (Fig. 1.1). It is therefore difficult to distinguish what may be understood as "idea-motif-artefacts" (such as *"sun", "star", concentric circles, skin skeumorph, zoomorphic figure, anchor-like motif, rectangular idol, the thing, complex meander*) from those that could constitute a "graphic resource", designed to organize space on the level of each slab and within the whole interior space of the dolmen. Hypothetically, this last group (which we provisionally label as the "graphic resource" group, to distinguish it from the "idea motif" group) could provisionally contain the *sawtooth* motif, the *vertical straight line, horizontal straight line, isolated zigzag, unboxed wavy/zigzag, banded (boxed) parallel wavy/zigzag, vertical band of triangles/lozenges/squares, horizontal band of triangles/lozenges/squares ("grid"), single cupmarks*, etc.

However, it is difficult to interpret the semantic distinction between these two groups, due to the multiple meanings associated with the motifs and the ambiguity that the "graphic resource" group in particular seems to have in decorative patterns. For example, the motif *the grid* does not appear to play the same role in Dombate 2 (chamber) and in Antelas. In Dombate 2, it runs across the base of the orthostats forming the chamber, providing a certain continuity within the interior space; this suggests it may have been formally designed to (i) *give coherence* (and unity) to a space that would have been naturally segmented by the continuous sequence of orthostats,[9] and also to (ii) semantically and graphically divide the lower part of the orthostats from the upper part, where "other narratives" occur (Bello, 1996). In Antelas, on the other hand, the *grid* motif almost completely fills two chamber orthostats (orthostats C1 and C8), and is also associated with *unbanded (unboxed) parallel/wavy lines*, laid out vertically, and a *circle* painted on the first orthostat to the right of the chamber entrance (Sanches, 2006: Fig. 10). Unlike in Dombate 2, then, the *grid* motif in Antelas

should be considered above all as an "idea motif" and not merely as a graphic element designed mainly to organize the space. The same thing appears to happen with *the banded (boxed) wavy/zigzag line* motif. While in Forno dos Mouros and in the passage of Pedra Coberta it plays a similar role to the *grid* motif in Dombate (i.e. lending continuity to the space), in the chamber of Portela do Pau 2, it is closely linked to other motifs on the orthostats (Sanches 2006, Figs. 6, 7 and 11). In this dolmen, the *banded wavy/zigzag motif* seems to play a dual role of uniting and structuring the internal space while at the same time constituting an "idea motif". In the second of these roles, it is joined by the other motifs (*anthropomorph, concentric circles, single circle; unbanded (boxed) wavy/zigzag lines*) (Baptista, 1997: Fig. 12), thereby creating a very specific discourse/narrative.

It should be pointed out here that, in northwest Iberia, the motif *unbanded (unboxed) wavy/zigzag lines*, only occupies the rear part and right half of the chamber, while the very similar motif, the *banded (boxed) wavy/zigzag lines*, may appear anywhere in the chamber or passage. However, both the *banded (boxed) wavy/zigzag line* and the *unbanded (boxed) wavy/zigzag line* motifs seem to confer graphic (and perhaps mythographic) unity to the dolmenic art of the region, for they have been recorded in 24 dolmens, distributed across all the sub-regions of northwest Iberia.

Also worthy of mention are two motifs that appear in very few dolmens, but which deserve attention because the dolmens in question are located at the two geographic extremes of the area under consideration (northwest Iberia). These are the *horizantal band of triangles/lozenges/squares*, found in the areas of Coruna and Viseu, and the *sawtooth* motif found in Corunha-Oviedo and Viseu. The *horizontal band of triangles/lozenges/squares* has been recorded in 3 dolmens[10] and may appear anywhere within the chamber; the *sawtooth* motif, on the other hand, has been recorded in 6 cases and is only found on the backstone and/or in the left half of the chamber.[11]

Whether these two motifs are understood as "idea motifs", or as a "graphic resource" designed to structure the space of each orthostat, forming a kind of "frame" within which standardized graphic discourses unfold, they show that the Neolithic communities of Corunha (/Oviedo) and Viseu shared very specific standardized ways of decorating dolmens at a particular point in their history, despite the geographical distance separating them. We could therefore suppose that, at some point between the end of the 5th millennium BC and the end of the 4th, there was close direct communication between at least some of the members of those communities from such distant regions (leaders? artists? priests?).

---

[9] The interior space of dolmens in northwest Iberia always consists of a continuous sequence of vertical panels, formed by the surfaces of the orthostats.

[10] Chamber: Antelas, Dombate. Passage: Dombate, Pedra Coberta.

[11] Chamber: Orca dos Juncais, Antelas, Capilla de Santa Cruz, Orca do Tanque, Pedralta and Fontão. Passage: Lobagueira 4.

DISCUSSION AND FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The megalithic art of northwest Iberia has attracted the attention of a number of researchers since the first half of the 20th century (Leisner, 1934), and was soon recognised as exceptional within the context of these tombs. In 1981, E. Shee published a corpus of Atlantic megalithic art (Shee, 1981), which showed that the megalithic art of monuments of Ireland, Scotland, Brittany and northwest Iberia could not be interpreted in accordance with a single model; across Atlantic Europe, she argued, there were different regional modes or styles of drawing and placing figures on the inside and outside of megalithic monuments. The studies that followed (from the 1990s) focused upon two different, though complementary, aspects. Firstly, as a result of extensive excavation work and C[14] analyses, complemented by direct dating techniques (Carrera, 2005; Fabregas & Vilaseco, 2006), it was definitively established that megalithic art was created at the same time as the dolmens (and not afterwards), that paintings and engravings were contemporaneous and complementary, but that painting had been used more frequently than engraving (Carrera, 2006). The range of motifs was also shown to be much more extensive than E. Shee had initially described. At the same time, Fernando Carrera revealed the techniques used in the paintings (through painting experiments), engravings and scraping of various dolmens (Carrera, 2005), which contributed decisively to a reorientation of the approach to the timeframes and forms of motifs used on orthostats.

Around the same time, broader interpretations were being put forward by P. Bueno / Rodrigo Balbin, Bello Diéguez, V. Jorge and Pena Santos / Rey Garcia, all of whom concentrated their research in the Iberian Peninsula. Although these authors focus on different aspects of Iberian megalithic art (P. Bueno / Rodrigo Balbin), megalithic art in northwest Iberia (Bello Diéguez; Vitor Oliveira Jorge), and on the chronological relationship, formal and semantic, between the megalithic art of northwest Iberia and the open-air rock art of the Galician group (Pena Santos & Manuel Rey), their interpretive models depend not only upon the number of cases analysed and their geographic distribution but also on the incidence and interpretation of motifs found inside dolmens and in open-air art. P. Bueno & R. Balbin (2000) present an interpretative model of landscape archaeology for Spanish Extremadura[12] which relates the motifs found in dolmens with those from open-air sites. They conclude that Neolithic and Chalcolithic communities of that region had a single graphic system, which they call the "megalithic style", but which was encoded in a somewhat different way in accordance with the "place" that they occupy in their territory (megalithic monuments, rocks in river valleys, mountain rock shelters, etc). They also extended these and other conclusions to Iberian

megalithic art as a whole, undermining Shee's division into 2 stylistic and formal groups. In short, they argued that, in megalithic art, there was a common graphic base for the whole of the Iberian Peninsula, inspired by the schematic art of each of the regions considered (Bueno & Balbin, 2006), but which was most visibly marked by the anthropomorphic element in various forms and associations (particularly associated to animals, sun figures, serpents and weapons). In Bueno & Balbin's analysis, the megalithic monument in itself (as architectonic body, with its offerings and rituals) is perceived as an indicator of the social inequality in these communities of farmers, herders and metal-workers. Their drawings, which constituted prestige items in the lineage of those that were buried there, revealed this inequality, for according to those authors, the Neolithic and Chalcolithic societies of the Iberian Peninsula would have differentiated between "everyday art" (used in other contexts, such as in rock shelters or on rocks in the open air) and monumental "funerary art", a distinction that would have been evident from the start of the 5th millennium BC. This funerary art would reflect and explicitly perpetuate symbols from the mythology connected with the ancestors, which some of them would have used to their advantage (Bueno & Balbin, 2006: 176-8; 197-8; 191). [In megalithic monuments] "one part of the group would display symbols that theoretically would have belonged to all, in order to justify their prestigious social position (...)" (Bueno & Balbin, 2006:177).

Bello Diéguez (1994) highlights the formal and compositional similarities between the megalithic art of Coruña-Oviedo (as far as the River Sella) and the Viseu region, suggesting that there might exist a certain formal and stylistic uniformity across the whole of northwest Iberia. Despite recognising that many dolmens in and outside the Viseu region contained less characteristically megalithic symbols, he put forward the hypothesis that there might have been a single stylistic group for the whole of the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, which he termed the "northwestern group". Using the dolmen of Dombate 2 as an example, he argued that many orthostats were engraved (immediately) before being fitted into the dolmen structure.

V. Oliveira Jorge (1997) used a structuralist method to analyse a significant number of dolmens from northwest Iberia, based upon the theoretical and methodological assumption that the architecture and drawings formed part of the same design, i.e. that nothing was random. Together, they constituted a device whose function was to keep a secret (megalithic art was conceived for the interior of crypts), rather than bury the dead. Highlighting some paradigmatic figures (the thing, the skin skeuomorph, trapezoidal and the quadrangular figures; "sun" figures) and their dynamic connection with the inner space of dolmens, he suggests that the significance of these and other figures was not fixed but relational (i.e. it would depend upon their position within each monument).

---

[12] These include the open air engravings of the Upper Tagus, on Portuguese territory.

While V.O. Jorge and J. Bello Diéguez implicitly assume a certain formal unity in the art of the dolmens of northwest Iberia, P. Bueno and R. Balbín insist on the particular role played by anthropomorphic figures (and their graphic associations to other motifs) in specific parts of the monument (atrium, entrances to the corridor and chamber, and the rear of the chamber). They inferred a funerary ideology that reflected the increased political and social value of the individual (male) or of certain elites (male) within the social group. This social differentiation based upon the emergence of male power was extended by Peña Santos & Rey Garcia (1997) to open air art (painting and engraving) throughout the whole of the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula. They claimed that it is precisely the less schematic motifs (i.e. all those related to the human figure, and particularly to animals, weapons, idols, etc) that appear on the most prominent parts of the dolmens (backstones), and also on the most visible and imposing rocks in the landscape. Thus, in northwest Iberia, the presence of mostly abstract motifs associated to subnaturalist motifs in contexts such as the backstones of dolmens and visually prominent rocks in the landscape, would form two facets of the same coin as regards symbolism and ideologies shared between populations in the final Neolithic and Chalcolithic period in this region. This ideology would gradually emphasise the importance of male social and political leaders (Santos & Rey, 1997). However, they make a chronological distinction between the older megalithic art and open-air art, suggesting (contrary to P. Bueno and R. Balbin) that the latter derives from the former. This idea may be countered by the fact that Pena Santos & Manuel Rey used examples of schematic open-air art that dated from at least the 5th millennium BC, in the case of Fraga d'Aia (Sanches 1997)[13] and from the 5th or start of the 4th millennium BC in the case of shelter 2 of Regato das Bouças (Sanches 2002). Therefore, as regards both open-air art and dolmen art in the northwest Iberia, these "artistic" phenomena are approximately contemporary and not chronologically distinct (Sanches, 2002). Both manifest different contexts of agency created by regional prehistoric communities, which are documented by archaeology from the regional early Neolithic (start of the 5th millennium BC) to the Early/Middle Bronze Age (middle of the 2nd millennium).

My own argument, based upon recently published studies (Sanches, 2005; 2006; 2007), closely follows the suggestions of V.O. Jorge (1997). Focusing only upon the art of the dolmens of northwest Iberia, it assumes that there would have been a dynamic connection between the drawings and architectural construction, and that this connection would have been processed during the full cycle (building, use and closure) of the monuments. The study began with a case-by-case analysis, only taking account of motifs and decorative organizations when it was possible to precisely relate them to the physical space of the interior of the monuments.

In a phenomenological analysis of the interior space, we concluded that the drawings and architecture formed an organic whole, which would have also had a ritualistic purpose. Consequently, the motifs were used in certain parts of the interior of the monument in order to hierarchize the internal space, with a view to the performance of specific rituals (Sanches, 2006, 2007). With this approach, the relative ease with which it would have been possible to move through the chambers and corridors of each monument enabled a differentiated evaluation of the motifs in each one. That is to say, behind a possible mythography shared at local and/or regional level, each monument would have been conceived with a specific cerimonial intention in mind. That intention was interpreted only through the relationship that existed between spaces and iconographies, without there being any close connection with the "deposits" of memory.

Given the importance of the tomb's physical orientation in space, we also investigated whether there was any alignment between the sunrises occurring during the year and the monument's entrance, and if so, how this related to the calendar. It should be pointed out that "sun" motifs (*circles with radiating lines, radial-line motifs, radial line and outer circle motifs*) are amongst the most frequent found inside chambers although they are not found in corridors. They are found on the backstone and in the right and left halves of the chambers, suggesting that there could have been a common concept linked to the sun, or some sort of knowledge related to its different positions during the year. We also investigated whether some of the motifs found inside the open chamber and in the chambers with antechambers would receive sunlight at some time during the year, allowing these motifs to be temporarily illuminated. Corridors of dolmens were not considered because they are very enclosed and dark. As regards the solar calendar, it was found that in 59% of cases, the entrances pointed towards the equinoxes or to the solstices,[14] although in 41% cases the entrance did not appear to be oriented in any specific way. However, it was assumed that the solar calendar would have been an important factor in most of the building programs. As regards the natural illumination of the iconography, it was concluded that, after the capstone had been laid over the chamber and corridor, none of the motifs would have been lit by natural sunlight, and that therefore, these motifs and compositions were strictly intended to have been read with artificial light.

In this text, two ideas are explored.

The first is that the construction of megalithic monuments in the northwest of the Iberian peninsula should be understood as a process for the maintenance, or alteration, of the established social order. This also concerns social differentiation, although we are not in a position to specify exactly which social segments or groups (in terms

---

[13] These authors cite the hunting scene at Fraga d'Aia, which is chronologically situated between the 6th and start of the 4th millennium BC. (Sanches, 1997).

[14] 35% pointed towards the equinoxes and 24% to the solstices.

of age, gender, possible lineage, etc) may have been involved in decision-making, as regards the way in which the various practices were carried out. The emphasis has been placed not upon the monument as a complete architectural form, ready to be "used" (a dolmen inside a mound designed for burial and other rituals), but rather on the building process, which may have lasted various months or even over a year. A case study is presented involving the construction-use-closure process of the dolmen of Castelo 1; however, many other cases could have been added that show the way in which the different social segments of a community could have participated in a differentiated way in the ritualized construction of a monument, and even in the decision-making processes, as regards the motifs that were to be inserted there in the different phases.

Secondly, as we do not automatically assume that there was graphic and symbolic unity in dolmen art throughout the whole northwest region of the Iberian Peninsula, certain ideas need to be sharpened. These concern the quest for dynamic and structural connections between motifs and architectural forms in this geographic space (by means of a structuralist analysis), and, depending closely upon that connection, the perception that scenographies and motifs may have been shared to different degrees between the communities that constructed dolmens in the different subregions of northwest Iberia. The title of this text, "The Inner Scenography of Decorated Neolithic Dolmens in Northwestern Iberia: an Interplay between Broad Community Genealogies and more Localized Histories" clearly reflects this intention. We have concluded that megalithic art reflects a dynamic process of continuous creation and recreation of local mythographic (genealogical) histories, which include to different degrees genealogical traditions present in neighbouring regions or from more distant regions (though these have only been studied within northwest Iberia). *If we believe this tradition to have been present throughout the whole of northwest Iberia*, it may be observed (1) in the geometrical decorative organization in most dolmens; (2) in the richer decoration of backstones; (3) in the greater diversity of motifs placed on the left side of the chambers; (4) in the use of paradigmatic motifs, such as *banded wavy/zigzag lines* and *the thing*, which occupy any position inside the dolmens, and (5) in the use of other motifs with a fixed position within the internal architecture (*skin skeuomorph, unbanded (unboxed) wavy/zigzag lines*). The remaining motifs and organizations of motifs from the megalithic "index" of northwest Iberia give great value to the traditions and genealogies shared by populations over broader areas or the traditions from narrower regions. The question of geographic scale is important to the extent that, within some regions we found motifs that were constantly used (*anchor-like motif, single Us ou Vs, radial line motifs – "stars", single rectangle/square, trapezoidal figure, crook, sun figures, phallic anthropomorph*) and within this group some of the motifs even occupy the same place

within the dolmen (*trapezoidal figure, crook, sun figures, phallic anthropomorph*). This analysis also allowed us to distinguish the creation of local traditions through (i) the use in some dolmens of motifs distinct from other regions (*bow, zoomorphic figures, stag with antlers, "plaque", "eyes", vertical band of triangles/lozenges*), or (ii) through "mythographic excerpts", revealed in only two regions – the area around the city of Viseu (where there are 2 types of compositions/associations) and in the area to the south of the city of Coruña, (where there is a new composition).

Communication, physical interaction and the sharing of identity or genealogy between Neolithic communities settled in very distant regions of northwestern Iberia may also be perceived through the use of the motifs *horizontal band of triangles/lozenges/squares* and *sawtooth*, which are found in few dolmens, but ones which are geographically very far apart – the region of Viseu and the region of Coruña/Oviedo.

Despite what we have argued above, we focus again upon an idea that is based upon the intention, objectives and process of construction-use-closure of each particular monument, since that would have been the *locus* of social interaction where the interplay between tradition and innovation was played out. Each monument reveals a unique discourse, which derives from the staged process of its construction and "decoration", the organization of its motifs and insertion of particular motifs that would probably have been introduced from other contexts of community life, such as open-air art, dances, ceramic decorations, etc (eg. *moon/crescent, "comb", fishspine; radial lines in an outer circle* in the dolmens from the Viseu region).

ANNEX 1

Schematic representation of the process of construction-use-closure of "Mamoa do Castelo 1" (Jou, Murça); see Fig. 1.2. 1 and 2- Demarcation of the subcircular area of the base of the *tumulus* through the making of fires and the deposition of quartz crystals and quartz knapping waste. The backstone, which has engravings on its back (that would have been hidden after the construction of the *tumulus*/mound) is implanted in the ground. Construction may have begun with the laying of the backstone, followed by the demarcation of the area destined for the construction of the mound. 3- Laying of the orange quartz orthostat on the right hand side of the backstone. This orthostat is an anthropomorphic stele. 4- Continuation of the construction of the vertical structure of the chamber and vestibule, and its exterior reinforcement with stone. This reinforcement was accompanied by the making of fires and the deposition of artifacts. 5- Construction of the *tumulus* in clay and shaping of the interior passage and atrium in clay. 6- Consolidation of the mound in clay with more fires, followed by the building of the "stone yard" peripheral to the *tumulus*/mound. As the "stone yard" was

laid, new fires were made on each layer of stones. Then the capstone was placed, probably transported over the ramp of the tumulus. The whole construction was involved in fire (fires from the peripheral base of the tumulus to the capstone). 7- Dolmen, tomb and accesses in use for funeral and/or cerimonial purposes. In the atrium, a line black flints was driven vertically into the ground and aligned to formally mark the threshold of the structure. 8- Intentional closure of the monument. This was done by lighting fires alternately in the vestibule and in the interior passage (and probably in the chamber), and the laying of large crystal-covered quartz slabs. (Sanches *et al.*, 2006)

Acknowledgments

References

BALBÍN BEHRMANN, R. e BUENO RAMIREZ, P. (2000) – La grafia megalítica como factor para la definición del território. *ARKEOS*. CEIPHAR. Tomar. 10. p.139-178.

BAPTISTA, A.M. (1997) – Arte megalítica no planalto de Castro Laboreiro (Melgaço, Portugal e Ourense, Galiza). *Brigantium*. La Coruña. 10. p.191-216. (3° Colóquio Internacional de Arte Megalítico).

BLAS CORTINA, M.A. (1997) – El arte megalítico en el territorio cantábrico: un fenómeno entre la nitidez y la ambiguedad.). *Brigantium*. La Coruña. 10. p.69-89. (3° Colóquio Internacional de Arte Megalítico).

BELLO DIEGUEZ, J.M. (1994) – Grabados, pinturas y idolos em Dombate (cabana, La Coruña). Grupo de Viseu o grupo noroccidental? Aspectos taxonómicos y cronológicos. *O Megalitismo no Centro de Portugal. Estudos Pré-históricos*. Viseu. 2. CEPBA, 287-304.

BELLO DIEGUEZ, J.M. (1996) – Aportaciones del dólmen de Dombate (Cabana, La Coruña) al arte megalitico occidental. *Révue Archéologique de l'Ouest*. Rennes.8, p. 23-39.

BOURDIEU, P. (1984)– *Outline of a Theory of Pratice*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

BUENO RAMIREZ, P. e BALBÍN BEHRMANN, R. (2000) – Art mégalithique et art en plein air. Approches de la definition du território pour les groupes producteurs de la peninsula ibérique. *L'Anthropologie*. Elsevier. 104. p. 427-458.

BUENO RAMIREZ, P. e BALBÍN BEHRMANN, R. (2003) – Una geografia cultural del arte megalitico iberico: las supuestas áreas marginales. In Balbin R. &

Bueno Ramirez, P., eds., *El Arte Prehistorico desde los Inicios del Siglo XX*. Asociación Cultural Amigos de Ribadesella. p. 291-313.

BUENO RAMIREZ, P. e BALBÍN BEHRMANN, R. (2006)– Arte parietal megalítico en el Noroeste Peninsular. In Carrera, F. e Fábregas, R. Eds., *Arte Parietal en el Noroeste Peninsular. Conocimiento y Conservación*. Santiago de Compostela: Tórculo Editións. p. 153-212.

BRADLEY, R. (1997) – *Rock Art and the Prehistory of Atlantic Europe. Signing the Land*. London and New York: Routledge.

CARRERA, F. (2005) – El Arte Parietal en Monumentos Megalíticos del Noroeste Peninsular: Dimensión del Fenómeno y Propuestas de Conservación. PhD. Dissertation. Univ. Nacional de Educación a Distância (Cd. Edition).

CARRERA, F. (2006) – Arte parietal en monumentos megalíticos del área noroccidental peninsular. In Carrera, F. e Fábregas, R. Eds., *Arte Parietal en el Noroeste Peninsular. Conocimiento y Conservación*. Santiago de Compostela: Tórculo Editións. p. 61-151.

CORBEY, R.; LAYTON, R.; TANNER, J. (2006) – Archaeology and Art. In Bintliff, J. Ed., *A Companion to Archaeology*. Blackwell Publishing. p. 357-379.

CRUZ, D.J. (1993a) – Monumentos megalíticos do concelho de Fornos de Algodres, *Estudos Pré-históricos*. Viseu. CEPBA. 1.p. 111-112.

CRUZ, D.J. (1993b) – A Orca doa Juncais (Queiriga, Vila Nova de Paiva, Viseu), *Estudos Pré-históricos*. Viseu. CEPBA.1. p. 67-81.

CRUZ, D. (2001) – *O Alto Paiva: Megalitismo, diversidade tumular e práticas rituais durante a Pré-história Recente*. Coimbra. (PhD) Dissertação de Doutoramento apresentada à Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra.

CUNHA, A.L. (1995) – Anta da Arquinha da Moura – Tondela. *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*. Porto. SPAE. 35, 3.p. 133-151.

DERRIDA, J. (1978) – *Writing and Difference*. London. Routledge.

FABREGAS, R. & VILASECO, X.I. (2006) – En torno al megalitismo gallego. In Carrera, F. e Fábregas, R. Eds., *Arte Parietal en el Noroeste Peninsular. Conocimiento y Conservación*. Santiago de Compostela: Tórculo Editións. p. 9-36.

GELL, A (1998) – *Art and Agency*. An Anthropological Theory, Clarendon Press. Oxford.

GOMES, L.F.; CARVALHO, P.S.; MARRAFA, J. (1998) – O dólmen de Areita (S. João da Pesqueira). *Estudos Pré-históricos*. Viseu. CEPBA. 6. p. 243-248.

GONÇALVES, A.H.B. e CRUZ, D. (1994) – Resultados dos trabalhos de escavação da mamoa 1 de Madorras (S. Lourenço de Ribapinhão, Sabrosa, Vila Real). Estudos Pré-históricos. Viseu. CEPBA.2. p. 171-231.

INGOLD, T (2000) – *The Perception of the Environment. Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. Routledge.

JORGE, V.O. (1997) – Questões de interpretação da arte megalítica, *Brigantium*. La Coruña. 10. p.47-65. (3° Colóquio Internacional de Arte Megalítico).

LAYTON, R. (1991. 2ª) – *The Anthropology of Art*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

LEISNER, G. (1934) – *Die Malerein des dolmen Pedra Coberta*. I.P.E.K., IX.

LEROI-GOURHAN, A. (1971) – *Pré-histoire de l'Art Occidental*. Paris. Lucien Mazenod eds.

MORPHY, H. (1994) – The anthropology of art. In Ingold, T. ed. *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. London and New York. Routledge. p. 648-685.

PENA SANTOS, A. and REY GARCIA, M. (1997) – El arte parietal megalítico y Grupo Galaico de arte rupestre: una revisión crítica de sus encuentros y desencuentros en la bibliografia arqueológica. *Brigantium*. La Coruña. 10. p.301-331. (3° Colóquio Internacional de Arte Megalítico).

ROSAS, L. (2007, in press) – A representação de São Cristóvão na pintura mural portuguesa dos finais da Idade Média: crença e magia. Actas da 11ª Mesa Redonda da Primavera. Porto: DCTP-FLUP. Afrontamento.

SANCHES, M.J., SILVA, M.S. e BOTELHO, I.J. (1990-91) – Mamoa 1 da Pedreira, S. Pedro de Vale do Conde-Marmelos, Mirandela (Escavação de emergência), Portugália. Porto. IAFLUP. nova série. 9. p. 39-50.

SANCHES, M.J. (1997) – *Pré-história Recente de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro (O abrigo do Buraco da Pala no Contexto Regional)*. Porto. SPAE. Textos.

SANCHES, M.J. (2002) – Spaces for social representation, choreographic spaces and paths in the Serra de Passos and surrounding lowlands (Trás-os-Montes, northern Portugal) in late prehistory. *ARKEOS*. Tomar. CEIPHAR. 12. p. 65-105.

SANCHES, M.J. (2005) – *Dólmenes com Iconografia do Noroeste da Peninsula Ibérica. Reordenação descritiva dos espaços, das composições e dos motivos do espaço interno*. Lição de Síntese apresentada como Prova de Agregação ao Departamento de Ciências e Técnicas do Património da Faculdade de letras da Univ. do Porto. Policopiada. 64 págs. (Library of the Faculty of Arts –University of Porto).

SANCHES, M.J. (2006) – Passage-graves of North-western Iberia: setting and movements. An approach to the relationship between architecture and iconography. *Journal of Iberian Archaeology*. Porto. ADECAP. 8. p. 127-158.

SANCHES, M.J., NUNES, S.B. and SILVA, M.S. (2006) – A Mamoa 1 do Castelo (Jou) – Murça (Trás-os-Montes). Resultados dos trabalhos de escavação e de restauro dum dólmen de vestíbulo, Portugália, n.s., 26, Porto, DCTP–FLUP, pp. 5-47.

SANCHES, M.J. (2007, in press) – A arte dos dólmenes do NW da Península Ibérica *Portugália*. Porto. DCTP-FLUP. 27.

SANTOS, F.S.; PERPÉTUO, J.M.; SANTOS, A.T.; GOMES, F.C. (in press in this vol.) – Chã Redondo's dolmen 2 (Sever do Vouga, Aveiro), a monument with iconographies. Digging and restoration works preliminary results.

SILVA, A.M. (1995) – Restos humanos da Arquinha da Moura, Estudos Pré-históricos. Viseu. CEPBA. 3. p. 141-150.

THOMAS, J. (1996) – *Time, Culture & Identity. An Interpretative Archaeology*. London and New York: Routledge.

VILAÇA, R. e CRUZ, D.J. (1990) – *A Casa da Orca da Cunha Baixa (Mangualde). Mangualde*. "Terras de Azurara e Tavares" – Câmara Municipal de Mangualde. n° 2.