

Foreword of the editors

Part 1: the workshop in Lisbon

Transitions? Continuity and Discontinuity of Cultural Developments from the Mesolithic/Epipalaeolithic to the Neolithic Period; Workshop held in Lisbon, 11–13 May 2017, National Museum of Archaeology and Geological Museum

The conference held in Lisbon from the 11th to the 13th of May on the above-mentioned topic was organised in collaboration with the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, the Centro de Arqueologia da Universidade de Lisboa (UNIARQ) and the Universidade do Algarve, Faro. Venues were the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia in Lisbon/Belém (MNA) and the Museu Geológico (MG) in Lisbon. We are particularly grateful to the directors – António Carvalho (MNA) and Miguel Magalhães Ramalho (MG), who has since sadly passed away – for allowing us to hold the conference in the rooms of these two institutions, which are very important in terms of research history. Students from the University of Lisbon (Daniel van Calker and Gonçalo Bispo), ensured that the conference ran smoothly – organising the coffee breaks, distributing programmes, looking after the computer and projector. The unforgettable lunch on the 12th of May 2017 at the Centro Cultural de Belém (CCB), had also received very generous support. Therefore, we want to express to her and the president of the CCB, Dr. Elísio Summavielle, our sincere thanks! The conference comprised a two-day lecture programme with a total of eighteen lectures, twelve of which dealt with Mesolithic/Neolithic developments on the Iberian Peninsula, and six others presented comparative studies on this period in the Near East, South America, and Eurasia. In addition to numerous professional colleagues, many students from the University of Lisbon were also represented in the auditorium. In detail, the following lectures were held, which unfortunately could not all be published.

After the welcome by the museum director, António Carvalho, Markus Reindel from the Commission for Archaeology of Non-European Cultures (Bonn) gave a worldwide introductory lecture entitled “Research Cluster 1 of the German Archaeological Institute: From Sedentarization to Complex Societies. Settlement, Economy, Environment, Cult. Concepts, Goals, Activities”. There he explained the meaning of the research clusters

of the German Archaeological Institute and presented the questions of Research Cluster 1. With a world map by Detlef Gronenborn, Markus Reindel showed eight core regions in which a transition from the ‘appropriating’ to the ‘producing’ mode of economy took place in different times and with different domesticated plant and animal species. Arranged in chronological order, this would be:

- from approx. 9000 BC in the Near East,
- from approx. 7000-6000 BC in China,
- from approx. 6000 BC in Central America,
- from approx. 5000 BC in northern South America,
- from approx. 5000 BC in New Guinea (Southeast Asia),
- from approx. 3000 BC in central North America,
- from approx. 3000-2000 BC in West Africa,
- from approx. 50 BC in East Africa.

This naturally gives rise to numerous questions on which the following conferences had taken place in Research Cluster 1 prior to the Lisbon conference:

- 2008 at Berlin: “Sedentism”,
- 2009 at Istanbul: “New research in the appearance of the Neolithic between northwest Anatolia and the Carpathian basin”,
- 2010 at Frankfurt am Main: “Early monumentalization”,
- 2012 at Sanliurfa: “Paleoenvironment and development of early societies”,
- 2013 at Aqaba: “The development of early settlement in arid regions”,
- 2016 at Tehran: “Neolithisation and its consequences”,
- 2016 at Dakar: “Early coastal cultures”.

The conference in Lisbon was devoted to the question “Transitions? Continuity and Discontinuity of Cultural Developments from the Mesolithic/Epipalaeolithic to the Neolithic Period”, i. e., in other words on the course of Neolithisation in different regions of the world. This topic is of great importance, especially as far as the Iberian Peninsula is concerned, because for years, there has been a discussion about the role played in the Neolithisation of the Iberian Peninsula by immigrants from the



1 Lisboa: Participants in front of the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia: From left to right: Markus Reindel, Daniel van Calker, Paula Queiroz, Norbert Benecke, Simon Davis, behind him José Mateus, behind him Rafael Lima, in front Oreto García Puchol, behind her Nuno Bicho, Friedrich Lüth, Pablo Arias, João Luís Cardoso, behind him Hermann Gorbahn, in front Philine Kalb, Martin Höck, behind him Reinder Neef, in front Karin Bartl, behind her Michael Kunst, Rui Mataloto, Marco António Andrade, César Neves, Ângela Fernandes, Ana Catarina Sousa. (photo: Mónica Lima Barros, D-DAI-MAD-MLB-DG-12-2017-055)

Mediterranean region and indigenous developments in southwestern Europe.

In this context, João Zilhão (ICREA, University of Barcelona) was the next to speak on the topic of “Modelling the Neolithisation process in the Western Mediterranean”. A topic on which he has already commented several times and already published a paper in the same year of the conference together with Neus Isern, Joaquim Fort and Albert J. Ammerman. The authors point out an extremely high speed for the Neolithisation of the Western Mediterranean region and conclude that it is very likely that there were immigrations of Neolithic people, whereby an acculturation process of Mesolithic people is not ex-

cluded. As an important indication, he cited the fact that the radiocarbon dates for the early introduction of domesticated sheep in Catalonia and Portugal largely coincide.

In order to deepen the topic of where the Neolithic achievements came from, we were fortunate to have two speakers who were able to report on the origins of the Neolithic in the Near East: Karin Bartl, then the director of the Damascus Branch of the Orient Department of the German Archaeological Institute, and Daniel Schyle, who conducted research in the Near East from a post-doctoral position at the University of Cologne. He gave the next lecture on the topic of “The Epipalaeolithic/Neolithic transition in the Fertile Crescent”, in which he

summarized the entire Neolithisation problem of the Near East, how sedentarism formed among the Mesolithic groups there, and also early architecture with public buildings. Unfortunately this interesting lecture could not be included in the present volume.

The lecture by Karin Bartl was a good example of the Neolithisation process. She reported on her excavations at Mushash 163, a 9th millennium BC settlement in the Jordanian Desert, where several remains of round houses and also one rectangular building were preserved. The numerous fragments of chipped lithic artefacts are “characterized by the bidirectional core and blade technology” (see Bartl, this volume), which is typical especially for the Pre-Pottery-Neolithic B (PPNB). However, there are no remains of domesticated plants and animals so far. One could imagine that the site was only seasonally occupied for hunting. Excavation and surface findings point to a period of use of ca. 1500–2000 years.

The results on Göbekli Tepe presented the next day by Reinder Neef, then the head of the Department of Natural Sciences at the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin, are affiliated to the same theme. He gave a lecture on “The botanical remains from Göbekli Tepe (Turkey)”, from which the oldest monumental architecture is known so far. He could not prepare his contribution for the present publication, but a preliminary report by him is available in the open-access journal *Neo-Lithics*.¹ An important result of that publication is that among the relatively few preserved and determinable plant remains, there were only remains of wild cereals (especially Einkorn wheat and barley) and also lentils, although early arable farming with these wild cereals cannot be ruled out. This is a period of transition from Pre-Pottery-Neolithic A (PPNA) to Early Pre-Pottery-Neolithic B (PPNB), i. e., from the period directly preceding Mushash. In my opinion, this was also the most important result of his lecture in Lisbon.

Immediately after Karin Bartl’s lecture, the big jump to the Iberian Peninsula took place with the lecture by Ana Catarina Sousa and Victor Gonçalves, long-time professor and director of the same institute, with a lecture entitled “Earth and fire. The clay structures in Portugal during the Mesolithic and Neolithic – some case studies”. This presentation discussed the phenomenon of the concentration of sites with clay-fired structures in the Alentejo and the Lisbon Peninsula. The two case studies refer to sites excavated by the authors in the mentioned regions: Xarez 12 and Carraça in Reguengos de Monsaraz² and Cova da Baleia in Mafra³. In the first

case, the attribution to the Mesolithic was established by stratigraphic criteria and by the material culture, but in the case of Cova da Baleia, with 110 ‘ovens’ – clay pits or kilns containing burnt remains⁴ – the chronology was confirmed by a set of radiocarbon dates from the second half of the 8th millennium BC.

This presentation thus refers to a new site typology, showing that the post-glacial hunter-gatherer communities evidenced diversified modes of occupation. The recurrent existence of ancient Neolithic reoccupations in these sites remains yet to be understood, which could be interesting to understand the process of passage between the last hunter-gatherers and the first producers. Considering that the data has been recently published, the authors have chosen to present an unpublished context of funerary scope, located in an area with abundant remains of absolute Mesolithic and Neolithic chronology, discussing the theme of funerary practices of the first peasant groups in the west of the Iberian Peninsula.

After lunch, we visited an exhibition in the National Museum for Archaeology, which had not yet opened: “Loulé. Territórios, Memórias, Identidades (Territory, Memory, Identity)” for which a comprehensive catalogue was published.⁵ Victor S. Gonçalves explained the exhibition, and especially the Neolithic finds. Of particular interest in this context was the menhir from Serro das Pedras near Salir (Algarve).

In the afternoon, the meeting continued at the Geological Museum of Lisbon. This museum is of particular importance for the history of Neolithic research in Portugal and especially for the transition from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic, as the finds of famous 19th-century geologists are kept here, for example, many finds of the shell middens of Muge. The geologists were also important founders of prehistoric research in Portugal⁶, such as Carlos Ribeiro (1813–1882), Joaquim Nery Delgado (1835–1908), Francisco António Pereira da Costa (1809–1889), and Francisco de Paula e Oliveira (?–1888). Later, the finds from the excavations of the famous prehistorians Georges Zbyszewski (1909–1999) and Octávio da Veiga Ferreira (1917–1997) were also kept in this museum.

Therefore, Michael Kunst started the lecture with an overview of the history of research on Neolithisation in Portugal and Spain, in which it was also described the project in cooperation with Manuel Rojo and the University of Valladolid in Ambrona and came to the conclusion that too little consideration is given to the “erosion” factor when interpreting the present-day findings of Early Neolithic open-air settlements on the Iberian Peninsula.

1 Neef 2003.

2 Gonçalves et al. 2013.

3 Sousa et al. 2018; Sousa 2019.

4 Sousa et al. 2017, 985 f.

5 Carvalho et al. 2017.

6 See the bibliography of Kunst, in this volume.



2 Lisboa: Nuno Bicho explaining the Mesolithic shell midden site of Cabeço da Amoreira, located in the Muge Valley (photo: M. Kunst).

Afterwards, Oreto García-Puchol from the University of Valencia (Spain) spoke on the topic “Timing last hunter-gatherers and first farmers in Eastern Iberia” (see García-Puchol et al., this volume). She gave her presentation on behalf of the PREMEDOC research group, which also includes Joan Bernabeu Aubán and Alfredo Cortell-Nicolau. This group has shown with its research that the ‘Dual Model’ is not sufficient to explain the Neolithisation process in the Iberian Peninsula. The protagonists of the ‘Dual Model’ are considered to be Javier Fortea Pérez and Bernat Martí Oliver.⁷ The paradigm underlying this model is that Neolithisation in the Iberian Peninsula, especially in the Eastern parts, was a process of diffusion and acculturation. This model is now being refined by numerous field surveys and more precise radiocarbon dating by the PREMEDOC research group. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the acculturation process was not straightforward but probably a long process influenced by many regional factors, such as different micro-climates and geographical conditions.

On the other hand, Neolithic people penetrated relatively quickly into large parts of the Iberian Peninsula. From our point of view, therefore, the question arises to what extent does this also reveal a displacement process that did not necessarily proceed peacefully?

This example from the east coast of the Iberian Peninsula was now contrasted with the Atlantic coast in the west, reported on by Joaquina Soares and Carlos Tavares da Silva. On the basis of their excavations at the shell midden of Castelejo on the west coast of the Algarve, about 10 km north of Cabo de São Vicente, they used the complex stratigraphy to show how this site was frequented from the early Mesolithic, seasonally from the 8th-millennium cal BC until the third quarter of the 6th-millennium cal BC. In the latter phase, the settlers also brought Neolithic objects with them. Numerous botanical and zoological studies provided further insights into climatic changes and changes in dietary behaviour. All investigations led the authors to the conclusion: “The ‘shy’ adoption of the Neolithic innovations, circulating hand-to-hand enfolded over generations, would be filtered by needs and desires of the late Mesolithic groups” (see Soares – Tavares da Silva, this volume). Thus, this site is a good example of an acculturation process by cultural osmosis among the Mesolithic people on the Portuguese Atlantic coast.

The next day, the conference continued at the National Archaeological Museum in Lisbon. After the above-mentioned lecture by Reinder Neef, we continued with the Iberian Peninsula. Mariana Diniz, also from the Centre for Archaeology of the University of Lisbon (UNIARQ), spoke on the topic of the Late Mesolithic/Early Neolithic transition in the southwest of the Iberian Peninsula in the second half of the 6th millennium BC. In her talk, she also compared the Mesolithic shell midden of Cabeço das Amoreiras in the Sado Valley, southeast of Alcácer do Sal, with the Early Neolithic settlement of Valada do Mato, west of Évora, some 52 km further inland to the northeast.

It became clear that the Neolithisation process, similar to that on the east coast of the Iberian Peninsula and in the Algarve, was not so rapid but rather an ongoing process of acculturation and resistance, in which the Mesolithic substrate also played a major role. Neolithic and Mesolithic groups will have influenced each other during this time, and even if both groups maintained their own lifestyle largely, material culture reflects some cultural transfers between these two different worlds.

⁷ Fortea – Martí Oliver 1985, 190; Martí Oliver 1978; Juan-Cabanilles 1992, 255–257; Pardo 1996, 827; Fairén – Guilabert 2003, 11–13; van Willigen 2006, 30.

Especially in the excavation of Valada do Mato it could be verified that Mesolithic individuals were included in the Neolithic settlement, confirmed by recent genetic analyses, and brought also traits of their typical lithic technologies.

The shell middens of Muge, discovered in 1863 by Carlos Ribeiro, have been known to prehistorians in Europe at least since the ninth International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology, held in Lisbon in 1880 and published in 1884. Now they are once again the subject of an interdisciplinary research project at the University of Algarve, which began in 2008 under the direction of Nuno Bicho, Director of the Interdisciplinary Center of Archaeology and Evolution of Human Behavior (ICArEHB) at the University of Algarve, with new surveys and excavations, especially at the shell midden “Cabeço da Amoreira” (Fig. 2). In our meeting in Lisbon, Nuno Bicho, also in the name of his colleagues Célia Gonçalves, João Cascalheira and Lino André, spoke on the topic “Resilience human adaptations across the Mesolithic-Neolithic boundary: the case of the Cabeço da Amoreira shell mound” (see Gonçalves et al., this volume).

The main result of this presentation was published online by his research team in the same year: “Recent results from Muge, including human DNA, mobility based on strontium analyses and the presence of Neolithic loci and human burials in Cabeço da Amoreira, seem to indicate that social resilience was the major factor in the human adaptations that occurred in the region with a cultural and biological combination between the local Mesolithic and the exogenous Neolithic populations”.⁸ This paper also includes other regions of Portuguese Estremadura, and thus a publication in this volume of the original lecture limited to the Cabeço da Amoreira hardly makes sense. Therefore, the authors decided to present a new project in this volume called “MugePortal”. It will be of great use to the international community interested in the topic of the Mesolithic/Neolithic transition.

This was followed by a lecture by Pablo Arias, who spoke about a comparison of Mesolithic and Neolithic contact on the west and north coasts of the Iberian Peninsula, entitled “Coastal foragers in transition: A comparative perspective from two ‘marginal’ areas: The Sado valley (Portugal) and the Cantabrian region (Spain)”. He presented results from his international project COASTRAN. The topic of Neolithisation has

long been one of his specialties.⁹ Unfortunately, he was not able to participate in the publication of this volume, but we would like to refer to publications in which he has dealt with some aspects of this topic.¹⁰

Simon Davis, the then director of the Archaeosciences Laboratory (DGPC) in Lisbon, and Norbert Benecke, then director of the Natural Sciences Department of the German Archaeological Institute (Berlin), both representing the archaeozoology during the conference, were, unfortunately, unable to participate in this publication due to their retirement, which fell precisely at that time. Simon Davis presented the oldest sheep bones from Portugal so far, which he had already published elsewhere.¹¹ The title of his talk was: “The animal bones from Lameiras - the first sheep in Portugal”. They come from the excavations in Lapiás das Lameiras, about 7 km northeast of Sintra (Portugal).¹² In the publication mentioned above, it is shown that obviously, not only sheep were transported by sea by the Neolithic people, but also the other domesticated animals of the early Neolithic: goats, cattle, and pigs.¹³ In line with the findings of João Zilhão, Simon David, Sónia Gabriel, and Teresa Simões argue for a relatively rapid immigration of Neolithic people in southern Portugal and conclude: “Whether local hunter-gatherers leading a Mesolithic lifestyle changed their way of life rapidly and obtained/purchased domesticated livestock, or were driven out of the land by incoming farmers remains to be seen”.¹⁴

The lecture by Norbert Benecke “Archaeozoological studies on the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition in the Northern Pontic region” concerned a topic that he had already published in 1997¹⁵ but fitted very well into the context of our conference. During his talk, he was able to refute earlier ideas of autochthonous domestications of cattle and pigs and show how a Neolithisation of arable farmers and livestock breeders from the area of the European Linear Pottery settled there.¹⁶ However, in some areas, Neolithic and Mesolithic groups may have lived side by side for some time.¹⁷

In Lisbon, Hermann Gorbahn from the Christian Albrecht University of Kiel (Germany) also gave a lecture entitled “Pernil Alto - The emergence of early agriculture in Southern Peru and its implications for early complex societies in the Central Andes”, which, however, has been replaced in our publication by his lecture in Lima.

In the afternoon, three more lectures on Neolithisation in Portugal took place. José Mateus and Paula Quei-

8 Bicho et al. 2017, 32.

9 Arias 1991.

10 Arias 2007; Arias et al. 2021.

11 Davis et al. 2018.

12 López-Dóriga – Simões 2015, 100; Davis et al. 2018, 94.

13 Davis et al. 2018, 142.

14 Davis et al. 2018, 144.

15 Benecke 1997.

16 Benecke 1997, 636; 640.

17 Benecke 1997, 640.



3 Lisboa: Cromleque dos Almendres, megalithic site west of Évora (photo: M. Kunst).

roz from Torres Vedras, who are well-known archaeobotanists from Portugal, began with a lecture entitled: “The First Agrarian Territories in SW Portugal - The Regional Palaeoecology Approach”. They show what influence the climate also had on the development of the landscape in the Portuguese coastal area and how this affected the development of the way of life of the Mesolithic people. It seems to me that this aspect is very important to understand why Mesolithic people were also able to adapt relatively quickly to a productive economy. They write: “Epipalaeolithic societies responded adaptively to this new richness, to these ecological challenges (resulting from the deceleration or halting of sea-level rise), through specialization and semi-sedentarism around these estuarine biotopes; these evolved into Mesolithic communities of proto-agrarian character” (see Mateus – Queiroz, this volume). Furthermore, they describe that the early Neolithics tended to settle along small streams while the Mesolithics are to be found in the estuaries of large river valleys, they speak of “Meso- and Neo-Territories” that coexisted for a long time. This result corresponds very well with the papers in this volume by Oreto García Puchol et al., Joaquina Soares and Carlos Tavares da Silva and Mariana Diniz, and the above-mentioned article by Nuno Bicho et al.¹⁸

The geologist and prehistorian João Luís Cardoso, professor at the Universidade Aberta (Lisbon), presented his research on the Early Neolithic settlement of Carrascal: “A estação do Neolítico Antigo do Carrascal (Oeiras, Portugal): economia e bases de subsistência”. Carrascal – near Oeiras, west of Lisbon – is an early Neolithic settlement (last quartile of the 6th millennium BP), but it was probably only inhabited seasonally. However, in addition to domesticated cattle and sheep, there were numerous finds of hunted animals. Furthermore, João Cardoso writes: “Intense collection of aquatic resources at the small paleo-estuary of the stream of Barcarena – which at the time reached the section of this watercourse that ran nearby the site, is confirmed by the abundance of the Portuguese oyster; it is interesting to note that this stream was also undergoing a rapid siltation process” (see Cardoso, this volume). The Barcarena Valley can also be described as a stream valley that flows into the great Tagus estuary from the north, a situation that also corresponds to the investigations of José Mateus and Paula Queiroz.

The last lecture also deals with the most recent epoch of Neolithisation in the Alentejo Region (southern Portugal). Rui Mataloto, an archaeologist from the municipality of Redondo (District Évora, Portugal), and

18 Bicho et al. 2017.

Marco António Andrade, a researcher at the UNIARQ Institute, University of Lisbon, spoke on the topic: “East of Eden: Early Megalithism and Neolithic in Central Alentejo” (Fig. 3). In it, they first described the history of research on megalithism in southern Portugal, in which small dolmens played a major role at the beginning of megalithism. It seems that a recent investigation confirmed that there was a development from individual burials to a “more congregative burial model, sometimes organised around a more prominent, central grave” (see Mataloto – Andrade, this volume) following models we can date back since Mesolithic graves under shell middens. They back this up with a comparison of the processes in the coastal areas of northern and western Europe, and they conclude: “Megalithism embodies and materialises cosmogonies that can probably date back at least to the Late Mesolithic of the Atlantic façade, whose dissemination must be framed in the context of the population dynamics that DNA studies have been demonstrating, and which had already been predicted for some time now” (see Mataloto – Andrade, this volume).

The conference programme was complemented by excursions to important prehistoric sites in the wider surroundings of Lisbon and the region of Évora. On the late afternoon of the 12th of May, we were in the region of Torres Vedras, where we visited the exhibition in the Museum of Torres Vedras, the Copper Age fortification of Zambujal and the site with Mesolithic hearths at Ponta da Vigia (Torres Vedras). On the 13th of May, Nuno Bicho and his collaborators showed us their excavations at the Mesolithic shell midden of Cabeço da Amoreira near Muge (Fig. 2) and later examples of their finds. We thank Nuno Bicho very much for the generous organization and performance of this event. In the afternoon, we saw the cave site Gruta do Escoural with its upper Palaeolithic rock art. This visit had the support of the Regional Culture Direction of Alentejo, and we are grateful to Ana Paula Amendoeira, the director and Sónia Contador, the guide. At the end of the day, Philine Kalb and Martin Höck, to both of whom we also extend heartfelt thanks, showed us the megalithic sites near Évora, the Anta do São Brissos, the Anta Grande do Zambujeiro and the Cromleque dos Almendres (Fig. 3).

In summary, the transition from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic on the Iberian Peninsula began around the middle of the 6th millennium cal BC in the coastal areas of Valencia, Andalusia, and Catalonia; in the west, i.e., Portugal, until now corresponding changes seemed to have occurred around 200 years later, but this must be corrected by new radiocarbon dating, as João Zilhão was able to show. The so-called Neolithic package, which in-

cludes domesticated animal and plant species as well as ceramics, was not an autochthonous development but reached the region relatively quickly through migratory movements. The area of origin of the Neolithisation process of the Mediterranean region lies in the so-called “Fertile Crescent”, which includes the mountainous regions of Zagros, Taurus, the Near Eastern Levant, and the adjacent areas. There the decisive innovations began from around 9000 BC. The Neolithisation of the Mediterranean regions to the west of the core zone then took place successively in the course of the following millennia. On the Iberian Peninsula, Neolithic people can be traced from around 5600 BC. Two models are discussed here for the transition from hunter-gatherer communities to Neolithic societies in the Western Mediterranean: One focuses on “colonisation”, i.e., the immigration of new population groups that introduced the “Neolithic package”; the other assumes that indigenous Mesolithic groups were able to absorb and disseminate Neolithic achievements through their own networks. Current research on the Neolithisation process of the Iberian Peninsula is mainly characterised by the study of specific migration routes and the nature and extent of interaction and adaptation patterns of populations with Mesolithic and Neolithic lifestyles.

Despite a large number of new research projects, it has so far only been possible to prove the continuity of settlement or use between the Mesolithic and the Neolithic in very few sites. Among the sites where both periods are attested are the shell middens at Muge in the Tagus Valley. Here, DNA and strontium analyses of Neolithic burials have demonstrated the interaction of Mesolithic and Neolithic populations and, thus, the integration of Mesolithic communities into the new Neolithic populations. On the other hand, the process of integration does not seem to have been as rapid as the advance of Neolithic groups coming from the Mediterranean area into the interior of the Iberian Peninsula. The development of climate and, thus, the environmental changes in the area of larger rivers and smaller rivulets seem to have initially separated territories of Mesolithic and Neolithic people. Only in a longer process, as Thomas Schuhmacher and Gerd Weniger explained many years ago, which was, from our point of view, probably not always peaceful, did full ‘Neolithisation’ gradually occur on the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁹ This is perhaps how one could characterize the current state of research after this conference. New projects and questions are eagerly awaited.

The conference provided a wide-ranging overview of the potential and current state of Mesolithic/Neolithic

19 Schuhmacher – Weniger 1995.