

THE *EMPORION* IN THE ANCIENT WESTERN
MEDITERRANEAN

*Trade and Colonial Encounters from the Archaic
to the Hellenistic Period*



PULM, 2018

Collection « Mondes anciens »

Directrice de collection

Rosa PLANA-MALLART

Comité scientifique

Brigitte PÉREZ-JEAN (langues anciennes), Éric PERRIN-SAMINADAYAR (histoire ancienne),
Rosa PLANA-MALLART (histoire de l'art et archéologie), Frédéric SERVAJEAN (égyptologie).

La collection « Mondes anciens » concerne l'ensemble des sciences de l'Antiquité, qu'il s'agisse de l'histoire, de l'archéologie, de l'histoire de l'art ou des langues anciennes. Elle s'adresse donc à tout spécialiste de l'Antiquité. Le principal objectif est de proposer un regard novateur et pertinent, dans la tradition des études classiques et en accord avec les grandes tendances de la recherche actuelle. La collection « Mondes anciens » soutient également la coédition d'ouvrages avec d'autres collections (universitaires, d'établissement de recherche, d'institutions muséales et patrimoniales) ainsi que la préparation ou la traduction d'ouvrages portant sur les sujets des concours ou sur des thématiques peu fournies et qui présentent un intérêt évident pour un public étudiant et spécialiste.



PULM, 2018

Collection « Mondes anciens »

THE *EMPORION* IN THE ANCIENT WESTERN
MEDITERRANEAN

*Trade and Colonial Encounters from the Archaic
to the Hellenistic Period*

Édité par

Éric GAILLED RAT, Michael DIETLER & Rosa PLANA-MALLART

Cet ouvrage a bénéficié du soutien du LabEx ARCHIMEDE au titre du programme
« Investissement d'Avenir » ANR-11-LABX-0032-01



2018

PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE LA MÉDITERRANÉE

© PULM, 2018

Illustration de couverture : Photomontage PULM à partir de deux images : *Mouth of the Têt river* (Pyrénées-Orientales, France), © Éric Gailledrat et *Lead tablet from Pech Maho* (Sigean, France) with Greek inscription (5th Century BC), © Centre Camille Jullian.

Keywords : Colonisation, Cultural Interactions, *Emporion*, Port of Trade, Trade, Trading Post, Western Mediterranean

Mots-clés : colonisation, commerce, comptoir, *Emporion*, interactions culturelles, Méditerranée occidentale, port de commerce

Tous droits réservés, PULM 2018
ISBN 978-2-36781-275-5

Contents

<i>List of Authors</i>	9
Éric GAILLED RAT, Michael DIETLER & Rosa PLANA-MALLART <i>The Emporion in Context</i>	11
1 The Emporion and the Ancient Mediterranean	17
Pierre ROUILLARD <i>The Emporion: Some Uses of the Term</i>	19
Michel GRAS <i>Emporion and Archaic Polis, a Complex Dialectic</i>	25
Alain BRESSON <i>Flexible Interfaces of the Ancient Mediterranean World</i>	35
Julien ZURBACH <i>The Emporion and the Land, or: Hesiod Between Land and Sea</i>	47
2 From the Strait of Gibraltar to the Gulf of Lion	53
Alfredo MEDEROS MARTÍN <i>Phoenician Emporia in the Atlantic Coast of Africa</i>	55
Fernando GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES <i>The city-Emporion of Huelva (10th–6th Centuries BC)</i>	67
José Luis LÓPEZ CASTRO <i>MQM. Phoenician Emporia in the South of the Iberian Peninsula (9th to 7th Centuries BC)</i>	79
Jaime VIVES-FERRÁNDIZ SÁNCHEZ <i>Trading Settlements in Eastern Iberia During the Iron Age: Between Redistributive Engagement and Political Authority</i>	91

Rosa PLANA-MALLART	
<i>Emporion and the North-Eastern Coast of the Iberian Peninsula</i>	103
Éric GAILLEDRAT	
<i>Sailors and Landsmen in the Emporia of Southern Gaul</i>	115
3 Italy and its Margins	129
Maria Cecilia D'ERCOLE	
<i>The Emporion in the Adriatic. Trade, Trafficking, Cultural Constructions</i> <i>(6th-2nd Century BC)</i>	131
Giulio CIAMPOLTRINI	
<i>Fonteblanda/Portus Telamonis. A "Trading Post" for Wine and Metals on the Central-Northern</i> <i>Tyrrhenian Coast in the 6th Century BC.</i>	143
Giovanna BAGNASCO GIANNI & Lucio FIORINI	
<i>Between Tarquinia and Gravisca.</i>	155
Arianna ESPOSITO	
<i>Rethinking Pithekoussai. Current Perspectives and Issues</i>	167
Francesca SPATAFORA	
<i>Phoenicians, Greeks and "Indigenous peoples" in the Emporia of Sicily.</i>	181
Marco RENDELI	
<i>Sant'Imbenia and the Topic of the Emporia in Sardinia</i>	191
4 Comparative Perspectives on the Emporion	205
Mario DENTI	
<i>Aegean Migrations and the Indigenous Iron Age Communities on the Ionian Coast of Southern</i> <i>Italy: Sharing and Interaction Phenomena</i>	207
Peter VAN DOMMELEN	
<i>Trading Places? Sites of Mobility and Migration in the Iron Age West Mediterranean</i>	219
Michael DIETLER	
<i>Emporia: Spaces of Encounter and Entanglement</i>	231
Denise DEMETRIOU	
<i>Interpreting Cultural Contact: How Greek Inscriptions from Emporion Challenge Roman</i> <i>Texts and Hellenization</i>	243
Gérard CHOUIN & Christopher R. DECORSE	
<i>Atlantic Intersections: African-European Emporia in Early Modern West Africa</i>	253

List of Authors

- Giovanna BAGNASCO GIANNI** Dipartimento di Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Università degli Studi di Milano (Italy)
giovanna.bagnasco@unimi.it
- Alain BRESSON** Department of Classics and Department of History, University of Chicago (USA)
abresson@uchicago.edu
- G rard CHOUIN** Lyon G. Tyler Department of History, William & Mary, Williamsburg (USA)
glchouin@wm.edu
- Giulio CIAMPOLTRINI** Soprintendenza Archeologia della Toscana, Firenze (Italy)
giulio-ciampoltrini@segnidellauser.it
- Christopher R. DeCORSE** Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University (USA)
crdecors@maxwell.syr.edu
- Denise DEMETRIOU** Department of History, University of California-San Diego (USA)
dedemetriou@ucsd.edu
- Mario DENTI** LAHM (UMR 6566), Universit  Rennes 2, Rennes (France)
mario.denti@wanadoo.fr
- Maria Cecilia D'ERCOLE** ANHIMA,  cole des Hautes  tudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris (France)
cecilia.dercole@ehess.fr
- Michael DIETLER** Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago (USA)
mdietler@uchicago.edu
- Arianna ESPOSITO** ARTEHIS (UMR 6298), Universit  de Bourgogne, Dijon (France)
Arianna.Esposito@u-bourgogne.fr
- Lucio FIORINI** Dipartimento di Ingegneria Civile e Ambientale, Universit  degli Studi di Perugia (Italy)
lucio.fiorini@unipg.it
-  ric GAILLED RAT** ASM (UMR 5140), CNRS, Montpellier (France)
eric.gailledrat@cnrs.fr
- Fernando GONZALEZ DE CANALES** Acad mico Correspondiente de la Real Academia de la Historia, Huelva (Spain)
fgonzalezdecanales@yahoo.es
- Michel GRAS** ArScAn (UMR 7041), CNRS, MAE Ren  Ginouv s, Nanterre (France)
michel.gras@mae.cnrs.fr

José Luis LÓPEZ CASTRO Departamento de Geografía, Historia y Humanidades, Universidad de Almería (Spain)
jllopez@ual.es

Alfredo MEDEROS MARTÍN Departamento de Prehistoria y Arqueología, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (Spain)
alfredo.mederos@uam.es

Rosa PLANA-MALLART ASM (UMR 5140), Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3, Montpellier (France)
rosa.plana@univ-montp3.fr

Marco RENDELI Dipartimento di Storia, Università di Sassari (Italy)
rendeli@uniss.it

Pierre ROUILLARD ArScAn (UMR 7041), CNRS, MAE René Ginouvès, Nanterre (France)
pierre.rouillard@mae.u-paris10.fr

Francesca SPATAFORA Museo Archeologico Regionale “Antonio Salinas” di Palermo (Italy)
spataf@tiscali.it

Peter VAN DOMMELEN Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, Brown University, Providence (USA)
peter_van_dommelen@brown.edu

Jaime VIVES-FERRÁNDIZ SÁNCHEZ Servei d’Investigació Prehistòrica, Museu de Prehistòria de València (Spain)
jaime.vivesferrandiz@dival.es

Julien ZURBACH AOROC (UMR 8546), École Normale Supérieure, Paris (France)
julien.zurbach@ens.fr

© PULM, 2018

MQM. Phoenician *Emporia* in the South of the Iberian Peninsula (9th to 7th Centuries BC)

José Luis LÓPEZ CASTRO

1 Introduction

The application of well-defined ancient Greek terms with a specific meaning to the material and cultural manifestations of other ancient peoples is an ongoing resource in modern research. This is the case with *polis*, *emporion*, *chora* or *basileus*, to cite some examples, which become applicable to the ancient world in universal concepts within a tradition of Hellenocentric studies. By analogy we apply these terms to realities that are not always completely comparable, but which have the advantage of expressing common and interchangeable elements in one concept that facilitate their understanding.

However, it is necessary to clarify that a term known in Phoenician language could be equivalent to that of *emporion*, such as *mqm*, or *maqom*, a trading place where exchange takes place and is permitted. This term, according to Garbini's interpretation, has been handed down to us as a place name in North Africa and Sardinia with different meanings such as "sanctuary", "temple" and also "place" for sacred or profane public functions, "place (for trading)" and "market", according to some documentary testimonies in the place name and numismatic sources (Garbini 1982: 181–87; Manfredi 1993: 95–102). It is a term that would signify open exchange points, similar to the place known as *emporion*, where people from different backgrounds exchanged goods. Another western Semitic word, *mhz*, or *mahuza* (Amadasi 1982: 31–37; Teixidor 1993: 85–87) would also have a similar meaning. However, *maqom* seems preferable, not only because it is linguistically and geographically closer to western Phoenician society, but because it is well documented in the central and western Mediterranean and contains an important connotation of association with the temple.

At the beginning of the discovery of the Phoenician presence in the west in the '60s of the 20th century, a series of settlements and necropolises from the 8th and 7th centuries BC on the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula became known, such as Almuñécar, Morro de Mezquitilla, Toscanos, Chorreras or Cerro del Villar de Guadalhorca (Aubet 2003: 305–16) (Fig. 1). These sites could be included under the concept of *emporia*, as colonial sites intended for trade. Initially they were interpreted as commercial *factoreries* or *comptoirs*

("trading posts") and their Phoenician inhabitants as traders in search of metals. Western silver and tin would supply the needs of the East, particularly those of the Assyrian Empire, in a commercial diaspora whose cause should be sought in the Assyrian pressure on Tyre (Frankenstein, 1979: 263–94; Aubet 1993: 68–74). The Phoenicians would establish trading terms with *Tartessos* and the native peoples to obtain these metals which would, in turn, give rise to the orientalisating phenomenon in the Iberian Peninsula. Thus a dominant interpretation of the colonial phenomenon we have called the "commercial paradigm" was born and which explains all aspects of Phoenician society in the West in relation to trade: the Phoenicians are always presented as merchants in search of markets, their settlements as commercial "trading posts", their unique buildings as "warehouses" and their motivations as always profit-based (López Castro 2000: 123–36).

However, since the 1970s and 1980s some researchers have drawn attention to agricultural, subsistence and territorial aspects by proposing new explanatory models on colonisation in which the concentration and distribution of colonial settlements, as they were then known, or the analysis of recovered faunal remains, did not correspond exactly to a pattern of commercial colonisation, but to a colonisation in which the agricultural component was as important as trade (Whittaker 1974: 58–79; Alvar, González Wagner 1988: 169–85; González Wagner, Alvar 1989: 61–102).

Between 1980 and 2000, the number of Phoenician settlements discovered in the south of Spain significantly increased and the colonial sites extended to new, hitherto inconceivable geographical areas: the Phoenician presence reached the Atlantic coast of Portugal (Arruda 2000; Mayet, Tavares 2000), while to the East it reached the mouth of the Segura River (Rouillard *et al.* 2007; González Prats 2011) and the island of Ibiza (Ramón 2007). At the same time, methodological development in archaeological research made it possible to discover the metallurgical, agricultural, farming and fishing activities of colonial enclaves and the introduction from the East of new plant and animal species. From the beginning of the 21st century, the archaeological documentation available on the Phoenician presence in southern Iberia suggested the existence of a complex reality that was resistant to simplistic



Fig. 1—Main Phoenician sites of Southern Iberia.

classification attempts, in which different economic roles and activities overlapped in the same colonial settlements, be they commercial or in relation to the production of food and goods.

The new discoveries made in the 21st century have stirred up what we know. The publication in 2004 of the material collected from Huelva in *Calle Méndez Núñez* and subsequent excavations in El Carambolo (Sevilla), La Rebanadilla (Malaga) and Utica (Tunisia) (González de Canales *et al.* 2004; Fernández Flores, Rodríguez 2007; Sánchez *et al.* 2012; López Castro *et al.* 2016) have revealed the existence of a very early colonial phase, prior to the earliest known settlements of the 8th century BC. In south eastern Iberia, the deposit—likely ritual in nature—from the late Bronze Age in Cortijo Riquelme (Almería) shows a collection of oriental and Greek-type Phoenician ceramic imports that are contemporaneous with those of the above-mentioned settlements, which leads us to think about the existence of a very old Phoenician settlement in the basin of the Almanzora River (López Castro *et al.* 2017). These new enclaves from the 9th century BC revive the idea of the existence of a first colonial impulse motivated by the metal trade. Such settlements are closer than the later ones from the 8th century BC to the concept of *emporion* or *mqm*, a foundation of a commercial nature protected by a sanctuary.

2 Initial Settlement and the Temple's Role

The first early settlements were founded after the “pre-colonial” contacts of the late Bronze Age, in which the Phoenicians used prior knowledge of the access routes to the Iberian Peninsula that made it possible to establish long-distance trade networks from the Aegean and in which Mycenaean, Canaanite, Cypriot and Sardinian people would participate (Mederos 2005a: 82–84). The geographical distribution of early Phoenician settlements in North Africa and in the south of the Iberian peninsula—Utica, La Rebanadilla and El Carambolo—appear to respond to a specific strategy: to establish intermediate points from the East to the most western foundation where there was access to Atlantic tin, such as Huelva. The known settlements were located using common patterns that sought calm waters for the boats and drinking water supply. They were located on promontories that dominated wide navigable inlets along river mouths, as in Utica, El Carambolo and Huelva, while La Rebanadilla was located on a river island (Fig. 2).

There is a decisive distinguishing feature in the Phoenician *mqm*: the presence of sanctuaries legitimising the activities carried out there under the protection of the divinities, such as Melqart and Astarte that ensured the peaceful character of the settlements and played an economic role (Grotanelli 1981: 116–20; Bonet, 1988: 97–98; Bonet 1996: 48–54). The settlement

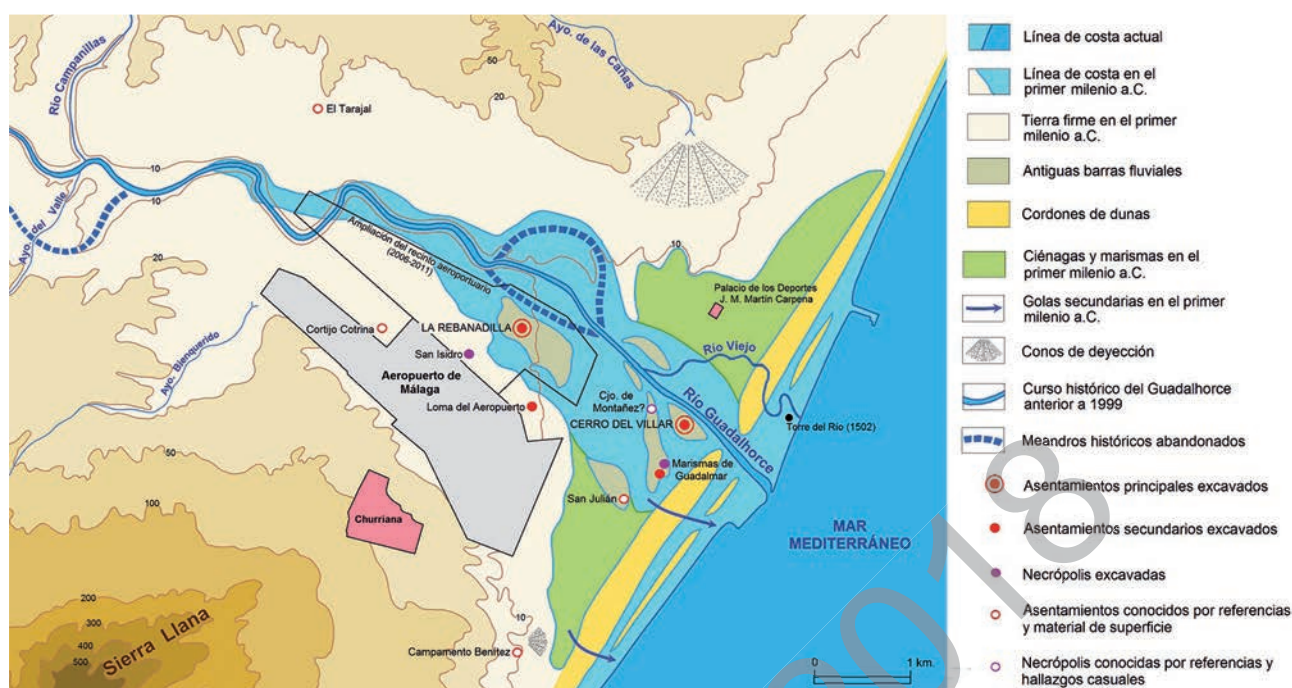


Fig. 2—Paleotopography of the mouth of the river Guadalhorce during the first millennium BC (after García Alfonso 2012: 35, Fig. 5).



Fig. 3—Phoenician buildings of La Rebanadilla (Málaga) (phase III) (after Sánchez *et al.* 2012: 78, Fig. 15).

of El Carambolo has been identified as an Astarte sanctuary from its founding phase (Fernández Flores, Rodríguez 2007: 246–47) and a building has been interpreted as a sanctuary in La Rebanadilla (Sánchez *et al.* 2012: 80–81) (Fig. 3) while in Utica the classical sources mention the great antiquity of the cedar beams in the temple of Apollo, divinity identifiable with *Eshmun* (Lipiński 1995: 162–63) which would go back to the founding of the city (Pliny, *Natural History*: XVI.216). In Huelva, several stone baetyli are among the finds from the collection of archaeological materials from *Calle Méndez Núñez*, which would, very possibly, come from a sanctuary. In fact, a building was constructed in this occupation phase in the 8th century BC which was interpreted as a sanctuary (González de Canales *et al.* 2004:140; Osuna *et al.* 2001: 178–81).

In El Carambolo and La Rebanadilla, the Phoenicians used an oriental architecture based on the use of mud-brick

(adobe) as the main building material. The oldest building, the original temple called Carambolo V, was formed by an enclosure with an inner courtyard onto which two parallel rooms would open (Fernández Flores, Rodríguez 2005 and 2007: 211–14) (Fig. 4). It is the same model that we find in some of the La Rebanadilla dwellings, where seven buildings have been located in two occupation phases. Sacred elements associated with sanctuaries were found in two of them, such as baetyli, shell floors, long benches and a possible adobe altar. The layout of the buildings and their regular orientation suggest that the inhabited space was structured into streets and blocks (Sánchez *et al.* 2012: 75–81). The only known necropolis from this early colonial horizon belonged to the La Rebanadilla settlement and the excavated tombs are similar to the incineration tombs of phase II of the Al Bass necropolis in Tyre (Juzgado *et al.* 2016: 110 and 115).

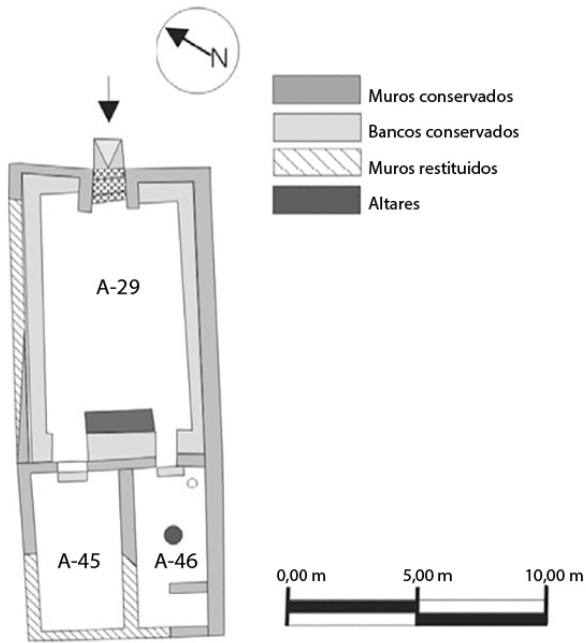


Fig. 4—The sanctuary of El Carambolo (phase V) (after Fernández Flores, Rodríguez 2005: 116, Fig. 2).

Another distinctive feature of these early settlements is the practice of artisanal activities. In Huelva, ivory craft, the production of Tyr ian-type ceramics and bronze metallurgy are documented and in La Rebanadilla, metallurgical production is well attested (González de Canales *et al.* 2004: 145–49, 165–66; Sánchez *et al.* 2012: 68). The large amount of indigenous non-wheel-thrown ceramic would suppose in these settlements the existence of intense relationships with the native societies. Conversely, Tyrian-type oriental Phoenician fine ware imports, Nuragian Sardinian ceramics and Greek productions of the Subprotogeometric II and III and the Middle Geometric II testify that these settlements belonged to a trade network uniting Phoenicia and the Aegean with the Far West, in which Sardinia and Utica must have played an important role due to their intermediary status (López Castro *et al.* 2016: 84–85). The calibrated C14 datings from the colonial settlements of this early Phoenician colonisation period are largely homogeneous and would reach the 10th century cal BC and the late 9th century cal BC at the extremes of probability intervals, both in the Iberian peninsula and in North Africa (*ibid.*: 81–83, tab. 1).

3 A Complex Territorial Model: Colonial Cities, Villages and Farms

Decades after the earliest foundations, dating back to the last years of the 9th century BC and the first decades of the 8th century BC, new colonial settlements were established in the south and in the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula that were different in kind and size. In general, these colonial enclaves follow a well-defined pattern, located on the coast near the mouths of the rivers, on peninsulas or promonto-

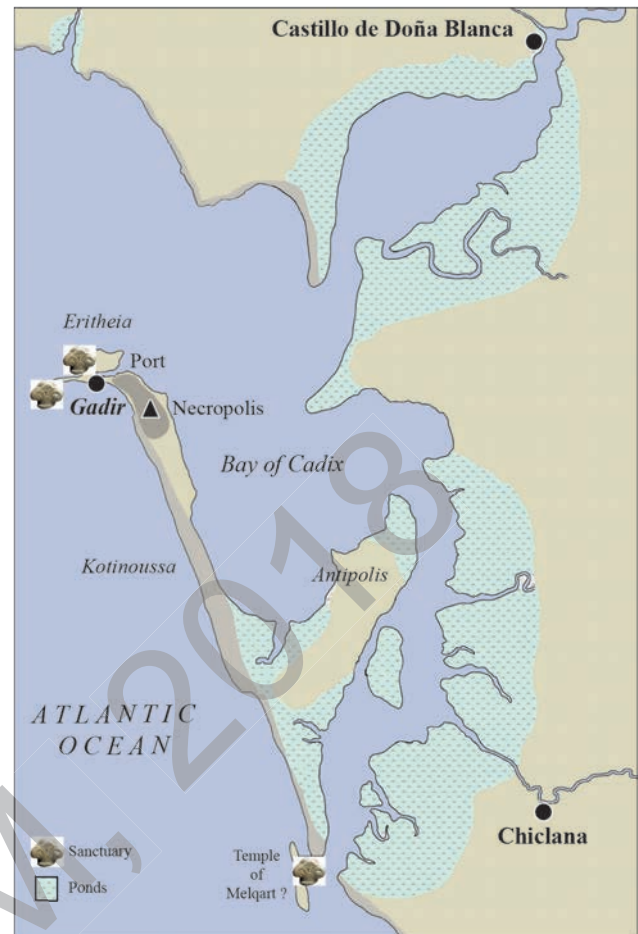


Fig. 5—The Bay of Cadix (after Sáez Romero 2014: 165, Fig. 4, modified).

ries near natural anchorages, close to the fertile alluvial lands suitable for growing crops and possibly irrigation. At the same time, the rivers served as inland communication routes, where native populations were established and with whom Phoenician settlers maintained trade relationships. At other times we found the settlers occupying fluvial islands such as Gadir (Fig. 5) or Cerro del Villar (Fig. 2) (Aubet 2003: 237). One feature of these new colonial settlements is early territorial occupation, which differed from the previous phase. This archaeological reality corresponds to the existence of a specific vocabulary in the Phoenician language to name types of settlements: *qrt* (city), *mgdl* (rural tower), *mgr* (farm or agricultural villa) or *kfr* (village). Similarly, there is a term to define the concept of the territory itself: *rs*, as a political territory, appropriated by a community to avail of its resources, with the sense of “district”, “region”, “land” or even “homeland” (Lipiński 1994: 122–28; Krahmalkov 2000: 73–74, 134, 240, 269, 307 and 433).

The most important foundation was undoubtedly Gadir (Cadix), to which the classic sources attribute a great antiquity and an urban character. Although authors like Velleius Paterculus (I.2.3) date its foundation as 1103 BC (Sánchez Manzano 2001: 50), the earliest available archaeological data are from the beginning of the 8th century BC, or in any event at the end of the 9th century BC. Research in the last few decades has enabled us to confirm Gadir’s urban character and offers

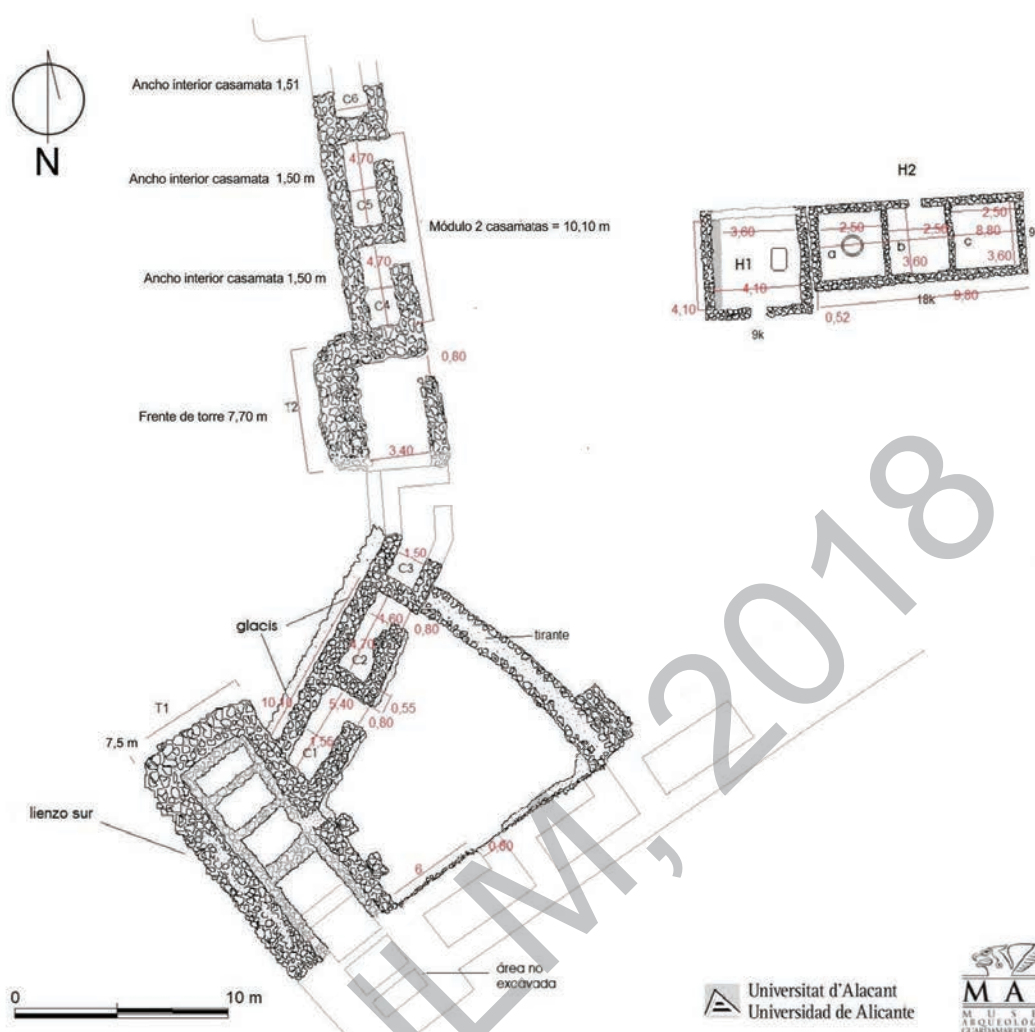


Fig. 6—The fortified settlement of Cabezo Pequeño del Estañó (Guardamar del Segura, Alicante). Site plan and metrological study according to a phoenician module of 0.52 m (after García Menárguez, Prados 2014: 121, Fig. 5).

an overview of the complex occupation of the surrounding territory during the 8th century BC. Initially the settlers inhabited the westernmost island of a coastal archipelago, under the modern city of Cadix, located at the entrance of today's Bay of Cadix (Fig. 5). On the easternmost island, today called *Sancti Petri*, the famous temple of Melqart was erected. Recent excavations in the modern city have located a district of the ancient Phoenician city from the late 9th century BC or early 8th century BC. Adobe houses with stone basements were two floors high, supported by wooden beams. They lined the streets built on a terrace system and the rooms were organised indoors around courtyards. Remains of domestic and artisanal activities have been found inside them in superimposed phases up to the 6th century BC (Gener *et al.* 2014: 16–17; Torres *et al.* 2014: 77–78).

Later, even in the first half of the 8th century BC, the city was planned towards the mainland in order to dominate the surrounding territory and its agricultural resources. To this effect, two fortified settlements with oriental casemate walls were founded to the north and south-east of the bay. The first, urban in character, is Castillo de Doña Blanca. It

covers an area of 7 hectares and the excavations show an organised urban enclosure in constructive terraces aligned in narrow streets providing access to three- or four-roomed houses with masonry, rammed earth or adobe walls and a flat roof over wooden beams. These houses' interiors were lined with clay and whitewashed; they had clay floors and were normally equipped with domestic ovens (Ruiz Mata 2001: 263). The second fortified settlement is in the current city of Chiclana, where urban excavations have partially discovered a stretch of a Phoenician casemate wall (Bueno 2014: 230–32).

The immediate formal precedent of this territorial control model would be in Tyre, where the city consisted not only of the walled space situated on an island near the coast, but also extended to a district on the mainland called *Ushu*, where the extensive necropolises of the city, such as Al Bass, were also located (Aubet 2003: 34–35; Aubet *et al.* 2014). Another example of a colonial settlement could be Cabezo Pequeño del Estañó (Guardamar del Segura) (Fig. 6), located on the old Segura river estuary in the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula, where research shows a small-sized settlement with an urban appearance, protected by an oriental-type wall, which was



Fig. 7—Phoenician and native settlements on the coast of Vélez-Málaga.

inhabited until the late 8th century BC, when the population moved 2 km forwards to La Fonteta (Guardamar del Segura), near the coast (García Menárguez *et al.* 2014: 113–33).

Nevertheless, the majority of the colonial settlements in the south of the peninsular also founded in the 8th century BC are small in size. Morro de Mezquitilla (Algarrobo), Chorreras, Toscanos, Cerro del Villar de Guadalhorce, *Abdera* (Adra) and *Sexi* (Almuñecar) were founded in this century, as confirmed by the absolute datings (Aubet 1993: 249–72; Mederos 2005b: 307–10). They are small-sized, unfortified settlements, villages of between 0.5 and 2.5 hectares that were organized into terraces, into groups of houses with a rectangular plan, compartmentalized into several rooms with masonry walls usually made of adobes. Las Chorreras is of intermediate size, consisting of houses distributed into blocks running along the sides of streets on a terraced hill (Arnold, Marzoli 2009: 447–49). The necropolises were established in the nearby hills, sometimes on the other side of the river mouth next to which the settlements were sited.

Some archaeological research projects developed in the south of the Iberian Peninsula have shown that the Phoenician settlements appear to have small colonial territories, around 10 or 12 square kilometres, which reached the river valleys near the inhabited centres and the piedmont hills of the coastal mountains. In this territory, productive agriculture and livestock breeding were carried on in small settlements, dependent on the main coastal settlements (Aubet 1993: 265; López Castro 2012: 117–19).

Primary production farms or centres, such as Cerca Niebla, Los Pinares, Los Lunares or Benajafate, in the area of Toscanos and Morro de Mezquitilla, are documented in the colonial

period of the 8th–7th centuries BC (Fig. 7). They are small rural facilities measuring less than half a hectare in area and designed for productive activities. Likewise, there are settlements of an “industrial” nature; an example would be the amphora production workshops, such as La Plancha. Cerro de la Viña, the 7th century BC Phoenician site located in the vicinity of Toscanos, has been interpreted as a fortification linked to this colonial settlement (Martín Córdoba *et al.* 2008: 145–87), which could be evidence of a control of the colonial territory, similar to what occurred in *Gadir*.

The archaeobotanical analyses undertaken in the various settlements inform us of Phoenician crops in these centuries, mainly cereals, pulses, and fruit trees. Among the cereals, several types of wheat and barley are prominent, and peas, lentils and chickpeas are documented among the pulses, the latter introduced from the East. But the great Phoenician innovation in the West was the introduction of arboriculture, applied to the cultivation of the olive and the vine to obtain oil and wine, in addition to other fruit trees, such as the fig tree or the almond tree. In turn, the archaeozoological analyses showed evidence of stock-rearing in which bovines and ovicaprids, and to a lesser extent swine, dominated. Other documented domestic species are equines, canines and fowl, introduced from the East (Pardo 2015: 44–46).

Marine resources were widely exploited in the colonial period: tuna, sea bass, and smaller fish, such as sea bream or sardines, are recorded. Several species of molluscs were also consumed and some were used in the manufacture of purple dye for fabrics, which became famous in Antiquity (Moya 2016: 42–46). Metallurgical production of iron and lead and silver extraction are documented in many of the colonial settlements, as well as the trade in galena to obtain silver by cupellation, a technique brought from the East (Renzi *et al.* 2009: 2584–96; Carpintero *et al.* 2015: 65–83; Murillo *et al.* 2016: 78–88).

4 A Class Society: Aristocrats, Artisans and Peasants

From the commercial paradigm that interpreted the settlements as “commercial factories” and their inhabitants as traders, it was proposed that the rich burials in monumental tombs of ashlar or hypogeal chambers would house a rich group of private traders representing the Eastern trading “firms” in the West that would have led to colonisation.

Other researchers, such as ourselves, have argued that Phoenician colonisation would have a very unequal social composition (López Castro 1995: 40–43; López Castro 2006: 74–88). In general, we can assert that colonial society would be made up of at least three major social groups: the aristocracy, artisans and producers who had Phoenician roots, and native individuals employed as a labour force, in addition to native women for the purpose of forming mixed marriages to ensure biological reproduction. The abundant existence of non-wheel-thrown pottery produced by native labour in the colonial settlements has been attributed to the existence of local inhabitants, in particular women. In the archaeological record, these women would incorporate recognisable culinary

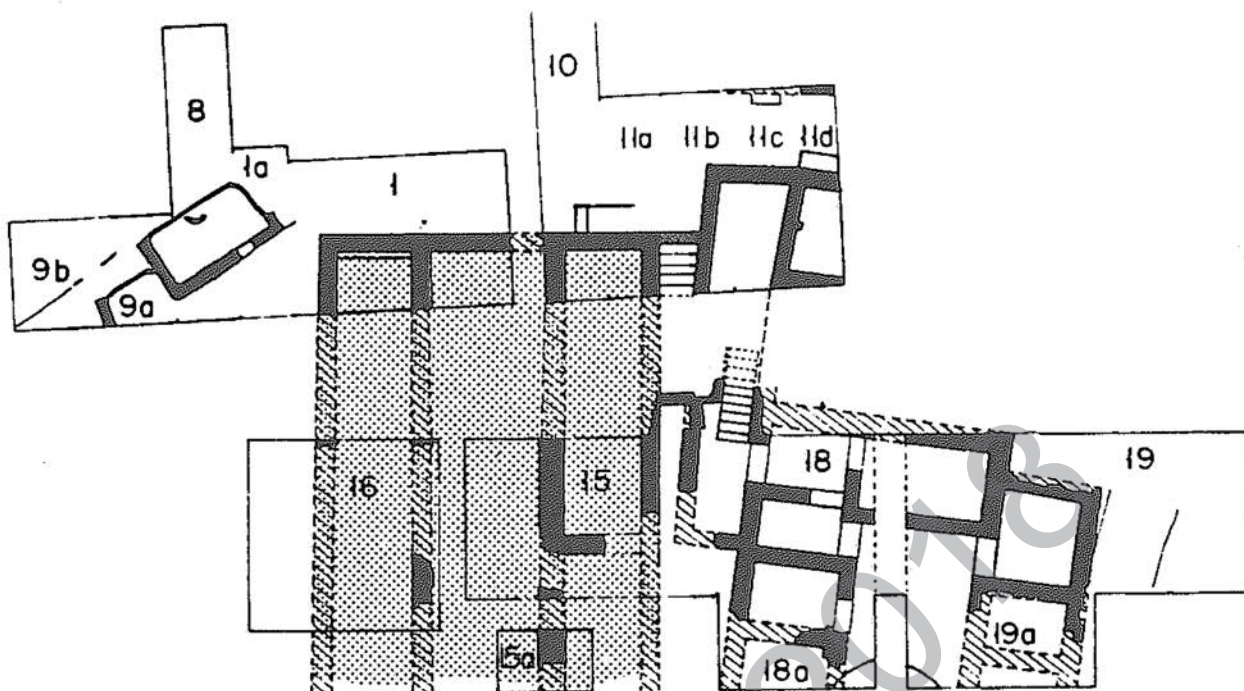


Fig. 8—Toscanos. The “storage house” (after Niemeyer 1985: 119, Fig. 6).

practices into colonial society, as well as knowledge of the territory and would form alliances with indigenous societies as a result of established kinship ties (López Castro: 2005: 405–21; Delgado, Ferrer 2007: 18–42).

The singular large buildings present in some colonial settlements, which have a large number of rooms for different functions, contrast with the contemporary three- or four-roomed urban houses of the *Teatro Cómico* in Cadix or the Castillo de Doña Blanca (Ruiz Mata 2001: 263). Following the “commercial paradigm”, commercial functions are attributed to these buildings, although other interpretations are possible. This is the case of the complex formed by the Toscanos buildings C and H with 22 rooms in total (Fig. 8). The first has 165 m² of surface area in several rooms interpreted as a warehouse for goods or as a commercial building based on several eastern parallels (Arnold, Marzoli 2009: 449). The neighbouring Toscanos building H covers 110 m² in 6 rooms distributed around a courtyard and has a tripartite floor, interpreted as a warehouse or as a commercial building (Niemeyer 1986: 113; Aubet 2000: 231–32). Another unique building should be added to this example, such as Morro de Mezquitilla house K with at least 17 rooms, and the Abul building in Portugal, which basically follows a tripartite scheme in its initial phase, with 16 rooms. It has been interpreted by its excavators as a “commercial residence” and as testimony of a strong social hierarchy (Schubart 1986: 59–83; Mayet, Tavares 2000: 160–67). The evident parallelism of these buildings with the palace-sanctuary of Cancho Roano (Zalamea de la Serena) (Fig. 9) has meant that the Toscanos building C is identified as an example of palatial architecture by some authors (Almagro, Dominguez 1988–89: 368–69; Prados 2001–2002: 173–80). Tripartite floors and in general complex plans also find parallels in the civil and religious

architecture of the East (Almagro; Dominguez 1988–89: 348–57; Mayet, Tavares 2000: 160) where it is confirmed how this constructive scheme was used in particular residential, administrative and religious buildings; so the colonial constructive complexes could very well correspond to residential complexes of Phoenician aristocrats.

The existence of aristocrats is supported in the funeral record. These individuals were buried in family cemeteries that we cannot properly call necropolises as they did not hold

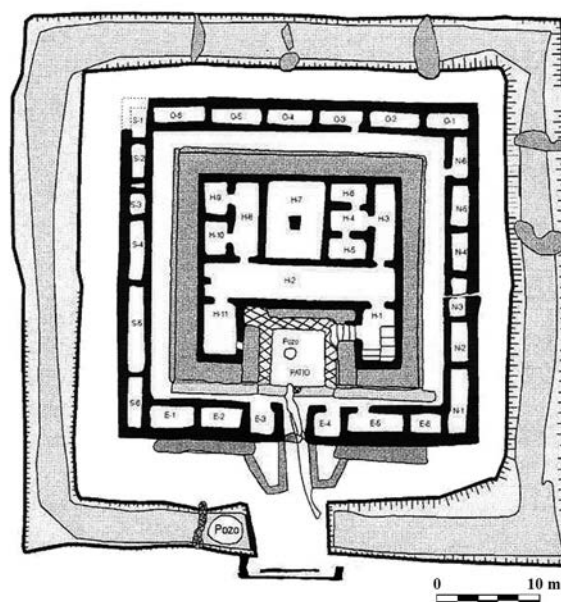


Fig. 9—The “Palace-Sanctuary” of Cancho Roano (after Celestino Pérez).

the entire deceased population. These are the cemeteries of Trayamar, belonging to Morro de Mezquitilla; Cerro del Mar, belonging to Toscanos; Lagos, belonging to Chorreras; Cerro de San Cristóbal and Puente de Noy, belonging to *Sexi* (Schubart, Niemeyer 1976; Arteaga 1977; Niemeyer 1979; Aubet *et al.* 1991; Pellicer 1963; Molina *et al.* 1982: 24, pl. 10–11; Molina, Huertas 1985: 31–42). They all consisted of a few sumptuous burials or chamber tombs, architecturally complex, exclusive, containing, in many cases, Egyptian-type alabaster vessels in funeral offerings as containers for cremated human remains. In Egypt and in the East these vessels were used as actual gifts or gifts to the gods to contain wine and perfumes. Outside Egypt, these vessels are concentrated mainly in the Iberian Peninsula, where their arrival, far from being plundered from Egyptian royal tombs as suggested by some authors, was due to their circulation in some cases as gifts between royalty and the aristocracy, while others would be manufactured and distributed in the trade networks, thereby fulfilling the same social function as items conferring prestige until their final amortization in the Phoenician tombs and in some cases in Tartessian tombs, where they are also found (López Castro 2006: 74–88).

These cemeteries did not welcome other social groups of the colonial population, for example, those located and associated with other establishments intended for agricultural exploitation such as Frigiliana (Arribas, Wilkins 1971), or those located in peripheral areas of the Far West, such as Can Partit in Ibiza (Gómez Bellard 1990; Costa *et al.* 1991) or Rachgoun on the Algerian coast (Vuillemot 1955), form necropolises that would be for the humblest social groups. These were made up of a hundred simple cremation burials in urns that in many cases contained no or meagre funeral offerings.

5 Exchange of Gifts and Mediterranean Trade

We have already mentioned how the temples in colonial areas were founded in the vicinity of urban areas, such as the Melqart temple of Cadix (Justin XLIV.5.2; Pomponius Mela III.46) or that of Lixus (Pliny XIX.63) and the performance of specific social functions constitutes the fundamental pillar of the ideological legitimation of colonisation and the exchange relationships created around it. In fact, the temple of Melqart and the cult to this divinity have been interpreted as one of the main bonds between the colonies and the Tyrian royal house (Aubet 1993: 234). The colonial temples also offered a model of social organisation, at the head of which were priests belonging to the Phoenician aristocracy, as can be seen, for example, from the account of the founding of Carthage (Justin XVIII.5.2) as well as other servants of the divinities who were of inferior rank and social position.

The Melqart cult is documented in *Sexi* and *Abdera* through written sources and late monetary iconography, as in *Malaka* (Malaga), where coins represent deities such as Reshef-Melqart and Shamash. The cult to the goddess Astarte, the sacred spouse of Melqart, is also documented in *Gadir*, *Sexi* and *Baria* (Villaricos) (López Castro 2003: 84–86).

The colonial aristocracy and the temples would be the two axes on which trade would be articulated, developing

two forms of parallel trade: aristocratic trade based on the exchange of gifts with native emerging elites and trade open to Phoenicians and other Mediterranean navigators, in the cities and in the *mqm* (López Castro 2000: 125–26). The indigenous societies of the late Bronze Age may well have maintained social relations based on the exchange of gifts. Individuals exchanging gifts established mutual obligations and were both debtors and creditors, which enabled bonds of solidarity to be established between them. With the exchange of gifts, social relations were established and reproduced, whether of reciprocity or dependence (Godelier 1998: 61–62 and 151–54). In the indigenous cultures it is very likely that the total reciprocal provision had already been surpassed in order to introduce asymmetrical forms in the exchange of gifts, such as the exchange of *potlatch* type competitive gifts, in which there would be competition for positions of rank and the existence of a dowry in marriage (*ibid.* p. 217), traits that we can document in the Tartessian archaeological record (López Castro 2005: 408–409).

These exchange relationships would procure raw materials from the native networks for the Phoenician aristocracies, mainly metals, in exchange for rich products from the Orient or manufactured in western settlements by Phoenician craftsmen for the emerging native aristocracies. These products were objects of high quality craftsmanship, which were part of the eastern aristocracy's and royalty's social practices. Representation of social differentiation was made possible in indigenous society by entering into the gift circuits and contributed to the elites in the process of consolidating themselves as hereditary aristocracies that reproduced themselves as dominant classes.

The evidence for these social practices can be traced in the archaeological record of local societies in a catalogue of objects that begins with the personal aspect, through the use of elements for the headdress and clothing, such as the rich purple-dyed garments, fibulas, perfumed oils, bronze mirrors and ivory combs, and especially gold and silver jewelry. The Phoenician aristocrats spread a new way of life among the emerging Tartessian aristocracy that reflected that of oriental royalty and the luxury characteristic of the archaic aristocracies of the eastern Mediterranean (López Castro 2005: 411–12). Forms of luxury that transformed interiors with the introduction of refined furniture including pieces of ivory and bronze for the decoration of seats, couches, boxes, and chests. The celebration of the banquet as a social expression among the eastern aristocracies of the Iberian South, spread over these centuries through a series of bronze objects such as skewers, cauldrons and jars, so-called *braseros*, and other containers such as trays and ladles (Jiménez Avila 2002: 135–51), not to mention the consumption of imported wine.

Unlike the exchanges between aristocrats, the Mediterranean trade appears to have been open to large segments of the population. In Cerro del Villar, a porticoed street divided into compartments of the *tabernae* type has been interpreted as a market place (Aubet 1997: 200–205). Small traders seemingly sold goods in a specific space as a specialized activity. In this context, the find of low-weight Phoenician weights (Aubet 2002: 31–35) would confirm that in this market place small daily exchanges apparently took place between socially



Fig. 10—Pedestal altar (limestone) from the Bajo de la Campana shipwreck (after Polzer 2014: 236, no. 125).

independent individuals, with the capacity to acquire goods in a society with a high degree of social division of labour.

We can reconstruct some aspects of the Mediterranean trade that took place in the colonial settlements from the amphoric finds and trace the formation of trade circuits between the Phoenician colonists of the south of the Iberian Peninsula and those of the central Mediterranean. Wine and oil, probably transported in Ramón T10-type amphorae, reached their widest circulation in the Far West in the second half of the 7th century and the first third of the 6th century BC, and were also distributed in areas of the central Mediterranean (Pardo 2015: 206–10). From the end of the 8th century BC a significant increase in imports of Greek, Carthaginian and Etruscan amphorae to be used to transport products such as wine and oil, as well as Greek and Etruscan fine ware, have been documented in the Phoenician settlements of the Far West that reached its zenith in the second half of the 7th century and in the first quarter of the 6th century BC (Docter 1999; Cabrera 2000; Domínguez, Sánchez 2001).

The Phoenician shipwreck of Bajo de la Campana sank on the southeast coast of the Iberian Peninsula in the late 7th century BC and is a good example of the products traded by western Phoenicians. The ship's cargo consisted of raw materials such as metals, in the form of tin, copper and lead ingots and elephant tusks for ivory (Mederos, Ruiz Cabrero 2004). Other raw materials were amber and resin. It was also transporting food in western Phoenician and Sardinian amphorae and ceramic vessels for wine consumption. The ship also stored luxury items such as bottles for perfume,

ostrich eggs, daggers decorated with ivory, alabaster vessels, of which some fragments have been recovered; pieces of bronze and carved ivory furniture, ritual bronze objects such as an incense burner and a cauldron, and also a stone altar (Polzer 2014) (Fig. 10).

At the end of the 8th century BC and during the first half of the 7th century BC, two major processes took place in the western colonial sphere: the expansion of the first growing colonies and the creation of trade networks in the western Mediterranean that replaced relations with the Phoenician East. The generalisation among the western Phoenicians of the city-state as a form of political articulation towards the end of the 7th century BC would end with the concept of *mqm*. The city-state institutions would, through alliances and treaties, regulate the trade relationships between cities, such as those described in the treaties between Rome and Carthage (Polybius III.24). New forms of managed commerce took over in the organization of trade, although some temples like that of Melqart in *Gadir* would continue playing an economic role in the subsequent centuries.

Acknowledgements

This work is a result of the HUM-2674 Project of Excellence: “The beginnings of the Phoenician presence in the south of the Iberian Peninsula and in North Africa”, financed by the Department of Economy Innovation, Science and Enterprise of the Regional Government of Andalusia. It forms part of the activities of the Campus of CEIMar International Excellence and the Communication and Society research centre at the University of Almeria.

References

- ALMAGRO-GORBEA M., DOMINGUEZ DE LA CONCHA A., 1988–89: “El palacio de Cancho Roano y sus paralelos arquitectónicos y funcionales”, *Zephyrus* XLI–XLII, p. 340–382.
- ALVAR J., GONZALEZ WAGNER C., 1988: “La actividad agrícola en la economía fenicia de la Península Ibérica”, *Gerión* 6, p. 169–185.
- AMADASI GUZZO M.-G., 1982: “Il vocablo *m’hd/m’hz* in ugaritico e in fenicio”, in S. Moscati (ed.). *Materiali lessicali ed epigrafici* I, “Collezione Studi Fenici” 13, Rome, p. 31–36.
- ARNOLD F., MARZOLI D., 2009: “Toscanos, Morro de Mezquitilla und Las Chorreras im 8. und 7. Jh. V. Chr. Siedlungsstruktur und Wohnhaustypologie”, in S. Helas, D. Marzoli (eds.). *Phönizisches und punisches Städtewesen*, Mainz, p. 461–472.
- ARRIBAS A., WILKINS J., 1971: *La necrópolis fenicia del Cortijo de las Sombras*, Granada.
- ARTEAGA O., 1977: “Vorbericht über die Grabungskampagne 1976 auf dem Cerro del Mar”, *Madriider Mitteilungen* 18, p. 101–115.
- ARRUDA A.-M., 2000: *Los Fenicios en Portugal. Fenicios y mundo indígena en el centro de Portugal (siglos VIII–VI a. C.)*, “Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea” 5–6, Barcelona.

- AUBET SEMLER M.-E., 1993: *The Phoenicians and the West. Politics, Colonies and Trade*, Cambridge.
- AUBET SEMLER M.-E., 1997: “Un lugar de mercado en el Cerro del Villar”, in M.-E. Aubet (ed.). *Los fenicios en Málaga*, Málaga, p. 197–213.
- AUBET SEMLER M.-E., 2000: “Arquitectura colonial e intercambio”, in A. González Prats (ed.). *Fenicios y territorio*, Alicante, p. 13–45.
- AUBET SEMLER M.-E., 2002: “Notas sobre tres pesos fenicios del Cerro del Villar”, in M.G. Amadasi, M. Liverani, P. Matthiae (eds.). *Da Pyrgi a Mozia, Studi sull’Archeologia del Mediterraneo in Memoria di A. Ciasca*, Roma, p. 29–40.
- AUBET SEMLER M.-E., 2003: *The Phoenicians and the West. Politics, Colonies and Trade*, Cambridge.
- AUBET SEMLER M.-E., NUÑEZ F.-J., TRELISÓ L., 2014: *The Phoenician Cemetery of Tyre-Al Bass II. Archaeological seasons 2002–2005*. I-II, Hors Série IX, *Bulletin d’Archéologie et d’Architecture libanaises*, Beirut.
- AUBET SEMLER M.-E., CZARNETZKI A., DOMÍNGUEZ C., GAMER WALLERT I., TRELISÓ L., 1991: *Sepulturas fenicias en Lagos (Vélez-Málaga, Málaga)*, Sevilla.
- BONET C., 1988: *Melqart. Cultes et mythes de l’Héraclès tyrien en Méditerranée*, Studia Phoenicia VIII, Namur.
- BONET C., 1996: *Astarté. Dossier documentaire et perspectives historiques*, Roma.
- BUENO SERRANO P., 2014: “Un asentamiento del Bronce Final-Hierro I en el Cerro del Castillo, Chiclana, Cádiz. Nuevos datos para la interpretación de Gadeira”, in M. Botto (ed.). *Los fenicios en la bahía de Cádiz. Nuevas investigaciones*, Pisa-Roma, p. 225–251.
- CABRERA BONET P., 2000: “El comercio jonio arcaico en la Península Ibérica”, in P. Cabrera, M. Santos (eds.). *Ceràmiques jònies d’època arcaica: centres de producció i comercialització al Mediterrani occidental*, Barcelona, p. 165–175.
- CARPINTERO LOZANO S., LÓPEZ CASTRO J.-L., MONTERO RUIZ I., 2015: “Metales y metalurgia en la Abdera fenicia. Datos isotópicos sobre la procedencia e intercambio de materias prima”, *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 88, p. 65–83.
- COSTA RIBAS B., FERNÁNDEZ GÓMEZ J.-H., GÓMEZ BELLARD C., 1991: “Ibiza fenicia: la primera fase de la colonización de la isla (siglos VII y VI a.C.)”, *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punic* (Roma 1987), vol. II, Roma, p. 759–795.
- DELGADO HERVÁS A., FERRER M., 2007: “Cultural Contacts in Colonial Settings: The Construction of New Identities in Phoenician Settlements of the Western Mediterranean”, *Stanford Journal of Archaeology* 5, p. 18–24.
- DOCTER R.F., 1999: “Transport Amphoras from Carthage and Toscanos: an economic-historical contribution to Phoenician expansion”, in A. González Prats (ed.). *Cerámica fenicia en Occidente. Centros de producción y comercio*, Alicante, p. 89–109.
- DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO A., SÁNCHEZ C., 2001: *Greek Pottery from the Iberian Peninsula. Archaic and Classical Period*, Leiden.
- FERNÁNDEZ FLORES Á., RODRÍGUEZ AZOGUE A., 2005: “El complejo monumental del Carambolo alto, Camas (Sevilla). Un santuario orientalizante en la paleodesembocadura del Guadalquivir”, *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 62–1, p. 111–138.
- FERNÁNDEZ FLORES Á., RODRÍGUEZ AZOGUE A., 2007: *Tartessos desvelado. La colonización fenicia del suroeste peninsular y el origen y ocaso de Tartessos*, Sevilla.
- FRANKENSTEIN S., 1979: “The Phoenicians in the Far West: a Function of Neo-Assyrian Imperialism”, in M. T. Larsen (ed.). *Power and Propaganda. Mesopotamia 7*, Copenhagen, p. 263–294.
- GARBINI G., 1992: “Magomadas”, *Rivista di Studi Fenici* XX, p. 181–187.
- GARCÍA ALFONSO E., 2012: “La arqueología fenicia en la provincia de Málaga en los albores del siglo XXI. Breve balance de una década (2001–2010)”, in E. Garcia Alfonso (ed.). *Diez años de arqueología fenicia en la provincia de Málaga (2001–2010). María del Mar Escalante Aguilar in memoriam*, Sevilla, p. 25–48.
- GARCÍA MENÁRGUEZ A., PRADOS MARTÍNEZ F., 2014: “La presencia fenicia en la Península Ibérica: el Cabezo Pequeño del Estaño (Guardamar del Segura, Alicante)”, *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 71 (1), p. 113–133.
- GENER BASALLOTE J.-M., NAVARRO GARCÍA M.-A., PAJUELO SÁEZ J.-M., TORRES ORTIZ M., LÓPEZ ROSENDO E., 2014: “Arquitectura y urbanismo de la Gadir fenicia: el yacimiento del “Teatro Cómico” de Cádiz”, in M. Botto (ed.). *Los fenicios en la bahía de Cádiz. Nuevas investigaciones*, Pisa-Roma, p. 14–50.
- GÓMEZ BELLARD C., 1990: *La colonización fenicia en la isla de Ibiza, “Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España”* 157, Madrid.
- GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES F., SERRANO L., LLOMPART J., 2004: *El emporio fenicio precolonial de Huelva (ca. 900–770 a.C.)*, Madrid.
- GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES F., SERRANO L., LLOMPART J., 2006: “The Pre-colonial Phoenician emporium of Huelva ca 900–700 BC”, *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 81, p. 13–29.
- GODELIER M., 1998: *El enigma del don*, Madrid.
- GONZÁLEZ PRATS A., 2011: *La Fonteta. Excavaciones de 1996–2002 en la colonia fenicia de la actual desembocadura del río Segura (Guardamar de Segura, Alicante)*, Alicante.
- GONZÁLEZ WAGNER C., ALVAR EZQUERRA J., 1989: “Fenicios en Occidente: la colonización agrícola”, *Rivista di Studi Fenici* XVII, p. 61–102.
- GROTANELLI C., 1981: “Santuari e divinità delle colonie d’Occidente”, in *La religione fenicia. Matrici orientali e sviluppi occidentali*, Roma, p. 109–133.
- JIMÉNEZ AVILA J., 2002: *La toréutica orientalizante en la Península Ibérica*, Madrid.
- JUZGADO NAVARRO M., SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ-MORENO V.-M., GALINDO SAN JOSÉ L., 2016: “La Fase I de la necrópolis fenicia arcaica del Cortijo de San Isidro (Bahía de Málaga). Reflejos en Occidente del ritual fenicio de enterramiento a finales del s. IX a.C.”, *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología* 42, p. 103–118.
- KRAHMALKOV C. R., 2000: *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*, Leuven.
- LIPÍŃSKI E., 1994: “L’amenagement des villes dans la terminologie phénico-punique”, in *L’Africa romana*, Sassari, p. 121–133.
- LIPÍŃSKI E., 1995: *Dieux et déesses de l’univers phénicien et punique*, Louvain.
- LÓPEZ CASTRO J.-L., 1995: *Hispania Poena. Los fenicios en la Hispania romana*, Barcelona.

- LÓPEZ CASTRO J.-L., 2000: "Formas de intercambio de los fenicios occidentales en época arcaica", in P. Fernández Uriel, C. González Wagner, F. López Pardo (eds.), *Intercambio y comercio preclásico en el Mediterráneo*, Madrid, p. 123-136.
- LÓPEZ CASTRO J.-L., 2005: "Aristocracia fenicia y aristocracias autóctonas. Relaciones de intercambio", in S. Celestino, J. Jiménez Avila (eds.), *El Periodo Orientalizante*, "Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología" XXXII, Madrid, p. 405-421.
- LÓPEZ CASTRO J.-L., 2006: "Colonials, merchants and alabaster vases: the western Phoenician aristocracy", *Antiquity* 80, p. 74-88.
- LÓPEZ CASTRO J.-L., 2012: "La influencia fenicia y cartaginesa en la organización del territorio hispano", in J. Santos Yanguas, G. Cruz Andreotti (eds.), *Romanización, fronteras y etnias en la Roma antigua: el caso hispano*, Vitoria, p. 113-142.
- LÓPEZ CASTRO J.-L., FERJAOUI A., MEDEROS MARTÍN A., MARTÍNEZ HAHNMÜLLER V., BEN JERBANIA I., 2016: "La colonización fenicia inicial en el Mediterráneo Central: nuevas excavaciones arqueológicas en Utica (Túnez)", *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 73 (1), p. 68-89.
- LÓPEZ CASTRO J.-L., MARTÍNEZ HAHNMÜLLER V., MOYA COBOS L., PARDO BARRIONUEVO C.-A., 2017: "Cortijo Riquelme y los orígenes de la presencia fenicia en el Sureste peninsular", in F. Prados Martínez, F. Sala Sellés (eds.), *El Oriente de Occidente. Fenicios y púnicos en el área ibérica*, Alicante, p. 209-230.
- MANFREDI L.-I., 1993: "LKS e MQM SMS: nuovi dati dal convegno su Lixus 1989", *Suppl. Rivista di Studi Fenici* XXI, p. 95-102.
- MARTÍN CÓRDOBA E., RAMÍREZ SÁNCHEZ J. de D., RECIO RUIZ A., 2006: "Producción alfarera fenicio-púnica en la costa de Vélez-Málaga (siglos VIII-V a.C.)", *Mainake* XXVIII, p. 257-287.
- MARTÍN CÓRDOBA E., RECIO RUIZ A., RAMÍREZ SÁNCHEZ J. de D., MORENO ARAGÜEZ A., 2008: "Neue Phönizische Fundorte and der Küste von Vélez-Málaga (Prov. Málaga)", *Madrider Mitteilungen* 49, p. 145-187.
- MAYET F., TAVARES DA SILVA C., 2000: *L'établissement phénicien d'Abul*, Paris.
- MEDEROS MARTÍN A., 2005a: "Las puertas del sol. Ugaríticos y chipriotas en el Mediterráneo central y occidental (1300-1185 AC)", in J.-M. Córdoba, M.C. del Cerro (eds.), *Isimu 8. La arqueología reencontrada. Homenaje a Paolo Matthiae en su sexagésimo quinto aniversario (II)*, Madrid, p. 35-84.
- MEDEROS MARTÍN A., 2005b: "La cronología fenicia. Entre el Mediterráneo oriental y el occidental", in S. Celestino, J. Jiménez Avila (eds.), *El Periodo Orientalizante*, "Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología" XXXII, Madrid, p. 305-346.
- MEDEROS MARTÍN A., RUIZ CABRERO L.-A., 2004: "El pecio fenicio del Bajo de la Campana (Murcia, España) y el comercio del marfil norteafricano", *Zephyrus* 57, p. 263-281.
- MOLINA FAJARDO F., HUERTAS JIMÉNEZ C., 1985: *Almuñécar en la Antigüedad. La necrópolis fenicio-púnica de Puente de Noy*, II. Granada.
- MOLINA FAJARDO F., RUIZ RODRÍGUEZ A., HUERTAS JIMÉNEZ C., 1982: *Almuñécar en la Antigüedad. La necrópolis fenicio-púnica de Puente de Noy*, Granada.
- MOYA COBOS L., 2016: *Tyria Maria. Los fenicios occidentales y la explotación de los recursos marinos*, Sevilla.
- MURILLO-BARROSO M., MONTERO RUIZ I., RAFEL N., HUNT ORTIZ M.-A., ARMADA X.-L., 2016: "The macro-regional scale of silver production in Iberia during the first millennium BC in the context of mediterranean contacts", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 35 (1), p. 75-100.
- NIEMEYER H.-G., 1979: "Toscanos. Campañas de 1973 y 1976 (con un apéndice sobre los resultados de la campaña de 1978)", *Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico* 6, p. 221-258.
- NIEMEYER H.-G., 1986: "El yacimiento de Toscanos: urbanística y función", in G. del Olmo, M.E. Aubet (eds.), *Los fenicios en la Península Ibérica* I, Sabadell, p. 109-126.
- OSUNA RUIZ M., BEDIA GARCÍA J., DOMÍNGUEZ RICO A.-M., 2001: "El santuario protohistórico hallado en la calle Méndez Núñez (Huelva)", in P. Cabrera, M. Santos (eds.), *Ceràmiques jònies d'època arcaica: centres de producció i comercialització al Mediterrani occidental*, Barcelona, p. 177-188.
- PARDO BARRIONUEVO C.-A., 2015: *Economía y sociedad rural fenicia en el Mediterráneo Occidental*, Sevilla.
- PELLICER CATALÁN M., 1963: *Excavaciones en la necrópolis púnica "Laurita" del Cerro de San Cristóbal (Almuñécar, Granada)*, "Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España" 17, Madrid.
- POLZER M.E., 2014: "The Bajo de la Campana Shipwreck and Colonial Trade in Phoenician Spain", in J. Aruz, S.-B. Graff, Y. Rakic (eds.), *Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age*, New York, p. 230-242, 369-370.
- PRADOS MARTÍNEZ F., 2001-2002: "¿Almacenes o centros redistribuidores de carácter sacro? Una reflexión en torno a un modelo arquitectónico tipificado en la protohistoria mediterránea", *Estudios Orientales* 5-6, p. 173-180.
- RAMON TORRES J., 2007: *Excavaciones arqueológicas en el asentamiento fenicio de Sa Caleta (Ibiza)*, "Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea" 16, Barcelona.
- RENZI M., MONTERO-RUIZ I., BODE M., 2009: "Non-ferrous metalurgy from the Phoenician site of La Fonteta (Alicante, Spain): a study of provenance", *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36, p. 2584-2596.
- ROUILLARD P., GAILLED RAT É., SALAS SALLÉS F., 2007: *Fouilles de la Râbita de Guardamar, II. L'établissement protohistorique de La Fonteta (fin VIII^e-fin VI^e s. av. J.-C.)*, Madrid.
- RUIZ MATA D., 2001: "Arquitectura y urbanismo en la ciudad protohistórica del Castillo de Doña Blanca", in D. Ruiz Mata, S. Celestino Pérez (eds.), *Arquitectura oriental y orientalizante en la Península Ibérica*, Madrid, p. 261-274.
- SÁEZ ROMERO A.-M., 2014: "Fish processing and salted-fish trade in the Punic West: new archaeological data and historical evolution", in E. Botte, V. Leitch (eds.), *Fish and ships: production et commerce des salsamenta durant l'Antiquité*, "Bibliothèque d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne et Africaine" 17, Paris-Aix-en-Provence, p. 159-174.
- SÁNCHEZ MANZANO M.-A., 2001: "Introducción", in *Veleyo Patérculo, Historia Romana*, "Biblioteca Clásica Gredos" 284, Madrid, p. 7-41.
- SÁNCHEZ-MORENO V.-M., GALINDO SAN JOSÉ L., JUZGADO NAVARRO M., DUMAS PENUELAS M., 2012: "El asentamiento fenicio de La Rebanadilla a finales del siglo IX a.C.", in E. García Alfonso (ed.), *Diez años de arqueología fenicia en la provincia de*

- Málaga (2001-2010). *María del Mar Escalante Aguilar in memoriam*, Sevilla, p. 67-86.
- SCHUBART H., 1986: "El asentamiento fenicio del siglo VIII en el Morro de Mezquitilla (Algarrobo, Málaga)", in G. del Olmo, M.-E. Aubet (eds.). *Los fenicios en la Península Ibérica I*, Sabadell, p.59-83.
- SCHUBART H., NIEMEYER H.G., 1976: *Trayamar. Los hipogeos fenicios y el asentamiento en la desembocadura del río Algarrobo*, "Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España" 90, Madrid.
- TEIXIDOR J., 1993: "Un terme ouest-semitique pour *emporion*?", in A. Bresson, P. Rouillard (dir.). *L'Emporion*, Paris, p. 85-87.
- TORRES ORTIZ M., LÓPEZ ROSENDO E., GENER BASALLOTE J.-M., NAVARRO GARCÍA M.-A., PAJUELO SÁEZ J.-M., 2014: "El material cerámico de los contextos fenicios del "Teatro Cómico" de Cádiz: un análisis preliminar", in M. Botto (ed.), *Los fenicios en la bahía de Cádiz. Nuevas investigaciones*, Pisa-Roma, p. 51-82.
- VUILLEMOT G., 1955: "La nécropole punique du phare dans l'île de Rachgoun", *Libyca* III, p. 7-62.
- WHITTAKER C., 1974: "The western Phoenicians: colonisation and assimilation", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 200 (n.s. 20), p. 58-79.

© PULM, 2018

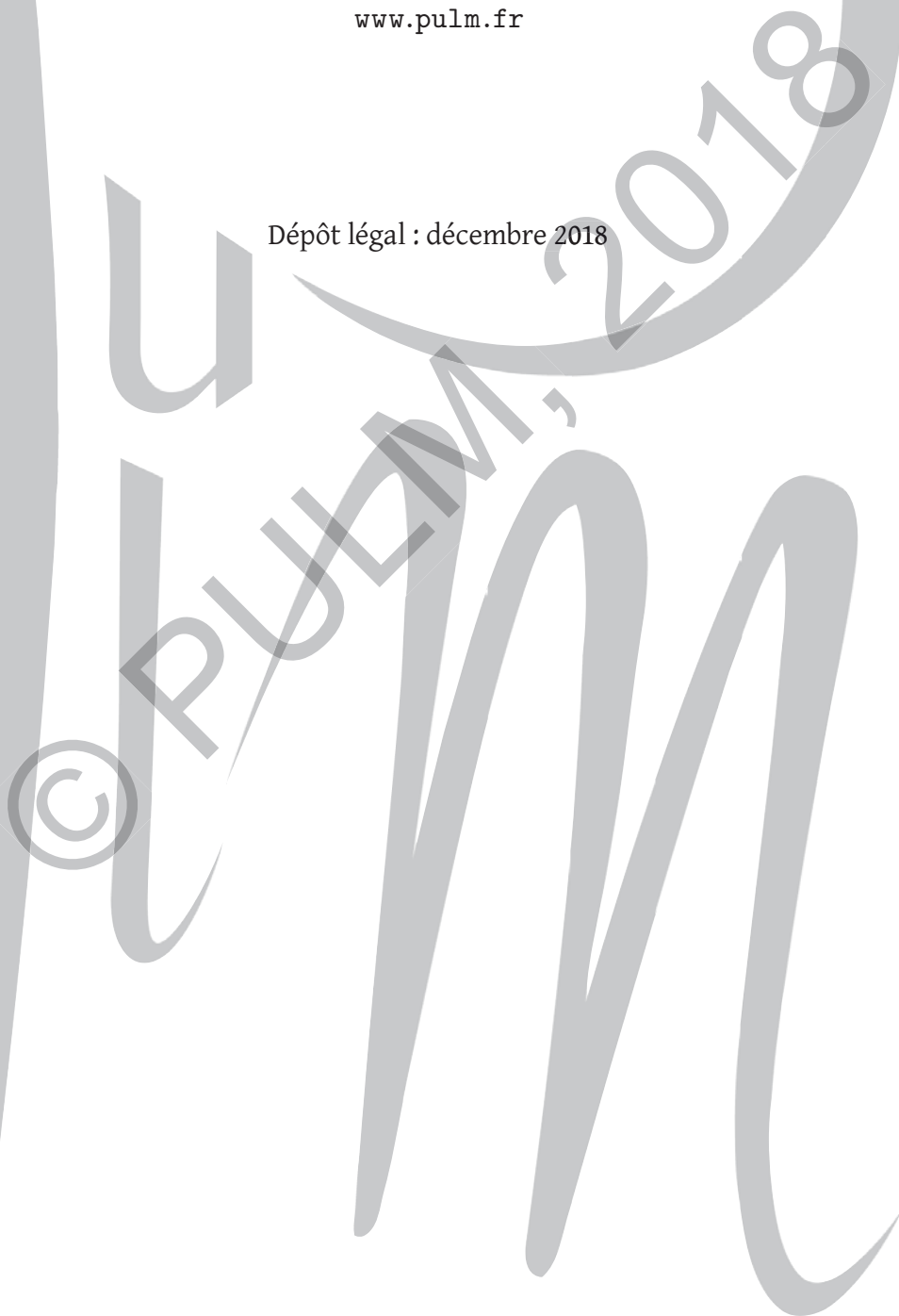
Titres déjà parus
dans la même collection

- *Asa Koma. Site néolithique dans le bassin du Gobaad (République de Djibouti)*, GUTHERZ X., 2017.
- *Launac et le Launacien. Dépôts de bronzes protohistoriques du sud de la Gaule*, GUILAINE J., 2017.
- *Maxime de Tyr, entre théorique et philosophie au II^e siècle de notre ère*, coordonné par PÉREZ-JEAN B. & FAUQUIER F., 2016.
- *Anagia. Les oppida de la Vaunage et la cité gauloise des Castels à Nages (Gard)*, coordonné par PY M., 2015.
- *Espaces urbains et périurbains dans le monde méditerranéen antique*, MÉNARD H. & PLANA-MALLART R. (dir.), 2015.
- *Espaces coloniaux et indigènes sur les rivages d'Extrême-Occident méditerranéen (X^e-III^e s. av. n. ère)*, GAILLED RAT É., 2014.
- *Contacts de cultures, constructions identitaires et stéréotypes dans l'espace méditerranéen antique*, MÉNARD H. & PLANA-MALLART R., 2014.
- *Paysages ruraux et territoires dans les cités de l'occident romain. Gallia et Hispania*, FICHES J.-L., PLANA-MALLART R. & REVILLA CALVO V., 2014.
- *QVID NOVI ? Vivre, penser et dire la nouveauté*, ECHALIER L., GUÉRIN C., LUCIANI S. & PÉREZ-JEAN B., 2013.
- *La Pomme d'Éris — Le conflit et sa représentation dans l'Antiquité*, MÉNARD H., SAUZEAU P. & THOMAS J.-F., 2012.
- *Achille-Eschyle — Mythe ancien et mythe nouveau — Les Sept contre Thèbes et Leucippé et Clitophon*, MALOSSE P.-L. & PÉREZ-JEAN B., 2012.
- *Grammairiens et philosophes dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine*, PÉREZ B. & GRIFFE M., 2008.
- *Les armes dans l'Antiquité*, SAUZEAU P. & VAN COMPERNOLLE T., 2007.
- *Djet et Neheh. Une histoire du temps égyptien*, SERVAJEAN F., 2007.
- *Ptolémée Philadelphie et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou*, TIERS C., 2007.
- *L'encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal, tome 4, Croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne — Flore et botanique sacrée des anciens Égyptiens*, AUFRÈRE S.H., ASENSI H. & DE VARTAVAN C., 2005.
- *L'encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal, tome 3, Croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne*, AUFRÈRE S.H., 2005.
- *Le chœur dans la tragédie et la comédie grecques — Les Oiseaux d'Aristophane*, NOËL M.-P., 2005.

© PULM, 2018

PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE LA MÉDITERRANÉE
(Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3)
pulm@univ-montp3.fr
www.pulm.fr

Dépôt légal : décembre 2018



© PULM, 2018