Testing Hybridity

in Early Iron Age Iberia using ceramics and theory to explain the significance of Phoenician 'colonialism'

Beatrijs de Groot

Cover photo: Site and locations of Orientalizing features in the landscape between Medellín and Cerro Manzanillo (photo by: A. Gil Romero in Rodríguez Díaz *et al.* (eds) 2009, 211).

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Using ceramics and theory to explain the significance of Phoenician 'colonialism'

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PREFACE

My interest in the grey-ware of Iron Age Spain and in particular the typologies from the region around Medellín in Extremadura evolved because I was interested in hybridity in archaeology. I wanted to investigate what this phenomenon can tell us about ancient civilizations. In my bachelor I developed an interest in Phoenician archaeology. Phoenician archaeology seemed to me a way to underscore the complexity of the theory of hybridity because Phoenician material culture has been defined as eclectic and of mixed origin. To see how a culture that is hybrid mixes with another culture seemed to me a way to test theories around stylistic change. Because of the long tradition of interest that has been paid to the subject of proto-history in Spain this seemed to be a good place to study hybridity in archaeology. I arrived at the investigation of grey-ware typologies in the first place because I was interested in the hybridity that is accessible to every class of society to be able to investigate the tastes, habits and mentality of an entire community, rather than a small part of society. Ceramic studies offer an easy access into the daily activities of ancient societies. However, during the process of studying the literature about grey-ware in Early Iron Age Iberia, I encountered some problems with the arguments that were used to prove its 'hybridity'. Instead of clarifying the process of classification; the majority of the articles I have read established un-transparent typologies based on specialist ideas. The majority of the articles was meant as a tool for classification and left the questions 'why', 'how' and 'by whom' these ceramics were made unanswered. Finally, the present state of knowledge about grey-ware seems to me a bit of a mess to the outsider. A lot has been written about the subject, I my view, a bit too much. Instead of following one typology, every new database seems to have a typology of its own. Only in rare cases these typologies are linked to previous typologies. It was therefore a lot of work to link all types and get a standardized vision of these types In the first place I attempted to standardize the typologies. Secondly I tried to link certain features of the shapes to Bronze Age typologies and typologies of Phoenician ceramics. Although I am aware that it is a naïve attempt to try to find clear hybrid characteristics in the shapes with my limited knowledge on the subject without the help of a specialist in grey-ware typologies, Iberian Bronze Age ceramics and Phoenician ceramics, I still have the opinion that when hybridity is used, the use of the term must be clarified, preferably with a testable method.

I want to express my gratitude to everyone who has helped me during the course of this thesis. In the first place, the people who helped me find my way in around in Spanish archaeology; Professor Mayoral Herrera of the institute of Archaeology in Mérida who has been kind enough to help me by arranging that I could join the excavation of a proto-historic/Roman settlement near Zalamea de la Serena near Medellín under the lead to Sebastian Celestino Pérez in August 2010. A year later, Professor Mayoral Herrera offered me the opportunity to study the ceramics of his survey in the region around Medellín to see if it would be useful for my investigation.

Furthermore I would like to thank Professor Theresa Chapa Brunet of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid who arranged that I could access the CSIC library to find relevant literary sources that were not available in Leiden, and the scholars I that offered their help during my stay in Madrid (Maria Belén Deamos, Jesús Álvarez Sanchís, Mariano Torres Ortiz and Luis Escacena Carrasco). I also would like to thank the participants of the Zalamea de la Serena excavation, who taught me how to communicate in Spanish, and the members of the Institute of Archaeology in Mérida.

Conclusively, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor John Bintliff, who has been kind enough to keep an eye on me during the past two years and supported me to develop my own research.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In Mediterranean archaeology, the Phoenicians do not usually get the attention they deserve. The stage is usually filled by topics that deal with Greek and Roman archaeology. However, the evolution of Mediterranean culture started as much with the Phoenician colonization of this area, as with the Etruscan and Greek expansion. In fact, the Phoenicians were the first seafaring civilization that occupied the whole Mediterranean and left their mark everywhere they went. As soon as this process of integration of the Mediterranean started, material culture began to intermix. A Mediterranean koine of so-called Orientalizing culture styles evolved. In this context, the word koine can be defined as *'a set of shared cultural forms across cultural boundaries'* (Versluys 2010, 12). Although oriental style covered the Mediterranean basin like a blanket, regional differences are visible. The assemblage that formed the koine allowed each region in the Mediterranean to pick the stylistic and technological aspects of preference. At a certain point in time, the koine seems to have broken down in two parts and later slowly disappeared as a consequence of local influences (Maass-Lindemann 2006, 300).

The hybridity of material culture in Mediterranean archaeology in the Early Iron Age is the subject of this thesis. This period is important because it marks the beginning of the increasing interconnectedness of the Mediterranean. From about 800 BC, as a result of newly established trade centers, the political, religious and stylistic traditions of the various Mediterranean regions started to integrate. The Iberian Peninsula is a major player in the field. A long history of increasing complexity predated the Phoenician colonization. Still, the Phoenicians were of great influence, as indicated by the material culture of the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula.

The importance of these earliest steps towards a 'Mediterranean culture' must be explored in depth because they mark the beginning of the Mediterranean culture as we know it today. That we speak of 'the Mediterranean' without even bothering to acknowledge that it consists of separate countries is actually the result of long term processes seeping through every layer of society. How did this process work, and can it be used to say something about Iberian or Phoenician society, mentality or identity?

The changes that occurred in the Iberian Peninsula in the Early Iron Age (from the 8th to 6th centuries BC) will be analyzed focusing on the ceramic assemblage of that period. Of specific interest is the 'Orientalizing' grey-ware because it is a type of ceramic that

developed from local Iberian and Phoenician cultural and technological traditions. The reconstruction of the dynamics of the colonial encounters in Iron Age Iberia will revolve around the question: what can the study of hybrid material culture contribute to the understanding of social processes that took place during the Early Iron Age in the Iberian Peninsula? Therefore it must be explored what hybridity actually is and how the term can be used. This thesis will deal with the basic assumptions about the hybridity of Orientalizing culture and grey-ware and try to find traces of the hybridization process of this ware in order to conclude in what way grey-ware exactly is hybrid. Therefore, the issues that were established in the past on the subject of Orientalism and oriental style are of relevance because: what is oriental style and what does it say in this context? The deeper understanding of this question is often neglected. Academic studies usually seem to think that attaching the name-tag 'oriental' to an object is enough to build theories upon, without explaining why this object is oriental, and what oriental exactly is anyway. The classification of material culture in stylistic and functional groups has a central role in much archaeological research, in typologies for dating, and hypotheses about cultural contact. However, as we shall find out, classification is often not a transparent, replicable process, which should be the basis of every scientific research.[1]

Ceramics provide a valuable source of information; although fragile, usually ceramics preserve well in the ground, they are present on archaeological sites and on the surface in abundance, and most importantly, they were available to all classes of society. The wide availability of Orientalizing/hybrid ceramics is underscored by their appearance in regions far from the original Phoenician centers. To understand what the implications of this process are for Iberian society, it is in the first place important to understand how this style evolved. To test its hybridity there must be a way to distinguish oriental from regional styles through the analysis of the forms of these ceramics. A case study will focus on the grey-ware from the region around Medellín, an Orientalizing center in the Vegas Altas del Guadiana, Extremadura. Although this area is located far from the Phoenician colonies, the style of the ceramics is Orientalizing. To establish an idea about the way in which style spreads and is adopted in Early Iron Age society an analysis of the forms within the grey-ware typology has been carried out. The form variation within the area will be combined with the environmental context and theoretical ideas about oriental culture and Iron Age Iberian society.

[1] We can only have knowledge of things we are able to experience. The replicability of the method is therefore required in scientific research (after David Hume, 1740).

This chapter will provide an orientation on the subject and its problems. The difficulty of relating social processes to material culture remains leads to theoretical questions. In the archaeology of colonial encounters it involves the problem of defining a social identity on the basis of a type of material culture that was used in the past. Cultural mixing in archaeology is therefore a complex field that leaves room for endless debates about the relevance of stylistic analysis for empirical research into past societies. The theory of hybridization in archaeology will be illustrated subsequently with the help of some recent developments in this field. A brief historical overview of the cultural traditions we are dealing with (the Phoenician colonizers and the societies that occupied the Iberian Peninsula before the arrival of the Phoenicians) will follow. It is essential to know what characterizes a culture to be able to see in which way a hybrid situation came to be. The motives of the colonizer together with the values and political organization of the indigenous community might clarify why a certain type of response resulted from colonial contact. It is important to determine the way in which both cultures responded to each other in order to clarify the motives behind the hybridization of material culture.

In the second chapter, the material culture we are dealing with will be discussed; namely the pottery assemblages of the (West)Phoenicians, and the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Iberian Peninsula. In the first place, it is interesting to see what characterized the material culture of both the Phoenician and the Iberian traditions. The first part will discuss Phoenician material culture and the influences it has experienced, together with the influences it evoked. Studies in the past have reconstructed possible narratives that can be read behind the cultural borrowing of objects that took place in the eastern and western Mediterranean at the beginning of the first millennium BC. The main subject of research, the Orientalizing ceramics of the Iron Age Peninsula, will be discussed in detail, incorporating the past and recent efforts taken by scholars in this field to establish ceramic typologies.

The third chapter discusses a ceramic assemblage which developed during the transition to the Early Iron Age in the Iberian Peninsula and is considered as the product of Late Bronze Age Iberian ceramic tradition, mixed with Phoenician ceramic style and typologies. This material class will be the focus of this thesis because it is used as the basis of the theoretical debate about style and function in relation with processes of social change. It is an important class to investigate because it underscores the hybridity of material culture, without directly revealing what this implies for archaeological research.

The fourth chapter is a case study of the region of Medellín where the influences of Phoenician material culture style reached the archaeological record indirectly. The spread of

Orientalizing culture in ceramics that were used in daily life, even in the settlements that were not associated with high status individuals provides a link to the classes of society that often tend to be neglected in archaeological research. The lower classes of the stratified society also used ceramics that were classified as Orientalizing. The ceramic assemblage of the site of Cerro Manzanillo in the Vegas Altas del Guadiana (Badajoz, Extremadura) will be analyzed on the basis of their form and type. Ceramic style, to a certain extent, can be used to determine a degree of uniformity in the area and also to see if it is possible to see Phoenician influences in technique and form.

The fifth chapter will contain a discussion of the case study and the present state of research. On the basis of the information presented and the theoretical discussions a conclusion will be built. In the discussion the problematic nature of oriental style, the multi-interpretability of archaeological remains will be at the center of the debate. However, it will also try to show the possibilities of material culture studies if done properly. Therefore, a more thorough investigation of material remains and a deeper understanding of the processes of cultural evolution must be taken into account.

The lion's share of the concluding chapter will be reserved for the objectives of future research. The way in which this theoretical question can be taken care of requires a set of skills, an extensive material database and a fair amount of time.

I.1 Theoretic Framework

This thesis is based on a combination of theoretical approaches:

- Material culture is a medium involved in social practice (Hall 1989, 189) and therefore, when decoded, acts as a reflection of that practice.
- *'Diet and culinary practices are inextricably linked to all aspects of social, political and economic life'* (Meadows 1997). The functional aspects of pottery vessels often reflect these culinary practices and therefore can be used to reflect society-wide customs.
- Through the study of ceramics from the Early Iron Age Iberian Peninsula, the processes of social, political and economic change can be approached.

I.1.1 The response to a colonial situation

The research approach of interregional interaction since the emergence of post-processual thinking is based on agency, practice, ideology, the active role of material culture in negotiating cultural identity, and the importance of historical contingency. From a processual point of view we can study the recognition of the importance of political economy, a

comparative analytical framework, and a concern with replicable methodologies that use archaeological data (Stein 2005, 6). The situation resulting from interregional interaction is often visible in the material culture of the area. But what does this material culture reflect in terms of the social processes preceding this cultural change?

In the following chapters the effect of the colonial situation in Iron Age Iberia will be explored, both in the colonies as in the indigenous sites. According to Burke (2009) there are four types of response to cultural invasions; acceptance, rejection, segregation, and adaptation (Burke 2009, 79). These responses can be placed within Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice. The theory of practice poses a framework to explain human action. This theoretical framework enables cultural contact to be approached as the *'meeting of individuals or groups who adopted new practices in particular structural contexts'* (Vives-Ferrándiz 2008, 243). There is no general way in which a society responds. Whether the invaded society accepts, rejects, segregates from or adapts to a foreign culture depends on a variety of factors that can be linked to economic, political and social characteristics of both societies. Together, these characteristics form what we may call the cultural identity of the society. This generalized form of group identity is formed by the characteristics of a society that defines its way of life and its way of dealing with a colonial situation. In a situation where two different cultures meet, cultural groups redefine themselves. The deep rooted traditions might grow stronger and resistance against the new wave of influences could occur. The presence of a distinct group of people might enable the redefinition of ways of life and expressions of identity. Another possibility is that the new situation enables the adoption of new cultural forms and ways of identifying with the other, leading to the adaptation to this new culture. A segregated way of response means that a population might pick from the koine whatever aspects they prefer. However, the freedom to choose identity in a situation where there are different options is also dependent on the intentions of all parties involved in the encounter.

Intentions and responses are difficult to define when dealing with material culture alone. The colonial contact situations in Iron Age Mediterranean cannot be generalized with the responses of other colonial encounters in history (Hodos 2006, 200). To avoid biased conclusions it is therefore important to note that the responses by Burke are based on historical models that do not necessarily fit Mediterranean prehistory.

I.1.2 Hybridity

Hybridization or hybridity are concepts that have been appropriated from by Bhabha (1985), who was originally professor of English and American language, to indicate the processes of intermixing between societies. The word has its roots in 19th century biology to define the possibility of cross-breeding between animals to define whether they belonged to the same species or not (Cañete and Vives-Ferrándiz 2011, 126). Hybridization is the cultural 'in-betweenness' that can be the result of a colonial encounter. What follows is a product that is neither the one nor the other but a fusion of both. The use of the word hybridization has been a subject of debate since the biological metaphor has been used to denote a lack of (racial) purity. Another problem is the ease with which the term lends itself to all forms of cultural contact. Almost every situation that follows when cultures meet will result in some form of intermixing, as denoted by Burke;

> *'Examples of cultural hybridity are to be found everywhere, not only all over the globe but in most domains of culture; syncretic religions, eclectic philosophies, mixed languages and cuisines, and hybrid styles in architecture, literature or music. It would be unwise to assume that the term 'hybridity' has exactly the same meaning in all these cases'* (Burke 2009, 13).

This thesis discusses material culture in the process of hybridization that has ultimately become hybrid itself. In order to clarify what hybrid material culture indicates in a colonial situation the hybrid product must be connected to the process of hybridization. This challenging task has its roots in the connection between stylistic change and the identification of its producers.

In material culture studies identity is sought in the symbolic nature of style. Butler's theory of performativity describes the establishment of identity. The repetition of performances creates the identity. Repetition is seen as a reenactment and re-experiencing of a set of socially established meanings, legitimized through 'stylized repetition' (Hodos 2010, 18). Butler sees this performativity as an active process. Changes in the performances occur when there is a failure to repeat, this is usually the result of arbitrariness in the relations between acts. The changes occur passively, they are the result of unconscious alterations in the act of performance. Some scholars see stylistic patterns in material culture as unconscious reflections of social or cultural phenomena (Dietler and Herbich 1998, 245). This theory is opposed by the idea of 'isochrestism'. This term, as defined by Sackett (Sackett 1986),

describes the socially bound options within a functional form, these can be variable without changing anything in the function of the material. The appearance of the same functional form is therefore variable. This variability in style is ascribed to the artisan's choice (Sackett 1986, 268).

At the same time, according to structuralism theory (Deetz 1977; Glassie 1975; Hodder 1982), deep cognitive structures underlie social relations and cultural practices. These structures are expressed in stylistic traditions and function on a passive level. In some cases, material culture is also seen as a medium of communication in an active way. In this approach, the manipulation of styles and symbols is a direct reflection of social relations (Hodder 1982; Plog 1980; Wiessner 1983; Wobst 1977). There are cases in which material culture is actively used to communicate ethnographic identity. In the case of research on pottery styles of the Ecuadorian Amazon conducted by Bowser (Bowser 2000), decorations on pottery are used to signify current political alliances. Material culture can thus be used to negotiate both political and ethnological identity in an active way. A clarifying study of pottery style and technology in relation with identity in sub-Saharan Africa conducted by Gosselain (Gosselain 2008) also shows that the distribution of fashioning techniques follows a series of meaningful boundaries between individuals and communities: language divisions, castes, and gender. Therefore, they give us information about a category of social networks built upon cultural or even kin affiliation rather than geographical proximity, and about major historical processes such as migration and acculturation, provided that local patterns of change are analyzed (Gosselain 2008, 77). This case clearly shows groups can be conscious of the patterns in style and technology that they adhere to. The active modification of material culture however requires agency. The establishment of material style and identity through repetition is rather an unconscious process. The process that constitutes cultural change is dependent on the context. The problem in archaeological research is to establish whether we are dealing with agency or gradual change through performativity. From the ethnographic studies described above it seems that a region in which a variety of styles (for example in the decoration of pottery) exist at the same time cultural identities emerge. What this says about the identity of people is dependent on the case, but probably hard to come by in archaeology when no written sources are available.

I.1.3 Hybridity in practice

> *'The main difficulty with hybridization will be in developing a methodology that effectively deals with the intractable concept of style and its attribution to*

> *identity. When it comes to the analysis of art, the interpretations can be as diverse as the number of observers.'* (Stoddart 1999, 5).

This quote underscores the problem of this concept. When hybridity is visible in archaeology, what does this mean in terms of social perceptions and identity? In archaeology it is not possible to establish the meaning of the data without taking the context of the data into close consideration. Therefore, the workability of the term hybridization is dependent on the data itself and their context.

Material culture can be linked directly to functional and technological changes a society went through during a period of hybridization. For instance, changing customs of dining or food preparation can result in changes in the forms and styles of cooking equipment and tableware. Hybridization however is more than an indication of cultural change. Hybridization shows a deeper effort than simply copying the useful shapes for food production. The intermixing of traditions might show a process of deliberate integration to create the desired object.

Dietler (2009) suggests not using the term at all. The term hybridity, according to Dietler, does not explain anything when archaeologists reduce every colonial situation to the process of hybridity. Without doubt, every colonial encounter will have its effects on the material culture of a group or both groups. Using the term in such a broad sense will not show the interesting differences between the areas discussed. Dietler proposes to use the term *entanglement* (Dietler 2009, 31), to describe the process of the early encounters in the western Mediterranean. The term is derived from Thomas (1991) to describe the exchange of objects between European colonial groups in the Pacific and the indigenous inhabitants of this area. Although the idea of using the term entanglement is to acknowledge the subtleties of material and cultural borrowing in an alien context it was developed in a colonial situation, easy for Westerners to understand. Because the colonization of the Iberian Peninsula by the Phoenicians has not been defined with certainty yet, but possibly does not parallel the European 19th century colonization, the choice to use terms originally designed for this specific colonial situation will not help to explain another unidentified colonial situation. Therefore, with openness to the possible character of the colonial situation, the term hybridity will be used exclusively for the archaeological objects that were *found*, instead of using entanglement for a situation and the *use* of objects.

The term hybridity has been used before in the archaeology of the Iron Age Mediterranean and Phoenician archaeology to explain processes of cultural contact.

Therefore, some examples will clarify how theory is created with this term as a starting point. One of the most recent investigations that contribute to postcolonial theory applied to Mediterranean archaeology is the 'Material Connections' project of the University of Glasgow. In 2010 a compilation of case studies (Dommelen, P. van, and B. Knapp (eds) 2010; *'Material Connections in the Ancient Mediterranean'*) covering the entire ancient Mediterranean was published in order to contribute to the understanding of material culture and identity in the Mediterranean. Hybridity is seen as an alternative of the idea of autonomous localities or 'cultures' and a concept to grasp the process towards differentiation, classification and hierarchization (Rowlands 2010, 235).

The term hybridity is essential in the development of postcolonial theory. Hybrid cultures were already recognized by Gordon Willey as early as 1953 in order to indicate the processes of diffusion and acculturation in pre-Colombian native North-America (Antonaccio 2003, 60). An important example of the ways in which material culture can illuminate the development of new identities in a colonial situation is the study of Arikara selective incorporation of Euro-American material culture by Rogers (Rogers 1990). Differences in the increase in the presence of European products and the decrease of local objects were visible in the material record of this society during the initial stages of European trade with this area. This wave of interest in European goods declined in later periods although the goods remained accessible. The results of Rogers' research are interpreted as a shift in Arikara perceptions of the trade process and an attempt to return to a more traditional material culture to 'compartmentalize' European influences (Rogers 1990, 91). This illustrates the flexibility of material culture and the role of agency in stylistic change; the presence of the Europeans created a social shift that enabled changes in the material record to take place. This example is one case in the range of possible colonial situations. As will be pointed out in the following, the colonial situation that was created when the Phoenicians settled on the Iberian Peninsula is quite different. This hybridity is not directly visible in the objects themselves. These examples deal with changes in societies after contact situations, creating a Middle Ground. Hybrid processes relate to a situation in which culture may intermix: the Middle Ground. To avoid confusion these Middle Ground situations will be referred to as multicultural instead of hybrid. Hybridity will be used as a term for specific material culture instead of a context in which it is used. In the discipline of archaeology the only possible way of studying the hybrid situation is to study its material culture. This material culture might be hybrid in the sense that objects from both cultural traditions are present, but also because the objects themselves are hybrid and display characteristics of more than one cultural tradition.

Van Dommelen and Tronchetti (2005) studied hybrid objects in the context of the Phoenician colonization in the Mediterranean during the Iron Age. Interesting for this thesis is the study of the Iron Age statues of Monte Prama (west-central Sardinia). The life-sized limestone statues display features related to both the local Nuragic communities and the traditions of the Phoenician settlers (Tronchetti and van Dommelen 2005, 183). These statues contribute to the explanation of the burial and ritual contexts of the site within indigenous Nugaric society and its contacts with the Phoenician colonial community. An important point made by the authors of this article is also valuable for the objectives of this research; *While there is of course no reason to deny that the Monte Prama statues do present stylistic features that refer to iconographic traditions beyond Sardinia, this does not necessarily mean that these external features 'explain' the meaning of the statues or their role in the Monte Prama site.* (Tronchetti and van Dommelen 2005, 192).

The statues were divided into boxers and archers. All statues are standing upright and barefoot on a square base. The schematic faces are characterized by their heavily rendered eyebrows and a straight, T-shaped nose. Two nested circles represent the eyes and the mouth is indicated by a shallow line. The hybridity of the statues can be traced in a few characteristics. The statues share stylistic and iconographic details with the Sardinian *bronzetti* or bronze statuettes which are characteristic of the Nuragic Iron Age. These statuettes carried connotations of power and warrior status. The size of the statues and some of the stylistic details are probably the result of foreign influences. The site of Monte Prama has a number of features that represent its elite character, the hybrid statues being one of these features. The site itself is unique and unusual on the island in this period of time because its material culture refers to the Bronze Age past, although it has not been associated with funerary contexts before. The site's anomaly and the appearance of the statues were explained as the result of external initiative and the availability of examples that have been imitated in this area. Tronchetti and van Dommelen interpret the site in its local context and see the material features as a reaction in the available materials to this colonial context (Tronchetti and van Dommelen 2005, 201). Also, they suggest that the burials belonged to the local Iron Age elites that may have resided at S'Uraki and buried at Monte Prama. This elite group must have gradually intensified its contact with the Phoenician colony of Tharros, resulting in the material representation of external traditions. The authors illustrate the uniqueness of every single colonial context that shapes social and material life around it. Hybrid objects therefore cannot be isolated from their context to explain a hybrid social situation.

It is interesting to see if there is a relation between a certain organizational structure and subsistence pattern and the degree in which a colonial power is accepted or rejected. Therefore the next section will discuss the characteristics of the Phoenician social and colonial organization and the organization of Iberian Bronze Age society.

I.2 Historical Framework

I.2.1 The Phoenicians

The coastal cities of the Levant that later constituted the area referred to by Greek historians as Phoenicia emerged in the Middle Bronze Age (Markoe 2000, 17). No historical or cultural coherence between the Phoenician cities dates before their expansion into the Mediterranean in the first millennium BC. Moscati stated that the formation of the Phoenician nation seems to be the result of an historical evolution in the Syro-Palestinian area and that the migration of other peoples might have compressed the Phoenician towns into a certain coherence (Moscati 1968, 23). Present works that consider the Phoenician expansion merely refer to the cities themselves (mainly Tyre) or the 'homeland' instead of 'Phoenicia'. The existence of the Phoenicians as a group of people seems to be the result of particular geographical and historical-political conditions instead of cultural or racial characteristics. The uniformity of political, linguistic, religious and artistic characteristics only emerges in the area of modern day Lebanon around 1200 BC.

Phoenicia geographically corresponds to the territory that was referred to as Canaan or Lebanon in Early Bronze Age texts from Byblos. The Canaanites were associated with the cities of Byblos, Tyre and Megiddo. The inter-cultural relations of this territory shaped the characteristics of its material culture and political organization. The material culture that is now considered as 'Phoenician' is identified as having an oriental eclectic style, and is considered to be of high standard craftsmanship.

The idea of a Phoenician nation appeared in history by the definition of later Greek historians for the coastal settlements on the Levantine shore (fig 1). The Egyptianizing characteristics of crafts production, artistic and religious manifestations that define the later Phoenician world took shape during the Early Bronze Age (3100-2300 BC). The independent city states Tyre, Sidon and Byblos were involved in the colonization of the Mediterranean, connecting the interior of the Near East to the Mediterranean. In the early period Sidon was the most important city; later Tyre became the main player in the field of Mediterranean commerce. The Phoenicians were only referred to in written sources from the Iron Age

onwards although the area was occupied before by a people that referred to themselves as Canaanites.

The Levantine coastal cities forged trade relations in the Middle East, the eastern Mediterranean and, from the beginning of the first millennium BC, also in the western Mediterranean. The reasons behind this seafaring activity remain obscure. Traditional chronology places the period of Phoenician expansion in the Mediterranean to the height of Assyrian pressure of the Phoenician cities. Another explanation was that the colonization was stimulated by internal demographic pressure in the Levantine coastal cities. The Phoenician expansion directed through Assyrian pressure (who demanded tribute in exchange for political independence) in short is the idea of Frankenstein (1979). This theory is currently disregarded because the new chronologies date Tyre's first Mediterranean expansion to the 10th century BC, before Assyrian pressure that is dated to the 9th century BC (Aubet 2008, 249-250). More likely is that the relations between the Phoenician cities and the Assyrians, and the Egyptians before 1100 placed the Phoenicians in an advantageous position with regard to trade, while the geographic location of the cities allowed them to access to profitable markets and forge trade relations, acting as intermediaries between the Mediterranean and the Near East. The Phoenician specialization in the production of luxury goods after 900 BC (dyed clothes, embroidery, glassware and metal vessels and inlaid furniture) might be another reason for the expansion of the market in search of sources of raw materials (Harrison 1988, 41).

The way we presently consider the terms 'colonization' and 'colony' is different from the use of the word in antiquity. According to the Cambridge Online Dictionary, the term 'colonization' means *'to send people to live in and govern another country'* (available at: http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/colonize?q=colonization). A colony is (among other definitions) *'a country or area controlled politically by a more powerful and often distant country'* (available at: http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/colony?q=colony). Both definitions are very specific; they suggest a clear imbalance in power between the colonizer and the colonized, and a clear objective of the colonizer to rule over another society. Although these assumptions cannot be projected to every (pre)historical situation that has been referred to as a 'colonial' situation, the reference is still made. The English word 'colony' however is a translation of the Latin *colonia*, referring to a settlement, often of veteran soldiers, in hostile or conquered territory (Gosden 2004, 1). A more general translation of *colonia* is a farm, landed estate or settlement. The meaning of the term is important because these references may result in an error to communicate a certain situation.

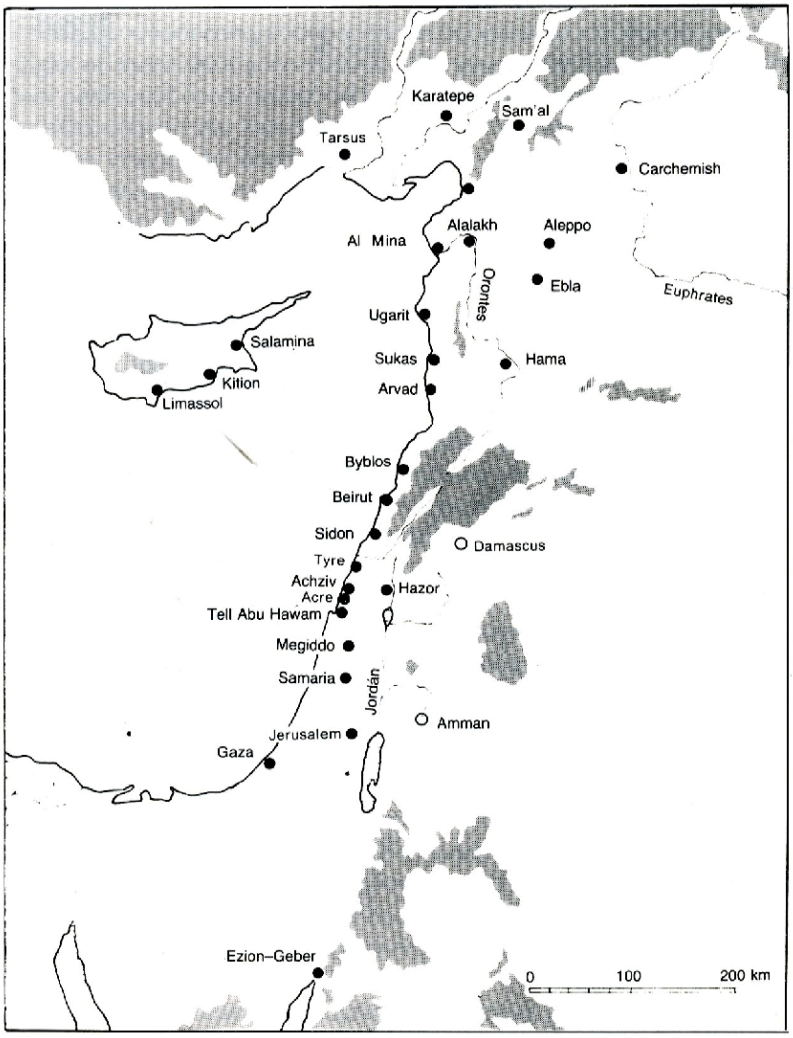

Fig. 1) The east Mediterranean with cities mentioned in the text (Aubet 1994, 13).

Both present and past meanings do not apply to every phenomenon for which the terms 'colony' or 'colonization' are used, as we shall see in the following. More confusion results from the efforts that have been made to use and generalize these terms. According to Stein (2005) the motive for establishing a colony depends on four factors; there should be an increase in the state's demand for goods, the organizational technology has to reach a certain degree to be able to carry out large-scale movements of people and materials, the state needs a significant military force to establish and maintain the colony, and the state needs to have the corporate structure to deal with host communities (Stein 2005, 11). These factors do not apply to every colonial expansion in the past. Stein's statement suggests generalizations that do not hold when placed in the context of the Phoenician Iron Age. The factors should be adjusted to the motives of the colonial movement. It is important to notice that we are dealing

with multiple city-states instead of a unified entity such as a 'country'. Therefore, it is hard to generalize between the different Phoenician cities and their reasons for founding colonies. As we shall see in the following, the Phoenician colonial activities do not entirely fit Stein's model or the present definition of the terms. A historical outline might illuminate this point.

During the two centuries after the arrival of the Sea Peoples in the Levant (an assemblage of seafaring societies of obscure origin that left a trail of destruction in 12th century archaeological contexts of most of the Levantine cities, resulting in a Dark Age period) the city of Tyre's importance increased considerably. During the 10th century BC, Egypt's power over the Levantine coast decreased. In the south, a political unification of Palestine caused a power shift in favour of Tyre. Also, the Assyrian Empire experienced a period of political instability. These conditions together with its geographical position enabled the development of Tyre as a commercial Empire. This development was set in motion by Hiram I, who also benefited from his political and commercial relations with Solomon of Palestine. Under Hiram I, Tyre enforced a monopoly on the overseas transport in this period (Aubet 1994, 35). A naval enterprise focused on the oriental market. This commercial expansion also included overland trade in the Near East in the 9th century BC. This prosperous period for Tyrian trade came to an end when the Assyrian armies expanded across northern Syria. As a consequence of the growing power of the Aramaic kingdoms Tyre lost the Syrian market at the end of the 9th century BC. Tyre turned to the west as indicated by the establishment of Kition, a trading colony on Cyprus. Tyre was in fact the first Phoenician city to establish colonies in the Mediterranean (fig 2).

The Phoenician expansion in the Mediterranean did not gradually spread from east to west. According to classical sources the first Phoenician colonies in the west were Lixus, Cadiz and Utica, all in the far west. These colonies were said to have been founded in the beginning of the first millennium BC. The Phoenician traders established a monopoly on the access routes to the Atlantic (Aubet 1994, 135). The colonies in North Africa (Carthage, Auza) were founded in the 9th century BC. The Phoenicians sailed to the Aegean from the middle of the 9th century BC, as archaeological evidence has indicated. Phoenician imports have sporadically been found in Crete and the Aegean islands. These contacts increased from the second half of the 9th century. The settlements on the east coast of Andalusia in Spain were established at the beginning of the 8th century BC as indicated by archaeological evidence. Carthage in Tunisia, which became the capital of the Punic Empire, that took over the control of the Phoenician colonies after the 6th century BC and expanded its territory in the Western Mediterranean, was a colony of Tyre. Its foundation date is much discussed.

Although literary sources date the foundation of Carthage to the year 814 BC, archaeological evidence places its foundation at the end of the 8th century BC. The exact date of the foundation of the Phoenician colonies on Sicily is unknown although Thucydides indicates that a large part of the island was occupied by the Phoenicians until the arrival of the Greek colonizers at the end of the 8th century BC. Archaeological discoveries indicate that Malta was occupied by the Phoenicians from the end of the 8th century BC. The date of the foundation of Leptis Magna, Hippo and Hadrumetum on the North African coast is not clear because archaeology has not provided evidence from the earliest periods yet. Lastly, the island of Sardinia was occupied in the 7th century BC as indicated by the archaeological record. The Phoenician cities operated independently. The colonies therefore correspond to a single mother city, not the whole geological unit that we call Phoenicia.

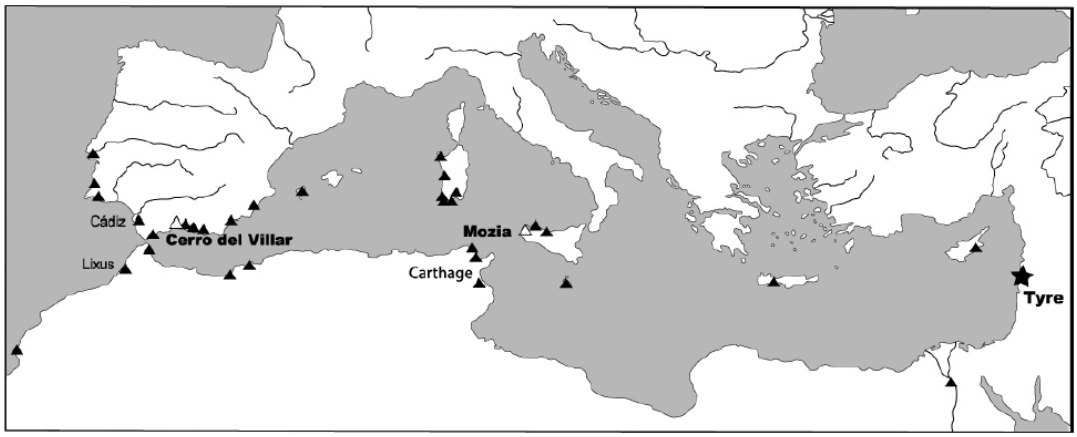

Fig. 2) Tyrian colonies in the Mediterranean (Delgado and Ferrer 2007, 20).

I.2.2 The Phoenician colonization of the Iberian Peninsula; history of research

Since the discovery of the Necropolis at Cerro de San Cristóbal or *Laurita* near Almuñecar and the subsequent excavation under the supervision of Pellicer in 1963, the interest in the Phoenician settlement history on the Iberian Peninsula increased and resulted in the excavation of other Phoenician and contemporary indigenous Early Iron Age settlements (García Alfonso 2007, 56). Not much later the excavations at Cerro del Real were carried out and demonstrated that after the Final Bronze Age, wheel-made ceramics were used along with Phoenician imported products: polychrome ceramics, grey-ware, red-slip ceramics and amphorae. Before the establishment of the permanent colonies on the coast of the Iberian Peninsula an initial stage of pre-colonization has been suggested to explain the presence of Greek Geometric, Cypriot, Italian and Nuraghic ceramics in the 10th and 9th century BC contexts from Huelva (Aubet 2008, 247).

As a result of the interpretations of these imported objects, from the 1970's onwards models were developed to explain the interaction between eastern Mediterranean colonists and the indigenous population. Most of these models are not only concerned with Phoenician groups in the Iberian Peninsula but deal with the increasing interconnectivity in the entire Mediterranean basin. Apart from Phoenician seafaring activity, also Greek and Etruscan colonial activity took place of which traces have been found on the Iberian Peninsula. It has often proven difficult to assign these traces to one of the eastern Mediterranean cultures. Although the Phoenicians were presumingly the first eastern Mediterranean society to travel to the west, contact with these areas was probably already possible via regional trade networks within the Mediterranean (Crielaard 2011). The later long-distance connectivity resulted in renewed encounters.

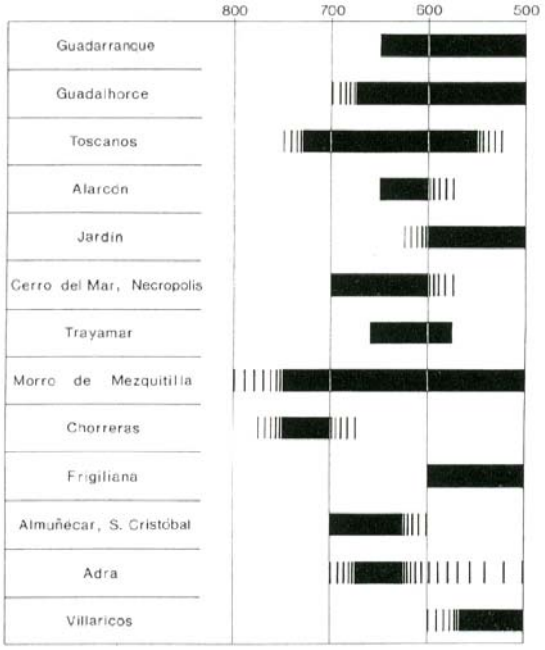

Fig. 3) Scheme for the occupation of the Phoenician colonies from 800 to 500 BC (Harrison 1988).

The presence of the Phoenician groups was correlated with the ecological, social and economical changes visible in the archaeological record. The first scholar that established the traditional interpretive model of these changes was the British scholar C. H. Whittaker (1974). This model places the commercial exploitation of the agricultural sources of the Iberian Peninsula at the center of the changes that followed the arrival of the Phoenician groups (Whittaker 1974). Whittaker signalled the existence of a pre-colonial phase, marked by the 'seasonal' presence of Phoenician or Canaanite adventurers already at the beginning of the first millennium BC. This model has been criticized because of the lack of archaeological evidence to confirm it and the gaps in the analysis. For example, Whittaker attributes the Phoenician presence to the demand for exploitable lands without taking other factors drawing the Phoenicians to the west into account. In the 1980's, Frankenstein considered the Phoenician presence in the context of the Assyrian demands for raw materials. The metal resources of the Atlantic area of the Peninsula were the objective of the eastern colonists.

Frankenstein claimed that the Phoenician settlements did not possess an industrial infrastructure and were oriented towards obtaining food resources that were produced by indigenous groups. The motives for going to the far west have also been ascribed to the presence of metalliferous resources. Mineral sources on the Iberian Peninsula were abundant. Diodorus Siculus (90-21 BC) wrote that the Phoenicians traded precious metals from the Iberian mines against small goods and shipped them off to Greece and Asia. Although the presence of these sources must have been a major reason for the expansion to the far west, the demand of metal resources as a base for this expansionist model has been questioned. Also, fishing and the production of salt and purple dye were activities indicated by the archaeological record (Arruda 2009, 124). It has been suggested that the growing demand for wood and its products was a prime motivation for the establishment of the west Phoenician colonies (Treumann 2009, 169). The exploitation of the saltpans in the southwest of the Peninsula by the Phoenicians is another example of the use of Iberian resources by the eastern Mediterranean groups. Even the recruitment of slaves has been posed as a motive for the Phoenician presence in the Iberian Peninsula (Moreno Arrastio 2000).

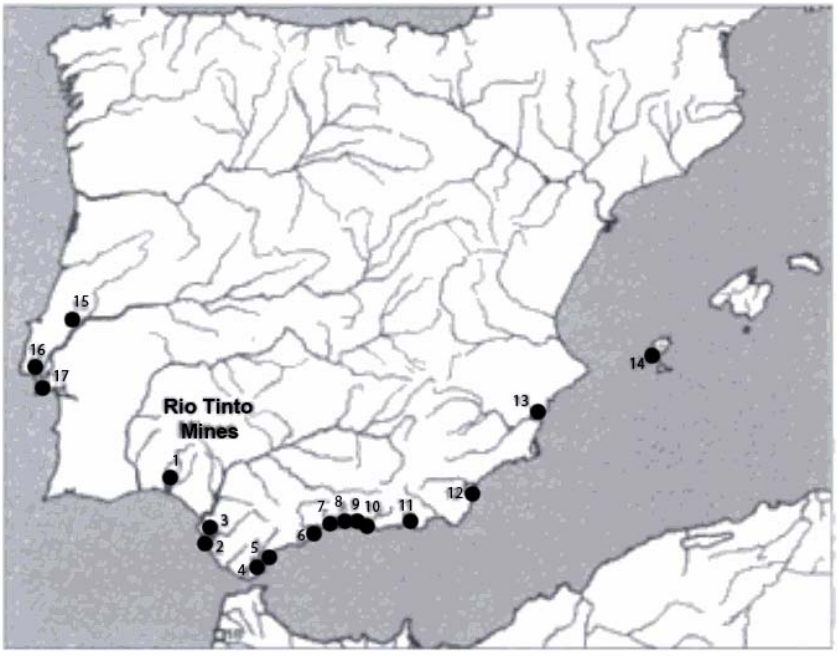

Fig. 4) Map of the Iberian Peninsula showing the Phoenician colonies of the 8th and 7th centuries BC and Huelva; 1) Huelva (Onuba), 2) Gadir, 3) Torre de Doña Blanca, 4) Cerro del Prado, 5) La Montilla, 6) Cerro del Villar (Malaga), 7) Toscanos (Greek Mainake), 8) Morro de Mezquitilla, 9) Chorreras, 10) Sexi (Almuñecar), 11) Abdera, 12) Baria (Villaricos), 13) Guardamar, 14) Ebusus, 15) Scallabis (Santarem), 16) Olisipo (Sé de Lisboa), 17) Setubal (alter Pellicer 1963).

In the established models, the colonial expansion is seen as a result of commercial expansion in order to enrich the cities in the Phoenician homeland. The colonial expansion thus seems to have been very straightforward and profit based. There was no intention to annex the areas and the indigenous population. The colonies were rather founded as trading bases which turned into settlements. Contacts with the indigenous population were important to assure the flows of minerals and (agricultural) products which could subsequently be shipped and traded in the Near East.

I.2.3 The Phoenician colonization of the Iberian Peninsula; archaeological remains

Gadir (modern Cadiz) became the most important Phoenician colony in the Mediterranean after Carthage, and was the most prominent among the dense pattern of trade colonies on the south coast of the Iberian Peninsula. According to classical sources the silver from the interior was shipped from Gadir to Greece and the East, and even as far as the Atlantic towns of Morocco. Because of Gadir's position on the boarder of the Mediterranean basin Gadir became a center of communication between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Following the establishment of Gadir, other colonies appeared on the coast of Spain and Portugal (fig 4). On the south coast of Spain at close distance from each other were established Cerro del Prado, Montilla, Cerro del Villar, Malaka, Morro Mezquitilla, Chorreras, Almuñecar, Abdera, Villaricos and La Fonteta (Aubet 1995, 50). In Portugal the main Phoenician enclaves were Santarem, Sé de Lisboa and Setúbal near present day Lisbon and Santa Olaia, Coimbra, situated at the mouth of the Mondego (Correia 1995, 239-240). The Late Bronze Age villages at the time of colonization were located in the river valleys in the hinterland. The location of the Phoenician colonies follows a clear pattern. All of them are located on the coast near the mouth of a river. The cities were visible from afar and were located near natural harbours. The colonizers buried their dead in necropoleis that were located on the opposite side of the river. The Phoenician burial tradition in the Iberian Peninsula is characterized by the mixed funerary rite, using cremation as well as inhumation. The colonies had a regular planning with a rectangular grid. The colonists built square houses of ashlar stone and mudbrick. In this period, the earliest evidence of the production of pottery and metal working was discovered. Stock raising was practiced in Phoenician contexts while in the area around Tyre this was uncommon. From 700 BC onwards, burial customs changed: the mixed burial rite was replaced by cremation exclusively. After 700 BC, some of the colonies were abandoned while others expanded demographically.

Between 650 and 600 BC the trade activity between the Phoenician colonies (especially Gadir) with the Atlantic coast reached a peak. A period of decline of the Phoenician trade took place in 550 and 500 BC. In this period Carthage took a more important position in the organization of the western Phoenician colonies. The sites of Chorreras and Guadiaro were abandoned while those at Malaka, Sexi and Villaricos persisted.

Little is known about the administration of the Phoenician colonies. It is assumed that the leader of the colonial expedition took on the initial administrative duties. Later, a prefect or governor from the mother-city would have been in charge of the colony. On the Phoenician mainland, the temple served as a mediator in politics and led financial exchange. The temple of Melqart that was established at Gadir might have served such purposes.

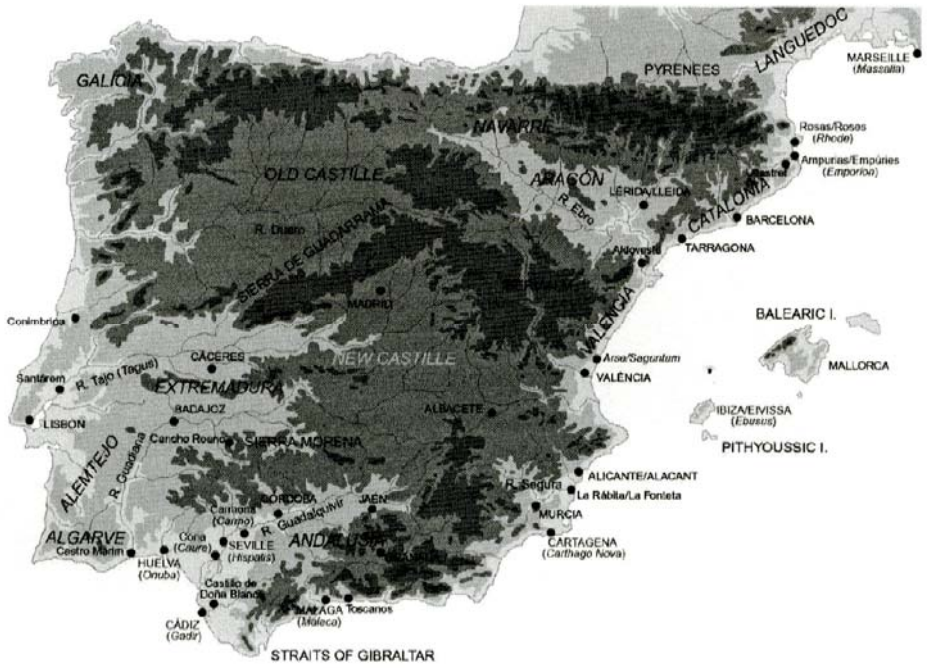

Fig. 5) Map of the Iberian Peninsula (Dietler and López-Ruiz 2009, flip side of title page).

These settlements cannot be considered as straightforward colonies, inhabited only by Phoenicians from the Levant. A more moderate picture demonstrates the colonies as bases for multi-cultural interaction. In the period of the Phoenician colonies, considerable material remains from Greek traditions spread through the Iberian Peninsula as well. Although Greek pottery, a few bits of bronze armour and sculpture were found in the eastern and southern parts of the Peninsula, archaeological traces of Greek settlement are difficult to come by. In the past the Phoenician colonization was seen as preceding Euboan commercial ventures to

the western Mediterranean. The Phoenician tradesmen were supposed to have been responsible for the distribution of Greek material culture (Harrison 1988). Later theory explains the Early Iron Age as a period where common Phoenician and Euboean enterprises were undertaken, naturally flowing from the Late Bronze Age 'symbiosis' of these cultures through trade-contacts in the eastern Mediterranean (Aubet 1994, 315). The Phoenician trading colonies are considered as places at which a multicultural population lived together, possibly including Greek tradesmen. The Greek products were most probably spread through Phoenician and Carthaginian merchants because the earliest interest in the Iberian Peninsula is dated to the 7th and 6th centuries BC, postdating the Phoenician commercial expansion. Burial evidence from Toscanos shows that cremation (which is associated with Phoenician traditions) coexisted with inhumation. The current hypothesis is that the Phoenician trading colonies in the Mediterranean were multicultural centers where traditions, customs, dress codes, diets, languages, and beliefs mixed. The material culture of the Phoenician colonies in the Mediterranean related to domestic tasks and production expresses the coexistence of Phoenician and local societies (Delgado and Ferrer 2007, 20). Recent genetic research on the present day populations in the past Phoenician colonies has pointed out that the Phoenician genetic signature still persists in these populations (Zalloua, Platt, *et al.* 2008). Although this may not indicate with certainty that ethnic groups mixed during the period discussed, it does illustrate this well-accepted assumption. Examples such as these can be used to suggest hybrid spaces, Middle Grounds, or 'third-spaces' where culture, language and ethnicity can be mixed. Part of these hybrid spaces were not only the Phoenician and indigenous groups of people. The Greeks were part of the same network of interaction. The Orientalizing material culture of the Mediterranean made its way into the western Mediterranean through Phoenician and Greek colonial movements. This does however not mean that the Phoenicians and Greeks are indistinguishable from each other in material culture. For example, the sculptural revolution in Greek did not translate to the Phoenician sphere of influence in the west. These techniques were only adopted by the Phoenicians from the 5th century onwards (Niemeyer 2003, 248). Also, the Orientalizing style might underscore the multi-cultural nature of the Phoenician settlements; its influence in the indigenous settlements of the Iberian Peninsula is largely translated through the local reproduction of imported objects. Although cultures mixed within the Phoenician colonies, the Phoenician products that reached the Late Bronze Age communities of the Iberian Peninsula were accepted as a solid cultural assemblage. For a large part, these communities do not appear to have been active participants in the creation of the Orientalizing style but 'users' of it.

I.2.4 Orientalizing material culture

Orientalizing objects have been studied extensively, especially in the Iberian Peninsula. The mainstream Phoenician artistic production was centered in the Phoenician mainland. The first scholar that referred to objects from the Iberian Peninsula that resemble eastern models by calling them 'oriental' was A. Blanco in 1956 and 1960. He distinguished between oriental, and Orientalizing objects. Oriental was a term used for the imported objects from the eastern Mediterranean, with Orientalizing objects he meant the copies of these objects (Blázquez Martínez 2005, 130). In the wake of Blanco, soon more works appeared about Orientalizing objects, using Blanco's terminology. The works that followed underscore the danger to move into diffusionism, as was noticed by Gonzaléz Wagner in a reaction to the study of Orientalizing objects from Huelva carried out by Fernández Jurado *et al.* in 1989. Objects that were initially characterized as being Phoenician were attributed to the Phoenician craftsmen in the diaspora. After some more thorough stylistic investigations it was acknowledged that craftsmen from other traditions than the Phoenician intervened in the production of these objects. Subsequently, these types of objects were termed Orientalizing because they belonged to a non-Phoenician tradition that is influenced by the Phoenician tradition. The term was supported, especially in Spain, and an increasing amount of material was considered to be part of this class. Later opinion, mainly fed by the work of Aubet Semmler (1987; 1994) is more articulated than the above classification. The Phoenician centers on the coast were the distributors of oriental culture. The sphere of influence reached the center of the Iberian Peninsula. Further inland, diffusion via trade of Phoenician objects led to the assimilation and re-elaboration of Phoenician shapes by local craftsmen. Against this geographical scale the objects that are found are considered as being Orientalizing.

The gradual process of Orientalization started when material elements with an exotic character appeared in the hinterland of the Phoenician colonies (fig 7). In the first millennium BC, the oriental style was used by the local elite. The adoption of an exotic set of iconographic trademarks, that can be associated with power, was used to represent the exclusive character of the indigenous elites (Aubet 2005, 119). A well-known example is the appearance of objects associated with the symposium or Mediterranean banquet. Bronze and silver objects that were associated with libation scenes as described by Homer have been found in tombs from Latium, Germany and the Tartessian area in the Guadalquivir basin in Spain. In the Iberian Peninsula, carriages, metal vases, kettles and marble panels are symbols that indicate high status and appeared in oriental styles. The jewelry that was found in the hinterland such as at the hoard of Aliseda in Extremadura and Cerro del Carambolo in the

Guadalquivir basin are located outside of the Phoenician realm, however it resembles Phoenician jewelry. Moscati posed the idea that Phoenician artisans would have settled in these areas and produced these valuable Orientalizing objects. As for the tradition of ivory carving, a western Phoenician tradition can be distinguished along the southern coastal fringe of the Iberian Peninsula. The combs are often decorated with Orientalizing floral motifs and seated lions and sphinxes, and were also found in the interior of the Peninsula (Matthäus 2007, 126-133). The development of ivory carving is divided in three groups of which the first is posited as having been made by Phoenician artisans in the early 7th century BC. Later, in the second half of the 7th century a local adaptation is visible in the style of the objects. The third group is purely local and appears from the 5th century BC onwards. This model was elaborated by Aubet and applied to the appearance of bronze artifacts in the Iberian Peninsula; among which a collection of female statuettes from a tomb in Cástulo and the characteristic biconical jugs with a palmette at the lower join of the handle that have obviously been influenced by Phoenician traditions but were made in Iberian workshops (Moscati 1968, 543). The bronze artifacts of the Orientalizing period were distributed along the lower Guadalquivir to the mid-valleys of the Guadiana and the upper Duero, coinciding with the 'silver route' of the Roman period. The Orientalizing phenomenon also extended to the funerary architecture, of which the monument found at Pozo Moro in the province of Albacete (approximately 200 km from the south coast) is an impressive example. Alongside the monument, lions were positioned. The friezes represent mythological scenes of the Syro-Phoenician or Neo-Hittite tradition. The location and context of this monument indicates that is has probably been made for a local high status person.

Orientalization was associated with high-status activities. The valuable items were obviously used in the elite context of the indigenous societies. In the first place these oriental items were imported and therefore scarce and exclusive. The ideas that were developed about these objects are associated with the local elite that used high-status goods of oriental appearance to communicate their power and status. This idea is supported by a sharp individuality of grave goods. The oriental style therefore might have carried connotations of power and high status with which the elite of Iberian society wanted to identify. The Orientalizing phenomenon is general to the Mediterranean as a whole. Through the mechanism of trade with the Phoenicians, the wide acceptation of artefacts, styles, the display of wealth and urbanism covers the Mediterranean, although between regions differences are visible. Apart from Egyptian and Near Eastern styles, Greek stylistic influence was largely felt and appreciated in the form of Greek objects and imitations. Within the production of

pottery during the Orientalizing period (700-550 BC) Greek and Phoenician pottery styles mixed in with each other and existing Iberian products. This process will be discussed in the following chapter in more detail.

Orientalizing culture in the Iberian Peninsula was rapidly accepted in the Guadalquivir valley and Onubian basin, often referred to as Tartessos (fig 6). This name was used by Greek writers that mentioned a monarchy, rich in silver beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. According to these sources, the legendary King Arganthonios ruled this area and befriended the Greek sailors who by coincidence ended up in this area. Modern appreciation of the term is mainly fed by the rich archaeological record. The Early Iron Age funerary record demonstrates the access to- and popularity of Phoenician-inspired luxury goods.

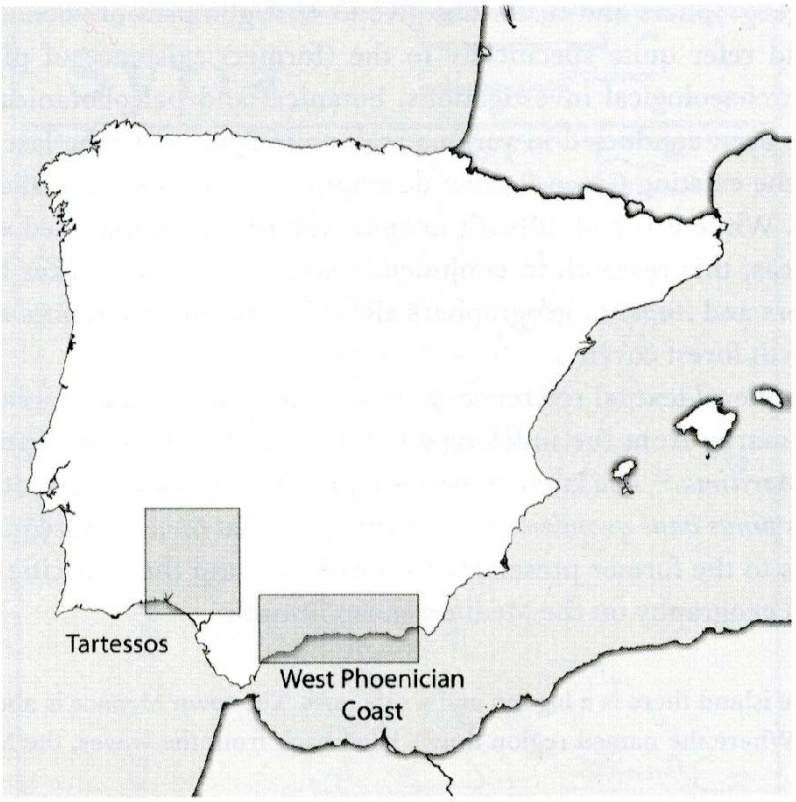

Fig. 6) Location of ‘Tartessos’ (Dietler and Ruiz 2009).

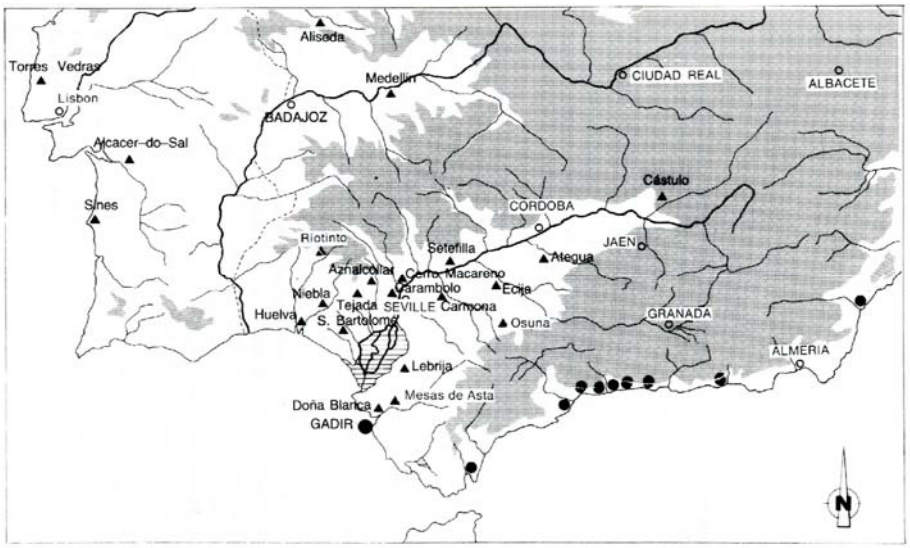

Fig. 7) Phoenician- (●) and indigenous sites (▲) in the south of the Iberian Peninsula (Aubet 1993).

I.2.5 Political, social and material characteristics of Late Bronze Age Iberian societies

The processes that took place in the Iberian Peninsula have been divided into time periods, each marked by different long-term processes. Arteaga (1978) proposed a series of periodizations as a result of his work in Los Saladares. He distinguished four periods;

1. Bronce Tardío (the Late Bronze Age); characterized by the Cogotas I culture originating from agricultural groups in the Meseta.
2. Bronce Final (the end of the Bronze Age); preceding the Phoenician colonization and characterized by the elimination of the Cogotas I culture by the Tartessian groups.
3. Horizonte Preibérico; characterized by the presence of Phoenician groups from the 8th century onwards, connecting the south of the Iberian Peninsula to the wider Mediterranean. In this period three processes took place that, according to Arteaga, resulted in the creation of 'Iberian culture'; the Phoenician integration and the evolution of Tartessian culture.
4. Horizonte Ibérico Antiguo; taking place from the 5th century onwards and corresponding to the activity of Greek-Phocaean groups who concentrated on the coast of Alicante and Murcia but also reached the Upper Guadalquivir region.

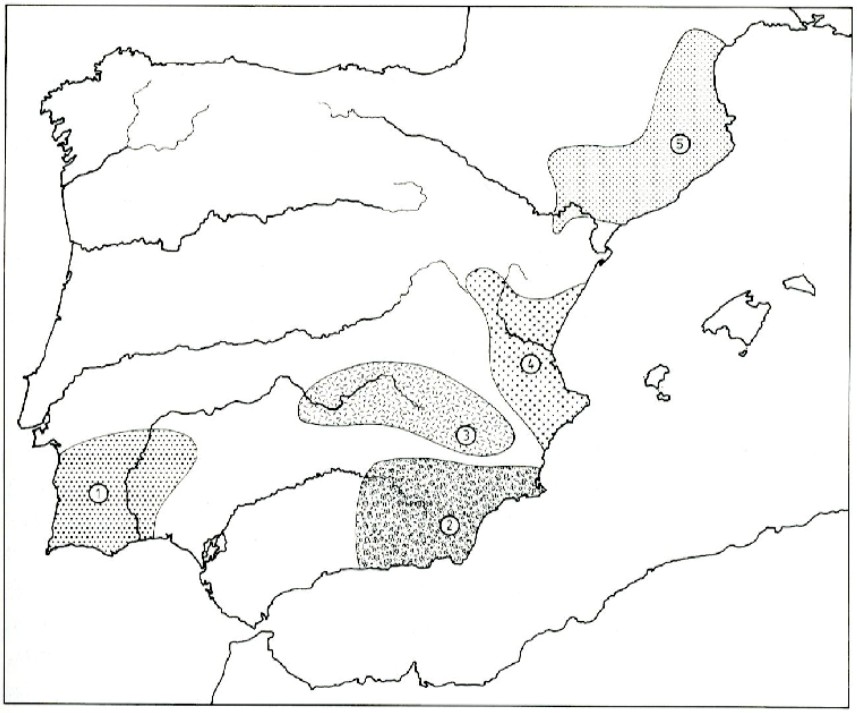

Fig. 8) Bronze Age cultural groups between 1500 and 1200 BC; 1. the southwest; 2. the Argaric group, 3. the Motillas culture, 4. the Valencian or Levantine group, 5. the Catalonian and southwest French group (Harrison 1988, 27).

In the Late Bronze Age (1250-800/700 BC), some major technological, social and ethnic changes took place in the Iberian Peninsula. The Iberian Bronze Age is characterized by dispersed regions in which different modes of settlement existed. Between 1200 and 1100 BC a break or relocation in the previous settlements is visible in the archaeological record. These new settlements correspond to a more uniform material culture, existing over larger areas than before. Urnfields were found along the coastline and the interior of Catalonia and Valencia. The finds related to the urnfield assemblage were found in caves, settlements and cemeteries. Before 1200 BC the entire Iberian Peninsula was covered with agricultural settlements. Simple irrigation farming developed in the southeast although the most important subsistence base was stock raising. In the 11th century BC important changes occur in the Meseta, where the open river terraces along the cereal-growing lands are occupied. These groups used open shapes of pottery that were associated with the intention to display food (Harrison 1988, 28). The same occurs in the region of Andalusia. An increasing population seems to benefit from grain cultivation alongside stock raising after the 12th century transformations.

All over Late Bronze Age Iberia cremation graves were found. There is little uniformity in the burial rituals among the different areas. Along the eastern coastline of Catalonia, urns were buried in fields without visible structures, while in western Catalonia and eastern Aragon the urns were held in cists and tombs in the shape of tumuli (Cruz and Castro 1995, 125). Apart from their funerary customs, little can be said about the lifestyle of these communities. Also, it has proven difficult to relate the domestic settlements to the urn cemeteries. However, distinctive features including the pottery techniques were part of the tradition. In the later phases metal artifacts such as spearheads were common grave goods. Some graves contained personal items such as razors and tweezers, or brooches and pins. These metal artifacts can be related to Italian, Continental and Atlantic urn cemeteries indicating a metal trade on an interregional level. Next to the presumed economy based on agriculture and livestock husbandry the commercial activities indicate that families had a reserve of provisions, allowing them to acquire these artefacts.

In the Late Bronze Age, the west of the Iberian Peninsula was involved in a widespread trade network with Atlantic (Western) Europe, which reached its peak of integratedness in the 10th century BC. The Bronze Age societies that were involved in this network share organizational and cultural characteristics. Funerary evidence indicates that social inequality emerged in the 3rd and 2nd Millennium BC; the increasing presence of burial goods was associated with high status individuals. Another development that occurred in the Early Bronze Age is the separation of high status from personal wealth through achievement. The increase in the amount of female burials indicates that wealth was not necessarily linked to the activities one has to carry out in life, since the importance of female activities in comparison to male activities does not seem to have increased over time (Gilman 1981, 1). These social changes were associated with metal production, which involves a system of production and exchange suggesting the presence of a permanent upper class regulating this system and consuming the prestige items that circulated in Western Europe.

The involvement of the western Iberian Peninsula in the extensive trade network suggests technological improvements such as shipbuilding and seafaring that had been achieved before the Late Bronze Age and the emergence of social networks that stimulated this type of international exchange. The latter reason mainly deals with the emergence of a network of social contacts made from the Middle Bronze Age in Atlantic Europe. The stimuli for this network are embedded in changes in demography, climate, and migrations from Central Europe, improvements in the production and preservation of foodstuffs, the improvement of agricultural tools, the first large-scale exploitation of salt or the introduction

of the Vicia faba L. (which indicates practices that prolong the fertility of the soil) (Ruiz Gálvez 1991, 287). The circulation of metal artifacts stimulated the spread of the technology, and also (material) cultural traditions. The most important innovations of this period are the development of a mining and the development of metallurgy (Almagro Gorbea and Fontes 1997, 356). The trade in metal artefacts such as swords, helmets, daggers and spears stimulated the extraction of mineral ore from the Iberian mines. At its peak, in the 9th and 8th centuries BC, these items appeared in hoards or in site finds across the entire Atlantic Europe. These items represent a diverse assemblage of symbolic characteristics that have been associated with the masculinity, power, and the arrival of a series of abstract ideas and symbolic concepts associated with the warrior and the ritual consumption of food and drink on special occasions (feasting) (Ruiz Gálvez 1991, 288). The competition for scrap metal from the Iberian sources by tradesmen from the Atlantic region increased, resulting in a more intensive exploitation of the metal resources of the Iberian Peninsula. The technological and economic changes together with the new symbolic objects mark the transition to a different social system in which the ownership and control over land and (mineral) resources was of importance, resulting in a social organization in which competition over resources played an important role.

The Iberian southeast experienced the development of social inequality from Late Prehistory onwards. Towards the Chalcolithic the increasing fortification of the settlements was interpreted as due to demographic growth and the pressure on mobile resources (Cámara Serrano and Molina González 2006, 21). In the Bronze Age, the process towards the development of social hierarchies is reflected in the articulation between walled settlements located on steep hills, the internal differentiation of settlements with an acropolis, the homogenization of a part of the portable material culture and the emergence of individual burials instead of group burials. This development into a socially stratified society has been captured in a variety of models. A large part of these models state that the development of social hierarchization was the product of the struggle for the control over natural conditions of production and the control of products leading to the control over people. The struggle for the control of resources was either the result of demographic pressure resulting in the settlement in previously unoccupied areas, or as a result of the development of irrigation.

Of significance in the archaeology of the Late Bronze Age Iberian Peninsula are the warrior stelae that were found in the southwest of the Iberian Peninsula. These stelae of unknown function often depict figures that were interpreted as warriors, shields, spears, swords and other objects associated with battle. The relevance of these stelae is that they

have been interpreted as a reflection of the importance of power and status within Late Bronze Age Iberian society. Also, the depictions display a typological development through time, slowly incorporating Mediterranean features.

Tab. 1) Timeline of the historical events in Iberian and eastern Mediterranean history (Harrison 1988, 163).

Dates BC	HISTORICAL EVENTS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN	CATALONIA, THE BALEARICS AND SOUTHEASTERN SPAIN	ANDALUSIA
1100		1100-600 Late Bronze Age groups related to urnfield culture	Traditional date for the founding of Gadir
1000	1025-880 zenith of Phoenician prosperity and independence		Late and Bronze Age societies flourish
900	969-936 Hiram king of Tyre 883-859 Asurnasirpal II subdues Syria and reaches the Mediterranean coast		900 Atlantic Bronze Age metalwork appears 850 Huelva hoard; elaborate grave stelae
800	800 Greeks establish a trading station at Al-Mina (Syria) 775 Greeks set up trading post on Ischia (Bay of Naples) 773 Greek settle Syracuse	Cerro de San Cristobál (Cabezo de Moleón) 750 Gold hoard of Villena deposited	800-775 first Phoenician colonies set up on the Malaga coast
700	671 Sidon captured by Esarhaddon 612 Assyria defeated by the Babylonians	654/3 Phoenicians colonize Ibiza	700-650 Phoenician Toscanos expanding 650-600 Peak of Rio Tinto mines 650-550 ORIENTALIZING PERIOD: La Joya (Huelva)
600	573 Tyre surrenders to Nebuchadnezzar 540 Persian conquest of Ionia	600 Greeks found colony at Massilia 575 Greeks settle colonists at Emporion and Rhode 550 Ullastret settled 540-440 ORIENTALIZING PERIOD in the Balearics	Setefilla necropolis and cemetery El Acebuchal Cults established at Despeñaperros 600-550 Gold treasures like Carambolo and Lebrija 550 towns now widespread in interior of Andalusia 550-500 Iberian culture fully developed and spread into south-west France
500	480 Xerxes defeated at Salamis 431-404 Peloponnesian war	500 Ullastret fortified Monument at Pozo Moro built 450 Iberian script in use	450 Cancho Roano built 450-400 Porcuna sculptures carved

400	359 Accession of Philip II of Macedon 323 Death of Alexander the Great	400 Carthaginian trading posts set op in Mallorca 400-350 Tivissa fortified in Greek style 400-350 Dama de Elche carved 400-300 Extensive destruction of towns and villages 375 Iberian expansion to the Ebro valley 340 El Sec shipwreck	450-350 climax of Iberian prosperity 450-350 Carthaginian prosperity in Gadir, Sexi and other colonies 400-350 Dama de Baza buried
300		300 Iberian stone sculpture ceased in the southeast 218 Hannibal captures Saguntum 217 Cato lands with Roman army at Emporion	237 Carthaginian conquest of south Spain begins under Hamilcar Barca 206 Romans capture Gadir and end the Carthaginian occupation

I.2.6 Conclusion

From the chronological overview described above it appears that some aspects of both cultures deserve some attention. In the first place the character of Phoenician colonialism. The Phoenician expansion abroad was most probably fed by an interest in trade relations based on the acquisition of minerals from the mines of the Iberian Peninsula as well as sources of timber, salt, slaves, agricultural products, murex for purple dye production, access to good farmland, etc. Imperialism, in the sense of expansionary domination over an indigenous population does not seem to have been the objective of the Phoenician explorers for settling in the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, there is no reason to think that the Phoenicians imposed their way of life and material culture upon the indigenous Iberian communities. If the term ‘colonization’ is used to indicate the act of imposing political domination over foreign territories, this word does not seem to apply to the situation in Iberia at the time. It has to be pointed out that the Bronze Age Iberian Peninsula was not occupied by a uniform social group. Although the archaeological record has not been able to produce the best possible information about the organization of these communities, the big picture reveals the existence of some general characteristics that count for Late Bronze Age societies; they adhered to prestige and social stratification existed. Interregional trade in metals already existed before the arrival of the Phoenicians. However, the mines were still exploited on a small scale in comparison to the subsequent Iron Age. Social complexity emerged probably during the Copper Age. A good overview of the models that explain the emergence of social

complexity and the subsequent cultural change have been described by Chapman (1990, 141-149).

Although some uniformity among the Bronze Age groups existed, it is better to focus on the separate regions instead of the entire Iberian Peninsula. The Iberian Peninsula experienced the development of different material traditions in different areas. These areas were connected through trade, allowing cultural traditions to spread. Migrations and movements within the Iberian Peninsula allowed traditions to mix and influence each other. It goes without saying that the Iberian Peninsula was in itself a melting pot of material traditions in which communities settled, expanded and traded in the centuries before Phoenician colonization. In a way, the Phoenicians were just another group trading with the Iberian societies. Instead of dealing with an isolated community, the Phoenician colonizers settled in an area in which cultural contact and trade were already incorporated in the local tradition. Therefore, it seems that the road to accepting new trade contacts and cultural influences was already paved; the Phoenicians just were to walk these roads in order to achieve the goals of their colonial expansion.

Referring back to the factors for colonial expansion, Phoenician colonialism does not fit in Stein's model. It seems more likely that the Phoenician colonies did not rely on military force in their colonial activities. There is an absence of military material culture or fortifications in the Iberian colonies. Neither is there evidence of a large-scale movement of people from the Levant to Spain. The colonization of the Iberian Peninsula (if we can even speak of colonization, or rather a migration of eastern Mediterranean traders to the western Mediterranean) therefore seems to be of a different character. Evidently, the modern definitions of the terms 'colonization' and 'colony' do not apply for the theoretical nature of the Phoenician expansion in the first millennium BC. Therefore, we either need a new definition of the terms, or a different way to communicate the Phoenician expansion to-, and settlement in the Mediterranean. However, before anything can be (re)defined, there must be a clear understanding of the situation that actually took place. The basis of this particular situation must be supported by sufficient (archaeological) evidence. The following chapters will investigate the value of ceramic studies to analyze the implications of the Phoenician 'colonization' of the Iberian Peninsula.

CHAPTER II: MATERIAL CULTURE

II.1 Material culture of the Phoenicians with a focus on ceramic style evolution

Phoenician material culture has not been defined by a clear cultural assemblage. Instead, it has often been referred to as an eclectic mix of material styles that were adopted from cultures with which the Phoenicians were in contact. Therefore, Phoenician material culture evolved over time. On the other hand, it is distinctive enough to be able to speak of a 'Phoenician' style when comparing it with the material culture of the western Mediterranean societies of the Late Bronze Age. In other words, within an alien environment Phoenician culture is defined and suddenly is referred to as an entity instead of a style under construction. Obviously, when comparing a certain style to another style, it is visible which characteristics they do not share. This is very much the case within the context of the Iberian Peninsula, where certain stylistic traits and styles have been related to the Phoenician/Orientalizing set of traits and styles. This implies that, although a clear Phoenician cultural assemblage is hard to define, it is dense enough to be recognized within an alien material culture.

The clearest characteristics of Phoenician style are related with the Egyptian culture style. The first phase of cultural borrowing of Egyptian values took place due to Egyptian imperialism in the Near East and their close contacts with the Mycenaean/Minoan world in the 2nd millennium BC (Hölbl 1986, 197). The cultural traffic seems to have travelled in one direction; from Egypt to the Levant. How exactly this openness to Egyptian material styles can be explained is subject of ongoing research, not only focusing on Phoenician, but also Greek and Roman adoption of the strong Egyptian culture styles. The explanation might be related to the mentality of the receiver of the Egyptian assemblage. The latest theory however searches for the agency of the Egyptian assemblage in itself, invoking exclusiveness, wealth and religious traditions (Versluys 2010) which caused this style to persist in other cultures.

On the level of pottery styles, which are in many cases both associated with function as with appearance, this Egyptian component is less apparent. Well-dated pottery sequences from the Phoenician homeland are still scarce. Therefore, the establishment of a clear stylistic evolution is difficult. Phoenician ceramics have been influenced by various ceramic traditions. The repertoire and decorations evolved from Syro-Palestinian and Philistine Late Bronze Age traditions (Briese 1995, 963). In general, Phoenician style has been described as 'quite pedestrian and often even crude' (Bikai 1978, 48). Some types such as the Phoenician 'Fine Ware' plates or 'Samaria' ware are considered to have evolved in the area around Tyre

and Sidon (Treumann-Watkins 1992, 31). Despite the not so advanced quality and elaborateness of Phoenician pottery, it had a considerable impact on Mediterranean pottery manufacture and allowed aspect of oriental culture to be passed on and taken up by other potters (Briese 1995, 968). During the late Bronze Age, much of the east Mediterranean (including Greece, the Levant and Cyprus) underwent processes of cultural borrowing. The entire area was connected by the trade in material products, resulting in an increased access to culturally different areas. A cultural koine developed in which styles, technologies and non-material cultural elements disseminated. The alphabet was transmitted during eastern Mediterranean Iron Age (Hodos 2006, 85), constituting an important element in the process of cultural intermixing during this period. Near Eastern imagery started to appear on Greek pottery while Greek functional shapes were adopted in the Levantine repertoire. In Cyprus, cultural mixing of pottery techniques and styles resulted in a complex assemblage which was influenced by Phoenician, local and Greek traditions.

Some examples can be used to illustrate the eclectic nature of the evolution of Phoenician ceramics. Antecedents of the strainer-spouted jug, a vessel with a distinctive shape and spout, have been found in the Dodecanese and Rhodos, and expanded in the entire eastern Mediterranean. The Phoenician type distinguishes itself by its geometric, bichrome decorative pattern although sometimes floral motifs appear (Anderson 1990, 38). The Phoenician globular jug on the other hand is supposed to have evolved from Syrian or Cypriot flask types under the influences, shapes and manufacture techniques of the Mycenaean/Minoan globular flasks (Anderson 1990, 43-45). During the transition to the Iron Age (In the 12th and 11th centuries BC) Phoenician pottery technology and shapes evolved due to local transformation and experimentation together with the acquisition of new techniques due to contact with potters from other cultural traditions in the eastern Mediterranean. These changes coincide with the period after the destructions that were brought about by the Sea Peoples and the subsequent emergence of new trading patterns, commercial deals and competition among Phoenicians, Philistines and Cypriots. This new market and the pressure of commercial competition required the development of pottery containers for the trade of goods. Also, these new pottery forms reflect the replacement of the forms that were no longer available after the rupture during the 12th century Dark Age. The development of Iron Age pottery forms in the Levant therefore reflects the process of the developing commerce, and the adoption of the Late Bronze Age cultural koine.

The established Late Bronze Age assemblage later had its influence on the eastern Mediterranean ceramic traditions. In 11th century Cyprus characteristic structural elements of

Phoenician ceramics were copied in local techniques and fabrics. These copies can be distinguished from Phoenician originals by their lighter and harder clay, the methods of firing, the surface treatment, the painting technique or the colours. The shape of the necks and mouths and the double-rolled handles are of a Phoenician style (and even have been said to be of Phoenician manufacture) (Briese 1995, 963). Also in the western Mediterranean examples of vessel shapes that were produced in a Phoenician technique were distributed. Phoenician adaptations of the skyphos and the Corinthian aryballos appear in 7th century contexts in the Iberian Peninsula, Carthage, Malta and Sardinia. These shapes were produced with Phoenician decorative techniques and surface treatments. The process of mutual ceramic borrowing between the Greeks and the Phoenicians during the Late Bronze Age may explain the further evolution of material culture of the western Phoenicians during the period of intense Mediterranean commerce. The multi-cultural trade centers in the Mediterranean facilitated this cultural evolution. The frequent contacts between Greek and Levantine traders led to the shared use and production of traditionally distinct shapes (Coldstream 2006, 49). Where the skyphos and other Greek geometric shapes were adopted by the Phoenicians, the Levantine plate was imitated by the Greeks. During the colonization of the western Mediterranean there seems to have been a great willingness to copy shapes and techniques. The Phoenician version of the skyphos continues through the 7th century and eventually shows some influence from the 'Ionian cups' from the east Aegean. This example illustrates the point made by Ridgway (1994) about the pioneers that travelled west from the eastern Mediterranean; these people seem to have been especially willing to exchange ideas in comparison to the homeland. Coldstream illustrates the process of this mutual borrowing of Greek and Levantine traders by sketching a Euboeo-Phoenician picnic in the central Mediterranean; *'..to which both parties brought their own food, crockery and drink. As the al fresco progressed, each party would have shown some curiosity in the vessels used by the others, thinking of possible advantages in adopting their use: for the Phoenicians, a deep and stable drinking vessels with handles, in contrast to their shallow bowls requiring a steady hand; for the Greeks, a civilized distinction between vessels for eating and drinking.'* (Coldstream 2006, 54). The process of cultural borrowing illustrated by this metaphor in a way describes the process of hybridization. It outlines that a certain willingness to share ideas, together with the actual contact between different cultural groups, might result in hybrid material culture. Referring back from the end-product that is the hybrid object, to the people that used the object, we might say that they had contact with the other group, and that, dependent on the frequency of the appearance of hybrid objects, were more or less willing to

share ideas compared to other groups of people. In the case of the western Phoenicians, it is therefore apparent that in at least one place in the Mediterranean in one point in time, there was contact with people that used a Greek ceramic assemblage. We cannot find out who actually used these hybrid objects, or at least, what their ethnicity was. Therefore, as discussed above, it must be kept in mind that we do not consider ethnicity here but rather cultural traditions.

Resuming, the typological evolution that occurred in the Phoenician homeland after the 12th century was considered to be the result of changing commercial strategies and competition. The evolution of vessels used as containers coincides with the commercial needs of the Phoenicians at the time. Ceramic evolution in the Phoenician cities in the Levant during the transition to the Iron Age was driven by commercial contacts resulting in the presence of an eastern Mediterranean cultural koine. This process of cultural borrowing was enhanced a few centuries later and among colonizing groups. The technological and stylistic evolution of pottery production seems to have been stimulated by the multi-cultural character of the western Mediterranean colonies.

II.2 Ceramics in Iberian Archaeology

II.2.1 The production process

During the transition to the Iron Age, Iberian ceramic production experienced some major innovations; the introduction of the fast potters' wheel and the introduction of the pottery kiln. Wheel-throwing, a process by which ceramics are formed on a rotating platform allowing the potter to exploit the principles of centrifugal force (Sinopoli 1991, 21) was a technique widely applied in the Near East. In the Bronze Age, Iberian ceramics were exclusively handmade. The shift to wheel-throwing has been considered an advantage because of the possibility of mass-production. Therefore it is usually associated with workshop-level production instead of domestic production, leading to the possibility of craft specialization.

Kilns were initially used in the Phoenician colonies and spread to the hinterland of the colonies and the interior of the Peninsula later. The pottery workshop of Cerro del Villar, a Phoenician center on the south coast of Spain, near modern Malaga, demonstrates that the ceramics were produced for the regional market (Curià, Delgado, Fernández and Párraga 1995, 1475). The location of the site near access routes to the interior and the availability of natural resources to produce the fabrics permitted an active production during the Early Iron

Age. The high frequency at which pottery fragments occurred suggests that the workshop not only produced pottery for the Phoenician colony, but also for the regional and interregional market. Most of the fragments were classified as transport ceramics (amphorae, pithoi, globular pots and bottles). After transport ceramics, tableware is the most abundant functional group (plates, (carinated)bowls, dishes, jars and cups). On a smaller scale vessels destined for ritual or religious use were produced (pots, urns, tripods, etc.). The highest number of vessels had an untreated surface (52,4%), the second most abundant ware was grey-ware (16,88%) followed by painted pottery (16,06%). Interestingly, a small number of handmade ceramics was found which is not usually seen in Phoenician ceramic production. Altogether ceramic production was a fundamental activity for the economic development of Cerro del Villar. The transport ceramics served commercial needs. At the same time, the production of tableware seems to have been focused on the regional market. The great volume and variability of ceramic products that were produced at this site suggests a labour organization and division and an advanced set of skills; the selection of the right raw materials (sand and clay, temper, water, fuel), the knowledge necessary to produce the ceramics (knowledge about the composition on the clay, the technique of wheel-throwing and kiln firing). The large scale production in this colonial center permitted for a reduction of the costs of producing ceramics in comparison to a domestic production where this set of skills was not present. Although the Iberian Late Bronze Age was a period of increasing complexity, it seems that the establishment of pottery workshops by the Phoenician colonists accelerated a more intense division of labour and craft specialization. The domestic production of pottery was no longer advantageous for the regional population. The division of labour coincides with the shift to the commercialization of society. The demand of surplus production for trade in addition to the need for a centralized political organization in order to regulate this trade created an imbalance in the division of labour and a more concentrated way to divide time and energy in the production of goods. The dynamics that resulted transformed the accumulation of trade-goods and the political domination in order to allow for an intensification of production (Barcelo 1995). This included the use of new methods of production, the emergence of a political organization regulating this production and the division of labour in order to establish a concentrated surplus production.

The interesting question in the light of the process of hybridization is in what way this new technique was adopted in the hinterland, possibly by indigenous potters that were not yet familiar with this technique. An important point to make is that the technique of wheel-throwing is considered a skill that is too complicated to have been copied just by

looking at the end-product or by the oral transmission of the techniques. The way to obtain enough know-how of the technique of wheel-throwing in order to apply it independently is only possible by looking at the process being performed and learning the technique during practice (Arruda 2009, 258). This might suggest a permanent presence of individuals that knew this technique outside of the Phoenician colonies.

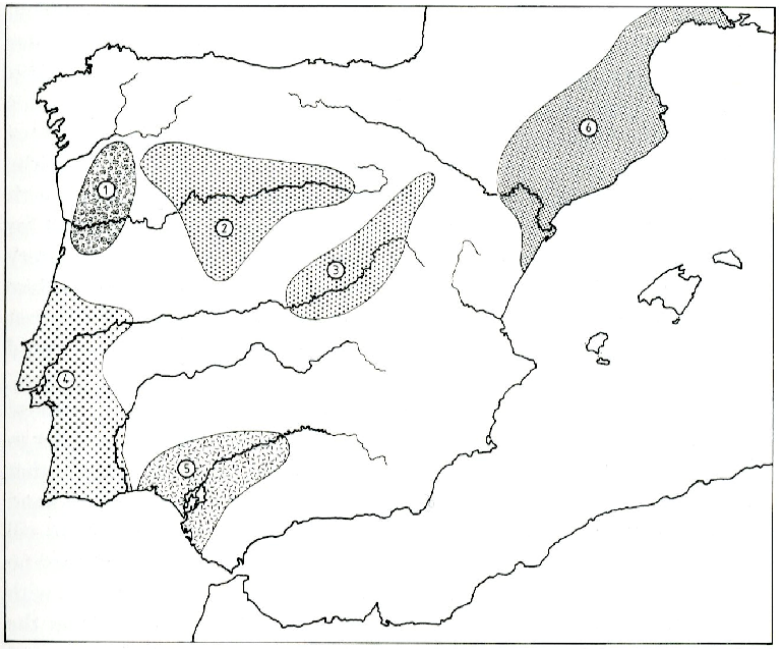

Fig. 9) Distribution of the major groups of decorated pottery of the Late Bronze Age around 900 BC: 1. North Portugal, Penha style ware, 2. Old Castile, Boquique style ware, 3. New Castile, Boquique style ware, Central and south Portugal, pattern-burnished pottery, 5. Western Andalusian pattern-burnished pottery, 6. Catalonian Urnfield pottery (Harrison 1988, 27).

II.2.2 Ceramics in Late Bronze Age Iberia

'Hybrid' ceramics from the Early Iron Age partially evolved from the Late Bronze Age pottery assemblage. Therefore, the following will discuss Late Bronze Age pottery in order to be able to recognize its characteristics. During the Late Bronze Age, ceramics were used extensively by a variety of cultural groups in the Iberian Peninsula. Over the vast area that was about to be altered by the sociopolitical changes that accompanied the increasing contact with eastern Mediterranean groups, some generalizations about ceramic use during the Late Bronze Age can be made. First of all, the absence of the technique of wheel-throwing during this period meant that all types were made by hand. Only a few wheel-made types were found, all of them imported from the eastern Mediterranean. Secondly, these handmade types were presumably fired in pit-ovens, holes that were dug out in the soil and covered by fuel. This assumption is based on the absence of evidence of kilns from the period preceding the

establishment of the Phoenician colonies and the fact that no oxidizing ceramics were produced before the Iron Age. The new pottery kilns enabled the regulation of the atmosphere during the firing process, allowing the potters to produce oxidized ceramics. The Bronze Age types were all produced under reducing circumstances resulting in dark-brown and grey surfaces. Thirdly, a general absence of large storage vessels is apparent while cooking- and tableware is present in abundance.

The types and forms that were used show similar characteristics over the vast area that is the southern half of the Peninsula. The different material cultural groups that occupy this area are therefore distinguished not by the morphology of their ceramics but rather by the techniques they used to decorate their pottery. In the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age the decorations on handmade ceramics are usually stroke burnished- or geometrically painted patterns. Pottery with stroke burnished patterns (ceramica de reticula bruñida) was the most common type of decoration on handmade pottery in the Late Bronze Age in the south of the Iberian Peninsula. The earliest examples that display this type of decoration come from Huelva and date to the 8th century BC. This technique continued to be used in the Early Iron Age. The vessels were decorated with a spatula when the clay was dry. The geometric motifs include rectilinear, triangular and curvilinear patterns. These types of decorations were usually applied on open shapes on the part of the vessels that were well visible. The pottery is made from grey, black, brownish or yellowish clay that usually has a fine surface and was well-fired. This type is most common in the lower Guadalquivir region but also appeared in more remote areas indicating their exchange contacts with the lower Guadalquivir. In smaller numbers this type appeared in the area of Huelva and in the upper Guadalquivir River basin (fig 10 shows the location of the river basins of the Iberian Peninsula).

In the Meseta plateau in the center of the Iberian Peninsula, the Cogotas I cultural complex evolved (which will be discussed in more detail in chapter IV) with its distinctive boquique decorations. Ceramics with this type of decoration were found mainly around their core area, the Duero river basin, although some sherds with this decoration were found near the southeast coast (García Alfonso 2007).

Fig. 10) Geographic map of the Iberian Peninsula (internet-source: www.solarnavigator.net/geography/spain.htm).

In the Guadalquivir area, the El Carambolo or Guadalquivir I style was found. These decorations appeared on bowls, large closed vessels and pottery stands. The red or brownish geometric painted decorations were applied on black or brown, smoothed or burnished surfaces after firing. The earliest example of this type have been found at Setefilla and were dated to 1300-1000 BC (Morgenroth 2004, 101). In Late Bronze Age contexts the El Carambolo style ceramics were also found in Medellín. The presence of these ceramics in the periphery of the distribution area has been interpreted as evidence of Tartessian colonization, already starting before the Early Iron Age (Almagro Gorbea 1994).

A classification was made by Ruiz Mata (1995) on the basis of Late Bronze Age handmade ceramics from archaeological sites in the provinces of Huelva, Cadiz and Seville. Late Bronze Age pottery was made in a large variety of shapes, sized and qualities, including plates and bowls, cups from fine clay, large vases and the typical southern Iberian biconic stands (fig 11.9). In the Early Iron Age a strong continuity in the shape of the handmade bowls is visible. The cups show differences. The biconic stands increase in size and become more slender than their predecessors. The next part will discuss the general functional shapes of the Late Bronze Age ceramic assemblage. More information is available in an extensive

account of the Late Bronze Age and Early Orientalizing shapes in the Iberian southwest is published in a 1978 article by Pellicer (Pellicer Catalán 1987).

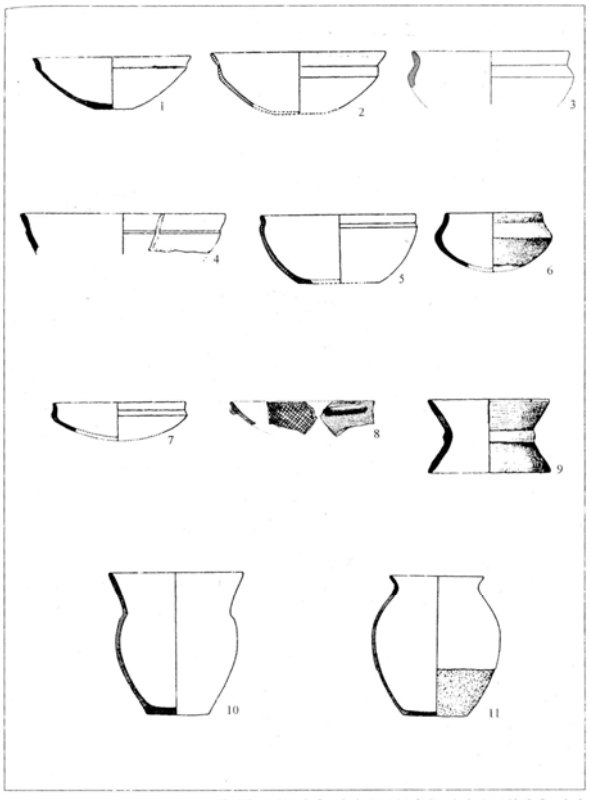

Fig. 11) Typology of Late Bronze Age handmade shapes by Ruiz Mata (Vallejo Sanchez 2005, 1164).

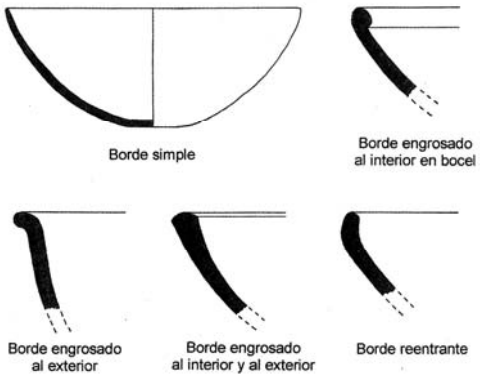

Fig. 12) Hemispheric bowls (and variable rim-types) (García Alfonso 2007).

Spherical bowls, casseroles or plates (fig 12)

This is the most simple vessels shape that was found in the villages in the south of the Iberian Peninsula. Spherical bowls, casseroles or plates have a spherical profile where the rim always marks the widest part of the vessel.

The walls are slightly curved but never develop into an inflection. The base is usually flat but some bases have a convex shape. This type of vessel can be subdivided in classes based on the variety in the morphology of the rim. Seven classes of rims have been distinguished; simple rims, rims that are rounded on the interior of the vessel, rims that are thickened on the interior of the vessel, slightly flaring rims, rims that are thickened on the interior and the exterior of the vessel, slightly incurving rims, and beveled rims.

The first three classes are most abundant in the assemblages of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age indigenous villages. It was assumed that these bowls had multiple functions. Possibly it was used as tableware and containers. The open shape indicates that it was not very useful for the conservation of goods over a long period of time.

Vessels with incurving rims

These vessels are related to spherical bowls although they can be distinguished by their closed shape. Bowls with incurving rims appeared in the Bronze Age settlements but are a lot scarcer in the later periods. No wheel-made examples of this shape have so far been discovered, indicating that the shape was not adopted in the common grey-ware assemblage.

Carinated bowls and plates (fig 11. 1-3)

Carinated bowls were considered to be the guide fossil of the Iberian Bronze Age. It is the most frequent shape of handmade pottery in this period and continues on into the Iron Age in the wheel-made grey-ware. This shape is characterized by the distinctive inflection of the rim. A great variety in sizes, fabrics and surface treatments exists among vessels with this shape, although burnished vessels predominate. The shape possibly originates from Middle Bronze Age vessels which were equally high as wide, or from some types of vessels that were found in the Duero river basin (García Alfonso 2007, 286). Some carinated bowls with Cogotas I decorations indicate that some continuation with this tradition (which will be described below) existed.

The quality of the carinated vessels varies considerably; the high quality well-fired thin-walled vessels usually had a high inflection and were considered to be luxury vessels. The type with a high inflection and a vertical rim usually were small and were scarce in the Late Bronze Age. The type with the inflection located at the center of the vessel developed in the Guadalquivir valley but its range extended to the westwards. The vessels with this shape are usually well-fired and they are usually polished or burnished. Sometimes they were decorated with burnished bands or painted with Carambolo style motifs.

A chronological evolution was assigned to carinated bowls from western Andalusia based on the location of the inflection (shifting from the upper part of the vessel towards the center). Between the 9th and the 8th centuries BC, a more flaring profile develops. In the 7th century the rims become thicker and the inflections become less pronounced (Ruiz Mata 1995).

Handmade cooking ware: pots and jars (fig 11.11)

In Spanish archaeological publications, the classifications of either pots or jars are often used for the same shapes. The difference lies in their function; pots being placed directly onto the fire to cook or warm food, jars to store food in small quantities. Pots often have handles to remove them from the fire. Because these types are usually indistinguishable from each other aiding to their bad preservation they were grouped together. Their form is often similar; they have a rim which tends to be flaring, usually they have a short neck, a globular or ovoid body and a plain or convex base. These coarse wares usually have an untreated surface but some are roughly polished. Cooking ware was fired at low temperatures under reducing atmospheres. The absence of standardization of the remains leads us to presume that pots and jars were produced in the domestic sphere. During the Bronze Age, these wares were undecorated except for some incised examples. After the 8th century BC, finger impressions become more common on these wares. In the province of Malaga, two variants of pots/jars have been distinguished; pots/jars with ovoid bodies with a short, narrow neck, a straight, slightly flaring rim, and pots/jars with a cylindrical body with straight walls without a neck and a straight lip (García Alfonso 2007, 297). The ovoid shape is the most common in the entire Iberian Peninsula from the Late Bronze Age onwards. When the wheel-made production of this type began the quality improved. The form steadily evolved towards vessels with ovoid bodies, subtle necks with short and slightly flaring rims. Some examples were decorated with finger or nail impressions at the beginning of the neck. During the Iron Age, the handmade vessels of this type experienced a reduction in size, probably because of the increasing use of the amphora for the storage of foodstuffs.

Biconic stands (soporte de carrete) (fig 11. 9)

Biconic stands were used to support vessels with a round base. They were common in the handmade assemblage in the Bronze Age and used all over the Iberian Peninsula (although the Phoenicians also made use of stands to support the amphorae it is the indigenous shapes that continue in the wheel-made grey-ware assemblage (García Alfonso 2007)). Two types have been distinguished; the *soporte de carrete* and the cylindrical stand. The soporte de carrete has a distinctive hourglass-shape. The neck is often strengthened with various ridges. They usually measure between 7 and 15 cm in height. This shape originated from the Copper- and Early Bronze Age. From the 9th century BC it was a widespread type in the Iberian Peninsula. From this period onwards the walls of the soporte de carrete have become thicker

and wider towards the rim. The characteristic soporte de carrete of this period often has a larger diameter than height, reinforcing its stability. This characteristic possibly originated in the Guadalquivir river valley and spread southwards after the 9th century BC.

There is a great variety in types and quality of the (biconic) stands, some of them painted, others undecorated. After the introduction of the fast potters' wheel, they were also adopted in the grey-ware assemblage. From this period onwards some types of stands can be considered as luxury objects and also appear in funerary contexts (such as the bronze examples found in tomb 17 at la Joya). A chronological sequence was based on the tendency towards a more pronounced neck, which resulted in the necessity of heavier support of the neck by thickened walls or a number of rings.

A chardon vases (fig 11.10)

It is still unclear whether bell-shaped vessels evolved from urns, pithoi or the typical 'a chardon' or 'thistle' vases, therefore it is usually distinguished as a type, named after its bell-shaped form. Bell-shaped vases are quite large with an average height of 40 to 50 cm. The rim is usually straight but some show a thickening at the exterior part of the rim. The body below the inflection of the large rim has an ovoid shape. The walls are usually thick, both to be able to carry goods and in order to prevent the vessel from breaking during the production process. The fabric usually is sandy with quite a lot of temper. The surface of these vessels was usually polished, and only rarely decorated. The motifs consist of friezes or triangles and zigzag-motifs applied on the vessels by painting, burnishing or incisions. Most of these vessels were handmade although some wheel-made examples were produced after the introduction of the fast potters' wheel. The first examples of this type have been found in 9th to 8th century BC levels.

II.2.3 Ceramics in the Phoenician colonies

Maass-Lindemann (2005) used the ceramics from Morro de Mezquitilla to illustrate the prototypical Phoenician ceramic forms in the Iberian Peninsula. The colony of Morro de Mezquitilla was established in an unoccupied area on the shore of southern Spain in the 8th century BC. In the first occupation levels a multitude of types was discovered; red-slip table ware, plates, bowls and jars with lobed mouths. On the surface, jugs, oil lamps and a few perfume bottles were found. In all levels, neckridge jugs were present.

Pots, amphorae and pithoi were used for storage and different types of amphorae were used for transport. Also, handmade pots appear that were probably used for provisioning (Maass-Lindemann 2005, 1139).

Almost one fifth of the ceramics from Morro de Mezquitilla was imported. The low based plates with stretched rims almost exclusively appeared in red-slip ware fabrics. Phoenician red-slip ware is found all over the Mediterranean region. It is a type of pottery with a bright red colour and a very fine, durable surface. It was wheel-made and fired in an oxidizing atmosphere. A variety of forms of red-slip ware is known; fifteen types have been distinguished by Negueruela (1979-1980). Red-slip ware forms were in some cases also imitated and adopted by local potters. The form of these plates evolved through time into a more shallow type with wider rims. This development is also visible in the other Phoenician colonies in Spain, as well as in Carthage and the Phoenician mainland.

Red-slip plates/bowls can be divided in two groups: carinated plates and hemispherical plates. The carinated plates are classified on the basis of the form of the rim. The plates/bowls with rims, thickened towards the outside (fig 12, c,d) were abundant in the Phoenician colonies. Plates with simple rims (fig 12, e), are present at Morro de Mezquitilla from the 8th century onwards and plates with flaring rims (fig 12, g). The hemispherical plates have been divided in two types: deep hemispherical plates (fig 12, i) which frequently appear in 8th century contexts at Morro de Mezquitilla, and shallow hemispherical plates (fig 12, k) which appear in simple versions in 8th century contexts.

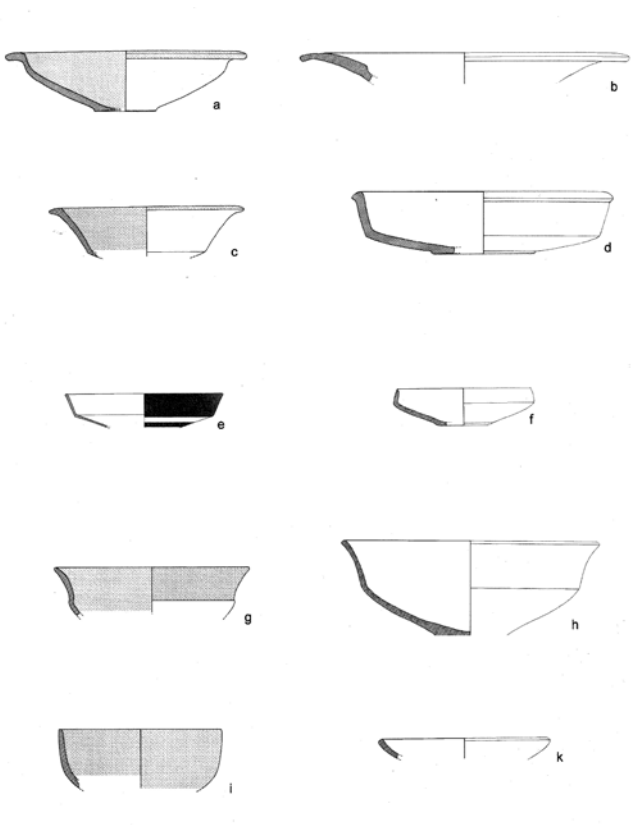

Fig. 13) Western Phoenician plates/bowls; -Morro de Mezquitilla: a) Mo 82/2345/1, c) Mo 82/2270/26, e) Mo 82/2279/67, g) Mo 82/2371/7, I) Mo 82/2280/27, b) nº 296; d) nº 125; Alarcón: h) TM 84/99/34; Chorreras 1980: k) nº 74, (Maass-Lindemann 2005, 1140).

Due to the study of Maas-Lindemann (1982) red-slip plates have become useful tools to date

Phoenician contexts. She observed that the widening of the rim of these plates follow a clear evolution through time, from closed to wide. This observation was supported by well-dated pieces of Greek pottery and a few radiocarbon dates (Harrison 1988, 50).

Grey-ware is a type of ceramics that corresponds to wheel-made tableware and urns with a grey colour which was the result of the firing process in which a reducing atmosphere was created. In the 8th century contexts of the Phoenician colonies, grey-ware was not yet present. Therefore, the production of grey-ware in colonial contexts can be attributed to the influence of the hinterland on the Phoenician colonies (Maass-Lindemann 2005, 1143). According to Maass-Lindemann (2005), the indigenous influence on colonial grey-ware is visible in the colour of the ceramics. Also, grey-ware was produced in forms that find their predecessors in both the Late Bronze Age Iberian tradition and forms that developed on the Phoenician mainland. The characteristics and spread will be discussed further in the following chapter in the light of the hybridization of Iron Age Iberian society.

From the 8th century BC onwards, amphorae appear frequently in the Phoenician settlements. Red-slip amphorae appear to have been accepted in the entire western Mediterranean. In the Iberian colonies, bichrome amphorae were preferred. These have been distributed in the Tartessian region as well. Other vessels that are typical for the Phoenician colonies are the urns with two or more twin handles attached to the rim and heavy tripod bowls (fig 14). During the 6th century BC rims of the tripod bowls become less pronounced. Tripod bowls were also adopted in the hinterland, probably in order to replace the previously used stone bowls (Maass-Lindemann 2005, 1146).

Stylistic features of the vessel shapes found at Toscanos also appeared at Lixus, a Phoenician colony that was established in the 7th century in Morocco. This suggests the existence of a cultural province in southern Spain and North-Africa (Maass-Lindemann 1972, 175). The pithos only appears in the western Phoenician colonies in the 7th century BC. The shape of the handles resembles the handles of the neckridge jugs, and appears abundantly in the central Mediterranean Phoenician colonies. Possibly, the shape of the handles was derived from Late Bronze Age Iberian prototypes.

The small unguent bottles that appeared in the earliest levels of occupation of Morro de Mezquitilla were imports. All of the 8th century examples were made of clay from the Levant. They appear in small numbers in funerary contexts. Some of these bottles have also been found in the tombs of Cruz del Negro, indicating Phoenician influence in indigenous funerary rites.

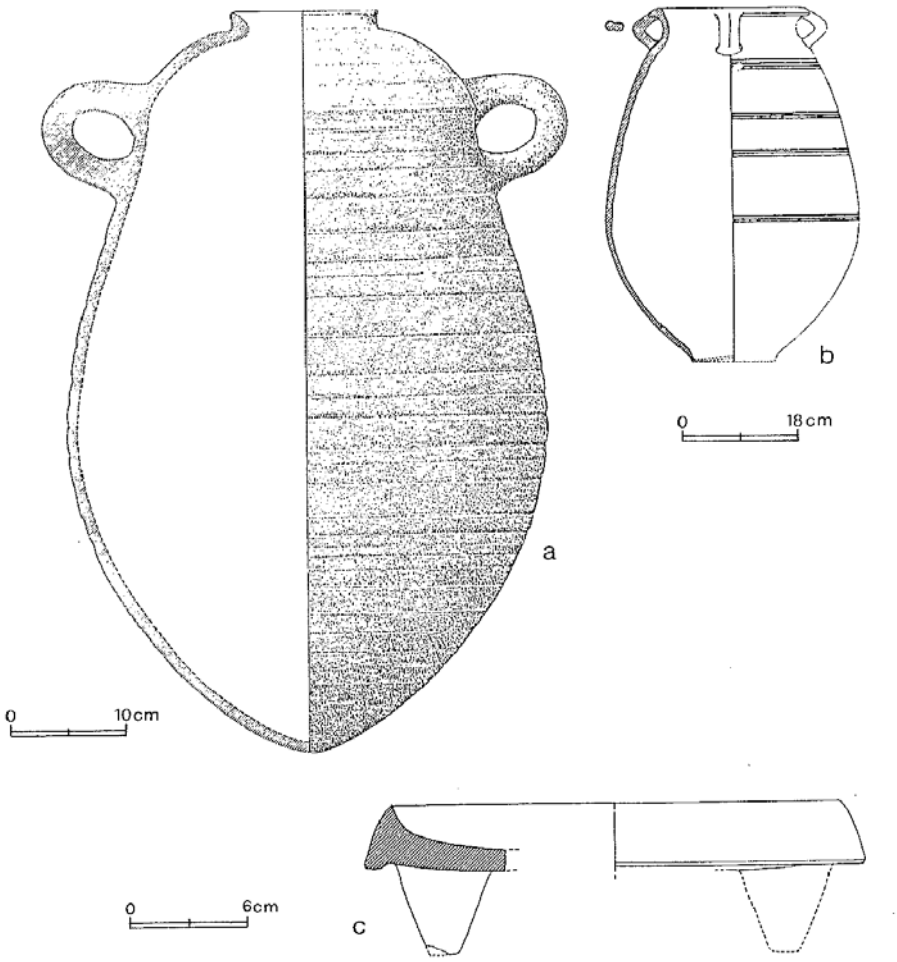

Fig. 14) Typical pottery vessels of the western Phoenician colonies; a) Amphora A 1, b) urn, c) tripod bowl (Maass-Lindemann 1975, 176).

Handmade ceramics also appeared in the Phoenician settlements of Andalusia. At Cerro del Villar handmade wares appear in Late Bronze Age Iberian shapes. Half of the handmade ceramic assemblage comprised (cooking) pots. Therefore, handmade ceramics were mainly used for the preparation of food. This assumption is underscored by the fact that no wheel-made cooking wares were found in these contexts. The spherical shape of the cooking pots suggests that they contained liquid foods such as soups (Delgado and Ferrer 2007, 25). Although little is known about Phoenician cooking practices, it is assumed that they consumed solid foods as indicated by the predominance of plates in the Phoenician tableware assemblage. The presence of ovoid cooking pots therefore might point to the supplementation of liquid foods to the diet of the inhabitants of the colonies.

The spherical bowl, which is the second most represented handmade vessel, might have been used for the consumption of these new liquid foods. Handmade tableware, cooking ware and storage vessels were used together with wheel-made shapes. This phenomenon is interesting because in the Phoenician homeland only wheel-made ceramics were used. The handmade ceramics were decorated in the same way as the local products; with burnished surface treatments, incisions, finger impressions, etc. The decorations are reminiscent of the local boquique technique of the Cogotas I culture with triangular, zig-zag and parallel lines. The appearance of these handmade vessels in the Phoenician colonies is interpreted as an indication of the presence of autochthonous inhabitants in the Phoenician environment, maintaining their original traditions of food production, consumption and storage (Martín Ruiz 1995, 1627; Delgado and Ferrer 2007, 25).

Some types of Phoenician ceramics that were common on the Phoenician mainland are lacking in the assemblages of the western Mediterranean colonies. In the first place no Phoenician 'Fine Ware' plates or 'Samaria Ware', common in 8th century contexts of the Levantine coastal cities, were found in the Iberian colonies. Neither Phoenician Black-on-Red nor Black-on-Orange ware was present at any of the western colonies. These wares are considered as Phoenician types that have developed in the cultural area of Tyre and Sidon (Treumann-Watkins 1992, 31). Why these shapes were not produced by the Western Phoenicians remains unclear.

II.2.4 Orientalizing ceramics in the indigenous settlements of Early Iron Age Iberia

Ceramics with Oriental influences were used in settlements associated with the indigenous Iberian population from the 8th century BC onwards. Initially these types were found in funerary contexts; Orientalizing pithoi and neck amphorae served as urns in the necropoleis of Les Moreres and Mozia, but also in the commercial sphere new shapes were adopted such as the Toscanos A I amphora. At the same time, shapes from the Late Bronze Age tradition remained in use. At the same time, the availability of new production methods opened up the boundary between both material cultural traditions; it allowed traditional shapes to be produced with different techniques (fig 15).

The Early Iron Age pottery can generally be divided in two groups: colonial Phoenician, and local indigenous pottery (Morgenroth 2004, 98). The local indigenous pottery mainly consists of handmade types that show a clear continuity with Late Bronze Age ceramic shapes. It is often unclear what the provenance of the pottery that has been considered as 'Phoenician' really is.

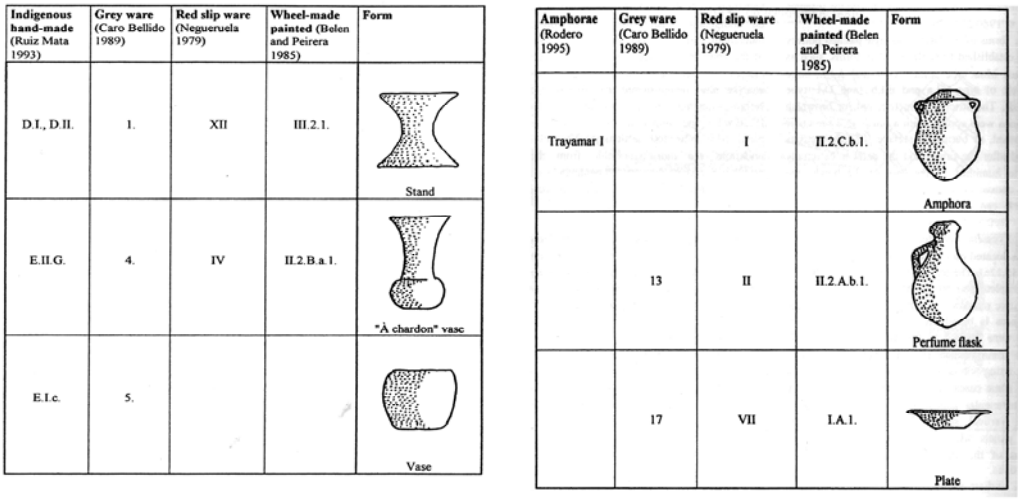

Fig 15) Shapes produced in various techniques (Morgenroth 2004, 102-103).

Whether these types originate from the eastern Mediterranean or were produced by local Phoenician potters in the trading colonies or even local craftsmen in the indigenous communities has yet to be proven by fabric analyses. Apart from their manufacture in local fabrics, minor morphological differences exist in western Phoenician ceramics on the basis of which they might be distinguished from imported ceramics from the Phoenician mainland. Phoenician ceramics with Iberian styles and fabrics that have been related with the workshop at Cerro del Villar also appeared in other western Mediterranean sites such as Carthage, Sardinia and Sicily (Ramón 2004, 192).

Ceramics from workshops that operated at the same time as Cerro del Villar have yet to be analyzed in order to see how the spread of western Phoenician ceramics in this part of the Mediterranean actually worked. The ceramics that were produced by these workshops were Phoenician by appearance although morphological changes evolved through the production of these wares. The ranges of the Phoenician carinated bowls and plates changed and the rims turned upwards, the size of the amphorae increased, while typical oil lamps with two spouts appeared.

Grey-ware is another type of ware that is specific for the Iberian ceramic production. Grey-ware was made in a variety of shapes and with a variety of techniques. It was either a Phoenician or a local product. Caro Bellido (1989) distinguished two general groups,

the first consisting of perfume flasks, jugs, and plates that clearly have been derived from common eastern Mediterranean forms and ‘a chardon’ vases that show similarities to local handmade forms. The earliest types (found at Toscanos) follow oriental prototypes. Not much later the technology was adopted by the local communities who began to use the fast potter’s wheel to produce local forms (Morgenroth 2004, 102). This type of ware will be discussed in detail in the following chapter because of its role in the hybridization process of the Iberian Peninsula.

A type of ceramics that often appears in indigenous funerary contexts is the ‘Cruz del Negro’ urn with its globular body and cylindrical- or conic neck. Although these urns have been imitated from a 9th century Palestinian model, they have been found in the Iberian Peninsula more frequently in comparison to other parts of the Mediterranean. It was the most common form of funerary urns in the Iberian Peninsula. While in the 7th century the largest concentration of these urns was used near the Phoenician colonies on the coast of western Andalusia, the focus of distribution shifted to Extremadura, upper Andalusia, and the southeastern coastal region at the end of the sixth century BC (Morgenroth 2004, 104). A 7th century kiln discovered at the indigenous settlement of Cerro de los Infantes demonstrated the local production of Cruz del Negro urns (Contreras *et al.* 1983).

The Early Iron Age amphorae were also produced in indigenous and Phoenician contexts, the oldest form being the ‘sack-shaped’ Trayamar I type. These amphorae have a vertical, straight or slightly thickened rim and a pronounced shoulder with two vertical handles attached to it. The base is round or slightly pointed. This type originates from the Syrian and Palestinian ‘Canaanite Jars’ dating as far back as the 13th century BC. The earliest example of the Trayamar I type in the Iberian Peninsula has been found at Toscanos and dates back to the first half of the 8th century BC. These amphorae have been found in colonial and indigenous contexts, located along the Guadalquivir and the Tinto and Odiel rivers. The shape evolved morphologically during the 7th century in the local contexts, leading to a slightly conic rim, thickened on the inside and a body, curved below the handle. By the end of the 7th century the rim had thickened on the outside and was separated from the shoulder. These amphorae were produced in workshops in the interior indicating the need for containers to trade goods. Fabric analysis was carried out on samples from the Early Iron Age level of Ronda la Vieja, resulting in the suggestion that 12 of the 29 samples were made from local clay. On the basis of morphology and type series is has not proven possible to distinguish between amphorae from colonial or indigenous workshops or even imported amphorae. Storage containers do not have predecessors in indigenous contexts, therefore it is

stated that the need to export and store goods, possibly indicating an increase in agricultural surplus, only started when the Phoenician colonizers arrived.

Amphorae produced in indigenous workshops initially were therefore copies from oriental prototypes instead of hybrid shapes, before the local evolution started. The Trayamar III amphorae are present in lesser numbers. They have a vertical rim, pronounced shoulders and a conic body. Trayamar III amphorae originate from 9th century Near Eastern models.

An interesting development in pottery production occurred in the 7th and the 6th centuries BC. In indigenous contexts, wheel-made painted pottery begins to show up. This type of pottery has only been found in indigenous contexts and, although only small quantities were found, the finds are concentrated in the interior of southern Iberia. The decorations scenes display animals, fantastic animals (griffins and sphinxes), and floral motives (like lotus flowers, rosettes and palmettes), framed by geometric bands. These vessels usually have a light orange fabric. The colours of paint are reddish-brown, brown, black and grey.

Fig 16) Painted ceramics; 1) Pithos from Montemolín, 2) Carinated cup from Montemolín (no scale) (Chaves and de la Bandera 1986).

II.3 Conclusion

A few things can be said about the pottery production from the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age; in the Late Bronze Age, high quality handmade fine ware was produced in a variety of techniques of decoration such as painted and stroke burnished patterns. These types continued to be produced until the 7th century. This continuity was interpreted as stability in population throughout this period (Morgenroth 2004, 106).

Also, the exchange between different areas is illustrated by the presence of pottery with stroke burnished patterns outside its area of origin and the overlap in the morphology of the Late Bronze Age ceramics. The introduction of the fast potter's wheel and the kiln most probably occurred when the Phoenicians colonized the Iberian Peninsula in the 8th century BC. From this period onwards, oriental forms were produced by Phoenician workshops and later, indigenous potters started using these new techniques. Red-slip ware was produced and distributed from the Phoenician colonies. The fabric analyses of ceramics from kilns considered as indigenous generally indicate a local production of these wheel-made types. The Cruz del Negro urns occur frequently, indicating that this Palestinian form corresponded to local tastes. The Trayamar I amphora was adopted as the first locally produced storage vessel of the Iberian Peninsula underscoring the need for this type of container. The high quality of this type makes it hard to distinguish it from eastern examples.

Grey-ware appeared in indigenous and Phoenician contexts showing a break in both the tradition of the Phoenicians to produce oxidized wares, and the tradition of the indigenous Iberian population to produce these shapes by hand. Phoenician vessels were found in Tartessian funerary context; for example urns, pithoi, amphorae, provisioning vessels and the Cruz del Negro urns. It is difficult to explain the provenance of the 'à chardon' vases, which appear frequently in the Tartessian region. Possibly, this type of vessel is a hybrid shape that developed from the confluence of indigenous traditions from the final Bronze Age and the bichrome paintings of the western Phoenicians.

Biconic stands continued to be used in the Early Iron Age. The prototype for these stands originates from the Late Bronze Age. However, in the Late Bronze Age Levant stands were also used. The presence of stands in the eastern Mediterranean is seen as an indication of drinking customs related to North Syrian, Aramaean, Assyrian and Phoenician traditions. The inability of these vessels to be put away during the act of drinking is interpreted as an indication of the custom to empty the vessel in one gulp instead of, for example, the Greek tradition of returning to the vessel before emptying it (Boardman 2002, 8). The shape of the Phoenician prototype is shallower; they were probably used for larger vessels. These

shallower stands were accepted in the Tartessian region in the 7th century BC, and were often decorated with painted motifs (Maass-Lindemann 2005, 1144).

The Trayamar type I amphorae was imitated by oriental prototypes. The appearance of local imitations of this type of amphora coincides with the new economical components; that of provisioning and commerce, which gained importance after the arrival of Phoenician commercial interests in this area.

When developments in pottery production are placed within the broader archaeological context it becomes clear that pottery can be used to answer questions about political, social and economic processes. Despite the changes in the funerary rites, settlement pattern and social hierarchy that are visible in archaeological contexts during the transition of the Early Iron Age to the Later Iron Age, pottery production represents a deeply rooted element of Iberian tradition (Morgenroth 2004, 107). Therefore, it is interesting to study this material to understand this Iberian tradition in times of cultural contact and change. The degree in which the mutual influence took place seems to be biased towards the adoption of Phoenician shapes by the indigenous population. The development in the pottery production of the indigenous population that was caused by the arrival of the Phoenicians seems more significant than the changes that were brought about in the Phoenician way of life in the Iberian colonies. However, some examples of handmade ceramics were used in the Phoenician colonies which display aspects of the Late Bronze Age indigenous tradition.

A variety of theories was developed to explain the presence of Bronze Age shapes in the Phoenician settlements. According to Schubart, Niemeyer and Pellicer (1969, 140) these ceramics reflect a simple exchange between the Phoenician settlements and the indigenous villages. Others think that these ceramics are a testimony of the presence of indigenous people in the Phoenician settlements (Martín Ruiz 1995, 1627; Delgado and Ferrer 2007, 25). Martín Ruiz (1995) advocates the theory of mixed marriages between the indigenous and the Phoenician population. The assemblage of handmade ware of Cerro del Villar was associated with the existence of cooking and serving practices from both Phoenician and indigenous traditions. Rather than interpreting this case of ceramic borrowing as a testimony of ethnic presence these ceramics can be placed in the context of the Middle Ground. These ceramics demonstrate the ease in which the most useful ceramics were adopted in daily life then about the ethnicity of its users. These ceramics display a logical development towards the adoption of the most useful assemblage, pointing to the functional instead of the ritual or symbolical mindset of their users.

The fact that the first handmade Phoenician shapes that were found in the initial phases of settlement are morphologically similar to the Late Bronze Age shapes led to a new theory; handmade ceramics were everyday tools of the first inhabitants of the Phoenician colonies. To supply the need for these handmade shapes the inhabitants both made their own handmade pottery and used the pottery that existed in the vicinity of the colony, which was made by the indigenous population (Morgenroth 2004).

While Late Bronze Age shapes were used in the Phoenician colonies, wheel-made grey-ware became the most common type in the indigenous settlements. Wheel-made grey-ware is by many scholars considered as a Phoenician product designed for the indigenous Iberian market. This exchange of ceramic types is interesting in the light of the hybridization theory. However, many of the arguments that characterize this hybridization process are based on-, or illustrated by morphological criteria in the ceramic assemblages. In order to get a better understanding of the processes of ceramic evolution and the dynamics between the indigenous Iberian population and the Phoenician colonies, the following chapter will focus on wheel-made grey-ware.

CHAPTER III: GREY-WARE

III.1 Introduction

Orientalizing grey-ware is the most abundant ware of Early Iron Age contexts in the Iberian southwest. It is considered to be the product of both indigenous and Phoenician ceramic traditions. Therefore, it is considered to be a hybrid ware. The following chapter will summarize the research history of this type of pottery in order to conclude in what way it is hybrid, and if this type of ware can inform us about the process of hybridization in the transition to the Early Iron Age.

Grey-ware was produced in the south of the Iberian Peninsula from the second half of the 8th century BC onwards. Grey-ware appeared for the first time in the Guadalquivir river area and is particularly abundant there. It also appears in the Onubian coastline (in the province of Huelva), the province of Córdoba, northern Andalusia and the Mediterranean coastal area (Vallejo Sánchez 1998, 11). Later, grey-ware spread to the interior of the Iberian Peninsula, towards the Guadiana River basin, which will be the focus of the next chapter.

Grey-ware was baked in a reducing atmosphere, causing its grey appearance. The general idea is that this ware is meant to imitate ceramics produced in primitive ovens. Although little information is available about the production process of ceramics in proto-history on the Iberian Peninsula it is assumed that Late Bronze Age ceramics were fired in pit-ovens in the ground, covered with fuel. In these pit-ovens it was impossible to create an oxidizing atmosphere and therefore the ceramics always turned out grey. In the chamber ovens that were introduced by the Phoenician colonists, oxidizing atmospheres could be achieved in which the ceramics obtained their red colour, while the potter could also choose to create a reducing atmosphere, resulting in grey-ware. From the Early Iron Age ovens that are known from archaeological excavations at Cerro del Villar, Las Calañas de Marmolejo, Jaén, Castellar de Librilla, only the last one exclusively produced grey-ware. The others have also been associated with the production of oxidizing ceramics. The grey colour of these ceramics thus seems to have been intentional (Vallejo Sánchez 2005, 1159) and is said to be the product of the Late Bronze Age ceramic tradition.

Grey-ware fabrics often contain calcite and sometimes iron oxides. They lack micaceous minerals. The variety in the composition of the clays used can in some cases be related to the geological provenance of the clay. Grey-ware was baked in temperatures between 550ºC and 850ºC. Interestingly, the potters used the same clay composition to fire

wares in an oxidizing and a reducing atmosphere pointing to a common provenance of the different types of wares (Hornero del Castillo 1990, 176). Often, the ceramics have polished or burnished surfaces, treatments that were traditionally applied on Late Bronze Age handmade ceramics.

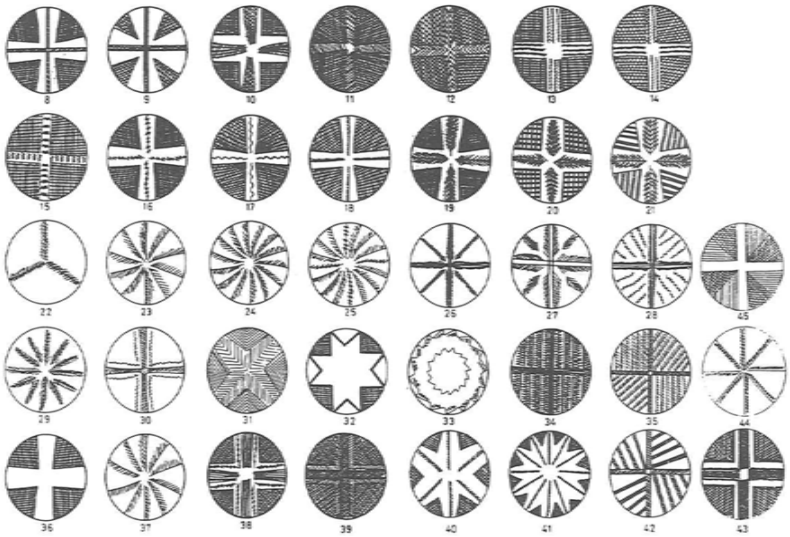

Fig. 17) Polished decorations on grey-ware plates in Huelva and the Guadalquivir River basin (Ruiz Mata 1995, 289).

The quality of grey-ware varies considerably, even within the same settlement. Generally, grey-ware was polished but in extreme cases it is only carelessly smoothed. On the other hand, extremely fine examples have been found, with shiny surfaces. Usually, apart from the polished or smoothed surfaces, the ceramics are undecorated. Examples on which traces of pigments have been found are scarce. Some bowls from Andalusia have banded decorations near the rim. Only a small number of ceramics demonstrate incised or engraved stars, zigzags motifs, rosettes or palms or somewhat more complicated symbols such as alphabetical signs, lotus flowers and mythical creatures. These decorations possibly have a symbolic value, although a more detailed study of the contexts of these vessels probably can inform us better about their symbolic value than to merely accept that these rare decorations are indicators of their exceptionality. Certainly, these decorative schemes are associated with the Phoenician symbolic assemblage that evolved from Egyptian decorative styles. The popularity of these decorations on ceramics that were used in daily practices can be seen as an indication that the influence of the Phoenician ‘colonization’ was notable in activities that are not exclusively elite based.

Grey-ware was produced in a variety of shapes which in some cases find their origin in red-slip ware but also in the Bronze Age forms of the south of the Iberian Peninsula. The use of

shapes from both traditions is puzzling and leads to the question who produced these ceramics. Most probably, grey-ware production started in the Phoenician centers on the coast. Some discussion arose among scholars about the period in which these products came to be made locally on the wheel; Pellicer (1982) places the event in the 6th century while Roos (1982) claims the beginning of the 7th or end of the 8th century to be the period in which the first local products were made. At Piños Puente, Acinipo and Campiña de Marmolejo local kilns were found that operated before the 6th century BC (Ruiz and Molinos 1993, 53). In general these were plates, bowls, *oinocóe*, oil-lamps, perfume flasks, ampules, and bowls with banded decorations of the Campillo type. Also the indigenous handmade shapes were produced in grey-ware; the à chardon vessels, pots, bowls with polished surfaces, painted- or sgraffito decorations. From the end of the 8th century BC, the use of grey-ware spread to the interior of the Iberian Peninsula (Vallejo Sánchez 2005, 1154). When grey-ware was adopted in these areas, the assemblage of shapes had already been established and therefore only limited regional variation appears to exist. In conclusion, the general idea is that the grey colour and the fact that the majority of the ceramics have open shapes can be related with local tastes and habits that originate from Late Bronze Age ceramic traditions. However, the production process and the fact that some shapes are characteristic of ceramic assemblages of the eastern Mediterranean constitute its oriental origin (Gonzalez Prats 1983). Can we speak of a clear case of hybridity? According to the literature we can, although the articles are not specific about the formal characteristics of the Local Bronze Age- and Phoenician ceramic traditions and how these can be recognized in the grey-ware shapes of the Iberian Iron Age.

III.1.1 Grey-ware studies; history of research

Until the end of the 1960's grey-ware was seen as a product that had evolved from Phocaean (Phocaea was a Ionian Greek city on the coast of Anatolia that was involved in the Mediterranean commercial ventures and founded Emporion/Ampurias in northeast Spain in the 5th century BC) or Ampuritanian predecessors. In other words, grey-ware was attested to the influences of Greek instead of Phoenician ceramic production. This assumption was the result of the appearance of grey-ware ceramics in the area around Barcelona, which was associated with in the first place the central-European Hallstatt culture and later with the Phocaean colony Ampurias (Almagro Gorbea 1969; Maluquer de Motes 1969). The grey-ware found in the southwest of the Iberian Peninsula was therefore in the first place associated with influences from the Greek world. Only after evidence of grey-ware production was discovered in the Phoenician colonies of the Iberian Peninsula was its origin reconsidered. In the 1970’s this new idea was incorporated in the study of grey-ware (Belén

1976) and elaborated by A. M. Roos (1982). Grey-ware was associated with Phoenician- instead of Greek pottery traditions (Roos 1982, 46). From the 1970's onwards systematic excavations in the Guadalquivir river basin have produced well preserved grey-ware ceramics that can be related to the local stratigraphy. The first grey-ware was discovered at Toscanos which is a Phoenician colony, and dates to the third part of the 8th century BC. It appeared together with typical Phoenician wares. At Cabezo de San Pedro, an indigenous village near Huelva, grey-ware supplemented the handmade Bronze Age shapes from the end of the 8th century BC. Around the same time, grey-ware also appeared at Cerro Macareno (Sevilla) in the Guadalquivir basin. During the excavations at the supposed indigenous Iron Age settlements of Carmona, El Carambolo, Cerro de la Cabeza, Cerro Macareno, la Mesa de El Gandul, la Mesa de Setefilla, Alhonoz grey-ware appeared. In the province of Cadiz grey-ware was also represented although less abundant.

Fig. 18) Map of the principal sites where orientalizing grey-ware has been found (after Vallejo Sanchez 2005, 1154).

Grey-ware has also been documented in the Phoenician colonies on the south coast and their hinterland, for example at Toscanos, Cerro del Villar, Sexi (Almuñecar) and Málaga. Slightly later in time, grey-ware appeared in Extremadura (Medellín) and Phoenician and indigenous contexts in Portugal and Morocco produced grey-ware as well. The beginning of the

chronology of grey-ware in the Iberian Peninsula was sought in the Guadalquivir River Valley. It was not until the end of the 8th century that these ceramics appeared in these contexts, much later than in the contexts of Toscanos and Morro de Mezquitilla which are both Phoenician sites (García Alfonso 2007, 349).

Tab. 2) The first local production of wheel-made grey-ware in the south and southwest of the Iberian Peninsula (after Roos 1982, 53)

Environment	**Site**	**Stratigraphy**	**Date**
Phoenician	Toscanos	Stratum I	Last third of the 8th century BC
Indigenous	Cabezo de San Pedro	Phase IIa	End of the 8th- beginning of the 7th century BC
	Pinos Puente	Stratum 7 (court 23)	End of the 8th- beginning of the 7th century BC
	Cerro Macareno	Level 25	End of the 8th- beginning of the 7th century BC
	Los Alcores de Porcuna	Phase II	End of the 8th- beginning of the 7th century BC
	Saladares	Phase I-B3	Middle of the 7th century BC

Although grey-ware initially was considered as the product of local ceramic evolution (Caro Bellido 1986, 5), the more feasible assumption is that it evolved in the 8th century BC Phoenician workshops in the first place and was only adopted by indigenous workshops later, from the 7th century BC (Roos 1982, 70). This is because the earliest examples of grey-ware types were found in the Phoenician colonies or the nearest indigenous settlements. The earliest grey-ware production center was located in the Phoenician colony of Cerro del Villar. Later indigenous production centers have been found at Cerro de los Infantes and Calañas de Marmolejo while the grey-ware found at Medellín is also attributed to local production. Therefore, to explain the process of the hybridization of grey-ware we must concentrate on the area where it appeared in the first place; the southwest of the Iberian Peninsula. Probably, Phoenician potters in the colonies dedicated part of their work to the production of grey-ware which was later also produced by indigenous potters. This assumption is also underscored by the good quality of the early 8th century wares indicating that the potters were well-accustomed to the technology of wheel-throwing.

In most of the known native Early Iron Age settlements, the presence of grey-ware bowls and plates is overwhelming. Hemispherical bowls with thickened rims on the inside

are part of the assemblage from the 7th century onwards although they are particularly abundant during the 6th century BC. Carinated plates or casseroles with flaring rims are present from the 8th century BC but come to full development in the 7th century, where after the number decreases at the same rate as the number of bowls increases. All open shapes have plain or slightly convex bases, sometimes completed by a ring-base that through time develops into a prolonged high ring-base (Vallejo Sánchez 2005, 1156). The *soporte de carrete*, or biconic stand, was found all over the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula. The *soporte de carrete* was initially produced in the lower Guadalquivir valley where after it spread to the east coast and probably the southwest of the Peninsula. These stands demonstrate an extraordinary similarity to the Late Bronze Age traditions described above (Caro Bellido 1989, 25).

Grey-ware appears in domestic contexts and indigenous funerary contexts. So far, no substantial evidence has been found of grey-ware in Phoenician funerary contexts (Roos 1982, 56) in which only the traditional Phoenician ceramics were used. This observation constitutes an important argument for a distinction in the traditional use of ceramics between the indigenous and Phoenician inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula during the Iron Age in the sense that the conservatism on the Phoenician side contrasts with the acceptance of new shapes in the funerary rites of the indigenous groups.

III.1.2 Grey-ware typologies

> *'Typology, like excavation, is an empirical practice, a technique capable of facilitating interpretation in archaeology, but isolated and lacking any theoretical approach to underpin it; it is an endless and accumulative practice, and is ultimately inimical to the archaeological patrimony itself, owing to its all-consuming character.'* (Ruiz and Molinos 1998, 40).

This statement is of particular relevance to the efforts that have been put into the establishment of grey-ware typologies. There are many, all of them referring to each other and referring back to Late Bronze Age, and Phoenician typologies. Since the 1960's and 1970's, different denominations and codes were applied to the grey-ware shapes and characteristics of individual sites that later evolved into regional typologies (Levante, Sub-Meseta, Extremadura and Andalusia). Therefore, no general typology can be used for every single grey-ware assemblage in the Iberian Peninsula (Torres Ortiz 2002, 140).

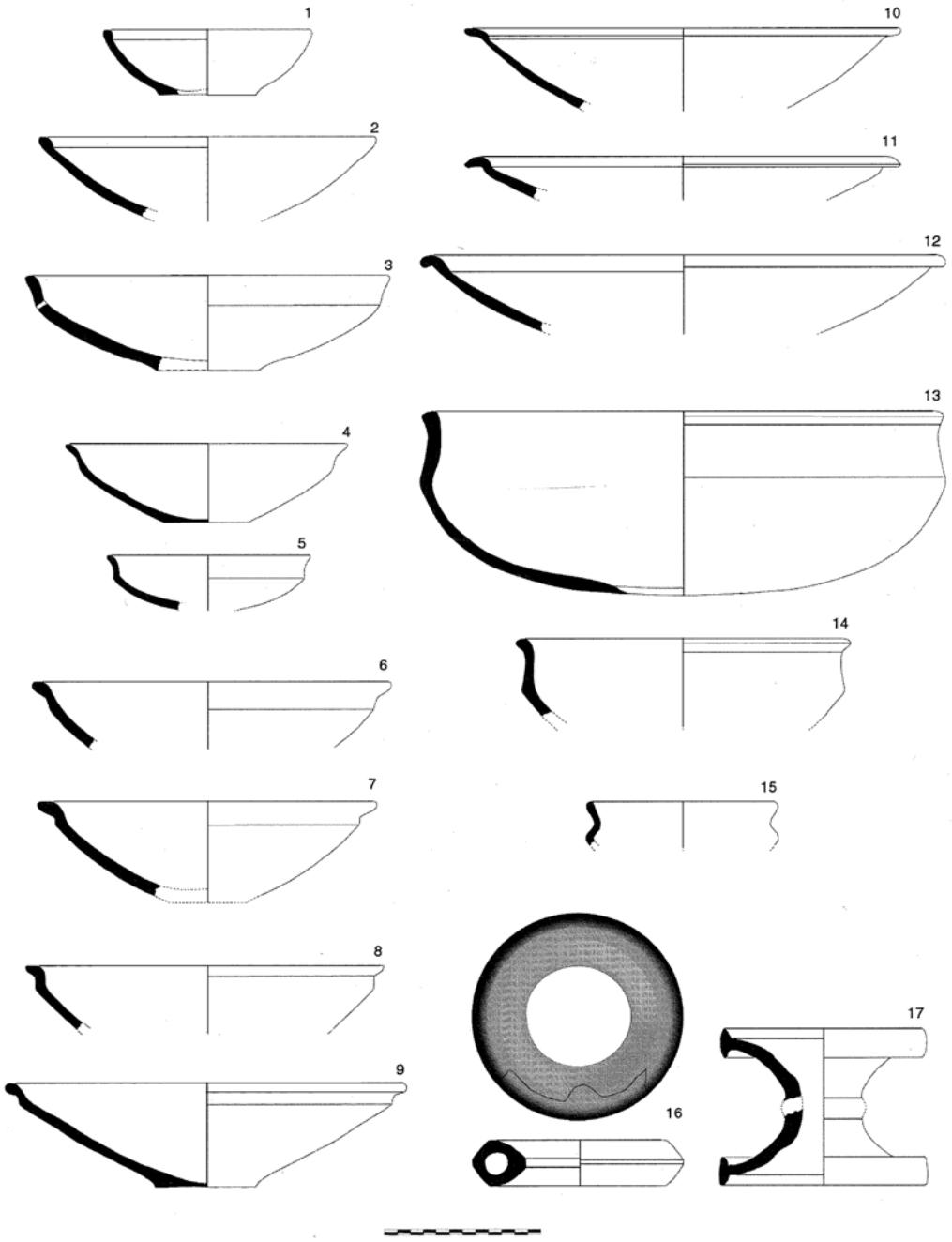

Fig. 19) The principal grey-ware shapes described in the text (Vallejo Sánchez 2005, 1158).

Although it has been generally acknowledged that typologies do not reflect 'natural divisions of reality' (Whittaker 1998, 130), they can nevertheless be helpful in archaeology to describe a body of data, to communicate that description and answer interpretive questions. However,

the way typologies are established varies considerably, the attempts at establishing grey-ware typologies being no exception. Following Hill and Evans (1972, 248), who argue that there is no single or best typology because the investigator will never have access to the full set of attributes, this thesis will try to see how these typologies work when combined.

Some works such as the typology of Roos (1982) and Caro Bellido (1989) define general forms that can be applied to the Tartessian area. The work of Belén (1976) can be used for the region of Huelva, González Prats (1983) for Peña Negra, Lorrio (1988-89) for Medellín and Mancebo (1992, 1995) for the region of Seville (Torres Ortiz 2002, 140).

Most grey-ware typologies refer to the typology established by Caro Bellido (1986, 1989), on the basis of ceramics from Andalusian and eastern Iberian sites. He claims grey-ware evolved in the Tartessian settlements (Caro Bellido 1986, 191). He distinguished 20 types of grey-ware (fig 20); 1) the biconic stand (soporte de carrete), 2) the ring-shaped stand, 3) the vessel with the double-coned body, 4) the 'a chardon' vase, 5) the closed vase, 6) large vase with double body, 7) globular vase, 8) globular vessel with a wide mouth and a straight, flaring rim, 9) vessel with a globular body and a short rim, 10) small, open bowl, 11) hemispheric vessel with double horizontal or 'basket' handle, 12) hemispheric bowl with a vertical or incurving wall, 13) Phoenician closed perfume- or oil flask, 14) Phoenician ampule with a rectilinear wall or jar with simple mouth and body, 15) open shape, similar of shape 10 but with conical upper part of the body, 16) plain, open vessel, 17) a and b, hemispheric plate, 18) hemispheric, conical plate with carination in upper part of the vessel, 19) hemispheric bowl with carination in upper part of the vessel, 20) simple, open vessel with hemispheric body.

The oil bottle (form 13) is interesting in the context of the hybridization of pottery shapes. This is a shape from the Phoenician assemblage, produced in a grey fabric. Obviously, the introduction of luxury goods such as perfumed oils caused the interest in such a shape. Before, there was no need for oil bottles. The local production of these flasks might indicate that local production of these perfumed oils took place. Not many of these bottles have been found in the Iberian Peninsula. They did appear in the Phoenician colonies, as well as in the indigenous settlements in the direct hinterland; the region of Huelva and the Guadalquivir basin.

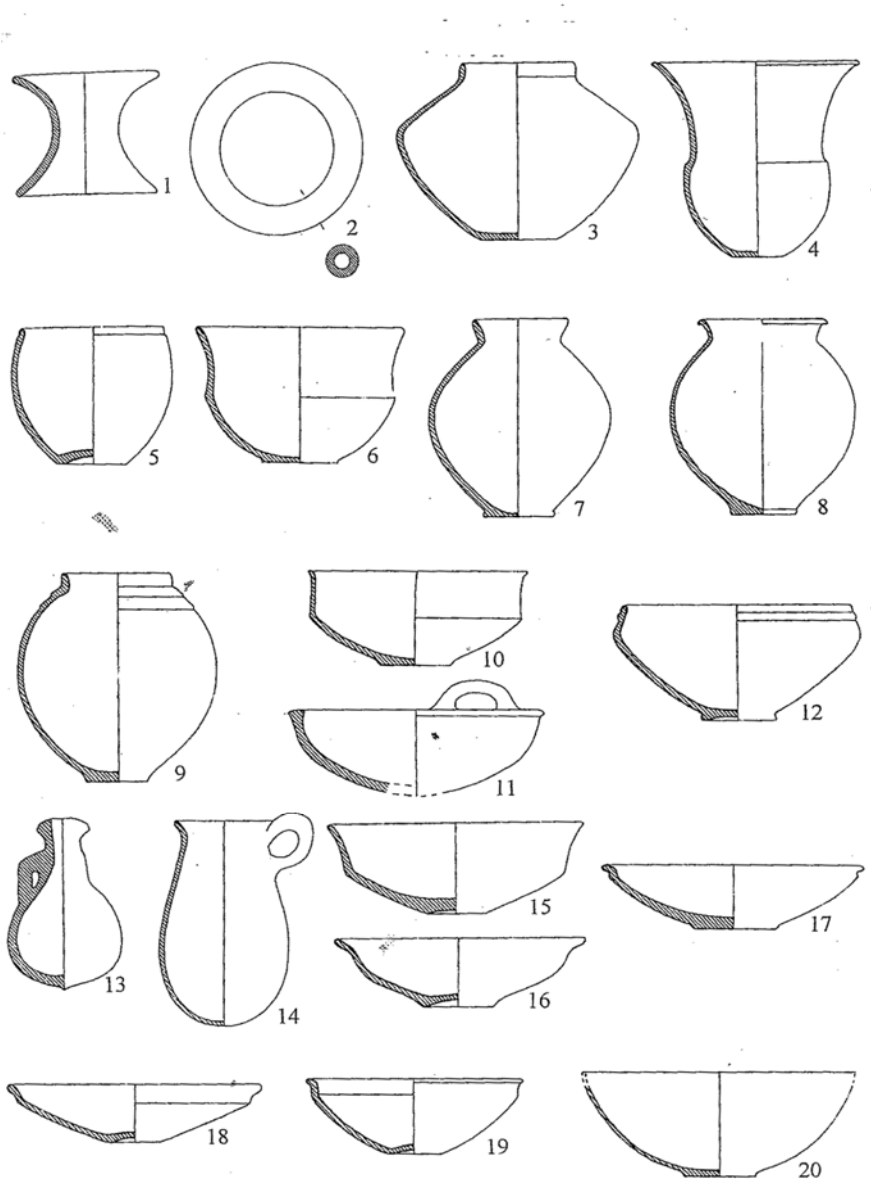

Fig. 20) Typology of grey-ware by Caro Bellido 1989 (Torres Ortiz 2002, 139).

In some cases grey-ware appears in funerary contexts. In the Phoenician settlement of Toscanos, one example has been found in the earliest strata that have been dated to the third quarter of the 8th century BC. In the 7th century they appeared at Cerro de la Mora. Also type 14 is a local adaptation of a Phoenician shape. What is evident is that both these types from a Phoenician tradition are closed forms.

Another influential typology was that of A. M. Roos, realized in 1982. She tried to create a more general typology that spans a few southern Iberian sites; Toscanos, the Guadalhorce river area, Cabezo de San Petro, Piños Puente, Procuna and Los

Saladares/Versolay. In establishing an origin for the different types she refers to the Late Bronze Age typology of Ruiz Mata and uses models directly derived from these Early Iron Age sites. This typology is based on visual aspects related to the forms and the drawings instead of measurable traits. She concludes that her observations can be used to support a chronology starting with the production of oriental shapes at Toscanos and later resulting in the use of these types and additional shapes from the typology of Ruiz Mata in the other settlements.

III.2 Towards a process of hybridization

Although these ceramics seem to have developed from an indigenous tradition, and were discovered in the Iberian interior in indigenous contexts, the Phoenician influence on their production is evident. Obviously, the technique of wheel-throwing was introduced by the Phoenicians. This technique was adopted by the local populations in order to produce their domestic goods. The influence of the Late Bronze Age traditions of Andalusia will be summarized in the following. In the first place, the importance of open shapes in the hand-shaped pottery of the Bronze Age is also visible in the majority of the grey-ware ceramics. In the early stages of the production of grey-ware, the small (a diameter of approximately 10 cm.) carinated bowl with a polished surface and fine walls is the most frequently found shape. It appeared in funerary contexts (at the necropolis of las Cumbres), as well as in urban contexts (at Castilla Doña Blanca for example). Another significant shape is the *soporte de carrete* which seems to have developed from a characteristic Late Bronze Age shape. The production of the Late Bronze Age shapes can be related to functional advantages of continuing the previously used shapes. The surface treatment of grey-ware is the same as that of a large part of the Late Bronze Age ceramics, and is characterized by the polished surface after the first drying and preceding the firing process. Another significant continuity of the late Bronze Age tradition is visible in the grey tones of the ceramics. It has been widely accepted that the colour of these ceramics seems to have been pursued intentionally for aesthetic reasons. Last but not least, the geometric motifs that in some cases are present on the interior of the open vases are similar to the decorations that were used in the Late Bronze Age (Vallejo Sánchez 2005, 1163). On the other hand, Orientalizing schemes appear on grey-ware plates as well.

The most significant changes for the potter were the technologies that were applied, the organization and distribution of the workspaces. The techniques that were applied to produce grey-ware are significantly different from the Late Bronze Age Iberian ceramic tradition. The fact that technological, organizational, and distributive innovations were

adopted in the interior of the Iberian Peninsula suggests that a process of learning must have taken place (Arruda 2009; Cañete and Vives-Ferrándiz 2011, 134). Because wheel-throwing and the use of the chamber oven require the knowledge of other motor-skills and organization of the production process it is unlikely that these innovations were copied from their models without active learning in shared practice. It is most probable that indigenous craftsmen learned the innovations through active participation at a workshop where the techniques were already applied. Because we cannot be certain about the ethnic background of the potters, we can only speak of a process in which the experienced potter taught the un-experienced potter how to produce grey-ware. This suggests an active cooperation between both, most probably in a non-hostile in which both parties benefitted from the efforts of sharing experiences.

So how did the assemblage evolve and who made the choices to incorporate stylistic features? From previous research it is not clear where we can find clues that characteristics of Late Bronze Age and Phoenician morphological traditions mixed within the Orientalizing grey-ware shapes. Clearly, when the grey-ware production process, production technique, decorative styles and morphological types are taken as a whole, we can speak of a hybrid ware. However, in appearance, the shapes do nothing more than resemble the shapes of one original model, instead of being a mix of both, like the statues of Monte Prama in Sardinia. Are the types of grey-ware nothing more than copies of shapes, produced in a different technique? If so, does this mean that grey-ware is more or less the product of active choice by the potter? Obviously, mixing styles intentionally is different from reproducing styles from a model. The answer lies in the context where grey-ware evolved; whether it was initially produced by local craftsmen or Phoenician workshops. Before discussing this topic more thoroughly, the issue of morphological hybridity will firstly be explored in the next chapter, by focusing on the grey-ware assemblage from the Vegas Altas del Guadiana, province of Badajoz, Extremadura.

CHAPTER IV: CASE STUDY MEDELLÍN REGION

IV.1 Introduction

IV.1.1 Geographic context; Medellín and its surroundings

The interpretation of the development of grey-ware that will be presented in this chapter is based on the assemblage that has been excavated at Cerro Manzanillo in the Guadiana basin, in the province of Badajoz, Extremadura and a preliminary analysis of the ceramics from a surface survey that was carried out in this area in 2010 led by Professor dr. Victorino Mayoral Herrera. The area of interest is the region around the well documented archaeological site of Medellín and its necropolis. This necropolis produced an important material assemblage that clearly demonstrates that the Orientalizing sphere reached as far as this region, located at a distance of about 300 km from the nearest Phoenician settlement at Setubal, Portugal. A vast assemblage of grey-ware was discovered in the cremation graves. A typology of grey-ware produced by Lorrio Alvarado (1988-1989, 1991, 2006) was based on this assemblage. The site of Medellin is located at a strategic hill with the Guadiana River at its feet, facing the hill of Cerro Remondo at its right, visually dominating the surrounding countryside. It was continuously occupied from the Late Bronze Age until present and played an important role in the organization of the area, controlling both the so called ´via del plata´ or silver route through the area that connected the mining regions of the interior of the Iberian Peninsula with the Gulf of Cadiz (Almagro Gorbea, Mederos, Torres, Lorrio 2005, 1217). The hill is presently dominated by an Islamic fortress. The archaeological research carried out by Almagro Gorbea has been reported in a detailed report comprising three volumes, discussing the material culture, the Orientalizing necropolis and a settlement that correspond to the phase of Cerro Manzanillo (Almagro Gorbea 2006). In the first Iron Age, Medellín played an important role in the spread of Orientalizing culture in the Vegas Altas del Guadiana. The Orientalizing period is ascribed to three phases; Medellín I (Orientalizante Antiguo, 800-650 BC), Medellín II (Orientalizante Pleno, 650-600 BC) and Medellín IIIA and IIIB (Orientalizante Tardío, 600-500 BC) (Almagro Gorbea and Martin Bravo 1994, 112). From the first two phases, 'Carambolo' painted ceramics have been found. In the phase Medellín III the first wheel-made grey-ware appears. In this phase, Phoenician amphorae, red-slip ware and type Medellín (red ceramics with white painted decorations) were found. About 1/4th of the ceramics of this phase were hand-made. Grey-ware comprised 62% of the total while 35% was oxidized (Almagro Gorbea and Martin Bravo 1994, 112). Phase Medellín IIIC corresponds to the beginning of the 5th century BC and

marks the transition towards the Oppidum culture in Extremadura. Little is known about the organization of the settlement although it has been suggested that it was fortified during the Orientalizing period. The estimated surface of the settlement ranges between 13 and 20 Ha. The archaeological research that was carried out over the past decades has produced an image of the settlement that is characterized by its function as a central place in the area that was developing urban characteristics (Duque Espino and Grau Almero 2009, 205). The necropolis is located next to the Oppidum, on a smaller hill that used to have been a river island during the Orientalizing period. The location of the necropolis (cut off from the settlement by a river) corresponds to the distribution of site and necropolis of the Phoenician settlements in the south. The material found at the necropolis and the Oppidum demonstrates that Medellín's inhabitants used an Orientalizing assemblage in both the domestic and in the ritual sphere. A vast number of burial structures, consisting of approximately 2000 cremation graves, was spread over an area of 5000 m2. In the initial phase cinerary urns were deposited in pits in the ground surrounded by a pavement of pebbles that signal their presence. In these pits handmade ceramics and urns of the ´Cruz del Negro´ type with small lids were found. Other grave-goods comprised double spring fibulae, brooches and some imported goods such as marble plates (Almagro Gorbea, Mederos, Torres, Lorrio 2005, 1219). From the 5th century BC onwards, small, individual cremation pits covered by rectangular tumuli made of pebbles or river quartz predominate. The grave goods now consist mostly of grey-ware plates among other goods such as brooches, iron knives, spear points, Phoenician marbles and incidentally a scarab. The general assumption as derived from the archaeological

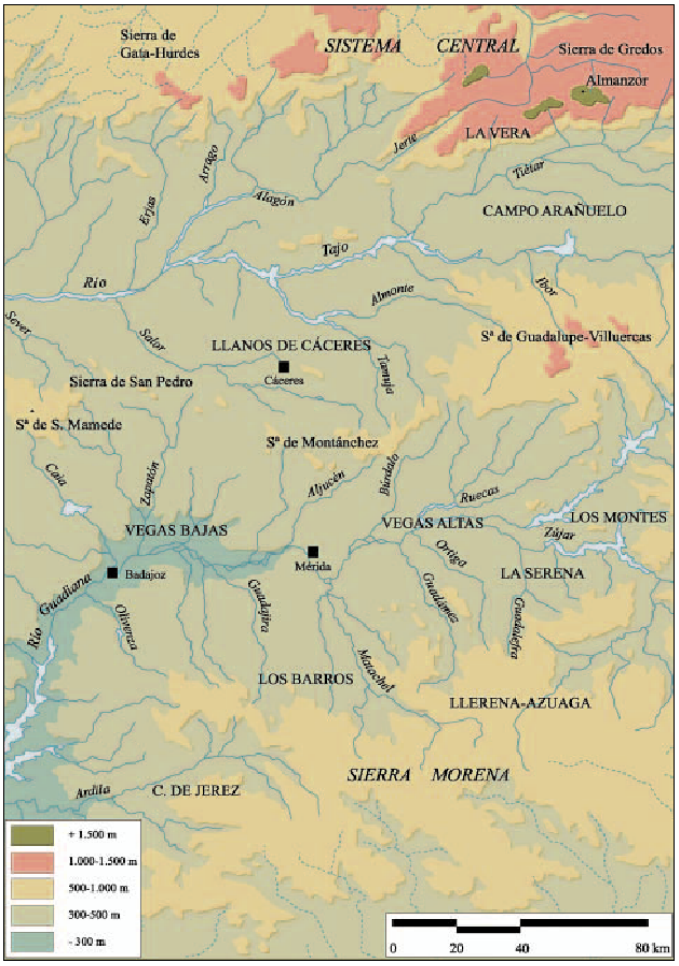

Fig. 21) Geographic map of the area (Rodriguez Diaz 2004, 22).

record from this site is that the peak of the Tartessian influence in this area lies between 675 and 450 BC; a time at which oriental influences were incorporated in the class of society which was responsible for the organization of the settlement and its hinterland and also within funerary rituals. During this period, reduced ceramics were no longer the majority of the assemblage, but reached the same amount as wheel-made oxidizing ceramics. From 450 BC onwards, the amount of oxidizing ceramics even exceeds the number of reduced ceramics (Almagro Gorbea and Martin Bravo 1994, 114-15). Although the ceramics still partially remind of the Orientalizing styles, Iberian influences rooted in the Meseta are visible that can be related with the so called 'Cultura de los Castros Extremeños'. The question whether oriental material culture left its mark on the daily lives of the citizens occupying the rural areas around this oriental center will be discussed in detail, supported by the ceramic evidence from the surface surveys that were carried out in this rural hinterland.

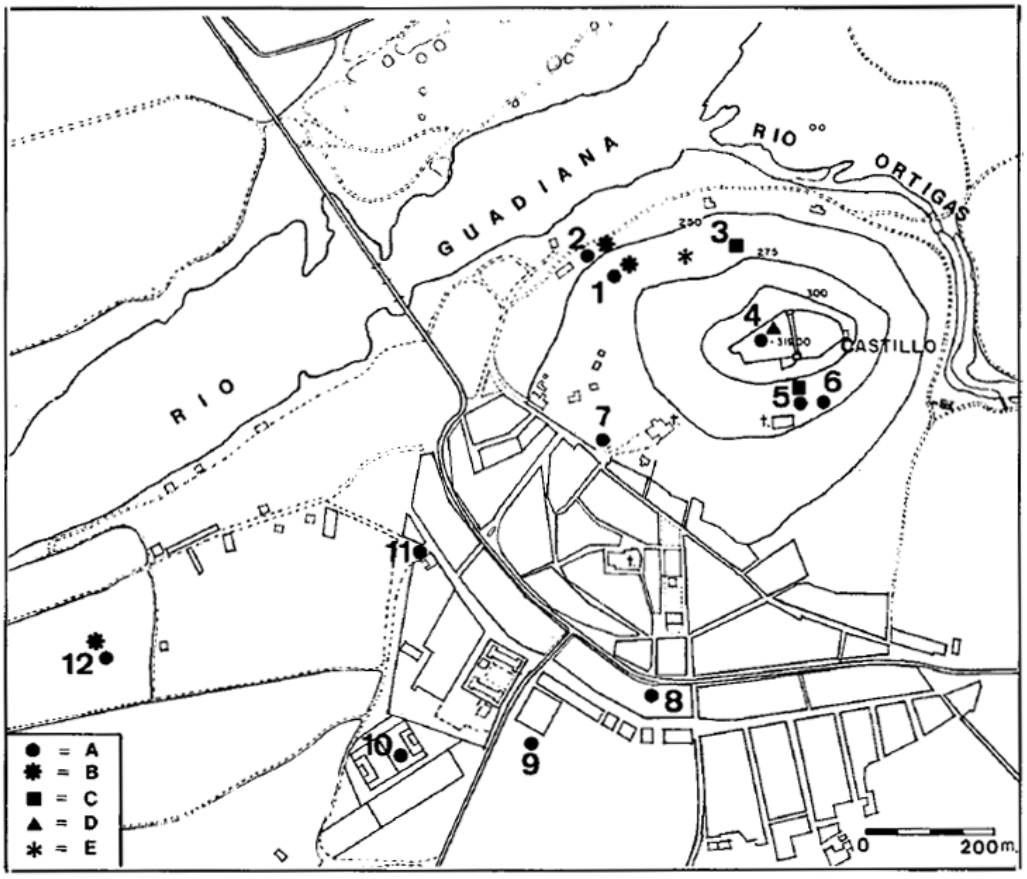

Fig 22) Oppidum Medellín; 12) location of the necropolis, A) Orientalizing ceramics, B) Attic ceramic fragment, C) Bronze ex-voto's, D) comb, E) grinder (Almagro Gorbea and Martin Bravo 1994, 118).

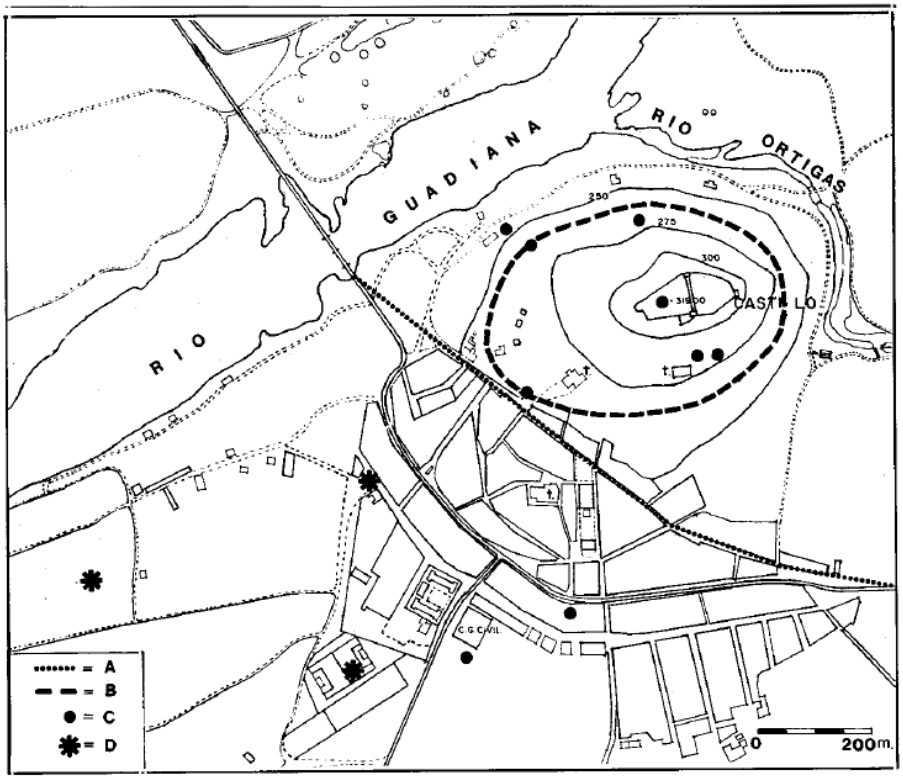

Fig 23) Medellin, A) possible Roman road, B) Pre-Roman city-wall, C) domestic remains, D) funerary remains (Almagro Gorbea and Martin Bravo 1994, 119).

IV.1.2 The geographical characteristics of the region

The region of Extremadura is characterized by its geographical diversity. This diversity is due to the formation of its relief, its hydrological characteristics and its biogeographical profile. The region has been described as a buffer zone between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic territories and is flanked by the Meseta in the north and Betica in the south (Duque Espino and Grau Almero 2009, 19). Two rivers, the Guadiana and the Tagus, flow across the region, playing an important role in the settlement history of the area. The physical geographical characteristics of the area constitute notable differences in the possibilities for landuse; in the Tagus valley mining and livestock predominate while the Guadiana basin is suitable for agricultural practices. The organized exploitation of the natural sources in the area at its best started in the Late Bronze Age resulting in large-scale deforestation of the area. The deforestation is partially due to the exploitation of the mines in the mountainous area.

The Guadiana basin's fertile plains were exploited for their agricultural potential. The Vegas del Guadiana were actively transformed in the 1980's due to hydraulic and industrial developments and the electricity provisions of the province, part of the so called 'Plan Badajoz' that was promoted by the government from 1952. These transformations stimulated the agricultural exploitation of the area while new crops were

introduced. Due to these reformations of the landscape the paleo-environment was largely altered. These alterations problematized the possibilities of archaeological surface survey. Despite the deterioration of the archaeological record, small rural sites near Medellin have been excavated over the years. These excavations together with the past and present landscape surveys have created an idea of the settlement history and landuse of Medellín and its surroundings.

IV.1.3 Late Bronze Age Extremadura

From the 12th to 9th centuries BC the area between the Meseta and the Atlantic was occupied by groups living in hillforts. Isolated finds indicate contact of the Bronze Age groups with other parts of the Iberian Peninsula. Some places in this area show a relation with Cogotas I groups, named after Las Cogotas, a site on the southern edge of the northern Meseta. The Cogotas I assemblage included pottery with typical impressed and 'boquique' decorations, consisting of vessels with 'S'-profiles, cups with ring-bases and plain bowls (Zapatero and Alvarez-Sanchís 1995, 214). The Cogotas I groups lived in simple huts. They built silos and stables from perishable materials. The domestic buildings were occupied temporally, during one or two years, when they were abandoned (Zarzalejos Prieto and López Precioso 2005, 811). The Cogotas I settlements were usually located in lowlands, and have been associated with a pastoral lifestyle. Objects of diverse origins have been found, that can be related to the interchange and relations with the Atlantic world, the Mediterranean and central Europe. After 1200 BC trade relations with Tartessian groups were forged. This is indicated by objects such as elbow-arch fibulae, bronze axes, spearheads and gold jewellery found in dwellings. The Cogotas I groups relied on the cultivation of cereals and stock breeding. The material remains from this period indicate an essentially domestic production without substantial accumulation of surpluses, which is underscored by fact that the storage vessels from this area were not particularly large (Álvarez Sanchís 2000, 66). The ceramic and lithic traditions correspond to the final stages of the Chalcolithic. Only a few indications of metalworking have been found. Although funerary evidence is scarce, the general picture is that these groups buried their dead in pits. Some burials contained grave goods. From this period, some funerary stelae are also known, with depictions of warriors. It is unknown whether the Cogotas I people were responsible for the production of these stelae. Therefore, the possibility exists that these stelae indicate the presence of people from other (cultural) regions. Towards the transition to the Iron Age, domestic buildings were constructed from stone and mud instead of perishable materials. The number and size of these settlements evidently increased. The materials from these occupation levels indicate a

more stable way of life. Isolated finds of weapons in the waters or in rock crevices are dated to this period. The same types of finds occur in the Atlantic world in general and are related to the ideas and beliefs which arrived with the Atlantic exchange networks (Ruiz-Gálvez 1991, 286).

From the 9th until the 7th centuries, settlement is characterized by the occupation of hillforts in the mountainous areas, and settlements in river valley with no apparent defenses. The archaeological remains together with linguistic studies[2] of place names and classical sources are associated with the emergence of the Celtiberian culture which differs from the Tartessian and Iberian Mediterranean culture (Almagro Gorbea 1995, 175-179). The settlement in hillforts and their associated cremation cemeteries developed down to the Roman period, centering around the Iberian Mountain system and in the highlands of the Meseta. The Romans called the inhabitants of this area the Celtiberians hence the present name of this pre-Roman group of people and their associated language, material culture and settlement forms. Encouraged by the Mediterranean influences on the groups inhabiting the center of the Iberian Peninsula Oppida appeared after the 7th century BC (a settlement type associated with the control of the wider territory of a complex society, such as the Oppidum of Medellín). It is presumed that these Oppida developed out of large hillforts, adding to it a Hippodamian street-system, more developed defensive systems and the separation of the residential zones relating to wealth (Almagro Gorbea 1995, 187). Besides Oppida and rural settlements there are a number of non-urban settlements associated with the ritual and economic functions that emerged in the Iron Age, and were spread over the Iberian southwest. In the Guadiana region, the most significant are Cancho Roano, Mengabril and La Mata (Celestino Perez 2003; Rodríguez Díaz 2004). These undefended sites were characterized by a clearly Orientalizing material culture, connected with storage, redistribution and ritual activities.

The Late Bronze Age ceramic production in Extremadura is characterized by a variety of decoration techniques; boquique ceramics with their 'stripe-point' decorations, ceramics with incised decorations of the 'Carvalhal' type, ceramics with 'Carambolo' style decorations, burnished ceramics of the 'Lapa do Fumo' type, burnished ceramics of the 'reticula bruñida' type, burnished ceramics without decoration, ceramics with brushed surface treatments and ceramics with roughly incised decorations (Almagro Gorbea 1977,

[2] The ethnonyms, anthroponyms and toponyms associated with the distribution of the hillforts are related with western Indo-European language which is related with the 'Lusitanian', confirming the persistence of a pre-Roman language (for further reading see Cunliff, B. and J. T. Koch (eds.) Celtic from the West: Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language, and Literature. Celtic Studies Publications 15. Oxford/Oakville, CT: Oxbow Books 2010).

109). During the Bronze Age ceramic forms and decoration techniques in the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula influenced each other and mixed.

Table 3). Schematic overview of the cultural phases in Extremadura, the southwest- and middle of the Iberian Peninsula (after Almagro Gorbea 1977, 149).

Phase	Period	Date	Ceramics
I	Late Bronze Age	End of the II millennium until 900 BC	Boquique
II	Proto-Orientalizing	900-750 BC	Carambolo and reticula bruñida
IIIA	Early Orientalizing	750-675 BC	First wheel-made imports
IIIB	Late Orientalizing or Pre-Iberian	700-600 BC	First local wheel-made ceramics
IVA	Early Iberian	600-450 BC	Evolution of typical Iberian forms and decorations
IVB	Middle Iberian	450-200 BC	Peak of production of Iberian ceramic styles and types

It has to be pointed out that the existence of fortified sites with urban characteristics and the presence of a domestic, ritual and funerary material culture indicating social differentiation provide the basis for the Orientalizing processes in the area. Instead of the emergence of complexity due to acculturation processes, the emergence of complexity was rooted in the local Bronze Age due to already established long term contacts with the rest of the Peninsula, the Atlantic region and the continental areas.

IV.1.4 Settlement history of the Vegas Altas del Guadiana

A more detailed description of the long-term occupation trends in the Vegas Altas del Guadiana will be discussed in the following. The interest of Spanish archaeologists in the past was mainly focused on the *Oppidum* instead of the rural settlements around it and therefore knowledge about the contact between the *Oppida* and their territory is limited (Ruiz Zapatero and Alvarez-Sanchís 1995, 229). Medellín and its territory are different in this respect and therefore provide a valuable source of information about this issue. Between September 2006 and March 2007, a field survey was conducted in order to clarify to what extent the countryside around Medellin was integrated during (proto)history (fig 24). A selective survey methodology was started to show the large scale network of integration of the countryside during the Orientalizing period. In search of traces of rural settlements, traces of ancient building blocks and traces of the paleo-

environment between parcels were documented. This survey enabled the recognition of a chronological sequence of landuse for the area; three settlements were ascribed to the end of the Bronze Age, 43 were ascribed to Iron Age I, one was ascribed to Iron Age II, and 40 settlements were recognized as dating to the Roman period. A certain margin of error must be taken into account due to the selective method of survey although a considerable amount of Iron Age I and Roman sites clearly points to a notable demographic increase in these periods (Duque Espino and Grau Almero 2009, 187).

In the Bronze Age, all settlements were fairly small and located in plain or hilly terrain; Molino de las Aceñillas-4, located near an arm of the Guadiana river, Agostadero de Arriba was located on a gentle hill between the rivers Guadiana and Ruecas, and Vegas del Ortiga was located over ten kilometers northwest of Medellín.

The evidence of landuse during the Early Iron Age is more abundant in this area. This period has been subdivided in an Orientalizing and a post-Orientalizing phase. From the surface finds it was possible to distinguish between the functions of the sites: farms, villages, sites with 1 or 2 mills, sites with 3 to 5 mills, sites with 5 to 15 mills, the Oppidum of Medellín and the Necropolis of Medellín. Grey-ware was found in 15 of the 43 Iron Age I sites. At La Veguilla, the range of surface finds was larger than the other sites; therefore this site was interpreted as a village. This site exclusively produced Orientalizing material culture. The grey-ware assemblage from this site comprised urns, plates, bowls and some fragments with graphite decoration. In relation with this settlement proto-historic cremation burials have been found. The morphological features of the urns were similar to some that have been documented at the necropolis of Mengabril and were dated to the 6th century BC. Some of these profiles also appeared in the necropolis of Medellín and were dated to between 625-600 BC (Almagro Gorbea 2006, 327-28). Most of the sites however were less extensively researched.

Cerro Manzanillo is classified as one of these farms or agricultural settlements. Cerro Manzanillo is related with Ahijá del Cardo and El Molino, which are all situated on the left bank of the Ruecas river. El Molino is the only site from which convincing proto-historic walls were documented. Also, this site produced some Orientalizing grey-ware. Other farms were recognized after the analysis of density scatters of surface ceramics. The closer to the *Oppidum* of Medellín, the denser the countryside was populated, as indicated by the surface survey. The material assemblage that was associated with farm sites is quite uniform and essentially consisted of ceramics and stone objects. The handmade types usually have a large or medium size, and were sometimes brushed or decorated with finger imprints. The wheel-made ceramic assemblage is dominated by grey-ware. Grey-ware plates with salient rim and carinated body (types E7 and E8)

predominate over the hemispheric bowls with thick or triangular rims (types E2b and E2c) (fig 26).

Farm sites are the main settlement form of this period. These farm sites are generally located in hilly terrain or at the foot of the mountain, at an average elevation of 252 m., probably to avoid the frequent flooding of the river. Also, these sites have a good visibility towards the cultivable lands. Agricultural activities were related to the production of cereals instead of wine or olives. To arrive at a hypothesis about the role of Medellín in this system of settlements in terms of organization and social evolution it is important to consider the relation between the settlement, countryside and the development of landownership (Rodríguez Díaz, Pavón Soldevila and Duque Espino 2009, 207). The territory of Medellín has been defined by the organization of the settlements around it. The square houses and organization in the settlements of Cerro Manzanillo and la Veguilla suggest that the Orientalizing sphere of Medellín influenced the architecture of these settlements. The Orientalizing characteristics can therefore be understood as markers of the boundary of the hinterland, Medellín clearly occupying the central position of this territory.

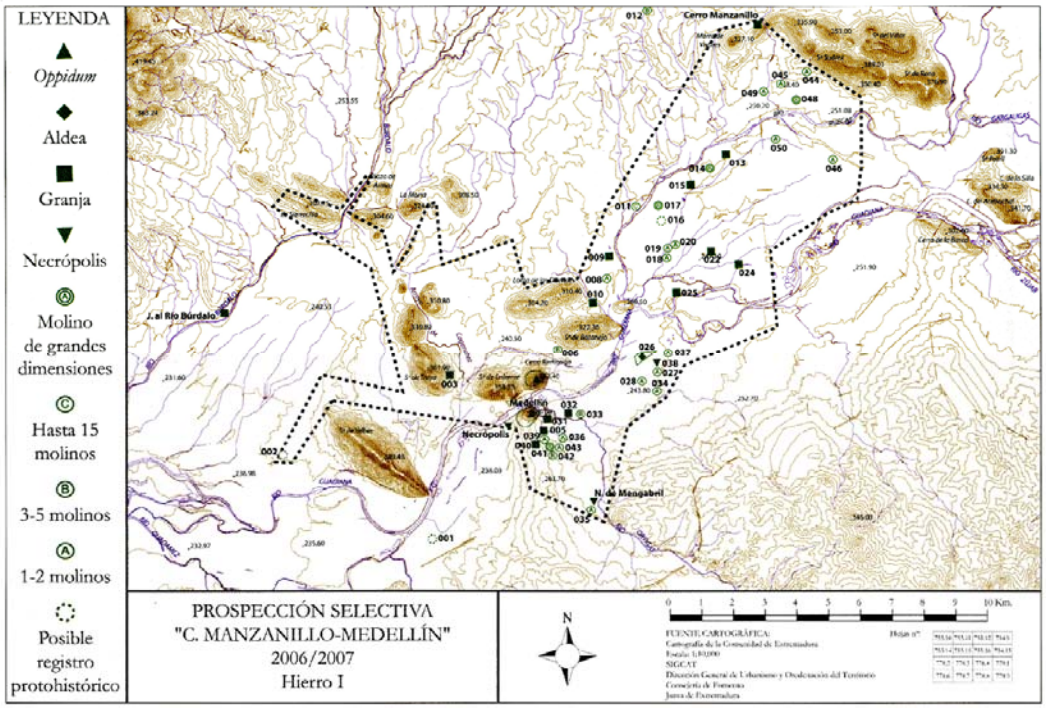

Fig. 24) Survey area in the 2006/2007 campaign; explanation of caption; *Oppidum*, village, farm, necropolis, large mill, upto 15 mills, 3-5 mills, 1-2 mills, possible prehistoric remains (Rodríguez Díaz, Pavón Soldevila and Duque Espino 2009, 194).

Medellín was located at the center of a Bronze Age exchange network. The connection to this network constitutes the basis of the integration of this region in the commercial organization of Tartessos. The integration within the Tartessian network implies that a stable situation developed that possibly caused an increasing prosperity and a demographic restructuration in this region. The increasing scale of commercial transactions, especially the evident growth of the exchange of casserite (from the mines of Logrosán) facilitated the development of the economy and Orientalizing culture in the Vegas Altas del Guadiana (Rodríguez Díaz, Pavón Soldevila and Duque Espino 2009, 207). From the 7th century BC the commercial focus shifted to the agricultural potential of the area and the territory of Medellín was colonized.

The processes that shaped the settlement pattern in the Vegas Altas del Guadiana have been explained by Almagro Gorbea (1990, 99) as having been caused by a demographic growth together with a shift in the organization of production and distribution of goods, technological innovations (the manufacture of iron) and the appearance of Mediterranean methods of cultivation (polyculture and arboriculture). Therefore, the resulting occupation of the rural area can be associated with an autochthonous substrate instead of an oriental or Tartessian colonization. In other words, the hinterland was occupied and transformed as a result of the developments within indigenous Iberian society instead of oriental influences exclusively. This assumption is underscored by the evidence from the nearby Orientalizing sanctuary of Cancho Roano. Within this sanctuary, ritual and economic activities took place as indicated by the presence of storage rooms and ritual rooms.[3] The presence of locally produced amphorae indicates that the redistribution of goods might have been regulated at this site. The local character of the cult activities and architecture of the building indicates that we are dealing with an indigenous center in which Orientalizing characteristics were incorporated, resulting in an original cult center.

[3] This is indicated by the presence of an altar and evidence of cult activities. In the ditch around the building the remains of a number of decapitated horses was found. Together with the appearance of horse representations in the material culture connotations have been made about a type of worship with horses as a central theme.

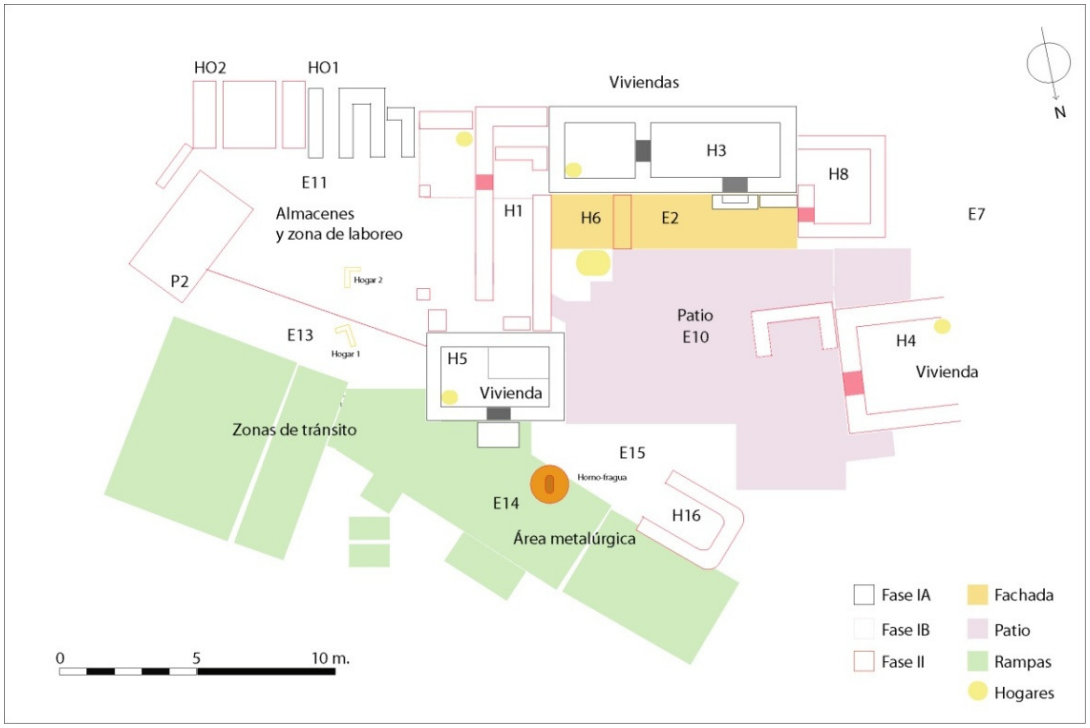

Fig. 25) Phase II of the Orientalizing settlement at Cerro Manzanillo; façade, patio, ramps and domestic areas (Rodríguez Díaz 2010, 52).

IV.2 Cerro Manzanillo

Cerro Manzanillo is located on a small hill about 14 km northeast of Medellín. The excavated area, measuring between 500 and 800 m² is divided into two areas with a different function; a living area in the eastern section, including four domestic buildings, and an area in which metallurgic activities took place to the north. The houses had a square layout surrounded by a paved courtyard. This area comprised a large open space that was used for storage and as a working space. The principle constructions of this area correspond to two elevated warehouses adjacent to a rectangular platform. The function of these structures is related to the storage of cereals as indicated by the presence of wheat and barley. Two settlement phases existed within a time span of two centuries (between the 7th and 6th centuries BC). The architectonic development is related to a family group level occupation of about 12-15 persons that were integrated in the political territory of Medellín. The ceramic assemblage of this site consists of handmade and wheel-made ceramics. These ceramics were divided in three functional groups; storage wares (comprising 12,82% of the total amount of pottery, tableware (43,59% of the total) and cooking ware (43,59 % of the total). Five different technological groups were distinguished; handmade, semi-finished ware (corresponding to tableware and comprising 2,71% of the total), handmade coarse-ware (corresponding to storage, cooking and tableware and comprising 52,82% of the total), wheel-made coarse-ware (corresponding

to storage ware, urns and tableware and comprising 5,22% of the assemblage), oxidized fine-ware (corresponding to urns and tableware and comprising 6,95% of the total) and grey-ware (corresponding to tableware and comprising 32,3% of the total assemblage).

IV.2.1 Grey-ware typology

The grey-ware from Cerro Manzanillo has been analyzed extensively. A typology (fig 26) was established by Rodríguez Díaz (Rodríguez Díaz 2009);

- E.1. Urn or pot, characterized by an inclining rim and a shoulder which is slightly rounded. The diameter of the mouth ranges between 11 and 25 cm.
- E.1.b. Urn or pot, also with an inclining rim but with a shoulder which is slightly more rounded. Also, they have a ridge above the shoulder.
- E.1.c. Urn or pot with a flaring rim and a rounded shoulder.
- E.2. Bowl-plate, with a simple or pointed rim which is thick on the interior. These vessels have a hemispheric body, a plain- or slightly rounded base and their diameter ranges between 17 and 25 cm.
- E.2.a. Bowl or plate with a simple rim.
- E.2.b. Bowl or plate with a rim which is thick on the interior of the vessel.
- E.2.c. Bowl or plate with a pointed lip.
- E.3. Bowl with a simple or vertical rim and a hemispheric body. The diameter of the rim ranges between 17 and 19 cm (although one piece has been found with a diameter of 27 cm).
- E.3.a. Bowl with a straight or vertical rim.
- E.3.b. Bowl with an inclining rim.
- E.3.c. Bowl with a rim which is thick on the interior of the vessel.
- E.4. Carinated bowl with a straight profile. The angle of the carination is situated in the middle of the vessel. These vessels have a diameter ranging between 22 and 23 cm.
- E.4.a. Carinated bowls with a vertical rim.
- E.4.b. Carinated bowl with a rounded, flaring rim.
- E.5. Carinated bowl with a straight profile and a rim which has the same angle as the body. The diameter of this bowl is 22,4 cm.
- E.6. Carinated bowl with the angle of the carination situated at the upper part of the body. These bowls have a straight profile and an inclining rim. The diameter ranges between 23 and 24 cm.
- E.7. Plate with a salient rim and a hemispheric body. The angle of the carination is located in the upper part of the body. They have a flaring rim with a rounded

lip. The maximum diameter ranges between 25 and 30 cm.

- E.7.a.1. Plate with a flaring, slightly thick rim. The carination is located at the upper part of the vessel.
- E.7.a.2. Plate with a flaring rim and a high carination.
- E.7.b.1. Plate with a rim which is extremely flared and a carination at the upper part of the body.
- E.7.b.2. Plates are flaring similarly extreme but they do not have a carination.
- E.8. Plates with a salient, flaring rim, hemispheric body, a carination located at the middle of the body and a plain or slightly rounded base. The diameter of these vessels is at least 25 cm.
- E.8.a. Plate with a rounded rim and a concave shoulder.
- E.8.b. Plate with a rounded rim and a curved shoulder.
- E.9. Vase or bowl with a straight body and a relatively profound carination in the upper third of the vessel. These vessels have a slightly pointed and flaring rim, a vertical shoulder and a diameter of 23 cm.
- E.10. Cup with a straight body. The angle of the carination is situated in the upper third of the vessels. This single piece has a diameter of 5,5 cm.
- E.11. Biconic stand (soporte carrete).
- E.12. Lid with a diameter between 16 and 24 cm.
- E.12.a. Lid with a salient, flaring rim and a carinated body.
- E.12.b. Lid with a slightly thickened, hemispheric body.
- E.12.c. Lid with a pointed rim and hemispheric body.

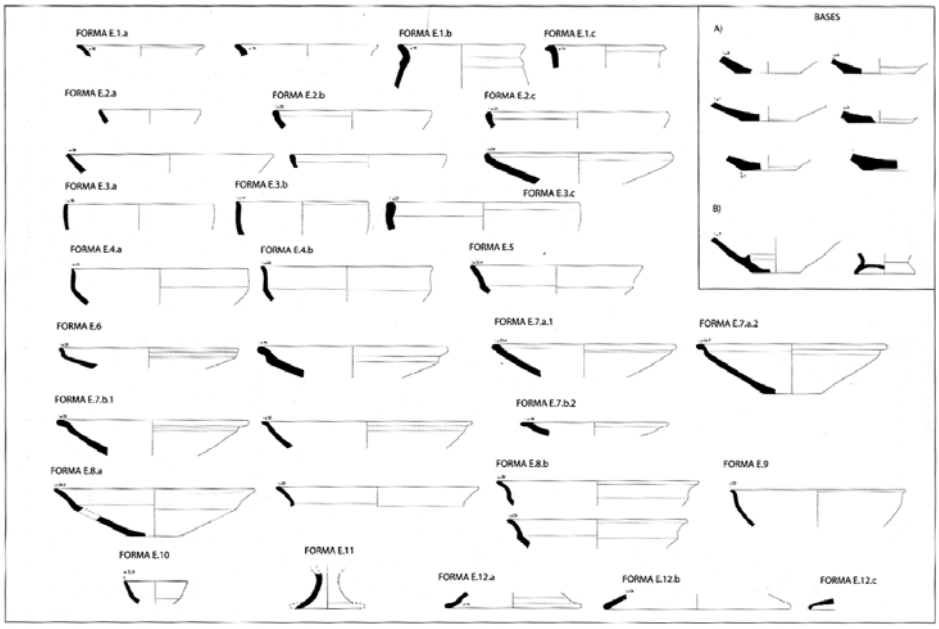

Fig. 26) Typology of grey-ware shapes from Cerro Manzanillo (Rodríguez Díaz 2009, 110).

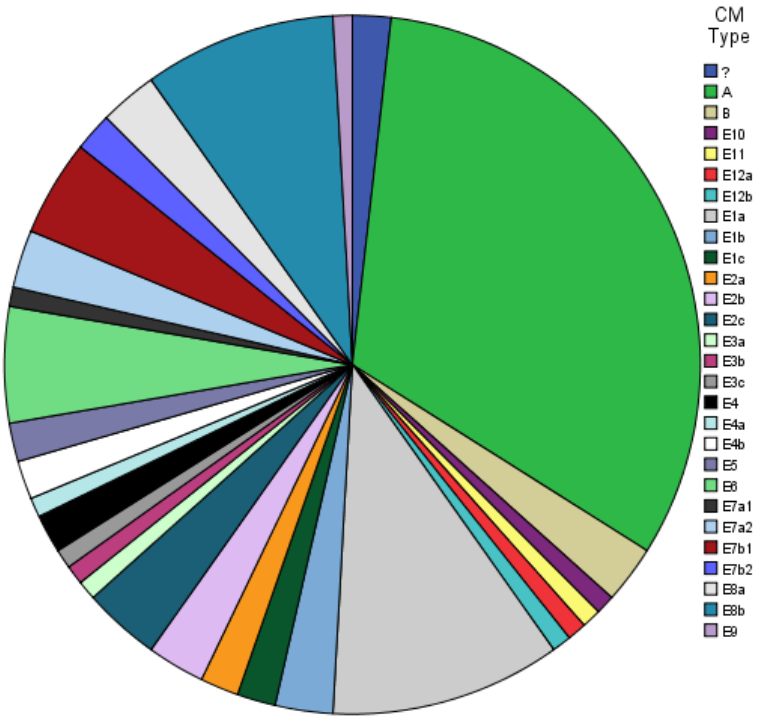

Fig 27) Pie chart distribution of the types at Cerro Manzanillo (after Rodríguez Díaz 2009).

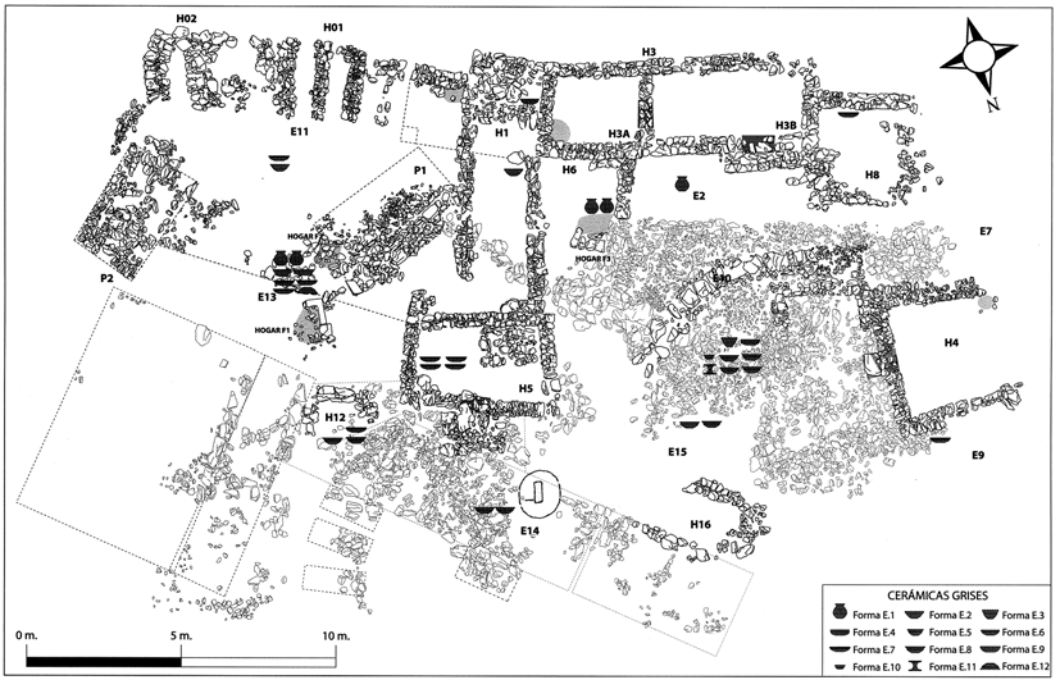

Fig. 28) Distribution of grey-ware at Cerro Manzanillo (Rodríguez Díaz, 2009, 114).

The typology of Cerro Manzanillo corresponds to the general grey-ware assemblage of the central Iberian Peninsula. Some examples may have originated from post-Orientalizing phases which have entered the Orientalizing contexts due to post-depositional processes. In general, the shapes are quite similar to grey-ware shapes that have been found in the Iberian southwest. Most of the vessel shapes were also documented at the nearby necropolis of Medellín. In functional terms, the grey-ware assemblage can be associated with dining. The vessels with a large dimension (with a diameter beyond 30 cm) are considered as having been used for communal consumption (E.3.c. And the plates with a salient rim; E.7.b.1.). The urns might also have served as small reservoirs. They exclusively appear in the levels directly beneath the surface. The first E.10 and E.11 (the small cup and the soporte de carrete) are special in the sense that they originate from Late Bronze Age models. The soporte de carrete bases were extensively produced in the pre- and proto-Orientalizing phases. In the Orientalizing period their production seems to have been taken over by the workshops using the fast potters' wheel although a possible eastern Mediterranean origin of stand production will be envisaged below. The largest part of the grey-ware assemblage was found in the outdoor spaces, suggesting that the ceramics were waste deposits, discarded around the settlement. The plates with salient rim are the most abundant; eight have been found within the settlement and another thirteen vessels were found in the outdoor spaces. The largest collection of these plates was found in section H5 which was interpreted as a domestic area. The grey-ware assemblage corresponds to tableware. Plates with the function of either individual tableware or tableware associated with communal dining were found. Types E.3.c and E.7.b.1 are considered as plates that were used for the communal consumption of food based on the diameter of the rim, measuring close to 30 cm. The urn types E.1 could have served as small provisioning containers. One sherd was found with a diamond motif which might be an example of the potters' mark, appearing on various grey-ware fragments in this area.

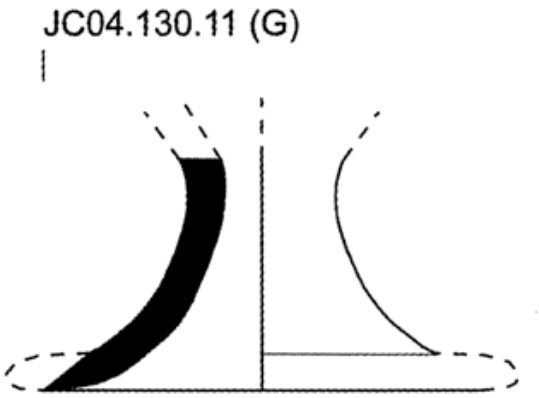

Fig. 29) Soporte from Cerro Manzanillo (Rodríguez Díaz, 2009).

IV.2.2 Collection of the present knowledge of grey-ware in this region

The attention paid to the subject of the Early Iron Age in this region by Almagro Gorbea in his account of the necropolis of Medellín presents a good basis for further analysis. The next step is to take this analysis beyond the borders of the site itself into the region of the Guadiana valley. The surface surveys that have been carried out in this region in recent years provide information to attempt to justify or falsify the conclusions that have been drawn by Almagro Gorbea about past landuse and organization in the area.

In the volumes provided by Almagro Gorbea the section about grey-ware is written by Lorrio, who is a specialist on these types of ceramics. Lorrio has analyzed the assemblage of the necropolis on the basis of the forms and the fabrics to perform statistical analyses. The petrographic analysis on eleven samples to establish the fabric composition of the Medellín grey-ware suggests a local production (Lorrio 2006, 716) using the same paste as the oxidizing wares but a different firing atmosphere. The oxidizing wares from the Medellin necropolis have been related to six different workshops, two of them producing materials in the tradition of Cadiz and Huelva, while another appears to produce vessels similar to the coast of Malaga (Almagro-Gorbea *et al.* 2006). Therefore these differences reflect diversity in the character of the workshops. The system he uses is based on six categories; A) plates, B) bowls, C) cups, D) urns, E) ointment vessels, and F) stands. If we take the classification of the plates for example, it appears that the classification is based on subjective measures; the type is classified according to the carination (1: absent, 2: high, 3: middle, 4: low), the subtypes are based on the form of the rim, the base and the size. Although the classification takes into account a range of variables and therefore is applicable to a large range of shapes, it does not provide set measures. At Medellín we deal with a funerary context while the settlement of Cerro Manzanillo is a domestic site. Other funerary sites in the region did provide a similar assemblage as the forms found at Medellín (Lorrio 2006, 718). However, not all scholars use Lorrio's method. The method used at La Mata that was developed by Rodríguez Díaz (2004) is different but coincides with the Cerro Manzanillo method. The sanctuary of La Mata is situated about 20 km southeast of Medellín. An extensive description of the sanctuary was published in 2004 by the same editor as the Cerro Manzanillo publication (Rodríguez Díaz *et al.* 2004). The scheme of typologies used is basically similar (using A for handmade fine-ware; B for handmade coarse-ware; C for wheel-made coarse-ware; D for wheel-made fine-ware and E for grey-ware). Within this framework the division of the types is different from the Cerro Manzanillo method. Forms E.1 to E.6 correspond to tableware or the conservation of small quantities of food. E.1 has been classified a ´salad bowl´ probably due to its large diameter. Form E.2

corresponds to urns with diverging rim forms. Type E.3 is a jar or pitcher, E.4 corresponds to hemispheric bowls or plates, E.5 corresponds to carinated plates with salient rims, Type E.6 to drinking cups, type E.7 to small bottles, type E.8 corresponds to oil lamps and E.9 to the soporte de carrete.

Lorrio's and Rodríguez Díaz's typologies overlap at some points; La Mata (Fig. 30) type E.2 and Cerro Manzanillo type E.1 of Rodríguez Díaz coincide with Lorrio's type D1B, La Mata type E.4 and Cerro Manzanillo type E.2 coincide with Lorrio's A1A, A1B and A1D, La Mata type E.5.a and E.5.b and Cerro Manzanillo type E.7 are similar as A2A and A3A, La Mata E.6.c is similar to D7A, La Mata E.7 is identical to E.2. Why both authors have not made an effort to establish a communal typology for the area or added to the initially established typology is not clarified in their writings. This is a critical point in the ability to study grey-ware properly. Right now it appears a mess to the outsider. Without a uniform system that applies for the whole area, studying hybridization of grey-ware in this area is an unwieldy business. Without having to unravel all the different typologies, it would have been actually possible to study hybrid shapes instead of regional variations. The typologies of grey-ware can also be associated with the typologies established by Caro Bellido, Mancebo Davalos and Vallejo Sanchez who in turn often have been associated with the typology of Roos. At the same time, many of the grey-ware shapes are exactly similar as the oxidizing fine-ware urns, plates and bowls that, to a lesser extent, appeared in the same contexts as the grey-ware and seem to have been produced from the same fabrics.

In order to investigate the overlap among the grey-ware typologies the table below will show the grey-ware types of Cerro Manzanillo and the corresponding shapes from other typologies. Firstly, the grey-ware sample of Cerro Manzanillo was classified by comparing the sample to Fig. 26 (Rodríguez Díaz 2009, 110) and the available information about the size of the diameter. The correspondence of the shapes was outlined by Rodríguez Díaz himself. The Gonzalez Prats classification was established because it was the only method that I could find that was transparent enough to be applicable for non-specialists and entirely dealt with the shapes of the bowls. Still, a certain margin of error must be taken into account because this classification was not checked by a pottery specialist. It was simply applied by following up the instructions given by Gonzalez Prats in his 1983 article described below.

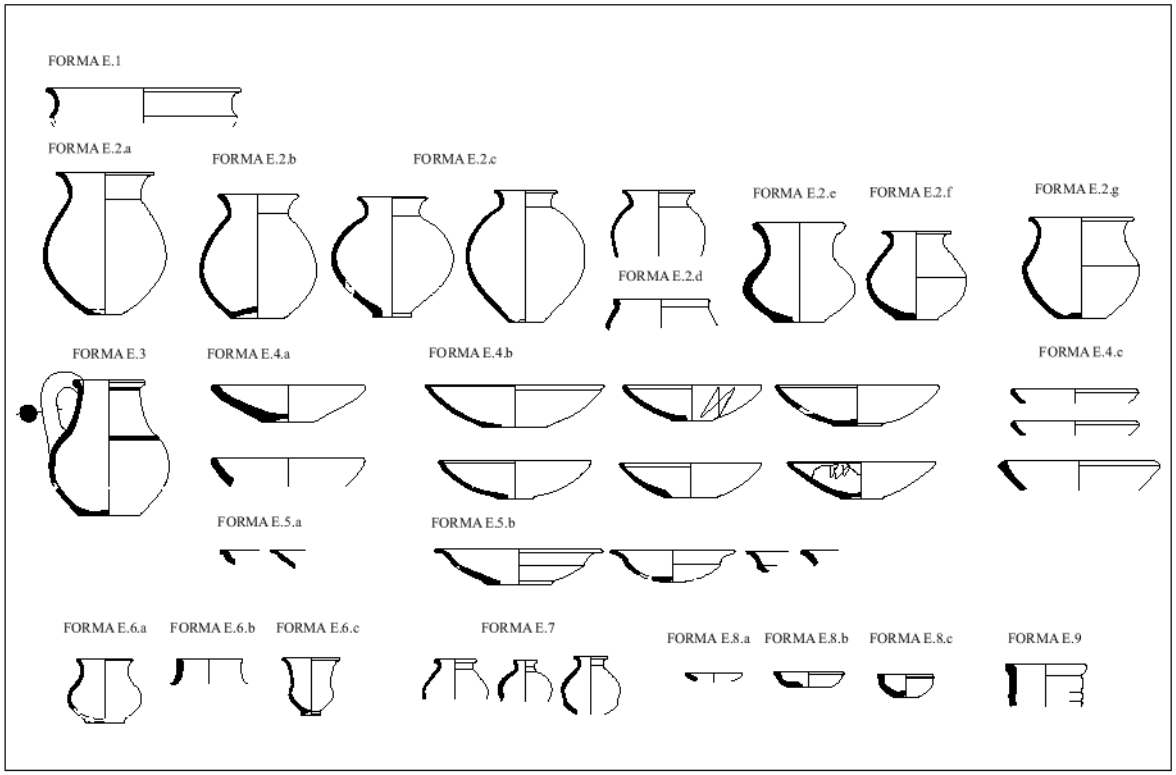

Fig. 30) Grey-ware typology of La Mata (Campanario, Badajoz) (Rodríguez Díaz 2004, 253).

After the Early Iron Age, the grey-ware assemblage continued to develop. In Extremadura for example, a typology was used by Hernández Carretero (1993) that applied for the second Iron Age (from the 5th century BC onwards) based on the grey-ware from Cancho Roano, La Sierra de la Martela, La Ermita de Belén, Capote, Los Castillejos and el Cantamento de la Pepina. Ten types were divided in three groups; the first originated from the Orientalizing tradition (comprising type I (bowls), type II (plates), type IV (urns) and type V (carinated bowls).

The second group comprises vessels that have developed in the final stages of the Orientalizing phase; type III (vessels with S profile), type VI (Kalathos) and type VII (globular vases). The third group comprises types that clearly imitate profiles from Roman imports; type VIII (small vessel), type IX (plates), type X (vessels with cylindrical body). It is evident that grey-ware experienced a series of typological transformations at the end of the Orientalizing period that reflect influences from local traditions and the Celtiberian tradition from the Meseta (Hernandez Carretero 1993, 49) while oriental characteristics also remained in use (fig 31).

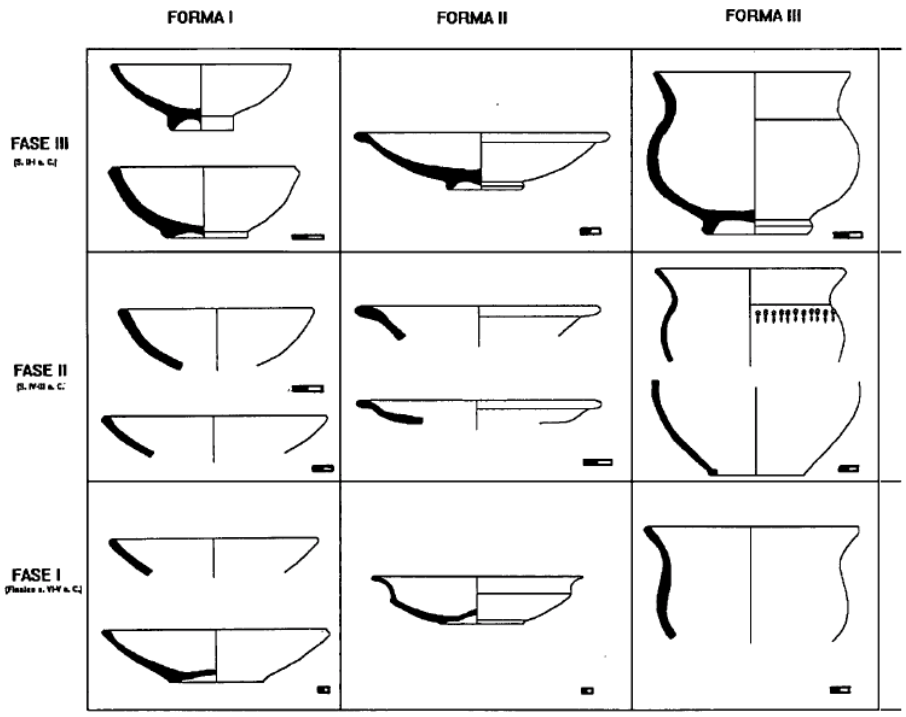

Fig. 31) Evolution of grey-ware plates and bowls in the Middle Guadiana valley (Hernandez Carretero 1993, 59).

Tab. 5) Grey-ware sample of Cerro Manzanillo with grey-ware typologies by other scholars corresponding to the forms (after Rodríguez Díaz 2010).

CM Type	Lorrio	Gonzalez Prats	Caro Bellido	Mancebo Davalos	Vallejo Sanchez	Belen
?	2A2	?????/A?D3N				
E12a	F			A-B		
E12b	F				A-B	
E1a	DB1; D1A		7			
E1c	D1B; D1A		7			
E2b	1B2		20	I	1-2	I-IV
E2b	1C1a		20	I	1-2	I-IV
E2c	1C2a		20	I	1-2	I-IV
E2c	1B2a		20	I	1-2	I-IV
E2c	A1		20	I	1-2	I-IV

E2c	1C1a		20	I		I-IV
E3a						
E3c			5	VI		
E4	Bowl type 1		10	IIB2	14	
E4a	Bowl type 1	A?a?C/D4C3N	10	IIB2	14	
E4b	Bowl type 3	?2a?c/D4C3I	10	IIIB2	14	
E4b			10	IIIB2	14	
E5	Bowl type 1		15	IIIB1		
E5	Bowl type 4	A2b??/B3D2N	15	IIIB1		
E6	2A1		18	IIIA1	3	
E6	2A2	A?a?C/B1B3N	18	IIIA1	3	
E6	2A1a	A1b?c/D3B3N	18	IIIA1	3	
E6	2B1a	A1b?c/?6B1N	18	IIIA1	3	
E6			18	IIIA1	3	
E6		A2b?c/A7C3I	18	IIIA1	3	
E7a1	2A1a		17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E7a2	2A1a	A1b1c/?3B3I	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E7a2	2A2		17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E7a2	2A2		17 A-V	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E7b1	2A2	A1a?C/B3A3N	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E7b1	2A1	A1a?c/C4A3N	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E7b1	2A2	A1a?C/B4A3N	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E7b1	2B1a		17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E7b1	2A2	A1a?C/A1A3N	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI

E7b2	2B1	?????/A?B1N	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E7b2	2A2	A1a?c/A1B3N	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E8a	Bowl type 2	A2??c/??C3I	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E8a	Bowl type 2	A1b1?/A2D2N	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E8a	1D2A		17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E8b	3A1a	??A??/B1C3N	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E8b	Bowl type 3		17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E8b	Bowl type 2		17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E8b	3A1a/b	?2b?c/B3C3I	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E8b	3A1a	A2a?c/B4C3N	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E8b	3A1a	A???c/A1C3I	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E8b	3A1a	????c/B3C3N	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E8b	2A1	A1a?c/D3A3I	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E8b	2A1a	A?a?C/A3C3N	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E8b	3A1a	A2a?c/B2C3N	17 A-B	IID1	6-12	V-VI
E9			19			

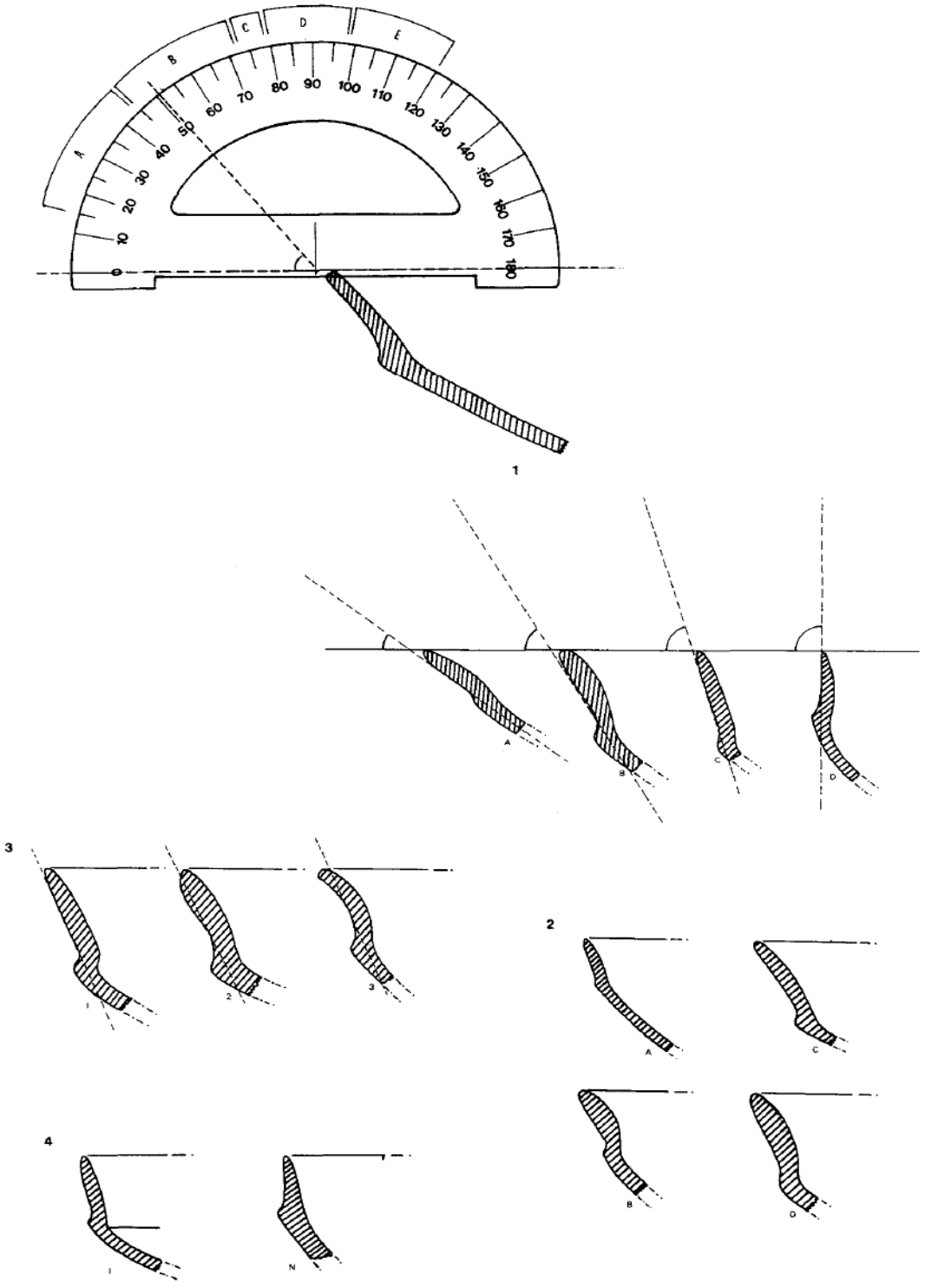

Fig 32). Classification of the rim type of wheel-made bowls type B7 of the Late Bronze Age at Peña Negra; 1) angle of rim, 2) relation between length/thickness of the rim, 3) shape of rim (straight, concave or convex), 4) presence of internal inflection (Gonzalez Prats 1983, 94).

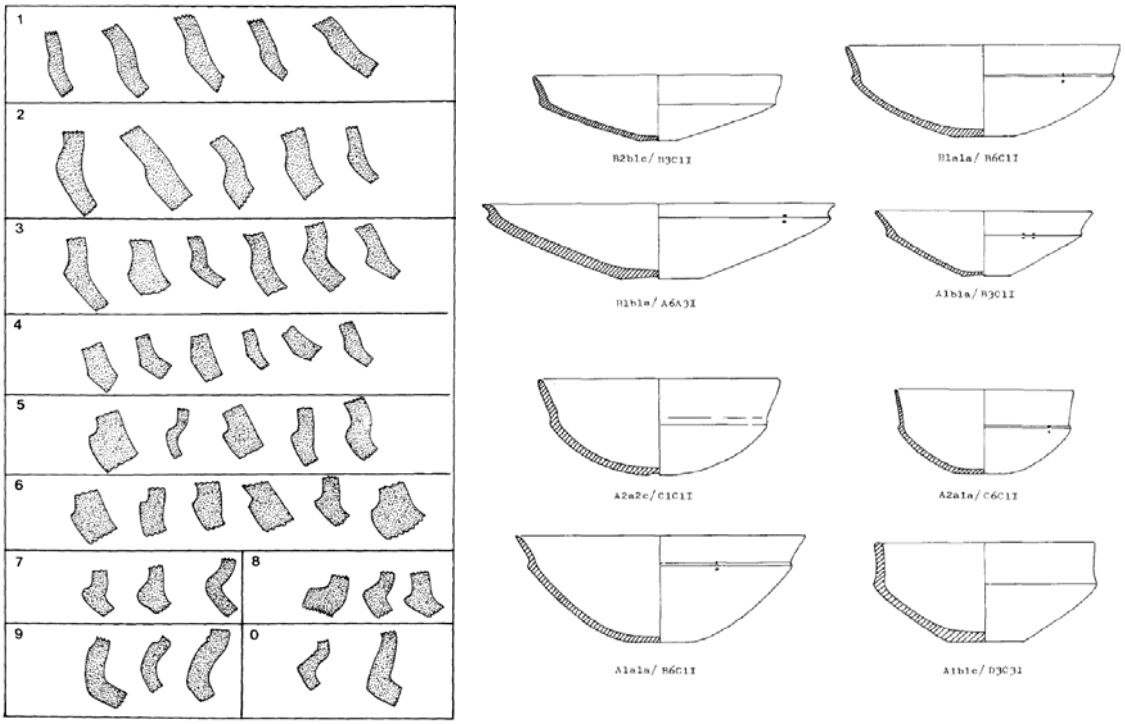

Fig. 33) Shapes of carinations (left) and application of the method on samples (right) (Gonzalez Prats 1983, 95-96).

IV.2.3 The relation between the Cerro Manzanillo ceramics to the pottery assemblages from Peña Negra and Tyre

In order to find hybrid shapes in this particular typology the basic steps to take were related to form analysis. In order to find predecessors in Phoenician traditions I used the assemblages that have been established for the pottery found in Tyre. In order to visualize hybridization in a way that can be easily used to compare pottery shapes of different traditions the best way is to classify them all with the same system. I used the attribute analysis of B7 bowls form Peña Negra designed by Gonzalez Prats as a model for the classification of attributes (González Prats 1983, 103). Other than focusing on resemblance on a subjective level González Prats aimed to find a typological norm for future work and to detect significant variants with a chronological or cultural value in the shape of carinated bowls (type B7) from Peña Negra I. This method will be used below to analyze the carinated grey-ware plates and bowls of Cerro Manzanillo and determine the variation of these bowls within the assemblage. With this method, it was possible to visualize which types were exclusively used in the Bronze Age and which types persisted in the Iron Age levels. Therefore, it might also be applicable in order to analyze the interregional variations in the use of morphological characteristics in this particular type.

The analysis of carinated bowls from Cerro Manzanillo will result in individual codes for every bowl type. These codes can be compared to the carinated bowls from the Phoenician ceramic assemblage of Tyre, and some of the carinated bowls from the

Bronze Age layers in the province of Badajoz published by Enríquez Navascués (1990). Cerro Manzanillo is a site that evolved from both traditions, assuming that the grey-ware assemblage evolved as a whole in the pottery workshops of the southern part of the Iberian Peninsula. Obviously, only the shapes have been taken into account in this analysis, the production process and technological aspects were left out. The second problem with the analysis is that the method of Gonzalez Prats was designed to analyze complete bowls. Therefore, for some of the fragments of which only the rim is left, the codes are not complete and therefore the analysis is not complete. This method therefore a try-out on an assemblage that was available for me to use within the span of time that was set to accomplish this thesis. Although I am not a specialist, the analysis was carried out by me alone, and therefore there is a certain consistency in the way the code is applied to the different vessels. The codes were constituted in the following manner.

General attributes

1. Classification; (A) plate, (B) bowl (when the diameter measures more than twice the height of the vessel).
2. Location of the carination; 1) at the upper part of the vessel, 2) at the center of the vessel, 3) at the lower part of the vessel.
3. Shape of the body; a) convex, b) rectilinear, c) concave.
4. Shape of the base; 1) plain, 2) with navel, 3) convex, 4) ring-base or elongated base.
5. Presence of perforation; c) absent, d) other.

Rim and carination attributes

1. Angle of the rim; A) 15-44° lying, B) 45-72° open, C) 73-79° tending straight, D) 80-98° straight or vertical, E) >98° inclining.
2. Shape of the carination; see Fig. 33.
3. Shape of the rim; A) short, thin, B) short, thick, C) elongated, thin, D) elongated, thick.
4. Curve of the rim; 1) straight, 2) convex, 2) concave.
5. Presence of interior inflection; I) present, N) absent.

Some of these descriptions are vague and depend on subjective opinions. The position of the carination does not have a clear measure. Therefore, I have chosen to speak of ‘central position’ when the carination is located within a 20% margin of the center of the total vessel height. The angle of the rim was measured from the exterior of the vessel. The shape of the carination was adapted from the models by Gonzalez Prats. The models of possible rim-types are only applied to the vessels by the subjective analysis of the form.

Cerro Manzanillo	***E4a***	***A1a?C/D4C3N***	***Ø 23 cm***	***9***
Tyre	13. XXXI Plate misc.	**A1a?C/D**1D**3N**	Ø 17,56	7
Tyre	9. XLII Plate 14	**A1a**1**C/D**5A**3N**	Ø 21,25	7
Tyre	18. XLIX Plate misc.	**A1a**4**C/D**5A**3N**	Ø 32,5	7
Castillo de Alange	10.	**A1a?C/D**3**C3N**	-	8
Castillo de Alange	9.	**A1a?C/D**3D**3N**	-	7
Castillo de Alange	11.	**A1a?C/D4C**1**N**	-	8
Castillo de Alange	12.	**A1a?C/D4**D1**N**	-	7
Atalaya de Zarza	7.	**A**2a**?C/D**7**C3N**	Ø 27,35	7

Although the diameter of this type is comparable with Plate 14 of Tyre, its shape resembles the Late Bronze Age shapes of Castillo de Alange more closely. The most important factor to determine their resemblance seems to be the angle of the rim. Both miscellaneous plates from Tyre clearly have a different rim-type. It is visually also vaguely similar as DB5 although the codes do not coincide.

Cerro Manzanillo	***E5***	***A?a?C/B3C3I***	***Ø 22,4 cm***	***8***
Tyre	18. XV DB misc	**A**2b4**C/B**4**C**1**I**	Ø 31,875	5
Atalaya de Zarza	11.	**A1a**?**C/B**1B**3**N	Ø 19,12	5
Los Corvos	2.	**A1a**?**C/B3**B1N	Ø 18,5	5
Atalaya de Zarza	10.	**A1a**?**C/B**5B**3**N	-	5
Atalaya de Zarza	12.	**A1a**?**C/B**7B**3**N	-	5
Castillo de Alange	10.	**A1a**?**C**/D**3C3**N	-	6
Castillo de Alange	9.	**A1a**?**C**/D**3**D**3**N	-	5
Los Corvos	3.	B1**a**?**C/B3**A**3**N	Ø 11,33	5

The Tyrian miscellaneous deep bowl fits this shape best although it is a lot larger. The code of the Castillo de Alange 10. casserole is closest to E.5 although the angle of the rim is more vertical and therefore they do not appear parallel in shape.

Cerro Manzanillo	***E6***	***A1b?C/D3B3N***	***Ø 23-24 cm***	***9***
Tyre	13. XXXI Plate misc.	**A1**a?**C/D**1D**3N**	Ø 17,56	6
Tyre	9. XLII	**A1**a1**C/D**5A**3N**	Ø 21,25	6

Tyre	18. XLIX	**A1**a4**C/D**5A**3N**	Ø 32,5	6
Tyre	25. XIX Plate misc.	**A1b**4**C**/B7B1**N**	Ø 35	6
Tyre	11. XXI Import 1	**A1b**4**C/D**7D1**N**	Ø 20	6
Los Corvos	2.	**A1**a?**C/**B**3B3N**	Ø 18,5	7
Atalaya de Zarza	10.	**A1**a?**C/**B5**B3N**	-	6
Atalaya de Zarza	12.	**A1**a?**C**/B7**B3N**	-	6
Castillo de Alange	10.	**A1**a?**C/D3**C**3N**	-	6
Castillo de Alange	9.	**A1**a?**C/D3**D**3N**	-	6
Atalaya de Zarza	6.	**A1b?C/**B2**B**2**N**	-	6

Plate misc. 25 visually is closest of the Tyrian shapes to E.6. This is due to the flaring lip, the positions of the carination at the upper part of the vessel, the straight body and the vertical rim. The diameter of the Tyrian plate is greater. Although type E.6 has a similar code as casserole 2. of Los Corvos, it looks quite different visually due to the different shape of the body.

Cerro Manzanillo	***E7a1***	***A1b?C/D5B3N***	***Ø 25-30 cm***	***9***
Tyre	9. XLII Plate 14	**A1**a1**C/D**5A**3N**	Ø 21,25	6
Tyre	18. XLIX Plate misc.	**A1**a4**C**/**D5**A**3N**	Ø 32,5	6
Atalaya de Zarza	8.	**A1**a?**C**/B**5B**1**N**	-	6
Atalaya de Zarza	10.	**A1**a?**C**/B**5B3N**	-	7
Atalaya de Zarza	7.	**A1b?C**/B2**B**2**N**	-	6
Atalaya de Zarza	6.	**A**2a?**C/D**7C**3N**	Ø 27,35	5

E7a1 is visually closest to Plate 14 of Tyre although the rim is more compact. Although the code also applies to the Late Bronze Age ceramics of Atalaya de Zarza, they are not comparable visually.

Cerro Manzanillo	***E7a2***	***A1b2C/D5B3N***	***Ø 25-30 cm***	***10***
Tyre	9. XLII Plate 14	**A1**a1**C/D5**A**3N**	Ø 21,25	7
Tyre	18. XLIX Plate misc.	**A1**a4**C/D5**A**3N**	Ø 32,5	7
Tyre	25. Plate misc.	**A1b**4**C**/B7**B**1**N**	Ø 35	6
Tyre	15. Plate 4.	**A1b2C**/A0D1I	Ø 26,25	5
Castillo de Alange	10.	**A1**a?**C/D**3C**3N**	-	6

Castillo de Alange	9.	**A1**a?**C/D**3D**3N**	-	6
Castillo de Alange	7.	**A**3**b**?**C/D**0C**3N**	-	6

E.7.a.2 is more or less a mix between plate 4 and plate misc. 25 visually. However, the codes do not clearly coincide. In any case, the Tyrian plates are more similar to the shape of E.7.a.2 then the local Bronze Age shapes, although the codes do not support this observation.

Cerro Manzanillo	***E7b1***	***A1b?C/C2B3N***	***Ø 25-30 cm***	***9***
Atalaya de Zarza	11.	**A1**a?**C**/B1**B3N**	Ø 19,12	6
Atalaya de Zarza	10.	**A1**a?**C**/B5**B3N**	-	6
Atalaya de Zarza	12.	**A1**a?**C/C2B**1**N**	-	6
Atalaya de Zarza	15.	**A1**a?**C/C2B**1**N**	-	7
Atalaya de Zarza	5.	**A1**a?**C/C**4A2**N**	-	5
Los Corvos	1.	**A1**a?**C/C**8**B**1**N**	Ø 20	6
Castillo de Alange	6.	**A2b**?**C/C2**C1**N**	Ø 22,19	6

Cerro Manzanillo	***E8a***	***A1b2C/B4C3I***	***> Ø 25***	***10***
Tyre	4. XVI FWP 3	**A**?**b**?**C/B4**D2**I**	Ø 18,12	6
Tyre	15 IX Plate 4	**A1b2C**/A0D1**I**	Ø 26,25	6
Tyre	18. XV DB misc.	**A2b**4**C/B4C**1**I**	Ø 31,875	7
Tyre	2. XV FWP5	**A**3**b**?**C/B4C**1N	Ø 18,12	6
Tyre	1.XV FWP 6	**A**3**b**?**C/B4C**1N	Ø 21,56	6
Castillo de Alange	11.	**A1**a?**C**/D**4C**1N	-	5
Atalaya de Zarza	6.	**A1b**?**C/B**2B2N	-	5
Castillo de Alange	7.	**A**3**b**?**C**/D0**C3**N	-	5

Although this shape is quite similar to plate 14 and DB misc. of Tyre, the codes do not support this observation. The similarity is mainly based on the angle of the rim and the form of the body. The angle of rim of the local Bronze Age types is generally more vertical and therefore gives the impression of a different shape.

Cerro Manzanillo	***E8b***	***A1b?C/D4C3N/I***	***> Ø 25 cm***	***9***
Tyre	13. XXXI Plate misc.	**A1**a?**C/D**1D**3N**	Ø 17,56	6

Tyre	Plate 14	**A1**a?**C/D**5A**3N**	Ø 21,25	6
Tyre	Plate misc.	**A1**a4**C/D**5A**3N**	Ø 32,5	6
Tyre	18. XV DB misc.	**A2b**4**C**/B**4C**1**I**	Ø 31,875	6
Tyre	2. XV FWP 5	**A3b?C/**B**4C**1**N**	Ø 18,12	6
Tyre	FWP 6 1. XV	**A3b?C/**B**4C**1**N**	Ø 21,56	6
Tyre	4. XXVII DB 5	B**1**??**C/D**1**C3N**	Ø 39,375	5
Castillo de Alange	10.	**A1**a?**C/D**3**C3N**	-	7
Castillo de Alange	12.	**A1a?C/D4C**1**N**	-	7
Castillo de Alange	8.	**A2**a?**C/D**3**C**1**N**	-	5
Castillo de Alange	7.	**A3b**?**C/D**0**C3N**	-	7
Atalaya de Zarza	7.	**A2b?C/D**7**C3N**	Ø 27.35	7

The most distinctive feature of this shape is the strong concave rim which does not find parallels in the Tyrian assemblage. The local Bronze Age levels of Castillo de Alange did produce a similar rim although it seems to be of a cup instead of a plate. Again, the codes do not seem to mark the right direction on this detailed scale.

IV.2.4 General observations

Most casseroles from Late Bronze Age levels of the sample of sites in the area around Medellín have a vertical rim. In plate types from Cerro Manzanillo the angle at which the rim declines fluctuates. Also in the carinated vessels from Tyre this decline fluctuates although many of the analyzed vessels are not of a specific type. Based on the codes and the appearance of the vessels, the types E.4, E.5 and E.6 have a shape resembling the local Late Bronze Age ceramics. Types E.7.a.1, E.7.a.2, E.7.b.1, E.8.a and E.8.b are more closely connected to the Tyrian ceramics although the codes do not support the visual comparison. It must be stated that this is a problematic method to use to analyze this assemblage; in the first place, the development of the grey-ware assemblage probably did not take place in this part of the Peninsula. A better way was to firstly compare Tyrian ceramics to the ceramics in the Phoenician colonies and after that compare them to the Andalusian grey-ware. The same could be done for the Local Bronze Age bowls/plates. Bowls/plates with a declining rim have been published in this area and are probably more abundant over the rest of the Peninsula. Whether the set assemblage experienced any local variation in this area should be studied by comparing the Andalusian grey-ware

codes to the regional grey-ware codes. In the analysis above, this important step is missing.

In order to establish a reliable statistical analysis of the foreign and local characteristics within the grey-ware assemblage the attribute analysis should be perfected and applied on assemblages over the Peninsula during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. Also, a more extensive analysis of the published pottery from Tyre should be taken into account using the latest drawings. Due to lack of time and published material this has not been done in this thesis. Even if the effort was made, the outcome is unclear. In this sample we can see that forms can never entirely be captured in codes. Also, some distinctive similarities have developed in both Phoenician and Iberian traditions during periods when no cultural contact had yet been made. For example some forms of the carination are very similar. Therefore, the context, production process and fabric composition are important and should be taken into account as well.

Despite the problems with the analysis it might be a valuable way to create some uniformity in the general assemblage of carinated grey-ware plates on the Iberian Peninsula. Although separate traits are similar, the combination of the traits presents a fast and structured way to express morphological variety. When some improvements are made in the variety of carination-types, fitting the optional rim-shapes in the whole Iberian southeast better, a systematic analysis might be possible.

Fig. 34) Biconic stand from Late Bronze Age Tyre (Bikai 1987, Plate LXXXIV).

Biconic stand

The presence of wheel-made biconic stands in Early Iron Age contexts of the Iberian Peninsula is seen as a continuation of the Late Bronze Age ceramic traditions of stand production. Similar stands, although shallower (Maass-Lindemann 2005, 1144) were apparently also produced in Phoenician contexts in the eastern Mediterranean. This biconic stand from the Late Bronze Age strata of Tyre (Bikai 1987; Plate LI, 1., Stratum XVII) is similar to the traditional shape of the soporte de carrete of Late Bronze Age Iberia. Again, the eastern Mediterranean tradition of using a stand instead of an attached base seems to overlap with Late Bronze Age Iberian traditions.

Phoenician vs. Iberian Bronze Age ceramics; what is the difference?

In trying to establish what constitutes Phoenician or local Bronze Age shapes of bowls and plates, it has occurred to me that in some cases they are not that different at all. Rim-types for example are in some cases exactly the same. The most typical shapes of Iberian Bronze Age- and Phoenician ceramics however are quite different. Where the typical (west) Phoenician red-slip plate has an elongated rim, flaring (nearly) horizontally, the typical Iberian Bronze Age bowl or plate often has a vertical rim, almost vertically positioned from the point of carination. I am aware that a large range of intermediate shapes overlap these stereotypes in both the Phoenician, as the Late Bronze Age tradition in Extremadura. However, the grey-ware carinated bowls and plates have a rim which often is positioned diagonally. This difference can be related with the observation that handmade carinated bowls of the Late Bronze Age in the south of the Peninsula had a rim which was diagonal instead of vertical due to local typological evolution. The carinated bowls of Extremadura kept their vertical profile during the Late Bronze Age. This observation can be related with the assumed evolution of grey-ware in the south of the Peninsula instead of a local evolution in Extremadura.

Considering that we are dealing with pottery, not a symbolic assemblage such as the ones that accompany religious material culture, the range of possible similarities between different traditions is enormous. Grey-ware, above all serves the function of tableware. Although it did appear in funerary contexts such as that of Medellín it was probably designed for the purpose of display and serving at the table. The shapes present at Cerro Manzanillo could well have appeared in contexts in different places and times. Therefore we cannot expect its shape to have had a deep-rooted meaning or symbolic value. The style of the shape of pottery in this case seems to go where the function takes it. Hybridization should therefore be sought not only in the forms, but in the combination of form, decoration, production process, fabric and context in which it was used. Furthermore, in order to study the history of this site, and basically any site, to study grey-ware in isolation will not be sufficient. The assemblage of storage/transport wares, tableware and cooking pottery can inform us much better about the use and meaning of grey-ware; oxidized fine-ware can be characterized by their fine fabrics and by their well-smoothed surface finish. In rare cases these vessels were burnished. The quality of these vessels and their medium size indicates that they were used as tableware.

Handmade fine-ware is poorly represented in this context. They were produced from pure clays and have dark colours due to reducing firing atmospheres. Some pieces are burnished or finely smoothed.

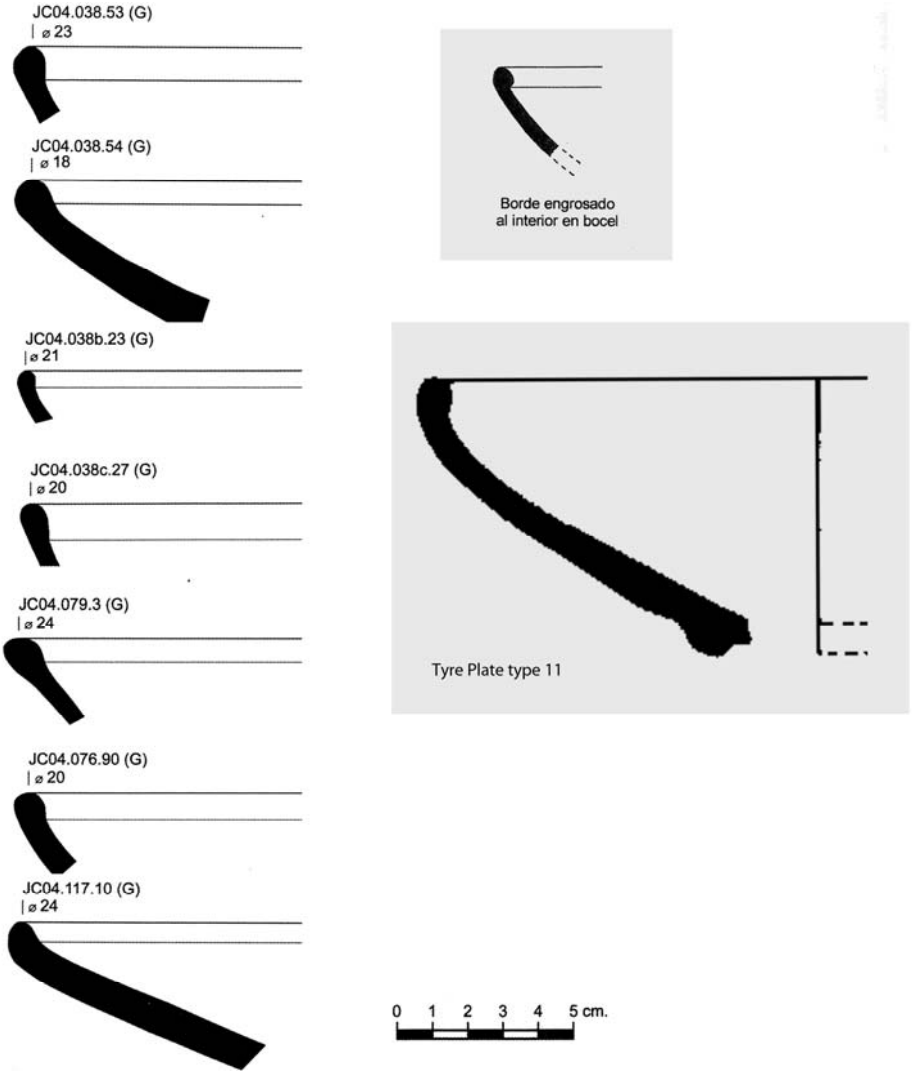

Fig. 35) Profiles of hemispheric vessels of Cerro Manzanillo and the standard shapes of hemispheric vessels of the area around Malaga in the Late Bronze age and Tyre plate type 11. Image underscores that these profiles do not demonstrate stylistic mixing (after Alonso 2004 and Bikai 1979).

Handmade coarse-ware is more abundant than the handmade fine-ware. They were produced from clays with crude or medium sized temper. They appear in dark colours relating to their reducing firing atmosphere and they usually have an untreated surface although some pieces indicate brushing of the surface. The largest vessels were probably used for storage purposes, the medium sized vessels correspond to food preparation, the storage of small quantities of food or consumption and the last group has been defined as lids of various proportions.

When we take these other groups into account it appears that tableware shapes also appeared in handmade, oxidizing types. Although grey-ware is the predominant technical group of tableware, it is not the only group. To arrive at a conclusion of the function of grey-ware in society it is therefore important to take into account that there

were probably no ideological or technological restrictions for the population to use ceramics with a different firing technology at the table.

The observations made on the entire ceramic assemblage of Cerro Manzanillo point to a conclusion about the site's function as an agricultural settlement, probably using wheel-made (grey)ware and storage vessels that were produced elsewhere (in or near Medellín as indicated by the similarities in shapes) supplemented handmade cooking pottery and occasional tableware that were possible domestic products. The use of products that were made in a specialized center can be interpreted as part of a landuse strategy that advocated labour division over domestic self-sufficiency. Cerro Manzanillo functioned within the system of landscape exploitation instead of having been founded as a single, self-sufficient unit. The domestic production of handmade ceramics was not yet fully abandoned (as indicated by 2 pieces of handmade tableware that are possibly the testimony of the replacement of a vessel or supplement to the grey-ware assemblage).

IV.3 Study of a sample of ceramics from a small transect near Medellín

IV.3.1 Introduction

The previous material was adapted from a published study. In order to get a more complete view of the mode of integration of the countryside around Medellín, I went to Spain to study the morphological variation of the Orientalizing ceramics based on a sample of the surface survey conducted in 2010 led by Mayoral Herrera. I used a sample that corresponds to an Orientalizing site and collected the rims of the sample in order to be able to compare them with the rim types of the Cerro Manzanillo assemblage. This additional study was intended in order to clarify the degree of integration of the countryside around Medellín within the Orientalizing world. Although the main purpose of this thesis is to test the possibility of detecting hybridization within archaeological ceramics, I encountered the ease at which such a theme culminates into a theoretical elucidation. Therefore, it seems to me more clarifying to work with the actual ceramics to see for myself what I am writing about. Whether it is possible to fit these ceramics within the larger themes of hybridization and mutual tradition interaction is of secondary importance in interpreting this sample. It proves extremely difficult to be able to trace the origins of the cultural intermixing within this area, even more difficult than in the Phoenician colonies, where the process seems to have started. What I am left with is the product of a process that has been going on for centuries and probably elsewhere in the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, it is not feasible to speak of an active hybridization in this countryside but merely the adoption of a material assemblage that the population accidentally had access to. To be able to say something about this process in the

hinterland we must consider the grey-ware as part of a larger pottery assemblage. This assemblage can be related with other sites in the area. Because grey-ware ceramics are generally related with tableware it is interesting to consider them alongside the other groups of ceramics to relate them better to the preferences of the site that used them.

IV.3.2 Method

The analysis of diagnostic sherds of ceramics that belonged to square 258, 264, 255, 257, 259, 263, 260, 262, 261, 265, 298 and 268 near Medellín were separated and digitized. With all probability the core of an Orientalizing settlement (possibly a farmstead) was located in square 255. Because my time at the Institute was limited I planned to digitize the rim shapes of the Orientalizing ceramic in order to see to if they could be related with the typology of Cerro Manzanillo. Unfortunately I could not study the fabrics. Therefore I digitized the ceramics in CorelDRAW X4 (the drawings are collected in the appendix). Each of the diameters of the rims was documented to serve as a possible parameter for comparison. The diagnostic sherds from these squares belonged to Orientalizing until modern periods. The surface ceramics were very weathered and consisted of small fragments. However, after digitizing the rim fragments in general it became easier to work with the profiles and compare them with the other drawings. Other than establishing a drawing of the profiles and documenting the diameter of the rim there was little else left to work with in this initial phase. Therefore the results should be treated carefully because they only give information about the rims and do not allow us to compare the entire vessels. The possibility of making errors when these sherds are divided into types is large because we can only base ourselves on a small fragment of the vessel. Also, my limited knowledge and experience and the fact that there was no-one to check my analysis should be taken into account. Therefore, it must be pointed out again that this was only a test in order to investigate what I can do with these survey ceramics with the knowledge presently obtained.

IV.3.3 Analysis of the rim profiles of the surface survey ceramics

- Fragment 257.3 is a rim with a thickening on the exterior, with a diameter of 7 cm.
- Fragment 262.1 may be related with type E.8.b of the Cerro Manzanillo typology except that it is very difficult to claim this relation because E.8.b is a carinated plate and the fragment we are talking about only demonstrates a small part of the rim.
- Fragment 262.2 Resembles type E.1.c. of the Cerro Manzanillo typology. The shape corresponds to the urns or jars with a curved rim with a triangular profile.

- Fragment 262.6 seems to correspond to type D.1.a of the wheel-made oxidizing fine ware. Type D.1 comprises urns and jars of medium size with more or less pronounced necks, globular bodies and plain or concave bases. D.1.a has a curved or pointed rim.
- Fragment 265.2 seems to have been part of a hemispheric bowl or plate of type E.2.a of Cerro Manzanillo. This fragment has a simple rim and a slightly curved body. Normally, the bases of vessels of this type are plain or slightly concave and usually, the diameter of the rim measures 17-25cm. At the same time this form very much resembles the handmade hemispheric bowls that were used for the preparation or consumption of food or drinking vessels.
- Fragment 265.6 is an oxidizing vessel with a rim that resembles the shape of the oxidizing coarse-ware amphorae of Cerro Manzanillo or perhaps urn or jar type B.3.f which also displays a triangular, flaring rim? Depending on the size it probably relates to an urn or jar.
- Fragment 261.1 is an oxidizing vessel with a peculiar rim that might correspond to B.3.g or to D.1.c. In any case it seems to be a sort of urn or jar, although it has a large diameter. The neckridge also appears in grey-ware type E.1.b. This might be an oxidizing example of a grey-ware type.
- Fragment 263.1; this fragment has a flaring rim and a large diameter. If not for the diameter it might represent a plate with a hemispheric body of type E.7.b.1 of Cerro Manzanillo, although plates with such large rims are not represented in this assemblage.
- Fragment 263.2 Again a sherd with a large diameter. It has a triangular rim. Although the sherd is too small to suggest a neck, when placed at an angle of about 50° it resembles type IV.3 of Hornachuelos (Hernández Carretero 1996, 102). But then again, the fragment is very small and therefore is might also be a plate type II with a triangular rim.
- Fragments 263.3 and 263.4; these fragments might be part of the urns or jars of type D.1.a although they are quite small. They both have a flaring rim. The fabric of 263.3 seems to relate to the Orientalizing period. However, it is difficult to date the second fragment.
- Fragment 263.6 has the same type of rim of form E.9 of Cerro Manzanillo although it is hard to claim its similarity with certainty because the fragment is very small. Form E.9 of Cerro Manzanillo corresponds to a cylindrical bowl with a relatively profound carination. It has a flaring, slightly pointed rim and a vertical neck.
- Fragment 263.8 might also be classified as a hemispheric bowl (E.7.b.1) with a flaring rim. The profile of the rim and the diameter fit this type, although most of the shape is absent.
- Fragment 263.10 check rim size. It looks like E.1.a which corresponds to urns or jars with inclining rims, 263.13 more probably corresponds to this type.

- Fragment 259.1 appears to be a small version of Cerro Manzanillo type E.1.c which corresponds to urns or jars with a flaring rim with a triangular profile.

IV.3.4 Observations

Because only rim-fragments remain the height of the vessels cannot be determined. The diameters of the vessels might however indicate that bowls with a large diameter such as 263.1 fit the diameter of tableware (family tableware). This assumption is confirmed by the observations of Rodríguez Díaz *et al.* (2009, 113) who ascribe types E.3.c and E7.b.1 (plates with a diameter close to 30 cm) to plates used for shared consumption. The diameters and heights of the other vessels do not indicate special properties. Fabric analysis (such as surface finish and temper) would result in a better understanding of this issue.

In the sanctuary of Cancho Roano in the Serena region near Medellin the grey-ware assemblage follows the same table of forms as the oxidizing wares. Therefore functionally, there seems to be little difference between the sample produced in an oxidizing- and in a reducing atmosphere. Also, the fabrics are more or less similar. It can be concluded that in this area during the 6th and 5th centuries BC, the tableware assemblage was produced in both reducing and oxidizing atmospheres. Therefore, we can question the assumption of a certain preference for reduced vessels existing in this area at this time.

CHAPTER V. DISCUSSION

So what to make of the preceding chapters? The challenge is to abandon the view of a colonial power overruling the indigenous societies, imposing their way of life upon their subjects, and look upon the issue from a perspective that allows for the data to speak for themselves. What actually happened is a complex process in which the colonizer as well as the colonized found themselves in a new situation that allowed for the redefinition of their identities and changes in their cultural traditions.

V.1 Theoretic discussion

If culture evolves as a result of a colonial situation and hybridization occurs, how can we interpret this process? In Bhabha's words 'Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. 'It displays the necessary deformation and displacements of all sites of discrimination and domination' (Bhabha 1994, 34). Hybridity can therefore be seen as the most effective form of subversive opposition (Ashcroft *et al.* 1995, 13). In other words, hybridization according to Bhabha is a form of resistance. A more moderate model constitutes the theory of the Middle Ground. The Middle Ground, as defined by White (White 1991), is the '*neutral context in which the mechanisms of cross-community or cross-cultural dialogue engage and from which new means of discourse develop that can be accepted by both sides'* (Hodos 2010, 21). Hybridization is a process and hybridity the result of this process.

The Middle Ground theory suggests an element of active choice. When choice is a factor in the production of hybrid material culture, this will constitute direct evidence of agency. However, to recognize choice in material culture is very difficult.[4] If, for example, a 'hybrid' vessel is discussed, how do we know that the producer of this vessel was deliberately creating a hybrid vessel? The form of the vessel might have already been produced for several decades. Is the potter in this sense making a choice? The potter's vessels are the product of tradition instead of active hybridization. Still, in the transition to the Early Iron Age in the Iberian Peninsula, there was a willingness to adopt the foreign technologies. We can base the argument on the idea that in order to adopt a new

[4] An interesting example of where choice is possibly visible in the archaeological record is the interpretation of Egyptian and Hellenistic style statuettes from the Galjub hoard in Egypt (Naerebout, in Bricault and Versluys 2010, 55-73).

technology, the situation must allow for shared practice. Bhabha's theory, that hybridization is a form of subversive opposition is therefore not applicable to this situation.

Although later generations might not be aware of the hybridity of the style of the vessels or the technology used, they certainly did not make the effort to get rid of the foreign features. If a certain conservativeness or redefinition of the past way of life would have been important at a moment in time, this would become visible in the archaeological record. If this is not the case the process of reproduction would have reshaped the structure (Dietler and Herbich 245). The Middle Ground theory rules out the power imbalance that is suggested by previous colonialist theories. Hybrid shapes can also be appropriated during a period in which a power imbalance does not yet have negative effects on a population, when the 'menace is not yet enacted' (Cañete and Vives-Ferrándiz 2011, 127). Therefore, cultural hybridity does not exclude asymmetrical power balances and oppression as stated by Bhabha.

Shared practice in the Middle Ground does not mean that a conscious mixing of styles took place. Therefore, an important point to keep in mind is that there is a difference between hybridization as a process and hybridity in the style of the product. The case study mentioned above demonstrates that it is difficult to trace hybridity in the style of grey-ware while it is easier to conclude that it is the product of shared technologies. The explanation for this may be that grey-ware is in the first place meant to be used within domestic contexts. Because these ceramics have clear functional shapes related to domestic practices, the style of the shapes is in many cases related to their function in the household instead of the display of either indigenous or oriental traditions.

V.I.1 Form related to function in ceramic studies

'Diet and culinary practices are inextricably linked to all aspects of social, political and economic life'. This statement made by Meadows (1997), referring to Early Roman Britain might be the key to understanding the link between changing pottery shapes and society. Style and function are often integrated in a vessels appearance. For example; thermal stress can be minimized in round-based globular pots with an even, but thin wall (Rye 1981). Cooking wares should be resistant to thermal stress; the sort of temper in the fabric therefore should allow the vessel to expand at different rates during firing. Therefore, the porosity of the fabric, the porosity of the clay and the shape of the vessel play a role in the production of a good cooking vessel. As a result of trial and error, these characteristics of cooking ware can evolve in every cultural tradition, regardless of their stylistic background. From ethnographic and archaeological data it appears that the best

solutions to thermal shock are not universally applied in the production of cooking ware (Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, 220). Therefore, in this case a cultural tradition might overrule the functional ideal appearance of the vessel. Ethnographic sources were used by Henrickson and MacDonald to compare the ceramic assemblages of two sites in order to establish the functional differences of the sites. From this comparative research they could conclude that in one of the sites most vessels were used to store, prepare or serve foodstuffs or liquids while in the other a greater variety of functions was visible indicating that the site was probably a home base, occupied year-round by a village population (Henrickson and MacDonald 1983, 670). On a comparative level, form and function can be used to establish differences between assemblages of different sites.

Tab. 5) The average relation between form and function of pottery from various ethnographic contexts; minimum height, maximum height, minimum diameter of the widest part of the vessel, maximum diameter of the widest part of the vessel, minimal ratio between height and diameter, maximum ratio height/diameter (after Henrickson and McDonald 1983).

	Min. Height	Max. Height	Mean	Min. Diam.	Max. Diam.	Mean	Min. Ratio	Max. Ratio	Mean
Cooking vessels	6	41,5	17,8	12,7	56	24,1	0,8	3,4	1,4
Cooking trays	2	13	4	14	55	33	3	18	7,5
Individual table ware	6	8	7	10	23	14	1,3	3,1	2
Family table ware	4,4	23,4	10	8,4	95	24,6	1,7	5,8	2,5
Temporary dry storage vessels	19	25	22	19	22	20	0,8	1,06	0,92
Long term dry storage vessels	11	150	52	17,8	100	49,3	0,5	2	1,2
Temporary liquid storage vessels	8,6	70	28,1	8,5	75	28,4	0,47	2,1	1,06
Long term liquid storage vessels	10	125	54,9	14	55	39,6	0,5	2	0,82
Water transport vessels	12	50,5	26,2	10	38	23,5	0,56	1,42	0,86

The presence of certain ceramics in the Byzantine period was linked to the available food resources. In general, open shapes were associated with the consumption of sheep and goat in antiquity and the Middle Ages while closed types were appeared in the diets of groups where cattle and pork were consumed (Arthur 2007, 18). This can be explained by the humidity of the dish, which decreases when evaporation is possible (in open shapes).

In hot climates, liquid foods will be avoided as they provoke thirst and sweating, while semi-liquid foods (stews) are intended to retain heat. Boiling helps to break down fats and tenderizes meat. Pork is ideally boiled because it kills tapeworms better than roasting. After closer contact with European groups, this diet spread to the eastern Mediterranean as indicated by the use of closed cooking vessels. Another example of changing shapes of pottery vessels and their relation with society can be found in the shift from family table wares used in communal dining in Ottoman Greece to the use of individual table wares as a result of the imitation of Italian table manners that are associated with the introduction of personal place settings. This shift to a more individual way of dining has been associated with the capitalist society and the development of individualism in contrast to communal sharing of food at the table (Bintliff 2011).

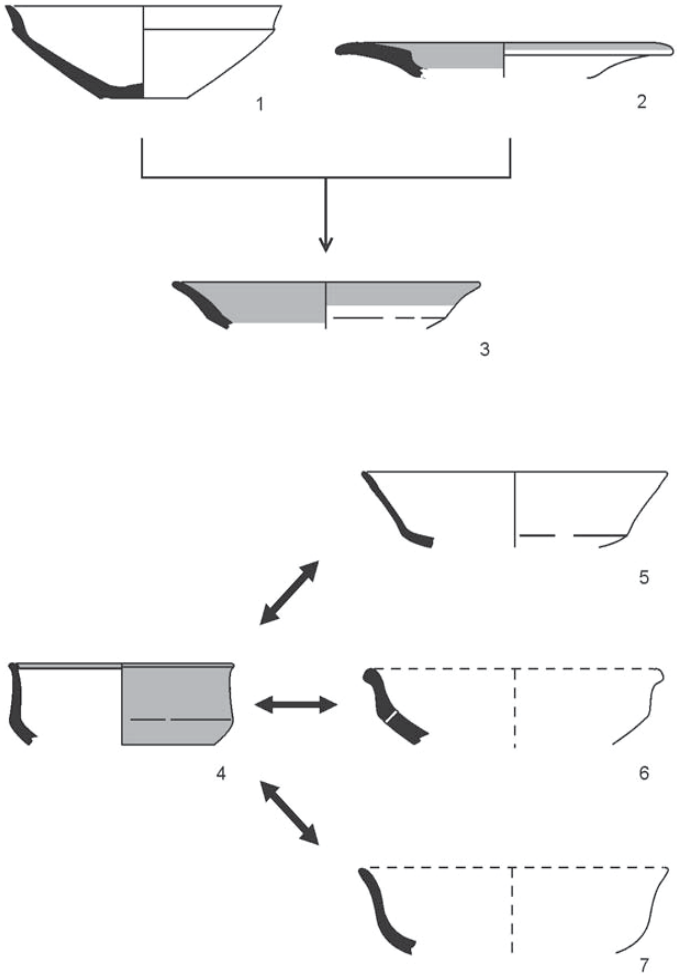

Fig 35) Pottery from Saladares. Above, (3) finds formal references in the hand-modelled bowls (1) and wheel-made red-slip plates (2). Below, handmade bowls (5-7) that are imitations of wheel-made red-slip bowls (4) (Vives-Ferrándiz 2008, 250).

These examples demonstrate that pottery form and function analysis might lead to a deeper understanding of the processes of social change and represent a window to past societies way of life without necessarily carrying symbolism and communicative values. The given examples are part of a body of evidence comprising textual and epigraphic sources. Without them, the establishment of these trends would not have been possible.

Vives-Ferrándiz examined the hybridity of Iron Age ceramics in eastern Spain, between the Ebro and Segura rivers (Vives-Ferrándiz 2008). Although the author explored the possibilities of examining the value that people attach to things in a period when material culture drastically changed, in the conclusion it appears again that the function of the

ceramics make up the most important argument for hybrid material culture. The first thing he does is to describe the colonial situation and the degree to which the local commercial relations were integrated by the Phoenicians into a larger, inter-regional framework. In this context hybrid pottery forms were produced. Examples from Saladares resemble both handmade bowls typical of the local Late Bronze Age and Phoenician plates of red-slip ware, and their fabric is very similar to those of the handmade ceramics. Many other objects display the same pattern of fusion.

At Peña Negra large jars with hybrid forms have been discovered. These jars are hybrid in form as well as in decoration. The shape and cross-section of the handles and the fact that double handles are present is reminiscent of Phoenician jars and the hermetic closing mechanism of the covers parallels Greek styles. The decoration on the jars shows a combination of both horizontal bands typical of Phoenician pottery decoration styles and *cabelleras* or undulating lines that are typical of Iberian decorative patterns. Also, the composition of the fabric is typical for local ceramics in this area. These jars are the oldest examples of the Iberian double-handled globular jar with a lid. In the context of the Iberian settlement of Peña Negra an amount of wheel-made bowls has been found that resembles the Phoenician red-slip plates in the presence of the characteristic flange rim but also demonstrates morphological changes in shape. It was suggested that these changes represent a new creation but also resemble earlier forms (Vives-Ferrándiz 2008, 251). In pre-Phoenician context shapes of this kind (connected with the consumption of solid food) were not found. The indigenous population adhered to ceramic shapes that were associated with the consumption of liquid food. Therefore it has been suggested that the presence of the indigenous version of the red-slip bowl represents a change in dining customs and food preparation. Unfortunately, ecofacts from these contexts have not been collected and analysed in order to test this hypothesis.

V.1.2 Hybridization of ceramics

Phoenician material culture, which is in itself influenced by Near Eastern- and Egyptian culture is nothing different. Hybridity does not occur through the encounter of distinct cultural traditions alone. Groups within a society or micro-cultures also meet and subsequently shape a culture. Dougherty and Kurke (2003) suggest a new cultural poetics, made up of new perspectives on the diversity within Greek culture, the interconnectedness of material from a culture and appreciating the importance of the symbolic. Material and symbolic material culture is connected to culture as a whole. Symbolic material culture must be seen as embedded in social, political, and cultural discourses and be subject to change and renegotiation through time (Dougherty and

Kurke 2003, 6). Colonial encounters should be conceptualized as a cultural process in a maze of social, economic and symbolic relations (Vives-Ferrándiz 2008). Within this maze, the material culture changed as well. To what aspects of social, economic and symbolic relations can we relate these changes?

Where symbolic material culture is related to communication, hybridization often is not such an active process. Without relating them to active transmitters of identity or symbolic behaviour, ceramics may reflect political, social and economic changes, working through in ritual contexts. Initially however, the function of these ceramics in many cases relates to daily life practices. This initial function is important to explore because it might reflect larger economic trends.

Grey-ware, roughly speaking reflects the popularity of wheel-made tableware in Early Iron Age Iberia. But there is more to learn from Early Iron Age ceramic remains. In a recent article discussing grey-ware from Acinipo (Ronda la Vieja) Sanna (2009, 162) uses the term hybrid referring to the production process in combination with the shapes. She concludes that this hybridity reflects not only that the indigenous Iberian society appropriated functional aspects of Phoenician society, but also that they indicates cultural interchanges of customs and techniques.

V.1.3 Discussion

The morphology of the grey-ware vessels does not seem to differ much from the Late Bronze Age shapes that were produced in the south of the Peninsula or the Phoenician types such as the perfume bottles, bowl type 12 of Caro (1982) or the Phoenician plate. Therefore, the scholars that use term ‘hybrid’ refer to the techniques used in the production process in combination with the style of the shapes and decorations on the vessels. I agree with this statement but it also means that the term ‘hybrid’ is a term that is used for very distinct cases. The stylistic mixing of the Monte Prama statues is one example of this. Also Vives-Ferrándiz’ study of the eastern Iberian grey-ware demonstrates stylistic mixing. However, it appears that in general, grey-ware does not demonstrate the mixing of styles, but rather the copying of styles in a hybrid technique. Therefore, ‘hybrid’ is a confusing term to use because it is used for style within a product, and the process of producing the product.

When we use the information that can be obtained from both the production process and the stylistic evolution of grey-ware we can make some suggestion about past cultural processes. As is indicated by the angle of the rim, the Orientalizing grey-ware plates of Cerro Manzanillo are more closely connected with the styles of the plates form the southern Late Bronze Age. Together with the fact that the earliest vessels belong to

the southern Iberian contexts we can conclude that the grey-ware assemblage most probably evolved near the Phoenician colonies. The question who initiated the production of grey-ware and why this was the case is not an easy one to answer. A possibility would have been that the Phoenicians and the Iberians adhered to their previous traditions. However, considering the above discussed commercial and landuse strategies, it might well have been the case that the production and distribution of grey-ware (considering that it is a mass product) was part of this strategy. What grey-ware production can say about the exploitation of the landscape is in this case that it allows for a more concentrated division of labour, diminishing the need for a domestic pottery production. In this way, the workforce could have been exploited more heavily.

Considering that the Phoenician colonists were not very numerous but were present with the goal of obtaining wealth through trade, an optimal exploitation of the indigenous population was needed. Therefore, to a certain extend they must have adapted to the local environment and the preferences of the local population. Although this might explain the effort to produce ceramics in a reducing atmosphere, the hybridity of grey-ware might have been emphasized too heavily. The tableware vessels of the Late Bronze Age were made in grey-ware and only slightly adjusted due to the new production process. Only the types that are absent in the Late Bronze Age (such as unguent bottles and amphorae) relate to Phoenician types, simply because there is no local Bronze Age model. There seems to be no clear hybridization in the shapes of grey-ware vessels. Rather, hybridity is present in the combination of new decoration schemes and old techniques, local Bronze Age forms, the use of the fast potters' wheel, and the use of chamber ovens. Together, these aspects of grey-ware production resulted in a hybrid ceramic type. The same can be said of the oxidizing fine-wares. Taken that the shapes and fabrics often are exactly similar to that of grey-ware, the only difference is their baking atmosphere. In order to explore the aspects of choice, agency and intentionality behind the production of grey-ware, the following possibilities can be concluded from the previous study;

1) An assumption exists that the Phoenician workshops produced grey-ware for a local market because the local groups preferred the grey colour of these ceramics. Although this assumption creates a parallel with the local Late Bronze Age this 'indigenous taste' can never be proven. Still, this assumption is seen as an argument that proves the hybridity of grey-ware.
2) The fact that the Iberian Late Bronze Age- and Phoenician shapes remained relatively unaltered underscores that wheel-thrown ceramics (whether fired in oxidizing or reducing atmospheres) basically replaced handmade tableware. At the same time the local population was supplied with new shapes (such as the

unguent bottles and perfume flasks) that indicate a local interest to adopt practices that were not part of earlier local traditions.

3) The fact that grey-ware production most likely started in the Phoenician colonies might indicate a strategy to exploit the commercial possibilities of the Iberian Peninsula. If grey-ware was indeed developed for a local market, pottery production was an important part of the commercial strategy of the colonies, demanding raw materials in exchange for finished products.
4) This intentional nature of Phoenician ceramic production rules out the use of pottery production to serve as a medium to actively communicate Phoenician identity. Rather, Phoenician identity can be observed between the lines of pottery production, in the fact that the exploitation of the possibilities of trade and the exploitation of the workforce were more important than the enforcement of their culture style or ideology upon the indigenous population.

V.1.4 The problem with typologies

It has to be pointed out that ceramic assemblages cannot be used to indicate social trends without taking their archaeological and historical contexts into close consideration. The previous case-study has shown that the possibility of using ceramic typologies to indicate social processes is limited. Typologies are usually applied in archaeology to date contexts. Not much effort has however been put in determining where the changes come from. The fact that material culture changes and evolves is used as the basis of chronologies. However, more interesting questions can be answered when we understand these processes better. Information about ceramic evolution and the function of ceramics as related to shape can be answered through its relation with their archaeological context. By focusing on an artifact group different aspects of long-term processes can be highlighted, giving new insights in already established narratives. This chapter is an attempt to follow the storyline of grey-ware to analyze the colonial process in ancient Iberia.

The previous case-study has shown that typologies are not always transparent enough to serve empirical research. Therefore, more information about the characteristics on which classifications are based must be made available in order to make them useful to study stylistic change. In the analysis of grey-ware specifically, a more uniform classification method would have helped to determine the characteristics that constitute hybrid shapes.

For transparency, it is better to also incorporate a degree of probability to the classification of ceramics, especially when the vessels are not complete (for example to classify badly preserved and fragmentary surface survey ceramics). Third parties must

always check analyses in order to add reliability to the survey. Relying on specialist experience exclusively does not make analyses replicable and therefore not scientific.
For the pottery attributed to the Iberians, the socio-cultural group that emerged in the Iron Age (that was shaped by the processes of cultural contact and technological, cultural and socio-political development after the Orientalizing period) has been described by Ruiz Rodriguez and Molinos Molinos (1993). This book gives a clear overview of the pottery types and the issues that are related to the classification of the types and the conclusions that can be drawn with the help of pottery studies.

V.1.5 The meaning of hybridity in Early Iron Age Iberia

The technological changes were seen as having evolved due to the cooperation of specialists from both traditions (Vives-Ferrándiz 2008, 252; Arruda 2009). The analysis of Phoenician imported wares in the indigenous settlements underscored the social, political and economic advantages that eating and drinking had within the local communities. The earlier research that has been carried out on the importance of feasting within the Late Bronze Age societies of Europe seems to fit the popularity of these fine-ware eating and drinking vessels. Another important thing that was concluded is that the exchange of products was controlled by cooperating elites (whether indigenous or Phoenician). Within the same context as these aspects new types of architecture appeared, round buildings were replaced by buildings with rectilinear walls and buildings with rounded corners. These responses to the colonial situation are considered as related with the effect that the elite had on cultural change instead of the direct dynamics between the Phoenicians and the indigenous population. Hybridity in this case, is thus seen as a change in appearance of the indigenous groups, without changing the already existing mentality, social organization and values. It is rather seen as an unconscious adaptation to shifts in power instead of an active or even imposed change.[5]

The question how the morphological intermixing came to be is not an easy one to answer because of the lack of chronological and morphological information about

[5] According to Ruiz Mata and González Rodríguez (1994) the formal technical aspects of production took place in the indigenous villages in the area around Cadiz. They accepted the new techniques and shapes in order to join the new trade network, but initially kept their traditional settlement form. Eventually, the increasing commercial pressure evoked the emergence of consistent chieftainships and more profound social stratification and eventually the adoption of the Phoenician type settlement. The commercial ceramic assemblage corresponds to storage- and transport ceramics. Indeed, initially only amphorae and urns were wheel-thrown while cups, bowls and cooking wares were still produced by hand. The initial stages of the development of the grey-ware assemblage therefore in the first place probably started with the production of vessels related to the trade of goods and typically urns.

Phoenician typologies and grey-ware interpretations. Based on isolated cases, the chronological adoption of a Phoenician ceramic form is visible but the majority of the shapes are directly related to either Phoenician or Iberian Late Bronze Age shapes.

With the issues discussed above as a starting point, I will discuss that grey-ware, although often referred to as *Orientalizing* grey-ware is neither hybrid nor Orientalizing.

1) The technological innovation allowing for a change in the production process of grey-ware does not reflect a conscious break in the traditional customs of a population. On a subconscious level these innovations result in a hybrid product that can be analysed and related to a process of interregional contact at a certain point in time, but to emphasize this contact situation does not help to explain or change the mentality or identity of the inhabitants of both regions.
2) The production of a container relates to its intentional function. With a change in technology, the intentional function does not change. Therefore, the a carinated bowl in Late Bronze Age Iberia is the same as a carinated grey-ware bowl produced in Early Iron Age Iberia on a functional level.
3) The decorations on or in a vessel or the product it contains reflect an intended use or relation with a different tradition much better than its shape, fabric or provenance. Therefore, the presence of a lotus flower on a grey-ware vessel might make that vessel completely different from the same vessel shape without this symbol.

The concepts of Orientalization and hybridity can be viewed from this perspective. Grey-ware is not Orientalizing because it does not represent a break in an earlier stylistic tradition. I do not state that the Phoenician shapes such as ampules and unguent bottles are part of this earlier tradition; they were initially foreign introductions related to new practices. But these Phoenician shapes cannot be used to attach the name-tag Orientalizing to the other vessels in the assemblage. Adding a relation with the Orient to grey-ware has created an emphasis that does not apply for this ceramic assemblage and its function. When speaking of grey-ware as a hybrid product, the most important thing to be aware of is that this hybridity is related to the emergence of a new production process and works on a subconscious level. Therefore, hybridity in this case does not say anything special about the identity, mentality of its users, or a change in style or function.

V.2 How to interpret hybridization in the Iberian Peninsula

V.2.1 Models for the interpretation of hybridization in the Phoenician sphere

Apart from stylistic intermixing, hybridity is often a term used for larger cultural processes. In this case hybridity is related to a rather special type of colonial encounter. In

the past, cultural contact as a result of a colonial situation was linked to the experiences of European colonialism in the 16th to 19th centuries AD (Stein 2005, 4). The general theory put the colonist in the role of the overruling power, enforcing their way of life upon the colonized society. From this perspective, the colonizer was in the powerful position and brought culture and innovation to the primitive societies outside of Europe. Postcolonial theory was developed by both humanist and socialist scholars to create a more realistic understanding of colonial encounters. Postcolonial theory is considered as a discussion about the cultures and identities that are created through colonial encounters (Gosden 2001, 241); as a reaction on the essentialist view of the colonizers' power to shape native cultures, postcolonial theory focuses on the local developments of colonization. Postcolonial theory is based on the notion that all participants of a colonial situation bring something of their own in that culture. In the social and humanistic sciences postcolonial theory focused on texts to deconstruct colonial situations. In archaeology, this deconstruction is achieved by focusing on the dynamics of symbolic, political, and economic interaction in relation to identity in past and present societies. The importance of indigenous agency on this dynamics has been neglected in the past, but also the differences between the colonizers and their reasons to colonize. Phoenician colonialism seems quite unique and is therefore an important case to broaden the spectrum of knowledge about colonial contacts.

There are many possibilities and approaches to study the processes in Early Iron Age Iberia. Models such as acculturation and world-systems theory are less diverse in the sense that they have been used to approach cultural interaction from the colonizers point of view. It is important to consider the variability in possible power relations. The initial approaches of world-systems theory and acculturation were based on a developed core that controls a less developed periphery, mainly with the objective of exstracting raw materials from it in exchange for finished products. In part, the Phoenician colonization of the Iberian Peninsula therefore seems to match this model. However, the balance between core and periphery may shift due to internal changes in both polities; changes the economics of the transport of goods, technology, population size and composition, diseases, military organization, and the degree of social complexity in each polity (Stein 2005, 6). Also, the variety in group identities and class, and the internal dynamics within interacting societies is of importance in the processes of cultural interaction. The interaction in world-systems theory and acculturation theory are based on an unequal

power balance.[6] However, this unequality is dependent on level of complexity of the colonized as well as the reasons of the colonizer to colonize.

In Greek archaeology, a distinction has been made between *apoikia* and *emporion*. The *apoikia* referred to a settlement in a distant country that reproduced the key features of its founding city, usually including a self-sufficient hinterland (Hodos 2006, 19). An *emporion* is a term usually used for a trading outpost in a foreign country with a strictly economic function (Stein 2005, 11). The Phoenician enclaves on the coast of the Iberian Peninsula seem to have been a mixture of both the *emporion* and the *apoikia*. They were economically self-sufficient, as indicated by the as indicated by traces of manufacture industries. Although the Iberian colonies did not develop an agricultural hinterland, wealth through trade and production of goods enabled independency (Hodos 2006, 20). Other types of settlement abroad are governed colonies, settlement colonies and community colonies, all relating to different kinds of means and objectives to assess political control in foreign countries (Hodos 2006, 21). These differences are all of influence on the result of the contact situation.

When the objective of colonization is focused on trade instead of the conquest of new land, we can assume that in the first situation the colonizer cares less for active subjugation of the local inhabitants but rather tries to create trade relations. At the same time, the responses of the local population are based on factors of their own. The development of complexity of the colonized society is an important factor in the way they might respond to a colonial situation. A hierarchical society for example might benefit from a colonial situation that is based on trade. A colonial situation might be beneficiary for the hierarchical society. The regulation of trade through already developed institution enables the rapid distribution of goods, technologies and styles. This might lead to an increasing accumulation of riches for the top of the hierarchy.

The Phoenician colonies in Early Iron Age Spain seem to have had the primary function of trade centers. No military architecture or large-scale programs to annex the hinterland were found. Therefore, it is not likely that the initial idea of the Phoenician colonies was to overrule or subjugate the Iberian Peninsula. From the ceramic evidence presented above, we can conclude that the inhabitants of the Phoenician colonies were open to influences from other ceramic traditions in the domestic sphere. We might say that the Phoenicians were able to adapt to their new environment, adopting new cooking

[6] World-systems theory, as developed by Wallerstein (1974b) knows many variations developed by scholars from different theoretical backgrounds since. However, the application of this world-systems perspective for the analysis of pre-Capitalist societies has not proven feasible yet but when re-defined, world-systems theory might be used to gain new insights into how societies changed (Hall, 1999, 3-4; 14).

practices and display of dinner at the table. In funerary contexts and architecture, a more conservative pattern is visible; Phoenician style houses, warehouses and sanctuaries were built and in the graves associated with the Phoenician colonies, traditional Phoenician ceramics and Phoenician high status and grave-goods continued to be deposited. Altogether, the archaeological record of the Phoenician colonies on the one hand shows a certain willingness to adapt that might be part of the success of these trade enclaves, in comparison to a strong conservativeness in the ritual sphere.

V.2.2 Models for the interpretation of hybridization in the Iberian sphere

A few models have been established for the Iberian Peninsula as to how the process of Orientalization came to be. Alvar (2001) explains the Phoenician colonization of the Iberian Peninsula based on the relation between the foundation of Carthage, the urban character of the commercial establishment, the appearance of the burials of Lagos, Almuñecar and Trayamar, the colonial cults and the tensions within the Phoenician aristocracy, leading to a new predominant culture of the intercultural contacts. Alvar assigns the control over production, communication-, and trade routes to the Phoenician aristocracy resulting in greater wealth for the upper class and increasing social differentiation in the indigenous populations.

In the development of the Orientalizing situation in the Iberian Peninsula a great deal of work has been dedicated to the 'legendary' kingdom of Tartessos in the Guadalquivir valley. According to most scholars, this group of people had a lot to do with the communication between the Phoenician colonies and the interior and even conducted the spread of the Orientalizing culture in those inland areas. If this is the case, a good explanation for the rapid adaptation of Orientalizing objects in the Iberian Peninsula would be that the Tartessian social organization was already elite based before the Phoenician colonies were founded. The enforcement of dominant colonial production and the communication thereof would have been adopted easily by a hierarchical society that adhered to symbols of power and prestige. The evidence that this society had a hierarchical structure in the Late Bronze Age is indicated by the warrior stelae from this period. The archaeological evidence of the Iron Age in the Guadalquivir valley, the heartland of the Tartessian ‘kingdom’, demonstrates that this aristocratic system consolidated in the 7th century, and social differentiation was enhanced. Not only the use of the potters’ wheel indicates this process but also the introduction of the use of iron for agricultural tools and the differentiation between burials on single sites, the construction of substantial stone and mud-brick fortifications are used as evidence of social and production differentiation. The construction of rectangular houses with internal divisions

indicates that these houses were better suited to labour division (Ruiz Rodríguez 1997, 178). It would have been interesting to see the difference between the settlements of the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. Unfortunately this is difficult because the larger Early Iron Age usually occupy the same locations as the Late Bronze Age villages. The archaeobotanical and faunal remains support an agrarian system in which pig, sheep and goat breeding and mixed cereal and leguminous cultivation was practiced during the Early Iron Age.

According to Alvar and Wagner (1988), the colonial situation can be based on the division of the settlements in the landscape. Next to the commercial settlements on the coast, there was a hinterland of mainly indigenous agricultural settlements in which intermixing between the local and Phoenician population took place, probably resulting in the settlement of Phoenicians in these inland areas. In the larger centers further inland too, Phoenician populations must have settled, as would have occurred as far inland as Medellín and Zalamea de la Serena (Cancho Roano) in Extremadura and Cástulo in Andalusia. Pellicer (1994) however incorporates the process of pre-colonization in his model to describe the process of Orientalization in the Iberian Peninsula. The Tartessian communities would have emerged during the stage of pre-colonization. From the 8th century onwards, the interactive contact between the Phoenician colonizers and the Late Bronze Age societies would have introduced the Orientalizing culture, in the first place in the region of Cadiz and in the Tartessian hinterland.

V.2.3 The success of oriental culture, an unconscious process?

The increase of settlements after the Late Bronze Age indicates a demographic expansion. It appears that demographic growth is either the result or the stimulus for the social, economic and political changes in the Iberian Peninsula during the transition to the Early Iron Age. In order to grow, a population needs a good organizational structure and a certain degree of technological advancement in the agricultural strategies to be able to sustain the larger population. At the same time, when the demographic pressure is high, the need for a good organizational structure is high. Demographic pressure will accelerate the process towards complexity. The Phoenician colonization added technological innovations to the mix. So where did the demographic growth come from?

The approach presented by Escacena Carrasco to explains the apparent demographic growth during the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age in the area of the Guadalquivir valley from a biological point of view. The demographic growth in this area after the arrival of the Mediterranean groups on the Iberian south coast is not attributed to a continuation of a process that was already set in

motion in the Late Bronze Age, but rather as a shift in reproduction strategy that favoured the frequency of reproduction. The Bronze Age subsistence pattern of animal husbandry changed to the Mediterranean agricultural based sedentary way of life. The subsistence pattern and societal strategy is seen as linked to r/K selection theory. Where K favours the reproduction of few individuals allowing for a maximum parental investment, r favours the maximum individual reproduction beyond the point that allows the individual to care optimally for their offspring. Strategy r results in an exponential growth of society. Strategy r in this case is linked to Mediterranean subsistence base which is better adapted to sustaining a high reproduction rate than animal husbandry (Escacena Carrasco 2005, 197). Although the r/K selection theory is generally accepted in biological research, its value for human sciences has been heavily critiqued. The most important argument is that genetic evidence about the diversity of humans does not support the concept of race (Long and Kittles 2003). Neither can we assume the genetic makeup of Phoenician society to have been significantly different than that of Iberian Bronze Age society, leading into a different kind of instinct favouring either r or K reproduction.[7]. The response of a growing population relates to the changing organizational structures and subsistence strategies. It is the most important response to the colonial situation because it enforces agricultural innovation and advanced social organization, the distribution of goods and work specialization to allow for a concentrated production.

Latest publications combined the archaeological evidence with place names of the area from Roman epigraphic sources. The place names correspond to pre-Roman anthroponyms that reflect the a complex distribution of Tartessian colonies over the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula during the Early Iron Age (Almagro Gorbea 2010, 193-194). The elements –ipo, -uba, and lac- probably correspond to waves of colonization as indicated by the Roman place names and their distribution. This linguistic relation underscores the extensiveness of the Early Iron Age Tartessian colonization. However, as will be discussed below, the absence of indications of settlement from the period before the expansion of the exploitation of the landscape does not necessarily indicate a demographic growth expansion.

[7] Therefore, it rather seems logical that the shift in the possibilities to exploit the environment led to an increase of society without disturbing the balance between ‘bearing and caring’. At present, this balance is controlled by the welfare state that substituted the family as an economic unit of self-sufficiency (Dawkins 1976, 2006). Therefore, children of large families will not starve to death when the reproduction rate of the parents was larger than they can feed and therefore refraining there genes from being reproduced. The less altruistic the organization of the state, the closer the situation resembles the natural balance. Assuming that Iberian and Phoenician governmental structures did not behave in a very altruistic way, it is plausible that the Mediterranean subsistence base was received with open arms allowing for the population to grow rapidly.

V.2.4 The position of Medellín within the context of Early Iron Age Iberia

The developments in the Early Iron Age Guadalquivir basin altogether led to what is considered the first urban society in the Iberian Peninsula (Almagro Gorbea, *et al.* 2008, 1233). The settlement of the previously nearly unoccupied Guadalquivir basin took the shape of a pattern of rural settlements centred on a larger settlement from which the agricultural activities were regulated. This settlement pattern is comparable to the *Oppidum* of Medellin and its territory (Almagro Gorbea, *et al.* 2008, 1232). The introduction of new agricultural methods, the demographic growth, synoecism and the occupation of the hinterland by farmsteads centred on a larger, Orientalizing settlement (reminding of a city-state type organization) are aspects of the settlement pattern of the Tartessian culture. Other characteristics are the predominance of wheel-thrown ceramics, the presence of cremations in urns and the presence of Orientalizing iconography, craftsmanship and writing (Almagro Gorbea *et al.* 2008, 1010). This settlement form, together with the comparable material culture of Medellín to the Tartessian culture, was interpreted as evidence for the Tartessian colonization of the Vegas Altas del Guadiana. Handmade ceramics with geometric painted decorations and fabrics suggesting an Onubian origin were seen as the earliest Tartessian influences in this area. Only after the 7th century the settlement pattern described above developed. Due to the improving economic environment resulting from the interests of the Phoenician trade and agriculture in the Iberian Peninsula, demography and production increased leading to the new settlement pattern and the subsequent re-colonization of Medellín. A hierarchical organization between Medellín and its territory developed, that has even been considered as a proto-state organization (Rodríguez Díaz, Pavón Soldevila and Duque Espino 2009, 208). [8]

The central place of Medellín was surrounded by villages and farmsteads that were politically dependent on Medellín. The general assumption as related to the presence of luxury and status objects was that the power relations were dominated by an Orientalizing aristocracy resident in Medellín. The control of the aristocracy over the countryside possibly resulted in a patron-client system.

[8] The definition of a state-type organization as defined by Zeder (1994) requires that '*Specialization in economic relations is found to some degree in all levels of social complexity. The distinguishing feature of the state-level economy is that specialization is not limited to discrete sets of economic activity, pottery production (..), for example. Rather, all aspects of economic activities are likely to become increasingly specialized and differentiated from one another in space, timing, and personnel.*' (Zeder 1994, 176). It requires some high order coordination that guarantees articulation between different sets of economic activity.

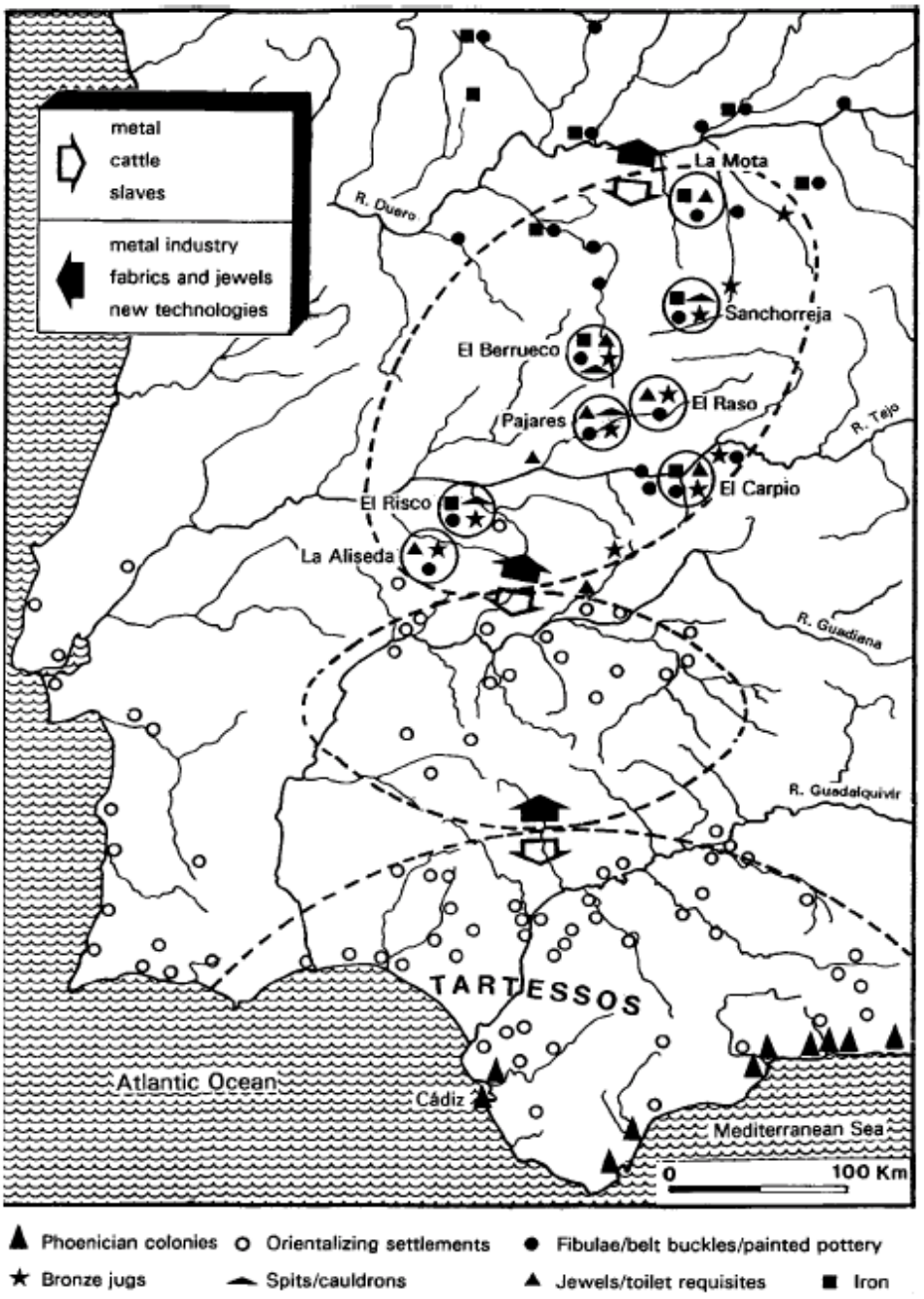

Fig 36) Model to explain exchange system of the 8th to 6th centuries BC (Álvarez Sanchís 2000, 72).

The most important changes that took place during the Orientalizing period therefore correspond to the occupation of the landscape. Although this occupation was related to a demographic growth or the invasion of the landscape, another explanation might be the better preservation of the Orientalizing buildings in comparison to the Late Bronze Age buildings from perishable materials. This theory does not appear in the debates around this topic. As we have seen above, demographic growth might be enabled by a better ability to produce a subsistence base. However, our view may be blurred by the new

settlement programme corresponding to the exploitation of the landscape in a Mediterranean tradition in comparison to a more dispersed sedentary way of life and the fact that a mass-production of ceramics where in the past a domestic production existed. Also, the fact that the landscape of the Vegas Altas del Guadiana was altered by 'Plan Badajoz' might have had a considerable impact on the survival of Late Bronze Age remains.

V.2.5 (Post) Colonial encounters

Although the models described above explain the social processes that took place during the transition to the Early Iron Age, they do not explain why Orientalizing material culture was so successful in the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula. The analysis of Orientalizing material culture in the Iberian Peninsula can be interpreted both from a colonial and from a post-colonial perspective; the appearance of oriental style in the indigenous settlements might be interpreted as a process that was set in motion with force;

- Oriental style in the Iberian Peninsula might represent active imperialism by the Phoenician colonists.
- The objective of colonization of these areas might be the subjugation of the local population in order to obtain slaves and trade-goods.
- The demographic growth might have been the result of an invasion of Phoenician settlers that occupied the hinterland, or at least took the leading positions in the new system designed to exploit the Iberian landscapes, the local population being forced to work within this system.

Another interpretation is that the popularity of Orientalizing culture actually underscores the character of the Late Bronze Age Iberian culture, that of a society that found their values and power balances to fit with these new oriental lifestyles, explaining their popularity;

- The emerging complexity and hierarchization of Iberian society in the Late Bronze Age, Orientalizing agriculture encouraged the system of landscape exploitation and the popularity of the display of power through Orientalizing objects.
- The trade-routes established in the Late Bronze Age enabled the trade in metals and the access to the sources of the interior.
- The previous presence of east Mediterranean objects as indicated by isolated finds encouraged the development status associated with high value of Orientalizing objects. This earlier knowledge of oriental objects might have

contributed to the exclusivity of these objects before they were more easily accessible.

Taking into account that the effort of expansion and colonization of the Phoenicians was negligible (only a few Phoenician sites on the coastal fringe indicate their presence) and no signs of forceful occupation have yet been found, the arrival of the Phoenician groups seems to have been the last straw breaking the camel's back, resulting in the rapid processes towards complexity in the Iberian Peninsula. In comparison to other examples of Imperialism and colonialism, the case presented fits an approach that does not put the colonizers in the role of dominant culture, but rather sees that both parties benefitted, however in a very different way. It still goes without doubt that the Phoenicians had a clear focus on wealth accumulation which fed the inequality among the classes of Iberian society. Therefore, although traces of oriental culture (in the form of wheel-made pottery) were accessible to every class of society, this must not be misread for increasing wealth in every class of society but rather.

Taken that Medellín and its surroundings most probably were occupied by an ethnologically Iberian population using Orientalizing material culture and living in square houses made of adobe it seems that we are dealing with an Orientalising enclave; a copy of a settlement system that evolved elsewhere; in the Tartessian area. This model was the most beneficial for the exploitation of the natural resources of the Iberian Peninsula. This directly explains the absence of Orientalizing culture in the upland areas; the crops (cereals) were dependent on the fertile plains near river basins.

V.2.6 Orientalism

The presence an 'oriental style', located in 'the West' is based on the concept of Orientalism as designed by Edward Said (1978) to provide a concept to allow for a scientific approach to study the 'East'. Obviously, this need to study the East is based on the notion that there is a difference between the Eastern and the Western world. It is the product of '*Western consciousness out of whose unchallenged centrality an Oriental world emerged, first according to general ideas about who or what was an Oriental, then according to a detailed logic governed not simply by empirical reality but by a battery of desires, repressions, investments, and projections* (Said 1978, 8). The opposition between both is related to the notion that there is a difference between east and west. But how is this difference observable? Where is the boundary area between east and west, and their related material cultures? Can the question which pole had the upper hand during the Iron Age in the Iberia Peninsula therefore be answered through material culture? Maybe it is not the most interesting question to think about before the vagueness of east versus west

is cleared up. It is obvious that material culture from the Eastern Mediterranean reached the Iberian Peninsula in the Late Bronze Age, and that a new style evolved that is stylistically similar as this style. But is this the much referred to Orientalizing culture, or rather the evolution towards Iberian culture through foreign influences?

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

VI.1 Conclusions

In order to understand the processes of social, economic and political change in the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age in the Iberian Peninsula it is important to understand its related material culture better. Large-scale theoretical debates are often not critical enough about the basis of their argument, as indicated by the vagueness around the construction of reliable evidence for the origins of stylistic change, or the obscurities around the typological analysis of material culture. The concepts 'Orientalizing' or 'hybrid' are not yet properly defined for archaeologists to use, neither are the terms 'colonization' and 'colony'. Therefore they do not to serve to communicate a certain historical or material cultural phenomenon. From present state of research, the transition to the Iron Age in the Iberian Peninsula seems to have been a period in which significant changes took place which will be outlined in the following. The ceramic evidence serves to understand these changes. However, to be able to understand the value of ceramics, and especially grey-ware in this context better, this thesis lacks a few important aspects which will be discussed in the second part of this chapter.

VI.1.1 The relation between the indigenous population and the Phoenicians the Early Iron Age Iberia

The emergence of complexity in the Iberian Peninsula had its roots already in the Late Bronze Age as indicated by the presence of fortified settlements (hillforts), Atlantic material culture, and evidence of long-distance contacts outside of the area. The presence of the Atlantic exchange network indicates intra-group relations enabled by the stratified social structure, in which the upper class controlled and regulated the production and exchange of (raw) materials.

The existing commercial networks enabled the Phoenicians to link into- and develop the trade of raw materials rapidly. Archaeological remains indicate that the Phoenician colonies were centers that produced finished products (such as wheel-made ceramics) that could be exchanged for raw materials from the interior. Imported luxury objects or Orientalizing products became popular items among the local upper class, as they have been found in hoards and burials related with high status individuals. The increasing presence of these valuable objects in Early Iron Age contexts indicates that increasing wealth among at least the upper class resulted from the access to the

Mediterranean trade network. The Early Iron Age can therefore be seen as a prosperous period at least for the colonizing groups and the local upper class in the Iberian Peninsula.

The ceramic evidence from the rural settlements around Medellín shows that eastern Mediterranean technologies were not restricted to the upper class but made their way into the lower classes of society from 650 BC onwards. The availability and access to wheel-made pottery indicates the concentration of production into bounded workforces instead of domestic production.

Although the organization of Medellín and its territory fits the expected organization of oppida in the Celtiberian culture which has its roots in the Late Bronze Age, the style and appearance of the material culture of this region has been influenced by the oriental style. The location of Medellín on the banks of the Guadiana and amidst ancient trade routes, together with the agricultural potential of the area might reflect the reason why this remote inland area was so heavily influenced by oriental culture in comparison to the more northerly located hillforts in the Meseta area.

VI.1.2 The distinction between the use of grey-ware in indigenous and Phoenician contexts

Grey-ware was used both in the context of the colonial settlements on the coast, and the indigenous settlements in the interior of the Peninsula. As we have seen in the previous theoretical discussions and the case study of the Medellín region, a difference exists in the cultural traditions from which the inhabitants of these areas originated. To understand the use of grey-ware in both contexts the evolution of this material culture is of secondary importance. The key to the meaning of this ware lies in its use in Early Iron Age society.

- Grey-ware is a compromise between form and function in the context of the establishment of identity and identification; in the Phoenician colonies, grey-ware can be seen as a compromise for the indigenous population living among the eastern Mediterranean population between the adherence of traditional practice and the participation in the oriental way of life. At the same time, it underscores the identification of the foreign immigrants, adapting to their new environment by producing traditional shapes of their new environment. The traditional dining practices reflected in the use of Late Bronze Age tableware shapes (hemispheric bowls, carinated bowls, the biconic- and ring-shaped stand, the vessel with double coned body, the ‘a chardon’ vase, the closed vase, the large vase with double body, the globular vessel, globular vessel with a wide mouth and a straight, flaring rim, vessel with a globular body and a short rim, small, open bowl, hemispheric vessel with double horizontal or ‘basket’ handle, the hemispheric bowl with a vertical or incurving wall, the open shape, similar of

shape 10 but with conical upper part of the body, the plain, open vessel, the hemispheric plate, the hemispheric, conical plate with carination in upper part of the vessel, the hemispheric bowl with carination in upper part of the vessel, the simple, open vessel with hemispheric body) can be seen as the functional shapes that fit the traditional and natural environment of the Iberian Peninsula. The oriental shapes (the Phoenician plate, perfume flasks and ampules) allow the indigenous population to incorporate new practices into their daily lives and create the possibility of identifying with the oriental lifestyle.

- In the area around Medellín, the use of grey-ware reflects the popularity of this assemblage. However, as we have seen above, the largest part of the assemblage overlaps in terms of function with the Late Bronze Age assemblage. At Cerro Manzanillo, no ampules or perfume flasks were found. Therefore, we may assume that the grey-ware that has been found in this site reflects a continuation of Late Bronze Age tableware traditions instead of a clear shift to a Mediterranean assemblage. If we consider the introduction of wheel-made pottery as nothing more than a change of technology to produce the same shapes, we cannot claim that this was a life-changing development for the local population. However, if we place the possibilities of this technology in the context of the renewed exploitation of the landscape, we can see it as a reflection of a new organization of labour that was designed for the commercial relations with the wider Mediterranean through the Phoenician trading centers on the south coast.
- When we assume that there was a continuation of Phoenician and Late Bronze Age Iberian shapes in the production of grey-ware, the combination of technology and style is hybrid, but does not relate to the following statement about hybridity; '*Hybridity was the result of the ambivalence needed to create a certain consensus which benefited only a few: a system flexible enough to create an illusion of participation in which those represented were 'almost the same, but not quite'* (Cañete and Vives-Ferrándiz 2011). Therefore, it must be made clear whether we speak of hybridity in style or production process. Additionally, the hybridity of a society or a social situation is different class which, in order to avoid confusion, might rather be referred to as 'multi-cultural' or the Middle Ground.

VI.1.3 The Iberian Iron Age within the framework of the larger Mediterranean region

By focusing on local cases within the Mediterranean region a more complex idea of what constitutes 'Mediterranean culture' emerges. Within the long term historical processes smaller events took place that connected the local to the interregional, such as the Phoenician seafaring activities. The geographical characteristics of the Mediterranean provide the general boundaries for this connectivity. However, the exact boundaries of the sphere of influence of the Mediterranean interconnectivity are vague, both in the geographical and the material cultural sense. The focus on local cases, as concluded by the 'Material connections' research group, demonstrates that *(..) entities of shared essences and experiences existed in the* longue durrée *of the Mediterranean 'worlds' that cannot be reduced to simple sociological categories such as society, ethnic groups, community or region* (Rowlands 2010, 245). Mediterranean culture emerged through processes of lost and regained shared practices. By shifting focus between the *longue durrée* and local case studies the generalities that constitute the idea of the Mediterranean as a concept can be understood. Unfortunately this kind of research goes beyond the extent of this thesis. What does appear in the discussed case-study is that in the Iberian Early Iron Age activities took place similar to the eastern Mediterranean. The spread of a shared pottery production process is one example that connects the eastern Mediterranean to the western Mediterranean.

More interesting is perhaps to explain these generalities. On a local scale the identification of a historical process that is translated through material culture can be assigned to a direct response to new influences. This response might be mistaken for the communication of identity (for example of a local upper class using eastern Mediterranean pottery, or the 'Phoenician' traders using handmade pottery). On a more distant scale, the benefits of a new production process or the benefits of local Iberian pottery can be seen as adaptations not designed to communicate identity, but rather representing material culture in the process of accelerated evolution. The adaptation of humans to the new commercial environment is a logical process in which material culture might reflect the most successful way in which commerce develops. In this process, pottery production has got nothing to do with the communication of identity but reflects a response to a colonial situation. Therefore Burke's possible responses (acceptance, rejection, segregation or adaptation) do not fit this picture because they suggest processes connected with active choice related to the mentality of society instead of the identification of a process of economic and technological change on a subconscious level. The response to a colonial situation therefore works on two different levels. In the

archaeology of prehistoric societies, the focus easily shifts from the social-, to the economic and technological level, as has happened in this thesis. The difficulty of linking past society to trends in the archaeological record might in this case be overcome by more thorough and concentrated research.

VI.2 Future research

In order to refine the objective of studying the implications of cultural contact in Early Iron Age Iberia, the following subjects must be looked into more carefully;

The fabrics of survey ceramics should be analyzed. A good example of the possibilities of fabric analysis of surface ceramics is the Kythera survey Project (Broodbank and Kiriatzi 2007). The fabric analysis was only backed up by the analysis of diagnostic sherds instead of the other way around. The analysis focused on the provenance of the temper. From the analysis of the temper information could be derived about technological change (interpreted as the migration of Cretan potters) and distribution of the pottery related to different workshops. This type of analysis requires the availability of information about the geomorphology of the area, a diverse geomorphology and the presence of different temper. On the ceramics from Medellín and its surroundings, too little has been done on fabric analysis to create such a pattern. The combination of style and composition of ceramics has proved helpful in the definition of the social landscape of the terminal ‘Ubaid period in southwestern Iran (Berman, in Stein and Rothman 1994, 23). The extraordinary uniformity of ‘Ubaid pottery in this area in combination of a strong heterogeneity in the composition of the fabrics was used to suggest that the area was occupied by numerous politically independent groupings unified by a shared ideological system.

When the morphological analysis of grey-ware is combined with fabric analysis on the scale of the Guadiana river area it will provide a way to indicate the true integration of the countryside in the Mediterranean world. We know that grey-ware in this area stylistically is quite homogeneous. When it turns out that the fabric shows the same homogeneity, this would confirm a centralized production. In this case there is no way to prove that the countryside shared oriental values and styles, but rather made use of the available ceramics.

Another thing to mention is that the different types of functional groups should be analyzed together in order to create a picture about the daily life habits of the population. The fluctuation of the ratios among different types of settlements in different areas can be used to compare sites with populations of different cultural backgrounds. Also, these

types of functional graphs are very informative to compare the function of sites in a fast way.

The analysis of the way the settlements relate to features in the landscape might provide a better conclusion about the organization of agricultural exploitation of the landscape, especially if these relations can be compared to other regions or other time periods. Spatial modelling can provide information about preferences of the population in landuse strategies.

When pottery shapes are classified, a degree of reliability must be incorporated. The classification should always be backed up by a second party. For example, when there is a disagreement about the classification, there is a 50% reliability this example. For transparency, the honesty about classification when it is not entirely reliable is necessary in order not to let 'mutations' in future analyses slip through. Especially for surface survey ceramics, this transparency is needed in order to allow for, instead of entirely ruling out, the possibility of the classification of weathered ceramics.

More can be said about the practices of eating and drinking from the study of ceramic vessels. In some cases, the vessel betrays the value of the act. For example in drinking vessels, the absence of a base to stand on might indicate that it must be held during the practice of drinking. This type of vessel is more actively involved in the practice of drinking than vessels that can be put away. Obviously, drinking and eating are conscious activities. However, these shapes might indicate a use that goes beyond the act of drinking or eating, because they cost effort to handle. In Merovingian Germany, the appearance of glass drinking cups without bases or associated stands were actively used in rituals. Their role in the ritual act of drinking is pointed out by the fact that they cannot be put away unless completely emptied (the case in which they can be put upside down without falling over) (Theuws, paper presented at the Conference of Byzantine and Ottoman ceramics, 2011). The stand in the context of the eastern Mediterranean Late Bronze Age is rather seen as a habit of emptying vessels with a gulp instead of ritual use. This theorizing opens up a range of possibilities that go beyond the problematic issues of style, but rather discuss function, which might say more about the identity of the users. It is important to consider as well that materials other than ceramics might have been used in dining customs such as wooden or stone vessels. Therefore, the archaeological remains may not reflect a complete set of practices related to dining.

It is also important to investigate the possibility that the diamond shaped incisions are in fact potters´ marks. The appearance of these types of incisions on grey-ware plates might be a mark of production or property (Almagro Gorbea 2008, 766; Rodríguez Díaz 2004, 2009). It would be interesting to investigate this possibility further by comparing the marks and the location of the marks on the plates. This information might lead to a

better understanding of the production of grey-ware and the workshops that produced the types of pottery.

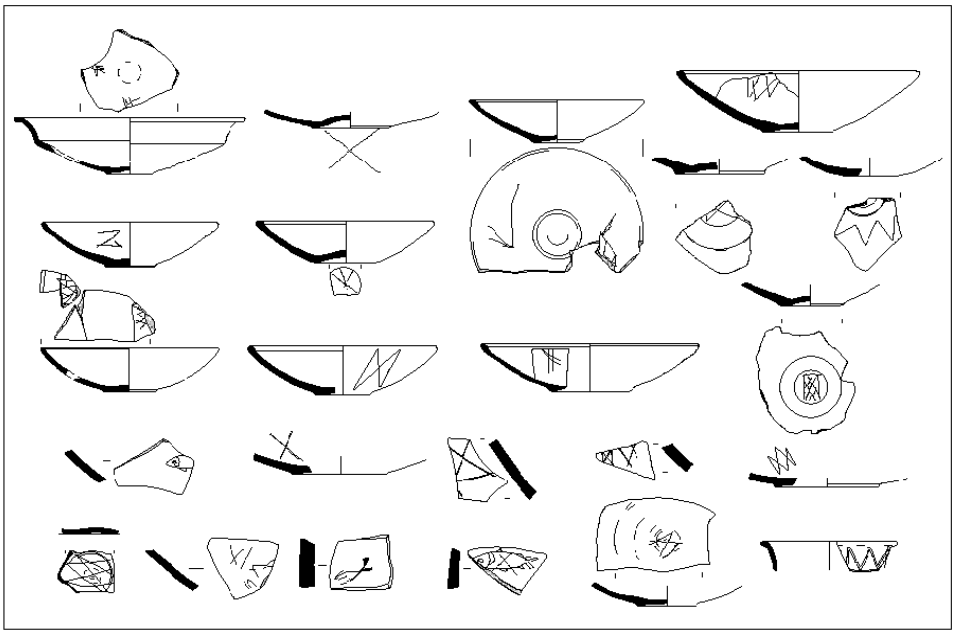

Fig. 37) Diamont shaped incision (potters marks) from La Mata (Rodríguez Díaz *et al.* 2004).

More research is needed on the production centers of the Orientalizing Iberian Peninsula. Most of the information that has been used now comes from the Phoenician workshop of Cerro del Villar which has been published in English and therefore is available beyond the Iberian Peninsula. However, there are more published workshops which were not considered here because of the limited timescale of this thesis. For example the 7th century kiln at Cerro de los Infantes, from which a 1983 publication by Contreras *et al.* (1983) speaks about evidence for the local production of Cruz del Negro urns. This indicates that a Phoenician shape was made in a local workshop and therefore is Orientalizing. It would be interesting to compare the workshop of Cerro de los Infantes to that of Cerro del Villar in order to see in what way the local and Phoenician production of pottery is similar or different. For example; at Cerro del Villar cooking vessels were all handmade. This might indicate that Iberian cooking practices were adopted in this Phoenician center. It is however not a rare phenomenon that handmade ceramics were used during the initial stages of a colony. At the same time, baking trays from a Phoenician tradition were also in use until at least the 6th century BC. Other Orientalizing pottery kilns, excavated at Calañas de Marmolejo and Castellar de Librilla, dating to the 6th century BC, are worth considering.

In order to connect the hinterland studies to the Phoenician colonies, it might be possible to compare the objects found in the domestic areas. Some descriptions of house contents at Cerro del Villar make a good source to compare with the house contents of

Cerro Manzanillo. In both contexts a clear description of the objects is available. It might be interesting to see if there are any significant differences in the assemblages found in the domestic areas belonging to these different contexts. Statistical analyses of different functional groups can be made to compare both contexts.

More information about the evolution of decoration on ceramics is needed in order to get a realistic idea about the process of hybridization. For example; the origin of geometric decorations which were found in 10th century BC levels in the Iberian Peninsula might have been transmitted from the eastern Mediterranean through the trade in textiles, fibulae and other prestige goods (Cáceres Gutiérrez 1997). The process of hybridization therefore was already put in motion long before the Early Iron Age and Orientalizing period. Can we still emphasize the Phoenician colonization as the accelerator of a process of hybridization when eastern Mediterranean cultural traditions had already seeped through and formed part of the indigenous assemblage? The presence of these eastern Mediterranean elements in the indigenous assemblage rules out a certain awareness of the fact that certain cultural elements evolved elsewhere in the first place and were therefore different. To be able to trace the origins of Orientalizing culture in the Iberian Peninsula it seems therefore that we must go even further back in time.

This final remark summarizes the point of this thesis quite well. Testing hybridity is an unwieldy business that, in order to be fruitful, requires boundaries in time and space, as well as redefinitions that have not yet been made in this field. When the guidelines to test hybridity have been set out, hybridity might be a valuable term to describe morphological features in material culture studies. However, right now it is used for both social processes and material culture styles, which leads to misunderstandings. Obviously social processes and material culture are bound together, but until archaeology has not found a way to link them convincingly, we would better develop a set of tools to define material cultural phenomenae before suggesting the processes behind them.

ABSTRACT

In the light of the current interests in hybridity in archaeology this thesis tries to find a transparent way to detect hybridity in grey-ware of Early Iron Age Iberia. This pottery type is presumed to be a hybrid ware that has evolved from the influences of local preference for ceramics made with techniques introduced by the Phoenician 'colonizers'. A case study investigates this issue in the grey-ware assemblage from the site of Cerro Manzanillo in the province of Badajoz, Extremadura. Clearly the analysis of this assemblage poses theoretical as well as practical problems. The obscurities around the parameters to classify grey-ware in the past together with a general lack of understanding about the boundaries and meaning of the stylistic evolution of material culture lead to the conclusion that hybridity is not a good concept to describe this type of material culture. Rather, hybridity can be used to describe the processes behind stylistic change although this is only a valuable classification when this term is defined more accurately.

SUMARIO

A la luz de los intereses actuales de hibridación en la arqueología esta tesis trata de encontrar una manera transparente para detectar la hibridación en la cerámica gris del periodo Hierro I en la Península Ibérica. Este tipo de cerámica se presume que ser un material 'híbrido' que ha evolucionado desde las influencias de la preferencia local por la cerámica hechos con técnicas introducidas por los fenicios 'colonizadores'. Estudio esta cuestión en el conjunto cerámica gris del sitio de Cerro de Manzanillo en la provincia de Badajoz, Extremadura. Es evidente que el análisis de este conjunto plantea problemas teóricos y prácticos. Los puntos oscuros alrededor de los parámetros para clasificar la cerámica gris en el pasado junto con la falta general de comprensión sobre los límites y el significado de la evolución estilística de la cultura material nos llega a la conclusión de que la hibridación sea una mala herramienta para describir este tipo de cultura material. Por el contrario, la hibridación puede ser utilizada para describir los procesos detrás del cambio de estilo, aunque esto es sólo una clasificación de valor cuando este término se define con mayor precisión.

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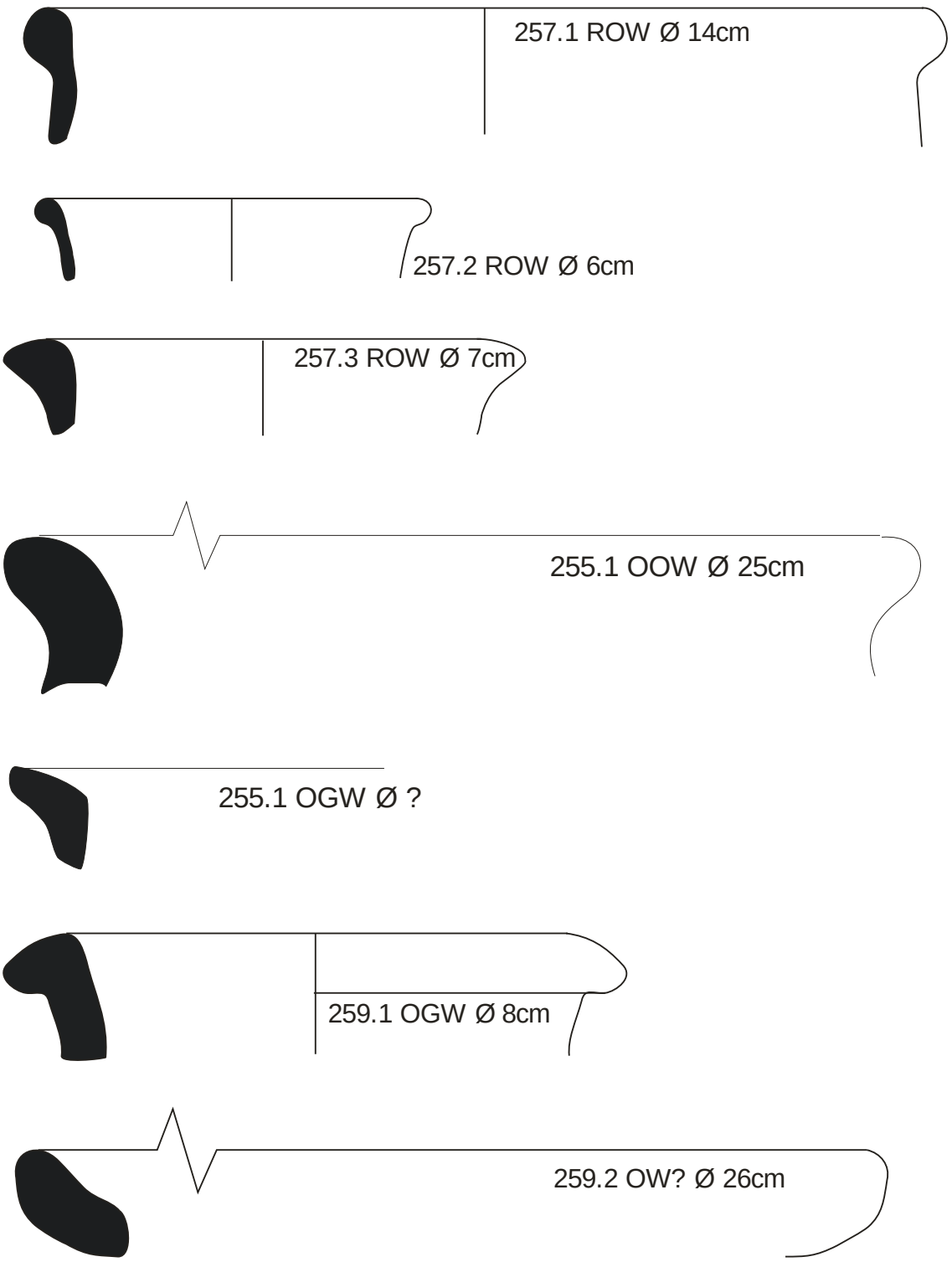
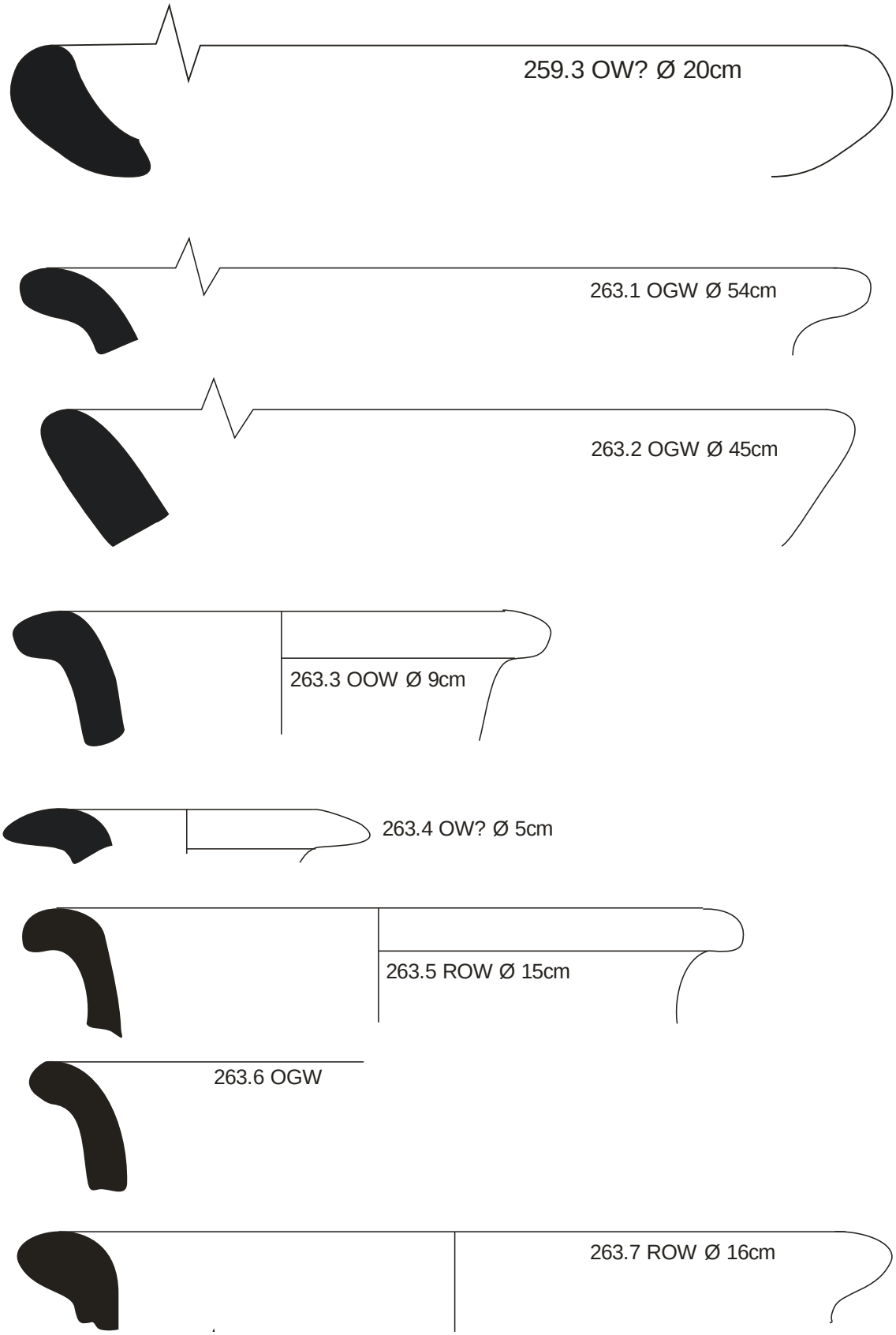
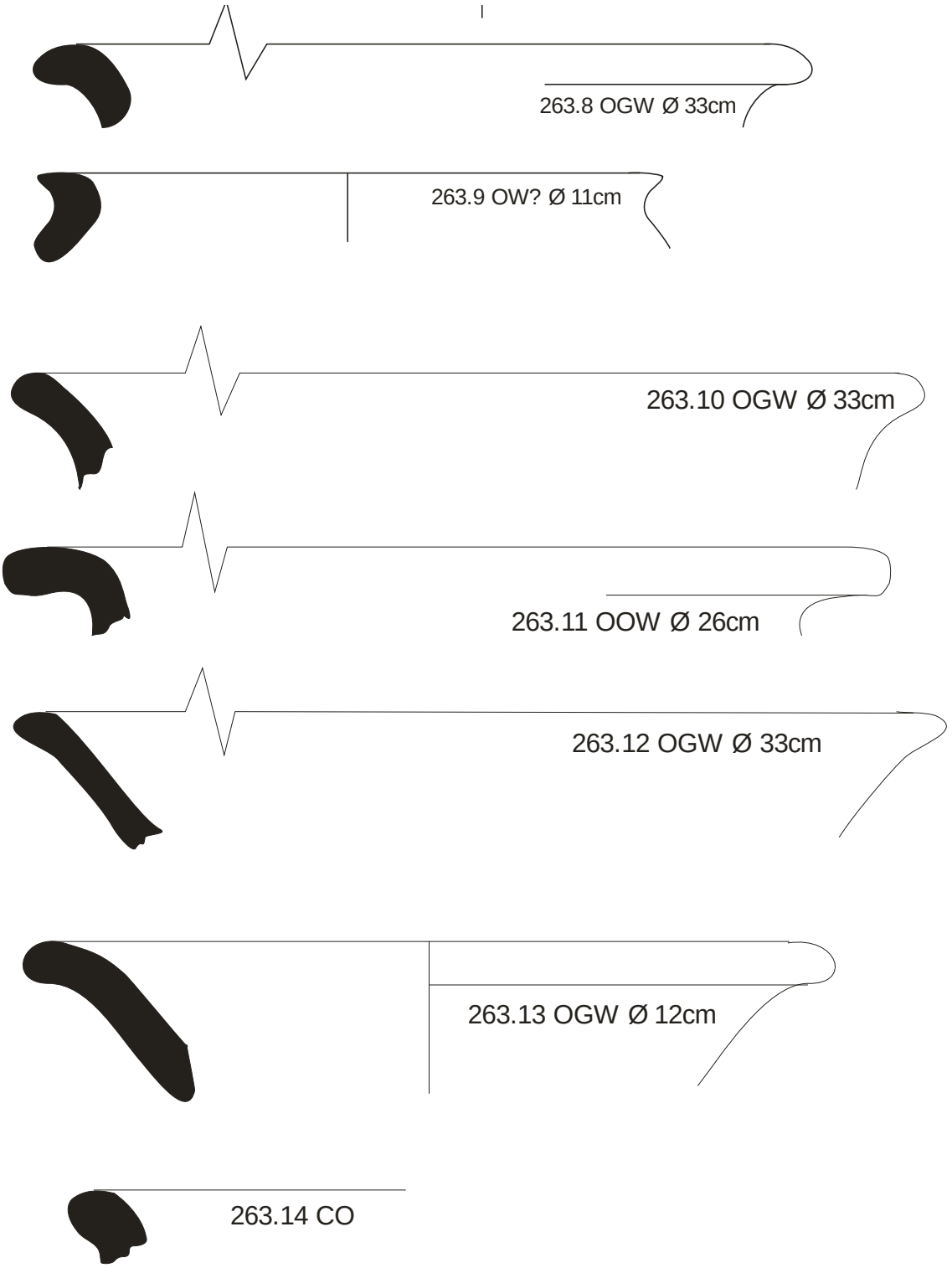
APPENDIX: PROFILE DRAWINGS OF MEDELLÍN SURFACE SURVEY CERAMICS



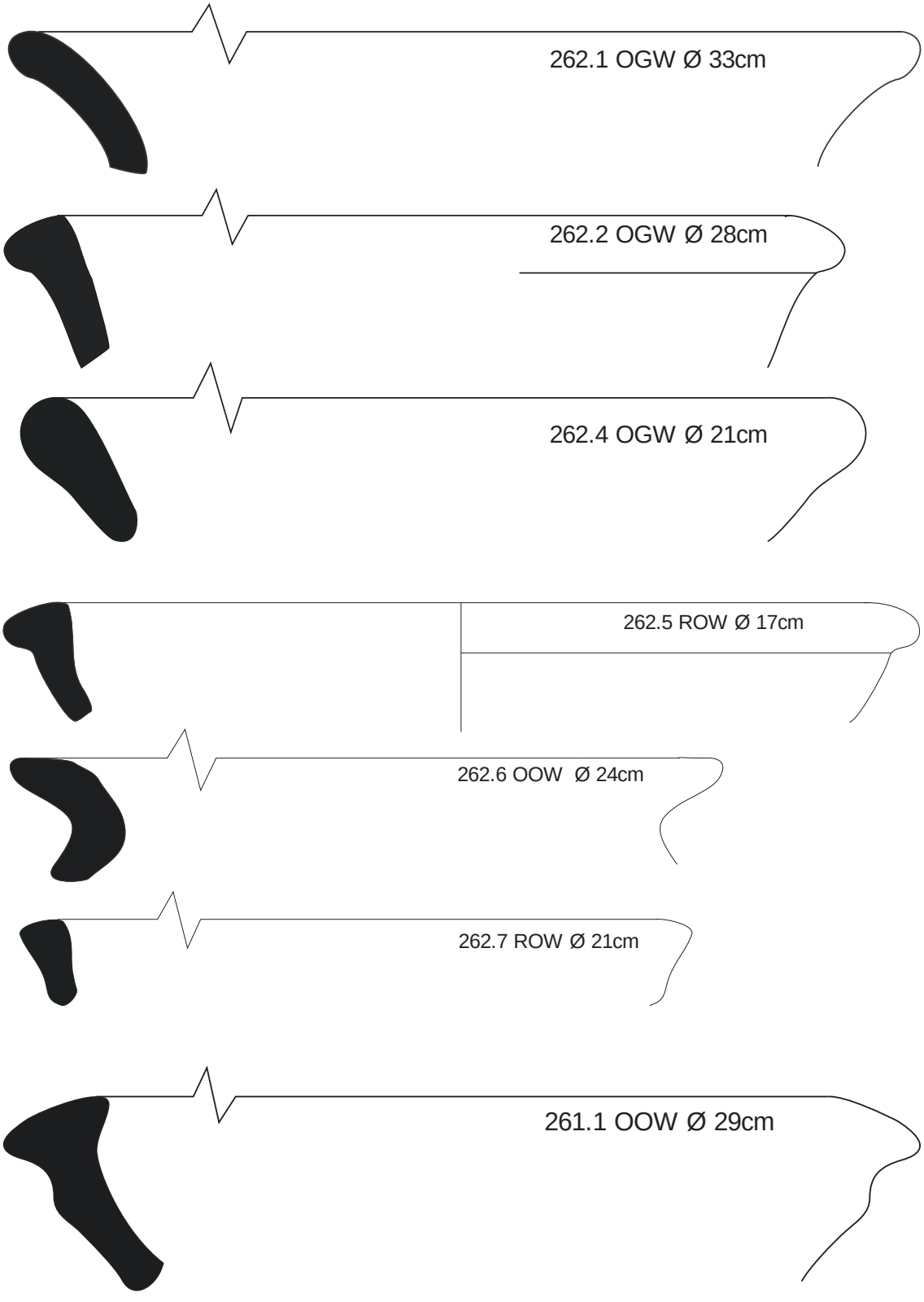
(Diagnostic sherds square 255, 257 and 259; OGW; Orientalizing grey-ware, ROW; Roman Oxiding ware, OOW; Orientalizing oxidizing ware scale 1:1).



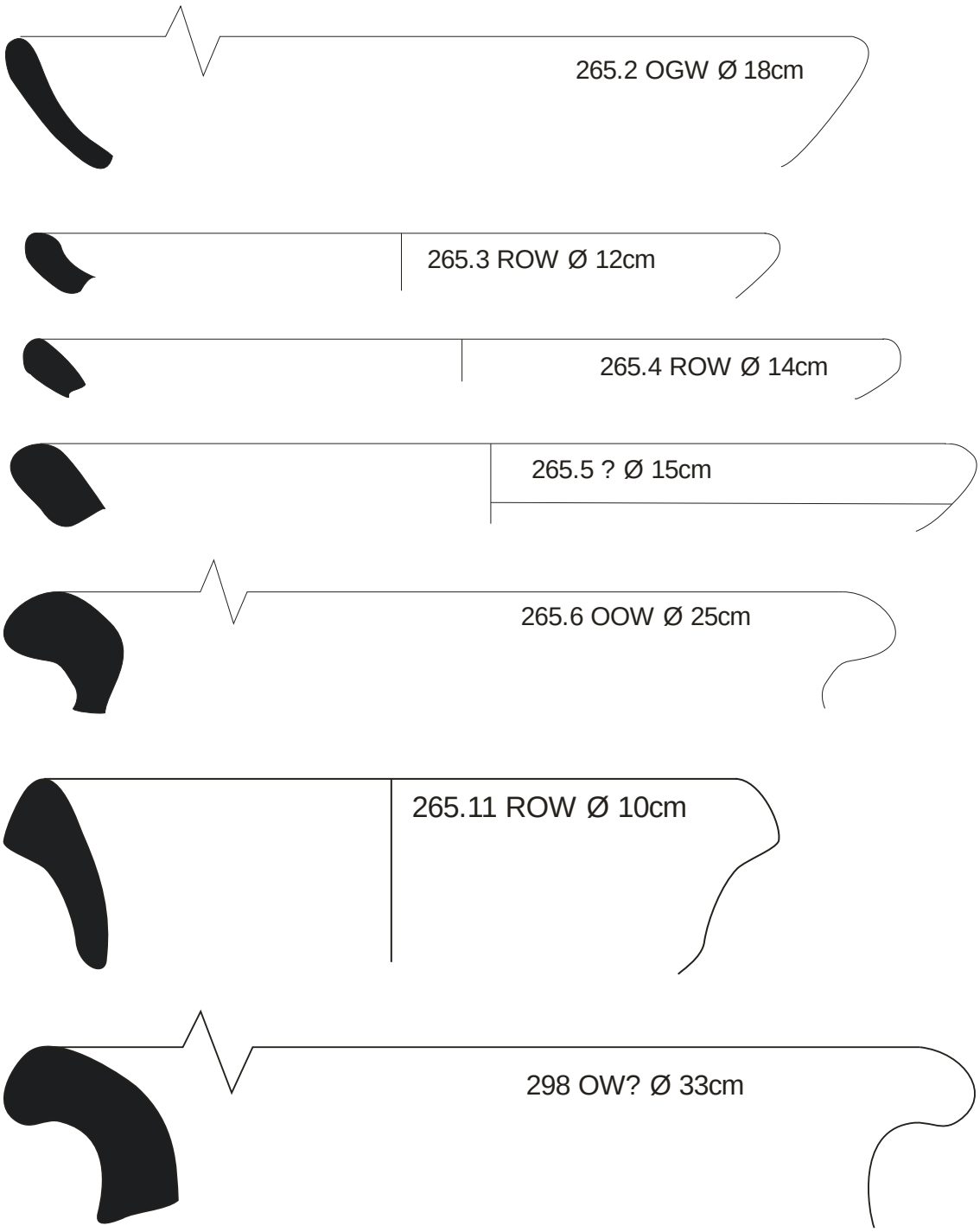
(Diagnostic sherds from square 263: OGW; Orientalizing grey-ware, ROW; Roman oxidizing ware, OOW; Orientalizing oxidizing ware, scale 1:1).



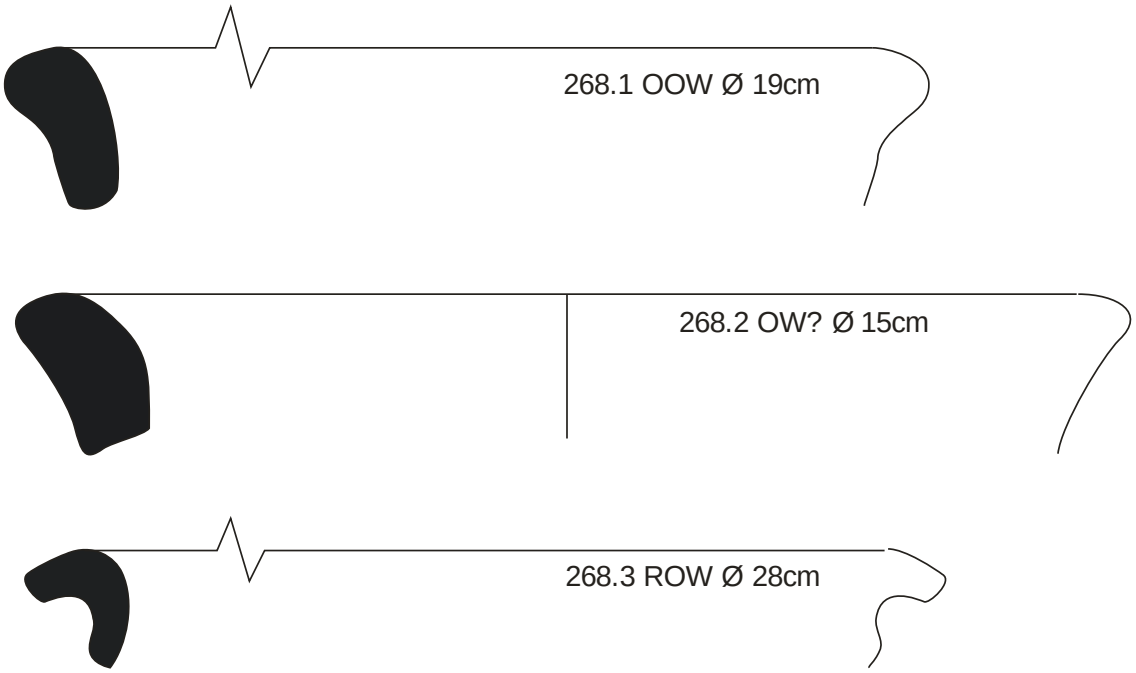
(Diagnostic sherds square 263; OGW; Orientalizing grey-ware, ROW; Roman oxidizing ware, OOW; Orientalizing oxidizing ware, scale 1:1).



(Diagnostic sherds squares 262 and 261: OGW; Orientalizing grey-ware, ROW; Roman oxidizing ware, OOW; Orientalizing oxidizing ware, scale 1:1).



(Diagnostic sherds squares 265 and 298: OGW; Orientalizing grey-ware, ROW; Roman oxidizing ware, OOW; Orientalizing oxidizing ware, scale 1:1).



(Diagnostic sherds squares 268: OGW; Orientalizing grey-ware, ROW; Roman oxidizing ware, OOW; Orientalizing oxidizing ware, scale 1:1).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