

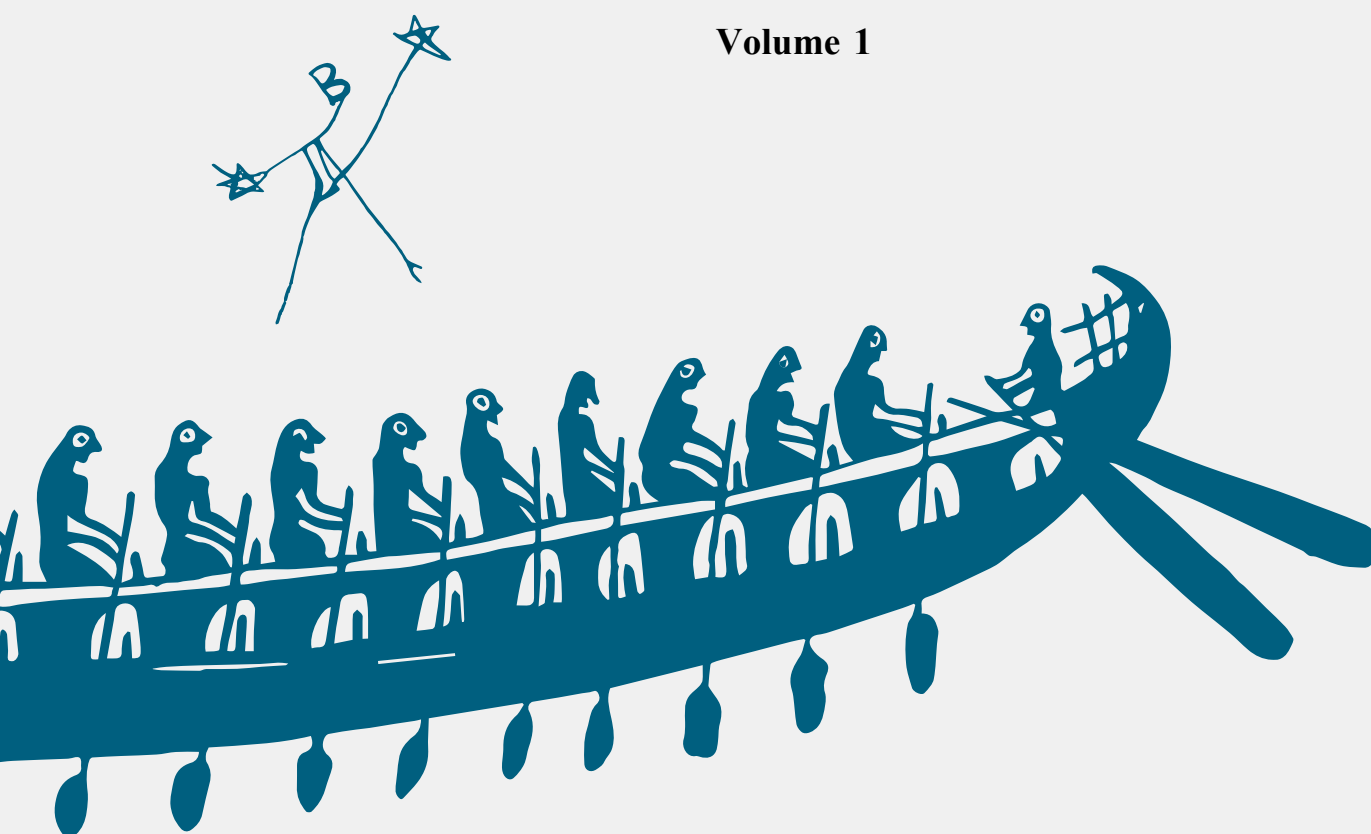
EUBOICA II

Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West

**Proceedings of the Conference
Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples), 14-17 May 2018**

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro and Matteo D'Acunto (eds.)

Volume 1



Napoli 2020

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI «L'ORIENTALE»
DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



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E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie | 27



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DI ARCHEOLOGIA
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Bruno d'Agostino, Patrizia Gastaldi, Fausto Longo, Carmine Pellegrino

ABBREVIATIONS

Above sea-level: above s.l.; Anno Domini: AD; and so forth: etc.; Before Christ: BC; bibliography: bibl.; catalogue: cat.; centimeter/s: cm; century/ies: cent.; chap./chaps.: chapter/chapters; circa/approximately: ca.; column/s: col./cols.; compare: cf.; *et alii*/and other people: *et al.*; diameter: diam.; dimensions: dim.; Doctor: Dr; especially: esp.; exterior: ext.; fascicule: fasc.; figure/s: fig./figs.; following/s: f./ff.; fragment/s: fr./frs.; for example: e.g.; gram/s: gm; height: h.; in other words: i.e.; interior: int.; inventory: inv.; kilometer/s: km; length: ln.; line/s: l./ll.; maximum: max.; meter/s: m; millimeter/s: mm; minimum: min.; namely: viz.; new series/nuova serie etc.: n.s.; number/s: no./nos.; original edition: orig. ed.; plate/s: pl./pls.; preserved: pres.; Professor: Prof.; reprint: repr.; series/serie: s.; sub voce: s.v.; supplement: suppl.; thick: th.; tomb/s: T./TT.; English/Italian translation: Eng./It. tr.; volume/s: vol./vols.; weight: wt.; which means: scil.; width: wd.

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference are those recommended for use in the *American Journal of Archaeology* with supplements in the *Année Philologique*.

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PREFACE

EUBOICA, AGAIN

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto

A little more than twenty years since the international conference *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente* (Naples, 13-16 November 1996) – whose proceedings, edited by Bruno d'Agostino and Michel Bats, were published in 1998 – the great amount of new data that had enriched our knowledge of southern Italy, the western Mediterranean and Greece over the last few years called for a return to the theme of Euboean colonization. A direct thread, in motivations and content, ran from the 1996 conference to the one held in Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples) from 14 to 17 May 2018, which was entitled *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente*. The intent was, again, to discuss the themes of colonization, how colonial realities became rooted in different areas of the Mediterranean, the specific traits of Euboean colonization, and forms of contact and relationship between the Greek element and local communities.

These Proceedings are divided in two volumes, arranged geographically, as per the conference program. They feature a dialogue between historians and archaeologists, with an emphasis on the new important contributions made over the last twenty years by field archaeology in Euboea and in colonial and Mediterranean contexts. This new archaeological evidence contributes to, and modifies our interpretations of, the historical phenomena in which Euboea played a prominent role in the Early Iron Age (tenth-eighth century BC), both in the motherland and in the several geographical districts touched by Euboean trade and colonization. These are the phenomena that led to the colonization of southern Italy and northern Greece, and thus from

the eighth century BC onward put an indelible mark on the history of the West.

The individual contributions are introduced by an important essay by Nota Kourou, a reflection on the theme of Mediterranean connectivity seen from the Euboean perspective and analyzed (over a time range spanning from the tenth to the eighth century BC) through the distribution of Euboean pottery in the Aegean, the Levant and the West.

The first volume begins with Irene Lemos' important assessment of Euboea at its transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The contributions in the first part of the volume provide an up-to-date overview of the new archaeological and interpretive results of investigations at Lefkandi, Chalcis, the sanctuary of Artemis at Amarynthos, Karystos, and Kyme, and in eastern Euboea. The subsequent contributions regard the sector of Boeotia facing Euboea and falling within its orbit of influence, as borne out by mythical traditions and by the crucially important excavations of Oropos led by Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian. We are then led on into the northern Aegean and northern Greece, which were also destinations for Euboean trade and colonial migration. The book is concluded with a look at the western Mediterranean, and specifically at Sardinia and Spain. Here, the Phoenician and Euboean elements interacted with the local communities, forging relations based on mobility and reciprocity.

The second volume gathers contributions on Euboean presence in the Tyrrhenian (Pithekoussai, Cumae, Neapolis), the canal of Sicily (Zankle and Naxos) and areas that the Euboeans had an early interest in (Francavilla Marittima in Calabria).

These contributions, focusing on archaeological and interpretive novelties from each site, are preceded by two important reflections, by Maurizio Giangiulio and Luca Cerchiai, respectively. The former deals with the “social memory” of Greek colonization, the latter with new interpretive models for the dynamics guiding relations between the Greeks and local communities, based on a comparison between different milieus and on new evidence. Alongside the presentation of archaeological novelties from Pithekoussai and Cumae in several contributions in this volume, there are two reflections by Marek Wecowski and Alfonso Mele, respectively on social behavior in connection with the appearance of the symposium, starting from the famous inscription on Nestor's Cup, and on the mythical-historical tradition of Cumae from the story of the Sybil onward.

The conference was accompanied by an exhibition entitled *Pithekoussai... work in progress*, displaying a sample of grave goods from the still unpublished part of the necropolis of Pithekoussai, i.e., from the 1965-1967 excavations. In this exhibition, Giorgio Buchner was honored with a display of his letters and documents bearing witness to his dense correspondence with some of the foremost archaeologists of his time, and to his international standing as a scholar.

The conference provided an opportunity to strengthen the ties between the Soprintendenza and the university, compare different study traditions, and keep open the dialogue on the theme of intercultural connectivity and relations. This theme, far from being outdated, today stands as the true benchmark by which the progress of the peoples of the shores of the Mediterranean is and will be measured.

The conference was promoted by the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L'Orientale” and the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'area metropolitana di Napoli (Ministero della Cultura), with the crucial support of the town administration of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia. Heartfelt thanks go to the mayor, Giacomo Pascale, and the councilor for culture at the time, Cecilia Prota, who

enthusiastically agreed to and supported this venture, in the awareness that knowledge and research must provide the foundation for promotion of cultural heritage.

We thank all who brought their greetings to the conference and took part in it: Prof. Elda Morlicchio, Rector of the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L'Orientale”, and Prof. Michele Bernardini, Director of Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo; Dr. Caterina Bon Valsassina, Director General of Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio of the Italian Ministry of Culture; Prof. Emanuele Papi, Director of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens; Prof. Claude Pouzadoux, director of the Centre J. Bérard; Prof. Oswyn Murray; Prof. Emanuele Greco, former director of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens; and Dr. Paolo Giulierini, director of the Naples National Archaeological Museum.

Especially heartfelt thanks go to all the speakers at the conference and authors of the essays in these two volumes. Through their valuable contributions, together they have achieved the collective endeavor of *Euboica II*, between the motherland, the East and the West. We are especially grateful to Bruno d'Agostino, who, from the height of his scholarly authority, accepted the onerous task of introducing the conference and authored a fundamental essay in the first volume. Our thanks also go to Carmine Ampolo and Catherine Morgan for exemplarily drawing the conclusions of the conference and of these two volumes. We are also keen to thank the session chairs who managed the dense days of the conference: Michel Bats, Anna Maria D'Onofrio, Maurizio Giangiulio, Irene Lemos, Oswyn Murray, Fabrizio Pesando, Karl Reber, Claude Pouzadoux, and Fausto Zevi.

We thank Drs. Costanza Gialanella and Maria-luisa Tardugno, the Soprintendenza officials who succeeded one another in the task of safeguarding the archaeological heritage of Ischia, for organizing the exhibition, as well as Mss. Teresa Calise and Teresa Iacono (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Napoli). We would also like to thank Dr. Federico Poole (Museo Egizio di Torino) for his consultation on the scarabs; Dr. Luigia Melillo and Ms. Marina Vecchi of the Restoration Laboratory of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples for their restoration of the materials; and the

firm Corsale & Amitrano Restauro e Architettura. For the exhibition imagery, we thank the Òrkestra. Media & Web Agency; for the welcome service, the Platypus Tour Agency and especially Emanuele Mattera; and for operative support, Mr. Giulio Lauro of the Marina di Sant'Anna.

Finally, our heartfelt thanks go to a group of PhD and MA graduates in archaeology and archaeology students of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" for contributing decisively to the organization and management of the conference: Mariangela Barbato, Martina D'Onofrio, Chiara

Improta, Cristiana Merluzzo, Sara Napolitano, Francesco Nitti, Francesca Somma, and Marco Tartari.

With some emotion, we leave it to some photographs of the first and second conference of *Euboica* to conclude this brief introduction. A common research thread ran through these two conferences, which were held in a similar climate of dialogue, sharing and friendship among today's "Euboeans", along the sea routes of yesterday's Euboeans from the East to the West.



Participants in the conference *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, Naples, 13-16 November 1996: from left to right, David Ridgway, Nicholas Coldstream, Michel Bats, Patrizia Gastaldi, Angeliki Andreiomenou, Bruno d'Agostino, Sandrine Huber, Irene Lemos, and Béatrice Blandin

Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente

Lacco Ameno, Ischia (NA)
14-17 maggio 2018



14 maggio

SALUTI

- 15.30 **Giacomo Pascale** (Sindaco del Comune di Lacco Ameno)
Caterina Bon Valsassina (Direttore Generale Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio - Mibact)
Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro (Soprintendente ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli)
Elda Morlicchio (rettrice dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Michele Bernardini (Direttore del DAAM, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Emanuele Pappi (Direttore della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene)
Corrado Matera (Assessore con delega al Turismo, Regione Campania)
Rosanna Romano (Direttore Generale per le Politiche culturali e il Turismo, Regione Campania)
Prospettive di valorizzazione del patrimonio archeologico
 Interverranno
Cecilia Protà (Assessore alla Cultura del Comune di Lacco Ameno)
Paolo Giulierini (Direttore del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli)
Nadia Murolo (Dirigente per la valorizzazione e promozione dei Beni Culturali, Regione Campania)

CONFERENZA INAUGURALE

- 16.30 **Nota Kourou** (University of Athens)
Euboian pottery in a Mediterranean perspective

INTRODUZIONE AL CONVEGNO

- 17.10 **Bruno d'Agostino** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Le problematiche archeologiche
 17.30 **Alfonso Mele** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")
Le problematiche storiche
VISITA AL MUSEO

15 maggio

SEZIONE A. L'Eubea tra madrepatria e colonie: aspetti storici e modelli interpretativi

- 10.00 **Maurizio Giangliullo** (Università degli Studi di Trento)
Memorie coloniali euboiche: appunti sulle tradizioni letterarie della mobilità mediterranea di VIII - VII secolo
 10.20 **Luisa Breglia** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")
Relazioni tra Eubea e Beozia in età arcaica
 10.40 **Luca Cerchiai** (Università degli Studi di Salerno)
Modelli interpretativi sulla colonizzazione euboica e impatti sul mondo indigeno

SEZIONE B. Pithekoussai

- 11.00 **Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro** (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli)
Pithekoussai: rappresentazione funeraria e dinamiche interculturali nella necropoli di San Montano (scavi 1965-67)
Pausa caffè
 11.40 **Melania Gigante** (Università degli Studi di Bologna), **Wolfgang Müller** (Goethe University Frankfurt), **Alessandra Spertuti**, **Luca Bondioli** (Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini", Roma)
Euboici, orientali, indigeni: paleodemografia e mobilità dal campione odonto-scheletrico umano delle sepolture dell'antica Pithekoussai (VIII - VI sec.)
 12.00 **Costanza Gialanella** (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli), **Pietro Giovanni Guzzo** (Accademia dei Lincei)
Il quartiere metallurgico di Mazzola a Pithecusa: ritrovamenti e produzioni
 12.30 **Mariassunta Cuzzo** (Università degli Studi del Molise)
Produzioni ceramiche dall'area di Mazzola
 12.50 **Nadin Burkhardt** (Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt), **Stephan Faust** (University College of Cork)
I primi risultati dello scavo nell'area di villa Arbusto/Pithecusa
DISCUSSIONE
Pausa pranzo
 15.00 **Valentino Nizzo** (Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Roma)
Paesaggi, forme e codici del rito nella necropoli di Pithekoussai
 15.20 **Marek Wecowski** (University of Warsaw)
The "Cup of Nestor" in context: the rise of the Greek aristocratic culture

SEZIONE C. Cuma e Parthenope

- 15.40 **Matteo D'Acunto** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Le prime fasi di Cuma alla luce delle ricerche recenti
 16.00 **Giovanna Greco** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")
Strutture e materiali dalla Cuma arcaica: le ricerche della "Federico II" nell'area del Foro
Pausa caffè
 16.40 **Michel Bats**, **Priscilla Munzi** (Centre Jean Bérard, Napoli)
Vaisselle et ustensiles de cuisine à Cumes à l'époque archaïque: analyse et confrontations
 17.00 **Daniela Giampaola** (Soprintendenza ABAP per il Comune di Napoli)
Napoli antica dall'Età del Bronzo Finale a Parthenope: i dati delle nuove indagini
DISCUSSIONE

16 maggio

SEZIONE D. La Sicilia e il Mediterraneo occidentale

- 10.00 **Giovanna Maria Bacci** (Soprintendenza BB.C.C.A.A. di Messina)
Zancle: aggiornamenti sull'insediamento urbano e sui luoghi di culto
 10.20 **Maria Costanza Lentini** (Polo Regionale dei Siti Culturali di Catania)
Naxos di Sicilia tra l'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.: rapporti e connessioni esterne
 10.40 **Jean-Christophe Sourisseau** (Aix-Marseille Université), **Timmy Gambin** (University of Malta)
Premiers éléments sur la cargaison de l'épave de Xlendi (Gozo, Malte)
 11.00 **Massimo Botto** (CNR, Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico)
Fenici e Greci nella Penisola Iberica tra IX e VII sec. a.C.
Pausa caffè
 11.40 **Marco Rendell**, **Paolo Bernardini** (Università degli Studi di Sassari)
La Sardegna



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L'Albergo della Regina Isabella
Piazza Santa Restituta, 80076 Lacco Ameno - Ischia (NA)

SEZIONE E. L'Eubea: la madrepatria

- 12.00 **Irene Lemos** (University of Oxford)
Why Euboea? From the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age
 12.20 **Xenia Charalambidou** (University of Warsaw)
Rethinking Early Iron Age and Protoarchaic Chalkis: towards an appraisal of the archaeological evidence
 12.40 **Sandrine Huber** (Université de Lorraine)
The Athenaeon on the acropolis of Eretria
DISCUSSIONE
Pausa pranzo
 15.00 **Jan Paul Crielaard** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)
Recent research at Karystos-Plakari: cult, connectivity and networks in the 10th to 7th centuries BC
 15.20 **Karl Reber**, **Thierry Theurillat** (Université de Lausanne - École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce)
Finding Artemis: the Artemision at Amarnthos (Euboea)
 15.40 **Athena Chatzidimitriou** (Historical Archive of Antiquities, Ministry of Culture and Sports)
Zarakas: a cult site in south Karystia, on the island of Euboea
 16.00 **Alexandros Mazarakis Ainián** (University of Thessaly, Volos)
Thirty years of excavations and research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)
 16.20 **Antonis Kotsonas** (University of Cincinnati)
Containers, commodities and Euboean colonization in the Theraic Gulf
DISCUSSIONE

17 Maggio

SEZIONE F. Le produzioni

- 10.00 **Samuel Verdan** (Université de Lausanne - École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce)
Men and metals on the move: the case of "Euboean" gold
 10.20 **Vicky Vlachou** (Université Libre de Bruxelles)
Patterns of production and consumption of Euboean-type pottery outside Euboea: a view from Oropos and Pithekoussai in the 8th century BC
 10.40 **Alexandra Alexandridou** (Open University of Cyprus)
One more node to the Thessalo-Euboean small world: the evidence from Kephala of Skiathos
Pausa caffè
 11.20 **Gloria Olcese** ("La Sapienza" Università di Roma)
Il kerameikos sotto la Chiesa di Santa Restituta di Lacco Ameno: nuovi dati e prospettive della ricerca archeologica e archeometrica a Ischia
 11.40 **Franca Merlati** (Parco Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei)
Ceramica euboica e di tipo euboico tra Pithekoussai e Kyme: status questionis e nuovi spunti di riflessione
DISCUSSIONE

CONCLUSIONI

- 12.30 **Carmine Ampolo** (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa)
Catherine Morgan (All Souls College, Oxford)



Torri in Festa, Torri in Luce
7ª edizione



Organizzazione a cura di:
Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Napoli)
Matteo D'Acunto (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Cecilia Protà (Comune di Lacco Ameno, Ischia)



The participants in the *Euboica II* conference



The greetings to the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Matteo D'Acunto, Paolo Giulierini (Director of the Naples National Archaeological Museum), Michele Bernardini (Director of the Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"), Elda Morlicchio (Rector of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"), Giacomo Pascale (Mayor of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia), Teresa Cinquantaquattro, Cecilia Prota (Councilor for culture of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia)



The organizers of the *Euboica II* conference, Teresa Cinquantaquattro and M. D'Acunto, with the Mayor of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia, Giacomo Pascale (right), and the Councilor for culture, Cecilia Prota (second, left)



The discussion after a session of the *Euboica II* conference



Discussion on pottery in the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae (Lacco Ameno d'Ischia) after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Maria Cecilia Parra, Bruno d'Agostino, Irene Lemos, Nota Kourou, Carmine Ampolo, Matteo D'Acunto, Teresa Cinquantaquattro, and Catherine Morgan



Discussion on pottery in the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae (Lacco Ameno d'Ischia) after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Catherine Morgan, Ida Baldassarre, Michel Bats, Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian, and Bruno d'Agostino



From left to right, Irene Lemos, Teresa Cinquantaquattro, Bruno d'Agostino, Matteo D'Acunto, Nota Kourou, and Samuel Verdan



Trip to Cumae after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Thierry Theurillat, Sandrine Huber, Matteo D'Acunto, Samuel Verdan, Karl Reber, and Francesco Nitti

PHOENICIANS AND GREEKS IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA BETWEEN THE 9TH AND THE 8TH CENTURIES BC*

Massimo Botto

È questo il destino dei Fenici, il dono di Melqart: il controllo sulle terre “del margine”, al limite tra la terra e il mare; terre mobili che potranno essere fermate perché l'uomo possa costruirvi i suoi spazi di scambio, di incontro, di insediamento.

Paolo Bernardini¹

1. THE BACKGROUND: MEDITERRANEAN TRAFFIC BETWEEN THE 12TH AND 10TH CENTURIES BC

These incisive words of my friend Paolo Bernardini are the starting point for sketching a picture of the oldest Phoenician presence on the Iberian Peninsula. The phenomenon becomes archaeologically visible on the coast of the current Andalusia – in those “marginal” areas on the border between the sea and land, so well described by Paolo – around the mid-9th century BC. However, to fully understand the motives and dynamics that led Tyrian ships to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar to reach the port of Huelva and its rich mining hinterland we need to broaden our gaze to the final centuries of the 2nd millennium, that is, to the phases immediately following the crises of the Mycenaean palatial system which had different results and repercussions in mainland Greece, the Aegean and the Near East².

* My thanks go to Nota Kourou and Marco Rendeli for letting me see their contributions to this volume and Laura Attisani (ISPC-CNR) for curating the images. Finally, I would like to extend a heartfelt thanks to Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro and Matteo D'Acunto for involving me in this interesting editorial project.

¹ BERNARDINI 2009, 192.

² KNAPP – MANNING 2016, 123-134 and OGGIANO 2016, with particular attention to the central-south Levant and therefore to the

What interests us here are the changes in the way contact was made between east and west Mediterranean from the decades immediately following the end of the 13th century BC.

The climate of political instability and insecurity that can be felt during the 12th century in the eastern Mediterranean basin³ must have increased a phenomenon that has been little debated in modern studies but whose impact on maritime traffic cannot be overlooked: piracy⁴. Thanks to recent investigations, however, we can better understand the socio-economic effects of the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces. As argued by Vangelis Samaras, «pirates were not outcasts from the societies of the Aegean between 1200 and 750 BC. On the contrary, pirates were an integral part of their communities»⁵.

Thanks above all to these “warrior-traders”⁶, where the practice of piracy can be added to that of heroic behaviour⁷, the contacts in the eastern Mediterranean remained active and at the same time the direct routes to the West were restored. In this manner, albeit in a less systematic and constant way compared to the past, the flow of knowledge, ideas and artefacts from East to West which had characterized the long and profitable season of Mycenaean

Phoenician area which is central to the interest of this current work.

³ Cf. e.g. DICKINSON 2006, 69-72.

⁴ NOWICKI 2001; JUNG 2009; RUIZ-GÁLVEZ PRIEGO 2009; SAMARAS 2015.

⁵ SAMARAS 2015, 200.

⁶ Emblematic from this point of view is Lefkandi tomb T79 SPG I-II (900-850 BC) called “the tomb of a warrior-trader”: POPHAM – LEMOS 1996; for the dating of the context, cf. note 22 in Nota Kourou's contribution in this volume. For the western Mediterranean, cf. RUIZ-GÁLVEZ PRIEGO 2009, 106.

⁷ TORRES ORTIZ 2012, 468-469.

an trade did not come to an end⁸. Contacts were not limited to the central Mediterranean but also extended to the western one, especially that of the Iberian Peninsula, where an increase in Mediterranean artefacts has been noted from the 12th century BC⁹.

These lines of research are integrated with another line of study that supports the existence of indigenous seamanship in the central-west Mediterranean from the final stages of the 2nd millennium BC by people who were able to take part in international traffic through a regional control of the sea routes. Compared to the traditional idea that saw eastern seafarers as the only initiators of international traffic, new scenarios have recently been opened up which see a leading role being played by the indigenous communities of the western Mediterranean¹⁰.

In fact, it is likely that ships with mixed cargoes and crews contributed to the mid and long-distance routes being shared by sailors of different ethnic groups and with different geographic knowledge. This situation must have favoured the emergence of indigenous seamanship, among which the Nuragic participants stand out¹¹. They played a crucial role in the Phoenician trade of the west Mediterranean and Atlantic in the first centuries of the 1st millennium BC¹², but the origin of seagoing Nuragic mercantile activities most likely dates back to the 13th century. In this period the central-south Sardinian communities intensified their contact with Sicily. Particularly significant here is the documentation from Cannatello, in the Agrigento region, where the resumption of investigations and the archaeometric studies of pottery¹³ have provided exceptionally interesting results confirming the opening up of the settlement to international traffic with imports from

the Aegean, Cyprus, Malta and Sardinia¹⁴. For the last there are both imports, probably from the area of nuraghe Antigori (impasto *pitthoi* and closed forms), and local products that mostly imitate open Nuragic forms¹⁵. It is precisely the production of non-transport Nuragic pottery that, in our opinion, is the clearest proof of Nuragic people at the Sicilian settlement and thus of their movement within a network of relationships that was previously considered to be mainly in the central-south Tyrrhenian area¹⁶ based on the rich documentation of Nuragic pottery found on the Lipari acropolis in chronological phases immediately following those examined above¹⁷. The new information from the investigations at Cannatello, therefore, allows us to give greater weight to the role played by the Nuragic community from the centre-south of the island, within the trade circuits that linked the central and eastern Mediterranean¹⁸. From this perspective it is useful to focus attention on the Early Iron Age underwater site of Rio Dom'e S'Orcu, on the south-west coast of the island¹⁹. In all likelihood this was the cargo of a Nuragic vessel carrying lead and tin ingots. The finds include the handle of a Sardinian-produced *olla* and lead plaques with motifs similar to examples from Santa Vittoria di Serri.

A consolidated tradition of studies has long highlighted the privileged relationship between Cyprus and Sardinia between the 13th-11th centuries BC especially in the sphere of metallurgy and metalworking, which posits the presence of Cypriot artisans within the Nuragic communities²⁰. This line of interpretation has been partially questioned in recent studies, which have re-examined the entire

⁸ SAMARAS 2015, 193: «...despite their importance, these exchanges were rather sporadic and opportunistic, which agrees well with the character of the Post palatial period». Cf. also DICKINSON 2006, 205 and PEDRAZZI 2016, 131-132.

⁹ For a broad summary overview, cf. LÓPEZ CASTRO 2008, 280-288 and RUIZ-GÁLVEZ PRIEGO 2013, 271-286 (with further references).

¹⁰ BERNARDINI 2016.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. LO SCHIAVO 2000 (with further references); BONINO 2002; GUERRERO 2004; DEPALMAS 2005, 231-232; ZUCCA 2005, 127-132; LO SCHIAVO 2006, 43-44; BOTTO 2007, 81-87; BOTTO 2011a; MILLETTI 2012, 242-249; BOTTO 2013a; LO SCHIAVO 2013, 111, 127-128; LO SCHIAVO – CAMPUS 2013, 158.

¹² Cf. *infra* text.

¹³ LEVI – VANZETTI – DE MIRO 2017 (with further references).

¹⁴ Cf. moreover, for references to Cyprus and Sardinia, LO SCHIAVO – ALBANESE PROCELLI – GIUMILA-MAIR 2009, 137-138 (with further references); LO SCHIAVO 2013, 117.

¹⁵ LEVI – VANZETTI – DE MIRO 2017, 127, pl. XLIV a-c.

¹⁶ For an exhaustive overview of the dense network of contacts in this sector of the Mediterranean for the phases examined here, cf. MARAZZI – TUSA 2005.

¹⁷ Cf. CAVALIER – DEPALMAS 2008; CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2012, 142-148; LO SCHIAVO 2013, 113, note 2.

¹⁸ LEVI – VANZETTI – DE MIRO 2017, 128. Cf. moreover RUSSELL – KNAPP 2017, 20-22, 26-28; and USAI 2017, 78.

¹⁹ TOCCO 2009 (with further references).

²⁰ Fulvia Lo Schiavo, in particular, has dedicated numerous studies to the argument: cf. e.g. LO SCHIAVO – CAMPUS 2013, 147, note 1 with ample bibl.; for a complete and interesting examination in the light of recent discoveries, cf. the contribution by F. Lo Schiavo, in LO SCHIAVO – D'ORIANO 2018.

dossier of imports and Cypriot influences in Sardinia²¹. Whilst taking these criticisms into due consideration, our opinion is that the privileged relationship that connected the two Mediterranean islands in the Final Bronze Age cannot be called into question. It is confirmed not only by the recent and exceptional finds from Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, on the south-east coast of Cyprus²², but also by the continuation of contacts maintained with the Nuragic communities and which intensified between the 10th and 9th centuries BC following Cypriot-Phoenician trade agreements²³.

The transition from the Final Bronze to the Early Iron Age was a moment of strong growth for the Nuragic communities²⁴. In this period contacts between Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula were strengthened²⁵ through two consolidated itineraries: one on the open sea with a stopover in the Balearic islands²⁶; the other of cabotage along the east coast of Corsica, the Tuscan archipelago and the Tyrrhenian coast of central-north Italy and southern France as far as the mouth of the Rhone. From here two routes reached western Andalusia and Portugal: one land route across the Pyrenees and a sea route along the eastern Iberian coast (Fig. 1)²⁷.

²¹ DEPALMAS – BULLA – FUNDONI 2017; RUSSELL – KNAPP 2017.

²² KARAGEORGHIS 2011; LO SCHIAVO 2013, 113-115, fig. 4, 1; LO SCHIAVO – CAMPUS 2013, 151-152, fig. 3.1; BETTELLI 2015, 214-215, fig. 3, 4; F. LO SCHIAVO, in LO SCHIAVO – D'ORIANO 2018, 125-126, who underline that two new double-handled *olle* should be added to the first example of a Nuragic «reversed elbow» handle necked jar «produced with Sulcis clay, broken and repaired with Sulcis lead».

²³ Cf. Paolo Bernardini's innovative and ground-breaking study of BERNARDINI 1991; amongst the Sardinian scholar's later work dedicated to these problems the contribution on the «Phoenician» bronzes deserves to be mentioned: cf. BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2015.

²⁴ From a methodological point of view, cf. Bernardini's observations in BERNARDINI 2007, 23-27; BERNARDINI 2011, 260-264; BERNARDINI 2012; for the Nuragic side, cf. the reflections in USAI 2012, 173-174; USAI 2014. Regarding the absolute dating of the start of the Iron Age in Sardinia there is no unanimity of opinions amongst specialists. This writer keeps to Nicola Ialongo's position who dates the Early Iron Age 1a on the island to the mid-10th century BC: cf. e.g. IALONGO 2014, in particular 51-52.

²⁵ Cf. LO SCHIAVO – D'ORIANO 1989, 131-132; LO SCHIAVO 2003; LO SCHIAVO 2008; LO SCHIAVO 2013.

²⁶ LO SCHIAVO 2008, 430.

²⁷ CELESTINO – RAFEL – ARMADA 2008b, 525-526; BOTTO 2011a, 33-34; MILETTI 2012, 244-246; BOTTO 2013a, 197-199. For the land route, cf. DE SENNA-MARTINEZ 2011, 275-278 (with further references).

In this network of relationships the Nuragic communities and their ships likely carried out an intermediary role in the trade flows that penetrated the central Mediterranean from the Atlantic²⁸. This need not exclude an independent and alternative route, as has been rightly argued to explain the contact with Sicily and Atlantic France, Great Britain and the Iberian Peninsula²⁹.

Ultimately, at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC the central-west Mediterranean presents us with a sea open to international traffic and intersected by different types of routes along which men, goods, ideas all moved, thereby creating the network of relations that will constitute the fertile soil for the development of the Early Iron Age indigenous communities.

2. THE COMMERCIAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE PHOENICIANS AND EUBOEANS IN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

As underlined by Nota Kourou in her address to this conference, the trade understandings between the Phoenician and the Euboeans began in the Aegean and the Near East between the 2nd and 1st millennia BC³⁰. The most recent investigations have confirmed that from the outset the search for metals was one of the main reasons for this long collaboration, which developed over three centuries across a huge area between the Syro-Palestinian area and the coasts of Atlantic Andalusia. Phoenician interest in the silver mines of Laurion and the Chalcidice peninsula have long been known and are believed to be the reason for the active presence of sailors, merchants and Phoenician artisans in the port of Lefkandi and Attica³¹. More surprising is the news that copper from Faynan in southern Jordan was utilized to produce Greek tripod cauldrons at Olympia³². The data is related to the recent discovery at Tel Rehov of Euboean and Attic pottery dating from the 10th and

²⁸ Cf. e.g. LO SCHIAVO 2008, 431; BOTTO 2011a; MILETTI 2012, 238-249; BOTTO 2013a.

²⁹ Cf. e.g. CULTRARO 2005; ALBANESE PROCELLI 2008, 412-413; NEEDHAM – GIARDINO 2008, 60-72.

³⁰ Cf. the contribution by the Greek scholar in this volume. The argument has also been recently addressed by SHERRATT 2019.

³¹ KOUROU 2019, 169-170; MAZAR – KOUROU 2019, 385; SHERRATT 2019, 135-138, 144-145.

³² KIDERLEN *et al.* 2016.

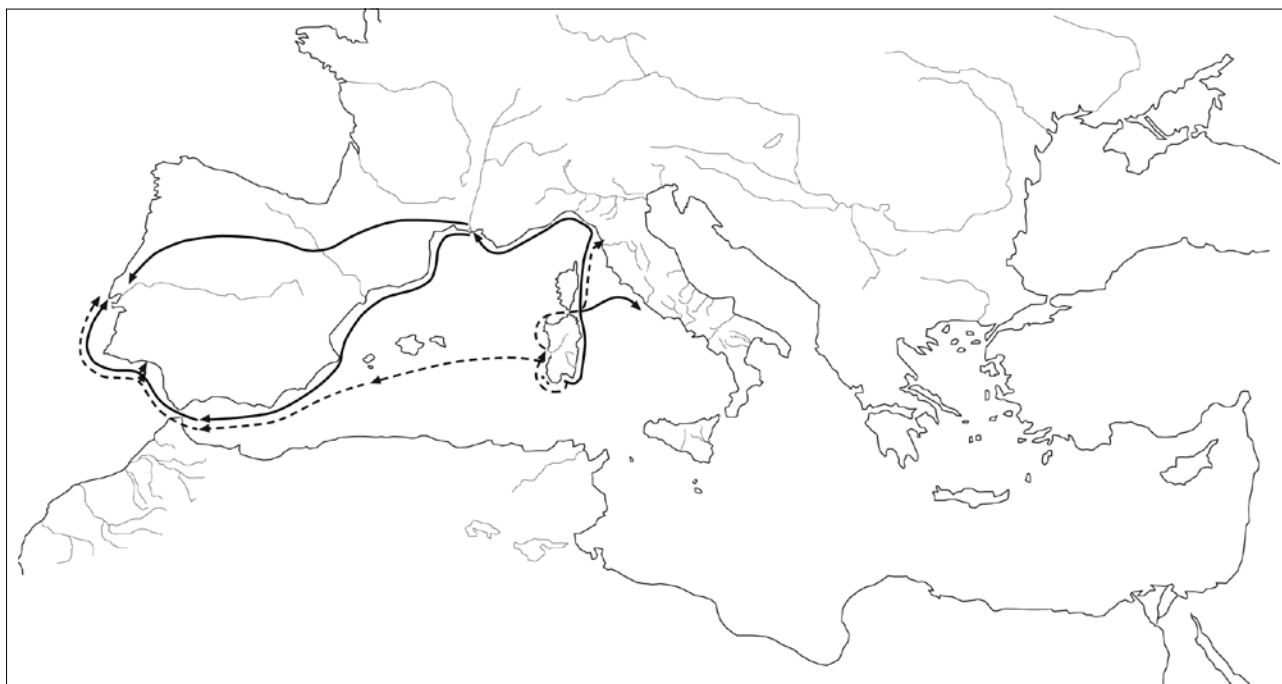


Fig. 1. Map with main routes from Sardinia to the Iberian Peninsula (graphic design by L. Attisani, ISPC-CNR)

8th centuries BC³³. In fact the site must have played an important role in relation to either one of the main itineraries that connected the metalliferous district of Faynan with the Mediterranean, or the road along the eastern Arabah, east of the Dead Sea to the eastern Jordan Valley, the Beth Shean Valley, the Jezreel Valley and Phoenicia (Fig. 2). The Greek pottery found in the habitation layers would therefore be part of a circuit of exchanges managed by the Phoenicians and would appear as «exotic, prestigious gifts to local leaders or merchants»³⁴. Copper from Faynan must have been one of the most traded goods in Tel Rehov and resold by the Phoenicians in the main markets of the eastern Mediterranean and Greece, earning them large profits. The same land route could have been used previously to carry copper from Faynan to Sardinia, according to what has emerged from the analyses conducted on the flat and oval ingots from nuraghe Arrubiu (Orroli), via a route that from the main southern Levantine ports, must have passed through Cyprus, Crete and touched the southern and western coasts of Sicily and involved several key players³⁵.

The new discoveries complement the dates found in the publication of the Tel Jatt hoard, south of Megiddo, which are between the second half of the 11th and the beginning of the 10th centuries BC³⁶. Archaeometric analyses indicate that most of the bronze artefacts in the hoard were made by Phoenician craftsmen using Faynan copper³⁷. A further fact should also be underlined: this concerns the close connection found between the Cypro-Phoenician productions of some categories of ceremonial bronzes used for the consumption of aromatised wine and for boiled meat, and the works of Nuragic metalsmiths from the Early Iron Age, which presupposes long lasting contacts and forms of collaboration with craftsmen steeped in Near Eastern traditions³⁸.

The early contacts between Sardinia and the coastal centres of the southern Syro-Palestine area are further confirmed by the recent discoveries of hoards containing ingots and clippings from silver objects at Dor and in the Phoenician sites of Galilee, such as Akko and Tell Keisan, dating to the second half of the 11th century and the mid/end of the 10th

³³ MAZAR – KOUROU 2019.

³⁴ MAZAR – KOUROU 2019, 385.

³⁵ Cf. the contribution by Fulvia Lo Schiavo in LO SCHIAVO – D'ORIANO 2018, 125-126 (with further references).

³⁶ ARTZY 2006.

³⁷ STOS-GALE 2006.

³⁸ Cf. BOTTO 2007, 77-81 and the contribution by M. BOTTO, in BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2015.



Fig. 2. Map of the central-southern Levant showing the Faynan mines (graphic design by L. Attisani)

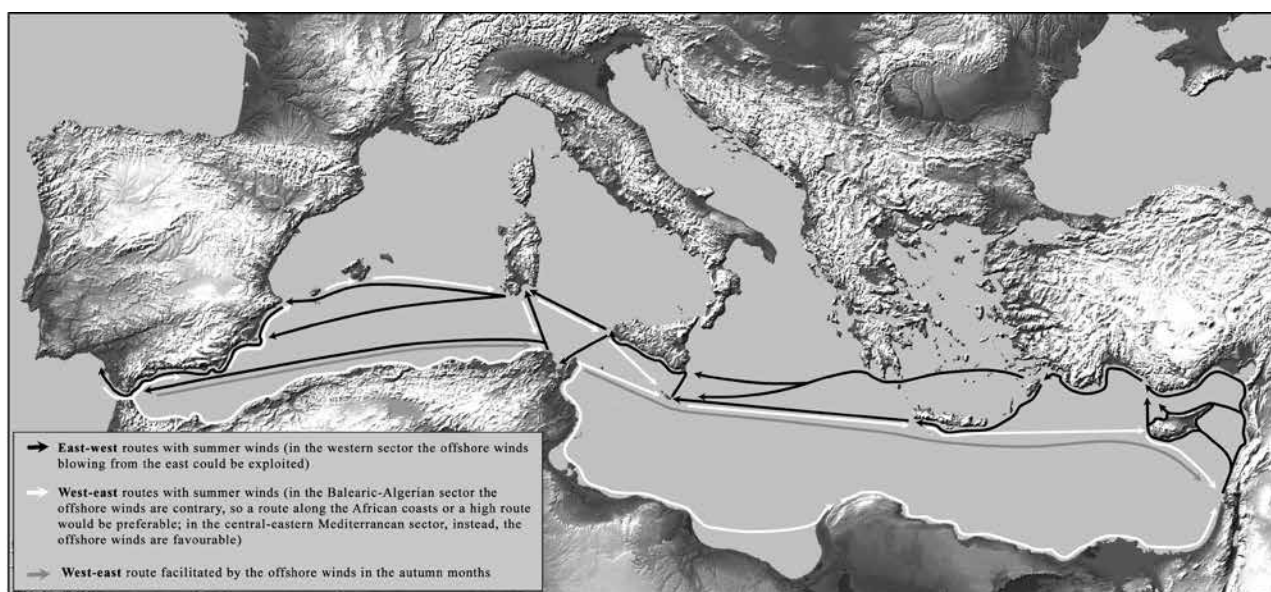


Fig. 3. The main routes from Phoenicia to the West (from MEDAS 2020)

centuries BC. Analysis of the lead isotopes and the concentration of gold and copper indicate that these artefacts probably originated from Spanish or Sardinian silver mines³⁹. The information is particularly interesting because these hoards coincide chronologically with the fusion between the Atlantic and Eastern metal circuits. The connecting link in this process is the dynamic Nuragic communities of the Final Bronze and Early Iron Ages, according to the reconstructions that the above cited studies have brought out clearly and precisely. It should also be noted how the silver found at Tell Keisan is particularly relevant for our analysis, since the centre falls within the orbit of direct Tyrian influence. It is no coincidence therefore that the main objectives of the first expeditions initiated by the Phoenician metropolis were the rich mineral deposits of the Huelva hinterland⁴⁰ and that the greatest evidence of Sardo-Phoenician trade enterprises in the Iberian Peninsula come from that Atlantic emporium⁴¹.

These considerations allow us to introduce and better focus on that historical moment of the materialisation of the first Phoenician presence in Huelva – about mid-way through the 9th century BC – and with this the opening of a long distance route

capable of putting the powerful Tyre metropolis in direct contact with the far west Mediterranean and the coasts of Atlantic Andalusia (Fig. 3). In Phoenicia, this historical period coincides with the figure of king Ittobaal I (887-856 BC), whose reign was characterised by an energetic expansionist policy recorded in historical sources by the foundation of two colonies: *Botrys*, in North Lebanon and *Auza*, in North Africa⁴². The sensational discoveries recently made at Utica and along the Andalusian coasts – in the Gulf of Malaga (La Rebanadilla), at Cadiz, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir (El Carambolo, **Spal*) and at Huelva – confirm what the ancient authors tell us and provide us with useful tools to understand not only the times and means of the Phoenician diffusion throughout the West but also the shape of their collaboration with the Euboeans in the central-west Mediterranean. From this point of view an area ripe for investigation is the stretch of the North African coast between Cyrene and Carthage, where the high sea routes that left from Crete converged⁴³.

Sailors and merchants from Tyre and the Gulf of

³⁹ ESHEL *et al.* 2019; WOOD – MONTERO-RUIZ – MARTINON-TORRES 2019.

⁴⁰ AUBET 2019, 11.

⁴¹ Cf. *infra* section 4.

⁴² AUBET 2008, 183-185; BONDÌ 2012; BERNARDINI 2016; BOTTO 2016b; OGGIANO 2016; NÚÑEZ 2018b, 321-322; BOTTO 2020, 166. On the suggestion to identify Auza with Aziris in Cyrenaica, cf. BOARDMAN 2010.

⁴³ D'AGOSTINO 2017, 404, and BEN JERBANIA – REDISSI 2014, 195. For the Euboean presence in North Africa, cf. GRAS 2000; BERNARDINI 2004, 52-56; BOARDMAN 2006; BOARDMAN 2010.

Lefkandi found shelter in the large and safe Gulf of Tunis, where thanks to their resourcefulness they became catalysts for the creation of an emporium⁴⁴ politically controlled by the Libyan communities who were active in the area in the second half of the 9th century BC⁴⁵.

One context, particularly significant for our understanding how connected Utica was in this period, is a deposit (UE 20017) created in the last quarter of the 9th century BC by the remains of a collective, probably ritual, banquet, thrown into a well. As noted by the archaeologists who investigated the deposit, the ceramic material was associated with the remains of cattle, sheep/goats and pigs⁴⁶. The study of the ceramic material showed a clear predominance for handmade local pottery (56.78%), followed by Phoenician pottery (26.95%), that imported from Sardinia (9.83%) and Greek production (4.24%), to which can be added a low percentage of Tyrrhenian (1.19 %) and Tartessian (0.51%) material⁴⁷.

The constant presence of Tyrian merchants in Utica is not only recorded in the high number of finds from the East, which slightly exceed all imports, but also by the local imitations (18.81%) of lamps, cups and especially Phoenician plates⁴⁸. The presence of Sardinian pottery is also significant. The data is confirmed by the finds made at the Tunisian-French excavations⁴⁹, which have produced kitchen ware (*teglie/tegami; olle*), large food storage and transport containers (*vasi a collo*; Sardo-Phoenician amphorae) and containers that were probably used for wine consumption. Concerning this last point, the idea of a real “wine service” has been put forward with the askoid jug being used to pour the drink accompanied by drinking vessels

such as *ciotole, boccali* and *scodelle*⁵⁰. The vessels for wine consumption would have travelled alongside the wine produced on the island⁵¹. These latter were carried in the characteristic Sardo-Phoenician amphorae and at times covered by a thin red wash imitating Phoenician red slip⁵². The existence of Nuragic people at the Utica emporium seems to be confirmed by the presence of *teglie/tegami*. The distribution of this type of pottery outside Sardinia has been thoroughly examined by Rubens D’Oriano and it emerges that, better than any other form of pottery, the *teglia* is an important indicator of the Sardinian presence in extra-insular contexts, since it was used for cooking food⁵³.

The analysed context is also particularly interesting for the limited but significant presence of Tyrrhenian pottery that could have reached Utica from Sardinian ports⁵⁴, and Tartessian pottery probably coming from the Lower Guadalquivir area, which confirms the dynamics of human mobility from the Iberian Peninsula to the Gulf of Tunis, something already suggested in the studies of Iberian imports found in the oldest Carthaginian contexts⁵⁵.

Greek pottery shows a strong Euboean imprint, similar to what was discovered in the Tunisian-French excavations⁵⁶, with the skyphos being the most common drinking shape found. This is why the recent publication of a Phoenician imitation of a double-handled pendent semi-circular (PSC) plate from Utica is exceptionally interesting. It had a slipped rim and concentric red slip circle decorations on the inside bottom of the basin⁵⁷. As J.N. Coldstream pointed out at the time⁵⁸, this type

⁴⁴ On the classic idea of *emporion*, cf. BRESSON – ROUILLARD 1993; cf. also the contributions published recently by GAILLEDRAIT – DIETLER – PLANA-MALLART 2018.

⁴⁵ BEN JERBANIA 2017, 193-195, note 98.

⁴⁶ LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016, 72.

⁴⁷ LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016, 73, fig. 8. The study provides an in depth analysis of the problem of ¹⁴C dating at the site, at Carthage and in other Archaic deposits in the Iberian Peninsula, which date the earliest Phoenician presence in the central and western Mediterranean to the start of the 9th century BC: LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016, 81-84.

⁴⁸ LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016, 80-81.

⁴⁹ BEN JERBANIA 2017, who analyses in detail the pottery from trenches 1, 2 and 3 north of the Roman forum.

⁵⁰ BEN JERBANIA 2017, 193-194.

⁵¹ For similar considerations with reference to the sites of La Rebanadilla, Huelva and Cadiz, cf. *infra* text.

⁵² Cf. *infra* text and note 72.

⁵³ D’ORIANO 2012.

⁵⁴ Cf. in particular BERNARDINI 2016; BONETTO – BOTTO 2017; GUIRGUIS 2019.

⁵⁵ MANSEL 2011.

⁵⁶ BEN JERBANIA – REDISSI 2014, in particular 195. Cf. also KOUROU 2019, 168 and the considerations by the Greek scholar in the present volume.

⁵⁷ BEN JERBANIA 2020, 35-36, fig. 6, 3. It is interesting to note the particularity of the double handle which is not very widespread in Euboean productions but present in at least two examples from Huelva: cf. GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 89, pl. XIX, 8-9.

⁵⁸ COLDSTREAM 1998, 354-356; COLDSTREAM 2008, 462-463.

of plate is poorly documented in Euboea and is completely absent in Greece and the Greek West. On the other hand, PSC plates are widely found in Cyprus⁵⁹ and on the Phoenician coast especially at Tyre. An example has recently been found at Carthage, which B. Maraoui Telmini has claimed was Attic but which is more likely to be Euboean, whilst a significant number of PSC plates have been found at Huelva⁶⁰. Thus these plates were specially produced for export, created for food use in the Phoenician world⁶¹. This interpretation is supported by the exceptional discovery at Utica which attests to the presence of pottery workshops in Phoenicia where PSC plates were imitated.

Finally, significant signs of metallurgical activity have emerged from the oldest levels of the site: in particular a considerable number of *tuyères* have been noted. These comprise both the rectangular type with two circular-section channels and a single channel type associated with iron slag⁶². The spread of iron technology played an important role in the first contacts between the Phoenicians and the local populations of the central-west Mediterranean and the Atlantic⁶³. For example its early introduction in Calabria⁶⁴ was probably due to the contacts initiated by the Cypro-Phoenician merchants based on exchange mechanisms, well known from other areas of the Mediterranean, which saw the exportation of new technologies in exchange for the acquisition of raw materials⁶⁵. From this point of view the region which has provided the greatest evidence is the Iberian Peninsula: they concern not only colonial settlements (e.g.: Morro de Mezquitilla and Tosca-

nos, prov. Malaga), but also indigenous centres (Alcorrín)⁶⁶.

Unfortunately, we have too little data for Phoenician Sardinia. However the importance of the island in the contemporary metal circuits is confirmed by the discoveries of *tuyères* in the Sant'Imbenia emporium⁶⁷, and by the discovery of a workshop in *Sulky* dated to between the end of the 8th and the first half of the 7th century BC where a preliminary refining of the metal was followed by the on-site manufacture of small iron tools⁶⁸.

The presence of the same type of *tuyères* in Pithekoussai as those found at Utica and in other centres affected by the Phoenician diaspora in the West is a further element in favour of the collaboration between the Phoenicians and Euboeans in the central Mediterranean in the wake of a relationship amply consolidated in the Aegean, in Cyprus and on the coast of the central-south Levant⁶⁹. A movement not just of goods but also of craftsmen⁷⁰ able to transfer their wealth of knowledge within the circuits managed in collaboration with the Phoenicians and Euboeans has been ascertained both at Pithekoussai and Carthage⁷¹.

A similar situation can also be found in Sardinia in the above-mentioned centres of Sant'Imbenia and *Sulky*⁷². Commercial activities soon started up in these two settlements mainly directed at the export of metals, food products and wine which involved large areas of the Mediterranean and Atlantic⁷³. Wine produced in Sardinia was firstly marketed in a particular type of amphora – identified for the first time at Sant'Imbenia and for this reason came to be known as “Sant'Imbenia type” but also pro-

⁵⁹ From the “Royal Tomb 1” at Salamina comes an exceptional group of Greek vases amongst which two Euboean PSC skyphoi and eight PSC plates: cf. latest KOUROU 2019, 160-161.

⁶⁰ For Carthage, cf. MARAOUI TELMINI 2014 and Nota Kourou in the present volume; for Huelva, cf. *infra* section 4.

⁶¹ Besides Coldstream's previously cited studies, cf. HUBER 2017, 47-48.

⁶² BEN JERBANIA – REDISSI 2014, 188-191, fig. 5; BEN JERBANIA 2020, 33-34.

⁶³ For a recent summary of the spread of iron technology from the Near East to the Mediterranean and central Europe, cf. KOSTO-GLOU 2010.

⁶⁴ DELPINO 1988.

⁶⁵ PACCIARELLI 1999, 61-62. A huge area of Iron Age transformation has been identified on the outskirts of the settlement at Torre Galli, as noted by PACCIARELLI 2000, 119 and fig. 64. For the Euboean presence in Calabria, cf. MERCURI 2004, especially 192-197 for aspects connected to metallurgical activities; for the presence of Cypro-Phoenicians in the area, cf. BOTTO 2011b.

⁶⁶ For a general overview, cf. RENZI *et al.* 2013. For our analysis it is useful to remember that iron metalwork is also documented at La Rebanadilla (cf. *infra* section 3), even though the data has yet to be published.

⁶⁷ RENDELI 2018, 193-194.

⁶⁸ POMPIANU 2010.

⁶⁹ On the metalworking activities at Pithekoussai, cf. ESPOSITO 2018, 170-171.

⁷⁰ For general aspects referring to the Phoenician world, cf. BOTTO – OGGIANO 2003 and BOTTO 2004.

⁷¹ Cf. respectively ESPOSITO 2018, 168-169; KOUROU 2002 and BOARDMAN 2006.

⁷² Cf. RENDELI 2005; RENDELI 2012 and the contribution by Paolo Bernardini and Marco Rendeli in this volume.

⁷³ For the production, consumption and trading of wine in Sardinia, cf. BOTTO 2013c; BOTTO 2016a; BOTTO 2019 and the contribution by Rubens D'Oriano, in LO SCHIAVO – D'ORIANO 2018.

duced in other Nuragic villages across the island and in *Sulky* – the outcome of interaction between Phoenician craftsmen and their local counterparts⁷⁴. These Sardo-Phoenician productions have been recognised in Utica, but are also well documented at Carthage, and as we will see later, in southern Spain.

3. PHOENICIANS AND EUBOEANS IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

The commercial understandings between the Phoenicians and the Euboeans, so clearly delineated in the eastern and central Mediterranean, seems to have also developed in the Iberian Peninsula on the basis of what can be deduced from the sensational discoveries at Huelva and the Bay of Malaga. In fact, there is no doubt that these discoveries have significantly changed archaeologists' assessments regarding a direct Euboean presence in Spain, a fact only previously sustained by historians and glottologists⁷⁵.

Along the coasts of Mediterranean Andalusia the Phoenicians sought safe havens to shelter their boats before tackling the difficult passage through the Straits of Gibraltar (Fig. 4). One stopover was set up in the western sector of the Bay of Malaga, at La Rebanadilla, on a small island at the mouth of the Guadalhorce, three kilometres from the current coastline. The choice was motivated not only by the protected nature of the site, but also by the easy connection with the inland indigenous centres, made possible by the course of the Guadalhorce river⁷⁶.

Research at La Rebanadilla has allowed the occupation of the area to be sub-divided into four phases which, based on the ¹⁴C dating, are framed between the second half of the 9th and ca. mid-8th centuries BC⁷⁷.

According to a recent interpretation⁷⁸, in the first construction phase of the site (Phase III) – dated towards the end of the 9th century BC – the building of a Phoenician sanctuary created a market and meeting point with the local populations. Excavations have revealed that the sanctuary occupied an area of 12000 m² surrounded by a 60 cm thick perimeter wall. At the northern sector, the foundation trench of the *temenos* meets a pit, interpreted as a well. According to the archaeologists who investigated the site, the filling in and the closure of the well was the result of a single ritual action dated to the end of the Phase IV of the site.

The materials recovered from inside the well have not been studied systematically but from the scholarly publications the following stand out (Fig. 5): small handmade cups and *olle* in the local tradition with engraved and painted decorations in red ochre; Phoenician fine ware and red slip; Sardinian pottery, including some fragments of askoid jugs; a Sardo-Phoenician amphora with a Phoenician inscription (no. 2168)⁷⁹; at least one MG II “hatched meanders hooks” skyphos⁸⁰ according to J.N. Coldstream (Fig. 6a)⁸¹.

The ceramic ensemble suggests a foundation ritual with banquet where robust libations of wine were accompanied by food consumption, of which the remains of malacofauna have been preserved (mainly sea urchins, limpets and snails)⁸².

In addition, elements attesting to the processes of fusion and metal working, as well as finished pieces such as fishhooks and a “à doble resorte” fibula were found in the well. Another sensational discovery is that of a stone mould use for making pre-

However, compared to the past, the chronological gap appears to have been reduced and compressed to a twenty-five year period, in line with the more moderate upward trend that places the start of MG II at 825 BC: cf. MEDEROS MARTÍN 2005, pl. 13. On this argument, cf. also GARCÍA ALFONSO 2018, 448-449.

⁷⁴ SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2018; SÁNCHEZ – GALINDO – JUZGADO 2020.

⁷⁵ SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2018, 317, fig. 13.

⁸⁰ Cf. SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2018, 314 «...almenos dos vasos del Geométrico Medio II». No unanimous opinion exists amongst specialists on the production of the only published skyphos: DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2017a, 223, note 105, fig. 5a «...there seems little doubt of its Euboean ascription»; GARCÍA ALFONSO 2018, 451, fig. 3a «por sus características de pasta, barniz y elaboración, considero che estamos ante una producción ática». Identical evaluation in GARCÍA ALFONSO 2016, 124, fig. 18a.

⁸¹ COLDSTREAM 2008, 28.

⁸² For the social consumption of wine at La Rebanadilla, cf. *infra* text.

⁷⁴ OGGIANO 2000; BOTTO 2011a; DESSENA 2015, 75-87; BOTTO 2015b; OGGIANO – PEDRAZZI 2019.

⁷⁵ DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2013, 14-16 (with further references).

⁷⁶ ARANCIBIA *et al.* 2011; SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2011; SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2012; SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2018.

⁷⁷ For the ¹⁴C dating, cf. the studies cited at the previous note. Whilst waiting for an exhaustive typological study of the pottery, the difference between the traditional chronology and the ¹⁴C dates should again be underlined: BOTTO 2005. Actually the MG II Greek pottery (800-760 BC: cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, 227-239) from the phases IV and III of the site contrasts with the ¹⁴C dating.

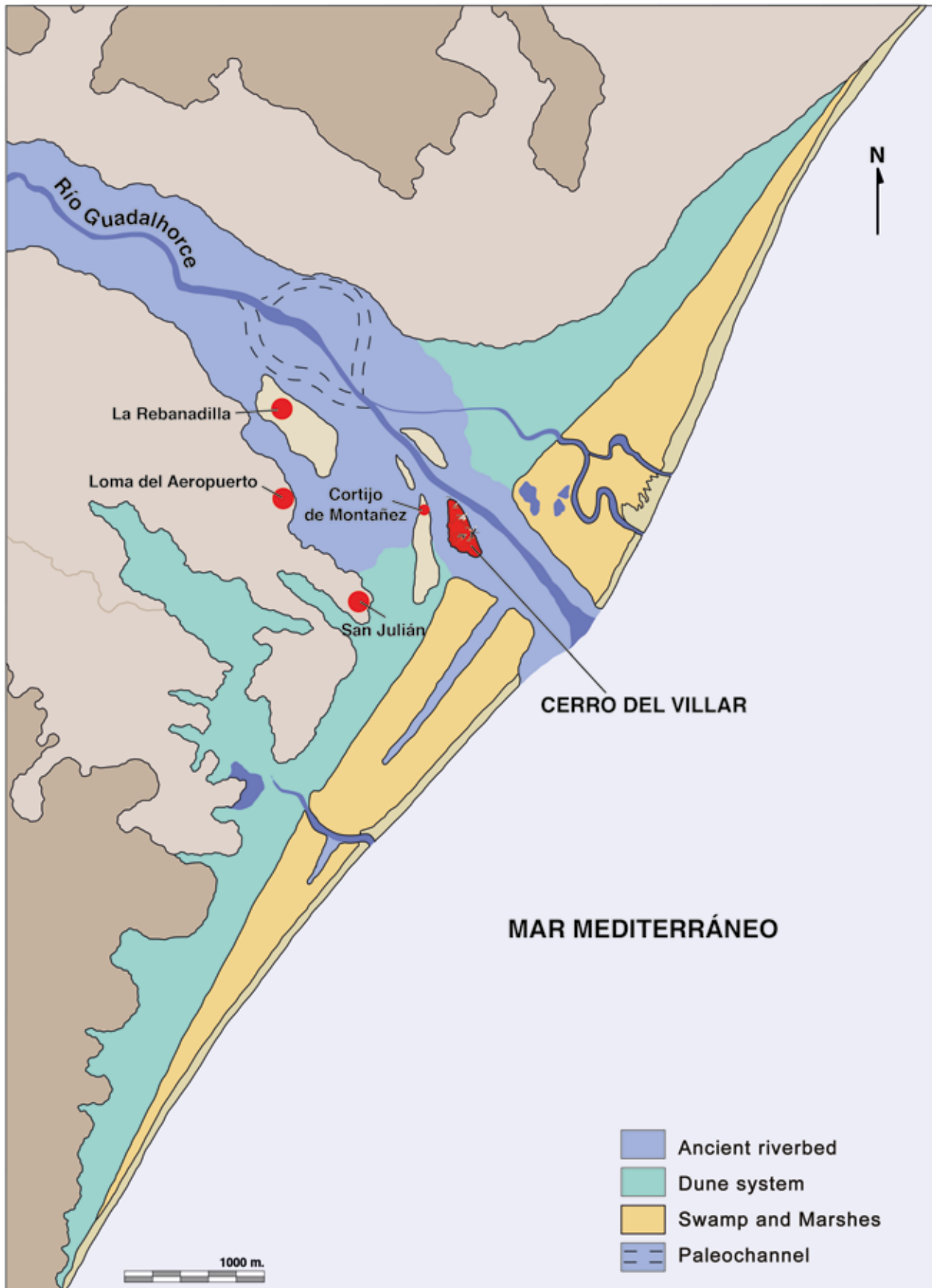


Fig. 4. Mouth of the Guadalhorce River with the La Rebanadilla site highlighted (from AUBET 2018, redrawn by L. Attisani)



Fig. 5. La Rebanadilla, materials from the Phase IV well (from SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2018, redrawn by L. Attisani)

cious metal jewellery (Fig. 5). These are important elements to put alongside the metallurgical activities that were taking place on the site prior to the construction of the sanctuary, when the island was sporadically frequented by Phoenicians (Phase IV).

An interesting chronological and functional relationship emerges from the above data which connects the pottery from the well in Phase IV of La Rebanadilla and that of UE 20017 at Utica⁸³. The two situations seem to be intricately connected and reflect a phase where the Phoenician and Euboean presence in the central-west Mediterranean tended to come together⁸⁴.

Focusing attention on the Greek pottery at the site it is useful to examine the composition of the ceramic ensemble found in the layers of abandonment of one of the rooms that made up the so-called Building 2. This structure is part of a series of build-

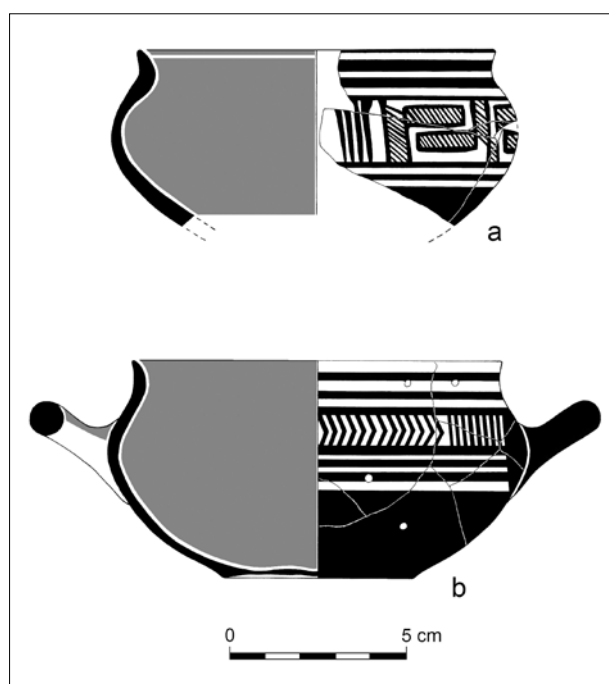


Fig. 6. La Rebanadilla: a) “hatched meanders hooks” skyphos (MG II); b) “à chevrons” skyphos (MG II) (from GARCÍA ALFONSO 2018)

ings interpreted as auxiliary spaces for the temple found within the sanctuary and intended for food storage, administration or housing for the temple

⁸³ Cf. *supra* section 2 and notes 46–47.

⁸⁴ Cf. Nota Kourou’s considerations in the present volume.

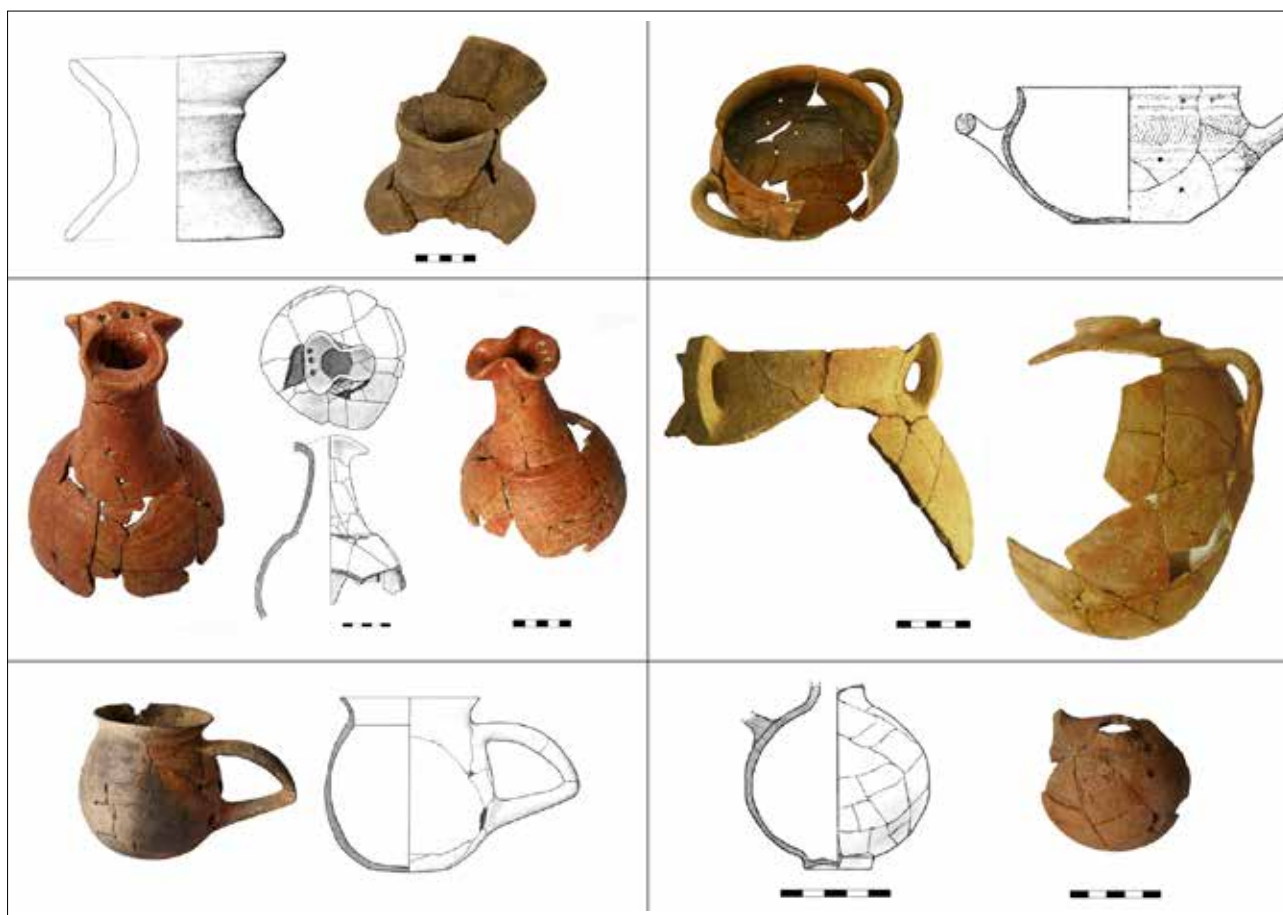


Fig. 7. La Rebanadilla, the ceramic ensemble found in one of the rooms that made up the so-called Building 2 (from SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2018)

staff⁸⁵. The ceramic ensemble comprised: a red slipped bilobed jug and a small, very well-made Phoenician ointment jar in highly levigated clay; a Euboean skyphos decorated “à chevrons” and dated to the last phases of MG II (Fig. 6b)⁸⁶; a support, a large vessel for food storage with three square sectioned handles and a vase intentionally cut in half in order to be used as a support, all of local manufacture (Fig. 7).

To these finds must be added a *boccale* with a large “reversed elbow” handle⁸⁷ and a Sardo-Phoenician amphora with clear traces of red slip on the outside. From its small size, between 11.6 cm for the mouth diameter and 14.7 cm height and for the

surface covered by red slip we can consider the *boccale* from La Rebanadilla as a sort of drinking cup⁸⁸, following the interpretations of Diego Ruiz Mata for the example from Cadiz found during the excavations at 29 Ancha Street⁸⁹.

The ceramic ensemble would therefore comprise two drinking cups, one of Greek and the other of Sardinian manufacture, a Phoenician jug to pour the alcoholic drink and two supports to hold the Sardo-Phoenician amphora and the large locally-made container. The last was used to mix the wine with honey or aromatic essences presumably kept in the small Phoenician container found with the rest of the material.

It should also be noted that the Phoenician jug and the skyphos were both restored in antiquity,

⁸⁵ SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2018, 312, fig. 7.

⁸⁶ GARCÍA ALFONSO 2016, 125, fig. 18b; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2017a, 223-224, fig. 5b; GARCÍA ALFONSO 2018, 451-452, fig. 3b.

⁸⁷ CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 379, pls. 220-221, Boc. 15B, 16; LO SCHIAVO 2013, 125-127.

⁸⁸ This point of view has been developed by BOTTO 2015b, 192-197.

⁸⁹ RUIZ MATA – PÉREZ – GÓMEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2014, 102, fig. 16.9.

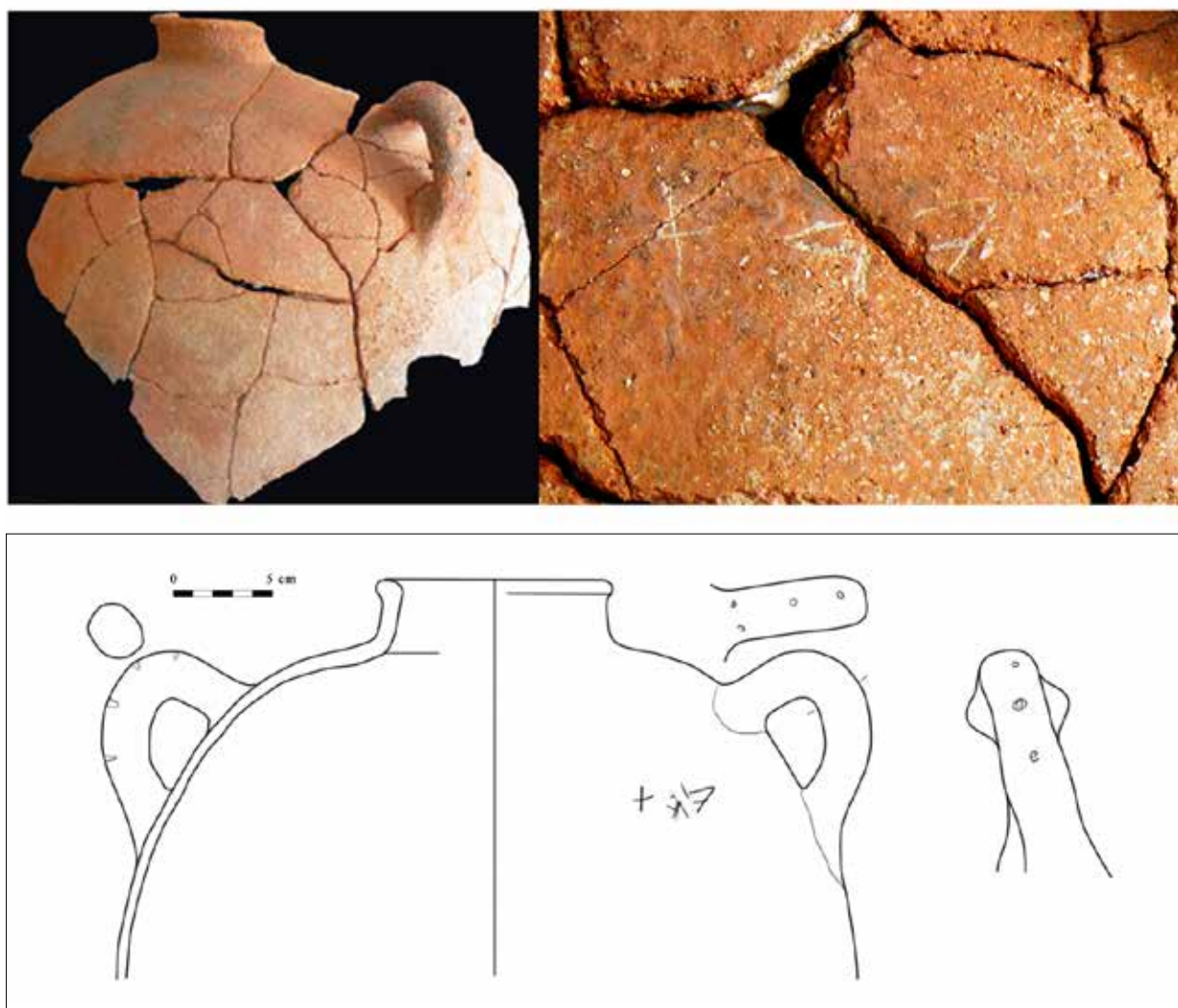


Fig. 8. La Rebanadilla, Sardo-Phoenician amphora with a Phoenician inscription (no. 1225) (from SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2018)

confirming their symbolic value to the mixed community living at La Rebanadilla. However, although the restoration of the jug was carried out on the upper handle attachment and therefore had a functional purpose, the same cannot be said for the Greek cup as it could no longer be used as such due it being drilled with holes to mend it with some perishable material. In this case the vase was repaired to be seen as a memento within the “service” and replaced by the Nuragic *boccale*.

The ceramic ensemble analysed above is an indication of how probable socio-cultural tensions within the settlement due to the confrontation between the local populations and new arrivals were overcome through public ceremonies with the ritual consumption of wine. These socialized practices were characterised by the organisation of compos-

ite “services” which selected and, in an original way, re-elaborated aspects of the different Levantine, Aegean, Nuragic and local traditions. This specific case is the oldest confirmation in the Iberian Peninsula of the social consumption of aromatized wine, according to a fashion introduced by the Phoenicians into the West and which had success amongst the local communities during the Orientalizing period⁹⁰.

The social consumption of wine at La Rebanadilla as an instrument for establishing pacts and alliances with local elites⁹¹ is confirmed by the many discoveries of Sardo-Phoenician amphorae concentrated exclusively in Phases III and IV of the

⁹⁰ VIVES-FERRÁNDIZ 2005; BOTTO 2013c.

⁹¹ The argument is dealt with in more detail by SÁNCHEZ – GALINDO – JUZGADO 2020. Cf. also GARCÍA ALFONSO 2018, 453.

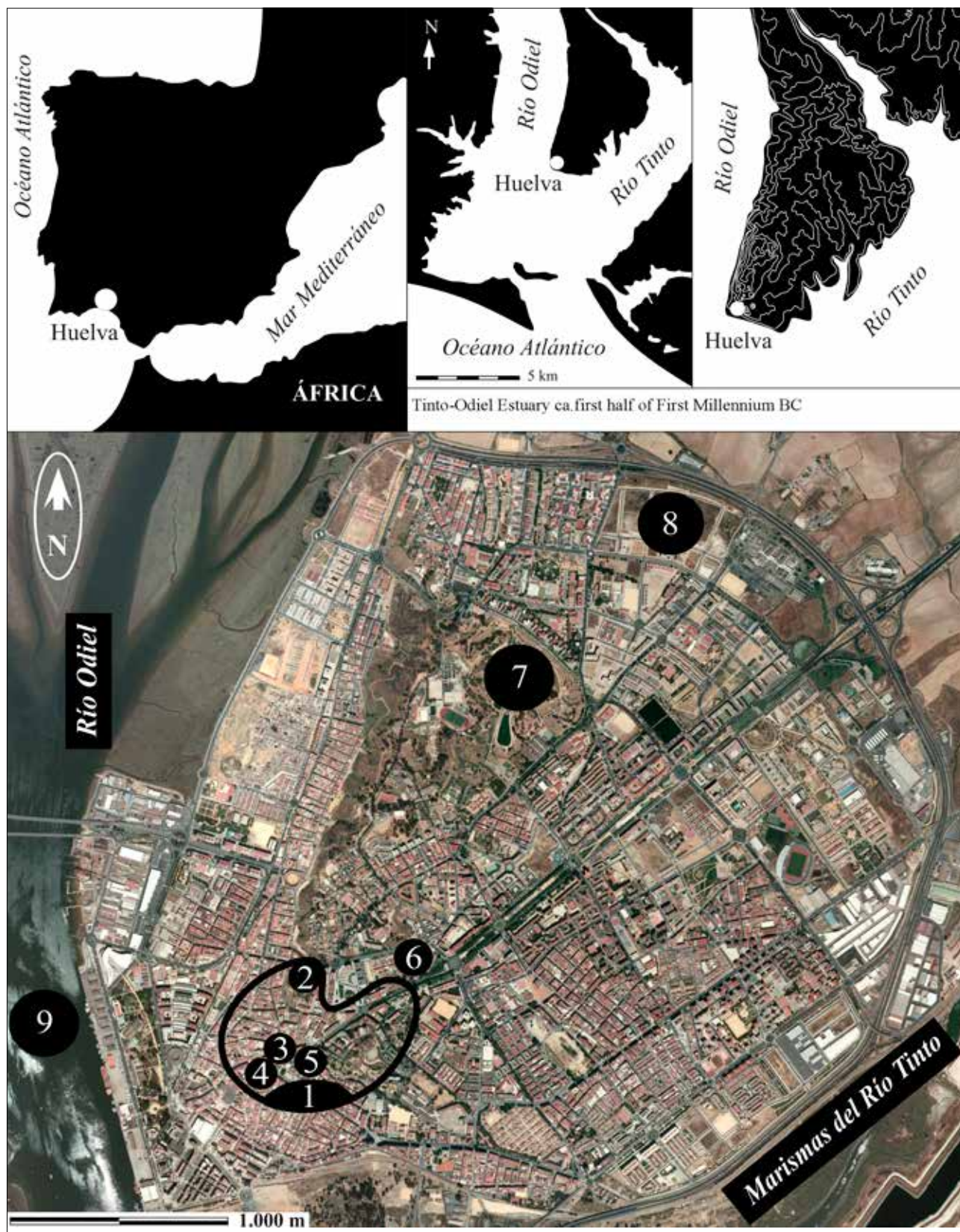


Fig. 9. 1. Ancient settlement of Huelva; 2. San Pedro Hill; 3. Méndez Núñez St. 7-13 / Las Monjas Sq. 12; 4. Concepción St. 3; 5. Palos St. 15-17; 6. La Joya necropolis, Sector A; 7. La Joya necropolis, Sector C; 8. Vineyard area; 9. Bronzes from “Ría de Huelva” hoard (from GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2018)

site. Concerning this we note the recovery of one example found in a small service area east of the so-called temple 1⁹². The amphora had three Phoenician post-fired letters (*bd'*) engraved on its shoulder interpreted as a hypocoristic anthroponym, which can be translated as «Devotee of...», or «In the hand of...». This would make it a gift of a substantial quantity of Sardinian wine offered to the titular divinity of the temple (Fig. 8).

This remarkable discovery which confirms a Sardinian-Phoenician trade agreement in the Italian Peninsula, allows us to interpret other Phoenician epigraphical engravings made on pieces of this type of amphora from Huelva as potentially lying within this context⁹³.

From its initial phase (Phase IV) La Rebanadilla acted as a magnet for the local populations who moving from the internal regions gradually settled in small communities on the west coast of the Bay of Malaga. The experience gained by the Phoenicians at La Rebanadilla also contributed to the foundation of the colony of Cerro del Villar during the mid-8th century BC – located on a small island at the mouth of the Guadalhorce only 1.9 km from the sanctuary – and furthered the establishment of the first group of colonists on the Alcazaba hill, where modern research has identified the oldest evidence of the future city of *Malaka*⁹⁴.

From the earliest phases of the spread of Phoenicians in the West the Bay of Malaga was one of the strategic stopovers for passing through the Straits of Gibraltar to reach the Atlantic coast of Andalusia. Indeed, as noted above Huelva, the ancient *Onoba*, was the main area of interest for the Tyrian seafaring activities due to the extraordinary metal wealth of its hinterland. In their interactions with the local populations, the Phoenicians implemented a commercial strategy whereby the main aim was the supply of metals: not just silver – which must have been the main source of income – but also iron, tin, gold, copper and lead⁹⁵.

From this point of view the position of Huelva proved strategic, since Atlantic and Mediterranean



Fig. 10. Coastline at the mouth of the Guadalquivir in the 1st millennium BC (from RUIZ MATA – GÓMEZ TOSCANO 2008)

trade-routes converged in its lagoon port, sheltered from winds and sea currents⁹⁶. Here, Phoenician merchants took part in the creation of an emporium – politically controlled by the Tartassian elites stationed at the mouth of the río Tinto and río Odiel – and built temples to encourage the meetings between different ethnic groups and cultures⁹⁷. Into this open space dedicated to trade there flowed – raw or refined – metals that came not only from the mining districts of the Riotinto and Aznacóllar, but also from the internal regions of the Gadiana (Fig. 9). However, the Phoenicians soon felt the need to found a colony in a safer place, one not in direct

⁹² SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2018, 308-309, 316, fig. 12.

⁹³ Cf. *infra* section 4.

⁹⁴ AUBET 2018, 330-331.

⁹⁵ Cf. e.g. ROVIRA – RENZI 2013; AUBET 2016, 256; CABACO ENCINAS – PÉREZ MACÍAS 2018; TORRES ORTIZ 2018, 58-59.

⁹⁶ Cf. e.g. BOTTO 2018b, 13-16, with previous bibl.; TORRES ORTIZ 2018, 58-59.

⁹⁷ The bibliography on this subject is very large: cf. e.g. BOTTO 2015a; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2017b; GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES 2018; TORRES ORTIZ 2018; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2020, 58-61, 68-72.

contact with the Tartessian populations: the choice fell on the island of *Erytheia* in the Gaditan archipelago. From there the eastern settlers could organise their own initiatives to control the main river routes connected to the interior of the country: the Guadalete, at whose mouth they founded the settlement of Castillo de Doña Blanca (hereinafter CDB)⁹⁸, and the Guadalquivir, where they built the sanctuary of El Carambolo and founded the colony of **Spal*⁹⁹ (Fig. 10). These centres were the real points of contact between the Phoenicians and the local populations throughout the whole Archaic phase, giving rise to that process of dissemination to the innermost regions of the country, defined by some as “agricultural colonisation”, that brought about the complete integration between the local and foreign communities in just a few generations¹⁰⁰.

The strategic framework of the oldest Phoenician presence in the Atlantic region was completed with the foundation of *Lixus*, in Morocco – which took place in at the end of the 9th century BC¹⁰¹ – the multi-ethnic community was made up of local people and those from southern Spain¹⁰². As at Cadiz/*Gadir*, the historical sources refer to the foundation of a temple dedicated to Melqart at *Lixus*¹⁰³.

This territorial vision – which we could define “global” – was jointly planned by the Tyrian monarchy/aristocracy and the mercantile oligarchy, who were able to channel the energies and interests of political and social forces spread out over a huge area between southern Phoenicia and northern Palestine towards a common goal¹⁰⁴.

In our opinion, this dual nature of Phoenician trade is apparent in one of the major “political” organizations that accompanied the spread of the Phoenicians in the West: the temple. In the past, due importance has been given to the temples dedicated to Melqart, the polyadic deity of Tyre, protector of the town’s monarchy. Their erection would legitimise the foundation of the most important Phoenician colonies: Cadiz firstly but probably also Carthage and *Lixus*, despite the sources not explicitly saying so¹⁰⁵.

Here, I wish to draw special attention to those western Andalusian sanctuaries that, for their location, are characterised as privileged meeting places between the Phoenician and indigenous peoples. These structures are situated along the coast and are easily visible from the sea, as in the aforementioned case of La Rebanadilla. They are also found in inland areas considered strategic for trade and contact between groups of people of different backgrounds¹⁰⁶.

Compared to the city temples dedicated to Melqart, which represent, on an ideological and political level, a projection of the kingdom of Tyre in colonial environments often very distant from the mother country, these sacred buildings were organised as spaces that were open, from both a mental and physical point of view, to the new cultural reality which the Phoenicians came into contact with when moving towards the West. In other words, they became important places for the exchange of goods and technologies, knowledge and ideologies favouring the private aspect of Phoenician trade, where we can recognize the crucial role played by the Tyrian merchant oligarchy¹⁰⁷.

⁹⁸ The foundation of CDB was part of a single project for the occupation of the Bay of Cadiz and its archipelago by the Phoenicians which has been analysed in detail by numerous studies by Diego Ruiz Mata: cf. e.g. RUIZ MATA 1999; RUIZ MATA 2016, with bibl. For the recent excavations on the ancient island of *Erytheia* and *Kotinoussa*, cf. the contributions collected in BOTTO 2014a. On the *status quaestionis* of the foundation of *Gadir*, cf. BOTTO 2014b.

⁹⁹ FERRER ALBELDA 2017, who analyses the strategy for the Phoenician occupation of this area and Cadiz in a deep and believable way.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. the studies cited at notes 96 and 97.

¹⁰¹ ÁLVAREZ – GÓMEZ BELLARD 2005.

¹⁰² VIVES-FERRÁNDIZ – CAÑETE – BERTRAN 2010, 104-106; BOTTO 2013b, 177-179.

¹⁰³ GRAS 1992.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. e.g. AUBET 2000; AUBET 2009, *passim*; BOTTO 2015a, 260-261; LÓPEZ CASTRO 2018.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. e.g. BONNET 1988; ÁLVAREZ 2014; GARBATI 2015; ÁLVAREZ 2018.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. e.g. BELÉN – ESCACENA 1997; BÉLEN 2000; ESCACENA CARRASCO – IZQUIERDO DE MONTES 2008; ARRUDA – CELESTINO PÉREZ 2009; DELGADO 2010; BOTTO 2011a, 37-40.

¹⁰⁷ In the Phoenician world the importance of the temple area for barter and interaction is evidenced by the word *maqom*, which is used to indicate both a sacred space and the market place: LÓPEZ CASTRO 2018, 79-80. The priests who operated in these structures were the guarantors of agreements, oaths and transactions between the Phoenician merchants and the powerful local lords. Besides the studies cited in the previous notes, cf. in particular RUIZ DE ARBULO 2000 and for those of the Greek world DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2001.



Fig. 11. Huelva, Map of the buildings at 7-13 Méndez Núñez St. / 12 Las Monjas Sq. and 3 Concepción St. (from GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2018)

4. PHOENICIANS AND EUBOEANS IN HUELVA

The oldest imports from the eastern Mediterranean come from the port area and more precisely from the finds made during the building work carried out at 7-13 Méndez Núñez St./12 Las Monjas Sq. (hereinafter MN/PM). Since the publication appeared in 2004¹⁰⁸, it has become clear to the specialists that these were extraordinarily interesting discoveries given the quantity and quality of the recovered artefacts (Fig. 11).

Particular emphasis was given to the ceramic evidence from these finds, but the many artefacts found at MN/PM attest to the multiple craft activi-

ties that were precociously developed here: they range from worked ivory, to engraved gems, from carpentry to iron, copper and silverwork¹⁰⁹.

The weighing of precious metals such as gold or silver is confirmed by the presence of cubic lead weights¹¹⁰ that refer to a weight system universally used during the Iron Age in the Syro-Palestine areas: this is the so-called Syrian or “Ugaritic” *shekel* with a standard weight of 9.4-9.6 grams¹¹¹. Most

¹⁰⁹ The first traces of cupellation techniques in the region have also been identified at PM/MN: GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2004, 150; ROVIRA – RENZI 2013, 484.

¹¹⁰ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 154-155.

¹¹¹ On these questions, cf. RUIZ-GÁLVEZ PRIEGO 2009, 104; VILAÇA 2011; GARCÍA-BELLIDO 2013; MELANDRI – PARISE 2016, 115-119, and MORA SERRANO 2017, 29.

¹⁰⁸ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004.

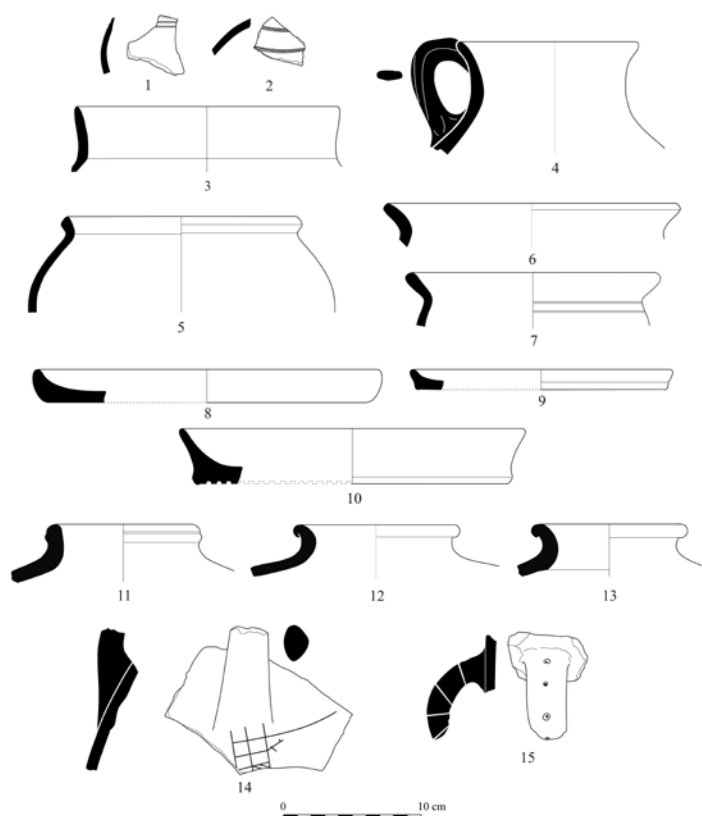


Fig. 12. Huelva, 3 Concepción St. Sardinian pottery: no. 10 show the *teglie* with indentations in the base (from GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2018)

importantly, it differs from the Phoenician *shekel* of 7.5-7.9 grams, used during the “colonisation” period and adopted in Mediterranean Andalusia at Cerro del Villar and later in Extremadura¹¹².

Focusing on the pottery, of more than 8000 fragments discussed in the monograph¹¹³, that represent just 9% of the fragments brought to light, the greatest number was of local handmade pottery (4,703), followed by Phoenician productions (3,233). Limited, but extremely indicative for assessing the nature and breadth of the contacts is the Greek (33), Cypriot (8), Sardinian (30) and “Villanovan” (2) pottery¹¹⁴.

The Phoenician material is undoubtedly the oldest ceramic ensemble found on the Iberian Peninsula prior to the first colonial foundations¹¹⁵. As has

been repeatedly stressed, the difficulties of dating the Phoenician pottery from MN/PM comes from the secondary nature of the context which makes the results of the ¹⁴C analyses unreliable¹¹⁶. For this reason Francisco J. Núñez’s proposal for the chrono-typological-seriation reading of the eastern origin material from MN/PM is a useful tool for classifying the pottery. The scholar places it between the mid/third-quarter of the 9th and the first decades of the 8th centuries BC¹¹⁷. However, the possibility of a Phoenician presence in the Huelva region in an earlier phase, during the second half of the 10th/first half of the 9th centuries BC is reaffirmed by the publishers of the MN/PM material¹¹⁸.

From MN/PM also comes the richest and most varied ensemble of Nuragic pottery present on the Iberian Peninsula comprising askoid jugs and storage and transport vessels, such as the *vasi a collo*¹¹⁹. To this ceramic repertoire should be added seven *teglie* inspired by Nuragic productions but probably produced with local clays¹²⁰. This is further evidence in favour of the suggestion that Nuragic sailors frequented the port in a non-episodic way.

An active participation of the Nuragic community in the commercial activities of the Phoenicians in the Iberian Peninsula is confirmed by the discovery of “hybrid” pottery, the result of collaboration between craftsmen of the two ethnic groups and for this reason defined “Sardo-Phoenician”. A case study is that of the *teglie* with indentations in the base (Fig. 12) and called *teglie forate* by Rubens D’Oriano¹²¹. This technical method to accelerate the spread of heat and allow a better cooking of food is believed to have been introduced into the West by Phoenicians¹²². In Huelva, amongst the material found in 3 Concepción Street (hereinafter C3), which we will return to in more detail later, have been found eight *teglie* three of which with indentations

¹¹⁶ The question is dealt with by NÚÑEZ 2018a, 168-175 *contra* GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 44-48 (appendix).

¹¹⁷ NÚÑEZ 2017, 19-22; NÚÑEZ 2018a; NÚÑEZ 2018b.

¹¹⁸ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 43-44; GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES 2018, 68; GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2018, 69-77.

¹¹⁹ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 100-106; FUNDONI 2009; FUNDONI 2012. For an askoid jug found in 15-17 Palos Street, cf. GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2018, 88-96.

¹²⁰ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 117-118; GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 33.

¹²¹ D’ORIANO 2012, 259-260.

¹²² BOTTO 2009, 361-363.

¹¹² AUBET 2002; AUBET 2018, 335-336, fig. 20.

¹¹³ Cf. *supra* note 108.

¹¹⁴ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2006, 15. For the Cypriot pottery, cf. the recent discussions by NÚÑEZ 2018a, 141-142.

¹¹⁵ Cf. RAMON TORRES 2010, 218; NÚÑEZ 2017, 19-23; NÚÑEZ 2018a; NÚÑEZ 2018b, 327-342.

in the base which the authors consider to be of «genuinely Sardinian origin»¹²³. Nevertheless, the ceramic shape that better than any other testifies to the Sardo-Phoenician commercial agreements is that of the “Sant’Imbenia” amphora, used mainly to trade Sardinian produced wine¹²⁴. In this regard it should be noted that amongst the examples found at MN/PM one has a post-fired Phoenician inscription engraved on it¹²⁵.

Greek pottery is documented by a relatively small number of pieces (33 out of the more than 8000 selected), all fine ware¹²⁶. This batch of material has been the object of in-depth study recently¹²⁷ and has been dealt with last by Nota Kourou in her article analysing Euboean presence from East to West in this volume.

There are nine Attic imports dated to MG II – all relating to drinking ware (skyphoi; kantharoi) with the exception of a trilobe mouthed jug (Fig. 13)¹²⁸ – and 21 Euboean-Cycladic vases: amongst these are two pendent-semicircle skyphoi and 15 pendent-semicircle plates, datable to the SPG III (Fig. 14)¹²⁹.

The PSC plates from Huelva have attracted the attention of many scholars¹³⁰ and some have seen them to be evidence of the presence of Euboean merchants in the Atlantic emporium¹³¹. Their importance as indicators of a product aimed mainly at the needs of the Phoenician market had already been underlined by Coldstream¹³². However, the English scholar did not believe plausible that



Fig. 13. Huelva, 7-13 Méndez Núñez St. / 12 Las Monjas Square: proposed reconstruction of two kantharoi (Huelva Museum, inv. no. A/CE 9290 and A/CE 9291) (from LÓPEZ DE LA ORDEN – GARCÍA ALFONSO 2010-2011)

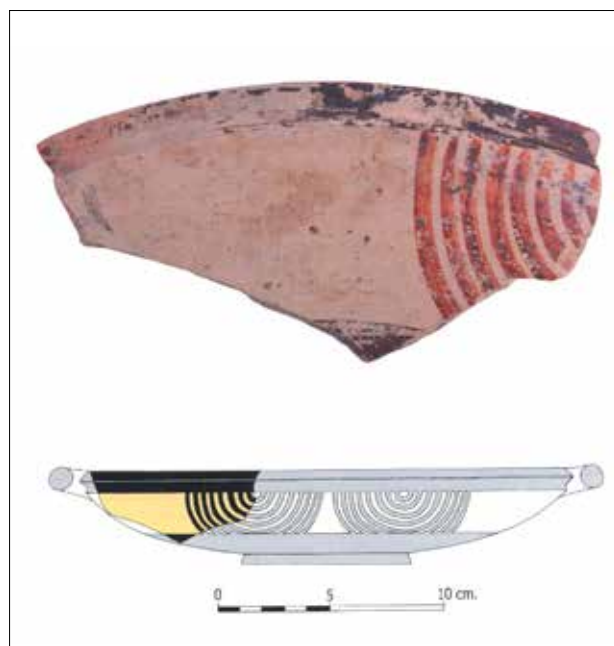


Fig. 14. Huelva, 7-13 Méndez Núñez St. / 12 Las Monjas Sq.: reconstruction of a PSC plate (Huelva Museum, inv. N. A/DJ 9705) (from LÓPEZ DE LA ORDEN – GARCÍA ALFONSO 2010-2011)

¹²³ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 32-33. The examples with indentations are reproduced *ibidem*, pl. XIII, 14-16.

¹²⁴ Cf. *supra* section 2 and note 72. For a review of the finds from Huelva and more generally in the Iberian Peninsula, cf. BOTTO 2015b and BOTTO 2020.

¹²⁵ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 133, no. 2; GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2018, 90-91.

¹²⁶ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 82-94.

¹²⁷ Cf. in particular GARCÍA ALFONSO 2016, 105-107, 121-124; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2017a, 218-220; NÚÑEZ 2018a, 142-144; KOUROU 2019, 166.

¹²⁸ For the two better conserved kantharoi, cf. E. GARCÍA ALFONSO, in LÓPEZ DE LA ORDEN – GARCÍA ALFONSO 2010-2011, 68-69, no. 14 (dated to MG II, 800-760 BC).

¹²⁹ For an example amongst the better conserved, cf. E. GARCÍA ALFONSO, in LÓPEZ DE LA ORDEN – GARCÍA ALFONSO 2010-2011, 70-71, no. 15 (dated to SP III, 800-770 BC).

¹³⁰ Cf. e.g. COLDSTREAM 2011; CHIRPALNIEVA 2019, 188; SHERATT 2019, 137-138.

¹³¹ D'AGOSTINO 2017, 403.

¹³² Cf. *supra* notes 58-61.

Greek pottery reached Huelva on Euboean ships and attributed its spread to the Phoenicians¹³³.

Bruno d'Agostino is of a different opinion, for him the PSC plates could have arrived at Huelva on Euboean ships following a route – already indicated by Mauro Cristofani – from the Tyrrhenian coast of the Italian Peninsula towards the Tuscan Archipelago to reach the Sant'Imbenia emporium and from there, through a well-tested route already in existence from the Final Bronze Age, headed towards the far West¹³⁴. This is an alternative route to the “African” one, that the recent excavations at Utica have clearly demonstrated by unearthing numerous pieces of Euboean Greek pottery.

Just 43 m from MN/PM, in C3 (Fig. 11), a lot of pottery was found between 2009 and 2010 which partially overlaps with the previous group down to the mid 8th century BC¹³⁵. Almost double the amount of Phoenician material (830) was found compared to local handmade pottery (415)¹³⁶. The third group of material was Sardinian pottery, both Nuragic and Sardo-Phoenician such as the “Sant'Imbenia” amphorae; Greek pottery is represented by three examples whilst there is only one open vessel sherd, probably from a bowl and classified as Cypriot Black-on-Red¹³⁷.

Turning to the Nuragic pottery, besides the omnipresent askoid jug and *vasi a collo*, there are cooking pot rims and eight *teglie*, confirming the previous statement about the stable presence of Nuragic communities at Huelva¹³⁸. The importance of trading Sardinian wine is confirmed by the large number of Sardo-Phoenician amphora sherds¹³⁹. With regards to this material, two things are especially relevant: the first is a Sardo-Phoenician amphora base containing grape seeds; the second is the

identification of pre-fired Phoenician inscriptions and marks on this type of amphora bodies¹⁴⁰, as found at PM/MN and recently at La Rebanadilla¹⁴¹. This is a further confirmation supporting the hypothesis of the direct involvement of Nuragic communities in the commercial activities initiated by the Phoenicians in the central-west basin of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic¹⁴².

Concerning the Greek pottery there are two skyphoi and one jug¹⁴³. These are possibly of Euboean origin and their chronology seems to belong to MG II¹⁴⁴. One of the skyphoi seems to be a “Black cup”¹⁴⁵: this type is not very common among western imports, but is present at the Pontecagnano necropolis, Cuma, Francavilla Marittima and now at Utica¹⁴⁶.

It is also important to note the Phoenician adaptation of two Greek skyphoi¹⁴⁷, which are remarkably interesting; they are amongst the oldest discoveries of a fashion that became widespread in the western Phoenician world in the 7th and the first half of the 6th centuries BC¹⁴⁸.

Other Euboean and Attic pottery has been found at Huelva: to the former can be attributed a one-bird skyphos of MG II/LG I, which was found without context at 9 Puerto Street (Fig. 15)¹⁴⁹; whilst to Attic production can be assigned a krater or pyxis from the MG II period, which was discovered devoid of context on Palos Street¹⁵⁰.

¹³³ COLDSTREAM 2011, 181–182. A thesis held also by SHERATT 2019, 137–138, 142–143, 145.

¹³⁴ D'AGOSTINO 2017, 403 and 414.

¹³⁵ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017; GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES 2018, 68–69; GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2018, 77–80.

¹³⁶ The amphorae produced in the east were examined separately and not included in the calculation: GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 5.

¹³⁷ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 39, pl. XV, 4.

¹³⁸ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 31–33, pl. XIII–XIV, for a complete review of the materials.

¹³⁹ For the start of vine cultivation in the Huelva hinterland, cf. VERA RODRÍGUEZ – ECHEVARRÍA SÁNCHEZ 2013; VERA RODRÍGUEZ – ECHEVARRÍA SÁNCHEZ 2015.

¹⁴⁰ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 35. For the pottery from Sardinia, cf. *ibidem*, 31–33, 41.

¹⁴¹ Cf. *supra* section 3 and notes 79, 92–93.

¹⁴² BOTTO 2004–2005; BOTTO 2011a; BOTTO 2013a; BOTTO 2015b.

¹⁴³ Cf. the in-depth study by A.J. DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO, in GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 35–39.

¹⁴⁴ DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2017a, 219.

¹⁴⁵ KOUROU 2005, 502–504.

¹⁴⁶ A.J. DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO, in GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 38.

¹⁴⁷ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 21, pl. VI, 22–23.

¹⁴⁸ For the attribution of these products we agree with DOCTER 2014, 69: «Finally, I would now add the conclusion that these Phoenician skyphoi and kotylai were made for a Phoenician, rather than for a Greek clientele». Cf. also CHIRPANLIEVA 2019, 180–185. For the many examples found in south-west Sardinia, cf. BOTTO 2009 (Nora); GUIRGUIS 2010, 180–182 (*Sulky*, S. Vittorio di Carloforte, Monte Sirai); DESSENA 2015, 123–129 (Nuraghe Tratalias); SANTOCCHINI GERG 2019, 370–381 (Nuraghe Sirai).

¹⁴⁹ DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2017a, 220, fig. 3. For an accurate description of the find, cf. J. FERNÁNDEZ JURADO, in LÓPEZ DE LA ORDEN – GARCÍA ALFONSO 2010–2011, 172–173, no. 38.

¹⁵⁰ GARCÍA ALFONSO 2016, 124, fig. 16 (with further referen-

If we compare the situation at Huelva with that of La Rebanadilla and Utica it is immediately evident that the large amount of data from the Atlantic port comes with a complete absence of reliable contexts due to the nature of the finds' deposition. Most of the material examined comes from the deepest levels which were affected by the water table and cannot be considered a primary position. Nonetheless, thanks to Francisco Núñez's research it is possible to maintain that the first ships from Tyre with their mixed cargoes of handcrafts, pottery and wine-amphorae reached Huelva around the middle of the 9th century BC¹⁵¹.

The scholars who have been more recently interested in the Greek imports agree that the Euboean and Attic productions are mainly attributable to the SPG III and MG II, therefore, in terms of absolute chronology between the end of the 9th and the first half of the 8th centuries BC¹⁵². Concerning the types of vessel found, the PSC plates were probably destined for Phoenician merchants living in the emporium who were becoming wealthy through the metal trade. Furthermore, Nota Kourou underlines the possible presence of a so-called "dinner set" where an Attic skyphos is accompanied by a large Attic krater¹⁵³. However, it should be noted that the large prestige vessels, such as kraters or pyxides, quite common in Cyprus and the Near East, are almost completely absent in the West¹⁵⁴.

The few but significant imports from Cyprus (Cypro-Archaic I) are found in the same chronological level as the Greek imports¹⁵⁵.

The arrival of the "Sant'Imbenia" amphora in Huelva must also be dated to the final decades of the



Fig. 15. Huelva, 9 Puerto St.: fragment of one-bird skyphos of the MG II / LG I (Huelva Museum, no. inv. A / CE 5010) (from LÓPEZ DE LA ORDEN – GARCÍA ALFONSO 2010-2011)

9th century – these attest to the start of the Sardo-Phoenician trade in the Mediterranean and Atlantic – in parallel with the evidence from Utica and La Rebanadilla. It is also interesting to note that MN/PM also has amphorae that were probably produced in *Sulky* and its hinterland, based on their particular type of rim¹⁵⁶. These are the oldest productions from pottery workshops in the Phoenician colony in south-west Sardinia, that testify both to the cultivation of vines in Sulcis for the production and trading of wine and the early inclusion of the centre in the route that led from Phoenicia to the coasts of southern Spain¹⁵⁷. The intense influx of foodstuffs into the Atlantic emporium in the first half of the 8th century BC is confirmed by the discovery of amphorae produced in the Malaga region in C3¹⁵⁸.

Wine "services" arrived alongside the Sardinian-produced wine at Huelva and again the askoid jug together with a variety of associated drinking vessels were important. Amongst these, from C3, in addition to the cup with a "fishbone" pattern along the rim from MN/PM¹⁵⁹, was probably a *boccale* with a reversed elbow handle – previously noted

ces); DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2017a, 220.

¹⁵¹ For the wide range of products transported by the Phoenicians in these early contacts, cf. GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES 2018, 69. For the productive and handcraft activities carried out by the Phoenicians at Huelva, cf. BOTTO 2015a.

¹⁵² Cf. GARCÍA ALFONSO 2016, 121; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2017a, 219-220, even if the scholar does not exclude the possibility that «some of the pendent semicircular plates (but not the majority) may be a little earlier». Nota Kourou in her contribution to this volume states: «...the Greek pottery from the south of Iberia covers a period broadly datable from the end of the 9th till the mid-8th centuries». Cf. also NÚÑEZ 2018a, 144, and NÚÑEZ 2018b, 338.

¹⁵³ KOUROU 2019, 161, 166.

¹⁵⁴ For the symbolic value and the prestige of these vases in the first contacts by the Greek and Phoenicians in the East, cf. MAZAR – KOUROU 2019, 386-387; KOUROU 2019, 160-165.

¹⁵⁵ NÚÑEZ 2018a, 141-142, 144, and NÚÑEZ 2018b, 338.

¹⁵⁶ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 69; GUIRGUIS 2012, 51-53.

¹⁵⁷ For an in-depth examination on these aspects, cf. BOTTO 2007, 87-97, and BOTTO 2012, 67-69.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. the contribution by Joan Ramon in GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 35 (Type T-10.3.1.1.).

¹⁵⁹ BOTTO 2004-2005, 22.

among the “services” at La Rebanadilla and Cadiz 29 Ancha Street – but of which only a part of the handle is preserved¹⁶⁰.

Due to the lack of stratigraphy, and therefore contexts, it is impossible to establish whether of the Nuragic material from MN/PM and C3 any reached Huelva before the end of the 9th century. In the same way it is problematic to establish whether any of the local handmade pottery is older than the first Phoenician imports¹⁶¹. However one fact must be kept in mind: «while rims and bases of Phoenician and local vessels were balanced at MN/PM (3112 and 3000, respectively), at C3, the former (830) is double the latter (421)»¹⁶². Taking into account that the most recent material from C3 is found from the second half of the 8th century BC, the predominance of the Phoenician material compared to local productions might be the result of an exponential growth of the eastern presence in the port area of Huelva.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the light of the recent discoveries made in Andalusia, it is possible to state that the trade agreements made by the Phoenicians and Euboeans in the eastern Mediterranean from the 11th century BC were successfully repeated about two centuries later in the west Mediterranean and Atlantic. The Greek material found at Huelva and Rebanadilla was the result of direct trade that the Euboeans were able to organise by exploiting the nautical knowledge acquired by the Tyrian sailors in the mid-9th century BC. The Phoenician presence in the Iberian Peninsula not only preceded the Greek one but right from its early stages took on the shape of a structured intervention. It was in fact the result of a precise political plan – shared by the aristocracy and the mercantile oligarchy – from the city of Tyre, aimed at the exploiting the huge metal resources of western Andalusia. This project found its complete realisation in the foundation of *Gadir* and in the progressive occupation of the bay of Cadiz by the Phoenicians in synergy with the local communities. This was a long-term project that started at the end

of the 9th century with the settlement of a group of colonists on *Erytheia* and continued on land over the 8th century BC with the construction of a fortified centre at the mouth of the Guadalete. Functional to the foundation of the colony was the building of a temple dedicated to Melqart on the southernmost point of the island of *Kotinoussa*. This was followed – between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th centuries BC – by the construction of the fortified site of Cerro del Castillo in a symmetrical position on the mainland which controlled the southern entrance to the Gulf¹⁶³.

The strategic role of *Gadir* in the expansionist Atlantic policy of Tyre is reflected in its foundation myth: like the Phoenician metropolis, the colony was founded by Melqart in his role as *archegetes*. According to recent interpretations the intervention of the divine figure would legitimise the new colony at both a political and religious level, effectively transforming it into an extension of the Phoenician motherland¹⁶⁴.

The study of the pottery from the recent excavations at *Erytheia* has allowed us to highlight an extremely important economic and cultural fact: the arrival of Sardinian wine in the Bay of Cadiz along with “sets” for its consumption¹⁶⁵. From this point of view, *Gadir*’s commercial policy is in line with that of Huelva and La Rebanadilla. However, the total absence of Greek pottery in the *Gadir* archipelago for the historical phases covered by this investigation is striking. This might be due to the “closure” of the Gulf to Euboean traders at a time when Tyre still had to become politically important in the region. This is a plausible thesis but one that can only be tested after the publication of the CDB material, given that the greatest wealth from the silver trade was concentrated at the fortified centre at the mouth of the Guadalete. To get an idea of the importance achieved by the settlement during the 8th century BC it is enough to remember the exceptional discovery in one of the excavated structures of a heap of litharge “buns” – i.e. the lead oxide produced by the Phoenicians in the process of silver reduction – with a total weight exceeding 1000 kg¹⁶⁶.

¹⁶⁰ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 31, pl. XIII, 10.

¹⁶¹ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 195.

¹⁶² GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 41.

¹⁶³ Cf. *supra* note 98.

¹⁶⁴ MARÍN CEBALLOS 2011; ÁLVAREZ 2014.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. BOTTO 2014b; BOTTO 2020.

¹⁶⁶ RUIZ MATA 1989, 232.

At the present state of play, the presence of Greek material in Andalusia is exclusively related to the sacred area where the commercial activities took place¹⁶⁷. In addition to the cases examined from La Rebanadilla and Huelva, the discovery of a sherd from a skyphos rim at El Carambolo (Fig. 16) should be noted, dated to the transition period between MG II and LG I¹⁶⁸. Again for this piece there is no unanimous opinion amongst the specialists as to whether it is of Attic or Euboean production, the most commonly accepted date is that of 780-760 BC¹⁶⁹.

The El Carambolo sanctuary, through its dominant position on the Guadalquivir estuary was well placed in relation to shipping and maritime trade. Moreover, according to accredited hypotheses, the mercantile function of the sanctuary would have played a leading role in the economic development of the area, leading to the foundation of **Spal*¹⁷⁰. The discovery in recent excavations of a clay model of a Phoenician ship with a horse protome (Fig. 17) together with Greek, Sardinian and Cypriot pottery supports this interpretation¹⁷¹.

The situation at the mouth of the Guadalquivir on the one hand confirms the diversified nature of the goods and craft production that reached the coasts of Andalusia from the central Mediterranean, whilst on the other hand leaves open the possibility that commercial activities were shared between a variety of actors in the far West between the second half of the 9th and the mid-8th centuries BC.

The recent discoveries of Greek, Sardinian, Villanovan and Cypriot materials on the Iberian Peninsula have helped clarify the ever widening networks of contacts that were developing in this crucial historical moment that preceded and partly accompanied the foundation of the first colonies. In this regard the discovery of a Lyre-Player Group scaraboid seal from the founding depository of the sanctuary and identified in the stratigraphic excavations

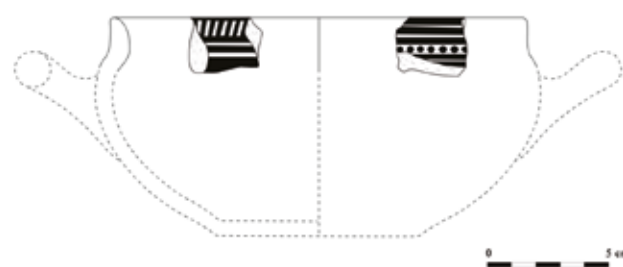


Fig. 16. El Carambolo, reconstruction of a skyphos dated to the transition period between MG II and LG I (from GARCÍA ALFONSO 2016)

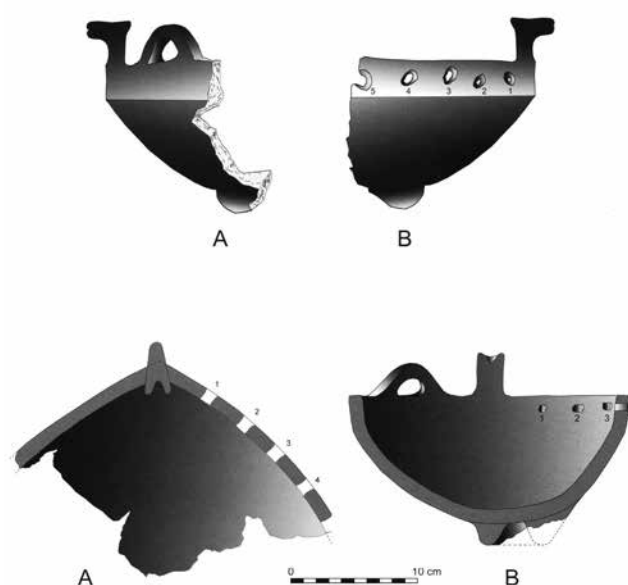


Fig. 17. El Carambolo, clay model of a Phoenician ship with horse protome (from ESCACENA CARRASCO – FERNÁNDEZ FLORES – RODRÍGUEZ AZOGUE 2007)

conducted at MN/PM¹⁷² is of particular value. The seal represents a hunting scene with a lion and an ungulate¹⁷³ (Fig. 18). There are comparisons from East and West: e.g. examples from Karkemish¹⁷⁴, Ialysos¹⁷⁵, Macchiabate¹⁷⁶ and Etruria¹⁷⁷. Of particular interest for our analysis are the seals from

¹⁶⁷ DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2017a, 225.

¹⁶⁸ FERNÁNDEZ FLORES – RODRÍGUEZ AZOGUE 2007, 204-205, fig. 84.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. GARCÍA ALFONSO 2016, 125-126, fig. 19; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2017a, 223, fig. 4; KOUROU 2019, 166, and Nota Kourou in her contribution to this volume.

¹⁷⁰ BELÉN 2000; FERRER ALBELDA 2017, 29-30.

¹⁷¹ ESCACENA CARRASCO – FERNÁNDEZ FLORES – RODRÍGUEZ AZOGUE 2007; FERNÁNDEZ FLORES – RODRÍGUEZ AZOGUE 2007, 122-123, note 7, and 201-203, figs. 79-81. For the Nuragic pottery, cf. also TORRES ORTIZ 2004.

¹⁷² OSUNA RUIZ – BENDIA GARCÍA – DOMÍNGUEZ RICO 2001; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2001, 248-250; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2020, 62-63.

¹⁷³ SERRANO *et al.* 2012; GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2018, 80-84.

¹⁷⁴ BUCHNER – BOARDMAN 1966, 32, fig. 42.107b.

¹⁷⁵ RIZZO 2007, 55, 57, figs. 46, 51.

¹⁷⁶ BOARDMAN 1990, 5, fig. 8.

¹⁷⁷ BUCHNER – BOARDMAN 1966, 24, fig. 30.40.



Fig. 18. Huelva, 7-13 Méndez Núñez St. / 12 Las Monjas Sq.: Lyre-Player Group scaraboid seal (from GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2018)

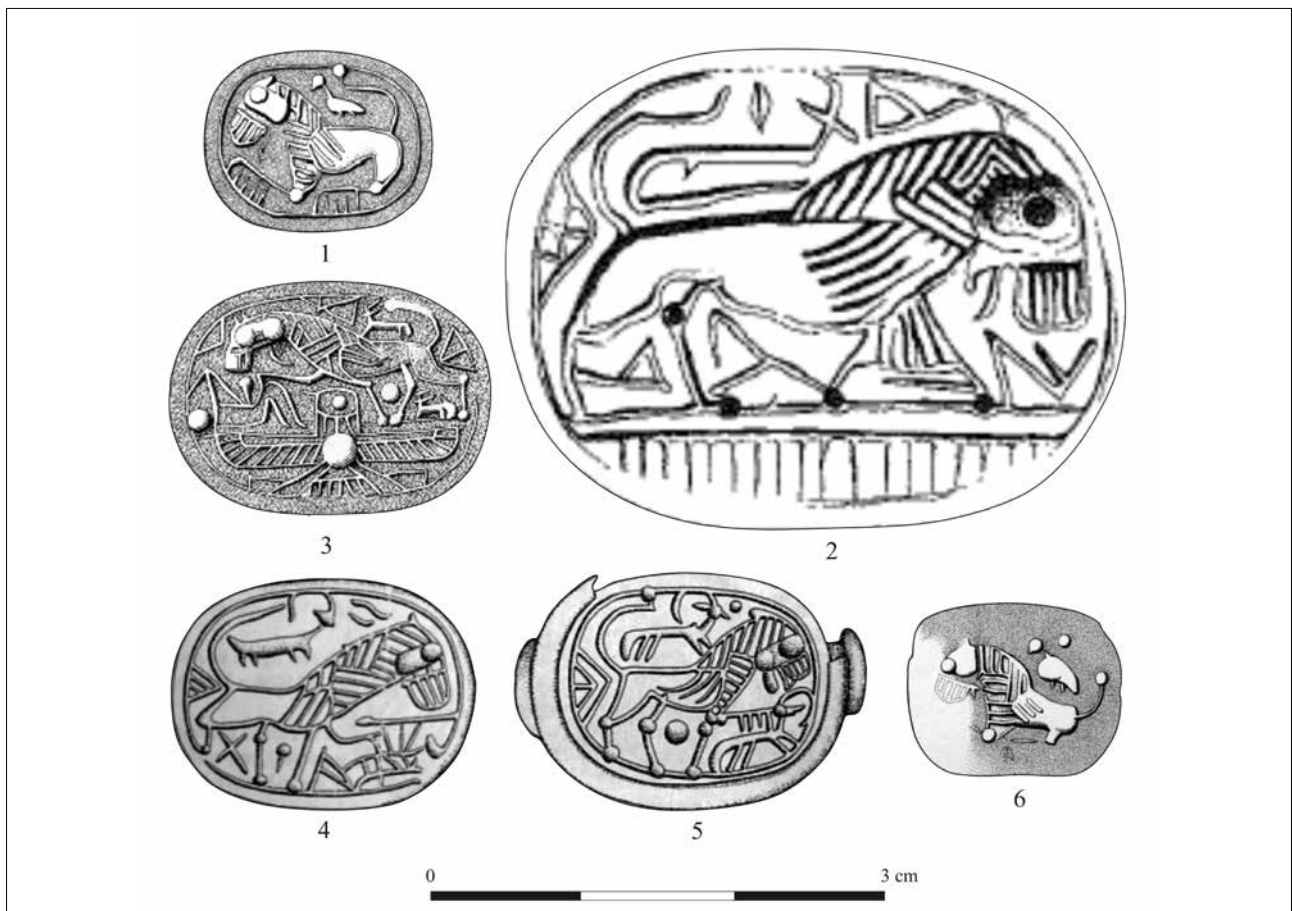


Fig. 19. Lyre-Player Group scaraboid parallels: 1. Pithekoussai (from BUCHNER – BOARDMAN 1966, 12 fig. 17.14); 2. Macchiabate (from BOARDMAN 1990, 5 fig. 8); 3. Etruria (from BUCHNER – BOARDMAN 1966, 24 fig. 30.40); 4. Ialysos (from RIZZO 2007, 55 fig. 46); 5. Ialysos (from RIZZO 2007, 57 fig. 51); 6. Karkemish (from BUCHNER – BOARDMAN 1966, 32 fig. 42.107b) (from GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2018)

two contexts of the San Montano necropolis, at Pithekoussai, dated to the LG¹⁷⁸ (Fig. 19). The seal from Huelva, despite being found in a secondary context, is further evidence of the intense stream of people and goods that reached the Atlantic from across the Mediterranean in the MG II/LG I.

This seal is of particular importance in the context of this conference because it underlines, amidst the complex network of contacts, a possible, albeit indirect, connection between Huelva and Pithek-

oussai. Concerning this – and thinking about merchant, entrepreneurial and craftsman mobility – alongside the Greek or Phoenician merchants travelling to the Huelva emporium, we would like to place their Tartessic counterpart. This merchant, after having travelled across the Mediterranean between Sardinia and Carthage, settled at Pithekoussai and was buried there with his most precious homeland ornament: a bronze “à double resorte” fibula¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁸ For the examples from San Montano, cf. BUCHNER – BOARDMAN 1966, 11-12, figs. 17.14 and 18; BUCHNER 1982, 278, fig. 1.

¹⁷⁹ This is the example found in tomb 700 of LG II (BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 673, pl. CLXXXVIII). As far as the text is concerned, the discoveries at Huelva in the MN/PM excavations are significant (GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 154), at La Rebanadilla (cf. *supra* section 3), at Carthage (MANSEL 2011, 73-74) and in Sardinia. For the island, in addition to the findings from the cave sanctuary of Su Benatzu, in Santadi, and from burial 219 from Bithia from the end of the 7th century BC (cf. e.g. DESSENA 2015, 26-27, with bibl.), a third example was found in the Nuragic village of S'Arcu 'e is Forros (SALIS – MINOJA 2015, 155, pl. 2.2).

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from which they came; today their interpretation forms part of a wider analysis which starts with the stratigraphic sequences and goes on with the role of Euboean, Pitheculan, Corinthian and Ionic presence in Sardinia from the end of the 9th to the middle of the 6th centuries BC.

MASSIMO BOTTO, *Phoenicians and Greeks in the Iberian Peninsula between the 9th and the 8th Centuries BC*

Commercial agreement between the Phoenicians and Euboeans started in the Aegean and the Near East from the 11th century onwards. It was consolidated in the central Mediterranean as early as the 9th century as confirmed by the recent investigations at Utica and by the study of the oldest Greek pottery found in Sardinia. Regarding the Iberian peninsula, the discoveries made in the historic centre of Huelva, the ancient Onoba, have forced a revision of the times and circumstances of the Greek and Phoenician presence in the Atlantic, extending

the first contacts with the local population to the 9th century BC. The chronology of the end of the 9th – early 8th centuries BC has been confirmed by the foundation of *Gadir*, in the Bay of Cadiz, and the coastal settlement of La Rebanadilla, near Malaga, where ships from the eastern Mediterranean restocked before the difficult passage through of the Straits of Gibraltar. In these contexts indigenous and Phoenician materials predominate, accompanied in lesser numbers by Greek, Cypriot, Sardinian and sometimes Tyrrhenian Italian pottery. Investigations have shown both the strategic role that Sardinia played in the connections between the eastern Mediterranean and the Iberian Peninsula and the active participation they played in the commercial traffic organised by Tyre and directed towards the rich metal deposits of the Huelva region. Although largely within the orbit of the powerful Phoenician city, trade with Spain was characterised by the varied nature of the imported materials from the main production centres of the Levantine coast, from Greece, Cyprus and other areas of the central Mediterranean.

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