

THE PHOENICIANS OF THE ARCHAIC EPOCH (8th-7th CENTURIES B.C.) IN THE BAY OF CÁDIZ (SPAIN). CÁDIZ AND CASTILLO DE DONA BLANCA

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Resumen

En este artículo analizamos desde una perspectiva el conjunto de investigaciones en el poblado fenicio del Castillo de Doña Blanca (El Puerto de Santa María, Cádiz) y se han planteado las excavaciones de las ruinas en la ciudad de Cádiz, se han conocido desde una serie de aspectos múltiples, múltiples aspectos de la presencia fenicia en la bahía gaditana y el conjunto arqueológico de las actividades. Los restos arqueológicos y epigráficos, que han permitido hacer un estudio de la actividad fenicia en la zona de la bahía de Cádiz, se han conocido a través de las excavaciones arqueológicas y los resultados. En este artículo se abordan la creación y transformación de la ciudad de Cádiz (siglos VIII-VI a.C.), la zona de la bahía gaditana y la propia ciudad de Cádiz, y se han conocido de la presencia fenicia en la zona de la bahía de Cádiz, que en la actualidad, se han conocido de la actividad fenicia en la zona de la bahía de Cádiz, que en la actualidad, se han conocido de la actividad fenicia en la zona de la bahía de Cádiz.

VIII.- ORIENTE EN OCCIDENTE

1. THE FOUNDING OF GADIR: CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

According to the ancient historians and geographers, the first Phoenician colony founded in the far western Mediterranean was Gadir, around 1100-1050 B.C. Strabo (II.5.5), who wrote during the time of Augustus, preserves this tradition in the following terms: "About the founding of Gadeira, here is what the Gaditani say: they remember that a certain oracle contacted the Tyrans [founders] of the city of Tyre to find a settlement at the Columns of Hercules. These who were sent to search for exploration arrived at the point that is next to Rabis, and they believed that the promontories forming the strait were the ends of the world and the end of Hercules's labours, supposing, therefore, that these were the places where the oracle had spoken. They anchored in a certain place on the shore of the bay, where today stands the city of the Tyrans... at present, however, it is called Gadir, because they offered a sacrifice to the gods at this point on the coast and the sacrifices were not propitious, they returned. Later, the entire colony of Tyrans arrived at the island converted to Hercules, located near Onuba [modern Huelva], a point of land, and about a thousand five hundred stadia distant (about 250 km) from Tyre. When they found that the columns of Hercules were there, they fixated their camp, and the oracle of the Tyrans were unmovable, and they remained in their place. And the city was founded, they founded Gadeira and named the surrounding area the name of the city of the Tyrans and the city in the western part."

According to ancient belief, the founding of Gadir occurred around 1100-1050 B.C. Vellius Tiberius, Roman historian of the 1st century, states the date for the foundation of Gadir some eighty years after the fall of Troy. In the 19th and 20th centuries

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Resumen

En estos últimos años, desde que comenzó el proyecto de investigación en el poblado fenicio del Castillo de Doña Blanca (El Puerto Santa María, Cádiz) y se intensificaron las excavaciones de urgencia en la ciudad de Cádiz, se van conociendo desde una visión arqueológica numerosos aspectos de la presencia fenicia en la Bahía gaditana, el centro neurálgico de sus actividades. Los textos escritos grecorromanos, que han constituido hasta comienzos de la década de los años ochenta las únicas fuentes de información, se cuestionan a causa de las excavaciones arqueológicas y sus resultados. En este artículo se abordan la cronología tradicional de la fundación de Gadir – hacia 1101 a.C. -, la costa en época protohistórica y la propia ciudad de Cádiz, y especialmente el proceso histórico-arqueológico del Castillo de Doña Blanca, que en la actualidad constituye el referente y la fuente principal para el conocimiento de la presencia fenicia en Occidente.

1. THE FOUNDING OF GADIR. CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

According to the ancient historians and geographers, the oldest phoenician colony founded in the far western Mediterranean was Gadir, around 1104/1103 B.C. Strabo (III.5.5), who wrote during the time of Augustus, recounts this event to us in the following terms: “About the founding of Gadeira, here is what the Gaditanians say they remember: that a certain oracle commanded the Tyrians (inhabitants of the city of Tyre) to found a settlement at the Columns of Hercules; those who were sent to make the exploration arrived at the strait that is next to Kalpe, and they believed that the promontories forming the strait were the ends of the inhabited earth and the end of Hercules’s labours; supposing, therefore, that these were the columns about which the oracle had spoken, they anchored in a certain place on this side of the columns, where today stands the city of the Exitani – at present Almuñécar (Granada). However, because they offered a sacrifice to the gods at this point on the coast and the victims were not propitious, they returned. Later, the envoys crossed the strait, arriving at an island consecrated to Hercules, located near Onoba (possibly Huelva), a city of Iberia, and about a thousand five hundred stadia distant (about 270 km); since they believed that the columns of Hercules were there, they again sacrificed to the gods; but again the victims were unfavorable, and they returned to their homeland. On the third expedition they founded Gadeira and erected the sanctuary on the eastern part of the island and the city in the western part”.

According to ancient belief, the founding of Gadir occurred around 1104/3 B.C. C. Velleius Paterculus, Roman historian of the 1st century, places the date for the foundation of Gadir some eighty years after the fall of Troy: “In this epoch, the Tyrian

fleet, which controlled the sea, founded Gadir, at the end of Spain and at the end of the earth, on an island surrounded by the ocean, separated from the continent by a very narrow strait. A few years later, the same people founded Utica" (Historia Romanorum I.2.3, around 30 A.D.). And according to Timaeus, a Greek author of the 3rd century B.C. who used Phoenician or Carthaginian sources, the founding of Utica was around 1101 B.C., and later in 814, Carthage was founded. Strabo, placing the founding of Gadir a little after the Trojan War, and Mela, who was born in the little town of Tingentera near Cádiz, also agree on this date, and affirms that the temple of Melqart – situated on the island of Sancti Petri, Chiclana – was built by the Tyrians and that its years were counted beginning with the Trojan War: "*On the side of the mainland it is almost straight – referring to Gades –; on the side that looks to the sea it rises and forms a curve in the middle of the coast, ending in two promontories; on one of these is a flourishing city with the same name as the island, and on the other a temple of Hercules Aegyptius, renowned for its founders, for its veneration, for its antiquity, and for its riches. It was constructed by the Tyrians; its sanctity lies in the fact that it guards the ashes (of Hercules); its age is counted from the Trojan War*" (III.6.46).

It is obvious, as the archaeological record suggests, that the Phoenician interest in the Iberian Peninsula was essentially the control and trade of its mineral resources of silver and gold. In this sense, Diodorus of Sicily, a contemporary of Augustus, states that "*the Phoenicians since remote times founded many colonies in Lybia, as well as not a few in the regions of Europe that extend toward the west. Since these commercial enterprises developed according to their plans, they accumulated great riches and set about sailing along the part that is beyond the columns of Hercules, which they call the ocean. And first they founded a city at the strait with the columns itself, in Europe, which they named Gadeira, because it was a peninsula, and on it they arranged everything that was suitable to the nature of the place, as well as a splendid temple dedicated to Hercules, and they introduced magnificent sacrifices conducted in the Phoenician manner.*"

With this textual information, which does not contradict archaeology, we can conclude the following: 1) the main motive of the Phoenician colonization was to obtain metals – gold, tin, and specially silver –, that were later traded in the Mediterranean and the Near East; 2) in this context, Gadir was the western metropolis that channeled the trade; and 3) the most controversial point is the date of the founding of Gadir, around 1104 B.C. according to the ancient sources, and at the beginnings of the 8th century according to the archaeological data.

According to Strabo's account, the founding of Cádiz appears to be the final result of some initial exploratory navigation, from Tyre to western Mediterranean. The first try at settlement took place at Sexi – Almuñécar, Granada – and later, after passing through the columns of Hercules, at Onoba – Huelva – with the founding of Gadir occurring on the third trip, a name which means "fortress" or "walled enclosure". If we consult the map to see the coast that the Phoenicians sailed along, it is evident that before the founding of Gadir they conducted a systematic exploration from Almeria to Huelva, searching out the possibilities for trade and settlement. And on this stretch of coast they finally chose a place at the ancient coast of the Bay of Cádiz, on Castillo de Doña Blanca, near of estuaries of the Guadalete and Guadalquivir Rivers.

At that protohistoric time the Guadalquivir emptied into the ocean a little south of the present city of Seville and had a wide estuary whose banks were between El Rocío and Sanlúcar de Barrameda. These banks, especially the eastern one, were profusely inhabited by indigenous peoples of the Late Bronze Age. The Guadalquivir also had the advantage of navigability almost to Córdoba, and proximity to fertile agricultural zones

and to mining region of Aznalcóllar (Seville), where silver was mined at that time. Gadir controlled, therefore, the access toward the Guadalquivir and toward Huelva, home to an indigenous population which without doubt controlled the mineral resources of the region of Riotinto, another point of mineral exploitation of extraordinary interest. The excellent strategic location of Gadir gave it its metropolitan and trading center character, and from its port embarked ships carrying products directed toward the Mediterranean markets. Additionally, Gadir was the political center representing the State of Tyre, and around it revolved the other western colonies.

The date of founding is still a problem, with a three hundred year discrepancy between the date given by the ancient sources and the archaeological record.. Some authors advocate the veracity of the 1104 date transmitted by Timaeus and accepted by Velleius and Pliny, though with little archaeological backing. A. M. Bisi is of the opinion that the origins of the Phoenician colonization in the West go back to the end of the second millenium, although there are no findings earlier than the 8th century¹. P. Cintas and J. M. Blázquez have dated a bronze figurine, known as the Priest of Cádiz – which we now know can be identified with Ptah – to the second half of the second millenium, proving according to them the veracity of the earlier date. However, D. Harden places the same figure in the 5th century B.C., showing the weak arguments put forward to verify the ancients sources. Another figurine, also of bronze and coming from Medina de las Torres in the province of Badajoz, appears to represent the god Hadad according to D. Collon, and he finds it similar to prototypes of the second millenium, while J. M. Blázquez finds resemblances to ancient Greek bronzes of the 7th century B.C. Another sitting figurine of bronze known as the Astarté of El Carambolo has been dated to around 800 B.C., specially because of the inscription on the footstool where she supports her feet, thus proving the existence of a cult to that goddess in the lower Guadalquivir.

As can be seen, the arguments are poor and the dates for these materials oscillate between the end of second millenium and the begginings of the 8th century B.C., according to views of different authors. The excavations that have been performed since 1962 in the Phoenician settlements of Málaga have provided consistent arguments for the founding date of these Mediterranean colonies. The oldest corresponds to the town of Morro de Mezquitilla that, in the opinion of its excavator, was inhabited “*since approximately the year 750 B.C. or a little before*”², basing his conclusion on a sealed find on the floor of a room in Construction Complex K: a plate with a narrow rim – 16 mm –, two carinated bowls, the mouth of an amphora, a pot made by hand, and a mushroom oenochoe, all found in close association and dated to the 8th century. The same date may correspond to nearby town of Chorreras³ and the Phoenician colony of

¹ A. M. Bisi: “Fenici e Micenei in Sicilia nella seconda metà del II millenio a.C.”, *I Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia*, Roma 1967, 1156 ff.; Eadem: “Le ‘Smiting Gog’ dans les milieux phéniciens d’Occident”, *Studia Phoenicia IV*, 1986, 169 ff; also see S. Moscati: “Precolonizzazione greca e precolonizzazione fenicia”, *Rivista di Studi Fenici IV*, 1986, 1 ff. For the state of the question, M. E. Aubet, *Tiro y las colonias fenicias de Occidente*. Barcelona : Bellaterra 1987 (Chapter 7: Los fenicios en Occidente. Cronología e historiografía, 175 ff.) and J. M. Blázquez, *Tartessos y los orígenes de la colonización fenicia en Occidente*. Salamanca 1975 (2nd ed.); D. Ruiz Mata: “Los momentos iniciales de los Fenicios en la Bahía de Cádiz: cronología y contactos”, *Festschrift für Wilhelm Schüle zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von Schülern und Freunden. Internationale Archäologie 1*, 1991, 283 ff.

² H. Schubart: “El asentamiento fenicio del siglo VIII a.C. en el Morro de Mezquitilla (Algarrobo, Málaga)”, *Aula Orientalis III*, 1986, 59 ff. (especially pp.69 and 79 with arguments for the chronology); H. G. Niemeyer: “La cronología de Toscanos y de los yacimientos fenicios en las costas del sur de la Península Ibérica”, *I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma 1983, 633 ff.

³ M. E. Aubet: “Los fenicios en España: estado de la cuestión y perspectivas”, *Aula Orientalis III*, 1986, 9 ff.; Eadem: “Excavaciones en las Chorreras (Mezquitilla, Málaga). Campaña 74”, *Pyrenae 10*,

Sexi at Almuñécar⁴. In others words, at the middle of the 8th century, or a little earlier, the Phoenician implantation on the Mediterranean coast took place. There is no archaeological elements earlier to this date at the south of the Iberian Peninsula.

In Carthage and Utica the excavated cemeteries have not provided objects earlier than the 8th century. The recent archaeological elements of the Phoenician town correspond to this date⁵. And at the sanctuary of Tanit in Carthage, the oldest level of occupation appears to belong to the 8th century⁶, the same date that the recent German excavations in the ancient city have given. The same thing occurs in Sicily, where according to Thucydides, the Phoenician colonization probably followed the Greek. The Phoenician finds at Motya⁷ – in Sicily – and those at San Antioco⁸ in Sardinia are dated to the end of the 8th century.

As has been noted, archaeological research has not yet been able to document the date of 1104 for the founding of Gadir, and, consequently, for the beginning of Phoenician colonization in the southern Peninsula. It can be claimed that the existing discrepancy between the mythical date and the archaeological data is the consequence of the very process of colonization, which most likely began with intermittent contacts for trading purposes only before any urban settlement, and these contacts would not have left perceptible traces. If we accept this hypothesis, it is probable that the procedure followed was like the one recounted to us by Herodotus (IV.196) in a passage about the Punic Phoenicians of North Africa: "*The Carthaginians tell us another story: that in Lybia, beyond the columns of Hercules, there is a certain place populated with people, where they – the Carthaginians – often appear and bring their merchandise to land, and then they leave it there on the seashore, embark again, and from their boats give the smoke signal that they have arrived. As soon as the people of the country see it, they come to the shore, leave gold next to the merchandise, and depart again toward interior of the land. Then the Carthaginians return to the shore to look at the gold, and if they think that what has been left is a fair price for the merchandise, they pick up the gold and leave, but if it does not seem enough, they board their boats again and wait. When the natives see this, they come back to add more gold until they have added enough to satisfy them, since it is understood that the first party does not touch the gold until a fair price has been reached for their wares, nor does the other party touch the merchandise until the gold has been taken away*".

1974, 79 ff.; M.E.Aubert et alii.: "Chorreras. Eine phönizische Niederlassung östlich der Algarrobo-Mündung", *Madrider Mitteilungen* 16, 1975, 137 ff.; J.M.J.Gran Aymerich: "Excavaciones arqueológicas en la región de Vélez-Málaga. Campaña 1973", *Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico* 12, 1981, 299 ff.

⁴ F. Molina Fajardo: "Almuñécar a la luz de los nuevos hallazgos fenicios", *Aula Orientalis* III, 1986, 193 ff. (with bibliography and the works recently realized); M.Pellicer: "Sexi fenicia y púnica", *Aula Orientalis* III, 1986, 85 ff.

⁵ M. Vegas: "Archaische Keramik aus Karthago", *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Institut. Römische Abteilung*, 1984, 215 ff.; Eadem: "Eine archaische Keramikfüllung aus einem Haus Kardo XIII in Karthago", *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Institut. Römische Abteilung*, 106, 1999, 395 ff.; K. Mansel: "Handgemachte Keramik der Siedlungsschichten des 8. und 7. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. aus Karthago. Ein Vorbericht", *Karthago*, III, 1999, 220 ff.

⁶ P. Cintas, *Manuel d'Archéologie punique*, 2 vols., Paris 1970 y 1976; D.Harden: "The Pottery of the Precinct of Tanit at Salambó, Carthage", *Iraq*, IV, 1937, 59 ff.

⁷ V. Tusa: "La presenza fenicio-punica in Sicilia", *Die Phönizier im Westen* (H.G.Niemeyer, ed.), *Madrider Beiträge*, 1982, 95 ff.; Idem: "La Sicilia fenicio-punica: stato attuale delle ricerche e degli studi e prospettive per il futuro", *I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma 1979, 187 ff.

⁸ P. Bernardini: "S. Antioco: Area del Cronico. L'insediamento fenicio", *Rivista di Studi Fenici*, XVI, 1988, 75 ff.; Idem: "La Sardegna e i fenici. Appunti sulla colonizzazione", *Rivista di Studi Fenici*, XX, 1993, 29 ff.

These data do not contradict others obtained in several points in the Mediterranean near the eastern Phoenician cities. As J. N. Coldstream has pointed out⁹, the Phoenicians were present in the Aegean long before the Greek founding of Al-Mina, and traces of this presence are found in Athens, Euboea, Crete and Kos, demonstrated by craftwork of a Phoenician character exhumed from several cemeteries at these places, dated to the middle of the 9th century B.C. by the association of Phoenician objects and pottery with Greek geometric pottery. These are the first traces of contacts between Phoenicians and other Mediterranean populations. The reason, at least for Athens, could have been the exploitation of the silver mines at Laurion, which were worked during this period, like those near Thorikos. Around this time, during the second half of the 9th century, Kition was founded on Cyprus, and at the end of this century the Phoenicians were firmly established there¹⁰. In short, the oldest vestiges and foundations of the Phoenicians are located at points near the eastern metropolises, beginning in the middle of the 9th century B.C., and later they sailed toward the central and western Mediterranean.

In regard to the Phoenician presence in the bay of Cádiz and the founding of Gadir, we maintain that this event is immersed in the dynamics of the Phoenician expansion and colonization in the Mediterranean, as its most western consequence, and that it must have meaning within an economic and political context that is complex and broad, not as an isolated and accidental event. It is a matter of a planned expansion with stages which are probably not far apart in time. That is why we must keep very much in mind the dating of the Phoenician evidence in the central Mediterranean, which logically can explain and give meaning to what we find in the West.

Given the Tyrian nature of the founding of Gadir, as indicated by the texts, it appears logical to reason that similarities between ceramic types from here and from Tyre should definitively clarify the chronological problems. In this regard, and according to the data from the excavations at Tyre, P.M. Bikai suggests that the western Phoenician pottery corresponds to that from Strata III and II of Tyre, in other words, that the Phoenician colonization should be dated to the second half of the 8th century B.C.¹¹. However, the proposed chronology for the strata of the founding of Morro de Mezquitilla is around 750 B.C. or a little earlier. Therefore, we find difficulties for establishing the beginning of these western foundations, due to the fact that the dating of Phoenician tableware has not been fixed with the precision that the research demands. Accordingly, and without going into further detail, it is important to point out that the Phoenician presence in the West happened at the beginnings of the 8th century B.C.

2. PHOENICIANS SETTLEMENTS ON THE SPANISH COAST. AN OVERVIEW. (FIGURE 1).

Beginning in the 8th century B.C. we note the presence of a Phoenician population of a permanent nature and with a considerable density on the coastal strip to the east of Gibraltar all the way to Almería. In the 8th century the existence of the following colonies has been verified: Toscanos, Chorreras, Morro de Mezquitilla and Gualhorce – Cerro del Villar – on the coast of Málaga, Adra – ancient Adbera – and

⁹ J. N. Coldstream: "Greeks and Phoenicians in the Aegean", *Phönizier im Westen. Madrider Beiträge* 8, 1982, 261 ff.

¹⁰ V. Karageorghis: "New Phoenician Discoveries in Cyprus", *I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*. Roma 1983, 173 ff.

¹¹ P. M. Bikai: "The Late Phoenician Pottery Complex and Chronology", *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 229, 1978, 47 ff.

Sexi – Almuñécar – on the coast of Granada. The centers in Málaga were established on virgin soil and in a region sparsely inhabited by indigenous populations, while at Almuñécar – Sexi – and Adra we see the existence of an indigenous population. It seems that Morro de Mezquitilla is the oldest founding, in the first half of the 8th century, Chorreras was founded at the middle of this century, and Toscanos in the second half. The remaining sites – Almuñécar, Adra, and Cerro del Villar – are dated to the end of 8th century¹².

In marked contrast, the coastal strip located to the west of Gibraltar has not provided many colonies, except for the one at the mouth of the Guadarranque River – Cerro del Prado –, Castillo de Doña Blanca, the oldest settlement in the Bay of Cádiz, and later Cádiz, and probably also Huelva. And in the lower Guadalquivir we find El Carambolo and Carmona.

With the exception of Chorreras, which was abandoned at the beginning of the 7th century B.C., the majority of the ancient Phoenician settlements lasted until the 6th century B.C. And it is precisely beginning at 700 B.C. when the political and economic importance of these colonies or trading ports culminated, promoting a notable demographic growth on the coast between Villaricos and Gadir and enrichment of certain social sectors, as suggested by the splendid necropolis of Almuñécar – the necropolis Laurita¹³ – and Trayamar¹⁴. Likewise, it is during the 7th century that the Phoenician expansion took place throughout northern Africa, the Portuguese¹⁵ coast from Lisbon south, the southeastern Peninsula, and the lower Guadalquivir.

In the opinion of M. E. Aubet¹⁶, the establishment of the phoenician colonies is explained in terms of Gadir, serving as strategic centers of support for navigation and for the control of access of the metals of the tartessian region, which means that the settlement were defined by their economic purpose. The problem is that the abundance of these trading ports on the coast of Málaga, located on the estuaries of rivers, is more suggestive of direct trade with the interior than of a simple stop on the way to Tartesos. In summary, it appears certain that the 8th century was the key moment for determining the origin of the distribution of areas of economic influence in the central and western Mediterranean by the phoenicians and greeks. The towns of Morro de Mezquitilla, Chorreras, Toscanos, and Cerro del Villar – province of Málaga –, Adra and Sexi – provinces of Almería y Granada –, and Castillo de Doña Blanca – province of Cádiz – prove the existence of a phoenician population in the area of the Strait at a very early date, perhaps at the first half of the 8th century. From this point on, the phoenician peoples controlled the access to the Atlantic, which meant that the metal trade was in phoenician hands. Gadir was the political and economic center that controlled all of this commercial traffic.

¹² H. Schubart: "Westphönizische Teller", *Rivista di Studi Fenici* IV, 1976, 176 ff.; Idem: "Asentamientos fenicios en la costa meridional de la Península Ibérica", *Primeras Jornadas Arqueológicas sobre Colonizaciones orientales. Huelva Arqueológica* VI, 1982, 71 ff.; H. Schubart and O. Arteaga: "El mundo de las colonias fenicias occidentales", *Homenaje a Luis Siret*. Sevilla, 1986, 449 ff.

¹³ M. Pellicer, *Excavaciones en la necrópolis púnica 'Laurita' del Cerro de San Cristóbal (Almuñécar, Granada)*, *Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España* 17, 1962.

¹⁴ H. Schubart and H.G. Niemeyer, *Trayamar. Los hipogeos fenicios y el asentamiento en la desembocadura del río Algarrobo*, *Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España*, 90, 1976.

¹⁵ M. Pellicer Catalán: "El proceso orientalizador en el occidente ibérico", *Huelva Arqueológica*, 16, 2000, 91 ff.; VV.AA., *Os fenicios no território português*, *Estudos Orientais* 4, 1993.

¹⁶ M. E. Aubet, op.cit. in note 1.

3. THE METROPOLIS OF GADIR. TRADITIONAL POSITIONS

A problem which arises from archaeological analysis is the situation of the city of Gadir. The island of Cádiz has not yet provided ancient remains, but the problem is also that we do not know the exact spot where the phoenician city lay¹⁷. In spite of the obscurity and paucity of descriptions, we know that Gadir was a plural concept for the ancient greco-romans authors (Strabo III.5.3, Pliny 119-120, and Mela III.6.46). In other words, the authors refer to the "gaditanian islands" and consider the bay as a partially inhabited archipelago, separated from the coast by a small arm of sea and possessing two promontories on its ends, occupied by the city and the temple. It was a little more than 18 kilometers long and times narrowed to 200 meters. The data are more or less consistent with the present situation, and except for precise details, there is no reason not to see here the reflection of the ancient descriptions. The phoenicians chose an island according to ancient written sources, as they had at Tyre, and likewise they occupied two promontories. However, it is not necessary to take great pains to search for a large area for the location of the ancient city, since it probably did not exceed 7-8 hectares. For this reason it is difficult to determine its location, buried under roman structures and the more recent city, which prohibits intensive surveys for this purpose (Figure 2).

In order to locate the ancient city, it is necessary to specify some of the topographic features, which do not correspond completely to the present situation. Through Pliny we know of the existence of two islands: Erytheia, the smallest, where the phoenician city was located, and Kotinoussa, larger in size and elongated, with the temple of Melqart at the end. The two islands were separated by a channel that is presently filled in, which the mining engineer J.Gavala y Laborde detected in 1926¹⁸, suggesting that it was an ancient mouth of the Guadalete river, and which F.Ponce Cordones and others authors¹⁹ have related to the ancient description. This channel joined the bay to the ocean by way of Puerto Chico in Campo del Sur, and in recent soundings due to salvage excavations, its existence has been confirmed. In fact, the channel could have had a width of 150 to 200 meters and a depth of up 9 meters, with inclined banks. Also the port may have been built here (Figure 3).

Assuming the adequacy of the texts and the proposed ancient topography, the problem lies in knowing the position of the Phoenician city. The smaller island – Erytheia – nearly took up the old city center of Cádiz, and the Phoenician town could have been located at the Torre de Tavira, which is the highest hill²⁰. From the surrounding area come the so-called Priest of Cádiz – identified as Ptah –, found in 1928 five meters deep under the present surface, and a construction of ashlar five meters lower down²¹. However, excavations have not yet been provided archaic materials in this interesting zone²². Others believe, however, that the Phoenician Gadir is submerged under the water and they place it around the neighborhoods of Pópulo and

¹⁷ D. Ruiz Mata: "La fundación de Gadir y el Castillo de Doña Blanca: contrastación textual y arqueológica", *Complutum*, 10, 1999, 279 ff.

¹⁸ J. Gavala y Laborde: "Cádiz y su bahía en el transcurso de los tiempos geológicos", *Boletín del Instituto Geológico de España*, XLIX, 1927.

¹⁹ F. Ponce Cordones: "Consideraciones en torno a la ubicación del Cádiz fenicio", *Anuario de la Universidad de Cádiz* II, 1985; J.R.Ramírez Delgado, *Los primitivos núcleos de asentamiento en la ciudad de Cádiz*, Excmo.Ayuntamiento de Cádiz, 1982.

²⁰ J. L. Escacena: "Gadir", *Los Fenicios en la Península Ibérica*. Sabadell: AUSA, 1986, 39 ff.

²¹ J. L. Escacena, cited article, note 14, p.43; D.Harden, *The Phoenicians*, London 1962, pp. 147 and 204.

²² Materials correspond to 3th century B.C.

Santa María and the narrow strip that joins them to the Castillo de San Sebastián²³. Neither have there been underwater finds that suggest this possibility nor remains in the areas of existing dry land.

This, therefore, is the archaeological situation of the island of Gadir, which for now has not yielded remains from its Phoenician ancient past. However, and in very broad strokes, we can sketch its cultural development as a result of the present salvage excavations.

C.Pemán, in the decade of the 60s, lamented that “*incessant building constantly uncovers vestiges of the past wherever they dig, only to cover them up immediately with new construction*”. Up until the present the urban rythm of the city of Cádiz has necessitated a considerable number of salvage excavations, especially in its latest city center, which have provided important data for outlining the cultural stages of the island. Its first occupation took place during the Copper Age, perhaps at an advanced phase, and from the 1986 excavations on property on the street of Ciudad de Santander – corner of Avenida de Andalucía – comes a level, on top of virgin soil, that has provided abundant potteries from that period²⁴. Materials from the Copper and Middle Bronze Ages, according to opinion of excavators, have been found on another lot on the street Dr. Marañón, four meters down and under tombs of ashlar from the Punic period, in strata filled with sand from the dunes²⁵. In this year it has been excavated a hut of the Copper Age on the street Ceballos – located in the center of the city –, which has provided important finds²⁶. A later horizon of the Late Bronze has been located, it seems, on Santander street, with remains that come from the interior of a well²⁷ and from surroundings of the Torre de Tavira²⁸.

We still do not have ancient Phoenician strata from the 8th and 7th centuries. However, in the past few years, Phoenician or Carthaginian burials from the beginning of the 6th century have been exhumed from lots at the streets of Ciudad de Santander and Tolosa Latour, which contained cremations in rectangular pits dug in the ground²⁹. These are the only Phoenician or Carthaginian testimonies from an already advanced period, apart from several fragments of phoenician potteries from 7th century out of context³⁰.

During the past century the discovery of a group of cist tombs in Punta de Vaca occurred, in one of which was found an anthropoid male sarcophagus, dated to around 400 B.C³¹. Later came the excavations of P.Quintero, beginning in 1914, and those of F.

²³ R. Corzo: “Paleotopografía de la bahía gaditana”, *Gades* 5, 1980, 5 ff.; Idem, *Los fenicios, señores del mar*, Historia del Viejo Mundo n.8, Historia 16, Madrid 1988, pp.111-112.

²⁴ L. Perdígones, A. Muñoz and A.Troya: “Excavaciones de urgencia en un solar de la calle Ciudad de Santander esquina Avda. Andalucía (Cádiz)”, *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía* 1986, III, 41 ff.

²⁵ L. Perdígones and A. Muñoz: “Excavaciones de urgencia en un solar de la calle Doctor Gregorio Marañón (Cádiz)”, *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía*, 1985, III, 55 ff.

²⁶ I should like to acknowledge these news to I. Córdoba Alonso, director of this excavation.

²⁷ L. Perdígones et alii, cited in note 24.

²⁸ R. Corzo, article cited in note 23.

²⁹ L. Perdígones, F. Blanco and A. Muñoz: “Excavaciones de urgencia en un solar de la calle Ciudad de Santander esquina Brunete (Cádiz) en 1985”, *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía*, 1985, III, 53 ff.; L. Perdígones and A. Muñoz: “Excavaciones arqueológicas de urgencia en un solar de la calle Tolosa Latour, extramuros de Cádiz”, *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía*, 1987, III, 59 ff.; L. Perdígones, A. Muñoz and G. Pisano, *La necrópolis fenicio-púnica de Cádiz. Siglos VI-IV a.C.*, Studia Punica 7. Roma 1990.

³⁰ A. Muñoz: “Secuencia histórica del asentamiento fenicio-púnico de Cádiz: un análisis cronoespacial tras quince años de investigación arqueológica”, *Boletín del Museo de Cádiz* VII, 1995-1996, 77 ff.

³¹ M. L. Ramos, *Estudio sobre el ritual funerario en las necrópolis fenicias y púnicas de la Península Ibérica*, Ediciones de la UAM, Madrid 1986, pp. 24 and 25.

Cervera³², which discovered a sector of the necropolis of the 5th-3rd centuries B.C. Recently, the salvage excavations performed by a team of archaeologists from the Delegación Provincial de Cultura have documented three necropolises from the Punic period on the streets of Asdrúbal and Tolosa Latour and the Avenida de Andalucía, with consistent burials in cists of ashlar and pits dug in the ground³³. This is practically all we know from this period on the ancient island of Cádiz.

Finally let us consider the temple of Melqart, as more Phoenician ancient testimony in the islands of Cádiz. The descriptions of the island of Cádiz always mention that it is located on the eastern end and is a contemporary establishment in the city. Strabo (III.5.3) writes that "*the city lies in the western part of the island, and near to it, on the end that goes toward the islet, rises the Kronion. The Herakleion – or temple of Melqart – is in the other direction, toward the east, in the place where the island approaches the coast, where it is separated by only a channel one stadium wide. They say, moreover, that the city is twelve miles from the sanctuary...*". The description given by P.Mela is similar (III.6.46).

The complete study of the temple was done by García y Bellido³⁴, who has placed it on the island of Sancti Petri, to the southeast of Cádiz and some 18 kilometers from the city, as the sources indicate. The sanctuary was built upon a promontory which today is nearly submerged, which Philostratus in the 3rd century A.C. saw circled by water as an island, thus very similar to the present topography. The most abundant finds from this spot are the Roman period, but a few years ago five bronze statuettes representing eastern deities were dragged up from the area surrounding the little island and have been dated between the 8th-7th centuries B.C., which for now constitute the oldest remains from the island of Cádiz³⁵.

When we consider all these facts together, it is evident that they do not explain in detail the characteristics that the Phoenician city must have had, nor its cultural development, nor its political status and economic activity in the 8th and 7th centuries. In this time the Phoenician settlement was located in the Castillo de Doña Blanca, which was the first settlement in the Bay of Cádiz. They are expressive, however, of the importance that the city must have had and of agreement with Greco-Roman descriptions.

³² P. Quintero: "Necrópolis Anterromana de Cádiz", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 22, 1914, 81 ff.; Idem: "Excavaciones en Punta de Vaca (Cádiz)", *Memorias de la Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades* 5, 1915.; Idem: "Excavaciones en Punta de Vaca y en Puerta de Tierra (ciudad de Cádiz)", *Memorias de la Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades* 12, 1916; Idem: "Excavaciones en extramuros de la ciudad de Cádiz", *Memorias de la Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades* 26, 1918; Idem, in *MJSEA* 30, 1920, *MJSEA* 76, 1926; *MJSEA* 84, 1926; *MJSEA* 95, 1928; *MJSEA* 99, 1929; *MJSEA* 117, 1932; *MJSEA* 122, 1933; *MJSEA* 129, 1934; *MJSEA* 134, 1935; F.Cervera: "Excavaciones en extramuros de Cádiz", *MJSEA* 57, 1923.

³³ L. Perdigones and A.Muñoz: "Excavaciones de urgencia en un solar de la Plaza de Asdrúbal (Cádiz 1985)", *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía* 1985, III, 58 ff.; L.Perdigones and R.Baliña: "Excavaciones de urgencia en un solar de la calle Tolosa Latour (Cádiz) en 1985", *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía* 1985, III, 63 ff.; L.Perdigones, A.Muñoz and A.Marcos: "Excavaciones de urgencia en un solar de la Avda.de Andalucía esquina plaza de Asdrúbal (Cádiz)", *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía* 1986, III, 38 ff.; L. Perdigones and A. Muñoz: "Excavaciones arqueológicas de urgencia en un solar de la calle Tolosa Latour. Extramuros de Cádiz", *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía* 1987, III, 59 ff.

³⁴ A. García y Bellido: "Hercules Gaditanus", *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 36, 1964, 70 ff.

³⁵ A. Blanco: "Los nuevos bronce de Sancti Petri", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* CLXXXIII, 2, 1985, 207 ff.

4. PALEOGEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS.

The coast that we see today and certain regions of the interior have changed notably from the prehistoric times to the present day. Thus, if a phoenician or an indigenous person from the 1st and 2nd millenia could sail along the coast again, they would hardly recognize many of its topographic reference points. If we want understand the pattern of orientalizing settlement and its economic and commercial structure, the reconstruction of the landscape is a fundamental task in this environment which has changed so much in so little time. In summary, the most significant aspects are the following (See figure 4), according to Gavala y Laborde – cited in note 18 –:

- The mouth of the Guadalquivir River was located further inland in the vicinity of Coria del Rio, emptying into an extensive estuary and later, in Roman times, into an inland lake-Lacus Ligustinus. In protohistoric times, the estuary was bounded by Matalascañas and Sanlúcar de Barrameda.
- In figure 4 the map of this ancient geography is reconstructed, and on it we note the borders of the present day marshland, occupied earlier by the lake mentioned above, stretching to the north in what must have been the ancient mouth of the Guadalquivir River, which flowed along the eastern slope of the Aljarafe plateau, as can be deduced from the concentration of settlement in this area³⁶. The coast along the eastern side of the estuary and along the Atlantic stretch by Cádiz with the mouth of the Guadalete River is clearly defined by the tertiary terrain in which numerous pre-Roman and Roman and Romans towns are found. The western shore is bounded by diluvial terrain and marked by a smaller number of protohistoric towns. The navegability of the estuary and its importance as a route of penetration toward the interior are demonstrated by the pattern of settlement itself on the shores, with numerous, important towns between Lebrija and Sanlúcar de Barrameda.
- Later, perhaps during the first half of the 1st millenium B.C., the silting up of the entrance to the estuary began with a shoreline of dunes, which presently is Doñana and where A.Schulten placed the city of Tartessos³⁷, in spite of the fact that the archaeological work performed at Cerro del Trigo did not produce results.
- Navigable estuaries formed in the eastern part of his lagoon, described by Strabo as “*scoopèd-out areas similar to ravines of regular size, or river valleys, by which the sea penetrates many stadia into the land*” (III.2.4), along which “*boats can sail as if they going up a river*” (III.2.4).
- Around the estuaries and along the whole river valley of the Guadalquivir, a dense nucleus of population materialized beginning in the first centuries of the 1st millenium B.C. There were several reasons, as Strabo wrote later at the change of the millenium, but valid also for this ancient period. He points out that “*the shores of the Betis – Guadalquivir – are the most populated*” (III.2.3), due to the ease of navigation, because “*one can sail up to an approximate distance of one thousand two hundred stadia – over 200 kilometers – from the sea to Córdoba, and even a little further*” (III.2.3), almost to Cástulo in Linares. For

³⁶ O. Arteaga, H. D. Schulz and A. M. Roos: “El problema del “Lacus Ligustinus”, Investigaciones geoarqueológicas en torno a las marismas del bajo Guadalquivir”, *Tartessos, 25 Años después 1968-1993. Actas del Congreso Conmemorativo del V Symposium Internacional de Prehistoria Peninsular*. Jerez de la Frontera 1995, 99 ff.

³⁷ A. Schulten, *Tartessos*, Colección Austral nº 1471. Espasa-Calpe, Madrid (edición de 1972).

this reason “the natives, who know the nature of the region and realize that the estuaries can serve the same purpose as the rivers, have constructed their cities and towns on these, just like they do on the banks of rivers” (III.2.5).

- In regard to the estuary of the Guadalete River, the water came up to El Puerto de Santa María, it bathed the feet of the Sierra de San Cristóbal, and it bordered the tertiary terrain of Puerto Real and Chiclana. Thus it formed a broad bay, larger than the present, with two important islands – Cádiz and San Fernando – at the mouth of the river (Figure 5).

It is a belief shared by some authors that there was little settlement on the coasts at the time when the Phoenicians arrived. This is the belief that J. L. Escacena expresses in a paper on Gadir³⁸: “when the Poenician colonists arrived on the southwestern Atlantic coasts of the Iberian Peninsula in general, and on the coast of Gadir in particular, supposing that they arrived in the year 1100 B.C., they would have found the interior of the territory very sparsely populated and a strip next to the shore completely uninhabited. From Gibraltar to the cape of San Vicente in Portugal, we do not know of any large Late Bronze precolonial population on this coastline”; and he goes on to say, “the archaeological record in broad areas of the lower Guadalquivir valley suggests that around the year 1100 B.C. the Tartessian territory was a region to a large degree unpopulated. Thus (...)it does not seem very plausible to simply accept, as is frequently the norm in the current bibliography, the founding of a trading settlement, almost at the very mouth of the Guadalquivir, for the purpose of trade relations with people who barely existed”.

This paper was written fifteen years ago. Because of the lack of data and studies on the region of the lower Guadalquivir, there have been reasons to present the issue in this way, and for a long time we believed in the existence of a cultural vacuum from the final of the Bell Beaker horizon until the change of the millenium. The problem has been due, as is logical, to the paucity of research in this area. The situation is different now, since research projects on the location of sites and based on this question have been realized, and this hypothetical vacuum is being filled with information and explanations³⁹. In regard to the coastline of Cádiz, the countryside, and the eastern border of the ancient estuary of the Guadalquivir, systematic surveys reveal a considerable number of indigenous pre-Phoenician settlements, which would be contemporary with the mythical colonization of 1104-3 B.C. The more recent towns of the Late Bronze – 9th-8th centuries – are numerous, and in this case the Phoenician colonists would have found a place that was intensely inhabited, since according to the arguments presented, the 8th century appears to be the period when the Phoenician presence took place in the West.

5. THE PHOENICIAN SETTLEMENT OF CASTILLO DE DOÑA BLANCA

In spite of the importance that Gadir must have had in protohistoric times, there exists an obvious gap in the research and archaeological record, preventing us from learning from the details of this city. Research in Cádiz is complicated, as has been pointed out, and the modern city and its Roman history constitute a serious obstacle for the development of systematic and regular work. However, Gadir is a

³⁸ J. L. Escacena, cited in note 20, pp.49-50.

³⁹ M. Pellicer: “Balance de 25 años de investigación sobre Tartessos (1968-1993)”, *Actas del Congreso Conmemorativo del V Symposium Internacional de Prehistoria Peninsular. Tartessos 25 Años después 1968-1993*. Jerez de la Frontera, 1995, 41 ff.

necessary point of reference for the understanding of the orientalizing period in western Andalucía. This deficiency in knowledge was the reason for our undertaking excavations in 1979 in the nearby town of Castillo de Doña Blanca (CDB)⁴⁰.

In CDB we find a landscape that has been greatly transformed (Figure 6). What once was a port on the coast at the time of its origin has become a desolate place today, and the waves of the sea have been replaced by the mud of the Guadalete River, with a vast marsh at the base of the site that extends all the way to Valdelagrana. The town sits on a low natural elevation – some fifteen meters above sea level – on the spurs of the Sierra de San Cristóbal, which have a maximum elevation of 124 meters, and it is located next to a little inlet that must have served as a port from the beginning. Its proximity to the estuary of the Guadalete River, whose left bank bordered the side of the hills, and to the ancient coastline of that period, justifies the selection of this site for the Phoenician city. The port was located on the eastern side of the city and perhaps there was another port on the west, which a quarry for the extraction of limestones probably destroyed it recently. We must point out that from this chosen point the only visual control was toward the sea, toward the ancient islands of San Fernando and Cádiz, and visibility toward the north was more difficult by the hills themselves. This situation can only be explained by the interest in finding an area especially fit for a port or landing, given the nature of the trading center that this nucleus must have been. This choice was not a capricious matter, but rather a necessary one, and in the case of CDB, the principal reason for this choice was the facility that the small inlet offered as a safe port and shelter from the eastern winds. It is probable, although not yet verified archaeologically, that a watchtower was placed on the highest point of the hills, since from there it is possible to get an extraordinary view toward Cádiz, the northern hills and the countryside.

We must not forget the fresh water from the hills that provided enough to satisfy the city and most likely to transport to the island of Cádiz, which probably had a deficient supply. Moreover, if we consider the proximity of the Guadalete River, which could be navigated along several kilometers toward the interior, as well as the proximity of the Guadalquivir River, the most important river route of penetration that connected upper and lower Andalucía to the gentle countryside where transportation was easy and which was extensively settled by indigenous peoples of the pre-Phoenician Bronze, some of the reasons for the choice of this site can be understood. From a very early moment, CDB must have been a trading center of extraordinary importance, where products brought from the East converged in order to be traded among the indigenous peoples in exchange for the coveted metals⁴¹. The studies of this area which have taken place during the last years suggest the development of an active trade proceeding from

⁴⁰ D. Ruiz Mata: "Castillo de Doña Blanca (Puerto de Santa María, prov.Cádiz). Stratigraphische Untersuchung einer orientalisierenden Ansiedlung", *Madrider Mitteilungen* 27, 1986; Idem: "Les Phéniciens dans la baie de Cadix", *Dossiers d'Histoire et Archéologie. Les Phéniciens*, n° 132, 1988; Idem: "Los momentos iniciales de los fenicios en la bahía de Cádiz: cronología y contactos", *Internationale Archäologie* 1, Marburg 1991; Idem: "Fenicios en la bahía gaditana. El Castillo de Doña Blanca (El Puerto de Santa María, Cádiz)", *Universidad de Murcia* 1993; D. Ruiz Mata and C. J. Pérez, *El poblado fenicio del Castillo de Doña Blanca (El Puerto de Santa María, Cádiz)*, El Puerto de Santa María, 1995; Idem: "Aspectos funerarios en el mundo orientalizador y colonial de Andalucía Occidental", *III Curso de Arqueología da Universidade de Veran de Xinzo de Limia*. Xinzo de Limia, 1994.

⁴¹ D. Ruiz Mata: "Huelva: un foco temprano de actividad metalúrgica durante el Bronce final", *Tartessos. Arqueología protohistórica del Bajo Guadalquivir* (M. E. Aubet, coord.), Sabadell 1989, 209 ff.; D. Ruiz Mata and J. Fernández Jurado, *El yacimiento metalúrgico de época tartésica de San Bartolomé de Almonte (Huelva)*, Huelva Arqueológica VIII, 1987 (2 vols.).

CDB, evidenced by numerous remains of amphorae, from the numerous centers of the Near East and Mediterranean, and luxury pottery found in this region.

In its present configuration the site is an artificial mound with a rectangular tendency, which comes from the layout of its defensive system, about 340 meters long from east to west and approximately 200 meters wide from north to south. It is 31 meters above sea level, with the archaeological strata taking up 7 to 9 of these meters. In the topography of the site, an elongated ramp of earth on the southeast corner and another smaller one on the northeast stand out, which in some way must be related to the port area (Figure 5).

Behind the tell-site and on the slopes of the Sierra de San Cristóbal, we find the necropolis of Las Cumbres, which occupies more than 100 hectares. On the highest point of the site was a town dating to the Punic period, some 4 hectares in size, and in the lowest strata and on the sides we find remains of indigenous huts and potteries from the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. In this site was situated the pre-Phoenician settlement. To the east of CDB, an even older town from the 3rd millenium occupied a large part of La Dehesa, and a little later during the Bell Beaker horizon it expanded along below the area where the Phoenician town stands. We have also found Roman ruins at the foot of CDB and tombs from the 2nd to 4th centuries at the foot of the hills.

In short, during the 3rd millenium B.C. and the first half of the 2nd, this area was settled primarily on the shoreline closest to the water, at La Dehesa and below strata of the Poenician town of the CDB. The pre-Phoenician indigenous population settled in the highest point of Las Cumbres, which was abandoned practically at the moment of arrival of the Phoenician colonists and the founding of the colony. The Phoenicians thus occupied an uninhabited area known as CDB, where they built their first homes and defensive wall. Later, during the end of the 4th century and beginning of the 3rd century B.C., the town of Las Cumbres was built, which signified an enlargement of the city of CDB during the Punic period. The abandonment of the CDB and Las Cumbres took place at the end of the 3rd century B.C. – about 210/205 B.C. – as a consequence of the Second Punic War and the Roman presence in the bay of Cádiz, and the people probably moved to the place where El Puerto de Santa María stands today, and to others nearby places. In Roman times we note the existence of a “villa” at the feet of CDB, in the zone of the beach during the protohistoric period. Later, the site was occupied by an Islamic population, from 7th to 12/13th centuries.

A few years ago we suggested⁴² that CDB was an indigenous town that rapidly assimilated Phoenician cultural characteristics, keeping in mind the proximity of the metropolis of Gadir –in the present city of Cádiz – and the economics interest that the Phoenicians must have had in this area. After the 1987 season, during which the excavacion of the wall and the Phoenician quarter began, our view has changed substantially in several aspects. The data permit us to argue that we are dealing with a Phoenician founding. The first Phoenician urban remains sit on top of a sterile level where vestiges of occupation during the pre-Phoenician Bronze cannot be seen. We have already pointed out that the population of this period was located in the Sierra de San Cristóbal-Las Cumbres. The constructions techniques are strictly Phoenician and have no resemblance to indigenous huts. The Phoenician materials are not the result of simple and sporadic trading contacts, since the total set of functional tableware typical of Semite settlements is present. We must weigh, moreover, the relatively abundant number of Phoenician graffiti on amphorae and red-slipped pottery with names of

⁴² D. Ruiz Mata: “Castillo de Doña Blanca (Puerto de Santa María, prov. Cádiz). Stratigraphische Untersuchung einer orientalisierenden Andsiedlung”, *Madriider Mitteilungen* 27, 1986.

ownership or of cities of origin, including an alphabet inscribed on one of them⁴³. The archaeological record suggests a Phoenician founding, probably identified with Gadir.

At times we have pointed out, based on the analysis of CDB and indigenous settlement in the region next to the bay and the lower Guadalquivir, that Phoenician strategies of penetration and occupation of this territory may be different from those noted in the settlements on the Mediterranean coast. Colonization in the Bay of Cádiz took place in an inhabited environment, where indigenous peoples controlled the territory. Given the commercial nature of these eastern colonists and their need for metals, it appears logical that they employed subtle and self-interested means that were conducive to friendly relations for continuous trade and the realization of their objectives in the most efficient way. An analysis of the Phoenician colonization must consider the reality of the indigenous population as a primary factor.

As for the size of CDB during the ancient period, keeping in mind the cuts made in different points on its perimeter, it appears that in a short time the town reached a size of 6 hectares, almost the same as in later periods. This surface area is considerable for the period, and without doubt we find ourselves before a city that could house between 1200 and 1500 inhabitants, if we consider an occupation of 200 people per hectare. Which is not an exaggerated amount. We are not dealing with a small trading settlement – simply a trading port –, but rather a true “polis” or “City-State”, fortified almost from its beginnings. The Phoenician settlement of CDB was without doubt the first founding in the bay of Cádiz. Up to present we do not know Phoenician remains of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. in the city of Cádiz, except a few potteries from that moment.

If we study the Phoenician foundings in the bay of Cádiz in the 8th century, we can infer that a political and economic structure developed that was distributed in two main points: the temple of Melqart with political, religious and economic significance, which was located on the present islet of Sancti Petri and served as a point of reference for navigators sailing on to the Guadalquivir, and CDB, on the mainland and next to the mouth of the Guadalete River and near to the Guadalquivir, the main route toward the interior. Later took place the Carthaginian founding in the island of Cadiz, about the beginnings of the 6th century B.C. At present day these are the results of the scientific research in the Bay of Cádiz.

Until now the excavations in the CDB have been focused on the following points:

- The defensive systems – the walls of the 8th, 5th and 4th-3rd centuries B.C.
- The Phoenician quarter of the 8th century B.C.
- Several stratigraphic cuts with abundant material from the 7th century, associated with levels of habitation.
- The levels of fill from Phoenician dwellings of the 8th century.
- Houses and rooms from the 4th and 3rd centuries in CDB.
- Industrial estate in Las Cumbres, with about 2000 square meters excavated.
- Mound 1 of the necropolis of Las Cumbres, from the 8th century.

In addition, we are developing a systematic research program for the study of the territory. This study analyzes cultural development from the Neolithic to the Roman periods in the area between the Guadalquivir and Guadalete Rivers and between the Gíbalbín and Gamaza mountains on the north and the coastline, with important results

⁴³ J. L. Cunchillos: “Las inscripciones fenicias del Tell de Doña Blanca (III). TDB 89001 y 89003”, *Aula Orientalis* 8, 1990; Idem: “Las inscripciones fenicias del Tell de Doña Blanca (II)”, *Sefarad*, año LII, fasc.1, 1992.

in regard to settlement of the territory during the pre-Phoenician Bronze and orientalizing periods⁴⁴.

Architectural elements. The oldest strata at CDB are associated with remains of construction and come from the areas numbered 4 and 5 of Cut B.12 of the SE sector, from the “Phoenician quarter” – with an area of more than a thousand square meters – and from the north wall. The first Phoenician rooms and the wall were constructed on a sterile layer, below which have been found vestiges from the 3rd and 2nd millennia. We have not noted an occupation during the Late Bronze Age, which instead was located on the highest point of the range of hills – Las Cumbres –, as mentioned earlier.

In the Phoenician dwellings we distinguish two phases of the 8th century. The best preserved is the more recent, with terraced dwellings toward the north that take advantage of the uneven areas of a small rise (Figures 10 and 11). The dwellings are composed of several rooms, with walls of rubblework and occasionally of mudbrick, floors of reddish clay – frequently interspersed with surfaces of lime – and plastered walls. The roof was probably made of plant matter with a framework of wooden beams. On the upper terrace we have excavated a narrow street, a little more than a meter wide, which served as a simple entranceway to the dwellings. The door is generally found at the corner of the house, and one gains access from the street to the interior by means of one or two steps. The door jambs are normally constructed of ashlar, and at times a pillar of ashlar is seen in the center of a section of wall, a technique that is evidently eastern⁴⁵ and that in Huelva was used for a retaining wall between the hills of San Pedro and Cementerio Viejo⁴⁶. The height of the rooms is 2 / 2.5 meters, according to what a well-preserved wall from a dwelling in this quarter has shown. The majority of the dwellings had their own bread oven, consisting of an arched clay structure a little more than a meter in diameter and 0.50 meters in height, with a floor consisting of stone slabs. We need to point out that at the base of the lower terrace – some 8 or 9 meters down in relation to the floor of the upper dwellings –, we excavated a ditch in a V section which is almost three meters wide and two meters deep. Its function is still unknown; perhaps served as a defensive device. If this hypothesis is true, the defense would consist only of the ditch, since the dwellings are next to it, and we have not noted remains of walls or even of a wooden enclosure. In front and just a few meters away, we excavated during the 1991 season another wider ditch – between 10 and 12 meters –, with a depth of 4/5 meters, in part artificially dug and in part taking advantage of the lay of the land. This ditch also could have had a defensive character. Most likely it was dug during the 8th century, but more proof is needed.

In the 8th century the city was fortified with a strong wall. During the 1989 and 1991 seasons we excavated a section of wall – a little more than two meters – from this period on the northern flank and quite distant from the Phoenician quarter, and this wall has provided on its exterior a stratigraphic sequence of extraordinary interest for its dating. It was constructed on a well-mortared rubblework foundation, and it sits on virgin soil where we find remains from the 3rd millennium B.C. On top of the foundation rises the facing of the wall, also of irregular rubblework cemented with clay and more than 3 meters wide. In front we have detected and excavated, in a width of 2 meters, a ditch that in this area is almost 20 meters long and 4 meters deep.

⁴⁴ R. González, F. Barrionuevo, L. Aguilar and D. Ruiz Mata: “Paleogeografía humana del extremo noroccidental de Cádiz. Los procesos culturales desde el Neolítico a época medieval”, *Investigaciones arqueológicas en Andalucía 1985-1992. Proyectos*. Consejería de Cultura y Medioambiente. Huelva 1993, 779 ff.

⁴⁵ J. Elayi: “Remarques sur un type de mur phénicien”, *Rivista di Studi Fenici* VIII.2, 1980.

⁴⁶ D. Ruiz Mata, J. M. Blázquez and J. C. Martín de la Cruz: “Excavaciones en el Cabezo de San Pedro (Huelva). Campaña de 1978”, *Huelva Arqueológica* V, 1981.

This section of wall from the 8th century is found on the end opposite the Phoenician quarter, about 300 meters away. Because of this, when we consider the size of the city, we note that from the beginning the city reached almost the same size that we see in the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. Other remains of walls associated with the defensive wall stand at the SE corner. Although the vestiges are still scarce, and we know little about its plan, the impression is that it may provide with bastions.

Phoenician pottery of the 8th century. The most abundant and best-stratified archaeological record comes from the Phoenician quarter and the sections of wall. Red-slipped pottery is almost exclusive in the repertoire of Phoenician materials, and painted decorations are scarce. The initial Phoenician phase is thus defined by the almost exclusive use of the forms of red-slipped pottery as its most characteristic trait. The most common bichrome or polychrome painted forms are practically absent.

Plates (Figure 12: 1-4) are frequent and show rims between 20 and 30 mm, although in some cases they may reach a larger width. They are made from very refined clays, covered with a high quality thick red slip that covers the whole interior and almost always the exterior rim. The bases are flat, though at times with a concave center. We emphasize the exterior coating on these plates because it constitutes a trait which is characteristic of CDB and is not frequent at other Phoenician sites such as Málaga and Huelva⁴⁷. The plates from Huelva are peculiar in that they leave without red slip the area of the base on the interior, constituting a style that is seen only at that site.

Almost an equal percentage is found of the open forms consisting of carinated bowls (Figure 12: 5-7), which are of different sizes and wares and have slips that are equal in quality to those of the plates. All of the interior surface is covered and on the outside the slip reaches to the carination. In general terms, they possess an angled rim on the exterior, of different widths depending on the types, a carination on their middle part, and a flat base, similar to the base of the plates. The diameters range between 20-25 cm and 10-15 cm, and we also note variations in the formation of the rims, as the figure shows, although they always show the external carination. Everything depends on the function that they may have had, as deep plates or as cups.

The plates of the Phoenician sites on the Spanish coast have been analyzed according to their typological characteristics by H.Schubart, who has also dated them⁴⁸. According to his typological criteria, the plates from CDB correspond to those of Strata I and II at Toscanos and Chorreras, and to the lower strata at Morro de Mezquitilla, which are dated to at least the middle of the 8th century B.C. Along general lines, the plates from the ancient period at CDB show rims with widths between 20 and 35 mm, depending on the total diameter. In other words, plates with a larger diameter tend to have wider rims and plates with a smaller diameter usually have narrower rims. It is not enough to measure the width of the rim of the plate, but also we need to keep the total diameter very much in mind. The carinated bowls are related to the plates and are dated to the same period at Chorreras, for example, and at the Eastern sites of Hazor⁴⁹, Tyre⁵⁰, Tell Keisan⁵¹, and the necropolis of Khaldé⁵², among others.

⁴⁷ The exterior coating appears to be a peculiarity of the potters' workshop at the Bay of Cádiz and specifically in CDB. For the plates from Huelva, see P.Rufete Tomico: "Las cerámicas con engobe rojo en Huelva", *Tartessos y Huelva. Huelva Arqueológica* X-XI, 3, 1988-89, 9 ff.

⁴⁸ H.Schubart: "Westphönizischer Teller", *Rivista di Studi Fenici* IV, 1976, 179 ff.; Idem: "Asentamientos fenicios en la costa meridional de la Península Ibérica de la Península Ibérica", *Primeras Jornadas Arqueológicas sobre Colonizaciones Orientales, Huelva Arqueológica* VI, 1982, 71 ff.

⁴⁹ Y.Yadin et alii, *An Account of the First Season of Excavations, 1955*, Jerusalem 1958, coming from Strata VIII, from the 9th century, and VII to V, from the end of the 9th century to 732 B.C.; Idem, *Hazor II*, Jerusalem 1960, coming from Stratum VIII, from the 9th century, where the most characteristic form is

From the Phoenician homes comes a large number of red-slipped oenoches of the type known as “mushroom mouth”. They have been collected from almost all of the excavated dwellings, which constituted a peculiarity of the site, since usually they come from burials and are assigned a funerary character. The normal type has a globular body, with grooves at the height of the shoulder – frequently two –, a concave base, a narrow cylindrical neck marked in the middle with a raised band, small geminated handles that are inserted into the shoulder and band, and a rim consisting of a narrow ring, that constitutes a distinguishing characteristic as a chronological element; all the known samples possess a very brilliant reddish or brown slip of high quality (Figure 12:17 and 17). Another type differs from the former because of its wider conical neck, trefoil mouth, and longer handle from the shoulder to the edge of the rim; it possesses the same quality of slip. In only one example was the neck decorated with red and black bands on the outside. The generalized type in the Phoenician rooms is the mushroom-mouth oenoch, while in the stratigraphy on the outside of the defensive wall the most frequent is the one with the trefoil mouth.

The lamp from this phase has only one point, a flat base, a greater depth than the two-cornered ones, and generally is not decorated with a red slip (Figure 12: 18); at times, its diameter is so great that it could be confused with the small plates. Functionally associated with the lamps as recipients of oil are the bottles or flasks, with globular or ovoid bodies, small and concave bases, conical necks, small round handles, and gritty wares that are less pure than those of the plates (Figure 12: 14 and 15).

The incense burner is another form characteristic of this period and is made of two or carinated bowls placed on top of each other, covered with a red slip only on the exterior and on upper area of the lip on the interior. As in the previous cases, it comes from the interior of the rooms. At times, the stem that joined the two bowls was cut in order to use them as cups.

Within the types of Phoenician pottery we find animal-shaped cups – rythons or askoi – with distinct representations of animal heads, sometimes covered with a red slip. The species are hard to identify, but in one example we see the head of a pig.

While excavating the stratigraphy of the wall, we found a grouping of undecorated jugs associated with the types described above, with trefoil mouths about 8/10 cm wide – those that have been reconstructed –, ovoid bodies, flat bases, a handle inserted in the rim and shoulder, and pale, simply polished surfaces in which we frequently see the grits sticking out. Similar types have been found in the Phoenician site of San Antioco⁵³ on Sardinia, dating to the second half of the 8th century B.C. We must note, however, that these jugs have not been seen among the materials from the dwellings of the Phoenician quarter, suggesting perhaps a slightly later dating.

Other kitchen vessels are pots of different sizes, with rough surfaces, polished rims that are short and concave, ovoid bodies, and solid flat bases. We assume that this

the carinated bowl without glaze and without burnishing, but some have a burnished slip, from Stratum VII (9th century), with low carinations, Stratum VI (first half of the 8th century), and Stratum V, between 760 and 732.

⁵⁰ P. M. Bikai, *The Pottery of Tyre*, Warminster: Wilts 1978, from Strata IV (760/740 B.C.) and III/II, dated between 740 and 700 B.C.

⁵¹ J. Briand and J. B. Humbert, *Tell Keisan (1971-1976). Une cité phénicienne en Galilée*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Serie Archaeologica 1, 1980.

⁵² K. Saidah: “Fouilles de Khaldé. Rapport Préliminaire sur la premier et deuxième campagnes (1961-62)”, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 19, 1966, 69 ff.

⁵³ P. Bartoloni, P. Bernardini, C. Tronchetti and L. Usai: “S. Antioco: Area del Cronario (Campagne di scavo 1983-86)”, *Rivista di Studi Fenici* XVIII.1, 1990, 37 ff.

is the common kitchen tableware (Figure 14: 14 and 15) and similar vessels come from the lower strata of Morro de Mezquitilla.

The amphorae are numerous, as is natural for a trading center, and in spite of the fact that they are still being studied and require a closer analysis, we note at least three well-defined types. The most frequent corresponds to the R-1 type, with sloping shoulders, very prominent carination, and a wide pear-shaped body with round handles. This is the generalized amphora of the Mediterranean and southern Iberian Peninsula. The difference resides in the structure of their mouths, which are short and narrow during the 8th century, at times with a groove below the rim (Figure 12: 10 and 11). A second type has a short neck, barely bulging and slanting slightly inward, a type which may correspond to the Eastern amphora with an ovoid body and shoulders unmarked by the characteristic carination; it also has more elongated cylindrical or oval handles, inserted at the height of the shoulder (Figure 12: 8 and 9). This is a frequent type on the Levantine coast of the Near East, and it corresponds to Type 2 according to the classification of A. Sagona, a type which circulated especially between 760 and 700 B.C.⁵⁴.

In other words, in the ancient levels of the 8th century town we find present the entire Phoenician typological repertoire, their functional and daily set of tableware, which does not occur in indigenous towns, which have only a limited repertoire based on exotic productions. To these forms we must add some elements that were surely imported. It is worthwhile to point out some cups with fine sides covered with a thick red slip. As a distinctive characteristic, the cups show slender grooves on the outside and belong to the type that has been called "Samaritan fine ware". Also we find bowls that are not very high with flat bases and that have rims decorated on the interior with a wide red band on the upper edge of the slip and two black lines below, with the design repeated on the bottom. They are characteristic of Strata VII-V at Tyre and are dated to the first half of the 8th century B.C.

Indigenous pottery. The doubt that we had shown earlier about the Phoenician character of the founding of the town was justified by the appearance of the indigenous material made by hand from the Late Bronze. We have already said that the Phoenicians founded the town, and the presence of the indigenous material can be explained without contradiction as we continue learning about the protohistoric populations surrounding the bay and the Phoenician strategy of approaching these peoples. The panorama is now different, since in the Phoenician colonies of Almería, Granada and Málaga are found an important number of indigenous handmade pottery. In the case of CDB, the handmade pottery can be explained by the integration into the Phoenician town of the indigenous community that inhabited the summit of the Sierra de San Cristóbal and its environs.

The handmade material consists of cooking dishes, cups, and large storage containers for solids and liquids, of the type known as "à chardon" vessels, which are bell shaped, have wide necks, and have been found in Phoenician rooms (Figure 14). The cooking dishes possess bulging rims on the inside and smooth carinations on the outside, a typological trait which is characteristic of the advanced Late Bronze Age. In respect to this pottery, we must point out the differences with that found in the town of Las Cumbres, which has carinations that are more pronounced, as is normal for pre-Phoenician indigenous peoples. They are decorated on the interior with burnished, crossing lines that form crosshatches of different sizes, made with precision on a background that was only polished. The designs were divided into quadrants by broad

⁵⁴ A. G. Sagona: "Levantine Storage Jars of the 13th to 4th Century B.C.", *Opuscula Atheniensia* XIV, 1982, 75 ff.

or narrow burnished bands according to a pattern frequently found in the lower Guadalquivir. In addition, we have found large cups and vessels decorated with incised geometric designs, made with a needle on a brown or blackish well-burnished surface; the open forms, and sometimes the closed forms as well, are covered on the inside with a consistent layer of red paint or ochre. The decorative designs show the prevailing Geometrism of the 9th and 8th centuries, as reflected in the red-painted monochrome pottery from the lower Guadalquivir.

The handmade material suggests that rather than an indigenous town, we have the result of a peaceful coexistence, caused by the large indigenous population around the bay, the Salado River, the countryside, and the estuaries of the Guadalquivir River. The Phoenician colonization at the bay of Cádiz cannot be explained without considering the indigenous factor and the processes of assimilation and acculturation/interaction.

The orientalizing phase: 7th century B.C. The Phoenician quarter was abandoned at the end of the 8th century, without our yet knowing the cause, and the spot was not occupied again until the 5th-4th centuries, when a new defensive wall was constructed on top. It is possible that the reason was an earthquake or because of the remodeling of the town, if we keep in mind the collapses that were seen, the condition of the walls of the rooms, the pottery found in their interior that was quite complete, and the skeleton of an individual beneath a wall. Various strata of fill were deposited over the collapses, with abundant ceramic material and organic remains because the zone was used as a dump. This is where we centered the archaeological work of 1991, and, therefore, the results are yet provisional. The materials have been dated to the end of the 8th century by the appearance of the rim of an Euboean cup and the neck of a Corinthian amphora from the Late Geometric Period.

The materials differ notably from the earlier style of pottery. As the most salient characteristic we must point out the novel appearance of vessels with a polychrome decoration. Generally, the decoration consists of wide red bands framed by black lines, which cover the greater part of the surface of urns and "pithoi". Also frequent are the decorations of rows of concentric circles, in which black and red alternate, and of black lines on wide red bands, known as "black on red". Occasionally we have found motifs depicted on large-capacity vessels, showing fantastic animals and exotic flowers. The discovery of these fragments in a well-defined context dates these controversial vessels chronologically to the end of the 8th /beginning of the 7th century B.C.

The plates now possess a wider rim reaching up to 4/5 cm or little more, similar to the oldest of Toscanos. The carinated bowls are larger and continue to be covered with a red-slipped layer of high quality. And for the first time we find cups with short straight rims and pronounced carinations, covered with a red slip, and bowls with rims that are straight or smoothly sloping inward, of a poorer quality ware and decorated with red and black bands on the exterior.

The flasks continue in use and generally maintain the previous forms. However, the lamps frequently show two points, they have lost the flat base characteristic of the earlier phase, and they are covered with a red slip, although occasionally the older undecorated types with only one corner survive.

We point out, as a novelty, the beginning of the production of gray pottery with light or blackish tones. The forms are carinated bowls or dishes, plates, and bowls with more or less thickened rims. Their percentage is not very high and their production

appears destined mainly for the demands of the indigenous market, as the huts excavated in the countryside of Gadir and Huelva suggest⁵⁵.

The amphorae are of R-1 type – or Western Amphorae –, with carinated shoulders and pear-shaped bodies, and they differ from the earlier ones because of their thicker rims. In this period the type “Sagona 2” and the carthaginian ovoid amphorae have disappeared.

In regard to the handmade pottery, the open type is now a simple bowl with an indistinguishable rim, decorated on the inside with burnished designs of poorer quality than the earlier ones, and the closed forms are large storage vessels and rough pots, which at times are decorated on the shoulders with impressions of fingers.

In short, at the end of the 8th century the repertoire of wheel-made pottery broadened with the appearance of new open forms and painted bichrome and polychrome vessels. From this point on, the typical Phoenician forms in the West became set, making famous these expressions of the “Western Cultural Province” or the “Circuit of the Straits”, which expanded throughout northern Africa and the Iberian Peninsula. In spite of the similarity of many ceramic forms, the differences between the two periods are also significant: first, the appearance of painted pottery with bands and with concentric circles, and secondly, the growth and evolution of the formal repertoire. So many differences in so little time perhaps suggest the presence of new stimuli toward the end of the 8th century, coming from Cyprus or from the Phoenician cities of the coast, or perhaps because of an internal process. The last position is the most probable.

The material from the 7th century and the beginning of the 6th does not present great changes and is similar to that of the previous phase. The information comes from Cuts C.1.a, C.1.b., C.4, F.30 and B.12. In the first three cuts we have detected three phases of superimposed construction during the 7th century without perceptible differences in tableware.

This period constitutes a crucial moment of exterior expansion toward the North African coasts by sea, and through the interior toward Extremadura, Guadalquivir, and the eastern shore up to Cataluña. The excavations performed during the past few years in Portugal suggest an expansion toward that region by land or by sea during the beginning of the 7th century B.C. and later. This is also the period when many of the indigenous towns of the Late Bronze Age change into true cities. We can see economic prosperity in the grave goods of the necropolises – as, for example, at La Joya in Huelva – and in the production and trade of objects in amphorae scattered throughout numerous points, which denotes a trade without precedent.

The typology of the plates constitutes a chronological element to keep in mind, although the outline is not extremely rigid. In CDB during the first half of the 7th century, the plates have rim widths between 50 and 58 mm, while later they reach 60/70 mm. According to the values established at Toscanos, the plates that have rims of up to 55 mm are dated to the first quarter of the 7th century⁵⁶, and those with greater widths are dated to the middle or to the second half of that century in the necropolis at Trayamar (Figure 15: 1 and 2).

Other elements characteristic of this period are carinated bowls, which offer three basic forms judging by the construction of their rims and decoration: one form possesses a sloping and carinated rim, a type that has survived from the 8th century with small differences in size and quality of slip (Figure 15: 3); a second form with a short

⁵⁵ J. I. Vallejo Sánchez, *La cerámica gris orientalizante del Castillo de Doña Blanca. El Puerto de Santa María (Cádiz)*. Tesina de Licenciatura (Universidad de Cádiz, 1999).

⁵⁶ H. Schubart and H.G. Niemeyer, *Trayamar. Los hipogeos fenicios y el asentamiento en la desembocadura del río Algarrobo*, Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España 90, 1976.

rim that is vertical or slightly inclined toward the interior, which was a deeper in the earlier period and shallow during the 7th century (Figure 15: 4), common also at the end of the 7th century; and finally, a bowl with a concave, carinated rim (Figure 15: 5). The surfaces of the first two are covered with a thick red slip, while the form with the concave rim is decorated with an application of paint that is very diluted at times, on a surface that has received less care and in which the grit appears. This final form is also broader and has a greater capacity than the others.

The deep or hemispheric bowls are frequent and made with clays that are less refined. The surfaces are decorated with red and black painted bands, or the upper half is covered with red paint with narrow black lines on top, which is probably a local western version of the Cypriot and Eastern “black on red” decoration. Several types have been distinguished based on the structure of the rims: the first has a short rim and a marked carination on the exterior (Figure 15: 6), the second has a rim curved in toward the interior (Figure 15: 8), and the third, also with a rim curving inward, has a groove on the lip as a distinguishing characteristic (Figure 15: 7).

Other open forms are small bowls which are hemispheric or shorter, also made from less refined clays. Usually they are undecorated and when they do have a decoration, it is only with wide red bands and black lines on the exterior surface (Figure 15: 9 and 10).

As for the closed forms, the large capacity “pithoi” are frequent. They have geminated handles inserted into the rim and shoulder and bodies decorated with red and black bands or with concentric circles (Figure 17: 1 and 2). We also see the urns of the “Cruz del Negro” type with cylindrical necks and a central band on the neck; the bodies have a spherical tendency during the earliest period – end of the 8th century –, and the handles are also geminated (Figure 17: 3-5). The forms of the 7th century come from prototypes of the 8th century, they were very popular, and they had a wide range of distribution in the Phoenician colonies and in the Tartessian towns, as well as in northern Africa. Their origin appears Eastern, although they have not been recorded at CDB in the first moments of the horizon of exclusively red-slipped pottery.

The absence of mushroom-mouth and trefoil-mouth oenoches is paradoxical in comparison with the frequent use of these forms during the 8th century. It is probable that during the 7th century this form acquired an almost exclusive funerary use, as can be deduced from the necropolises of Trayamar in Málaga and Laurita in Almuñécar (Granada). Until now only one mushroom-mouth oinochoe is known, with a neck that is formed with two cones and a pronounced groove at its central joint, corresponding to a type that has been dated to the beginning of the 7th century (Figure 17: 1 bis).

The lamps all have two holes and are less shallow than those of the 8th century. All of the known samples are covered with a thick red slip that is burnished on the inside and outside (Figure 17: 8).

Other elements are flasks, small jugs and tripods, made from clays that have not been well purified. The flasks repeat the earlier forms of the 8th century, with an ovoid body and conical neck, or with a more cylindrical body and a short, turned-out neck. The most common tripods during this century possess a flange below the rim (Figure 17: 6), and their prototypes are found at the end of the 8th century B.C.

The gray pottery maintains the same percentage as before and the same types are produced: the wide carinated dishes, the plates with rolled rims and the bowls with thickened rims, with blackish and light gray tones (Figure 18: 4-6).

When all is said and done, the number of amphorae recorded in strata from the 7th century is the most eloquent testimony of the productive progress reached in this

century and of the outside demand. Typologically, the classical R-1 forms and thickened rims continue, offering a broad spectrum (Figure 18: 1-3).

If we recapitulate what has been said until now, we can sum up the following points:

- CDB is a Phoenician settlement, founded in the beginnings of the 8th century B.C., the first settlement founded in the Bay of Cádiz. From its first moments, according to the distribution of the archaeological materials of that period, it had a size of approximately 6 hectares and a defensive wall. Thus we are dealing with a colony established next to the Guadalete River and according to a political and commercial plan. In this sense, we must consider the plurality of the concept of Gadir, which was distributed in three points: the temple of Melqart, CDB – both founded at the same time –, and later Cádiz, from the beginning of the 6th century B.C.
- From the point of view of the archaeological record, and according to the results of the CDB, it has been fully demonstrated that a phase existed in which red-slipped ceramic tableware predominated almost exclusively, whose ceramic style is the oldest that is known for now in the Bay of Cádiz. Any analysis about the mythical date of the founding of Gadir should be made from this perspective and using the record of material culture.
- In a second stage, and always from the perspective of the analysis of the ceramics, we note a more varied style, with the survival of some forms and the introduction of new kinds of forms and decorations. We refer especially to the painted pottery, which constitutes a novelty without precedent. It is the period of greatest dynamism and interior and exterior expansion and the high point of the orientalizing period, during all 7th century B.C.

The end of the Orientalizing period – Tartessos – and the beginning of the Turdetanian period. The problem is knowing the duration of this second period, which probably lasted until the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. During this century, and probably beginning in the middle if one keeps in mind the dating of the ancient Greek pottery, we see the evolution of certain Phoenician forms that actually are a prelude to the origin of the Turdetanian culture in the Bay of Cádiz. It is a crucial period giving rise to many questions. During this period Tartessos suffers a decline economically and as center of power, we see the influence of Carthage in the West, especially on the Mediterranean coast after the fall of Tyre, and we note the Greek presence in Tartessos during the first half of the century. As a consequence of all of this, the dismemberment of the State of Tartessos takes place and the Turdetanian kingdoms emerge.

In this regard, a stratigraphic sequence at the Phoenician town of the Cerro del Villar, in the Guadalhorce River, has focused the problem⁵⁷. Two phases have been distinguished there that correspond stratigraphically to a period of construction of a storehouse in the 7th century – Phase I –, and another later phase of abandonment – Phase II – which shows significant changes in its material context and is interpreted as a new political and economic situation. This fact has been related in turn to other observations at other sites: the abandonment of the trading post at Toscanos, the hurried and technically careless construction of the defensive wall at Alarcon, as if there were an emergency, the ceasing of Phoenician contacts with the southeastern Peninsula, reflected in the eastern towns of Los Saladares, Vinarragell and Peña Negra, and the

⁵⁷ A. Arribas y O. Arteaga, *El yacimiento fenicio de la desembocadura del río Guadalhorce (Málaga)*, Cuadernos de Prehistoria de la Universidad de Granada, Serie Monográfica 2, 1975.

decay or abandonment of various North African trading posts closed linked with the Peninsula, such as Mogador on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. As a probable cause we can suggest the economic disequilibrium provoked in the West by the fall of Tyre around 573 B.C., toward which a large part of the Phoenician market was directed. In addition, from the beginning of the 6th century, the East Greeks initiated an active trade toward Tartessos, explained by the weakening of Gadir's maritime power in the area of the Strait⁵⁸.

Another reason we can present is that, after the fall of Tyre, Carthage assumed political and economic control in the Mediterranean, as M.E.Aubet has expressed in the following terms; *"the period between the 6th and 3rd centuries B.C. corresponds to that of the Carthaginian pre-Barca empire and coincides with that period in which Carthage assumes, gradually and militarily, the control of the old territories of the western Phoenician population. This is a period of profound changes in the heart of Phoenician society in the West, whose development no longer depends on the strictly economic and trading objectives that had been promoted by the Phoenician cities in the East, but rather will be conditioned by a totally different political situation"*⁵⁹. Beginning in the second half of the 6th century, the archaeological record in the central and western Mediterranean and along the North African coast shows a series of changes in the funerary customs and ceramic tableware, and we see the introduction of a grouping of pieces – terra-cottas, masks, shaving blades and ostrich eggs, for example – of indubitable Carthaginian character, which are the clues that allow us perceive the Carthaginian influence. However, the signs which we see clearly in Sicily, Sardinia and Ibiza are less transparent in the Iberian Peninsula, due perhaps to the strongly-rooted orientalizing culture and to a smaller degree of Carthaginian influence. If we contrast the cultural characteristic of the Phoenician colonies of the 8th-7th centuries with the later ones of the 6th century, we observe small changes that in some cases have their origin in the Carthaginian presence. The ceramic types and their restrained decoration are more similar to those of Carthage – although the decorations of the 7th century were also restrained –. In funerary rites, inhumation substitutes for cremation – however, inhumations were also present in the 7th century in Trayamar, the necropolis of La Joya in Huelva and Carmona, for example –, and tombs are of a North African type. The same can be said of religion, with sanctuaries dedicated to gods of the Carthaginian pantheon. These are cultural traits that acquire different intensities in the different regions of the Iberian Peninsula, according to the degree of acceptance or imposition. In general, from the Guadiana River up to Almería we find the footprints of Carthage, but it is necessary to determine the degree of influence and the chronology, which in many cases has not been established, and of course analyze more carefully the internal development in the different areas.

From the 6th century on and from a stratigraphic perspective, we note certain changes that often do not appear to be too substantial. In CDB, the Carthaginian influence is not extremely clear during the 6th century. During this century handmade bowls still survive, though scarce. The red-slipped plates widen their rims so that the lower edge reaches almost to the base, forming a small depression as a characteristic trait (Figure 19: 1). This is not a new form, but the result of the development of older plates, perhaps as a consequence of new eating habits associated with fish. The slips

⁵⁸ For the bibliography and the state of question, see P. Cabrera: "El comercio focéo en Huelva: cronología y fisionomía", in J. Fernández Jurado, *Tartessos y Huelva, Huelva Arqueológica X-XI, 1988-89*, vol. 3, 41 ff.

⁵⁹ M. E. Aubet: "La necrópolis de Villaricos en el ámbito del mundo púnico peninsular", *Homenaje a Luis Siret*, Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, Sevilla 1986, 612 ff.

lose their thickness, they show poorer quality, and their colors tend more toward light red tones. The carinated bowls with concave rims sides also continues, but now loses its characteristic carination and quality of its earlier slip (Figure 19: 3 and 4); both forms are now scarce. The gray pottery reaches its greatest percentage of appearance, and the bowls with thickened rims and with concave rims are frequent (Figure 19: 11 and 12).

The urns present small typological differences, but basically the earlier prototypes continue. The classic “pithos” of the 7th century, with a short vertical or slightly slanted neck now possesses a more open and slanting neck, while the rim is less pointed (Figure 20: 11-15), and the urn of the “Cruz del Negro” type tends to have the same slant (Figure 20: 7 and 10). In others words, the classical types of Phoenician-style pottery of the 7th century are maintained, with variations only in certain formal aspects.

A type of pot now appears that will survive for a long time without fundamental variation until the 4th-3rd centuries. As characteristic traits, it has a short and slanted rim, an ovoid body, and grooved lines on the shoulder area (Figure 20: 18 and 19). Other new elements are high percentage of bowls with thickened rims, either without decoration or covered with a red slip on their interiors (Figure 19: 11 and 12), and deep containers with large diameters – between 30 and 40 cm – and vertical or lightly concave rims (Figure 19: 14-18), usually without decoration, but sometimes painted with simple bands. This is a new and characteristic form of the period that will last, with certain typological variations, until the 3rd century B.C. or later. Also new are the deep cups with concave rims and decorated with red and black bands, which are surely imitations of Greek Ionian cups (Figure 19: 8).

The amphorae show variations in the construction of their rims and shoulders, which are generally more slanted. Amphorae with a short, slanted rim and more fallen shoulders are frequent (Figure 20: 1 and 2), as are those with thickened rims on the interior (Figure 20: 3 and 4) or thickened and beveled rims. A case that is practically unique until now is fragment 5 of the figure 20, which has a short, vertical rim, a raised band on the lower portion of the rim, and very fallen shoulders. Equally exceptional is the amphora fragment in the same figure, which is decorated with reddish paint on the shoulder area. In this context we should point out the Corinthian amphorae of Koehler's type A (Figure 20: 8 and 9), from the first half of the 6th century, and amphorae of the Green “à la brosse” type⁶⁰.

Here we have the stratigraphic sequence of the Phoenician town of CDB from the period of its founding, at the beginning of the 8th century B.C., until the middle of the 6th century, when we note obvious differences and the beginning of the gestation of the Turdetanian phase in the lower Guadalquivir. During the final decades of the 5th century and during the 4th, the town of CDB acquired the urban features betrayed by its surface structures, while pottery types evolved toward the classic Turdetanian forms, which at CDB maintained their orientalizing and Punic characteristics to a lesser degree.

⁶⁰ C. G. Koehler, *Corinthian A and B Transport Amphora*, University Microfilms International, 1979.

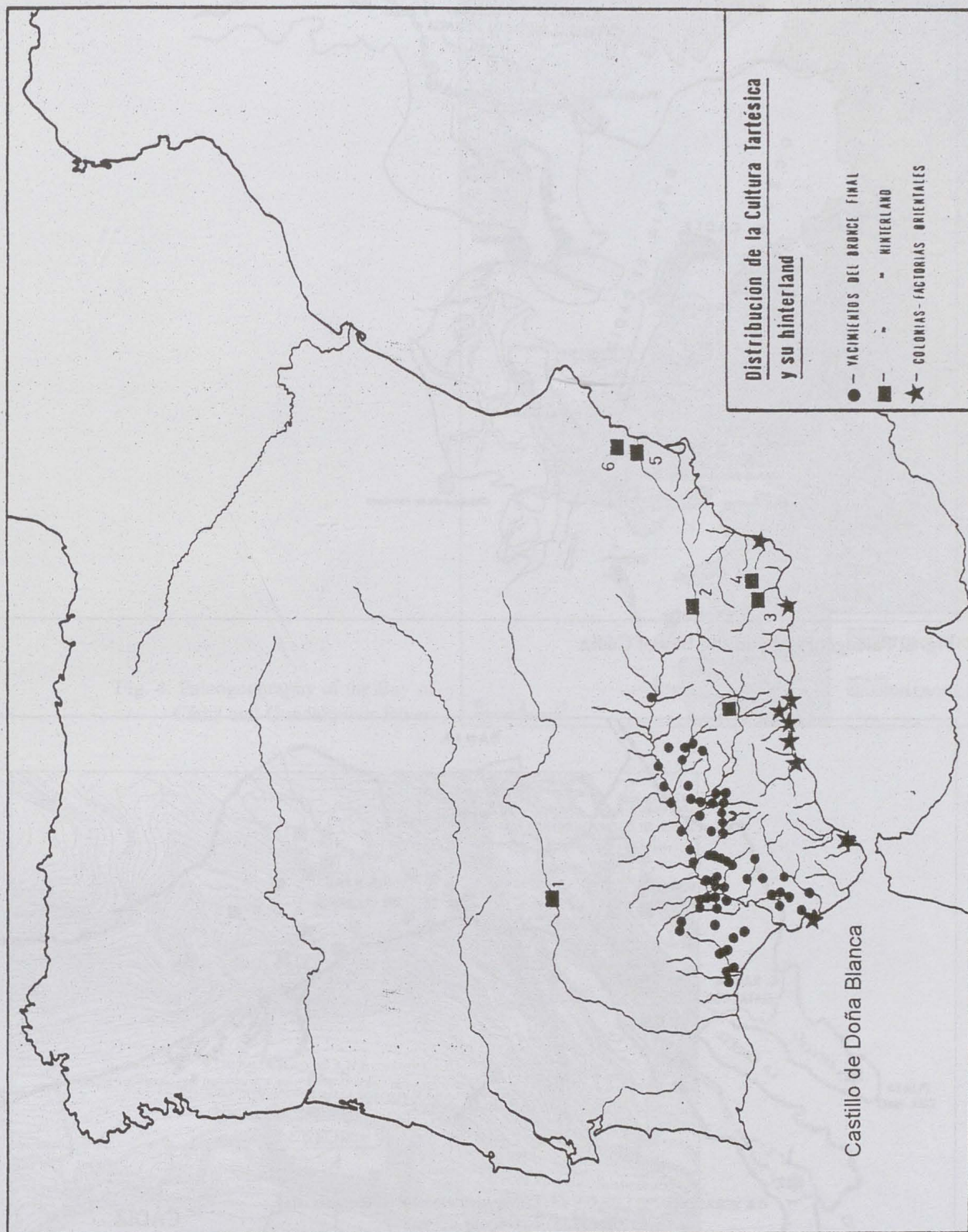


Fig. 1: Phoenician and indigenous settlements (8th century B.C.).

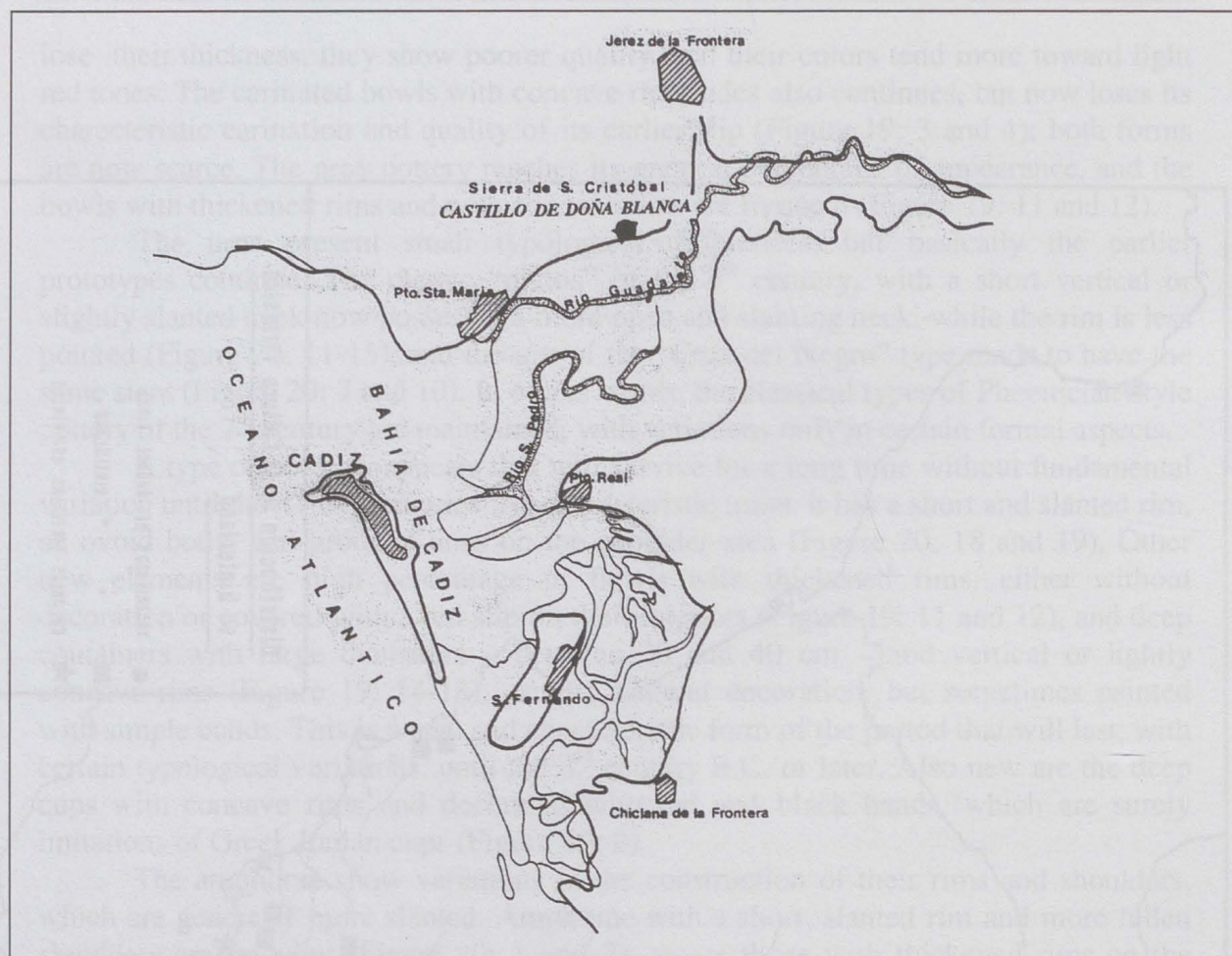


Fig. 2: Paleogeography of the Bay of Cádiz.

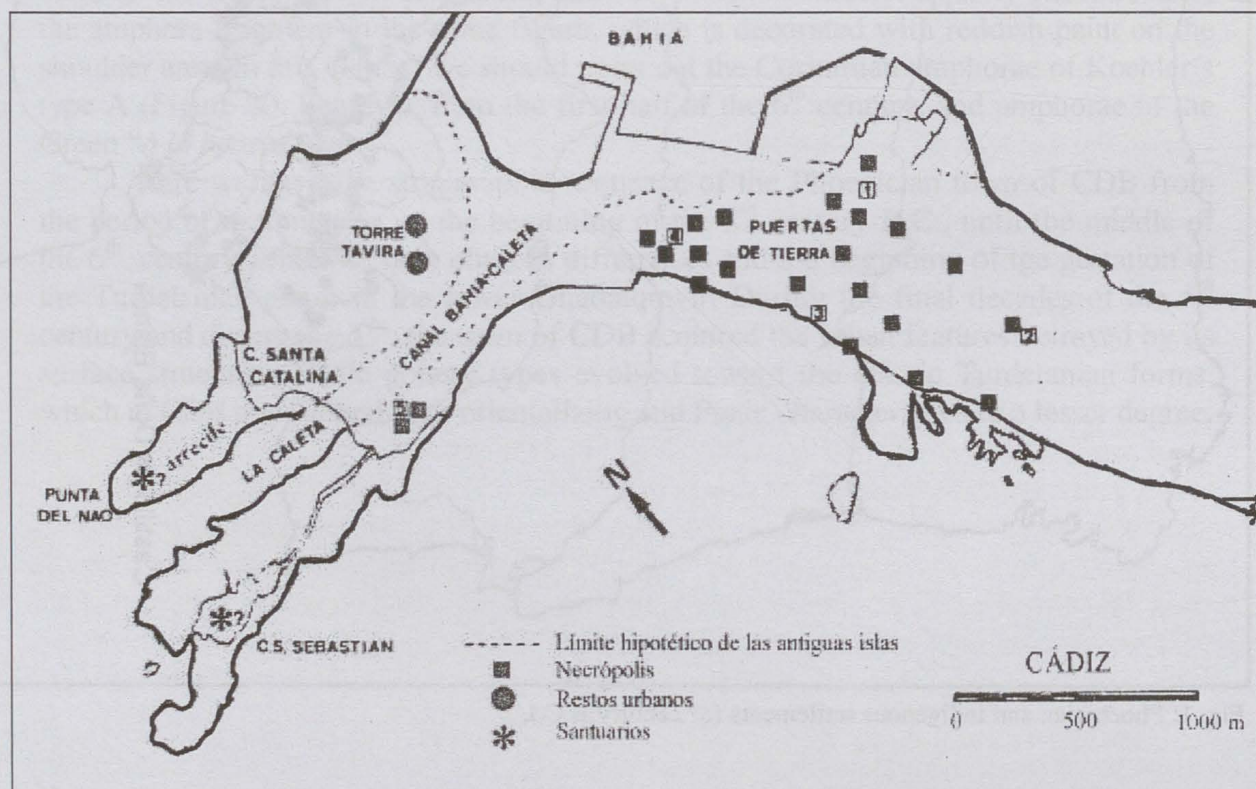


Fig. 3: Topography and archaeological elements of Cádiz (1: masculine sarcophagus; 2: feminine sarcophagus; 3: necropolis of Santa María del Mar; 4: Puerta de Tierra; Capuchinos -from this site turdetanian potteries are found) (According to J. L. Escacena).



Fig. 4: Paleogeography of the Bay of Cádiz and Guadalquivir River.

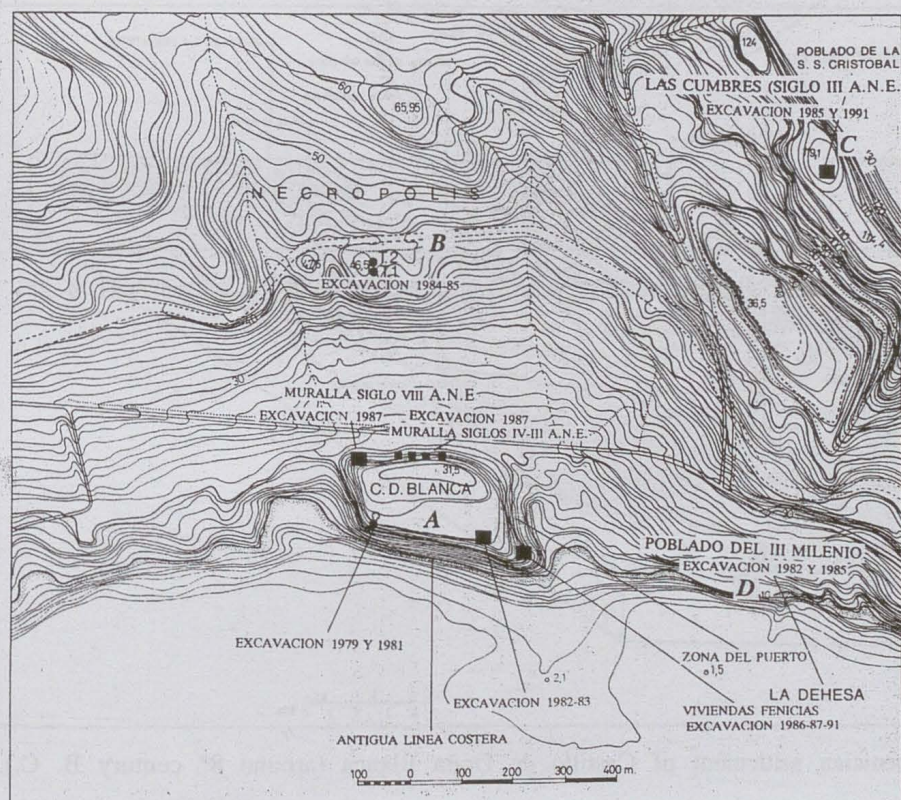


Fig. 5: Archaeological zones of the Castillo de Doña Blanca.

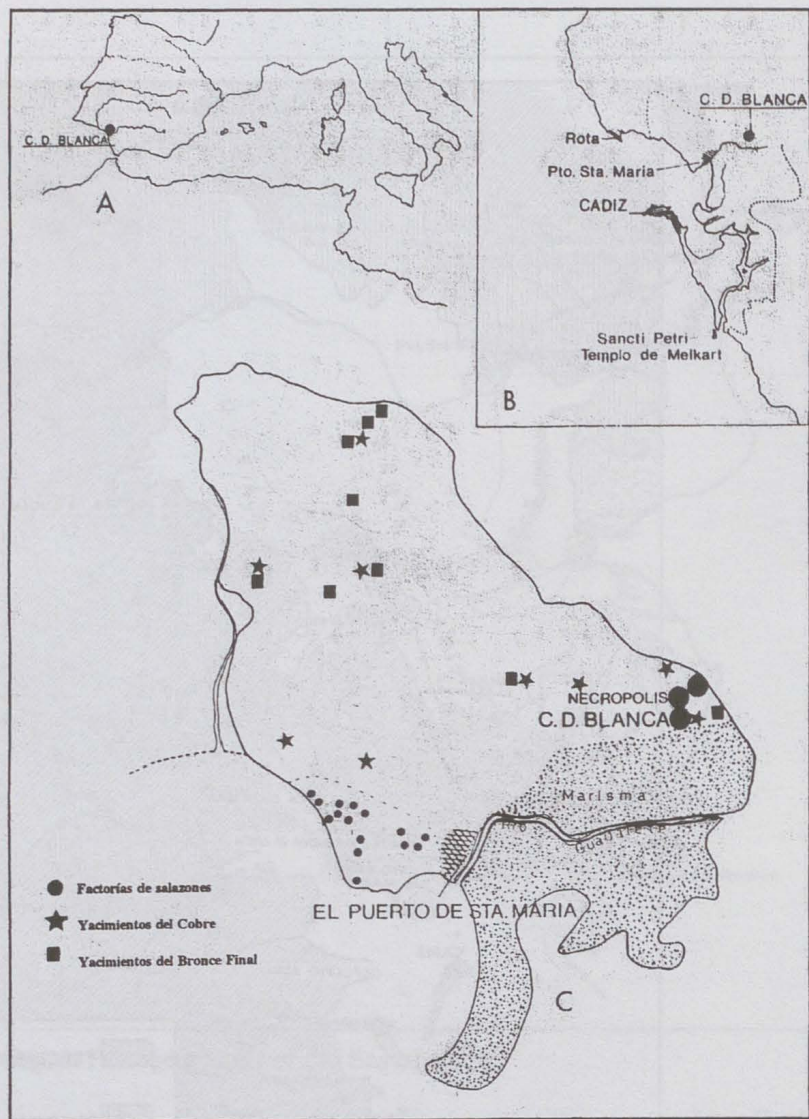


Fig. 6: Situation of the Phoenician settlement of Castillo de Doña Blanca.

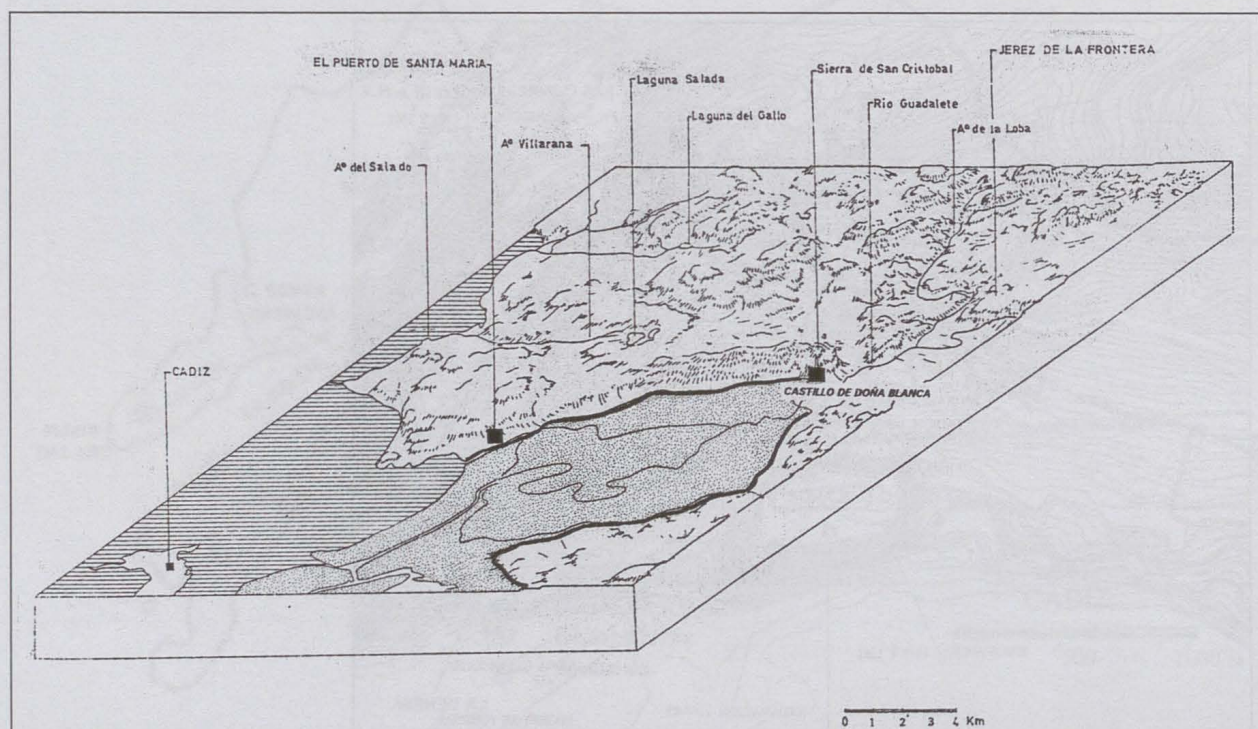


Fig. 7: Situation of the Phoenician settlement of Castillo de Doña Blanca (around 8th century B. C.).

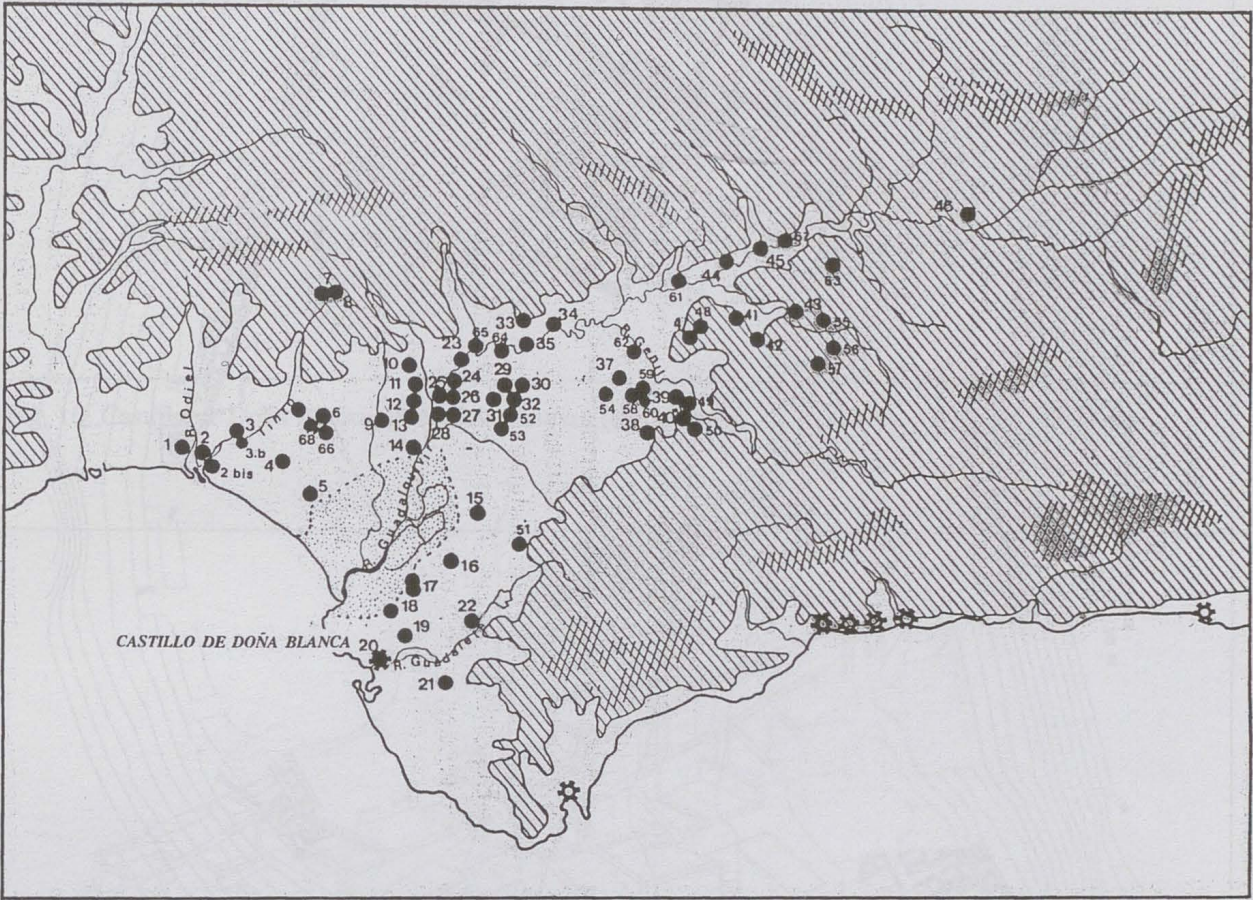


Fig. 8: Distribution of settlements of Late Bronze in Western Andalusia.

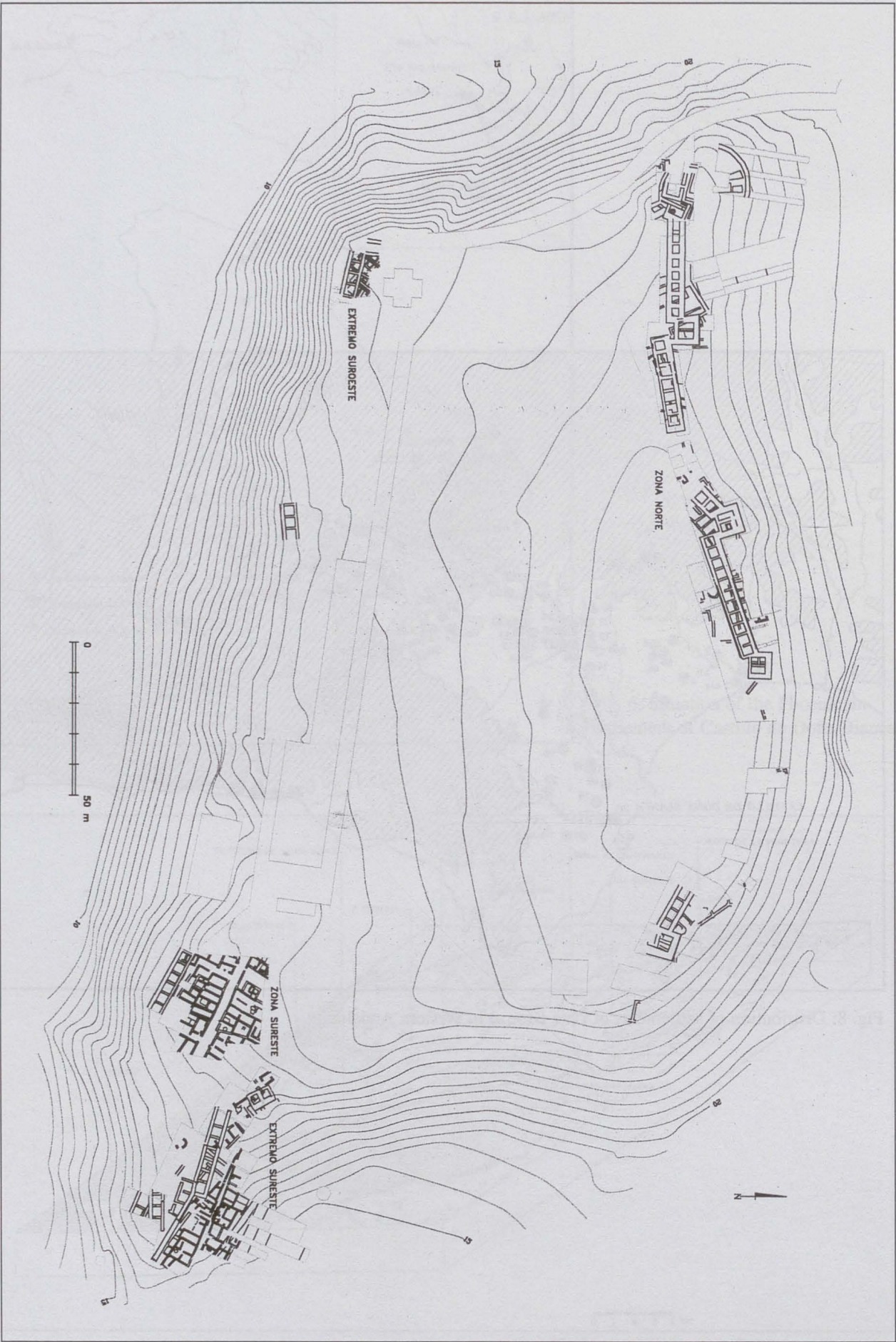


Fig. 9: Castillo de Doña Blanca.



Fig. 10: Castillo de Doña Blanca. Phoenician houses (black lines).

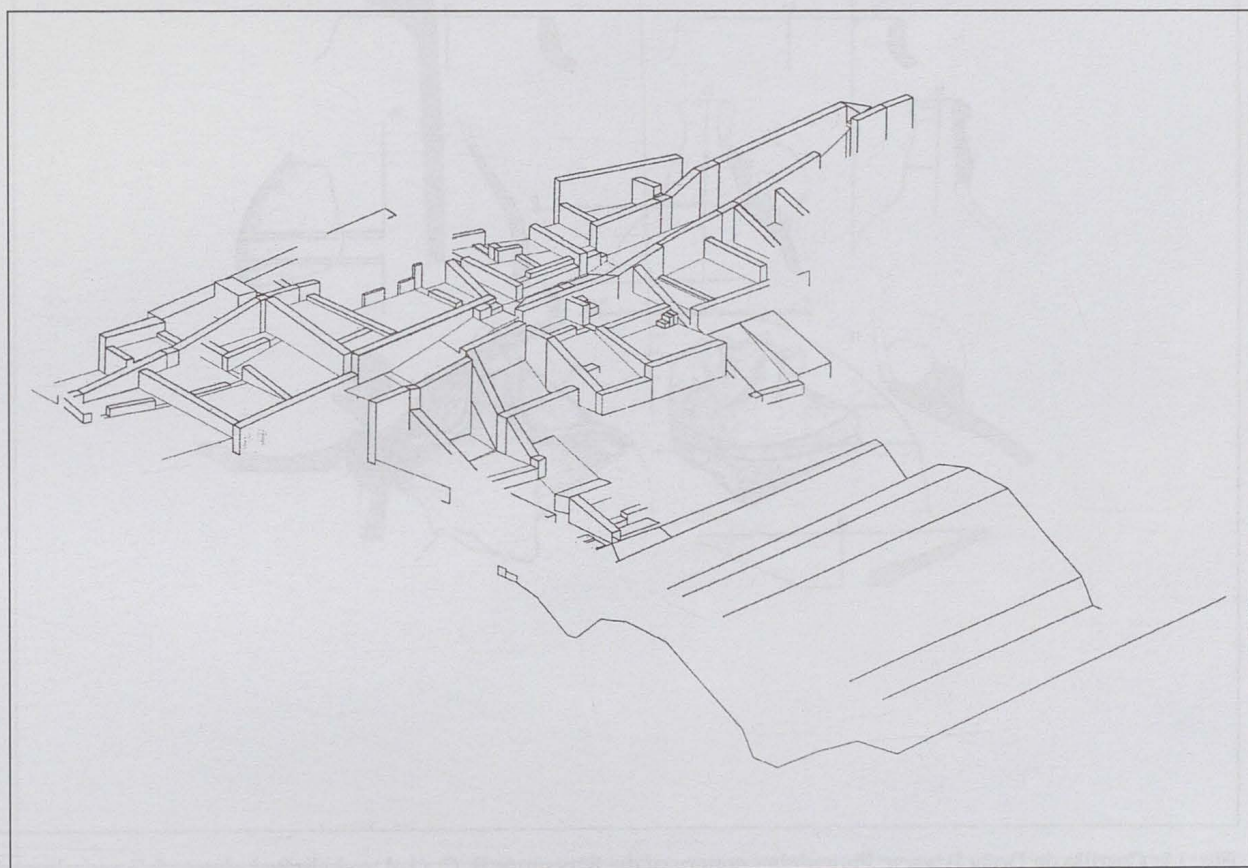


Fig. 11: Phoenician quarter of the Castillo de Doña Blanca (8th century B. C.).

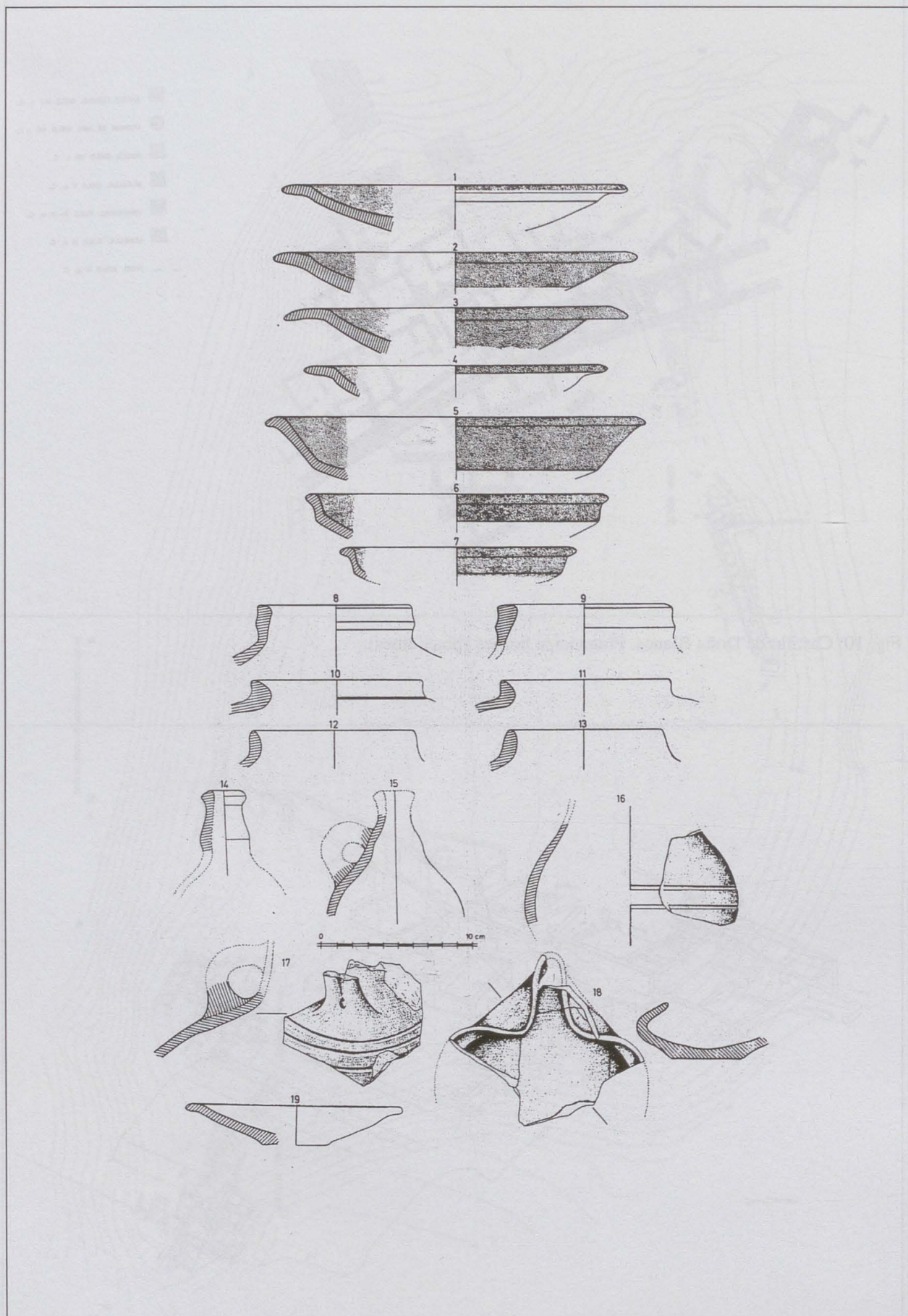


Fig. 12: Castillo de Doña Blanca. Phoenician pottery of the 8th century B. C. (1-4, red-slipped plates; 5-7, red-slipped carinated bowls, 8-13, rims of amphorae; 14-15, flasks; 16 and 17, red-slipped oenochoes; 18 and 19, lamps).

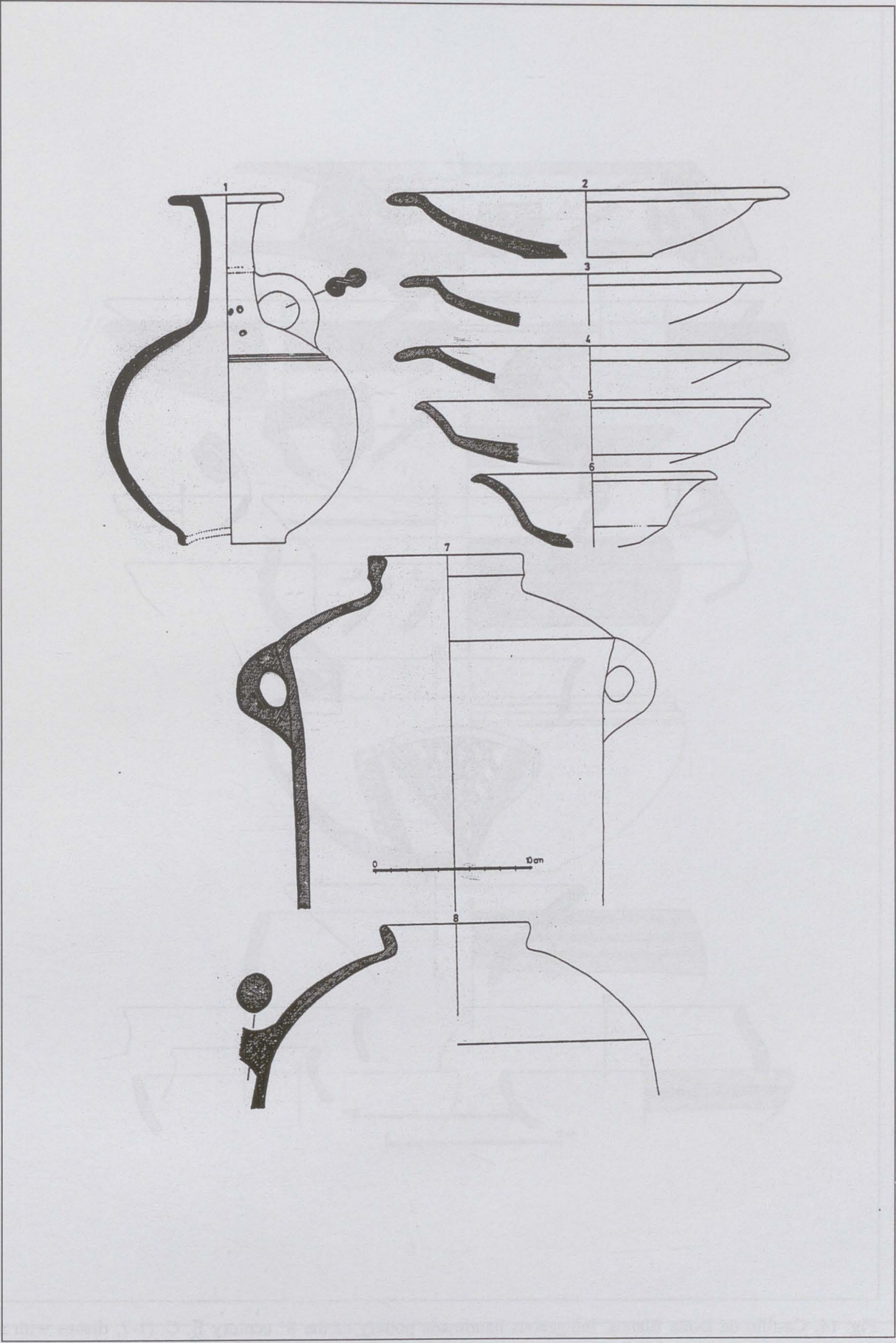


Fig. 13: Phoenician pottery of the 8th century B. C. from Morro de Mezquitilla (Málaga).

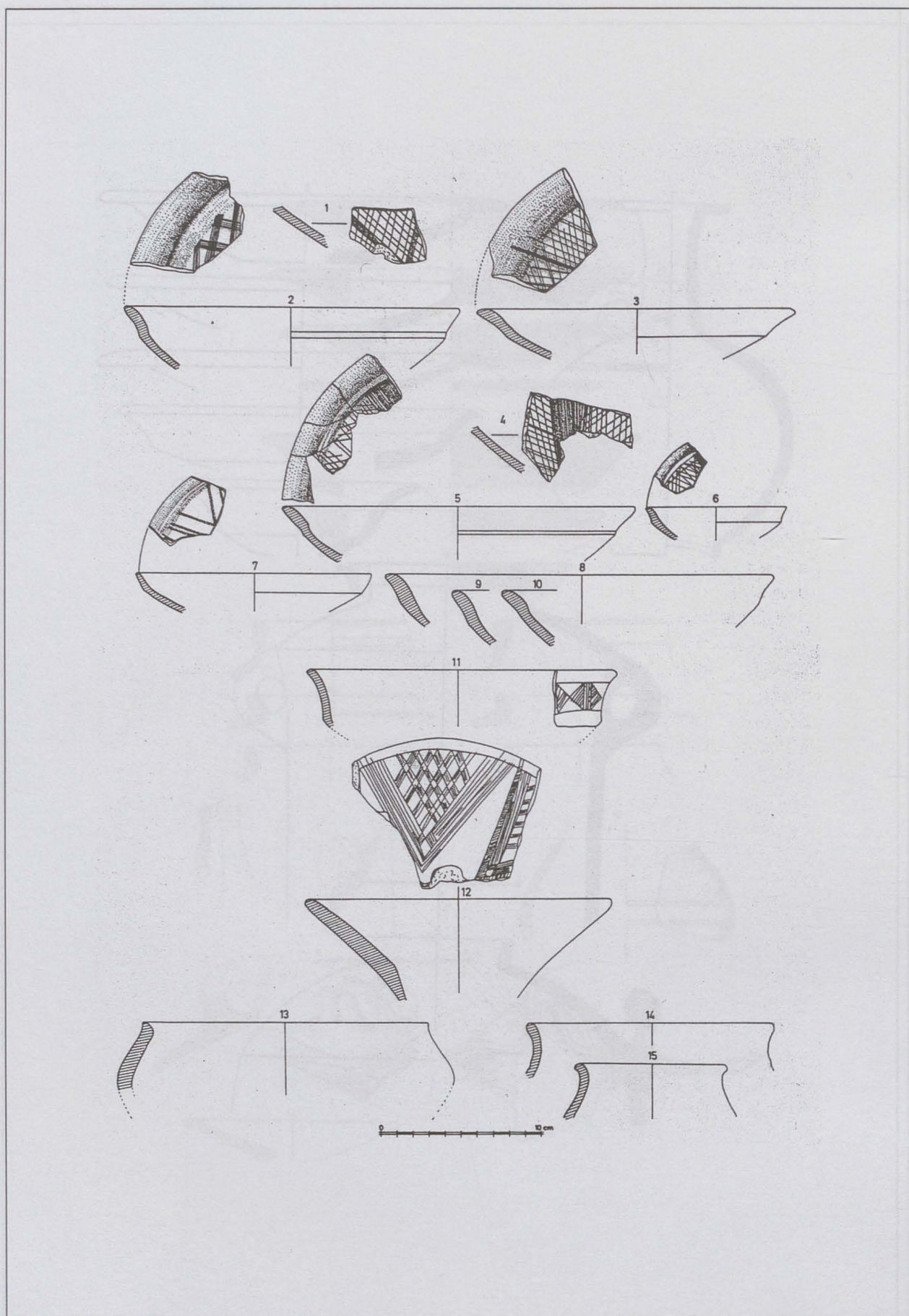


Fig. 14: Castillo de Doña Blanca. Indigenous handmade pottery of the 8th century B. C. (1-7, dishes with an interior decoration of burnished crosshatching; 11 and 12, carinated bowl and support with geometric designs incised on a burnished surface; 13-15, rough-surfaced pots).

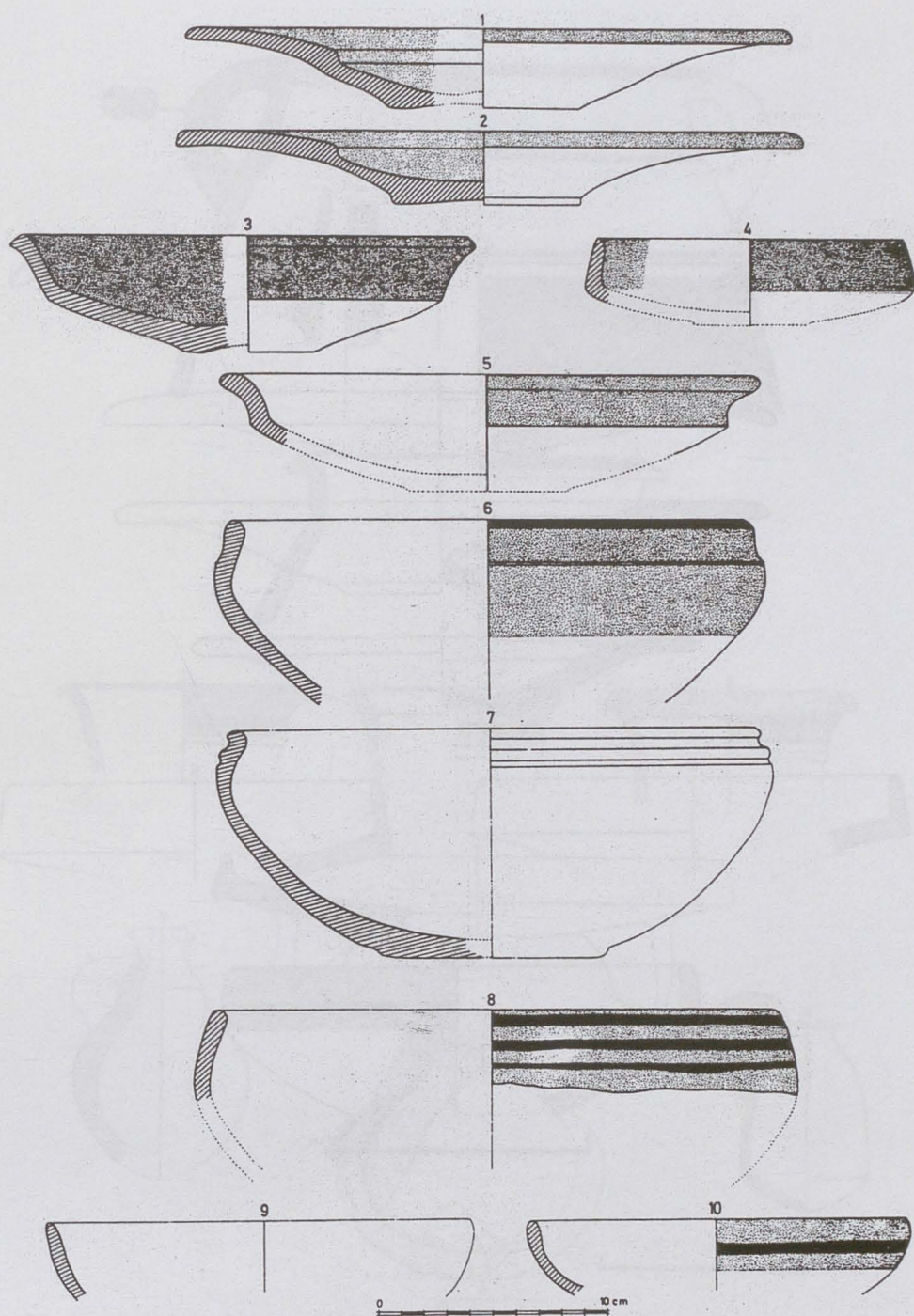


Fig. 15: Castillo de Doña Blanca. Phoenician pottery of the 7th century B. C. (red-slipped plates, carinated bowls and bowls with red paint and black lines).

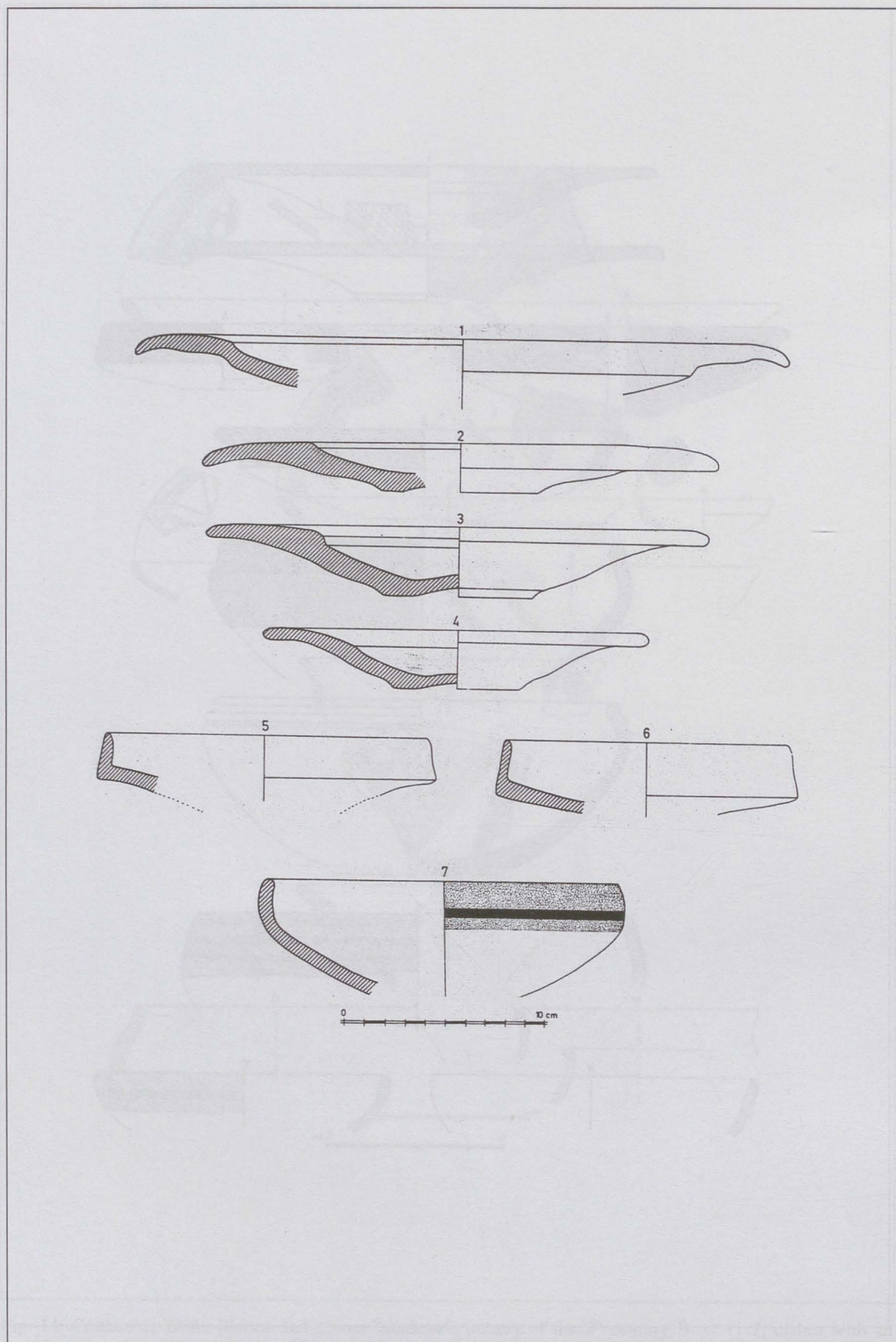


Fig. 16: Castillo de Doña Blanca. Phoenician pottery from the 7th century B. C.

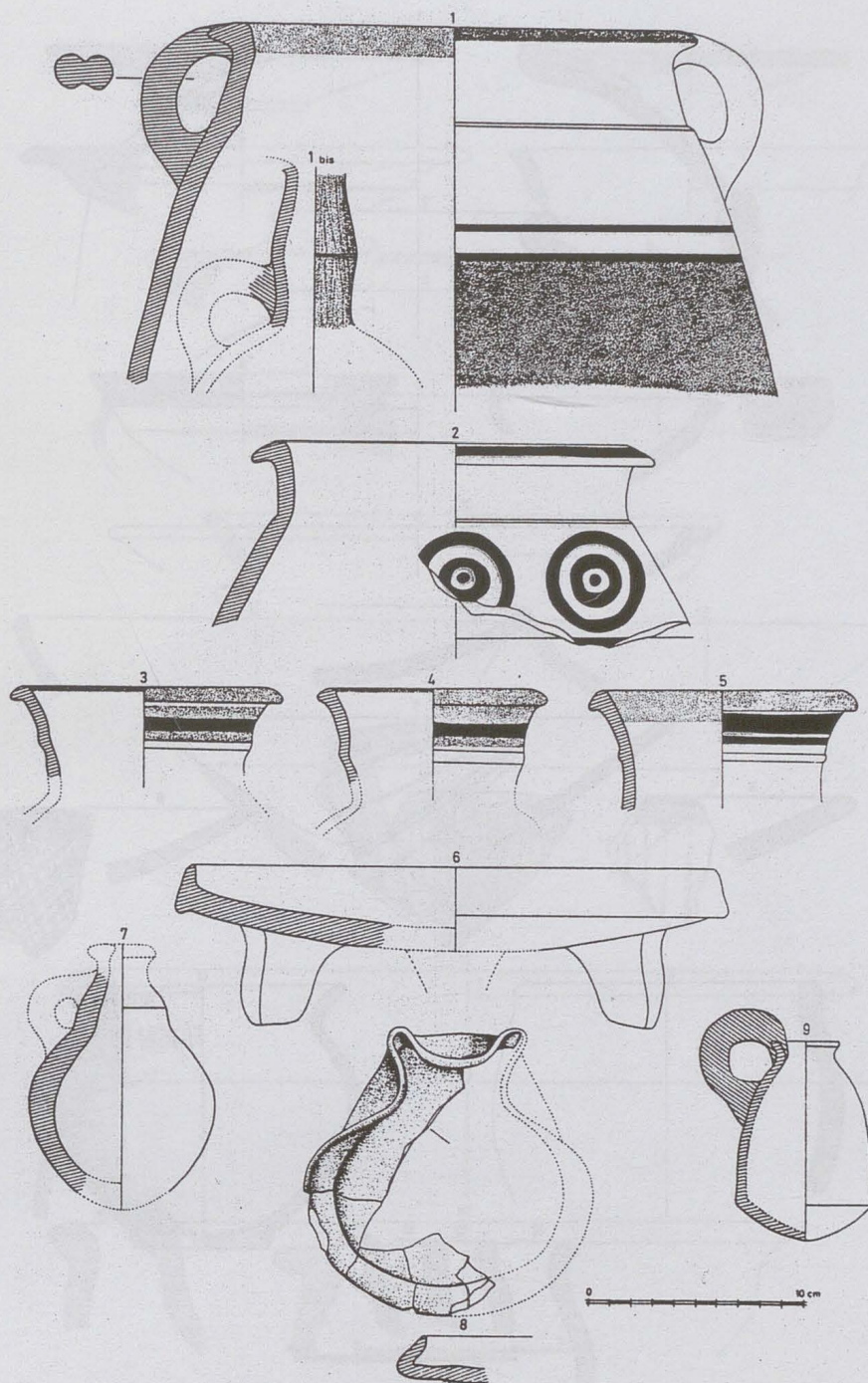


Fig. 17: Castillo de Doña Blanca. Phoenician pottery from the 7th century.

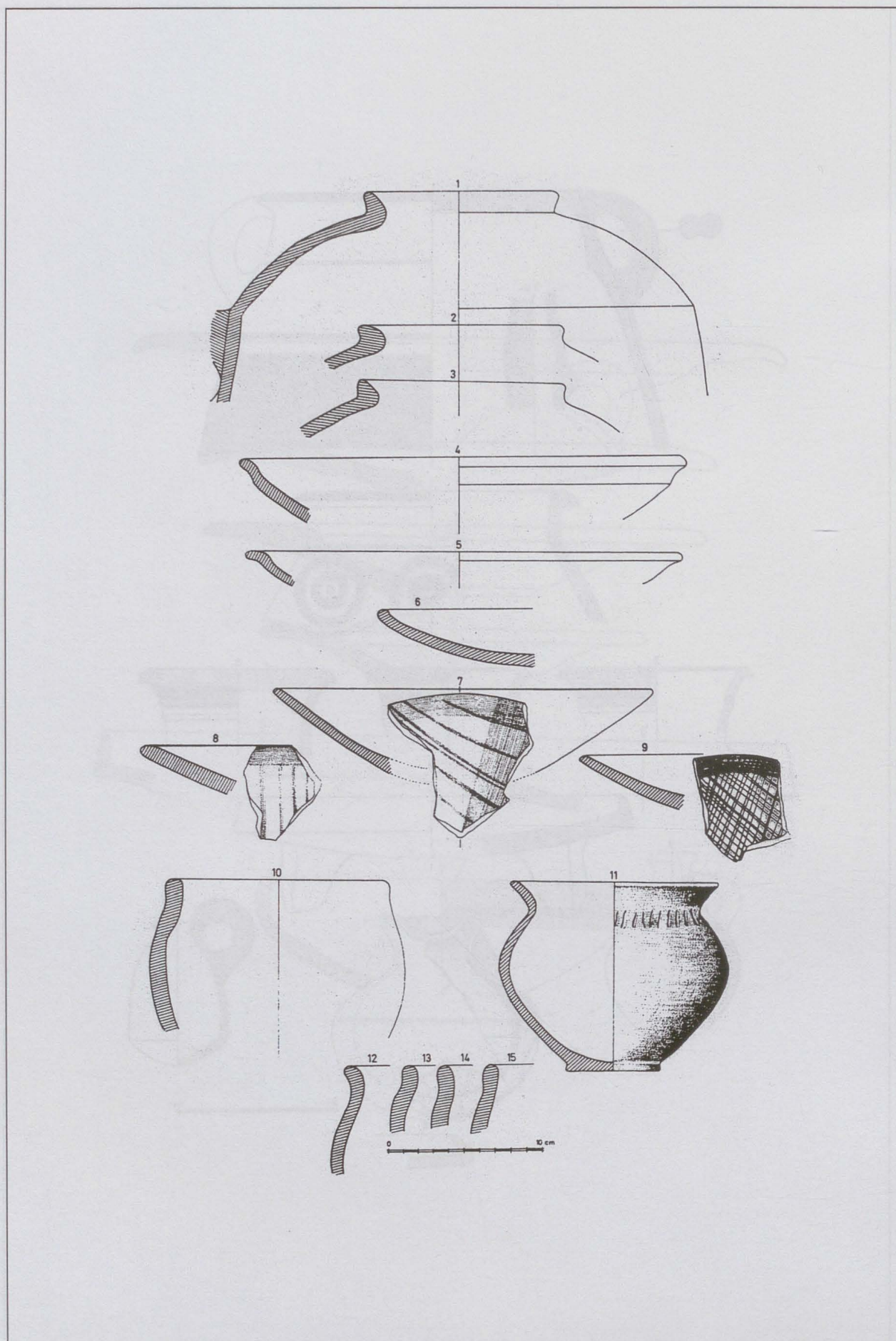


Fig. 18: Castillo de Doña Blanca. Phoenician and indigenous pottery of the 7th century B. C.

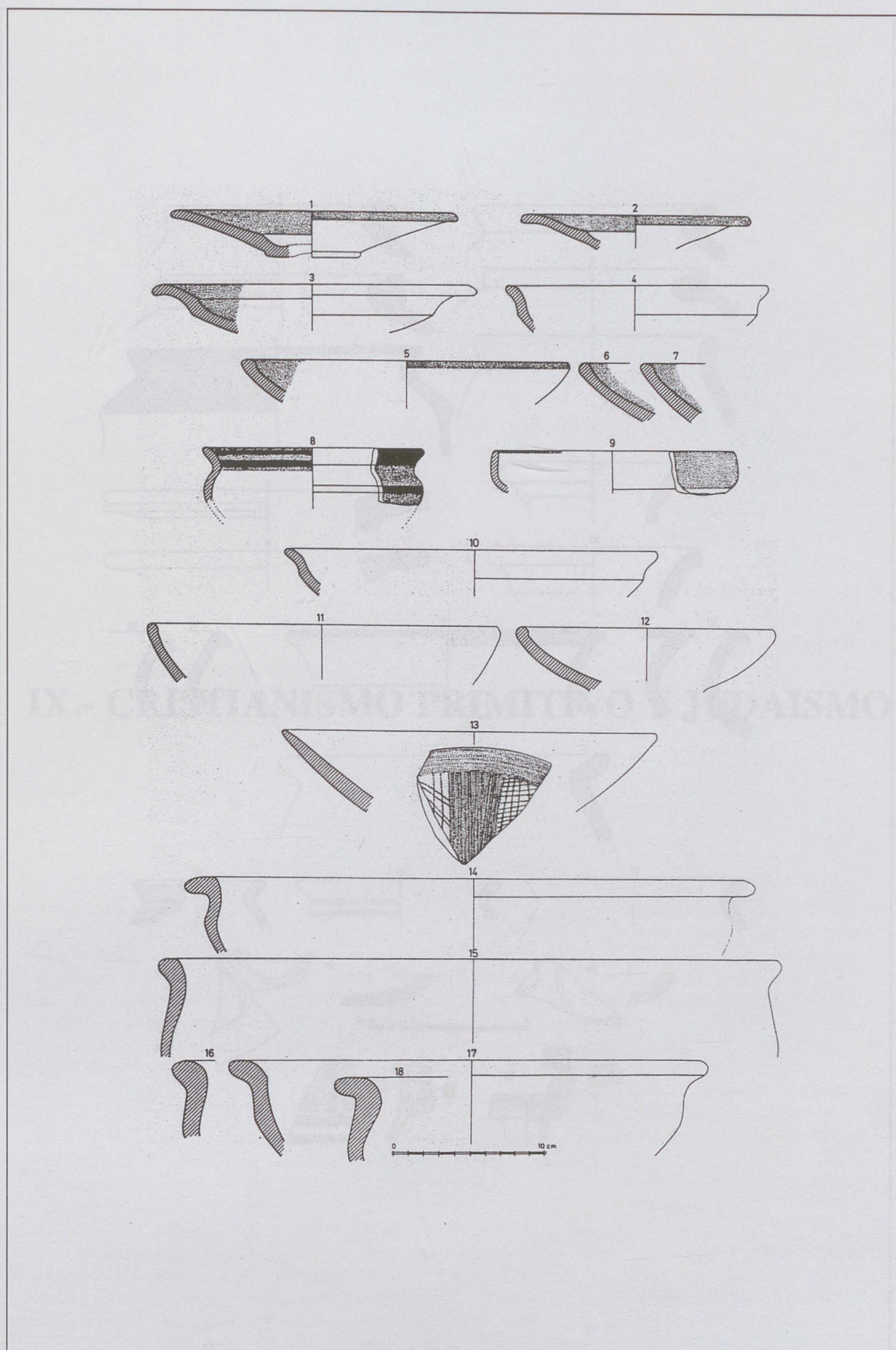


Fig. 19: Castillo de Doña Blanca. Phoenician pottery of the 6th century B. C. (8, imitation on Ionian cup; 10-12, gray pottery; 13, handmade bowl with burnished decoration; 14-17, dishes without decoration.

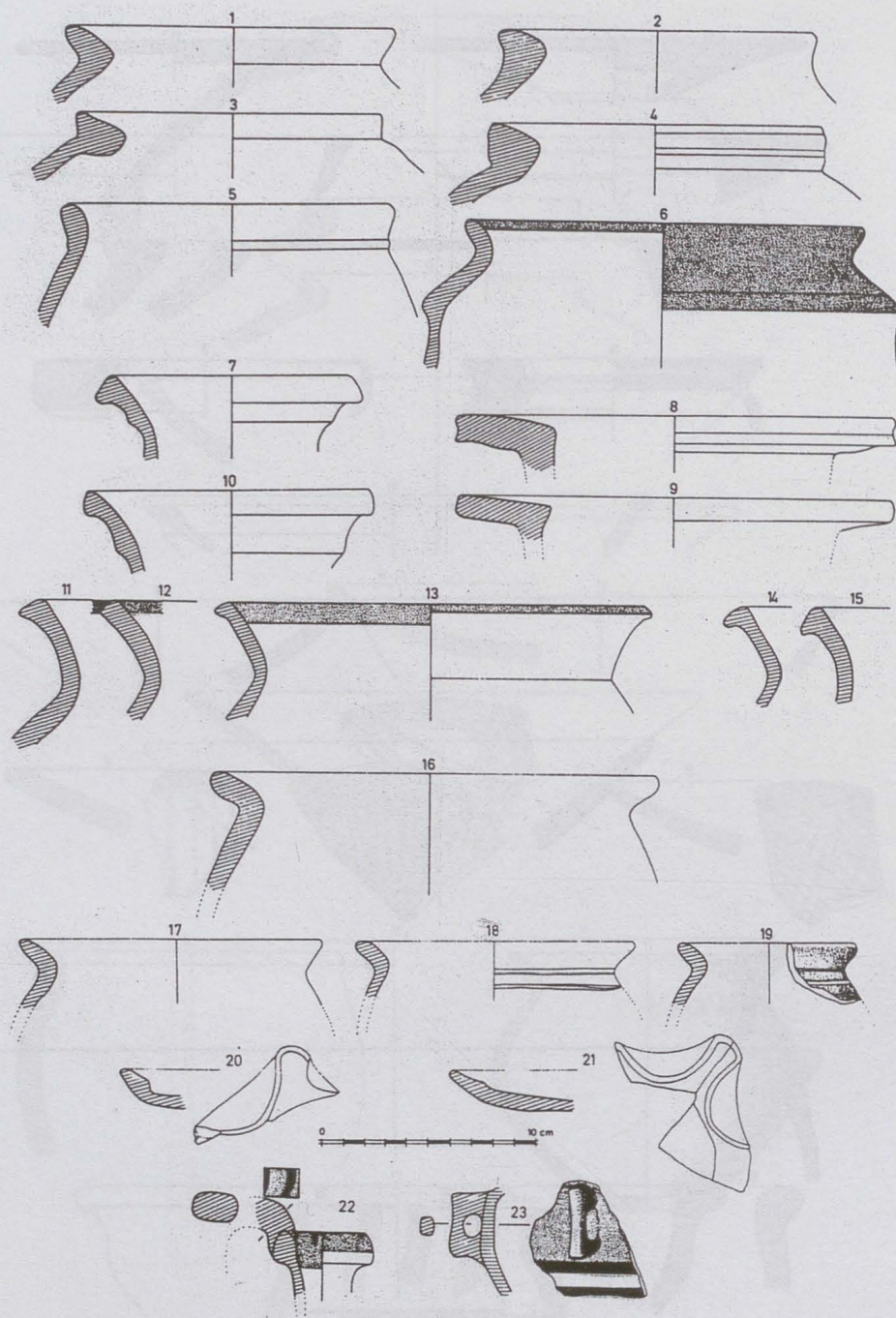


Fig. 20: Castillo de Doña Blanca. Phoenician pottery of the 6th century B. C. (8 and 9, Corinthian amphorae; 7 and 10, urns; 11-15 "pithoi"; 16-19, pots with rough surfaces.