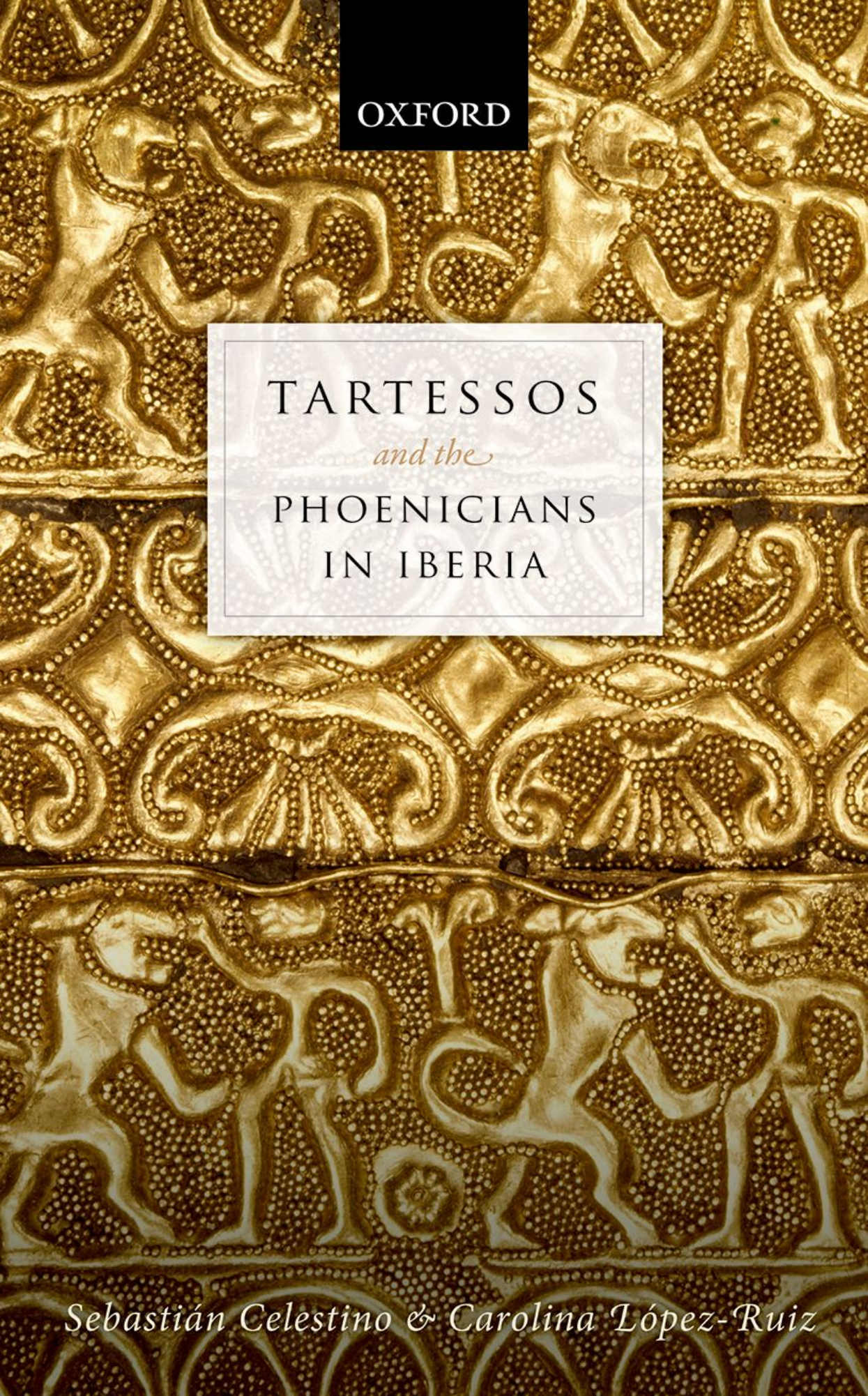
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TARTESSOS
and the
PHOENICIANS
IN IBERIA
Sebastián Celestino & Carolina López-Ruiz

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Tartessos and the Phoenicians in Iberia

SEBASTIÁN CELESTINO
AND CAROLINA LÓPEZ-RUIZ

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Y entre los muros blancos, juntaron las sangres

Mario Monteforte Toledo, 1911–2003

Preface, or Why Tartessos Matters

Tartessos is, and has been since the early twentieth century, an important topic in Spanish academia, even a key piece for the reconstruction of the pre-Roman history of Iberia, including areas of Portugal. Its appearance in classical sources (e.g., Herodotos, Strabo, Pliny, and many others) makes it a problem of ancient history, but our lack of internal written sources other than the still-undeciphered inscriptions means the weight of the internal evidence lies in archaeological investigation, and any new pieces of the puzzle (including epigraphical) are likely to come from the trenches. Thus, the field falls between the disciplines of history and prehistory, and has been a favorite for ancient historians, archaeologists, linguists, and epigraphists. Outside academic circles, Tartessos is a popular point of southern pride, a signpost of southern identity. Hotels and residential communities in Seville, Cádiz, and Huelva proudly wear its name, even a mining company operating in Río Tinto. It is not rare to find T-shirts and souvenirs in the streets of Andalusia's most touristic quarters (even in the rest of Spain) that also propagate the symbols of the oldest known far-western civilization.

On the international stage, however, Tartessos, if at all known, resonates as no more than a semi-legendary classical name or a footnote for the Phoenician and Carthaginian western enterprises. While a lot would have to change for it to gain the international prestige and popular recognition of other contemporary civilizations, such as the Etruscans, Tartessos is still under-used in discussions of the cultural transformations in the Mediterranean west of Greece; one could say it is the missing piece in an orientalizing horizon that involved European peoples from Portugal and Spain to Etruria, Sardinia, and North Africa. Like these other cases, Tartessos is "good to think with" for anyone interested in colonization, cultural contact, and ethnicity, and how to deal with cultures where we do not have the luxury of self-generated written historical narratives. In this context there is a need to better understand the dynamics between these local populations that in the eighth century onwards entered international circuits and embraced their own versions of the new forms of art, technology, and urbanization. Among those in the west,

Tartessos in ancient Iberia truly stands out for the importance it seemed to have had in the Greek imagination, but also as one of earliest literate indigenous cultures in the west. In other words, Tartessos is a fertile laboratory for the collaboration between archaeologists, historians, and philologists, and we want to highlight in this volume the importance of both types of sources (material and written) if we want to advance in our interpretations. Tartessos, furthermore, developed in a space that defies modern boundaries, as it crosses regions (Andalusia, Extremadura) and countries (Spain and Portugal). The study of Phoenician presence in the Tagus Valley and the Algarve has in fact been one of the most exciting areas of expansion of Iberian proto-history (cf. Map 7). Tartessos is, therefore, a welcome addition to the study of the Mediterranean as a conduit for the interweaving of cultures across historical periodizations and disciplinary boundaries, a trend that has been promoted by the *longe durée* approach in the last decade.

This book is the result of the collaboration between two scholars with very different backgrounds and a common interest in Tartessos, the Phoenicians, and the orientalizing and archaic Mediterranean. Sebastián Celestino comes to this project as one of the foremost archaeologists in Spain, a most active scholar both in the field and in scholarly debates about the period. With an intimate knowledge of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age archaeological landscapes of Iberia, Sebastián stands out for his realistic and sound vision of the challenges and limitations of reconstructing the culture we call Tartessic. Carolina López-Ruiz, on the other hand, is a classicist who came to Tartessos through her interest in Greek and Phoenician colonization in the west and in the question of cultural exchange in the Mediterranean, with a background in philology and cultural history. These two angles had already converged in a previous collaboration between us, and we hope to bring the same combination of perspectives and skills to this book, highlighting the importance of drawing from both archaeology and written sources, as well as from the current debates in cultural studies.

We embarked on this project as a result of the conviction that two factors made it necessary: one, the absence of a synthesis about this topic in English, and two, the impasse that Tartessic studies seem to have reached in Spain itself. As if reaching a plateau following many decades of intermittent advancements, we feel that archaeologists and historians are generally trapped in their internal debates on old

conceptual and methodological differences, while not enough is being done to integrate Tartessos into the broader international debate on cultural exchange and colonization in the Mediterranean. We hope our coordinated effort will contribute to bringing in new perspectives and stimulating internal dialogue.

At the same time, we wanted to bring this culture of ancient Iberia to the attention of the Anglophone public. Some works in English in the last decade have brought the world of the Phoenicians in the West and in Iberia closer to a greater public. The main point of reference in English-speaking circles became Maria Eugenia Aubet's *The Phoenicians in the West* (1993), with a more recent English edition in 2001; this was a translation of her monograph *Tiro y las colonias fenicias de occidente* (1987, reedited in 1994 and 2009), a landmark monograph in Spain itself. In the last fifteen years, scholarship on the topic in English has exponentially increased, if just by three other new volumes. In 2002, Marilyn Bierling and Seymour Gitin presented a selection of translated articles by Spanish scholars on the archaeology of the Phoenicians in Spain. Two other volumes have since then appeared: a monograph by Ann Neville (2007) and a volume edited by Michael Dietler and Carolina López-Ruiz (2009). Although inevitably interaction between colonial and local cultures is treated in these volumes (and the occasional piece on Iberia has appeared in other volumes about colonization), no English monograph has been devoted to Tartessos by itself, in stark contrast with the over thirty monographs and edited volumes in Spanish. Tartessos has, therefore, remained a stranger among other, better known, archaic cultures of the Mediterranean countries, a satellite of the Phoenicians, as it were. We hope that this monograph will serve as introduction to a broader readership, both academic and non-academic, providing a springboard from where some might then pursue their own research in the field and contribute to its growth outside the Iberian shores.

Because of its intentionally synthetic nature, this monograph avoids the technical detail of the specialized archaeological publications, aiming for a thorough but quicker overview of the material evidence. We have aimed to provide an holistic view of what we know about the Tartessic culture and the main problems of its interpretation, pointing also to further avenues of research. We point to the main updated bibliography for more information and details on each area, and we include and gloss some technical terms in Spanish (e.g., "toréutica" for the study of bronze, "retícula bruñida" for a specific

type of pottery) to help the reader navigate the abundant archaeological Spanish bibliography. In turn, we take a humble stance in face of the existing challenges that this field still faces. Our approach has been not to force a rigid theoretical model onto the material presented below, but to provide the reader with basic interpretive tools to contextualize what is still a limited and often ambiguous set of data. At the end of the study we will revisit the issue of cultural contact as we recapitulate the evidence presented, offering our own opinion, which is by no means intended to limit different readings.

NOTE ON FORMAL ASPECTS

We have avoided using Greek or other non-Latin fonts and diacritical marks for transliterated words (e.g., long vowels and Greek accents), with very few exceptions where a textual matter is at stake. This is not a philological work, and those who know the original languages can refer to the original sources. For those who do not work with the languages the accurate transliteration is rather useless. We have tended to be as faithful to the Greek forms of names (Tartessos not Tartesus, Hekataios not Hecataeus), except in cases where the Latinized word is too different and commonly known (Livy, Plato). Since Phoenician (as other Semitic languages) did not signal vowels, vocalization of Phoenician names is hypothetically reconstructed, usually from Greek, Latin, or Hebrew transliterations or adaptations of Phoenician names, and from comparative and historical Semitic linguistics. Translations from ancient sources and non-English modern works are by Carolina López-Ruiz, unless otherwise stated. The authors have both contributed significantly to all chapters, but they are responsible for the first drafts of particular sections: López-Ruiz for Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5.1–2, 7.1, and 8.3; and Celestino for Chapters 1, 5.2–5, 6, 7.2–4, and 8.1–2. López-Ruiz is also responsible for rendering into English Celestino's contents. Finally, all dates are BCE unless otherwise noted; we occasionally make BCE explicit, when there might be room for ambiguity.

Acknowledgments

It has rained a lot in the plains of both Spain and Ohio since we first talked about writing this book in 2006, in a Turkish restaurant in Columbus. We are foremost thankful to each other for this sustained friendship and collaboration throughout the years, beginning in 2001 when we met at the CSIC in Madrid. A conversation about the Tartessic warrior stelae and their similarity to some Syro-Palestinian types led to three published pieces together and several talks about the stelae, Cancho Roano, and Tartessos. A few congresses later and many good chats in New York, Madrid, Santander, New Orleans, Mérida, Huelva, Chicago, Philadelphia, Columbus, and some other place we must be forgetting, led to this larger project to which we finally turned our efforts in the last two years.

The authors of this book are much in debt to specific research projects that have provided a framework for stimulating debate with colleagues in the field. Sebastián Celestino is a leading member ("Investigador Principal") of the Research Project on the archaeological comparative study between the peripheral territories of Tartessos (Proyecto I+D+i " Estudio arqueológico comparativo entre los territorios periféricos de Tarteso" HAR2012-33985). Carolina López-Ruiz has been a member of the research team for the International project, "The Construction of Phoenician Identity in the Roman Empire" (Project HAR2010-14893 of the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation). Thanks are also due to the Institute of Archaeology of the CSIC (Spain) and the Classics Department at The Ohio State University (USA) for their institutional support.

We want to thank the editors from OUP, Charlotte Loveridge, Annie Rose, and Georgina Leighton, for their guidance and patience, as well as the anonymous reviewers, and the many colleagues who have offered their help and feedback on different aspects of this project: Benjamin Acosta-Hughes, Manuel Álvarez Martí-Aguilar, William Batstone, Gonzalo Cruz Andreotti, Borja Díaz Ariño, Javier de Hoz, M.-A. Johnson (Pasha), Philip Johnston, Anthony Kaldellis, Scott Kennedy, Brittany Lauber, Duane Roller, and Sofía Torallas Tovar. Several colleagues and institutions have generously given us access to images for publication (not all of which we could include).

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Sebastián Celestino dedicates this book to the people of Extremadura, from where his family hails, and where a great part of his archaeological work has been conducted. His love for their heritage and ancestral landscapes grew from the trenches. Carolina López-Ruiz, in turn, dedicates this volume to her paternal family from Fernán-Núñez, Córdoba, who embody the warmth, beauty, and dignity of the Baetica.

Sebastián Celestino
Carolina López-Ruiz

Madrid and Columbus
May 2015

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List of Abbreviations

BNJ	*Brill's New Jacoby* (*Fragments of Ancient Historians*, editor in chief: Ian Worthington. Brill Online).
CGFP	*Comicorum graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta* (ed. Austin) 1973, Berlin and New York.
Diels-Kranz	*Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (5th rev. edn) (ed. H. Diels-W. Kranz) 1934–37, Berlin.
Diggle	*Euripides fabulae* (ed. J. Diggle) 1984, Oxford.
GGM	*Geographi graeci minores* (ed. C. Müller) 1855–61 (1965), Paris.
FGrH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (ed. F. Jacoby), 1957–58 (2nd edn); *Commentary* 1954–62, Leiden.
KAI	*Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften* (3rd edn, 3 vols) (ed. H. Donner and W. Röllig) 1964. Wiesbaden.
Kock	*Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta* (ed. T. Kock) 1884. Leipzig.
Matthews	*Antimachus of Colophon. Text and Commentary* (ed. V. J. Matthews) 1996, Leiden.
Momsen	*Caii Julii Solini, de mirabilibus mundi* 1895 (2nd edn), Berlin.
Nenci	*Hecataei Milesii fragmenta* (ed. G. Nenci.) 1954, Florence.
PCG (Kassel-Austin)	*Poetae Comici Graeci* (ed. R. Kassel-C. Austin) 1983, 1986, 1991, Berlin.
PEG (Bernabé)	*Poetae epici graeci* (ed. A. Bernabé) 1987 (1996 2nd edn), Leipzig.
PMG (Page)	*Poetae melici graeci* (ed. D. L. Page) 1962, Oxford.
PMGF (Davies)	*Poetarum melicorum graecorum fragmenta* (ed. M. Davis) 1991, Oxford.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* I–XXV (ed. J. J. E. Hondius et al.) 1923–71, Leiden. XXVI–XXVII and XXVIII–XIIL (ed. H. W. Pleket et al.) 1978–79, Alphen; 1980–95, Amsterdam.
SLG (Page)	*Supplementun lyricis graecis* (ed. D. L. Page) 1974, Oxford.

THA I	*Testimonia Hispaniae Antiqua I. Avieno*. Ora Maritima. Descriptio Orbis Terrae. Phaenomena (ed. J. Mangas-D. Plácido) 2000, Madrid.
THA IIA	*Testimonia Hispaniae Antiqua IIA. La Península Ibérica en los autores griegos: de Homero a Platón* (ed. J. Mangas-D. Plácido) 1998, Madrid.
THA IIB	*Testimonia Hispaniae Antiqua IIB. La Península Ibérica Prerromana: de Éforo a Eustacio* (ed. J. Mangas) 1999, Madrid.
TrGF (Snell, Radt)	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* I (ed. B. Snell and R. Kannicht) 1986, 2nd edn, *TrGF* III, IV Aeschylus, Sophocles (ed. S. Radt) 1977, 1985. Göttingen.

1

In Search of Tartessos

1.1. UNEARTHING A MYTHICAL LAND

Until the middle of the past century, scholarship on Tartessos was dominated by the idea that a great city of that name once existed, ruled by the long-lived and wealthy king Arganthonios mentioned by Herodotos. The story of the gradual discovery of Tartessos is the story of the failed search for that city and the ultimate adoption of new interpretations of the evidence, leading to a skeptical reading of the literary sources and an increasing dependence on the archaeological data. As this book will show, the most recent part of this story shows a rapprochement between historians, philologists, and archaeologists. Until the point where our story begins, however, the Greek and Latin authors (surveyed in Ch. 2) were the only key to the pre-Roman past of Iberia. Texts were selectively used and taken at face value without much textual or historiographical criticism. Only in the early twentieth century did the young discipline of archaeology (born in the nineteenth century) enter and revolutionize the discussion about the prehistoric West.

Because of the traditional devotion to classical sources in Western cultures, Tartessos occupies a special place in the construction of Spanish national identities. References to Tartessos as a "national" point of pride appear already in medieval texts, and by the time of the Catholic Kings (Isabel and Fernando) the concept was used to justify the grandeur and legitimacy of the kingdom of Castille-Aragon and its expansion (the so-called Reconquista that ended Islamic rule in Iberia).[1] But it was only in the early twentieth century that the search

[1] e.g., De Lebrija 1499. See Wulf 2003: 23–9.

for this supposed great metropolis, the capital of the first known kingdom of the far west, was undertaken, inspired by the brilliant discoveries of other legendary cities in the eastern Mediterranean, such as Troy, Mycenae, and Knossos.

The first scholar devoted to the archaeology of Tartessic culture was George Edward Bonsor (1855–1930) (see Figure 1.1). A British historian and painter born and educated in France, Bonsor settled in Spain for the last fifty years of his life. From his base in Carmona, Seville, he undertook important excavations (even if in an inconsistent, on-and-off manner), including of the Tartessic necropoleis of Bencarrón, El Acebuchal, Alcantarilla, La Cañada de Ruíz Sánchez, La Cruz del Negro, and Setefilla. He also worked on Roman sites, such as Carmona and Baelo Claudia.[2] These expeditions culminated in a monograph that deeply marked the archaeology of the till-then obscure proto-historic period of Iberia.[3] In this groundbreaking book, Bonsor attributed a fundamental role to the Phoenicians, emphasizing their introduction of iron mining and other technologies, such as the potter's wheel. He also proposed an idea that would be revisited and expanded in more recent times, that there was an "agricultural colonization" by the Phoenicians in the Guadalquivir valley.[4] He was the first to propose that the Phoenician presence did not have the sole objective of exploiting mineral resources, but also brought with it a more extensive colonization of the territory around which they had established their first urban centers.

Like many other archaeologists of his time, Bonsor was seduced by the Indo-Europeanist theories of Joseph Déchelette and others, who postulated a common European culture of Celtic stock. Following suit, Bonsor was quick to read onto the material records a Celtic invasion of southern Iberia around the sixth century BCE, relying on Pliny's testimony about the different peoples inhabiting Baetica.[5] This movement would have coincided with Punic control of this area, which led him to catalogue the culture he was unearthing with the unlikely label "Celto-Punic." Obsessed with the search for the lost city of Tartessos, he did not realize that he was in fact unearthing artifacts that would become representative of this very culture, as we now

[2] For the biography and archaeological activity of Bonsor, see Maier 1999.
[3] Bonsor 1898.
[4] Alvar and González Wagner 1988, 1989; González Wagner and Alvar 2003.
[5] Pliny, *HN* 3.1.8, states that (according to Varro) all of Hispania had been invaded by Iberians, Persians, Phoenicians, Celts, and Carthaginians.

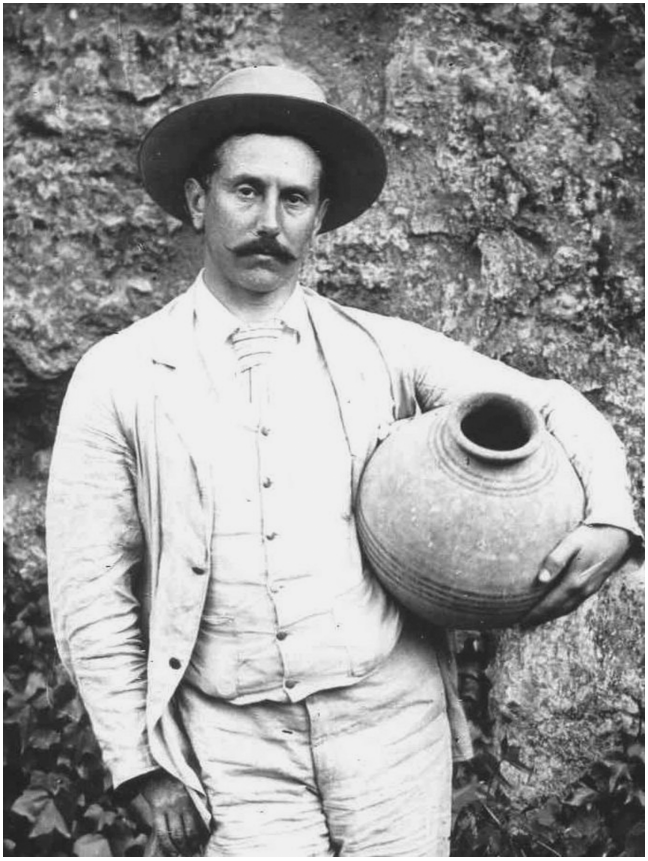

Figure 1.1 Edward Bonsor (1855–1930) holding Roman pot
Source: public domain

conceive it. To prepare for his search, he conducted a thorough study of the territory, elaborated topographic maps, and traveled throughout the region, following a study previously undertaken by Antonio Blázquez of the Greek travel literature (*periploi*) that lay behind the late Latin poem *Ora Maritima* by Avienus.[6] He centered his attention on the Natural Park of Doñana (Huelva), and more narrowly in the Cerro del Trigo, next to the mouth of the Guadalquivir river.[7] This

[6] Blázquez 1909.

[7] Bonsor sent two reports to the Real Academia de la Historia about his investigations in Doñana in 1922, and he published a monograph on the excavations at Cerro del Trigo in 1928.

was, after all, none other than the river called Tartessos in Greek sources, later called Baetis by the Romans.

Bonsor's positivist approach contrasts sharply with the Romantic idealism of his contemporary Adolf Schulten (1870–1960), the other "father" of Tartessic studies. After excavating many Roman sites in Spain, this German philologist also directed his energies to the search for the Tartessos mentioned in the Greek and Roman sources, once again guided (or misguided) by the clues in Avienus' *Ora Maritima* (discussed in Ch. 3). Despite his failure to find the famous city, Tartessos and its culture entered into the consciousness (or imagination) of the broader public thanks to Schulten's 1922 book *Tartessos*, first published in German and immediately thereafter in Spanish.[8] Surmounting initial criticisms, his study attained remarkable success, especially after 1945. It is not a coincidence that the Franco regime found appealing some of Schulten's reflections on the origins of Spain and on "the Spanish character," which fed into the regime's ideological vision of the monolithic unity of the State. Moreover, Schulten highlighted the Greek and Indo-European roots of the Spaniards, in contrast to the Semitic (Phoenician) element that other scholars, such as Bonsor, had emphasized.[9] For Schulten, Tartessos symbolized the Hellenic cultural heritage, which thus spread from Iberia throughout the European continent (yes, you read it). In contrast, the later pre-Roman Iberians that succeeded the Tartessians were, for him, a barbaric people devoid of cultural refinement and cursed by their alleged African origins. In his later book *Geografía y Etnografía Antiguas de la Península Ibérica* (1959), he insists on this ethno-racial construct:

> In the south, the Straits of Gibraltar do not so much separate Spain from North Africa as they link them, and it is for that reason that it (Spain) receives its primitive population from it, whose passive and uncultivated character has been decisive in the cultural evolution of Spain.

He also insisted on the proverbial saying that "Africa starts at the Pyrenees." For him, the Phoenicians contributed only material goods,

[8] Schulten's first article on Tartessos (1922, in German) came out a year later in the first issue of the *Revista de Occidente* (Schulten 1923). The same publisher issued his book on Tartessos in Spanish one year later. Re-edited with significant revisions in 1945, the original 1924 book was again re-edited in 2006 (Schulten 1924, 1945).

[9] Among the extensive bibliography on Schulten, we highlight the works by Cruz Andreoti 1987; Blech 1995; López Castro 1996; Álvarez 2005a: 87–107; Alvar 2013.

while the Carthaginian influence (coming from North Africa) was even more pernicious. The Iberians, were, then, "kinsmen of the Berbers" and as such "incapable of culture."[10]

Only Rome, from this racially polarized point of view, could mitigate such a cultural disgrace of a territory. Before the Roman conquest, the Peninsula saw its only moment of splendor and dignity in the culture of Tartessos, which, thanks to its connection with the "higher" Greek culture, spread its brilliance throughout the Mediterranean as other great cultures had done. In all of antiquity, the only other non-Roman contributions to the Iberian cultural landscape worthy of any praise were those of the Celts, who penetrated via the Pyrenees, and those of the Germanic peoples who brought a new Christian order after the fall of Rome. This order was to be demolished by the Umayyad Caliphate in the seventh century CE, with the Muslim invasion of the Peninsula.

Besides producing these gems of historiographical interpretation, Adolf Schulten's contribution to the systematic collection and commentary of ancient sources for the Iberian Peninsula is undeniable, and was a springboard for further studies.[11] But what was his role in the field of Tartessic archaeology? What did he find? Encouraged by his success in locating and excavating the city of Numantia by following the Roman sources, Schulten took on the search for the city of Tartessos. Like Bonsor, he also leaned heavily on Avienus, much as Heinrich Schliemann had done when he pinned down Troy, Mycenae, and Tiryns with the aid of Homer and Pausanias.[12] Unlike Schliemann, Schulten was not independently wealthy, but he had another financial advantage: he had the support of the German Kaiser, Wilhelm II. His main disadvantage, however, was that he was not familiar with the terrain and was ultimately not a trained archaeologist, so that he was forced to seek out the help of the more experienced (and locally based) Bonsor. Together they began to excavate the above-mentioned site of Cerro del Trigo in the Park of

[10] Schulten et al. 1959: 49–54, 60.

[11] He was crucial to the project *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae* (1922–59). His *Iberische Landeskunde* (Schulten 1955–57, in Spanish as Schulten et al. 1959–63) was continued by eminent linguist and philologist Antonio Tovar (1974).

[12] For a skeptical biography of Schliemann, see Traill 1995. For the search and early excavations of Troy and Mycenae, see Wood 1985; Allen 1999. For Arthur Evans' discovery of the Minoan civilization of Crete at the turn of the twentieth century, see Macgillivray 2000.

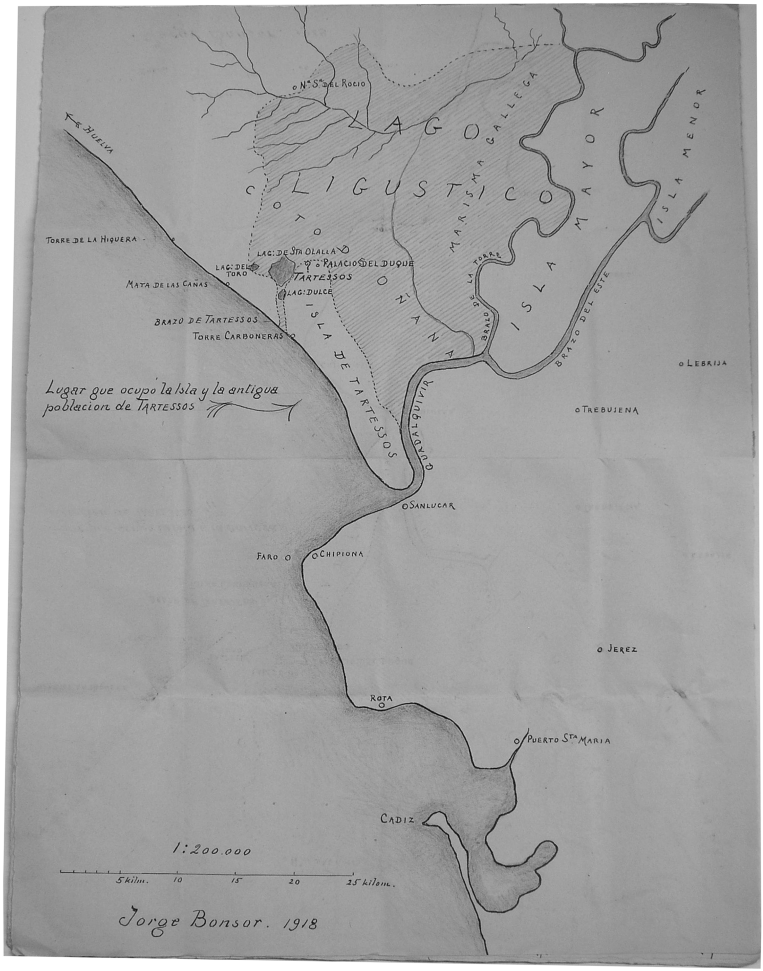

Figure 1.2 Bonsor's map of Tartessos (1918)
Source: public domain

Doñana,[13] where Bonsor had tentatively located the legendary city (see Figure 1.2). The collaboration of these two scholars, however, did not work out smoothly due to their personal and professional incompatibilities. As a result, Schulten never recognized the work of his British colleague in print, and Bonsor openly lamented having to collaborate with a subject of the Prussian king.

[13] Campos et al. 2002.

There was no city of Tartessos to be found under the Cerro del Trigo, nor anywhere else in sight. Facing this dead end, Schulten launched one of the most desperate and damaging theories associated with Tartessic archaeology, namely that Tartessos was to be identified with the Atlantis of Plato, as described in his philosophical dialogues *Timaeus* and *Critias*. This conjecture, based on a literal reading of what is a mythological tale of philosophical intent (and the one and only primary mention of this kingdom of Atlantis in classical literature), has left Tartessos exposed to recurrent confabulation perpetrated by many scholars and amateurs.[14] But the search continued. We need to understand that the existence of an urban Tartessic capital was taken for granted in those years, so criticisms centered on its mistaken location, not the premise itself. Consequently, once the Doñana area was discarded, other locations were proposed.

In this context, the work of the geologist and engineer Juan Gavala deserves mention, since in 1927 he conducted a scientifically rigorous study of the marshes of Doñana, eliminating any possibility that a human settlement had existed there.[15] His hypothesis, still valid for many today, was that in the period when Tartessos flourished (eighth–sixth centuries), the Guadalquivir River had its mouth further inland in the valley, where the Sevillian town of Coria del Río is today. In that area, a great estuary or delta would have connected with a vast gulf, the so-called "Tartessic Gulf," which slowly filled up due to the sediments of the Guadalquivir. At some stage, a chain of dunes in its southern side would have created a sort of lagoon, which corresponded to what the Romans called Lacus ("Lake") Ligustinus, ultimately resulting in the marshy land now occupied by the Natural Park of Doñana (cf. Figure 1.2). This phenomenon, if corroborated, would exclude the existence of settlements in that area in Tartessic times. Gavala's theory is today under debate thanks to new studies that take advantage of more comprehensive methods and technologies. In his time, geologists were not aware of the climactic fluctuations that took place in the Holocene, nor of the theory of tectonic plates, both of which introduce variables that would have considerably modified his conclusions. In the last decades of the twentieth century, researchers from the Spanish CSIC (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones

[14] e.g., Schulten 1928. On Schulten's claims and later Spanish bibliography, see Alvar 2013.

[15] Gavala 1927, 1959.

Científicas) and from the University of Huelva conducted geomorphologic surveys in Doñana in order to reconstruct the formative process of the marshes. These studies suggest that some kind of settlement would have been possible in the more elevated areas of the current marshes (where remains have been found belonging to much earlier and later periods, but not for the Tartessic one), but they also ruled out the existence of large urban settlements there.[16]

The frustration and the craving for a grand discovery was no doubt kindled by the news of fabulous archaeological findings elsewhere: the Syrian cities of Mari and Ugarit (Ras Shamra), whose excavations were started by a team from the Louvre in 1933 and by Claude Schaeffer from Strasbourg in 1929 respectively; the Hittite capital of Hattussa (Boğazköy), excavated since 1906 by the German Oriental Society; the royal tombs of Ur that Sir Leonard Wooley unearthed in 1922; and the most famous discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun in 1922 by Howard Carter and George Herbert (the Earl of Carnavon). These were the most famous hits of this heroic age of archaeology.[17] Along with the archaeological cities and treasures came vast collections of written documents that led to the decipherment of ancient languages: Akkadian and Egyptian had already been deciphered in the nineteenth century, and were now followed by Hittite (an Indo-European language from central Anatolia) and Ugaritic (a Canaanite language related to Hebrew and Phoenician), among others.

Going back to our "mysterious" city, different sites were proposed as its hiding place, all in the territory triangulated by Huelva, Seville, and Cádiz. In the 1940s, and always following the leads in Avienus' *Ora Maritima,* several excavations took place in some of the proposed sites, such as Asta Regia (in Jerez de la Frontera) and in Carmona (north-east of Seville), yielding no signs of the coveted Tartessic capital.[18] Given the pitiful results that the *Ora Maritima* had produced as a road-map to Tartessos, other sources gained favor, such as the *periplous* of Pseudo-Skymnos, from the Hellenistic period, who alludes to Tartessos as a flourishing emporion (trading center) in his *Orbis Descriptio*, specifying that it was situated at a distance of

[16] Lario et al. 2001, 2011; Zazo et al. 2008; Rodríguez-Ramírez 1998; Rodríguez-Ramírez et al. 2014.

[17] A general overview of the beginnings of archaeology is in Ceram 1967. For a biography of Howard Carter, see James 1992. For the "discovery of Assyria" and the decipherment of Akkadian, see Larsen 1996.

[18] See Mederos 2008.

two-days sailing from Gadir (Cádiz). This meant that Tartessos either would be in Huelva or up-stream along the Guadalquivir, at a site such as Carmona (Seville), which had already been tried unsuccessfully.[19]

In the end, this search for the Tartessos of the classical sources left scholars empty-handed. They found no archaeological materials that they could link with Tartessos, neither objects, nor houses, nor other structures that could be singled out as Tartessic. Of course, the problem was in the eye of the beholder. Plenty of materials that today we consider "Tartessic" had already been systematically unearthed by Bonsor and others, alongside other random materials that kept surfacing in the south of the Peninsula, but these were all identified as Phoenician. This is not surprising, since at this time Phoenician material studies were themselves in their inception and, more importantly, colonization was not conceived of as part of a process of hybridization with the indigenous world. Oriental-looking objects were readily connected with the colonial culture, not with the locals, a situation worsened by the lack of fine-tuning as to what was oriental and what *orientalizing* (which is still not an easy distinction to make in all cases). Not only were indigenous (Tartessic) materials labeled Phoenician but, to make matters worse, when more clearly indigenous objects (such as ceramics with geometric decoration) appeared within presumed Phoenician contexts, they were categorized as Celtic. As already mentioned, Celtic culture experienced its academic renaissance in the early twentieth century, within the context of the rise of Indo-European studies in the French and German schools. Following suit, Spanish scholars too adopted an academic discourse that drew a sharp dichotomy between Indo-European and Semitic cultures, making it unthinkable to establish a cultural (let alone ethnic) link between the Iberian indigenous peoples and the incoming Phoenicians. Only in this environment, preceding World War II, can we understand the success of Schulten's publications, in which he blames the Phoenicians and the Carthaginians for the demise of the Indo-European (practically Greek) Tartessos and the backwardness of the subsequent Iberian peoples, "degraded" by their Semitic and North African "impurities." Like him, most historians of

[19] Many other classical sources mention Tartessos, though not many mention a city of that name or give specific coordinates of its location. See Chs 2–4 below.

that time had no doubts of the "higher" pedigree of the Tartessic culture, and situated it within the more palatable Aegean heritage.[20]

As the reader might have guessed, after the Spanish Civil War and the defeat of the Nazis in Europe, Tartessos ceased to contribute to the construction of an Aryan identity for Europe. Instead, its autochthonous character was emphasized. In a move that then served Franco's right-wing policies of national leveling, Tartessos was quickly championed as the very seed of the "Spanish" national character and precursor of its imperial grandeur, an essentialist view of the past that parallels the one promoted by the Catholic Kings more than four hundred years before. The following words by the historian and archaeologist José Chocomeli Galán perhaps best exemplify this renewed patriotism. For him, Tartessos was nothing less than "the earliest and most superior spiritual culture of the European West, and the cradle of the most ancient imperial institution of Spain."[21] In the history books, Tartessos was now the first recognized Spanish empire, if an internal one, which they believed expanded through all the south of Spain and Portugal. Other influential historians, philologists, and archaeologists (children of their time) articulated similar ideas in the post-war decade.[22] A turning point, however, was in sight around the middle of the twentieth century, thanks to the more balanced vision promoted by the archaeologist Juan Maluquer de Motes, from the University of Barcelona. For him, Tartessic culture was fundamentally an indigenous culture (if not in a nationalistic sense this time), all the while enriched by Mediterranean contributions, especially those of Greek-Cypriot stock, an approach on which we will expand.[23] This new approach was quickly adopted by the prehistorians of that generation, who led the discipline into a methodological shift: for the first time, the Greek and Roman sources, deemed disappointingly misleading or unhelpful for the "discovery" of Tartessos, were relegated to a second plane, while scholarship focused on the independent archaeological study of this proto-historic culture. It was only now, in fact, when materials were identified without hesitation as Tartessic, and when the notion of "orientalizing"

[20] For a survey of the history of this ideology within classics, see Bernal 1987; Arvidsson 2006.

[21] Chocomeli 1940: 12.

[22] e.g., Tovar 1941; Pericot 1952. For the evolution of Spanish national ideology through its historiography, see Wulf 2003 and (about Tartessos) 2013.

[23] Gracia 2000; Celestino 2013.

culture was introduced, as a useful mechanism to explain the obvious external influences on the local art.[24]

1.2. TARTESSOS BECOMES ARCHAEOLOGICAL

Finally, a groundbreaking discovery gave the archaeology of Tartessos the impulse it needed. It happened in 1958, when the treasure of El Carambolo was unearthed, during renovation work at a pigeon-shooting club in the town of Camas, near Seville.[25] (Let future historians try to understand pigeon-shooting clubs; we will focus here on the comparatively easier problem of Tartessos.)

The treasure (see Figure 1.3) consisted of a magnificent group of twenty gold artifacts, including sixteen rectangular plaques, two

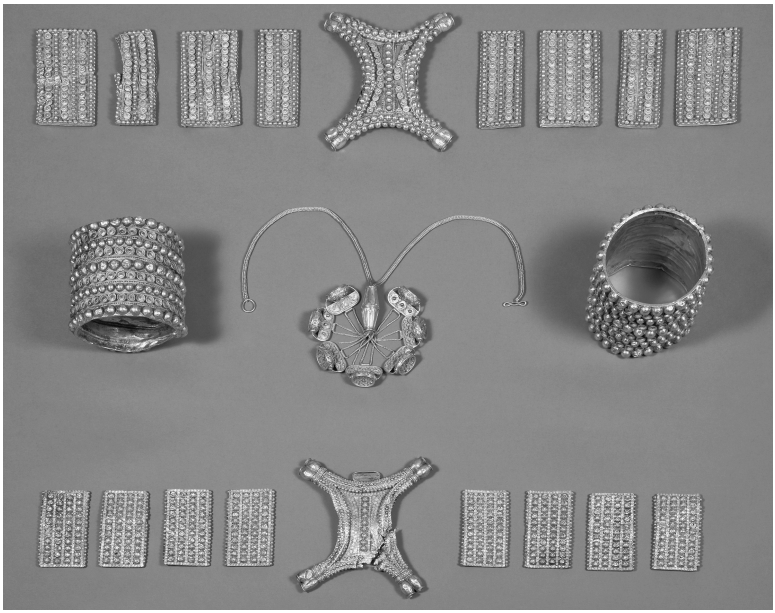

Figure 1.3 Treasure of El Carambolo (Camas, Seville)
Source: Archaeological Museum of Seville

[24] e.g., Maluquer 1957; Blanco 1956 and 1960; García y Bellido 1964.
[25] De la Bandera and Ferrer 2010 gather the most recent information and bibliography on the treasure and the sanctuary later excavated at that same site.

pieces shaped like oxhides (perhaps pectorals), two bracelets, and a necklace with seven pendants or seals. The hoard was contained in a ceramic pot, and was probably buried around the sixth century, although most of its objects are thought to belong to the eighth.[26] This has been symbolically the Spanish equivalent of the "treasure of Priam" or the "mask of Agamemnon" discovered by Schliemann at Troy and Mycenae, insofar as they all are emblematic and spectacular objects that encapsulate the golden age of a mythologized civilization. Even though the Carambolo treasure did not emerge from a monumental, let alone identifiable, city, later excavations showed it was associated with other types of similarly fascinating structures (discussed in Ch. 7).

Excavations at the site started immediately after the discovery of the valuable stash, led by Juan de Mata Carriazo from the University of Seville, who was confident that the elusive city of Tartessos had finally been pinned down.[27] Carriazo sought the help of Maluquer to interpret the stratigraphy of the site. The structures that emerged did not correspond with the monumental remains that everyone hoped for, but the excavations did yield abundant materials that for the first time could be used to start charting out "Tartessic" material culture. Among these objects were ceramic vessels with painted geometric decoration, of the type that became known directly as "Carambolo type" (cf. Figure 8.1). The findings from El Carambolo also provided much needed fixed points that were then used to interpret and contextualize other findings scattered throughout the southern Peninsula. From that moment on, objects of orientalizing style found out of context all over southern Spain were classified or re-classified as Tartessic. As materials were now incorporated into a more coherent "map," they also helped delineate and expand the contours of Tartessic culture. For instance, to use a well-known case, the treasure of Aliseda pushed the borders of Tartessic influence further inland than previously thought, into the province of Cáceres.[28] Most of the polemic,

[26] The treasure is on permanent exhibit at the Archaeological Museum of Seville, and part of it was recently displayed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art as part of the 2014 exhibit "Assyria to Iberia."

[27] Carriazo 1973.

[28] The Aliseda treasure was published by Mélida in 1921 as part of a grave deposit or trousseau, though it has since then been reinterpreted as a community treasure: Celestino and Salgado 2007. The University of Extremadura is currently conducting a complete project of investigation of the treasure in its territorial context: Rodríguez et al. 2014.

then and now, surrounds the issue of whether objects of oriental style were manufactured by indigenous craftsmen or brought from abroad, in the latter case supporting the assumption that Tartessos was part of a flourishing international commercial network. The most general approach at the time was to consider Tartessos as a fully developed local culture *before* colonization, to whose development the Phoenicians contributed with new technologies. This is still a rather dichotomized cultural distinction that continues to dominate much of current scholarship, which we will address throughout this volume.

One of the most decisive moments for Tartessic archaeology was the organization of an international symposium on "Tartessos and its Problems" by Maluquer. The event took place in 1968 in Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz), and it brought together the best specialists of the moment: philologists, linguists, historians, and archaeologists. This meeting truly shaped the field, setting the basis for the study of a culture that until that moment lacked clear historical parameters. Besides publishing the proceedings of the conference,[29] Maluquer produced a monograph in which he laid out his above-mentioned indigenist perspective on Tartessos. This became without a doubt the baseline for future research until the end of the century.[30] El Carambolo, at this point, had become the archetype for Tartessic culture. Following Maluquer, most considered the site a settlement from the last centuries of the Bronze Age (eighth–seventh centuries). Within this indigenous context, artifacts with Mediterranean features (e.g., the geometric pottery decoration) were seen as part of local traditions inflected by Mycenaean and Cypriot contacts *preceding* the Phoenician colonization, a hypothesis endorsed today by a substantial group of researchers.[31]

The Jerez congress was also the catalyst for an increasing commitment to archaeological research as the primary means to study Tartessic culture. As a consequence, an important number of excavations were opened throughout southern Spain. The focus of interest, however, would zoom in especially around Huelva and the valley of the Guadalquivir river, which had been described by Maluquer as

[29] Maluquer 1969.

[30] Maluquer 1970. For Maluquer's contribution to the study of Tartessos, see Celestino 2013.

[31] e.g., Bendala 2000; Mederos 2009.

"the great artery of the first western civilization."[32] The goal was now to conduct selective surveys in these areas in order to compare the stratigraphy of multiple sites of this period and start defining a culturally interconnected space. These surveys provided a framework for the abundant materials that had been found and catalogued in the previous decade, which had already generated important compilations and typologies.

The different types of materials, but especially gold and bronze metalwork and ivory objects, had never been consistently classified. Labels such as "Phoenician–Punic" ("fenicio–púnico") and "Punic–Tartessic" ("púnico–tartésico") were inconsistently used. Now, the word "orientalizing" filled a much needed gap and provided a solution to escape the conundrum of distinguishing between "Phoenician/Punic" and "Tartessic." So in the end "orientalizing" ("orientalizante") became the accepted term not only for those types of objects but for the entire southern culture of that time.[33] Tartessic culture became coterminous with the "orientalizing" culture in Iberia, and was now placed in parallel to other "orientalizing" cultures of the Mediterranean,[34] a comparison that we will be exploring in following chapters.

Scholars had not yet renounced the idea that one major city could have concentrated the political and economic power of Tartessos, but its romantic pursuit exited center stage. If such a city existed, three favorites still stood out: Huelva, as a great center for the redistribution of metals; Seville, as a strategic enclave between the coast and the hinterland; and Cádiz, which for many clearly underlay the Tartessos of the classical sources. In any case, scholars had come to accept that Tartessos would have to be rescued and understood without such a legendary city. In fact, it was already at the Jerez symposium that the first doubts about this city were voiced. This crucial acknowledgment opened up new avenues of interpretation upon which future research could be built. Especially important was the idea that Tartessos had to be seen as a society articulated around several strategic centers, not one centralizing capital, just like other Mediterranean cultures of that time, most significantly the Greek and Etruscan cultures of the

[32] Maluquer 1969: 2, in his Prologue to the acts of the 1968 congress.

[33] The characterization of Tartessos as "orientalizing" owes much to the works of Blanco 1956, 1960, and García y Bellido 1964.

[34] e.g., Blázquez 1975.

geometric and archaic periods.[35] Even though diffusionist cultural models would still loom large for decades, Tartessos begun to acquire a personality of its own, even if still only as a civilization empowered and made more splendid through the Phoenician contribution.

By the 1970s, this new strategy for studying Tartessos was consolidated, and archaeological work and analysis of the materials ascribed to this culture intensified. The first objective was to arrive at a typology of Tartessic pottery, so as to determine the geographical extension of this culture. At the same time, the study of mineral resources came to the fore. The metal wealth of several areas of the south and southwestern Peninsula had indeed been known and exploited since prehistoric times, and the needs imposed by international trade provided the most evident motive for the Phoenicians' arrival and colonial expansion in these lands. This rather positivist, resource-oriented premise was reinforced by contemporary work by the German Institute of Archaeology in Spain along the coasts of Málaga, where they located and excavated important Phoenician workshops, thus setting the methodological tone for other archaeologists to follow. The most representative of these workshops is the one of Toscanos, some of whose structures have been interpreted as storage rooms, although the specific functions of the workshops remain undetermined (presumably related to salted fish or the dyeing industry).[36] The new interest in typologies and stratigraphic patterns debunked the traditional authority of text-based historiographical interpretation. This was also a phase of reaction to the diffusionism that had dominated previous Spanish scholarship, that is, to the previous coloring of Tartessos through external points of reference only (be it via the classical authors or by fixating on the Celtic, Aegean, and Phoenician influences). The excavations in Huelva are a good example of the research on Tartessos in those years. It was in Huelva where the first mining settlements were located,[37] and where the first Tartessic cemeteries and traces of an urban layout were unearthed.[38] The necropolis of La Joya was particularly significant. It not only produced splendid grave goods, but more importantly,

[35] Tarradell 1969.
[36] For the works of the German Institute in Spain, see Ulbert 2007.
[37] Blanco, Luzón, and Ruiz Mata 1969.
[38] Garrido and Orta 1989, with bibliography on the excavations.

allowed for the reconstruction of funerary rituals, providing clues to the social stratification of Tartessic culture.

After the end of the Franco regime in the mid-1970s, the historical materialist discourse continued to gain strength, leaning on new trends such as those based on technological determinism. The most representative work along these lines was done by María Eugenia Aubet Semmler from the Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona. Departing from her excavations in the necropolis of Setefilla (Lora del Río, Seville), she refined previous stratigraphic interpretations and explored at a different level what these materials could tell us about the economy and social hierarchies of the Tartessians.[39] Aubet introduced the concept of "acculturation" as a key to understand Phoenician colonization and she reinterpreted the term "orientalizing" as no more than a cultural manifestation linked with the ruling classes alone. This working hypothesis had enormous influence in future research, and to this day many would agree with her view of Tartessos as a proto-urban society of aristocratic nature at the time of Phoenician colonization.[40]

1.3. STRIKING A BALANCE

As the reader may have noticed, for two decades (1960s to 1980s) archaeologists held the floor almost as sole protagonists in the study and interpretation of Tartessos. From that point and until today, a very productive group of ancient historians re-entered the stage with renewed theoretical approaches that often set them at odds with the archaeological propositions. The historians' camp also embraced the concept of acculturation as a working hypothesis to explain cultural transformation, only they lay the bulk of the weight on the Phoenician transformative agency. Partly following in the footsteps of Bonsor, and enduring the strong criticism that their theories aroused, they proposed that the Phoenician presence was not only due to commercial interests stemming from the mining industry,

[39] Aubet 1975, 1978.

[40] Aubet 2001. Two important works in this tradition are also Bendala 1977 and Almagro-Gorbea 1977. Both depart from diffusionist ideas, but are already open to the role of indigenous society in the transformation of Tartessic culture.

but was linked to a more integral colonization of the territory that included agricultural exploitation (what they labeled "agricultural colonization").[41]

The theoretical and disciplinary divide within Tartessic studies is well reflected in a collective volume published in 1993, in which archaeologists reaffirm their view of Tartessic society as fully "mature" (a problematic idea in itself) *before* the Phoenician arrival, while historians insist on the Phoenician input as essential for its development and *floruit*.[42] Although some of the rough edges that separated the two groups have been smoothed, and a middle ground has slowly emerged (on which more below), not a few still continue to defend these positions as incompatible, thereby underestimating or overestimating the role of the Phoenicians.[43] Those decades of research, however, allowed scholars and historians alike, from the 1990s onwards, to have at their disposal a consistent archaeological framework in which to situate new discoveries and interpretations. This well-earned confidence and the archaeologists' satisfaction of having taken Tartessos, quite literally, into their own hands, is reflected in Aubet's introduction to her 1989 volume on Tartessos:

> Today Tartessos is not a legendary and obscure region anymore, one of fabulous wealth and mythical heroes, mentioned by Greek and Roman historians but of which we knew nothing but the name. Now it constitutes a generic term that points to a historical process well situated in time (eighth–sixth centuries BCE) and space (the lower Guadalquivir and Huelva), whose material culture we know with considerable accuracy. From a historicist and erudite debate, focused back then on the obsession to find a fabulous city, we have turned to a more dispassionate perspective, thanks to the contribution of archaeological research in the last decades, which has uncovered a considerable volume of Tartessic sites.[44]

Once the temporal and geographical parameters of Tartessos were recognized and agreed upon (without a capital), other lines of research opened up and have set the tone of progress in the field

[41] Alvar and González Wagner 1988, 1989; González Wagner and Alvar 2003.
[42] Alvar and Blázquez 1993.
[43] The autochthonist theories of British prehistorian Colin Renfrew had special weight among many Spanish archaeologists. See Renfrew 2007; Renfrew and Bahn 1991.
[44] Aubet 1989: 9.

from the 1990s until today. First of all, a fair amount of research has zoomed in on the indigenous settlement that preceded the Phoenician colonization. The picture that has slowly emerged is one of the apparent scarcity of population in the area in question. This makes it unlikely that they would have been able to develop the advanced society that some had theorized in its full-blown form before Phoenician activity in the area.[45]

The second line of investigation centers on the study of the territory surrounding the Tartessic nucleus, the co-called "Tartessic periphery." This constituted, as it turned out, an ample zone, which yielded an increasing amount of orientalizing materials. This evidence led scholars to postulate a process of Tartessic internal colonization starting at the end of the seventh century.[46] At the same time, Spanish scholars enthusiastically adopted the propositions of the World Systems theory originating in Anglophone circles.[47] The idea was to explore the economic and commercial dynamics of Tartessos within the "center-periphery" axis, to which the concept of "margin" was added later, applied to the peripheral territories.[48] It is difficult to find a single work coming from Spanish archaeologists of the end of the past century that is not committed to some degree to this theoretical framework. It is also difficult not to find in them allusions to the concepts of interaction and acculturation also derived from that school of thought, though their application to Tartessos is under revision today.[49]

Another important development beginning in the 1990s was the use of different types of laboratory analysis of the materials coming from excavations, which added a completely new dimension to the collected data. Analysis of the metals had been conducted since the 1960s; now bone analysis, so far applied to a handful of necropoleis, became more frequent with the collaboration of osteologists and forensic anthropologists. To these were now added data from the study of many other remains, such as the analysis of sediments (sand and clay); "dust" particles such as pollen and spores; remnants of seeds and fruits; wood and charcoal; and mollusks. All of these new

[45] Belén and Escacena 1992, 1995a.
[46] See volume on Tartessic culture in Extremadura by Velázquez et al. 1990.
[47] e.g., Rowlands, Larsen, and Kristiansen 1987.
[48] e.g., Sherratt 1993; Sherratt and Sherratt 1993; in Spain Ruiz-Gálvez 1998a.
[49] e.g., Ruiz Gil 2005. See Ch. 5, this volume, for a discussion of colonization.