

## Chapter 7

### From quality to quantity: wealth, status and prestige in the Iberian Iron Age<sup>1</sup>

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#### Summary

During the Orientalizing Period in southern Iberia, both wealth and status were displayed in funerary contexts by the deposition of symbols of excellence, such as chariots or imported goods, which were not available to lower status groups. However, weapons were conspicuously rare among grave-goods, and the concept of quality seems to have been more important than the mere accumulation of objects.

Both characteristics seem to have changed after about 425 BC. Weapons appear to take precedence over any other category of objects as symbols of status and/or wealth. At the same time, the old concept of quality was largely abandoned and the accumulation of lower-quality imported goods (such as Attic black-glaze pottery in relatively large quantities) was used to indicate wealth and/or status.

In this paper I aim to show that while the quantitative assessment of wealth is a good (but incomplete and ambiguous) indicator of status in Iberian cemeteries, it is probably not so useful for the earlier, Orientalizing burial sites, where the type and symbolic nature of objects, more than mere quantity, was of paramount importance.

#### Introduction: Orientalizing Period and Iron Age in the Iberian Peninsula<sup>2</sup>

During the first decades of the eighth century BC the indigenous communities in the southern areas of the Iberian Peninsula saw their pattern of development altered as the result of new and intense foreign influences. Western Andalusia, where the Tartessian late Bronze Age Culture was already thriving, felt the cultural impact of Phoenician colonists from at least c. 800 BC. The colonists were mainly interested in the rich silver ores of Huelva<sup>3</sup>, but also in the exploitation of fertile lands. Due to this added impetus, this area entered the Iron Age at a time when most other regions of Iberia lagged behind. The Phoenicians brought with them new technologies (such as the potter's wheel, iron metallurgy and more complex urban patterns) but for a long time these probably only affected the way of life of the ruling elites. The pre-existing local aristocracies were in fact reinforced, as the newcomers used them as a

means of indirectly controlling inland mining areas, masking the unequal character of this kind of 'trade' (González Wagner 1993: 105). These foreign merchants and colonists brought with them (as part of their trade) not only new technologies, but also luxurious and exotic objects which were quickly adopted by the local rulers as convenient symbols of status and excellence. At the same time, these imported goods stimulated the development of local prestige industries, mainly bronzework, jewellery and pottery, by a process of emulation. The extent to which all these changes affected the lower-status groups is still very much debated, but most scholars tend to accept that only the material culture and, perhaps, the ideology and way of life of the ruling elites were significantly altered (a convenient summary of current trends is Belén Deamos 1994).

What had started during the Bronze Age as sporadic trade contacts (a 'pre-colonisation' phenomenon; see Almagro Gorbea 1989) developed into 'colonisation' which affected mainly the area of Gadir (modern Cádiz), the lower Guadalquivir valley, and the coast of Málaga-Granada-Almería. The cultural process thus evolved during the seventh and early part of the sixth centuries BC into what is known as the Orientalizing phase of the Tartessian Culture. During the seventh century BC the mining operations in Huelva reached industrial proportions, and the Orientalizing influences spread along the main axes of communications: eastward along the Guadalquivir valley into the rich mining region of Cástulo in Jaén; and northwards into Extremadura, reaching the Guadiana and later the Tagus River, along what was subsequently called the 'Vía de la Plata'. Simultaneously, Phoenician trade progressed to the north by sea along the coast of Portugal (Arruda 1995; Aubet 1994) but also extended in eastern Spain. There is ample proof of Phoenician settlers in native settlements such as Peña Negra de Crevillente in Alicante (Gonzalez Prats 1986; 1991), and the Phoenician foundation of Ebussus (modern Ibiza) is no longer in doubt today (Ramón 1994). Even further north, at the mouth of the Ebro River and in the Gulf of Lion, there is increasing evidence of a thriving Phoenician trade (Sanmarti 1991; Aubet 1993a).

Around 600 BC this panorama changed again with the increasing intervention of new traders and colonists, this time Samian (the first) and later Phokaian Greeks. Even if the only genuinely Greek settlements were built far to the north (e.g., Emporion and Massalia) Greek merchants also traded in the south, even reaching the Tartessian nucleus of Huelva: the well known story about Kolaïos of Samos (Hdt IV: 152) seems to have been vindicated by recent discoveries of significant quantities of Greek pottery in different parts of Huelva (Fernández Jurado et al. 1988-89). This Greek commerce added new types of exotica (very different in style from the Semitic imports) to the indigenous repertoire. In all, foreign trade (Semitic and Hellenic) made a significant contribution to the range of products and objects by which local aristocracies displayed their prestige and status to their own people.

The pattern of development along the Mediterranean sea-

board of the Iberian Peninsula during the seventh and early sixth centuries BC followed parallel but different lines. The disparities lie not only in the different backgrounds (the late Bronze Age cultural traditions of the different areas) but also in the type and degree of the foreign influences: the Phoenician colonisation and intense trade in the south decreases as one goes north, while the later Greek influence goes in the opposite direction. In Catalonia and northern Levant in particular, the background of the late Bronze Age was heavily influenced by the incidence of the Urnfield elements present in northern Spain from much earlier (Bronze Age) dates. The term 'First Iron Age' is usually reserved in Peninsular archaeology for those areas in Catalonia, the Ebro Valley and Valencia whose background is not Tartessian, and where the origins of the Iron Age are to be found around 700 BC in a different process. The late Bronze Age Urnfield background was first modified by new north-Pyrenean influences of the so-called Iron Age Urnfields, and also by Phoenician and later Greek imports and techniques, including iron-working.

All these phenomena explain the wide variability to be found in the different areas, although some features are common to the whole Mediterranean and Andalusian coast (e.g., the appearance of wheel-made pottery fired in an oxidising atmosphere and painted with reddish, linear motifs).

By the end of the sixth century BC, and probably as a result of a complex set of economic factors, the once dynamic and powerful Tartessian Culture faded away. Its place was taken in western Andalusia by the Tudetanian Culture, less 'glamorous' and less spectacular than the preceding phase from the point of view of material culture, and whose links with the Orientalizing Period are hotly debated (from 'clear continuity' to 'total rejection' of earlier social, ritual and economic patterns). By then, a new cultural horizon was already flourishing in eastern Andalusia and southeast of the peninsula. During the sixth century BC the combination of a set of different cultural stimuli had given birth, in areas peripheral to the Tartessian centre, to a second Iron Age complex, the so-called Iberian Culture. These influences can be synthesised by the combination of a number of factors: the cultural substratum of each region and its geo-economic conditions; the intensity of Urnfield influences (decreasing as one goes south and almost non-existent south of Valencia); the intensity of Tartessian Orientalizing influence (strongest in western Andalusia and southern Extremadura); the kind and intensity of Phoenician (later Carthaginian) colonisation or trading; and the kind and intensity of Greek colonisation or trade. The varying degree in which these factors combined in the different areas explains the wide variation that can be seen in the different regions of the Iberian Culture.

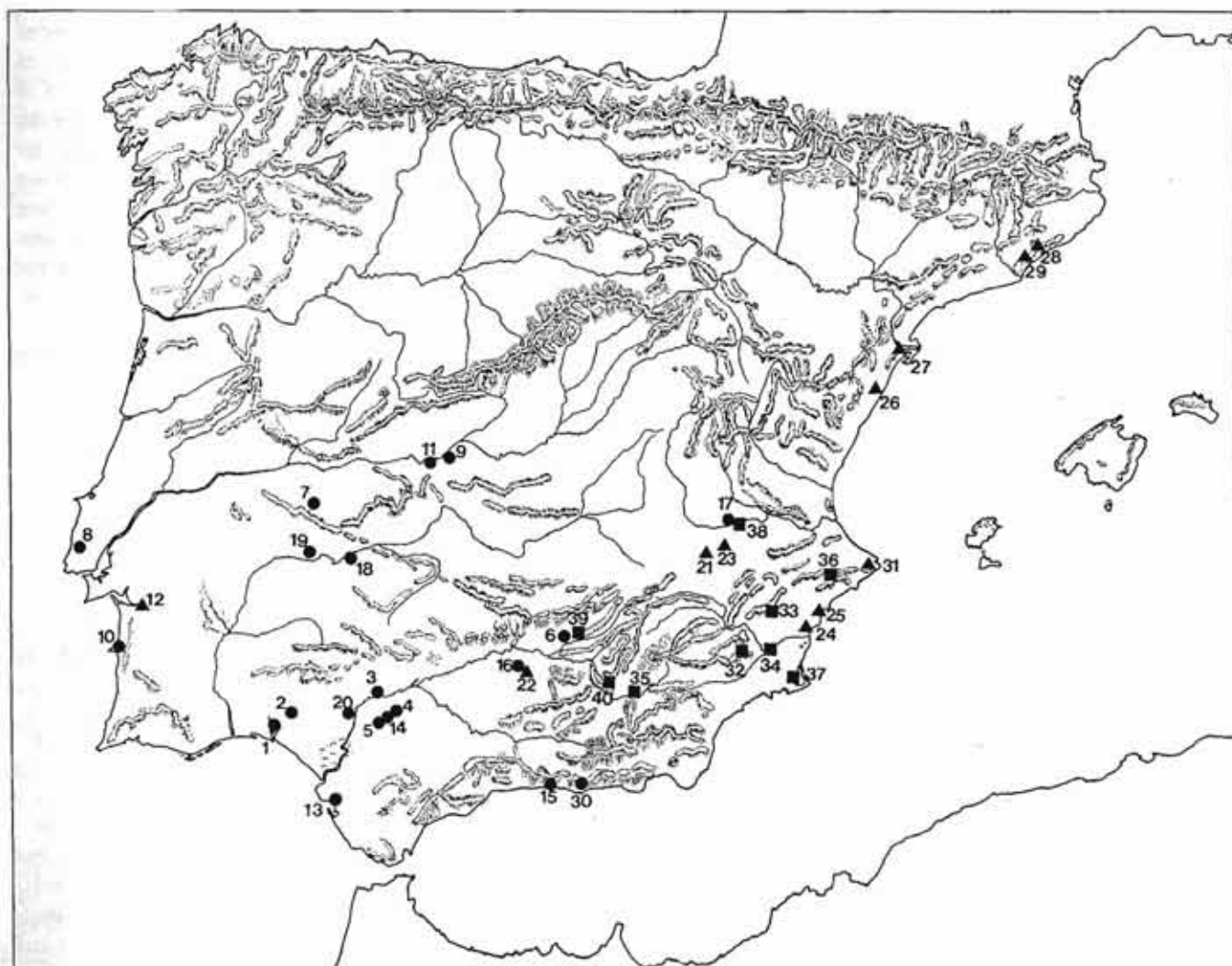
Although the early phases of the Iberian Culture can be dated to the sixth century BC, it was not until c. 500 BC that the Iberian cultural complex was fully formed. From then onwards it evolved, not in comparative isolation as was previously thought, but forming part (as its extreme far west) of the Mediterranean trading network, with intense

contacts both with Hellenic influences (mainly through Emporion and Massalia) and Semitic ones (through the old city of Gadir and the Carthaginians, in some ways heirs to the Phoenicians). By the mid-fourth century BC the peninsula had entered fully into the 'Big Game', the fight for power in the central and western Mediterranean between the superpowers of the time, Carthage and Rome; in doing so it became first a logistic hinterland for the Carthaginians (a source of silver and mercenaries) and later, during the Second Punic War, a battlefield. But after the Carthaginians were forcibly expelled by the Romans, the newcomers were not prepared to leave: they had come to stay and this fact sealed the fate of the evolution of the Iberian Culture, which slowly faded into something different, in a slow process called 'Romanisation'.

### **Burial traditions during the Orientalizing and Iberian Periods**

In the following pages I shall discuss the evolution of one aspect of funerary customs in Southern Iberia over a five-century period (early seventh to mid-third centuries BC): the way rulers and aristocrats expressed status, wealth and prestige in burial rites (Fig. 1). To do so I shall divide this period in three parts: the Tartessian Orientalizing, early Iberian and middle Iberian. Each period is heir to the preceding one and the cremation rite is common to all but changes in display are evident. I must first warn the reader of an apparent flaw in the argument which may be misleading: I shall be comparing the grave-goods of the Orientalizing Period in the southwest with those of the Iberian Culture in the southeast. The reason for this is simple and complex at the same time: the Turdetanians, for some unknown reason (and the current debate is really too intricate to be summarised here) did not bury their dead in formal cemeteries, or if they did, these have yet to be found. It is thus not really possible to compare the earlier Orientalizing and later Turdetanian burial practices in the southwest. Although it may seem at first glance that my approach means comparing the evolution of patterns in different (and thus not really comparable areas), I believe this not to be so. In fact, the Iberian Culture is the clear successor to the Tartessian in many respects and if the most dynamic area in Iberia during the seventh-sixth centuries BC was Tartessos, the Iberian societies of the fifth and fourth centuries in the southeast certainly exerted a similar primacy. In fact, what I shall be doing is comparing the way in which the Orientalizing princes and Iberian aristocrats expressed status and wealth in their burials (and they were respectively the leaders of the most dynamic societies in southern Iberia, each in their own times).

It may thus be useful to summarise briefly the main elements in burial traditions which will be discussed, and perhaps the best way to do this is in a Table (Fig. 2). It will be realised that while the deeper elements of ritual remain constant (e.g., use of monumental grave markers, expression of status through display of material elements in



**Figure 1** Iberia. Sites mentioned in the text: 1 La Joya (Huelva); 2 Niebla (Huelva); 3 Setefilla (Seville); 4 Cañada de Ruiz Sánchez (Seville); 5 Acebuchal (Seville); 6 Cástulo (Jaén); 7 La Aliseda (Cáceres); 8 Torres Vedras (Lisboa, Portugal); 9 Belvis de la Jara (Toledo); 10 Gaio (Sines, Portugal); 11 Las Fraguas (Toledo); 12 Alcacer do Sal; 13 Las Cumbres (Cádiz); 14 Cruz del Negro (Seville); 15 Frigiliana (Málaga); 16 Cerrillo Blanco de Porcuna (Jaén); 17 Casa del Monte (Albacete); 18 Medellín (Badajoz); 19 Aljucén (Badajoz); 20 El Carambolo (Seville); 21 Pozo Moro (Albacete); 22 Porcuna (Jaén); 23 Los Villares (Albacete); 24 Cabezo Lucero (Alicante); 25 El Molar (Alicante); 26 La Solivella (Castellón); 27 Mianes (Tarragona); 28 Llinars del Vallés (Barcelona); 29 Granja Soley (Barcelona); 30 Almuñécar (Granada); 31 Alt de Benimaquía (Alicante); 32 Cigarralejo (Murcia); 33 Coimbra (Murcia); 34 Cabecico del Tesoro (Murcia); 35 Baza (Granada); 36 La Serreta (Alicante); 37 Los Nietos (Murcia); 38 Casa del Monte (Albacete); 39 Estacar de Robarinas (Jaén); 40 Castellones de Ceal (Jaén).

**Circles:** Orientalizing. **Triangles:** Early Iberian. **Squares:** Middle Iberian.

grave-goods), the mechanisms vary. Monumental sculpture, for example, was not used (as far as we know) by the Tartessian princes, but was conspicuously employed by earlier Iberian aristocrats and less so by later warrior aristocrats. Weapons are much commoner in the latter period, while the use of evidently ritual bronze vessels became rarer. Three burials from different periods have been chosen as examples of the type of burial and grave-goods: Burial 17 at La Joya (Huelva) for the Orientalizing Period (c. 600 BC) (Figs 3-5); the monument at Pozo Moro (Albacete) for the early Iberian (c. 500 BC) (Fig. 6); and Grave 200 at El Cigarralejo (Murcia) for the middle Iberian (c. 375 BC) (Figs 7-9). I shall now examine in some detail the archaeological evidence in chronological order.

### *Princely tombs during the Orientalizing Period*

#### *Princely tombs as evidence of conspicuous display and consumption*

As noted above, the pre-existing Tartessian aristocracies saw their power reinforced, rather than diminished, by the colonial phenomenon after c. 800 BC. The newcomers were glad to trade with these rulers who mined, processed and transported the precious metals and other raw materials to the coast for them, saving effort and streamlining the process (Aubet 1990). In exchange for these bulky raw materials, the Phoenicians and later the Greeks traded high value prestige goods, such as elaborate bronzework, jewellery, ivories, oil, wine, etc. One of the main results of this



	Orientalizing (7th-6th centuries BC)	Early Iberian (c. 500-400 BC)	Middle Iberian (c. 400-325 BC)
Burial Rite	Cremation. Inhumation sometimes. (La Joya, Cerillo Blanco)	Cremation.	Cremation.
Typical superstructure in important buildings	Earth tumulus	Turniform monuments, pillar stelae, low built platforms (tumuli).	Square stone or mud brick platforms (tumuli).
Use of sculpture	No	Yes, very elaborate. (Pozo Moro, Porcuna).	Rare, simplified.
Accumulation of objects	No accumulation by type or material but many different objects.	No. Grave goods limited in number of objects but significant by type.	Accumulation of many objects of the same type and shape.
Ritual objects	Standard ritual set of bronze vessels	Perfume, libation and drinking set (Pozo Moro).	No standardized sets. Bronze vessels rare.
Chariots/wagons	Elaborate burial hearse (La Joya).	?	No. Rarely, heavy iron-felloed wagon wheels.
Weapons	Rare but in evidence in many 'princely' graves.	Very rare.	Very common in all categories of burial including poorer ones. Duplication of swords and shields rare but known.
Imported pottery	Foreign amphorae. Rarely, good quality Greek pottery (e.g. Medellín lip cup).	A few chosen luxury items.	Attic black glaze of indifferent quality. Some Red Figure. Mainly drinking vessels. Up to seven vases of the same shape in same burial.
Jewellery	Frequent.	Rare?	Rare. Only small pendants etc.
Use of wine	Imported. Restricted to elites.	Local and possibly imported. Restricted to elite and retainers?	Local. Redistribution to lower status groups.
Typical examples	La Joya 18 (Garrido 1978).	Pozo Moro (Almagro Gorbear 1983).	Cigarralejo 200 & 277 (Cuadrado 1987).  Cabecico (Quesada 1989)

Figure 2 Summary of main elements in 'princely' and 'aristocratic' tombs (seventh-fourth centuries BC).

trade was to reinforce the ascendancy of local princes over the lower groups of the indigenous populations, by means of the anthropologically well-known systems of ostentation, display and redistribution.

Using valuables for funerary rites is one of the best documented forms of conspicuous display and consumption and therefore of gaining prestige. It thus comes as no surprise to find what one would expect: during the seventh and sixth centuries BC a comparatively small number of tombs can properly be defined as 'princely', not only because of their more or less impressive tumuli, but also on the basis of their grave-goods.

There are some princely tombs in the Tartessian nucleus and of a few others on the periphery. They can be conveniently synthesised in Figure 2 (more detailed descriptions in Aubet 1984; Ruiz Delgado 1989). Some of the excavator's dates may have been altered after later research. It should be noted that many other isolated discoveries (mainly bronze vessels) may come from plundered and/or destroyed graves containing the ritual-set (jug-brazier-thymiaterion) characteristic of the burials of the elite (see below).

Many of these graves were buried under big tumuli, but it is really the grave-goods and not the superstructure that makes a burial 'princely' during the Orientalizing Period. Most of them contained a great number of objects, but I will show that in fact it is not the quantity but their variety

and quality that renders these burials really exceptional. However, this can only be assessed by first comparing these tombs with ordinary burials dated to the Orientalizing Period, both in Huelva and in other areas (see Fig. 10).

#### *Non-princely burials*

*Las Cumbres* (Puerto de Sta. María, Cádiz). The big Tumulus 1 (22 m in diameter) in the cemetery of Las Cumbres near El Puerto de Santa María, Cadiz (Ruiz Mata 1989) is particularly interesting as a case-study because among its 63 shallow pit-burials there are some dated to the early part of the eighth century BC that show no traces of Oriental influence, while others, dated to the second half of the century, contain Oriental elements such as wheel-made cinerary urns or iron knives among their grave-goods. This veritable cemetery under a single mound is perhaps the first known funerary assemblage that can be classified as Orientalizing. Most graves contain only pottery (urn, cups, dishes) while only half of the burials contain a bronze object (belt buckles). Other items such as bronze vessels, chariot harnesses, silver and other luxury products are absent. Only the richest burial, some distance away under a subsidiary mound (Grave 24), contains a wide variety of artefacts (pottery vessels, two alabaster, a belt buckle, some silver, gold and faience beads); but even though it is clearly the grave of an important individual, the grave-goods bear no comparison with the later 'princely' graves listed above (see Figs 10-11).

*South coastal area (Málaga-Almería)*. As for coastal re-

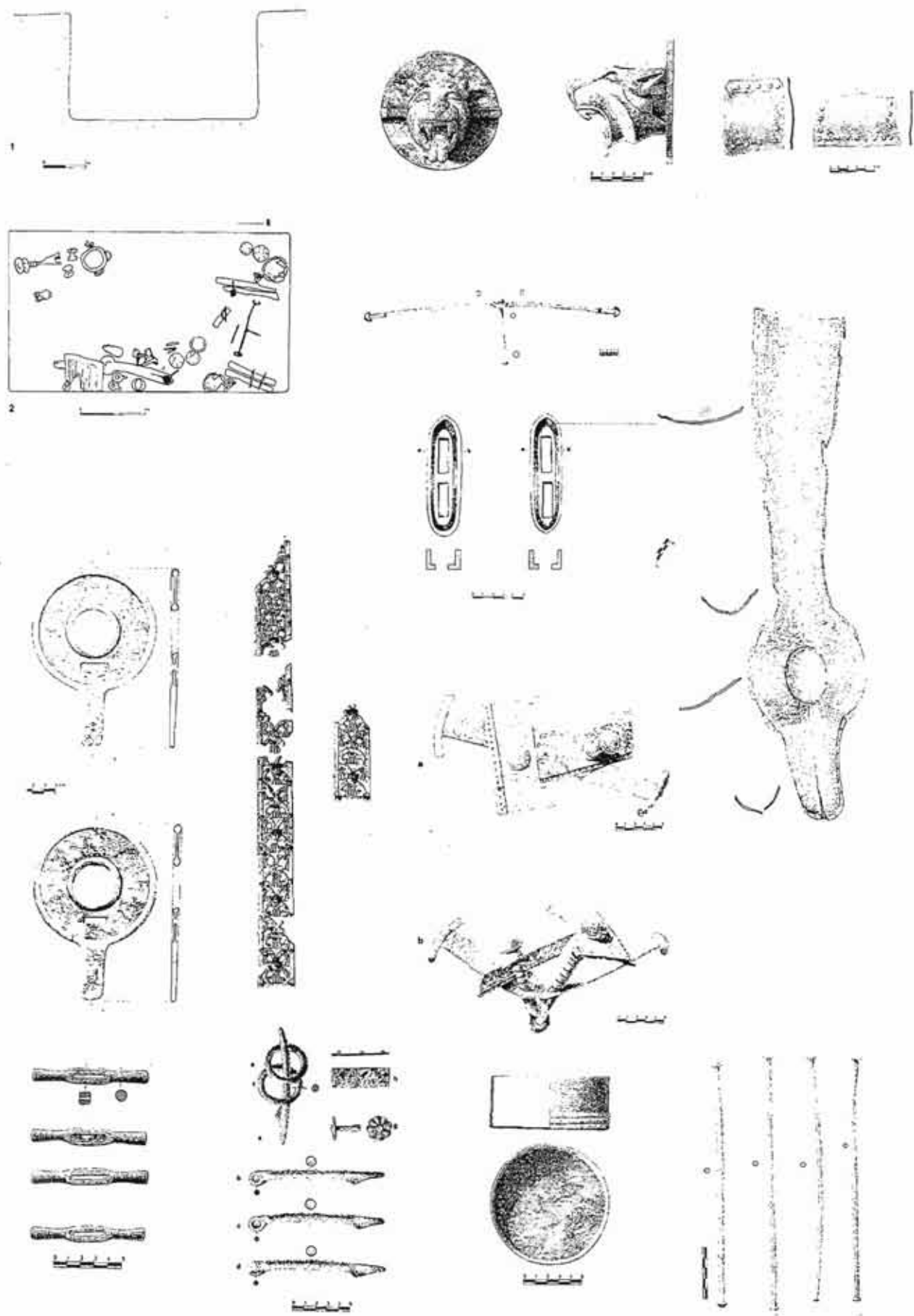
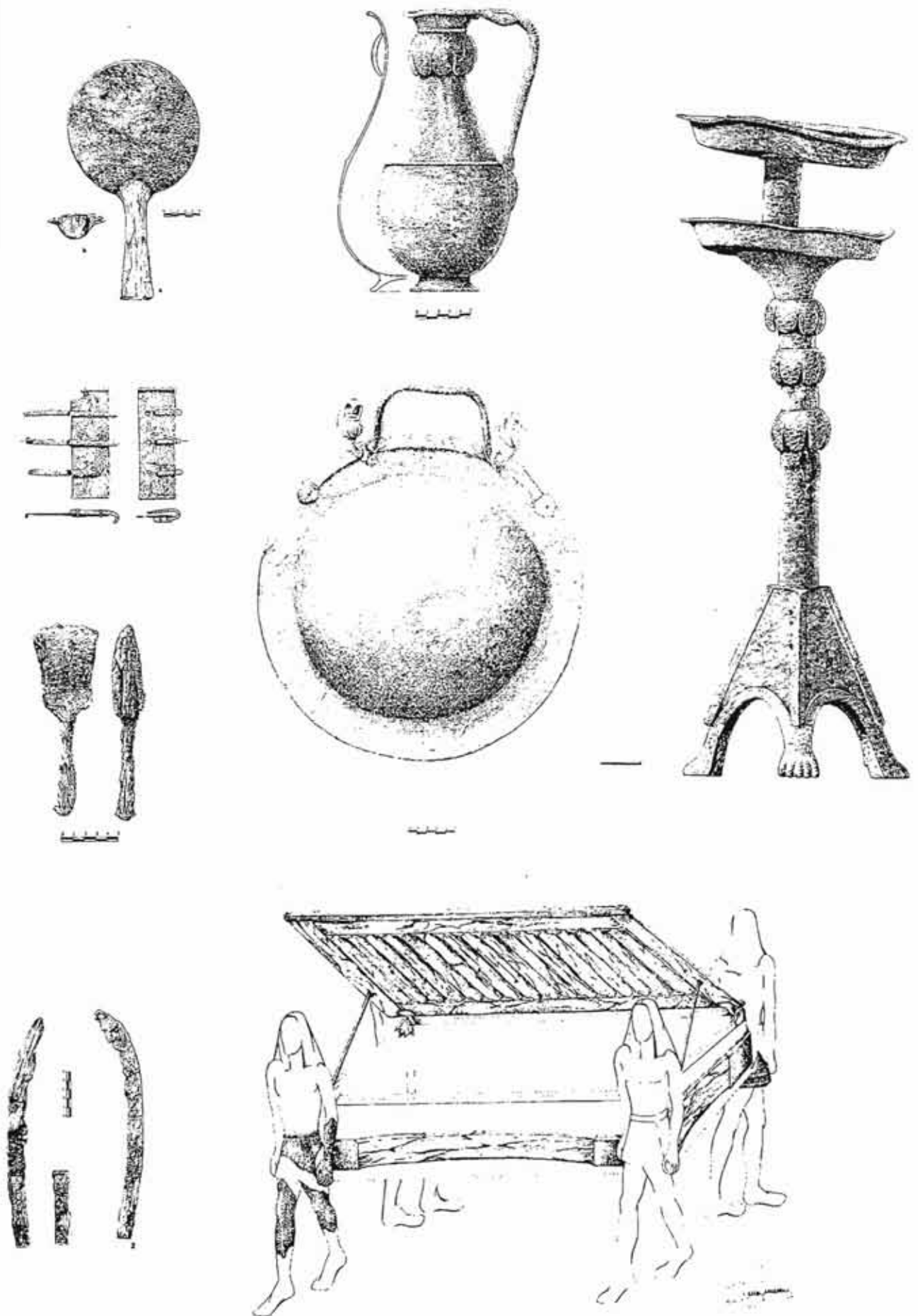


Figure 3 Orientalizing Period. Burial 17 at La Joya, Huelva (c. 600 BC).



**Figure 4** Orientalizing Period. Burial 17 at La Joya, Huelva (c. 600 BC).

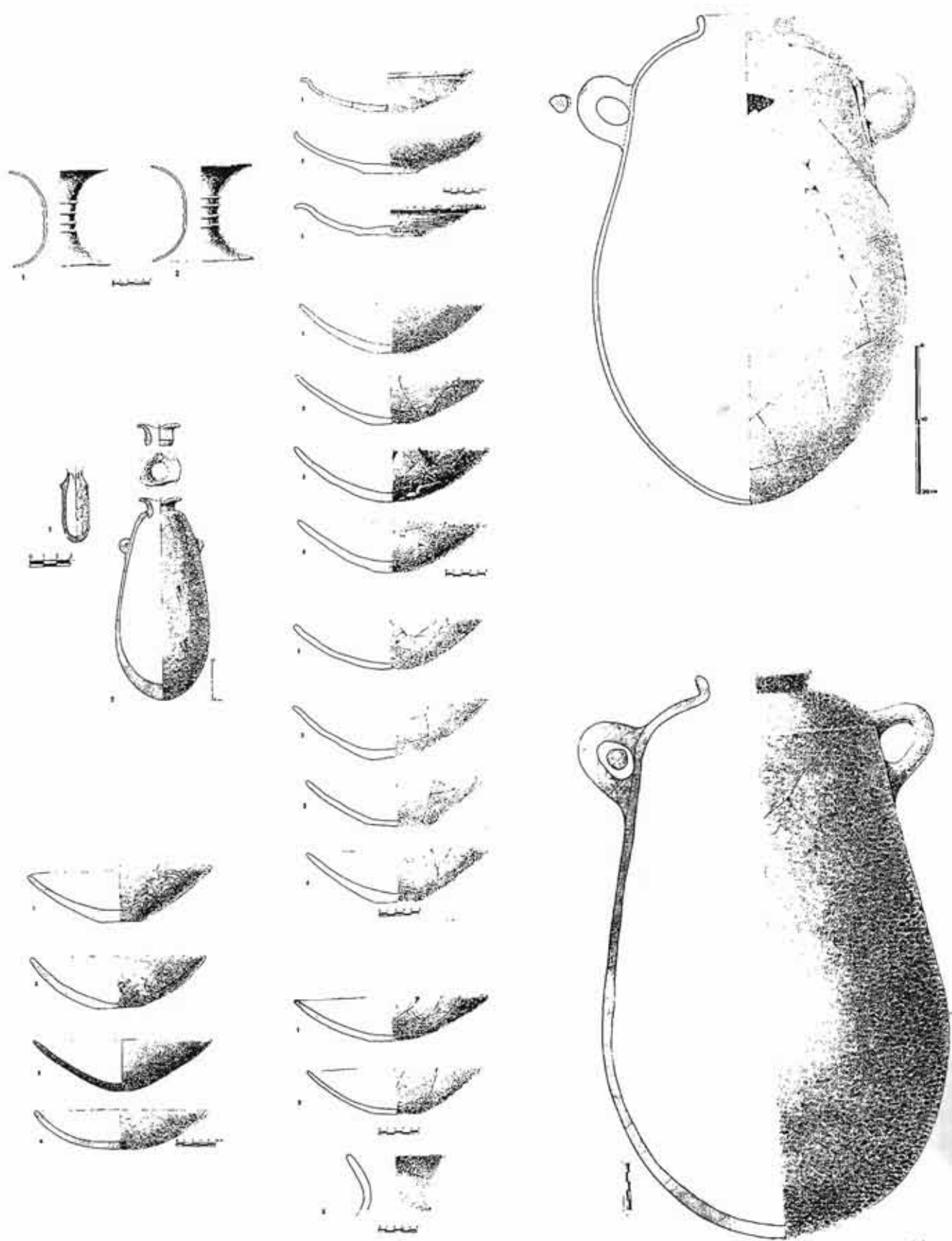
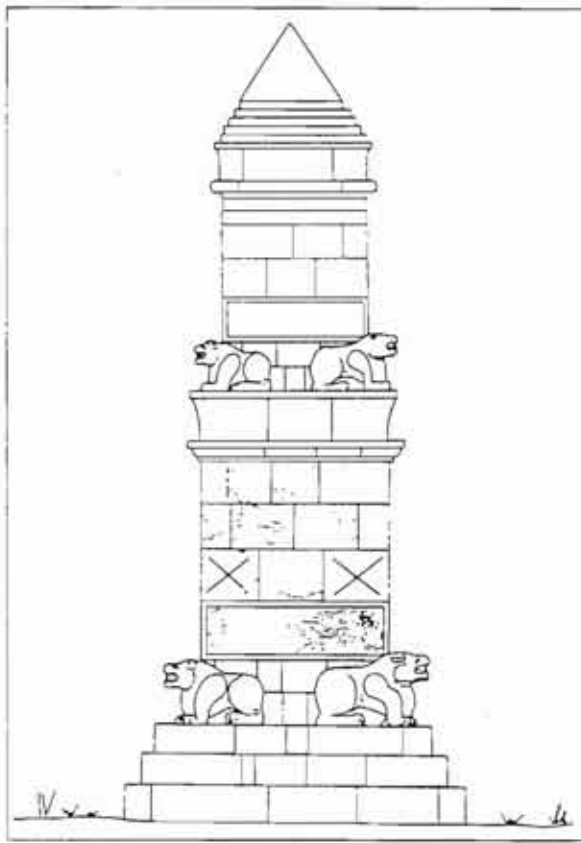


Figure 5 Orientalizing Period. Burial 17 at La Joya, Huelva (c. 600 BC).



**Figure 6** Early Iberian monument at Pozo Moro (Albacete). c. 500 BC. The illustrated grave-goods are only a small part of the contents of this burial which were largely destroyed by cremation.



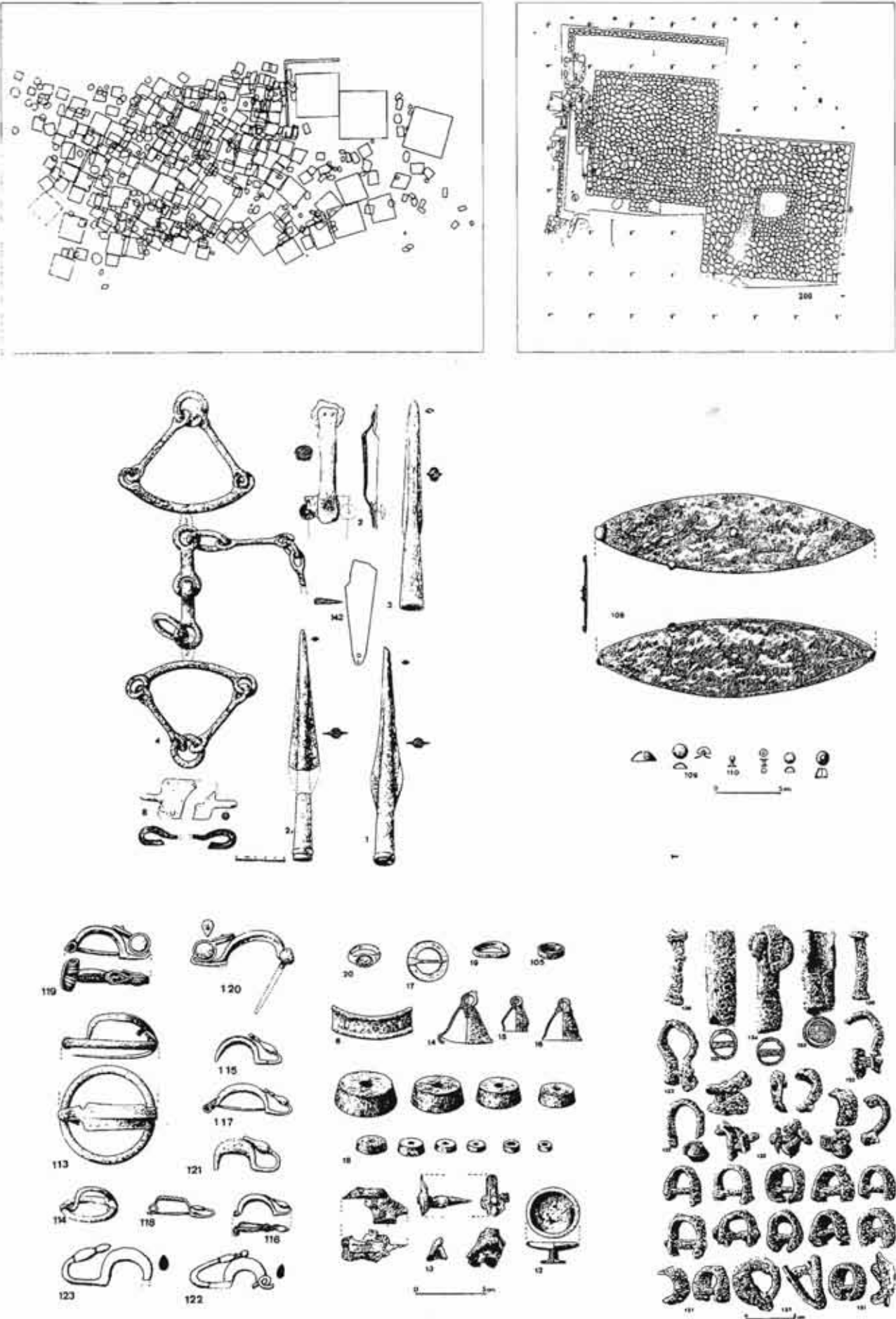
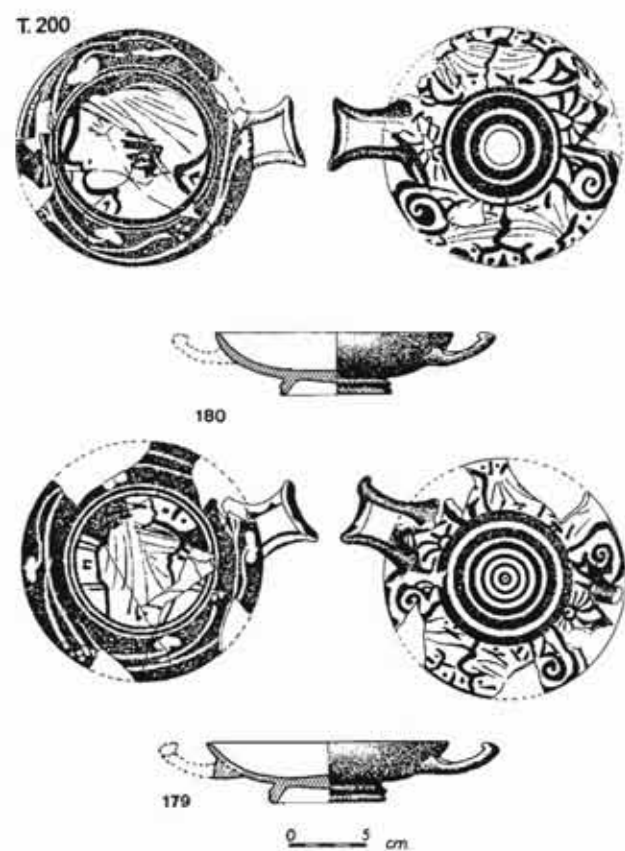
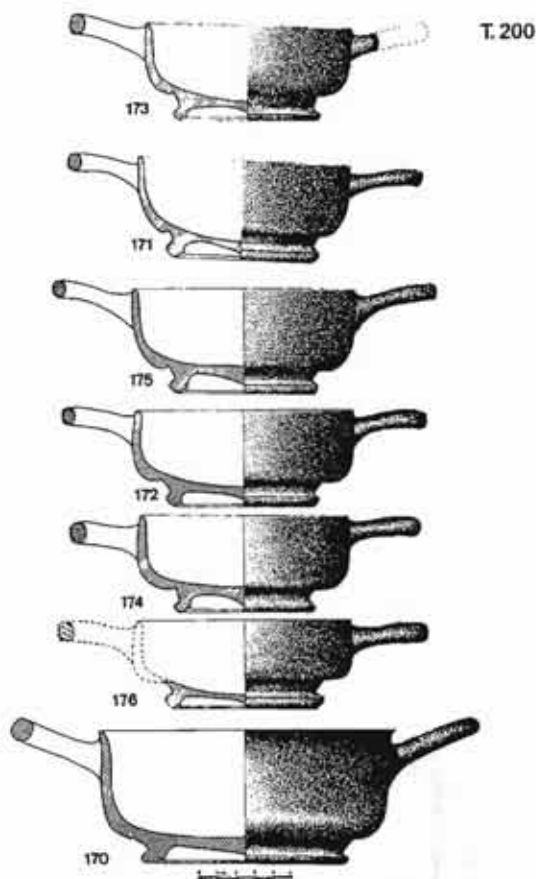
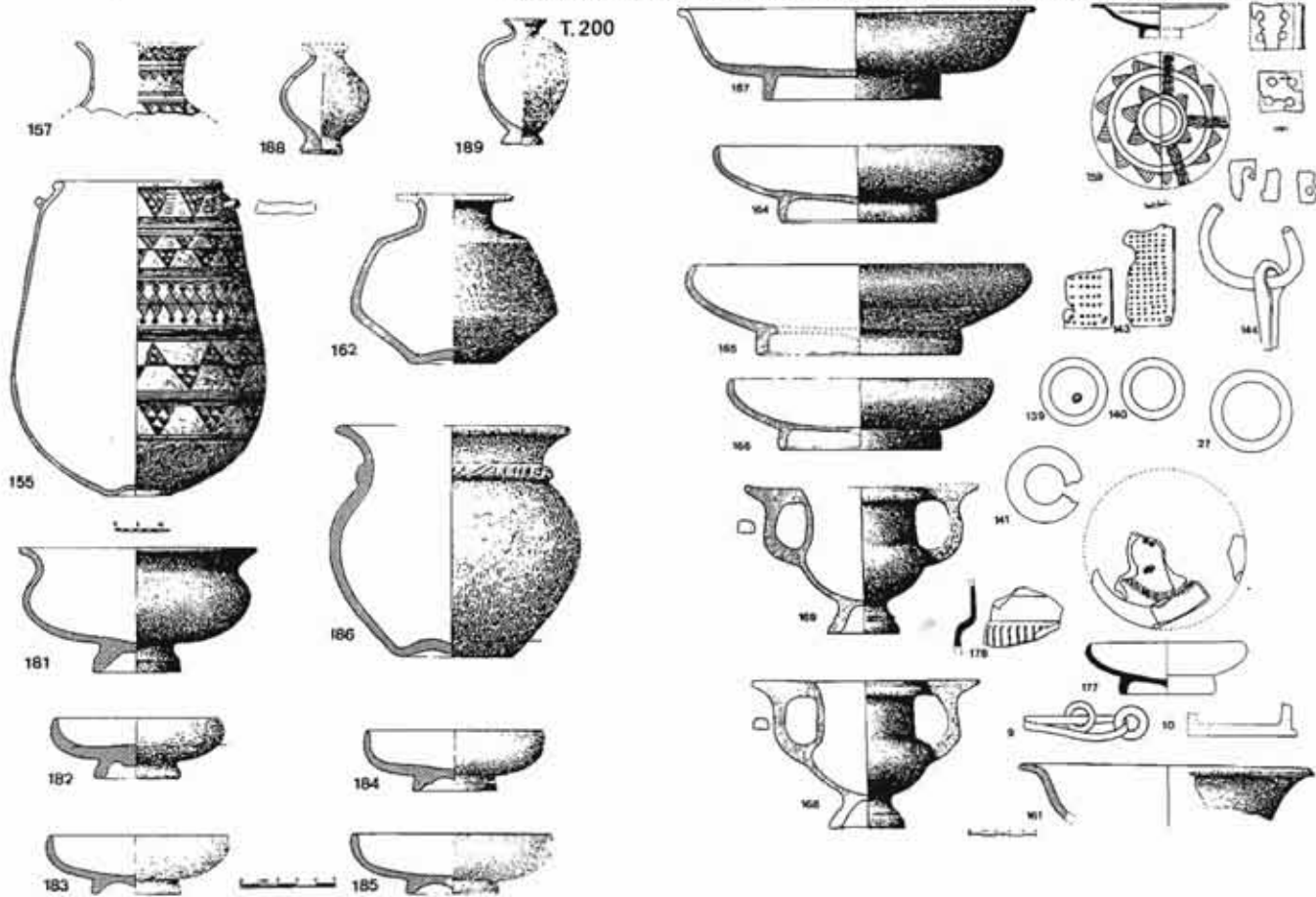
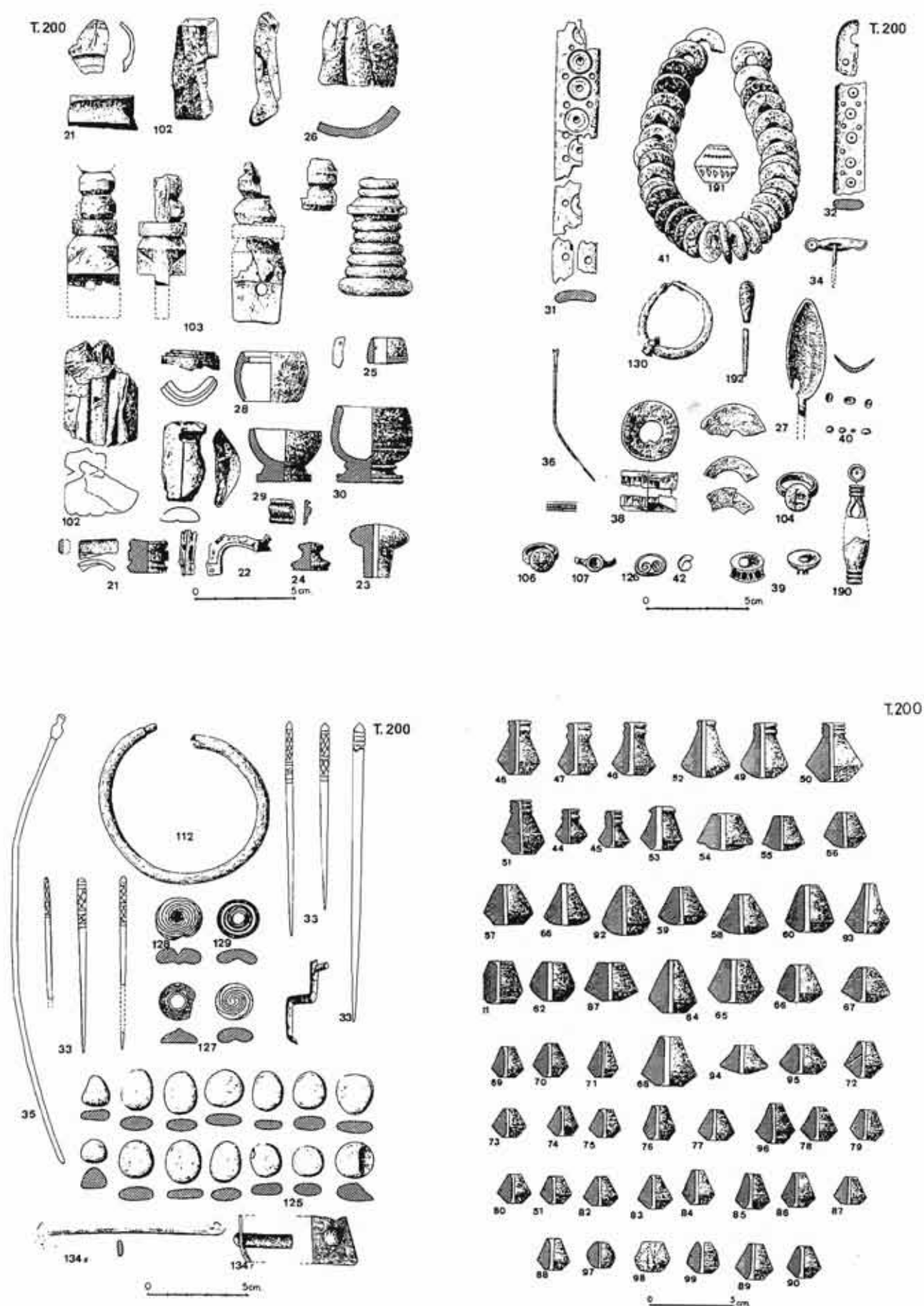


Figure 7 Middle Iberian. Burial 200 at El Cigarralejo (Murcia). c. 375 BC.



**Figure 8** Middle Iberian. Burial 200 at El Cigarralejo (Murcia). c. 375 BC.



**Figure 9** Middle Iberian. Burial 200 at El Cigarralejo (Murcia). c. 375 BC.

### 10 a Orientalizing Period. Typical examples of common burials.

(Collective under big tumulus or under small mound, low to moderate quantity and variety of grave goods, few imported objects, few metal objects).

Burial	Urn	Local pottery	Imported pottery	Alabastra	Iron knife	Bronze belt buckle/ brooch or bracelet	Gold/ silver	Faience beads	Ostrich egg	Weapons	Bronze vessels	Other	Date (centuries)	Notes	References
Las Cumbres 58	1	1	1										mid 8th		Ruiz Mata and Perez 1989
Cruz del Negro 7	1			1									7th-6th		Maier 1992
Cruz del Negro 18		1			1	2				1			7th-6th		Maier 1992
Setefilla A 14	1				1							1 bronze pin	7th-6th		Aubert 1975
Setefilla A 27	1	2				1						1 bronze tweezers	7th-6th		Aubert 1975
Cerrillo Blanco 9					1								mid 7th-end 6th	Inhumation	Torrecillas 1985
Cerrillo Blanco 18													mid 7th-end 6th	Inhumation	Torrecillas 1985
Frigiliana 7	1		1					1					6th		Arribas and Wilkins 1971
Frigiliana 8		1				2				2-3			6th	Richest in site	Arribas and Wilkins 1971
Boliche 13													7th-6th	No grave goods	Osuna and Remesal 1981
Boliche 47									1				7th-6th		Osuna and Remesal 1981
Aljucen 1	1	1											early 6th		Enriquez and Dominguez 1991

### 10 b Orientalizing Period. Some examples of important and 'princely' burials.

(Big mounds, built stone chambers, many objects of different materials and functions, bronze vessels as ritual sets, exotic materials, imported perishable commodities, rarely hearse and weapons).

Burial	Urn	Local pottery	Imported pottery	Alabastra	Iron knife	Bronze belt buckle/ brooch or bracelet	Gold/ silver	Faience beads	Ostrich egg	Weapons	Bronze vessels	Other	Date (centuries)	Notes	References
Las Cumbres 24	2	3	1	2		1	3	1				1	end 8th	Under separate mound	Ruiz Mata and Perez 1989
La Joya 17		17	3	2	1	1	2			17	3	Funerary chariot, horse bit (x2), mirror, ivory casket	first half 7th	Chariot very elaborate with bronze fittings	Garrido and Orta 1978
El Palmaron			>1			2	2 dish	>1		4	2-3	'Stone axes', pebbles, other metals, lost	early 6th	Partly plundered	Belen 1995
Castulo	2	5-6			1	1 belt buckle	1 dish 1 ring			4-6	2	Melted bronze	7th-6th	Destroyed	Blanco 1963 Blazquez and Valiente 1982

### 10 c Iberian Period. Examples of 'princely' and aristocratic burials.

Monuments (Pozo Moro) or big square tumuli (Cigaralejo). Two different approaches to 'status' are in evidence.

Burial	Urn	Local pottery	Imported pottery	Alabastra	Iron knife	Bronze belt buckle/ brooch or bracelet	Gold/ silver	Faience beads	Ostrich egg	Weapons	Bronze vessels	Other	Date (centuries)	Notes	References
Pozo Moro		2				bronze objects	>1 Au >1 Ag				1	Big tumiform monument with complex sculptured iconographic program mythological reliefs and lions in corner-stones. Iron, bronze and bone remains.	c. 500 BC	Many more grave goods destroyed by fire	Almagro-Gorbea 1983
Cigaralejo 277		19	>21			6	4	>15		18	1	Horse bit, spurs, bone pyxis, many wooden boxes, 18 bone needles, 9 spindle whorls, faience flask, bronze lion.	c. 375 BC	Probably double burial	Cuadrado 1987

**Figure 10** Main differences between 'common' and 'princely' burials during the Orientalizing Period seventh-sixth centuries BC and Iberian Period fifth-fourth centuries BC.



Area		Cemetery/Grave	Chronology	Main References
Core	Huelva	La Joya 17. Dug in 1970.	c. 700/650 BC (Fdez. Jurado 1988-89)	Garrido and Orta 1978
		La Joya 9. Dug in 1967.	c. 700/650 BC (Fdez. Jurado 1988-89)	Garrido and Orta 1970
		La Joya 18. Dug in 1970.	c. 600 BC (Aubet 1984)	Garrido and Orta 1978
		La Joya 5. Dug in 1967.	c. 590 BC (Fdez. Jurado 1988-89)	Garrido and Orta 1970
	Niebla (Huelva)	El Palmaron (tumulus and built chamber). Looted c. 1934.	c. 635-550 BC	García Bellido 1966; V. Pingel 1975; Belén 1995
	Setefilla (Lora del Río, Sevilla)	Túmulo H (over built chamber). 'Explored' in 1927.	c. 650-550 BC	Bonsor and Thouvenot 1928
Túmulo A (over built chamber). 'Explored' in 1927, dug in 1973.		c. 650-575 BC (Aubet)	Aubet 1975	
	Carmona (Sevilla)	Cañada de Ruiz Sánchez (tumulus). 'Dug' in 1895.	c. 650 BC	Bonsor 1899
		Acebuchal. Tumulus G (over built chamber). 'Dug' in 1896.	c. 600 BC	Bonsor 1899
Periphery (east)	Linares (Jaén)	Cástulo. Finca Torrubia. Casual find 1962. Pit with stone slab?	c. 700/650 BC (Blázquez and Valiente; Ruiz Gálvez). 6th century BC (Blanco 1963)	Blanco 1963; Blázquez and Valiente 1982; Bandera and Ferrer (1995)
		Cástulo. Los Higuerones. Tumulus A. Pit. Looted. Remains of offerings.	c. 7th century BC	Blázquez 1975; Blázquez and Valiente 1982
Periphery (north)	Aliseda (Caceres)	Aliseda treasure. Probably burial chamber and tumulus.	c. 625/600 BC (Almagro-Gorbea 1977)	Blanco 1956; Blázquez 1975; Almagro-Gorbea 1977
	T. Vedras (Lisboa)	Only remains of grave goods.	c. 650/600 BC	García y Bellido (1970)
	Belvis de la Jara (Toledo)	El Carpio. Pit. Dug 1984.	c. 650 BC (Pereira 1989)	Pereira and Alvaro 1986; Pereira 1989
	Gaio (Sines)	Tumulus. Golden treasure.	7th-6th centuries BC	García y Bellido 1970
	Las Fraguas (Toledo)	Bronze objects.	7th century BC	Fernández Miranda and Pereira 1992
Dubious	Alcácer Do Sal (Tagus)	Grave 98. Remains of a chariot.	6th century BC?	Schüle 1969: taf 107; Stary 1989

Figure 11 'Princely' graves during the Orientalizing Period.

gions further east, two examples may suffice. In Frigiliana (Málaga), close to the colonial Phoenician settlements, an indigenous cemetery (which is not colonial as previously had been thought) shows the same pattern of simple pit-tombs under small mounds with rather simple grave-goods (only one tomb containing a badly corroded set of iron weapons (Arribas and Wilkins 1969). The Orientalizing site at Boliche, near Villaricos in Almería is another example of a seventh-sixth century cemetery and contained 51 burials. It was excavated by L. Siret at the turn of this century and has been recently re-examined (Osuna and Remesal 1981). All burials are simple, usually containing just one or two pottery vessels, and occasionally an ostrich egg, bronze bracelets and golden or faience beads.

*Guadalquivir valley.* It is difficult to assess the composition of grave-goods in many Tartessian cemeteries in the area of Seville, as many of them were excavated by Bonsor c. 1895-1905 and by Bonsor and Thouvenot in 1926-27. Most burials were never published in detail and only recent and painstaking research into Bonsor's papers (Maier 1992) is

throwing some light on the details of these Orientalizing sites. For example, burials at La Cruz del Negro (Carmona, Sevilla) are always very simple, consisting of a cinerary urn, perhaps one or two pottery vessels, and very occasionally a bronze belt buckle or fibula or ivory comb. Only exceptionally (in three out of thirty-five burials) does one find a single small bronze or iron spear-head. No tumuli were in evidence.<sup>6</sup> A convenient summary of the cemeteries in the area of Los Alcores (Seville) can be found in Ruiz Delgado (1989: 248 ff.). The grave-goods they contain are also simple. The pattern is very much the same in the earlier burials under Mound A in Setefilla (Carmona) (Aubert 1975) and in the assemblage of simple burials under a single big mound (Tumulus B) (Aubert 1978).

The Orientalizing Period in the inland peripheral areas to the east (along the Guadalquivir valley) is not well known yet. Along with some impressive finds at Castulo which was one of the most important sites in Andalusia and which continued to be so during the Iberian Period (for example the grave-goods published by Blanco 1963), there is

some evidence from the cemetery at Cerrillo Blanco (Porcuna). Its grave-goods are similar to those in burials in the Lower Guadalquivir; a few fibulae, bronze belt-buckles and iron curved knives are the modest indicators of wealth in the 24 inhumations (Torrecillas 1985). The recently published Orientalizing burial from Casa del Monte in the province of Albacete further east (López Precioso 1994) contains just a wheel-made urn, a covered dish and a Ben-carron brooch of Andalusian type, all of which can be dated to the second half of the sixth century BC, a period which in this region can be considered as transitional between the Orientalizing and the Iberian Periods.

*Northern periphery.* Looking now at the northern periphery of Tartessos, the Orientalizing cemeteries show a similar panorama. Apart from a few, apparently isolated and poorly known 'princely' tombs (e.g., at La Aliseda, Las Fraguas, El Carpio or Torres Vedras, all of which are known through casual finds or looted materials), the excavated cemeteries do not contain exceptional burials. This is the case of Medellín (Almagro-Gorbea 1977: 287 ff.; 1991a; 1991b) and Aljucén (Enriquez 1991; Enriquez and Domínguez 1991) both of which are in the province of Badajoz. The assemblage of grave-goods usually consists of an urn, one or two cups or dishes and the occasional iron knife, bronze bracelet, belt buckle or brooch.

#### *Quality and variety as an expression of status in princely burials*

In marked contrast with this widespread pattern of simple Orientalizing pit-burials with a moderate quantity and variety of grave-goods (few pieces, not many different materials, few really luxurious imported objects) 'princely' burials, both in the central 'core' area and in the periphery, can only be described as impressive.

They can be briefly characterised by: 1) imposing but simple tumular structures (although this is not an exclusive characteristic); 2) many artefacts as grave-goods; 3) these artefacts reflect many different categories of material, shape and function, but only pottery dishes are usually found in great number (Fig. 5); 4) some objects (bronze jugs and dishes or *braserillos*, Fig. 4) are a recurrent assemblage with probably ritual significance; 5) imported objects of rare materials and/or beautiful workmanship are the norm rather than the exception. Many of them are single pieces, and chariots are very rare (Fig. 4); 6) weapons are very rare indeed; and 7) high status was also shown by perishable commodities, such as imported wine (Fig. 5) or oil. The contrast with non-princely burials is clearly shown in Fig. 10. I will now examine these points in some detail.

*1) Tumular structures.* Some of these tombs were visually imposing, consisting of great earth tumuli which covered masonry burial chambers. But this is not always so: some of the richest assemblages were found in tombs, such as those from La Joya or Castulo, which apparently were not covered by mounds. Erosion however has played a big role at Huelva and there is very little information about the tomb from Castulo. Thus it cannot be discounted that all

these burials were also tumuli of great size, as some new mounds found in Huelva after 1979 could prove (Garrido and Orta 1989: 36). If not all princely burials were tumuli, then conversely, some big mounds did not cover princely graves.

*2) Number of artefacts.* The number of objects varies greatly. Most well-known 'princely' tombs contain well over the two-to-five objects typical of most Orientalizing common burials, reaching around fifty in La Joya 9, or around forty in Aliseda. However, I do not believe this is the most significant factor.

*3) Categories of raw materials.* Most of these tombs contain artefacts made of a combination of at least six different categories of material. These include pottery (wheel- and hand-made, local and imported), bronze vessels, bronze ornaments, precious metal vessels and ornaments, iron knives and very occasionally weapons, alabaster/glass vessels, ivory caskets, and combs (which were usually decorated). Occasionally, paste scarabs and amber beads also appear. The objects made from these materials may be imported or local productions, but are nearly always of high quality workmanship.

This variety is in itself a proof of wealth, especially when imported items are involved; it is even more significant, however, that the objects made in these materials cover a wide range of functions. They include containers of perishable food, such as wine or oil (both imported in this period), commodities which were probably distributed (in Homeric fashion) during redistribution banquets and feasts-of-merit to the equals and immediate retainers of these princes. Also present are: personal adornments identifying owners as members of an exclusive elite (bronze ornaments, jewellery); very exceptional symbols of rank and power (chariots, occasionally bronze or iron weapons); symbols of a sacred or ritual conception of power (sets of bronze vessels); and symbols of control over a new technology (iron knives with silver and ivory ornamentation).

Figure 12 shows a simplified picture of the different categories of objects found in grave-goods at La Joya in Huelva (for example, 'bronze' includes bronze vessels, *thymiateria*, belt buckles, fibulae, etc.). Even within these simplified categories it can be easily seen that the richest tombs (Numbers 5, 9, 17, 18) contain between five and seven categories of raw material, while other poorer and simpler burials contain only between one and four. It can be added that La Joya is not, perhaps, a good example of differences in status, as even its commoners' burials are very rich in comparison (as has already been seen) with other examples in the inner areas.

For yet another test one can choose the inner area of Tartessos Tumulus H at Setefilla (already looted in the Middle Ages) which contained at least six categories of raw materials with which artefacts had been made: pottery, ivory, gold, amber, bronze, and bone (Bonsor and Thouvenot 1928: 23-25). Aliseda (Almagro-Gorbea 1977) and Cás-

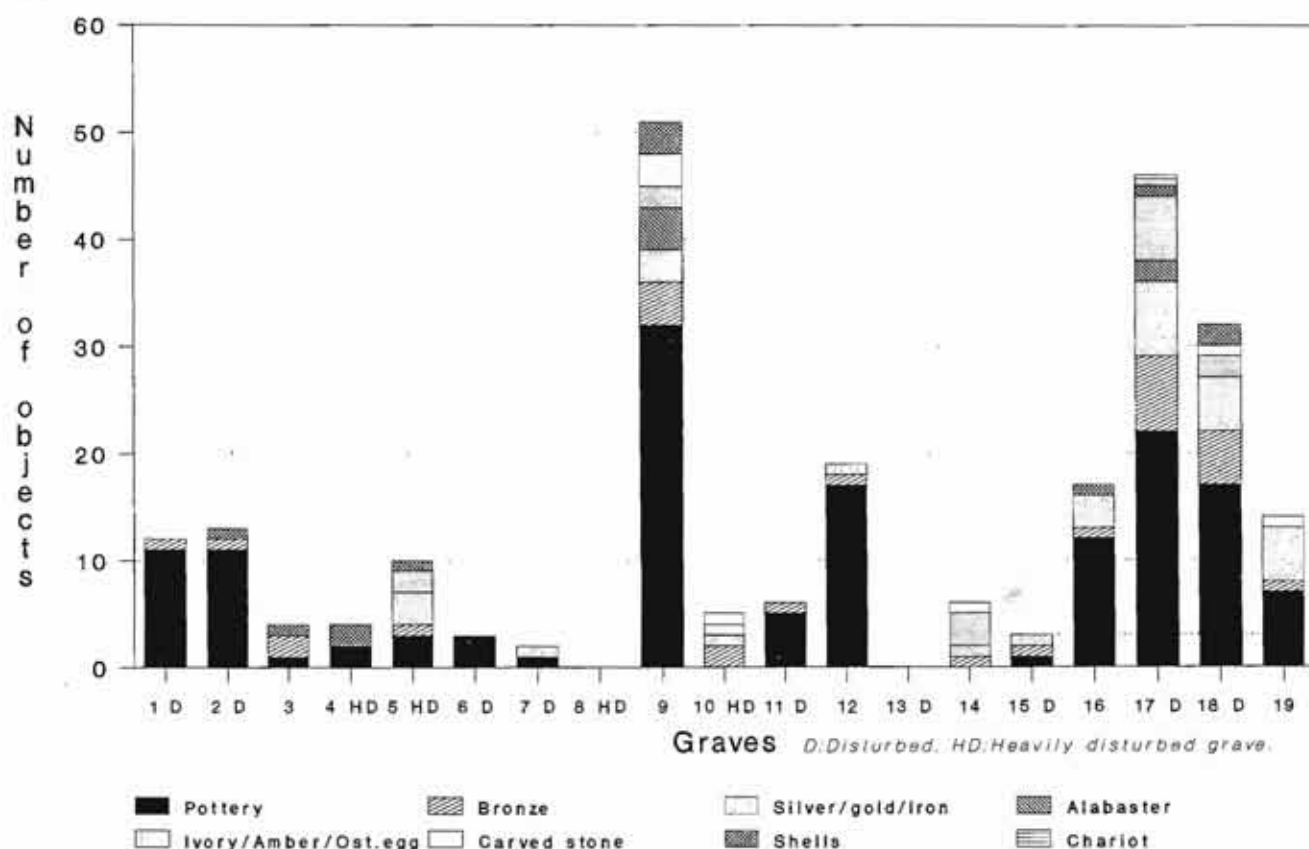


Figure 12 Cemetery at La Joya (Huelva). Composition and wealth of grave-goods according to number and type of objects.

tulo (Blanco 1963) are also good examples of this variety of raw materials and types of objects in the inner periphery, while the (admittedly more modest) burial at El Carpio in Toledo (Pereira 1989), sets the pattern for the outer periphery.

4) *Recurrent ritual assemblages.* It was mentioned in the previous paragraph that a common recurrence in princely burials is the so-called set of ritual objects (e.g., Aubet 1984: 451; Almagro-Gorbea 1990: 107; Fernández Miranda and Pereira 1992: Fig. 9), usually comprising a bronze jug, a bronze or silver 'brazier' or dish, an incense-burner (*thymiaterion*) and perhaps an iron knife (Fig. 4). In fact, the first two elements are nearly always found in association and they have come to be considered a kind of indicator of a princely grave even if nothing but some scattered elements remain of a looted burial (see Table in Fernández Miranda and Pereira 1992: 85). These vessels are exclusive to the elite burials and are widely considered to reflect the assimilation of purely Oriental funerary customs involving libation rites, the use of incense and food sacrifices, although many of the objects themselves are usually considered to be of local manufacture. Recently it has been proposed, following the ideas of J. Alvar and C. González Wagner, that *thymiateria* may have been part of the grave-goods and rituals of Semitic colonists and not necessarily of local dignitaries (Bandera and Ferrer 1994a: 60; 1994b: 54-55), but this hypothesis is not easy to reconcile with the

(in my opinion) unquestionably indigenous nature of burials such as those at Castulo, Setefilla or even La Joya, and with the virtual absence of these very items in Phoenician burials in Iberia (Marín Ceballos 1988: 47).

In all, this association of bronze vessels with a ritual function is a qualitative indicator of status, far more so than the accumulation of many pottery dishes or even ornaments. However, the question of the degree to which these elements prove the adoption by local elites of a foreign ritual system or even religion, or only the modification of these Oriental rituals (libation, perfumes, sacrifice) to suit pre-existing local customs, or even the straightforward adoption of luxury items without their original meaning (on these issues see González Wagner 1992; Belén Deamos 1994: 506 ff.) remains open to debate.

The high statistical correlation of princely burials with this ritual-set may be related to a particular conception of power in which the sacred element was prominent, perhaps more so than in any other item.

5) *Imported objects of exceptional workmanship.* Apart from the ritual-set mentioned above, another characteristic feature of princely graves (compared with more 'common' graves) during the Orientalizing Period, is the systematic deposition of imported objects of exquisite workmanship, which are not found in other burials. They appear in addi-



tion to the more frequent, precious elements such as ivory combs, ostrich eggs, belt buckles, brooches and other items also found in simpler burials.

A good example of this kind of precious item is the ivory casket from Tomb 17 at La Joya in Huelva (Garrido and Orta 1978). Its four legs are carved in the shape of walking human figures in Egyptianizing style, while the hinges are of cast silver (Fig. 4). Other examples are large oval dishes in bronze with incised decoration (La Joya 16), alabaster containers of Egyptianizing style (La Joya 9), jewellery of the highest quality (Aliseda), translucent glass vessels with decorative 'nonsense' Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions (Aliseda), silver dishes (El Palmaron, Aliseda, Castulo), and bronze vessels with anthropomorphic figures (Castulo). Even the comparatively modest burial at El Carpio in Toledo contains elements that can be considered exceptional in the context of the Meseta or central plateau of Spain.<sup>7</sup>

But of course the most prominent symbol of status in Orientalizing graves are chariots, which so far have only been attested in serious archaeological contexts at La Joya. Light chariots of the Aegean type were known during the Bronze Age, Geometric Period of Tartessos as the carved images on the so-called Estelas del Suroeste clearly show (Quesada 1995a; in English see Piggott 1983: 131-133). These earlier, light war chariots have however, nothing in common with the Orientalizing Period vehicles from Graves 17 and 18 at La Joya. In Grave 17, in particular, the remains point to a rectangular hearse and not to a light war chariot (Fig. 3). The bronze terrets, delicate bronze ornaments, and elaborate axle-caps modelled as lions' heads prove that these were funeral wagons similar to those found in the royal cemetery at Salamis in Cyprus and not the war vehicles of bellicose chiefs (see also Aubet 1984: 451). Other tombs may have contained chariots, but as most of them have not been excavated in controlled condition, it is now impossible to tell. Some elements of other Orientalizing chariots however (notably terrets) have been found and are in private collections in Andalusia (e.g., Ferrer and Mancebo 1991). These ornamented hearses were probably the most exclusive element in the grave-goods of the greatest chiefs, princes or kings.

6) *Weapon rarity.* Perhaps unexpectedly, weapons are very rare among the grave-goods of the Orientalizing Period (see e.g., Maier 1992). However, they are not completely absent (as has sometimes been stated) in princely graves of the period. There were sets of iron weapons in some princely and even rich burials: a sword and spears with spear-butts at El Palmaron and La Joya 16; a sword of a very interesting type at Finca Torrubia in Castulo; only a pair (probably) of spears at Cañada de Ruiz Sánchez (see references in Fig. 11). Other burials in this status group did not contain weapons but have usually been assumed (e.g., Aliseda) or have been proved by osteological analysis (El Carpio) to be feminine. Thus, although the percentage of princely burials with weapons is low it is not negligible. The really important point however, is that weapons are

not a core element in the composition of grave-goods in the sense (detailed above) that the ritual-set is. Moreover, the composition of these grave-goods seems to indicate that the idea of a warrior aristocracy was not central to the conception of power during the Orientalizing Age, but that the ritual aspects were more important. Of course, iron (as a new material) is nearly always present in these burials in the form of curved knives; but these should not be regarded as weapons, but simply as instruments, very probably used in association with sacrificial rituals (involving drinking, libations and food) common throughout the Mediterranean Basin. Therefore, iron knives should not be associated with the weapon sets, but with the bronze ritual assemblages (see above point 4).

The fact that war (or at least the possibility of it) was well known and feared by Tartessian rulers is clear from the evidence in settlements. Sophisticated fortifications with massive stone walls and square bastions were known during the eighth century BC (e.g., Torre de Doña Blanca, Cádiz; Ruiz Mata 1993: 490-493; Tejada la Vieja, Huelva; García Sanz 1987: 103-104) and became common in the seventh century, both in the central and peripheral areas of Tartessos (Puente Tablas, Torreparedones, Ategua; see respectively Ruiz Rodríguez et al. 1991: 114; Cunliffe et al. 1993: 522; Blanco 1983).<sup>8</sup> During the sixth century BC fortifications were the norm in *oppida* (e.g., Cerro de las Cabezas, Fuente Tójar; Vaquerizo et al. 1992: 180-181). This being the case, the scarcity of weapons in burials acquires a new significance: even if fortifications were largely symbolic or of deterrent value, they were prominent in daily life. The fact that weapons are so scarce in burials (and in particular in princely burials) means that even if they were known and used, weapons did not have the symbolic and conceptual pre-eminence that they would acquire later, (i.e., from the fourth century onwards).<sup>9</sup>

7) *High-status perishables.* A further element that marked status in princely burials are the imported amphorae of Phoenician (or later) Greek types which are also present in settlements such as Huelva or El Carambolo. They are proof of the small-scale consumption of imported wine by local elites during the eighth-seventh centuries BC. Wine was a rare commodity during this period and was not produced locally until some decades later about the end of the seventh or early sixth century BC. During the Orientalizing phase it was probably reserved for consumption by indigenous elites and their immediate followers and would not have been distributed to lower status groups (Aubet 1984: 451; Quesada 1994a: 115).<sup>10</sup>

A controversial (and unconfirmed) possibility exists that human sacrifices were deposited around some burials during the seventh century BC. This possibility was raised by Bonsor at Acebuchal (Bonsor 1899: 294) where he found a cemetery containing inhumations in contorted positions, which he interpreted as human sacrifices, stoned to death ('*lapidados*'). This same hypothesis has been recently put forward by J.P. Garrido to explain inhumations of some individuals, apparently tied and surrounded by stones, near



Grave 17 at La Joya in Huelva (Garrido 1989: 32). This theory, however, must still be treated with reserve (Ruiz Delgado 1989: 262).

### Changing patterns: the fifth century

The conceptions of power detailed above and their expression in the material remains of funerary rites take a different form during the fifth century after the disappearance around 500 BC of the archaeological horizon called 'Tartessos'. There are very few (if any) funerary remains in the southwest that can be dated to the fifth century BC. We must, therefore, turn our attention to the southeast, especially to Albacete and the high Guadalquivir Valley where the Iberian Culture was emerging and where new patterns of funerary ritual and new systems of displaying power were being developed.

These new patterns can be summarised with three points: 1) new types of grave-goods, deposited to show a still qualitative conception of power, status and wealth; 2) use of monumental sculpture and of a new, military iconography; and 3) new patterns in the use of wine.

#### *Grave-goods, the rise of Greek imports and the perpetuation of tradition*

Around 500 BC a local ruler was buried in what is now called Pozo Moro (Albacete) beside a very important trade route which was later called Via Heraklea (Almagro-Gorbea 1983: 182). The cremation of the grave-goods together with the body leaves us with little to study but their remains are enough to provide a few guidelines (Fig. 6). There are remains of objects made of different raw materials (at least pottery, gold, silver, bronze, iron and bone; see Almagro-Gorbea 1983: 184 ff.). However, there are no iron fragments which can be identified as weapons, although the remains are in very poor condition. One still finds the same sort of ritual-set described above for the Orientalizing Period, but with a different emphasis: the bronze jug is now of Greek and not of Oriental type and manufacture (Fig. 6b), and the bronze brazier has been replaced by an Attic kylix of the Pithos Painter group (Fig. 6d). Finally, this philohellenic prince was buried with an Attic lekythos (Fig. 6c) instead of alabaster perfume pots. In all, it seems that Greek influence was beginning to supersede the earlier, Orientalizing (Semitic) tradition. Finally, the burial I have described was placed under a turriform funerary monument of imposing size and decoration of which more will be said later.

Even if new materials of Greek origin were finding their way into Iberian burials all over the Iberian southeast,<sup>11</sup> Orientalizing-Tartessian traditions were still present. For example, in Tumulus Grave 20 at Galera in Granada (dated to the second half of the fifth century by the remains of a Greek *mesomphalos phiale*), an alabaster statuette in the shape of an enthroned fertility goddess of Syrian type was buried generations after it was made (i.e., the piece can be confidently dated on stylistic grounds to the seventh cen-

tury BC; Blázquez 1975: 187-192; Olmos and Shefton 1991: 301ff.; Almagro-Gorbea 1992: 42). This survival of outstanding objects (even if they can be considered merely as heirlooms) points to the survival and understanding of rituals and traditions closely connected with power and status display.

In my opinion, these and other evidence show that while a new culture (based on the local substratum and on strong Punic and Greek influences) was developing in the south-east, the Orientalizing or Tartessian heritage also determined the shape of this new culture and, furthermore, that some links with the traditional conceptions of power still persisted.

#### *Weapons*

There are not many burials clearly datable to the fifth century BC in the southeast and very few of them contain weapons. Thus it seems that in this respect the pattern is similar to that of the sixth century: the most important burials often, but by no means always, contain weapons among the grave-goods deposited with the ashes of the deceased. For example, very few burials in the earlier levels at Los Villares (Albacete) contain weapons: probably none in the sixth century graves (Blázquez 1992: 247-253) and only a very few in the fifth century ones (e.g., Grave 18; see below). At Cabezo Lucero (Alicante) (one of the earliest Iberian cemeteries in Alicante and the one with the highest percentage of warrior burials) about 47% of the burials dated to the later fifth century contain weapons; this figure rises to 65% in the fourth century BC. On the whole, early (sixth-fifth centuries BC) coastal sites along the Mediterranean seaboard of the peninsula have a far higher proportion of warrior burials than do the inland and western areas which were more influenced by the Orientalizing tradition. Thus, the sites at El Molar (Alicante) or even further north at La Solivella (Castellón), Mianes (Tarragona), Llinars del Valles, Granja Soley (Barcelona) and many others are all small cemeteries or even isolated burials which contain a high proportion of weapons, including straight iron swords of north-Pyrenean type, bronze greaves and disc-breastplates (Quesada 1997). In all, the proportion of weapons in burials grew steadily during the fifth century; a pattern that can be connected with the growth of a new, militaristic monumental iconography.

#### *The use of sculpture as an expression of old and new ideologies*

There is a major break with the past in the new types of funerary monuments now to be found all over the Iberian area. Instead of the low round mounds of the Orientalizing Period, one now finds towering monuments of dressed masonry, decorated with reliefs or free-standing sculpture. These monuments have undoubtedly an Oriental origin as some examples of monumental funerary sculpture from the Phoenician colony at Almuñecar in the province of Granada prove (Almagro-Gorbea 1983: 230-231, 269-270). The first and best known of these turriform monuments is Pozo Moro, the reliefs of which are of clear Oriental (north-Syrian) influence and seem on stylistic grounds

much earlier than the date of c. 500 BC assigned to the monument based on the above mentioned grave-goods as datum point. This fact has led some scholars (Bendala Galan 1987: 239 ff.) to hypothesise that the monument itself might be earlier (seventh century BC?) than the subsequent burial (c. 500 BC). Be that as it may, the fact remains that the mythological reliefs at Pozo Moro do not have many military connotations and the religious and ritual iconographic evidence suggests that the concept of power reflected by these images is more Orientalizing than Iberian, and thus would be a bit 'backwards' if the monument was to be dated to c. 500 BC.

In fact, only ten years after the princely burial at Pozo Moro (using the now accepted chronology; e.g. Blázquez 1992), a completely new form of art (in style and concept) emerged in Porcuna (Jaén) where a complex monument with many nearly life-size, free-standing sculptures was built c. 490 BC (Negueruela 1990). Its style has even been described as Phokian (Blázquez and González 1985) although it is now generally agreed that it was the work of local artisans (even if they were acquainted with the current Ionian Greek styles). It is generally believed that it formed part of a funerary monument, but this cannot be proved as the monument was destroyed in antiquity, perhaps not long after its completion. However, it seems certain that the monument embodied some kind of heroic significance. There are at least two series of sculptures, the best preserved of which displays a series of fights, with one side clearly gaining the upper hand. Weapons, horse harnesses and wounds are clearly represented with a deep sense of *akribia*. It is evident that not only the style but also the ideology reflected in these groups is profoundly different from that shown in the reliefs at Pozo Moro; the emphasis has shifted from a mythological and ritual world (in which the sacred content of power was emphasised) to a more warlike ideology. A concept of funerary heroization probably underlies both iconographic programs, although they are undoubtedly different in character.

These two are not the only monuments to be found in Iberian cemeteries during the later part of the sixth and fifth centuries BC: a catalogue would also document Greek-type archaic stelae with sphinxes (and also lions, bulls and fantastic animals) on top of different kinds of monuments (see the most complete, if slightly outdated, catalogue in Almagro-Gorbea 1983). This multitude of sculptures, standing against the aniconic tradition of Tartessian tumuli, shows not only a different tradition of external markers for burials, but also a new and more structured society in which different levels of rank probably had access to different types of monument ranging from the royal towers to the low mounds. At Los Villares in Albacete for example, two funerary monuments (dated to the beginning and end of the fifth century BC respectively) consist of a low, square platform acting as a tumulus on which a smaller than life-size stone equestrian sculpture was erected (Blázquez 1992). In both cases the riders are unarmed (they are not fighting warriors as in Porcuna) and again one is reminded that the main symbols of power are not weapons. In these funerary

monuments, one probably has the evidence of a class of Iberian *hippeis* of rank lower than that of the true princes or monarchs buried at Pozo Moro and, perhaps, at Porcuna. The first of these burials Tumulus 18 (c. 490 BC, or about the same time as Porcuna), contains, among the grave-goods, an iron spearhead and its butt; one of the first sets of weapons documented in a properly Iberian burial. However, this can hardly be compared with the much more complex panoplies deposited even in poor burials during the fourth century BC (see below). The second burial at Los Villares (dated to c. 410 BC) did not contain a single weapon; however, a big assemblage of around fifty Attic vases was left as an offering deposit near the urn.

#### *Changing patterns in the social uses of wine*

As the site at Alt de Benimaquia (Alicante) has proved beyond doubt (Gomez Bellard et al. 1993), there is clear evidence of the local production of wine by the beginning of the sixth century. However, the production of local wines remained the privilege of the local aristocracies during the sixth and fifth centuries BC and the processes of production and storage were restricted to small, fortified settlements, where they could be strictly controlled. This pattern quickly spread to inland areas such as Albacete where the later small site at La Quejola can hardly be described as a settlement as most of the buildings were used to store wine amphorae (Blázquez 1993). I believe that while the wine service buried at Pozo Moro (Attic cup and bronze jug) still reflected the restricted and restrictive use of imported wine by the ruling elites c. 500 BC, local production (and therefore the increased availability of wine) meant a radical change. From the sixth century onwards wine was probably redistributed by the aristocracies to wider (and lower) social groups at events such as funerary ceremonies and on more mundane occasions such as feasts-of-merit and other community banquets (Quesada 1994a: 115-117). In this particular aspect in a way quality was giving way to quantity as well.

#### **The 'classical' Iberian culture in the fourth century BC**

During the so-called 'classical' or 'middle' period of the Iberian Culture in the fourth century BC (Ibérico Pleno), many changes took place in the conception of power, in the social structure of cemeteries and in the composition of grave-goods; so much so that in some respects the burials of the fifth century can be shown to be nearer in 'spirit' (whatever that is taken to mean) to the Orientalizing Period than to the later phase. These changes can be summarised as follows: princely tombs in the sense of the earlier periods came to an end; the earlier wagon graves did not have any real successors; the composition of grave-goods in burials changed (weapons became the main symbol of power and, indirectly, of wealth); and other expressions of status in cemeteries, such as the deposition of gold or ritual-sets, became less conspicuous.

*Princely burials during the fourth century BC:  
a misleading term?*

It was Dr. E. Cuadrado who coined the term 'princely graves' to refer to fourth century burials when he published Burials 200 and 277 at El Cigarralejo (Murcia) (Cuadrado 1968). The expression stuck and has been used ever since. Both burials date to the first half of the fourth century BC and consist of low square platforms of undressed stone. They are big (about 7.0 m square as against the usual 1.0-1.5 m square platforms of common burials) but not essentially different because the burials underneath (placed in oval pits) follow the usual pattern of the site. They are undoubtedly the burials of the local rulers from the early part of the fourth century BC, as their dominant position in the cemetery area (Quesada et al. 1995), the size of the tumuli, and the wealth of the grave-goods clearly prove. What is not really evident to us, however, is that the term princely can be deemed appropriate in this and other similar cases.

Although the grave-goods in these burials are impressive and although a 'wealth-units' method of quantifying wealth shows a great difference in wealth between these burials and the rest (see Quesada 1994b Fig. 4 for a graphic layout), I am not so sure that the term 'princes' rather than 'warrior aristocrats' is *le mot juste*. On the one hand, the grave-goods are not conceptually or qualitatively different from many other different sets from the same site and among which there are many differences in wealth. On the other hand, even if the tumuli are by far the biggest, they lack the princely distinction of Pozo Moro, Porcuna or other earlier monuments. In fact, the whole cemetery has a certain rural or local feel to it (even if the more cosmopolitan examples: Ilici in Alicante, or Cástulo in Jaén are not nearly as well-known). The same can be said of Burial 70 at Coimbra del Barranco Ancho in Murcia which is the best candidate for a princely (female) burial at that site (Iniesta et al. 1987), or of Burial 400 at Cabecico del Tesoro also in Murcia (Quesada 1989a).

*Wagon graves?*

There were no wagon graves in Iberia during the fourth century BC in the European *La Tène* or even in the Orientalizing Peninsular sense of the term. The *wagengräber* cited by Stary (1989) as belonging to his second phase (Cabecico del Tesoro, Baza, etc.) do not really exist. True, there are some heavy, iron-felloe wheels to be found in some tombs belonging to this period, but they cannot be compared with the princely Salamis type graves and complete chariots from La Joya. Among the late wagon graves, Grave 397 at El Cabecico (Stary 1989: 182; Fernández Miranda and Olmos 1986: 88) certainly does not qualify: a small unclassified piece of iron (which was probably meant to hold together two pieces of wood, and which was found in an otherwise very unexceptional grave) does not make for a wagon grave let alone a princely one. If any grave in this important site should be labelled princely, it would be Grave 400. It contains iron disc-breastplates, a set of offensive and other defensive weapons and belt-buckles with engraved silver decoration but no remains of a chariot (Quesada 1989a: volume 2). Also, there is no reason to

consider that the possible chariot or wagon from Alcacer do Sal (near Lisbon, Portugal) belongs to a grave that should be dated to the fourth or even to the fifth century BC. Even if the scanty remains belonged to such a grave (Schüle 1969: taf. 107; Olmos and Fernández Miranda 1986: 87), the grave itself may have been much earlier as proof exists of six-century, Orientalizing levels in the site (Paixao 1983). Most other wheels dating to the fourth-second centuries BC come from settlements or from simple burials. Moreover, they are of a heavy type with much iron construction in them, typical of normal, everyday wagons and not of light, war chariots or elaborate funerary hearses. It is probable that sometimes (i.e., rarely) wheels were deposited in burials as *pars pro toto* and even that these wheels symbolised rites of transition and passage; but these features do not make for princely tombs.

*Imported pottery as an expression of wealth and  
conspicuous consumption*

During the fourth century BC another change in the composition of grave-goods (already visible in earlier sites such as Los Villares in Albacete) became evident. Attic black-glaze pottery (on the whole of a lower quality than in the earlier periods) became very common in burials both in Andalusia and the southeast (e.g., Cabrera 1994) while the productions from other workshops disappeared (e.g., in the southeast; Sala 1991).

The new repertoire of shapes in native sites is rather limited in comparison with, for example, the Greek colony of Emporion and consists mainly of open forms such as Lamboglia shapes 21, 22, 23 (Sánchez 1992; Rouillard 1991). The rare late-fifth century products of good quality, such as the cup from Lorca (García Cano 1989-90) tend to disappear. Attic red-figure ware is also frequent but the pieces are usually of abysmal quality (e.g., Retorted Painter). It has often been said that red-figure ware is more common in the more urban Andalusia while black-glaze is typical of the southeast. I believe this not to be the case and that if patterns are apparently different, then this is really only because of the earlier excavations in Andalusia, when black-glaze was simply not studied. Where modern excavations have taken place in Jaén or Granada the proportion of simple black-glaze is much greater.

A visible tendency towards the accumulation of Attic pottery in burials as an expression of wealth is also evident in well excavated sites such as Cigarralejo (Murcia), Coimbra (Murcia) or Cabezo Lucero (Alicante). Perhaps the best examples are the already mentioned princely tombs at Cigarralejo (200 and 277), and Grave 70 at Coimbra. While the ruler at Pozo Moro was buried c. 500 BC with a few selected Greek imports of clear and coherent ritual significance, the local aristocrats of the fourth century chose to be buried with up to 16 Greek vases of only four different shapes (including seven *bolsals*) (Figs 7-9; Cigarralejo Grave 200; see Cuadrado 1987: 370) which were clearly trade lots and not ritual-sets and thus which show wealth by accumulation.



It has sometimes been stated that the frequent occurrence of Attic pottery in Iberian burials implied a high degree of Hellenisation. I believe this is simply an oversimplification. While the selection of objects at Pozo Moro or the perfume pots from Los Villares may imply a certain knowledge of the ritual significance of each vessel, the accumulation of Attic pottery of generally open, drinking shapes, combined with the absence of perfume pots or jugs in fourth century sites, implies a different approach, in which the expression of status through foreign wealth was clearly more important than the understanding and adoption of foreign uses. The pattern of distribution of imported vessels in lower-wealth and therefore lower-status burials seems to confirm this idea: the range of shapes is more or less the same (with certain exceptions mainly in Andalusia) but the number of vases diminishes dramatically (see Quesada 1994b: Fig. 4; Santos Velasco 1994: 71-72). The use of black-glaze or red-figure ware and even the occasional occurrence of the odd shape (e.g., García Cano 1985-86) does not show any knowledge of Greek burial rites or ideas about death and does not imply Hellenisation in the full sense of the term. True, there is an abundance of wine-mixing and wine-drinking Greek vases (Santos Velasco 1991: 252; Olmos and Sanchez 1995; Blázquez 1995) but this need not imply the custom of symposia or of funerary *deipna* in the Greek sense of the term. In fact, wine was known and produced in Iberia before Greek colonisation. If there were social and funerary customs associated with the conspicuous consumption of wine and beer, then this has more to do with very old local customs than with superficial Hellenisation (see Quesada 1994a: 118-119). For example, as Olmos and Sanchez have pointed out when writing about *kraterae*, 'in the Iberian world the Greek collective vessel is transformed into an individual one' (1995: 124). Nothing can be further away from the concept of Hellenisation.

#### *On the uses of gold*

Another interesting pattern in Iberian burials is the extreme scarcity of jewellery or artefacts made of precious materials (particularly gold) even in otherwise very rich graves. This problem has been recently (and, in my opinion, satisfactorily) resolved by Chapa and Pereira (1991). These scholars believe that although objects (jewellery and vessels) made of gold were frequent among the Iberians (and many literary sources testify to this) they were not usually deposited as grave-goods because they were of the highest value and therefore linked to inheritance and the idea of transmission of power. Thus, the high intrinsic value of gold was replaced in burials by the accumulation of other objects as an expression of wealth: pottery (and especially imported pottery) and weapons.

#### *Weapons: the foundations of power*

The abundance of weapons in Iberian burials is arguably the best indicator of the profound changes that took place between the Orientalizing/early Iberian Period and the later phase. As we have already seen, from the last decades of the fifth century BC (c. 425-410 BC) onwards the percentage of burials with weapons rose sharply. Perhaps the site at Cabezo Lucero in Alicante (Aranegui et al. 1993) is the

best example of the dramatic rise in the number of weapons from c. 425 BC. During the fourth century BC this pattern became the norm. A normal figure of burials with weapons is between 25-45% in the southeast Iberian cemeteries (see Fig. 13): e.g., Cabecico del Tesoro (Quesada 1989a) or Cigarralejo (Cuadrado 1989).

Thus, while weapons were rare during the Orientalizing and early Iberian Period<sup>12</sup> (and mostly limited to princely or very rich burials) during the Iberico Pleno in the fourth century BC the right (or custom) of carrying weapons into the grave became much more extended and included wider (i.e., lower) segments of the population. Another significant fact is that weapons are now often found grouped into coherent panoplies: the simpler ones consist of *falcata* sword, round shield and two spears; the complex ones may also contain a helmet, *soliferreum* and dagger.<sup>13</sup> However, it is not uncommon that the concept of wealth through accumulation, which was observed when discussing Attic pottery and other grave-goods, should also lead to the stockpiling of weapons: it is thus possible to find three or more spearheads, two swords and even, very occasionally, two shields in a particular burial, therefore disturbing the original functional or coherent panoplies.

On the one hand, therefore, the richer Iberian burials had a distinct military appearance during the fourth century BC as complex sets of weapons (often decorated with silver inlay motifs) make-up a considerable part of the grave-goods. On the other hand, weapons also became common in poorer burials.

In fact, it has been proven that burials in all wealth groups contained weapons, but that although nearly all of the very rich burials contain them, only a small proportion of the poorer groups had weapons and these were usually simple panoplies without daggers, helmets and other elements of the richer assemblages (see Quesada 1994b: Fig. 5). However, it can also be proved that burials with weapons are, on the whole, considerably richer than those without them; this is the case even if the weapons themselves are not taken into account when calculating the figures for wealth deposited in the different categories of burials.<sup>14</sup> In a society which had become much more involved with weapons, it seems that these differences in wealth must also mean differences in social status, an idea confirmed by the fact that the pattern of deposition of weapons tends to coincide with that of imported Attic pottery, the other great indicator of status and wealth (see Quesada 1989a; 1994b; Santos Velasco 1994 and especially 1989: 83-85).

#### *From sacred monarchies to warrior aristocracies?*

The pattern of facts described above fits well with the theory put forward by M. Almagro-Gorbea (1992). Almagro has developed a model of evolution of the concept of power during the Iron Age with which I generally agree. This scholar believes that during the Orientalizing and early Iberian Period (roughly eighth-sixth centuries BC) one



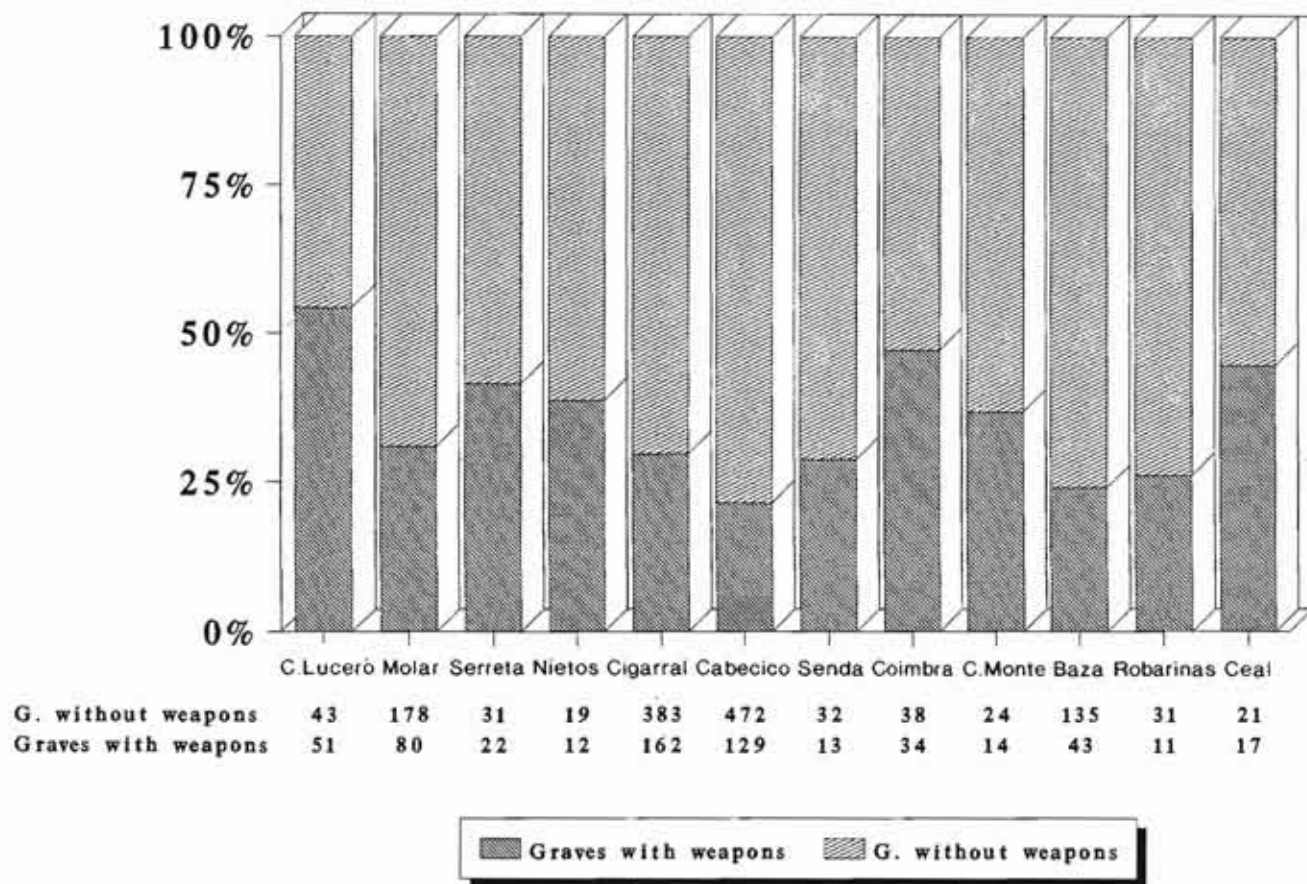


Figure 13 Iberian cemeteries in Andalusia and the southeast. Percentage of burials containing weapons.

should think in terms of ‘sacred monarchies’ with a nutritious function. During the fifth century this pattern would have evolved into different, ‘heroic monarchies’, which in turn disappeared by the end of the fifth century when ‘warrior aristocracies’ appeared.

I find the observed development of burial rites quite compatible with this idea. During the Orientalizing Period the Tartessian rulers were buried with rich grave-goods, conspicuously ritual in nature, including the ritual-set of bronze and silver vessels (*thymiateria*, libation jugs and dishes) iron knives and sometimes elaborate hearses. During the fifth century (early Iberian), the evidence from Pozo Moro and other sites shows that while a new culture based on the local substratum and on strong Punic and Greek influences was developing in the southeast (the Orientalizing or Tartessian heritage was also crucial in the shaping of this new culture) and that some links with the traditional conceptions of power still persisted: weapons were still rare in grave-goods and the reliefs at Pozo Moro are of a mythological nature. There are, however, signs of a more heroic understanding of power, as reflected in the same monument at Pozo Moro or in the complex fighting scenes at Porcuna. The composition of grave-goods shows increasing signs of Greek influence as do many funerary monuments

crowned with sphinxes in the Greek style. At Los Villares in Albacete one can probably find evidence of a class of Iberian *hippeis* of lower rank than the princes or monarchs buried at Pozo Moro or (perhaps) Porcuna. The first of these burials (dated to c. 490 BC) contains an iron spearhead and its butt, one of the first sets of weapons documented in a genuinely Iberian burial. This, however, can hardly be compared with the much more complex panoplies deposited during the fourth century BC.

During the middle Iberian (roughly, fourth and third centuries BC), the standardised ritual-set disappeared from burials, although some of its elements, modified and simplified, remained in use, such as the bronze braziers or dishes of Iberian type (Type 2 in the classification of Cuadrado 1966). On the other hand, the complex bronze incense burners made of many different composite elements (including hathoric figures; Fig. 4) disappeared after the late sixth or early fifth century (Bandera and Ferrer 1994a: 53). The main indicator of wealth, and also probably of status, was now the accumulation of objects and this is clear from the large sets of Attic black-glaze pottery: at this time one should not expect to find a bronze jug or a good quality drinking cup such as those at Pozo Moro; rather one should expect drinking cups and plates of indifferent

quality in sometimes large numbers (Fig. 8). Weapons (complete panoplies) became very common in all ranks of the segment of society represented in the formal burials of Iberian cemeteries and can nearly always be found in the richer burials. In all, the symbolic and social importance of weapons in Iberian funerary rites of the fourth century BC seems to reflect a new concept of power closely linked to military prowess which was different in character from that of previous societies. These aristocracies showed this in their grave-goods not only by the abundance of weapons but also by the accumulation of artefacts which differed more in number than in kind from those of poorer groups, who in many cases appear to have been their military retainers (see also Ruiz and Molinos 1993: 227).

### Endnotes

1. This paper has been prepared within the framework of Research Projects PB 94/0189 and PB 97/0057.

2. Bibliography in English covering the Orientalizing Period and the Iberian Culture is not extensive, but fortunately we can now cite a few recent and useful summaries. For the Phoenician colonisation in the Peninsula the English translation of the work by M.E. Aubet (1993a; 1993b) is probably the best choice, although it has been superseded by an updated edition in Spanish which includes new and important discoveries on the Atlantic coasts of Portugal (Aubet 1994). The Greek presence in the Iberian Peninsula is more than adequately covered by A. Domínguez Monedero (1991). There is a (somewhat outdated) survey of the material culture of the Orientalizing Period in Chamorro (1987). The book by T. Judice Gamito on Tartessos is controversial (Judice Gamito 1988; see review by González Wagner, 1990 and answer by the author 1992). A brief but systematic and updated review of the cultural phases in the different regions of Iberia (including inland areas), during the first millennium BC, is that by M. Almagro-Gorbea and G. Ruiz Zapatero (1992), while Harrison's book, aimed more at the layman, can still be useful for English-speaking readers (Harrison 1988). On the complex matter of the relationships between Iberia and the Mediterranean throughout this very extended period the most recent summary is Cunliffe (1993). The Proceedings of the British Academy seminar edited by Cunliffe and S. Keay are an up-to-date, scholarly approach to many points of detail (Cunliffe and Keay 1995). All these works provide extensive bibliographies.

3. On the subject of mining and metallurgic importance of the Huelva region, a good summary will be found in Ruiz Mata (1989).

4. For example see Escacena (1989) and Bendala (1991).

5. See for example the non-princely mounds at Setafilla in Seville ('B') or Torre de Doña Blanca in Cadiz.

6. I do not really believe that La Cruz del Negro or some other sites in the area of Seville can be considered Phoenician or 'Semitic' as has been suggested. The elements of the discussion have been summarised recently by M. Belén Deamos (1994: 508-510).

7. The facts that the anthropological analysis of the burial at El Carpio (Toledo) has shown the burial to be that of a young woman and a newborn baby (Pereira 1989: 396) and that the jewels at Aliseda look feminine (which is by no means certain) have led M. Ruiz Galvez (1992: 238) to put forward the interesting hypothesis that the rich Orientalizing grave-goods, located so far from the Tartessian core area, may in fact have been the dowries of Tartessian princesses married to local lords. These dynastic marriages would have been part of a system of alliances to ensure peaceful trade and communications.

8. Contra Carrilero 1992: 126.

9. Of course, many weapons have been found underwater in the Ría del Huelva, but they are much earlier, perhaps dating to the mid-ninth or even tenth century BC when other pre-colonial conditions were applicable. On the other hand, at least two Greek helmets of Corinthian-type of Orientalizing date have been found underwater near Huelva (mid-sixth century BC) and Jerez de la Frontera (beginning of the seventh century BC) (Olmos 1988). They are probably votive offerings made either by foreign sailors or by local rulers. No other examples of this date have been found inland, in burials or elsewhere.

10. Phoenicians used wine as a first-class trading product not only in Tartessos but also along the Mediterranean coast as far north as the Ebro during the seventh century as the discoveries at Aldovesta show (see Quesada 1994a: 110 with further references).

11. On Greek imports during the sixth century BC: in general - Rouillard 1991; for Murcia - García Cano and Page 1991: 228; for Alicante - Sala 1991; for Andalusia - Cabrera 1994 (with a marked decrease in imports during the second half of the century).

12. This applies to the Iberian sites in Andalusia and the southeast. In Valencia and Catalonia the Iberian burials dated to the sixth-fifth centuries BC contain complex sets of aristocratic weapons, including bronze greaves. These burials show intense northern influence.

13. I have also argued elsewhere that the use of the bow in warfare was considered improper, as arrows were held to be effeminate and cowardly weapons not worthy of real warriors. This ideology would explain the almost complete absence of arrowheads in Iberian burials when they were relatively common during the Orientalizing Period in the more Semitic areas of the southwest (although they only appear in settlements and not in cemeteries; see Quesada 1989b; 1997).

14. For example, at El Cabecico (Murcia), burials containing weapons have a wealth index of 16.9 wealth units as against only 9.0 for the whole site and 5.3 for those burials without weapons. Just in case weapons had been overvalued, a new test was performed in which the value assigned to weapons was not taken into account. Burials with weapons were found to have a mean value of 10.3 wealth units, while the mean value of the 566 burials with grave-goods in the site was 8.5, and of those without weapons was still 5.3 (see Quesada 1989a, volume 1: 176 ff. for details and volume 2: 120-121 for a summary in English. On the complex matter of relationship between wealth and status in fourth century sites see also Quesada 1994b: 454 ff.).

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