Layers
8, 2023, 1-19 (ISSN 2532-0289)

Mediterranean *exotica* and the fabric of Early Iron Age society in Southwestern Iberia (8th-5th centuries BCE)*

Francisco B. Gomes

Abstract: The Phoenician presence in the Iberian Peninsula significantly broadened the range of Mediterranean exotic and prestige goods available to local communities. The nature and role of these goods changed over time but also differed from area to area; a careful consideration of these imports therefore sheds significant light on the different historical trajectories of regional communities, as well as on the ideological underpinnings of their social and political structures.
Keywords: Phoenician Trade, "Orientalizing" Period, Early Iron Age, *Exotica*, Consumption.

Resumo: A presença fenícia na Península Ibérica ampliou o leque de bens exóticos e de prestígio mediterrâneos à disposição das comunidades locais. A natureza e o papel desses bens mudaram ao longo do tempo, mas também variam de área para área; uma análise cuidadosa dessas importações pode assim produzir uma informação significativa sobre as distintas trajectórias históricas das comunidades regionais, bem como sobre as bases ideológicas das suas estruturas sociopolíticas.
Palavras-chave: Comércio Fenício, Período "Orientalizante", I Idade do Ferro, *Exotica*, Consumo.

1. Mediterranean exotica in the Far West: general background and context

While the impact of the Phoenician presence in the southwestern Iberian Peninsula marked a clear watershed as far as the integration of this region in a Mediterranean *koine* is concerned, the connections of this Atlantic *finis terrae* to the Inner Sea have deep roots, going all the way back to Prehistory. The consumption of Mediterranean *exotica*, in particular, played an important part since very early on, as clearly demonstrated by recent analyses of the circulation and consumption of certain raw materials, such as ivory (Schuhmacher 2017) and amber (Murillo-Barroso 2016; Murillo-Barroso *et alii* 2018).

* *Paper presented at the n° 183 Session 'Ideas across times. Cultural interactions in the central-western Mediterranean Sea from the 7th century BC to the Late Roman Age' of the 26th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA, 2020 Virtual 'Networking'), organized by Prof. Carla Del Vais, Prof. Marco Giuman, Dr. Ciro Parodo, Dr. Gianna De Luca (University of Cagliari, Department of Humanities, Languages and Cultural Heritage) and Prof. Dominique Frère (University of Southern Brittany, TEMOS Laboratory, CNRS, UMR 9016).*

Naturally, these connections with the Mediterranean changed in nature and intensity over time, but it can be said that in the Late Bronze Age (roughly between the 12th and the 9th/8th centuries BCE) the strong Atlantic connections of local communities (COFFYN 1985; RUIZ-GÁLVEZ 1987) were combined, in Southwestern Iberia, with growing links with the Mediterranean (see ARRUDA 2008; TORRES ORTIZ 2008). The reflections of these links can be traced through the introduction of new social practices and new representation formulae (GOMÁ RODRÍGUEZ 2018) but also, naturally, of new and exotic materials, including iron (VILAÇA 2006), ivory (ALMAGRO-GORBEA 1997), carnelian (GOMES 2018), possibly glass (ARRUDA 2008; see also RUANO RUIZ 2000: 39-60), as well as new dress complements (GOMÁ RODRÍGUEZ 2019) and almost certainly textiles and garments (CÁCERES GUTIÉRREZ 1997).

However, and while these contacts with the Mediterranean trade networks and the incorporation of exotic materials and habits into local social practices can be said to be comparatively intense during the Late Bronze Age, the arrival of the first Phoenician merchants and colonists marks an undeniable turning point, after which the local communities' access to Mediterranean goods, practices and ideas became exponentially more intense.

While a discussion of the consequences of the new geopolitical situation which arose with the establishment of a network of Phoenician settlements in southwestern Iberia is beyond the scope of this contribution, it seems necessary to offer a very brief overview of the panorama in Southern Portugal in order to contextualize some of the issues discussed below.

In this area, evidence for the first contacts between local communities and the Phoenician groups settled in southern Iberia date back to the 8th century BCE in traditional chronology, although radiocarbon dates seem to push back that chronology as far as the 9th century BCE (ARRUDA 2005a; ARRUDA, SOARES 2017). The effects of these contacts were far-reaching, but by no means homogeneous. In fact, they seem to have tipped off the balance on which the Late Bronze Age socio-political networks were based, favoring those communities which were easily accessible by sea or river sailing, which quickly became embedded in a new, so-called "orientalizing" network mediated by the Phoenician presence (ARRUDA 1999-2000).

On the other hand, the sociopolitical model of the communities occupying territories further inland seems to have been put under considerable stress. Attempts to establish direct relations with the Phoenician groups failed (see BERROCAL-RANGEL, SILVA 2010: 420-428), and shortly after the local sociopolitical structures collapsed, sometimes in an apparently violent manner, plunging those territories in what appears to have been a period of recession (see GOMES 2015).

In the wake of this transitional process, and between the 8th and the mid-7th century BCE, the coastal areas saw the rise of a network of so-called "orientalizing" sites (Fig. 1, ns. 1-9), in many cases with roots in the preceding Late Bronze Age, the cultural features of which show a strong Phoenician influence and a clear convergence with other "orientalizing" sites

from southwestern Iberia and beyond (ARRUDA 1999-2000). Some *ex novo* foundations are also attested (MAYET, SILVA 2000; ALMEIDA, VILAÇA 2020), the exogenous, Phoenician nature of which seems very likely.

For the interior, however, data remains scarce until the late-7th and especially the early 6th century BCE, in which a radically different situation begins to take shape with the emergence of networks of small, open settlements of a clearly rural nature organized in regional groupings (Fig. 1, A-D) structured in what appear to have been fragmented and heterarchical sociopolitical structures (ARRUDA 2001; MATALOTO 2004; 2007; CALADO, MATALOTO 2008; ANTUNES *et alii* 2017).

While this basic asymmetry between the coastal areas and the interior could be further broken down, as the archaeological record clearly suggests the development of varying strategies and solutions to cope with the new geopolitical circumstances within both of those blocks, the key idea to retain here is that these differentiated trajectories and the sociopolitical structures they generate have a clear bearing on the ways in which Mediterranean *exotica* were consumed during the Early Iron Age. We shall now turn to this issue and explore it in greater detail.

2. THE NATURE, CONTEXT, AND ROLE OF MEDITERRANEAN *EXOTICA* IN THE IRON AGE OF SOUTHERN PORTUGAL (C. 8TH-5TH CENTURIES BCE)

When considering the Mediterranean and Mediterranean-type materials which were introduced in the southern Portuguese territory during the regional Early Iron Age, it is fundamental to bear in mind that the nature and the role of these Mediterranean and Mediterranean-type imports changed over time, from the earliest contacts in the 8th century BCE (in traditional chronology) to the 6th and the 5th centuries BCE which, depending on the areas, mark the lower boundary of this period. Unfortunately, however, a certain imbalance of the available data[1] precludes an in-depth diachronic analysis, so the trends we may highlight here must be taken with some reservations.

Nonetheless, it can still be noted that in the earlier contexts, dating between the 8th and the mid- to late 7th centuries BCE, the presence of Mediterranean and Mediterranean-type imports, while relatively abundant, was limited in scope. They seem to have been largely dominated by food-stuffs transported in amphorae (ARRUDA 2005b), by fine wheel-made wares, namely red-slip and some painted wares (see, for example, ARRUDA 1999-2000: 184-189; BERROCAL-RANGEL, SILVA 2010: 285-286; SOUSA 2016: 170-173) (Fig. 2), and, possibly, by textiles and/or garments and their complements, as suggested by an exceptional find from

[1] This is due both to the history of research – for instance, in some areas, such as Ourique, research programs have focused first and foremost on funerary contexts, while somewhat neglecting the study of settlements and domestic contexts – and to actual research constraints resulting from historical conditions – many coastal "orientalizing" sites (e.g., Castro Marim, Tavira, Alcácer do Sal, Lisbon or Santarém), for example, have remained occupied for longer periods of time, and the Early Iron Age levels are difficult to reach and document.

the Phoenician-type sanctuary of Castro dos Ratinhos, built within a local Late Bronze Age settlement (BERROCAL-RANGEL, SILVA 2010: 321-326). Adornment elements are rare at these earlier stages, as only some carnelian beads from this last settlement's later phases can be clearly attributed to a transitional Late Bronze to Early Iron Age phase (GONÇALVES, SOARES 2010; GONÇALVES *et alii* 2011; see also GOMES 2018).

In a sense, this panorama can be said to be consistent with what we know of the pre-existing social practices of local communities, and especially their elites. The practice of commensality seems to have been a key aspect of the negotiation of social cohesion and of the representation of status and power throughout the Late Bronze Age (ARMADA, VILAÇA 2016), so it is logical that foodstuffs and table wares would feature among the first elements to be locally adopted and adapted.

As for the textiles, dress was a key aspect of social representation during the Late Bronze Age, and one in which Mediterranean influences and fashions had made considerable headway, as shown by the adoption of Mediterranean style fibulae (GOMÁ RODRÍGUEZ 2019; for Portugal, see also PONTE 2006). The incorporation of Phoenician textiles and garments in local political economies is therefore also easily explained through the lens of deeply rooted social and representational practices.

This being said, it must be recognized that the current understanding of the consumption patterns of the communities of this earlier phase of the Early Iron Age is very incomplete. Any analysis is in fact hindered by the limited data thus far available, as the number of well excavated and published contexts dating to the transitional phase and the earliest Iron Age remains comparatively small.

Furthermore, there is an underlying issue, and that is the complete absence of any funerary sites or contexts dating to the phase we have been discussing. Following a characteristic pattern dating back to the Late Bronze Age (VILAÇA, CRUZ 1999; VILAÇA 2014; see also GOMES 2016: 30-55; 2021a), the funerary practices of this earlier phase of the regional Iron Age seem in fact to have left little or no archaeological traces, or these have not been identified yet. Only in the mid- to late 7th century BCE do structured funerary depositions in formal burial sites appear in the region (GOMES 2016). Given the large concentration of Mediterranean *exotica* in funerary contexts documented later on (GOMES 2014; see also below), the absence of identified necropolis or burials from the 8th and early 7th centuries BCE could clearly be biasing our understanding of the trade and consumption of these imports.

In any case, the panorama regarding *exotica* clearly changes from the late 7th century and especially from the 6th century BCE on, as a growing number of Mediterranean materials begin to appear in the southern Portuguese archaeological record. Naturally, the coastal sites, as likely gateways for the trade and diffusion of exotic imported materials, do show a somewhat more diversified array of materials, including some fairly rare elements such as early Greek imports, namely Middle Corinthian and Late Archaic Attic pottery (ARRUDA

2019), alabaster vases (CARDOSO 2004: fig. 180), ostrich eggs (MAIA 2003; GOMES 2020a: 1180-1181), ivory and worked bone (*ibidem*), among other more common elements which will be further discussed below.

Somewhat surprisingly, however, the larger concentrations of *exotica* dating to this period appear as part of funerary assemblages in the necropoleis of the rural communities of inner southern Portugal (Fig. 3). In these contexts, and overlooking for a moment their diversity and specificities (for an overview, see GOMES 2014-2015; 2016), we do in fact find a significant array of exotic, imported materials, with a particular emphasis on adornment elements, such as beads and pendants (see below), on amulets, namely Egyptian and Egyptian-type scarabs (ALMAGRO-GORBEA, TORRES ORTIZ 2009; see also ARRUDA *et alii* 2017), and on elements which could be related to bodily care, such as containers for aromatic substances, namely Phoenician-type "oil bottles" (GOMES 2019: 94-96) and core-formed glass vessels (SILVA, GOMES 1992: fig. 52; MATALOTO 2010-2011: fig. 8).

These elements include a diversified array of raw materials, among which glass takes pride of place. Many of the funerary sites of these interior communities have in fact yielded very large and diversified assemblages of glass beads (see GOMES 2020b), which are, in many cases, associated with a significant number of amber (e.g. DIAS *et alii* 1971: 212; SILVA, GOMES 1992: fig. 52), faïence (SOARES *et alii* 2017: fig. 3; SANTOS *et alii* 2017: fig. 7) and, more rarely, carnelian beads (GOMES 2018); some pendants produced in this semi-precious stone with a likely Egyptian provenance have also been documented (GOMES 2021b; see also GOMES 2018).

It is perhaps important to stress that, in these rural necropoleis of inner southern Portugal, these imported elements are closely combined with others which are clearly local in nature, including the funerary architectures themselves but also some elements of material culture, namely the pottery repertoire; other elements still can more adequately be described as "regional", as they relate to social and representation discourses shared throughout the "orientalizing" horizon of Southwestern Iberia (see GOMES 2020c).

Here we see a first, somewhat surprising and certainly very interesting pattern emerging with regard to the consumption, adoption and deployment of Mediterranean *exotica* in the southern Portuguese Early Iron Age (Fig. 5): the "orientalizing" communities of the coastal areas, which boasted an easier and more direct access to Mediterranean trade networks since earlier on, certainly show a wider array of *exotica*, but in much smaller numbers than the communities of the interior territories, especially when it comes to more widespread elements such as beads, pendants and even, to an extent, *aegyptiaca*.

Of course, we could put this apparently anomalous pattern down to a poor knowledge of funerary sites and assemblages in the coastal areas during the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, when the necropolis of the interior experienced their *floruit*. There are certainly some merits to this argument, but the data from specific sites seem to confirm that we are dealing with a real and significant pattern.

We could consider, as an example, the extensively excavated necropolis of Alcácer do Sal, which was intensely used throughout the 6th and 5th centuries (GOMES 2016). While the necropolis has yielded a somewhat diversified array of imported material dating to the Early Iron Age, including Phoenician-type amphorae, a Phoenician-type bronze jug, an ostrich egg vessel, archaic Greek pottery and various Egyptian-type scarabs (see GOMES 2020b; see also GOMES 2016; ARRUDA *et alii* 2015; ARRUDA 2019), when it comes to the adornment elements which form such large assemblages in the interior necropolis, they are represented by no more than three glass beads (GOMES 2020b: 1177-1178).

Furthermore, this does not seem to be an isolated case, as other (proto-)urban, "orientalizing" necropoleis in Southwestern Iberia, such as Medellín (Badajoz), in the Spanish Extremadura (ALMAGRO-GORBEA 2008), Cruz del Negro (Seville) (MAIER 1992; 1999; GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ *et alii* 2018) or La Angorrilla (Seville), in Lower Andalusia (FERNÁNDEZ FLORES *et alii* 2014), show similar patterns.

What could be the reason for this duality of situations, with coastal sites showing a more diverse array of materials, which are however far less in number, and interior areas showing a more standardized range of materials, but represented in much larger quantities? The key seems to lie in the diverse sociopolitical structures of communities in both these areas, briefly discussed above.

In coastal areas, the main "orientalizing" sites correspond to a concentrated settlement model which, under the new geopolitical circumstances, evolve into proto-urban and eventually urban centers. As this evolution takes place, the funerary arena loses ground as the primary scenario for the projection and enactment of discourses of power, cohesion, and identity, being displaced in this specific function by more properly urban spaces and institutions.

Again, we see this process clearly reflected in the long-lived necropolis of Alcácer do Sal, where the diversity of funerary solutions and the complexity of the funerary assemblages which characterized its earliest phases gives place, during the 6th century BCE, to a more homogeneous and austere panorama, just as the settlement shows signs of the rise of concentrated and properly urban institutions (GOMES 2020d: 1118-1119).

Meanwhile, in the interior, no such processes take place. Throughout the whole Early Iron Age, local communities retain an organization based on heterarchical networks of small, open settlements of a clearly rural nature. The sociopolitical fragmentation of these communities seems to have generated the appropriate conditions for the maintenance of a dynamic of constant negotiation of group solidarities and social statuses which was ultimately inherited from the preceding Late Bronze Age. The enduring absence of centralized, urban institutions meant that here, unlike in the coastal areas, the funerary sphere developed into one of the privileged arenas for the projection of the group's status and identity, thus justifying the significant investment made in the necropolis and the significant concentrations of wealth in funerary assemblages.

In fact, an analysis of the distribution of imports taking into consideration the functional nature of the find contexts of the Mediterranean imports under discussion (Fig. 6) clearly highlights the very significant weight of funerary assemblages in the overall inventories of *exotica*, especially in the interior of southern Portugal (see also GOMES 2014).

Here, however, yet another interesting pattern worth considering emerges, namely the more or less clear differentiation – albeit with some expectable superpositions – between a set of *exotica* and imports which were primarily channeled to funerary contexts and another which was mobilized into domestic and religious contexts.

With regard to the first set, as already noted, a particular emphasis can be seen on elements of adornment and some others, such as perfume containers, which could be related to the use of cosmetics. The fact that these elements often appear in connection with other, more local/regional elements of dress, adornment and bodily care suggests that they became locally embedded in specific regimes of representation built around the body as a privileged *locus* for the construction, expression and negotiation of identity, status, and power, both at the individual and the collective level.

Furthermore, these corporeal regimes – and especially those we can glimpse in the necropoleis of the interior of southern Portugal – are by no means a clear reflection or emulation of Phoenician or, more broadly speaking, Mediterranean models, but rather a creative expression of specific identities which are eminently local, even if with differing degrees of connectivity with other areas and regions.

As for the consumption pattern we can observe in domestic and, to an extent, in religious contexts, where elements related to the transport, service and consumption of food and drink are predominant, it seems to confirm, once more, the continued importance of feasting and of rituals of commensality for the negotiation of social cohesion, of intra- and inter-group solidarities, but also as an institution through which power and status are negotiated, affirmed and projected, especially in rural communities where the fragmented social, political and territorial structure meant that inter-group solidarity was paramount (GOMES 2014: 39).

While general in their scope, these patterns, which need to be further explored and fine-tuned through additional research, are nonetheless illustrative of the importance of analyzing the consumption of Mediterranean imports not just as passive reflections of trade or fossil-guides of emulation and acculturation patterns, but as resources which were locally adopted, adapted, and deployed.

3. MOVING BEYOND TRADE AND EMULATION: CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE CONSUMPTION OF MEDITERRANEAN *EXOTICA* AND THE FABRIC OF LOCAL SOCIETIES

In concluding this short discussion of the role of Mediterranean imports in the Early Iron Age of southern Portugal, it seems crucial to point out that the very broad interpretation of the consumption patterns presented and discussed in the previous pages still needs to be

further refined in the future, with regard to a number of vectors which still remain somewhat elusive, such as specific individual identities, whether predicated on gender, age, status or other variables.

However, as pointed out above, the analysis presented here, preliminary as it is, is at the very least thought-provoking in the sense that it shows that, far from mere markers of trade or reflections of homogeneous and unidirectional processes of acculturation, the Mediterranean *exotica* retrieved in southern Portuguese Early Iron Age contexts can highlight the nature and specificities of the local social practices in which they became embedded, and therefore illustrate the creative and dynamic processes through which local communities selected, adopted and adapted exotic materials, embedding them in their own local practices and deploying them as building blocks in their discourses of identity and representation.

The material considered here crossed cultural borders and, in doing so, it also clearly migrated through different regimes of value (*sensu* APPADURAI 1986) which were socially and culturally negotiated. Analyzing local regimes of value in themselves, and not as mere passive reflections of Phoenician or Mediterranean regimes, is no easy task, but it is crucial if we are to fully understand the complex interplay of the local and the foreign that characterizes the fabric of local Early Iron Age societies (see GOMES 2020c).

In order to do so, it is crucial to continue to look at materials and assemblages in their specific context and to focus on smaller, finer and more detailed scales of analysis which bring to light the complex nuances of consumption as an active, creative and meaningful social and cultural practice. The in-depth contextual study of the types of material considered here holds great potential to understand the social, political, economic, and ideological structures underlying local value regimes, consumption, and taste patterns, and therefore to shed further light into the overall political economies of these Early Iron Age communities.

FRANCISCO B. GOMES

UNIARQ – Centre for Archaeology of the University of Lisbon; School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon

franciscojbgomes@gmail.com

REFERENCES

ALMAGRO-GORBEA 1997: M. Almagro-Gorbea, *Peines de marfil pre-coloniales en la Península Ibérica*, in E. Acquaro (ed.), *Alle soglie della classicità: il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione. Studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati*, Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, Pisa-Roma 1997, II, pp. 479-493.

ALMAGRO-GORBEA 2008: M. Almagro-Gorbea (ed.), *La necrópolis de Medellín. II. Estudio de los hallazgos* (= Biblioteca Archaeologica Hispana 26-2), Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid 2008.

ALMAGRO-GORBEA, TORRES ORTIZ 2009: M. Almagro-Gorbea, M. Torres Ortiz, *Los escarabeos fenicios de Portugal. Un estado de la cuestión*, «Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras» 17, 2009, pp. 521-554.

ALMEIDA, VILAÇA 2020: S. Almeida, R. Vilaça, *Santa Olaia — A Centre of Phoenician Influence in River Mondego (Portugal). Assessment and Expectations*, in S. Celestino Pérez, E. Rodríguez González (eds.), *Un viaje entre el Oriente y el Occidente del Mediterráneo. A Journey between East and West in the Mediterranean. IX Congreso Internacional de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos – IX International Congress of Phoenician and Punic Studies (Mérida, España, 22-26 de octubre 2018)* (= Mytra 5), Instituto de Arqueología de Mérida, Mérida 2020, IV, pp. 1495-1504.

ANTUNES *et alii* 2017: A. S. Antunes, M. de Deus, S. Estrela, J. Larrazábal García, A. M. Monge Soares, R. Salvador Mateos, *Monte do Bolor 3, Monte do Pombal 2, Salsa 3 e Torre Velha 3: contextos de planície da I ldade do Ferro do Alentejo Interior*, in J. Jiménez Ávila (ed.), Sidereum Ana *III. El río Guadiana y Tartessos*, Consorcio Ciudad de Mérida, Mérida 2017, pp. 159-185.

APPADURAI 1986: A. Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in cultural perspective*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1986.

ARMADA, VILAÇA 2016: X.-L. Armada, R. Vilaça, *Rituales de comensalidad en el Bronce Final de la Iberia atlántica: artefactos metálicos, contextos e interpretación*, in R. Vilaça, M. Serra (eds.), *Matar a fome, alimentar a alma, criar sociabilidades. Alimentação e comensalidade nas sociedades pré e proto-históricas*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra 2016, pp. 127-158.

ARRUDA 1999-2000: A. M. Arruda, *Los Fenicios en Portugal. Fenicios y mundo indígena en el centro y sur de Portugal (siglos VIII-VI a.C.)* (= Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea 5-6), Universidad Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona 1999-2000.

ARRUDA 2001: A. M. Arruda, *A Idade do Ferro Pós-Orientalizante no Baixo Alentejo*, «Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia» 4, 2, 2001, pp. 207-291.

ARRUDA 2005a: A. M. Arruda, *Orientalizante e Pós-Orientalizante no Sudoeste Peninsular. Geografias e Cronologias*, in S. Celestino Pérez, J. Jiménez Ávila, (eds.), *El Período Orientalizante, I, Actas del III Simposio Internacional de Arqueología de Mérida: Protohistoria del Mediterráneo Occidental* (= Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología XXXV), CSIC, Madrid 2005, pp. 277-304.

ARRUDA 2005b: A. M. Arruda, *Ânforas R1 em Portugal*, in A. Spanò Giammellaro (ed.), *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici (Marsala – Palermo, 2-8 ottobre 2000)*, Università degli Studi di Palermo, Palermo 2005, III, pp. 1311-1318.

ARRUDA 2008: A. M. Arruda, *Estranhos numa terra (quase) estranha: os contactos pré-coloniais no Sul do território actualmente português*, in S. Celestino, N. Rafel, X.-L. Armada (eds.), *Contacto cultural entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico (siglos XII-VIII ane). La precolonización a debate* (= Serie Arqueológica

11), CSIC, Madrid 2008, pp. 355-370.

ARRUDA 2019: A. M. Arruda, *A cerâmica grega de época arcaica do território actualmente português*, «Archivo Español de Arqueología» 92, 2019, pp. 63-69.

ARRUDA, SOARES 2017: A. M. Arruda, A. M. M. Soares, *A cronologia de radiocarbono para a Idade do Ferro Orientalizante no território português. Uma leitura crítica dos dados arqueométricos e arqueológicos*, in J. A. Barceló, I. Bogdanovic, B. Morell (eds.), *IberCrono 2016. Cronometrías Para la Historia de la Península Ibérica. Actas del Congreso de Cronometrías para la Historia de la Península Ibérica*, CEUR, Barcelona 2017, pp. 235-259.

ARRUDA *et alii* 2015: A. M. Arruda, P. Lourenço, J. Lima, *Bronces fenicios en Portugal: a propósito del hallazgo de un jarro piriforme en la necrópolis do Senhor dos Mártires (Alcácer do Sal)*, in J. Jiménez Ávila (ed.), *Phoenician Bronzes in the Mediterranean* (= Bibliotheca Archaeologica Hispana 45), Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid 2015, pp. 447-456.

ARRUDA *et alii* 2017: A. M. Arruda, R. Barbosa, F. B. Gomes, E. de Sousa, *A necrópole da Vinha das Caliças (Beja, Portugal)*, in J. Jiménez Ávila (ed.), Sidereum Ana *III. El río Guadiana y Tartessos*, Consorcio Ciudad de Mérida, Mérida 2017, pp. 187-225.

BERROCAL-RANGEL, SILVA 2010: L. Berrocal-Rangel, A. C. Silva, *O Castro dos Ratinhos (Barragem do Alqueva, Moura). Escavações num povoado proto-histórico do Guadiana, 2004-2007* (= O Arqueólogo Português supl. 6), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa 2010.

CÁCERES GUTIÉRREZ 1997: Y. Cáceres Gutiérrez, *Cerámicas y tejidos: Sobre el significado de la decoración geométrica del Bronce Final en la Península Ibérica*, «Complutum» 8, 1997, pp. 125-140.

CALADO, MATALOTO 2008: M. Calado, R. Mataloto, *O Post-Orientalizante da Margem Direita do Regolfo do Alqueva (Alentejo Central)*, in J. Jiménez Ávila (ed.), Sidereum Ana *I: El río Guadiana en época post-orientalizante* (= Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología XLVI), CSIC, Mérida 2008, pp. 185-217.

CARDOSO 2004: J. L. Cardoso, *A Baixa Estremadura, dos finais do IV milénio a.C. até à chegada dos Romanos: um ensaio de História Regional*, Centro de Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras, Oeiras 2004.

COFFYN 1985: A. Coffyn, *Le Bronze Final Atlantique dans la Péninsule Ibérique*, Éditions de Boccard, Paris 1985.

DIAS *et alii* 1971: M. M. A. Dias, C. de M. Beirão, L. Coelho, *Duas necrópoles da Idade do Ferro no Baixo-Alentejo: Ourique. (Notícia preliminar)*, «O Arqueólogo Português» 3, 4, 1971, pp. 175-219.

FERNÁNDEZ FLORES *et alii* 2014: Á. Fernández Flores, A. Rodríguez Azogue, M. Casado Ariza, E. Prados Pérez (eds.), *La Necrópolis de Época Tartésica de La Angorrilla, Alcalá del Río, Sevilla*, Universidad de Sevilla, Sevilla 2014.

GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ *et alii* 2018: F. J. García Fernández, F. Amores Carredano, R. Izquierdo de Montes, A. M.ª Jiménez Flores, *Dos enterramientos singulares de la necrópolis de la Cruz del Negro (Carmona, Sevilla)*, «Ophiussa» 2, 2018, pp. 75-100.

GOMÁ RODRÍGUEZ 2018: J. L. Gomá Rodríguez, *El bronce final y la protocolonización en la Península Ibérica*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid 2018.

GOMÁ RODRÍGUEZ 2019: J. L. Gomá Rodríguez, *Origin and sequence of the earliest fibulae in the Iberian Peninsula*, «Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid» 45, 2019, pp. 69-112.

GOMES 2014: F. B. Gomes, *Importações mediterrâneas em contextos «Pós-Orientalizantes» do Sul de Portugal (séculos VI-IV a.n.e.)*, «Onoba» 2, 2014, pp. 27-44.

GOMES 2014-2015: F. B. Gomes, *O mundo funerário da I Idade do Ferro no Sul do actual território português: notas para uma síntese*, «Arqueologia & História» 66-67, 2014-2015, pp. 47-62.

GOMES 2015: F. B. Gomes, *The West Writes Back: cultural contact and identity discourses in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age of Southern Portugal*, in A. Babbi, F. Bubenheimer-Erhart, B. Marin-Aguilera, S. Mühl (eds.), *The Mediterranean Mirror. Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean Sea between 1200 and 750 B.C. International Post-doc and Youg Researcher Conference, Heidelberg, 6th-8th October 2012* (= RGZM Tagungen 20), Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz 2015, pp. 305-317.

GOMES 2016: F. B. Gomes, *Contactos culturais e discursos identitários na I Idade do Ferro do Sul de Portugal (séculos VIII-V a.n.e.): leituras a partir do registo funerário*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, Lisboa 2016.

GOMES 2018: F. B. Gomes, *La cornalina en el Bronce Final y la Edad del Hierro del sur de Portugal*, «Lucentum» 37, 2018, pp. 55-74.

GOMES 2019: F. B. Gomes, *Las oil bottles fenicias en la península ibérica: novedades y perspectivas de la investigación*, «Pyrenae» 50, 1, 2019, pp. 85-107.

GOMES 2020a: F. B. Gomes, *Os* exotica *da necrópole da Idade do Ferro do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires (Alcácer do Sal) no seu contexto regional*, in J. M. Arnaud, C. Neves, A. Martins (eds.), *Arqueologia em Portugal 2020 – Estado da Questão*, Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses/CITCEM, Lisboa 2020, pp. 1175-1187.

GOMES 2020b: F. B. Gomes, *O conjunto vítreo da necrópole da I Idade do Ferro da Fonte Velha de Bensafrim (Lagos)*, «Ophiussa» 4, 2020, pp. 71-116.

GOMES 2020c: F. B. Gomes, *Beyond the indigenous/Phoenician binomial: spheres of interaction and scales of integration in the Early Iron Age of southern Portugal (8th-5th centuries BCE)*, «Revista do Museu de Antropologia e Etnologia» 33, 2020, pp. 15-27.

GOMES 2020d: F. B. Gomes, *New perspectives on the Early Iron Age necropolis of Olival do Senhor dos Mártires (Alcácer do Sal, Portugal)*, in S. Celestino Pérez, E. Rodríguez González (eds.), *Un viaje entre el Oriente y el Occidente del Mediterráneo. A Journey between East and West in the Mediterranean. IX Congreso Internacional de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos – IX International Congress of Phoenician and Punic Studies (Mérida, España, 22-26 de octubre 2018)* (= Mytra 5), Instituto de Arqueología de Mérida, Mérida 2020, III, pp. 1111-1122.

GOMES 2021a: F. B. Gomes, *Funerary practices in the Southern Portuguese Late Bronze Age: a critical overview, twenty years later*, in C. Marcigny, C. Mordant (eds.), *Bronze 2019: 20 ans de recherches. Actes du colloque international anniversaire de l'APRAB, Bayeux 19-22 juin 2019* (= Bulletin de l'APRAB suppl. 7), APRAB, Bayeux 2021, pp. 477-485.

GOMES 2021b: F. B. Gomes, *Phytomorphic carnelian pendants in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages of the Iberian Peninsula: origin, distribution, and significance*, «Complutum» 32, 1, 2021, pp. 29-47.

GONÇALVES, SOARES 2010: A. P. Gonçalves, A. M. M. Soares, *As «contas de colar» dos Ratinhos – I. As contas em pedra, análise por Difracção de Raios X*, in L. Berrocal-Rangel, A. C. Silva, *O Castro dos Ratinhos (Barragem do Alqueva, Moura). Escavações num povoado proto-histórico do Guadiana, 2004-2007*

(= O Arqueólogo Português supl. 6), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa 2010, pp. 389-392.

GONÇALVES *et alii* 2011: A. P. Gonçalves, A. M. M. Soares, A. C. Silva, L. Berrocal-Rangel, *Stone Beads from Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Settlements from South-Western Portugal: Analyses by X-Ray Diffraction*, in L. Turbanti-Memmi (ed.), *Proceedings of the 37th International Symposium on Archaeometry, 12th-16th May 2008, Siena, Italy*, Springer, New York 2011, pp. 227-231.

MAIA 2003: M. Maia, *Fenícios em Tavira*, in *Tavira: Território e Poder*, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa 2003, pp. 57-72.

MAIER 1992: J. Maier, *La necrópolis de "La Cruz del Negro" (Carmona, Sevilla): excavaciones de 1900 a 1905*, «Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid» 19, 1992, pp. 95-119.

MAIER 1999: J. Maier, *La necrópolis tartésica de la Cruz del Negro (Carmona, Sevilla), ayer y hoy*, «Madrider Mitteilungen» 40, 1999, pp. 97-114.

MATALOTO 2004: R. Mataloto, *Um "monte" da Idade do Ferro na Herdade da Sapatoa: ruralidade e povoamento no I milénio a.C. do Alentejo Central*, Instituto Português de Arqueologia, Lisboa 2004.

MATALOTO 2007: R. Mataloto, *Viver no Campo: a Herdade da Sapatoa (Redondo) e o povoamento rural centro-alentejano em meados do I milénio a.C.*, «Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia» 10, 2, 2007, pp. 135-160.

MATALOTO 2010-2011: R. Mataloto, *Os Senhores da Terra: necrópoles e comunidades rurais do território alto alentejano nos séculos VI-V aC*, «Arqueologia & História» 60-61, 2010-2011, pp. 77-100.

MAYET, SILVA 2000: F. Mayet, C. T. da Silva, *L'établissement phénicien d'Abul. Portugal*, Diffusion du Boccard, Paris 2000.

MURILLO-BARROSO 2016: M. Murillo-Barroso, *El ámbar del* tholos *de Montelirio*, in Á. Fernández Flores, L. García Sanjuán, M. Díaz-Zorita Bonilla (eds.), *Montelirio: un gran monumento megalítico de la Edad del Cobre* (= Arqueología Monografías), Junta de Andalucía, Sevilla 2016, pp. 311-344.

MURILLO-BARROSO *et alii* 2018: M. Murillo-Barroso, E. Peñalver, P. Bueno, R. Barroso, R. de Balbín, M. Martinón-Torres, *Amber in prehistoric Iberia: New data and a review*, «PLOS ONE» 13, 8, 2018, e0202235.

PONTE 2006: S. da Ponte, Corpus signorum *das fíbulas proto-históricas e romanas de Portugal*, Caleidoscópio, Coimbra 2006.

RUANO RUIZ 2000: E. Ruano Ruiz, *Las cuentas de vidrio halladas en España desde la Edad del Bronce hasta el mundo romano*, Stock Cero, Madrid 2000.

RUIZ-GÁLVEZ 1987: M. Ruiz-Gálvez, *Bronce Atlántico y "cultura" del Bronce Atlántico en la Península Ibérica*, «Trabajos de Prehistoria» 44, 1, 1987, pp. 251-266.

SANTOS *et alii* 2017: F. J. C. Santos, A. S. Antunes, M. de Deus, C. Grilo, *A necrópole de Palhais (Beringel, Beja)*, in J. Jiménez Ávila (ed.), Sidereum Ana *III. El río Guadiana y Tartessos*, Consorcio Ciudad de Mérida, Mérida 2017, pp. 227-261.

SCHUHMACHER 2017: T. Schuhmacher, *Ivory Exchange Networks in the Chalcolithic of the Western Mediterranean*, in M. Bartelheim, P. Bueno Ramírez, M. Kunst (eds.), *Key Resources and*

Sociocultural Developments in the Iberian Chalcolithic (= RessourcenKulturen 6), Tübingen Library Publishing, Tübingen 2017, pp. 291-312.

SILVA, GOMES 1992: A. C. F. da Silva, M. V. Gomes, *Proto-História de Portugal*, Universidade Aberta, Lisboa 1992.

SOARES *et alii* 2017: R. M. Soares, L. Baptista, R. Pinheiro, L. Oliveira, Z. Rodrigues, N. Vale, *A necrópole da I Idade do Ferro do Monte do Bolor 1-2 (São Brissos, Beja)*, in J. Jiménez Ávila (ed.), Sidereum Ana *III. El río Guadiana y Tartessos*, Consorcio Ciudad de Mérida, Mérida 2017, pp. 263-302.

SOUSA 2016: E. de Sousa, *A Idade do Ferro em Lisboa: Uma primeira aproximação a um faseamento cronológico e à evolução da cultura material*, «Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid» 42, 2016, pp. 167-185.

TORRES ORTIZ 2008: M. Torres Ortiz, *Los «tiempos» de la precolonización*, in S. Celestino, N. Rafel, X.-L. Armada (eds.), *Contacto cultural entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico (siglos XII-VIII ane). La precolonización a debate* (= Serie Arqueológica 11), CSIC, Madrid 2008, pp. 355-370.

VEIGA 1890 [2005]: S. P. M. E. da Veiga, *Antiguidades Monumentaes do Algarve*, *Vol. 4*, Universidade do Algarve, Faro 2005.

VILAÇA 2006: R. Vilaça, *Artefactos de ferro em contextos do Bronze Final do território português: Novos contributos e reavaliação dos dados*, «Complutum» 17, 2006, pp. 59-92.

VILAÇA 2014: R. Vilaça, *The Faces of Death: from the Bronze to the Iron Age, between the North and the South of the Portuguese territory*, in A. Cruz, E. Cerrillo-Cuenca, P. Bueno Ramírez, J. C. Caninas, C. Batata (eds.), *Rendering Death: Ideological and Archaeological Narratives from Recent Prehistory (Iberia). Proceedings of the conference held in Abrantes, Portugal, 11 May 2013* (= BAR International Series 2648), Archaeopress, Oxford 2014, pp. 125-138.

VILAÇA, CRUZ 1999: R. Vilaça, D. J. da Cruz, *Práticas funerárias e cultuais dos finais da Idade do Bronze na Beira Alta*, «Arqueologia» 24, 1999, pp. 73-99.

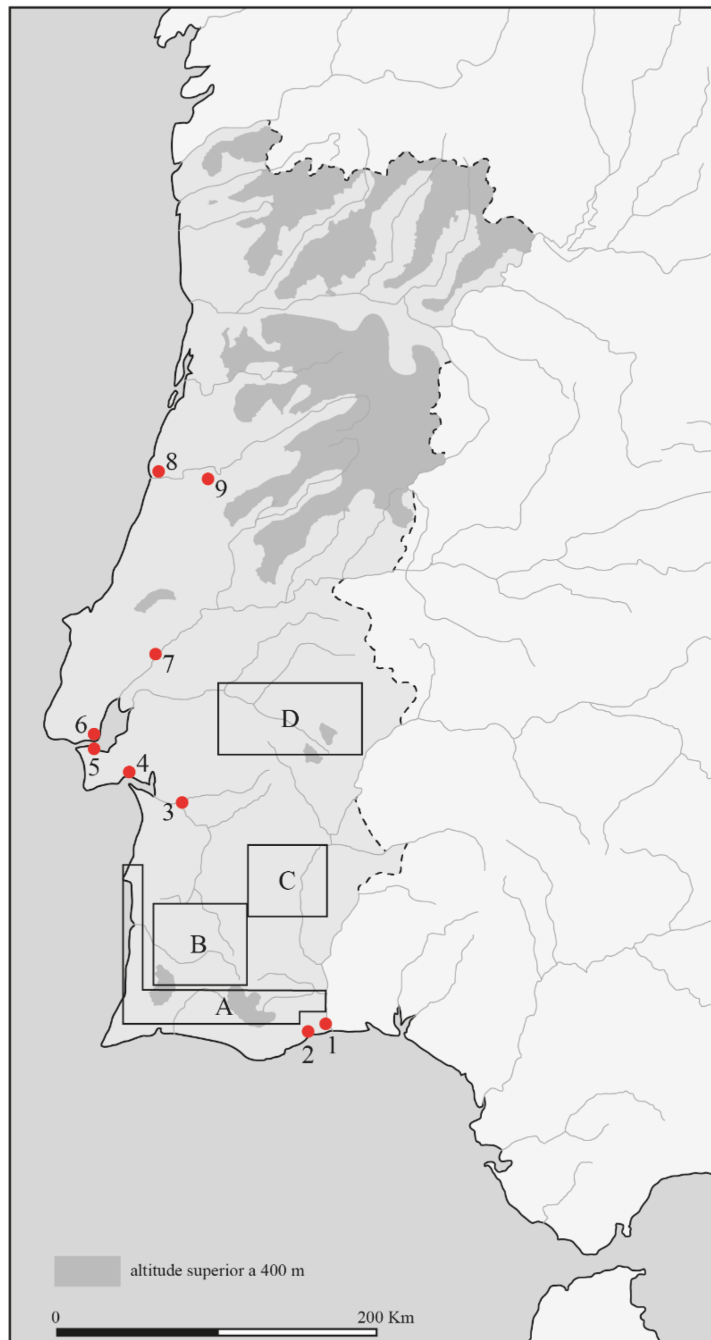

Fig. 1: Main sites of the "Orientalizing" settlement network of coastal Portugal – 1. Castro Marim; 2. Tavira; 3. Alcácer do Sal; 4. Setúbal; 5. Quinta do Almaraz (Almada); 6. Lisbon; 7. Alcáçova de Santarém; 8. Santa Olaia (Figueira da Foz); 9. Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Nova) – and rough distribution of the main groupings of inner southern Portugal as evidenced by funerary traditions (A. Cist necropoleis; B. Tumular necropoleis; C. Enclosure necropoleis; D. Cremation necropoleis of Central Alentejo).

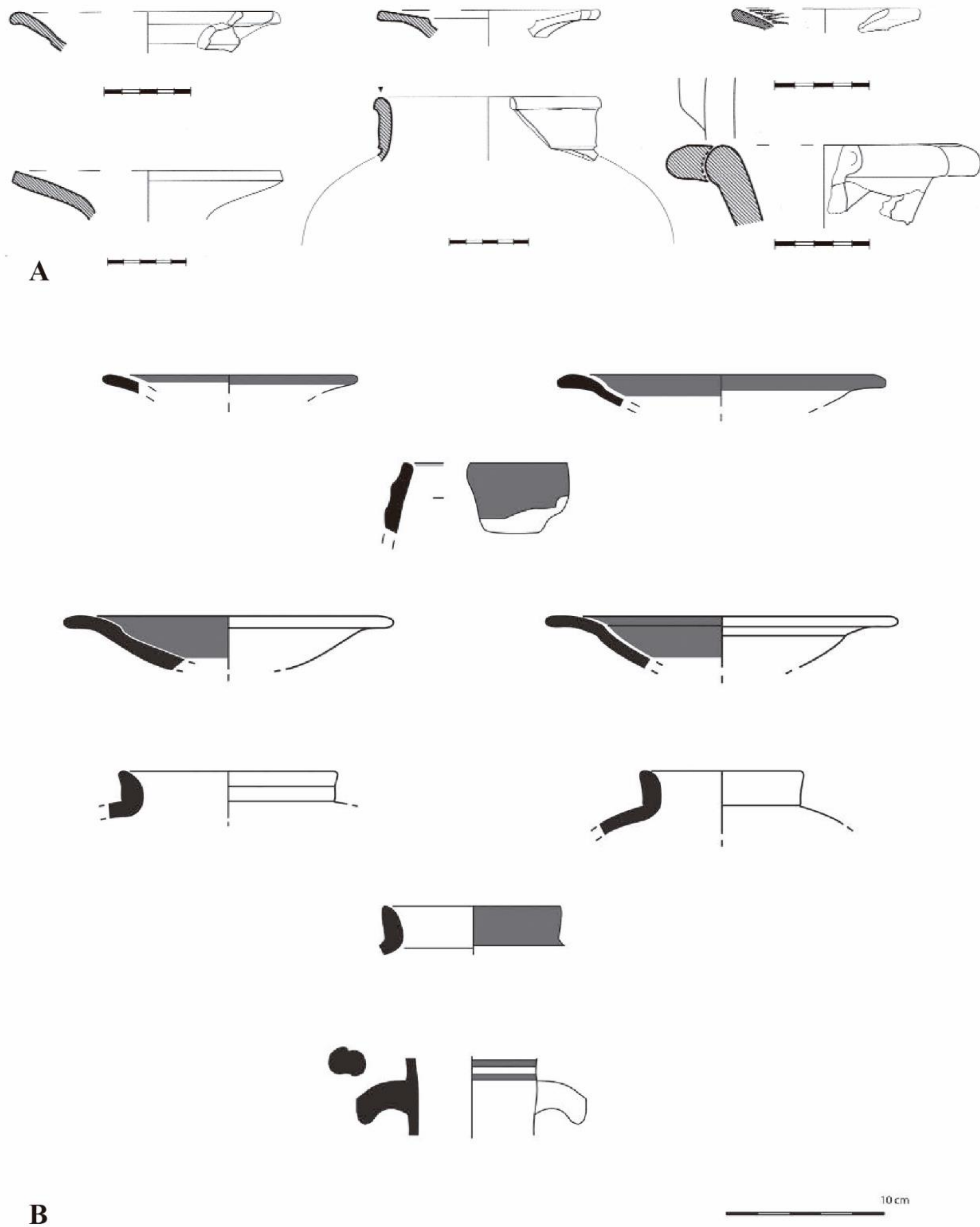

Fig. 2: Selection of early wheel-made pottery from A. Castro dos Ratinhos (after BERROCAL-RANGEL, SILVA 2010) and B. Lisbon (after SOUSA 2016).

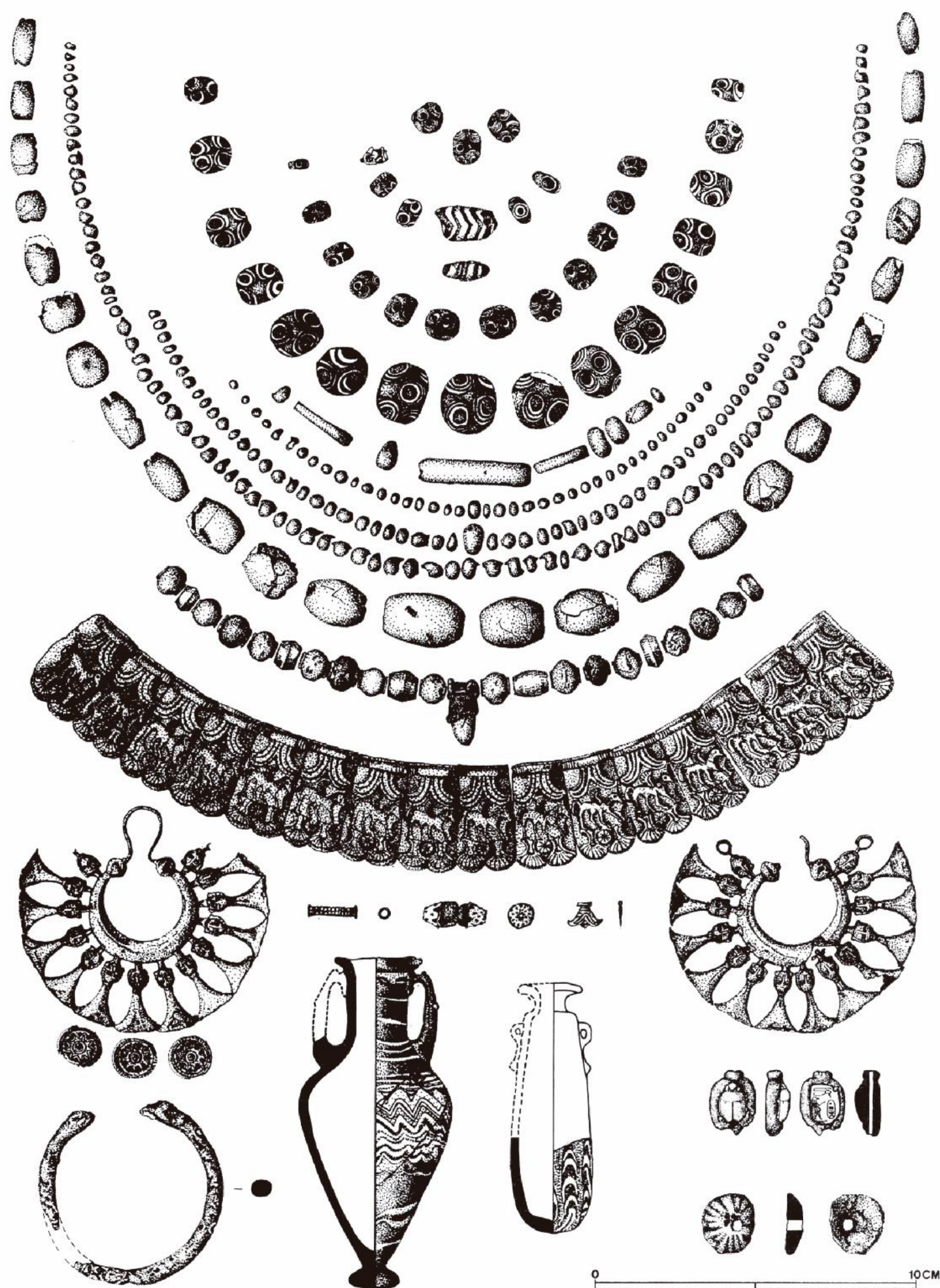

Fig. 3: "Treasure" of Gaio (Sines), likely a funerary assemblage from a cist tomb containing a large amount of *exotica* (glass, amber and carnelian beads, core-formed glass vessels and likely imported gold jewelry) (after SILVA, GOMES 1992).

Fig. 4: Glass beads and other adornment elements from the Early Iron Age necropolis of Fonte Velha de Bensafrim (Lagos) and other sites in the Algarve region (after VEIGA 1890 [2005]).

		Egyptian(-type) amulets	Carnelian beads/ pendants	Glass beads	Faïence beads	Amber beads	Ivory/ Bone	Ostrich egg	"Oil bottles"	Alabaster vases	Corinthian *aryballoi*	Core-formed glass vessels*	Attic and other Greek Pottery*	Phoenician-Punic Amphorae**	Red-slip pottery**
Coastal areas	Castro Marim			•							•			●	●
	Tavira - sanctuary?						•	•	•						•
	Abul A								•					•	●
	Alcácer do Sal													•	•
	Alcácer - Rua do Rato						•								
	Alcácer - necropolis	●	•	•			•	•	•			?	•	•	•
	Quinta do Almaraz			•						•	•				●
	Lisboa												•	●	●
	Alcáçova de Santarém			•										●	●
	Porto do Sabugueiro	•		?											
Interior/ rural areas	Fernão Vaz			•									•		
	Neves II												•	•	
	Cabeço Redondo												•	•	
	Neves I			•									•	•	
	Corvo I			•								•	•	?	
	Azougada			?						•		•	•		•
	Fonte Velha de Bensafrim		•	●											
	Cabeço da Vaca		•												
	Alagoas			•											
	Corte de Père Jacques			●											
	Cômoros da Portela			•											
	Galeado			•											•
	Herdade do Gaio	•	•	●		●						•			
	Fernão Vaz			•											
	Chada			•											
	Fonte Santa	•	●	●	•	●									
	Mealha Nova	•	•	•		●									
	Pêgo			•											
	Pardieiro (Odemira)	?	●	●											
	Favela Nova	•		•											
	Nora Velha 2			•											
	Corte Margarida	•		•											
	Palhais	•		•	●				•						
	Carlota								•						
	Vinha das Caliças 4	●	•	●	●	●									
	Monte do Bolor 1-2	•	•	●											
	Quinta do Estácio 6		•	●											
	Poço Novo 1			●											
	Farelcira 2			•											
	Pisões			•											
	Quinta do Castelo 5			•											
	Montinhos 6			•	●										
	Tera			•								•			

Fig. 5: Mediterranean imports in coastal vs. interior contexts (size of the dots indicates the relative size and representativeness of the assemblages).

		Egyptian(-type) amulets	Carnelian beads/ pendants	Glass beads	Faïence beads	Amber beads	Ivory/ Bone	Ostrich egg	"Oil bottles"	Alabaster vases	Corinthian *aryballoi*	Core-formed glass vessels*	Attic and other Greek Pottery*	Phoenician-Punic Amphorae**	Red-slip pottery**
Coastal areas	Castro Marim			•							•			●	●
	Tavira - sanctuary?						•	•	•						•
	Abul A								•					•	●
	Alcácer do Sal													•	•
	Alcácer - Rua do Rato						•								
	Alcácer - necropolis	●	•	•			•	•	•			?	•	•	•
	Quinta do Almaraz			•						•	•				●
	Lisboa												•	●	●
	Alcáçova de Santarém			•										●	●
	Porto do Sabugueiro	•		?											
Interior/ rural areas	Fernão Vaz			•									•		
	Neves II												•	•	
	Cabeço Redondo												•	•	
	Neves I			•									•	•	
	Corvo I			•								•	•	?	
	Azougada			?						•		•	•		•
	Fonte Velha de Bensafrim		•	●											
	Cabeço da Vaca		•												
	Alagoas			•											
	Corte de Père Jacques			●											
	Cômoros da Portela			•											
	Galeado			•											•
	Herdade do Gaio	•	•	●		●						•			
	Fernão Vaz			•											
	Chada			•											
	Fonte Santa	•	●	●	•	●									
	Mealha Nova	•	•	•		●									
	Pêgo			•											
	Pardieiro (Odemira)	?	●	●											
	Favela Nova	•		•											
	Nora Velha 2			•											
	Corte Margarida	•		•											
	Palhais	•		•	●				•						
	Carlota								•						
	Vinha das Caliças 4	●	•	●	●	●									
	Monte do Bolor 1-2	•	•	●											
	Quinta do Estácio 6		•	●											
	Poço Novo 1			●											
	Fareleira 2			•											
	Pisões			•											
	Quinta do Castelo 5			•											
	Montinhos 6			•	●										
	Tera			•								•			

Fig. 6: Mediterranean imports by functional context (settlement/domestic, religious and funerary settings) (size of the dots indicates the relative size and representativeness of the assemblages).