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J.A. MARTÍN RUIZ, *The phoenician population in Málaga bay (Spain)*



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*The volume is dedicated to
Paolo Bernardini and Francisco Gómez Toscano,
close friends and valued colleagues.*

The following volume continues the editorial project launched in 2014 with the publication of the monograph *Los fenicios en la Bahía de Cádiz. Nuevas investigaciones* for the *Collezione di Studi Fenici*.

Over the years, thanks to the editorial policy of the then Director of ISMA, Prof. Alessandro Naso, many things have changed. In fact, since 2015 the publications of the Institute have also involved Phoenician and Punic studies. This “new line” was launched in 2016 with the 44th volume of the *Rivista di Studi Fenici*, directed by Ida Oggiano, where tribute was paid to one of the leading scholars of the discipline, Prof. Sandro Filippo Bondi.¹ The same year saw the publication, in the *Supplementi alla Rivista di Studi Fenici*, directed by Lorenza Ilia Manfredi, of the volume *Transformations and Crisis in the Mediterranean. “Identity” and Interculturality in the Levant and Phoenician West during the 8th-5th Centuries BCE*, edited by Giuseppe Garbati and Tatiana Pedrazzi.

Alongside the annual publications of the *Rivista* and *Supplementi*, can now be added the volumes of the *Collezione* which, with a brand-new appearance and a renewed commitment to the international scientific community, publishes the most important and significant archaeological discoveries in the area of Phoenician and Punic studies. Concerning this commitment I take pleasure in noting the 2018 publication of the volume *Cercando con zelo di conoscere la storia fenicia. Atti della giornata di studi dedicata a Sergio Ribichini* (*Collezione di Studi Fenici*, 47), edited by Giuseppe Garbati.

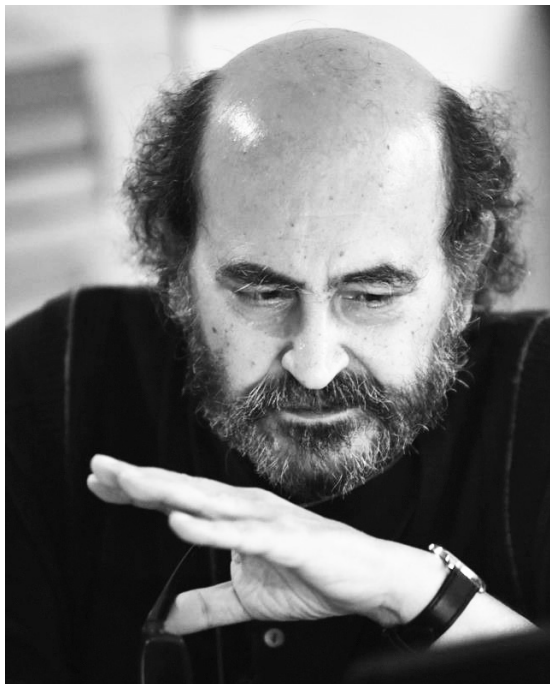
For the graphic design and the editorial aspects of the book I extend a heartfelt thanks respectively to Laura Attisani and Alessandra Piergrossi, who, with enthusiasm and great competence have managed all phases of the book’s preparation. I also want to warmly thank the *Rivista di Studi Fenici* editorial board and the CNR Edizioni staff for their generous help. My gratitude also goes to all my Spanish colleagues who, thanks to their commitment and professionalism, have brought about the publication of this varied and complex project aimed at promoting the many significant discoveries conducted in recent years in Andalusia, a region that has shown itself to play a central role in the spread of Phoenicians throughout the Mediterranean and Atlantic. A particular thanks goes to my colleagues Bartolomé Mora Serrano and Emilio Martín Cordoba who contributed to financing this publication, with the contribution of Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades (HAR2015-68669-P) and the Concejalía de Cultura Ayuntamiento de Vélez-Málaga.

To conclude, I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Alessandro Naso, who as director of ISMA from 2015-2018, always managed to instil me with a sense of calm and a determination to move forward even during the most difficult periods of my life and that of the Institute.

MASSIMO BOTTO

Rome, 23 October 2018

¹ This volume, edited by myself, together with my friends Stefano Finocchi, Giuseppe Garbati and Ida Oggiano, is a heartfelt and deserved tribute to our common teacher, whose guidance has accompanied us both in our private life and professional career: “*Lo mio maestro e ‘l mio autore*”. *Studi in onore di Sandro Filippo Bondi*, Roma 2016.



*Nella mia giovinezza ho navigato
lungo le coste dalmate. Isolotti
a fior d'onda emergevano, ove raro
un uccello sostava intento a prede,
coperti d'alghe, scivolosi, al sole
belli come smeraldi. Quando l'alta
marea e la notte li annullava, vele
sottovento sbandavano più al largo,
per fuggirne l'insidia. Oggi il mio regno
è quella terra di nessuno. Il porto
accende ad altri i suoi lumi; me al largo
sospinge ancora il non domato spirito,
e della vita il doloroso amore.*

Umberto Saba, *Ulisse*

*Quiero dormir el sueño de las manzanas
alejarme del tumulto de los cementerios.
Quiero dormir el sueño de aquel niño
que quería cortarse el corazón en alta mar.
No quiero que me repitan que los muertos no pierden la sangre;
que la boca podrida sigue pidiendo agua.
No quiero enterarme de los martirios que da la hierba,
ni de la luna con boca de serpiente
que trabaja antes del amanecer.
Quiero dormir un rato,
un rato, un minuto, un siglo;
pero que todos sepan que no he muerto;
que haya un establo de oro en mis labios;
que soy un pequeño amigo del viento oeste;
que soy la sombra inmensa de mis lágrimas.
Cúbreme por la aurora con un velo,
porque me arrojará puñados de hormigas,
y moja con agua dura mis zapatos
para que resbale la pinza de su alacrán.
Porque quiero dormir el sueño de las manzanas
para aprender un llanto que me limpie de tierra;
porque quiero vivir con aquel niño oscuro
que quería cortarse el corazón en alta mar.*

Federico García Lorca, *Gacela de la muerte oscura*



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THE PHOENICIAN POPULATION IN MÁLAGA BAY (SPAIN)

JUAN ANTONIO MARTÍN RUIZ*

Abstract: We analyze the occupation of Málaga Bay by Phoenician settlers in a very specific area south of the Iberian Peninsula, on its Mediterranean shore. According to the last archaeological results, this occupation begins at early dates as far as the end of the 9th century BC. Outstanding sites such as La Rebanadilla and Cerro del Villar within the Guadalhorce river mouth, present-day city of Málaga in the Guadalmedina river mouth and some of its related burial areas have been attested.

Keywords: Population; Phoenician Colonization; Andalusia; Guadalhorce and Guadalmedina Rivers; Málaga Bay.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the following pages we try to offer a synthetic vision which, assessing the most recent information, examines the evolution experienced by the Phoenician population along the 1st millennium BC in a very specific territory of the Mediterranean coast in the south of the Iberian Peninsula, such as Málaga Bay (Fig. 1). Although the available information is still partial, as some of the works carried out have been published very shortly or even remain unpublished, the existing archaeological record certainly allows us to get an approximate idea of the events at that time, as well as to reject other hypotheses stated about the matter. We still find dark aspects, for instance the need to establish more accurately the foundational date of Málaga, which in the future should be probably revised and taken back, or the lack of information that we have for certain periods about burial areas related both to Málaga and to Cerro del Villar.

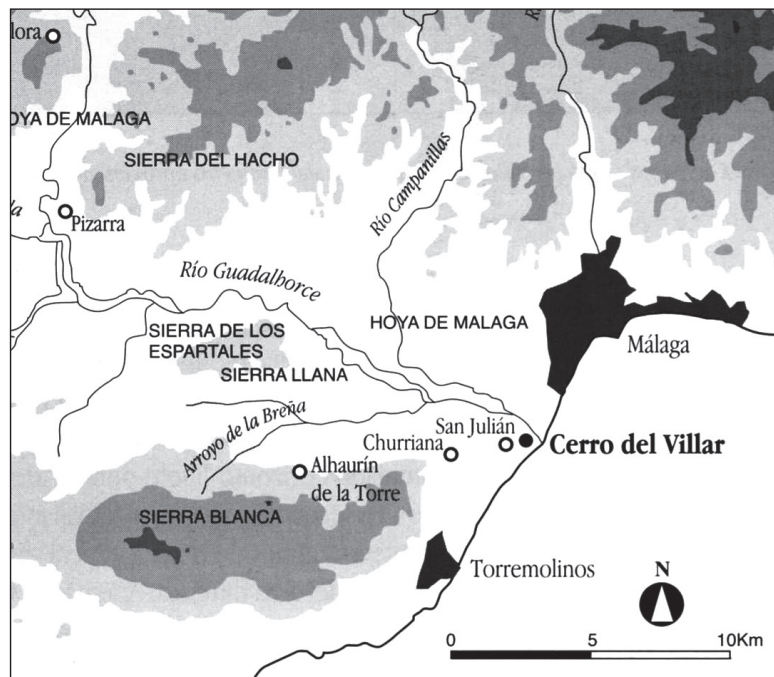


FIG. 1. Map of Málaga Bay (AUBET *et al.* 1999).

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As we will be able to verify, this population is organised around three sites: La Rebanadilla and Cerro del Villar in the Guadalhorce river mouth, both closely placed and related to the development from the former into the latter, together with another site in the eastern bank of Guadalmedina river, in this case the current city of Málaga, with the only known toponym, M(a)l(a)c(a), though it has not been clearly identified whether the word has a Phoenician or indigenous origin.¹ Moreover, we have a better knowledge of the physical environment that these oriental settlers found at their arrival, which has changed substantially to the present day, thanks to several studies. During this period the Guadalhorce river mouth was shaped as a deltoid estuary of marshes (FIG. 2) with several islands of diverse size,² whereas the Guadalmedina reached the Mediterranean next to the peninsula where the medieval fortresses stand now (FIG. 3), conforming a bay which was deeper than at present.³

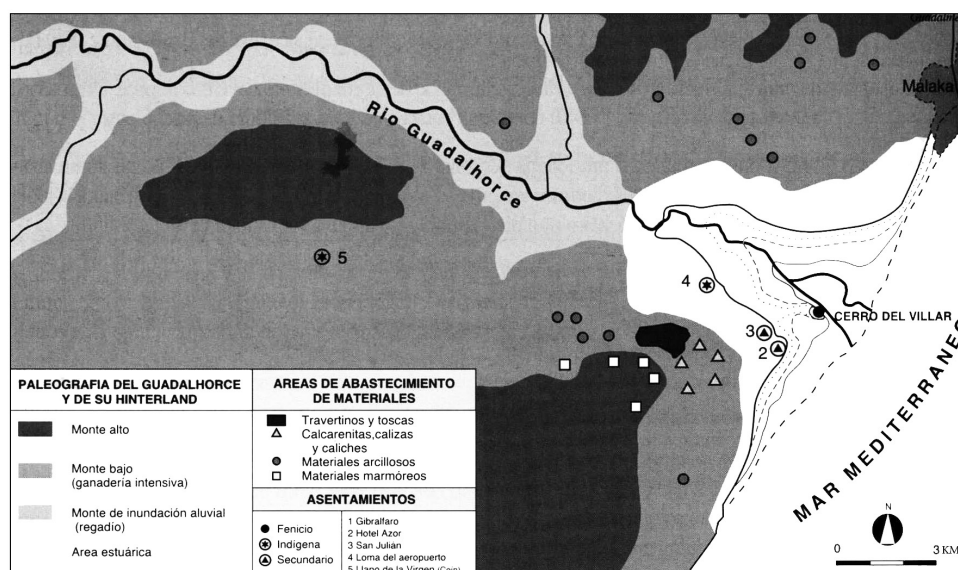


FIG. 2. Ancient coastline in the Guadalhorce river mouth (AUBET *et al.* 1999).

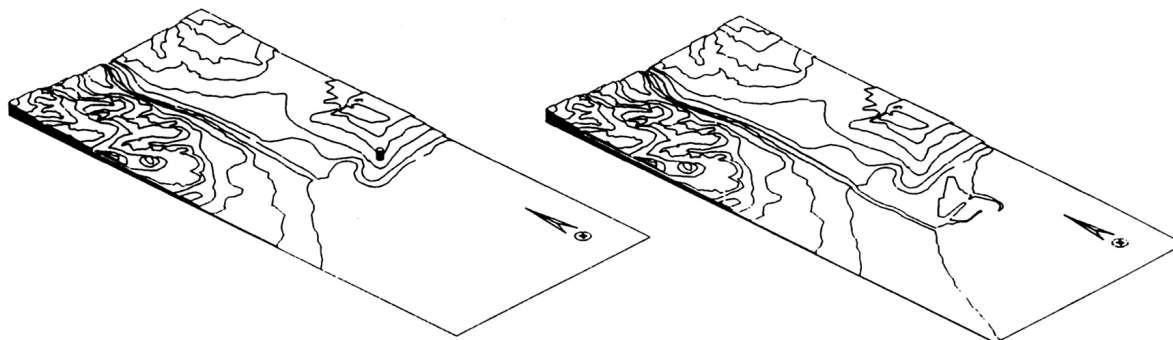


FIG. 3. Image of the Málaga coastline in Phoenician times and at present (HOFFMANN 1987).

¹ SZNYCER 1991, pp. 126-127; SANMARTÍN 1994, pp. 236-237.

² AUBET – DELGADO HERVÁS 2003, p. 57.

³ HOFFMANN 1987, pp. 78-80.

2. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

When the Phoenicians went ashore in Málaga bay, it was not completely uninhabited, even though the population seems to have been restricted to the surrounding areas of Guadalmedina river, excluded from Guadalhorce river, as it is proved at San Pablo site, placed in its western bank, dated in the 8th c. BC, and abandoned at the beginning of the following century. An extension of approximately 5 ha included a series of isolated houses, made of mudbrick and vegetal elements and showing an oval plan, where metallurgical works involving copper were carried out. We can also mention the existence of a marine shell paving and several silos dug out of the rock, where we contemplate a remarkable presence of handmade pottery reaching 85%.⁴

As for the Phoenician establishment in strict sense, it corresponds to the expected and well-known settlement pattern for this eastern society, that is to say, sites located on islands or peninsulas near a river. The most ancient tracks of these oriental communities take us back to the end of the 9th c. BC as we can see in La Rebanadilla, placed in one of the little islands that had been shaped at the former Guadalhorce delta with an extension of 3 ha. This first occupation seems to have been related to a metallurgical activity demonstrated by the appearance of copper and bronze slag, as well as lead traces and pottery casts to make ingots and other two-piece stone casts for goldwork.⁵ This is followed by a phase, dated between the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 8th c. BC, in which we already appreciate the existence of dwellings with rectangular rooms that can offer a central hearth, with yellowish clay floors and sometimes with leaned stone benches, which are articulated about a central court and that rarely show a stone socle. Another outstanding finding was a place for worship where two rooms have been documented, one of them with a baetylus and an incense burner and another with a possible altar, all this surrounded by a small mudbrick wall.⁶

After its abandonment a new phase begins, dated in the second half of the 8th c. BC, where a street and some housings with stone socles were documented, some with a hearth as well, with gravel floors except one made with marine shells.⁷ And it is exactly now that we have the first evidences of human occupation in another nearby island with a surface of approximately 10 ha, where the settlement of Cerro del Villar stands. It has been suggested that it might be identified with ancient *Mainake*, whose existence as a Greek colony in this area must be completely rejected.⁸ At that time we can appreciate, together with the remains of houses, the existence of some facilities acting as forges where iron tools were forged and a series of pottery jars were found. All this can be related to indigenous metallurgical practices in a clearly lower standard, but that would denote the presence of non-Semitic population in this site.⁹ This happens at the same time of the changes in La Rebanadilla with the abandonment of the previous structures and the occupation of the former space where shelters and kilns used to be.¹⁰

According to all this, we have the impression that the habitat of La Rebanadilla yields its position to Cerro del Villar, hence there is a movement to another island, but we do not know if this

⁴ SUÁREZ PADILLA *et al.* 2007, p. 217; MELERO GARCÍA 2008, pp. 367-368.

⁵ ARANCIBIA *et al.* 2011, p. 130; SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ-MORENO *et al.* 2011, p. 190. SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ-MORENO *et al.* 2012, pp. 69-70.

⁶ ARANCIBIA ROMÁN *et al.* 2011, p. 130.

⁷ ARANCIBIA ROMÁN *et al.* 2011, p. 130.

⁸ AUBET – DELGADO HERVÁS 2003, p. 57; AUBET 2007, p. 450.

⁹ ROVIRA HORTALÁ 2005, pp. 1261-1264, 1269-1270; DELGADO HERVÁS 2008, p. 75.

¹⁰ ARANCIBIA ROMÁN *et al.* 2011, pp. 130-131.

change also affected the nearby Malaca since the most ancient remains revealed up to now do not reach these dates, except some pottery sherds from La Alcazaba area that have been dated towards the middle of the 8th c. BC, which can make us think, as it has been suggested,¹¹ that this site could have initiated even before Cerro del Villar.

During the 7th c. BC we can see how the urbanism of the Cerro del Villar had a more organized planning, though it is now when the lowest levels of the island are abandoned because of the floods.¹² A platform was detected in the eastern shore of the former island, built by means of the accumulation of pebbles and pottery sherds placed in a horizontal position, which could be used, as the one documented at Manganeto in Toscanos site, as a port area.¹³ The housings now constructed, mostly forming terraces, organised around a court, occasionally possessed a private pier and in several cases showed a high social status of its inhabitants. We can estimate the different uses given to the rooms such as the storage, the fishing activities end even a possible ritual private space. Also paved streets with pebbles or rolled land were documented, one of which contained a market on both sides (FIG. 4) formed by small shops with arches where evidences of metallurgical and commercial activities were detected.¹⁴

At that time, the second half of the 7th c. BC, we have the first trustworthy information about the Phoenician occupation in Málaga, reaching an extension estimated in approximately 6 ha, which will be logically increased over the centuries.¹⁵ This occupation relates to metallurgical activities is revealed by the remains of nozzles and iron slag, as well as kilns and diverse channels and holes excavated in the rock. We also have to mention the existence of a series of wall structures associated to them whose purpose is not known.¹⁶ It was in the same time that a sanctuary with a floor of reddish clay was built (FIG. 5) and where an altar in the shape of an oxhide was set up. This sanctuary was later remodelled, now presenting a square plan room and an opened attached space. After that, housings with socles of stone were built (FIG. 6) and walls filled inside with yellowish mortar, the same coloration that we see in its floors, in some cases with an attached

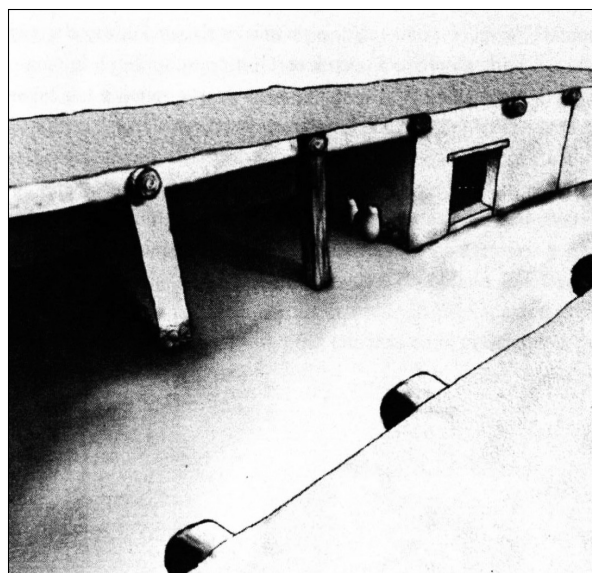


FIG. 4. Recreation of the market area in Cerro del Villar (AUBET 1997).

mudbrick bench. At the same time, a kiln with round plan and central pillar devoted to pottery labours was excavated (FIG. 7). Over these structures new housings with hearths were raised, close

¹¹ ARTEAGA 2001, pp. 248-249.

¹² AUBET – DELGADO HERVÁS – TRELLISÓ 1986-1989, p. 56.

¹³ DELGADO HERVÁS 2008, pp. 73-74.

¹⁴ AUBET 1997, pp. 200-204.

¹⁵ MARTÍN RUIZ 2010, p. 74.

¹⁶ ARANCIBIA ROMÁN – ESCALANTE AGUILAR 2006a, pp. 44-47.

to a narrow street that will remain up to the Roman conquest. Therefore, this street received several remodellings, for instance, a floor with slabs of stone was later replaced by another made of gravel. A series of small weights with a metrology related to the shekel was also found,¹⁷ which has led to think that a market area could have been placed near the former port.¹⁸

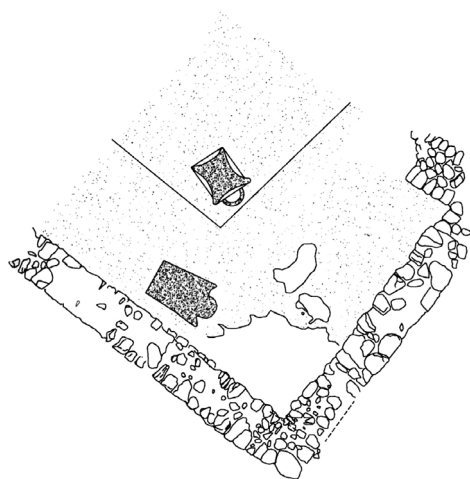


FIG. 5. Plan of the sanctuary in Císter Street in Málaga (ARANCIBIA ROMÁN *et al.* 2011).



FIG. 6. Phoenician dwellings in Císter Street in Málaga (ARANCIBIA ROMÁN *et al.* 2011).

It is certain that the 6th c. BC will show us a very different behaviour in these sites since, on the one hand we contemplate the end of the Cerro del Villar site, on the other hand Málaga shows a clear development. About the latter we can say that at the beginning of the mentioned century we see how they raised dwellings with rectangular plan with courts in which the floors are made by rolling land but, especially in the middle of the century, the city guarantees its role constructing an oriental type wall, known as “casernas” or “casamatas” wall, with towers attached on the outside as we can see in the archaeological works carried out in San Agustín College, Rectorado, Picasso Museum (FIG. 8) and Císter street. At the end of the century or the beginning of the 5th c. BC a new section will be attached to it, leaving an intermediate space as a parapet walk.¹⁹

On the contrary, Cerro del Villar was left towards 570 BC because of the Guadalhorce floods which were not an obstacle to set up a pottery workshop whose production was mainly transport and food storage containers.²⁰ It consisted of a rectangular building and two kilns together with the open space where the clay was handled.²¹ During the 5th c. BC this island will be busy again partially with the installation of pottery kilns devoted to supply Malaca with amphorae for salted fish and painted pottery.²² Anyway, we must not forget that although this site is abandoned, after the above mentioned century, we possess information about a new site in solid land such as Loma

¹⁷ MORA SERRANO 2011, pp. 170-175.

¹⁸ ARANCIBIA ROMÁN – ESCALANTE AGUILAR 2006a, pp. 337-343; ARANCIBIA ROMÁN – ESCALANTE AGUILAR 2006b, p. 53.

¹⁹ RECIO RUIZ 1990, pp. 44-49; ARANCIBIA ROMÁN – ESCALANTE AGUILAR 2006a, pp. 349-351; ARANCIBIA ROMÁN – ESCALANTE AGUILAR 2006b, pp. 60-65; SUÁREZ PADILLA *et al.* 2007, pp. 223-224.

²⁰ AUBET – DELGADO HERVÁS – TRELLISÓ 1986-1989, p. 56.

²¹ BARCELÓ *et al.* 1995, pp. 150-171.

²² AUBET – LAVADO FLORIDO 1999, pp. 128-130.

del Aeropuerto that will last up to the 1st c. BC, where a well was excavated for water extraction.²³ This is just one of the settlements, very badly known as a general rule, that will arise in the bay in the last years of the 5th c. BC, such as Campamento Benítez, El Atabal, Cortijo Cotrina or El Tarajal, sites that, after the abandonment of Cerro del Villar, seem to depend on Malaca.²⁴

From the 5th c. BC the population in Málaga extended over the limits of the fortified enclosure,²⁵ with the construction of dwellings, although this phase is worse-known than the previous one, but in general terms the population continues with similar characteristics as the survival of the street originated centuries before reveals.²⁶ In the 1st c. BC a well surrounded with an oval wall and with a paved floor has been detected in Málaga (FIG. 9), as well as several pottery kiln areas placed in Carreterías or Carranque, far from the inhabited area, undoubtedly to avoid its inconveniences and insalubrities, where amphorae devoted to store salted fish were made. Actually, it will not be up to Augustus's mandate when the city experiences a real urban development transformation assimilating the Roman model with the construction of a forum and everything it implies.²⁷



FIG. 7. Pottery kiln discovered in Císter Street in Málaga (ARANCIBIA ROMÁN *et al.* 2011).



FIG. 8. Wall at the Picasso Museum (SUÁREZ PADILLA *et al.* 2007).

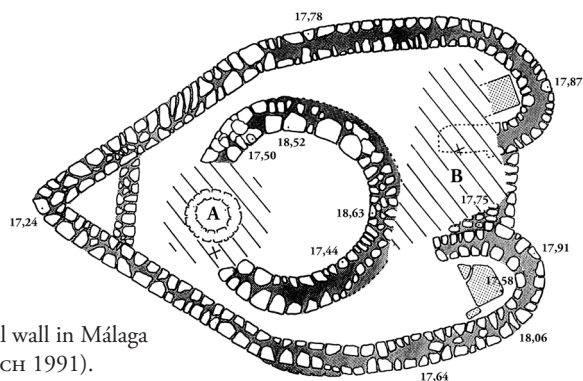


FIG. 9. Well with oval wall in Málaga (GRAN-AYMERICH 1991).

²³ MARTÍN RUIZ 1999, pp. 58-59.

²⁴ GARCÍA ALFONSO 2007, pp. 129-130; DELGADO HERVÁS 2008, p. 81.

²⁵ ARANCIBIA ROMÁN – MORA SERRRANO 2011, p. 184.

²⁶ ARANCIBIA ROMÁN – ESCALANTE AGUILAR 2006b, pp. 58-59.

²⁷ MARTÍN RUIZ 2010, pp. 85-86.

3. THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

According to the available information, the Phoenicians certainly carried out a wide range of economic activities. Among them we must mention firstly agriculture which seems to have been intensive, with irrigated and dry-farmed crops with species such as wheat, barley, grapes, lentils or peas documented in Cerro del Villar, though its surrounding environment is not the most suitable in this respect.²⁸ On the other hand, the animal remains recovered in these deposits inform us about the scarce importance given to hunting in both cases, with species as the roe deer or the deer. Among the domestic flocks in Cerro del Villar we observe *ovicapridae* followed by the *bovidae* and *suidae*,²⁹ whereas in Málaga only *bovidae* and *capridae* are found.³⁰

The fishing activity is testified in the market area of Cerro del Villar, dated from the 7th c. BC, by the appearance of tuna remains inside amphorae, as well as for the abundant presence of murex linked to the production of dyes.³¹ In nearby Málaga the evidences are much more recent because all the salting tanks discovered belong to Roman times, fish saltings very praised by Strabo (III 4, 2).³² The kilns where Mañá C2b amphorae were specially manufactured to contain these products are also known.

As we stated before, one of the first activities carried out was the forge of iron objects that in Cerro del Villar goes back to the end of the 8th c. BC,³³ including the manufacture of curved knives with ivory, horn or bone handles,³⁴ also documenting the metallurgy of copper, bronze, lead and silver. Moreover, the presence of double-bellow nozzles at San Pablo settlement indicates an early transfer of technology from the Phoenician area to the indigenous one, at the same time as it is also well-known the existence of native metallurgists who used different but more primitive methods at Cerro del Villar.³⁵ Nevertheless, we must admit that the metal supply sources are still not clear, except for the case of copper that might have been obtained in the surrounding areas of the city.³⁶ In this respect, we should mention the original cargo carried by the Bajo de la Campana 1 shipwreck sunk on the Levantine coast, which was transporting, besides elephant tusks, tin from the peninsular northwest and silver-bearing galena from Mazarrón area. From the analysis of its pottery, it has been suggested that the departure port should have been placed in this bay, either Malaca or Cerro del Villar,³⁷ which would inform us about the metal obtained from diverse and remote spots of the Iberian Peninsula.

Undoubtedly, another source of wealth was the active trade, praised by Strabo in the case of Málaga (III 4,2)³⁸ for having been turned into the most important centre trading with the North African sites placed on the opposite shore. From the 9th c. BC we can already observe in La Rebanadilla the presence of indigenous peninsular handmade pottery, as well as other potteries

²⁸ AUBET – DELGADO HERVÁS – TRELLISÓ 1986-1989, p. 56; AUBET – DELGADO HERVÁS 2003, pp. 64-65; DELGADO HERVÁS 2008, p. 71.

²⁹ AUBET – DELGADO HERVÁS – TRELLISÓ 1986-1989, pp. 58-59.

³⁰ MARTÍN RUIZ 2010, p. 82.

³¹ AUBET – DELGADO HERVÁS – TRELLISÓ 1986-1989, p. 59; DELGADO HERVÁS 2008, pp. 78-79.

³² GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1980, p. 128.

³³ ROVIRA HORTALÁ 2005, pp. 1262-1266.

³⁴ DELGADO HERVÁS 2008, p. 77.

³⁵ ROVIRA HORTALÁ 2005, pp. 1266-1268.

³⁶ ARANCIBIA ROMÁN – MORA SERRANO 2011, p. 180.

³⁷ PARKER 1992, p. 66; MEDEROS MARTÍN – RUIZ CABRERO 2004, pp. 277-278.

³⁸ GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1980, p. 128.

coming from Cypriot, Greek and Phoenician sites in the central Mediterranean,³⁹ and also from Sardinia (FIG. 10) which researchers consider to be related to the presence of individuals with this origin,⁴⁰ though everything suggests that their arrival can be explained thanks to the Phoenician



FIG. 10. Sardinian pottery from La Rebanadilla (SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ-MORENO *et al.* 2011).

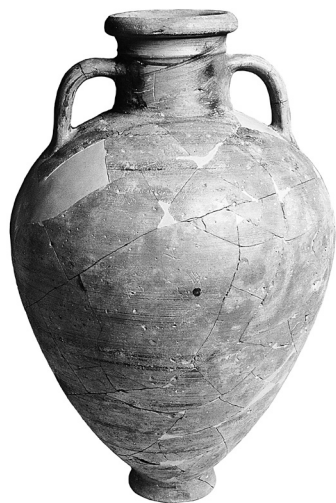


FIG. 11. SOS amphora from Cerro del Villar (MARTÍN RUIZ 2010).

trade itself, as it happens in Huelva⁴¹ and El Carambolo.⁴²

Within the second half of the 7th c. BC, Cerro del Villar turns into an outstanding commercialization centre for agricultural and fishing products,⁴³ with remarkable contacts with Carthage supported by the evidence of amphorae from the above mentioned origin recovered in this deposit,⁴⁴ as well as the appearance of Greek pottery, especially from Eastern Greece⁴⁵ and Etruscan pottery dated in the first half of the 6th c. BC, with most vessels related to wine consumption.⁴⁶ Also in Málaga, Greek and Etruscan materials have been found, observing two stages for the Greek ones, the first offers a very similar group to the one stated in Huelva with predominating Eastern Greece pottery (FIG. 11), sometimes of a high quality, with scarce Massalian, Corinthian and Attic materials, which extends from the second half of the 7th to the 6th c. BC, and the second stage dated between the 5th and 4th c. BC in which the Attic products abound, especially the black glaze pottery, showing less quality than the previous pieces.⁴⁷ Even though at first the possible existence of a Greek neighbourhood in Malaga was discussed,⁴⁸ the low percentages of these potteries led to the fact that these products came thanks to the Phoenician trade itself, as it happens with the Etruscan materials, though, logically, the presence of Greek individuals in the Phoenician settlements studied here cannot be refused.⁴⁹ We must add to all this the appearance of two sets of weights both in Málaga and in Cerro del Villar, in the first case related to a Phoenician metrological pattern,⁵⁰ and to a Greek pattern, Phocaeen in particular, in the second.⁵¹

³⁹ ARANCIBIA ROMÁN *et al.* 2011, p. 131.

⁴⁰ SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ-MORENO *et al.* 2011, p. 196.

⁴¹ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, pp. 100-106.

⁴² TORRES ORTIZ 2004, pp. 48-49.

⁴³ AUBET – DELGADO HERVÁS 2003, p. 62.

⁴⁴ AUBET 2007, p. 450.

⁴⁵ CABRERA BONET 1994, pp. 100-109.

⁴⁶ CASADEVALL *et al.* 1991, pp. 384-392.

⁴⁷ RECIO RUIZ 1990, pp. 138-141; GRAN-AYMERICH 1988, pp. 203-210; CISNEROS GARCÍA *et al.* 2000, pp. 190-207.

⁴⁸ RECIO RUIZ 1990, pp. 165-166.

⁴⁹ MARTÍN RUIZ 2010, p. 85.

⁵⁰ MORA SERRANO 2011, pp. 170-175.

⁵¹ GARCÍA-BELLIDO 2002, pp. 96-98.

Apart from the sea route which most of this trade would follow, providing the ostrich eggshells of Cerro del Villar and Málaga⁵² or the ivory tusks transported in the Bajo de la Campana 1 shipwreck,⁵³ we can take into consideration the text by Rufo Festo Avieno (*Or. Marit.* 180-182), where this author comments on the existence of a former terrestrial route that would connect Málaga with the Tagus river mouth (Fig. 12), taking nine days to cross it, though actually everything indicates that it would follow the river Guadalhorce and not directly from Málaga.⁵⁴

There were also remarkable handcraft activities, such as pottery kilns of diverse dates excavated either at Cerro del Villar or in Málaga, kilns whose production of amphoric containers increases as the centuries go by. Equally in Málaga, at least during the 2nd and 1st c. BC, there might have been a workshop to make bone hinges that were used to elaborate furniture as boxes and chests.⁵⁵ We can also suggest that in the same deposit a gold workshop had existed from the 6th c. BC, though this is still a matter of discussion.⁵⁶

As a reflection of this intense economic life, Málaga managed to coin currency from the last years of the 3rd c. BC, apparently in relation with the events developed on the occasion of the II Punic War. These first coinages consisting of a few small anepigraphic bronzes, whose emission was later suspended, will not be resumed until the middle of the 2nd c. BC and will finish in the 1st c. BC, when Rome commands the disruption of local coinages, which at that time presented semis, quadrants and sextants with diverse motives engraved in them.⁵⁷

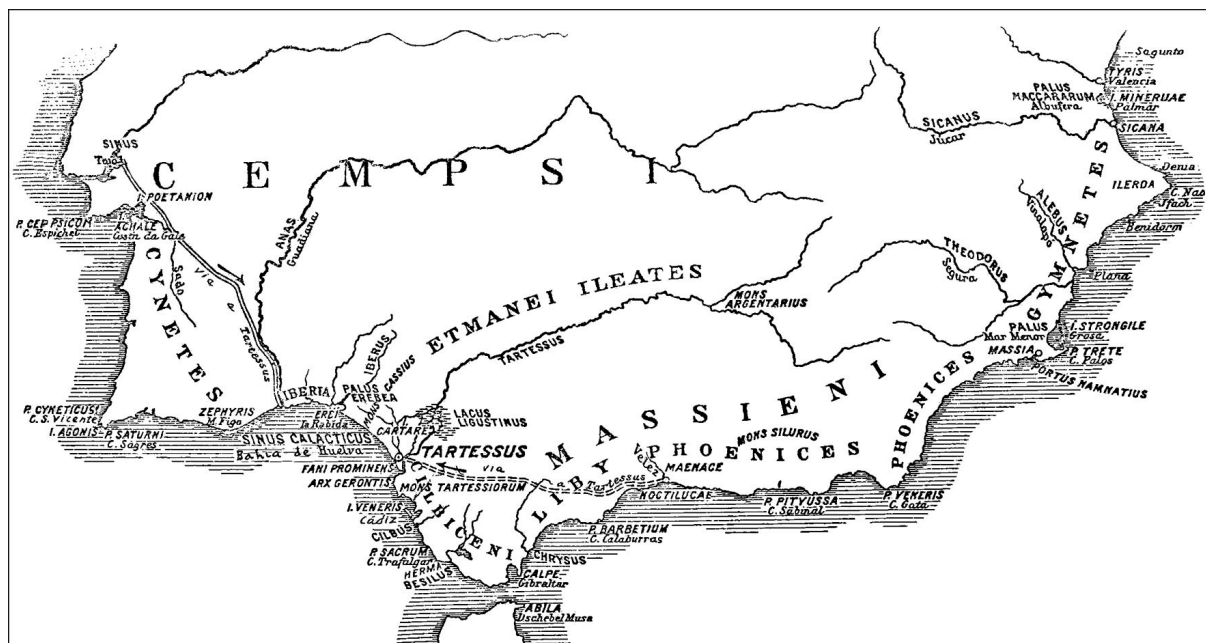


FIG. 12. Map of the terrestrial route described by Avieno (AGUAYO DE HOYOS – GARRIDO – PADIAL ROBLES 1995).

⁵² GRAN-AYMERICH 1991, p. 77.

⁵³ MEDEROS MARTÍN – RUIZ CABRERO 2004, pp. 275-276.

⁵⁴ AGUAYO DE HOYOS – GARRIDO – PADIAL ROBLES 1995, pp. 87-89.

⁵⁵ PÉREZ-MALUMBRES LANDA – MARTÍN RUIZ – GARCÍA CARRETERO 2000, pp. 5-9.

⁵⁶ MARTÍN RUIZ – FERNÁNDEZ RECHE 2007, p. 193.

⁵⁷ MORA SERRANO 1981, pp. 39-41; CAMPO – MORA SERRANO 1995, pp. 72-98.

4. RELIGIOUS AND FUNERAL SPHERE

Several evidences are found in the area covered by this study which bring light over the existing places of worship, either of public or private nature. Thus, a sanctuary of the first type is established at the end of the 9th c. BC in La Rebanadilla, where a building with two rooms was excavated, one of them with a baetylus accompanied by an incense burner and the other with a possible altar.⁵⁸ A spot with a private nature we can comment on is the house 2 of Cerro del Villar, dated in the 7th c. BC. In one of its rooms an ostrich egg filled with ochre, substance remarkably related to the symbolism of regeneration in the Phoenician religious sphere, together with three lamps placed forming a U-like shape, were uncovered.⁵⁹ As for Málaga, it is necessary to recall the above mentioned sanctuary with oxhide-shaped altars related to others excavated in Coria del Rio or El Oral, which have been connected with the worship to the god Baal.⁶⁰ We must also take into consideration some coin reverses coined at this site during the 1st c. BC depicting a temple with four columns and fronton and finished off by an *acroteria* (FIG. 13),⁶¹ temple that has not yet been located but is likely to have existed, possibly where the Roman forum would raise later. Finally, some authors have suggested that a series of findings with different chronologies made on the hillside where the Moorish fortress raises, such as a well surrounded by an oval wall, some egyptianising architectural elements, an incense burner in the shape of a female head and an ivory palette (FIG. 14), must all be related to a temple that would have occupied this area, possibly the same that we can see engraved in the coins.⁶² Finally, with a suburban location though clearly dependent on Málaga, a sanctuary is founded at the end of the 6th c. BC at Cerro de la Tortuga, which will last up to the 1st c. BC.⁶³

As for the burial areas, we can say that the earliest is Cortijo de San Isidro, associated to La Rebanadilla and dated at the end of the 9th and beginning of the 8th c. BC, where a dozen cremation tombs was excavated (FIG. 15), either inside simple holes or inside pottery urns, the grave goods consisting of personal adornment objects and several scarabs.⁶⁴ Later, in the 6th c. BC, there are some pottery vessels which are related to cremation urns and to the grave goods from a cremation necropolis in Cortijo de Montañez (FIG. 16), which was located under a sand dune on solid ground.⁶⁵ Although we know all this, the most ancient graves of this deposit remain unknown.

On the other hand, we can link several necropolises with Málaga, even though none of them goes back earlier than the 6th c. BC, with those of the 5th and 3rd c. BC being still unknown and only a faience *ushabti*, today disappeared, being dated in the 5th c. BC.⁶⁶ Most of them correspond to a moment in which Rome had already appeared, such as the 2nd and 1st c. BC. We have to indicate that in the case of Malaca the necropolises are not located, as it was customary in the Phoenician world, opposite the sites on the other bank of the river, in the same way that

⁵⁸ ARANCIBIA ROMÁN *et al.* 2011, p. 130.

⁵⁹ DELGADO HERVÁS 2008, pp. 75-76.

⁶⁰ ESCACENA CARRASCO – IZQUIERDO DE MONTES 2000, pp. 15-21.

⁶¹ MORA SERRANO 1981, pp. 37-39; CAMPO – MORA SERRANO 1995, pp. 120-121.

⁶² LÓPEZ CASTRO – MORA SERRANO 2002, pp. 189-190.

⁶³ FERRER ALBELDA 2002, pp. 206-207; MORA SERRANO – ARANCIBIA ROMÁN 2010, p. 824.

⁶⁴ ARANCIBIA ROMÁN *et al.* 2011, p. 131.

⁶⁵ AUBET – MAASS-LINDEMANN – MARTÍN RUIZ 1995, pp. 217-220.

⁶⁶ GAMER-WALLERT 1978, pp. 64-65, 231.

we can observe in Villaricos, Ibiza or Carthage.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, a *hypogeum*, apparently dated in the 6th c. BC, has been excavated recently in Mármoles street, that is to say, in the slope opposite to the settlement.⁶⁸



FIG. 13. Temple engraved on the reverses of coins coined in Málaga (MORA SERRANO 1981).



FIG. 14. Ivory found in Málaga (MARTÍN RUIZ 2010).



FIG. 15. Grave of the necropolis of Cortijo San Isidro (SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ-MORENO *et al.* 2011).

Thus, the most ancient tombs are located in El Ejido, Mundo Nuevo, Campos Elíseos and Zamorano, while the most recent are in Beatas, Andrés Pérez and, especially in Campos Elíseos, which is considered the main necropolis on the hillside of Gibralfaro mountain. The variety of tomb types is very wide especially within the last centuries, therefore we can mention either *hypogea*, pits, holes, cists, urns and pottery chests or tombs just placed directly on the ground. An interesting fact is that during the 6th c. BC in El Ejido and Zamorano we only observe cremations, while Mundo Nuevo and Campos Elíseos only offer burials, whereas in the later Punic times Andrés Perez and Beatas contain cremations, also detected in Campos Elíseos, though in the latter case accompanied by buried individuals. In these burials the body was covered by a shroud according to old findings which include a cast showing a woman's face (FIG. 17). The cremations reached a temperature which ranges between 500° C and 700° C, or even 800° C, being primary cremations only in El Ejido and Zamorano, while in the rest the corpses were burned in a different place from the one that finally sheltered their remains, though none of these *ustrina* has been found so far.⁶⁹

In these tombs we find mostly grave goods belonging to the cultural Phoenician area, such as plates, bowls, pots, *pithoi*, mortars, lamps and especially ointment flasks (FIG. 18), since Greek, Iberian and Roman materials detected are very scant, nearly all of them linked with the wine or fish consumption. There are also gold jewels such as earrings (FIG. 19), necklace beads,

⁶⁷ MARTÍN RUIZ 2010, p. 82.

⁶⁸ FLORIDO ESTEBAN *et al.* 2012, pp. 123-128.

⁶⁹ RODRÍGUEZ DE BERLANGA 1891, pp. 329-330; MARTÍN RUIZ 2009, p. 156.

discs, medallions, etc.,⁷⁰ besides amulets like Horus eyes and bone higs, faience *ushabti* and clay medallions, cylindrical bone hinges from boxes or chests, and a few glass objects including rings and Roman ointment flasks.⁷¹



FIG. 16. Amphora from Cortijo Montañez (AUBET *et al.* 1995).



FIG. 17. Woman's face on a shroud from Málaga (RODRÍGUEZ DE BERLANGA 1891).



FIG. 18. Hellenistic ointment flasks from Campos Elíseos (MARTÍN RUIZ 2010).

A ritual feature stated only at Mundo Nuevo *hypogeum* (FIG. 20) is the sacrifice of an adult dog whose head was cut and burned, but not consumed, and was finally deposited within its foundations.⁷² Likewise, in this grave the presence of food, *bovidae* and *capridae*, which was not consumed either, was documented. Therefore, we consider that instead of a funeral banquet it might have been a question of an offering to the *refaim*, the spirits of the deceased,⁷³ which does not mean that this type of funeral banquet is unknown as ancient bonfires together with marine shells and fish vertebrae were documented in Zamorano.⁷⁴

The scarce palaeo-anthropological analyses carried out have allowed us to verify how, during the 2nd and 1st c. BC, life expectancy hardly exceeded 40 years, whereas the adults buried in the *hypogeum* of the 6th c. BC lived up to one more decade, which reflects a better food supply for these leading elites. In the same way, they contribute to the information on the diseases people suffered, such as osteosclerosis, Scheuermann's disease, tumors as a cranial meningioma and an osteoma osteoide, as well as chronic otomastoiditis, traumatism, muscular overload and a disability in an abnormally short left arm, all this added to bad mouth hygiene with loss of teeth in life, tooth deposit and decay.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ MARTÍN RUIZ – FERNÁNDEZ RECHE 2007, pp. 189-192.

⁷¹ MARTÍN RUIZ – FERNÁNDEZ RECHE 2007, pp. 152-155.

⁷² MARTÍN RUIZ – PÉREZ-MALUMBRES LANDA – GARCÍA CARRETERO 2003, pp. 151-152; MARTÍN RUIZ 2012, pp. 107-115.

⁷³ MARTÍN RUIZ 2009, p. 156.

⁷⁴ MELERO GARCÍA 2008, p. 264.

⁷⁵ MARTÍN RUIZ 2009, pp. 156-157.



FIG. 19. Golden earrings from Nuevo Mundo *hypogeum* (MARTÍN RUIZ 2012).



FIG. 20. View of Nuevo Mundo *hypogeum* (PÉREZ-MALUMBRES LANDA – MARTÍN RUIZ – GARCÍA CARRETERO 2000).

5. CONCLUSIONS

Taking into consideration all the above mentioned data, it can be firmly stated that Málaga Bay area was occupied by the Phoenician settlers from the first moments of their arrival in the Iberian Peninsula, the last decades of the 9th c. BC, which constitutes a new element to consider with a view to the existing debate on the chronology of the arrival of these oriental navigators to the coasts of the western Mediterranean.⁷⁶ This area seems to have been inhabited before by indigenous population as we can see in San Pablo, even if it turns out to be necessary to more accurately fix the temporal limits of this site in order to confirm such statement. According to the current information, it seems that the most ancient settlement must have been located in one of the islands in the Guadalhorce river mouth, in those days an estuary, where La Rebanadilla was situated and whose features are similar to a recently discovered site in Huelva.⁷⁷ Shortly after that, the island of Cerro del Villar will also be occupied on a larger area than the previous one and a bit higher as well, but that will not manage to prevent the floods caused by the rises of the river. In the second half of the 7th c. BC we will notice their settlement in Málaga. We must not forget that the place where Málaga is located offers better conditions of habitability than the islands located in the Guadalhorce river mouth, in those days any stretch of marshes propitiated the emergence of diseases as malaria, which makes it necessary to discuss if the origins of Málaga site must be dated in agreement with the chronologies obtained in La Rebanadilla.

On the other hand, we have to take into consideration that in the three above mentioned sites this primitive occupation would have possibly been centred on metallurgical activities, with a singular interest at these first moments in iron siderurgy, as it happens in other colonial deposits also in their initial moments such as Morro de Mezquitilla⁷⁸ and La Fonteta on the Alicante coast,⁷⁹

⁷⁶ TORRES ORTIZ 2008, pp. 137-140.

⁷⁷ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, pp. 179-185.

⁷⁸ SCHUBART 1999, pp. 242-246.

⁷⁹ RENZI – ROVIRA 2005, pp. 168-170.

without forgetting Sa Caleta in Ibiza⁸⁰ and Cerro del Peñón dependent on Toscanos site, though dated slightly later than the previous two cases.⁸¹ In addition, it turns out interesting to verify how the early appearance of a sanctuary reminds us about what happened in other areas colonized by these Semitic navigators, it has even been stated that first the temples were erected and then the cities followed.⁸² It has been possible to discover this type of religious buildings, whose important economic role must not be forgotten, in dates as early as the end of the 9th c. BC in places as the island of Crete, where the Phoenicians established themselves dedicating at first the Kommos sanctuary,⁸³ or in Cyprus as the remains found in the temple I in Kition reveal.⁸⁴

The interaction with the indigenous hinterland must have been extremely intense, since the evidence is supported not only by Phoenician materials inland,⁸⁵ but also by findings linked to the indigenous metallurgy or to their pottery production, all this without forgetting the logical commercial bonds. Therefore, it turns out to be surprising that the existence of Sardinian population in La Rebanadilla is suggested from an inaccurate number of pottery materials, but this is not suggested for the local indigenous population even though in this case the number of documented remains is higher and is also present in the grave goods at Cortijo San Isidro necropolis.⁸⁶ Closely related to this question is the verification, either archaeological or literary, of a series of terrestrial or maritime commercial routes which allowed both the supply of products from inland and the introduction in the same area of their manufactures, or their trading goods. In this respect everything points out a priority for metal supplies which, at least in some cases, seems to have been obtained from different spots in the peninsula thanks to a maritime trade that, we believe, should have been in hands of the leading groups considering the high cost that the freight of these ships would reach.

After the abandonment of Cerro del Villar at the beginning of the 6th c. BC because of the floods from the river, Malaca turns into the indisputable governing centre of the whole bay, over a series of minor settlements that, although badly known, seem to take part either in industrial activities as pottery or in agriculture. Therefore, Málaga appears as the centre of a notable productive circle that extended both towards the indigenous territories inland and towards the North African coast, up to the point of turning into an authentic city-state,⁸⁷ surrounded, as usual in these cases, by a walled perimeter. This city would be controlled by a leading elite who was buried in underground chambers, accompanied by some rites associated to the worship of their ancestors which goes back to the Bronze Age,⁸⁸ and who, according to the still limited analyses, seemed to have enjoyed a longer life expectancy than the rest of the population.

The integration of Malaca in the sphere of the Roman conquerors should have taken place once the Carthaginian armies were defeated, about 207 BC, very possibly with the *status* of stipendiary, not federated city as it has been discussed, since it would be difficult to explain its participation, together with another Phoenician colony such as former Sexi and some indigenous sites, in the revolt that in 197 BC raised against the power of Rome and where they would finally turn out to be

⁸⁰ RAMON TORRES 2007, p. 159.

⁸¹ KEESMANN – NIEMEYER 1989, pp. 100-106.

⁸² GONZÁLEZ WAGNER 2000, pp. 50-51.

⁸³ SHAW 1989, pp. 172-173.

⁸⁴ KARAGEORGHIS 2005, p. 35.

⁸⁵ GARCÍA ALFONSO 2007, pp. 125-130.

⁸⁶ SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ-MORENO *et al.* 2011, pp. 196-197.

⁸⁷ ARTEAGA 2001, pp. 242, 268-271; MORA SERRANO – ARANCIBIA ROMÁN 2010, p. 822.

⁸⁸ OLMO LETE 1996, pp. 74-77.

defeated.⁸⁹ The real integration of Malaca in the Roman sphere is not achieved until the 1st c. when the Roman state initiates an imperial policy.

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⁸⁹ LÓPEZ CASTRO 1994, pp. 254, 256-257.

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