

THE ROUTE OF THE TIN: GADIR AND THE PHOENICIAN TRADE IN THE NORTH-WEST OF IBERIA (4th – 2nd CENTURIES BC)



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Abstract: Mediterranean trade with the communities of Northwest Iberia is a historical phenomenon that has received some attention from academics only in the past two decades, despite the relatively frequent findings of products of Mediterranean origin or from the area of the Strait of Gibraltar in contexts of the Late Iron Age. Recently, the “La Ruta de las Estrimnides” Mediterranean trade and interculturality in the northwest of Iberia (HAR2015-68310-P) Research Project aimed to systematically study these southern materials in order to include them in a spatial and temporal context, as well as in an economic and commercial structure: navigation routes, scales, rhythms and frequency of travel, products that circulated in both directions and, above all, control mechanisms and power groups, direct or indirect, involved in this movement of people, products and ideas.

Key-words: Cassiterides – Estrimnides Research Project.

Dossier

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Resumo: O comércio mediterrânico com as comunidades do Noroeste da Ibéria é um fenómeno histórico que recebeu certa atenção por parte dos académicos unicamente nas duas últimas décadas, apesar de serem relativamente frequentes os achados de produtos de proveniência mediterrânica ou da área do Estreito de Gibraltar em contextos de finais da Idade o Ferro. Recentemente, o Projeto de Investigación La ruta de las Estrimnides. Comercio mediterráneo e interculturalidad en el noroeste de Iberia (HAR2015-68310-P) teve como objetivo o estudo sistemático destes materiais meridionais para incluí-los num contexto espacial e temporal, assim como numa estrutura económica e comercial: rotas de navegação, escalas, ritmos e frequência das viagens, produtos que circularam em ambas as direções e, sobretudo, mecanismos de controle e grupos poder, diretos ou indiretos, implicado neste movimento de pessoas, produtos e ideias.

Palavras-chave: Cassitérides; Projeto Estrimnides.

Resumen: El comercio mediterráneo con las comunidades del noroeste de Iberia es un fenómeno histórico que solamente ha reclamado cierta atención en los ámbitos académicos en las dos últimas décadas, a pesar de que son relativamente frecuentes los hallazgos de productos de procedencia mediterránea o del área del Estrecho de Gibraltar en contextos de finales de la Edad del Hierro. Recientemente, el Proyecto de Investigación La ruta de las Estrimnides. Comercio mediterráneo e interculturalidad en el noroeste de Iberia (HAR2015-68310-P) ha tenido como objetivo el estudio sistemático de estos materiales de procedencia meridional para insertarlos en un marco espacial y temporal, así como en una estructura económica y comercial: rutas de navegación, escalas, ritmos y frecuencia de los viajes, productos que circularon en ambas direcciones, y, sobre todo, mecanismos de control y grupos de poder, directos o indirectos, implicados en este trasego de gentes, productos e ideas.

Palabras-clave: Casitérides; Proyecto Estrimnides.

I. HISTORIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Until a few decades ago, Greek-Latin literary testimonies, mostly from Roman times, constituted the only source of information on Mediterranean trade in the peninsular northwest. Greek culture never had an exhaustive knowledge of the lands bathed by the Ocean, despite the explorations of two Massaliot navigators, Euthymenes and Pytheas, on the Atlantic coasts (PRONTERA, 1990; GÓMEZ ESPELOSÍN et al., 1995). Nevertheless, despite attempts to culturally appropriate the Ocean in the Greek-Latin imagination, the Atlantic was a “Phoenician sea”, and the western coast of the Peninsula was frequented and explored primarily by Gaditans. This is the case of the Cassiterides, the islands of tin (Strabo, Geography, III, 5, 11; Diodorus, Historical Library, V, 38, 1 - 5; Pliny, Natural History, IV, 119; VII, 197; Mela, Corography, III, 47; Ptolemy, Geography II, 6, 73; Solinus, Collection IV, 12). Likewise, Avienus (Ora Marítima 113 - 119), at the end of Antiquity, echoed the metal richness of some islands called Estrimnides, usually identified with the Cassiterides of the aforementioned Greek-Latin authors,

attributing their exploitation to the Tartessians, to Carthage settlers (Himilco) and people from the area of the Columns of Hercules (ALVAR, 1980; 1997; MILLÁN, 2000; RAMÓN, 2008).



Despite the scarcity of literary sources, much of the historiography of modern and contemporary times has focused almost exclusively on speculation about the routes frequented by Phoenician and Greek travelers, as well as the location of this archipelago. These routes were located indistinctly by modern and contemporary European authors in different points of the Atlantic coast, from the Portuguese Algarve to Galicia, French Brittany and Cornwall (BLÁZQUEZ Y DELGADO-AGUILERA, 1915; LÓPEZ CUEVILLAS, 1929; MONTEAGUDO, 1953; ALVAR, 1980; 1981; 2000; MILLÁN, 2000).

Nevertheless, we will dedicate the following pages to the analysis of the archaeological data that will allow us to review this problem in another perspective, certainly complementary. Except for some specific cases, this issue aroused very little interest until the 1980s. Some authors, for example, resorted to possible Mediterranean influences to explain the technological level of Castro jewelry (LÓPEZ CUEVILLAS, 1951; BLANCO FREIJEIRO, 1957), and a minority extended this reading to other areas of Castro culture (FERREIRA DE ALMEIDA, 1974; FARIÑA, 1983).

In our view, there are three factors that make it possible to understand this resistance to admitting the role of Mediterranean trade: a) the “indigenous” or “autochthonous” tendency of Spanish Archeology since its origins, consolidated in the 70s of the 20th century, within the historical-cultural paradigm. In this perspective, interest was centered on the definition and characterization of Castro culture based on a “Celtism” deeply marked by Diffusionism; b) secondly, the functionalist view of New Archeology interpreted Castro culture as a phenomenon resulting from Roman acculturation, minimizing the impact of previous contacts (ALMEIDA, 1974; SILVA, 1986; CALO, 1994). Consequently, the investigation was not familiarized with materials from the southern Phoenician-Punic area, being often confused in their chronological and cultural attribution (GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL et al., 2010a, p. 578); c) finally, the experts in the Phoenician-Punic culture themselves were unable to identify and value the archaeological evidence from the North of Portugal and Galicia. Physical distance and historiographical prejudices contributed to the creation of a mental barrier that prevented the recognition of the navigation capacity beyond Gadir, or even the definition of more complex processes than simple visits and sporadic navigations on the Portuguese and Galician coast. The changes that occurred in this scenario at the end of the 80s of the last



century also responded to several factors: a) the transfer of skills in the matter of culture to the autonomous communities, an act that stimulated the archaeological activity and which, together with urban growth, led to an exponential increase in the number of excavations and, consequently, in the volume of data available; b) advances in research on Atlantic Late Bronze (RUIZ-GÁLVEZ, 1984) and Castro culture (SILVA, 1986; CARBALLO, 1990, 1999; MARTINS, 1990; NAVEIRO, 1991; REY, 1990-1991; BETTENCOURT, 2000), which built the foundations to highlight the Atlantic-Mediterranean connection prior to the Roman conquest (CELESTINO et al., 2008); and c) lastly, "the promotion of new researchers who have studied this phenomenon both from within the Castro communities and from a global 'Mediterranean' perspective in Galicia and Portugal" (SUÁREZ OTERO E FARIÑA, 1990; NAVEIRO, 1991; TAVARES, 1993; TAVARES et al., 2001; ARRUDA 2000, 2002, 2007, 2008; PELLICER, 1998, 2000).

However, it was only in the past decade that materials and archaeological contexts began to be published in a more systematic way, although much of the record remained unpublished in museums. Thus, the work of A. González Ruibal (2004b; 2006) should be highlighted, who has the merit of having converted the Punic influence on Castro communities into a first-level research problem and an international impact. In addition, he presented a proposal for the periodization of the Punic trade with two different phases: the Punic cycle (mid-5th century - late 3rd century BC) and the Late-Punic cycle (early 2nd century - mid-1st century BC), that serves as a starting point for our work (GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL et al., 2010a). Also noteworthy are the works of J.C. Domínguez Pérez (2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2011) and A. Mederos Martín and L. Ruiz Cabrero (2003), who synthesized information on Punic imports on the Atlantic coast. On the other hand, J. Rey Castiñeira (1990-1991; 2000), J. Rodríguez-Corral (2008; 2009) and A. González Ruibal (2006-2007) studied the evolution of Castro communities and the changes registered not only in settlement patterns, architecture or material culture, but also, and above all, in social relations and symbolic and identity manifestations.

2. STUDY SAMPLE (FIG. 1)

Given the number of sites that received Mediterranean imports and the total volume that they acquired in the territory, we chose to select case studies that offered a greater number and variety of materials a priori and, at the same time, were representative of different areas and population models in the region. This selection was based, in turn, on a thorough review of the available bibliography and unpublished excavation reports. Thus, the study initially



concentrated on the collections of the sites of Toralla, Punta do Muiño do Vento-Alcabre and A Lanzada, all located in the Rias Baixas. In addition, the high number of imports and structures that indicated a possible acculturation or effective presence of Punic collectives are factors that led to include these sites in cases of “atypical castros” and, consequently, to analyze them as fundamental starting points for the review of the sequence of contacts between the Mediterranean and the Castro spheres during the 1st Millennium BC.

Subsequently, the number of sites increased due to partial availability of selected materials and, mainly, due to the interest, by several researchers and institutions, in the inclusion of La Coruña Bay, Ria de Arosa or the surroundings of Vigo in the project. Other castles are added to this list, namely Chandebrito, Vigo, Neixón Grande, O Achadizo, Elviña-Brigantium, as well as underwater finds in the Bay of Coruña (GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ et al., In press).

In this way, a considerable number of contexts and objects were analyzed first hand, of which a small part corresponded to import elements that fitted into the phases of the period prior to the Roman conquest, the object of our study. Even so, our sojourns in sites and museums allowed us to process a significant amount of objects with diverse origins, with chronologies that oscillate between the 5th - 4th century BC and the 1st century A.D.

Now going on to review the main sites that provided documentation, the A Lanzada castro stands out, located between the Pontevedra and Arosa rivers, without defensive systems and a structure built in stone, whose uniqueness for these moments is undeniable, associated with materials from the 5th to the 3rd century BC (SUÁREZ AND FARIÑA, 1990; GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL, 2004b; RODRÍGUEZ MARTÍNEZ et al., 2011). It is attributed to this castro a first-rate role in the commercial network that distributed Mediterranean products from the Northwest, a function that it continued to play during Roman rule until Late Antiquity, as can be seen from the recent study of its necropolis (RODRÍGUEZ MARTÍNEZ, 2018a).

Nevertheless, it is in the Vigo estuary that the most significant findings are identified. Here two sites have been excavated that exemplify the modes of contact, as well as the characteristics of the transactions: Punta do Muiño do Vento and Toralla. The second is located on an island just 500m from the coast. The excavations provided a large quantity of imported ceramics and a pair of stone betyls, one of which was reused in the construction of the wall of a posterior hut; the other is a 1.5m high granite cippus that has been identified in context (HIDALGO, 1990 - 1991; 1995). It is likely that both were part of



a sanctuary hypothetically dated to the 5th century BC (SUÁREZ OTERO, 2004a; ABAD, 2016). Just 3.5 km north of the island, a quadrangular structure with three other granite betyls in situ was documented in Punta do Muiño do Vento (Alcabre), in turn associated with Punic ceramics that point to a late 5th or early 4th BC chronology. At a later time, houses of a Castro style were built on the sanctuary, but the site continued to play an important commercial role, at least until the end of the second century BC (SUÁREZ OTERO, 2004a; b). Both spaces were related to the functions of the Phoenician emporia sanctuaries, as exchange centers and neutral places, in which the sacredness of the place guaranteed the safety of commercial activities, as well as the protection of travelers and the presentation of offerings before the start of a trip, to thank the return or the profits of a transaction (GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL et al., 2010, p. 589-590).

Located a little further to the North, in a small subsidiary estuary of the Arosa ria, Castro Grande de Neixón has attracted the interest of researchers for some decades (ACUÑA, 1976). In this castro, a monumental enclosure built in the transition between Iron Age I and II was documented, protected by a moat and a palisade. Inside the enclosure, 16 pits were dug in the rocky substrate, which were possibly used for the storage of cereals. These pits were ritually amortized between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC with local and Punic ceramics, as well as combustion remains, slag, mills and mollusk remains. Near the entrance of the enclosure, and in the adjoining pits, similar materials and bone remains of dogs, pigs and seagulls were also identified. According to the hypothesis proposed by the archaeologists responsible for the excavation, the site has a character of being an emporium and performed ritual and commercial functions, and banquets would have been held there (AYÁN, 2005, 2008; AYÁN et al., 2008; GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL et al., 2010b).

An apparently more advanced phase would correspond to the sites of Santa Trega, Vigo, Montealegre, Torres del Oeste and Elviña. The first is located near the mouth of the Minho and the border with Portugal. Its 20ha make it the largest known Galician Castro (PEÑA, 2001). It seems to have its origins in the middle of the second century BC as a result of a process of concentration of settlements from other smaller castros located in its vicinity, which at this time would seek better strategic and defensive conditions (CARBALLO, 1996: 333). However, it is likely that recent excavations have identified a previous occupation from the 4th - 3rd century BC, judging by the presence of Punic materials in their inventories (RODRÍGUEZ MARTÍNEZ, 2018b). Santa Trega received a large amount of Mediterranean imports, with emphasis on Punic and Italic amphorae, common ceramics from the Strait of Gibraltar area, kalathoi and Campanian ceramics (PEÑA, 2001; CARBALLO,

1994; GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL et al., 2010a: 593- 595, Fig. 9; RODRÍGUEZ MARTÍNEZ, 2018b).



In the Vigo estuary, urban archaeological interventions carried out in the city of the same name provided some evidence of imports of Mediterranean origin, both in the castró and in the old anchorage (O Areal). Almost all of the collection corresponds to Italic amphorae and black glazed pottery (HIDALGO, 1987; 1989; 1990-1991), although materials of Punic origin, but from Roman-Republican times, have also been documented (RODRÍGUEZ MARTÍNEZ, 2016). On the north bank of the estuary, in turn, the recent excavations in the Montealegre castró have made it possible to document a significant set of exogenous products, both in the habitat area as in the large shell shed documented on the East slope (GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL et al., 2007). In the first case, the registered construction phases are limited to the Roman-Republican period (150 - 25 BC) and Julio Claudian period (25 BC - 50 AD), although in the levels of terraces, ceramics of older chronology have been identified, namely some Punic imports (amphorae from the Strait area), productions of Turdetan tradition, Italic amphorae, as well as common and kitchen pottery (pots, pestles, jars, unguents, etc.), some painted forms, both Punic-Turdetan and Iberian (kalathoi), and several fragments of askoid jars (GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL et al., 2007, p. 51-63).

Further north, in the Arosa estuary, the interventions carried out in the Alobre castró (TOMÁS, 2008) also provided a significant set of late-Punic and Italic materials, among which the amphorae and the Campanian black plate stand out, followed by askoi and common pottery (pots, jars, etc.) of Punic tradition and Iberian kalathoi (GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL et al., 2010a, p. 587). In turn, Torres del Oeste is located upstream from the mouth of the Ulla in the Arosa estuary. It is a smaller settlement (less than 2ha) that would occupy an intermediate position in the exchange networks as a redistributing center for Mediterranean imports into Galician inland territory. Among the recovered materials, amphorae of Punic tradition of various types, Italic amphorae and a Rhodium amphora were identified, in addition to other high-imperial imports (FERNÁNDEZ PINTOS, 1999; NAVEIRO, 2004).

Lastly, the Elviña case is of great interest, both for imports registered inside the castró (BELLO E GONZÁLEZ, 2008) and for the materials found in the bay of Coruña itself. Among the first, the Italic amphorae and the Campanian black glazed plate stand out, as well as some examples of North African amphorae, a Punic askos and fragments of painted ceramics of Iberian tradition. The underwater findings complement this panorama with some specimens of Gaditan and Greek amphorae that remain, however, in the same late-Punic chronological arc, except for a copy of T-12111 (NAVEIRO,

1991), which attests at least the maritime frequency of the area since the 4th century BC.

As can be seen, the pattern of imports seems to be constant in all places studied, including the Portuguese area between Santa Olaia, at the mouth of the Mondego and Gaia, at the mouth of the Douro. In the Galician case, the analyzed sample of the sites located between Vigo and A Coruña allows us to infer that the demand from the Castro communities was quite homogeneous throughout these centuries, and that the selection of products to export to these peripheral markets in the peninsular northwest adapted to very specific characteristics, namely the consumption of high quality food and the acquisition of exclusive products such as Mediterranean wines (associated with the “Hellenized” tableware), olive oil and Gaditan tuna preparations.



3. RESULTS OF THE 2016 - 2018 STUDY CAMPAIGNS OF THE MATERIALS: DIACHRONY OF COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY

The study of these sites and contexts allowed to define the existence of three phases of importation of products of southern or Mediterranean origin, considering as main chronological criterion the known dates of the objects in their places of production, fundamentally Gadir and the Turdetan region, in addition to the data of workshops in Athens, Magna Graecia, Italy and, perhaps, Atlantic Mauritania. These apparently interconnected phases extend throughout Iron Age II and are unquestionably related to the process of integrating the peninsular territories into the Roman orbit and the subsequent creation of the Hispanic provincial system. In general lines, therefore, it can be noted that this “Atlantic route” that connected the Mediterranean (and specifically the Strait of Gibraltar region) with the Northwest has remained active at least since the middle of the 1st Millennium BC, and, moreover, that the port of Gadir / Gades has played, throughout all phases, a preponderant role as an intermediary for contacts between the Castro communities and the southern routes, both main and secondary.

3.1. Phase 1 (late 5th century - 3rd century BC) (fig. 2)

The first phase does not seem to begin before the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth century BC and coincides - not by chance - with a period of major restructuring of the economy and maritime enterprises of the Punic urbes of the peninsular south. As we suggested in previous works (SÁEZ ROMERO, 2018; GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, 2019), this expansion of southern trade to peripheral Atlantic areas probably had its roots from previous knowledge and contacts developed since Archaic times, but above all in



the demand for metals and new markets that to some extent compensated the loss of other profitable transactions in the central and eastern Mediterranean, now dominated by the emerging maritime power of Carthage and its allies. Thus, Gadir began to project itself to the Atlantic, exploring these extreme routes to Cassiterides, in the North, and Mogador, in the South (MARZO-LY and KHAYARI, 2010), with the objective of guaranteeing the supply of raw materials, as well as the consolidation of a maritime domain (commercial, fishing, etc.) of the area, giving continuity to what possibly had been exercised since the previous century.

In the case of the Galician estuaries and, in general, the Castro world, the main source of attraction was, of course, tin, but, as Strabo reports (*Geography*, III, 2, 9; III, 5, 1) for the final phase of the contact process, the exchanges probably included other elements, such as slaves, gold, etc., and in exchange the Gaditan ships transported salt, food packed in various ceramics (wine, olive oil, fish preparations, etc.), containers of glassy paste with perfumes, etc. In addition, as the cases of Alcabre and Toralla in the Vigo estuary suggest, their presence has led to substantial changes, not only in the patterns of food consumption in the castro communities of the coast, but also in the construction of altars with stone betyls that could be “free zone” markers. These would be suitable for the meeting of collectives and for the development of commercial transactions, for the conclusion of agreements and for the practice of common rites.

The materials documented in Punta do Muiño do Vento are, perhaps, the most eloquent for the characterization of this phase. It should also be noted that, in general, the pattern of imports seems to be constant in all the places studied, which is not a disdainable detail. The presence of at least a dozen T-8211 specimens stands out with profiles that suggest a dating from the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd BC (SÁEZ ROMERO, 2016a), accompanied by a T-12111 of similar chronology, which paste also indicates a Gaditan origin (in both cases, traditionally interpreted as *salsarias*). At least two specimens of amphorae of the Tiñosa / T-8112 type (CARRETERO, 2007) come from the Gaditan-Xericiense countryside (CARRETERO, 2007), one with an inclination of the wall that brings you closer to the oldest individuals in this series, from the end of the fifth century BC, and another with a cylindrical tendency that could be dated between the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. In addition, some Turdetan amphorae walls of undetermined origin (workshops in the Lower Guadalquivir or Guadalete) have been documented, which typology could correspond to both the Pellicer BC or D series (GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, 2019).



Apart from these transport containers, possibly other foods that until now it was not possible to determine were transported inside large table jars derived from pithoi, with pastes of Gaditan origin (as an individual related to the CIa / CIIa type of Camposoto's workshop : RAMON et al., 2007), as well as in a large group of crateriform containers. The morphology, painted decoration and ceramic pastes make it possible to state that these objects come from workshops located in Punic cities on the Moroccan Atlantic coast, such as Luxus or Kuass (PONSICH, 1968: chambers. XVI, XIX and XX; BRIDOUX et al., 2015, figs 2.7 and 4.17), or even from the Thamusida-Banasa area (GIRARD, 1984 fig. 19). Smaller containers of Gaditan manufacture, intended for tableware, are added to these containers, both liquid (GDR - 10.2.1 and GDR - 10.4.0 little jars) and solid (Kuass type fish dishes). In both cases, these are elements that are widely characterized in the Gaditan ceramic production of the 4th-3rd centuries BC (SÁEZ ROMERO, 2005; 2008; NIVEAU DE VILLEDARY and SÁEZ, 2016), but their degree of fragmentation does not allow us to proceed with a greater chronological accuracy.

In the interior of the Vigo estuary, the study of materials from the Castro de Montealegre seems to confirm the existence of a similar horizon of imports, judging by the role of the T-8211 Gaditan amphorae and containers. Further north, on another peninsula between the mouths of the Pontevedra and Arosa estuaries, the A Lanzada site provided materials that fit this first stage of contacts from Iron Age II, namely amphorae T-8211 and Pellicer D, painted ceramics and a lip of a "crateriform container" (SUÁREZ and FARIÑA, 1990; GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL, 2004a; GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL et al., 2010a). The study of the materials deposited in the Museum of Pontevedra confirmed the presence, in addition to simple and oculated vitreous beads, of Punic amphorae of Gaditan origin, with some base fragments of undetermined typology and a specimen of T-8211 dating from the 3rd century BC. To this period also seems to belong a Greek-Italic amphora lip that may have been manufactured in Punic workshops in the Strait region. In addition to these amphora containers there is an example of a "crateriform container" and several pottery bodies with linear red-painted decoration that suggest the arrival of medium-sized jars and other domestic-type containers that would complement the products transported in the amphorae (possibly fish preparations and wine or olive oil).

Continuing to the North, in the inner part of the Arosa estuary, we find a new testimony of this phase of frequentation in the Neixón castros, where the pattern of imports seems to repeat these parameters. In this site, it was possible to analyze, in addition to an unguentarium with glass paste



(ACUÑA CASTROVIEJO, 1976), at least one amphora specimen T-12111 or T-12111/2 (SÁEZ ROMERO, 2016b) and a T-8211 lip, both with Gaditan pastes. To these amphorae can be added a specimen of Mediterranean origin that attests the consumption of selected wines in the castro: it is an amphora lip of type MGS IV, possibly manufactured somewhere in Magna Graecia or in Eastern Sicily (Tarento or Gela), which is closely linked to the transport of quality wines, documenting their manufacture and circulation between the 4th century and the first decades of the 3rd century BC, judging by shipwrecks like El Sec or Filicudi F (VANDERMERSCH, 1994). It is important to note that this is the most western example of a Greek amphora of this chronology, in a cultural periphery of the late-classic and Hellenistic Mediterranean, apparently remote from the consumption and cultural models that would justify its presence. Two fragments of black glazed pottery, perhaps Attic or South Italic, indicate, however, that the transmission of cultural formulas to the Iberian Northwest not only included wine consumption ceremonies (since one of them may correspond to a fragment of a lamp, while the other, a bowl without decoration, may correspond to a closed cup or krater). Other imports of southern Iberian origin invoke, once again, what has been documented in Alcabre and A Lanzada: a “crateriform container” with a red painted lip, possibly from Mauritanian origin, and fragments of medium-sized containers with a hollowed-out simple lip and a frieze on the shoulder, similar to Turdetan productions of the 4th - 3rd century BC (FERRER and GARCÍA, 2008). Several fragments of pottery walls painted in red, fully covered or lined, could be grouped without problems in this set of medium containers from the ports of the Strait region.

Finally, this group of findings corresponding to the initial phase must include at least one of the pieces of underwater origin recovered in the bay of A Coruña and initially made known by J. Naveiro (1991). The examination of this object during the project allowed to confirm a possible Gaditan origin and its typological framing in the T-12111 series; its characteristics allow to propose a dating between the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC. This isolated finding can be related to a fragment exhumed in ancient excavations in the nearby Elviña castro, which corresponds to a bichromic painted wall, with thin black lines that delimit a wide red fringe, which could be identified as part of a Punic jar or with a “crateriform vessel”, whose chronology points to the 5th - 4th century BC. This significant, albeit small, set of archaeological data from A Coruña says it is possible to say that contacts in all these parts of the North-West have probably developed simultaneously, without the Cantabrian coast being relegated to a later stage.

3.2. Phase 2 (Early 2nd century - mid 1st century BC) (fig. 2)



The scarcity of materials specifically related to the Barcid period, relatively well characterized in the production of Gaditan pottery workshops (SÁEZ ROMERO, 2008), raises some doubts about the existence of any discontinuity in the contacts established with the Northwest during this phase. However, there are not many doubts, from the materials published or analyzed in the scope of this project, that these routes have been active since the beginning of the second century BC, again with the port of Gadir / Gades as the main interlocutor with the Castro communities. The transformations that took place during the contacts from Gadir/Gades' Roman foedus (206 BC) and the opening of the doors of the Strait of Gibraltar to its army and to commerce are noteworthy, with a rapid rise in the presence of Italic materials (especially wine amphorae and fine and cooking pottery) among the items consumed in the Galician castros. In any case, the continuity of an abundant flow of products from Gaditan workshops indicates that those Italic imports passed, quite possibly, through the Gaditan port filter, being redistributed to the Northwest in the same way as to the interior of the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana valleys, as well as the coasts of the Gulf of Cadiz and Algarve, Olisipo and the mouths of the Tagus and Sado (PIMENTA, 2014).

The case of Punta do Muiño do Vento allows us to evaluate the picture of imports detected in the Galician estuaries, which again constitute a set of items systematically repeated in all the sites analyzed, with some small changes that can be explained by the uneven availability of the data and not by the sample quantity. In Alcabre, the presence of Gaditan amphorae of type T-7433 (and at least one imitation of Greek-Italian amphora / Dr. 1) stands out next to containers of Dressel type 1A and 1C, some of them possibly reused as household containers or tubes, since the neck was cut almost at the beginning of the shoulder. Amorphous fragments of black Italic glaze, as well as kalathoi manufactured in workshops off the coast of Citerior illustrate the arrival of tableware and complementary products from wine and fish preparations. Also noteworthy is the presence of several fragments of walls decorated with lines painted in red, in a lattice, which probably correspond to the upper part of the body of askoid jars of Gaditan production, one of the most representative forms of this horizon of imports from the 2nd century BC. In this respect, in the case of Punta do Muiño do Vento, all these elements can be located chronologically throughout much of the second century and even in the beginning of the first century BC, leading us to believe that, once again, the contacts took place throughout an extensive time lapse, perhaps associated with a castro and not with the betyllic sanctuaries that, as we have seen, characterized the previous phase.



At the bottom of the estuary, Montealegre confirms this trend in the composition of imports, registering an abundance of amphorae T-7433 and Dr. 1, as well as askoid and kalathoi jars (GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL et al., 2007).

In A Lanzada, in a phase in which the relationship with the possible “salting factory” has not yet been identified in recent interventions (RODRÍGUEZ et al., 2011), materials that characterize a horizon of imports similar to that detected were documented in the Vigo estuary. The analyzed traces, from ancient interventions, also indicate the consumption dynamics outlined for Alcabre: notable presence of Dr. 1 containers and black Italic glaze (L1, L55, etc.), some kalathoi from workshops of the eastern peninsular facade, Gaditan amphorae T-7433 (with triangular flap opercula) and other elements of tableware and serving of liquids of similar origin, such as the cases of an askoid jar and a medium-sized jar with a globular body and a triangular flat lip slightly designed for the exterior, whose production is well attested in places like Torre Alta between the end of the 3rd century and the first decades of the 2nd century BC (SÁEZ ROMERO, 2008; SÁEZ ROMERO et al., 2016).

In the Arosa estuary, the presence of imported materials was well known, namely in O Achadizo (CONCHEIRO and VILASECO, 2011), which were re-examined under the project. From this castro, in addition to some glass paste beads, there is a shoulder fragment and handle pull from an Italian-made Greek-style amphora or Dressel 1A, a rough base that can correspond to a globular cup, a wall fragment with thin red bands painted on the outer surface and a small piece of a simple base with a concave bottom. These last two pieces present pastes related to Gaditan pottery and correspond, respectively, to an unguentarium of Carthaginian inspiration, well known in the inventories of Gadir / Gades from the end of the third century BC and the beginning of the next century (SÁEZ ROMERO, 2008) and the base of an askoid jar or medium jar, possibly with a similar chronology (SÁEZ ROMERO et al., 2016). Despite their scarcity, these materials characterize, together, the arrival of imports from the South of the Iberian Peninsula in the first two thirds of the 2nd century BC.

The Neixón (Boiro) castros were also previously known and functioned as centers that received imports at this period thanks to the work of X. Ayán and collaborators (AYÁN, 2005; 2008). Noteworthy, from his collection, fragments of vitreous unguentaria, painted pottery and an askoid jar associated with the pit of the so-called “castro grande” (AYÁN et al., 2008). The study of these and other materials at the Museu de Boiro made it possible to verify the presence of an outstanding number of examples of askoid jars with the characteristic decoration of buttons applied to the top of the handle; some fragments



painted with lines painted in red probably correspond to the decoration of the upper body of some of them. Also noteworthy are materials of Gaditan origin, namely a T-7433 amphora specimen (handle), a GRR - 10.4.1 vase base and a wall with lines painted in red on the outer surface belonging to a globular unguentarium similar to the one documented in O Achadizo. To the materials of Gaditan origin is also added the medium jar with globular body and flattened lip, similar to those previously described in A Lanzada. These items from the peninsular South are accompanied by some lips and walls of Italic Campanian amphorae of the Dressel 1A type, probably linked to the transport of wine. This set can be dated throughout the 2nd century BC.

From the Arosa estuary, even though it is currently on display at the Museu do Mar de Vigo, comes a punctual underwater finding of great interest, namely an almost complete askoid jar, which lacks only part of the handle. This is currently the best preserved specimen of this type, even within Gaditan production areas. The piece in question allows us to state that these are medium-sized containers for tableware (liquids), with a glass of rounded lines (the painted decoration is poorly preserved, with some horizontal strokes in red), simple concave bottom, stylized cylindrical neck and top handle boot decorated with small buttons applied to both sides. These characteristics are common in the inventories of Gades and the Northwest, and it can be said, from this piece, that it comes from a shipwreck, or that the items were used and thrown into the sea from the boats. This could also be associated with the most frequented areas or the sanctuaries located in the coastal castros of the area.

Among the materials that were initially made known by J. Naveiro, coming from underwater environments in the bay of A Coruña, we again find arguments that support the hypothesis that these late-Punic imports arrived in western Cantabrian, since examples of Dressel 1A and C Italic amphorae do not fault, as well as a Rhodian wine amphora handle. It is the first individual of its kind documented in peripheral areas of the Spanish Atlantic. Elviña's findings, despite their scarcity, once again signal the trend seen elsewhere: an Italic Dressel 1, a possible Lamboglia 2 from the Adriatic zone, a T-7433 amphora handle made of Gaditan paste, in addition to several fragments of lips, neck and handle of an askoid jar, also produced in Gaditan workshops. Together, these materials can be dated back to the 2nd century and early 1st century BC.

3.3. Phase 3 (late 1st century BC - Early 1st century AD)

The "Atlantic route" that connected the Strait area (and, indirectly, the Mediterranean maritime "highways") and the Northwest, apparently, reached a peak of activity from the late Republican era, with an intensification and



diversification of the arrival of food products, tableware and other elements to the increasingly urbanized castros of the Citerior's borders. This dynamic is well known in the North of Portugal, judging by shipwrecks such as that of Esposende (MORAIS, 2007; CARRERAS and MORAIS, 2012; MORAIS et al. 2013), and had already been noted in the Galician case (NAVEIRO, 1991; GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL et al., 2007; PÉREZ LOSADA et al., 2008; FERNÁNDEZ and BARCIELA, 2016). During the Estrimnides Project, this phenomenon could be seen in places like Punta do Muiño do Vento or in the Neixón castros, where the Gaditan ovoid amphorae or Dressel 7/11 and the Ovoid 4 / Haltern 70 in the Guadalquivir Valley are abundant, and to which are added common "Betic" pottery (vases, pestles, Vegas 14 casseroles, etc.), and glasses of Terra Sigillata from different sources. If, in the previous phases, the pattern of imports seems to be systematic, highly repetitive in all the analyzed sites, from this moment onwards this constant character seems to be even more accentuated, with an accused decline in the presence of italic materials and a clear quantitative increase in the productions of the Betic West and Portuguese workshops, which in turn characterize the "provincialization" of Hispanic trade routes from the final decades of the first century BC (GARCÍA VARGAS, 2010).

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Along these lines, we sought to describe the main phases identified in imports of Mediterranean origin, as well as the quantitative differences between them in relation to the origin, type, function and meaning of the goods documented in the studied Castro sites. On the other hand, we tried to explain the reason why contacts were made in these phases and with this intensity, for example, the political, social and, above all, economic processes that, in the Punic perspective, allowed us to understand the maintenance and evolution of the established commercial network between the main ports in the Strait area, headed by Gadir / Gades, and the Atlantic populations, especially the Northwest.

However, it is necessary to point out the changes that these contacts have caused in the Castro communities, both in consumption habits and, more deeply, in the social relations and cultural values that they have developed. It is therefore not surprising that, since the end of the 5th century BC, small altars with stone betyls have been built in some coastal points (figs. 3 and 4), namely islands and peninsulas, which could function as "frank zones" (middleground) suitable for the meeting of collectives and for the development of commercial transactions, agreements and even common rituals. These meeting places,



recently defined as emporia (GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL et al., 2010a, p. 588), would confirm not only the regularity of these contacts, but also their territorial and symbolic impact, since it would be part of the sacred space of both communities. These transformations in the scope of the physical and figurative landscape would be even more evident in the second phase (centuries II - I BC), when the forms of exchange would be less ritualized and there would be a greater regularity of contacts, with the usual place of reception being the main oppida (Santa Trega, Vigo, Neixón Grande or Elviña-Brigantium) or the autonomous ports that depended on them (eg Torres do Oeste).

As one of us pointed out in previous works (RODRÍGUEZ CORRAL, 2009), with regard to changes in food consumption patterns, the adoption of products and objects of Mediterranean origin by the Castro communities, especially within the table, does not seem to have meant an imitation of exogenous practices, but rather an adaptation of these to their own social context. However, the very differentiated access to exotic materials and their ritualized use made them important elements in the manifestation of the status of those who used them. In other words, these objects were part of the processes of social differentiation that intensified during Iron Age II. Consequently, Mediterranean imports are also an interesting source of information to better understand the mechanisms of symbolic appropriation of commensality practices and, in general, the role they played in the construction of social relations in the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula. The study of the contexts and repertoires exposed in the preceding lines, in addition, distinguishes and enhances the singularities in the patterns of acquisition and consumption of these imports by the Castro communities and, above all, their differences in relation to other contemporary communities on the Atlantic façade. Thus, it is possible to define a first distribution circle on the coast of the Algarve and Baixo Guadiana, which practically functions as a western extension of the so-called “Círculo do Estreito” (SOUSA and ARRUDA, 2010; ARRUDA et al. 2011), both in its cultural matrix (habitat, forms of life and architecture) as in commercial dynamics, considering the circulation of amphorae and domestic repertoires, especially common ceramics and tableware, whose composition also reveals close relations with the inland Turdan (ARRUDA, 2007). That is, it is an area of direct influence by Gadir, in which coastal centers like Monte Molião, Faro or La Tiñosa, among others, would develop; the records of these sites suggest a foundation or “colonization” carried out by the metropolis itself from the first half of the fourth century BC in areas that, apparently, had not been occupied during the early stage of the Iron Age. Huelva, Tavira and Castro Marim, three important port centers in the area, also show similar consumption behaviors, although they are not part of these “gaditan foundations”.



On the other hand, the panorama recently described for the Sado, Tagus and Lisbon Peninsula estuaries reveals a change in the level of commercial dynamics compared to Iron Age I, especially in the large port centers (Alcácer do Sal, Setúbal or Lisbon). In these places, Mediterranean imports declined until their near disappearance between the fourth and third centuries BC (SOUSA, 2014; 2017a; 2017b). It is risky to extrapolate this situation to the north-central coast of Portugal, since important sites like Santa Olaia or Conimbriga do not present much data from this phase. However, it is evident that from the end of the sixth century BC there is a regionalization of the economy in the main Atlantic estuaries, with an intensification of agricultural production and the formalization of new amphoric types derived from archaic Phoenician models intended for the distribution of surpluses in their commercial circles (SOUSA and PIMENTA, 2014). The same can be said of common and table pottery, which evolves directly from the productions introduced by the Phoenicians in the region, giving rise to a repertoire of oriental origin fully adapted to the new needs and tastes of the cultural horizon that appears in this region after the dismantling of the colonial system and the reorientation of political and territorial structures (SOUSA, 2014). Indeed, in addition to the presence of italic materials, on the other hand also reduced (ROUILLARD et al. 1989; ARRUDA and SOUSA, 2018), Punic imports are limited to some amphorae from the area of Cádiz and Guadalquivir (SOUSA, 2014 ; GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, 2019), with practically absent containers from the late Iron Age such as the T-81112, T-8211 or T.12111, as well as other southern productions, namely “Kuass” type ceramics or common painted pottery (SOUSA , 2007: 100).

On the contrary, in the Northwest, the supply of exogenous products is not only relatively regular and homogeneous throughout Iron Age II, as has been shown, but also acquires some singularity. This can be extended to the Portuguese northern coast, where the Castro communities apparently developed similar behaviors, to be evaluated by the imported materials that have been published so far (SILVA, 1986; ILVA and PINTO, 2001; VILAÇA and CUNHA-RIBEIRO, 2008) and for other recently studied contexts.

In this region, probably before the initial phase of the “Gaditan foundations” in the Algarve, amphorae of fish preparations from the Strait area (T-8211 and, to a lesser extent, T-12111) and other containers from the countryside of Cadiz (T-8112) and probably the Guadalquivir Valley (Pellicer BC or D) transported agricultural products. These materials are often associated with large painted wheel containers, crateriform containers and jars of various types, as well as tableware elements: bowls or plates, some in “Kuass” type



ceramics. Special mention should be made of the so-called “crateriforms” and Greek ceramics, which would be associated with the introduction of wine consumption, evidenced by the appearance of the first wine amphorae. Likewise, it is notable, due to its uniqueness (as in the case of the “crateriforms” of possible Mauritanian origin), the frequent appearance, in more advanced stages of this phase, of decorated askoid jars from Cádiz, which are not found in other contexts Atlantic.

The beginning of the Roman conquest of the Peninsula did nothing more than intensify these contacts and, in the middle of the second century BC, the Greek-Italian amphorae and, later, the Italian and South-Hispanic Dressel 1 that accompany the Gaditan productions (T -7433) and other minority containers of Eastern Greek origin, in addition to Iberian kalathoi, unguentary and other common forms of Punic tradition are abundant. At this stage, the ritualized consumption of wine is perfectly attested, again, by the imported tableware and, above all, by the forms of black glazed Campanian ware that begin, at these moments, to reach the Iberian Peninsula.

All of this seems to reflect a selective demand on the part of the populations of the Atlantic peninsular coast, more than a reduction or interruption of the Punic trade in this region, as was recently proposed (SOUSA, 2017a: 102). That is, the scarcity of imports on the Portuguese central coast does not mean an abandonment of the trade routes established in archaic times (which, as we think, were fully active at least since the end of the 5th century BC), but rather a manifestation of economic and social dynamics that led the riverside communities of Sado and Tagus to satisfy their needs with their own products, acquiring only those objects that their workshops could not manufacture or imitate (Greek ceramics, glass paste beads, etc.). It is also likely that they purchased bulk goods on the same routes that could not be produced or purchased locally. Let us not forget that in this region there was already a productive fabric since the orientalizing time, as well as a ceramic tradition with deep Mediterranean roots that, as said, would evolve adapting to the needs of these communities through the manufacture of products similar to those that circulated in the cultural sphere (amphorae, red, gray and painted engobe ceramics), which means that the purchase of these imported articles would have been limited.

This was certainly not without the interests and values of the local elites, perhaps less permeable to the new Hellenistic (or “Mediterranean” *latu sensu*) fashions and, on the contrary, relatively open to continental influences. This variety of demand is evident in the coastal Alentejo, where port establishments coexist commercially (and perhaps culturally) within the Gaditan sphere, with



sites of a Celtic or Celtized character, similarly to what happens in the Algarve. In this sense, Odemira seems to be an eloquent example (VILHENA and RODRÍGUES, 2009). In the second group of sites, Santiago do Cacém (SOARES and SILVA, 1979) stands out, which is characterized by a more sporadic acquisition of imports, as well as others that reveal a close cultural interaction, as it seems to be the Garvão ritual deposit (BEIRÃO et al., 1985).

In the Northwest, the consumption guidelines developed by Castro communities during the second half of the 1st Millennium BC, as well as their regularity, allow us to affirm that the products exchanged with the Punic in exchange for metals (tin and gold) were more than simple exotic objects, whose value was determined by their rarity or sophistication, and which ended up being integrated and adapted to their own practices, acquiring new functions within the scope of social relations and the construction of their symbolic universe.

On the other hand, the similarities between these repertoires and those documented on the Atlantic coast of North Africa are particularly striking, especially in Kuass (KBIRI ALAOUI, 2007) and Banasa (GIRARD, 1984; ARHARBI and LENOIR, 2004), both with regard to amphorae, as well as to certain productions (askoid jars, globular containers with handles and crateriform vases). The latter are, in fact, very infrequent on the north bank of the Strait, being practically absent in the interior of Turdetania, while the askoid jars appear almost always in productive spaces and not so much in domestic sets or in ritual contexts.

It is therefore not surprising that the imported amphoric cast in this area reproduces guidelines similar to those of other Atlantic ports in the Strait area or Western Mauritania, especially if it is considered that they are part of the same commercial network and that the same products could be introduced, with greater or lesser success, in different markets. Proof of this is the fact that few specimens of T-11 / T-12 fish preparation amphorae are known on the central coast of Portugal and, even less, of T-8112 and T-8211, which contrasts with the abundance of these elements in the Galician estuaries in the same period, as well as in Mauritanian coastal centers such as Mogador, Thamusida-Banasa, Lixus or Kuass. The recurring presence of such specific shapes as askoids, unguentaria jars, globular and “crateriform” containers, associated with other elements for the beverage service, such as jars or Greek dishes, denotes an intention that goes beyond the mere acquisition of “ceramics” of quality that would complement the local vascular repertoires of manual manufacture, since other forms manufactured on the wheel, common in the Punic or Turdetan areas, are missing or scarce, namely bowls, cups, glasses and



some large-format containers, abundantly exported to the sites of the Algarve and the Gulf of Cadiz. In this sense, it is legitimate to defend the possibility that these shapes did not travel to the Galician estuaries as ceramic items, but rather as product containers, at least in the case of “crateriform” containers, and that their success among local communities is due not only to its potential use, but also to the consumption of wine, perfumed oils and other products bottled in the ports of origin.

We are still far from offering a satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon, but it is likely that two different circumstances will converge: one of local character, with an interest in containers related to the ritualized consumption of wine (kraters and Greek cups, crateriforms, olpe-type jars and askoids); another, of a commercial character, that would explain the concrete presence of these objects in the freight along with amphorae and other manufactured products. The combination of this set of imported items (amphorae and other ceramics with Gaditan pastes and the “crateriforms”, as well as other pieces whose macroscopic and typological examination suggests an origin in Mauritanian workshops, constitutes a promising line of research on the reach of commercial networks of Gadir and its role as an intermediary in the redistribution of products within the Atlantic circuits.

If the findings of the Algarve leave little doubt about the participation, often quantitatively high, of amphorae and other objects of Turdetan manufacture in its freight directed both to the West and to the South, the new evidence documented in the Iberian Northwest makes it possible to state that its traders were able to link Castro demand with the production of some cities of Semitic origin on the Mauritanian coast, which in turn seem to imitate, following Punic decorative parameters, forms typical of classical Greek repertoires. One cannot rule out direct contact between the two zones, but, judging by the composition of the Galician and Northern Portugal contexts, Gadir is more likely to have monopolized the dialogue with these peripheries, using elements on both sides to increase the differences between cost and value. This leads, again, to the first circumstance, namely: the specialized character of the demand of Castro populations. A diachronic analysis of these imports suggests that the introduction, from the fifth century BC, of kraters and Attic bowls, would have implied the adoption and adaptation of the Hellenic repertoire to the contexts of ritualized consumption of beverages within the practices developed by these communities, where the wine that started to be imported at this moment must have played a relevant role. The wide acceptance of this repertoire and its ergonomics in relation to the Castro commensality itself would be reflected in the search for crateriforms. This, in turn, must have



been increased as the volume of Greek imports in the West decreased from the middle of the fourth century BC, and also in the manufacture of local versions modeled by hand with “column” handles and globular bodies (REY, 2016). It therefore seems difficult to determine whether these Castro manufactures are a direct reproduction of the classical Greek kraters, versions of containers manufactured on the wheel, or even both types of imports, since the chronology attributed to these productions is, so far, not as accurate as that of the supposed prototypes. In any case, the distribution of these versions of kraters is also significant, whose production and consumption seems to have exceeded the territorial limits marked by the imports of Mediterranean products themselves, including almost all of the sites studied under the project (Toralla, Alcabre, A Lanzada, O Achadizo, Alobre, Baroña) and an important set of castros located inland (Monte do Castro, Nadelas, Castrolandín, Fozara, etc.).

Consequently, it seems indisputable that this form played an important role in formalizing social relations across the table, along with other elements related to the service of liquids (fermented drinks) and the consumption of solid foods, especially meat. In this way, its meaning can only be understood within the Castro cultural context itself and the values that are built around the banquet. The growing role of wine in these rituals is revealed in the frequent appearance, from the end of the third century and beginning of the second century BC, of Italian or South Hispanic wine amphorae, as well as new service and consumption containers (eg., askoid jars), among other forms of wheel pottery, and especially from the middle of the second century BC, with the introduction of the black glazed Italic tableware, whose use extends relatively quickly in this region. However, as previously noted, both wine and objects related to its consumption “had very different meanings in the indigenous context of the Northwest to those in the Mediterranean, inserting themselves in the convivial ways of the castro communities with their social history and structure” (RODRÍGUEZ CORRAL, 2009, p. 94).

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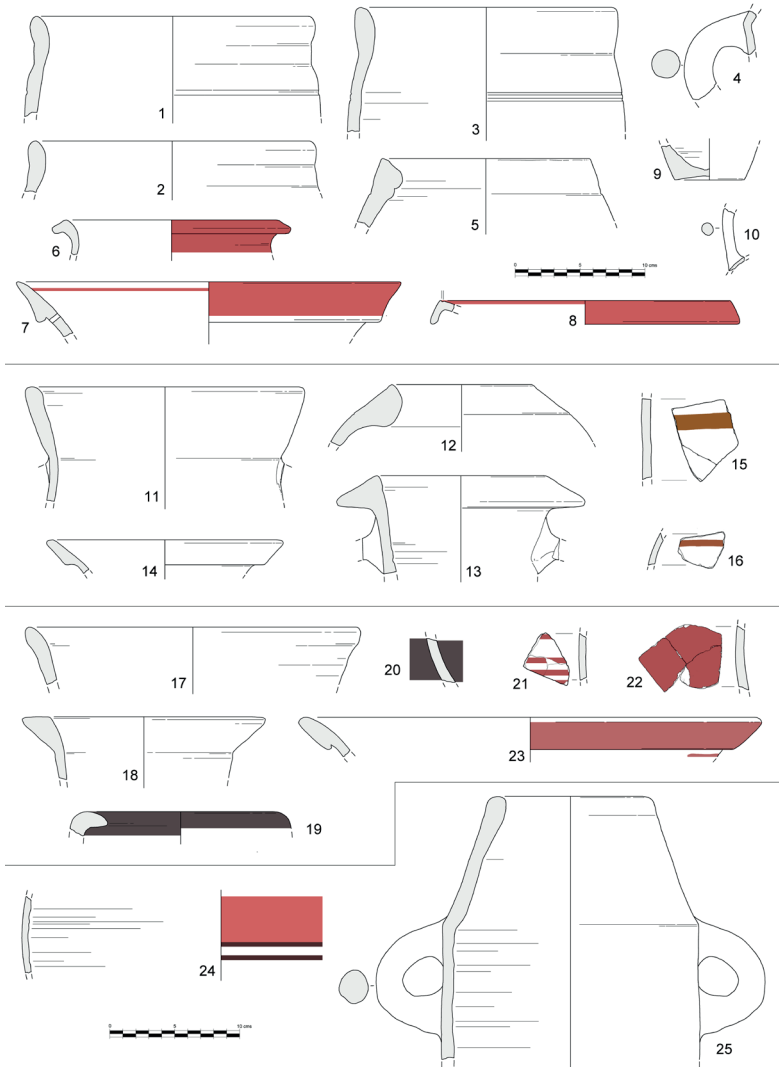
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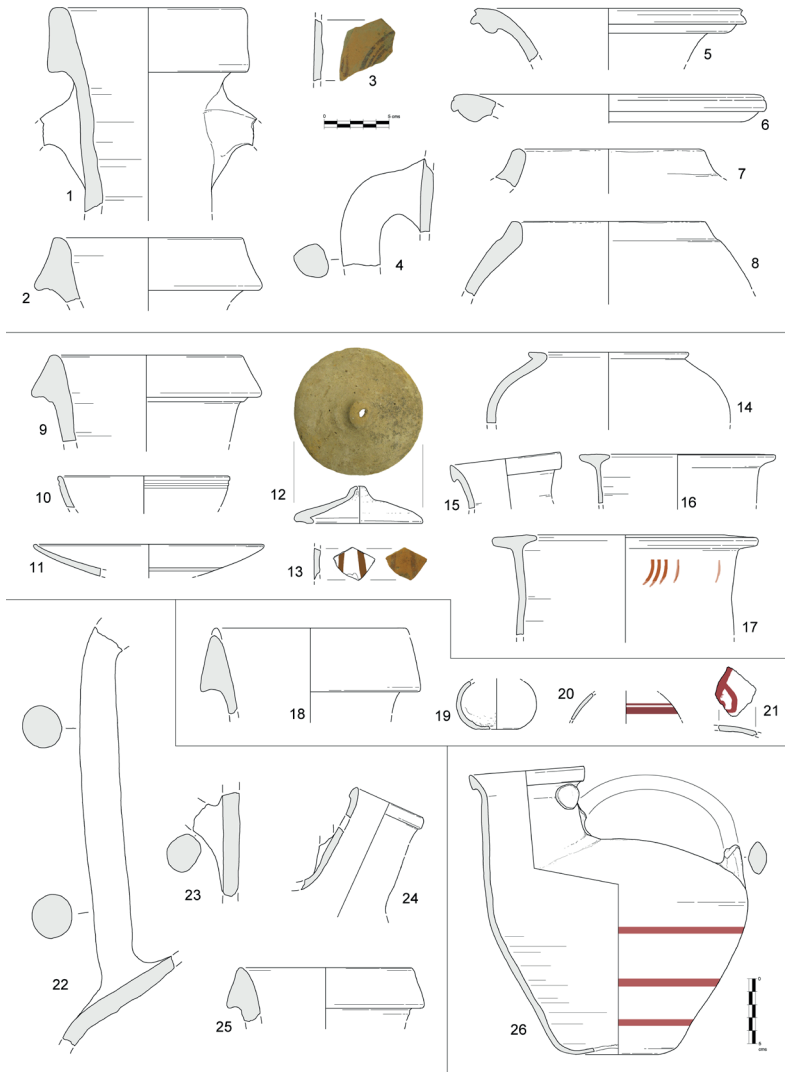
Figura 1



Mapa Noroeste da Península Ibérica com a localización dos locais estudados.



Alcabre: T-8211 (1-3), T-12111 (4), Tiñosa/T-8112 (5), jarro pintado mediano (6), jarra “crateriforme” (7), prato de pescado “tipo Kuass” (8), jarra GDR-10.2.1 (9), jarrita GDR-10.4.0 (10); A Lanzada: T-8211 (11), fundo de ânfora púnica gaditana indeterminada (12), Greco-italica (13), jarra “crateriforme” (14), jarras pintadas (15-16); O Neixón: T-8211 (17), ânfora grega MGS IV (18), verniz negro ático? (19-20), fragmentos de jarras pintadas (21-22) e jarra “crateriforme” (23); jarra pintada bicromada do castro de Elviña (24) e T-12111 de procedéncia subaquática da Babia de A Coruña (25).



Dossiê

Alcabre: Dressel 1C (1) y 1A (2) itálicas, T-7433 gaditanas (4-6), Dressel 1 itálicas reutilizadas (7-8), kalathos pintado (3); A Lanzada: Dressel 1 (9) e verniz negro (10-11) itálico, opérculo anfórico gaditano (12), fragmentos de kalathoi (13, 16-17), jarro askoide (15) e jarra esferoide gaditanos (14); O Neixón: Dressel 1 itálica (18), jarrita GDR-10.4.0 (19), unguentário globular pintado (20) e jarro askoide (21); Elviña: T-7433 (23), jarro askoide (24) y Dressel 1 itálica (25); Bahía de A Coruña: asa de ânfora rodia (22); jarro askoide da Ría de Arousa exhibido no Museo do Mar (26).



Bétilos de Alcabre (Vigo, província de Pontevedra, Galiza, Espanha)



Bétilo de la isla de Toralla (Vigo, provincia de Pontevedra, Galiza, Espanha)