

# Diversity in the Landscape: The Geographical Background to Urbanism in Iberia

BARRY CUNLIFFE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMPLEX SOCIETY and the emergence of urban systems is a worthy theme for archaeological study but it is also one difficult to approach even if, as in the case of Iberia, the archaeological data are occasionally enlivened by anecdotes or events recorded by contemporary or near contemporary observers. An essential preliminary to any study of this kind is, of course, the characterization of the physical environment within which the systems evolved. The environment, though subject to change, provided a framework of constraints controlling the life and work of the community, but it also offered opportunities for development should the society wish, or be able, to avail themselves. Within these parameters social, economic and political change took place along distinctive trajectories generated indigenously but sometimes intensified or deflected by outside stimulus.

It is the purpose of this preliminary essay first to sketch in the broad characteristics of the Iberian environment, insofar as they may have influenced the nature of the complex societies developing within the peninsula, and then to explore the general direction of urban development as Iberian communities were drawn into the rapidly evolving 'world systems' of the Mediterranean. With these two determinates exposed we may better be able to arrive at explanations for the fascinating array of archaeological data that is fast becoming available. Explanations offered will necessarily be simplistic but even so they provide a framework within which new research designs can be structured and new theoretical models developed.

### **The west European peninsula**

The conventional map of Europe with north at the top inevitably conditions our feeling for European geography: we see the land masses more or less in their correct proportions and there is no tailing off into the unknown. In the past it was very different. To a Greek or a Phoenician the Iberian peninsula was very much the end of the world, a distant and ill-known periphery without tangible limits: yet to an Iberian it was the centre. This may be self-evident but cognitive geography is an important concept for archaeologists to embrace: knowledge of far-flung lands distorts perception of distance and this has the effect of bringing communities together.

To shake our preconceptions the map of west Europe is presented here in a slightly unfamiliar way (Figure 1). From this aspect it appears as an excrescence of land between a sea and an ocean. Beyond the ocean is nothing — the end of the world. Beyond the sea is an unending land mass, Africa, but linked to it is another sea, the east Mediterranean, then the focus of the civilized world. The west European peninsula is bound to the zone of 'civilization' by maritime traders using ports such as Pithecusae, Gadir and, later, Massilia as foci for articulation.

There is another, perhaps more helpful, way to view the first millennium world (Figure 2) and that is in terms of three intercommunicating systems: a Mediterranean system, an Atlantic system and a Continental system. This simple model provides a basic framework against which the *longue durée* of European history may, with value, be viewed. The areas between the systems were crossed by axes of communication creating corridors for interaction. The contact zones where the different systems interrelate — in places such as Andalucía, the Ebro valley, the great river systems of Gaul, and central southern Britain — have, throughout history, often been centres of innovation and dramatic social change.

These general truths, all too briefly stated, enable us better to appreciate the first millennium developments in Iberia in their broader geo-economic perspective.

### **The Iberian environment**

Any attempt to understand the impact of the environment on the development of human societies must begin by considering the broad constraints within which socio-economic systems develop. The physical landscape presents a series of ecological niches: in these communities must compete and reproduce themselves. The characteristics of these niches — the microenvironments — are determined to a large extent by the interaction of geomor-

The west European Peninsula: first millennium BC

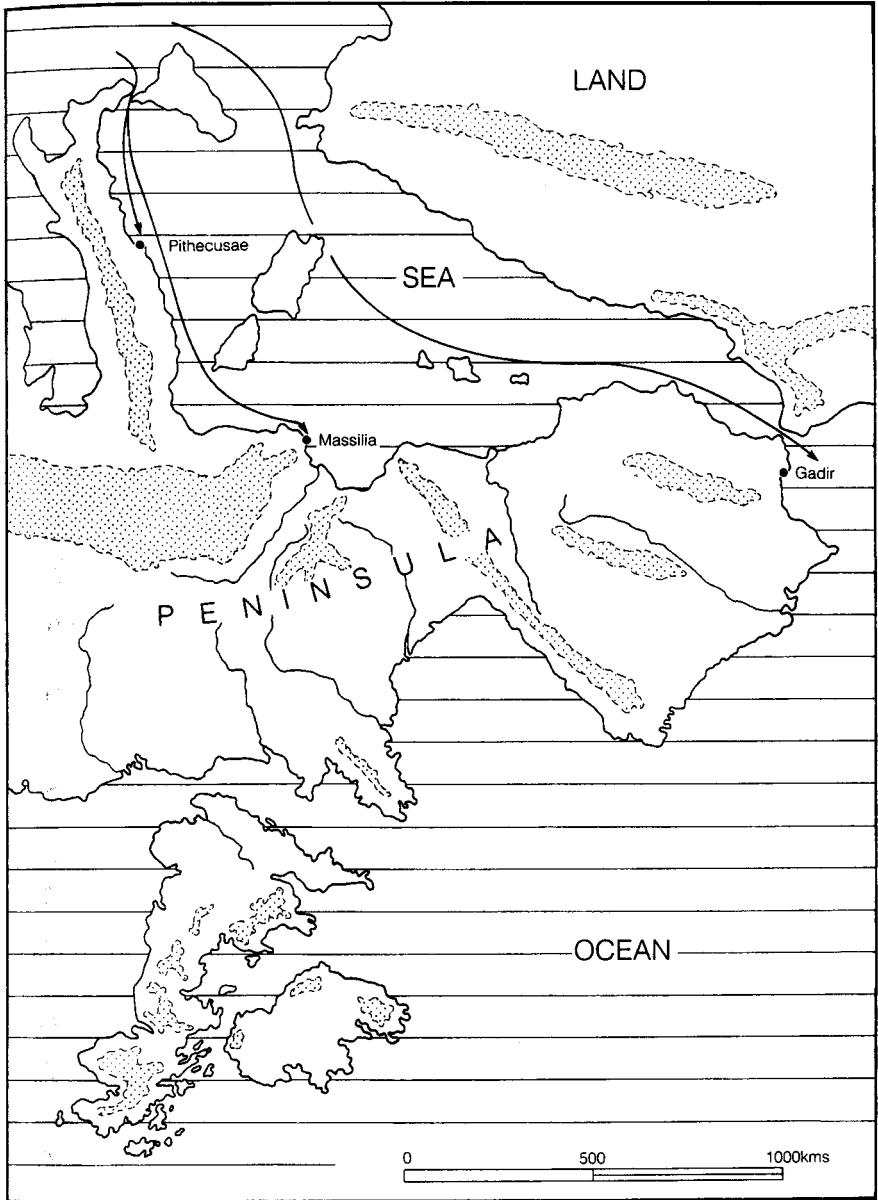


Figure 1. The west European peninsula: its maritime context. Source: author.

The west European Peninsula: first millennium BC

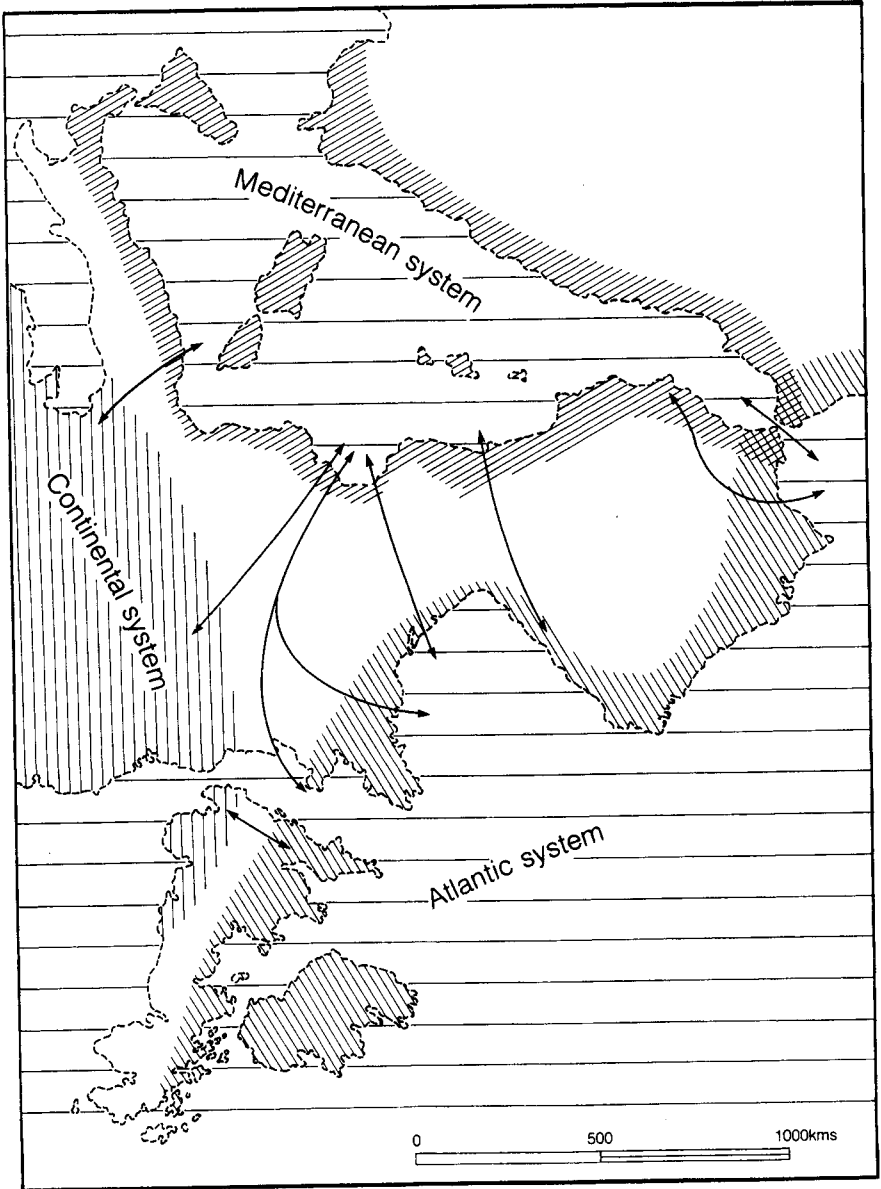


Figure 2. The west European peninsula: major cultural zones. Source: author.

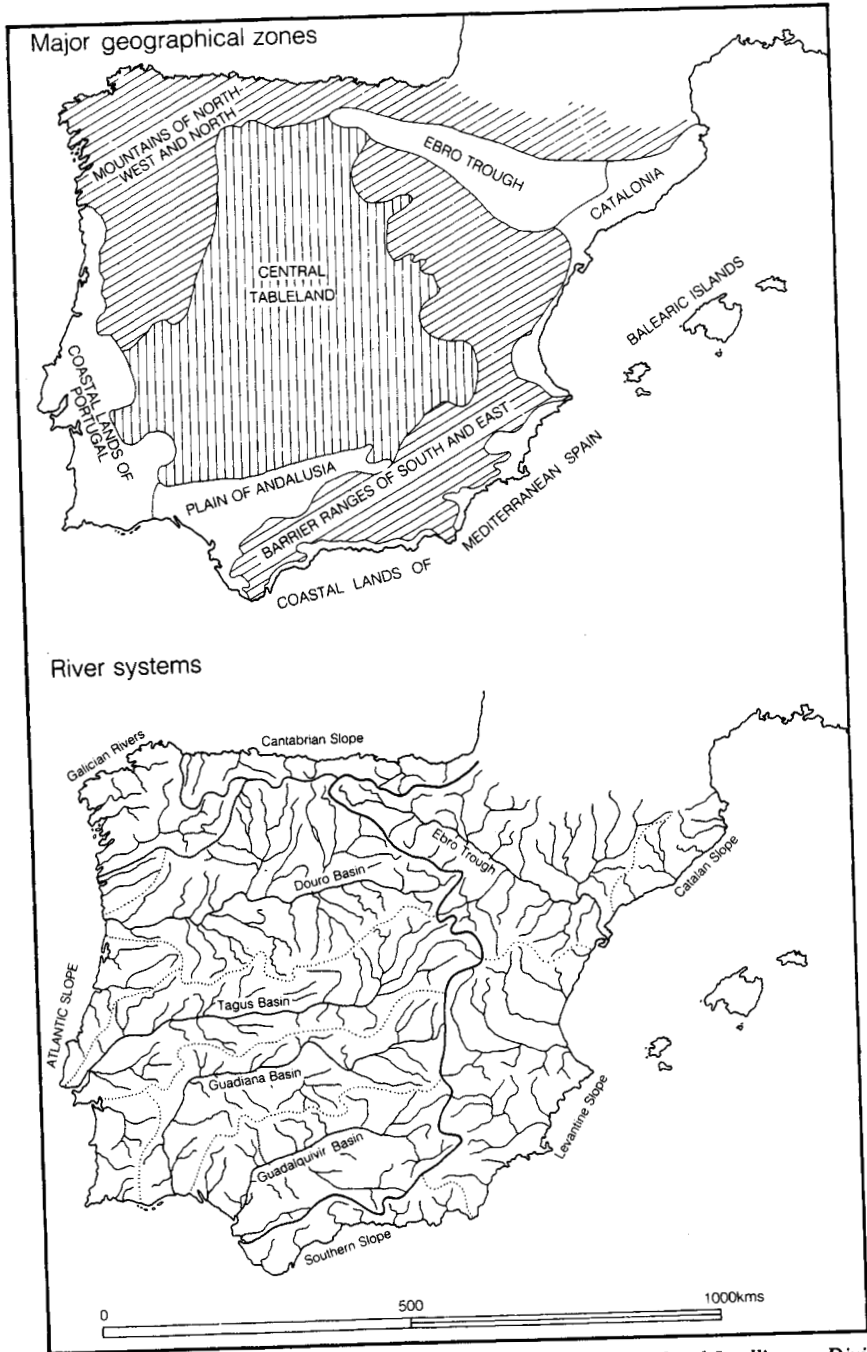
phology and climate, but the ecosystem which emerges, ever changing as climate fluctuates, is a highly dynamic system, the more so as human societies develop strategies and technologies which deliberately, or inadvertently, modify the biome. In other words, to understand the way in which societies evolve it is necessary to be fully aware of the constraints which geomorphology and climate impose. Although it is a somewhat unfashionable view, geography does, at least to a degree, determine.

Perhaps the most significant general observation to be made of the Iberian peninsula is that it turns its back on the Mediterranean and faces the Atlantic.<sup>1</sup> From the Mediterranean the approach to Iberia is forbidding. The point is well made by considering the river system (Figure 3). Apart from the Ebro and Segura, few significant rivers flow to the Mediterranean while the mountain ranges of the south and east create formidable barriers to communication beyond the coast lands of Mediterranean Spain, thus isolating, in different degrees, the macro-regions of the centre and west. This simple reality has had a direct effect on the origins and development of urban systems in the peninsula.

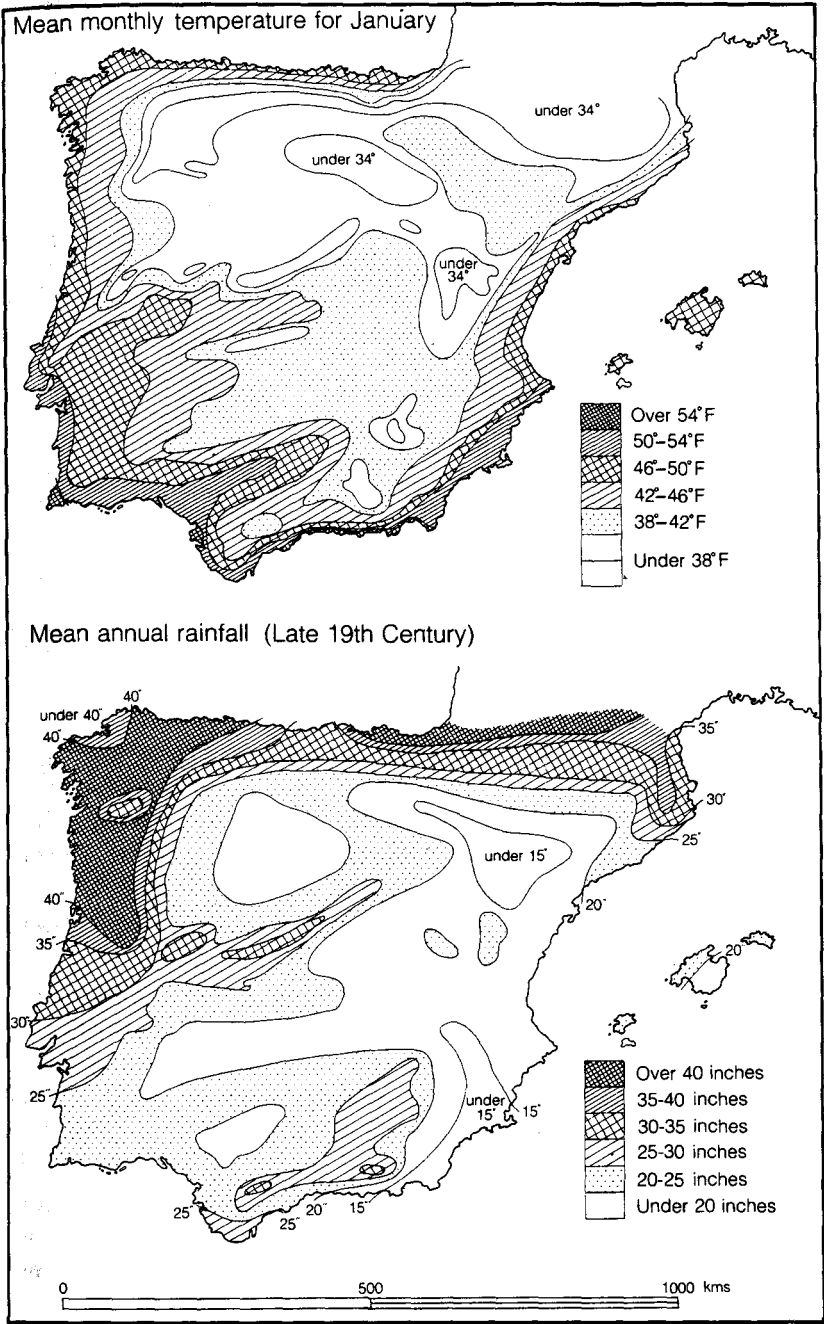
The second major determinate is climate. The maps of rainfall and temperature speak for themselves (Figure 4). The mean monthly temperature for January reflects the peninsular nature of the territory, the seas all around providing a warming influence leaving the centre, particularly the centre north, significantly colder. The mean annual rainfall is conditioned by different factors, notably the predominantly Atlantic climate and the mountainous nature of the north and west causing a greatly enhanced precipitation in these highland regions. Taken together, the different patterns of temperature and rainfall create significant regional variations in aridity from a humid zone in the north to an extreme semi-arid zone along the south-east coast (Figure 5).

Such factors control vegetation which in turns offers constraints and opportunities to the economic regimes of the communities occupying the different microclimatic zones. The agriculture which can be practised, using the simple technologies then available, within the humid zone of high rainfall in the hills and mountains of Galicia is very different from that possible in the arid zone of Murcia. This contrast between north and south can be demonstrated even more simply by contrasting the potential of mixed oak forests of the north with the olive and citrus zone of the south (Figure 6), one allowing a typical Mediterranean economy to develop, the other a temperate European.

It would be possible to overlay a number of other physical constraints upon the map of the peninsula each adding a further modification to the bio-geographic zoning, but beyond a certain point added complexity begins to confuse the picture. However, one final factor must be considered —



**Figure 3.** The geomorphology of the Iberian peninsula. Source: *Naval Intelligence Division: Vol. I (1941), figs. 2 and 3.*



**Figure 4.** The climate of the Iberian peninsula. Source: *Naval Intelligence Division: Vol. I (1941)*, figs. 30 and 31.

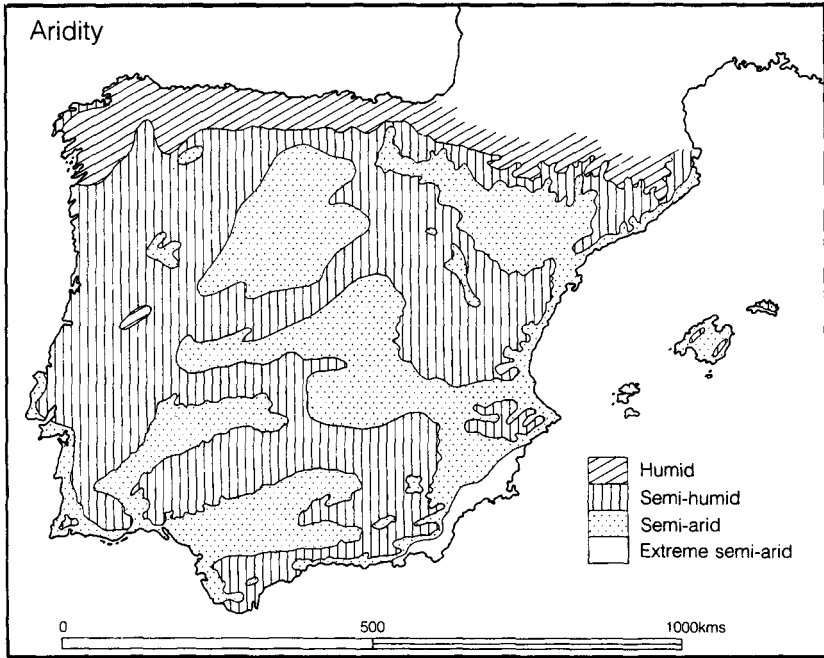


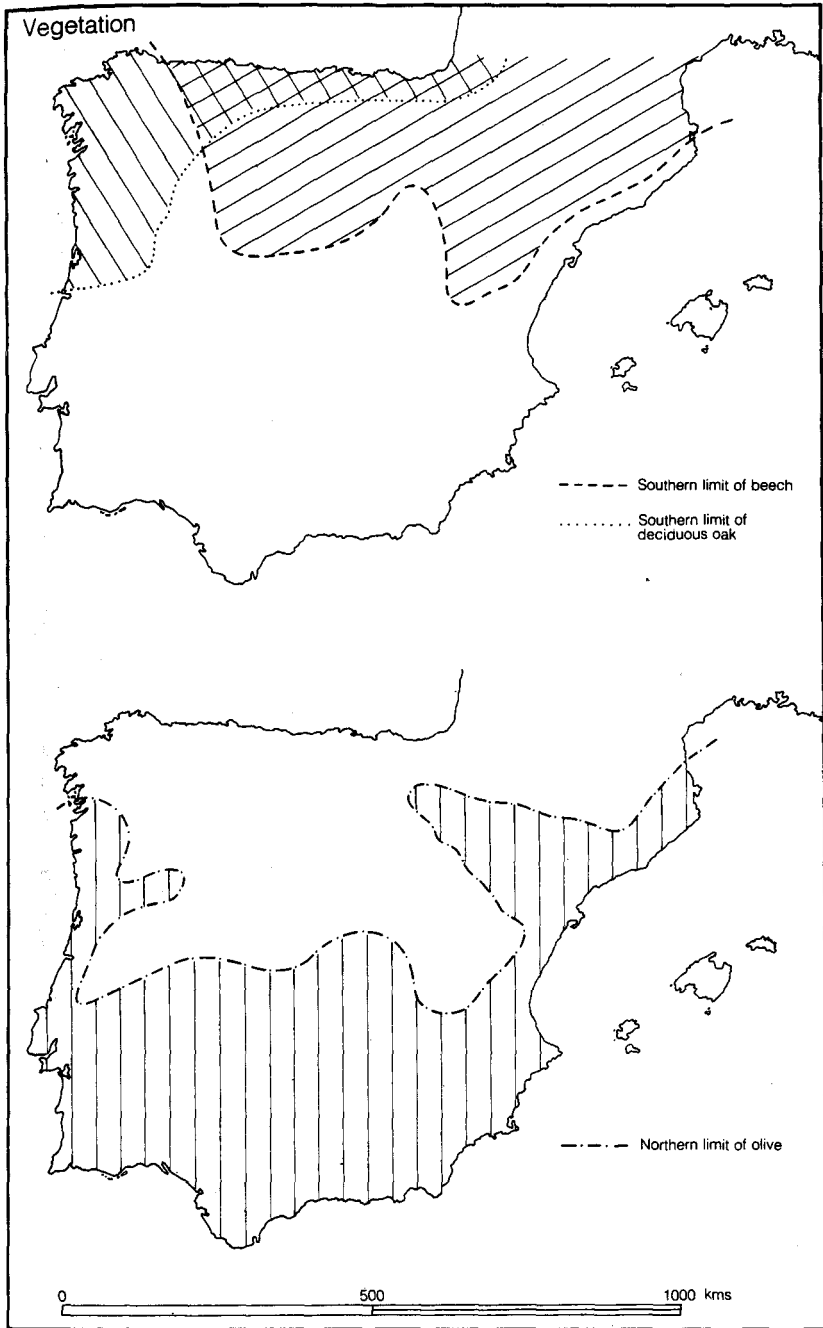
Figure 5. The aridity of the Iberian peninsula. Source: Terán and Solé Sibaris 1978, fig. 69.

the distribution of economically-important metals, iron, copper, silver, tin and gold spread throughout the wide arc of the pyrite zone (Figure 7). The restricted availability of these resources, and the changing values which both indigenous and external communities placed on them, created yet another variable in the complex mosaic of environmental niches.

Standing back from the detail in an attempt to see the broad pattern we may focus on two of the more significant divides (Figure 8) — the bioclimatic axis which distinguishes the Mediterranean environment from a temperate European, and the major north-south watershed between ease of access to the Mediterranean and direct riverine contact to the Atlantic. Superimposed upon this we may distinguish the two favoured natural environments, the deciduous oak forest and the olive/citrus zone, and over all we may lay the highly metalliferous pyrite arc.

All those factors have influenced social and economic development at various times throughout Iberian history. Their relevance to the first millennium is neatly demonstrated by Martín Almagro's map of regional groupings within the peninsula based on an exhaustive survey of the archaeological evidence of cultural variety (Almagro Gorbea and Ruiz Zapatero 1992, fig. 1). This provides vivid visual evidence of the dramatic





**Figure 6.** The vegetation of the Iberian peninsula. Source: *Naval Intelligence Division: Vol. I (1941), fig. 34.*

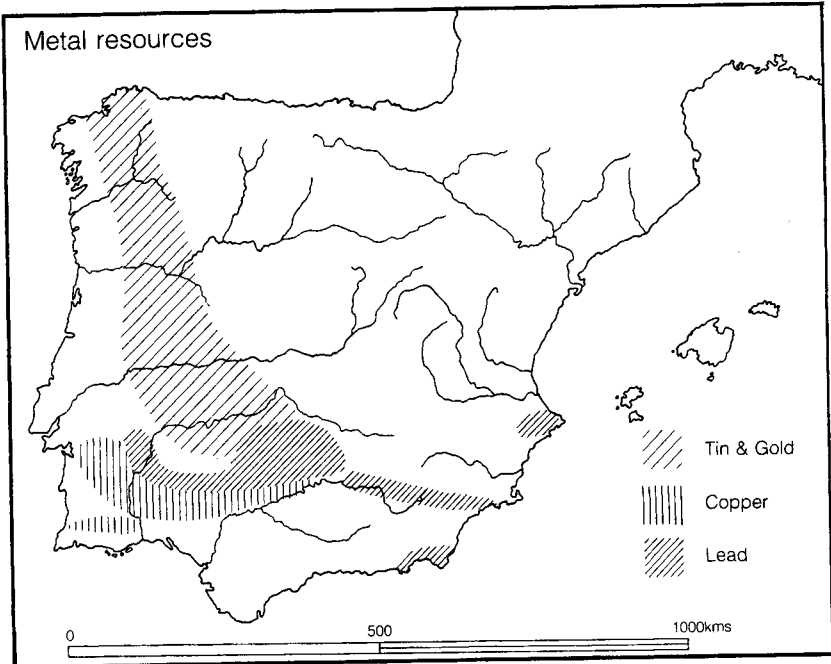


Figure 7. The metal resources of the Iberian peninsula. Source: Júdice Gamito 1988, map 4.

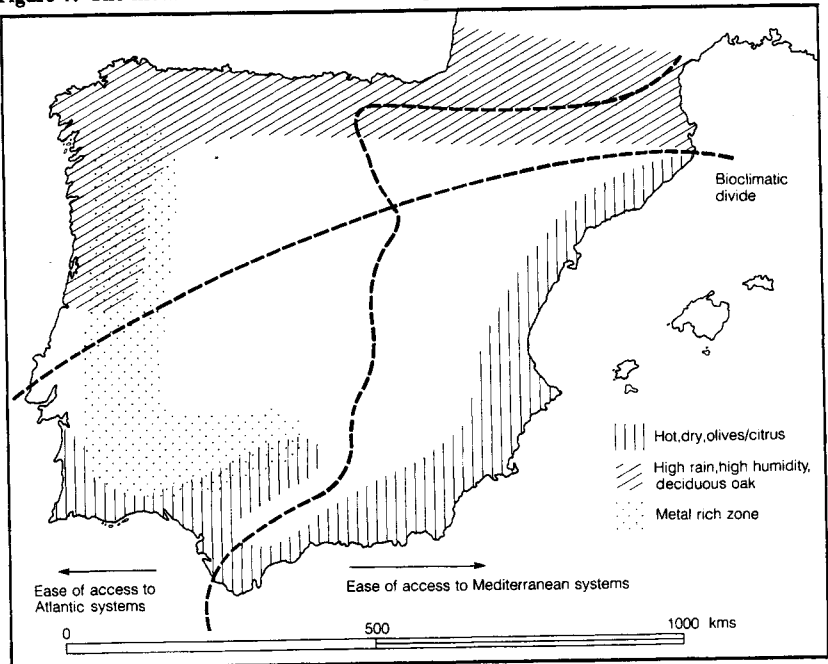


Figure 8. The major ecozones of the Iberian peninsula. Source: author.

impact of resource potential on social evolution in the formative period of our study.

### Social trajectories and interactions during the formative period: 1000–600 BC

The different landscapes of Iberia provide opportunities for societies to develop: they also create constraints. Both factors help to form the trajectory of social change. As a broad generalization a society may be conserving, simply reproducing itself with little change, or it might be innovating, developing or adopting new ideas and thus modifying its systems. In the case of an innovating society the motivation may be internal, led by such factors as population growth, technological change or *sui generis* cycles of intensification, or it may be external, the stimulus coming from interactions on a regional level or from forces generated entirely outside the regional system such as trade, colonization or invasion (Figure 9). Thus, in being able to define rate of change, to recognize discontinuity in development and to characterize the nature of the stimuli causing them, lies our ability, ultimately, to write a 'history' generated from within the archaeological data itself rather than from anecdotes gleaned from ancient historical sources, or from models based on recent political ideologies. The origin, development and spread of urban systems in Iberia can only begin to be understood when the indigenous socio-economic systems have been thoroughly examined in relation to the stimuli acting on them. Since these stimuli are part of a much broader geo-political scene our perspectives must, necessarily, be widened.

The earliest, and in many ways the most clearly defined of the external stimuli affecting Iberia, was the impact of the Phoenician trading enterprise on the metal-rich communities of western Andaluc a, referred to by contemporary sources as Tartessos. At what distant time ships from the east Mediterranean began to explore these regions is at present unclear, though

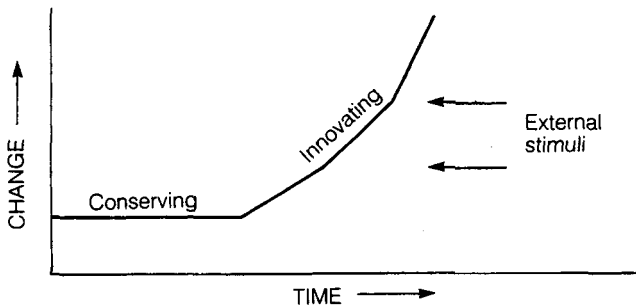


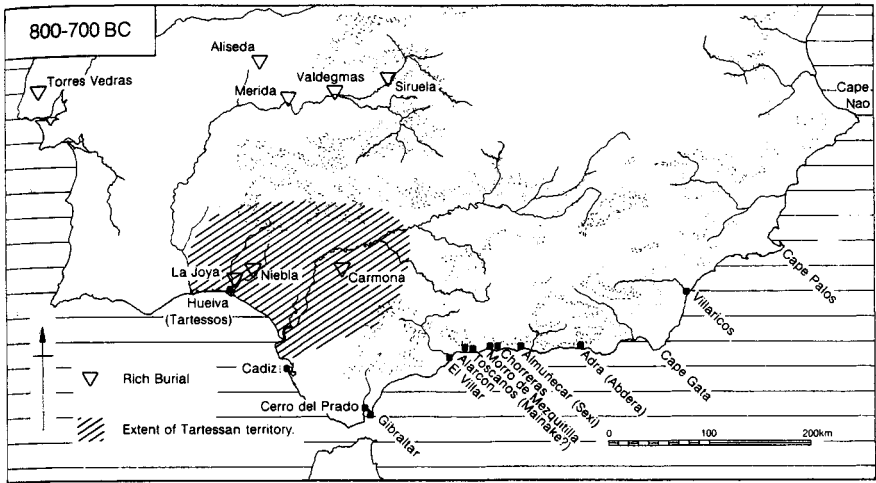
Figure 9. Trajectories of change. Source: author.

the recent discovery of Mycenaean pottery deep inland at Montoro (Prov. Córdoba) points to some kind of maritime traffic at least as early as the twelfth century BC (De la Cruz 1988) and it may well be that the traditional date of 1104 or 3 BC for the founding of Gadir is a memory of these early voyages.<sup>2</sup> The nature of pre-colonial Phoenician trade with the peninsula is a matter of considerable potential interest and deserves detailed study.

At any event there is little doubt that the development of the island of Gadir (Cádiz), as a permanent Phoenician trading port, took place about 800 BC (Aubert 1993, 220–36) and was a direct response to greatly increased demands for silver by the Assyrian Empire (Frankenstein 1979). Gadir is, of course, an Atlantic port and as such it forged a direct link between the existing Atlantic systems and the now-extended Mediterranean system. One possible effect of this may be seen in the dramatic intensification of the movement and deposition of bronze along the Atlantic sea-ways: but these issues, fascinating though they are, are not directly relevant to the present theme. What is, is the interaction between the early trading communities and indigenous society which gave rise to the 'orientalizing' phase of the west Andalucían Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age society. The question has been examined in detail elsewhere (Aubert 1993, chapter 9). Here we need to emphasize only that the changes which took place did so essentially within the indigenous socio-economic systems: intensification was apparent in silver production; nucleated settlements already in existence began to develop; and orientalized goods such as bronze jugs, bowls and incense burners as well as jewellery and ivory carvings (whatever their exact place of manufacture) found their way into inter-regional exchange networks ending up in élite burials.<sup>3</sup>

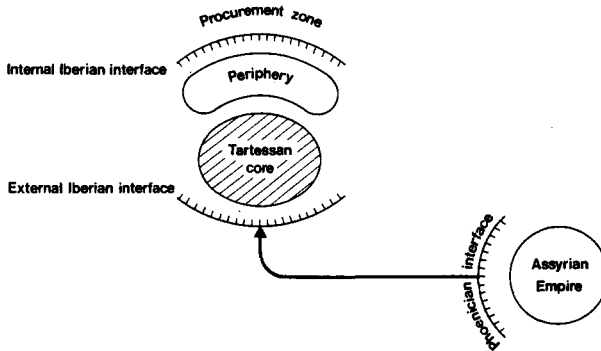
The archaeological evidence (Figure 10) conforms well with a standard core-periphery model, with the Tartessian world being the periphery to the Assyrian core (Figure 11) but it also offers another level of detail. Élite burials with prestige goods occur within the Tartessian core, at La Joya, Carmona, Niebla, etc., where they presumably represent the Tartessian aristocracy, but another group, centred on the valley of the Guadiana, marks an 'internal interface' reflecting a zone through which commodities from the procurement zone to the north (tin, gold?) had to pass to enter the Tartessian sphere for consumption or export. In these élite burials of the internal interface zone we are surely seeing the development of a classic prestige goods economy.

The development of Phoenician colonies along the southern Iberian coast in the eighth and seventh centuries introduces a new dimension.<sup>4</sup> The very existence of these settlements and their number must have been a major stimulus to the regional economy. The potential impact can begin



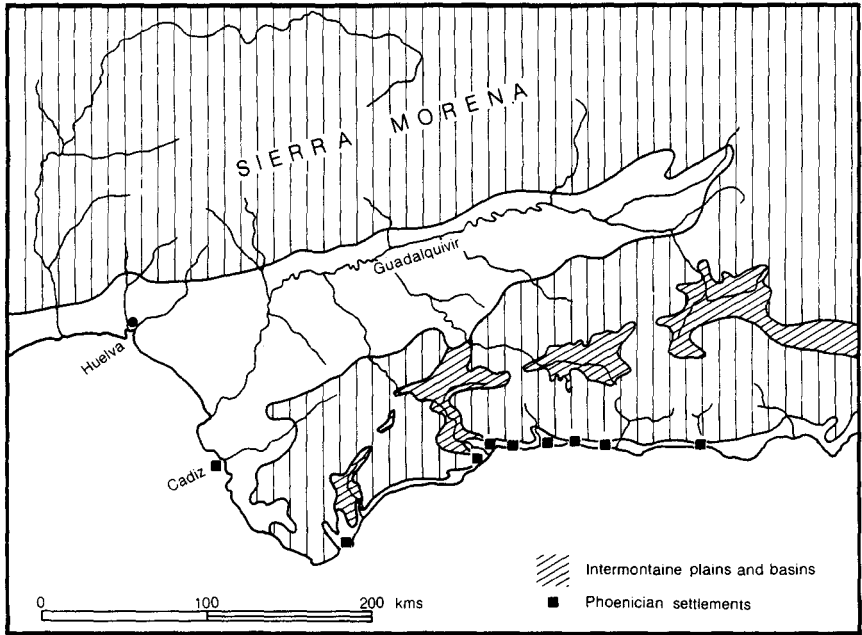
**Figure 10.** South-western Iberia in the eighth and seventh centuries. Source: Cunliffe 1994, fig. 3.

#### Aspects of the Mediterranean System : Eighth Century BC



**Figure 11.** Model to explain the context of the Tartessian system. Source: author.

to be understood when the 'colonies' are considered in their broader geographical context (Figure 12). All are optimally sited to exploit not only the products of the fertile coastal plain but of the zones of differing resource potential to the north, the high sierras, the intermontane plateaux, the Guadalquivir valley and the silver-rich Sierra Morena beyond. Given the founding of the colonies in and after the eighth century, and the regional exploitation which must surely have followed, then some degree of intensification is likely to be recognizable in the archaeological record of those settlements which controlled the interfaces between the different resource zones.



**Figure 12.** The Phoenician settlements and their hinterland. Source: Cunliffe 1994, fig. 4.

One such area is the valley of the Guadalquivir. On the southern flank of the valley where the Campiña approaches the Baetic foothills a number of large settlements of urban-like proportions developed many of them becoming cities in later Iberian times.<sup>5</sup> Some, at least, of these sites were already considerable settlements by the Late Bronze Age. One example is the hill town of Torreparedones lying deep in the now-depopulated Campiña of Córdoba.<sup>6</sup> By the sixth century BC, when the site was enclosed by a massive defensive wall, the settlement had already expanded to 10.5 ha in extent and whenever the sondages cut to examine the urban stratigraphy were deep enough, evidence of Late Bronze Age occupation was recovered. The 2 m or so of stratified deposit which accumulated before the wall was constructed allows the process of intensification to be charted. The ceramic assemblages of the ninth-seventh century show a dramatic change from local coarse wares to types inspired by those imported into and manufactured in the coastal colonies. In addition to these 'southern' types mica-gritted fabrics from the Sierra Morena to the north were recovered emphasizing again the N-S route astride which Torreparedones and similar sites must have stood.

Evidence for intensification is also apparent in the greatly increased

volume of pottery recovered as well as its variety. A preliminary examination of the plant remains by Professor Martin Jones also indicates change. Barley and wheat are dominant throughout but there was a shift towards hexaploids between the eighth and fifth centuries. The only other economic plant identified in the eighth century levels was the olive but by the fifth century, in addition to olive, grapes, hazelnuts, and flax were abundant. The evidence is consistent with an intensification of agrarian production but clearly more work is needed here and on similar sites before we can begin to generalize with any degree of certainty.

In summary, the evidence from Torreparedones conforms closely with the changes which might be expected if the coastal colonies had performed a regional, rather than a purely local, function. But the point that needs to be stressed is that large Late Bronze Age settlements were already in existence before the foundation of the colonies and simply continued to develop. The question of outstanding importance is how 'urban' were they before the eighth century contact period? This is of fundamental importance to our theme. Clearly, large-scale excavations, like those at Puente de Tablas, are likely to be of crucial importance to the debate.

#### **The sixth century crisis and after: 600–480 BC**

The sixth century was a time of major readjustment in the balance of power in the Mediterranean. The fall of Tyre and of the other Phoenician ports of the Palestinian coast to the Babylonians in 574 and the Persian expansion through Asia Minor following the sack of Sardis in 546, leading to the invasion of the Balkans and the threat to Greek civilization, cannot have failed to have had a disruptive effect on trading systems in the Mediterranean. This is a theme which has not received the attention which it deserves: nor can it be explored further here. Suffice it to say that one effect was to sever, or at least to lessen, the ties between the east and west Mediterranean. In the west this would, inevitably, have led to a major readjustment in spheres of influence and in allegiances. All this is reflected in well known incidents such as the battle of the Sardonian Sea (Alalia) in 537 and eventually in the first treaty agreed by Carthage and Rome in 509.

Archaeologically the dislocations of this period may be recognizable in the rise in the maritime importance of Carthage and Ibiza after c.550. In Andalucía there were significant readjustments among the coastal colonies and a 'sixth-century crisis' has been recognized among the inland towns.<sup>7</sup> Change there may well have been but 'crisis' may be too dramatic a word. The enclosure of the town of Torreparedones with a massive defensive wall, made more impressive with closely-spaced forward-projecting towers, could be attributed to more troubled times but it could equally

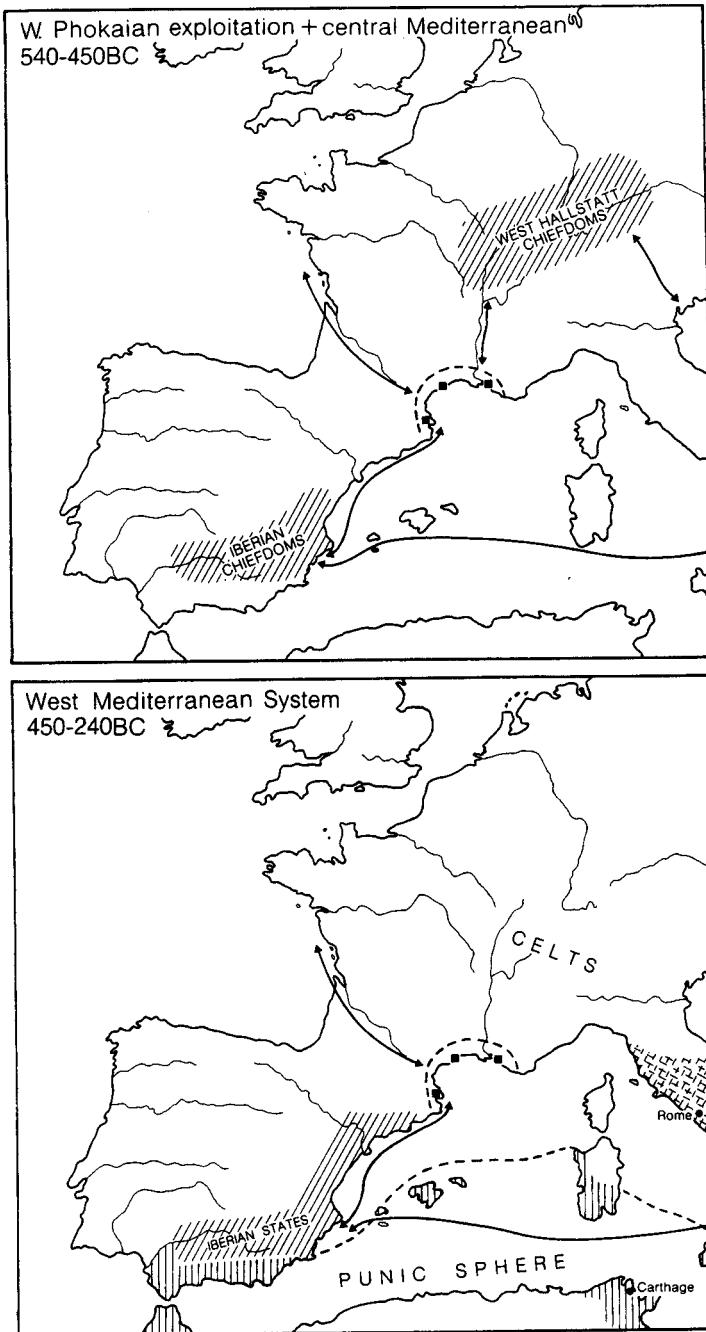
well be symbolic of an enhanced status. The construction of closely packed houses within, with walls of mudbrick or pisé on stone foundations, at this time marks an early stage in a continuous process of urbanization. The concept of a 'crisis' in Andalucía deserves careful reconsideration in the light of other possible models.

One of the major effects of this 'phase of readjustment' in the west Mediterranean is an intensification in activity generated from the Greek colonies around the Golfe du Lions. For simplicity we may divide this into three phases: 600–540, 540–480 and after 480.

The foundation of Massilia in c.600 marks the end of a long process of exploration and trading which certainly involved a considerable Etruscan input. With a Greek colonial establishment in place eastern Greek influence began to dominate and inner colonization proceeded. To what extent the foundation of the first colony reflected on trade with Iberia in the early sixth century it is impossible to judge. Greek products were reaching the peninsula but were restricted in their distribution to the southern ports.<sup>8</sup> It could well be argued that the carriers were not Greek at all but were Phoenicians picking up cargoes at ports in the central Mediterranean for trans-shipment west. The point has been hotly debated but is archaeologically untestable. By the middle of the sixth century the picture had changed dramatically. Greek material, mainly pottery, was found more widely scattered along the south and now the east coasts. Even more significant are the higher value items, such as bronzes, which were now finding their way inland into just that area where powerful polities were emerging — that is where the Iberians were beginning to develop their highly distinctive urban-based culture. Intensified contact with the Greek world, via its west Mediterranean core, may well have been the added stimulus needed to enhance the process. The remarkable sculptured compositions found at Porcuna in Andalucía could be the early result of an enhanced Greek component, even the presence of a Greek master sculptor providing inspiration for developing local schools.<sup>9</sup>

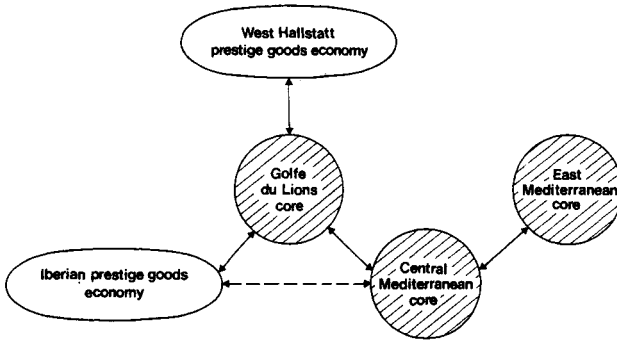
By about 530, it would appear that a temporary stable state had developed in western Europe with two 'barbarian' zones locked into exchange systems with the Greek enclaves around the Golfe du Lions — the Iberian chiefdoms of south-east Iberia and the West Hallstatt chiefdoms of the interfluvium between the Rhine, Seine, Loire, Rhône and Danube (Figure 13). The West Hallstatt system has been studied in detail and a useful generalized model developed based on the manipulation of prestige goods.<sup>10</sup> The model may well be applicable, at least in part, to the Iberian system at this time. However, whilst the mechanisms of exchange may have been much the same when viewed from the Mediterranean, the results of the intensified contact in the two barbarian hinterlands were





**Figure 13.** The West Mediterranean systems sixth-third centuries. Source: Cunliffe 1994, fig. 11.

## Aspects of the Mediterranean System : Sixth Century BC



**Figure 14.** Model to explain the context of the West Mediterranean systems in the sixth century. Source: author.

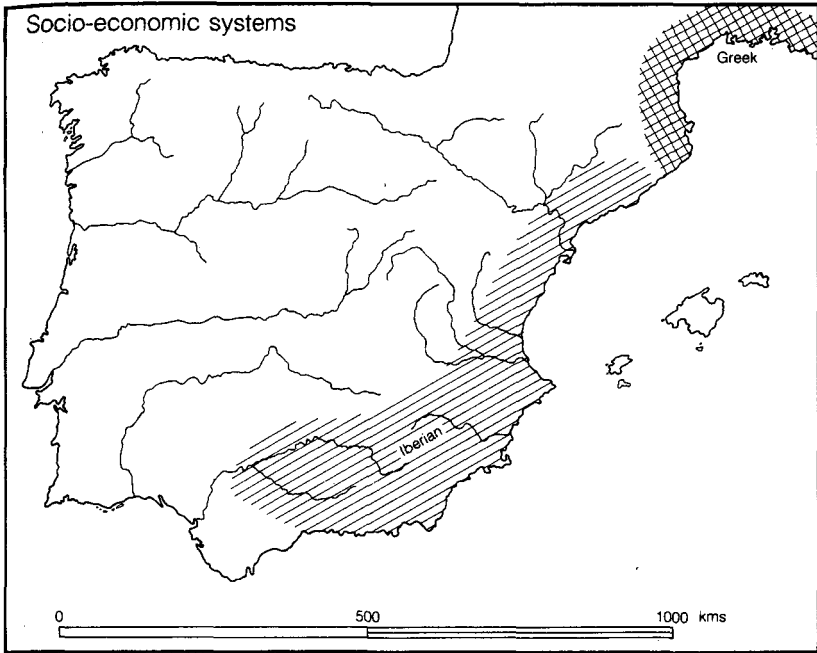
very different. This is what would be expected given the different levels and trajectories of socio-economic development already experienced by the barbarian chiefdoms in the two regions by the time that trading systems had intensified to a sufficient degree to have had an effect.

The model summed up geographically in Figure 13 (top) may be expressed more diagrammatically (Figure 14) in a way which reminds us that though the cities of the Golfe du Lions formed the core to the Iberian and West Hallstatt periphery the situation was really more complex. The cities of Magna Graecia in Italy and Sicily (the central Mediterranean core) must have featured either as a direct or indirect contributor while ultimately the Aegean world was linked to the rest. In untangling such a complex web of interactions archaeology provides a somewhat blunt instrument and the precise balances and shifts may never be known.

A dynamic core-periphery system, articulated by the flow of prestige goods is inherently unstable. Catastrophic change can be triggered either from the core, for example by fluctuations in the quantity of prestige goods available for exchange, or by developments in the periphery. In the case of the West Hallstatt zone the collapse was internal, caused by aggressive folk movements emanating from its northern periphery. These became the Celtic migrations referred to by classical authors (Cunliffe 1988, 33–5).

It may have been that the loss of the northern zone of procurement caused the Greek cities of the Golfe to turn their attentions increasingly to Iberia. At any event the very large quantities of pottery reaching the east coast of the peninsula after 450 is a clear indication of a greatly intensified contact.

If we stand back from the complexity of the Mediterranean scene and

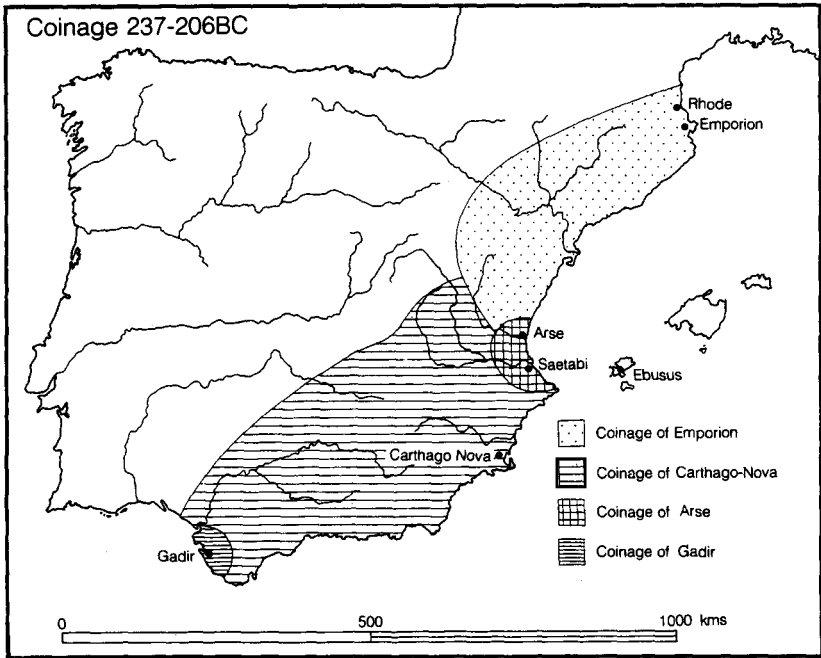


**Figure 15.** The Iberian system in the fourth century. Source: author.

focus on Iberia, a comparatively simple picture emerges which may be summed up as follows:

- already by the Late Bronze Age there existed in the Guadalquivir valley large agglomerations of population scattered in a densely peopled landscape;
- the Phoenician contact, especially after the foundation of the coastal colonies, led to the intensification of the economic, and presumably also the social and political, systems of the indigenous communities in the Middle and Upper Guadalquivir;
- ‘world events’ during the sixth century caused some readjustments with Carthage rising to power and a Greek enclave developing in the Golfe du Lions;
- stimuli, created by the development of a core-periphery system in the Greek west Mediterranean, resulted in further intensification of the Iberian hinterland but skewed the focus more to the south-east.

It was in this south-east Iberian arc where influences from the Mediterranean states were at their greatest that the socio-political systems which characterized the culture of the Iberian states emerged in the fifth century and flourished throughout the fourth (Figures 13 (lower) and 15).

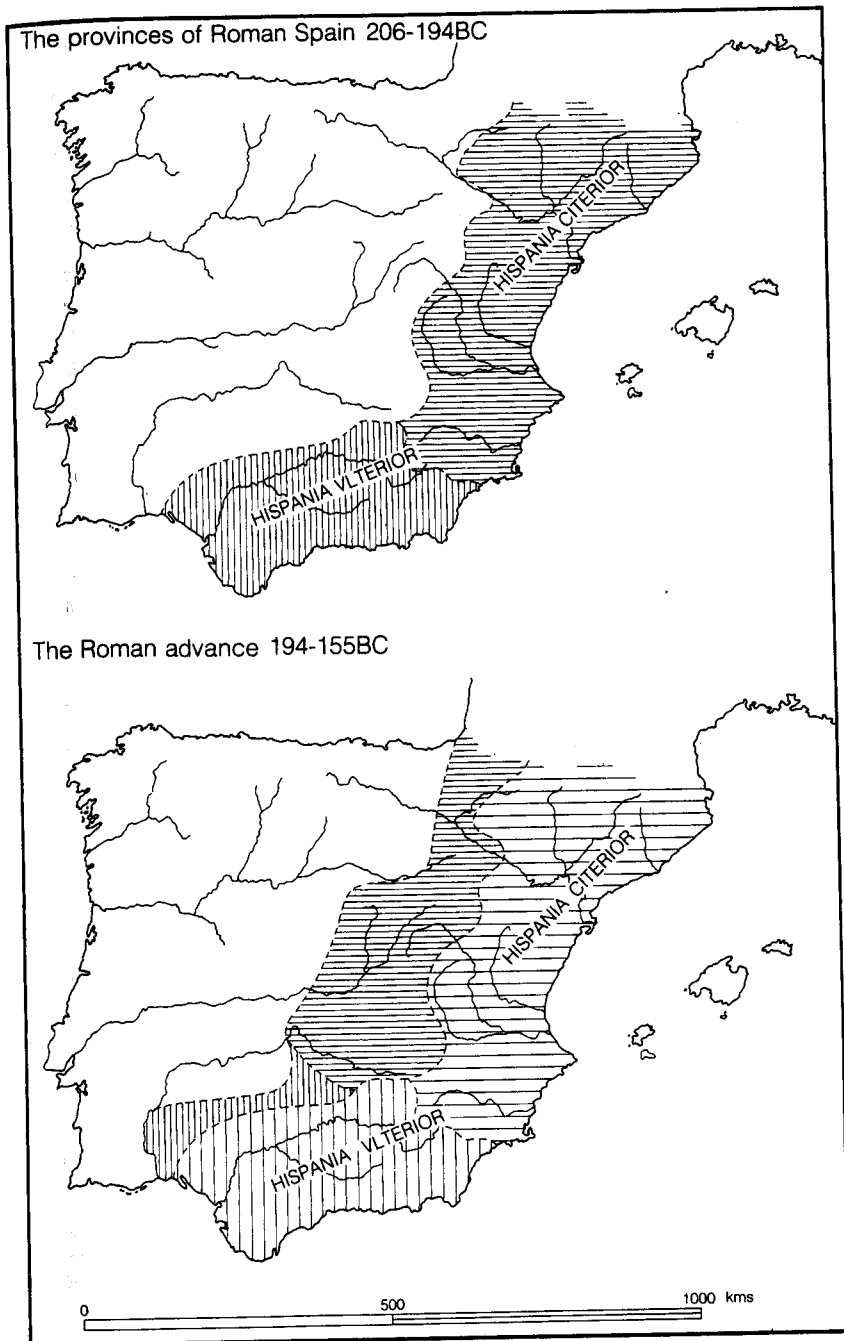


**Figure 16.** The distribution of late third century coinages. Source: Montenegro Duque *et al.* 1986, fig. p. 31.

### From the third century to the Roman conquest

The growing influence of Carthage in the south culminated, in 237, with the landing of a large Carthaginian army led by the Barcids. Their choice of Carthago Nova as base for their operations and the capital of the new-won territory is a dramatic confirmation of the political geography that had by then emerged. By the end of the third century, when the Romans emerged as victors of the conflict, the entire Mediterranean zone of the peninsula had developed a decidedly urban aspect, the complexity of the socio-political systems in operation now being reflected by local coinages and the overshadowing dominance of coins issued from Carthago Nova and Emporion (Figure 16). This Mediterranean urbanized zone is neatly reflected in the divisions of the bioclimatic map (Figure 8).

What followed is history — though not without interest. At first Roman involvement was restricted entirely within the urbanized zone (Figure 17) — a pattern widely reflected elsewhere in the initial stages of romanization. Here Roman models of urbanization were grafted on to an already vigorous urban stock. Later as Rome was drawn further into the peninsula tribes with far less centralized organization became absorbed. It was an unremitting process which culminated with the activities of the Augustan



**Figure 17.** The advance of Rome in the third to second centuries. Source: Montenegro Duque *et al.* 1986, figs. pp. 45 and 52.

period in the remote north-west. The flowering of the Castro Culture in this region under Roman domination is a fascinating example of the way in which an indigenous system with its own trajectories can be modified and intensified under Mediterranean stimulus.

### Retrospect

The issues which we have, all too briefly, examined in this paper are universally applicable to the question of the emergence of complex societies.

Any such study must begin with landscape. The ecological niches within which human societies exist present both constraints and opportunities, the understanding of which is of fundamental importance to the processes of indigenous development. It is only within these parameters that the trajectory and dynamics of local and regional change can begin to be defined. Once this has been done it is possible to assess the significance of external influences whether from nearby or afar. The constraints remain but new demands may lead to the opportunities of the environment being maximized.

Increasing regional development tends to create ever widening 'world systems' the demands of which feed back into cycles of intensification. In such situations the constraints of environment can be overridden as the complex socio-economic systems which underlie urbanism spread beyond the ecological niches in which they originated.

Iberia in the first millennium BC offers a superb opportunity for examining all these issues in fine detail. The historical skeleton is well known and archaeological data of remarkable quality survives. The exploration of both within a developing theoretical framework holds out the expectation of major advances in our understanding of the genesis of Europe.

### NOTES

1 For an easily accessible overview of the physical geography of Iberia the old Naval Intelligence Division Handbook (1941) is extremely useful (whence our Figures 3, 4 and 6). For a more detailed source see Téran and Solé Sibarís 1978.

2 The myths surrounding the foundation of Gadir were recorded by Strabo and Velleius Paterculus, reworking stories available to them in their first century AD compilations. The sources are fully and most conveniently discussed in Aubet 1993, 168–70.

3 The literature is considerable. Details of silver extraction based on archaeological excavation are given in Blanco, Luzón and Ruíz Mata 1970 and Blanco and Rethenberg 1981. The effects of 'orientalization' are surveyed by Aubet 1982. Élite

goods of oriental style distributed in Tartessos and beyond have been widely studied, e.g. Aubet 1982, Garrido Ruíz and Orta García 1978, Almagro Gorbea 1977, Culican 1968, Grau-Zimmermann 1978 and Celestino Pérez 1991.

4 The literature is extensive. It is most conveniently summarized by Aubet (1993, 249–73 with bibliography, 339–41). New insights are offered in this volume in the papers of Aubet and Niemeyer.

5 The significant discussions of the processes of urban development are to be found in Ruíz Rodríguez 1981 and Ruíz Rodríguez and Molinos Molinos 1984 (with references to individual sites). See also the paper of Ruíz Rodríguez in this volume.

6 The site of Torreparedones has been examined in a campaign of field-work and excavation between 1988 and 1992 directed by M<sup>a</sup>C. Fernández Castro and Barry Cunliffe.

7 The question of the sixth century 'crisis' is reviewed by Aubet (1993, 273–6) with references, 342. The paper by Aubet in this volume continues the discussion.

8 The Greek imports to the Iberian peninsula have been widely discussed. The two principal works are those of Shefton (1982) and Rouillard (1991). The significance of this material in a historical context has been summarized by Domínguez (1991) and the broader implications for western European systems has been reviewed by Cunliffe (1994).

9 The sculpture from Porcuna has been published in part by Agustín and Navarrete (1987). An introductory note by Blázquez and Navarrete (1985) is useful as is a discussion of the overall composition by Negueruela (1987).

10 The basic study was first introduced by Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978). It is further developed in Pare (1991) which provides the salutary reminder that the indigenous social trajectory of west central European communities is likely to have been of some significance to the acceptance of Mediterranean luxury goods.

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**BARRY CUNLIFFE**, *Fellow of the British Academy*  
*Institute of Archaeology, 36 Beaumont Street, Oxford*

### **Diversity in the landscape: the geographical background to urbanism in Iberia**

Iberia is best considered as the western extremity of the European peninsula. As such it shares in the development of three cultural and economic systems: Continental; Mediterranean; and Atlantic. The diverse geomorphology and climate of Iberia allow the landscape to be divided into zones of differing resource potential which have influenced both indigenous development and accessibility, accounting in part for the observed cultural diversity and the differing trajectories of socio-cultural development. Against this background the origins and spread of urban systems is considered beginning in the formative period, 1000–600 BC, during which the peninsula was brought within the sphere of eastern Mediterranean trading systems. The sixth century 'crisis' is briefly considered and the reformation which followed is discussed in the broader sphere of western European development. The spread of urban systems from the Mediterranean zone to the rest of the peninsula was completed in the early Roman period.

### **La diversidad en el paisaje: el antecedente geográfico al urbanismo en Iberia**

Iberia se considera como el extremo occidental de la península europea. Como tal comparte el desarrollo de tres sistemas culturales y económicos: continental, mediterráneo y atlántico. La variedad en la geomorfología y clima de Iberia permite que su paisaje pueda ser dividido en zonas que difieren en recursos potenciales, que han influenciado tanto el desarrollo indígena como a su acceso a éstos, siendo causante en parte de la diversidad cultural observada y las diferentes trayectorias de su desarrollo sociocultural. Frente estos antecedentes, se consideran los orígenes y extensión de los sistemas urbanos, comenzando en el periodo formativo, 1000–600 a.C., durante el cual la Península pasa a formar parte de la esfera de los sistemas comerciales del Mediterráneo Oriental. La crisis del siglo VI a.C. se considera brevemente y también se discuten las reformas que se produjeron en la amplia esfera del desarrollo de la Europa occidental. La extensión de los sistemas urbanos desde la zona mediterránea al resto de la Península se completó a principios del periodo romano.