

TWO SHERDS IN A CIGARBOX: THE GREEK COMPONENT IN TOSCANOS-MAINAKE¹

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Cigarboxes, functioning as depositories for important finds in archaeology and related disciplines, deserve a science-historical study of their own, as was argued recently by the American palaeontologist S.J. Gould.² The publication of one such cigarbox (Fig. 1) may contribute to the dataset of such a study, as well as illustrate the contradiction between the literary sources and the results of archaeology for one ancient site—Toscanos.

The cigarbox, illustrated in Fig. 1 (now in the Archaeological Museum, Málaga), contains two sherds of Proto-Corinthian kotylae (Fig. 2), which were picked up in 1961 during a survey near Torre del Mar (Province of Málaga). The sherds seemed to confirm an identification of the site, made earlier by Adolf Schulten, with the Phocaeen/Massaliote colony 'Mainake', mentioned in ancient sources.³

Following excavations, which from 1964 onwards were conducted on the site by the German Archaeological Institute at Madrid, failed to reveal, however, the expected Greek colony. Instead, a Westphoenician settlement turned up, which the excavators named Toscanos.⁴ Although

¹ This note is a largely reworked version of an article, published in Dutch in TMA (Docker 1993). Note that in this article two plates were published upside down: fig. 2 and 5. The reinterpretation of the results of the excavations in Toscanos and the study of the amphora material would not have been possible without the generous support of the excavators of the site, H.G. Niemeyer (Hamburg) and H. Schubart (Madrid), for which I thank them again on this occasion. In Spain thanks are due also to R. Puertas Tricas, director of the Archaeological Museum of Málaga, and his staff for providing me study facilities, and to the Spanish government for granting me a bursary for the winter of 1989-90. S.C. Bakhuizen, C.W. Neeft and W. v.d. Put (Amsterdam) are to be thanked for their critical comments on an earlier version of this paper.

² Purcell & Gould 1992. In a discussion programme on Dutch television, Gould renewed this plea.

³ Schulten 1922: 30-38; Schulten 1940: 96-98; Schulten 1943: 23-32; Niemeyer 1962; Schubart 1992: 19. Further references: Barceló 1988: 11 and esp. note 2.

⁴ Publications on the excavations at Toscanos listed in Niemeyer 1982a: 205-206; Niemeyer 1985: 124-126.



Fig. 1. Cigarbox, in which the two Proto-Corinthian sherds from Toscanos (survey 1961) are kept. Archaeological Museum, Málaga.

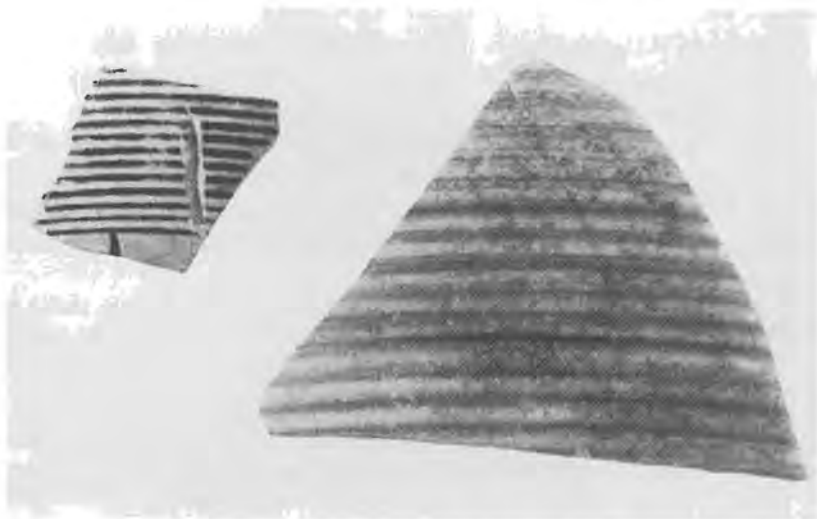


Fig. 2. Two fragments of Proto-Corinthian kotylae from Toscanos, survey 1961 (after Niemeyer 1962: Pl. 14c).

already in the forties of this century doubts were raised on the identification of the site with Mainake by the Spanish scholar A. García y Bellido, a wider scientific discussion was only possible after the results

of the later German excavations became known.⁵ The summary of the controversy by one of the excavators of Toscanos, H.G. Niemeyer, which appeared 1980 in both a German and a Spanish version, seemed to reconcile all the conflicting data.⁶ However, a *communis opinio* had not been formulated, for the debate went on and has resulted in new points of view, especially in more recent studies. The present contribution hopes to achieve two goals: first a summary of the conflicting opinions and arguments is given and, secondly, the character of the Greek component in Toscanos is (re-)evaluated. The preliminary results of a recent study, based on the amphora material of six largely unpublished excavation campaigns in Toscanos, are here incorporated into the discussion.

Mainake and the connection with Toscanos

In two recent studies by A. Del Castillo and P. Rouillard all ancient sources, connected with Mainake, are being cited and discussed *in extenso*.⁷ A review of these sources may, therefore, be limited to elementary references.

The connection between Mainake and the area around Toscanos was established for the first time, in 1922, by Adolf Schulten.⁸ In his survey on the site he thought to have found enough indications to localise the Phocaeen/Massaliote colony of Mainake on the Western hill, Cerro del Peñón, and the indigenous settlement Maenuba, also mentioned in the sources, on the east side of the river, at Cerro del Mar (Fig. 3). Indeed, on both sites indications for ancient occupation have been found, which, however, in the case of Cerro del Peñón point to only a marginal Archaic (Phoenician), but mainly Roman and Arabic settlement; in the case of Cerro del Mar to a Punic and Roman occupation.⁹

The river separating the two settlements is the Río de Vélez. Especially from recent geological research in connection with the project "Küstenforschung" of the German Archaeological Institute in Madrid it has become clear, that the river had not silted up yet in the eighth, seventh and sixth century BC and that the present river delta in front of Toscanos had not yet been formed (Fig. 3).¹⁰ The estuary of the Río de Vélez was a kind of fjord, that must have been very well navigable, as Pliny

⁵ García y Bellido 1948: 3-19.

⁶ Niemeyer 1979/80; Niemeyer 1980.

⁷ Del Castillo 1989; Rouillard 1991: 292-297.

⁸ Schulten 1922: 30-38.

⁹ Pellicer Catalán 1969; Niemeyer & Schubart 1969: 12-24.

¹⁰ Arteaga, Hoffmann, Schubart & Schulz 1988.

(*Naturalis Historia* III 8,12) states explicitly for the ancient situation of Mainake. It is, then, hardly surprising that the harbour of Toscanos has been localised recently in the bay directly north of the site (Fig. 3).¹¹

Avienus, probably making use of a sixth-century source, mentions a temple of the Noctiluca ('Luna-Temple') on an island in front of the settlement, that fell under local, Tartessian, jurisdiction (*Ora Maritima* 367. 428-430). Schulten thought that he could identify this temple with the remains of a square ashlar building on an 'island', just in front of Toscanos.¹² This building, though, has been excluded from the discussion long since, it being a Roman or even more recent construction.¹³

An important argument for the equation Mainake = Toscanos is the distance of XII m.p., that according to the Antonine Itinerarium separates Maenuba from Malake (Málaga). If this is a slip of the pen from the original XX m.p., a phenomenon that is not uncommon for the Itinerarium, then this corresponds very well with the distance of about 30 km between the present Málaga and Toscanos.¹⁴

The conflict between sources and archaeology

Two phases are being distinguished within the process of Greek involvement with the Iberian Peninsula. First, a long phase from the middle of the eighth to the end of the seventh century BC, in which Greek aristocratic (?) adventurers skirt the coasts of Southern Spain, largely occupied by Phoenicians. The second phase covers mainly the sixth century BC and is connected with the Phocaeen trade and colonisation.¹⁵ The foundation of Mainake would, consequently, have taken place at the outset of this second phase.¹⁶

Extensive archaeological exploration on the site of Toscanos has shown that the settlement was founded already in the second half of the

¹¹ Arteaga 1988; Schulz 1988.

¹² Schulten 1922: 33-34, fig. 2; Schulten 1943: 25-26, 31, 36-38, figs. 9, 11. Domínguez 1991: 112-113 (for a concise review on the Tartessian culture), 121-122 (for a discussion on Avienus—Mainake).

¹³ Niemeyer 1962: 38-39.

¹⁴ Niemeyer 1979/80: 289; Niemeyer 1980: 173-174.

¹⁵ Rouillard 1991: 101, 361. Rouillard's *opus magnum* was finished in its outlines as early as 1985 and takes, unfortunately, only the more important of the recent publications on the subject into account. Nevertheless, it is a thorough, wide-ranging and, with its extensive catalogue, above all an extremely useful publication. For decades to come it will constitute the basis of anything to be written on the subject. For a more concise survey of the general theme of Greeks on the Iberian Peninsula, though, mention should be made of Blech 1990, Domínguez 1991 and Niemeyer 1992.

¹⁶ Rouillard 1991: 364: "Quant les Phocéens s'établissent à l'aube du VI^e siècle, à 'Mainake' sans doute, ...".

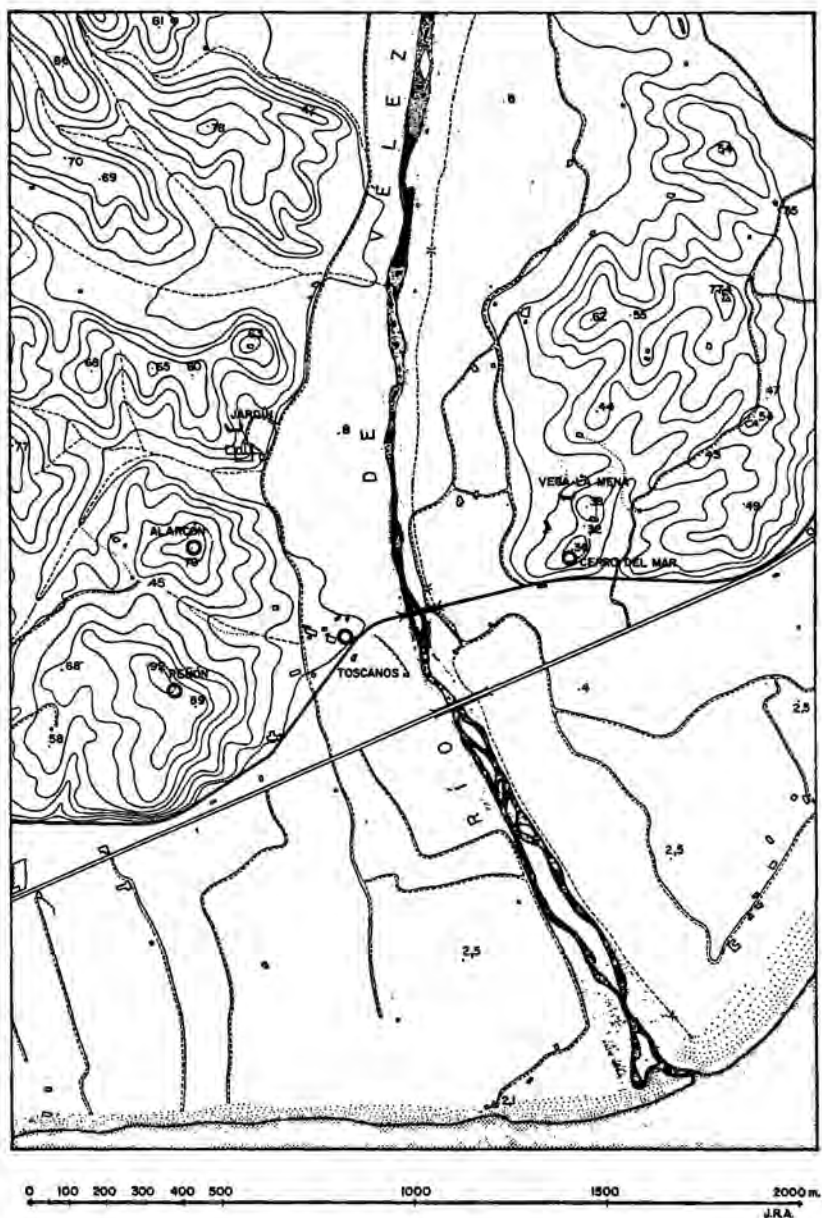


Fig. 3. Map of the estuary of the Rio de Vélez (after Niemeyer & Schubart 1968: 79, fig. 2).

eighth century BC and was abandoned by the middle of the sixth century BC. After an interruption of about 500 years the hillside of Toscanos was reoccupied in Early Roman Imperial times. Moreover, it was unequivocal-

cally shown that the settlement of the Archaic period was Phoenician.¹⁷

The discrepancy between the Phoenician character of Toscanos and the tradition, that likes to see Mainake as a Greek settlement, has been explained convincingly by H.G. Niemeyer.¹⁸ An original Phoenician-Semitic name for the settlement could have been 'Manaqqeh'—*mnqè* or *mnqeh*—('empty', 'free of' in the sense of a new beginning on virgin soil). This Phoenician name would have been remembered by the inhabitants of Maenuba, Cerro del Mar on the other side of the river (Fig. 3), and thus have become known to Greek seafarers from the sixth century onwards as the Greek-sounding 'Mainake'. Later authors (Pseudo-Skymnos, 139-149, ultimately going back to the fourth-century BC Ephoros) have connected this Greek-sounding toponym with the Phocaeon colonisation. It is remarkable that the oldest sources, especially Herodotos (I 163), don't mention Mainake and that authors, basing themselves on early sources, like Avienus (*Ora Maritima* 425-440) and Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. *Makè*, *Mainakè*; ultimately going back to Hekataios, c. 500 BC), do not describe Mainake as being Greek.¹⁹

A Semitic origin of the placename, first proposed by B.W. Treumann, was later confirmed by the Semitist W. Röllig, who suggested in addition the alternative meaning 'free harbour' for the original toponym.²⁰

Recently, however, voices have been raised, strongly rejecting such a Semitic origin of 'Mainake'. The linguistic objections, cited by P. Rouillard in this connection, are outside my terms of reference.²¹ Also the interpretation of A. Del Castillo differs from the explanation suggested above. Although he accepts the principle, by which an original local toponym changes into a Greek one, he seems to favour a transformation via an indigenous, Iberian toponym.²² Thus, Mainake, mentioned in the Greek sources, would refer to a Tartessian settlement near Toscanos, with which the Phocaeans established exchange relations in the sixth century. As I hope to show hereafter, the interpretation put into words by Niemeyer, Treumann and Röllig, rather than the alternative proposed by Del Castillo, seems to be consistent with the archaeological situation of Toscanos and the South of Spain.

¹⁷ See note 4 above.

¹⁸ See note 6 above. Now also Domínguez 1991: 121-122.

¹⁹ On this argumentum *ex silentio*, see the critical, but not convincing, comment of Del Castillo 1989: 109-112.

²⁰ Treumann 1979/80; Treumann 1980; Röllig 1982: 370.

²¹ The idea is rejected vehemently by P. Rouillard, citing, it seems, the only two Semitists there possibly are: "... la lecture proposée du toponyme n'a convaincu aucun épigraphiste sémitique, ni M. Sznycer, ni J. Teixidor." [my italics], Rouillard 1991: 296 with note 337. See however the opinion of W. Röllig (*supra* note 20).

²² Del Castillo 1989: 114 with note 22. Recently, J. Gran-Aymerich has suggested, that the original toponym of Mainake might relate to the ancient name of the

Strabo (III 4.2) gives as a detail of Mainake that it is in ruins and, moreover, that these ruins characterise Mainake as a Greek city. It is worth noting, that in doing so Strabo confronts Mainake with Malake, which he considers to be a Phoenician settlement. The archaeological investigation on the site has given ample evidence for the fact that Toscanos was deserted around the middle of the sixth century BC and probably lay in ruins. Niemeyer connects the architecture that might have given the site the appearance of a city in ruins especially with the monumental walls of carefully hewn ashlar 'bugnato rustico'. A wall executed in this technique, the so-called "*Quadermauer*", for a long time was considered a good example of Phoenician architecture on the site.²³ The discovery, 1978, of Roman pottery in the foundation trench of the wall deprived the argument of Mainake in ruins of one of its most impressive elements.²⁴ This doesn't mean, however, that the argument lost its validity altogether. The Phoenician architecture of Toscanos is, even in the remains that have survived the pillage of building material in Roman Imperial times, so impressive that its visibility in the centuries after c. 550 BC is beyond doubt. A predecessor of the "*Quadermauer*", still unpublished in its stratigraphical details, but already postulated by Niemeyer on other grounds, deserves to be brought into this discussion as an important example of larger, monumental architecture in Toscanos. This wall, against which undisturbed Archaic layers have been deposited, must have been built shortly after 700 BC in the triangular (defensive) ditch, west of the nucleus of the settlement. The ditch had gone out of use by that time and probably was already partly filled up (Fig. 4). The wall, of which only small parts could be excavated, is executed in ashlar masonry and could well correspond with the monumental predecessor of the "*Quadermauer*", postulated by Niemeyer. Also the extensive Roman and modern robber trenches, indicating the walls of the latest phase of Toscanos (Stratum V), bear witness to important (ashlar) architecture, by which the site, even in ruins, could have offered an impressive sight.²⁵ In addition, the more or less orthogonal order of these ruins may well have given the impression of a Greek city.²⁶

river Vélez. An analogous situation is to be seen for the toponym Malake (Málaga), which derives from the name of the river Malacha, Gran-Aymerich 1991: 139 with note 72.

²³ Niemeyer 1979/80: 285 with note 24, 299-300; Niemeyer 1980: 171 with note 24, 183-184.

²⁴ Niemeyer 1978: 245-246; Niemeyer 1979/80: 300 with note 79; Niemeyer 1980: 184 with note 79; Niemeyer 1982a: 187-189.

²⁵ Niemeyer 1982a: 196-197 with note 50.

²⁶ See note 23.

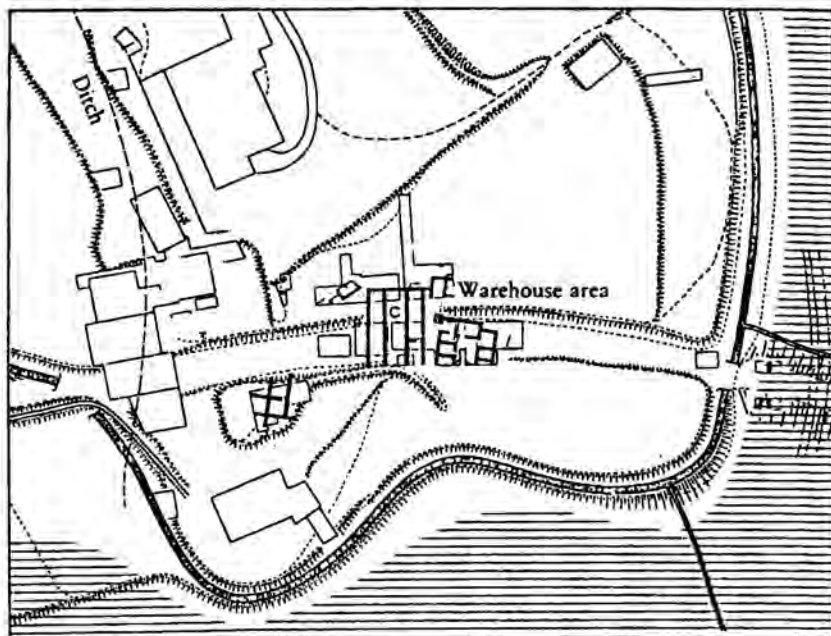


Fig. 4. Map of Toscanos (after Niemeyer 1990a: 482, fig. 13).

These ruins must have remained visible to passing seafarers for long time after the abandonment of the site in the sixth century BC. It is not improbable, that the Greek informant, on which Strabo ultimately based his account, took these ruins for Greek ones and therefore identified the ruins of Toscanos with Mainake.²⁷

A Greek enclave in Toscanos?

The existence of Mainake in the South of Spain is hardly being questioned. Niemeyer identifies Mainake—albeit as a historical construction—with the Phoenician Toscanos. Rouillard rejects this equation decidedly and postulates an emporion, still to be found, somewhere on the South-Spanish coast.²⁸ Del Castillo, on the contrary, identifies Mainake with a Greek enclave in the indigenous settlement Mainuba

²⁷ This argument is rejected rather abruptly by P. Rouillard, without discussing the detailed lines of argumentation of Niemeyer on this specific topic: "l'observation de ruines par tel ou tel informateur de Strabon serait-elle plus rigoureuse s'agissant de ruines phéniciennes que de ruines grecques? Nous ne le pensons pas, au contraire de H.G. Niemeyer." Rouillard 1991: 296.

²⁸ Rouillard 1991: 297: "Si l'existence de Mainakè nous semble justifiée, sa localisation précise reste indéterminée. Mainakè n'a pas connu de développement, n'a pas conquis d'espace'. Ce dut toutefois être le relais grec le plus occidental."

(Mainobora or Mainoba), which is most likely identical with the site of Cerro del Mar, see above (Fig. 3). Archaeological evidence for this identification is, however, lacking altogether.²⁹ Only J.-P. Morel, with a quotation borrowed from M. Tarradell, qualifies Mainake as a 'phantom'.³⁰ The discussion seems to have moved recently from the question whether Mainake is identical with Toscanos to the more general question of the character of the Greek presence in the South of Spain.

After a first suggestion in this direction by A. García y Bellido, especially the more recent literature points to the possibility of a Greek participation in a Tartessian or Phoenician settlement on the Spanish coast.³¹ This would, then, be comparable with the Phoenician and Aramaic presence in the Euboean tradingpost Pithekoussai on Ischia or the later Carthaginian and Cypro-Phoenician in the Etruscan port of Pyrgi.³²

Del Castillo and Rouillard connect such a Greek presence again with the name Mainake, but explicitly not with Toscanos nor any other known Phoenician settlement on the Spanish coast. The archaeological dataset for the region does not seem to leave any room for such an identification. As Niemeyer already pointed out in two recent reviews of the Greek presence on the Iberian Peninsula, there are no places on the intensively investigated Spanish southcoast, where a Phocaeen Mainake as an enclave or a concession in a Phoenician settlement could be demonstrated archaeologically.³³ Nevertheless, even Niemeyer doesn't reject *expressis verbis* the possibility of a Greek concession in Phoenician settlements, in particular in Toscanos. It seems, therefore, useful to list the possible arguments for such a Greek presence in Toscanos.

Greek pottery and imitations

The amount of Greek (luxury) pottery in Toscanos is very small. It is, then, hard to express this import class in terms of percentages; Niemeyer

²⁹ Del Castillo 1989, 103, 114; the line of thought of Del Castillo is not new: see Rouillard 1991: 294 with footnote 325 and references.

³⁰ Morel 1972: 731: "C'est à juste titre que Miguel Tarradell put parler de 'fantomes' à propos de Mainakè et d'Hemeroskopeion ...".

³¹ García y Bellido 1948: 13-14; Barceló 1988: 19-21. See notes 28 and 29.

³² Pithekoussai: Buchner 1982: 290-296. Pyrgi: Röllig 1968: 331-332, with regard to the Phoenician text of the Pyrgi tablets the Cypriote connection seems to be evident "Die Inschrift dürfte auf Grund ihrer Sprache und Orthographie von einem Phönizier verfaßt worden sein, dessen Herkunft aus Zypern zumindest sehr wahrscheinlich ist." I owe this reference to F.C. Woudhuizen. Against a Cypriote connection and in favour of a Carthaginian link, Serra Ridgway 1990: 522 with note 18 and references.

³³ Niemeyer 1990b: 39-42; Niemeyer 1992: 276-277, 296-297. It is to be

calculated a percentage of about 0.25 of the ceramical finds for the excavation campagne of 1967, based on sherd count, in which even the Greek transport amphorae are already included.³⁴ A recalculation of the sherd material from the Warehouse area (Fig. 4)—including the material of the 1964 campaign—resulted in a lower percentage, 0.16. A calculation of the material from the triangular ditch (campaigns 1971, 1973, 1976 and 1978; Fig. 4) yielded a slightly higher percentage of 0.88. The repertoire of the luxury pottery confines itself almost exclusively to drinking vessels. The minimal amount of Greek pottery is to be explained as the result of trading activities by Phoenicians, rather than as the personal belongings or the stock in trade of an immigrant Greek.³⁵

The question arises in which measure the picture offered by Toscanos is comparable with the situation in other Phoenician settlements. In some recent studies accurate statistics are given on the Greek imports in Spain.³⁶ They show that—except for the sole undisputedly Greek ‘colony’ Emporion (Ampurias)—only in Huelva (Southwest Spain), interpreted as the historical Tartessos, a concentration of Greek pottery has been found, which might point to an actual Greek enclave in the indigenous settlement.³⁷ Recently, however, A. Recio in his evaluation of the Greek import material from the San Agustín site in the centre of Málaga (Malake) suggested, that the presence of these imports in Málaga could also be related with Greek resident merchants.³⁸ A percentage of 2.5 on this particular site for the early sixth century seems to constitute a rather meagre statistical argument in itself. However, it is remarkable that phase Málaga IA, dated between c. 600 and 530, contains about 60% of all Greek and Etruscan imports found in Málaga (both San Agustín and Theatre site).³⁹ As J. Gran-Aymerich rightly pointed out in his recent publication of the excavations in Málaga, this peak in the volume of the imports, being limited chronologically, may be interpreted as an intensification of the trade with the Greek world, and

regretted, that in the latter review no full reference could made to the most recent publications on the subject, Blech 1990, Domínguez 1991 and Rouillard 1991.

³⁴ Niemeyer 1984: 212. See now Rouillard 1991: *Inventaire raisonné*, 687–696.

³⁵ This explanation for the occurrence of Greek pottery in the South of Spain is even clearer for the fifth and fourth centuries BC, Shefton 1982: 366 with note 87.

³⁶ Rouillard 1991; Cabrera Bonet 1991; Recio 1991: 122; Gran-Aymerich 1991: 128–129, 314, fig. 96.

³⁷ Fernández Jurado 1991: 292; Cabrera Bonet 1991: 43; more cautiously, Rouillard 1991: 101, 364. See also Barceló 1988: 19–20, Domínguez 1991: 116–120 and Niemeyer 1992: 281 with note 56. It is to be remembered, that Herodotos (IV 152) qualifies Tartessos as an ‘emporion’.

³⁸ Recio 1991: 123; Gran-Aymerich 1991: 128. On this possible Phocaean presence in Málaga, see also Niemeyer 1990b: 37, with references.

³⁹ Gran-Aymerich 1991: 138, 314, fig. 96.

might even imply a direct Greek involvement.⁴⁰ A permanent Greek presence on the site, however, seems improbable, not only because of the still rather limited range of Greek pottery shapes, but perhaps even for the remark of Strabo that Malake, contrary to Mainake, is Phoenician. The other Phoenician and indigenous settlements in Spain show a situation very comparable with the picture sketched above for Toscanos.⁴¹

Also the lack of true imitations of Greek pottery—i.e. made from local clay, but Greek in shape, decoration and technique—in Toscanos and in the other Phoenician settlements of the Western Mediterranean is significant in this respect. Such imitations are known in the Italian area and are interpreted there as the products of Greek immigrants.⁴² Adaptions of Greek pottery, though, are now well attested in Toscanos, differing from straight imitations by adapting only the general shape and decoration of the Greek models and leaving the execution in a local Phoenician red slip and bichrome technique. The only two shapes that were taken over in these adaptions are drinking vessels, the skyphos and the kotyle.⁴³ Here, a direct Greek involvement seems very improbable.

A Greek graffito

From Toscanos one Greek graffito is known, that could be used as an argument in favour of a possible Greek presence in Toscanos. On the neck of an Attic SOS-amphora, dated on stratigraphical grounds (stratum IVa-b) in the first half of the seventh century BC, a Greek personal name had been incised after firing, of which three characters “..TOP..” have survived.⁴⁴ Although the graffito was listed in the article on SOS amphorae by A.W. Johnston and R.E. Jones under the heading ‘abbreviations and symbols’, the reconstruction of a proper name, possibly originally in the genitive, seems a more logical option.⁴⁵ The graffito

⁴⁰ Gran-Aymerich 1991: 138-139. For the whole Phoenician period (‘phénico-punique’) the percentage of Greek imported pottery in Málaga is considerably lower, 0.2%, for the following Punic period (‘punique’) even 0.1%, Gran-Aymerich 1991: 128-129.

⁴¹ See especially the distribution charts of Rouillard 1991: 23 (chart 2), 114-115 (chart 3). The slight numerical predominance of Toscanos over the other sites may easily be explained by the extension of the archaeological investigation on this particular site.

⁴² For a recent summary, see Ridgway 1992. Also in Carthage an early, Italo-Geometric (?) imitation of a Corinthian skyphos of the ‘Thapsos Class, Plain Type’ has become known; Niemeyer, Docter & al. 1993: 227-229, Cat. 22, fig. 11c.

⁴³ Briese & Docter 1992.

⁴⁴ De Hoz Bravo 1970. The remark of Niemeyer (1984: 214), that the fragment is not Attic, finds no support in the analyses of R.E. Jones; Johnston & Jones 1978: 120, 123-125; “These samples must be considered borderline Attic products”.

⁴⁵ De Hoz Bravo 1970: 104-105; Johnston & Jones 1978: 129, 131.

would, then, be the earliest example of a proper name—in *casu* the name of the owner—on an Attic SOS-amphora. As was argued convincingly by J. De Hoz Bravo, this kind of graffiti may not be considered as a testimony of direct Attic involvement in the trade with the West—Toscanos—but rather as a first phase in the handling and trading of the amphorae—in Attica—by landowners/producers of oil, wine etc.⁴⁶ Therefore, this isolated graffiti is not a decisive argument in favour of any postulated Greek presence in Toscanos.

Greek transport amphorae

As a last category of archaeological argument transport amphorae may be introduced into the discussion. Up till now this material has barely been considered as a separate class of evidence for a possible Greek presence in Toscanos. The first preliminary results of a study in connection with my dissertation are presented here in table form (Fig. 7). Within this group of Greek amphorae not only Attic (SOS and à-la-brosse/1501, cf. Figs. 5, 6), but also Samian, Chian, Klazomenean (?) and 'Ionian' amphorae could be distinguished.⁴⁷ For the present discussion a further distinction by provenance did not seem necessary. The table offers a surprising picture. In the first place the small portion of Greek amphorae within the total body of transport amphorae, based on sherd count, is striking: less than 5.4%. In the second place, by linking the percentages of Greek amphorae to the two different stratigraphies of Toscanos and, thus, to chronology, a declining tendency during the seventh and early sixth century becomes clear (Fig. 7). In the so-called "*Magazinbereich*", the area around warehouse C, this tendency starts slightly later, in the second quarter of the seventh century.

The relatively low percentage of Greek amphorae in and around the building complex C may probably be explained functionally, since this building has been interpreted—at least from Stratum IVa onwards—as a warehouse. As already remarked by the excavators, the number of transport amphorae in this section of the site is remarkably high.⁴⁸ The relatively high percentage of locally or regionally produced Phoenician amphorae within the total body of amphorae may point to a function of the complex as a place where local products were stored and handled. The fill of the triangular (defensive) ditch, deposited gradually in the course of over a century, however, contains a relatively higher number

⁴⁶ De Hoz Bravo 1970: 105-107.

⁴⁷ Niemeyer 1983; Niemeyer 1984: 214-215; Rouillard 1991: *Inventaire raisonné*, 687-696. The amphorae from Toscanos will be dealt with—in relation with those from Carthage—in a more searching way in my forthcoming dissertation.

⁴⁸ Niemeyer & Schubart 1968: 89-91.

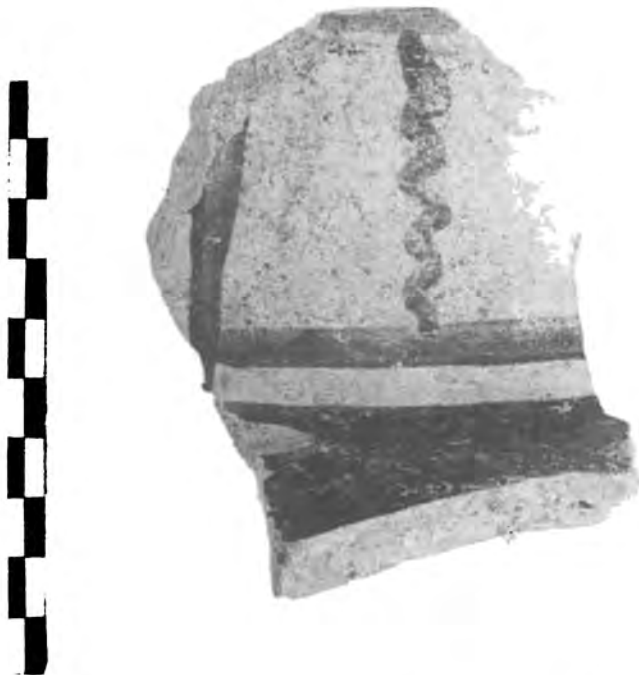


Fig. 5. Toscanos. Neck fragment of Attic SOS amphora (TM 76/311-066) from the fill of triangular ditch (stratum 3).



Fig. 6. Toscanos. Rim fragment of Attic SOS amphora (TM 76/292-094) from the fill of triangular ditch (stratum 5).

Toscanos	725	700	675	650	625	600 B.C.
warehouse area 1964, 1967	III		IVa-b	IVc-e		V
	0 %					
	I	I-II				
	1,1 %	0,6 %	0,9 %	1,7 %		1,3 %
triangular ditch 1971, 1973, 1976			1 2a-b	3a	3b-c	4 - 5
			5,4 %	5 %	4 %	3 %

Fig. 7. Percentages of Greek amphora fragments, based on count of diagnostic amphora fragments (wall sherds excluded), arranged by site sector and stratum; preliminary results.

of Greek amphorae. This proportional difference between "Magazinbereich" and triangular ditch also exists for a class of imported Carthaginian transport amphorae.⁴⁹ As the fill of the triangular ditch seems to consist largely of settlement refuse, this material would offer a more representative reflection of the different sorts and numbers of amphorae circulating in the settlement of Toscanos.

The carriers of the Greek goods

The question, who transported the amphorae, may in principle only be answered speculatively: in the past, apart from Attic, also Corinthian, Rhodian and Cypriote ships have been suggested.⁵⁰ The remarkable small amount of Greek amphorae in Toscanos and the still smaller amount of Greek luxury pottery, seem to make a strong case for the model, that these goods were picked up in Greek harbours, be it in the West or the East, by Phoenician merchantmen.⁵¹

Phocaeen traders do not seem to have played an important role, since in the very period when the Phocaeen expansion is thought to have soared high, from the last quarter of the seventh century onwards, the amount of Greek amphorae in Toscanos is steadily declining (Fig. 7). Also for the sixth century the role of the Phocaeans in the South of Spain seems not very impressive: the numerical data given by Rouillard for the

⁴⁹ Docter 1994 (in press).

⁵⁰ De Hoz Bravo 1970: 107-109; Rouillard 1991: 87-99.

⁵¹ So e.g. the suggestion of B.B. Shefton, that SOS amphorae came to Spain via the Central Mediterranean, somewhere between Pithekoussai and Sicily, Shefton 1982: 342.

total of Greek import material in this period do not differ substantially from those of the preceding period.⁵² Considering the Greek imports for one specific site (Málaga) over its whole lifespan, though, a concentration is to be noticed in the first three quarters of the sixth century BC. As said before, this may be connected with an intensification of Phoenician trade with the Greek world or, perhaps, Phocaean maritime enterprise in this period.⁵³ For the Iberian Peninsula as a whole the sixth century witnesses an increase of the amount of Greek imports. This, however, seems to be a direct consequence of the foundation of Emporion (Ampurias-Palaiapolis) around 590-580 BC.⁵⁴

Conclusion

As an explanation for the quantity and distribution of the imported Greek material in the South of Spain (both luxury and utilitarian pottery and transport amphorae) Rouillard expressly admits a Phocaean enclave—'emporion'—in a local (Phoenician?) settlement, connecting it with the name Mainake.⁵⁵ That this Mainake, in line with his vision, can't be identified with Toscanos, seems to be confirmed by the presentation of arguments given above. From Rouillard's own inventory of Greek material in the South of Spain, however, it is impossible to see where an enclave with this name should have been situated, even if one would take scatters of Greek pottery in the hinterland as an indication for Greek presence at the coast. Except for the above-mentioned concentration of Greek pottery in Huelva, none of the sites dealt with by Rouillard gives a picture that differs from Toscanos. According to Rouillard, one of the explanations for this phenomenon is the fact that the Greek colonies and emporia on the Iberian Peninsula were 'born' small and remained so thereafter.⁵⁶ Not only is the sole 'colony' to base such a conclusion on Emporion, but also is this argument the sole explanation for the archaeological non-existence of Mainake. The very small amount of Greek material in the South of Spain does not seem to admit a Phocaean emporion with the name Mainake. Rather, a Greek component within the stock of merchandise exchanged by Phoenicians seems to be reckoned with. This component is, moreover, of very limited quantity.

⁵² Rouillard 1991: 23 (chart 2), 110 (table 3 and graphic 1), 114-115 (chart 3). Apparently, the numbers given by Rouillard for Málaga are lower than those of the excavator of the site, Gran-Aymerich 1991: 314, fig. 96.

⁵³ See notes 39, 40 and 57. Barceló 1988: 18.

⁵⁴ Rouillard 1991, 112 (table 4), 113 (graphic 3), 114-115 (chart 3).

⁵⁵ Rouillard 1991: 296-297, 364.

⁵⁶ Rouillard 1991: 297, 365 "Les colonies grecques de la Péninsule Ibérique sont nées petites et le sont restées."

The explanation, suggested by Niemeyer in 1980, that reconciled the conflicting literary and archaeological sources, still seems the most plausible solution. Thus, the equation Mainake = Toscanos results from the combination of later Greek recollections of early Phocaeen maritime enterprise with a contemporary (Phoenician) ruin with the Greek sounding name 'Manaqgeh'. In the case of Málaga archaeology demonstrated, that these Phocaeen trading activities were concentrated in the first three quarters of the sixth century BC.⁵⁷ The weakness of the recent attempts of Rouillard—and to a lesser degree also Del Castillo—to identify Mainake with a Greek enclave or emporion, shows in the one-sided trust they put in the ancient sources and in the inability to bring the results of archaeology in accordance with these sources. Such Greek enclaves in Phoenician and indigenous settlements would fit, metaphorically, better in the cigarbox from 1961 than in the thousands of boxes with Phoenician and indigenous material in the Spanish musea.

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⁵⁷ Gran-Aymerich 1991: 138-139 "Mainaké semble, à la lumière de ces travaux, et dans l'attente de nouvelles découvertes, devoir s'entendre, non pas comme un hypothétique emporion spécifiquement grec, mais comme une période historique particulièrement favorable aux échanges entre le Midi ibérique et les produits de la Grèce de l'Est, mais aussi étrusques." See on the priority of Phocaeen over Etruscan traders, Cabrera Bonet 1991: 49 with note 43.

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