PHOENICIAN PLATES OVERSEAS AND THEIR SEQUENTIAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL CONNECTIONS WITH THE MOTHERLAND

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Abstract: Winged-plates, also known as "red-slip plates", represent one of the paramount ceramic types in Central and Western Phoenician sites. Object of many analyses over the years, the aim of this article is to explore their sequential and chronological connections with the ceramic repertoire of metropolitan Phoenicia. To do so, the main Iron Age plate types in the motherland, on the one hand, and the evidence from the oldest sites in the West, on the other, are analysed. The result is the need for a new approach to this issue and the achievement that the sequential origin of this type has to be sought in the final stages of the Middle Iron Age, the time of the first contacts, when the prototypes of this type influenced the first overseas productions. These earliest winged-plates experienced a parallel and somehow autonomous evolution later on, a phenomenon that reflects the situation of most parts of the overseas Phoenician productions.

Keywords: Phoenician pottery; Phoenician Ceramic Sequence and Chronology; Colonial Phoenician Ceramic Production; Phoenician Winged-plates.

1. Preliminary aspects

The analysis of the evolution of a particular ceramic repertoire requires the observation of certain basic aspects: the understanding of the ceramic repertoire itself, in particular of its nature and behavior throughout its evolution; a sound, coherent and accurate sequential and chronological framework of reference; finally, the use of a coherent terminology.

These factors are essential in the analysis of the connections existing among related ceramic repertoires and, in particular, of the relationship between those produced in the Phoenician metropolis and other areas of the Mediterranean as well as the Atlantic. Nevertheless, some other essential factors should be also taken into consideration: first, the potential involvement in the westwards expansion of Levantine peoples other than those already known and the as yet for us elusive existence of overseas production centers and their own particularities; second, the character of the relationship among all these centers, including the potential existence of some sort of hierarchy among them or general trends visible over the areas under Phoenician influence; third, the relevance of additional factors, of any nature, whose existence remains elusive to us.

The role of the aforementioned factors is related to the analysis of the West Phoenician open forms in general, and the winged-plates in particular. In this sense, pivotal in this discussion are their evolution, possible connections with metropolitan counterparts and, in particular, the sequential and chronological moment in which these overseas wares started to be produced and developed particular features.

It is well known that many authors have dealt with this complex issue in its entirety or by focusing on specific aspects.[1] However, this paper will not deal with the entire issue or offer a synthesis of previous works; its intention is neither to correct nor, to amend or to refuse previous postulations. The aim of this paper

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1 Botto 2009; Giardino 2013; 2015; González Prats 2011; Maaß-Lindemann 1998; 1999; 2009; 2017; Núñez 2013; Peserico 2002; 2007; Schubart 1976; 2002-2003.

is rather to analyze and contextualize the earliest sequential and chronological connections of the overseas winged-plates, probably one of the most recognized overseas types, with the Motherland.

The issue is approached here from a holistic perspective, in which this subject is framed by the nature of the Phoenician ceramic repertoire. It will be also backed by the use of two references: a coherent sequential and chronological framework and first-hand evidence from diverse metropolitan and overseas sites. Accordingly, this paper will transcend the limits imposed by the existing bibliography, so that previous lectures and conclusions reached by other authors as well as how the evidence has been displayed in the bibliography, will not limit by any means the potential of this analysis, which is performed afresh.

This paper consists of four main parts: first, a synthetic exposition of the aforementioned factors that characterize the Phoenician ceramic repertoire; second, an analysis of the main plate types existing in metropolitan Phoenicia and their evolution; third, a review of the earliest evidence recovered so far in western colonies and how this can be related to the metropolitan data; and, fourth, what regional, sequential and chronological conclusions can be drawn from that evidence.

2. The nature of the Phoenician ceramic repertoire

A careful analysis of the Phoenician ceramic repertoire, based upon published evidence and a direct observation about its nature, diversity and evolution, leads to the conclusion that it is functional, conservative, dynamic, linear and accumulative. These features, which may be common to many other ceramic repertoires, demonstrate that this repertoire is coherent with its own parameters and to some extend even predictable in its behavior. This conclusion is especially significant for the analysis of the Phoenician colonial plates and their connections to the metropolis.

Focusing on the Iron Age, all these features are observable over three main sequential periods: the Early, Middle and Late Iron Ages (Fig. 1). This framework does not consider any factors other than the nature of the repertoire itself, and the state of their main features in particular moments in time and their respective evolution. Hence, it is the specific nature of the ceramics themselves that defines the different periods and sub-periods in which the sequence can be divided. In this context, the understanding of the entire sequence is as important as the recognition of the different periods themselves.

The issue needs thus to be approached as a long term and continuous phenomenon in which several factors have to be considered: the existing types, their morphology, surface treatment, decoration and how the proportions of those types and their respective variations compared to the entire ceramic assemblage. In this sense, contexts and strata tend to be treated many times as isolated situations, leading to a fictitious compartmentalized perception of the evolution of the ceramic repertoire. However, the ceramic repertoire does not leap from a sequential stage to the next one; it flows instead, changing its attributes at a heterogeneous pace depending on factors and circumstances that are beyond the scope of this paper. As a consequence, the types, their attributes and proportions vary overtime in a concatenated way, showing the sequence as a continuous phenomenon in which any new situation is unequivocally interconnected with the previous one.

The sequence can be thus represented as a straight line on which the different pottery types experienced their own evolution. Actually, the behavior of these types shows a somehow Darwinist character: they appear, are developed and can either evolve into new ones, disappear or be substituted by others that seem to be devoid of any apparent direct "genetic" link. The nature of all these types is thus dictated by the behavior of the respective attributes and their paces of change overtime. Something similar occurs regarding their attributes; those whose practical function is lost, tend to disappear or else become vestigial after a phenomenon of gradual atrophy, which may transform them into a marker that characterizes and, hence, identifies the vessel from a functional, economic, social or ritual perspective.

The picture so created differs from the artificial impression given by the separate analysis of a succession of not always interconnected contexts. Nevertheless, it is crucial to know which associations of types and, especially, attributes occur in each sequential stage. This fact is particularly relevant in order to recognize the moment in which a new a ceramic production center started its production opening a new and autonomous evolutionary line. Obviously, those particular attributes, of any nature, will represent the base on which this new evolutionary line stands and will explain its successive manifestations.

In the view of all these elements, the approach used here retakes and continues that followed by Patricia M. Bikai in her seminal studies on the Phoenician pottery.[2] This author characterized the pottery sequence produced by the stratigraphy identified by her in Tyre, giving place to a framework later complemented by her study of the Phoenician pottery found in Cyprus.[3] Her task led to the recognition of four main sequential stages: the horizons of Kouklia, Salamis, Kition and Amathus, which embodied and synthesized the main evolutionary stages of the Phoenician ceramic repertoire in the Iron Age.

Nevertheless, the Phoenician sequential structure, which is understood here as the evolution of the ceramic repertoire, should not depend exclusively on the stratigraphy of one site; it is unlikely that all the successive sequential stages are represented in it (see Fig. 1). As a consequence, any sequential framework has to be formulated upon and supported by other stratigraphies, coherent contexts and the evolution of certain ceramic forms. This is the case, obviously, of W.P. Anderson's work in Sarepta,[4] which produced relevant advances in the terminology as well as the typological and technical analysis of the repertoire. Be-

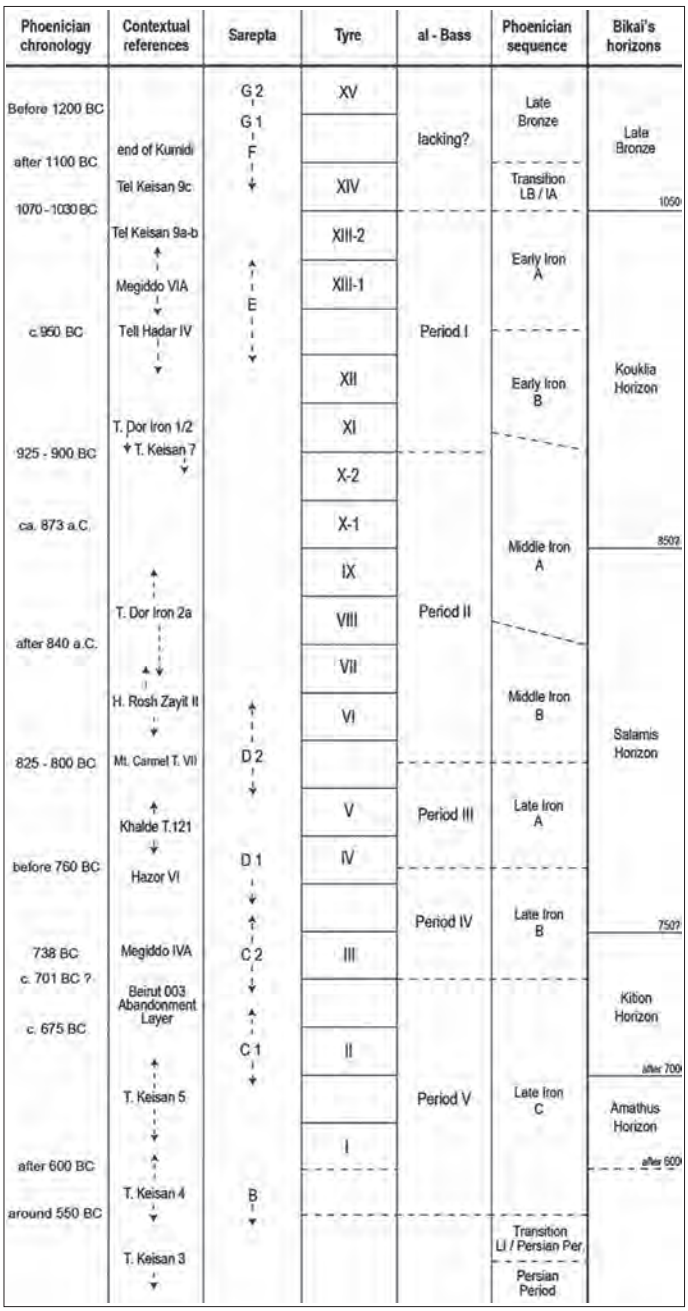

Fig. 1. Sequential and chronological framework

2 Bikai 1978a; 1978b; 1987; 2003.

3 Bikai 1987; 2003.

4 Anderson 1988.

sides, the first author to consider a holistic and diachronic approach to the Levantine ceramic repertoire was G. Lehmann.[5] Even though his approach to the earliest stages of the Late Iron Age could be questioned, his methodology considered the evolution of the ceramic repertoire a long term phenomenon, which could be articulated in coherent periods or, using the author's own words, "assemblages". Relevant are also his conclusions on the advanced and latest stages of the Late Iron Age, whose articulation and chronology took the Aegean Archaic and Classics periods as a reference.

This new perspective has influenced to some extend the recent analysis of other sites. Awaiting the results from works underway in different Lebanese sites such as Beirut,[6] Tell Burak,[7] Sidon,[8] or Jiyeh,[9] the focus goes to the Tyrian cemetery of al-Bass.[10] Its tombs offer clear views of particular moments in the sequence, which has been related to Bikai's stratigraphy of Tyre, and led, in a second phase of analysis, to the recognition of several corrections of Bikai's horizons and their correspondences with Tyre stratigraphy (see Fig. 1). Synthetically, this correlation gave place to the recognition of two main periods, the Early and Late Iron Age, which are separated by a transitional period, the Middle Iron Age (see, again, Fig. 1).

The next step should be the identification of those available contexts that can represent sequential and chronological references for the entire framework. However, one precondition has to be observed: any chronological and sequential srtucture should contain only contexts considered relevant for the nature and quality of the material associated in them. This implies two aspects. The first one is to corroborate the validity of that reference, whether of sequential or chronological character. As a matter of fact, the structure of the Phoenician sequence is nowadays less controversial than its chronology; for that reason, any new reference must be put against the general sequential structure and verify how it fits in it. This procedure is especially relevant when any new evidence challenges the general framework; for example, contexts recovered in west Mediterranean regions that could be linked one way or another to historical facts. The second aspect is the continuous struggling with an absence of detailed typological and statistical information in the publications. The problem is not only the absence of an agreed typological, terminological or chronological approach. Too often the information is reduced to the conclusions reached at by the different authors – whatever their basis and approach was – as well as selections of examples displayed in figures and plates. Other times attention is paid to typological oddities instead of to general trends, making of the exception the hub around which the entire discourse revolves.

Finally, the use of key contexts as a reference could imply a reformulation of sequential and chronological conclusions reached at by the previous authors. Unfortunately, dealing with this particular issue lies beyond the scope of this paper; for that reason the references used in this paper appear in Fig. 1.

3. The Phoenician plates in the East. Main types and their evolution

This analysis will follow a typological and sequential approach, which is coherent with the ideas presented in the previous paragraph. The goal is to analyze this issue as a logical and long-term phenomenon, which led to the generation of a particular type of plates in Phoenician overseas milieu.

5 Lehmann 1996; 1998.

6 Finkbeiner 2001; Finkbeiner – Sader 1997; Badre 1997.

7 Kamlah – Sader 2003; 2004; 2008; Kamlah – Sader – Schmitt 2016a and 2016b.

8 Doumet-Serhal 2006; 2008.

9 Gwiazda 2016, with further bibliography on the site.

10 Aubet 2004; Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014.

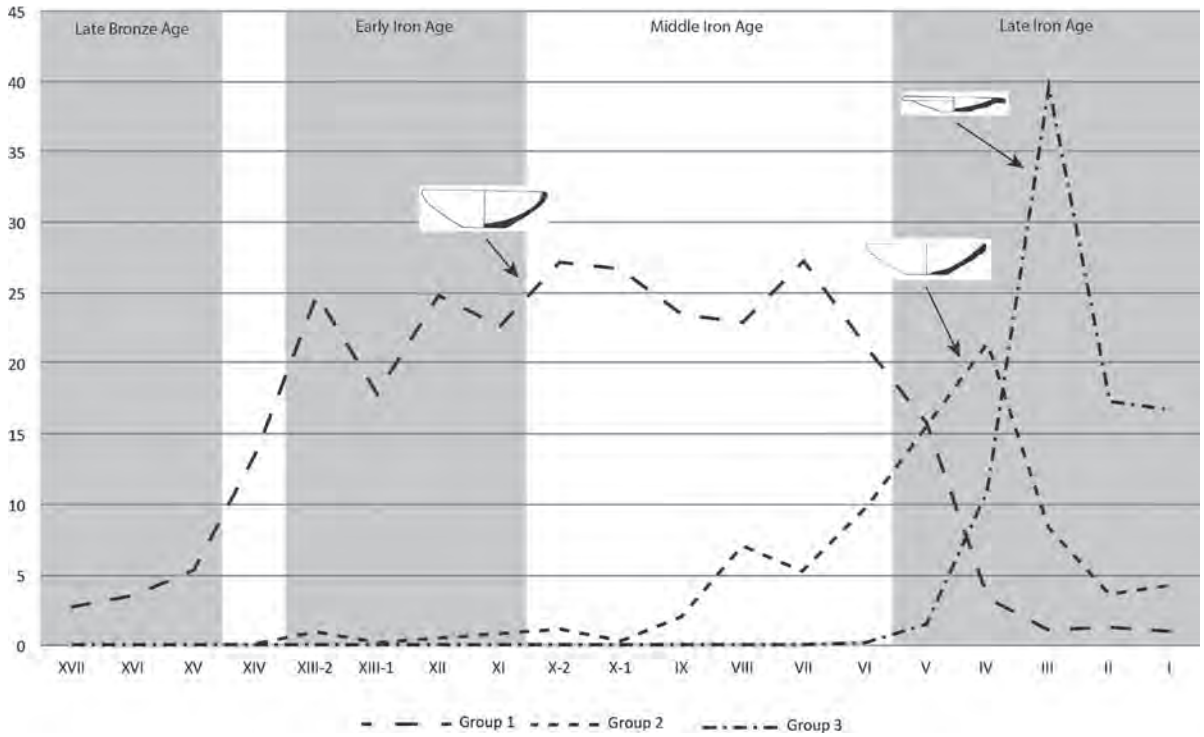

Fig. 2. Evolution of the main plate types in the stratigraphy of Tyre.

Taking Tyre as a reference, Iron Age plates in Phoenicia belong to three main and interconnected groups (see Figs. 2 and 3). Leaving aside the finer wares, included in Bikai's type FWP (not to be dealt with here),[11] the first group is characterized by the upright stance of their rims (in this context "Group 1": Bikai's types 10, 11, 12 and 13; Fig. 3).[12] The second group is characterized by direct rims, sometimes thickened on the exterior, that are topped by rounded, tapered or flattened lips ("Group 2": Bikai's types 8 and 9; Fig. 3).[13] Finally, the third group is characterized by direct, everted, horizontal or even pendent rims that display a variation of quadrangular interior thickenings ("Group 3": Bikai's types 1, 2 , 3 and 7; Fig. 3).[14] The distribution of each group over the stratigraphy of Tyre is clear (see Fig. 2): they overlap one another in a succession that displays Group 1 as the oldest, followed by Group 2 and closed by Group 3.[15]

The origin of Group 1 can be traced as far back in time as the Late Bronze Age, but it is especially representative of Early and Middle Iron Age strata (Figs. 2, 3 and 4), experiencing a sudden drop in the Late Iron Age that led to an almost absolute irrelevance. Despite Bikai's classification, the group consists of three main types (Fig. 3). The first one, Bikai's type 11, is characterized by a slight rounded thickening on the rim interior (Fig. 3, type 11a); the second type corresponds to Bikai's type 12, which displays a more curved rim that has been squared-off, leaving a ridge-like feature on the interior and a beveled lip (Fig. 3, type 12). Finally, type 10 is characterized by an upright and simple rim that tops a curved body wall (Fig. 3, type 10).

11 Bikai 1978a, pp. 26-29.

12 Bikai 1978a, pp. 24-25.

13 Bikai 1978a, pp. 23-24.

14 Bikai 1978a, pp. 20-23.

15 The data is taken from Bikai 1978a, p. 21, Table 3A.

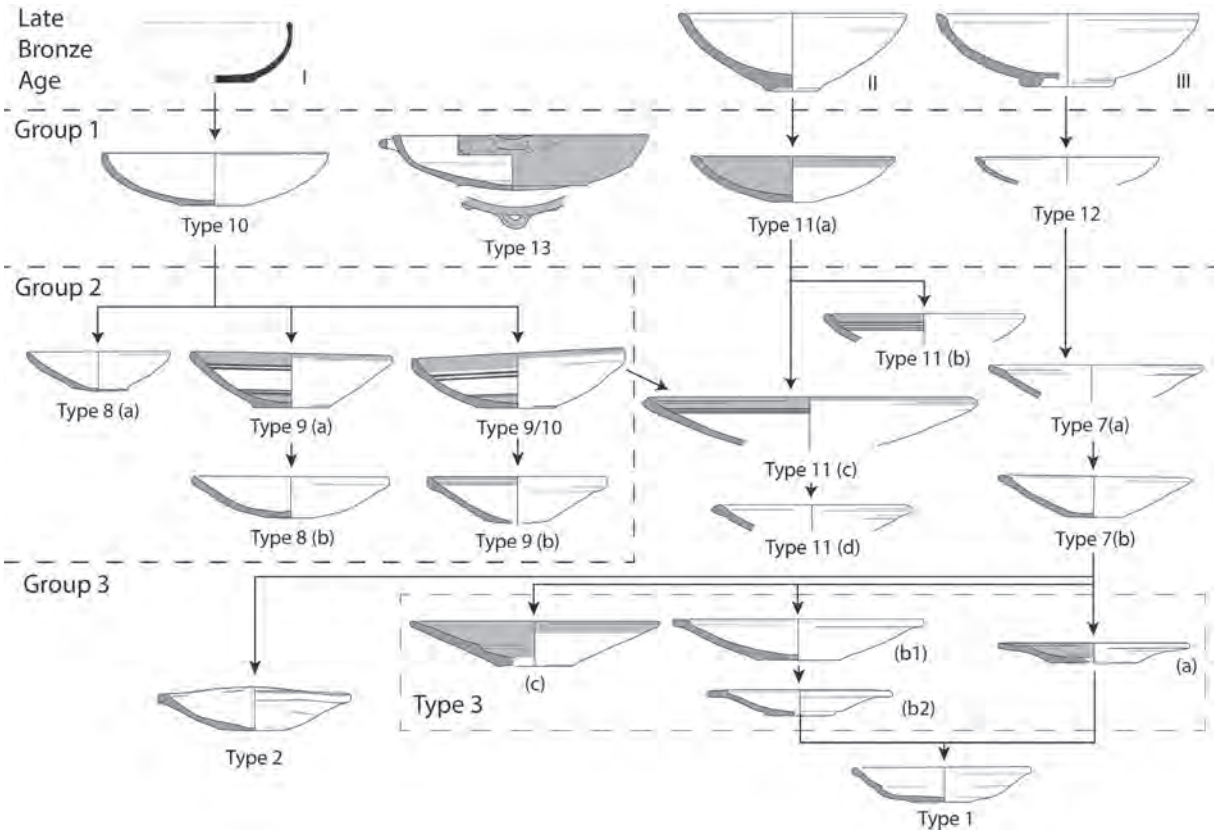

Fig. 3. Typological evolution of the main plate types in metropolitan Phoenicia ("I": Anderson 1988, pl. 27.20, Sarepta Stratum G1; "II" and "III": Jiyeh, unpublished; "type 10": Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 196, fig. 2.27, U.98-3, al-Bass tomb 98; "type 13", al-Bass, unpublished; "type 11a": Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 203, fig. 2.34, U.107/112, al-Bass Tomb 107; Núñez 2004b, p. 195, fig. 110, P.8, al-Bass; "type 8a": Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó, p. 206, fig. 2.37, U.110-3, al-Bass tomb 110/111; "type 9a": al-Bass, unpublished; "type 9/10": Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 196, fig. 2.27, U.98-2, al-Bass tomb 98; "type 8b": Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 201, fig. 2.32, U.103-2, al-Bass tomb 103/104; "type 9b": Núñez 2004b, p. 153, fig. 68.6, al-Bass tomb17; "type 11b": Jiyeh, unpublished; "type 11c": Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 219, fig. 2.50. U.131-2, al-Bass tomb 131; "type 11d": after Bikai 1978a, pl. X.10, Tyre Stratum II; "type 7a": Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 219, fig. 2.50, U.131-6: 2, al-Bass tomb 131; "type 7b": Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 203, fig. 2.34, U.107-11, al-Bass tomb 107; "type 3a": Beirut – Bey 020, unpublished; "type 3b1": Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 239, fig. 2.70, U.161-2, al-Bass tomb 161/162; "type 3b2": Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 228, fig. 2.59, U.143-4, al-Bass tomb 143/144; "type 3c": Jiyeh, unpublished; "type 2": Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 215, fig. 2.46, U.124-2, al-Bass tomb 124/125).

In some instances, these plates display elements that are inspired by metallic prototypes. This phenomenon is frequent in Bikai's type 13 (for example, Fig. 3, type 13), which is particularized by a carinated wall and the rims of either type 10, 11 or 12.[16] In some instances, the plates of this group have horizontal handles attached to the rim, sometimes combined with rivet-like attachments, or the covering of the surfaces with a red slip that, after its burnishing, resembles the surfaces of a metallic vase.[17] Nevertheless, these elements are not common among plates provided of painted decoration (see below).

16 For instance, see a rim of type 10 in Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 231, fig. 2.62. U.148-2; of type 11 in Anderson 1988, p. 621, pl. 31: 12; and of type 12 in Bikai 1978a, pl. XXXIII: 7.

17 Besides our Fig. 3. Type 13, see also Bikai 1978a, pl. XXXIII: 7 and 9, pl. XXXVII: 6 and 8; Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 203, fig. 2, 34. U.107-9.

The distribution of all the types included in Group 1 over the stratigraphy of Tyre is also revealing (Fig. 4). Type 11 is better represented for most of its sequence, showing a peak that corresponds to the entire Early Iron Age, reaching its climax in the earlier part of the Middle Iron Age (in particular, in Tyre Stratum X-1). From this moment onwards, this type experienced a gradual and continuous decay that led into irrelevance in the Late Iron Age. On the other extreme stands type 12, whose proportions over the entire sequence are rather low; it only displays a peak in the earlier part of the Early Iron Age. It is obvious that the particular characteristics of the type 13, which mirrors those of type 11 with lower proportions, could qualify the lower values of type 12; however, the relationship between types 11 and 12 remains almost the same. Finally, type 10 displays a different evolution. It is originated in the Late Bronze Age and experienced the same increase along the Early Iron and for most of the Middle Iron Age, reaching its climax in the second part of the latter. From this point onwards, its presence experienced a steep decay that led to the irrelevance in the Late Iron Age.

The first manifestations of Group 2 occurred in the Early Iron Age, when its proportions were rather low (Figs. 2 and 4). Nevertheless, its representation experienced a gradual but steady rise in the second half of the Middle Iron Age, which reached its climax in the earlier stages of the following Late Iron Age. In that moment, it substituted Group 1 as the most representative plate type both at Tyre and in Phoenicia as a whole. However, this preeminence did not last long, for it experienced a sudden drop shortly afterwards.

From a typological perspective, Group 2 consists of two types, Bikai's types 8 and 9 (Fig. 3; see above), which share the same features: a plain straight-sided flaring wall topped by a simple rim that sometimes can be thickened to the exterior and finished by a rounded, tapered or flattened lip. The only difference between the two types is the presence of painted decoration on the latter (Fig. 3)[18].

Regarding the origin of this group, its morphological and, hence, typological connections with type 10 are obvious, especially regarding the section of the rim.[19] In this sense, plates of the earlier type experienced a modification of the stance of their rims, which became direct and therefore gave place to types 8 and 9. This phenomenon of change took place during the Middle Iron Age, but became especially evident in the second part of this period, and its earlier manifestations coexisted for a while with the last examples of their older prototype, namely, Bikai's type 10 (see Fig. 4).

Another relevant difference between the diverse types included in this group is their distribution (Fig. 4). Hence, type 9 displays low proportions along the earlier part of the Middle Iron Age, when Group 2 was characterized mainly by rounded and tapered lips (Fig. 3, type 8a and type 9a). That tendency changed in the earliest stages of the Late Iron Age, when the Group experienced a peak in its distribution. In this context, the climax of type 9 antedates that of type 8, which took place in Tyre Stratum IV. From this moment onwards, the plates of this group develop a gradual transformation consisting in the frequent adoption of flattened lips, notwithstanding the presence or absence of thickenings on the exterior of the rim (Fig. 4, type 8b and type 9b).

Finally, Group 3 is apparently more complex, but its intricacy derives in part from the typological arrangement performed by Bikai (Figs. 2 and 4). It includes four interrelated types: plates 1, 2, 3 and 7 (Fig. 3; see above), whose differences are of morphological, technical and decorative nature. Thus, type 1 is a plate with curved walls particularized by the presence of a ridge-like feature about half-way down the interior wall. Type 2 displays an array of rim stances (direct, everted, horizontal or pendent), always marked on the

18 This decoration displays a concentric pattern generally consisting of a combination of bands in red flanked by pairs of fillets in black, a pattern that also occurs in other plate types not belonging to this Group 2, as it is the case, among other instances, of plates that typologically belong to Bikai's type 11 (Fig. 3, type 11c; see also below).

19 Bikai 1978a, p. 24.

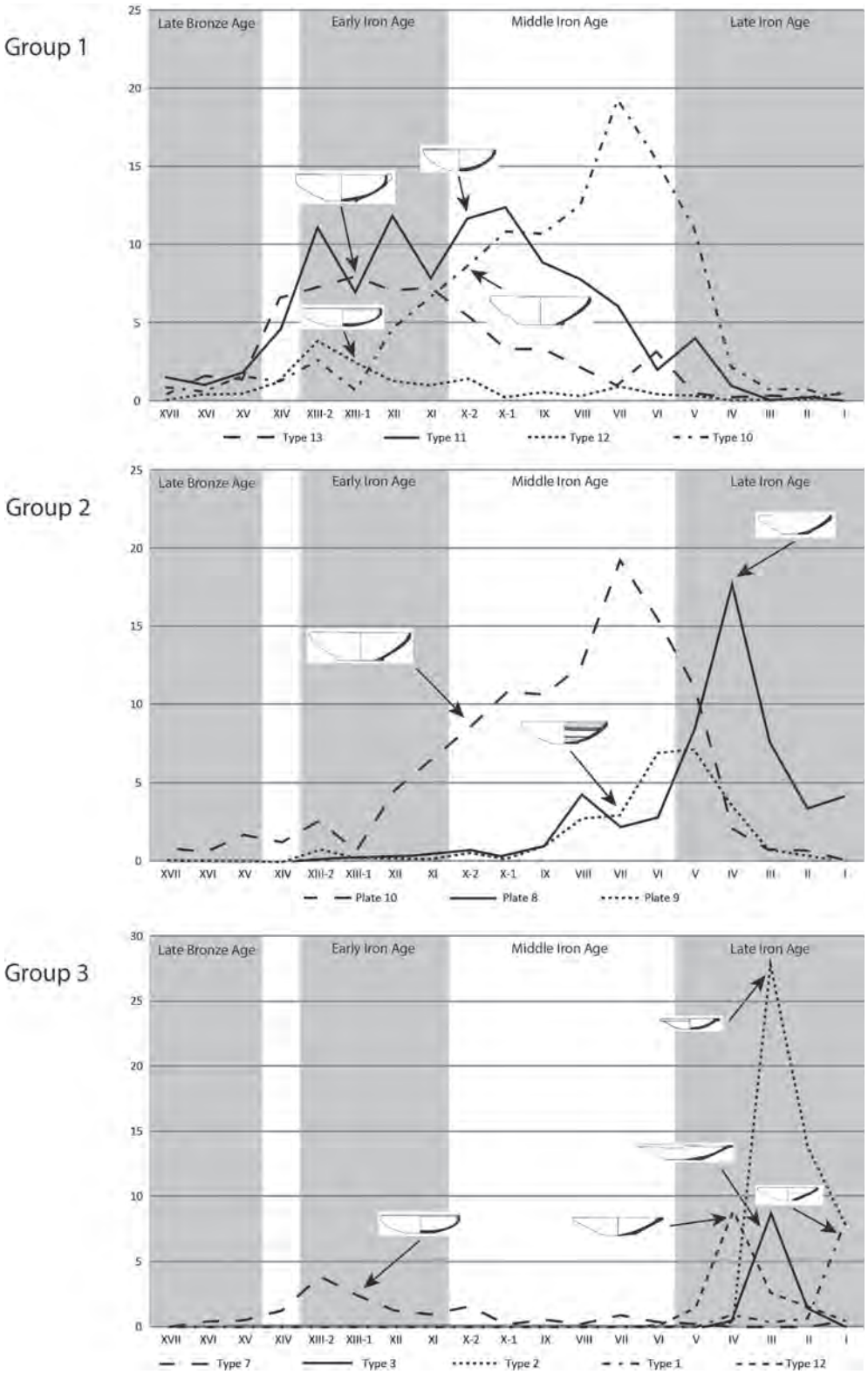

Fig. 4. Evolution of the different plate groups along the stratigraphy of Tyre.

interior by ridge or step-like feature. Type 3 is morphologically linked to type 2, the difference between them being the presence of horizontal rims and higher quality in the former. Besides, the occasional presence of unstable bases leads to the conclusion that some of these plates were, in actual fact, lids. Finally, type 7 is also linked to type 2, although the former also displays a higher quality and narrower rims.

The entire distribution of Group 3 covers the Late Iron Age (Figs. 2 and 4). Its relevance overlaps that of Group 2 and became one of the typological markers of the middle and later stages of the Late Iron Age. Arranged in sequential order, the first type is 7 (Fig. 3, type 7a), which appears in the stratigraphy of Tyre for the first time in its Stratum V and reached its climax in Stratum IV. It was then followed by types 2 and 3 combined, which overlap the former and quickly reaches a huge peak in Stratum III. Among them, type 2 is the most abundant and its numbers led Bikai to consider that it was mass-produced.[20] However, this relevance sinks later on in strata II and especially in I, when it is equaled by type 1, a later development of this type.The relevance of this group in the issue that centers this paper will become evident soon; for that reason, it is necessary to highlight some aspects related to it.

The first aspect to deal with would be the typological origin of this group. It may seem that Bikai's type 7 appeared as an isolated phenomenon, lacking any evident ties with previous typological sequences. Nevertheless, connections with former types can be established by attending to the main morphological attributes of its earliest manifestations (Fig. 3, type 7a). These can be summarized into three aspects: open walls, which can display either a curved or straight outline; direct rims, which are characterized by the presence of an interior ridge that sometimes has been transformed into a step-like feature; finally, the upper side of the rims, notwithstanding their width, usually display a more or less distinct concave outline that in some instances is less marked, giving place to rather quadrangular interior thickenings.

Keeping these attributes in mind, and recalling the general features that characterize the Phoenician ceramic repertoire, the best candidate to be the predecessor of Bikai's type 7 seems to be her type 12 (Fig. 3, type 12). As a matter of fact, the transition between both types may have been similar to that observed between types 10 and 8/9. The general gradual straightening of walls and rims that occurred in the second part of the Middle Iron Age also affected type 12, transforming its ridge below the lip into the step-like feature that brands Bikai's type 7 and its later variations (Fig. 3, type 7a and b). At the same time, the presence of this ridge on a direct rim caused the relatively short space left between it and the lip to become concave, a feature that remained in later types derived from it despite any variation in the width of their rims (in particular Bikai's types 2, 3 and 1; see Fig. 3). Finally, another attribute of type 7 that remained from its predecessor was the same good technical character of both its fabrics and surfaces.

Later, in the earlier part of the Late Iron Age, the direct rims of type 7 experienced some modifications that affected, in particular, their stance which became now everted or horizontal. Hence, even if the phenomenon is already observable in the previous Stratum IV, in Tyre Stratum III, this type led to two main variations: the already mentioned Bikai's types 2 and 3. In this sense, new observations (for instance, al-Bass, Beirut-Bey 20, Jiyeh or the new excavations on the island of Tyre) corroborate the validity of this author's initial observations, regarding the characteristics of those two types. However, the picture is somehow more complex than originally presented.

The first of these typological lines is represented by a series of plates that follow Bikai's type 7, especially regarding its technical features. These plates are characterized by finer fabrics, modeling, firings and surface treatments. All these features meet those of Bikai's type 3, but they come along with modifications in some of their morphological attributes that give way to, at least, three further variants (see Fig. 3, type 3). The first one (Fig. 3, type 3a) is characterized by everted rims, which at this stage usually display horizontal or slightly open stances; interior step-like features that mark the transition between the wall and the rim;

20 Bikai 1978a, p. 22.

concave or slightly flattened upper surfaces on the rims that are compensated by curved or flat outlines to the exterior and curved walls that stand on disc or, less times, flat bases whose interior is either flat or somewhat concave. At the same time, the surfaces can be either left plain or covered with a red slip, which extends itself on the interior up to the lip and, in some instances, over the lower part of the wall and the outer part of the interior of the base. Finally, those surfaces are usually burnished notwithstanding the presence or absence of slip, and it consists, especially on the interior, of narrow concentric bands.

Relevant from a morphological perspective is the width of their rims and its variations over time. Thus, rims experienced an overall widening in an advanced stage of the Late Iron Age, apparently not visible in Tyre Stratum III,[21] but evident in the early stages of the 7th century in sites such as Bey20 (unpublished, but see Fig. 3, type 3a) and, later on, in Tyre Stratum II,[22] dated in an advanced moment of the first half of the 7th century BCE, or the "Storage Rooms" in Beirut-Bey003, dated later in that century.[23] Nevertheless, it is still open to discussion whether size variations that can be sequentially systematized or they just represent a marker of the plates just described.[24]

The latter possibility seems to be convincing thanks to the existence of two other variants that are contemporary to those plates. One of them displays the same overall quality, including the burnished surface, but their rims are usually shorter in comparison to those of the type before mentioned and their surfaces are left void of any special covering (Fig. 3, type 3b1 and b2).[25] The second is represented by plates provided of extremely wide rims (Fig. 3, type 3c), examples of which are apparently present in contexts as early as the just mentioned "Level of Abandonment" at Bey03 or in later contexts such as Tell Keisan Level 5, Jiyeh (not published; see Fig. 3, type 3c) and Sarepta, Stratum BB.[26]

Finally, the last stage of the evolutionary line opened with the transformations experienced by Bikai's type 12 is represented by plates characterized by upright rims that top curved walls, the connection between them being direct or slightly marked by a depression (Fig. 3, type 1). On the interior, those rims are marked by a ridge that gives place to a concave outline of variable width and ended in a rounded lip. Examples matching these features correspond to Bikai's type 1, which has been registered in the final stages of the Late Iron Age in Tyre,[27] Sarepta (Anderson's type X-9),[28] al-Bass,[29] Beirut-Bey 20 (not published), Tell Keisan[30] or Jiyeh (not published).

The alternative to those three better quality variations is represented by plates characterized by poor fabrics, less accurate modeling and surfaces that are usually smoothed only on the interior and the upper exterior. From a morphological perspective, their rims are usually narrow, showing similar stances (direct, everted or horizontal) and dimensions to those of its predecessor, the type 7. Hence, their bases are flat, usually string-cut and left untreated, as it is the lower half of the exterior wall, which usually displays an irregular outline. Finally,

21 See, however, Bikai 1978a, pl. VIII: 33 and pl. IX: 11, 12 and 13.

22 Bikai 1978a, pl. IX. 1.

23 Badre 1997, p. 87, fig. 45. 1-3.

24 As developed, for example, by Schubart 1976 for the western plates. On this see also Núñez 2013, pp. 65-74.

25 Bikai 1978a, pl. IX: 12 (originally classified as type 4), pl. IX: 2, 4, 18; Núñez 2004a, p. 338, fig. 213; Núñez 2004b, p. 141, fig. 56: 2; Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 228, fig. 2.59, U.143-4, p. 229, fig. 2.60, U.146-2, p. 239, fig. 2.70, U.161-2 and U.162; Badre 1997, p. 75, fig. 37. 3; Anderson 1988, p. 633, pl. 36. 19,-2 21, 22 and 23, p. 639, pl. 38. 13; Briend – Humbert 1980, pl. 38. 1-6, 10.

26 Badre 1997, p. 73, fig. 36. 8; Briend – Humbert 1980, pl. 38. 8; Anderson 1988, p. 639, pl. 38. 19 and 23.

27 Bikai 1978a, pl. I. 7-11.

28 Anderson 1988, pp. 149 and 639, pl. 38. 21.

29 Núñez 2004b, p. 190, fig. 105. 2.

30 Briend – Humbert 1980, pl. 38. 6, 6a-i, 9-9a-b.

the presence on them of red slip is not common. Plates of this kind correspond to Bikai's type 2 (Fig. 3), which is extremely common in Late Iron Age contexts, as seen in Tyre III and II and al-Bass Periods IV and V.[31]

Finally, Bikai included in her type 3 some instances whose morphological characteristics indicate their use as lids.[32] Particularly evident is the presence of unstable bases or pair of holes used to fix with strings the lid to the mouth of a vessel. It is possible to distinguish two variants on the basis of the quality of the plate. On the one hand are lids that display the same good quality of Bikai's type 3: wide rims, fine fabrics and usually burnished but not red-slipped surfaces; these instances also display concave bases, sometimes provided of one or two concentric grooves as decoration.[33] On the other hand there is a series of plates whose quality and morphological attributes would include them among the plates of Bikai's type 2. In this case, their bases are left with an irregular outline and surface treatment reserved to the interior and the upper part of the outer wall (such as Fig. 3, type 2). However, the conversion of plates into lids by the use of unstable bases is not exclusive of the types just mentioned. It is also common among other instances not related typologically with those just analyzed; for example, the bowls and plates provided of carinated walls and triangular rims.[34]

3.1. *Some Conclusions about the Metropolitan Plates*

In short, a revision of the Levantine evidence leads to the following conclusions.

First, thing to note is the existence of general and trans-typological morphological trends met by the members of different plate groups. Hence, in the Early and Middle Iron Age strata plates generally display upright rims notwithstanding the outline of their walls and the section of their rims. Among the types that meet this trend, two clearly follow each other in preeminence in those stages. The first is Bikai's type 11, better represented in the Early and most part of the Middle Iron Age, which is substituted in relevance by type 10 in the second half of the Middle Iron Age. In this context, type 12 stood in a clear secondary position.

The second aspect, not evident in Bikai's publications but observed in other sites such as al-Bass, is the gradual substitution of upright rims for less curved walls, sometimes even straight shaped, and topped by direct rims in the later stages of the Middle Iron Age. The best example of this transformation can be observed in the transit from type 10 to types 8/9 and from type 12 to type 7, two manifestations of the same phenomenon (see Fig. 3). However, these changes were neither contemporary or general; instead, as happens with many other similar situations in the sequence, the presence of innovative features has been observed in association with "old-fashioned" ones as seen, for example, in al-Bass Tomb 131, where plates with upright and direct rims share the same sequential stage.[35]

The third reading is related to the presence on those plates of painted decoration, which generally follows a well established concentric pattern. The evidence recovered in Tyre, also corroborated by evidence from other sites, shows that this phenomenon experienced its climax in the second part of the Middle Iron Age and the earliest part of the Late Iron Age (Fig. 4, Group 2). Nevertheless, the typological approach followed by P.M. Bikai, linking this decorative resource directly and exclusively to plates with simple rims (type 9), seems to be misleading, for it can occur, with variations, on most open forms over the entire Iron Age[36]. At the same time, the existence of painted decoration in Phoenicia is usually linked to plain surfaces – usually well smoothed or burnished – leaving its association with red-slipped surfaces to less frequent situations.

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31 Bikai 1978a, pl. VIII; Núñez 2004a, pp. 337-338; Núñez 2014a, pp. 298-299, 322-325 and 341.

32 For instances such as these, see Núñez 2011.

33 Bikai 1978a, pl. IX. 11, 13, 14 and 17.

34 Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 177, fig. 2.8. U.65-2, p. 238, fig. 2.69. U.160-2, p. 245, fig. 2.76. U.169-2.

35 Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 219, fig. 2.50.

36 For example, Bikai 1978a, pl. XIX. 18 and 20, pl. X. 12 and 13; Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 219, fig. 2.50, U.131-2; Anderson 1988, 627, pl. 33. 20, pl. 35. 15, pl. 38. 9; Briend – Humbert 1980, pl. 39.

The fourth aspect, related to the previous one, is the presence of red-slip covering the surfaces of those plates. During the Middle Iron Age it can appear in all the types included in Group 1, the exception being probably Bikai's type 10.[37] Later, in the Late Iron Age, its presence is somehow restricted to better quality examples, for instance, variants "a" and "c" of Bikai's type 3 (Fig. 3; see above). However, the quality of the plate is not directly connected to the presence of this slip, for there are good quality examples of those variants devoid of it. Besides, as mentioned, the combination of red slip and complex painted patterns such as that described above is not common in any sequential stage. In its place, sometimes certain parts of the plate, for example the lip or the exterior of the base, can be highlighted with black paint.[38]

The fifth aspect refers to a steep increase in the production of plates of the Group 3 that took place in Phoenicia in the Late Iron Age along with two other relevant events (Figs. 2 and 4). One was the severe drop of the production of plates of Group 2, which brought about the almost disappearance of Bikai's type 9 and relevant morphological modifications in type 8 such as the general adoption of flattened lips (Fig. 3, type 8b and 9b).[39] The second event is the apparent absence of a counterpart that continued the typological line initiated by Bikai's type 11 back in the Early Iron Age. Therefore, in Late Iron Age metropolitan Phoenicia there is no clear evidence for plates with rounded thickenings on the interior of their rims. This fact becomes evident especially when observing the absence of plates of this type in al-Bass tomb TT155,[40] which represents the transition between the Middle and Late Iron Age. A probable exception is represented perhaps by a plate found in Tyre Stratum III (Fig. 3, Type 11d).

Sixth, Group 3 displays an interesting evolution and internal variability that have relevant typological and sequential repercussions (Fig. 3). In this sense, the continuous transformation of their rims should be highlighted, which started with the process undergone by Bikai's type 12 that led to her type 7 and, from there, to the variants recognizable in the Late Iron Age. In any instance, it is not evident whether the variations in the width of the plates can be systematized in successive phases along the sequence. However, the linearity existing in Bikai's types 12-7-2/3 and, finally, 1 seems to be clear.

Obviously, overseas plates derive from the evidence just presented above. How the relationship between them and metropolitan production is approached will condition the results, especially regarding the starting point of the former. For that reason, this paper will focus only on the earliest stages of the colonial production.

4. The first plates in the West

The typological, sequential and chronological aspects just described should contextualize and help to understand the production of plates in the Phoenician overseas production centers. However, some factors with a direct incidence on the origin and evolution of those plates have to be considered and identified: first thing to consider are the earliest overseas ceramic production centers; second, their metropolitan and sequential points of departure; third, the particularities of those overseas centers along their productive life; fourth, which of those western production centers served as reference for new ones; fifth, when did those secondary centers start their activity and which were their respective particularities and evolutions; sixth,

37 Bikai 1978a, pl. XXIII. 4, pl. XIX. 21, 24 and 25; Anderson 1988, 623, pl. 32. 13, p. 627, pl. 33. 7 and 17; Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 203, fig. 2.34. U107-9 and U.107/112.

38 This feature has been observed, for example, in several plates of the our variant "type 3a" recovered in Beirut-Bey 020.

39 See, for example, also Bikai 1978a, pl. X. 7; Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 210, fig. 2.41, U.115-2, U.116-2, U.115-4, p. 223, fig. 2.54, U.130-2.

40 Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 235, fig. 2.66.

were there contacts between the metropolis and all or at least certain centers in the West, which implied the provision of ceramics, or else ideas, directly from the Homeland?

Those factors lead to a complex situation with many questions difficult to answer. For that reason, the first step should be to characterize the overseas winged-plate (Fig. 5).

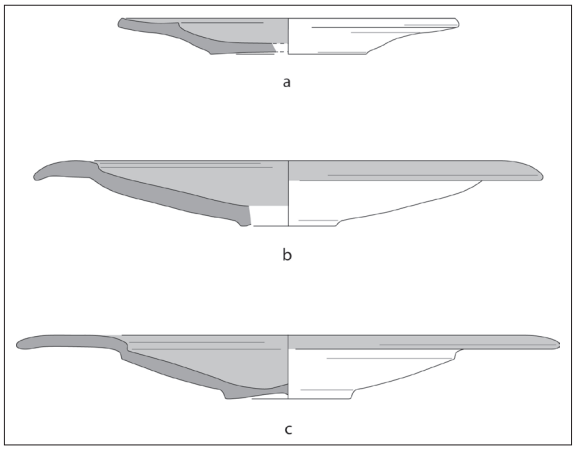

Fig. 5. Comparison between metropolitan and colonial winged-plates (a: Beirut-Bey02, unpublished; b: after Niemeyer – Schubart 1969, pl. 10.416, Toscanos Stratum I/II; c: after Aubet *et al.* 1999, 223, fig. 141.b, Cerro del Villar).

Overseas typical winged plates usually display open and slightly curved walls that are topped by upright rims of variable width and horizontal stance. Those rims are generally marked on the interior by a step-like feature, which divides the interior outline into two distinct halves: the wall and the rim. Besides, the upper part of those rims usually displays a convex outline, a morphological feature that distinguishes these colonial variations from the common metropolitan plate types. The above mentioned division of the plate's outline is usually replicated on the exterior either by a curved break of the wall or a carination, which leads to a lower side of the rim that is either straight or concave. Finally, lips are direct or pendent and vary from tapered to rounded, flattened or even geminated.[41]

Notwithstanding any possible sequential variations in the outline of the diverse morphological attributes, especially those that affect the width of the rim, it is evident that those colonial plates can be viewed, from a typological point of view, as the counterparts of Group 3 in the Motherland, especially of Bikai's types 2 and 3 (see above). Actually, their respective evolutions seems to be broadly similar despite the geographic distance, especially in its later stages, an aspect that lies beyond the scope of this paper.[42]

The main question would be then why the metropolitan and colonial plates display the mentioned morphological differences. For that reason, it is appropriate to analyze, synthetically and following a sequential order, those sites and contexts that provide information relative to the earliest colonial plates (see Figs. 6 and 7). Obviously, an accurate explanation of the reasons that have led to that ordering also lies beyond the scope of this paper. However, the key aspects on which this sequential ordering stands will be presented briefly in the text.

4.1. *Huelva*

The excavation originally located in the Plaza de las Monjas of Huelva lack sound stratigraphic references,[43] a shortcoming that ongoing excavations in Huelva and Utica will hopefully help to solve.[44] Nevertheless, it goes beyond any doubt that, despite this fact, the materials recovered there represent a turning-point in our understanding of the sequential and, hence, chronological dimension Phoenician colonial phenomenon.

41 See, for example, all those variants in Schubart – Niemeyer 1976, lám. 21.

42 Núñez 2013, pp. 65-74.

43 González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004; González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2006a; González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2006b; González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2008; cfr. also Nijboer – van der Plicht 2006; van der Plicht – Bruins – Nijboer 2009; Bruins – Nijboer – van der Plicht 2011.

44 González de Canales *et al.* 2017; García Fernández *et al.* 2016; López Castro *et al.* 2016.

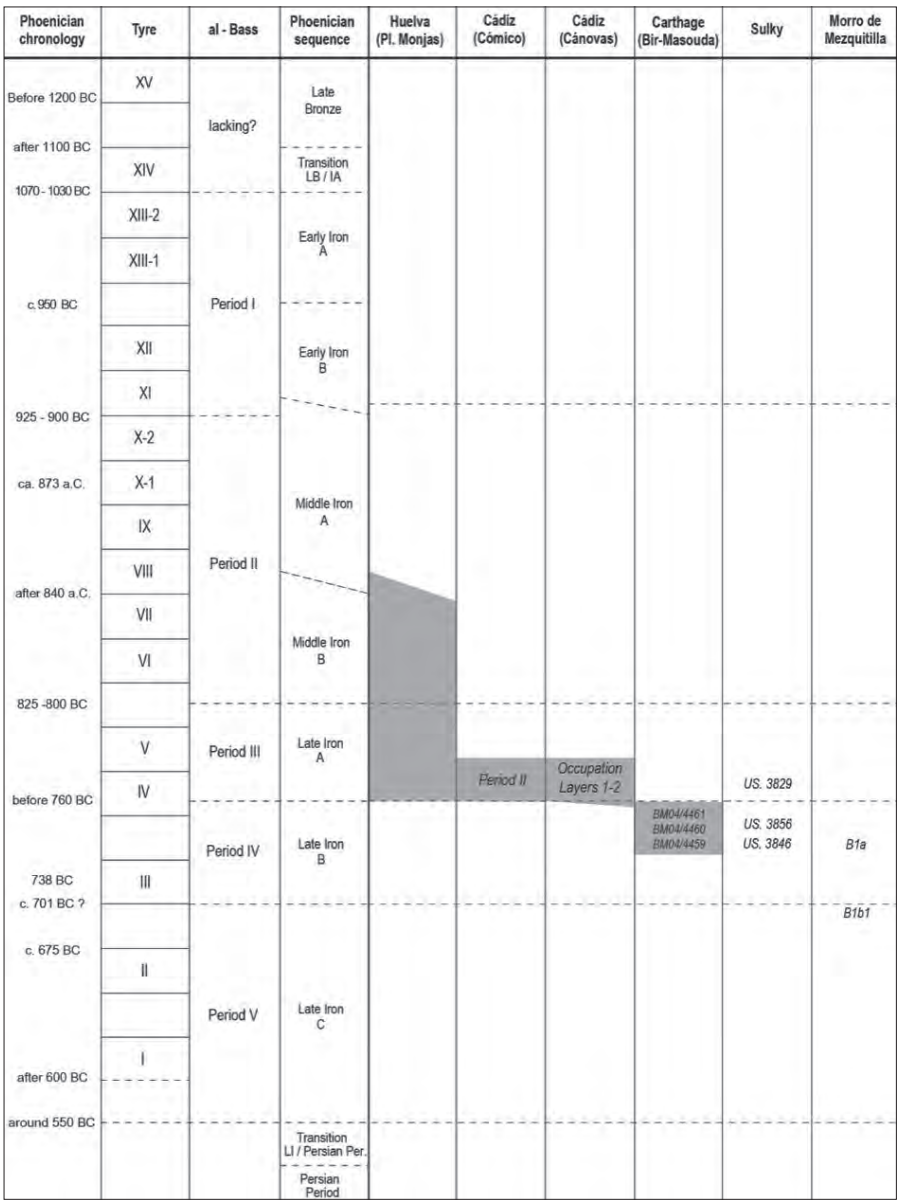

Fig. 6. Sequential and chronological framework for the the colonial sites analyzed in the text.

Briefly, those ceramics represent two main stages:[45] on the one hand, the later part of the Middle Iron Age, which corresponds, broadly, to Tyre strata VIII to VI, and the second part of al-Bass Period II (best represented, probably, by al-Bass tombs TT107 to 112 and TT131)[46] and Sarepta D2. The other stage is the first part of the Late Iron Age as represented in Tyre strata V and most part of IV, al-Bass Period III

45 It is not the place to go into a detailed analysis of those materials and their sequential and chronological consequences, an analysis that has been undertaken in a forthcoming volume edited by M. Botto regarding the first assemblage of ceramics. As to the second group, they will be analyzed, together with the former, in a forthcoming paper. In these papers the chronological relevance of some of the materials considered belonging to earlier sequential stages is questioned and explained using alternative arguments that lead to the chronological conclusions just presented here..

46 Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, pp. 202-207, figs. 2.33 to 2.38, p. 219, fig. 2.50.

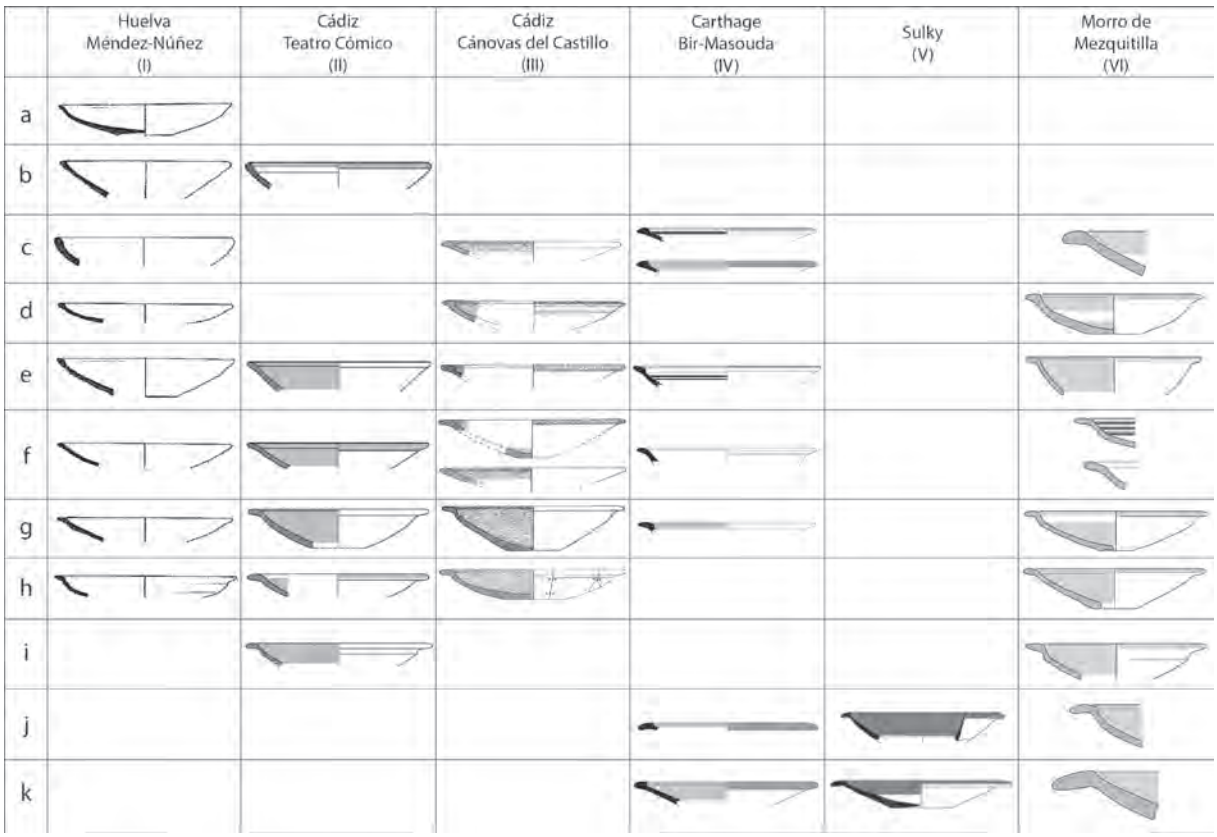

Fig. 7. Typological comparison of plates from the sites analyzed in the text (Ia: González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, lam. I.25; Ib: González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart, lam. I.14; Ic: González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart, lam. III.13; Id: González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart, lam. I.19; Ie: González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart, lam. I.3; If: González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart, lam. I.17; Ig: González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart, lam. I.21; Ih: González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart, lam. I.36; IIb: Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, 55, fig. 2.f; IIe: Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, 57, fig. 4.h; IIf: Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, 57, fig. 4.g; IIg: Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, 57, fig. 4.l; IIh: Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, 57, fig. 4.e; IIi: Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, 57, fig. 4.k; IIIc: Córdoba Alonso – Ruiz Mata 2005, 1280, fig. 5.2; IIId: Córdoba Alonso – Ruiz Mata 2005, 1279, fig. 4.2; IIIe: Córdoba Alonso – Ruiz Mata 2005, 1279, fig. 4.5; IIIf: Córdoba Alonso – Ruiz Mata 2005, 1279, fig. 4.3 and p. 1280, fig. 5.3; IIIg: Córdoba Alonso – Ruiz Mata 2005, 1280, fig. 5.5; IVc: Docter *et al.* 2008, 389, fig. 2.5 and p. 397, fig.3.2; IVe: Docter *et al.* 2008, 402, fig. 4.3; IVf: Docter *et al.* 2008, 389, fig. 2.6; IVg: Docter *et al.* 2008, 389, fig. 2.1; IVj: Docter *et al.* 2008, 397, fig. 3.3; IVk: Docter *et al.* 2008, 397, fig. 3.1; Vj: Guirguis – Unali 2016, 88, fig. 6.c; Vk: Guirguis – Unali 2016, 87, fig. 5. central part, right; VIc: after Maaß-Lindemann 2017, taf. 48.331; VId: after Maaß-Lindemann 2017, taf. 47.304; VIe: after Maaß-Lindemann 2017, taf.47.320; VIf: after Maaß-Lindemann 2017, taf. 49.307 and 345; VIg: after Maaß-Lindemann 2017, taf. 47.362; VIh: after Maaß-Lindemann 2017, taf. 47.309; VIi: after Maaß-Lindemann 2017, taf. 47.305; VIj: after Maaß-Lindemann 2017, taf. 48.342; VIk: after Maaß-Lindemann 2017, taf.48.302).

(represented by al-Bass tombs TT45/46 or TT141/142)[47] and Sarepta D1; finally, the transition between those two periods is nicely represented, for example, by al-Bass tomb TT155.[48] Based on the chronological references used here, those two sequential stages cover from the middle decades of the third quarter of the 9th century down to the first quarter/third of the 8th century BCE (see Fig. 1).

47 Núñez 2004b, pp. 180-181, figs. 95-96; Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 227, fig. 2.58.

48 Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 235, fig. 2.66.

The plates recovered in Huelva offer some interesting aspects for consideration. Seven of Bikai's original types were identified in the publications: 7, a variation of it, 8/9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14.[49] Their representation is not homogeneous, for types 8/9 and 7 combined, shows the best proportions, leaving the remaining types with lower values.[50] Whether this fact reflects the original distribution, its sequential character or how the materials were collected, especially in the first assemblage, remain questions impossible to answer. In any instance, and keeping in mind the data from Tyre (see Fig. 2), the distribution seems to be coherent with the sequential adscription of the entire repertoire just mentioned: the dominance of Group 2, followed by Group 3 (on this issue, see below) and a lower representation of Group 1.

Obviously, our attention should focus on the representatives of Bikai's types 12 and 7 in this assemblage. The first aspect to highlight is the morphological nature of many examples originally included in it, which frequently seems to point to another direction; for instance, certain rims could be included in our Group 1 (Fig. 7 Ia, c, d, e, g and h).[51] Furthermore, there is an apparent prevalence of rims provided with rounded thickenings on the interior, a feature that contrasts with the apparent scarcity of examples of Bikai's type 12[52] and does not correspond to Bikai's type 7, but to an evolution of her type 11 (see above).[53] In contrast, only few examples display the typical ridge on the interior of the rim that characterizes the members of Group 3, some of which could be even classified in Bikai's types 2 and 3.[54] However the publication does not clarify whether this morphological feature affects all the instances originally included in Bikai's type 7 and not illustrated in the original publication.

Despite these problems, it is possible to differentiate eight variants, which probably played a role in the origin and later development of the colonial winged-plates. The first one (Fig. 7.Ia) is a plate with an upright upper wall and an open rim that shows a convex outline;[55] belong to our Group 1 and could be considered a variant of Bikai's type 11. A similar example has been recorded, for example, in al-Bass tomb 131 (see above), which is paramount for the second half of the Middle Iron Age in that site. The second variant also occurs in the mentioned Tyrian tomb and consists of a plate with a direct rim provided with a rounded thickening on it (Fig. 7.Ib).[56] Whether this variant is an evolution of Bikai's plates 10 or 11 is an open possibility given the evolution of the rims from upright to direct; in this case, however, this variant could be considered a counterpart of Bikai's type 7. The third variant (Fig. 7.Ic) is closely related to Bikai's type 11, marked by its upright rim and the interior oval thickening.[57] The fourth variant (Fig. 7.Id) is also a plate with an upright upper wall that is topped by a horizontal rim marked by a step-like feature at its base and a convex upper side.[58] In typological terms, this plate seems to be an evolution of some examples existing in Tyre in the Middle Iron Age;[59] however, it is also possible that they represent an evolution of some of the

49 González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, pp. 34-38; González de Canáles *at al.* 2017, pp. 7-17.

50 Bikai's types 8/9 are more abundant in the first publication, whilst type 7 outnumber the rest in Calle del Carme excavations.

51 González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, lam. I. 25, 27, 28, 29, 33 and 36. For this variant see above.

52 González de Canáles *at al.* 2017, pl. II, 5-7.

53 To which could be included the examples shown in González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, lam. I. 35 and lam. III. 8-10 (identified with Bikai's type 11); González de Canáles *et al.* 2017, pl. I. 5-9; rounded rims are more evident in García Fernández *et al.* 2016, fig. 4, C3-4354.

54 González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, lam. I. 11, 15, 17, 19, 26, 30, 31 and 32; lam. VII. 1-9, 22 and 24; González de Canáles *at al.* 2017, pl. I: 1-4.

55 González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, lam. I. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, lam. III. 28 and 29.

56 González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, lam. I. 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 22 and 23, lam. III. 8, 9 and 10.

57 González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, lam. III. 13.

58 González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, lam. I. 19.

59 For example, Bikai 1978a, pl. XIX. 24-26.

types just presented, in particular the first one (Fig. 7.Ia). The fifth variant (Fig. 7.Ie) is an plate with open walls and a slightly upright rim provided with an oval interior thickening, also with a step-like feature at its base.[60] This variant seems to be a variant of Bikai's type 11 or a hybrid of her types 11 and 12, and it could also be seen as another counterpart of Bikai's type 7. Its sequential place seems to be closer, in metropolitan terms, to the end of the Middle Iron Age. The sixth variant (Fig. 7.If) is a plate that finds connections with the first one described here.[61] Its main particularities are a direct rim with an open stance, a convex outline and no remarkable feature marking its start on the inside; these features may link it with the former counterparts of Bikai's type 7. The seventh variant (Fig. 7.Ig) is closely related to the former one, the difference being a marked break of the wall that leads to an upright upper half topped by a horizontal and convex rim, which is marked at its start by a step-like feature.[62] Finally, the eight variant (Fig. 7.Ih) is also connected to the last one and recalls the outlook of a previous variant (Fig. 7.Id); the difference among them is the presence of a curved wall leading to a similar upright wall and a developed horizontal rim that shows the same morphology of the last instance.[63]

Certain aspects are common to all those types from typological and sequential points of view. First, we must assume that not all the examples recognized in the assemblage may belong to the same sequential stage; second, we do not know as yet their original place of production, either metropolitan or colonial; third, we should highlight the typological and sequential connections existing between Bikai's true type 7 and the variations with rounded thickenings on the rim that evolved from her type 11; fourth, even if some plates display upright rims, it is evident that most examples, especially those belonging to the types provided with interior thickenings, display direct rims, a fact that may have sequential consequences on grounds of the general evolution of the plates in the metropolis, especially given the relatively long sequential range represented by the assemblage; fifth, the proportion of plates related to Bikai's type 7 and related rims, especially on grounds of their direct rims, is evidently high, a fact that should be qualified by the absence of any stratigraphic adscription for all the material, but may also have sequential consequences for the entire repertoire recovered in Huelva; finally, it is also interesting the lack of any example of colonial wing-plate, a circumstance that would contradict the presence of certain examples, which are typical of Late Iron Age B contexts and, as a consequence, would extend the final date of the assemblage, at least, to the middle decades of the 8th century BCE[64].

4.2. *Cádiz*

Two sites located in Cádiz will be considered here. The first one is located below the old Teatro Cómico of Cádiz.[65] Its relevance rests in the sequential and chronological character of the ceramic repertoire recovered there, which evidences, together with the a site found in Cánovas del Castillo street (see below), the as yet oldest Phoenician occupation of the ancient island of Erytheia.

Two periods of Phoenician occupation have been recognized in Teatro Cómico: Period II, the oldest and of our interest here, and Period III, the latest, which corresponds to the 7th century BCE. The assemblage of ceramics registered in Period II corresponds, as the authors of the original study correctly indicate, to Tyre Stratum IV. However, the proposed chronology, which ranges from the end of the 9th down to

60 González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, lam. I. 3, 5, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 18.

61 González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, lam. I. 17.

62 González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, lam. I. 20 and 21.

63 González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, lam. I. 36.

64 Some of the best examples are González de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, lam. I. 21 or lam. VII. 7. See also González de Canáles *at al.* 2017, pl. I, 1-4.

65 Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014.

the middle decades of the 8th century BCE,[66] needs some reconsideration. Hence, after the sequential and chronological guidelines used in this study, the date of this period should be sought in the first quarter of the 8th century (see also below). It is also most probable that the earliest part of this period overlaps the last sequential stages represented in Huelva.

There is no intention behind these lines to correct the typological arrangement proposed for the plates. However, approached from a morphological perspective, it is possible to observe two main typological groups.

One group is represented by plates provided with direct rims, which in occasions can be slightly thickened to the exterior[67]. These examples correspond to the metropolitan Group 2 (see above) and, in some instances, they can display painted decoration on the interior following a bichrome concentric pattern.

The second typological group consists of six variants related to the winged-plates. The first one is represented by examples provided with direct rims and slight rounded thickenings on the interior, which can be replicated in some cases also on the exterior (Fig. 7.IIb)[68]. As happened with its counterparts from the metropolis and Huelva, those plates can be interpreted as later variations of Bikai's type 11.[69] The second variant includes plates with both open walls and rims (Fig. 7.IIf).[70] The separation between the rim and the wall is not sharp and the outline of the latter is slightly convex and topped by a rounded lip; the example published is covered on the interior by red slip. The third variant (Fig. 7.IIe) is apparently connected to the former.[71] The rims share the same stance, but the transition between the wall and its quadrangular rim is marked on the interior by a step-like feature. The example published is also covered by red slip on the interior and, from a typological perspective, and despite the convex rim, this variant is a good counterpart of Bikai's type 7. The fourth variant consists of a plate whose wall stands on a flat base and is divided into two parts (Fig. 7.IIg).[72] The lower is open and the upper is shorter and upright, whereas the rim has a horizontal stance, the interior transition is not sharp and its upper outline is convex and topped by a rounded lip. The interior is also covered by red slip. From a typological perspective, this example also seems to correspond to Bikai's type 7, or even her type 2; however, the treatment of the inner surface would put it closer to the former, for the difference between those types is based on their respective quality, even though its morphology, which includes the division of the wall into two halves, and the length of the rim, reminds that of the low-quality plates used in al-Bass as lids for the cinerary urns (see above).

The remaining two types are morphologically similar: both are relatively low and their rims, as happens with a variant mentioned before (Fig. 7.IIf), are not marked at their start; instead, they usually display a horizontal stance with a convex upper outline and are topped by tapered lips. The difference between them is the outline of their walls. On the one hand are plates with a curved, almost upright outline (Fig. 7.IIh);[73] on the other hand, is the presence of a carination-like feature below the rim (Fig. 7.IIi).[74] Most examples are covered with red slip on the interior, but the presence of bichrome or even monochrome concentric patterns is a possibility as well. These morphological and decorative features lead to see these two last variants as counterparts of an earlier variant of the metropolitan Group 3, probably Bikai's type 3.

66 Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, p. 79.

67 Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, p. 55, fig. 3. a-e and j.

68 Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, p. 53, fig. 3. f, g, h and i.

69 Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 219, fig. 2.50, U131-2 from tomb TT131.

70 Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, p. 57, fig. 4. g.

71 Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014. p. 57, fig. 4. h.

72 Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014. p. 57, fig. 4. l.

73 Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, p. 57, fig. 4. e.

74 Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, p. 57, fig. 4. f, j and k.

As a conclusion, the plate types recovered in this Period II serve to identify the more evolved examples found in Huelva (probably Fig. 7.Ie, f, g and h). Especially significant is the apparent absence of plates with upright but direct rims, substituted by the predominance of everted or open ones and the usual presence of convex thickenings on them. The combination of examples with bichrome concentric decoration with other instances covered with red slip is also remarkable. Therefore, the idea of some overlapping with the advanced sequential stages represented at Huelva should be accepted.[75]

The second site under consideration is located in Cánovas del Castillo Street.[76] It offers a broad similar sequential situation, although it becomes blurred by the lack of stratigraphic specifications for the distribution of its ceramic assemblage. The stratigraphy offered two clear phases of Phoenician occupation, which the authors of the study dated in the early decades of the 8th century BCE.[77]

Notwithstanding this circumstance, most of the materials recovered at Cánovas del Castillo match those from Teatro Cómico (Fig. 7.IIIe-h),[78] with the exception perhaps of the plates with rounded thickenings and the carinated ones (as seen in Fig. 7.IIb and i). In contrast, two types seen in Huelva appear once again. This is the case, on the one hand, of a flat plate with an upright wall and a horizontal rim (Fig. 7. IIId),[79] which is now more developed, including its marked step-like base, than its counterpart in Huelva (Fig. 7. Id). The second variant consists of a plate with open walls and a direct rim provided with an oval thickening on its interior (Fig. 7 IIIc).[80] This variant seems to be the evolution of a similar plate found in Huelva (Fig. 7. Ic). It is also covered with red slip and, from a typological perspective, seems to be another evolution of Bikai's type 11 that has become counterpart of her type 7.

Summing up, Teatro Cómico Period II is certainly contemporary to Tyre Stratum IV, but not to its final stages, which correspond in fact to the beginning of the Late Iron Age B (as it is the later stages of Sarepta Sub-stratum D-1; see Fig. 1). These sequential and chronological conclusions make it, and probably also Cánovas del Castillo site, contemporary to the later stages represented in Huelva.

In absolute chronological terms, these conclusions lead to a date in the first quarter of the 8th century BCE, a proposed date that coincides with that originally suggested for Cánovas del Castillo site, although obtained by other means. Two further reasons would support that estimation. First, the year 763 BCE used as a *terminus ante quem* for the beginning of the Late Iron Age B (see below), which obviously sets the transition from the previous period somewhere before that year. The second is the date of Tyre Stratum V, which is to be placed in the last decades of the 9th century BCE (see below).

Finally, and regarding the possibility of an older date for the beginning of Teatro Cómico Period II, proposed by the authors of the original study, it is true that the presence of a bichrome plate associated to the structures found in it may point to a date as far back as the later stages of the Middle Iron Age B,[81] namely, in the second half of the 9th century BCE. This possibility would be also supported by the presence of plates with direct rims and simple outlines or rounded thickenings on the interior, whose metropolitan counterparts in Middle Iron Age B contexts in al-Bass have been mentioned before. However,

75 Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, p. 51.

76 Córdoba Alonso – Ruiz Mata 2005.

77 Córdoba Alonso – Ruiz Mata 2005, p. 1316.

78 Respectively, Córdoba Alonso – Ruiz Mata 2005, p. 1279, fig. 4. A1d; p. 1279, fig. 4. A1c; p. 1280, fig. 5. A1e and A2b; p. 1279, fig. 4. A1a; p. 1280, fig. 5. A3.

79 Córdoba Alonso – Ruiz Mata 2005, p. 1279, fig. 4. A1b.

80 Córdoba Alonso – Ruiz Mata 2005, p. 1280, fig. 5. A1e.

81 The plate in question is Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, p. 56, fig. 3. 3. As to the metropolitan parallels, see, for example, Aubet – Núñez – Trellisó 2014, p. 196, fig. 2.27, U.98-2, from Tomb TT98, and p. 204, fig. 2.35, U.108-1:1, from the later Tomb TT108/109. In this sense, Núñez 2004b, p. 185, fig. 100. 2, from Tomb TT49, is older, but also lacks the indeterminated thickening on the exterior of the rim, which is connected through the outline of its lip with Bikai's type 10.

these pieces of evidence become qualified, among other elements, by the presence of a plate of the first type in Tyre Stratum IV,[82] which would still support the date proposed here and the apparent absence of the latter in Phoenicia in the Late Iron Age.

4.3. *Carthage - Bir Massouda*

The third reference is Carthage and, in particular, Bir-Massouda.[83] The relevance of this site resides, among other aspects, in the fact that its stratigraphy reaches the virgin soil. This circumstance has led some authors to establish a mistaken direct connection among the ceramic evidence (local and imported), the 14C determinations yielded by some of its layers and the historical date of the foundation of the city.[84] The outcome of this combination should have had far reaching implications for the chronology not only of the Phoenician Iron Age, but also for the Aegean Geometric in general and the Late Geometric period in particular, whose earliest date was shift to the last third of the 9th century BCE. However, a detailed analysis of this problematic, which lies beyond the scope of this paper,[85] shows that the main flaw of those proposals was to consider all the evidence as a unity notwithstanding their stratigraphic distribution. In point of fact, the distribution of the ceramic repertoire and the different 14C dates is coherent if they are taken in their original stratigraphic order.

In this context, our attention should focus on the plates found in layers BM04/4461 and 4460, which provide a more or less comprehensive overview on their respective ceramic repertoire as well as on 14C dates. Hence, on the one hand, those layers represent two probably successive moments of the same sequential stage, which include some Middle or Late Geometric Aegean wares.[86] As a whole, the assemblage seems to correspond to the initial stages of the Late Iron Age B in the metropolis and, hence, it is sequentially later than that seen in Cádiz, especially in Teatro Cómico.[87]

The 14C dates produced by those strata are almost identical: 2520±25 BP for BM04/4461 and 2520±40 for BM04/4460, which, once calibrated, provide year ranges, respectively, of 780-560 / 780-550 BCE at 1σ and 790-540/800-510 BCE at 2σ.[88] Taking into consideration that the beginning of the Late Iron Age B should be placed before the year 763 BCE (see Fig. 1), which is the date of the destruction of Hazor Stratum VI, the chronology of those two layers should be sought somewhere around that date. Another question that cannot be solved as yet is the time passed from one stratum to the next; however, it was probably so short that it is impossible to highlight much sequential differences between their respective ceramic assemblages.

Turning our attention to the plates produced and once ordered after their morphological features, it is obvious that only one example agrees at some point with metropolitan prototypes.[89] It is probably an example of Bikai's plate type 7 given the direct stance of the rim regarding the wall and its narrow width,

82 Bikai 1978a, pl. XVI. 41, from Stratum IV.

83 Docter – Chelbi – Maraoui Telmini 2003; Docter *et al.* 2005; 2008.

84 See, for instance, Brandherm 2006; 2008; Trachsel 2008; van der Plicht – Bruins – Nijboer 2009; Bruins Nijboer – van der Plicht 2011; García Alfonso 2016.

85 An analysis of the published ceramics, the 14C and their sequential and chronologial implications appear in Núñez 2014b.

86 The original chronology of these wares is not taken into consideration here, for their relevance in this analysis is sequential instead.

87 A similar association of materials, even of types, has been documented in some as yet unpublished contexts at the Nuragic site of Sant'Imbenia, in Sardinia.

88 Docter *et al.* 2008, pp. 413-415; Núñez 2014b, pp. 8-10.

89 Docter *et al.* 2008, pp. 401-402, fig. 4.2, and 6.1, cat. 39.

the flattened upper outline and the presence of red slip on its interior and the lip; it appeared in layer BM04/4460.

The remaining rim fragments are characterized especially by their convex outline. Several variants can be identified, most of which are identical or derive from those seen in Cádiz. Hence, one consists of a plate with an everted rim, thin quadrangular thickening on the interior and, in this instance, bichrome concentric decoration on the interior (Fig. 7. IVe).[90] The second variant displays an open rim whose transition from the wall is not marked (Fig. 7. IVf). A further variant was not recognized in Teatro-Cómico, but it was in Cánovas del Castillo. It consists of plates that display open walls and horizontal rims with an oval thickening that is marked on its base by a step-like feature (Fig. 7. IVh). Two examples of this variant have been registered; one, found in layer BM04/4461, displays painted bichrome decoration following a concentric pattern and the other, from layer BM04/4460, is covered in the interior by red slip.[91]

Two further variants are relevant from a sequential perspective. The first is characterized by an open wall and a somehow longer convex horizontal rim. This variant is represented by two examples; one, from the earlier layer, displays an everted rim (Fig. 7. IVg), whereas the second, from the later layer, has a horizontal stance and a pendent lip (Fig. 7. IVj); both instances are covered by red slip.[92] The other variant, represented by one example recovered in layer BM04/4460, lies morphologically somewhere between the other two: open walls, horizontal rim marked step-like transition on the interior, a less convex outline and covered by red slip (Fig. 7. IVk).[93]

An accurate observation of the examples recovered in Carthage confirms that, even if the sequential differences between the layers in question here (BM04/4461 and 4460) are not too evident, they are chronologically successive. This circumstance is especially relevant as these layers are later than the contexts seen in Cádiz and based on several aspects.

Hence, both cities are connected through plates with everted and thin rims, either with step-like features at their base or with less marked transitions (Fig. 7. II-IVe and f), and plates with short rims with horizontal stances, step-like features at their bases, a curved upper outline and rounded lips (Fig. 7. II-IVg). However, plates with horizontal rims with marked rounded thickenings such as those found in Bir-Massouda (Fig. 7. IVc) are absent in Teatro Cómico. This absence has a difficult explanation, for the reason could be of typological, sequential or regional character, but also coincidental. The proof of this would be the presence of this type in Cánovas del Castillo (Fig. 7. IIIc) and the probable typological and sequential relationship existing between them and the second plate just mentioned before (Fig. 7. IVk). In point of fact, even though they are present in layer BM04/4460, the former was probably the direct antecedent of the latter, which would in turn precede the most advanced plate type present in the same layer (Fig. 7. IVj), apparently absent in Cádiz.

As a conclusion, both the general typological aspects and the 14C dates seem to corroborate the sequential distance existing between the two sites from Cádiz and Bir Masouda. The next step will be the analysis of the last site under consideration here: Morro de Mezquitilla, in Málaga, which marks the end of what we may call the "initial phase" of the ceramic production in the West and the beginning of the next one, in which previous trends were fully developed.

90 Docter *et al.*2008, p. 402, fig. 4.3. Compare this example with Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, p. 57, fig. 4. h; see also above.

91 Docter *et al.* 2008, p. 389, fig. 2.5 and p. 397, fig. 3.2 respectively.

92 Docter *et al.* 2008, p. 389, fig. 2.1 and p. 397, fig. 3.3 respectively.

93 Docter *et al.* 2008, p. 397, fig. 3.1.

4.4. *Morro de Mezquitilla*

Before the discoveries in Huelva and Cádiz, the site of Morro of Mezquitilla, in Málaga, was traditionally considered one of the oldest Phoenician sites in the Iberian Peninsula.[94] The sequential nature of its ceramic repertoire led the scholars to date the earliest layer – B1, the only one to be dealt with here – in the first half of the 8th century BCE.[95] However, the sequential and chronological guidelines followed in this paper may regard this date too early. In this sense, the cylindrical upper half of the neck of one of the neck-ridge jugs found in B 1a is definitive;[96] besides, the conical tendency of another example as well as the strangulated neck of the decanter also found in that stratum[97] would place this context in a somehow later sequential stage than Sulky's US.3856 and roughly contemporary to its US.3846.[98] Furthermore, the conical outline of the necks of the neck-ridge jugs found in B1b, as well as the rounded shape of their lips would place this very layer in a later sequential stage.[99] Therefore, in metropolitan terms, both layers – B 1a and B 1b1 – should be dated in an advanced moment of the Late Iron Age B period, that is, in the middle decades of the 8th century BCE (see Figs. 1 and 6).

Focusing on the morphological character of the winged-plates found in Morro de Mezquitilla, it is also possible to recognize some features described for other sites. This is the case of the outline of the rims, which is predominantly convex, but in general longer and better developed. Besides, the presence of step-like devises at the start of the rim is not common, being substituted by a more or less marked break of the interior outline. Upright stances are also common, leaving the direct rims in a secondary position.

From a typological perspective, G. Maaß-Lindemann has recognized five main plate types, all of which were represented, with diverse variants, in this particular layer.[100] However, taking the ordering used here, we see that only the upright rims with open lips and those with rounded thickenings, like in Huelva (Fig. 7. Ia and b) and Teatro Cómico (Fig. 7. IIb), would be missing due to sequential circumstances. In their place, there are some examples that recall plates seen in Cánovas del Castillo and Bir-Masouda, which are characterized by horizontal rims provided with an oval thickening (Fig. 7. VIc). Likewise, there are plates with upright and horizontal tapered rims, like those seen in Huelva and Cánovas del Castillo (Fig. 7. VId). In fourth place, some plates display quadrangular and everted rims also, this time with knick-like breaks of the outline that substitute the step-like devices seen, with the exception of Sulky, in the all the sites analyzed here (Fig. 7. VIc). There are also a variety of plates whose rims display an open stance and a curved outline, but lack any apparent thickening (Fig. 7. VIf); in this case, there are some instances that are plain and others that even show painted decoration following the typical bichrome concentric pattern, a resource that is not apparently present in Stratum B1b1. Plates with horizontal rims, sometimes provided with a carination or more or less marked break of the outline of the wall also occur, this time represented by three variants, which were also identified in other sites (Fig. 7. VIg, h and i). Finally, two variants mark the sequential stage in which the layer has to be placed. It is the case of elongated rims displaying a horizontal stance, which in some instances show a curved outline and other times are straight, but always with convex outlines (Fig. 7. VIj and k). These two variants, seen in Bir-Masouda (Fig. 7. IVj and k) and Sulky (Fig. 7. Vj and k), mark the

94 Schubart – Maaß-Lindemann 2017.

95 Maaß-Lindemann 2017, p. 119, fig. 10; p. 120, fig. 11.

96 Maaß-Lindemann 2017, pl. 46. 146, see also 132 and 137.

97 Maaß-Lindemann 2017, pl. 46. 131.

98 Guirguis – Unali 2016, p. 87, fig. 5; p. 88, fig. 6.

99 Maaß-Lindemann 2017, pl. 46. 147 and 159.

100 Maaß-Lindemann 2017, pp. 270-274, pl. 47-49.

beginning of another stage of the overseas ceramic production, which later will be continued, for example, in Morro de Mezquitilla B 1b1.[101]

4.5. *Conclusions on the Colonial Plates*

Several conclusions can be drawn from the evidence presented here. In the first place, a disconnection can be observed between production centers located in the metropolis and in the overseas centers. However, that disconnection is not complete. Several factors can be taken into account when referring to the examples that have been displayed in previous pages: the stance of the rim, its shape, the transition between it and the wall on the interior, the depth of the plate, the presence or not of a break of the exterior outline, the surface treatment and the presence of decoration on them. Nevertheless, despite all those elements, differences between the winged-plates produced in both sides of the Mediterranean can be synthesized in aspects of morphological, typological and technical nature.

The morphological factors affect especially the shape of the rims themselves, which usually display a convex outline. This feature characterizes the colonial plates and differentiates them from their metropolitan counterparts since the earliest colonial productions appeared abroad. Together with this feature comes also an apparent abundance of rounded and tapered lips. Whether these circumstances are due to sequential or regional causes is difficult to say.

Also connected to this aspect is the existence of two variants based on how the rim is connected to the wall. It seems that rims marked at their bases by a step-like feature, a simple knick-like break or just a curved outline coexist in the same sequential stages, from Huelva until Morro de Mezquitilla. However, it is not clear whether this situation reflects a typological differentiation, or rather a sequential or, even, a regional particularism. In any instance, the analysis of later developments remains beyond the scope of this paper.

Another aspect worth mentioning is the occasional presence of breaks in the outline of the walls, not far below the rims, a feature that is also complicated to explain from an evolutionary perspective. One option is related to technical reasons and especially how the plate was formed, namely, from a single thrown of the wheel or joining diverse parts. A second explanation would be connected to sequential aspects, in particular, the occasional survival of upright rims from the Middle Iron Age into the Late Iron Age. The last possibility, probably less plausible than the previous two, refers to these plates, especially the swallower ones, as counterparts of the metropolitan bowls and plates provided with triangular rims.[102] However, those bowls and plates belong to an alternative typological line that is not connected to that of the winged-plates.

In this context it is also worth mentioning the presence, in the earlier stages analyzed here and apparently among most of the types recognized, of painted concentric decoration. This resource coexists with the alternative presence of red slip covering the surfaces, which is applied to all the types recognized and becomes common in later variants.

Regarding the typological aspects, the representation of the diverse types organized by sites evidences how these winged-plates originated and evolved in the West (Fig. 7).

Obviously, the evidence from Huelva, the earliest case under analysis, is somehow blurred by its particular stratigraphic and sequential circumstances. This makes it difficult to understand this site as showing the earliest examples of all the variants seen there or, in some other instances, just other examples of them. In any case, this site evidences, first, the connections with Middle Iron Age metropolitan prototypes, for example in the upright stance of the rims (see Fig. 7.Ia, c or h), as the presence of some direct ones (Fig. 7.Ib, d). Second, there is an apparent predominance of rims with rounded and, especially, convex thickenings.

101 Maaß-Lindemann 2017, pl. 49.

102 This group comprises Bikai's plate type 4 and Fine Ware Plate types 5 and 7 (Bikai 1978a, pp. 22-23, 28-29), which correspond to Anderson's types X-1, 2, 3 and 10 (Anderson 1988, pp. 143-146 and 149-150).

Third, the presence of some other types that appear in a later sequential stage in other sites is also relevant (for example, Figs. 7.Ie and If).

These other sites, located in Cádiz and Carthage, which are later than the earliest evidence from Huelva, offer two clear variants. Notwithstanding the depth of the plate, one displays direct or slightly everted rims and step-like features at their bases (Fig. 7. IIIf and h; IVf), while the other is usually provided of everted rims whose start is marked by a bend in the outline or knick-like features (Fig. 7. IIIc, d, e and g; IVc, e, g, j and k). In either case, the evidence shows that in a later stage and as a general phenomenon, represented by Sulky and Morro de Mezquitilla (Fig. 7. Vj and k; IVj and k), the presence of relatively longer rims predominates, with plates usually displaying a horizontal stance regarding their walls and a step-like feature at their base.

A second aspect, already mentioned, affects the shape of the rims and leads to the presence of two further variants in Huelva: rounded or oval. The same situation appears later on in Cádiz, where the two variants appear together in Teatro Cómico (Fig. 7. IIb and c-g). Revealing is the evidence from Cánovas del Castillo, where the rounded variant seems to have experienced a process of elongation that preserves, even, the double thickening on the rim (as in Fig. 7. IIIg). The existence of the two varieties is further evidenced in Carthage, where the rounded variant seems to display its last appearance as a variant of its own (Fig. 7. IVh). In contrast, the variant characterized by elongated rims prevails later on in Sulky and Morro de Mezquitilla (Fig. 7. Vj-k and VIj-k).

Another example of the somehow different nature of these colonial plates is embodied by the apparent general predominance of good quality winged-plates, a property that affects not only the fabrics, but also the surface treatments (usually covered with red slip) and finish. This is the base for later developments of the specific type, a phenomenon in which lower quality winged-plates, as those seen in the metropolis in contemporary stages, did not enjoyed any apparent place.

A final aspect should be highlighted: the role played by the diverse overseas production centers in the evolution of these winged-plates, of workshops known to us as well as those that remain elusive, is of an obvious primary order, for all they will mark the nature of the successive stages that can be identified. This circumstance makes necessary the analysis of the open forms focusing on phenomena that take place in the overseas, leaving the metropolis as a mere source of comparative evidence and not of precise references. In any case, as important as any change in the technique, modeling or finishing of the plates is the starting point from which these productions originated and their later typological development. These comparative aspects will be analyzed in the next section.

5. General Conclusions

The analysis of the plates from both extremes of the Mediterranean and their relationship evidence many of the problems that affect the analysis of other ceramic types and their distribution in the metropolis and overseas. One possible solution would be to stop developing arrangements of examples based upon complex and sometimes not-coherent typological grounds. Instead, it becomes necessary to understand the typological nature of the repertoire in general and that of the plates in particular, a nature that has to be observed and analyzed as a long-run phenomenon.

As mentioned above, one of the readings is the perception of a somehow autonomous typological development in the West. However, this fact does not contradict the existence of general trans-Mediterranean ceramic trends that are met by almost all regions notwithstanding the particular typological character of the diverse production centers.[103] In this sense, equally relevant to the development of the diverse types is the

103 Maaß-Lindemann 2009; Núñez 2013, pp. 80-81.

sequential point in which their production started. Therefore, it is necessary to recognize that moment. In order to do so the features of the earliest plates in the West must be observed, the most remarkable of which is the rounded thickenings of the rims.

Rounded thickenings are to be related to Bikai's plate type 11, which prevailed among the open forms during the Early and the Middle Iron Age in the metropolis. However, some other aspects become relevant in the search of a more precise sequential stage for the origin of the western plates. For instance, the abundance in Huelva of plates provided with simple rims or the presence of painted concentric decoration on the interior of most of the plate types. All these factors lead us to the second part of the Middle Iron Age, a moment in which plates of Bikai's types 8/9 predominate in Tyre, including the painted decoration, and Bikai's type 11 was still relatively abundant. At the same time, this sequential character would explain the low presence of Bikai's type 12 in Huelva and, hence, the general absence of real plates of the Group 3 in the West; as a matter of fact, this group did not even exist at that time.

Therefore, Bikai's plates of type 11 were the basis from which the colonial plates evolved. In this context it is also relevant to recognize that these plates and their morphological features explain the successive stages seen in Huelva, Cádiz, Carthage and, later, in Morro de Mezquitilla. This may also include the presence in those sites of plates with upright rims, their apparent general good quality, the absence of a lower quality alternative, or the use of painted decoration among the earlier types.

At the same time, this sequential moment serves to understand the typological origin of some other colonial ceramic markers such as the pithoid-jars, which evolved from the Levantine amphoroid-kraters and appear as a well-developed type, for example, in a tomb of San Isidro necropolis, in Málaga;[104] the storage jars, whose upright rims and baggy bodies evoke Bikai's type 9, also common in the Middle Iron Age;[105] the neck-ridge jugs, and especially the presence in some instances of painted decoration on their shoulders, a feature that occured in the Levant in the last stages of the Middle Iron Age;[106] or even the common presence in the West of double becks in the lamps.

Therefore, the second part of the Middle Iron Age, whose typological, morphological and decorative features meet perfectly those seen in sites such as Huelva and probably also Utica, was the basis from which the first colonial production centers started and developed their ceramic repertoires. The question would be then to recognize which were those earliest centers and how many secondary centers were founded by them later on. Obviously, the character and moment in time when the diverse establishments occurred also conditioned future developments, especially their typological, morphological and decorative particularities.

At the same time, it seems that the evolution of all or most of those productions were autonomous from the metropolis; therefore, any analysis should focus only on the nature and evolution of these new productions notwithstanding the already mentioned general trends that can be also observed. The situation thus created did not affect any possible contacts between or among those centers, neither any contact with the motherland or the original centers, if there were more than one. Those contacts, as frequent as they might have been in time, would explain the general trends observable all over the Mediterranean, trends that did not obscure or hide the particular character of the diverse productive regions.

The metropolis did not dictate the characteristics of the diverse overseas centers, because it was not its role to do so. Instead, those centers had to respond to their respective "markets" by using their own typological, morphological and decorative parameters, which parameters were not static or identical for every center.

104 Juzgado Navarro – Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno – Galindo San José 2016, p. 114, Fig. 10.

105 See, for example, Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, p. 54, fig. 2. a-f and k; Bikai 1978a, pp. 45-46.

106 For example, Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, p. 59, fig. 5. a, g and h; Núñez 2008-2009.

Therefore, the overseas Phoenician ceramic repertoires were once generated from the Levant, but their respective characters and evolutions were not necessary the same. We should consider in this context the role played by economic, social or functional factors. Some of them concern all Mediterranean basin in general; others affect each production center and, therefore, have a direct incidence on the specific nature and evolution of the diverse overseas production centers. For that reason, any attempt to understand the overseas ceramic production and its characteristics by using only metropolitan references is wrong. This fact affects not only the plates, but the entire repertoire and especially the sequential stages in which the autonomous evolution of the diverse centers was fully developed. In this sense, the idea of an organized network that articulated all the production centers is a possibility, [107] but it should have depended on a centralized organization, the existence of which is not clear; not even in the earliest stages of the Phoenician commercial phenomenon in the West.

As a final conclusion, most attention must be paid to the local/regional productions themselves, to the origins of their special features and to their respective evolution. However, dealing with this issue in its entirety goes beyond the scope of this paper.

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107 Maaß-Lindemann 2008, p. 191.

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