

### The Greek presence on the east coast of the Iberian Peninsula: Colonial establishments and rhythms of trade with Iberian societies

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#### ABSTRACT

The Greek presence along the Mediterranean coastline of the Iberian Peninsula is a phenomenon that we can trace from the Archaic Period until the beginning of the Roman Empire. Even though the earliest Greek trade contacts with the west have been dated from the 8th century BC, it was not until the 6th century BC, when the Phocaeans founded Massalia and Emporion, that these contacts began to intensify in the northeast and eastern seaboard of the Iberian Peninsula. Throughout the 5th century BC, the Greek commercial contacts with the Iberian world and the role of Emporion solidified until they reached their peak in the 4th century BC, when Greek products spread massively around the coastline, dovetailing with the rise in Punic trade and broader Greek settlement in the territory with the newly-founded Massalian settlements of Alonis and Hemeroskopeion (known solely through sources) and Rhode (Roses), which would export its own ceramics in the 3rd century BC.

KEYWORDS: Greek presence, maritime trade, Emporion, Rhode, Mediterranean coast, Iberian Peninsula

Greek colonial expansion around the Mediterranean was not a homogeneous phenomenon; rather it gave rise to widely disparate realities both in terms of the number and the importance of the colonial establishments and in terms of the local peoples with whom the Greeks forged contacts. Some zones along the Mediterranean coastline, including southern Italy, Sicily and the Black Sea, witnessed intense, diversified colonial activity often based on the control exerted over their territories by the colonial centres or apoikiai, which served as the base of their power and economic activities. However, the Greek presence on the Iberian Peninsula was primarily shaped by maritime trade. The colonial nuclei created were scarce, and only in the cases of Emporion (Empúries) and Rhode (Roses) do the archaeological remains uncovered by excavations provide us with knowledge that enables us to deepen and extend the limited information that the written sources convey as a whole. The existence of other

Greek enclaves on the east coast of the Peninsula, such as Hemeroskopeion or Alonis, is briefly mentioned in the ancient texts as well, although their identification and location are still under debate given the scarcity or ambiguity of the archaeological evidence that may attest to them. In any event, this Greek colonial presence on the western edge of the Mediterranean materialised in port nuclei which essentially served as trading outposts and as support for the sailing routes and the intervention of Greek merchants in the most important exchange zones.

#### THE START OF THE GREEK PRESENCE IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

It should be noted that Greek knowledge of the western end of the Mediterranean dates back much further, and that the Greek collective imaginary envisioned this region as the edge of the known world, the backdrop of both myths and also fairly widespread legends, like the giant Geryon and the garden of the Hesperides within the series of works by Heracles, the travelling and civilising hero.<sup>1</sup>

Preceded by the trade and colonial activity driven by the Phoenicians, who had helped to reactivate contacts between both ends of the Mediterranean during the early

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centuries of the first millennium BC, Greek sailors must have soon explored the routes to the west, bolstered by the knowledge transmitted through those contacts and also unquestionably attracted by the legendary riches of the southern Iberian Peninsula. Thus, certain recent discoveries in the archaeological sites along the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula have revived the issue of the earliest Greeks sailing towards Tartessos, enticed by the abundant metal resources in that zone and by the possibility of joining the local exchange networks.<sup>2</sup>

What stands out in this vein is the recovery of a significant set of painted ceramic shards with Euboean roots, along with Attic vessels which can be ascribed to the Middle Geometric II, found in a plot of land in the lower part of the city of Huelva. From a very early date, this area might have been used as a sanctuary in the old Tartessian port emporium, where merchants from diverse origins might have gathered.<sup>3</sup> Recently, these pieces have been joined by other similar discoveries of geometric Attic ceramics in the zone of Cádiz, near Málaga and even in sites further from the coastline.<sup>4</sup>

Just like other Cypriot and Sardinian pottery found in the same zone, these materials may certainly have been carried there as prestige goods by the Phoenician sailors themselves since as early as the first half of the 8th century BC or even a bit earlier, to be used in their own colonial nuclei and in the areas of more active trade with the Tartessian elites. However, other arguments, especially the trade activity by the Euboean Greek sailors in other parts of the Mediterranean during that same period, mean that we cannot discard the possibility of an early intervention by Greek merchants attracted by the opportunities offered by those important spheres of trade, either independently or, more likely, involved in the same Phoenician trade dynamic. Another traditional argument wielded to uphold the existence of this early Greek navigation is the series of toponyms with Greek, or probably Euboean, roots, often ending in -oussa, which are mentioned in the ancient peripli or descriptions of the coast and in other ancient texts.<sup>5</sup>

Within this same hypothesis, proof of the persistence of these early Greek trade contacts with the south and southeast portions of the Iberian Peninsula until the late 8th century and the early 7th century BC can once again be found in the constant arrival of Greek ceramics and Greek transport amphorae which excavations have unearthed at a number of southern sites, as well as in the Phoenician colonial nucleus of La Fonteta (Guardamar, Alicante).<sup>6</sup> In any event, in contrast to the intense colonial activity that was taking place in Magna Graecia and Sicily during this same period, the Greek navigation which might have been headed towards the western end of the Mediterranean mainly for exploratory and trade purposes did not seek to create stable colonial nuclei along a coastline then peppered with establishments created under Phoenician initiative.

After that early stage of possible contacts, the Greek commercial presence in the southern Iberian Peninsula

became more clearly defined and intense only after the late 7th century and the early 6th century BC. For this new stage, both the information conveyed by Herodotus and the archaeological evidence reinforce the idea of Greek merchants' direct intervention in the most important trade zones on either side of the Strait of Gibraltar, the ancient Pillars of Herakles in the Greek collective imaginary. This time, the prominent role would be played by sailors from the ancient Ionia, especially those from the city of Phocaea on the western coast of what is today Turkey. The Phocaeans, a people immersed in activities linked to the sea and sailing, had revived the old westward routes in the quest for metals from the mythical Tartessos. The text by Herodotus (I.163) explains the effective presence of Phocaean merchants in Tartessos and their outstanding relations with the legendary King Arganthonios, who offered to let them settle there to strengthen their trade and even offered resources to reinforce the walls of Phocaea. Beyond the issue of the veracity of this story, the Phocaean sailors, probably alongside Greek merchants with other origins - as apparently reflected in the mythical journey of Coleus of Samos, also recounted by Herodotus (IV.152) - seemed to have played a crucial role in the emporic trade activities, which probably occurred in the Tartessian port nucleus of Huelva and other zones along the southern coast starting in the late 7th century and throughout the first half of the 6th century BC, where colonial trade had been promoted almost exclusively by Phoenician initiative until that time.

In addition to Huelva,<sup>7</sup> another place where Greek material discoveries from this time period are concentrated is the area near Málaga.<sup>8</sup> In relation to this, we should mention the controversial issue of the existence and location of Mainake, a toponym which some ancient texts attribute to a supposed Phocaean nucleus, namely the one situated the furthest west.<sup>9</sup>

However, we should also note that Greek commercial activity along the southern coastline during the first half of the 6th century dovetailed in time with a gradual waning of Phoenician commercial activity. During this same stage, the influence of Greek trade also began to be felt on the other end of the Iberian coastline, this time the edge of another Phocaean trade circuit which was part of a distinct dynamic and of different sailing routes.

Indeed, another major attraction that the western Mediterranean held for Phocaean ships and Greek merchants from other places was the possibility of actively taking part in the Etruscan port nuclei of the Tyrrhenian Sea, as is the case of the emporia in Pyrgi and Gravisca. The extension of this trade circuit into the waters on the extreme northwest of the Mediterranean led to the establishment of Massalia (Marseille), which would become the most important Phocaean colonial centre in the west. In parallel to the activity in the Tyrrhenian coast – reinforced by the establishment of Alalia on Corsica – after the initial decades of the 6th century BC the Phocaean ships left the port of Massalia to ply new trade routes along the coastline of the Gulf of Lion. These westward routes favoured by the sailing patterns characteristic of that maritime setting enabled them to forge contacts with the coastal enclaves and the pre-existing indigenous trade networks. It is precisely on the western edge of this new maritime trade sphere where we can situate the first installation of Phocaean merchants in Emporion, on the southern part of the Bay of Roses.<sup>10</sup>

# The development of the Phocaean enclave of Emporion

The Phocaean nucleus of Emporion is unquestionably the most important Greek colonial enclave on the Mediterranean coast of the Iberian Peninsula, as well as the one we know the best through the archaeological remains revealed by excavations. The uniqueness of this site and its important contribution to our knowledge of the Greek presence on Catalonia's coasts meant that the archaeological projects that the Junta de Museus de Barcelona (Board of Museums of Barcelona) embarked upon in Empúries in 1908<sup>11</sup> focused particularly on unearthing the main sector of the former Greek city. As a result of the successive excavation campaigns conducted until 1936, along with other subsequent archaeological interventions, today we can see almost the entire extent of the nucleus that we know as the Neapolis of Emporion. Despite this, many of the exhumed remains date from its last historical period, between the time when the major urban reforms were performed in the 2nd century BC and Neapolis was abandoned in the Roman imperial period.<sup>12</sup> However, until quite recently, our knowledge of the older stages of the city had been considerably more limited.

The information on the beginnings of this site that we can glean from the written sources is not, in fact, very prolific.<sup>13</sup> The earliest references to Emporion can be found in the ancient travelogues that simply mention it as the name of a city when describing this stretch of the coastline, only adding a brief mention of its roots as a Massalian settlement.<sup>14</sup> Strabo's famous passage referring to Emporion (*Geographiká* III.4.8) is the only one that provides slightly more substantial information on the Greek settlement prior to the Roman presence. Based on the information conveyed by previous authors, Strabo mentioned an original settlement on a small island near the coast named *Palaià Polis* or Old City by the Emporion residents, which predated the subsequent establishment of the urban nucleus on the coast.<sup>15</sup>

The archaeological activity conducted in Empúries in recent decades has provided important information on these origins of the Greek settlement.<sup>16</sup> The excavations performed in the modern village of Sant Martí d'Empúries are particularly important, as this nucleus is located over



FIGURE 1. Aerial image of Empúries. Above left, the current nucleus of Sant Martí d'Empúries, located over the remains of the first establishment of the *Palaia Polis*. On the right, separated by the hollow of the ancient natural port, the Neapolis sector, the main urban nucleus of the Greek city of Emporion (Photo: MAC-Empúries. S. Font).

the old hilltop where the Palaia Polis mentioned by Strabo was located. Today this promontory is part of the coastline, but we should imagine its location during ancient times between the mouth of the Fluvià River to the north and a small coastal hollow which could be used as a port.<sup>17</sup> Its strategic location was entirely favourable to setting up a trade enclave, and it also perfectly explains the fact that the local people had occupied this site since much more remote times. Indeed, the most recent excavations performed in Sant Martí d'Empúries have proven that the promontory was occupied as far back as the late Bronze and early Iron Ages.<sup>18</sup> This early coastal settlement also had relations with other nearby residential settlements and necropolis areas, such as the ones recently documented on Vilanera hill,19 which demonstrates consistent, stable occupation of this zone by the local people prior to the Greeks. The possibilities of connecting with the inland regions coupled with the favourable location for contacts with sailing and maritime trade had thus facilitated the creation of an ideal site for exchanges, as proven by the arrival of Phoenician goods since the 7th century BC.<sup>20</sup>

This prior indigenous context also explains the Phocaean merchants' interest in establishing themselves in this zone since the beginning of maritime trade from Massalia heading westward towards the Gulf of Lion.<sup>21</sup> The intensification of these contacts ultimately led to the creation of a permanent Greek merchant settlement in the second quarter of the 6th century BC with the goal of ensuring the stability and continuity of the exchanges with the local people. Thus emerged the first nucleus of the colonial establishment of Emporion, which in subsequent centuries would keep alive the memory of its origin in the very name of the city and the county: Empúries and L'Empordà.

From that time on, the remains revealed by the excavations in Sant Martí d'Empúries show clear changes in the nucleus, in terms of the organisation of the settlement, the building techniques or the crafts activities that were performed there and the materials supplied via trade, which we can attribute to the Greek presence.<sup>22</sup> The excavations also made it possible to document its survival after the Archaic Period, as well as numerous remains coming from the subsequent occupation of the promontory during the Roman era and late antiquity, thus drawing connections with the mediaeval and modern town of Sant Martí.

During the first stage of this Phocaean emporion, its influence mainly extended to its closest geographic area without much further projection. However, after the second half of the 6th century BC, the intensification of trade must have been accompanied by a higher presence of Greek people living in the emporion. This phenomenon could clearly be associated with population movements and the significant growth experienced by the Phocaean colonial centres in the west after the main city, Phocaea, was seized by the Persian army in around 540 BC.<sup>23</sup>

Within this more general framework, other factors also influenced the redefinition of the Phocaean maritime trade strategy, such as the consequences of the naval clash that took place with the Etruscans and Carthaginians in the Tyrrhenian sea shortly thereafter, which is known as the Battle of Alalia or the Sardinian Sea. From then on, we can witness the rise of Massalia as the main redistribution port driving Greek trade in the western Mediterranean, albeit on a smaller scale, through the consolidation of the trade outpost created several decades earlier on the southern end of the Gulf of Roses. The enclave of Emporion thus became an active stopover port for Greek commercial ships which from then on strove to carve a niche for themselves in the most active exchange zones with the Iberian communities located on the coastline of the Peninsula. The growth in the nucleus can be clearly seen particularly through the development of a new settlement on the coast after the second half of the 6th century BC, on the southern side of the small port hollow, the site on "terra firma" which Strabo's text also mentions. Thus emerged the main urban sector of Emporion, which in modern research has been called the Neapolis, in contrast to the ancient Palaià Polis mentioned by Strabo.

Despite the intense archaeological activity performed in this sector of the Greek city since the beginning of the excavations in Empúries in 1908, until just a few years ago the information available on the initial phases of the new settlement was quite scarce, given the considerable superimposition of remains from throughout its lengthy urban evolution, which lasted until the beginning of the Roman imperial period. However, several recent interventions have provided significant information on the late archaic period of the town, such as the definition of its northwest edge and its connection with the former port beach, not to mention the existence of what was likely an area of worship and ritual activities, perhaps directly related to trade and seafaring activities. Other recent excavations in the central part of Neapolis under the level of the subsequent Hellenistic stoa have also enabled us to recover traces of streets and domestic and artisan quarters which date from the earliest times in the establishment of this new colonial settlement. The remains revealed by these excavations, along with the information provided by other previous digs, confirm the growth of the town after the later decades of the 6th century and during the entire 5th century BC. Despite this and the subsequent shift of the city's southern boundary during the 4th and 2nd centuries BC, throughout its history Emporion continued to maintain its personality as a small port nucleus, barely three or four hectares large, with an essentially commercial mission.

In its evolution as an urban nucleus, the original emporion would become a small colonial *polis* which played a key role in the Phocaean trade networks in the western Mediterranean. Proof of the gradual entrenchment of the city is the fact that it began to issue its own coins after the 5th century BC, following the pattern of Phocaean coinage in Massalia. These early coins from Emporion, small, silver coins with fractional values, soon bore the city's toponym, albeit in abbreviated form: Ем, Емров.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, we can also find an explicit reference to its inhabitants - emporitai - in some Greek inscriptions on sheets of lead, specifically the ones found in the proto-historical settlement of Pech Maho (Languedoc) and Empúries itself. The famous letter on a sheet of lead recovered in the excavations of Neapolis, written in a Greek Ionian dialect on a date that we can pinpoint between the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC, describes a complex naval trade operation which a Phocaean merchant was assigning to his representative or consignee in Emporion, part of which was supposed to take place in another place of exchange on the coast, Saiganthe, which has been associated with the environs of the Iberian nucleus of Sagunt.<sup>25</sup> Based on these important epigraphic documents, we can guess that indigenous individuals also actively participated in trade, as they are named with their Iberian anthroponyms.

We only have partial knowledge of the subsequent evolution in the architecture and urban planning of this Greek nucleus between the 5th and 3rd centuries BC, mainly at its southern end. This sector, which is where the different religious buildings were located and where the remains of the wall that provided access to the city from the south are found, has been one of the focal points of archaeological research since the start of the excavations.<sup>26</sup> In the early stages, this was a zone that seemed to have fallen outside the boundaries of the Greek enclave, where an area for cultural use, a kind of periurban sanctuary, had been located since the 5th century BC. Here we are aware of an area elevated above a large podium clad in calcareous ashlars. The remains of a construction supporting two altars are on this platform, which might be more recent, although even so it would retain the memory of the original sacrificial altar. Other remains found in this zone immediately to the south of what is called Torre Talaia - the calcareous outcropping that marked the highest point in the city's topography – also reveal the sites of other important religious constructions, such as the antefixes and other decorative architectural elements recovered in the excavations which belong to the stone roof of a temple whose devotion and location are as yet uncertain.<sup>27</sup>

At the foot of the aforementioned podium, towards the east, the remains of a variety of domestic constructions were uncovered which have been attributed to a residential sector located outside the city boundaries in the 5th century BC. This interpretation was grounded upon the reference contained in Strabo's text to an early Iberian settlement in the immediate lee of the Greek nucleus. By gathering information from the oldest sources, this same author mentions the subsequent integration of this indigenous settlement into the urban area shared with the Greeks, albeit separated by an inner wall and with a shared legal framework "made up of Barbarian and Greek laws". We should note that from the start of the Greek nucleus through its subsequent evolution, the presence of local people continued to be a persistent factor that marked Emporion's cultural identity. This indigenous presence is perceptible though certain elements of material culture as well as sgraffito inscriptions in the Iberian alphabet on everyday ceramics and on sheets of lead.<sup>28</sup>

The process of synoecism described in Strabo's text seemed to materialise as well in the major urban reforms performed during the first quarter of the 4th century BC, which were clearly documented in the excavations performed in the southern part of the Neapolis. These reforms led to the construction of a powerful new defensive wall reinforced with large quadrangular towers which marked the city's new limits. These boundaries had been shifted southward, which entailed razing the remains of the previous residential area located outside the limits of the Greek nucleus.<sup>29</sup> In parallel, the new entrance to the city was defined, as was the religious area, which became integrated into the urban space with the addition of new altars and cult buildings.

The desire to reinforce the city's defences could have been motivated by a reaction to the insecurity stemming from the great fortified oppidum in Ullastret.<sup>30</sup> Still, Emporion's privileged relationship with the Iberian communities around it continued to be a key factor, given the role of the old colonial nucleus as a conduit of resources from the land to Mediterranean trade. Thus, maritime trade departing from Emporion's port must have led, in turn, to the intensification of farming, especially grain crops, as proven by the increase in the fields of silos linked to the stable residential nuclei such as Ullastret, Mas Castellar in Pontós and Peralada, as well as to small rural installations.<sup>31</sup> In turn, throughout the entire 5th century and the first half of the 4th century BC, Emporion gained prominence as a stopover and redistribution port towards the Iberian world on the Peninsula for a wide variety of goods carried by the Greek merchant ships. One of the pieces of archaeological evidence that clearly reveal this phenomenon is the extensive distribution of Attic pottery, which we shall discuss below. In parallel, and as proof of the intensity of these exchange contacts, the archaeological materials recovered in the excavations of Empúries demonstrate that a significant volume of amphorae used to transport the surplus products from the Iberian economies, such as wine, oil, salt fish and other conserved foods, arrived in its port, in addition to grains and the mineral resources that spurred this trade.

However, the Greek ships that weighed anchor in the Phocaean ports of Massalia or Emporion were in no way the only players in these maritime trade contacts in the western Mediterranean. Thus, the arrival of a significant number of amphorae and other Ebusitan (Ibizan) products to the port of Emporion, along with goods from the south of the Peninsula or Carthage, also serves as proof of a necessary and increasingly intense relationship with the Punic trade networks. In the course of the 4th century BC and particularly in the 3rd century BC, the gradual rise in exchanges promoted by the Punic centres on the western



FIGURE 2. Obverse and reverse of one the silver drachmas minted in Emporion in the 3rd century BC (Photo: MAC-Empúries).

Mediterranean coast of the Iberian Peninsula must have prompted a parallel decline in the influence of Greek trade in that same sphere. This is a relatively lesser-known stage in terms of the urban evolution of the nucleus of Emporion. Despite this, the vitality and persistence of the prominent economic role of this nucleus as the main Greek trading enclave in the west is evident in other respects, such as the money coined by the mint in Emporion during this same period, the famous silver drachmas with the legend EMPORITON, 'of the Emporion residents', which adopted a new metrology compared to the fractional coins issued previously. These coins soon included the figure of the winged Pegasus on the reverse as a kind of identifier and symbol of the city,<sup>32</sup> which the subsequent minting of bronze coins from Empúries with Iberian and Latin legends continued to show.

## Rhode, the second colonial establishment in the Bay of Roses

The early decades of the 4th century BC have been viewed as a stage in which the impetus of Massalian trade in the west was still strong. In Emporion, this juncture is reflected in major urban reforms in the nucleus of Neapolis, as mentioned above. Likewise, this is when the presence of Greek trade in the east and southeast of the Peninsula seemed to gain further ground with the establishment of the other small trade enclaves mentioned in the written sources – including Hemeroskopeion, located near what is today Dénia – which we shall discuss below.

Yet this same context also witnessed the creation of a second port nucleus on the northern end of the Bay of Roses, almost two centuries after Emporion was first established. Even though a number of ancient texts refer to the supposed founding of the enclave of Rhode linked to a presence of sailors from the island Rhodes back in the 8th century BC,<sup>33</sup> the archaeological information enables us to refute the truth of this origin and instead feeds the idea

that this attribution is nothing more than the re-creation of a legendary past grounded only upon the similarity between the ancient toponym and the name of the Greek island of Rhodes. Indeed, the data revealed in the excavations performed in the subsoil of the citadel of Roses to date lead us to pinpoint the origin of this settlement in the first quarter of the 4th century BC and demonstrate its clear ties to Phocaean colonial and commercial activity. Strabo himself, in his description, had rejected the city's roots in Rhodes and more specifically attributed it to the initiative of Emporion, which would have thus strengthened its domain over its most immediate coastline. Despite this, more recent research<sup>34</sup> prefers to contextualise the origin of the nucleus of Rhodes within the colonial and trade dynamic of Massalia, which since the 5th century and especially at the dawn of the 4th century BC had reinforced its control over its area of influence on the coasts of the Gulf of Lion by creating new establishments.35

The remains of ancient Rhode revealed by the excavations, despite the small area discovered until today, enable us to reconstruct several important features of its ancient topography and urban evolution. We know that the original establishment emerged on a small coastal hilltop bounded by two streams, above which the Romanesque church of Santa Maria was built centuries later, as proven by the archaeological strata and the remains of constructions documented in that zone. From there, the Greek nucleus extended its sphere of economic and cultural influence over the closest region in the north of the L'Empordà plain, where the local settlements orbited around the Iberian *oppidum* in Peralada.

The subsequent growth of the Greek nucleus during the 3rd century BC, fostered by an intensification of trade based on the local crafts industry manufacturing ceramic crockery, can be clearly seen in the addition of a new urban sector near the former port zone, the so-called "Hellenistic quarter". Its constructions reveal a regular urban layout and include several remains from kilns used to produce the black-glazed pottery attributed to the Rhode



FIGURE 3. Remains of what is called the "Hellenistic quarter" of the ancient Rhode, conserved inside the Citadel of Roses (Photo: Globusvisió-ICRPC).

workshops, which were redistributed through maritime trade along a broad swath of the Iberian Peninsula coastline, as were other varieties of ceramic crockery in the Greek tradition.<sup>36</sup>

Throughout the 3rd century BC, the consolidation of the role played by the Phocaean nucleus of Rhode was also strengthened by the minting of its own coins, the famous silver drachmas which depicted a rose on the reverse as a symbol alluding to the city's name, accompanied by coinages of smaller units and later bronze coins.

# GREEK TRADE ON THE EAST OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, Greek trade in the eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula effectively got underway through the first contacts of the Phocaean and other East Greek merchants with the western Mediterranean after the late 7th century BC. They had a heavy presence in the zone of Huelva, where in recent years discoveries are being made which enable us to posit active trade with the constant arrival of materials from Greece.

Around this same time, however, the Phoenician sailors were still the main players in maritime trade along the Mediterranean coastline of the Peninsula. Regarding the northeast, the influence of Phoenician trade left its mark in two major areas: the Ebro River zone and the coasts of the Alt Empordà, Languedoc and Roussillon, areas from which routes emerged that provided access to the inland regions in the quest for metals from the Atlantic zone, especially tin. Until Massalia was founded, and especially until Emporion was, there was only a scant presence of Greek materials in this zone, although there is evidence of them since the Phocaean ships' earliest stops to the zone in the early 6th century BC.  $^{\rm 37}$ 

Therefore, in the early stages, the distribution of Greek ceramics in the western Mediterranean was mainly concentrated in two large zones that reflect two distinct trade strategies based on two trade routes that were largely independent from one another. One zone corresponds to the south and southeast of the Peninsula and can be related to the activity of the Greek merchants from the east, especially the Phocaeans, who had already stopped there even before Massalia was founded in the search for routes to source metals, taking advantage of a pre-existing structure of exchanges developed by the Phoenicians. The second zone corresponds to the northwest Mediterranean coast, following a route from the Tyrrhenian sea which provided the backdrop for the Phocaeans to found Massalia, Alalia and Emporion. Between these two zones, the documentation of Greek materials along the east coast of the Iberian Peninsula is practically nonexistent until the middle of the 6th century BC.<sup>38</sup>

From then on, however, several factors contributed to altering the dynamics of Greek trade in this geographic region. The first was the decline in the trade activity of the western Phoenician centres throughout the first half of the 6th century BC, often linked to factors such as the fall of Tyre, the Phoenician metropolis, into the hands of the Babylonia army of Nebuchadnezzar in around 576 BC. Likewise, as mentioned above, this was coupled with the preponderant role taken on by the newly-founded Massalia and Emporion, especially within the new context of Phocaean trade after the historical events of the mid-6th century BC, namely the seizure of Phocaea and the clash with the Etruscan and Carthaginian ships in the Tyrrhenian sea.

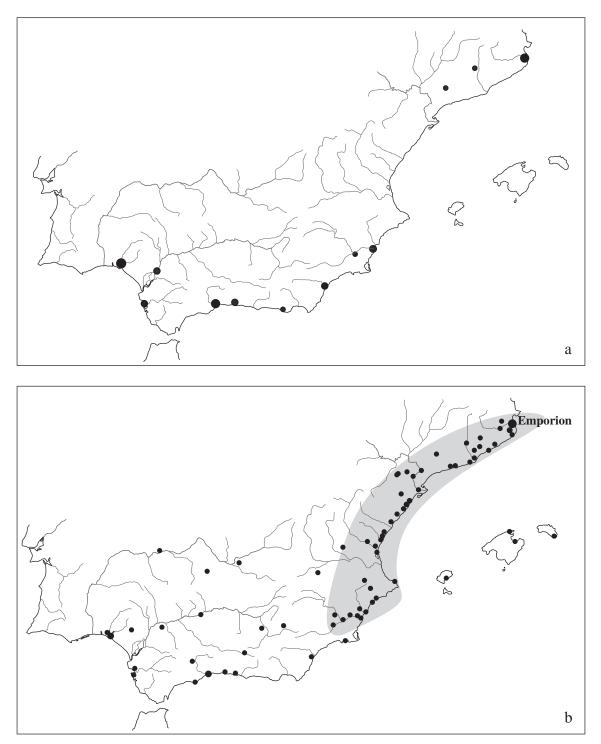


FIGURE 4. Distribution of pottery and amphorae transported via Greek trade in the 6th century BC. The first map (a) shows the discoveries from the first half of this century, with two clearly distinct areas. The second map (b) reflects the rise in the number of finds corresponding to the late Archaic Period, between the second half of the 6th century and the start of the 5th century BC, with the spread of Phocaean trade driven along the entire Mediterranean coast of the Iberian Peninsula from Massalia and Emporion.

Several known shipwrecks and their cargo from the late archaic period provide a partial window onto the kind of trade in which Phocaean ships engaged, along with the diversity of materials and routes. These ships include the shipwreck of Pointe Lequin 1A in Porquerolles and the one found at Cala Sant Vicenç in Mallorca. The cargo of the former includes Attic pottery, amphorae from the eastern Mediterranean, Ionian cups and amphorae from southern Italy, that is, materials from both the Aegean and the centre of the Mediterranean, most likely on their way to be redistributed in the port of Massalia. The cargo of the ship found in Cala Sant Vicenç, which also sank in the late 6th century BC as part of the first major deployment of Phocaean trade from Emporion in the western Mediterranean, also shows an impressive variety of goods: amphorae from Magna Graecia and eastern Greece which probably held wine, Iberian amphorae, iron tools used for farming, a tin ingot, ceramic crockery and stone elements such as saddle querns. They are examples of redistribution trade at the emporia with significant variety in both the kinds of products and their provenance.<sup>39</sup>

The discoveries of different kinds of Greek ceramics at the sites along the Catalan coast show the diversity of the provenance of the imported materials, either in the early days as part of the exchanges with the Phoenician world and later on, in the 6th century, as part of trade promoted by Massalia and Emporion.<sup>40</sup> During the 6th century, Corinthian pottery arrived mainly to the Lower Ebro River zone<sup>41</sup> and the Empordà,<sup>42</sup> although it has also been found in an inland site, namely the necropolis of Milmanda in Vimbodí,<sup>43</sup> and in a coastal site, La Penya del Moro in Sant Just Desvern.<sup>44</sup> Other imports that regularly appear along the coast include the ceramics from eastern Greece and especially the central Mediterranean, such as the socalled Ionian cups of B2-type defined by G. Vallet<sup>45</sup> and the wine amphorae also from the southern Italian colonial centres or from the workshops of Massalia itself;<sup>46</sup> the Greek amphora of unclear provenance from the founding phase of the Alorda Park site; and the western Greek ceramics with the output from several different workshops, including the B2-type cup represented at some sites.<sup>47</sup> However, there is a considerable array of shapes which have so far been exclusively documented at the sites in Ullastret: lekythos, lekanes, amphorae, bowls, paterae and jugs; monochrome grey pottery48 produced in both Massalia and other workshops, including the ones in Empúries, which developed a variety of forms that correspond to crockery pieces, among them the à marli dish, shape III cups and variations on jugs.

However, quantitatively speaking, the most plentiful imported materials were Attic ceramics in all their different varieties. Imports of black-glazed Attic pottery in the indigenous settlements can be found since the early 6th century BC in Puig Cardener in Manresa, which marks a route penetrating inland at a very early date. However, these ceramics' presence did not become truly significant until the last quarter of the 6th century BC, when there is evidence of a significant number of Bloesch C-type cups at different sites.<sup>49</sup> Imports of Attic black-figure pottery also began in the second half and especially the last third of the 6th century BC. In this period, the most commonly represented form is the cup: Band-cups,<sup>50</sup> Cassel cups<sup>51</sup> and especially Eye-cups.<sup>52</sup>

Despite their presence in Emporion and the role of this colonial enclave in the first introduction of Greek materials into the eastern part of the Peninsula, especially in terms of imports of Attic pottery, according to some authors one of the dominant agents in trade in this zone of the Mediterranean starting in the mid-5th century BC was the Punic colony of Ibosim on Ibiza, the later Roman Ebusus. This claim is based on the majority presence of Ebusitan amphorae at the Iberian sites from this period and the analysis of imports of common pottery, which in-

clude more Punic than Massalian ceramics. The distribution of amphorae is intrinsically linked to the commercialisation of agricultural goods or other foodstuffs, given that they served as containers for products like wine, oil or salt fish. In this sense, we should note that the three colonies in the western zone of the Mediterranean which aimed to spur the farming in a region are Massalia, Ibiza and Gadir (within the Circle of the Strait of Gibraltar). Previously, with regard to trade in amphorae in the northeast of the Peninsula, there had been a clear domination of imports of Greek amphorae from different places, more than Ebusitan, as amphorae from Massalia, Corinth and Magna Graecia have been identified. This leads us to posit an emporic form of maritime trade developed by the Phocaean colonies of the western Mediterranean, taking advantage of the reorganisation of the Phoenician and Punic trade routes between the fall of Tyre and the rise of Ibiza.53

In the 5th century BC, there is evidence of a rise in imports of Greek pottery compared to the previous period, especially of Attic crockery. That period marked the beginning of the constant presence of Greek materials in the indigenous inland sites, and not only in the coastal settlements.

With regard to black-glazed Attic pottery, in the first half of the 5th century BC Vicup and Acrocup-style cups<sup>54</sup> and a skyphos have been documented in the site of Illa d'en Reixac, while in the second half of the century Cástulo-type cups began to arrive.

Regarding the kind of black figure, in the 5th century BC cups still predominated,<sup>55</sup> but a cup-skyphos is also documented in Mas Castellar in Pontós, an oinochoe in Els Castellans, an amphora in Tarragona and lekythoi and a significant number of cup-skyphoi from the third quarter of the 5th century BC in Puig de Sant Andreu.

The presence of Attic red-figure pottery during the 5th century is virtually incidental. They have been located at very few Iberian sites, and most of them are found directly within the sphere of influence of Emporion, with a small number of vases at each of the sites. The presence of Attic red-figure materials was quite rare in the first half of the 5th century BC,<sup>56</sup> even at a site like Ullastret, where the volume of Attic ceramics found is considerable. This contrasts with the same period in southern France, where during the 5th century BC there is an abundance of Attic red-figure materials re-exported from Massalia and Emporion, with a wide range of shapes, including the cups, lekanes or kraters found in a string of native settlements along the Mediterranean coast.<sup>57</sup> Most of the materials recovered in the first half of the 5th century BC correspond to drinking cups, more specifically stemmed kylikes. What stands out in this sense is the presence of the two column-kraters and the oinochoe recovered at Turó de Ca n'Oliver, and a classical lekythos from Tarragona, as they are forms that are rare to find.

With regard to the geographic location of the sites, during the first three quarters of the 5th century BC, we only have proof of the presence of red-figure ceramics at

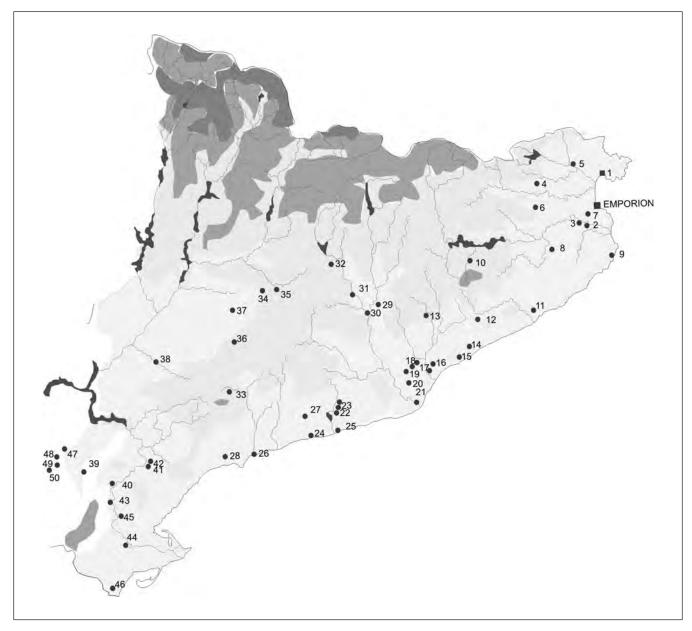


FIGURE 5. Map with the location of the sites with materials from the 6th and 5th centuries BC mentioned in the text: 1. Roses; 2. Puig de Sant Andreu; 3. Puig de Serra; 4. Mas Castellar; 5. Peralada; 6. Porqueres; 7. Mas Gusó-Puig Moragues; 8. Puig d'en Rovira in La Creueta; 9. Sant Sebastià de la Guarda; 10. Turó de Montgròs; 11. Montbarbat; 12. Puig Castell in Vallgorguina; 13. Torre Roja; 14. Burriac; 15. Cadira del Bisbe; 16. Can Calvet in Santa Coloma de Gramenet; 17. Turó de Ca n'Oliver; 18. Can Xercavins; 19. Sitges on Carrer Elisenda; 20. Penya del Moro; 21. Montjuïc; 22. Olèrdola; 23. Vinya del Pau; 24. Alorda Park; 25. Darró; 26. Tarragona; 27. Turó de la Font de la Canya; 28. Timba del Castellot; 29. El Cogulló; 30. Boades; 31. Puig Cardener; 32. El Vilaró; 33. Milmanda; 34. Guissona; 35. Ivorra; 36. Ciutadilla; 37. Tossal del Moro; 38. Els Vilars; 39. Coll del Moro in Gandesa; 40. Lo Toll; 41. Coll del Moro in La Serra d'Almos; 42. Castellet in Banyoles; 43. Castellot in La Roca Roja; 44. La Palma; 45. Les Planetes; 46. La Moleta del Remei; 47. La Gessera; 48. Les Ombries; 49. Sant Antoni de Calaceit; 50. Els Castellans.

sites near Emporion, at Ullastret, Mas Castellar, Mas Gusó-Puig Moragues and perhaps Peralada, as well as at some sites on the coast. The proximity to Emporion and the consequent trade relationship deriving from it are key factors in the existence of Attic imports in these sites at an early date, as a continuation of the contacts that had gotten underway in the 6th century BC. On the central coast of Catalonia we can find two sites, Burriac and Turó de Ca n'Oliver, which are located at territorial control points. Based on the imports documented at Turó de Ca n'Oliver, its researchers inferred that this site had a ruling class which must have worked at overseeing the production and the gathering and subsequent disposal of the surplus.<sup>58</sup> In Tarragona, we must assess the association of imported Attic red-figure and Massalian pottery in higher volumes than Punic goods, which may indicate direct trade between the Phocaean colonies and the large Iberian settlement of the Cossetan area.<sup>59</sup>

In the second half of the 5th century BC, Attic imports rose slightly, especially in the last quarter of the century, when the upswing noted in the 4th century BC had actually started.<sup>60</sup> The documented forms are pretty much

limited to drinking vessels, including skyphoi, sessile kantharoi or kylikes, with the exception of La Penya del Moro, where kraters, oinochoai and lekanes have been located, La Torre Roja with one krater and Sant Sebastià de la Guarda and El Tossal del Mor with a column krater. Most notably is the exception of Ullastret, where almost all the forms found in Empúries are represented (kylikes, kylikes-skyphoi, skyphoi, sessile kantharoi, kraters, pelikai, choes, lekanes and squat lekythoi).

The other Greek imports that are abundantly represented during the 5th century BC are Massalian items, especially amphorae. Among the amphora productions of Massalia there are examples of Py 2 and Py 4, both dating from prior to 450 BC. The pieces come from Puig de Sant Andreu, Alorda Park, Tarragona and Castellot de la Roca Roja.<sup>61</sup> Common ceramics, chiefly mortars, have also been documented.

While in the 5th century BC there was a rise in Greek imports, in the 4th century BC they increased considerably and the goods were widely disseminated along a broad swath along the entire eastern part of the Peninsula, from the Gulf of Lion to the Strait of Gibraltar, and in both coastal and inland regions. This steep rise can be explained by the presence of different distributing agents of the Greek vessels. In addition to the trade from Empúries and the other Phocaean colonies, especially Massalia, we should also bear in mind that many of these imports arrived via Punic merchants through Ibiza, as has been claimed repeatedly,<sup>62</sup> in view of the dominance of Ebusitan products compared to goods from elsewhere.

Despite the increasingly more constant presence of Punic merchants in the western Mediterranean after the mid-5th century BC, we should not underestimate the role of Emporion, which through main ports like Massalia most certainly acted as an intermediary between the Mediterranean cities with a demand for mining, agricultural or fishing products and the areas where they were produced. Cabrera<sup>63</sup> also reveals close ties between Empúries and Cádiz after the mid-5th century BC, and this may explain the presence of Attic materials with a clear Emporion provenance (cups from the Circle of the Marlay Painter, Class of St Valentine, skyphoi with reserved and overpainted decoration, glaux skyphoi) on the southern Iberian Peninsula and other inland regions. During the 4th century BC, Empúries' role as a redistributor of Attic materials in its sphere of influence was still important, despite the prominent role of the Punic merchants. In this respect, we should stress the importance of the discovery of the shipwreck of El Sec, in Calvià (Mallorca), when studying the distribution of the commercial cargoes in the 4th century BC, with Greek materials from different provenances, and with the Phoenician-Punic identity of the intermediaries.64

Even though it could seem that the Punic and Emporitan traders had been able to divvy up the areas where they distributed Greek products on the Iberian Peninsula, it is not so clear that there was a single intermediary which carried their goods to a specific location. This division of routes can be seen through the different types of vessels located in these areas. For example, in Catalonia there is a greater presence of skyphoi than of kylikes, unlike the situation in Andalusia, where stemless kylikes are quite plentiful and were an important part of the cargo of the ship of El Sec, which is within the Punic sphere. Yet on the other hand, the presence of Punic materials in Catalonia, including amphorae and other goods, is highly significant in both the Iberian settlements and in Emporion, which indicates that in this zone Punic trade at that time was as consistent as or more consistent than trade with Emporion. If we add the case of the squat lekythoi, they are only found in large numbers in Emporion and Ibiza, and in both places in funerary settings, Greek in Emporion and Punic in Ibiza, which may indicate relations between both cities involving trade in Attic vessels.<sup>65</sup> In fact, the amount of Attic pottery located on the Iberian Peninsula during the 4th century BC is very large in relation to the preceding century, and it should come as no surprise that even though commerce with Emporion and the Punic traders coexisted, if they had preferential distribution areas sometimes they surely overlapped.

With regard to the products that were commercialised from the western Mediterranean, in addition to mineral resources we should also include the agricultural output and the fact that Emporion is located in a zone where there is significant grain production, as shown by the large number of silos in the Empordà, with Mas Castellar de Pontós as a paradigmatic example, in addition to Creixell, Ermedàs and Peralada, as well as Lenguadoc.<sup>66</sup> They must have furnished wheat and other kinds of grain for the Mediterranean markets, such as the city of Athens, which had a considerable need for wheat after the supply flow from Sicily and Magna Graecia was cut off when the colonies took Sparta's side in the Peloponnesian War. In this sense, we should also note that Emporion has direct access to a large area which might have been included in this trade, where we can pinpoint numerous centres where agricultural surpluses were accumulated, such as the ones in El Vallès and El Penedès. In addition to the large silo field on Montjuïc, which may have had more commercial than agricultural purposes, numerous silo fields have been identified in these zones as well, including Can Xercavins in Cerdanyola del Vallès, Bellaterra, Can Fatjó in Rubí, Can Miano in Sant Feliu, Sitges, Mas Castellar and Vinya del Pau in Vilafranca, Turó de la Canya in Avinyonet and L'Albornar in Santa Oliva. In these areas, part of the surplus may have been used for trade.

In the world of complex trade relations in the Mediterranean and the role played by different agents in this trade, we should also bear in mind the Iberians' possible role in the redistribution of Greek materials among the Iberian settlements through their relations with Emporion. The presence of Iberian merchants can be seen in the letters written on sheets of lead located in Empúries<sup>67</sup> and Pech Maho.<sup>68</sup> Based on these texts, we can deduce active participation by indigenous elements in the trade from Emporion, even though some doubt has been cast on this interpretation. Likewise, some coastal settlements like Montjuïc, Illeta dels Banyets and La Picola might have acted as the redistributors of the Attic materials they received from Emporion or Massalia among the inland settlements.

The case of Montjuïc shows us a nucleus which can be interpreted as a hypothetical case of a hybrid between the nuclei that specialised in accumulating surpluses, like Mas Castellar de Pontós, which were relatively common in what is today Catalonia, and an isolated or autonomous port establishment, similar to the site of Illeta dels Banyets. An important set of silos directly related to trade and exchange has been excavated on Avinguda dels Ferrocarrils Catalans in the city of Barcelona. The location of the site, near the Mediterranean Sea and the mouth of the Llobregat River, leads us to imagine a natural port, a nucleus where goods were concentrated and distributed and then easily sent inland through the Llobregat-Cardener and Llobregat-Anoia axes, both of which were navigable rivers in ancient times. Levels starting at the early 5th century BC have been documented, with the presence of Attic black-figure pottery, although most of the silos date from the 4th century BC. The variety of provenances and shapes is a defining feature of the imported ceramics found on Montjuïc from a qualitative standpoint, and from the quantitative standpoint as well, since imports account for a very high percentage. There is a set of Attic pottery of considerable volume in terms of both red figure and black-glazed, and the site has also produced blackglazed Ebusitan pottery, Apulian vases, Massalian and western Greek crockery, as well as common Punic pottery, both Ebusitan and central Mediterranean. With regard to imported amphorae, the materials documented include Punic amphorae (from Ibiza and from the Circle of the Strait of Gibraltar), as well as amphorae from Massalia, Corinth, Samos and Rhodes, with items that only have parallels near Empúries.<sup>69</sup>

We have particularly focused on the distribution of Greek materials in the northeast of the Peninsula, in what is today Catalonia, but we could extend this focus along the entire eastern seaboard of the Iberian Peninsula. In this expansion of Greek ceramics across the entire east coast in the 4th century BC, we should highlight the issue of the sites possibly founded by Massalia cited in the ancient sources as Hemeroskopeion or Alonis. Carmen Aranegui finds an explanation for the small establishments near Cap de la Nau related to Massalia given that they have a chronological framework that is comparable to that of Roses and can be related to Phocaean-Massalian designs to move into this sector in order to exploit the resources in the zone with participation by the local population. In a large area between El Grau Vell (Sagunt) and Cigarralejo (Mula), not only Attic pottery but also Massalian amphorae and mortars have been found, along

with other materials like the grey ceramics of northern Catalonia. Over the years, sporadic discoveries have been made in the Montgó zone, including deposits of jewellery, such as the diadem of Xàbia, fragments of sculptures and monetary treasures with pieces from Massalia, Emporion and different Greek cities, Sicily and southern Italy. They can all be related to the establishment of a holy area in a cape that was enormously important for navigation.<sup>70</sup>

Until now, we have been unable to confirm the relationship between the Roman city of Dianium (Dénia) and the Hemeroskopeion cited by Strabo, the location of the Temple of Artemis, the Greek name of the Roman goddess Diana, despite the identical names, since no archaeological evidence has been found that would indicate the existence of a Greek nucleus there. However, in recent years two sites have been excavated in this zone which can be directly related to the expansion of Massalian trade and show different characteristics than other indigenous settlements, including Illeta dels Banyets in El Campello and La Picola in Santa Pola, more similar to the characteristics of trading outposts than to places of residence.

Illeta dels Banyets in El Campello (Alicante) is regarded as a port of trade where products were exchanged under the protection of a sanctuary. It had no wall but it did have numerous public buildings and important commercial and maritime activity associated with the port. The merchants, through the Sec River valley, reached the counties of L'Alcoià and El Comtat, which received a range of similar shapes of Greek pottery and showed identical behaviour in trade phases.<sup>71</sup>

La Picola, located in Santa Pola (Baix Vinalopó), is a settlement with walls and a regular layout in the Greek tradition reminiscent of the Massalian colony of Olbia in Provence; it is regarded by its excavators as an emporion<sup>72</sup> with a clear commercial orientation. This establishment had a brief life (around 80 years), and even though there have been attempts to identify it as Alonis, its abandonment seems to run counter to this claim. Lately, another hypothesis has arisen that Alonis is actually located in La Vila Joiosa.<sup>73</sup>

Greek merchants must have participated directly in the trade conducted in these settlements on the southeast coast of the Iberian Peninsula. Their presence might have even taken shape in stable emporion-like facilities that could generate such significant phenomena of cultural interaction in the surrounding Iberian world as the use of the Greco-Iberian alphabet, the adoption of iconographic forms of representation or certain cultural expressions and ritual practices with Greek roots, and regular settlements following the models of other Massalian colonial nuclei, such as La Picola.

During the 4th century BC, the Greek ceramics correspond mainly to Attic pottery, which is unquestionably the most important kind present in all the sites. Their distribution area encompasses the entire eastern part of the Peninsula and they can be found in virtually all the sites excavated with levels from the 4th century BC, either red-



FIGURE 6. Attic red-figure krater from Empúries dated from 4th century BC (Photo: MAC-Empúries).

figure vases or especially black-glazed pottery. This phenomenon can be associated both with the kind of output that was leaving the Athenian workshops at that time, namely standardised, cheap and easy to transport and distribute ceramics, and with the rise in trade contacts between an increasingly large Iberian population.

The Attic materials found in the indigenous establishments mainly display shapes related to wine consumption (cups, skyphoi, bowls, kraters and, to a lesser extent, hydriai, pelikai and oinochoai), although it has not been proven that the Iberian elites had the same banquet rituals as the Greek world. As table crockery, the other commonly represented forms are the fish dish and the blackglazed dishes; the toiletry vessels are limited to lekanes, which might have been used differently than in the Greek world and are relatively plentiful, and perfume vessels in the guise of squat lekythoi. In some of the sites which have been more extensively excavated, we have found a set of Attic pottery made up of a krater and two or more drinking vases, mainly skyphoi, and three or four cups/bowls, although in this case they are not necessarily red-figure but are sometimes black-glazed. In the northeast region, this association is documented in Alorda Park, Turó del Vent, Montjuïc and Sant Sebastià de la Guarda; in other cases, like Penya del Moro, Turó de Ca n'Oliver and Burriac and Molí de l'Espígol, they also include oinochoai.

In addition to Attic pottery, other productions have also been documented in lower numbers: red-figure ceramics from southern Italy (especially Apulian), amphorae and common Massalian crockery, western Greek ceramics and amphorae, from Magna Graecia and from other workshops in the west, and also from Corinth, Samos and Rhodes.

## The late stage of the Greek establishments in Emporion and Rhode

The increasingly steady progression of Punic and Ebusitan trade throughout the 4th century BC and especially in the 3rd century BC must have had undeniable consequences on the influence of the Greek merchant ships on the coastline of the Iberian Peninsula. Despite this, Greek trade from the Phocaean port nuclei of Emporion and Rhode unquestionably continued, no longer noticeable through the spread of Attic vessels but through the rising redistribution of other kinds of goods, including wine and Italian ceramics, or even the products manufactured in the Phocaean colonial centres, such as black-glazed pottery produced in the local workshops in Roses.

The true turning point in the evolution of these colonial centres was marked by the effective onset of the Roman presence in this land, with a different range of consequences for each of these two nuclei. In the case of Emporion, through the information conveyed by ancient sources we are aware of its role as a disembarkation point for the Roman troops in 218 BC, in the beginning of the Second Punic War,<sup>74</sup> a fact that was also made possible by the favourable support to the Romans offered by the old Greek nucleus in view of the advance of Carthaginian domination over the Mediterranean seaboard of the Peninsula. Shortly thereafter, in 195 BC, the strategic value of Emporion as a point of support to effectively control the northeast territories once again became clear in the arrival of the legions commanded by the consul Marcos Porcius Cato, who were sent to tamp down the local uprising against Rome's tax measures. This historical episode would end up having many consequences, including the disappearance of the nucleus of Rhode, which had fallen under the control of the rebels due to circumstances that the written sources do not fully explain.

The repression inflicted by Cato's troops thus led to the total abandonment of the second Phocaean nucleus in the bay, which was not reoccupied again until considerably more recently, during the Roman imperial period.

Conversely, in the case of Emporion, the Roman military presence seemed to have continued throughout the entire 2nd century BC, to such an extent that it led to a stable encampment near the urban nucleus and dovetailed with a particularly dynamic and prosperous period for the Greek city, which kept some degree of autonomy, conferring upon it the status of federated city allied with Rome. Port activity and trade were significantly reactivated, now as part of the sailing routes from the Italian peninsula to new provincial territories, which provided the goods needed to supply the demands of the troops on the Iberian Peninsula, as well as to feed the regional circuits redistributing products such as wine or crockery. Thus, the many archaeological remains from this time, including wine amphorae and black-glazed pottery from Italy, are one of the clearest indicators of this new dynamic of maritime trade.

In Emporion, this particularly favourable economic context made the virtually wholesale transformation of the nucleus of Neapolis possible and laid the groundwork for the urban structure that the majority of the remains revealed by the excavations give glimpses of today.<sup>75</sup> This process of urban renewal particularly materialised with large construction works undertaken towards the mid-2nd century BC, when a new set of walls was built, slightly shifting the city limits towards the south and defining a new entrance to the city protected by quadrangular towers<sup>76</sup> (Figure 10). Likewise, the city's public space was expanded and monumentalised, with the creation of the new agora square dominated on the north by the porticoed stoa building.77 The architectural reforms also affected the religious and cult spaces, especially the sanctuary area located in the southern part of the nucleus, which was totally reorganised in order to house new places of worship, as evidenced by certain remains uncovered in the excavations.<sup>78</sup> One example is the discovery of the famous statue traditionally identified as the god of medicine, Asclepius, although other researchers have recently claimed that it might be an image of the Alexandrian god Zeus Serapis, documented in Empúries through the epigraphy.<sup>79</sup> Even though this important transformation of the nucleus took place in the historical context of Rome's full control over the territory, Emporion strove to maintain its identity as a Greek enclave, in line with its origins, through its revamped urban image and the architectural models it used.

In parallel, the intensification of maritime trade necessitated the creation or development of new port infrastructures on the city's maritime front that would enable it to overcome the limitations that the old natural port posed for the arrival of ships<sup>80</sup> and even to use other suitable places along the nearby coastline as anchorage and disembarkation points.

One of the problems which archaeological research has thus far been unable to answer solidly is the existence and location of the supposed indigenous settlement that may have sprung up next to the nucleus of Emporion during this stage, if we take into account what the ancient sources describe around the time of the earliest Roman military presence in the zone.<sup>81</sup> There have been attempts to link this settlement with the toponym Undika or Untika, which was mentioned considerably later (6th century AD) by Stephanus of Byzantium, or by the demonym *Untikeskesken* which appears on the bronze coins minted in Emporion in the 2nd century BC. In any event, it seems that at least part of this Iberian populace living adjacent to the Greek centre, along with other settlers with Italian

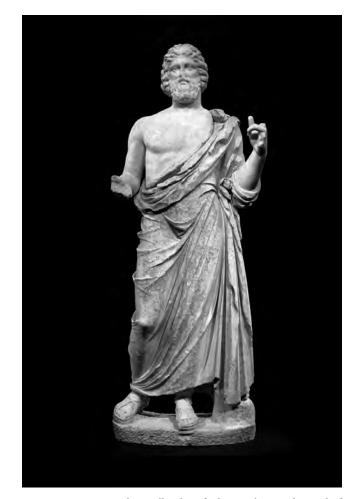


FIGURE 7. Statue traditionally identified as Asclepius, the God of Medicine. 2nd century BC. (Photo: MAC-Empúries)

roots, must have been integrated into the new regular city created atop the hill upon Roman initiative in the early 1st century BC. Finally, the creation of the *Municipium Emporiae* some decades later led to a shared legal framework of Roman citizenship which also extended to the local people with Greek roots. Even though the coexistence of both nuclei survived for some time, the old sector of Neapolis ended up losing its functions in favour of the new urban centre created on the upper part of the hill. It became a simple port neighbourhood until it was abandoned during the Roman imperial period, as the memory of its Phocaean past gradually disappeared in a fully Roman cultural reality.

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- [4] Regarding these finds and their interpretation: P. CA-BRERA. "Cerámicas griegas y comercio fenicio en el Mediterráneo occidental". In: Contactos en el extremo..., op. cit., pp. 61-86; A. DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO. "Fenicios y griegos...", op. cit. The recently-found fragments of Attic skyphoi from the Middle Geometric II also belong to this same timeframe, as do the Cypriot pieces found at the La Rebanadilla site (Málaga): V. M. SÁNCHEZ et al. "El asentamiento fenicio de La Rebanadilla a finales del siglo IX a. C.". In: E. GARCÍA ALFONSO (ed.), Diez años de arqueología fenicia en la provincia de Málaga (2001-2010). Seville 2012, pp. 67-85 (p. 75).
- [5] A. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO. *Hispania Graeca*. Volum I. Barcelona 1948, pp. 70-78; J. L. GARCÍA ALONSO. "Nombres griegos en –oussa en el Mediterráneo Occidental. Análisis lingüístico e histórico". *Complutum*, no. 7 (1996), pp. 105-124. Counter to the pre-colonial origin of these toponyms, see: P. MORET. "La formation d'une toponymie et d'une ethnonymie grecques de l'Ibérie: étapes et acteurs". In: G. ANDREOTTI *et al.* (ed.). *La invención de una geografía de la Península Ibérica. I. La época republicana.* Madrid 2006, pp. 39-76.
- [6] P. ROUILLARD. Les grecs et la Péninsule Ibérique du VII<sup>e</sup> au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant Jésus-Christ. Publications du Centre Pierre Paris 21, Paris 1991, pp. 21-33; A. DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO and C. SÁNCHEZ. Greek Pottery from the Iberian Peninsula. Leiden 2001; P. CABRERA. "Cerámicas griegas y comercio fenicio...", op. cit.; P. CABRERA. "Importaciones griegas arcaicas del Cerro del Villar (Guadalhorce, Málaga)". In: Iberos y griegos: lecturas desde la diversidad. Proceedings of the international symposium held in Empúries from the 3rd to 5th of April 1991. Huelva Arqueológica, no. XIII.2 (1994), pp. 97-121. Regarding the oldest Greek materials found in La Fonteta (Guar-

damar), with fragments of Thapsos-type cups and proto-Corinthian kotylai, see: J. M. GARCÍA MARTÍN. "El comercio de cerámicas griegas en el sur del País Valenciano en época arcaica". In: P. CABRERA and M. SANTOS (coord.). *Ceràmiques jònies d'època arcaica: centres de producció i comercialització al Mediterrani Occidental.* Proceedings of the round table held in Empúries from the 26th to 28th of May 1998. Girona 2000, "Monografies Emporitanes" collection, no. 11, pp. 207-223.

- [7] Regarding the plentiful Greek materials documented in Huelva with a timeline that can be situated in the late 7th century BC and throughout the 6th century BC, see: B. B. SHEFTON. "Greeks and Greek imports in the south of the Iberian Peninsula. The archaeological evidence". In: H. G. NIEMEYER (ed.). Phönizer im Westen. Madrid 1982, "Madrider Beiträge" collection, no. 8, pp. 337-370; R. OLMOS. "Los griegos en Tartessos: una nueva contrastación entre las fuentes arqueológicas y literarias". In: M. E. AUBET (ed.). Tartessos. Arqueología Protohistórica del Bajo Guadalquivir. Sabadell 1989, pp. 495-52; P. CA-BRERA. "El comercio foceo en Huelva: cronología y fisionomía". Huelva Arqueológica, no. x-x1.3 (1988-1989), pp. 43-100; J. FERNÁNDEZ JURADO et al. "Cerámicas griegas del solar n.º 5 de la c/ Méndez Núñez de Huelva". In: Iberos y griegos..., op. cit., pp. 67-96; A. DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO and C. SÁNCHEZ. Greek Pottery..., op. cit., pp. 5-17.
- [8] P. CABRERA. "Importaciones griegas arcaicas...", op. cit.; P. CABRERA. "La presencia griega en Andalucía (siglos VI al IV a. C.)". In: La Andalucía Ibero-turdetana (siglos VI-IV a. C.). Huelva Arqueológica, no. XIV (1997), pp. 367-390; A. RECIO. La cerámica fenicio-púnica, griega y etrusca del sondeo de San Agustín (Málaga). Málaga 1990; M. I. CISNEROS et al. "Cerámicas griegas arcaicas en la bahía de Málaga". In: P. CABRERA and M. SANTOS (coord.). Ceràmiques jònies..., op. cit., pp. 189-205; M. I. CISNEROS. "Las cerámicas griegas del Museo Picasso Málaga". In: Memoria arqueológica del Museo Picasso Málaga: desde los orígenes hasta el siglo v d. C. Màlaga 2006, pp. 79-92; D. D. FLORIDO et al. "Varar y comerciar en la marisma. Guadalmar y el entorno del Cerro del Villar en época tardoarcaica". In: E. GARCÍA ALFONSO (ed.). Diez años de arqueología fenicia en la provincia de Málaga (2001-2010). Seville 2012, pp. 137-170 (pp. 162-165).
- [9] Regarding the issue of Mainake, see a recent synthesis in:
   A. DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO. "Fenicios y griegos...", *op. cit.*, pp. 65-72.
- [10] An overview of the trade networks and earliest Phocaean outposts on the northwest Mediterranean: J.-P. MOREL. "Problématiques de la colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale: l'exemple des réseaux". In: C. ANTONETTI (ed.). Il dinamismo della colonizzazione greca. Naples 1997, pp. 31-44; J.-P. MOREL. "Phocaean colonization". In: G. R. TSETSKHLADZE (ed.). Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas. Vol. 1. Leiden 2006, pp. 358-428; M. BATS. "Les Phocéens, Marseille et la Gaule (VII<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.)". In:

*Les diasporas grecques du VIII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du III<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. Pallas* (Toulouse), no. 89 (2012), pp. 145-156.

- [11] X. AQUILUÉ and J. MONTURIOL (coord.). 1908-2008. 100 anys d'excavacions arqueològiques a Empúries. Girona 2008.
- X. AQUILUÉ et al. Guies del Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya. Empúries. Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, Tarragona 1999; R. MAR and J. RUIZ DE ARBULO. Ampurias romana. Historia, Arquitectura y Arqueología. Sabadell 1993; M. SANTOS. "L'arqueologia grega a Empúries. Un discurs en construcció". Figueres 2008, "Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos" collection, no. 39, pp. 49-79.
- [13] Compiled in M. ALMAGRO. *Las fuentes escritas referentes a Ampurias*. Barcelona 1951, "Monografías Ampuritanas" collection, no. 1.
- [14] These are two travelogues or peripli by unknown authors, erroneously attributed to Scylax of Carianda and to Scymnus of Chios, respectively dated from the 4th century BC and the late 2nd century BC, which contain information from previous Greek texts: F. J. GÓMEZ ESPELOSÍN. El descubrimiento del mundo. Geografía y viajeros en la Grecia antigua. Madrid 2000, pp. 124 and forward; P. COUNILLON (ed.). Pseudo-Skylax, Le Périple du Pont-Euxin. Bordeaux 2004; D. MARCOTTE (ed.). Les Géographes grecs. Vol. I. Introduction générale. Pseudo-Scymnos, Circuit de la terre. Paris 2000.
- M. ALMAGRO. Las fuentes escritas..., op. cit., pp. 76 and forward; J. MANGAS and D. PLÁCIDO (ed.). La Península Ibérica prerromana: de Éforo a Eustacio. Madrid, 1999, "Testimonia Hispaniae Antiqua" collection, no. II B, p. 668.
- [16] Until quite recently, knowledge of the oldest phases of occupation of the Greek establishment of Emporion was based on partial information obtained from different digs performed in the Neapolis sector: M. ALMAGRO. *Ampurias: historia de la ciudad y guía de las excavaciones.* Barcelona 1951, pp. 104-124; J. RUIZ DE ARBULO. "Situación de sondeos estratigráficos en la Neàpolis de Ampurias (1908-1983)". In: *Iberos y griegos..., op. cit.*, pp. 59-72. Regarding the *Palaia Polis*, we only had a few archaic materials recovered in the earliest excavaciones at Sant Martí d'Empúries: M. ALMAGRO. *Excavaciones en la Palaiapolis de Ampurias.* Madrid 1964, "Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España" collection, no. 27.
- [17] The location of the ancient mouth of the Fluvià River, along with one of the branches of the lower course of the Ter River which fed into the sea near Empúries until the Middle Ages, contributed to shaping an environment made up of tidal marshes and coastal lagoons. Regarding the ancient landscape in this zone, see: M. BLECH and D. MARZOLI. "Cambios en el paisaje costero del Empordà. Las investigaciones interdisciplinares llevadas a cabo por el Instituto Arqueológico Alemán, Madrid". Empúries, no. 54 (2005), pp. 45-58; D. MARZOLI. Die Besiedlungsund Landschaftsgeschichte im Empordà von der Endbronzezeit bis zum Beginn des Romanisierung. Mainz-

am-Rhein 2005, "Iberia Archaeologica" collection, no. 5; F. RAMBAUD. "Reconstrucción de la línea de costa en el territorio de Ampurias". *Empúries*, no. 54 (2005), pp. 54-70. Regarding the geological surveys conducted to ascertain the ancient coastline and the port topography, see: X. NIETO *et al.*, "La fachada marítima de Ampurias: estudios geofísicos y datos arqueológicos". *Empúries*, no. 54 (2005), pp. 71-100; G. BONY *et al.* "Géoarchéologie du port grec d'Empúries. Un port ouvert ou fermé?" *Archéomed Paléomed. Géoarchéologie en Méditerranée, Méditerranée*, no. 117 (2011), pp. 81-87.

- [18] X. AQUILUÉ (dir.). Intervencions arqueològiques a Sant Martí d'Empúries (1994-1996). De l'assentament precolonial a l'Empúries actual. Girona 1999, "Monografies Emporitanes" collection, no. 9; X. AQUILUÉ et al. "Nuevos datos acerca del hábitat arcaico de la Palaiapolis de Emporion". In: Habitat et urbanisme dans le monde grec de la fin des palais mycéniens à la prise de Milet (494 av. J.-C.). Pallas (Toulouse), no. 58 (2002), pp. 301-327; M. SANTOS. "Fenicios y griegos en el extremo N. E. peninsular durante la época arcaica y los orígenes del enclave foceo de Emporion". In: Contactos en el extremo..., op. cit., pp. 87-132; M. SANTOS. "Un depósito metálico en el poblado del Bronce Final de Sant Martí d'Empúries". In: El hallazgo leonés de Valdevimbre y los depósitos del Bronce Final atlántico en la Península Ibérica. León 2007, pp. 298-312.
- [19] B. AGUSTÍ et al. "Excavacions arqueològiques a Vilanera (l'Escala, Alt Empordà)". In: Tribuna d'Arqueologia 2000-2001. Barcelona 2004, pp. 99-114; X. AQUILUÉ et al. "El paisatge funerari en el territori d'Empúries, entre el bronze final i la primera edat del ferro". In: M. C. Ro-VIRA (dir.) et al. Les necròpolis d'incineració entre l'Ebre i el Tiber (segles IX-VI aC): metodologia, pràctiques funeràries i societat. Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, Barcelona 2012, "Monografies" collection, no. 14, pp. 75-90.
- [20] Regarding the Phoenician materials found in the Early Iron Age context in Sant Martí d'Empúries and in the necropolis of Vilanera, see: M. SANTOS. "Fenicios y griegos...", op cit.; X. AQUILUÉ et al. "Noves evidències del comerç fenici amb les comunitats indígenes de l'entorn d'Empúries". In: Contactes. Indígenes i fenicis a la Mediterrània occidental entre els segles VIII i VI ane. Alcanar 2008, pp. 171-190.
- [21] The archaeological proof of these early contacts comes from the Greek or Etruscan materials that appear in the indigenous residential levels in Sant Martí d'Empúries after the start of the 6th century BC. X. AQUILUÉ (dir.). *Intervencions arqueològiques..., op. cit.*, pp. 183-186; X. AQUILUÉ *et al.* "El comercio etrusco en Emporion: evidencias sobre la presencia de materiales etruscos en la Palaia Polis de Empúries". In: *Gli Etruschi da Genova ad Ampurias I.* Pisa and Rome 2006, pp. 175-192.
- [22] X. AQUILUÉ *et al.* "Nuevos datos…", *op. cit.*; X. AQUILUÉ *et al.* "Grecs et indigènes aux origines de l'enclave phocéenne d'Emporion". In: H. TRÉZINY (ed.). *Grecs et in-*

*digènes de la Catalogne à la mer Noire*. Aix-en-Provence and Paris 2010, "Bibliothèque d'archéologie méditerranéenne et africaine" collection, no. 3, pp. 65-78.

- According to Herodotus' account (I.165-167) of the [23] Persian army's seizure of Phocaea, part of its population was moved to the colonial nuclei in the west, such as Alalia in the island of Corsica and later Hyele/Elea, the new colony created in Magna Graecia. This phenomenon has also been associated with the growth in the city of Massalia after that date. See: M. BATS. "Les silences d'Hérodote ou Marseille, Alalia et les Phocéens en Occident jusqu'à la fondation de Velia". In: Apoikia. Scritti in onore di G. Buchner. AION, n.s. 1 (1994), pp. 133-148; M. BATS. "Marseille archaïque. Étrusques et Phocéens en Méditerranée nord-occidentale". Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité, no. 110.2 (1998), pp. 609-633; M. GRAS. "L'arrivée d'émigrés a Marseille au milieu du vi<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.". In: Sur les pas des Grecs en Occident. Hommages à André Nickels. Paris and Latas 1995, "Études Massaliètes" collection, no. 4, pp. 363-366; J.-P. MOREL. "Les Phocéens et la mer Tyrrhénienne au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle". In: P. BERNARDINI (ed.) et al. La battaglia del mare Sardonio. Studi i Ricerche. Cagliari and Oristany 2000, pp. 19-36.
- [24] Regarding these earliest issuances of fractional silver coins in Emporion, see: L. VILLARONGA. Monedes de plata emporitanes dels segles V-IV aC. Barcelona 1997; P. P. RIPOLLÉS. "Fraccionarias ampuritanas. Estado de la investigación". Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina, no. 19 (1989), pp. 303-317; M. CAMPO. "Las emisiones de Emporion y su difusión en el entorno ibérico". In: La monetazione dei Focei in Occidente. Rome 2002, pp. 139-165; M. CAMPO. "Les primeres imatges gregues. L'inici de les fraccionàries d'Empòrion". In: Les imatges monetàries: llenguatge i significat. VII Curs d'Història monetària d'Hispània. Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya, Barcelona 2003, pp. 25-45.
- [25] E. SANMARTÍ and R.A. SANTIAGO. "Une lettre grecque sur plomb trouvée à Emporion". Zeitschrift für Papyrilogie und Epigraphik, no. 68 (1987), pp. 119-127; E. SANMARTÍ and R. A. SANTIAGO. "La lettre grecque d'Emporion et son contexte archéologique". Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise, no. 21 (1988), pp. 3-17; H. RODRÍGUEZ SOMOLINOS. "Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae Iberiae". In: J. MANGAS and D. PLÀCIDO (ed.). La Península Ibérica..., op. cit., pp. 336-339. Regarding the inscribed sheet of lead from Pech Maho, see: M. LEJEUNE et al. "Étrusque et ionien archaïques sur un plomb de Pech Maho (Aude)". Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise, no. 21 (1988), pp. 19-59.
- [26] The archaeological structures that form the southern sector of the Greek city, which include the remains of walls, temples and other religious structures, were uncovered by the excavations undertaken by the Junta de Museus de Barcelona (Board of Museums of Barcelona) after 1908. See: J. PUIG I CADAFALCH. "Els temples d'Empúries". Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans, no.

IV (1911-1912), Barcelona 1913, pp. 303-322; R. MAR and J. RUIZ DE ARBULO. *Ampurias romana..., op. cit.*, pp. 171 and forward. Regarding more recent excavations in this sector, see: E. SANMARTÍ *et al.* "La secuencia histórico-topográfica de las murallas del sector meridional de Emporion". *Madrider Mitteilungen* (Madrid) no. 29 (1988), pp. 191-200; E. SANMARTÍ *et al.* "Emporion: un ejemplo de monumentalización precoz en la Hispania republicana. Los santuarios helenísticos del sector meridional". In: *Stadbild und Ideologie. Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Keiserzeit.* Munich 1990, pp. 117-144; E. SANMARTÍ *et al.* "Nuevos datos sobre la historia y la topografía de las murallas de Emporion". *Madrider Mitteilungen* (Madrid) no. 33 (1992), pp. 102-112.

- [27] These are fragments of an akroterion and diverse stone antefixes which were part of an anthemion with palmettes and lotus flowers belonging to a temple that was probably built in the second half of the 5th century BC: E. SANMARTÍ. "Emporion, port grec à vocation ibérique". In: La Magna Grecia e il lontano Occidente. XXIX Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Naples, 1990), Taranto 1990, pp. 389-410 (Fig. 2-5); E. SANMARTÍ et al. "Nuevos datos…", op. cit., pp. 104-107; X. DUPRÉ. "Terracotas arquitectónicas prerromanas en Emporion". Empúries, no. 54 (2005), pp. 103-123 (pp. 114-118).
- [28] M. ALMAGRO. Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas. Barcelona 1952, "Monografías Ampuritanas", no. 2, pp. 71-83; E. SANMARTÍ. "Una carta en lengua ibérica, escrita sobre plomo, procedente de Emporion". Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise, no. 21 (1988), pp. 95-113; E. SANMARTÍ et al. "Testimonios epigráficos de la presencia indígena en Emporion". In: Iberos y griegos..., op. cit., pp. 204-214.
- [29] E. SANMARTÍ et al. "Las estructuras griegas de los siglos v y IV a. de J. C. halladas en el sector sur de la Neápolis de Ampurias (campaña de excavaciones del año 1986)". Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología Castellonenses, no. 12 (1986), pp. 141-184; E. SANMARTÍ. "Datación de la muralla griega meridional de Ampurias y caracterización de la facies cerámica de la ciudad en la primera mitad del siglo IV a. de J. C". Revue des Études Anciennes, no. xc, 1-2 (1988), pp. 99-137; E. SANMARTÍ et al. "Nuevos datos...", op. cit.
- [30] Regarding the steady growth of the nucleus of Ullastret after the 4th century BC, see: A. MARTÍN and R. PLANA.
  "El nord-est català en època ibèrica i l'entitat territorial de l'oppidum d'Ullastret". In: Territori polític i territori rural durant l'edat del ferro a la Mediterrània occidental. Girona 2001, "Monografies d'Ullastret" collection, no. 2, pp. 39-52; R. PLANA and A. MARTIN. "El paisatge periurbà de l'oppidum d'Ullastret: una nova imatge de la morfologia i del funcionament d'una ciutat ibèrica". In: M. C. BELARTE and R. PLANA (ed.). El paisatge periurbà a la Mediterrània occidental durant la protohistòria i l'antiguitat. Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica, Tarragona 2012, "Documenta" collection, no. 26, pp. 123-148.

- [31] In the lands closest to Empúries, we should note the important role of nuclei like Pontós as concentrators of grain production on the Empordà plain, in addition to other disperse sites with storage silos. See: E. PONS (dir.). Mas Castellar de Pontós (Alt Empordà). Un complex arqueològic d'època ibèrica (excavacions 1990-1998). Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya-Girona, Girona 2002, "Sèrie Monogràfica" collection, no. 21; R. Buxó, E. PONS and A. VARGAS. El Graner de l'Empordà: Mas Castellar de Pontós a l'edat del ferro. Girona 1998; J. CASAS and V. SOLER. El asentamiento rural ibérico de Saus (Girona). Un ejemplo de explotación agrícola en el territorio de Emporion. BAR Int. Series S2390, Oxford 2012.
- [32] While the earliest drachmas issued in Emporion were inspired by the Punic coins of the day, they soon stood out for adopting the Pegasus figure on the reverse and a female head on the face, following the Arethusa model from Syracuse. J. AMORÓS. Les dracmes empuritanes. Barcelona 1933; A. M. GUADÁN. "Las monedas de plata de Emporion y Rhode", 1-11. Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona, no. XII and XIII (1968-1970); М. Самро. "Dracmas e imitaciones de Emporion en tesoros del Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya". Glaux, Collana di Studi e Richerche di Numismatica, no. 7 (1991), pp. 165-184; М. Самро. "La moneda griega y su influencia en el contexto indígena". In: Historia monetaria de Hispania Antigua. Madrid 1997, pp. 19-49; M. CAMPO. "Las emisiones de Emporion...", op. cit.; L. VIL-LARONGA. Les monedes de plata d'Empòrion, Rhode i les seves imitacions, de principi del segle III aC fins a l'arribada dels romans, el 218 aC. Barcelona 2000, "Complements d'Acta Numismàtica" collection, no. 5; L. VIL-LARONGA. Les dracmes emporitanes de principi del segle II aC. Barcelona 2002, "Complements d'Acta Numismàtica" collection, no. 7; L. VILLARONGA. La plata emporitana de la Segona Guerra Púnica, final del segle III aC. Barcelona 2003, "Complements d'Acta Numismàtica" collection, no. 8.
- [33] PSEUDOSCYMNUS, Periegesis, 202-9 (M); STRABO, Geographika, III,4,8 and XIV,2,10. M. J. PENA. "Fuentes literarias sobre la colonia griega de Rhode (Iberia)". In: A. M. PUIG and A. MARTÍN (coord.). La colònia grega de Rhode (Roses, Alt Empordà). Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya-Girona, Girona 2006, "Sèrie Monogràfica" collection, no. 23, pp. 41-52.
- [34] A. M. PUIG and A. MARTIN (coord.). *La colònia grega de Rhode..., op. cit.*, pp. 612-614.
- [35] These nuclei created by Massalia include: Agathé (Agde), Olbia (Hyeres), Nikaia (Nice) and Antipolis (Antibes).
  M. BATS. "Marseille, ses colonies et les relais indigènes du commerce massaliète en Gaule méridionale". In: *Marseille grecque et la Gaule*. Aix-en-Provence 1992, "Études massaliètes" collection, no. 3, pp. 263-278; M. BATS. "Le colonie di Massalia". In: M. LOMBARDO and F. FRISONE (ed.). *Colonie di colonie. Le fundazioni subcoloniali greche tra colonizzazione e colonialismo*. Lecce 2008, pp. 203-208.

- [36] A. M. PUIG. "El taller ceràmic de Roses i les seves produccions". In: A. M. PUIG and A. MARTÍN (coord.). La colònia grega de Rhode..., op. cit., pp. 295-544.
- [37] X. AQUILUÉ et al. "Noves evidències del comerç fenici amb les comunitats indígenes de l'entorn d'Empúries". In: Contactes. Indígenes i fenicis..., op. cit., pp. 171-190.
- [38] M. SANTOS. "El vaixell en el context del comerç grec a l'oest del Mediterrani". In: X. NIETO and M. SANTOS, *El vaixell grec arcaic de Cala Sant Vicenç*. Girona 2008, "Monografies del CASC" collection, no. 7, pp. 301-303; M. SANTOS. "Emporion, la nave de Cala Sant Vicenç y el comercio foceo en occidente a finales del siglo vI a. C.". In: *Traffici, commerci e vie di distribuzione nel Mediterraneo tra Protostoria e V secolo a. C.* Gela 2009, pp. 243-254.
- [39] L. LONG et al. "Les épaves archaïques de la Pointe Lequin (Porquerolles, Hyères, Var). Les données nouvelles sur le commerce à Marseille à la fin du vI<sup>e</sup> et dans la première moitié du v<sup>e</sup> s.". In: *Marseille grecque..., op. cit.*, pp. 199-234; X. NIETO and M. SANTOS. *El vaixell grec arcaic..., op. cit.*
- [40] Information primarily extracted from J. SANMARTÍ, D. ASENSIO and A. MARTÍN. "Les relacions comercials amb el món mediterrani dels pobles indígenes de la Catalunya sud-pirinenca durant el període tardoarcaic (ca. 575-450 aC)". *Cypsela*, no. 14 (2002), pp. 69-106, and from M. T. MIRÓ. *La ceràmica àtica de figures roges de la ciutat grega d'Emporion*. Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya-Empúries, Barcelona 2006, "Monografies Emporitanes" collection, no. 14.
- [41] Like the aryballos and the pyxis from La Palma, or the Corinthian amphora in Toll de Benifallet: P. ROUILLARD. Les Grecs et la Peninsule Ibérique..., op. cit.
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- [44] J. BARBERÀ and E. SANMARTÏ. Excavacions al poblat ibèric de la Penya del Moro. Sant Just Desvern. 1974-1975-1977-1981. Barcelona 1982.
- [45] Illa d'en Reixac and Puig de Sant Andreu in Ullastret, Boades, Burriac, Penya del Moro, necropolis of La Palma and Castellot de la Roca Roja in Benifallet.
- [46] Puig Castellar in Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Puig de Sant Andreu, Cadira del Bisbe in Premià de Dalt and Alorda Park-Les Toixoneres in Calafell.
- [47] Ullastret, Turó de ca n'Oliver in Cerdanyola del Vallès, Masies de Sant Miquel in Banyeres del Penedès and Alorda Park.
- [48] Puig de Sant Andreu and Illa d'en Reixac, Montbarbat in Lloret de Mar, Puig Castell in Vallgorguina, Turó de la

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Font de la Canya in Avinyonet del Penedès and, very far inland, perhaps the village of Els Vilars in Arbeca.

- [49] Illa d'en Reixac, necropolis of Serra de Daró, Mas Castellar in Pontós, Puig Castellar in Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Penya del Moro, Alorda Park, Coll del Moro in La Serra d'Almos, Castellot de la Roca Roja in Benifallet and Els Castellans in Flix.
- [50] Puig de Sant Andreu, Penya del Moro and Burriac.
- [51] Ullastret and Penya del Moro.
- [52] Puig de Sant Andreu, Illa d'en Reixac, Penya del Moro and Ciutadilla.
- [53] D. ASENSIO. "Àmfores importades, comerç i economia entre els pobles ibèrics de la costa catalana (segles VI-II aC): un exercici de quantificació aplicada". *Revista* d'Arqueologia de Ponent, no. 11 (2001), pp. 67-86.
- [54] Puig de Sant Andreu, Illa d'en Reixac, Turó de Ca n'Oliver in Cerdanyola del Vallès, Can Xercavins in Cerdanyola del Vallès, Masies de Sant Miquel, Alorda Park, Ciutadilla (Ivorra) and Castellot de la Roca Roja.
- [55] Puig de Sant Andreu, Illa d'en Reixac, Alorda Park, Coll del Moro in Gandesa, Les Ombries and Sant Antoni in Calaceit. Fragments of unidentified forms have been found in Turó de Montgròs (El Brull), Darró (Vilanova i la Geltrú) and Montjuïc (Barcelona).
- [56] Ullastret, Mas Castellar in Pontós, Peralada, Mas Gusó, Turó de Ca n'Oliver in Cerdanyola del Vallès, Burriac, Vinya del Pau in Vilafranca del Penedès and Tarragona.
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- [59] M. T. MIRÓ. La ceràmica àtica de figures roges..., op. cit.
- [60] Sant Sebastià de la Guarda in Palafrugell, Porqueres in Banyoles, Puig d'en Rovira in La Creueta (Quart), La Penya del Moro in Sant Just Desvern, Can Xercavins in Cerdanyola del Vallès, silos on Carrer Elisenda in Sant Cugat del Vallès, Cadira del Bisbe in Premià de Dalt, Torre Roja in Caldes de Montbui, Can Calvet in Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Olèrdola, Alorda Park and Les Toixoneres in Calafell, Timba del Castellot in Riudoms, Castellet de Banyoles in Tivissa, Les Planetes de Bítem in Tortosa, La Moleta del Remei in Alcanar, Tossal del Mor in Tàrrega, Guissona, El Cogulló in Sallent and Sant Miquel de Sorba in Cardona.
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#### **BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES**

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