



## The emporion in the Ancient Western Mediterranean

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# THE EMPORION IN THE ANCIENT WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

*Trade and Colonial Encounters from the Archaic  
to the Hellenistic Period*

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# THE EMPORION IN THE ANCIENT WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

*Trade and Colonial Encounters from the Archaic  
to the Hellenistic Period*

Édité par

Eric GAILLEDRAT, Michael DIETLER & Rosa PLANA-MALLART

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# Contents

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<i>List of Authors . . . . .</i>	9
Éric GAILLARDAT, Michael DIETLER & Rosa PLANA-MALLART	
<i>The Emporion in Context. . . . .</i>	11
<b>1 The Emporion and the Ancient Mediterranean</b>	<b>17</b>
Pierre ROUILLARD	
<i>The Emporion: Some Uses of the Term . . . . .</i>	19
Michel GRAS	
<i>Emporion and Archaic Polis, a Complex Dialectic. . . . .</i>	25
Alain BRESSON	
<i>Flexible Interfaces of the Ancient Mediterranean World . . . . .</i>	35
Julien ZURBACH	
<i>The Emporion and the Land, or: Hesiod Between Land and Sea. . . . .</i>	47
<b>2 From the Strait of Gibraltar to the Gulf of Lion</b>	<b>53</b>
Alfredo MEDEROS MARTÍN	
<i>Phoenician Emporia in the Atlantic Coast of Africa . . . . .</i>	55
Fernando GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES	
<i>The city-Emporion of Huelva (10th-6th Centuries BC) . . . . .</i>	67
José Luis LÓPEZ CASTRO	
<i>MQM. Phoenician Emporia in the South of the Iberian Peninsula (9th to 7th Centuries BC) . . . . .</i>	79
Jaime VIVES-FERRÁNDIZ SÁNCHEZ	
<i>Trading Settlements in Eastern Iberia During the Iron Age: Between Redistributive Engagement and Political Authority . . . . .</i>	91

Rosa PLANA-MALLART		
	<i>Emporion and the North-Eastern Coast of the Iberian Peninsula . . . . .</i>	103
Éric GAILLEDRAT		
	<i>Sailors and Landsmen in the Emporia of Southern Gaul . . . . .</i>	115
<b>3 Italy and its Margins</b>		<b>129</b>
Maria Cecilia D'ERCOLE		
	<i>The Emporion in the Adriatic. Trade, Trafficking, Cultural Constructions (6th-2nd Century BC) . . . . .</i>	131
Giulio CIAMPOLTRINI		
	<i>Fonteblanda/Portus Telamonis. A “Trading Post” for Wine and Metals on the Central-Northern Tyrrhenian Coast in the 6th Century BC . . . . .</i>	143
Giovanna BAGNASCO GIANNI & Lucio FIORINI		
	<i>Between Tarquinia and Gravisca . . . . .</i>	155
Arianna ESPOSITO		
	<i>Rethinking Pithekoussai. Current Perspectives and Issues . . . . .</i>	167
Francesca SPATAFORA		
	<i>Phoenicians, Greeks and “Indigenous peoples” in the Emporia of Sicily . . . . .</i>	181
Marco RENDELI		
	<i>Sant’Imbenia and the Topic of the Emporia in Sardinia . . . . .</i>	191
<b>4 Comparative Perspectives on the Emporion</b>		<b>205</b>
Mario DENTI		
	<i>Aegean Migrations and the Indigenous Iron Age Communities on the Ionian Coast of Southern Italy: Sharing and Interaction Phenomena . . . . .</i>	207
Peter VAN DOMMELEN		
	<i>Trading Places? Sites of Mobility and Migration in the Iron Age West Mediterranean . . . . .</i>	219
Michael DIETLER		
	<i>Emporia: Spaces of Encounter and Entanglement . . . . .</i>	231
Denise DEMETRIOU		
	<i>Interpreting Cultural Contact: How Greek Inscriptions from Emporion Challenge Roman Texts and Hellenization . . . . .</i>	243
Gérard CHOUIN & Christopher R. DECORSE		
	<i>Atlantic Intersections: African-European Emporia in Early Modern West Africa . . . . .</i>	253

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## The *Emporion* in Context

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Éric GAILLEDRAT, Michael DIETLER & Rosa PLANA-MALLART

Twenty-five years ago, publication of the landmark volume *L'emporion* (Bresson, Rouillard 1993) had a major impact on studies of the ancient Mediterranean. It marked one of the first attempts to focus attention systematically on the kinds of trade enclaves that ancient Greeks named “*emporia*” and to review the existing textual and archaeological evidence concerning these spaces of cross-cultural encounter and the roles they played in ancient economic systems and processes of colonial interaction. The questions, enigmas, and evidentiary lacunae revealed by this exploratory venture provoked a couple of decades of vigorous empirical research and theoretical debate, especially in the western Mediterranean, where programs of archaeological research on this theme became particularly active in France, Italy, and Spain.

The current volume is designed to re-examine collectively the phenomenon of the *emporion* in the light of this subsequent wealth of new studies and data. However, it also seeks to set the analysis within an expanded international and cross-disciplinary framework and to enlarge the audience for this discussion: it includes chapters by scholars from France, Italy, Spain, and the United States, and from the fields of anthropology, archaeology, classics, and history. The volume is divided into four sections. The first includes chapters offering critical historical analyses of discussions of the definitions, roles and significance of the *emporion* in the ancient Mediterranean as a whole. Sections two and three offer new analyses of case studies of ancient *emporia* in Iberia and Gaul and in Italy, respectively. The final section offers a range of chapters treating theoretical issues centering on *emporia* from a broader comparative perspective.

In the interests of coherence, the geographical focus of detailed treatments of archaeological cases in the volume has been deliberately restricted to the Western Mediterranean, the region that, as noted, has witnessed the most intensive and sustained research focus on this theme. However, the spatial and temporal range of cases explored in the comparative theoretical discussion is intentionally extensive, including ports of trade in colonial West Africa and other kinds of trade enclaves and diasporas in a variety of contexts. Hence, the goal of the volume is not only to present and assess the large amount of new information amassed over the past couple of decades, but to bring into conversation a

variety of different theoretical approaches, sources of data, and innovative methods.

The book should be of interest to archaeologists and historians working well beyond the Mediterranean precisely because it offers a set of well-documented and intensively studied examples within a delimited region that is used to engage a broad range of theoretical questions and methodological issues from several disciplines, including especially anthropology and history. Indeed, the concept of the *emporion* has been picked up and applied in a wide range of historical contexts beyond the Mediterranean, from Anglo-Saxon Britain to Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (for example, see Andaya 2009; Anderton 1999; Dale 2010; Hodges 1996, 2004, 2008; Pestell 2011; Ptak, Rothermund 1991). Moreover, the role of trade and ethnic enclaves in the modern globalized economy and of the “enclave economy” in post-colonial relations of dependency have also been topics of debate in economics, political science, and sociology (for example, see Conning, Robinson 2009; Gupta, Gupta 1998; Vinokurov 2007). To be sure, the nature, functions, and contexts of recent and contemporary enclaves present many contrasts with ancient *emporia* and other pre-capitalist historical examples, which already exhibited considerable diversity. But the goal of the comparative perspective adopted in this volume is precisely to use contrasts and similarities from cases ranging widely across time and space in order both to better understand the specificity of ancient Mediterranean *emporia* and to use the detailed empirical study of Mediterranean *emporia* to contribute to broader theoretical debates spanning several disciplines.

During the past two decades, study of the ancient Mediterranean has been stimulated by the exploration of novel theoretical orientations and the opening of new questions, and this has resulted in a rich outpouring of new research. In particular, work has focused on issues such as the representation and perception of the Mediterranean as a region, on individual and collective mobility, on social and economic networks, on modes of colonial implantation, and on the consequences of encounters between different cultures. Especially productive debates have been animated by the influence of postcolonial theory and the anthropology of colonialism, trade, and consumption. These debates have both challenged

many traditional research frameworks and reinvigorated and expanded the scope of some earlier concepts and programs (for example, see Cunliffe 2005; Demetriou 2012; Dietler 1997, 1998, 2005, 2010; Dietler, Lopez-Ruiz 2009; Étienne 2010; Gailedrat 2014; Harris 2005; Horden, Purcell 2000; Hurst, Owen 2005; Lombardo, Frisone 2009; Malkin 2004; Morris 2005; Osborne 1998; van Dommelen 2005a; Zurbach 2008):

The *emporion* occupies an important place in these new currents of Mediterranean research. New approaches to things such as ancient Mediterranean mobility and networks (for example, Capdetrey, Zurbach 2012; Malkin 2012) have developed in tandem with the study of the places where commercial or other kinds of exchange took place, which has been a longstanding and fundamental research focus. The concept of the *emporion*, as a generic term characterizing an emblematic structure of ancient trade, has long influenced conceptualization of the spaces and institutions through which the commercial exchanges stimulated by Phoenicians, Greeks, and Etruscans took place. However, the polysemic nature of this term was critically exposed in the *L'emporion* volume (Bresson, Rouillard 1993), and this was accompanied by a call to expand analysis beyond the handful of sites that have habitually been invoked to generalize on a pan-Mediterranean scale in favour of careful empirical attention to the material reality of these trading sites in their full diversity and complexity (see Demetriou 2012):

The term *emporion* is of ancient Greek origin, but is not attested in textual sources before the 6th century BC. From that point on, it was used to designate both commercial zones in Greek cities and trade enclaves in foreign lands. Questions about the function, form, and relationship to the surrounding people of these latter entities still present many challenges because the term was applied to sites of quite different kinds that were implanted into very different cultural contexts, and they were not even necessarily coastal sites (Bresson 2000, 2002, 2016; Gailedrat 2014; Hansen 1997; Lombardo 2002; Plana-Mallart 1994, 2004): Hence, a simple typology of *emporia* is illusory. Instead, what is needed is detailed documentation of the variety of different situations in which varying ethnic, social, and geographic contexts were crucial determinants.

If one accepts that the designation *emporion* was based originally on a perceived *function* rather than on a *juridical category* or an *identity* (Casevitz 1993; Counillon 1993; Hansen 1997), then the term becomes applicable to the many trade enclaves that fringed the Mediterranean beginning in the Archaic period. In this sense, *emporia* are above all defined by their commercial vocation, whatever the multiform nature and mechanisms that underlie their existence.

This primacy of the commercial dimension implies that there must have existed at these places a set of mechanisms or rules governing the interactions of the diverse agents engaging each other in exchanges. To variable degrees, indigenous societies must have been an important force in determining such features at these sites, which were frequented by a heterogeneous range of people and linked to a diversity of Mediterranean agents and networks of trade. These sites also had a varied range of statuses, which raises immediately the question of the political powers that controlled this structure, or “instrument,” that was the *emporion*. Indigenous societies

adopted different attitudes that reflect different solutions to the problem of navigating between trust and suspicion, between acceptance and rejection of interaction with alien agents and goods. The “intrusive” quality that is an inevitable aspect of a foreign presence and, more generally, of colonial situations, must be balanced against the acceptance of foreign goods and their bearers and the unintended consequences of cross-cultural consumption (Dietler 2010). This feature clearly raises the question of the territorial status of these enclaves and the territorial transformations they may have experienced or engendered (Gailedrat 2014; Plana-Mallart, Martin Ortega 2002; Zurbach 2008).

The ethnic diversity that characterized these settlements has been recognized for some time, but the relative degrees of participation of different factions in the social life and political management of the sites has remained an open question. Once again, the situations differ according to the regions and periods concerned, from the ports/*emporia* of an Etruscan city to the mixed enclaves of the southern French coast, to the Phoenician enclaves clinging to the edge of a territory at the ends of the Tartessian world. The contribution of written sources to clarifying some of these issues is undeniable, but epigraphic and historical data can take us only so far. Aside from various historiographic and epistemological issues, such textual evidence relates to only a very limited number of sites in the region considered in this volume. Hence, scholars have been forced to develop new lines of analysis capable of interrogating often ambiguous archaeological data.

Moving beyond the mere acceptance of exchange that results from a convergence of interests, as noted earlier, the operation of an *emporion* also necessarily is subject to a number of rules or constraints. These must be specified, while recognizing the diversity of situations noted above. In this context, the political and religious dimensions appear to be fundamentally important, even if they are often difficult to discern. The *emporion* is, in effect, a space of power, or the representation of power. It is also a space of security for goods, persons, and the regularity of transactions. More than simply a “market,” it is a space of simultaneous economic, social, and cultural exchanges where colonial encounters take form on a micro-scale and where they develop a particular character.

Comprehending these establishments as spaces of ethnic mixing and the reformation of identities (Demetriou 2012; Dietler 1997, 2010; Gailedrat 2014, 2015; Malkin 2012; Plana Mallart 2004, 2012) raises a crucial issue. Although proximity to, or interaction with, the indigenous world constitutes a general pattern, it is one that must be understood in a nuanced way in specific local situations. For example, the *emporion* was a space of encounter yielding technical and cultural innovation (Gailedrat 2010). The installation of Greek, Etruscan, or Phoenician craftsmen in what are fundamentally indigenous settlements, or sometimes even the direct participation of these alien agents in the construction of these sites, created the necessary conditions for the sharing of experience and expertise. This is one reason why these enclaves provide a context for the precocity and originality of processes of urbanization (van Dommelen 2005b).

To reiterate, the goal of the book is to revisit the *emporion* from several different directions that target the nature of

the institution itself, its components, its structure, and its integration into a wider territorial framework. The *emporion* represents a context of economic and cultural opening of the Mediterranean that had a profound impact on the history of the 1st millennium BC. Trade was an economic engine that brought into contact a wide range of societies that exchanged and evolved together around a shared sea that became a space of interconnection (Horden, Purcell 2010). The rhythms, forms, and modes of these interactions were quite varied, but certain novel configurations emerged that, in their geographic, cultural, and temporal diversity, shed new light on the functioning of Mediterranean *emporia*. Arriving at a better understanding of this process requires both a concentrated program of empirical archaeological research on specific local histories and a broader comparative engagement with theoretical work arising from anthropological and historical studies of similar phenomena in other contexts. This book is designed to highlight both aspects of this dialectical strategy, presenting two decades of recent developments in international work on ancient Mediterranean *emporia* in the context of a multidisciplinary discussion of trading enclaves and diasporas and their roles in colonial situations.

In terms of interlocutors, this book is in conversation with several streams of work in anthropology, classics, and history that deal with colonial encounters, economic history, ports of trade, ancient Mediterranean history and archaeology, and the like.

*Emporia/ports of trade/trade enclaves/trade diasporas:* there have been many studies in anthropology, history, and geography engaged on a broad comparative scale with the issue of trade enclaves and trade diasporas as economic, political, social, and spatial phenomena (some seminal examples include Cohen 1971; Curtin 1984; Gray, Birmingham 1970; Polanyi 1963; Polanyi et al. 1958). The work of Polanyi on “ports of trade” was especially influential in the early evolution of the fields of economic anthropology and economic geography, and this model was subsequently adopted by archaeologists and historians working in areas around the globe, including some classical archaeologists (e.g. Berdan 1978; Gallaway 2005; Hall 2009; Hedges 1978; Lovejoy 1982). These studies are directly relevant to the discussion of the *emporion*, and vice-versa, although such analyses have tended to pay only slight attention to this ancient Mediterranean phenomenon. In any case, as noted, the new understanding emerging from recent archaeological work has considerably altered the picture available to these earlier scholars, which makes renewing this conversation all the more crucial.

As further noted earlier, the specific concept of the *emporion* has also been deployed in a variety of situations beyond that of its original ancient Greek context. These include not only other time periods in the Mediterranean, but also other parts of Europe and other continents (in addition to the works cited earlier, examples include Balzaretti 1996; Di Cosmo, 2009; Gelli-chi 2007; Hamerow 2007; Hansen 2006; Hind 1995; McCormick 2007; Rothermund 1991; Saunders 2001; Scull 2001; Sherman, 2008; Verhulst 2000; Whyman 2002). These works have often borrowed concepts loosely and not been informed by recent advances in the archaeology of Mediterranean *emporia* (see the critique by Samson 1999). Hence, there is a need for careful

consideration of the particularities of ancient Mediterranean *emporia* and the potential benefits and dangers of extending concepts beyond this realm.

#### *Colonial encounters, cross-cultural consumption, and identity:*

For the reasons explained earlier, the *emporion* has been an important vector in the history of colonial encounters in the ancient Mediterranean (see also Aubet 2001, 2003; Rouillard 1991), and the same is true of trade enclaves in other colonial situations. Hence, a comparative dialogue, informed by the latest evidence, should contribute to the progress of theory on both sides. As privileged locations of sustained direct encounter between people of different cultures, such trade enclaves constitute a distinctive space in what has been termed a “contact zone” (Pratt 1992), or “middle ground” (White 1991), where mutually misunderstood cultural differences were worked through in economic and political practice, and pidgins and creole languages. Such spaces provide a micro-arena for the development of colonial relations and the emergence of the intertwined sets of interests that Sahlins (1985) called “structures of the conjuncture.” They also constitute a space where one can study the cultural and social logic of demand for alien objects and the process of “entanglement” (Dietler 1998, 2010), in which the unintended consequences of cross-cultural consumption gradually ensnare communities of people in new webs of economic and political relations. They are also laboratories for the formation of new identities and cultural boundaries, both locally and in terms of far-flung diasporas, through conflicting processes of fusion and exclusion.

The anthropology, archaeology, and history of colonialism, including especially studies of consumption, identity, and diasporas, are prime interlocutor for the current volume. Again, this is an engagement of mutual benefit in which archaeologists working on ancient Mediterranean *emporia* have much to gain by exploring this literature, but also have a significant contribution to make to the conversation. In that spirit, works listed in the references include selected examples of relevant literature in addition to texts cited in the introduction.

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## **Part One**

### **The Emporion and the Ancient Mediterranean**



## The *Emporion*: Some Uses of the Term

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Pierre ROUILLARD

Considering “the Mediterranean in terms of the region’s fluid communications and the concomitant mobility of its peoples” (Horden 2005: 179) prompts us to survey the structures which allow or encourage circulation and trade. The analyses of mobility include those of places where trade (of products, techniques, artistic models) took place, where different populations met, those on the acceptance of new communities in an already-occupied territory, those on the very forms of mobility which testify to the complexity of the Mediterranean world especially, but not only, in the archaic and classical periods. The word *emporion* designates one of these structures and one of these places of trade and diversity, ethnic and cultural. The richness of the work of recent years is particularly expressed in the vocabulary used to account for these mobilities. There is no doubt that there is a concern to pinpoint the behaviour (economic, social) of those who roamed the Mediterranean as closely as possible. Thus, the use of the word “emporion” must today be compared with other concepts and words—as was already the case with the “port of trade” (Bresson 1993: 163–64): “gateway communities”, “diaspora”, “network”, “connectivity” are all concepts whose aim is to account for the obviously diverse forms of mobility and human relationships, of relationships between regions and the organisation of trade between communities with different histories and cultures, both in the Greek world and in the Phoenician world. All these words and concepts are trying, amongst their other objectives, to describe the forms of trade.

Two axes of reflection have to be explored in order to define the different modes of operation of the *emporion* beyond its simplest definition of “trading area”, “place of exchange”, a translation and definition which is difficult to do without. Reading the work on the issue of the *emporion* published over the past two decades, reflects the concern for the realities on the ground and the variety of cases which can be accommodated by the flexibility of the “definition” (still being sought...) of the word *emporion*. Naucratis and Piraeus have long been the starting points of most analyses but today we can rely on a wealth of data and interpretations from Vetren in Thrace (Chankowski A. and V., 2012; Chankowski V. 2010), the only site which is really delivering new elements or which has confirmed previous analyses. We also have the interpreta-

tions of commercial lead seals (De Hoz MP 1997 and Decourt 2000) on sites recognised as *emporia* and so designated, such as Tartessos (González de Canales *et al.* 2004) (if, of course, Huelva is the *Tartessos* of classical sources) and those not so recognised such as *Pithecoussai* (Guzzo 2016) based on a notable extension of the use of the word to identify settlements, particularly those which were part of the Phoenician and Punic worlds. In addition, we could complement this by proposing an “emporic” interpretation of certain archaic wrecks, such as that of Giglio (Italy) (Cristofani 1996), Cala Sant Vicenç (Mallorca) (Nieto and Santos 2009) from the end of the 6th century BC, or even that of El Sec (Ibiza) despite its date, the middle of the 4th century BC (Arribas *et al.* 1987).

The word itself, studied by Michel Casevitz (Casevitz 1993), dates back to maritime navigation (but also river navigation), to a place where the *emporia* was practised, where *emporos* traded over long distances. Over time, starting with Thucydides and even more so in Strabo, the word generally came to refer to the place of trade, even though trade over water was still involved. Our sources are an author’s view, from Herodotus to Strabo, on this or that site, but beyond an identification of a site presented as an *emporion*, no author defines the *emporion* or any one *emporion*. This should be regarded as a fact, and it is by comparing a series of *emporia*, region by region, period by period, that we can come to understand what was specific about an *emporion* or the *emporion*.

Debates on the word and its uses have been numerous since the publication of “L’Emporion” in 1993 (Bresson, Rouillard 1993). Firstly, there are the particularly stimulating reports (Will 1993 and Salles 1994), the analyses of this book (Lombardo 2002), the follow-up by Alain Bresson on his initial analysis (Bresson 2000 and 2002), the results of the investigation by the Copenhagen Polis Centre (Hansen 1997 and 2006), the essay by Denise Demetriou (Demetriou 2012), the publication of excavations of sites considered by the sources or recognised by archaeologists as *emporia*. There is then, of course and especially, the discovery of an inscription in the Thracian world (Chankowski A. and V. 2012 and Chankowski 2010). Below, we will be looking at the most recent publications. Besides the debates on the word itself, there are also doubts about its use; thus, Morgen H. Hansen (Hansen 1997 and 2006) only latterly accepted the existence of *emporia* in the archaic

period; for her part Denise Demetriou was convinced that an *emporion* was a city (Demetriou 2012, 16–23) and proposed to organise her study around “urban centres with a hinterland and those without one” (Demetriou 2011: 262). Alternatively, in the case of *Pithecoussai*, Pier Giovanni Guzzo (Guzzo 2016: 31) defined this site in these terms without using the word *emporion*; he spoke of “a city founded by the Chalkidians and the Cumaens (a) preceded by a phase in which the Greek were present, not within the institutional framework of a *polis* but within the non-autonomous framework of an authorisation granted by the interested benevolence of the indigenous community chief who controlled the region’s territory”. No doubt this wording was intended to give an account of the structure and the particular history of this settlement and of the debates which they provoked (D’Agostino 1994; Greco 1994).

One can try to assemble a set of features which characterise the *emporion* from both the ancient literary sources and archaeological data, taking the diachrony into account (a method which we know to be questionable...) Topographically, it was a coastal site, often at the inlet of a river, but there were inland sites (Strabo IV.3.2) quotes *Lugdunum* and archaeology has shown us Vetren (Chankowski 2012)), a site which can be defined in area and a site at the gateway to a region and suitable for distant trade. The practice of *emporia* was at the start of the *emporion*—as was the case of Marseille (Bats 2012), and the *emporion* could also be a place of production, before or after trade. In this case, this was linked to the coastal location and the port, such as the *garum* of *Baelo* (Strabo, III.1.8) or the mines of *Carthago Nova* (Strabo, III.4.6), both of which were the object of distant trading. An *emporion* could (often) bring together populations of diverse origin, indigenous people and foreign merchants and residents, but at the mouth of the Don or in La Picola (Santa Pola, Alicante) the presence of foreigners was unlikely, at least in any consistent manner. The *emporion* is also defined in terms of function; the question of its dependence on a State, a city or a people then arises. Two sets of data are then essential to identify, on the one hand, the protection the *emporion* offered and its monitoring of transactions and, on the other hand, the existence or not of taxes and their possible level.

In our literature, next to the sites identified by the literary and/or epigraphic sources, there are the numerous sites recognised as *emporia* as regards this set of features. We have presented them in the absence of a definition on which readers of ancient texts, historians or archaeologists can reach agreement. This was lamented by Edouard Will (1993) when he considered our book “L’emporion”. However, our very modest attempt to formulate a “definition” shows all the parameters involved and the remaining uncertainties about the meaning and function, which are themselves different from region to region, from site to site and from one time to another. Recent examples, reinterpretations and, above all, the Vetren inscription, which Edouard Will would probably have described as “pertinent” (Will 1993, 350), have helped us to better understand how an *emporion* functioned.

In fact, *emporion* cannot be reduced to a single meaning in time and space and the distinction should first of all be made between the two main types of *emporion* as described by Alain Bresson (Bresson 1993: 223), followed by Morgen Hansen

(Hansen 2006: 3–14) and Denise Demetriou (Demetriou 2012: 18–19): on the one hand, a city which “has” an *emporion* (as in Athens with Piraeus), which is a specific place, recognised by an institution and rules; on the other hand, the *emporion* as a settlement, bringing together Greek merchants, or those of different origins (Greeks, Phoenicians), or as a community of both Greeks and indigenous people (such as Empúries and in Pistiros); the situation of autonomy and the dependent relationships are then involved but non-linearly. These two “types” are different and we will focus more on the second type, for which archaeology is an essential, but often “fluctuating”, source. It is useful to try to grasp how they functioned, in as far as new discoveries and new interpretations permit, from settlements called “emporion” in our sources and settlements recognised as such by modern science. We will expand some observations on a few points from examples in the western Mediterranean, focusing on those which have been the subject of recent debates and/or contributions.

The example of the *emporion* of the Catalonian coast shows this clearly (Rouillard 1991: 244–81, Aquilué et al. 2010). There are several areas around Empúries (*Emporion*), the *Palaiapolis*, which at the beginning of the 6th century BC contained Greeks, probably the Phoenicians and perhaps the Etruscans, living alongside the indigenous population, with its development a generation later on *terra firma*, making it a large island on the Iberian coast. Strabo mentions the existence of a *chôra* (Strabo, III.4.9), probably, perhaps definitely, at least to the south of the settlement, but the chronology of the plots is still poorly known and little (if any) farms have been identified. Another area is emerging with the fields of silos 15/20 km away, in particular at Pontos (Pons et al. 2010; Plana 2012), which attests to the cultivation of the land and storage by an indigenous population. The silos for cereals destined for export were increasingly numerous around Empúries from the middle of the 6th century to the 4th century BC—the time of the greatest importation of Greek tableware into the Peninsula—without causing a massive spread of Greek products in the same area. The distribution network for these products was not local but rather regional and international: the map of distribution of Greek tableware in the Peninsula demonstrates this, with a much higher density of Greek objects on the eastern coast than in the hinterland of Empúries (Burch et al. 2010, 391, Garcia, Isoardi 2012), although other coastal facilities—as we will see in the case of Picola in the province of Alicante—probably took on the same role of (re)distribution. The commercial lead seal from Empúries with an estimate of the trade towards *Saguntum* (*Sagunto*) offers supplementary evidence (de Hoz, M P. 1997: 39–41) for a staging post on more distant trade routes.

An immediate area was exploited, according to practices which continue to elude us, the second area was exploited through a network of small villages, and here we find a situation which has some features in common with that observed in the Thracian region. On the west of the Thracian Plain, Vetren is an *emporion* (one of the region’s *emporia*) linked with Greek coastal settlements, in particular Thasos and Maroneia. The study of this plain has shown that there no traces of occupation “either by the Greeks or by the indigenous pop-

ulation in the epochs contemporary with the period that the *emporion* was active" (Chankowski A. and V. 2012, 278). The settlement's good fortune, especially in the first half of the 4th century BC, was due to its place in a trade network; in order to ensure the smooth operation of trade relationships, *emporitai*, Greek merchants and residents of the *emporion* or *emporia*, benefited from both protection and privileges (Chankowski, 2010; Chankowski A. and V., 2012), as detailed in the inscription found nearby.

With these two cases, Empúries and Vetren, both points of connection between Greeks and the indigenous population, we are outlining a type of activity, a local trade and an extended trade with an *emporion* at the centre of a network. Further afield, in one case we have Sagunto, in the other the colonies of the Aegean coast. In both cases, even though the circumstances are different, the indigenous population are immediately present: in Empúries, a Greek merchant discusses the partnership methods with an Iberian notable and in Thrace the role of the local ruler was essential for the proper functioning of the trades.

At the centre of reflections on the *emporion* are questions of dependence or independence, the control of its activities and, first of all, the identification of those who (a people, a community, a prince from the settled region, a sailor etc.) took control of this settlement.

For three sites, we have literary or epigraphic sources, Naucratis, Vetren and Empúries. However, the archaeologist is faced with numerous establishments, often small in size, which have some features recognised as those of *emporía*, and this is as true for the Greek world as for the Phoenician world. To examine the land from this perspective means taking many aspects into account: the topography; the indigenous environment and the presence of a settlement with the features of a city/capital; and the diversity which can be measured by the hybridisation and the acculturation and which can be expressed in very different ways—in mixed necropolises, everyday vessels, the characteristics of urban planning and/or architecture, and in artistic or iconographic traits.

Looking at the emblematic sites mentioned can help us to turn away and escape from a Hellenocentric view by analysing the societies which welcomed foreign merchants more thoroughly than previously, something recent works (Bresson 2000: 13–84, Agut-Labordère 2012, Chankowski A. and V. 2012, Rouillard in press) have helped us to do.

At Naucratis (Herodotus II.178–179), Amasis (when he stabilised the institutional framework of the domain established for the Greeks) provided a domain for the Greeks and Damien Agut-Labordère demonstrates this gift's symmetry with all the properties of an Egyptian institution (Agut-Labordère 2012: 359–60). The convenience is then shared with, on one side, protection and autonomy in managing the domain of the port as it appears in the Decree of Saïs (Agut-Labordère 2012: 355–57) and on the other, the ease of collecting taxes in a single place; this convenience is established with a balance between dependence and tolerance.

The same spirit is to be found in Thrace in Vetren (Chankowski A. and V. 2012: 279–84, Bresson 2000: 82–83), where protection and respect are reserved for organised Greek merchants, who also, as at Naucratis, called themselves *emporitai*;

these merchants were in a situation of dependence, vis-a-vis the king. The Odrysian king provided protection to facilitate commercial activities in his region, and the *emporitai* could even travel around the kingdom without being taxed.

There is no record of whether there was devolution (and therefore, of course, in what manner) of an area for an *emporion*... Empúries; the history of the site and the archaeological data are our only sources. The word "emporitai" appears on a commercial lead seal discovered at Empúries, dated towards the end of the 6th century (most recently with bibliography, M<sup>a</sup>. P. Hoz 1997: 39–42; J. de Hoz 2010) and on a second seal found at Pech Maho, dating from the middle of the 5th century (Decourt 2000); and, besides this, there is "the item" before lead seals, the mixed material from an indigenous coastal settlement (Aquilué et al. 2010), on the islet of San Martí d'Empúries, known by later sources (Strabo III.4.8) as *palaiapolis*. We are in fact combining these two types of source, in proposing a definition of *emporion*. In this case a group of Phocaean (coming from Phocaea rather than Marseille) settled—at the very beginning of the 6th century BC—amongst an indigenous population who were acquiring Phoenician or Etruscan objects at the same time. Then, a small generation later, these Greeks settled in a larger area (not exceeding 2 or 3 hectares), which means that there was at the least an understanding, an agreement no doubt, with the local "authorities". The indigenous population was there and the symbiosis was such that common laws assured the political life of the *emporion*. Cohabitation must not have been a permanent situation: Livy (XXXIV.9), in his development of the Roman landing at Empúries in the time of Cato (195 BC), emphasises both distrust and "*mutui usus desiderium*"; Strabo (III.4.8–9), without giving more chronological details on the change in the process, first mentions the *prosoikoi*, then the establishment of a common body.

The well-understood convenience of both communities is there and we find the same feeling as in the settlements of the East. Empúries was created as an "emporion" and this in an area which remained restricted (whether voluntarily confined by the Iberians, we don't know) and many of the assertions about its future must be read with care. Indeed, the question of a dependent territory, especially vis-a-vis Marseille, arises. In short, besides the dependent territory in the Iberian context (whose contents are not clearly perceived), was there a dependent territory on the Phocaean network: there was undoubtedly a religious community but is this valid for settlements with the same origin; at the beginning of its history Empúries followed the monetary system of Marseille; the Pseudo Scymnus (201–210) mentions this link. Is this enough to confirm this dependency (Hansen 2006: 27) when Marseille and Empúries, whilst both being Phocaean settlements have a different history: Marseille has all the attributes of an *apoikia* (Villard 1992, qualified by Bats 1994), whilst Empúries belongs to the tradition of *makrai nautilai* (Herodotus I.163), one of whose four destinations was in fact Iberia. There is no mention of a controlling link between Marseille and Empúries in any text, which is not the case for other Greek settlements on the Gallic coast alluded to by Strabo (IV.1.5) (Bats 2012: 151–52). For Empúries, Strabo (III.4.8) mentions the constitution of a common political body

as “a mixture of laws borrowed from the Barbarians and the Greeks”, and two arguments back up this information, the coining of “EM” coins from the 4th century BC and the bricks bearing the stamp “DÊM” (J. de Hoz 2010). Empúries themselves provided a role of commercial staging post which commercial lead seals clearly illustrate.

Iberia, Tartessos, the Adriatic and Tyrrhenia were affected by the *makrai nautilai* (Herodotus, I.163), regions where the Phocaeans displayed their trading abilities, a stage in a process which led to a stabilisation of men and trade. There have to be some common traits between these regions; the first is the occupation by the Phocaeans of restricted areas. (Lepore 1970, Morel 2014, most recently with bibliography: 110 and 118). There is the link with the indigenous population, which takes different forms: cohabitation in Empúries or friendship with a king, in Tartessos and Marseille. In Empúries, a shared initiative may have preceded a form of cohabitation but the situation is still different in Tartessos where King Arganthonios asserted himself, formulating particularly strong proposals (Herodotus I.163) although they were not put into effect, particularly in terms of settlement. In this case the indigenous prince wished to maintain the Greek community as a dependent territory from the start.

What these three example cases tell us, from the wealth of the information they provide about their own modes of operation, will probably help us understand how many coastal settlements of all sizes functioned, those adapted to large-scale trade and commerce down to that of redistribution, what the archaeologist considers to be *emporia*.

Analysing the case of Fonteta-Rábida (Guardamar del Segura, Alicante) (Rouillard et al. 2007; Galledrat 2014: 197–205; García Menárguez, Prados Martínez 2014), located south of the mouth of the Segura River, we have drawn up a pattern for the establishment of a Phoenician community on the “Iberian” coast, with the meeting of a group of foreign merchants, here the Phoenicians, and a group of indigenous people settled on the lower slopes of the *Sierra de Crevillente*, a few kilometres from the coast. This took place at the end of the 8th century BC. We can imagine a rapprochement of two groups on the coast which was unfamiliar to the men of the region in the late Bronze age and of sailors motivated by the idea of a new settlement. At the end of the 8th century BC, the Phoenicians already had strong settlements on the coast of present-day Andalusia between Huelva and Almeria, often small in size. However, the inlet of the Segura would have been of some interest to them, as its valley gives access to the upper areas of Andalusia, rich in metals. Axe heads were found in the highlands of Peña Negra (*Crevillente*) (González Prats 1993) and the wrecks of small boats sunk off the coast of Mazarrón (Murcia) can be situated only a short time afterwards, in the middle of the 7th century BC. They contained lead ingots and amphorae produced in the Malaga region (Negueruela 2005), the same as those found *en masse* in Fonteta/Rábida. Here we can talk about a shared initiative, without it being possible to say who set it in motion and what the power relationships were between the two communities. Archaeology can add some more information to this case. The first settlement consisted of indigenous huts then, soon after, around 700 BC, Phoenician style houses were built; the area, hardly more

than one hectare, remained without a protective outer wall before the passage from the 7th to the 6th century BC, and indigenous dishes occupied an ever-important place. At the end of the 6th century BC, eastern iconographic patterns were adopted by Iberian artists, the sphinx of Agost constituting one fine example of this amongst a very rich group in a vast area between Alicante, Murcia and Albacete drained principally by the Segura and the Vinalopó River (García y Bellido 1943; León 1998).

As a point of contact between the settled Phoenicians and the populations of a nearby hinterland, and a staging post for Phoenician trade, especially that of the settlers on the Andalusian coast, Fonteta/Rábida witnessed the absorption of the foreign community into the indigenous population. The initial function of this site was indeed that of an *emporion* between the indigenous population and Phoenicians.

La Picola (Santa Pola, Alicante) is another case, later in time, at the turn of the 5th and 4th centuries BC (Badie et al. 2000; Bresson 2002; Rouillard et al. 2015). The site was a port, about ten kilometres from La Alcudia (the ancient *Illici*). It was a settlement of 0.3 ha *intra muros*, occupied from 450 to 350 BC with a form foreign to the Iberian world: a square, regular plan, parallel streets, aligned rooms, a complex defensive system (with wall, talus, ditch, *proteichisma*). This settlement, whose urban plan was Greek, must be linked to the neighbouring large city, which makes it part of a simple layout, an *emporion* and a city separated by around ten kilometres. Did this settlement with foreign features shelter a mixed community which was accepted by *Illici*? Or was it a foundation of the Iberians of *Illici* which may have benefited from the contribution of Greek skills and which would have operated as a commercial staging post as a dependent territory of an Iberian city? In fact, there was no Greek community, for it is difficult to imagine Greeks living there using only Iberian dishes, without currency and without leaving any Greek inscriptions at all. Our second hypothesis is the most probable: the initiative is Iberian and a Greek, or an Iberian taught by a Greek, was involved in the planning of this settlement. Some Greeks were able to pass through, some middlemen, as we see from the commercial lead seals of Empúries or Pech Maho, and they found there, besides a protective outer wall, the protection of *Illici*. This is an example of an *emporion* under indigenous control which allowed the introduction of Greek patterns and Greek techniques that are found in Iberian sculpture, this sculpture already being strongly marked by eastern features. Sometime later a method of transcription of Iberian was developed in a Greek alphabet of Ionian origin (de Hoz 2010) and was used around 400 BC. However, we find it very strange that these Greco-Iberian inscriptions, attested a few tens of kilometres away, are absent from La Picola when this place seems to us to have been the most suitable for its creation.

Continuing the analyses of the *emporion* involves a recognition of the diversity of cases, as Pierre Lévéque recalled when he spoke of “the abundant richness of the *emporion*” (Lévéque 1993), and a necessary and fine interpretation of archaeological data which are more likely to accumulate than inscriptions. The questions can then be organised around a few axes: geography, the organisation of the surrounding

territory, the hierarchy of sites, ethnic and cultural diversity or the different levels of trade. Here is an invitation to carry out a (re)interpretation of the coastal sites.

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# *Emporion and Archaic Polis, a Complex Dialectic*

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Michel GRAS

'Nessuno è straniero sul mare'

Marcello TAGLIENTE, *I sogni del bambini di Siria.*  
Voci e storie del Mediterraneo, 2016

To return to a topic tackled more than twenty years ago<sup>1</sup> presupposes a distancing. The objective of this contribution is to try to shed light on a complex subject: complex because of the nature of the sources but equally because of the errors or inaccuracies which many of us have committed, complicating a theme which was already difficult. We must return to the basics given to us by some of our predecessors, first of all by Ettore Lepore (1924–1990) whose absence is still felt.

This will not be a question of case studies or even of the relationship between literary and archaeological data. For my part, did I go too far in proposing, at an archaeological level, that we should consider all the sites of the archaic Mediterranean located at river mouths as being intended to become *emporion* (Gras 1993)? It is possible, but I do not regret it, since my motivation was a strategy to raise awareness in the scientific community about fragile coastal areas by demonstrating the potential of these places once marginalised (because of malaria) and now threatened by mass tourism. However, in doing so I risked trivialising the word *emporion* and helping to make it a convenient term to use for any occasion. Today I am aiming to correct this possible negative effect without devaluing the river mouths.

In his long report (Will 1993) on the volume "L'emporion" (Bresson, Rouillard 1993), Edouard Will, in what was one of his last writings (he died in 1997), clearly showed his journey since his great book on Corinth in 1955, which could not, at that time, take the archaeological information into consideration.

The historiographical course of studies on the *emporion* can help us understand the semantic and conceptual shifts which have complicated the subject. When he published his famous text on the "port of trade" in 1963, Karl Polanyi (Polanyi 1963)—who died in 1964—did not have much knowledge of Mediterranean archaeology. We were on the eve of the publication of the first edition of *The Greeks Overseas* by John Boardman (Boardman 1964) but, more importantly, the rare archaeological data on which Polanyi relied are vague: those of Woolley at Al Mina, the result of his excavations

of 1936 and 1937 in particular. Polanyi did not have any specialists in this area around him: his direct collaborators and students were more at ease in Mesopotamia (Oppenheim, Revere), Africa (Dalton), Central America (Chapman) or with more general themes (Arensberg, Pearson). The young Finley was often part of the group but he was not an archaeologist (Scheid Tissinier 2005). Furthermore, the great predecessors had worked on other cultural areas: Thurnwald on East Africa, Malinowski on the Pacific. One is struck by the ignorance of Mediterranean bibliography in the works of Polanyi and his team.<sup>2</sup> However, it is understandable that Polanyi did not appear (at least, apparently not) to know about the innovative work of the young Alan Blakeway (1898–1936), interrupted by his premature death, or even about those of the Australian Dunbabin, who published *The western Greeks* with Oxford University Press in 1948, taking advantage of the archaeological work of Orsi in Sicily and Calabria since 1888. In 1964, the work Giorgio Buchner had been doing at *Pithecoussai* since 1952 was still very confidential. The history of Polanyi and the Mediterranean is therefore that of a missed opportunity. A false step in historiographical construction.

## 1 Starting With the Words

The history of the word is the unavoidable starting point for the interpretation of the concept: *emporos* is attested in Homer's *Odyssey*; *emporè* is given by Hesiod; *emporion* appears in Herodotus. This progressive semantic emergence is a major key, as Mele has already shown (Mele 1979). Firstly, towards the middle of the 8th century BC, its definition is that of a marginal person in the *prexis* system of trade; next, in the 7th century BC, the emergence of a new mode of trading; and finally, in Herodotus, a new structure adapted to this new function. Nothing could be more logical or pedagogical for driving home that all this was built up over time, gradually, and probably in fits and starts with regional discrepancies, so that we cannot avoid taking this duration into account.

At this stage, it is worth recalling that *prexis*, another form of *ergon* trade, is bound to the land; it is a summer activity

1. Referring to BRESSON, ROUILLARD 1993. More recently, see HANSEN 1997 and DEMETRIOU 2002.

2. Aside from vague references to LEHMANN HARTLEBEN 1923.

complementary to agricultural activity. There is an element of self-sufficiency here, and Mele rightly evokes the “*compatezza autarchica*” (Mele 1979: 93); whilst the *emporos*, without ship and without crew, traded using someone else’s boat. Today, without being drawn in by the calls of modernism, we would call this another level of professionalisation.

## 2 The Long Construction of the Model

Many other parameters will enhance but also complicate this interpretation. Homer, Hesiod, and Herodotus gave us the rhythm of this progressive change, as the Greeks felt and experienced it, but many other events occurred in the Mediterranean. This new way of trading was not invented by the Greeks but by the Phoenicians. “Phoenician *emporia*” is commonly referred to<sup>3</sup> (Torelli 1994), which is appropriate, but we must remember that the Phoenician name for this activity is not known: Javier Teixidor proposed a west-Semitic term (*mahuza*) which it is tempting to use.<sup>4</sup> This Phoenician antecedent is fundamental to understanding the orientalizing phenomenon and all that followed. The *emporia* of the 6th century BC, such as Gravisca, cannot be understood without the Phoenician background, and this is what Torelli wrote. This would mean that *Pithecoussai* was not an *emporion*, but a *polis* under construction (in the theoretical rather than the material sense). This is only one phase of the process.

Phoenician operations could nuance any analysis of the emergence of the *emporìe* by also seeing in this an awareness of trade by the western indigenous aristocracies (Etruscan and Iberian in particular) at the time of the development of the Orientalizing phenomenon. This does not fundamentally change the situation but partly explains the shift in *ergon-prexis* trade to the *emporìe*.

It is therefore clear to what extent it would be simplistic to connect *emporìe* and the Phocaean without this background, in a purely Greek perspective of the Mediterranean. The Greek cities of “Asiatic Greece” (an expression which I still prefer to that of “Asia Minor” for this period, as Pierre Lévéque did in his *Aventure grecque* in 1964) were certainly the intermediaries in this change. However, it was the Euboeans and their eastern visits to Cyprus and the coast of the Near East before them which explain the gradual shift from a “peasant” style of trading to an organised and regular activity.

This observation on the Phoenicians opens up numerous perspectives which cannot be dealt with here in detail. The Phoenician coastal communities, from Tire and Sidon to Sicily and Sardinia: were they *emporia* or cities? Here again, the exclusive use of Greek vocabulary distorts the analyses. Let us say, in any case, that these Phoenician sites should not be called *polis*, in the Greek sense of the term, or *emporion*. They are something intermediate which archaeology has to help us define, and this work is far from done. “Pre-*emporia*”,

if you will, which also changed in the face of the emergence of the Punic powers.

## 3 The *Emporion*, an Indigenous Reference

Here again we cannot anticipate; there are still many threads to unravel. Firstly, that of the local world, the indigenous world, to use the vocabulary of ethnologists. As has often been recalled, *emporion* is a Greek word for defining a place which is not Greek but primarily indigenous (except in Greece where the Greeks are indigenous). These natives were bases onto which a graft could be placed.

Jean Yoyotte, in his last courses at the Collège de France (from 1991 to 1995), reminded us that Naucratis was first and foremost an Egyptian city; the toponym is Egyptian (*Nokradj*), attested on a stela of 554 BC (Ermitage 8499). The *emporion* (in Egyptian the harbour area: *Pr-mryt*) is a district, as described by Herodotus (II.178–179). This is a major breakthrough, confirming Bresson’s intuitions, and ending the Hellenocentric vision which was based on only Strabo’s etymologies. At the same time Woolley was wrong to call Al Mina a Greek site as it was Levantine<sup>5</sup> but that does not mean that Al Mina, like Naucratis, did not have a *emporion*.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, Bassit, which the Greeks called *Posideion* (Courbin), whilst Woolley believed it was Al Mina.

However, there is yet another step to be taken. In this debate on coastal structures, one cannot forget the relationship between sailors and landsmen, between those who moved and those who stayed put. The sailors were as different to peasants just as peasants were to shepherds<sup>7</sup>, but their wanderings had a different magnitude than those of the shepherds. The common point, in both cases, is transhumance: in this case, maritime. In terms of trade, this had consequences: land circulation was slower than maritime in the centuries we are concerned with, and the methods of trade were being displaced. Without being too simplistic, it can be said that the emporic trade is thus in opposition to a “chieftain’s trade” and to all forms of peddling. I previously tried to show that Etruscan objects in the south of France (bucchero nero, bronze vases) sometimes reached as far as the end of the valleys where the places of power and the indigenous chiefs were located (Gras 2004). These old practices, these old *traffics*, as I used to want to call it, in order to escape a too modern vision of “commerce” (Gras 1985), relied on gift and counter-gift, on the exchanging of presents and on matrimonial practices. They were integrated into links of hospitality: amphorae here give way to storage vases, which were less mobile but could be transported on carts, on the dusty roads. Between these land routes and the maritime connections there is of course the natural transhipment, but also a strong structural link. Orientalizing objects would not have ended up in the princely tombs of Basilicata, Etruria or Lazio without the maritime *emporìe*.

5. PERREAULT, in BRESSON. ROUILLARD 1993: 59–83.

6. Type A of J. Luke (LUKE 2003).

7. As it was underlined by Maurice Le Lannou in Sardinia (LE LANNOU 1941).



Fig. 1—Mouth of the Irminio river (Sicily), location of the emporion of Contrada Maestro, in the limit between the territories of Syracuse and Camarina (photo David MAURO CC-BY-SA-4.0).

#### 4 Relationship to the Greek City

We thus arrive at the city. I have already mentioned *Pithekkoussai* and the Phoenician sites and we must now connect them to the Greek *poleis*. In 1985, I compared the “empty coasts” of Calabria, eastern Sardinia, and northern Sicily to the “coasts full” of *poleis* in eastern and southern Sicily and on the Ionian Sea or to the Phoenician towns on the southern and western shores of Sardinia. In doing so, I compared coastlines with towns (*poleis* for the Greeks) to coasts with an emporic vocation and made the mistake of globalising Greek and Phoenician sites too much; the latter very probably had an intermediate status (*supra*). Resuming this difficult topic today, it seems clear to me that in order to remain in the Greek world, the coasts with *poleis* cannot function like the others in terms of maritime trade. There are thus the coastlines with *poleis* and the coastlines without *poleis* and in this second category the Italian Adriatic shore and the Mediterranean coast of Spain (from Catalonia to Andalusia) must not be forgotten (Gailledrat 2014); this is the very coast where, symbolically one might say, one can find *Emporion* (Empúries). In addition, there are the Latium, Tuscan and Ligurian coasts, and Corsica. This is a situation which geographically favours coastlines which are supposedly empty, although they are anything but. The domain of *poleis* is geographically limited to eastern and southern Sicily, along with Himera on one hand, to the Campanian coast and the Ionian gulf from Reggio to Taranto on the other, along with the eastern coasts of the Adriatic, an extension of the Greek coastlines. This world of the *poleis* is a geographical minority. The south of France is a good example of this situation, with the isolation of Marseille.

Before going any further, we must explain the word *polis* and its uses. We know what a *polis* was: a Greek city-state on an urban space (*astu*) and a territory (*chôra*), indivisibly linked, far beyond what we see in a modern city-countryside relationship. Those who lived in the *chôra* were citizens (*politès*) just like the others. However, we also know that the uses of this word were variable: when Herodotus (II,178) wrote that Naucratis was a *polis* (but also an *emporion*), he meant that for a Greek like him this appeared to be equivalent to a Greek city, a conurbation, but that does not mean that Naucratis

was Greek with Greek institutions. Above all, this does not mean that it had Greek political autonomy.

In fact, the emergence of *poleis* led to certain strips of land (Greek *chôrai*) being viewed in strict association with an urban environment, with a group organised around an agora. In terms of trade, this meant that the seat of power was the agora and that maritime trade was organised according to the new political and economic reality of the city-state. The Polanyi idea of “embedded” economics is useful here. In the 7th century BC, this world of new *poleis* was faced with an active Phoenician *emporîè* but also with the emergence of the Greek *emporîè* attested by Hesiod, which gradually took shape in the second half of the century. At the Ravello symposium in 1987, I proposed that colonial *poleis* were still dependent on the metropolis for oil and wine initially in terms of supply, but Lepore was undecided about this proposal, since it risked being too modernist an interpretation. Nevertheless, I relied on the presence of very large Corinthian oil amphorae, observing that, gradually, the capacities of these amphorae were reduced (Gras 1988). We will leave it at that. However, the fact remains that the nascent *poleis* found themselves faced with an *emporîè* which was more and more active and whose operation—at least at first—did not fall under the control of the city.

All the changes over the course of the 6th and the following century is summed up in an “capture” of the *emporion* by the Greek city, while indigenous towns such as Naucratis and Tarquinia continued to have an emporic district, closer or further away depending on the local topography. However, this situation was only possible when the indigenous towns were close to the sea. When this was not the case, *emporia* in territories without *poleis* were positioned in relation to the indigenous power, thus at river mouths which allowing ascent through the valleys to the seats of power, whilst the mouths themselves were convenient shelters (Fig. 1). During the establishment of the *poleis*, the boundaries of their *chôra* were logically and gradually settled at river mouths and the *emporion* then acted for a time as an interface, at a distance from the city and the agora. However, the agora gradually attracted the activity of the *emporion*, and the port districts of the Greek cities replaced the activity of the first *emporia*. Through this process, the *emporion* became a district of the Greek city. Of course, this change adapted to local situations

and Athens could not function in the same way as Syracuse. Nonetheless, this change appears to me to quite clearly show the contrast to what was happening in Etruria, as well as between Tarquinia and Gravisca.

However, this concrete but also political recovery might take on another aspect when the Greek city was too far from the *emporion* to be able to “bring” it physically within its walls and near its agora. The case of Marseille is a good example of this. The *emporion* visited by the Phocaeans in the *Palaipolis* of Empúries became a dependent territory of Marseille over the course of its development (“Neapolis”). In the same manner, La Picola, the *emporion* of the indigenous (Iberian) town of *Ilici* (Elche) with an “urban plan” became a regular subdivision of the town, similar to Regisvella (Le Murelle) near Vulci, becoming a dependent territory of Marseille. The distant Greek power thus prevailed over the local power.

The case of Thasos is also unusual but it was the peculiarity of the geographical situation of the city whose *chôra* was insular which determined everything. The *polis* of Thasos could not repatriate the *emporia* of the Thracian *peraia* onto its island because it would open the space to all the other cities and especially those of Chalkidiki: Thasos would sometimes turn *emporia* into “satellite settlements” (*Thasion polis*) (Herodotus VII.108)—like Marseille with its *ktismata*—but it maintained its remote activity in the *emporia* on the opposite coast (Thucydides I.100).

At this stage, we see a classic centre-periphery conflict. During the Classical era, the noisy trade of the agora and its *emporion* was exchanged for silent trade on the outskirts and in distant areas. The *emporion* left the borders to go to the heart of the *polis* and it is there that we will now follow its operation with ever increasing data (Bresson 2008).

At this point we should say, to finish, where the starting point was: on the African beach described by Herodotus (IV,196), in the silent trade so dear to anthropologists. In 1903, in an innovative essay, now forgotten, on “Silent Trade” (Grierson 1903), Grierson—who had read Herodotus—recalled the basic characteristics of this “mute exchange” (Parise 1976). Far from the agora and its noise, in an area where the law did not always exist: in fact, one *emporion* in southern Sicily bore the name of *eknomos* (Gras 2000), showing that it was not organised like Naucratis, with its *prostatai*. Here there was no regulation; there was no nearby power, so no *emporion*. There was therefore no contract to organise trade, such as those which interested Marcel Mauss and Georges Davy a century ago. There was therefore no collection of taxes, a fundamental aspect of the *emporion* (Ampolo 1994). This Africa is the Moroccan coast visited by the Phoenicians and then the Carthaginians—perhaps beyond the “Emporic Gulf” (*emporikos kolpos*) described by Strabo, (XVII.3.3)<sup>8</sup>—or before its establishment, but nothing can be proved. In any case, this is far from the agora, in the borders of the *oikoumene*.

Thus, the theoretical course of the *emporia* was towards the agora. It was not by chance that, only a few years only after his major work on the *emporion* (Lepore 1970), Lepore wrote an apparently simpler article on the river-*polis* partnership in Greece (Lepore 1977; with the issue of seaworthiness obviously important).

8. The Gulf of Kouass?

In fact, the system of *apoikiae* from the second half of the 8th century BC disrupted the previous operation in which relationships between Greeks and the indigenous population were made through the rivers. This explains the presence of Greek material anterior to the first *ktiseis* at Villasmundo in the middle valley of the Marcellino, near the probable seat of the indigenous king Hyblon<sup>9</sup>. This is the very king who, according to Thucydides, sometime later gave part of his territory to the Greeks for the foundation of *Mégara Hyblaea*. Even though the mouth of the Marcellino has revealed few archaeological items (it has been at the heart of an industrial zone since the start of the fifties) the presence of an emporic base is probable. We are in a location on the borders between the *poleis* of Leontinoi and *Mégara Hyblaea* but also at the southern limit of the Chalkidian domain (Gras 2002).

## 5 Sanctuaries

During this whole process, I have deliberately left aside the important question of sanctuaries. We can again start from Polanyi and his vision of “embedded” economics. In the societies of the time, religion was everywhere, but it was not isolated. Organised trade only happened in connection with the power of the sanctuaries and those who served them. However, the question for the archaeologist is whether a site should be excluded from the category of *emporia* if the sanctuary is not attested: we know the risks of the *ex silentio* argument, especially for fragile sites which are often little explored. At the same time, sanctuaries can often be found at river mouths. They are the condition for the *emporion* but is their presence alone sufficient to speak about *emporia*? Clearly not, and one finds the problem of the *ex silentio* argument, inverted. Caution is all the more necessary as sanctuaries were mostly on the periphery and not at the heart of the *emporion*: Boardman’s Chios model remains valid (Boardman 1967), with its sanctuary dominating the port. In this context, the only valid approach is to rely on the data but not to exclude any possible perspectives, because excluding them would be destructive and limiting.

The example of the central Italian coast is enlightening. Although Torelli’s evidence for Gravisca has gained support, we can see that the analysis for Pyrgi is not simple. This famous site, often classed as an *emporion*, has not produced decisive information in this regard and Colonna has sometimes shown reluctance to class Pyrgi as an *emporion* (Colonna 2010: 282): Pyrgi remains a sanctuary by the sea (Fig. 2), not even near a river mouth although connected to the local town, the centre of power (Caere), by a road since the 6th century BC. In fact, literary sources show that Caere had two other suitable sites: Ladispoli to the south of Pyrgi and Punicum (Santa Marinella) farther north. However, these two sites have not been explored enough for decisive archaeological answers. We must therefore avoid any “emporomania”...

However, the Pyrgi tablets, both in Etruscan and Punic (Fig. 3), bear witness to Punic visitation (also assumed in Punicum but not proven) and indirectly to institutional pro-

9. According to a happy intuition of Rosa Maria Albanese.

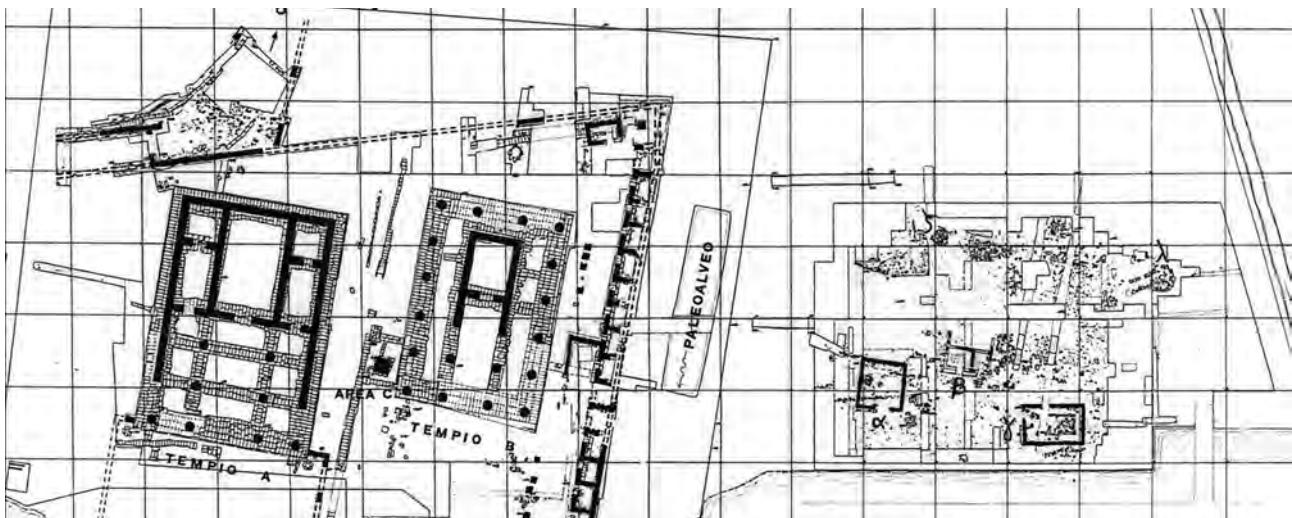


Fig. 2—The sanctuary of Pyrgi, with the two sacred areas (after Belotti et al. 2012: 50, fig. 2).

cesses. This is confirmed by the first treaty between Rome and Carthage in 509 BC with the presence of a herald and a scribe for transactions, and the reference to *demosia pistis* or *fides publica*: the State guarantee (Maffi 2006), which could be similar to the concept of *emporion* but once again the solution must be sought in a broader view and in connection with Ladispoli. Here, the *emporion* could be part of a more complex and articulated system.

More recently, in the south of Rome, research on the sites of Fosso dell'Incastro and *Castrum Inui* have given rise to analyses (Torelli 2011 and 2016) in which the concept of *emporion* does not appear, as the important archaeological information which has been collected for the 6th century BC only mentions sanctuaries near a river mouth, sometimes close to the local power (the Rutuli at Ardea—which did not become a Latin colony of Rome until 442 BC—for *Castrum Inui*) and sometimes a little more remote (the Latins at Lavinium for Fosso dell'Incastro). There is an additional difficulty with this region: since the 4th century BC in particular, this coastline was associated with myths about the landing of Aeneas in connection with the founding of Rome (the Trojan legend). It is enough to think about Virgil. It is therefore necessary to clearly identify and isolate the data—literary

as well as archaeological—prior to the appearance of these myths, which is not always a simple task. The two sites are near the mouths of small rivers (the Numicius and the Fosso dell'Incastro). There is a well-documented spring at *Castrum Inui*, and the two divinities referred to are Inuus in one case and Indiges in the other, whose functions are close (reference to Sol). For the northernmost site, Fosso dell'Incastro, it is possible that the sanctuary was connected with a funerary cult around 570 BC, around an orientalizing aristocratic grave (datable from about 680 BC) and nearby (where the famous *herōon* of Aeneas was later located). From this cult, we have notably a wine amphora which was identified as Etruscan (Gras 1981). Despite this, there is actually nothing there which automatically designates this as an *emporion*. On the same date, 570 BC, construction of temple B of Fosso dell'Incastro, the oldest one, seems to have begun (Fig. 4). I must add that between Caere and Pyrgi there was also a large burial mound (Montetosto) with a cult which in the VIIth century gave rise to the construction of a religious structure, perhaps in connection with the stoning of the Phocaeans of Alalia (Herodotus I.167). The parallel is suggestive. At Pyrgi, as at Fosso dell'Incastro, we seem to be far from the *emporion* but we are in the same chronological context. Furthermore, in Ostia as in Circeo, immediately to the north and south of Lavinium and Ardea, a cult of Sol Indiges appears to be attested. There is a growing sense, here again, of the need for an overall coastal interpretation.

However, a certain cultural homogeneity on these still politically divided shores (Etruscans to the north of the Tiber, Latins and Rutuli to the south) can only come from an external impact. From this point of view, it is useful to return to the first Rome-Carthage treaty (Scardigli 1991). Towards the middle of the 2nd century BC, thus shortly before the destruction of Carthage by Rome in 146 BC, Polybius read the text of the treaty in archaic Latin, and transcribed it, with some difficulty, into Greek (Polybius III.22). The clause concerning Latium has been relatively less analysed than that relating to Africa, which contains the difficult question of the location of the “nice headland”. However, in this Latium clause it is stated that Rome was presenting itself as



Fig. 3—The Pyrgi Tablets. Facsimile of the laminated sheets of gold with inscriptions, both in Phoenician (A) and Etruscan (B-C) (Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome) (Public domain).

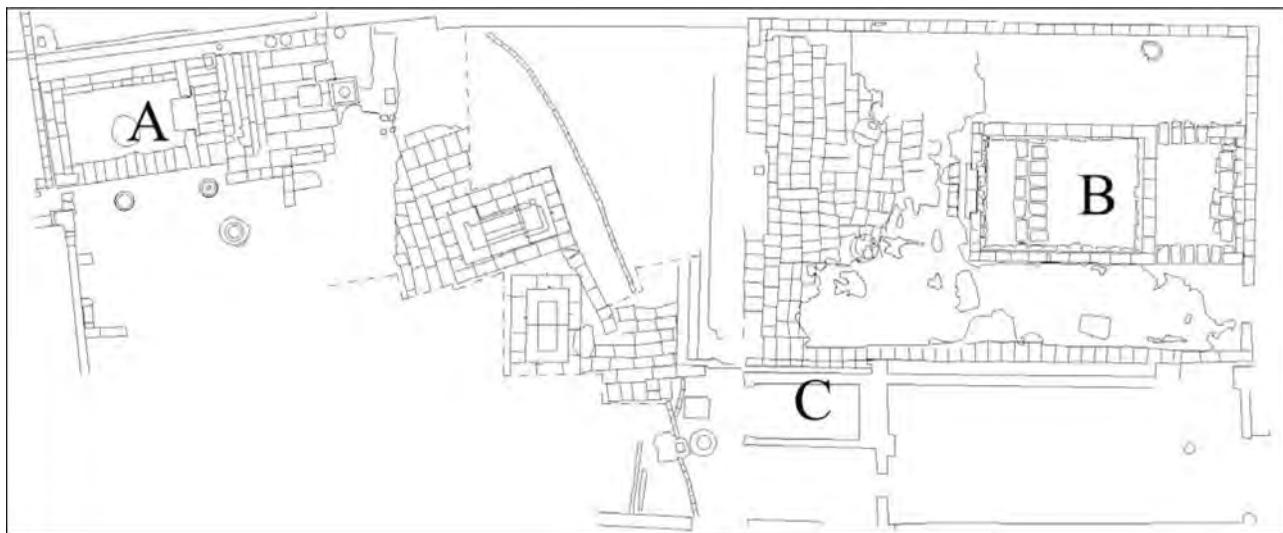


Fig. 3—The sacred complex of Castrum Inui (Ardea) / Fosso dell'Incastro. A: Republican temple; B: archaic and late archaic temple; C: shrine of the god Aesculapius (after Di Mario 2014: 220, fig. 10).

a protector of the Latium coastal settlements; Ardea, to be exact, and further south: Ardea, Anzio, Laurentum (?), Circeo, Terracina. We know from Livy (I.57–60) that the Etruscan king of Rome, Tarquin the Superb, lost power when he besieged Ardea in 509 BC, probably shortly before the swearing of the treaty by the new republican power. This clause seems to have been strongly influenced by the most important events of the time. The new power wanted to remain a model for this close region and seemed to resist Carthaginian pressure.

Indeed, as has already been noted, one is struck by the asymmetry between the two clauses in terms of trade: whilst for Sardinia and Africa, details are given on the methods of commercial transactions (the herald and the scribe, the *demosia pistis, supra*), for Sicily there is a general reference to Carthaginian law, here there is nothing like the same. The Carthaginians cannot spend a night in Latium territory nor build forts there (*phrouria*) but nothing is said about trade. One can certainly read into this the freedom to trade during the day with the obligation to go back on board in the evening; a practice which is better adapted to the African beach of Herodotus than to the daily business of the *emporion*. We can also suppose that previous texts regulated this issue of this shore, in parallel with the Etrusco-Punic alliance of the 540s (Herodotus I.166) in which the *symbola* between the Etruscans and the Punics are mentioned by Aristotle (*Politics* III.9.6.1280). This emphasises the common institutional dimension of these agreements.

Thus, there are obviously some topical issues in the background of the 509 BC agreement. Carthage already had links with the Etruscans and now that they had lost power to Rome, wanted to extend practices to Latium which are not mentioned because they are self-evident and no longer pose any problem. The drafting of the clause accepted by Rome had the sole aim of protecting the coastal populations of Latium but obviously not of prohibiting the Carthaginians from visiting them, rather the contrary. There must be protection because there is visitation. It regulates the operation of a

coastline which already had links with Carthage but which was not yet Roman.

The archaeological structures revealed on the Latium coast are obviously part of this discourse, since they can be dated from the 6th century, starting from about 570 BC. This means that this coastline was well organised with regularly distributed sanctuaries (and there was obviously coastal navigation to visit them). It is difficult to imagine that there were no trading places on this shore but as of yet there has been no direct archaeological evidence to prove it. To the best of our current knowledge, the sanctuaries were central. They were local and open to foreigners but were here the link between the local power and the sailors.

## 6 Names and the Relationship to Power

The history of the *emporion* is in fact a history of a strange relationship with power: power did not rest within the *emporion*, the latter being controlled at a distance, and that distance was variable. The *emporion* could have been several hours' or even several days' walk from the indigenous capital. The agora, on the other hand, was only a few minutes away from the *emporion*. The territorial chiefs controlled the *emporion*, which was therefore part of their area. Then the Greek city, when it existed, took over from the local power and the *emporion* of Gela or of Agrigento, for example, became the city's port. The names of the *polis* and of the *emporion* are confused because they were spatially one and the same. Going to the *polis* was going to the *emporion*.

Corinth had an *emporion* (Thucydides I.13.5) but had two ports about 12 km apart (Lechaion and Kenchreai). This question perturbed Will (Will 1994) but I will not have the audacity to follow him when he proposes to interpret the reference to *emporion* as a general reference to the market (London or Milan market, he writes, p. 19). This singular from

Thucydides is troubling, more than that of Strabo (VIII.6.20). In fact, the use of the singular is perfectly justified by the fact that the two ports were under a single management, that of the city and its representatives: writing that Corinth had two *emporia* (the correct formulation for Will) would have meant that the two *emporia* were independent of each other. The technical dimension of the landing stage (*limen, epineion*) is of little importance in this. It is the institutional framework which is important. The ports thus each have their name (as the streets have their names), the *emporion*, not because it is being confused with the city of which it is only a dependent territory, a service, at most.

The case of Tartessos was different because there was no *polis*. According to the informant of Herodotus (I.163 and IV.152), Tartessos was both the name of the landing area and the trading area, and thus the *emporion*, and also that of its territory and its place of power, under the control of King Arganthonios who was not king of the *emporion*—which would be absurd—but of the territory in which it was located. In fact, Herodotus' source was not local but external and attributed the name of Arganthonios' seat of power to the *emporion*. It is not possible to know at the moment whether Arganthonios lived near the *emporion* or far away from it, but he certainly did not live in it. It is possible that the *emporion* was located on the site of modern Huelva: “beyond the Strait” is the only geographical indication given in the text.

In general, we do not know the name of the *emporion*. Unless it was precisely named *Emporion* as at Empúries or Chios (*Emporeios* according to a late medieval funerary inscription) (Boardman 1967). Having a name would mean having an autonomous institutional framework, which was not the case. Naucratis, as we have seen, was the name of the indigenous city which was a centre of power, like Tartessos, and *Hellenion* was not the name of the *emporion* but of its main sanctuary.

The question of the *Hellenion* allows one last important clarification on the question of power: it was managed by the nine cities of Asiatic Greece mentioned by Herodotus, but to me, this does not mean that these Greek cities managed the *emporion* remotely. Their power was limited to the operation of the sanctuary (*contra* Bresson amongst others but who recognises “the sovereignty of Egypt”).<sup>10</sup> This does not mean that the Greek sanctuary did not collect taxes but it was the local Egyptian power who had overall management of the *emporion*. The *prostatai* cited by Herodotus were the Greek representatives of the cities who negotiated with the local power. They cannot have had an autonomous role. This calls the entire *emporion* model into question.

The *emporion* was therefore born as a manifestation of a place of power. In the Mediterranean, prior to the *apoikiae*, or without *apoikiae*, this power was indigenous. When the *poleis* were founded, they quickly became centres of power (although this was not the Phoenicians' doing but that of the Punics in imitation of the Greeks) and this influenced their relationship with the *emporia* which were then reintegrated: the *emporion* became the port, or (as in Corinth, for example) all the ports of the city.

10. Bresson, in BRESSON, ROUILLARD 1993: 185.

## 7. After Writing and Before Coinage

In the history of the Mediterranean, the emporial model naturally and logically involves two other major cultural mutations: the development of writing and the appearance of coinage.

Since the Mycenaean period, linear B demonstrated the use of writing exclusively for purposes of Palace officials. This first major experiment was not long lived: born within the heart of power, writing logically disappeared when this power collapsed. It seems to have started up again in the Greek world in the first half of the 8th century with the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet. This passage from Phoenician to Greek is suggestive if we recall what has just been said about the initiating role of the Phoenicians: at that time, Phoenician *emporia* were still active. We can therefore assume that this adoption of the alphabet followed by a slow emergence linked to the learning of writing practices interfered with the passage from *prexis* to *emporie*. The traditional theory of the mercantile origin of the alphabet must be viewed in this sense. However, Polanyi's approach must be kept in mind as it is useful here. The progressive permeation of new practices and new signs does not take place in an isolated sector—economics—and writing is therefore “embedded”, deeply inserted in all social practices. Thus, it was correct to note that the first written attestations were not referring to trade. In the following century, the Etruscans borrowed the Euboean alphabet and the female element of Etruscan society was particularly linked to writing (Bagnasco Gianni 1996) which is not surprising from what we know of the role of women in Greek and Etruscan societies. There is no incompatibility, in fact the opposite, between the female element and the practice of trade.

Unlike the Mycenaean phase, this was no longer within the framework of a technical and specialised practice. Al Mina has often been viewed as the favoured site for the passage between the Phoenicians and the Greeks<sup>11</sup> but this is due to the fact that Al Mina is our only model of a “port of trade” (*supra*). It is therefore probably necessary to qualify this point and to search more generally for the place, or more precisely, the places of transmission in the sites—Phoenician or Greek—visited by both the Phoenicians and Greeks: Cyprus, Crete, Pithekoussai, and Carthage are also possible places and the list is not exhaustive. This is all the more so as alphabet variants exist. Ownership marks and more broadly trademarks on vases and especially marks on amphorae (from the middle of the 8th century at Pithekoussai)<sup>12</sup> are today important for analysing the emergence of writing practices. This system became progressively specialised in parallel with the increasing complexity of trading practices but also, probably, with social practices of which there is no trace.

With currency, the situation is even more complex. In the Mycenaean past, oxhide ingots were already drawing attention to the role of beef: beef was the measure of value in Homer's world and Hesiod's. Later, the myth of the Golden Fleece would exalt this in another form, livestock being

11. Assessment in LOMBARDO 1988.

12. Johnston, in CORDANO 2004.

identified with wealth. This is in Ancient Greece of the 8th and 7th centuries, in a society in which the land was the main source of wealth and where labour was the fundamental skill. Precious goods were stable (*keimelia*), were not circulated, and were kept in the *thalamos* at the heart of the house. The abstract notion of value (Gernet 1948; Parise 2000) would gradually become embodied in pre-monetary indicators which were circulating. We can see circulation begin in parallel with the rise in maritime trade: drinking cups and valuable objects circulated within the framework of social practices (Scheid Tissinier 1994) and after the first games at Olympia in 776 BC the *agalmata* (precious goods in Homer, later offerings) multiply. The emergence of coinage, that is to say struck metal with a value which is abstract but is recognised by the *polis*, here again went on in parallel with the development of the *emporìe* without there being a direct link. However, there was a political authority behind the city which guaranteed the value of the currency. The finds of the Artemision of Ephesus are important but after some debate the first struck currency was dated to the last quarter of the 7th century BC (Parise 1980: 53–54). This was at precisely the time when the *emporìe* was asserting itself as a model of trade. *Emporìe* and currency relied on the *poleis* which—in the context of the easternising phenomenon—experienced a qualitative leap in the method of managing trade. A strong political power, an intense circulation of goods, a tool to measure value: these were the changes taking place. Here it was the Greeks and not the Phoenicians who led the field. There was also a qualitative leap, which means it impossible to believe that currency was merely the result of the pre-monetary indicators known to the East and thus the Phoenician world. The break occurred at the level of the *polis*. The pre-*emporìa* visited by the Phoenicians could not issue currency; nor could the *emporìa* visited by the Greeks.

The sequence of writing-*emporìe*-currency is therefore fundamental and complex. It cannot be understood without linking the most global and most archaic social practices with the emergence of a strong political power. It demonstrates the validity of some of Polanyi's intuitions but in a Mediterranean world which was not politically coherent and where the seats of power were in the process of being stabilised many other concepts are required. Indigenous power is often overlooked in the face of those of the *poleis*, and the Phoenician world was still too centred first on the power of Tyre, then on that of Carthage.

## 8 From *Emporia* to Ghost Towns

This curious title is a reference to a mostly forgotten book, written by an engineer of bridges and highways, Charles Lenthéric, who published *Les villes mortes du golfe de Lyon (sic)* in 1879 (Lenthéric 1879). The author showed how the languedocian coastline, marginalised in his time, had been an active place in the past with towns, such as the well-named Aigues-Mortes, being examples of this. It is easy to reproduce this analysis in a similar way for real or supposed *emporìa*. Languedocian archaeology has allowed us to resurrect a series of major sites over the past thirty years, sites which have disappeared

today in the context of what Lenthéric calls the “paludal phase” (*ibid.*: 443), clearly malaria. They vanished into lakes, into suburbs or even during excavations: from east to west, Espeyran, Le Cailar, La Cougourlude, Lattara, La Monedièr, Pech Maho, Peyriac-de-Mer and so many others. The Languedoc coastline between the 6th and 3rd centuries BC thus functioned as a shoreline of *emporìa*<sup>13</sup> with facilities at nearly all the river mouths. Headlands were landmarks or seamarks, as Leucate was for Avienus amongst the large circle of white Mediterranean rocks which were dear to the Pisan professor Giuseppe Nenci. Sanctuaries are often missing but we have documentary evidence of the settlement of Etruscans at Lattes/St-Sauveur, the ancient *Lattara* (Py 2009). The discovery of the Etruscan and Greek inscriptions at Pech Maho (Sigean)—which have become major documents in understanding archaic commercial transactions since their publication (Lejeune et al. 1988)—are proof of them: they not only gave us the Etruscan name of Marseille (*Matalia*) (Colonna 1988) but also, for the first time, confirmation of the Greek practice of security deposits (*arrabōn*) (Ampolo 1990 and 1994). The hinterland of the Languedoc coastline contained centres which cannot be described as urban, and even less so as *poleis*, but which were the seats of local power: they were the predecessors of our modern cities, such as *Sextantio* (Castelnau-le-Lez) near Montpellier, or Mailhac, then Montlaurès near Narbonne and Ruscino near Perpignan.

Lenthéric was reflecting at a time when in France, under the impetus of Emile Desjardins (the discoverer of the Greek site of Histria near the mouth of the Danube in present-day Romania), the coastlines were receiving new attention. He wrote: “je ne sais ce que ce pays deviendra pour les générations futures: c'est peut être un rivage plein d'espérances, pour moi c'est une terre de souvenirs”<sup>14</sup> (Lenthéric 1879: 3). I would also say this today, knowing that there are many Languedoc-type coastlines all around the Mediterranean and elsewhere which have today been even more forgotten. This is the case for the island of Chios, a halfway point for so many modern refugees. It is thus on the shores of southeast Asia, an “Asian Mediterranean” (Lombard 1990). We cannot build the future if we ignore the past.

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13. Most recently, GAILLEDRAT 2014.
14. “I do not know what this country will become for future generations: it may be a shore full of hope, for me it is a land of memories.”

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# Flexible Interfaces of the Ancient Mediterranean World

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Alain BRESSON

The ancient Mediterranean world was not culturally unified. Traveling to another region commonly meant being in contact with another culture. Along with soldiers and craftsmen, traders certainly formed one of the most numerous occupational groups among those who travelled abroad of their own free will (this specification being necessary as reduction to slavery of formerly free populations was also commonly followed by forced migration). Their presence could be temporary, as in the case of itinerant traders, or more permanent, as in the case of traders who would settle abroad. For both categories, this commonly meant being in contact with groups of various ethnicities. These contacts can be envisaged in their political, social and religious dimension, in the perspective of the constitution of identities and of social groups where cults played a fundamental role, and also in their economic dimension, given that ethnic or religious definitions played a major role in the interactions between economic actors, whether by facilitating them or by hindering them.

The research that I had the privilege to coordinate with Pierre Rouillard in 1993 on the concept of the *emporion* revealed the complexity of the notion of place of commerce in the multicultural environment of the ancient Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup> It showed, *inter alia*, that in the Archaic and Classical Mediterranean, but also later, for instance on the route to India, the Greeks were far from being always in a power relationship with local populations, but rather had often to submit to rules dictated by them (Bresson 1993). Thus, they had to win recognition of legal rights to be able to establish communities of traders in non-Greek areas. In this, it seems that their situation was originally not fundamentally different from non-Greeks seeking, for various reasons, to settle in the Greek cities. However, a major shift in relations with foreigners began to appear in the Greek cities in the Classical period (first of all in Athens). It was accentuated

in the aftermath of Alexander's conquest, which saw the Greeks becoming the "ruling element" in the territories of the former Persian Empire. Hellenism was no longer only one culture among many. It became the paradigm of political and cultural community life.

The original research in *L'emporion* came before the development of analyses in terms of New Institutional Economics.<sup>2</sup> This new conceptual framework invites us to re-examine the impact of the previously described global cultural environment on the forms of contacts between foreign traders and their host communities, as well on the organizations of communities of foreigners in a foreign milieu, their forms of continuity, but also their transformations between the Archaic and Hellenistic periods.

## 1. The Archaic Tradition

The world of the Archaic and Classical Mediterranean was sharply divided, both politically and culturally. In the East, from the end of the Archaic period, the immense Persian Empire, which extended from the shores of the Aegean to Central Asia and northern India, brought a political unification that did not suppress the local cultural and institutional dynamics. As for the Greeks, they were present on many shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and sometimes in the hinterland. When there was no autonomous Greek settlement that had been planted beforehand, the traders and other travellers who came to the lands that belonged to those people whom the Greeks called "barbarians" had to submit to the rules decided by non-Greek authorities. The rule applied to those who touched land for a short time to perform trade. It applied also to those who received the right to settle and form a community that was under the political control of the local, "barbarian" state. In this case, one crucial element of the recognition by the

1. See the contributions in the volume *L'emporion* (BRESSON and ROUILlard 1993). The definition of the concept of *emporion* gave rise to a lively discussion, on which see especially ROUILLARD 1995, WILSON 1997 and HANSEN 2006. This debate is excellently presented by DEMETRIOU 2011 (see also SCHWEIZER 2007 and KRÄMER 2016). As a short postscript to my own views (BRESSON 1993), I would only like to note that I still prefer to "reify" analyses an approach in terms of "axes of interpretation", the political and the commercial, which gives more flexibility to the analysis of our sources.

2. On the application of this model to ancient Greek history, see BRESSON 2016, 15–27, with bibliography. For the question of the communities of traders, see the debate relating to the forms of trade in the Middle Ages between GREIF 2006, especially 379–405 (concluding remarks), who puts the emphasis on cultural path dependence and GOLDBERG 2012, who insists on the flexibility of trade institutions and their reactivity to global institutional change.

foreign authority of the settlers' rights was the granting of legal protection, and another one, no less significant and closely linked to the former, was the right to perform its own religious rites (Daniels 2014).

Famous examples of Greek settlements that were institutionally under the control of local states are Gravisca in the west, a settlement under the control of the Etruscan city of Tarquinia; the *emporion* located in inland Thrace that was under the control of the Odrysian kings; and Naucratis in Egypt, under the control of the autonomous dynasties of Egypt or of the Persian Empire during the period when this kingdom occupied Egypt (between 525 and c. 406 BC and between 343 and 332 BC).<sup>3</sup> These three sites are known both from archaeological discoveries and from written sources (inscriptions and in addition literary sources for Naucratis). In these three sites, which corresponded to smaller (at Gravisca) or larger (at the Thracian *emporion* and above all at Naucratis) permanent Greek communities, we observe the presence of various sanctuaries. At Gravisca, these were the sanctuaries of Hera, Apollo, Aphrodite, and probably also Demeter and the Dioskouroi (Demetriou 2012; Fiorini 2014a and b; Potts 2015: 134–35 for the architecture). At the Thracian *emporion*, the situation is less clear, but Dionysos, a great god both among the Greeks and Thracians, was invoked in oaths, as referred to in the inscription of "Pistiros".<sup>4</sup> At Naucratis, the sanctuaries were those of Zeus Hellanios, for the nine cities of Asia Minor that also provided the administrators of the *emporion* (*prostatai emporiou*), Zeus for the Aiginetans, Hera for the Samians, Apollo for the Milesians, and Aphrodite (a sanctuary that cannot be attributed to people originating from a specific city) (Bresson 2000: 36–40 and 74; Möller 2000: 94–116; Demetriou 2012: 1128).

It is clear that this type of privileged settlement for foreign traders was not something specific to Greek travellers abroad. The same institutional rules applied to relations between non-Greek peoples. The three gold tablets found at Pyrgi, the port of the Etruscan city of Caere (north of Rome), have revealed direct contacts with the Phoenician world. Two of the tablets are in Etruscan, while the third is in Phoenician. The text is a dedication of a sanctuary of the Etruscan goddess Uni (the equivalent of Mater Matuta of the Latins and Romans) by the Caeretan big-man Thefarie Velianas. In the Phoenician version, the goddess is assimilated to Astarte<sup>5</sup>. The tablets

3. The literature on these sites is enormous. Denise Demetriou's recent book (DEMETRIOU 2012 presents a full reappraisal of the state of research for Gravisca (64–104), "Pistiros" (153–87) and Naucratis (105–52). See also below for supplementary recent bibliography. For the *emporion* in the Thracian hinterland, the name of "Pistiros" has been accepted by most scholars (see the discussion in HATZOPoulos 2013, 15–16, who also accepts this identification), but this view cannot be accepted (see already the doubt of TZOCHEV 2015, 417–19, with references; a full demonstration will be made in another publication). On the site and the inscription, see also GRANINGER 2012 (but who is unconvincing in his view that the document is not a guaranty of the rights of various groups of traders on behalf of an authority that can be no other than an Odrysian ruler successor of Kotys I).

4. SEG 43 486 (*IGBulg* V 5557ter), l. 3; on the cult of Dionysos in Thrace, see RABADIEV 2015, 446.

5. SCHMITZ 1995 for the Phoenician inscription (the text is in "Mediterranean Phoenician", similar to the dialect of Kition in Cyprus, and is neither Byblian nor Punic: this supposes contacts with the eastern

thus reveal that this Etruscan city has a good chance to have been the home of a Phoenician community, which parallels the situation of the Greeks at Gravisca, farther north.

For the Greek traders in Thrace, thanks to an inscription, and for Naucratis, thanks both to the testimony of Herodotus (2.178–79) and to various inscriptions, we have texts that help us to frame the political, economic and religious privileges that were granted to the settlers.<sup>6</sup> The treaties between Rome and Carthage reported by Polybius, the first one being dated in principle to 509 BC and being thus contemporary with the Pyrgi tablets, also show that the relations between Carthaginians and Romans (for Carthaginians in Rome and Italy and for Romans in Carthage and Carthaginian possessions) were formally regulated (Bresson 2004).

A special case must be made for the religious side of these privileges. Practicing a cult to pay tribute to the divinity for its own existence meant thereby defining oneself in terms of ethnic origin, social community, family group, or gender identity. For this reason, it was a fundamental dimension of the life of everyone, whatever the culture to which he or she belonged. Given that cults and forms of worship varied from one culture to another, *per se*, the foreign gods could be considered an unacceptable threat to the local deities. Greeks could occasionally find some forms of assimilation into local societies, as can be observed in the Etruscan world, at Tarquinia, or at Adria and Spina (Bourdin 2006). But for those who were only transitory visitors, or who wanted to settle in another land while keeping their specific identities, having their right to practice their own cults acknowledged was critical. It was not synonymous with integration, precisely because the practice of cults was a marker of difference, but with social acceptance. In the Greek cities, even Greek foreigners needed to receive a special privilege to be allowed to sacrifice on the altars of the city. On the territories of non-Greek powers, Greek residents had to receive special privileges from local authorities to erect their own sanctuaries, as was the case in Egypt at Naucratis.

The linguistic diversity of the Archaic and Classical Mediterranean often translated into the linguistic diversity of the formal documents regulating relations between the visitors and their hosts. We saw that the Pyrgi tablets were bilingual. In Egypt, the Greeks of Naucratis used their own language for the decrees or dedications they made in their sanctuaries. But it was of course in hieroglyphics that Pharaoh Nektanebo I wrote the decree—found in two almost identical versions on two stelae, one at Thonis-Herakleion, the port at the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile, the other one at Naucratis—providing that one-tenth of the tax on imports by sea would be dedicated to the sanctuary of the goddess Neith at Sais (Von Bomhard 2012).

In Karia and Lykia, where Greek had already penetrated to various degrees (actually more in Karia than in Lykia, among others because of the decision of the local Hekatomnid satraps

Phoenicians, and not with the Carthaginians); COLONNA 2005 and POTTS 2015: 94–95 for the site and its meaning.

6. Thrace: SEG 43 486, with DEMETRIOU 2012: 161–65, and HATZOPoulos 2013, who is fundamentally in the good direction with his proposal for the *crux* of ll. 24–25, although the detail of the restorations proposed is still not fully convincing; Naucratis: BRESSON 2000: 13–84 and DEMETRIOU 2012: 124–28.

to make Greek their official language), local languages, Karian and Lykian, were used in official documents. The trilingual inscription of Xanthos, a decree of the city of Xanthos of 337 BC establishing two new cults, was written in three languages: Aramaic (the lingua franca of the Achaemenid Empire), Lykian and Greek. As late as the 320s (probably), an honorific decree of the Karian city of Kaunos was written in two languages, first in Karian, then in Greek (Marek 2013). Administrative documents, such as customs records, were written in the local administrative languages, such as Aramaic in Egypt, as we know from a papyrus of 475 BC (Porten, Yardeni 1993; Briant, Descat 1998).

In this context, the role of interpreters, what medieval and later sources define as dragomans, was crucial. The medieval and early modern dragomans were not only interpreters in a restricted sense of the word. Their role was vital for diplomacy (Lewis 2004: 18–32). But they played also the role of middlemen and brokers for traders, for instance between Christian (Italian) and local Muslim merchants in the ports of North Africa in the medieval period, where they provided not only translations, but advice on how to deal with local authorities and contacts, including directly for business (Bruce, forthcoming).

There is good reason to believe that ancient interpreters must also have played this role. To begin with, one should observe that language differences could create major tensions. The fact is well attested for the famous real or fictional character of Wenamun, who in the 11th century BC left Egypt to obtain cedar from Lebanon for the temple of Amun at Thebes. On his return journey to Egypt and while stopping over in Cyprus, he is nearly lynched by a mob, obviously because he cannot make himself understood. He is saved in extremis when a local man who speaks Egyptian can intercede in his favour (Schipper 2005; Winand 2011). Interpreters were thus of the utmost importance for visitors to a foreign country.

It is probably because their language was not used by many speakers, and also because from an early date they were bilingual in Karian and Greek, that Karian interpreters gained a high reputation. Indeed, we have a series of references to their role in Babylon, Cyprus, Egypt and Greece (Herda 2013: 467–71). Herodotus (II.154.2) mentions for Egypt the case of the interpreters (*hermēneis*), who were originally young Egyptians whose education had been entrusted to Greeks. From the excavations of Lindos, in Rhodes, we have a late fifth century decree of the Rhodian federation in honour of one of these interpreters, an Egyptian of Naucratis, who bears a Greek name.<sup>7</sup> It is certainly possible that, beyond his role for translation, this interpreter played an active role to help the Rhodians doing business in Egypt.

In these cases, we observe communities of foreigners who receive the privilege of settling in quarters that are geographically and legally distinct from the host, indigenous communities. The main function of the foreign communities is to play the role of intermediaries for long-distance trade, although as is clear at Naucratis, Gravica, and the Thracian emporion with the presence of artisans, and at the Thracian

emporion with some access to land, other activities were also performed by the foreigners of the guest communities.

The pattern of cultural interaction of the Mediterranean world in this period thus remains very diverse. There were many two-way cultural interactions between communities of traders or other immigrants in a foreign land and their hosts. This was the case for the Greeks of Gravica, whose gods could be assimilated to the local, Etruscan gods (more broadly, cultural transfers between Greeks and Etruscans were extensive).<sup>8</sup> This was the case at Pyrgi, too, where the local ruler took care of making a dedication in Phoenician to Astarte, who was the Phoenician counterpart of the goddess Uni. This was also the case in Egypt with the mixed communities of *Hellenomemphitai* or *Karomemphitai*, and more generally with the deep interaction between, for instance, Karians and Egyptians in various contexts.<sup>9</sup> But the fact remains that there was no common cultural language to integrate the various processes of interactions. In this sense, the Archaic and early Classical Mediterranean remained a cultural patchwork.

## 2 The Athenian Model

At first look, the legal and organizational situation of communities of foreign traders in Greece in the Classical period, at least in Athens, seems to be based on the same principles. Indeed, organizations representing some groups of privileged foreigners could receive the right to acquire landed property, to build their own sanctuaries and to practice their own cults.

The first case known to us is that of the Thracians, who received the right to acquire landed property to build a cult of the Thracian deity Bendis, whose cult, in all likelihood, was officially accepted as early as the late 430s. One way or another, this was probably part of the Athenian grand plan to get control over the lower Strymon valley, in western Thrace, and perhaps also to win the goodwill of the powerful Odrysian rulers.<sup>10</sup> The Thracians received the right to own landed property and to build a sanctuary, which they erected at Piraeus. The detailed description by Plato at the beginning of the *Republic* (1327a–b and 328a) of the alleged first celebration of the *Bendideia* in Athens attests (unsurprisingly) the presence of a large number of Thracians in the city. The public and impressive character of the celebration

8. Aphrodite could be assimilated to the Etruscan Turan, Hera to Uni, Demeter to Vei and Apollo to Suris (TORELLI 2014, 41–42 and FIORINI 2014b, 6062).

9. *Hellenomemphitai* and *Karomemphitai* as districts of the city of Memphis, see Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐλληνικὸν καὶ Καρικόν. Karians in Egypt: Fischer-Bovet 2014: 34–36; UNWIN 2017: 34–36. ADIEGO 2007: 30–128, for the Karian inscriptions in Egypt, and especially p. 34–79 (Memphis) for the deep interaction, in terms of type religious symbolism and type of reliefs, between the Karian and Egyptian elements. For the Phoenician element in Egypt, see SCHMITZ 2012: 32–53 (but, p. 42, the suggestion that for the Greeks the word *Aigyptios* meant “resident in Egypt”, and did not refer to an ethnic Egyptian, cannot be accepted: see BRESSON 2000: 28–36).

10. See the convincing analyses of ARNAOUTOGLOU 2015 for this interpretation and for the date of the introduction of the cult in Athens (PLANEAUX 2000–2001 preferred the date of 429 BC). See also JANOUCHOVÁ 2013 for the strange lack of evidence of the cult of Bendis in Thrace, and OSBORNE 2011: 140–43.

7. BRESSON 2000, 27–36 and 67; DEMETRIOU 2012, 124–28, who accepts our restoration “Egyptian of Naucratis” in the decree I.Lindos 16, l. 3–4.

in honour of the goddess, with the procession from the city to Piraeus and the night festival at Piraeus, which included a horse-race relay on horseback, attests to the fact that the city of Athens went beyond the simple acknowledgment of the cultic rights of the Thracians. In fact, it also attests a form of integration of the cult of Bendis into the Athenian religious and social landscape.

Socrates refers to a double procession—one on behalf of “locals” (*epichōrioi*), that is, obviously, of Athenians honouring Bendis, another one of the Thracians, that is, inevitably, of ethnic Thracians. Later however a dossier of texts reveals that there existed an association of *orgeōnes* that included citizens. There is good reason to think that the association regrouped both citizens and Thracian non-citizens (Wijma 2014: 149–52). The Thracians must have been living at Athens as metics, whether they had originally settled at Athens as free people, or as manumitted slaves (given the number of slaves of Thracian origin at Athens, this would not come as a surprise). Admittedly, a decree of the association of 240/239 BC shows that it tended to divide into two sub-groups, one which was established in Athens and which wanted to build its own sanctuary, and another one at Piraeus, which was in charge of the sanctuary that had been built at Piraeus almost two centuries earlier.<sup>11</sup> On this basis, it is tempting to hypothesize that the dual character of the association, the tensions within which the decree of 240/39 BCE may hint at, might be based on the desire of the Athenian community to distance itself from the lower status group at Piraeus. But what remains on the *longue durée* is the deep interaction between Athenians and Thracians around the cult of Bendis.

At Piraeus also, in 333/2 BC, the Phoenician merchants of Kition received on their request the right to have their own sanctuary of Aphrodite, the Greek name of their own goddess Astarte, just as the Egyptians had previously received the right to erect a sanctuary of Isis.<sup>12</sup> Besides, just as for the Thracians, in many aspects the Phoenicians could also integrate into Athenian life. They could bear fully Greek names, although they could also keep their Phoenician ones. Their funerary monuments could be similar to those of the Athenians. The inscriptions they wrote could be either in Greek or in Phoenician or in both languages. Some of the first rank bankers of the city at the turn of the fifth and fourth century were of Phoenician origin, and there is a good chance that this was also the case for the famous Pasion, the richest banker of the city in the fourth century, who was born a slave but who finally was granted the Athenian citizenship.<sup>13</sup>

11. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1283 (GRA I 23; AGRW 18).

12. *IG II<sup>3</sup>* 337, with l. 20–22 and 33–35 for the request and l. 43–45 the reference to the Egyptian sanctuary of Isis. For foreign cults in Piraeus, see GARLAND 2001: 112–113 (Aphrodite Ourania); Artemis Nana (the goddess of Uruk), 114; Baal or Bel, 117; 131; Bendis 118–22; Isis: 126–28; Sabazios: 132–33.

13. BÄBLER 1998: 115–55, provides all the *testimonia* relating to the Phoenicians in Athens (and more broadly, 155–206, a catalogue of all the *testimonia* relating to non-Greek foreigners in Athens, Egyptians, Jews, Karians, Lydians and Mysians, Paphlagonians, Persians, Phoenicians, Phrygian, Scythians, Syrians and Thracians, with pp. 207–295, a catalogue of the inscriptions); see also HARLAND 2009, 106–109; OSBORNE 2011: 124–29 and 2012.

In many respects, we observe that Classical Athens innovated by promoting a more integrative approach. The “Athenian nation” did not grant citizenship to the foreign communities living in Attica.<sup>14</sup> But, in Athens, foreigners did not live in a separate district, with a form of controlled autonomy under the authority of the state. Even if many of them resided in Piraeus, the port of the city, they could live and work in any part of the civic territory and the Piraeus was not a marginalized district (Roy 1998: 196–97). The grant of the right of land ownership and that of building a sanctuary granted to the organization that represented them did not constitute an acknowledgement of their right, and duty, to live in a separate district, at a distance from the city. In this sense, Athens was an “open access society”, and the right of residence was granted to any foreigner, Greek or metic, who would respect the law of the city. The right of land ownership and that of erecting a sanctuary devoted to an organization officially sanctioned the existence of a group of nationals, while at the same time it granted it a privilege that separated it from the other groups that were not acknowledged as such. Just as individuals could receive various privileges (right to land ownership, tax exemption, or other legal or honorific privileges), some groups could be similarly privileged.

The emulation that was encouraged between individual foreigners was thus mirrored by the emulation between the groups of foreigners. In this perspective, the “right to sanctuary” in fact differs sharply from the right traditionally granted to foreign communities observed at Naucratis, the Thracian *emporion* or Gravisca. Far from being relegated to the fringes of society, even with privileges of autonomy, foreigners received a specific place within the social and legal organization of the city. Receiving the privilege of having a sanctuary of their own was not a condition *sine qua non* for having the right to trade. This was only a way to distinguish some groups of foreigners, to their own benefit, but also to the benefit of the Athenians, which would reserve these privileges for the most loyal and cooperative groups of foreigners.

The otherness of foreigners is consequently dissolved and absorbed by the absorbing Athenian milieu. At Naucratis, at the Thracian *emporion*, or at Gravisca the Greeks keep their *mores*, their cults, their language and their names. The foreigners at Athens, on the other hand, are absorbed into the Athenian *koinē*. The rule applies to the Thracians, to the Egyptians and to the Phoenicians. As for the latter, some of their inscriptions are indeed bilingual. But this proves in any case that they could introduce themselves with a Greek identity. Even their body language seems to have been the object of a process of hybridization (Osborne 2011: 124–57, and 2012). In Athens, foreigners could be admitted to the most solemn public religious displays, like the processions in honour of those who had fallen on the battlefield for the defence of the city (Thucydides II.34.5.). This was all the more justified in that non-Athenians, even barbarians, could fight alongside the Athenians in their army.<sup>15</sup> Despite the recriminations of the most conservative sectors of the city, this open-minded attitude towards foreigners was the norm, as underscored

14. For the notion of “Athenian nation”, see COHEN 2000.

15. Xen. Vect. 1.2.3, who laments this situation.

by the speech of Perikles in 431.<sup>16</sup> Fully in line with this attitude, in their fourth-century business law, the famous *dikai emporikai*, the Athenians did not distinguish between citizens and foreigners, Greeks and non-Greeks: it was the nature of the case, that is maritime trade, that determined the laws that would apply to its legal treatment, not the origin of the persons involved (Cohen 1973; Vélißaropoulos 1980: 235–48; Bresson 2016: 284 and 322–24).

The absorbing strategy the Athenians adopted in interactions with foreigners was thus very different from the strategy of legal, social and geographical separation observed in other contexts. In many respects, this strategy anticipated what was to become the common model among the city-states of the Hellenistic Mediterranean, with Rome itself playing its own tune.

### 3 The new Characteristics of the Hellenistic World

Alexander's destruction of the Persian Empire saw a huge extension of Greek culture towards the East, up to Central Asia and northern India. Yet, the Hellenistic world was still politically fragmented. The conquest of Alexander might have given birth to a new Greek empire covering the same areas. In the Archaic and Classical period the Persian Empire had managed to provide a form of unity to a huge zone extending from Asia Minor and Egypt to India. But unity did not last after the early death of the conqueror in 323 BC.

A series of kingdoms soon emerged in place of a united empire. From the early 270s BC onwards the main ones were those of the Seleukids in Asia (from Asia Minor to India), of the Ptolemies in Egypt and of the Antigonids in Macedon. But a series of minor kingdoms should be added to the list. In Asia Minor, this encompassed the kingdoms of Pergamon (which was initially of small dimension, but after 188 BC was in control of the whole western part of Asia Minor), Bithynia, Pontos, Cappadocia and Armenia. In Iran and Central Asia, the third century saw the creation of the kingdoms of Parthia (ruled by a non-Greek dynasty) and of Bactria, which itself gave birth to a series of new Greek kingdoms in India. Including in this list the kingdom of Bosporos, one reaches around 200 BC a total of eleven kingdoms, not including the half-barbarian kingdoms or principalities of inland Thrace.

In the Classical period, there existed already a multitude of cities, Greek or non-Greek. Their number increased significantly in the Hellenistic period from fewer than one thousand to more than one thousand and three hundred. In addition, the creation of a small number of federal states—Aetolia, Achaia and Boeotia (in the tradition of pre-Hellenistic times in the last case) in mainland Greece, Lykia in Asia Minor—brought only a relative simplification, all the more so as the cities continued to exist within these federal states.<sup>17</sup>

In the west, by contrast, the rise of Rome resulted over time in a process of unification first of Italy (a process completed at the beginning of the third century), then of the whole western Mediterranean basin. This process of unification was famously marked by, among other events, the destruction of the Carthaginian empire in 202 BC, and then of Carthage itself in 146 BC. The unification of the West, the increasing political fragmentation of the East, and the progressive dominion established by Rome over the whole Mediterranean in the second and first centuries BC, are thus the decisive characteristics of this period.

Political fragmentation means also that the Hellenistic world was almost constantly at war (Chaniotis 2005). Mercenaries from all origins, exiles, slaves (and runaway slaves) were common characters in this world (Chaniotis 2004). War was a calamity for those who were its victims. But it was also for some a direct source of revenue. Furthermore, it was also a decisive creator of a bound work force, which was crucial in the form of development that was at the core of the economic system, with the creation of big farms producing high value commodities, oil and wine that would be profitably traded against any possible good (Bresson 2014). War and trade were not as antagonistic as one might suppose.

Indeed, one might think that the political fragmentation and the many wars translated into a cultural and economic depression. But this is not what we observe in this period. Quite the opposite, the Hellenistic world saw a growing intensification of trade relations, which can be measured by the growth of the number of shipwrecks that can be observed in this period—and the expansion of trade also obviously translates into a process of positive economic growth (Parker 1992; Wilson 2011; Kay 2014: 141–44). At a time when amphoras were still the unique means of transport of liquid goods, the increase in the number of shipwrecks carrying amphoras provides the most appropriate means of measuring the volume of trade and commercial trafficking in the Mediterranean area.

Of course, the Hellenistic world was not a world without frictions. But comparatively speaking, transaction costs were lower than in the previous period. The institutions of the Hellenistic cities were much more similar to one another than they had been in the Archaic and Classical periods. In the network they formed, that of a peer polity interaction, transactions were predictable and thus more secure than they had ever been (Ma 2003). More specifically, the existence of striking similarities in the border crossing procedures and of a common currency for international trade (despite the existence of closed currency systems) as well as, on the whole, low customs duties (even if they were far higher at the frontiers of the kingdoms than at those of the cities), allowed men, goods and ideas to circulate on an unprecedented scale and with unprecedented speed in the Mediterranean basin and beyond.<sup>18</sup>

What is more, despite the political fragmentation, the existence of a common cultural language famously allowed artistic patterns, fashions, inventions and all forms of cultural

16. Recriminations: Ps-Xen. *Ath.* 1.12, to be contrasted with Pericles's view in Thucydides II.39.1.

17. MACKIL 2013 for the leagues of mainland Greece; BEHRWALD 2000 for Lykia.

18. Border crossing: BRESSON 2007a; international currency on the Attic standard and closed currency systems: BRESSON 2016: 421–22; taxes at the border of Ptolemaic Egypt: BRESSON 2012.

constructs to circulate surprisingly easily from one end to the other of the Hellenistic world—literally, from Marseilles to central Asia or India or from *Pantikapaion* to southern Egypt. Indeed, specific cultural constructs also contributed heavily to the process of growth of the Hellenistic period. In the Eastern Mediterranean and up to Central Asia and India, the existence of a common language and cultural background and that of a common world of traders with the same business habits and the same cultural codes also helped considerably to decrease the volume of transaction costs.

### 3.1 The Common Cultural Interface

The common cultural interface is first based on the existence, broadly speaking, of both a common cultural heritage and a common language, *koinē* Greek. This represented a sharp difference with the situation that had prevailed before the Hellenistic period.

The pre-Hellenistic Eastern Mediterranean did not have a common language. The paradox of the Achaemenid Empire was that the language of the Persians themselves (“Old Persian”) had never been even the administrative language of the empire. It was spoken only in Iran and by the small Iranian communities scattered in the various provinces of the empire. Aramaic was the administrative language of the empire (although it never achieved an official status). It was commonly spoken in the Levant or in the small Aramaic-speaking diasporic communities (as for example in Egypt). Elsewhere, it was used only by the administrative circles and had no deep cultural impact. Local languages prevailed in all regions, the main ones being Persian and other Iranian languages, Elamite, Akkadian, Aramaic, Egyptian, Anatolian languages like Karian, Lykian or Phrygian, and of course Greek, which had begun its expansion in Asia Minor even before the conquest of Alexander.

With the military conquest of the Greco-Macedonians began a process that saw the Greek language becoming the universal language of communication of the elites, and thus also of trade. Most of the time the local languages did not disappear. If they did, as in western Asia Minor, it was a phenomenon that took centuries to become effective. Most of the regions of the Hellenistic world were actually bilingual. The disappearance of local languages as the language of power does not in any way mean that they were wiped out as a language of local communication and administration, as is proved for instance in Egypt by the existence of a series of inscriptions that are both in Greek and in local Egyptian.

In Asia Minor, which had experienced marked linguistic diversity, the elites and the people themselves more or less rapidly switched to Greek. The local languages were still spoken, but became sorts of “*patois*” that were not used beyond the circle of the family or village. In Egypt, the mass of the population in the countryside (probably around 95%) still spoke its native language. Demotic was still frequently used for written documents like contracts, but quantitatively Greek was dominant. As for the ruling elite, of Greek origin with some adjunctions of local Egyptians, of course it kept its Greek language. In Syria, local elites themselves switched *en masse* to Greek, which does not mean that they forgot their native

languages, and of course the mass of the populations kept their native languages, which were also written in parallel to Greek. In Mesopotamia, and above all Iran, central Asia, and northern India, Greek was the language of the small ruling elite, Greeks and local elites assimilated to Greeks, but the masses kept their languages. Thus, in terms of language the Hellenistic world remained very diverse. Besides, locally, the Hellenistic kings could perfectly address their subjects, especially the powerful priests of the local sanctuaries, in their local languages, Egyptian (under the form of texts in hieroglyphics or demotic) in Egypt, Akkadian in Mesopotamia. But the crucial point that differentiates the Hellenistic world from the Achaemenid Empire is the role of Greek as the common language of political communication between the various kingdoms and cities, as the language of daily life for the elites and for many urban populations, and as the language of long distance business.

With their language, and in large part through their language, the Greeks brought also their culture. Greek habits in terms of iconography and visual representations in general became the common patrimony of the various peoples, who expressed their traditional cultures in a form that was “Hellenic”. Beyond the purely formal aspect, this meant also that the local traditions were also reinterpreted, or could be reinterpreted, with reference to those of the Greek world. In terms of religion, this meant for instance that a Syrian god like Melqart, when reinterpreted as a Greek Heracles, could “communicate” with the Iranian Bahram (Frye 1984: 230; Nitschke 2013).

The many fictional genealogies created between cities, Greek and non-Greek, also made it possible to create networks that all together created the cultural community of the Hellenistic world.<sup>19</sup> Even the non-Greek Parthian kings made use of Greek for the legends of their coins, where they also defined themselves as “philhellenes”. Despite the particular nature of the kingdom, its very existence did not mean that the Eastern Greek kingdoms of Bactria and (later) of India were severed from the Greek homeland. Greek cities continued to exist within the frontiers of the Parthian empire, and the trading orientation of the kingdom could only confirm the role of Parthia as an intermediary between Greek central Asia and the Mediterranean.

The importance of the existence of a broadly defined common cultural and linguistic heritage should not be underestimated. It is in fact fundamental if we are to make sense of the establishment of common relations between partners which otherwise would have been of different cultural backgrounds. Using the same common language and sharing the same cultural values, at least for a specific type of communication (for politics and business), was a decisive factor in lowering transaction costs.

Whereas in the previous period trade with distant partners inevitably meant trading with people using a different language (hence the crucial role of interpreters), in the Hellenistic period, whether in Marseilles, Athens, Alexandria, Antioch in Syria, or Seleukeia on the Tigris (and beyond), Greek was now the common language of long-distance traders and port

19. CURTY 1995 for the legendary kinship relations between cities, and STAVRIANOPOULOU 2013.

authorities. At the end of the 2nd century BC, it is also in Greek that Sophy whole, the son of Naratos (two Hellenized names of Indian origin), expressed himself in the region of Kandahar (Alexandria in Arachosia) to celebrate in his epigram his own business achievements.<sup>20</sup> Contracts could be written in Greek from Marseilles to Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Iran, Central Asia, and probably northern India for a shorter period.

In itself, the existence of this shared linguistic and cultural heritage is a phenomenon the reasons for which are not self-evident. Why is it, for instance, that in Asia Minor no local power tried to build a state on the basis of a distinct and indigenous linguistic and cultural identity? The military and apparently cultural superiority of the Greeks is of course a factor that should not be neglected. But if we observe that the conversion to "Hellenism" began well before the Macedonian conquest, we must admit that other factors contributed to this transformation (Bresson 2007b, 223). Besides, in each regional situation, a detailed explanation is required.

A good test case is provided by Karia, where as early as the fourth century the local indigenous dynasts, the Hekatomnids, created under the shape of a Persian satrapy a local principality where Greek was the official language and where Greek habits were systematically encouraged. For the Hekatomnids, most likely, it seemed that in order to establish their political power over Karia, and then also over the neighbouring region of Lykia, Greek would be a far more efficient tool than Karian. It certainly became obvious to them that the Greek language would allow them to integrate the Greek cities of the coast and the indigenous regions of the coastal regions, where Greek obviously had already penetrated, into a common political unit. They must also have considered that the official adoption of the Greek language would allow their principality to become a new player in the Aegean or Mediterranean game.

In other words, the factors beyond purely military or political aspects that can help to explain why Greek became the unique language of communication of the Hellenistic world were already in place well before the conquest of Alexander. This explains why the kingdoms of Pontos or Cappadocia, and even later to some extent the Parthian kingdom in the first centuries of its existence, although in the hands of "non-Greek" dynasties, nevertheless adopted (or kept) both the Greek language and the language of Hellenism.

In this respect, the exceptions to the rule validate the model of a common linguistic and cultural heritage as a primary factor for facilitating transactions and lowering transaction costs. The difference between the Eastern and the Western Mediterranean is striking. While east of Sicily the Greek language was universally adopted, this was not the case in the West, where the resistance to Greek was backed by the creation of a large territorial state that kept its own language, and then imposed it first on all the peoples of Italy, and finally on all those of the Western Mediterranean world. Rome may have had all the appearances of a Greek city.<sup>21</sup> But it jealously kept its own language.

This finally created a linguistic divide between the Latin West and the Greek East. The creation of a large unified state in the west was also based on the existence of a distinct language of communication that, along with other factors, helped the Romans to shape their own political identity in a form that was different from the one that prevailed in the East. In turn, the existence of this new political area allowed them to monopolize the resources of this world to their own benefit, if they wished to. This is very clear for instance with the grain of Sicily, which the Romans kept for themselves as soon as they got control of the island during the First Punic War. In the course of time, the creation of the Roman dominion also produced a reorientation of trade destinations towards the west.<sup>22</sup>

Nonetheless, the linguistic differentiation did not disrupt the overall process of cultural transfers between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean. If they did not adopt the Greek language, Rome and Italy continued in this period to absorb the cultural heritage of the Eastern Mediterranean, just as they had done since the Early Iron Age. The linguistic divide in the Mediterranean was a limitation to communication. But the unification of the linguistic situation in the Western Mediterranean, where Latin became now the common language, also brought a simplification that anticipated the later linguistic bipartition of the Roman Empire.

Another special case, in the East this time, is provided by the revolt of Judah Maccabee in 167 BC and the creation of the Hasmonean kingdom after 140 BC. While in Egypt the local revolts failed to re-create a new stable, independent Egyptian state, in Judea, in the context of the disaggregation of the Seleukid kingdom, the anti-Hellenic movement was finally successful. There, religious separatism led to the creation of an autonomous state that promoted the usage of the Hebrew language and the strict reintroduction of the Jewish religious law. The creation of this new entity represents a rare trajectory in the framework of the Hellenistic world.

But even in this extreme case, two elements show that even the Jewish tradition could not totally separate itself from Hellenism. A Jewish scholar like Aristoboulos did not refrain from asserting that the major achievements of Greek thought and philosophy had been derived from Jewish precedents (Gruen 2016: 246–51). Likewise, the Hasmonean elite did not refrain from positing a link of kinship and direct cultural affinity with Sparta. This story was apparently forged on the basis of the reputation of Sparta as the quintessential Greek city and the assumed common austerity of the laws of Lycurgus and Moses (Gruen 2016: 253–68). The two attempts nevertheless reveal that the new Jewish tradition could not avoid situating itself with reference to Hellenism, even when it denied the anteriority of its achievements. This means that, even for the Jewish elite, Hellenism as it had developed in the Hellenistic period was the horizon of their communication with other cultures.

### 3.2 The Creation of a Common World of Traders

One of the key features of the Hellenistic world is the extraordinary mobility that characterizes it. Everyone seems

20. SEG 54 1568; IGIAC 84 (SEG 62 568); MAIRS 2008: 32, with MAIRS 2013 and 2014 and the specific interaction of the Far Eastern Greeks with the indigenous milieu.

21. Dionys. Hal. RA 1.89.1–2.

22. Pol. 28.2.1–6, with BRESSON 2016: 420.

to have been on the move. The professional artists, regrouped in regional associations of *technitai* of Dionysos (the god of theatre), went from one sanctuary to another to perform before various audiences (Le Guen 2001; Aneziri 2003). In the same vein, rival medicine schools (Kos, Knidos, Pergamon) attracted students from various horizons (Jouanna 1999). Wealthy tourists and students also visited the famous sanctuaries or prestigious towns of old Greece, above all Athens (which, despite its political and economic degradation at the end of the fourth and in the 3rd century BC, remained the centre of Greek cultural life) (Mikalson 1998: 169).

The existence of actual communities of traders who were the agents of this mobility of goods (including slaves as a workforce that could be sold on the market) is a fundamental characteristic of this world. In this perspective, the world of merchants, businessmen and sailors was twofold.

The island of Delos, which after 166 and until 88 or 66 BC was the hub of Eastern Mediterranean trade, provides a test case for these ethnic and civic solidarities. Admittedly, there existed powerful local solidarities, based on a common ethnic and civic origin. Thus, Greek people coming from the same city, or the same region, necessarily shared special interests, especially in terms of business. But even if they came from different cities, the Greeks had a common cultural background in terms of language and cults and they did not need to develop specific ethnic-based forms of organization, as they found themselves fully at home on Delos.

But foreigners with a non-Greek background, even if they bore Greek names and themselves spoke Greek fluently, nonetheless needed specific forms of organization, which in the world of the time took the form of cultic associations.<sup>23</sup> Sharing a common cult was crucial to creating closer bonds between the members of the group. Trade and business are based on trust, and this “brotherhood of faith” was a way to facilitate transactions between the members of the cultic group (Gabrielsen 2007: 195). At Delos, this was the case for the Romans and Italians (Rauh 1993; Kay 2014: 198 f.). Being Latin speakers (although most of them certainly also learned to speak Greek soon enough) and having a different culture, they were justified in creating an organization of their own, and all the more so given that they came from Roman-ruled Italy, at a time when the Roman state dominated the Mediterranean. Thus, the so-called “agora of the Italians” was, one way or another, a space where Romans and Italians could find a cultic and cultural environment with which they were familiar. Inscriptions there are both in Greek and in Latin. Other communities had their shrines that were also “club-houses”. This was famously the case for the people from the two Phoenician cities of Beirut and Tyre. The former were regrouped in the association of the Poseidoniastai of Berytos and the latter in that of the Herakleistai of Tyre (Harland 2009: 109–13). Other foreign communities also had sanctuaries to their own gods. Thus, among others, the Jewish community, and (separately) the Samaritan community, also had their specific places of worship (Harland 2009, 113–14). There was also a shrine of Sarapis created by an Egyptian priest from Egypt.<sup>24</sup>

23. MCLEAN 1996 for an overview of associations in Delos.

24. IG XI.4 1299, ENGELMANN 1975, with MOYER 2011, 142–207 and 282–286 (text and translation), and MAZUREK 2016.

In terms of organization, there seems to exist a perfect continuity between the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic worlds. But late Classical and Hellenistic times saw two crucial innovations. The first one was that the self-definition of foreigners was no longer based solely on their geographical origin, and thus was not only of a political nature, but also of a professional nature. As early as 333/2 BC at Athens, it was a community of merchants from Kition which was granted by the city the right to erect a sanctuary of Aphrodite-Astarte.<sup>25</sup> After 166 BC in Delos, the Poseidoniastai of Berytos define themselves as “merchants, ship-owners and warehousemen”. Similarly, the Herakleistai of Tyre define themselves as “merchants and ship-owners”.<sup>26</sup> In Athens, in 112/11 and 111/10 BC, two decrees of an association formed around the cult of Zeus Xenios (the Zeus of Hospitality) reveal that its members defined themselves as “ship-owners and traders”.<sup>27</sup> This is a crucial shift insofar as previously the only admissible definition was of a purely political nature.

The other crucial innovation was the new role that foreigners could play as a group of transnational nature. In Rhodes, which before the rise of Delos had been the main hub for trade of the Hellenistic world (it was deeply affected by the Roman punishment of 166 BC but nevertheless maintained trading activity of the first rank even after that date), there existed associations (*koina*) regrouping citizens and foreigners coming from the most varied cities, whatever their occupations (Maillot 2012 and 2015).

A fascinating case is also provided by an Athenian decree of 323/2 BC.<sup>28</sup> This is a classic honorific decree granting a Sidonian the titles of public guest (*proxenos*) and benefactor, as well as the right to own land in Athens. It was also, as was normal, proposed by an Athenian citizen. So far, we have only a situation that is perfectly ordinary. But the originality of the decree comes from the fact that the decree proposal was based on a report in favour of the Sidonian provided by “the traders and ship-owners”. It would certainly be incorrect to think that “the traders and ship-owners” in Athens constituted a formal association. But between them existed bonds strong enough to make them act collectively. Their action would be defined as that of a lobby.

On Delos, at the end of the second century BC, dedications were made to Athenian magistrates by the traders and ship-owners, alone or in association with various groups—the Athenians residing in the island, the Romans sojourning as strangers, the other foreigners sojourning as strangers.<sup>29</sup> It should be clear that this type of decision does not imply the existence of one common assembly but that the final formula corresponds to the addition of decisions made separately by the various groups.<sup>30</sup> In the 20s BC, at Athens, “the traders”—

25. *IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 337*; VELISSAROPOULOS 1980, 101–102; GABRIELSEN 2007, 192; GRA, 26–32.

26. *IDelos* 1519.

27. GRA, 203–206.

28. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 343+add.* p.659; SEG 24 103; SCHWENK 84.

29. *ID* 1642, 1645, 1647–1649, 1652, 1657–1660, 1662–1663, 1665, 1702–1703, 1705, 1709 and 1525 (the merchants operating in the “square [market]”), 1726, 1729.

30. On the structure of the Delian world after 166 and the relations between its various components, see MÜLLER 2017.

obviously those operating in Piraeus—honoured the market magistrate (*agoranomos*) Pammenes.<sup>31</sup> This means that, beyond their geographic origins and inevitably various interests, there existed between traders and ship-owners operating in the same location links that were flexible but strong enough to allow them to act as a group, obviously to defend their own interests. This is the best possible illustration in the late Classical and Hellenistic period of the new flexibility of the world of trade, which, as observed above, was the lynchpin of the economy of the time. Financiers and traders of various ethnic origins could cooperate without difficulty, and (for instance) contract together for the same trade operation. This can be observed in Athens in the 4th century with the famous contract of the pseudo-Demosthenic speech *Against Lacritus*, and even more strikingly from a contract from Alexandria in the 2nd century BC, where the partners come from every part of the Mediterranean world, including one Roman and one Carthaginian.<sup>32</sup> Ethnic origins were not an obstacle for trade and business, and this contributed to lower transaction costs.

A final question concerns, conversely, the maintenance over the long term of ethnic-based communities of traders abroad. A common feature between the Archaic period and the late Hellenistic period seems to be the existence of ethnic-based organizations of foreigners in a distant country. As we saw in the Archaic and Classical Mediterranean, obtaining public recognition and thus protection against arbitrary or discriminatory measures was sanctioned by obtaining the right to practice one's cults. This right was made tangible in the possibility of erecting a sanctuary to one's gods. Communities of traders in distant markets and among other cultures thus strove to obtain such sanctuaries. This was true of the Greeks at Naucratis in Egypt or at Gravisca in Etruria in the 6th century BC. Later, in the 4th century, we see that the Egyptians obtained a sanctuary of Isis in Piraeus, and the Kitians a sanctuary of Aphrodite-Astarte. The situation of the Hellenistic period, at Delos in the 2nd and first centuries BC and even later, in Imperial times, with the establishments of the Tyrians at Puteoli and Rome as late as 174 CE, may seem to be in direct continuity with that of the earlier periods (OGIS 595; Sosin 1999; Harland 2009: 115–16; Terpstra 2013: 70–83.).

Indeed, the structural reasons to form these ethnic-based organizations remain the same over time. For short-distance and regional trade, local indigenous partners and trading centres may provide adequate facilities and a suitable commercial outlet, as is the case on the eastern coast of Iberia for Greek traders coming from *Emporion* or Marseille.<sup>33</sup> But long-distance trade implies high personal risks for the traders who perform the journeys. It implies also high financial risks, for it presupposes mobilizing a large amount of capital to finance a journey and to buy the pricy goods that will be sent to a distant market. Stable institutional conditions are thus required to perform this type of trade. The best conditions of stability are provided by a state. If the traders leaving their

homeland find at the other end a permanently-established community of peers that has received recognition from the local state, this will help them in their administrative and business activities. This will also provide them with a social environment that will facilitate their personal lives in all their dimensions. In this respect, however, we can observe a significant institutional difference between the earlier and later periods.

In the former, without the privilege of self-organization (and with it the right to erect sanctuaries) granted by the local authority to the foreign residents, trade activity is impossible. Both the receiving and the guest community benefit from this situation, which creates a situation of bilateral monopoly (Friedman 1989). The two partners are thus also totally dependent upon one another, and the cost to switch to another partner would be prohibitive.

In the latter, traders do not need a special privilege from local authorities to operate their businesses. Thus, one may wonder why we continue to find forms of ethnic-based organizations that in their structures seem close to those of the Archaic Age. The reason is that in an environment that is in principle open to everyone, having one's right to form a special organization acknowledged becomes a competitive privilege. Ethnic or religious solidarity makes it possible to recreate within an open business space a *de facto* comparative advantage of limited monopoly. This applies to general business practice, where a group exchanging privileged trade information and capital raising opportunities thus gains a competitive advantage over its competitors. This may also apply in a more restricted way to trade with specific destinations (for trade between two nodes in a complex network that has potentially very many nodes). For instance, at Delos the Poseidoniastai certainly had a quasi-monopoly over trade between Delos and Beirut, and the same remark should apply to the Herakleistai for the trade with Tyre. This does not mean, however, either that other traders operating at Delos were denied the right to trade with these two cities, or that the privileged communities limited their business activity to the trade with their homelands. In other words, the old forms of privileged organizations and monopolies based on ethnicity were now reused in the totally different context of an “open society”. Parallels of circumscribed monopolistic organizations based on ethnicity or religious affiliation can easily be found in the medieval, early modern and modern worlds. They do not *per se* allow us to predict the characteristics of the business environment in which they develop.

#### 4 Conclusion

From the Archaic to the Hellenistic period and as far as the communities of traders are concerned, we can observe the flexibility of the intercultural interface between the various ethnicities operating trade. In the Archaic and early Classical Mediterranean, political, ethnic and linguistic diversity was the rule, even despite the double (and sometimes conflicting) unification provided on the one hand by Greek cultural and commercial dynamism, and on the other, in the East, by the

31. IG II<sup>2</sup> 3493.

32. Athens: Ps-Dem. 35.10–14, with BRESSON 2016: 281–85; Alexandria: SB 7169. VELISSAROPOULOS 1980: 117–18, 308–10 and 356–57; CASSON 1989: 32.

33. ROUILLARD 2009: 140–44, commenting on the absence of proper Greek colonies in Spain.

formidable political presence of the Achaemenid Empire. Strict control by local authorities of trade activity carried out by communities of foreign traders was the rule. Comparatively speaking, transaction costs remained high.

The Hellenistic world was not a world without frictions, where transaction costs would have been miraculously absent. But in addition to the striking similarities in border-crossing procedures and the existence of a common currency for international trade, the existence of a common language and cultural background allowed men, goods and ideas to circulate at an unprecedented scale and speed in the Mediterranean basin and beyond. This flexibility translated into the existence of informal groups of traders and ship-owners, who could lobby the cities to defend their own interests as a group. The existence of these informal groups of traders and ship-owners shows that the traditional ethnic and political frontiers could temporarily be abolished if trade interests were at stake. This was *per se* a significant contribution to the lowering of transaction costs in the Hellenistic world. Of course, this does not mean that geographical or ethnic rivalries between traders had disappeared. The existence of local organizations of foreign traders in the new open environment of the Hellenistic Mediterranean aimed at recreating some circumscribed dual monopolies, but in an environment that nonetheless remained both open and too complex to be reduced to the bilateral monopolies of the past.

## Special Abbreviations

**GRA:** KLOPPENBORG J.S., HARLAND P.A., ASCOUGH R. S., 2011: *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary, I. Achaia, Boeotia, Macedonia, Thrace*, Berlin-New York.

**AGRW:** ASCOUGH R.S., HARLAND P.A., KLOPPENBORG J. S., 2012: *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook*, Berlin-Waco.

**IGIAC:** ROUGEMONT G., 2012: *Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale. Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Part II: *Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods of Eastern Iran and Central Asia*, vol. I: *Inscriptions in non-Iranian languages* 1, London.

**Schwenk:** SCHWENK C.J., 1985: *Athens in the Age of Alexander: the Dated Laws & Decrees of "the Lykourgan Era" 338–322 B.C.*, Chicago.

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# The *Emporion* and the Land, or: Hesiod Between Land and Sea

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Julien ZURBACH

Examining the links which an *emporion*—or the *emporion* in itself—may have with the land is never without surprises. The *emporion*, both an ancient (“indigenous” according to sociological terminology) and a modern concept, established and analysed in a book published more than twenty years ago by A. Bresson and P. Rouillard, is, so to speak, an above ground structure (Bresson, Rouillard 1993). Its relationship with the city-state may be complex, but by its very definition it was located very far from the sphere of property concerns which characterised the city-state in the Greek world and elsewhere.

One of the main difficulties of this concept is certainly the multiplicity of its possible uses (Bresson 2008: 98–110). In Classical Athenian sources in particular, it is a legal space with clear boundaries, constituting the outward-looking market of the city-state, to which imported goods are to be delivered, and where taxes are levied on imports (Migeotte 2014). The Piraeus *emporion* is one of the best-documented examples of this category (Garland 1987: 83–95). However, this term is also used by ancient sources in a broader sense, to mean “port of trade” or “trading place”. Both meanings share the idea of openness towards the outside, perfectly expressed by A. Bresson when he described the first type of *emporion* as “the institutional structure [within the framework of the city-state] which allowed communication with external spaces by giving it a legal framework” (Bresson 2008: 98). Finally, contemporary archaeological literature, following the identification as *emporia* of sites such as Gravisca, Pyrgi, or Naucratis, uses the term in a wide sense to refer to sites oriented towards more or less distant contacts, trading places often subject to the authority of a city or a king. We are here at the junction between an ancient concept on one side, associated with a modern term now common in the main languages of research, and the concept of “port of trade” on the other side, developed by Karl Polanyi and widely adopted in archaeological and historical literature. The reference study on Naucratis, by A. Möller, thus concludes that this site would have operated as a port of trade, in Polanyi’s sense, in the 6th century BC (Möller 2000).

The use of a wide choice of concepts is always welcome but there are risks. The relations between different meanings of *emporion* in Greek and Polanyi’s trading port has been much

discussed.<sup>1</sup> Polanyi’s “port of trade” is a place where goods can be transferred from one economic system to another; it is also a place where administered trade dominates.<sup>2</sup> However, since it is difficult to know exactly what is meant with “administered trade”, and since although Polanyi’s “port of trade” was not a market institution, autonomous merchants not directly subject to the public authority could nevertheless be active in such places, the discussion on the relationship between the *emporion* and the “port of trade” is likely to continue for a long time, and to focus more on Polanyi’s theses than on the realities of Archaic and Classical trade.

It is also necessary to underline the possible ambiguities stemming from the practice of calling a site an *emporion* without clear testimonies from ancient texts. This is not a kind of literary fundamentalism, but in my view a necessary caution against the practice of using an ancient word to designate a modern concept. It is perfectly possible, if not probable, that the Late Archaic site of Contrada Maestro, at the mouth of the Irminio, near Camarina and within its territory, was in fact called an *emporion* at the time (Di Stefano 1987). An inscription which seems to refer to a transaction on wheat was found there (*ibid.*). The location of the site on the border suggests that it was designed for exchanges; and although Camarina was itself on the coast, some contacts with the external world were surely going on here. One may nevertheless ask if it is necessary to call it an *emporio* (in Italian) to be able to analyse all these characteristics.

The great diversity of uses is therefore not necessarily an advantage. We concentrate here on certain aspects of the *emporion* seen from the point of view of the relationship with the property system of the city-state, understood in its broadest sense,<sup>3</sup> integrating the processing and allocation of

1. Scepticism of A. Bresson in BRESSON, ROUILLARD 1993: 136; see MÖLLER 2000: 60–71.

2. This concept has been the subject of a detailed analysis by L. Graslin and J. Maucourant (GRASLIN, MAUCOURANT 2005), in which all the references to Polanyi will be found.

3. BONTE, IZARD 1991, *s.u.* property (regime): “a set of provisions governing the relationships between individuals and groups regarding the status and use of the land”.

agricultural produce. What is highlighted from this point of view is the origin of the *emporion* as a market institution.<sup>4</sup>

## 1 Hesiod Between Land and Sea

The *emporion* obviously cannot be understood without considering the *emporìè* and especially not without the term which is their common origin, *emporos*, originally referring to a person who travels by sea. This meaning is however not directly attested, the word being used to mean “merchant” since Homer.<sup>5</sup> The term *emporìè* was used in the title of a famous work, entitled *Prexis ed emporiè*, published by A. Mele almost forty years ago (Mele 1979). Mele tried to delineate and distinguish two forms of trade supposedly practised in the Archaic period, and to achieve this by relying before all on the texts of Homer and Hesiod. One first type, named *préxis* (by Mele), was defined as trade by the producers, the sale of local or household products by an aristocrat or by people of more modest condition. The other type was professional trade, practised by the *emporoi* who made their appearance during the Archaic period. The discussion on Mele’s theses was obscured by often very complex exchanges with B. Bravo, focusing almost exclusively on the question of aristocratic involvement in trade (Bravo 1974, 1977 and 1984; Mele 1979 and 1986). Bravo, unlike Mele, believed that the large property owners did not travel, that they preferred to delegate trading activities to their clients and dependants, and later to more autonomous traders. The positions became more complicated as the discussion proceeded and, although the theoretical positions were very clear, one ends up wondering what the fundamental difference was between Bravo, who admits that certain aristocrats, particularly impoverished ones, could sometimes navigate themselves, and Mele, who admits that certain aristocrats could, by way of exception, delegate trade-related tasks within the framework of a so-called vertical articulation.<sup>6</sup>

Mele’s overall thesis, the distinction between two types of trade organization, seems now widely accepted, but the terms *préxis* and *emporìè* are used as if the Ancients, the people taking part in the Archaic economy, had already conceptualised their opposition. This pair of terms has since then been used to describe, or just signal, a variety of economic, social or cultural differences between professional and non-professional, specialised and non-specialised trade, and was finally associated with the emergence of homogeneous shipments, a meaning not found in Mele or Bravo.

The most dangerous aspect of this complicated polemic is the tendency to hide modern concepts under ancient words. Mele uses *autopôlēs* to describe the situation of Hesiod, but the Greek term was created by Plato three centuries later

4. It is a pleasure to dedicate this short article to Pierre Rouillard, an indefatigable hunter of *emporia* of all kinds, by attempting to place Hesiod between land and sea, following the example of Pierre’s Phoenicians.

5. The original meaning “to cross, go on the other side”, is found in the words related to *pernēti*, often associated with commercial transactions in Homer’s work.

6. BRAVO 1977, §2; “articulation”: MELE 1979, chapter 9.

(Zurbach 2017, I: 304, n. 101). What Mele and Bravo mean by the terms *préxis*, *emporìè*, and *emporoi* should often be considered with caution, to say the least. The term *préktères* is a good example of this. If we accept Mele’s definition that *préxis* is a non-specialised trade, which should not give rise to occupational terms, its very existence is a paradox.<sup>7</sup>

οὐ γάρ σ’ οὐδέ, ἔτινε, δαήμονι φωτὶ ἔισκω  
ἄθλων, οἵα τε πολλὰ μετ’ ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται,  
ἀλλὰ τῷ, ὃς θ’ ἄμα νῆι πολυκλήδι θαμίζων,  
ἀρχὸς ναυτάων, οἵ τε πρηκτῆρες ἔασι,  
φόρτου τε μνήμων καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ἥσιν ὁδαίων  
κερδέων θ’ ἀρπαλέων· οὐδέ ἀθλητῇρι ἔοικας

(*Odyssey* VIII, 159–164)

Nay verily, stranger, for I do not liken thee to a man that is skilled in contests, such as abound among men, but to one who, faring to and fro with his benched ship, is a captain of sailors who are merchantmen, one who is mindful of his freight, and has charge of a home-borne cargo, and the gains of his greed. Thou dost not look like an athlete.

(Trad. A.-T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library)

The term *prékter* is very rare but directly related to *préxis*. It is found in the *Iliad* with a completely different meaning (*Iliad* IX.443): μύθων τε ῥήτηρος ἔμενεν πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων, “to be both a speaker of words and a doer of deeds”. Here the name of agent still has all the wide meaning of *préxis*, the act as such, and especially the noble act. It was in reference to this passage that Hesychius wrote his article πρηκτῆρα [i]·δραστῆρα. ποτὲ δὲ ἔμπορον “prékter: agent, never trader”. However, the passage from the *Odyssey* undoubtedly shows a degree of specialisation of the term in the area of commercial activities, as is also the case with *préxis* in some contexts (as *Odyssey* III.72; IX.253, *Hymn to Apollo* 397 and 453) (Bravo 1977, §8). However, if those who practised *préxis* could be designed through the agent noun based on this term and end as object of such a contemptuous tirade, why should we believe that specialised trade would take place solely under the sign of the *emporia*?

The weaknesses of Mele’s analysis, already emphasised in 1986 by R. Descat, are often ignored (Descat 1986: 281–86). From the strict point of view of the Hesiodic text, which Mele sometimes overinterprets, the difference between *préxis* and *emporìè* does not exist. As a matter of fact, it is not present in any Archaic text. The forms of trade in the epics are too diverse to enable us to distinguish between two distinct categories, although from Homer onwards we can find terms from both families. As for Hesiod, the question is whether the list of negative advices closing the passage on seafaring may legitimately be amalgamated into a coherent whole (Zurbach 2017, I: 299–305).

ἄλλος δὲ εἰαρινὸς πέλεται πλόος ἀνθρώποισιν·  
ἥνος δὴ τὸ πρῶτον, ὃσον τ’ ἐπιβᾶσα κορώνη  
ἴχνος ἐποίησεν, τόσσον πέταλ ἀνδρὶ φανῆῃ  
ἐν κράδῃ ἀκροτάτῃ, τότε δὲ ἄμβατός ἐστι θάλασσα.  
εἰαρινὸς δὲ οὗτος πέλεται πλόος· οὐ μιν ἔγωγε  
αἴνημ· οὐ γάρ ἔμῷ θυμῷ κεχαρισμένος ἐστίν,  
ἀρπακτός χαλεπῶς κε φύγοις κακόν· ἀλλὰ νυ καὶ τὰ  
ἀνθρωποι ρέζουσιν ἀδρεῖησι νόοιο·

7. MELE 1979: 42 see them as travelling aristocrats, but on p. 59 tries to separate *prékters* from *préxis*.

χρήματα γάρ ψυχή πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.  
δεινὸν δὲ στὶ θανεῖν μετὰ κύμασιν. ἀλλὰ δὲ ἄνωγα  
φράζεσθαι τάδε πάντα μετὰ φρεσίν, ὡς ἀγορεύω.  
μηδὲ ἐν νησίσιν ἄπαντα βίον κοίλησι τίθεσθαι,  
ἀλλὰ πλέω λείπειν, τὰ δὲ μείονα φορτίζεσθαι·  
δεινὸν γάρ πόντου μετὰ κύμασι πῆματι κύρσαι,  
δεινὸν δὲ, εἴ κ' ἐπὶ ἄμαξαν ὑπέρβιον ἄχθος ἀείρας  
ἄξονα καυάξαις καὶ φορτὶ ἄμαυρωθείη·  
μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι, καιρὸς δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος.

(Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 678–694)

There is also another sailing for human beings, in the spring-time—when a man thinks that the leaves at the top of the fig-tree are as big as the foot-print a crow leaves as it goes—the sea can first be embarked upon: this is the spring-time of sailing. As for me, I do not praise it, for it is not pleasing to my spirit: it is snatched, only with difficulty would you escape evil. And yet human beings do this too in the ignorance of their mind: for property is life for worthless mortals: yet it is a terrible thing to die among the waves. I bid you take notice of all these things in your spirit as I speak them out publicly: do not put all your means of life in hollow boats, but leave aside more, and load the lesser part: for it is a terrible thing to encounter grief among the waves of the sea—terribly too if by lifting an excessive weight onto your cart you wreck its axle and the load is ruined. Bear in mind measures: rightness is the best un all things.

(Trad. Glenn W. Most, Loeb Classical Library)

It is therefore necessary to determine whether Mele's demonstration can be validated with this text as it is supposed to be based on it, and to establish whether, according to Hesiod, a "normal" trade existed, as an *ergon* among legitimate *erga* of agricultural labour, and an "abnormal" trade, as *emporìè* practised all over the year, based on the sale of all cultivated produce and defined by market trading practices and the calculation of profit, *kerdos* (Mele 1979). It must be recognised that this is simply not the case. This set of negative advices does not constitute a coherent picture. Certainly, it is understood that sailing in spring is not advisable because it is too dangerous. Nor should one peasant ship all of his product. However, Hesiod does not say that some of his contemporaries *did* ship all their produce and that to do this they left already in the spring. The term *kerdos*, as quantifiable, calculable profit, appears before this passage, and it means the end result of all seafaring activities (verse 632, 644). The term *emporìè* only appears once in Hesiod, well before this passage, to designate commercial seafaring, also known as *nautiliè* (verse 649) or as *ploos* (verse 678, just quoted). The *emporìè* is therefore linked to *kerdos*. However, for Hesiod, this was not an activity subverting the traditional limits, but rather acceptable trade in itself and in general.<sup>8</sup> This is what is always linked to *kerdos*, to the calculation of profit: it is simply false to affirm that *kerdos* appears only in a new, specialised and excessive framework. On the contrary: it is a recognised and accepted necessity of Hesiod's world.

The main historical fact is not the distinction between a harmonious and moderate seafaring trip, restricted in scope and ambition, and a specialised trade moving in the icy waters of rational calculation. It is the difference between *emporìè* as commercial navigation encompassing all elements given by Hesiod, and the exchanges taking place within the com-

munity. This is where the important distinction lies, rather than between old traditions and new behaviours on the sea. When it comes to the acquisition of plowing oxen or tools, the hiring of employees to oversee stocks after the harvest or the borrowing of cereals to cover the lean season, Hesiod chooses to remain inside the community and rely on the neighbours. Trade therefore relied on a credit economy, certainly largely an economy in kind, which does not mean that there was no interest rate. That there were also immediate payments to settle certain transactions, including wages, *misthos*, cannot be ruled out (Zurbach 2017, I, chapter 7). Outside the community, Hesiod has only one pattern of behaviour, the one he calls "seafaring", which corresponds to *emporìè* but also to *ploos* or *nautiliè*. These are exchanges with immediate payment, without credit, based on a calculation and having to provide a calculable profit. It is a sphere of calculation and profit clearly integrated into Hesiod's normal universe. This does not mean that all calculation and profit is banned from exchanges taking place within the community, but simply that calculation is much easier outside the domestic economy.

In that way Hesiod defines an horizon of trade for a calculable gain, outside the community, linked in part to the *emporìè*. The goods traded in this context were agricultural products. The quoted passage leaves no doubt on this point: one must avoid loading up all of "one's goods", *bion*—a term which like *bioton* means "stored agricultural products". This is because Hesiod is not sailing the sea in search for the extra profit he could hope for in good years: on the contrary, he is sailing to escape debt and hunger, like his father (verse 647). Surprising as it may seem, Hesiod did not plan to sell the surpluses of good years to the outside, but on the reverse, to use the commercial sphere to compensate for bad years. We should first ask ourselves why this seems so surprising. At this point it becomes clear that this text forces us, above all, to rid ourselves of a current picture of the market as a transparent, accessible and easy-to-use institution which, by freely attracting the surplus of each individual, makes it possible to rationalize the allocation of goods. On the contrary: entering the market was neither easy nor always voluntary; one could be forced or constrained to do it; people went there because there was no other solution, or because they had taxes in metal money to pay. How can we figure out such behaviour? More precisely, what could people trade after a bad harvest? Certain agricultural products, such as wine, function as a store of wealth.<sup>9</sup> However, although the risks of storage are much less important for wine than for cereals, they nevertheless exist.

*Bion* and *bioton* are not the only terms used for objects of trade. Besides *phortia*, we also find *chrēmata*, a term which has many meanings. Firstly, it usually refers to the whole wealth, the heritage, especially furnishings, but this is not all. In verse 605 of the *Works*, it stands very clearly for the stored produce from the harvest which must be protected against thieves. Much later, the term referred to currency, that is, money as coinage. This passage clearly shows a sense of "wealth in action" for this term, based on the power of conviction, if it may be so called, or simply the purchasing power of wealth.

8. This is admitted by MELE (1979, chapter 1), who then nevertheless forgets this point.

9. Hesiod does not mention olive oil, except in a fragment attributed to him by Pliny the Elder: *Natural History* XV.1 = Hesiod fr. 347 Merkelbach-West.

This is so in the expression χρήμασι πειθόμενος/-οι, “mad about riches”, found in Solon (fr. 4 West, 6) and Theognis (1.194), among others. In the *Odyssey*, the term very often refers to merchants’ cargoes, the plunder of aristocrats who have gone on an adventure, all that can fill a hold. This explains why the inverse semantic evolution also took place in parallel: that which, rather than assimilating *chrèmata* to currency, gave it the meaning of cash goods. This is clearest in fr. 90 of Heraclitus: πυρός τε ἀνταμοιβὴ τὰ πάντα καὶ πῦρ ἀπάντων ὅκωσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων χρυσός “everything can be transformed into fire and fire into everything, just as any commodity can be transformed into gold and gold into any commodity”.

A text by Herodotus has a special place here. In 499 BC, the Milesians took advice on the advisability of revolting against the Persians. Everyone wanted to revolt, in spite of the divergent opinion of Hecataeus of Miletus. Seeing that he was in the minority, he advised that they first ensure control of the sea, which involved considerable expense; this could be covered by taking possession of the offerings made by Croesus at Didyma. These offerings are called *chrèmata*, which Legrand justly translates as “treasures” (Herodotus V.36 = Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 test. 5). In one famous text (I.92), Herodotus lists the offerings of Croesus at the great sanctuaries and this time uses the word *anathēma*, “consecrated object”. But all these offerings, at Delphi, Thebes and Ephesus, are of gold. When establishing an equivalence between the offerings made at Delphi and Didyma, Herodotus simply says that they are of the same weight. This is not surprising, since the sacred treasures were financial reserves for the city, who could use them when needed. However, it is also clear that the word *chrèmata* may indicate wealth in weighed metal, and it is not impossible that this is already the meaning of at least one of the earliest occurrences of the word in Hesiod (line 686). Attestations of *chrèmata* can also be found in Solon’s poems, in laws which mention silver, which Kroll correctly believes refer to weighed silver, bullion (Kroll 1998 and 2008). It is thus possible that weighed metal currency is hidden behind at least some of the occurrences of *chrèmata*.

The Hesiodic *emporie* is therefore not restricted to one type of specialised trade to be opposed with other types of trade, but defines an horizon which may be called emporic, a place of exchange, perhaps monetary, based in particular on agricultural products. Hesiod says nothing of the place itself. It can only be supposed that he went to Corinth from the small ports of the southern coast of Boeotia. Thucydides uses *emporion* in reference to Corinth, referring to the Archaic period (I.13.5). It is obvious that this trading sphere is linked to real places but this is simply not a major concern to Hesiod. The fate of this emporic horizon is linked to the fate of *chrèmata*. From the second half of the 7th century onward, weighed silver came out of the world of foreign trade and transformed debt relationships within the community. From the separation between the *emporie*, where transactions were immediately settled, and the community, where credit in kind allowed borrowing between equals, the system changed to debt with a fixed deadline and rate of interest, leading to seizures in case of default. One of the vectors of this transformation was certainly the use of weighed silver to express

debt. Writing may also have played a role in the process of rendering harsher the condition of debtor. In any case, the crisis of debt slavery, which shook Athens around 600 BC, was no doubt also felt in Megara and Corinth. If Hesiod’s brother, chronically in debt, did not pay his debts, he was excluded from the market and could no longer find anyone to borrow from. If an Athenian before the archonship of Solon did not pay his debts, he would find himself enslaved.<sup>10</sup>

It was in response to this crisis, which emerged from the disappearance of the separation between separate spheres of trade, that Archaic city-states established organised markets, market institutions in the strict sense; that is to say, places and rules which both structured and protected trade. According to the demonstration by R. Descat, the appearance of the agora in Athens, Sparta and elsewhere, a delimited place with a set of rules, its magistrates and its regulation of prices, should be placed in this period (Descat 2006a). It is possible that among these institutions we should include the minting of coins. Indeed, recent studies, and notably the publication of the hoard of Colophon (Kim, Kroll 2008), have shown that the first issues included enormous series of very small denominations, contrary to what was previously taken for granted. Die study shows that series of 12th, 24th and 48th of a stater were minted in a relatively short period of time and in very large numbers. The editors conclude that hundreds of thousands or even millions of pieces were produced in a limited period, indicated by the links between dies, the great stylistic uniformity of the set and the moderate wear and tear of coins in the hoard.<sup>11</sup> This must be linked to a decision of the city-state, which may originate in expenses stemming from public construction or military necessities. However, even if it was not a planned operation of monetarisation, it must have been clear that these coins would be found in everyday trade. It is tempting to relate this to the establishment of an agora, or a stage in this process, probably this same agora of Old Colophon whose destruction was foreseen in an inscription from the 4th century BC.<sup>12</sup> This leads to reevaluate Herodotus’ famous text linking the origin of coinage with the activity of the *kapēloī*, since these were not long-distance merchants, but small intermediaries, those one would find on the agora (Herodotus I.94).

Although the problems leading to the creation of the agora certainly stood in relation to the internal economy of the city-state, the institutionalisation of this trading zone was obviously linked to that of the *emporion*. The creation of the agora (or of the *agorai*, since the Attic demes also had one) went hand in hand with the suppression of the border markets, the *agorai ephoriai*, known to Solon according to Demosthenes, and of which a mention is made in a law of Draco recorded at the end of the 5th century BC (Dem., C. Arist. [XXIII] 39, and Nomima I.2.27–28). This left without answer the necessity to have a market open towards the outside world. The word *emporion* is not attested in Solon’s texts but it is certain that

10. Role of silver: DESCAT 2001, 2006a, 2006b; ZURBACH 2013; LEROUXEL 2015.

11. For the 24th of stater: 353 coins produced with 135 obverse dies and 153 reverse dies; 48th of stater: 552 coins produced with 258 obverse dies and 260 reverse dies. Only one example has been found of the 12th of stater (KIM, KROLL 2008: 58).

12. PEP Colophon 6, l. 26–27 (ca 311–306).

from Solon onward, the creation of the agora in Athens had repercussions on foreign trade, as is clearly shown by Solon's law on the export of oil, whatever it actually means (Descat 1993).

Through oil we get back to agricultural products, at the very moment when specific spaces for trade are being created.

## 2 The Emporion, Cereals and Entitlement

Agricultural products have been omnipresent in texts relating to trade since the time of the Homeric texts. The Achaeans supplied themselves with wine from Euneus, king of the Lemnians (*Iliad* VII.467–475) in exchange for bronze, iron, skins and slaves. However, it was at the end of the Archaic period in particular that signs of a greater importance of the cereal trade do appear. The site called an *emporion*, mentioned in the introduction, situated at the mouth of the Irminio river near Camarina, provided a lead fragment bearing a very mutilated text, eight lines long.<sup>13</sup> According to F. Cordano, it can be dated to the second half of the 6th century BC. The text includes (line 3) the word σπυ[ρ]όν, the genitive plural of σπυρός, the Dorian form of πύρος, wheat (*triticum durum*). It is followed by τρῖσι and the editor suggests that three measures of wheat are mentioned here. The following lines contain numbers and probably the word τάλαντον, talent, as well as perhaps πρατήρες, “merchants”. This would therefore have to do with the sale of wheat. Herodotus (VII.147) recounts that Xerxes neglected, or refused, to block vessels laden with wheat (*sitos*) he saw at the Hellespont, sailing from the Black sea towards Aegina and the Peloponnese. These ships were called *sitagōga* and therefore probably specialised in carrying such loads. At the beginning of the 5th century BC, Rome suffered from a period of scarcity and sent to Cumae to buy grain—but this cargo was seized by Aristodemus—to Syracuse and to the Etruscans, from where supplies did come (Livy II.34 and Dionysius VII.1.1–5). Finally, Gelo promised to supply the Greeks during the war against the Persians (Herodotus VII.158). These were political gestures but they are incomprehensible without the fundamental facts of urban growth, the existence of surplus, transport capacity and trading structures. It should be noted that the ships of the Black sea did not go to either Megara or Miletus and that these wheat routes seem disconnected from the original links of metropolis to colony.

This is linked to the eminent position of the *emporion* in the solutions to the Archaic crisis of around 600. Through its connection with the circulation and the allocation of produce from the land, the *emporion* played a role in one of the fundamental changes of the Archaic period. The Homeric soldier, a small free peasant, only had his own land to survive. Hesiod relied only on the resources of his land and it was only through necessity that he travelled for trade. From the end of the 7th century, but especially in the 6th century BC, everything changed. A citizen of Sparta had land and Helots guaranteed by the city, as well as access to the agora. A citizen of Athens had slaves, freely available on the market, and

land, but he also had cereals from the *emporion*. This external support must have been substantial in many places, as Herodotus reminds us, not only when speaking about the poor island of Aegina but also when speaking about the Peloponnese as a whole. We cannot know whether external supply was a structural necessity outside Athens from that time or whether it remained a supplementary, occasional solution. The important thing is that it did exist, and that it was a central element of what Amartya Sen called “entitlement”: the whole bundle of rights of access to land and its produce. The solution to the Archaic crisis was essentially diversification and consolidation of the entitlement of those who remained citizens—quite different, of course, was the situation of the Helots. The new *emporion* founded by the city-state, next to the agora, was a key element in this evolution.

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## **Part Two**

**From the Strait of Gibraltar to the Gulf of Lion**



# Phoenician Emporia in the Atlantic Coast of Africa

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Alfredo MEDEROS MARTÍN

## 1 The Emporia in Mauritania

The concept of *emporion* is linked to access to the sea or a river and to acting as a point of exchange with local indigenous populations (Étienne 1993: 29). Specifically for Morocco (Fig. 1) we only have the reference from Strabo (XVII.3.2): “To the south of *Lixus* and the *Coteis* lies a gulf called the *Emporicus Gulf*, which contains a settlement of Phoenician merchants.”<sup>1</sup> The other reference for North Africa comes from Tripolitania: “On the coast of the *Syrtis* itself are several small towns. In the recess of the gulf is a very large emporium, which has a river that empties into the gulf” (Strabo, XVII.3.17). In both cases they indicate the location of ports, and perhaps also rivers, within a marine gulf.

On the opposite shore, is a place called *Gadir*; “due to its fame and liveliness [...] due to its naval enterprises” (Strabo III.2.1), for “only a few live there as they all spend most of their time at sea”, (Strabo III.5.3), as in Baetica, “the most important emporiums are *Corduba* and *Gadira*” (Strabo III.4.9). Here, emphasis is placed on the maritime and commercial capacity of the people of Cadiz who made the city a key commercial centre of the Western Mediterranean and Atlantic facade.

In the *emporion* of Morocco, when talking about south of *Lixus*, it might be thought that this is the great estuary of the river Sebou, but in another reference it is specified that in the *Emporicus Gulf* “there is a low, level place containing an altar to Heracles, which, they say, is never inundated by the tide” (Strabo XVII.3.3). This reference is very similar to another that is obviously located at the mouth of the *Lixus* river, nowadays *Lucus/Loukos*, where there was “an island that is the only one not flooded by the tide in spite of the fact that the surrounding area is slightly more elevated. There is also an altar of Heracles and [...] some olive trees” (Pliny, *Natural History* V.3). This implies that in the vicinity of the main *emporion* of Mauretania there was a sanctuary dedicated to Heracles.

## 2 Foundation of Sanctuaries in the *Emporia*: *Lixus* and *Mogador*

Pliny puts emphasis on the age of the sanctuary that existed in the vicinity of *Lixus*, with an altar dedicated to Melqart (Pliny, *N.H.* XIX.63), pointing out that it was older than *Gadir*. This is typically set in 1106 BC, 80 years after the fall of Troy, according to Velleius Paterculus (*Hist. Rom.* I.2.3), but some local authors such as Pomponius Mela date its age back to “the temple of Egyptian Heracles [...] The Tyrians built it [...] since the time of Troy” (Pomponius Mela III.6.46), ca. 1186 BC according to the calculations of Timaeus in the 4th–3rd centuries BC (Mederos 2007: 97–98, table 1) or perhaps at least when the place was occupied.

On the islet of *Mogador*, the site occupies only a surface area of 50 m approximately in diameter, forming an artificial elevation or *tertre*, with a lack of structures. The place of worship appears to be marked by a quadrangular baetylus attached to a wider base, 1.47 m high (Jodin 1966: 52). It was inlaid in the soil, as according to Jodin (*ibid.*) it surpassed level IV, reaching stratum V, barren, which would indicate that it was in the primary position in the centre of the *tetre* and therefore the setting was constituted as a space for worship in the form of a *temenos*. From our point of view, it must have been dedicated to Astarte. These baetyli were worshiped as they manifested the divine presence—Astarte’s numen (López Pardo, Mederos 2008: 184–86).

This could explain the abundance of plates and bowls with *graffiti*, one of which mentions ‘st[rt], a name composed with the theonym “Astarte”. The presence of two incense burners and the 31 fragments of double-peak lamps support the opinion that this is a ritual space. Finally, Ptolemy (*Geography* IV.6.14) precisely locates an island of Hera facing the Autololes (López Pardo, Mederos 2008: 202–203, fig. 71/215, 205–206 and fig. 74a, 377–78).

1. [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/.](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/>.)



Fig. 1—Map of the Atlantic coasts of Africa and the Iberian Peninsula, with location of the settlements mentioned in the text.

### 3 The Phoenician Presence on the North African Atlantic Facade

#### 3.1 Tingi

The city of *Tingi*, present-day Tangier, *tng'* in Neopunic, according to the inscription on the coins (Manfredi 1995: 290–94, No. 131–50), is the main port of the Strait on the Moroccan side. The city was said to have been founded by Antaeus (Pliny, *N.H.* V.1–2; Pomponius Mela I.5.26), and in order to gain control of it, Heracles, when he arrived from Libya, challenged him to a fight, killed him and ended up with his territory (Diodorus IV.17.4 and IV.27.3). It appears in Hecataeus of Miletus, 560–480 BC as *Thingé* and in Hannon's periplus with a Greek name, *Thymiaterion* (*Peripl.* 2) (Gosselin 1997–98: 72–73). All the routes into the interior of Mauretania started from *Tingi* and it was perhaps the second largest settlement with a walled area in Roman times estimated to be around 20 ha (Villaverde 2001: 82–83) (Fig. 2).

#### 3.2 Kuass

The mouth of the Garifa river (Gharifa, Rharifa), protected by a reef, is 28 km south of Cape Spartel and 4 km from the mouth of the Tahadart river. At 300 m, the Garifa River rises in a south eastern direction, there are several saltworks on both banks of the river bed. This river is navigable at least until its first meander, where the salting factories of the town of Kuass, which had to be supplied by the saltworks, are located. The name of Kuass comes from the Arabic place-name “the arches” (Villaverde 2001: 106, n. 276; Kbiri Alaoui 2007: 46, Fig. 18a), due to a Roman aqueduct that supplied water to the settlement, although Lipinski considers it to be Libyan from Akwass, with the a- prefix (Lipinski 2004: 452) (Fig. 3).

Although two excavation campaigns were recently carried out in 2009 and 2010 (Bridoux, Kbiri Alaoui 2010; Bridoux *et al.* 2011), which point to a chronological arc between the 5th century BC and its abandonment between 50–30 BC (Kbiri Alaoui *et al.* 2011: 621–22), there is an older phase of the ancient excavations due to the presence of Ramón 10.1.2.1 amphorae (Ramón 1995), of which there are 17 examples (Kbiri Alaoui,

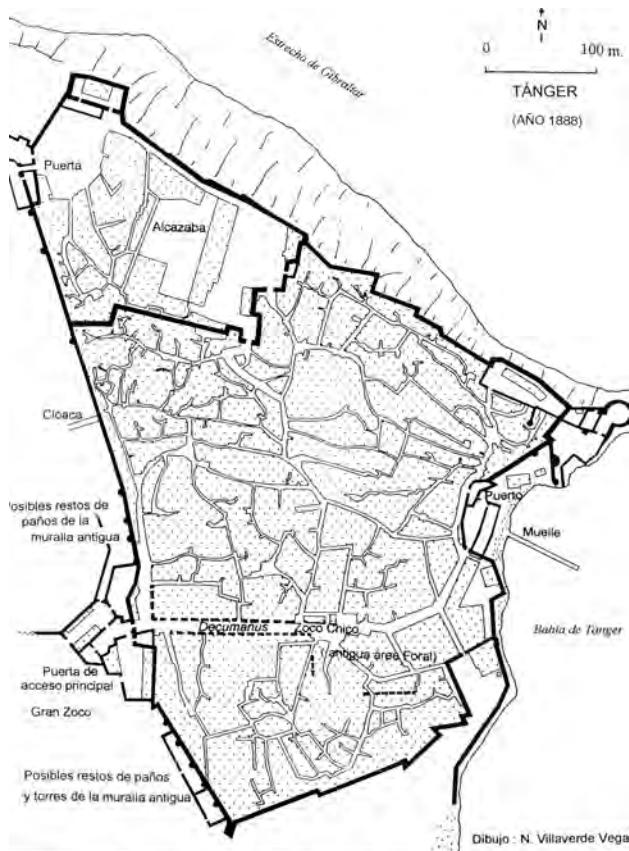


Fig. 2—Plan of the ancient city of Tangier (after Villaverde 2001: 83).

Mlilou 2007: 69–70, Fig. 46/1), and some of the older types, Ramón 10.1.1.1, from the 7th century BC (Kbiri Alaoui, Mlilou 2007: 69, fig. 49/6, López Pardo, Mederos 2008: 189–90).

### 3.3 Lixus

Around 4 km from the estuary, on the hill of *Tšemmiš* situated on the left or northern bank of the Loukos river, the Phoenician centre of *Lixus*, around 12 ha in surface area, 400 x 300 m, is located in this area probably navigable by larger vessels—as at present the river can still be ascended as far as 7.4 km inland (Tarradell 1960: 156; Aranegui *et al.* 1992: 11; Aranegui 2007: 374)—which reached around 30 ha in the Roman Empire's heyday (*ibid.*). The place name of the hill is thought to have been derived from *tu-šomoš* (Lipinski 2004: 456), linked to the sun god *Šamaš*.

The marine bays arising from the Holocene marine transgression (Aranegui 2005: 272 Fig. 2, Carmona, Ruiz 2010: 55, Fig. 3) must have been partially closed with a coastal bar in Phoenician times, although the effects of the tides were still observed, according to Beta-211, 344 dating,  $2830 \pm 40$  bp (Carmona, Ruiz 2009; Carmona, Ruiz 2010: 59 Table 1), 1126 (997/979)–897 cal. BC.

The port of *Lixus* has not been given the importance it actually possesses given its antiquity (Pliny *N.H.* V.2 and XIX.63) and according to the dimensions of the settlement. The only available plan where the port is indicated is the one raised by Tissot (Tissot 1878), with an isolated reference to the progressive deterioration of the port sea walls (Tarradell 1951: 190) and an aerial photograph of *Lixus* where these ruins



Fig. 3—View of Kuass (Photo, A. MEDEROS).

are located with a point (Ponsich 1966: 391, Pl. 7; Ponsich 1981: 15–16, Pl. 4–5). The site follows a logical pattern, located at the foot of the hill of *Tšemmiš*, next to the river Loukos, on the right or eastern edge of the road from Larache to Tangier.

The most important excavation for the Phoenician phase was started in 1951, the “Algarrobo” trial trenching, where a greater coverage of Phoenician levels with red slip ceramics was documented (Tarradell 1952: 165–66, Fig. 9, Tarradell 1960: 147). The “Algarrobo” trial trenching was extended in 1957 until a space 24 m long and 9 m wide was opened, although only the lower level was only reached in an area of 8 x 8 m, at a depth of 5 m approximately (Tarradell 1959a: 270). From 1957 to 1959 Tarradell resumed excavations in a residential area to the southwest of the temple area, with walls preserved up to 3 and 4 m high, the oldest levels of which were from the 4th century BC (Euzennat 1960: 543–44).

In the late 1980s a review began of the Phoenician materials from the Tarradell excavations (Habibi 1992, Belén *et al.* 1996; Belén *et al.* 2001). With the death of Manuel Fernández-Miranda the excavations led by C. Aranegui and M. Habibi were resumed in 1995, with a first phase extending the Algarrobo grid (Aranegui 2001) in 1995 and 1999, a second phase between 2000–2003 with a new trial trench to the west of the Algarrobo grid (Aranegui 2005), and now directed by C. Aranegui and H. Hassini (Aranegui, Hassini 2010) with another trial trench in the south-western sector of the monumental platform between 2005 and 2009 (Fig. 4).

The “Algarrobo” trial trenching, which was initially conducted in 1951 with a trench 20 m long by 3 m wide, was extended until a space 24 m long and 9 m wide was opened, although the lower level was only reached in an 8 x 8 m area to a depth of 5 m approximately (Tarradell 1959a: 270). Level 5, deeper, strata 25–23, with red slip ceramics and a mushroom-mouth jug from stratum 24, was dated to 7th–5th centuries BC. A floor or stratum 22, with a fragment of Attic ceramic from the 4th century was separated from level IV, strata 21–20, with Campanian A, dated 300–200/190 BC. After a floor or stratum 19, came level III, strata 18–16, with abundant Campanian A, smaller Campanian B and some fragments of Campanian C, a fragment of Iberian ceramic and two Numidian coins in strata 18 and 16 that date between 200–100 BC (Tarradell 1959a: 271–72, plate 274; Tarradell 1959b: 27–29, Tarradell 1960b: 249–51, plate 248).

The oldest levels were successively dated to the 5th or 4th century BC (Tarradell 1959a: 272), 5th or 6th–5th BC (Tarradell 1958, 76), 7th–5th BC (Tarradell 1960b: 251), 7th–6th BC (Tarradell 1967, 283), until finally proposing the 8th–7th centuries BC (Tarradell 1976: 346).

Of Tarradell’s excavations, the most interesting Phoenician materials are from the Algarrobo grid, 1951 campaign, level 9 of sketches, after level 24 and from the 1957 campaign, stratum V with levels 23 to 26. This phase is older than the excavations of recent campaigns, at least in chamber 3 strata 24–26 of the 1957 campaign (Belén *et al.* 2001: 99, Fig. 8-level 24; p. 100, Fig. 9-level 25; p. 101, Fig. 11-level 26), prior to 750 BC (*ibid.*: 94), consider that levels 22 and 23 correspond to this more archaic stage, an idea that we do not share as they are more recent, although the width of the plates’ edges remains narrow with a mean of 2.57 cm. Tarradell already indicated

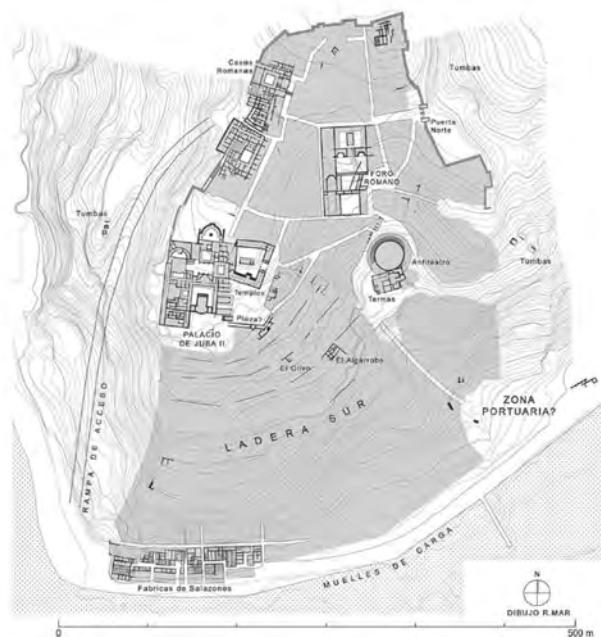


Fig. 4—Plan of Lixus (after Aranegui, Mar 2010: 226, Fig. 2).

that floor or stratum 22 also had a 4th-century Attic ceramic fragment, and stratum 23 had some intrusions. Conversely, level 24 of the 1951 campaign is more recent (Belén *et al.* 2001: 95, fig. 4), as can be seen from the presence of amphorae 10.1.2.1 that suggest the date to be 675/650–550 BC (Belén *et al.* 2001: 93, 95, Fig. 4), the same as the lower levels of chambers 2, 4 and 5 of the 1957 campaign (Belén *et al.* 2001: 97–105, Fig. 6–14), perhaps because there are some intrusions. Among the most evident is the presence in chambers 1 and 5, level 24, and chamber 4, level 22, of Kuass ceramics (Belén *et al.* 2001: 94).

It is an archaic horizon with good parallels in Castillo de Doña Blanca and is the oldest to date in Morocco. The main characteristics are red slip plates with very narrow edges of 2.35 cm, “mushroom mouth jugs” with a spherical body, scant presence of painted ceramics, and absence of grey ceramics as there are still polished hand-made productions.

Although it is logical that in the wheel-thrown ceramics there is a predominance of red slip at this time, the imbalance apparent in the amphorae, 165 fragments of red slip, 73%, compared to only 8 amphora (Belén *et al.* 2001: 89, Table 4), suggests that there was a selective choice of amphorae edges in the Tarradell excavation.

Other sectors may include mixtures such as the 1958 Montalbán sample with 127 fragments, where stratum 4 has older materials than stratum 5, or there are fragments of the same container in strata 3, 4 and 5 (Belén *et al.* 1996: 354).

The excavations of 1995 and 1999 show from the amphorae a progression of the 10.1.1.1 (SU 2018–2019), which suggests 775–750 BC, perhaps more recent, up to 550 BC (SU 1002–1003). There are no globular perfume ampoules and tripod-bowls, a low percentage of painted ceramics, basically *pithoi* and Cruz del Negro type urns from the end of the 8th century BC, and occasional grey ceramics (Álvarez *et al.* 2001:74, 77). From the Tarradell campaigns, only a fragment of perfume ampoule in chamber 1, level 22, with red slip is mentioned (Belén *et al.* 2001:

92, 97 Fig. 6/459) and the neck of another without treatment from chamber 3 level 24 (*ibid.*, 93, 99, Fig. 8/360).

The same applies to the campaigns of 2000–2003, where SU 3056, next to the rock, shows older materials if we compare the evolution of amphorae 10.1.1.1, with regard to the next level (SU 3049), continuing the absence of grey ceramics and the reduced percentage of painted ceramics (Álvarez, Gómez Bellard 2005: 171, 173).

From a constructive point of view, two major phases were identified in recent excavations, one prior to the construction of structures SU 3056 and 3049 and the next one, dominated by a building with several quadrangular rooms that correspond as far back as the 7th century BC due to the width of the edges of the red slip plates (Habibi 2005: 155, 157 Fig. 4; Álvarez, Gómez Bellard 2005: 167).

Finally, about 2 km from Lixus, in Reqqada, near Rmel beach, a necropolis with burial tombs was excavated by El Khayari from 2000 to 2002, whose chronology extends between the end of the 6th century BC to the end of the 3rd century BC, with continuity in the 2nd–1st centuries BC (Kbiri Alaoui 2006: 149). The most significant tomb was a hypogea with a lateral niche, where the burial had, among other offerings, a bronze brazier with a handle and a “Cypriot” bronze jug from the 5th century BC (El Khayari pers. com. López Pardo 2002: 29).

### 3.4 Alcazarquivir-Azib Slaoui

Alcazarquivir or Ksar-el-Kebir, the “great palace”, called *Oppidum Novum* during the Roman period, is separated by 36 km of road from Larache. In medieval times the Loukos River was navigable, not only because at present the floodplain reaches up to its edges, but also because we have references of Abu-l-Fida (Abu-l-Fida 1848: 185) and Al-Qalqasandi (Al-Qalqasandi 1951: 40), from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, on ships from the Atlantic coming up the river to the city.

There is the reference from Ponsich on the presence of “Iberian-Punic” ceramics painted with bands found in a survey in Alcazarquivir (Ponsich 1982: 438). A settlement 5 km to the northwest of the city has been located in Azib Slaoui with Phoenician materials including amphorae and red slip ceramics from at least the second half of the 6th century BC (Akerraz, El Khayari 2000: 1651–57).

### 3.5 Thamusida

The Sebou River retains its name from Roman times, *Sububa* (Pliny, *NH*. V.1.9), perhaps because of its great meanders derived from the Phoenician *sbb* “to turn” (López Pardo 2009: 42), but for the moment a Phoenician or Punic centre has not been located at its mouth. This river, the main route into the country, is sensitive to the effects of the tide up to 50 km inland.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the river was navigable in winter to Fez by small boats (Pereira 1927: 238), which is currently 232 km from Mehdyia by road. It was navigable to Moulin-el-Bab, about 250 km along the river bed—some 100 linear km from the coast—in 1911. From this point to Fez—about 300 km along the river bed—the course of the



Fig. 5—View of Thamusida next to the river Sebou (© A. MEDEROS).

river is more sinuous and torrential as it is contained between mountains up to about 25 km of Fez (Torcy 1912: 156–58).

Thamusida, currently Sidi Ali Ben Ahmed, whose place name was thought to be, “swampy zone” in Libyan, is located upstream, in the second great meander (Villaverde 2001: 150, n. 510). The excavations were initiated by R. Thouvenot between 1952–1955, and their continuation entrusted by Euzennat to a group of researchers from the *École française de Rome* (Callu *et al.* 1965; Rebuffat *et al.* 1970; Rebuffat 1977), which took place between 1959–62 (Euzennat 1957: 212–15, Fig. 5–6; Euzennat 1960: 544–50). Thamusida was thought to have no Phoenician and Punic occupation, and phase IV (Callu *et al.* 1965: 108) began in the middle of the second century BC. However, the smaller-scale settlement appears to have emerged in the Phoenician and Punic era, around 250 m<sup>2</sup>, next to the river, which grew to 1.5 ha with the fortification in the first century BC (Akerraz *et al.* 2010: 162) (Fig. 5).

Reviewing materials has enabled us to recognise Phoenician amphorae dating from at least the 6th century BC, with reference to amphorae Ramón 11.2.1.4, 11.2.1.6 (Mañá-Pascual A4), Ramón 12.1.1.1(Mañá-Pascual A4), Ramón 12.1.1.2, 12.1.2.1, 8.1.3.2, 7.4.3.2, 7.4.3.3 (Mañá C2b) and Ramón 1.4.4.1 of Sardinia (Kbiri Alaoui 2007: 95 table 4, 225). Conversely, the excavations carried out between 1999 and 2006 by the University of Siena and the INSAP of Rabat, co-directed by A. Akerraz and E. Papi (Akerraz, Papi 2008), enabled the Morel II trial trenching to be cleaned, one of the four conducted between 1961–1962, whose level IV was initially attributed to the end of the second century or beginning of the first century BC. As the area excavated from level III, with Dressel 1 and Dressel 18 amphorae was reduced, level IV was re-excavated over a surface of 0.60 x 0.40 m and a depth of 2 m (Akerraz *et al.* 2010: 149–50, fig. 3). It has three phases, IVC and IVB, without Mañá-Pascual A4 amphorae, and has red slip plates from the 5th–4th centuries BC, absent from Mogador, type Banasa 9 painted cups and Cruz del Negro type urns. In addition, as residual material from sector 19, we can mention an evolved R-1 amphora, Ramón 10.1.2.1, which seems to reach the 6th century BC (Akerraz *et al.* 2010: 150–56, Fig. 4–9).



Fig. 6—View of the central area of Banasa (© A. MEDEROS).

### 3.6 Banasa

Thamusida was not the only place accessible by river navigation, so was Banasa, Sidi Ali bou Djoun, at least during the winter, which by road is about 82 km from Mehdyia. Banasa was named by Octavian Augustus when he founded between 33–25 BC the Roman colony of *Iulia Valentia Banasa*, mentioned by Pliny (*N.H.* V.1.5) as “Banasa, nicknamed Valentia”. This name has been considered a Phoenician place name, *bnsz* (Villaverde 2001: 146, 470 and 581) or derived from the Baniure tribe (Coltelloni-Trannoy 1997: 105). Its marshy environment was not suitable for agriculture that required it to be drained (Villaverde 2001: 146), which suggests that it was a point that channelled trade from the interior of the Sebou river valley (Fig. 6).

The site was excavated in 1933–53 by R. Thouvenot (Thouvenot 1941) and A. Luquet, and subsequently by Luquet alone in 1955–56 (Luquet 1966: 483–84). The trial trenches reached a maximum depth of -10.35 m and confirmed the presence of six strata and the pre-Roman affiliation of levels III to VI, and chronologies to the 7th–6th centuries BC were proposed from the study of Greek pottery (Euzennat 1960: 544; Villard 1960).

The presence of Phoenician materials in Banasa has been assessed differently. While Jodin spoke of the presence of Phoenician amphora necks (Jodin 1966: 191), Girard commented that archaic Phoenician materials were almost unknown in the 1956 excavation (Girard 1984: 152 n. 22). This diversity in points of view has generated different opinions, with at one extreme Ponsich who considers Banasa a “Phoenician foundation” of the 7th century BC (Ponsich 1982: 441), while Girard (Girard 1984: 152) and López Pardo (López Pardo 1990: 14–16) interpret it as an indigenous settlement, which in the second half of the 6th century BC, according to Lopez Pardo, received Phoenician merchants.

Fieldwork was resumed with a geophysical survey by A. Kermorvant, at least in 1993 and 1997 (Broise *et al.* 1995), who discovered an anomaly in the southern district of Banasa, linked to an oven and so led on to a stratigraphic survey in 1997 and 1998 and another in 1992 in the central area.

Simultaneously, some materials in the Museum of Rabat were studied and at least three rims of Phoenician amphorae Ramón 10.1.2.1-R1 evolved from the 6th century BC were identified from the Luquet excavations, already mentioned by Jodin (Jodin 1966: 191; Arharbi 2004: 413–14, 417 Fig. 17/1, 4; 2010: 398, Fig. 3/1, 4,



Fig. 7—View of Chella, ancient Sala, next to the Bou Regreg river (© A. MEDEROS).

one of them we believe to be somewhat older (Arharbi 2004: 413, 417 Fig. 17/2; Arharbi 2010: 398, Fig. 3/2), from the 7th century BC, and a loop handle probably also from these amphorae (Arharbi 2004: 414, 417, Fig. 17/3; Arharbi 2010: 398, Fig. 3/3). It appears to be contemporary with a two-nozzle saucer lamp located in the same museum (Arharbi 2010: 399, Fig. 4).

### 3.7 Salé

About 3 km from the mouth of the Bou Regreg, on its southern bank, Salé is located on Chella or Chellah hill, which had its own coinage with coins with Punic inscriptions (Mazard 1955: 194), with their Neo-Punic name or inscription -sl't, from sl, rock, feminine sl't (Lipinski 1992: 385, 420) (Fig. 7).

In the intense excavations of Boube (Boube 1984: 166–67, 170), only four fragments with red slip have been found and attributed to the Phoenician pottery of the 7th and first half of the 6th centuries BC. They must be the fragments that Ponsich discusses concerning the presence of isolated Iberian-Punic ceramic (Phoenician?) finds from the 7th century BC (Ponsich 1982: 440). They appear to correspond to semi-spherical bowls with paste similar to that of Mogador, according to El Khayari (in López Pardo 2001: 225).

### 3.8 Mogador

The bay of Mogador, with the population of Essaouira, “the wall”, has special features owing to having several islets off its west and southwest shores that protect it—among which Mogador stands out, 28 m above sea level and 836 m at its longest (Fig. 8). To its north it has the islet of Firaoun, 25 m above sea level, which demarcates a channel next to the coast penetrating into the bay, around 400 m wide and 10 m deep. On the eastern side of the island the two landings for Mogador are located, one of which, on the south-east tip of the islet, taking advantage of a natural beach, is the site of the Phoenician and Roman settlement (Jodin 1966: 10, Fig. 4 and p. 16, Fig. 5; Jodin 1967: 18, Fig. 6 and p. 20, Fig. 7) (Fig. 9).

Al-Bekri refers to this haven called Amogdoul or Amegdoul, which refers to the Hebrew migdol or Punic *mogdul* (Lipinski 1992, 296), the tower, because there may have been a tower or wooden lookout where a *thynnoscopos* or spotter of tuna was located.



Fig. 8—View of the islet of Mogador from the beach of Essaouira (© A. MEDEROS).

The paleogeographic reconstruction of the Mogador coast by Brückner and Lucas (Brückner, Lucas 2010: 104, Fig. 29c) indicates that there were two large islands, the present Essaouira and another formed by the island of Mogador and the islet of Firaoun towards 3000 BC, in addition to other small islets to the northeast of Essaouira. The next reconstruction they propose is for 700 BC, in Phoenician times, and they suggest that the island of Mogador and the islet of Firaoun were connected to land by an isthmus. The same applied to Essaouira, forming a bay to the east (Brückner, Lucas 2009: 106, Fig. 13; Brückner, Lucas 2010: 104, Fig 29b). From our point of view, the isthmus was formed, but at slightly later dates, towards the 3rd and last quarter of the 6th century BC, and precisely when it was connected to the land the islet of Mogador lost its security and was abandoned until Roman times.

A French map of the second half of the 18th century, ca. 1770–1800, reveals that an artificial passage was sometimes created that allowed access from the beach to the island (López Pardo, Mederos 2008: 163, Fig. 47). The reason for this must have been in the accumulations of sediments transported by the river by creating at the estuary an artificial passage towards Mogador at low tide. A mole was planned to be built precisely in this area (Vilar 1992: 457) because it was shallower and sheltered from the south wind. At the beginning of the 19th century, according to a French plan of 1804 (Lakhdar 2003: 114), the passage had been reopened with depths between 2.59 and 3.07 m.

At the start of 1950, ceramics and coins were discovered on the surface of the island of Mogador by two teachers from the Lycée of Essaouira, J.P. Desjacques and P. Koeberlé (Desjacques, Koeberlé 1955), who conducted small surveys the same year (Thouvenot 1959–60: 147). In 1951 different activities were conducted, such as the excavation of two salting basins in March (Jodin 1966: 11) and a campaign in September led by

Desjacques and Koeberlé (Thouvenot 1954b: 464), because in 1951 Cintas was unable to land on the island (Cintas 1954: 36; Jodin 1966: 11).

The excavation of Mogador was resumed in 1952 with the participation of Cintas (1953: 74–75; Cintas 1954: 9). Initially, Desjacques and Koeberlé had opened three trenches forming a T in 1951, an excavation system that was altered by Cintas excavating in horizontal levels towards the lateral levels (Cintas 1954: 37). The excavation went down to about -6 m deep, taking advantage of the erosive profile that bordered the beach (*ibid.*: 38, p. 113, fig. 23 and p. 118, fig. 40). The earliest phase was dated by Cintas in the 6th century BC (*ibid.*: 83–84).

In 1953, Desjacques and Koeberlé continued the excavations with the patronage of the Antiquities Service (Thouvenot 1954a: 55–56) and Koeberlé did so alone in 1954 (Thouvenot, 1955–56: 88).



Fig. 9—Phoenician landing on the islet of Mogador (after López Pardo, Mederos 2008: 160 Fig. 44) (© A. MEDEROS).

Mogador was again excavated by A. Jodin in 1956, and R. Chevallier and M. Ponsich also collaborated during the 1957 and 1958 campaigns (Jodin 1957, 1966 and 1967). Villard's study of the Greek ceramics in 1959 was essential as it was used to set the chronology of the site between the 7th–6th centuries BC (Euzennat 1960: 563).

More recently two research projects have been developed, one led by F. López Pardo and A. El Khayari, who carried out a survey campaign on the island and in the surrounding area in 2000 (López Pardo *et al.* 2011), which it was not possible to continue with two excavation campaigns scheduled for 2001 and 2002. These were finally successfully conducted by D. Marzoli and A. El Khayari during three campaigns in 2006–2008 (Marzoli, El Khayari 2009 and 2010).

The site's chronology suggests occasional occupations from the end of the eighth century and in the first half of the 7th century BC—such as a lamp with a nozzle, or two amphorae rims Ramón 10.1.1.1. The Cypriot pottery is *Bichrome IV Ware* from Archaic Cypriot I, 750–600 BC. The amphorae of Chios reached their peak production between 610–575 BC. More complicated are the attic amphorae *à la brosse*, which could coincide with the Chios wine amphorae between 610–575 BC. The second option would be that they were later imports from the second half of the 6th century BC and the first quarter of the 5th century BC, which would then place the examples from Mogador in the second half of the 6th century BC. In this case they could be contemporaneous with the Py 1-shaped Ionian-Massaliot amphora with its type 1 rim between 525–500 BC. These data suggest that Mogador was intensely inhabited in the last quarter of the 7th century BC and in particular, during the first half of the 6th century BC, and this presence was extended up to 525 BC, with more specific visits up to ca. 510 BC (López Pardo, Mederos 2008: 383–84).

#### 4 Conclusions: Access to Emporion Trade Products

The Phoenician presence on the North African Atlantic seaboard shows two commercial strategies. On the one hand, there was probably an early presence on the coast; on the other however, the settlements were only gradually getting established, gradually advancing towards the south. This early presence is only confirmed from the beginning of the 8th century BC at *Lixus*, which was the main population centre with 12 ha, and whose occupation is linked to the presence of a Phoenician sanctuary with an altar of shrine devoted to Melqart at the mouth of the *Lixus* river, where there was a small island. There were elephants in this area that provided ivory, given that we know of two metacarpal bones from the *Lixus* elephant (Grau *et al.* 2001: 200–201, Fig. 6), and there is a report of the presence of elephants on the Hannon journey after crossing Cape Solunte, nowadays Cape Spartel (*Peripl.* 4) (Fig. 1). Sheep and goat skins could also be obtained, as the people of *Lixus* grazed their flocks in Hannon's periplus (*Peripl.* 6).

In the second half of the 7th century BC this occupancy intensified, usually with settlements up the main river channels to control the trade in exotic products, Kuass in the Garifa

river, Salé at the mouth of the river Bou Regreg and Banasa 82 km inland from the river Sebou (Fig. 1). At the same time they began to occupy small islets next to the coast more to the south, such as Mogador. Kuass was in the lagoon with elephants as mentioned in Hannon's periplus (*Peripl.* 4). Sala and the Bou Regreg River were the best access to the Mamora forest, a region "filled with elephant herds" (Pliny, *N.H.* V.5). Conversely, Banasa must have been a supply point for the root and wood of citron tree and cypress or larch from the Atlas mountains (*Tetraclinis articulata*) for making statues for the gods (Pliny, *N.H.* VIII.31) and constructing temples (Pliny *N.H.* XIII.101). Other possible products were perhaps slaves and hippopotamus ivory, since they are also mentioned by Hannon (*Peripl.* 10) on the river Sebou.

This tree from the Atlas mountains can be closely accessed from the coast in the surroundings of Mogador, and is currently the most typical handicraft of Essaouira. Hannon refers to it when he talks of "high and leafy mountains" where "the wood of its trees was aromatic and varied in colour" (*Peripl.* 12). Also the Pseudo-Scylax periplus (*Peripl.* 112) mentions that skins from gazelles, Atlas lions, and leopards were procured. In return, the Phoenician merchants delivered amphorae of wine, scented oil in ampoules or beads of glass or faience (Ps. Scylax, *Peripl.* 112) in a relatively balanced commercial relationship as profitable for both parties; the final agreement needed the acceptance of everyone taking part. These products were not considered as merchandise by the indigenous population, because once inside the community these gifts no longer had the status of merchandise, as they were never an object for barter, but only for donation or redistribution, losing their value in the exchange and becoming a social commodity which conferred social prestige (Godelier 1974: 269, 298; Mederos, Escribano 2015b: 100–102).

During the first half of the 6th century BC, the settlements on the great rivers were reinforced. In some, such as the Loukos river, they went further inland and Azib Slaoui was founded at the limit of the navigable river. In others, such as the Sebou river, intermediate settlements were established on the route to Banasa, such as Thamusida on the Sebou river. We know in this period that less important rivers were occupied for the first time on the Mediterranean seaboard, places that also served as stopover in the navigation routes, and it is possible that when the surveys are intensified they will appear in areas like the Azemmour river, in several small channels to the south of Casablanca or in the mouths of rivers to the south of Mogador.

It is in this southern region, from Agadir—which must have been visited as early as the eighth century BC—that some small settlements could begin to become established in the 6th century BC to allow access to a very valuable resource: the purple obtained from the *Stramonita haemastoma* (Pomponius Mela III.10.103–104), whose abundance from Cape Rhir is linked to the beginning of the Canarian-Saharan Fishing Bank extending to Cape Blanco in Mauretania. In this region close to the desert it was also easier to obtain ostrich eggs and gazelle skins, and gold powder could arrive from the Senegal river basins and the Gambia River that went up through land routes (Mederos, Escribano 2015a: 96–99, 102–105; Mederos, Escribano 2015b: 393–408). Perhaps this explains

the first evidence of human occupation in the most eastern islands of the Canary Islands that already had an indigenous population, such as Lanzarote, from the second half of the 6th century BC (Atoche, Ramirez 2011a and 2011b; Mederos, Escribano 2015b: 271–79), linked to the ongoing exploitation of purple and perhaps also the exploration towards the south in search of gold dust or ivory from the African forest elephant (*Loxodonta africana cyclotis*). In this sense, at La Rebanadilla (Malaga), in a Phoenician context of the 9th–8th centuries BC, ivory from forest elephants has recently been discovered (Marzoli *et al.* 2016, 104, Fig. 15), whose most northerly region is also Senegal and Gambia.

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# The City-Emporion of Huelva (10th–6th Centuries BC)

Fernando GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES

## 1 Location and Town Planning

The ancient settlement of Huelva, in southwestern Spain (Fig. 1), was located at the apex of a peninsula open to a large estuary at the confluence of the Tinto and Odiel rivers (Fig. 2). The site's suitability for anchoring ships sheltered from the ocean proved decisive when it came to founding a major port to store resources from the Iberian Pyrite Belt and elsewhere before being exported over long distances by sea.

One area of the city was established in *Cabezo de San Pedro* (San Pedro Hill), probably also in the no longer extant *Cabezo del Molino de Viento*, and another in a marsh at the edge of the Tinto-Odiel estuary at the foot of the hills (Fig. 3). During the period of maximum expansion it reached a surface area of 20 hectares, or perhaps somewhat larger, built “house to house”. This area increases significantly if one includes the *Cabezo de La Esperanza* (Fig. 3), where architectural remains and silver metallurgical activities have been confirmed (Garrido Roiz 1968: 30–34), though not a dense occupation. While the excavations are not extensive enough for drawing a clear plan of the town, the dwellings and some individual square or rectangular buildings hardly differed from their contemporary eastern equivalents—if at all.

## 2 Genesis of the Emporion

Except for some ceramic fragments, the excavations of the city have not shown evidence of the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Bronze Age activities known in the surrounding territory. This does not exclude some limited occupation which, in any case, does not explain its subsequent major urban expansion.

### 2.1 Arrival of the Phoenicians

At the *Cabezo de San Pedro* a first phase was distinguished (Phase I), subdivided into three sub-phases. Although considered pre-Phoenician, a Phoenician wall was ascribed to Sub-Phase IB (Ruiz Mata *et al.* 1981: 179–95 and pl. III–XII). This work, with a parallel in Tyre IX (Bikai 1978: 11 and pl. LXXXIX.5–6),

required skilled stone cutters and, plausibly, the transport of calcarenite ashlar from the quarries of Niebla, at a distance of around 30 km. Apart from the wall, the oriental-inspired decorations of birds and goats on some of the older hand-made ceramics from the hill are proof of allochthonous contacts (Blázquez *et al.* 1970: 15–16 and pl. XXVIIIe, XXIXn & XXXIIb), as well as an inscription interpreted as Tartessian and later as Phoenician (Blázquez *et al.* 1970: 14 and pl. XXIVg & XXXVb; De Hoz 1969: 113–14 and Fig. 1; Mederos, Ruiz 2001: 104). In the following phase (Phase II) Phoenician ceramics are found from the second half of the 8th century BC.



Fig. 1—Map with the location of Huelva and other main settlements near the Strait of Gibraltar.



As regards the lower part of the habitat located on the estuary margin, a powerful water table had prevented investigations beyond levels of the second half of the 8th century BC. The archaeological data were completed when the waters were pumped out and the soil from the deepest anthropogenic levels extracted after regular excavations concluded at *Calle Méndez Núñez 7-13/Plaza de Las Monjas 12* (hereafter MN/PM) and *Calle Concepción 3* (Fig. 4). This enabled us to see, both at MN/PM (González de Canales *et al.* 2004: 23–25) and Concepción 3 (García Fernández *et al.* 2012; González de Canales *et al.* 2017), a first sub-phreatic stratum of human occupation around five meters deep and 80 cm thick. A selective check of the soil from this stratum, including its transport and isolation at Concepción 3, produced evidence of numerous Phoenician ceramics preceding the middle of the 8th century BC along with indigenous ceramics similar to San Pedro Phase I. A difference in the uses of the two spaces explains that, while in MN/PM the rims and bases of the Phoenician and indigenous vessels were equal (3,112 and 3,000 respectively), at Conception 3 there were twice as many of the former as of the latter (830 and 421). In the case of Conception 3, a recovery of materials *in situ* immediately above the virgin soil included handmade pottery of local tradition together with atypical fragments of Phoenician amphorae. These finds suggest that Phoenicians and natives had settled in the *emporion* at virtually the same time.

Although the Phoenician ceramics' survival is a disadvantage when it comes to differentiating between the 10th and 9th centuries BC, some Huelva types suggest a Phoenician presence in the second half of the 10th century BC. Taking the stratigraphy of Tyre as a reference, where the tenth century

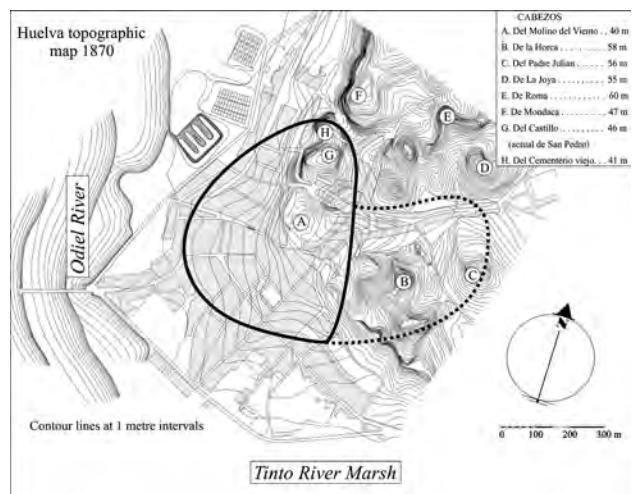


Fig. 3—Area occupied by the city of Huelva during the Orientalizing Period on a map of 1870. Dotted line includes La Esperanza Hill.

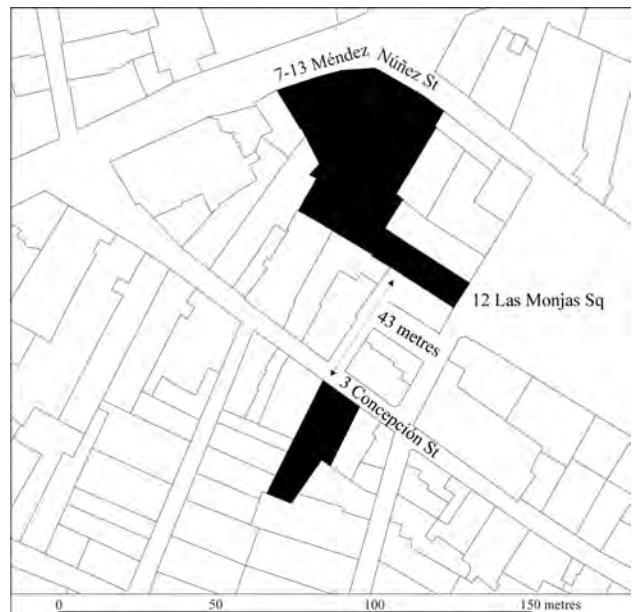


Fig. 4—7-13 Méndez Núñez St / 12 Las Monjas Sq & 3 Concepción St.

BC ends at the changeover from stratum XI to X (Bikai 1978: 67–68; Nuñez Calvo 2008a, Fig. 1.3), it may be that one or more of the 11 amphorae type 12 found in MN/PM, which in Tyre do not exceed stratum IX (three instances dispersed in the first eight strata obviously correspond to inclusions), are previous to the strata IX–X. Similarly, of the 14 bases type 11:3 found (13 in MN/PM and one in Conception 3), one or more may be earlier than the VII–X strata in which the last seven bases of this type appear. It is just as inappropriate to impose early dates as to attribute the latest possible ones in every case.

The finding in Concepcion 3 of a sharp-rimmed jug with a short ridged neck (Fig. 5.3) with parallels in Tyre XII and XIII.2 is particularly relevant (Bikai 1978: pl. XXXI.15 and XXXVII.13). Dr Nuñez Calvo considers the ridged-neck jugs' form within their evolutionary phases "b" and "c" (Nuñez Calvo 2008b: 25 and 32–36) and concludes that in Tyre X.2, the necks went



Fig. 5—Neck ridged jugs from 3 Concepción Street (photos and drawings GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ).

through an elongation that marks the beginning of phase “d” (*ibid.*: 39). If these assessments are correct, then we can be almost certain that there was a Phoenician presence in the second half of the 10th century BC.

An early dating for some ceramics is also encouraged by their absence from Kition, whose earliest examples turn up in the late 9th century BC (Bikai 2003: 234–36). At Kition there are no dishes close to the types 12, 13, and 14 differentiated by Bikai in Tyre, bases 10, 11: 3, and 20, jugs 9, spouted jugs, and type 12 amphorae. With a few exceptions, they have not been documented either in the late 9th century BC contexts of Cadiz (Gener Basallote *et al.* 2012), La Rebanadilla in Malaga (Arancibia Román *et al.* 2011), and Utica (López Castro *et al.* 2016).

With the reservations required by the radiocarbon debate, the 10th century BC is preferably indicated by the GRN-29512 dating of the livestock bones from the deepest MN/PM stratum (Nijboer, Van der Plicht 2006: 32), without dismissing the fact that such stratum might contain bones somewhat older than those analysed. The presence of Phoenician ceramics immediately above the virgin soil in Concepción 3 excludes, at least on this site, a level with “pre-Phoenician bones”.

The finds unearthed call into question the pre-Phoenician character of certain oriental-inspired objects scattered throughout the Iberian Peninsula: fibulae “de codo”, with Cypriot-Levantine parallels, the bronze bowls of Baiões (São Pedro do Sul, Portugal) and Berzocana (Cáceres), with similarities in the Phoenician Tel Jatt deposit (González de Canales *et al.* 2010a: 663–64 and Fig. 11), or the comb from Cabeço de Vaiamonte (Monforte, Portugal), decorated with circles similar to those from an example of the Phoenician ivory-carving workshop of MN/PM (González de Canales *et al.* 2004: 165 and pl. XLI.3 and LXVII.3). They also invalidate the evidence for pre-Phoenician iron objects, especially considering that in some contexts with radiocarbon datings preceding the 10th century BC, others do not exclude this century; besides, earlier datings are more common in western stratigraphies than in eastern stratigraphies with similar Phoenician ceramics. As a last observation, they explain

the inclusion of fibulae, combs, mirrors, lyres and other traditionally eastern objects on the south-western warrior steles. During an initial phase the Phoenicians traded bronze artefacts, iron, ivory, glass, and possibly clothes and various manufactures more profitable and easier to transport over long distances than ceramics.

The occurrence of huts associated with trench structures interpreted as the vestiges of vineyards in the Orden-Seminario area, three kilometres north of the old settlement, fits into this chronological framework. The first phase consists of bi-conical vessels and carinated open shapes (Beltrán Pinzón, Díaz Rodríguez 2016: Fig. 5.1–2) similar to others associated with Phoenician ceramics in MN/PM and Concepción 3 (Fig. 6). We highlight the find in the place of a Sardinian *askos* with simple circles printed on the handle, dated in the Castillo de Lipari between the 10th and 9th centuries BC (Botto 2011: 42), and a Phoenician jug, of which part of a very wide ridged neck—with the handle below the ridge—is preserved (Beltrán Pinzón, Díaz Rodríguez 2016: Fig. 6.3), close to specimens of the Cyprus Kouklia horizon (Bikai 1987: pl. V.71). The viticulture of the Orden-Seminario is reflected in the abundant *Vitis vinifera* pips recovered in the deep MN/PM and Concepción 3 stratum (Fig. 7). In fact, a nearby cultivated area had been inferred from the MN/PM paleobotanical study (Sánchez Hernando 2004: 233–34).

## 2.2 Population With Indigenous Roots

If Phoenician interests underpinned the genesis of the *emporion*, the indigenous populations played an important role in its consolidation and development. A first question concerns the ethnicity and origin of these populations. The immediate territory does not seem to have accommodated a sufficiently-sized population by the end of the second millennium BC to justify the demographic explosion that led to the emergence of the *emporion* and settlements specializing in silver metallurgy. It would suggest the arrival of people from other regions, mainly because the indigenous ceramics from some settlements—apparently pre-Phoenician as indicated by the lack of wheel-thrown pottery—are no different from those found with Phoenician ceramics in the *emporion* itself. This is explained by the fact that Phoenician ceramics rarely reached agricultural and mining-metallurgical settlements during the initial phase, although the Phoenicians promoted the installations.

As is well known, the requirement of manual labour for mining is a historical-economical constant. In the late nineteenth century the same district of Riotinto massively attracted people from diverse backgrounds due to the strong reactivation of the mining. As evidence of a similar process in the Tartessian period there is the abandonment, albeit with exceptions, of settlements located in the Sierra de Huelva, the neighbouring province of Badajoz, and the Portuguese regions of Alentejo (Pérez Macías 1996a) and Beiras Central and Interior (Vilaça 2004: 2). Another clue is provided by the presence in the deep MN/PM stratum of 20 non-wheel-thrown carinated bowls, with frequent polished geometric lines (*cerámica bruñida*). As identical bowls appear in regions of Portugal subsequently inhabited by the Celts, according

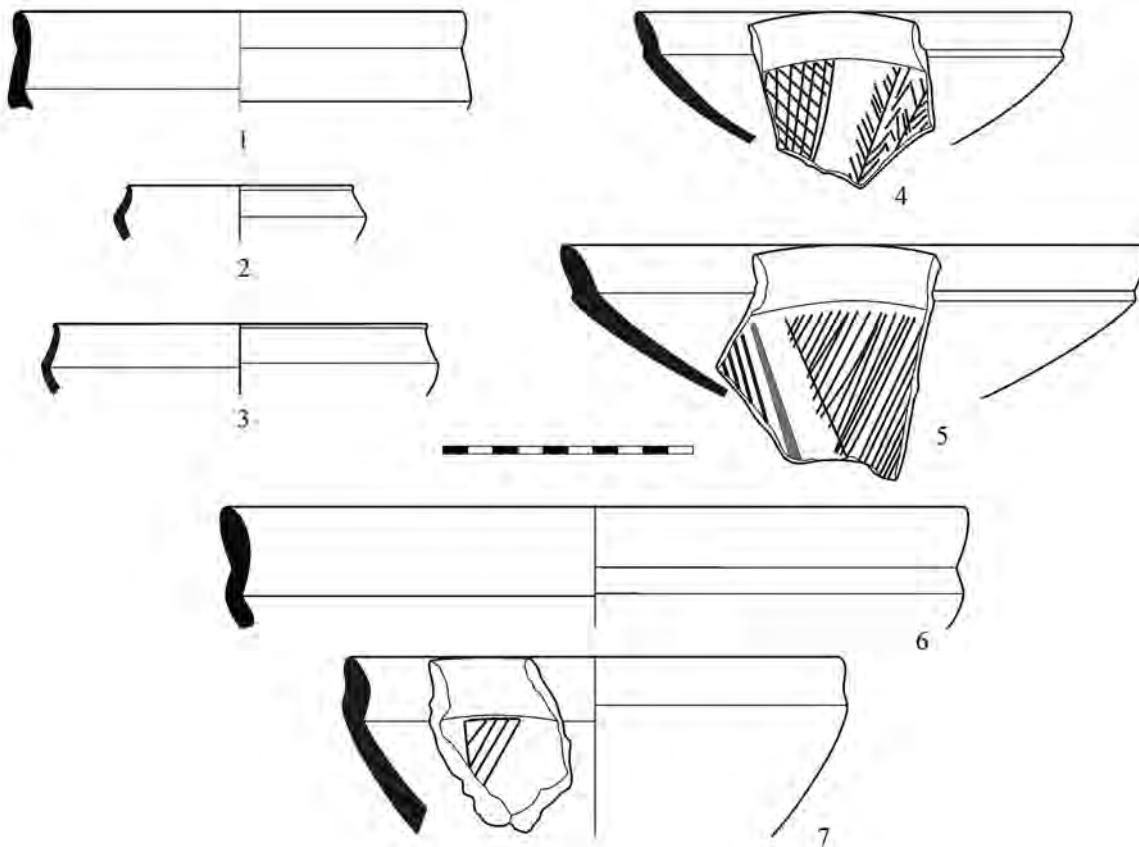


Fig. 6—Biconical vessels and open high-carinated forms, with and without “*retícula bruñida*” decoration. 1 & 6: 3 Concepción St; 2–5 & 7: MN/PM.

to historical sources (Fig. 8), the displacement to Huelva of a “proto-Celtic” population could be suggested. The hypothesis of a Celtic component in Tartessos has been raised again due to discussion about the language on the south-western epigraphic steles (Koch 2014). However, it is one thing to say part of the population of the *emporion* could have Celtic ancestry; it is another to consider the steles to be Tartessian, since they far exceed the geographic space that the sources assign to Tartessian territory. For example, the Cinetes of southern Portugal, the region with the highest concentration of steles, are distinguished from the Tartessians in all sources – and from the Celts in Herodotus (Herodotus II.33.3 and IV.49.3). This does not mean that the influence of the *emporion* could not be felt in very distant regions.

Two other linguistic arguments have been alleged in favour of a Celtic component. The first one establishes a relationship between the graffito NIETHOI on a bowl from the 6th century BC attributed to Miletus and the Hispanic god with a possible Celtic link Neto(n), attested in several sources (Almagro Gorbea 2004). The second argument finds a Celtic root in the name “Arganthonios”, the king of Tartessos (Herodotus I.163.2), although in Graeco-Latin texts it is also used for a mountain of Bithynia (Apollonius Rhodius 1.1178; Propertius 1.20.33; Strabo XII.4.3). Regardless of the linguistic attribution of “Arganthonios”, its etymological connection to silver, or its interpretation as a personal name or nickname (“he of the silver”), it is not strange that after decades of relations the Ionian sources should mention a ruler of Tartessos.

### 3 Arrival and Establishment of the Greeks

Herodotus (Herodotus IV.151 and 152.1–3) reports that, coinciding with the founding of Cyrene in North Africa, Coleus of Samos reached the *emporion* of Tartessos after crossing the Columns of *Herakles* (Strait of Gibraltar). Consequently, Tartessos was a reality when the Greeks arrived. According to another account by the same author (Herodotus I.163.1–3), the Phocaeans established close relationships with Arganthonios, who offered to let them settle in his territory. Later, when Phocaea was threatened by the Persians, the Phocaeans could not return to Tartessos because Arganthonios had died (Herodotus I.165.2). Regardless of any mythical component, the period in which Herodotus places the Ionians in Tartessos, between ca. 630 and ca. 540 BC, coincides with the Greek finds of Huelva, already an *emporion* west of Gibraltar for about three centuries as proved by its cosmopolitanism and commercial activities. Among the most significant finds, thousands of ceramic fragments in the city museum reflect the arrival of myriads of archaic Greek vessels.

Some Greek sources that have their first origin in the 6th century BC pay particular attention to the River Tartessos. This river, which flowed from Lake Ligustino (Avienus, *Ora Maritima*: 284–85) is often confused with the Guadalquivir. In addition to the fact that at the time the Guadalquivir flowed out into a gulf open to the ocean, nothing like a lake, such identification does not agree with the detailed description of the Tartessos River in the *Ora Maritima* (Avienus, *Ora Maritima*:



Fig. 7—*Vitis vinifera* seeds from the deeper anthropogenic stratum at 3 Concepción St (photo García FERNÁNDEZ).

283–98), which on the contrary matches the course of the *Rio Tinto* and the Tinto-Odiel estuary, with a narrow exit to the ocean (Lake *Ligustino*). Regarding the “silver roots” attributed to the Tartessos River by Stesichorus (in Strabo III.2.11), he states the relationship of the sources of the Tinto River with the mines of Riotinto. The silver slags from the Riotinto’s Phoenician-Tartessian and Roman periods, estimated at 15,300,000 tons (Salkied 1970: 89) and, subsequently, at 6,600,000 tons (Rothenberg et al. 1989: 66), are unparalleled in antiquity. They exceed the just over 4,000,000 tonnes of copper slag in Cyprus for the same period (Bruce et al. 1937: 642).

These and other geographic, archaeological and mining-metallurgical realities confirm the references from ancient Greek geographers and historians and surpass the unidimensional interpretations that structure and destructure suppositions about Tartessos, when they do not manage to treat these references as fictitious.<sup>1</sup>

## 4 Trade

### 4.1 Products Obtained by Phoenicians and Greeks

The extraordinary nautical capacity of the Phoenicians enabled them to sell the products obtained in the *emporion* in the Mediterranean markets, including raw materials that they had previously transported there from Africa. Conversely, the interior trade routes of the Iberian Peninsula and Africa plausibly remained under indigenous control.

The metals occupied a preeminent place from the earliest times, as evidenced by the demonstration of a triple metallurgy of copper, iron and silver and finding pieces of lead, gold and tin in the deep stratum of MN/PM (Gonzalez de

Canales et al. 2004: 145–56 and pl. XXXVII–XXXVIII & LXIII–LXIV). Silver, copper, and perhaps gold came from the mines of the Iberian Pyrite Belt; tin, and gold from deposits farther west in the Iberian Peninsula, whose relationship with the *emporion*, as well as the suggestive proto-Celtic component already discussed, reflects the *Ora Maritima* when it reports a land connection between the gulf of Lisbon and the coast of the Tartessians (Avienus, *Ora Maritima*: 178–80). Gold could also come from Africa along with ivory and ostrich eggs. As for lead—not lacking in the region—some isotopic analyses (Hunt Ortiz 2003: 394) suggest that during the initial phase it may have been imported from Sardinia to cupel silver (Gonzalez de Canales et al. 2011: 259). While in the *Rio Tinto* habitat (Blanco Freijeiro et al. 1969: 155–56) silver production is reckoned to have been on a domestic scale, in the so-called *Corta del Lago* it acquired an industrial character (Blanco Freijeiro, Rothenberg 1981: 29, note 62). Outside the mines there are numerous silver slags in the habitat of Huelva and in the newly created settlements specialised in silver metallurgy.

The fact that in the *emporion* all the metals that the Phoenicians obtained in *Tarshish*<sup>2</sup> are found—gold, silver, iron, tin and lead—suggests an identification corroborated by other solid evidence (González de Canales et al. 2010a). Conversely, apart from serious philological problems, in *Tarsus* no extensive activities have been proven for obtaining metals, especially silver, in a strong Phoenician context since the beginning of the First millennium BC. Nor would the Phoenicians have been free to access valuable raw materials for centuries in a place within land range of neighbours as powerful as Assyria.

Other products of interest to the Phoenicians are represented by molluscs of the *Murex* genus (González de Canales et al. 2004: 176 and pl. LXXII), the basis of the purple industry, and food provided by the introduction of new agricultural and fishing techniques, of which the discussed vineyard crops and the large marine species of Calle del Puerto 10 (Roselló Izquierdo, Morales Muñiz 1994) are instances. In addition, the easy exploitation of salt in the Tinto-Odiel estuarine marsh could meet the demands of the salting industry with no limits.

As for the Greeks, the sources first originating in archaic times<sup>3</sup> mention the same metals (gold, silver, tin) in Tartessos as the Phoenicians obtained in *Tarshish*. The abundance of silver justifies the great profits of Coleus’ voyage (Herodotus IV.152, 3–4) and the *chremata* provided by Arganthonios to the Phocaeans to protect their city by means of a wall in the face of the increased power of the Medes (Herodotus I.163.3–4). According to Özüigit’s estimations the wall was built between 590 and 580 BC (Özüigit 1994: 93–94).

### 4.2 Benefits Obtained by the Indigenous Population

The Phoenicians provided the indigenous elites with the sumptuary objects of La Joya necropolis (Garrido Roiz 1970; Garrido Roiz, Orta García 1978), often manufactured by Phoenician craftsmen established in the region,<sup>4</sup> perhaps in the

2. 1 Kings 10.22; Ezekiel 27.12; Jeremiah 10.9.

3. Stesichorus in Strabo III.2.11; Ephorus in Pseudo-Scymnus 165–166; Müller, GGM I, 201; Hecataeus in Stephanus of Byzantium if the fr. 45 of Nenci (NENCI 1954) is accepted; Avienus, *Ora marítima*, 293.

4. JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA 2002: 14 and 91.

1. In previous publications I have treated these references of more detailed form (GONZÁLES DE CANALES 2014).

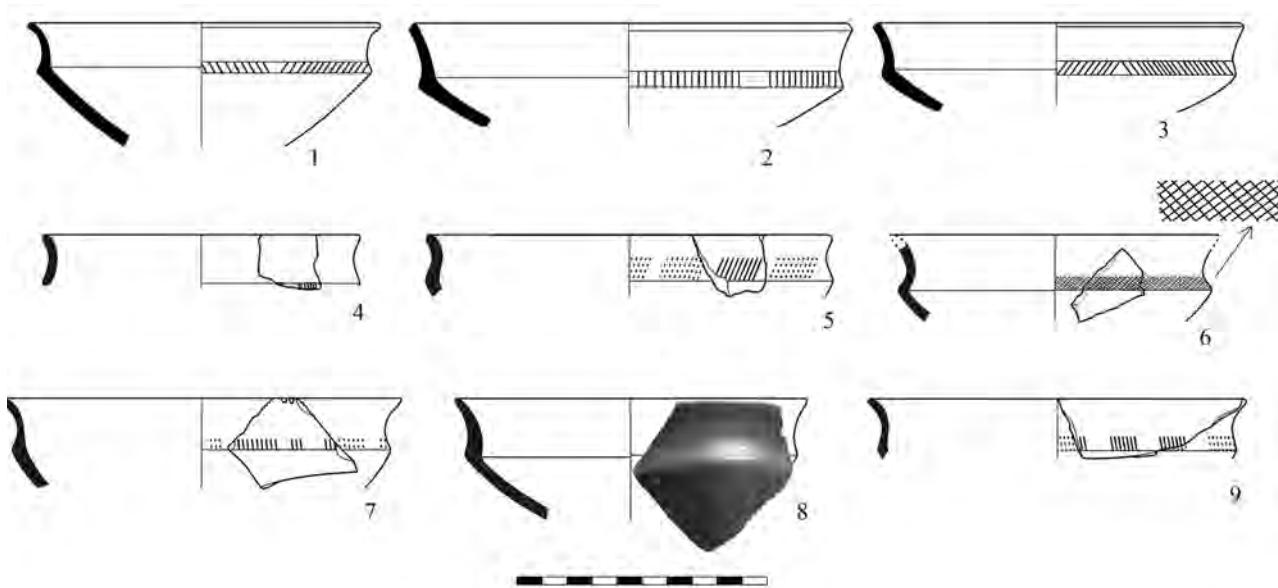


Fig. 8—(1–3) Bowls with *bruñida* decoration of Conímbriga (after Correia 1993: Fig. 3.1–2 & 4); (4–9) similar bowls found in Huelva (González de Canales et al. 2004: pl. XXII.12–24).

same *emporion*. Their affiliation to a conventional “Tartessian culture”, to fill it with content, implies the attribution of Phoenician productions to this culture.

Apart from the benefits obtained by the elites, technological advances in two basic staples—housing and food—led to an overall improvement in living conditions. The traditional indigenous circular huts gave way to quadrangular houses of stone and mud-bricks, and food remains reveal a rich and varied nutrition. Without reaching the luxury of objects exclusively for the elite, there was also room for small manufactures of metal, glass or ivory, dresses, perfumes, spices and, as witnessed by the internal treatment applied to bulbous base amphorae and amphorae with grooves in the shoulder, wine imported from Phoenicia (González de Canales et al. 2011: 259). From the end of the 7th century BC, Greek oil, perfumes and wine arrived, as well as attractive Attic, Corinthian and Laconian vessels.

#### 4.3 Forms of Commerce

According to the biblical texts Tyre’s trade depended on the royal power held by Hiram I, his successors, and the aristocracy: the “merchant princes” of *Isaiah 23.8*. The type of trade by treaty described by Karl Polanyi and the substantivists was applied, exercised by royal commercial agents similar to the *tamkārs* of the Ugarit texts. However, in coexistence with the *tamkārs*, there may have been independent traders, the biblical *rklym*, who would pay a fee to the king (Diakonoff 1992: 182). The appearance of weights in Huelva (González de Canales et al. 2004, 154–5 and pl. XXXVIII.10–13 & LXIV.21–24) testifies that the forms of trade by treaty coexisted with other more mercantilist ones. In any case, the provision of luxury goods to the local elites paved the way for the Phoenicians to establish their commercial network.

With respect to the Greeks, while the Samian Coleus personifies an independent merchant, an owner of a merchant ship, the Phocaeans sail in penteconters and everything suggests

an enterprise planned from the metropolis. With their arrival a situation occurred that can be partly compared to other *emporia* like Naukratis. This similarity lies in the necessary relationship of friendship with the sovereign of the territory who welcomes them, dedications to Greek gods, the discovery of bronze rods interpreted as *obeloi* with premonetary value (Fernández Jurado 1988–89: 202–207), the concentration of Greek ceramics in the south of the city and the demonstration by X-ray diffraction and neutron activation of a production of Greek ceramics with local clay (Fig. 9) (González de Canales, Llompart Gómez 2017).

From the indigenous perspective, although the hierarchical power reflected by the necropolis of La Joya implies a degree of economic control, we do not know how much it monopolised and redistributed resources and intervened in setting its exchange value. On the other hand, the archaeology shows a deep involvement of the population in silver production and besides the fact that a portion could be collected by the hierarchy, unrestricted individual or family trade cannot be ruled out. This would have favoured general interest and the acceptance of foreigners.

Consequently, the forms of trade and exchange are very complex and likely to involve various mechanisms: presents and gifts, barter, pricing, etc., not forgetting the widespread use of pre-monetary silver. The role of sanctuaries and divinities as guarantors of alliances and transactions is also to be considered (Domínguez Monedero 2001).

#### 5 Political and Social Structure

In addition to being a centre of cultural and technological influences, the city-*emporion* was the seat of a concentration of power and an intensification of stratification and social transformations derived from urban growth, commercial activities and functional diversification. The sumptuousness

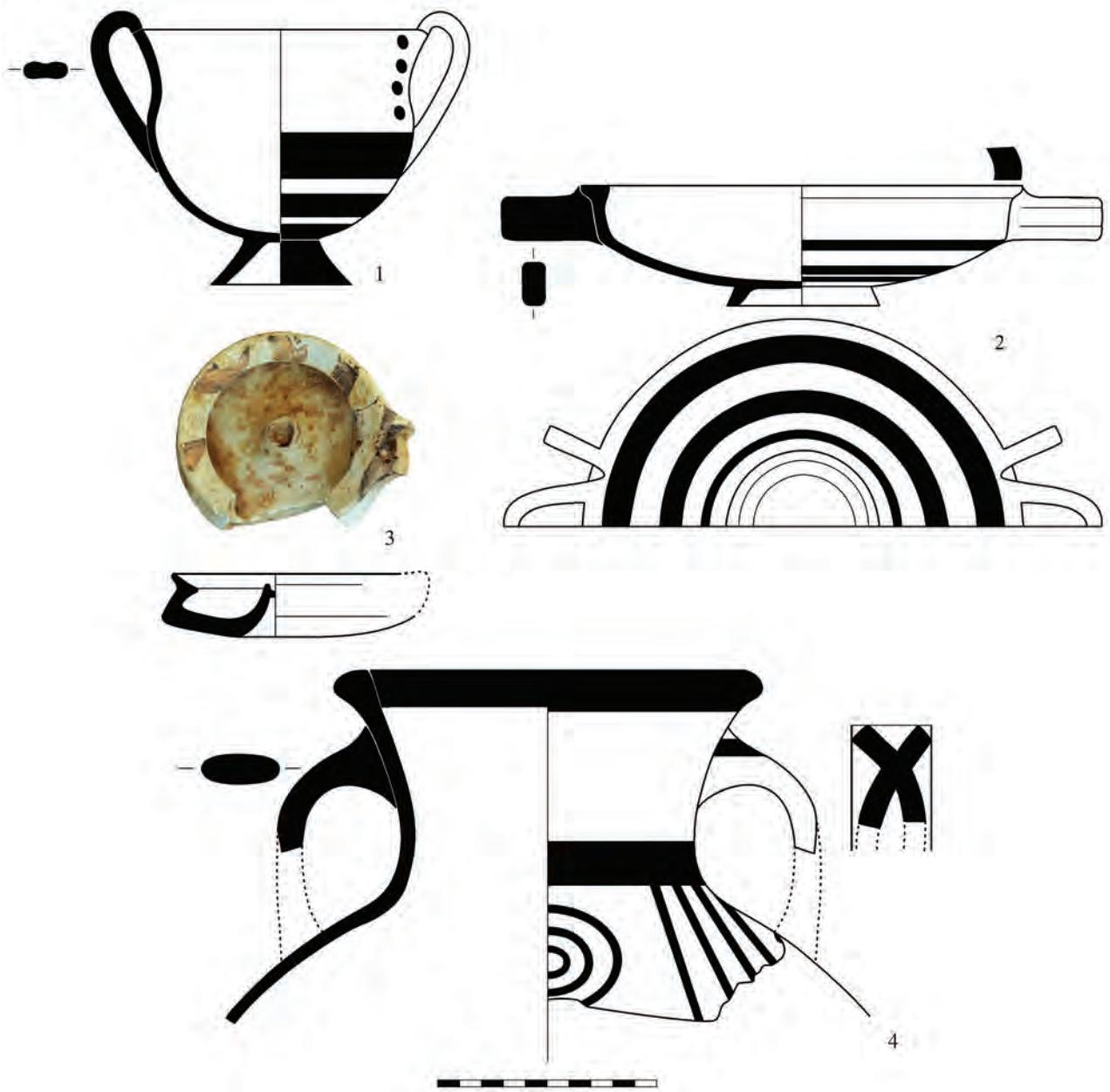


Fig. 9—Greek greenish yellowish clay ceramics locally produced. 1: kantharos; 2: lekane; 3: lamp; 4: amphora.

of the offerings of the La Joya necropolis satisfied the pretensions to exhibit and legitimise the high status displayed by the hierarchy. With the same purpose, the necropolis was located on the top of a hill adjacent to the settlement. It is possible that in order to have valid interlocutors who would ensure a peaceful coexistence, necessary for their interests, the Phoenicians promoted absolutist regimes similar to some found in the East. Regarding the majority of the population, the archaeological finds show a certain distribution of goods; perhaps for this reason the sources refer to the “rich Tartessians” (*Avienus, Ora Maritima*: 423). However, far from being citizens with political rights, this population appears to have been in a structural situation of clientelistic dependence on power.

The scenario is different in the mines, where much poorer materials do not reflect widespread prosperity. Although

not proven, the existence of a slave workforce could even be considered. Plausibly, the industrial-scale casting area of the Riotinto Corta del Lago was directly under the control of hierarchical power.

Some late testimonies concerning Tartessian society are not worth considering because they are quite unsupported, such as the statement that “among the Tartessians, the younger cannot testify against the older” by Nicolaus of Damascus in the second half of the 1st century BC (Müller, FHG III 103: 457).

We can only hypothesise on the ownership and use of land and the social and institutional aspects of agricultural operations. The extensive vineyard fields in the neighbouring area of La Orden-Seminario (the *ager* of the *emporion*), rather than small proprietors, seem to depend on a royal hierarchy or landlords linked to political power, perhaps with a

semi-servile workforce. Whether the Phoenicians intervened in the planning, transformation, and commercialisation of agricultural production has yet to be determined.

Without excluding occasional violent episodes, not recorded in the written sources or the excavations, relations between natives, Phoenicians and, later, Greeks must have been peaceful enough as to suit the interests of the *emporion*. Political independence and a certain degree of satisfaction of the indigenous population justified the prolonged coexistence. However, the weapons of the Huelva estuary deposit and some exhumed in the necropolis of La Joya testify that, at the time, there was no lack of instruments to exert violence. In nearby areas—a scenario of Phoenician colonisation strictly speaking—other factors that could hinder relations may have been involved, accounting for landmarks such as the Doña Blanca rampart. Rather than coercive action and physical domination, the Phoenicians exercised economic influence in the *emporion*, as they knew how to direct the efforts of the indigenous population in favour of their interests by collaborating with the ruling class and providing technology and commercial exchanges.

As for the relations between Phoenicians and Greeks, they might not be as competitive as one might think. Herodotus alludes to an exceptional reception in Tartessos of the Phocaean, whose arrival in penteconters does not necessarily imply violence. Coleus, who sailed on a merchant ship, experienced the same reception. It is surprising that the Greeks could have spent almost a century navigating coasts packed with Phoenician settlements without interference, to a destination where the Phoenicians also occupied a prime site. It was also Ionians and not Greeks from other nearer territories who made landfall in Tartessos. Perhaps the Phoenicians themselves facilitated these navigations through their good relations with eastern Greece. The establishment of Phoenician merchants and craftsmen in Rhodes (Coldstream 1969; Kourou 2003) and figures such as Pythagoras, son of a Samian woman and a merchant of Tyre, or Thales of Miletus, linked to the Phoenicians according to tradition and from whom perhaps he adopted the system of nocturnal navigation, are exponents of these relations. The situation must have changed with the rise of Carthage in the second half of the 6th century BC (Battle of Alalia, confrontations with Massalia).

Another issue open to multiple interpretive models is the incidence of mixed marriages. Starting with the hypothetical marriage arrangements between the upper classes to seal alliances, although the personages buried in La Joya are usually considered indigenous, it is not possible to rule out Phoenician ancestry. For some researchers, they could even be Phoenicians (which would entail the introduction of important modifications to this article). A further step would be the proliferation of unions between the popular classes of the various ethnic groups (or cultural identities if preferred). In the dwelling houses both Phoenician and indigenous ceramics, and later, Greek ceramics have been found, and a close coexistence can be presumed that favoured unions, cultural loans and hybridisations, and the appearance of new identity models. However, the linguistic differences indicated by inscriptions show multiculturalism survived. The small number of tombs known in the necropolis of La

Joya and the absence of necropolises in the later Turdetan period is an insurmountable obstacle for verifying marriage alliances. Genetic studies—which could prove quite surprising—are also lacking. Neither do we know of any Greek tombs, perhaps because the Greeks returned to their homeland before their death.

## 6 Religiosity

The multicultural population of the *emporion* expressed different religious creeds and manifestations that apparently freely coexisted. Phoenician religiosity is exhibited in a sanctuary erected at the end of the 8th century BC in MN/PM (Osuna *et al.* 2001). The presence of traditional indigenous and Greek ceramics suggests that it could be open to non-Phoenician people with a fertile environment for all kinds of religious syncretism. Finds of items of a sacred nature in the deepest stratum of the same site suggest cultic activities from a much earlier period. Among other examples, they included perforated astragalus bones, lead-filled in a particular case, ostrich eggs, a wooden spoon in the form of a deer's paw, five possible baetyli, an outstanding number of Phoenician Fine Ware, as in the temple of Kition (Bikai 2003: 221 and Table 12) and indigenous ceramics with painted geometric decoration, as in the sanctuary of El Carambolo (González de Canales *et al.* 2004). Another religious reference is the personal theophoric name *grtnn* (the consecrated, the protected of *tnn*) inscribed on a local grey ceramic bowl found at Calle Botica 5–7. Although not attested in Phoenician, *tnn* designates a monstrous divinity in Ugaritic and biblical Hebrew.<sup>5</sup> In Cabezo de San Pedro (Corral Cañón 1981) and Calle del Puerto 10 (Olmos 1994) terracottas have been found that could represent Astarte. Finally, from the Tinto-Odiel Estuary come two bronze smiting gods (Gamer-Wallert 1982) and, perhaps, an extraordinary upper left extremity, weighing 2690 g, belonging to another bronze smiting god for which a weight of almost 50 kg and a height—under the assumption that it wears a conical tiara—of 105 cm is estimated (Ferrer Albelda 2012). According to the tradition (Strabo III.5.5), Saltés Island, in the same estuary (Fig. 2), with Phoenician remains from at least the 7th century BC (Bedia García 2005), was devoted to Herakles/Melkart.

Sacred Greek enclosures certainly existed, but to date they have not been confirmed. In their place we know of engraved dedications on ceramic supports to Herakles (Dominguez Monedero 2010), Hestia<sup>6</sup> and, most likely, Nike (Dominguez Monedero 2009). There are also a considerable number of vessels associated with symposiac rituals, some as striking as Siana cups with plastic decorations of astragalus and ram's heads (González de Canales 2004: 323–25).

It is more difficult to detect indigenous religious elements. If “proto-Celtic” people emigrated to the *emporion* and the proposed relationship of the NIETHOI inscription with a Celtic divinity is correct, part of the population would have expressed Celtic beliefs. But in the immediate environment

5. HELTZER 2000, who suggests correcting by *tnt*: the goddess Tanit.

6. Dubois, Pedrero in LLOMPART *et al.* 2010.

other populations existed who were able to join the *emporion* whose religious practices we ignore. Again, the total lack of necropolis is an insurmountable obstacle to research. Known tombs are confined mainly to the elites, who, accepting their of indigenous ethnicity, seem to have adopted Phoenician religious iconographical elements. Not only do the bronze offerings from the La Joya necropolis replicate the more modest ceramics of the Phoenician necropolis, but ritual practices such as the funeral banquet are testified to. To what extent Phoenician paraphernalia were appropriated to be instrumentalised in favour of the social status of the hierarchy—whether for their apotropaic value or to be reinterpreted and incorporated into their religious beliefs, it is difficult to say. A ritual character has also been assigned to the famous deposit of bronzes in the Huelva estuary, which is explained not as a shipwreck but—within a broad tradition in western Europe—as an indigenous fluvial necropolis (Belén, Escacena 1995: 110) or votive deposit in the waters, funerary or otherwise, that marks a place of passage in the territory controlled by the power (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995). I exclude from this explanation the religious elements contained in the myth of *Gargoris* and *Habis* (Justinus, 44.4) as being fundamentally to be ascribed to Hellenistic anthropological thinking.

## 7 Eclipse of the *Emporion*

If the founding of the *emporion* can be dated to the second half of the 10th century BC, its decline occurred four centuries later, at the beginning of the second half of the 6th century BC. Archaeologically there is a retraction of the habitat, without prejudice to later re-occupations, and a certain constructive decline in areas that remained inhabited (Rufete Tomico 2002: 168 and 190–91).

The crisis coincides with the disconnection between Phoenicia and the far West and the rise of Carthage. Also with the testimony of Herodotus on the impossibility for the Phocaean to return to Tartessos and ceramics ceasing to arrive from eastern Greece. From that moment on Greek sources state their ignorance about events west of Cadiz, again *terra incognita* (González de Canales 2014, note 34). Previously, during the aforementioned western Phoenician crisis that coincides with a series of pressures Tyre endured, including Nebuchadnezzar's siege (ca. 585–572 BC), the Ionians could have occupied part of the Phoenicians' place in the *emporion*, without, as has been suggested, this implying confrontations.

The classical hypothesis advocated was that Carthaginian influence in the second half of the 6th century BC was disastrous for Tartessos. Some authors argue the abandonment of silver production due to lack of profitability as the fundamental cause of the eclipse (Fernández Jurado 1986: 170). Undoubtedly, the competition from the Attic mines of Laurion with Pisistratus must have been disadvantageous (Pérez Macías 1996b: 210–11). The fact is that in the habitat of Huelva metallurgical activities practically disappeared. Another hypothesis suggests that a succession of indigenous uprisings against the ruling classes and their Phoenician allies in the region ended by affecting the *emporion*. A final theory is that a large part of the city located at a minimum

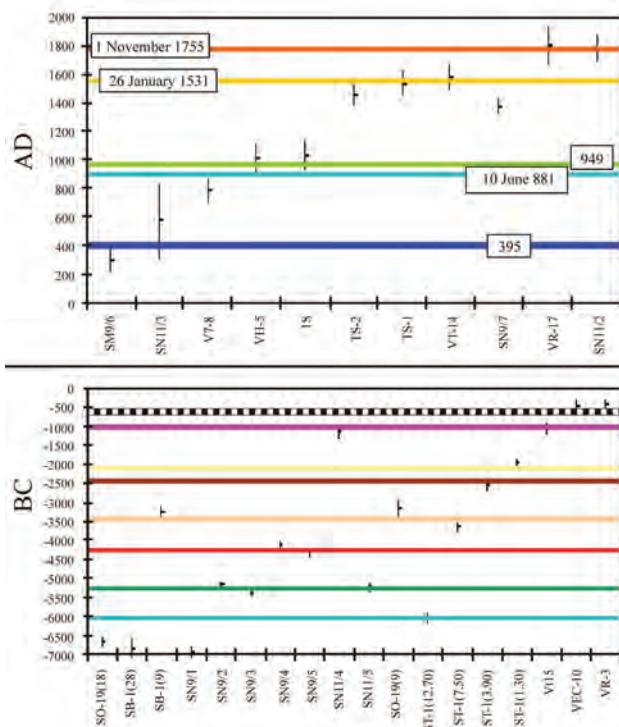


Fig. 10—Radiocarbon ages of tsunami deposits recorded in some cores from the Tinto-Odiel Estuary. The name of those cores is indicated in the horizontal axes. Dotted line shows a tsunami in the 6th century BC (after Morales González, Borrego Flores, 2008: Fig. 6 and 7).

height above sea level was devastated by a tsunami in the 6th century BC (Fig. 10).

Whether one or more reasons explain the loss of significance the erstwhile *emporion* and its surroundings were to form part of the wider territory of the later Turdetan world. The debate is still open on whether in the *Tarseion/Tarseiou* of the second Rome-Carthage treaty of 348 BC, transmitted by Polybius (Polybius, III.24.1–5), the place name *Tarshish* survives, identified with the Greek *Tartessos*, and the name of its inhabitants in the *Thersitae* by the same author (Polybius, III.33.8–9).

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# MQM. Phoenician Emporia in the South of the Iberian Peninsula (9th to 7th Centuries BC)

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José Luis LÓPEZ CASTRO

## 1 Introduction

The application of well-defined ancient Greek terms with a specific meaning to the material and cultural manifestations of other ancient peoples is an ongoing resource in modern research. This is the case with *polis*, *emporion*, *chora* or *basileus*, to cite some examples, which become applicable to the ancient world in universal concepts within a tradition of Hellenocentric studies. By analogy we apply these terms to realities that are not always completely comparable, but which have the advantage of expressing common and interchangeable elements in one concept that facilitate their understanding.

However, it is necessary to clarify that a term known in Phoenician language could be equivalent to that of *emporion*, such as *mqm*, or *maqom*, a trading place where exchange takes place and is permitted. This term, according to Garbini's interpretation, has been handed down to us as a place name in North Africa and Sardinia with different meanings such as "sanctuary", "temple" and also "place" for sacred or profane public functions, "place (for trading)" and "market", according to some documentary testimonies in the place name and numismatic sources (Garbini 1982: 181–87; Manfredi 1993: 95–102). It is a term that would signify open exchange points, similar to the place known as *emporion*, where people from different backgrounds exchanged goods. Another western Semitic word, *mhz*, or *mahuza* (Amadasi 1982: 31–37; Teixidor 1993: 85–87) would also have a similar meaning. However, *maqom* seems preferable, not only because it is linguistically and geographically closer to western Phoenician society, but because it is well documented in the central and western Mediterranean and contains an important connotation of association with the temple.

At the beginning of the discovery of the Phoenician presence in the west in the '60s of the 20th century, a series of settlements and necropolises from the 8th and 7th centuries BC on the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula became known, such as Almuñécar, Morro de Mezquitilla, Toscanos, Chorreras or Cerro del Villar de Guadalhorce (Aubet 2003: 305–16) (Fig. 1). These sites could be included under the concept of *emporium*, as colonial sites intended for trade. Initially they were interpreted as commercial *factoreries* or *comptoirs*

("trading posts") and their Phoenician inhabitants as traders in search of metals. Western silver and tin would supply the needs of the East, particularly those of the Assyrian Empire, in a commercial diaspora whose cause should be sought in the Assyrian pressure on Tyre (Frankenstein, 1979: 263–94; Aubet 1993: 68–74). The Phoenicians would establish trading terms with Tartessos and the native peoples to obtain these metals which would, in turn, give rise to the orientalising phenomenon in the Iberian Peninsula. Thus a dominant interpretation of the colonial phenomenon we have called the "commercial paradigm" was born and which explains all aspects of Phoenician society in the West in relation to trade: the Phoenicians are always presented as merchants in search of markets, their settlements as commercial "trading posts", their unique buildings as "warehouses" and their motivations as always profit-based (López Castro 2000: 123–36).

However, since the 1970s and 1980s some researchers have drawn attention to agricultural, subsistence and territorial aspects by proposing new explanatory models on colonisation in which the concentration and distribution of colonial settlements, as they were then known, or the analysis of recovered faunal remains, did not correspond exactly to a pattern of commercial colonisation, but to a colonisation in which the agricultural component was as important as trade (Whittaker 1974: 58–79; Alvar, González Wagner 1988: 169–85; González Wagner, Alvar 1989: 61–102).

Between 1980 and 2000, the number of Phoenician settlements discovered in the south of Spain significantly increased and the colonial sites extended to new, hitherto inconceivable geographical areas: the Phoenician presence reached the Atlantic coast of Portugal (Arruda 2000; Mayet, Tavares 2000), while to the East it reached the mouth of the Segura River (Rouillard *et al.* 2007; González Prats 2011) and the island of Ibiza (Ramón 2007). At the same time, methodological development in archaeological research made it possible to discover the metallurgical, agricultural, farming and fishing activities of colonial enclaves and the introduction from the East of new plant and animal species. From the beginning of the 21st century, the archaeological documentation available on the Phoenician presence in southern Iberia suggested the existence of a complex reality that was resistant to simplistic



Fig. 1—Main Phoenician sites of Southern Iberia.

classification attempts, in which different economic roles and activities overlapped in the same colonial settlements, be they commercial or in relation to the production of food and goods.

The new discoveries made in the 21st century have stirred up what we know. The publication in 2004 of the material collected from Huelva in *Calle Méndez Núñez* and subsequent excavations in El Carambolo (Sevilla), La Rebanadilla (Malaga) and Utica (Tunisia) (González de Canales *et al.* 2004; Fernández Flores, Rodríguez 2007; Sánchez *et al.* 2012; López Castro *et al.* 2016) have revealed the existence of a very early colonial phase, prior to the earliest known settlements of the 8th century BC. In south eastern Iberia, the deposit—likely ritual in nature—from the late Bronze Age in Cortijo Riquelme (Almeria) shows a collection of oriental and Greek-type Phoenician ceramic imports that are contemporaneous with those of the above-mentioned settlements, which leads us to think about the existence of a very old Phoenician settlement in the basin of the Almanzora River (López Castro *et al.* 2017). These new enclaves from the 9th century BC revive the idea of the existence of a first colonial impulse motivated by the metal trade. Such settlements are closer than the later ones from the 8th century BC to the concept of *emporion* or *mqm*, a foundation of a commercial nature protected by a sanctuary.

## 2 Initial Settlement and the Temple's Role

The first early settlements were founded after the “pre-colonial” contacts of the late Bronze Age, in which the Phoenicians used prior knowledge of the access routes to the Iberian Peninsula that made it possible to establish long-distance trade networks from the Aegean and in which Mycenaean, Canaanite, Cypriot and Sardinian people would participate (Mederos 2005a: 82–84). The geographical distribution of early Phoenician settlements in North Africa and in the south of the Iberian peninsula—Utica, La Rebanadilla and El Carambolo—appear to respond to a specific strategy: to establish intermediate points from the East to the most western foundation where there was access to Atlantic tin, such as Huelva. The known settlements were located using common patterns that sought calm waters for the boats and drinking water supply. They were located on promontories that dominated wide navigable inlets along river mouths, as in Utica, El Carambolo and Huelva, while La Rebanadilla was located on a river island (Fig. 2).

There is a decisive distinguishing feature in the Phoenician *mqm*: the presence of sanctuaries legitimising the activities carried out there under the protection of the divinities, such as Melqart and Astarte that ensured the peaceful character of the settlements and played an economic role (Grotanelli 1981: 116–20; Bonet, 1988: 97–98; Bonet 1996: 48–54). The settlement

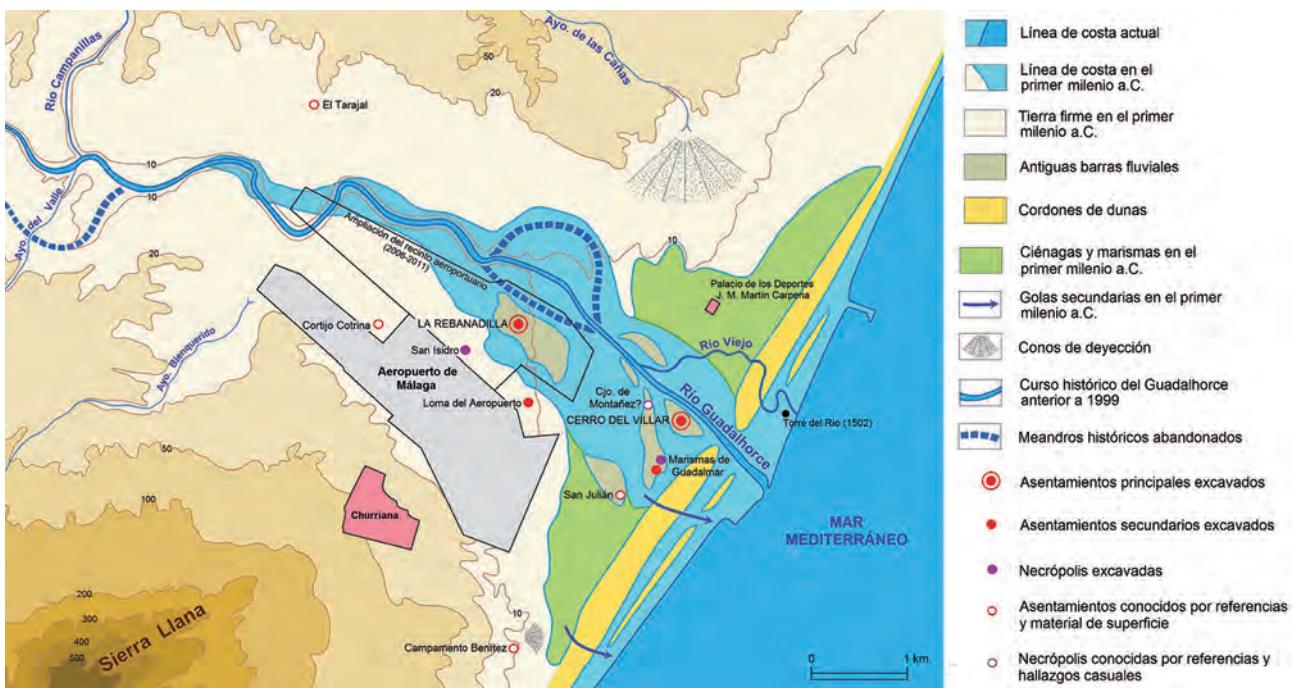


Fig. 2—Paleotopography of the mouth of the river Guadalhorce during the first millennium BC (after García Alfonso 2012: 35, Fig. 5).



Fig. 3—Phoenician buildings of La Rebanadilla (Málaga) (phase III) (after Sánchez et al. 2012: 78, Fig. 15).

of El Carambolo has been identified as an Astarte sanctuary from its founding phase (Fernández Flores, Rodríguez 2007: 246–47) and a building has been interpreted as a sanctuary in La Rebanadilla (Sánchez et al. 2012: 80–81) (Fig. 3) while in Utica the classical sources mention the great antiquity of the cedar beams in the temple of Apollo, divinity identifiable with *Eshmun* (Lipiński 1995: 162–63) which would go back to the founding of the city (Pliny, *Natural History*: XVI.216). In Huelva, several stone baetyli are among the finds from the collection of archaeological materials from Calle Méndez Núñez, which would, very possibly, come from a sanctuary. In fact, a building was constructed in this occupation phase in the 8th century BC which was interpreted as a sanctuary (González de Canales et al. 2004:140; Osuna et al. 2001: 178–81).

In El Carambolo and La Rebanadilla, the Phoenicians used an oriental architecture based on the use of mud-brick

(adobe) as the main building material. The oldest building, the original temple called Carambolo V, was formed by an enclosure with an inner courtyard onto which two parallel rooms would open (Fernández Flores, Rodríguez 2005 and 2007: 211–14) (Fig. 4). It is the same model that we find in some of the La Rebanadilla dwellings, where seven buildings have been located in two occupation phases. Sacred elements associated with sanctuaries were found in two of them, such as baetyli, shell floors, long benches and a possible adobe altar. The layout of the buildings and their regular orientation suggest that the inhabited space was structured into streets and blocks (Sánchez et al. 2012: 75–81). The only known necropolis from this early colonial horizon belonged to the La Rebanadilla settlement and the excavated tombs are similar to the incineration tombs of phase II of the Al Bass necropolis in Tyre (Juzgado et al. 2016: 110 and 115).



Fig. 4—The sanctuary of El Carambolo (phase V) (after Fernández Flores, Rodríguez 2005: 116, Fig. 2).

Another distinctive feature of these early settlements is the practice of artisanal activities. In Huelva, ivory craft, the production of Tyrian-type ceramics and bronze metallurgy are documented and in La Rebanadilla, metallurgical production is well attested (González de Canales *et al.* 2004: 145–49, 165–66; Sánchez *et al.* 2012: 68). The large amount of indigenous non-wheel-thrown ceramic would suppose in these settlements the existence of intense relationships with the native societies. Conversely, Tyrian-type oriental Phoenician fine ware imports, Nuragian Sardinian ceramics and Greek productions of the Subprotogeometric II and III and the Middle Geometric II testify that these settlements belonged to a trade network uniting Phoenicia and the Aegean with the Far West, in which Sardinia and Utica must have played an important role due to their intermediary status (López Castro *et al.* 2016: 84–85). The calibrated C14 datings from the colonial settlements of this early Phoenician colonisation period are largely homogeneous and would reach the 10th century cal BC and the late 9th century cal BC at the extremes of probability intervals, both in the Iberian peninsula and in North Africa (*Ibid.*: 81–83, tab. 1).

### 3 A Complex Territorial Model: Colonial Cities, Villages and Farms

Decades after the earliest foundations, dating back to the last years of the 9th century BC and the first decades of the 8th century BC, new colonial settlements were established in the south and in the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula that were different in kind and size. In general, these colonial enclaves follow a well-defined pattern, located on the coast near the mouths of the rivers, on peninsulas or promonto-

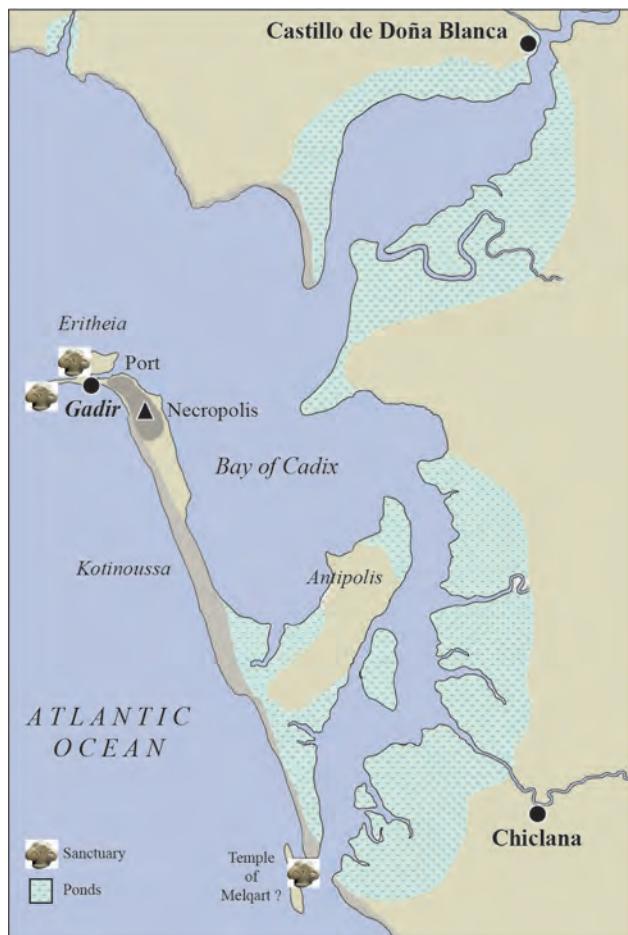


Fig. 5—The Bay of Cadiz (after Sáez Romero 2014: 165, Fig. 4, modified).

ries near natural anchorages, close to the fertile alluvial lands suitable for growing crops and possibly irrigation. At the same time, the rivers served as inland communication routes, where native populations were established and with whom Phoenician settlers maintained trade relationships. At other times we found the settlers occupying fluvial islands such as Gadir (Fig. 5) or Cerro del Villar (Fig. 2) (Aubet 2003: 237). One feature of these new colonial settlements is early territorial occupation, which differed from the previous phase. This archaeological reality corresponds to the existence of a specific vocabulary in the Phoenician language to name types of settlements: *qrt* (city), *mgdl* (rural tower), *mgr* (farm or agricultural villa) or *kfr* (village). Similarly, there is a term to define the concept of the territory itself: *'rs*, as a political territory, appropriated by a community to avail of its resources, with the sense of “district”, “region”, “land” or even “homeland” (Lipiński 1994: 122–28; Krahmalkov 2000: 73–74, 134, 240, 269, 307 and 433).

The most important foundation was undoubtedly *Gadir* (Cadiz), to which the classic sources attribute a great antiquity and an urban character. Although authors like Velleius Paterculus (I.2.3) date its foundation as 1103 BC (Sánchez Manzano 2001: 50), the earliest available archaeological data are from the beginning of the 8th century BC, or in any event at the end of the 9th century BC. Research in the last few decades has enabled us to confirm *Gadir*’s urban character and offers

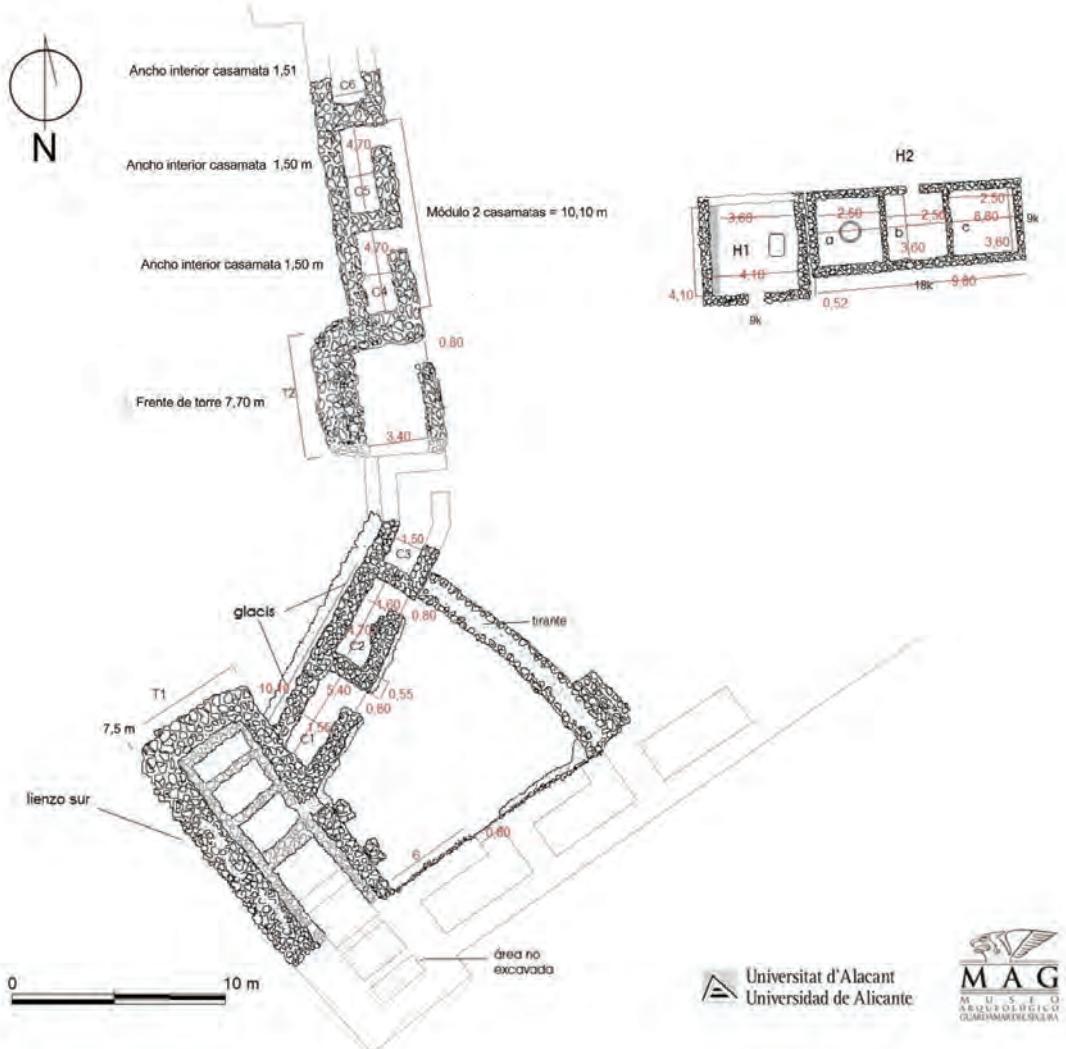


Fig. 6.—The fortified settlement of Cabezo Pequeño del Estaño (Guardamar del Segura, Alicante). Site plan and metrological study according to a phoenician module of 0.52 m (after García Menárguez, Prados 2014: 121, Fig. 5).

an overview of the complex occupation of the surrounding territory during the 8th century BC. Initially the settlers inhabited the westernmost island of a coastal archipelago, under the modern city of Cadiz, located at the entrance of today's Bay of Cadiz (Fig. 5). On the easternmost island, today called *Sancti Petri*, the famous temple of Melqart was erected. Recent excavations in the modern city have located a district of the ancient Phoenician city from the late 9th century BC or early 8th century BC. Adobe houses with stone basements were two floors high, supported by wooden beams. They lined the streets built on a terrace system and the rooms were organised indoors around courtyards. Remains of domestic and artisanal activities have been found inside them in superimposed phases up to the 6th century BC (Gener *et al.* 2014: 16–17; Torres *et al.* 2014: 77–78).

Later, even in the first half of the 8th century BC, the city was planned towards the mainland in order to dominate the surrounding territory and its agricultural resources. To this effect, two fortified settlements with oriental casemate walls were founded to the north and south-east of the bay. The first, urban in character, is Castillo de Doña Blanca. It

covers an area of 7 hectares and the excavations show an organised urban enclosure in constructive terraces aligned in narrow streets providing access to three- or four-roomed houses with masonry, rammed earth or adobe walls and a flat roof over wooden beams. These houses' interiors were lined with clay and whitewashed; they had clay floors and were normally equipped with domestic ovens (Ruiz Mata 2001: 263). The second fortified settlement is in the current city of Chiclana, where urban excavations have partially discovered a stretch of a Phoenician casemate wall (Bueno 2014: 230–32).

The immediate formal precedent of this territorial control model would be in Tyre, where the city consisted not only of the walled space situated on an island near the coast, but also extended to a district on the mainland called *Ushu*, where the extensive necropolises of the city, such as Al Bass, were also located (Aubet 2003: 34–35; Aubet *et al.* 2014). Another example of a colonial settlement could be Cabezo Pequeño del Estaño (Guardamar del Segura) (Fig. 6), located on the old Segura river estuary in the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula, where research shows a small-sized settlement with an urban appearance, protected by an oriental-type wall, which was



Fig. 7—Phoenician and native settlements on the coast of Vélez-Málaga.

inhabited until the late 8th century BC, when the population moved 2 km forwards to La Fonteta (Guardamar del Segura), near the coast (García Menárguez *et al.* 2014: 113–33).

Nevertheless, the majority of the colonial settlements in the south of the peninsular also founded in the 8th century BC are small in size. Morro de Mezquitilla (Algarrobo), Chorreras, Toscanos, Cerro del Villar de Guadalhorce, Abdera (Adra) and Sexi (Almuñécar) were founded in this century, as confirmed by the absolute datings (Aubet 1993: 249–72; Mederos 2005b: 307–10). They are small-sized, unfortified settlements, villages of between 0.5 and 2.5 hectares that were organized into terraces, into groups of houses with a rectangular plan, compartmentalized into several rooms with masonry walls usually made of adobes. Las Chorreras is of intermediate size, consisting of houses distributed into blocks running along the sides of streets on a terraced hill (Arnold, Marzoli 2009: 447–49). The necropolises were established in the nearby hills, sometimes on the other side of the river mouth next to which the settlements were sited.

Some archaeological research projects developed in the south of the Iberian Peninsula have shown that the Phoenician settlements appear to have small colonial territories, around 10 or 12 square kilometres, which reached the river valleys near the inhabited centres and the piedmont hills of the coastal mountains. In this territory, productive agriculture and livestock breeding were carried on in small settlements, dependent on the main coastal settlements (Aubet 1993: 265; López Castro 2012: 117–19).

Primary production farms or centres, such as Cerca Niebla, Los Pinares, Los Lunares or Benajarafe, in the area of Toscanos and Morro de Mezquitilla, are documented in the colonial

period of the 8th–7th centuries BC (Fig. 7). They are small rural facilities measuring less than half a hectare in area and designed for productive activities. Likewise, there are settlements of an “industrial” nature; an example would be the amphora production workshops, such as La Pancha. Cerro de la Viña, the 7th century BC Phoenician site located in the vicinity of Toscanos, has been interpreted as a fortification linked to this colonial settlement (Martín Córdoba *et al.* 2008: 145–87), which could be evidence of a control of the colonial territory, similar to what occurred in *Gadir*.

The archaeobotanical analyses undertaken in the various settlements inform us of Phoenician crops in these centuries, mainly cereals, pulses, and fruit trees. Among the cereals, several types of wheat and barley are prominent, and peas, lentils and chickpeas are documented among the pulses, the latter introduced from the East. But the great Phoenician innovation in the West was the introduction of arboriculture, applied to the cultivation of the olive and the vine to obtain oil and wine, in addition to other fruit trees, such as the fig tree or the almond tree. In turn, the archaeozoological analyses showed evidence of stock-rearing in which bovines and ovicaprids, and to a lesser extent swine, dominated. Other documented domestic species are equines, canines and fowl, introduced from the East (Pardo 2015: 44–46).

Marine resources were widely exploited in the colonial period: tuna, sea bass, and smaller fish, such as sea bream or sardines, are recorded. Several species of molluscs were also consumed and some were used in the manufacture of purple dye for fabrics, which became famous in Antiquity (Moya 2016: 42–46). Metallurgical production of iron and lead and silver extraction are documented in many of the colonial settlements, as well as the trade in galena to obtain silver by cupellation, a technique brought from the East (Renzi *et al.* 2009: 2584–96; Carpintero *et al.* 2015: 65–83; Murillo *et al.* 2016: 78–88).

#### 4 A Class Society: Aristocrats, Artisans and Peasants

From the commercial paradigm that interpreted the settlements as “commercial factories” and their inhabitants as traders, it was proposed that the rich burials in monumental tombs of ashlar or hypogea chambers would house a rich group of private traders representing the Eastern trading “firms” in the West that would have led to colonisation.

Other researchers, such as ourselves, have argued that Phoenician colonisation would have a very unequal social composition (López Castro 1995: 40–43; López Castro 2006: 74–88). In general, we can assert that colonial society would be made up of at least three major social groups: the aristocracy, artisans and producers who had Phoenician roots, and native individuals employed as a labour force, in addition to native women for the purpose of forming mixed marriages to ensure biological reproduction. The abundant existence of non-wheel-thrown pottery produced by native labour in the colonial settlements has been attributed to the existence of local inhabitants, in particular women. In the archaeological record, these women would incorporate recognisable culinary

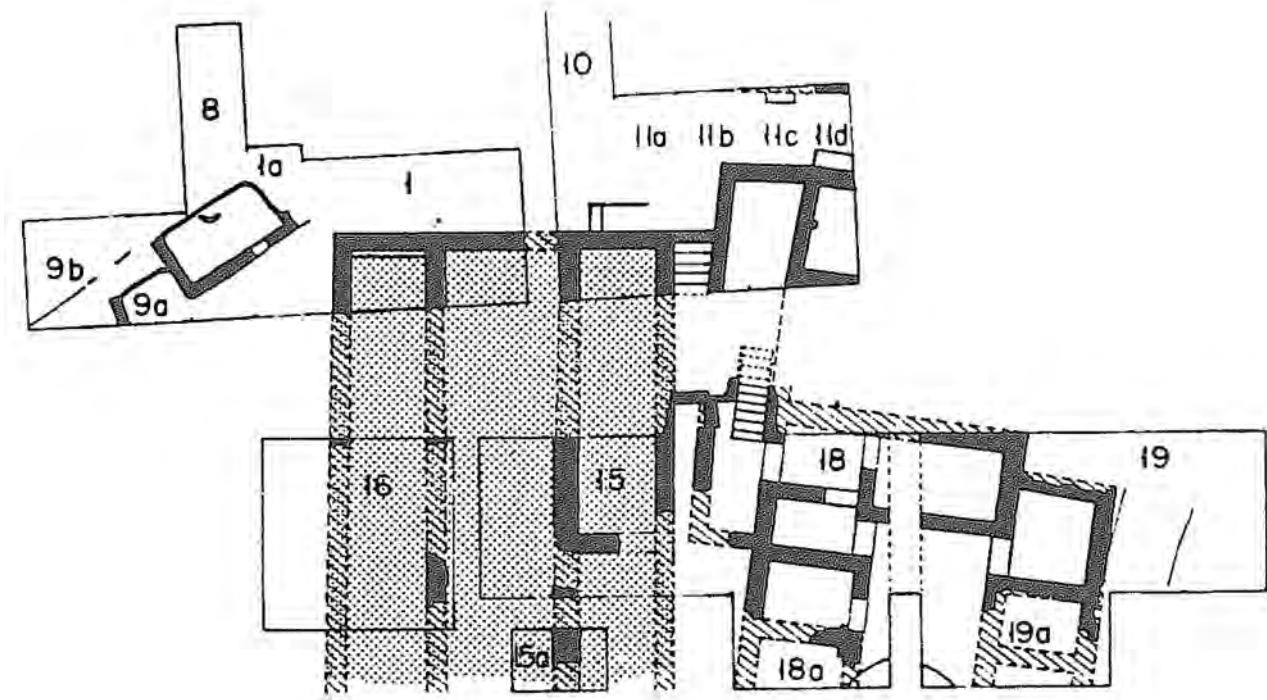


Fig. 8—Toscanos. The “storage house” (after Niemeyer 1985: 119, Fig. 6).

practices into colonial society, as well as knowledge of the territory and would form alliances with indigenous societies as a result of established kinship ties (López Castro: 2005: 405–21; Delgado, Ferrer 2007: 18–42).

The singular large buildings present in some colonial settlements, which have a large number of rooms for different functions, contrast with the contemporary three- or four -roomed urban houses of the *Teatro Cómico* in Cadix or the Castillo de Doña Blanca (Ruiz Mata 2001: 263). Following the “commercial paradigm”, commercial functions are attributed to these buildings, although other interpretations are possible. This is the case of the complex formed by the Toscanos buildings C and H with 22 rooms in total (Fig. 8). The first has 165 m<sup>2</sup> of surface area in several rooms interpreted as a warehouse for goods or as a commercial building based on several eastern parallels (Arnold, Marzoli 2009: 449). The neighbouring Toscanos building H covers 110 m<sup>2</sup> in 6 rooms distributed around a courtyard and has a tripartite floor, interpreted as a warehouse or as a commercial building (Niemeyer 1986: 113; Aubet 2000: 231–32). Another unique building should be added to this example, such as Morro de Mezquitilla house K with at least 17 rooms, and the Abul building in Portugal, which basically follows a tripartite scheme in its initial phase, with 16 rooms. It has been interpreted by its excavators as a “commercial residence” and as testimony of a strong social hierarchy (Schubart 1986: 59–83; Mayet, Tavares 2000: 160–67). The evident parallelism of these buildings with the palace-sanctuary of Cancho Roano (Zalamea de la Serena) (Fig. 9) has meant that the Toscanos building C is identified as an example of palatial architecture by some authors (Almagro, Dominguez 1988–89: 368–69; Prados 2001–2002: 173–80). Tripartite floors and in general complex plans also find parallels in the civil and religious

architecture of the East (Almagro; Dominguez 1988–89: 348–57; Mayet, Tavares 2000: 160) where it is confirmed how this constructive scheme was used in particular residential, administrative and religious buildings; so the colonial constructive complexes could very well correspond to residential complexes of Phoenician aristocrats.

The existence of aristocrats is supported in the funeral record. These individuals were buried in family cemeteries that we cannot properly call necropolises as they did not hold

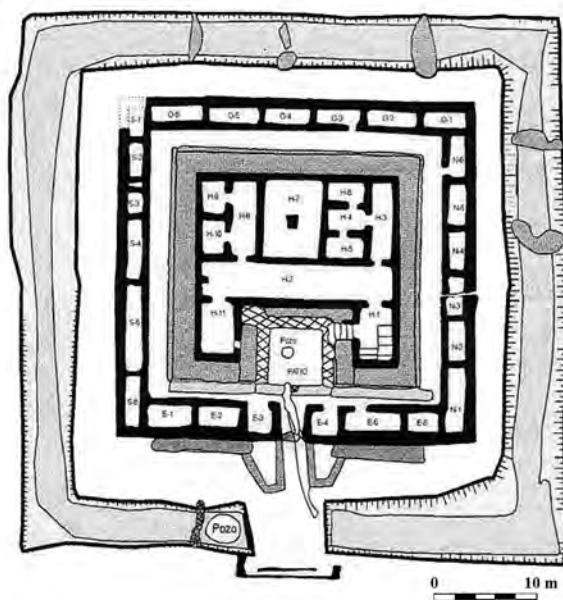


Fig. 9—The "Palace-Sanctuary" of Cancho Roano (after Celestino Pérez).

the entire deceased population. These are the cemeteries of Trayamar, belonging to Morro de Mezquitilla; Cerro del Mar, belonging to Toscanos; Lagos, belonging to Chorreras; Cerro de San Cristóbal and Puente de Noy, belonging to *Sexi* (Schubart, Niemeyer 1976; Arteaga 1977; Niemeyer 1979; Aubet et al. 1991; Pellicer 1963; Molina et al. 1982: 24, pl. 10–11; Molina, Huertas 1985: 31–42). They all consisted of a few sumptuous burials or chamber tombs, architecturally complex, exclusive, containing, in many cases, Egyptian-type alabaster vessels in funeral offerings as containers for cremated human remains. In Egypt and in the East these vessels were used as actual gifts or gifts to the gods to contain wine and perfumes. Outside Egypt, these vessels are concentrated mainly in the Iberian Peninsula, where their arrival, far from being plundered from Egyptian royal tombs as suggested by some authors, was due to their circulation in some cases as gifts between royalty and the aristocracy, while others would be manufactured and distributed in the trade networks, thereby fulfilling the same social function as items conferring prestige until their final amortization in the Phoenician tombs and in some cases in Tartessian tombs, where they are also found (López Castro 2006: 74–88).

These cemeteries did not welcome other social groups of the colonial population, for example, those located and associated with other establishments intended for agricultural exploitation such as Frigiliana (Arribas, Wilkins 1971), or those located in peripheral areas of the Far West, such as Can Partit in Ibiza (Gómez Bellard 1990; Costa et al. 1991) or Rachgoun on the Algerian coast (Vuillemot 1955), form necropolises that would be for the humblest social groups. These were made up of a hundred simple cremation burials in urns that in many cases contained no or meagre funeral offerings.

## 5 Exchange of Gifts and Mediterranean Trade

We have already mentioned how the temples in colonial areas were founded in the vicinity of urban areas, such as the Melqart temple of Cadiz (Justin XLIV.5.2; Pomponius Mela III.46) or that of Lixus (Pliny XIX.63) and the performance of specific social functions constitutes the fundamental pillar of the ideological legitimisation of colonisation and the exchange relationships created around it. In fact, the temple of Melqart and the cult to this divinity have been interpreted as one of the main bonds between the colonies and the Tyrian royal house (Aubet 1993: 234). The colonial temples also offered a model of social organisation, at the head of which were priests belonging to the Phoenician aristocracy, as can be seen, for example, from the account of the founding of Carthage (Justin XVIII.5.2) as well as other servants of the divinities who were of inferior rank and social position.

The Melqart cult is documented in *Sexi* and *Abdera* through written sources and late monetary iconography, as in *Malaka* (Malaga), where coins represent deities such as Reshef-Melqart and Shamash. The cult to the goddess Astarte, the sacred spouse of Melqart, is also documented in *Gadir*, *Sexi* and *Baria* (Villaricos) (López Castro 2003: 84–86).

The colonial aristocracy and the temples would be the two axes on which trade would be articulated, developing

two forms of parallel trade: aristocratic trade based on the exchange of gifts with native emerging elites and trade open to Phoenicians and other Mediterranean navigators, in the cities and in the *mqm* (López Castro 2000: 125–26). The indigenous societies of the late Bronze Age may well have maintained social relations based on the exchange of gifts. Individuals exchanging gifts established mutual obligations and were both debtors and creditors, which enabled bonds of solidarity to be established between them. With the exchange of gifts, social relations were established and reproduced, whether of reciprocity or dependence (Godelier 1998: 61–62 and 151–54). In the indigenous cultures it is very likely that the total reciprocal provision had already been surpassed in order to introduce asymmetrical forms in the exchange of gifts, such as the exchange of *potlatch* type competitive gifts, in which there would be competition for positions of rank and the existence of a dowry in marriage (*Ibid.* p. 217), traits that we can document in the Tartessian archaeological record (López Castro 2005: 408–409).

These exchange relationships would procure raw materials from the native networks for the Phoenician aristocracies, mainly metals, in exchange for rich products from the Orient or manufactured in western settlements by Phoenician craftsmen for the emerging native aristocracies. These products were objects of high quality craftsmanship, which were part of the eastern aristocracy's and royalty's social practices. Representation of social differentiation was made possible in indigenous society by entering into the gift circuits and contributed to the elites in the process of consolidating themselves as hereditary aristocracies that reproduced themselves as dominant classes.

The evidence for these social practices can be traced in the archaeological record of local societies in a catalogue of objects that begins with the personal aspect, through the use of elements for the headdress and clothing, such as the rich purple-dyed garments, fibulas, perfumed oils, bronze mirrors and ivory combs, and especially gold and silver jewelry. The Phoenician aristocrats spread a new way of life among the emerging Tartessian aristocracy that reflected that of oriental royalty and the luxury characteristic of the archaic aristocracies of the eastern Mediterranean (López Castro 2005: 411–12). Forms of luxury that transformed interiors with the introduction of refined furniture including pieces of ivory and bronze for the decoration of seats, couches, boxes, and chests. The celebration of the banquet as a social expression among the eastern aristocracies of the Iberian South, spread over these centuries through a series of bronze objects such as skewers, cauldrons and jars, so-called *braseros*, and other containers such as trays and ladles (Jiménez Avila 2002: 135–51), not to mention the consumption of imported wine.

Unlike the exchanges between aristocrats, the Mediterranean trade appears to have been open to large segments of the population. In Cerro del Villar, a porticoed street divided into compartments of the *tabernae* type has been interpreted as a market place (Aubet 1997: 200–205). Small traders seemingly sold goods in a specific space as a specialized activity. In this context, the find of low-weight Phoenician weights (Aubet 2002: 31–35) would confirm that in this market place small daily exchanges apparently took place between socially



Fig. 10—Pedestal altar (limestone) from the Bajo de la Campana shipwreck (after Polzer 2014: 236, no. 125).

independent individuals, with the capacity to acquire goods in a society with a high degree of social division of labour.

We can reconstruct some aspects of the Mediterranean trade that took place in the colonial settlements from the amphoric finds and trace the formation of trade circuits between the Phoenician colonists of the south of the Iberian Peninsula and those of the central Mediterranean. Wine and oil, probably transported in Ramón T10-type amphorae, reached their widest circulation in the Far West in the second half of the 7th century and the first third of the 6th century BC, and were also distributed in areas of the central Mediterranean (Pardo 2015: 206–10). From the end of the 8th century BC a significant increase in imports of Greek, Carthaginian and Etruscan amphorae to be used to transport products such as wine and oil, as well as Greek and Etruscan fine ware, have been documented in the Phoenician settlements of the Far West that reached its zenith in the second half of the 7th century and in the first quarter of the 6th century BC (Docter 1999; Cabrera 2000; Domínguez, Sánchez 2001).

The Phoenician shipwreck of Bajo de la Campana sank on the southeast coast of the Iberian Peninsula in the late 7th century BC and is a good example of the products traded by western Phoenicians. The ship's cargo consisted of raw materials such as metals, in the form of tin, copper and lead ingots and elephant tusks for ivory (Mederos, Ruiz Cabrero 2004). Other raw materials were amber and resin. It was also transporting food in western Phoenician and Sardinian amphorae and ceramic vessels for wine consumption. The ship also stored luxury items such as bottles for perfume,

ostrich eggs, daggers decorated with ivory, alabaster vessels, of which some fragments have been recovered; pieces of bronze and carved ivory furniture, ritual bronze objects such as an incense burner and a cauldron, and also a stone altar (Polzer 2014) (Fig. 10).

At the end of the 8th century BC and during the first half of the 7th century BC, two major processes took place in the western colonial sphere: the expansion of the first growing colonies and the creation of trade networks in the western Mediterranean that replaced relations with the Phoenician East. The generalisation among the western Phoenicians of the city-state as a form of political articulation towards the end of the 7th century BC would end with the concept of *mqm*. The city-state institutions would, through alliances and treaties, regulate the trade relationships between cities, such as those described in the treaties between Rome and Carthage (Polybius III.24). New forms of managed commerce took over in the organization of trade, although some temples like that of Melqart in *Gadir* would continue playing an economic role in the subsequent centuries.

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# Trading Settlements in Eastern Iberia During the Iron Age: Between Redistributive Engagement and Political Authority

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Jaime VIVES-FERRÁNDIZ SÁNCHEZ

## 1 Introduction

This book invites us to rethink the concept of the *emporion* as applied to the ancient western Mediterranean. Ideas about seaborne trade and exchange and the meeting and coexistence of communities of diverse origins are all embedded in this concept. A great deal of discussion has revolved around details of the word's history, its usage in classical sources and its intermediary role between economics and politics (Lepore 1988; Bresson, Rouillard 1993; Bresson 2000; Hansen 2006). The word has experienced a fair amount of success, especially among French and Italian scholars, when discussing trade relationships around the Tyrrhenian Sea during the Iron Age. With respect to the archaeology of the ancient western Mediterranean coastline, claims of a "Méditerranée des emporia" (Gras 1993) or "*les temps de l'emporium*" (Gailledrat 2014: 123) have even been made.

There is no unified definition of the term *emporion* among classical authors (Bresson 2000: 79). Among the ancient Greeks, the term did not denote an entity as well-defined—mentally and culturally—as the *polis* (Gras 1993: 104), although an *emporion* could become a *polis* in the long term (Malkin 2011: 156). A very basic point is that the Greek *emporion* is the clearly defined space where the activities of the *emporoi* take place. A flimsy distinction has been made between communities which have an *emporion* and those which are *emporia* (Hansen 2006: 5–7), but at the same time, a Phoenician ship described in Homer's *Odyssey* (XV.403–484) as trading among natives has been considered as a floating and transient *emporion* (Malkin 2011: 22 and 156). An *emporion* is a trading post where the commercial redistribution of goods takes place, but not all trading settlements were *emporia*. We should restrict its use to those places where the control of a legal authority (Bresson 2000: 83) and trade institutions guaranteed transactions (Gorgues 2016: 176). I will return to this issue in the last section.

If its definition is problematic, the archaeological identification of *emporia* as entities distinct from other trading settlements is no less tricky. Alongside trading relations, meetings with indigenous communities—the obvious elephant in the room in most discussions of the term that avoid making reference to native communities—are an important feature, so much so that social relations in a settlement would

justify the existence of an *emporion*. For instance, the area studied in this chapter, Fonteta, at the mouth of the Segura River, has in fact been classified as an *emporion* mainly on the grounds of the joint settlement of indigenous and Phoenician communities between the 8th and 6th centuries BC (Rouillard *et al.* 2007: 433).

It is not easy to interpret the material evidence from such places, since they were, by definition, multi-ethnic. Note, for instance, the admittedly subtle distinction in terms of the reality of trade between "native emporia" ("places of exchange under the control of local people that were open to a range of merchants of diverse origins") and "colonial trading posts" ("exclusive outlets set out by a particular group of foreign traders for the exchange of their merchandise") (Dietler 2010: 147). There are also other sites, such as the Etruscan *emporia*, that "were not indigenous, foreign or colonial settlements: they were cosmopolitan, multicultural and socially diverse spaces" (Riva 2010: 211). From this perspective, any attempt to categorise the use of these sites over many centuries in exclusive ethnic, cultural or economic terms seems inappropriate. Think, for that matter, of the array of foreign people inhabiting trading settlements or coming into contact—temporarily or permanently—with local inhabitants, and of the extent to which their activities might have materially shaped these places, perceptions and cultural boundaries.

The term thus becomes ambiguous, because it has been used to describe different trade practices and a diverse range of contact situations. As a result, it loses its analytical power. From my viewpoint, the issue at stake is no longer the name we give to such settlements or the status of these sites, but the historical conditions that created these nodes of interaction, how they evolved through time—both the conditions and the places—and how their daily practices inform us about the nature of the contact, the transactions that took place and their relation to the political economy.

Arguably, the concept of the *emporion* revolves around two features that must be borne in mind when discussing this chapter. The first is their economic aspect, and especially their role in enabling seaborne redistribution practices. It has been argued that geography and topography are the structural features of the *emporion* (Rouillard 1993: 46). However, not all sites which were geographically suited to being nodal points



Fig. 1—Map of Eastern Spain with location of the main settlements mentioned in the text.

of exchange developed into places of redistribution, because “redistribution depends on connectivity; and connectivity is not a matter of physical geography, but of the patterns of human mobility” (Horden, Purcell 2000: 395). Therefore, an evaluation of the material evidence of trading settlements is apposite for an understanding of the way connectivity is linked to redistribution and to opportunities to intensify production.

The second feature that must be considered is the fact that *emporia* were multi-ethnic places in which intense social and cultural interaction took place between non-native people of diverse origins and indigenous communities (who were no less diverse themselves) (Gras 1993: 104 and 109). The local, however, is produced and constantly reworked through material conditions. The very existence of any trading settlement in a given territory depends on decisions at the level of the local political economy. And while the local is the actual place where interaction, the establishment of regimes of value, adhesion and conflict take place (Dietler 2010: 11), people at the time formed wider networks of connections—both indigenous and foreign, Mediterranean and inland-bound—projecting the local context beyond its immediate vicinity.

With these considerations in mind, my aim in this chapter is twofold. In the first two sections, I will review the material evidence of places of exchange in eastern Iberia south of the Ebro River (Fig. 1) from the early Iron Age up to the Second Punic War (roughly the 8th to the 3rd century BC). I will focus on well-researched areas and excavated sites with reliable published information. In the last section, I will discuss the political, economic and social dimensions of these places and how exchange relations were transformed by the process of social change. I will argue that the concept of redistributive

engagement can be useful in identifying diverse settlement patterns.

## 2 Indigenous and Phoenician Merchants (8th–6th Century BC)

Around the 8th century BC, the indigenous inhabitants established in settlements in the Crevillent mountains and actively involved in long-distance exchanges since the Late Bronze Age saw people of Phoenician origins settling in Fonteta, a headland on the coast by the mouth of the Segura River (Rouillard *et al.* 2007; González Prats 2011).

The Phoenician trade diaspora, which stretched across the Mediterranean and into the Atlantic, was primarily the result of economic objectives. It aimed to establish trading relations by exchanging goods—mainly metals such as silver—for other manufactured goods and agricultural produce. Trading companies, retail middlemen and institutionalised palace and temple-based trading all played an active part in exchange activities throughout the Mediterranean. This began in the 10th to 9th century BC with commercial outposts and neighbourhoods in the eastern Mediterranean. By the 7th century BC, a dense network of settlements existed in the west, which included the coasts of southern Spain, Portugal and Morocco (Aubet 2006, 94–96).

The newcomers engaged in a variety of economic activities ranging from trade to production and consumption. The evidence from Fonteta is compelling: direct access to the sea was crucial for the political economy at the time. In fact, Fonteta's location speaks volumes about the newcomers' interest



Fig. 2—The fortification of La Fonteta (Guardamar del Segura) (© E. GAILLEDRAT).

in settling by the sea and connecting with Mediterranean overseas networks. This contrasts with the topographical locations of indigenous settlements inland. The area soon became a place of exchange and thus a nodal point where production, storage and redistribution took place. By the first half of the 7th century BC, it had developed into an important port with new commercial facilities, storerooms, workshops and other production spaces that transformed the layout of the settlement (Fig. 2). There is evidence of copper, lead, silver and iron metallurgy from the earliest levels (Renzi 2014). These activities suggest that the Phoenicians became involved in local trading networks, since there are no ore deposits around the site: the nearest source was iron ore in the Crevillente mountains, located 30 km from Fonteta, while other ores such as galena and copper came from further away.

Of all Fonteta's metal-working activities, the production of metal ingots between the 8th and 6th centuries BC stands out (Renzi 2010). These ingots are thin metal sheets that have long been recovered from several sites in the Alicante region and on the island of Formentera. They are not highly standardised in terms of weight. ED-XRF analysis reveals that the composition of these objects varies from copper to lead, including other alloys such as bronze and leaded bronze and copper in different proportions. The fact that they have been discovered at both inland and coastal sites tells us that they circulated within networks of exchange encompassing local and foreign connections. This pattern mirrors the evidence of their production, as several moulds in local sandstone used to produce thin, rectangular metal sheets have been

recorded in Fonteta (Fig. 3). Another workshop was probably located further inland, in Peña Negra (Crevillente) (Renzi 2010: 141) (Fig. 1).

Several lines of evidence attest to the multi-ethnic nature of this settlement. Pottery attributed to local communities has been recorded in association with Phoenician materials. The earliest phases of Fonteta offer clear evidence of such links with indigenous settlements, as hand-made cooking

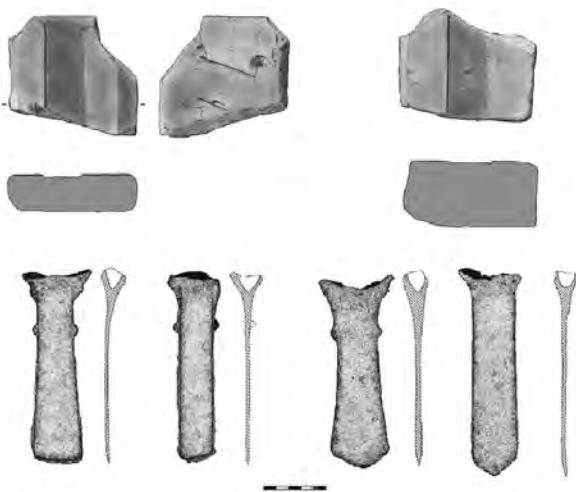


Fig. 3—(Up) Molds for the manufacture of ingots-axes from La Fonteta (after Renzi 2010); (Down) ingots-axes from La Alcudia (Elche) (after González Prats 1985).

pots and bowls can be typologically linked to ceramics from nearby indigenous settlements such as Peña Negra, Les Moreres (Crevillente) and Los Saladares (Orihuela) (Fig. 1). In these settlements, I have identified pottery types that do not fit the conventional binary classification of (Phoenician) wheel-made versus (indigenous) hand-made vessels. These include hand-made versions of shapes usually made with a potter's wheel and, conversely, wheel-made vessels of a type usually made by hand. Moreover, new objects begin to appear from the moment of contact onwards, such as pottery made with well-established techniques or traditional surface treatments applied to new shapes, implying various degrees of technological knowledge transfer (Vives-Ferrández 2005: 185). Approaches that persist in labelling sites with a single ethnic term obscure the multiplicity of people of diverse origins that may have settled there, not to mention any changes in the identity of inhabitants. However, it is less clear how far social hierarchies in the settlement, or in the region for that matter, were ethnically driven.

In contrast with this situation, several settlements along the eastern coast of Iberia imported Phoenician goods that must have been exchanged during episodic periods of contact with traders between the 7th and 6th centuries BC. Not surprisingly, most of these sites are located on major rivers (Ebro, Millars), in valleys (Sénia), and in ravines such as Aldovesta, Sant Jaume and Torrelló del Boverot (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The overall context of such interactions is one in which Phoenician traders were the major agents of cultural interaction in the area. Phoenician settlements in southern Iberia extended the scope of their exchange relations to new areas, while their economy was stimulated by investments and the extraction of agrarian resources for export.

These activities had the primary goal of obtaining metals and other natural resources, probably items with little archaeological visibility. Although local communities had exploited mineral resources since the Late Bronze Age, and metal had long circulated, metallurgical activity increased around this time, revealing the opportunities that Phoenician trade brought to the area. For instance, local people exploited and traded galena and lead from El Priorat, in the lower Ebro valley; El Calvari (Fig. 1) was a key site in this regard (Rafel *et al.* 2010: 183). They also produced bronze in a range of places in the Ebro valley, as may be inferred from accumulated scrap metal found at sites such as Aldovesta (Mascort *et al.* 1991). Other sites might have played the role of redistributing metal, as per the evidence of fragments of copper and bronze ingots found in Sant Jaume (García i Rubert *et al.* 2016: 308).

An examination of the archaeological evidence of these sites reveals that the items exchanged for ores and metals were food containers such as amphorae. These are believed to have contained wine and, to a lesser extent, oil and fish products. Other objects such as mortars may also be associated with preparing and consuming food, most probably for crushing substances to be added to the wine, which formed the bulk of the imports. Demand clearly centred on food and wine in particular (Sanmartí 2004: 18; Vives-Ferrández 2008), because their possession, distribution and consumption conferred certain advantages in the local context, allowing the

owners to promote and manipulate relationships of power through gift-giving, hospitality and feasting. Therefore, such sites must have acted as redistributors of Phoenician goods through inland communities.

Phoenician involvement in these contexts was thus limited to trade. As a consequence, the nature of the interaction was different from contexts of joint presence such as Fonteta. We should not label sites such as Torrelló del Boverot, Sant Jaume or Aldovesta as *emporia*, because a context of open trading relations clearly did not apply to them. Rather, they were indigenous sites in conspicuous enclaves within the landscape—but never on the coast—whose inhabitants became empowered through the accumulation and redistribution of foodstuffs. It is unknown whether exchanges took place at these sites, or rather at different sites on the coast, from where the imports were then redistributed inland. Vinarragell (Burriana), at the mouth of the Millars River (Fig. 1), may have been one of these coastal trading enclaves, as suggested by its proximity to the sea and the material recovered there. Phoenician imports from southern Iberia, mainly amphorae and other containers of foodstuffs and mortars together with local hand-made pottery, provide evidence of a trading post. Excavations in this area have thus far been limited to trenches and have failed to provide us with good evidence of structures associated with exchange activities (Mesado 1974).

### 3 Mediterranean Power (6th–3rd Centuries BC)

From the 6th century BC onwards, and even more so from the 5th century BC, several settlements in eastern Iberia became central sites of polities that were otherwise diverse in terms of their extension or settlement patterns. Social hierarchy and increasing inequality were features of this social landscape, which is attested archaeologically in both settlement patterns and the funerary realm. The latter featured rich



Fig. 4—Map of the lower valleys of the Segura and the Vinalopó rivers with location of the main sites of the orientalising and Iberian periods  
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1. See overview in VIVES-FERRÁNDIZ 2008.

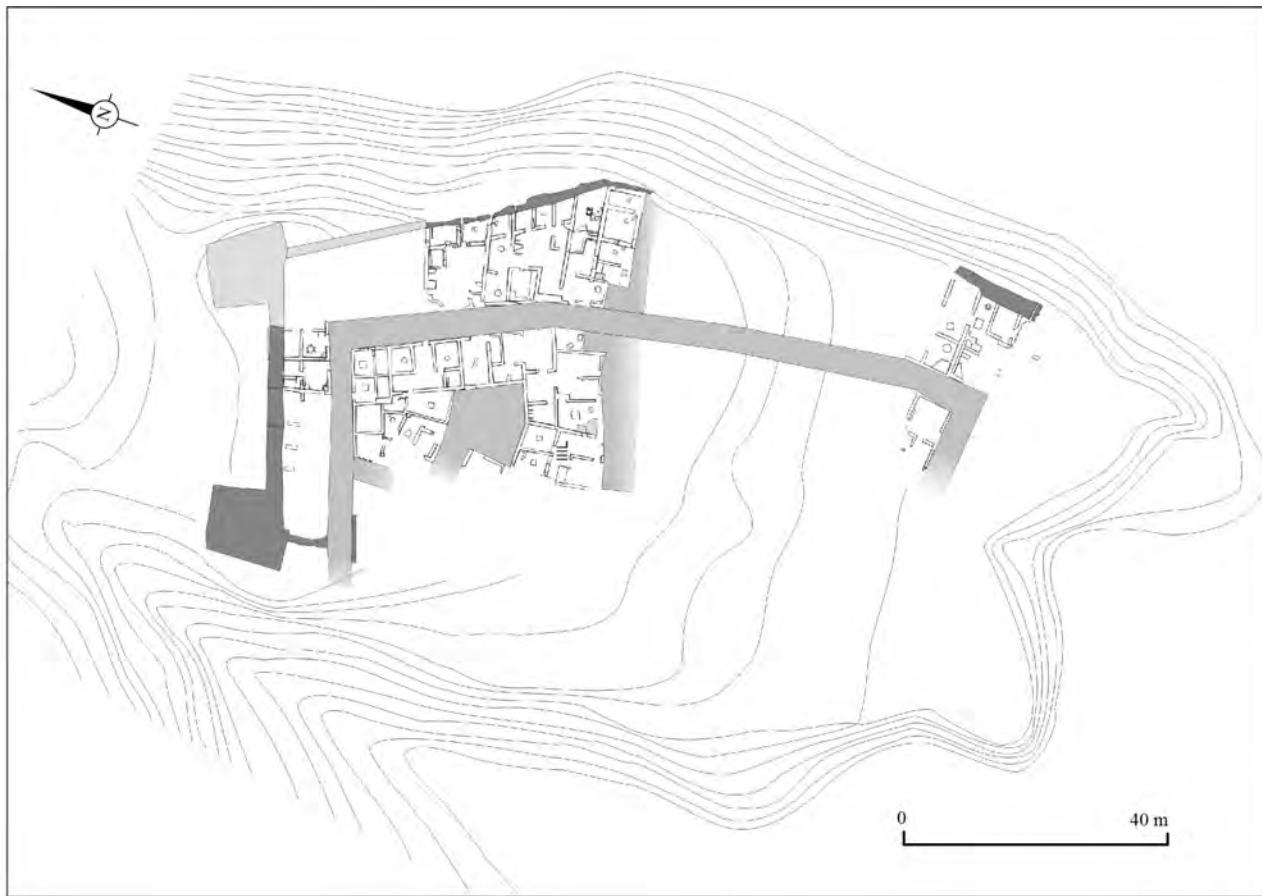


Fig. 5—El Oral (San Fulgencio). Plan of the settlement (after Abad et al. 2012, p. 17, Fig. 1).

burials with lavish imports, monumental architecture and sculptures that loomed large, especially in the south-east. In all, a new framework of social relations based on empowered households was consolidated around the 6th–5th century BC and lasted well into the second century BC, when the Roman occupation of the peninsula brought an end to the existence of this kind of indigenous polity.

The origins of this situation and its implications for our discussion are the topic of this section. Access to long-distance exchange and the control and redistribution of agricultural surplus are the basis of such political and social changes. Like many other parts of the Mediterranean, this area saw an increase in the interconnectedness of its coasts from this point onwards (Broodbank 2013: 546). In the Iberian context, the creation of places of exchange connected to Mediterranean networks must have been crucial, because they primarily enabled the redistribution of products (both local and foreign).

Around the mid-6th century BC, Fonteta was abandoned and another much smaller settlement was established nearby (Fig. 4). El Oral (Abad, Sala 2001) is a walled settlement of no more than 1 hectare located on a gentle hilltop above the mouth of the Segura River. Interestingly, there are several material features that show the cultural continuity between the two settlements. The houses are large, complex courtyard dwellings in which the mudbrick construction techniques and domestic structures used—benches, hearths, shell mosaics,

floor decorations—are closely related to Phoenician-Punic practices (Fig. 5). Imports found at the site reveal that the place was well-connected to Mediterranean trade routes, but evidence of substantial redistribution or activities for the processing of agrarian produce has not been discovered to date.

Further north, direct contact with Mediterranean trade may also have played a key role at another coastal settlement. The site of La Picola (Santa Pola, Alicante) (Badie et al. 2000) is very small, around 0.65 ha, and is dated to between 450 and 330 BC (Fig. 6). Its location by the sea attests to the importance of seaborne contact for the daily life of the site. In particular, it has been claimed that Greek influence can be seen in the architectural layout of the site, as its defensive system of a ditch and a low wall in front of the main walled enclosure have been compared to the defensive systems of Emporion and Athens, albeit on a much smaller scale. However, based on archaeological evidence, it is difficult to suggest that foreign groups may have lived at the site on a permanent basis, because daily life appears to have been similar to that of other Iberian settlements throughout the region. This stability can be seen in construction techniques and domestic features such as compound walls, hearths and textile implements. An analysis of the site's culinary technology, an aspect of culture that can be illuminating when attempting to identify practices of diverse origins, is telling in this case: the mortars and cooking pots are of the local types produced in the area, and all the various types of culinary implements

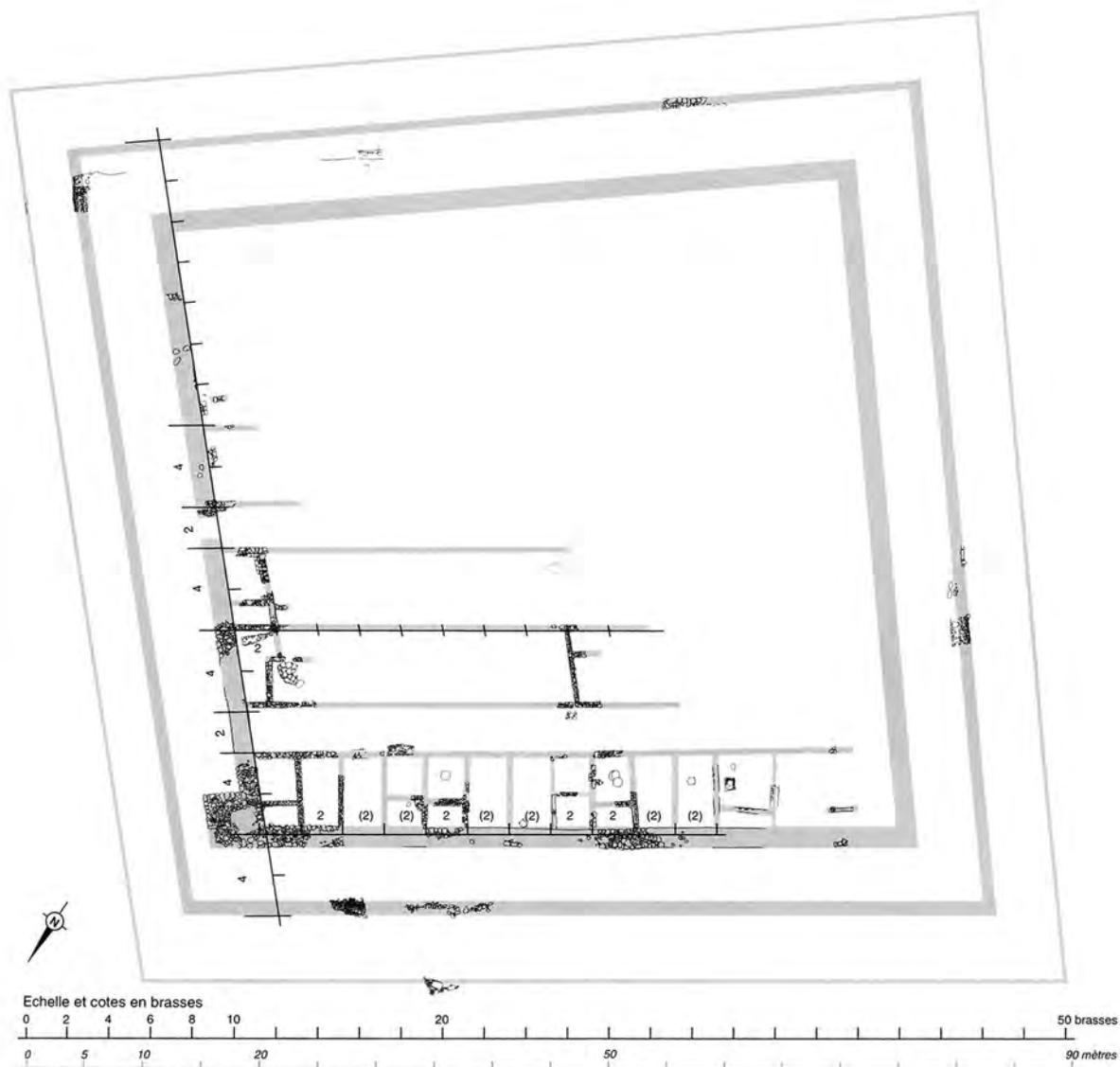


Fig. 6—La Picola (Santa Pola). Plan of the fortified settlement (after Badie et al. 2000).

that can normally be identified in Greek settlements—*lopas*, *caccabé* and *chytra*—have not been found there. There are even two new-borns buried beneath the floor of one room beside the walls, a practice not uncommon among the indigenous communities of the area from the late Bronze Age onwards.

The amphorae recovered account for about 25 per cent of the total pottery assemblages, and more than half of them are Iberian productions. Their provenance is unknown due to the difficulty of specifically identifying the works produced by individual workshops. It is difficult to say with certainty that redistribution played a major role in this settlement due to the lack of massive storage spaces in the excavated area. Spaces devoted to agricultural processing activities have not yet been identified either. Finally, the quantity and quality of the imports, mainly Attic pottery, does not differ greatly from other inland sites such as La Bastida de les Alcusses, Covalta, El Puig d'Alcoi and La Serreta. Notwithstanding these pieces of evidence, the site has been labelled an *emporion* (Badie et al.

2000: 262) because the word easily accommodates its material reality, especially “*l'existence d'un commerce lointain, avec des partenaires variés*”. Archaeologically speaking, it is difficult to demonstrate that different partners interacted at the site, or even that a heterogeneous mixture of people was present there.

The site called Grau Vell has been identified as the port of the Iberian *oppidum* of Arse (Sagunto)—the Roman *Saguntum*—(Fig. 1) and has also been labelled an *emporion* (Aranegui 2004). The earliest levels date to the 6th century BC, although contact may have occurred well before based on the presence of Phoenician amphorae, albeit not stratigraphically *in situ*. Excavations have documented three phases of occupation between the 6th and the first centuries BC, including important changes in the layout of the excavated area around the 5th century BC (Albelda 2015). Between the 6th and the 4th centuries BC, amphorae from southern Iberia, the island of Ibiza or *Massalia* have been recorded together with Iberian amphorae of unknown origin (Aranegui 2004: 76), a situation

that mirrors what we have seen at La Picola. The diversity of these maritime containers indicates that the provenance of the goods involved in the trading activities was equally varied. This pattern can be interpreted as the result of a plurality of traders operating at the site, or as the material effect of mixed cargo. At any rate, it is in stark contrast to the previous period, when Phoenician imports formed the bulk of the materials, and it reveals that trade in this locality connected several areas of the western Mediterranean.

Arse adopted coinage around the second half of the 4th century BC, making it the earliest Iberian issue known to date (Ripollès 2011). This early adoption of coinage is an exception in the Iberian context, because indigenous settlements started to strike coins much later, from the late 3rd century BC onwards. From an economic and political perspective, this early minting can be explained by the interest of Arse's political institutions in mobilising official silver as a means for exchange in a context in which weighed bullion silver had been used as a means of exchange since the previous century. However, the distribution of Arse's earliest minted coins is restricted to its territory (Gozalbes, Ripollès 2002), suggesting a relatively local use of this coinage rather than a developed monetary economy, and certainly not an economy used to interact with long-distance seaborne traders.

The context of Grau Vell is relevant to our investigation for another reason. In a context dated to the end of the 5th or the early 4th century BC, a lead sheet with an inscription in the Eastern Iberian script was found (Aranegui 2004: 78) (Fig. 7). Although Phoenician graffiti dating back to the 7th century BC found on pottery in Fonteta and Peña Negra illustrates the use of writing by local communities, these scripts were invented anew from the end of the 5th century BC (Velaza 1996).

The practice of writing on lead sheets was relatively common in the Gulf of Lion in the 5th century BC. They were used to record contracts and letters with commercial instructions to middlemen or other economic transactions, as the sheets found in *Emporion* and Pech Maho illustrate (see other contributions to this volume). To date, the Iberian script has not been deciphered, but it is thought that most of these documents could be economic accounts, a suggestion made on the basis of their content—lists of names, sometimes associated with numerals—and the archaeological context. We cannot guarantee that the lead sheet from Grau Vell is an economic account, but it is undoubtedly one of the earliest manifestations of the Eastern Iberian script, discovered—not by coincidence—on a lead tablet at a coastal site. That the Iberians adopted this technology from the Greeks to record economic transactions in their own language is one option, albeit one which is colonialist and evolutionist to say the least. If we examine the scenario in terms of networks, a different picture emerges: it might well be the case that people along the eastern coast of Iberia who wrote on lead tablets around the end of the 5th century BC were well connected to other merchants and traders operating around the Gulf of Lion, and more specifically between *Emporion* and *Massalia*, where lead tablets were in common use at the time.

But contact situations involving close interaction usually show that cultural borrowing is multidirectional. Around the



Fig. 7—Lead plaque with Iberian script from Grau Vell (Sagunto) (Photo: Carmen ARANEGUI).

4th century BC, certain people living between modern-day Alicante and Murcia began to use the Greek alphabet—Ionian, to be precise—to write the Iberian language. Inscriptions in the so-called Greco-Iberian script are a minority in comparison to occurrences of the other two Iberian scripts. These inscriptions are found on pottery—mainly Attic vases—and lead plaques at coastal sites such as Illeta dels Banyets and inland hilltop settlements such as La Serreta, Cigarrallejo or Coimbra del Barranco Ancho. At Illeta dels Banyets, there is an unusual concentration of Greco-Iberian pottery graffiti unparalleled elsewhere in eastern Iberia. This graffiti consists of short inscriptions, names and abbreviations. Interestingly, some of it occurs alongside other Punic graffiti and commercial inscriptions (García Martín 2003), giving us an idea of the different nature of trade relations at this site. I shall now review other finds from this site that point in the same direction.

The settlement of Illeta dels Banyets (Campello) (Fig. 1) is set on a peninsula of about 0.7 hectares. Two phases have been identified for the Iron Age. The first one, dated to between the second half of the 5th century and the late 4th century BC, features a simple defensive wall, while evidence for the processing of fish-based products and an oil-press have been recorded. During the second phase, dated up to the early third century BC, the urban grid changed. Two main streets ran the length of the settlement, with a number of smaller streets crossing them and forming several blocks in which storehouses, workshops and shrines have been



Fig. 8—Aerial view of Illeta dels Banyets (El Campello) (Photo: MARQ-Alicante).

identified, along with a potters' district where amphorae were produced (Olcina *et al.* 2009 with references) (Fig. 8). Agricultural processing and storage for redistribution were important features of the site, with at least two wine-presses, one oil-press and a workshop for the production of fish-based derivatives having been attested.

With regard to the wine-presses, two further points are worthy of note. The first concerns the technical aspects of their construction. The basins found at Illeta dels Banyets were waterproofed with a compacted layer of mortar, unlike the presses found at inland sites in modern-day Valencia, which consist of a structure in mudbrick or compacted mud and whitewashed clay. They are, however, technically similar to presses from Castillo de Doña Blanca and Las Cumbres in Cádiz and Truncu'e Molas in Sardinia (Soler, Martínez 2015, with previous references), which suggests that some of the technical solutions employed at this site were mediated by close connections with other areas having a Punic cultural background. In other words, the evidence goes beyond foreign merchants having simple and direct access to a trading settlement, implying that foreign people had a hand in establishing the site. The second point concerns the production volume of these facilities. The presses at Illeta have a production capacity well in excess of any inland settlement discovered to date.

The economic dimension of this site has parallels in the nearby area, albeit with some differences. Some 9 km south of Illeta dels Banyets, the settlement of Tossal de les Basses (Alicante) (Fig. 1) was established on the coast, next to a lagoon, from the 5th century BC onwards (Rosser, Fuentes 2007). There were harbour facilities, and the settlement had a defensive wall fortified with towers and rich burial sites with sculptures that loomed large over their surroundings. Beyond the wall of the settlement, there was an area devoted to metallurgical and ceramic production. A series of iron forges and lead-smelting furnaces have been recorded, and a number of kilns (probably for producing amphorae) have also been found.

Paleoenvironmental studies have identified grapes, figs, pomegranates and, to a lesser extent, olives in samples from this workshop area. Fruit trees make up more than 80 per cent of the samples, while cereals constitute less than 20 per cent. In contrast, cereals in residential areas make up 70 per cent of the total number of seeds (Iborra, Pérez Jordà, 2013). This information suggests that much of the agricultural processing at Tossal de les Basses focused on arboriculture as a production strategy aimed at the export of cash crops rather than the consumption of this produce in the domestic realm.

## 4 Exchange Networks and Unstable Political Authorities

With regard to the scenario I have reviewed thus far, one obvious concluding remark is that trading settlements took many forms in eastern Iberia between the 8th and the 3rd centuries BC. Sites as diverse as Fonteta (Rouillard *et al.* 2007), La Picola (Badie *et al.* 2000), Grau Vell (Aranegui 2004) and Illeta dels Banyets (Llobregat 1989) have been categorised as *emporium* on the grounds of their multicultural social fabric and economic activities. To some extent, it is taken for granted that there was control by a legal authority that guaranteed transactions (Bresson 2000: 83). Methodologically, the archaeological identification of structured trade relationships and formal trade institutions and the extent to which they were subjected to local regulations depends on the identification of the material culture associated with trading laws and norms (Gorgues 2016: 175). However, trade was partly conducted through the mobilisation of personal relations, since economies in the past were not fully separated from the social domain. They were part and parcel of a wider network of exchange and politics, albeit to varying degrees.

Amphorae as standardised containers are an expression of the regulation of trade. They appear in the Iberian archaeological record in the 8th century BC, and local versions were produced from the following century onwards. Some indigenous sites up to the 6th century BC were just settlements whose inhabitants were powerful enough to occasionally act as partners with Phoenician traders. The storage of imported foodstuffs implies that the elites benefited from these exchanges and that redistribution was a source of power in the political economy. Trading activities generated competition between local leaders, no doubt provoking violent episodes as well (Sanmartí 2004: 19). Conflict, violence and changing power relations can also be linked to the escalation of trade and may explain the violent episodes at and even the destruction of sites that stored Phoenician amphorae north of the Segura River as one of the consequences of this interaction (Vives-Ferrández 2008: 247 and 266).

Only further south, in the valleys of the Vinalopó and Segura Rivers, can we identify an economically integrated area with seaborne trade that played a key role in helping to redistribute escalating levels of production from the 7th century BC onwards. Phoenician-type amphorae—probably of local origin—were marked at Peña Negra around the 7th and 6th centuries BC (González Prats 1983), probably for redistribution along the Vinalopó Valley. Later, Phoenician-type amphorae produced locally were used to distribute wine produced at Alt de Benimaquia (Gómez Bellard *et al.* 1993). New Iberian types were developed over the following centuries based on these types, but it is not easy to identify the areas where they were produced. At any rate, the point I wish to highlight is that the standardisation of containers is linked to the regularisation of surplus extraction.

Metrology, literacy and numeracy, attested in the area from the 5th century BC, were instrumental in the regulation of trade. Weighing implements (Grau, Moratalla 2004) offer material evidence for some degree of regulation, although

they have not been discovered at all coastal settlements; for instance, they are absent at La Picola. Coinage, for its part, could be another means of expressing standard values. However, all the exchanges with seaborne merchants discussed in this chapter were carried out without the use of coinage as a means of exchange. Although Greek coins circulated in the area from the 5th/4th century BC, they held value for their silver content and were not used in monetary transactions. Even the first Iberian issues (from Arse) remained restricted to local contexts. Lastly, writing as a means of economic control is attested in the area. It should be recalled that the earliest Iberian inscriptions occur on lead plaques in trading contexts, such as the one from Grau Vell.

The concept of “redistributive engagement” is useful in attempting to understand the sheer variety of coastal settlement patterns. Redistributive engagement accounts for the degree of participation in the networks of exchange and supply at any given site (Horden, Purcell 2000: 178). For instance, during the period between the 6th and 4th centuries BC, El Oral, La Picola, Tossal de les Basses and Illeta dels Banyets displayed very different urban forms. In part, these differences can be explained by cultural reasons, such as Phoenician traditions in the architecture of El Oral vis-à-vis the Greek cultural background of La Picola, if we assume a Greek influence on the layout of the site. Recent research has increasingly acknowledged the multi-ethnic nature of Illeta dels Banyets due to the participation of people of a Punic cultural background in the site's activities (Aranegui, Vives-Ferrández 2014). However, Punic and neo-Punic epigraphy is absent to date except for the commercial graffiti mentioned above, and no Punic names or toponyms have been identified in the area thus far.

I would argue that the degree and type of involvement in production and redistribution may explain these differences more satisfactorily. In the context of an increasingly networked western Mediterranean, the range of specific economic activities enabled different types of engagement with Mediterranean merchants. While El Oral and La Picola had access to imported objects, they lacked the specific equipment needed for the large-scale processing of agricultural produce. The scenario at Tossal de les Basses and Illeta dels Banyets was different: trade was part and parcel of their economic activities, but their efforts—and this is the distinctive feature about them—were focused on the processing and storage of high-value commodities derived from agricultural produce.

The issue of political authority is of paramount importance to this discussion. The scenario I have depicted can be contrasted with the discourses of power and ideology enacted by the area's rituals and funerary traditions. Burial practices display evidence of increasing social differentiation from the 6th century BC onwards. Although a detailed discussion of this topic is beyond the scope of this chapter, I would argue that there is a variety of burials in otherwise small cemeteries of no more than 30 tombs (see references in Aranegui, Vives-Ferrández 2014). Cremation was the normative funerary ritual, but possible inhumations may have taken place at El Molar (San Fulgencio). Human sculptures and monuments were part of the landscape to the south, and they show an emphasis on competition between empowered households.

Valuable and distinctive imports and weapons were deposited in some of these tombs, in contrast with the less ostentatious ritual practices of the previous century. The accumulation and display of grave goods therefore articulated external sources of power. The deposition of spears and swords expressed a new warrior ideology from the 6th century BC onwards.

It is unsurprising that the opportunities offered by Mediterranean trade were manipulated by some individuals. A shield, a falcata sword and other items buried behind Temple B at Illeta dels Banyets (Olcina *et al.* 2009: 135) are evidence of a ritual practice—one which was not solely funerary—rooted in the Iberian way of producing authority, either in tombs or in other public rituals, as far as we know from inland sites (Vives-Ferrández *et al.* 2015).

Future research on this topic must attempt to answer two fundamental and interlinked questions. The first is whether some of the valuable objects can be seen as evidence of gift exchanges, and hence the forging of alliances between elites as a means of increasing their power. If so, the traditional identification of a social fabric with fiercely competing lineages should be qualified. Furthermore, the associated need to abide by social norms and debts through gift-giving would have affected the increase in production and, as a consequence, social differentiation. It is debatable whether the farm land and labour needed to support all the economic activities of coastal sites would have been found in the vicinity of these settlements. Although land was never in short supply, the real issue when it came to escalating production levels was labour. Because coastal sites were very small, it is plausible that these resources might have come from other areas in the vicinity or further inland, creating a series of connected nodes.

## 5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to contextualise trading settlements in eastern Iberia during the Iron Age as part of the history of the western Mediterranean. I have argued that the term “emporion” is ambiguous if we do not uncover the historical conditions that gave trade its structure, including the mobilisation of labour and production. From this viewpoint, opportunities to boost production were the basis for engagement in redistribution activities. These opportunities depended on the degree to which people were involved in Mediterranean trade. The concept of redistributive engagement as embedded in the political economy has proven to be useful for an understanding of the variety of trade settlements in the area and the basis for their political authority.

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# *Emporion and the North-Eastern Coast of the Iberian Peninsula*

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Rosa PLANA-MALLART

## 1 Introduction

The Mediterranean, an area of mobility and contact, has been thought of from holistic approaches in recent decades, which have revived research issues (Hodder, Purcell 2000; Malkin 2004, 2012). In this context, new studies have resumed and developed the questions relating to the meetings between various populations and the resulting economic, social and cultural interactions. Throughout the Mediterranean, the consequence has been the structural transformation of societies in contact at various levels and degrees, depending on the intensity of the exchange and the weight of cultural and political differences.

The trafficking at the origin of trans-Mediterranean movements, accompanied by the phenomena of settlement in foreign lands, crossed the sea from east to west, a sea that was gradually known, experienced and conquered. The early voyages of the Phoenicians to the West closely followed the Greek—firstly Euboic—navigations, which prepared a large-scale commercial opening, generating lasting contacts between very different nations. In such a context of movement and the creation of Mediterranean networks (Capdetrey, Zurbach 2012; Malkin 2012), places of commerce are of particular importance because they are placed at the heart of the system, from first encounters to the affirmation of structured communities. The notion of “emporion” (Bresson, Rouillard 1993), the emblematic structure of Greek trade, has become widespread, becoming a multicultural concept used to designate a settlement or commercial district frequented by a heterogeneous population. This broad acceptance of the word, if it is operative to designate a function (Casevitz 1993; Counillon 1993; Hansen 1997), nevertheless deserves clarification in the specific context of the different classical and indigenous Mediterranean cultures.

In close connection with the structures of archaic trade, the analysis of contact and installation methods, in the different phases and in the plurality of Mediterranean areas, has generated fruitful debates in recent years which have favoured the advancement of research and the widening of study approaches (among others: Osborne 1998; Osborne, Cunliffe 2005; Van Dommelen 2005; Zurbach 2008; Lombardo, Frisone 2009; Étienne 2010). The profiles of the first foreign

settlements were specifically targeted, particularly in the context of the “precolonial” horizon, often described as an “emporistic” phase. Nevertheless, a clear distinction between the times, modalities and forms of commercial, social, cultural and political relations is needed to inform a long and complex process, of great diversity in the plurality of Mediterranean areas and cultures (Zurbach 2008).

Initially, occasional or open commercial contacts were often based on mixed, temporary or permanent occupations, in the context of both Phoenician and Greek expansion, although the complex organisation of iconic archaic Mediterranean trading sites, as for example *Pithekaoussai*, requires us to reconsider certain interpretations (Esposito 2012). Indeed, recent research has highlighted forms of presence, patterns of contact and exchange that have helped to diversify the physiognomies that have traditionally been proposed (Gailledrat 2014). They attest to a variety of situations, both in terms of structures linked to commercial—or more broadly, economic—activities and related facilities (habitat, sanctuaries...). The particular cultural profile of the various Mediterranean societies, as well as the specificities of contact with other individuals or peoples, largely explain this multiplicity of situations, which should be examined in order to identify the diversity of issues and behaviours.

The progressive structuring of the Mediterranean communities has favoured the processes of urbanisation and territorialisation. The emergence and development of cities, reflecting an increased hierarchy of territorial occupation patterns, expresses a strengthening of powers and an optimisation of economic structures. In this context, the commercial system, regulated over time, has been circumscribed in adapted areas (*emporion* and *agora* in the case of Greece) and connected to a set of networks that ensure economic functioning on a local, regional and international scale. This development, at various levels and forms, is perceptible in the Phoenician and Greek settlements of the Western Mediterranean, as well as in the Etruscan, Gallic and Iberian settlements among others, also active partners in commercial trading. The recognition of the role and participation of indigenous societies in Mediterranean economic activities constitutes one of the major achievements of recent research, including the use of trading posts in the management of commercial activities.



Fig. 1—Map of the Catalonian coast with location of the settlements mentioned in the text (© E. GAILLÉDRAT).

If the function remains homogeneous, the physiognomy of these *emporia* inevitably differ from one culture to another and between the different temporal phases. However, common elements are sometimes recurrent in connection with the cultish sphere, artisanal practices and storage, and finally port infrastructures. The existence of living quarters is often proven, but the importance of this residential function seems to vary enormously from one site to another. The population was often heterogeneous, although the spatial arrangements of different groups involved in economic life are poorly known, as well as the mechanisms of operation of these specialised sites. Moreover, their relationship with the surrounding population remains a determining factor in discerning the large-scale organisation of a community as well as the influence, specificities and economic stakes of the ruling power.

In this context, the objective of this paper is to revisit the north-eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, from the Pyrenees to the Ebro Valley (Fig. 1), an area which housed an emblematic settlement precisely named *Emporion* (Empúries, L'Escala). Between Greeks and Iberians, but also Phoenician-Punic and Etruscan merchants, this geographical space makes it possible to analyse certain aspects of the context of the opening up to the Mediterranean that marked the first millennium BC. Trade as an economic engine brought diverse cultures together, who exchanged and developed in a shared coastal area. However, the anchoring of foreign communities and the growth of Mediterranean trade, along with the development of local societies and the strengthening of the social and political hierarchy, undoubtedly caused changes in the economic structure and the organisation of trade, including

in the respective weight of the exchange stakeholders. The transformation of the “geography of power” has thus been able to influence traffic and trade (Gras 2012).

## 2 Mediterranean Contacts in the 7th and at the Beginning of the 6th Century BC

In the area of study, the first testimonies of regular exchanges with the Mediterranean merchants were confirmed in the lower Ebro valley, in a context of the 7th century BC, when Phoenician amphorae became numerous in the high up sites which overhang the river's course and mouth (Sanmartí 2010) (Fig. 2). This commercial network comes from the south of the Iberian Peninsula, where the Phoenicians, attracted by the mining resources of Tartessos, began to settle at the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 8th century BC. In the space of a century, they managed to build a very dense network of settlements along the coast of present-day Andalusia (Aubet 1994, 2006). The commercial and artisanal profile of these settlements is well known, as is the gradual opening to the hinterland and the development of complementary economic activities, including speculative agriculture.

Phoenician trade, in the lower Valley of the Ebro, was dominant between 650–550 BC (Asensio 2001–2002; Asensio, Sanmartí 1998; Sanmartí *et al.* 2009). It was a trade focused on the sale of amphoras, most likely for storing wine, with only a minor focus on dishware. This commercial opening appears to be a vector of economic and social change: we see the appearance of permanent small sites, well fortified, which show signs of accumulation of wealth and where Phoenician furnishings are abundant. These institutions were linked to the emergence of an indigenous elite that controlled the territory's resources and exchanges with the Phoenicians (Sanmartí 2010). The site of Sant Jaume (Alcanar), excavated in recent years (García *et al.* 2016), illustrates this type of settlement. As a fortified citadel, with an area of 700 m<sup>2</sup>, it includes living spaces, shops, stables and possibly meeting rooms. Phoenician ceramic or ceramic of Phoenician influence is very abundant.

Mediterranean trade thus enriched and reinforced these elites, who quickly became consumers of imported products and displayed their power through their way of life, in the context of the house and the site where they lived. Yet, if the high-up settlements are well known, the places that were used for trade are still poorly defined, places which were perhaps simply beaches or even stopovers along the river, as is likely the case of the Aldovesta site, endowed with a building dedicated to the storage of Phoenician amphorae and metallurgical practices (Mascort *et al.* 1991). In any case, for now, no maritime settlement is known in this part of the southern coast of the study area.

The weight of foreign trade in the economic development of this area explains that, starting from the beginning of the 6th century BC, a period when Phoenician trade decreased in importance, there was a decline or even abandonment of a number of sites. The lower Ebro valley ceased to be a dynamic region from a commercial and economic point

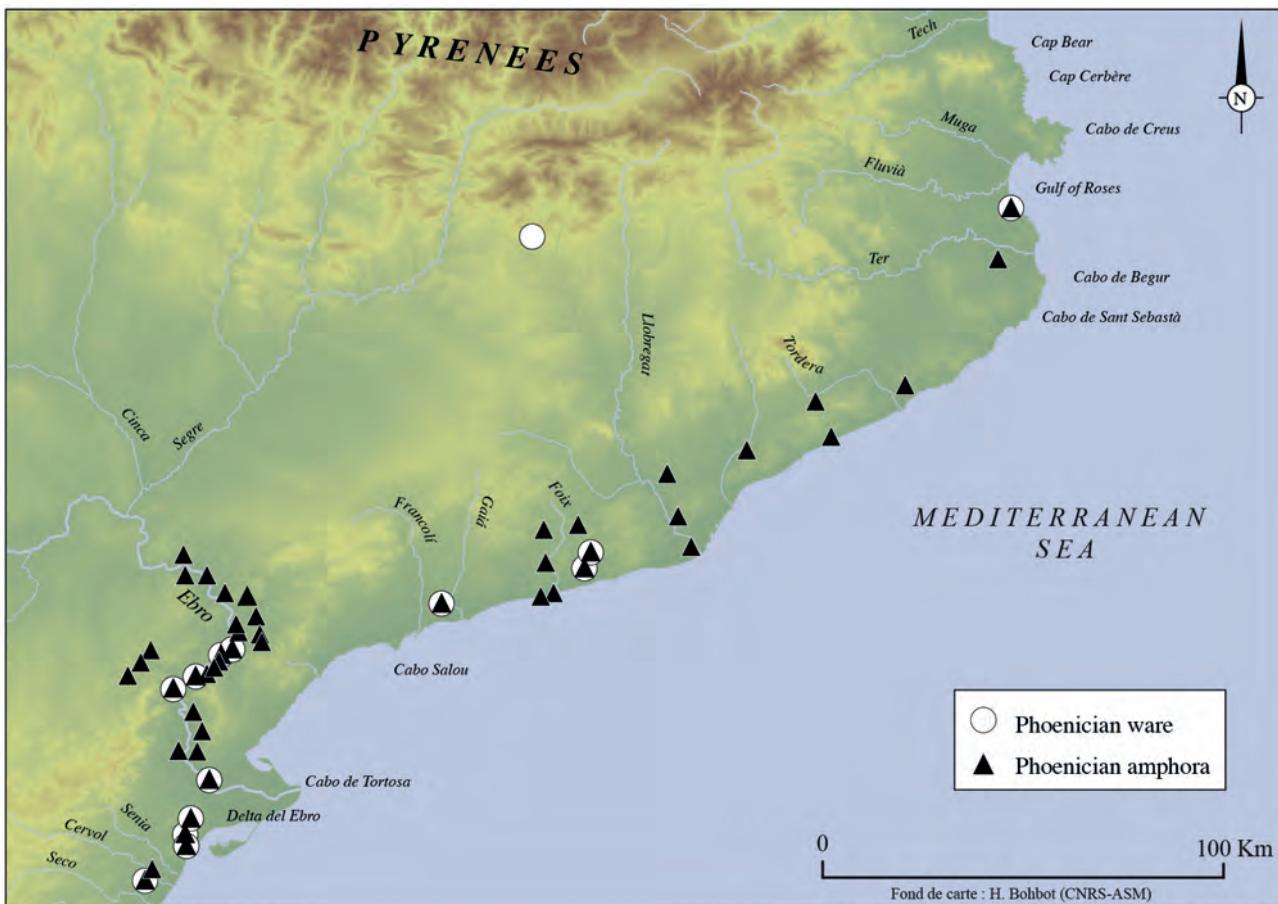


Fig. 2—Distribution of the Phoenician imports (amphorae and vessels) during the 7th century BC in the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula (© E. GAILLEDRAT).

of view. The percentages of imported furnishings became more modest, the 550–450 BC period being the one where the volume of imports was the lowest (Asensio 2001–2002; Sanmartí *et al.* 2009).

Phoenician commercial activity also affected the central and northern part of the northeastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, although trade was reduced here (Gailledrat 2014). Fragments of Phoenician amphora have thus been discovered in sites located near the mouth or in the lower valley of rivers such as Francolí, Foix, Llobregat or Tordera, or further north in the area of Empúries and in its immediate hinterland, although the percentages are still very low (Fig. 2). However, the presence of Phoenician furnishings or imitations of southern productions in the necropolises of the Late Bronze Age/First Iron Age transition is worth noting. This is the case, in the northern sector of the study area, in Vilanera (L'Escala) (Aquilué *et al.* 2008) and Can Bech de Baix (Agullana) (Toledo, De Palol 2006). These ceramics, present in rich graves, rub shoulders with the first iron objects, illustrating the first contacts between Mediterranean merchants and indigenous communities as well as the social use of imported products.

In the far north-east peninsular, at the foot of the Pyrenees, the site of Sant Martí d'Empúries occupied a peninsula bordered by the mouths of the ancient course of the rivers Fluvia and Ter. To the maritime location of the place, there is additional easy access, through the rivers valleys, towards the inland and the pre-Pyrenean zone. This strategic position evokes

a priority commercial vocation for this settlement, which after a first punctual implantation during the Late Bronze Age was continuously occupied starting from the middle of the 7th century BC (Aquilué *et al.* 1999). The visitation and, later, the installation of Greek merchants testifies to the commercial purpose of the site. During the first Iron Age, there was a small nucleus composed of a set of houses built of perishable materials with a roughly rectangular plan, which juxtaposed by forming blocks probably separated by lines of communication (Aquilué *et al.* 2002; Aquilué *et al.* 2010). In the northern part of the site, the discovery of an open space with grinding stones, combustion structures and seed clusters signals activity related to the processing of agricultural products (Castanyer *et al.* 2009–2011: 60).

This layout was not isolated in the area, as other settlements, still small in size, were located a short distance to the south, as well as in the Vilanera areas, where a core area of habitation seems to have existed near the necropolis (Aquilué *et al.* 2008), or Mas Gusó (Casas, Soler 2004), and further south in the Ullastret area (Martín, Plana-Mallart 2012). This settlement system, split into several small cores of occupation, favours an installation at the back of the coast and ponds, with the exception of Sant Martí d'Empúries, which is distinguished by its maritime position (Fig. 3). These sites present the first Mediterranean imports, in a context of the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century BC. The furnishings are first Phoenician, followed closely in the 625–580 phase by

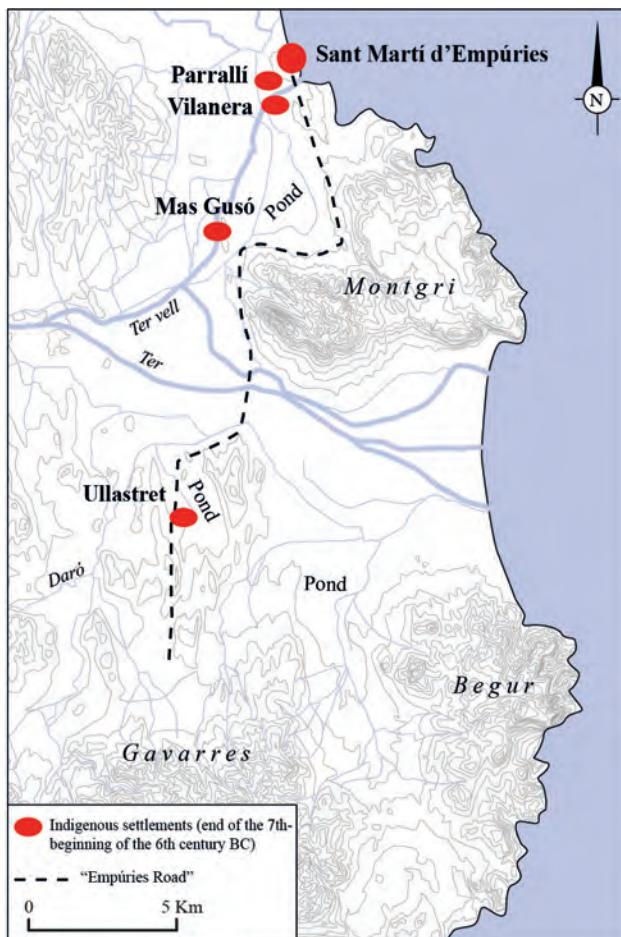


Fig. 3—The area of Empúries. Settlements of the First Iron Age concerned by the first Mediterranean imports.

Etruscan and Greek imports (Corinthian and Ionian ceramics). Nevertheless, trading was still small in scope, as in Sant Martí d'Empúries, imported ceramics account for less than 10% of total furnishings (Aquilué *et al.*, 2000).

Across the Catalan coast, a change of commercial network is perceptible during the first half/middle of the 6th century BC, when Phoenician furnishings were gradually replaced by Greek and Etruscan productions, and a little later by Massalian products (Sanmartí *et al.* 2002). The profile of the imported objects is also distinct: dishware is now abundant, including drinking vessels, to the detriment of amphorae. From there on, especially from the second half of the 6th century BC, imitations of imported ceramics were also beginning to appear in the indigenous environment, linked to the diffusion of new techniques, including potter's wheel.

In this context, the development of indigenous societies in contact with the Mediterranean partners brought about a major cultural change, represented by the emergence of Iberian culture (Ruiz, Molinos 1992), which concerned the various populations of the Mediterranean peninsular coast during the period extending from the 6th century BC to the Roman conquest. From the Pyrenees to Andalusia, several cultural areas have been distinguished, which often coincide with the peoples mentioned later in the written sources. The main centre of Iberian culture is today placed in the Southeast region, which was influenced by the Tartessian culture of the

previous period. On the other hand, the northern populations had a diverse cultural substratum, of Trans-Pyrenean origin.

The north-eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, an area of encounter and contact between Mediterranean partners, thus presents during this first phase marked differences between the northern and southern zones, in terms of both the rhythms and the agents involved. Interweaving is also noticeable between trafficking from the south peninsular, and more broadly from the Phoenician-Punic area, and the Gulf of Lion, frequented by the Etruscans and the Greeks. The area of the extreme north-east, initially targeted by various currents, experienced an increase in Greek presence from the beginning of the 6th century BC.

### 3 The Creation of a Greek *Emporion*

The creation of a Phocean/Massalian *emporion*, around 580 BC, indicates the permanent settlement of the Greeks in the northeastern extremity of the Iberian Peninsula. One of the striking features of this first settlement is the intermingling with the native population, which would be continued to varying degrees throughout the site's history (Plana-Mallart 2012). Recent excavations in Sant Martí d'Empúries have brought us closer to the transformation that occurred at that time, although there was no significant break with the previous indigenous village (Aquilué *et al.* 1999, 2000, 2002 and 2010).

The advanced elements indicating the Greek settlement firstly concern the change of the ceramic facies, with a consequent diminution of the native non-wheel thrown pottery (from 43 to 57% of the total of furnishings between 580 and 560 BC, from 15 to 32% between 560 and 540 BC) and an increase in Greek furnishings (in particular Massalian cream-ware pottery and, to a lesser extent, Ionian, Corinthian, Attic and Magna-Greek ceramics). Next came visible transformations in habitation, with the use of new building techniques (mud-bricks on stone basements) and regularisation of house plans. In the first phase (580–560 BC), the living rooms were rectangular, very elongated, and opened on the south on a line of communication. The structures are very simple and the question was raised (Moret 2000–2001, 2002) as to whether they are really Greek or rather indigenous, especially since similar building techniques were already present during the first Iron Age in the lower Ebro valley, in an indigenous environment. However, it should be noted that in this northern part of the study area, these new building techniques are attested in native settlements only from the middle of the 6th century BC, that is to say some 25/30 years after the settlement of the Greeks in Sant Martí d'Empúries (Martín *et al.* 2010). The debate remains open and it also concerns the restructuring of habitations in the second half of the 6th century BC (around 540), when aligned houses were built in blocks separated by streets 3m wide. Finally, a change in ceramic production is also documented, as among the structures of the first phase (580–560 BC) there are ceramic kilns linked to a local production of colonial traditional grey-monochrome ware, similar to that of *Massalia*. This production has been associated with a local demand for greek-style dishware.

The coastal settlement of Sant Martí d'Empúries, occupied by native population, appeared to also welcome the settlement of Greek merchants from the second quarter of the 6th century BC. If the notion of a transfer of the site by the natives to the Greeks was considered, the archaeological data are not conclusive on this point. An *emporion* is open by nature, with a mixed population that participated in commercial activities. The existence of an active market near the Pyrenees, where the Massalians traders came, has suggested the identification of this place called *Pyrene* by Avienus (*Ora Maritima*) with *Emporion* itself (Antonelli 1998: 186). Therefore, it would have been an indigenous market place frequented by Greek traders, probably interested in metals from the Pyrenees and by the grains of the hinterland (Plana-Mallart 2012). In any case, the later enhancement of the Greek settlement on the mainland reflects the economic potential of this area.

If the archaeological remains known on the peninsula of Sant Martí d'Empúries relate to a group of houses and an artisanal space, it is also worth mentioning the discovery, at the beginning of the 20th century, of isolated Greek type architectural elements (Aquilué *et al.* 1999: 23–28), some of them reused in the construction of the medieval church, which suggest the probable presence of a place of worship. There are numerous sizeable blocks as well as fragments of column and molded cornice, and a fragment of relief representing two opposing sphinxes (Fig. 4). These remains belonging to a monumental building are unfortunately still difficult to date. Strabon (III.4.8 and IV.1.4–5), in a later era, evoked the presence here of a cult to the Ephesian Artemis, and we can reasonably imagine that some of these findings belongs to a temple dedicated to this goddess.

The discovery of ceramics dating from the middle of the 6th century BC in the space of the future “Néapolis”, a short distance south of the peninsula of Sant Martí d'Empúries—the *Palaiapolis*, according to the terminology used by Strabo—suggests an early Greek settlement in this part of the coast (Castanyer *et al.* 2009–2011). Moreover, the location of the archaic necropolises in an even more southern sector, in the southeast corner of the hilly complex of Empúries, seems to confirm this rapid appropriation of the area by the Greeks (Fig. 5). On the eastern slope of the hill, in the south and north of the area where the new Greek settlement would be built, worship remains have been identified (Dupré 2005; Santos, Sourisseau 2011). They can testify to an action of sacralisation in parallel with the tracing of boundaries on the land, a forerunner in any event to the development of an urban framework at the end of the 6th century BC. On the southern side, the known traces of worship, dating from the second half of the 6th century BC, are a *bothros* and three fragments of life-size human terracotta figures (Dupré 2005). On the north side, the place of worship excavated in recent years in the north-western corner of the settlement, near the suspected port, is among the oldest structures developed in the area (Santos *et al.* 2013). Cultural and worship references would therefore be of prime importance during the first phase of Greek settlement on the mainland.

The strengthening of the Greek presence and the creation of a new settlement are part of a historical context marked by major events, such as the fall of the metropolis (Phocaea),



Fig. 4—Fragment of stone relief representing two opposing sphinxes (© MAC).

the Battle of Alalia or the crisis of Tartessos and Southern Phoenician trade. The 540–530 BC period represents the implementation of a new Mediterranean equilibrium and, in this context, the growing of Massalia can explain the desire to strengthen the Greek presence south of the Pyrenees. Massalian furnishings, always abundant in the contexts of the second half of 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC, emphasise the link between Massalia and *Emporion* (Sanmartí Grego 1992). However, the gradual increase in commercial activity, towards local communities as well as Greek and Phoenician-Punic sites, explains the development of the primitive *emporion* and the transformation to the city of *Emporion*. Intensification of trade, from the second half of the 6th and during the 5th century BC, is clearly visible in the increasing percentages of imported goods and, in particular, Iberian amphorae coming from other areas of the peninsular coast (Castanyer *et al.* 2009–2011). This intensification is also perceptible through the appearance of a local currency at the end of the 6th century BC, as in Massalia itself (Chevillon, Ripollés 2014).

The archaic phase of the Néapolis is still poorly known, as the remains discovered are limited to parts of houses and streets integrated into a regular urban framework laid out towards the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC, which lasted until the Roman conquest (Santos *et al.* 2013). The character of the habitations and the associated ceramic furnishings, in comparison with the remains of Sant Martí d'Empúries, reveal a more distinctly Greek profile, although indigenous material is not absent.

In the southern part (Fig. 6), the excavations carried out allow us to understand the development of the fortifications, from the second half of the 5th to the 2nd century BC, materialising a gradual enlargement of the settlement towards the south (Sanmartí Grego 1986, 1992). In the 5th century BC, in the southwest and *extra muros*, a new sanctuary perpetuated the previous cultic character of the sector. At the foot of the sanctuary, the discovery of habitations located outside the walls encouraged the hypothesis of the presence here of a native district, settled at the gates of the Greek town, later integrated into the city by the construction of a new fortification, at the beginning of the 4th century BC. This development has been related to the information transmitted by Strabo (III.4.8) about synoecism between the Greek and Iberian populations. However, it is clear that the occupation of the peri-urban area is well attested in other Greek settlements of the Mediterranean, without there necessarily being a distinct population living *intra muros* (Ménard, Plana-Mallart



Fig. 5—Aerial view of Empúries with location of archaic worship remains (photo MAC).

2015). In addition, the nature of the remains discovered differ little from those found inside the fortified city. This is why it could simply be a fragmented settlement, *intra* and *extra* *muros* as is the case, for example, in some colonies of Sicily as Himera (Tréziny 2012). Another question is whether the settlement was only occupied by a Greek population, or also by indigenous. In this sense, the constant presence of native furnishings suggests a mixed occupation, although the Greek element is predominant.

The south-western part of the Greek settlement includes a series of temples which unfortunately remain poorly known (Dupré 2005; Santos, Sourisseau 2011). The architectural remains revealed by the ancient excavations indicate the monumentality of the buildings, which are associated with altars and structures related to ritual practices. Throughout the different periods, this area corresponds to the sacred part of the city, placed high up near the southern entrance. The recent excavation of another sanctuary in the north-west end of the settlement, between the wall and a ramp that descended to the port area, signals the link between known worship spaces and western fortification. This physiognomy is also found in other Phoenician settlements, as is the case in Velia (Greco 2009–2011). According to the primitive agora, its location is still unknown, but probably close to that of the Hellenistic period.

Urban organisation and the definition of the sacred, public and residential areas signal the emergence of a small town, of 4 to 5 hectares (6 hectares if we add the occupation of Sant Martí d'Empúries). Although the dimensions are certainly

smaller in comparison with other Greek cities in the central Mediterranean or even in the north-western Mediterranean—for example *Massalia*—it is clear that colonial settlements in the Iberian Peninsula are small in size. Thus, Phoenician sites in the southern Peninsula have areas ranging from 2 to 12 hectares (Aubet 2006). This aspect makes it necessary to use other criteria to evaluate the urban phenomenon in this area of the Far-West.

The 5th century BC represents the consolidation of this settlement at all levels. If a lead letter dated at the end of the 6th century BC refers to *Emporitaisin* (Sanmartí Grego, Santiago 1988), a term that corresponds to the ethnic derived from the toponym *Emporion*, it is during the following century that the first coins with the name of the city (EM/EMP) were minted, reflecting a desire for political affirmation (Plana-Mallart 2001, 2012). There are high percentages of Massalian furnishings until the first half of the 5th century BC, but there is a significant decrease thereafter, which has been interpreted as a remoteness or detachment of *Emporion* with respect to *Massalia*. Parallel to *Emporion* and in the indigenous sites of the study area, Iberian and Punic amphora are the majority, which shows the transformation of trade networks. The commercial activity of *Emporion* became more focused on exchanges with the Iberian and Punic world of the Peninsula than with *Massalia*. This new dynamic explains the prosperity of the Greek settlement, which continued to extend until the Roman conquest.

An emblematic case study, the knowledge report of the Empúries site allows us to approach the character and the

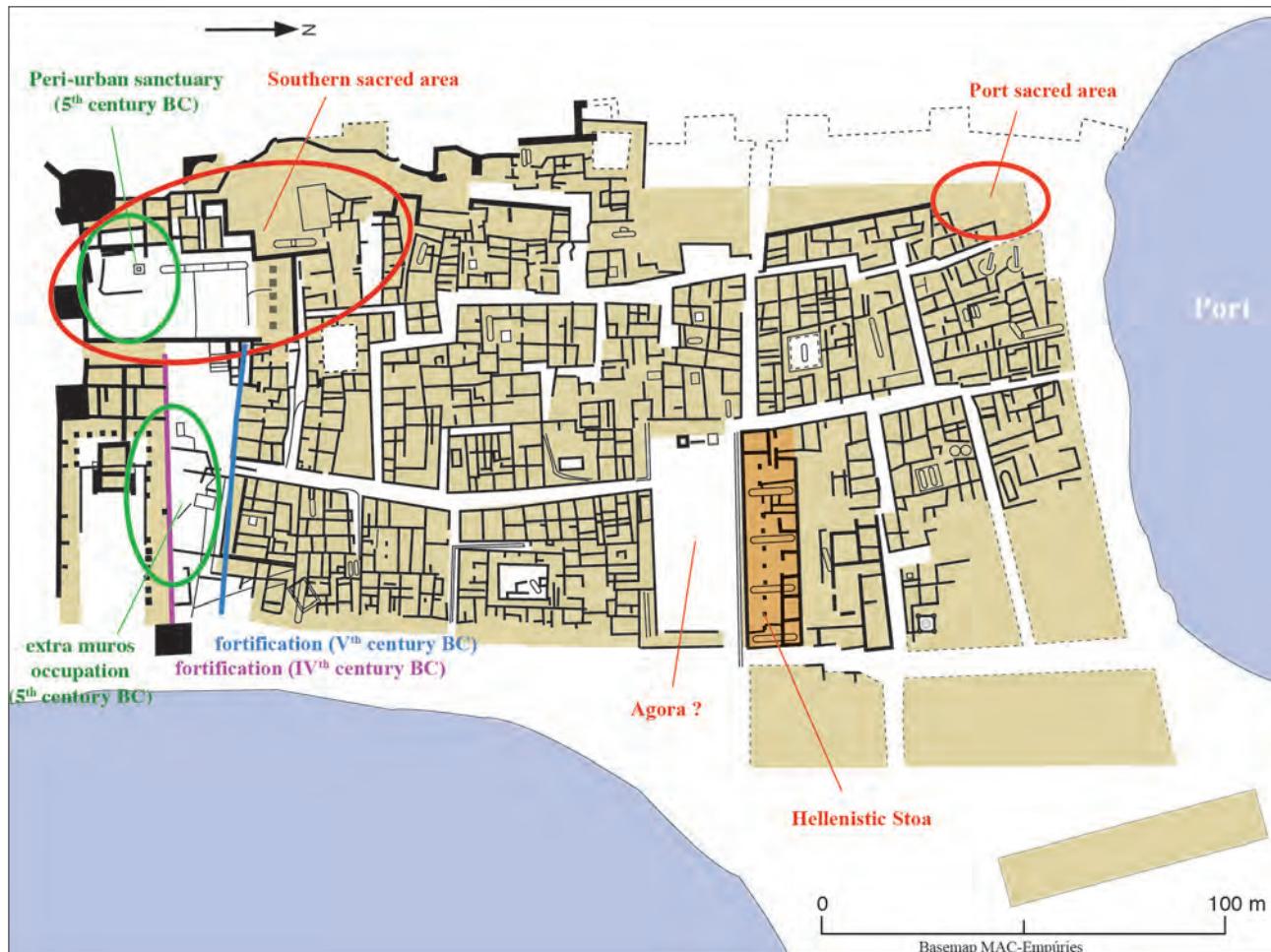


Fig. 6.—The Néapolis of Emporion (© MAC, modified).

development of this settlement, from the first operating phases of a Greco-native *emporion* up to the constitution of the small Greek city of *Emporion*. In the same way that the original character and function of the site were used to name the establishment, the close ties with local populations favoured the constitution and development of efficient trade networks, involving all the Mediterranean partners.

#### 4 Iberian Societies and Mediterranean Trade

The strengthening of the Phoenician presence in the far north-east peninsular is perceptible as early as the second half of the 6th and all throughout the 5th century BC by the influence in the inner suburbs and by the development of economic activities, in particular trade and cereal agriculture (Plana-Mallart 2012). Indeed, the arrival of imported goods in the native settlements of the hinterland is concomitant with the multiplication of the rural sites. Thus, the 6th and 5th centuries BC are marked by the appearance of small silo units and, in the best-known cases, structures that define summary habitations (Gonzalo *et al.* 1999; Casas 2010; Casas *et al.* 2010). The percentages of Greek furnishings are high in these sites and testifies to the close contacts maintained by the indigenous societies with the Greeks. If the phenomenon of

densification of occupation and agricultural exploitation is perceptible throughout the north-eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, the number of silos existing in the area surrounding the Greek colony is quite exceptional, accounting for the importance of cereal agriculture in economic activity (Asensio *et al.* 2002; Plana-Mallart 2004, 2012).

Economic and cultural interactions between Greeks and indigenous communities have therefore been intense since the 6th century BC in the nearby hinterland of *Emporion*. The economic partnership, progressively highlighted, has undoubtedly facilitated the mobility of foreign stakeholders, possibly also the settlement within the newly approached territories. Faced with this Greek presence, the behaviour and development of indigenous societies illustrate complex processes of adaptation, reaction or cooperation. Various contact patterns are noticeable, as well as fluctuations in the relationships between the two groups.

The peculiarities and the development of Mas Castellar (Pontós), a site located to the west and to about twenty kilometres from *Emporion*, shed light on the nature of the contact between the Greeks of the coast and the native populations of the hinterland. The oldest remains are represented by a rectangular building of large dimensions, complex architecture and compartmentalised into several spaces, occupied between 450 and 425 BC (Pons *et al.* 2016). Greek furnishing is very abundant, with ceramic shapes and metal objects

uncommon in other indigenous sites of the region. Outside the building, concentrations of carbonised cereals and haystacks are common. Overall it suggests a prestigious building, or even a sanctuary, where the Greek component was very present. The rapid abandonment of this structure following a fire evokes a violently destructive event, which was followed by resumption by the indigenous population with the construction of a small fortified habitat that lasted until around 350 BC. During all phases of occupation, silos located in the surrounding area attest to the storage of large quantities of cereals. This function still characterised the site from the middle of the 4th century BC, during the construction of two large courtyards houses that, although occupied by the native population, present many Hellenic influences. The specificities and the various phases of Pontós illustrate a development marked by close contacts, even power relations, with the Greeks from *Emporion*.

The prolonged presence of a Greek population and neighbourhood relations explain the extent of cultural and economic exchanges. The receptiveness of the local communities is evident, without masking the identity and the Iberian cultural traditions, which remain dominant and clearly visible. This is the case in Ullastret, a large oppidum of this northern zone located about 15 km south of *Emporion*, where the progressive development of the agglomerated and fortified habitat at the same time reflects the social and political affirmation of this indigenous community, as well as the importance of cultural interaction with the Greeks (Martín *et al.* 2010; Plana-Mallart 2013). The community of Ullastret, made up of two neighbouring fortified settlements—a very exceptional physiognomy within the Iberian world—asserts itself as a centre of indigenous power in the vicinity of the Greek settlement. Economic prosperity, based on cereal agriculture and trade, reflects the complexity and efficiency of the exchange networks established with Greeks and with other indigenous settlements of this region.

Throughout the study area, from the Pyrenees to the Ebro Valley, the progressive structuring of local communities accelerated social hierarchisation, urbanisation processes and economic development. The consolidation of a small number of large *oppida* (Ullastret, Burriac, Tarragona) is concomitant with the territorialisation of these communities and the emergence of hierarchical settlement structures (Sanmartí *et al.* 2015). In this system, the creation of coastal establishments connected to major *oppida* illustrates the commercial openness of local societies, active partners in Mediterranean trade. These settlements favour the mouth of rivers, from which trade networks are organised that intertwine indigenous and foreign communities. These interface sites, some of which may be qualified as *emporia*, have favoured external openness, places of purchase and sale of varied goods and spaces of intersection between two different economic worlds. The role of these maritime sites in commercial activity was crucial, as was the penetration of Mediterranean practices and cultural elements into indigenous environments.

Commercial letters from *Emporion* (Sanmartí, Santiago 1998) and Pech Maho (Lejeune *et al.* 1998), dated 6th and 5th centuries BC, confirm the early participation of local societies in Mediterranean trade as well as the early dis-

semination of Greek business practices. This development, which accompanied the expansion and anchoring of the Mediterranean commercial networks, is thus perceptible in the region of study from the 6th century BC through the emergence of settlements near the sea, often located on coastal promontories and sometimes overflowing into the immediate lowlands. This maritime projection of indigenous communities uses several site physiognomies.

First, small settlements sometimes referred to as aristocratic citadels, well fortified and enclosing complex houses, which have an abundance of imported furnishings, signal both trade openness and the wealth of the population that lived there (Sanmartí *et al.* 2015). An example is provided by Alorda Park (Calafell), in the southern part of the Catalan coast. However, the role of these settlements in the trade structure is not explicit, due to the weight of a single social group and the distance to the traditional trading settlement model. Other settlements require more careful interpretation, for example Castell de la Fosca (Palamós), in the north of the study area, of which it is difficult to know if it corresponds to a citadel occupied by the elite or if it already responded to a more complex trade-oriented implementation model. Its position on an advanced headline in the sea emphasises the maritime opening (Fig. 7), as well as the high percentages of imported goods suggest a function as a trading post, to which the presence of written documents and the possible existence of a place of worship is added. However, available archaeological data, mostly from ancient excavations, are sparse, and prevent proper characterisation of the occupation.

On the other hand, other sites, such as Montjuïc (Barcelona) or Tarragona, located respectively in the central and southern parts of the study area, have a clearer economic and commercial function. Located on the slopes of coastal reliefs and in the immediate coastal plain, near the mouth of major rivers, they are largely open to the sea. The site of Montjuïc, still only partially discovered, includes a housing sector and a group of large silos (Asensio *et al.* 2009). Imported goods, very abundant since the beginning of the 6th and up to the 2nd century BC, indicates the commercial vocation of the establishment. It is likely to have been a major trading centre, a point of reception for foreign goods and the disposal of local agricultural products, as well as a bridgehead for inland redistribution circuits. A similar profile characterises the occupation of Tarragona during the Iron Age, although it has also only been partially discovered (Diloli 2015). The available data makes it possible to reproduce a settlement in the lower part of the hill, near the sea and the mouth of the Francolí river. If the first remains, dating from the 5th century BC, are limited to a few post holes and traces of soil, from the 4th century BC the habitation became organised in well-arranged terraces on the slope, with blocks of rectangular houses separated by circulation areas that follow one another down the slope, near the beach. The lower part of the settlement has been interpreted as a port and commercial district, active since the 5th century BC, perhaps even before due to the discovery of residual material dating from the previous century. Imported furnishings are abundant, coming from both the Phoenician-Punic and Greek spheres. In the 5th century BC, imported ceramics accounted for 21% of



Fig. 7—Castell de La Fosca (Palamós) (photo J. CASANOVA-MAC Ullastret).

total furnishings, a much higher percentage than other sites in the area, for example Alorda Park (8%). To the north of the Iberian settlement of Tarragona, the presence of numerous silos also indicate a storage function for the agricultural products coming from the hinterland.

A short distance south of Tarragona, La Cella (Salou) has also been interpreted as a trading post (Diloli *et al.* 2016). Located on the northern slope of a hill near the coast, the site includes simple and complex houses opening on circulation areas and protected by a wall. Due to the peculiarities of the architecture and town planning, the duration of occupation (from the beginning of the 4th to the middle of the 3rd century BC) and, in particular, percentages of imported furnishings (30% amphorae and 20% dishware), a commercial profile was proposed for this settlement, maybe occupied by a mixed population. Nevertheless, the archaeological data is not conclusive and it is clear that the site took its place at the back of the coast. If the opening to Mediterranean trade is undeniable, the character of the site is still difficult to specify. In this same area, further south and towards the mouth of the Ebro, the isolated discovery of a Greek terracotta antefix at the Hospitalet de l'Infant, dated about 500–475 BC, encouraged the hypothesis of the presence here of a possible emporic sanctuary (Dupré 2006). In spite of the discovery location—a coastal promontory located near the mouth of a river and near a crossroads of land routes—the absence of archaeological context prevents the characterisation of this potential site.

The maritime and commercial opening of Iberians on the north-eastern coast of the Peninsula thus fits into a double development context. On the one hand, the expansion of Mediterranean trade, with the participation of various partners, stimulated demand and economic exchange. On the other hand, the acceleration of the socio-political and economic development of indigenous societies led to the consolidation of structured communities. Emerging settlement networks, organised around a small number of large agglomerations, are integrating coastal sites open to maritime trade, some with a clear interface function between local and Mediterranean trade. The privileged areas of settlement were the mouths of rivers, access roads to the interior of the lands and bridgehead of the truly indigenous trade routes. These settlements are unfortunately still little known, but the available documentation makes it possible to progressively approach the main features of the arrangements of occupation and operation. Other sites along the coastal area, whose full involvement in maritime trade is not always established, are located near minor rivers. Finally, in this part of the Iberian Mediterranean coast, it is worth noting the importance of agricultural products, especially cereals, in Mediterranean trade. The vast majority of sites that are coastal, and therefore open to trade, are equipped with groups of silos, sometimes large, which illuminates the nature of trade products.

## 5 Conclusion

The existence of an indigenous market in the area of Empúries explains the visitation, and later settlement, of the Greeks in the far north-east of the Iberian Peninsula. From the primitive *emporion* to the affirmation of the city called *Emporion*, the development of the settlement makes it possible to trace the modalities of contact between the two populations and the peculiarities of the economic dynamics, notably the rise of commercial activity and agricultural exploitation. This economic complementarity explains the effectiveness of the partnerships established between Greeks and native societies as well as the progressive development of the two communities. Intense contacts have fostered cultural interactions, particularly evident in the hinterland of the Greek settlement. A trading site with a mixed population, the specific denomination of “*emporion*” for this settlement makes it possible to characterise an economic vocation as well as the methods of contact of the foreign merchants with the local population. The prolonged presence quickly translated into the domination of this coastal area, where Greeks soon created residential areas, religious and funerary spaces, and craft structures. From the *Palaiapolis* to the *Néapolis*, the increase of the Greek population in the area is very fast if we take into account all available data, the time lag is likely quite short. If the conditions of cohabitation between Greeks and natives in Sant Martí d’Empúries (*Palaiapolis*) are still difficult to grasp, the occupation of the *Néapolis* is clearly on a Greek model, which does not exclude the presence of indigenous inhabitants. The contacts, initially with an open commercial structure, developed towards a stable settlement that benefited both maritime commercial openness and the agricultural wealth of the hinterland.

Unlike the Greeks, the Phoenicians, at an earlier point, only developed trading activity in this north-eastern region of the Iberian Peninsula, especially in the area of the lower Ebro Valley, without setting up a permanent settlement. However, these contacts were decisive in the gradual opening up of local communities to the Mediterranean maritime trade. If the occupation of the coastal areas is scarcely discernable in the first Iron Age, it developed during the Iberian period, *i.e.* from the 6th century BC. This maritime expansion, which accompanied the development of indigenous communities, was concomitant to the growth of commercial trading involving various partners. The emerging settlement systems contributed to the development of shoreline-hinterland trade routes, which use a network of settlements along the coastal and river valleys, which were points of entry inland. In this occupation structure, the role of a small number of large *oppida*, even cities, was decisive in the territorial and economic organisation of the indigenous communities as well as in their inclusion in Mediterranean trade. The reinforcement of the coastal occupation illustrates this desire for commercial openness, although the profile of the settlements responds to various patterns. Trading sites as such are difficult to characterise, particularly because of the paucity of available archaeological data. Nevertheless, some sites stand out and display the commercial function more clearly, preferably located near the mouth of major

rivers in the study area, as well as Montjuïc (Barcelona) and Tarragona. Although the documentation is still incomplete, the characteristics of these two sites make it possible to detect two models of *emporion*: trading sites on one side, the port and commercial districts of an agglomeration or city on the other side, according to a schema that was familiar in the Greek, Phoenician or Etruscan world.

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# Sailors and Landsmen in the *Emporia* of Southern Gaul

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Éric GAILLEDRAT

## 1 At the Boundaries of the Mediterranean Area

For several decades, the *emporion* seems to have been a key element in discourse on the means of contact in the Mediterranean during the first millennium BC. In fact, the economic dimension of the dynamics linked to the colonial phenomenon has been widely emphasised, in order to underline the increasing interaction between Phoenicians, Greeks and even Etruscans on one side and the various indigenous populations around the Mediterranean basin on the other.

Because of its polysemic aspect (Bresson, Rouillard 1993), the Greek term “emporion” has become a convenient tool for understanding an intrinsically complex situation: “...the reality of the *emporion* may not be Greek, but the perception of the *emporion* is Greek” (Rouillard 1995: 101). However, the characterisation of this geographical and chronological diversity has run up against the uneven nature of the archaeological information. This emphasises the need for specific approaches to these locations, which are synonymous with interfaces between “classical” and “indigenous” cultures, both of which are “Mediterranean”.

In comparison with other regions, the north-western part of the Mediterranean seems not to have been affected by these contacts until later. While various material indicators show episodic relations between Gaul and the Mediterranean from the late Bronze age IIb (10th–9th centuries BC) or even earlier (Guilaine, Verger 2008), more tangible proof of sustained contacts between indigenous societies and Mediterranean sailors does not appear until the end of the 7th century BC. This directly announces the foundation of colonies, on the initiative of Greeks originating from the city of *Phokaia* (Phocaea), in Asia Minor. Subsequently, *Massalia* (Marseille) was founded around 600 BC, followed shortly afterwards by *Emporion* (Empúries) on the north-east coast of Catalonia, and *Alalia* (Aléria) in Corsica (Fig. 1).

The ancient sources relating to the southern coast of France do not mention any *emporion* until Strabo uses the term to describe both *Narbô* (Narbonne), “the greatest emporion of all those in the region”, and *Arélaté* (Arles) (Strabo IV.1.6). On the other hand, several “coastal trading posts” have been revealed by archaeology, sites whose differences have revealed

structures and mechanisms which have allowed us to gain some insights into the *emporion*’s reality (Gailedrat 2014).

A look at the geography of the Gallic coast will probably shed some light on the “how” and “why” of this region’s integration into Mediterranean networks, even before the proliferation of *emporia* which characterizes the end of the Archaic period (Gras 1993: 110). This coastal area is not homogeneous from the Alps to the Pyrenees: in fact, it is characterised by a succession of distinct environments from which two large complexes emerge, located on either side of the river Rhone. It contains a succession of varied geographical entities, micro-regions potentially united by the Mediterranean area’s “connectivity” (Horden, Purcell 2000). To the west of Provence’s rocky and jagged coastline lie the flat landscapes and lagoons of Languedoc, interspersed with a few hilly areas which have always served as visual navigation aids. The Rhone valley, a major route into the Celtic continent, as well as the Aude valley—extended by that of the Garonne—which constitutes a direct link between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, have played a determining role in the historical geography of these regions.

## 2 Continuity and Ruptures in the Early Iron Age (8th–7th Centuries BC)

From east to west, the beginning of the Early Iron Age saw the assertion of more marked regional entities than previously and the indigenous communities displayed at this moment an increased social hierarchy (Gailedrat 2015). Evidence of direct relationships with the Greek, Phoenician and even Etruscan worlds multiplied in the second half of the 7th century BC between western Provence and Roussillon. However, this phenomenon is clearest of all in western Languedoc: in tombs of a very narrow section of the population, the grave goods contained various objects imported from the Mediterranean world, such as fine ware drinking cups, roasting skewers and iron knives; in other words, objects related to the consumption of wine and meat which directly evoke the dining practices of the Greek aristocracies in the Archaic period and should



Fig. I—Map of the North-Western Mediterranean with location of the main sites mentioned in the text, and location of Phocaean settlements in the coast of Catalonia and Southern France (© E. GAILLEDRAT).

have been markers of hospitality/feasting practices involving “foreigners” and native partners.

There were numerous reasons for these navigations; they cannot be summarised as simple exploratory ventures in the faraway, and so-called unknown, West.<sup>1</sup> Although this trend directly heralded the Phocaean colonisation process of the following century (so much so that they can be explicitly seen as “precolonial” reconnaissance by the Phocaean themselves) (Bats 1998), it is also evidence of ventures characteristic of the Archaic period. This was the *prexis*, a form of “aristocratic trade” carried out by persons capable of materially preparing distant expeditions which could potentially generate a large profit. This was a form of trade which, although not quite the opposite of that of the *emporion*, was at least distinct from it (Mele 1979).

The importance of western Languedoc mentioned above is confirmed by the geography of the contact with the Phoenicians established in Andalusia and the Balearic Islands. There are a few rare ceramic imports here and there, but local imitations of Phoenician vases are regularly observed amongst the grave goods of the richest tombs from the languedocian necropolises. Traces of this contact do not extend north of the Hérault valley, which is to say the maximum extension of the cultural group (“Grand Bassin I”), mainly extended during the 8th–7th centuries BC in the lower and middle valley of the Aude.<sup>2</sup> This is a strong argument which allows us to link the geography of sea journeys in the Archaic period with a well-defined logic, one centred on the possibilities actually

offered by this or that zone, as well as on the existence of indigenous societies sufficiently well-structured to constitute regular intermediaries and partners.

## 2.1 Conflicting Trends

In the Gulf of Lion, whilst traces of Phoenician trade disappear at the beginning of the 6th century BC, we witness both the settlement of the Phocaean Greeks, with the city of Massalia as their major centre, and the development of intense trading activity also involving the Etruscans. As partners or competitors, Greeks and Tyrrhenians are then continually present on a number of sites on the Gallic coastline. From that moment onward, these sites appear to be essentially dedicated to trade activities and show us some fundamental aspects of the *emporion*.

We then have the impression of a regular process which had—at least—begun by the 7th century BC and which, supported by the existence of previously established social links and assorted mutual economic interests, became part of continuous closer connections between the Mediterranean and the continental worlds. Evidently, among the needs which the development of trade made essential for the various partners, that of the “material” conditions for the meeting seems to have been crucial.

Outside the Rhône region, Provence appears to have been an unattractive prospect in the 7th century BC and was, in fact, little affected by these operations. Languedoc, on the other hand, although densely populated and very dynamic, curiously only contains a few coastal settlements dating from this precise period. This gives us the previously discussed image of very limited relationships, both in space and in time. However, this interpretation is problematic: indeed, this sparse occupation of the coastline contrasts not only

1. Rather than “discovering” the far western Mediterranean, the Phocaean seem to have followed older maritime routes. At the end of the Bronze Age, the Gulf of Lion was an essential landmark on a route linked to the long-distance circulation of objects and raw materials coming from the Atlantic regions and spreading to the eastern Mediterranean (COFFYN 1985).

2. According to the eponymous necropolis of Mailhac (Aude).

with the situation observed in the Late Bronze Age IIIB, but it appears above all to be paradoxical, insofar as it is observed at precisely the time when, overall, concrete indicators of contact with the Mediterranean sphere are increasing.

While these Mediterranean imports are definitely present at some sites near the coast,<sup>3</sup> they are also found quite far inland, especially in necropolises of the main indigenous settlements. These are fairly consistently located at a distance of 20 to 30 km from the sea.<sup>4</sup> The centres of power or “central places” seem to be linked to the control of land communication routes and to territories with rich potential rather than to proximity to the coast, even though this was synonymous with new opportunities and wealth.

Moreover, the few known coastal sites are not only modest in size but also respond to a settlement logic which itself reveals a desire for distancing. Indeed, they regularly make use of the specific geography of the Languedocian coast, namely lagoon areas partially accessible from the sea through the offshore bar. Rather than the shore itself, it was the areas behind these lagoons which were preferred. In other words, these settlements are located on the margins of the actual land (the indigenous domain, strictly speaking) and in contact with an intermediate space between land and water, a “no man’s land” which guaranteed a certain distance from the sea; in other words, from the domain of the Mediterranean sailors.

Should these signs be interpreted as genuine mistrust of the coast, as a result of the existence of a new danger which could simply be that of piracy, “a systemic epiphenomenon of connectivity, suppressed by powerful states only for brief intervals in Mediterranean history” (Horden, Purcell 2000: 387)? In a manner of speaking, piracy is virtually inseparable from maritime activity (in the broad sense of the term) in the Mediterranean during the Archaic period. It was then an activity which, if not “normal”, was at least common. The Phoenicians practised it (Homer, *The Odyssey*: XV.433), as did the Phocaeans<sup>5</sup> and the Etruscans (Gras 1985), further emphasising the fundamental opposition between “sailors” and “landsmen” (Jully 1978). During the Archaic period, this piracy apparently constituted an alternative or a complement to distant expeditions, traces of which can be seen here.

This observation of a certain retreat into the interior by indigenous communities, balanced against the nature of contacts desired by the indigenous aristocracies, reveals complex phenomena, which resulted in a dual process of attraction to and repulsion from the coast. The relationship between exogenous “requests” and indigenous “responses” must therefore be considered here in terms of a dialectic and not merely as a subjugation to colonial practices. This logic applies to the 8th–7th centuries BC and it also applies to the 6th century BC, the period when the already known mechanisms of the *emporia* were consolidated.

3. Necropolis of Bellevue (Canet-en-Roussillon), L’Agredo (Roquafort-de-Corbières), Peyrou and Bousquet (Agde).

4. La Courondelle (Béziers), Grand Bassin I (Mailhac), Carsac (Carcassonne).

5. “For the Phocaeans, constrained by the narrowness and aridity of the soil, worked the sea more assiduously than the land, subsisted on fishing, trade and even, most often, on piracy, which was at that time held in honour” (Justin XLIII.3–4).

## 2.2 Maritime Routes and Networks

The rarity of coastal settlements at the beginning of the early Iron Age is undeniable. However, it must be weighed against the existence of several zones which, at least in the 7th century BC, attracted Mediterranean sailors. These zones were centred on the mouths of certain rivers, from the north-east of Catalonia down to the lower Rhône Valley: the mouths of the Têt, the Aude, the Hérault and the Lez all fall into this category and feature the specific characteristic of being fairly regularly spaced. There is about forty kilometres between<sup>6</sup> each of them, suggesting that they could be used as regular stops along a maritime route used by coastal shipping (Galledrat 2014: 78–80).

This hypothesis makes it possible to qualify the hitherto very fleeting image of these Archaic navigations. Clearly, the “exploratory” phases must be placed further back in time, since these shores were already well known to Mediterranean sailors in the 7th century BC and the terms of their encounters with the indigenous world seem, at least in part, to already have been standardised. Although docking could easily take place at various points along the coast, with the ships simply drawn up onto the beach, and although the river mouths must have all been favoured, because of the possibilities offered by the corresponding valleys where the main part of the indigenous population was concentrated, sailors and landsmen obviously ensured that there were stable (and safe?) meeting points, the selection of which was not random.

Initially these points did not necessarily have to be associated with fixed settlements: the local populations and foreign merchants only had to know “where” and “when” the meeting could take place, according to the rhythm of the seasons and favourable conditions for sailing. Thus, Greeks or Phoenicians were able to dock on the beaches and establish simple camps intended for short or longer stays, a situation which Homer portrayed perfectly when referring to Phoenician merchants who mostly, moreover, indulged in piracy: “They stayed in the country a whole year, and acquired a ship’s full of cargo in trade” (Homer, *The Odyssey*: XV.433).

All these observations encourage us to consider that the logic which led to both the formalisation of sites oriented towards trade, and the acceptance of rules and practices common to the various populations in contact, was part of a long process, exceeding the few decades which precede Greek colonial settlement on the shores of southern France.

## 3 Indigenous Dynamics

At the turn of the 7th–6th centuries BC, the appearance of open sites on the Mediterranean which support the logic of the *emporion* is clearly linked to the existence of an Etrusco-Phocaeans colonial network from which a structured trade oriented towards the indigenous markets of the Gallic coast should have been developed. However, descriptions of the 8th–7th centuries BC history show us a dynamic indigenous world, as well as a depth of “precolonial” relationships, in which *prexis* is definitely not sufficient to explain the nature

6. The equivalent of one day’s sailing.

of the trade taking place. The *emporos* (the merchant), whether Greek or Phoenician, seems to have been present at an early date, and the idea of a structural rupture at the beginning of the 6th century BC must be strongly qualified: the change in economic mechanisms went hand in hand with changes in the social and political contexts, such that the *emporion* appears to have been more a change in pre-existing structures, adapted to new challenges, rather than a new creation.

The gradual appropriation of the coast by indigenous societies—who were fundamentally looking inland—reached a new stage in the 6th century BC, as is illustrated by the multiplication of fortified settlements or “*oppida*”. However, this seemingly continuous trend must also be qualified in the sense that most of these new settlements, located more or less close to the sea, were in fact almost never established on the coast itself. In other words, they were often a few kilometres inland and none of them were directly accessible from the sea. Very few were able to function as landing stages directly accessible from the lagoon filled coastline, characteristic of the coast between the Rhône and the Pyrenees (Fig. 2).

From Provence to Roussillon, two trends emerged. On the one hand, *oppida* multiplied; this seems to indicate something of an explosion in some forms of power and exacerbated competition for access to Mediterranean routes. On the other hand, some large centres emerged; these were to play a major political role between the Early and Late Iron Ages. This was particularly the case west of the Rhône where the *oppida* of Nîmes, Narô (?)/Montlaurès (Narbonne) and Ruscino (Perpignan) were at the head of extensive networks, associated with vast territories bordered by the sea. These *oppida*, like others, located at a greater or lesser distance from the coast, imply the existence of interface sites, staging posts adapted to the necessities of the Mediterranean trade which was then in full development.

### 3.1 On Both Sides of the Rhône

Once again, the situation was quite different on each side of the Rhône. The coast east of Marseille was engaged in the coastal trade of Etruscan and Greek products, although this trade seems to be much less intense than in Languedoc. This situation persisted into the Late Iron Age whilst the expansion of Marseille was accompanied by a strategy of colony foundation in Provence between the end of the 5th and the second half of the 4th centuries BC (Bats 2004), called *epiteichismata* by Strabo (IV.1.9). These constituted coastal control points whose commercial function seemed secondary: *Tauroeis* (Six-Fours-les-Plages), *Olbia* (Hyères), and *Nikaia* (Nice), while the case of *Antipolis* (Antibes) is more difficult to characterise at the moment (Bats 1992; Bats 2012) (Fig. 1).

On the other hand, in the area around *Massalia*, from the start of the 6th century BC a particular dynamic provides evidence for the first Phocaean *emporia*. The small settlements of Tamaris and L'Arquet (Martigues) are notable for their coastal position and appear to have been maritime staging posts on the route leading to the large pond of “*Etang de Berre*”, in other words the key to the Rhône valley (Fig. 2). The St-Blaise oppidum (St-Mitre-les-Remparts) appears to have been a relatively atypical major site, although its loca-

tion between land and sea directly evokes the indigenous settlement patterns of the early Iron Age. Occupied since the turn of the 7th–6th centuries BC, this relatively large settlement (about 5 ha) had become a particularly active place of trade open to the Greco-Etruscan *emporia* (Gateau et al. 1986: 286–305). The fundamentally indigenous nature of the site is not contradicted either by the abundance of imports or by the early introduction of Mediterranean construction techniques, and it should be seen as a site enjoying special links with *Massalia*.

With St-Blaise, the system which was installed around the *Etang de Berre* was rapidly enhanced throughout the 6th century BC through the creation of new settlements, namely Le Castellan (Istres), then St-Pierre-les-Martigues (Martigues), followed in the 5th century BC by that of L'Île (Martigues) (Fig. 2). These testify to the desire to control access to the *Etang de Berre*, proof of complex relationships between *Massalia* and its Gallic neighbours, with political logics which unfortunately largely escape us.

### 3.2. The Emporia of the Rhône Delta

However, it was to the west, outside of this first circle, that Massalian activity was to be concentrated. The Phocaean are recognised as being the Greeks who, by definition, used *emporia* (Aristotle, *Ap. Atheneum XIII.576*). The first few decades of *Massalia*'s life were largely based around this activity, especially since the city had only a limited and not very fertile *chôra*. Its commercial expansion really took shape from the middle of the 6th century BC, when its vineyard was sufficiently developed to allow for exportable surpluses. After having been involved in spreading Etruscan wine throughout southern Gaul, loading it as freight in Tyrrhenian coastal ports such as Gravisca or Pyrgi, *Massalia* exported its own wine amphorae in huge amounts. These quickly took the place of Etruscan products on the Gallic or Ibero-Languedocian markets (Bats 1998).

From then on, a real commercial policy was put in place, based on a series of trading posts established in the Rhône delta from the middle to the end of the 6th century BC: first of all, *Théliné* (Arles) on the Rhône,<sup>7</sup> then *Espeyran* (St-Gilles-du-Gard) and *Le Cailar* (Fig. 2), formerly located on the edge of the lagoon which was practically an inland sea at this point. The nature of these settlements (colonial foundations or indigenous sites which had welcomed Greek merchants?) is still difficult to define, beyond noting their privileged links to *Massalia*.<sup>8</sup> Although *Espeyran* and *Le Cailar* are as yet only known through limited excavations (Barruol, Py 1978; Py, Roure 2002), Arles, on the other hand (Arcelin 1995 and 2008), offers a glimpse into the possible reality of these *emporia* so to speak equidistant. They show evidence of identical choices in

7. “*Arelate* used to be called *Théliné* when the Greeks lived there” (Avienus, *Ora Maritima*: 689–691).

8. Historical sources also point to a *Rhoda* or *Rhadanousia* somewhere in the Rhône delta, mentioned by the Pseudo-Scymnos (208), Strabo (IV.1.5) and Pliny the Elder (III.34), for which there would have also been a *Heraklea* at the mouth of the same river. For the time being, the identification of these toponyms remains uncertain. None of these towns are explicitly referred to as an “*emporion*” but the poverty of the sources mentioned does not allow them to be ruled out of the suggested plan.



Fig. 2—Map of the Gulf of Lion region with location of the main settlements of the Iron Age (© E. GAILLEDRA).

terms of geographical settlement, controlling the entire low Rhone region and the river valleys leading to the hinterland of eastern Languedoc.

Arles was the first convenient point to offload on the Rhone river and is located on the margins of a vast intermediate space between land and sea, marked by the marshy areas of the Camargue. During the years 540/530 BC, a Mediterranean type habitat was apparently superimposed onto a pre-existing indigenous settlement. The material then changed radically, with a Greek-style tableware being generally used, whilst the commercial vocation of the site is indicated by the high numbers of amphorae, mostly from *Massalia*. In the 5th cen-

tury BC the site was extended considerably, reaching an area of 30 to 40 ha. The urban framework reveals the use of precise measurements, with regular blocks established according to an orthonormal plan, indicative of the direct intervention of Greek surveyors (Fig. 3). The architecture itself reveals the existence of techniques (such as lime plaster) which were unknown in the indigenous world. Whilst this extension suggests an important demographic reinforcement (the arrival of new Greek colonists?), there are significant differences from an area to another, visible from the materials, which suggest the presence of indigenous people, or even the existence of an already mixed population (Arcelin 2008: 111).

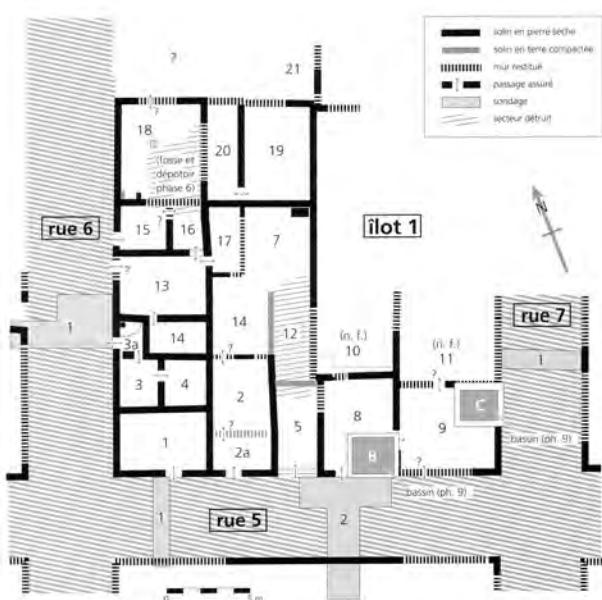


Fig. 3—Arles. Plan of the excavation of the *Jardin d'Hiver* (architectural state of the 4th–3rd centuries BC) (after Arcelin 1995: 330, Fig. 3).

Rather than a colonial foundation, the logical sequence prevailing here seems to be that of the *emporion*, with a change in scale resulting from the economic importance of the site linked to its particularly advantageous geographical situation. Whilst the initiative appears to be Greek, it was only made possible by the acceptance of the native partner. In other words, this type of site illustrates this situation where a portion of land on the margins of indigenous territory becomes a “concession” in which the presence of a foreign community is tolerated and where cohabitation can occur all the more if it is a continuation of pre-existing regular contacts.

#### 4 Between Etruscans and Greeks, the Case of Lattara

The site of *Lattara* (Lattes)<sup>9</sup> occupies an advantageous position at the mouth of the River Lez, in a lagoon area on the margins of a territory of which the *Sextantio oppidum* (Castelnau-le-Lez), was the major hub (Fig. 2). It was located about ten kilometres into the hinterland and had been continuously occupied from the Late Bronze Age IIIB. The lower Lez Valley is one of the few points on the coastline mentioned earlier which, at the beginning of the early Iron Age, were characterised by a higher density of human occupation and by the existence of more or less explicit material traces of direct contact with the Mediterranean world.

The abundant information available for *Lattara* shows the importance of the privileged economic relationship enjoyed by the site with *Massalia* between the beginning of the 4th and

9. The subject of methodical excavations conducted since 1984, the site of Lattes/St-Sauveur, ancient *Lattara*, has delivered first-rate information making it a key element in understanding the modes of contact between Greeks and indigenous peoples in the western Mediterranean (PY 1995; JANIN, PY 2008; PY 2009).



Fig. 4—Aerial view of the site of *Lattara* and its surrounding area, from the North (a) and palaeotopography of the sector of *Lattara* during the 6th–5th centuries BC (b) (after Bagan et al. 2010, completed).

the end of the 2nd century BC, to the point that the Phocaean city seems to have had a monopoly over this port (Janin, Py 2008; Py 2009). *De facto*, the existence of a coastal trading post so consistently visited by the Greeks of Marseille, situated at the western end of the vast geographical complex that is the Lower Rhone region, is an example of the commercial hold mentioned above, of which Arles was the centrepiece. However, the history of *Lattara* is much richer, both because of the major role played by the Etruscans during the early stages of the site's life and because of its insertion into a complex system of interaction between Greeks, Etruscans and indigenous people (Gailledrat 2015).



Fig. 5—General plan of *Lattara*, with indication (zone 1 and 27) where the oldest levels (beginning of the 5th century BC) were reached by the excavation  
© CNRS-UMR 5140.

The settlement, located on a small peninsula jutting out into the lakes and bordering the river Lez (Fig. 4), occupied an area of about 3.5 ha in the Iron Age (Bagan *et al.* 2010) (Fig. 5). All available surface was built on and the site was protected from the start(?) by a rampart. At present, the oldest known levels of occupation date from around 500 BC and are clearly linked to the local settlement of an Etruscan community (Lebeaupin 2014) (Fig. 6). Nevertheless, there are several indicators that from the 6th century BC a smaller settlement would have existed in the same place which, in this case, may have been enlarged and reworked at the beginning of the following century (Py 2009: 50).

In any event, in the 6th century BC this region of the lower Lez Valley was already fully integrated into Mediterranean trade networks. Just 1 km to the east of *Lattara*, the site of La Cougourlude/Mas de Causse (Daveau *et al.* 2015) has been inhabited since the Late Bronze Age IIIB; during this period, and at the beginning of the Early Iron Age, there was a loose, not necessarily continuous occupation, similar to that seen in other small lagoon settlements known in this area. However, in the second quarter of the 6th century BC these small sites were disappearing, whilst La Cougourlude experienced significant development—a sign that populations were regrouping

on this site. Sustained economic activity is particularly attested by the presence of numerous Etruscan, then Greek, imports, to which were quickly added those coming from Marseille. The volume of imports, as well as the large amount of wheel-thrown pottery, is in marked contrast to the features observed in the other indigenous sites in eastern Languedoc.

La Cougourlude reached the height of its development at the beginning of the 5th century BC, covering an estimated area of more than 20 ha. This is the time of the supposed founding of *Lattara*. At that time, the site at the mouth of the Lez was, however, just a small Etruscan enclave, backed onto the vast indigenous conurbation of La Cougourlude. The latter appears to have then been operating not only as an *emporion* open to various forms of Mediterranean trade but also as a true coastal bridgehead for the *Sextantio oppidum*, located 10 km inland.

The special character of the place is accentuated by the presence of a religious complex located immediately to the south (Mas de Causse), on the side of the hill which dominates the lakes. Thus, the hypothesis of an emporic sanctuary was developed, perhaps set up in the 6th century BC, visible from *Lattara* and even from the sea. A vast enclosure defined by a ditch is located at the foot of this hill (Fig. 7) and could have functioned as a specialised space on the edge of the proper



Fig. 6—Level of destruction of the Etruscan buildings in zone I (a) and 27 (b) at *Lattara* (475 BC) (© CNRS-U.M.R. 5140).

habitat, an open place dedicated to meeting and trade which is reminiscent of patterns attested elsewhere (Gailedrat 2014: 186–97).

The settlement of La Cougourlude was basically an indigenous site whilst *Lattara* seems rather to have been a support base occupied by Mediterranean merchants working in the zone, on a meagre portion of land granted by the indigenous power. At the mouth of the Lez river, whether a permanent settlement had already existed or whether the site had only served as a natural landing stage, the fact is, in the 6th century BC, the Gallic population neglected this site in favour of another (La Cougourlude) which, although admittedly located in the immediate vicinity of the ponds, was actually established on dry land protected from major flood risks (Daveau et al. 2015: 88–89) and not on the strip of sand surrounded by water on which the Etruscans had chosen (or were forced?) to settle. The indigenous staging post on the Mediterranean was therefore established, not on the coastline, but behind the lagoon interface. We thus once again encounter the already mentioned concept of distancing, linked to the peculiarities of the Languedoc coastline and to the obviously special status of these intermediate spaces.

The situation changed at the end of the first quarter of the 5th century BC. *Lattara* was suddenly abandoned following a violent event which resulted in a widespread fire (Fig. 6). The site was re-established, but architecture and materials testify to the indigenous character of this new settlement. At the same time, the site of La Cougourlude was quickly

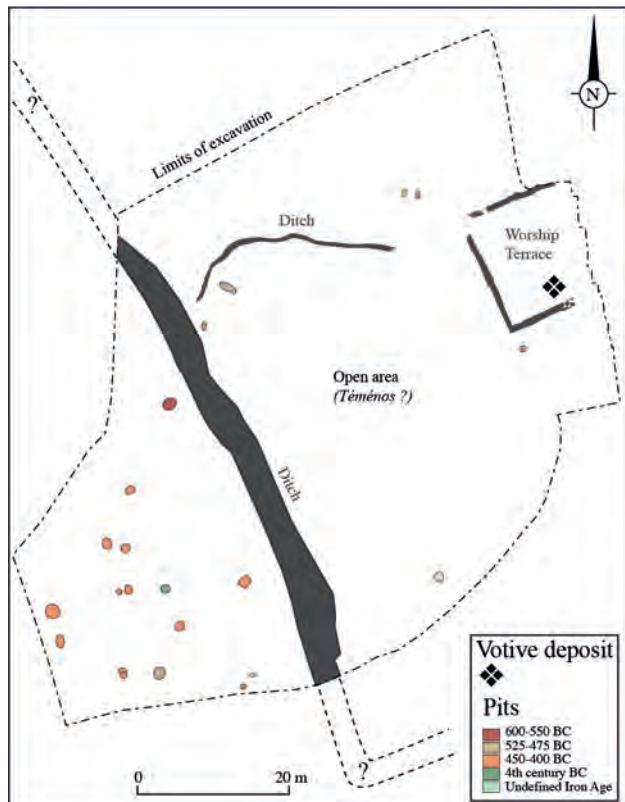


Fig. 7—The site of *Mas de Causse* at the foot of the *Pérols* hill. Plan of the Iron Age structures (© Oxford Archeology).

abandoned. The hypothesis of a displacement of the Gallic population, in particular towards *Lattara*, goes hand in hand with that of an eviction of the Etruscan component installed in the area, processes which seem to have largely benefited the Greeks of Marseille, whose products were then suddenly in the majority amongst the imports (Py 2009).

In fact, it was only then that *Lattara* seemed to actually take over the emporic functions previously allocated to La Cougourlude. After a short transition period (Gailedrat, Vacheret 2016), a new urban planning programme was launched, using techniques (mud-brick on stone basement) and organisational schemes which were not yet common at that time in eastern Languedoc. In this context, the regular presence of Greeks is strongly sensed, particularly through inscriptions on ceramics, and the differences observed from one neighbourhood to another suggest that distinct social or ethnic groups were coexisting (Gailedrat 2014: 246–50; Gailedrat 2015).

It seems obvious that the Greeks of *Massalia* played an active role in the reconfiguration of that trading post, possibly even in the eviction of the Etruscans who were more competitors than partners. Here, as elsewhere, the impression given is that of co-operation between Greeks and the indigenous population, resulting from common interests; the one providing technical skills, the others the necessary land and labour, whilst common rules, with the *emporion* as a framework, were inevitably established and accepted (Rouillard 2000; Gailedrat 2014). This structural development from a dual structure (La Cougourlude/*Lattara*) towards a single site constituted a final, additional degree of integration, inasmuch as it was synon-

ymous with a greater physical proximity between colonists and native population. Although there is nothing to suggest that La Cougourlude was “closed” to foreign merchants, the hypothesis of a “neutral” extramural space, as well as the strictly Etruscan character of the old levels of *Lattara*, show that a distance was still being maintained between the different communities then in contact.

## 5 Agde: From the *Emporion* to the Colony of *Massalia*

The attractiveness of the mouth of the Hérault river for Mediterranean sailors, already evident in the 7th century BC, increased at the beginning of the next century. In the 6th century BC, a settlement existed on the site of the present town of Agde (Hérault).<sup>10</sup> Little is known about the oldest levels of the site, but the available data show that it was then largely open to Mediterranean trade (Garcia, Marchand 1995). At the same time, the early appearance of regional production of grey-monochrome ware, inspired by models from Eastern Greece (“Aeolian grey ware”), clearly reflects the settling of Greek potters in the area—the origin of the development of mixed or indigenous workshops (Nickels 1983).

Indeed, it is not unreasonable to think that Phocaean had been present at the mouth of the Hérault since the Archaic period. This would coincide perfectly with their settlement logic which, from Marseille to Empúries, aimed to embrace all the Gulf of Lion (Gailledrat 2010 and 2014). It is nevertheless difficult to define the nature of this first settlement: the oldest levels of Agde-town must date from the first half of the 6th century BC and only show post-hole constructions. However, the use of mud-brick on stone basement quickly appears, including for the construction of the first fortification encircling the settlement (Nickels 1995), which demonstrates the early assimilation of Mediterranean techniques and designs. In fact, the uncertainty concerns not so much whether the Greeks were present in Agde at that time but the manner of their first settling, as it is difficult to detect the foundation of a colony in the *stricto sensu* of the term. The most likely situation, however, is that of an indigenous *emporion* which was open to Mediterranean traders, which definitively established and fixed one of the main meeting points of the Early Iron Age. Once again, it was at the mouth of a river and behind a lagoon area (which has today mostly disappeared).

Whatever the reality, there was a break at the end of the 5th century BC, marked by a radical reorganisation of the site, which then occupied an area of around 4 ha and had an orthogonal urban pattern associated with a cadastral plan of the peri-urban space (Nickels 1981). Simultaneously, materials show major changes, not so much in the modes of supply (amphorae from *Massalia* had predominated in Agde and central Languedoc since the end of the 6th century BC)

10. Occupation at the beginning of the first Iron Age is presently only known through the necropolis of Le Peyrou (Agde), dated to the 7th century BC (NICKELS et al. 1989). The exact location of the corresponding settlement remains uncertain.

as in consumption practices. Hitherto still present in significant proportions, indigenous non-wheel-thrown pottery abruptly declined, whilst the majority of tableware were cream-ware pottery from *Massalia*. The features of Agde are therefore strongly similar to those seen in *Massalia* or Arles at the same time.

This moment is recognised as being that of the foundation of the Massalian colony of *Agathé* (or *Agathé Tyche*) described by ancient literary sources.<sup>11</sup> The reasons for this development of the Massalian network and the forms of settlement are subject to debate. Clearly, *Massalia* was then seeking to consolidate its grip on the Gulf of Lion, without necessarily antagonising or engaging in conflict with the indigenous populations. Although Agde became a Greek territory and the city had a *chôra*, that is, a territory of its own both economy and politically, the idea of a military conquest suggested by Strabo<sup>12</sup> must be weighed against that of a peaceful agreement and a territorial concession, made possible by long-standing ties woven with the local elites. Whatever the case, if *Agathé* cannot be regarded as an *emporion*, then we are seeing a reorganisation of commercial and perhaps political networks on a regional scale, in which competition between indigenous elites must have played a decisive role.

## 6 The Coast and the Rivers

The complexity of trade networks linked to the practice of *emporion* meant that sites and communities located more inland were also involved, in an area no longer limited to that of the “intermediate areas” favoured during the Archaic period, but one which fully involved the indigenous lands.

In fact, the situation of Agde in the 6th–5th centuries BC cannot be appreciated without taking into account the site of La Monédière (Bessan), located about 6 km upstream on the river Hérault. This fortified site, with an area of about 4 ha, is recognised as being an indigenous staging post located at the intersection of several important land routes.

At the end of the 6th century BC the material facies of the site changed appreciably, revealing the considerable importance acquired by wheel-thrown ceramics to the detriment of indigenous hand-made pottery, whether tableware (mostly grey-monochrome ware) or cooking ware. This very “Mediterranean” feature, combined with the observation of quite sudden architectural changes, made it possible to propose an attempted Phocaean settlement, though not long-lasting (Nickels 1983; Nickels 1989). In view of recently updated information,<sup>13</sup> the image that is now accepted is that of an indigenous site occupied since around 600 BC, an integrated part of the trade networks with the Mediterranean, which experienced increasing economic activity until its abandonment in the last quarter of the 5th century BC. Various arguments make it possible to distinguish a regular

11. Pseudo-Scymnos (208), Strabo (IV.1.5) and Pliny the Elder (III.34).

12. The reference made by Strabo (IV.1.5) to the massalian “military strength” as the origin of the foundation of several towns including *Agathé* is not explicit on this point.

13. Unpublished excavations 2014 (A. Beylier, É. Gailledrat dir.).



Fig. 8—Aerial view of Pech Maho, alongside the river La Berre (© CNRS-UMR 5140).

non-indigenous presence (Greek as well as possibly Etruscan) in a context which, at least from the end of the 6th century BC, evokes that of a mixed site.

At that time, La Monédière must be considered an *emporion*, inevitably linked, on the one hand, to the inland oppidum of St-Siméon (Pézenas) which appeared to be this region's chief town, and on the other to Agde, a coastal interface site with which a complementary relationship was established.<sup>14</sup>

Regardless, La Monédière was peacefully abandoned at the end of the 5th century BC. The fortification was dismantled and rituals largely inspired by the Mediterranean world seem to have accompanied this particular moment, revealing more profound changes on a regional level. On the one hand, the Massalian colony of *Agathé* was founded during this exact time period. On the other hand, the important oppidum established at Béziers, on the river Orb, experienced an unprecedented phase of extension, accompanied by a change in materials with obvious Greek influences (Ugolini *et al.* 1991; Ugolini, Olive 2006).<sup>15</sup> Béziers appeared, for several decades, to be an *emporion* comparable to the one at Arles. One has to consider that the site benefited from its geographical position at the confluence of the western route leading on one side to the middle valley of the Aude, to the Narbonne region (*Narbonnais*) on the other, maybe taking over (and increasing) the role of

staging post previously played by La Monédière (Gailledrat 2014: 159–61).

## 7 The Lower Valley of the Aude River

In the 6th century BC, this region of the lower and middle valley of the Aude still appeared to be the epicentre of a homogeneous, dynamic cultural group ("Grand Bassin II" facies) encompassing western Languedoc. This coherence is usually considered to be a reflection of an ethnic reality: the Elisyes people, mentioned by ancient sources, whose chief town may have been the city of *Narô* (or *Narbô*), identified as the oppidum of Montlaurès (Narbonne) (Barruel 1973).

The area around the mouth of the Aude has also undergone profound changes since the first millennium BC, synonymous with a reduction of the lagoon originally present in this area. It is possible that the oppidum of Montlaurès was accessible by small boats ascending the river Atax (Aude) during the Iron Age.<sup>16</sup> That the site was directly accessible to ships navigating along the coasts has, however, been ruled out. It is thus necessary to render a system based on offloading points established on the lagoon interface which communicated with the sea, using small boats (such as the *akatia* mentioned on the Pech Maho lead tablet?) able to ensure the transport of goods. From this perspective, the presence of small coastal settlements must be considered with, from North to South, La Moulinasse (Salle d'Aude) (6th–5th centuries BC), Le Mou-

14. Did Agde and La Monédière share the same emporic functions, or was Agde only a landing stage? In any case, it seems difficult to consider Agde as a simple Mediterranean enclave, reproducing in some way the previously mentioned pattern of Etruscan *Lattara*/La Cougourlude .

15. The hypothesis of a true Greek colony championed by the excavators must be rejected, particularly for the period prior to the second half of the 5th century BC, during which Béziers was no more—and no less—than a major oppidum of the Ibero-Languedocian zone.

16. This is at least suggested by Strabo's text, which states that "from Narbo traffic goes inland for a short distance by the Atax River" (Strabo IV.1.14).



Fig. 9—Pech Maho. Level of destruction of a warehouse containing amphorae and dolia (225–200 BC) (© E. GAILLEDRAT).

lin (Peyriac-de-Mer) (4th century BC) and finally Pech Maho (Sigean) (6th-3rd centuries BC) (Fig. 2).

Pech Maho is undoubtedly the best known of these settlements, if only because of the commercial letter (lead tablet) written in ancient Ionian Greek discovered on the site, dating from the 5th century BC (Lejeune et al. 1988; Decourt 2000). This small settlement, used as a landing stage, was founded in the second quarter of the 6th century BC and was violently destroyed at the end of the 3rd century BC. Located at the mouth of the La Berre river, on the edge of the lagoon (Fig. 8), Pech Maho occupied a strategic position on the southern borders of the Narô territory, on an obligatory north-south land crossing point. The site, with an area of only 1.5 ha within the city walls, is endowed with a powerful fortification and is notable for the importance of the economic activities linked to it. From the 6th century BC, Pech Maho reveals high levels of importations as well as numerous traces of metalworking activity (Gailedrat, Solier 2004). In the 3rd century BC, the site appears to have been a combination of numerous forges and warehouses (Fig. 9) and other specialised buildings, including several public, civil and religious buildings. The settlement functioned as a place of power, as evidenced by the ostentatious character of the fortification, as well as a vast architectural complex located at the centre of the habitat, comparable to the aristocratic residences of Ullastret and Pontós in Iberian Catalonia.

The foundation of Pech Maho was not an accident. It appears to have been the result of a voluntary undertaking dictated by the wishes of a local power wanting to equip itself with “the tools” necessary for developing and controlling trade. It must have been linked to the simultaneous emergence of



Fig. 10—Pech Maho. Votive stelae (6th century BC?) (© E. GAILLEDRAT).

the Montlaurès oppidum, which then established itself as a major site at a regional level. Pech Maho, which was at once a maritime staging post, trading centre and fortress, also contributed strongly to marking the boundary between two distinct commercial areas: namely those of *Emporion* and *Massalia*. The pre-eminence of *Massalia*'s trade in eastern and central Languedoc did not extend to western regions and it is possible that the absence of any colonial settlement in this strategic area at the mouth of the Aude stemmed more from a rejection on the part of the indigenous world than from a reasoned choice on the part of the Phocaeans and, *a fortiori*, of the Etruscans.

The concept of co-operation between Mediterranean and indigenous partners for the creation of this trading post is nevertheless obvious. After a short phase characterised by loose structures associated with a first rampart, an ambitious construction programme was launched towards 540 BC, which resulted in a regular urban framework based on adobe buildings with stone basement. The perfectly controlled nature of the construction, as well as the designs implemented, are all the more remarkable for their suddenness and precocity, suggesting the contribution of Mediterranean skills, probably Greek, on a site whose nature remained basically indigenous (Gailedrat 2010a).

Pech Maho also produced a large number of Archaic stelae (Fig. 10) which bear witness to the existence of sacred places on the site, whilst rites associated with fortification persisted from the 6th to the end of the 3rd centuries BC. Several naval representations on these stelae are suggestive of dedications, perhaps from sailors who visited the site, whilst there is evidence of monumental public buildings of Mediterranean

inspiration from the second half of the 5th century BC. Obviously, the site had a religious and symbolic dimension in addition to its economic functions.

The picture which emerges is that of a commercial, artisanal and religious complex leaving little room for domestic spaces. There were persons of authority on site whose job was to control trade, manage the warehouses and at least a part of the artisanal production, by gathering a certain number of craftsmen around them, especially metalworkers. In short, this image is indeed that of an *emporion*, a specialised place where trade took place, where goods and people from different backgrounds met for a specific purpose and within a well-defined framework, under the aegis of a civil authority and under religious protection, guaranteeing the security of goods, persons and transactions.

## 8 Conclusions

Through the various scenarios mentioned above, it seems that the south of France allows us an accurate glimpse into a number of situations peculiar to the *emporion* and, more generally, to the ways in which "sailors" and "landsmen" met. Beyond the formal distinction "colonists"/"indigenous", these two terms have been used not only to distinguish these two components, but also to highlight a geographical dimension which here, perhaps more than anywhere else, is essential to understanding the different behaviours of the partners involved.

With the concepts of choice and coercion as a guiding principle, it seems that *emporia* as we perceive them from the 6th century BC onward are part of a contact dynamic formed from Mediterranean proposals and indigenous responses, with a dialectic originating in the mechanisms of the "precolonial" era. The perceptible changes between the Early and Late Iron Age results from both socio-economic transformations particular to the indigenous communities and from those of the colonial networks, here synonymous with the growing economic influence of the Greek city of *Massalia*.

The *emporion* is a place of meeting, a place of trade and transfer, not only of goods but also of ideas or techniques. The fundamental economic dimension is particularly visible in the nature and volume of imported goods. This criterion, however, is not sufficient and, as the example of Pech Maho shows, it is essential to look at the actual framework of these settlements. Although difficult to demonstrate, the particular importance of storage structures, artisanal areas, and public buildings or spaces—especially religious ones—will probably highlight the specificity of any particular site.

Sites such as St-Blaise, Agde, La Monédière and Pech Maho also testify to the particularly early adoption of construction techniques and urban plans borrowed from the Mediterranean world. The suddenness of these innovations has been underlined, by minimising the concepts of influence and experimentation, but by allowing a glimpse of effective co-operation, synonymous with voluntary enterprises. In other words, some sites show us that Greeks (or Etruscans) and indigenous peoples clearly made a joint decision to cre-

ate institutionalised meeting points on the coast at this or that position, and it is mainly here that we can find *emporia*. A fine reading of the stratigraphy also makes it possible to say that these are mostly ex nihilo foundations and not older indigenous settlements whose status and functions changed in parallel with a "Mediterraneanisation" of material and architecture. The oldest levels of these same sites correspond to rather short phases, which suggest temporary installations preceding the implementation of larger construction projects, but they in no way predict the identity of the people then present.

As well as the diversity of situations observed between the Rhone and the Pyrenees, the proximity of the Greeks and the indigenous people has been highlighted several times, allowing us to suggest another of the essential characteristics of the *emporion*. However, it is still difficult to characterise the diversity of certain sites in detail, whether this represents simple cohabitation or true ethnic mixity. The linear and continuous character of this embedment must also be put into perspective as phases of merging and distancing have succeeded one another and the different settlements mentioned above are themselves indicative of different functions. The examples of Lattara/La Cougourlude or Agde thus show us the complexity of the situations and the impossibility of suggesting just a single interpretation of a site.

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## **Part Three**

### **Italy and its Margins**



# The Emporion in the Adriatic. Trade, Trafficking, Cultural Constructions (6th–2nd Century BC)

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Maria Cecilia D'ERCOLE

## 1 The Pirate Gulf

The concept of the *emporion* presents a kind of challenge for the history and archaeology of the ancient Adriatic.<sup>1</sup> Because of its configuration and the constraints this imposes on sailing, this sea already presents a unique case in the dynamics of Mediterranean trade. First of all, through its shape: the sea is 750 km long and 200 km wide at most, its width reducing to 70 km in the Strait of Otranto (Fig. 1). It is easy to understand why the Adriatic was thought of as a gulf, known for centuries as *Adriás kolpos* by the ancient Greeks<sup>2</sup> and as the Gulf of Venice in modern times. These names imply a surrounded, enclosed space, difficult to access and equipped with an entrance, located at the level of the Strait of Otranto<sup>3</sup>, and with an upper point which, according to several ancient authors, was situated in an inaccessible corner: the *muchos*.<sup>4</sup> The Pseudo-Scylax locates it in the area inhabited by the Celts, north of the Po Delta and south of territory of the Veneti, as if the Adriatic border formed an elbow immediately above the mouth of the Po.<sup>5</sup> The Pseudo-Scymnus, on the other hand, places it in the region of the Veneti.<sup>6</sup> According to Dionysius Periegetes, the *muchos* was generated by the movement of the waters of the sea (*Adriás alme*) retreating to the west and level with the Asty *Tergestaiôn*, thus near the present town of Trieste.<sup>7</sup> Finally, Strabo locates the *muchos* in the north of the Adriatic where the Illyrian side begins, actually in the territory of the Histrians, whom he considered the first people of the Illyrian coast.<sup>8</sup> These uncertainties probably

1. This is one of the strong points of the impressive career of Pierre Rouillard: an example for all, the work here abbreviated by BRESSON, ROUILLARD 1993.

2. *Kolpos Adrias*: Hecataeus, FGH I, 90, Scyl. 14; 18 (MÜLLER 1855: 22–23). *Kolpos Adriatikos*: Hecataeus, FGH I, 93.

3. *Stoma*: Pseudo-Scylax 14, 27 (MÜLLER 1855: 23, 34; PERETTI 1979: 507; 511); Strabo VII.5.8–9; *eisbole*: Hecataeus ap. Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. *Orikos* (FHG I, 106).

4. For the Adriatic *muchos*: Theopompos ap. Strabo, (VII.5.9).

5. Pseudo-Scylax, *Periplus*, 27 (Peretti 1979: 511): the *stoma* of the Ionian Gulf stretches from the Keraunian mountains to the “akra Iapygia”.

6. Pseudo-Scymnus, 387–388.

7. Dion. Per. 92–94 (MÜLLER 1861: 109); 381–382 (MÜLLER 1861: 126).

8. Strabo VII.5.3.

demonstrate a poor understanding of the sea, especially its northern part, which is also found in the writings of Pseudo-Scymnus and more generally in all authors before Polybius (Marcotte 2000: 61–62).

The uncertainty about Adriatic geography is also evident when it comes to siting the border with the Ionian Sea. Thus, Hecataeus would place it in the region of the Histrians,<sup>9</sup> but the same author asserts that the Liburnian coasts to the south were bordered by the Adriatic Sea.<sup>10</sup> Incidentally, the common usage of this name can only be firmly asserted since the time of Strabo (Vattuone 2000: 37). There are uncertainties concerning the ethnography of the resident populations: their respective boundaries are often imprecisely fixed, varying according to the authors and the epoch. If we believe Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnika*, Hecataeus may have been the first to establish a list of eastern Adriatic peoples: *Istroi*, *Liburnoi*, *Mentores*, *Taulanti* and *Chelidoni*.<sup>11</sup> Some of them, such as the Histrians and the Liburnians, named by several successive authors, remained important until the Roman imperial period. Others, like the mysterious *Suopi*, *Ithmitai* and *Habori*, remain unknown.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, confusions remain between the eastern and western sides of the sea: the name *Iapygia* is attributed to two different cities, one in the Italian peninsula, the other on the Illyrian side.<sup>13</sup> When listing the Liburnian peoples (*gens Liburnorum*), Pliny lists a series of ethnonyms which he confesses are poorly known and understood as, he asserts, in his time all are grouped under the name of Illyria (*uno nomine Illyricum*) and few of them are worth mentioning. Moreover, he seems also to duplicate the western people, the Peucetians, on the Balkan coast.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the variety of the Adriatic peoples, certain distinctive traits have been attached to them over the centuries, rightly or wrongly. This is particularly the case for

9. Hecataeus ap. Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. *Histroi*: “*ethnos en toi Ionioi kolpoi*”.

10. Hecataeus ap. Stephanos of Byzantium s.v. *Liburnoi*, people near the innermost part of the Adriatic Gulf (*ethnos proseches toi endoteroi merei tou Adriatikou kolpou*).

11. *FGrHist* I, *FGrHist* I, F 91–94, F 99–100.

12. *FGrHist* I, F 95–96, F 101.

13. *FGrHist* I, F 97.

14. Pliny, *Natural History* III, 139.



Fig. 1—Map with the main settlements mentioned in the text.

piracy, which would have been widely practised in this sea in various forms, enjoying a multitude of relationships with trade; sometimes antagonistic, sometimes complementary. The Adriatic, rich in islands, lagoons and archipelagos, is an ideal environment for piracy which over the centuries became an almost endemic phenomenon in this sea, with significant economic repercussions (Bandelli 2004: 64). In this regard, Strabo's information on the Liburnian occupation of the island of Corcyra during the Corinthian foundation of 733 BC<sup>15</sup> has often been interpreted as evidence of a Liburnian dominance over the sea largely based on piracy. An example of the economic importance of these activities is represented by the lagoon site of Spina, where piracy was one of the bases of the thalassocracy and was even the basis of an offering at the Pan-Hellenic sanctuary of Delphi.<sup>16</sup> According to some historians, this thalassocracy could also be interpreted as a form of trade protection, a kind of sea police which protected against attacks from other Adriatic peoples, especially those from the eastern side (Braccesi 2003:112–113). In addition, piracy would have offered the means of prolonging the lagoon site's life in its final phase, after the Celtic invasion of 388 BC.<sup>17</sup> In fact, income from this activity may have attracted groups of internal Etruscan communities, which would explain the population growth observed in the 4th century BC evidenced,

as will be seen, by the increase in Etruscan inscriptions (Sassatelli 2004: 21–23). To this we add the testimony of the celebrated Athenian decree of 325/324 BC,<sup>18</sup> which established a sort of Athenian protection over the whole sea in order to guarantee the security of wheat supplies. This maritime plundering continued and intensified in the 3rd century BC when the piracy encouraged by the Illyrian queen, Teuta, led to a Roman military reaction.<sup>19</sup> However, even at the time of Augustus, Strabo alluded to the danger of Ardiaean piracy, an Illyrian people who had reached the Adriatic mouth of the Naron River (the present Neretva) and had been pushed back into the hinterland by the Romans.<sup>20</sup>

## 2 The Emporia of the Adriatic in Textual Sources

With the special framework of both the geomorphology of the Adriatic region and its ethnographic variety, is there an Adriatic specificity of the concept of *emporion*, and, more broadly, of trade? Let us begin by noticing the random use of the term *emporion*, particularly evident in the Adriatic. In Strabo's *Geography*, this term only appears twice in relation

15. Strabo VI.2.4.

16. Dionysius of Halicarnassus I,18, about the dedication of the tithe on the revenues of the Spina thalassocracy at Delphi. For the treasure of Spina in Delphi, see *infra*.

17. On these events: Livy V.33.2–4; Plutarch, *Life of Camillus* 15.1–3, 15.6, 16.3.

18. IG II2 1629, ll.217–232; Tod 1948, No. 200; For a commentary with the previous bibliography, ZAMBON 2004; FERONE 2004.

19. Polybius II.8–12; Appian Ill.3.

20. Strabo VII.5.6.



Fig. 2—The Tagliamento river in Dignano (Italy) (photo Alessio MILAN CC BY-SA 2.0).

to the sea.<sup>21</sup> In Book V (1.8) there is a detailed description of trading in the Aquileia *emporion*, founded in 181 BC by the Romans, on the border between the Veneti and the Histrians. In these passages, Strabo is probably following the description of Polybius and Artemidorus (*via Posidonius*) but there are some indicators which demonstrate that he was personally familiar with the region. The quotation from the city of *Concordia*, if the text is correct, adds a personal note which cannot date from before the Augustan era, between 35 and 27 BC, when the city was founded in the territory of the Carni (Lasserre 1967: 47, note 3). Consequently, Strabo's description takes on a very special value, because of its accuracy and the variety of the trading it describes. The *emporion* may have benefited from the proximity of a navigable river, the Natisone, over 60 stadia (11.1 km) and served a vast territory which included the entire Istros basin (the Danube). Goods, like wine and oil, came from the sea, *ek thalattēs*, whilst others were brought from the vast hinterland: slaves, cattle and skins in particular. The *emporion* was also open to the north thanks to another navigable river, which Strabo calls only *potamos* but must have been the modern day Tagliamento River (Fig. 2): it would have been navigable for 1,200 stadia, about 220 km, towards the Alps and the gold and iron mining districts. The size of the navigable part of the river is problematic, but the indication of the northern direction is quite credible. To summarise, we find here the characteristics which constitute the concept of *emporion*, which refers to a place where goods and people converge, close to communication routes, linked with a defined territory and peoples and sometimes on a border, as in the case here with the Veneti and the Illyrians.<sup>22</sup> There is no doubt

that Strabo's words are justified in this case: archaeological research constantly shows the richness and variety of the production and trade which took place in Aquileia from its foundation in the 2nd century BC up to the early Middle Ages.<sup>23</sup>

These characteristics are less detailed in the description of the other Adriatic *emporion*, mentioned by Strabo, which is in Daunia, near the mouth of the river Aufidus (Ofanto). This is the *tōn Kanousitōn emporion*, which was clearly related to the Daunian city of *Canusium*, which had an illustrious past and was still important in the time of Augustus.<sup>24</sup> However, despite Strabo's attestation, notable because of the relative rarity of the term in his work, the topographical evidence for this *emporion* is scarce. Indeed, no details are available about the commerce which took place in this site nor on the forms of trade, although the *Geography* emphasises the fertility of the surrounding plain. This passage, which we owe to the description by Artemidorus of Ephesus, seems in fact to indicate an economic situation earlier than Strabo's text, which did not form part of the latter's specific knowledge. In this case, more enlightening data come from archaeological contexts: studies of the coastal landscape, settlement and artisan production demonstrate the region's great economic dynamism, which probably had several centres, river and maritime, for the transit of artefacts and goods (D'Ercole 2002: 131–47); this situation could therefore be accurately described as a network. Indeed, it is very probable that the river *emporion* mentioned by Strabo can be identified with the place known as "Toppicelli",<sup>25</sup> on the right bank of the

23. In an extensive bibliography on the subject, see the rich overview provided by the two volumes published by CUSCITO, ZACCARIA 2007.

24. On Roman municipality: GRELLE 1992: 685–88.

25. D'ERCOLE 2002: 358–60 with the previous bibliography.

21. See list of attestations in ETIENNE 1993: 25.

22. On these subjects see also: COUNILLON 1993, particularly p. 52–53. On the concept of a regional *emporion*: ROUILLARD 1993: 44–45.

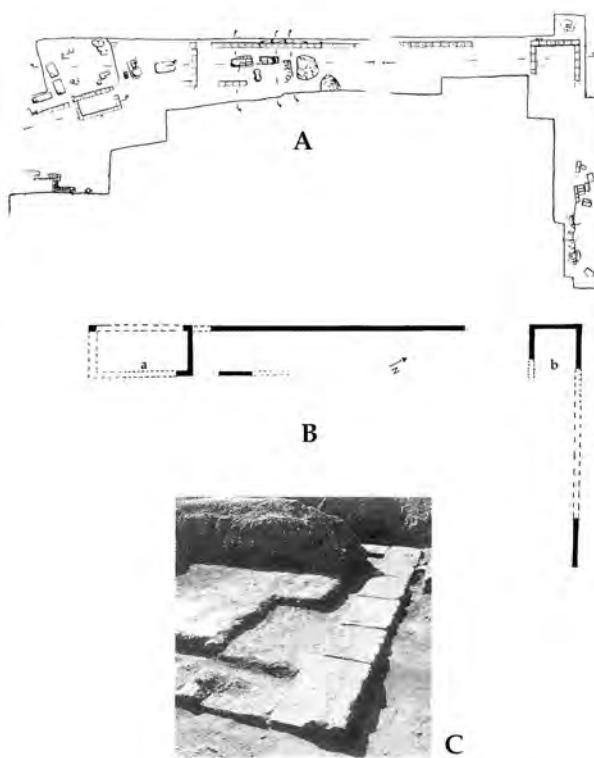


Fig. 3—The building of Toppicelli (from D'ERCOLE 2002: 138, Fig. 33).

Ofanto. Since the archaic period, this site has demonstrated traces of various artisans (remains of potters' ovens), funerary work (tombs of the local elite from the 7th–6th century BC) and monumental work, such as a stone block structure with multicoloured terracotta decorations which is interpreted as a small sacred building adjacent to other structures, perhaps storage sites (*ibid.*: 134–42 and 358) (Fig. 3).

These testimonies to the river *emporion* should be complemented by archive and archaeological data on the seaport of Canusium, which can be clearly identified with the modern site of Barletta. This site appears for the first time under the name of *Bardulos* in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. However, discoveries in the modern settlement, known mainly through archival documents and archaeological finds (D'Ercole 1990; D'Ercole 2015), prove the presence of an active coastal port of call with certainty, at least between the 4th and 2nd century BC and, according to the evidence of some ceramic pieces, perhaps even older possibly dating from the end of the 6th century BC (D'Ercole 2015: 23–24).

Apart from these two testimonies of Adriatic *emporia* given by Strabo, there is a third place defined with the same word in Greek texts. It is at the mouth of a river on the eastern side, the *Naron*, also known to other ancient authors.<sup>26</sup> This site is precisely described by the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax: the *emporion* belonged to the Illyrian people, the Manioi, and could be reached by travelling up the river from the sea for 80 stadia (14.5 km approx.). Moreover, the trading post was within a large lagoon, which extended up to the territory of another Illyrian tribe, the Autariatae.<sup>27</sup> According to A. Per-

etti, the detailed description of the *Periplus* shows a good knowledge of the geography and economy of the hinterland, which would respond to the attacks of the Greek sailors who crisscrossed the Adriatic. More recently, G. Shipley's edition emphasised the scholarly nature of the *Periplus*, which would be less a tool designed for seafaring than a work of erudition from before the time of Alexander the Great (Cournillon 2004: 24–27; Shipley 2011: 4 sq.; Šašel Kos 2013: 248). Beyond these discrepancies, modern works agree on the identification of the region considered here. Peretti proposes that the *emporion* of the Manioi was located in the present town of Vid, where, in Roman times, the town of *Narona* emerged. The great lake or lagoon (*megale limne*) mentioned by the *Periplus* could then be identified with the lacustrine extent of Hutovo Blato (Fig. 4).<sup>28</sup> This identification is also proposed by Mr. Šašel Kos, who also underlines the complex stratification of settlement in the region: Scylax's text, which mentions the Illyrian populations of the Manioi and Autariatae, was describing pre-Roman times, when the Ardiaei were also present in the region (Šašel Kos 2013: 249).

This corpus of testimonies to the word *emporion* in the Adriatic is, all in all, rather slight and hardly able to account for the density of trade taking place in this sea where, as has been written, all the river mouths lend themselves to trade (Gras 2010: 53). In addition, the discrepancies clash with the history of trade, such as can be reconstructed by archaeology.

### 3 The Material Evidence. Return to the Adriatic Delta

From the point of view of material documents, the ports which flourished on the Po delta from the 6th century BC (about 580 BC Adria, about 540 BC Spina) appear to be perfect examples of emporic situations. Firstly, we find here the diversity of trade which often characterises *emporia*. The two trading posts, Spina in particular, are places where a great variety of goods converge, coming from both a regional basin and from long sea and land routes connecting with continental Europe and the Mediterranean. The products of this vast network of businesses are now known:<sup>29</sup> wines from Corinth and the Aegean (Chios, Samos), then Corcyra and southern Italy, fine figured dishes from Greece, especially Attica, were probably exchanged for wheat, the great wealth of the plain, and for metals, worked in hinterland settlements like Marzabotto. The presence of rare metals such as tin in Spina has not been considered in enough detail;<sup>30</sup> it was essential for the production of bronze and an indicator of long-distance trading, probably towards north-west Europe. In this context, the admittedly legendary narrative of Pseudo-Aristotle on the existence of two statues created by Daedalus

28. Identification already proposed by PERETTI 1979: 248–53: see now Šašel Kos 2013: 252–53.

29. For a complete picture on this subject, see SASSATELLI 1993. For the amphora of the Delta, now see SACCHETTI 2012, with an interesting analysis of the regional circulations of amphoras in the basin.

30. A pewter file was found in a tomb in Spina: NEGRIOLO 1924: 300. A large pewter hook with figurative decoration is in the Museum of Ferrara, from t.4c of the Pega Valley, dated 350–325 BC.

26. Such as Strabo VII.5.5.

27. Pseudo Scylax, *Periplus* 24.



Fig. 4—The ponds of Hutovo Blato (photo MAGA CC BY-SA 3.0).

at the mouth of the Po, one of which was made of tin,<sup>31</sup> is an important indicator both of the existence of long-distance trade and also of the presence of an artisan know-how which was expressed by the figure of Daedalus, so important in the Delta. In addition, the flourishing metal working activity in hinterland sites such as Marzabotto has been proved to be present in Spina (Sassatelli 1993: 214). Other goods are also important to understand the dynamics of trade in these Adriatic ports. Amber, from the Baltic, seems to have found an outlet but also to have been manufactured in Padanian Etruria (Malnati 2007: 126–27). Other resources now also seem to occupy an increasingly important place in these production and trade dynamics. I am thinking in particular of salt production which Giovanna Bermond Montanari identified in 1959 as one Spina's great resources (Bermond Montanari 1959: 308), an intuition which has now been confirmed by the excavations carried out by the University of Zürich, which revealed numerous fragments of clay containers used for the preparation of compacted salt blocks (Reusser *et al.* 2011: 112–19). The availability of salt suggests a vast and articulated economic circuit, ranging from food preservation (meat and fish products) to the treatment of hides.

Another typical element of the *emporion* is the wide variety of writing and cultural practices, which is a direct corollary of the presence of foreign merchants, residing permanently or according to seasonal sailing patterns. The existence of a multi-ethnic society in the Delta ports is proved both by writing and by cultural practices inspired by different traditions.

The diversity of writing, a sign of a variety of spoken and written languages, is well documented by the epigraphic testimonies of the two Adriatic sites, from the end of the

6th century and especially in the following epochs. More generally, all of Padanian Etruria shows a high level of writing, both quantitative and qualitative.

The Greeks of Adria left several written traces of their presence of which the most consistent are seven “inscriptions” inscribed on fragments of Attic vases with black varnish, found between 1738 and 1811 near the church of Santa Maria Assunta della Tomba (Fig. 5). The site of the discovery is probably superimposed on the archaic and classical<sup>32</sup> settlement, from which the best Attic ceramics of Adria also come (Colonna 1974: 8). The inscriptions mostly date from the last decades of the 6th or first half of the 5th century BC (Colonna 1974: 5; Guarducci 1978: 175).<sup>33</sup> These are dedications to deities, some of which, like Apollo,<sup>34</sup> are clearly identified, whilst others such as Eris<sup>35</sup> or Iris<sup>36</sup> remain uncertain. In 1974, G. Colonna recognised the Aeginetan origin of the authors of inscriptions<sup>37</sup> on the basis of palaeographic characters. His hypothesis was also based on the dedication to Apollo, the main deity of the Aeginetan pantheon, on the fragment of a Bloesch C bowl dated from the second quarter of the 5th century BC.<sup>38</sup> By analogy with the dedication of Sostratos to Apollo

32. On the history of the discoveries: GIANGIULIO 1984: 39. For the plan of the discoveries in the modern city of Adria: DALLEMULLE 1977: Fig. 1.

33. A single inscription dates from the 4th century BC.

34. Inscription under the foot of an Attic bowl of the second quarter of the 5th century BC: COLONNA 1974: 5, No. 1, pl. I, a; MAMBELLA 1984: 173–74; DUBOIS 1995: 175–76, No. 70.

35. Suggested interpretation by DUBOIS 1995: 176–78, No. 71.

36. For interpretation E[ι]ρις: GUARDUCCI 1978: 177–80, pl. XXIII.

37. In this case, *alpha* with an oblique central bar, hanging at the bottom of the left haste: COLONNA 1974: 10; DUBOIS 1995: 175.

38. COLONNA 1974: 5, note 13; DUBOIS 1995: 175–76, No. 70.

31. Pseudo-Aristotle 81.1.

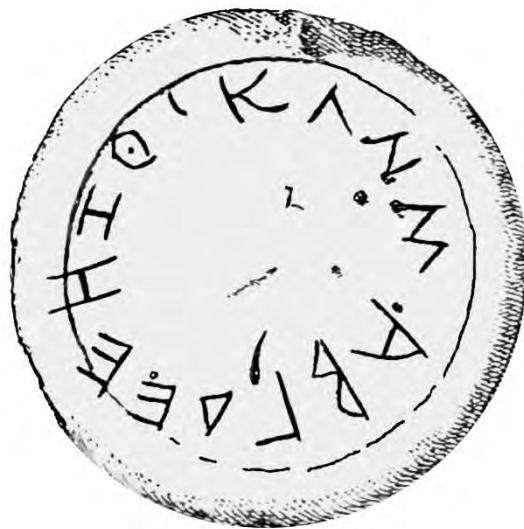


Fig 5—Greek alphabet primer on the bottom of a vessel of local production (?). Beginning of the 4th century BC (after Baldassarra 2012: 14, Fig. I, facsimile after O. Bocchi 1739:Tav. XI.2).

discovered in Gravisca,<sup>39</sup> Colonna assumed the existence, in the first half of the 5th century BC, of a place of worship devoted to Apollo in the Adriatic trading post<sup>40</sup>. M. Guarducci provided another piece in favour of this Aeginetan record, by his interpretation of one of the inscriptions, *σοανεθεκεεπι* incised beneath the foot of an Attic bowl from the second quarter of the 5th century BC. According to M. Guarducci, it was the dedication of a woman, *Σο* to a god, *Epi* which could mean the name of the goddess *E(i)ris* in the dative, a rare form for Iris, for whose frequent association with the cult of Hecate, popular in Aegina, she noted.<sup>41</sup> Aeginetan presence in the Adriatic is also accepted by A.W. Johnston, who even suggests re-dating the inscriptions to 525–490 BC (Johnston 1990: 439). This chronological indicator would be all the more interesting because it coincides with the great flourishing of the mercantile power of Aegina, proved by the prosperity of the island and the construction of magnificent temples at the end of the archaic period (Walter 1993: 40–74).

However, the Aeginetans were not the only Greeks to visit the Adria trading post, as other inscriptions prove. An Attic kylix dated from the first quarter of the 5th century BC, carries two inscriptions. One is probably the beginning of the owner's name, an *A* in conjunction with another letter, *Y* or perhaps *N*. The second inscription, incomplete, consists of three letters, (...)ερα. Johnston suggests two possible insertions (Johnston 1979: 277–78): the addition of an initial *iota* which would give the word *ιερα*, or perhaps the addition of an *eta*, *ηερα*, which could mean either the abbreviation of a name or a dedication to the goddess, unusually expressed in

the nominative. Johnston leans towards the first reading: the word *iera* would be a feminine adjective in the nominative ("sacred") which would designate the actual object of the votive offering, the *kylix* in this case, following a practice attested by offerings at the Athens Acropolis. However, as well as its meaning, the inscription gives clues as to the origin of dedication's author. In fact, the *ρ* ("tailed rho") shape is rare in Ionia and in Aegina, whereas the *α* shape with the crossbar sloping down to the right, recalls archaic Athenian writings (Johnston 1979: 279; Dubois 1995: 174–75). In conclusion, the dedication's author, whose name might begin with *Au*, must have been an Athenian. This trace of an Athenian presence in Adria in the first decades of the 5th century BC was far from being established.

Other inscriptions from Adria can be interpreted differently, depending on the date to which they are attributed. This is the case for an inscription preserved on a black-glaze *kylix* shard,<sup>42</sup> considered by G. Colonna to be one of Adria's "Doric" inscriptions, the origin of which, as we have seen, he places in Aegina (Colonna 1974: 5 and p. 9, pl. II, c.). R. Mambella then analysed the fragment again, emphasising its Dorian characters and suggesting it dated from the beginning of the 4th century BC<sup>43</sup>. Thereupon Mambella favoured a Syracuse origin, which could be explained within the framework of Siceliot interests in the Po Delta (Mambella 1984: 178, note 18).

As for the Greek inscriptions at Spina, more than anything, their number is surprising: more than a quarter are in Greek and seventeen contain at least three letters, longer than mere commercial marks. Sixteen may date from between 475 and 350 BC, and one from the end of the 4th century BC. Like the Etruscans, the inscriptions come from the necropolis (13 tombs) and the settlement.<sup>44</sup> The writing is usually quite neat and regular.<sup>45</sup> The quality and quantity of the inscriptions justify, according to G. Colonna, the reputation of *polis hellenis* which Spina enjoys in some Greek sources<sup>46</sup> under two headings: on the one hand, because Greeks lived there and on the other hand, because Greek was spoken and understood (Colonna 1993: 135).

In the majority of cases, the inscriptions show personal names. Less frequently they include dedications to deities. In terms of the origin of the inscriptions' authors, the Attic component, whilst abundant in the archaeological information, is much more fleeting in the inscriptions. We can be certain that the *Griphos* who was the author of two dedications to Apollo inscribed on two attic red-figure *askoi* from the end of the 5th or very beginning of the 4th century BC, coming from two different contexts, was Athenian.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, this is a

42. For previous editions: MAMBELLA 1984: 172, note 6.

43. Such as the presence of *α* in place of *η*: MAMBELLA 1984: 171–75, Fig. 1. On the Dorian characters see also: DUBOIS 1995: 180, No. 74.

44. In the absence of a systematic edition of Spina's material, these data are taken from COLONNA 1993: 135.

45. S. Patitucci Uggeri, in SE XLVI, 1978 (=REE 1978): 300.

46. Pseudo-Scylax *Periplus* 17: "Kai polis en autois hellenis (Spina) kai potamos". PERETTI 1979: 214–15.

47. For a date at the end of the 5th century BC: COLONNA 1993: 136; at the beginning of the 4th century BC: UGGERI 1978: 403; in the first half of the 4th century BC: MAMBELLA 1984: 175. For the description of the furnishings, T. 650 and 779 of the Trebbia valley necropolis: Mostra Etruria Padana, I: 311–14, No. 997–1012. UGGERI 1978: 403.

39. On the famous inscribed anchor: FENET 2016: 470–77, with the previous bibliography.

40. Less certain is the existence of an Aeginetan colony at Adria, assumed by G. Colonna (COLONNA 1974: 10) from the passage of Strabo VIII.6.16; on the chronological problems posed by this hypothesis, see recently BOURDIN 2012. For a complete publication of the Greek inscriptions of Adria, see now BALDASSARA 2013.

41. GUARDUCCI 1978: 177–80. DUBOIS 1995: 176–78 prefers the interpretation "Eris".

rare name, attested only in Athens and Imbros, an Athenian colony.<sup>48</sup> This first name has an interesting meaning,<sup>49</sup> formed from the noun γρίφος, it can indicate a concrete object, such as “network”, “net” or an abstract notion, namely “enigma”, “riddle”.<sup>50</sup> This second interpretation may suggest a reference to banquets and the games of the guests, described by later sources such as Pollux and Hesychius<sup>51</sup>. Athenaeus recalls the lost treatise of the peripatetic Clearchus of Soli, *Peri grifphon*, in which the enigma was considered a logical problem presented as a game.<sup>52</sup> D. Collins demonstrated the importance of “riddles” in conversations and in refined, scholarly and licentious games which took place during banquets (Collins 2004: 127–29). However, the possible reference to the Hellenic symposium is very important in this context, especially when we consider that the inscription had to have been created in Spina itself (Colonna 1993: 134 and p. 351, No. 876). This name would thus seem to refer to the refined practices of a society which, in the cultural and ethnic variety characterising the *emporion*, was able to adopt the banquet as a sign of social recognition and identity.

According to Colonna, *Xanthippos*, who wrote his name on two small red-figure *oenochoi* (found in the Trebba Valley, t.709, dating from around 410 BC), was a fellow citizen and contemporary of *Griphos*.<sup>53</sup> The name was certainly very common in Athens (Uggeri 1978: 405–6, No. 77)<sup>54</sup> but its occurrence in other parts of Greece calls for greater caution: it is in fact attested in Euboea and on several Aegean islands (Chios, Delos, Kos, Naxos, Thasos) (Fraser, Matthews 1987: 341) as well as in central Greece (Boeotia, Phocis, Thessaly) (Fraser, Matthews 2000: 313).

Certain or probable traces of Athenian names stops here; a fact which, of course, raises the question of commercial intermediaries in a context where the majority of imported goods, especially ceramics, were of Attic manufacture. It was certainly a Dorian who inscribed a dedication to Hermes in the Dorian genitive ‘Ερμα on an Attic bowl from the end of the 5th century BC (Colonna 1993: 136).<sup>55</sup> The same dedication, in an abridged form (*hep*) can also be seen on another Attic black-glaze bowl<sup>56</sup> for which Johnston ruled out Ionian, or in

48. UGGERI 1978: 402, No. 72 and COLONNA 1993: 136. For the attestations and the Athenian character of the name: BECHTEL 1917: 609; OSBORNE, BYRNE 1994: 97. In particular, the name appears on a stela from the Athenian Acropolis, from the middle of the 4th century BC (*IG II, 2, 1012, 1<sub>22</sub>*) and on a stela from Imbros, dated from the 4th–3rd centuries (*IG XII, 8, 84a4*).

49. D'ERCOLE 2007: 173–75.

50. DUBOIS 1995: 185, thinks that *Griphos* does not designate a personal name but rather a noun, which he translates as “banquet riddle”; but the dedication to Apollo would then become difficult to explain.

51. Pollux, *Onomasticon* 6, 107. 9–10, Hesychius, *Lexicon*, 928, 1; Demetrius Rhetor, *de elocutione*, 153.3.

52. Athenaeus X.448 c.

53. For the tomb: AURIGEMMA 1960–1965, II: 77–78, pl. 94–98. For a dating to the last quarter of the 5th century BC: MAMBELLA 1984: 175.

54. For the Athenian attestations of the name, see the list collected by OSBORNE, BYRNE 1994: 344.

55. For the black glaze bowl from t. 715 of Trebba valley: BERTI, GUZZO 1993: 351, No. 877. On the inscription see also DUBOIS 1995: 186–87, No. 409.

56. Bowl of t.199 of the Trebba valley: S. PATITUCCI UGGERI, SE 1978 (= REE 1978): 29596, No. 9: this could also be a genitive, *hep(μου)*.

any event Attic, lettering.<sup>57</sup> The presence of the Dorian dialect refers back to the remarks above for the Adria inscriptions (Mambella 1984: 175).

However, most other Greek names do not reveal a definite origin (Colonna 1993: 136). This is the case of *Tychandros*, who signed an Attic red-figure dish from the last quarter of the 5th century BC.<sup>58</sup> Although attested in Attica from 500–480 BC until the Hellenistic period (Osborne, Byrne 1994: 436), this name with an augural meaning is too widespread in Greece to be able to determine its exact origin<sup>59</sup>. The same goes for other individuals. *Ap[elles?]*<sup>60</sup> and *Hik[lesios]*<sup>61</sup> signed Attic black-glazed cups found in two tombs in Spina, from the third quarter of the 5th century BC. The first name was spread throughout mainland Greece (Fraser, Matthews 1997: 48; Fraser, Matthews 2000: 45–46), in Athens,<sup>62</sup> in the Aegean islands (notably Chios and Lesbos) (Fraser, Matthews 1987: 49–50), in southern Italy (Campania, Lucania, Apulia), in Epirus and the Adriatic colonies (Apollonia, Epidamnos) (Fraser, Matthews 1997: 48). Outside of Athens,<sup>63</sup> *Hikesios* was common in Chios and Thasos (Fraser, Matthews 1987: 234). It was also found in Boeotia (Fraser, Matthews 2000: 207), Sicily and Corinth (Fraser Matthew 1997: 218). The name *Kriton* was also common, it was found in the possessive genitive signed on a red-figure dish in T.630 of the Trebba Valley.<sup>64</sup> The name was very widespread in Athens (Osborne, Byrne 1994: 274) and in mainland Greece, notably in Boeotia, Thessaly and Delphi (Fraser Matthews 2000: 249–50). It is also attested in the Aegean islands (Fraser, Matthews 1987: 275) and in Dorian territory (Aegina, Corinth, Argolis, Sicily) (Fraser, Matthews 1997: 260). In both cases, palaeography would advise the exclusion of Ionian, and particularly Athenian, centres from the end of the 5th century BC.<sup>65</sup>

As for Etruscan inscriptions, these are undoubtedly the most consistent group found in Spina, where there are at least 180 of them (Colonna 1993: 137). Almost all of these inscriptions include personal names, accompanied by rare votive dedications. Engraved mostly on tableware,<sup>66</sup> these inscriptions are distributed from the second quarter of the

57. JOHNSTON 1979: 280, note 12: “the lack of the aspirate (...) points away from Ionia”.

58. T. 601 of the Trebba valley: S. PATITUCCI UGGERI, SE 1978 (= REE 1978): 300, No. 15; UGGERI 1978: 407, No. 78. The dish was attributed to the workshop of the Painter of Ferrara (BEAZLEY 1963<sup>2</sup>: 1307).

59. FRASER, MATTHEWS 1987: 449: attestations in Crete, Cyrene, Delos, Tinos.

60. S. PATITUCCI UGGERI, SE 1978 (= REE 1978): 306, No. 27; UGGERI 1978: 400, No. 69.

61. G. UGGERI, SE 1978 (= REE 1978): 320, No. 51: Attic black-glazed bowl from t.1095 in the Trebba valley. For the furnishings, which also included a krater of the Painter of the Centauromachy of the Louvre (BEAZLEY 1963<sup>2</sup>: 1090, No. 50); AURIGEMMA 1960–1965, II: 39–41, pl. 42–43.

62. On the diffusion of the name in Athens: Osborne, Byrne 1994: 41.

63. For the attestations of the name in Athens: Osborne, Byrne 1994: 234–35.

64. S. PATITUCCI UGGERI, SE 1978 (=REE 1978): 301–302, No. 18; UGGERI 1978: 405, No. 76; BEAZLEY 1963<sup>2</sup>: 1311, No. 8, dates the dish from the last thirty years of the 5th century BC.

65. JOHNSTON 1979: 280, note 12: “the aspirate in two possible owners’ graffiti and the lack of an omega in another (...) point away from Ionia, the last possibly away from Athens in the late fifth century”.

66. S. PATITUCCI UGGERI, SE 1978, (=REE 1978): 288.

5th to the second quarter of the 3rd centuries BC, with a peak (125–130 examples) dated between 350 and 250 BC (Uggeri 1978: 340; Colonna 1993: 137). One third of the inscriptions on the vases are signatures in the nominative, indicating the object's owner. In the other cases, the name appears in the genitive, sometimes accompanied by the pronoun *-mi* or *-ni*. Indications of values expressed in Etruscan figures are sometimes present. In one case, the name of the vase (*fasena*) appears next to that of the possessor (*tata*).<sup>67</sup> In general, the writing shows a modest mastery of graphic technique (Uggeri 1978: 338–39). As has often been pointed out, the phonetics and writing show the influence of the dialects of northern Etruria, especially of the region of Chiusi. The preference for *k* instead of *c* (Colonna 1993: 139) and the regular presence of the letter *tsade* to indicate the possessive case, are typical of the northern Etruscan area.<sup>68</sup> Another very significant indicator in Spina is the common presence of a particular letter: *theta* in the shape of a cross.<sup>69</sup> This practice constitutes a true "reform" which began in Chiusi in the middle of the 6th century BC and reached the territories of Siena, Fiesole, Marzabotto and the Veneto (Cristofani 1977: 200). Add to this that several personal names (*Atru*,<sup>70</sup> *Vek[us]* or *Vek[ui]*,<sup>71</sup> *Kalsu*)<sup>72</sup> show analogy with Chiusi's onomastics. Besides this majority component, some loans also came from southern Etruria, notably from the region of *Caere*, *Veii* and *Volsinii*. Thus, the name *Velsu* (t.740 B of the Pega Valley), probably came from the Etruscan name *Volsinii* (Colonna 1993: 139). The name *Veltbie*, found in t.774 in the Trebbia valley, from the second quarter of the 5th century BC, might also be attributed to a southern origin: from *Caere* or *Orvieto* (Uggeri 1978: 354–55, No. 14).

As well as these general observations, there are two important elements. We note on the one hand the analogy with some Etruscan names also attested at Adria, for example the personal name *Anta*, also present in the necropolises of Spina, notably in the first half of the 3rd century BC,<sup>73</sup> or the name *Tite*, common in Etruria and at Adria, which is also found in the settlement of Spina.<sup>74</sup> In other cases, such as the name *pitamn [...]*, found engraved on a black varnished bowl from the 3rd century BC in Spina, analogies are found in the Veneto and even further afield, in the alpine territory of the

Raetians (Uggeri 1978: 357, No. 18 and p. 385, No. 49). From this, the impression is one of a movement of people between the two Adriatic trading posts which operated in parallel, perhaps even in a network, linked in a regional circuit by an economy that was at least partly complementary. This impression is reinforced by the second observation, namely that there are also women's signatures in Spina. This fact is very significant in these "frontier" environments, where mixed cultures and probably families were formed. Again, we find parallels with Adria, where it has been suggested that the names of Etruscan women were found inscribed in the necropolis (Canal Bianco) and the settlement.<sup>75</sup> These finds seem to be confirmed by the archaeological information, where several indicators reveal references to feminine cultural or ritual practices of various origins. The presence of vases with particular functions has also been studied, such as a *lebes gamikos* (D'Ercole 2007: 170–71), *white lekythoi* (*ibid.*: 172–73; D'Ercole 2010: 437) and *epinetra*,<sup>76</sup> used for weaving, which seem to refer to Attic rituals of marriage and death.<sup>77</sup> The same is true for Spina's furnishings, which were probably for children, and which consisted of vases, the *choes* which can be linked to the Feast of Anthesteria, celebrated in Athens and in the Ionian world (D'Ercole 2007: 163–70; D'Ercole 2010: 436–37). Amongst the inscriptions of Etruscan women in the Spina necropolis, the name *Saksalui*, dated to the 5th century BC, could, according to Colonna, be related to an Italic or more precisely Umbrian root.<sup>78</sup> The female name *Tata*, which was quite common in the more recent phases of Spina, could also be of Veneti origin (Pfiffig 1961: 328). The presence of Veneti women may also be inferred from a few specific items of clothing, such as bronze belts decorated with repoussé which are typical of Veneti customs and similar to those of the artisans of Este. These are found in at least six pieces of furniture in Spina.<sup>79</sup> This fact appears to me to be significant, even given the necessary caution in interpreting objects because of both their polysemy and their multiple uses (Brøns 2012: 63–64).

#### 4 The Adriatic Aporia

The two corpora that we have briefly discussed demonstrate that the definition of Adriatic trade continues to escape the wish of modern investigators to classify it. There is no longer any doubt over the presence of ancient trade in the Adriatic, for which piracy itself was a definite indicator. The geography of the sea is rich in points which support navigation,

67. T. 1190 of the Trebbia valley, middle of the 4th century BC. For the word *fasena*: UGGERI 1978: 392–93, No. 58b.

68. S. PATITUCCI UGGERI, SE 1978, (=REE 1978): 288.

69. S. PATITUCCI UGGERI, SE 1978 (=REE 1978): 297–298, No. 11 (t. 200 of the Trebbia valley, *pethuaithu*, early 4th century BC?); UGGERI 1978: 354, No. 14 (*velthies*, t. 774 of the Trebbia valley, second quarter of the 5th century BC).

70. UGGERI 1978: 348, No. 9, t.156 of the Trebbia valley, first half of the 3rd century BC.

71. The name would have been completed in the feminine gender (*Vek[ui]*), since it comes from an item which is probably feminine (t.611 of the Trebbia valley, last quarter of the 5th century BC), which included amongst other items an earring and an amber necklace: S. PATITUCCI UGGERI, in SE 1978 (=REE 1978): 301, No. 17; UGGERI 1978: 352, No. 12.

72. UGGERI 1978: 362–63, No. 26, t.1118 of the Trebbia valley.

73. UGGERI 1978: 342–44, No. 3: Trebbia valley, t. 218, 872, 268 and "sequestro" Pega Valley, 1957; MAMBELLA 1986, c.265 and c.277, note 2.

74. UGGERI 1978: 394, No. 60; for Adria: Mambella 1986, c.266–267, inscription *titi* on two fragments of black varnished bowls, that A. suggested to be read as an abbreviation of *titulu*.

75. For the necropolis (Canal Bianco) and for the settlement (Public Garden area): MAMBELLA 1986, c. 269–270.

76. These are ceramic tools used during weaving, which could have been part of a nuptial dowry. Three *epinetra* were found in Spina and one in Adria: MERCATI 2003: 119: 151: 156; 232–33; D'ERCOLE 2010: 437. For the distribution of these vases, typical of Attica and the Aegean area: MERCATI 2003: 232–33.

77. D'ERCOLE 2007; D'ERCOLE 2010: 437, with the previous bibliography.

78. COLONNA 1993: 140; one of the oldest inscriptions of Spina's necropolis.

79. Tombs No. 5. 552, 545, 231, 1009, 1108 of the Trebbia valley necropolis: BALDONI 1993: 118, 131, Fig. 8. For diamond-shaped belts in the manner of Veneti women: CHIECO BIANCHI 1988: 70; 85: for relationships with Spina, *ibid.*: 86.

whether they are islands, gulf or promontories, often linked to a religious presence which is supposed to aid navigation, with a continuity which sometimes extends from the archaic Greek era into the Roman imperial era.<sup>80</sup> River mouths are excellent points of contact at the interface between the sea and the land. In addition, all the places defined by sources as *emporia* in the Adriatic are at the mouths of navigable rivers: the Natisone (*Aquileia*), the Aufidus (*Canusium*) and the Naron for the Illyrian *emporion*. Another striking analogy is that the *emporia* cited by the sources are all found near lagoons, *limnai*, which are also a characteristic feature of the landscape in the Padanian plain. A certain coherence thus emerges as regards the trading areas in the Adriatic.

However, beyond the convergences, there are still some gaps and absences. It would be misleading to consider the pre-Roman *emporia* of the Aufidus and the Naron in the same way as the Aquileia *emporion*, which was a Roman colony and then municipality. This seems rather to be the expression of a Greek creator's view of the characteristics of a trading site in the Imperial period. As for the Illyrian *emporion* of the Manioi, this was considered by H. Hansen to be the expression of a regional background, which could be assimilated to "communities which are *emporia*" (Hansen 1997: 87). On the other hand, in the case of the "*Kanousitôn*" *emporion*, it seems to me that this settlement could instead be included in the category of "communities which have an *emporion*" (Hansen 1997: 86), if by this one means control over the inhabitants of *Canusium*, over the river and coastal outlets of the Ofanto valley.

The absences are certainly more difficult to explain. It is surprising to find no mention of *emporia* on the coast of Picenum, which is yet so rich in ports of call for trade and imports (Luni 1999). It is even more surprising to never find the word used for the two sites of Adria and Spina. It is tempting to explain this aporia from a political point of view, for which no trace has yet been found in the two Adriatic sites: thus, their forms of political administration, the rules of cohabitation between the different communities and the fiscal control imposed on the movement of goods are unknown. The only traces of public intervention concern the settlement of Spina, where a pebble was found bearing a boundary inscription in Etruscan (*mitular*) (Colonna 1993: 137) and some pebbles (*decussis*) buried at the street junctions bear an incised cross, indicative of an orthogonal distribution according to the rules of Etruscan urbanism, which can be seen applied in an exemplary fashion in the hinterland at Marzabotto from the very end of the 6th to the beginning of the 5th century BC (Uggeri, Uggeri Patitucci 1974: 87; Malnati, Manfredi 1991: 188). However, this objection becomes void when one considers that the ancient sources, Greek and Latin, agree on calling these places *poleis* or *urbes*.<sup>81</sup> Spina was already considered a Pelasgian city in the account of Hellanicos of Lesbos and also later by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.<sup>82</sup> It was a *polis hellénis* in the Pseudo-Scylax<sup>83</sup>

and even, according to Strabo, a Hellenic city with a famous past (*polis hellenis endoxos*) which had been reduced to the rank of a village (*kômion*) by his time.<sup>84</sup> Yet the foundation category *ktisis* or *ktisma* now never seems to be associated with the *emporion*, as Michel Gras remarked (Gras 2010: 48). On the other hand, city status is compatible with another corpus of testimonies, namely the dedication of a treasure dedicated by the Spinites at Delphi, which seems known to several ancient sources and can now be confirmed by archaeology. Information about this Spinite treasure goes back not only to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo and Pliny,<sup>85</sup> but it may also come, albeit in anecdotal form, from someone directly involved in the affairs of Delphi, Polémon of Ilios, who was a proxenus in the Panhellenic sanctuary in 177/176.<sup>86</sup> It can also be proven by an archaeological evidence in the Museum of Delphi: the bronze coverings of a throne, more precisely of a wooden *sella curulis*, which A. Naso attributes to artisans of Padanian Etruria and considers compatible with the dedication of an Etruscan city of the first half of the 5th century BC.<sup>87</sup>

In conclusion, the Adriatic issue, by raising new questions, obliges us to constantly renew our approach to the complex question of the *emporion*. Between textual sources and material evidence, landscape history and analysis of cultural practices, this part of the Mediterranean offers a good example of the multiple historical configurations of the world of trade and the challenges they pose to current and future research.

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84. Strabo V.1.7.

85. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, I, 18, 2-5; Strabo V, 1,7, and IX, 3,8; Pliny III, 120.

86. The quotation from Polemon of Ilios is found in Athenaeus (XIII, 606a) and Plutarch (*quaest. conv.* 5, 2, 675b).

87. D'ERCOLE 2007 p. 161; D'ERCOLE 2010: 435; NASO 2006: 341-342; NASO 2013: 101516.

80. I would like to refer to my recent report: "Isole, promontori, oraci. Circolazione marittima e culti nel medio e basso Adriatico (VI sec. a.C.–II sec.a.C.)", (D'ERCOLE, 2018).

81. In favour of an autonomous political status for Spina: SASSATELLI 1993: 188.

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# Fonteblanda/*Portus Telamonis*. A “Trading Post” for Wine and Metals on the Central-Northern Tyrrhenian Coast in the 6th Century BC

Giulio CIAMPOLTRINI

In 1830, the Piarist Father Giovanni Inghirami compiled a “Geometric Map of Tuscany” on the basis of the cadastral surveys conducted in the Grand Duchy up to 1827. This map provides valuable evidence of the lagoonal landscape (of ponds or lakes) that characterised the coast of southern Tuscany from the Uccellina to the border with the Pontifical State, marked by the course of the Chiarone river (Fig. 1-2), prior to the reclamation works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The “pond” of Talamone and the marshes stretching from the leftmost levee of the Osa and the rightmost levee of the Albegna (no longer in existence today), as well as the Orbetello lagoon and the “Burano lake” (partly preserved), can all be discerned through the “geometric” precision of the survey work to a much greater extent than is possible in the considerable cartographic material available for this territory from the Middle Ages to the early nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> This is also an irreplaceable “Ariadne’s thread” for those visiting the sites and surroundings of ancient Rome and Etruria.

In October 1987, when conducting reconnaissance work in Orbetellano for the Tuscany Archaeological Authority, the extensive ploughing of the flat strip located by the Bengodi elevation and the railway made it possible to interpret the strip of land at the southern edge of the ancient Talamone lagoon, adjacent to its outlet. It came as no surprise when we unearthed evidence of repeated human presence during the Late Bronze Age (Ciampoltrini 1999) and later during the Etruscan period, between the 6th and the end of the 4th centuries BC, with significant resettlement activity (Fig. 3), on the southern shore of the lake in an area known as the “Fonteblanda Plain” in the land register of 1827 (Fig. 2, in the box). This zone can also be seen in the aerial photograph (Ciampoltrini 2011: 47–48, Fig. 2). Previous finds from necropoles and archaic period materials in the territory of Talamone that were brought to the Civic Museum of Livorno, such as the late archaic kouros that is now in the Archaeological Museum of Florence (Ciampoltrini 2003) and the reports of architectural terracotta fragments found during works for the opening of the outlet channel in the 1920s and 1930s, could now be read and appreciated in a new, clearer light.<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 1—Map with the location of Fonteblanda and other main settlements of the Tyrrhenian area.

For almost a decade, the district had been subject to surveys and excavation campaigns. Partly because of institutional requirements, these had been concentrated in the area of the archaic settlement, which was expected to be in an excellent state of preservation in terms of its structures and related stratification. During three campaigns,<sup>3</sup> key information on the site was acquired, which was used to draft protection measures and also yielded data that stimulated lively scientific debate.<sup>4</sup>

1. The Rombai and Ciampi repertoire (ROMBAI, CIAMPI 1979) is still valuable.

2. For the history of this research refer to *Topographic Bibliography of the Greek Colonisation in Italy and the Tyrrhenian Islands*, vol. XX, s.v. “Talamone”: 17–23.

3. Funded entirely by the Ministero per I Beni Culturali (1991, 1993, 1997)

4. For the bibliography available until 2007, see CIAMPOLTRINI 2003: 23–36; CIAMPOLTRINI, RENDINI 2012.

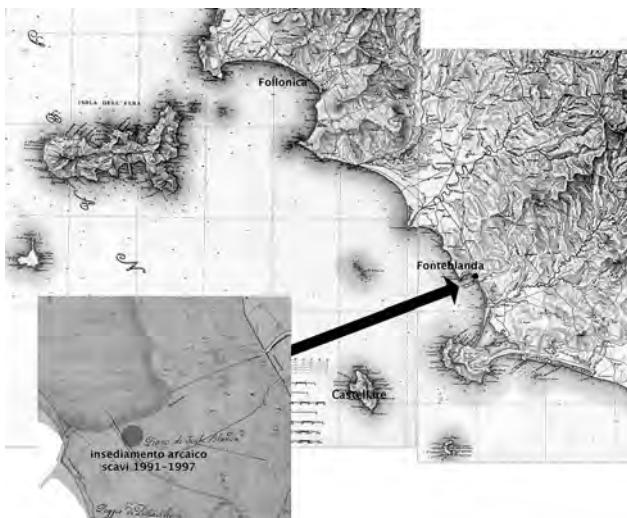


Fig. 2—The coasts of southern Tuscany on the Inghirami map (1830); in the box: detail with Fonteblanda.

Reconnaissance data promptly identified the Etruscan settlement of Fonteblanda as the *Portus Telamonis* known from sources dating back to Timaeus—preserved by Diodorus Siculus<sup>5</sup>—which identify “λιμένα Τελαμῶνα” at 800 stadia from Rome as a toponymic marker of the journey of the Argonauts in the western Mediterranean during the return from Colchis. In particular, there were suggestions of a paradigmatic application of the “city/*epineion*” model during the first Hellenistic period, between the second half of the 4th and the early 3rd centuries BC, in relation to the synergy between the settlement distributed on the eastern side of the hill of Bengodi (Fig. 3) and the city of *Telamon*. The latter had already been identified in the excavations of 1877 and 1888 just to the south, on the summit of present day Talamonaccio (Ciampoltrini, Rendini 1992). The natural harbour offered by the lagoon waters provided a much more generous and accessible moorage compared to the narrow Osa estuary, which up to that time had been assumed to be the port of the Hellenistic city. Finally, the figuration of a bronze situla discovered in the necropolis of *Telamon* during the 1877 excavations, viewed in conjunction with the story of Tyró and the possible figuration of the eponymous hero Telamon (Ciampoltrini 2002: 76–77, Fig. 20), suggest that, in the days when Timaeus wrote his work, the mythical traditions of the “argonautic” foundation were not unknown in the city. As such, the disappearance of the port settlement in the years around 300 BC and the absorption of this district of Coastal Etruria under Roman governance suggest that it played a strategic role in a non-marginal coastal region that was part of the central Tyrrhenian port system. In fact, one could hypothesise that the survival of *Telamon*, which was perhaps a satellite city for Vulci, had been allowed at the cost of downgrading its maritime vocation, over which Rome intended to acquire full control, as would later be the case in the territories of *Caere* and Tarquinia (Ciampoltrini, Rendini 1992: 987–90).

5. Diodorus Siculus IV.56.6 = Timaeus 566 F 85: “κατὰ μὲν τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἀπὸ σταδίων ὅκτακοσίων τῆς Πύρμης ὄνομάσαι λιμένα Τελαμῶνα”.

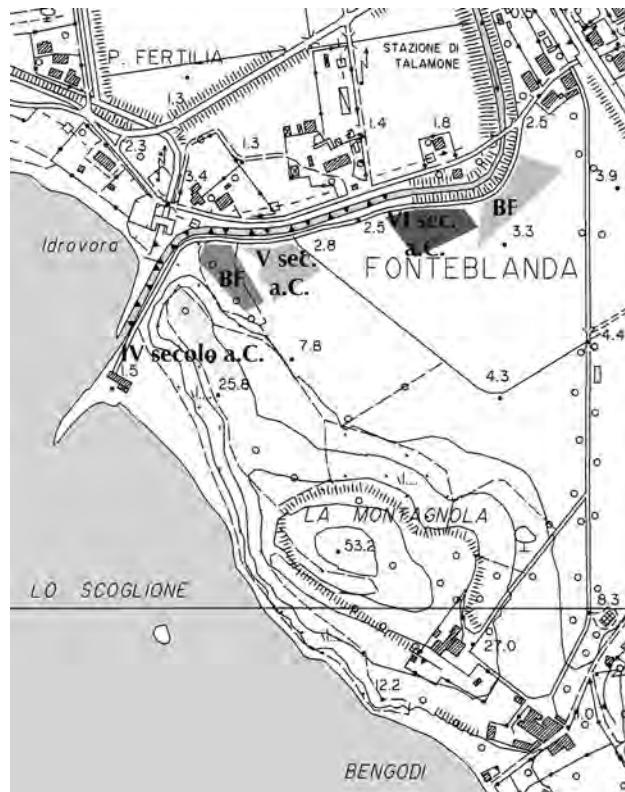


Fig. 3—The territory between Puntata and Fonteblanda: sites with traces of Etruscan presence in the 1987 survey.

The reconstruction of events at the settlement during the 6th century BC must obviously take into account these considerations about the port vocation of the area, which are corroborated by evidence provided by surface indications and stratigraphic contexts. These data reflect its “emporium” function within the system of trading routes in the northern Tyrrhenian Sea, while the Albegna valley looked towards the sea, playing an important role in the production and export of wine (Ciampoltrini, Rendini 2012; Salerno 2012; Vitali et al. 2012).

The settlement (Ciampoltrini 2003: 281–84) (Fig. 4) is arranged according to a grid formed by an axis marked out by a street (XY) that is reinforced by an embankment of stone and pebbles. The sides of the street are contained by a strong aggregate of rough-cut stone and surfaced with a levelling of clay and gravel. This means it was probably suitable for cart traffic: a *hamaxitós* (*ibid.*, Fig. 6; Ciampoltrini 2011, Fig. 4). The lateral kerb stones allow us to estimate that the width of the roadway was approximately 5.5 m, which may correspond to a “design” width of 18 feet: any dimensional assessment must take into account “annexes” to the actual road, that is, the almost equal spaces last used as a refuse dump, enclosed on the southwest side by a stone kerb (*sigma*), and on the northeast side by a roughly circular pit (*W*). In any case, the width of the *hamaxitós* was sufficient to allow at least two carts to pass at the same time.<sup>6</sup>

6. See QUILICI 2000 for the *hamaxitoi* in Etruria; on the gravel roads of the Etruscan age in central-northern Etruria, please refer to CIAMPOLTRINI 2006.

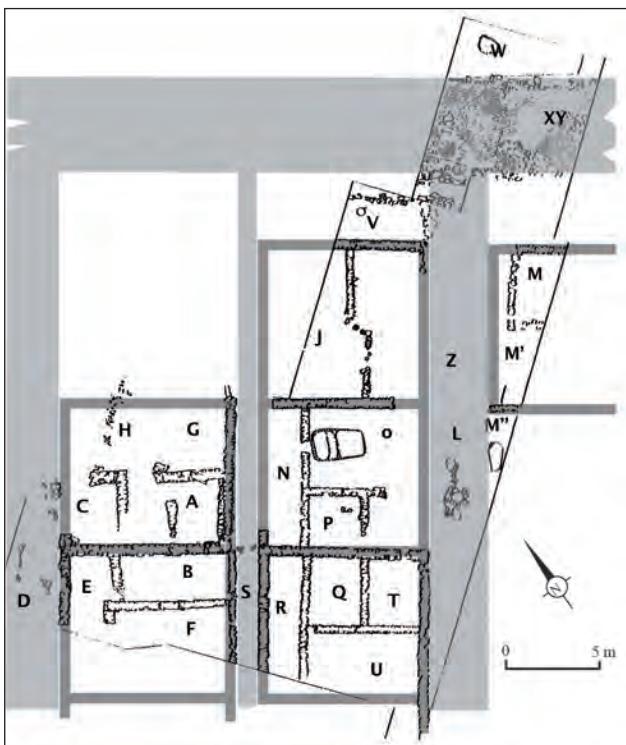


Fig. 4—Fonteblanda: final plan from the 1991–1997 excavations, with interpretative hypotheses.

Orthogonal to street XY are two smaller streets: Z, for which we can gauge a width of approximately 3 m, and D, only identified at the northern edge of the excavation area. Since the “design” width of Z may be reasonably estimated as 10 feet, we assume a ratio of 2:1 between the “main” and “side” streets. Being subject to fewer stresses and having an inferior role, the side streets did not need to be constructed with the same care as the main thoroughfare and they were simply surfaced in beaten earth with gravel in places.

The grid oriented by the roads forms a block, of which the entire width can be estimated (19.5 m), while the limited extent of the excavation allows for no more than an approximate estimate of the length (about 27 m). In the continuum formed by the wall structures that cover it, we find a service alley—*ambitus* (S)—about 1.2 m wide (4 feet?), which marks the axis of symmetry and allows us to sketch a further grid with an average side of 8.9 m (30 feet), on the basis of which we can recognise regularly positioned dwellings.

What actually emerges from the sequence of rooms and partially open areas formed by the areas G/A/C/H is a “classic” Etruscan dwelling unit, with three openings facing courtyard G, closed only on the *ambitus* side by a wall structure. The complexes formed by structures B/E/F and R/Q/T/U, on the other hand, appear to face the southwest of the block, with a courtyard (respectively F and U), overlooked by the residential area proper. This residential area is, in turn, organised in units of three (R/Q/T) or two (B/E) rooms, in keeping with the “simplified” plan we find implemented with increasing frequency during the middle decades of the sixth century (Colonna 2000: 51–52).

The structural building layout within the individual lots is also conditioned by functional considerations. The O/P/N



Fig. 5—Fonteblanda: layer 8 in room P, excavation 1993.

complex was certainly designed for iron smithing activities. This is indicated by the mass of iron scrap used to level a beaten earth floor, on which a wall structure marks out the N and O rooms, with abandoned levels where coals and ashes were found (Ciampoltrini, Firmati 2003). Metallometric analyses have confirmed that the slag is that of a smithy rather than derived from the crude mineral reduction process: this is indicated by the abundance of wüstite dendrites that are formed in the cooling process during forging (Aranguren et al. 2004: 334–36). Forge work required water, which was drawn from well L, dug at the centre of street Z, at almost exactly half the length of the block. The roughly rectangular cavity excavated in the centre of room O, almost adjacent to room N, may have contained a wooden tub (i.e. a container providing the necessary water for tempering the metal during forging). The presence of slag elements known as *smithing hearth bottoms*, the convex surface of which reproduces the imprint from the bottom of forge, is also indicative of the association with forging activities (Ciampoltrini, Firmati 2003: 31–33).

The construction technique is consistent, as the salient features match the various building materials used. Coarse boss pieces from the nearby Puntata limestone quarry (“Poggio di Pietra Vergine” from the nineteenth century land registry: Fig. 2), were roughly shaped to form the facade and the *emplecton* of the foundations and basements of the raised elements. The cobblestones were adapted and laid with some rough-cut shaping, and were probably taken from the Puntata beach where the same stone can still be found today. The consistency of the dimensions—especially in relation to the perimeters, with a thickness of about 60 cm (2 feet?)—suggests a plausible homogeneity of the raised elements. Finally, the roofing must have consisted of tiles. These are preserved in places as wide plates that should be interpreted not as actual collapsed layers, but rather as debris used for subsequently levelling the area, which was useful for raising the reference floor level (layer 8 of room P) (Fig. 5).

In conclusion, the planimetric layout of the structures explored in Fonteblanda is consistent with an arrangement according to orthogonal *plateiae* and *stenopoi* in a hierarchical relationship, not only in terms of width (2:1, as suggested), but also in terms of the precision of the setup. The layout of the elements was perhaps governed only by the width, resulting from the juxtaposition of two square building

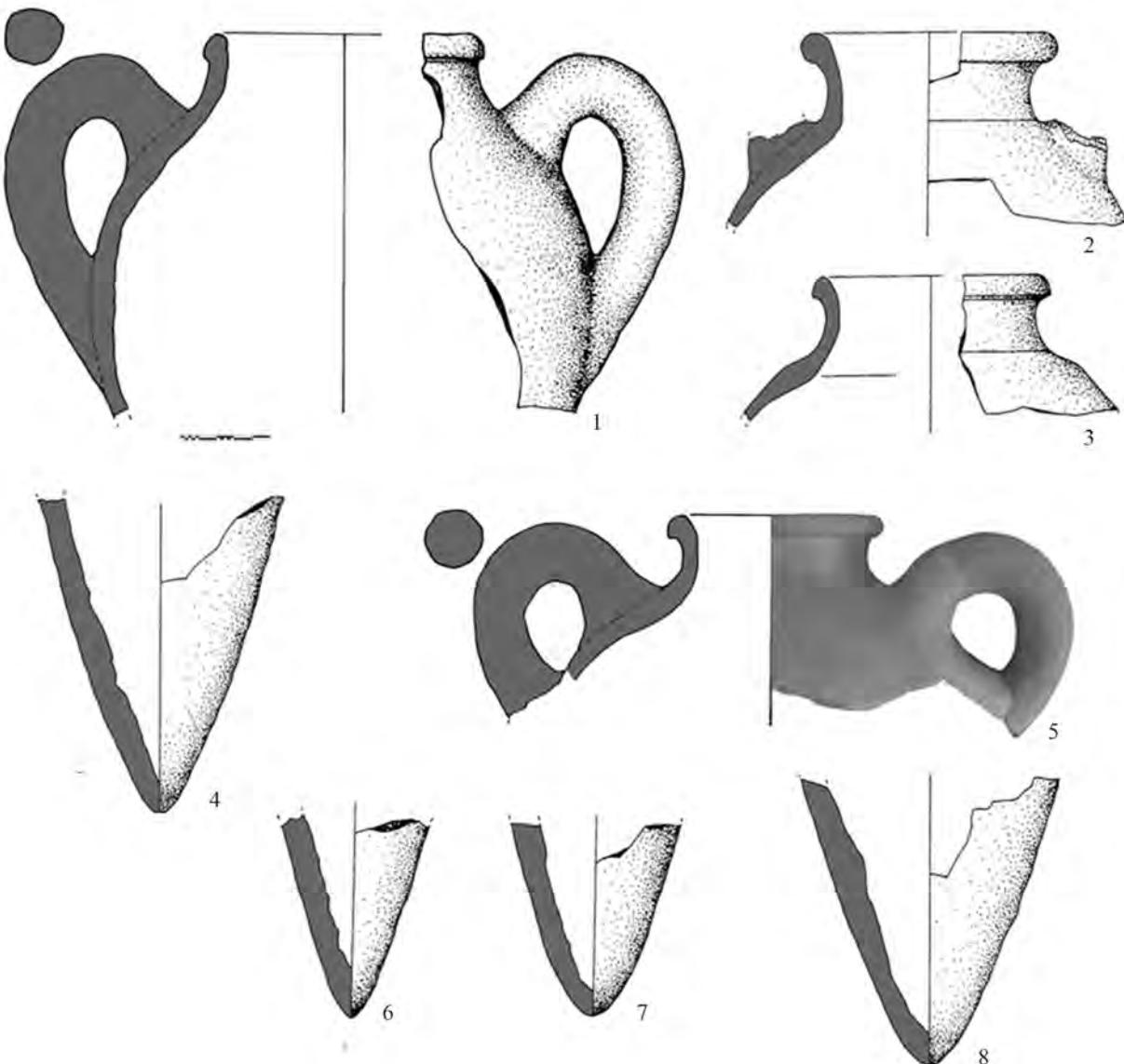


Fig. 6—Fonteblanda, excavations 1991–1997: samples of Py 3 Etruscan amphorae.

lots—*oikopeda*—with sides spanning 30 feet, separated by an *ambitus*. The *isomoiria* of the *oikopeda* is elevated by the plausible homogeneity of the raised parts.

Although caution is necessary, integrating excavation data with information obtained from repeated surveys and aerial photography suggests that *plateia XY* forms the central axis of the entire Fonteblanda agglomeration, of which only a modest portion (perhaps less than a quarter) has been explored. The area is largely overwhelmed by the excavation of the Eastern Reclamation Collection that borders the archaeological material outcrop area to the north. In fact, in 1993 it was possible to see the edges of structures in the canal walls cut during the nineteenth century and the 1930s. In any case, surface survey, although conducted on the basis of little more than empirical criteria, suggests that the inhabited area seems to decline to the west: the explored area shows a marked depression, which is recognisable from both the level contours and the blackish colouring of the soil. This feature

suggests that this area had never been occupied, perhaps being instead the location of a lagoon inlet.

Also to the south, the outcrops of material that can be attributed to building strata and to the street surface fade away a few metres from the excavation area. This suggests that, at most, there may be the beginning of a second one to the south of the excavated block, as there is evidence of its northern elevation (*M-M'-M''*). There is decidedly more substantial evidence for the area on the northeastern side of the *plateia*, which was probably entirely occupied by buildings with a significant presence of metalworking activity. This is indicated by the depth of the slag and scrap deposits for an area of extension essentially symmetrical to that explored to the southwest of the street in question.

It can, therefore, be assumed that the design plan of the settlement envisaged only one *plateia* that defined the distribution area for the *oikopeda*. This would also be justified by the significant opportunities for modular expansion afforded by

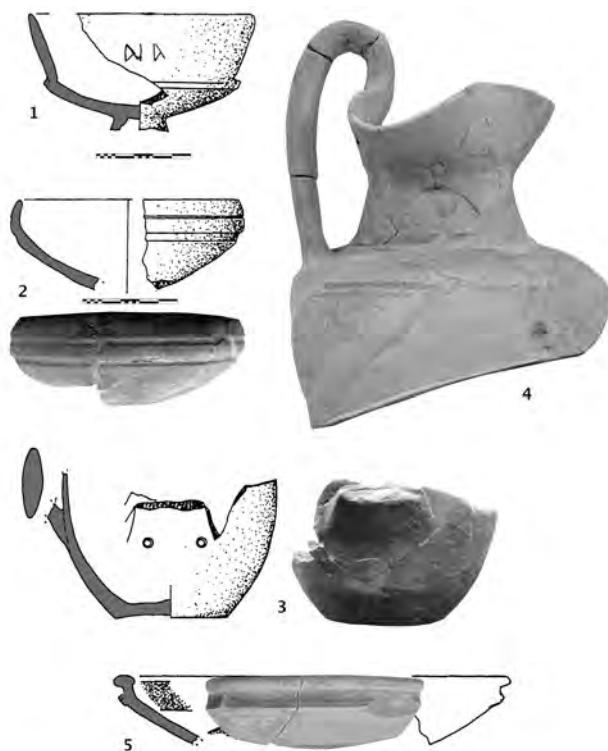


Fig. 7—Fonteblanda, excavations 1991–1997: bucchero nero (no. 1–2), impasto (no. 3) and Etrusco-Corinthian pottery (no. 4–5).

the *sternopoi* comb layout, meaning that length-wise extension facilitated by an additional *ambitus* would have been possible.

From the few limited tests conducted down to the surface of the aquifer, practically at sea level (the site elevation is between 2 and 2.5 m above sea level), we have confirmation of the consistency and substantial contemporaneity of all the structures brought to light. This holds true despite the limited adaptations that have just been recorded in O/P/N with the burial of the first dwelling level, or as in G/A/C/H, with indications of subsequent levelling.

The excavation conducted near the north-western boundary of the excavated area, in room E of building B/E/F, is of critical significance in the context of the foundation of the settlement. This involved the admittedly somewhat limited exploration of the levelling work done to allow for further urbanisation of this marginal sector. What emerged was clayey earth and ceramic material (layer 4) consisting of a mass of Etruscan amphora fragments, almost exclusively of type Py 3B (Ciampoltrini 2003: 50, Fig. 5), mostly belonging to the “small” category as attested by the well-known specimens on record at the Orbetello Civic Museum (Rendini 2011: 43–45, Fig. 1–2) (Fig. 6). Finds of kitchenware and bucchero nero are very rare. However, we do have one *kantharos* specimen, which features the only surviving inscription of the entire excavation, the graffito *aia* (Fig. 7, 1).<sup>7</sup>

The rigorous synchronism of the type of amphora finds in what is now known as the Love wreck in Antibes (France) (Long, Sourisseau 2002) allows us to date the foundation of the Fonteblanda settlement in the second quarter of the

6th century BC. It was probably around 570–560, fully in line with the *terminus post quem* offered by another wreck—that of Giglio—that presented a repertoire of Etruscan amphorae only partially identifiable with the typology of those found in Fonteblanda (Rendini 2011; Firmati, Ducci 2011: 57).

The lifetime of the settlement is limited to a few decades. Well L has been filled and sealed—perhaps in a ritual fashion, involving a *horos*—with a large oval-shaped ophite block and a final covering with a mantle of stones. The materials found in the fill relate to the second half of the 6th century BC, or to be even more precise, to the third quarter. In fact, this material includes the neck of a Py 5 type Etruscan amphora dating from the mid to the late period of the century, a Punic amphora of type Bartoloni D, which appears in the middle of the 6th century BC, and the bottom of an amphora with a hollow cylindrical foot, probably from Chios, which also dates back to the second half of that century (Ciampoltrini, Firmati 2003: 32–33, Fig. 8).

We thus have a period—namely the mid-6th century—that marks the finds from strata containing modest building innovations (layers 6–7 of the 1991 sondage in room A) that were formed at the time in which the settlement was abandoned (layer 1 of the 1991 sondage in rooms G/A/C), or that accumulated progressively in the dump area near *plateia XY* and in adjacent cavities (layers 101–102–103 of the 1993 excavations). In fact, the substantial presence of food residues in this area, in combination with fragments of *ollae* and kitchenware, provides eloquent evidence of their genesis, and also attest the meat-based diet of the inhabitants. Resources from the seas provided some nutrition, such as the *Acanthocardia spinosa Solander* or “Sand cockle”, a bivalve that inhabits shallow sandy seabeds. This supplemented meat from farm animals, as evidenced by similar quantities of cattle, pig and sheep bones (Nutini 2009).

The dominant, albeit not exclusive, element in these contexts, as evidenced by the foundation layer 4, is the Etruscan amphora type Py 3B, in two variants:

- a) with a fabric characterised by a grey or dark-grey colour in the fractures and shades of pink to red-orange on the surface, and by minute heterogeneous surface treatments, with a white slip that may be well preserved in good conservation conditions, presenting an “engobed finish” (Fig. 6, 1–4);
- b) with a red or red-brown surface, black or red in fractures, with equally heterogeneous surface treatments, and subtle whitish slip or ribbed “red” surface finishing (Fig. 6, 5–8).

Because of the high degree of fragmentation, it is not possible to distinguish morphological variations between the two variants, although it should be noted that only variant a specimens are shaped with conical tip extremities, while the b variants may have small flat bottoms. The “a” type variant precisely matches the cited specimens of the Orbetello Civic Museum, and is now found also in the waste areas—probably linked to kiln contexts—located in the Lower Albegna Valley, along the present river course, in the territory of Marsiliana (Sanchirico 2011). Type “b” amphorae variants present a very evident alignment with the “Caeretan impasto” present in the *ollae* and plates found in the area (Muzzioni 2010: 185–87), which indicates—as already hypothesised by Colonna (Colonna 1985:

7. For this acronym please refer to *Thesaurus Linguae Etruscae*, Sv “ai” and “aia”.

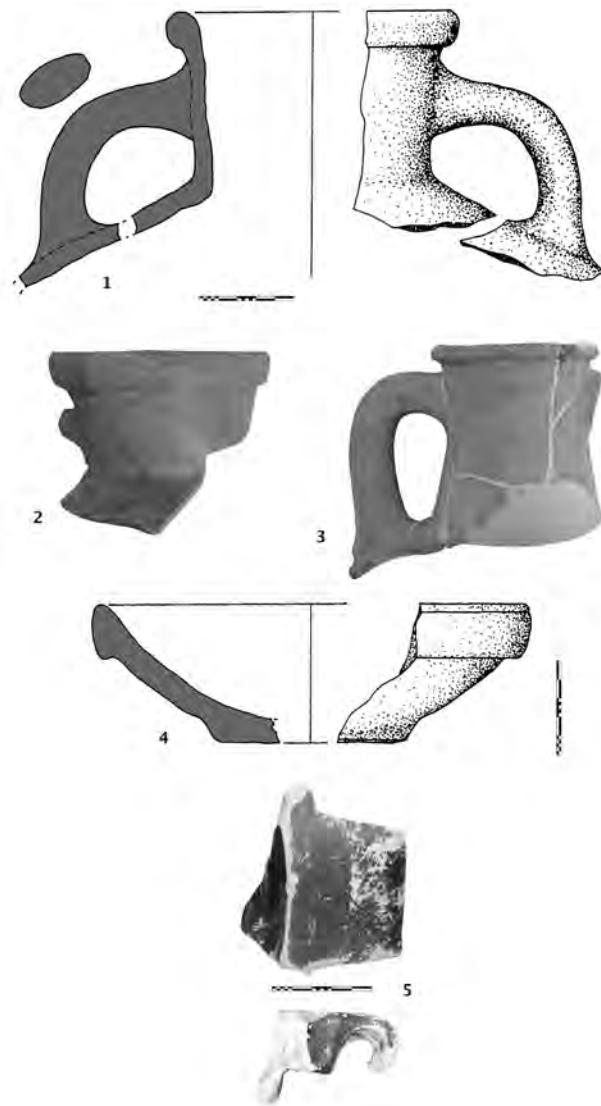


Fig. 8—Fonteblanda, excavations 1991–1997: East Greek amphorae (no. 1–3), mortar (no. 4), Laconian krater fragment (no. 5).

12)—items produced in *Caere*, or in related workshops. The progressive dominance of the manufacturing centre that produced variant “a” can be demonstrated by making a comparison of the finds from layer 4 in room E (corresponding to the foundation years of the settlement), where the two variants are numerically equivalent, with the dump area 101, where fragments relevant to at least 21 specimens were found versus 8 specimens of the b variant. Specimens with Py 3C type necks were also found in rooms 1 and 101.

The opening of the Fonteblanda settlement to Tyrrhenian traffic is reflected in all the categories of ceramics. Some limited, yet tangible, competition for Etruscan wine came from East Greek produce which was transported in amphorae of Samian (Fig. 8, 1), Milesian (Fig. 8, 2) and Lesbian (Fig. 8, 3) origin (Cook, Dupont 1998: 156–77). We also have evidence of Phoenician amphorae attributable to “Sardinian” production. The repertoire of imported amphorae is not unlike that of the contemporary levels of Gravisca (Slaska 1985), although the limited quantities preclude statistical assessments.

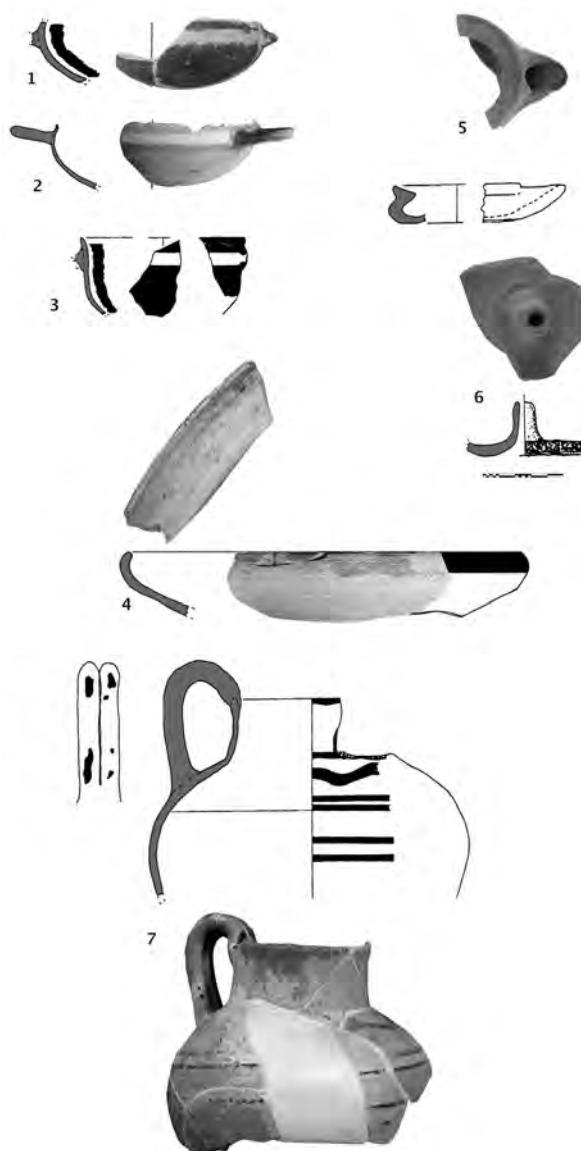


Fig. 9—Fonteblanda, excavations 1991–1997 assays: East Greek pottery (no. 1–4), lamp (no. 5–6), “Massaliote” olpe (no. 7).

No less significant is the role played by the A2 type “Ionian” cup (Fig. 9, 1–2)—to which a singular skyphoid variant (Fig. 9, 3) is added (Camera 2015: 181–85). As in the Vulci tomb contexts, the presence of Py 3A-B amphorae in the ceramic assemblages at Fonteblanda (Rizzo 1990: 150–57, tombs XXV–XXVI) mandate a reappraisal of the role of bucchero pottery, particularly that of the *kantharos* type. The *impasto* cup in bucchero style with external grooves (Fig. 7, 2) also finds a competitor in the similar East Greek form with “linear” decoration (Fig. 9, 4),<sup>8</sup> just as East Greek mortars (Fig. 8, 4) (Villing 2006) compete with the Etruscan ones. Similarly, in the repertoire of tableware with closed forms, the *impasto olpe* in bucchero style (Fig. 7, 3) with stamped markings at the base of the handle is juxtaposed with the black slipped Laconian krater (Fig. 8, 5). It is also juxtaposed with the Etruscan–Corinthian decor

8. So called “*Piatti su piede*”: see analogous examples in Gravisca (BOLDRINI 1994: 94–100, plates 1–2).

pieces in closed forms, such as the *oinochoe* with a surmounting handle (Fig. 7, 4) and the small plate with side handles and a lost decoration, which was also very successful on the Tyrrhenian trade routes (Fig. 7, 5) (Bruni 2009: 127–29 and 157–58; Long, Sourisseau 2002: 29). There is one *unicum*, the *olpe* with band decorations and surmounting handle, which is a replica of a type known in the Bon Porté wreck, probably of Massalian origin (Fig. 9, 7) (Ciampoltrini 2003: 284, Fig. 11; Long, Sourisseau 2002: 47, Fig. p. 46).

Use of the East Greek lamp was widespread, particularly the 5c type according to the Gravisca classification (Galli 2004: 41–42, dated 575–525 BC). This is mainly evidenced by at least three specimens discovered in layer 1 (Fig. 9, 5–6), and resembles the indications for Gravisca.

Thus, in the years when Etruscan, Carthaginian and Phocaean ships sailed the central-northern Tyrrhenian sea, until their eventual confrontation in the “Battle of the Sardinian Sea” (Gras 2000), the harbour of Fonteblanda appears to have been a merchandise hub attracting goods from the Aegean, offering an exchange of local produce and raw materials that were then redistributed via the same routes.

In this dynamic traffic scenario, the role of wine is certainly highlighted by the quantity of Etruscan Py 3B amphorae. Fragments of them littered the entire settlement area at the time of the October 1987 survey, which is hardly compatible with mere local consumption but provides instead significant evidence of the “trading” context of this container. The surveys carried out by Andrea Zifferero and his work group were crucial in providing satisfactory answers to questions that were still open at the time of the first presentation of the archaic settlement (Orvieto 2002). This work supported the hypothesis that Fonteblanda was the true “wine port” for the Albegna Valley during the mid-6th century BC. Later, under the Romans in the first century BC, this role would pass to the landing place at the mouth of the Albegna (Torre Saline) or *Portus Cosanus* (Vitali *et al.* 2012; Salerno 2012).

In terms of the commercial horizons opened up by the Tyrrhenian routes used by the fleets that went on to engage in battle around 535 BC, it is plausible that the aristocracies of the Lower Albegna Valley, who probably had Marsiliana as their urban reference point (Sanchirico, Zifferero 2011), had examined the possibility of exploiting the human and agricultural potential of the territory to carve out a prominent role in wine production and trade driven by the growing demand in Mediterranean Gaul. The “disquieting” synchronicity of the founding of Fonteblanda and *Alalia*, traditionally dated to 565 BC, would even suggest that it was the first presence of the Phocaean of *Alalia* in the Tyrrhenian area that instilled the idea of establishing a stable landing place in order to seize autonomously the mercantile opportunities that were opening up at this time.

The choice of this place seems to have been meaningful. It is the confluence point of a route that starts in Marsiliana and crosses the Albegna, passing through territory whose eastern regions were marked by the Magliano chamber necropoles (Rendini 2010; 59–60; Rendini 2011a: 76–81; Firmati 2011: 82–85) during the first half of the 6th century BC. Its western regions hosted the great burial mounds of the Lower Valley and the territory of San Donato, embellished



Fig. 10—Fonteblanda, excavations 1993, layer 101: aes rude (upper) and iron slag (bottom).

by zoomorphic sculptures that bear powerful witness to the presence of aristocracies (Ciampoltrini *et al.* 2008: 162–65). The *plateia* dominating the urban layout is, apparently, the appropriately structured terminus for this itinerary.

It seems that the success of the settlement was immediate, given that the cargo of the Love ship appears to have been composed mainly of Etruscan amphorae of the type found at the Marsiliana dump and the Fonteblanda contexts. This is all the more so if, as indicated by the two Py 3B amphora variants described, Albegna Valley wine may be identified with widespread “dissemination” of that product in other districts of Etruria, as well as the repertoire of artefacts and raw materials spread via the Tyrrhenian routes.

As is the case with the emporic centres, Fonteblanda was, in fact, also a “break-in-bulk point” for naval shipments (Gras 1997: 158–64). The transfer from local carriers to the ships that were sailing to Gaul also served as the occasion for redistributing samples of goods. This is testified by the portion destined for local consumption, as in the case of East Greek and Punic wine, and Etruscan-Corinthian or East Greek pottery. In fact, the “colonial” society of Fonteblanda was open to consumer goods that were widely distributed via Tyrrhenian trade far beyond the immediate hinterland. This is evidenced by a rapid *synkrisis* with the finds of the contemporary necropolis of Cancellone I in Magliano, which stands out for the manner in which the tombs were equipped, for their structural homogeneity (Rendini 2011a: 76–81; Firmati 2011: 82–85), and for their constructional features, which follow an organic design that seems to replicate the *isomoiria* of the foundation centre.

In the new settlement, it was metalworking (in both bronze and iron) above all that played a prominent role. This is evidenced by the *aes rude* found in dump areas 101–103, by iron slag (Fig. 10), and by relevant surface finds. The presence of blacksmiths specialised in ironwork has already been discussed.

The crucial indications provided by the excavation of the metalworking area in Rondelli di Follonica (Fig. 2) (Aranguren

*et al.* 2004: 323–27 and 330–36) furnish a basis for assuming that Fonteblanda also played a role as an *emporion*. Its function would have been not only serving the wine-producing hinterland—which is certainly essential to the availability of metal artefacts—but also redistributing the finished product by sea (Ciampoltrini, Firmati 2003: 33–35). This is even more pertinent if we remember that we should not expect evidence from wrecks or “terrestrial” excavation contexts for this produce to be as clear as the testimony provided for wine by the Etruscan amphorae.

The Rondelli finds, and the exploration of furnaces used for smelting iron from the island of Elba—which was acquired in its mineral form and as semi-finished material, and was in use between the 6th and the greater part of the 5th centuries BC—suggest the presence of a central Tyrrhenian “iron production chain” in the archaic period that overlaps, albeit minimally, the one described in great detail by Diodorus in his excursus dedicated to Elba:

τῆς γὰρ Τυρρηνίας κατὰ τὴν ὄνομαζομένην πόλιν Ποπλώνιον νῆσος ἔστιν, ἣν ὄνομάζουσιν Αἰθάλειαν. αὕτη δὲ τῆς παραλίας ἀπέχουσα σταδίους ὡς ἐκατὸν τὴν μὲν προσηγορίαν εἴληφεν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ κατ’ αὐτήν αἰθάλου. πέτραν γὰρ ἔχει πολλὴν σιδηρῖτιν, ἣν τέμνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν χωνείαν καὶ κατασκευὴν τοῦ σιδήρου, πολλὴν ἔχοντες τοῦ μετάλλου δαψίλειαν. οἱ γὰρ ταῖς ἐργασίαις προσεδρεύοντες κόπτουσι τὴν πέτραν καὶ τοὺς τμηθέντας λίθους κάουσιν ἐν τισὶ φιλοτέχνοις καμίνοις: ἐν δὲ ταύταις τῷ πλήθει τοῦ πυρὸς τήκοντες τοὺς λίθους καταμερίζουσιν εἰς μεγέθη σύμμετρα, παραπλήσια ταῖς ιδέαις μεγάλοις σπόγγοις. ταῦτα συναγοράζοντες ἔμποροι καὶ μεταβαλλόμενοι κομίζουσιν εἰς τε Δικαίαρχειαν καὶ εἰς τὰλλα ἐμπόρια. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ φορτία τινὲς ὕνουμενοι καὶ τεχνιτῶν χαλκέων πλῆθος ἀθροίζοντες κατεργάζονται, καὶ ποιοῦσι σιδήρου πλάσματα παντοδαπά. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν εἰς ὅπλων τύπους χαλκεύουσι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς δικελλῶν καὶ δρεπάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐργαλείων εὐθέτους τύπους φιλοτεχνοῦσιν: ὡς κομιζομένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων εἰς πάντα τόπον πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης μεταλαμβάνει τῆς ἐκ τούτων εὐχρηστίας  
(Diodorus V.13.1–2)

Off the city of Tyrrhenia known as Poplonium there is an island which men call Aethaleia. It is about one hundred stades distant from the coast and received the name it bears from the smoke (aithalos) which lies so thick about it. For the island possesses a great amount of iron-rock, which they quarry in order to melt and cast and thus to secure the iron, and they possess a great abundance of this ore. For those who are engaged in the working of the ore crush the rock and burn the lumps which have thus been broken in certain ingenious furnaces; and in these they smelt the lumps by means of a great fire and from them into pieces of moderate size which are in their appearance like large sponges. These are purchased by merchants in exchange either for money or for goods and are then taken to Dicaearchia or the other trading stations, where there are men who purchase such cargoes and who, with the aid of a multitude of artisans in metal whom they have collected, work it further and manufacture iron objects of every description. Some of these are worked into the shape of armour, and other are ingeniously fabricated into shapes well suited to two-pronged forks and sickles and other such tools; and these are then carried by merchants to every region and thus many parts of the inhabited world have a share in the usefulness which accrues from them.

(Trad. C.H. Oldfather, Loeb Classical Library)

As such, from the 6th to the 5th centuries BC, the Elba mines provided raw material that was refined in a series of

small and medium-sized workshops that were only partially located in the “metalworking” town of Populonia. Rather, they were dispersed in order to exploit resources afforded by the extensive stretch of Etruscan coastline between the headlands of Piombino and Punta Ala, where the system of lagoons offered several options for landings. These resources included especially timber, with the precious heather, whose use was associated also with Fonteblanda (Aranguren *et al.* 2004: 334–35). Using the Diodorian terminology, the “battery furnaces” found in Rondelli match perfectly with the *philotechnoi kaminoi* (ἐν τισὶ φιλοτέχνοις καμίνοις), where the small fragments into which the iron is reduced are “burned”, obtaining a semi-finished product in the form of “sponges” (*megaloi spongoi*), reduced to suitable shapes, *eis megethe symmetra* (καταμερίζουσιν εἰς μεγέθη σύμμετρα, παραπλήσια ταῖς ιδέαις μεγάλοις σπόγγοις). Again, recalling Diodorus, the *emporoi* acquired the semi-finished “sponges” and transported them to Dicearchia, and *eis ta alla emporia*, where, using series of *chalkeis*—whose status is not specified—they transformed them into artefacts, including especially agricultural implements.

The uncertainty concerning the chronological horizons related to trade from Elba to *Dicearchia/Puteoli* (Pozzuoli) cited in the Diodorean testimony does not negate the possibility that the model described may have been already active in archaic times (Ciampoltrini, Firmati 2003: 33–35). In the middle of the 6th century BC, perhaps in part because of the opportunities offered to those who arrived to join the “colonial” society, Fonteblanda could offer the Tyrrhenian *emporoi* not only Albegna Valley wine, but also the possibility of welcoming and integrating *chalkeis*, who used it as a hub for the transformation of semi-finished products such as the *aes rude* or the “sponges” of refined iron from Elba and the coasts facing the Island.

Lastly, it is possible that marine or lagoon fish resources may not have been limited to local consumption, but may also have been processed for export. In fact, in addition to sites with evidence of occupation ranging from the Metal Ages (even from the Late Bronze Age), investigations carried out along the ancient shores of the Talamone lagoon have unearthed a site in the locality of Tombolotto characterised by the massive and exclusive presence of red *impasto* archaic *ollae*. These vessels are now considered reliable indicators of salt extraction and production, partly on the basis of the application of experimental archaeology (Ciampoltrini 2001: 541; Aranguren, Cavanna, 2015: 475–77). It is possible that this salt may have been used for preserving fish, and—re-assessing suggestions raised once again by the Love wreck (Long, Sourisseau 2002: 29)—those amphorae may have been used for transporting the finished product.

The eclectic nature of the colony was such that, in addition to the workshops of the *chalkeis* and the two- or three-room houses, which we suggest are associated with the work of the “specialized” wine merchants, it is tempting to hypothesise the presence of more “noble” buildings that may have been decorated with architectural terracotta surfacing, perhaps in the unexplored area of the settlement. Two fragments found in layer 102 (Fig. 11) preserve the left and upper rims of a revetment plaque modelled in the same fashion as the Murlo figuration of the “divine assembly” (Torelli 1997: 95, Fig. 64

and footnote 14). The chronology is essentially compatible with the foundation date of the settlement.

The demise of the Fonteblanda settlement at the time of the “Battle of the Sardinian Sea”, or shortly afterwards, may indicate a reiteration of its close relationship with the Tyrrhenian trade network which, however we may view it, was conditioned by the activities of the Phocaeans of *Alalia*. In fact, the archaeological record indicates that it was not traumatic events, but rather environmental factors, possibly accompanied by the rise of the lagoon level, that resulted in the abandonment of the settlement and its relocation to a more protected site on the eastern slopes of the Puntata, at an elevation of 3 to 4 m a.s.l. (Fig. 3). Proof is provided by both the repeated elevation of the ground floors encountered in the deep excavations and the intentional burial of well L, which indicates a “planned” abandonment. This is also supported by the lack of stratigraphic evidence of any destruction.

The settlement was, therefore, only relocated. Despite the new commercial horizons of the Late Archaic Period, the site retained a precious port and mercantile vocation both as a participant in the Tyrrhenian routes and as a point of access to the sea, for an interior where social transformations or upheavals in the settlement system—with the probable urban foundation of Doganella (Ciampoltrini *et al.* 2006: 163–65)—had not compromised the entrenched vitality of the agricultural fabric, and wine production in particular.

Investigation of the Late Archaic part of the settlement was discouraged by both the degree to which the materials found showed the strata to have been disturbed by agricultural work and a scarcity of resources. However, the consistency of the finds testifies that wine from the Albegna Valley continued to sail during the decades between the 6th and 5th centuries BC. This is evidenced by the mass of Etruscan Py 4 amphorae, in the types known from the Doganella kiln waste. This trading occurred within nodes where Attic pottery eventually came to replace “Ionian” artefacts, but as Phoenician and West Greek amphorae continued to arrive. The role played by the harbour in the context of the iron-trade routes was also preserved, albeit with a degree of transformation: there were no “sponges” on the slopes of the Puntata, but only hematite from Elba in its mineral state. In fact, the role of the port was enhanced by the temple structure evidenced by the fragments of late-archaic architectural terracotta recovered during various excavations (Ciampoltrini, Rendini 2012: 396–98; Ciampoltrini 2000: 151–52). As a mere suggestion, we could imagine that Timaeus’s version of the mythical tradition of the Argonauts’ journey might be rooted in this scenario of an “iron route” between Elba and Fonteblanda—the *Portus Argous* and the *Portus Telamonis*—where the iron trading routes seem to have played a prominent role, at least for the Etrurian coasts. However, more relevant data are needed to evaluate this speculation.

The historical record of the “Fonteblanda Plain” fades away only in the second quarter of the 5th century BC. This is a period during which there was a crisis that progressively ensnared the Albegna Valley, which has been tentatively associated with the outcome of a prolonged ecological crisis and the aftermath of the Cumae disaster or the incursions by Syracuse in the northern Tyrrhenian (Ciampoltrini 2000: 151–52).



Fig. 11—Fonteblanda, excavations 1993, layer 102: fragments of architectural terracotta with relief decoration.

More than a century had to pass before the Talamone lagoon recovered its vocation as a port, dominated as it is by the agglomeration that extends onto the slopes of “Pietra Vergine”, out of sight from the sea (Ciampoltrini, Rendini 1992: 986–90).

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# Between Tarquinia and Gravisca

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## 1 The Emporic Sanctuary of Gravisca

The sanctuary of Gravisca, near the Etruscan city of Tarquinia (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2) is currently the best-known example of the so-called “emporium” founded along the coastlines of the Mediterranean for trading purposes. Following an initial exploration of the site, which took place from 1969 to 1979, annual archaeological investigations have been carried out since 1994 in the area around the “Northern Sanctuary”. New pieces of evidence come to light every year, and we are now in a position to consider the Gravisca site in its entirety from various points of view, i.e. for its architectural characteristics as well as its economic and religious aspects<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 3). The port was located on the northern banks of a large lagoon, by the salt marshes and away from the older Etruscan settlements, and it gave access to calm and marshy waters. The presence of drinking water wells, still supplied today by a generous shallow water table, proved crucial in the choice of location. The need to load up vessels with water supplies before embarking on journeys across the sea can be considered one of the fundamental reasons for the establishment of this first Greek settlement.

During the first half of the 6th century BC, six wells were excavated along the east side of the sanctuary at different times. They were placed a short distance from each other and generally reached a maximum depth of one metre. From the first phase of the site’s occupation onwards, certain workshops associated with the processing of metals (e.g. copper, iron, lead) were placed near to these water supply facilities. These areas were often contiguous and were characterised by the presence of furnaces, which frequently overlapped. The majority of the evidence for these activities appears to be clustered around the Aphrodite shrine, spanning the entire life of the site. The ideological and cultural meanings of this combination have been closely studied in the past thanks to data collected from the archaeological excavations and



Fig. I—Map with the location of Gravisca and other main settlements of the Tyrrhenian area.

the iconography of the Attic pottery (Fiorini 2002; Fiorini, Torelli 2007).

As previously mentioned, the discovery of Gravisca constitutes extraordinary evidence of an emporic sanctuary, similar to Naukratis in Egypt, which is famous for its artefacts and for a series of literary finds. The founding of this *emporion*, as well as another that was established a century before Naukratis, created a protected area in which Greek merchants from the far shores of the eastern Mediterranean could exchange their products in Etruscan territory, protected by the divinities who acted as their guarantors. Indeed, a Greek sanctuary was founded in the port for this purpose: on the one hand, it was useful to carry out commercial activities in safe conditions;

1. The first part is by L. Fiorini, the second by G. Bagnasco Gianni.

2. For more information on the Gravisca sanctuary, see: TORELLI 1977; TORELLI 1982; TORELLI 1997; FIORINI 2005; FORTUNELLI 2007; FIORINI, TORELLI 2007; FIORINI 2008; FIORINI, FORTUNELLI 2009; FIORINI, TORELLI 2010; FIORINI, FORTUNELLI 2011; FIORINI, MERCURI 2014; FIORINI 2015; FIORINI 2016; TORELLI 2016.



Fig. 2—The territory of Tarquinia (base map from Google Earth).

on the other hand, it was considered a place to offer gifts, a tradition which its visitors upheld over time, creating a collective treasure used by the Etruscan *principes* (Torelli 1982; Torelli 2016: 6–9). During the early period of the sanctuary's life, only the so-called "Southern Area" seems to have been active; here, a small initial *sacellum* was devoted to Aphrodite, as evidenced by many inscriptions bearing her name found on the upper levels (Fiorini 2005: 41–49 and 181–85) (Fig. 4a, phase I). The *naos*, a modest construction with a simple floorplan and an *adyton*, was built in 580 BC by Phocaean merchants (Torelli 1982: 322–23; Torelli 1988; Torelli 2016: 7). As their first act upon founding the *naos*, they devoted lavish gifts to the goddess in a unique fashion that was never to be repeated again in the sanctuary during ceremonies. These gifts included three high-value objects dating back to the late 7th and early 6th centuries BC: a luxurious Wild Goat Style *dinos* of the so-called "Aeolian" school, presumably made in Phocaea (Boldrini 1994: 263); a valuable bronze cauldron with a beautiful griffin protome; and a bronze statuette of Aphrodite *promachos*, probably made in Laconia, which is interpreted as the first cult statue (Torelli 1977: 427; Colivicchi 2004: 30–32, no. 14). Two further transformations of the sacred area can be dated: the first to the middle of the 6th century BC and the second to 530 BC, when a new double-*sacellum* devoted to Aphrodite was built, flanked by the new cult of Hera (Fig. 4a, phase II–III). In this case, the structures are of very poor quality, with a pebble foundation, mud brick walls and tile roofs.<sup>3</sup> These phases coincided with the arrival *en masse*

3. FIORINI 2005: 185–87. While the first *sacellum* of Aphrodite measured just 4.70 x 3.13 metres at the time of its construction, it measured only 10.30 x 3.13 metres after being extended in the middle of the 6th century BC. The nearby *sacellum* of Hera would have had similar dimensions, but was distinguished from the Aphrodision by its different orientation. Also reconstructed after a fire in 530 BC, the new sacred complex did not



Fig. 3—Aerial view of the sanctuary of Gravisca (photo F. MATERAZZI).

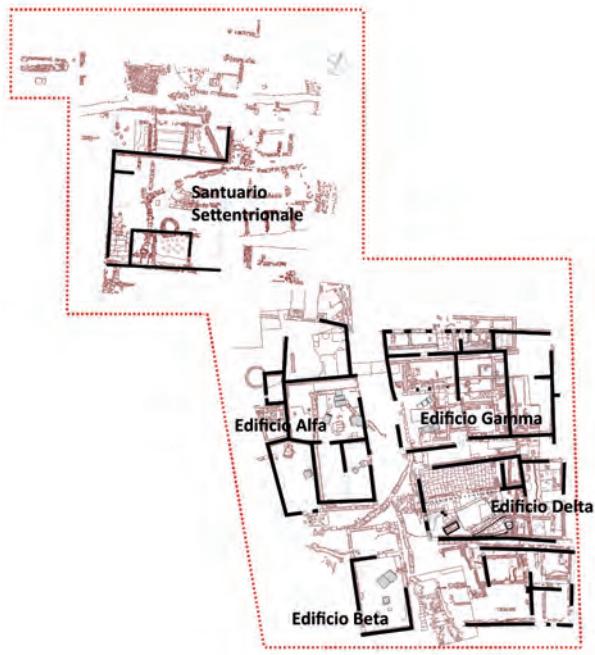
of Samian merchants and with a period of increased vitality for the *emporion*:<sup>4</sup> vast quantities of materials from various Mediterranean centres arrived here and were sold under the protection of the deities, going on to reach Tarquinia and the surrounding territory (§2). These included refined products made by Corinthian manufacturers, precious objects decorated by skilled craftsmen in the Nile Delta, Laconian ceramics and, above all, East Greek pottery and Ionian cups. The volume

exceed thirteen metres in length, including the large courtyard opposite.

4. The architecture, the abundant Greek dedications and the rich materials found in the sanctuary of the so-called "Southern Area" have been published at length in fourteen volumes, which constitute the series titled "Gravisca. Scavi del santuario greco", edited by Mario Torelli.



Fig. 4a—Gravisca. Map of the sacred area (phases I–IV).



Phase V: 420/400 BC



Phase VI: 4th century BC



Phase VII: End of the 4th century BC

Fig. 4b—Gravisca. Map of the sacred area (phases V–VII).

of trade grew exponentially during the mid-6th century BC with the arrival of products from Attica in unmatched quantities, even in comparison with other Etrurian settlements. The intermediaries facilitating this trade were Etruscan serfs sent by the rich princeps of Tarquinia, as well as Greek agents—mainly slaves—who belonged to the richest families of Eastern Greece and to rich merchants from the island of Aegina (towards the end of the 6th century BC).<sup>5</sup>

From an architectural point of view, the entire monumental context of the sacred area of Gravisca in Archaic times is put into perspective if one takes into account what lies a few dozen metres to the north of the East Greek sanctuary, in an area recently excavated by the University of Perugia and the *Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'area metropolitana di Roma, la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria meridionale*. Indeed, archaeological evidence has demonstrated the existence of two *temene* dating from the last twenty years of the 6th century BC and used for almost the entire 5th century BC. Within this area lie two altars built with blocks of macco stone which are sizeable not only by the standards of Gravisca, but also for Etruscan sanctuaries in general. The larger altar ( $\delta$ ) (only three ashlar blocks remain *in situ*; the altar could only be reconstructed by means of its plundered foundation trench) measured about 7.10 x 5.90 metres, with a rectangular shape and two lateral extensions supporting a platform used to enter the *krepidoma*. The smaller altar ( $\epsilon$ ), measuring 2.26 x 3.26 metres, is also characterised by a rectangular base which faces southwards. The presence of two *escharai*, which lie next to the altars but correspond to a level dating from before the monumental arrangement, could indicate the prior existence of a sacred area from at least the middle of the 6th century BC. The presence of sacred *oikoi* linked to the two altars is still uncertain. These new sanctuaries were built in an Etruscan district and were linked to the presence of people from Sicily (particularly Agrigento); this would undoubtedly have affected the dynamics of those visiting the *emporion*.<sup>6</sup> Thanks to the materials and ex-votos taken from the votive deposit found in 1995 on the northern border of the new sanctuary (Fortunelli 2007: 309–34), more information on the cults of this area has been established. Studies of the offerings confirmed the existence of two different deities, and suggested a distinction between a male divinity, the recipient of metal offerings, and a female divinity, linked to terracotta objects. These offerings can be compared to those found in the Southern Sanctuary at Pyrgi, where numerous inscriptions referring to a pair of deities, Šuris and Cavatha, have been discovered (Baglione, Gentili 2013). These two divinities are usually associated with the Greek gods Apollo and Persephone respectively. This comparison, used in the past to identify the two deities of Gravisca's "Northern Sanctuary", has now been confirmed by the discovery of two inscriptions in this area dedicated to Cavatha. In addition, two of the three inscriptions referring to Apollo were discovered not far from this area, including the marble anchor dedicated to Apollo by Sostratos of Aegina (Fiorini 2015).

5. For an example, see: FIORINI, MERCURI 2014: 70–87.

6. FORTUNELLI 2007; FIORINI, FORTUNELLI 2009; FIORINI, FORTUNELLI 2011; L. Fiorini in FIORINI, MERCURI 2014: 37–39.

At this stage, the political and economic dynamics governing the foundation and transformation of the sanctuary at Gravisca are clear. The *emporion* was established on the northern side of the salt flats, far from the Etruscan settlements occupying the southern part of the lagoon. During the second half of the 6th century BC, thanks to its profitable trading, Gravisca was able to attract most of the local population to the northernmost area, where the Roman colony *Graviscae* was later founded, in 181 BC. Around the same time, about three quarters of the way through the 6th century BC, for political reasons, a new monumental Etruscan sanctuary devoted to the Etruscan deities Šuris and Cavatha was erected north of the sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite and Hera (Fiorini 2016: 26–27).

The demise of the Gravisca *emporion* must have occurred after 480/470 BC, probably as a consequence of the Etruscan defeats inflicted by the Greeks in 480 BC (the Battle of Himera and Syracuse's victory against the Carthaginians, who were allies of the "Etruscans") and in 474 BC (the Battle of Cumae and Syracuse's victory under Hieron I). During this period, there was a significant decrease in Greek imports due to a political, economic and social crisis that profoundly affected the Etruscan society.<sup>7</sup> This resulted in the application of certain restrictions, preventing Greek sanctuary visitors from taking up residence, even temporarily. A similar situation occurred in other Etruscan coastal centres and corroborates the hypothesis that, from the second quarter of the 5th century BC onwards, commercial trade with Greek merchants in Gravisca changed dramatically (if it did not end altogether).

As a result of this transformation (Fig. 4a, phase IV), the "Southern Sanctuary" was completely reconstructed during this period. This "monumental" renovation implied the end of an economy based on metallurgy, exemplified by the burial of the furnaces under new levels of soil. The first step of this reconstruction process was the total dismantling of the temple of Aphrodite and Hera down to its foundations, followed by the building of a new complex with a porch along the north side. The floorplan of the previous structure with the double *naos* was re-used for the *Heraion*, located in the eastern part of the building, while the *Aphrodision* was positioned in the western section, just as it had been in the Archaic phase. This edifice was also bipartite and had the same layout and the same entrance position as the Archaic complex, *i.e.* from the south. In this phase, it gave the visitor access to a large open space, part of which was terraced. In the south-western section of the *temenos* lay one of the most important sacred pieces of evidence left behind by the cult, a nenfro coffin, to which was later added another made from macco stone. This structure was recognised by M. Torelli as the grave of the mythical Adon, part of a complex dedicated to the hero; this theory was later confirmed by epigraphic sources (Torelli 1997; Fiorini 2008). The *Adonion*, attested here since the mid-6th century BC, was at that point a coherent monumental building in terms of both its floorplan and its ideology: it included the shrine of Aphrodite and the surrounding space,

7. Confirmation is provided by an analysis of Attic pottery imports in Gravisca (Southern Area), which show a severe reduction, decreasing overall from 28.6% in the last quarter of the sixth century BC to 6.2% in the period around 475/450 BC (Fiorini 2006: 65–67).

the tomb of her *paredros* Adon, and his edifice, located east of the courtyard. At the time, it was composed of two contiguous rooms featuring a stoa and a *pyrgos*, which were also present in the following phase. When the *emporion* met its end and the ancient vitality of the settlement waned, only the festival in honour of the hero remained, celebrated by the *ierodoulai* of the sanctuary during the dog days (Fiorini 2005: 188–91). Significantly, no changes to the “Northern Sanctuary” are attested during this phase, except for minor renovations.

From 480/470 BC until the last twenty years of the 5th century BC, there was a period of inactivity as far as the buildings are concerned. Afterwards, a transformation phase lasting around twenty years began. This affected the whole sacred area, totally modifying the appearance of the site (Fig. 4b, phase V): the landscape, which had previously been marshy and uninhabitable, was now organised around a principal road that connected the port to the built-up area and divided the sanctuary into blocks that were occupied by different sacred constructions. To the east lay Building γ (home to the *Heraion* and the *Aphrodision*) and Building δ (dedicated to Adon), and to the west lay Building β (devoted to Demetra-Vei), Building α (linked to Apollo-Suris), and the “Northern Sanctuary”, now dedicated solely to Cavatha.

This renovation was preceded in 420 BC by the complete and systematic dismantling of the macco blocks that made up the altars and of the slabs that composed the floor of the Archaic “Northern Sanctuary”. Afterwards, the whole area was covered with a thick sandy layer, and a large quantity of Attic pottery mainly consisting of cups and *skyphoi* was placed in the middle (expressly broken into fragments in a show of deference to the deity). This followed the usual ritual custom, which stipulated the dedication and preservation of offerings made to the divinity. The restructuring of the “Northern Sanctuary” involved the complete reconstruction of the walls of the temenos and, at the same time, the building of a new *sacellum* with a simple floorplan. In any case, the enduring nature of the residents’ devotion to Cavatha seems to be confirmed by the construction of two new altars, α and β, next to the Archaic ones (Fiorini, Fortunelli 2009: 304–05). They also appear to have maintained the same chthonic religious values, as revealed by the discovery of a *bothros* situated close to the altar for sacrifices to chthonic divinities. Nevertheless, on the basis of the ex-voto recovered from the “Southern Sanctuary”, it becomes clear that at the end of the 5th century BC, the majority of the offerings were linked to the altars dedicated to the divinities *Turan*, *Uni* and *Vei*, who were expressions of a very simple religion and were largely worshipped by slaves and poorer individuals (Torelli 1977; L. Fiorini in Fiorini, Mercuri 2014: 37–39). Two further reconstructions of the sanctuary date back to the 4th century BC (Fig. 4b, phase VI–VII), when a system of drainage canals was built, probably because of the site’s tendency to flood. One additional reconstruction was carried out at the end of the 4th century BC, shortly before the whole sacred area of Gravisca was destroyed in 281 BC when the Romans conquered Tarquinia and its land (Fiorini 2005: 191–201).

## 2 Tarquinia and Gravisca: an Archaeological Approach to Invisible Religious Practices

The dynamics of the relationship between Tarquinia and Gravisca can now be summarised thanks to increasing amounts of information about the general outline of the city (Bagnasco Gianni 2014c: 429–33) and the circulation of Tarquinian products along the Northern Tyrrhenian coast.

The historical and political reconstruction of the emporic sanctuary (§1) confirms the fluctuating but enduring control of this coastal settlement by the metropolis, as already suggested by M. Bonghi Jovino in 2002 (Bonghi Jovino 2006; M. Torelli, in Fiorini, Torelli 2010: 43). It is now possible, therefore, to affirm that Gravisca was part of a broad and solid system that reveals the strategic and political programme of Tarquinia, which focused on the “emporion-city-territory” relationship. The *emporion* itself probably arose as a consequence of the metropolis’s specific need to link the interconnected world of the western Mediterranean in the second half of the 7th century BC to its network of minor coastal sites and its inland territory (Perego 2008).

Such a scenario continues to provoke debate concerning aspects of Greek presence in the areas of Etruria and Latium and the importance of the effects of the cultural contact that took place along the northern section of the Tyrrhenian Coast, starting from the main cities of southern Etruria and moving towards the shores of Liguria and southern France. Indeed, we are now in a position to track the distribution of sets of traditional Etruscan vases—well documented in Tarquinia—along such routes (Bagnasco Gianni 2007; Bagnasco Gianni 2014b).

Looking beyond the emporic sanctuary for a moment, a review of the archaeological features of the other two sites on the Civita Plateau which are currently being explored—the “monumental complex” (Fig. 5) and the *Ara della Regina* (Fig. 6)<sup>8</sup>—brings to light recurring topics that are worth examining in the context of the relationship that every individual community establishes with its locations and its specific setting. Among these recurring topics, we can focus on the relationships between shabby and monumental architecture and between movable findings, structures and inscriptions that reveal invisible cult practices and visible and invisible numinous entities.

### 2.1 Invisible Cult Practices

The recurring features in unprepossessing sanctuaries are often the irregular shape of dry-stone walls, wells and enclosures, and the basic appearance of altars and cultic sites. Containers such as pits, coffers, graves and cenotaphs can be hidden or highlighted by their connection to other structures within the same premises; pits and coffers can be built with tiles or stone slabs and contain numbers of objects combined in various ways to form sets which can be both valuable and worthless (Bagnasco Gianni 2005).

8. The results are currently published in the *Tarchna* series (*Tarchna I* 1997; *Tarchna II* 1999; *Tarchna III* 2001; *Tarchna, Suppl. 1* 2005; *Tarchna IV*) and in a number of scientific contributions; for more recent contributions, see the bibliography listed in: BONGHI JOVINO 2010a; BAGNASCO GIANNI 2013.

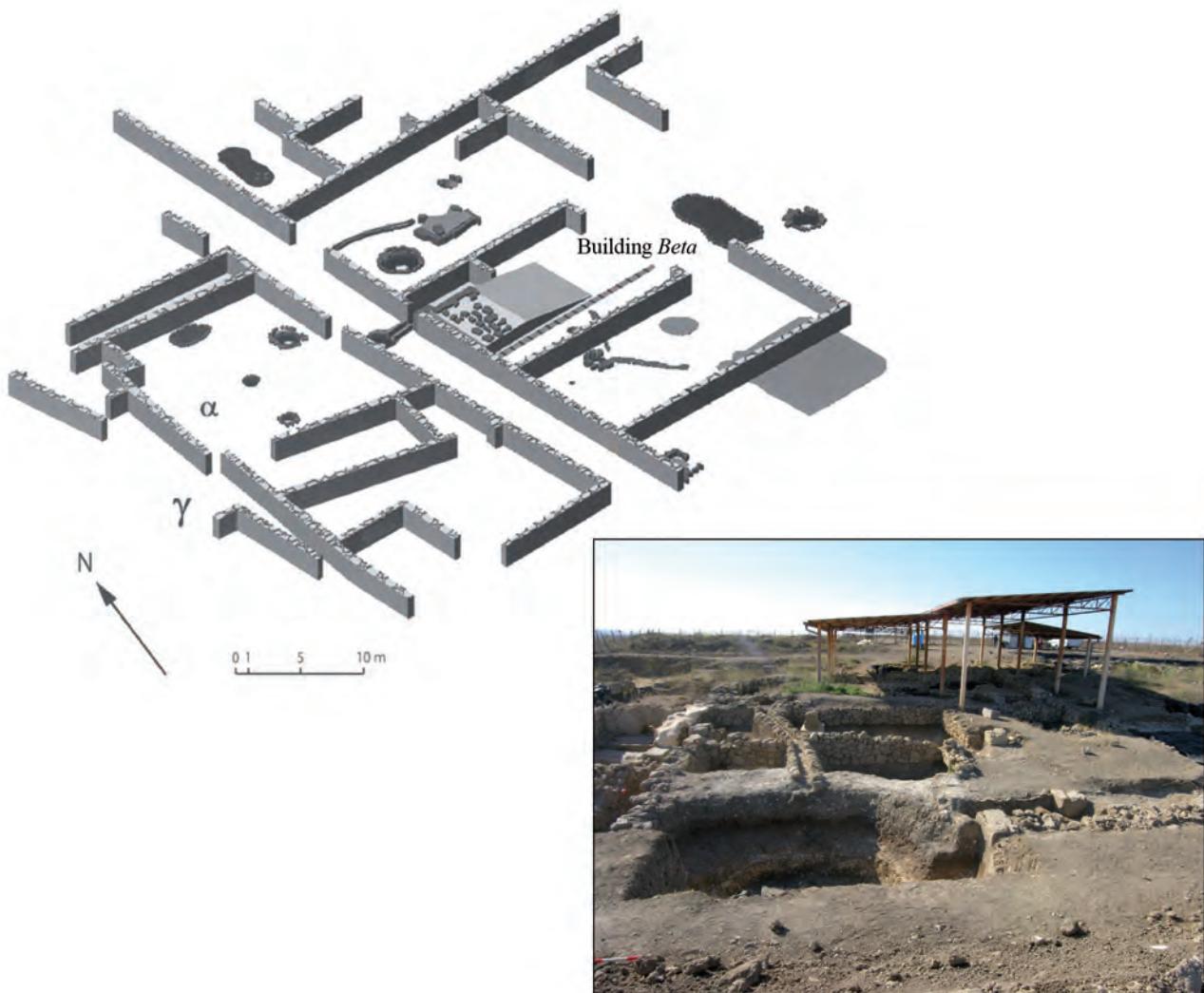


Fig. 5—Tarquinia, The “monumental complex”; reconstruction of the structures of the 6th century BC (after Bonghi Jovino 2010a: Fig. 3, modified) and view of the architectural remains (© Archivio di Etruscologia, Università degli Studi di Milano).

The so-called “southern areas” of the sanctuaries of Gravisca and Pyrgi are good examples of the Archaic period that display similarities with the contemporaneous features of the “monumental complex”. The aforementioned structures partition these areas horizontally, by means of their location, and vertically, by means of their subterranean architectonic features, highlighting relevant spots and related zones (Bagnasco Gianni 2012b).

Cultic spots marked by structures are visual reference points in both modest and monumental settings. In the case of the *Ara della Regina* sanctuary (Fig. 7), the probable cenotaph of Tarchon (Bonghi Jovino 2010a, 176) is undoubtedly the monumental rendering of a place of memory comparable to the two later stone chests of Adon (fourth and fifth phase) located in Gravisca’s southern area (§1). Together with the two *escharai* of the Northern Sanctuary, monumentalised with two altars (*d* and *e*), the stone chests (Gravisca and *Ara della Regina* sanctuary) display the same feature of having been assimilated into more recent structures, a process which sometimes involved raising the floor. In the case of the stone chest of the *Ara della Regina* sanctuary, its incorpora-

tion into Altar *a* is monumental: the visual system—brought about by its proportions, its south-west projection, and its different orientation with regard to the Temples—remains impressive today. The incorporation of previous structures also occurs in the “monumental complex”: walls made from stone blocks and conglomerations of coarse stones and earth were positioned over older Villanovian pits, areas where ovens or open-air fires were lit, and round or oval ash-altars. Such visible arrangements were used to mark spaces over time and to reflect the concepts of memory, authoritativeness and recognisability that were crucial for the survival of traditions in the majority of ancient communities (Bagnasco Gianni 2005; Bagnasco Gianni 2012a: 73–77).

Their striking presence also rules the surrounding space. In the “monumental complex”, two arrangements belonging to the first period of occupation mirror each other west and east of the natural cavity (Fig. 8). This visual axis crosses a second, which is oriented south-north, bridging the natural cavity and lying between the two areas corresponding to area *alpha* and *edificio beta* (Bagnasco Gianni 2012b). Something similar happens later in Gravisca’s southern area (480–400 BC),

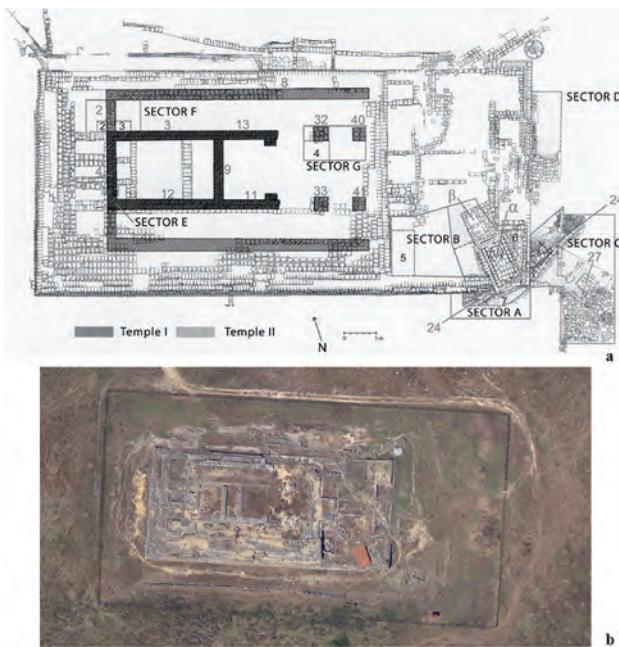


Fig. 6—Tarquinia, Ara della Regina sanctuary; (a) reconstruction of the structures of Temple I and Temple II (after Bonghi Jovino 2010a: Fig. 13); (b) LiDAR Digital Terrain Model (© Archivio di Etruscologia, Università degli Studi di Milano).

where M. Torelli has already suggested the possibility of a four-corner system in which the cultic practices revolving around the stone chest of Adon and the altars of Aphrodite, Demeter and Apollon—all with the same orientation—were virtually connected to one another (Fiorini 2005: 194).

The four quadrants, produced by the intersection of the two aforementioned visual axes with the natural cavity at the “monumental complex”, find a parallel with pottery markings known as *sigla*. These markings show a cross inscribed in a circle, and were present from the early Orientalising period onwards. These *sigla* also spread throughout the Italian peninsula during the same period, and they may match the principles of division, delimitation and orientation that are crucial to the *Etrusca Disciplina* (Bagnasco Gianni *et al.* 2015).

The aforementioned organisation of space—primarily visual and focused on relevant spots—deserves attention because of its potential effects on the circulation of visitors around the different premises. Paths were no longer visible, especially in open-air courtyards and gardens, so the presence of isolated walls opened the way for further interpretations beyond the signs employed to highlight former cultic spots. Such walls could also have been fences used to separate spaces belonging to different cultic areas or zones under the influence of numinous presences (Bagnasco Gianni 2012a).

A connection with the underworld through chthonic practices is revealed by the presence of vertical perforations in the ground, including wells, pits and underground structures. Chthonic pits have been identified at Gravisca, an example being the one by Altar  $\beta$  in the northern area, which belongs to the last phase. However, the most ancient evidence is the aforementioned natural cavity of the “monumental complex”, which was a central feature and focal point from the 10th century BC. The deposition of an exceptional child, in a

quadrangular area close to the cavity, was also bound to be crucial for the site (*area alpha*). Paleoanthropological analyses have revealed that the child in question was an albinistic, encephalopathic and epileptic boy of around eight years old, and that he was not sacrificed (Bonghi Jovino 2009a).

The arrangement at the beginning of the 7th century BC, with the bench/altar and the conduit of *edificio beta*, whose masonry was influenced by Eastern models, represents the reinforcement of the original setting around the cavity. Its monumentality during the 6th century, with the short but wide canal formed of stone slabs, confirms that it was used for chthonic purposes and also that it played a public role, together with the opposite courtyard (*area alpha*) (Bonghi Jovino 2010a, 168).

These structural interventions show the importance of the cavity associated with the deposition of the epileptic child. He might have been “understood by the community as a *prodigium*” like the legend of Tages, the wise child born old, who suddenly sprang from the very earth of the city and taught Tarchon (the heroic founder of Tarquinia) the principles of the Etruscan religion. By means of a process of symbiosis between perception and reality, he probably set up the invisible network of sacred gestures, behaviours and beliefs forming the *Etrusca Disciplina* in the 10th century BC (Bonghi Jovino 2009b), which coincides with the first archaeological evidence of the Etruscans.

A further important indicator is the chronological span of the series of sacrificed and unsacrificed individuals who were buried in crucial spots around the “monumental complex” over time.

Among them, the anthropological features of the skeleton of an adult man, buried deep in the bedrock of the area northeast of the cavity around the mid-8th century BC, suggest a seafarer accustomed to slippery surfaces. He was probably a Greek, based on the fabric of the shard found in connection with him, and was killed by a blow to the head (Bonghi Jovino 2009a: 785–87). The discovery of his remains opens up a discussion regarding the complex situation of contact and foreign presence at the site, which thus far has only been noted due to the funerary equipment of the necropolis of the “*Poggi orientali*” (Bagnasco Gianni 2008). In addition, the inscribed half stock of a stone anchor was found above his burial site in the Archaic levels. The inscription engraved on one of its sides is in Greek and is written with three Cypriot characters (Fig. 9). Its interpretation is uncertain, but it most probably requires the anchor to perform one of its well-known and crucial functions detailed in literary sources since the time of Alcaeus, *i.e.* to “rise up!” from the intermingled rocks and weeds of the seabed. The location of the stone block, which was placed above the seafarer roughly two centuries later, cannot be random because of the weight of the stone. It was probably placed there because of the significance of the cultic spot and the permanence of its memory in a Mediterranean setting, when Gravisca was at its apex as an emporic sanctuary (Bonghi Jovino 2015: 32–35; Bagnasco Gianni 2015: 21–24).

Given the exceptional framework of the “monumental complex”, whose limits and setting coincide with the very beginning of the history of Tarquinia and confirm its survival



Fig. 7—Tarquinia, Area della Regina. Base of the temple (photo Paolo VILA, CC-BY-SA 3.0).

over the centuries until Romanisation occurred, it is possible that multifaceted rituals and ceremonies took place there to reinforce the shared feelings of the community through “place attachment” (Hidalgo, Hernández 2001). The development of the site at the beginning of the 6th century BC, when the sanctuary of the *Ara della Regina* was built, probably marks a turning point in the perception of the topography of the city on the Civita Plateau, with a consequent balancing of the role of the two sacred areas.

## 2.2 Visible and Invisible Numinous Entities

The three Tarquinian sanctuaries yielded a number of divine figures that can be identified by means of archaeological indicators and epigraphic documentation. Certain similarities and differences are worth considering in summing up the chronological phases.

In the case of the “monumental complex”, the epileptic child associated with the cavity most likely evokes the aforementioned sacred story of Tages and his relationship with the heroic founder of Tarquinia, Tarchon, who is only later deciphered by means of reference to his ancestor Herakles: a gem with a hero chasing a lion (end of the 8th–beginning of the 7th century BC) and a slightly later inscription (first quarter of the 7th century BC) bearing a name that can only be reconstructed as a loan from the Greek *Kallinikos*, which defines Herakles in his apotheosis (Bagnasco Gianni 2017). In the same period, a *rex-sacerdos* (“priest-king”) dedicated *edificio beta* to coincide with the exceptional wealth and cos-

mopolitan attitude of Tarquinia. He was endowed with the secular and religious power embodied by the bronze group (axe, *lituus*, and shield), which finds an echo in the *pompa triumphalis* introduced by Tarquinius Priscus in Rome during the 7th century BC (Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 171).

The *rex-sacerdos* of the “monumental complex” seems to have taken advantage of Herakles’ prerogatives, including his relationship with *Epiur*, the boy with senile traits evoking Tages, depicted in an oracular fashion on a number of later Etruscan mirrors. Centuries later, at the beginning of the 6th century BC, the Tarquinian community dedicated its largest sanctuary, the *Ara della Regina*, to Tarchon. He was celebrated through his cenotaph, preserved in the symbolic features of Altar *a*, and the pediment of Temple III (beginning of the 4th century BC), which heralded the apotheosis of Tarchon’s ancestor, Herakles. The origins of the *Etrusca Disciplina* are evoked through the series Herakles–Tarchon–Tages by means of a virtual and topographical connection between the two sanctuaries (Bagnasco Gianni 2017).

In the case of Gravisca, and before their later epigraphic citations (§1), the presence of Aphrodite is revealed by the metal-working zone near the goddess’s *sacellum*, present from the very origins of the settlement, whereas Adon can be identified through coral offerings as early as the second phase (550–530 BC) (Fiorini, Torelli 2010, 29–33; 42–45). The concentration of Greek gods’ names is consistent with that of their Etruscan homologues, located in the different buildings occupying the middle ground of the *emporion* in the southern area. To accompany this plurality of recognisable gods,



Fig. 8—Tarquinia, “monumental complex”, the location of the natural cavity  
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mostly female figures, the northern area was monumentalised in honour of the Etruscan couple *Suri* and *Cavatha* (§1). In the “monumental complex”, meanwhile, the presence of an ancestral goddess—a “polysemic deity”—is revealed through different levels of anthropomorphisation. Her gifts, including the sacrifice of a turtle with a strong chthonic significance, show that she was influenced by multifaceted contact with Mediterranean goddesses such as *Uni*–*Ilizia*–*Ishtar*, as documented in the sanctuary at Pyrgi, where she is supported by the presence of Herakles. It was probably as a result of these similarities that the *edificio beta* was dedicated to her by the *rex-sacerdos* (Bonghi Jovino 2010b: 8–9 and 12).

Shortly after, the goddess appears as *Uni*, evidenced by the inscription *mi uni*, which dates from the end of the 7th century BC. She continued to safeguard this crucial site, where multiple hints refer to the principles of the *Etrusca Disciplina*: the recent discovery of the inscription *xiiati* on an *impasto* jar (6th–5th century BC)—meaning “related to *Xia*”, “*Xia* mother”, or “*Xia* and a goddess ‘Mother’”—indicates her chthonic side, which had already been noted at *Caere* (Cerveteri) and Pyrgi (Bagnasco Gianni 2014a).

The chronology of the inscription referring to *Uni* is also relevant when approaching the general historical scenario of Tarquinia’s territory between the 7th and 6th centuries BC. In fact, the first inscription bearing the name *Uni*, found in Gravisca’s southern area, dates from two centuries later than the Greek inscriptions quoting Hera, whose cult was probably introduced by Samian attendants during the second phase (550–530 BC) and was carried out in the *sacellum* adjacent to the more ancient one dedicated to Aphrodite (Torelli 2016: 14). According to M. Torelli, this pair of *sacella* helps us to assess the dual nature of Hera as matron and virgin, which was in line with the religious adaptations of the time in Achaean colonies, in the Laconian cult of Hera, and at the Heraion of Samos (M. Torelli, in Fiorini, Torelli 2010: 43; Bonghi Jovino 2010b: 13). These elements support our understanding of the inscription *mi Uni* found in the “monumental complex”, since *Uni* merges with Aphrodite, to whom the *emporion* of Gravisca was essentially devoted from the very beginning (§1). This framework also matches the turning point in the timeline of contact with the Greek world, as shown by the details of pottery shapes and sets, which were influenced by the equipment used in sanctuaries devoted to the great East Greek goddess (Bagnasco Gianni 2007). She had previously been introduced in Tarquinia by means of the Cypriot con-



Fig. 9—Tarquinia, “monumental complex”, the inscribed anchor stock (from Un’ancora sul Pianoro 2010: 49, Fig. 1).

cept of Ishtar/Aphrodite and was later followed, as already mentioned, by Hera (Torelli 2016: 15; G. Bagnasco Gianni, in Bagnasco Gianni et al. 2016: 40–41). The dynamics of her surfacing reveal how a great goddess takes shape: the deity starts as a natural force and is enriched over time with new features, partly thanks to contact with other Mediterranean populations.

Her territory ranges from the sea to the great city further inland. It corresponds to an invisible, virtual and sacred space of interlocution between the landowners and the newcomers escaping from the Greek coasts of the Near East. This goddess guaranteed the beginnings of the whole story of the relationship between the city and the emporic sanctuary, which was firmly controlled by the Etruscans during the 6th century BC and subsequently left to decay after the Etruscan defeats in the first half of the 5th century BC (§1).

Alongside this great, multifaceted goddess, however, there are a consistent number of divine entities who can help us to decipher the historical and political meaning of the site’s ever-changing structural layout, since it is possible to highlight alternating levels of focus towards different spots where devotees gathered. For example, the anchor stocks, which had been used as cippi and disseminated throughout the sanctuary during its previous phases, were later reused and concentrated around the precinct of Apollon in the southern part of the emporic sanctuary at the end of the 4th century BC. They show that something had changed in the relationship with the sea: at that point, the anchor stocks preserved the memory of the site’s original emporic function, while the focus shifted to the salvific and chthonic value of Apollon.

This situation mirrors that of the city's two sanctuaries, the "monumental complex" and the Ara della Regina, during the Archaic phase when the repertoire of vessels dating from the Archaic period were created. It is worth noting that such a repertoire is a clear sign of the presence of newly arrived artisans, whose influence can be seen in the choice of shape and the band decoration of the depurated wares used in ritual practices at the time. In addition, only *area alpha* of the "monumental complex" yielded Ionian cups; a small number compared to the considerable amount found in the emporic sanctuary (Bagnasco Gianni 2007). At the same time, the necropolis was part of the same cultural climate, as shown by the most ancient painted tombs such as the Tomb of the Panthers, in terms of both its architectural and its pictorial features (end of the 7th-beginning of the 6th century BC) (Marzullo 2016, chapter 2.5).

However, the interconnected relationship of the city and the sea was well-established over time, as shown by a number of indicators such as early contact with the Aegean-Anatolian area (probably from the 9th century BC) (G. Bagnasco Gianni, in Bagnasco Gianni et al. 2016: 37–38 and 41–43), the deposition of the seafarer, the masonry of *edificio beta*, and the acceptance of the symbols of power depicted by the constellation of the aforementioned bronzes.

On the one hand, such evidence helps to highlight the quality and quantity of the relationship between the city and its sanctuary, open to the sea. On the other hand, it reveals the area's power and ability to select external inputs and innovate, in line with the requirements of religious tradition.

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# Rethinking *Pithecoussai*. Current Perspectives and Issues<sup>1</sup>

Arianna ESPOSITO

The mixed site on the island of Ischia, in the bay of Naples (Fig. 1), is one of the keys to understanding the precolonial historical period, including Phoenician and Greek movements (Domínguez 2007: 132–145).

The chronology adopted by specialists places the first establishment in the course of the first half of the 8th century BC, after a phase of occasional visits characterised by the presence of some *skyphoi* with *chevron* decoration (Fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> Strabo (5.4.9) indicates that it was founded by the Chalkidians and Eretrians, and that the island was rich both in products of the land and in goldsmithing.<sup>3</sup> Livy (8.22.5–6) reports that the inhabitants of Chalcis, before founding Cumae on the Tyrrhenian coast, settled on the island of *Pithecoussai*. The question of the status of *Pithecoussai* is indeed inseparable from the discussion of its relationships with its neighbour Cumae and the chronology of the two settlements. Recent discoveries have led to a revision—at least partially—of traditional understanding, by asking new questions and pointing out new ways of interpretation. More than for other sites, writing the story of *Pithecoussai* is a real challenge. The settlement has, indeed, been diversely qualified and dated. Current research has often found itself confronted with this problem, providing varied, and sometimes contradictory to it, answers which are still subject to debate today. Thus, there are few sites whose historiography is so rich and controversial. The study highlights the current challenges of writing colonial history and gives us a glimpse into the viewpoints in this field of research.

For this article, the starting point was therefore the historiographic problem posed by this settlement. Its renewal raises questions about the use of our theoretical concepts and their application in the field of archaeology. We can then reconsider the operational logic of *Pithecoussai*. Is this a unique experiment, or is it a specific variation of a more general form of organisation, examples of which can be found



Fig. 1—Map with the location of *Pithecoussai* and the main settlements mentioned in the text.



Fig. 2—Chevron *skyphos* from *Pithecoussai* (after Ridgway 1981: Fig. 1). Scale: 1:5.

1. In addition to the editors of this book, my thanks go to L. Cerchiai, M. D'Acunto and F. Mermati. Their expertise has given valuable support to this research and has enhanced its scope.  
2. For a review, see GUZZO 2016a: 14–16 and 2016b: 154; NIZZO 2007 and 2016.  
3. For a summary of the sources, GUZZO 2016a; D'ACUNTO 2017.

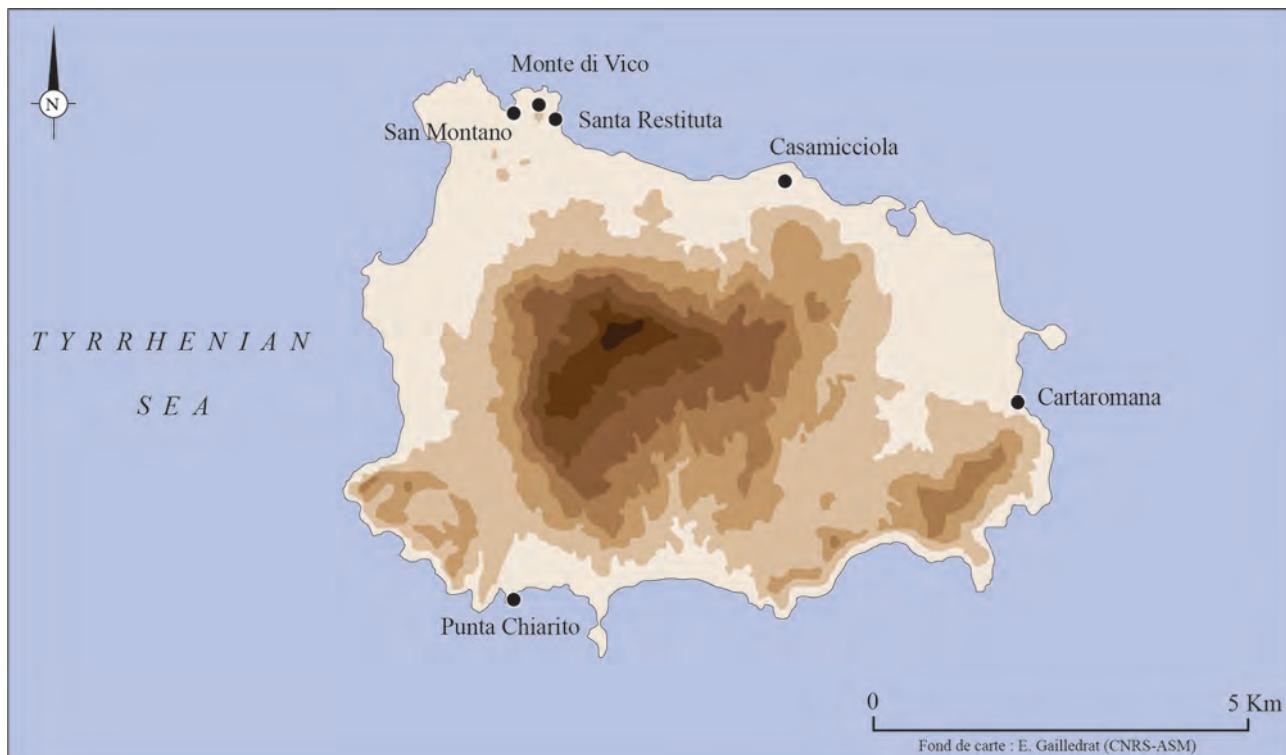


Fig. 3—The island of *Pithecoussai* (Ischia). Location of the main sites (© E. GAILLEDRAT).

in other parts of the Mediterranean world? Is there anything specific about the “precolonial” period?<sup>4</sup>

Asking questions about *Pithecoussai* thus raises fundamental topics, from the most traditional ones to those which, over the last thirty years, have been asked in the scientific literature and even led to an important reorientation of our approaches, mainly because of postcolonial research (middle ground, ethnicity, hybridisation, Mediterranean connectivity).<sup>5</sup>

## 1 Why Take an Interest in *Pithecoussai*?

About thirty years ago, M. Gras rightly asserted that “History does not begin at *Pithecoussai*” (Gras 1985: 706). The Greek presence in Campania reinforced trade—of objects, techniques and practices—with the indigenous communities, but these were already set within the circulation of people and goods around the Mediterranean (D’Agostino, Gastaldi 2016; Guzzo 2016b).

In a quarter of a century, the archaeological investigation on *Pithecoussai* has, from this point of view, taken on a major importance. In fact, prior to the arrival of the Greeks, the indigenous communities of the Iron Age were organised on the basis of a complex system of occupation which went beyond simple subsistence and they were able to become partners in the Tyrrhenian maritime trade circuit (Bailo Modesti, Gastaldi 1999). The indigenous component was subsequently involved in the distribution of Greek ceramics, which were at least

partly produced in *Pithecoussai*, in the Etruscan settlements of Pontecagnano, Veii, Cerveteri, etc. (Esposito 2010).

In this regard, an indication of both the large capacity to control and the early maritime projection of these communities is provided by the Villanovan ceramics found at Cumae on the coast and at Castiglione di Casamicciola on the island of Ischia (Fig. 3). This presence must be interpreted either as the result of trade relationships or as the consequence of real mobility phenomena (Cerchiai 2017). Again, in this regard, the many testimonies of pendent semicircle *skyphoi* (six examples) and *chevron skyphoi* (much more numerous) found in Pontecagnano illustrate this settlement’s role as a port of call for the southern Tyrrhenian region. The Capua site undoubtedly represents another centre of this network involving the Euboeans (Greco et al. 2010: 205–207; Pellegrino 2013: 34–36).

Excavations have also revealed the presence of Easterners somewhat integrated into the Greek population.<sup>6</sup> On the whole, the data thus seem to support the hypothesis that, at the time of the rise of *Pithecoussai*, individuals of eastern origin, probably from different cultural backgrounds (Jannelli 1999: 309),<sup>7</sup> both from the northern Syrian Aramaic-speaking region and from Phoenician settlements (including Carthage, Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula), lived there together.

4. On the concept of precolonial, see ESPOSITO 2012 with bibliography.

5. On these concepts, see the assessment proposed by ÉTIENNE 2010 and 2016. See DEMETRIOU 2012, chapter I.

6. A site “sous contrôle eubéen, mais fréquenté conjointement par des Grecs et des Orientaux” (SOURISSEAU 2012: 187). For a critical analysis of the debate on the presence of Easterners in *Pithecoussai*, see CARAFA 2008.

7. According to the funeral data, the hypotheses put forward point to individuals from northern Syria, Rhodes, Carthage or to Phoenicians *sensu lato* (DOCTER 2000). These would be Phoenicians on the margins of Phoenician areas, including the centres of the West.

The discoveries of the last three decades show us that *Pithecoussai* was a tessera in a Mediterranean mosaic. This is far from an isolated case and its history is strongly intertwined with those of other communities, often mixed. Above all, today there is a formal reinterpretation of the presence of indigenous, Etruscan or Phoenician objects in the assemblages of the Pithekoussan necropolis. Whilst these objects had previously been understood as fundamental clues to the emporic nature of the island, today their presence is instead explained in the light of the mobility of men and objects within the mixed communities, characterised by phenomena of integration and cohesion. This understanding is important concerning the historiography of *Pithecoussai*: in writing an ancient history which tends to globalise, and in the face of a disintegrating colonial historiographical legacy, the role and the archaeological perception of *Pithecoussai* have also been revised.<sup>8</sup>

### 1.1 Change of Scale: Links and Interactions of an “Embedded History”<sup>9</sup>

*Pithecoussai* was indeed one of the centres which were an important meeting point between individuals from different backgrounds. Because of its geographical position in the heart of the Mediterranean, it was an ideal crossroad between western and eastern routes. This “border” position made *Pithecoussai* the ideal candidate for playing the role of an intercultural trade hub (Sourisseau 2012: 187). The same applies to other sites: in Sardinia, for example, at Sulcis or in the village of Sant’Imbenia, in the bay of Porto Conte, north of Alghero (Rendeli 2005), and in western Andalusia, in the city of Huelva (González de Canales *et al.* 2004). The discoveries made at these sites considerably changed our perception of mobility in the central and western Mediterranean. Greeks (Euboeans) and Phoenicians have obviously shared roads, ports of call, circuits for the acquisition and exchange of resources, of artisan experience and cohabitation: a commercial agreement which various studies have already brought to light in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>10</sup>

It is in this open context that the sporadic presence and then the stable settlement of Greeks in the Gulf of Naples took place. According to some researchers, *Pithecoussai* may even have been founded by the cooperation between Greeks and Phoenicians. Although this hypothesis appears questionable, it is nevertheless certain that the Levantine presence was fully integrated into the *Pithecoussai* community. Cohabitation then led to the development of hybrid practices, mixed unions, the borrowing of objects. One might wonder whether, following M. Rendeli, there were some forms of knowledge sharing, specific to a first “experimental phase” during this period when the nature of the settlements was still very fluid (Rendeli 2005: 104–106).

Finally, to define the role of *Pithecoussai*, we must take a step back and observe the whole, go beyond the artificial division between the West and East, between history and archaeology.

8. See in this regard the re-reading proposed by DONNELAN 2016.

9. According to the expression used by GRAS 2002.

10. KOUROU 2012: 173 s., with bibliography.

For *Pithecoussai* constantly makes it necessary to move between microhistory and macrohistory, swinging between a wider view (Greek colonisation, Phoenician expansion, the existence of mixed trading posts, etc.), and narrower views (the spread in Italian peninsula of Greek and eastern wine consumption practices, artisan techniques, etc.). Microhistory and macrohistory reciprocally shed light on each other, revealing an overall vision which cannot but alter our perception of *Pithecoussai*.

### 1.2 *Pithecoussai* in Question

Although the Campanian settlement has been at the centre of many historical issues since its discovery, its status remains a controversial subject. The debate continues to this day, as evidenced by the abundant scientific literature. A privileged place of cultural diversity, the questioning of the site triggered a rethinking of our own historical definitions: *emporion* or *apoikia*? And of what kind?

The very concept of the *emporion* is in general too complex to define (Rouillard 1995 and 2000: 263–265; Jannelli 1999: 311–312; Domínguez 2010; Demetriou 2012). The distinction between *emporion* and *apoikia* is conventionally established on the basis of a founder’s existence for the latter being confirmed by the sources. For an *emporion*, there was no *oikistes* or foundation myth. Furthermore, scientific literature has established a functional distinction: *apoikia* being a *polis* mainly dedicated to agriculture, and an *emporion* being a commercial installation which is not structured in the same way as a *polis*. Can we, however, stick to this bipolarisation?

It is obviously not possible to group all cases according to this pattern. As E. Greco points out, indeed, even assuming that:

alcune attività economiche avranno col tempo costituito una struttura certamente più incidente delle altre, non trovo corretto parlare di città emporiche da contrapporre a quelle che non lo sarebbero, ma più aderente parlare dello spazio, della funzione, della specializzazione dell’*emporía* che è consustanziale all’idea stessa di *polis*, non può prescindere da essa, così come la *chora* è impensabile senza la città e viceversa; insomma, l’autarcheia è solo un mito.

(E. Greco 1995: 91)

The analysis of E. Greco touches on several crucial aspects. The question then seems to arise in a different way: it is a matter of considering the relationship between a community, with a certain demographic weight, and the capacities of a given territory.

### 1.3 At the Dawn of Magna Graecia and... the *Polis*

Our vocabulary is often inadequate for describing the polymorphic and heterogeneous nature of precolonial settlements. About forty years ago, *Pithecoussai* was perceived as an *emporion*. However, nuances very quickly became evident.

D. Ridgway highlighted the ambiguity of the site (Ridgway 1984: 121–124). While some parties were in favour of an *emporion* (mixed population, absence of an *oikistes* mentioned by the sources, not self-sufficient in food production, vocation to *emporie*), others were more in favour of an *apoikia* (urban organisation, including possible specialised neighbourhoods, social stratification discernible in the necropolis). In short,

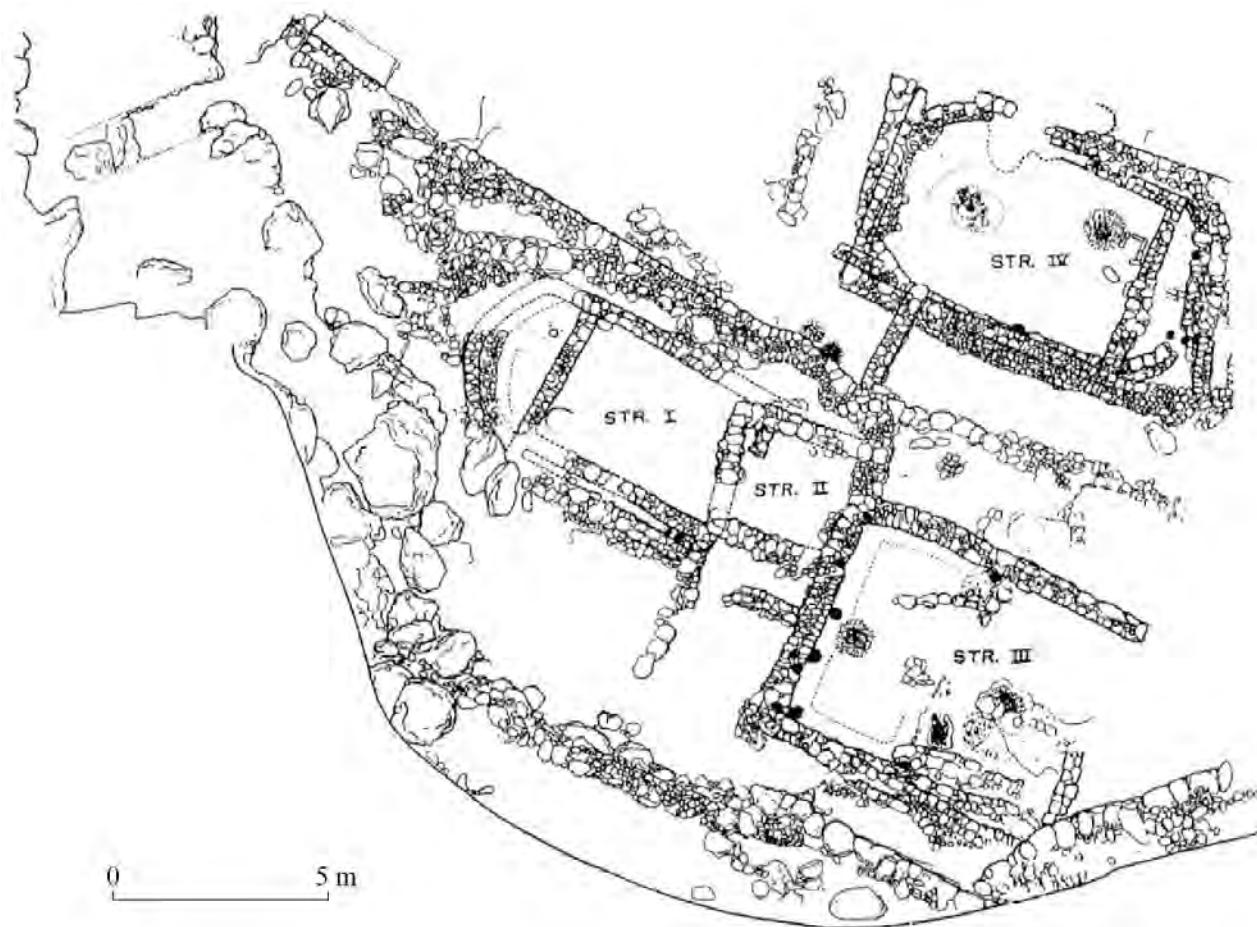


Fig. 4—Pithecoussai. Site of Mezzavia / Mazzola (after Buchner 1971: 5, Fig. 5).

being not strictly speaking an *emporion*, but also not meeting the requirements for being a true *apoikia*, *Pithecoussai* remained an “anomaly” (Mele 2003). In fact, the emporic nature of the Pithekoussan settlement is today largely questioned, based on archaeological information showing both the intensive occupation of the island and the convergence of disparate activities: agricultural, artisanal and commercial (Mele 2014). *Pithecoussai* displays the specific aspects of a stable settlement: a precise territorial and economic organisation and a minimum population, at the turn of the 7th century BC, of between 4000 and 5000 inhabitants (Morris 1996: 57 and 1987: 166), data incompatible with a strictly commercial and artisanal nature.

These very points have been subject to intense debate. E. Greco was among the first to raise the question: should *Pithecoussai* be classified as an *emporion* or as a true colonial foundation? Although Cumae was seen as a real *apoikia*, the complex nature of *Pithecoussai* and its purpose of production and trade did not allow the ancient authors to place the two settlements on the same level. E. Greco, on the other hand, immediately stressed its particular physiognomy: it was not simply a temporary port of call but a consistently occupied settlement. His conclusions then pointed to another fundamental question, the organisation of the settlement:

In sostanza mi pare che debba la sua specificità al fatto di essere forse il più antico insediamento coloniale greco di tutto l’Occidente, in un’epoca nella quale la stessa *polis* della madrepatria,

specialmente in termini di evidenza topografica e monumentale, è un’entità in formazione.

(E. Greco 1994: 17)

An anchoring point for the understanding of the phenomenon of *polis* in gestation, the definition of *Pithecoussai* is then confused with the wider problem of the historical processes which gave birth to the Greek city (Ridgway 1981: 56).

Certainly, the birth of the Greek city is not a phenomenon which can be re-established in any given moment. It was rather a gradual transformation of Greek society, which took place over a long period (E. Greco 2012 and 2014): from the fall of the Mycenaean palaces to the rise of the aristocratic communities which were the origin of the first forms of political aggregation definable as a *polis*. This was a cultural, social, institutional and economic process which led to the creation of a community, the *polis*, whose citizens, as has been so eloquently said, were “shareholders” (Ampolo 1996). Nevertheless, Euboean mobility played a predominant role in the phase chronologically preceding the first historical foundations, and also in the structuring of the political communities. Without entering into a very complex debate, one cannot ignore the link between the emergence of the *polis* and the beginning of colonisation in the West. In this scenario, metal working, in particular, seems to have played a major role. A. Mazarakis Ainian has formally highlighted the similarities with the site at *Graia* (*Oropos*) and the organisation of the settlement and



Fig. 5—Monte di Vico (Lacco Ameno, Ischia) (Photo R. de MARTINO, Public Domain).

metal working activities at Mazzola-Mezzavia on Ischia (Fig. 4), whose abandonment at the beginning of the 7th century BC was connected with the crisis of the settlement of *Pithecoussai* (Mazarakis Ainian 2006–2007). On the other hand, recent excavations in the northern sector of Cumae have revealed traces of specialised metal working activity, dating between the end of the 8th century and the second half of the 6th century BC. Is this evidence of a transfer of artisans from *Pithecoussai* to Cumae? The results question the former perception, in which Cumae would have had an essentially agricultural purpose as opposed to the artisan nature of *Pithecoussai*. Strict comparisons with Oropos (in the borderline between Attica and Boeotia, but under the direct influence of the Euboeans) now provide an argument for seeing metal working as a determining factor in the active role of Euboea in the proto-archaic and archaic periods (D'Acunto 2017: 301–307).

## 2 From Theoretical Positions to Historical Reconstruction

From the beginning, the Euboeans occupied the entire island. *Pithecoussai* was organised around a promontory, Monte di Vico, on the seafront (Fig. 5), with its necropolis further down the small valley and its hut-workshops, similar to those

of the site of Skala Oropou (E. Greco 2012: 60). The island was occupied by farms which exploited the agricultural resources.

An important shift was brought about by the discovery of the farm of Punta Chiarito (De Caro, Gialanella 1998) (Fig. 6) whose material remnants indicate multiple activities: hunting, fishing, rearing livestock, agriculture, stone and bone and perhaps copper working as well. The pioneering research of G. Buchner has long since shown that the island was an important centre for highly specialised *technai* (Rendeli 2005: 107). More recent research has helped to complement and refine these analyses (Nizzo, ten Kortenaar 2010). Thus, we are now able to reconsider certain facts and phenomena on the basis of these new data and perspectives of research: the answers have much more nuanced outlines.

### 2.1 Approaching *Pithecoussai* from a Mediterranean Perspective

The creation of the Greek settlement at Lacco Ameno, as S. De Caro has shown, was accompanied by the taking of the island of Ischia, with dwelling units located all along its perimeter. The community was organised in such a way as to be independent from its initial phase, by developing different specialisations: agriculture, craftsmanship and fishing (Jannelli 1999: 310–311). The inhabitants quickly produced their own ceramics, provided for steelmaking facilities and



Fig. 6—Pithecoussai. Site of Punta Chiarito (after De Caro, Gialanella 1998: Fig. 2).

constructed their houses, which were similar in form and technique to those of the metropolis and different from indigenous ones (G. Greco 2014: 68–71).

The question of the agricultural capacity of the island occupies a predominant place in the archaeological literature on *Pithecoussai*. B. d'Agostino uses the notion of *phytalie* to explain its functioning, *i.e.* a form of agriculture which was open to trade (D'Agostino 2011: 39 and 47). The research on Pithekoussan amphorae and their distribution, carried out by J.Ch. Sourisseau (Sourisseau 2011 and 2012), provides important elements for reflection. Pithekoussan amphorae remain rather rare. This indicates a weak capacity to produce surpluses. However, the distribution map of Pithekoussan amphorae from the date of their appearance (in the second half of the 8th century BC), is more or less comparable with that of oriental-type amphorae, produced mainly in the West, mostly in Sardinia. The distribution pattern forms a triangle whose corners are located to the south at Carthage and in the region of Milazzo, and to the north at San Rocchino on the Ligurian coast passing through Latium. With the emergence in the first half of the 8th century BC of surplus agricultural production in western Phoenician settlements, especially in Carthage, probably in Mozia or Cadiz, but also in the communities of Sardinia and *Pithecoussai*, these new staging posts and activity centres gradually reorganised the western part of a network orientated towards both the redistribution of eastern objects and the dissemination of agricultural products in amphorae. From the third or even the last quarter of the 8th century BC,

Cartagine, Pithecusa e le colonie fenicie della Sardegna meridionale sono le artefici del potenziamento della rotta che dal basso Tirreno, attraverso gli scali della Sardegna centro-settentrionale e delle Baleari, raggiungeva la Penisola Iberica.

(Botto 2002: 238–239)

According to M. Gras (Gras 2002: 189–190) and P.G. Guzzo (Guzzo 2016a: 41–42), the evidence from the necropolis of Villasmundo di Marcellino in Sicily, about eight kilometres as the crow flies from *Megara Hyblaea*, are part of this same scenario. They are explained in the light of the relationships

between the Chalkidian, Tyrrhenian (*Pithecoussai*) and Siceliot worlds and the Phoenician world of northern Africa (Carthage).

The activity of *Pithecoussai*, at least in its earliest phase and probably also in the first half of the 7th century, is related to this configuration. During this period, in the first half of the 8th century which saw the permanent settling of the Phoenicians in Utica, Carthage and Cadiz, and of the Euboeans in *Pithecoussai* and elsewhere in the central Mediterranean (Bernardini 2016), there was a “westernisation” of trade. New products appeared, from then on, more numerous and regular. They were mainly of western origin (Sourisseau 2012: 189, 191–192). The very recent discovery of a wreck along the coasts of Malta, dating from the 7th century BC, is a perfect illustration of this (Drap *et al.* 2015). This very well-preserved ship, probably the oldest known in the western Mediterranean, was carrying commercial containers. The first observations show a composite load combining liquid products (wine, oil?) from the Gulf of Naples, Carthage, perhaps from Sardinia and Western Sicily and a large batch of millstones. With its mixed cargo, it offers an insight into the nature of commercial networks in the central Mediterranean during the Early Archaic period by combining Tyrrhenian products (Sardinia, Latium, *Pithecoussai*) and Phoenician products from the West (Carthage, Malta, Mozia).

That *Pithecoussai* could produce enough wine for it to be exported in locally produced amphorae seems quite likely (Coldstream 1998: 304), given the nature of the land, still cultivated today in much the same way. This data can also be linked to the tradition of *eukarpia* on the island, as related by the literary tradition. However, the relative share of the distributed products appears rather limited.

In assessing the items supporting the *eutychia* of the *Pithecoussai* community, A. Mele (2014) showed that wine was one of the goods which circulated in the southern Tyrrhenian region. On this point, archaeobotanical research provides increasingly decisive confirmations, whilst the distribution of Pithekoussan ceramics makes it possible to broaden the context for the adoption of Euboean drinking vessels.

The Euboean ceramics present at *Pithecoussai* and other coastal sites in central Italy, or at Pontecagnano, are also visible in Carthage, which is rapidly emerging as one of the main intermediaries of the Greek communities of Campania. Here the particular object is a drinking cup, *kotyle* or *skyphos*: was it from Phlegraean production or, on the contrary, from local production? Was the potter of Euboean origin? Even if the attribution to a Phlegraean workshop has been questioned (Docter 2014), the local nature of the clay is not enough to exclude the know-how of a Euboean artisan (Domínguez 2007: 148; G. Greco 2014: 74–76). The work of Euboean potters producing in Carthage for local Greek clientele remains plausible (Gras *et al.* 1995: 283).<sup>11</sup> Thus, even assuming that the intensity of trade must be rescaled by limiting the flow of Pithekoussan exports to the North African metropolis, it seems in any case that in the 8th century BC the Euboean route may be seen to have gone from the Aegean to *Pithecoussai* and the other Italian coasts, and from there to Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, Tartessos and Huelva in Spain, also encompassing Carthage

11. For the hypothesis of a local Euboean artisan on the site, perhaps a member of a mixed family.

(Botto 2008: 168–169). As M. Gras has shown, the Euboean presence was much stronger in the region of Tunis than the ceramics at first appear to indicate. It is probable that a series of small Greek settlements existed on these coasts, of which the “other” *Pithecoussai* (Gras 1992).

## 2.2 Approaching *Pithecoussai* from a Campanian Perspective

Before the creation of the settlement at *Pithecoussai*, traces of relationships between the Euboeans and the proto-Etruscan sites of Capua, Salerno and *Veii* can be established by the objects integrated into ceremonial practices of *don* and *contre-don* with the elites of the Tyrrhenian sea. These objects undoubtedly indicate the early interest of the Euboeans in this region of the Mediterranean. The nature of these contacts and of the relationships which ensued must certainly have changed following the Euboean settlement of Ischia (D’Agostino 1999; Guzzo 2016a and 2016b). The material culture and especially the ceramics make it possible to understand these changes. What was the nature of this trade and how did it evolve? It is well known that trade was also influenced by the functioning of indigenous societies and by the tastes of the clientele. What effects did this trade have on the changing of relationships with indigenous communities?

In fact, between the middle of the 8th century and up until around 725 BC, the Greek objects appearing among the indigenous assemblages do not seem to have modified the normal ritual and ceremonial activities. They are mainly *oinochoai* and drinking cups which replace similar forms from the local repertoire. They were also reproduced locally, more or less faithfully. These ceramics did not bring new practices, they rather covered traditional functions (Mermati 2014). This is the case in particular for a few original containers, such as the *olla* of Tomb 928 of San Marzano sul Sarno (Fig. 7), Tombs 3892 (Fig. 8) and 7765 from Pontecagnano, of the *tofet* from Sant’Antioco, and the *lekythos a botticella* of Tomb 984 of *Pithecoussai*. These are examples of *unica*, that is, inventions in the earliest phase of contact, when the respective powers and identities are still being negotiated (Greco, Mermati 2006; Mermati 2013 and 2014: 576; G. Greco 2014: 79–80). The reciprocal exchange of objects does not rely solely on economic mechanisms, although of course it facilitates them, but it acts primarily as a social incorporator, a unifier of mutual respect.

But the situation progressively changes by the end of the 8th century BC, probably in connection with the consolidation of Cumae on the coast. Kraters and tripod bowls or footed bowls now compose, with the shallow bowls and the *oinochoai*, a very specific set of ceramics related to the practice of drinking wine. Real, ostentatious markers of wealth and, therefore, of social distinction, these objects no longer simply shed light on trade, but they illustrate the spread of new practices, the adherence of indigenous communities to a new exotic lifestyle.

*Pithecoussai* initiated an early, important relationship of interaction with hinterland communities. The rapid acceleration of demand led to a leap in quality of production and in commercial relationships, as is proved by the abundant quantities of ceramics produced in *Pithecoussai* as at Cumae

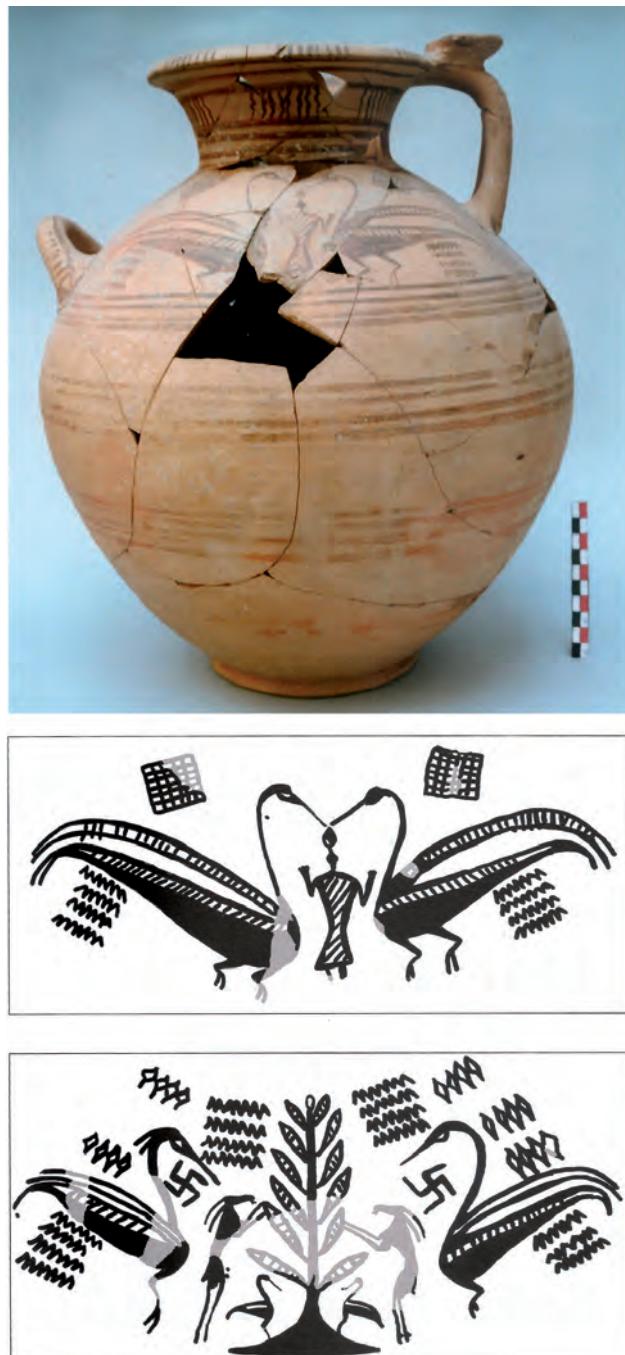


Fig. 7—Olla-hydrus from grave 928 of San Marzano sul Sarno : face A and drawing of the painted decoration (after Mermati 2013: Fig. 15 and Greco 2014: Fig. 17).

and found in the communities of the Sarno Valley. This interaction, in relation to and with the consent of indigenous societies, was also based on the *techne* of the Euboeans: the know-how of artisans, potters and metalworkers was a real exchange value. In this regard, it is very significant that in the Campania hinterland and in Latium, it was not only the most common products which circulated, but also well-defined series of objects, sometimes attributed to a particular workshop or artisan. For example, the “Ischia-Cumae-Tarquinia” *oinochoai* are, in particular, attested far from their place of production, in Pontecagnano and especially in Latium, *Caere*



Fig. 8—*Olla* from grave 3892 of Pontecagnano (after Bailo Modesti, Gastaldi 1999: Fig. 19) (scale 1:3).

and Tarquinia, where similar production took place based on Phlegraean models.

Much more than just the circulation of objects, these movements, entangled in material exchanges and cultural influences, often had to involve the displacement of men, which obviously remains the most difficult to reconstruct. Moreover, the very special nature of certain objects presupposes an active involvement of the clientele at the time the object was created. This is probably the case for the famous *ollai*, created in the style of the Cesnola Painter (Fig. 7 and 8): original products which were probably the result of a specific commission. This demonstrates the profound and prolonged nature of the contact. Is it the work of a Pithekoussan artisan or of an indigenous potter trained in Greek workshops?

While it is probable that at least a great part of the dietary needs of *Pithecoussai* would have been covered by the produce of a territory which comprised most of the island (10–20 km<sup>2</sup> of arable area) (De Caro 1994: 40), it is in any case through this trade that the Italic communities of the Tyrrhenian coast provided cereal resources to meet the needs of the inhabitants. This started a development of the settlement which goes beyond that of a simple *emporion*. *Pithecoussai* thus presents the characters of a real *polis*—if it was not already a city, it was at least a nascent one (Zurbach 2017: 601)—which was organised according to the specific patterns of the emporial model. This is a configuration which can be explained in light

of the Euboean community's organisation of the island: it complemented the agricultural activity with craftsmanship and commerce and shows a certain degree of integration of indigenous individuals (D'Agostino 2011).

### 2.3 Approaching *Pithecoussai* From an Internal Perspective: Italics in *Pithecoussai*

Recent research on funerary data has increasingly emphasised the presence of Italic individuals living alongside the Greek colonists and integrated at different sociopolitical levels into the Pithekoussan community. Demographic analysis, in particular, reveals that the Pithekoussan community did not adopt any particular forms of funerary discrimination in terms of the sex, age, status and perhaps even ethnic origin; the deceased was entitled to a formal burial. This resulted in particularly interesting forms of integration and hybridisation (Nizzo 2007). The presence of Italic women must surely have been considerable. In some cases, they reached important sociopolitical positions. However, men were also more or less integrated into the community. For lack of space, I shall not return to the question of the ethnic origins of the Pithekoussan women, a subject I have already tackled elsewhere (Esposito, Zurbach 2010). I would instead like to dwell briefly on the presence of individuals originating from the Italian Peninsula in *Pithecoussai*.

This question was raised by B. d'Agostino, then by L. Cerchiai, based mainly on tombs containing working tools. L. Cerchiai, in particular, tried to describe the processes of cohesion and aggregation within the Pithekoussan community by associating the data relating to the presence of *impasto* ceramics, spindles and tools with the nature of the ritual and the position of tombs (Cerchiai 1999). In this way, he deduced the existence of marginal areas outside those of the family plots of the cremated, characterised by inhumation graves with anomalies in their assemblages or in their placement which could be signs of cultural resistance which was not, however, socially competitive; a subordinate element certainly, but nevertheless having the right to formal burial.

Amongst these tombs is the famous Tomb 678, known as the “Carpenter's tomb” (Buchner, Ridgway 1993: 657–660; Cerchiai 1999: 669; Nizzo 2007: 31, No. 109 and 110), in which the burial was accompanied by a complete set of woodworking tools. The deceased might have been a member of the elite originating from Southern Italy, an individual of Oenotrian origin (D'Agostino 1999: 60). The presence of tools here illustrates the desire to represent work activity inside the funerary space, according to measures well illustrated by C. Iaia (Iaia 2006). The association of artisan tools has parallels in several indigenous sites of Southern Italy. The ostentatious presence of work tools in funeral assemblages points to a highly positive definition of the social status of the deceased. It implies a view of work as an ennobling activity, according to an idea foreign to Greek society and typical, in contrast, of indigenous communities.

More recently, L. Cerchiai (Cerchiai 2017) has also grouped the tombs of Grignano d'Aversa with those of *Pithecoussai* based, in particular, on the *impasto* ceramics. These specimens, which are related to indigenous typologies or traditions, are

important ethnic markers exactly because of their intrinsic simplicity and low value. The analogies highlighted between the two productions, in Gricignano and in *Pithecoussai*, could thus allow us to better understand the indigenous element settled on the island and integrated in the necropolis: it falls within the context of the *Fossa-Kultur* of northern Campania. However, the comparison between the two settlements also concerns objects of ornamentation and bronze instruments. Stemming from the tradition of central inner Italy, their circulation was probably related to the mobility of individuals or small groups attracted to the Campanian coast by the opportunities offered by the presence of these new partners, in conjunction with the growth of Greek settlements in Campania. From this perspective, the centres of Capua and Suessula, gravitating in the same territorial basin of the Volturno and the Clanis, could also be affected by the same dynamics.

Trading objects drove the transmission of new technologies, the development of new models, the sharing of ideologies. This operated within a framework which was not solely economic. Its configuration is likely to have been the result of a complex set of relationships based on *xenia* and *epigamia* forms which also involved other ways of integration and contact (G. Greco 2014: 80–81). The discovery of the Gricignano necropolis thus represents one of the major challenges in Campanian archaeology. While detailed study is under way, it can already be emphasised that this indigenous community had a clear socio-economic structure at a crucial time in the region's history – the third quarter of the 8th century BC. The case of Gricignano could then be emblematic of more fluid contacts with the Greeks of the coast where, in all likelihood, the indigenous communities contributed to structuring the territory, with the goal of exploiting the plain: agricultural and economic growth was favourable to both communities. The hypothesis that the engine of this structuring and organisation of the hinterlands could have been Cumae, with the aim of expanding into the area, seems now to have more and more credibility (Greco et al. 2010: 217–218). In this movement, the power relationships appear legible and become accessible to the archaeologist.

### 3 *Pithecoussai* and Cumae: Method of Use

One of the most debated problems in the research on *Pithecoussai* and Cumae concerns the chronological gap between the two settlements. According to G. Buchner, archaeological evidence points to a hiatus of about fifty years: *Pithecoussai* was founded around 775 BC and Cumae around 720 BC. The excavations which have taken place in the last fifteen years have, however, led to a reconsideration of this question (G. Greco 2014). In this respect, the research carried out twenty years ago near the fortifications of Aristodemos marks an important first step for this revision: the *emplekton*, composed with the land corresponding to the first tombs of the necropolis, contained, albeit in modest quantities, fragments of Aetos 666-type *kotylai* and Thapsos-type *skyphoi*, as well as a fragment of the MG II. However, these results did not lead to a change in the chronology of the foundation of Cumae, for it was impossible

to say with certainty whether these ceramics originated from Greek or indigenous tombs (Jannelli 1999: 316–317). The same is not true with the latest discoveries.

#### 3.1 Towards a General Review?

Greek ceramics have been found in the Forum area (both in the *Masseria del Gigante* and in the *Tempio con Portico* sectors): Aetos 666-type *kotylai* and Thapsos-type *skyphoi*, associated with indigenous *impasto* pottery (G. Greco 2009 and 2014: 65–67). This residual material provides evidence for a previous installation, abandoned at the end of the 8th century BC and to which succeeded, in much the same area, a new spatial organisation.

During an excavation by the “L'Orientale” University of Naples in an area north of the Forum baths (D'Agostino, D'Acunto 2009: 497 s.), a survey (*ambiente B*) of the Roman building on the west of the road revealed the remains of a dwelling dating from the last thirty years of the 8th century BC, on which a second, more recent (second half of the 6th century BC) dwelling had subsequently been implanted. The oldest house (Fig. 9) had a fireplace<sup>12</sup> and its ceramics have allowed it to be dated between the LG I and the LG II. While most of the ceramics are *impasto*, the few fragments of Greek pottery are presumably imports related to the precolonial phase. The presence of one or probably two *oikoi* implanted at the end of the Geometric period demonstrates that this “neighbourhood” was occupied from the first phase of the colony's life. These houses are in line with the developments brought to light by G. Greco's team near the Forum.

On the basis of these data, the chronology of an early horizon of Cumae was dated to around the middle of the 8th century BC. However, the image of this very early phase is still blurred and limited (D'Agostino 2009; D'Acunto 2009: 84 and 2017: 306; G. Greco 2009: 19 and 2014: 64–65; Guzzo 2016a: 30 s.).

#### 3.2 *Pithecoussai* and Cumae: Functions and Definitions

This revision of the chronological gap between the two settlements consolidates this hypothesis: Cumae could have been founded with a complementary or even subordinate role to that of *Pithecoussai*, in particular to meet the dietary needs of the inhabitants of the island or to consolidate relationships with indigenous peoples (Nizzo 2007: 84–85; Nizzo 2016: 69–70; G. Greco 2014: 71).

It is certainly impossible today to establish the nature of the Greek presence in Cumae or its relationships with the local population. Was there any form of peaceful coexistence or cooperation between the Greek colonists and the indigenous peoples during this early phase, or at least for a moment, at the very beginning (G. Greco 2014: 64)? Contrary to what has been asserted, it would in any event be unlikely that the indigenous community would have been completely enslaved or annihilated. The assemblages point to some form of integration, at least in the initial phase (Brun, Munzi 2007; G. Greco 2009: 13–17 and 2014: 59–64; Mele 2009). We must therefore return to

12. Archaeologists have uncovered five reconstructed stratified sites at the same location between LG II and the 7th century BC (D'ACUNTO 2017).

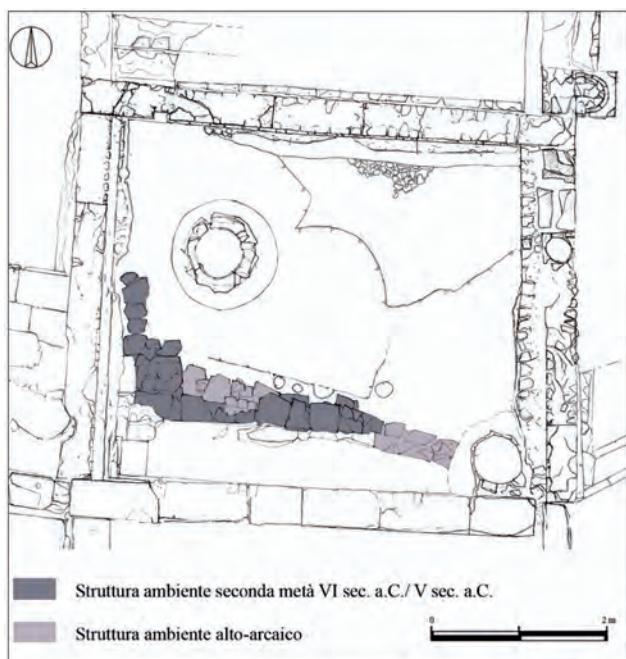


Fig. 9—Cumae, part of a Geometric-Archaic house on the eastern side of the *Insula* (after D'Acunto, 2017: Fig. 26.14).

these two settlements, with their different characters. There are two orders of explanation for this: their nature must have been synergistic, and they must then be understood as two complementary phenomena, not very distant chronologically but yet functionally distinct; the divergence is a result of their relationship with the indigenous people.

The configuration of Cumae, structured with a *chora* based on *epineia* and *phouria* (Mele 2009), provided for the exploitation of a large agricultural region. The indigenous people must have participated, even though we do not know whether this participation was by choice or not. The existence of a colonial aristocracy ensuring control of the agricultural areas can probably be glimpsed through the emergence of the princely tombs whose appearance is concomitant with the definition of the new power relationships.

At Pithekoussai, the archaeological data allow us to understand a decline in the settlement at the beginning of the 7th century BC, which corresponds to the consolidation of Cumae and the appearance of the first houses with stone foundations in the last quarter of the 8th century BC, where life continued, with several reorganisations, until the 6th century BC (D'Agostino, D'Acunto 2009: 504–511; D'Acunto 2014).

The initial situation, based on a system of openness, cooperation and even cohabitation between the different *ethne* did not survive the consolidation of the territorial and political structures which accompanied the development of the *apoikia* at Cumae (Esposito 2012; Cerchiai 2017). The “middle ground” designated by I. Malkin (Malkin 2002) became fragile and broke down.

### 3.3 Emporion: Forgetting the Patterns

Defining an *emporion* is not an easy task. Recognising it in archaeological remains is even less so (Malkin 2011: 156–157). However, the differences must not obscure the knowledge

obtained at the crossroad of the paths. The objective limits of our research are another reason for rejecting any received idea which, instead of opening the interpretation up, might prevent the understanding of the facts.

If it is accepted that this term may refer to settlements which have a different organisation, but which are characterised by the use of *emporie*, the solutions envisaged by the specialists are certainly different, but not totally incompatible (Esposito 2012). Above all, we must think of the phenomenon of Greek colonisation according to less rigid patterns: Pithekoussai cannot be summarised with a binary differentiation (Hall 2007: 98). Recent works have insisted on the sterility of such comparisons, especially at a time when the structures of the Greek city are, as we said above, poorly understood.

The data now prompt us to see in Pithekoussai a Greek city of the 8th century BC, comparing it not to the later *poleis*, but to contemporary cities of the Aegean. The colonisation of the archaic period is, in fact, contemporary with the rise of the *polis*.

## 4 Conclusions

Pithecoussai seems to meet all the essential requirements of an *emporion* in the most generic sense of the term, which can be understood as: “a place where trade took place”, according to the very broad meaning highlighted by P. Rouillard’s work (Rouillard 1995 and 2000). It was an original settlement, different from the later colonial experiences, more “canonical” (Jannelli 1999: 314). Anticipation of the “new world”, that of the *apoikiai*, it represents the attainment and at the same time the surpassing of the precolonial phase without, however, reaching the level of *apoikia*, it was both an intermediate stage, an in-between, but also a point of arrival of a dialogue initiated long before with the communities of ancient Campania. Whilst the *emporie* did not give rise to the *apoikia*, there was a significant structural leap between the two (D'Agostino 2009 and 2011). After an initial configuration, marked by positive interactions with the local elites leading, at least in the initial phases, to a peaceful co-operative relationship which was also supported by the high level of organisation of the Campanian communities, followed a break. In the precolonial phase, territorial concerns played a very limited role. The rise of Cumae upsets the balance. The essential question is found at the interface between territory and power. It now concerned the control exercised over the *chora* and over men (Mele 2009; Esposito 2012; D'Acunto 2017; Zurbach 2017).

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# Phoenicians, Greeks and “Indigenous peoples” in the *Emporia* of Sicily

Francesca SPATAFORA

Adopting an interpretation based on a broader understanding of the concept of the *emporion* and its diverse semantic attributions by modern historiography,<sup>1</sup> it is now possible to examine the archaeological evidence offered from the Archaic Period of Sicily, an island characterised by its central Mediterranean location that has always constituted an open relational space for people of diverse heritage and backgrounds (Fig. 1).

Thus, by favouring an anthropological and social perspective, the *emporion* may be considered not only as a centre of economic transactions, but above all, as a space for contact and exchange. As suggested by Michel Gras over 20 years ago, “L’emporion est lieu de passages et de rencontres où se côtoient des ethnies diverses mais aussi des hommes de provenances ou de traditions culturelles variées...” (Gras 1993: 109).

In this sense, some interesting and significant evidence emerges from the early centuries of the first millennium, particularly those that witnessed the emergence of the new *apoikiai* and some of the oldest Phoenician centres. Partly because of the lack of specific literary and epigraphic documentation, most of these cases cannot be easily classified within that category that assigns the *emporion* a specific physical place, one that is often endowed with a shrine and its own political and administrative autonomy, and a place that fulfils an official role as mediator among the various figures engaged in trading.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the relevant literature and epigraphic documentation on the subject have shown that the *emporion* were a precious source of tax revenue for the Greek cities, which, like Carthage, had organised the taxation of incoming and outgoing merchandise in a well-regulated



Fig. 1—Map of Sicily with location of the settlements mentioned in the text.

and controlled manner (Ampolo 1994: 32). The importance of this system for Sicily is demonstrated by the well-known passage from Herodotus (VII.158) in which Gelon, replying to the appeal of the Greek messengers, replies:

Men of Greece, with an arrogant speech you dared ask me to come as your ally against the barbarians. But before, when I begged you to assault a barbarian army with me when I was at war with the Carthaginians, when I insisted that we should avenge Dorieus, son of Anaxandrides, slain by the men of Egesta, when I promised to free those trading ports from which you have accrued great advantage and profit, you did not come to my aid.

Unfortunately, none of these *emporion* is explicitly mentioned by Herodotus, and no explicit archaeological testimony we have today allows us to identify them. However, the passage

1. It is worth recalling how the definition of *emporion* has been subject to a number of lingering uncertainties. Various interpretative models have been developed, which were already presented in Lepore 1988, as summarised in the various contributions published in the volume *L’Emporion* from 1993 and widely cited in subsequent studies by historians and archaeologists (AMPOLO 1994; ROUILLARD 1995; GRAS 1997; DOMÍNGUEZ 2001; HANSEN 2006; DOMÍNGUEZ 2007; DOMÍNGUEZ 2009).

2. This is the most accredited definition on the basis of historical sources and certain important archaeological evidence repeatedly invoked to support this thesis, especially with regard to the end of the Archaic Period (DOMÍNGUEZ 2007: 169–72 with specific reference bibliography), although the problem associated with the definition of *emporion* has on many occasions divided schools of modern criticism, which have expressed diverse opinions and championed divergent methodological approaches.



Fig. 2—The routes of the first Phoenician and Greek colonisation. Above, the Reshef bronze statuette recovered from the sea (after Spatafora, Sciortino 2015).

does give a clear indication of the importance that these places had in the context of the island's economy.

Therefore, in analysing this issue in relation to Sicily during the Archaic and Classical periods, we can only refer to an *emporion* model in the widest sense of the term. This a model that envisages a space dedicated to encounter and exchange, but which does not necessarily correspond to precisely coded rules and requirements.

This view is also supported by the approach adopted by the Phoenicians in relation to the areas in which they fostered trade negotiations from the beginning of the first millennium BC (Gras *et al.*: 130), which seems to be fairly consistent with the outlined framework.

In fact, we know, that at least by the end of the 9th century BC, the Phoenicians were moving more and more westward, establishing a series of trading posts on the northern coast of Africa, in Sardinia and in Spain. They also created several landing points in Portugal and on the Atlantic coast of Morocco (Bondi *et al.* 2009: 89–92) and initiated trade relations with the local populations of the various countries to which they travelled. This may also have taken the form of barter exchanges, as documented by historical sources (Herodotus IV.196).

The situation in Sicily at that time does not appear sufficiently clear. The presence of some “orientalising” materials found in local contexts dating to the 9th and 8th centuries BC has given rise to hypotheses concerning the possible existence of Phoenician trading posts on the coasts of the island prior to the founding of the Greek colonies, but there is still no concrete, certain evidence of an actual Phoenician presence (Spatafora, Sciortino 2014: 223). Indeed, the archaeological documentation<sup>3</sup> merely attests to sporadic exchanges that may have been the consequence of Phoenician expansion to the far west (Fig. 2) or, more likely, as the result of mingling between various groups, such as Euboic and Cycladic merchants prospecting for raw materials and heading towards the most attractive markets in southern Italy and the Tyrrhenian region (La Torre 2012: 233).

3. We also recall the discovery of the well-known bronze statuette in the sea between Sciacca and Selinunte. It depicts a Phoenician deity, probably Reshef, dating to between the 10th and 9th centuries BC (FALSONE 1993).



Fig. 3—Greek and Phoenician colonies in Sicily.

In the Archaic Period, however, the Phoenician and Greek expansion into the Mediterranean that had been consolidated in the 8th century BC became more apparent, as evidenced by the establishment of stable trading stations along the coast of the island (Fig. 3). This leads to the emergence of more plausible indications concerning the presence of areas dedicated to encounters and exchanges in certain specific locations.

In particular, western Sicily was inhabited by the Elymians and the Sicanians, and with the arrival of the Greeks and the Phoenicians it evolved into an emblematic centre for “colonial encounters” that in many cases fostered evident integration and hybridisation phenomena, through reciprocal mechanisms, adaptation strategies and mediation processes (Spatafora 2012b; Spatafora 2013).

Albeit with different ways of approaching the territory, the new Phoenician and Greek foundations contributed to creating new negotiation spaces that sustained the development of those intercultural relationships, which may also be read through the composite and varied archaeological record.

Starting from the oldest phases and on the basis of actual evidence mainly derived from the research carried out over the past 20 years, we now hypothesise that more than a century separates the foundation of Mozia from those of Panormo (Palermo) and Solunto (Fig. 3).<sup>4</sup> In fact, archaeological data relating to the *tofet*, the necropolis and the settlement of Mozia had not previously permitted dating the establishment of the Phoenician colony prior to the end of the 8th century

4. The oldest material discovered during explorations conducted in both the dwellings and the necropoles of Solunto and Panormo date back to the last two decades of the 7th century BC (SPATAFORA 2012: 258–59 with relative bibliography on individual settlements).

(Bondi *et al.* 2009: 164). Recently, however, new excavations in the sacred area around the *kothon* (Fig. 4 and Fig. 5) have suggested that the first phase in which the shrine was used should be dated to the second quarter of the 8th century. The first occupation of the island in ancient times would therefore have affected the south-western areas, *i.e.* those facing the mainland (Fig. 6) and which, according to the interpretation of geomorphological and archaeological evidence, benefited from the precious resource of fresh water (Nigro, Spagnoli 2012: 8). The key point for the purposes of our analysis is that the hub of this first settlement was a sacred place. Indeed, we know that shrines represented constituent elements of the *emporia* (Gras *et al.* 2000: 130) and the Mozia documentation seems to offer up significant evidence in this regard. It has in fact been established that the sacred building (Temple C5) which was inspired by Levantine models and open to the south overlooking a large open space, also hosted cultural events typical of the Greek world, including specific ritual practices and a varied wealth of supplies. It has been rightly pointed out that this situation contrasts sharply with that documented by the *tofet*, located in the northern part of Mozia, which certainly represented a significant element of the ethnic identity of the Island population (Nigro, Spagnoli 2012: 32). It is therefore probable that the *Kothon Shrine*, located in the most accessible part of the mainland, acted as a meeting place that allowed the Phoenicians settled in Mozia to establish contact and engage in business relations with the Greeks of the nearby colonies, and with the Elymians and Sicilians who inhabited the pericoastal and inland areas. Thus it served as an *emporion*, and the same can be said of two other important and well-known sanctuaries located in the Elimyan Erice and in the Greek Selinunte respectively (Fig. 3).

In Selinunte, on the right bank of the ancient *Selinos*, to the west of the settlement, intense activity was centred on the great Contrada Gaggera Shrine, the construction of which dates back as far as the last decades of the 7th century BC. It was closely linked to the water source of the same name, the river (Greco, Tardo 2012) and one of the two harbour inlets of the Megarian colony. It was considered as a place of worship and encounter, particularly in relation to the exchange activities taking place at the river estuary (Fig. 7). We cannot rule out the possibility that it may have survived even in later centuries in opposition to the sacred area located on the eastern hill which, as previously noted, speaks a “cultural and architectural language” that is exclusively attributable to the Greek world (Veronese 2006: 507). As such, Selinunte seems to have designated its oldest extra-urban shrine—characterised by a series of cults whose semantic significance remains quite elusive in some respects but which in any case seems to be particularly versatile—as a meeting space for encounters with local populations and with those stable Levantine peoples who had permanently settled in the outlying areas by that time. In terms of material culture, this appears to be well-documented by the presence of various local items collected in votive deposits (Spatafora 2016: 454) and numerous “orientalia”, perhaps offered by the Phoenicians who acted as the main couriers of these objects in the Mediterranean area.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, it is not altogether



Fig. 4—Mozia; the kothon from the South (CC Public Domain).



Fig. 5—Mozia; the sacred area near the kothon (© Mboesch CC-BY-SA 3.0).

insignificant that after the destruction of 409 BC, the Punic who were then permanently settled in the city, re-used that sacred area, erecting new buildings and worshipping there.<sup>6</sup>

However, we are not sure what function the famous shrine of the goddess of Erice served for the Elymians in Archaic times. The site is not mentioned by any record before the second half of the 5th century BC, the period in which the shrine appears to take on a significantly broader dimension, extending beyond that strictly relating to the Elymian city (Lietz 2010: 89). Moreover, there is ample evidence of the importance attributed to the Erice Shrine by Segesta in the events related to the Athenian expedition in Sicily in 416 BC (Thucydides VI.46.3–4). The dedication of the Shrine to Aphrodite, at this point, appears to be widely documented (Lietz 2016: 284), as is the subsequent identification of the goddess with the Punic Astarte,<sup>7</sup> who was worshipped with the epithet “Astarte” of Erice [‘Astarte Erycina’] in many other areas of the Mediterranean.<sup>8</sup> Leaving aside the role

6. It seems to now be established that “Punic” Selinunte refers to the temple and the fence built in the area of the Shrine of Zeus Meilichios, characterised by the field of *argoi lithoi*. See the latest work by GROTTA 2010 with extensive reference bibliography and ZOPPI 2015 for more information on the topic.

7. Starting from the 4th century BC, Erice also became part of the Punic Epicrazia and the entire city seems to have been converted to a Carthaginian stronghold (LIETZ 2016: 285)

8. See the bibliography on this topic in LIETZ 2016: 285.



Fig. 6—The Marsala lagoon. In the centre, the island of Mozia (base map from Google Earth).

and importance that the shrine would acquire in the Roman era (Lietz 2016: 286–87), it is perhaps appropriate to briefly dwell on the function that this sacred space took on in the earliest centuries of its existence. Recent studies based on a careful re-reading of the literary and epigraphic sources have emphasised the political use of the cult of Aphrodite/Astarte, divinities that both adopt warrior connotations in different cases. It would thus appear that this cult was capable of evoking strong symbolic and ideological sentiment to be exploited as a point of reference for the affirmation of any new “power” that presented itself on the island’s political scene (Lietz 2016: 288–89).

This form of worship may be therefore viewed as functional for encouraging new relationships and fostering integration by playing an important role in cultural mediation within the multiethnic context that was western Sicily. This assertion is based both on its connection with the sea and sailors, and by virtue of the practice of sacred prostitution, which is undoubtedly something that Erice had in common with other “*contesti mediterranei di spiccata vocazione emporica*” (De Vido 2006: 155).

Moving north-east towards an area of “Greek” influence, one rather compelling hypothesis proposes a link between the A and B sacella of the so-called “temenos of Athena” in the upper city of Himera and the cult of Aphrodite armed with Phoenician-Cypriot ancestry, represented, according to this interpretation, by the bronze miniature of the votive deposit of temple A (Torelli 2003: 675). A type of cult well attested in Phoenicia and Cyprus, it should be related to a particular votive offering, namely the well-known *faïence* probably crafted at Naukratis representing a nude male character in a homosexual position, probably a *hierodoulos*, a figure related to the practices of male and female sacred prostitution in Eastern tradition. It is worth emphasising

the extraordinary similarity of the Himerian context with a votive deposit located outside the *temenos* of the *emporion* shrine of Aphrodite in Gravisca where, as is well known, next to the representations of the armed goddess,<sup>9</sup> there was a *faïence* statuette depicting a hierodule performing the erotic *anasurma*<sup>10</sup> gesture. The reason Himera welcomed this cult, which was widespread among merchants and Greek sailors in the Mediterranean, is likely connected to the location of the colony, which was situated on the northern coast of the island. This meant it was in direct contact with the area under Punic and Elymian influence, where the great Erice shrine constituted “*un polo di straordinaria attrazione religiosa, politica e mercantile*” (Torelli 2003: 675) commanding the routes of the Central Mediterranean, where Himera nurtured seafaring ambitions. This is a tempting hypothesis that would restore such an *emporion*-oriented dimension to Himera, derived from its nature as a frontier city (Spatafora 2016: 441–52). Strong evidence to this effect emerges from the recent discovery of an entire neighbourhood, probably extending bewteen 6 to 10 hectares, that was already active at the time of the foundation. It is located on the right bank of the river Imera, the area beyond which was considered to be the perimeter of the ancient city until a few years ago (Allegro 2014) (Fig. 8).

Notwithstanding the annotations on the excavation report to the effect that “*nessun indizio specifico attesti lo svolgimento di attività emporiche all’interno del quartiere*” (Allegro 2014: 34), it is nevertheless admitted that the topographic data and evidence from excavation do point in this direction. In fact, the district is located near the mouth of the river, and thus near the banks of a port-channel at the junction of the road

9. Finally, see the catalogue of the exhibition organised at the Archaeological Museum in Civitavecchia in 2014 (*Il mare che univa. Gravisca Santuario Mediterraneo*: 82).

10. *Ibid.*



Fig. 7—Selinunte. General site plan. In the circle, the area of the Contrada Gaggera Shrine.

that connected Himera with its hinterland. This was a safe shelter for those ships that bore the brunt of the intense and extensive trade activity attested in the Chalcidian city (Allegro 2014: 34–35). On the other hand, the material culture found in the residential contexts of that neighbourhood offers a glimpse of a different way of life and, perhaps, a different social condition for the inhabitants, suggesting the possible presence of foreign merchants who may have settled in the area. Another distinguishing element is the presence of a sacred area consisting of two *oikoi*, a large circular altar and a large ipetal area, likely a ceremonial space for performing outdoor rituals or used as a reception area for the faithful (Allegro 2014: 34). The latter circumstance is particularly significant if it is true, as many have stressed and substantial archaeological and literary evidence has shown that the shrine is a constituent element of the *emporium* (Gras *et al.* 2000: 130), consolidating its function as a well-equipped and privileged place for exchange. Moreover, Himera's vocation

as an *emporion* had already been extensively emphasised (Vassallo 2010: 151) on the basis of the quantity and variety of secondary use amphorae found in the necropolises that significantly attest the considerable extent of the exchanges in the Chalcidian colony. The more than 2000 examples of amphorae from the Levantine area, eastern Greece, Attica, Corinth, the western Mediterranean, the Etruscan area, the Campagna area and the Phoenician-Punic foundation centres of Sicily, Spain, Sardinia and Africa, testify that Himera was part of the most important trade routes in the Mediterranean and the Tyrrhenian area from the Archaic to the Classical Period (Vassallo 2010: 154–55). These routes certainly did not exclude the local populations that were firmly established inland and perhaps even present in the colony itself (Spatafora 2012: 65). The abandonment of the *emporion* district at the beginning of the fifth century BC (Allegro 2014: 35) and the probable existence of an *agora* located in the lower part of the city not far from the river (Vassallo 2012), validates the

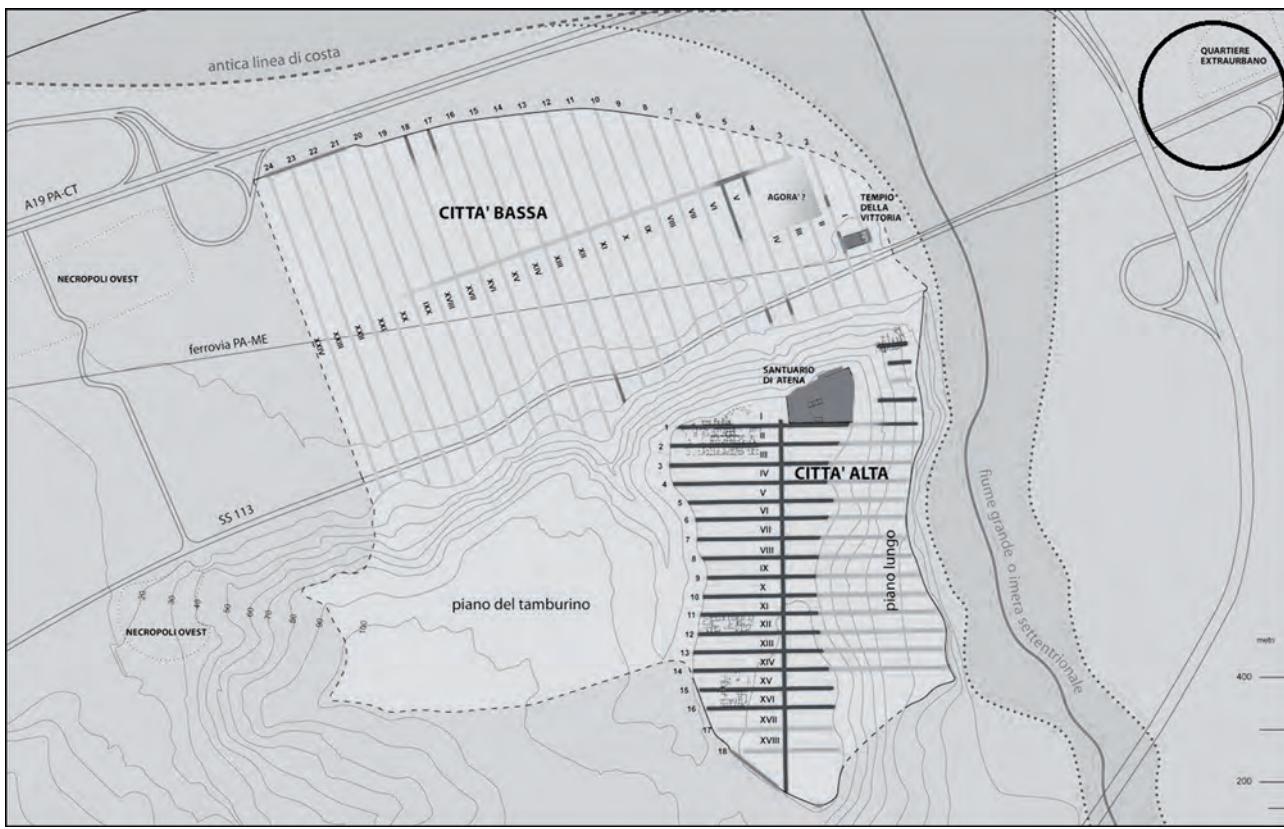


Fig. 8—Himera. General site plan. In the circle, the Archaic emporion.

idea that throughout the Classical Period it was customary for cities, including Himera, to absorb the *emporion* functions that were relegated to more outlying areas in Archaic times (Gras 2010). Therefore, as acutely emphasised, “*con l'integrazione dello spazio emporico dentro lo spazio urbano, la città recupera l'emporio e l'agorà recupera la trattativa*” (Gras 2010: 93).

Conversely, the nearby settlement of Phoenician origin located a few dozen kilometres west of Himera presents a rather different type of evidence. While little is known about Archaic Solunto, the limited findings of the San Cristoforo headland area indicate an “emporion” dimension (Greco 1997) attributable to the first nucleus that developed directly on the sea, controlling two opposite inlets (Fig. 9). These were certainly used as ample berths for ships following the western route, which connected Africa and Sicily with the flourishing markets of the Tyrrhenian coast and Sardinia (Spatafora 2009: 224). In addition, the city’s very location as a hub bridged the Greek area of the island with the fertile and populous indigenous interior, guaranteeing Solunto’s role as a primary centre of trade and cultural mediation. Moreover, it has been pointed out for some time that, before falling into Carthaginian hands, the Phoenician settlements could be considered simply as *emporion*, intended as stopover trading posts between stages in itineraries connecting peoples of diverse origin and extraction (Gras *et al.* 2000: 130). In this sense, among other things, Solunto’s vocation as an *emporion* now appears to be substantiated by the probable presence of Phoenician, Greek and indigenous peoples during the late-Archaic period of the city. Evidence from a recently excavated necropolis suggests that the three *ethne* lived together in the

same settlement, and that while each retained their distinct rituals and burial customs, they shared a section of the large burial area (Calascibetta 2010: 60; Spatafora 2012: 64–66).

Moving on to the southern coast of the island and returning to the Greek world, it is important to take a moment to reflect on how the historical sources recall the existence of the *emporion* of Akragas (Agrigento), at the foothills of the river of the same name (Camineci 2014: 151), documented today, albeit rather faintly, by complex stratigraphy prominent on the left bank of the river, confirming the close link between western Sicily and northern Africa, at least in the later phases (Camineci 2014: 160).

However, from an archaeological point of view, the most significant evidence for the southern coast of the island is certainly that offered by Gela (Fig. 2). In fact, the structures and materials found in the Bosco Littorio area, which have been attributed to the *emporion* of the Rhodo-Cretan colony, are well-known. They comprise a complex of shops and open spaces oriented according to the urban plan of the city, despite being at the foot of the acropolis and outside the city wall (Panvini 2009). There is also clear evidence in this case of the close relationship with the port areas that were presumably located between this stretch of coast and the mouth of the river Gelas (Panvini 2009: 98). Although it is not certain that the area enjoyed the legal recognition of an *emporion* (Domínguez 2007: 163), considering the quantity, quality and variety of the finds (including the famous clay altars), it is reasonable to assume that this site hosted the exchange and intermediation activities typical of an *emporion* context. Moreover, this role is well documented in Gela



Fig. 9—Aerial photo of the San Cristoforo headland. In the circle, the area of the Archaic emporion (base map from Google Earth).

thanks to the discovery of the famous shipwreck from the Archaic period on the seabed immediately in front of this stretch of coast (Panvini 2001). This ship was loaded with Attic and Laconian ceramics and amphorae from various workshops used for containing various products, and probably assured the supply of a wealth of merchandise to be redistributed throughout the *chôra* hinterland, to satisfy an *elite* indigenous clientele—the well-established inhabitants of the Sicanian heartland.

It was this contact and exchange with the Rhodo-Cretan populations of the southern coast of the island that probably fostered the organic development of the largest of the Sicanian shrines (Albanese Procelli 2003: 211), namely that one erected on the Mountain of Polizzello. The great sacred area—characterised by sacella and circular enclosures that formally present a strong and conscious attachment to local architectural traditions—denotes this place, at least in its later stages, as a privileged space for encounters with the neighbouring Greek colonies. This is also testified by the numerous offerings of allogeneous materials, which allude to the practice of exchanging gifts that constitutes a prerequisite for the initiation of relationships and transactions of an economic nature (Palermo 2006; Palermo 2009; Panvini *et al.* 2009a with previous bibliography).

On the same southern coast, but in the eastern part, the settlement of Contrada Maestro (Fig. 1) at the mouth of the Irminio river, in a border area between the territories of Syracuse and Camarina, seems to have served as an *emporion* for the Siculi, who were firmly established in the Iblei Mountains (Di Stefano 2009: 60). The Greek community, which, according to the excavators, had played a decisive role in agricultural

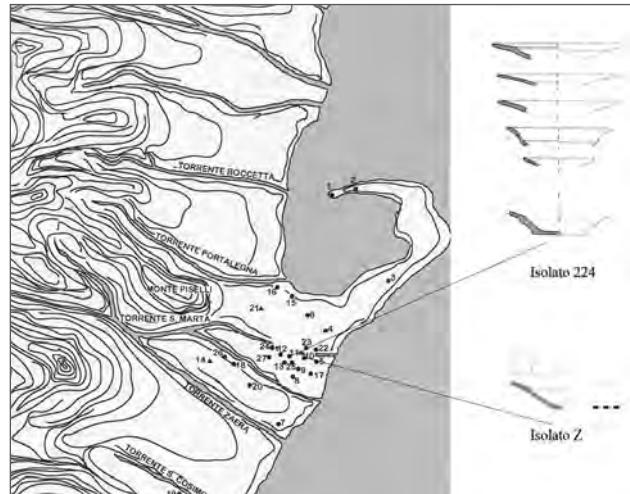


Fig. 10—Zancle. Findings of Phoenician ceramics in the Archaic area (after Spatafora, Sciortino 2015).

partitioning of the land, was therefore devoted to trading grain and, perhaps, to the redistribution of products that flowed into this part of the Island through a southern route, as witnessed for example by the Punta Braccetto wreck, the findings of which included a large number of transport amphorae and fine-ware pottery (Di Stefano 2009: 60 with reference bibliography).

Unfortunately, there is little to demonstrate the existence of *emporia* on the eastern Ionian coast of Sicily and only meagre archaeological evidence survives. Nevertheless, the dense network of the oldest *apoikiai* at short distances from one another convincingly suggests the existence of *emporia* and other relays linked to the trading activity already underway since the end of the 8th century BC, as can be perceived from the typology and quality of the finds related to the Greek cities and, above all, those of the Sicilian hinterland<sup>11</sup>.

However, some new elements have only recently emerged concerning the ancient Katane (Catania). A careful re-reading of direct and indirect sources has allowed to hypothesise the attribution of the votive deposits of Piazza San Francesco—and the remains of structures brought to light at the end of the nineteenth century to the south of the same square (Sciuto Patti 1896: 1–11)—to a shrine closely linked to the port (Castagnino Berlinghieri, Monaco 2009: 83–84), thus delineating an *emporion* space within the Archaic urban context that was characterised by a wealth of supplies.

Lastly, the situation of Zancle is very particular. Given the specific location of the city, it certainly must have played a prominent role in the network of exchanges between the Mediterranean and Tyrrhenian shores (Fig. 3). However, while on the one hand it has been highlighted by many people that the Strait of Messina was of vital importance for the Greeks, both for the access to the Tyrrhenian roads towards Etruria and for the contact with the settlements of Campania (Consolo Langher 1999); on the other hand, it has been recognised that,

11. I refer in particular to the materials found in the necropolis of Valle del Marcellino, located on the left bank of the river Marcellino, which include the oldest Greek items imported to Sicily, numerous *aegyptiaca* and various oriental materials, all of which seem to attest to a phase on the island that seems to correspond to that of Pithekoussai (Voza 1978; Voza 1982).

at least in the early colonial period, the Greeks considered it to be a true frontier with the Tyrrhenian sea, which represented *une mer étrangère* to them (G. Vallet in Gras 1999: 21). In accordance with this view, it has been suggested that Zancle, which was initially founded to protect access to the Ionian Sea, assigned the role of *emporion* to Mylai, together with control of the northern route, at least during the 6th century BC (Gras 1999: 21). Yet Zancle mainly thrived on maritime trading and commerce, as can be inferred from finds dating to the second half of the 7th century BC, which include bucchero ceramics from Campania and Etruria, as well as Etruscan wine amphorae, finds similar to those of Naxos, Megara and Syracuse (Gras 1999: 23). Phoenician ceramics have also been discovered at Zancle, within one of the most ancient contexts of the Chalcidian colony (Fig. 10). These predominantly consist of fragments of plates with everted rims and carinated bowls, which can be dated to the end of the 8th century BC (Spatafora, Sciortino 2014: 226–27). This dating is also confirmed by the presence of Thapsos-style cups, Proto-Corinthian pottery and late geometric cups with decoration à chevrons (Bacci 2002: 22). Finally, the excavation carried out in 2007 near Via La Farina brought to light a sacred/votive complex dating between the 8th and the 7th centuries BC, the finds of which include remains of sacrificed animals, late Archaic Greek or Greek-style Thapsos-style cups, Proto-Corinthian *kotylai* and sub-geometric cups, as well as several fragments of Phoenician red slip plates (Bacci et al. 2010: 54–55; Bacci et al. 2012: 939–40; Spatafora, Sciortino, 2015: 226–27). Evidently, we cannot determine whether contexts refer to a first *emporion* that preceded the actual colonial settlement or if they relate to the *Apoikia* that, although not mentioned “*nel sistema cronologico delle colonie greche di Sicilia ricordato da Tucidide (VI, 3–5)*” (La Torre 2011: 36), was probably the oldest stable Greek outpost defending the Strait (La Torre: 37). However, while recognising that the two terms rest “*su piani percettivo-comunicativi assai diversi*” (Lombardo 2001: 83), it has been rightly noted that an *apoikia* “può esser qualificata come *emporion*, se la si guarda sotto l’aspetto funzionale” (Lombardo 2001: 83). Indeed, this is probably the most appropriate approach when interpreting the evidence from Zancle.

In any case, what we have is a set of data and materials that, as in many other cases, seems to present a scenario marked by deep connections that bear witness to the circulation of people and merchandise throughout Sicily. The island amply demonstrated its central role in that “Mediterranean mobility” (Giangiulio 1996) with ever increasingly clarity, contributing to the creation of networks, links, connections and bonds between worlds and cultures that moved in multiple directions and with multiple interests in the vast and pulsating Mediterranean space of the Archaic Period.

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# Sant'Imbenia and the Topic of the *Emporia* in Sardinia

Marco RENDELI

## 1 Premise

Grappling with the topic of a possible emporic presence at Sant'Imbenia (Alghero) is no simple matter. We are still lacking data that would convincingly define a relationship between two institutions, even before considering the relationship between *emporion* and exchange mechanism models according to the outlines presented by C. Zaccagnini in the volume “l'Emporion” edited by A. Bresson and P. Rouillard in 1993 (Zaccagnini 1993: 127–43). There is a political aspect that binds the *emporion* to an area. An agreement is established between entities (institutions on one side, institutions or private individuals on the other) that are mutually acknowledged to make the forms of exchange between contracting parties more effective, whether they are public or private in nature. As such, there must be a preliminary check verifying the existence of two protagonists who can play such a role, an inevitable prerequisite of the host party.

Whatever the form or organisational context of the local component, it must represent a system that controls a territory politically and economically. It is not a problem of greater or lesser complexity or predisposition to more or less complex or centralised residential systems; rather, it is a question of the existence of a politically defined and reliable counterpart for the exchange. This applies regardless of the merchant's origin and the more or less ancient custom of organising emporic sites and traffic currents or routes. Without identifiable counterparts combined with in-depth knowledge of the nature and the economic choices of the merchant, it is difficult to discuss about *emporion* or other forms of commercial intercourse.

The emporion-oriented nature of centres of Tyrrhenian Italy (Gravisca and Pyrgi) emerges from the analysis and in-depth knowledge of the archaeological context, which allow us to recognise the elements that distinguish a trading post from an *emporion* (Gras 2000: 124 ff.; Gras 2014: 193–99). It therefore becomes necessary to apply a “bottom-top” analysis in order to attempt to define the nature of the settlement of Sant'Imbenia. The difficulty of recovering the stratigraphy and the materials from the first excavation phase directed by Fulvia Lo Schiavo and conducted in the field by Susanna Bafico (1982–1997), the research included in the “S. Imbenia

Project” (2008–), the archaeometry work on metals and ceramics, fauna and seeds—these are elements composing a new mosaic in which this coastal site of Sardinia takes on the semblance of the tip of the iceberg represented by the inland region of Nurra, in north-western Sardinia.

In fact, new investigations have expanded our knowledge, and the picture that emerges after ten years has shed a different light on the discoveries. It is a site that did not experience colonisation phenomena, but rather the creation



Fig. I—Map with the location of Sant'Imbenia and other settlements mentioned in the text.



Fig. 2—Sant'Imbenia and the Gulf of Porto Conte (© L. SANNA).

of a solid network of contacts and exchanges, non-residential allogeneous presences hosted over time. All this is true of a place that has undergone profound transformation: from a marshy and stagnant area to a small village near a nuraghe, and then to an outpost dedicated to trade and exchanges, the mutations of which appear to have been the result of a process of internal social change. We have the opportunity to observe the behaviour of a local entity under a different perspective, offering an endogenous response to external pressures (Fig. 1).

## 2 Form and Substance

The site revolves around a large open space, the central vocation of which is part of a deliberate urban design implemented between the end of the ninth and the first half of the eighth centuries BC (Garau, Rendeli 2012; Depalmas, Rendeli 2012; Rendeli 2012a, 2012b) (Fig. 2). The planimetric model is rooted in an important transformation that characterises Sardinian construction between the second half of the tenth and the ninth centuries BC: the construction of multi-roomed buildings with a central courtyard, with a complex floor plan comprising enclosed areas adjacent to open spaces. The nature of these buildings is not always the same but depends on the context within which they are built. At sa Sedda 'e sos Carros (Oliena) it is possible to grasp the sacredness and monumentality of the place that is partially built by man and partly exploits the rocky spur (Fadda 2006, Salis 2006; Fadda 2013); in S'Arcu 'e is Forros (Villagrande Strisaili), on the other hand, two complexes are located adjacent to the two large megaron-shaped buildings, which seem to have been at

least partially used as craft workshops (Fadda 2012a; 2012b; Salis 2016); at Serra Orrios they were apparently destined for domestic use (Moravetti 1998); in Barumini, this type of building appears to encroach on the space in the vicinity of the nuraghe in the last phase construction phase connoted by an urban plan. The neighbourhoods of Seruci in Gonnosa (Santoni, Bacco 1987) and Santa Barbara in Bauladu (Gallin, Sebis 1989) appear to have similar characteristics to those of s'Arcu 'e is Forros. This architectural form evolved throughout Sardinia and marks the beginning of a phase of remarkable expansion and growth among the settlements, as well as a different form of internal organisation. In some cases, such as s'Arcu 'e is Forros and sa Sedda 'e sos Carros, their monumental nature would suggest that these buildings had institutional functions. The institutional model also seems inherent in Sant'Imbenia, where the form undergoes another modification that coincides with an “explosion” (Fig. 3a). Its monumentality does not appear to be dictated solely by form, but primarily by its size, as it is almost three times greater than the other known examples.

The phenomenon originates from within the site itself (Fig. 3b). It is the result of a choice made by the local community that led to the elimination of private living quarters and the destruction of huts, as can be seen in the deepest excavation layers in A47 section. This is followed by a phase in which the design and implementation of a “system” or “urban plan” is defined, the dimensions of which go far beyond the area covered by our research (Garau, Rendeli 2012; Depalmas Rendeli 2012).

In this system, the core of the architectural design is an elliptical open space with a circular well. Apparently, there is a single entrance and exit on the south-east side and the



Fig. 3—The excavation area (© L. SANNA and M.-A. DEMURTAS).

floor, paved with large sandstone slabs, which appears to be raised to a higher level with respect to the surrounding spaces and open areas. The nature of the areas and rooms facing on it may be classified according to at least three categories:

- i) trading activities characterised by the presence of eloquent artefacts, which, for the sake of simplicity, we have simplified as “workshops”. Of these, the presence of hoards, generally placed under flooring slabs, can be highlighted in relation those excavated during the new research phase: these storage areas are sometimes full (containing copper bun ingots, bronze items or, in one case, seeds) or empty with an *in situ* ceramic container, or merely show traces of the pit in the ground (Fig. 4: A 24, 18, 48, 52);
- ii) open spaces with structural refinement that denotes a strong vocation for production, generally equipped with kilns used for different purposes (Fig. 7: A 50, 28);
- iii) a large sub-quadrangular room that may have been of an institutional nature (Fig. 2: A 47).

The workshops with hoards for metal items are concentrated in a space of no more than 50 square metres. Two containers found in the “capanna dei ripostigli” yielded over 130 kg of copper bun ingots and bronze objects (A 23) dis-

covered in 2010, along with other finds in A 24 (large storage deposit: Depalmas *et al.* 2011; now also Minoja *et al.* 2014: 488–94 [G. Fundoni]. Small storage deposit: Minoja *et al.* 2014: 494–96 [E. Sartini]; Garau *et al.* 2016: 2241–48). These finds suggest some form of concentration of metallic resources, possibly originating from the copper mines of Calabona, that were ready to be traded. A less likely hypothesis would consider hoarding practices or accumulation of waste metal to be recast (Lo Schiavo 2002–2003: 9 ff; Lo Schiavo 2007; Rendeli 2014).

Evidence for phenomena related to the accumulation of metal and successive transactions during the life of the piazza is provided by the dating of the pit, in which a dump of fragments of Greek (Euboean and Pithecian) pottery was found. One of these was a *ziro* (colloquial name for dolium or large jar) that contained copper bun ingots, bronze axes and the hilt of a sword with a short piece of blade in the style of the La Ronda-Monte Sa Idda find (Garcia Alonso 2007: 360–63; Suárez Otero 2015: 243–49) (Fig. 4–5).

Another large jar under one floor of A 48 (Fig. 6a) was particularly significant as it contained more than one kilogram of seeds (Fig. 6b), handled with the same care and attention



Fig. 4—(a) The “Piazza” (section 30); (b) Overview of the excavation  
© M. Rendeli).

as the pieces of raw or worked metal. Tests and a parallel DNA investigation<sup>1</sup> have shown these to be from the *Silybum marianum*, or milk thistle, a wild plant that was already widespread throughout the Mediterranean area during the first Millennium BC (Marino 2014: 67 ff.).

The discovery made us curious and suggested a series of questions. The fact that these seeds were stored in a large storage jar that was not different from the one used for copper and bronze induced reflection on the importance given to these seeds in ancient times, and the need to store them in such a protected manner. The almost perfect condition in which they reached us and the fact that they had been processed in a manner that made them ready for use brought us to believe that their conservation was not linked to agricultural activities but to other purposes. Among these, we considered ceremonial uses, given other finds in both the old and new excavations, such as tripod bowls used to grind spices to be added to wine. We also considered their use as medication, given their known effectiveness as hepatic protectors. This last hypothesis appears to us as the most credible in view of the location of the site and its nature, hence, for this reason, the area has been classified as a possible “pharmacy”. There is still doubt as to the origin of the seeds, i.e., whether the seeds whether they were harvested in areas adjacent to the

site or if they were part of a cargo shipped from that Levantine area that Greek and Roman sources denote as this plant’s region of origin.

On the north-west side of the square there are two large open areas (A 50 and A 28) with a structural refinement that clearly indicates that they were dedicated to production activities. Both were subjected to partial investigation during the old excavations. A vertical combustion chamber kiln (Fig. 7) was found in the western one, which communicates with the circular hut with basin. A thick layer of black earth mixed with coal was excavated in the space in front of the kiln opening, inside of which numerous fragments of amphora in the Sant’Imbenia style were found.

The other open space (A 28), which was partially excavated between 1982 and 1996, yielded the fragmented remains of a rich stratigraphy featuring a series of structures for cooking and preserving objects. Functionally connected, albeit outside the square itself, A 44 is still under excavation, and we are inclined to identify it as a foundry workshop.

The last category of areas refers to the large quadrangular room (A 47), which, in terms of dimension and constructional technique, appears to be the most impressive and important in the excavated area. We are tempted to envisage a ceremonial hall here, enhanced by the presence of at least three niches. This would be the venue dedicated to hosting institutional meetings and concluding agreements between local communities and foreign merchants.

This imposing structure is dominated by the centrality of the *piazza* that sets off the surrounding open spaces, and around it are a number of groups of rooms. During the first excavation season they were identified as *insulae*: some are complete while others are partially visible or, for the moment, feature a single room. Some of these attest the presence of production activities such as the foundry workshop of A 44. While still underway, the excavation has revealed some possible metalwork waste, small bowls probably used for casting and two fragments of nozzle, which join the rich collection from the first excavation phase (Lo Schiavo, Giardino 2007: Fig. 19). The productive context of the areas outside the “*piazza complex*” has the same purpose and is shared by the “*capanna dei ripostigli*” (A 23). Elements from the most ancient phases, coinciding with the first construction of the urban layout, situate it among the areas intended for metal processing (Bafico 1998: 20 ff.). This is evidenced by the presence of a fire point, a long drain and a large stone basin with holes in its lower part (Lo Schiavo, Giardino 2007: Fig. 17).

In the south-western sector, near the nuraghe bastion, from which it is divided by a narrow cobbled lane, there is an *insula* of a certain architectural complexity. It consists of a small open space (A 9), a sort of atrium *ante litteram* featuring a well (A 39), which gives access to two rooms (A 8 and A 11), one of which is separated from a passage by an added wall. The atrium stretches further to the west (A 7) reaching a circular hut at a much lower point (A 4), equipped with seats and niches on the upper part of the wall. The area was served by a channel that originated in the atrium near the well, and the path of the channel can be followed along the wall dividing the open area (A 7) from the room

1. This research was conducted at the Wealth University Toronto laboratories in Canada thanks to the help and friendship of David Kelvin and his team.

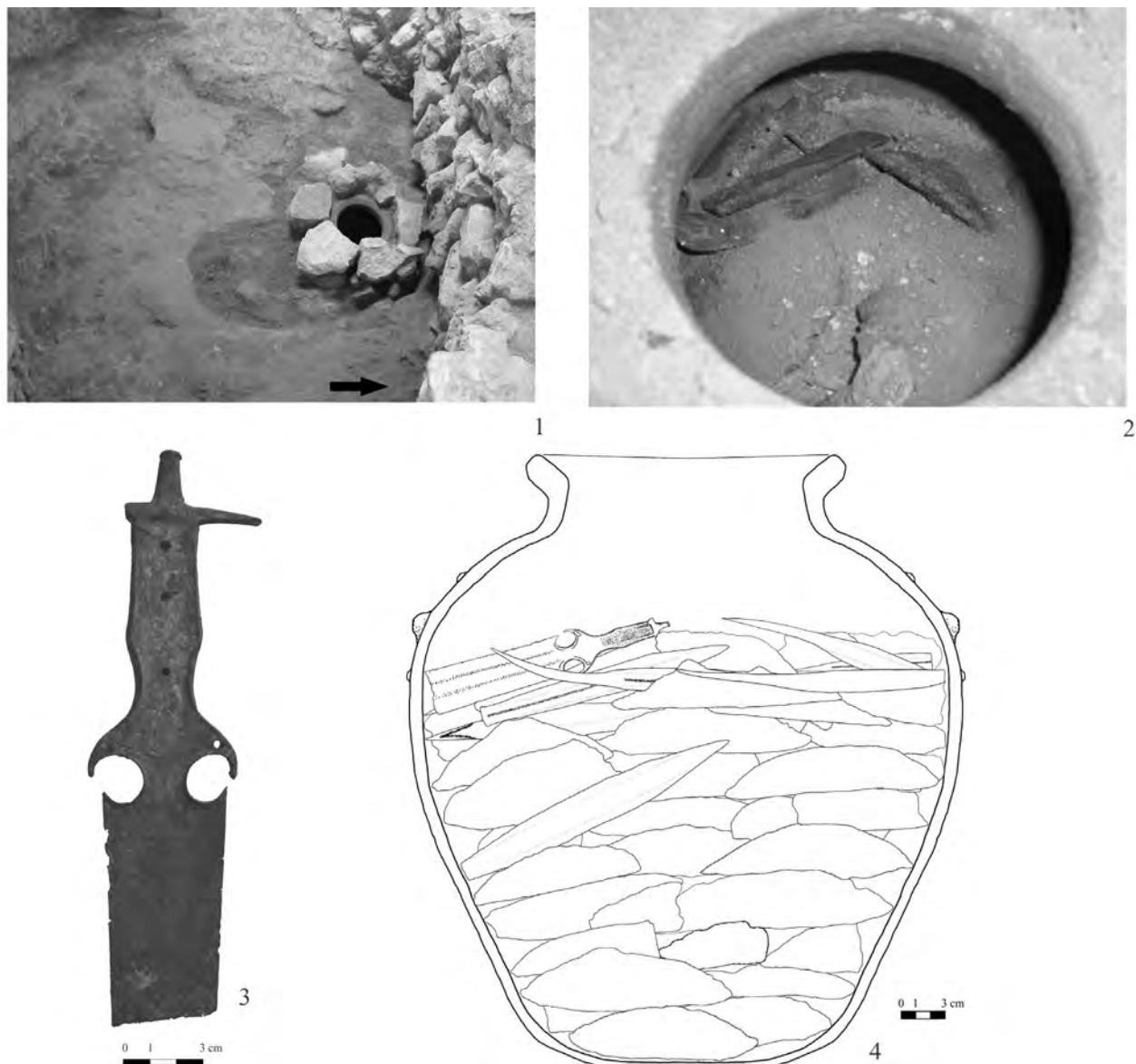


Fig. 5—(1) A 24; (2) Storage deposit; (3) Sword in the La Ronda-Monte Sa Idda style; (4) The ziro vase with the internal stratigraphy (after Depalmas et al. 2011: 236).

(A 8). This model applies to at least three other cases: one particularly well-structured and equipped with a central basin (A 26); another, built in the inner part of room 55 (A 56), has a seat with an evident backrest made from an orthostat from Cala Viola, and in which we are inclined to recognise a small throne; finally, there is a small circular room (A 13), possibly connected with the south-western insula complex. Their common trait is their size, which does not exceed 6/7 square metres. Moreover, they all have a direct or indirect connection with water (basins located outside, inlet channels) and with fire, given the presence of fireplaces or small furnaces in the immediate vicinity. The recurrence of this environmental model supports the idea that it is embedded in complex independent structures, and that it is representative of a plurality of outlying communities that would congregate here and use it as a marketplace. In the only case we have highlighted (A 56), no elements were found to support the

idea of a worship connotation, contrary to what has been claimed in Sa Sedda 'e sos Carros in Oliena (Salis 2012, with previous bibliography) or other sites in Sardinia. The recent hypothesis by G. Paglietti, which is based on the use of water and fire and which leads to an interpretation of it as a kind of washing function, may not be in conflict with the possibility of religious use, such as the ritual ablution/purification of the body that might occur in a private or family setting (Paglietti 2009, in particular p. 345 ff.).

The *piazza*, together with its annexes, has a significant topographical location close to the north side of the bastion, which was probably rebuilt in the course of the urban renovation of the area. It has a direct visual connection with the territory and is close to the “meeting hut” (A 1) partially discovered in an excavation conducted by S. Bafico and whose dig resumed in 2015 (Bafico 1998, Fig. at p. 16–17.). In this choice, which expresses a preference for land rather than the sea, there is

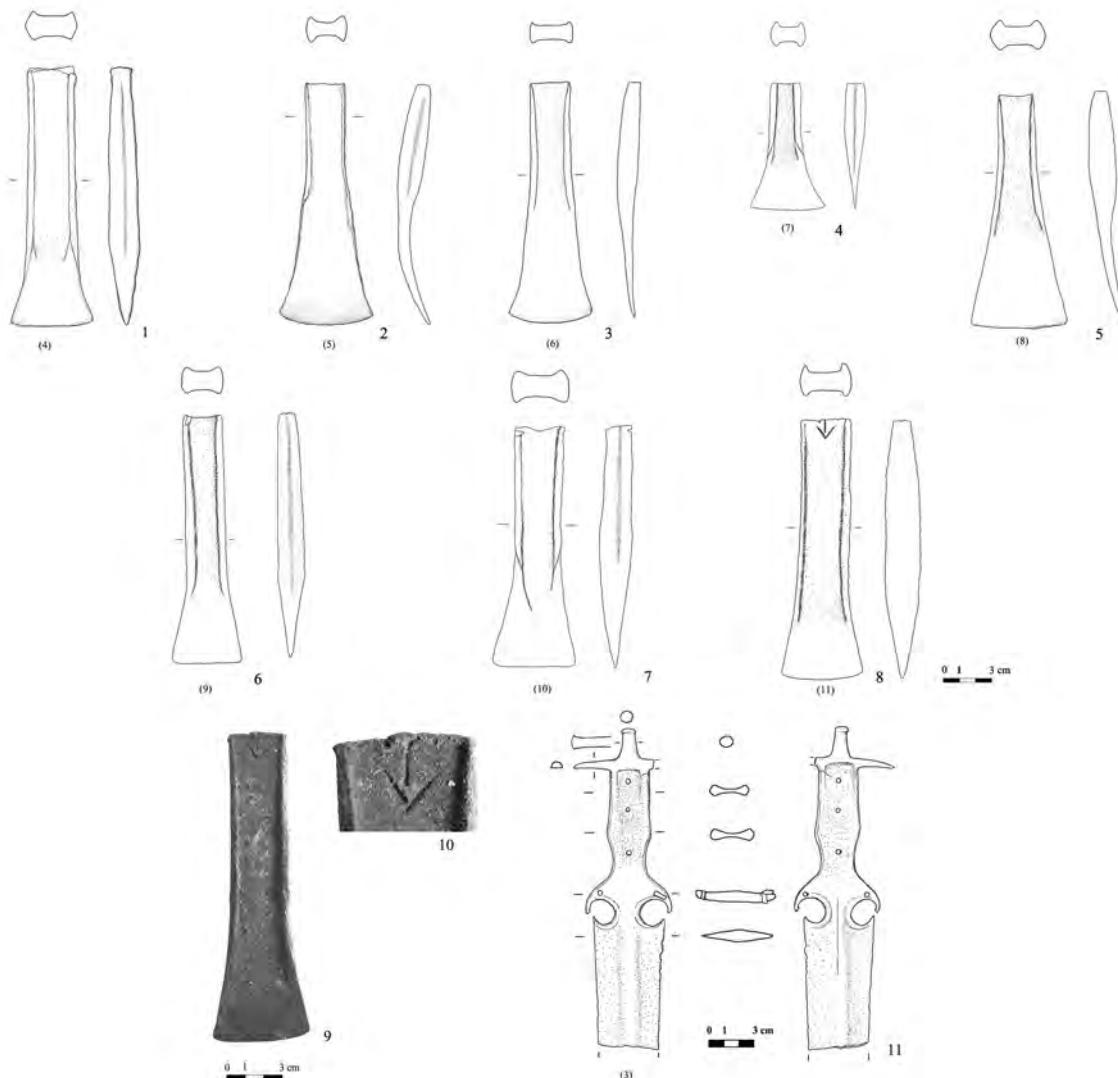


Fig. 6—The storage deposit of section 24: the axes and the sword (after Depalmas et al. 2011: 240).

further confirmation in favour of an internal organisational system implemented by the local components that was also activated by them.

### 3 The tip of the Iceberg

The picture presented by the site has changed, with new elements compared to the landscape of the island and, more generally, the central-western Mediterranean. From organisational, economic and social points of view, the market square acts as a *nuragic catalyst* of goods and productions from the Nurra region (Rendeli 2014a, 2014b; Rendeli in press). Societies that foster this innovation evolve significantly in terms of their structure and productive vocations, allowing them to be ready to operate in the trade circuits which, starting from the second half of the ninth century BC, begin to be established in a more or less stable manner in the central-western Mediterranean. The lands of the Nurra region articulate a complex territorial system that may include the presence of

villages, the transformation of production methods and the privileging of specialisation and zoning in its exploitation approaches. It represents the end of a subsistence economy in favour of one which, through the birth of a state “network”, creates surpluses to be spread in the Mediterranean exchange circuits.

We could reconstruct some moments that theoretically correspond to real revolutions in the Nuragic society of this part of Sardinia, the trigger for which may have been the passage through the Gulf of Porto Conte of long-distance Mediterranean routes and, subsequently, the creation of international, regional and interregional trading circuits. We can grasp the meaning of these transformations in the importation of pottery and in forms of technological exchange arising from the hospitality given to visiting artisans working with local craftsmen to create new ceramic repertoires. We can follow the evolution of the history of trade through the Levantine or Greek motherland pottery, and Villanovian metalwork, both in the area strictly related to the “Sant’Imbenia system” and in a wider part of north-western Sardinia from the middle of the ninth century BC. These were the destinations for refined



a



b

Fig. 7—(a) A 48 with the storage deposit on the bottom (© M. RENDELI); (b) The seeds in the ziro (© M. RENDELI).

products or products that embellished and added value to the artefacts of which they were part, as in the case of the numerous fibulae from the Italian peninsula found in this part of the island (Tore 1981: 11–34; Milletti 2012: 25–46; Salis, Minoja 2015: 151–64).

At this point of the research, the site has ambivalent characteristics and we should prioritise the definition of its nature. It may be interpreted as a “gateway community”, an “emporion” or a “port of trade” if we observe it with the eyes of those who arrive looking for forms of commercial exchange. It could also be interpreted as the catalyst of a surplus-driven economy, a kind of “little capital” within a state system venturing to take its first steps. Precisely because it has been “forgotten” in the current literature, we are dedicating considerable attention to this latter aspect. In fact, it provides the basis from the important theme of the relationship between the coastal area and the inlands that underlies the construction of the political system (Rendeli 2014b; Garau 2015: 297 ff.). It may also have important repercussions for other areas of Sardinia affected to varying degrees by a structured Phoenician or Greek presence. The starting point for this should be the definition of the complex political, social and economic entities that held control over the territory and the means of production.

There are some areas of research where more in-depth investigation would be useful. One of them expressly concerns



Fig. 8—The furnace in A 50 (© M. RENDELI).

the urban aspect, specifically the creation of a collective open space, a market square, intended as a venue for exchange both within a “local system” and with merchants arriving in the Gulf of Porto Conte. It implies a process of transferring spaces that were previously private (as we found in the lower levels in layers of A 47). This is important because it transforms dwellings into open spaces with clear public connotations, destined for trade and exchange activities by the community (Rendeli 2012b). This implies that part of this surplus may have been accumulated for the trade with visiting merchants. While we remain cautious, we have not ruled out the possibility that the site may also have acted as a catalyst for forms of internal exchange between various components within the system, especially at times of the year in which the sea routes were closed, for example.

It is important to emphasise Nurra’s attractiveness as a stopover on the pan-Mediterranean route, which is thanks to the gulf providing shelter from the prevailing winds. It is critically located in the context of the play of currents in this part of the western Mediterranean and in terms of its proximity to the Balearic Islands and thence to the coasts of the Iberian peninsula. Apart from all this, which was certainly not a matter of secondary importance in the eyes of the merchants, there was also the fertile abundance of production and wealth of raw materials in the territory, and the possibility of extracting significant resources from a concentrated area. In this case, as in many other parts of the island, especially along the coastal and internal areas of the eastern part of Sardinia, it would appear that the involvement of the local population in the exploitation and extraction of resources (mining and others) was total, as was their control over the relevant activities. This would indicate that the society of the time had evolved forms of specialisation in categories of work that were not so common, particularly in the context of territorial “networks”.

The concentrations of semi-processed copper products in the form of metal ingots ready for exchange, the systematic discovery of lead artefacts or iron utensils and the wealth of bronze objects (emerging from storage hoards and from votive deposits converted from other uses or constructed specifically for the purpose) indicate the existence of a production chain that begins with mining and proceeds to metalworking and the crafting of objects.

One element connected to the metal mining and production chain is the find of three large storage units consisting of amphorae or *ziro* vessels (large dolium-type vases), a smaller one in the form of an olla fitted with a cup-lid, at least one more empty vessel and one that left traces in the form of a sharp indentation in the ground. One element connected to the “metal production chain” is the presence of many metal hoards (in amphora, *ziri* or jar) that suggest activity related to the trade of copper ingots and bronze objects. The raw material extraction areas are likely to have been L’Argentiera for lead and argentiferous galena, the iron mine at Canaglia, the ferrous mineral outcrops in Rena Majore in the Lampianu area as well as the mines and copper outcrops in Calabona and the Vessus area south of Alghero. Following a protocol previously established for the study of ceramics, we are trying to outline an up-to-date composition profile of these metals for the purpose of making a comparison with the ancient artefacts found in the excavation.<sup>2</sup> If the results are positive, we shall be able to reconstruct further aspects related to the organisation and exploitation of primary resources and, subsequently, we should be in a position to describe the extent of the political and organisational system.

#### 4 An Iceberg of... Wine

The vitality of the Sant’Imbenia market square between the 9th and 6th centuries BC has brought forward the systematic study of transport amphorae by attempting to carry out a counterpoint analysis between archeometry (coordinated by B. De Rosa) and archeology (headed by E. Garau). The first data are extraordinary in terms of quality and quantity, and are based on the extensive work involving researching, finding and establishing the compatibility of local clay deposits with the morphological analysis of amphorae. Hence, we now have a very precise composition profile of the local clay and an experimental correlation study is underway to distinguish between locally crafted items and imported material, bearing in mind that the morphological characteristics or typological features are not sufficient to tie an amphora to a given production (De Rosa *et al.* 2012; De Rosa *et al.* 2015; De Rosa, Rendeli 2016; De Rosa 2017). Clearly, what is ultimately required is an analytic process grounded in specific local parameters, drawing a constant comparison between modern and ancient contexts. The first results relate to more than 200 diagnostic amphorae fragments, which now form the basis of two plates that provide an initial overview of the presence of local and imported amphorae (Fig. 8–9).

Some clear indications emerge from these two figures. First, the locally produced transport containers not only include the large group with shorts neck and thickened walls—which we can recognise as the well-known category of “Sant’Imbenia-type amphorae” created by I. Oggiano (Oggiano 2000) and later adopted by R. Docter for the vases found in

Carthage (Docter 2007)—but we can distinguish another type of neckless container, with a thick, often vertical rim directly attached to the shoulder, hitherto unknown in the local heritage of transport containers.

Careful and accurate work that began with a morphological analysis (especially in relation to their stratigraphic location), and continued with the classification of a collection covering about 250 years of trading history on the site, led to comparative analyses and attribution of the areas from which these products were disseminated throughout the central and western Mediterranean. In fact, we have evidence of their dissemination in northern Africa (Monchambert *et al.* 2013; Ben Jerbania, Redissi 2014; Lopez Castro *et al.* 2014 and 2016) and southern Spain (Fundoni 2009; Gómez Toscano; Fundoni 2011) dating back to the earliest stages of contact between traders and local communities before the colonial organisation of these regions. This has opened up a broad and profound reflection on the ability of the local community to improve and optimise forms of production, becoming a reliable partner and not a secondary actor in the spreading of wine produced in this part of Sardinia throughout the central and western Mediterranean for an extensive period, as fully participants in international, interregional and regional circuits and true protagonists of trade and exchange in their own right. It is evident that the structuring of these flows was not simply limited to trading in wine, as testified by finds in northern Africa and southern Iberia of complete “drinking sets” that were exported alongside the main product. In addition to the amphorae, these included “*vasi a collo*”, askoid jugs and, possibly, also cups that would have effectively made up a table set, not unlike well-known contemporary examples in Greece or early representations in the Italian peninsula (Delpino 1997 and 2012; Milletti 2012: 153 ff.).

The presence of these drinking set in remote areas far from the island are also a sign of the inhabitants’ ability to adapt their production to the needs of merchants in very ancient times at an early stage of contact. This continued later with amphorae represented by the prototypes found in the Strait of Gibraltar (Ramon 1995 and 2000), and in the northern African and Carthaginian colonial series (Docter 2007). These data should be analysed together with the presence of imported items, and the amphorae attributed to Nurra production discovered in northern Africa and the Iberian peninsula. Though not unequivocal, what emerges is a framework of significant export activities of a reciprocal nature, with the adaptability of the ceramic workshops in north-western Sardinia catering to specific product variants for certain purposes. Production and distribution capacity in a broad Mediterranean context are the prerogatives of a local community organised in a large and complex territorial system with various protagonists.

We are at the beginning of a long and complicated path in which we are placing our hopes, because it would open up new perspectives on an organised, politically solid and socially complex system that positioned itself as an interlocutor of the merchants travelling to north-western Sardinia, for both long-distance trading between the Levant and the Iberian peninsula, as well as for the establishment of a series of interregional and regional routes. We have many data

2. An analysis and measurement project involving the collaboration of the Dipartimento di Chimica e Farmacia, Università di Sassari, Istituto Nazionale di Fisica Nucleare—areas of the Università di Milano-Bicocca, LABEC-Sesto Fiorentino, Laboratori Nazionale del Sud-Catania and Brunel University, London.

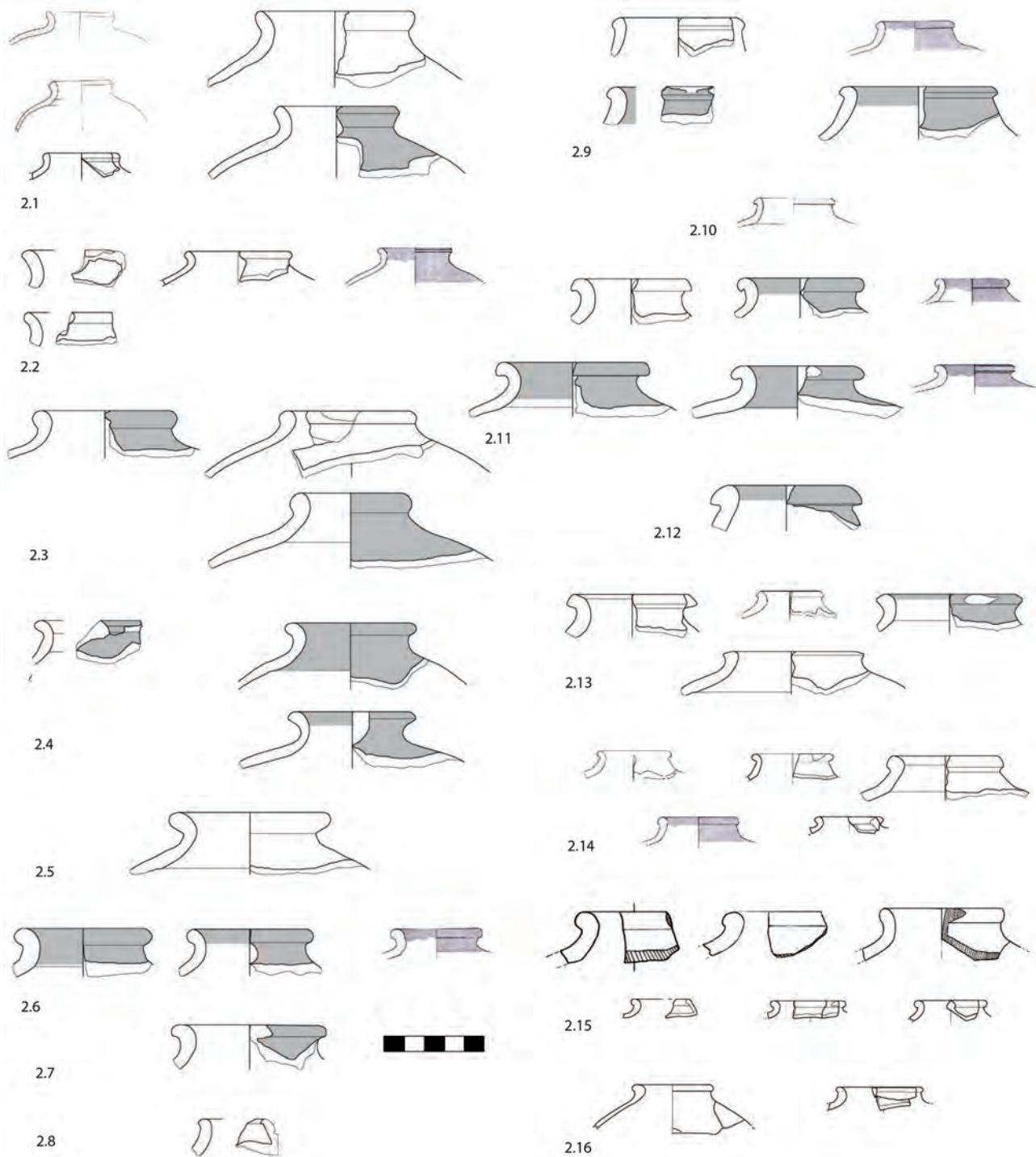


Fig. 9—Sant'Imbenia-type amphorae with neck.

from the first season of excavations between 1982 and 1997, edited by S. Bafico (Bafico 1986: 91–100; Bafico 1997: 45–46), by D. Ridgway for importations from Greece (Ridgway 1997: 50–52), I. Oggiano for Levantine importations (Oggiano 1997: 46–50; Oggiano 2000) and G. Garbini for the two Phoenician inscriptions (Garbini 1997: 52–53). We can now add some Cypriot ceramic fragments from the second half of the ninth to the first half of the eighth centuries BC that complete the already rich collection of items. While for the most ancient period, the traffic reflects “distant” presences related to long-distance

contexts, those following the colonial expansion indicate participation in a series of circuits that, as we have seen, place Nurra in relation to northern Africa and southern Spain, with lesser presences in the Tyrrhenian area, as witnessed by a small fibula “ad arco ingrossato” (Rendeli 2012c: 199, Fig. 4g). The dissemination of products or gifts arriving at Sant’Embenia includes the discoveries of the nuraghe Palmavera (fibulae) (Lo Schiavo et al. 2008: 64 ff.; Milletti 2012: 30–31, n. 21–22.), the Nuraghe Flumenelongu (bronze statuette, Etrusco-Corinthian plate by the Pittore senza Graffito) (Santocchini 2014: 164, 3.29.A;

in addition to which: p. 163, 3.27.A,<sup>3</sup> and p. 165, 3.30.:<sup>4</sup> 166, 3.33.A,<sup>5</sup> the Camposanto of Olmedo (bronze figurines) (Botto, Bernardini 2010), the necropolis of Santu Pedru (amphorae of the S. Imbenia type and R1) (Moravetti 2012: 92 ff.). If we also consider elements from outside the possible system, we could add material from Serra Niedda (fibulae) and Monte Cao a Sorso, Monte Sant'Antonio a Siligo (fibulae), Ploaghe (antennae sword) as well as from Laerru (razor) and Santu Antine a Torralba (fibulae).<sup>6</sup>

The market square could represent the achievement of a high level of participation in the trade and exchange scenario of the central and western Mediterranean by this part of Sardinia. We could acknowledge this site as an *emporion* with forms of hospitality offered to merchants, as witnessed by the inscriptions, by the presence of various categories of non-resident craftsmen and by the technological drive denoted by the variety of production sectors. This movement and presences can be dated during the second half of the 9th century BC, a phase which is earlier than the beginning of colonisation. Little has been said about the composition of the crews of these ships, about the nature of these early entrepreneurs and the reasons underlying their presence in the central and western Mediterranean. The image that emerges is one of a mixed congregation of varied groups and diverse origins, which might well have included skilled craftsmen from the Neo-Hittite kingdoms, from Phoenicia, from Cyprus and from the Greek world (travellers of Euboic-Attic, Aegean and Cretan origin, although this latter is doubtful). It cannot be ruled out that the composition of the crews may have been influenced by the strong pressure exerted on the entire Levant by the Assyrian Empire, and that the workers sailing in these ships were fleeing to the West to rebuild a new life. The outcomes of such escapes (?), diasporas (?), migrations (?) towards the West are evident in Crete and the Aegean from the tenth century BC onward (Rendeli 2007: 227 ff.), while in the western Mediterranean these attestations were clearly revealed throughout the following two centuries in Sardinia, Etruria, in the Etruscan Po Valley and in Campania, as well as in southern Spain, albeit at fairly different times (Rendeli 2012d: 156–58).

## 5 A new Sardinia?

Despite its quantitative limitations compared to the greater numbers of Huelva (Spain) and possibly also Utica (Tunisia), the example of Sant'Imbenia is significant and teaches us a great deal because it is a sign of a relationship fostered between traders and the local community based on contact,

3. Plate with linear decorations from the S. Antine nuraghe (Torralba)  
4. A kouros from Camposanto di Olmedo.

5. Fragment of an Etruscan-Corinthian cup rim from Serra Niedda (Sorso).

6. Serra Niedda; 64 s; p. 72 s. Monte S. Antonio (Siligo); p. 74 s. Ploaghe e Laerru. MILLETTI 2012: 25–26, nn. 1–3 (fibula from Serra Niedda, Sorso); p. 29, n. 17 (fibula from S. Antonio di Siligo); p. 32–33, n. 30–31 (fibula from S. Antine, Torralba): most of them belong to a period dated by the author between the end of the 9th century and the first half of the 8th century BC; p. 47, n. 3 (razor from Laerru); p. 47, n. 2 (razor from S. Antine, Torralba); p. 53, n. 1 (sword from the Attentu nuraghe, Ploaghe).

exchange and the sharing of technological know-how and cultural values. It is rooted in the utility for both actors in following common paths, and the significant advantages that these can ensure for the protagonists. At a time marked by intermingling and later by colonisation, the success or failure of this relationship should be measured by the ability to assure continuity to the exchange process and the sharing of possible goals, as long as this was not predicated on actions of a mandatory nature. Therefore, the essence of this relationship was based on the ability of the local communities to respond to the traders' requests, on their willingness to modify and even radically transform the productive framework, social fabric and group relationships, on their willingness and openness to the relevant advantages of undertaking new and different ventures.

In relation to the above, we should be well aware that the embryonic forms of integration emerging in Sant'Imbenia were not based on the subservience of the local population to impositions dictated by the merchants, rather, it is apparent that the opposite is true: the visiting communities entered into synergy with the locals and adapted their practices and ways of life in order to align themselves with and become part of a structurally complex local scenario in which they could move forward to their mutual benefit. In this sense, we could re-examine the first phase of the colonial organisation in Sardinia under a new light, as numerous doubts and questions have recently arisen over the number and dimensions of the relevant structures, as well as their true nature and actual consistency (Oggiano 2009; a comparison with the “motherland model” in Aubet 2009: 21–37). From this point of view, the diversity of the colonial structures corresponds to a limited dimension, which in turn points to a relatively small number of settlers and tangential location of the settlements with respect to the production areas, also in relation to subsistence goods. These structures may have given rise to circuits and trading routes, as is apparent from the interregional dissemination of diverse products by means of transport amphorae. The development of an exchange network in the Phoenician Mediterranean should not distract attention from the other side of the coin. Indeed, this would not have emerged if not been sustained by reliable partners willing to start sharing new ventures that would exploit “open” systems capable of aggregating experienced traders and navigators.

The diversity of the colonial structures could also provide us with an insight into the political and economic organisations on the island during the transition between the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. We envisage new power and organisation “systems” (still to be discovered) that inherit the structures from the “*bella età dei nuraghi*” and modify them with forms of work specialisation and with the creation of surpluses ready to be injected into Mediterranean markets. The role of colonies, in comparison with the local political network, could be that of the final step of the system, synergic and integrated with it. The tangent location of the colonies, well within the marine environment, is far from the productive areas which provide both the daily subsistence and the surplus. Without going into the nature of this relationship in depth, it is reasonable to question how these

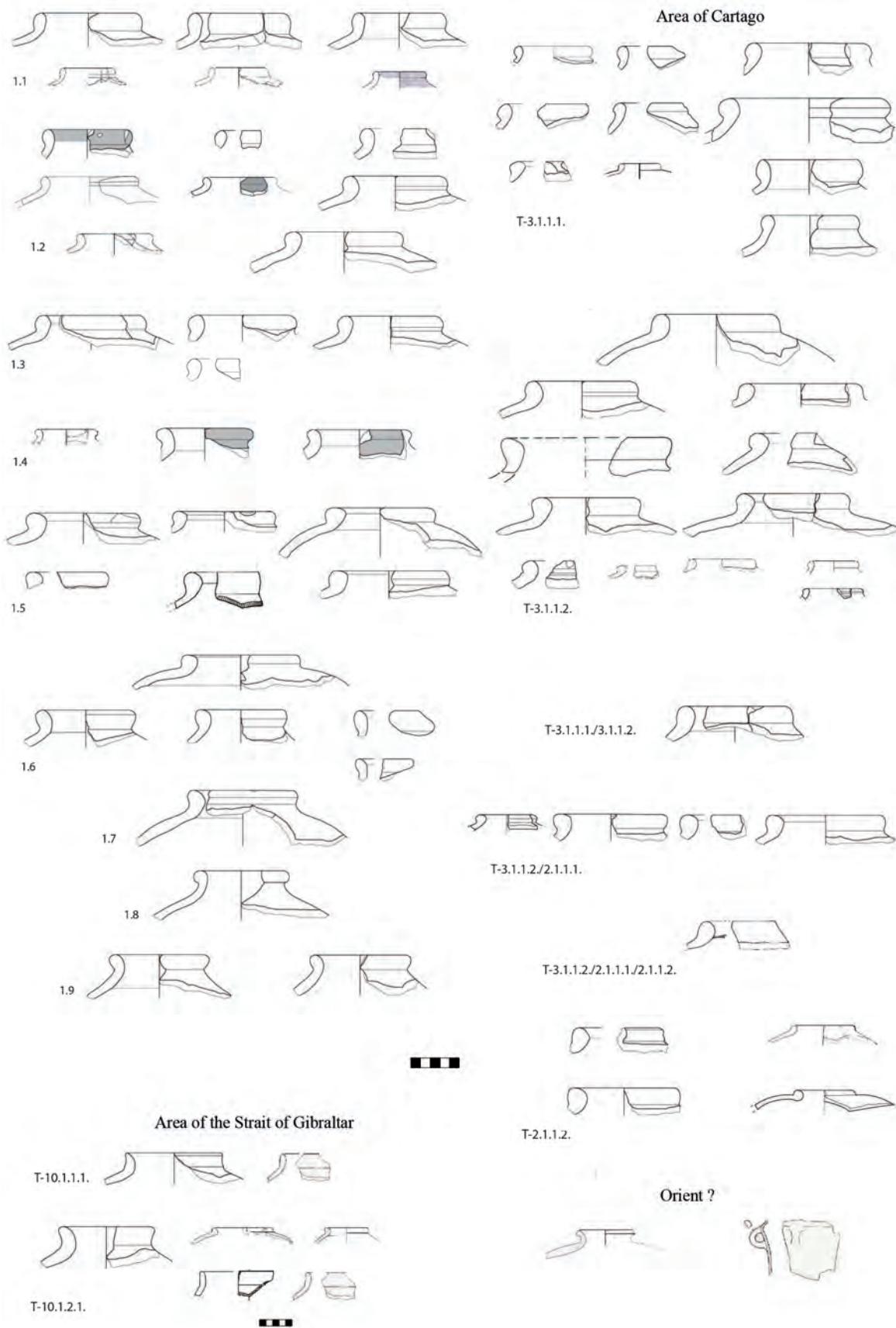


Fig. 10—Local and imported amphorae.

communities lived when the sea routes were closed during the winter months. If we can plausibly reconstruct a model of a shared path between local communities and traders, then it is possible that a process of integration between the political systems on the island may have occurred far away from the coast. This reading sheds new light on the interpretation of the Phoenician “penetration” in the inland areas, and the outcome of the sharing process may be seen by the emergence of the most ancient discoveries in the Sulcis area (Nuraghe Sirai, Monte Sirai and Portoscuso) (Guirguis, Unali 2016: 81–96);<sup>7</sup> from the Phoenician necropolis found not far from S’Uraki or the sites of Su Padrigheddu, Su Cungiau ‘e Funtà in the Oristano area (Sebis 1987: 187 ff.; Roppa 2015: 129–46); from the few but significant Phoenician sites in the district of Nora (Bonetto 2013: 173–82) or the more evident remains of the Nuraghe Antigori (Bartoloni 1983: 167–75).

In all cases, the context is that of the local community, as well as the weight of the organisation of an allogeous presence in its territory. Local societies consider the presence of coastal “colonial” settlements to be advantageous, even though they are not completely stable and subject to the seasonal nature of maritime trade. The export of products to markets broader than the local context, the participation, including direct participation in trade circuits and the acquisition of products through exchange that would otherwise be unreachable, are the triggers that lead to the acceptance of non-native groups within their political-organisational system and economy and the sharing of a common path. The discriminating factor that distinguishes paths that appear totally local, such as those of S. Imbenia on the west coast or Sa Sedda ‘e sos Carros (Salis 2006; Fadda, Salis 2010; Fadda 2013: 73–88; Salis 2014: 296–30) and S’Arcus’ ‘e is Forros on the east, from the colonial structures of southern and the central-western Sardinia lies in the formers’ capacity for organisation, and their ability to respond to the commercial needs expressed by the merchants. In any case, both are indicators of a new and extraordinary phase of growth, with local societies that flourished at least until the end of the 6th century BC.

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## **Part Four**

### **Comparative Perspectives on the *Emporion***



# Aegean Migrations and the Indigenous Iron Age Communities on the Ionian Coast of Southern Italy: Sharing and Interaction Phenomena

Mario DENTI

## 1 Emporia? Diversity and Interrelationships on the Ionian Coast of Southern Italy in the Iron Age

The phenomenology of the occupation of territory along the Ionian coast of southern Italy between the 8th and 7th centuries BC is characterised by the presence of Greek communities settled within areas belonging to indigenous communities. It is a period only partially characterised by the existence of Greek colonies, as is the case of Sybaris (in the south) and Taranto (in the North), *poleis* already attested at the end of the 8th century BC. There was a large territory without *apoikiai* between these two centres, at least until the end of the 7th century BC (foundation of Siris and Metapontum) (Fig. 1). The problem currently faced by researchers working in this region is basically the following: what forms of contact were there between these two communities within areas with no urban characteristics?

The question is complicated today by epistemological questioning of the traditional notion of “colony”—in relation to the earliest phases of these foundations’ history—as an urban body with institutional, territorial and cultural connotations in the Greek sense. As is well known,<sup>1</sup> this situation is the result of a double historiographic process, developing not only on a major theoretical discussion, but also on the results of recent archaeological research and the new generations of archaeologists’ different view of the field data. While our predecessors were convinced that they understood the “urban” agglomeration the Greeks created in the early history of the West, today the situation appears to be far more complicated.

The results of the research carried out most recently in this region have provided information about the recurrent phenomena of “diversity”, sharing and interaction between Greeks and non-Greeks. It is a phenomenon which is emerging symptomatically in other “mixed” archaeological environments, characterising various coastal regions of Gaul, the Iberian Peninsula, the Italic world and the Black Sea. Along with the case presented here, Incoronata (particularly use-



Fig. 1—Map with the location of Incoronata and other main settlements of Southern Italy.

ful as it has been well-studied archaeologically), we will at least cite the closest nearby site of Siris-Polieion (*Siritide e Metapontino* 1991; Giardino 2010; Osanna 2012), the oldest phases of Metapontum (De Siena 1986), Amastuola (Burgers, Crielaard 2011) near Taranto and, further south, the sanctuary of Timpone della Motta (Francavilla Marittima), which dominates the plain of Sybaris (Attema 2008).<sup>2</sup> In this context, it is extremely important to note that Amastuola and Timpone della Motta, unlike Incoronata and Siris-Polieion, show

1. In the boundless bibliography, see, more recently, DONNELAN *et al.* 2016a; DONNELAN *et al.* 2016b.

2. For a general framework, YNTEMA 2013.

a “diversity” which persisted after and even during and the foundation of the *apoikia*.

Another methodological feature contributes to the subsequent confusion of the maps. A clear conceptual dichotomy between what is Greek and what is not is now less and less apparent in these archaeological contexts. At Incoronata, as we shall see, the attestation of a series of elements—technological, artisan, figurative, ritual and ideological—common to both groups, Greek and indigenous, draws us a framework of reciprocity, of a significant sharing of experiences. Archaeological indicators seem to confirm that some elements were already known to the communities before they physically met (Denti 2009b). In this context, it is nonetheless possible to specify the degree of this sharing, and to recognise some fields in which each community has clearly expressed his identity (Denti, in press b). This is a viewpoint embedded in a concept of hybridity which “involves abandoning the idea of pure models which are gradually corrupted through contact with foreign cultural elements and, by reversing the “path”, postulate an “impurity” and an original mixture” (Müller 2002 : 391) (Denti 2016). Even the concept of “Greekness”, as we well know, does not work on this chronological level (Thucydides I,3,3).

This working hypothesis, based on a vision of the problem which favours the “before” and not the “after”, has recently made it possible for us to ask ourselves<sup>3</sup> why these first groups of Greeks crossed the Mediterranean to settle in this region. With this in mind, we are today trying to provide answers to a series of questions crucial to understanding these historical phenomena: who were these Greeks? Why exactly did they come here? What were they really doing on this side of the West before the colonies were founded? What specific types of relationships did they develop with the indigenous community? Lastly, what attracted them here?

It is in this sense that we must then question the use of the category of *emporion* to describe such situations. The use of this concept—in the most commonly accepted sense, one in which economic connotations seem to play a major role<sup>4</sup>—could turn out to be partly unsuitable for these historical-archaeological contexts. The term had already been used in the bibliography regarding Incoronata, in which the old interpretation of the site in domestic terms nourished the idea of the site being a sort of warehouse, a generic, prestigious “centre for goods collection”, goods destined to be “traded” with inland indigenous communities. A vague type of *emporion*, never precisely epistemologically defined (Orlandini 1986 : 51), whose meaning always remained rather indeterminate in Piero Orlandini’s written work; it never evoked the specific characteristics of this sort of trading post which we consider to have been marked by indigenous management and the presence of (also Greek) traders.<sup>5</sup>

The question is very probably linked, and as will be seen later is fundamentally linked, to the ultimate nature of this type

of site, that revealed to us by the archaeological information. To what extent, to the best of our current knowledge, does the archaeological information from these contexts encourage us to interpret them in “economic” terms, according to paradigms which assume the existence of structured “market” type activities, thus implying the major characteristics of any classical *emporion*? As far as we are aware, very few elements support this meaning. Let us look synoptically at some of these sites’ main features.

Firstly, from the geomorphological point of view, none of them are in contact with the sea or connected to a port (not even a river port). All of them are located in the hinterland, on hilly plateaus, a few kilometres from the sea. Secondly, the types of activities attested to come from two precise and recurring spheres, reciprocally interwoven into each other: artisan activity (especially the production of ceramics, attested mainly at Timpone della Motta and Incoronata) and ritual activity. Thirdly, the ceramics made on site, just like the hundreds of containers from all over the Greek world (Corinth, Attica, the Peloponnese, the Cyclades, Eastern Greece), were intended for exclusively local use, and were not circulated outside the site of their production and consumption.<sup>6</sup> The last fundamental point to be considered—which, moreover, is one of the specific aspects of the *emporion* category—is that they are always indigenous sites, not Greek. Indigenous sites which, at some point in their history, hosted a Greek community.

As the best-known cases show (Siris, Incoronata, Timpone della Motta), it is probably best to look at religious and ritual aspects when trying to understand the ultimate nature of these phenomena of contact and relationships between Greeks and non-Greeks within “non-colonial” contexts. At Incoronata, and likewise in the case of the other places just mentioned, the activities documented by archaeology have very significant ritual characteristics. It was a functional boundary, agreeing with what we know about the general framework of these “border” contexts during this time period, in which the sacred areas, in particular, acted as places for meeting, relationships, integration and sharing, between Greeks and non-Greeks, but also between Greeks and other Greeks (De Polignac 1995: 80). Moreover, the fundamentally religious connotation of these areas corresponds very well with the evidence of ceramic production, established on this site to meet this specific requirement. It therefore allows us to better explain the role played by communities of immigrant Aegean craftsmen, established in the eminent sites of Oenotria. The process of identifying the possible motivations leading these Greek communities to move into non-Greek areas in the West becomes clearer if we place it in a trajectory in which the heroic dimension of the construction of family ideology played a fundamental role. As we shall see, the nature of the archaeological furnishings of the site we are going to consider here, Incoronata, now seems to definitively suggest a heroic-ritual, and very probably religious physiognomy.

3. DENTI 2018; DENTI, in press a. These pages partly reproduce the contents of these two articles.

4. For the bibliography on this concept, refer to the contributions in this book.

5. Discussion in LOMBARDO 1998; TORELLI 1997: 700; TORELLI 1998: 293. See also STEA 1999: 53 and DENTI 2007: 236–37.

6. With the exception of a few copies, probably produced at Incoronata, found at Crotone and Amastuola.



Fig. 2—Aerial view of the hill of Incoronata, during the excavation (© M. DENTI).

## 2 Elements of the Archaeological Framework of Incoronata

Incoronata is a small hill dominating the lower valley of the Basento river where it flows into the Ionian Sea, in the Gulf of Taranto (modern Basilicata region) (Fig. 2). Every year<sup>7</sup> this site provides us with scientifically invaluable evidence concerning the activities, culture and ideology of a Greek community coming from the Aegean Sea at the end of the 8th century BC. Historically, this phenomenon is part of a historical framework characterised by a precolonial moment,<sup>8</sup> in which a “mixed” community cohabited on a prominent site belonging to the indigenous Iron Age elite. The archaeological boundary examined here is a mixed one, in which an area occupied from the end of the 9th century BC by the indigenous Iron Age communities controlling the coastal region of Oenotria (the *Chōnes* tribe, according to the Greek sources) received a non-indigenous community from the Aegean, between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century BC. This historical-archaeological

boundary is marked by another fundamental feature: the updated context has been revealed on the highest level, monumentally as well as productively. Indeed, the scale of the structures built, and the quality and quantity of the ceramics made on site or imported from Greece, show it to be a place of worship or (possibly and) a residential area: a raised area which dominated the land occupied by the Oenotrians (villages and mostly necropolises have been discovered all around), where ceremonies—most probably ancestor worship—were held.

The University of Rennes excavations currently underway on the western side of the hill allowed us to understand the different phases spanning the two centuries the site was occupied. From the beginning of the 8th (or even end of the 9th) century BC, the indigenous community built a series of structures connected to ritual activities and production on the southern edge of the plateau. One building currently being excavated was found literally filled with prestigious ceramics (*impasto*,<sup>9</sup> matt painted ceramic, large containers). At the time of its destruction (still in the 8th century BC), this was very probably obliterated by a ritual practice which consisted of depositing pebbles around a large smooth white stone, ceremonial Oenotrian ceramics and animal bones being placed around this. In association with these structures, there is a large pebble pavement, oriented east-west, which runs along this border of the hill for about thirty metres (at

7. Already partially excavated by the Universities of Milan and Texas in the 80's and 90's, Incoronata has been the subject of a research and excavation programme carried out since 2002 by the University of Rennes 2 under my direction (DENTI 2013b). Excavation reports are published annually in the *MEFRA*.

8. The *apoikia* of Metapontum, around 600 BC, coincides with our hill's abandonment.

9. Also called “coarse ware” or “barbarian ware”.

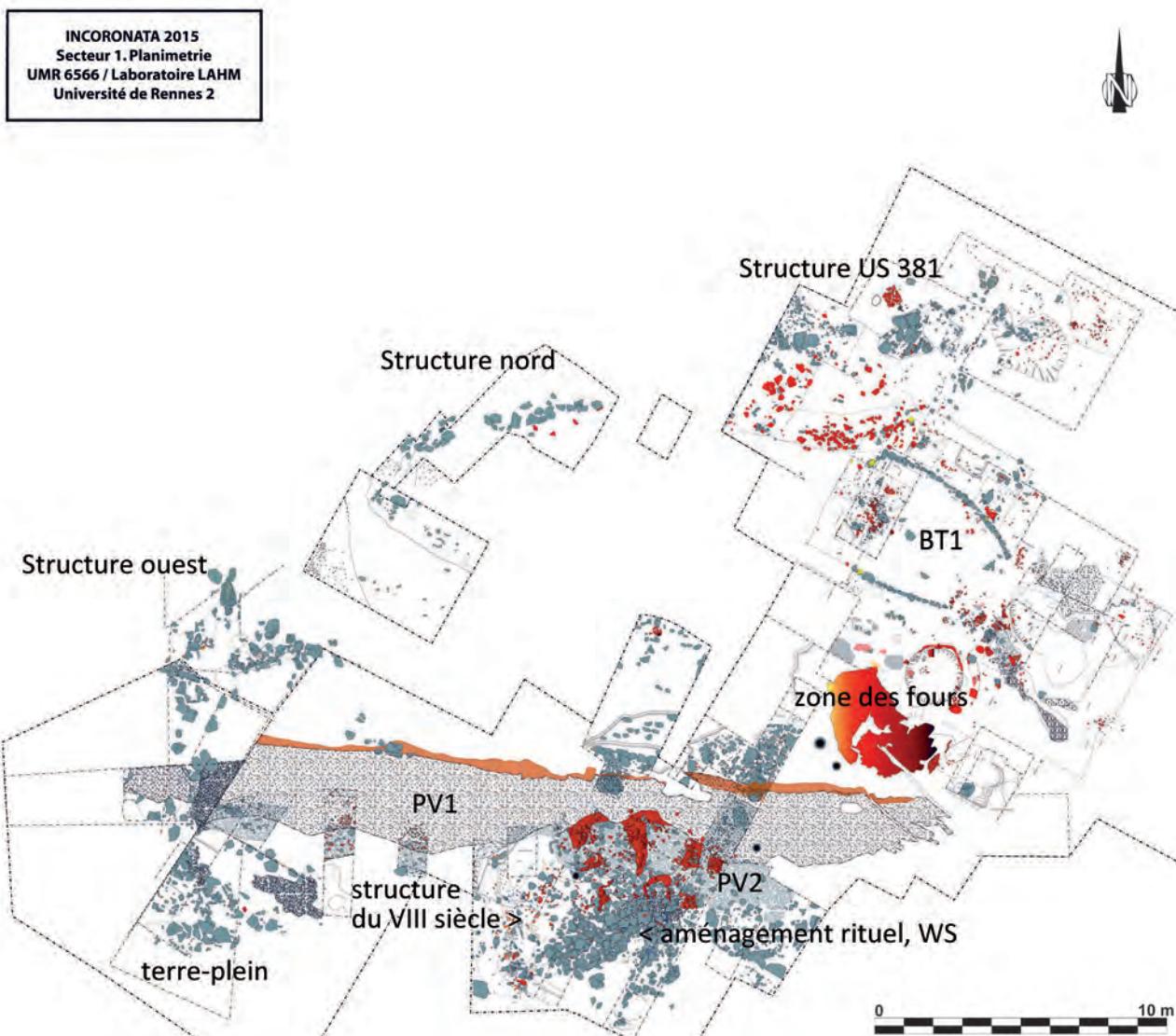


Fig. 3—Incoronata, map of the excavation area (DAO F. Meadéb).

least) and is about a dozen metres wide (Fig. 3, PV2). Due to its remarkable dimensions, technical quality and orientation, this could be interpreted as a terrace, functionally connected to the layout and ceremonial practices. In addition to this, the discovery of firing waste from Oenotrian dishes—testifying to ceramic production on the hill in the 8th century BC—reveals circumstances consistent with the framework previously described.

During this century, the occupation remained exclusively indigenous. No shards of Greek ceramics are present in these layers and the only evidence of relationships with the Aegean world are extremely rare imports, such as an Middle Geometric Corinthian *kyto*, a form which is particularly significant in both chronological and functional terms.

At the end of the 8th beginning of the 7th centuries BC a radical change in the history of the site can be observed. Greeks from the Aegean—including artists, craftsmen, potters—settled in the region and worked on the hill. As will be better seen later, they shared their production space with the indigenous potters, creating splendid, orientalizing

figured ceramics. This transformation obviously had consequences at the monumental level. A new large terrace was constructed on top of the previous one, in the same position (Fig. 3, PV1), with the same orientation and very probably the same dimensions. This plan, finely constructed of tiny pebbles, necessitated foundations made of stones and earth, which also served to obliterate the underlying 8th century terrace. The monumental refurbishment of this structure determine thus a crucial historical change.

Just north of this terrace, remnants of the artisan space have been uncovered, in the form of remarkable quantities of firing waste—both Greek and indigenous together—the remains of the foundation of an oven and the outlines of rubified clay, some circulation plans, parts of a potter's wheel, work tools, basins for decanting and depuration of clay, and a large quarry of clay.

Not far from these finds, we have begun to discover structures belonging to buildings, allowing us to start identifying the destination of this pottery production. First of all, an apsidal building in the shape of a horseshoe, used for ceremon-

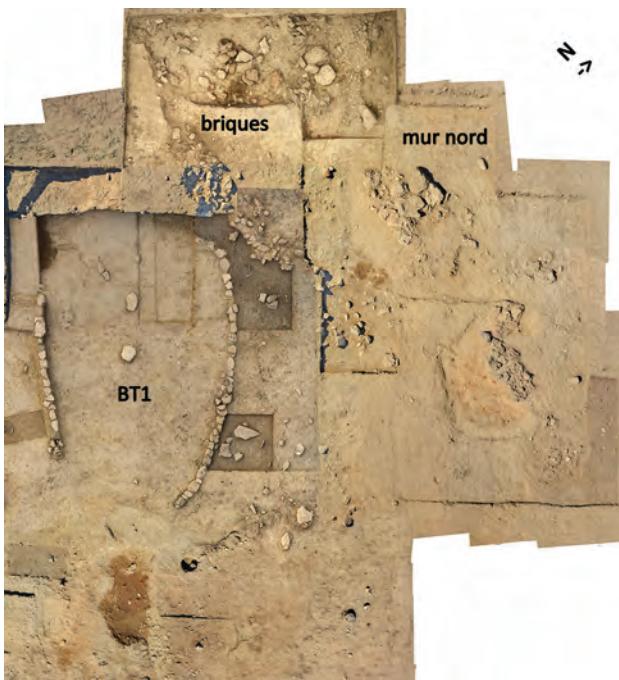


Fig. 4—Incoronata, photogrammetry of the area with the apsidal building (BT1), the wall-like structure at the North, and the collapsed mud-bricks (© C. VITA).

nial purposes (Fig. 3, BT1). Oriented in a northwest-southeast direction, with the entrance to the east (in front of which there is a large artificial pit, currently being excavated), it measures approximately 6 m x 4 m. The perimeter made of small stones—corresponding to the foundation of an erection built of perishable material—is well preserved, as are the flat stones on the central inner axis, which served as bases for the posts supporting the roof. The post holes encircling its perimeter, which were expected on the basis of architectural typology for these kind of buildings (Mazarakis Ainian 1999), were first detected in the 2015 campaign (Fig. 4).

In the centre of the apse, a ritualistic arrangement, demarcated by a sort of cluster of tiny pebbles, included the foot of an SOS amphora which had previously been indented and fixed into the earth, thus fulfilling the function, common to many places of worship, of *tubo fittile*, used in ritual practices for providing earthen libations. There were also the remains of charcoal associated with ceramic products—Greek and indigenous—intended for ceremonial use: a large, painted, locally produced Greek *stamnos* (perfectly reconstructable, the edge of its foot was intentionally and carefully indented, to make it unusable after the ceremony), one non-painted *askos*, one monochrome painted ware *askos* (Fig. 5), two bobbins.

The complex could easily be interpreted as a residential and/or religious building, associated with ancestor and/or hero worship, as the type of rituals suggests. The association of ceramics intended for ceremonial use in the same post-ritual deposit context confirms that the mixed nature of activities performed on the hill in the 7th century BC was not limited to the production of ceramics, but also included ritualistic practices.

This building and, as will be seen later, all other structures on this site were deliberately demolished and ritually obliterated when the hill was permanently abandoned. The



Fig. 5—Incoronata, the greek *stamnos* and the two indigenous *askoi* forming part of the ritual deposit located within the apsidal building (© C. BELLAMY-M. POISSENOT).

same fate befell a building which lay just north of the apsidal building. We have been able to discover parts of a wall of this building the foundations of which are large blocks of flat stones, measuring 1.40 m in width. Oriented E-W, this wall had a mud-brick elevation, as the impressive and fired collapse of these along its southern side clearly suggests (Fig. 3-4). We do not yet know the nature or the timeline of the building to which this monumental structure belonged (excavations are currently under way) but its dimensions, technical aspects and orientation represent key arguments not only in definitively confirming the fundamental monumental features of the site, but also in better contextualising the ceremonial nature of the ceramics produced on and imported to this hill.

Even the way in which the Incoronata site was abandoned— involving a widespread programme of ritualised obliteration of all existing structures—indicates that it almost certainly had a religious function.

### 3 Greek Ceramics: Imports, Local Production, Destinations and Deposition Contexts

The abandonment of the Incoronata hill can be definitively dated between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century BC, which concurs significantly with the Achaean *apoikia* of Metapontum. This event was marked by a complex project of obliteration. Each pit (as well as the clay quarry) was taken out of service by emptying and immediately filling it with earth of a very homogeneous colour and consistency, clearly carefully chosen. Each building was systematically demolished, cleaned (*i.e.* purified) and carefully covered by layers of stones, pebbles and earth, in order to preserve these structures in space and time, and in the memory of mankind and the site (Bradley 2002). Hundreds of animal bones and thousands of ceramic shards from all phases of occupation of the site were found within these layers of earth (Denti 2013a).

These operations were accompanied by the creation of a large number of ceramic deposits, mixed with earth, stones and probably a liquid element, which were used to fill pits



Fig. 6—Incoronata, the upper part of a deposit, with special arrangements of ceramics (mainly amphorae) for libation practices (© M. DENTI).

dug into the clay soil of the hill, measuring on average 3 x 4 m and 80 cm in depth (Fig. 6) (Denti 2009a). Accompanied by the deposition of other objects—such as weapons, female statuettes, shells, loomweights, spindle whorls, bronzes, bones—the vessels were deposited in different forms: complete; partially preserved; complete but deliberately fragmented *in situ* (principally amphorae and figurative ceramics), as is indicated by the location of the shards in the deposit and the traces of the blows received, clearly visible on their walls; or in individual shards (*pars pro toto?*). Parts of the same vase (always significant pieces, such as a Protocorinthian *lekythos* or embossed Oenotrian ceramics) were sometimes scattered in different deposits, or indeed inside the fillings and “covers” of the obliteration, in areas remote from each other, evoking the ritual practice of “enchainment” (Chapman 2000). Vases were cut vertically, while amphora necks were often cut horizontally. The foot or the edge of certain vases, especially prestigious ones, were sometimes indented in the same way previously observed for the *stamnos* of the apsidal building. The vases were sometimes laid out with the aim of preparing a libational setting in the earth, confirming the very likely chthonic nature of these rites. Some pots were upturned, possibly hiding a miniature weapon, antlers or indeed nothing at all.

It is worth mentioning the question raised—in terms of identity—by the presence of a prestigious item of indigenous ceramic, normally entire but whose bottom or upper edge are missing (always ritually indented), placed on the bottom of the deposit among a collection of mostly Greek vases. It should also be noted that most of these objects—and especially the most prestigious figured vases—are practically new, almost never used, since they were used as offerings or handled at most once only during a ceremony and then rendered useless by intentional fragmentation.

Amongst the major characteristics of the ceramics deposited in these developments, we will concentrate on those of the locally produced Greek ceramics; this class can provide us with a significant number of answers to the questions specifically asked in this research. Painted, figured, but also with reliefs, this production is the fruit of the work of the Greek painters and potters who settled on the hill in the 7th century BC. In these deposits, we find it associated with imported Greek pottery, non-painted ceramics (more often known as “common ware” in the literature), *impasto* products,



Fig. 7—Incoronata, local painted *dinos*, with a representation of Bellerophon and the Chimera (© M. DENTI).

indigenous painted ceramics (monochrome or bichrome) and with miniature ceramics.

A brief overview of the forms attested will make it easier to understand their purposes. A significant quantity of locally-produced *hydriai* and Attic, Corinthian, Laconian and eastern Greek amphorae indicates the transport and storage of liquids. *Dinoi* (Fig. 7 and 8), *stamnoi*, *oinochoai*, *skyphoi* and jars with one handle (found combined in the deposits) are all forms intended for the presentation and consumption of liquids, thus providing evidence of libational ceremonies. Large, locally produced *louteria* and splendid *perirhanteria* with figures in relief (Fig. 9), directly evoke rites of purification by water, suggesting again their use in a heroic ceremonial context. *Kalathiskoi* and miniature ceramics tell us about the offering. The large containers (*pithoi*) indicate storage. Examples of *impasto* ceramics and cooking ware (imported *chytrai* are of particular interest) were part of the practical world of cooking.

Basically, the purpose of most ceramic forms found in these deposits relate to specific functional categories, which are coherent amongst themselves: containing liquids, presenting them and drinking them. These items are prestigious ceramics, intended for libations and banquets. Its high quality (especially the prestigious painted and figured pottery) indicates their use in ostentatious and ceremonial contexts.

The very significant quantity implies the concept of “accumulation” (Helms 1993: 9). The practice of intentional fragmentation refers directly to a post-ritual framework (Chapman 2000; Bradley 2002: 49–58). The attestation of



Fig. 8—Incoronata, local painted *dinos*, with a representation of opposing horses and a tripod cauldron (© M. DENTI).

such a remarkable local production of ceramics (Greek and indigenous) together with considerable imports from the most famous places in the Greek world (besides the amphorae already mentioned, we have prestigious examples of Protocorinthian and eastern Greek ceramics) confirms the exceptional nature of this site, which is clearly comparable with the great worship places of the Mediterranean.

Within the Incoronata ceramic workshop (Denti, Villette 2013), the Greek potters who worked on this hill in the 7th century BC alongside their Oenotrian colleagues, built one of the most important schools—certainly the most important currently known—of orientalizing ceramics of western Greece (Denti 2000). Their work provides particularly rich information as regards our knowledge of the ethnocultural make-up of this community, when addressing, as we shall see, the Cycladic world. The iconographic repertoire of these ceramics directly evokes the heroic world. It includes animal figures: horses, in the iconographic pattern of two directly opposed animals, with the “tree of life” or a tripod in the middle (Fig. 8); winged; pulling a biga (Fig. 9); panthers, griffons and lions. There are plant elements: a rosette and a palmette (Fig. 7), a triangular element with scrolls and palmette, a vertical element with superimposed scrolls (similar to the “tree of life”), the motif of two vertical, directly opposed spirals, a continuous spiral (Fig. 8). There are also mythological figures: Bellerophon and the Chimera (Fig. 7), Perseus and Medusa, Heracles and the Centaur, divine couples on bigae drawn by winged horses, epic scenes (Fig. 9).

Interesting nuances can be observed between this particular figurative framework and the archaeological context we have just described, demonstrated by the attestation of rituals with a fundamentally “heroic” character, that of ancestor cults. This aspect is reinforced by the relationships between the shapes of the figured ceramics and the iconographic repertoire, as shown by the large *perirrhanteria* with relief. The surfaces of these large receptacles, notoriously connected with the ritual spraying of purified water (Denti 2006), a fundamental part of hero cults, are literally covered in heroic motifs and themes: bigae with a couple drawn by winged horses; scenes from mythology; epic battles (Fig. 9). The *dinoi*—long-stemmed containers used for the presentation of wine at banquets—are decorated with a recurring pattern of directly opposed horses (sometimes winged) with the heroic “tree of life” or the tripod motif in the middle (Fig. 8), the instrument of



Fig. 9—Incoronata. Local *Perirrhanterion* with relief decoration (after Orlandini 1983: Fig. 318).

ritualised competition amongst princes, in a context where, as we know, the *athla* were dedicated to the heroes.

Another feature which must be grasped in order to better understand this historical-cultural phenomenon is the particular nature of the figurative language used by the Greek painters at Incoronata. At the stylistic and iconographic level, they show an in-depth knowledge of elements and patterns from the proto-Attic, proto-Corinthian heritage of Eastern Greece (Denti 2000). Their language remains, however, fundamentally Cycladic: a remarkable series of elements which can be observed in detail on the painted surface of these vessels refer directly to the Naxian and Parian repertoires (Denti 2018).

Finally, in this context, we must not forget the attestation of the stylistically and iconographically “hybrid” solutions, which could be interpreted as the result of an embedment of the Greek and indigenous repertoires taking place almost physiologically in a common artisan space, like that found in Incoronata in the 7th century BC.

#### 4 Why?

It has been possible to establish the presence of painters and potters at Incoronata who had been trained in Cycladic workshops. In particular, it is now accepted that artists and artisans from Paros and Naxos (Fig. 10) were working in the artisan area on this hill in the 7th century, bringing their



Fig. 10—From Greece to Southern Italy. Origins of the greek potters settled in Incoronata (base map from Google Earth).

wealth of technical, figurative and cultural knowledge and sharing it with the indigenous community's wealth of technical, figurative and cultural knowledge.

In this context, however, a problem arises as regards the polymorphic connotations of the figurative language expressed by these ceramicists: does the presence, of "quotations" from the eastern Greek repertoire, but also from those of Attica and Corinth, in this Cycladic imagery imply a community of "mixed" Greek potters, with representatives of these schools working at the same time and in the same space? Or does it imply a Cycladic workshop, in which we should imagine that there were some painters who were able to reproduce part of the repertoire of other schools? Although it is probably too early to answer this question, I believe that we should consider the second hypothesis to probably be the most likely at the moment: a basically Cycladic community (which does not, of course, rule out the presence of individuals from other regions of Greece), in which the use of "eclectic" figurative features—far from being merely abstractly formal—was in response to specific demands from sponsors. It is possible that the nature of these demands was connected to the logics and methods of the ritual practices for which these ceramics were created and used.

From this point of view, it becomes useful to tackle the spectrum of problems connected with the notion of identity. In this sense, we must work on at least two levels, which are certainly intertwined and but also slightly different: a) relationships between Greeks, b) relationships between Greeks and non-Greeks.

In case a) it seems useful to address this problem on both grounds: the relationship between Greek individuals of different origin (most probably present at this site, given the plurality

of imports attested)<sup>10</sup> and also the relationship between the "immigrant" Greeks and the "mother country" Greeks. The first type of relationship, which is based on an assumed plurality of origins for individuals coming from the Aegean Sea to Incoronata, could be useful in explaining the phenomenon of eclecticism which characterises the figurative language of these painters. Evocations, references and quotations by these Cycladic potters of figurative elements peculiar to the Attic, Corinthian and eastern-Greek "worlds" could have been in response the visual culture of a mixed Greek public, visiting this site so far away from their mother countries. It is also possible that this approach could have been a manner of responding to the demands of the indigenous community.

The richness and heuristic potential of the second type of relationship (between the "immigrant" Greeks and "mother country" Greeks) can be illustrated by a case study which seems to us to be particularly significant: the *dinos* from Incoronata with a representation of the myth of Bellerophon and the Chimera (Fig. 7). Along with a mid Protocorinthian *aryballos* from Thebes (Schefold 1964: 35), the only two representations of this scene currently known for this chronological period are those from Incoronata and that present on the famous Parian dish found in Thasos (Salviat, Weill 1960). This means that not only were the only two attestations of the representation of this mythical narrative in this period both produced by a Parian painter, but that they both originate from places marked by the presence of migrants from Paros: Incoronata and Thasos (a colony of Paros). Clearly this myth represented a figurative *topos*, whose recurrence in places reached by a

10. Without using the concept of an equivalence between the identity of the ceramic product and the identity of the user, the hypothesis of an object dedicated in a sanctuary "following" its dedicatory, who might go there with his "own" artisan, seems not unlikely: RISBERG 1998: 674.

community having the same origin must be explained by consistent ideological components.

Let us now turn to case (b), concerning relationships between members of the Greek community and members of the indigenous community. In this case, it seems wise to open two lines of enquiry, both connected with the “mixed” nature of this settlement: on the one hand, the role played by the figurative language displayed on these ceramics; on the other, the role played by the forms and functions of this type of furnishing.

As regards the first aspect, we would simply like to ask a series of questions which will be further explored in our future research: how did the indigenous public perceive, read and interpret the “orientalizing” imagery characteristic of the products of the Greek potters working on the hill of Incoronata in the 7th century BC considering that they were the main commissioners of these products? If this is a valid question, how then did Greek artists and craftsmen respond to this “indigenous demand” and what strategies had they put in place in terms of iconographic and stylistic choices? To what needs did they respond, in a word, in relation to a non-Greek audience?<sup>11</sup>

As regards the second aspect (the forms and functions of these furnishings), we will have to ask what meaning and significance the forms of this Greek pottery assumed when it was used, in the context of an occupation which remained mainly indigenous. In this sense, consideration of the exclusively local colour used for the production of the non-painted (“common”) pottery at Incoronata is crucial (Meadeb 2016). Another aspect of great interest is that of understanding the functions which these forms could have had in the specific context of ritual practices.

However, the problem also arises in the inverse relationship, since we know that much of the pottery used on this hill—indeed, most of it—was the result of indigenous production: *impasto*, non-painted, monochrome and bichrome pottery and figured vases. In terms of dialectical relationships between ideas, gestures and thoughts and also in relation to purposes already codified within the local community, we must also question the role played by the shapes and decorations of indigenous ceramics in the eyes of members of the Greek community.

These lines of research, leading to questions which remain open for the moment, require further study to be developed. However, they can be further clarified as we now have the opportunity to insert the archaeological information within the historical-cultural framework given by the ancient sources.

The Cycladic character of the figurative culture and the language used by the Greek potters working at Incoronata in the 7th century BC which attests to their origins in the islands of Paros and Naxos, is firstly confirmed in the ancient literary tradition. As we know, this alludes to the presence of the poet Archilochus on the Italic coasts of the Ionian Sea. Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae*, XII, 25) reminds us, by directly quoting his verses (Archilochus, Fr. 18),<sup>12</sup> that the Parian poet

had a special affinity for the region of Siritide. We have just seen that the tradition of Archilochus’s presence in our regions (or at least the knowledge of it which he demonstrates, even indirectly) no longer represents an isolated record because it is confirmed by archaeology, and it illustrates the contours of a much larger historical phenomenon: that of the movement of groups of Greeks, coming from Paros and Naxos, to the Ionian coasts of southern Italy. This movement involved not only of intellectuals and poets but also, as we know, painters and potters. Moreover, within this historical-chronological framework, it can also be assumed that, on a sociological level, the same individual could have played these different roles.

On the basis of the data discussed above, we can then try to provide some answers to these last questions, concerning the possible reasons why members of this community, whose outlines and composition we now know better, crossed such a dangerous sea in order to reach places so geographically distant from their lands. Different geographically, but not—as will be seen—conceptually.

From this point of view, the literary sources<sup>13</sup> probably allow us to understand the situation a little better. All the sites we have mentioned—not only those of the Siritide and Metapontin regions but also that of Sybaris, the territory of Crotone and, further north, of Daunia—are indeed deeply connected with the legends of the heroes returning from the Trojan War (the *nostoi*): Philoctetes, Diomedes, Epeius, Nestor and even Odysseus, were heroes who must have reached the coasts of southern Italy, where they received honours and were regularly worshipped. In addition—and most interestingly—our sources characterise all these places involved with the “passage” of the Homeric heroes not as Greek places, but as indigenous places (Musti 1981). This is precisely the situation archaeology shows us for the best studied sites, namely Francavilla Marittima, Siris and Incoronata. Moreover, the same authors repeatedly point out that in these places the indigenous populations were of Trojan origin (the most striking case is that of the legends related to the oldest story of Siris-Polieion): Greeks would have settled on land *already inhabited* by the Trojans, as is shown in particular by the example of the Oenotrian tribe of *Chōnes*.

We even know the name of the deity who always supported this recurring presence of Homeric heroes: the goddess Athena. She was worshipped in the Greek-indigenous sanctuary of Timpone della Motta, at Francavilla Marittima near Sybaris, and appeared as Athena Iliaca in Siris-Polieion. Always qualified as a Trojan Athena—with the epithet *Eilenia*—she accompanied the worship of Epeius in the Metapontin area: the instruments used for to build the Trojan horse had been held and revered in a temple dedicated to the goddess in a place “not far” from Metapontum (Musti 1981; Maddoli 1986; Osanna 1992).

In a setting strongly marked by the prevalence of Homeric memories, the Oenotrian communities of the Ionian coast of southern Italy were themselves linked to the Aegean world

11. In this context, we could include the previously mentioned phenomenon of stylistic hybrids.

12. “οὐ γάρ τι καλὸς χῶρος οὐδ’ ἐφίμερος / οὐδ’ ἔρατός, οἴος ἀμφὶ Σίριος ψόας”. Ed. Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1968 (F. Lasserre, A. Bonnard). The current controversy over the interpretation of this passage (not eve-

ryone identifies Siris with Siris-Polieion in Italy: Katsonopoulou *et al.* 2008) should easily be resolved by considering the literary context of these verses by Athenaeus which have definite western connotations.

13. Strabo VI,1,15; Velleius Paterculus I,1; Justin, *Phil. Hist.* XX,2,1; Pseudo-Aristotle, *De mirabilibus auscultationibus*, 108.

long before the arrival of the Greeks of the historical period. This was how they presented themselves and were seen in the eyes of the Greeks.

Archaeological discoveries lend weight to the historical-literary tradition, confirming the antiquity of a tradition the construction of which does not seem to be relegated exclusively to the time of the consolidation of the archaic colonial aristocracies—as a good part of historiography considers it. Research in recent years in the Siritide and Metapontin regions has been able to illustrate the phenomena of visitation and settlement of Mycenaean communities in these regions perfectly, thanks to the discovery of a series of sites from the late Bronze Age (including the closest geographically, San Vito di Pisticci and Termitito),<sup>14</sup> sites which have delivered remarkable evidence of Aegean ceramics, both imported and locally produced.

It then seems highly probable that this period, belonging to an earlier phase than the phenomena discussed here, may provide the most likely framework in which to seek the explanation and reasons for the migration and settlement of these Greek groups in indigenous areas at the end of the 8th century BC. Groups of Aegean origin would have crossed the Mediterranean to settle on the exact site where memories of their ancestors were being kept alive. Thus they “returned”, like new *Nostoi*. They produced their ceramics *in situ*, ceramics which (also) met the needs of local sponsors. They made an offering of them, they ritually deposited them and made libations to these heroes. From this point of view, since the two communities shared *a priori* a cultural framework, we could expect mixed ritual practices. This is precisely the situation which the ritual contexts of Incoronata have shown us: in these practices, Greek ceramics are strictly associated with Oenotrian ceramics.

Thus, we have reached the heart of the reasons motivating these Greeks to come this far to the West to settle, for example, on the small hill of Incoronata—and not anywhere else. General “economic” motivations (search for commercial contacts, exploitation of farmland etc.)<sup>15</sup> appear to us to be anachronistic and fundamentally restrictive in the context presented here. These motivations refer rather to ideological and religious spheres, in which the common cult of ancestor worship could represent one of the major keys to understanding these phenomena.<sup>16</sup> In this sense, the very plurality of imported prestigious objects—coming to Incoronata from the most important workshops in Aegean, from Attica, Corinth, the Peloponnese and eastern Greece—could not simply be to meet the canonical demands typical of the great places of worship on the Greek Mediterranean, involving the offering of dedications of different origins. Along with the intention of reproducing all the different figurative languages of the Greek world *in situ*—thus constructing this particular “eclectic” attitude which characterises the style of locally-produced painted ceramics—this plurality of origins can be explained as the reflex of a complex of activities intended to create a

symbolic connection between ancestors and descendants, within the ideological process of preserving and reproducing the aristocratic hegemony (Blečić Kavur, Kavur, in press).

Finally, the varied origins of these objects and images could also be due to a possible interpretation of the concept of “geographical distance” at that time: as a place which was not merely material, but was a field in which acquiring prestigious goods, part of a circuit of long-distance relationships—“cosmogonic” not economic—allowed the development of prestige and status within these ancestor-worshipping groups (Helm 1993; D’Ercole 2012: 167–68).

Our Incoronata Greeks would only have left their islands in the heart of the Aegean Sea for sufficiently serious reasons. Perhaps only the magnetic draw of their ancestors could have convinced them to journey so far, to join the people whom their ancestors had known so well.

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14. A summary in CIPOLLONI SAMPÒ 1999: 123–29.

15. “...Genti di provenienza diversa, giunte qui a cercar fortuna” (OSANNA 2012: 30).

16. On the phenomenon of the reappropriation, in the heroic-cultural sense, of a tradition based on—but also concurrent with—areas which were the prerogative of the dominant elite of the Bronze Age, see Mazarakis AINIAN 1997: 17.

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# Trading Places? Sites of Mobility and Migration in the Iron Age West Mediterranean

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Trade and exchange are widely regarded as key to understanding how sites and regions are connected and interact with each other, enabling distant places to join forces, support each other or develop larger and more sophisticated forms of organization and production. Colin Renfrew (1975) neatly captured this point with the phrase that trade works as “action at a distance”, as he drew on seminal ideas previously proposed by Karl Polanyi, who revolutionized historical thinking about the ancient Mediterranean and Near East with his explicitly economic perspective (e.g. Polanyi *et al.* 1957).

In the Mediterranean, the first millennium BC stands out as a particularly critical period in this regard, as it was the first time that substantial “colonial” settlements were established overseas in significant numbers, while ever larger varieties and quantities of objects were being moved through these overseas settlements, mostly across the Mediterranean seas. Numerous Greek, Phoenician, Etruscan and Punic settlements were newly established between the 9th and 5th centuries BC, which not only involved complex and significant movements of people and goods, but that also enabled the transfer of ideas, skills and cultural preferences. The latter is evident from the numerous new manufacturing centers that were set up across the Mediterranean to produce a wide range of goods that reproduced and often adapted similar types of material culture. In short, ever more intensive and closer connections were forged between nearby and distant shores of the Mediterranean by intensive trafficking of people and objects in the earlier centuries of the first millennium BC, which resulted in what is now widely recognized as a remarkably dense connectivity in this particular period (Horden, Purcell 2000; van Dommelen, Knapp 2010; Broodbank 2013: 445–92).

*Emporia*, broadly understood as “ports-of-trade” or commercial gateways, play a conspicuous role in discussions of the many social and economic transformations of these dynamic centuries, primarily because they have been found to have constituted in many cases the early stages of foreign contacts and presence in overseas regions, in many cases paving the way for more substantial and often dominant settlements. Both *Pithecoussai* and *Emporion* are widely regarded as quintessential instances of an *emporion*, as they are seen as having served as “bridgeheads” for establishing initial contacts and enduring connections between Greek explorers and traders

and indigenous inhabitants of respectively Campania and Catalunya (Malkin 2002; Miró, Santos 2014). On the other side of the Mediterranean, *Naukratis* is widely assumed to have played a similar role for Greek merchants coming to the Nile Delta, functioning as a gateway to both the Delta and upstream into the Nile valley (Boardman 2006: 524–31).

Most scholars have examined these early contact situations from an exclusively Greek point of view, and, by extension, from a primarily colonialist perspective. A key concern in many accounts is the relation of the *emporion* with, or indeed its alleged transition to, a “properly” colonial settlement, which in Greek terms was an *apoikía*. The shift from the so-called “*palaea polis*” on a small offshore island to the “*nea polis*” on the opposite mainland at Empúries is no doubt the most emblematic example, but the emergence of Cumae as the dominant colonial settlement on the Campanian mainland can similarly be, and has indeed been, argued to offer another example of this development (Bresson 1993: 221; Valenza Mele 1989; but see now D’Agostino 2011).

In this chapter, it is my intention to examine *emporia* not so much as political or legal entities in the Greek world (e.g. Bresson 2016: 306), but rather as places of cultural encounters, where people had moved to from far away overseas or from a short trip inland, and where they met and interacted—what Marie Louise Pratt has called “contact zones”, which she defines as spaces “in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations...” (Pratt 1992: 6). In doing so, I concur that we have moved beyond “the lame use of ‘trade’ as a self-explanatory force” (Morris S. 2006: 67), and that we should follow up Michel Gras’ assertion that an *emporion* was also a “*pratique de vie commune*”, and a place of ethnic and cultural encounter (1993: 106). At the same time, I expand my investigation beyond the Greek world to the Mediterranean at large, and examine how other—“non-Greek”—trading stations, ports of trade and other types of settlements compare to Greek *emporia*, regardless whether they were referred to in such terms, or labelled as such by modern scholars. In other words, I propose to shift attention to *emporia* along two axes, one thematically from law and politics to migration and social interaction, and the other spatially, from the Greek (overseas) world to the Mediterranean at large.

## 1 Contextualizing *Emporia*

Polanyi had already associated his concept of the port-of-trade with the Greek term *emporion* in discussions of what he called “administered trade”, setting off a long-running debate about the role and significance, or indeed existence, of such dedicated trading settlements in the ancient Mediterranean (Hansen 2006; cf. Demetriou 2011). The present volume represents in fact another contribution to the long and ever-growing list of publications on this topic, and the four opening chapters set out the terms of this debate, and outline its results in great detail and with due care; I refer to those for background information and further specifics.

As is readily evident from those chapters and other recent reviews (e.g. Demetriou 2011), these debates have largely, if not exclusively, been restricted to Greek overseas expansion and to Greek settlements, no doubt because so much attention has been afforded to what ancient Greek authors have reported. As a result, *emporia* in the Iron Age and Archaic Mediterranean have largely been reduced to an exclusively Greek phenomenon, or at least their discussion has mostly been restricted to the (Archaic) Greek Mediterranean (Gailedrat 2014: 10–11). This is despite the facts that Polanyi explicitly discussed ports-of-trade in globally comparative terms, and that the Greek expansion of the early first millennium was by no means unique. It is therefore hardly surprising that *emporia* are habitually discussed in the context of Greek colonization, and compared to other Greek overseas settlements or *apoikiai*, considering whether they were engaged in agricultural production or not, or arguing whether an *emporion* could or should have been a *polis* (e.g. Hansen 2006; Demetriou 2011; see also chapters by Rouillard and Gras in this volume). Bresson’s (1993) influential chapter is tellingly called “*Les cités grecques et leurs emporia*”.

To be sure, scholars are usually quite careful to emphasize the multi-cultural dimensions of *emporia*, but then invariably move on to consider these places just within the confines of the Greek world, as they emphasize Greek initiative and leadership in the foundation—whether there was an *oikistes* or not (Gras 1993: 105)—and strive to understand them on Greek terms and within a Greek framework. This is of course largely, if not entirely, the consequence of the basic fact that *emporion* is a Greek term that roots in and relates to the “small Greek world” of overseas settlements, colonial or otherwise (Malkin 2011). Even so, however, there can be no doubt, and no one presumably would question, that these Greek settlements did not exist in a vacuum. It is evident that they were on the contrary part and parcel of a wider Mediterranean world, in which many people of many different ethnic backgrounds moved around and interacted, and in which other “non-Greek” cities and city-states established overseas “colonies” of different sorts. Phoenicians, Carthaginians and Etruscans are the most prominent “other” colonizers, who all founded settlements that may at least usefully be compared to *emporia*, if not examined as part of the same category (Demetriou 2012: 16–23; Gailedrat 2014: 257–59). As Michel Gras (1993: 104) already suggested twenty years ago, *emporia* might best be understood as a *Mediterranean* phenomenon, for which the Greek word offers just a useful term.

Such claims do not imply that *emporia* had nothing to do with *apoikiai*, as the case of Empúries with its *palaea* and *nea polis* surely demonstrates conclusively enough (cf. below); they do, however, explicitly reject and resist suggestions that *emporia* can only be understood within this narrow connection and that they represent a primarily Greek phenomenon in the ancient world. The latter point can readily be laid to rest with reference to comparable settlements and commercial networks of both much older and more recent dates. In Anatolia and North Iraq during the late fourth millennium BC, a series of local settlements have been identified that incorporated “trade colonies” closely associated with Uruk cities and states on the plains of Upper Mesopotamia. Careful excavation of the site of Hacinebi, situated near the Euphrates in southeast Turkey, has convincingly shown that this was a local settlement where a small number of people lived with strong cultural connections to the Uruk heartland of Mesopotamia (Stein 2005). Some five millennia later, during Braudel’s “long sixteenth century”, a dense patchwork of trading hubs developed across the Mediterranean, settled and run by the so-called “Port Jews”, who were mostly Sephardic families expelled from Iberia (Trivellato 2009). Despite obvious differences, both networks included sites of types that to all intents and purposes would be labelled as *emporia*, had they been of Archaic date and situated in the Mediterranean.

The somewhat cautious calls to consider Mediterranean *emporia* in broader terms have gained an ever more pronounced urgency over the past decade, as archaeologists and historians across the board of their disciplines have increasingly engaged with postcolonial concerns and become interested in the notion of connectivity and its implications for the Mediterranean. As a result, I suggest, it is high time to take a closer look at *emporia* in the light of both their conceptual and Mediterranean contexts.

Introduced by Horden and Purcell in their magisterial study of the ancient Mediterranean (2000), connectivity has been foregrounded as a key characteristic of the Mediterranean that, at least in the two millennia before and after the turn of era, underpinned key developments and activities that made (micro)regions “coalesce” and “cohere” (Horden, Purcell 2000: 123). In his equally masterful prehistoric prequel, Broodbank did not mince his words and stated that “[c]onnectivity was, of course, fundamental to the making of the Middle Sea” (Broodbank 2013: 596), while Abulafia (2011: 241–541) has shown that cross-Mediterranean connections did not disappear in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, when new political and military boundaries were drawn across the seas.

The implications of the wider perspective are twofold. On the one hand, the age of Greek and Phoenician colonization no longer stands out as a sudden, let alone exceptional, achievement that created privileged links between the Greek and Phoenician “mother cities” and their colonies. While the scale and intensity of the colonial networks were certainly unprecedented, especially when connections deepened and intensified in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, it was certainly not the first time that interlocking networks of connectivity tied together distant regions, whether it was by providing crucial raw materials such as obsidian or copper, or through the supply of specialized goods such as finished metal jew-



Fig. 1—Map of the West Mediterranean, showing sites discussed in the text.

erly or weaponry (Broodbank 2013: 593–605). Connectivity thus helps to reappraise the impact and nature of trade and colonization.

On the other hand, the Mediterranean-wide perspective that is implied by connectivity encourages, indeed compels us to look beyond the connections recorded by classical sources, and to draw attention to connections forged by Etruscan merchants, Nuragic sailors and their Iberian and Celtic counterparts—as far as the West Mediterranean is concerned. It leaves us in no doubt that it was not just Greeks and perhaps Phoenicians who founded colonial and other settlements, but that many communities from around the Mediterranean were involved in the same processes. It is this decentering of the Classical world that Morris (2006) captured with the term “Mediterraneanization” and that others have since attempted to elaborate on in terms of globalization (Hodos 2010; Knappett 2017; cf. van Dommelen 2017).

These considerations closely dovetail with much broader concerns about one-sided representations of colonial situations, appeals to deconstruct the so-called “colonial divide” and to take into account indigenous agency, and calls to take seriously class differentiation, as have been proposed and debated by postcolonial scholars across the humanities and social sciences (e.g. Gandhi 1998; Liebmann, Rizvi 2008). At a general level, the colonial situations of the Mediterranean during the earlier first millennium BC have featured prominently in archaeological debates, and, as a result, interpretations have also begun to be revised, and fieldwork has been targeted to investigate other kinds of sites and evidence (van Dommelen 2011; 2012; e.g. Burgers, Crielaard 2011).

With specific regard to *emporia*, the postcolonial perspective calls for a fundamental departure from conventional research

approaches, because these sites should no longer be seen as essentially Greek or otherwise foreign foundations in a local setting that opens up or connects those regions to the wider Mediterranean; instead, they are to be regarded as a particular place where existing connections and collaborations between two or more likely several social and economic groups of a range of ethnic backgrounds came together. A postcolonial approach to *emporia* is therefore hardly interested in the political status of the Greek settlers, because it is argued that those are colonialist concepts and norms that may apply to Greece and other Greek situations, but that were not necessarily recognized or relevant elsewhere. Instead, emphasis shifts towards matters of cultural and economic interaction, including migration.

In the remainder of this chapter, I follow up these postcolonial concerns and interests in connectivity by taking my lead not so much from preconceived ancient or modern terms and notions, but rather from the evidence for cultural interaction and connectivity on the ground. Since archaeological remains provide the best evidence, I explore three specific “sites of interaction” and examine the available evidence in some detail (Fig. 1). Because I am looking for different kinds of evidence I will also, and perhaps especially, turn to sites that would not normally have been regarded as *emporia*.

## 2 Indigenous Places of Interaction

In line with prevailing colonialist perspectives, studies of trade and colonization have conventionally tended to focus on colonial foundations at the expense of indigenous settlements



Fig. 2—Aerial photograph of *nuraghe* S'Urachi, showing both the towered complex and the excavations in areas D and E outside the defensive wall. Geophysical evidence suggests the existence of housing to the East and North of the *nuraghe*.

and commercial exploits. This trend likely explains why colonial studies of both Greek and Phoenician expansion have long and persistently privileged the one-sided connections and associated networks between colonial settlements and their so-called “mother cities” (e.g. Graham 1964; Malkin 2011). As a result, the relationships that were forged between settler communities and the indigenous peoples who occupied the surrounding hinterland have long been disregarded, or at best only acknowledged at the moment of foundation (van Dommelen 2012: 400–403). Equally long overlooked are the relationships between colonial foundations of historically or politically different backgrounds, even if they were situated in each other’s vicinity, because it has always been assumed that the relationship between a colony and its mother-city would trump those between settlements founded by people of different ethnic backgrounds; and these assumptions anyway take it for granted that each of these colonial foundations would have been and remained ethnically homogeneous. Careful analysis of burial customs at colonial settlements in western Sicily, each with different Greek roots, has however demonstrated that the inhabitants of these settlements maintained closer connections among themselves and with their indigenous neighbors, despite their allegedly different backgrounds, than were found between the colonial foundations and their “mother cities” (e.g. Shepherd 2014). Similarly, in northwestern Sicily, there was no shortage of direct interaction and close engagement between inhabitants of Greek, indigenous and Phoenician backgrounds, despite the very different and indeed supposedly antagonistic backgrounds of the inhabitants of this region (e.g. Spatafora 2010; Vassallo 2010).

If we scout around the (western) Mediterranean for sites with deep trading connections and evidence for local cultural interactions, and that are either indigenous settlements or at least deeply embedded in local contexts, we need not look very far to find a notable number of sites that meet these criteria and that we may or may not consider “emporium”—if we were to insist on continuing to use the term. Leaving terminology to one side, I turn to the detailed archaeological evidence of three notably different sites around the West Mediterranean that I argue support my foregoing comments, not least because of the substantially different backgrounds and local contexts (Fig. 1).

## 2.1 S'Urachi (Sardinia, Italy)

Situated in the marshlands bordering the Gulf of Oristano in western central Sardinia, this is a large monumental site with at its core a multi-towered *nuraghe*, surrounded by an imposing defensive wall (Fig. 2). The *nuraghe* was first built sometime in the Middle Bronze Age (mid second millennium BC), and remained continuously inhabited throughout the first millennium BC, as major settlement areas developed to the east and north of the towered complex. The 8th and 7th centuries saw major changes, as both the *nuraghe* complex underwent substantial modifications, and new types of portable material culture, especially pottery, were imported and locally produced—by the start of the 6th century BC, Nuragic portable material culture had all but disappeared from every-day use (Stiglitz *et al.* 2015: 200–203; 206). Both the shapes and decoration and innovations in the production process of the pottery that was locally manufactured suggest

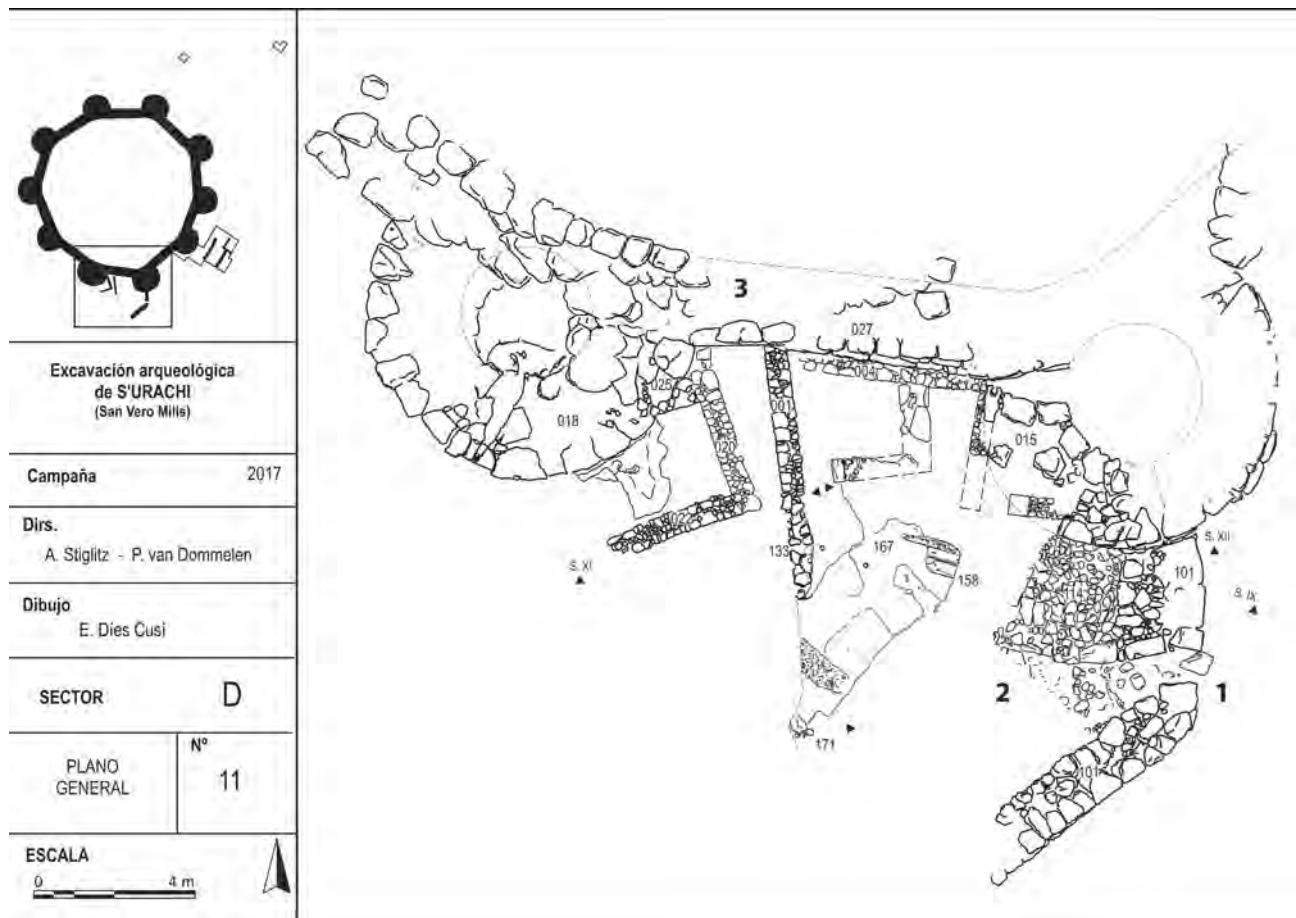


Fig. 3—Plan of excavations in area D, situated outside *nuraghe* S'Urachi, showing the extension wall (no. 1), courtyard (no. 2) and the "back door" through the defensive wall of the *nuraghe* (no. 3).

strong connections with the Phoenician world, implying for instance the permanent or at least long-term presence of small numbers of artisans and other foreigners in the local community of Archaic S'Urachi (Roppa 2014).

As is becoming increasingly clear from ongoing excavations in two areas adjacent to the outer defensive wall of the *nuraghe* complex,<sup>1</sup> it was nevertheless not only change and transformation that characterized the late 8th and 7th centuries; there are notable continuities as well, that equally notably occurred across the board of social and economic life at this site. On the one hand, the scale of transformations in the 8th century is underscored by the extension that was built against the southern section of the *nuraghe*, between towers 1 and 7, and that included a courtyard and multiple rooms that, crucially, redefined access to the *nuraghe* through the “back door” located in this section of the *nuraghe*’s defensive wall (Fig. 3, no. 2 and 3); on the other hand, it is no less significant that the monumental complex itself continued to be inhabited and used, as is for instance underscored by the access corridor to the “back door” in the defense wall, and the fact that a new “window slit” was opened in the wall of tower 7.

after an existing one was blocked by the aforementioned extension wall (Fig. 3, no. 1). The people who frequented these spaces at S'Urachi, and lived in houses built in the immediate surroundings of the complex (Fig. 2), adapted their diet and foodways in similarly interesting ways in the 7th and 6th centuries BC: on the one hand, as is evident from a massive trash deposit in area E (Fig. 2), they much preferred beef over pork and mutton, which aligns them closely with local and long-standing Nuragic dietary traditions in Sardinia, and which is quite unlike Phoenician consumption patterns (Ramis *et al.* 2018; Carenti, Wilkens 2007). On the other hand, the same deposit of domestic every-day trash also shows that from the later 7th century BC those meals were consumed from Phoenician-style plates and bowls.

Since the site has also yielded substantial numbers of imported pottery from a range of places across the West Mediterranean, the overall image is that the S'Urachi community was both well connected beyond Sardinia and deeply rooted in the local contexts of the island during the 7th to 6th centuries BC, and that a number of people from overseas had made their home and set up their workshops at S'Urachi.

<sup>1</sup> The excavations discussed started in 2013 as a joint project of the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World at Brown University (USA) and the *comune* and *museo civico* of San Vero Milis under the joint direction of Peter van Dommelen and Alfonso Stiglitz. This project is ongoing, while previous excavations were undertaken in 1948 and throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

## 2.2 Empúries (Catalonia, Spain)

Located in the far north-western corner of the Mediterranean, this site (Fig. 4) is widely considered to be both the eponymous and the ultimate instance of an *emporion*. As a



Fig. 4—Aerial view of the site of Empúries, showing in the foreground the headland of Sant Martí d'Empúries (*palaia polis*) and the *nea polis* behind it (courtesy Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya Empúries).

result, few questions are asked about Strabo's (III.4.8) and Livy's (XXXIV.9) assertions that *Emporion* was politically and culturally dominated by Greeks, who had arrived from *Massalia* and perhaps other overseas locations; and that they lived separately and independently from the indigenous Iberian inhabitants of the region, known as *Indiketi*. A key argument habitually put forward to confirm this representation on the ground is the so-called *nea polis* or new town, which was established towards the middle of the 6th century BC on the slightly raised lands to the south of a coastal lagoon, because the Greek traders and settlers had until then lived for several decades in a pre-existing indigenous settlement, situated on the headland of Sant Martí d'Empúries on the northern end of the lagoon—the site which is known, after Strabo, as the *palaia polis* (Aquilué *et al.* 2010; Gailedrat 2014: 140–42; Castanyer *et al.* 2016: 61–64). As described by Strabo and Livy, and as understood in modern scholarship, *Emporion*, or at least the *nea polis*, was to all intents and purposes a Greek settlement.

Detailed and critical examination of the archaeological evidence, however, suggests a rather more complex situation.<sup>2</sup> While the basic fact that the *palaia polis* was part of a preex-

isting indigenous settlement already indicates some degree of local involvement, the various necropolises of Empúries have long been recognized as signaling anything but a clear separation between Greek and indigenous inhabitants, let alone a dominant role of the former; the mortuary evidence shows quite clearly that instead “the two communities co-existed side-by-side in death” (Gailedrat 1995: 54; 2014: 165–66; Castanyer *et al.* 2016: 57–61); it has recently also become clear that the area of the *nea polis* was already occupied earlier than usually assumed (Castanyer *et al.* 2016: 64–70). In addition, a recent detailed examination of the full ceramic assemblages from two early domestic contexts in the *nea polis*, dating to late 5th century BC, has painted a similarly complex and mixed picture (Delgado Hervás, Ferrer Martín 2016). Pottery associated with cooking and food preparation, which makes up around 25% of the assemblages, is dominated by locally and mostly hand-made, Iberian-type cooking pots, while Greek and Punic types represent less than 10%. Amphorae are likewise primarily Iberian products, with just a handful of imported Greek, Punic and Etruscan vessels. These finds not only show that the early households of *Emporion* mostly used Iberian pottery, but the types of cooking pots also point to culinary styles compatible with local indigenous traditions of cereal porridges and other types of boiled food (Delgado Hervás, Ferrer Martín 2016: 227–28).

In short, the archaeological evidence confirms just as much a notable Greek presence and Mediterranean-wide connections in the *nea polis*, as that it shines a light on a widespread and deeply rooted local community that remained closely

2. Fieldwork in Empúries is overseen by the Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya at Empúries, currently directed by Dr. Marta Santos Retolaza. The excavations in the *palaia polis* (Sant Martí d'Empúries) and the *nea polis* areas that yielded the domestic contexts discussed were undertaken in respectively the 1990s and the 1980s, as outlined by Xavier Aquilué and colleagues (1999; see also CASTANYER *et al.* 2016: 55–57). A selection of finds has recently been studied by Ana Delgado Hervás and Meritxell Ferrer Martín (2016).

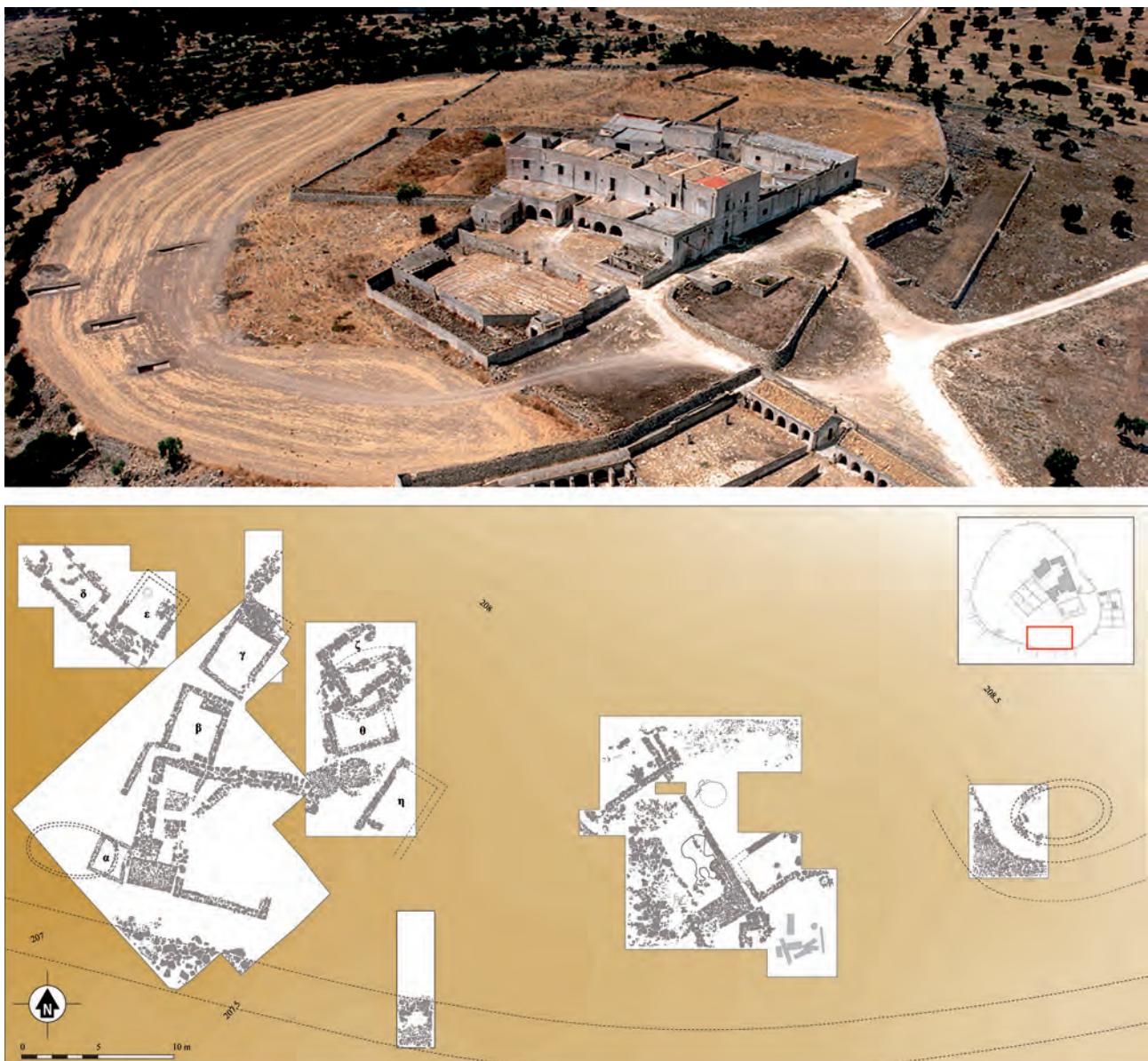


Fig. 5—View and plan of excavations in the settlement area of L'Amastuola: the excavation area is at the right-hand side of the photo (courtesy Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam; see Burgers, Crielaard 2011; photo by Kikau [2003]; plan by Jaap Fokkema en Jan Paul Crielaard).

related to the Iberian traditions and cultural preferences of the wider region.

### 2.3 L'Amastuola (Puglia, Italia)

Overlooking the coastal plain along the northern shores of the Gulf of Taranto in the Central Mediterranean, the site of L'Amastuola sits atop a low ridge (fig. 5), which recent excavations have shown was home to both indigenous inhabitants and Greek outsiders in the Iron Age.<sup>3</sup> The area is part of what around that time was becoming the South Italian heartland of *Magna Graecia*, as the Greek settlements of Taras (Taranto)

and Metapontion (Metaponto) were just 15 and 30 km away to the south and west respectively, where they had been established by the late 8th and early 7th century BC (Burgers, Crielaard 2007; Crielaard, Burgers 2012).

The hilltop of L'Amastuola was first occupied in the late 8th century BC by an indigenous settlement, of which several oval houses have been documented. These were gradually and without any clear interruptions of occupation replaced by small square houses from the early 7th century into the 6th century BC, and it is precisely the close matches in location and in portable material culture used in the two houses that strongly suggest that it was the same community that replaced one style of housing with another; it is worth noting that the ceramic assemblages of both houses included both Greek and indigenous, especially so-called matt-painted, types and styles (Burgers, Crielaard 2016: 229–30). The resulting settlement was largely, though not exclusively, Greek in appearance; it

3. The fieldwork at and around L'Amastuola between 2003 and 2010 has been carried out under the direction of Jan Paul Crielaard en Gert-Jan Burgers, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, in collaboration with the Soprintendenza ai Beni Archeologici della Puglia. The *soprintendenza archeologica* first explored the site between 1988 and 1992 (CRIELAARD, BURGERS 2011).

was also surrounded by a defensive wall, while lower down the hill slope a Greek-style necropolis was installed—the latter, however, also included a typical so-called Messapian stele that clearly relates to similar identity markers on the Salento peninsula (Burgers, Crielaard 2011: 115–18). Despite the evidently Greek appearance of the houses and burials, significant amounts of indigenous domestic pottery in many different contexts leave little doubt that L'Amastuola was inhabited by a community that was both rooted in indigenous, so-called “Iapygian” traditions, and closely connected to the Greek colonial settlements and the Greek homeland. Despite the proximity of *Taras*, the excavators noted closer connections with the areas around Metaponto and Matera (Crielaard, Burgers 2012: 96; Burgers, Crielaard 2016: 234–36).

Overall, the evidence firmly points to an indigenous community that was well established on this coastal hilltop and that developed close relationships with neighboring Greek settlers, several of whom are also likely to have moved to L'Amastuola and to have been integrated in the local community, probably in more than one way.

### 3. Mediterranean Cohabitations

These three sites represent but a small and, admittedly, perhaps somewhat arbitrary selection of sites from the central and western Mediterranean. They nevertheless offer solid and well documented evidence of local communities that both had deep roots in the indigenous traditions of their regions and that developed extensive connections with people from overseas. None of these sites are moreover unparalleled in their respective regions, and certainly Empúries and L'Amastuola have been shown to be part of an arc of comparable sites along the coasts of respectively the northwest Mediterranean (Gulf of Lion) and South Italy (Ionian Gulf) (Gailledrat 2014: 175–255; Osanna 2014: 231–39). In Sardinia, S'Urachi is less readily matched by similar situations, although certainly Sant'Imbenia and Nuraghe Sirai have yielded comparable contexts. The novelty of this comparison therefore resides mostly in the selection of sites from across conventional boundaries between fields and regions of study—and I would argue that it is precisely this broad background that qualifies them as a valuable and intriguing ensemble.

The juxtaposition of the site of Empúries, which is conventionally classified as an *emporion*, with those of S'Urachi and L'Amastuola, which are not normally regarded as such, is unexpected because of the obvious similarities between three sites that are not usually thought of as falling into a single category. As a result, the comparison first of all confirms my earlier point about the need to examine *emporia* in broader terms. Together, the three sites surely challenge any claim that *emporia* are exceptional places in at least the West Mediterranean.

The key shared features that make it possible to bring these three sites together under a single heading are the co-presence of people from diverse cultural backgrounds and their cohabitation in a settlement context that had previously been established and occupied for some time. That is not to say, however, that all three sites were identical: S'Urachi for

instance boasted a “prehistory” of occupation that already went back for the best part of a millennium at the time under consideration (8th–5th centuries BC); at the same time, it was also at both S'Urachi and Empúries that extensive new spaces were built and occupied beyond the first indigenous settlement. L'Amastuola and S'Urachi are also differently situated at slightly more inland locations, whereas Empúries lies immediately on the coast—on a larger scale, however, all three sites could broadly be described as at or near the coast.

The fundamental question that is raised by comparing these three sites remains how and to what extent Empúries differs from S'Urachi and L'Amastuola, given that the former qualifies as an *emporion*—it is effectively the archetype—, while the latter two are not normally classified as such. It goes without saying that the answer revolves around the importance of trade and commercial activities, which are after all the defining activities of an *emporion*, and for which no evidence has been reported at either S'Urachi or L'Amastuola. Unlike the latter two sites, Empúries is also usually regarded as a colonial foundation, but its roots in the *palaia polis* at Sant Martí d'Empúries should perhaps give pause for thought. In archaeological terms and on closer examination, this ostensibly evident distinction turns out rather problematic, however, as archaeological evidence for commercial activities at Empúries is less than abundant—imported pottery is certainly present, and includes transport amphorae, but in all ceramic categories local Iberian types tend to dominate (Delgado Hervás, Ferrer Martín 2016). The ceramic assemblages at both L'Amastuola and S'Urachi have moreover been described in comparable terms as made up of both notable quantities of imported pottery and mostly local materials.

Other obvious indications of commercial activities such as a warehouse or other storage facilities have not been documented at Empúries either, and it is in the end primarily the epigraphic and literary evidence that attests to the commercial function of the site. This does not even begin to suggest that Empúries’ inhabitants did not engage in trade and exchange, but it does call into question the defining significance of commercial activities, as is habitually claimed to be the case for *emporia*.

The three sites, at least in their current states of exploration, share a prominence of domestic contexts, in which multiple groups of people with different (regional and/or ethnic) backgrounds can be identified mostly through their everyday maintenance activities such as food preparation and housing, and, especially at S'Urachi, through specific artisanal traditions in ceramic production (Delgado Hervás, Ferrer Martín 2016; Burgers, Crielaard 2016; Roppa 2014). It is of critical significance in this regard that there are no obvious clusters of material associated with one particular group of people, as is the case at *Lattara* (Lattes), where an unusually large assemblage of Etruscan pottery, including a remarkable quantity of amphorae, has convincingly been interpreted as evidence of an Etruscan commercial enclave (Gailledrat 2015: 38–43, especially Fig. 11). The case of *Lattara* is significant, because the remainder of the extensively explored settlement appears much more consistently and homogeneously indigenous or local than what has been observed at S'Urachi and L'Amastuola (Gailledrat 2015: 43–45).

The picture that is emerging from these multiple comparisons is therefore a complex one. Amidst the diverse but still partially overlapping evidence there are a number of recurrent aspects that I would like to highlight as particularly noteworthy. One is the degree to which commercial activities were embedded in domestic and everyday life contexts; in other words, commercial activities were not carried out in isolation but instead undertaken alongside, if not framed by, a wide range of maintenance activities at the levels of both households and the community (González Marcén *et al.* 2007; Delgado Hervás 2016). Another aspect is the cohabitation of people from multiple regional, and in many cases presumably ethnic, backgrounds, which implies continued and frequent travel and migration for shorter and longer times, if not indeed permanent transfers. Both observations are crucial, I contend, because they add up to what is more broadly termed connectivity, which in turn, I suggest, offers an appropriate heading under which these three sites may usefully be compared and related to one another.

The careful fieldwork and materials studies realized at the three sites examined allow me to go one step further and to specify this generic concept in terms of “material connections” that encompass contexts of everyday life, production and commerce. Trade is in fact far from the only way in which both objects and people moved across the Mediterranean, and, as I have argued elsewhere (Knapp, van Dommelen 2010: 5–7), if we are to explore and gain an insight into “how ‘things’ mediate the experience of Mediterranean peoples, and how these experiences... [were shaped by] ...movement, migration, colonisation and localisation”, then we need to grasp how trading activities were enabled by and embedded in local contexts. It is through the materiality of the connections created and maintained that we may access the lifeworlds and experiences of traders and migrants alike, regardless of their provenance or background (Rowlands 2010).

#### 4 Cosmopolitan Settlements

To conclude, my exploration of *emporia* through a postcolonial lens and my focus on cultural interaction and migration have led us into regions and onto themes that have mostly remained outwith conventional debates on trade and *emporia*—and this constitutes precisely the bottom line of my arguments, as I argue that *emporia* are for the most part, if at all, neither narrowly specialized commercial outfits nor exclusively Greek or otherwise colonial establishments. As I hope to have shown in this paper, they are on the contrary part of a much more diverse and much more widely distributed range of dynamic and heterogeneous settlements.

Put in positive terms, I propose that we shift attention from the rather narrowly defined type of site that is the *emporion*, to this broader category of “places of interaction” that we may term “cosmopolitan” settlements. That this is a pertinent label is underscored by its use to describe both *emporia* and colonial settlements more broadly (Demetriou 2017; Horden, Purcell 2000: 396), but in the light of my case studies and the arguments put forward in this chapter, I conclude that there is no cogent reason to restrict this notion

to colonial foundations. It is on the contrary entirely in line with my postcolonial perspective that settlements of both indigenous and colonial origins could become and indeed not infrequently became cosmopolitan communities.

As a result, the conventional contrast between *emporion* and other types of settlement, whether or not colonial, loses much of its relevance, even if that is not to say that differences did not exist—they clearly did. Rather than predefine narrow categories of colonial settlement, however, and limit our analyses accordingly, I conclude that we should broaden our scope to the cosmopolitan settlements that emerged on either side of the colonial divides across the Mediterranean, and that we examine them on the basis of comparative assessments of the evidence on the ground. In this way, we may begin to explore the broader array of material and cultural interaction, colonisation and migration at both the local scale and across the Mediterranean, and ask questions about the creation of migrant worlds and material connectivities.

#### Acknowledgements

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## *Emporia: Spaces of Encounter and Entanglement*

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Michael DIETLER

Over the years, archaeologists, historians, and geographers have expended a good deal of intellectual and rhetorical energy exploring the subject of *emporia*. Engagement with the topic has included textual analysis, the mining of historical archives, archaeological field research, spatial modeling, speculation, and more than a little polemic. Unfortunately, agreement has been elusive even on such basic issues as defining, identifying, and understanding the functions of these distinctive spaces of economic, cultural, and social interaction. This situation has led one scholar to opine that “Much nonsense has been spouted in relation to *emporia* and increasingly the literature is filling with contradictory assumptions and irreconcilable interpretations” (Samson 1999: 77).

This chapter makes no attempt to document the history of such disputes or reconcile competing perspectives, as that challenge is one of the collective aims of the volume as a whole (for a range of perspectives, see Anderton 1999; Bresson, Rouillard 1993; Dale 2010; Demetriou 2012; Gailedrat 2014; Hodges 2008). Instead, I want to sidestep terminological and classificatory controversies and selectively focus on a set of processes that are a recurrent feature of trade communities, however they are defined: that is, the interrelated processes of cross-cultural exchange, consumption, and entanglement. More precisely, I want to emphasize a common role served by *emporia*, trade enclaves, ports of trade, trading posts, market centers, or whatever other rubric one chooses to describe the wide variety of circumscribed locations that serve to concentrate and facilitate cross-cultural exchange and consumption, and to explore the entangling consequences of those activities. My interest in this theme arose originally from investigating the specific case of a set of *emporia* that developed in Mediterranean France, and the Western Mediterranean more generally, during the colonial encounter with Greeks, Etruscans, and Phoenicians in the first millennium BC (see Dietler 2007, 2010; Dietler, López-Ruiz 2009; Gailedrat 2014; Py 2012). However, this chapter makes only fleeting reference to that particular case. Instead, it offers some selective general reflections grounded in a comparative historical and anthropological perspective on cross-cultural trade and consumption.

It is my contention that placing *emporia* in the ancient Mediterranean, which are the primary focus of this volume,

in comparative perspective can aid understanding by opening new questions and suggesting new paths of inquiry. These Mediterranean trading settlements represent a specific range of forms of a more general phenomenon that was a common feature of cross-cultural trade for several millennia. Indeed, Philip Curtin has claimed that trade settlements established by foreign commercial specialists became the most common institutional form mobilizing cross-cultural trade from the beginnings of urban life until the industrial age (Curtin 1984: 2). They were found on every continent, and they have been an especially prominent feature of colonial and pre-colonial situations. In my own prior research, I have been especially interested in the part these enclaves of exchange have played in the historical development of colonial relations of power, and that emphasis is reflected in my choice of themes here. Consequently, this chapter examines the roles that trade settlements have played in a variety of such contexts, treating particularly their part in articulating economic and social relations in different kinds of colonial situations and the consequences of their operation. Analysis is focused especially on how such communities of alien merchants have served as privileged spaces for the negotiation of dissonant cultural values, for the profoundly entangling consequences of exchange and consumption of various kinds of goods and services, and for the emergence of new practices, identities, and structures of power.

As noted, the establishment by specialist traders of delimited spaces facilitating cross-cultural exchange has been recognized in many contexts around the world, and in a wide variety of historical situations. Moreover, these trade communities have exhibited a great diversity of specific forms that reflect the intersection of different cultural dispositions, political structures, forms of social organization, and economic functions (for example, see Bresson, Rouillard 1993; Curtin 1984; Gray, Birmingham 1970a; Gupta K., Gupta M. 1998; Hirth 1978; Hodges 1978; Polanyi 1963). Among many observed variations, sometimes they have been homologous stations in a trade diaspora integrated by ties of common ethnicity, place of origin, or religion; while in other cases they were heterogeneous nodes in a loose network of ethnically diverse merchants. Sometimes they have been outposts of powerful mercantile empires, while in other cases they have been

weakly subservient, tolerated enclaves. Sometimes they have been spatially discrete settlements, while in other cases they were delimited spaces within larger local towns. As Curtin (1984: 26) has noted, Sub-Saharan Africa had quite different configurations of trade relations on each of its three “coasts” (the Sahara, and the Atlantic and Indian Oceans), and these variations resulted from the different cultural and political characteristics of the agents engaged in exchanges, as well as from the topography and the nature of trade goods.

## 1 Propositions

In the face of this great diversity, there are a number of basic analytical propositions that can be advanced, of which I will suggest four that are especially relevant to the focus of this chapter. The first is that, in studying systems of cross-cultural trade, one needs to distinguish between *sites* of interaction (the *emporia*, trade enclaves, trading posts, etc.) and the kinds of *relations* that connect and organize them (informal ethnic or religious trade diasporas, heterogeneous networks and commodity chains, state-chartered mercantile firms, etc.). Both of these features can vary in complex ways to produce a wide range of permutations, and there is no simple explanatory correlation possible. But the particular configurations are very important in understanding the logic and effects of trade systems.

The second proposition is that discerning these features requires a strategy based on shifting scales of analysis: that is, one must change perspective constantly by moving back and forth from the very local to the regional to the supra-regional. Studying one *emporion* in isolation is not likely to yield adequate understanding of its relations with local communities or other *emporia*, just as analysis uniquely from the supra-regional systemic level is likely to miss a great deal of crucial information. The practice of shifting scales reveals different forms of agency, structure, and historicity that otherwise remain elusive.

A third proposition is that trade systems are never static: they are constantly evolving, and they need to be examined from the dynamic perspective of “life histories”. The origin of a trade system can rarely be explained by the economic or political logic under which it operated at a later stage. Indeed, as Curtin observed, “trade diasporas tend to work themselves out of business” (Curtin 1984: 3), meaning that, as the role of cross-cultural broker eventually erodes cultural barriers between merchants and consumers, the function and identity of trade enclaves may change radically.

Change is characteristic of both networks connecting *emporia* and the life histories of individual trade enclaves. For example, the specialized function and form of individual *emporia* may shift in various directions as the organizing relations among them change. Historical cases show that various scenarios are possible. For instance, a small trading post set up by a particular diasporic group of foreign merchants or a formal trading company may attract a native settlement to grow around it until the trading post becomes subsumed within the town. That growing settlement might gradually welcome a diversity of other merchants such that one would

have the development of a more open *emporion* situation with a diversity of resident merchants and a complex network of commercial relations. Alternatively, one might start with a native settlement that accepted a few resident foreign traders in its midst. As knowledge of such a market grew, it might also attract a growing diversity of traders. However, that diversity might be affected by exclusionary strategies among competing firms or among nearby native settlements. Changes in other segments of commodity chains (such as a decline in production of certain desired exports, political disruption of access to suppliers, the pull of other markets, or changes in the technology of transport), could also affect the fortunes of *emporia*. Cases are also known of trade diasporas that withdrew to their ethnic homeland, after which the commercial functions of trade settlements were taken over by local people: the Hanseatic League enclave in London is a case in point (Curtin 1984: 4). Finally, the intrusion of foreign traders can sometimes produce unintended changes in political structures and patterns of violence in the space beyond a contact zone that can have a marked effect on the life histories of *emporia* (Ferguson, Whitehead 1992). The growth of powerful, aggressive indigenous states and an increase in regional violence in the hinterland of European trading colonies in West Africa during the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries is a prime example (Thornton 1999), as is the devastating expansion of Iroquois warfare on the margins of the European fur trade in eighteenth century North America (White 1991). This dynamic aspect means that the kind of shifting multi-scalar analysis proposed earlier must also be a historicized form of multi-scalar analysis: one that looks simultaneously at *comparative histories* of sites, regions, and systems.

A fourth proposition is that trade is always political: it is made possible by, and takes place within, a given political context and it has political effects. Hence, one needs to understand the structures of power that enable and regulate specific forms of trade, the political functions of consumption of trade objects, and the political consequences of trade. In particular, for *emporia*, one must attempt to discern the political context that makes possible the existence of these intrusive locations of exchange by asking how is peace maintained in potentially conflictual spaces of cross-cultural interaction, how are merchant activities controlled, how are the networks of trade connected to broader structures of power, and what political effects follow from the consumption of alien goods?

Many other observations could be made, but these propositions provide a basic background analytical framework for some reflections examining three key interrelated processes that shape the histories of *emporia*: exchange, consumption, and entanglement.

## 2 Exchange

Understanding the economic, social, and political logic of trade settlements and trade systems requires us to think about the precise agents, institutions, technology, and topography of exchange. Cross-cultural exchange does not occur by cultures coming into contact, but rather through

the actions of individuals and small groups of people in particular locations. Hence, we need to consider the identities and interests of merchants and the people with whom they trade—and not simply as members or representatives of cultures or civilizations, but as socially situated actors with particular sets of interests that are a product of both cultural dispositions and social positions. For example, in the case of Iron Age Mediterranean France, a variety of different kinds of evidence indicates that the traders who frequented the *emporia* along the coast were not Greek and Etruscan aristocrats, but rather the usual kinds of socially marginal foreigners (both *metics* and *xenoi*) who carried out most of the trade between Greek cities, with perhaps the addition of indigenous Gallic and Iberian traders as well (see Dietler 2010: 131–56; Morley 2007). Their interests would have been quite different from both the people who produced the goods they were trafficking and those who consumed them. Moreover, once foreign traders became established residents at *emporia*, their interests would begin to diverge from the continually mobile traders who transported goods from different sources of production. The commodity chains that linked agents of production, distribution, and consumption in this case were far more fragmentary and disjointed in terms of knowledge and control than would be the case, for example, with the trade stations of the British East India Company. However, in both cases, these chains crossed different regimes of value that gave new meaning to the objects of trade.

It is also important to recognize that cross-cultural trade can occur along a coast, for example, without the necessity of fixed trade stations or even professional traders. Such activity can occur in the form of a ship-based “floater” trade, which, as William Fitzhugh (1985) noted, can even be practiced by sailors who are not full time merchants: for example, by fishermen who occasionally dabble in trading. With a floater trade, access to imports by local people may be sporadic and unpredictable. But ships frequently develop a habit of returning to the same locations because of a well-protected port or anchorage or because of the presence of an indigenous group with a reputation for hospitality and an interest in trading. This can even result in a shift in local population towards such a regularly frequented trade site even without the presence of resident alien traders, as in the case of Basque merchants in Labrador (Kaplan 1985).

In fact, it is often more advantageous for local people not to allow foreign merchants to settle on their land. As Robert Grumet noted in the case of the Tsimshian fur trade along the northwest coast of America, “time works against the trader” (Grumet 1984: 28–29). Merchants sitting in a ship at anchor, with limited supplies of food and water, are at a disadvantage in negotiating with people on land who can afford to wait. Both sides have options: those on land can stall until a ship’s provisions are nearly exhausted and play upon the fear that another ship may arrive with competing goods, while the ship can threaten to sail off and trade elsewhere (if it has some knowledge of likely prospects at other locations). But established loci of trade benefit both sides: local people because they can control trade in imports toward the interior and have privileged access to the arrival of ships, and merchants because they have the assurance of a place where they know

exchanges can be made easily with a receptive consumer community ready with goods to exchange.

As the volume of trade increases, competition between coastal settlements for access to such trade can sometimes even provoke hostilities between rivals (as happened with the Tsimshian case noted above), and this can be a reason for some local settlements to tolerate the installation of resident foreign traders within their community or on their territory. This assures the ability to control a permanent link to an external trade network. For seaborne traders, such permanent stations are important because, especially in the pre-modern world, they faced a variety of serious risks from weather, pirates, and uncertainty about supply and demand conditions because of slow information flows. As Neville Morley noted, several strategies were commonly used to counteract these risks (Morley 2007: 31). One was to carry very mixed cargoes in the hope that something in the ship would always be saleable in one location or another. Alternatively, one could cultivate a regular route, develop knowledge of the preferences and tastes of particular communities of consumers, establish relationships with them, and specialize in trading the particular goods that they knew would find a receptive market. The role of the *emporion* is precisely to aid this second strategy, by having resident merchants who can serve as cultural brokers, pass on knowledge about local demand to visiting ships, store unsold imported merchandise for later sale, stockpile goods for export while awaiting the arrival of ships, and provide credit that helps to smooth the fluctuations in supply and demand.

The potential development of such settled trade enclaves depends upon the level of competition between local groups for imported goods, the nature of the indigenous societies involved, and the level of competition between merchants. But these enclaves are not normally a feature of the first phase of encounter. Rather, they are a possible result of the acceleration of trade. When they develop, such *emporia* can be articulated through either an informal trade diaspora, a more loosely heterogeneous merchant network, or a formally chartered mercantile firm. As Curtin (1984) has shown through cross-cultural historical analysis, these trade diasporas and networks can be highly variable in form. But the presence of *emporia* normally implies a more structured network than a floater trade. This is because the resident merchants are specialists in a single type of economic activity, whereas the host group constitutes a complete society, with a full range of economic roles and social statuses. Hence, the resident traders are entirely dependent on their long distance relations for their existence: it is the regular influx of exotic goods that enables the continued toleration of their presence in the community. That situation can change in the case of *emporia* that are founded as independent clusters of traders outside the boundaries of indigenous settlements: over time the population of such *emporia* may grow and the range of economic and social roles may expand to resemble a normal town, albeit one with a traditionally trading orientation.

The relations of power between resident traders and hosts are also highly variable, but nearly always asymmetric (Curtin 1984: 5–6). Often, these merchants are treated as a pariah group: that is, with disdain, suspicion, and exploitation (such

sentiments are frequently attached to both the status of foreigner and the morally dubious role of merchant). In other cases, alien merchants find ways to integrate better, often by marriage with local people. Alternatively, many strive to maintain ethnic distinctiveness, and sometimes even to carve out a kind of autonomy as self-governing communities (as in the case of the Hausa of the Sahel in Africa). The extreme form of this is represented by the state-chartered European trading firms that set up militarized trade settlements in Africa and Asia from the 16th century on, and which, in some cases, were later converted into territorial empires (Tracy 1991). But the situation of trade enclaves was usually precarious. It was generally their task to learn something of the language, customs, and trade practices of their indigenous hosts and to serve as intercultural brokers.

Cross-cultural exchanges depend upon traders and consumers finding some way of negotiating to reconcile their competing systems of value and to agree over the relative valuation of particular items that are to change hands in particular contexts. Initial attempts at such exchanges are usually subject to a wide variety of misunderstandings (gift versus commodity expectations, for instance), inadvertent breaches of etiquette, and conflict. But increasing habituation to such interactions results in the working out of systems of communication, cultural interpretation, and accommodation that smooth the process. Often this involves a process of mutual creative *misperception* that can produce new meaning and new practices for both parties, of the kind that Richard White (1991) described in his analysis of "middle ground" situations. Frequently, it also involves the development of different types of hybrid vehicular trade languages known as *pidgins*, *creoles*, and *koines*, such as *Kiswahili* in East Africa, *Lingala* in the Congo and *Fiji Hindustani* (Dietler 2017; Mufwene 1997). The presence of resident traders at indigenous settlements serving as cultural brokers aids this process, not least through the formation of social relationships that can anchor networks of exchange, stabilize flows of goods, and enable the extension of credit. Individual exchanges always involve negotiations over the relative value of the specific items involved, but these can be increasingly carried out within the framework of mutually accepted sets of practices and understandings of value and commensurability.

It is also important to point out that *emporia* can either connect alien merchant networks with very local communities of indigenous consumers living around the enclave, or serve as points of articulation with indigenous trade networks extending far inland. In the latter case, the *emporion* serves as a meeting place of two or more alien trade networks, and each set of merchants may have no knowledge of the places where their goods are ultimately consumed (and perhaps little interest beyond comprehending the demand of their trading counterparts). Sometimes, the presence of coastal *emporia* may even provoke the genesis, expansion, or reorientation of indigenous networks. The case of the inland trade networks that brought slaves and gold to the European coastal enclaves of West Africa to feed the trans-Atlantic slave trade is a well-known example. Gray and Birmingham (1970) offer an interesting contrast between the *Lozi* of Zambia, where the arrival of European merchants fueled the rapid expansion

of inland trade, and the *Kongo* kingdom, where Portuguese merchants arrived at the mouth of the Congo river to find already in place a vast inland trade network with its own currency system.

Aspects of the technology of trade are also significant in understanding the processes that take place at *emporia*. These include especially the media of exchange, the nature of the goods exchanged, and the means of transport. For example, one common feature of trade enclaves is that they frequently link monetary and non-monetary regimes of value—or systems with different kinds of currencies. This was the case, for instance, in Iron Age Mediterranean France, where it is clear that indigenous societies operated for centuries with a non-monetized economy in which exchanges were transacted through barter. In one segment of the commodity chain, merchants operated in a monetized economy, where they depended on the use of money to hire ships and purchase cargo. They then traded that cargo through *emporia* in France to indigenous people for products that they could later reconvert to money back in the monetized sector (Dietler 2010: 131–56). In colonial America, European money was meaningless to the native Americans of the northeastern woodlands, and merchants found that trade with them was impossible until the merchants discovered the native system of *wampum* valuables (made of shell beads). The Dutch and English then began to have *wampum* manufactured in workshops and treated it like a specialized trade currency (although this was not precisely the way Native Americans conceptualized it), which they could use to acquire pelts and other goods that could later be converted to currency in European markets (Rothschild 2006; Shlasko 1992). Similarly, in West Africa, traders had to negotiate currency zones in which imported cowries remained for a long time the preferred medium of exchange and some spheres where most exchanges were in the form of barter in kind (Saul 2004). Currency frontiers of this kind, including especially the intersection of barter and monetized economies, are significant not only because they entail differences in the ways that people calculate value, but also because general purpose monies act as a store of value that can serve as a kind of credit device and ease fluctuations in the supply of goods. *Emporia* are precisely kinds of spaces where these issues get worked out, and they can serve as laboratories for the transformation of systems of valuation.

### 3 Consumption

Given these reflections on the process of cross-cultural exchange, the fundamental question must be asked: why would people be interested in trading for alien goods in the first place? What is the logic of demand for objects that explains the willingness of people to accept foreign traders in their territory and the willingness of such traders to travel great distances at considerable risk?

One thing is clear: demand is never a simple or automatic response to the presence of goods. The history of trade is replete with examples of foreign merchants who had enormous difficulty in getting people to engage in exchanges for the goods they were peddling. Until the traders were able to

figure out what kinds of things people wanted and what they were willing to give in exchange, their approaches were met with indifference or hostility. For instance, I have already mentioned the problems Dutch and English traders faced in trying to trade with Native Americans until they discovered the demand for wampum (Rothschild 2006; Shlasko 1992). Similarly, Europeans first attempting to trade for pigs to provision their ships in the Marquesas reported great difficulties in persuading the local people to part with them. The Marquesans valued their pigs (which were important for ceremonial feasts) far more than the iron axes and hatchets the Europeans were willing to offer in exchange. They could only be induced to give up pigs in return for sheep (regarded as a special kind of pig) and birds (the feathers of which were used in ceremonial regalia); and the Europeans were unwilling to part with these items (Thomas 1991: 95–97). In like manner, during the early days of the Sino-British encounter, British diplomats and salesmen were perplexed by the fact that the Chinese failed to be impressed by, or to crave, the European guns and gadgets they were offering. It was only when they discovered the Chinese desire for sandalwood, and later opium, that they were able to open significant trade flows to satisfy the insatiable demand for tea on the English market (Sahlins 1999).

Demand is always a product of a specific social and cultural logic that results in culturally distinctive tastes and values and socially situated understandings of utility. In a sense, the attempts of archaeologists to understand *emporia* places us in the same situation as ancient merchants trying to initiate exchanges: we need to figure out the nature of desires, tastes, and regimes of value in different segments of commodity chains. These traders were specialists in mediating different realms of demand. They were cultural brokers who earned a profit by learning to understand the logic of different markets and moving appropriate goods among them. Fortunately, the anthropology of consumption provides us with an extensive comparative theoretical literature to help us in this endeavor (Dietler 2010, 2010a; Miller 1995; Mullins 2011).

Consumption, in the sense that it has come to be understood within anthropology, is never simply a satisfaction of utilitarian needs; nor can it be viewed simply as the final stage in a purely economic process, as an epiphenomenon of production (as it tends to be regarded in neoclassical micro-economic theory). Rather, it is a symbolic activity deeply embedded in social relations and cultural conceptions. But it is also a profoundly material practice. It cannot be reduced to the circulation of pure signs in an exclusively semiotic form of analysis that is divorced from consideration of the relations of power in which they are embedded or that ignores the crucial material dimension of the goods being consumed.

In the case of *emporia*, an anthropological approach to consumption leads us directly to the question: to what social conditions and opportunities and to what cultural values and dispositions was the consumption of alien goods a response? The answer to this question demands that we look carefully at the particular things that were actually consumed and the ways they were consumed—that is, we must examine the specific properties and contexts of these objects and practices and try to understand the social and cultural logic of the

desire for them and the social, economic, and political roles that their consumption played. It is also, of course, necessary to examine the counter-phenomenon—that is, what might be called the logic of indifference and/or rejection. It is necessary to understand what goods and practices were available for appropriation but were ignored or refused, and why this particular pattern of selective consumption emerged from a range of possibilities. In brief, we must find a way to discern and explain the *choices* that were made. Finally, one must also address the equally crucial question of the consequences of consumption: what were the immediate and long-term social and cultural ramifications of the selective incorporation of these specific alien goods and practices?

In dealing with the properties of things, one can begin by making a few basic distinctions: for example, whether the goods consumed are of a singular or a standardized character (See Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986). That is, is one dealing with more or less unique items valued for their distinctive, individual traits (even as they form a common functional class of objects)—such as artwork in French museums and homes, or Kula valuables in the Trobriands, or bronze wine-mixing vessels in Hallstatt Burgundy? Or is one dealing with items that constitute a common repetitive series produced in standardized, redundant form that are viewed as units and valued mostly in their quantitative abundance—such as boxes of Havana cigars, bottles of Coca Cola, or amphorae of Massalian wine? For archaeological cases, especially, it must be emphasized that one cannot assume either singularity or standardization in the context of consumption based simply upon the characteristics of objects in their context of production: for example, beer mugs that were mass produced in Germany may have been valued for their singularity in the interior of colonial Africa as they circulated in very limited quantities. And amphorae of Massalian wine may have been common standardized commodities in southern France, but more singular valuables as they circulated further north in Burgundy. Moreover, finished goods in one context may be viewed simply as raw material in another, as with the Native American practices of chopping up European copper kettles to make their own jewelry and other implements (Turgeon 1997) or modifying gun barrels for use as flutes and tent stakes (Lohse 1988). This is a question that must be sorted out empirically by careful analysis of the context of consumption to determine how rare or common such goods actually were and how they were treated.

This issue can provide a very useful first clue to penetrating the nature of demand for objects in situations of cross-cultural consumption. For example, Marshall Sahlins offers the illustrative contrast between eighteenth century Hawaiian chiefs and Kwakiutl chiefs of the northwest coast of North America. The Hawaiian chiefs monopolized trade with British and American trading ships and had a very precisely targeted demand for highly distinctive, singular, fashionable adornments and domestic furnishings that they could use to distinguish themselves from their fellow aristocratic rivals through personal possession and hoarding. Kwakiutl chiefs, on the other hand, sought standardized items in exchanges with fur traders (such as Hudson's Bay blankets) that they could accumulate by the thousands in preparation for giving

them away at potlatches (Sahlins 1999: xii.). Hence, both the nature of the goods desired (singular versus standardized) and the practices of consumption (possessive hoarding versus distribution) were quite different in the two cases, although both were marshaled in strategies geared toward maintaining political power. One can also cite cases in which singular objects were distributed as gifts and standardized objects were hoarded. The key in trying to understand the nature of demand and the meaning of consumption in specific cases is to try to use contextual clues in the archaeological record to sort out the social and cultural logic of the process.

An anthropological approach to consumption also requires reflection on a few other key concepts, beginning with culture. Rather than viewing culture as simply an inheritance from the past, it is important to recognize that it is also a kind of perpetual project. Culture is not a fixed, static, homogeneous system of shared beliefs, rules, and traits, but rather sets of embodied categorical perceptions, analogical understandings, and values that structure ways of reasoning, solving problems, and acting upon opportunities through a creative process of structured improvisation. Among those problems/opportunities to be resolved is the ever-present one of dealing with exogenous peoples and objects. This process involves both the selective domestication (or “indigenization”) of formerly foreign goods, practices, and tastes, and the rejection of others. Such selective incorporation operates according to a specific cultural logic, but it also has a continual transformative effect in the reproduction of culture.

Consumption is structured by cultural categories and dispositions, but culture is also constructed through consumption (Comaroff J.L., Comaroff J. 1997). This statement implies two things. In the first place, objects “materialize” cultural order—they render abstract cultural categories visible and durable, they aid the negotiation of social interaction in various ways, and they structure perception of the social world (Baudrillard 1998; Bourdieu 1984; Douglas, Isherwood 1978). The systems of objects that people construct through consumption serve both to inculcate personal identity and to enable people to locate others within social fields through the perception of embodied tastes and various indexical forms of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1984). But more than simply reproducing static systems of cultural categories, consumption constructs culture in a more dynamic sense; and this is especially relevant to the issue of cross-cultural consumption (Howes 1996a). In effect, consumption is a process of structured improvisation that continually materializes cultural order by also dealing with alien objects and practices through either transformative appropriation and assimilation or rejection.

This understanding of culture enables one to recognize that the adoption of foreign goods and practices does not result in “deculturation”; nor does it render cultures inauthentic, incoherent, or imitative. As Sahlins has noted, “Anthropologists have known at least since the work of Boas and his students that cultures are generally foreign in origin and local in pattern” (Sahlins 1999: xi). Moreover, cultural continuity usually consists of the distinctive ways that cultures change (Sahlins 1993:2). Hence, cross-cultural consumption is a continual process of selective appropriation and creative

assimilation according to local logics that is also a way of continually reconstructing culture.

Given the importance of consumption in constructing culture and social relationships, it should not be surprising that goods have not only been appropriated and indigenized, they have also been used by both parties in exchanges to attempt to control the other—“making subjects by means of objects” (Comaroff J.L., Comaroff J. 1997: 218). This involved not only attempts to create novel desires for new goods, but also attempts to get people to use imported objects in particular ways, as well as the generally mistaken belief that the use of particular objects or technologies would inherently induce certain kinds of desired behavior. For example, clothing played a very important role in the strategies of European missionaries to alter the mentalities of indigenous peoples in various parts of the world. Christian missionaries in the Pacific tried to use clothing as a means of transforming Samoan and Tahitian moral consciousness and instilling new concepts of work discipline, temporality, and gender relations (Thomas 2002). Similarly, among the Tswana in South Africa, both clothing and architecture served as vehicles for attempts by missionaries to inculcate European concepts of domesticity and bodily discipline. However, contrary to the plan, they became sites of struggle as the Tswana used these new material forms as an expressive language to structure identity in new ways and contest colonial categories and aesthetics (Comaroff J.L., Comaroff J. 1997). As this case suggests, such strategies to use material objects as vectors of control always have unintended consequences for all the parties concerned.

This leads to a further paradoxical point that needs to be emphasized: far from being signs of “acculturation,” imported objects or practices can become salient symbolic markers of the boundaries of identity between consumers and the society of origin. Their use can expose in a highly condensed way the fundamental “misunderstandings” of values, aesthetics, and appropriate behavior that peoples from different cultures bring to their use of common objects. A striking example is the use of alcoholic beverages when foreigners drink together, as different ideas about proper etiquette, taste, and inebriated behavior suddenly expose cultural boundaries in a ritual that is supposed to create social bonds. Foodways offer another example, as different culinary techniques and temporalities of consumption can turn the same ingredients into foods that are distinctive ethnic markers (Dietler 2010: 183–256). And, as anyone who has navigated the “proper” setting of cutlery in France, Germany, England, and the USA can attest, the same utensils can create a sudden feeling of cultural strangeness simply by their placement and styles of use.

The issue of boundaries is a subject that also demands some clarification in discussing cross-cultural consumption and identity. It should be obvious by now that I am not advocating the old reified organic model of culture as a homogeneous entity with rigid boundaries that was common in the structural-functional period of anthropology. Rather, the processual understanding of culture outlined earlier implies a great deal of fluidity and socially differentiated embodiment of cultural categories, dispositions, and tastes. Moreover, it is clear that, from an analytical perspective, social and cultural boundaries do not necessarily involve spatial discreteness

or segregation. Rather, they are symbolically constituted and contextually defined and invoked, often with variable indexical attributes. Yet, for individuals, such boundaries have great affective importance and are often seen as clear and distinct, and group identities are often perceived in ways that make them seem primordial and stable, even as they are rapidly changing. In *emporion* contexts and colonial situations, such boundaries may be more distinctly perceived (in either *emic* or *etic* terms) at certain periods in the history of an encounter than at others, they may be very differently perceived by different parties in the encounter, and they may undergo significant transformations. Hence, the term cross-cultural, as used here, implies a sense of difference (in terms of categorical perceptions, dispositions to action, etc.) but not necessarily separation, discreteness, or stability. The boundaries in such processes are always subject to definition within specific contexts and they are always an evolving relational phenomenon. But perceived boundaries, both social and cultural, have real effects.

Trade communities such as *emporia* are important precisely because they are the concentrated spaces of inter-cultural communication and negotiation where cultural differences are worked out through contrasting logics of consumption, where alien goods, practices, and ideas traverse different regimes of value, and where boundaries are reified, broken down, or transformed into new configurations and new identities. For this reason, trade settlements have often been the vanguard of the development of colonial relations, in the same way that missionary stations have been in modern European colonialism.

#### 4 Entanglement

As noted above, consumption of foreign goods entails consequences, both intended and unintended. *Entanglement* is a term I use to delineate those consequences that draw people and societies together into new cultural, political, and economic relationships (see Dietler 1997, 1998, 2002, 2010). This highly contingent process has a wide variety of possible transformative effects, depending upon the specific nature and history of entanglement. But the point of invoking this concept is to push scholars to pay attention to the ways in which cultural practices have political and economic consequences, and *vice versa*.

My use of the term grew out of dissatisfaction with concepts such as creolization and hybridity that were developed in postcolonial theory to explain the kinds of cultural fusions that occurred as a result of colonialism. I have a number of objections to these concepts as analytical tools (see Dietler 2010: 51–52; Palmié 2006), but here I want to emphasize especially the problem that they tend to frame the effects of colonialism in predominantly cultural terms. Entanglement, in contrast, is intended to direct attention precisely to the multiple ways in which actions in the cultural sphere simultaneously transform economic and political relations and ensnare people in new structures of economic and political power. And *vice versa*, of course: the process of entanglement is a complex relational phenomenon that entails a history of

intended and unintended consequences in which no single domain of life has a privileged causal status.

Entanglement also stands in contrast to world-systems analysis, which attracted some popularity in prior archaeological analyses of trade and colonialism. World-systems theory was also interested in larger structures of economic and political power, but it tended to have an economically determined telos in which culture was largely viewed as an epi-phenomenon, if it was considered at all. It also had a preordained center-periphery structure, whereas entanglement is a process without a pre-determined form. Instead of inferring certain processes of domination and dependence by looking for signs of a predictable recurrent structure, entanglement focuses analysis on process as a way of revealing a variety of possible emergent and contingent structures in empirical contexts.

The term entanglement has recently acquired greater currency in archaeological and anthropological discussions of material culture and colonialism, but sometimes with a very different meaning than the way I conceive it (for example, Hodder 2012; Versluys 2014). Hence, to avoid potential confusion, let me briefly open a parenthetical explanation of what I mean by entanglement and how it differs from some other uses of the term. Let me say that I am not particularly interested in the kind of buzzword branding that we see far too much of in the field, but I do feel the need to intervene here at some length in a situation that has shown signs of rapid muddling.

Let me first point out the distinction between my own approach and that recently published by Ian Hodder (2012). Hodder's purported theory of entanglement can be viewed as essentially a rebranded variant of Bruno Latour's (2005) Actor Network Theory (ANT), and I am not a fan of either. In my opinion, there is a significant danger in attributing agency to objects, as ANT does, in networks of human and non-human *actants*. The danger is that this both trivializes the concept of agency and, most importantly, depoliticizes analysis by obscuring relations of power. But in studying the effects of trade, which have frequently led to the emergence of colonial situations and other asymmetrical relationships, relations of power should be at the center of our analytical concerns. This is one of the reasons why I find ANT, and Hodder's entanglement version of it, to be dangerously inappropriate in such contexts.

To explain this critique in a little more detail, I would suggest that the elevation of material objects to positions of agency creates an unduly myopic focus on the relationship between people and things in a way that replicates the kind of fetishization of the commodity that Marx was so concerned to explode in his analysis of capitalism (*Capital*: v. 1, p. 1, s. 4). In other words, it misidentifies and mystifies relations of power between people (which are mediated by objects) by representing them as if they were a relationship between people and objects. To use a concrete example, I would cite the case of speed bumps in the road often invoked by Latour and other ANT advocates. From my point of view, the fact that speed bumps force drivers to slow down is true, but also rather trivial. By focusing on the power of speed bumps to alter the behavior of drivers, ANT deflects attention from the

crucial issue, which is to understand who had the power to have speed bumps installed in the first place, and what the selection and use of this particular kind of material thing tells us about relations of economic and political power that connect drivers, property owners, politicians, taxpayers, and construction contractors. Why do some streets in some neighborhoods get speed bumps and not others? That is the location of non-trivial agency. Talking about the agency of speed bumps may be a sort of amusing thought exercise, but it doesn't really get us very far if we want to understand the power relations that determine the control of movement in public space.

This kind of belief in the magical power of material objects and the erasure of human power relations is similarly reflected in Chris Gosden's (2004: 3–4) description of colonialism as being "essentially a relationship with material culture" and his further definition of colonialism as "a particular grip that material culture gets on the bodies and minds of people". I would suggest that this constitutes an uncritical swallowing of one of the central conceits of capitalism, and it falls deeply into the trap of commodity fetishism. Employing Gosden's perspective, capitalism could just as easily be described as "essentially a relationship with material culture". But this notion would hide the exploitative power of bankers, corporate CEOs, lobbyists, and politicians (and their relationship to workers) behind a chimerical sway that objects come to exert on consumers. Just like the mystical invocation of the "invisible hand of the market" by neoliberal economists, this serves the interests of those in positions of power by removing them from the field of analysis and engaging in a perverse form of myopic reductionism. Material culture is certainly very important in colonial situations, but it must be understood in a radically different way; and I think we have to be very careful not to get swept away on a wave of enthusiasm for an intellectual fashion that involves a kind of dangerous magical thinking about the agency of objects.

Despite much else of interest in the article, the depoliticization problem to which this kind of "human-thing entanglements" fetishism easily leads is exemplified in especially glaring form in a recent piece by Miguel Versluys (2014) on the subject of Romanization. Building a case for a thing-centric perspective leads him to statements such as "If Roman archaeology were prehistory, Roman imperialism would be quite invisible in the archaeological record" (2014: 15). This is false, of course. But even if it were true, what is the point of blinding ourselves by ignoring evidence that is not strictly non-textual material culture (and texts are, after all, also material culture)? We might as well state that, if Roman archaeology were prehistory, slavery would be invisible in the archaeological record. This is actually truer than Versluys' statement, but also highlights the stunning irrelevance of this counterfactual game. Should we really ignore slavery and simply make this a story about material culture? As Versluys goes on to state: "A mind map of Rome in material culture terms is therefore not first and foremost about military conquest or about empire building in terms of imperialism and colonialism at all." Perhaps this simply illustrates that "a mind map of Rome in material culture terms" is not a very good way to understand history and

relations of power, especially if it leads to the suggestion to ignore the fact that we know from a variety of sources of evidence that the Roman Empire was the direct product of territorial conquest by large armies, and that those wars of conquest resulted in the deaths of millions of people and the enslavement of millions more.

Thing fetishism leads to other surprising statements as well, such as the proposition that we may "see colonization as just one out of many more forms (and degrees) of connectivity," and "It is the degree of connectivity that matters when understanding 'material agency'" (Versluys 2014: 17). What about the hugely asymmetrical structures of political and economic power, the instruments of mass violence, and the tangled web of human agents that underlay the formation and evolution of the Roman Imperial world? I don't see how a focus on connectivity and material agency gets us even close to these questions—and, in fact, they lead us dangerously astray into a dreamworld where power, exploitation, and violence no longer matter. The analysis of Versluys ultimately sails perilously into the waters of functionalism, when it proposes that we should "think about the Roman world as a device trying to handle all these objects in motion" and asks if the prominence of things from the eastern Mediterranean within the system "might be the reason why the Roman Empire, as a device to handle objects in motion, eventually had to move east and make Constantinople its new capital?" (Versluys 2014:18).

This brief parenthetical discussion is not meant to be a polemic against Latour, Hodder, and Versluys, but rather a clarification of different meanings of entanglement. It is meant to emphasize that I am not advocating a program of analysis that focuses on "human-thing entanglements" or networks of human and non-human agents (or *actants*). Rather, my focus is on the ways that people use things to construct social relationships and how that process entangles them in complex webs of transforming cultural, economic, and political forces. Entanglement, in my sense, is the often unintended consequence of rather mundane acts of ordinary social life. I would argue that what we definitely do not need is a "non-anthropocentric approach", of the kind advocated by Latour and his followers, but rather a *fully anthropocentric* approach in which we recognize that material culture is made and used by humans according to culturally constructed moral, utilitarian, and aesthetic dispositions and socially situated desires, resulting in a host of unanticipated consequences.

As should be obvious, my own development of this quite different concept of entanglement grew out of a very different set of theoretical references. In brief, I share with Pierre Bourdieu a fundamental interest in the ways that practice both reproduces and transforms structures of power and exploitation and his conception of a kind of situated human agency located within social fields (for example, Bourdieu 1984, 1990). My approach is also deeply grounded in the historical anthropology of colonialism and consumption, especially as practiced by Marshall Sahlins (1993, 1994, 1999, 2004), John and Jean Comaroff (1992, 1997), and Nicholas Thomas (1991, 2002). In fact, it was the latter's 1991 book *Entangled Objects* that first got me thinking about the theme of entanglement.

Given this long preamble, how does the concept of entanglement help us to investigate and understand *emporia*? As noted above, I use it as a kind of analytical lens to focus attention on the unanticipated consequences of simple acts of social and economic exchange. I am interested, for example, in the ways in which decisions about the cross-cultural consumption of objects and practices—decisions based upon specific socially situated and culturally constructed logics of value and desire—can entangle people in complex unintended webs of social, economic, and political relations. I am interested in how asymmetries of power can emerge from situations that did not originally entail domination, and how all parties to such processes of entanglement become transformed. This means that analysis cannot be simply about *cultural entanglement*—the way that engagement with alien cultural logics transforms ones own cultural dispositions (although that is certainly a very important part of the story). Rather, one must seek to understand how cultural processes are interwoven with economic and political power, and how action in any one of these analytical domains implicates the others. This approach mandates that the material dimensions of consumption must be investigated in a way that goes well beyond the semiotic circulation of material signs that informs most of the recent “materiality” literature (e.g. Miller 2005; and see the critique of Ingold 2007). One needs to profoundly interrogate how consumption is articulated with the material basis of human life (that is, the means and relations of production, in Marxian terms), as these are very often in the balance in the development of colonial situations.

*Emporia*, trade enclaves, trading posts, and the like are frequently the nodal points at which cross-cultural trade is concentrated and facilitated, at least in the early stages of encounters. They are the restricted zones of contact at which different regimes of value and social logics of demand intersect, and where merchants often serve as cultural brokers in exchanges of goods and services. Hence, they are the locations at which processes of entanglement begin to unfold as a result of consumption choices made by small groups of people.

Those processes can involve a wide range of transformations, some of which I have already mentioned in the earlier discussion of exchange and consumption, including the expansion and reorientation of indigenous trade networks, people being caught up in increasing levels of violence, and the mutation of state-chartered trade firms into militarized mercantile empires that acquire sovereignty over territory. But many other effects have been documented. One is the gradual creation of economic or political dependencies, which can be mutual or asymmetric. For example, an escalating desire for imported goods in the host community of an *emporion*—a desire stemming from local cultural tastes and judgments of social utility—can lead to a gradual reorientation of local production towards goods sought by merchants in exchange. This can also transform the scale of production from one geared largely toward local subsistence into one focused on surplus production for export, including sometimes shifts toward monofocal cash crops that replace polycrop agriculture or the diversion of labor into mining, logging, slave-raiding, or other such activities. Trader networks can also create

mutual dependencies between different sectors of commodity chains, for instance where one society comes to depend on the production of agricultural surplus or other raw materials to secure desired manufactured goods and another society that lacks adequate land to feed a growing population may come to depend on the production of manufactured goods to acquire food staples and other raw materials. In cases of politically centralized polities where local chiefs or kings begin to use imported objects in systems of redistribution, access to these goods can gradually affect the stability of political systems. But even in societies without centralized leadership, imported goods are often incorporated into local forms of status competition (feasting, for example) to the point that they cause an escalation of such competition and the emergence of dependency on exotic goods for the operation of political leadership.

Cross-cultural consumption can also create new alliances of interest that cut across cultural and social boundaries in unexpected ways and provoke new lines of tension and conflict in communities. It can also alter the context and meaning of consumption in ways that disrupt existing social relations.

The trade in alcohol in Africa provides a good example of the complexities of such processes. This began as a trade operated through European trading settlements in which wine, brandy, and rum were exchanged for slaves and gold. By the 19th century, the expanding colonial states in most regions came to rely upon taxes on alcohol for both a substantial part of their operating revenues (Akyeampong 1996; Crush, Ambler 1992; Diduk 1993; Heap 2002; Pan 1975) and for the mobilization and pacification of a native labor force (Crush, Ambler 1992; Diduk 1993; Holtzman 2001; Suggs, Lewis 2003). At the same time, anxiety about the effects of alcohol in producing an unruly subject population and disrupting work discipline also became pervasive. Moreover, the prevalence of a strong temperance ideology among Protestant missionaries led to both political agitation for state limitations on alcohol and direct attempts to influence African drinking practices and beliefs through religious conversion. The result of these conflicting forces was that alcohol became a constant subject of colonial legislation and (usually unsuccessful) attempts to control native consumption and production of alcohol while promoting the sale of revenue-producing imported varieties or state monopolies. At the same time, the alcohol trade produced a gradual shift toward the commercialization of alcohol and toward new contexts of consumption outside the traditional ritual sphere that governed such things as beer and palm wine, and this often began to alter the cultural meaning of drinking. These new contexts of consumption (beer halls, shebeens, etc.) were often seen by the colonial state as potential centers of subversive politics. Shifting alcohol from ritual to market contexts also sometimes set off conflict between generations and genders (as senior men felt their power challenged by liberalized access to a potent political symbol and tool), women used the new possibilities of commercialization to acquire independent economic capital, and frictions emerged between traditionalists and Christian converts over the use of alcohol. This process also sometimes produced curious alliances of interest, as in the case of senior women and young male drinkers uniting in opposition to

official alcohol restrictions in Windhoek (Gewald 2002), or in the case of colonial officials enacting restrictive liquor laws in Ghana, despite the loss of considerable revenues, in order to support the desire of local chiefs for selective access to alcohol and to shore up the social control of these senior men upon whom the state depended for maintaining order (Akyeampong 1996). Commoditization has also frequently altered the cultural meaning of drinking towards the celebration of individual prowess and away from community cooperation, and introduced new symbols of status distinction (such as the emergence of traditionalist and cosmopolitan factions). The continuities and transformative play on traditional symbols can be very complex in such situations (see Bryceson 2002; Suggs 1996).

The patterns of consumption stemming from the operation of *emporia* can also have significant demographic effects. Perhaps the most dramatic of these was the West African slave trade, in which the desire for guns, alcohol, and other goods by indigenous rulers near the European trade settlements led them to decimate large sectors of the interior in the search for slaves that could be brought to these ports and traded with European merchants. This then resulted in millions of slaves being shipped through other segments of the commodity chain in the Americas to work the sugar plantations that fed the escalating demand of the English working class for sugar and rum and produced vast quantities of rum that were shipped back to Africa in exchange for more slaves (Curtin 1969; Matthee 1995; Smith 2001). But smaller scale effects are also common, such as shifts in Inuit population in response to trade contacts by European whalers and traders (Gulløv 1985; Kaplan 1985).

One could produce a long list of other kinds of large-scale entanglements that stemmed from choices made by small groups of consumers. But this series of reflections was not intended to be exhaustive. Rather, it was meant to suggest why an approach to *emporia* focused on the entangling consequences of exchange and consumption can help us to understand their significance in the developmental history of colonial situations and other broad structures of economic and political power. It was also meant to suggest heuristic strategies for teasing out both the kinds of activities, choices, and logics that trade entails in local contexts and the ways one can begin to discern the complex processes of entanglement that follow from trade. Throughout history, *emporia* have been one of the most important kinds of incubator through which the local becomes global.

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# Interpreting Cultural Contact: How Greek Inscriptions from *Emporion* Challenge Roman Texts and Hellenization

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From antiquity onward, ancient Greek settlements in the Western Mediterranean, especially in Gaul and Iberia, have been considered critical examples of Hellenization. *Emporia* are frequently seen as places that actively spread Greek culture among non-Greeks, because as commercial settlements they facilitated contacts among different ethnic groups. Although scholars have challenged the notion of Hellenization repeatedly and convincingly over the past few decades, this problematic interpretation of cultural change persists. A key reason, I argue here, is the privileging of literary texts at the expense of other types of evidence, particularly epigraphic sources.

In this essay, I further challenge the concept of “Hellenization” by examining cross-cultural interactions and transformations in emporia through the lens of cosmopolitanism, which allows a treatment of both the indigenous and Greek populations as active agents and, at the same time, products of their encounter with one another. More specifically, I juxtapose epigraphic sources from the 6th and 5th centuries BC from *Emporion* in Iberia with Roman-period texts that describe the linguistic interactions between Greeks and indigenous populations in this region, to examine how cultural contacts influenced linguistic practices in emporia. *Emporia* were multiethnic; they were also multilingual. As commercial settlements that facilitated cross-cultural trade, they attracted traders and settlers from a great variety of linguistic, religious, social, and ethnic groups—Greeks, Phoenicians, Etruscans, and indigenous populations, among others. The cosmopolitanism that characterized emporia led to cultural innovations, including the emergence of novel religious practices, new group identities, hybrid products, and linguistic changes. Moreover, ethnic and cultural encounters in emporia had not only profound effects on local residents but also wider repercussions along local, regional, and Mediterranean networks (Demetriou 2011 and 2012). The byproducts of local multiculturalism were felt throughout the Mediterranean region.

I begin with an examination of the use of local scripts, names, and languages in *Emporion*, before turning to literary texts that discuss the use of language in this region. Greeks from *Massalia* (modern Marseille) first established *Emporion* (*Empúries*) on an islet off the coast of Catalonia by c. 570 BC. This site had previously been occupied by indigenous populations, who had had contacts with Phoenicians and Etruscans from

as early as the end of the 7th century and started cultivating relations with Greeks in the 6th century BC (Aquilué *et al.* 2000: 11–15; Aquilué *et al.* 2002: 306–11; Sanmartí 2009: 59). Soon after the establishment of *Emporion* on the islet, the Massaliote Greeks transplanted the settlement to a site on the opposite coast. A wide range of evidence related to language comes from *Emporion* and its environs. For example, several inscribed texts have survived from this area written in different languages, including Greek, Etruscan, and Iberian, though no bilingual texts have surfaced yet from the Archaic, Classical, or Hellenistic periods. In addition, ancient authors such as Strabo and Pompeius Trogus provide an unusual number of comments regarding linguistic practices in Iberia and Gaul.

The epigraphic evidence from the 6th and 5th centuries BC is at odds with the literary texts of the Roman period. While the former reveals peaceful interactions between Greeks and Iberians, who cooperated as business partners in commercial transactions, the latter suggest the imposition of Greek language and culture onto the indigenous populations. For instance, Strabo suggests that the Greeks forcefully taught Greek to the Gauls and Iberians, especially in religious and legal contexts. In contrast, inscriptions reveal that the presence of Greeks in Iberia precipitated linguistic changes for both Greeks and Iberians: it resulted in the presence of Phoenician loan words in Greek; the adoption of the Greek or Phoenician scripts to write down the Iberian languages; and the sudden spread of literacy among Iberians in the region of *Emporion*. Later texts such as Strabo have influenced subsequent scholarship to the point that the implantation of *Emporion* in Iberia is often seen as a catalyst for “Hellenization”. I argue that these later literary texts were shaped by Roman imperialistic discourse rather than a Greek practice of earlier periods.

## 1 Scripts and Identities

The cosmopolitan nature of emporia was transformative for both the indigenous Iberian societies and Greeks who emigrated to *Emporion*, especially in their use of written language. The various scripts used to record language in *Emporion* and its surroundings reveal that sometimes scripts lacked ethnic

connotations, as when the Iberians adopted foreign scripts to write down Iberian, while at other times scripts served as indicators of the Greeks' sub-ethnic identities. There is no evidence of writing in this region before the Greeks settled down in this area in the 6th century BC, but later epigraphic evidence suggests that the indigenous populations on the eastern coast of Iberia spoke a language modern scholars call Iberian. Other indigenous languages on the Iberian Peninsula included Celtiberian, Lusitanian, and Aquitanian, spoken in the areas roughly corresponding to central Spain, central Portugal, and northern Spain, respectively. Alongside the native languages were spoken also Phoenician, Greek, and Etruscan, as well as Punic, all attested in epigraphic texts starting in the Archaic Period (Simkin 2012: 79–83). Iberian is a non-Indo-European language and it was found on more than 2000 inscriptions dating from the 4th century BC onwards. It is a language that can be read but not understood, written most commonly in a semi-syllabic script ultimately derived from the Phoenician one (Mullen 2013: 29), except in the northeastern part of the peninsula where the Iberian script exhibits influences from the Greek alphabet (De Hoz 1998). The Greek and Phoenician presence in Iberia may have shaped the writing practices of the Iberians, but the borrowed scripts were used to record the Iberian language—not Greek or Phoenician. A script did not necessarily carry with it any significant ethnic connotation and was only a tool to render a language in writing.

Even if the script was not a defining element of one's ethnicity for the Iberians, it did indicate the sub-ethnic identity of the Emporitan Greeks. The specific Greek script used in inscriptions found throughout the urban center of *Emporion* and the surrounding region, including all along the Gulf of Lion, is the Ionic script. It is tempting to see a connection between this script and the city of *Phokaia*. Ancient authors associated *Phokaia* or its colony *Massalia*, with many cities that lay along the coast from Southern Spain to Provence (Domínguez 2004: 157–71). The Greeks who lived in Iberia and Gaul brought with them the Ionic alphabet used in *Phokaia* and preserved this script in the settlements founded by *Phokaia* and *Massalia* in the Western Mediterranean.

Further evidence to support the idea that the Greeks of southern Gaul and northern Spain preserved the dialect spoken in *Phokaia* and the alphabetic script used in Ionia comes from two lead letters from *Emporion*, SEG 39,1088 and SEG 37,838, dating from c. 400 BC and 530–500 BC respectively (Sanmartí, Santiago 1989; Sanmartí, Santiago 1987 and 1988). The letter forms of the shorter text, SEG 39,1088, are written in an Ionic script, while the script of the longer inscription is specifically Northeast Ionic. Both letters record commercial transactions. Although the shorter text is too fragmentary to attempt a translation, several key words such as profit (*onesai*; *onesthe*) and boat owner (*naukleron*) suggest commercial content.

The script of the 6th-century lead letter from *Emporion* (Fig. 1) is not only Northeast Ionic, but also the dialect it records includes several aeolisms, which were common in *Phokaia* and other nearby city-states. The letter instructs the recipient, probably an intermediary who would go to the Emporitans (*Empporitaisin*), to ask a certain man called

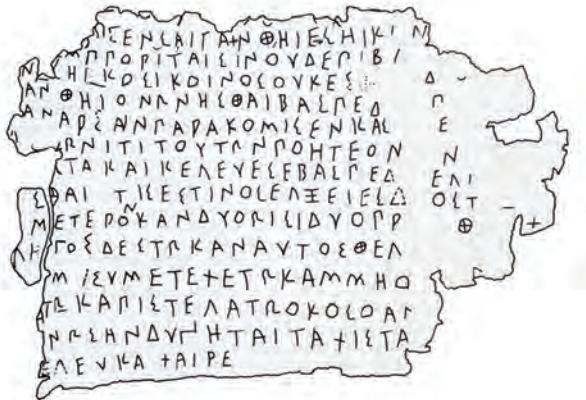


Fig. 1—Lead Letter from *Emporion*, c. 530–500 BC. Facsimile (after Sanmartí, Santiago 1988: 11, Fig. 8) (scale : 1/2).

Basped to transport (*parakomisen*) some merchandise—possibly wine—in exchange for half a share of the profits made from the sale of the goods. Basped could send a counteroffer to the sender of the letter, if he were not satisfied with these terms. The dative plural ending of “*aisin*” in the city-ethnic of *Emporitaisin* or the future ending of—*iso* instead of—*izo* in *parakomisen*, among other elements, are both common characteristics to Aeolian Greek (Sanmartí, Santiago 1987: 121; Slings 1994: 114–7). Ionian cities such as *Chios*, *Erythrae*, and *Phokaia* that were situated close to the region of Aeolia were all influenced by the Aeolian dialect, albeit each in different ways. The lead letter from *Emporion* showcases how Aeolisms adopted in the Ionian dialect in the Eastern Mediterranean were transferred to the Western Mediterranean with the implantation of the commercial settlement of *Emporion*. While the use of a Phoenician or a Greek script to render the Iberian language is devoid of any ethnic connotations, the persistence of the Ionic script to write the Greek language in Iberia centuries after the foundation of *Emporion* is indicative of the civic (*Phokaian*) and sub-ethnic (Ionian) identities of the Greeks who migrated to Iberia and Gaul in the 6th century BC.

Early writing in Iberia, whether in the Greek or Iberian language, seems to have been overwhelmingly used for commercial purposes. Evidence for writing in the Iberian Peninsula does not exist until the 4th century BC, as mentioned above. The earliest writing in Iberian from *Emporion* is in the form of graffiti inscribed on pottery as a mark of ownership (Almagro Basch 1952: 75–83; De Hoz 1979), and primarily expressed an individual's identity. Longer texts in Iberian inscribed on lead and discovered in *Emporion* are thought to have been of a commercial nature (Almagro Basch 1952: 66–68, no. 5; De Hoz 1993; Sanmartí 1988). Literacy and the adoption of a written language by the Iberians were both a direct consequence of colonial interactions between the indigenous populations and the Phoenician and Greek colonists on the Iberian Peninsula.

Nonetheless, cultural influences such as the adoption of a Phoenician or Greek script and the spread of literacy should not be understood as part of the process of assimilation or Hellenization (or Phoenicianization) of the Iberians. The Greek and Phoenician presence in Iberia may have resulted in

the adoption of foreign scripts and the popularity of writing but these foreign scripts were adapted to record an Iberian language. In another instance, the indigenous populations of Western Languedoc and Roussillon in France, areas in the regional trade network connecting the coastal settlements in the Gulf of Lion, including *Emporion*, chose to adopt the Iberian script and not the Greek script of *Emporion* to record the local languages (Dietler 2010: 144–45). The commercial context of these inscriptions suggest that Iberians had an important role in trade and that Iberian became a trade language along this network (Dietler 2010: 145). Evidence for the role of non-Greeks and non-Phoenicians in Mediterranean trade is often lacking, but the information garnered from the use of language in this region reveals a thriving community of Iberian traders. The presence of a Greek *emporion* in Iberia dramatically altered the local indigenous societies and had effects among communities in nearby regions, especially in their use of written language and perhaps also in the creation of an economy based on trade.

## 2 Multilingualism and Multiculturalism

*Emporion* was multilingual. Even a brief examination of the scripts used reveals the wide range of languages spoken in this region. The Greeks who settled in these areas encountered not only the indigenous Iberians, Gauls, and Celts, but also Phoenicians, who had founded their own colonies especially on the south and south-west coasts of the Iberian Peninsula and settled in existing indigenous settlements (Sanmartí 2009; Arruda 2009), and Etruscans who resided in indigenous settlements in Gaul (Bouloumié 1987; Py 1995; Gailledrat *et al* 2016). At *Emporion* itself, Greek and Iberian were the languages spoken and attested epigraphically. These two languages interacted not only with one another but also with languages that linguists classify as “visitor” languages—Semitic (Phoenician and Punic), Etruscan, and possibly also Celtic and Gaulish languages—that arrived in this region together with settlement or trade.

The multilingualism and multiculturalism of commercial settlements such as *Emporion* translated into interactions among individuals and groups who spoke different languages. One of the best illustrations of both the multilingualism of this region and its multiculturalism are three lead tablets, one from Pech Maho in southern France and two from *Emporion*. The famous Pech Maho lead bears three different inscriptions on its two faces (Fig. 2). The earlier text (side A) is in an Etruscan script that resembles scripts from the areas of Tarquinia, Vulci, and Orvieto (Colonna 1988: 549–51). It can be understood only partially. It includes an Etruscan name (*Venelus*) and the toponym *Massalia*. It is unclear whether the content of the Etruscan inscription is commercial in nature but merely the presence of texts in two different languages on the same tablet is strong evidence that the interethnic exchanges that took place in *Emporion* were not limited to Greeks and Iberians. The discovery of the tablet in Southern France, along with the mention of *Massalia* on the Etruscan text and *Emporion* in the Greek one, provide evidence for the

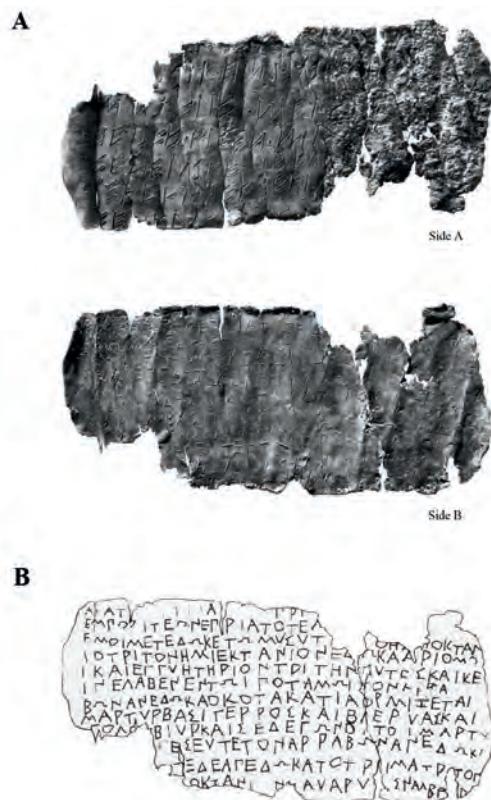


Fig. 2—A—Pech Maho Lead, c. 480–460 BC, Etruscan text (side A) and Greek text (side B) (© Centre Camille-Jullian, Aix-en-Provence); B—Facsimile (after Lejeune et al. 1988: 41, Fig. 16) (scale: 1/2).

trade network that spanned all along the coast on the Gulf of Lion, and the content of the text shows how emporia fostered permanent cross-cultural interactions. The reuse of the lead tablet to inscribe the Greek text reveals the trade connections both among *Massalia*, *Emporion*, and other sites along this trade network, and between Etruscans and southern Gaul in the 5th century BC.

The Greek inscription on the Pech Maho tablet (side B) demonstrates that Greeks and Iberians worked together in commercial transactions. The text dates to 480–460 BC and is written in Ionic Greek just as the lead letters from *Emporion*. It is a legal document that recounts the sale of a boat, or possibly several boats, at *Emporion*, perhaps by a man named Heronoios, whose name is inscribed on the face of the tablet with the Etruscan inscription. The Greek text records that the buyer of the boat(s) paid his debt in several installments. He paid some in cash (*hemiekstanion*); he paid a pledge (*arrabon*) that he had given before some witnesses (another *hemiekstanion*), whose names were Basigerros, Bleruas, Golo[.]biur, and Sed-egon; and he paid a final installment (*hemioktanion*) before a different set of witnesses, namely, [.]auaruas and Nalbe[.]n[...]. All the witnesses' names are Iberian, as was probably their ethnicity.

The Pech Maho lead is not the only evidence that Greeks and Iberians participated in commercial transactions as partners. Iberian names also occur on the two lead tablets from *Emporion* discussed in the previous section. These were private letters, not legal documents recording the sale of boats. The earliest

of these letters (530–500 BC) was summarized above (Fig. 1): the author instructs the recipient to ask Basped, a man with an Iberian name, to transport his merchandise in exchange for half a share of the profits from the sale of the goods. The second lead letter from *Emporion* inscribed in an Ionic script from the late 5th or early 4th century BC is extremely fragmentary as mentioned above, but the few words that can be securely identified suggest that the content was commercial (e.g., profit, boat owner). This letter, too, bears at least one Iberian name, Tielar[...]. Of all the names mentioned on these texts only one, Basigerros, adopted a Greek nominative masculine ending (-os), changing his Iberian name—Basicere—to a Greek form (Lejeune *et al.* 1988: 53–54). None of the other names exhibit Greek influences.

Adopting a Greek form of an Iberian name is not necessarily indicative of one's ethnicity, first language, or Hellenization. Rather, the presence of Iberian names on these three inscriptions, all of which record commercial transactions or negotiate them, demonstrate that the establishment of *emporia* brought together different ethnic groups permanently and that *emporia* in general were multiethnic. In *Emporion*, more specifically, Iberian names remained in use and Greeks and Iberians cooperated in commercial transactions. In the letter from *Emporion*, a Greek directs an intermediary to ask an Iberian man to name his price for transporting goods on ships; the lead from Pech Maho records a transaction that had Iberians as witnesses; the more fragmentary letter from *Emporion* does not give us specifics regarding the Iberian mentioned in the text but given the commercial content of the text he must have had some role in trade. These texts do not reveal directly what language was spoken when carrying out these transactions but they do show that in *emporia* traders of different ethnic groups could be partners in commerce, illuminating once again the importance of Iberians in the trade networks of this region.

The existence of lead letters written in Iberian from *Emporion* and other urban centers in this region, including Pech Maho, that recorded commercial transactions showcase that Greek was not necessarily the *lingua franca* in communications for trading (or other) concerns (Barbouteau, Solier 1988). On the contrary, it is more likely that Iberian was the language of trade, as mentioned above. Nonetheless, the texts that we do understand, namely the lead letters inscribed in Greek from *Emporion* and the legal document in Greek from Pech Maho, do make it likely that indigenous Iberians might have known some Greek, or at least that being able to communicate in Greek might have been handy. It is equally possible that Greeks may have known some Iberian. Ultimately, communication was key in business relationships and oral acknowledgements of transactions were binding—hence the presence of witnesses who could attest to them—even when contracts were written down (Eidinow, Taylor 2010: 45). We cannot know whether the Greeks who wrote the letters or legal documents recording the sale of boats, or the Iberians who acted as witnesses or who were otherwise involved in these trade operations were bi- or multi-lingual. But we do know that their world was definitely multilingual and multicultural.

### 3 Loan Words and Neologisms

Cross-cultural interactions and linguistic encounters in *Emporion* not only led to the adoption of scripts or the spread of literacy among the Iberians, they also profoundly transformed Greeks and the Greek language. The text from Pech Maho (Fig. 2b) contains the earliest attestation in Greek of the word *arrabon*, meaning a pledge or earnest money. The word *arrabon* is Semitic in origin. It appears in biblical Hebrew as ‘erabon, in old Assyrian as *erubbatum*, in Ugaritic as ‘bn. The practice of giving a pledge as security for a debt is well attested in ancient Near Eastern law (Westbrook, Jasnow 2001). The Greeks of the Archaic Period probably learned and adopted this custom through the Phoenicians and borrowed the term from them, as well (Thomas 2009: 28). It is hardly surprising that a Phoenician loan word is first attested in the Greek language from a site in the Western Mediterranean. Such linguistic borrowings must have been commonplace in the setting of multiethnic and multilingual settlements, and *Emporion* was a meeting point for Greeks, Phoenicians, Iberians, and Etruscans. The occurrence of the word *arrabon* in Greek on the Pech Maho lead was not isolated. It would be another hundred years before the word appeared in a Greek text again, in Isaios (*On Behalf of Kiron* 23), in the early 4th century BC, and it was frequently used after that. Extensive contacts promoted by trade and the permanence of interactions facilitated in *emporia* led to the linguistic changes in the form of loan words, first locally, and then more widely. The Greek language did not remain static; cross-cultural trade changed it.

Linguistic byproducts resulting from cultural and ethnic interactions in *emporia* were not limited to the appearance of Phoenician loan words or the Greek form (Basigerros) of an Iberian name (Basicere) discussed above. Neologisms were another outcome of the multicultural context of *emporia*. The Pech Maho lead, for example, contains two words that do not occur in any other Greek text, literary or otherwise: *hemiekstanion* and *hemioktanion*, which describe the amount the buyer paid in each installment for the boat(s). These two terms most likely refer to monetary units of currencies used in the area. Coins minted in *Emporion* followed either Massaliote prototypes or were struck on the Phokaian standard (Villaronga 1991: 85–86; Campo 1992: 126; García-Bellido 1994). *Hemiekstania* have been connected to the Phokaian *hektai*, electrum coins that represented a sixth of a stater, which were also minted in many other cities in Asia Minor. *Hemiekstania* may represent half of a *hekta*, and the diminutive ending -ion might symbolize the smaller value or size of the coin. It may be the case that *hemiekstania* were related to the Phokaian *hektai* but that explanation does not pertain to the other currency mentioned in the text, namely the *hemioktania*. By analogy, these coins would be half of an eighth of a stater, though it is unclear on what standard the eighth would have been struck because there are no other examples representing this value from anywhere in the Greek world. One suggestion has been that *hemioktanion* is a variant of *hemiekstanion* and that all the values designate half of sixths (Chadwick 1990: 163). Chadwick argues that because *hemioktanion* repeats twice in

the text it is probably not a scribal error but rather *hemioikianion* and *hemiektaianion* are variants of the same word (*contra* Chadwick: Rodríguez Somolinos 1996). Whether Chadwick's explanation is correct or not, the Pech Maho text provides unique information regarding the creation of new words in the cosmopolitan contexts of emporia, even if these originated from older Phocaian words.

#### 4 In the Greek Language: Hellenization or Romanization?

Until recently, scholars have used the epigraphic evidence from *Emporion* and its environs as an indicator of the presence of Greeks in Iberia and how it changed local populations. Behind many of these discussions lies the question of Hellenization. To what degree did the presence of Greeks in the Iberian Peninsula, encouraged by trade and made permanent by the establishment of *emporia*, spread Greek culture in the region? I have tried to show that linguistic changes in Iberian society, such as the adoption of the Greek or Phoenician scripts or the use of writing, were not a consequence of Greeks actively attempting to Hellenize Iberians. Rather the cosmopolitanism of *emporia* altered both the Iberian and Greek societies. Greek society changed, too, as for instance in the appearance and use of Phoenician loan words.

Ancient authors, however, do comment that the Greeks who lived along the coast of the Gulf of Lion imposed Greek culture on indigenous populations and even taught them to write and speak in Greek. And modern scholarship has often adopted this perspective and retroactively applied it to earlier periods. In an oft-quoted passage, Pompeius Trogus says that the Massaliotes civilized the barbarian Gauls to the point that it seemed as though Gaul was in Greece (Pompeius Trogus *apud Justin* 43.4), and other Roman authors such as Caesar (*Bellum Gallicum* 1.29) make similar comments regarding the status of Western Greeks as educators of barbarians. Strabo claims that the Greeks of *Massalia* taught the Gauls to write their contracts in Greek, and that Greeks taught the Iberians to perform sacrifices to Ephesian Artemis *hellenisti*, a word that has been translated in this passage as "according to Greek rites" (Strabo IV.1.5). In the remainder of the paper, I argue that a more accurate translation of *hellenisti* is "in Greek." Strabo's claim is that Greeks taught the Iberians to include some spoken Greek in rituals for Ephesian Artemis. But the act of using Greek words in religious rituals was a Roman practice of the 2nd century BC, known specifically as *graeco ritu*. I argue that all these statements regarding the imposition of Greek culture onto Gauls or Iberians, which are limited to authors writing in the Roman period, are indicative not of Hellenization but rather of Roman imperialist rhetoric.

Comments about Greeks teaching Iberians to speak Greek and Gauls to write in Greek appear in Strabo's accounts of the worship of Artemis of Ephesos in *Massalia*, *Emporion*, and other Greek foundations in the Western Mediterranean. A closer look at these passages shows that for the Greeks living in Gaul and Iberia Artemis of Ephesos served as a symbol of civic and sub-ethnic identity. Strabo mentions that in

*Emporion* they worshiped Artemis of Ephesos (Strabo III.4.8) and he attributes the reason for the worship of this specific goddess to the events surrounding the Phocaian foundation of *Massalia*. He says that the Phocaians received an oracle as they were about to leave from *Phokaia* in 545 BC when they were facing an impending attack by the Persians. The oracle advised them to take and use a guide for their voyage from the temple of Ephesian Artemis, which they did. Once they arrived in *Massalia*, the Phocaians established a temple dedicated to this goddess. Strabo adds that everywhere in the daughter colonies of *Massalia* they worship Artemis foremost among the gods, and they keep all the customs that were traditional in *Ephesos*, including the form of the cult-statue (Strabo IV.1.4). I have argued elsewhere that by transferring the cult of Ephesian Artemis to *Massalia* and other settlements in the Western Mediterranean, the Phocaians declared their Ionian and Phocaian identities, because Ephesian Artemis saved *Phokaia* from the Persians. The goddess had previously saved *Ephesos* and *Magnesia* from the Lydians and the Persians respectively (Herodotus I.26; Anakreon fr. 348 [Campbell]; Diodorus Siculus 14.36.3), and was also worshiped as a savior and protector of cities from enemies in these Ionian poleis (Demetriou 2012: 55–59; see also Malkin 1990 and 2011: 182–89). The Phocaians' interactions with the Persians in the eastern Mediterranean made their civic (Phocaian) and sub-ethnic (Ionian) identities more salient, and they expressed them through the worship of Ephesian Artemis.

At the same time, interactions between the Greeks and indigenous populations of the Western Mediterranean transformed the cult of Ephesian Artemis, which became a symbol of Massaliote identity. For instance, when the Massaliotes faced conflicts with the indigenous populations in the 2nd century BC, they set up a temple to Ephesian Artemis to serve as a marker of territorial control (Strabo III.4.6 and IV.1.8; Malkin 2011: 199; Demetriou 2012: 60).

The worship of Ephesian Artemis became symbolic also of Greek identity in Gaul and Iberia and was coopted by Romans to justify Roman imperialism. In *Emporion*, according to Strabo, the cult of Ephesian Artemis acquired a proselytizing aspect, which is unheard of in the history of Greek religion. He says that the Greeks established several garrison cities throughout Iberia that served as strongholds (*epiteichismata*) against the Iberians, and handed down to the Iberians the customary rights of Ephesian Artemis so that they sacrificed *hellenisti* (Strabo IV.1.5). In this passage, *hellenisti* has been uniformly translated across scholarship as "according to Greek rites" (e.g. Malkin 1990 and 2011: 199–202). But, what would it mean to sacrifice in a Greek manner? There were no universal "Greek sacrificial practices." Rather the worship of divinities varied on the local and regional level. The customs due to Ephesian Artemis were different from rites performed in honor of Artemis elsewhere. Consequently, it makes little sense to translate the word *hellenisti* as "according to Greek rites."

A more apt translation of Strabo's statement is that the Greeks taught the Iberians to worship Ephesian Artemis "in the Greek language." The term *hellenisti* appears 326 times in Greek literature (Demetriou 2012: 60–1), including twice in Strabo (both instances at IV.1.5). Each time it appears, *hellenisti* unequivocally refers to the use of the Greek language either in

spoken or written word. There is no need to force a different meaning of the term in this one passage regarding the worship of Ephesian Artemis by Iberians, especially because there is no evidence from elsewhere in the Greek world, either from *emporia* or other colonial foundations, that Greeks intentionally taught any cults as part of the colonization process in the Archaic, Classical, or Hellenistic periods. Everything that we know about Greek religion suggests it was characterized by diversity and fluidity in ritual practices and beliefs. In other *emporia*, sanctuaries offered open access and anyone—Greek or non-Greek—could worship at them, as for example in the *emporion* of Gravisca where Etruscans used the Greek sanctuaries (for this and other examples, see Demetriou 2017). A far more appropriate translation of Strabo's text is that the Greeks taught the Iberians to perform sacrifices to Ephesian Artemis in Greek.

Strabo's comment that the Greeks taught the Iberians to worship Artemis in Greek, I argue, has more to do with the period Strabo is writing in—the 1st centuries BC and AD—and, more specifically, reflects Roman imperialism rather than a Greek attempt to proselytize or Hellenize Iberians. For Strabo the impetus to teach Iberians to perform sacrifices for Ephesian Artemis in Greek was the adversarial relation between Greeks and Iberians, as was evidenced by the establishment of Greek strongholds (*epiteichismata*) in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC throughout Iberia. It was around the same time that the Massaliote Greeks expropriated land in the countryside around *Massalia* and built temples dedicated to Ephesian Artemis as territorial markers when they faced conflicts with the indigenous populations (Strabo III.4.6). What we know about the relationship between Greeks and Iberians from the 6th, 5th, and 4th centuries BC indicates that it was positive, and Iberians and Greeks even lived together in *Emporion* (Strabo III.4.8). The accounts of negative relations between colonists and indigenous populations prevalent in Strabo's account of Gaul and Iberia reflect historical realities of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, and not 6th and 5th-century BC *Emporion*.

The trope of teaching Greek to the indigenous populations in this area commonly appears in Roman texts of the same period and thus reflects Roman attitudes rather than Greek ones. In the same passage that Strabo says the Greeks taught the Iberians to sacrifice in Greek (*hellenisti*) he also says that *Massalia* trained the Gauls to be *philhellenes* so that they wrote their contracts in Greek (*hellenisti*) (Strabo IV.1.5). The proximity of the two instances of this word provides further evidence that it should be translated the same in both cases. Strabo's reference to Gauls writing their contracts in Greek should be considered in the larger context of the passage, namely, Roman conquest (Mullen 2013: 161–62). Strabo begins the passage by noting that previously *Massalia* was a great producer of armaments and the Gauls who lived beyond Marseille were great warriors. But when the Romans conquered Gaul, the Gauls became more subdued over time. Similarly, he says, the Massaliotes no longer occupied themselves with the production of arms. Instead, all men of culture turned to the art of speaking and the study of philosophy. Moreover, while previously *Massalia* was a training-school for the barbarians and schooled them to be *philhellenes* so that they wrote their

contracts in Greek, at the present time, *Massalia* attracted the most prominent of the Romans who went to school there instead of Athens (Strabo IV.1.5). Important Roman families did send their sons to *Massalia* to receive an education (Cicero, *Pro Fonteio* 13). The notion of Marseille as a school of Gauls is echoed in Pompeius Trogus, who says that Marseille taught the barbarians to cultivate fields, fortify cities, live by laws, cultivate vines, and plant olives. So much so, he says, that “it was not Greece which seemed to have immigrated in Gaul, but Gaul that seemed to have been transplanted into Greece” (Pompeius Trogus *apud Justin* 43.4).

The perspective of a Greek city implanted on barbarian shores, bringing with it innovation, new technologies, and education is a distinctly Roman perspective, indicating Roman imperialist ideas rather than a Greek desire to Hellenize. Further, these passages are concerned with establishing the Greekness of *Massalia* to legitimate the education that Romans received there. But Rome, too, was implicated in this process: Rome was responsible for *Massalia*'s status as a Greek city and an intellectual hub where Romans were educated. Strabo says that the turn in *Massalia* towards education and philosophy was a direct result of Roman imperialism: as the indigenous populations came to live under the dominion of Rome they became more civilized and gravitated toward city life rather than warfare, and so *Massalia* no longer needed to produce arms (Strabo IV.1.5). The Roman empire was responsible for making *Massalia* a school not just for the barbarian Gauls but also for Romans.

Roman justifications for its empire also explain Strabo's claim that the Greeks taught the Iberians to worship Ephesian Artemis in Greek. Performing sacrifices in Greek was ironically a specifically Roman practice that appeared late, in the 2nd century BC, described in ancient sources as *graeco ritu* (Scheid 1995). Religious practices described with this phrase involved the performance of Roman rituals with a sprinkling of some Greek words and gestures. Scheid argues that the religious category of “cults *graeco ritu*” was invented to indicate that old Roman gods were of foreign origin, regardless of whether that was true. This enabled the Romans to claim that they were an open society that welcomed foreigners—especially the educated and civilized Greeks—and new religions. Thus, they used this religious category to legitimate Roman imperialism. Strabo's comments about the Greeks teaching the Iberians to worship Artemis of Ephesus in Greek is probably a projection of Roman practices rather than Greek ones.

A further link between Artemis of Ephesus and Roman religious practices is that the cult of Ephesian Artemis was intimately connected with that of Diana on the Aventine, a cult that might have been categorized in 2nd-century-BC Rome as among the cults *graeco ritu*. Strabo notes that the friendship between *Massalia* and Rome found proof in the statue of Diana on the Aventine, which had the same form as the statue of Artemis worshiped in *Massalia* (IV.1.5). In just the previous passage, of course, Strabo tells us that in *Massalia* and all its colonies, including *Emporion*, the Greeks preserved the traditional customs and form of the statue (Fig. 3) they adopted from Ephesus (IV.1.4). The cult statue of Diana on the Aventine, often described as *polymastos* or *multimammiai* (many-breasted)

because of the many breast-like protrusions that decorated the statue's torso (Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 22.5; Jerome, *in Eph. prol.*; LiDonnici 1992) imitated that of Ephesian Artemis (Livy 1.45; Dionysios of Halikarnassos 4.36.3–5). More importantly, this imagery for the cult-statue was probably imported into Rome in the 2nd century BC (Nielsen 2009: 455–56). Despite Roman traditions that attribute the adoption of Diana's cult on the Aventine to Servius Tullius and the 6th century BC, evidence for this particular statue type from either *Ephesos* or the West at the earliest dates to the Hellenistic period. We might imagine that the cultural connections between *Massalia* and Rome in the 2nd century BC onwards, resulted both in the adoption of the Ephesian cult-statue from *Massalia* and in Greek words used in the ritual practices of the cult of Diana on the Aventine.

Strabo's account of the history and geography of *Massalia* and *Emporion* is embedded in Roman history and culture. The conservatism of Greek society in Gaul, Liguria, and Iberia, especially when it comes to the use and teaching of the Greek language is not a product of Hellenization accelerated through the implantation of Greek *emporion* in these regions. Rather it represents Roman imperialist attitudes and the Roman adoption of Greek practices as a way of legitimizing Roman imperialism.

## 5 Conclusion

The focus on language in *emporion* reveals how cultural contacts changed both Greek and Iberian societies in *Emporion* and beyond. The epigraphic sources demonstrate a complex situation. The Greeks of *Emporion* wrote their language using a northeast Ionic alphabet in a dialect that retained aeolisms, suggesting that the Greeks whose writings survive in this area could have originated from *Phokaia*, just as the literary sources state. Yet, permanent cross-cultural contacts in *emporion* precipitated changes in the Greek language. What was at first a local phenomenon—the presence of Phoenician loan words in Greek attested in the region of *Emporion*—quickly spread to the rest of the Greek world. At the same time, the Greek and Phoenician alphabets were adopted by Iberians who used these scripts to render their own language, frequently in the context of commerce. The adoption of writing is one concrete way in which the presence of Greeks changed indigenous societies through the implantation of *emporion*. And, the Iberian script was in turn adopted by the indigenous populations in southern France to record their language and perhaps even became the language of trade.

The epigraphic evidence suggests that scripts, loan words, and literacy, are neither markers of ethnicity nor of “Hellenization”. On the contrary, inscriptions highlight the cooperation between Greek and Iberian traders and the partnerships that formed in conducting commerce. In this respect, the epigraphic sources offer a radically different view of the interactions between ethnic groups in *emporion* than literary sources. Strabo casts the relationship between Greeks and non-Greeks in *emporion* in Iberia and in *Massalia* as a civilizing one, with the Greeks introducing Greek culture and teaching



Fig. 3—2nd-century AD Roman copy of the cult-statue of Artemis of Ephesos (Ephesos Museum, Selçuk, Turkey) (Photo Carole RADDATO CC-BY-SA 2.0).

indigenous populations to speak and write in Greek. This trope, I have argued, is commonplace in Roman-period texts, and reflects a deliberately Roman imperialist perspective that at the same time lauds Greek cities in the west for Hellenizing barbarians while also claiming that these cities would not have remained Greek had the Romans not conquered and tamed the barbarians.

Ultimately, the multiethnic societies of *emporion* were adaptive and flexible. When different worlds intermingled, as they did when Ionian Greeks landed in Iberia and met the indigenous populations and other visitors such as the Phoenicians, new religious practices emerged, changes in the language appeared, and novel identities were expressed. One *emporion* presupposed another and in their totality *emporion* formed extensive local, regional, and pan-Mediterranean networks, linking Greeks, Iberians, Phoenicians, and Romans to one another. Close encounters that took place locally resulted in long-term, profound changes in all societies involved, and these changes traveled along emporic networks, transforming the Mediterranean.

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# Atlantic Intersections: African-European Emporia in Early Modern West Africa

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On the 12 December 1481, a fleet of a dozen vessels left Portugal for West Africa under the command of Diogo d'Azambuja, an experienced military officer. With a complement of hundreds of men, including quarrymen, stonemasons, and carpenters, and with a few women on board, they were to find a location to build the castle João II needed to secure a monopoly of the Guinea trade. They were particularly interested in the trade in gold along the stretch of the African coast the Portuguese called *Mina*, or The Mine (Hair 1994).<sup>1</sup> A month later, they anchored in a large bay near a rocky peninsula separated from the mainland by a lagoon where they could careen ships. The location was the site of a pre-existing African settlement of a few hundred people, the "Aldea das duos partes" (the Village of Two Parts), that extended to the end of the peninsula.<sup>2</sup> After negotiations with the local Africans, the Portuguese unloaded building materials brought from Portugal. These, along with locally quarried sandstone, would be used to construct the fort. They paid compensation in trade goods to the community, the amount of which was soon increased to appease the town's people who protested the destruction of sacred rocks that were being quarried for building stone (Hair 1994, 18–34). In the months that followed, *Castelo São Jorge da Mina* arose, becoming the earliest fortified trade post built by Europeans in sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>3</sup> Today known as Elmina Castle, *São Jorge* was the first of a long series of Atlantic Emporia that would structure the history of the interactions between Europeans and West Africans throughout the early modern Era (DeCorse 2010, 2016; Lawrence 1963, Pradines 2004).

When Diogo d'Azambuja arrived on the coast of Ghana, the Portuguese already had several decades of experience in the African trade. Merchants sailing under the Portuguese flag had ventured down the African coast in the early fifteenth century, reaching as far as coastal Senegal and Sierra Leone by mid-century (Boxer 1969; Blake 1977; Green 2012). Plantations,

partly derived from models established in the Madeiras and Canaries, were established on the Cabo Verde Islands during the 1460s (Green 2012: 95–119). From the onset, these cotton plantations were dependent on slaves traded from the Senegambia and adjacent portions of the African coast. The success of these endeavors and the trade patterns established contributed to the Portuguese decision to extend explorations further to the south and to establish *São Jorge da Mina*.

## 1 The Atlantic Emporia of West Africa

The first dealings between African and European actors on the Mina coast were guided by patterns of interaction that evolved following the Europeans arrival on the African coast. By the fifteenth century, the West African coast and hinterlands were well settled by iron using agricultural populations (e.g. Brooks 1993; Chouin and DeCorse 2010; Green 2012: 31–46). While these peoples had different languages and cultural traditions, they nonetheless had established practices for dealing with traders, migrants, and other travelers (e.g. Brooks 1993: 33–44; Green 2012: 52–68). The Portuguese arriving in Guinea were partly subject to centuries-old African customs of exchange and reciprocity regarding the dealings of hosts and strangers.<sup>4</sup> They rented the land from local peoples and, characteristically, the Portuguese and later Europeans were only allowed a limited amount of space; little more than what was needed to construct their fort or outpost. Often specific locations were stipulated, access was negotiated, and 'ground rent' was paid by the Europeans on a yearly basis (e.g. Law 2004: 31–36; Van Dantzig 1979; Yarak 1986).

In the decades following the founding of *São Jorge da Mina* (Fig. 1), the Portuguese established other outposts in what is now coastal Ghana, as well as in the Atlantic Islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, and other locations on the African coast.<sup>5</sup> While they hoped that these outposts, along with

1. Primary sources differ in the information and details provided about the expedition and the founding of *São Jorge da Mina*. See HAIR (1994) for a detailed assessment.

2. See DECORSE (2008) for discussion of the early Elmina settlement and the meaning of the *Aldea das duos partes*.

3. On going work has identified surviving portions of the early Portuguese fort c. 1482–1510 within the surviving structure (also see LAWRENCE 1963: 103–115).

4. It is difficult to know precisely what fifteenth century African customs were, and the nature of initial African-Portuguese interactions. Written sources, mainly provided by the Portuguese, are limited. However, some indications can be gleaned from documentary sources and oral traditions. For example, see GREEN 2012: 52–68, 70–77, 151–55; BROOKS 1993: 38–44.

5. The West African outposts were part of a Portuguese network of



Fig. 1—This view of Castelo de São Jorge da Mina and the associated African settlement in coastal Ghana is one of the many later adaptations of an illustration originally published in Georg Braun's *Civitates orbis terrariorum* in 1575. This version appeared in a 1719 German edition of Alain Manesson Mallet's *Description de L'Univers* (Collection of Christopher R. DeCorse).

military action and diplomatic sanctions, would exclude other European nations from the lucrative Guinea trade, the Portuguese attempt at the monopoly of the Guinea trade was clearly a failure. By the late sixteenth century, the Dutch and French had established outposts in the Senegambia. In coastal Ghana, the Dutch founded Fort Nassau at Mori in 1612 (DeCorse 2010). Although the Portuguese remained actors in the West Africa trade, their primary role was soon usurped by other European nations. The Dutch conquered all of the Portuguese forts in coastal Ghana in the seventeenth century: Elmina and Axim were respectively captured in 1637 and 1642, while at Shama, the Portuguese abandoned São Sebastiao in 1637.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries traders from England, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussian Brandenburg, as well as the Portuguese, French, and the Dutch would establish outposts in West Africa. Dozens of major forts, and many “factories”—small emporia, often with limited fortifications—were established. Although first erected in the context of a rush for African gold in the fifteenth and sixteenth century,

trade entrepôts that extended along the coasts and islands of Brazil, the south Atlantic, the African coast, South and East Asia. See BOXER 1972; DECORSE 2010; PRADINES 2004).

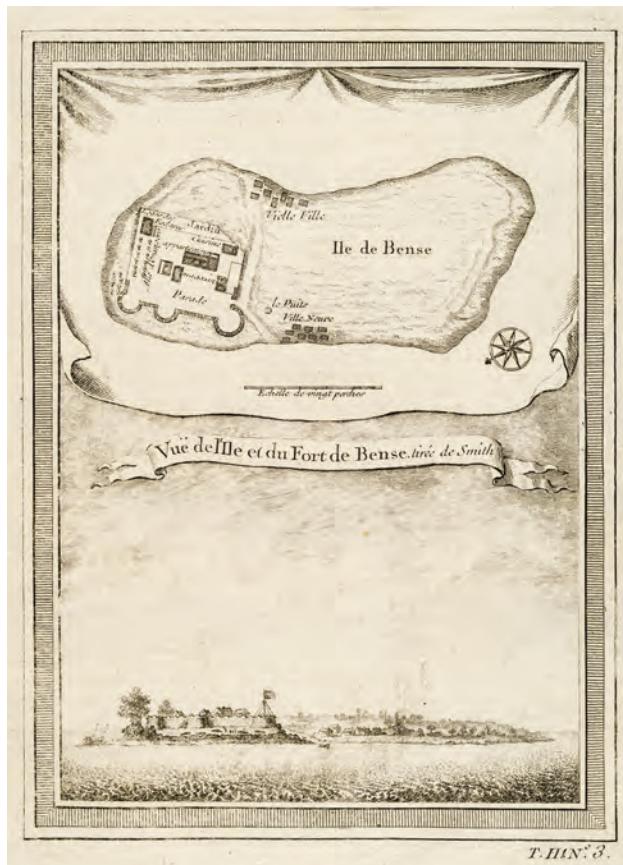


Fig. 2—An eighteenth century illustration of Bunce (Bense) Island in the Sierra Leone Estuary. The village occupied by the grumete can be seen south of the fort. This image was adapted from a series of engravings made by William Smith, surveyor of the Royal African Company who traveled in West Africa in 1726 (Collection of Christopher R. DeCorse).

the major impetus for their proliferation was the growth and development of the Atlantic slave trade. While gold remained important, by the end of the seventeenth-century slaves had become the largest export on the Gold Coast—Modern Ghana (Eltis 1994). By the mid-eighteenth century, European emporia of West Africa like that of Bunce Island in Sierra Leone (Fig. 2) were part of an efficient commercial enterprise that controlled the movement of enslaved Africans from West African sources, through their shipment to the Americas, to their sale to American plantation owners (e.g. DeCorse 2015; Hancock 1995).

The role of the forts dramatically changed following British abolition of the slave trade, beginning in 1808. The slave trade and African slavery persisted and, indeed, expanded during the nineteenth century, but trade patterns were refocused, and the need for the forts disappeared. By the time of European colonization in the late nineteenth century, the economic value of the forts was limited. Some continued to function as government offices, post offices, prisons, and lighthouses for much of the twentieth century. Others were simply abandoned. Nonetheless, the forts and the corresponding treaties with local peoples were used to justify European territorial and colonial claims.

## 2 Building Trade: Outposts in the Tropics

The European emporia of West Africa were founded in widely scattered areas under varied circumstances. With a few notable exceptions, the majority were established under the direction of a European state or, more commonly, intermediately through state-chartered companies. Indeed, by the close of the seventeenth century, every European nation involved in the African trade had experimented with state-chartered, trading companies. Some of these ventures were more successful than others; many received government subvention, most were financial failures, and at all times the costs of establishing and maintaining forts were concerns (e.g. Davies 1970: 16–38). The forts often changed hands multiple times in their history, at times sold, traded or captured. In some instances, they only operated for a short period before being abandoned by their occupants or destroyed by the local populace or European competitors. Nonetheless, the chartered companies established the majority of the forts on the West African coast; they were central to the slave trade, and so were central to Africa's entanglement in the Atlantic World.

São Jorge and the other early Portuguese forts of coastal Ghana were the property of the Portuguese Crown, which managed the trade (Ballong-Wen-Mewuda 1993: 155–86, 271–98, 457–82; Vogt 1979: 140–43, 149–52). In practice, this was difficult as the state lacked the bureaucratic infrastructure to direct and resupply effectively its far-flung outposts. Private merchants who did not necessarily act in the interest of the Crown Royal also received monopolies over certain areas and leases over key commodities. The cumbersome bureaucracy, its inefficiency, limited material and human resources, and illicit trade by officials undoubtedly contributed to the failure of the Portuguese attempt at a monopoly.

Although the Portuguese crown attempted to regulate private trade, unsanctioned, non-governmental illicit trade played an important and continuing role in both the West African trade and in the African-European interactions they engendered. In some instances, private traders established important emporia. Of particular significance was the emergence of the *lançado* settlements on the Upper Guinea coast. The *lançados* were descendants of Portuguese colonists from Cabo Verde, who permanently settled on the upper Guinea coast. Eschewing Portuguese authority and attempts at trade regulation, they established lasting emporia particularly at Bugendo, Cacheu (Fig. 3), and Guinguim in the Casamance in southern Senegal and Guinea-Bissau (Green 2012: 115–19).<sup>6</sup> These early commercial links between Senegambia and Cabo Verde trade would remain a key aspect of the Portuguese and *lançado* slave trade in West Africa through the nineteenth century (Brooks 2010; Lobban 1995: 16–17).

Only private merchants conducted the early West Africa trade of other European nations. In the sixteenth century, these interlopers conducting trade directly from ships were predominantly French (Rushforth, n.d.). By the 1580s, however, ships from the young Dutch Republic increasingly challenged Portugal's monopoly. After the Union of Utrecht in 1579,

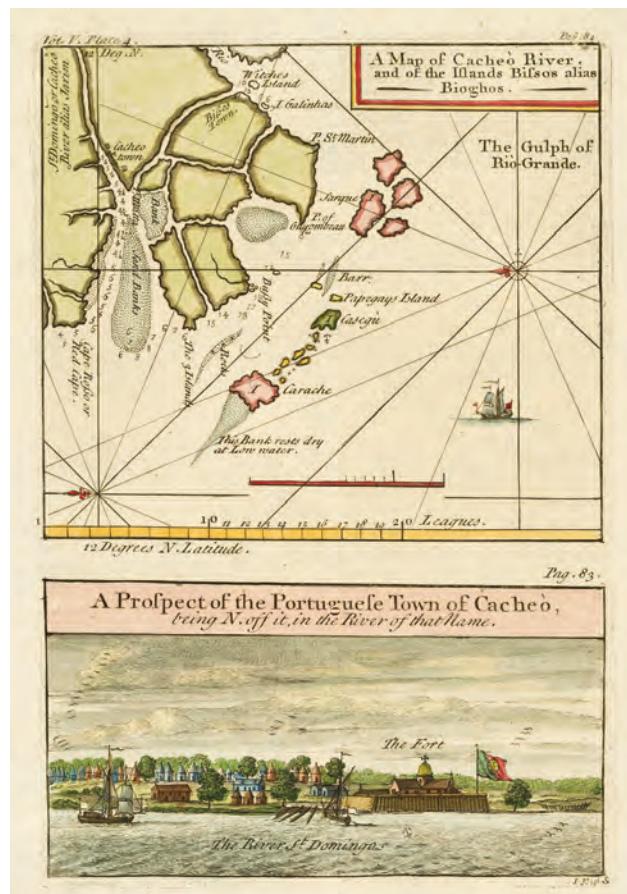


Fig. 3—A map of the Cacheo River and "A Prospect of the Portuguese Town of Cacheo" (now in Guinea-Bissau). Printed in 1744 for Henry Lintot and John Osborn, reprinted from Jean Barbot's Description of the coasts of North and South-Guinea, 1732 (Collection of Christopher R. DeCorse).

the government of the Dutch confederacy took increasing interest in the trade and started dispatching warships to protect Dutch trading vessels, a practice that continued through the eighteenth century (Van Dantzig 1980a: 12–13). The need to have a strong base was soon recognized. The first of these was Fort Nassau at Mori (Fig. 4), established in 1612 ten miles east of the Portuguese stronghold of Elmina (DeCorse 2010: 226–30).

The success of the West African trade and the growth of the Atlantic slave trade led to the formation of several chartered companies (e.g. Chouin 2011: 13–17; Davies 1970: 16–38; Nørregård 1966). The first of these was the Dutch General West India Company (*Geocrooyerde Westindische Compagnie* or WIC), which was granted a charter by the Dutch Republic in 1621. As in the case of many other chartered companies, the jurisdiction of the WIC was vast, encompassing Dutch interests in Brazil, the Caribbean, North America and West Africa. The first French chartered company was the *Compagnie de Saint Malo*, chartered in 1634. Several others followed that largely focused on the Upper Guinea Coast. The English (and then British after unification in 1707) trade in West Africa was operated under Royal charter by series of companies beginning with the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa in 1660 and ending with the dissolution of the African Company of Merchants by the British government in 1821 (Davies 1970).

6. GREEN (2012: 117) suggests that the locations where the *lançados* sought to settle were guided by the Mandinka trading culture in the Casamance that was already well established before the Portuguese arrived.

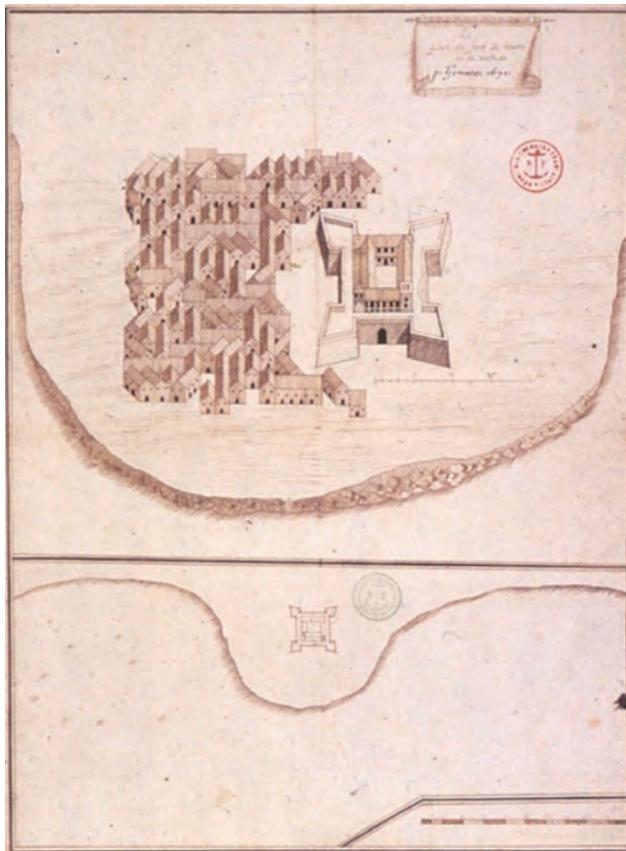


Fig. 4—Gémozac's plan of Fort Nassau, Mori, 1671 and surrounding settlement. This Dutch fort, founded in 1612, was the first non-Portuguese fort established in coastal Ghana. The schematic plan of the African settlement shows houses extending up to the fort walls (ANOM, DFC, Côtes d'Afrique, XIII/24pfc/102).

Other European chartered companies trading to Africa included the Brandenburg African Company (*Kurfürstliche Brandenburgisch-Afrikanische Compagnie*), the Swedish Africa Company (*Svenska Afrikanska Kompaniet*), and the Danish West India and Guinea Company (*Det Vestindisk-Guineisk Kompagni*). Some of these companies were short-lived and, in time, all would be reformed and/or dissolved.

The state-chartered companies competed, and fought against the private traders or interlopers who operated without official state sanction. The interlopers were a serious threat to the company trade; they did not have the substantial overhead of maintaining forts, and so could substantially undercut the company trade. It is not surprising that historical references often note efforts to exclude or sanction these private traders. Private traders typically had no more than a simple structure or factory with limited staff, mostly local Africans, their occupation dependent of maintaining good relations with the local populace.

In this scramble for trade, Emporia of different European nations were unevenly interspersed along the coast between the Senegambia and the Benin river (Fig. 5).<sup>7</sup> In some areas, particularly the area between modern Sierra Leone and eastern



Fig. 5—An eighteenth century British map of West and Central Africa with flags marking the locations of the forts of different European nations. The inset detail dating to circa 1773, shows the concentration of European forts in what is now coastal Ghana (Published with the permission of the National Archives UK, Ref. MPK45).

Côte d'Ivoire, trade was frequently conducted from ships and no major forts were established. In other instances, the forts of two or even three nations positioned to take advantage of trading opportunities might be established at the same location, sometimes within musket shot of one another. With few exceptions, most significantly in the Senegambia where the Falémé, Senegal, and Gambia rivers offered relatively easy access to the interior, the vast majority of the Emporia were located along the seashore (DeCorse et al. 2010; Doortmont et al. 2013; Posnansky, Van Dantzig 1976; Thiaw 1999; Wood 1967). Another notable exception were the Danish plantations established in the hinterland of Accra, Ghana (DeCorse 1993; Nørregård 1966: 172–224). Established during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they were by far the most ambitious efforts by Europeans to establish plantations and inroads away from the coastal emporia before the late nineteenth century. They were, however, largely failures and by the middle of the nineteenth century, the Danes had abandoned their West African outposts.

In contrast to European colonial fortifications in some world areas, including the Americas and southern Africa, the

7. The total number of “forts” is difficult to calculate as many were captured, sold, abandoned and reoccupied multiple times. The term “forts” is also ambiguous. In some cases, the outposts established were very modest, including some referred to as forts.

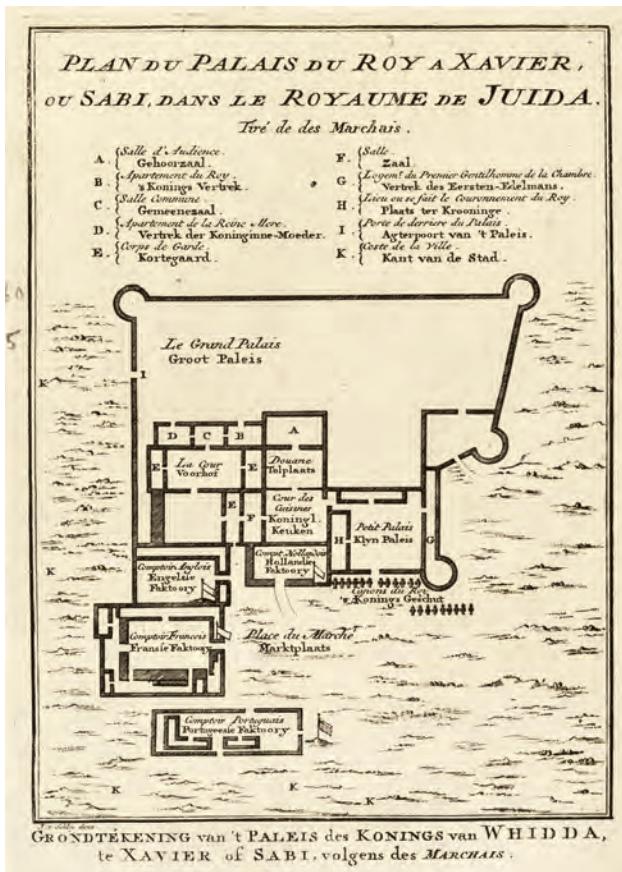


Fig. 6—Plan of European factories at Sabi (Savi), Bénin in the mid-eighteenth century. The English, French and Portuguese factories were all located adjacent to the King's palace. This is a Dutch version of an engraving originally published in Labat's *Voyage du Chevalier des Marchais en Guinée*, 1731 (Collection of Christopher R. DeCorse).

forts of West Africa were often poorly constructed, vernacular in plan, and often in poor repair. Many of the outposts were relatively impermanent structures. Built of timber, or of timber and clay in the manner of local African dwellings, and surrounded with wooden stockades, they were in some cases rebuilt into lasting strongholds and constructed of locally sourced or imported stones, bricks, tiles and lime mortar (DeCorse 2016; Lawrence 1963; Wood 1967). The vast majority, however, simply disappeared from the landscape.

The most impressive European outposts were located on the coast of what is now Ghana. Many of these substantial fortifications were built on rocky promontories or outcrops with direct access to the beach. In contrast, further east on the Slave Coast, in modern-day Bénin, both topography and strong African states made the construction of large forts difficult (Kelly 1997, 2002). In the Huéda Kingdom, which was the focus of European trade beginning in the late seventeenth century, coastal lagoons and shifting sand banks formed natural barriers unsuitable for large forts. At Savi, the Huéda capital, the unfortified factories of the British, French and Portuguese were attached to the royal court (Fig. 6). At least three forts were also built on the outskirts of a pre-existing African settlement at Glehue (now Ouidah). Neither a lagoon side port nor a seaport, Glehue was located three kilometers away from the closest navigable lagoon,

and about four kilometers from the seashore (Fig. 7). These forts, largely constructed of timber and clay with thatched roofs, were not as durable and militarily strong as some of their counterparts on the Gold Coast.

The European Emporia were of varied size and success, and their administration by different state or chartered companies differed. In many instances, however, a headquarters was established that oversaw the smaller out posts. Although the Emporia were sometimes referred to by Europeans as "settlements," they were first and foremost trading enclaves, not colonial settlements. They consisted of no more than a handful of European men who were largely confined to the forts and their immediate vicinity. In 1679, the garrison of Christiansborg, which would become the Danish headquarters six years later, consisted of a Danish factor, a Greek assistant, and 40 slaves (Lawrence 1963, 201). Even in the larger outposts, the European garrisons were small, and often of varied ethnic background and citizenship. At São Jorge, the Portuguese complement was given as 35 at the time of the Dutch take over in 1637, and at times it had been even smaller (e.g. Ballong-Wen-Muwuda 1984: 210–65). After Elmina had become the Dutch headquarters, the European staff increased, but at its peak numbered no more than a few hundred staff, soldiers and traders on the entire coast, the majority stationed at Elmina (Feinberg 1989: 29–42).

At the time of their foundation, European outposts were often built on the outskirts of existing African settlements. Soon, however, quarters occupied by free and enslaved Africans of indigenous and foreign origin, along with their families, grew under the forts' canons and became dynamic parts of pre-existing towns and new settlements. In instances where the lodges of different Europeans were established at the same location, this often led to the division of the original African settlement into different, competing settlements that had privileged relations with one or another of the European nations.

The Emporia were places where European trade goods were stored and where the gold, ivory and enslaved Africans could be housed. Considering the importance of the slave trade in the establishment and development of the forts, surprisingly little is known about the management and control of slaves. The earliest forts, such as Elmina, pre-dated the development of the Atlantic slave trade and so were not designed to hold captive Africans. Spaces had to be redesigned to meet the needs of this trade. In 1646, for example, a ship's captain arriving at Elmina was instructed not to unload forty slaves until barracoons could be constructed for them, no suitable space apparently having been available in the massive fort (Van Dantzig 1980: 22). The larger forts such as the headquarters at Elmina, Cape Coast, and Christiansborg in coastal Ghana included an array of workshops and service areas for the maintenance of the forts.

The European garrisons relied on adjacent settlements for food, labor, and services of all kinds, as well as for trade, for both their use and for visiting ships (Fig. 8). The latter was of particular importance as ships returning from Africa, as well as from the Asian trade, needed to be provided with food, water, and wood for repairs. With the emergence of the slave trade, ships had to be supplied with provisions to feed

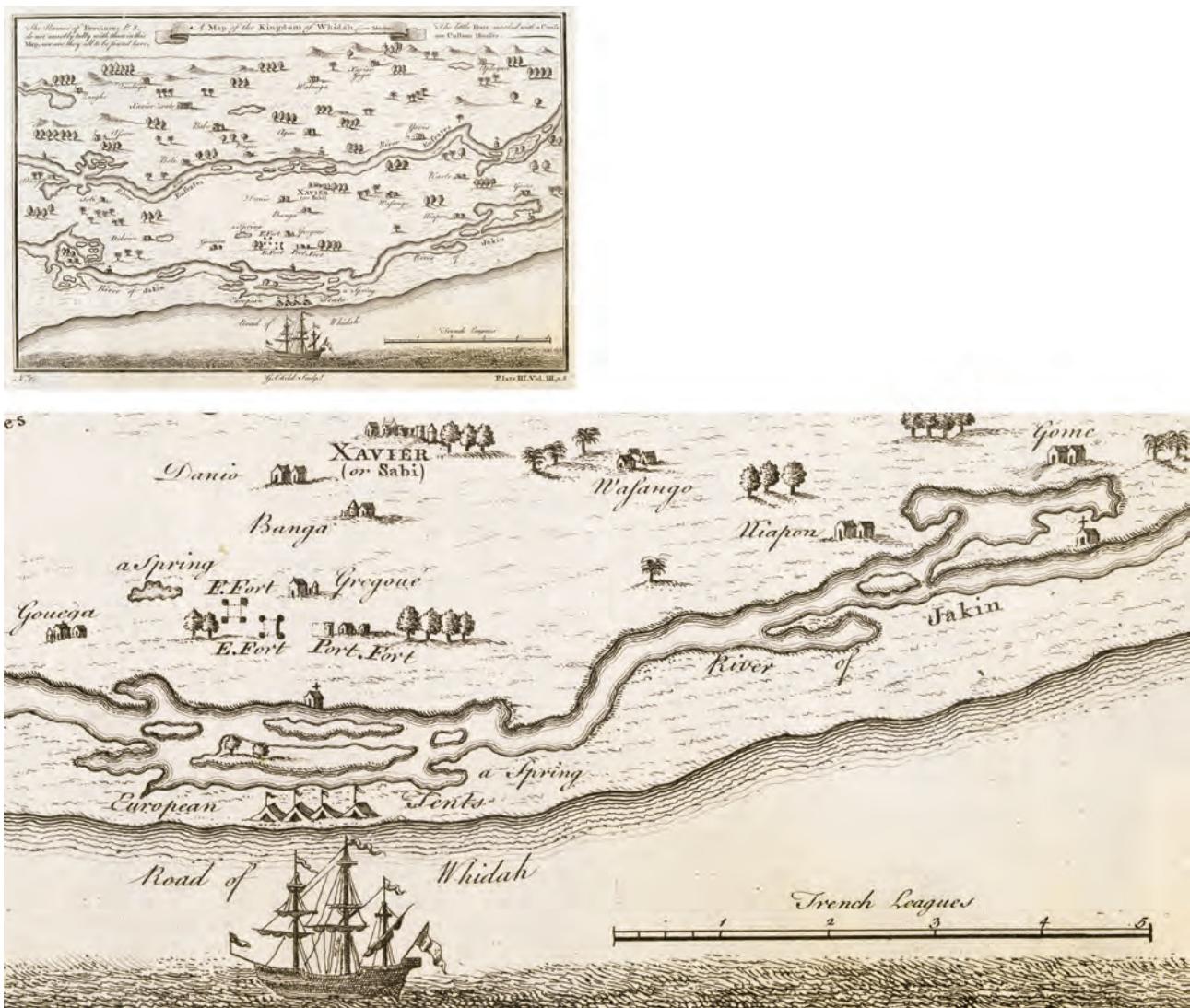


Fig. 7—Detail of an eighteenth century map of the kingdom of Whydah (Hueda/Ouidah) and its capital Savi (Xavier). Note the location of the forts on the interior side of the coastal lagoon and the temporary tents for unloading merchandise on the beach. Reproduced from Thomas Astley's *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels...*, 1746 (Collection of Christopher R. DeCorse).

hundreds of enslaved for voyages of several months. Smaller out forts that were of lesser importance as Emporia nonetheless served as places where fruits, vegetables, and timber could be gathered, and thus played an integral role in the slave trade. By the eighteenth century, the emporia of West Africa were integrated into a network that encompassed the supplies of provisions, water, and slaves to the slave plantations of the Americas (e.g. DeCorse 2015; Hancock 1995).

### 3 Entangled Spaces: Dynamics of Trade and Politics in Atlantic Africa

African-European relations in the West African trading entrepôts cannot be described in general terms for the entire region or period of operation as the interactions were varied and changing; adapted to the identities of the actors, the shifting nature of trade, and the political contexts of the time. What did not change, however, was the fact that

European Emporia were inescapably embedded in African cultural and social contexts. In all cases, their establishment resulted from diplomatic understandings and agreements with local populations. Treaties written down by Europeans were kept by both parties as documentary evidence of these negotiations. Although coastal African societies in the early modern era were not literate, rulers would keep archives, and they understood the usefulness of these documents in their interactions with Europeans. This practice came as a surprise to French Captain Louis de Hally when, in 1671, he landed at Komenda west of Elmina. After ceremonial greetings, his African hosts handed him a copy of a treaty prepared and signed several years earlier by his compatriot Villault de Bellefond and the local African leaders with the view of constructing a fort. This treaty, forgotten by the French, had been carefully archived by the notables of Komenda (Chouin 2011: 61). In the seventeenth century, the presence of Africans who could read and write is seldom mentioned in European documentary records. After the 1660s and throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, an increas-



Fig. 8—Plan of Elmina Castle and settlement. Fort Coenraadsburg dominates the St. Jago hill north of the Benya Lagoon. The African settlement extend along the peninsula west of the Castle, while a few houses and the castle gardens extend into the land north of the Benya Lagoon (Public Domain).

ing number of individuals were sent to Europe and, later, to Brazil to receive western educations. Upon their return, these Africans taught others their skills and lent their pen to local authorities and traders (Deffontaine 1996: 266–85; Verger 1976: 224, Northrup 2009: 64–69).

Africans and Europeans undoubtedly had different perspectives of these treaties. Europeans often thought these documents gave them full ownership and jurisdiction over the land on which their outposts were erected, as well as exclusive trading rights. Africans looked at them more as leases; bilateral trading agreements that did not preclude trade with other Europeans, and that were declarations of the European signatories' tributary status. These differing perspectives resulted in frequent misunderstandings. These are well illustrated by Dutch claims in the 1650s over the jurisdiction of a large territory in the western Gold Coast that extended far beyond their fort at Axim, which they had seized from the Portuguese in 1642. By unknown documents—possibly treaties—the Dutch claimed they had inherited such legal rights from the Portuguese through conquest. By the late 1650s, after intense negotiations, the Dutch partially succeeded as their jurisdiction was recognized—but limited to—the resolution of disputes between local, autonomous polities that threatened to disrupt the smooth conduct of the trade. To this end, the Dutch created and administered a form of justice that was a compromise between European and African practices (Van Dantzig 1979).

Another case of misunderstanding concerns a document sent by the Dutch to the King of Asante in 1744, transferring to him a monthly rent (*kostgeld*) of two ounces of gold for Fort Crevecoeur in Accra. This lease agreement had been negotiated a hundred years earlier with the King of Accra, at which time Accra was still an independent polity. Between 1642 and 1744, payment was transferred to several African polities that had, in turn, conquered Accra from each other, and so, in turn, had become the landlords of the Dutch at Fort Crevecoeur: Akwamu, Akyem and, eventually, Asante. Following a misunderstanding between the Dutch and the Asante in the early nineteenth century, Asantehene Osei Tutu Kwame claimed additional payment for Elmina Castle on the basis that the town had accepted Asante protection since 1812. In the view of the Asante, this was not rent money, but rather tribute paid by a subordinated territory. Revived in 1870–1 during the transfer of Elmina from the Dutch to the British (with whom the Asante were in hostile), the dispute over the “Elmina note,” took on a new dimension as the Asante attempted to interfere in the cession of Elmina to the British by claiming sovereignty over the town and its African and European inhabitants (Yarak 1986).

Europeans entered the negotiations that led to the construction of outposts in West Africa as “strangers” hosted by a landlord. This reality remained true even when the initiative to build a fort belonged to the African side, like in 1611, when two ambassadors of the king of Asebu came to

the Netherlands to plead for the establishment of a fortified trade post at Mori (Van Dantzig 1980b: 32–33). Such a landlord-tenant relationships had long provided a framework to assimilate strangers and foster long-distance trade in Africa. The Europeans consequently entered a pre-existing, structured power relationship in which they had both rights and obligations. Among their obligations was to make their host a trading partner and to provide him with a share of the wealth generated by their association.

On the Gold Coast, forts and castles were initially conceived as warehouses where goods unloaded from ships could be stored to be exchanged for gold brought from the hinterland by African traders known in early sources as Akanists (Boahen 1973, Van Dantzig 1990). The forts were not the expression of European domination over the surrounding lands, but rather a testimony to the strong alliances between the Europeans and their hosts. They stood as marketplaces and secure locations where the gold purchased between the arrivals of ships, could be safely kept. Long intervals between shipments, or poor assortments of goods, resulted in tensions as such shortages of trade goods had consequences for the African host communities that collected tolls from the Akanists on the roads they controlled, and who expected gifts and benefits from their European tenants. It is in part because of the long-felt absence of trade goods in the warehouses of *São Jorge da Mina* that its African neighbors broke their host-landlord agreement with the Portuguese in 1637. They soon entered into a new alliance with the Dutch and facilitated their takeover of the fortress and the establishment of a new social contract (Ballong-Wen-Mewuda 1993, 481–82).

Although the outposts were physical markers of European maritime trade, the stranger-landlord contract on which they were based meant they were intricately entangled within their associated African settlements. It was these relations that made interactions possible between the European Atlantic world and the African hinterland. This duality structured the Atlantic Emporia of West Africa and the ways in which trade was conducted. Although tied to surrounding African communities by history, kinship and sets of spiritual beliefs and practices, the inhabitants of the African settlements associated with Emporia often used their unique connections with European powers to cultivate their independence and develop distinct identities over time. In the cases of Elmina and British Komenda, in the Central Gold Coast, the associated African settlements became increasingly independent of the African states of which they were originally part and emerged as autonomous polities.

An even more striking example of such political transformation linked to the Atlantic trade is the formation of the Oguua polity in the eighteenth century. By the mid-1660s, after passing through the hands of multiple Europeans, Cape Coast Castle had emerged as the British headquarters in the Gulf of Guinea. Built in 1652 by Heinrich Carloff on behalf of Sweden, the fort was seized by the Danish with the support of the same Carloff in 1658. A year later, it surrendered to the Dutch before being retaken in 1660 by the Fetu, who returned it to the Swedes for a large amount of gold. Four years later, unsatisfied with the volume of trade generated by the Swedish company, the Fetu re-captured the fort, sub-

sequently giving it to the Dutch. A year later it was captured by English Admiral Robert Holmes during his famous 1664 expedition to Guinea (Deffontaine 1993: 129–34). It was then to remain in English hands for almost three hundred years. After several decades of English occupation, the nature of the relationship between Europeans and the inhabitants of the associated African settlement of Oguua had evolved. In 1692, Oguua joined a pro-English coalition against Fetu (Deffontaine 1999: 189). By the 1740s, the settlement had its own king, a sign that the process of autonomy *vis-à-vis* Fetu was already well advanced. The new Oguua polity was eventually consolidated by Brempong Kojo (or Cudjoe Caboceer), a major Fanti slave broker for the English, in the 1750s–1770s. In time, Oguua encompassed a large portion of Fetu territory including its destitute capital (Deffontaine 1999), now replaced by the merchant town under the walls of Cape Coast Castle. The fact that Brempong Kojo was a major broker for the English, involved in the provision of slaves for export to the West Indies, illustrates how the rising political power of African coastal communities largely derived from association with the Atlantic emporia. Similar African entrepreneurs and state builders are known elsewhere in the Gold Coast during the same period, including John Cabes at British Komenda or John Currantee at Anomabu (Henige 1977; Sparks 2013).

It was also not uncommon for two (sometimes three) lodges of different European trading companies to be established at some distance from each other in the outskirts of an African settlement. Such a situation often led to the expansion of the latter as new households of castle slaves and employees rapidly budded and multiplied around the European lodges. This process sometimes led to the development of competing quarters that enjoyed privileged relations with one or another European nation, and sometimes ended up forming spatially and politically distinct communities. At Komenda, for instance, the quarter that grew around the Dutch fort ended up joining the original settlement, and both were eventually incorporated into the Elmina polity under the name of Dutch Komenda. On the other side of the mouth of River Hua, a distinct settlement developed besides the English fort that eventually emerged as the head town of an autonomous polity, British Komenda. These communities that pre-existed or developed near the trade posts played hosts to African traders, engaged in brokerage on their own, and provided free and unfree labor, wives, food, and water, as well as political and cultural advice to their European neighbours. At first, newly arrived Europeans might have thought these communities were subject to the forts' jurisdiction, but those who survived long enough to understand the social realities knew such subjection was mere fantasy. In January 1671, when the Dutch commander of the Elmina fortress received the French captain of the vessel "Le Tourbillon", the latter witnessed 300 or 400 Africans of the Elmina village conducting what he interpreted as military exercise drills organized by his host. When asked, the latter replied, "that it was at their own instance; that they were crazy people who assembled at every moment, day and night" (Chouin 2011: 69, 130).

On the Slave Coast, in places such as Ouidah where several European outposts were built short distances from each other, they functioned in very similar ways to those on the Gold Coast,

with their entangled African settlement and respective European quarters (Law 2004). In this case, however, Emporia did not lead to the emergence of new, autonomous African polities. Through elaborate administrative networks of officers who supervised European affairs with local populations, the strong, centralized authority of existing African states imposed much tighter control over trade and traders than on the Gold Coast.

A major characteristic of Atlantic Emporia was the symbiotic-like relationship between a European trade post and its host African community, each largely autonomous from each other yet interdependent in the production of wealth and power. A great example of such relationship was the dependence of Europeans in the Gold and Slave Coasts on African canoe men to circulate and transport wares and people to and from ocean-going ships anchored at some distance from the beaches and coastal lagoons. European-made rowing canoes were not adapted to the passage of the surf that presented a formidable natural obstacle. The success of the trade rested on crews of well-experienced African paddlers in dug-out canoe who also doubled as fishermen. Gold Coast coastal communities specialized in this activity and they migrated to and settled in every spot Europeans established coastal trading posts in West Africa, forming an early example of a group of waged skilled laborers with political and class consciousness (Gutkind 1989; Rönnbäck 2016).

#### 4 Negotiating Intercultural Encounters

Atlantic Emporia were born at the intersection of the African and European worlds, and they functioned as hubs where the two partners struggled to create common grounds, and develop relations for their mutual benefit. When Marie Louise Pratt (1991) conceived of the concept of “contact zone,” she imagined it in opposition to the concept of community. Community, in her view, entailed some degree of homogeneity and equality among members. In contrast, she saw contact zones as “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power...” (Pratt 1991: 34). Atlantic Emporia were such zones of philosophical, cultural, conceptual, sexual and, above all, commercial intersection. While asymmetrical power relations played a significant role in defining interactions between Europeans and Africans, these shifted in time, space and context for one group or the other. In this game of shifting power, however, Europeans did not always have the best trumps, and we cannot uniformly relegate African populations to the category of subordinated, marginal groups exploited by Europeans exercising colonial power. In fact, African Atlantic Emporia were not colonies. With probably less than 2000 men manning the assets of the various trading companies from the Senegambia to Angola, Europeans were in no position to dominate their hosts.<sup>8</sup>

8. It is impossible to know exactly the total number of Europeans working in the Atlantic African emporia during this period. For the Gold Coast, where a majority of Europeans were located, DEFFONTAINE (1996: 82–102) has suggested the number could have totaled between 700 and 800 in number by the end of the seventeenth century. He further indicated that this number steadily decreased during the eighteenth century.

More often than not, these men were sick, hungry, alcoholic and suffering from a variety of mental disorders. They were constantly struggling to maintain balance on the edge of death. Building on his experience acquired during several journeys to West Africa between 1611 and 1620, barber-surgeon Samuel Brun was well aware of the heavy toll paid by Europeans in tropical Africa when he wrote, “...for every year only one ship travels to the fort [Nassau at Mori, Gold Coast] in Guinea with fresh people, because the people there die in large numbers, or lose their lives in other ways, so that often only ten out of a hundred return home” (Jones 1983: 79). Curtin (1961: 95) calculated that, by the late eighteenth century, between 30 and 70% of Europeans newly arrived in West Africa died within a year. Although diseases such as malaria, yellow fever, smallpox, typhus or typhoid were to blame for such high mortality, poor diet was also a factor. As signaled in a report sent by English Governor Thomas Dalby in 1704, the poorest of European employees died daily in English forts by the lack of provisions and corruption among officers who controlled the procurement of provisions to their men amplified the situation (Deffontaine 1996: 131–33).

Poor diet was probably also a result of rampant alcoholism among men and officers. In his travel account published in 1704, Willem Bosman who had spent considerable time on the Gold Coast noted: “...Excessive Drinking being here too much in vogue, and the larger their Salary is, the greater their thirst appears to be; and this is also bound to cause meager diet” (Bosman 1705: 107; Van Dantzig 1976: 108). The abuse of local and imported alcoholic beverages, together with homesickness, the feeling of helplessness and the harsh conditions of life, sometimes led to mental disorders as suggested by the violent behavior of some of the European officers against their men or host communities documented in the archives. Such was, for instance, the case of Fort Appolonia’s Scottish governor Buchanan who killed and wounded several of his men (Deveau 2005: 124–26). Dutch governors De La Palma and Des Bordes, followed the same downward paths, physically threatening European and Africans alike before dying miserable deaths (Deffontaine 1996: 138).

In these conditions, Atlantic African Emporia were contact zones where “highly asymmetrical relations of power” often played in favor of African hosts rather than their European guests. Very few European women seem to have found their way to the emporia of West Africa. European men, often young and single, but sometimes already married in their country or origin, frequently entered into intimate relationships with African women, usually through a type of marriage often referred to as “cassare.” This word, derived from the Portuguese “cassar” meaning to cancel, encapsulated the temporary and contractual nature of this matrimonial alliance that was to last only as long as the European partner worked at the emporium. The union would then dissolve when the man returned to Europe, and the woman was free to enter into another alliance. Children from such unions usually remained in Africa and often ended up taking various employments at the forts.

In settlements attached to the major European castles, such as Elmina, Afro-European men and women and their

descendants would eventually form an important component of the Emporia, the entangled nature of which they embodied. On the basis of their religious and racist conceptions of the social order, directors of chartered companies and their local governors often complained of such mixed unions they thought of as improper but they never seriously attempted to prohibit them (Ipsen 2015: 28–29). In fact, the practice served the interests of the company because, as noted by Danish merchant Römer in his 1760 travel account, employees who had made a home in Africa were “not [...] as desperate to leave the country as they were before” (Römer 2000: 234). Yet, it was women of mixed heritage—perhaps rendered more acceptable by their white and Christian heritage—that newly arrived Europeans frequently married, thus consolidating the status of these families who used *cassare* marriages to expand their influence and wealth in coastal societies. There are hints in the documentary records that African merchants from the hinterland entered in similar matrimonial alliances to take root in a community.

Women in such marriages used their unique position *vis-à-vis* the Atlantic world to engage in trade. Their role as intermediaries is well illustrated by Lene Kühberg, who was *cassaret* to Danish slave trader Frantz Joachim Kühberg at Christiansborg, Accra in 1760 (Ipsen 2013). In addition to lending money to European employees in need of cash, the couple purchased goods from the European company for resale to a network of marketers. They also engaged in small transformation industries, using locally enslaved people to adapt European goods to local tastes. Similarly, while visiting the house of an English slave trader established in Sierra Leone, surveyor William Smith found his *cassaret* “like a good housewife with all her women slaves about her stringing beads and counting booges [cowry shells]” (1744: 94). Such marriages were mutually beneficial to both partners.

In return for status and economic opportunities, women provided emotional support, care in times of sickness, intercultural political connections, sexual services but also a home away from home. These unions could generate strong emotional bonds. As noted by Römer, a man involved in such union “cares as much for her and his children as a man does who has his true wife and children in Europe” (Römer 2000, 234). Europeans often praised *cassare* wives for their ability to give a European flavor to local treats. Writing about the same Englishman’s African wife he had met in Sierra Leone, Smith fondly remembered how “tho’ her husband had left her no sugar at his going abroad, yet she made us extraordinary good Punch with fine Honey” (1744, 94). Finally, their role as brokers should not be underestimated, as they contributed to quickly clear goods brought for sale through their trading networks.

*Cassare* marriages were, however, not desirable or accessible to all European men. Less socially respected and transitory relationships took place between some of these men and enslaved women working or imprisoned in the forts (Ipsen 2015: 43–44). They also probably had access to women providing casual sex for payment. These women, sometimes referred to as “whores” in European sources were different from enslaved, “institutionalized public women” who provided sexual services in African communities (Akyeampong 1997).

Ironically, an instance of explicit sexual contact between a local woman and a European trader features in one of the earliest known descriptions of an intercultural encounter in the Gulf of Guinea. It is Flemish merchant Eustache de la Fosse who provided this account. After the capture of his vessel by Portuguese warships in 1479, he had been forced to sell his goods at *Aldeia das duas partes* (where Castle of São Jorge da Mina a few years later) for the benefit of his captors. De la Fosse describes how a group of women bewitched him for the alleged purpose of stealing two of the copper basins he was selling. He then recalled receiving sexual advances from a young woman in the same house where the basins had disappeared but explained he was too annoyed by the loss of the basin to pursue the offer. De la Fosse’s fairy tale probably hid a more trivial reality, and the “loss” of the basins suggests a payment made for sexual intercourse. In his account, he also recalled the young woman using the expression “*choque choque*” for love making (Delafosse 1992: 30–31). Such a slightly altered but suggestive use of the Portuguese noun “*choque*,” meaning “shock” or “collision,” suggests that less than a decade after the first Portuguese vessel anchored at the future site of São Jorge da Mina, intercultural sexual encounters were already common, and may even have been institutionalized.<sup>9</sup> In fact, communities probably regulated interracial relationships soon after the construction of the castle that signaled the creation of the Emporium. Indeed, by the mid-seventeenth century, a French trader described a much more structured management of the sexuality and trading activities of hosts by local communities. His description seems to announces the practice of *cassare* marriage better documented in the eighteenth century: “they do not allow any stranger to come ashore if he does not have his wife with him, or unless he will get married there in the next 24 hours, for which purpose he is presented with a few girls to choose from. And as long as he looks well and seems determined to trade, no one asks if he has goods or not: he will receive some to trade and live on” (Chouin 2016: 115).

Women played a central role in making African Atlantic emporia successful contact zones, by facilitating the acclimatization of European guests into their host communities, and in assuming the functions of trade but also cultural brokers. Indeed, beyond trade, Emporia were places where active cultural intermediaries constantly translated one world into the other and *vice versa*. Because of their place in the heart of the system, women probably played a central role in this kind of cognitive entanglement process<sup>10</sup> that rendered mutual understanding and intelligibility possible, served as the foundation for trust and, therefore, facilitated credit and trade.

Besides these women, several categories of men also played this role. They included intercultural specialists such as the interpreters and messengers working for local dignitaries, brokers, spies, castle slaves and employees who were all on the books of the Europeans, and pawns, who as members of African merchant families served as collaterals for financial

9. Indeed, the description by de la Fosse of a house where he met this group of women may suggest the existence of brothels.

10. DEFFONTAINE (1996: 315–49) used “reciprocal acculturation” to describe this process.

transactions between their families and European traders. It is often no doubt the voices of these various cultural brokers that we hear between the lines of the European documentary sources that have reached us. Indeed, they could sometimes gain much power and occupy a very central role as advisers of European governors, as illustrated by the famous Akim who appears in Bosman travel account as “one of the greatest villains I have ever met in this country”. The influence of Akim on the Dutch governor-general must have been capital as Bosman complained that “Mr. [Jan Van Sevenhuysen] lent this crook so much his ear, that all other Members of the Council were more or less suspect to him.” (Bosman 1705, 38–39; Van Dantzig 1975, 203).

The result of such varied intercultural encounters was the development of hybrid practices among the African and European members of the Emporia. Africans adopted many European objects and practices in ways that proved adaptive to local contexts and tastes. Keys became ornaments at the waist of women or around the arms and even in the beards of men (Ulsheimer and Müller in Jones 1983: 33, 205). European smoking pipes gave birth to a flourishing, distinctively local clay pipe industry, and aspects of European foodways such as bread were adapted to available crops, including new ones from the Americas (DeCorse 2001). Imported textiles were one of the most appreciated European items, but European-style garments were rarely adopted outside the families of mixed descent.

Within the small European community, habituation processes were at work, sometimes influencing unexpected parts of the men’s life, such as their religious belief. In the absence of long-standing missionary efforts along the coasts of West Africa before the nineteenth century, and in spite of the presence among European communities of a few ministers, Emporia were most of the time overwhelmingly dominated by non-Christian, African religious practices. Although not giving up their Christian faith, many Europeans adopted aspects of the dominating form of religious expression. These included wearing local protective devices under their clothing, consulting local oracles, participating in rituals or trials by ordeal. Reciprocal cultural concessions (Deffontaine 1996: 340), the broad exploration of each other’s material, intellectual and spiritual registers, and the adoption/adaptation of selective objects and practices brought by the other party played an important role in the maintenance and the development of Emporia.

## 5 Conclusion

The European emporia of West Africa were economic enclaves that inextricably drew the continent into an increasingly Eurocentric global economy. Their role as centers of trade, including their central role in the slave trade, delineated power relations that continue to structure the modern world. The treaties and agreements reached between the Europeans, and their African hosts would in time provide the justification for European territorial claims and, ultimately, the partition of Africa into colonies at the end of the nineteenth century.

Yet, European claims and the distribution of the European Emporia established between the late fifteenth and the early nineteenth centuries do not directly correspond with the colonies of the modern era. The Netherlands and Denmark, nations that both had maintained substantial West African holding through the middle of the nineteenth century would not establish colonies in these areas. In contrast, the areas of early Portuguese trade in Guinea-Bissau (as well as Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe) were to become Portuguese colonies. Similarly, early French and British outposts were used to justify British and French claims in French West Africa, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, and Nigeria. However, the limited territorial extent of the original Emporia and the bilateral agreements that were involved in their foundation should be remembered. Far from the European territorial claims of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the early emporia of different European nations were interspersed along the West African coast and there circumscribed by the African societies in which they were situated. By the time of colonial partition, the economic rationale for their original establishment had long passed and the economic underpinnings of colonial partition were quite different.

Beyond their position as economic enclaves, the early European emporia of West Africa were places of mutual dependency, cultural entanglement, transmission, and change. While structured by the expanding Atlantic economy, they were historically and culturally varied encounters, unfolding experiments of varied success and duration. Rather than presenting a unified model of cultural interaction they are better seen in terms of the diversity of cultural encounters represented. The African cultures, polities, and personalities of the Senegambia, coastal Sierra Leone, Ghana, and Benin presented different economic opportunities that African and European players exploited in wide-ranging ways. The remaining European forts and castles that dot the African coast are a testament to these encounters. The African communities associated with major emporia such as Cape Coast, Elmina, and Christiansborg present a unique intersection of African and European architecture, language, art, and cultural traditions. The vast majority of the early European outposts of West Africa disappeared from the landscape. They were nonetheless important for the role they played in a dramatic era of cultural entanglement.

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