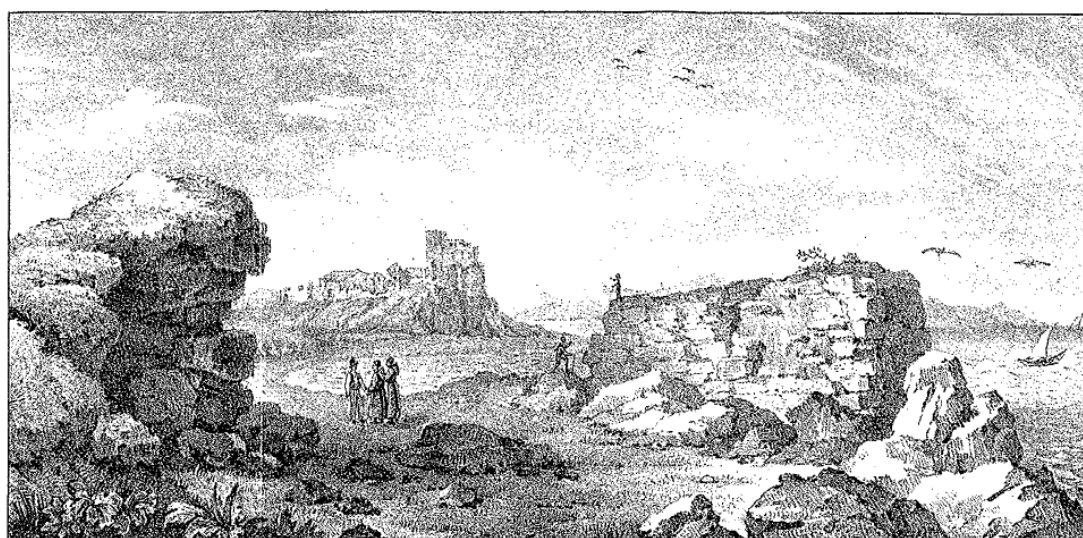




HELLENIC REPUBLIC
National and Kapodistrian
University of Athens
—EST. 1837—

Department of History and Archaeology
MA in Greek and Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology: From the Bronze
Age Palaces to the Hellenistic Kingdoms

Living across the Wine-Dark Sea: Acculturation and Identities in Ampurias



Source: de Guesse del.

Lith. de Villain.

*Vue de la ville et du port d'Ampurias
Rocher de Palaeopolis, Golfe de l'Asie, Môle Phocéenne*

MA Dissertation

Anna Fernández Iglesias

Supervisor: Dimitris Plantzos

Athens, 2022

Abstract

This MA dissertation aims to shed some light on the close relationship that may have or may have not taken place between the newly arrived Greek settlers and the indigenous Indiketan populations on the small *emporion* of Ampurias located in the Iberian Peninsula. The focus has been put on the first centuries of exchange between the two communities, to examine the initial contacts that took place in the Classical period. To achieve this, several pieces of archaeological remains have been addressed in this essay. To start, cult and ritual practices have been studied to understand how religion worked in the enclave. In the second place, funerary practices have been analysed in order to examine possible different practices linked to cultural manifestations. To finish, domestic pottery assemblages have also been interpreted, for they constitute one of our best sources regarding day-to-day activities.

KEY WORDS: EMPORION, AMPURIAS, IBERIAN PENINSULA, CULT, FUNERARY, POTTERY

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to all the people who have supported me during these months while completing the Ma program and writing this dissertation. Without their help this paper would not be what it is today.

First of all, I would like to highlight the help offered by the professors from my former university in Barcelona, who have helped me in carrying out this dissertation when they had no obligation to do so. Especially Dr. Joan Sanmartí, for introducing me to the research team of the Archaeological Museum of Empúries.

Secondly, I would like to thank all the professors in the History department at NKUA who have taught me this year, and whose knowledge has been crucial not only in shaping this paper but also in my academic and personal development. Special thanks to my supervisor, Dimitris Plantzos, for embracing a topic so far (literally) from the Eastern Mediterranean and Greece.

Thirdly, to my family, for giving me the opportunity and encouraging me to complete my studies abroad when I was not sure about doing so. For me, this has definitely been an adventure worthy of an epic poem.

And last, but not least, to Gerard, who never gets tired of reading my pages and always has the energy to suggest improvements in my drafts when most of the times I don't even agree with him.

Gràcies.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	5
1. Introduction	7
1.1. Historical context and archaeological background of the settlement	9
2. Cult and Ritual practices in Ampurias.....	16
3. Indiketan and Greek funerary assemblages near the settlement.....	25
4. Examination of ceramic assemblages and daily practices in domestic contexts.	30
4.1. Tableware	35
4.2. Domestic storage and transport amphorae.....	37
4.3. Kitchenware.....	40
5. Conclusions	43
6. Bibliography.....	48
6.1. Primary sources	48
6.2. Secondary sources	48

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of the location of Ampurias in the Iberian Peninsula. Source: Google maps.

Figure 2: Aerial photography of the enclave of Ampurias. Source: Aquilué 2017, 107.

Figure 3: Map of the Palaiapolis, Neapolis and the Roman settlement of Emporiae. Source: Official Ampurias Guide.

Figure 4: Map of the Neapolis with the different areas highlighted. Source: Author 2022, after Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993.

Figure 5: Proposed plan for the sacred complex in the southern sector of the Neapolis. Source: Retolaza and Sourisseau 2011, 228.

Figure 6: Graph 1 displaying the percentage of inhumations and cremations within the necropolises. Source: Author, after López, 1998.

Figure 7: Table 1 displaying the number of Minimal Number of Individuals in the pottery assemblages discussed. Source: Author, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

Figure 8: Graph 2 displaying the distribution of the discussed ceramic equipment according to function. Source: Author, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

Figure 9: Map of the Neapolis with the location of the three sectors studied, N-1000, MN-5000 and N-1-7000 highlighted. Source: Author, after Mar, Ruiz 1993.

Figure 10: Graph 3 displaying the origin place of manufacture of vases described as tableware. Source: Author, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

Figure 11: Graph 4 displaying the origin place of the manufacture of tableware vases dedicated to consumption practices. Source: Author, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

Figure 12: Graph 5 displaying the origin place of the manufacture of tableware vases dedicated to service practices. Source: Author, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

Figure 13: Graph 6 displaying the origin place of manufacture of vases described as domestic storage. Source: Author, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

Figure 14: Graph 7 displaying the origin place of manufacture of vases described as transport amphorae. Source: Author, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

Figure 15: Graph 8 displaying the origin place of manufacture of vases described as kitchenware. Source: Author, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

Maremar, que els antics déus

Avui són molt lluny de casa.

- *Maremar*

Lluís Llach, 1985¹

Woe is me, to the land of what mortals am I now come?

Are they cruel, and wild, and unjust,

or do they love strangers and fear the gods in their thoughts?

Whither shall I bear all this wealth,

or whither shall I myself go wandering on?

- *Od.*, XIII, 200-205²

¹ Traduction from the original in Catalan: “Mother Sea, for the old gods are very far from home today.”

² Traduction by A.T. Murray

1. Introduction

Ampurias is an archaeological settlement in the autonomous community of Catalonia, Spain. It is located in the southern end of the Gulf of Roses, within the municipality of L'Escalá, in the province of Girona (see Fig. 1). It is around 30 km north of the actual city of Figueres and almost 150 km away from the capital of the region, Barcelona. It is also around 230 km by sea from Marsella, the ancient Massalia, in France. The space, considered one of the few examples of the recurrent Greek presence in the Iberian Peninsula, is visitable and contains one of the headquarters of the Archaeological Museum of Catalonia. Its management currently falls in the hands of the autonomous governs of the region, known as Generalitat de Catalunya, and it is the Catalan site that has been under excavation campaigns for the longest time³.



Figure 1: Map displaying the location of Ampurias. (Google maps)

It has been considered the entering point from which both Roman and Greek populations entered the Peninsula. Furthermore, the settlement has also been traditionally interpreted as the starting point of Greek commercial activities in the area, as well as the entering point of Greek culture in the Peninsula. It has often been described as having a distinctly Greek character and has been considered on many occasions as the link between Catalonia and the Hellenic tradition⁴. However, the latest studies point toward a much more heterodox landscape, in constant relationship with the nearby Iberian nuclei of Indika and Mas Castellar de Pontós⁵. And this is precisely the aim of this paper, exposing several samples of archaeological evidence, focusing on the agency of objects and the social meanings they could have acquired in a complex area of exchange such as an emporion in the first centuries of contact.

³ Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993, 11–29.

⁴ Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993, 119–39.

⁵ Santos et al. 2013, 103.

To achieve this, efforts and attention have been put on three different types of archaeological remains, trying to narrow the studied chronology to the first centuries of contact between the two populations. Firstly, classical sources, theories and relevant findings related to ritual and cult practices within the site have been inspected. This was followed by the interpretations of the funerary ensembles and its grave goods found in the vicinity of the commercial port, attributed to both indigenous and Greek populations. To finish, interest has been shifted to domestic ceramic ensembles found in several separated sectors of the settlement, since they could reflect intimacies that might elude us in the other two typologies of material remains.

In order to carry out this dissertation, as has already been stated, classical sources of interest have been consulted, such as Strabo's *Geography* or Herodotus' *Histories*. However, the academic work of modern scholars that focused their studies on the settlement has been crucial. Some of these personalities are Enric Sanmartí i Grego, former director of the Archaeological Museum of Catalonia in Barcelona as well as conservator and director of the archaeological campaigns carried out at Ampurias in the 80s; as well as Xavier Aquilué, former director of the headquarters of the monumental complex of Ampurias in the Archaeological Museum of Catalonia from 1997 to 2010, and, of course, Marta Santos Retolaza, the current director of the archaeological site.

The main hypothesis that conducts this dissertation is not intended to only revolve around the assumed and pretty attested coexistence of Iberian and Greek populations within the settlement and their shared processes of trading, exchange and acculturation; but also to analyze the cultural landscape of the settlement in general. Taking into account that it was located very far from the cultural centre that produced the commercial port and that the tendency has been to highlight a very distinct Hellenic character in the settlement. The proposal exposed in this paper is that of a much more mixed, heterogeneous and less purist environment than the one typically discussed so far.

1.1. Historical context and archaeological background of the settlement

The Greek enclave of Emporion or, as we know it today, Ampurias, was founded around 600 BCE on what back then was a small islet, today called Sant Martí d'Empúries⁶. Six centuries later, this first settlement was referred to as Palaia polis by the Greek geographer Strabo⁷, thus distinguishing it from the later mainland settlement known as Neapolis. Both settlements were founded by the same generation of Phocaeans coming from Massalia⁸. The metropolis, Phocaea, constituted a big polis with great economic power, proven by the monumental public constructions carried out at the beginning of the 6th century BCE⁹. These traces of wealth become inevitably linked with the information provided by Herodotus, which mentions the profit that the Phocaean enterprises extracted from the *emporion* of Naukratis in Egypt¹⁰ or their extreme lucrative voyages across the Mediterranean Sea to Tartessos in the Iberian Peninsula¹¹. Still, our knowledge of the archaic Phocaea remains rather scarce, all information available points towards the conclusion that it was, indeed, a large city with monumental constructions that took advantage of its economic networks and became one of the most prosperous cities in Ionia. However, later texts from Justin Martyr state that the initial expansion took place precisely because of the poverty and shortage of the city¹².

Regarding the newly arrived settlers in the northeastern Iberian Peninsula, it is more than likely that the lack of space on the island of Sant Martí d'Ampurias provoked the need to find a more suitable spot, therefore, around 550 BCE they established on land as well, taking the advantage of having a larger place to develop their activities, but dealing with the inconvenience of having local indigenous communities as neighbours; which most likely was the reason that led them to fortify their settlement¹³. These neighbours were formed by cultural groups known as Indiketai, which inhabited the coastal areas surrounding the Gulf of Roses and based their economy on cereal cultivation but were already used to Mediterranean commercial activities with the Phoenicians, Etruscans and later, the Greeks. Since the establishment of the second settlement on land and onwards,

⁶ Marcet and Sanmartí-Grego 1989, 16.

⁷ Geography III (8) Strabo

⁸ Aquilué 2017, 106.

⁹ Domínguez Monedero 2011, 11.

¹⁰ Hdt III, 178

¹¹ Hdt I, 163

¹² JM XLIII, 3, 4

¹³ Marcet and Sanmartí-Grego 1989, 21.

Ampurias always functioned as a dual settlement, with both cores, Palaiapolis and Neapolis, located north and south of the natural port, administrating it¹⁴.

Throughout the second half of the 6th century and the 5th century BCE, the Neapolis expanded as a result of an increase in population, reaching its peak in 3 hectares, commonly attributed to the migratory movements¹⁵ that took place after the fall of the metropolis against Persia, as described by Herodotus¹⁶. The settlement reached its territorial peak with the construction of the southern wall in the first half of the 5th century. Part of the nearby indigenous communities were established on the other side of this wall, although it is unknown if they were already there prior to the establishment of the Greek settlement. Nevertheless, their staying in the surroundings of the enclave suggests a clear intention of wanting to live close to the Greek communities and, without losing any of their administrative autonomy, enjoy the benefits of having commercial agents that provided all kinds of Mediterranean products which otherwise they would have never been able to acquire by themselves¹⁷.



Figure 2: Aerial photography of the Greek enclave of Ampurias. To the right, the so-called Palaiapolis (then an island). To the left, the Neapolis. Between them, the area that back then conformed the port, today completely covered in land. (Aquilué 2017, 107)

¹⁴ Aquilué 2017, 197.

¹⁵ Domínguez Monedero 1985, 364.

¹⁶ Herodotus I 163-164

¹⁷ Marcet and Sanmartí-Grego 1989, 21.

The 5th century BCE also saw an increase in commerce, with the building of a close relationship between all the Phocaean colonies in the West, an extraordinary influx of foreign goods, including Greek materials, entered Ampurias. Among these, red-figured Attic vases and black-glazed pots, as well as grey monochrome type vases stand out¹⁸. The city started to mint its own currency at this moment, silver drachmas that soon enough were imitated by the Iberian local communities¹⁹. Thanks to the excellent relations of Ampurias with the Iberian surroundings that inhabited the northwest of the peninsula, these materials expanded all over the large nearby Iberian settlements, such as the broad nuclei of Indika (a city that somewhat acted as a capital for the Indiketan populations) or Mas Castellar de Pontós²⁰.

The site was also the entering point through which the Romans accessed the Iberian Peninsula in 218 BC in order to defeat the Carthaginian army, but also constituted the beginning of the conquest and subsequent Romanization of Hispania. At this same spot, they established themselves, creating a military camp right next to the Greek commercial port. This military camp would end up becoming, at the beginning of the 1st century BC, a true Roman city called Emporiae which, with the change of era, would include in its jurisdiction the urban nucleus that had constituted the Greek settlement, acquiring the name *Municipium Emporiae*²¹.

However, how did the archaeological campaigns that allow us to study and admire the archaeological complex today begin? The actual identification of the city of Emporion/Emporiae took place in the fifteenth century of our era, when the then Bishop of Girona, Joan Margarit (1421-1484), correctly located the settlement to the south of the Gulf of Roses in his work *Paralipomenon Hispaniae*²². From that moment on, the complex welcomed numerous publications and campaigns that focused on creating material collections coming from the site that were used as relics and goods of social status²³, such as the collection that originally belonged to the scholar and author of one of the first descriptions of the settlement and its findings²⁴, Josep Maranges i Marimon

¹⁸ Aquilué et al. 2017, 97.

¹⁹ Marcet and Sanmartí-Grego 1989, 23.

²⁰ Moner 2018, 34.

²¹ Aquilué 2008a, 16.

²² Tate 1957, 109.

²³ Aquilué 2017, 108.

²⁴ Maranges i Marimon 1803. To know more, see: *Compendio histórico, resumen y descripción de la antiquísima ciudad de Ampurias*.

(1735-1808) and was later gifted to king Ferdinand VII of Spain. Other important collections include the one that belonged to Jaume Jaubert de Paça (1785-1865) and was used as the foundation for his work *Notice Historique sur la ville et le comté d'Empuries en Catalogne* (1823), in which the first plan of the settlement appears²⁵.

As important as these early and not-too-methodological campaigns were, real and systematic archaeological campaigns in the settlement were promoted by the Provincial Deputation of Girona in 1846, although soon enough the settlement was considered of not enough interest and was left unattended, suffering from constant looting until 1907, when the Board of Museums of Barcelona acquired the permits to restart the systematic excavations, which were then transferred to the Commonwealth of Catalonia²⁶. These campaigns were promoted by Josep Puig i Cadafalch, with the support of Enric Prat de la Riba, president of the Commonwealth until 1917²⁷. The excavations were conducted by archaeologist Emili Gandia throughout 22 campaigns, from 1908 until 1937, and were interrupted in 1927 due to the uncertainty and increasing tensions of the last years of the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1931), who dismantled the Catalan Commonwealth. Research on the settlement was not resumed until the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1936) when archaeological campaigns were resumed, promoted by the Government of Catalonia and conducted by Pere Bosch Gimpera²⁸.

This period conducted by Gandia saw the first research installations built in the settlement and resulted in the findings of the so-called Asclepius statue, as well as the whole sanctuary area located on the southern part of the Neapolis, among other structures and goods. This institutional recovery of Ampurias is included within the cultural movement known as *Noucentisme*, a movement that emerged in Catalonia in the early years of the 20th century. In this new mindset, heavily influenced by nationalism, the old Emporion meant the link between Catalonia and classical culture, as a clear differentiating element of its personality, not shared with the rest of Spain. Ampurias also signified the legacy of an ancestral Catalonia, open to the Mediterranean and heir to the great cultures of the past. The recovery of Ampurias adds to the creation of the great Catalan cultural

²⁵ Nolla and Vila 2000, 440.

²⁶ Aquilué 2008a, 17.

²⁷ Aquilué 2017, 108.

²⁸ Castanyer et al. 2008, 98; Aquilué 2017, 112.

institutions of this time, such as the Institute of Catalan Studies founded in 1907, the Library of Catalonia, the School of Local Administration, the Industrial School, the Museum of Art and Archeology or the Theatre Institute.

However, once again the archaeological campaigns were interrupted, this time by the burst of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), and did not resume until the first years of the aftermath of the war when the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco was established. Since the dictatorship abolished all self-government institutions of Catalonia, the settlement was administratively ascribed to the Provincial Deputation of Barcelona, depending on the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona, which at the same time depended directly from the central government located in Madrid²⁹.

In the post-war period, Martin Almagro was chosen as the new director of the archaeological campaigns conducted in the settlement. The 40s were a very profitable period for the excavators. The roman defensive wall was found, as well as the amphitheatre and palaestra, among several tombs in the necropolis surrounding the settlement. The first number of the academic journal focused on the settlement, *Ampurias*, was published in this period, and in 1947 the International Archaeological Courses of Ampurias began, focusing on further training for Archaeology students interested in the Classical World.

The 50s and early 60s focused on the necropolises, the excavation of the paleochristian churches in the settlement and the Roman city and its forum. Several publications of reference were published in this period, such as the two volumes³⁰ describing the necropolises related to the settlement, including indigenous, Greek and Roman burials. However, in the 70s, the focus was put on the parking area, with the intention of finding a possible indigenous settlement right next to the Greek enclave³¹.

In the 80s, the interest turned towards the Greek site once again, a restoration of the agora was carried out and overall improvements to the installations were done. In 1993 the OACME, Autonomous Organism for the Monumental Complex of Empúries, was created. This organisation transferred, once again, the management of the settlement to

²⁹ Aquilué 2008b, 96.

³⁰ Almagro 1953; 1955.

³¹ Aquilué 2008b, 98.

the Catalan Government, restored after the Spanish transition to democracy that took place in the late 70s and early 80s, following the death of Franco in 1975³².

Recent years have brought the final archaeological campaigns in the Roman forum and the restart of the excavations in the Greek area, while new excavations in Sant Martí d'Ampurias, the location of the Palaiapolis, have also been carried out. New administrative and research installations have been built, and the International Archaeological Courses of Ampurias just celebrated 75 years since its creation³³. Thanks to all these decades of research and excavation campaigns we now have a ton of bibliography as well as the archaeological remains to study. But how are the remains of the settlement that we can now observe?

Strabo describes three urban and political phases in the development of the settlement³⁴. The first phase would correspond with the occupation of the island, the original settlement named by him Old City or Palaiapolis, as already stated. The second phase alludes to the coexistence of both Greeks and the indigenous population in the same area, although separated by a wall. According to his testimony, these two populations did not share a common structure until the third phase of occupation in the settlement, when their structure blurred and Greek and indigenous laws mixed, forming a new administration. However, the author states that Emporion still is a dipolis divided by said wall in his later times (1st century BCE – 1st century AD), since he uses the present tense to describe the duality of the city, he goes as far as asserting that even if both communities shared a common enclosure, they were still separated by some intermediate partition. It is likely that Strabo combined data from various periods, furthermore, the dual layout that he describes should not be projected back to the foundation of the original port or even the major part of the occupation of the settlement, rather, this situation could only have existed in a later given period³⁵.

Unfortunately for us, most of the visible urbanism of the site corresponds to the later periods of occupation: mainly Hellenistic, Republican and Imperial, and even the Early Middle Ages; with the Archaic and Classical periods being buried below these later strata. However, these periods have been studied on numerous occasions in the form of surveys

³² Aquilué 2008a, 18.

³³ Aquilué 2017, 108.

³⁴ Str. III, 8

³⁵ Domínguez Monedero 2013, 25.

since the 80s. Nevertheless, both Roman and Greek nuclei remain in considerable good condition and although the totality of the Roman city has not been excavated yet, the delimitations of the Neapolis are pretty much clear.

The Greek enclave was fortified, forming an irregular rectangle of 200x130 meters, with the port located to the north. The south was bounded by a wall built in the second half of the 2nd century BCE. with Cyclopean masonry, with most of the limestone blocks coming from the previous wall dated to the 4th century BCE, previously located about twenty-five meters inland. This new fortified wall was flanked by two quadrangular towers and an imposing bastion. These were complemented by another fortified wall to the West, that included a large watchtower dated to the 5th century BCE³⁶.

The commercial port, although small, consists of practically all the comforts that characterize a Greek city. At the southern end is the sacred precinct where the temples and urban sanctuaries dedicated to the public cults of the city were located. This was, as can

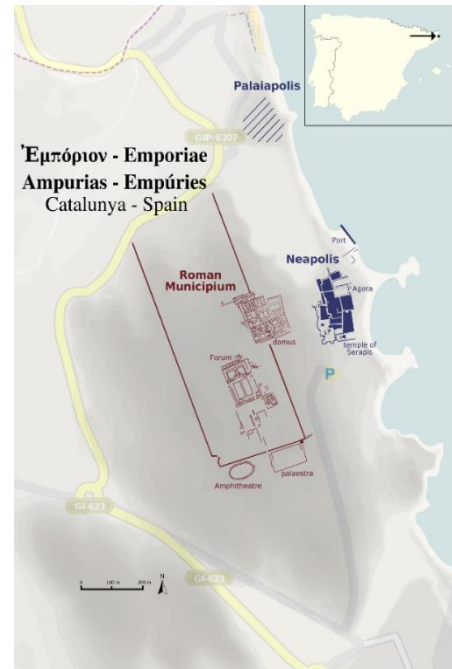


Figure 3 : Map of the Palaiapolis, Neapolis and the Roman settlement of Emporiae. (Official Ampurias Guide)

be seen in figure 4, connected to the port and the public square by the main street, full of shops (*tabernae*), a small public market (*macellum*) and, in imperial times, a salting factory. The main square, known as the Agora/Stoa complex of Ampurias, was built in the 2nd century BCE following the compositional schemes of Greek architecture and is the example of Greek urban models in Hellenistic period located more to the West in the Mediterranean world.

³⁶ Castanyer et al. 2008, 101–5.



Figure 4: Map of the Neapolis with the different areas highlighted. (Author, 2022 after Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993)

2. Cult and Ritual practices in Ampurias

Every ancient Mediterranean community had in religion a set of beliefs that shaped their way of understanding the world and its functioning, responding, among other matters, to natural events as common as seasonal cycles or atmospheric phenomena. However, these myths, so to speak, also possessed a very important influence on the self-perception of the communities that created them and, consequently, their identity. Therefore, the analysis of religious rituals and worship spaces, as well as other types of ceremonial practices, is a central axis for the study of identities and acculturation processes. But what happens when people of diverse origins and cults, with different cultural expressions, converge in the same place, as is the case of the emporia? It is interesting, therefore, to analyse the role played by religion within these ports, bearing in mind that different cultural and economic structures must intervene to facilitate the circulation of goods and ideas, which depend directly on the initiative taken by those who travel, and the desire to welcome of those who receive them.

When an anchorage with a strategic position raised commercial interests, it ended up becoming a port. These landing places were not simply geographical places where ships enjoyed protection and the availability to dock, for they were also places which navigators, no matter how distant their land of origin, recognized as neutral and safe ground³⁷. The best tool, accepted by all, to identify a commercial port as hospitable was its consecration to divinities. In order to achieve this, a sanctuary was erected as the central and vehicular element that allowed the correct articulation and operation of the commercial ports. In addition to delimiting the neutral space, it served as a framework for oaths, provided authority as well as justice and ensured, thanks to its concentration of sacred resources, the continuous flow of supplies. With all this organization in operation, a port would become a real *emporion*³⁸, a specific meeting place that on some occasions never evolved from a mere commercial enclave but, on other occasions could give rise to the establishment of a proper Greek polis. Even so, what is interesting is that during the time that this type of commercial contact lasts, the result is an environment in which worship spaces especially predominate³⁹.

³⁷ Domínguez Monedero 2001, 221–2.

³⁸ Ruiz de Arbulo 1999, 19–20.

³⁹ Domínguez Monedero 2001, 240–1.

However, these sanctuaries and the religion that derives from them have somewhat peculiar features compared to other Greek religious manifestations. These differences come to light precisely from the extraterritorial character the *emporion* possess since during the archaic period, an *emporion* is always located, by definition, in non-Greek territories; where, therefore, not only Greek deities are venerated, but also divinities foreign to them but understood in the Greek way⁴⁰. Religion arises, then, as the fundamental aspect for these commercial ports to exist, since those temples introduced the necessary trust among the Greeks to visit them regularly.

It is certain that many rites and ceremonies have left us no trace either in the written sources or in archaeology, but we know for a fact that Greek religiosity implied, among other things, the idea of offering to the divinity and sacrifice on request of favours, in addition to the recognition of favours already granted. It seems like in the *emporion* what would predominate would be the request for benevolence to the local divinity by the newcomers, in order to enjoy a good stay and have great success in their transactions, as well as a safe trip back to their homelands. Every maritime trader knew that the profits made from a lucky sale or purchase could come to nothing if the return home was uneventful, be it by shipwreck or pirates. To ensure the protection of the gods on a round trip, the payment of a tribute in the sanctuary as a thank you was essential⁴¹.

Be that as it may, it seems that the recognition of certain favours would be reserved for the existing sanctuary in the origin city from which the merchant came. This theory would help explain the impressive economic boom and the great wealth that sanctuaries of the motherland presented, compared to the relative modesty of most of the intermediate sanctuaries located in *emporion*, which often showed less ostentatious offerings, generally consisting of a libation and the deposit of the object used for it, frequently acquirable in the same surroundings of the temple. It becomes evident, then, that the true great offering would be made after the transaction had been successfully completed, and thus would be made in the sanctuary of the tutelary divinity of the metropolis⁴².

In the case of the *emporion* that precisely bore this same name, Ampurias, it is true that the knowledge about the articulation of the religiosity of the merchants who frequented the port constitutes a puzzle with many pieces still missing. Until now no

⁴⁰ Domínguez Monedero 2001, 256.

⁴¹ Ruiz de Arbulo 1999, 21.

⁴² Domínguez Monedero 2001, 257.

structure related to worship or ritual has been located in the original settlement of the then islet, now Sant Martí d'Ampurias.

As for the Neapolis, despite the existence of founding myths and written sources that refer to early Greek cults in the settlement, these are mainly based on legends and much later evidence, meaning that we navigate almost a legendary terrain. Strabo narrates how all Phocaean colonies originally shared the cult of the Ephesian Artemis and Apollo Delphinus in his *Geography*, however, a sanctuary dedicated to neither of these gods has been found yet:

“They say that when the Phocæans were about to quit their country, an oracle commanded them to take from Diana of Ephesus a conductor for their voyage. On arriving at Ephesus they, therefore, inquired how they might be able to obtain from the goddess what was enjoined them. The goddess appeared in a dream to Aristarcha, one of the most honourable women of the city, and commanded her to accompany the Phocæans, and to take with her a plan of the temple and statues. These things being performed, and the colony being settled, the Phocæans built a temple, and evinced their great respect for Aristarcha by making her priestess. All the colonies [sent out from Marseilles] hold this goddess in peculiar reverence, preserving both the shape of the image [of the goddess], and also every rite observed in the metropolis.”⁴³

There is no conclusive archaeological or epigraphic testimony that proves the existence of a public or private cult to the Ephesian Artemis neither in Ampurias nor in any other locality of the Iberian Peninsula⁴⁴, despite the fact that the information provided by the geographer is indeed clear and responds to religious customs well attested in Greek processes of colonization. Even so, several theories have been proposed for the location of the sanctuary of Artemis. Firstly, it has been suggested that a 5th century B.C.E. temple, attested by its base under the so-called sanctuary of Asclepius, could be dedicated to the said goddess⁴⁵. At the time of the construction of the original temple, it was outside the walls of the city⁴⁶, and it has been suggested that it could have functioned as a worship

⁴³ Strab. IV 1.4

⁴⁴ Paz de Hoz 2013, 209.

⁴⁵ Sanmartí-Grego 1992a, 31.

⁴⁶ Ruiz de Arbulo 1999, 34; Retolaza and Sourisseau 2011, 227–8.

commonplace both for Greeks and indigenous people⁴⁷, acting somehow as a neutral religious, cultural and economic point of exchange between the two communities⁴⁸. Concerning this construction, two twin altars found on the southern terrace are highlighted⁴⁹, for they have been interpreted as possible altars of the also twin gods Artemis and Apollo⁵⁰. However, it seems like there is not enough evidence to fully support any theory, and other disciplines such as numismatics or epigraphy do not seem to shed a light on the matter either.

In the first case, the problem with coins found at the site is that they belong to a much later time than that of the first colonizers, although it is true that Palladion cults tend to endure through time. Surely, Empuritan drachmas very often show the face of a woman on one of its sides, but no agreement has been reached on her identity, with no consensus on whether she could have been Artemis, Arethusa, Ceres or Persephone⁵¹. Furthermore, even if we consider valid the theory of the representation belonging to Artemis, these portrayals do not present the oriental features that characterise the Ephesian Artemis, rather, she appears with a distinctly Greek character, of Syracusan influence⁵². Epigraphy does not reveal any type of reference to the cult of this goddess either, although it is true that the Greek-Empuritan epigraphy is, for unknown reasons, very partial and scarce in comparison with what would be expected of a Greek enclave. Even the late cult of Asclepius, which will be discussed later, seems to be well attested archaeologically (although this has also been argued against)⁵³ but has not left any epigraphic trace that can really confirm it⁵⁴.

Other scholars suggest that the cult to Artemis could have taken place in a sacrum building located on the northeastern part of the Neapolis, dating back to the VI or V century BCE⁵⁵. This building has been identified as a harbour sanctuary in which various offers such as Massiliote vases, votive terracotta figures and *kernoi* have been found inside the ritual deposit levels. Furthermore, a tiny sculpture head found in this same

⁴⁷ The importance of sacred spaces common to colonizers and indigenous people as a place and element of integration and transaction in the Greek emporia has been pointed out by Domínguez in “*La religión en el emporion*”, *Gerión* 19, pp. 221-257. On the cohabitation of Greeks and Indiketai cf. Strabo III 4.8.

⁴⁸ Moner 2018, 36.

⁴⁹ Ruiz de Arbulo 1999, 34.

⁵⁰ Paz de Hoz 2013, 209–10.

⁵¹ Pena 1973, 122–32; 2000, 59–63.

⁵² Paz de Hoz 2013, 210.

⁵³ Sanmartí-Grego 1992b, 151.

⁵⁴ Retolaza and Sourisseau 2011, 229.

⁵⁵ Moner 2018, 36.

enclosure has been identified either with Artemis or Apolo⁵⁶. However, not enough evidence seems to support this theory either, so this matter remains unresolved.

Thus, it seems like the absence of safe evidence regarding the cult of the Ephesian Artemis points towards the initial idea of a legend created in Roman times and told by Strabo. It has, indeed, all the proper ingredients of a founding legend⁵⁷, although it also responds to very common practice, the implantation of the metropolis' cult in the colony, and, without a doubt, this same phenomenon took place in Ampurias, whether it was linked with the Ephesian Artemis or another deity⁵⁸.

The reason why we hardly know anything about the religious practises and customs carried out in the first moments of the occupation of the settlement, as I hinted previously, is because a series of urban renovations of the Neapolis took place after the initial building of the settlement. It is believed that the wall must have been enlarged at the beginning of the fourth century BCE⁵⁹, a renovation project that continued during the fourth and third centuries BCE concluding with the most important reformation which is what can be seen today in the archaeological settlement. This final reformation took place in the second century BCE, it was a total rebuilding of the enclave that integrated the religious space exposed inside the walled enclosure; however, all the buildings were ritually buried under a mantle of soil, replacing them with new temples, cisterns, altars and porches⁶⁰. On both sides of a central terrace

that was occupied by the access road to the city was the sacred precinct. To the west of the terrace were the main sanctuaries of the enclave, to which a pavilion was added and, to the east, a lower terrace with a large

arcaded area that seems to

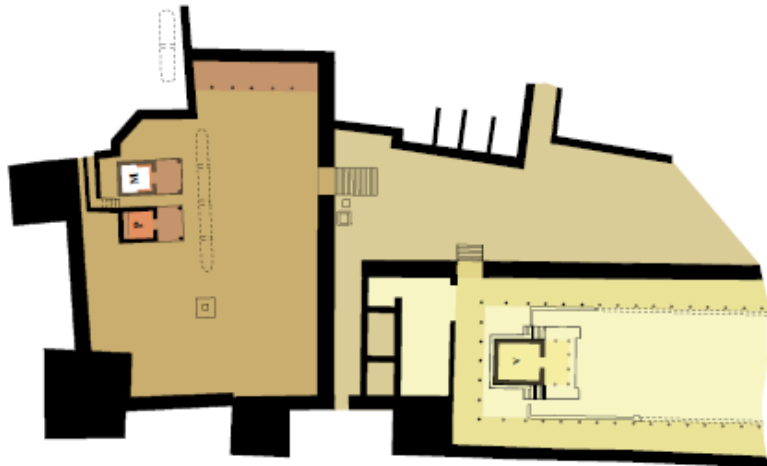


Figure 5: Proposed plan for the sacred complex in the southern sector of the Neapolis. (Retolaza and Sourisseau 2011, 228)

⁵⁶ Paz de Hoz 2013, 211.

⁵⁷ Paz de Hoz 2013, 210.

⁵⁸ Retolaza and Sourisseau 2011, 219.

⁵⁹ Moner 2018, 36.

⁶⁰ Ruiz de Arbulo 1999, 33–4; Retolaza and Sourisseau 2011, 227; Paz de Hoz 2013, 213; Moner 2018, 36.

have been related to the sacred space⁶¹, although others have interpreted it as a *gymnasion*⁶².

This late enclosure was excavated between 1908 and 1912 and it was precisely in 1909, in a stratum with signs of abandonment, that a large batch of chopped marble statues containing the famous sculpture attributed to Asclepius broken in two parts appeared⁶³. The first fragment appeared in the *cella* of the temple and the second in the cistern in front of it. The existence of this cistern next to the base of the temple⁶⁴, which was modified to adapt to the different phases of the sanctuary, has been interpreted as the result of healing practices or ritual ablutions of the sick who visited the enclosure, a theory that would support the identification of the temple with the god of medicine⁶⁵.

However, the problems posed by the statue of Asclepius are numerous. The statue is a very strange finding, with no clear parallels on the Greek world. With a height of 2.15 meters, the upper-body fragment is made out of Paros marble while the lower part is made of Penthelic marble. Furthermore, it seems as though the lower part corresponds to a feminine figure. A possible recycling of fragments could help explain its mixed materials, although consensus has not been reached yet. Having appeared fractured, along with most of the sculptural fragments of Ampurias in an abandoned deposit, a question has been raised as to whether the sanctuary was its original site, or whether it was perhaps located in another part of the site. Its chronology has also been questioned since it was originally placed in the fourth century BC⁶⁶, but the most accepted dating today corresponds to a much later period, closer to the second quarter of the second century BCE⁶⁷. The improbability of the early appearance of the cult of Asclepius in the Iberian Peninsula has also been highlighted since it was a cult that spread late in the Mediterranean environment⁶⁸. Furthermore, it seems somewhat unlikely that a theoretical foundational cult of Artemis, the main proposal for the original sanctuary in the same location, could

⁶¹ Paz de Hoz 2013, 213.

⁶² Ruiz de Arbulo 1994, 12.

⁶³ Retolaza and Sourisseau 2011, 229.

⁶⁴ Paz de Hoz 2013, 213.

⁶⁵ Ruiz de Arbulo 1999, 33.

⁶⁶ Puig i Cadafalch 1912, 303–22.

⁶⁷ Schröder 2000, 120.

⁶⁸ Paz de Hoz 2013, 214.

have been replaced by a cult to the god of medicine in such a short time⁶⁹. Even in 1948 scholar García y Bellido⁷⁰ asked himself:

“Is it plausible to assume that Asclepius [then dated to the 5th century BC] was worshipped in Emporion, a humble colony at the far end of the lands then known, 1/4 century before Rome, where in 292 the first temple was erected on the island of the Tiber?”⁷¹

As if it was not enough, not only its original location or chronology have been questioned: but his very own identity also raises more questions than answers⁷². The initial proposal that identified the sculpture with Asclepius is, in general, quite discarded. Instead, the new proposals point towards the idea that it could be a sculpture representing either Agathos Daemon or Serapis⁷³. The answer to the association of the sculpture with a fragment of a cornucopia instead of a staff would suggest, through iconographic parallels, the identification of the statue with Agathos Daemon. Other evidence supporting the identification of this god is a 1st-century mosaic found in the city with the inscription: Χαίρε Αγάθος Δαίμων⁷⁴. However, it remains unknown if this inscription would refer to a domestic or a public cult⁷⁵.

Between the end of the 2nd century and the middle of the 1st century BCE, a temple with Italic constructive characteristics was built in the sacred area. It has been identified with the cult of the god Serapis, and this is, in fact, the only public cult really confirmed in the Ampurias enclave⁷⁶; attested by the appearance of an Alexandrian inscription in both Greek and Latin that dedicates to Serapis a sanctuary, a porch and statues (in plural). It has been theorized that this could be the founding inscription of the sanctuary dedicated to the Greek-Egyptian god⁷⁷. If the previous cult of Asclepius could be confirmed, this

⁶⁹ Ruiz de Arbulo 1999, 34.

⁷⁰ García y Bellido 1948.

⁷¹ Traduction made by author. Original in catalan: “*És versemblant suposar que Asklepi [datat aleshores al segle V a.C.] fos venerat a Emporion, humil colònia de l’últim extrem de les terres llavors conegudes, segle I quart abans que a Roma, on el 292 s’alçà el primer temple sobre la illa del Tiber?*”

⁷² Sanmartí-Grego 1992b, 149; Sanmartí-Grego and Padró 1993, 621; Ruiz de Arbulo 1999, 34; Schröder 2000, 223; Uroz 2005, 172; Vivó and Ruiz de Arbulo 2008, 122; Retolaza and Sourisseau 2011, 229; Paz de Hoz 2013, 214.

⁷³ Schröder 2000, 121; Paz de Hoz 2013, 213–4.

⁷⁴ Schröder 1996, 231.

⁷⁵ Schröder 2000, 126.

⁷⁶ Retolaza and Sourisseau 2011, 229.

⁷⁷ Paz de Hoz 2013, 214.

would have facilitated the implantation of the cult of Serapis, since both could have been associated by their healing facets, as already occurs in Delos⁷⁸.

To sum up, the sacred complex of Ampurias constituted a large area that covered an important amount of space in the Greek city. However, it remains unknown to whom the temples were dedicated. Only the late public cult to Serapis is both epigraphically and archaeologically attested, leaving the early period of colonisation unresolved. Still, some conclusions can be extracted, especially from the earliest temples. Although it seems rather unlikely that the VI-V century construction was indeed dedicated to Artemis since it is safe to assume that this cult would have endured as the fundamental feature of a sacred sanctuary was its irremovability⁷⁹. And despite not knowing whom this sanctuary was actually built for, it is crucial to acknowledge the singular importance of this peri-urban temple, for it constitutes a great argument supporting the existence of indigenous communities living outside the fortified walls. This extraterritorial temple could have acted as an external but immediate neutral meeting point, perfect for the necessities of a market area; gathering the foreign sailors, the inhabitants of the city and the surrounding Iberian populations⁸⁰.

Leaving aside the structures and remains that refer to public cults or rituals, our knowledge regarding private religious practices remains rather scarce as well. Some domestic foundation rituals have been documented in Ampurias, generally consisting of the depositing of small ceramic vessels. Ritual foundation practices in Iberian environments are relatively frequent, and have been documented in numerous sites; but the only one that seems to have a clear parallel is the site of Más Castellar de Pontós, in which the placement of small pottery assemblages is also frequent; meanwhile, most of the other Indiketan nuclei carry out these rites depositing the remains of sheep and goats, as can be seen in Indika, but also Pontós⁸¹. On the other hand, similar agricultural fertility rituals have also been documented at the Neapolis and the Iberian nuclei, exemplified in the form of offerings of female heads and protomes, as well as *thymiateria* in a multitude of forms, with the last being the most common in the Indiketan villages⁸².

⁷⁸ Ruiz de Arbulo 1999, 35.

⁷⁹ Roux 1984, 162–6.

⁸⁰ Ruiz de Arbulo 1999, 35–6.

⁸¹ Moner 2018, 43.

⁸² Moner 2018, 47.

3. Indiketan and Greek funerary assemblages near the settlement

Following the ritual topic, one of the most important ritual practices in all ancient societies were those related to life and death, and while fertility has already been briefly addressed in the previous chapter, funerary practices are much more intricate. To understand the funerary culture around Ampurias, it is necessary to go back to the roots of the autochthonous population that inhabited the immediate territory prior to the Phocaean colonization. Until a few years ago, this archaeological data was limited to some grave goods from incineration necropolises, partially excavated and insufficiently documented. However, thanks to the results of the interventions carried out at the beginning of this century in the centre of Sant Martí d'Ampurias and the Vilanera hill (right next to the settlement), we have been able to create an increasingly consistent image of the indigenous funerary context before the establishment of the *emporion*⁸³.

The most widespread Iberian funerary custom in the Iberian Peninsula throughout the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age is cremation, as has been stated from the excavations carried out in necropolises all over the territory. After the incineration of the human remains, the cremated content was subsequently deposited in urns that were buried in territories close to the habitat⁸⁴. This is no different in the necropolis of Vilanera, as we will see. A significant amount of funerary structures have been documented in it, and micro-excavations of the anthropological contents in the urns have been carried out, completed with the study (still in progress) of the archaeological materials found; among them, ceramics and other objects of indigenous tradition, in addition to some imports of Phoenician affiliation⁸⁵.

The first stages of the Iron Age in the Iberian Peninsula (throughout the VII century BCE) brought a period of change and growth for the population established around Ampurias, with the progressive consolidation and stabilization of settlements in the area. This region was probably propelled by the improvements in the exploitation of the surrounding resources as well as the advantages of its geographical position, which provided easy communication with the interior thanks to river courses, as well as with the exterior and its Mediterranean navigation routes. The Gulf of Roses soon became a privileged zone of indigenous exchange open to all of the Mediterranean, first with the

⁸³ Aquilué et al. 2012, 76.

⁸⁴ Cuadrado 1990, 112.

⁸⁵ Aquilué et al. 2012, 75.

merchants of Phoenician origin, and, later, the Phocaean navigators that made it to its shores⁸⁶.

It is safe to assume that these settlements in the area were closely linked to activities related to the sea, fishing and trade, given its location between the mouth of the Fluvià River and the small bay perfect for the anchorage of all types of boats. Said activities are reflected in the oldest strata of the core of Sant Martí d'Ampurias, which shows various habitational stratigraphic sequences prior to the arrival of the Greeks and a clear moment of rupture in the archaeological evidence related to their arrival⁸⁷. The population structure of the area was probably completed with other settlement nuclei located in the surroundings of the alluvial lands suitable for agricultural cultivation, towards the interior of the region⁸⁸.

Regarding the funerary landscape of this period, the most important indigenous necropolis of the area is the one located on the lower part of the southern slope of the hill of Vilanera, in direct relation to the plain (where the site is located). In this area, several funerary deposits have been found and, as expected, this necropolis is made up of cremation tombs with grave goods arranged in a circular or elliptical plan. The graves were formed, in most cases, by a single handmade ceramic vessel dedicated to storing the bone remains. This vessel was in a well-centred or rather eccentric position, covered with a lid and accompanied by a variable number of ceramic vessels and bronze and iron objects acting as funerary trousseau⁸⁹. Parallel to these findings, other simpler burials were found with only a ceramic vase located on a tiny dimple, in some cases still retaining a small stone slab as a cover; as well as fewer examples of burnt bones placed directly on holes made in the ground. These probably correspond to the first stage of use of the necropolis that should be traced back to the Final Bronze Age⁹⁰.

With the arrival of the Greeks to the northeast coasts of the Iberian Peninsula, of course, new customs also reached the territory. Inhumation was introduced by the Phocaeans as the standard funerary practice in Ampurias⁹¹, a practice that constituted one

⁸⁶ Buxó 2001, 68–70.

⁸⁷ Aquilué et al. 2012, 79.

⁸⁸ Casas and Soler 2004, 29–39.

⁸⁹ Agustí et al. 2004, 107–9.

⁹⁰ Aquilué et al. 2012, 80.

⁹¹ Almagro 1953, 17–22.

of the defining features of their own cultural roots⁹². But despite the popularization of this rite, cremation endured parallel to the Greek burial customs in the new funerary areas located in the surroundings of the enclave, as can be seen in several examples of these necropolises. The oldest examples, the so-called Northeastern Wall necropolis and the Martí burial area, correspond to those found in the western sector of the enclave and are located only a few dozen of meters from the urban space. However, the later necropolis expands towards the south, several hundreds of meters away from the Neapolis⁹³, this are the sectors known as Bonjoan and the Parking necropolis⁹⁴.

The burials of the so-called Northeastern Wall necropolis seem to allow us to link the already seen Iron Age funerary landscape with the earliest arrivals from across the sea, as it has been dated back to the half of the VI century BCE⁹⁵. Several incineration tombs and some inhumations are known from this area, which is why the tendency has been to attribute the burials to the indigenous settlers in a period contemporary with the first stages of the Phocaean establishment. The burials in this necropolis have not remained intact and therefore, their conservation is not optimal, mainly due to the construction of the wall that surrounded the later Roman settlement; still, some tombs can be very enlightening regarding these earliest moments of contact and exchange between the two ethnic groups⁹⁶.

In this necropolis, we find a clear predominance of incinerations⁹⁷, having located a total of 17 cremated individuals, compared to the four inhumations found⁹⁸, two of which are indicated to have belonged to infants⁹⁹. Regarding the cremated individuals, the vessels used as urns are made out of handmade ceramics, in some cases only partially preserved. In cases where shapes can be distinguished, sinuous or biconical profiles can be seen, very unique and quite evolved. These funerary trousseaus are completed with accompanying vessels, among which are unturned pottery, but also imported pieces of

⁹² Aquilué et al. 2012, 86.

⁹³ Gailledrat 1995, 53.

⁹⁴ López 1998, 276.

⁹⁵ Ruiz Zapatero 1985, 103–5; López 1998, 275; Graells 2008, 144–8; Aquilué et al. 2012, 86.

⁹⁶ Almagro 1955, 360–97.

⁹⁷ Almagro 1955, 398–9.

⁹⁸ López 1998, 275.

⁹⁹ Barberà 1990, 202.

Etruscan and Greek origin, as well as metal objects of several kinds (bronze, silver, gold and iron)¹⁰⁰.

It is most likely that these allochthonous vases already are a product of the first stages of the commercial activity taking place at the *emporion*. Among the Greek manufactured ceramic ensembles, we can find Massaliot vases but also pots made out of Corinthian productions, fragments of cups of Ionian tradition, and, above all, Western productions of grey monochromatic pottery. Fewer examples of *kantharoi* and Etruscan *bucchero nero* pots have also been found among the grave goods¹⁰¹.

Although stating that this necropolis could be a mixed burial area that integrated both indigenous and Greek customs seems a little far-fetched, taking into account the early use of the necropolis and the way too unequal distribution of incinerations and inhumations, it is clear that the presence of the recently arrived Phocaeans impacted on the customs of the previous indigenous population that inhabited the area. And although the possible relation between this burial area and an indigenous community inside of the colonial enclave must not be discarded, this necropolis has often been used as a strong argument supporting the theory that there was, at the very least, an indigenous community living in the immediate vicinity of the Greek settlement¹⁰².

Also in the western sector of the settlement, as exposed before, another necropolis is to be found, the one known as Martí. In this burial region, 141 inhumations and 32 cremations have been detected¹⁰³ and said remains can be traced back to the 5th century BCE¹⁰⁴ or even a little earlier. What is certain is that this funerary area already corresponds for sure with an established moment of the Greek *emporion*¹⁰⁵. The findings here contrast quite a bit with the ones previously presented since in this case, burials seem to far exceed incinerations. Although it is not as surprising as it could be thought, since, being a later necropolis, it is safe to assume that the influence of the newly arrived settlers progressively became more latent and is reflected in material culture.

¹⁰⁰ Graells 2008, 771.

¹⁰¹ Aquilué et al. 2012, 86.

¹⁰² López 1998, 275; Aquilué et al. 2012, 87–8.

¹⁰³ Almagro 1953, 47–127; López 1998, 276.

¹⁰⁴ Barberà 1974, 61; Aquilué et al. 2012, 88.

¹⁰⁵ Almagro 1953, 31.

Regarding the burial zones located towards the south of the settlement, of a later period but still prior to the roman era of the settlement¹⁰⁶, the so-called Parking necropolis contains 22 inhumations and 10 cremations, meanwhile, the other one, Bonjoan, counts 16 inhumations and just 1 pre-Roman cremation. In some of these incinerations, the ashes and other bone remains were deposited inside a hole, protected with dirt and stones, but in other examples, the human remains were placed inside urns of Iberian tradition, however, they were often accompanied by grave goods consisting on small ointment vases, very similar to those to be found on Greek inhumations¹⁰⁷.

All in all, leaving aside the Northeastern Wall necropolis (for its remains are significantly earlier than the stable establishment of merchants and other inhabitants) these necropolises contain 183 inhumations and 43 cremations, as can be seen in graph 1. It becomes clear, then, that two complex (but intrinsically related) funerary cultures can be seen sharing different portions of the same space. One tradition would be based on inhumation, which we can attribute to Hellenic elements in the population, while the other is based on cremation, easily attributed to Iberian elements.

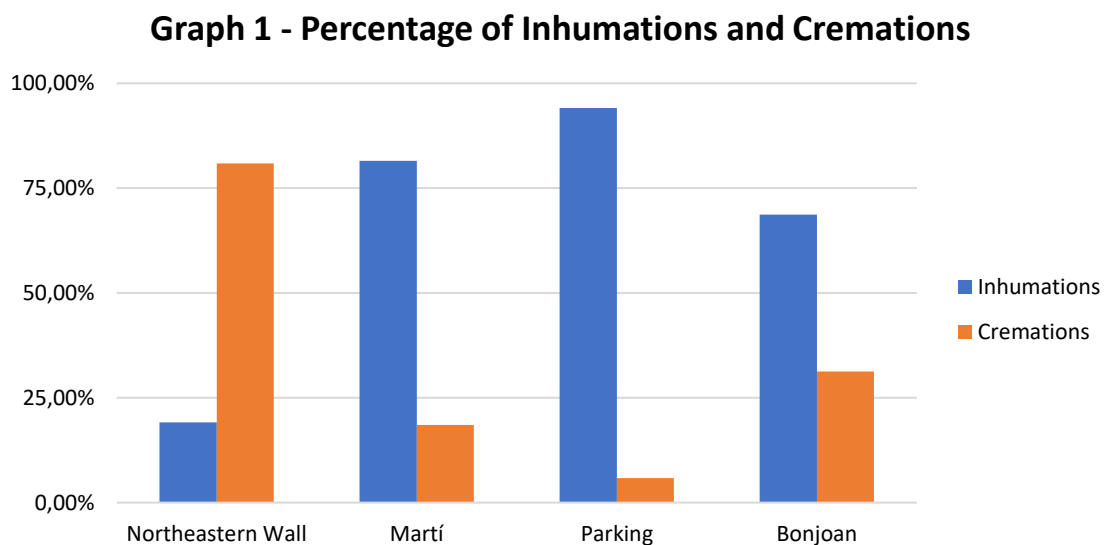


Figure 6: Author 2022, based on López, 1998.

¹⁰⁶ Gailledrat 1995, 53.

¹⁰⁷ Aquilué et al. 2012, 88.

4. Examination of ceramic assemblages and daily practices in domestic contexts

Indeed, the coexistence of local people and Greek communities in Ampurias remains a widely accepted idea and has already been stated in this dissertation, but the image of the settlement as a multi-ethnic scenery co-existing in the same spaces has been constructed over several samples of evidence, including archaeological remains, and the most abundant and usual finding is in the form of ceramics. As expected, Greek pottery is not an unusual founding at the site of Ampurias, with 36 Attic black-figure pottery production workshops¹⁰⁸ and 99 Attic red-figure pottery workshops¹⁰⁹ having been detected. This Aegean influence is also palpable in indigenous population centres located in the orbit of Ampurias¹¹⁰.

However, since the interest of this chapter is being put into daily life after having seen the considerations regarding both cult and funerary practices, the focus will not be specifically put on these Attic pottery workshops. The reason for this, as stated before, is that this essay aims to deal with cultural exchange and acculturation processes. Thus why it is far more interesting to address the findings related to daily life and not only comment on commercial or elite activities, as many scholars on ethnicity in Ampurias have also done before. Since domestic pottery assemblages constitute our most reliable source of activities such as the preservation of food, cooking activities and food preparation, as well as consumption practices, they might reflect the day-to-day chores and preferences of these communities. Due to the fact that the site acted as an exchange and contact zone between numerous Mediterranean cultures, its ceramic equipment presents a very rich diversity, responding to the social complexity as well as the cultural and ethnic diversity that characterised these social landscapes, making them the perfect scenario for numerous studies on manufacturing traditions.

The chapter exposed next relies heavily upon the work recently done by the investigators from MAC-Ampurias, Marta Santos and Meritxell Ferrer in collaboration with Ana Delgado Hervás from the Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona¹¹¹. They examined several stratigraphic units that contained traces of domestic contexts and

¹⁰⁸ Aquilué and Miró 2014, 243–4; Almagro 2015, 27–90; Aquilué et al. 2017, 103.

¹⁰⁹ Miró 2006, 175–233; Aquilué and Miró 2014, 243–6; Aquilué et al. 2017, 103.

¹¹⁰ Aquilué and Miró 2014, 107–9.

¹¹¹ For more information, see: *¿Dualidad étnica o heterogeneidad social? Equipos cerámicos y prácticas cotidianas en la Neápolis de Emporion, C. 425-375 BC.*

everyday activities, focusing on their manufacturing traditions and their use in said daily practices.

Methodologically, the analysis is based on the minimal number of individuals (from now on: MNI¹¹²) registered in each stratigraphical unit described (see Table 1). In order to carry out said the ceramic study, pottery sherds from several stratigraphic units located in different sectors were selected to be analysed. These archaeological contexts correspond to three scattered points, all of them sharing similar chronology and archaeological records relevant to this study, for they are all related to domestic activities.

Table 1: MNI of each stratigraphical unit

	N-7019	N-7033	MN-5016	MN-5017/ 5018	MN-5023	MN-5024	MN-5025	N-1033/ 1090	N-1086	N-1095
Domestic assemblage (MNI)	288	128	257	156	28	16	50	150	67	117
Storage/transport (MNI)	191	94	57	99	29	33	35	79	44	47
Total (MNI)	479	222	314	255	57	49	85	229	111	164

Figure 7: Author 2022, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

The findings were divided into several categories according to their purpose; as can be seen in Graph 2, the main three that appear in larger quantities correspond to tableware, domestic storage and kitchenware. Although other artefacts such as body care containers or lamps have also been documented in lower quantities, thereby, such materials will not be addressed, in order to put the focus on the major three typologies. Materials have been always analysed in their context's stratigraphical unit, so each typology will be presented with data according to all units within the sectors, to understand better the spatial complexity of the settlement.

The first area to set forth is the so-called N-1-7000 sector, located on the southern part of Ampurias (see Fig. 9), under the arcaded square where the temple dedicated to Zeus Serapis was constructed after the urban renovations that took place during the 2nd century BCE. Ceramic ensembles from two stratigraphic units in N-1-7000 were analysed. Both

¹¹² Computation developed from Lattes System based on the quantification of the conclusive fragments (such as edges, bases and handles). To know more: *Principes d'enregistrement du mobilier archéologique*.

of these units, N-1-7019 and N-1-7033, were found under the fillings installed to elevate the level of the later square, dating from the same chronology as well, c. 425 - 400 BCE¹¹³.

The unit named N-1-7019 corresponded to a compact filling meant to cover a natural depression of the terrain, building a new level in which a domestic habitat was constructed, although there are no remains of neither pavements nor floors; furthermore, clear delimitation structures have not been identified either. Judging from the materials found, it seems like it was most likely formed from domestic waste dumps such as ceramic remains associated with organic leftovers, malacology, seeds and carbons; as well as commercial activities and storage, since large amounts of amphorae have also been found in this context. The additional stratigraphic unit analysed in this sector, N-1-7033, corresponds to a level of occupation immediately adjacent to N-1-7019. In this space, tableware and kitchenware are the main protagonists, along with three clay structures registered on the ground of some sort of outdoor space. The attributes of one of them suggest that it could have been a small domestic oven¹¹⁴.

The second sector studied is the so-called MN-5000 sector, situated a few meters north of the previous one. Despite its closeness with N-1-7000, it remains separated from it by the foundation of a defensive wall constructed later in the 4th century BCE. The stratigraphic context in MN-5000 also occurs to be much more complex than the one formerly seen and six stratigraphic units were selected, all of them dating from the late 5th century to the first quarter of the 4th century BCE¹¹⁵.

The first three stratigraphic units from MN-5000, defined as MN-5016, MN-5017 and MN-5018, correspond to a trench related to the cementation of the fortification built in the first half of the 4th century BCE. On one hand, the stratigraphic unit MN-5016 presented a large ensemble of pottery and culinary remains, thus it was considered a dump stratum made out of domestic deposits, most likely used to equalize the ground level. On the other hand, MN-5017 and MN-5018 correspond to the level from which the trench was cut and the fillings made with the same sediments extracted during the execution¹¹⁶; hence the evidence collected in these two strata has been joined under the MN-5017/5018 denominator. Regarding the other three stratigraphic units from MN-5000 to be analysed

¹¹³ Sanmartí-Grego et al. 1986, 193

¹¹⁴ Delgado Hervás et al. 2020, 84.

¹¹⁵ Sanmartí-Grego 1988, 101.

¹¹⁶ Sanmartí-Grego 1988, 106.

–MN-5023, MN-5024 and MN-5025– they all correspond to occupational levels prior to the construction of the defensive wall, situated chronologically between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century BCE¹¹⁷.

Finally, the last sector chosen for the study is the so-called N-1000, an area closely situated to the port dock, located in the northern part of the Neapolis. From this sector, four stratigraphic units located in a residential construction have been selected as well. The first one, N-1033/1090, refers to a filling and levelling stratum under the pavement of the so-called Room B. The second stratigraphic unit, N-1095, corresponds to a dark soil level with abundant ceramic assemblages. It is situated immediately under the previous unit, N-1033/1090, and they can both be dated to the last quarter of the 5th and the first decades of the 4th century BCE. The third and last unit is N-1086, located in Room D and also a filling level adjacent to the previous ones, it has been dated to the last quarter of the 5th century BCE. And although the ceramic ensemble on this unit is rather scarce, this stratum contained remains of a collapse of the terrain elevation for the construction of the walls¹¹⁸ and it was also where the well-known lead-sheet letter written in Ionic Greek that referenced explicitly a complex commercial operation in which Greek and Iberian agents participated jointly¹¹⁹.

Graph 2 - Distribution of the ceramic equipment according to function

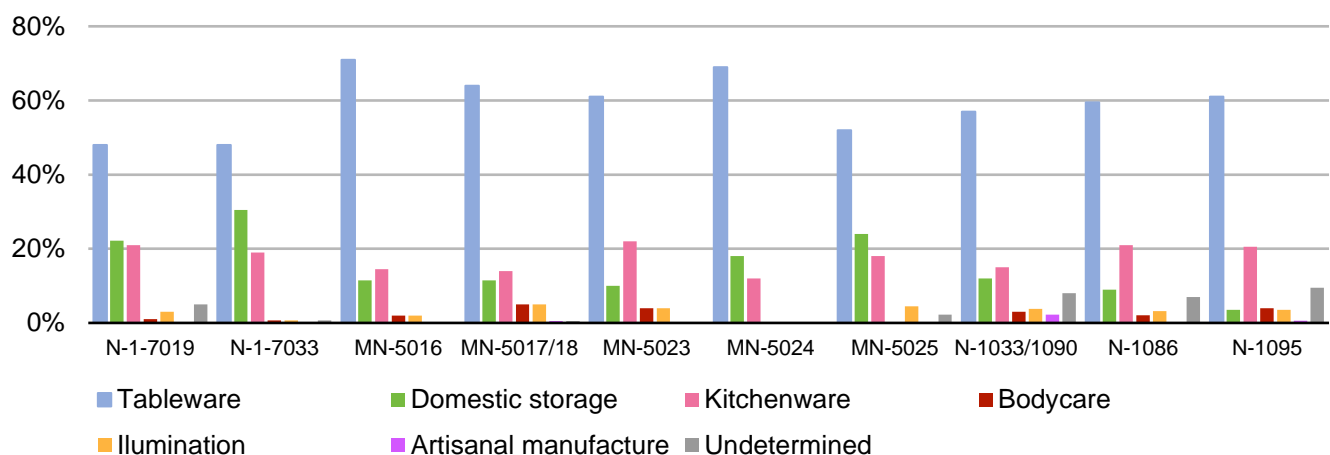


Figure 8: Author 2022, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

¹¹⁷ Delgado Hervás et al. 2020, 85–6.

¹¹⁸ Sanmartí-Grego 1988, 119.

¹¹⁹ Sanmartí-Grego and Santiago 1988, 11.

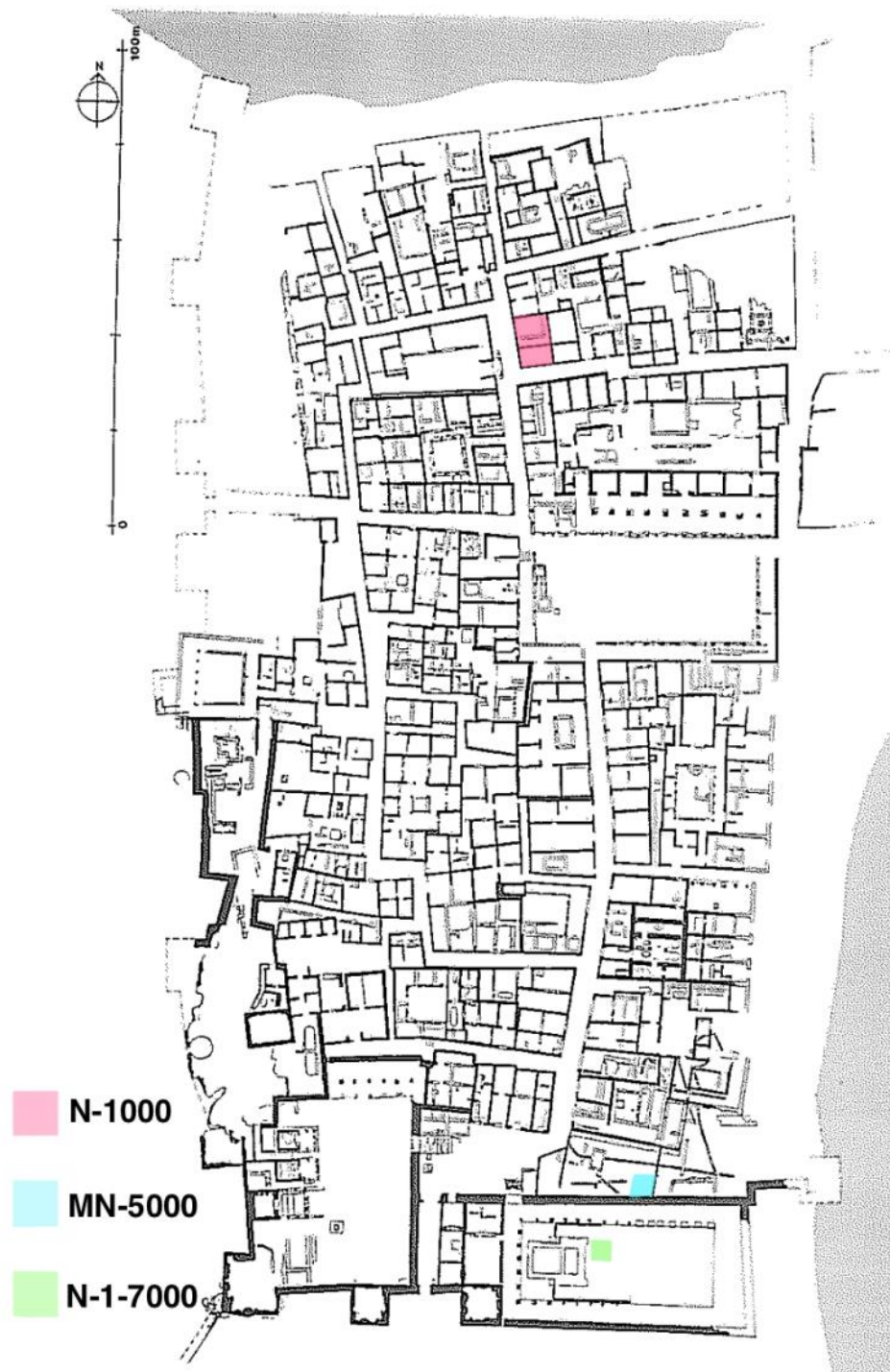


Figure 9: Map of the settlement with the three sectors highlighted. (Author 2022, after Mar, Ruiz 1993)

4.1. Tableware

Tableware constitutes the most numerous functional category in the analysed sectors of the site; as can be seen in Graph 2, their percentages range between 50% and 70% of all the ceramics found for domestic use; as occurs in other contemporary Greek domestic contexts¹²⁰. This group is categorized by vases destined for the consumption, presentation and service of food, mostly from Greek manufacturing traditions, with Attic productions clearly standing out (Graph 3).

These Attic productions are mainly composed of Red-figured vessels¹²¹ and Black glaze vessels¹²², with the latter representing more than 70% of all Attic tableware, a pattern already detected in the rest of the Mediterranean, not only in Greek areas but also Punic¹²³. Apart from the Attic pottery, other traditions such as Iberian, Western Greek, and those produced in Punic workshops are represented as well. However, the clear preference for Attic ceramics is diluted if table equipment is analysed by separating those intended for consumption and drinking (jugs, glasses and others) and food presentation or service (fountains, table amphorae, etc.). While Attic glasses remain the absolute preference in tableware intended for consumption, as can be seen in Graph 4; these hardly appear represented in the functional categories of service, constituting a minority compared to the Iberian and Greek vases of western production (Graph 5). In addition, in the few cases in which the Attic pots are indeed documented, they mainly correspond to Red-figured kraters, used to serve and present drinks in festive and banquet practices, as is the case of N-1-7019, MN-5016 and N -1033/1090.

The data corresponding to tableware reflects a wide diversity of productions, as can be seen in the graphs already mentioned and reflects a very evident variation according to functionality. While the main component of its consumption equipment (especially beverage intake) were the glasses of Attic origin; the clear preference for service and presentation of food are Western Greek and Iberian containers. The described pattern is found in all sectors and units analysed, and this preference for an heterogeneous equipment and its equal distribution across all sectors helps us rule out dual-type spatial patterns, although it does allude to a notorious diverse reality, typical of contact zones,

¹²⁰ Foxhall 2007, 238; Lynch et al. 2011, 49–75.

¹²¹ Miró 2006, 102.

¹²² Sánchez and Pérez Aguayo 2017, 11.

¹²³ Tronchetti 2003, 179.

where the ease of accessing and consuming cultural materials from multiple origins, as well as its reinterpretation and use in both daily and festive contexts can be seen to this day.

Therefore, the pre-eminence of Attic ceramics in consumption equipment of an apparently festive nature, despite not seeming to materialize a system of ethnic identification of its users, could be related to practices associated with power strategies and the construction of a social distinction, just as happened in other environments of the Mediterranean. Although it is interesting to note that its widespread presence suggests that this tableware, commonly associated with elite domestic groups, may have had broader social accessibility in Ampurias than in other Mediterranean environments¹²⁴.

Graph 3 - Tableware manufacture origin

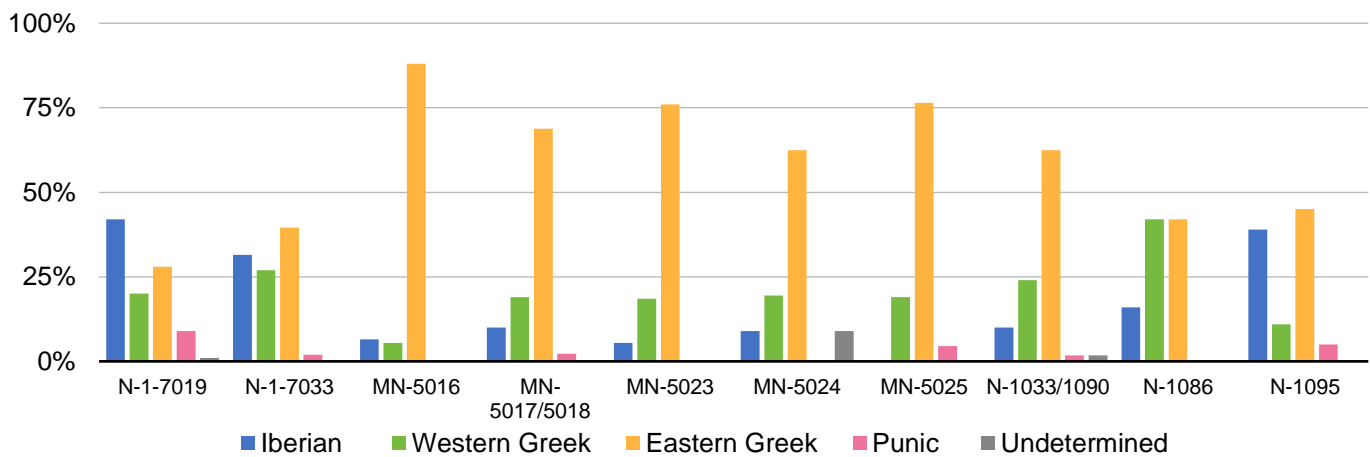


Figure 10: Author 2022, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

Graph 4 - Consumption tableware manufacture origin

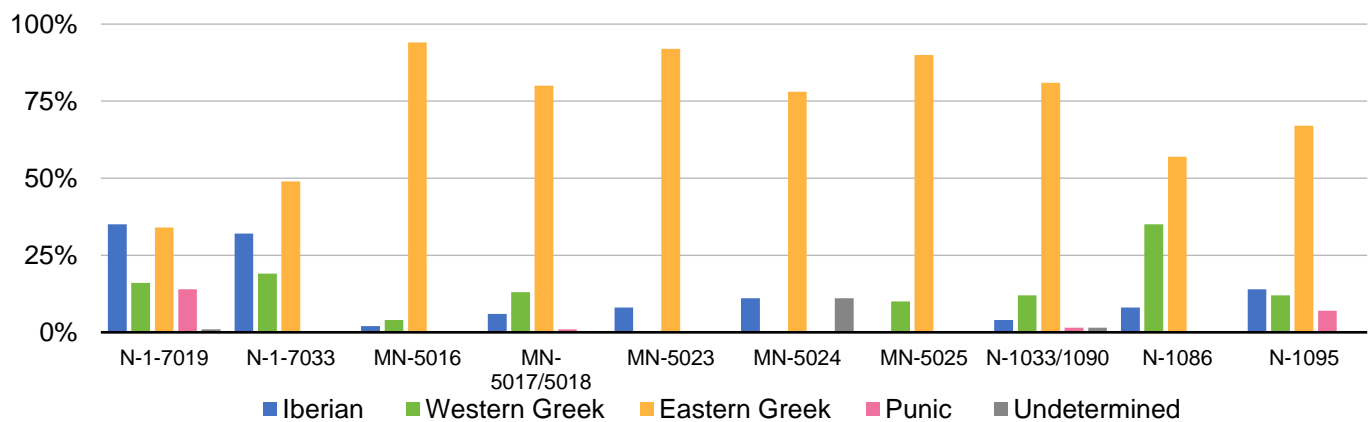


Figure 11: Author 2022, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

¹²⁴ Dietler 2010, 345; Picazo Gurina 2015, 34.

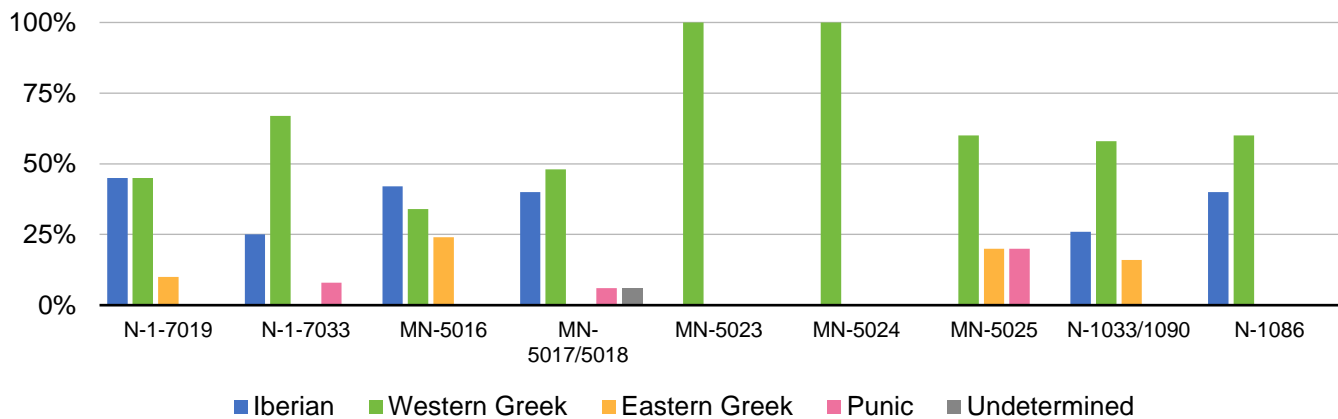
Graph 5 - Service tableware manufacture origin

Figure 12: Author 2022, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

4.2. Domestic storage and transport amphorae

Leaving aside the remarkable amounts of tableware in the archaeological record found in the analysed sectors, domestic storage also represents a notable part of said remains, as can be seen in graph 2. This equipment is mainly made up of different types of small and medium-sized jars and, to a lesser extent, other bigger containers like pithoi or dolia¹²⁵. All contexts present important quantities of materials identified with domestic storage, although the proportions are indeed variable. These types of vases are especially significant in the stratigraphical units located in the southern sectors, the unit N-1-7033 stands out with 30,5% of its total remains corresponding to domestic storage, as well as N-1-7019 MN-5024 and MN-5025, all three with values for domestic equipment near or above 20% while all the other units present values closer to 10%.

The traditions of manufacture of domestic storage correspond mainly to an Iberian origin, with three units (MN-5017/18, MN-5024 and N-1086) presenting exclusively materials from Iberian tradition. In the same line, most of the other units also present a majority of indigenous materials, with those reaching percentages of 90%; while the smaller values remaining correspond principally to Greek manufacture, associated with Western environments, especially those from Massiliote workshops. However, two units clearly stand out, and for deeply disparate reasons. MN-5023 presents a much lower percentage of Iberian materials along with an increase in the Western Greek ones, reaching almost 40% of the total of these manufactured items. Meanwhile, presenting no

¹²⁵ Delgado Hervás et al. 2020, 89.

Greek pottery at all, N-1095 reflects an increment in Punic materials and other types of minor traditions, lessening Iberian manufacture to 33%.

The immense majority of Iberian domestic storage vases suggest traditions and practices heavily linked with the local area, and none of the three sectors analysed present a significant difference, although two separate units do stand out among the others, as already exposed. However, neither of these two correspond to the same sector nor they are located close to each other. MN-5023 is located towards the south while N-1095 is in the north. It is important to note that the MNI found in MN-5023 is rather scarce, and thus could be the reason for the disparity in its data. Meanwhile, the location of N-1095 near the port could explain the variety in its material culture but said diversity is not reflected in the other units located in the north, as N-1086 only presents Iberian pottery and N-1033/90 only reflects a scarce amount of Western Greek and Punic materials.

Parallel to the findings on domestic storage we also found transport amphorae, that have been separated because the abundance of transport amphorae in comparison with other types of vases dedicated to storage could have interfered with the domestic data. But in this case, graph 7 reflects patterns quite similar to those exposed previously; most amphorae belong to Iberian manufacturing traditions, with percentages ranging from 49% to 80%. The rest of the catalogued transport amphorae belong to other Mediterranean manufacturing traditions, of which those of Punic origin stand out, although with enormously lower percentages. In short, amphorae appear to be more diverse in their manufacture, but since they are transport vessels (both for export and import) it is not surprising at all. And yet, transport amphorae make up a set extremely similar to the rest of the domestic storage already seen, both characterized by the predominance of Iberian tradition containers in all units and sectors analysed.

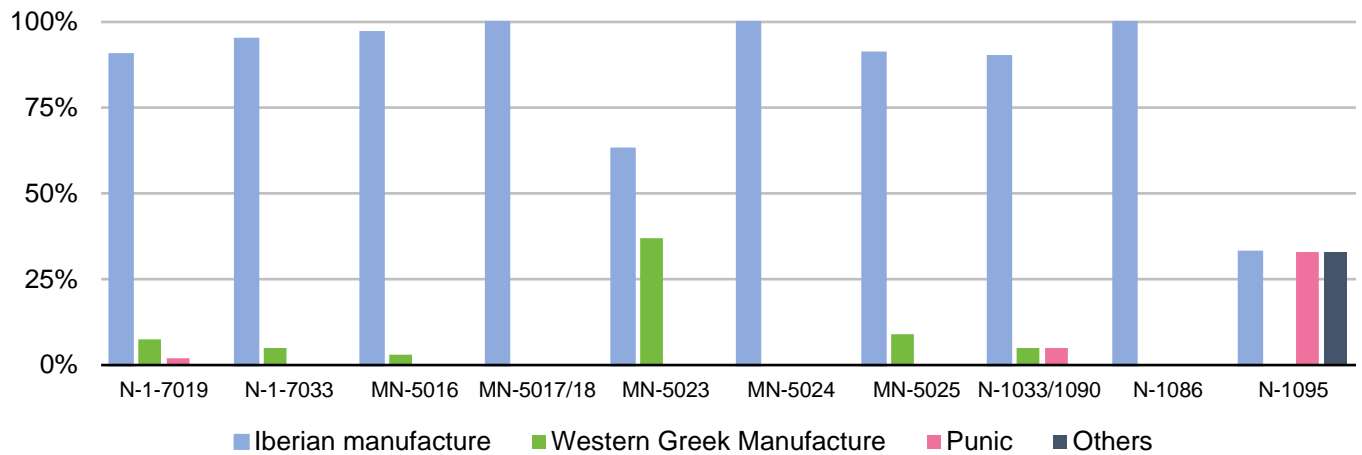
Graph 6 - Domestic storage manufacture origin

Figure 13: Author 2022, based of Delgado et al., 2020.

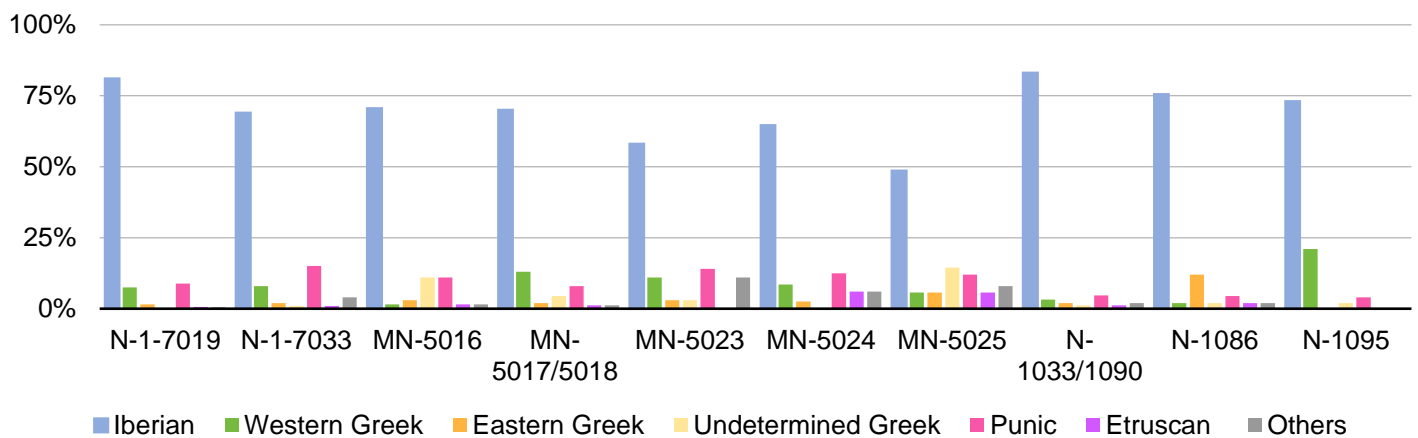
Graph 7 - Transport amphorae manufacture origin

Figure 14: Author 2022, based of Delgado et al., 2020.

4.3. Kitchenware

Another very interesting sample of materials found in Ampurias is constituted by the ceramic equipment used to carry out culinary practices. These sorts of findings have been divided into three different types of vases, according to their purpose. The first one responds to cooking containers such as pots, casseroles, *chytrai*, *lopades* and *caccabai*; the second type encompasses those vases used for the preparation of food, including mortars, basins or mixing containers, for example. The third and last group related to kitchenware is conformed by the proper cooking instalments like ovens or stoves.

These ceramic groups present a much more dynamic and heterogeneous technological tradition compared to the previous typology seen. Although Iberian traditions of manufacture still stand up in many of the units analysed, other traditions, principally Western Greek manufacture, are also documented extensively. If ceramics for culinary use are analysed by differentiating the three groups already mentioned, more precise data is obtained on certain culinary practices and how they were carried out at the Ampurias site. The vase that makes up the bulk of the finds in the analysed contexts belongs to the first group, and it is the traditional Iberian pot or casserole¹²⁶; the exemplars found in the Greek enclave are very similar, both in shape and technology, to the predominant pots that appear in local and regional contexts of the area¹²⁷.

Morphologically speaking, these containers have been related to the preparation of liquid foods by boiling, similar to our porridge or soups¹²⁸. The number of pots found in the stratigraphic units already described suggests that this type of preparation would be the basis of livelihood for these domestic groups. This fact is not surprising since this eating pattern was widespread in Iberian environments, to the point it can even be stated that boiled cereal preparations were the foundation of the daily diet of these communities¹²⁹, a practice shared with other Mediterranean contexts, including, for example, both Aegean and Western Greek communities¹³⁰, who used extensively the *chytra* for this same purpose¹³¹. The absence of the *chytra* in the units analysed has been particularly highlighted since although it is documented in other excavated areas of the

¹²⁶ Delgado Hervás et al. 2020, 96.

¹²⁷ Buxó et al. 2010, 92–4.

¹²⁸ Bats 1988, 65–7.

¹²⁹ Buxó et al. 2010, 93.

¹³⁰ Bats 1988, 68; Wilkins and Hill 2006, 112–40; Dietler 2010, 75–130; Garnsey 2012, 33.

¹³¹ Sparkes 1962, 130; Bats 1988, 68; Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 48.

Neapolis¹³², it does not appear in the domestic units exhibited here; suggesting that the groups that created these deposits had a clear preference for local pots to carry out their culinary practices. This preference could simply be due to a mere functional substitution since both pots served practically the same purpose; although some researchers have pointed out that the morphological differences between the two are relevant and especially affect the way these vases are supported, linking them to different cooking installations, as well as to specific culinary and presentation methods. It has been affirmed, therefore, that these two containers would respond to different culinary and consumption traditions¹³³.

Another vase that appears in large quantities in all the contexts studied and is part of the group dedicated to food preparation is the mortar. These open vessels, with a low body and open walls, represent a culinary innovation that spread through the kitchens of numerous Mediterranean communities throughout the first millennium BC, becoming a common instrument in both Greek and Iberian cultures¹³⁴. Its important role in the preparation of humble and everyday accompaniments has been highlighted by scholars¹³⁵, as well as sophisticated dishes that would be served at celebrations and banquets¹³⁶, gaining importance in consumption practices that accentuated social distinction. In the case of Ampurias, this idea is reinforced by the fact that most of the mortars come from non-local environments, mainly from Massaliote, Magno-Greek, Punic or Etruscan Mediterranean workshops¹³⁷.

Therefore, data displayed in graph 8 seems to break with the dual images of spatial ethnic segregation, since despite there being an enormous variation in the analysed materials, it does not respond to any type of apparent disposition. Although the two units that most materials of Greek origin reflect (MN-5024 and MN-5025) are very close, both in the southern zone, it is in this same area where they appear absent, as is the case, a priori, of the MN-5023 unit. Therefore, no kind of recognizable ethnic or cultural distribution pattern can be seen; although there seems to be some kind of allusion or link with the construction of distinction, as already observed in the tableware sets.

¹³² Miró 2006, 12–75.

¹³³ Bats 1988, 65.

¹³⁴ Gomez 2000, 114.

¹³⁵ Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 37; Gomez 2000, 114; Villing and Pemberton 2010, 566–8.

¹³⁶ Villing and Pemberton 2010, 617.

¹³⁷ Delgado Hervás et al. 2020, 99.

All in all, the study of samples of tableware, domestic storage and kitchenware in sectors N-1-7000, MN-5000 and N-1000 of Ampurias reveal a material world absolutely heterogeneous. Diverse objects with different aesthetics, social significances, practical functions and meaning seem to have conformed the day-to-day of those who inhabited the *emporion* in the final decades of the fifth century BCE and the beginnings of the fourth. Some typologies, such as the equipment used as tableware, show a tradition heavily linked with Greek environments, both Western (mainly Massaliote) and Eastern (Aegean), while the vases dedicated to storage portray a scene much more local and regional, with Iberian materials clearly standing out. These divergences, however, do not seem to be associated with any spatial or ethnic distributions but rather show a specific preference and focus on several traditions of manufacture according to the purpose of the vase.

Graphic 8: Kitchenware manufacture origin

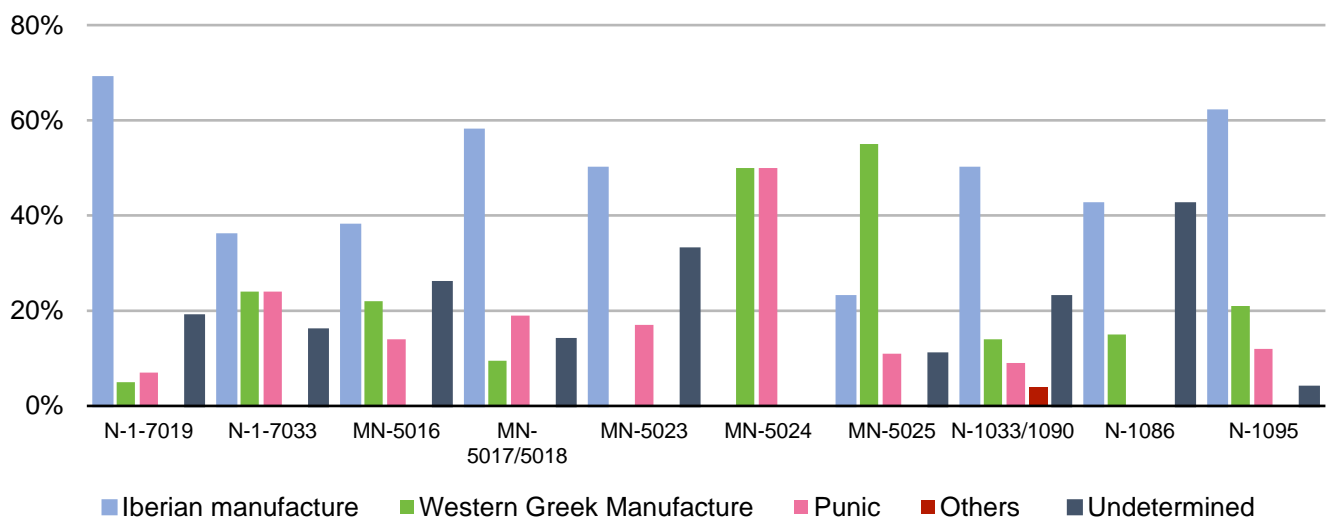


Figure 15: Author 2022, based on Delgado et al., 2020.

5. Conclusions

Ancient literary sources, despite providing very interesting pieces of information, do not answer some existing questions about Ampurias, as we have already seen. Among this uncertainties, a very important matter responds to the relationship that may have or may have not existed between the Greeks and the natives during the first centuries of Phocaean occupation; but also the characteristics, requirements and terms of such relationship. For this reason, the clear aim of this essay has been to analyze different archaeological records with the intention of shedding light on the issues of acculturation, exchange and coexistence of both indigenous and Greek communities within an *emporion* so far from the metropolis.

As expected, Ampurias not only dedicated itself to trading within the confines of the Mediterranean from its small port but also wielded great influence in the economy of the surrounding area¹³⁸, as can be seen in some of the nearby Iberian nuclei. The clearest example is to be found in the numerous cases of imported Attic pottery¹³⁹ found at sites such as Más Castellar de Pontós; but also the clear influence of Greek manufacturing traditions on native pottery. The most remarkable example of this process can be observed in Indiketan pottery production¹⁴⁰, grey in colour, decorated in white motifs of native origin, but modelled after Greek typologies, first Ionian and then Attic. Its distribution is concentrated in the contact areas directly related to Ampurias¹⁴¹, and one of the main production centres seems to have been the nucleus of Indika¹⁴².

Although trying to link material evidence with the creation or even expression of identities is certainly a delicate matter, the archaeological record remains our best source, in this case, to try and reconstruct how Ampurias culturally worked. The first sample of information exposed, the one regarding cult and ritual practices has proven to be a difficult source, for it mostly corresponds to a much later period than that of the foundation of the *emporion*. Our sources consist mainly of Hellenistic temples and sculptures of dubious identity and legendary foundation myths that have not left any kind of hitherto detectable remains, as is the case of the Ephesian Artemis. However, some

¹³⁸ Sanmartí-Grego 1995, 158–70.

¹³⁹ Domínguez Monedero 2003, 201–4.

¹⁴⁰ Maluquer de Motes et al. 1984, 47–53.

¹⁴¹ Domínguez Monedero 2013, 28–9.

¹⁴² Martín 1988, 47–56.

smaller ritual practices point towards some kind of acculturation or exchange, since they appear both in Indiketan and Greek environments, such as the offering of *thymiateria* as fertility rituals or the burial of a small vase as some sort of domestic foundation ritual.

On the other hand, funerary assemblages seem to be much richer in data even if on some occasions the tombs were severely looted. Two burial typologies have been detected: cremation and inhumation. The former is attributed to the indigenous communities of the area, while the latter to the populations of the Eastern Mediterranean who frequented the commercial area. Altogether, the inhumations seem to be approximately 80% of the total burials in the following century of the settlement of Greek communities. And while this practice far exceeds the one attributed to the native populations, it still remains a constant, never fully disappearing, clearly pointing towards manifestations of a particular identity, and signal of the convergence of the two ethnic customs¹⁴³. The endurance of both funerary cultures, which despite being different show remarkably similar grave goods, could indicate that they could have also shared the urban space in addition to the already confirmed shared funerary space¹⁴⁴.

Finally, having also examined the pottery assemblages, this analysis reveals a highly heterogeneous material culture, with a spatial distribution that if it tells us anything, is the little viability of the dual interpretation of the emporion. This can also be observed in the coexistence of disparate *modus operandi* in said spaces; these being, in addition, linked to *habitus* or traditions of differentiated communities. Thus, said heterogeneity and its distribution do nothing but point to the existence of a mixed community in Ampurias.

Furthermore, this domestic equipment analyzed is relatively homogeneous in the three sectors studied, in which diverse Mediterranean traditions converge. In the case of cooking utensils and domestic storage, the Iberian tradition seems to have dominated the basis of daily diets, as well as private storage vessels that were not related or intended to be used in trading activities. A great contrast if compared with the findings related to tableware and drinking equipment, in which Greek vessels clearly predominate, specifically those of Attic production, although other Mediterranean traditions such as Punic are also present.

¹⁴³ Almagro 1953, 29–127; Miró 2006, 93–5; Domínguez Monedero 2013, 27.

¹⁴⁴ Domínguez Monedero 2013, 32.

Therefore, the three typologies of remains exposed in this essay don't seem to reveal any type of segregation in Ampurias, rather the contrary, it seems to portray a very fluid transmission of materialities and practical knowledge between the domestic groups residing in the enclave, with certain appropriations and resignifications of the diverse material cultures, but also other cultures of the Mediterranean. The complexity of the material assemblages suggests that the choice of these objects and materialities in specific social practices cannot be explained as the result of simple expressions of ethnicity, nor as mere practical and functional decisions. These preferences must be connected with the social meanings of these objects and the practices in which they took part in these specific contexts –meanings that must have been ambiguous and multiple– and with the agency of these materialities and *modus operandi* in related strategies. The study shows a heterogeneous, complex and deeply intertwined social landscape, typical of a contact zone, in which ceramic objects and practices of diverse traditions were used transversally by people of different origins and ancestry, who identified mainly with Greek communities and with local groups from nearby regional areas.

I would argue that the general vision of Ampurias as a purely Hellenic enclave in the Far West must be quite far from reality. The archaeological campaigns of the 20th century and their attempt to link Catalonia with the Hellenic culture seem to have created an unreal Emporitan landscape, consistent of a far too clean and pure Hellenic character when most clues clearly point towards the opposite. It is safe to assume that from the time when the commercial port was founded, Ampurias shared a common environment with the natives. It was precisely them who allowed the Greeks to settle in the area in the first place. Thus, it is possible that the population of Emporion had to negotiate its Greek/Phocaeen identity with the natives from the start¹⁴⁵. Since these indigenous populations were already used to foreigners due to the previous presence of Phoenician merchants, it is most likely that, at least the indigenous elites, welcomed the newly Greek settlers¹⁴⁶. Data from Greek and indigenous cemeteries strongly supports this idea. It is also important to note that the enclave's commercial interest was not limited solely to the maritime relations that were carried out in the Mediterranean, rather, its influence extended throughout the hinterland of the site, as well as along the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, as can be attested by Greek pottery. This shared landscape can be

¹⁴⁵ Domínguez Monedero 2013, 33–4.

¹⁴⁶ Oller 2013, 189–90.

observed inside and outside the settlement, since the findings are extremely heterogeneous, as has already been exposed.

My proposal revolves around the fact that, without a doubt, the physical proximity between the two populations constituted a vital factor, not only in the development of commercial exchange, but also in the form of authentic commercial cooperations between the two populations. These communities, of course, left their mark on the site, as can be attested through the objects of different aesthetics, properties, social meanings and functional capacities connected with diverse cultural traditions (mainly Greek and Iberian) that were present in the settlement. However, I would not only suggest that the indigenous communities were represented inside the enclave; but I also consider that it would be safe to assume that other Mediterranean cultures like Punic or Etruscan must have been present in the daily routine of the port as well, albeit in the form of minorities; since Ampurias never lost its strictly commercial character. I would also add that a minuscule delegated commercial port of Massalia could hardly be considered a colony, even if it, at some point, did mint coin; for we are talking about a settlement that barely reached 3 hectares at its largest moment. Putting it into perspective, these 3 hectares dwarf even more when compared to the extension of its "*mother*", Massalia, of approximately 50 hectares¹⁴⁷, or the nearest Indiketan city, Indika, of (at the very least) 10 hectares¹⁴⁸.

Not only its size and material culture played a pivotal role in its heterogeneous character, of course, since the first thing to note about Ampurias is that it was, indeed, excessively far away from the cultural epicentre that produced the settlement; and was also surrounded by a very active alien indigenous culture. A settlement located in the absolute periphery cannot be anything other than an eclectic, complex place that endured constant recycling and reinterpreting of ideas, materialities, cultures, entities and items. These factors also meant that Ampurias was probably a much more heterodox community, more flexible and away from the guidelines and regulations that tend to concern the great centres, and which, as we have already seen, seem to progressively blur the further we move away from said centres. I consider the condition of the most famous statue of the settlement as a great metaphor to describe the commercial port of Ampurias. The so-called statue of Asclepius, as we have previously discussed, was a strange sculpture without any clear parallels available anywhere in the Greek world. Without even

¹⁴⁷ McKenzie 2018, 376.

¹⁴⁸ Martín 1996, 5.

knowing with certainty which god it represents, it seems to be a statue that was most probably recycled, perhaps even combining female and male body parts. Mixed in its origin and mixed in its materials, just like the enclave. Furthermore, I deem that not only was Ampurias far away from its metropolis but also very far away from the idealized Greek version that historiography has been creating over the last century.

6. Bibliography

6.1. Primary sources

Strabo, *Geography* III: 8

Herodotus, *Histories* I: 163; III: 178.

6.2. Secondary sources

Agustí, B., D. Codina, R. Dehesa, J. Llinàs, J. Merino, C. Montalbán, and A. Vargas. 2004. “Excavacions arqueològiques a Vilanera (l’Escala, Alt Empordà).” *Tribuna d’Arqueologia 2000-2001*:99–114.

Almagro, M. 1953. *Las Necrópolis de Ampurias, I. Introducción y necrópolis griegas*. Monografías Ampuritanas III. Barcelona.

———. 1955. *Las Necrópolis de Ampurias, II. Necrópolis romanas. Las Necrópolis indígenas*. Monografías Ampuritanas III. Barcelona.

———. 2015. “Un Ánfora de Lydos en Ampurias y el inicio del asentamiento de Emporion en tierra firme.” *Lucentum* (34): 23–30.

Aquilué, X. 2008a. “Empúries. Passat, present i futur d’un parc arqueològic de la Costa Brava.”: 16.

———. 2008b. “El conjunto arqueológico de Empúries. Nuevas propuestas y planteamientos para el siglo XXI.”: 8.

———. 2017. “Emporion/Emporiae. Una antigua ciudad portuaria en el extremo occidental del Mediterráneo.” In *Phicaria*, 105–21. Mazarrón.

Aquilué, X., P. Cabrera Bonet, and M. Orfila Pons. 2017. *Homenatge a Glòria Trias Rubiés: ceràmiques griegas de la Península Ibérica, cinquanta anys després (1967-2017)*. Barcelona: Centro Iberia Graeca.

Aquilué, X., P. Castanyer, M. Santos Retolaza, and J. Tremoleda. 2012. “El paisatge funerari en el territori d’Empúries, entre el Bronze final i la primera edat del Ferro.” *Monografies* 14: 75–90.

Aquilué, X., and M.T. Miró. 2014. “Reflexiones sobre los talleres de cerámica ática identificados en la ciudad griega de Emporion (Empúries).” In AAVV, *Homenaje a Ricardo Olmos. Per Speculum in Aenigmate. Miradas sobre la Antigüedad*, 242–8. Madrid: Anejos de Erytheia 7.

Barberà, J. 1974. “Límites cronológicos de la influencia helénica en Ampurias a Través de los ajuares de sus necrópolis.” *Simposio Internacional de Colonizaciones*: 61–4.

———. 1990. “La Necrópolis de La Muralla N.E. de Ampurias en el proceso de iberización.” *Verdolay* (2): 201–6.

- Bats, M. 1988. "Vaisselle et alimentation à Olbia de Provence (v. 350-v. 50 Av. J.-C.). Modèles culturels et catégories céramiques." *Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise* 18: 5–72.
- Buxó, R. 2001. *L'origen i l'expansió de l'agricultura a l'Empordà, Del Neolític a La Romanització*. Girona.
- Buxó, R., J. Principal, N. Alonso, and M.C. Belarte. 2010. "Prácticas alimentarias en la edad del Hierro en Cataluña." *Saguntum* 9: 82–99.
- Casas, J., and V. Soler. 2004. "Intervenciones Arqueológicas En Mas Gusó (Gerona). Del asentamiento precolonial a la villa romana." *BAR Internacional Series* 1215.
- Castanyer, P., J. Monturiol, C. Oliveras, M. Santos, J. Tremoleda, and X. Aquillué. 2008. *100 Anys d'excavacions arqueològiques a Empúries (1908-2008)*. Girona.
- Cuadrado, E. 1990. "La cremación funeraria de los iberos." *Anales de la Prehistoria y Arqueología* (5–6): 111–3.
- Delgado Hervás, A., M. Ferrer Martín, and M. Santos Retolaza. 2020. "¿Dualidad étnica o heterogeneidad social? Un análisis de las cerámicas de uso cotidiano de la la Neápolis de Emporion." *Zephyrus* 85 (0) (August 4): 79.
- Dietler, M. 2010. *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Domínguez Monedero, A.J. 1985. "Focea y sus colonias: a propósito de un reciente coloquio." *Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua* (3): 357–77.
- . 2001. "La religión en el emporion." (2001): 37.
- . 2003. "Archaic Greek Pottery in the Iberian Peninsula. Its Presence in Native Contexts." In *Griechische Keramik Im Kulturellen Kontext*, edited by B. Schmaltz and M. Söldner, 201–4. Münster.
- . 2011. "Los foceos y sus ciudades, entre Jonia, la Magna Grecia y el Occidente. Diversidad material e identidad étnica." *Empúries* (56): 9–24.
- . 2013. "Los primeros griegos en la Península Ibérica (s. IX-VI A.C.): Mitos, probabilidades, certezas." In *El Oriente griego en la Península Ibérica: Epigrafía e Historia*, edited by M. P. de Hoz and G. Mora, 11–42.
- Foxhall, L. 2007. "House Clearance: Unpacking the 'Kitchen' in Classical Greece." *British School at Athens Studies* 15: 233–42.
- Gailledrat, É. 1995. "Greces et Ibères dans la nécropole d'Ampurias (VI-II Siècles Av. J.-C.)." *Antiquité* 31 (1): 31–54.
- García y Bellido, A. 1948. *Hispania Graeca*. Vol. 1. Barcelona: Instituto Español de Estudios Mediterráneos.

- Garnsey, P. 2012. *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gomez, É. 2000. “Contribution à l’étude des mortiers de cuisine : les mortiers du Languedoc occidental du VI^e au IV^e s. av. J.-C.” *Documents d’Archéologie Méridionale* 23 (1): 113–43.
- Graells, R. 2008. “Análisis de las manifestaciones funerarias en Catalunya durante los ss. VII y VI AC. sociedad y cultura material: la asimilación de estímulos mediterráneos.” Universitat de Lleida.
- López, A. 1998. “Distribución espacial y cronológica de las necrópolis ampuritanas.” In *De les estructures indígenes a l’organització provincial romana de la Hispania Citerior*, 275–98. Mayer, M; Nolla, J M y Pardo, J. Barcelona: Itaca.
- Lynch, K.M., M.L. Lawall, and L.M. Little. 2011. *The Symposium in Context: Pottery from a Late Archaic House near the Athenian Agora*. Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Maluquer de Motes, J., M. Picazo, and A. Martín. 1984. *Corpus vasorum antiquorum. Espagne. Musée monographique d’Ullastret. Vol. Fasc. 1*. Barcelona.
- Mar, R., and J. Ruiz de Arbulo. 1993. *Ampurias Romana. Historia, Arquitectura y Arqueología*. Sabadell: AUSA.
- Maranges i Marimon, J. 1803. *Compendio histórico, resumen y descripción de la antiquísima ciudad de Empúries*.
- Marcet, R., and E. Sanmartí-Grego. 1989. *Empúries*. Barcelona.
- Martín, M.A. 1988. “Algunes precisions més sobre la ceràmica ibèrica indiketa decorada amb pintura blanca.” *Fonaments* (7): 47–56.
- . 1996. “La cultura ibèrica a Ullastret i el seu hinterland.” *Llibre de La Festa Major de Torroella de Montgrí*: 5–15.
- Mckenzie, J. 2018. “Massalia (Marseilles).” In *Shipheds of the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by D. Blackman, B. Rankov, K. Baika, H. Gerding, and J. Pakkanen, 376–88. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miró, M.T. 2006. *la ceràmica àtica de figures roges de la ciutat grega de Emporion*. Vol. 14. Barcelona: Monografies Emporitanes.
- Moner, E. 2018. “Les pràctiques rituals a Empúries en el marc del context Empordanès (Ss.VI-II a.C.).” *DAMA Documentos de Arqueología y Patrimonio Histórico* (10).
- Nolla, J.M., and P. Vila. 2000. “‘Notice historique sur la vil·le et le comte d’empurias’ de Francesc Jaubert de Paça (presentació i facsímil de l’edició de 1823).” *Annals de l’Institut d’Estudis Gironins* XLI:419–530.
- Oller, M. 2013. “III.3. Griegos e indígenas en Empóron (siglos vi-iv a.C.): un estado de la cuestión.” :16.

- Paz de Hoz, M. 2013. "Cultos griegos, cultos sincréticos y la inmigración griega y greco-oriental en la península ibérica.": 52.
- Pena, M.J. 1973. "Ártemis-Diana y algunas cuestiones en relación con su iconografía y su culto en Occidente." *Ampurias* (35):109–34.
- . 2000. "Les cultes d'Emporion." In *Les cultes des cités phocéennes*, 59–68. Hermaty, A, Tréziny, H. Aix-en-Provence/Marseille: Actes du colloque international.
- Picazo Gurina, M. 2015. "La vajilla de los días de fiesta: cerámica ática en una casa de finales del siglo V a.C. de Ullastret." *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 88 (0):25–37.
- Puig i Cadafalch, J. 1912. "Els temples d'Empúries." *Anuari Del IEC* (4):303–22.
- Retolaza, M.S., and J.-C. Sourisseau. 2011. "Cultes et pratiques rituelles dans les communautés grecques de Gaule méditerranéenne et de Catalogne." :34.
- Rotroff, S.I., and J.H. Oakley. 1992. "Debris from a Public Dining Place in the Athenian Agora." *Hesperia Supplements* 25:1–256.
- Roux, G. 1984. "Trésors, temples, tholos." In *Temples et sanctuaires. Séminaire de recherche 1981-1983*, 153–71. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux.
- Ruiz de Arbulo, J. 1994. "El gimnasio de Emporion (s. II-I AC)." *Butlletí Arqueològic. Reial Societat Arqueològica Tarraconense* (16):11–44.
- . 1999. "El papel de los santuarios en la colonización fenicia y griega en la Península Ibérica." In *Santuarios Fenicio-Púnicos en Iberia y su influencia en los cultos indígenas*, 46. Eivissa: Treballs del Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera.
- Ruiz Zapatero, G. 1985. "Los campos de urnas Del NE. de La Península Ibérica." Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Sánchez, C., and Á.C. Pérez Aguayo. 2017. "La cerámica ática de barniz negro de época clásica en Ampurias." *Empúries* 57:9–27.
- Sanmartí-Grego, E. 1988. "datación de la muralla griega meridional de Ampurias y caracterización de la facies cerámica de la ciudad en la primera mitad del siglo IV a. de J.-C." *Revue Des Études Anciennes* 90 (1):99–137.
- . 1992a. "Massalia et Emporion: une origine commune, deux destins différents." *Études Massaliètes* 3:27–41.
- . 1992b. "Identificació iconogràfica i possible atribució d'unes restes escultòriques trobades a la Neàpolis Emporitana al simulacrum del Serapis d'Empòrion." In *Miscel·lània Arqueològica a J. M. Recasens*, 145–54. Tarragona.

- . 1995. “Recent Discoveries at the Harbour of the Greek City of Emporion (L’Escala, Catalonia, Spain) and in Its Surrounding Area (Quarries and Iron Workshops).” *PBA*: 157–74.
- Sanmartí-Grego, E., and J. Padró. 1993. “Serapis i Asclepi al món hellenístic: el cas d’Empúries.” In *Homenatge a M. Tarradell*, 611–28. Barcelona.
- Sanmartí-Grego, E., and R.A. Santiago. 1988. “La lettre grecque d’Emporion et son contexte archéologique.” *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 21 (1): 3–17.
- Santos, M., P. Castanyer, and J. Tremoleda. 2013. “Emporion arcaica : los ritmos y las fisonomías de los dos establecimientos originarios, a partir de los últimos datos arqueológicos.” In *L’Occident grec de Marseille à Mégara Hyblaea*, edited by Sophie Bouffier and Antoine Hermay, 130–113. Aix-en-Provence: Publications du Centre Camille Jullian.
- Schröder, S.F. 1996. “El Asclepio’ de Ampurias: ¿una estatua de agathodaimon del último cuarto del siglo II a.C?” In *Actes de la II reunió sobre escultura romana a Hispania (Tarragona, 1995)*, 223–39. Tarragona: Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona.
- . 2000. “Emporion i la seva connexió amb el món hellenístic oriental. Les escultures emporitanes d’Ágatos Démon-Serapis i Apol·lo.” In *Els Grecs a Iberia. Seguint les passes d’Hèracles*, edited by P. Cabrera and C. Sánchez, 119–29. Barcelona: Museu d’Arqueologia de Catalunya.
- Sparkes, B.A. 1962. “The Greek Kitchen.” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 82: 121–37.
- Sparkes, B.A., and L. Talcott. 1970. *The Athenian Agora Xii: Black and Plain Pottery of the Sixth, Fifth and Fourth Centuries Bc*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Tate, R.B. 1957. “El Manuscrit i les fonts del Paralipomenon Hispaniae.” 4: 107–36.
- Tronchetti, C. 2003. “La ceramica attica in Sardegna Tra vi e iv Sec. a. C.: Significato e Problemi.” In *Il Greco, Il Barbaro e La Ceramica Attica*, edited by F. Giudice, R. Panvini, 177–82. Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider.
- Uroz, H. 2005. “Sobre la temprana aparición de los cultos de Isis, Serapis y Caelestis en Hispania.” *LVCENTVM* (XXIII–XXIV): 165–80.
- Villing, A., and E. Pemberton. 2010. “Mortaria from Ancient Corinth: Form and Function.” *Hesperia* 79: 555–638.
- Vivó, D., and J. Ruiz de Arbulo. 2008. “Serapis, Isis y Los dioses acompañantes en Emporion: una nueva interpretación para el conjunto de esculturas aparecido en el supuesto Asklepieion emporitano.” *Revista d’Arqueologia de Ponent* (18):71–140.
- Wilkins, J., and S. Hill. 2006. *Food in the Ancient World*. Malden: Blackwell.