

GREEKS AND NON-GREEKS IN THE CITY OF EMPORION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THEIR DIFFERENT IDENTITIES

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Abstract: The Greek city of Emporion is one of the few Greek *emporion* which ultimately became a *polis*. Consequently, the city had to adapt the previously held structures of an *emporion* to cope with the new circumstances which being a *polis* required; thus its urban space, territory, population, laws, government had to be modified in the conversion from one situation to another. Furthermore, this change had to be fulfilled in the midst of a non-Greek environment, which obviously had consequences in the development of Greek identity within the city. Fortunately, in the case of Emporion we have both archaeological and literary evidence (although not very abundant) to observe these processes. The aim of this paper is, consequently, to consider this evidence in order to see how interactions worked in Emporion itself as well as in the surrounding region in different historical moments and how those interactions contributed to shaping several interrelated identities within the Greek city, which also became a strong point for building the identity of the non-Greek peoples in that region of north-eastern Iberia.

Key words: Emporion, Greek colonisation, Iberia, Iberians.

It is generally accepted that the Greek city of Emporion in north-eastern Spain became a true Greek *polis*, perhaps in the 5th century BC (Domínguez 2004b, 157–171). However, its “official” name, Emporion, clearly reveals its origins as an *emporion*. Whether this *emporion*, known to everyone as “the” *emporion*, had a previous name (Cypsela? Pyrene?) is something we cannot say at present.

Excavators date the origin of the Greek *emporion* to around 580 BC after an earlier period when Greek products increased following their first appearance in the last quarter of the 7th century BC. Similarly, the excavations emphasise the close relationship between this first *emporion* and Massalia (Aquilué 1999, 217–330). The fact that later traditions shifted between the Phocaeans and the Massalians origins of Emporion can be interpreted in various ways: either the sources are not precise, or the Emporitans wanted to create their own identity by breaking ties with Massalia and establishing a Phocaeans identity (Domínguez 2004a, 429–456); the Phocaeans identity is questioned by some

authors mainly on the basis of archaeological evidence and an analysis of the city of Elea (Gassner 2003, 275). This is not, however, the place to reassert or add additional information to support the existence of this Phocaean identity, similar to that existing between other cities that were considered foundations of the same mother city, beyond the similarities or differences in their archaeological records. Identity is socially constructed and operates on different levels, depending on the interests or dominant forces at any given time. A Massaliote identity is compatible with a Phocaean identity, as in Massalia, but for minor centres, such as Emporion, a Phocaean and Emporitan identity may have been preferred to accepting a Massaliote identity. In any case, the issue of identities in Emporion has also recently been addressed by some authors (Demetriou 2012, 24–63), although with results somewhat different to those suggested in this paper.

But let us return to Emporion. The transition from *emporion* to *polis* must have been due to a significant increase in population, the need for a larger territory and hence the need to create a political organisation appropriate to the new situation. Archaeological evidence reveals an area of about 3 or 4 ha south of the former *emporion*, its northern and southern limits marked by at least two sanctuaries from the mid-6th century BC onwards (Dupré 2005, 103–123; Aquilué *et al.* 2008, 192–194). Its three- or fourfold increase in size can only have been produced by an influx of population, which may have reached Emporion after the capture of Phocaea by the Persians (Domínguez 2006, 476), a phenomenon which I would argue is also attested in Massalia itself (Domínguez 2012, 61–82).

The fact that newcomers considered themselves inheritors of the earlier settlement is shown by the name given to the future city, Emporion, and also by references to the site of the original *emporion* as the old city (*palaia polis*) (Strabo 3.4.8). Its successor was the recently founded new settlement, today known as Neapolis. As was common in other Greek establishments of the western Mediterranean, the Greeks had to negotiate their settlement with local populations (Lomas 2006, 174–196). This can be seen both in the archaeological record and in the later literary tradition.

I shall summarise here my previous analysis of the Emporitan funerary record and the main data acquired (Domínguez 2004a, 429–456). Firstly, bearing in mind Jones's warnings, also recalled by Lomas (Jones 1997, 122; Lomas 2006, 186), concerning "the difficulties of mapping ethnic divisions onto material culture," from the 6th century BC onwards we can still distinguish the tombs occupied by the natives from those occupied by Greeks. The first, cremations, usually with weapons and gradually with some imported wares, belong to a tradition well known in north-eastern Iberia from the Early Iron Age and also in the Emporitan region itself (Sanmartí 1992, 77–108). So it is not unreasonable to suggest that they belonged to the indigenous population that had settled in the Emporion area before the Greeks, and remained in the area. The Greek tombs, mainly burials, had less sumptuous grave offerings, and are not difficult to identify.

The location of these cemeteries around the Greek city would, on its own, suggest the coexistence of the two populations. However, we also have literary information about Emporion. Strabo's description of the city is sometimes a little confused, but is based on eyewitness accounts by Emporitan witnesses given to Greek authors of the late 2nd and early 1st centuries BC who visited Iberia and wrote about it (Poseidonius, Artemidorus). We must now reconsider the information from our sources, mainly Strabo and Livy.

The Emporitans formerly lived on a little island off the shore, which **is now** called Old City, but they now live on the mainland. And their city is a double one, for it has **been** divided **into** two cities by a wall, because, in former times, the city had for neighbours some of the Indicitans, who, although they maintained a government of their own, wished, for the sake of **security**, to have a common wall of circumvallation **with the** Greeks, with the enclosure in two parts – **for it has been** divided by a wall through the centre; but in the course of time the two peoples united under the same constitution, which was a mixture **of both** Barbarian and Greek laws – a thing which **has** taken place in the case of many other peoples (Strabo 3.4.8; translation H.L. Jones, Loeb Classical Library).

Strabo describes three phases in the urban and political development of Emporion: first, occupation of the island; second, occupation by Iberians and Greeks of a common area, albeit one separated by a wall; third, a common structure with mixed Greek and barbarian laws. Perhaps an element of confusion, maybe provoked by Strabo himself, was the cause of the use of the term *dipolis*, which seems to have been interpreted awkwardly by Strabo. We can accept that the formation of the *polis* of Emporion, created as a result of the consolidation of the former *emporion* probably after the arrival of new Greek population, may have included some of the indigenous population, who, as we have seen, also shared the use of funerary areas. However, archaeology does not confirm the existence of any double wall at this time, which we could place between the second half of the 6th century and early 5th century BC; indeed, the oldest remains of fortifications in Emporion date to the late 5th century BC (Sanmartí/Nolla 1986, 159–191). It has also been suggested – and is not unlikely – that before the 4th-century BC wall was constructed and the entire southern part of the Greek city reorganised, some (or many) natives may have lived around the existing extra-urban sanctuaries (Sanmartí 1988, 99–137; 1993, 87–101). This situation would be no more than a continuation of the existing situation in the original *emporion* extended to the later Greek city. Was the dividing wall referred to by Strabo real, or a theoretical creation to justify a process of political integration of different communities? So far, archaeology has not provided an answer to this question.

It is difficult to know how this archaic situation lasted until the time of Strabo (or his sources) because the author asserts that Emporion “is” a *dipolis* (the verb is in the present tense) divided by a wall. It is likely that the present tense used by Strabo refers to the situation between the late 2nd century and the beginning of the 1st century BC, when there were actually two cities separated by a wall, but this situation cannot be projected back to the time when the Greek city was founded. Strabo possibly combined data from various periods; in this context the integration of indigenous people with the Greeks is the key, because it seems to be something that the Emporitans themselves accepted as a matter of fact. However, Strabo tried to find material evidence by introducing the issue of the common wall but separated by an intermediate wall, a situation that could only have existed in a given period, namely between the second half of the 2nd century and the mid-1st century BC.

We must now add Livy’s account, which largely relies on the eyewitness account of Cato. Livy narrates his campaign, although he also introduces later data into his story.

Even at that time Emporiae consisted of two towns separated by a wall. One was inhabited by Greeks from Phocaea, whence came the Massilienses also, the other by the Spaniards; but the Greek town, being entirely open to the sea, had only a small extent of wall, of less than four hundred

paces in length, while the Spaniards, who were farther back from the sea, had a wall three miles around. A third class of inhabitants, Roman colonists, was added by the deified Caesar after the final defeat of the sons of Pompey, and at present all are fused into one mass, the Spaniards first, and later the Greeks, having been received into Roman citizenship (Livy 34.9.1; translation E.T. Sage, Loeb Classical Library).

The key to Livy's text is given in the first two words, "*iam tunc*," because Livy, who undoubtedly knew what Emporion was like, in describing it as a *dipolis* tried to take this situation back to Cato's days, although at the same time projecting the future of the city by alluding to the establishment of Roman colonists. However, from the passage by Livy and the subsequent account it seems that the Iberian city is somewhat distant from the Greek city. The mistrust between them, although this may well reflect the situation of open war existing when Cato landed, can hardly be reconciled with Strabo's description of the two groups' coexistence. Moreover, archaeology does not confirm the existence in the immediate area around Emporion of a native city with a circuit wall of 3000 paces (4.4 km), and attempts to locate it have so far proved fruitless. Consequently, some scholars believe that this native city simply did not exist before the Romans arrived (Pena 1988, 20–27).

Therefore, the data gathered from the literary sources suggest that Greek and Roman authors have included different kinds of events in their accounts. In particular, they have projected back in time Emporion's character as a *dipolis*, which existed at a very precise time, between the second quarter of the 2nd century and the mid-1st century BC. It was then that the Greek city, whose population included a considerable proportion of natives, coexisted with the Roman establishment, first military and then civilian, which also had a significant native presence, and according to some scholars even a dominant one (Pena 1989, 219–248).

This was an actual *dipolis*, with the two constituent units separated by walls. This situation is described by Strabo in the present tense, although this present was not Strabo's, but that of the sources. However, he projected this character of *dipolis* back to the origins of the city as a prelude to the integration of Greek and indigenous communities, something that already seem to have happened in the original *emporion*. Strabo does not know of the new legal status granted by Rome to Emporion in the time of Caesar. On the other hand, Livy, who also knows that Emporion was a *dipolis* – which, as we have seen, was a result of Roman action – puts it back to the time of Cato's landing. However, his description of Emporion at that time, undoubtedly taken from the consul's historical writings, mentioned a large indigenous *oppidum*, far from the sea and with a perimeter of 3000 paces. Livy says that Cato sited his camp 3000 paces from Emporion (34.13.2) and the subsequent battle was against the *Emporitani Hispani* (Livy 34.16.4) (Nolla 1984, 150–157). It is not unlikely that Livy, combining information from different sources, believed that the native *oppidum* rose in the place where, a few years after Cato's campaign, the Roman camp appeared. This would, at the beginning of the 1st century BC, be the origin to the Roman walled city. However, the perimeter of this was only 2 km, and what may have been an internal conflict in Emporion between supporters and opponents of the Roman presence may have been interpreted as the existence of a double city (Ruiz de Arbulo 1998, 539–554). Portions of a new wall of Roman date (2nd century BC) and massive character (3.40 m thick) have been recently discovered (2012). It enclosed a sur-

face bigger than the later Roman city and its quite possible that the Greek city was also incorporated within it. This wall would confirm the existence of a Roman military installation, long suggested, although we had no data so far (Castanyer *et al.* 2013, 25–27). While it is soon to properly assess the significance of this wall, there is no doubt that it provides more insight to why later writers, such as Livy and Strabo, insist that during a period in its history Emporion has been a *dipolis*. The presence of the *Emporitani Hispani* that fought Cato could also suggest the existence of an indigenous rural population living in Emporion's territory.

The literary sources, although contributing some information of interest, do not completely resolve some of the problems of Emporion, such as the relationship between Greeks and natives in the area during the first centuries of the city's life. As mentioned above, perhaps the most important fact is the co-existence of Greeks and natives and the creation of a "mixed" political system that included both populations. While the first phenomenon seems to correspond to the earliest days of the Greek presence, it is more difficult to know when such a mixed system of Greek and barbarian laws could have been developed. It is tempting, though, to place this occurrence after the urban reform that took place in the Greek city in the early 4th century BC, and which would coincide with the period when the necropolis known as Martí, located on the western side of the Greek city, was used (Almagro 1953, 29–127; Pena 1988, 18) and which I referred to, albeit briefly, on another occasion (Domínguez 2004a, 438).

This cemetery was to the west of the Greek city, in the space between it and the hill later occupied by the Roman city; 140 burials and 32 cremations have been excavated, apart from an unknown number of tombs plundered before scientific excavations began. Although this cemetery may have originated as early as the 5th century BC, the 4th century BC is the period best represented. The wealth of this cemetery is not particularly great and there are numerous children's burials in Iberian amphorae of difficult cultural affiliation (Greek or native?). Many of the cremations consist of a hand-made urn, but beyond that specific characteristic of the ritual itself, the homogeneity of the grave goods must be stressed because they consist of five cases (three burials and two cremations) of Attic squat-lekythoi (Fig. 1). I think that the choices of both cremation ritual and hand-made vases to contain the ashes are conscious ones that relate to the manifestation of a particular identity (namely, native). But the restrained wealth of the grave-goods – typical of Greek, but not indigenous, cemeteries – is another sign of the converging customs of the two ethnic components of 4th-century BC Emporion (Almagro 1953, 29–127; Miró 2006, 93–95).

Although it is possible that these native inhabitants come, for the most part, from Emporion's hinterland, Iberian peoples from other parts of the Iberian territory may have come to Emporion and eventually settled in the city as a result of trade led by the Emporitans. This trade between Emporion and the Iberian territories, near and far, may have led to the arrival and settlement of Iberian peoples in Emporion, who may have contributed to the mixed nature of its population but apparently did not question the Greek supremacy. It seems that with the passage of time, and despite having become a *polis* that even minted its own currency (Domínguez 2004b, 164–165), Emporion never lost its character as a trading post, as shown by the evidence mentioned here. Even at the beginning of the 2nd century BC Livy still emphasised this character when he highlighted

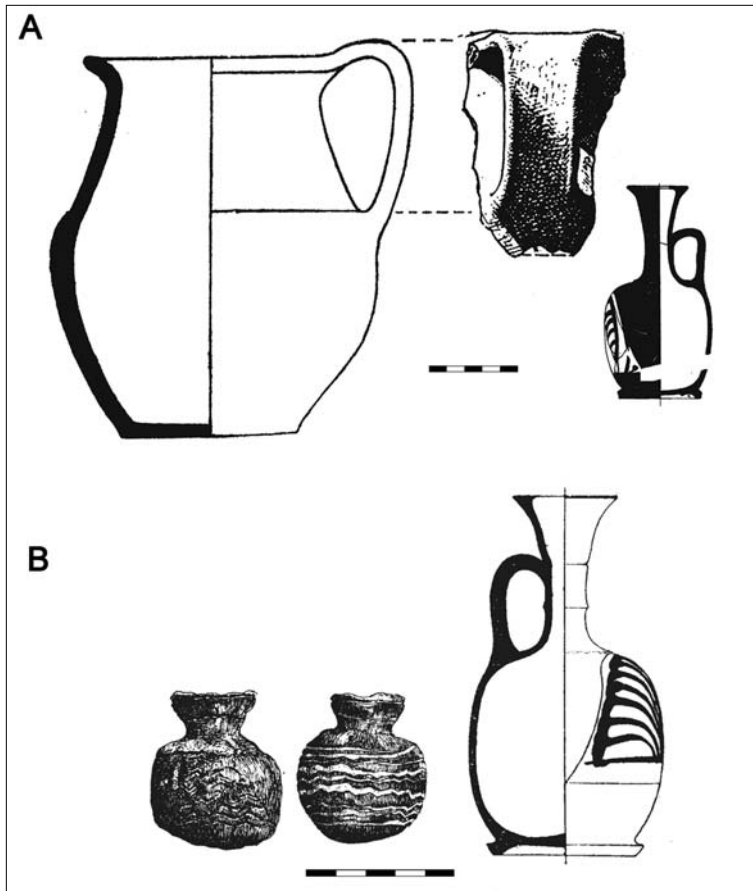


Figure 1. Two tombs of the Martí cemetery: A: Cremation Martí 20; B: Inhumation Martí 103 (After Almagro 1953)

the natives' interest in trading the products of their fields with the Emporitans for goods that reached the city by sea (Livy 34.9.9).

In addition to its own agricultural territory, Emporion certainly created (Plana 1994; Sanmartí 1995, 157–174) an important area of economic influence around it (Domínguez 1986, 193–199), whose operation has gradually become better known (Ruiz de Arbulo 2002/2003, 161–202). Apart from Ullastret, which presents problems of a somewhat different nature, it is perhaps the site of Mas Castellar at Pontós that tells us most about the relationship of the native hinterland with Emporion. This town is about 20 km from Emporion as the crow flies. Although it already had contact with Emporion, more intense relations between the Greek city and this Iberian fortified town began during the second half of the 5th century BC, as imported pottery shows. From the beginning of the 4th century BC the walls of this town were gradually dismantled while life went on in it, and Greek pottery arrived. It was probably abandoned around 375 BC (or even later,

according to the latest estimates), and soon afterwards, from the late 3rd century BC, another quarter was occupied, although we only know of its final stages. It seems that the main purpose of this Iberian settlement was to produce cereals and, above all, store them in underground silos, a process that continued even when no other traces of occupation can be detected (Pons 2002, 587–594; Asensio/Pons 2004/2005, 199–211; Pons 2010, 105–118). Demolition of the town's walls was probably connected with a new economic and legal situation, encouraged by Emporion, which was undergoing rapid economic development at this time (Plana 1998, 61–64). Mas Castellar is only one of many native towns around the Emporitan plain in which silos have been found, as well as obvious signs of economic contacts with Emporion (Pons *et al.* 2001, 145–156; Bouso 2002, 210–215; Plana 2012, 165–168).

Touched upon earlier was the difficulty of linking the material evidence with the creation of identities, but it is worth mentioning a type of pottery that appears closely linked to the indigenous world related to Emporion and that may thus be a defining feature of Indiketai, which is, as we shall see, the name the written sources give to these natives. This is grey pottery with decorative motifs painted in white, clearly modelled on Greek pottery, first of Ionian and later Attic type, but also displaying motifs of native origin. Its distribution is concentrated in the native towns directly linked to Emporion, with few pieces outside that zone (Fig. 2); one of the main centres of production seems to have been the centre of Ullastret. This is seen as proof of a genuinely Indiketan production, not found outside its territory (Martín 1988, 47–56). It seems to have emerged in the mid-5th century BC (or even before) and from the first quarter of the 4th century BC became the only painted pottery from this Iberian area. Its production continued until the mid-3rd century BC, but later pieces exhibit much poorer decorations (Maluquer de Motes *et al.* 1984, 47–53). In any case, the distribution of this kind of pottery in the area directly linked to Emporion is interesting; it is found in all those native villages that stored surplus grain and received imported Attic pottery, sometimes of high quality.

Without doubt, these native villages are part of the trading network that Livy describes so accurately, and its end from the second quarter of the 2nd century BC coincides with the new situation fostered by Rome in the area, whose big beneficiary was Emporion itself. It is tempting to identify these populations, so near and closely linked with Emporion, as the ancestors of those *Emporitani Hispani* against whom Consul Cato fought soon after his landing at Emporion (Livy 34.16) in a place still unknown but close to the city. This explains the flight of many of its inhabitants to Emporion itself, where the consul accepted their surrender (Livy 34.16.5). It is also reasonable to assume that this unique concept, *Emporitani Hispani*, may be the Latin rendering of the term that we find in Greek to refer to local people, Indiketai, which would constitute the bulk of the rebels against Rome in 195 BC (Nolla 1984, 154). If the sources of Avienus' *Ora Maritima* for the part devoted to the north-eastern coast of Iberia are in fact archaic, we should find here the first definition of these people (vv. 523–525); likewise, they are mentioned by Strabo when he describes the north-eastern coasts of Iberia (Strabo 3.4.1) and, more specifically, when he refers to the creation of the Emporitan *dipolis* (Strabo 3.4.8). Only Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.*) mentions the existence of a city, *Indike*, from which the Indiketai would take their name. Others call this *Blaberoura*, a term that has been identified, correctly, with the damp character of the region where Emporion was

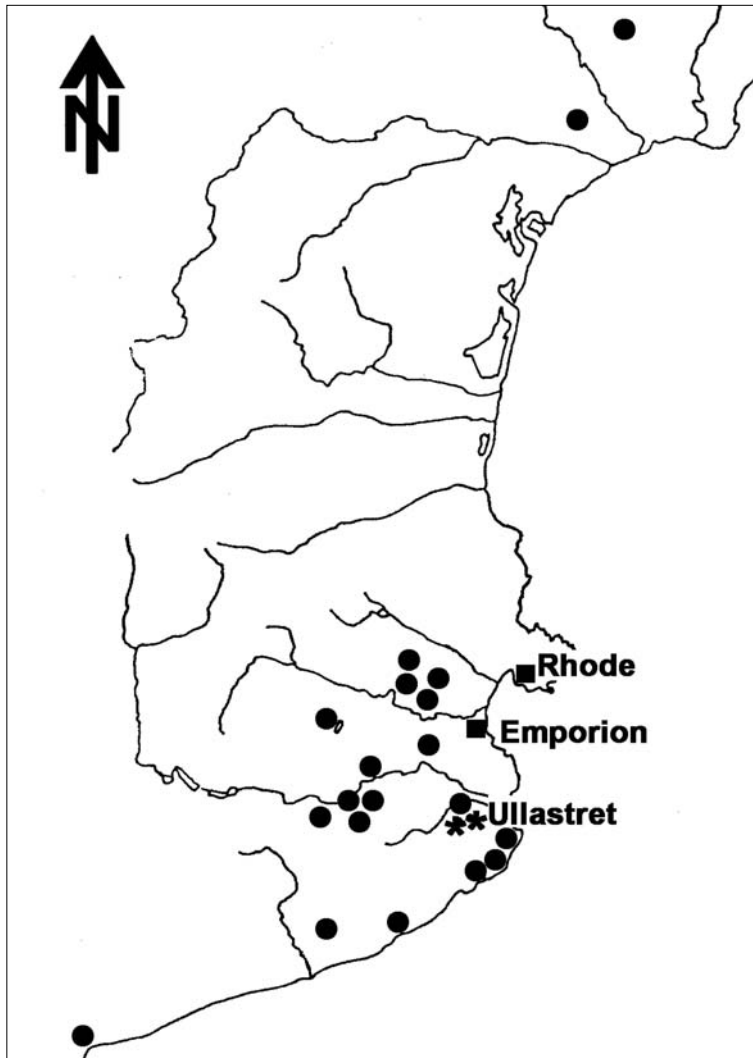


Figure 2. The distribution of “Indiketan” white-painted pottery (Redrawn after Martín 1988)

founded (Pericay 1950, 151–173) even before recent investigations revealed this fact in all its complexity (Rovira/Sanmartí 1983, 95–110; Marzoli 2005).

This name, Indiketai or Indigetes, could in its Greek and Latin versions predate the existence of a city or, as suggested by Stephanus of Byzantium, be derived from the place-name. In either case, the name is confirmed by the Iberian coinage with the ethnic Untikesken which began to be minted from the early 2nd century BC (García-Bellido/Blázquez 2002, 1, 50). This was after Rome had pacified the area and given the natives of the territory a certain political identity, perhaps encouraging their settlement near the ancient Greek city (Pena 1988, 11–45), which, in reality, was already a mixed Greek-

Iberian city. While the indigenous political body of Emporion (Untika-Indika) coined only bronze asses with a helmeted figure on the obverse and a series of figures on the reverse (rooster, lion, Pegasus, bull) (García-Bellido/Blázquez 2002, 2, 387–396), the Greek political entity continued to mint its traditional silver coinage with the Greek legend *Emporiton*, but with a progressive loss of artistic quality until at least the 80s or 70s BC (Campo 1998, 46–49; García-Bellido/Blázquez 2002, 2, 128); the iconographic relationship of the Iberian and Greek coinages is obvious and they were perhaps even complementary, the Iberian bronze coin serving as currency for small transactions in contrast to the Greek currency, which was coined only on silver. From the mid-1st century BC onwards, and after the creation of the *municipium*, only bronze coinage was issued, with the legend *Municipium Emporiae* being a clear continuation of the bronze currency of Untikesken rather than the silver currency of Emporion (García-Bellido/Blázquez 2002, 2, 138–141; Ripollés 2012, 131–138). The minting of the asses of Untikesken depended, like other contemporary currencies, on the interests of Rome, which gave the indigenous community in Emporion its own personality, perhaps not in the ancient Greek city, but alongside it, within or next to the Roman *praesidium* to the west of the Greek city. If so, as some scholars have suggested (Pena 1988, 11–45), we should regard Rome as the true creator of an indigenous political structure (*oppidum*) fashioned from the populations that lived in Emporion's area of influence before Cato's invasion, and were referred to in Livy as *Emporitani Hispani*.

From the time when it was founded as a simple *emporion*, and as a result of its primary character, Emporion shared the same environment as the natives. It was they who allowed the first Greek settlement and the transformation of the small peninsula which had for generations served as a point of exchange with foreign traders in a Greek settlement. Surely it was they too who permitted the occupation of the area south of the inlet that served as a harbour to allow the expansion of the city from the mid-6th century BC. The presence of cemeteries that can be characterised as Greek or indigenous in the same area, although in specific spaces, also suggests the proximity to Greek and native residential areas. Furthermore, the commercial interests of Emporion, in addition to possibly affecting the hinterland of the city, were felt over a wide coastal strip along the eastern shores of the Iberian Peninsula, as attested by Greek pottery (Domínguez 2003, 201–204) and also other evidence. The Emporitans seem to have been primarily responsible for the marketing of Iberian products destined for the city itself, but also for other parts of the Western Mediterranean.

The development of Emporion as a *polis*, perhaps as early as the 5th century (coinage, walls), does not imply a break with the native world, but, on the contrary, shows a growing relationship with this world. The Iberian peoples of that time lived (and were buried) in the Greek city; around the city wall and the shrines that existed in the south of the city a quarter grew up that housed people who used the Iberian language and writing but used Greek and Greek-style pottery. And perhaps some of these natives, and even people from other backgrounds, performed administrative functions, at least if any of the transactions recorded on the Pech Maho lead strip took place in Emporion itself.

As pointed out previously, it is tempting to link the reorganisation of Emporitan's urban layout in the early 4th century BC with the integration of the indigenous population living in the immediate vicinity of the city into the Greek community, giving rise

to a common political structure (*politeuma*) that combined Greek and barbarian laws, as mentioned by Strabo. It is certainly a process that had its roots in the previous century, with the progressive association of the hinterland with the Emporitan economy. The increase of Greek imports into native towns around the Emporitan plain (Ullastret, Mas Castellar de Pontós) during the second half of the 5th century BC, and the perhaps related creation of a specific Indiketian identity (could the white-decorated grey pottery be a marker of this?), may have been favoured by the role of indigenous people living around Emporion who acted as intermediaries and included people from other parts of the Iberian territories. The political integration of these people within the *polis* would be a recognition of the interdependence of Greeks and natives, and the economic boom is demonstrated by strong “investment” in public works (walls, shrines); the 4th-century cemeteries show, alongside the maintenance of various funerary traditions (burial for the Greeks, cremation for the natives) a remarkable similarity in grave goods. The sharing of the same funerary space suggests that they also shared the same urban space.

The situation of people living in the areas surrounding Emporion, Indiketai, was not, however, comparable to that of the natives who had been integrated into the *polis*, since they seem to have been somewhat dependent on Emporion. A possible exception was Ullastret, which in any case seems to mark the southern limit of direct Emporitan influence (Martín/Plana 2001, 39–52), and whose features and historical development show its unique character (Martín *et al.* 2010, 89–104). The major agricultural surpluses generated in the Indiketian area were marketed by Emporion in a similar way to that witnessed by Livy in the early 2nd century BC. But Emporion did not lose sight of the rest of the Iberian area. Undoubtedly there were many points touched by Emporitan trade during the 4th century BC, although the discovery in Emporion of amphorae made in Campello (in today’s province of Alicante) identifies at least one of those points; besides, Emporitan ships exchanged their products in ports in southern Italy for commodities from these areas (Sanmartí 1995, 31–47) and Attic pottery, which was experiencing strong demand in the city, in the native *hinterland*, and generally throughout the Iberian world during the first half of the 4th century BC. An example of this boom is shown by the native town of Ullastret, where, in all the houses dated to this period, several red-figure and black-glaze Attic vases were found (Picazo 1977, 131–133).

Throughout this period Emporion remained the centre of economic transactions involving indigenous people. Certainly Cato’s campaign of 195 BC was a time of change, since while the Greek city, where people of native origin still lived, backed the consul, the native territory opposed Rome, perhaps because of the discriminatory treatment that the Romans had previously given the various territories. The rapid end of the war provoked a new process of integration, in which perhaps some of the territory’s population, already displaced by the war, eventually settled near the Greek city. They were given political status by Rome, enabling them, among other things, to mint bronze currency with the legend “Untikesken.” There is no doubt that the Greek city and this new native entity maintained close contacts, and this is possibly the picture that Strabo described, though not uncontaminated by data from the oldest period of the city, as in Livy’s account.

The final period of the integration of the Greek and native populations, with the addition of Roman settlers, came with the creation of the *municipium*. Even at this stage monumental inscriptions began to appear, imitating the Latin characters, but in Iberian

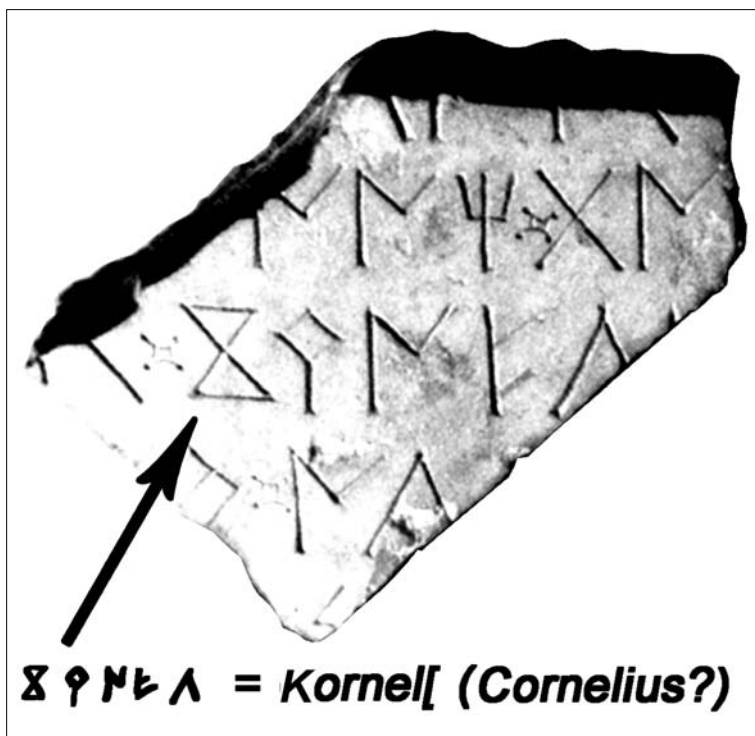


Figure 3. Monumental inscription in Iberian script from Emporion

script and using various noble materials, including marble, used for Roman inscriptions (Almagro 1952, 63–69); these inscriptions were certainly made in the same workshops as the Latin inscriptions (Mayer/Velaza 1993, 667–682; Aquilué/Velaza 2000, 277–289), and in one of them we can read the Latin *nomen* Cornelius transcribed into Iberian script (*Kornele*) and even the Roman *praenomen* Lucius or Marcus (*[Lu]ke* or *[Mar]ke*) (Fig. 3) (Almagro 1952, 63–64; Untermann 1990, 19–20 [C.1.1]; Mayer 2012, 127). In any case, this inscription and others similar to it (Untermann 1990, 21–23 [C.1.2 to C.1.4]) show the prestige attained by the Iberian language and script in the city of Emporion in late Republican and early Imperial times (Velaza 2009, 160–161).

Emporion had to negotiate its Greek and Phocaeian identity with natives from the start; its survival and even the urban flourishing it experienced in the 5th century and especially 4th century BC show that it succeeded. The principal mechanism consisted of integrating elements of the native environment at various times, possibly the elite but perhaps also people from other Iberian territories in the peninsula. In this process the main aspects of Greek life were preserved, perhaps because they were regarded as a prestigious element. This allowed the Greek character of Emporion to survive, probably in much the same way as Massalia, so highly praised by some ancient authors (Livy 37.54.21; Strabo 4.1.5). Similarly, we can still observe the Emporitan population's

strength and even its pride in its Greek identity in the ambitious building programme that took place from the first half of the 2nd century BC, and which involved rebuilding the walls, constructing new sanctuaries and refurbishing older ones, the construction of an agora with a monumental stoa and even constructing Hellenistic-style houses, some of them decorated with mosaics with Greek inscriptions (Ruiz de Arbulo 1998, 539–554; Kaiser 2000; Aquilué 2012b, 30–32; Santos 2012, 69). However, while this programme was being carried out in the “Greek side” of the city, to the west of it a contiguous Roman city was developing. A few years later, the political integration of these two political bodies into a *municipium* presumably marked the end of the autonomy of the Emporitans’ former *polis* and, consequently, the end of the process we have been analysing.

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