



HAL
open science

Regional Markets and Distribution Patterns of Laconian Pottery in Crete and Beyond: The Aeginetan Hypothesis (6th–5th Centuries B.C.)

Adrien Delahaye

► **To cite this version:**

Adrien Delahaye. Regional Markets and Distribution Patterns of Laconian Pottery in Crete and Beyond: The Aeginetan Hypothesis (6th–5th Centuries B.C.). Marco Serino; Eleni Hasaki; Diego Elia. *Technology, Crafting and Artisanal Networks in the Greek and Roman World*, De Gruyter, pp.327-346, 2024, 9783111189635. <10.1515/9783111189635-027>. <hal-04797979>

HAL Id: hal-04797979

<https://hal.science/hal-04797979v1>

Submitted on 23 Jan 2025

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire HAL, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



HAL Authorization

Adrien Delahaye

27 Regional Markets and Distribution Patterns of Laconian Pottery in Crete and Beyond: The Aeginetan Hypothesis (6th–5th Centuries B.C.)

Abstract: While Crete has been strangely absent from distribution maps of Laconian pottery in the Mediterranean, the renewal of archaeological evidence on the island appears to show that it played a pivotal role in the organization of Laconian exchanges as part of a larger regional market that extended from the Peloponnese to Cyrenaica but was also connected to Egypt and the West via Kythera. The aim of this chapter will be to propose an overview of the underlying distribution networks, their actors, and their successive reorganizations. Beyond the use of the concepts of networks and connectivity, the chapter emphasizes the value of the regional market scale, the still-useful Braudelian long-term perspective, and the need for a careful consideration of physical parameters and human *savoir-faire* in mercantile interactions. In the end, the goals will be, first, to put Crete on the distribution map of Laconian pottery and, second, to propose a new vision of a Spartan Mediterranean, connecting regional markets at different geographical scales and drawn extensively from archaeological data.

Introduction

The so-called austerity turn in Sparta during the Archaic period and the Cretan Dark Ages gap of the 6th century B.C. may theoretically prevent any research about the diffusion of Laconian pottery in Crete.¹ Crete was indeed a blank spot on the diffusion maps of Laconian vases in the Mediterranean until recently. The recent progress in the available archaeological data, though, has shed new light on the island and its role in the circulations of wares that formed a much larger regional market extending from the Peloponnese to Cyrenaica, Egypt, and the West via Kythera, the southern Cyclades, and the Dodecanese.²

Beyond ceramology *stricto sensu*, imported pottery can be used as a primary source to reintegrate Laconian and Cretan territories into the Aegean exchange system. Even if pottery can potentially be considered a residual commodity, and even if Laconian productions are of secondary importance compared with the volumes of Corinthian, Attic, and even Ionian wares circulating in the Mediterranean at the time, these objects are nevertheless what remains of exchanges and can therefore be used as a proxy in approaching wider phenomena.³

In order to be used as proxies, these artifacts need to be interpreted beyond their place of discovery, within the framework of theoretical concepts such as trade, market, connectivity, or networks.⁴ Although useful, we know that these tools must be used with caution in the study of the past, especially in archaeology. Apart from the problem of representativeness inherent to archaeological artifacts, another difficulty is to establish the exact nature and extent of widescale-structured institutions, or the information that the actors had at their disposal to make rational decisions. These limits shall therefore prevent us from elaborating overly generalizing models; otherwise, we risk attributing mercantilist behaviors to ancient actors.⁵ The use of these concepts has fortunately become much more refined in recent years, acknowledging

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to the organizers in Turin (Diego Elia, Eleni Hasaki, and Marco Serino), the École française d'Athènes, which funded this research, Isabella Bossolino and the Scuola archeologica italiana di Atene, the Connected Past network, the Museum and Ephorate of Heraklion who offered me the opportunity to improve my work, the Ephorate of Western Attica, Piraeus and the Islands which granted me the permission to study material in Aegina, and to Gudrun Klebinder-Gauß, who provided useful comments as well as the Fig. 5. Heartfelt thanks also to Athena Tsingarida, Didier Viviers, Conor Trainor, Antonis Kotsonas, Carl Knappett, Thomas Brogan, Tom Brughmans, Leonidas Souchleris, Katerina Tzanakaki, Pascal Arnaud, Franck Wojan, Donald Haggis, Margaret Mook, Gerald Schaus, Maria Pipili, Yannis Nakas, Catherine Bouras, Roberto Melfi and Despoina Nika for their help, their time and their helpful remarks.

² Erickson (2005), (2010) for a synthesis about this renewal.

³ Cook (1959) 114–123 questioned the value of using pottery as an indicator trade. Vallet/Villard (1961) 295–318 have developed the link between pottery and trade. *Contra* Osborne (2007); Chankowski (2013) about the value of pottery and its importance in trade.

⁴ For a reflexive synthesis of the uses of these concepts in archaeology: Gras (2012); Moatti (2012); Zurbach (2012); Collar *et al.* (2014), (2015); Leidwanger/Knappett (2018); Foxhall (2021).

⁵ Gras (2012) 13.

the diversity of economic behaviors and the variety of the scales of analysis. In other words, complexity and variability can now be integrated against or within more flexible generalizing models. They can especially be of great use to study smaller pottery production, which also has its place within the web of the Archaic and Classical Mediterranean exchanges.

This chapter uses the regional market scale to understand the modalities of distribution of a secondary production, Laconian vases, in a specific and generally overlooked area: Crete. Since it allows for the possibility of multiple scales and actors, which can be potentially entangled and embedded the concept of a regional market allows us to think at the regional scale.⁶ It is an easy concept to work with, one both limiting the risks of overinterpretation and allowing the results of other studies to be added later. By investigating the connection between Laconia and Crete, the aim here is to expand the results at a larger scale in order to integrate the circulations of these objects within the exchange system of the Aegean and identify the patterns and interconnections between regional markets and wider maritime exchange systems.

The tools of network analysis are used here only at a theoretical level and in an exploratory fashion in order to highlight some specific aspects of the distribution of Laconian pottery, but not in depth.⁷ The homogeneity of the dataset is undermined by too many uncertainties about quantities, contexts, and dating. Such gaps in documentation are inherent to the field of archaeology,⁸ but they are particularly important in the case of Laconian pottery, as its wide geographical distribution amplifies the risks of discrepancies, and these cannot be smoothed out sufficiently due to the relatively low quantities involved.⁹ Any modeling using the tools of Network Science Techniques¹⁰ faces the risk of producing suspect discrepancies. Another limitation lies in the difficulty of modeling the actors and their roles. In this respect, Latour's Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is useful in that it considers the interactions between objects, actors (individuals as well as collective organizations), and discourses, the *chaîne opératoire* from the producer to the end user, and also studies their effects on the stability of a network.¹¹ But its precise application in the field of archaeology has to be refined, and it remains difficult to “incorporate complexity, messiness and fluidity of relationships and social networks in ancient societies” into models.¹²

Any network analysis of artifacts' diffusion is, then, doomed to be partial. To overcome these limitations, it is necessary to choose an entry point—Laconian pottery in our case—to conduct a network analysis and study of its modalities of distribution in a specific regional market (that is, Crete) and the economic agents involved.¹³ Laconian pottery is particularly suitable for such an analysis. Reticular logics and their history may help to explain its fragmented distribution, which is quite different from that of Corinthian and Attic products, but somehow close to that of Ionian vases. The approach adopted here is pragmatic, relying first and foremost on cross-referencing material and written data. This approach makes it possible to draw up a preliminary inventory and reduce uncertainties, a necessary step before any modeling and visualization, and then provides the necessary historical context in order to determine the role of the traders.¹⁴ In the end, the challenge will be to propose an image of a Spartan Mediterranean other than I. Malkin's, one based not on colonial but on exchange networks.¹⁵

⁶ See Tsingarida/Viviers (2013).

⁷ A network is not a reality *per se*, but a tool for structuring and understanding flows. Zurbach (2012) 266.

⁸ The problems of incomplete quantitative datasets and their incorporation in SNA for archaeology have been highlighted by Knappett/Evans/Rivers (2008) 1012; Knappett (2011); Brughmans (2013). It appears possible to smooth out discrepancies by using big and homogenous datasets, which is not the case for the Laconian pottery, at least in Crete. Also Rivers (2018).

⁹ This statement is even truer in Crete, where Erickson (2005) 633, no. 99 notes that “the spotty excavation record for post-Minoan Crete, inadequate publication of excavated material, and the difficulty of comparing finds from different contexts limit the usefulness of scientific forms of analysis”.

¹⁰ Social Network Analysis (SNA) or Agent Based Computational Models (ABCM). For a reflective summary on the use of these methods, see Foxhall (2021).

¹¹ Latour (2005).

¹² Foxhall (2021) 9, 13–14.

¹³ Zurbach (2012) 266. In an Archaic world – even considered as a “small world” – it is necessary to rely on case studies of regional markets before being able to propose complex models. On the “small Greek world”, see Malkin (2011).

¹⁴ The Socio-Technical Configuration Analysis (STCA) could be an interesting path to explore in the future developments of this research in order to propose a network analysis both of the artifacts and the actors, through a two-mode network. At this stage, the formatting of the data was not sufficient to propose a network visualization of the data. See Miörner *et al.* (2022).

¹⁵ Malkin (1994) esp. 8–13, highlighted the existence of Spartan colonial networks on a Mediterranean scale, in contrast to the image of a landlocked and isolated Sparta. His demonstration was based above all on the dialectic between territorial challenges and the uses of myth, leaving aside archaeological *realia*. The next edition of the book shall integrate more of the latter (pers. comm. I. Malkin, whom I thank here).

From the Spartan Mediterranean to Laconia within the Mediterranean

The Spartan mirage of an austere, isolated Sparta may fit poorly within a paradigm of the Aegean Sea as a space of exchanges and circulations par excellence.¹⁶ This incompatibility is, however, more historiographic than historical and lacks archaeological support. Irad Malkin has highlighted the existence of a Spartan Mediterranean, taking Spartan studies out of the Peloponnese: a paradox, though, in that it perpetuates the singularity of Sparta. The Mediterranean Sea has been made Spartan, but Sparta and its territory remained little integrated into the Mediterranean networks of exchange. The reason lies in the main use of mythical foundation sources, which limit the approach to the colonies, real or supposed, of Sparta. However, relying first on the archaeological data, a cartography of a completely different scale emerges. Sparta, far from having been isolated, appears on the contrary to have been integrated into several systems of exchange at different scales.

Our knowledge of the diffusion of Laconian pottery in the Mediterranean is based primarily on the work of C. M. Stibbe, P. Pelagatti, M. Nafissi, and F. Coudin.¹⁷ Besides the new discoveries to be added to the diffusion maps, which will gradually become obsolete, these studies are largely based on funerary contexts from Etruria and Magna Graecia; the data from the Aegean were generally underestimated and therefore overlooked. In this respect, the conclusions about the distribution of Laconian vases can nowadays be enriched and nuanced, especially thanks to new discoveries in the Aegean.

The choice of Laconian pottery as the main documentary category (as a proxy) to approach the wider exchange networks is motivated by the volume of the archaeological evidence, its wide geographical distribution, its broad chronological spectrum (from the beginning of the 6th to the middle of the 5th century B.C.), and the variety of contexts, all of which make it the only material that can be used to quantify, compare, and identify developments in Laconian trade. Three categories of exported Laconian pottery can be analyzed: black-figured vases, black-glazed vases, and transport amphorae. The black-figured vases were the most exported and therefore are the most studied. As these products are absent from Crete, they will not be considered within the scope of this chapter. The Laconian black-glazed vases, exported from the beginning of the 6th to the end of the 5th century B.C., are the Laconian vases exported over the longest chronological period, and have a typology that is now well identified. Nevertheless, the majority of the Aegean material has not been the subject of any synthetic analysis. It should be noted that the study of figured and glazed vases and their distribution must be carried out together. Indeed, the method established by J. D. Beazley continues to determine our approach to figured vases, isolating artificially their study from the rest of their production. However, progress in the morphotypological approach has demonstrated the close relationship between glazed and figured vases; in fact, if pottery were compared to a wave, the figured vases would be no more than the foam at its crest.¹⁸ Finally, the Laconian transport amphorae have a special position. Poorly published, they can be studied as containers, their content making it possible to trace the circulation of perishable goods such as oil or wine and broaden our understanding of the Laconian pottery market by integrating it into wider exchange flows.¹⁹

So far, the quantification of this study includes 2955 Laconian vases (MNI) spread over 80 sites throughout the Aegean and the Black Sea (Tab. 1). This number can be compared to the 750 artifacts (MNI) counted in the same area by F. Coudin at 22 sites.²⁰

¹⁶ For a recent synthesis based on archaeological data: Delahaye (2019).

¹⁷ Nafissi (1989); Stibbe (1989); Pelagatti (1992); Stibbe (1994), (2000); Coudin (2009).

¹⁸ The expression refers to “L’écume de l’histoire”, invented by Duby (1973) 8, according to whom “events are like the froth of history, bubbles, large or small, which burst on the surface, and whose bursting creates ripples which spread further and further. This one has left very lasting traces [...] These traces give it existence. Apart from them, the event is nothing”. Figured vases are to material culture what the event is to history: what truly matters is the wave below it. In the case of Laconian pottery overseas: the black-glazed wares, the transport amphorae and the socio-economic and cultural phenomena which can explain their distribution. See also Lynch in this volume.

¹⁹ Pelagatti (1992) 10; Johnston (1992), (1993), (2005); Johnston *et al.* (2000).

²⁰ MNI = Minimum Number of Individuals. Calculations based on Coudin (2009) Graph. 2.

Tab. 1: Comparative counts of Laconian pottery in the Aegean, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. © Adrien Delahaye. Based on Coudin (2009) Graph. 2 and the author's research.

Site	K	KI	TrA	TabA	CS	CSI	OS	C	CI	S	SI	A	P	U	Laco.	Copies	TOTAL
Aptera	1														1	0	1
Azoria	2													x	2	0	2
Eleutherna	21	1									1				21	2	23
Itanos		1	2	1	1		2								6	1	7
Kastello Varypetrou	1	1													1	1	2
Knossos	3	2			1	1			1		1			x	4	5	9
Kommos	2		21	1											24	0	24
Kydonia	4	1						1	1			1			6	2	8
Lappa	1														1	0	1
Lyktos	3														3	0	3
Priniatikos Pyrgos	4	4													4	4	8
Tarra														1	1	0	1
TOTAL	42	10	23	2	2	1	2	1	2	0	2	1	1	0	74	15	89

K = Krater

KI = Krater imitation

TrA = Transport amphora

TabA = Table amphora

CS = Closed shape

CSI = Closed shape imitation

OS = Open shape

C = Cup

CI = Cup imitation

S = Skyphos

SI = Skyphos imitation

A = Aryball

P = Pyxid

U = Unquantified material

No Laconian Pottery in Crete?

The historiography and pottery of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. in Crete bear many features similar to Laconia's. This period has indeed sometimes been referred to as the Cretan Dark Ages because of the scarcity of documentation, both written and material. The relative archaeological invisibility of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. has been linked to the lack of documentation in Laconia from the second half of the 6th century B.C. onward and has been used as an argument to justify a shared Dorian austerity. However, the recent discoveries of Archaic and Classical Cretan pottery, as well as of imports in Crete, has challenged this picture.

Crete is absent from the 3383 Laconian vases collected in Coudin's corpus.²¹ C. M. Stibbe, in his three-volume catalog of Laconian black-glazed pottery, listed 21 artifacts found in two locations, Eleutherna and Knossos, completed by the material from Kommos published by A. Johnston.²² It is always tempting to discuss gaps in order to reconstruct trade routes. But these numerous gaps reflect, above all, the sites that have been excavated and published, and therefore the general state of knowledge at any given time.²³ This scarcity was quite suspicious from a maritime and logistical point of view. Indeed, if the diffusion

²¹ Coudin (2009).

²² Stibbe (1989) B28, K20; Johnston (1992), (1993) no. 53, 81–99; Johnston *et al.* (2000) 244; Johnston (2005) no. 198–199.

²³ Gras (2012) 17–19.

of Laconian pottery in the past could be considered part of an east-west route between Ionia and the western Mediterranean, with no strong links to the Aegean area, this assumption is no longer valid. The picture has become much more complex, thanks to the discoveries of Laconian pottery in the northern Aegean, the Black Sea, and Cyrenaica and Egypt, which have established the existence of a north-south axis (Fig. 5). In the context of coastal sailing, it then becomes difficult to explain the presence of these artifacts in Cyrenaica without any connection to the Aegean, and therefore presumably via Crete.

After a preliminary investigation, at least 74 Laconian vases and 15 probable local imitations (MNI, so 89 in total; Fig. 1) were found in Crete, at Aptera, Azoria, Eleutherna, Itanos, Kastello Varypetrou, Knossos, Kommos, Kydonia, Lappa, Lyktos, Priniatikos Pyrgos and Tarra (Figs. 1–2). B. Ericksson has already listed the Laconian kraters found in Crete, the most well attested shape on the island, totaling 33 artifacts.²⁴ With 21 examples, Eleutherna “offers the most evidence on the island for 6th-century B.C. Lakonian imports.”²⁵ For transport amphorae, A. Johnston published 21 items from Kommos. To these counts can be added other published and unpublished vases.²⁶

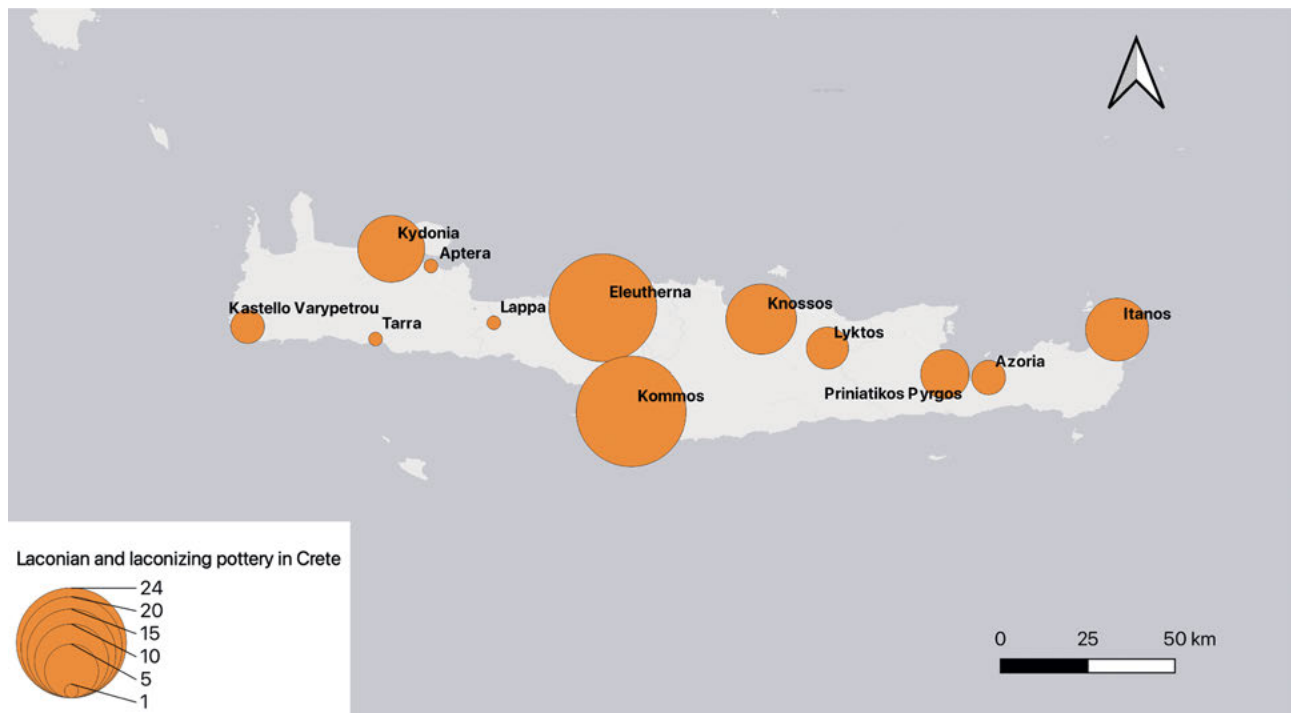


Fig. 1: Counts of Laconian pottery in Crete. © Adrien Delahaye.

²⁴ Erickson (2010) 56–62, fig. 3.4–5, 119, 124, 251, tab. 10.1, 285–287, nos. 78–79, with the relevant references; the inventory is updated until 2005.

²⁵ Erickson (2010) 56–57, figs. 3.4–5.

²⁶ Kydonia: Hallager *et al.* (1997) 213, no. 77–P 1849, pls. 62, 96: d.5.; 209 no. 71–P 1375, no. 77–P 1860, pls. 63, 68: d.11; 211, no. 82–P 0091/0112, pls. 63, 83: d.1; Kanta/Tzedakis (1978) 38, no. 68, fig. 41, pl. 13, published as Geometric, this krater is Archaic, as observed by Erickson (2010) 286, no. 78, also no. 47, fig. 44, pl. 16 (cup), and no. 23, fig. 107, which could be a handle from a Lakonian krater. Kastello Varypetrou and Lappa: Erickson (2010) 251, tab. 10.1, 287, no. 78. Knossos: Stibbe (1989) no. K20; Coldstream (1973) 43, no. 37; 51, no. 23, fig. 7, pl. 19; 53, no. 26, fig. 7; 54, no. 46; Coldstream (1992) 75, no. 7; Erickson (2010) 122, no. 239, fig. 4.2. One Laconian krater was found in the well GG in the Unexplored Mansion (pers. comm. Conor Trainor; recently published by Paizi (2023) 16, Supplement Cat. 22, fig. 29). The KULP (*Knossos Urban Landscape Project*) has gathered through survey several fragments of Lakonian kraters and local imitations, along with imports from mainland Greece, which remain unquantified and unpublished for now (pers. comm. Conor Trainor); see Trainor (2019); also Paizi (2023) 4–5, no. 7. Kommos: Johnston (1993) 340, no. 6; 351, no. 53; 358–359, nos. 81–98; Johnston (2005) 364, nos. 198–199, 374, no. 241; Johnston *et al.* (2000) 244, nos. 331–332; 245, no. 338; Shaw/Shaw (2000) 374, no. 341. Priniatikos Pyrgos: Erickson (2010) 191, no. 11. Azoria: Erickson (2010) 286, no. 79 (unpublished) and pers. comm. Donald Haggis and Margaret Mook. Itanos: pers. comm. Athena Tsingarida and Didier Viviers. Lyktos: Chaniotis *et al.* (2021a) 220; Chaniotis/Kotsonas (2021b) 44 and pers. comm. Antonis Kotsonas. Tarra: Tzanakaki (2013) 207–208, fig. 15, no. 2426. Aptera: Tzanakaki (2013) 212, no. 51 and pers. comm. Katerina Tzanakaki.

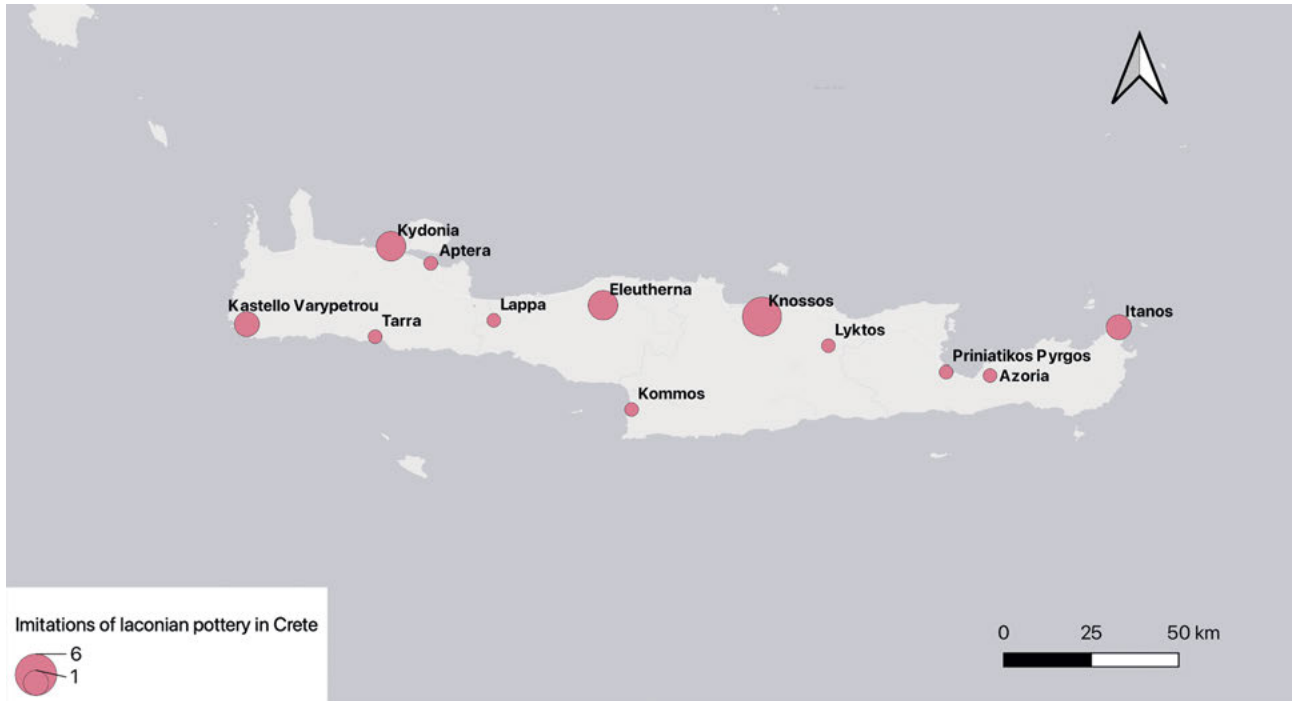


Fig. 2: Map of Cretan sites with Laconian or Laconizing pottery. © Adrien Delahaye.

This total may seem of little importance in quantitative terms, but in relation to the total corpus of Laconian vases, it represents 2.6% of Coudin's corpus, and 1.6% when updated with data from the Aegean (5588 MNI). This is not insignificant, especially for a region that was totally absent from the diffusion maps. Previously considered a blind spot, Crete should now be seen as a market—even a secondary one—and, beyond this, its possible centrality in the distribution system should be considered, especially with regard to North Africa. The Laconian vases found in Crete feature several elements characteristic of a distinct regional market. First, the figured vases are totally absent; second, black-glazed kraters are constantly overrepresented and occasionally imitated locally; third, Kommos appears as a privileged context for studying the distribution of transport amphorae.

The Laconian Kraters of Eleutherna

The largest assemblage of Laconian vases is found in Eleutherna (Figs. 1–3). Although the majority of the published finds are dated from the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., the necropolis of Orthi Petra also provided pottery from the 6th and early 5th centuries B.C., including a set of 21 Laconian kraters.²⁷ The funerary nature of the context of these kraters remains a matter of debate: admittedly discovered near funerary clusters, they actually come from superficial layers.²⁸ While almost all the Laconian material discovered in the Aegean comes from cultic contexts, the potential funerary deposition of those kraters raises the question of a local demand for this specific shape.

²⁷ Published by Erickson (2010) 56–62, fig. 3.4–5.

²⁸ Erickson (2005) 633, (2010) 45–50 considers that they could come from disturbed graves. Kotsonas (2002) 42–43, no. 71 suggests that they come from residual layers of the Pyrgi settlement or from traces of ritual activities linked to ancestor worship, possibly including ritual banquets.

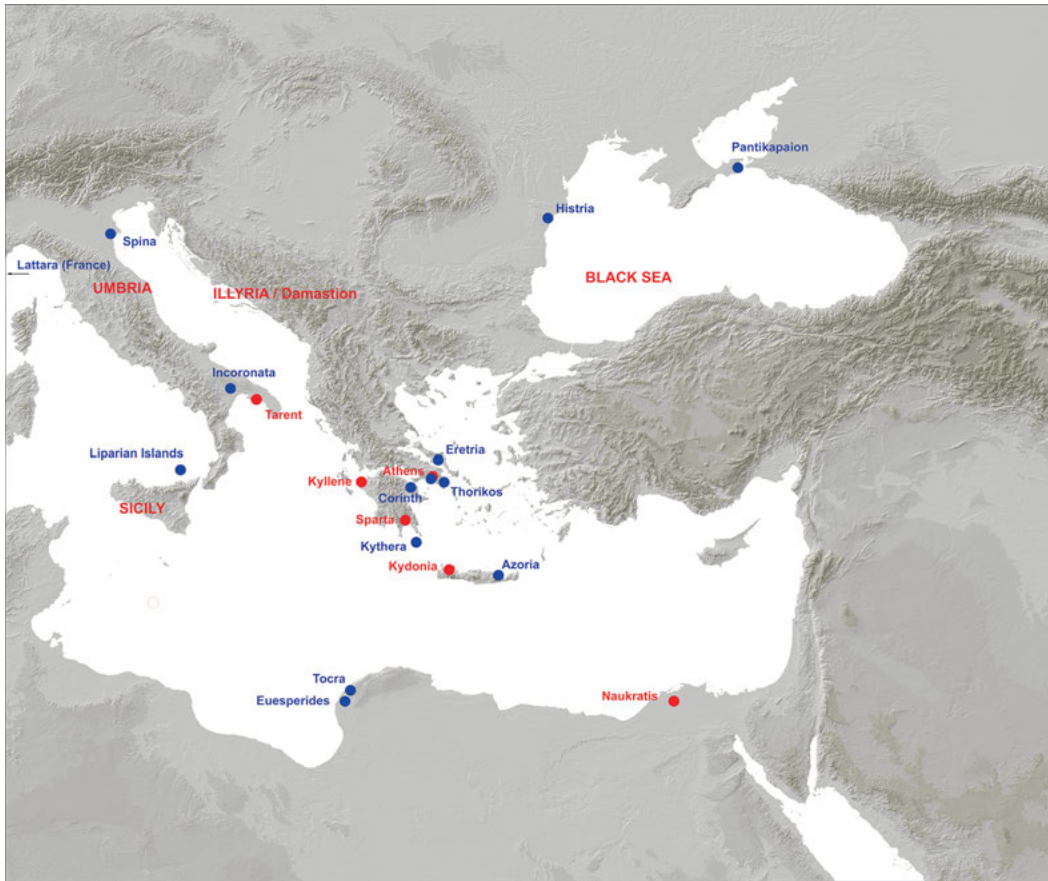


Fig. 3: Map of the diffusion of Aeginetan cooking pottery. The findspots of Aeginetan cooking ware are marked in blue, written sources mentioning Aeginetan presence beyond Aegina are marked by red dots. The classification is not always based on macroscopic or scientific analysis, but on references by other authors. © Anavasi, with additions by Gudrun Klebinder-Gauß.

The krater fragments can be categorized into groups E and F of the typology established by C. M. Stibbe.²⁹ Group F entirely consists of black-glazed vases. They were produced from the beginning of the 6th to the middle of the 5th century B.C. and are the most widespread Laconian kraters throughout the Mediterranean. While Stibbe's typology proves a concentration of their production during the 6th century, Eleutherna is of particular interest because many of the fragments come from contexts dated with a *terminus post quem* around 500-480 B.C.³⁰ Group E is smaller in number but is one of the oldest types and can be dated back to the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th centuries B.C.³¹ It is attested in Sparta, Samos, Miletus, Sicily, Etruria, Naukratis, Aegina, and Cyrenaica.

Beyond Crete, a comparative approach shows marked similarities between Laconian pottery in Crete and the assemblages of Aegina, Gravisca in Etruria, and Sicily. These sites reveal a strong demand for the shape of the krater (50% in Eleutherna), the existence of local imitations, and a long duration of exports and their resilience until the middle of the 5th century B.C., despite the marked decline of Laconian pottery exports elsewhere, except in a minority of outlets that could be described as “safe” markets, such as Crete, Cyrenaica, Sicily, Gravisca, and Aegina.³² These characteristics suggest the existence of a specific Cretan market for Laconian pottery.³³

²⁹ Stibbe (1989).

³⁰ Stibbe (1989) 37–43, cat. F; Erickson (2010) 57, no. 36.

³¹ Stibbe (1989) 33–37, cat. E.

³² Williams (1993) 595 already foresaw this pattern for pottery in Crete, thinking that “much of which may well belong to the second half of the century, perhaps got there as a result of the trade with Cyrene and Tocræ”.

³³ This paper does not include a detailed contextual analysis. Contextual data in Crete is often incomplete or remain unpublished in detail. Where such data is available, it reveals only secondary depositions, as at Knossos.

Laconian Pottery and Safe Markets

Among the 111 Laconian vases discovered in the Etruscan port of Gravisca, 57 are kraters; one is a local imitation, and eight are transport amphorae.³⁴ The site's chronological arc stretches from the early 6th to the early 5th century B.C.

In Sicily, P. Pelagatti counts 53 sites that yielded Laconian pottery, 49 of which provided a total of 546 black-glazed kraters, including 444 from groups E and F, 46 krateriskoi, and 41 local imitations, as well as 26 transport amphorae.³⁵ Nafissi noticed that after the middle of the 6th century B.C. the imports of Laconian pottery into Italy tended to concentrate in southern Italy and Sicily while decreasing in Etruria, and to shift away from black-figured kylikes in favor of black-glazed kraters.³⁶

In Cyrene, 222 pieces (MNI) are published from Demeter and Kore's sanctuary; Tocra provided 108 artifacts.³⁷ O. Mei recently provided a useful updated count for Cyrene (338 MNI) and the whole of Cyrenaica (466).³⁸ Laconian pottery from Cyrenaica shows a far greater morphological variety than does that of Crete and Sicily, with a large number of forms and figured wares that outside of Laconia are found only in Samos, Miletus, Olympia, and Taranto.³⁹ After cups, kraters are the most represented shape, with 94 examples, or 20% of the total, including only 5% in Tocra. The presence of the rarely exported lakainai may be seen as an indication of cultural proximity to Laconia, perhaps partly due to the colonial ties between Sparta and Cyrene.⁴⁰ The chronology stretches from the period of 650-620 B.C., with the 6th century B.C. seeing a strong development that peaked in the third and fourth quarters, before ultimately fading in the 5th century B.C., with the last imports around 475 B.C.⁴¹ But krater imports seem to have faded from the 3rd quarter of the 6th century onward in Cyrene.⁴²

These similar pottery assemblages provide a distribution pattern between the Peloponnese, Crete, and Cyrenaica, even though there are some specific features associated with the latter, such as a higher proportion of imports and the presence of Laconian black figured wares. In order to explain these, a link with Egypt has long been theorized, on the basis of the numerous Laconian and Corinthian fine wares found at Cyrene, Tocra, and Naucratis.⁴³ The *emporion* of Naucratis provides a slightly different picture, which probably reflects the wider variety of its suppliers.⁴⁴ 70 sherds from 55 artifacts (MNI) have been counted so far, representing less than 1% of the total painted Greek pottery from the site.⁴⁵ Kylikes are the largest group, with approximately 50 sherds belonging to 34 vases (MNI); kraters represent 16 artifacts, or 29% of the total. Most are black-figured, which raises the question of selection criteria during the excavations. Laconian pottery is attested from the early phases of the *emporion*, starting around 600 B.C., with a takeoff and peak between 575 and 550 B.C., characterized by a strong increase in black-figured kylikes, before a sharp decline during the third quarter of the century. A shrinking number of vessels continued to arrive until the early 5th century B.C.

Among kraters found in Naucratis, most are from Group E. The diachronic evolution of imports of Laconian vases combined the typological spectrum dominated by black-figures tends to differentiate Naucratis from Crete, Aegina, and Sicily, Cyrenaica representing an intermediate case, with both black-figured and black-glazed wares. Naucratis does not seem to have imported Laconian kraters during the first half of the 5th century. One krater, though, is dated to the last quarter of the 5th century, and the two black-glazed kraters have been dated over a broad period and could be assigned a late date.⁴⁶

³⁴ Boitani (1992); Williams (1993) 591, no. 20 for the list.

³⁵ Pelagatti (1992).

³⁶ Nafissi (1989) 71–72.

³⁷ Boardman/Hayes (1966) nos. 2109–2124, pl. 21; (1973) 81–95, nos. 932–1023, pls. 57–69; Schaus (1985) 24–28, nos. 84–124.

³⁸ Mei (2013) 86–93. To be completed with the new material to be published from Euesperides. See Zimi *et al.* (2019) 27, where Laconian wares (including black-glazed kraters) are said to represent 3% of the total quantification of fine wares, a work still in progress.

³⁹ Schaus (1985) 15.

⁴⁰ Coudin (2009) 98–99.

⁴¹ Erickson (2010) 290. The 7th century B.C. date of several Laconian vases and other categories of artifacts is proposed by Schaus (1985) 100 due to the presence of Laconian settlers at the time of the colonial foundation. In other terms, they may belong to a different distribution phenomenon.

⁴² Coudin (2009) 88.

⁴³ Roebuck (1950) 136–247; Johnston *et al.* (2000) 211; Erickson (2005) 628–629, no. 88.

⁴⁴ Bergeron (2017) 16.

⁴⁵ Bergeron (2017) 2.

⁴⁶ But Bergeron (2017) 4, fig. 1, no. 17 considers that the absence of other Laconian pottery dated to the first half of the 5th century B.C. “might suggest that the kraters should best be dated earlier to the second half of the 6th c. BC”.

Aegina is the last refuge market and may be the missing link between the rest. The Sanctuary of Aphaia yielded 77 vases, completed by 27 from Kolonna, for a grand total of 104 objects (MNI).⁴⁷ In this total, the krater predominates, with no fewer than 41 examples at Aphaia (44.5%) and 8 at Kolonna (29.6%). To this number many unquantified fragments may also be added.⁴⁸ The earliest pieces date back to the last third of the 7th century B.C., with the bulk belonging to the 6th century. One aspect of this group that makes it unusual is the concentration of kraters not in the first half of the 6th century B.C., but in the second, with some examples even belonging to the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. The taste for Laconian kraters is also evident in the total absence of Corinthian krater fragments, and the 17 black-figured Attic kraters that have been found at Aegina all date from the mid-6th century B.C. at the latest, indicating a switch to Laconian kraters.⁴⁹

The Aeginetans: The Common Denominator?

This typological and chronological proximity between the aforementioned sites—even though Cyrenaica and Naucratis present more specific features—may indicate an involvement of the Aeginetans in distribution.⁵⁰ One must be careful not to identify traders involved in exchanges prematurely from archaeological remains, as a dataset can be compatible with different kinds of social structures.⁵¹ But traders were an essential component of circulation and must be included in the discussion. If objects travel, it is thanks to the mobility of individuals (or groups of individuals) endowed with circulatory skills and a culture of mobility, which presuppose maritime, commercial, social, and legal knowledge.⁵²

One must therefore ask how the Laconian vases got into Crete. In Kydonia, four Laconian kraters and one local imitation have been discovered so far. This case is particularly interesting, since Herodotus tells us that in 519 B.C. the city was the theater of a confrontation between Aeginetans, allied to Cretans, against Samians installed at the site since 524 B.C.⁵³ As discussed below, this event can be interpreted in a new light when one considers the supposed role of the Samians in the distribution of Laconian products.

The high concentration of Laconian black-figured vases on Samos had led E. A. Lane, and then P. Cartledge and M. Pipili, to postulate a central role of Samian merchants in the distribution of Laconian pottery until the middle of the 6th century B.C. and a massive drop in exports of Laconian vases that occurred in the Mediterranean.⁵⁴ This hypothesis, though, has been partly undermined by the publication of the Laconian pottery found at the Artemision of Samos, which contradicts the account of an absolute break in the middle of the 6th century B.C., and even more by G. Schaus' publication of the abundant Laconian pottery found at Miletus, which makes the merchants from the two Ionian cities at least equal candidates as intermediates of the distribution of Laconian pottery.⁵⁵

Even though the theory of Samian involvement has been reconsidered, it cannot be totally dismissed, and allows us to connect some dots between Laconia, Crete, Samos, and Aegina. The Lacedaemonians answered the call of the Samian aristocratic factions against Polycrates in 525 B.C.⁵⁶ The expedition was a failure, and the rebels, forced into exile, “afterwards founded Kydonia in Crete.” After expeditions in Siphnos and Hydra, they settled in Kydonia around 524 B.C, where they “prospered for five years” before Aeginetans and Cretans overcame them in a sea battle.⁵⁷ Herodotus attributes the cause of the conflict between Aeginetans and Samians to a hypothetical quarrel dating back to the reign of King Amphicrates of Samos. Rather than revenge, it seems that the exiled Samians did not sail erratically, choosing clearly identifiable reloca-

47 Furtwängler *et al.* (1906) 455, no. 236a, pl. 128, 32; 458, no. 268; 466, nos. 367–373, pls. 121.59–63, 129.14; 458, no. 268a, pl. 122.40; Felten (1982); Williams (1993); Klebinder-Gauß (2012) nos. 29–33, 95–97, 326–327, 448–451.

48 Williams (1993) 572, no. 2: “in the garden of the old museum at Aigina port there were, at least until 1990, trays full of fragments of Laconian kraters. It is not clear whether these are Furtwängler’s finds from Aphaia, or the discoveries of others from elsewhere on the island”.

49 Williams (1993) 589.

50 Especially with the distribution of black-figured pottery.

51 Reed (2003) 63.

52 Clifford (1997); Tarrus (2001). For an introduction, Moatti (2012) 44.

53 Hdt. 3.44, 59.

54 Lane (1933) 179; Cartledge (1982); Pipili (2000).

55 Pipili (2001); Schaus (2020). Finally, although we cannot totally rule out the possibility of the involvement of Peloponnesian transporters – whatever their status – there are currently no sources confirming this hypothesis; see Delahaye (2019) 226–233.

56 Hdt. 3.44–57. Cartledge (1982) 247–248.

57 Hdt. 3.59.

tion sites: Hydra, at the tip of the Argolid and the crossing point between the Saronic and Argolic gulfs, and Kydonia, at the northwestern tip of Crete.

The discovery of three funerary stelae in Kydonia that each bears an epigram in the Aeginetan alphabet and date from the end of the 6th to the beginning of the 5th century, may confirm the Aeginetan installation.⁵⁸ The Kydonia episode reveals two things: first, the centrality of Kydonia as a strategic stopover to secure on trading routes; second, the existence of an economic rivalry in the area bounded by Aegina to the north, the east coast of the Peloponnese to the west, the Dodecanese to the east, and Crete to the south, in what can be called a Dorian Sea, with a branch extending towards northern Africa.⁵⁹

Moreover, like the Samian exiles in 525 B.C., some of the Aeginetans driven out of their island by the Athenians in 431 B.C. chose to take refuge in Kydonia.⁶⁰ This second settlement may underline the importance of Kydonia as a trading post for Aegina. Others were settled by their Spartan allies in Thyreatis, located on the borders of Laconia but also on the western shoreline of Peloponnese, even fighting alongside the Lacedaemonians against the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War.⁶¹

Commercial links between Aegina and Laconia have been theorized for a long time. D. Williams suggests that some of the numerous abbreviated names attested in the graffiti on Laconian vases discovered at the Sanctuary of Aphaia may be those of traders.⁶² Among them, he and A. Johnston identified a group of Aeginetan and Rhodian traders, accompanied by one potential Etruscan name, inscribed either in Laconia or in Aegina, which could connect the three points of a Laconia-Aegina-Etruria traffic.⁶³ Similarly, Johnston considers a graffito on a black-glazed Laconian amphora in the British Museum as the trademark of the well-attested Aeginetan trader Sostratos, and M. Torelli evokes potential family connections between the Sostratos active in Gravisca and another of the same name in Naucratis.⁶⁴ Lastly, besides Aphaia in Aegina, D. Williams noted that inscribed dedications on Laconian black-glazed kraters can be found at Amyklai, Kamiros, Aphytis, Tocra, Gela, and Gravisca.

In Naucratis, Aegina appears as one of the most active poleis in the management of the *emporion* and is the only one not located in eastern Greece.⁶⁵ While nine poleis from Asia Minor collectively founded the sanctuary of the Hellenion, Aegina, Miletus, and Samos built a sanctuary of their own.⁶⁶ Unsurprisingly, all the major protagonists of Aegean trade are to be found in Naucratis, including the three main candidates for a central role in the distribution of Laconian pottery: Samos, Miletus, and Aegina. The foundation of its own sanctuary by each of these three poleis on territory granted by a foreign power is not insignificant: commercial travel does not require the foundation of a sanctuary at every stopover.⁶⁷ The foundation reveals both the significant investment of these trade and civic communities in the *emporion* of Naucratis and the privileged state-to-state links between these poleis and Egypt.⁶⁸ It is of interest that the Aeginetan presence in Naucratis seems, once again, to be entangled in a thread of relations with Rhodes.⁶⁹ A Rhodian decree relating to Naucratis mentions a potential Aeginetan *proxenos* resident in Naucratis.⁷⁰ This interweaving of Aeginetan and Rhodian trading networks, together with the wide variety of pottery found on site, leads to a comparison between Naucratis and Gravisca, the Etruscan *emporion* founded at the same time, between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th centuries B.C.

58 Guarducci (1939) 120–123; Jeffery (1990) 112, 314.

59 Stefanakis (1999) 254–255; Williams (1993) 595; Erickson (2005) 634–635, no. 117. While the open sea can to some extent be considered a lawless zone, this is not the case for ports. Ports are control points that can close off a navigation zone to certain players. This is the model that seems to apply to Kydonia. See Arnaud (2011) 64–65.

60 Thuc. 2.27.2.

61 Thuc. 4.56; 57.1–4.

62 Williams (1993) 593

63 Williams (1993) 576, fig. 17, B11, 591.

64 Johnston (2013) 110, no. 30; Torelli (1982) 318; *contra* Möller (2000) 56–57.

65 On *emporion*, see most recently Demetriou (2012), especially 64–152 on Gravisca and Naucratis.

66 Hdt. 2.178–182.3.

67 Bresson (2000) 48, no. 138.

68 Another reason, which does not exclude the first, could be their exclusion at the founding of Hellenion and the granting of compensatory privileges by Amasis. Bresson (2000) 18–24, 41, 49.

69 Whose central role in the management of the Hellenion has been demonstrated by Bresson (2000) 14–63.

70 *IG XII.1*. Austin (1970) 26, 29, 31, no. 3; Figueira (1988) 543–551. *Contra* Bresson (2000) 31–34, 67, no. 16 (with bibliography) who considers that the restitution Ατ[ι]ν[ά]τ[α]ν is incorrect and should read Ατ[ι]ν[ύ]πι[ο]ς.

B. Erickson corroborates this hypothesis of a “direct commercial link between the Peloponnese and Crete” partly controlled by Aeginetans, by means of the presence in Crete of some Argive vases, a product very rarely exported.⁷¹ He also convincingly interprets as an Aeginetan trading feature the influx of Attic pottery from the mid-6th century B.C. onward in sites where Laconian wares were also discovered; this assertion seems to be confirmed by the disappearance of Attic wares from the island during the second half of the 5th century B.C., when Athens definitively ended the maritime power of Aegina.⁷²

The diffusion of Laconian pottery, the graffiti found on it, comparison with the diffusion of other pottery, and the literary and epigraphic evidence all seem to draw pattern indicating the centrality of Aegina to the distribution of Laconian pottery between the mid-6th and the mid-5th centuries B.C. This makes sense, given Aegina’s intense commercial activity, its role as a central clearing point, its capacity to operate both at a regional and at a long-distance scale, and its privileged links with the Peloponnese.⁷³

Aeginetan Proxies

The wide diffusion of Aeginetan cooking pottery during the Archaic and Classical periods also seems to draw a pattern corresponding partly to this general picture (Fig. 4), with a presence archaeologically attested in Cyrenaica, Crete, Kythera, Attica, Corinth, Eretria, the Black Sea, the Liparian islands, and Incononata in southern Italy.⁷⁴ This high-quality cooking ware was produced in Aegina but appears to have been exported, probably along with other goods, making it an important indicator of the Aeginetan exchange system.⁷⁵

The circulation of Aeginetan pottery to seek Aeginetan networks can also be crossed with the circulation and use of the Aeginetan coins. The ancient sources refer to the famous coin depicting a turtle as the Peloponnesian coin.⁷⁶ In addition to hoards, both coins from excavations and local mints using the Aeginetan standard in the Peloponnese and Crete provide a fuller picture of the Aeginetan sphere of influence. The Aeginetan monetary and weight systems were widely used during the Archaic and Classical eras in the whole of the Peloponnese (except Corinth), Crete, Central Greece, a large part of the Cyclades, and a few cities in Asia Minor.⁷⁷

Immediately south of Kommos, a treasure of 70 Aeginetan staters was discovered in Matala.⁷⁸ Buried around the end of the 6th century B.C., its earliest coin is dated around 530 B.C. More than evidence of the payment of Cretan mercenaries, M. Stefanakis and B. Ericksson suggest that it may indicate the Aeginetans’ commercial activities in Crete.⁷⁹ Combined with the Laconian amphorae found in Kommos, it could emphasize that the area may have acted as a trading station linked to Cyrenaica. Local minting of pseudo-Aeginetan staters is attested in central and western Crete, notably in Kydonia after the victory against the Samians.⁸⁰ At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, while the Aeginetan standard remained in use, the monetary types were influenced by Peloponnesian coins, which were widely circulated throughout Crete. Finally, M. Stefanakis has shown that Cyrenaic coinage circulated in Crete in large quantities during the 4th and the early 3rd centuries B.C.⁸¹ Like pottery, coins seem to tell the same story of enduring exchanges between Crete, the Peloponnese, and Cyrenaica from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, at least, with the involvement of Aeginetan traders. The centrality of the latter is revealed by a basic network analysis (Tab. 2) whose purpose was to compare the available data presented above in order to visualize the continued presence of Aeginetans in the distri-

71 Erickson (2005) 631–632, no. 98 (Argive imports).

72 Erickson (2005) 635, no. 121–122, 137 (Attic imports), (2010) 63, 64, 274, 292, no. 115. Such a pattern (of an increase of Attic imports) is also proposed by Johnston (1979) 53.

73 Jennings (1988) 140–145, 151–155; Klebinder-Gauß (2015) 76.

74 Gauß/Kiriati (2011); Klebinder-Gauß (2012) 197–198; Gauß *et al.* (2015) 65–74. See also Klebinder-Gauß in this volume.

75 Klebinder-Gauß (2012) 74.

76 Poll. *Onom.* 9, 74; Hsch. s.v. “χελώνη”.

77 Doyen/Apostolou (2018).

78 *IGCH* 1. 70 Aeginetic staters and 1 obol and 1 stater from Thera. Stefanakis (1999) 250–251.

79 Stefanakis (1999) 251; Erickson (2010) 278, no. 27.

80 Stefanakis (2019) 250–251.

81 Stefanakis (2013).

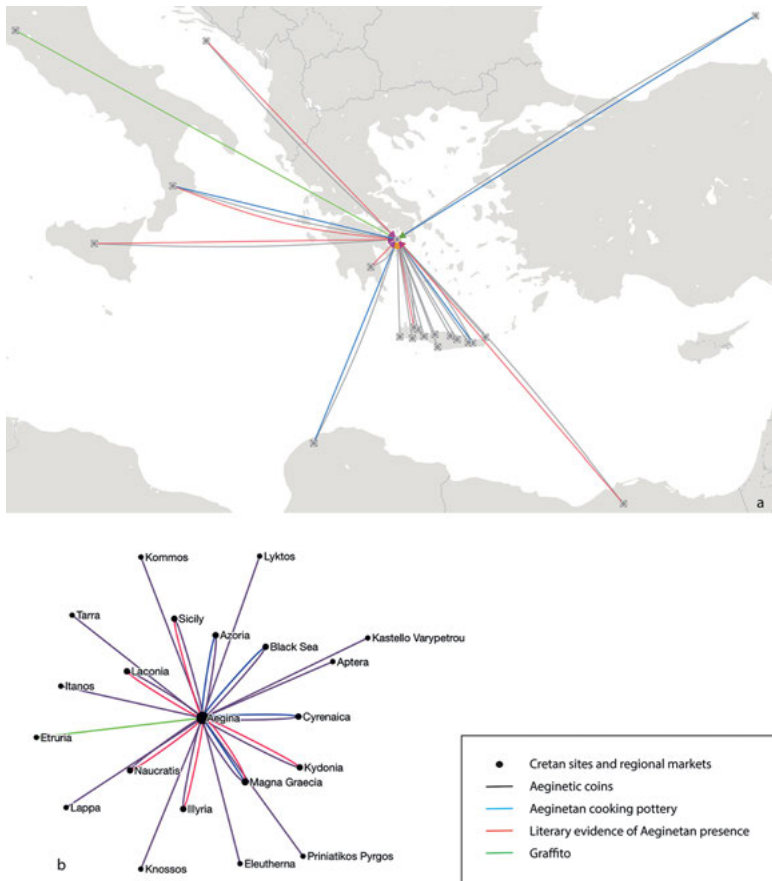


Fig. 4: Preliminary visualizations of Aeginetan trading activities within the network distribution of Laconian pottery. **(a)** Map visualization, **(b)** Node-link visualization. Realized with *The Vistorian* (<https://vistorian.net> [last access 02.07.2024]). © Adrien Delahaye.

bution system for Laconian pottery beginning in the second half of the 6th century B.C. It represents Aeginetan trading activities within the network distribution of Laconian pottery. The main regional markets for Laconian pottery where Aeginetan presence is attested constitute the nodes. Among regional markets, Cretan sites are represented individually by nodes, for the purpose of this article. The edges represent the indications of attested Aeginetan trading activities (coinage, cooking pottery, literary sources, graffiti) within this network of nodes. It contains 21 nodes and 30 links, all of them connected to Aegina which is the targeted source.⁸²

Kythera as a Stepping Stone

The existence of a north-south maritime axis and its ramifications are attested on several occasions in ancient sources. When describing the Athenian maritime expeditions to the Laconian coast during the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides mentions the island of Kythera and its links with North Africa and Crete.⁸³ Kythera appears as a stepping stone (Fig. 5) between Laconia, Egypt, and Libya, also looking towards Crete and Sicily.⁸⁴ The term *ὀγκάδες* means “merchant ships shipping grain”, indicating perhaps the circulation of perishable goods, aboard which pottery could have been included

⁸² This network analysis was realized with <https://vistorian.net> and analyzed with <https://networknarratives.github.io> (both last access 02.07.2024).

⁸³ Thuc. 6.44. See also Erickson (2005) 630.

⁸⁴ Broodbank (1999) 191.

Tab. 2: North-South and East-West maritime routes between Peloponnese, Crete, Cyrenaica and Asia. After Arnaud (2005) 183–188, 217.

N° Arnaud	Route	Distance	Source
<i>North-South maritime routes between Peloponnese, Crete and Cyrenaica</i>			
54	Peloponnesian capes – Berenice (Euesperides)	/	Str. 17.3.20
55	Cape Taenaros (Matapan) – Cape Phycus (Ras-Hamama)	2800 stadia	Str. 17.3.20; Plin. <i>HN</i> 5.32
56	Crete – Cape Phycus (Ras-Hamama)	1000 stadia (1 day and 1 night)	Plin. <i>HN</i> 4.60; 5.32
57	Apollonia – Kriou Metopon Cape	2000 stadia (2 days and 2 nights against the wind)	Eratosth.; Str. 10.4.5, 17.3.21
58	Cape Chersonesus (Ras-et-Tyn) in Cyrenaica – Kyklos island (Gavdos)	1500 stadia (with a south wind)	Str. 17.3.22
59	Petra Megale – Cape Chersonesus in Crete	3000 stadia	Str. 17.3.22
60	Cape Kimaros (Vouchas) – Cape Taenaros	700 stadia (1 day)	Str. 10.4.5; Ps. Skyl. 47
61	Cape Cadistos (Cape Zephyrium / Chersonisos) – Cape Malea	650 stadia	Plin. <i>HN</i> 4.60
<i>East-West maritime routes between Peloponnese, Crete and Asia</i>			
102a	Cape Malea – Rhodes via Crete	1000 stadia (1 day and 1 night)	Ps. Skyl. 113

as a secondary cargo.⁸⁵ The Egyptian War of 459–454 B.C. can be seen as an attempt to gain control of this regional market of the Aeginetans; the Athenian expedition assisted by the Milesians in 424 B.C. against Kythera may also have been partly motivated by commercial considerations.⁸⁶

Even though Laconian pottery from Kythera remains largely unpublished, the excavations carried out by J. N. Coldstream and G. L. Huxley at Kastri have nevertheless yielded 30 Laconian fragments (MNI) dated from the late-5th century B.C., found in a rubbish dump.⁸⁷ While this assemblage is later than the Cretan contexts and consists mainly of domestic wares, it nevertheless includes imported fine wares from Laconia (including one krater), Attica, and Corinth (mainly drinking vessels), as well as transport amphorae from eastern Greece. The material was reviewed by Johnston, who mentions 46 new Laconian fine-ware artifacts (MNI, 1 krater) and extends the chronological range of the deposits from the early 5th century B.C. (including the krater) to the 4th century B.C.⁸⁸ Cretan imports are also attested, which can be compared to the few Cretan and Theran artifacts found in Cyrene and Tocra.⁸⁹ The scarcity of earlier sherds, going back to the 7th or 8th century B.C., as well as the unpublished data from the survey “reinforce the view that presence on the site was sporadic and thin, or both.”⁹⁰

The largely unpublished material from Paliokastro includes a fragment of a Geometric Laconian skyphos, several burial offerings, among them a subgeometric lakaina, and a Laconian aryballos along with some Corinthian wares.⁹¹ Neither the typology nor the chronology of these objects offers any point of comparison with the Cretan case. This scarce evidence seems to indicate that Kythera was at best a stopover, but certainly not an outlet, for Laconian pottery during the 6th century B.C.

⁸⁵ Roebuck (1950) 136–247 linked these circulations to the grain trade from Egypt. Also, Johnston *et al.* (2000) 211. Reed (2003) 69 questions the mechanical association often assumed in scholarship between pottery and grain circulations. *Contra* Erickson (2005) 628–629, no. 88 reminds us that “grain is the most likely candidate” as main cargo, by a process of elimination, and because of the written evidence (Hdt. 4.198–199; 2.154).

⁸⁶ Egypt: Thuc. 1.104.2; 109.1–4; 110.1–4; Diod. 11.74.4–75.3; 77.1–2. Kythera: Thuc. 4.53.3–4; cf. Erickson (2010) 296.

⁸⁷ Coldstream/Huxley (1972) 161–163, pl. 45, nos. 29–54 (Deposit σ); 202–203, pl. 58, nos. 318–321 (unstratified). The domestic common wares, not concerned by overseas exports, are not included here.

⁸⁸ Johnston *et al.* (2014) 5–19 identifies one Cretan import, from another deposit (ω). Potentially Coldstream/Huxley (1972) 267–268, 270, nos. Q5, Q9, R2, pls. 86–88, according to Erickson (2010) 102, no. 76.

⁸⁹ Boardman/Hayes (1966) 4–5, 10–14, 79–85, (1973) 39–41. The earliest objects date back to the 7th century B.C.

⁹⁰ Johnston *et al.* (2014) 18–19. Coudin (2009) 240, map 1 mentions 17 Laconian vases dated of the end of the 7th century B.C., without further details.

⁹¹ Petrocheilos (2016) 267, fig. 26; Fragou/Kroustalis (2016) 120, fig. 13b-c.

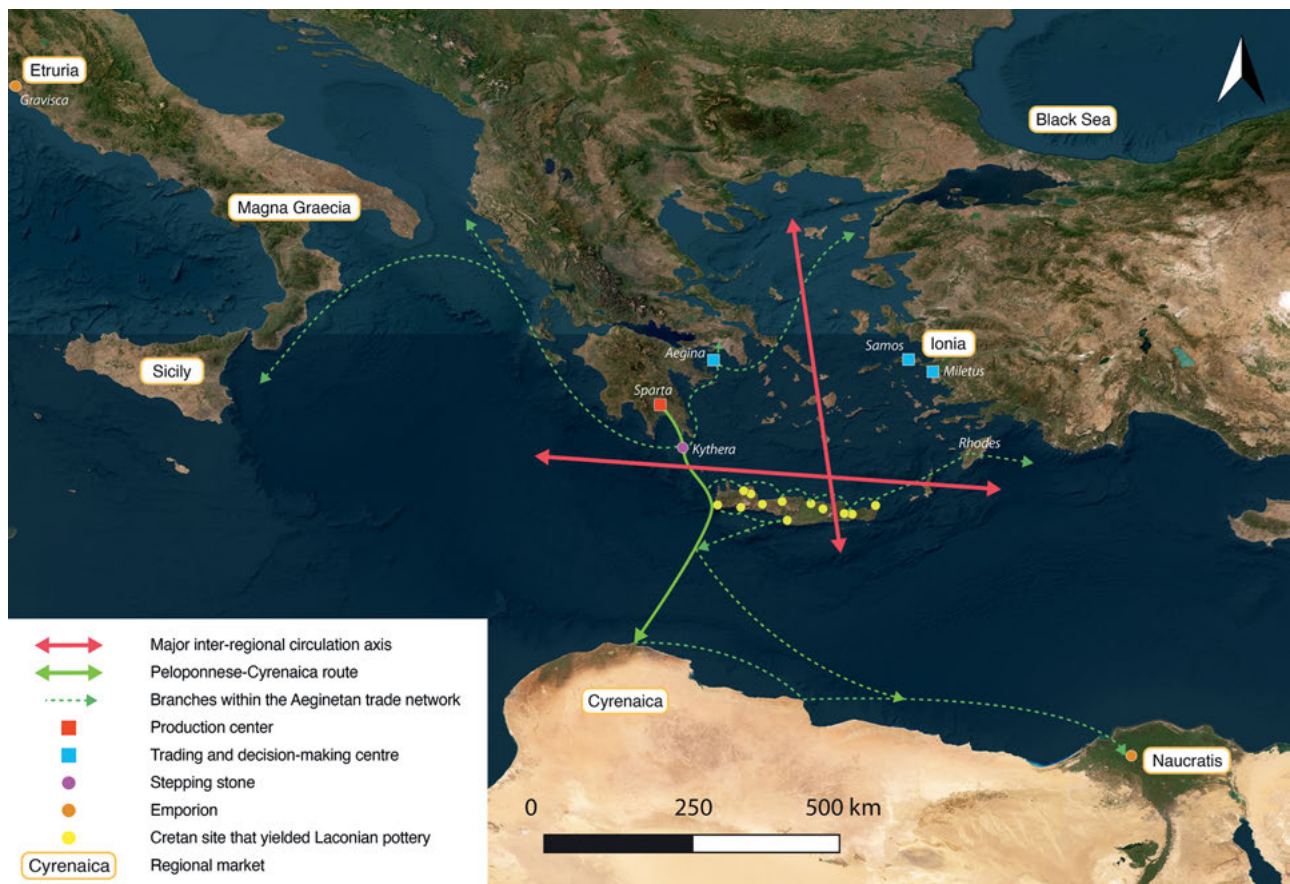


Fig. 5: Synthetic map of the distribution patterns of Laconian pottery in Crete, the Aegean and the Mediterranean. © Adrien Delahaye.

Memory of Networks and Long-Term Navigation Routes

During the Bronze Age, Crete already appears to have had a pivotal role on a similar navigation route between the south of the Peloponnese (via Kythera and Antikythera) and North Africa (Fig. 5; Tab. 2). Analysis of regional interrelation networks carried out by Cyprian Broodbank and Carl Knappett in the Aegean has demonstrated both the centrality of Crete and the role of intermediary played by Kythera between Crete and the Peloponnese.⁹² The Minoan settlement of Kastri in Kythera during the Early Bronze Age II can be interpreted as the materialization of the opening of this route between Crete and the Peloponnese, evident from the modeling of maritime interactions in the Aegean Bronze Age.⁹³ In Crete, linkage between the Minoan port of Kommos, at the outlet of the Messara Plain, and North Africa has been demonstrated by L. Watrous, and the pottery evidence reveals other Cretan areas: the Peloponnese, Kythera, the Cyclades, Boiotia-Attica, Cyprus, Egypt, the Levant, western Anatolia, and Sardinia.⁹⁴

This raises the question of the memory of networks and routes, and of geographical parameters that would lead to a route being used over the long term, according to a Braudelian approach to the study of the Mediterranean Sea, whose value can still be relevant today, even since the advent of the concept of connectivity.⁹⁵ A sea route exists first and foremost because it provides favorable navigation conditions. To understand the central role of Crete, it is indeed necessary to

⁹² Broodbank (2000) using Proximal Point Analysis (PPA) whose results are then compared with the archaeological data. Knappett (2011), Knappett/Evans/Rivers (2008) tried to optimize the modelling by balancing the proximity criterion with geographical distances and the cost.

⁹³ Knappett/Evans/Rivers (2008) 1015–1017, figs. 3–5.

⁹⁴ Watrous (1992) 176–177, 180; Tomlinson *et al.* (2010); Day *et al.* (2011); Rutter (2017); Gheorghide/Spencer (2024) 37–38.

⁹⁵ Braudel (1949); Horden/Purcell (2000).

understand maritime navigation in its practical aspects, by including parameters such as winds, currents, reefs, visibility, seasonality, and sailing technology, factors that have a major impact on mobility.⁹⁶ Using the testimonies of ancient geographers, Pascal Arnaud highlighted the existence of a route between Cape Malea, Crete, and Cyrenaica characterized by the regularity of the winds, which allow exceptionally fast north-south connections during the winter (Fig. 5).⁹⁷

Stopping in one or several Cretan harbors seems therefore inevitable, at least on the northern shoreline, especially on return journeys against the wind (i.e., westward), when coastal sailing was surely necessary.⁹⁸ The south coast is indeed exposed to the south winds during winter, which create difficult sea conditions.⁹⁹ This would explain the lack of attested stopovers, except for Kommos at the gateway to the Messara Plain, and the southwestern site of Tarra, which can be connected to the route between the Peloponnese and Crete. On the opposite side, the north coast possesses many sites with anchorages easily accessible by coastal sailing and benefits from the decelerating effect of the Cretan mountains on the northern winds.¹⁰⁰ These anchorages may have been used as redistribution points for the Cretan domestic market, as well as shifting points from one sailing basin to another. Crete lies at a pivotal point on the east-west axis connecting Asia Minor to the western Mediterranean, through a connection between Rhodes and Cape Malea.¹⁰¹ While the route between Messina and Alexandria seems to have been directly accessible to Egypt with a favorable northwest wind,¹⁰² stopovers in either direction at Cape Malea, Kythera, Antikythera, Crete, Kasos, Karpathos, and Rhodes are well documented.¹⁰³ The Dorian arc, which stretches from the southern Peloponnese through Crete to the Dodecanese, could have acted as a hinge between north-south and east-west Mediterranean axes (Fig. 5).

But natural conditions are not enough to characterize a navigation route: it needs to be used by sailors. Maritime navigation was based on empirical knowledge of the space and conditions mentioned above, acquired through repeated journeys and oral transmission within groups over several generations.¹⁰⁴ Of course, the memory of a route can be lost. But since the intrinsic conditions of navigation in the Mediterranean have changed little over time, by learning the route, the possibility of maritime navigation rests primarily on the empirical knowledge of the aforementioned conditions shared by sailors. A hybrid navigation system favoring coastal sailing (cabotage) and tramping, potentially entangled with some direct sailing routes, allowed the possibility of picking up some complementary cargo during stopovers along the main route (Fig. 5).¹⁰⁵

In this system, the choice of the route and the stopovers were under the supervision of the pilot and may have varied according to the season or trade patterns and geopolitics. The opportunity costs varied according to this shared knowledge that established the price of the pilot and the central role of the carriers.¹⁰⁶ Hence the influence that Cretan sailors may have exerted on navigation between the Peloponnese and Crete because of their empirical knowledge of winds, surface currents, and gusts from inland mountains. For instance, the famous story reported by Herodotus about the colonization of Cyrene by the Therans highlights how the latter “sent messengers to Crete to seek out any Cretan or sojourner there

⁹⁶ See Alberti (2018) and, most recently, Gheorghide/Spencer (2024) on modeling seasonal average wind regimes and their consequences for mobility from and to Kommos during LBA; specific coastal conditions are not modelled there. On the strategic location of Crete, its harbour networks (during Late Antiquity), and local environmental conditions and topographical features, see Roussos (2021) 331–334, 336, no. 8, figs. 5–7.

⁹⁷ Arnaud (2005) 183–188.

⁹⁸ Forsyth (2022); Gheorghide/Spencer (2024) 43.

⁹⁹ Roussos (2021) 332.

¹⁰⁰ The wind flow is deflected around the island towards its edges. Roussos (2021) 332–333, nos. 8, 10.

¹⁰¹ This route is described by Ps.-Skylax, 113. Bouras (2016) 203, figs. 1, 216, 218.

¹⁰² Plin. *HN* 19.3.4.

¹⁰³ Arnaud (2005) 217.

¹⁰⁴ Arnaud (2012) 118, who notes that to annihilate a maritime power, all that's needed is to erase its memory of the roads by killing its pilots, as Aemilius Paullus did after his victory over the Ligurian tribe of the Ingauni from Albingaunum in 184–181 A.D.

¹⁰⁵ As theorized by Tchernia (2007) for the Roman Era. Trapero Fernández/Aragón (2022) defines this mobility as “maritime transhumance”.

¹⁰⁶ Arnaud (2012) 61–62 with references, 118. The term pilot does not refer here to the modern sense of maritime pilot (person external to the crew who takes over the ship in difficult waters to carry out approach manoeuvres in the port of call), but in the ancient terms of κυβερνήτης (*Il.* 19.43; *Od.* 3.279; 9.78; *Aesch. Suppl.* 770; *Eur. Suppl.* 880; *Pl. Phdr.* 247c) or ἀρχικυβερνήτης (*Str.* 698; *Plut. Alex.* 66) which can be translated by ‘chief pilot’ or ‘helmsman’ and designate the member of the crew responsible for navigation and manoeuvres, who is not necessarily the captain (even though the ships of the Classical and Archaic era being quite small in general and operated with a limited crew, possibilities of qualified personnel were limited). I thank here Yannis Nakas for his valuable suggestions.

who had traveled to Libya.”¹⁰⁷ They finally hired a *murex* fisher from Itanos named Corobios, who had already traveled to Cyrenaica.¹⁰⁸

We also need to consider whether this navigation route, already known in Minoan times, continued to be used during the Archaic and Classical periods, and even the Hellenistic times, as the available evidence suggests. Cretan exports such as “Plakettenvasen”, produced in western Crete, were indeed found in the Peloponnese (Geraki and Argos), Melos, Rhodes, Cyrenaica, Carthage, Naucratis, Alexandria, Illyria, and southern Italy.¹⁰⁹ The distribution of these later productions confirms that western Crete was part of a long-term trade route connecting Cyrenaica to the Peloponnese and beyond, towards the west and Egypt (Fig. 5).

Conclusions

This chapter offers a glimpse of broad patterns of the distribution networks of Laconian pottery in the Aegean and beyond. The Cretan case contributes to our understanding of these by providing a much more complex image of the distribution system than the hypothesis of an east-west route controlled by Samian merchants. The artifacts appear to be integrated into larger-scale circulations generated by a variety of actors, and partly structured into networks, which may be articulated and interwoven at different scales; this greatly complicates the overall picture we have of these circulations.

Within this emerging picture, Crete appears as one of the missing links between Laconia, Aegina, and, beyond them, northern Africa and Magna Graecia. It underlines how Aeginetans’ trading activities played a major role in the distribution of Laconian pottery and the structuration of Mediterranean exchanges. The exact role of Cretan harbors and the interconnections between them has yet to be characterized more precisely. It is, for example, to be hoped that the excavations at Phalasarna will provide new insights into the role of this eastern port.

The Cretan case demonstrates that Laconian vases, even if they represented only a marginal element in two respects (Aegean and Mediterranean trade in general and pottery circulation in particular), can be used as an exploitable proxy to explore the wider exchange systems that underpin them.¹¹⁰ But proxies of what? In our case, Laconian pottery can be used to highlight wider circulations of artifacts and of people (the Aeginetan traders). Pottery is what remains from them, like exchanges’ dust.¹¹¹ These artifacts have no agency of their own, but they are what remains from ancient exchanges and can therefore be considered key proxies from which we can improve our understanding of networks that include human agents.¹¹² It is generally accepted that commodities in which the Aeginetans traded or acted as middlemen were probably, for the most part, perishable goods such as grain, ore, and eventually slaves,¹¹³ along with which a variety of artifacts were carried as secondary cargo, hence the expression Αιγιναία ἐμπολή.¹¹⁴

By integrating these agents and their motivations into the equation, a network can be seen as a “continual process of formation,”¹¹⁵ which enables us to give them a diachronic dimension. Several reconfigurations of the distribution patterns of Laconian pottery are indeed noticeable during the period considered here and tend to make Crete in turn a commercial stopover, a secondary market, or a refuge market. It underlines, then, the heuristic interest of microregions and regional markets, which can be entangled with each other and embedded into systems of exchange polarized around more important actors and flows. In particular, this case study allows us to reintegrate Crete and Laconia into the concert of Archaic and Classical exchanges in a cartography of exchanges that partially overlaps with that of I. Malkin’s Spartan Mediterranean.

¹⁰⁷ Hdt. 4.151.

¹⁰⁸ As an interesting fact, Corobios while left alone on the island of Platea and starving while the Thereans had temporarily sailed back home, was rescued by a Samian ship on his way to Egypt.

¹⁰⁹ Massar (2022) 504–506.

¹¹⁰ Gras (2012) 13.

¹¹¹ On this question: Bresson (2000) 71–72.

¹¹² Foxhall (2021) 4–6.

¹¹³ Aegina is described as a “central clearing point” by Jennings (1988) 54, 221.

¹¹⁴ Which can be translated as Aeginetan commodity, but frequently meaning “junk”. Klebinder-Gauß (2015) 76, with the relevant bibliography.

¹¹⁵ Foxhall (2021) 5.

If Phoenician east-west trade routes until the early 6th century B.C. and the network constituted by the Ionian poleis from the end of the 7th to the middle of the 6th century B.C. seem to have been predominant parts of the Mediterranean exchanges,¹¹⁶ the Aeginetans seem to have played an increasing role afterwards, until the middle of the 5th century B.C. They successfully established themselves as trading middlemen between Attica, the Argolic Gulf, and the eastern Peloponnese at a regional scale, and between the Aegean, northern Africa, the Black Sea, and the western Mediterranean at an interregional scale.¹¹⁷

We cannot suggest a simple and complete replacement of the Ionians by the Aeginetans as main traders of Laconian pottery, since the Samians in Crete and the long-lasting presence of Chian wares at Naukratis seem to indicate a form of resilience in the Ionians' activities.¹¹⁸ Based on the Cretan case, however, and its contextualization within the Laconian pottery assemblages of Sicily, Cyrenaica, and Aegina, it is possible to suggest that the sharp decline in exports of Laconian pottery, the abandonment of black-figured wares, and the loss of several overseas markets around the middle of the 6th century B.C. were followed by an adaptation in which Aeginetan traders may have played a central role.¹¹⁹

Bibliography

- Agouridis (1997): Christos Agouridis, "Sea Routes and Navigation in the Third Millennium Aegean", in: *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 16 (1), 1–24.
- Alberti (2018): Gianmarco Alberti, "TRANSIT: a GIS Toolbox for Estimating the Duration of Ancient Sail-Powered Navigation", in: *Cartography and Geographic Information Science* 45, 510–528.
- Arnaud (2005): Pascal Arnaud, *Les routes de la navigation antique: itinéraires en Méditerranée*, Paris.
- Arnaud (2011): Pascal Arnaud, "Ancient Sailing-Routes and Trade Patterns: The Impact of Human Factors", in: Andrew I. Wilson and Damian Robinson (eds.), *Maritime Archaeology and Ancient Trade in the Mediterranean*, Oxford, 61–80.
- Arnaud (2012): Pascal Arnaud, "La mer, vecteur des mobilités grecques", in: Laurent Capdetrey and Julien Zurbach (eds.), *Mobilités grecques: mouvements, réseaux, contacts en Méditerranée de l'époque archaïque à l'époque hellénistique*, Bordeaux, 89–135.
- Austin (1970): Michel M. Austin, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age*, Cambridge.
- Bergeron (2017): Marianne Bergeron, "Laconian Pottery", in: *Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt*, London, 2–16.
- Boardman/Hayes (1966): John Boardman and John Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra 1963–1965. The Archaic Deposits, I*, London.
- Boardman/Hayes (1973): John Boardman and John Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra 1963–1965. The Archaic Deposits II and Later Deposits*, London.
- Boitani (1992): Francesca Boitani, "Le ceramiche laconiche a Gravisca", in: Paola Pelagatti and Conrad M. Stibbe (eds.), *Lakonika: Ricerche e nuovi materiali di ceramica laconica*, Rome, 19–72.
- Bouras (2016): Catherine Bouras, "The Geography of Connections: A Harbour Network in the Aegean Sea During the Roman Imperial Period?", in: Kerstin Höghammar, Brita Alroth and Adam Lindhagen (eds.), *Ancient Ports, the Geography of Connections*, Uppsala, 202–223.
- Braudel (1949): Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris.
- Bresson (2000): Alain Bresson, *La cité marchande*, Bordeaux.
- Broodbank (1999): Cyprian Broodbank, "Kythera Survey: Preliminary Report on the 1998 Season", in: *Annual of the British School at Athens* 94, 191–214.
- Broodbank (2000): Cyprian Broodbank, *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*, Cambridge.
- Brughmans (2013): Tom Brughmans, "Thinking Through Networks: A Review of Formal Network Methods in Archaeology", in: *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 20, 623–662.
- Cartledge (1982): Paul Cartledge, "Sparta and Samos. A Special Relationship?", in: *The Classical Quarterly* 32, 243–265.
- Chaniotis/Kotsonas/Sythiakak (2021): Angelos Chaniotis, Antonis Kotsonas and Vassiliki Sythiakak, "Ανασκαφή Λύκτου", in: *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 176, 213–264.
- Chaniotis/Kotsonas (2021): Angelos Chaniotis and Antonis Kotsonas, "Λύκτος Ηρακλείου Κρήτης", in: *EPFON* 68, 43–47.

116 Although Ionian traders continued to play an important, but probably declining, role in Aegean trade until the Ionian revolt of 499 B.C., or even 478 and the creation of the League of Delos, at which point traffic between the Greek and Achaemenid worlds seems to have fallen dramatically. Bresson (2000) 73–74.

117 For references and comments, see Figueira (1981) 276; Jennings (1988) 140–145, 151–155; Weilhartner (2010) nos. 722, 750, 885, 954, 1233, 1271 (Crete); 390 (Egypt); 661–662 (Sicily); 885 (Umbria, Illyria); 902 (Tarentum); 470 (Hellespont); numerous occurrences about Peloponnese; Klebinder-Gauß (2015) 76.

118 Nafissi (1989) 73–74 stood up against such a theory. *Contra* Williams (1993) 595 and Erickson (2005) 635–636, nos. 121–122, (2010) 63, 64, 274, 292, no. 115, who consider the possibility.

119 Williams (1993) 595 and Erickson (2010) 293 support the takeover of the distribution of Laconian pottery by the Aeginetans from 550 onwards. *Contra* Nafissi (1989) 73.

- Chankowski (2013): Véronique Chankowski, “La céramique sur le marché: l’objet, sa valeur et son prix. Problèmes d’interprétation et de confrontation des sources”, in: Tsingarida/Viviers (2013) 25–38.
- Clifford (1997): James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, Cambridge.
- Coldstream (1973): John Nicolas Coldstream, “Knossos 1951–61: Orientalizing and Archaic Pottery from the Town”, in: *Annual of the British School at Athens* 68, 33–63.
- Coldstream/Huxley (1972): John Nicolas Coldstream and George L. Huxley, *Kythera: Excavations and Studies*, London.
- Coldstream (1992): John Nicolas Coldstream, “Early Hellenic Pottery”, in: Leyland Hugh Sackett (ed.), *Knossos: From Greek City to Roman Colony. Excavations at the Unexplored Mansion II*, British School at Athens, Supplement 21, Athens, 67–88.
- Collar *et al.* (2014): Anne Collar, Tom Brughmans, Fiona Coward and Claire Lemerrier, “Analyser les réseaux du passé en archéologie et en histoire”, in: *Nouvelles de l’archéologie* 135, 9–13.
- Collar *et al.* (2015): Anna Collar, Fiona Coward, Tom Brughmans and Barbara J. Mills, “Networks in Archaeology: Phenomena, Abstraction, Representation”, in: *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 22, 1–32.
- Cook (1959): Robert Manuel Cook, “Die bedeutung der bemalten keramik für den griechischen handel”, in: *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 74, 114–123.
- Coudin (2009): Fabienne Coudin, *Les Laconiens et la Méditerranée à l’époque archaïque*, Paris.
- Day *et al.* (2011): Peter M. Day, Patrick S. Quinn, Jeremy B. Rutter and Vassilis Kilikoglou, “A World of Goods: Transport Jars and Commodity Exchange at the Late Bronze Age Harbor of Kommos, Crete”, in: *Hesperia* 80, 511–558.
- Delahaye (2019): Adrien Delahaye, *Archéologie et images de l’austérité spartiate. L’apport de l’iconographie et de la culture matérielle laconiennes à l’histoire de Sparte (VI^e -V^e siècles av. J.-C.)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne.
- Demetriou (2012): Denise Demetriou, *Negotiating Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean: The Archaic and Classical Greek Multiethnic Emporia*, Cambridge.
- Doyen/Apostolou (2018): Charles Doyen and Eva Apostolou, ““Τὸ Πελοποννησίωv νόμισμα”: Παρατηρήσεις στη νομισματικὴ παραγωγή της Πελοποννήσου κατά την αρχαϊκὴ και κλασικὴ περίοδο”, in: Charles Doyen and Eva Apostolou (eds.), *Obolos 10. La monnaie dans le Péloponnèse*, Athens, 33–42.
- Duby (1973): Georges Duby, *Le dimanche de Bouvines: 27 juillet 1214*, Paris.
- Erickson (2005): Brice Erickson, “Archaeology of Empire: Athens and Crete in the Fifth Century BC”, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 109 (4), 619–663.
- Erickson (2010): Brice Erickson, *Crete in Transition: Pottery Styles and Island History in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Princeton N.J.
- Felten (1982): Vassiliki Felten, “Lakonische Keramik”, in: Elena Walter-Karydi and Walter Hans (eds.), *Alt-Ágina 2.1*, Mainz, 19–22.
- Figueira (1981): Thomas J. Figueira, *Aegina, Society and Politics*, New York.
- Figueira (1988): Thomas J. Figueira, “The Chronology of the Conflict between Athens and Aegina in Herodotus Bk. 6”, in: *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 28, 49–89.
- Forsyth (2022): Douglas Forsyth, “Upwind Sailing Capabilities of Square-Rigged Ships in Late Antiquity and the Ramifications for Trade Networks”, in: Anti Lampinen and Emilia Mataix Ferrándiz (eds.), *Seafaring and Mobility in the Late Antique Mediterranean*, London, 149–165.
- Foxhall (2021): Lin Foxhall, “Materiality, Methodologies and the Agency of Things in Archaeological Networks”, in: Lin Foxhall (ed.), *Interrogating Networks: Investigating Networks of Knowledge in Antiquity*, Oxford, 1–20.
- Fragou/Kroustalis (2016): Gely Fragou, Evangelos Kroustalis, “Excavations on the Acropolis of Paliocastro on the Island of Kythera, Greece: Investigating the Relationship Between the Settlement and the Cemetery”, in: Valeriu Sîrbu (ed.), *Istros XXII. Interdisciplinary Methods of Research for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Funerary Monuments*, Braila, 109–128.
- Furtwängler *et al.* (1906): Adolf Furtwängler, Ernst Robert Fiechter and Hermann Thiersch, *Aegina: das heiligtum der Aphaia*, Munich.
- Gauß *et al.* (2015): Walter Gauß, Gudrun Klebinder-Gauß, Evangelia Kiriati, Areti Pentedeka and Myrto Georgakopoulou, “Aegina: An Important Centre of Production of Cooking Pottery from the Prehistoric to the Historic Era”, in: Michela Spataro and Alexandra Villing (eds.), *Ceramics, Cuisine and Culture*, Oxford, 65–74.
- Gauß/Kiriati (2011): Walter Gauß and Evangelia Kiriati, *Pottery Production and Supply at Bronze Age Kolonna, Aegina*, Vienna.
- Gheorghide/Spencer (2024): Paula Gheorghide and Christine Spencer, “Modelling the Cost of the Wind: A Preliminary Reassessment of Networks of Mobility in the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean”, in: *Journal of Computer Applications in Archaeology* 7, 36–53.
- Gras (2012): Michel Gras, “Avant les réseaux. Les stratigraphies conceptuelles de la Méditerranée”, in: Laurent Capdetrey and Julien Zurbach (eds.), *Mobilités grecques: mouvements, réseaux, contacts en Méditerranée de l’époque archaïque à l’époque hellénistique*, Bordeaux, 13–24.
- Guarducci (1939): Margherita Guarducci, *Inscriptiones creticae 1: Tituli Cretae Occidentalis*. Rome.
- Hallager *et al.* (1997): Erik Hallager, Birgitta Pålsson Hallager and Margrete Hahn, “Archaic to Byzantine Periods: The Pottery and the Small Finds”, in: Maria Andreadaki-Vlasaki and Erik Hallager (eds.), *The Greek-Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square, Kastelli, Khania, 1970–1987. Vol. I*, Stockholm, 209–212.
- Horden/Purcell (2000): Peregrin Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford.
- Jeffery (1990): Lilian Hamilton Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford.
- Jennings (1988): James E. Jennings, *Aeginetan Trade, 650-457 BC: A Reexamination*, Ann Harbor.
- Johnston (1979): Alan W. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases*, Warminster.
- Johnston (1992): Alan W. Johnston, “Anfore laconiche a Kommos”, in: Paola Pelagatti and Conrad M. Stibbe (eds.), *Lakonikà: ricerche e nuovi materiali di ceramica laconica*, Rome, 115–116.
- Johnston (1993): Alan W. Johnston, “Pottery from Archaic Building Q at Kommos”, in: *Hesperia* 62, 339–382.
- Johnston (2005): Alan W. Johnston, “Kommos: Further Iron Age Pottery”, in: *Hesperia* 74, 309–393.

- Johnston (2013): Alan W. Johnston, “Naukratis, Aegina and Laconia: Some Individuals and Pottery Distribution”, in: Tsingarida/Viviers (2013) 103–113.
- Johnston *et al.* (2000): Alan W. Johnston, Peter J. Callaghan, Patricia Maynor Bikai and John W. Hayes, “The Iron Age Pottery from Kommos”, in: Joseph W. Shaw and Maria C. Shaw (eds.), *Kommos IV. The Greek Sanctuary, Part I*, Princeton/Oxford, 210–301.
- Johnston *et al.* (2014): Alan W. Johnston, Kathleen Slane and Joanita Vroom, “Kythera Forty Years On: The Pottery from Historical Kastri Revisited”, in: *Annual of the British School at Athens* 109, 3–64.
- Kanta/Tzedakis (1978): Athanassia Kanta and Giannis Tzedakis, *Καστέλλι Χανίων 1966: αναλυτική μελέτη της κεραμεικής από τη στρωματογραφημένη τάφρο Β και το πηγάδι*, Rome.
- Klebinder-Gauß (2012): Gudrun Klebinder-Gauß, *Keramik aus klassischen Kontexten im Apollon-heiligtum von Ägina-Kolonna. Lokale Produktion und Importe*, Vienna.
- Klebinder-Gauß (2015): Gudrun Klebinder-Gauß, “Opportunity in Scarcity: Environment and Economy on Aegina”, in: Constance Rüden and Achim Lichtenberger (eds.), *Multiple Mediterranean Realities. Current Approaches to Spaces, Resources and Connectivities*, Paderborn, 67–91.
- Knappett (2011): Carl Knappett, *An Archaeology of Interaction: Network Perspectives on Material Culture and Society*, Oxford.
- Knappett/Evans/Rivers (2008) Carl Knappett, Tim Evans and Ray Rivers, “Modelling Maritime Interaction in the Aegean Bronze Age”, in: *Antiquity* 82 (318), 1009–1024. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X0009774X>.
- Kotsonas (2002): Antonis Kotsonas, “The Rise of the Polis in Central Crete”, in: *Eulimene* 3, 37–74.
- Lane (1933): Edward Arthur Lane, “Lakonian Vase-painting”, in: *Annual of the British School at Athens* 34, 99–189.
- Latour (2005): Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Oxford.
- Leidwanger/Knappett (2018): Justin Leidwanger and Carl Knappett, “Maritime Networks, Connectivity, and Mobility in the Ancient Mediterranean”, in: Justin Leidwanger and Carl Knappett (eds.), *Maritime Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Cambridge.
- Malkin (1994): Irad Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean*, Cambridge.
- Malkin (2011): Irad Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Oxford.
- Massar (2022): Natacha Massar, “Cretan Fine Wares in and out of Crete. Trade Patterns and Distribution Networks”, in: Laura Rembart and Alice Waldner (eds.), *Manufacturers and Markets: The Contribution of Hellenistic Pottery to Economies Large and Small*, Vienna, 494–515.
- Mei (2013): Oscar Mei, *Cirene e la ceramica laconica*, Rome.
- Miörner *et al.* (2022): Johan Miörner, Bernhard Truffer, Christian Binz, Jonas Heiberg and Xiao-Shan Yap, “Guidebook for Applying the Socio-Technical Configuration Analysis method”, in: *GEIST Working Paper* 1, 1–19.
- Moatti (2012): Claudia Moatti, “Mobilités et circulations: approches historiographique et conceptuelle”, in: Laurent Capdetrey and Julien Zurbach (eds.), *Mobilités grecques: mouvements, réseaux, contacts en Méditerranée de l'époque archaïque à l'époque hellénistique*, Bordeaux, 39–52.
- Möller (2000): Astrid Möller, *Naukratis: Trade in Archaic Greece*, Oxford.
- Nafissi (1989): Massimo Nafissi, “Distribution and Trade”, in: Stibbe (1989) 68–88.
- Osborne (2007): Robin Osborne, “What Travelled with Greek Pottery?”, in: *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22, 85–95.
- Paizi (2023): Eirini Paizi, “Overseas Connections of Knossos and Crete in the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BC: Insights from the Unexplored Mansion”, in: *Annual of the British School at Athens* 1–26.
- Pelagatti (1992): Paola Pelagatti, “Ceramica laconica in Sicilia e a Lipari”, in: Paola Pelagatti and Conrad M. Stibbe (eds.), *Lakonikà: ricerche e nuovi materiali di ceramica laconica*, Rome, 123–247.
- Petrocheilos (2016): Ioannis Petrocheilos, “Η πρώτη ανασκαφή στο Παλιόκαστρο Κυθήρων (1999–2010)”, in: *Δωδώνη: επιστημονική επετηρίδα Τμήματος Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας* 45–46, 261–286.
- Pipili (2000): Maria Pipili, “Vases from the Samian Heraion: Shapes and Iconography”, in: Pascale Linant de Bellefonds (ed.), *Αγαθός Δαίμων. Mythes et cultes. Études d'iconographie en l'honneur de Lilly Kahil*, Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, Supplément 38 Athens, 409–421.
- Pipili (2001): Maria Pipili, “Samos, the Artemis Sanctuary: The Laconian Pottery”, in: *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 116, 17–102.
- Reed (2003): Charles M. Reed, *Maritime Traders in the Ancient Greek World*, Cambridge.
- Roebuck (1950): Carl D. Roebuck, “The Grain Trade Between Greece and Egypt”, in: *Classical Philology* 45, 236–47.
- Roussos (2021): Konstantinos Roussos, “Port and Harbour Networks in Crete during Late Antiquity (4th–mid-7th c. AD): A Modern Approach”, in: *Journal of Greek Archaeology* 6, 329–358.
- Rivers (2018): Ray Rivers, “New Approaches to the Thera Eruption”, in: Justin Leidwanger and Carl Knappett (eds.), *Maritime Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Cambridge, 39–60.
- Rutter (2017): Jeremy B. Rutter, *House X at Kommos: A Minoan Mansion Near the Sea: Part 2. The Pottery*, Philadelphia.
- Schaus (1985): Gerald P. Schaus, *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene. Final Reports, II: The East Greek, Island, and Laconian Pottery*, Philadelphia.
- Schaus (2020): Gerald P. Schaus, *Funde aus Milet. Teil 4: Laconian and Chian Fine Ware Pottery at Miletus*, Wiesbaden.
- Shaw/Shaw (2000): Joseph W. Shaw and Maria C. Shaw (eds.), *Kommos IV. The Greek Sanctuary*, Princeton N. J.
- Stefanakis (1999): Manolis Stefanakis, “The Introduction of Coinage in Crete and the Beginning of Local Minting”, in: Angelos Chaniotis (ed.), *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders. Sidelights on the Economy of Ancient Crete*, Stuttgart, 247–268.
- Stefanakis (2013): Manolis Stefanakis, “Looking Towards the North: The Circulation of Cyrenaic Coins on Crete”, in: Michele Asolati (ed.), *Le monete di Cirene e della Cirenaica nel Mediterraneo*, Padua, 65–81.
- Stefanakis (2019): Manolis Stefanakis, “Από την Πελοπόννησο στην Κρήτη: νομισματική κυκλοφορία και εικονογραφικές επιρροές”, in: Charles Doyen and Eva Apostolou (eds.), *Obolos 10. La monnaie dans le Péloponnèse*, Athens, 217–245.
- Stibbe (1989): Conrad M. Stibbe, *Laconian Black-glazed Pottery 1: Laconian Mixing Bowls*, Amsterdam.

- Stibbe (1994): Conrad M. Stibbe, *Laconian Black-glazed Pottery 2: Laconian Drinking Vessels and Other Open Shapes*, Amsterdam.
- Stibbe (2000): Conrad M. Stibbe, *Laconian Black-glazed Pottery 3: Laconian Oil Flasks and Other Closed Shapes*, Amsterdam.
- Tarrius (2001): Alain Tarrius, *Les nouveaux cosmopolitismes*, La Tour d'Aigues.
- Tchernia (2007): Pierre Tchernia, "Entrepôt et cargaisons complémentaires sur la route du blé d'Alexandrie", in: Jorge Pérez Ballester and Guillermo Pascual Berlanga (eds.), *Comercio, redistribución y fondeaderos: la navegación a vela en el Mediterráneo*, Valencia, 57–63.
- Tomlinson *et al.* (2010): Jonathan E. Tomlinson, Jeremy B. Rutter and Sandra M.A. Hoffmann, "Mycenaean and Cypriot Late Bronze Age Ceramic Imports to Kommos: An Investigation by Neutron Activation Analysis", in: *Hesperia* 79, 191–231.
- Torelli (1982): Mario Torelli, "Per la definizione del commercio greco-orientale: il caso di Gravisca", in: *I Focei dall'Anatolia all'Oceano*, in: *La Parola del Passato* CCIV-CCVII, 304–326.
- Trainor (2019): Conor Trainor, "Polis, Colony, and Beyond: Urban Knossos from Archaic to Late Antique Times", in: Grigoris Siphakis and Alexis Kalokairinos (eds.), *Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Cretan Studies*, Heraklion.
- Trapero Fernández/Aragón (2022): Pedro Trapero Fernández and Enrique Aragón, "Modelling Cabotage. Coastal Navigation in the Western Mediterranean Sea During the Early Iron Age", in: *Journal of Archaeological Science: Report* 41. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2021.103270>.
- Tsingarida/Viviers (2013): Athena Tsingarida and Didier Viviers (eds.), *Pottery Markets in the Ancient Greek World: (8th – 1st Centuries B.C.)* (Proceedings of the International Symposium, Bruxelles, 19–21 June 2011), Brussels.
- Tzanakaki (2013): Katerina Tzanakaki, "Αγία Ρουμέλη 1970 (Τάρρα). Οι αρχαϊκές ταφές", in: Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, Oliver Pilz and Ivonne Kaiser (ed.), *Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit*, Munich, 201–220.
- Vallet/Villard (1961): Gérard Vallet and François Villard, "Céramique et histoire grecque", in: *Revue historique* 225, 295–318.
- Watrous (1992): Vance L. Watrous, *Kommos III: The Late Bronze Age Pottery*, Princeton N.J.
- Weilhartner (2010): Jörg Weilhartner, *Testimonia: die literarischen zeugnisse über das antike Aigina von Homer bis in byzantinische Zeit*, Vienna.
- Williams (1993): Dyfri Williams, "Aegina, Aphaia-Tempel, XVII: The Laconian Pottery", in: *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 4, 571–598.
- Zimi *et al.* (2019): Eleni Zimi, Kristian Göransson and Keith Swift, "Pottery and Trade at Euesperides in Cyrenaica: An Overview", in: *Libyan Studies* 50, 21–33.
- Zurbach (2012): Julien Zurbach, "Mobilités, réseaux, ethnicité. Bilan et perspectives", in: Julien Zurbach and Laurent Capdetrey (eds.), *Mobilités grecques: mouvements, réseaux, contacts en Méditerranée de l'époque archaïque à l'époque hellénistique*, Bordeaux, 261–273.