

POTTERY MARKETS IN THE ANCIENT GREEK WORLD

(8th - 1st CENTURIES B.C.)

Proceedings of the International Symposium
held at the Université libre de Bruxelles
19-21 June 2008

Edited by
Athena Tsingarida and Didier Viviers

ÉTUDES D'ARCHÉOLOGIE 5



Études d'archéologie 5

POTTERY MARKETS IN THE ANCIENT GREEK WORLD
(8th - 1st centuries B.C.)

Proceedings of the International Symposium
held at the Université libre de Bruxelles
19-21 June 2008

Edited by
Athena Tsingarida and Didier Viviers

With the contribution of

Zosia Archibald, Alain Bresson, Fabienne Burkhalter, Véronique Chankowski, Franca Cibecchini,
John K. Davies, François de Callataÿ, Martine Denoyelle, Raymond Descat, Pierre Dupont,
Sandrine Elaigne, Roland Étienne, Alan Johnston, Elisabeth Langridge-Noti, Eleni Manakidou,
Natacha Massar, Thomas R. Patrick, Gary Reger, Katerina Rhomaiopoulou, Pierre Rouillard,
Elisabeth Trinkl, Athena Tsingarida, Annie Verbanck, Alexandra Villing, Didier Viviers, Dyfri Williams

Bruxelles
CReA-Patrimoine

2013

Éditeur

CReA-Patrimoine

© Centre de Recherches en Archéologie et Patrimoine (CReA-Patrimoine)

Université libre de Bruxelles

50, av. F.D. Roosevelt / CP 175

B-1050 Bruxelles

crea@ulb.ac.be • <http://crea.ulb.ac.be>

ISBN : 9789461360335

Impression : Le Livre Timperman

Cover

Drawing from P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen*, Stuttgart, 1893, pl. 17.1, kylix, Baltimore (MD), John Hopkins University D4.

Études d'archéologie 5

Études d'Archéologie Classique de l'ULB 7

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

Athena Tsingarida and Didier Viviers	7
--------------------------------------	---

ABBREVIATIONS

INTRODUCTION. Ceramics and the economic historian: mixed messages and unharmonised agendas John K. Davies	11
--	----

I. TRADE AND TRADERS : VALUE, TRANSPORT AND PLACES OF EXCHANGE

Introduction	
The Greek Vase Trade: some reflections about scale, value and market Alain Bresson and François de Callataÿ	21
La céramique sur le marché : l'objet, sa valeur et son prix. Problèmes d'interprétation et de confrontation des sources Véronique Chankowski	25
Greek Potters and Painters: Marketing and Movings Dyfri Williams	39
Consuming Iconographies Elisabeth Langridge-Noti	61
Egypt as a "market" for Greek pottery: Some thoughts on production, consumption and distribution in an intercultural environment Alexandra Villing	73
Naukratis, Aegina and Laconia; some individuals and pottery distribution Alan Johnston	103

II. MARKET AND PRODUCTS : THE MARKETS OF FINE WARE

Introduction	
The Markets of Fine Ware Athena Tsingarida	115
Economic Regionalism in Theory and Practice Gary Reger	119
Joining up the dots: making economic sense of pottery distributions in the Aegean and beyond Zosia Archibald	133
Corinthian Pottery at Syracuse in the Late 8 th and 7 th Centuries BC Thomas R. Patrick	159
Northern Greek Markets Katerina Rhomopoulou	171
Marché régional, importations et imitations de céramiques corinthiennes et attiques à Karabournaki (Macédoine) à l'époque archaïque Eleni Manakidou	175
Classical Black-Glazed Imports to Western Asia Minor Elisabeth Trinkl	189

Introduction

Spina : un avant-poste de la céramique italiote en Etrurie padane ? Martine Denoyelle	203
Eléments d'évaluation des échelles de diffusion de la vaisselle de table au II ^e siècle avant J.-C. dans le monde hellénistique Sandrine Elaigne	213

III. MARKET AND PRODUCTS : VASE CONTAINERS

Introduction Raymond Descat	231
Trafics amphoriques et commerce de vases dans le Pont-Euxin archaïque : quelques aspects Pierre Dupont	233
Le commerce du vin et le commerce de la céramique hellénistique tyrrhénienne en Méditerranée occidentale au III ^e siècle avant J.-C. : le point de vue « maritime » Franca Cibecchini	237
Les amphores vinaires dans la documentation papyrologique d'époque ptolémaïque : production, prix et capacité Fabienne Burkhalter	251
Follow the scent... Marketing perfume vases in the Greek world Annie Verbanck et Natacha Massar	273
CONCLUSIONS Roland Etienne avec la collaboration de Pierre Rouillard	301
ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS	307

ABBREVIATIONS

ABV = J.D. BEAZLEY, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* Oxford, 1956.

Add² = J.D. BEAZLEY, *Addenda: Second Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena* (compiled by T.H. Carpenter) Oxford, 1989.

AGRP = T. Melander and J. Christiansen (eds), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, Copenhagen, 1988.

APP = J.H. OAKLEY, W.D.E. COULSON, O. PALAGIA (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters* Oxford, 1997.

APP II = J.H. OAKLEY and O. PALAGIA (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters Volume II*, Oxford, 2009.

ARV² = J.D. BEAZLEY, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* Oxford, 1963.

The Athenian Agora III = R.E. WYCHERLEY, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton (N.J.) 1957 [*The Athenian Agora III*].

The Athenian Agora XII = B.A. SPARKES and L. TALCOTT, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.*, Princeton (N.J.), 1970 [*The Athenian Agora XII*].

The Athenian Agora XIV = H. THOMPSON and R.E. WYCHERLEY, *The Agora of Athens: the history, shape and uses of an ancient city centre*, Princeton, 1972 [*The Athenian Agora XIV*].

The Athenian Agora XIX = G. LALONDE, M. LANGDON, M.B. WALBANK, *Inscriptions*, Princeton (N.J.), 1991 [*The Athenian Agora XIX*].

The Athenian Agora XXIII = M. MOORE, and M.Z. PHILIPPIDES, *Attic Black-Figure Pottery*, Princeton, 1986 [*The Athenian Agora XXIII*].

BRESSON, 2007 = A. BRESSON, *L'économie de la Grèce des cités (fin de Vie-Ier siècle a.C.). I. Les structures et la production*, Paris.

BRESSON, 2008 = A. BRESSON, *L'économie de la Grèce des cités (fin de Vie-Ier siècle a.C.). II. Les espaces de l'échange*, Paris.

JOHNSTON 1979 = A. JOHNSTON *Trademarks on Greek Vases*, Warminster.

JOHNSTON 2006 = A. JOHNSTON *Trademarks on Greek Vases. Addenda*, Oxford.

Le vase grec = P. ROUILARD, A. VERBANCK-PIERARD (eds), *Le vase grec et ses destins*, Munich, 2003.

Para = J.D. BEAZLEY, *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* Oxford, 1971.

TSINGARIDA, 2009 = A. TSINGARIDA (ed.), *Shapes and Uses of Greek Vases (7th – 4th centuries B.C.)*, Brussels.

NAUKRATIS, AEGINA AND LACONIA; SOME INDIVIDUALS AND POTTERY DISTRIBUTION

Alan JOHNSTON

I consider here some aspects of pottery production and distribution involving Laconia and Aegina, with particular respect to material from Naukratis, but also other areas.

What do these three centres have ceramically in common? I can only engineer one negative aspect: until last year, no pots, at least decorated ones, were known to have been made at Naukratis, save very localised, and largely later, Classical to Hellenistic,¹ nor in Laconia till the fact began to be realised a century ago,² nor on Aegina save cookers.³

Another negative to remember is the relative poverty of evidence from archaeology for the fourth century on Aegina, to be set against Aristotle's famous remark about the island's commercial base, ostensibly at that period (Pol. 1291b):

“πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἐκαστα τούτων πολύοχλα σίον ἀλίεις μὲν ἐν Τάραντι καὶ Βυζαντίῳ, τριηρίκον δὲ Ἀθήνησι, ἐμπορικὸν δὲ ἐν Αἴγινῃ καὶ Χίῳ, ἐν δὲ ἐν πορθμικὸν δὲ ἐν Τενέδῳ”

LACONIAN AT NAUKRATIS

Much of the relevant material has been published or re-published recently by Venit and Stibbe, although their lists are not fully exhaustive, especially with respect to “plain” ware, where I have noted, without

a totally thorough check, some further kraters and one oenochoe.⁴

But since the excavators tended to keep only decorated or inscribed pieces, we are in no position to judge how much simple black ware was discarded. There are not even any general remarks in Petrie and Gardner to assist us; NII 33-4 has a little on Cyrenaic vases and their ease of identification – which clearly precludes any in purely black form. I stress this point because recently Peter Thonemann, spurred on no doubt by Gardner's words, has suggested that the Laconian material from Naukratis could well have been brought in a single ship, and I would not want that implausible suggestion, in an otherwise excellent article, to grow roots.⁵ Thonemann does not specifically cite Venit's overview, where she certainly argues for imports over at least one generation, and see 2, below. His suggestion is certainly more risky than Robin Osborne's more thorough examination of distribution maps and his resulting conclusion that forms of direct trade were already in place in the sixth century.⁶

1 SCHLOTZHAUER AND VILLING, 62-65.

2 DROOP, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 13 (1906-1907), 135-136 has the first stirrings, in the year of Dugas' basic article on Cyrenaian ware.

3 I am not persuaded by Sarah Morris' arguments regarding production of Protoattic style pottery on the island (S. MORRIS, *The Black and White Style*, New Haven, 1984). Ongoing research in the Fitch Laboratory of the British School at Athens will help clarify other aspects of local production.

4 VENIT, 1985; STIBBE *passim*, esp. 1989 and 2004. I merely note the small size of the volute-krater, STIBBE 1989, B23.

5 P. THONEMANN, “Neilomandros. A contribution to the history of Greek personal names”, *Chiron* 36 (2006), 11-43, esp. 11.

6 R. OSBORNE, “Pots, trade and the archaic Greek economy”, *Antiquity* 70 (1996), 31-44.

Αφροδιτη Νελομανδρος[	cup, lip	Oxford 1888.1325	N766, B417, Venit 1
]ιτηι ο Φ[and].μν[	cup, lip	1888.529	N767, B418, Venit 8
]ερμαγ[	cup, lip, inside	1886.650 (fig. 3)	N340, B301
]ιλη[	cup, lip, inside	1886.651	N341, B302
]γι[	cup, lip, inside	1886.652	
vac n[	cup, lip	1886.528	Dugas, 1907 402, Venit 20
]αβρο[	cup, wall	1888.527 (fig. 1)	Dugas, 1907 402
]ης: [.ηρη[	krater, lip	Oxford G141.17 (fig. 7)	Hogarth, 1905 no. 7, B650
A	krater, lip	1965.9-30.518	
alpha-pi ligature	krater, foot, under	1910.2-22.165	N559, B317 (generic entry)
non-alphabetic?	krater, foot, under	1910.2-22.195	N593, B317
non-alphabetic	oenochoe, handle	1910.2-22.213a	N612, B317

Laconian?

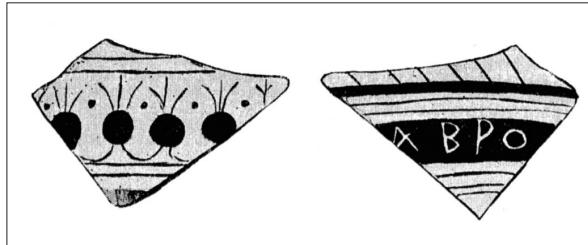
]ροδ[	cup, lip	1965.9-30.693 (fig. 9)	
IT	open vase, foot	1910.2-22.187 (fig. 8)	N584, B317

Twelve assuredly Laconian pieces from Naukratis and two probables are inscribed [Table 1]; four of the pieces are kraters and one an oenochoe, and I believe only one of this quintet has been recognised as yet in print as Laconian (JOHNSTON 2006, 169, 7-8). Where the script is at all diagnostic it is Ionic; I do not go into all details, but merely add two notes with respect to the dedicating personnel:

1. In most publications a cup lip fragment with]αβρο[has been confused with a local Nile clay bowl with]αφρο[(fig. 1-2).⁷

2. Thonemann overlooks, as indeed did I in my publication of one of the sherds (2006b, 24, Fig. 6a and 25), Stibbe's publication of three sherds possibly of one cup, which he placed in an addendum to his article on Laconian from the Samian Heraion (fig. 3).⁸

The sherds are of interest in that they are earlier than the rest of the inscribed Laconian pieces, and probably should be taken to be from a single dedication to Apollo Milesios, by a certain Ermagathinos, whose three other dedications are of debatable origin, certainly Chian and possibly Samian (fig. 4-6).⁹



1. BM 1888.527 (after Dugas, 1907 402).



2. BM 1888.739. Photo author.

wrongly as 420 (N752) in Johnston 2006b, 25, left column, lower); see also n.11 below.

2) C.C. EDGAR, "The inscribed and painted pottery", in: D.G. HOGARTH, "Excavations at Naukratis", *Annual of the British School at Athens* 5 (1898-9), 54, no. 22 is one of the many sherds registered as Oxford 1912.41 and is a deep cup of South Ionic, perhaps Samian, origin.

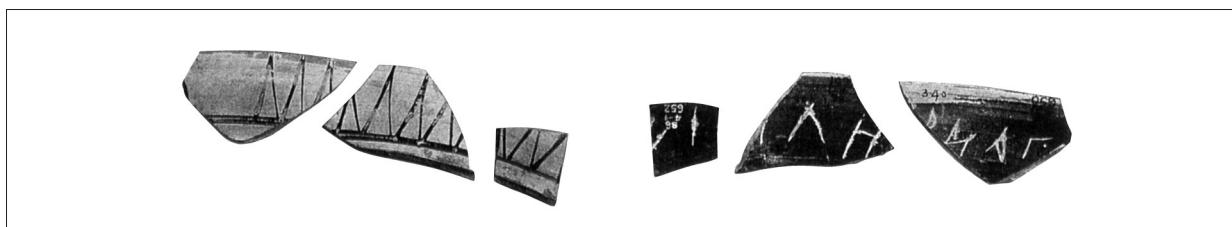
3) N762 remains unlocated, perhaps Samian to judge from Gardner's words (*N* VII 64).

7 The latter SCHLOTZHAUER and VILLING, fig. 40; the former DUGAS, 402.

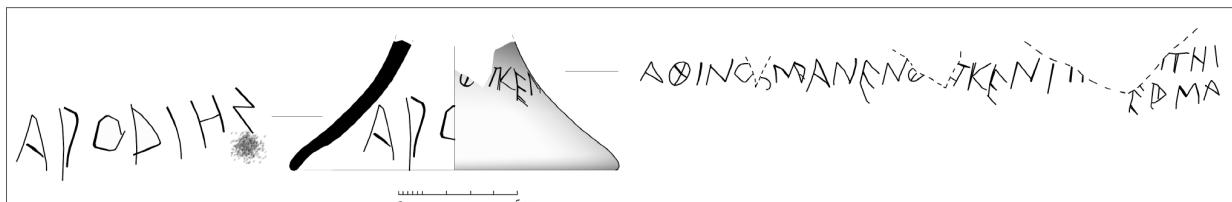
8 STIBBE, 1997, 130-1. The text of N652 is not "nicht lesbar", but has]γι[, presumably part of Απολλωνι.

9 JOHNSTON, 2006b, 25:

1) Ermagathinos, fully preserved, is found as dedicator on a relatively large Chian chalice foot, 1888.421 (noted



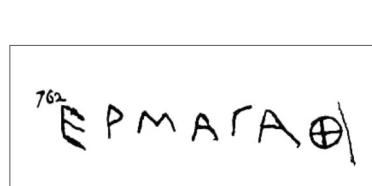
3. BM 1886.650-2 (after Stibbe, 1997 pl. 16, 1-2).



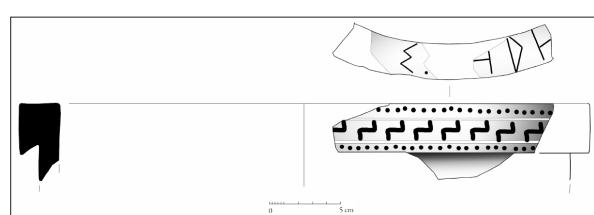
4. BM 1888.421.



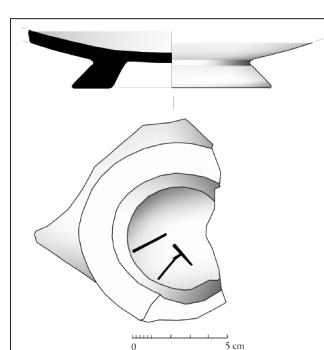
5. Oxford 1912.41 (36). Photo author.



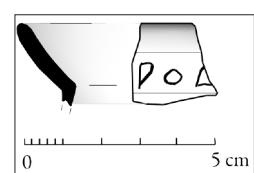
6. N ii 64.



7. Oxford G141.17.



8. BM 1910.2-22.187.



9. BM 1965.9-30.693.

Stibbe argues well enough that the pieces are from one cup which is Laconian (despite my hesitation *ibid.*), and we can note that the text started above a handle, perhaps a little further left than is the norm. Stibbe's mention of Hermagores as the dedicatory is incorrect since the left diagonal and a touch of the crossbar of the second alpha is partly preserved, *pace* the drawing in *N I*; Hermagores, possibly a Teian, dedicated a substantially later Fikellura amphora, Cairo 26152.¹⁰

None of Hermagathinos' four known dedications is cut with great competence, but the fact that all have an irregular gamma encourages one to take them all as cut by one person, however much the alphas might vary. Regarding competence, the Chian foot also has an unpublished, and complete, graffito underneath, Αροδίης.¹¹ Whether one accepts a single hand or not, it is to be stressed that in this case a single person dedicated pots from three or more production centres. The form of gamma points, on balance to his being a Chian, since there are two assured examples of non-Ionic gammas from Chios and one from Samos; but of course this is not a statistically valid sample!¹² Also, chronologically, this is a contribution, however modest to the comparative dating of the wares involved – more a useful, independent, cross-check on style and stratigraphy, rather than a substantial element in its own right.¹³

10 N876; M. VENIT, *Greek painted pottery from Naukratis in Egyptian museums*, Winona Lake, 1988, no. 151.

11 A further, joining sherd, not in N, has more of the normal dedicatory formula (A.W. JOHNSTON, "Some fictile biographies from Naukratis", in: D.C. KURTZ (ed.), *Essays in Classical Archaeology for Eleni Hatzivassiliou 1977-2007*, Oxford, 2008, 117, n.13).

12 Samian text in L.H. JEFFERY, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford, 1961 and 1990, 341, 7, and now *IG* xii 6, 558D; from Chios, Thymogethes' dedication at Naukratis (A.W. JOHNSTON, "Chios 1 Athens 3 (Ionian cup)", in: A.J.N.W. PRAG, A.M. SNODGRASS, G. TSETSKHLADZE (eds.), *Periplous; essays in honour of Sir John Boardman*, London, 2000, 163-170, esp. 164-166) and a "forgotten" text recently resurrected by Angelos Matthaiou ("Τρεῖς ἐπιγραφὲς Χίου", in: G. MALOUCHOU, A. MATTHAIOU (eds.), *Χιακὸν Συμπόσιον εἰς μνῆμην* W.G. Forrest, Athens, 2006, 103-136, esp. 120 and 126-127).

13 The "career" of Hermagathinos would be the controlling factor for chronology, but could be a lengthy

Thonemann would have noted that the two dedicatory formulas of Laconian pots whose names are reasonably well preserved are not only Ionians, but both have potamonyms.

LACONIAN ELSEWHERE

The wide spread of Laconian kraters is now being realised, though I fancy that much still has to be done to obtain any form of statistically reliable distribution map, as is the case for so much of our ceramic discussions. I merely point to the record from Kythera and from Crete, where substantial numbers of probably late archaic, or later, pieces are now known, while recalling Stibbe's very understandable surprise at only one Laconian vase having been recognised in material from Cyprus.¹⁴ The find-spot for Laconian pottery has been Samos, to the extent that even production on the island could be suggested, albeit such a case should be accompanied by some explanation why the staple black krater is very rarely found.¹⁵ While the additional find of a Spartan's dedication of a bronze lion adds depth to this picture of a special relationship, it is becoming cloudier with the discovery of much Laconian at the Aphrodite Oikous sanctuary on Zeytintepe, Miletus.¹⁶

span. It would not contribute much to the debate between Stibbe and Isler regarding the dating of Laconian III; see most recently H. Isler, review of STIBBE, 2004 in *Revue Archéologique* (2007), 354-355.

14 I remark on relevant material from Kythera and Crete in a forthcoming publication of the conference on Archaic Crete in the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, February 2007. See also STIBBE, 2004, 30.

15 STIBBE, 1997, 61; perhaps because the bulk are later than the "Samian" period of production? Maria Pipili tells me however (pers. comm.) that there are probably few black Laconian pieces yet to be published from the largely later deposit from the Samian Artemis sanctuary (see M. PIPILI, "Samos. The Laconian pottery", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 118 (2001), 17-102 and "The clients of Laconian black-figure vases", in: J. DE LA GENTIÈRE (ed.), *Les clients de la céramique grecque*, Paris, 2006, (*Cahiers de CVA* 1), 75-84, esp. 75-78).

16 For the lion see PIPILI, 2001 (n. 15) 18, n.6 with earlier bibliography. Miletus, S. PFISTERER-HAAS, "Funde aus Milet VI. Die Importkeramik", *AA* (1999), 263-271; all Laconian finds from Miletus are now studied for publication by Gerry Schaus; some pieces are included in STIBBE, 2004.

I merely add my continuing perplexity regarding the seemingly Laconian amphoras from later seventh century contexts at Kommos; it is a nice balance of typology and clay analysis, whereby the latter does point to Laconia and the former at least suggests it, even though good parallels, esp. for the period, are lacking.¹⁷

AEGINETANS AT NAUKRATIS AND ELSEWHERE

Laconian pottery is of course well known from Aegina, and the second part of my article concerns the evidence for the role of the island in the network of exchange during the period under consideration. I start from Naukratis, where Aeginetan presence is attested in Herodotus, though individuals are hard to find. I have suggested (Johnston, 1982 40-1) that we may have Chian kantharoi dedicated by Damonidas and Aristophantos,¹⁸ as from the Aphaia sanctuary, and Astrid Möller¹⁹ has made the plausible suggestion that among the hundreds of dedications to Apollo at Naukratis four may be Aeginetan because of the epigraphic peculiarity of the spelling, no omega and single lambda, combined in two cases with three-bar sigma, one of which also prefers the Doric crasis ταπολονος (fig. 10-13).²⁰ I note that two of these pieces are unusual carinated cups, yet to find a home, but possibly from the Dorian Hexapolis

17 A.W. JOHNSTON and C. DE DOMINGO, “A petrographical and chemical study of East Greek and other archaic transport amphorae”, *Ενλιμένη* 3 (2003), 27-60, esp. 37.

18 “Fragmenta Britannica, II. Sherds from Naukratis”, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, London* 29 (1982), 35-42, esp. 41.

19 A. MÖLLER, *Naukratis; Trade in Archaic Greece*, Oxford, 2000, 174-175.

20 The epichoric script of Aegina has diagnostic features when a sufficient number of letters are available, and especially when combined with Doric dialect. The combination of “Ionic” delta and lambda with three-bar sigma and Doric dialect is a very strong indicator indeed; even the lambda and sigma will find Doric company only in Thessaly and Elis. This “law”, or better “norm” applies particularly to the period discussed here, c. 600-480 BC. The crasis used by the Aeginetan Sostratos on his anchor-stock dedicated at Gravisa is τοπ..., not “strong” Doric ταπ... This is not the place to assess Wachter’s case (2001, 28) for manufacture on Aegina of the Aphaia dedications by Aristophantos and Damonidas, but I note that he misinterprets (217, Oa) the layout of the relevant sherd in University College London (JOHNSTON, 2006b, Fig. 1).

(see below), perhaps then pointing to Rhodes rather than Aegina as the home of the inscriber(s). The third is a “heavy, micaceous” cup and the fourth a standard Ionic cup:

1.]ταπολο[νο]ς vac. Cup with carinated wall. 1886.402 (N257, B218).
The sigma appears to be an angular three-bar version (fig. 10).
2.]πολονο[Cup with carinated wall. 1886.657 (N258, B219).
Three-bar sigma (fig. 11).
3.]λονος εμ[EG cup of Schlotzhauer type 10. 1886.373 (N275, B236).
Reversed four-bar sigma; first o worn, but no sign of struts of an omega (fig. 12).
4. vac Απολον[Standard EG cup. 1886.310 (N250, B211) (fig. 13).

But there are more than this quartet to consider:
a) four pieces are known to me where a single lambda appears with omega, presumably Ionic:

5.]Απολω[N7.
6.]Απολω[Standard EG cup. 1886.601 (N130, B91).
The reading in N misses a diagonal to left of the initial vertical - close-set alpha and pi?
7.]πολων[Standard EG cup wall. 1886.419 (N286, B247).
8.]ολω[Possibly Corinthian skyphos wall. 1886.646 (unpublished).
The reading of the first letter is by no means assured.

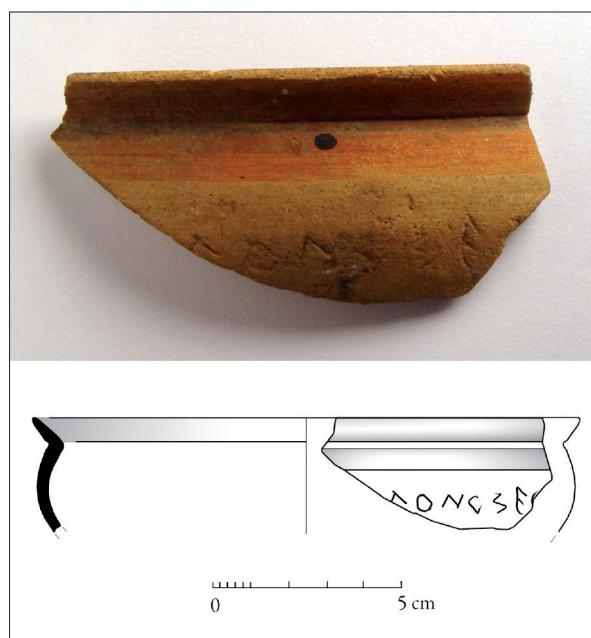
And

b) up to six other pieces, all from known versions of Ionic cups and bowls, certainly or probably exhibit one or more of these non-Ionic epigraphic features. Aegina is a possible, but not proven provenance of the inscribers of this set:

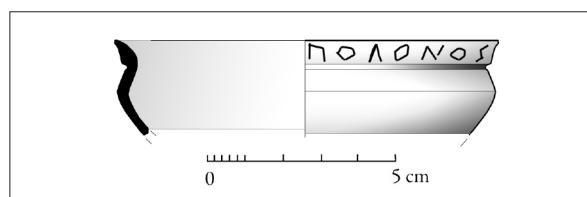
9.].ταπ[Standard EG cup. 1886.580 (N158, B119).
Pace N (which omits the break to left) a trace at left edge may be intentional letter; the alpha is clear but the horizontal of pi not.
10.]Απολονι vac? EG bowl, wall. 1886.876 (unpublished).
Only the lower parts of most letters are preserved, but this does seem to be an unusual version.



10. BM 1886.402. Museum photo.



13. BM 1886.310. Museum photo.



11. BM 1886.657.



12. BM 1886.373. Museum photo.

11.]ολο.[EG cup, lip. 1888.313 (unpublished).
But the last letter does not appear to be nu.
12.]ονος EG cup, Schlotzhauer type 10 variant;
fine-walled, with res. band at top of lip inside.
1886.385 (unpublished).
Omega seems unlikely, three-bar sigma probable.
13. vac τοπολ[Standard, small, EG cup.
1886.1029 (B765, pl. 23,1, but graffito
invisible). Long tau and pi.

And perhaps

14.]νο[or]ον[. Wall of a small closed vase, perhaps
EG. 1886.658 (unpublished).

There is therefore a grey area of material between fully Ionic and plausibly Aeginetan, some of which may well represent writers from other areas and others merely mistakes.

I can add one further piece in the same category, an unpublished scrap 1965.9-30.592, from a standard EG cup, which reads]ινα[, which on statistical grounds may well be part of Aig]ινα[... and an epithet of Apollo (fig. 14). The case is similar too, but less persuasive than, that of a graffito from Olbia, *SEG* 53, 788, no. 11, where also the text breaks after the alpha; the crasis with omega, τωιγινα[, demonstrates that the script is Ionic, although the final alpha must suggests that the dialect is either the Doric or



14. BM 1965.9-30.592.
Photo author.

weak Ionic (Athenian?). The apparent use at Olbia of omicron in two other cases of τοπολλωνι (*ibid.* nos. 16, 17) merely confounds the dialectal issue.²¹

From this whole body of material we can at least conclude that:

1. Associating Aeginetan script with the carinated cup type is not a plausible solution; the shape is a rarity at the period; probably earlier, seventh-century Siphnian versions are not particularly close, though Tocra and more importantly Emecik and the Pabuç Burnu wreck have yielded similar pieces.²²

And

2. Possibly Aeginetan dedications appear on pots of other fabrics - largely “standard” EG cups and Chian kantharoi; but that is statistically to be expected from the corpus as a whole, which is dominated by such material.

Centring thoughts on Herodotus’ text, as has been traditional, is dangerous in that areas that are politically, even ceramically peripheral may be overlooked. I think here of the Boeotians, seen in the seventh century at Kommos, and certainly involved in the later sixth in the history of a Thasian amphora found in the Agora at Athens.²³

21 I have not seen the original publication of the material, *Anacharsis*, but rely on the SEG readings.

22 J.K. BROCK and G. MACKWORTH YOUNG, “Excavations on Siphnos”, *BSA* 44 (1949), 47 and pl. 16, 4, noting the rarity of the form. For a recent review see E.S. GREENE, M. LAWALL and M. POLZER, “Inconspicuous consumption: the sixth-century B.C.E. shipwreck from Pabuç Burnu”, Turkey, *AJA* 112 (2008), 697 with n. 43 and 700, n.56. Add pieces from the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios at Emecik.

23 Kommos: E. CSAPO, A.W. JOHNSTON and D. GEOGHAN, “The Inscriptions”, in: J.W. SHAW,

One area that has not been considered of any pertinence, perhaps because Herodotus does not list it, may be brought in here, since it too has produced a large number of late archaic dedications to Apollo on pottery - Cyrene.²⁴ We find similar “unusual” spellings, though normally associated with δεκάτα, a formula almost absent from Naukratis. Here we would in a way close the circle that began with the attribution of those Laconian pots in the C19. I make two observations: there is a difference between Cyrenaic and Aeginetan dedications, in that they use 4- and 3-bar sigma respectively. And regarding δεκάτη, Schlotzhauer has argued its usage at Naukratis in the abbreviated form ΔEKA on two plain small olpai, of local clay.²⁵ He also asks the question that came to my mind: can these perhaps be Cyrenaic dedications?

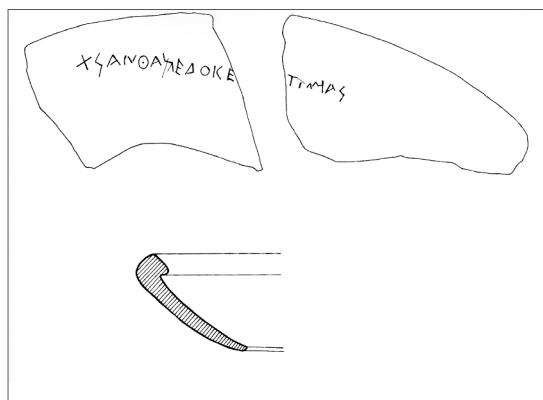
While the case for Aeginetan interpretations of dedications at Naukratis may not be as strong as Möller suggests, the presence of Aeginetans in the wider Archaic world has recently been reviewed by Birzescu, and I do not merely repeat his list of pieces of evidence, but rather concentrate on the strength of the evidence for such allocation of the relevant texts.²⁶ To my mind in the whole “corpus” the epigraphically strongest case can be made out for the Xanthas bowl from Olbia (fig. 15), where

M.C. SHAW (eds.), *Kommos IV. The Greek Sanctuary*, Princeton, 2000, 100-134, esp. nos. 19 and 27. Agora: A. W. JOHNSTON, “An Archaic Thasian amphora type”, *Hesperia* 60 (1991), 363-365.

24 For a corpus see now, J.-J. MAFFRE, “La dévotion à Apollo d’après des graffiti inscrits sur des fragments de céramique grecque trouvés à Cyrène”, *Karthago* 23, 167-183.

25 U. SCHLOTZHAUER, “Griechen in der Fremde; wer weihte in dem Filialheiligtümer der Samier und Milesier in Naukratis?”, in: A. NASO (ed.), *Stranieri e non cittadini nei santuari greci*, Florence, 2006, 294-311, esp. 309-310. There are problems with both probable readings, δέκα and δεκά(τη); the former leads to the difficult question, “ten what?”, while it is difficult to understand why the inscriber did not complete the full word if the latter is to be accepted; there is plenty of room. Herodotus does of course mention Cyrene in an Egyptian context a little later in book II (181) than his specific discussion of Naukratis.

26 I. BIRZESCU, “Zu den ältesten Steininschriften aus Istros”, *Dacia* 51 (2007), 133-137. I note here that the title that I requested for my relevant article in *Horos* 7 (1985) was “Some Aeginetans abroad”.



15. Bowl from Olbia Pontica.
After Vinogradov, 1997, pl. 15.1.

a good number of indications suggest Aegina;²⁷ Rhodes, which Vinogradov strongly championed, is some notches behind. But the fabric and date of these locally produced sherds are also of importance, and I cannot judge myself the strength of the archaeological case for a date high in the sixth century; such a date would do a little to alleviate the difficulty of taking the three-bar sigma as Rhodian, where there are examples before c. 600, but would make the dotted theta a very early example from anywhere (*pace* Vinogradov, *ibid.* 384; the horse-head amphora with the letter, which he dates 600-580, is surely considerably later).

Two earlier pieces that have a whiff or more of Aegina, and on which I must be brief, are the much debated mid seventh-century Menelas stand – to whose epigraphic problem we can now add an epigraphically curiously similar Parian piece from Despotiko –, and the roughly contemporary Corinthian A amphora from Cerveteri with a graffito which I have taken as Ταλιο in Aeginetan script.²⁸

27 Most recently VINOGRADOV, 1997, 377-384.

28 For the Menelas stand's inscription see G. FERRARI, "Menelas", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 107 (1987), 180-182; her observations about a "stately dance" would have to be emended in the light of the fact that we have warriors on the Despotiko vase (Y. KOURAYOS, "Despotiko Mandra; a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo", in: M. YEROULANOU, M. STAMATOPOULOU (eds.) *Architecture and Archaeology in the Cyclades: papers in honour of J. J. Coulton*, Oxford, 2005, 105-134, pl. 24E; also *BCH* 128-129 (2004-2005), 1560, Fig. 208). Wachter's criticisms (2001, 26) are to be taken seriously, but the basic notion that we have some form of copywork here remains likely. Cerveteri amphora, A. JOHNSTON, "Amphoras and text", *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 116 (2004), 735-

Turning finally to some Aeginetan aspects from the later archaic period, I first of all mention two unusual and individual price inscriptions on Attic pots which for a combination of dialectal, epigraphic and numismatic reasons I have taken to be probably Aeginetan; it is unfortunate that neither piece was found in excavation and that the texts are not very easily interpretable.²⁹

Far more common and repeated are some trademarks on Attic pots that I have taken as Aeginetan, largely but not solely on epigraphic grounds. Here I wish to make one palinode and add some complicating but I hope interesting remarks.

I argued that the SO graffito on a black Laconian amphora in the British Museum is associable with the Aeginetan Sostratos, making the piece the sole epigraphic link between traders of fine and storage wares.³⁰ The jar has since been cleaned and the sigma has been shown to have four not three bars; the link is at best severely strained.

While that Aeginetan-Laconian-Athenian circle is weakened, I am still convinced that the "regular" SO graffito is normally Aeginetan and that the full name of the person concerned was probably Herodotus' Sostratos. The question is of course made more

760, esp. 740-741; see also M.A. RIZZO, "Una kotyle del Pittore di Bellerofonte di Egina ed altre importazioni greche ed orientali dalla tomba 4 di Monte Abatone a Cerveteri", *BdA* 140 (2007), 1-56, esp. 43-44. We should note that Τελλιας and especially Τηλιας are rare but viable names, the latter appearing on Kea and Ios; however, the use of the genitive singular in -ο on Aegina does indeed pose a problem, as Lazzarini rightly points out (M.-L. LAZZARRINI, intervento in *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 116 (2004), 804-805).

29 A. JOHNSTON, "Directed trade: two epigraphical problems", *Céramique et peinture grecques. Modes d'emploi, Colloque, Paris 1995*, Paris, 1999, 397-402, esp. 398-400, and "Pots and tetrolobols", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 152 (2005), 115-120. A curious dipinto on a sarcophagus from Aegina town could possibly include the notation S = stater; E. PAPASTAVROU, 'Υπόγειοι λαξευτοί ταφοί τῆς Αἴγινας (= Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς 145 (2006), 71, pl. 17a).

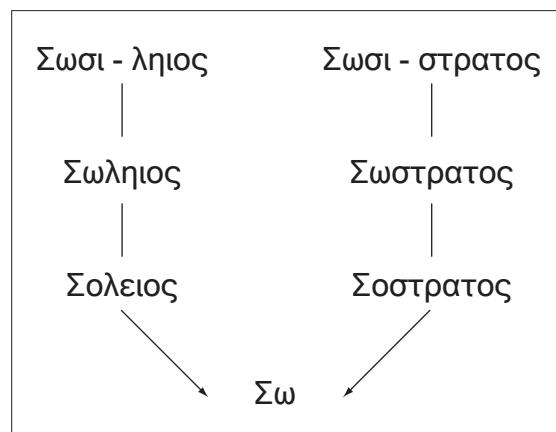
30 Intervento in: M. CRISTOFANI (ed.), *Il Commercio Etrusco Arcaico (Atti dell'Incontro di studio, 5-7 dic. 1983)*, Rome, 1985, 265. This revision naturally weakens the relevant part of Bruni's construction of Aeginetan-Laconian relations (BRUNI, 1994, 212).

complex by the very large number of personal names in So-, and I finish by helpfully adding to this complexity.

Colonna has convincingly to my mind identified a dedicatory at Adria of the LA period as an Aeginetan, Soleios; as he argues, other Aeginetans may well have left their mark at Adria too.³¹ A recent find is of high interest here, a similarly datable Attic cup foot from the sanctuary of Diomedes on Palagruza with the clear dedication of presumably the same Soleios.³² While this is a precious artifactual link up the Adriatic of one shipper's activity (I deliberate use as neutral a noun as possible), it will not have escaped notice that his name commences So-. Can we proceed to allocate SO marks to him or Sostratos, or any third or fourth party? If so, on what basis? I am thinking in particular, and here we reconnect Aegina and Laconia, of a Laconian krater from Spina with a form of SO graffito, which has been taken to be Sostratos' mark, and so an indication either of an overland arrival of the piece, from Tyrrhenian Etruria or of Sostratos operating on both seas.³³ It would take a long time, which we do not have, to disentangle this web, but I hope at least to have adumbrated some of its strands.

I just add a hypothesis which cuts the Gordian knot: Soleios and Sostratos were one person, or perhaps brothers (fig. 16). Dubois rightly has reservations about an interpretation as “a man from Soloi”, writing in Aeginetan script and posits another explanation of the name Soleios, derived from Sosi-laos;³⁴ we then have Sosi-laos and Sosi-stratos, and

law and stratoj are of course closely related terms. This hypothesis might better explain the dedication by a person called So at Adria; it is in fact not his full name, but his trading-name, his abbreviation (fig. 17). But I must add that Dubois' explanation depends on the possibility of the insertion of an iota as a glide in -εος, which is a more problematic issue, his parallels being substantially later. More plausible is to see a compound involving -ληή/ληιος, giving a name “meaning” the same as that of the more or less contemporary Samian Syloson. [pl. 9] The names commemorate an aspect of archaic trade that we should not forget; Samos and Aegina were not shy members of the Mediterranean circuit of the sixth century.



16. A possible parallel line of onomastic usage and development?



17. Attic cup foot from Adria. After Antonetti, loc.cit., pl. 1b.

31 G. COLONNA, “I greci di Adria”, *Rivista di Storia Antica* 4 (1974), 1-21, esp. 6 with pl. 1d. See also C. ANTONETTI, “I Greci ad Adria fra il VI e il V secolo a.C.”, in: M. BERTINELLI, A. DONATI (eds.), *Il cittadino, lo straniero, il barbaro, fra integrazione ed emarginazione nell'antichità*, Rome, 2005 (*Serta Antiqua et Mediaevalia* 7), 115-142.

32 B. KIRIGIN, M. MISE, V. BARBARIC, S. POPOVIC, “Palagruža - the island of Diomedes; summary excavation report 2002-2008”, *Hesperia* 25 (2010), 77, fig. 10,1 and 85.

33 First published in A.W. JOHNSTON, “Rhodian Readings”, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 70 (1975), 151, Fig. 2,A; see also BRUNI, 1994, 211-2 and M. HARARI, “Tireno e Adriatico; mari paralleli”, *Padusa* 38 (2001), 21.

34 L. DUBOIS, *Inscriptions Grecques Dialectales de*

Grande Grèce. 1. Colonies Eubéennes, Colonies Ioniennes, Emporia, Geneva, 1995, 179

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Giorgos Bourogiannis, Alexandra Villing and Susan Walker for facilitating study of the British Museum and Ashmolean Museum material. Drawings of these pieces are by Denitsa Nenova.

ABBREVIATIONS

I abbreviate some British Museum, Greek and Roman, registration numbers:

1886.000 = 1886.4-1.000

1888.000 = 1888.6-1.000.

EG = East Greek

B + numeral = catalogue number in A. BERNARD, *Le delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs, i. Les confins libyques*, Cairo, 1970.

N + numeral = catalogue number in NI and II.

VENIT + numeral = catalogue number in M. VENIT, "Laconian black figure in Egypt", *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985), 391-8.

BRUNI, 1994 = S. BRUNI, "Un problematico documento per la storia della frequentazione dell'area spinetica prima di Spina. Appunti sulle rotte adriatiche in età arcaica" in: F. REBECCHI (ed.), *Spina e il delta padana*, Rome, 1994, 203-219.

DUGAS = Ch. DUGAS and R. LAURENT, "Essai sur les vases de style cyrénén", *Revue Archéologique* 9 (1907), 377-409.

HOGARTH = D.G. HOGARTH, H.L. LORIMER, C.C. EDGAR, "Naukratis 1903", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 25 (1905), 105-136.

JOHNSTON, 2006b = A.W. JOHNSTON, "The Delta: from gamma to zeta", in: A. VILLING and U. SCHLOTZHAUER (eds.), *Naukratis; Greek diversity in Egypt*, London, 2006, 23-30.

NI = W.M.F. PETRIE, *Naukratis I*, London, 1886.

NII = E.A. GARDNER, *Naukratis II*, London, 1888.

STIBBE, 1994 = C.M. STIBBE, *Laconian Drinking Vessels and Other Open Shapes*, Amsterdam, 1994.

STIBBE, 1997 = C.M. STIBBE, "Lakonische Keramik aus dem Heraion von Samos", *Athenische Mitteilungen* 112 (1997), 25-142.

STIBBE, 2004 = C.M. STIBBE, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Supplement*, Mainz, 2004.

SCHLOTZHAUER and VILLING = U. SCHLOTZHAUER and A. VILLING, "East Greek pottery from Naukratis; the current state of research", in: A. VILLING, U. SCHLOTZHAUER (eds.), *Naukratis; Greek diversity in Egypt*, London, 2006, 53-68.

VINOGRADOV, 1997 = J. VINOGRADOV, *Pontische Studien: kleine Schriften zur Geschichte und Epigraphik des Schwarze Meerraumes*, Mainz, 1997.

WACHTER, 2001 = R. WACHTER, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions*, Oxford, 2001.