Trading Goods – Trading Gods. Greek Sanctuaries in the Mediterranean and their Role as *emporia* and 'Ports of Trade' (7th–6th Century BCE)

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Abstract: Greek sanctuaries are well known primarily as places within the community to feast and worship the gods. Since the late 7th century BCE, certain sanctuaries, such as Gravisca, Pyrgi or Naukratis, were founded in frontier zones, where they provided access to other cultural groups and featured peculiar economic characteristics. Karl Polanyi defined these sanctuaries as 'ports of trade'. Sanctuaries with the function as 'ports of trade' or '*emporia*', typically do not consist of large settlement structures, but offer features for trade and exchange, a protecting neutrality, and function as a gateway between at least two parties. The archaeological record indicates an important Greek presence in 'ports of trade' situated in frontier zones. Additionally, administrative structures and exchanged goods suggest a completely transformed trading strategy from the late 7th/early 6th century BCE onwards. This paper argues that '*emporia*' were the key institution for the beginning of an intensive Mediterranean long distance trade in the Classical World.

Introduction

Although Greek sanctuaries had different topographic, architectural, cultic and functional features, generally they were centrally located within a *polis*, which highlighted its identity. Often, these cult places defined the *polis'* territory, frontier and social space, or as Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, the sacred landscape of all Greek city-states.[1] The economic functions of these sanctuaries ('temple economy') were based on endowments, ownership of land and livestock, and the provision of religious services (e.g. sale of priesthoods or healing and oracle services).[2] During the late 7th and 6th century BCE, however, new types of Greek sanctuaries were established: 'ports of trade' or *emporia*, located in frontier zones to other cultural groups and used primarily for trade.

emporia and ‚ports of trade'

The term *emporion* comes from the ancient Greek word ἐμπόριον, which means 'trading post' and it can be found several times in Herodotus' Histories.[3] With the studies of Karl Lehmann-Hartleben[4], this term became a *terminus technicus* for harbours and trade centers, which functioned as neutral ex-

[1] Cole 1995; de Polignac 1995; Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a; Sourvinou-Inwood 2000b; Funke 2009; Funke – Haake 2013.

[2] Rosenberger 2002; Horster 2004; Papazarkadas 2011.

[3] The term ἐμπόριον can be found in the following passages of Herodotus: 1, 165, 1; 2, 178–179 (about Naukratis); 3, 5, 2 (about trading posts in the Levant); 4, 20, 1 (about Kremnoi); 4, 24 (about Borysthenes and other trading posts in Pontos); 4, 108, 2; 4, 152, 3 (about Tartessos); 7, 158, 2; 9, 106, 3. For other ancient usages see Casevitz 1993; Counillon 1993; Étienne 1993.

[4] Lehmann-Hartleben 1923, esp. 28–45.

change places between at least two parties without local settlement structures. Karl Polanyi identified the term *emporion* from Classical studies with his general concept of 'ports of trade', which he applied to many cultures and societies.[5] Despite some striking differences, both terms are widely used in similar ways by scholars of Classical studies.[6] However, both terms and their significance have been and still are intensively discussed.[7] It is particularly problematic that scholars tend to label heterogeneous time periods, cultures and concepts with the term 'port of trade'. Nevertheless, some basic characteristics can be stated in respect to this phenomenon:

(1) They are positioned in topographic, cultural and political frontier zones, often as coastal harbours or at political borders;

(2) They serve primarily as a gateway for the long distance trade between at least two parties;

(3) They guarantee safety and/or neutrality during the trade in the form of cult places, neutral zones, etc.;

(4) They do not have settlement structures, or very few of them.

Fig. 1 Map of the Mediterranean with the most important sites in this paper (author with Natural Earth [www.naturalearthdata.com]).

This paper targets those *emporia* which were established during the 7th–5th century BCE by Ionian Greeks in the entire Mediterranean and which provide evidence that their central component was cultic; examples include: Naukratis, Gravisca, Pyrgi, Tartessos and Massalia. Due to the amount of available sources, Gravisca and Naukratis are my main case studies for this analysis; however, I also take other contexts and sources into consideration. The main questions concern the features of *emporia*, their role in the Mediterranean long distance trade and the reasons for their founding by the Ionian city-states in this particular time period. I argue

5 Polanyi 1963.

6 For a critical examination of this problem, see: Möller 2000, 60 f. with note 157 and reference; Schweizer 2007, 315–317; Demetriou 2011, 255–258; Demetriou 2012, 16–19. The main difference between *emporion* and ‚port of trade' lies in the fact that an *emporion* is an exclusively Greek institution, which is (other than the 'port of trade') not independent and neutral, but a self-governing unit.

7 The complex research history cannot be reflected here completely, see for the terms and their discussion e.g.: Lehmann-Hartleben 1923, 28–45; Polanyi 1963; Figueira 1984; Bresson – Rouillard 1993; Rouillard 1995; Hansen 1997; von Reden 1997; Möller 2000, 60–70; Möller 2001; Hansen 2006; Schweizer 2006, 102–126; Schweizer 2007; Demetriou 2011; Demetriou 2012, esp. 16–23.

that the new sanctuary foundations in *emporia* represent a goal-oriented and effective trade policy of the Ionian *poleis* with foreign administrative trading partners. From an economic point of view, this trade policy creates the first Mediterranean long distance trade on a large scale in the Classical world due to the introduction of social structures and a drastic reduction of transaction costs.

Foundation and initial phase

Naukratis and Gravisca, provide information on the foundation and initial phase of *emporia*. Located in the western Nile Delta on the Canopic branch of the Nile, Naukratis[8] was connected directly to the residence city of Sais via a Nile passage and consists of several sanctuary areas **(fig. 2)**.

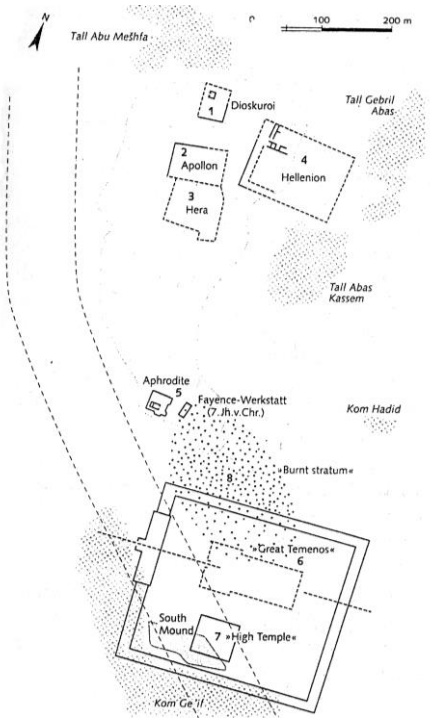

Fig. 2 Overview of the sanctuary areas of Naukratis (after Vittmann 2003, 215 fig. 108).

[8] For Naukratis see the research project of the British Museum 'Naukratis. Greeks in Egypt' under the direction of Alexandra Villing with publications, references and an extensive online catalogue: The British Museum, Naukratis. Greeks in Egypt. (<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/naukratis_the_greeks_in_egypt.aspx>, 30.11.2015).

The reconstruction of the foundation and the initial phase of Naukratis turned out to be complicated. Herodotus is the earliest literary source that describes the beginnings of Naukratis:

> φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἄμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι: τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν οἰκέειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖσι. τὸ μέν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ ὀνομαστότατον ἐὸν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεύμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἵδε αἱ πόλιες εἰσὶ αἱ ἱδρυμέναι κοινῇ, Ἰώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί, Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κνίδος καὶ Ἁλικαρνησσὸς καὶ Φάσηλις, Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη.[9]

Pharaoh Amasis (570–526 BCE) offered permission to the Greeks to found Naukratis, a trade complex with sacred areas for Greek deities. The largest and most famous cult place, the *Hellenion*, would have been founded by the nine *poleis* of Asia Minor,

[9] Hdt. 2, 178, 1–2: "Amasis became a lover of the Greeks, and besides other services which he did to some of them he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naucratis to dwell in, and to those who voyaged to the country without desire to settle there he gave lands where they might set altars and make holy places for their gods. Of these the greatest and most famous and most visited precinct is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene." (translation Godley 1946).

Chios, Teos, Phokaia, Klazomenai, Rhodes, Knidos, Halikarnassos, Phaselis und Mytilene, which also would have supervised Naukratis. In fact, the oldest pottery findings relate to the Ionian coast and indicate a foundation of Naukratis around 620/610 BCE (i.e. before the reign of Amasis). One of the earliest cult structures, the sanctuary of Aphrodite, dates back to this period.[10] The establishment of the sanctuary at this time would coincide with the reign of Psamtik I (664–610 BCE), which is supported by Diodorus Siculus:

> καθόλου δὲ πρῶτος τῶν κατ᾽
> Αἴγυπτον βασιλέων ἀνέῳξε τοῖς
> ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην
> χώραν ἐμπόρια καὶ πολλὴν
> ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς καταπλέουσι
> ξένοις παρείχετο.[11]

Strabo also describes the foundation of Naukratis during the reign of Psamtik I and refers to the Milesians as the founders:

> εἶθ᾽ ἡ Περσέως σκοπὴ καὶ τὸ
> Μιλησίων τεῖχος: πλεύσαντες
> γὰρ ἐπὶ Ψαμμιτίχου τριάκοντα
> ναυσὶ Μιλήσιοι (κατὰ Κυαξάρη
> δ᾽ οὗτος ἦν τὸν Μῆδον)
> κατέσχον εἰς τὸ στόμα τὸ
> Βολβίτινον, εἶτ᾽ ἐκβάντες
> ἐτείχισαν τὸ λεχθὲν κτίσμα:
> χρόνῳ δ᾽ ἀναπλεύσαντες εἰς τὸν
> Σαϊτικὸν νομὸν
> καταναυμαχήσαντες Ἰνάρων
> πόλιν ἔκτισαν Ναύκρατιν οὐ
> πολὺ τῆς Σχεδίας ὕπερθεν.[12]

Although discussions concerning the beginnings of Naukratis have been intense and controversial[13], the oldest findings of Naukratis date back to the late 7th century BCE and support the written records of the foundation of Naukratis during the reign of Psamtik I. The earliest pottery findings also suggest a foundation by Ionian *poleis*, as evidenced by the above discussed written sources. On the other hand, the earliest building activities may relate to a restructuring of the *emporion* around 570 BCE, during the reign of Amasis.

The two sanctuary areas of Gravisca **(fig. 3)** were part of the harbour site of Tarquinia situated directly at the Tyrrhenian coast. Both sanctuaries consist of several building complexes and cult areas, which can be mostly assigned to specific deities. In this case no written records describe the initial phase of Gravisca, and so only archaeological data can be used to reconstruct the *emporion's* beginning. Many of the earliest findings from Gravisca are fragments of Ionian pottery, which can be dated roughly to ca. 620–600 BCE.[14] Other findings include a rim fragment of a *dinos* in 'Wild Goat Style', a Samian griffin protome of a bronze cauldron, and a Laconian bronze figurine of

[10] Möller 2000, 102–104; Kerschner 2001, 78–90; Schlotzhauer – Villing 2006.

[11] Diod. 1, 67, 9: "[…] and, speaking generally, he was the first Egyptian king to open to other nations the trading-places throughout the rest of Egypt and to offer a large measure of security to strangers from across the seas." (translation Oldfather 1968).

[12] Strab. 17, 1, 18: "And then to the Watch-tower of Perseus and the Wall of the Milesians; for in the time of Psammetichus (who lived in the time of Cyaxares the Mede) the Milesians, with thirty ships, put in at the Bolbitine mouth, and then, disembarking, fortified with a wall the above-mentioned settlement; but in time they sailed up into the Saitic Nome, defeated the city Inaros in a naval fight, and founded Naucratis, not far above Schedia." (translation Jones 1959).

[13] Möller 2000, 182–196; Möller 2001, esp. 13–21; Vittmann 2003, 211–214; Demetriou 2012, 109–123; Fantalkin 2014.

[14] For this topic, see Boldroni 1994, esp. 253.

Aphrodite, which also belong to this phase.[15] The figurine seems to indicate that the most ancient cult of Gravisca was one dedicated to Aphrodite as the protector of mariners.[16] The oldest building structure, which belongs to a shrine of Aphrodite, dates back to around 580 BCE.[17]

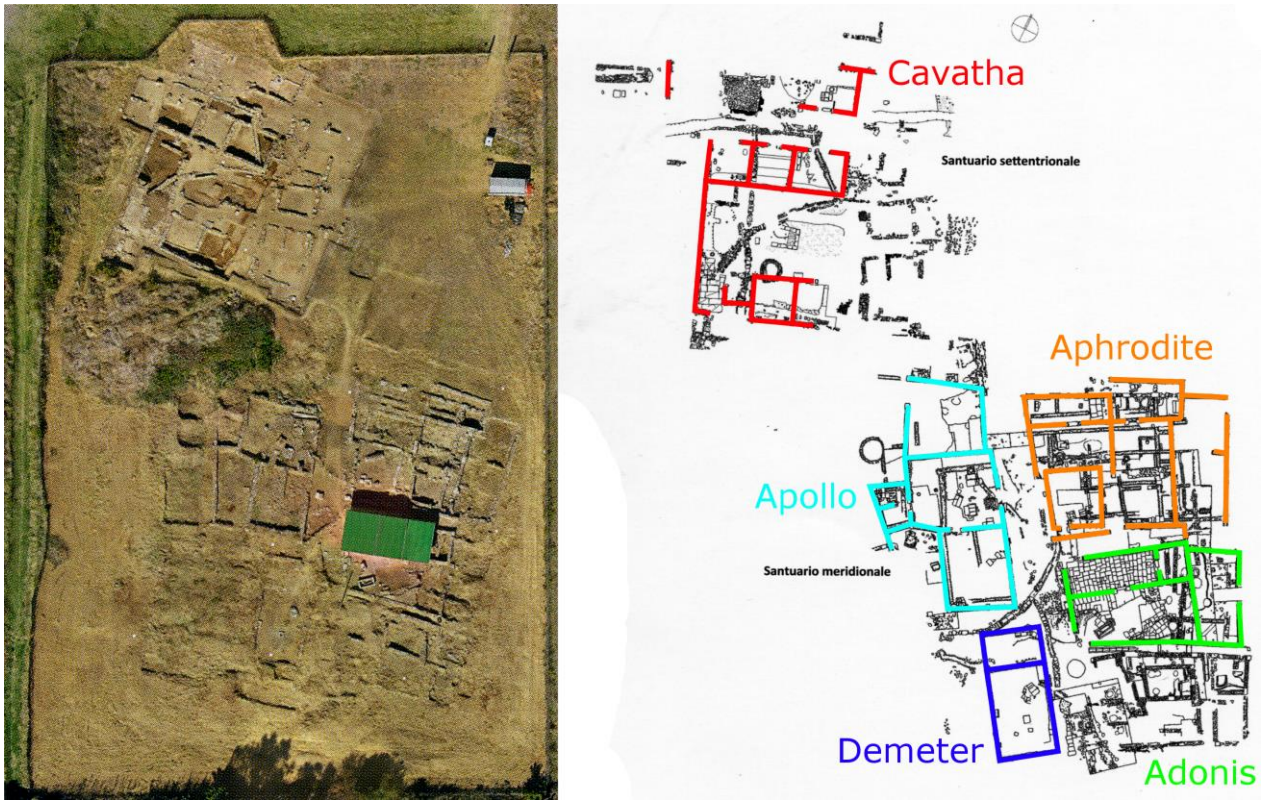

Fig. 3. The two sanctuary areas of Gravisca (author after Mercuri – Fiorini 2014, 31 f. fig. 1–2).

The finding of a Samian griffin protome in the earliest phase of Gravisca is particularly important. Herodotus[18] tells us that shortly after the discovery of Tartessos, at ca. 600 BCE, the Samians dedicated a tenth of their profits in the form of a bronze cauldron with griffin protomes to the Sanctuary of Hera in Samos. In both cases, in Tartessos as well as in Gravisca, the Samians would establish an *emporion* around 600 BCE and would dedicate shortly afterwards a bronze cauldron to their gods (one time in the *emporion* and the other one in Samos). In my opinion, this is no coincidence, but a strategic Ionian procedure, which can be reconstructed in one case with written sources and in the other case with the archaeological record. With the exception of scholars such as Mario Torelli and Lucio Fiorini,[19] these common characteristics of the foundations of Gravisca and Naukratis have not been sufficiently taken into account. These observations are particularly important since they provide a new interpretative framework in which to situate Gravisca and Naukratis into the entire phenomenon of '*emporia*' and 'ports of trade'.

[15] Boldroni 1994, 90–93 Nr. 157; Torelli 2004, 125 f., 146 f., fig. 31, 32, 34; Mercuri – Fiorini 2014, 31. 72 Nr. 11–13 with fig.

[16] See Demetriou 2012, 91–96 with reference.

[17] Torelli 2004, 125–127; Fiorini 2005, 181–185; Fiorini – Torelli 2010, 42 f.; Demetriou 2012, 88; Mercuri – Fiorini 2014, 31–33.

[18] Hdt. 4, 152, 4.

[19] Torelli 2004, 125–127; Fiorini 2005, 181–185; Fiorini – Torelli 2010, 42 f.

Indigenous control and administration

An important topic is the control and administration of the *emporia*. A (Eastern-)Greek presence dominated in Naukratis, but the written sources indicate that the Egyptian government allowed the establishment of this *emporion*.[20] Naukratis seems to have been a unique institution for contact between Greeks and Egyptians, which was completely embedded in the local administration structures. Herodotus states:

> ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου: εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπίκοιτο, χρῆν ὀμόσαι μὴ μὲν ἑκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ νηὶ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν: ἢ εἰ μή γε οἷά τε εἴη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὗ ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο.[21]

Greeks, apart from mercenaries,[22]were only tolerated as merchants within the *emporion*, while in the heavily guarded frontiers, Greeks were considered intruders.[23] A statue of the Egyptian Nakhthorheb identifies his title as "agent at the gate of the foreign countries of the Mediterranean ("the Great Green Area")". Nakhthorheb seems to have been an administrative officer with authority over Naukratis and the Greek trade.[24]

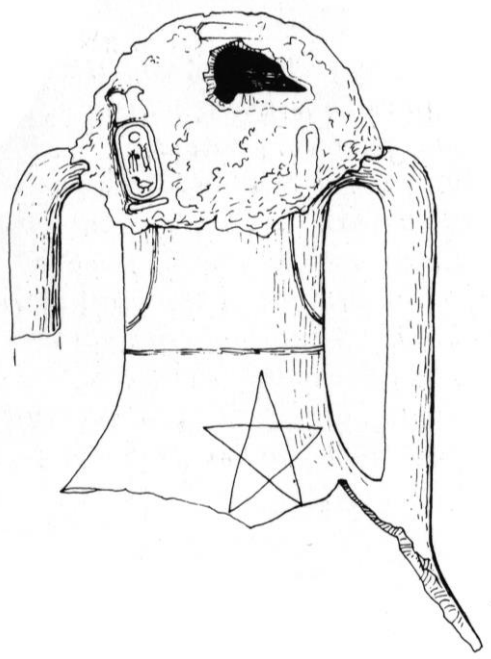

Fig. 4 Fragment of a Chian transport amphora sealed with an emblem of Amasis (after Boardman 1999, 129 fig. 152).

Another indication of a central administration and control of Greek imports is given by a fragment of a Chian transport amphora dating back to the 6th century BCE **(fig. 4)**, which was sealed with an emblem of Pharaoh Amasis.[25] Only the king and his administrative system were in charge of the Chian wine and all Greek imports. Even the Egyptian folk-etymological translation of Pharaoh Psamtik I's name indicates his administrative function. The name Psamtik (*Psmṯk*; maybe: "man of the God *Mtk*") is probably Libyan and has been translated folk-

[20] See above with notes 9 and 11.

[21] Hdt. 2, 179: "Naucratis was in old time the only trading port in Egypt. Whosoever came to any other mouth of the Nile must swear that he had not come of his own will, and having so sworn must then take his ship and sail to the Canobic mouth; or, if he could not sail against contrary winds, he must carry his cargo in barges round the Delta till he came to Naucratis. In such honour was Naucratis held." (translation Godley 1946).

[22] Vittmann 2003, 197–209.

[23] One feels reminded of accounts on Greek raids in Egypt passed on by Homer (Hom. Od. 14, 252–272) and Herodotus (Hdt. 2, 152, 4–5). See also Vittmann 2003, 197–199 on this topic.

[24] Pressl 1998, 270 Nr. F 22.1; Vittmann 2003, 220 with fig. 111 and note 92; Agut-Labordère 2012, 364 f.; Agut-Labordère 2013, 1005 f. Administrative officers and heads of the Egyptian borderline, which were also responsible for customs and taxes, are attested in many cases; see on this topic Pressl 1998, 70–73 Chapter 7.1.2.

[25] Boardman 1999, 129 with fig. 152.

etymologically in Egyptian texts as "man/ merchant of mixed wine".[26] As mentioned above, Pharaoh Psamtik I allowed the foundation of Naukratis and the first importations of large quantities of Greek wine to Egypt. This fact remained in the cultural memory of the Egyptian population and led to the folk-etymological translation of Psamtik I's Libyan name, which reflects the economic change in Egypt with the establishment of the Greek *emporion*.

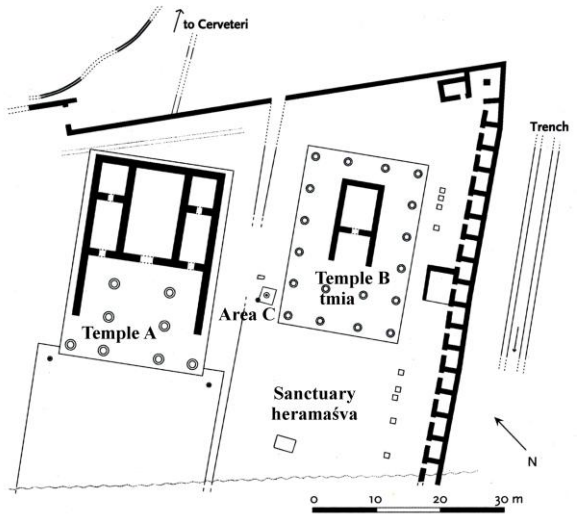

Fig. 5 The Northern Sanctuary of Pyrgi with the Etruscan terms mentioned in the gold foils (author, after S. Haynes, Etruscan Civilization. A Cultural History (Los Angeles 2000) 175 fig. 152a and Colonna 2010, 300 fig. 7).

In Pyrgi **(fig. 5)** we have access to another archaic *emporion* in southern Etruria. Pyrgi was one of the harbours of Caere and consists – like Gravisca – of two sanctuaries. This place is situated directly on the Tyrrhenian coast and was connected to Caere by a large street. In the northwestern main sanctuary, three inscribed gold foils **(fig. 6)** have been found in Area C. These foils can be dated to ca. 500 BCE and were originally attached to the door of Temple B.[27] Two of the foils are inscribed in Etruscan and one in Phoenician.

Fig. 6 Drawing of the three gold foils from Pyrgi (after G. Colonna (ed.), Santuari d'Etruria. Exhibition catalogue Arezzo (Milan 1985) 135).

The Phoenician and the Etruscan text of the gold foils mention the dedication of a sanctuary area (probably Temple B) to the goddess Uni-Astarte by the ruler Thefarie Velianas:

> LRBT LʾŠTRT ʾŠR QDŠ | ʾZ ʾŠ PʾL
> WʾŠ YTN | TBRYʾ . WLNŠ MLK
> ʾL | KYŠRYʾ . BYRH . ZBH | ŠMŠ
> BMTN ʾBBT.[28]

> ita . tmia . icac . he | ramaśva .
> vatieχe | unialastres . θemia | sa .
> meχ . θuta . θefa | rie{i} . velianas
> . sal cluvenias turuce […].[29]

[26] Quaegebeur 1990; Colin 1996, Vol. 2, 121; Jansen-Winkeln 2000, 16 f.; Vittmann 2007, 152 with note 74; A. Schütze, WiBiLex s. v. Psammetich I. (www.bibelwissenschaft.de/de/stichwort/31564, 31.08.2015).

[27] For the original context and a historical classification see Colonna 2010, esp. 276–286. 297–300 fig. 1–7; for the Etruscan inscriptions see Maras 2009, 349–356 Nr. Py do.1–2.

[28] "For the Lady, for Astarte (is) this holy place which Thefarie Velunas, king over Kaysriye, made, and which he put in the temple in *Mtn*, the month of solar sacrifices." (translation P. C. Schmitz [1995, 562]). For the Phoenician text of the gold foils from Pyrgi see Schmitz 1995.

[29] "This temple [Temple B, *tmia* (fig. 5)] and this sanctuary [*heramaśva* (fig. 5)] have been desired(?) by Uni for her own favour; Thefarie Velianas, after accomplishing the action *θemi* in relation with *meχ θuta*, *sal cluvenias* he dedi-

In both cases, Thefarie Velianas is addressed as a ruler or king[30]. In his role as the Lord of Caere, he built a monumental complex dedicated to the goddess Uni-Astarte and most likely, held an administrative control over the *emporion* of Pyrgi.

Deities and worshippers

Most of the deities of the *emporia* were Greek, despite local administrative control. In Naukratis **(fig. 2)**, there was a *Hellenion*[31] where the "Gods of the Greeks" (τοῖς Θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήνων)[32] were worshipped. In addition, Naukratis featured cult places for Apollo[33], Hera[34], Zeus(?)[35], Aphrodite[36] and the Dioskouri[37]. At Gravisca **(fig. 3)**, Aphrodite, Hera, Apollo, Adonis and Demeter were venerated in the Southern Sanctuary, while the Northern Sanctuary consisted of cult places for the Etruscan deities Śuri and Cavatha.[38] Etruscan deities were mainly worshipped in Pyrgi, such as Uni[39] and Thesan[40] in the Monumental Sanctuary, while Śuri and Cavatha were worshipped in the Southern Sanctuary. However, in this case there is also evidence of *interpretationes* or "international syncretisms of cults".[41]

The study of the votive inscriptions of the Southern Sanctuary of Gravisca sheds light on the background of worshippers in *emporia*.[42] Besides trademarks, single letters and unidentifiable inscriptions, 121 Greek inscriptions exist: 42 to Hera, six to Aphrodite, two to Apollo, one to Demeter and one to Zeus and his sons (the Dioskouri).[43] In contrast, only 53 Etruscan inscriptions have been found, one of which was dedicated to Uni, ten to Turan and two possibly to Vei.[44] Thus, not only the dominant Greek presence in the Southern Sanctuary of Gravisca is interesting, but also the difference in the venerated deities within the Greek and Etruscan offerings.

Votive inscriptions not only make the identification of deities possible, but they also tell us about the origins and backgrounds of the worshippers as well. The most famous example might be of the Greek merchant Sostratos of Aigina. Herodotus describes the discovery of the unknown Tartessos by the Samians and its untapped resources. However, even after its discovery, the Samians' profits were no competition for Sostratos of Aigina:

cated [...]" (translation author after D. F. Maras [2009, 349–354]).

30 In Phoenician as MLK ʾL KYŠRYʾ, which means king of Caere; in Etruscan as *zilacal seleitala* (further below on the gold foil and not quoted here), which means clearly a form of autocratic rule. It remains unclear if the Etruscan title refers to a king, tyrant, or to another office.

31 Möller 2000, 105–108; Höckmann – Möller 2006.

32 Höckmann – Möller 2006, 13–15.

33 Möller 2000, 94–99.

34 Möller 2000, 101.

35 Möller 2000, 104.

36 Möller 2000, 102–104.

37 Möller 2000, 99 f.

38 Apollo (Apollo Soranus in the Faliscan and Roman Religion) and Persephone in the *interpretatio graeca*.

39 Uni has been syncretized with the Greek Goddess Hera and with the Phoenician Goddess Astarte.

40 Thesan has been syncretized with the Greek Goddess Leukothea and with the Roman Goddess Mater Matuta.

41 Besides the gold foils from Pyrgi that reference the Etruscan Uni and the Punic Astarte, in some cases Greek merchants also dedicated vases to Greek deities, such as Demeter and Kore: Colonna 2004, 71 f. 92 f. fig. 3–8. See also Figure 7 below with references for the Attic plate with a dedication of a Sostratos.

42 On this topic, see Johnston – Pandolfini 2000.

43 Johnston – Pandolfini 2000, 17–19 Nr. 4–56; 23–27.

44 Johnston – Pandolfini 2000, 71 Nr. 375–388; 74–79.

τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἦν
ἀκήρατον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον,
ὥστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι
ὀπίσω μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων
πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκείην
ἴδμεν ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν,
μετά γε Σώστρατον τὸν
Λαοδάμαντος Αἰγινήτην: τούτῳ
γὰρ οὐκ οἷά τε ἐστὶ ἐρίσαι
ἄλλον.[45]

The merchant Sostratos mentioned in the passage above is probably linked to the worshipper who dedicated an anchor stone to Apollo around 500 BCE in Gravisca. The votive inscription states:

Ἀπό|λον|ος Ἀι|γινά|τα ἐμ|ί.
Σόστ|ρατος |ἐποίη|σε ho|[…].[46]

Unfortunately, the patronymic within the inscription is not preserved on the anchor stone, so we do not know if it was the Laodamas mentioned by Herodotus. Not only the name Sostratos links the votive inscription to Herodotus' account. In addition, the inscription names Apollo of Aigina as the recipient while Aigina is also the home of Herodotus' Sostratos. Therefore, both sources may well refer to the same person. The name Sostratos is attested also on an Attic plate fragment **(fig. 7)** from Pyrgi with the votive inscription, "[Σω]στρατος : ανε[θηκεν …?]".[47] Since the fragment can be dated to the late 6th century BCE, we may be dealing with the famous merchant. Other examples seem to be more difficult to interpret, e.g. trademarks with the inscription "ΣΟ" on pottery dating from the period of 530–500 BCE, which may be abbreviations for Sostratos;[48] however, there is no evidence that indicates this is the case. The same applies to two dedications from Naukratis by a certain Sostratos, found on a bowl and a kantharos of Chian production dated to the late 7th and early 6th century BCE.[49] Even though both vessels have been dated to 60–100 years before the previously mentioned examples, it has been suggested that the two men with the same name could have been from the same 'merchant dynasty'.[50] Yet, these suggestions have been criticized by scholars.[51]

[45] Hdt. 4, 152, 3: "Now this [Tartessos] was at that time a virgin [unvisited] port; wherefore the Samians brought back from it so great a profit on their wares as no Greeks ever did of whom we have any exact knowledge, save only Sostratus of Aegina, son of Laodamas; with him none could vie." (translation Godley 1957).

[46] I belong to the Apollon of Aigna, Sostratos made me, [son of Laodamas?]… Johnston – Pandolfini 2000, 15 f. Nr. 1 with fig.; Schweizer 2007, 307–309; Demetriou 2012, 64 f. with fig. 4; 80 f.; Mercuri – Fiorini 2014, 70–72 Nr. 8 with fig.

[47] Sostratos dedicated[…?]. Colonna 2004, 71 with note 8; 92 fig. 3; Schweizer 2007, 309 with note 20.

[48] Johnston 1979, 189 f. Type 21A; Johnston – Pandolfini 2000, 15 f.; Johnston 2006, 56–59 Type 21A; Schweizer 2007, 309 with note 19.

[49] London, British Museum. Inv. 1888,0601.456 (bowl) and 1924,1201.783 (kantharos). Möller 2000, 56 f. 178 Nr. 2; 249 Nr. 2b; Pl. 4; Williams 2006, 128 with fig. 5; Schweizer 2007, 309–311; Demetriou 2012, 80 f. 138 fig. 12 with indications to the pieces, further reference, and the research history.

[50] Therefore, there would be a Sostratos I (Naukratis; end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century BCE) – Laodamas (mentioned by Herodotus) – Sostratos II (trademarks, Gravisca, Pyrgi; ca. 530–500 BCE). For a rightly critical assessment, see Schweizer 2007, 310 with further references.

[51] E.g. by Schweizer 2007, 310 ("Die Spur des Sostratos derart weiter zu verfolgen, erfordert dann aber wohl doch zu viele Vorannahmen.") and Demetriou 2012, 81 ("Scholars have carried the parallels between Naukratis and Gravisca too far, however").

Fig. 7 Attic plate from Pyrgi with probable dedication of a Sostratos (after Colonna 2004, 92 fig. 3).

While a single person with the name Sostratos can hardly be found at the same time in Naukratis and Gravisca, there are plausible examples for other merchants. The rare Ionian name Hyblesios appears around 550 BCE on one dedication to Hera at Naukratis and Gravisca; thus, it would appear that one Samian merchant with this name traded and dedicated in both *emporia*.[52] The same can be assumed about a certain Zoilos, whose name appears on several dedications in Naukratis around 570–550 BCE and on a Little-master cup in Gravisca dated to ca. 550–530 BCE, which indicate that one merchant was active in both *emporia*.[53] As they are located far away from each other, this indicates a high mobility and trading specialization, as well as potential enormous profits for Greek merchants.

What was exchanged?

Emporia were highly frequented institutions where merchants played a key role. What stimulated the interest of the Greek merchants and what was exchanged on such a large scale? Since in Greece no Egyptian or Etruscan specialty products[54] exist in sufficient quantities for these trade networks, we have to think primarily of commodity trade. However, which commodities interested Ionian merchants?

The numerous Greek vases found in Etruria provide information about the nature and numbers of wares imported through *emporia*. But what resources were exported in return to Greece? This question is not easily answered, because many resources were consumed with little material signature in the archaeological record. Written sources provide little information for the Archaic and Classical period in Etruria. Enough information about the details of the commodity trade only exists for the period of the Second Punic Wars. During the preparations of Publius Cornelius Scipio for his invasion of Africa, the Etruscan city-states supported him by providing their own local resources (*pro suis quisque facultatibus*): Caere provided grain, Populonia iron, Tarquinia linen for sails, Volterra interior fittings of ships and grain, Arezzo weaponry, and Perugia, Chiusi and Roselle fir and grain.[55] One might suggest that the Greek merchants were mainly interested in grains, wood and metal.[56]

Egypt provides us with much more information due to an Aramaic customs account, which is the longest customs account in antiquity and dates back to 475 or 454 BCE, the 11th year of the reign of Xerxes I (486–465 BCE) or Artaxerxes I (465–424/423 BCE).[57] This account consisted originally of 60–70 columns, of which 40 are at least par-

[52] Demetriou 2012, 79 f. with notes 62–68.

[53] Demetriou 2012, 81 with notes 78–81.

[54] Especially the Etruscan metal processing and jewellery manufacturing were popular in the entire Mediterranean. On this matter, see Ambrosini 2014, esp. 173–175.

[55] Liv. 28, 45, 14–18.

[56] On Etruscan resources and production goods, see Camporeale 2012, who also especially mentions grain, wood and metal.

[57] Briant – Descat 1998; Vittmann 2003, 103 f.; Cottier 2012.

tially preserved, and contains a ship list arranged by date of arrival, name and patronymic of the ship owner or captain, ship type, and custom dues. 42 ships were registered between the months *Hathyr* (February/March) and *Mesore* (November/December). 36 of these ships came from the Ionian Phaselis, the other six ships from Phoenicia, and the imported goods mainly consisted of wine, oil, and 'Samian Earth', with natron (*ntr'*) as the main export.[58]

"Small gifts preserve friendships"

Intercultural gift exchange of prestige goods provided a means to establish trade contracts.[59] The search for resources and valuable goods (*χρήματα*, *κτήματα*) like purple dye and metal encouraged the establishment of foreign ties with culturally different societies.[60] To obtain these goods peacefully and securely, agreements and contracts were necessary and these were formalized by gifts (*κειμήλια*).[61] Gifts established rights to stay, to exploit resources, and to exchange goods – and therefore, the foundation of *emporia* in the Mediterranean during the 7th–5th century BCE. Where gifts circulated, soon exchange of goods and commodities would follow.[62]

It is difficult to demonstrate the circulation of prestige goods and gifts in the archaeological record because one can rarely recognize gifts, although we are relatively well informed about the gift exchange in Etruria, Latium and Carthage. During the 7th and 6th century BCE members of the Etruscan and Latial elites donated objects with '*muluvanice*-inscriptions' to each other.[63] These objects, often vessels, contained the Etruscan inscription "*mini muluvanice*…" (…gave me as a gift) with the subsequent mention of the donor's name.

Also significant to this discussion are the *tesserae hospitales* ivory platelets that contain a figural decoration on one side and on the other an Etruscan name inscription.[64] *Tesserae hospitales* were used during the late 7th and 6th century BCE as a distinctive mark for a *hospitium*, a friendship or mutually beneficial relationship between two aristocratic families. All inscriptions are written entirely in Etruscan, but the locations at which they were found and the prosopographical information recorded on them suggest a wide network of beneficial relations and contacts. One *tessera hospitalis* was found in the sanctuary of S. Omobono in Rome. The inscribed name "*araz silqetenas spurianas*" refers to the Tarqui-

58 Briant – Descat 1998, 69–73. 95; Vittmann 2003, 104; Cottier 2012, 58 with note 46 and reference to Plin. nat. 31, 46.

59 On this subject, see Wagner-Hasel 2000, 246–260.

60 Greek trade with other cultures, especially for metal, can be found several times in the Homeric epics. For instance, Sidon is described as rich in copper ("Σιδῶνος πολυχάλκου"; Hom. Od. 15, 425); Athena, disguised as the Taphian Mentes, mentions the exchange of copper against iron in Temesa (Hom. Od. 1, 178–184); Menelaos collects goods and gold in Egypt (Hom. Od. 3, 300–302); the Phoenicians stay for one entire year on the island of Syrie for the acquisition of goods (Hom. Od. 15, 455 f.); and the Greeks trade Lemnians copper, iron, animal skins, cattle and slaves against Lemnian wine outside of Troy (Hom. Il. 7, 467–475). On trade in the Homeric epics, see Kopcke 1990, 121–128; Donlan 1997, 651–654.

61 Homer gives reference to a precious silver vessel that was made by the Phoenicians and given to Thoas as a gift (Hom. Il 23, 741–749); Menelaos and Helena receive two tripods, two silvered bathtubs, ten talents in gold and other gifts from friends in Egypt (Hom. Od. 4, 125–134); and Menelaos donates Telemachos a silver vessel given to him by Phaidimos, king of Sidon (Hom. Od. 4, 611–619; 15, 110–120).

62 Wagner-Hasel 2000, 254 with note 243.

63 Cristofani 1975; Wallace 2008; Tuck – Wallace 2013, 11–15. 29 f. Nr. 1–2.

64 Maggiani 2006; Colonna 2010, 287–289; Tuck – Wallace 2013, 16–20. 31–36 Nr. 3–8.

nian family Spuri(a)na, while the *ethnikon* Silqetena could possibly be linked to Sulcis on Sardinia.[65] One *tessera* with the inscription "*mi puinel karθazie***X***v esψ*[- - -]*na*" was found in Carthage and provides evidence for a Etruscan-Carthaginian connection[66], while another piece comes from Murlo, Poggio Civitate and with its inscription "[*mi*] *puinis ep*[- - -]" it certainly points to the Punic area, maybe even to Ibiza (Etruscan **epuse*?).[67] Although there is also a connection with Rome, the large number of *tesserae hospitales* suggest a closer connection to the Carthaginian territory during the 7th and 6th century BCE. **Figure 8** maps the political connections between Etruscans, Romans and Punics, which are implied by the *tesserae hospitales* (continuous lines refer to certain connections, dashed lines to hypothetical relations). Especially interesting in this connection is a comment of Aristotle mentioning military, economic and political agreements between Etruscans, Carthaginians and other societies. These agreements were sealed with *σύμβολα* (ancient Greek for written contracts or distinctive marks).[68] The same word *σύμβολον* was also used in ancient Greek as a direct translation for the *tessera hospitalis*.[69]

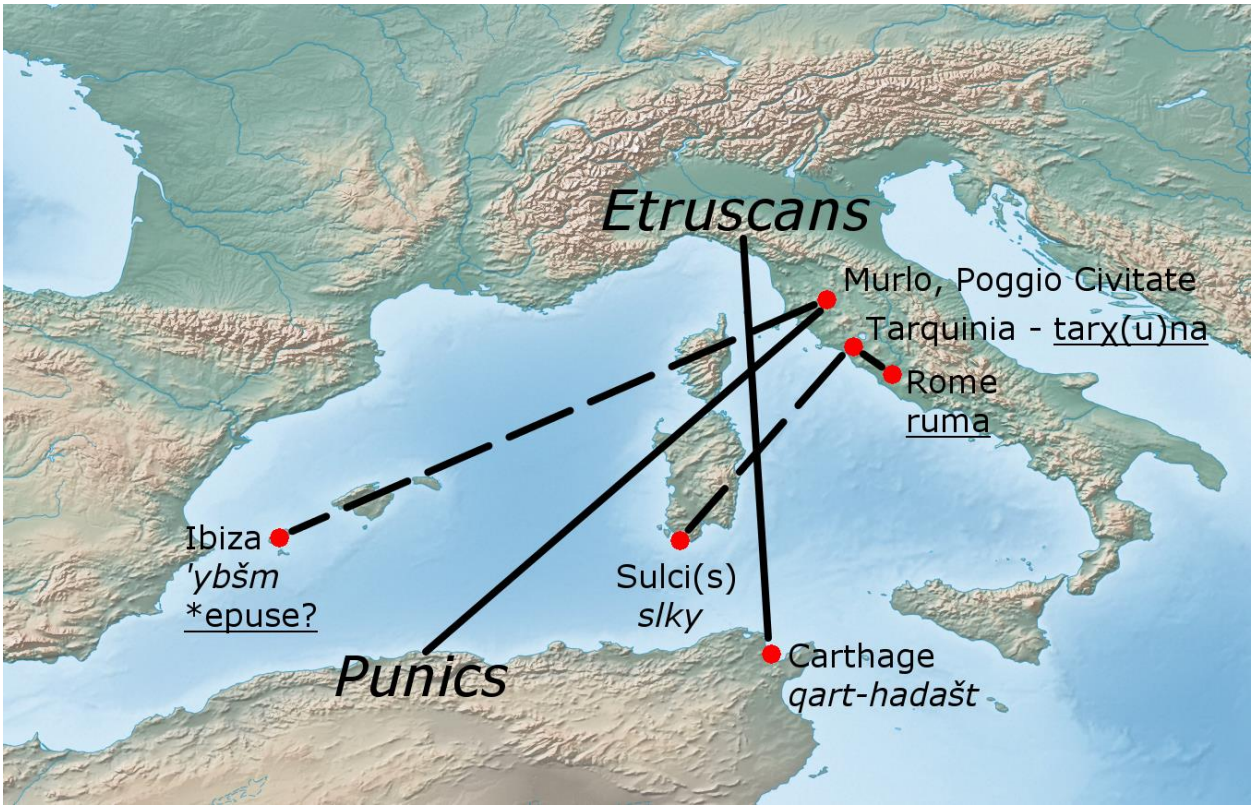

Fig. 8 Schema of the political connections between Etruscans, Punics and Romans on the basis of findings of tesserae hospitales (Punic toponyms are in italics, Etruscan toponyms are emphasized; author with Natural Earth [www.naturalearthdata.com]).

[65] Cristofani 1990, 21 Nr. 1.6; Pl. 1; Maggiani 2006, 321 Nr. 2; 341 f. fig. 1–2 Nr. 2; Colonna 2010, 288 with notes 71–72; 301 fig. 9.

[66] Maggiani 2006, 319–321 Nr. 1; 341 f. fig. 1–2 Nr. 1; Colonna 2010, 288 with note 69; 301 fig. 10.

[67] Maggiani 2006, 324 f. Nr. 6; 341 f. fig. 1–2 Nr. 6; 346 Pl. 3; Colonna 2010, 288 f. with note 70; 301 fig. 11.

[68] Arist. pol. 3, 1280a, 36–40.

[69] Maggiani 2006, 328 f.

Unfortunately, in Greece, the archaeological record for intercultural gift exchange is much less revealing.[70] Greek monumental vessels and exceptional prestige goods in non-Greek contexts were repeatedly interpreted as gift exchange, e.g. Attic monumental vessels of the 8th century BCE on Cyprus and Crete[71], Attic monumental vessels of the late 6th–5th century BCE in Italy[72], and southerly imports in Princely seats ('Fürstensitze') and Princely graves ('Fürstengräber') of the Hallstatt Culture.[73] In all of these cases, there is no precise information regarding gift exchange, contracts and the exchanged goods. However, some ancient sources testify that the Phocaeans forged strategic alliances and contracts with non-Greek rulers to trade commodities and to erect settlements as well as *emporia*. Herodotus narrates this in the case of Tartessos:

> […] ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλέι τῶν Ταρτησσίων, τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν, Ἀργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαιέες οὕτω δή τι ἐγένοντο ὡς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σφέας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἑωυτοῦ χώρης οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται: […].[74]

The Phocaeans in the early 6th century BCE were eager to build – and successful in doing so – a friendship with Arganthonios, *basileus* of Tartessos, because of its rich, even legendary metal resources.[75] Similar alliances and mutually beneficial relationships were forged earlier with the Romans under their king Tarquinius Priscus[76], and with Nannos, king of the Segobriges, in order to found Massalia around 600 BCE:

> Temporibus Tarquinii regis ex Asia Phocaeensium iuventus ostio Tiberis invecta amicitiam cum Romanis iunxit; inde in ultimos Galliae sinus navibus profecta Massiliam…[77]

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[70] On this matter in general, see Tsetskhladze 2010.

[71] Coldstream 1983.

[72] Guggisberg 2009, 111–126.

[73] The southern imports and their role in Princely seats of the Hallstatt Culture are still the topic of an intense discussion and a substantial amount of studies. For the interpretation of southern imports in terms of gift exchanges I mention representatively the following studies: Fischer 1973; Eggert 1991; Dietler 1995; Rieckhoff – Biel 2001, 40–54; Kistler 2010, esp. 75–88 and recently Baitinger 2015.

[74] Hdt. 1, 163, 2–3: "When they came to Tartessus they made friends with the king of the Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius; he ruled Tartessus for eighty years and lived an hundred and twenty. The Phocaeans so won this man's friendship that he first entreated them to leave Ionia and settle in his country where they would; …" (translation Godley 1946).

[75] See on this matter also Blech 2001, 310–313. Also the Phoenicians seem to have been very interested in the metal deposits of Tartessos during the 7th/6th century BCE, since they exchange their goods against silver, iron, tin and lead from Tartessos. The prophet Ezechiel describes this in the Old Testament for the city Tyros (Ez 27, 12; see also Murray 1995, 91–94).

[76] See also Torelli 2004, 125; Fiorini 2005, 181 f.; Fiorini – Torelli 2010, 42 f.; Mercuri – Fiorini 2014, 31 f. Iustin states only as a date "Temporibus Tarquinii regis", which must refer to Tarquinius Priscus/Lucumo (614–578 BCE) and not to Tarquinius Superbus (534–510 BCE), since the sealing of this alliance takes place before the foundation of Massalia 600 BCE.

[77] Iust. 43, 3, 4: "In the time of King Tarquin some young Phocaens sailed from Asia into the mouth of the Tiber and made an alliance with the Romans, after which they set off in their ships for the most remote inlets of Gaul, founding Massilia…" (translation Yardley 1994).

To seal the alliance between Phocaeans and Segobriges and to authorize the foundation of Massalia, a marriage between the Phocaean Protis and Gyptis, daughter of king Nannos, took place.[78] All these events, the foundation of Naukratis and Gravisca, the contracts and alliances with the rulers of Tartessos, Rome and the Segobriges, as well as the foundation of Massalia, took place on Ionian initiative in the few years between the late 7th and early 6th century BCE. Thus, we are able to observe in these events a progressive economic strategy for the exploitation of Mediterranean resources on a large scale **(tab. 1)**.

'Ports of trade', transaction costs and longdistance trade

Karl Polanyi recognized the central reason behind the erection of *emporia*, which is economy and trade.[79] Since the late 7th century BCE, *emporia* become an institution emerging on Ionian initiative across the entire Mediterranean. With the establishment of *emporia*, we notice the establishment of completely new forms of Greek sanctuaries lying in frontier zones, particularly in Egypt and Etruria. The installation of colonies was impossible for the Ionians in these places, since big empires controlled the resources with military force. In other cases, such as in Massalia, the Ionians founded colonies to claim commodities.

620 BCE	610 BCE	600 BCE	590 BCE	580 BCE	570 BCE
Foundation and earliest activities in Naukratis					*Reorganization of Naukratis*
Foundation and earliest phase of Gravisca				*Earliest buildings in Gravisca*	
		Discovery of Tartessos and Alliance with Arganthonios			
		Foundation of Massalia and Alliance with Nannos			
		Negotiation with Rom and alliance with Tarquinius Priscus			

Table 1 Ionian initiatives for the exploitation of Mediterranean resources (author).

[78] Iust. 43, 3, 8–12.

[79] Polanyi 1963, 30–32.

While we can postulate an open market economy for the Ionian *poleis*, where *emporoi* carried out long distance trade, in other social structures autocratic structures were dominant[80], which enabled a market system for everyday products, but controlled precious goods in a highly centralized administrative system. Both economic systems – free market and redistributional – are very different from each other, only being similar in that they move goods across distances. To enable trade and commodity exchange, a neutral and secure gateway is required: the *emporion*. Parallels can be found in East Asia during the 17th–19th centuries. In China, until the end of the First Opium War in 1842, Guangzhou (near Hong Kong) was the only harbour open to western merchants. The prices and conditions were determined by the Chinese customs officials. Likewise, under the Tokugawa in the 17th century, Japan maintained the so-called *Sakoku* edicts ("closed country"), a policy of isolation that did not allow foreigners to enter Japan or Japanese to leave the country. The only exception to these edicts was the artificial island Dejima in the harbour of Nagasaki. This was the only place where foreign merchants could trade.[81]

How can we evaluate the Archaic and the Classical long distance trade in the Mediterranean and the role of *emporia*? Fundamentally, there are two parties: the Ionian Greeks on the one hand, and their centralized and administrative trade partners on the other. At first, the Ionian *polis* and the trade partners operated with gift exchange and

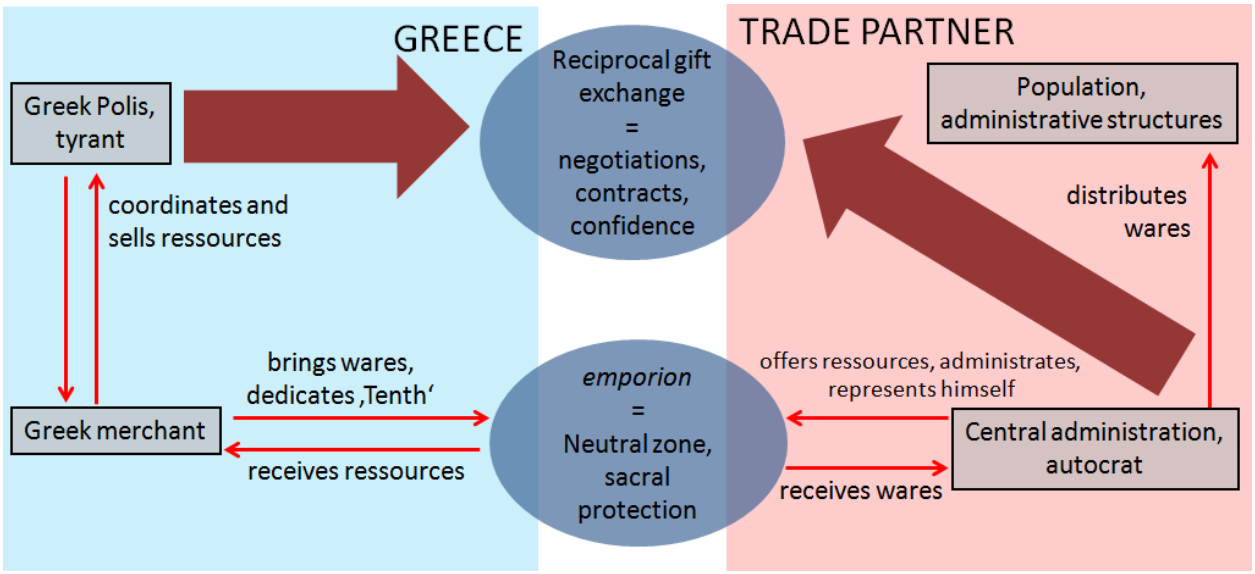

Fig. 9 The ‚emporion' System. Schema of the Mediterranean long distance trade during the 7th–5th century BCE (author).

[80] In Egypt this means the pharaoh with an extensive bureaucracy, in Phoenicia the *mlk* with urban elites, in southern Etruria the *zila0*, this means a king or tyrant. Likewise, in Rome, southern Gaul and Tartessos monarchies are attested.

[81] For the *Sakoku* Edicts see Laver 2011, esp. 87–128, for the regulation of long distance trade and 159–181 for Dejima and Nagasaki. The comparison between Naukratis and Nagasaki is already mentioned briefly by Vittmann (2003, 214 with note 77) with a citation of a travel report of Engelbert Kaempfer. Kaempfer traveled to Nagasaki in 1690 and reports that strangers could only stay there and nowhere else. If a storm forced a traveller to land at another place, he had to give evidence for that and turn back to Dejima. The similarities with the travel conditions in Naukratis and Egypt as narrated by Herodotus (Hdt. 2, 179) are evident.

contracts. The Ionian merchants traded their goods in the newly founded *emporion*, where dedications and taxations took place as well. The local centralized structure distributed the goods and gave resources and commodities (e.g. metal, ore, salt, grain, slaves) in return. The Greek merchants transported the commodities and sold them for profit in the Greek *poleis* **(fig. 9)**.

The key concepts of the 'New Institutional Economics' (NIE) offer new insights to the phenomenon of *emporia* as they target institutions, property rights, transactions costs and their role on the economy.[82] For instance, the institution *emporion* offers infrastructure, neutrality, sacred protection and safety as well as a reliable and quick calculation of prices and conditions. From an economic point of view, this means a drastic reduction of transaction costs.[83] Especially Douglass C. North has worked out that the exchange of products is associated with enormous costs.[84] The determination of available products, their amounts and prices, as well as the implementation of exchange and its safety caused high transaction costs,[85] which could only be lowered by general institutional formations. These institutions were, in our case, *emporia* that were erected in the frontier zones of trading partners and represented the incorporated form of stable, but also static agreements with redistributive and centralistic societies. The more intensely the Ionians traded with these societies, the sooner the costs for the construction of an *emporion* paid off, and the more stable and durable were the contracts.[86] The erection of such a trade network lowered the transaction costs for the long distance trade or enabled it for the first time in such dimensions, but also forced the Ionians into regular and lively trade activities.

"The development of long-distance trade […] requires a sharp break in the characteristics of an economic structure. It entails substantial specialization in exchange by individuals whose livelihood is confined to trading and the development of trading centers [...]".[87] One can understand the economic shift in the Mediterranean around 600 BCE by the identification of the highly specialized merchants (*naukleroi*) of the Ionian coast and the establishment of *emporia* as trading centers. The institution *emporion* also established and guaranteed safety, quality standards and unified measure standards for the first time. Prices became much more stable and the agents of the pharaoh and of the Ionian city-states could use a shared platform for trade and commodity exchange. For this reason, 'New Institutional Econom-

[82] For an orientation on applications of the 'New Institutional Economics' in Classical studies see Frier – Kehoe 2007; Bang 2009; von Reden 2015, 102–104 with further references.

[83] North 1985, 558: "Transaction costs here are defined as the costs of specifying and enforcing the contracts that underlie all exchange (…). They are the costs involved in capturing the gains from trade. They include a specification of what is exchanged or of the performance of agents and an analysis of the costs of enforcement. The costs of contracting are in general those of searching out who has rights with respect to what is being traded, what rights they have, and what are the attributes of the rights; those of searching for prices associated with the transaction and the predictability of those prices; and those of stipulating contracts and contract performance."

[84] North 1977; North 1984; North 1985; North 1987; North 1991.

[85] North 1987, 419–422.

[86] North 1977, 711: "In general we observe that the smaller the number of buyers and sellers the more likely there will be monopoly and monopsony power present and traders will prefer long-term stable contracts to insure uninterrupted trade; the greater the volume of transactions the lower the cost per unit of acquiring information about supply and demand conditions; the more costly it is to alter a contract the more likely it will be of long duration; […]".

[87] North 1991, 99.

ics' is a key concept in order to understand the success of *emporia*, but also, for example, why Greek pottery began to spread over the entire Mediterranean and coinage was introduced in this period as well.[88]

An 'Ionian Master Plan'?

While sanctuaries were originally *polis*-related institutions, now, as *emporia*, they took on an entirely new role and formed the basis of the first specialized long distance trade network in the Mediterranean. Since ca. 600 BCE, the fact that transaction costs had sharply dropped allow, for the first time in the Classical world, a high level of specialization and professionalization as well as the exploitation of earlier unknown markets.[89] However, the new developed markets required reorganizations, investments and new institutions by the Ionians at the same time. In this phase, changes included the first coinage in western Asia Minor and trademarks on exported vessels.[90] The Ionian colonization of the Black Sea and the sharp increase of Greek ceramic exportations in the entire Mediterranean convey this new economic expansion.[91] The sanctuaries at the frontiers were the central elements of *emporia* representing a goal-oriented and effective trade policy of the Ionian *poleis* with the Egyptian pharaoh, with the *zilaθ* (a king, ruler or tyrant?) of the Etruscan city-states, as well as with the kings of Rome, Tartessos and of the Segobriges. Due to the scale of this trade network one could speak of an 'Ionian Connection' or of a 'Ionian Master Plan'.

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88 North 1977, 710–716; North 1991.

89 Douglass C. North postulated: "[…] transactions costs in the ancient past would have been an insuperable barrier to price-making markets throughout history. Indeed we do not observe such markets emerging until the Sixth Century B.C., Athens." (North 1977, 710). This is a very accurate observation that only needs to be corrected to the extent that one can observe these markets for the first time around 600 BCE with the Ionian *emporoi*.

90 The earliest coinage in Electrum can be dated to around 600–580 BCE and contain the weight standards from Miletus, Phokaia and Samos. On the earliest coinage see Kurke 1999, 3–23; Kim 2001; Günther 2006; Osborne 2007, 292–295; Bresson 2009.

91 Tsetskhladze 1998; Fantalkin 2014, 35 with note 38.

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