Greeks and Phoenicians.
Periods of exchange, dynamics of the networks and ports of trade

Iva Chirpanlieva

chercheur associé, laboratoire Orient et Méditerranée, CNRS, Paris

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Introduction

The main problem in the study of the economic relations between Greeks and Phoenicians results from the absence of a synthesis covering the long term (*la longue durée*), from the beginning of the contacts in the Iron Age down to the end of the Persian period. For a study based on the ceramic evidence (imported Greek pottery) it is important to study every pot and in the same time the global framework of its circulation. Otherwise, I try to consider these contacts outside the political conflicts, beyond the line drawn between classical and Semitic cultures, because the continuing relations that existed between the Greeks and the oriental world prove on the contrary that the Mediterranean was a zone of intensive contacts. But it is not sufficient to realise that products do circulate, we have to understand the logics behind it. In this sense, I will demonstrate that even if the Greek fine pottery cannot be interpreted in terms of international trade and that it does not justify the creation of a trade network by itself, it can nonetheless be used as an archaeological marker of exchange networks because its commercialisation fits into established commercial currents. Even more we can determine periods of growth when exchange intensifies, in parallel with the development of ports of trade (port de redistribution) and how their geographical localisation plays an important role.

Theoretical framework

To approach these issues, we have to place our reflection in a wide theoretical horizon. We shall not resume here all the theoretical debate on ancient economy, but we want to present some new approaches which will, in my opinion, allow to interpret better our documentation and to answer our questionings.

It seems that we entered the postmodern era and that it is necessary to give up the primitivists' theories. Indeed, we cannot consider anymore the ancient economy as a «primitive and irrational economy»[1] and continue to read the archaeological data in this sense. The studies that grow such type of interpretations as those of Moses Finley are widely questioned today and it is considered as underestimating the scale and the meaning of the trade exchanges in Antiquity, by not speaking of «economy» but rather of «economic policy»[2]. All the debate between «substantivists» and «formalists» is based on this question of the existence or not of a market economy in Antiquity[3].

For the substantivists which defend the idea that the ancient economy was not governed by mechanisms of market (offer, demand and price) and the contemporary economic theories are not applicable to the ancient economic systems. As indicates it clearly Alain Bresson[4], the fundamental problem in the works of the modernists is the fact that they study the ancient economy with regard to the contemporary economy, using the tools of analysis of the capitalist world and it is necessary to go out of the dichotomy between «economic» capitalist societies and societies defined as «precapitalists» and thus «without economy». The processual archaeology also influenced the study of the trade in Antiquity by supporting the hypothesis of «substantivists». The spatial analyses proposed by this last one (quantification and distribution of the archaeological data[5]) had to end in the creation of general models, within the framework of a search for general laws on human behaviour. Only these approaches do not take into account a large part of the perishable products, the fact that contacts cannot be conceived as a straight line and the distances cannot be measured as the crow flies: they depend on numerous geographical factors and on the technological level of societies. There is a problem of generalization which must be solved. We can evoke as well here the centre-periphery (or core-periphery) models, based on Immanuel Wallerstein's

[1] Bresson 2007-2008, 8-22.
[2] Finley 1982.
[3] Polanyi 1957, in K. Polanyi, C. M. Arensberg and H. W. Pearson (eds), *Trade and market in early empires* (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1957), 243-269.
[4] Bresson 2007-2008, 21.
[5] Spatial analysis: Renfrew 1975. It represents an important tool in this kind of investigations, but it must be combine with new approaches and not confined only to the creation of models.

«World Systems theory»[6]. This model was developed by the economists of the underdevelopment; it expresses an asymmetrical relation between a centre, an exploiter, and another one which is dominated. The central idea in these works is the exploitation of the peripheries by a centre, but it reduces all the relations between societies to relationships of dependence and a wide part of the discussion seems to concentrate on the identification of these centres and peripheries[7].

This is a too rigid model, of essentially economic nature, which does not explain all the types of exchanges that existed in the Iron Age in the Mediterranean; moreover it is a theory that does not take into account specificities of every society and its culture. This model does not either allow to understand the economic relations between Greeks and Phoenicians in the Iron Age. Even if some of these approaches are stimulating, we cannot subscribe to their too general trends, that it is about primitivists, substantivists, processualists, structuralists, post-processualists or in the studies based on «World Systems theory». The circulation of goods in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Iron Age, the social, economic and political processes which involve these cultural contacts are more complex, it is obvious that any universalist interpretation would lead to a reducing explanations[8].

Jean-Paul Morel draws the attention since a long time on these problems by refusing the too simplifying schemes as well as the too rigid concepts[9]. As well as indicated it Vladimir Stissi[10] when we think about the phenomenon of marketing of the ceramic it is necessary to avoid the too monolithic solutions and to look for more differentiating and complex explanations. It is thus necessary to study this organized Mediterranean traffic in detail with a bilateral look, from a Greek and Phoenician point of view at the same time[11]. It is not enough to work on the production and the distribution of the Greek pottery within the Greek economic system. The consumption of these Greek products within the Phoenician societies also asks for an understanding of the Phoenician economic functioning[12].

We shall base our analysis on the new approaches in ancient economy presented in the recent works of Walter Sceidel, Ian Morris and Richard Saller and Alain Bresson[13]. They suggest

[6] Wallerstein 1974-1980.
[7] Kohl 1987; Rowlands, Larsen and Kristiansen 1987.
[8] The existent archaeological record represents only a small part of the real products that circulated in complex networks of exchange.
[9] Moel 1983, 66-74 ; Rouillard 2000, 365-376 ; 2003, 205-208.
[10] Crielaard, Stissi and Van Wigngaarden 1999, 91.
[11] In his work on the graffiti A.W. Johnston has shown that the traffic of Greek pottery was well organised in complex networks of exchange: Johnston 1979, 1991.
[12] There is a clear disbalance between the studies devoted to the Ancient Greek economy and the Phoenician's one which lacks investigation and knowledge. Aubet 2001, 97-143.
[13] Scheidel, Morris, Saller 2007; Bresson 2007-2008.

concentrating on two important points: the economic performance and the structure. By «performance» they hear to understand the whole production, the distribution and the consumption of the goods, in other words to understand the economic rationality and by «structure» - the social and political organization of the economy of these societies - the political, religious, economic institutions etc. must be studied in their interaction with the economic performance and not in a isolated way.

It is thus essential to work on the questions of production and distribution of Greek ceramics in their political and social context, but it is also necessary to concentrate on the question of the consumption of these ceramics in the receiving context, an aspect which was neglected for a long time. Jean-Paul Morel already evoked in 1983 the role of the taste in the marketing of the Greek products[14]. For several years Pierre Rouillard also worked on these problems in the Iberian Peninsula[15]. In a general way, the interest of the archaeologists in the study of the consumption aroused since the end of 1980s.

Recently, the attention of specialists of Greek ceramics also concerned on the questions of consumption, choice and reception of these in the non-Greek contexts, their function and uses. In 1994, Karim Arafat and Catherine Morgan[16], in their study of the Attic fine pottery, found abroad, noted that, when artefacts move beyond the borders of the producing society and are integrated into the material culture of other social groups, they acquire a new meaning and play a new role. The key point of their contribution is the call for detailed analyses of the receiver's culture, because we need to understand the local practices and their social context. We can add as well the contribution of Lin Foxhall in her article « Cargoes of the of heart's desire », in which the analysis of the ancient economy is based in particular on the theories of the consumption and the studies of the material culture[17]. Indeed, the history of the ancient economy concentrated largely on the production, the origin of the goods and the raw materials as well as on questions of offer and demand. If we approach the question of exchange from the point of view of the consumer, the starting point will be the demand and the desire.

The desire and the goods which fill it are connected and are witnesses of the specificities of a given culture. So, the concept of consumption exceeds the functional use of objects and allows working on the cultural significance of objects[18]. The economic relations do not precede, nor determine the cultural relations: they are acting in the culture and, consequently,

[14] Morel 1983, 67.
[15] Rouillard 1999, 2000, 2003.
[16] Arafat and Morgan 1994, 108-134. Sherratt 2010, 119-142.
[17] Foxhall 1998, 295-309.
[18] Bourdieu 1979.

they cannot be explained by an external model to the given culture[19]. The goods of past were a part of a social systems of exchange through specific cultural codes shared by the members of this society. The process of consumption which entails a selection, an adoption and a use of goods is a complete aspect of this system.

Research data and analysis

To understand the development of exchange networks in the Eastern Mediterranean between the 10th and 6th c. B.C. it is essential to replace them in their chrono-historical context in long term. The reconstruction of the networks which I propose is anchored in a periodization which has for a starting point the material culture and the significant changes which can be observed from the point of view of the «economic performance».

The beginning of these contacts remains difficult to define, but the story does not begin with Al Mina anymore. It is at first a problem of small quantity in the archaeological record. Only three Aegean sherds are known (of Argolide and Euboea), dated to the Early Protogeometric and found at three different sites, at Tell Es-Safi, Tell Hadar and Tell Afis (fig. 1; fig. 2)[20]. None comes from a port where these objects transited, we cannot therefore assign roles. Certainly, sites such as Tyre, Sidon and Byblos had not been destroyed at the end of the Bronze Age and Philistia developed at this moment, as well as Cyprus, but to ascertain who were the actors of these first contacts is still difficult. However, we observe a resumption of the old Bronze Age commercial roads: one leaving the Levantine south coast passing through Cyprus, Rhodes, then Crete to reach Argos and the other which follows the Levantine coast then the Anatolian coast and arrives in Euboea (fig. 3)[21].

The situation becomes clearer in the Late Protogeometric which is characterized by the exclusive presence of Euboean imports in the Levant (fig. 1; fig. 2). The Phoenician role appears with Tyre receiving most of these imports and developing in the 10th century. Its territory extends to the South towards the Galileia and the plain of Akko and at major sites like Tell Keisan and Tell Dor where we find the same types of Euboean ceramics as in Tyre[22].

[19] Since the 80s, anthropolgy has overcome the economical analysis, particularely with the work of Lynn Hunt and Victoria Bonnel, publishing their studies in the collection « Studies on the History of Society and Culture » : Hunt 1989, 7.

[20] This fact can be due to the rarity of archaeological investigations in Lebanon. Luke 2003, table 8; Coldtsream 1998, 357-359 ; Lemos 2002, p. 26 ; Maeir, Fantalkin and Zukerman 2009, 57-80.

[21] Sommer 2009, p. 97; Susan Sherratt defends the idea of an oriental initiative: Sherratt 2010, 119-142.

[22] The general opinion is that the Phoenicians transported the euobean ceramics in the Orient: Perreault 1993; Sheratt and Sheratt 1998, p. 335; Papadopoulos 2009; Markoe 2000, p. 174, Luke 2003; contra Boardman 1995.Aubet 2001, Bikai 1978, Coldstream 2008, 167-188.

Just like in Amathus in Cyprus, a port which was on one of the main sea routes (fig. 3). In the Early Geometrical period, in the first half of the 9th century, this pattern remains the same and Tyre maintains a steady flow of Euboean imports (fig. 1)[23]. It is also at this moment that Kition in Cyprus joins this network and receives Euboean ceramics (fig. 5)[24]. The integration of Amathus and Kition is understandable by the trade of copper within the framework of an increased demand from the Assyrians.

This sporadic exchange between the Eastern Mediterranean and Euboea corresponds to the model of gift exchange, as well as to the Phoenicians tactics of opening new markets. This strategy allows establishing a network of exchange with Euboea, probably justified by the trade of metals, within the context of the same Assyrian demand. Euboea, controlling the passage towards the Thessaly and the Khalkidiki and the mining zones, connected the Orient with these regional networks[25]. One of the main characteristics of this network is its durability over several generations, from the 10th until the late 8th century.

It is from the middle of the 9th and especially in the 8th century, that we see an increase and standardization in the imports from Euboea and a wider distribution. In the Middle Geometrical period (850-760/750 BC) more than 140 vases were found and the site which receives the most remains Tyre, but their distribution is more important, on the whole coast, from Bassit to Ashkelon; in Cyprus and in Assyria (fig. 4; fig. 5)[26]. The Attic imports also appear and we find them in the same zones. The extension of the exchange is considerable and it is about established relations, indicating a better mutual knowledge and an increase in the degree of connectivity. One of the results is the artistic influence: the production of imitations of Greek products in Cyprus and in Phoenicia and the development of the orientalising phenomenon in Greece.

We must underline here that there is a major difference between the Euboean skyphoi of the previous period and these both in terms of quantity and in terms of quality (the late specimens are careless products and testify of standardization) (distribution map - fig. 6). They are present in the East and in Euboea, which shows that workshops meet both a local demand and an external market; there is thus progress towards a higher degree of specialization. On the other hand the semi-circle pendant plates testify to the Greek response to a Phoenician demand, because they are more popular in the oriental Mediterranean Sea than in Euboea its

[23] Coldstream 1988, 35.
[24] Chirpanlieva 2013, 265.
[25] Bourogiannis 2009, 114-130; Lemos 2005, 53-60; Sherratt 2010, 130.
[26] Chirpanlieva 2013, 267.

self[27]. These two series are also diffused in the western Phoenician world namely in Sardinia, Carthago and Huelva[28]. This shows clearly the integration of those products in the Phoenician trade networks in the Mediterranean.

This pattern of exchange remains the same in the second half of the 8th century. The Euboean imports exceed 250 individuals and touch the entire Levantine coast and Cyprus (fig. 7; fig. 8)[29]. In the Levant we also find Attic, Corinthian and East Greek imports in direct comparison with potteries found in Carthago[30]. It is a period of competition; we are in a new environment of competitiveness in which the East Greece is going to stand out in the oriental market. Let us underline the establishment of ports of trade such as Al Mina which represents a node in these networks of exchange allowing a better organization of the traffic, facilitating the redistribution towards the Aramaic hinterland, Assyria and Phoenicia. This Assyrian expansion, with the Phoenicians, the Cypriots and the Arameans as trading agents is probably one of the principal driving forces of this commercial development.

After the end of the 8th century the Euboean imports disappear and the commercial traffic declines in the first half of the 7th century, followed by an increase in imports of East Greek pottery after the middle of the century and to a lesser extent of Athens and Corinth[31]. This imbalance is due to the end of the kingdom of Tyre and Sidon towards 701 and to the Assyrian military pressures with the revolt and the destructions of the cities of Sidon, Tyre and Akko, and also to the rise of Egypt[32]. On the other hand, it is Carthago which plays from now on an important role in the Phoenician networks. The example of the North-Ionian bird-bowls of the 7th century shows that the products of Eastern Greece circulate in the same networks of exchange established in the 8th century in the Mediterranean Sea (fig. 9)[33]. Some examples of their predecessors from the end of the 8th century, the sub-geometrical bird skyphoi were found at Al Mina, Mersin and Rhodos, as well as in the South of Italy. The early series of bird-bowls are found at Al Mina, Tyre and Dor at first, then in the second half of the 7th century, they become numerous and see a wide distribution: from Al Mina to Ashkelon, Cyprus, Greece, the North-Aegean Sea, the Black Sea, in Egypt, in Cyrenaica and in the central and western Mediterranean. From the middle of the 7th century the shape and the decoration of these bowls becomes simpler, testifying to a mass production which meets a

[27] Coldstream 2008, 38-40.
[28] Docter 2000, fig.1; Niemeyer 2005, 11-17; Vegas 1992, 181-189.
[29] Chirpanlieva 2013, 270-271.
[30] Docter 2000.
[31] Coldstream 1985, 58-59.
[32] Chirpanlieva 2013, 275.
[33] Chirpanlieva 2013, 274.

higher demand. We can observe a similar pattern for the bowls which follow – rosette and banded bowls.

Here we can add the example of the Ionian cups of type A1, dated between 640/630 and 600 BC, probably deriving also from a north-Ionian workshop[34]. Ashkelon and Al Mina, the main sites of redistribution (ports of trade), yielded the largest number. The fine cups type B1 also follow this pattern. All these examples are good illustrations of the situation in the 7th century. Let us underline however that this period is marked at Kition and in Phoenicia by a low import of East Greek ceramics. It is especially Philistia and the southwest coast of Cyprus (Amathus) that witness the arrival of a large number of imports, because of the Egyptian renewal of interest in the international trade under the dynasty of the Saïtes. With the decline of the Assyrian Empire towards the end of the 7th century BC and the increase in power of Egypt, we can observe that the Phoenician trade networks are becoming weaker and are mixing with the Ionian-cyrpo-egyptian one.

From the end of the VIth century the development of the Persian Empire constitutes a new driving force for the development of the oriental Phoenician network, including all the Levantine coast and Cyprus[35]. The Greek imports increase, homogenize and see an important geographical distribution on the coastline and in the hinterland. The kingdoms of Kition and Sidon play an important role in the extension of these networks.

In my case study on Kition[36] I noticed that the Attic black-figured pottery increases at the end of the 6th century. At the beginning of the 5th century BC, the period between 490-475 BC seems to be marked by a slight reduction in the imports, but we observe from 475 BC a clear increase including black and red figured vases. The pattern of the imported Attic black-glazed pottery for that period is the same. With the second half of the 5th century, we arrive at a phase of more intensive exchange. The figurative Attic imports grew with a peak towards 450-400 BC. We also observe an exponential increase of the import of black-glazed wares. In the 4th century, the intensity of the exchange seems to remain the same, the import of red-figured and black-glazed vases also continues as well as the proportions between these two classes of pottery remain the same with a peak towards 375-350 BC. Then the import of Attic vases declines and disappears in the last quarter of the third century. I could determine that the pattern of the Attic imports of Kition is confirmed as well on the Levantine coast: at Sidon, Beirut, Byblos, Ras Shamra, Akko, Dor and it's the same for Al Mina which was resettled at

[34] Chirpanlieva 2013, 300; Dupont and Thomas 2006, 81.
[35] Briant 1996; Elayi 1987, 6-7.
[36] All Attic imports from Kition are studied in my P.h.d: Chirpanlieva 2013 – synthesis on the question: 284-290.

this time[37]. The common features between all these sets throughout this period reflect a regular trade with Athens. The export of the Attic fine wares is probably only fitting into the network of exchange which existed between Athens and the Levantine coast the foundation of which was the trade of silver and follows the rhythm of the export of the metal and the agricultural commodities as well as oriental luxuries.

The first pottery series which are important both quantitatively and geographically belong to the Haimon group. The production of this workshop had a wide distribution touching practically all the sites in the Eastern Mediterranean: in Cyprus - Kition, Kourion, Amathus and Marion; on the Levantine coast - from Al Mina to Yavneh Yam and in the hinterland (fig. 11)[38]. We find between five and ten examples by site and the only one that delivered more than a hundred is Al Mina (a specificity which shows the role of redistribution of this port of trade). The significant quantity and the wide distribution of these vases show that there was an oriental market for these products, just like in the Aegean Sea, in Ionia, in Thrace, in the Black Sea and its hinterland; in Carthago, Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, Italy and Spain. The impoverishment in the style of these vases corresponds to their mass production suggesting an industrial level. But this workshop begins to spread it's works at this large scale only later in its existence with the production of the Haimon group, the productions of its predecessor (the painter of Diosphos), are only found in Greece, in the Greek colonies and in Etruria (in the East, the distribution is very low). We must add here the "patterned" lekythoi of the Beldam workshop, present at: Kition, Salamis, Marion, Sidon, Al Mina, Tel Sukas, Ras Shamra, Akko, Dor, Yavneh Yam, Asdod and the hinterland (fig. 12)[39]. But it is as well largely diffused in the Mediterranean and the Black sea and it seems to follow the distribution of the Haimon group's vases. If we observe closely the shape of those lekythoi we can see that it is extremely close to the productions of the Haimon group and the style of decoration is almost the same. We can therefore presume that these products sailed together and that maybe it was even the same workshop that produced them.

With regards to the red-figured fine wares we observe similar choices: in the 5th and 4th century, the red-figure includes essentially dinner and drinking sets with the series of kraters, skyphoi and perfume containers[40]. Between 470 and 450 BC they import column-kraters, followed by some calyx-kraters, but the shape that stands out from 440 onwards is the one of the bell-crater. The workshops which spread most usually this type of vessels towards the East

[37] *Ibid*.
[38] Shefton 1999, 463-464; 2000, 75-83.
[39] Chirpanlieva 2013, 316.
[40] Chirpanlieva 2013, 317-318.

in the second half of 5th century were the ones of the Dinos Painter and the Kleophon Painter (fig. 13). We find it in Cyprus and on the Levantine coast. The Kleophon Painter seems to be older than the Dinos Painter, but they share the same style and the forms of kraters are similar. Moreover, at Kition, Dor and Al Mina we find the productions of the both painters; we can ask from then on the question of the existence of a single workshop which would produce these kraters, but decorated by different painters. It is necessary to add the workshop of the Meidias Painter, whose products we find practically at the same sites. We see that these workshops spread widely in the eastern Mediterranean, but also in the Cyrenaica, in the Black Sea, in Italy and in Sicily as well as to Ampurias and Enserune.

According to Christiansen panathenaïc amphorae of the second half of the 5th century would have been produced in the same workshop as the kraters of the Kleophon and Dinos painters[41]. And we find them in the eastern Mediterranean. In Kition and in Al Mina, kraters of these painters appear at the same time as panathenaïcs amphorae. So we should not exclude the possibility that a single large workshop in Athens exported at the same time black-figured and red-figured vases. Their import continues in the 4th century and Papanastasiou notices that a group of potters who produced panathenaïc amphorae probably collaborated with the Telos Painter[42].

And in the 4th century, it is the other workshop (the Telos group) which successfully exports towards the East. The largest number of kraters identified on the site of Kition belongs to the group of Telos producing bell-kraters. In these series it is necessary to add some bell-kraters belonging to the group L. The kraters of the Telos group are attested practically everywhere in the eastern Mediterranean (fig. 14): at Kition, Aghios Philon, Idalion, Amathus, Marion, Sheik Zénad, Byblos, Sidon, Akko, Dor, Yavneh Yam, Ashdod, Al Mina. We can also note those of the group G, of the type «Falaïeff» in Salamis, Paphos and Al Mina, and of the Filottrano Painter attested in Al Mina. The classification of painters' workshops of this period by J. D. Beazley, who separates the various forms, does not allow us to understand the stylistic relationships which existed between these categories[43]. The same artist was able to paint vases of different forms classified by Beazley in different groups. This is obvious from the series of the skyphoi of the Fat Boy group. Their style is connected with that of the kraters and their iconographic subject, the so-called scene of "conversation", corresponds to that of the B face of these kraters. In terms of distribution we often find these skyphoi on the same

[41] Christiansen 1984, 144-148.
[42] Papanastasiou 2004, 111.
[43] Rouillard and Verbanck-Piérard 2003, 91.

sites as those who receive the kraters of the Telos group. And in a general way these skyphoi accompany the kraters of the Telos group and the group G around the Mediterranean Sea and in the Black Sea (fig. 14). If we admit that it is about vases produced in the same workshop as previously proposed by Pierre Rouillard, it is necessary to see the constitution of sets in which kraters and skyphoi are associated, and which must be sold and transported together.

The Attic black-glazed pottery also appear towards the end of the 6th century with the series of cups of type C and Vicup which are diffused in the eastern Mediterranean, but in small quantities[44]. The series which become important between 480 and 400 BC are those of the stemless cups, widely spread in Cyprus and on the Levantine coast. They were also successful in the Punic world. This raises the question of the special production and the mass export of vases adapted to an oriental market and to a long distance journeys. In a similar logic we can add the series of the skyphoi of the Attic type A and the bowls largely spread in the second half of 5th c. BC. These important series of bowls and skyphoi continue to be massively exported in 4th c. BC. The progressive stylistic impoverishment of the red-figured on one hand, but also the bad quality of the black glaze and the simplification of the forms clearly suggest standardization in the production and an increase of this one in answer to a greater demand. In Athens specializations appear, stimulated by the possibility of a distant export; workshops produce for a local market and open them to an external market, which leads to a mass production. It is necessary to consider an initiative of both parts - the Phoenician clients choosing in an existing repertory which suits them and then, according to their request the production specializes in response to this demand.

[44] Chirpanlieva 2013, 319-320.

Conclusion

Among the numerous regions of the Mediterranean Sea which traded with the Greeks, the Eastern Mediterranean cannot be set back from now on in the contemporary research, neither in the Iron Age, nor in the Persian period, and we noticed that the oriental world, by means of the Phoenician networks, is probably one of the main driving forces of these exchanges in certain periods.

It is necessary to underline that markets (in ports of trade) are not the starting point, but rather the result of trade at long distance. There is the access of these ports to a commercial road (according to the exchanged goods) and to the networks of exchange. A market develops then and finally local markets emerge around this market. We were able to notice that the cities which constitute the knots of these networks develop important markets (ports of redistribution), as Tyre, Sidon, Al Mina, Ashkelon, Akko, Kition etc. So, two factors are important in the development of these ports of trade – an economical grow and a good geographical localisation. We can see, in ports like Tabbat al-Hammam that in periods of economic development, port structures are constructed to facilitate the trade.

The example of our case study led on Kition shows that, from the moment this city becomes integrated into these networks of exchanges in the oriental Mediterranean Sea (by the middle of the 9th century), his market develops and that it becomes richer (in the 8th century, then in the Persian period). The geographical situation of this site thus played an important role in its economic development, given its strategic location with an access to the maritime commercial roads, good ports and access to the mining resources of the Troodos. It allowed Kition to develop, especially in the Persian period when it becomes a powerful kingdom which controls the entire region and assures the contacts with the outside world. During this period the city of Kition has played an important role in these exchange networks as much as Sidon and Akko.

List of figures and tables

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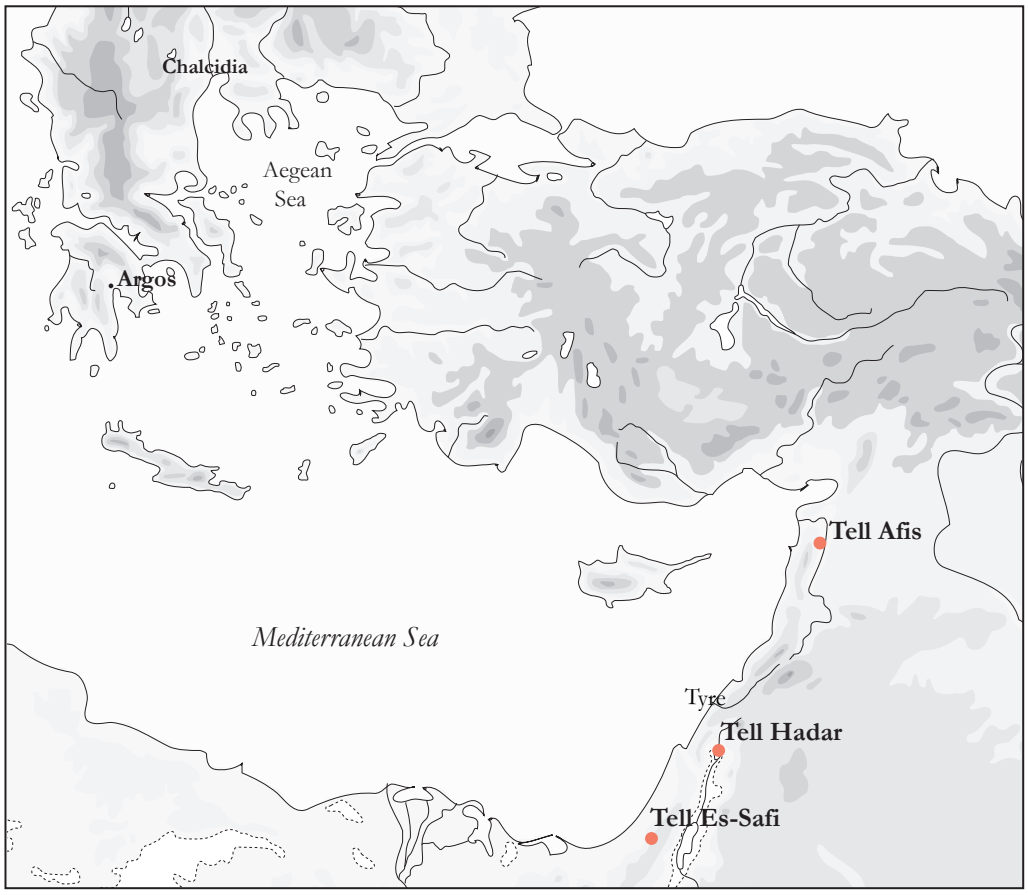
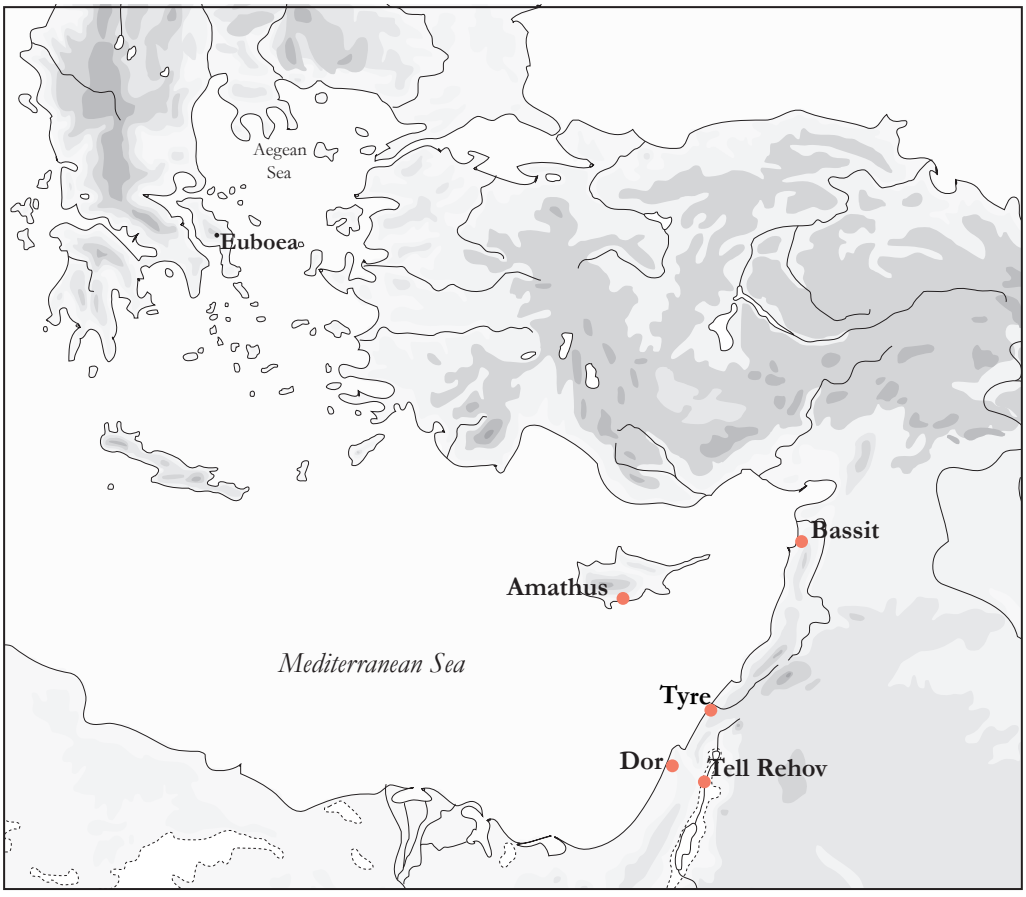
Early/Middle Protogeometric (1050/1025-960/950 BC)				
Localisation	Quant.	Forms	Provenance	Context
Luhuti (Hamath)				
Tell Afis	1	skyphos	Argos (?)	settlement
Tell Hadar	1	bowl	Chalcidian (?)	public storeroom
Philistia				
Tell Es-Safi/Gath	1	bowl	Argos	settlement
Late Protogeometric (960/950-900 BC)				
Cyprus				
Amathus	1	CC skyphos	Euboea	funerary
	2	cup	Euboea	funerary
Phoenicia				
Tyre	3	amphorae	Euboea	settlement or sanctuary
	1	krater	Euboea	
	2	CC skyphoi	Euboea	
	1	cup	Euboea	
Israel				
Dor	1	cup	Euboea	settlement
	1	CC skyphos	Euboea	
Tell Rehov	2	krater	Euboea	settlement
Hamath				
Bassit	4	amphorae	Euboea	settlement
Sub-Protogeometric I-II (900-850 BC)/ Early Geometric				
Cyprus				
Kition	2	PSC skyphos	Euboea	sanctuary
Phoenicia				
Tyre	1	amphora	Euboea	settlement or sanctuary
	4	CC skyphoi	Euboea	
Hamath				
Bassit	1	oinochoe	Euboea	settlement
Assyria				
Nineveh	1	PSC skyphos	Euboea	temple of Nabu

Fig. 1

Fig. 2



Distribution map of Greek pottery from the Early/Middle Protogeometric (1050/1025-960/950 BC) found in the Levant



Distribution map of Greek pottery from the Late Protogeometric (960/950-900 BC) found in Cyprus and the Levant

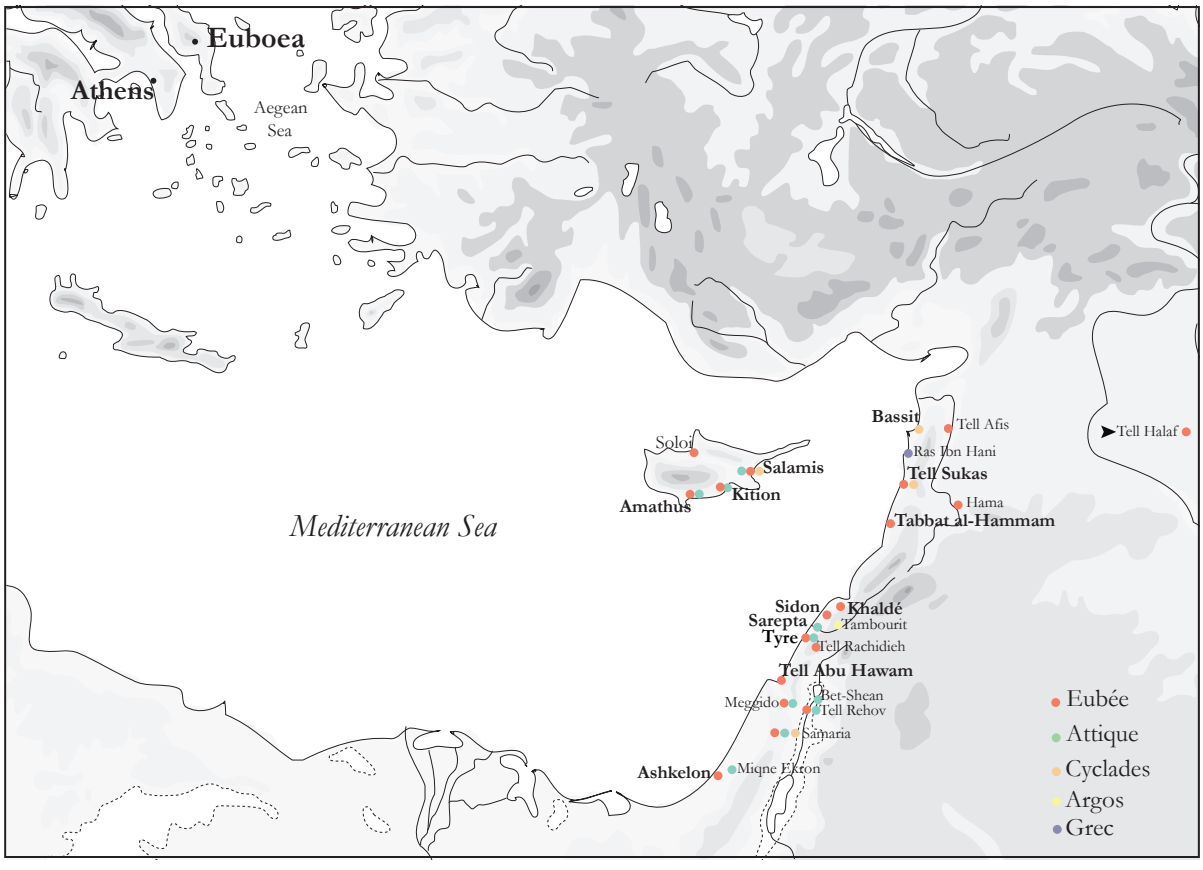
Principal Sea Routes between the Levant and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age

Fig. 3

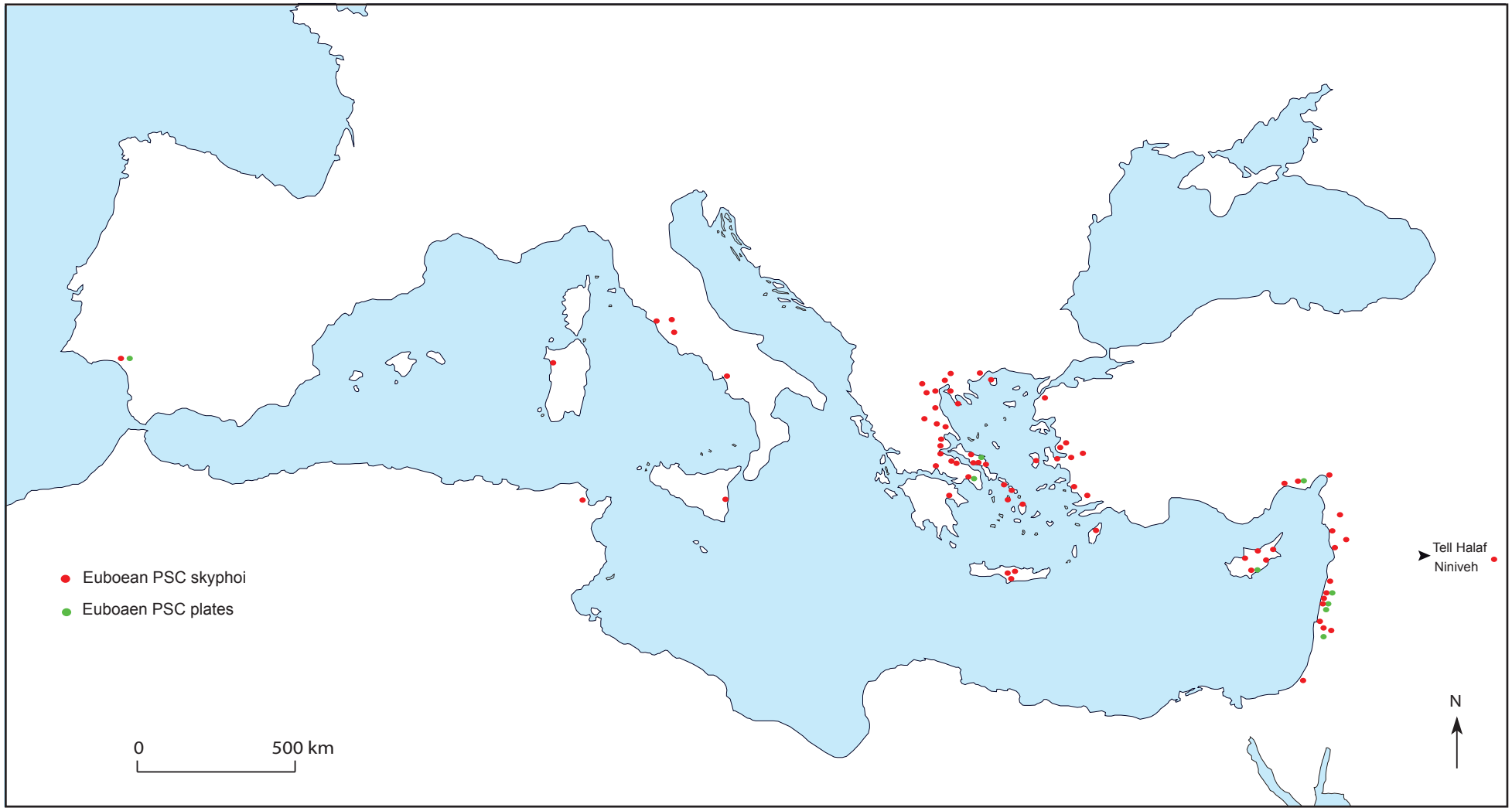
Sub-Protogeometric III/Middle Geometric (850-760/750 BC)				
Cyprus				
Kition	6	PSC skyphos	Euboea	sanctuary
	1	oinochoe	Attic	
	1	krater	Attic	
Salamis	2	PSC skyphoi	Euboea	funerary
	10	PSC plates	Cyclades	funerary
	19	skyphos	Attic	funerary
	1	krater	Attic	funerary
Kyrenia	1	PSC skyphos	Euboea	unkown
Amathus	7	PSC skyphos	Euboea	funerary
	6	skyphos	Euboea	
	11	PSC plate	Euboea	
	1	oinochoe	Eubée	
	3	skyphos	Attic	
	1	krater	Attic	
	3	PSC skyphos	Euboea	settlement
	1	PSC plate	Euboea	settlement
Soloi	2	PSC skyphos	Euboea	funerary
Phoenicia				
Khaldé	1	PSC skyphos	Euboea	funerary
Sidon	2	PSC skyphoi	Euboea	sanctuary
	1	PSC plate	Euboea	
Tambourit	1	pyxis	Argos	funerary
Sarepta	2	PSC skyphos	Euboea ?	settlement
Tell Rachidieh	2	PSC plate	Euboea	funerary
Tyre	59	PSC and PC skyphoi	Euboea	settlement or sanctuary
	28	PSC plates	Euboea	
	6	krater	Attic	
	3	skyphoi	Attic	
Israel				
Tell Abu Hawam	1	one handle cup	Euboea	settlement
	1	PSC skyphos	Euboea	
	1	krater	Euboea or Attic?	
Tell Rehov	1	pyxis	Euboea	settlement
	1	PSC skyphos	Euboea	
	1	skyphos (PSC ?)	Euboea	
	1	skyphos	Attic	
Meggido	2	skyphos	Attic and Euboea	temple
Samaria	1	mug	Euboea	settlement
	1	plate	Euboea	
	3	?	Euboea	
	1	krater	Attic	
	1	?	Cyclades	
Bet Shean	1	krater	Attic	
Philistia				
Ashkelon	1	PSC skyphos	Euboea	settlement, commercial context
Tell Miqneh Ekron	1	skyphos	Attic	elite zone
Hamath				
Bassit	1	PSC plate	Cyclades	settlement
	1+	PSC skyphos	Cyclades	
Tell Sukas	2	PSC skyphos	Cyclades and Euboea	settlement
	1	skyphos	Euboea	
Tabbat al Hammam	1	PSC skyphos	Euboea ?	settlement
Ras Ibn Hani	2	PSC skyphos	?	settlement
Tell Afis	1	PSC skyphos	Euboea ?	storeroom
Hama	4	PSC skyphos	Euboea	sanctuary
			Euboea	palace
			Euboea	funerary
			Euboea	funerary
	1	cup	Euboea	palace
	1	krater	Attic	between temple and palace
Assyria				
Tell Halaf	1	PSC skyphos	Euboea	settlement

Fig. 5

Distribution map of Greek pottery from the Sub-Protogeometric I-II (900-850 BC)
found in Cyprus and the Levant



Distribution map of Greek pottery from the Sub-Protogeometric III/Middle Geometric (850-750 BC)
found in Cyprus and the Levant

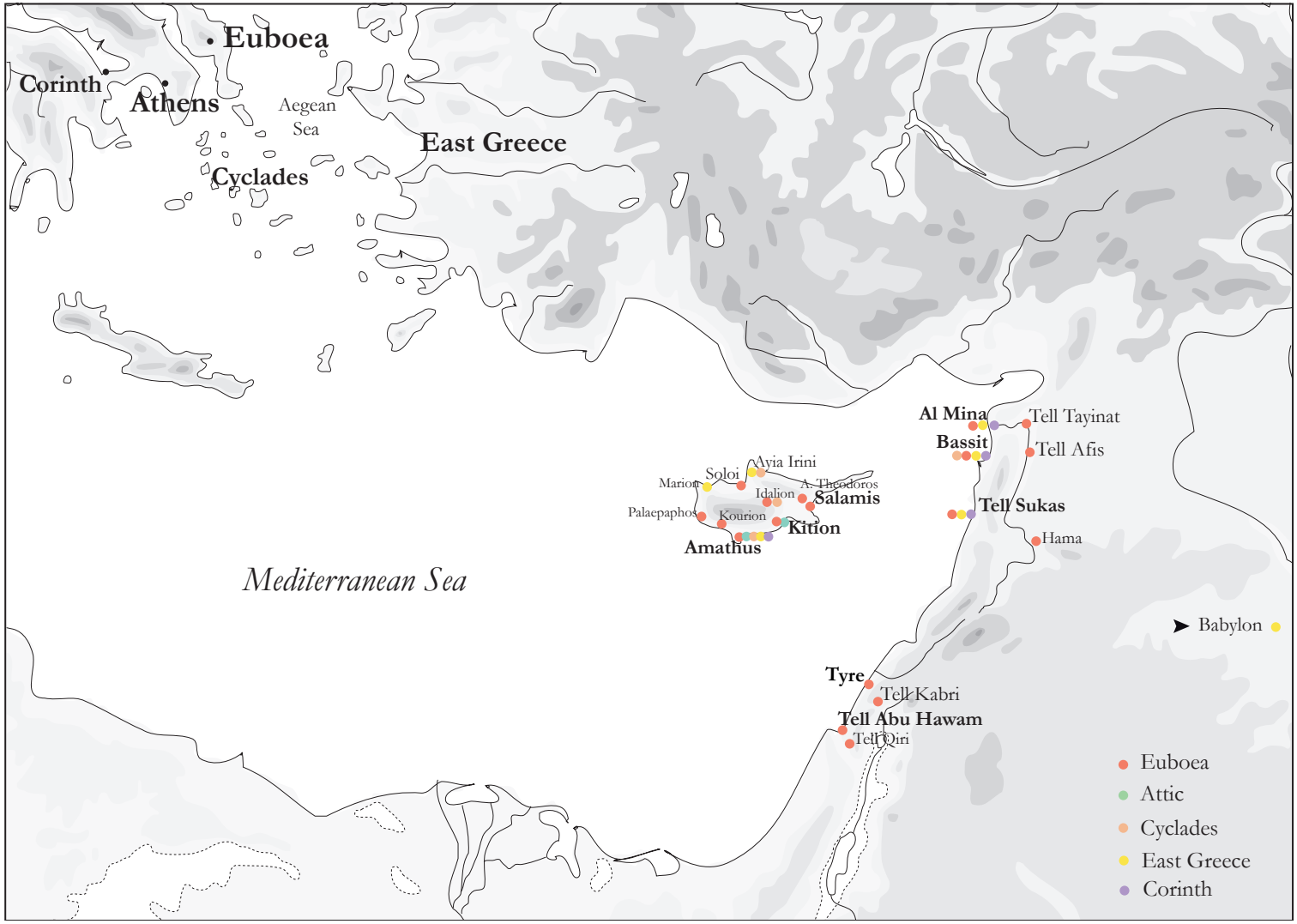


Distribution map of Euboaen PSC skyphoi and plates of the Sub-Protogeometric III found in the Mediterranean

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Late Geometric (760/750-700 BC)				
Cyprus				
Kition	1	krater	Euboea	sanctuary
	2	PSC skyphoi	Euboea	
	3	skyphoi	Euboea	
	1	plate	Attic	
	1	kantharos	Attic	funerary
Salamis	?	skyphos	Euboea	settlement and sanctuary
Ayia Irini	1	skyphos	East Greece	funerary
	1	skyphos	Cyclades	funerary
Ayios Theodoros	1	skyphos	Euboea	funerary
Idalion	1	skyphos	Cyclades	funerary
	1	skyphos	Euboea	?
Amathus	11+	skyphoi	Euboea	funerary
	3	kotylai	Euboea	
	2	kraters	Euboea	
	3	Bird skyphoi	Euboea, Cyclades, East Greece	
	1	kotyle	Euboea or East Greece	
	2	skyphoi	Attic	
	1	kotyle	Corinth	
	1	krater	Cyclades	settlement
	1	oinochoe	Attic	funerary?
Kourion	1	krater	Euboea	funerary
Palaepaphos	1	skyphos	Euboea	?
Kouklia	1	PSC skyphos	Euboea	funerary
	1	Bird skyphos	Euboea or East Greece	
	1	skyphos	Euboea or East Greece	
Marion	2	skyphoi	East Greece	?
Phoenicia				
Tyre	3	kraters	Euboea	settlement or sanctuary
	9	skyphoi	Euboea	
	5	kotylai	Euboea(imitations of corinthian)	
Tell Kabri	1	skyphos	Euboea	settlement
Israel				
Tell Abu Hawam	1	skyphos	Euboea	settlement
Tell Qiri	1	dinos	Euboea	public building
Babylonia				
Babylon	2?	lekythoi	East Greece	settlement
Hamath				
Al Mina	2	amphorae	Euboea	settlement
	27	kraters	Euboea	
	18	cotylai	Euboea(imitations of protocorinthian)	
	7	cups	Euboea	
	175	PSC skyphoi	Euboea	
	?	skyphos	Euboea	
	2	plates	Euboea	
	9	Bird skyphoi	East Greece	
	2	kraters	East Greece ?	
	2	oinochoes	East Greece	
	5	closed shapes	East Greece	
	9	skyphoi	Corinth	
	10	kotylai "Wire bird'	Corinth	
	1	aryballos	Corinth	
	3	lids of pyxis	Corinth	
Tell Afis	1	PSC skyphos	Euboea ?	storeroom
Bassit	?	cups	Euboea	settlement
	1	skyphos	Euboea	
	1	oinochoe	Cyclades	
	1	oinochoe	Attic ?	
	1	krater	East Greece ?	
	5+	skyphoi	East Greece	
Tell Sukas	2	kraters	Cyclades/Euboea	settlement
	1	closed shape	Cyclades	
	3	kotylai (skyhpos)	Euboea(imitations of protocorinthian)	
	1	aryballos	Corinth	
	1	amphoriskos	Corinth	
	1	pyxis	Corinth	
	1	kotyle (skyphos)	Corinth	
Hama	1	kantharos	Paros?	close to the small palace
	1	amphora/jug	/Cyclades	close to the royal palace
	2	kraters	Naxos/Paros	ouest of the small palace

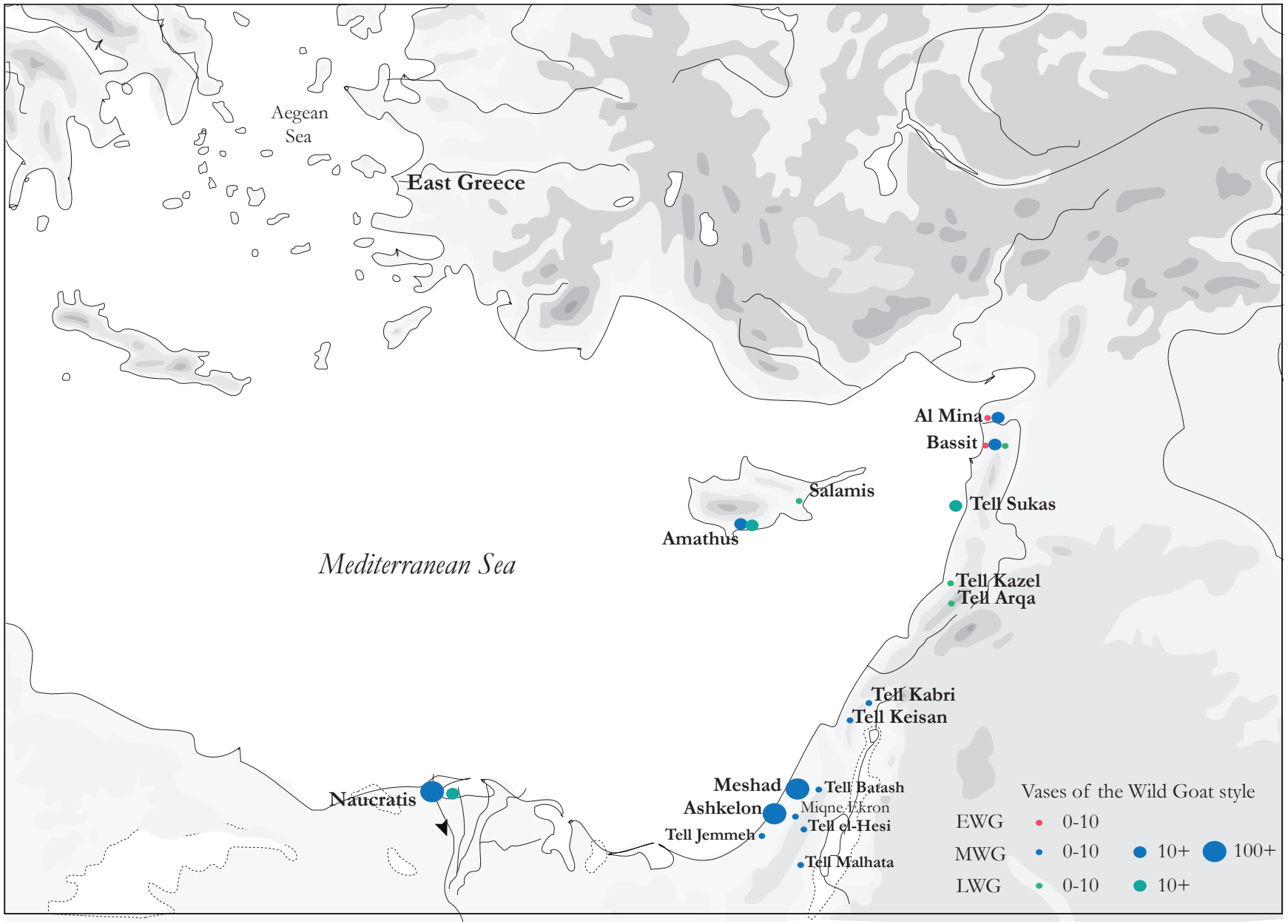


Distribution map of Greek pottery from the Late Geometric found in Cyprus and the Levant

Fig. 8

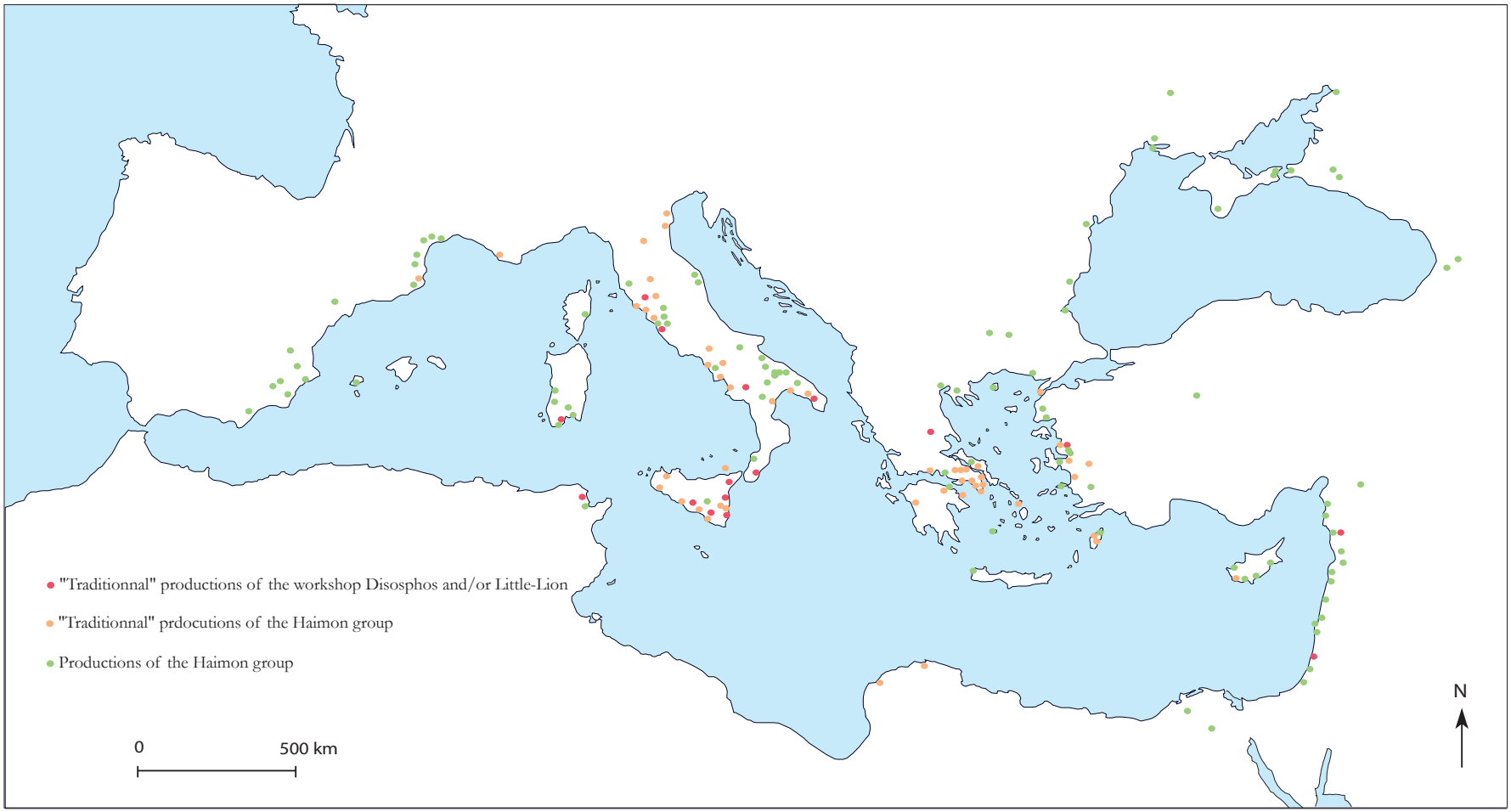
Distribution map of East Greek bird skyphoi of the 8th c. BC and bird and rosette bowls of the 7th c. BC in the Mediterranean

Fig. 9



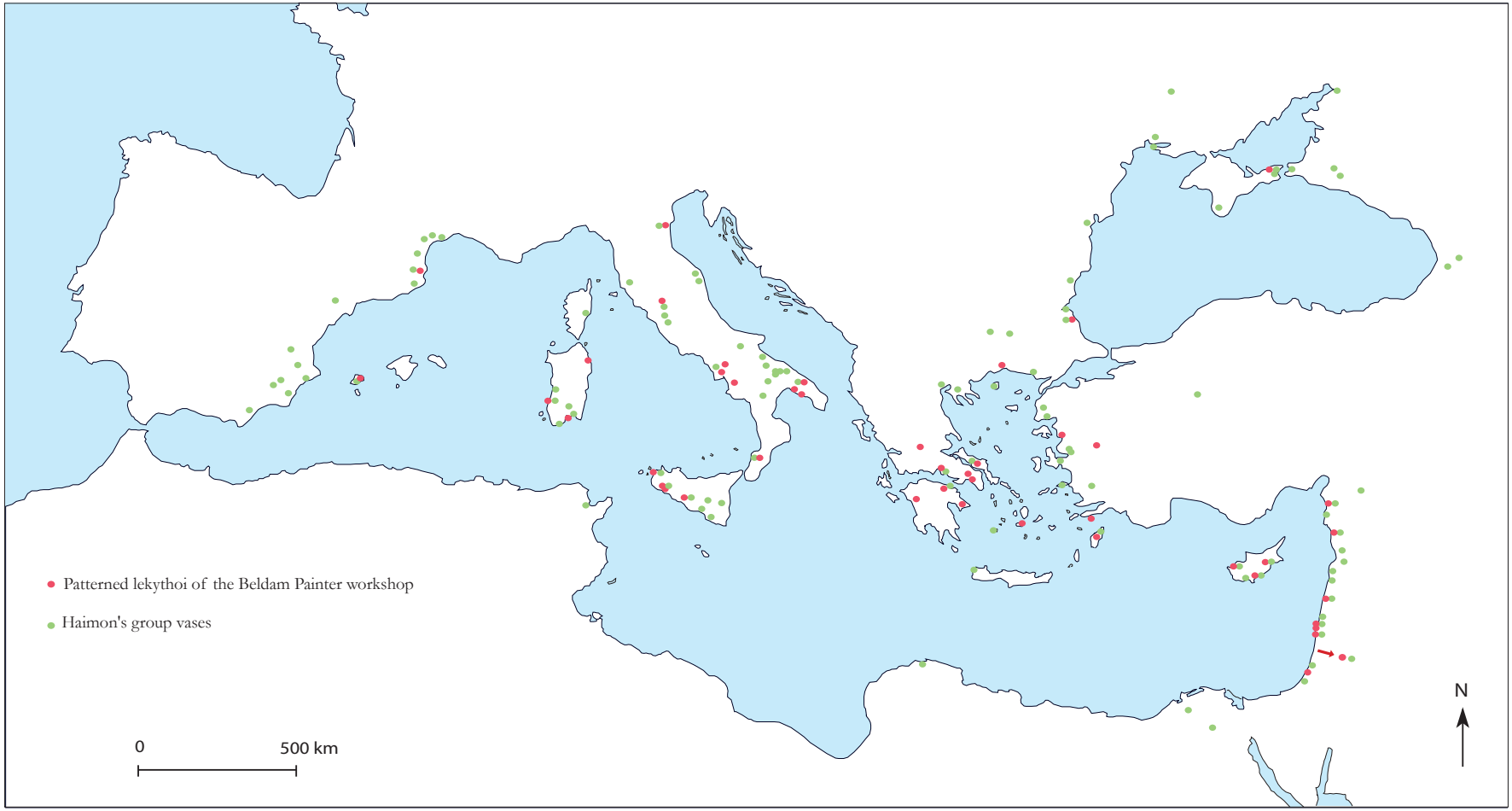
Distribution map of vases of the Wild Goat style (7th-6th BC) found in Cyprus and the Levant

Fig. 10



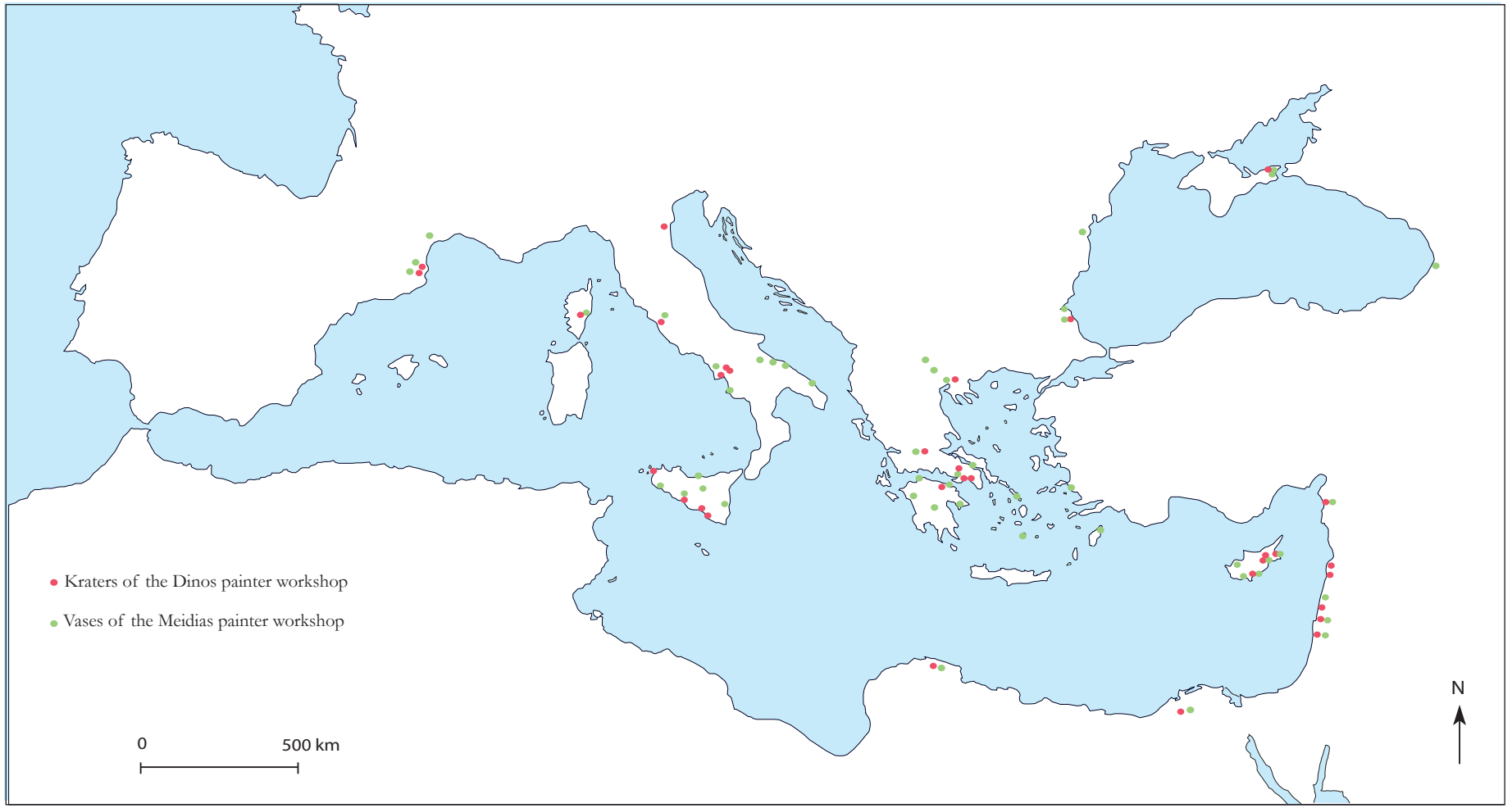
Distribution map of the productions of the Diosphos workshop and the Haimon group in the Mediterranean

Fig. 11



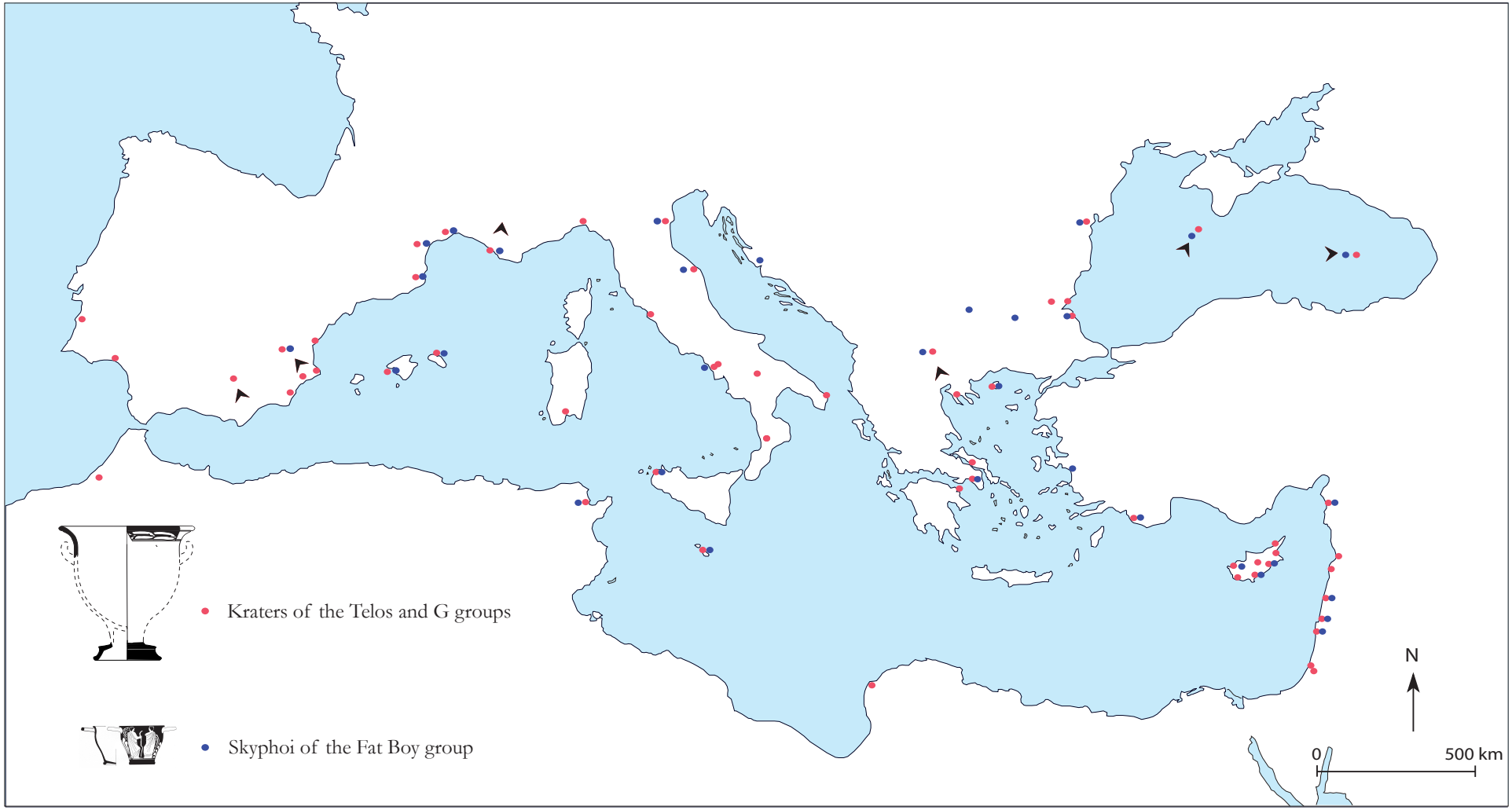
Distribution map comparing the distribution of Patterned black figured lekythoi of the Beldam Painter workshop and the vases of the Haimon Group

Fig. 12



Distribution map of the kraters of the Dinos and Meidias painters workshops in the Mediterranean

Fig. 13



Distribution map of the kraters of the Telos and G groups and the skyphoi of the Fat Boy group in the Mediterranean

Fig. 14