

Research Article

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Mediterranean Trade Networks and the Diffusion and Syncretism of Art and Architecture Styles at Delos

<https://doi.org/10.1515/opar-2025-0039>

received February 21, 2024; accepted December 3, 2024

Abstract: This paper constructs networks, using social network analysis, of Delian maritime trade and the diffusion of art and architectural styles from Mediterranean locations to Delos in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods. The dataset used is based on a selection of published archaeological finds and other primary sources supported by modern scholarship. Primary sources include art and architecture, evidence of commercial exchange from the archaeological record and ancient textual sources. Also considered is the large corpus of honorary and dedicatory inscriptions at Delos, mainly from the early Hellenistic period, and whether ethnicity also relates to trade or locations influential in Delian art and architecture. Art influences include the representation and practice of cults manifested in both direct copying of styles, hybrid productions and syncretism. Subject to the limitations discussed, this approach illustrates the extent to which trade and the influences of art and architecture originate from the same source and less so in relation to the ethnicity of inscriptions. The maps for each period demonstrate how trade, art and architectural influences changed diachronically and in sync with changing political powers. This demonstrates the tolerance of the island to outside influences, a cosmopolitan, tolerant melting pot of peoples, cultures and cults.

Keywords: networks, diachronic, commerce, culture, diffusion

1 Introduction

The abundance and variety of architecture and art styles at Delos demonstrate how external political and economic events dictated the island and the sanctuary's history. The hypothesis is that trade and the influences of art and architecture originate from the same source, which can be illustrated by constructing and comparing networks for each. The data used herein for Delos's trade connections and the diffusion of art styles are contained in Appendix 1 for the Archaic period, Appendix 2 for the Classical period and Appendix 3 for the Hellenistic period. Inscriptions from Delos (Figure 9) are based on lists indicating ethnicity in the appendices of Constantakopoulou (2017). Social network analysis is an efficient methodology to illustrate these dynamics, which analyses patterns of networks and the relationship between "actors" like people or sites, which are referred to as nodes and the connections between them as links or edges. The networks below use trading sites as nodes and links consisting of evidence of commercial exchange and the diffusion of art and architecture styles and syncretism. Trade links in the maps are colour-coded to identify different commercial exchange categories and art and architecture mediums used in the networks. The

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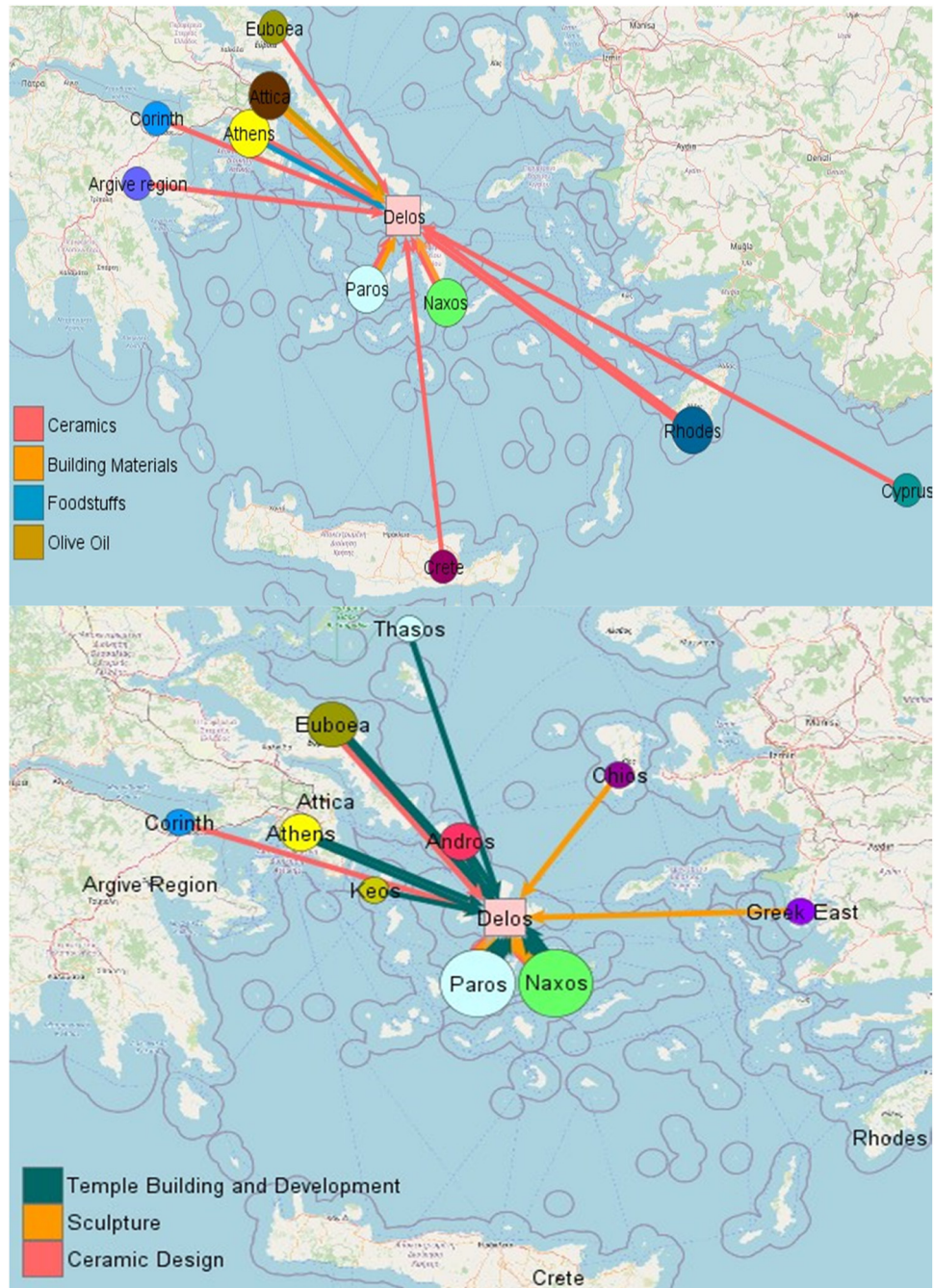


Figure 1: Archaic period. Top: Trading Links (Appendix 1, Table A1). Below: Art and Architecture influence and development (Appendix 1, Table A2). Node size indicates the strength and ranking by Outdegree for trade exports and artistic influence. Some nodes may not be in their correct geographic position placed on the edge of the map for visibility.

measurements illustrated by node size include outdegree, which ranks nodes by the number of their outgoing links (Exports or Diffusion) with Delos (Figures 1 and 3 and and 4) and degree, which ranks nodes illustrated by node size, by the number of connections they have in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean with respect to the overall Hellenistic trade network (Figure 5).



Figure 2: *The Lions of the Naxians*. Archaic Period: Late-sixth-century B.C.E. Made of coarse-grained Naxian marble. Archaeological Museum of Delos (Photo: D Grant).

2 Dataset and Network Definitions

Circulating artefacts, art styles, and syncretism contribute to forming social ties across regions (Leidwanger & Knappet, 2018, p. 2) and, as described in Malkin’s (2011) seminal work creates a “Small Greek World.” Inscriptions are evidence of the mobility of people of different ethnicities. Trade exchange can be determined by evidence of the movement of amphorae for olive oil, wine and other foodstuffs with the source and destination of grain, enslaved persons and financial contracts relying on ancient textual sources. Metal hoards can be subjected to isotope analysis to identify ore provenance. Other useful scientific analyses include the evidence of cultivation strategy, land suitability for grapes and olives, and chromatography–mass spectrometry on amphorae to determine contents.

There are specific considerations and limitations to the selection of data samples. Having statistical significance with small samples can be difficult, and a sufficient representative sample is preferable. The sample of Delos trade connections in the appendices is from a trawl of Mediterranean-wide primary sources and modern scholarship, so a significant sample of connections is included. Statistically, using available artefacts rather than a random selection might not be stochastic (representative of the total population). However, targeting sites and choosing a significant and broad sample of exchange categories is a purposive approach and an acceptable methodology (Richardson & Gajewski, 2002). These artefacts only act as proxies for trade connections and not necessarily the sailing route to reach their destination. Outcomes can also be biased towards sites with a higher number of finds. However, qualitative tests on the networks can be applied by comparing historical and network scholarship to network outcomes. Also, quantitative tests can be carried out to check network robustness by adding and removing nodes and links (Borgatti et al., 2006), to see if overall results remain consistent. The two networks of trade connections and the diffusion of art and architecture

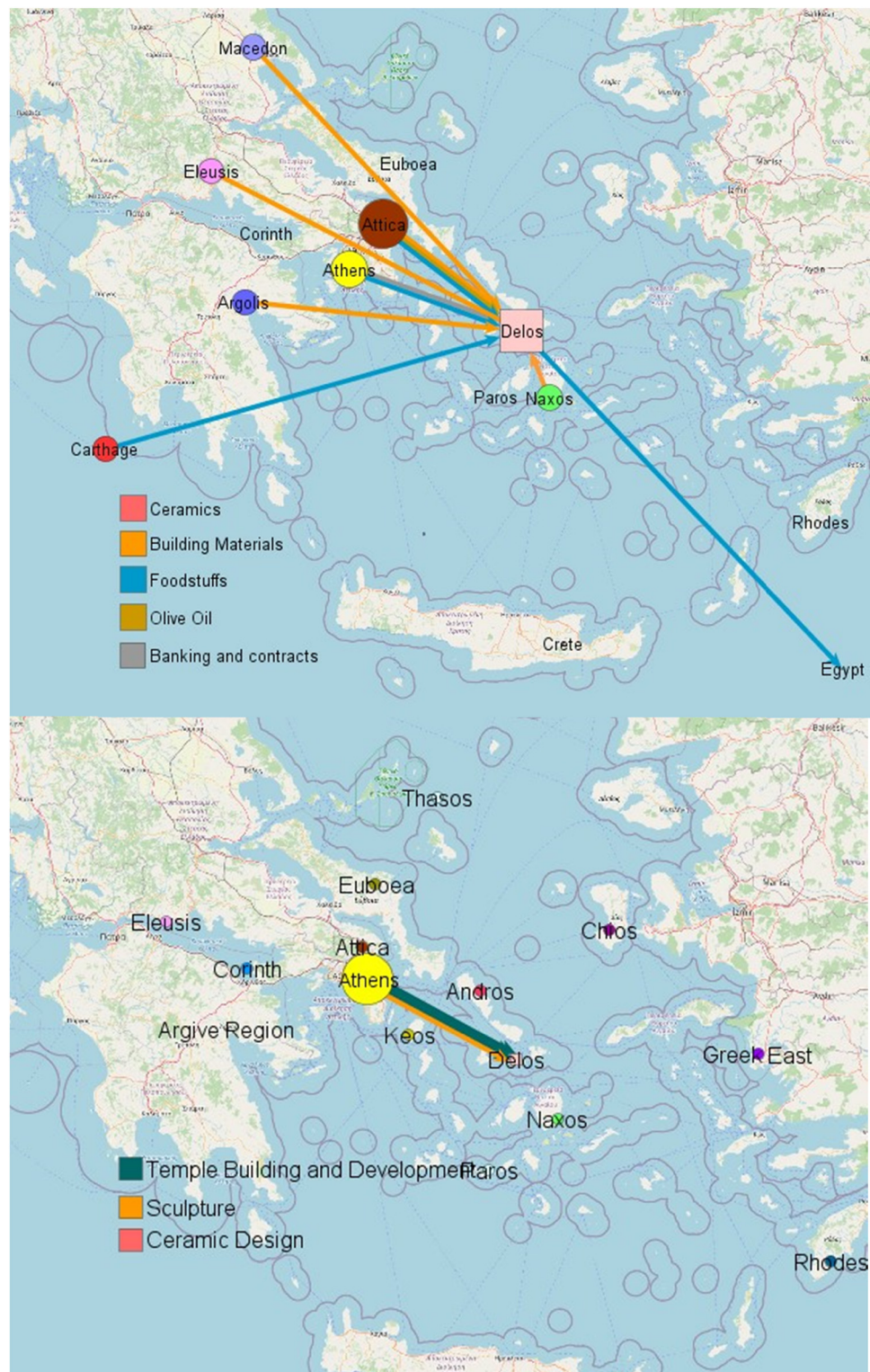


Figure 3: Classical period. Top: Trading Links (Appendix 2, Table A3). Below: Art and Architecture influence and development (Appendix 2, Table A4). Node size indicates the strength and ranking by Outdegree for trade exports and artistic influence. Some nodes may not be in their correct geographic position placed on the edge of the map for visibility.

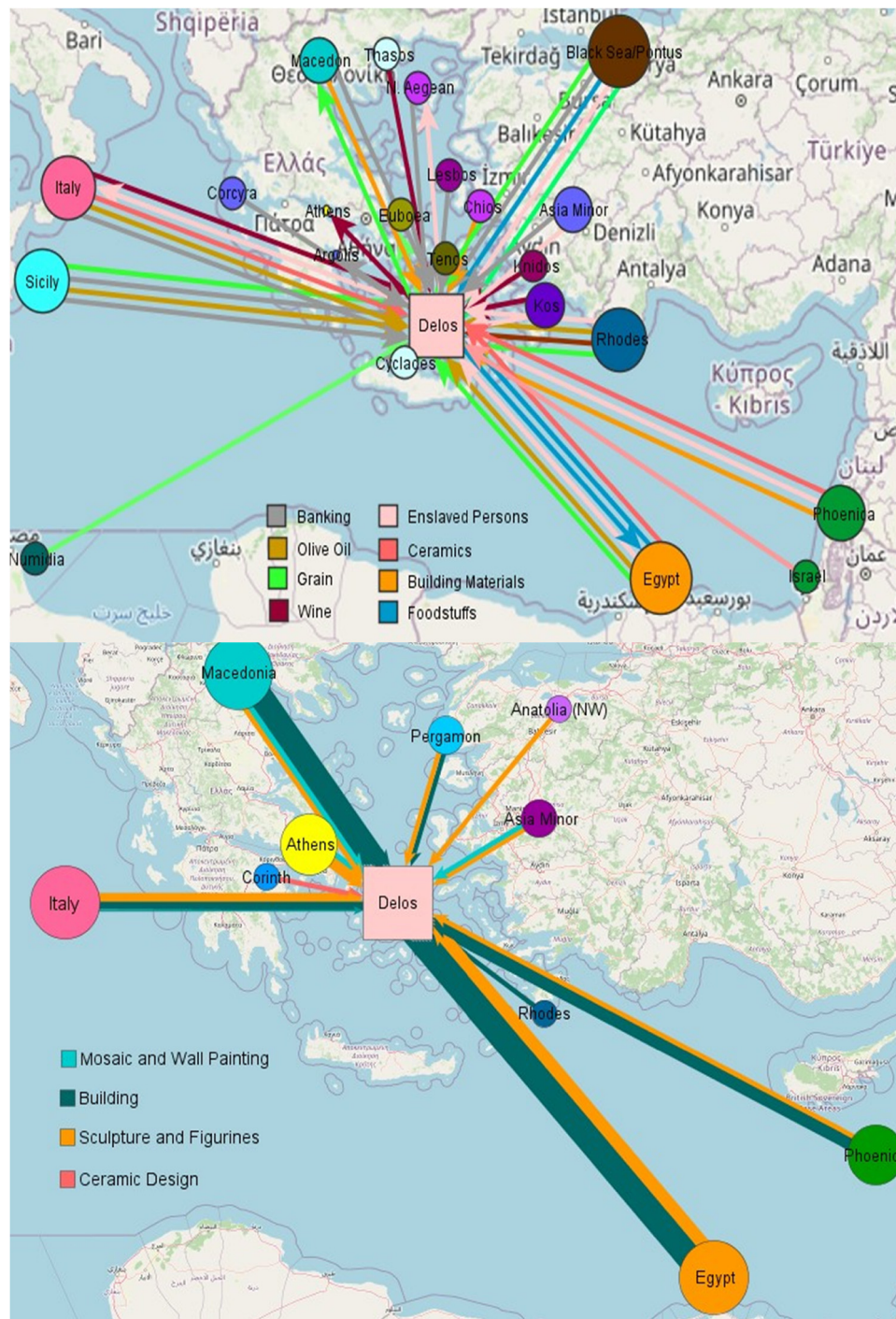


Figure 4: Hellenistic period. Top: Trading Links (Appendix 3, Table A5). Below: Art and Architecture influences and development (Appendix 3, Table A6). Node size indicates the strength and ranking by Outdegree for trade exports and artistic Influence. Some nodes may not be in their correct geographic position placed on the edge of the map for visibility.

relating to Delos alone are “ego” networks as they relate to only part of a more extensive network in each instance. The network results of each do appear to corroborate each other (Borgatti & Li, 2009). As Greene describes, focusing on artefacts from part of a network offers artefacts as clear identifiers of the ego’s origins, relationships, and connections to its sociocultural and technological environment (Greene, 2018, p. 144). Also

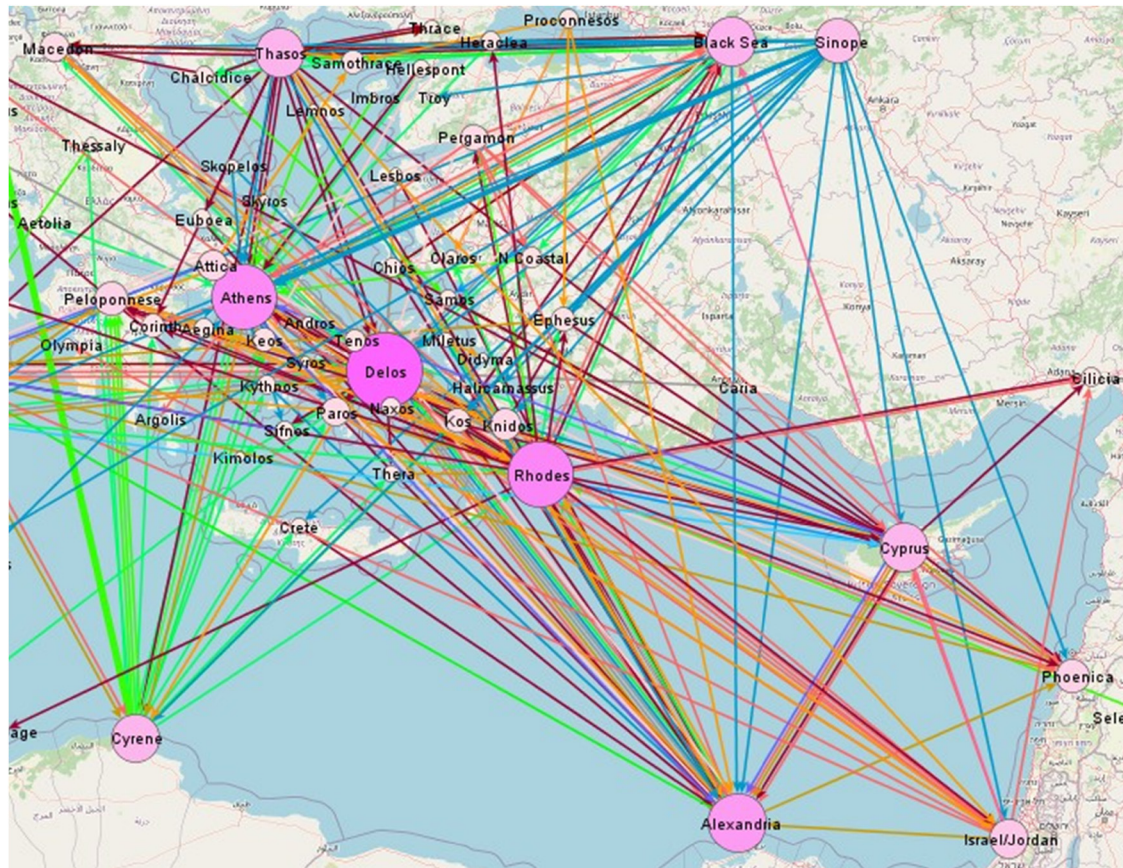


Figure 5: Hellenistic Period node degree centrality ranking (number of trading connections) illustrated by node size and colour shade, with 70 nodes and 306 links of commercial exchange based on archaeology and other ancient sources. Some nodes may not be in their correct geographic position placed on the edge of the map for visibility.

included is a map to illustrate Delos's centrality at its economic peak in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period (Figure 5).

3 Delos – Brief History of a Network Node

Delos was an important religious sanctuary, the birthplace of Apollo and a trading port in the Cycladic Island group in the Aegean Sea. Its geographical location made it an ideal stopping-off point and crossroads for trading, political and military movements. Cabotage and longer-distance journeys would have promoted the diffusion of cultic practices, which were reinterpreted locally (Mills, 2018). This enabled new ideas, art, culture, and technology to spread to Delos, even from nodes with whom it had a weaker connection. The new artistic innovations at Delos arose because of these weak ties as they were new styles and syncretism from outside that were unavailable within its own microregion (Granovetter, 1983). This phenomenon is particularly evident at Delos in the Hellenistic period. Also, innovative designs in living spaces and commercial premises were initiated by locals and resident traders who settled at Delos, influenced by the architecture and functionality applied at their place of origin. A combination of strong and weak ties most effectively spreads or diffuses religious innovation and participation (Kowalzig, 2018; see also Collar, 2022; Malkin, 2011).

The island was inhabited since the second-half of the third millennium B.C.E. Recognising limitations in dating, monumental buildings at Delos predated the erection of monumental buildings at Olympia, where no cult buildings or monuments were erected earlier than c. 600 B.C.E (Gruben, 2000, pp. 61–88). The Temple of

Apollo at Delphi, other than of laurel, beeswax and bronze described by Pausanias (*Description of Greece*, 10.5.9-13), is attested to the early sixth-century B.C.E (Scott, 2014, pp. 36–39). Delos had monumental buildings probably a 100 years earlier. The earliest buildings associated with the cult were built in the late eighth- or early seventh-century B.C.E., including Temple G, a narrow construction of rough granite blocks (Bruneau & Ducat, 1983, p. 123). Building Ac/Artemision was built c.700 B.C.E. on top of Mycenaean ruins and artefacts, and the Heraion, a small square building on the path up Mount Cynthus. It is considered unlikely that these were completed with local resources only and probably required the help of other island states (Constantakopoulou, 2007, pp. 41–42). The island was closely connected to an island network in the Archaic period, dominated by Athens in the Classical period and under the influence of Ptolemies, Antigonids, Athenians and Romans in the Hellenistic period. While in Rome's orbit, it was sacked by Mithridates VI of Pontus, an enemy of Rome, in 88 B.C.E and again in 69 B.C.E by pirates of Athenodoros who were allies of Mithridates. While settlement continued up to the eighth-century C.E., it never recovered its centrality, evident during the Hellenistic period (Figure 5).

4 Archaic Period

Delos had natural resources to serve the basic needs of travellers, like food and water (Angliker, 2017). The agrarian landscape was actively exploited from the late Archaic period with a subsistence polyculture closely linked to livestock farming (Brunet, 2016). However, imports were required to meet the island's subsistence needs demonstrated by import links of foodstuffs and olive oil in the network analysis (Figure 1). The island had no exports other than the invisible export revenue from visitors to the sanctuary, which was the seat of the pan-Ionian festival (Davis, 1982). Delos' primary contacts were with the Cycladic islands, and even though they could be considered culturally homogeneous, they still brought distinct ideas and styles often reflected in the art and architecture. Their investment in monumental buildings aimed to advertise their piety, power and wealth to the Delian gods and local and visiting communities (Constantakopoulou, 2015, p. 27). During this period, Athens/Attica supplied foodstuffs, limestone, and olive oil from Attica, and marble was provided by Paros and Naxos for the burgeoning development of the sanctuary. Other trade connections evident in ceramics include Euboea, Rhodes, Corinth and the Argive region, Crete, and Cyprus, as set out in Table A1, Appendix 1.

Naxos constructed their *oikos* on Delos in the late eighth-century B.C.E, adding a porch in 575 B.C.E roofed with Naxian tiles (Ohnesorg, 1991, pp. 53–59). Athens constructed the *Porinos Naos*, an Ionic Temple with a cella. It was probably initiated by Peisistratus following his purification of the sanctuary (Herodotus 1.64.1; Thucydides 3.104, 1-2). Based on the use of Attic limestone Boersma considers this to be the only Attic-style building outside of Attica in this period (IG XI.2 158a60–1; Boersma, 1970, p. 17; Bruneau & Ducat, 1983, p. 128; Constantakopoulou, 2007, 64; Gruben, 2000, p. 164; Parker, 1996, p. 87). Herodotus describes the Keians having a dining facility (*hestiatorion*) on Delos (Herodotus, *The Histories*, 4.35.4). Andros constructed their *Hestiatorion*, and Naxian marble was used in distinctive styles applied to the Naxian Lions (Figure 2). Parian marble was used on its iconic Sphinx and the marble blocks used in the Parian *oikos* and Letoon, with its Parian decorative pattern also seen in its colony of Thasos (Tréheux, 1987, p. 388).

Naxian *kouroi* examples are the earliest on Delos. An early late seventh-century B.C.E. example with the subject's hair thrown back behind his shoulders, unlike the treatment on *korai*, is comparable with the *kouroi* of Théra. Naxian models are made from the bluish Naxian marble with a distinct flat thin profile, narrow-waisted and not emphasising anatomical or muscular detail, and the surfaces are smooth with soft features with some examples according to Bruneau and Ducat (1983, pp. 56–64) evoking a Cyrene *kouros* or influenced by works from Athens and Rhodes. The Nikandre Statue from 640 B.C.E., found at the Sanctuary of Artemis, contains an inscription which speaks of an elite family, expressing grief for a lost daughter, sister and wife. Unlike male *kouroi*, *korai* are passive, mirroring their role in life, the importance of a marriage union with other elite families, and the continuation of the family line (Osborne, 1994, pp. 88–96). In considering the proposition that outsiders significantly influenced Delos, this early sculpture and inscription of a daughter

with a Naxian father provides an early example of an external presence. The appearance of Parian *kouroi* begins around 580 B.C.E. and is of Parian marble, pure white, fine-grained, semi-translucent and flawless. Parian *kouroi* appear distinctly athletic with heavier torso, thicker waist and arms pressed back, which appear to push the chest out. All these works are characteristic of archaic island sculpture (Bruneau & Ducat, 1983, pp. 56–64).

Although there is very little evidence available to construct Archaic trade links compared to the tangible art and architecture record, there is a correlation in the source of temple development and styles (Figure 1 top) with the Delos imports of mainly building material and foodstuffs (Figure 1 below). The high-ranking nodes (larger nodes) are similar in each map measured by outdegree (Exporter and diffusion rank). Although eastern influences can be seen in the art record, any trade links are mainly from a north-easterly direction and the islands. Many of the links in this period are less associated with normalised trade and more a matter of supplying material for architectural and sculptural development at the sanctuary. Like monumental building construction, sculpture development styles and materials initially originate from local island networks, particularly Naxos and Paros.

5 Classical Period

In this period, Athens exercised near-total control over maritime trade in the Aegean and over Delos, which, for a period, held the treasury of the Delian League (Carlson, 2013, p. 1; Malkin, 2011, p. 215; Pomeroy et al., 2015, pp. 161–67). This hegemony lasted until the island's independence in 314 B.C.E. (Chankowski, 2008). This, too, is reflected with minimal evidence available of Delos' trading relationships, which are mainly with Athens and Attica, and timber for the sanctuary coming from Macedon (Figure 3 top). This Athenian dominance is also reflected in architectural development (Figure 3 below), based on links in Table A4, Appendix 2.

The Temple of the Delians is the largest of three dedicated to Apollo and was funded by the Delian League (Smarczyk, 1990, p. 465). Construction was interrupted after the removal of the Delian League treasury to Athens in 454 B.C.E. and was not recommenced until after Delian independence (Constantakopoulou, 2017, p. 70). It was the only peripteral temple on Delos, with single rows of thirteen Doric columns on the long side and six on the narrow side. Coincidentally, construction of the Temple of Hephaestus on the Agora of Athens, a similarly designed peripteral temple, commenced in 449 B.C.E., just after the league's relocation. The Doric peripteral configuration has its original roots in the sixth-century B.C.E., like the Temple of Artemis at Corcyra from 580 B.C.E. The Temple of Athenians, beside the Temple of The Delians, is an amphiprostyle design with six Doric columns on the narrow side constructed c.425–420 B.C.E. The temple contained seven statues on a horseshoe-shaped base of grey-blue marble from Eleusis. Athens sent white Pentelic marble and experienced artisans, and according to P. J. Hadjidakis, probably under the supervision of Callicrates, the craftsman responsible for the Temple of Nike on the Athenian Acropolis. Interestingly, measurements of the temple's lateral acroteria match that of the Temple of Athena Nike and the Athenian treasury at Delphi (Schultz, 2001, p. 17). From the available evidence, the Athenians appear not to have left a large corpus of sculptures on the island in this period. The acrotere of the Temple of the Athenians narrated mythological scenes depicting Athenian heroes, including the abduction of Oreithyia by Boreas, who personified the northern wind (Boersma, 1970, p. 171).

6 Hellenistic Period

The changing political and military fortunes are clearly evident, and the same sources (indicated by node size measured by outdegree = export/diffusion rank) of export trade goods to Delos (Figure 4 top) as the origin of diffusing styles of art and architecture (Figure 4 below) found at the sanctuary. In particular, Egypt, Macedon, Phoenicia, Asia Minor, and Italy feature with high outdegree centrality in both maps. The Black Sea was a

meaningful trading connection, yet it was not reflected in the art and architecture records. This is not that surprising in that culture and religious influence went from the Greek world in the opposite direction, originally through colonisation and reflected, in the adoption of the temple and Greek deities, for example, the Hieron on the Bosphorus dedicated to Zeus Ourios in the Hellenistic period and previously other Greek deities (Moreno, 2008, pp. 658–679 and Appendix 1 for Zeus *Ourios* Ancient Testimonia and Inscriptions) The Aegean, in any case, also reduced their reliance in the Classical period on the Black Sea for grain, with Cyrene, Sicily and Egypt filling the gap in supply (Figure 5).

Athens's maritime dominance in the Classical period was down to its fleet, which it retained until the Battle of Amorgos in 322 B.C.E, marking the end of Athenian power and political independence (Bresson, 2016, p. 304). New powers flexed their military muscle in Alexander's conquered territories. Ptolemy, who inherited Egypt, and the Antipater/Antigonid dynasties, who retained Macedon and Greece (Freeman, 2011, p. 321). Delos would fall under their influence, if not under direct political control, in respect of culture, religion, and trade. Within 7 years of the "liberation" of Delos from Athens in 314 B.C.E., the League of the Islanders, an island alliance, was set up with its religious centre on Delos, which also incorporated the cult of Antigonos (Billows, 1990, p. 222; Buraselis, 1982). Following the Roman victory in the Macedonian wars, they rewarded Delos by making it a free port at the expense of the Rhodians and Corinthians (Strabo, *Geography*, 14.5.4). The catalyst for the influences, as demonstrated above, was the international travel of merchants and mercenaries (Barret, 2011, p. 23). Delos became a powerful commercial node, as measured by its high centrality ranking earned by virtue of its commercial connections as an exchange hub and by leveraging its political relationships and geographical position (Figure 5). Black Sea grain supplies continued, with Rhodes and Delos acting as intermediaries and reducing this dependency by sourcing grain from Sicily, North Africa and Egypt (Casson, 1954, pp. 171–174, 187; Reger, 1994, p. 53). Cyrene also supplied direct to the Aegean and mainland. Olive oil from Egypt was also transited through Rhodes and then to Delos and other Cycladic islands (Grace & Savvatanou-Pétropoulako, 1970, Ch. 14; Reger, 1994, pp. 29, 67–69, 265). Delos wine suppliers include Kos, Apulia, Campania, Knidos, Thasos and Rhodes and olive oil from Rhodes, Egypt, Italy and Sicily. Enslaved persons move from the east to the west through Delos, described by Strabo (*Geography*, 14.5.2) as a slave market. Macedon and Phoenicia remain an essential timber source for the sanctuary. Delos was also an established centre for banking (Bresson, 2016, p. 392; Cohen, 1997, p. 114).

There is a distinct difference in the architecture development by the earlier Ptolemaic and Antigonids dynasties, who favoured temple and sanctuary development and the later Romans, whose developments were of a domestic and commercial nature along with Athenian and Levantine settlers. Their presence also influenced the introduction of distinct styles in sculpture and subtle influences in mosaic and wall painting, some of which, in turn, influenced later Italian design. A temple dedicated to the twelve Olympian gods, including an idealised portrait of a Hellenistic sovereign, was constructed as early as 290 B.C.E and identified as the Dodekatheon. The Antigonids probably funded this development (Bruneau & Ducat, 2005, pp. 216–217). Later in this century, a monumental stoa, which an inscription indicates is associated with Antigonos Gonatas, had projecting wings and elaborate sculptural decorations (XI. 4 1095 = Choix 35). The forty-seven Doric columns were fluted only on the upper portion, and there was an Ionic inner colonnade of 19 columns. On the Doric entablature, the frieze triglyphs alternate with embossed marble heads of bulls (Figure 6). Similar bull head figures appear at the Hellenistic site of Didyma, which bears a striking resemblance if not a baroque interpretation. In 210 B.C.E, Philip V of Macedonia built a stoa, as attested by an inscription (IG XI. 4 1099 = Choix 57). His great-grandfather built the Doric Monument of the Bulls/Neorion, which housed a trireme as a dedication to Apollo. Pausanias (*Description of Greece*, 1.29.1) famously described a ship with nine rows of oars on display at Delos.

The goddess Aphrodite, and especially Aphrodite Euploia, saviour of the shipwrecked and protectress of sailors and the navy, was especially associated with the Ptolemies, as was the Aphrodision of Stesileos constructed c.305 B.C.E. All these beneficiaries of her protection would have promoted her cult on their travels (Constantakopoulou, 2017, pp. 80–81; Marquaille, 2001, pp. 195–200; Papantoniou, 2012, p. 195). While the Ptolemies were not as prolific as the Antigonids in monumental building projects, the representation of Egyptian cults in sculpture and figurines is present in both the temple and domestic sphere.



Figure 6: Portion of the frieze of the Stoa of Antigonos, c.240 B.C.E. (Photo: D Grant).

The attraction of the Sarapis to Ptolemy I and the leaders that followed relates to the god's optimistic prophecy revealed in a dream of a great future for Ptolemy and his kingdom. Isis and Sarapis appear together in the sculpture relief of Agathodaimon, which includes Egyptian snake imagery. Sarapis is also conflated with Zeus in the statue of Sarapis as a semi-nude figure. Syncretism, where the same divinity generates diverse iconographical and onomastic representations, can also be seen in a statue of the Egyptian goddess Isis, identifiable only by its location in the Doric Temple of Isis (Figure 7), where the Isis sculpture's format could easily be confused with an Aphrodite type. Isis takes over the Greek goddess's composition, is dressed in a chiton and mantle, and is moving forward. Pakkanen believes that this does not undermine faith, as a polytheistic system is flexible, fluid and syncretistic in nature. Visual representations of divinities were adapted to better suit and respond to new cultural contexts (Pakkanen, 2011, p. 135). The "Oriental Aphrodite" with a multi-tiered crown incorporating vegetal elements and radiate rays is a Hellenised example of a figurine manufactured in a Greek tradition but wears unusual clothing that combines a range of Greek, Near Eastern, and Egyptian influences. Pottier and Reinach, who coined the term "Oriental Aphrodite," saw these figurines as a syncretism of Aphrodite with Near Eastern goddesses such as Astarte or Anat. This was an open international community engaged in exchanging ideas and technology. To make Egyptian iconography more understandable or recognisable for locals, producers and consumers of these figurines opted to employ a strategy of active syncretism (Barret, 2011, pp. 26–35, 160).

The earliest dated examples of female statue styles, popular later in the Roman imperial period, are found on Delos, the "Pudicitia" and the "Small Herculaneum" type (Smith, 1991, p. 257). The "Pudicitia" style, which has its roots in grave reliefs from Asia Minor and the Aegean, attempts to display a chaste, virtuous, and modest woman (Pfuhl & Möbius, 1977). The "Small Herculaneum" type shows a woman pulling the end of her mantle up over her shoulder in a gesture of modesty. Both these body types were widely used for portraits of Roman women. The veristic Roman style of portrait sculpture expressing a harsh and severe realism implying



Figure 7: Temple of Isis and Statue of Isis. Sarapieon. Mid-Hellenistic period (Photos: D Grant).

favoured Roman virtues of *simplicitas* and *gravitas* can be seen in a female portrait and the *Pseudo-Athlete*, both from the House of the Diadoumenos with the latter displaying a Roman veristic head but with an idealised Greek body (Bremen, 1996, p. 166; Fejfer, 2008, pp. 89–90; Kleiner 1992, pp. 34–36; Richter 1955, pp. 39–46).

The Delos emporium attracted Roman, Athenian and Levantine traders to settle and construct lavish villas with external colonnades like those along the façade of the House of the Dolphins, House of the Masks and House of the Trident (Figure 8). The high concentration of numerous commercial facilities near the port, at accessible locations and near the sanctuary of Apollo confirms the importance of commerce to Delos (Karvonis, 2008, p. 217). A typical late Republican Italian country villa type can be seen in the design of Maison de Fourni, on a roadside facing the countryside with rooms related to agricultural and craft activities (Archibald et al., 2012, pp. 89–90). The floor plan appears to indicate rooms for rent at the House of the Trident and of the Masks. In the House of the Trident (Figure 8), on a column of its Rhodian peristyle, symbols of the Syrian deities Atargatis and Hadad appear, suggesting the home of a Syrian merchant (Westgate, 2000, p. 401). Decoration of these homes also reflects the influence of international trading connections, with wall paintings and mosaics echoing Macedonian and Roman styles and motifs. This combination of commerce with luxury is a common Roman architectural and property management strategy, as seen in houses and villas in Italy (Zarmakoupi, 2015, p. 123). Examples include a coroplast who operated at House VI B in the Theater District



Figure 8: House of the Trident. Atargatis and Hadad. c.150–100 B.C.E. (Photo D Grant).

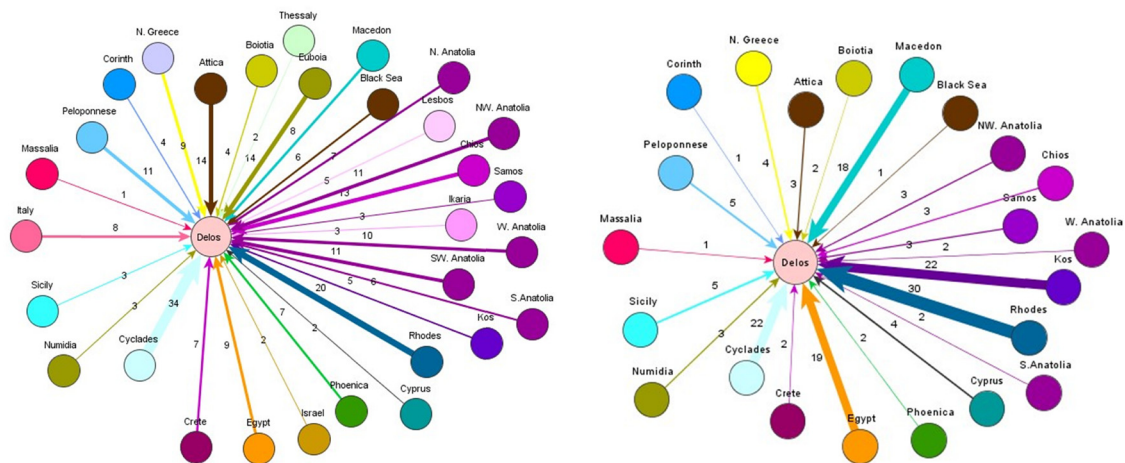


Figure 9: Delian Honours (Left), Dedications record in the Delian Inventories (Right) by ethnicity. The number and link thickness represent quantities.

and a marble worker at the House of Kerdon. The design of commercial buildings in the Theatre Quarter and the South Quarter come from the Roman world, including warehouse buildings from Ostia and buildings associated with commerce and crafts from Rome and Ostia (Karvonis, 2008, pp. 196, 208).

Delos has a substantial corpus of inscriptions, mainly from the Hellenistic period, recording honours and dedications. Constantakopoulou, 2017, compiled lists of the ethnicity of dedicators and of those honoured, which are presented above in a summary graph form (Figure 9). Honorific decrees were issued by the demos and the Boule of the Delians to award the status of proxenos, an official friend of the polis. Honours could also be given by way of mention in Delian accounts for dedications of statues and exedras. The inventories record the objects and often the ethnicity of dedicants to the Delian deities.

Examples of an honorary decree are two decrees to honour Autocles, son of Autocles, from Chalkis, from c.230 B.C.E who is described as a good man with regard to the sanctuary and demos who provided services to the city as a whole and the citizens (IG XI.4 681 and 682). On inventory lists, there is a dedication by Queen Stratonike from 250 B.C.E (IG XI.2 287B 64–72), which includes golden crowns on the wall of the Temple of Apollo (Constantakopoulou, 2017, pp. 176, 122). Connecting honours to commerce include decrees relating to the role of the Rhodian navy in protecting trade, including against the activity of pirates, and indicating the vulnerability of the island and dependence on others for protection. Economy and trade, with a wide description of the activities thereof, appear closely, but not solely related, to the award of proxeny linking Delos with the honorand (IG XI.4 596 = Choix 39; IG XI.4 1135 = Choix 40; (Constantakopoulou, 2017, p. 149). The greater number of honours appear to be from nearby Cycladic islands, Attica, Peloponnese and Asia Minor coastal regions and islands, with only the latter correlating significantly with trade links (Figure 4). Rhodes and its proximate neighbour, Kos, have the highest numbers of honours and dedications, which is not surprising because of strong trade links with Delos, its role as protector, and confirming stronger commercial relationships than just a waypoint node on passing trade routes. Despite Egypt and Macedon being rich in trade and art and architecture links to Delos, they do not register significantly for honours but do for dedications, which probably relates to their investment in the sanctuary through big gestures in temple developments. Italy and Phoenicia's trade volume would have come later in the Hellenistic period to most of these honours and dedications, so no correlation should be expected. In summary, those nodes with links nearer to Delos seem to fare on average better in honours recognition stakes, but the distance does not appear to matter so much with dedications.

7 Conclusion

Other than for subsistence, early trade connections substantially relate to the supply of materials for the development of the sanctuary. This does not factor in Delos acting as a stopover for trade between other locations. Later, a normalised trade network developed with Delos becoming an *emporium* and highly central node (Figure 5). Connections widened to include Attica, Asia Minor, the states of the former Macedonian empire and the Romans, all bringing their culture and cults, which will be assimilated, as if by osmosis, in the styles and use of art and architecture at Delos. It is not surprising that the impact of trade connections would extend beyond commercial relationships to influence the style and iconography of cultic practice employed in the development of the sanctuary and in domestic and commercial construction and decoration. The former driven by the religious practice and ideological influence of sailors and merchants as well as kings investing in displays of power, and the latter arising from the profits of foreign merchants settling in Delos. The symbiotic relationship between commerce and religion is considered by many scholars, including Kowalzig, who suggests that religious connections reflect commercial ties with sanctuaries as nodes on networks and ideologies transmitted by mariners (Kowalzig, 2018). This would include how religion is expressed in art and architecture, a common source to trade links as demonstrated above and, as a driver of dedication practice, recorded in the Delian inventories at the sanctuary. These maps also illustrate how Malkin's (2011) theory on the spread of Greek culture can be facilitated by trade and how the small Greek world continues to be inspired by other cultures as trade networks expand.

Acknowledgements: I wish to acknowledge the continued guidance and support of my supervisor, Dr Giorgos Papantoniou, Assistant Professor in Ancient Visual and Material Culture in the Department of Classics at Trinity College Dublin.

Funding information: The research conducted in this publication was funded by a Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship through the Irish Research Council under grant number GO I PG/2023/3956. The Open Access status of this article has received funding from the Centre of Excellence in Ancient Near Eastern Empires, funded by the Research Council of Finland (decision number 352748).

Author contributions: The author confirms the sole responsibility for the conception of the study, presented results and manuscript preparation.

Conflict of interest: The author states no conflict of interest.

Data availability statement: All the main data generated or analysed during this study are included in this published article in the appendices or available publicly with references included. The data used to construct the network in Figure 5 were compiled by the author from publicly available sources, details of which will be shared on reasonable request.

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Appendix 1 Archaic Period

Table A1: Archaic period – Trade links

From	To	Artefact/Primary source	Ref. Category Colour
Athens	Delos		Constantakopoulou, 2007b, pp. 38–40; Rolley, 1973
Athens	Delos	Attic Limestone to build Porinos Naos (GD11)*	Constantakopoulou, 2007b, p. 64
Athens	Delos	Nomothetic' workshop at Athens	Osborne, 1996, Table 8; Paleothodoros, 2007
Attica	Delos	SOS Amphora for oil	Bresson 2016, p. 404; Pratt, 2015, pp. 213–245; Rolley, 1973
Corinth	Delos	Goods/pottery	Constantakopoulou, 2007b, pp. 38–40; Coldstream, 2003, p. 196
Crete	Delos	Goods/LG Pottery & Cypriot type Black on Red	Bourogiannis, 2022, pp. 367–387; Coldstream, 2003, pp. 196, 272; Constantakopoulou, 2007b, pp. 38–40
Cyprus	Delos	Ceramics: Black on Red Ware	Bourogiannis, 2022, pp. 367–387; Lemos, 2002, pp. 228–229; Orsingher, 2022, pp. 309–311; www.britishmuseum.org collection/term/x14739
Euboea	Delos	Skyphos	Descœudres, 2006, Figure 3
Naxos	Delos	Pottery Fabrics	Coldstream, 2003, pp. 195, 385
Naxos	Delos	Blue Tinted Marble and roof tiles and marble	Bruneau & Ducat 2005, pp. 244–45; Ohnesorg, 1991, pp. 53–59; Tréheux, 1987, p. 388
Paros	Delos	Pottery	Constantakopoulou, 2007b, p. 47; Santerre, 1958, pp. 280, 287
Paros	Delos	Pottery Fabrics	Coldstream, 2003, pp. 195, 385
Paros	Delos	Fine Grained Marble; Pliny, NH. 36, 4, 19	Gorgoni & Pallante, 2000; Kokkorou-Alevras, 2001; Tréheux, 1987, p. 388
Peloponnese (E)	Delos	Corinth/Argive pottery	Kourou, 1988, pp. 314–324
Rhodes	Delos	Pottery	Reger, 1994, p. 52; Bourogiannis, 2022, pp. 367–387
Rhodes	Delos	Spaghetti like' aryballoi	Bourogiannis, 2022, pp. 367–387; Salmon, 2022, Figure 1
Rhodes	Delos	Goods/pottery	Bourogiannis, 2022, pp. 367–387; Constantakopoulou, 2007b, pp. 38–40; Coldstream, 2003, p. 196

*GD reference is Delos site reference on the official map.

Table A2: Archaic period – Art and architecture links

From/Influence	Art and architecture	Ref.
Andros	Oikos of the Andrians (GD43)	Hamilton, 2000, p. 367
Athens	Porinos Naos (GD11)	Boersma, 1970, p. 17; Constantakopoulou, 2007, p. 64
Chios	Nike of Archermos "Chian Style"	Pedley, 2012, p. 279; Romano, 2006, p. 234; Sheedy, 1985, p. 619
Corinth	Fineware. Slim ovoid body	Coldstream, 2003, p. 68–69
Euboea	Oikos of the Carystians (GD 16)	
Euboea	Fineware	Coldstream, 2003, pp. 175, 180
Euboea	Euboea Cesnola painter themes. Static female dance	Coldstream, 2003, p. 195
Greek East	Ivory Sea. East Greek type: a recumbent lion	Coldstream, 2003, p. 140
Keos	<i>Hestiatorion</i>	Herodotus <i>The Histories</i> , 4.35.4
Naxos	Oikos of the Naxians (GD6)	Bruneau & Ducat, 1983, p. 121; Mackill, 2013, p. 191f
Naxos	The Nikandre Statue. Naxos family	IG xii, 5.2, p. xxiv; SGDI 5423; ID II, 1; Jefferys LSAG 303
Naxos	Upper part of kouros	Bruneau & Ducat, 1983, pp. 56–64
Naxos	Naxian korai A, b and C. Flat profile	"
Naxos	Porches added to Oikos of the Naxians (GD6)	Constantakopoulou, 2007, p. 43; Gruben, 2000, p. 164
Naxos	Naxian roof tile marble on Oikos	Ohnesorg, 1991, pp. 53–59

(Continued)

Table A2: *Continued*

From/Influence	Art and architecture	Ref.
Naxos	Naxian Lions (up to 19?)	Bruneau & Ducat, 2005, pp. 244–245; Barlou 2014, 137(Note 10) & 139–44
Naxos	Fineware	Coldstream, 2003, pp. 68–69, 195
Paros	Fineware	“
Paros	Parian kouros. Island sculpture	Bruneau & Ducat, 1983, pp. 56–66
Paros	The Parian sphinx pf Parian marble	Bruneau & Ducat, 1983, pp. 64–65
Paros	Monument of Hexagons (GD44). Oikos.	Bruneau & Ducat, 1983, pp. 64–65
	Stylistic design	
Paros	Letoon Temple (GD53). Parian Decorative pattern	Santerre, 1958, pp. 257–258
Thasos	Decorative pattern on Monument of Hexagones	Hellmann & Fraisse, 1979, pp. 73–75

*GD reference is Delos site reference on the official map.

Appendix 2 Classical Period

Table A3: Classical period – Trade links

From	To	Artefact/Primary source	Ref. Category Colour
Eleusis	Delos	Grey-blue marble on Temple of Athenians	Bresson, 2016, p. 361
Argolis	Delos	Purple dye	Cohen, 1997, p. 39
Athens	Delos	Bank financing for Delian cargo ship; Isokrates, 17.44	Constantakopoulou, 2007b; Rolley, 1973, 38–40
Athens	Delos	Subsistence	Hadjidakis, n.d.; Schultz, 2001, p. 17
Attica	Delos	Pentelic marble and experienced craftsmen on Temple of Apollo	
Attica	Delos	Olive Oil	Reger, 1994, p. 265
Attica	Delos	Honey: Strabo 9.1.3	Moreno, 2007, 68 and footnote 33
Carthage	Delos	Punic salted fish amphorae	Curtis, 1991, 118, n25
Delos	Egypt	Rhenian Cheese	Reger, 1994, pp. 268–270
Macedon	Delos	Timber for Sanctuary; Ditt. Syll.3 248N (c.341 BCE)	Meiggs, 1982, pp. 430–433
		IG,II,2,135-229; ID 290-510	
Naxos	Delos	Marble and Tiles	Bresson, 2016, 363

Table A4: Classical period – Art and architecture links

From	Art and architecture	Style/Material	Ref.
Athens	Temple of the Delians (GD13)	Doric peripteral configuration like Temple of Artemis Corfu	Smarczyk, 1990, p. 465; Constantakopoulou, 2017, p. 70
Athens	Temple of Athenians (GD12)	Amphiprostyle design with six Doric columns	Constantakopoulou, 2007, p. 72
Athens	Temple of Athenians (GD12)	Greek Theme on Acroterion: Abduction of Oreithyia by Boreas.	Boersma, 1970, p. 171
Athens	Temple of Athenians (GD12)	Callicrates, craftsman of the Temple of Nike on the Acropolis. Measurements of the temple's lateral acroteria same as Nike and Delphi treasury	Schultz, 2001, p. 17
Athens	The Prytaneion (GD22)	Insular style	Buckingham, 2012

Appendix 3 Hellenistic Period

Table A5: Hellenistic period – Trade links

From	To	Artefact/Primary source	Ref. Category Colour
Delos	Cycladic Islands	Grain: IG XI 4.666 = Choix, 48 Delos a centre for Grain distribution IG XI.4 1049; Strabo 10.5.4 (=C486), 14.5.2 (=C668)	Durrbach, 1977, pp. 57–58
Delos	Macedon	Grain: IG XI 4.666 = Choix, 48	Casson, 1954, p. 175
Delos	Euboea	IG XI.4 1055 + 1025 (Syll.3 493; Choix 7) = Durrbach, Choix 50	
Delos	Aegean	Trade centre for Slaves, Wine & Grain Strabo, Geography, 14.5.2 Emporium, wine: Strabo, Geography, 10.5.4	Buraselis, 1982; Bruneau, 1970, p. 253; Rauh, 1993, p. 248; Reger, 1994, p. 115
Delos	Italy	Slaves: Strabo, Geography, 14.5.2	Casson, 1954, p. 181; Durrbach Roussel, 1935, p. 88
Delos	Argolis	Banking: Migeotte, L'emprunt public, 147–50, no. 45, VII, IX, XI, XII	
Asia Minor	Delos	Slaves	Lewis, 2016
Asia Minor	Delos	Coins at tavern	Harmansah, 2013, p. 157; Hadjidakis, 2017
Black Sea	Delos	Grain	Casson, 1954, pp. 173–174
Byzantium	Delos	IG xi.4.627	Casson, 1971, pp. 173–174
Byzantium	Delos	Animals, slaves, honey, wax, & dried fish. Gateway: Polyb, 4.38.4–5	
Byzantium	Delos	Banking: Political Origin of Theon bank	
Caria	Delos	Banking: Political origin of Philophon and Pactyas bank	McGlin, 2019, Fig.3.12
Chios	Delos	Pitch	Reger, 1994, pp. 67–69
Corcyra	Delos	Coins at tavern	Hadjidakis, 2017
Egypt	Delos	Grain: IG XI 4.666 = Choix, 48; IG XI 2.159A54–55	
Egypt,	Delos	Terracotta figures	Barret, 2011, pp. 2, 120–121
Euboea	Delos	Banking: IG XI 4.1055 = Choix, 50;	Reger, 1994, p. 119
Israel	Delos	Perfume Amphoriskoi from Tel Anafa	Papuci-Władyka, 2012, pp. 565–570
Italy	Delos	Thin walled fine ware	Peignard-Giros, 2014
Italy	Delos	Campania “A” Ceramics	Bresson, 2016, p. 350
Italy	Delos	Campania Oil or Wine	Bresson, 2016, p. 376; Morel, 1986, pp. 462–469
		Accompanying Ceramics	Bresson, 2016, p. 376
			Boulay, 2012, pp. 112–115; Dzierzbicka, 2018, p. 198
			Hadjidakis, 2017
Lesbos,	Delos	Coins at tavern	“
Macedon	Delos	Coins	“
Macedon	Delos	Lumber (Oak,Fir, Pitch); IG,II,2,135-229; ID 290-510; IG XI 2.199A57, 78–79	Casson, 1954, p. 175; Meiggs, 1982, pp. 441–457
North Aegean	Delos	Coins at tavern	Hadjidakis, 2017
Numidia/Africa	Delos	Grain: Insc. de Delos 442A 100-105	Casson, 1971, pp. 183–184
Pontus/Bithynia	Delos	Slaves. Xenophon, <i>Hell</i> 1.2.4-5	Casson, 1954, p. 181
Phoenicia	Delos	Cedar wood	Meiggs, 1972, pp. 441–457; Westgate, 2000, p. 401
Phoenicia	Delos	Slaves	Casson, 1954, pp. 179–181

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Table A5: Continued

From	To	Artefact/Primary source	Ref. Category Colour
Rhodes	Delos	Olive Oil	Badoud, 2014, pp. 17–28; Grace & Savvatiadou-Pétropoulako, 1970, Ch. 14
Rhodes	Delos	Rhodian financier dealing with Histiaia at Delos	Reger, 1994, p. 265
Rhodes	Delos	Slaves	Bresson, 2016, p. 392
Rhodes	Delos	Grain	Casson, 1954, pp. 179–181
Rome	Delos	Coins at tavern.	Durrbach, 1977, pp. 57–58; Reger, 1994, p. 21
Sicily	Delos	Grain: IG XI 4.666 = Choix, 48	Hadjidakis, 2017, p. 325; Stek, 2008, p. 115
Sicily	Delos	Coins at tavern	Casson, 1954, pp. 176–187; Marasco, 1988, p. 146
Sicily	Delos	Olive Oil	Hadjidakis, 2017
Sinope	Delos	Seafood	Bresson, 2016, p. 350, Note 37
Syracuse	Delos	Banking: Political Origin of Timon bank	Balabanov, 2010, Plate 4; Boer, 2013: Curtis, 1991; Dimitrova, 2022; Garlan 2007; Finkielsztejn, 2011; Patabs & Reynolds, 2013, p. 102
Syracuse	Delos	Banking: Political Origin of Herakleides and Nymphodorus bank	McGlin, 2019, Fig.3.12; Pleket & Bogaert, 1976
Tenos	Delos	Banking: Political Origin of Mantineus and Hellen bank	“
Thasos	Delos	Wine-https://thasos.amphoradata.online	James, 2010; Lawall & Tzochov, 2020, p. 128

Table A6: Hellenistic period – Art and architecture links

From/ Influence	Art and architecture	Syncretism/Style	Ref.
Anatolia	Orthostats from the House of the Masks	Like Sphinx Gate, Alaca Höyük	Harmanşah, 2013, p. 157
Athens	Cleopatra and Dioskourides statues from House of Cleopatra	Pudictia’ style, roots in grave reliefs from Asia Minor and the Aegean	Dillon, 2013; Pfuhl & Möbius, 1977, pp. 205–206
Athens	Head of young woman from the House of Dionysus.	Hellenistic female portraiture with conventional ideals of female beauty	Dillon, 2013, pp. 212–214
Athens	The Diadumenos (diadem-bearer)	“neo-Attic” academicism in Greco-Roman art, a reversion to classical types,	Bruneau & Ducat, 1983, p. 71
Athens	Pseudo-Athlete	Roman veristic head with an idealised Greek body	Kleiner, 1992, pp. 34–36
Athens	Decorative friezes from houses in the Stadium District	Greek themes with no hint of syncretism	Bruneau & Ducat, 1983, p. 83
Athens	House of the Masks, theatrical, Panathenaic prize amphorae motifs	Style, technology and narrative are Greek	
Beirut	Establishment of Poseidoniasts	Small temples to Baal-Posidon, Astarte-Aphrodite and Esmund- Acespeilos	Lipiński, 2004, p. 166
Corinth	Corinthian style aryballos,	Decorated with dogs, was found at the Heraion	
East Egypt	House of Dionysus Philadelphion: Later called the Temple of Agathe Tyche	Stucco, an oriental art form Sanctuary for the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphus, sister and wife of Ptolemy II. To honour a new goddess of the Delian pantheon, a link to Ptolemaic Royal circles	Westgate, 2000, p. 412 Constantakopoulou, 2017, p. 98

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Table A6: *Continued*

From/ Influence	Art and architecture	Syncretism/Style	Ref.
Egypt	Aphrodision of Stesileos	Ptolemy influence on deities	IG XI 4, 1247 = RICIS 202/0124 = ID 4756; Antoniadis, 2022; Constantakopoulou, 2017, pp. 80–86
Egypt	Sarapieion, founded by Apollonios	Ptolemy influence on deities	“
Egypt	Sarapeion A	Nilometres created from tunnel to Inopos river	Barret, 2011, p. 133; Richter, 2010, p. 161
Egypt	Isis and Serapis. Relief of Agathodaimon	Syncretism of deities. Ptolemy influence	Pakkanen, 2011, p. 134
Egypt	Doric Temple of Isis, Terrace of the Foreign Gods	Doric	
Egypt	Statue of Isis. Sarapieion	Isis sculpture's format as Aphrodite type	Pakkanen, 2011, p. 135
Egypt	The “Oriental Aphrodite” figurine	1500 published terracotta figurines, 82 represent Egyptian deities, only 3 imported	Barret, 2011, pp. 86–87; Marcadé, 1969, pp. 408–417
Egypt	“Harpocrates” figurine	Syncretism of deities	Barret, 2011, p. 411
Greco/Rome	The “Oriental Aphrodite” figurine	1500 published terracotta figurines, include Greco-Roman examples	Barret, 2011, pp. 86–87; Marcadé, 1969, pp. 408–417
Italy		Establishment of Poseidoniasts and goddess Roma adoption of Roman styles	
Italy	La Maison de Fourni	Late Republican Italian villa syyle	Archibald et al., 2012, pp. 89–90
Italy	Agora of the Italians honorific statues	Italians honorific statues	Dillon, 2013, pp. 217–219
Italy	Lake House	Small Herculaneum type	
Italy	Pseudo-Athlete Female portrait from the “House of the Diadoumenos”	Veristic form was popular for Roman male portraits	Bremen, 1996, p. 166; Fejfer, 2008, pp. 89–90
Macedon	Demetrius. Monument of the Bulls/Neorion (GD24)	Doric style	Pausanias, <i>Description of Greece</i> , 1.29.1
Macedon	Dodekathemon (GD51)	Idealised portrait of a Hellenistic sovereign	Bruneau & Ducat, 2005, pp. 217–217; Constantakopoulou 2017, p. 98
Macedon	Antigonos' Stoa (GD29)	Doric entablature, triglyphs alternate with embossed marble heads of bulls	XI. 4 1095 = Choix 35
Macedon	Philip V Stoa		IG XI. 4 1099 = Choix 57
Macedon	Figurative wall paintings equine	Macedon influences are evident in equine scenes	
Macedon	Mosaic House of Dionysus	Similarity to Stag Hunt, Mosaic. Pella	
Macedon/ N.Greece	House of the Dolphins	External stoas or verandas	Papaioannou, 2018, pp. 359–360
Macedon/ N.Greece	House of the Masks	External stoas or verandas	“
Pergamum	Stoa and Statue		IG XI. 4 1109 = Choix 53; Bringmann & von Steuben, 1995, p. 221
Phoenicia		Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods	
Phoenicia	House of the Triton	Rhodian Peristyle and Syrian deities Atargatis and Hadad. Also, rental space	Westgate, 2000, p. 401; Zarmakoupi, 2015, p. 123
Rhodes	House of the Triton	Rhodian Peristyle and Syrian deities Atargatis and Hadad. Also, rental space	“
Rome	Wall paintings of chariot/horse racing, hunting, sacrifice and boxing	Activities associated with the Roman festival of the Compitalia	Stek, 2008, p. 115