

Greek and Related Pottery from Al Mina.

**A Case Study of Production, Consumption and Distribution of
Greek pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean from the 9th to the
End of the 7th Century BC.**

Part B: Appendix

1-3

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Table of Contents

Appendix 1: The Stratigraphy of the Site (Levels X-V)	1
<i>Level X</i>	1
<i>Level IX</i>	4
<i>Level VIII</i>	8
<i>Level VII</i>	12
<i>Level VI</i>	14
<i>Level V</i>	17
<i>The Level Marks and Historical Breaks</i>	18
<i>Transcription of Woolley's field notes, squares G-J 7-9</i>	29
Field note page 1	29
Field note page 2	30
Field note page 3	30
Field note page 4	31
Field note page 5	31
Field note page 6	32
Field note page 7	32
Field note page 8	33
Field note page 10	34
Field note page 11	35
<i>Field Notes Squares G-J 7-9</i>	36

Appendix 2: The Pottery from Levels X-VIII (detailed discussion)	1
1. <i>Level X</i>	1
2. <i>Level IX</i>	4
2. 1 Fabrics	4
2. 2 Skyphos	8
2. 3 Bird kotyle	13
2. 4 Cups with everted rim	13
2. 5 Cups	14
2. 6 Kotyle	15
2. 7 Kraters	17
2. 8 Plates	18
2. 9 Jugs	20
2. 10 Miscellaneous	21
3. <i>Assemblage VIII-IX</i>	21
3. 1 Drinking vessels	21
3. 2 Kraters	33
3. 3 Closed vessels	33
4. <i>Level VIII</i>	35
4. 1 Drinking vessel	35
4. 2 Krater, dinoi	43
4. 3 Closed vessels	45
5. <i>Level VII-VIII</i>	47

Appendix 3: The Near Eastern Sites.....	1
1. Tell Tayinat.....	1
2. Zincirli.....	5
3. Tarsus.....	6
4. Mersin.....	17
5. Sirkeli Höyük.....	21
6. Kinet Höyük.....	23
7. Ras el Bassit.....	31
8. Ras Ibn Hani.....	36
9. Tell Sukas.....	38
10. Tabbat al Hamman.....	61
11. Hama.....	63
12. Phoenicia. Opening Remarks.....	69
13. Beirut-Berytus.....	72
13. 1 Berytus-Khaldé.....	73
14. Sidon.....	75
14. 1 Sidon-Tambourit.....	76
15. Sarepta.....	77
16. Tyre.....	79
16. 1 Tyre-Al Bass cemetery.....	81
17. Rachidieh.....	81
18. Akhziv.....	82
19. Tell Kabri.....	83
20. Tell Hadar.....	88
21. Tell Keisan.....	90
22. Tell Abu Hawam.....	94
23. Tell Qiri.....	100

24. Tell Rehov.....	102
25. Megiddo	104
26. Samaria.....	109
27. Yavneh-Yam.....	114
28. Mezzad Hashavyahu.....	117
29. Timnah (Tel Batash).....	126
30. Tel Migne Ekron.....	136
Catalogue of Greek Pottery from Site in the Near East.....	143
Tell Tayinat	143
Zincirli.....	145
Tarsus	145
1. SPG I- SPG III/EG I-MG II (900-750 BC), Al Mina level X.....	145
2. SPG III-LG I? (825- 735 BC), Al Mina level X-IX.....	146
3. LG (750-700 BC), Al Mina level IX-VII	146
4. LG-650 BC, Al Mina level IX-VIII	147
5. ca. 650-600 BC, Al Mina level V-VI.....	147
6. Late 7 th - early 6 th century BC (c. 625-580 BC), Al Mina level V-VI.....	149
7. ca. 675-600 BC, Al Mina level VII-V	150
8. 7 th century BC, Al Mina level VIII- V	151
9. LG-600 BC, Al Mina level IX-V	151
Mersin	152
1. Protogeometric Period.....	152
2. SPG III/ MG – LG	152
3. LG-Sub-Geometric Period	152
4. 1 st half of the 7 th century BC.....	153
5. Second half 7 th century BC.....	154

<i>Late 7th to early 6th century BC (c. 630- 580 BC)</i>	154
Sirkeli Höyük	156
Kinet Höyük	156
Ras el Bassit	159
<i>Settlement</i>	160
<i>Burial 25</i>	161
Ras Ibn Hani	161
Sukas	163
<i>Sanctuary</i>	163
<i>Settlement</i>	165
Tabbat al Hammam	180
Hama	180
Berytus	181
<i>Berytus-Khaldé</i>	182
Sidon	182
<i>Tambourit</i>	183
Sarepta	183
Tyre	184
<i>Al-Bass Necropolis</i>	187
<i>Tyre-Rachidieh</i>	188
Akhziv	188
Tell Abu Hawam	188
Tell Keisan	189
Tell Hadar	191

Tell Qiri.....	192
Tell Rehov.....	192
Megiddo.....	193
Samaria.....	193
Yavne-Yam.....	195
Timnah-Tell Batash.....	196
Tel Miqne Ekron.....	196

Appendix 1: The Stratigraphy of the Site (Levels X-V)

Level X

The remains of level 10 are limited to a few disjointed walls confined to squ. H4, J4 and H6. They are too fragmentary to say anything about the nature of the buildings to which they once belonged. According to Woolley, their pebble foundations rested on virgin soil and there was almost no rise of level between them and the succeeding levels IX and VIII. Woolley was able to assign the various wall remains either to level X or IX according to the different orientation of the walls.¹ Interesting are his comments on the difference in depth between the floors of level VIII and X, which varied from 0.80 m to no more than 0.60 m, an observation that is also confirmed by his field notes (see field note page 1). In room 14 and in the room north-east of it, he detected a stiff clay floor laid over a layer of sand. This floor lay 1.2 m below the bottom of the foundations of the SW to NE- running level VII wall (squ. H7-G9). 0.62 m above that clay floor came another stratum made out of ash and what Woolley called a temporary surface. Another clay level was found 0.92 m above the stiff clay floor (0.3 m above the ash stratum and 0.28 m below the level VII wall), which corresponded well with level VIII. Finally, he mentioned stones under the level VII wall running parallel to it, which possibly belonged to a level IX wall. The elevation of this wall is of unknown height, but Woolley said that the "stones were not above the floor level".² This can only mean that they were not set directly on the stiff clay floor, which was the lowest stratigraphic unit detected in this area, hence the allocation to

¹ Woolley 1937, 10; Woolley 1938, 16. 155.

² Woolley's field notes. Appendix field note page 1.

level IX. If we look at the elevation given in his notes then it is surprising that an almost constant height of roughly 0.3 m separates the different levels from each other. The only exception is between the clay floor and the ash stratum, which are divided by 0.62 m. 0.3 metres are roughly one foot and we may assume that the differences in the elevations between the levels are more rough guesses rather than exact measures. Probably the level IX wall can be located between these two features most likely 0.3 m above the clay floor.

In consequence, the stiff clay floor 1.2 m below the level VII wall must belong to level X. Even though there are no remains of level X walls in this part of the settlement, it seems that the site was not only confined to the western part of the excavated area during the first phase of occupation. Woolley noted a large pottery hoard, which he attributed to the oldest phase of the settlement (field note page 9). It is unclear where to place hoard in the ground plan but it probably belongs in room 4 or 3. The whole fragment is confusing. Woolley attributes the hoard “definitely” to level IX, but later assigns it to level X. It is completely unclear why he made these two different allocations, but perhaps he confused the ash layer in this part, which is most likely a second phase of level VIII, with level IX. That is why he probably thought the pottery hoard must be from level X. So it seems that the pottery hoard belonged to level IX and not to X.

Also noteworthy is the contradiction between Woolley’s comments in his publications and his observations given in the field notes. In his articles in 1937 and 1938 he stated that there was no rise in height between level X and IX and that level VIII came immediately above level IX representing only a short period.³ In his notes however, the difference is almost 0.3 m between each level, which is quite substantial. So how is it possible to

³ Woolley 1937, 10; Woolley 1938, 16.

reconcile these two opposing observations? A rational explanation would be that the difference in height was only confined to this particular region while in the western part there was almost no rise in level as stated by Woolley in his reports. The reason for this could be that at some parts level IX walls and floors were set directly on the sand because either no previous occupation existed or older remains were removed entirely. Given the layout of the town during level IX and VIII, the first hypothesis seems unlikely and in the latter case the archaeologist would usually notice traces of such an activity nowadays but it is the question whether Woolley and his team would have been able to recognise it. If we look at the ground plan than it emerges that in two out of three cases level X walls were followed directly by level VIII walls with no level IX walls between them (room B2 in H6 or the room in J4). That does not automatically imply that there was no level IX-occupation in these sections. Rather, it seems that the buildings at these lower levels, where the foundations of the walls were usually low and only made out of pebble stones, were more subject to destruction than walls in the succeeding levels. The construction of the foundations with their low courses made out of pebbles only, allowed an more easier removal of earlier foundations and is probably the reason why only so few traces of level X walls were preserved (only three!). While the succeeding walls of level IX and in some cases walls of level VIII were set on the same level as the previous ones, thereby cutting through earlier floors, there was still a rise in height since the earlier floors were not removed. Woolley is clear about this phenomenon and he was also certain that there was a difference in elevation between the floors and also that he was dealing with three distinct stratified units.⁴ The case of room 14, where Woolley detected presumably a level X floor but no corresponding walls (see above), seems to confirm this observation. Nevertheless, the possibility that in some places level IX floors were set directly on the sand because

⁴ Woolley 1938, 155. See also Appendix field note page 1.

there was no previous level X-occupation, cannot be ruled out since Woolley also notes that "the floors both of level IX and X were of clay, generally laid directly on the natural sand".⁵ This raises the question how he could distinguish level IX from X if both layers could be resting on the natural sand and if we consider that the stratigraphic sequence was not necessarily consistent throughout the entire settlement as explicitly stated by Woolley himself.⁶

Level IX

The remains of level IX are slightly better preserved than those from level X. The information regarding their relationship to preceding and succeeding levels is rather limited. Wall remains were detected in squ. H4 to G-H8. Further traces of a possible level IX wall foundation were found in room 10 (H9) (field note page 8) and under the NW wall of level VII in H8 (see above) and must be situated somewhere between 1.2 m below the NW-running level VII wall and the ash stratum 0.62 m above level X. Problematical in this respect is the information from field note page 2. In room B2 (squ. H6) Woolley discovered three wells, which partly destroyed earlier remains and he went further on to explain that "the walls of level IX had the top of their foundations circa 0.3 m below the bottom of those of VIII". On field note page 8 however, Woolley also stated "the floor of level VIII seemed to be given by a deposit of black ash which lay flush with the top of the stone foundations of the walls". Considering the elevation given by him on field note page 1 it would mean that the top of the level IX foundations in squ. H6 would be at the same level as the ash layer in squ. H8 (room 5), which must be a sub-phase (the ash layer is below the floor associated with level VIII and therefore the first building phase) of level

⁵ Woolley 1938, 155.

⁶ Woolley 1938, 9.

VIII. The question, which arises from that, is whether this level IX wall really belonged to level IX or did it rather belong to a second level VIII-phase?

Returning our attention again to the published ground- plan, it seems that room 1 to room B2 belonged to one house unit in phase VIII. Could it really be that in the eastern part of one unit a second phase existed, which was absent in the western part? That does not seem to be convincing. On the other hand the clear ash band was obviously missing in the western part of the house. The attribution of this wall in room B2 to level IX becomes even more doubtful if we consider that there was possibly a slight rise in elevation from west to east. This becomes obvious again from Woolley's unpublished notes. As already stated, the natural sand in room 14 or squ. H8 was reached at about 0.92 m below the floor of level VIII. On field note page 2 Woolley mentioned that the wells went down 2 m below the bottom of the foundations of level VIII. Even though his description on field note page 2 is confusing, from his published reports becomes clear that the pits went 0,6 m further down below the water level.⁷ If we consider that the given 2 meters are the total height of the pits, the natural sand must be at roughly 1.4 m below level VIII foundation and therefore lower than in the eastern part of the settlement. This could be a possible explanation for the fact that level X and IX walls were better preserved in the west than in the east. In the western part they were overbuilt since here the floors were closer to the sea level and more vulnerable to flooding. In the east, which was higher, they were pulled out in order to reduce the difference in height.

⁷ Woolley 1938, 154.

Unfortunately, Woolley's description focuses on the eastern part of the excavated area, which was also the part he excavated first, while from the western section no further detailed information about elevations and relations of levels exists.⁸

Level IX, like level X, was obviously confined to the southern part of the excavated area. Interestingly, walls from level IX never seemed to have been reused in the next phase nor did level VIII walls follow the outlines of previous level IX walls. Only the south-west wall of room B12 (squ. J5) was set on an older level IX wall. While any continuity concerning the outline of the settlement between levels IX and X could not be entirely excluded because of the scant level X remains, the preserved walls of levels IX and VIII are substantial enough to conclude that the site was probably entirely remodelled after the end of level IX. Additionally, it is striking that the bad preservation of level X walls is paralleled in the ground plan of level IX. Both levels must have been substantially destroyed before the lay out of a new phase of the settlement. Only in one instance a coherent plan of a house can be detected (squ. J5-6). The general outline and the orientation of this building together with the remains of the level IX building in squ. H5-6 as well as the NW to SE orientation of the other level IX walls suggest that the general orientation and plan of the site had been established by level IX. Furthermore, to judge from the remains of the level IX building in squ. J5-6, the character of the houses did not change much until level VI. They were dominated by a group of small rooms, which constituted a house unit and the separate units were erected closely together.

As already outlined above, the level IX floors were set directly on natural sand or, as in room 14, were laid between the ash band and the stiff clay floor of level X. Interestingly,

⁸ For the area squ. G-J 7-10 excavated first see Woolley 1938, 150.

while Woolley attributed the lowest floor in room 16 to level IX, he assigned the oldest floor in the adjacent room 14 to level X. Traces of level IX clay floors set on the sand just above sea level were excavated in room 16 as well as in room 8 (see field notes page 5 and 8).

It remains unclear to which level the large pottery hoard belonged. The hoard was found in room 4 (squ. G7-H8) 0.5 m below the foundations of level VIII (see field note page 11). It was obviously covered by a layer of burnt rubbish. This is the same ash layer that Woolley had encountered in room 14 south of room 3. It is possible therefore that the pottery hoard belonged to the destruction level of the first phase of level VIII. However, if we compare the elevation of the pottery hoard given on field note page 11 (0.5 m below the foundations of level VIII) with the elevations of the observed stratified units mentioned on field note page 1 (ash layer 0.3 m below level VIII floor) then it becomes clear that the hoard must be situated below the ash layer and above the stiff clay floor which belonged to level X. Therefore the hoard rather goes with level IX and not, as stated by Woolley, with X.

The only other possibility is that the hoard belongs to the destruction layer VIII (first phase). A sudden destruction is certainly a good explanation for a well-preserved context found in situ. This would mean that we have to consider a considerable sharp rise in elevation between room 5 and 4. Woolley might have totally confused level X, IX and the two phases of VIII.⁹ This observation is important for the question of the liability of the stratified pottery and small finds.

⁹ One has to consider also the possibility that Woolley failed to define the exact difference in the elevation in this sector.

Level VIII

Level VIII is far better preserved than the previous two levels. What has been foreshadowed in level IX becomes clearer now in the succeeding level VIII. The rough outline of the buildings is orientated NE to SW. The general appearance though, did not change much between the two levels. The village is still dominated by small-entangled buildings consisting of small rooms but without the courtyards that we see in later periods.

As already outlined, level VIII walls never seem to follow previous lines of level IX. Interestingly, level VIII remains are far better preserved than walls from level X and IX, a characteristic not only restricted to the western part of the excavated area. The level VIII-settlement had the same outline as the two previous phases in the southern part while the situation in the north is obscured. According to the ground plan, the NE wall of room B4 was reconstructed as extending to the long NW to SE running wall in squ. E4-G6 (see pl. 104). Therefore this wall is highlighted with the design of level VII and VIII walls (hatched and stone pattern). Some more examples of this can be found in this northern part of the excavated area. Even though not explicitly stated as in Level V and VI where such walls highlighted in a double design are further explained in the plan, this can only mean that these walls were in use in both periods (level VIII and VII). While it is hard to verify Woolley's observations without any further information, the proposed reconstruction of the above mentioned wall of room 4 and the long NW-SE stretching wall raises serious doubts about the accuracy of the published ground plan. The proposed plan in squ. G6 amply demonstrates that the reconstruction simply does not work because both wall fragments of the long NW-SE wall would cross each other before they reached the level VIII building further to the south. Additionally, the missing middle part of the same long wall seems to be found in the plan not as a level VI but as a level V wall. Strangely, the design of these

combined level VIII and VII walls equates the signature of level VI walls. So should those fragmentary walls rather be seen as belonging to level VI? Completely unclear are also the walls with similar signature in squ. H7, H8 and H9. They are the only wall remains in this part, which, according to Woolley's plan, were used during level VIII and VII.

Without information concerning the elevation of the single walls, it is impossible to identify the exact affiliation of these walls in the northern part. Nonetheless, if the argument of an expansion of the settlement to the north rests on the reconstructed connection between the NE wall of room B4 and the long NW to SE running wall then such an expansion during level VIII seems unlikely. The other level VIII/VII walls are too fragmentary to get any idea about their affiliation with other buildings or levels. This problem makes clear that the ground plan and therefore the stratification of level VIII-VI/V has to be treated with uttermost caution, which has some bearings on the chronological potential of the pottery associated with those levels. This question is also important for the development of the settlement. The two previous phases were restricted to the south part. An expansion of the settlement to the north, and in particular the question when such an expansion took place, is of importance for the settlement's function within the region since it would allow us to determine the date of such a growth of the port and further link this process to known historical events.

The wall remains of level VIII are not the only preserved features of this level. The published ground plan and Woolley's field notes indicate that the excavation team discovered several pebble floors, which could be associated with level VIII. They are scattered all over the southern part of the excavated area ranging from squ. J4 to G8. Interestingly, in the northern part no pebble floors could be found, which again raises doubts about the level VIII walls in this part. According to the field notes, apart from the

floors indicated on the ground plan, clay floors of level VIII could be found in the rooms 14 and 8. Evidence for the ash layer referred to elsewhere was detected in room 14, 8, 4 and 3. The analogy of clay floors as well as ash layers in room 14 and 8 is an indication that there is a direct relation between the destruction of level VIII and the preservation of floors.

The ash layer was only found in the area of squ. H8 and G7 and belongs to a first phase of level VIII (see above). It is also the same area where some level VIII wall fragments appear in the ground plan, which can hardly be reconciled with the rest of the existing level VIII walls (those which are overbuilt by later level VII walls). These level VIII wall fragments therefore probably also belong to a first phase of level VIII, which was destroyed by a fire. This observation is further supported by Woolley's remark that the level VIII wall in squ. J8 laid 0.45 m below level VII.¹⁰ Further to the north, the first phase laid 0.28 m, and the second phase 0.58 m below level VII walls (see field note page 1). So the wall fragment in squ. J8 probably belonged to the earlier phase of level VIII and is also an indication that during the first and second phase of level VIII the ground plans of some of the rooms or buildings were changed.¹¹ Whether the fire and the destruction of the level VIII buildings were only confined to the eastern part must remain open since no further description about the stratification of the western part exists.

The ash layer is not the only indication for a second level VIII-phase. In field note page 3 Woolley mentions a fine Cypriot pot with red bulls and lotus flowers, which lay underneath a cobbled floor of the level VIII- room and immediately on an earlier cobbled

¹⁰ Woolley, 1938, 152.

¹¹ The reason for the height difference between level VII and level VIII between squ. J8 and H8 might also be found in a slightly sloping ground level from north to south. Nonetheless, the relation of the different level VIII walls in this area speaks for the above mentioned interpretation.

floor of the same period.¹² The cobbled floor might possibly be the “cobble base” in room B1 (squ. H6) and the Cypriot pot mentioned by Woolley is an almost completely preserved krater.¹³ Such a good preservation is striking and the only pots found at Al Mina, which show a similar state of preservation actually come from the level III destruction or wells from level VI. It seems reasonable to argue that the krater is in such a good condition because it belonged to the destruction phase of level VIII. It is a further indication that the demolition of the first phase of level VIII included also room B1 and therefore probably the whole level VIII building of squ. H8-H6. Another sign for the good preservation of level VIII floors are also the amount of small finds discovered by the excavator. According to Woolley’s published reports, level VIII contained 33 objects (4.42 %) while level VII comes to 15 (1.95 %) and level VIII-IX only to 6 (0.78 %).¹⁴ The observation of a destruction of at least a part of the level VIII settlement stands in contrast to Woolley’s remark that the level VIII walls were not violently destroyed but gradually decayed and were rebuilt in the next phase.¹⁵ This note may refer to the second phase of level VIII, for which an indication for damage does not exist in the ground plan or in the field notes.

Finally, In his report Woolley notes that in level X, IX and VIII the clay floors were set usually on a foundation of pebbles, a characteristic feature that he connected to the fact that the sand formed a bad bedding for the mud floors.¹⁶ As far as the field notes are concerned, the only pebble foundations for mud floors seem to belong to level VIII and it must remain debateable whether every pebble floor indicated on the ground plan really belongs to level VIII or rather goes with the earlier phases of level X or IX.

¹² Reference to this Cypriot pot and the floors is also made in Woolley 1938, 155.

¹³ See Woolley 1938, 17, fig. 5.

¹⁴ Woolley 1938, 158-170.

¹⁵ Woolley 1938, 16.

¹⁶ Woolley 1938, 11.

Level VII

Level VII begins with one major change. The region to the north (squ. D3-4 to G4-6) is now also occupied and the settlement obviously expanded with the beginning of level VII. The remains in this part however, are badly preserved and no clear plans of the buildings can be deduced from the published plans. This bad preservation might be due to the close relation between level VII, V and VI. Further, the relationship of some wall fragments is unclear (see above). Another interesting fact is that level VII walls, wherever they are preserved, were using wall foundation of level VIII. This becomes apparent especially in the case of the level VII building in the SE of the excavated area. Woolley also explicitly stated in his field notes that “A good many of the walls were built exactly over older walls [level VIII]...” (field note page 10).

While remains from level VII could be found in the north and the SE, they were totally lacking in the south- west (squ. H4-6, J4-6). Since no information about elevations and the relationship between the levels in this western part exists, it is hard to define the cause for this. One explanation would be that the new building of level VI in the same section made a complete destruction of level VII remains necessary. Another possibility could be that the walls were robbed out to level this part of the Tell. Interestingly, in squ. H-J 5-6 the outline of the walls of level VIII and V/VI sitting on top of it, are almost the same showing continuity in the architectural outline. The V/VI building seems to use wall lines of room B 12 as well as the SW and the NW wall of the level VIII walls. It is also possible that Woolley did not recognize that some walls of level VIII were also used in level VII.¹⁷ A confusion of levels is even more likely when we bear in mind that the difference in height

¹⁷ Saltz 1978, 45. From this she inferred that level VII in the east equates to level VI in the west.

between level VIII and VII was not much and that no floors were discovered in level VII as noted by Woolley (field note page 10). In this respect it is also necessary to remember that the Tell was probably sloping from east to west so that level VIII walls in the west were possible at the same height as level VII walls in the east. Again some more detailed information would be needed to verify such a hypothesis. The fact that in the area of squ. G-J 7-9 no level VII floors survived is also an important piece of information for the interpretation of the level marks on the sherds.¹⁸

Regarding the difference in elevation between level VII and VIII, Woolley's field notes can only confirm what has already been said in his published reports. The difference was not much and ranging from 0.30 to 0.40 metres (0.28 m as stated on field note page 1; 0.30-0.40 on page 10).¹⁹ Roughly the same difference in elevation was measured from level VI to level VII in squ. J8 (0.45 m).²⁰

Signs of continuity between level VII and VI can also be found in the northern part of the excavated area. One NW to SE orientated long wall appears in both levels (squ. D3-F4). Another wall fragment appearing in both levels (according to the plan even in level V) can be found in squ. E4.

Despite that almost no floors were discovered in level VII, Woolley mentioned some rough stones, which he interpreted as floor foundations.²¹ In room 5 he discovered massive storage jars, which led him to the conclusion that room 5 was a magazine (field note page 10). This was the only evidence for the function of this room as a storage room and in

¹⁸ Woolley 1938, 154.

¹⁹ Woolley 1938, 154.

²⁰ Woolley 1938, 152.

²¹ In the ground plan squ. G8 room 1 and 2, Woolley plotted pebble floors. Are these the rough stones mentioned on field note page 10? See pl. 104.

consequence an indication for the existence of warehouses prior to level III.²² Warehouses are not the only buildings that contained storage rooms. Ordinary houses may have storage facilities as well.

Finally, it is important to mention the fact that Woolley noted that “It was difficult to [get?] the levels and contents owing to the absence of proper floors” (field note page 10), a fact which is important for the interpretation for the level marks on the pottery fragments. Unfortunately, the field notes are not so helpful since they only refer to level VII occasionally and the information about level VII is unconvincing.

Level VI

Woolley’s field notes are almost silent about level V and VI. The only reference made concerns wells detected in room B2 (squ. H6). According to the field notes, the wells could belong to level V, VI or VII (field note page 2). In his report however, Woolley decided that the wells belonged to level VI conceding that the presence was only detected when digging had already proceeded into the next level. This example is only interesting inasmuch as it demonstrates that level V, VI and VII could hardly be distinguished. One reason for this was probably that no clear level VI or VII floors could be detected and perhaps the same walls were used for more than one period.²³

²² pl.104. The ground plan does not indicate any room 5. However most likely it is the room east of room 14 and north of room 8. In this area three pots were plotted by Woolley; are these the big storage jars mentioned on field note page 10?

²³ Ibid. The only mentioned floor of level 6 was found in squ. J8.

Level VI was obviously another phase, in which the settlement expanded. In this phase the sections in squ. C- F/G, 6-9 as well as the part in squ. A-C, 2-3 were occupied by houses.²⁴ Together with the expansion of the settlement in level 6 falls a change in the architectural lay out of the houses. To judge from the preserved examples (squ. H-J, 4-6 and E-G, 6-8) the houses were more widely spaced and had a courtyard. According to Woolley there was also a change in the building technique in level VI. The foundations of the walls were now set in a foundation trench, made out of larger boulders mixed with quarried rubble and not out of pebbles as in earlier levels.²⁵

While Woolley noted that in the NW were signs for continuity between level VI, V and IV, in some parts of the southern section the remains of level V were almost completely destroyed. In squ. J8 for instance, the first building remains encountered lay 1.45 m below level IV and belonged to level VI.²⁶ In the region of house A (squ. A2-B3) on the other hand the walls of level V were only 0.70 m below level IV floors.²⁷ Given Woolley's observation that the difference in elevation between level V and VI in the north was not significant, the differences in height between level IV and VI in the north and in the south are substantial. This indicates a steady rise of the ground level.

In squ. H7-8 a level V building was preserved and might be a sign that the clearing of the north together with a levelling process at the south before the layout of level IV was not as extensive as proposed by Saltz.²⁸ One puzzling feature of Saltz's levelling theory is that

²⁴ Woolley 1938, 14. The area squ. C 4-5 was probably occupied but the excavator did not touch the two squares.

²⁵ Woolley 1938, 10, 154.

²⁶ Woolley 1938, 150-152.

²⁷ Woolley 1938, 144.

²⁸ Saltz 1978, 12. Her arguments cannot be easily dismissed and a rising ground, from south to north cannot be ruled out by present evidence. Nonetheless, it must remain open what such a rise could have caused. It

level V was supposedly demolished completely in an area, which was on a lower elevation, and then the same part was later filled with material to raise the level.

The elevation relationship between level VI and VII is unclear. At least in the south, level VI came 0.4 m above level VII (twice as much as the usual difference in elevation between the older levels X-VII); for the north no elevation is recorded.²⁹ The constant use of wall outlines from level VI-IV is demonstrated best by the building in squ. E-F 3-4. The building's outer walls and ground plan remain the same during all three periods.

Only in some cases were floors preserved. In one instance a patch of clay floor together with a broken amphora, which apparently served as a hearth, was found in squ. J8 (see pl. 105). Another scrap of floor was discovered in squ. E4 and F6.³⁰ According to Woolley the storage jar as well as the amphorae (Woolley's type 6, 10, 12), which rested against level VI walls (squ. E7), belonged to level V but this does not seem to be convincing.³¹ The amphorae (types 2, 4, 5) found in squ. D6 and C7 as well as a storage jar and a clay cylinder were also associated with level V and are a good indication for floor levels in these sectors but could also belong to level VI.³²

Considering the expansion of the excavated area, the preserved floors seem inconclusive. The fact that walls of level VI were also used in level V, and in some instances outlines of level V walls can be traced back to level VII, together with the absence of clear floor

could only mean that the ground was artificially raised in order to protect the village from flooding but why would such an undertaking only be restricted to the northern part?

²⁹ Woolley 1938, 152.

³⁰ The floor in the east room probably belonged to level V but the floor in the west room is said to be "at lower level" and therefore may belong to level VI. See Woolley 1937, pl. 9.

³¹ Woolley 1938, 152. This is doubtful since no level V walls could be found in these sections. It either means that those walls were used in level V as well or that the amphorae as well as the storage jar really belonged to level VI.

³² Woolley 1938, 152.

levels, is an important observation for the interpretation of the level marks on the pottery fragments.

A final remark should be made here. The ground- plans are sometimes confusing as already stated and in some instances wrong. In room 8 (squ. H8) the two mud brick blocks really belonged to level VI and not to VII as plotted on the ground- plan (see field note page 10). Such mistakes raise general doubts about the reliability of the published plans.

Level V

As already demonstrated, level V is closely united with level VI.³³ Unfortunately, information about level 5 is as disappointing as for the earlier level VI phase. Some outlines of buildings can be traced back to previous levels as shown above. It is the only phase so far, which showed partial alterations to its architectural outline. This included the new organization of buildings, which is reflected in the erection of new inner walls while pre-existing outer walls were reused. In all other previous phases new rooms were always set on top of older ones even though older outlines or foundations were used for the new buildings. Together with level VIII, which showed also signs of reconstruction (see above), level VI and V are the only phases in the settlement's history that can be considered more closely united.

As in level VI, floors were only seldom discovered; so for instance the floors in E7-8 or in F6.³⁴ Not much can be said about the inner division of the settlement. No clear streets

³³ Woolley 1938, 152. This statement is only true for the NE section of the excavated mound. Information concerning the south is too fragmentary for any reliable conclusion.

³⁴ Woolley 1938, 144. The gravel (?) floor illustrated in the ground plan possible goes together with the level V walls in this section.

could be made out as in the succeeding periods. The only possible place for a street could be along the line of the outer walls of the buildings in F3, D6 and C8 and the NW outer walls of the large courtyard building to the south of this line.

No signs of destruction could be made out that affected the entire settlement and where they were discovered they can be associated with a radical change in the layout of the settlement in the next phase, which in some instances required the destruction of older wall foundations, rather than with a violent destruction of the town.

Even though there is some evidence for continuity between level V and the succeeding phase, Woolley's observation that the town was radically rebuilt after the end of level V seems to be generally right.

The Level Marks and Historical Breaks

One of the largest problems for establishing a chronological framework for Al Mina is the recording method used for the archaeological artefacts during the excavation. The artefacts were assigned to a certain level and in the case of the pottery the fragments bear a level mark. Unfortunately, not all contain such a level mark. About 33 % of the total number of diagnostic pottery fragments can be assigned to a particular level. Only for 16 pieces we know the room number (room 8) even though we cannot assign this room to any particular building.³⁵ An additional piece bears the mark "room 4" on it. Again it is impossible to assign this room to any building.³⁶

³⁵ Kearsley 1995, 76. She mentions 14 pieces in total. To this I would like to add two more pieces: cat.no. **326**, a flat handle with horizontal strokes on it, probably from a LG kantharos; and cat.no. **303** a wall fragment from a sos-amphora. The room might be identified as room 8 in squ. H8.

³⁶ Ash 1954.278. A wall fragment of a middle wild-goat style (SiAI b-c) closed vessel bears the mark MP 89 J and R 4, presumably from room 4. This room might be identified with room 4 in squ. G7.

The already limited chronological potential of the finds is further reduced by the fact that a big part of the marked sherds bear double marks on them e.g. VI-VII or V-VI. Some of them even bear marks on them, which cover three periods V-VII. Interestingly, the double marks are restricted to certain level numbers as well as particular combinations of levels and do not cover the whole period of the site's occupation. While there are several fragments, which bear the mark IX-VIII, VII-VI or V-VI, the combination X-IX is missing and only four pieces were assigned to level VII-VIII.³⁷ The mark V-IV is only attested for one piece.³⁸ Most problematical in this respect are the levels VII, VI and V, since the majority of double or triple-marks belong to these levels. Marks, which cover more than two levels, are restricted to these three periods with an exception of one piece of the younger occupation levels, now in the British Museum, which bears the mark 2-4.³⁹ An overview of marked sherds is given in the table below (see tab. 1).

The overall numbers demonstrate that Woolley marked only one third of the fragments (pl. 157 fig. 1). However, if we think about the few pieces of pottery found in the East, which form the basis for the whole chronology of the Geometric period, then the numbers of marked and therefore contextualized fragments from Al Mina are quite substantial.

³⁷ 10-9 is missing most probably because there are no sherds, which were marked with level number 10 either. Only the distribution list contains fragments that were assigned to level 10. See Kearsley 1995, 16-17. Besides, the four pottery fragments bearing the mark VII-VIII, there is also one small find (a gold pendant) said to be from level 7-8. See Woolley 1938, 170, MN 163.

³⁸ Descoedres 1978, no. 40. A bird-bowl, which can be dated to 640-590 BC.

³⁹ BM 1995.9.1.113: banded bowl with added white and red bands inside, possibly dating to the late 7th century BC.

Level	Number of fragments	%	Level	Amount	%
IV-V	1	0.04	VII	16	0.7
V	139	6.2	VII-VIII	4	0.16
V-VI	277	12.4	VIII	71	3.2
VI	108	4.8	VIII-IX	41	1.8
VI-VII	374	13.5	IX	71	3.2
V-VII	1	0.04	X	7	0.31
Total number of diagnostic pieces		2232		100%	
Diagnostic pieces with level mark		1034		46.37%	

Tab. 1 Table illustrating the relationship of marked and unmarked diagnostic fragments of levels X-V

From this observation arise two questions:

What does the double or triple marking of the sherds mean, and is this double marking in any respect significant for the stratigraphic interpretation of the development of the site's structures?

The general opinion is that there was a significant break in the settlements history between levels VII and VIII because there are many fragments marked VI-VII and VIII-IX but only a few with VII-VIII. At the same time there is only one piece marked IV-V and also a lot of fragments with the mark V-VI. The latter two phases were closely united as shown by the architecture while the only clear detected break in the ports history was between IV and V.⁴⁰

Past scholarship interpreted the double marks on the pottery fragments differently. Taylor thought that many sherds labelled VI-VII come from the clearance of walls and floors from level VI and therefore belong to the last stage of the previous occupation of level VII

⁴⁰ Robertson 1940, 21; Woolley 1938, 20.

through which the foundations of level VI were dug.⁴¹ Boardman interpreted the labels similarly. He concluded that many fragments labelled VI-VII indicate the richness of level VI floors and walls and include much of level VII. He further noted that the absence of VII-VIII does not mean that there was a clear gap between VII and VIII.⁴²

Saltz on the other hand saw a main break between VIII and VII. Her main arguments were that in the SW part (squ. H-J 4-6) level VI walls directly overlay level VIII walls in the same way as level VII walls overlay level VIII walls in the SE (squ. G-J 7-9). Level VI in the west equals level VII in the east and must therefore be closely united. Another argument is the difference of the heights between level VIII and VII as given by Woolley as 30-40 cm.⁴³ Further, she noticed a “marked change and improvement in the character of construction of wall foundations”.⁴⁴ These observations were also combined by her with the fact that a lot of pottery sherds were marked with VI-VII but only a few were labelled with VII, a sign that level VII and VI could not be easily separated.⁴⁵

Thus, it is essential to determine whether the level marks can really be considered as representative for the overall picture. Secondly, it will be necessary to sort out whether the high number of VI-VII marks indicates the richness of level VI floors or rather the exact opposite, the absence of floors. In the latter case it will be also interesting to find out if there are signs for rich level VIII floors. Finally, all these questions have to be considered against the background of the architectural development.

⁴¹ Taylor 1959, 92.

⁴² Boardman 1999, 137.

⁴³ Saltz 1978, 45-47.

⁴⁴ Saltz 1978, 47.

⁴⁵ Saltz 1978, 47-48.

The discussion of the stratigraphy showed that a height of 0.30 m, about one foot, was common between levels X, IX and VIII, which were all not considered as being too closely united. Another factor, which does not seem to be convincing about Saltz theory, is the “marked change in character” between levels VIII and VII. The level VIII building in the SE resembles closely the level VII-house set on top of it in its ground plan as well as in its outline. The general character did not change much from the previous levels. Finally, Woolley’s comments showed that a clear change in the construction technique did not happen before level VI when more regular and larger blocks were used, which were also laid in foundation trenches. We should also bear in mind that it was in level VI when the settlement expanded extensively to the NW as well as to the N-NE. It is also the same period when the ground plans of the houses differ from the previous ones. They are now more widely spaced, in some instances with a courtyard and in the north section probably a roughly SW to NE orientated relatively wide street can be made out. The arguments based on the architectural grounds seem to point rather to a break between VII and VI than between VIII and VII.

The remaining factor of uncertainty is whether the sign for a fire and a destruction of level VIII could be interpreted as a more extensive incident or whether this was a phenomenon confined to only one house. An interpretation for a possibly more widespread violent incident would be a strong argument for a historical break between level VIII and VII. The only other clear destruction occurred in level III. The ramification for the recovered artefacts and their context can be clearly seen in the ground plan as well as in the figures of the retrieved small finds. In level III a lot of floors were discovered and several amphorae and storage vessels were found in situ.⁴⁶ The amount of small finds from level III is by far

⁴⁶ Woolley 1938, ground plan level III.

outnumbering the finds from other levels. In fact they are more than all the small finds from level V-IX together (see tab. 2).⁴⁷

The small finds from level III probably demonstrate that the discovery of floors lead to a higher quantity of clearly assignable artefacts. The other levels that show a disproportionate high number of small finds are level IV with 71 recorded pieces (9,23 %), level V with 46 pieces (5,98 %) and level VIII with 34 pieces (4,42 %). In the case of level VIII, the number of retrieved artefacts is even more remarkable considering the fact that the area where level VIII remains were detected was comparably smaller than later occupation levels. In this respect we also have to take into account that level VIII actually consisted of two phases, the “destruction” horizon followed by a new building phase.

Level	Amount	%	Level	Amount	%
III	158	20.54	VI-VII	2	0.26
IV	71	9.23	VII	15	1.95
IV-V	3	0.39	VII-VIII	4	0.52
V	46	5.98	VIII	34	4.42
V-VI	1	0.13	VIII-IX	6	0.78
VI	22	2.86	X	0	0
Total number of small finds (level III-IX)			796	100 %	
Total number of marked small finds (level III-IX)			342	47.06 %	

Tab. 2 Number of small finds (marked and unmarked) taken from Woolley’s published list

A comparison of the marked pottery pieces with the small finds demonstrates a significant difference between marked fragments of levels V-VI and VI-VII. Small finds from level V-VI come up to only 1 piece (0.13%) while level VI-VII to only 2 (0.26%). The table of

⁴⁷ This fact cannot be simply explained by an increase in the metal objects in later periods.

marked pottery shows a completely different picture. The highest number of marked fragments, 374 (7.6 %), belongs to level VI-VII followed by 298 pieces labelled V-VI (6.6 %). Both possible “destruction levels” show a comparable high number of retrieved small finds. The same can be observed in the case of marked level VIII pottery fragments, which can also be considered as substantial given the relatively smaller area of level VIII occupation if compared with later phases.

Another similarity can be observed in level IV-V and VII-VIII. The number of pieces assigned to those two level categories is low. The numbers of small finds and the pottery of the levels V and VI show only little deviation with a similar distribution. Noticeable is that in the case of the pottery the quantity of pieces assigned to levels V and VI are equal while the small finds labelled with V are twice as much as those from level VI. The only intrinsically divergence between small finds and pottery can be noticed between levels V-VI and VI-VII.

The difference in the amount of assigned artefacts certainly needs an explanation. One reason for this could be the selective publication and/or the selective labelling of both find categories. Regarding the small finds, Woolley mentioned that he did not publish all artefacts but “...selected what appeared to me to be of interest as illustrating the condition in which the remains were found... and suppressed whatever was redundant”.⁴⁸ Since small finds are usually much more rare than the pottery, I think that what was suppressed was probably not too much. Considering the small number of small finds attributed to the lower levels, it is likely that the selective way of presenting the material affected them lesser than the upper levels. The statistical deviation would affect the pottery more since only 33 % while small finds come to 47 %. In the case of the small finds it is highly likely

⁴⁸ Woolley 1938, 133.

that upper levels were more affected than the lower ones. The only factor, which possibly skews the evidence, is the open question of the relation between kept and discarded pottery.

Considering the available information, Woolley's published notes, his field notes and the record of marked pottery and small finds, I cannot see any evidence for richness of level VI floors, exactly the opposite seems to be the case. The same is true for level V. However, the published ground plans show substantial remains of level V, VI and VII walls. The high number of small finds, the indications of floor levels in the ground plan together with the observation of scorch marks in level VIII suggests that clear floor contexts were detected in this level, which could be easily isolated from layers above and below.

Unfortunately, Woolley did not separate the two sub-phases of level VIII. Similar evidence seems to point in the same direction in the case of level V. The marked sherds (157=4.1 %) as well as the marked small finds (46=5.98 %) are relatively high and the in situ-vessels illustrated in the ground plan are another sign that in some parts floors were detected by the excavator. In this respect it is important to stress that the settlement of level IV was built newly on fresh lines.⁴⁹ This could only mean that it was easier to assign the artefacts to their corresponding levels even though clear floors were not as abundant as in the case of level VIII.⁵⁰ So level V and VIII were two levels with clear floors or easy to separate from succeeding levels and allow us to consider them as relatively undisturbed contexts.

⁴⁹ Woolley 1938, 21.

⁵⁰ This observation seems not to be true for the very north- west sector where obviously also later fragments appeared in level IV contexts (see below) but this does not necessarily mean that level IV and V was confused because it could also mean that the levelling material contained older artefact, a phenomenon found on any given site. In the SE (squ. K 10) Woolley notes however that the strata of IV-V were much disturbed: Woolley 1938, 167, MNN 86.

The remaining question is how we should treat the material marked V-VI and VI-VII? The absence of clear floors in these three levels are an indication that Woolley did not always know whether he was still in level V or whether he had already reached level VI or VII. The implications for the interpretation are clear: level V-VI and VI-VII do not contain much of level VI respectively VII as stated by Boardman (see above). We rather have to assume that V-VI is totally confused and only provides us with the *terminus ante quem* for level V and those labelled VI-VII with an *terminus ante quem* for VI. The most likely interpretation is that most of the V-VI and VI-VII marked materials come from the north-west sector of the settlement (squ. A-F 2-4) where the stratification was not clear while those fragments marked only with level VI probably come from the south or SE where there was more difference in elevation between levels V-VII. In this respect some other remarks made by Woolley are interesting. He mentions, for instance, that Rhodian Geometric wares and bird bowls were found among foundations of level IV and further that the levels in House B room 7 (level IV) contained numerous fragments of bird bowls and of island kylikes found at the same levels as the walls.⁵¹ Again these notes refer to the NW section of the excavated area.

In stark contrast to this observation is the record of the finds. Only a single fragment of a certainly earlier date was allocated to level IV.⁵² No fragments of Rhodian Geometric, bird bowls or kylikes are marked as coming from level IV. One fragment of a bird bowl was marked with level IV-V. Remarkably, there are a plenty of unmarked bird bowls and kylikes among the recorded finds. Also noteworthy is the fact that the observation that obvious earlier material was deposited in later levels – most likely it derived from

⁵¹ Woolley 1938, 144.

⁵² This fragment belongs to a Protocorinthian kotyle with floating chevrons in the decoration zone; Ash 1954.438.6. The Middle Protocorinthian II fragment found in level 5 is probably residual. See Woolley 1937, pl. 11. 1.

destroyed earlier levels and was used as filling- or levelling material – coming from an area where the walls of level V and VI were heavily destroyed resulting in an unclear stratification. This information explains why several sherds were simply not marked. They could not be attributed with certainty to a clear defined level or because they were considered as residual.⁵³ As residual finds the mentioned bird bowls had no chronological significance.

It is therefore secure to use the fragments labelled with VI for the *terminus ante quem* for level VI. The amount of fragments is with 142 pieces (3.2%) relatively high. The only problem is the date of level VII but if the interpretation of the excavation process and the assignment of the different layers to one level is correct then level VIII automatically gives us the *terminus post quem* for level VII. It is also necessary to mention that the fragments marked V-VI and VI-VII possibly derive from a certain limited section of the excavated area (NW-section) and therefore cannot be treated as a distinct layer sitting between clear VI and clear VII contexts.

⁵³ See also Gjerstad 1974, 108.

Field Notes

Only 11 pages of Woolley's field notes are preserved and the information they offer is limited.⁵⁴ However, they are a useful addition to what has been published by Woolley. Apart from the fact that the available notes are incomplete, it is not always clear to which room Woolley exactly is referring. This is due to either missing details given by Woolley or because it is not always possible to read his handwriting.

Usually, at the beginning of each fragment a level and or a room number are given. The component Mina N refers to the plan published in 1937. Sometimes he also gives a further specification (Mina NB or NC). In this case, he refers to the plan in 1937 and to the section B or C as illustrated in the ground plan of 1937. These are general indication but sometimes allow us to identify the specific area. In some cases it was possible to identify the place of description by turning to Woolley's published reports.

Words or numbers in squared brackets are my additions; round brackets are Woolley's. The preserved field notes all refer to the area G-J 7-9, which is also the same section Woolley excavated first in 1936.

⁵⁴ The numbering of the pages is my own and has no special significance.

Transcription of Woolley's field notes, squares G-J 7-9

Field note page 1

Level 8-9 Mina N

Room 5

At SW end of the room [5?], and in room 14 (which at this low level is part of the same room) there was a definite floor level of stiff clay laid over the sand of the pre-occupation level and the sherds of "local subgeometric" rested on this [level?]. The level corresponded with that at which similar sherds which found below the rough stone floor foundations in room 8 next door. This floor was 120 below the bottom of the foundations of the NW wall of level 7 in this room [room 5?]. These [walls of level 7] were laid on the level 8 wall below it. But at 062 above the floor [10?] was a thin burnt ash stratum showing a temporary surface and at 092 was a clay floor (much broken) which would agree well with level 8. Under the NW wall [of room 5?] there were stones not above the floor level which must be a wall of level 9 running exactly parallel to level 7: probably level 8 had a mud brick wall in the same line (the intervening soil was mud brick earth).

Field note page 2

Level 8 Mina NB

In room [B 2?] there were 4 wells, as shown in the plan.⁵⁵ One of these was clear? of the walls but two together had destroyed the 3 courses of the room – another was cut partly through the wall of 8 and partly through that of 9. The wells were therefore later in date than the walls – could belong to levels 5, 6 or 7. They went down to 200 below the bottom of the foundations of the level 8 walls and continued [?] 060 of water. The walls of level 9 had the top of their foundations circ[a] 030 below the bottom of those of 8. The walls contained much pottery.

Field note page 3

Level 8 Mina NC

The v. fine Cypriot pot with red bulls and lotus flowers lay underneath a cobbled floor of the 8 level room (see plan) [room B 1?] and immediately on an earlier cobbled floor of the same period.⁵⁶

In the next room the fine red saucers were common in level 8 and not a fragment from below floor level.

⁵⁵ In room B 2 are only 3 wells as shown on the ground plan. See Woolley 1938, ground plan level VII-IX. Nevertheless, a comparison with the comments in Woolley 1938, 154 makes clear that he referred to room B 2 in this sequence.

⁵⁶ B1 is the only room in which a cobble floor was plotted in the plan. See Woolley 1938, ground plan level X-VII (squ. H7).

Field note page 4⁵⁷

Level 8-9 Mina N

Room 4

There was found remains of at least 3 more big amphorae of type ... These lay directly below the pebble foundations of the NW wall of the level 8 room, of which a small length was exposed.

Field note page 5

Level 7-9 Mina NB

Room

Below room [vacat] of level 7 the foundations of level 8 walls ran along under the NE-SE and SW walls, while there was also a cross wall of level 8 not represented in level 9: the level 7 foundations had 3 courses of cobbles with rubble: circ[a] ... below the lowest course, separately [?] mudbrick, came the level 8 foundations of 3 courses, mostly pebbles: below these separately came the small pebble foundations of level 9. There was no pebbled? floor to the level 8 rooms. The pottery found there was Cypriote, mostly two colour, of finely burnished brick red ware and one bit of black Rhodian (in filtered?): no level of brown painted subgeometric local ware was found here: but a single fragment occurred by the level 9 foundations. Water was found at [vacat] below level 9 foundations: the floor of level 9 was of clay over sand.

⁵⁷ This fragment of Woolley's field notes also contains a drawing of a Canaanite amphora and since only fragments were found they could belong to Woolley's type 2, 4 or 6. See Woolley 1938, Fig. 26, 2, 4, 6.

Field note page 6⁵⁸

Mina NB

At the NE end, N corner, next to room 8 of level 7 in Mina N, below the foundations of level 7 and against the foundations of the level 8 NE wall there are a few bits of bone, apparently human [?], some frs of Cypriot circle pottery with red bands on the neck, and various frs of bronze amongst which 6 fibulae five thus with rectangular swellings on rounded angular stem, and one thus with raised ribbing on one side and apparently [?] 4 beads on the other. Also a bronze object of 12 long, flat below, half round in section, with head like a nail, ribbing round part of the stem and attached ring thus [...]

Field note page 7⁵⁹

Level 7 Mina N

Room 6 about 050 below the bottom of the stone wall foundations there was a lapis paste scarab with a wild goat on it, MN

Room 10 Near the middle of the room a rough stone with circular hollow, probably a base for an upright. In the room, a lapis paste bead, broken, and a rectangular lapis seal with a hawk, MN [...]

⁵⁸ This fragment includes three drawings of artefacts. Two fibulae and one further metal object, possibly from a bronze dinos. For the fibulae see Woolley 1938, 138, Fig. 17, 8. 155; For the other bronze object see Woolley 1938, 147, Fig. 25, MN. 229. 155.

⁵⁹ Written across page: R. Barrington Ward.

Field note page 8

Room 8 Level 7 etc Mina N

Below the foundations of level 8, 035 down, was a mass of rough stones previously mentioned: the floor of level 8 seemed to be given by a deposit of black ash which lay flush with the top of the stone foundations of the walls: this lower [?] Mass of stone consisted partly of floor foundations. On this mass of stones and to some extent between the stones were found quantities of Cypriote pottery, nearly all plain black on white: under the stones was sand covered with a thin coat of clay and in this was found a few painted frs brown buff and some frs of brown and a curiously metallic lustrous glaze.

Room 10. Under the SW wall ran earlier foundations presumably of level 8. Down the centre of the room was a rough line of stones perhaps wall foundations of level 9 [?] On the level of these and below the level 8 foundations are quantities of pottery including an amphora of similar type to that drawn for level 8 room 4, several bowls of fine burnished red ware; some Cypriote but not a great deal

Field note page 9⁶⁰

Level 7 (C) Mina N

[...] the dividing wall being of level 7 only⁶¹ there lay a large amphora of plain red clay: it was definitely of level 8 whereas the big pottery hoard must as definitely be of level 9.

Actually the black ash level came 025 below the bottom of foundations of level 8 (the NE wall of the room) so that? Again there is a length [?] here and the floor might be called level 9 and the pottery hoard level 10

⁶⁰ Fragment contains two paragraphs. The first includes a drawing of a Canaanite amphora (1:10, ht 60 cm). For the type see Woolley 1938, Fig. 26, 2. The second contains a drawing of a piriform jar, rim missing, with bands on the shoulder and neck.

⁶¹ He probably refers to the wall dividing room 4 and 3 (see Tab. 1).

In room 4, under the black band was a complete Cypriote ring stand⁶² with a small plain pot, rim missing, ht 063, with fine symmetrical rings on shoulder.

Field note page 10

Level 7 (A) Mina N

Only the stone foundations of the walls were left, made almost entirely of river pebbles, generally 2-3 courses deep. These gave a fairly consistent plan. A good many of the walls were built exactly over older walls (level 8) which had only a single course of rounded pebble foundations: these lay about 030- 040 below the bottom of the level 7 foundations with mud brick in between, but the bricks indistinguishable. Remains of big store jars in room 5 pointed to these rooms being magazines.

No floors of level 7 survived: level 8 had a clay floor preserved in room 8. In rooms 1 and 2 however some rough stones seemed to be a floor foundation for level 7. The two blocks of mud brick in room 8 belonged to level 6: the bricks 040 x 027 x 012.

It was difficult to get[?] the levels and contents owing to the absence of proper floors.

Level 7 was particularly distinguished by a large proportion of brown beakers[?]: from the top of the foundations of level 7 to the bottom of the foundations of level 8 the Cypriote wares predominated: [...]

⁶² Woolley 1938, Fig. 28, 23?

Field note page 11

Level 7 (B) Mina N

[...]the vast mass of early Cypriot came under the foundation of level 8. The scarabs and lapis seal attributed to level 7 really belonged to level 8. In room [vacat] there was a layer of rough stones over the NE end of the room and a lot of gravel as for a floor foundation 030 below the bottom of the level 8 foundations: under these was found a (broken) lamp of the pinched type, saucer.

In room 4, 050 below the foundations of level 8, there was a closely packed mass of pots including small Cypriote oinochoae, a glazed frit handle etc

Carinated pots seem to belong to level 8 or to level 9: two walls of level 9 to be planned.

In room 3 on a band? of burnt rubbish which apparently represented a floor ... over the top of the pottery deposit in room 4 (which in level 8 was part of the same room, [...])⁶³

⁶³ The pottery deposit corresponds with that mentioned on field note page. 11 and the “big pottery hoard”, which, according to Woolley, belonged to level IX (see field note page 9). Interesting is the burnt rubbish, which represented a floor. Maybe this one corresponds with the ash layer of level VIII (see field note pages 1. 8 and 9).

Field Notes Squares G-J 7-9

Field note page 1

MINA M

Level 8-9
Room 5

At SW end of room, level 8-9 (at this low level is part of frame room) it was a definite flow level. Shale clay level was - 10m. - pre-occupied with a sheet of brown "local sub-geometric" rock on this. - level consequent to it at SW end similar sheets were found below - except other floor foundation in room & next door.

This floor was 12.5 below - bottom, - facts at NW wall & level 7 in this room. There had in level 8 wall below in. East at edge above - floor was a thin layer with striations showing a temporary surface at 0.96 m a clay floor (under looking) with its open & was to level 8.

Under - NW wall to level 8 was not above - floor level was made to - level 8 level 9 running exactly parallel to level 7. Level 8 had a mud wall with in - 10m. level (- interesting soil was mud brick wall.)

level 8

MINA NC

- V. from Capri... yet as red hills &
blue glass leg under the a curved
flow a - 8 level from (see plan) &
mineral water on an earlier... flow
- some period

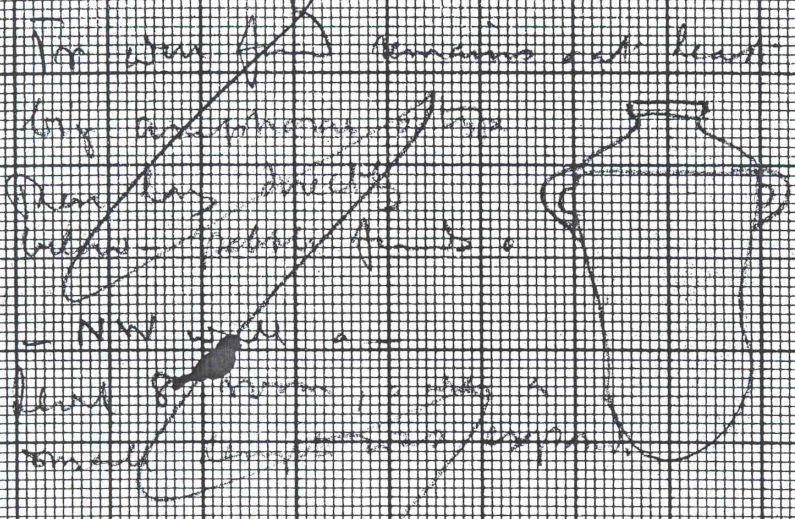
In a next case the flow red...
with... & level 8 &...
can... flow here

Level 8-g

MINA IV

Room 4

For wall of remains at least 3 m
by archway of
Dun by wall
with fabric floor.



- NW wall a
that of room 12 g
small remains exposed

MINA NB

Below here level 7-9
 level 8 was
 run along strike - NE-SE to SW dips, while to
 was was a crosscut of level 8 not represented in
 level 9. - level 7 fault had 3 courses, courses +
 rubble + air. What level 7 was, evidently
 and with course - level 8 fault + 3 courses,
 mostly rubble + what that represented
 came - small fault through a level 9.
 The was not filled. Below the level 8 course
 - below that there was a granite, mostly two -
 column of fairly unaltered level 8 was
 down to black granite (unfilled) - no level,
 have pointed out granite level was
 found the - was a single fault occurred
 is a shell of fault
 What happened at level 9 fault
 - there, level 9 was a day over sand.

MUNA MB

at NE end, N corner, near to Ram 8 at level 7 in middle of, below found a hole 7
 layers - fossils in level 8 NE corner to one
 - has two of them, apparently human (?)
 some are a different type with valley of a
 band in middle, & various types of bones
 amongst was of birds

Two this is a different
 swelling on rounded
 angular part, & one

This is a small
 sitting on one side & apparently
 of heads on a mass

Also a human tooth
 a little larger, flat looking, with
 some of substance, as seen like
 a nail, sitting on a part of
 the & attached ring

Plus -

from and things here

Level 7

MINA N

Room 6 about 050 hrs. 6/11/68
were found in situ - legno parte de canch
w a wood post in it, MN

Room 10 near middle of room a rough
stone is circular (black), probably a base for
an upright - in situ - legno parte de canch
when a rectangular base seen at a height
MN

R. Barreth (head)

Room 8 Level 7 etc

MINA N

Below - found a level 8, 035 sand, was a mass
 a mass of sand previously mentioned a floor. Level 8
 seemed to be part of a deposit of black soil with big
 chunks of ^{the} same sand as walls & this level
 mass a thin consisted partly of a level & wall
 (which must be called level 9) & partly a floor
 of debris. On this mass of stones & in some
 extent between stones few found quantities of
 Egyptian pottery, nearly all plain black or white &
 another stone was found covered with thin coat
 of clay & in this with found a few painted
 but brown & white / a few pieces of brown & a
 curious multiple curious glass.

Room 10 Under a red wall ran earlier found

presumably of level 8. In center of room
 was a small hole & across passage wall found
 level 9 (B) - on sand a thin & below - level 8
 found few quantities of pottery including an
 amphora of similar kind to that drawn for
 level 8 room 4, several bowls & fragments
 red ware; some by itself but not a great deal

Level 7 (A) MINNA M

Only - stone founds on walls from left, with
interior entirely a white pebbles, generally 2-
centim. diam. Then from faintly consistent
plan. A yard among a white wall built over
exactly with above levels (level 8) was used
only a single corner - rounded yellow founds -
then lay down 0.30 x 0.27 x 0.12
level 7 founds is not built in between, but
- lower into a quadrangle. Remains a list
stone founds in Room 5 pointed to them
more by measurements.

No plans of level 7 around - level 8 had a
clay floor present in Room 8. In room
1 & 2 a narrow row of stone founds seen
to be a floor for level 7
- few blocks of red brick in room 8 (below)
In level 6 a row of 0.30 x 0.27 x 0.12
found was different to go - level 7 contents
only to assume a proper floor. level 7
was particularly distinguished by - large
fragments of brick vessels - by - large
found - level 7 in a bath - found -
level 8 - copper - some fragments of

③

MUNA N

Level 7

- Vest mass, early Cypripedium caps. under a
 horizontal level of 8. - Scarcely a layer, and
 attributed to level 7, really belonged to level
 8. In Room 8, but was a larger enough
 stones and - NE of it - room is a hole,
 ground as for a floor for level 030 level
 - bottom of level 8 found a number them
 was found a (broken) lamp or similar
 like pieces.

In Room 4, 050 below - found a level 8,
 to some a clearly packed masses of 100's
 including small Cypripedium specimens, a
 plant like sand etc.
 Calculated for them to belong to level 8
 or to level 9 - in walls of level 9 to be
 present.

In Room 3, on a level a burnt surface
 with apparently represented a floor with
 some - 100 to - pottery present in room 4
 (which in level 8 was apart a same room,

Appendix 2: The Pottery from Levels X-VIII (detailed discussion)

1. Level X

Probably the earliest piece from level X is the skyphos **1** that is decorated with a diagonal cross and dotted interspaces. Parallels for this piece can be found at Eretria; they date from the end of MG II to the beginning of LG I. It is noticeable that on the Al Mina piece, the traces of two horizontal lines abutting the vertical lines on the left indicate a stylistic feature that can be found mainly on Euboea, although not exclusively. Horizontal lines filling the field that flank the middle metope on both sides appears at the beginning of the LG period.⁶⁴ A skyphos of probable Euboean origin with the same decoration was found at Tarquinia.⁶⁵ Noticeably, fragment **1** does not belong to the skyphos type with a deep metopal field but to one with a rather shallow decoration field.⁶⁶ Moreover, the filling motif together with the profile of the lip, which is low and everted, are all indications that this piece can be dated to the end of MG II or the beginning of LG I.

1 is one of the earliest Euboean imports found at Al Mina that can also be assigned to a specific level.⁶⁷ Kearsley thought that **2** is a fragment from a skyphos but the rim shape is

⁶⁴ There are different interpretations about the date of the appearance of this type of skyphos. The discussion hinges on the interpretation of the dates of the necropolis Quattro Fontanili at Veii. Coldstream thought that it first appeared in Attica during MG II. It was later taken over by the Cesnola painter and introduced on his famous krater in New York in LG Ib. Coldstream 1982, 26-27. On a different view of the development of this type see Eretria XX, 79.

⁶⁵ Paoletti 1986, 412 fig. 4.

⁶⁶ See for instance Eretria XX, pl. 6. 9.

⁶⁷ This is only true if one accepts that Kearsley's Psc-skyphos type 6 was produced also during the second half of the 8th century BC, a question that is still open (see discussion below).

unusual for a skyphos and it might rather come from a kantharos of early LG date. The rim fragment **3** is from a psc-skyphos.⁶⁸ It is Kearsley's type 6 that she assigned to the LG period.⁶⁹ It is unclear whether the production of this type continued also during the LG period.⁷⁰ The significance of this skyphos class derives from its long time of production, which covers the 9th and first half of the 8th century BC, its wide distribution and its appearance in different contexts that are important for the absolute chronology of Greek pottery.

The authors of the latest volume devoted to the Geometric pottery from Eretria, believe that Kearsley's chronological system concerning her type 5 and 6 is correct.⁷¹ They also noticed that it is hard to distinguish the MG type 5 from the LG type 6 when the base is missing.⁷² Only two of psc-skyphoi fragments from Al Mina have their bases preserved.⁷³ The majority of psc-skyphoi are rim fragments and belong to the levels IX-VIII. The level X assemblage only demonstrates that **2** was obviously deposited at Al Mina at some point

⁶⁸ An exhausting bibliography concerning this type of skyphos is given in Rizzo 2005, 334 no. 6.

⁶⁹ Kearsley 1989, 128-129.

⁷⁰ See especially Popham and Lemos 1992, 154; See also discussions in Rizzo 2005; Most recently Eretria XX, 81 with no. 417.

⁷¹ Eretria XX, 82. A closer examination of the assemblages published in Eretria XX does not seem to confirm Kearsley's view that the psc-skyphos was also produced in LG II. All published pits that contained psc-skyphoi are either of LG I date (no. 15 in Fosse 197 MG II- start of LG I; No. 80 in Fosse 25 LG I) or if they are dated to LG I-II they also contain LG I material (no. 94 in Fosse 211 LG I-II; no. 274 in Fosse 9 LG I-II). Based on this evidence one cannot exclude that the psc-skyphoi in the LG I-II Fosse 211 and 274 were deposited during LG I.

⁷² Eretria XX, 81. The flat base is the decisive feature of the type 6. The rims on the other hand do not differ much from each other. Only the shape of the body is different and it is hard to reconstruct the angle of the wall when nothing but a small rim fragment is preserved.

⁷³ Kearsley 1989, no. 6-7. One has a low ring foot (**BM 1955.4.22.9**) and the other one a flat base (**BM 1955.4.22.10**) like Kearsley's type 6. Interestingly, Kearsley did not assign the first of the two pieces to her type 6 but she compared this piece together with two other fragments of psc-skyphoi (one from Al Mina Kearsley 1989, no.10. The other one is from Veii: Kearsley and Descoeudres 1983, 51) with a type of skyphos that according to Descoeudres was in use around 700 BC: see Descoeudres and Kearsley 1983, 51. For the skyphos class from around 700 BC see: Descoeudres 1976, 45 Beil. 3 and pl. 4 FK 418.2.

One has to point out however, that the difference in profile might be simple due to the provenance of the two examples rather than due to their date. The psc-skyphos **BM 1955.4.22.9** (from level VIII-IX) has flecks of mica (Kearsley 1989 no. 6), which is absent in Euboean clay. The other psc-skyphos (**BM 1955.4.22.10**) is of light pinkish clay with dark inclusions that are also not found usually in Euboean clay. Therefore, a stylistic comparison with Euboean psc-skyphoi might be misleading in this respect since it is not absolutely clear where **BM 1955.4.22.9-10** were made. The same applies for the piece from Veii. See also Eretria XX, 82 with no. 424.

between the end of MG II (the date of the oldest fragment from level X which is **1**) and the end of LG II (three fragments are of LG II date **5, 6, 8**). When exactly type 6 appears is hard to say and in theory it is possible that type 6 was produced already before 750 BC.⁷⁴ Since the assemblage is so small, the assignment of the piece uncertain and the exact find spot as well as the stratigraphic relation of the pieces to floors, walls and levelling material unknown, it seems to me that the evidence from level X cannot be used as an absolute chronological marker to decide whether the psc-skyphos type 6 was also produced in LG, or whether its production stopped at around 750 BC.

4 belongs to a class of skyphoi that were popular on Euboea. The high and straight lip as well as the row of concentric circles were, although not exclusively, particularly common on Euboea.⁷⁵ Coldstream distinguished two stages of this type, which are not confirmed by the Eretrian material.⁷⁶ Circles on the lip appear at Eretria during LG I and continue until LG II.⁷⁷ On the example from Al Mina the decoration scheme in the main zone is not clear because of the fragmentary state of the piece. A division of three metopes with a central motif flanked by two opposing birds is possible, as well as a row of birds as seen on a vessel from Attica.⁷⁸

The cross-hatched square on the main decoration zone of skyphoi **5** and **6** is another motif that can be linked to Euboea. Although cross-hatched lozenges are much more popular, the similarity of these two motifs suggests that the cross-hatched squares are of Euboean origin too.

⁷⁴ See discussion in Eretria XX, 82 with no. 421.

⁷⁵ Lefkandi I, 63.

⁷⁶ Coldstream GGP, 192-193; Eretria XX, 84.

⁷⁷ Eretria XX, 84.

⁷⁸ Coldstream GGP, pl. 10. f.

The profile of the krater **7** is similar to a type that appears at Eretria during LG I and was perhaps continuously produced until LG II. The dots on the lip are an early feature but the fragment is too small to be more specific. The rim fragment of the bowl-pyxis **8** is a single piece at Al Mina that finds an exact parallel at Lefkandi and in Italy (Grotta Gramiccia).⁷⁹ The shape appears first in Attica during LG I.⁸⁰ Although the chain of lozenges is an ornament that is common since LG I, the parallel from Lefkandi is dated to LG II.⁸¹ Since the assemblage from level X contains also material from LG II, the bowl-pyxis **8** may also be assigned to this period.

2. Level IX

The number of sherds with a level IX-mark are with 105 fragments more numerous than the fragments with a level X mark but still low when compared to the total number of fragments that can be assigned to the period before 700 BC.

2. 1 Fabrics

The majority of the Greek imports seem to be from Euboea. This observation is based on a combination of different characteristics that are, if taken alone, probably not enough to identify Euboean provenance; but when taken together they provide a considerable secure basis for attributing the certain fragments to Euboea. Important characteristics are that the fabric is usually fine, hard fired with almost no inclusions. When there are inclusions these

⁷⁹ Descoeudres and Kearsley 1983, 37 fig. 29.

⁸⁰ Kübler *Kerameikos V* 1, pl. 98.

⁸¹ Boardman *Lefkandi I*, 70. The shape was also in use in Boeotia Ruckert 1976, pl. 28. 6. Chain of cross-hatched lozenge as lip decoration and general as ornament see for instance: Andreiomenou 1981, pl. 15. 1. On an Attic late MG early LG kantharos from Kition Coldstream 1994, 156 pl. XXIX. 1-3.

consist of only a few white (limestone?) particles and occasionally some large angular red inclusions.⁸² The colour of the fabric ranges from light red (2,5YR 7/8) to red (10R 5/8).⁸³

A further indication is the application of a whitish- pale brown slip that is common on Euboea since the LG period. There are two main types: one thick opaque version and a rather thinner white slip that is usually not as well preserved as the first one. The first version is also found often on the Cyclades, notably on Naxos. The thinner slip can be found on the Cyclades too and was also used, although to a lesser extent, by Boeotian and Attic potters.⁸⁴ Sometimes it is not clear whether a white slip was applied on the surface or only a thin wash, which is also called 'self slip'.

The products from the Cyclades that also carry a white slip like Naxian pottery, can be distinguished from the Euboean fabrics by the typical micaceous clay.⁸⁵ Stylistic differences are another factor that helps to attribute the different fragments to specific regions. Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the Al Mina material does not always allow a clear attribution of the sherds to specific regions based on stylistic analysis.

Another important criterion is the colour of the paint and the way it is applied on the surface. While the Attic glaze, sometimes also referred to as vernis, is dense and has a metallic shine, the glaze of Euboean pottery is of a rather matt appearance. When it is

⁸² There seems to be a considerable difference of opinions concerning the hardness of Euboean fabrics. Compare for instance Coldstream GGP, 190; Eretria XX, 24.

My examination of material from Lefkandi and Eretria is that the hardness of early Late Geometric pottery is not much different from the Attic wares; although this seems to change during the LG II period when the pottery from Euboea seemed to be much harder fired than in LG I. This is an observation I made while I was cleaning the surfaces of several fragments from Lefkandi, Eretria and Oropos with a diamond drill. This was before samples were taken for NAA analyses by Mommsen in summer 2009. No analysis on a possible change of firing temperature has been carried out so far although it would be an interesting project to undertake, since it would indicate a change in the firing technique on Euboea during the second half of the 8th century BC.

⁸³ For further reference see Eretria XX, 23 with no 23.

⁸⁴ Aloupi and Kourou 2007, 288-289; Knauss 1997, 8-9.

⁸⁵ Coldstream GGP, 172.

applied to the lower part of the body, often the streaks of the brush can be seen. The colour varies from black to red and is not of the coherent character like the Attic products. The surface is burnished in almost every case prior to the application of the glaze. This does not apply for the treatment of the interior surface because fine grooves are usually visible even with naked eye. Among the fabric types there are groups that could not be assigned to any particular region such as **19** or **44** for instance.

Among the level IX-material from Al Mina one can find pieces with the thick opaque slip, **23** and **47**, the thin white slip as on **30** and **46**, as well as unslipped sherds, **28** and **53**. In a few cases only a so-called self slip (**29**) is applied to the surface and such cases it is sometimes hard to distinguish the self-slip from the sherds with a thin white slip or from the sherds that do not have a slip at all.

Only a few imports could be attributed to the Cyclades. Their identification rests mainly on the micaceous clay. Micaceous clay however, is not only found on the Cyclades and therefore the identification of this material group is not certain. Of probable Cycladic origin are the skyphos **51**, perhaps a Naxian product (pl. 9), and the skyphos **85**, which according to Kearsley contained "some silver mica and air holes". The psc-skyphos **98** also has some mica. Another piece that might be assigned to the Cyclades is **36**, a shallow drinking cup, probably also a skyphos.

Although the fabric of **51** resembles the Naxian examples, the motif of the lozenge is usually not common as a filling ornament on Naxian vessels. On Euboea on the other hand, it is a typical filling motif above birds where lozenges are usually filled with either a dot or

with dashes. On **51** it seems that the lozenge is left empty, and in this case this particular fragment might not be of Euboean origin.⁸⁶

Only one fragment (**16**) can possibly be assigned to Attica. From the decoration zone only the vertical bands are preserved, which is not conclusive and does not allow any attribution to a certain region with absolute certainty. Two fragments (**35, 54**) belong to cups of the Phaleron class and might also come from Attica (pl. 6. 9). One example of similar shape and decoration is known from Delos and seems to be of local production.⁸⁷ The fabric of **34** and **54** however, suggests an Attic rather than a Cycladic origin.

Another big group found at Al Mina is the so-called Al Mina ware. Boardman first defined this category in 1959.⁸⁸ The name derives from a concentration of this class at Al Mina although considerable numbers are also found on Cyprus. Clay analyses point to Cyprus as one possible production centre.⁸⁹ Even though the results were not conclusive, Jones suggested that Cyprus might be one production centre; but there remains the question whether this class was also produced elsewhere. Among the level IX fragments different fabric groups could be distinguished visually.⁹⁰ The clay of the majority of the pieces is close to Euboean clay. It does not contain any inclusions, is fired orange to red, and the surface is covered with a thick white slip that is not as shiny as the best Euboean or Naxian examples. In some cases the surface is rough and it seems that impurities in the slip and/or problems during the firing process lead to air holes in the surface. Among the Al Mina ware one can distinguish between a monochrome- and a bichrome group. The

⁸⁶ Although the surface is worn off at this part, it seems that the slip in the centre of the lozenge is preserved. Therefore it is unlikely that the filling motif disappeared.

⁸⁷ Delos XV, pl. 31, 1.

⁸⁸ Boardman 1959, 163-169.

⁸⁹ Jones 1986, 695-696.

⁹⁰ The classification or definition of the Al Mina fabric groups was carried out with a binocular microscope. The visual definition of the Al Mina fabric groups is the only first step that is followed by chemical analysis (NAA) of particular pieces that will be carried out by Mommson (Bonn).

monochrome group dominates the early examples, although the sample is too small to be conclusive at this stage.

67-76 are similar to Euboean fabric but are too badly preserved to correlate them stylistically with Euboea.

The skyphos **44** is of a distinctive fabric (fired red, with white as well as black inclusions), which is certainly not from the Cyclades or Euboea (pl. 8). An Attic provenance can also be ruled out. Most likely it belongs to the Al Mina ware.

2. 2 Skyphos

The majority of the shapes belong to skyphoi. Among the skyphoi the type with a low everted rim (**11, 12, 14, 27**) can be found, along with medium- high flaring rims (**9-10, 16**), medium- high almost straight – slightly everted rims (**21, 22**), and straight high rims (**25, 26**). The majority of the sherds belong to a medium- high slightly everted rim and a version with a rather flaring rim profile.

Two psc-skyphoi can also be found among the level IX fragments (**97, 98**). They are both of Kearsley's type 6, which she dates to the LG period.⁹¹ **54** is the only preserved base fragment from a skyphos from level IX. It is a flat base and the preserved decoration consists of a cross- hatched lozenge in a metope, indicating a LG II date.

The rim fragments of the Al Mina class skyphoi from level IX either have a straight medium- high lip like **39, 42, 43, 96, 102**, or a low to medium- high everted lip such as **38, 41, 100** and **101**. **40** is the only example with a medium- high flaring rim. The typical Euboean skyphos shape, straight lip that is not offset from the body, is missing among the

⁹¹ See brief discussion above.

early Al Mina ware skyphoi fragments. Rims that can be associated with MG skyphoi are missing.

The decoration of the skyphoi from level IX is, as far as one can reconstruct from the fragmentary material, not diverse. The rest of the unmarked material of the 8th century BC does not reflect this situation. The majority of the lips are decorated with horizontal bands. Banded lips appear on all types. They can be found on low everted rims such as **12** and **27** as well as on the high and straight profiles like **26** (pl. 4). Many skyphoi rims bear three or more bands on the lip, which is a later development in Euboea.⁹² Among the Al Mina ware skyphoi from level IX, only those types with banded lips can be found. The number of bands varies from one (**57**) to three on **39**. Also common seems to be one broad band on the top, followed by one or two smaller ones further below, such as on **38**, **42** and **43**.

Pieces with a row of concentric circles can also be found among the material from level IX (**25**, **84**, **89**, **91**, **90**). Such decoration occurs on skyphoi with straight and high lips like on **84**, **89** and **90**. The first two of them are probably of LG II date because of the several reserved bands on the interior rim (**89** three reserved bands, **90** four) while the latter one could also be of LG I date. In the case of **89** the tip of a lozenge is preserved, a motif that is also seen later in the series.⁹³ **25** and **91** have only one reserved band and are therefore assigned to LG I.⁹⁴

One fragment is decorated with a chain of dotted lozenges (**92**) while another skyphos has a high straight rim with a chain of dots between encircling bands (**95**). The former pattern

⁹² Lefkandi I, 62-63.

⁹³ Lefkandi I, 63.

⁹⁴ Lefkandi I, 62-63; Note that the reserved bands on the interior could be of chronological significance but they do not necessarily have to: Eretria XX, 85.

can be found at Lefkandi on skyphoi of both middle and late types.⁹⁵ In Attica this decoration pattern appears during LG Ib and at Zagora, chain of lozenges, although not dotted, appear in LG II contexts.⁹⁶ The four reserved bands on the interior of **92** also confirm that this fragment belongs to LG and most probably to the LG II period. This is another late development that takes place during the second half of the 8th century BC.⁹⁷

The variation of decoration patterns is limited, but the level IX material cannot be considered as representative for the 8th century BC because not all pieces could be assigned to a certain level. In addition, the fragmentary nature of the pieces does not allow for any conclusions about the whole repertoire. Interestingly, a relatively large number of pieces belongs to the class of skyphoi with cross-hatched lozenges or squares in the metope (**23, 24, 45-48, 92, 87, 88, 94**). This motif is a distinctive Euboean pattern of LG II date based on finds from Lefkandi and Eretria.⁹⁸ The high number of this type in level IX raises questions about the introduction of this class on Euboea. Moreover, it may imply that level IX was contaminated with upper layers (see discussion below).

In addition to the patterns described above, a number of other LG II motifs can be found such as the quartered and dotted lozenge, sometimes in double outline as on **95** and **50**. (pl. 8). This motif is usually dated to LG II and the same applies for the cross-hatched lozenge.⁹⁹ It can be found in different regions, among them Attica, Paros and Samos.¹⁰⁰ In other regions though, the lozenge does not seem to share the same popularity as a major motif on drinking cups as on Euboea. The wheel motif on **96** is common in several

⁹⁵ Lefkandi I, 64; Eretria XX, 84.

⁹⁶ Coldstream GGP, pl. 10. f; Zagora II, pl. 137. e; 138. c (both from LG II, Unit H 19 floor one deposit).

⁹⁷ Lefkandi I, 62.

⁹⁸ Lefkandi I, 63-64 (no. 2-4 from desertion deposits); Eretria XX, 81. Boeotia is another region where the use of the cross-hatched lozenge in a metope is as common as on Euboea, see Coldstream GGP, 163.

⁹⁹ Lefkandi I, 63; Eretria XX, 81.

¹⁰⁰ The examples listed in Kearsley 1995, 39 are all of closed vessel types.

different regions. It is noticeable however, that on drinking vessels, the version with divided dotted interior is not common outside of Euboea.¹⁰¹ On Euboea this type is only known in Chalcis at present, which could be accidental or an indication that this decorative pattern is a Chalcidian singularity.

Birds in the main decorative zone are found on the wall fragment **30**. (pl. 5). The only other piece with a bird motif comes from a wall fragment (**55**) that can either be attributed to a skyphos, or a larger open vessel like a krateriskos or krater (pl. 9). The small dotted lozenges on **11** and **51** might have been decorated with a bird in a metope panel. The small lozenge above the bird filled with a dot is typical for Euboea.¹⁰² As already mentioned above, the fabric of **51** is not Euboean, so that it must remain open whether this fragment belongs to a bird-skyphos. A lozenge without filling is found on a kantharos from Delos that belongs to Rhomaios' and Dougas' Group Ae, which has been ascribed to a Naxian workshop.¹⁰³ Also uncertain is the decoration type of the skyphos **17**: only three vertical bands and the remains of five small lines painted on the left are preserved (pl. 2). This could be the dashes that are usually placed above a bird, a filling motif seen on skyphoi from Euboea.¹⁰⁴

A further motif found at Al Mina is the group of multiple horizontal zigzag lines in a metope (**86**). This decoration appears on drinking cups in several regions, such as Euboea, the Cyclades and East Greece. The encircling bands on the lower part of the body were interpreted as being influenced by the early Protocorinthian tradition.¹⁰⁵ On Samos

¹⁰¹ On an Attic amphora see Coldstream GGP, 11. a.

¹⁰² This is another filling motif that Boeotia shared with Euboea, see Coldstream GGP, 163.

¹⁰³ Delos XV, pl. 32, 89; Knauß 1997, 3.

¹⁰⁴ Eretria XX, pl. 330, 115.

¹⁰⁵ Coldstream 1995, 261; Coldstream GGP, 293: "motif of Sub-Geometric character".

examples of this type appear in contexts of the late 8th to early 7th century BC, and a similar date is given for comparable pieces found on Chios.¹⁰⁶

A prominent motif is that of scribble lines that are applied with a multiple brush in a panel. They can be found on both, Greek imports (**53**, **106**) and on Al Mina ware skyphoi such as **27-29**, **41** (pl. 4-5. 7).¹⁰⁷ On the Greek imports there seems to be a preference for a frieze of scribbles that covers the whole decoration zone, while on the latter groups of scribbles can be divided by vertical lines (**100**), or they are just arranged in the field without any dividing lines between them (**38**). The only monochrome skyphos is **33**. This class can be found on Euboea but it is not restricted to the island only. Such vases were found at Eretria, Lefkandi, Athens and Zagora in LG II contexts.

On Al Mina ware skyphoi linear motifs dominate the decoration zone. On examples found in level IX, only a few patterns can be discerned. Apart from vertical scribble lines, latticed fields (pl. 8. **57**. pl. 9. **64**), diagonal crosses in double outline (**58**) and triangles (**66**), no other decoration is applied (pl. 9-10). The group with latticed fields can be divided into two groups: one is decorated with squares flanked by vertical lines (pl. 9. **57**), and the second one with a rectangular field that is filled with a fishbone pattern divided by a horizontal line (**101**). The lower part of the vessel is either painted by a series of thin encircling bands like on **100**, or a combination of several thin and one broad band (**101**). The lowest part and the foot usually remains unpainted. On **66** the rest of a triangle is preserved, which probably belongs to a cross-hatched hour-glass motif. Boardman noted

¹⁰⁶ Samos V, pl.40, 226 (from well F in use around 730- 670 BC); Groups of multiple zigzag lines is a prominent motif on chalices, a shape that goes back to the 8th century BC. The lower part of the body of this chalices is, unlike the examples that follow Protocorinthian traditions, fully painted and not decorated with encircling lines. Emporio, 119-121 no. 217-221. 222 (one fragment belongs to period I, one to period I/II, three to period II and one to period III).

¹⁰⁷ The attribution of **53** to Euboea is uncertain.

that it can be found on Cypriot vases but it is a motif that appears also on vases from Delos.¹⁰⁸ It cannot be excluded therefore, that this motif, which is found on the Al Mina ware- skyphoi, was inspired by Greek prototypes from the Cyclades, a region that also exported pottery to Cyprus.

2. 3 Bird kotyle

112 is listed as a wall fragment from a kotyle with a bird and a cross-hatched triangle below its tail. It might belong to the class of the bird kotyle and is therefore another example of East Greek provenance, but in this case from north Ionia.¹⁰⁹

2. 4 Cups with everted rim

78-81 belong to the class of cups with everted rim (pl. 12).¹¹⁰ **80** with several encircling lines on the rim and a concave interior rim is the earliest of the four fragments and can be dated according to context from Ionia from the 2nd to the 3rd quarter of the 7th century BC.

The other three fragments all belong to the second half of the 7th century BC. Although the group of the Ionian cups in the level IX assemblage is not large, their date is consistent.

Ionian cups can be found in large numbers in Al Mina but the majority belongs to later levels (VII-V). The type is absent among fragments marked with level IX and VIII. The

¹⁰⁸ Boardman 1959, 164; On skyphoi see Delos XV, pl. 39. 40-44. On kantharoi see Delos XV, pl. 40. 55.

¹⁰⁹ For the description and the provenance of the “Standard fabrikate” of the Bird- kotyle workshop that equates with Mommson’s chemical group B/C see Coldstream GGP, 277-278. For an overview of the latest result of different chemical groups of East Greek Geometric and Archaic pottery see Töpferzentren, 66-67. Four main groups could be distinguished by Mommson through Neutron activation analysis (NAA): Töpferzentren, 76 (group B/C: north Ionia). 78 (group E: North Ionia, Klazomenai or Smyrna). 83 (group F: mainland north Ionia). 89 (group G: north Ionia or Aeolis);

¹¹⁰ For a summary of the “latest” results concerning this class see, Schlotzhauer 2000,407-416. Unfortunately the doctoral thesis of Schlotzhauer is still unpublished. The development of types and their chronology has to be reconstructed from Kerschner 1997, 193-194 with note 71. For the earlier established chronology see also Vallet and Villard 1955, 5-32; Tocra I, 112-116. Overview in Cook and Dupont 1998, 129-131.

presence of these four fragments can therefore only be understood as residual pieces since they are the only pieces from the second half of the 7th century BC within level IX.

While **78** and **81** seem to be of south Ionian origin, the provenance of **79** and **80** has to remain open. The application of white slip on the latter two may also point to the same region, although south Ionian potters were not the only ones who used the white slip during the 7th century BC.¹¹¹

2. 5 Cups

Cups are also represented among the marked level IX- pieces. The two fragments **35** and **54** belong to the same type. It is a cup with a low everted rim and a rather deep ovoid body. The handle zone is reserved except for a single horizontal wavy line. Another unmarked wall/handle fragment from Al Mina with a similar decoration illustrates that **35** and **54** belong to a cup with vertical flat handles (pl. 6. 9). The handles are covered completely with black paint. Comparisons can be found on Delos as well as in Attica.¹¹²

These cups are also referred to as Phaleron cups, a name that derives from the Phaleron cemetery where they were found in considerable numbers.¹¹³ They appear in LG II and survive into the Protoattic period, and even to the second half of the 7th century BC.¹¹⁴ All three fragments seem to belong to the same type: offset lip, and rather deeper body.

According to Young these are all features of the 7th century BC.¹¹⁵ Since the rim of **35** is not as offset as 7th century BC types and the shape and decoration is related to an example

¹¹¹ Jones 1986, 660- 662.

¹¹² Agora VIII, 191; Delos XV, pl. 31. A 1.

¹¹³ Young 1946, 46-47.

¹¹⁴ Coldstream GGP, 87; Young 1946, 47.

¹¹⁵ Young 1946, 47. See however Agora VIII, 53 pl. 10. 180-181. 191. Brann dated similar shapes to the late 8th and early 7th century BC.

from the Agora, a date to the end of the 8th or early 7th century BC seems to me the most probable one.¹¹⁶

2. 6 Kotyle

Four fragments belong to kotylai. The Corinthian kotyle **37** is not well preserved (pl. 6). One can only note that the rays on the base of **37** is a feature assigned to the late 8th or early 7th century BC, although rays were continuously applied on kotylai during the whole of the 7th century BC.¹¹⁷ Corinthian kotylai were imitated by Euboean potters but the fabric of this piece, the fine potting, as well as the neat encircling lines suggest a Corinthian origin. Notable is that the piece is misfired, a typical feature that can be recognized often among kotylai that were stacked upon each other in the kiln. The result is that the lower parts of the vessel were not well fired. At Al Mina almost all kotyle fragments have signs of misfiring. This was apparently no obstacle to sell the fine kotyle on Near Eastern markets. Interestingly, signs of similar misfiring never occur on the Euboean examples exported to Al Mina, which may point to a different firing technique and/or stacking technique on Euboea.

The other three pieces are probably Euboean imitations. In all cases the fabric is different from the Corinthian clay. The horizontal lines of the wall fragment **67** are also thicker and are not applied in the same regular interval as on Corinthian originals but this could also be simply a sign for a less talented painter and may not necessarily point automatically to one specific region. **67** belongs to a type with a painted base (pl. 10). It is also significant that only 6 encircling bands were placed between the painted lower part and the decorative zone. This is an indication of a rather early type because **67** either belongs to a shallow

¹¹⁶ Agora VIII, no. 191.

¹¹⁷ Corinth VII 1, 89-90; Benton 1953, 262; Neef 1975, tab. XIII; Amyx dated the appearance of rays into MPC: Amyx 1988, 459.

hemispherical type and that is why the zone of encircling lines is so narrow, or the painted lower part is occupying a large part of the lower body, also a stylistic feature of earlier examples. **103** is also from a kotyle with a shallow round body and a small lip.

103 is decorated with a cross-hatched lozenge, a popular motif on Euboea during LG II period. Euboea was a prolific source of imitations of Corinthian kotylai. The lozenge is typical for Euboea so that the attribution of **103** to Euboea is secure.¹¹⁸ The motif suggests a LG II date for this piece.

31 is a kotyle with a vestigial lip that was also called proto-kotyle by Coldstream (pl. 5).¹¹⁹ It is decorated with a heron, which is carefully painted. What makes **31** so interesting is the combination of the shape with the elaborate version of the heron, which so far is unattested in Euboea itself. The triple crested heron speaks against a Corinthian origin because at Corinth the herons usually have only two crests, which are also usually concave, not convex, and much longer. A peculiarity is also the fact that the next field is separated from the bird by only three vertical lines, which is unusual for Corinthian examples. On pyxides the panels next to the handle can be divided from the next field only by four vertical lines.¹²⁰ The three oblique lines on the right side of the bird either derive from the handle decoration (three horizontal lines?), or from horizontal zigzag lines in the field. A close comparison of this type can be found at Aeolian Kyme. According to Frasca the Kymeian example could also be an Euboean imitation.¹²¹ This piece might also indicate that

¹¹⁸ Coldstream GGP, 314 no. 14 thought **89** and another fragment in the BM (1955.4.22.37) belong together. Kearsley 1995, 25 no. 14 noted rightly that those two fragments do not join. However, I cannot confirm that these two fragments are of different fabric.

¹¹⁹ Coldstream GGP, 98.

¹²⁰ See for instance the LG pyxis in Coldstream GGP, pl. 20. g.

¹²¹ Frasca 1998, 277 fig. 13.

Euboeans started to imitate Corinthian kotylai already soon after the shape was introduced in Corinth at the beginning of LG.¹²²

The appearance of the type with vestigial lip is disputed but it probably arrived during the end of the MG II period or early in LG I.¹²³ When exactly the first imitations of this shape appeared on Euboea is related to the appearance of the shape in Corinth. The proto-kotyle is most likely earlier than the kotyle with the straight lip.¹²⁴ Form and decoration of **31** suggest a date early during LG I.

2. 7 Kraters

The thickness of the wall of **55** and **56** may indicate that these two pieces belong to kraters or krateriskoi (pl. 9). However, a type of a large skyphos- krater may also have such a thick wall (0.36- 0.5 respectively 0.6 cm).

108 was interpreted by Kearsley as an amphora foot.¹²⁵ This type of amphorae primarily appeared in cemetery contexts but few examples were also found in the settlement of Lefkandi, Eretria, Pithekussai and Zagora.¹²⁶ The profile of the foot however differs from the amphora feet of the LG period, which is stepped and not of a splaying form as **109**. However, kraters or krateriskoi dated to the early 7th century BC show a profile that is not much different from **109**. At Samos a krateriskos with a stemmed foot is similar in profile and also bears vertical wavy lines on the foot like **109**.¹²⁷ Therefore, the foot fragment

¹²² Coldstream GGP, 101; Neeft 1975, 104. 116.

¹²³ Coldstream GGP, 97-98; Dehl 1984, 53; Eretria XX, 87 with no. 477 for further reference.

¹²⁴ Eretria XX, 88.

¹²⁵ Kearsley 1995, 65. For the class in general, see Boardman 1952, 13-39.

¹²⁶ Lefkandi I, 71 pl. 57. 317; Eretria XX, 102 pl. 73. 355-356; Zagora II, pl. 243; Coldstream 1995, pl. 31. 105-107.

¹²⁷ Coldstream GGP, pl. 64. g (Samian); Boardman 1952, 9 no. 46 suggested that this krateriskos might be of Euboean production.

could also belong to a LG or Sub-Geometric krater, which also has a pedestalled foot similar to the feet of the so-called grave amphorae.

From the two fragments **55** and **56** that can possibly be attributed to a krater, only the decoration of **55** can be reconstructed. It consists of two confronting birds divided by vertical lines; this is an unusual decoration for a krater although confronting birds divided by groups of vertical lines can be found on a krater from Eretria.¹²⁸ The rest of a quatrefoil is depicted on **56**, a typical motif that is often applied on kraters in a side panel.¹²⁹ Both fragments probably derive from a type of krater decorated in an atticising style that is common to Euboean LG. In LG II however, this decoration style seems to degenerate and based on comparisons from Euboea, those two fragments can be possibly attributed to early LG.¹³⁰ **109** is doubtful since it can also belong to an amphora foot. The foot is decorated with alternating groups of chevrons and vertical scribbles. While the use of vertical scribble lines seems to become more and more popular during the course of LG, they make their appearance already during the third quarter of the 8th century BC.¹³¹

2. 8 Plates

Two plates of different shape come from the assemblage. **110** is a type with rounded rim while **111** belongs to a plate type with a triangular rim.¹³² **110** and **111** are the only plates

¹²⁸ Eretria XX, pl. 52. 238; 12. 30. no. 238, which was found in a pit of LG I-II date. 238 possibly belongs to LG I. no. 30 is the closest resemblance to our piece. It comes from a pit dated from the end of MG II to the beginning of LG I.

¹²⁹ Eretria XX, pl. 52. 238-239.

¹³⁰ See Eretria XX, 94. In the case of no. 48 this is also somehow confirmed by neat drawing of the leaf and the fine thick slipped surface.

¹³¹ Eretria XX, pl. 49. 213 (skyphos decorated with “degenerated sigmas”); Lefkandi I, pl. 38. 29 (Deposit A); 44. 68 (Deposit B).

¹³² The latter type is rare and not found frequently on Euboea, see Eretria XX, pl. 87 AS2b for no. 112.

that were found at Al Mina.¹³³ This rarity is surprising when one considers the popularity of plates, in particular the psc-plates in the Eastern Mediterranean. Examples of this type of different provenance were discovered on Cyprus, Tyre, Tarsus and Ras el Bassit.¹³⁴ The reason for the absence of psc-plates might be that the form was not popular at Al Mina for some reasons or that the demand for plates was satisfied by a different shape or plate of different provenance. Another interpretation would be that this class of plates was not produced in large amounts anymore in Greece at the time when the first Greek imports reached Al Mina.

The decoration of **110** is simple. Groups of vertical lines are applied with an octuple brush, which fill a band below the handle followed by encircling bands. This simple decoration is a familiar trait of Euboean plates of the Subprotogeometric style that was also applied on later LG plates.¹³⁵ Another plate with a decorative zone below the handle with the same motif is found on Delos.¹³⁶ The encircling lines are a feature that can be observed on Attica LG Ib, as well as on Euboea during LG.¹³⁷ **111** is decorated with dots on the lip and with tangential circles in a field further below. The latter pattern does not appear before LG and confirms a date of this plate into the second half of the 8th century BC.¹³⁸

¹³³ The pottery collection of the institute of the University College London contains one rim fragment of an psc-plate. It remains unclear however, whether the piece really derives from Al Mina. No inventory or level mark is written on the sherd itself. If it derives from Al Mina, than it is the only psc-plate found at the site.

¹³⁴ Hanfmann Tarsus III, fig. 102. 1507; Gjerstad 1977, pl.II, 2-12; Courbin 1982, fig. 3-4; Coldstream 1988b, pl. X. 9-18; See Eretria XX, 70 no. 282 for further reference.

¹³⁵ On Lefkandi plates with this decoration are missing so far. Only psc-plates are reported so far: Lefkandi I, 341 pl. 15. 144; 18. 329-336; In Eretria a similar pieces was found in a grave of MG II context Eretria XVII, pl. 36. 2.

¹³⁶ Delos XV, pl. 33. 8.

¹³⁷ Kerameikos V, pl. 101. 102; Eretria XX, pl. 40. 158-159 (in LG I context).

¹³⁸ Coldstream GGP 128 no. 5. Earliest parallel for tangential circles is on Agora VIII no. 41.

2. 9 Jugs

82 and **113** are probably also of south Ionian origin, perhaps from Samos. Typical for the south Ionian products is the white to very pale brown slip that sometimes flakes off easily, and which distinguishes south Ionian products from those of north Ionia.¹³⁹ Another fragment from a jug is the round attachment **83**. Such round attachments can be found on jugs of East Greek provenance but are also known in Corinth. **82** and **113** can be assigned to the so-called bird oinochoai.¹⁴⁰ Comparable jugs with a round mouth were discovered in the Heraion of Samos in contexts dating from the end of the 8th century to 640 BC.¹⁴¹ Similar vases were also found on Chios where the mouth is of the trefoil lip type.¹⁴² This class flourished on Chios from the first half to the end of the third quarter of the 7th century BC, although some pieces were also found in earlier contexts of the second half of the 8th century BC.¹⁴³ Al Mina is the only site in the Eastern Mediterranean where this class from south Ionia is attested.

The only other site that has produced bird oinochoai is Tarsus but the examples from Tarsus derive from north Ionia. The fragments from north Ionia seem to appear a bit later than those from south Ionia but this might be only accidental. The bird oinochoai are well represented among the whole ceramic assemblage of Al Mina but only these few fragments were marked as coming from level IX. The decoration is confined to the shoulder, which is divided into metopes that are not necessarily symmetrical. Typical motifs are triangles or vertical chains of lozenges and birds. On all three pieces from level IX the decoration from the shoulder is preserved. **82** preserves part of a triangle or lozenge in double outline and

¹³⁹ Chian: Boardman 1967, 102; Coldstream GGP, 294; Samian: Coldstream GGP, 289; Eilmann 1933, 48-49.

¹⁴⁰ For the description of the class, see Boardman Emporio, 142; Coldstream GGP, 278; Töpferzentren, 69.

¹⁴¹ Samos V, no. 270. 304. 308. 309. 318 (Fundgruppe XVII, 710- 640 BC); Emporio, pl. 48-50

¹⁴² Emporio, 142 pl. 48- 50.

¹⁴³ Emporio, 142. no. 545 pl. 48 (harbour sanctuary Period I, before 690 BC).

cross-hatched centre with a lozenge on top of it. On **113** the rest of a bird and a triangle can be made out according to Descoedres.

2. 10 Miscellaneous

Among the level IX finds are a few pieces that cannot be identified with absolute certainty. Some of them, like **25**, can be assigned to skyphoi or kantharoi and they have already been discussed above under the skyphoi. **34** is a rim fragment that is unusual (pl. 6).¹⁴⁴ Kearsley compared this piece to a mug found at Lefkandi.¹⁴⁵ Another possibility would be a kantharos. The decoration, which consists of concentric circles below encircling bands, can be compared with a kantharos from Delos. So it is possible that **34** is a kantharos although the diameter would be remarkably small for a kantharos.¹⁴⁶ The preserved vertical lines are probably the dividing lines between the decorative- and handle zone, which is also typical for kantharoi.

3. Assemblage VIII-IX

3. 1 Drinking vessels

Among the collection of Greek imports from Al Mina, 97 fragments were marked with level VIII-IX.¹⁴⁷ The assemblage consists of nine kraters, six closed vessels (one amphora, three jugs or oinochoai and two indeterminate vessels), while the rest belongs to drinking

¹⁴⁴ Kearsley listed this piece under level VIII. I read level IX. It is of possible that the lower part or parts of the “8” faded so that the mark looks as a 9 instead of 8 now.

¹⁴⁵ Kearsley 1995, 64.

¹⁴⁶ Delos XV, pl. 41. 59.

¹⁴⁷ Not included in the figures here is **208**, because it is probably of Cypriot origin although Kearsley 1995, 55 compared it with examples from Samos.

vessels. In this respect, the group of fragments marked with level VIII-IX is not much different from the previous levels X and IX.

Surprisingly, the level VIII-IX assemblage comprises MG I fragments that were absent in the two previous levels, if one does not include the controversial psc-skyphoi. The earliest fragments should be discussed here in more detail since they might be an important indicator for the foundation date of Al Mina.

114 and **115** are certainly the earliest Greek imports found at Al Mina (pl. 13). According to Coldstream, these two fragments belong to the same vessel.¹⁴⁸ The profile and the decoration of both pieces are similar but the fragments do not join and while one piece is probably decorated with a meander hook (**114**) the second fragment (**115**) bears a regular meander.¹⁴⁹ Both fragments are therefore considered separately. **114** and **115** belong to the MG Atticizing skyphos with a decoration field that is covered on all sides with dark paint. The micaceous fabric led Coldstream to the conclusion that **114** must be of Naxian origin.¹⁵⁰ Although the southern cemetery on Naxos yielded several MG I-II skyphoi, an example with meander decoration is missing so far.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, several skyphoi with meander pattern found on Delos and belonging to the Dougas and Rhomaios' group Ae demonstrate that this decoration pattern was also common on the Cyclades.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Coldstream 2010, no. 165; See also Kearsley (1995, 60- 61. no. 247), who treated both fragments as one piece.

¹⁴⁹ See the reconstruction in Coldstream 2010, pl. 71. fig. 14. Compare **114** with the meander hooks on Delos XV, pl. 28. 46.

¹⁵⁰ Coldstream GGP, 312 no. B 1.

¹⁵¹ Kourou 1999, fig. 30-36.

¹⁵² There is an ongoing dispute concerning the origin of the different groups defined by Dougas and Rhomaios (Delos XV, 11-12) especially about their group A that was further divided into six subgroups (a-f). According to some scholars the group Ae, which is not a stylistic homogeneous group, partly derive from Naxos (Knauß 1997, 2-3). For this Atticizing skyphos type see also Coldstream GGP, 169-170.

Apart from the two previously mentioned pieces a third piece marked VIII-IX is decorated with a meander pattern (pl. 13. **117**). This wall fragment preserved a part of a hatched meander hook. The origin of this fragment remains unclear. It is not covered with a slip and does not contain any mica. A meander decoration can be found in different regions such as Attica, Euboea and the Cyclades.¹⁵³ Since the rim is missing and skyphoi with meander hooks also appear in LG I contexts in Greece, **117** cannot be dated more precisely than from MG II to LG I.¹⁵⁴

116 is a wall fragment that preserves a chevron pattern (pl. 13). The chevron skyphos certainly is one of the most popular skyphos types of the Geometric period. Introduced either in Attica or Corinth during MG II, this type also appeared in other regions such as Attica, Corinth, Argos, Euboea and the Cyclades.¹⁵⁵ **116** belongs to the fabric group AIM 18 that also contained mica and therefore a Naxian origin is suggested for this piece. While the time of the first appearance of this type seems to be beyond doubt, the lifetime of the chevron skyphos is disputed.¹⁵⁶ While Coldstream suggested that the chevron skyphos disappeared in Attica shortly after LG I¹⁵⁷, other scholars like Descoedres proposed a scheme, in which the chevron skyphos was produced until the end of LG I and in some regions, like on Euboea, even until the beginning of the Orientalising period.¹⁵⁸ The Attic sequence is of interest in this respect because **116** probably is of Cycladic origin and the Cycladic chevron skyphos, according to Descoedres, follows the Attic typological sequence closely.¹⁵⁹ The view followed here is that the Attic sequence ended around 750 BC because, as demonstrated by Coldstream, the Attic contexts that contained chevron

¹⁵³ Agora VIII, pl. 15. 260; Delos XV, pl. 28. 36- 46; Eretria XX, pl. 17. 58.

¹⁵⁴ For the introduction of meander hooks in Attica see Coldstream GGP, 24. For LG I contexts see e.g. Eretria XX, pl. 40. 163.

¹⁵⁵ Coldstream GGP, 24. 95; Descoedres and Kearsley 1983, 11-28; Kourou 1999, 18 no. 37.

¹⁵⁶ See the discussion in Eretria XX, 76-78.

¹⁵⁷ Coldstream 1995, 261.

¹⁵⁸ Descoedres and Kearsley 1983, 15. 23-25; See also Kourou 2005, 502.

¹⁵⁹ Descoedres and Kearsley 1983, 19. 28.

skyphoi, and which were dated by Descoedres to LG I, all belong either to Attic LG Ia or to the end of MG II/LG Ia.¹⁶⁰ Problematical remains that Descoedres established his typology of Attic and Cycladic skyphoi, which rests on the relation between mouth diameter, vessel height and foot diameter, only on few examples.¹⁶¹ Further, a relative sequence of stratified contexts from the Cyclades with chevron skyphoi is missing and therefore it has to remain open whether the production of the chevron skyphos continued on the islands even after the disappearance of this type in Attica. Such a scenario is not unlikely given the close relation between the Cyclades and Euboea where this type was produced until the LG II period.¹⁶² Since **116** is only a small fragment and not even the whole decoration can be reconstructed, its classification remains uncertain. Nevertheless, **116** does not belong to the Euboean LG II type with floating chevrons that can be found on Euboea so that an LG II date can be excluded.¹⁶³

120 and **119** are fragments that are decorated with a dot rosette between the handle and the vertical lines that separated the decoration zone from the handle zone (pl. 19). The fabric of **120** contains black grit like the Melian clay but does not contain any mica.¹⁶⁴ **119** is covered with a thin white slip but the piece is too small to say anything about the origin. Euboea might be one possibility while the Cyclades can be ruled out because of the absence of mica and other inclusions that are typical for the Cycladic islands. Dot rosettes between decoration- and handle zone can be seen in Attica during MG I and appear on skyphoi at least until Attic LG Ia.¹⁶⁵ Examples from Delos¹⁶⁶ and Euboea demonstrate that in these two regions this habit was also practiced and on Euboea probably until the end of

¹⁶⁰ Descoedres and Kearsley 1983, 14; See Coldstream 1995, 261 with note 49.

¹⁶¹ Attic sequence based on 16 pieces: Descoedres and Kearsley 1983, 14; the Cycladic sequence is based on only 8: Descoedres and Kearsley 1983, 19.

¹⁶² One example comes from the south cemetery on Naxos (Kourou 1999, 18 no. 37); Eretria XX, 78.

¹⁶³ Skyphos type with “floating” chevron decoration: Eretria XX, 78 pl.64, 310.

¹⁶⁴ Coldstream GGP, 181.

¹⁶⁵ Coldstream GGP, 21; Agora VIII, pl. 15. 262.

¹⁶⁶ Delos XV, pl. 28. 36 (MG II-LG I?).

LG I.¹⁶⁷ Judging from the rim profile, **119** probably belongs to the end of MG or beginning of LG I while the wall fragment **120** can only be dated roughly from MG II to LG I.

Also six psc-skyphoi belong to the level VIII-IX assemblage (**122-127**). They are all made of a similar fabric. The clay of **123, 125-127** has been analysed and the results pointed to an Euboean origin.¹⁶⁸ All of the psc-skyphos fragments marked with level VIII- IX are of Kearsley's type 6.¹⁶⁹ Unfortunately, only small rim fragments are preserved and not one single whole profile can be reconstructed.

Similar profiles of rim fragments were recovered at Lefkandi from the levelling material that was dated to the SPG III period.¹⁷⁰ Kearsley argued that the levelling material at Lefkandi suggests that the deposit expands beyond 750 BC.¹⁷¹ The majority of sherds of the levelling material can be dated stylistically to the SPG III period, only seven fragments are dated to LG.¹⁷² The excavators explained the appearance of LG fragments in an assemblage where the majority is of SPG III date with the stratigraphic complexity of the area and a possible human error. The LG sherds probably come from two small later LG pits, which were cut into the levelling layer.¹⁷³ Even if one accepts Kearsley's arguments that the LG fragments that were not assigned to the two pits belong to the levelling material and that additional sherds of the levelling material, which have previously dated to SPG III, can rather be dated to LG, the number of LG sherds is small compared against

¹⁶⁷ Skyphoi with dot rosettes between handle and decoration zone are absent in LG II deposits in Eretria (Eretria XX, pl. 64-74.) and at Lefkandi fragments of this type belong to deposits B and D (Lefkandi I, pl. 43. 53. 57; 45. 92-93) and are missing from contexts of the latest LG floors.

¹⁶⁸ Popham et al. 1980, 156-157; Popham et al. 1983, 289; Jones 1986, 692-694. For a critical view on the results and the applied method see Papadopoulos 1997, 197-198.

¹⁶⁹ Kearsley 1989, 101-104.

¹⁷⁰ For the levelling material see Lefkandi I, 16. 44; for the date see Lefkandi I, 43-44.

¹⁷¹ Kearsley 1989, 127.

¹⁷² Lefkandi I, 41.

¹⁷³ Lefkandi I, 41. 44.

the rest.¹⁷⁴ Kearsley's dating of the levelling material therefore rests on only four, respectively five LG pieces that come from an area with a complex stratigraphy where at least some layers were not clearly separated from each other. It is also worth noting at this point that no LG Attic imports were discovered within the levelling material despite several Attic MG fragments among the assemblage.¹⁷⁵

The material from level VIII-IX is unfortunately not helpful to decide whether Kearsley's type 6 was produced also after 750 BC or not. In theory the fragments from level VIII-IX could also date to MG I, the date of the earliest fragments from the group (114, 115). On the other hand, several fragments from the level VIII- IX assemblage (171- 183, 203-204, 211) belong to the LG II period so that a LG production, based solely on the evidence from Al Mina, cannot be ruled out. That the material from level VIII-IX obviously could derive from two different levels, further complicate matters.

The last fragment with a meander decoration is 132. The fragment contains two meander hooks, a decoration frequently found in Attica, Euboea and on the Cyclades. The fabric, in particular the mica, points to a Cycladic origin, most probably to Paros. The morphological features of the fragment place it in LG I. Although the piece is marked with level VIII- IX, Robertson mentioned that it belongs to level IV.¹⁷⁶ Two further probable Parian imports

¹⁷⁴ Kearsley 1989, 127 no. 9. The only two LG sherds from the levelling material LG list (see Lefkandi I, 41) that could not be linked to the pit 2a or 3 are no. 62 and 447. Compare list with Lefkandi I, 58 (pit 2a). The other three LG pieces mentioned by Kearsley (Lefkandi I, pl. 20. 425. 434. 444) are fragmented. 425 with a row of dots on the rim and probably a meander pattern could also be stylistically attributed to Atticizing MG II. 444 is decorated with a quatrefoil, an LG motif and the cross-hatched lozenge of piece 434 points most likely also to an LG date.

¹⁷⁵ Lefkandi I, 40 pl. 15, 143; 20. 403-406. In this respect it is necessary to mention that the Attic LG imports seem to be totally missing on Euboea so that absent Attic LG sherds in the levelling material can probably be explained with a larger phenomenon and might not be a useful argument for the dating of the assemblage.

¹⁷⁶ Robertson 1940, 2. fig. 1. m-n. Both fragments are said to derive from level IV.

from Al Mina come from level VIII-IX (**130, 131**). Both are decorated with hatched quatrefoils and Coldstream dated them to Attic LG Ib.¹⁷⁷

The material from level VIII-IX contained some LG I skyphos types that were missing in level X and IX. **121** is a simple monochrome cup that can be dated according to its shape from MG II to LG I. **128** on the other hand belongs to a class that is painted with multiple horizontal bands in a free field. This is a unique Euboean ornament and not attested in other regions so far.¹⁷⁸ A skyphos from the sanctuary of Zeus on the mount Hymetos shows a similar decoration although additional filling ornaments accompany the horizontal line.¹⁷⁹ Some how related to this type is **129** that contains a bird in a central field surrounded by a panel decorated with horizontal lines (pl. 19). Coldstream thought that this decoration was introduced by Attic painters on oinochoai and later taken over by the Cesnola painter who used this pattern to decorate the miniature Oinochoe on the lid of his famous krater.¹⁸⁰ Interestingly, this decoration pattern was not introduced on Attic skyphoi while it became popular as a decoration on Euboea, which raises doubts about Coldstream's interpretations.¹⁸¹ The skyphos fragment **1** decorated with horizontal lines in a panel from level X, which probably dates to end of MG II/beginning of LG Ia, is also from Euboea and might be another indication that this motif derived from there and was taken over from Attic potters.

¹⁷⁷ Coldstream GGP, 314 no. 4.

¹⁷⁸ In Attica some skyphoi with a similar decoration were found in the Kerameikos. See Kerameikos V 1, pl. 95. 780. 793. 861. 396. The decoration of 793 may derive from the Thapsos class skyphos while the other pieces are similar in decoration to the Euboean ones. The other pieces are all decorated with several horizontal bands all over the body. The tendency to lighten the dark ground of a vessel through the application of a mass of thin encircling lines is a fashion that derives from Corinth (Coldstream GGP, 168.) and therefore the other examples with horizontal bands from the Kerameikos might be later than the earliest Euboean ones.

¹⁷⁹ Langdon 1976, pl. 20. 239.

¹⁸⁰ Kerameikos V 1, pl. 76. 274; Coldstream 1982, 26- 27.

¹⁸¹ The popularity of this decoration motif and the application of it on open and closed vessels together with the absence of it in Attica, apart from a few examples, may suggest that this motif was introduced in Euboea (by the Cesnola painter?) and taken over by Attic painters, where it never became as popular as on Euboea.

Further skyphos categories that were absent in previous levels are **134** and **135**. They are painted with a row of dot rosettes in a free field. While the arrangement of an ornament in a free field is typical for a skyphos type found on Euboea that can be dated to LG II, the shape, the low rim and the deep hemispherical body of the two fragments from Al Mina suggest an late LG I date and parallels with a similar decoration from Euboea and skyphoi with similar decoration from Attica (Agora and Kerameikos) belong to Attic LG Ia.¹⁸² **134** and **135** may therefore represent a forerunner for the later Euboean conical bichrome skyphoi that bear ornaments in a free field. Apart from these earlier pieces (MG II-LG I) the rest of the fragments marked IX-VIII does not show a big divergence from the previous levels X and IX.

Among the assemblage one can find four LG bird skyphoi (**137-141**). Only in the case of **137** one can reconstruct the complete decoration. It belongs to the class with three metopes. Two side metopes decorated with one bird flank a centre field that is depicted with a hatched quatrefoil. The two skyphoi **142-143** are painted with a curvilinear pattern that cannot be reconstructed completely (pl. 14). Outstanding and without any further parallel among the Greek imports from Al Mina, is **144** and **145**. The former one is a skyphos with a high flaring rim and a broad wavy line pattern in the decoration zone. The latter one is decorated with at least one group of concentric circles (pl. 14). The shape is certainly of LG date. Concentric circles were not popular during the LG period but they appear sometimes on Euboean skyphoi.¹⁸³ The broad wavy band has parallels in Euboea as well and the thick cream slip might be a further indication for an Euboean origin although other sources such as Boeotia cannot be excluded.

¹⁸² For the skyphos with decoration pattern in a free field see Lefkandi I, 65-66; Eretria XX, 82-84; Attic LG Ia examples see Kerameikos V 1, pl. 91. 367; Agora VIII, pl. 15. 261.

¹⁸³ Eretria XX, pl. 64. 311.

Further fragments from level IX-VIII include skphoi with groups of concentric circles on the rim (**146-149, 175**) that were also found in level X, IX and VIII (pl. 19). **146-149** are dated to LG while **175** is perhaps slightly later and dated to LG II based on the cross-hatched lozenge in the decoration zone (pl. 17).

Another category of open drinking vessels marked with level IX-VIII, is the so-called Al Mina ware (**156-166**). The majority belongs to the class with monochrome decoration with groups of thin encircling bands on the interior. The only example that is fully painted on the inside is **166** and therefore it might be possible that it is a Greek import rather than a local or Cypriot product. The majority of the Al Mina ware fragments marked with level IX-VIII fit into the class with diagonal lines in the decoration zone. The diagonal lines can either be arranged in a field that is divided by one horizontal line (**165**) or they are arranged in a field with diagonal and vertical lines (pl. 20. **162-164**). Another pattern that can be observed on the Al Mina ware is the hatched quatrefoil (pl. 20. **156**). Interestingly, on **156** the foils do not join directly in the centre (pl. 15). They are connected through a small circle, which is uncommon in Greece. Coldstream considered this as an Euboean peculiarity because he was able to identify two pieces of Euboean manufacture with a similar quatrefoil but further examples from other regions show that such a conclusion is probably not convincing.¹⁸⁴ **158-159** (pl. 15-16) go with the group that is painted with vertical scribble lines while **160** (pl. 20) preserves only a group of vertical lines which are either the usual vertical lines that separate the handle- from the decoration zone or they are part of the decoration as on **165**. Another fragment with similar decoration pattern is **186** that is painted on the interior and is therefore considered as a Greek import and dated to LG II based on the assumption that such a decoration motif belongs to a stylistically later

¹⁸⁴ Coldstream 1979, 264. For pieces with quatrefoils with central circle see **130** (of Parian origin); Other examples with same quatrefoil pattern e.g. Samos V, pl. 20. 117.

stage of LG pottery (pl. 20).¹⁸⁵ With **170-171** we come to the end of LG I/ beginning of LG II (pl. 16). The quartered and doted lozenge on **170** is a pattern that is usually associated with LG II and it is popular on Euboea.¹⁸⁶ Fragments of this type already existed in level IX. The rim on the other hand resembles LG I examples so that the piece from Level VIII-IX is dated to the end of LG I. **171** is a fragment of a conical shaped skyphos type painted with dot rosettes that are arranged in a free field. Such a decoration system appears in Attica already in LG Ia.¹⁸⁷ The conical shaped skyphos was produced in Attica and on Euboea as well as on the Aegean islands. **171** belongs to the earlier conical shaped skyphos class that is attested on Euboea already during LG I.¹⁸⁸

172 is of the same type but may already belong to the LG II period. LG II fragments amount to 15 pieces. **173** is not well preserved (pl. 17). Lips decorated with dashes are rare among the imports from Al Mina. Dashes on lips appear at Lefkandi in the desertion deposits and are perhaps a later development of the skyphos with dotted rims.¹⁸⁹ They appear often in combination with cross-hatched or quartered and dotted lozenges.¹⁹⁰ According to the latest results from Eretria, dashes appear at Euboea for the first time at the end of LG I and Coldstream assigned them to the end of LG Ib.¹⁹¹ Since our piece contains a high lip and bears three reserved lines on the interior, it better fits into LG II.

¹⁸⁵ See Lefkandi I, pl. 38. 29. Krater with parallel scribbles painted with a multiple brush from desertion deposits. On the other hand, the Eretria excavation revealed a type with similar decoration that was found in a LG I-II pit. The skyphos from this pit has a narrow and long panel instead of a metope decoration and might be considered early in LG. It is remarkable however, that the skyphos with multiple scribble pattern in a metope is rarely found on Euboea so far which raises the question whether this motif in a metope is a Sub-Geometric variant that was introduced much later than the multiple scribbles in a narrow panel. At the same time it is not clear whether there is a continuous development from scribbles in long panel to scribbles in a metope. One cannot exclude at the moment that the scribbles, were re-introduced into the oeuvre of Greek potters, possibly inspired by foreign influence, at the end of the 8th century BC.

¹⁸⁶ Lefkandi I, 64 (III). 65 (VII).

¹⁸⁷ Coldstream GGP, pl. 50. 9b. von Freitag 1974, 8 pl. 4. 6: appearance end LG Ia/ begin LG Ib.

¹⁸⁸ Eretria XX, 83 (Sk 6).

¹⁸⁹ Lefkandi I, pl. 36. 4-5. 6-7.

¹⁹⁰ Lefkandi I, 64; Andreiomenou 1981, pl. 28-29.

¹⁹¹ Eretria XX, 84; Coldstream GGP, 48 pl. 10. b.

174 is another skyphos with a quartered and dotted lozenge but with a LG II profile. The next two pieces, **175-178**, belong to a group of skyphoi that are painted with a cross-hatched lozenge, a hallmark type of Euboean LG II (pl. 17). **175-177** have encircling bands on the rim while **178** is decorated with a row of concentric circles. Similar fragments were already found in level IX. Another important class of Euboean imports among marked level VIII-IX fragments is the conical shaped bichrome skyphos (pl. 17. **179-180**). The type was absent in level IX but some further examples can be found in later levels (VIII, V). Therefore I am inclined to consider the examples marked with level VIII- IX as rather belonging to level VIII. The conical shaped skyphos with a decoration in a free field appears in slight variations on Euboea.¹⁹² Both examples from level VIII-IX belong to the shape that arrives at the beginning of LG II.¹⁹³ The two pieces are decorated with rows of dashes on the rim instead of the later bichrome wavy line pattern.¹⁹⁴ Its appearance is not surprising although one has to notice that it was only exported in small numbers to Al Mina and pieces of this class are missing in the west so far (see summary below).

Rare, and therefore mentioned briefly, are the two skyphoi with tangential dashes on the rim (**181**) and tangential concentric circles (**183**). The latter one is a motif that appeared in Attica during the end of MG II/LG Ia but it can also be found in other regions of Greece.¹⁹⁵ Its early appearance in Attica may suggest that it originated there although the Cyclades are another possible source since this pattern occurs there as well.¹⁹⁶ Pots from the Cesnola workshop also regularly bear tangential concentric circles and its popularity on the island

¹⁹² See Eretria XX, 82-84. At present it seems that the bichrome type showed more variety at Eretria than at Lefkandi. See Lefkandi I, 65-66 pl. 50. 189-197. Examples from Chalcis are missing so far, a circumstance that can be best explained by the lack of archaeological investigation on the territory of the ancient city.

¹⁹³ According to Coldstream GGP, 194, this class is related to the birdseed workshop that makes its appearance in LG IIa.

¹⁹⁴ Eretria XX, 83, 109 (Sk 5); Lefkandi I, pl. 37. 13. 16 (both from the desertion deposits).

¹⁹⁵ Coldstream 1995, 261 (see no. 84 with decoration similar to EPC style); Coldstream GGP, 128 with no. 5.

¹⁹⁶ Descoedres 1976, 39.

may stem from the workshop's impact on the island pottery production.¹⁹⁷ The last LG II piece that should be discussed here is **184**. It is decorated with a horizontal wavy line that is surrounded by dots. This pattern can be found on Euboea at Lefkandi as well as at Eretria.¹⁹⁸ The pattern itself was introduced in Attica already in LG Ib and was applied on skyphoi and closed vessels alike. A similar situation can be observed on Euboea.¹⁹⁹ The skyphos **185** can be dated already to the end of LG II and might even belong to the first quarter of the 7th century BC (pl. 18).²⁰⁰ Parallels for this class appear on Euboea and in East Greece. One similar fragment derives from level IX (**86**) and two fragments bear the level mark VII-VIII (**332-334**).

Apart from skyphoi a few other types of drinking cups could be identified. One possible rim fragment (**190**) and one vertical strap handle fragment (**191**) belong to a kantharos. Two further fragments are from the so-called proto-kotyle. **192** is perhaps an Euboean imitation of a Corinthian kotyle and is decorated with the popular floating chevrons that appear on Euboea probably slightly later than at Corinth (pl. 20).²⁰¹ Another wall fragment is from the kotyle class but it is impossible to say whether it is of Corinthian origin or an Euboean imitation. With one kotylai of East Greek provenance (**195**) the discussion of open drinking vessels ends here (pl. 20). Its preservation status does not allow a precise dating. It belongs to type where the decoration zone is already divided into four metopes

¹⁹⁷ Coldstream GGP, 173; Coldstream 1971, 10; Crielaard, 1990, 3; Kearsley 1995, 29.

¹⁹⁸ Eretria XX, 83; Lefkandi I, pl. 46. 106.

¹⁹⁹ Coldstream GGP, pl. 8. f; Kerameikos V 1, pl. 111. 1303; For examples of closed vessels see e.g. the Oinochoe from the Cesnola workshop found on Cyprus: Gjerstad 1977, pl. 8. 7.

²⁰⁰ Coldstream GGP, 293 pl. 64. c.

²⁰¹ Coldstream set the beginning of the Euboean imitations with chevron decoration soon after their introduction at Corinth (after beginning of LG) Coldstream GGP, 194. Later he developed his theory and suggested that the Euboean imitations are contemporary with EPC. See Coldstream GG, 195. One example found at Lefkandi comes from the desertion deposits. Lefkandi I, pl. 60. 1. At Eretria kotylai with chevron decoration are missing in the earlier deposits and appear only in LG II. Eretria XX, 89 (Fosse 190, LG II).

with lozenges at both sides and the two middle metopes are decorated with a bird and a meander tree.²⁰² Its production covers a period from 750 to 650 BC.²⁰³

3. 2 Kraters

Nine krater fragments come from level VIII-IX. The earliest fragment belongs to MG II/ beginning of LG (**196**). Three pieces are dated to LG I and another three to LG while two fragments belong to the LG II period. The majority is of Euboean origin although in some cases a Cycladic provenance cannot be excluded. The decoration is of the typical metope system that can be found in several regions in Greece and motifs include hatched quatrefoils (**196-198**), bird in a metope (**200**), cross- hatched panel (**202**) and horses (**199**). Coldstream assigned the latter fragment to the Cesnola workshop.²⁰⁴ The two LG II fragments (**203-204**) are dated to LG II according to their profiles but an LG I date cannot be ruled out entirely. Clear LG II kraters with added white paint or with the linear decoration that is typical for Eretria or Lefkandi, are missing among the marked VIII-IX fragments.²⁰⁵

3. 3 Closed vessels

Seven fragments come from closed vessels. **205** is from a neck- handle amphora, which possibly belongs to the same vessel as **299** from level VIII. It can be dated to the end of MG II/ beginning of LG I. Interesting is **206**, which belongs to a closed vessel, most likely of Chian origin (pl. 20). The typical decoration, the fabric and the white slip all point to Chios. Similar fragments appear at Chios already at the end of the 8th/ beginning of the 7th

²⁰² Coldstream GGP, 278.

²⁰³ See Kerschner 1997, 186-189; Kerschner 2002, 67; Kerschner 2008, 27-29.

²⁰⁴ Coldstream 2010, 47 no. 145. Note that Coldstream assigned the piece wrongly to level VIII.

See also Lefkandi I, 74 no. 8.

²⁰⁵ For typical LG II krater examples from Euboea see e.g. Lefkandi I, pl. 53. 235-241; Eretria XX, pl. 69. 339.

century BC and were produced obviously until the end of the 7th century BC.²⁰⁶ The wall from **206** is not turning sharply from shoulder to belly and therefore belongs to the later series.²⁰⁷

The same decoration can be found on other closed shapes such as amphorae and hydriai.²⁰⁸ The relative thick wall of **206** points to a larger vessel such as an amphora. Although closed fragments of East Greek provenance were already identified in level IX, **206** is the earliest import from Chios and perhaps rather comes from level VIII than IX.

Another closed vessel of East Greek origin is **207** that possibly belongs to a jug like **82** from level IX. **209** is perhaps from a cut-away jug, a typical Euboean shape. Kearsley thought that it derives from a tankard while Coldstream assigned it to a tankard of Attic origin dating to LG IIa and later he suggested it is from an Euboean hydria.²⁰⁹ The shape with the triangular rim may point to an Euboean cut-away neck jug and the depiction of a row of komast dancers finds a good parallel, not only in the motif but also in style, on a LG II jug from Eretria so that an Euboean origin seems to be more likely.²¹⁰

210 and **211** are of closed vessels as well (pl. 20). They are not well preserved but the decoration pattern of both pieces suggest a date of the early 7th century BC and their fabric point to an East Greek provenance.

²⁰⁶ Emporio, 144 no. 583-585. pl. 47. 541; 51. 583.

²⁰⁷ Period II-III, 690-630 BC. Compare **No. 206** with Emporio, 144 no. 583 (period I/II) with the sharp edge.

²⁰⁸ Emporio, 141 pl. 46. 526 (period III/IV).

²⁰⁹ Kearsley 1995, 63 no. 250; Coldstream GGP, 313 no. 2 (tankard); Coldstream 2010, 47 no. 143 (Euboean hydria).

²¹⁰ Eretria XX, pl. 72. 351.

4. Level VIII

Level VIII is an important level because the break down of the published excavation reports as well as Woolley's digging notes raise the question of a possible undetected level VIII sub- phase that might be related to the Assyrian conquest of Unqi in 738 BC.

Although the indications for such an event are meagre and several different interpretations of the archaeological record are possible, the study of the level VIII-pottery offers the chance to scrutinise the previous hypothesis outlined in chapter III 2. 5.

4. 1 Drinking vessels

14 sherds from level VIII can be assigned to MG II/SPG III- LG I. Among them the psc-skyphos is represented with six fragments (212-217). All of them are of Kearsley's type 6. On 215 no decoration is preserved but the profile is comparable to psc-skyphoi of Kearsly's type 6. On the other hand, a skyphos from the Agora with similar profile and a broad reserved panel between the handles remind us to be careful with an attribution based solely on morphological grounds.²¹¹

Since level VIII also contained material from the end of the first half of the 8th century BC it has to remain open whether the psc-skyphos fragments from level VIII arrived at Al Mina before or after 750 BC. Psc-skyphos fragments were retrieved in all levels (X-VIII) and given the relative high number of fragments that can be dated to before 750 BC, the evidence from Al Mina suggests that Kearsley's psc-skyphos type 6 was already produced

²¹¹ No profile is given for the skyphos from Agora VIII, pl. 15. 263 so that this observation is only based on the picture.

and exported to Al Mina before the middle of the 8th century BC although it seems likely that the production continued at least until the end of Euboean LG I.

Probably of LG I date and with a rare decoration are the two skyphoi **227-228**, which are decorated with a chain of cross-hatched lozenges (pl. 31). Parallels for such a decoration are infrequent but a chain of lozenges can be found on a skyphos from Eretria and on a kantharos from Delos for instance.²¹² The skyphos type with concentric circles on the rim is also part of the level VIII assemblage (**233-236**). Unfortunately, all of the fragments are badly preserved and nothing can be said about the main decoration. Only in one case (**237**) a small cross-hatched lozenge suggests a bird in the main zone like on bird skyphoi from Eretria or Lefkandi.²¹³

The skyphos with concentric circles on the lip appears in all levels and the high number of imports over a considerable long period reflects the popularity of this type on Euboea. Apart from horizontal bands that dominate the lip decorations, other rim patterns such as dots (**240, 269**) are rare (pl. 26).

The bird skyphos is another type that still can be found in level VIII (**238-240**).²¹⁴

239 (pl. 31) decorated with two birds facing over vertical lines was found in room 5.

According to Coldstream **239** is of Parian manufacture but the thin slip is reminiscent for Chian products therefore a Chian origin for this piece is suggested here. **240** on the other hand shows a bird with a body that is divided by one internal line. Although birds usually appear in various stylistic forms, such a body is characteristic for Cycladic products and

²¹² See cat.no. **227-228**.

²¹³ Andreiomenou 1981, pl. 33. 268; Lefkandi I, pl. 48. 148.

²¹⁴ One additional piece may be added to this list (Ash 1954.342/3) but was excluded because the mark on the sherd could not be identified with absolute certainty.

the lower filling ornament (horizontal line surrounded by dots) point in the same direction. Coldstream assigned this piece to Naxos despite the absence of mica, which is typical for that island.

Skyphoi of Greek provenance with simple linear decoration come only to few pieces and include fragments with alternating vertical straight- and scribble lines (**250**), and diagonal or wavy lines (pl. 23. **242**). **250** is interesting because it shows the mistake of a painter (pl. 24). One of the vertical groups was painted over by scribble lines in order to retain the alternating composition of the different groups of lines. 250 was analysed by NAA-analysis and the result points to Cyprus as source.²¹⁵

The monochrome skyphos **253** is a class that was only rarely exported to Al Mina (pl. 25). Monochrome skyphoi with a simple banded lip usually have lower rims. The profiles with such a high and almost straight rim normally bear a row of dots on top of an encircling line although this combination is not limited to skyphoi with high rims.²¹⁶

Another type where linear pattern dominate the decoration zone, is the Al Mina ware, which is well represented in level VIII (**254-260**). The fragments from level VIII belong to different fabric groups and they are decorated in monochrome and bichrome technique. The majority is painted in the monochrome technique and only the elaborately decorated piece **260** is made in a bichrome technique (pl. 32). The decorative patterns include diagonal crosses (**254-255**), alternating vertical and scribble lines (**256**), vertical lines

²¹⁵ Vacek and Mommsen forthcoming.

²¹⁶ See for instance Andreiomenou 1981, 107 fig. 9 pl. 39. 385- 396.

(258)²¹⁷ and hatched quatrefoils in the decoration panel (260). The majority is unpainted on the interior with only two exceptions: 259-260. Both fragments are painted on the interior except for a reserved encircling line on the lip. In both cases the paint is applied directly on the surface with no additional slip below the paint although both bear a thick creamy slip on the outside. In the case of 260 the slip is only applied on the main decoration zone, other areas are left unpainted (between the handles, below handle zone). The painter only used the slip to create a sharper contrast between the two different colours of paint while in other zones, where no bichrome paint was used, the slipping of the surface was obviously not considered as necessary. This also demonstrates that the slip was only applied for decorative purposes and not in order to create a smoother surface.

A similar fragment was found at Salamis on Cyprus and a further piece is known from Tell Sukas.²¹⁸ The only difference is that the quatrefoil on the piece from Salamis is not hatched but left blank while the metope is hatched with vertical and horizontal lines. The piece from Salamis is also decorated with encircling bands on the interior and not painted as 260. The central ring of the quatrefoil, to which the foil is attached, links 260 to 156 from level VIII-IX.²¹⁹ 260 is further stylistically related to 337 and possibly to 336 from level VII-VIII.²²⁰

Interesting is also the habit of painting the blank spaces with dots. This is rare and usually foreign to Greek potters but one locally made kantharos from Ithaca bears the same

²¹⁷ In the case of the pieces with vertical lines it is unclear whether these lines are part of the decoration or only the canonical groups of vertical lines that separate handle from decoration zone.

²¹⁸ Calvet and Yon 1977, pl. 4; Coldstream 1979, 263 no. 11 pl. 31. 1-2. 5-6; Plough 1973, pl. 2. 44.

²¹⁹ For the central ring and the possible stylistic relations see comments in the Appendix 2, chapter 3. 1 (drinking vessels cat.no. 156).

²²⁰ For the relationship between these two fragments see level Appendix 2, 5. VII-VIII.

decoration and the quatrefoil has also the central circle like **260**.²²¹ A further piece with similar decoration comes from the Heraion of Samos.²²² A final piece where this pattern appears derives from Thebes in Boeotia. The central panel of a Sub-Geometric amphora bears a quatrefoil with a dotted field while the foils are left blank. The quatrefoil also has the central circle.²²³ Boeotia shares many artistic traits with Euboea and given the strong presence of Euboean pottery at Al Mina, a Boeotian or Euboean impact on the production of Al Mina ware cannot be neglected. The pieces from Samos show however, that an East Greek influence cannot be ruled out either.

The LG II skyphoi come to a total of 12 fragments. **262-265** belong to the skyphos type with one or two large cross-hatched lozenges in a metope (pl. 32. **263**). The type already appeared in level IX (see **23-24**) and among pieces marked VIII-IX (**175-178**).

A unique piece is **268**. The skyphos with a high rim is a shape that is distinctive for Euboea and a similar morphological development can otherwise only be observed on Chios although there seems to be no connection between these two regional phenomena (pl. 27).²²⁴ The decoration of the main zone is not preserved but the shallow panel, the rim decoration and the number of vertical lines in the decoration zone suggest a LG II date. **271** belongs to the characteristic Euboean conical bichrome skyphos, a type that appears on Euboea at the beginning of LG II (pl. 32).²²⁵ Two other examples (**179-180**) of this class are marked with level VIII-IX and are of the same type (early LG II). Another

²²¹ Robertson 1948, 65 pl. 20. 313. Robertson thought that the kantharos shows signs of Cycladic “influence”, notably the handles and the decoration consisting out of a centre quatrefoil surrounded by birds. This motif however, is not restricted to the Cyclades alone.

²²² Eilamnn 1933, Beil. 20. 7.

²²³ Aravantinos 2010, 136.

²²⁴ For the class see Eretria XX, 84-86; Lefkandi I, Descoeudres 1976, 42-44; Emporio, 119-120.

²²⁵ Lefkandi I, 73 “...some time in Attic LG II”; Coldstream GGP, 193 (LG II-Sub-Geometric); Descoeudres 1976, 57 suggests that the class continues into the early 7th century BC.

singular fragment is **272**, which is decorated with a horse. It is the only skyphos, apart from the fragments where birds are depicted, that bears a figure decoration. Stylistic comparisons with Euboean and Attic parallels put **272** into the last quarter of the 8th century BC.

Although the skyphos dominates the shape spectrum from level VIII, other vessel types can be found as well. Several fragments can be identified as kotlyai (**273-278**). Euboean imitations of Corinthian kotylai are among the finds as well as the originals from Corinth. **273** is decorated with a cross-hatched lozenge and probably belongs to the same vessel as **102** from level IX (pl. 27). The appearance of fragments from the same vessel in two different layers is not surprising given the extensive rebuilding activities in a settlement where the difference in the elevation between two succeeding levels is not more than about 0.3 meter.

More important for the chronology is the appearance of the Euboean kotyle with soldier bird decoration (**275**). The fragment is an Euboean imitation with a second frieze of soldier birds underneath the handle zone (pl. 32). This type is missing in the previous levels at Al Mina. A similar piece with an additional frieze was found on the Akropolis at Pithekoussai and several local imitations come from the same site.²²⁶ While Coldstream thought that the soldier birds make their appearance in Corinth at the beginning of EPC at 720 BC, Neeft pointed to the fact that soldier bird kotylai are missing in the colonies in the West and therefore the main body of this class must predate 730 BC.²²⁷ He further concluded that Euboeans imitated the soldier bird kotylai soon after the invention of this class at Corinth,

²²⁶ Coldstream 1995, pl. 30. 91; Pithekoussai I, SP5/23-24. 26 (LG II); SP5/28 (LG I?).

²²⁷ Coldstream GGP, 105; Neeft 1975, 115-116; Coldstream 1995, 263 followed Neeft's chronology. For a summary of findspots of Corinthian soldier bird kotylai and discussion see also Dehl 1984, 73-79.

which, according to his relative chronology, must have been started already in the third quarter of the 8th century BC.²²⁸

In this respect it is interesting that at Eretria, perhaps one production centre of Euboean pottery, clear LG II contexts did not produce any fragments of this type.²²⁹ The absence of soldier bird kotylai in Eretrian LG contexts could be accidental but the same could be true for the situation in the colonies in the West. The record from the sanctuary of Apollon Daphnephoros at Eretria demonstrates that the motif of soldier birds was common at Eretria on closed and open vessels and they appear in contexts that suggest a date towards the end of the 8th century BC rather than before 730 BC.²³⁰

While an argument *ex silentio* is always problematical – several different reasons may account for the absence of this type such as certain decoration preferences or that only certain workshops with a particular decoration repertoire exported their products to the West – contexts from Smyrna also indicate an EPC date for the Corinthian soldier bird kotylai.²³¹ The possible local imitations of the soldier bird kotylai found at Pithekoussai point into the same direction.²³² The evidence from Lefkandi further supports a date of this class into the last quarter of the 8th century BC because only one fragment was found so far and it came from the so- called reoccupation deposits.²³³

²²⁸ Neeft 1975, 116.

²²⁹ Eretria XX, 90.

²³⁰ Eretria XIV, 49 pl. 69. H 49-H 68. 103, V 38; Eretria XX, 90. 111. For soldier bird kotylai see also Andreiomenou 1975, pl.54, γ; Boardman 1952, fig. 1. 5-6. 9. pl. 1. 6-7.

²³¹ Anderson 1958/59, 139-142 pl.21-22; See discussion in Dehl 1984, 73-74.

²³² See note 163 above.

²³³ Lefkandi I, 66 pl. 51. 209. The recent excavations carried out in the settlement on Xeropolis may change this assumption.

According to Coldstream the Euboeans started to imitate the soldier bird kotyle soon after its invention in Corinth and the production lasted into the 7th century BC.²³⁴ An immediate adoption of this type by Euboean painters would not be surprising in a artistic milieu where decoration patterns could change within 20 years or even less. That **275** is most likely from the last quarter of the 8th century BC is further suggested by the shape of the kotyle that belongs to the tall type which came into fashion after 730 BC.²³⁵

Corinthian kotylai were also exported to Al Mina. **278** is decorated with three solid rays on the base (pl. 32). Although it is not clear when exactly rays appear on kotylai for the first time at Corinth, a LG date seems unlikely.²³⁶

According to Dehl kotylai with rays are only found together with aryballoi that are “transitional” between the globular and ovoid types.²³⁷ Therefore the debut of the kotyle with solid rays might be on the verge between the end of the EPC and the beginning of the MPC period. The thickness of the rays of **278** suggests an EPC date. **276** is placed from EPC-MPC based on the large number of thin rays and because of the quality of the fabric (pl. 32). **277**, a tall kotyle with barred handle, might be dated to around the beginning of EPC (pl. 28). Barred or dotted handles are usually confined to LG types and are later replaced by horizontal lines.²³⁸ **277** shows that tall kotylai were also decorated with dashes or dots.

The LG II tankard **279** belongs to a shape that was only exported in small numbers.

²³⁴ Coldstream GGP, 194.

²³⁵ Brokaw 1964, 51; Neeft 1975, 113 fig. IV. 114.

²³⁶ Benton 1953, 262. See also Neeft 1975, tab. XIII with comment; Amyx 1988, 459, puts the appearance in MPC.

²³⁷ Dehl 1984, 76 no. 250.

²³⁸ Coldstream GGP, 106; Neeft 1975, 105.

The base fragment **280** is an example of a Greek LG II open vessel that carries two encircling bands in added white. The origin has to remain open (pl. 28). Decoration in added white was applied in many regions in Greece including Corinth (since MG),²³⁹ Euboea²⁴⁰ and the Argolis.²⁴¹ The fabric as well as the appearance of the black slip may speak against Euboea.

With the East Greek pieces **281** and **282** we have reached the 7th century BC. The first fragment belongs to a zigzag metope kotyle with the characteristic carinated rim that appears around 700 BC, and which was produced until ca. 650 BC (pl. 32).²⁴² The bird kotyle **282** is another distinctive East Greek shape and originates in north Ionia (pl. 33). **282** is of the latest class with a lower panel decorated with a row of dots or dashes, the same decoration that can be found on the earliest group of bird bowls that appear around the same time as the last type of bird kotylai (675 BC).²⁴³ A similar type was found at Tarsus on a floor that postdates the possible destruction of 696 BC.²⁴⁴

4. 2 Krater, dinoi

Krater/dinoi fragments come to 13 pieces with three sherds from the same vessel (**290-292**). Dinoi are confined to two pieces only (**295-296**). The belly fragment **285** bears a motif that can be found on Euboea and on the Cyclades. The fabric contains black inclusions, which speaks against an Euboean origin and therefore a Cycladic provenance is proposed here. **288** and **289** belong to kraters with panel decoration; the former is decorated with a diagonal cross (pl. 29) and the other one perhaps with a hatched quatrefoil

²³⁹ Coldstream GGP, 97. 100. 106;

²⁴⁰ Coldstream GGP, 193; Lefkandi I, 65-66.

²⁴¹ Coldstream GGP, pl. 30. a.

²⁴² Kerschner 1997, 188-189; Kerschner 2008, 29-30.

²⁴³ Kerschner 1995, 15-16; See also Emporio, 132-133 pl. 42. 443-444.

²⁴⁴ Tarsus III, 297 no. 1448 fig. 99.

and a diagonal hatched field (pl. 33). Both are of LG date, only the origin of both pieces must remain open. An Euboean origin seems to be a possibility given the decoration and the fabric.

The krater fragments **290-292** have been assigned to one vessel by Coldstream and were attributed to the workshop of the Cesnola painter. Boardman on the other hand assigned these fragments to a group that imitates what he called the Vrokastro Group. According to him, this group itself is related to the Cesnola painter but it forms an own coherent stylistic series.²⁴⁵ In this respect it is noteworthy that the manger on **292**, which is attached straight to the vertical dividing lines, lacks the typical pile of chevrons underneath it, which are so common for the Cesnola painter.²⁴⁶ It only remains to say that neither of the pieces joins with the other fragment. Coldstream dated all three fragments to 730-710 BC.²⁴⁷

Another Cycladic (Parian?) krater fragment is **293** that belongs to LG II (most likely towards the end of LG II) judging from the shape and the decoration system (pl. 29). The two dinoi fragments **295-296** date probably already to the 7th century BC. Kearsley interpreted **295** as a dinos with psc-decoration (pl. 33).²⁴⁸ In this respect one has to stress that only the beginning of the five vertical lines is preserved. There is no indication that the five lines suddenly turn into circles. **295** is therefore rather an ordinary dinos with vertical bands that divide the decoration zone into several panels.²⁴⁹ The undecorated interior, where only a broad band is applied on the top of the rim, may speak for an East Greek

²⁴⁵ Lefkandi I, 75 no. 24.

²⁴⁶ Gisler 1995, fig. 5. a-b. d, f.

²⁴⁷ Coldstream 2010, 50, no. 147. Fragment c (1955.4.22.28) is missing in the catalogue since I could not detect the pieces in the BM.

²⁴⁸ Kearsley 1995, 21 no. 58.

²⁴⁹ See Tarsus III, fig. 104. 1550.

provenance.²⁵⁰ Examples of similar shape and decoration were found at Tarsus in post-Assyrian destruction levels. Only one example belonged to the middle period in Tarsus, which led Hanfmann to the conclusion that this type may have appeared already before 700 BC.²⁵¹ Our types from level VIII however rather resemble the pieces from Tarsus that belonged to the 7th century BC.²⁵² The Tarsian finds found on the same floor with the dinoi, which from a stylistic point of view, resemble our pieces closely, date the level certainly to the 7th century BC.²⁵³ **296** is close to **295** in style and in fabric (pl. 29).

4. 3 Closed vessels

Closed vessels amount to 16 fragments. Half of them come from amphorae. Coldstream assigned the rim **298** and the handle fragment **299** to the same vessel although they do not join (pl. 30).²⁵⁴ The latter one is probably from the same vessel as **205** from level VIII-IX. Another interesting amphora fragment is **300** (pl. 30). It is decorated with a bird and a cross-hatched field. The bird occupies a considerably large space on the neck and the cross-hatched panel might be restricted to only a narrow vertical panel like on an amphora from Delos.²⁵⁵ Birds or other figural motifs in a metope on the necks of closed vessels are typical for the Cycladic school and our piece **300** might be an island product.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁰ Hanfmann attributed the dinoi from Tarsus, which are comparable to the two examples from level VIII in shape and decoration, to East Greece. See. Tarsus III, 129. Early East Greek dinoi unpainted on the inside but with bands on the rim and further below the wall see: Eilmann 1933, 106 fig. 48.

²⁵¹ Tarsus III, 129 pl. 104. 1549.

²⁵² The earliest piece, Tarsus III, pl. 104. 1549, differs from the two level VIII fragments in two aspects: first the decoration zone is divided by vertical lines, and secondly, the top of the rim is painted with a group of thin dashes but with thick dashes that run along the whole rim. These two stylistic features are characteristics that point to an earlier date than the two pieces from Al Mina level VIII.

²⁵³ See Tarsus III, 1378. 1391. 1384. 1480. 1586. 1595. 1622. Maybe belonging to the same level one SiA Ic plate (Tarsus III, 1479) found behind the oven at 13,60 m.

²⁵⁴ Coldstream GGP, 312 B5 listed both fragments under one number.

²⁵⁵ Delos XV, pl. 35. 5.

²⁵⁶ Coldstream GGP, 175.

Three fragments are from sos-amphorae (**301-303**) of which two were found in room 8 (pl. 30. 34). The sos-amphora fragments are evidence for the trade with agrarian products during the second half of the 8th /early 7th century BC. There is however, no evidence that the trade was carried out on a substantial scale as proposed by Johnston.²⁵⁷

Jugs are also represented in level VIII. The figural decoration of **305** stands out from the rest. The bird with its interior decoration is unique and no parallel exists, neither among the orientalisising East Greek- nor among Cycladic pottery. Judging from the style of the decoration and the linear pattern, the piece may belong already to the 7th century BC, most likely to the first quarter, although a late 8th century BC date cannot be excluded.

The three jug fragments **306-308** are all pieces that belong to the late 8th- early 7th centuries BC. Robertson assigned **305** and **306** to a Rhodian workshop while Coldstream suggested that **306** belongs to the bird kotyle workshop (pl. 33).²⁵⁸ **309** is important since it is painted with an open cable pattern that does not appear before the 7th century BC (pl. 34). It is a pattern that can be found in several regions in Greece and Asia Minor. The combination of the slip and the linear decoration suggest as Chian origin. A 7th century BC date is also suggested for **310**, which is decorated with a row of y- shaped pendent hooks on the shoulder. Kearsley suggested a late 8th to early 7th century BC date for this piece and parallels for these hooks can be found on Euboean pottery as well as on Attic and Corinthian vessels.²⁵⁹ The round disk application **311** is usually found on handles of jugs and is probably also of 7th century BC date (pl. 34). It could belong to an East Greek- or a Corinthian jug. 19 fragments from level VIII are non-diagnostic. 18 belong to open vessels

²⁵⁷ Johnston and Jones 1978, 107.

²⁵⁸ Robertson 1940, 6; Coldstream GGP, 316; Kearsley 1995, 55.

²⁵⁹ Boardman 1957, 16-17; Johansen 1918, 64.

while one is from a closed shape. They can be dated roughly from the LG to the Sub-Geometric period.

5. Level VII-VIII

Level VII-VIII consists of no more than of 15 pieces. Ten out of fifteen pieces were only marked with an inventory number but through a look in the pdl. it was possible to assign them to level VII or VIII (**331-336. 338-341**). One piece (**337**) does not bear any mark at all but the sherd closely resembles a sketch of a fragment drawn by Woolley in the pdl. and is therefore included in the list. The number of fragments marked with level VII-VIII is not large but they should be briefly discussed here due to two reasons: first, a detailed study requires the analyses of the whole available corpus of Greek imports and secondly, some fragments are interesting for the relative stylistic and chronological development of some categories of Greek pottery.

331 is of the typical skyphos class found in various regions of Greece (pl. 36). The arrangement of the decoration in the handle zone suggests that the piece belongs to a type with three metopes, one central zone, either painted simply with vertical lines or with an ornament, flanked by two side metopes that are decorated with birds facing towards the central metope. The evolution of this class progresses from a type with a large central- and small side metopes to a form where the three metopes are of equal size.²⁶⁰ The diameter of **331** (12.8 cm) suggests that our piece belongs to a type where vertical lines without any other pattern separate the two birds, or the central metope contains only a narrow motif

²⁶⁰Eretria XX, 79; Coldstream GGP, 49-50.

like diagonal lines.²⁶¹ The quartered or dotted lozenge above the bird may point to an Euboean origin of **331**.²⁶²

The three skyphoi **332-334** belong to a class that already appeared in earlier levels (pl. 35-36). One piece derives from level IX (**86**) and the other one is marked VIII-IX (**185**). They are of LG II to Sub-Geometric style and appear in various regions in Greece.²⁶³ **336-339** belong to the so-called Al Mina ware. The examples from level VII-VIII confirm that the class continued into level VIII and probably even into level VII.

336 and **337** deserve special notice. The former belongs to the group of Al Mina ware pieces that are decorated with a figural ornament (pl. 36). The fragment is broken into several parts. This can be inferred from the pdl. where under the inventory number MP 98 a sketch preserved the original state of preservation of the object.²⁶⁴ The bird occupied the central metope, which was flanked by five vertical lines on each side followed by a vertical motif similar to the pattern on an imitation of a Greek skyphos found on Cyprus.²⁶⁵ The bird is set on a broad base line. The rim is decorated with a group of vertical lines. The surface is covered with a slip and the interior is fully painted. Apart from the bird, the other features can be found on the Greek skyphos imitation mentioned above, to which I will come back after discussing the next piece.

²⁶¹ Eretria XX, pl. 22. 77; 24. 93; 30, 115.

²⁶² Euboea is not the only source where dotted lozenges appear above a bird's body. Thessaly is another region and since Boeotia shares many characteristics with Euboea, Boeotia should not be forgotten in this respect. See Coldstream GGP, 163. 192. However, the fabric and the general appearance of the piece (surface treatment, quality of potting and quality of paint) speak in favour of an Euboean origin.

²⁶³ See comments on this class in chapter level IX and VIII-IX.

²⁶⁴ See also Robertson 1940, 19 fig. 8. a where the piece was still unbroken. The whereabouts of the other fragments are unknown.

²⁶⁵ Karageorghis 1999, 232 no. 183.

337 stands out from the rest of the Al Mina ware fragments due to several aspects: first, the thin wall demonstrates the technical skill of the potter (pl. 35). Secondly, the application of the white slip is, unlike in most of the examples, only confined to the zone that bears the decoration in order to enhance the bichrome effect. Finally, the broad band that separates the decoration zone from the lower part is also interesting since usually the decoration zone is followed by a group of thin encircling lines. Another piece where the application of the slip is restricted to the decoration zone only, comes from level VIII (**260**).

The fabric of **337** belongs to a group that contains 16 other pieces with three fragments coming from level IX (**19, 59, 41**) while the rest is unmarked. The unusual technique and decoration therefore cannot be explained by the appearance of a new workshop that produced Al Mina ware pottery outside the traditional region where this class was made. It seems that probably a skilled potter started to produce a fine category of this class at some point in the late 8th or beginning of the 7th century BC. The application of the slip, which is only confined to the decorated parts of the vase, is a convention than can be found on the Cyclades e.g.²⁶⁶ This might be a hint for the technical tradition of the workshop or particular potters and painters who were working for that workshop that produced the vase **336**.

The locally made skyphos from Cyprus mentioned above, and a skyphos from Cyprus, which was assigned to Cypro-Archaic II by Karageorghis, closely resemble **336** and **337** in technique and in decoration.²⁶⁷ Coldstream argued that the MG imitation from Cyprus was made by a local Cypriot but the technical features together with the Greek custom to

²⁶⁶ Knauss 1997, 8.

²⁶⁷ See Karageorghis 1999, 232. 252; In the case of the Cypro-Archaic II example it is unclear whether the slip is only confined to the decorated parts of the vase. Coldstream 1979, 263 pl. 31. 1. Two further pieces with scribble line decoration, broad encircling band on the exterior wall and with the interior fully painted, were found on Cyprus. See Gjerstad 1977, pl. 8. 2-3. Unfortunately no findspot is given.

restrict the rim decoration to the zone between the handles – something that makes only sense if the rest of the vase is painted black like on early MG Greek pottery and which indicates the school of the painter – are strong arguments to think about a Greek potter and painter who worked on Cyprus.²⁶⁸ Bearing in mind that only a few examples of the known Al Mina ware were made in this technique, the fine pot **337** may derive from the same workshop as the MG imitation discussed by Coldstream.²⁶⁹ The same might be true for **336** that shows similar features such as the broad band under the decoration zone, the ornaments that flank the central metope and the group of vertical lines on the rim. It cannot be verified however, whether the slip continues also under the band and whether the group of lines on the rim is also restricted only to the zone between the handles.

The two other fragments of Al Mina ware from level VII-VIII are decorated with groups of scribbles and vertical lines, patterns found frequently on this class of pottery.

The assemblage also contains a few kotyle fragments (pl. 37). Three of them, **342-344** are from Corinth. The solid ray indicate that they belong to the EPC period and rays with group of thin lines can still be found at the end of the 7th century BC.²⁷⁰ **340** is a chevron kotyle and the shape, rather shallow and hemispherical, suggests a LG date.²⁷¹ The provenance of this piece cannot be defined. Imitations of chevron kotylai appear in several regions of Greece and are not confined to Euboea only.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ For a longer discussion of this type and imitations in general see Vacek forthcoming. “Greek potter” in this respect does not necessarily mean of Greek origin. It rather means a person who was trained in the “Greek tradition” of potting and painting. Nothing can be said about the ethnic origin of the person.

²⁶⁹ The only main difference between the MG imitation and **336** is that the latter is not painted inside but decorated with groups of thin encircling lines. For a probably another example of this type see Boardman 1957, pl. 25. 22 (the broad band and the scribbles are similar to **336** but from the picture and the description it cannot be said whether the slip is only confined to the decorated zone)

²⁷⁰ Corinth VII, 43 no. 139. pl. 33. 245-246 (the broad band above the rays seems to be a feature of the examples of the late 7th century BC)

²⁷¹ Kearsley 1995, 41 no. 99.

²⁷² Eretria XX, 88- 89; Lefkandi I, 66; For other centres see Dehl 1984, 31-33.

The last piece of the discussion is also important for the chronology. The kotyle **341** is an Euboean imitation of a Corinthian soldier bird kotyle (pl. 37). The problems of the appearance of the type and the problem of its lifespan have already been addressed.²⁷³ **341** is unique since it is a rare type where a row of soldier bird and solid rays are combined on the same vessel. As already stated, rays do not appear before the introduction of EPC. **341** confirms that the soldier bird kotyle of Euboean manufacture belongs to the end of the 8th century BC unless one would like to put the introduction of the solid rays on Corinthian vessels before 725 BC, which, according to the present evidence, seems to be unlikely.

Since Euboean kotylai from Al Mina appear also in later levels, it is hard to identify the original level of **341**. In theory the piece could come from both levels. If it derives from level VII, **341** indicates that soldier bird kotylai continued into the early 7th century BC.

Concerning the so-called Al Mina ware, it is interesting to note that we can perhaps observe a new workshop that started to export its products to Al Mina towards the end of the 8th or beginning of the 7th century BC. Whether this workshop started its production at this time or was already existing but only started to expand its activities at the end of the 8th century BC, has to remain open at this point.

²⁷³ See discussion in chapter level VIII.

Appendix 3: The Near Eastern Sites

1. Tell Tayinat

Tell Tayinat, ancient Kunulua or Kinalua was the capital of the kingdom of Unqi that comprised a territory, which included the Amuq as well as the Orontes valley with the port of Al Mina. A recent discovered 11th century inscription from the sanctuary of the storm god on the citadel at Damascus enriches the corpus of Luwian inscriptions that can be connected with a king Taita, who ruled over Padasatini/Wadasatini or Palistin/Walistin.²⁷⁴ The distribution of inscriptions that can be connected to the same kingdom suggests that this neo-Hittite state stretched from Aleppo over the Amuq valley upwards the Orontes to just north of Hama.²⁷⁵ The Iron Age II city state of Unqi emerged from this vast kingdom, which was probably reduced considerably in size to the Amuq plain and to the Orontes valley by the beginning of the 8th century BC.²⁷⁶ Within this reduced state Tell Tayinat certainly played the most important role and the town served as the royal capital.²⁷⁷ Tell Tayinat appears frequently in Assyrian sources starting during the 9th century BC. The Assyrians referred to the kingdom as Patina or Unqi.²⁷⁸ Patina/Unqi paid tribute in 857 and 853 BC and Assyrians intervened in internal affairs in 829 BC when they placed their candidate on the throne.²⁷⁹ The fate of the city was finally sealed in 738 BC after its ruler

²⁷⁴ Hawkins 2011, 51.

²⁷⁵ Harrison 2010, 83-84; Hawkins 2011, 51. 53.

²⁷⁶ Harrison 2001, 119-120; Harrison 2009, 174.

²⁷⁷ Harrison 2009, 176.

²⁷⁸ Hawkins 2000a, 362.

²⁷⁹ Hawkins 2000a, 363.

Tutammu had “broke his oath”, which lead to an Assyrian intervention in which course Unqi was turned into the Assyrian province Kullani.²⁸⁰

The Chicago Oriental Institute excavated the site from 1935 to 1939. Hains published the architecture much later in 1971. Apart from the unpublished dissertation by Swift, the finds have not been studied properly. New excavations have been started under the director T. Harrison in 2004 and since then were carried out on an annually basis.²⁸¹ Recently, a Ph.D. thesis was finished by D. Osborne, which included a thorough treatment of the Iron Agee II pottery from the old Braidwood excavations.²⁸² A small section is devoted to the Greek imports. This dissertation is the basis for the following discussion of the Greek imports from Tell Tayinat. At the same time, two other projects are underway, which include the study of the material from Tell Judaidah and Chatal Höyük. Unfortunately, these results have not been published yet and therefore they could not be considered here.

Important from a chronologic point of view is Osborne’s conclusion that building period II at Tayinat coincides with Al Mina level X-VIII.²⁸³ Osborne, like Saltz, relates the end of building period II and Al Mina level VIII with the Assyrian conquest of 738 BC.²⁸⁴ As previously stated the record from Al Mina speaks against an interruption after 738 BC if one is willing to accept the current chronology for Greek Geometric pottery.

²⁸⁰ For an overview of the historical background see Harrison 2001, 116-121; Hawkins 2000a, 363.

²⁸¹ I am grateful to the director T. Harrison and his time for their hospitality during my time at the dig house and for sharing with me their knowledge about the local and imported pottery. For a brief overview of past results up to 2000 see Hawkins 2000a, 364.

²⁸² Osborne 2011. I am grateful for J. Osborne who provided me with a copy of his thesis.

²⁸³ Osborne 2011, 226.

²⁸⁴ Osborne 2011, 227. For the original dates of the building periods see Haines 1971, 66. A usefull discussion of the stratigraphy and the building periods is provided by Saltz 1978, 77-83.

Iron Age II Tell Tayinat consisted of a royal quarter on the summit of the mound and a lower city.²⁸⁵ The sequence of cultural phases in the plain of Antioch was established by the Syro-Hittite expedition and ranges from A (pre-5000 BC) to V (Modern Arab).²⁸⁶ The Greek imports belong to phase O (1000-500 BC) and come exclusively from the upper mound, which during the Iron Age period served as the administrative and cultic centre of the city with the royal palaces and sanctuaries.²⁸⁷ In 1958 Swift further subdivided the sequence of O into four intermediate stages: Oa (950-900 BC), ob (900-800 BC), Oc (800-725 BC) and Od (725-550 BC).²⁸⁸ Lehmann equated Al Mina level X-VIII with period Oc and VII-V with Od.²⁸⁹ The unclear stratification does not allow an association between any of the Greek fragments with a specific layer and the local sequence is only of little help for the absolute chronology of Greek pottery.²⁹⁰

The Pottery

As has been noted elsewhere, Al Mina was almost certainly under the control of Kinalua. The relationship between the harbour and the capital must have been a close one. Tell Tayinat therefore, must have played a crucial role for the distribution of Aegean goods in northern Syria and vice versa. If this is the case one has to expect a similar range of Greek imports at Tell Tayinat, in particular if one is ready to accept the current view that the majority of Greek imports at Al Mina was primarily destined for the large inland centres of north Syria.

²⁸⁵ Haines 1971, 59-60. Geoarchaeological prospection revealed a lower town of substantial scale on the east side of the mound. See Batiuk 2007, 54-55.

²⁸⁶ Haines 1971, 1-2.

²⁸⁷ For a discussion of the architectural remains see Haines 1971, 37-63. Excavated areas Haines 1971, pl. 93.

²⁸⁸ Swift 1958, 198-199.

²⁸⁹ Lehmann 2005, 82.

²⁹⁰ Saltz 1978, 80.

The total number of Greek imports from Tayinat amounts to 86 fragments.²⁹¹ Among the fragments one can find skypoi, plates, kraters and perhaps closed vessels. Interestingly, despite a large corpus of SPG III skypoi, psc-plates are missing like at Al Mina, which can be a hint that the absence of psc-plates at both sites has no chronologic reasons.²⁹² The imports range in date from the 9th to the end of the 7th century BC. The majority of the published pieces belong to the group of psc-skyphoi. While only 19 pieces have been published, a total of 61 were apparently retrieved by the Syro-Hittite expedition.²⁹³ As comparison, only 33 psc-skyphos fragments are known from Al Mina. Apart from one exception, the psc-skyphoi all belong to Kearsley's type 5 dated to the SPG III period.²⁹⁴ Only one rim can be assigned to Kearsley's type 6.²⁹⁵ According to Osborne, all psc-skyphoi are of similar fabric, and their description points to Euboea as source of origin.²⁹⁶ Other LG skyphos types, which are so frequent at Al Mina, are limited to a remarkable low number of fragments.²⁹⁷ They are badly preserved and only one chevron- and one circle skyphos could be identified.²⁹⁸ Three skyphoi probably belong to the Al Mina ware.²⁹⁹ Imports dating to the 7th century BC are almost entirely missing. Only one bowl fragment decorated with group of bands could be an East Greek banded bowl of the late 7th century BC.³⁰⁰

²⁹¹ Osborne 2011, 69.

²⁹² I have suggested elsewhere that the absence of the shape could be related to the fact that Al Mina was perhaps founded after the shape disappeared from the market. The absence of the shape at Tayinat, where a large corpus of certainly SPG III skyphoi have been found rather indicates that the psc-plate was not imported due to other reasons.

²⁹³ Osborne 2011, 69.

²⁹⁴ Appendix 3, catalogue Tayinat no. 2-4. no. 1 is perhaps a bit earlier judging from the deep body.

²⁹⁵ Appendix 3, catalogue Tayinat no. 5.

²⁹⁶ Osborne 2011, 70-71.

²⁹⁷ Appendix 3, catalogue Tayinat no. 6-10. Osborne 2001, 72 states that a total of 10 pieces are recorded in the collection of the Chicago Oriental institute.

²⁹⁸ Appendix 3, catalogue Tayinat no. 6. 9.

²⁹⁹ Appendix 3, catalogue Tayinat no. 11-12. While both pieces of no. 12 lack the interior paint, which is so common for the Al Mina ware, no. 11 is painted inside but the decoration, vertical scribbles, point to the Al Mina ware although an Euboean production cannot be excluded. Vertical scribbles are more common on Al Mina ware than on Euboean skyphoi among the fragments from Al Mina.

³⁰⁰ Appendix 3, catalogue Tayinat no. 24.

The record from Tell Tayinat is therefore quite different from Al Mina and Saltz's statement that "the range and types of Greek pottery from the Amuq are extremely similar to those of Al Mina levels X-V" does not seem to apply for Tayinat.³⁰¹ The absence of East Greek imports is striking and it also seems that the majority of Greek imports dates to before 750-700 BC, the period, which saw the largest influx of Greek imports at Al Mina.

LG II fragments appear only in few pieces and perhaps this is a sign for changing consumption patterns that coincided with the Assyrian occupation of Unqi in 738 BC. Probably the new arriving Assyrian elites introduced new fashions that were more oriented towards the East than towards the West.

2. Zincirli

The few fragments reported so far from Zincirli should only be mentioned briefly here. The ancient city of Sam'al is located in the kara su vally north of the Amuq plain on the foot of the Amanus mountains. An Aramean dynasty ruled the city since the 10th century BC but the name of Sam'al is already attested since the 19th century BC.³⁰² With its position it controls one of the east-west passes through the Amanus mountains and is therefore of imminent strategic importance.³⁰³ The political stability of the city-state is the result of long lasting and good relations with the Assyrians.³⁰⁴ While Sam'al was able to maintain its independence as an Assyrian vassal for a long time it eventually became an

³⁰¹ Saltz 1978, 81.

³⁰² Schloen and Fink 2009, 6; Wartke 2005, 57. New evidence calls into question that an Aramaean migration took place at that early period. See Schloen and Fink 2009, 9.

³⁰³ Schloen and Fink 2009, 1.

³⁰⁴ For an overview of the political history of the city-state see Wartke 2005, 57-66.

Assyrian province at the end of the 8th century BC.³⁰⁵ After a series of destructions and re-buildings the city was finally abandoned during the late 7th century BC.³⁰⁶

The site was excavated from 1888 to 1894 by a German team.³⁰⁷ These old excavation brought to light a series of interesting inscriptions among them the famous inscription of Esarharddon, in which he celebrates his victory over Egypt in 671 BC.³⁰⁸ A series of new archaeological excavations was started in 2006.³⁰⁹

The few pieces of Greek pottery are limited to aryballoi of the late 7th century BC.³¹⁰ According to Lehmann, Greek pottery of the early 7th century BC is missing, a situation already observed at Tayinat.³¹¹ According to von Luschan they come all from the “lower Palace” without providing any further information about the precise find context or stratigraphy.³¹²

3. Tarsus

The city of Tarsa mentioned in Hittite records, also called Tarshish in the Old Testament or Tarsus in Greek, was situated on the east bank of the Berdan (ancient Cydnus) river.³¹³ It is

³⁰⁵ Schloen and Fink 2009, 8. There seems to be no consent among scholars when this incident happened. Wartke 2005, 65 suggests under the reign of Sargon II. while Tropper 1993, 17 suggests that this happened under Salmanesser V. (726-722 BC).

³⁰⁶ Schloen and Fink 2009, 9.

³⁰⁷ Sendschirli I, 6-7; Sendschirli II, 12. For an overview of past research see Wartke 2005.

³⁰⁸ Sendschirli I, 42 pl. 1-3.

³⁰⁹ Schloen and Fink 2009, 3.

³¹⁰ See also Lehmann 1994, 117.

³¹¹ Lehmann 1994, 118.

³¹² Sendschirli V, 46. For the location of the “lower palace” see Sendschirli II, pl. 28. For an overview of the stratigraphy see Lehmann 1994.

³¹³ For an overview of the regions history going back to the LBA see Hawkins 2000, 38-40; Tarshish see Brandenstein 1954; Braun CAH² III 3, 20; Concerning the problem related to the identification of Tarshish

identified with a mound called Gözlükule in the southern part of modern Tarsus. The site is located in the Curkurova, a large fertile plain, crossed by two major rivers, the Seyhan in the west and the Ceyhan in the east. Although the outline of the plain today is certainly much different from the ancient times, geoarchaeological investigation suggests that the sea never reached the mound of Gözlükule.³¹⁴ The city's importance and wealth derived from its location on an important north- south route, with the Cilician gates situated north-east of Tarsus. This passage connected Cilicia and North Syria with the Anatolian highlands and the Taurus Mountains, which were particularly rich in metal sources.³¹⁵ The Curkurova has always been considered as a region under the influence of several external spheres, in particular Cyprus, Assyria, Phoenicia and Greece.³¹⁶ Cypriot influence is mostly attested by similarities in pottery styles, while Luwian and Phoenician bilingual inscriptions are believed to reflect Phoenician activities in that area.³¹⁷ The role played by Greeks in the region during the EIA is still badly defined and is primarily based on (later) Greek historiography.³¹⁸

Cilicia, also known as Que from Assyrian sources, was confronted with the Assyrians for the first time during the reign of Shalmaneser III (in his 20th year, 839 BC) and again during the reign of Sargon II, when the Assyrians re-established suzerainty over the region.³¹⁹ An important historical incident occurred at around 696-695 BC when a

with Tarsus and not with Tartessos see King and Stager 2001, 184. Recently Muhly 2009, 26 with further references.

³¹⁴ Öner et al. 2005, 76 fig. 3; 79.

³¹⁵ Yener 2000.

³¹⁶ For an overview see Jasink and Bombardieri 2008.

³¹⁷ Tekoglu and Lemaire 2000, 325-352. Phoenician inscription from Karatepe see Cambel et al. 1999; Hawkins 2000, 45-70.

³¹⁸ See e.g. the discussion in Lanfranchi 2000, 22-31. For a discussion of a possible Mycenaean migration to Cilicia see Jean 1999.

³¹⁹ For a recent overview of sources and the course of the historical events see Yamada 2000, 197-205. For the neo-Assyrian sources see the overview by Braun in CAH² III 3, 15-16; Hawkins 1995, 97-99; Hawkins 2000, 41-44. Perhaps already in 738 BC Que had to pay tributes to the Assyrian king: see Tadmor 1994, 268; Lanfranchi 2007, 179.

rebellion broke out in Que, which was put down by the Assyrians by the destruction of the city of Illubru and by the capture of its rebellious leader Kirua. The events were also reported by much later Greek sources.³²⁰ The Assyrian operations in the region are significant since the excavators of the mound at Gözlükule equated the so-called destruction fill and the beginning of the third settlement phase with these events (see below).³²¹

The site of Gözlükule was excavated from 1935-1949 under the direction of Hetty Goldman and the results were published in three volumes from 1950 until 1963.³²²

Hanfmann studied the Greek pottery and since then no additional Greek sherds have been published so far. Two different areas were explored during the course of excavations.³²³ In section B remains of a domestic area were encountered while section A revealed the remains of pottery kilns. The houses in section B are all of moderate size. During the periods, which are contemporary with Al Mina level X-V (Middle- Assyrian period), the habitation area in section B consists of multi-room houses with three to four rooms in average.³²⁴ The size of the houses is limited to ca. 50 m². Nothing of the architecture, the furniture or of the other features suggests that those houses belonged to the social elite of Tarsus.

³²⁰ For the Assyrian and Greek sources see Braun CAH III² 3, 18.

³²¹ Tarsus III, 19. In this respect it is important that Tarsus is not listed among the destroyed cities, which raises doubts about the identification of the mound at Gözlükule as the Tarsus of ancient sources.

³²² Tarsus I- III.

³²³ Tarsus III, Plan VII.

³²⁴ This assumption has to be treated carefully though. Only two of the excavated houses of the middle period can be fully reconstructed (O, P) while the others (J, K, N) were only partly excavated. For the following "Assyrian" period, the ground plans of house X can be fully studied while parts of house H, J, K and Y, remained unexcavated.

Four main phases represent the history of the site during the Iron Age³²⁵:

Early Iron Age	c. 1100- 850 BC
Middle Iron Age	c. 850- 700 BC
Late Iron Age (Assyrian phase)	c. 700- 600 BC
Late Iron Age (6 th century phase)	c. 600- 520 BC

Signs of a violent destruction, related to the end of the middle Iron Age phase, led the excavator to associate these levels with the rebellion in 696 and 695 BC.³²⁶ In particular the massive destruction fill discovered in section B, which provided the level for the house constructions of the new “Assyrian” phase, has been considered as the archaeological reflection of the city’s violent end. It is clear that such identification would be an important anchor for the absolute chronology of Greek pottery. The results gained from the analysis of the Greek pottery were hard to reconcile with the traditional Greek chronology and led to a debate about the interpretation of the chronological sequence proposed by Hanfmann.³²⁷

The Pottery

The pottery assemblage from Gözlükule provides the largest sample of Greek imports from Cilicia.

Unfortunately, as is the case with many other sites, a comparison between the Greek pottery from Al Mina with the record from Tarsus is hampered to some extent by the

³²⁵ Tarsus III, 20.

³²⁶ Tarsus III, 8. 19.

³²⁷ See in particular Boardman 1965, 5-15. Against Boardman: Saltz 1978, 205-215. For a critical discussion see further Forsberg 1995; Hannestad 1996, 44.

selective publication of the Greek imports from Tarsus.³²⁸ In particular, many of the bird bowl fragments were suppressed, which means that the numbers for the 7th century are unreliable and not useful for any further quantitative analysis. Nevertheless, since the publication offers an overview of the Greek material, a diachronic comparison of Greek imports in comparison to Al Mina may highlight distinct or similar developments.

According to Hanfmann, the Greek imports played only a minor role in the daily life of the inhabitants at Gözlükule and the discovery of seven kilns is vivid evidence for a thriving local pottery production.³²⁹ The Greek and Cypriot imports come to only 10 % during the late middle period while during the following Assyrian period the “largely” Greek imports amount to 12 %. Only the 6th century BC saw an influx in Greek imports with numbers rising to about 20 %.³³⁰ On the other hand, Cypriot imports seem to decrease with the beginning of the Assyrian period.³³¹ Woolley observed a similar situation at Al Mina, where Cypriot imports vanished at the beginning of level VII.³³² The decrease of local painted pottery is striking. Their number dropped from 35 % during the late Middle Iron

³²⁸ In particular the 7th-6th century finds were selectively published. See Tarsus III, 282: Ionian cups (a dozen); Tarsus III, 291: Greek Black Glaze (a dozen from stratified locations); Tarsus III, 295: Rhodian Geometric (130 fragments of bird bowls from perhaps seventy vases); Tarsus III, 299: Wild Goat Style (twenty to thirty vases); Tarsus III, 305: Cycladic (more than eighty fragments from at least 40 vases); Tarsus III, 308: it is unclear whether all Protocorinthian fragments were published or not; Tarsus III, 310: Corinthian (the only important piece); Tarsus III, 311: Cycladic (a dozen); Tarsus III, 312: Circle-metope kraters (perhaps half a dozen); Tarsus III, 313: Lebetes Group: (some twenty vases).

³²⁹ Tarsus III, 16-17. Note however, that not all kilns were in use at the same time.

³³⁰ For the relation between local and imported wares see Tarsus III, 33 Table II. Saltz 1978, 215 calculated that the Greek imports come to less than 1 % of the total assemblage during the late middle period including the destruction fill. The amount of Greek imports is certainly not high enough to suggest a Greek population at the site. Further, the old hypothesis put forward by Bing e.g. that perhaps Rhodians formed part of the Tarsian population because of the presence of Rhodian imports, can be rejected now, since the majority of Greek imports turned out to be of Ionian production. Bing 1969, 109. 113.

³³¹ Tarsus III, 33 Table II. The table gives only the percentage for Cypriot and Greek imports combined: 10 % during the Middle Iron Age and the 12 % during the Assyrian period. It is impossible to determine the exact percentage for each category. Given the small number of Cypriot imports mentioned in the catalogue, it seems that the majority belongs to Greek imports. This is only true if one accepts Hanfmann's division between local Cypriot and Cilician painted wares of Cypriote type and his division of east Greek imports and local imitations of Greek imports.

³³² Woolley 1937. 1938

Age to 13 % during the Assyrian phase.³³³ The slight increase in Greek imports may only be partly responsible for this phenomenon.

Hanfmann recorded a total of 260 fragments covering the Protogeometric period down to the 6th century BC.³³⁴ For the purpose of the present survey only 193 fragments are listed in the catalogue.³³⁵ The distribution shows a considerable range of vessel types although small closed vessels such as aryballoi and pyxides make up only a small fraction of the assemblage. The same is true for krateriskoi, situlae and stamnoi. Kraters and dinoi are the two main mixing bowl types. The Chian chalice is confined to two examples, a rare shape also at Al Mina. According to the table below (fig. 1), the main types are drinking cups, kraters, jugs and the amphorae/hydriai.

During the early and middle phase, imports are exclusively made up of skyphoi and plates. Skyphoi are predominantly of the psc-class, and according to Hanfmann, they belong to the same manufacture as pieces from Al Mina, Hama and Cyprus.³³⁶ This correlation together with Hanfmann's description of the fabric, suggests that the majority of the skyphoi as well as the psc-plates are of Euboean origin.³³⁷ Although only eleven skyphoi and six plates are listed in the catalogue, the original number of retrieved fragments comes to around 80 pieces representing at least 40 vases.³³⁸ Unfortunately, Hanfmann did not mention how the 80 fragments should be divided among plates and skyphoi. Nevertheless,

³³³ Tarsus III, 33 tab. II.

³³⁴ In some cases Hanfmann listed several fragments under the same inventory number that appeared to him as belonging to one vase. In the cases where the fragments did not seem to join, I counted them separately. See Tarsus III, no. 1504. 1589. 1596. 1612. 1629. Further, the 260 fragments include two possible stirrup jar fragments or lekythoi (Tarsus III, no. 1371-1372). One might be of Cypriot origin. The origin of the other one is unclear. Both pieces are omitted since they belong to a period not represented at Al Mina.

³³⁵ Fragments that could not be identified securely or were too small to obtain a date were omitted from the catalogue.

³³⁶ Tarsus III, 305.

³³⁷ For the description of the fabric see Tarsus III, 305.

³³⁸ See no. above. It remains unclear how Hanfmann comes to his 40 vases. Note that Crielaard 1996, 345-346 does not seem to have noticed the high number of psc-skyphoi and plates at Tarsus.

it becomes clear that within the region of Cilicia and north Syria, Tarsus received an unprecedented amount of psc-skyphoi.

A final point has to be made here: although the exact context of the majority of psc-skyphoi remains hidden in the dark, most examples belonged to the type with a low ring foot (SPG type), thus antedating Kearsley's "LG" type 6.³³⁹ This is in accordance with Hanfmann's observation that their importation reached its peak during the middle period.³⁴⁰ So far, no example of Kearsley's type 6 psc-skyphos (with flat base) is reported from Tarsus.³⁴¹ Four fragments may belong to SPG III-LG I, but they all show profiles that are not in accordance with Kearsley's typology.³⁴² The presence of psc-plates might not be surprising given their presence on Cyprus but it is interesting that they were totally lacking at Al Mina despite the abundance of Euboean pottery found there.

A significant change took place at the end of the LG period: before 700 BC imports at Tarsus are confined to skyphoi and plates. Only towards the end of the 8th century BC the vessel variety increased. The skyphos was replaced by the north Ionian bird bowls and by the south Ionian cups with everted rim during the 7th century BC while other types such as one-handled cups, frequently occurring at Al Mina, are missing. Remarkable is that besides Al Mina, Tarsus is the only site in the Near East that revealed also north Ionian bird oinochoai as well as bird kotylai.³⁴³ The latter is confined to one piece at Tarsus and it

³³⁹ Tarsus III, 306.

³⁴⁰ Tarsus III, 305. His note that 50 fragments come from the destruction fill and therefore the imports must have continued until 700 BC does not seem to be a secure evidence for the persistence of this type in LG since it remains uncertain how the destruction fill was composed.

³⁴¹ Only Hanfmann's no. 1501 (Appendix 3, catalogue Tarsus no. 1.2) might be of Kearsley's type 6 but the straight wall suggests a deep bowl and therefore one cannot exclude that 1501 belongs to her type 5, which is of SPG date. The piece was found in an early middle context.

³⁴² Appendix 3, catalogue Tarsus no. 2.1-4. Of those four fragments, only one was recovered from the destruction fill, while the other three were found out of context.

³⁴³ Appendix 3, catalogue Tarsus no. 7.1.

belongs to a type that does not appear before ca. 675 BC, and which occurs at Al Mina in levels VI-VII.³⁴⁴ It was found together with an EPC aryballos on the lowest floor of unit Oa antedating the Assyrian destruction.³⁴⁵ The north Ionian bird kotyle, which is only of a later type, suggests that the majority of the north Ionian bird oinochoai were not imported before the beginning of the 7th century BC. It further shows that Tarsus possibly attracted East Greek imports only after Al Mina, where the number of kotylai is higher, and where also earlier types appeared.³⁴⁶ Interestingly, despite the appearance of early cups with everted rim of south Ionian production, south Ionian bird oinochoai, which also appeared in considerable numbers at Al Mina, are missing at Tarsus.³⁴⁷ One possible explanation for this could be that the production of the south Ionian bird oinochoai ended before the end of the north Ionian production and before the first East Greek exports reached Tarsus at some point during the first quarter of the 7th century BC. This would also explain why they were found at Al Mina because the East Greek exports arrived there earlier than at Tarsus. Another explanation would be that the cups with everted rim and zigzag decoration on the lip, which cannot be dated more precisely at the moment than between 675-625 BC, were all shipped to Tarsus during the second half of the 7th century BC, thus south Ionian products arrived at Tarsus much later than north Ionian vases.

The pottery assemblage of Tarsus is similar to Al Mina, and the only differences observed are quantitative. Tarsus is among the few sites that, apart from early East Greek imports, also received EPC material. Almost all types from Tarsus can also be found at Al Mina. This includes dinoi with zigzag decoration in metope, which perhaps originated from the

³⁴⁴ For the type see cat.no. **467** (level VI-VII). Crielaard 1996, 347 no. 172 mistook a bird bowl for a bird kotyle.

³⁴⁵ Tarsus III, 7. Appendix 3, catalogue Tarsus 7.1. The appearance of the EPC aryballos (720-690 BC) on a floor much earlier than the 696/695 BC destruction, is one of the main controversies concerning the stratigraphy of Tarsus.

³⁴⁶ See e.g. cat.no. **112** (level IX), **195** (level VIII- IX).

³⁴⁷ Early cup with everted rim and zigzag decoration on the lip: Appendix 3, catalogue Tarsus no. 7.14.

same production. The wavy line kraters and amphorae/hydriai with similar decoration can also be found at both sites in considerable numbers.³⁴⁸ The same is true for Wild Goat style pottery although an important difference can be seen here: while Al Mina received already SiA Ia imports, the majority of the fragments from Tarsus belong to SiA Ic-d.³⁴⁹ Simple decorated juglets and one-handled cups, which are so frequent at Al Mina, are also absent. At the moment it is not clear whether their production was confined to south Ionian centres such as Samos and Miletos, where they have been found in considerable numbers, but if the current picture holds true, then we have another category of specific south Ionian vessels, which did not turn up at Tarsus.³⁵⁰ Transport amphorae are limited to a few specimens; perhaps to Chian origin while the variety of Greek transport amphorae at Al Mina is considerably larger.

The relation between drinking vessels and closed vessels is heavily distorted by the omission of the majority of drinking vessels (fig. 1).

Among mixing bowls, dinoi are outnumbering the kraters by far. The table below reveals that drinking vessels constitute the largest group of imports followed by mixing bowls and jugs. At Al Mina the picture is slightly different with jugs outnumbering the mixing bowls. The contextual analysis of the finds remains a challenge due to the unclear stratigraphy. Many fragments are either out of context, or come from the destruction fill, or Hanfmann did not provide the relevant information. In one instance an aryballos and a kotyle were recovered from a floor from house O (Oa, middle period). A bird bowl was found in an

³⁴⁸ It has to remain open though, whether this category of vases was not produced locally at Tarsus.

³⁴⁹ The absence of SiA Ia pieces at Tarsus would be a further argument for the above mentioned hypothesis that south Ionian products arrived at Tarsus much later than north Ionian imports.

³⁵⁰ For references see the catalogue.

oven in Jw. Perhaps the vessel was part of the filling, which covered the oven.³⁵¹ In any case, it seems certain to associate the vase with building J. Looking at the distribution one can see that some units revealed more Greek sherds than others (tab. 1).

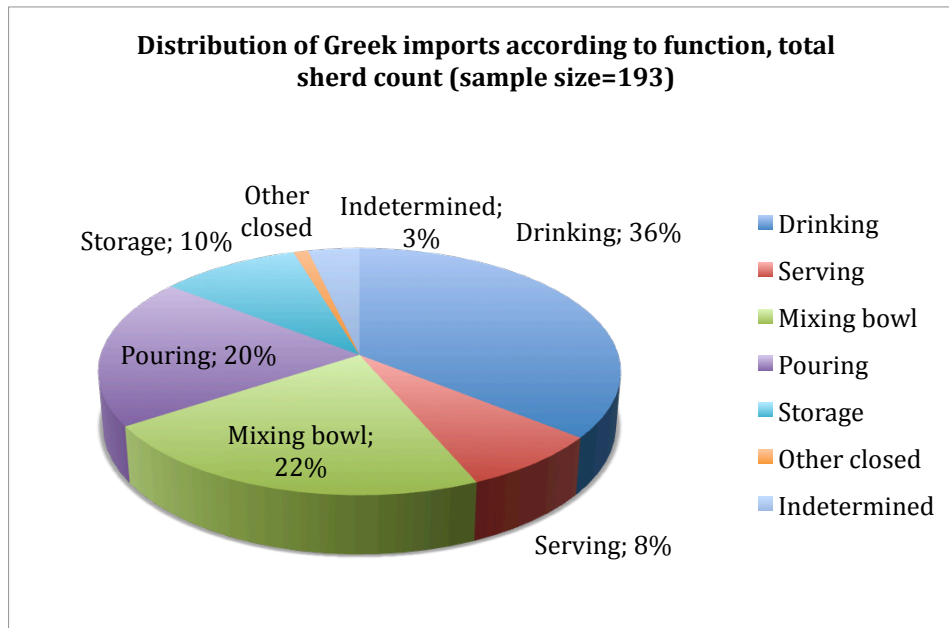


Fig. 1

Since only a few pieces could be assigned to a particular unit, the distribution might be completely random. On the other hand, the distribution demonstrates that Greek pottery comes from all units in area B. Area A too produced one Greek sherd. Although some of the sherds discovered in area B may come from another spot of the Tell, in particular pieces from the destruction fill, the majority of the fragments found in the different units may originally derive from the houses. This indicates that Greek pottery was probably in use in the entire city and that it was not confined to people living in specific areas. The

³⁵¹ This is the only explanation of the find of a bird bowl in a middle context since bird bowls do not appear before 675 BC provided that the current traditional chronology is correct.

houses in area B certainly do not belong to members of the local elite. Neither their size nor their location would speak in favour for such an interpretation.³⁵²

Unit (in area B)	Number of sherds
H	23
J	7
K	4
P	1
X	16
Y	1
Z	10
Area A	1
Total	63

Tab. 1

This may show that obviously a broad segment of the local population could afford Greek cups and also foreign scented oil. Neither the archaeological record nor the written sources provide any evidence for the presence of Greeks at Tarsus as proposed by previous scholars. If there were Greek traders settling in Cilicia, one would rather expect them residing at the port at Mersin and not in inland Tarsus.³⁵³

³⁵² The only problem is that due to the bad preservation of the excavated houses and the lack of further comparative material from the mound, any statement about the average house sizes and the socio-economic interpretations of them, has to rely on comparative material from other sites. The character of the other buildings P and J seem to be of similar size and nothing would point to a socio-economic status that seems to be above the average.

³⁵³ Haider 1996, 89.

4. Mersin

The excavations at Mersin-Yumuk Tepe were carried out during the seasons from 1937-1939 and were resumed after a break due to WW II in 1946 until 1947.³⁵⁴ Garstang published a series of preliminary reports and a final publication of the results of the excavation appeared in 1953. Since 1993 the University of Lecce started a new project, but a final publication is outstanding.³⁵⁵

The site is located on the western edge of the Cilician plain at the foot of the Taurus mountains.³⁵⁶ It was inhabited since the Neolithic period with occupation lasting until classical times.³⁵⁷ The Iron Age period is covered by levels IV to III (c. 1150-500 BC).³⁵⁸ The preserved remains of the Iron Age levels were set directly on the older Hittite fortification walls and rest immediately below the medieval layers.³⁵⁹ The architecture is not well preserved and although every level contained architectural remains, a complete house could be recovered only in level III.³⁶⁰

The Pottery

In total 94 fragments are known from Mersin, which stands only for a part of the excavated material.³⁶¹ The Greek imports cover the period from PG- to the late 7th/early 6th century

³⁵⁴ Garstang 1953, 3-4.

³⁵⁵ For further bibliography see Caneva and Köroglu 2010.

³⁵⁶ Caneva and Köroglu 2010, 9 fig. 11.

³⁵⁷ See the overview in Caneva and Köroglu 2010.

³⁵⁸ Garstang 1953, 253; Caneva and Köroglu 2010, 78.

³⁵⁹ Caneva and Köroglu 2010, 3.

³⁶⁰ Garstang 1953, 252 fig. 159.

³⁶¹ Barnett 1939, 117. 121. 122. Apparently, more cups with everted rims (some ten more fragments) and one-handle bowls (some dozen others) as well as hydriai have been found than listed in the catalogue.

BC with the largest corpus belonging to the late 7th/early 6th century BC.³⁶² The majority of the finds come from pits, which covered the whole excavated area. Like at Al Mina and at Tarsus, drinking cups dominate the spectrum. In general, the assemblage of imports is similar to Tarsus. The finds from Mersin reflect the Tarsian spectrum in its shape variability, in its chronological scope and in the dominance of East Greek imports. A wide variety of types were recovered from the site including drinking cups, amphorae, hydriai, pyxides, aryballoi, kraters, dinoi and dishes (see tab. 2) Like at Tarsus, the majority of the imports dates to the 7th century BC, and during this period there was an influx in shape variability while during the preceding centuries the imports are limited to drinking vessels and to perhaps one krater.³⁶³ The majority of the Wild Goat style imports belong to the late 7th century BC.³⁶⁴

Greek imports from Mersin come from Attica/Euboea, the Cyclades, Corinth and East Greece (north- and south Ionia and perhaps from Aeolis). Like Tarsus and Al Mina, Mersin also revealed PC imports, which are otherwise almost absent in the Near Eastern Aegean apart from Tell Sukas, where a few fragments may have turned up. Among the imports, several Cypriot fragments were recovered, including amphorae, drinking vessels and mortaria.³⁶⁵ Hydriai with wavy line decoration, discovered at Mersin in level III and IIB-III, find parallels at Al Mina and perhaps at Tarsus.³⁶⁶ Barnett did not list all sherds in his catalogue but further fragments are said to come from area 2, 12, 14 and 15.

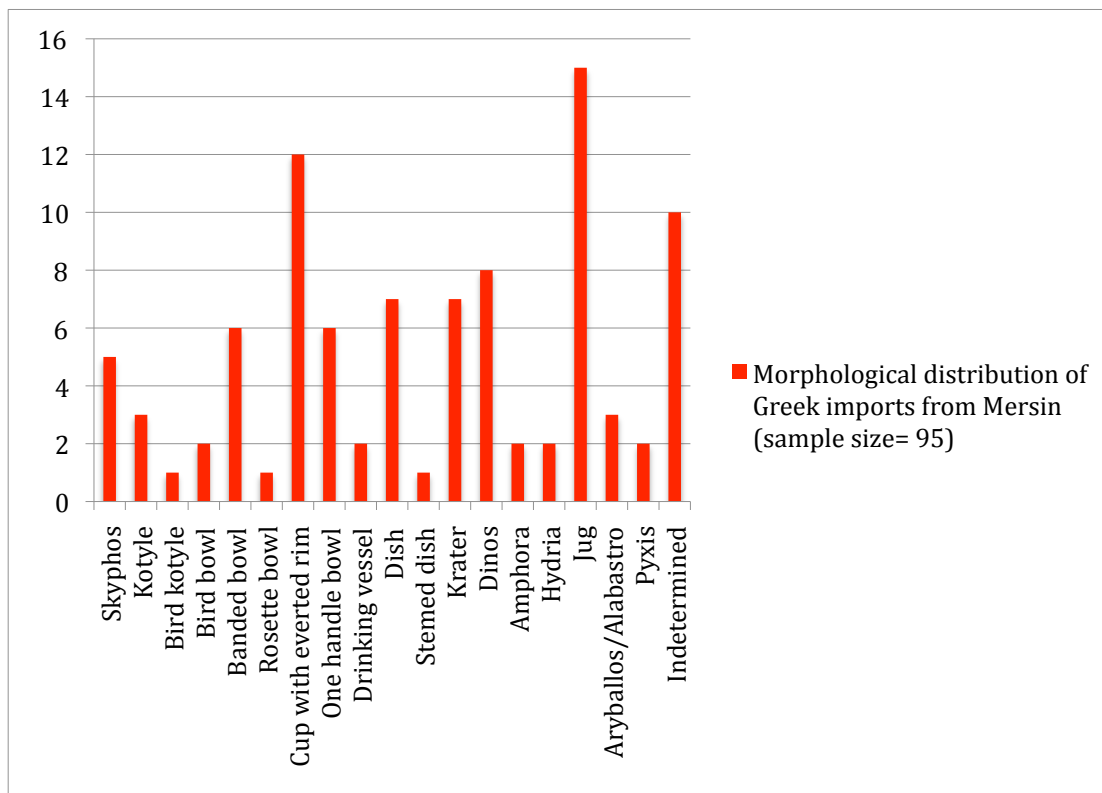
³⁶² According to Barnett, one fragment dates perhaps to the submycenaean period. The piece however, is so small and the drawing not very well executed so that the date is hard to verify. The piece could also be of Sub-Geometric date.

³⁶³ The fragments Appendix 3, catalogue Mersin no. 3.6-11 may already belong to the early 7th century BC.

³⁶⁴ Only two fragments may date to SiA Ic. See catalogue Tarsus 2 no. 5.10-11.

³⁶⁵ Mortaria: Barnett 1939, 107 pl. 52. 1; 126 pl. 52. 9-11. For other Cypriot imports see Barnett 1939, pl. 47.

³⁶⁶ Barnett 1939, 122. For Al Mina see cat.no. **758** (level VI). **893** (level V). Appendix 3, catalogue Tarsus no. 8.23.



Tab. 2

The description of the fabric suggests a similar production centre as for the pieces found at Al Mina. Kraters with double wavy line on the neck can be found at Tarsus as well as at Al Mina.³⁶⁷ Fragments of this type were found at Mersin in level III and IIB-III. A one-handle fragment comes from room 10 (level IIB).³⁶⁸ Barnett listed only six one-handled bowls but fragments of some dozen others were found.³⁶⁹ They come from Pit 36, below area 5 (level III) and in rooms 10, 12, 15 (level II B-III) and from rooms 25 and 32 (level IV).³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ Appendix 3, catalogue Tarsus no. 9.1-2. For a similar type but slightly different decoration see Al Mina Cat.No. **885** (level V).

³⁶⁸ Barnett 1939, 123.

³⁶⁹ See Appendix 3, catalogue Mersin no. 6.17-22.

³⁷⁰ Barnett 1939, 121. For a possible example from Al Mina see cat.no. **845** (level V).

Some differences can be observed though: one distinction is the absence of cups with everted rim of the early type as well as the lack of bird oinochoai. Bird bowls appear at Mersin in low numbers, and the recorded pieces all belong to the second half of the 7th century BC.³⁷¹ Banded bowls on the other hand, are quite frequent. At Tarsus, where banded bowls are relatively few, the exact opposite can be observed.³⁷² One possible explanation for the diverging picture could be that banded bowls were considered as lower quality and therefore they were not exported to inland Tarsus.³⁷³ Also interesting is the appearance of two perhaps MPG skyphoi with concentric circle decoration.³⁷⁴ In one case the concentric circles are touching the painted lip, giving the impression of an early psc-decoration. If those two fragments really belong to the MPG period, they are the two earliest Greek PG imports to Cilicia and north Syria.

Due to the limited excavated area and the fact that the majority of the retrieved fragments were found in pits, the conclusions from the spatial distribution are limited. Only two fragments can be associated with room 6 from level III, while one krater handle and one bowl fragment come from room 10 belonging to level II B-III (see above).³⁷⁵ Like at Al Mina and Tarsus, the full symposium set of cups, krater and jugs was available at Mersin. Obviously, some of the Greek finds, which were channelled through Mersin to Tarsus, remained at the harbour where they were used by the local population. Finds from the houses indicate a relatively wide spread use of Greek imports. Greek pottery was certainly not restricted to the local political-, administrative- or religious elite at Mersin. The absence of some vessel types at Mersin, which can be found at Tarsus, is striking. Reasons

³⁷¹ See catalogue 2 no. 5.3- 4

³⁷² Appendix 3, catalogue Mersin no. 6-10-15 with Appendix 3, catalogue Tarsus no. 6.5-6.

³⁷³ In this respect, it is again worth mentioning that drinking bowls in particular were only partly published and the comparatively low number of banded bowls might be simply the result of a selective publication.

³⁷⁴ See catalogue 2 no. 1.1-2.

³⁷⁵ For the finds associated with room 6 see Appendix 3, catalogue Mersin no. 6.4 and 7.8.

for this might be either a lack of archaeological excavation at Mersin or that certain imports reached Tarsus via a different route during the first half of the 7th century BC. Another explanation for the differences in the shape distribution could be certain trade mechanisms that regulated the flow of certain vessel types or certain products. Perhaps the bird oinochoai, which are missing at Mersin, were highly appreciated vases destined particularly for Tarsus. However, the findspots of the majority of the Greek imports from Tarsus, including the bird oinochoai, speak against such an assumption. The contexts of the majority of the finds from Tarsus indicate that Greek imports were not limited to inhabitants of high social status. Therefore, it seems unlikely that only the inhabitants of Tarsus had access to high quality bird oinochoai while the inhabitants from the port were excluded from them. Accordingly, the absence of certain categories may best be explained by the limited archaeological work carried out at Mersin.³⁷⁶ Considering the record from Mersin and Tarsus, the close relationship between the two sites cannot be denied. Mersin certainly played the major role for the funnelling of Greek imports to Tarsus and perhaps to the other sites in Cilicia.

5. Sirkeli Höyük

Sirkeli Höyük is located c. 40 km east of Adana at the Ceyhan river. It can probably be identified with the Hittite city of Lawazantiya (also called Lahuwazantiya), which is identical with the Assyrian Lusanda.³⁷⁷ Lusanda is first recorded in Assyrian records in the year 839 BC when Shalmanasser the III conquered the eastern part of Que.³⁷⁸ It sits

³⁷⁶ It further remains open whether the bird oinochoai or bird bowls can really be considered as qualitatively higher regarded products than other jugs or the simply banded bowls.

³⁷⁷ Kohlmeyer 1983, 100-101. Against this identification see Hrouda et al. 1997, 149.

³⁷⁸ See Yamada 2000, 197-205.

between a passage through the Nur Dag (Mt. Missis) and therefore occupies an advantageous position on an important north-south and west-east route.³⁷⁹ The history of the settlement reaches back to the Chalcolithicum and occupation of the site is attested until the Hellenistic period.³⁸⁰ The Ceyhan river flows right through the ancient city with the major part of the fortified town situated on the west banks of the river and a smaller lower town on the east bank.³⁸¹

Archaeological excavations were carried out first by Garstang in 1936 and after some time resumed in 1992 until 1996 under the directorship of Hrouda from the University of Munich. In 1997 the work was taken over by Ehringhaus from University of Innsbruck. Since 2006 the University of Tübingen and Cannakkale have investigated the site.³⁸²

The Greek pottery reported so far from the site is limited to two psc- skyphos fragments and a LG bird skyphos, probably of Euboean production.³⁸³ Judging from the published picture the rim fragment of the psc- skyphos may belong to a type dated to the late 9th and first half of the 8th century BC.³⁸⁴ It certainly does not belong to the latest type in the series.³⁸⁵ Further fragments from Sirkeli were reported by Garstang in 1938 but unfortunately no details were given.³⁸⁶

³⁷⁹ Already acknowledged by Garstang in 1937: Garstang 1937, 65; See also Ahrens et al. 2008, 68-69.

³⁸⁰ Hrouda et al. 1997, 98. 127-128; Hübner 2000, 77-78; Ahrens et al. 2008, 94-101.

³⁸¹ Novak and Kozal 2009, 484 fig. 2.

³⁸² See Ahrens et al. 2008, 71.

³⁸³ Novak and Kozal 2010, 43 fig. 1. The piece comes from Area 18/1. For the location see Hrouda et al. 1997, 93 fig. 1. The piece derives from pit 6, which has its bottom at 33.27 m. According to the description of Area 18/1, at 33.29 m a floor of beaten clay was detected upon which Hellenistic pottery was found: Hrouda et al. 1997, 119. Where exactly pit 6 was located remains unclear from the description.

³⁸⁴ Cf. Eretria XXX, pl. 6. 15.

³⁸⁵ Judging from the published picture one can exclude that the fragment belongs to Kearsley's type 6. It probably belongs to the 9th century BC.

³⁸⁶ Garstang 1937.

The few fragments just prove that Greek pottery was not limited to the coastal places. They obviously also found their way further inland. That they appear at Sirkeli, which is situated at an important trading route, is not really surprising. Besides Greek imports, in particular Cypriot vases were discovered at Sirkeli and the local pottery shows close affinities to Cypriot products.³⁸⁷ The strong Cypriot influence may indicate that the Greek imports reached Sirkeli via Cyprus.³⁸⁸

6. Kinet Höyük

Kinet Höyük is located on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Iskenderun and can be identified with ancient Issus, where Alexander defeated Darius III in 333 BC.³⁸⁹ The name Issus might derive from Sissu, its older Phoenician name known from 7th century BC sources, which perhaps can be traced back to the Bronze Age city's name Zise.³⁹⁰ By the end of the 8th century BC Kinet Höyük certainly belonged to the kingdom of Que, which was incorporated into the Assyrian empire. It has been suggested that the port served as an Assyrian outpost overseen by new settlers from inland.³⁹¹ Issus is mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis* as the last port in Cilicia before crossing the border to Syria.³⁹² During the Hellenistic period the harbour had already lost its importance as indicated by a reference in Strabo.³⁹³

³⁸⁷ Ahrens et al. 2008, 90- 92.

³⁸⁸ The "strong" Cypriot stylistic impact can be seen all of Cilicia. See also the discussion of Kinet Höyük.

³⁸⁹ Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 277-278. Hodos 2000, 146.

³⁹⁰ Gates 1999a, 304. For an alternative name during the Bronze Age see Gates 2006, 295 no. 2 for further reference. Also Hodos et al. 2005, 64.

³⁹¹ Hodos et al. 2005, 63. with further reference. Hodos et al. 2005, 65 The Assyrian seals together with changing ceramic developments, changing diet and different architectural outlines of the buildings are the primary argument for an Assyrian population relocation at the end of the 8th century BC.

³⁹² X. An. I 4, 1-2.

³⁹³ Str. XIV 5, 19; Gates 1999a, 304.

The site originally formed a promontory with two harbours, one natural bay located on the north side, and a second one on the south side of the Tell where a river (Deliçay) flowed into the sea.³⁹⁴ The Tell is of considerable size covering at least 3.3 ha.³⁹⁵ The situation of Kinet Höyük is therefore similar to Al Mina, which is only a few kilometres further to the south. The only differences are that the occupation at Kinet Höyük goes back beyond the Iron Age and, given the preserved remains of both sites, Kinet Höyük must have been significantly larger than Al Mina.³⁹⁶ A factory erected in the immediate vicinity of Kinet Höyük destroyed large parts of the archaeological site, thus the original size of the city was even larger than indicated by the preserved remains.³⁹⁷ As can be made out from the published information, the majority of the Greek imports falls into phase III:1, the late Iron Age period.

Excavations have taken place since 1992 under the direction of M.- H. Gates and have brought to light a continuous occupation from the Chalcolithic period to the first century BC and a later occupation during the 13th century AD.³⁹⁸

The Pottery

The pottery published from Kinet Höyük is limited to 26 pieces so far, which certainly does not constitute the whole retrieved assemblage from the site. The earliest Greek fragments are said to date to the PG period.³⁹⁹ Three psc-skyphoi and one psc-plate, dating

³⁹⁴ Gates 1999a, 305. For the outline of the bay see Gates 2006, 294 fig. 1; Gates 2008, 292. 298 fig. 13.

³⁹⁵ Gates 1999a, 303.

³⁹⁶ The mound of Al Mina is approximately 2-5 metres high and site covers ca. 1.6 ha while Kinet Höyük rises to 26 m and covers an area of 3.3 ha.

³⁹⁷ Gates 1999a, 303; Gates 2006, 294 fig. 2.

³⁹⁸ Hodos et al. 2005, 62.

³⁹⁹ Appendix 3, catalogue Kinet Höyük no. 1. Gates 2000, 196. Note that already during the Bronze Age Cypriot imports reached the site in small numbers: Gates 1999a, 308.

from the 9th to the 8th centuries BC, have been published.⁴⁰⁰ Gates attributed one of them to the second half of the 8th century BC but the ring base, only absent on the latest psc-skyphoi, suggests an earlier type, probably dating to SPG III.⁴⁰¹ Only three skyphoi and two amphorae are reported from the second half of the 8th century BC. The sos-amphora could also be of 7th century BC and the date of another two skyphoi is unclear, which would further reduce their number.⁴⁰² This, however, does not represent the actual retrieved finds because according to Gates, more than a dozen Geometric Greek sherds were revealed during the excavations.⁴⁰³ No matter how large the total assemblage will be in the end, it is obvious that during the period, which saw a remarkable amount of Greek imports at Al Mina, the number of Greek sherds is significantly low at Kinet Höyük.

Level 7 and 6 apparently are marked with a change in the local ceramic repertoire. East Greek forms and motifs dominated local wares as suggested by wasters, which were found in two kilns, one dated to the 8th and the other one to the 7th century BC.⁴⁰⁴ Prevailing among the local decorated wares was the wave line pottery.⁴⁰⁵ The large amount of this locally produced “East Greek” table ware led Gates to suggest that the potters from Kinet Höyük followed closely East Greek and even mainland Greek trends, at least during the

⁴⁰⁰ Appendix 3, catalogue Kinet Höyük no. 2-4. No information concerning the fabric is given. In two cases (no. 3) only a picture is provided without profile, which makes dating difficult. It comes from a deposit belonging to period 8. Gates 2009, 360.

⁴⁰¹ Appendix 3, catalogue Kinet Höyük no. 2. C. Gates 2006, 368 (from period 8?). SPG III date is here suggested because of the association with period 8. One cannot exclude that a much earlier piece made its way into an 8th century layer. For the period and phases see Gates 1999, 261.

⁴⁰² For the skyphos see Appendix 3, catalogue Kinet Höyük no. 6. For the sos-amphora see Appendix 3, catalogue Kinet Höyük no. 16-17.

⁴⁰³ C. Gates 2006, 368.

⁴⁰⁴ Gates 1999, 263; Gates 2006, 368-369; Hodos et al. 2005, 67-70 fig. 2a-b. 3a-b. A third eroded kiln was only badly preserved.

⁴⁰⁵ According to Gates 1999, 262, wave line pottery is absent in level 7, which is therefore dated to the first half of the 7th century BC. For the locally produced wave line pottery see also Gates 1999a, 308 with no. 7; Hodos et al. 2005, 80.

later 7th century BC.⁴⁰⁶ At the end of the 7th century, black glazed cups, comparable to East Greek cups with everted rim, were also locally produced at Kinet Höyük BC.⁴⁰⁷ The presence of a large scale production of East Greek style pottery at Kinet Höyük is important for the interpretation of the Greek pottery at Al Mina, where local imitations of East Greek pottery are missing. Only a few possible regional imitations of East Greek products could be identified. One piece from Al Mina level VII might be from a regional production centre, either from Kinet Höyük or from Tarsus, another site where kilns were discovered.⁴⁰⁸

Among East Greek imports of the 7th century BC, one can find north Ionian bird bowls and one possible Milesian hydria.⁴⁰⁹ Other amphorae were apparently imported from Attica and from another Aegean production centre.⁴¹⁰ One plate and one oinochoe were interpreted as local products but before any results of the clay analysis have been published, one has to be careful with such interpretations.⁴¹¹ The Wild Goat oinochoe is definitely of East Greek provenance, and comes from south Ionia.⁴¹² The Corinthian aryballos of the late 7th century BC rounds off the assemblage from Kinet. The comparison between the 7th century and the 8th century BC assemblage probably points to an increase of East Greek imports during the 7th century BC but one has to remember that the currently available figures are only of preliminary character. The increase in absolute numbers goes

⁴⁰⁶ Gates 1999a, 308 "... not so much producing local imitations, but whole-heartedly adopting western styles".

⁴⁰⁷ Hodos et al. 2005, 80.

⁴⁰⁸ For one possible example from Al Mina see the amphora/hydria from level VII cat.no. **358**.

⁴⁰⁹ One bird bowl (Appendix 3, catalogue Kinet Höyük no. 9) is considered to be a local product, a hypothesis, which needs confirmation through clay analysis. Even more so, since apparently imports were found in the firing chamber of one of the kilns (Hodos et al. 2005, 68). The fact that the supposedly local bird bowl is over fired, does not speak against an East Greek import. The vast majority of Corinthian kotylai recovered from Al Mina are all misfired. For the local bird bowl see Gates 2006, 369; Gates 1999, 263. For the Milesian hydria see Appendix 3, catalogue Kinet Höyük no. 18.

⁴¹⁰ Appendix 3, catalogue Kinet Höyük no. 15-17.

⁴¹¹ Appendix 3, catalogue Kinet Höyük no. 12. 14.

⁴¹² Appendix 3, catalogue Kinet Höyük no. 13.

hand in hand with an increase in shape variability, a situation that can be observed at several sites during the 7th century BC. East Greek as well as Corinthian imports continued to reach Kinet Höyük during the 6th century BC but exact numbers are not available at the moment.⁴¹³

Iron Age levels were discovered in trenches OP, CII, OP. E/H, OP.F and OP.L on the western side of the mound and OPS. A, AII and OP. D on the eastern side.⁴¹⁴ The majority of the published fragments derived from an industrial/domestic quarter on the northeast edge of the mound (OP A and OP AII), which was occupied during periods 8 to 6. Several kilns have been detected in this industrial zone.⁴¹⁵ A similar quarter was found on the western edge of the mound (OP E/H), which revealed some bird bowl fragments and perhaps one LG Greek skyphos.⁴¹⁶ The bird bowls belong to the period 7.2, when the area OP E/H had a predominately industrial purpose.⁴¹⁷

Two Greek Geometric cups and one “Aegean” amphora come possibly from a monumental building with unparalleled architectural features at Kinet Höyük.⁴¹⁸

Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals, found in the vicinity of another monumental building of the succeeding period, further highlight the importance of the area and may even point to the presence of Assyrian officials at the site during the late 9th or 8th century BC.⁴¹⁹ The

⁴¹³ C. Gates 2006, fig. 3. 4; Gates 1994, 199 fig. 6 (KT 664 '92 OP A).

⁴¹⁴ Hodos 2000, 146.

⁴¹⁵ Gates 1999, 262-264; Gates 1999a, 308; Gates 2000, 197-198. 201; Gates 2001, 208 (jewellery workshop).

⁴¹⁶ Appendix 3, catalogue Kinet Höyük no. 6. 10. Gates 2003, 284-285 fig. 3. 9. The piece on the bottom right is a skyphos rather than a bird bowl.

⁴¹⁷ Gates 2003, 284. The industrial character is already attested in phase 8: see Gates 2004, 407. 413 fig. 5.

⁴¹⁸ Hodos et al. 2005, 65.

⁴¹⁹ Gates 2008, 289; Gates 2004, 407. 413 fig. 6.

building is situated at the western edge of the mound and belongs to period 9.⁴²⁰ The purpose of the building is not quite clear yet but finds retained from a nearby pit illustrate the connections with the Aegean and, according to the excavator, even included a unique Greek terracotta figurine of Euboean manufacture dated to the 8th century BC.⁴²¹ The interpretation of the terracotta figure is extremely problematical but it has to be pointed out that it is the only terracotta figurine of Greek manufacture of such an early date, found in the Near East. Its find spot, in the vicinity of a building of monumental size, suggests that it cannot be considered as an ordinary trading good. The scarcity of such Greek clay figurines underlines this assumption. Another rare find comes from the same area although from the later period 8. It is a rare Thessalian type bronze fibula that was found in a large pit outside of the period 8 industrial complex.⁴²²

Conclusions

Kinet Höyük is an important site in close proximity to Al Mina and therefore serves as a good comparison for Al Mina. Both sites shared the presence of suitable environs that offered favourable conditions for seafarers and they are separated from each other by only 65 km, and yet their pottery record is far from being similar. Despite Kinet Höyük's longer history, Al Mina apparently attracted the larger amount of Greek imports. Although it is always difficult to compare absolute numbers of finds of two different sites, the available evidence suggests that foreign Greek imports played only a minor role at Kinet Höyük.⁴²³ This observation makes the popular "East Greek" shapes and motifs, which were locally

⁴²⁰ Gates 2004, 407-408. The excavator concluded that the absence of bones and burnt remains indicate that the pit, in which the vessels were found, was not filled with usual disposal but the contents were instead buried as a "discrete collection of items".

⁴²¹ Gates 2005, 166. 173 fig. 12 (KNH-1331). Period 9 is currently dated to ca. 740-720 BC: Gates 2005, 165.

⁴²² Gates 2004, 407 no. 12 (KHN-1254).

⁴²³ Concerning the problem of comparison of ceramic densities see the thorough discussion in Hodos 2008, 62-68.

imitated at Kinet Höyük with the beginning of the 7th century BC stand out even more.

Such a local production is almost totally missing at Al Mina despite the abundance of East Greek imports during the 7th century BC.⁴²⁴ How can we explain these two developments?

Since the local production of fine tableware shows close affinities to East Greek products we can exclude the existence of certain prejudices against Greek imports at Kinet Höyük. Gates advocates the idea to relate this phenomenon to the better strategic position of Al Mina at the intersection of trade routes, which connected the Aegean with the north Syrian inland. Kinet Höyük on the other hand functioned more as a transit point along coastal roadways connecting manufacturing and consumer centres.⁴²⁵ She further concluded that the bulk of Kinet's import-export trade consisted of commodities, which did not leave any trace in the archaeological record.⁴²⁶ If the harbour was indeed involved in long-distance exchange with the Aegean, one still needs to explain the lack of original Greek products because there is no reason to assume that the trade in cheaper commodities such as pottery is dependent on the nature of the major cargo.

One possible explanation would be that the imitations fulfilled the required quality standards and due to their local production they were much cheaper than the imports. Greek products perhaps could not compete with prices of the local production at Kinet Höyük. The absence of "cheaper" local imitations at Al Mina may simply be explained through the nonexistence of a pottery production.⁴²⁷ But why are the locally made imports

⁴²⁴ Since these local imitations are painted, I do not think that their absence at Al Mina can be explained by the selective sampling strategies employed by Woolley.

⁴²⁵ Gates 1999a, 309.

⁴²⁶ Gates 1999a, 309.

⁴²⁷ Indeed, no kilns or signs for a local pottery production have been recovered so far. Missing proper clay sources may be one reason but during the medieval period, the region was famous for its pottery production.

from Kinet Höyük missing at Al Mina? Evidently, the absence or presence was less a matter of affordability but more subject to accessibility.

Al Mina certainly attracted the bulk of the long distance trade while Kinet Höyük was more a port engaged in regional affairs. Greek pottery reached the site only in small numbers because other harbours already absorbed the majority of them, either for local use or to resell them at other places where they would enable higher profits. Kinet may be best interpreted as the classical relay-harbour that functioned more as a regional hub, but which was only rarely the initial target of long distance trade.⁴²⁸ The imitations at Kinet Höyük are therefore better understood as a result of limited access to the Greek originals despite obvious close cultural relations between Kinet Höyük and the East Greek sphere.⁴²⁹ One can conclude that this process was not triggered by the direct relationship between Kinet Höyük and the Aegean but probably through a mediator like Al Mina, where the original products were available in considerable numbers and in greater variety. The limited access to Greek originals is also visible in the lower shape variability at Kinet Höyük. Although of only preliminary character, the record shows that some important shapes like kraters or dinoi are missing. Only one jug is clearly an import, the other tableware fragments are predominantly drinking cups.⁴³⁰ Also interesting is the presence of sos-amphorae in conjunction with missing Attic tableware indicating the selective character of the imported pottery. In this respect, Kinet is similar to sites like Al Mina or Tell Kabri.

⁴²⁸ For a similar argumentation without considering the rather regional function of Kinet Höyük see Hodos et al. 2005, 81. For the relay-harbours see Höckmann 1985, 83.

⁴²⁹ Kourou 1998, 167 pointed out that comparable decorative elements and decoration systems are very often seen as evidence for close ties between regions. Hodos et al. 2005, 81.

⁴³⁰ The plate Appendix 3, catalogue Ras el Bassit No. 10 is perhaps locally made and already belongs to the very end of the 7th or early 6th century BC.

The Greek imports of the 7th century BC, the tableware as well as the transport amphorae, come almost exclusively from the domestic/industrial area of the site. The context from Kinet Höyük, like the context from all the other sites in Cilicia investigated so far, speak against the use of the foreign Greek imports in a primarily aristocratic milieu.⁴³¹

7. Ras el Bassit

Ras el Bassit lies ca. 25 km south of Al Mina, 50 km north of Ras Shamra (Latakia) and it provides the next possible anchorage for ships sailing downwards the Levantine coast after Al Mina. The promontory, visible from the shores at the mouth of the Orontes, is perhaps the cape 're' si-surri' of the Assyrian texts.⁴³² It probably belonged to the kingdom of Hamath until 738 BC when it was annexed by the Assyrian empire. As coins suggest, the site was called Posideion in later times, which is still reflected in the modern name.⁴³³

Excavations started in 1972 and revealed a habitation quarter covering the period from Iron Age I to II.⁴³⁴ Moreover, a necropolis was discovered, which contained graves dating from the 9th to the 6th century BC.⁴³⁵

Luke already studied the pottery dating from the PG to the end of the LG period in 2003.⁴³⁶ A final publication of the finds from Bassit is still outstanding. So far only the results from the necropolis have been fully published.

⁴³¹ See for instance Jasink and Bombardieri 2008, 43 who interpreted the pottery of the 8th century BC as exotic goods acquired by the elite to be displayed on social occasions.

⁴³² For the Assyrian source see Tadmor 1994, 102-105, Stele II B 12; Zadok 1996, 11-12. See also Parpola and Porter 2001, 24.

⁴³³ Saltz 1978, 76; Courbin 1983a, 122; Courbin 1986, 187-188; 205 fig. 44. For a recent discussion of the location of Posideion see Lane- Fox 2008, 84-85. 97-98.

⁴³⁴ Courbin 1986, 194-199.

⁴³⁵ Courbin 1993, 82.

⁴³⁶ Luke 2003, 32-34.

Burials

Up to now 53 burials were discovered in the necropolis of Bassit. The Greek pottery solely derives from tomb 25, which contained six imports. Another fragment of either a local amphora or krater is so small that it can hardly be associated with the tomb.⁴³⁷ The same can be said about one red-slipped fragment.⁴³⁸ The tomb was covered with stones and contained several animal bones, which might be interpreted as the remains from a feast held at the tomb.⁴³⁹ The deceased of tomb 25 died immediately after birth. This suggests that the vessels may come from a ritual feast performed at the burial and that they were not deposited in the grave as the personal belongings of the deceased. The preservation of the finds suggests that the vessels were destroyed after the drinking party. Interestingly, almost all vases from tomb 25 are of Greek origin, apart from the Etruscan kantharos. Noteworthy is further that with tomb 24, only one further burial contained a drinking cup.⁴⁴⁰ One cannot exclude that similar drinking feasts also took place at other burials or at the place of the pyre, but if so, the vessels were not destroyed at the grave and placed in the burial.⁴⁴¹ With its location in square W 32, tomb 25 is in some distance from a group of graves clustered around C 41 but close to the group of burials in W 31, which all date to the late 7th of early 6th century BC.⁴⁴² Like a few other burials, it is located outside of the necropolis. Its isolated location is not a unique situation but the majority of the burials are in a different area and usually located close to each other.⁴⁴³ Burial 25 thus shows some divergences from the other tombs at Bassit. Three other burials, tomb 3, 18 and 31, each

⁴³⁷ Courbin 1993, 32 inv.no. C. 988.

⁴³⁸ Courbin 1993, 32.

⁴³⁹ Courbin 1993, 30.

⁴⁴⁰ CG III stemmed cup: Courbin 1993, 29-30 pl. 18. 4. f; 16. 4. Other pieces listed as coupe or coupelles fall under plates or open bowls.

⁴⁴¹ Courbin did not detect signs for a pyre at the necropolis, and concluded that it must have taken place at a different location. In the case of the burial outside the necropolis, the situation seemed to be different: here the cremation perhaps took place close to the burials. See Courbin 1993, 89. Interesting is the presence of remains of burnt animal bones in quite a few burials indicating that meat was grilled over fire during the rites carried out at the tomb. See Courbin 1993, 91. 96 tab. 7.

⁴⁴² Courbin 1993, 160 Fig. 2. 162 fig. 4. For the burials and their date see Courbin 1993, 82.

⁴⁴³ Cf. grave 44 dated to 560 BC from square U 33, which contained a Phoenician amphora.

contained one imitation of a Greek amphora, but all the other characteristics are close to the majority of the rest of the tombs.⁴⁴⁴

Settlement

The earliest imports reached Bassit already during the PG period. Five PG amphora fragments were so far discovered but they derive from archaic contexts and therefore their original place of use remains unclear.⁴⁴⁵ The pieces perhaps date to ca. 950-900 BC but it has also been suggested that they could be even earlier.⁴⁴⁶ Courbin excluded an Attic origin based on the presence of mica, but mica can also be found in small quantities in Attic clay.⁴⁴⁷ While their origin and final destination are known, neither their content nor their carrier is clear.⁴⁴⁸ As possible contents neither wine nor olive oil can be excluded.⁴⁴⁹ Moreover, Greeks, Cypriots, North Syrians or Phoenicians, any of these groups could be the transporters.

From the succeeding period one fragment of a psc-plate, dated from 850- 750 BC, is known from Bassit. Similar finds come from Tarsus and Tyre as well as from Cyprus but are lacking at Al Mina. Additionally, several psc- and circle-skyphoi are reported from the site and according to the excavator, drinking vessels are the dominant shape during this period.⁴⁵⁰ It remains unclear however, whether the skyphoi are all confined to the SPG III

⁴⁴⁴ Tomb 3: Courbin 1993, 16. 52-53 (C. 537). 80. pl. 5. 3; fig. 7. 3. Local imitation of Greek amphora? Tomb 18: Courbin 1993, 25-26 (C. 539). 66-67. fig. 17. 1; pl. 14. 2. Local or Cypriot imitation of Greek amphora? Tomb 31: Courbin 1993, 35. 57-58. 67. pl. 24. 3; fig. 9. 4. Phoenician imitation of Greek amphoriskos?

⁴⁴⁵ Courbin 1993a, 98.

⁴⁴⁶ Courbin 1993a, 103. Note that Lemos 2005, 53 assumes they are of MPG date.

⁴⁴⁷ Courbin 1993a, 98.

⁴⁴⁸ For a thorough discussion of these two issues see Courbin 1993a, 105-111.

⁴⁴⁹ Lemos 2005, 54 argued in favour of olive oil since good quality wine was also locally produced.

⁴⁵⁰ Courbin 1986, 190.

period or whether some cups already reached the site during the first half of the 9th century BC.

Despite the quite frequent Greek imports that cover a considerable long time, local as well as Cypriot imports apparently outnumbered the Greek imports, which seemed to increase slightly during the second half of the 8th century BC.⁴⁵¹ For the LG and early 7th century BC, Euboean- and Corinthian skyphoi are reported. One example even bears an early inscription on it (eta?).⁴⁵² To the same time belongs possibly a dinos with multiple vertical scribble- decoration of East Greek provenance and some kraters with incised decoration. The latter have been found on Samos in frequent numbers and appear also at Al Mina.⁴⁵³ A similar date perhaps also applies for a Sub-Geometric jug with circle decoration on the shoulder.⁴⁵⁴

East Greek imports of the first half of the 7th century BC are few at Bassit and it is not before the second half of the 7th century BC that Greek products increase in numbers.⁴⁵⁵ Towards the end of the 7th century BC, one can find the bird- and rosette bowls, several variants of cups with everted rims, East Greek plates, Corinthian oinochoai and perhaps even Aeolian bucchero. The repertoire of the late 7th century BC is similar to the record from other sites in the region. Like at Sukas, one graffito was found, inscribed on what is most likely a local amphora fragment.⁴⁵⁶ It possibly reads: “ΦΙΝΟΣ ΗΜ [Ι]” and according to Courbin it attests the presence of Greeks at the site towards the late 7th or early 6th

⁴⁵¹ Courbin 1986, 193.

⁴⁵² Courbin 1986, 194 Fig. 20; Perreault 1993, 71 interprets the inscription only as an indication of visitors.

⁴⁵³ For the krater and dinos see Courbin 1978, 41 pl. 15 fig. 2 (dinos); Courbin 1986, 198 no. 64.

⁴⁵⁴ Courbin 1986, 194 fig. 19. Courbin thought that the piece possibly comes from Crete. An East Greek origin seems more likely given the predominance of this ware during the 7th century BC.

⁴⁵⁵ Courbin 1986, 198.

⁴⁵⁶ Courbin 1986, 199 fig. 31.

century BC, However, some scholars have argued that the inscription better fits to the late 6th century BC.⁴⁵⁷

Although so far no information concerning the find contexts of the Greek imports is given, the majority of the pieces come from the settlement, which did not reveal any indication for elite houses, palaces or administrative buildings.⁴⁵⁸ Nothing can be said about the quantity since the current data is more than scarce. Judging from the available evidence, it seems that Bassit fits into the regional picture, which indicates rather sporadic contacts with Greece, mainly with the Cyclades and Euboea during the 8th century BC.⁴⁵⁹ Towards the end of the 8th century, East Greek imports appear in small numbers for the first time. Later, during the 1st half of the 7th century BC, imports become rare, but they increase again by the end of the 7th century BC. Bassit seems to be best compared with Sukas, which has a analogous record.

Taking all the parameters together – the Greek finds in burial 25, the destruction of the vessels, the absence of local vases in the same burial, the distance of burial 25 to the other graves, and the presence of Greek inscriptions on local vases at the end of the 7th century BC – we can assume that, like at Sukas, Greeks were not only visiting Bassit, they also

⁴⁵⁷ Courbin 1986, 199. In this respect it is important to mention that the origin of the vase is uncertain, and it remains unclear when the graffito was inscribed. It is possible, although very unlikely, that the inscription was applied on the pot a long time before it was shipped to Bassit. If the pot turns out to be of local manufacture, such a scenario can be excluded however. Further, no information about the find context is given, thus the date of the undecorated piece is open. Perreault 1993, 71 believes that the piece is of local manufacture and that it indicates the presence of East Greeks at Bassit. The “H” on the inscription is still of the closed version and according to Jeffery 1961, 328, the open “H” had become already in use in East Greece by the second quarter of the 6th century BC; Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 476-477 pl. 79: Johnston considers the script of Rhodian origin and dates it to the late 6th century BC.

⁴⁵⁸ Perreault 1993, 70 interprets the 6th century building, which contained Attic imports, as a merchant’s house of Attic or “oriental” origin. For the Attic imports and the “house” see Courbin 1986, 200-203 fig. 32.

⁴⁵⁹ Courbin 1975, 60.

started to live there for at least a short period of time towards the end of the 7th or perhaps at some point during the first half of the 6th century BC.⁴⁶⁰

8. Ras Ibn Hani

Ras Ibn Hani is situated approximately nine kilometres north-west of Lattaquie and ca. four kilometres from Ras Shamra-Ugarit. The Tell sits in the middle of a promontory that jetties out to the sea and it must have been a prominent landmark for seafarers. The cape contains two bays, a smaller one located to its north-east, and a larger one to its south. Thus, it must have been an ideal stop for ships sailing down the north Syrian coast.⁴⁶¹

The archaeological exploration of the site started in 1975. The most important buildings discovered so far, are two LBA palaces (palais nord and palais sud).⁴⁶² The palaces as well as “Ugaritan” chamber tombs indicate that Ras Ibn Hani was closely related to Ugarit and the harbour must have played an important role for Ugarit’s economy during the Bronze Age.⁴⁶³ Later the city became part of the kingdom of Hamath, and like Ras el Bassit, it was integrated into an Assyrian Province in 738 BC.⁴⁶⁴ Current evidence seems to suggest that the harbour was occupied until the 6th century AD with some minor gaps in the occupation of the site.⁴⁶⁵ The site received already Mycenaean imports but the distribution suggests

⁴⁶⁰ Perreault 1993, 71: “interprets the above mentioned inscription as evidence for East Greeks presence at the very end of the 7th century BC”. However, the burial perhaps rather belongs to the first half of the 6th century BC and the inscription cannot be dated precisely so that a date that coincides with the grave is perhaps more likely.

⁴⁶¹ Bounni et al. 1976, 265 fig. 1.

⁴⁶² Bounni et al. 1976, 235; For the two palaces see Lagarce 1982; Lagarce et al. 1983; Lagarce 1986; Bounni et al. 1987; Bounni 1991, 107 fig. 2.

⁴⁶³ Bounni et al. 1976, 234; Bounni 1979, 290; Lagarce 1986, 85. For the tomb see Bounni 1979, 286-287 fig. 9.

⁴⁶⁴ Luke 2003, 36.

⁴⁶⁵ Lagarce and Lagarce 1978, 48-50; Bounni et al. 1976, 237; Bounni 1991, 106. For the Hellenistic city see Lagarce et al. 1980, 20-32.

that the social elite associated with the palaces did not make more use of Mycenaean imports than other classes as Ras Ibn Hani.⁴⁶⁶

The Greek pottery of the 7th and early 6th century BC comes mainly from square U63, an area with a complicated stratigraphy and all of the sherds were found out of context⁴⁶⁷ The few published Greek imports attest that the site continued to play an important role as a harbour for the east-west trade during the late 9th- and 6th centuries BC and the Cypriot imports just underline this observation.⁴⁶⁸ The scarce information from the site does not allow any far reaching conclusions but what can be observed from the Greek imports is that Ras Ibn Hani fits into the picture already obtained from other ports such as Bassit or Sukas. Greek imports from the late 8th and early 7th century BC are few and perhaps missing from the second quarter of the 7th until the last third of the 7th century BC. The range of shapes is limited to the usual symposia-related vessels. Closed vessels are confined to the late 7th century BC and consist of small Corinthian perfume vessels. Other closed shapes are missing. Worthy of note is the frequent appearance of dinoi and kraters compared to drinking vessels during the 7th century BC. Interestingly, Wild Goat style jugs are missing among the imports.⁴⁶⁹ The range of imports includes the Euboeo-Cycladic psykphoi, the bird bowls and cups with everted rims, East Greek dinoi and kraters as well as Corinthian aryballoi. Notable are also the Al Mina Ware fragments, which seem always to occur together with Euboean imports.

⁴⁶⁶ Wijngaarden 2002, 113.

⁴⁶⁷ Bounni et al. 1976, 242. 271 Fig. 14. For the fragments published in 1978 no contextual information was provided by the author. See Bounni et al. 1978, 282- 284; Lagarce et al. 1980, 33.

⁴⁶⁸ Bounni 1991, 110.

⁴⁶⁹ There is no reason to assume that at Ras Ibn Hani no Wild Goat style jugs were imported. However, although it is unclear whether the excavator has published every single Greek import, the fine painted Wild Goat jugs are usually very distinctive and are never missing in archaeological reports as soon as they have been detected. Therefore, it seems likely that so far no Wild goat jug fragment was discovered so far.

Ras Ibn Hani is a typical example for a Levantine port, which received only sporadic Greek imports. Like Kinet Höyük or Tell Abu Hawam, the port perhaps functioned as a relay-harbour, which was never the primary “target” of ships involved in long-distance trade between the Levant and the Aegean, at least not during the 8th and 7th century BC. Ras Ibn Hani is therefore another example that demonstrates the direct relationship between shape variability and the amount of Greek imports, which reflects the frequency of contacts between the harbour and the Aegean. Closed shapes or vessels serving a function other than drinking were apparently never on demand by local inhabitants, which was probably caused by a reduced awareness of the Greek pottery repertoire. The possible absence of Greek imports during the first half of the 7th century BC in conjunction with a revival with the beginning of the second half or slightly later, has already been observed at other places, most notably at Tell Sukas.

9. Tell Sukas

Tel Sukas is a harbour town located in the fertile Ghabla plain on the Levantine coast.⁴⁷⁰ It is the next possible stop for ships sailing southwards along the coast after Ras Shamra/Latakia. It can be possibly identified as Souksi or Shuksu in Ugaritic texts.⁴⁷¹ The ancient city perhaps once belonged together with Ras el Basit, Ras Ibn Hani and Tabbat al Hammam to the kingdom of Hamath with its capital Hama.⁴⁷² A direct land route may have connected Hama with Sukas but archaeological evidence in support of such a hypothesis is missing.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷⁰ Riis 1970, 7. 9 fig. 2.

⁴⁷¹ Riis 1970, 128; Crielaard 1996, 165.

⁴⁷² For the territory of Hama see Kessler 1975-1976, 59-63; Buhl 1983, 117-118.

⁴⁷³ Riis 1970, 156; Saltz 1978, 112; Luke 2008, 36.

Archaeological excavations were carried out by Bryn Mawr College in 1934 and later from 1958 to 1963 by the Danish Carlsberg expedition under the director P. J. Riis.⁴⁷⁴ The results were published in a series of monographs.⁴⁷⁵ Sukas consists of a central Tell flanked by two natural harbours, one at the north and another at the southern side of the Tell. Previous work by the Danish expedition focused on the so-called north-eastern sector, where the remains of a sanctuary were uncovered, and on the adjacent habitation quarters, both situated on the central Tell. The second area is located south of the southern harbour, hence, the southern harbour site, where a necropolis and a second sanctuary were found.

In total the excavated Iron Age layers cover 425 m².⁴⁷⁶ The whole area was divided into 10 x 10 meter grids numbered alphabetically and numerically, to which I refer in the following discussion.⁴⁷⁷ The stratigraphical and chronological framework of the settlement is divided into periods and according to the Danish expedition, the habitation of the site ranges from Neolithic times (period N) to the Late Roman period (A) with only minor gaps in the occupation.⁴⁷⁸ Of particular interest are the periods H1 (850-675 BC) and G 3 (675-588 BC) because they can be equated with Al Mina levels X-V.⁴⁷⁹ The latter is considered to be a period of “Greek domination”.⁴⁸⁰ Riis’ initial interpretation of a Greek settlement,

⁴⁷⁴ Forrer 1940, 360-365 pl. 32-33; Riis 1970, 7 with no. 4. 10. Despite difficulties, Forrer’s trench and a test pit were eventually located. See Riis 1970, 13 fig. 4. 14.

⁴⁷⁵ Lund 1986, 7-8.

⁴⁷⁶ Boardman 1990, 173; Boardman 1999, 153.

⁴⁷⁷ See Riis, 1970, 13 fig. 4.

⁴⁷⁸ For an overview of the stratigraphic sequence see e.g. Riis 1970, 12; Lund 1986, 7. For the Neolithic evidence see Riis and Thrane 1974; For the Aeneolithic and Early Bronze Age see Oldenburg 1991.

⁴⁷⁹ Riis 1970, 127. There is no room here to discuss the chronology of the site in detail. The period G 3 is dated from 675 to 588 BC mainly on the observation of destruction layers and their relation to historical incidents. Interestingly, besides a few pieces of East Greek pottery that may perhaps belong to the period before 625 BC (they could also be dated later), no real evidence for Greek imports prior to this date exists. The Greek finds from the earliest floor of complex VIII from period G 3 also date to the first quarter of the 6th century BC (Lund 1986, 59. 62). All this raises questions about the chronology of the site, which perhaps needs to be revised.

⁴⁸⁰ Riis 1970, 127.

an enoikismos, at the site, has been subject to criticism over the past years and the arguments against such a view do not need to be repeated here.⁴⁸¹ Generally, there is no conclusive evidence for a larger Greek population at the site before the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th century BC and even at this later stage the evidence is meagre.⁴⁸²

The site received Greek imports already during the Bronze Age, and while some sherds can be assigned to the Geometric period (12), ranging from ca. 850 to 700 BC (period H 1), the bulk of the imports belongs to the last quarter of the 7th century BC (period G 3).⁴⁸³ In total 341 fragments, which can be dated and identified, are recorded.⁴⁸⁴ The earliest pieces belong to the psc-skyphoi of Euboean or Cycladic origin.⁴⁸⁵ One Al Mina ware-fragment of the “delicate class”, similar to pieces found in Al Mina level VIII, is interesting since this category is rare.⁴⁸⁶ The most significant difference between Al Mina and Sukas is certainly the amount of Greek imports, which may indicate that Sukas played either only a minor role for ships engaged in trade between Greece and the Levant or that Greek pottery did not have the same popularity at Sukas as at Al Mina. Another major distinction is the almost complete absence of East Greek imports prior to ca. 625 BC.

Sukas is important because it is a rare example in the Near East where a substantial corpus of Greek pottery turned up in three different contexts: residential, religious and mortuary.

⁴⁸¹ For the initial interpretation and a detailed discussion of the archaeological record see Riis 1970, 40-60. 129. 158.

⁴⁸² For a critical discussion of the evidence for a Greek presence see Saltz 1978, 109-112; Perreault 1993, 71-79. Crielaard 1992, 165-167; Luke 2003, 36-37 with further reference. Also Ploug notes that there is no convincing evidence for Greek building activities before 600 BC: Ploug 1972, 93. Already Forrer suggested that any Greek settlement activities did not occur before the end of the 7th century BC: Forrer 1940, 364.

⁴⁸³ Crielaard 1992, 166; Luke 2003, 32 tab. 8. 37.

⁴⁸⁴ The numbers differ slightly from Crielaard 1996, 165. 166, who recorded in total 14 fragments dated from ca. 850-700 BC (including 4 EPC fragments) and an additional two probable Cycladic vessels from the first half of the 7th century BC. From the EPC vessels only one is securely identified and dated to EPC while the rest are non-diagnostic fragments and could also belong to later periods. They are therefore omitted here.

⁴⁸⁵ Ploug 1973, 92.

⁴⁸⁶ Appendix 3, catalogue Sukas no. 3. Cf. cat.no. 260.

Moreover, the documentation of the excavation permits a restricted spatial analysis of the Greek imports. However, the Greek pottery was never completely published and this remains a problem. From the originally retrieved finds, only one third was registered in detail (ca. 1000 fragments) and from this corpus only one third was selected for publication.⁴⁸⁷ From cups with everted rim about 250 rim- and shoulder sherds were registered and about as twice as many body sherds.⁴⁸⁸ If we consider that only 29 pieces were published, which constitutes about 4 % of the total recovered cups, it becomes clear that the picture does not even closely reflect the original assemblage.⁴⁸⁹ According to Ploug, 59.3 % of the imports are East Greek, and among them 22.6 % are Ionian cups. 12.4 % can be associated with Wild Goat and “derivative” styles and 5.7 % to other categories.⁴⁹⁰

Another problem is that the selective publication caused a distorted picture of Greek imports and the published catalogue does not represent the actual relationship between different wares. While certainly all early fragments (9th-8th century BC) and also the majority of the Corinthian pottery were fully published, the East Greek imports of the late 7th and 6th century BC were more subject to selection due to their quantity.⁴⁹¹ Bearing in mind the distortion of the evidence, some general observations can be made.

The pottery from the sanctuary in the North- eastern sector⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁷ Ploug 1973, 95.

⁴⁸⁸ Ploug 1973, 28.

⁴⁸⁹ This is only true if we assume that the unpublished fragments can be equally divided among the sanctuary and the habitation quarter, an assumption, which might be mistaken.

⁴⁹⁰ Ploug 1973, 95-96.

⁴⁹¹ The material of the 6th century alone consists of 4425 fragments: Ploug 1973, 95. For the Corinthian sherds see Ploug 1973, 96.

⁴⁹² It is still an open question which deity was worshipped in the sanctuary. Riis 1970, 128 suggested Apollon, for which no archaeological or written evidence is available. The presence of a so-called high-place is an argument against a Greek sanctuary and highlights the “oriental” character of the sanctuary. Crielaard 1996, 167.

The total number of sherds published from the sanctuary and belonging to the period under consideration is 49, which is 16 % of the total published assemblage from Sukas. The Greek imports seem to be concentrated in squ. G 13 to G 15, where the temple is located, and they diminish towards the southern boundary of the sanctuary (see fig. 2). Eight pieces date to the second half of the 8th and the first quarter of the 7th century BC. The remaining 41 pieces all belong to the late 7th century BC.⁴⁹³ Greek imports dated from the 8th or to the first half of the 7th century BC, consist of skyphoi, cups with everted rim, kraters, a pyxis, one aryballos, dishes, bowls and jugs.⁴⁹⁴ The majority belong to the last quarter of the 7th century BC. The amount of drinking vessels and their relation to the other categories is noteworthy. The difference between them is not as remarkable as at Al Mina. Only 28 % (total count) belong to drinking cups. For example at Al Mina level V, the drinking vessels come to 51 %. The same observation can be made about the pottery assemblage from the habitation quarter (see below). The difference might best be explained by the selective publication of the material. Drinking cups, like at any other site, perhaps comprise the largest vessel category of Greek imports at Sukas.

Another large group found in the sanctuary are vessels decorated in the Wild Goat style, of which 325 were recovered from the site. They date almost exclusively to the late 7th or early 6th century BC.⁴⁹⁵ Only 22 fragments of this class were recovered from the sanctuary. The distribution suggests that the fine painted Wild Goat style vases were not specifically used for cultic purposes; otherwise they would be limited to the sanctuary and to the graves. The majority of the published pieces derive from closed vases (17 pieces).

⁴⁹³ See Appendix 3, catalogue Sukas 1.8-2.49. For the amount of Greek imports from Sukas see also Ploug 1973, 11-13; Crielaard 1996, 165. 353. Here only those fragments are considered that are securely datable to a specific period.

⁴⁹⁴ Appendix 3, catalogue Sukas 1.8-2.49.

⁴⁹⁵ Ploug 1973, 43-44.

Interestingly, only one fragment of a fruit stand was found in the sanctuary as well as three dishes and three wide bowls.⁴⁹⁶

Square	Sherd number
G/H 14	1
G13	11
G13 NW	1
G13 SE	1
G14	10
G14 NE	1
G14 NW	1
G15	1
G15 NE	3
G15 SE	4
G15 SW	3
G 16	1
G 16 NW	3
G16 SE	1
G16 SW	3
H13	2
H14	2
Total	49

Fig. 2

A comparison with the Athena sanctuary at Assesos, which contained finds primarily from the 7th century BC, highlights the differences: at Assesos plates come to about 212 pieces.⁴⁹⁷ Although a detailed analysis of the amount of finds from Assesos is missing, the comparison with the retrieved drinking cups, which amount to 504 fragments, indicates that plates had an important function. Either local plates were used instead of Greek

⁴⁹⁶ Ploug 1973, pl.14, 287 (TS 3067).

⁴⁹⁷ Kalaitzoglou 2008, 119.

imports in the sanctuary or we have to suggest different cultic activities carried out in the sanctuary. Missing evidence for local plates point to the later hypothesis. It seems that consumption of food did not play the same important role at Sukas as at Assesos provided that no other vessel shapes were used for food consumption.

The only three forms recovered in the habitation quarters that are missing in the sanctuary are the juglet, the one-handed cup and the krateriskos, but in the habitation quarter all three shapes are limited to a few examples.⁴⁹⁸ The comparison between the finds from the sanctuary and the habitation quarter shows some dissimilarity in the distribution (see pl. 166 fig. 2). In particular the difference between the dishes/fruit stand and to some extent the kraters, are remarkable, but given the selection of the assemblage, the picture might be entirely misleading.

A contextual analysis of the Greek vessels found in the sanctuary is severely hindered by the continuous building activities and by the intrusion of later pits, which in many cases destroyed the original context.⁴⁹⁹ It was further argued that the bulk of the material was moved to the Tell probably from outside the site and therefore a statistical analysis was not employed. There is however no real evidence for such a conclusion. The material could also come from the Tell itself. In particular the argument that material from outside was used to fill refuse dumps on the Tell is not convincing.⁵⁰⁰

The only way to identify such activities, if they indeed occurred, would be through the use of statistical analysis and the subsequent comparison with assemblages from other sites of

⁴⁹⁸ Juglets: Ploug 1973, pl. 16. 320-321. The types are contemporary with juglets from Al Mina levels VI and V. One-handle cup: Ploug 1973, pl. 4. 99.

⁴⁹⁹ Riis 1970, 16-19. 50; Ploug 1973, 93.

⁵⁰⁰ Buhl 1983, 6.

the region, where such a transfer of material can be excluded. What appears to be more problematic is the fact that the sanctuary is located in the immediate vicinity of habitation buildings and it cannot be excluded that the material found in the sanctuary partly derives from the nearby houses. The assemblage consists of a whole Greek drinking and eating sets including cups, jugs, kraters, dishes, bowls and amphorae. In this respect Sukas does not differ from Greek sanctuaries and it is also close to Al Mina level VI and V.⁵⁰¹ The majority of the late 7th century BC imports comes from East Greek sources with north Ionia having the largest share of it, a situation quite different from Al Mina where north and south Ionian imports had an equal share.

The Rhodian inscription found in the sanctuary indicates an early cult for Helios at the site during the 6th century BC.⁵⁰² The tiles with the inscriptions may date to the same period.⁵⁰³ Before this period, no clear evidence points to a Greek cult. Thus we have to assume that during the previous phases the sanctuary housed a local cult. Perreault suggested that the votive offerings of figurines might point to the Phoenician god Reshef as the owner of the sanctuary during period H.⁵⁰⁴

The Sanctuary at the Southern Harbour

The sanctuary at the southern harbour site contained a series of late Bronze and Early Iron Age deposits and offers the unique opportunity to compare ceramic assemblages as well as cultic practices between two sanctuaries of different periods.⁵⁰⁵ In total 16 deposits could

⁵⁰¹ A good comparison is provided by the record from the Athena sanctuary at Assesos. See Kalaitzoglou 2008. Unfortunately a statistical analysis of the finds from Assesos is missing so far.

⁵⁰² Riis 1970, 78 fig. 26 pl. 4; Ploug 1973, 86 fig. g; pl. 20; Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 475 12b (550- 500 BC). 477 (certainly Rhodian). See also Perreault 1993, 74.

⁵⁰³ Riis 1970, 52. Perreault 1993, 68. 78 rightly points out that tiles are difficult to date and suggested that they do not date before the last quarter of the 6th century BC.

⁵⁰⁴ Perreault 1993, 77. See also Riis 1970, 38.

⁵⁰⁵ Riis et al. 1996, 13. 21. 26-27.

be isolated and identified (deposit A- Q).⁵⁰⁶ These 16 deposits are not the only deposits found at the site. The whole field was littered with pottery but only a limited number could be securely defined as belonging to the same deposition. Of these 16 deposits, it is particularly K-M in sector H 9 NE are hard to separate from each other.⁵⁰⁷ The extension of the single deposits is not always clear because they are partly concentrated in a small area, notably in G 9 SE and H 9 NE.⁵⁰⁸

The deposits A-Q contained few drinking cups and the assemblages are dominated by closed amphorae/amphoriskoi, jugs/oinochoai and fruit stands.⁵⁰⁹ Apart from deposit A almost every deposit contained an amphora or an amphoriskos and the excavator noted that in many cases the other vessels of the deposit were grouped around an amphora.⁵¹⁰ In the case of deposit A another vessel may have served a similar function as the amphora in the other deposits.⁵¹¹ At least four of them were made brittle by fire and thus one may conclude that organic material was perhaps burned inside them, or the containers were placed on the fire, perhaps used as cooking pots.⁵¹² Riis' suggestion that the offerings were burnt and then put into the jars to protect them is not convincing. The vessels were obviously partly blackened and made brittle by fire, therefore the contents were burned in

⁵⁰⁶ Deposits A-Q: Riis 1996, 15-20. Deposit E was disturbed by a later grave and for deposit G no detailed information is given. Deposit H only contains one vessel and deposits B and J are limited to three vessels. Looking at the published plans it becomes clear that these 16 deposits comprise only a small portion of the deposits.

⁵⁰⁷ Riis et al. 1996, 16. According to the excavator however, they are the only deposits that could be identified with some degree of certainty: Riis 1996, 14-15.

⁵⁰⁸ Riis et al. 1996, 14.

⁵⁰⁹ Riis et al. 1996, 17.

⁵¹⁰ Riis et al. 1996, 17.

⁵¹¹ Riis et al. 1996, 17.

⁵¹² Riis et al. 1996, 14. 17. Unfortunately, the excavator does not mention whether the amphorae, made brittle by fire, with the lowest part apparently affected the most, showed any other signs of exposure to fire. Only for the amphoriskoi class III such information is given and it seems that some of them even contained burnt material such as carbonized grain and bones: Riis et al. 1996, 25.

the vessels, in which they were buried.⁵¹³ The fact that not one single complete specimen was recovered from the site perhaps supports the hypothesis of a secondary use.⁵¹⁴ Some of the jugs, which were also frequently found among the deposits, showed signs of a similar practice while others apparently contained liquids when they were buried.⁵¹⁵

The fruit stand is another important vessel. Despite its frequency, the shape is not found in every deposit. Only deposits A, C, D, M, O and Q contained fruit stands. Deposit M alone contained 14 fragments.⁵¹⁶ The fruit stands, like the amphorae and some jugs, showed traces of burning.⁵¹⁷ Perhaps they were used as incense-burners.⁵¹⁸ The assumption that the fruit stands always accompany “a jar” (amphora?) is not confirmed by their distribution.⁵¹⁹ In fact, the majority of the deposits did not contain any fruit stand at all but from the published plan it becomes clear that other deposits contained fruit stands as well and this vessel type apparently played a significant role during the cultic activities.⁵²⁰ Considering that in some instances the bowl performed the same function as the fruit stand, one can assume that amphora/amphoriskos, jug/oinochoe/juglet and fruit stand/bowl were the essential vessels of any deposit.⁵²¹

⁵¹³ Riis et al. 1996, 27. Perhaps the offerings were burnt and buried in old and broken vessels, in order to limit the wastage of vessels, in particular the wastage of cooking pots. A further argument for this assumption is that apparently several vessel types with traces of burnt and charred material, including bones, were found. The actual vessel type was obviously not significant for the ritual itself. It was the offering which was important.

⁵¹⁴ Riis et al. 1996, 14.

⁵¹⁵ Riis et al. 1996, 14. 17. In total, 10 deposits either contained a jug/oinochoe or a juglet.

⁵¹⁶ Not included here are the eight fragments that can be assigned either to fruit stands or to bowls, which means a total of 22 fruit stands. Since the fragments from the deposits do not join, they should be considered as separated vessels. Unfortunately, the excavator did not mention how many rims were recovered so that no MNI can be given. However, the number of 22 fruit stands seems far too high. Given that at least three different types were recognized, one may assume the at least three fruit stands belonged to the original deposit.

⁵¹⁷ Riis et al. 1996, 17. 26.

⁵¹⁸ Riis 1996, 27-28 suggested after comparing the assemblage with the sanctuary at Soloi, which contained also thymiateria, that the fruit stands and bowls may have fulfilled a similar function at Sukas.

⁵¹⁹ Riis et al. 1996, 19. The jar mentioned by Riis is perhaps the amphora or amphoriskos.

⁵²⁰ Only deposits A, C, D, M, O and Q contained this vessel category.

⁵²¹ For the function of the bowl see Riis 1996, 27; Riis 1996, 19.

What can be said about the shape variety within the different deposits is that larger deposits generally contain a higher variability. Deposit M shows the highest grade of variety with 10 vessel types. Every deposit contained at least three different vase types.⁵²² Interestingly, foreign imports are confined to few pieces. From the above-mentioned deposits only F contained an import.⁵²³ Among the imports recovered from the deposit field, and which could not be assigned to a specific deposition, one can find stirrup jars, kraters, Cypriot bowls, figurines and possible imitations of Mycenaean pyxides.⁵²⁴

Stirrup jars and Cypriot bowls are the most frequent imports found at the field, although the number of the former is limited to 12 fragments.⁵²⁵ No concentration of the finds in clusters was observed nor did any clear pattern emerge from the distribution.⁵²⁶ Only one group of deposits, in the NE corner of G 9, showed an accumulation of two stirrup jars and one amphora. In the light of the quantity of Cypriot imports, one has to consider whether the Mycenaean or Minoan stirrup jars, as the excavator interpreted them, actually come from Cyprus.⁵²⁷

The excavator suggested that the deposits have to be interpreted as offerings, perhaps to the same goddess and god, Astarte and Melqart, who were worshiped in the later sanctuary at the southern harbour.⁵²⁸ Next to wine and oil offerings, the deposits contained also burnt minor fruits and lentils, which were covered by vessels that were partly deposited upside

⁵²² Excluded from this observation are the deposits H, J and F. The latter two contain only one identifiable fragment, the rest belong to undetermined pieces. H contains only one single sherd.

⁵²³ Imports were not totally absent from the sanctuary at the harbour.

⁵²⁴ Riis et al. 1996, 26. Unfortunately, it remains open how many imports were recovered from the deposit field.

⁵²⁵ Riis et al. 1996, 56.

⁵²⁶ Unfortunately, in particular for the Cypriot bowls, information regarding the exact locus of the vessels is missing.

⁵²⁷ Riis 1996, 56. Even if they are not regional or Cypriot products, one may consider the possibility that they were shipped to Sukas together with the Cypriot bowls.

⁵²⁸ Riis et al. 1996, 27.

down.⁵²⁹ Although the precise rite cannot be reconstructed, some important points can be noted: the triad amphora, jug and fruit stand were perhaps used to mark a special ritual feast.⁵³⁰ The same range of vessels – some of them showing similar traces of fire – was also found near the inhumation burial 23 in square G 9, which suggests that the use of these vessel types was not confined to sanctuaries.⁵³¹

The size of the deposits must in some way reflect the number of the participants that took part in the rituals. Assuming that post-depositional processes affected the whole deposit field equally, and that the recovered fragments reflect the original assemblage to some degree, it seems that the average deposit contained between five and twelve vessels. Only deposit M stands out from the rest.⁵³² M differs from the other deposits not only in size but also in shape variability. It is the only deposit that contained a krater and two mugs, which points to drinking as part of the rites. One possible interpretation of deposit M with the krater is that we perhaps can see here the introduction of new customs by a social elite, which tried to distinguish itself from other parties, not only by an increase in vessels, but also through a change in drinking customs reflected by the krater and the mugs as well as by one small deep bowl.

Of the distinguishable deposits only four contained deep bowls (A, C, N, P).⁵³³ In total 93 fragments were recovered from the field.⁵³⁴ In this respect the relatively high number of

⁵²⁹ Riis et al. 1996, 27. This observation is simply based on the condition of the sand in and around some of the closed vases. See Riis et al. 1996, 14. It has to remain open what sort of liquid these vessels contained. For the use of inverted vessels and their chthonic association see Aström 1986, 7-16.

⁵³⁰ The location of the deposit is obviously another important marker.

⁵³¹ Riis 1979, 18.

⁵³² One has to point out that in the case of deposit M the actual size remains uncertain. Judging from the information provided by the published plan it is unclear how the excavator was able to distinguish between the four deposits K-L-M-N. On the other hand, clear definable deposits such as the one north of the south-east corner of G 9 (around 67, 71, 157, 111) were not considered as single deposits.

⁵³³ Interestingly, flat bowls have a similar distribution (A, M, N, P) as the deep bowls, but whether this is significant or not cannot be said since the sample size is too small

Cypriot imports, in particular bowls (24), is interesting.⁵³⁵ Imports were not found among the deposit M. Perhaps exotic goods and food did not play any role in the rites connected with this deposit. On the other hand, a few stirrup jars were recovered from the deposit field. Two of them perhaps belonged to the same deposit.⁵³⁶ The location of this “corner” deposit, which is situated some distance from the majority of the vessels (G 9 SE), is also interesting in this respect. The few stirrup jars might be considered signs for diacritical feasting. Stirrup jars are also rare in the settlement. Only six fragments are reported from the habitation quarter.⁵³⁷ This underlines the value of these vessels, or rather their content, at Sukas during the end of the BA and beginning of the EIA. It also seems that other vessels usually associated with Greek drinking customs are missing. It is also worth stressing that the most important vessels, the central amphorae, the jug and the fruit stand, were all local shapes. There is no indication that the Greek imports were used to fulfil the function of these three major shapes within the deposits. On the other hand, Cypriot bowls were found in relatively high numbers suggesting that they, unlike the closed jars, were perhaps widely available to the population of Sukas.⁵³⁸

This short discussion of the late BA and EIA deposition field in the sanctuary shows the distinct characteristics of the two sanctuaries and the variable function of the Greek pottery. Although in the case of the sanctuary in the north-eastern sector detailed recorded deposits are missing, the composition of the Greek assemblages and their relation to the

⁵³⁴ 93 is the number of pieces which have been published. Most likely, more than the 93 fragments were found.

⁵³⁵ One may assume that, unlike in the case of the local deep bowls, the imported fragments were fully published.

⁵³⁶ 243 and 252 in the NW corner of G 9. It remains unclear however, how many deposits are represented by the accumulation in the corner.

⁵³⁷ Ploug 1973, 9.

⁵³⁸ Generally, Cypriot imports are quite common in the habitation quarters and consist of several different vessel types and wares. See e.g. Cypriot finds from G 7 SE: Lund 1986, 50- 51; Milk bowls from 11 NW Lund 1986, 60; Milk bowls from F 8 NW: Lund 1986, 67; Bowl in G 5 NE: Lund 1986, 70; G 7 SE: Lund 1986, 72.

local pottery highlights some remarkable differences and some similarities. Closed shapes (amphora, jugs) play an important role at Sukas during the late 7th century BC. In the case of the BA/EIA sanctuary, the Greek closed jars can be considered as rare exotic pieces, and this is confirmed by their limited numbers in the BA/EIA settlement.⁵³⁹ During the late 7th century BC, Wild Goat style amphorae are particularly frequent among the Greek imports, although their number is limited to a few pieces in the sanctuary.⁵⁴⁰ Greek fine painted amphorae were either not easily accessible or did not play any role in cultic activities during the late 7th century BC.

The frequency of this type among the habitation quarter speaks in favour of the latter interpretation. None of the Greek vessels showed any signs of burning. Greek fruit stands, such an important shape in the LBA/EIA sanctuary, are exceptionally rare in the later sanctuary and obviously did not enjoy the same popularity (see pl. 166 fig. 2). Signs that the fine painted Greek variant were used as incense burners, are also missing. Obviously, the Greek types performed a different role than their predecessors, which is further supported by their relative abundance in the habitation quarter.⁵⁴¹ On the other hand, Greek dinoi and kraters appear now in larger quantities pointing to their increasing importance during cultic activities. Imports of these vessels, as well as local types, were almost completely missing in the earlier sanctuary.

⁵³⁹ One fragment was found on a floor in F 8 NW together with a Cypriote milk bowl. An additional stirrup jar comes from the same area from level 8: Lund 1986, 46. 49 67. A third piece is reported to be ex situ: Lund 1986, 105.

⁵⁴⁰ To establish the actual vessel frequency is almost impossible, mainly due to the selective publication of the material. Note, however, that from the sanctuary only two rim fragments of closed vessels with Wild Goat decoration were published. In the present study rim counts has been considered to provide the MNI. In the case of Sukas, and of the sanctuary in particular, such a method fails to provide an adequate picture of vessels frequencies because the different decoration styles on the body sherds clearly indicate that the body fragments alone must represent several different vessels.

⁵⁴¹ Many fragments are listed under bowls/stands since it is hard to distinguish between dish and stand if the foot is not preserved.

The Habitation Quarter

From the habitation quarter three sherds are dated to the period 850-750 BC while four fragments may cover the period from 750 to the first half of the 7th century BC.

The settlement produced a much richer record of Greek imports during the last quarter of the 7th century BC (277 pieces).⁵⁴² Unfortunately, like in the sanctuary, later constructions heavily destroyed the original contexts so that only in a few instances the Greek sherds can be related to their original context. Therefore, the spatial analysis can only provide basic information and has to be considered cautiously. The analysis is based on the hypothesis that the sherds were not dispersed too far away from their original source of use, and further, it is assumed that they were not moved to the Tell from a different area.

All areas revealed Greek pottery. Shape variability is slightly higher in the settlement than in the sanctuary. No clear concentration of finds can be observed. Only square G 11 with building complex VIII stands out slightly from the rest with a total of 55 recorded pieces.⁵⁴³ A concentration of Cypriot pottery was noted for G 7 and P 11 NW.⁵⁴⁴ Greek pottery was apparently abundant in the sectors located at the periphery during the succeeding period G 2.⁵⁴⁵ It has been suggested that this might indicate special living

⁵⁴² Not included here are eight fragments that might belong to the first half of the 7th century BC but for which a later date cannot be ruled out due to the long lifetime of the cups with everted rims. The second krater fragment listed by Plough 1973, 14 no. 41 cannot be securely identified and is therefore omitted here. Plough further identified five Al Mina ware fragments: Plough 1973, 16-17 no. 44-47. His no. 46 could also be an Euboean import and his no. 47 is too small to assign it securely to the Al Mina ware. (Appendix 3, catalogue Sukas 3.1-6.292.

⁵⁴³ The picture might be completely different, however, if the unpublished sherds are taken into consideration as well. Interestingly, the excavator excluded any Greek presence in complex VIII because of the "limited number of Greek sherds associated with it" Lund 1986, 190. This is because the majority was found ex situ.

⁵⁴⁴ Lund 1986, 73. 190.

⁵⁴⁵ Unfortunately, no evidence which would support this important observation is presented. The published data alone do not support this. From 291 fragments, 103 come from the periphery (E 7- F 7, E 8- F 8, F 8- H 8, F 5, G 5, H 5, P 11).

quarters for foreigners.⁵⁴⁶ Such an interpretation seems to be unlikely since P 11 and G 7 are some distance from each other and it would mean that the “foreign quarter” was stretched almost along the whole north-south axis of the Tell or that there was more than one quarter for foreigners. Further, Cypriot imports were spread all over the Tell, which clearly indicates the use of imports by the whole local population.⁵⁴⁷ Finally, the concentration of Greek sherds in G 7 and P 11 is much smaller than in the centre close to the sanctuary.

The distribution of the Greek imports reveals that perhaps a wide range of people had access to Greek vases. Although some concentrations can be observed, the difference between the various areas is not clear enough to deduce any conclusions from it. Looking at the distribution of Greek shapes (pl. 166 fig. 1), apart from J 13, which contained only bowls, no concentration of a particular shape can be observed.⁵⁴⁸ Fragments of all categories could only be found in six sectors (G5, 7, 8, 11; H5, 11; P11). This is perhaps related to the number of fragments but G7 demonstrates that also smaller samples contained all vessel categories and there are a number of sectors that have a bigger or similar sample size but there the composition of vessels was much smaller.

Looking at the distribution of pouring vessels one has to consider that their absolute number is blurred by the general higher breakage rate of closed vessels. In this respect it is important to mention that the large body of indeterminate vessels contains, to a large extent, pouring vessels. Mixing bowls, kraters and dinoi have a similar distribution range as pouring vessels (found in 12 sectors). The comparatively few numbers of drinking

⁵⁴⁶ Lund 1986, 190.

⁵⁴⁷ The identification then would be only based on an argument of quantity, which is no indication for the owner of the pottery.

⁵⁴⁸ In the table only late 7th century BC fragments have been included. Squares that did not contain a sample, which was considered high enough, have been omitted.

fragments together with their low distribution range (only in 10 sectors) has to be considered alongside the incomplete publication status. Eating vessels, dishes and large bowls have the highest distribution range. They constitute the only vessel type found in all sectors. Storage jars have the lowest distribution rate, which is not surprising given their low number.

The results gained from the analysis are limited but conclusive at the same time. Besides the fact that Greek imports were widely distributed in the settlement, also the shapes seemed to be in use in almost every part of the settlement. Missing concentrations of certain types speak against the existence of storage rooms. The majority of Greek imports were apparently used for local consumption.

The popularity of Greek dishes is remarkable given the absence of this type during the 8th and first half of the 7th centuries BC. The appearance of fine painted East Greek plates apparently led to an increase in consumption of this type at Sukas. Unfortunately the majority of the dish fragments can be either assigned to a stemmed dish or to a plate with ring base so that it is impossible to determine which of the type was more popular although the securely identifiable examples favours the stemmed category (see pl. 166 fig. 2).⁵⁴⁹ This question is important because if the majority belong to the stemmed dishes, one cannot excluded that the popularity of the dishes might be the result of the morphologic similarity between the local undecorated fruit stands and the East Greek painted version.

⁵⁴⁹ At the Athena sanctuary of Assesos the fruit stand is outnumbering the ring base dishes by far: Kalaitzoglou 2008, 119 tab. 5.

Remains of buildings dated to the G 3 period were detected in almost every excavated sector on the Tell.⁵⁵⁰ Despite this situation, coherent ground plans of buildings could only be retained from complex VIII in G 11 NW.⁵⁵¹ The house measures approximately 67 m² and is therefore of considerable size. This indicates that its owner perhaps belonged to the wealthy social class of the port.⁵⁵² The Greek pottery retrieved from the complex or its surroundings, and belonging to the same period, is restricted to seven fragments.⁵⁵³ Parts of another building were detected in square F 8 and E 8. In F 8 one room of a building was detected, in which a clay bathtub was found. According to the excavator the building was perhaps even larger than complex VIII judging from the size of the walls.⁵⁵⁴ It remains unclear though whether the building really belongs to G 3.⁵⁵⁵

It is also noteworthy that the pottery recovered in F 8 and E 8 was “remarkably small in all layers”.⁵⁵⁶ This is also reflected in the low numbers among the published material, which may indicate that the numbers, despite their selective character, partly reflect the actual distribution. It further undermines the hypothesis of a foreign quarter at the edges of the Tell. The evidence is unfortunately not better for F 5- G 5- H 5. Some walls that can be associated with G 3 were uncovered but their preservation does not allow any conclusion about the function or size of the buildings. One East Greek vase was found in a fill in H 5.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁰ Lund 1986, 12.

⁵⁵¹ For the type of the house see Braemer 1982, 55. 58. 60-16 (type II A 3 or II B 1) depending on the presence of columns in room 9.

⁵⁵² A comparison with the houses from Ekron suggest that this building belonged to the upper middle class of Sukas.

⁵⁵³ Lund 1986, 57. 60. 2. 64. Fig. 17, 2, 5, 6, 24, 36, 44. fig. 43.

⁵⁵⁴ Lund 1986, 64 with no. 62. The difference in wall width between both buildings is about 15 cm.

⁵⁵⁵ Lund 1986, 68 interprets the room as belonging to period G 3 but finds dating to the period are rare.

⁵⁵⁶ Lund 1986, 68 no. 77.

⁵⁵⁷ Lund 1986, 69 pl.19, 72. 71.

Square	Sherd number
E8 NE	4
E8 SW	1
F5 SE	10
F5 w- slope	2
F8 NW	1
G12 SE	1
G10 NE	4
G10 SE	5
G11 NW	2
G11 SE	18
G11 SW	30
G12 SE	2
G12 SW	2
G19	2
G5	1
G5 NE	15
G5 NW	2
G5 SE	12
G5 SW	3
G7 SE	11
G8 NW	3
G8 SE	11
G8 SW	25
H10 NE	4
H10 SE	1
H11 NE	6
H11 NW	14
H11 SE	4
H 12	3
H5 NE	10
H5 SE	5
J13	1
J13 NE	6
J13 SE	1
J15	1
J8 SE	10
L8 SE	16
P11	1
P11 NW	23
P11 SE	1
P11 SW	12
Total	286

Tab. 3 Distribution of Greek imports in the habitation quarter of Tell Sukas

A similar general situation is encountered in G 7, where only parts of a room were discovered. One handle attachment from an oinochoe and a kylix fragment come from a fill under a floor level.⁵⁵⁸ Another oinochoe was discovered in the nearby area.⁵⁵⁹ In J 8 and P 11 additional building remains were uncovered but no Greek pottery was reported that can be associated with G 3 levels.⁵⁶⁰

The scanty Greek imports that can be associated with floor levels are limited to a few pieces. In principle only two fragments found in complex VIII can be associated with a certain building. Since only the outline and size of one building could be obtained, it is hard to define its character within the settlement. Its central location and proximity to the sanctuary probably indicate the higher social status of the owner.⁵⁶¹

The “Graeco-Phoenician” cemetery of period G

The so-called Graeco-Phoenician cemetery is located at the southern harbour site at the same spot as the earlier LBA/EIA deposit field (see above) and the later sanctuary at the southern harbour. The cemetery was in use from the late 7th century BC until the first half of the 4th century BC when the area was turned into a sanctuary. A few burials from the southern harbour date to the late 7th to early 6th century BC. Although Riis is right in considering only one burial to be from the 7th century BC, here also burials dating to the early 6th century are considered whenever they contained 7th century Greek pottery.⁵⁶² In total nine burials contained Greek pottery. Of these nine burials five are urn burials, three are inhumations while another burial could also be a sacrificial pyre (tab. 4).

⁵⁵⁸ Lund 1986, 71 pl.20, 75. 72. 75 fig. 48.

⁵⁵⁹ Lund 1986, 71 pl.20, 89. 72. The East Greek oinochoe dates to the last quarter of the 7th century BC.

⁵⁶⁰ For the remains see Lund 1986, 73 pl. 21. 74; pl. 22.

⁵⁶¹ For the relationship between socioeconomic status and location of buildings within a city see e.g. Faust 1999, 180. 186.

⁵⁶² Riis 1979, 30. Only burial 24 is perhaps of late 7th century date. All other burials listed here perhaps belong to the first half of the 6th century BC.

The Greek pottery found in the burials amounts to a total of thirteen pieces. The amphorae come all from urn burials and belong either to local productions or to Cypriot imports.

Burial types	Urn burial	Inhumation	Sacrificial pyre	
Tomb No.	2	24	13	
Tomb No.	10	29		
Tomb No.	12	30		
Tomb No.	26			
Tomb No.	27?			
	Total: 5	Total:3	Total :1	Total burials: 9

Tab. 4

The Attic amphora from burial 29 is omitted since its association with the burial is unclear.⁵⁶³ Burial 29, which contained probably three Greek vessels, was also marked with a grave stele while stones surrounded the burial, which possibly indicates a small tumulus. The interpretation of 13 as a sacrificial pyre seems to be confirmed by the find of a dinos, the only one found among the graves.

Burials 29 and 30 contained fragments of tiles, which were considered a strong argument that the deceased were Greeks because “tile burials” are known from Greek cemeteries.⁵⁶⁴ A closer look reveals that the roof tiles either derive from just below the surface or were stray finds that cannot be associated tentatively with the burials.⁵⁶⁵ Further, only small fragments of the tiles survived and Riis does not provide any explanation where the tiles, which were used to cover the deceased, are gone.⁵⁶⁶ One fragment was even associated

⁵⁶³ Riis 1979, 25-27.

⁵⁶⁴ Riis 1979, 31; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 97. The cited examples by Riis are of late Archaic period and so far no late 7th or early 6th century “tile-graves” are known.

⁵⁶⁵ Other graves where tile fragments were found are burials 3, 4, 7, 22.

⁵⁶⁶ Some of the inhumations are well preserved and it needs to be explained why the bones are preserved perfectly while the supposed cover of roof tiles is gone. We cannot expect that gravediggers uncovered the tombs, removed the tiles while leaving the bodies in place, and covered the burials again with soil. One has

with urn burial 3. Roof tiles were usually used to cover and protect the body of the deceased, a practice, which is useless in the case of a cremation.⁵⁶⁷ One has to remember that the burials are located on the same area as the later sanctuary, where a small naiskos and an altar enclosure was found. Both were possibly covered with roof tiles. The tiles may therefore be associated with these later buildings and the tiles ended up in earlier contexts through later grave digging.⁵⁶⁸ Therefore, there seems to be nothing about the cemetery that can be connected exclusively with Greek practices.⁵⁶⁹

Offerings other than pottery were rare. A bronze knife accompanied the deceased of burial 30 and a ring was discovered near the feet of the deceased in burial 24.⁵⁷⁰ Among the pottery one can find drinking cups, jugs and small perfume vessels (see tab 4). The sample size is too small however to draw any conclusions from the distribution of the finds. Jugs and cups are the most common finds in the burials.

Notably, all drinking cups discovered in the burials were of Greek origin.⁵⁷¹ On the other hand burials 12 and 27, which both contained Greek jugs, also included jugs of Phoenician origin.⁵⁷² It has to be left open whether the vessels were used during drinking ceremonies or whether they were personal belongings of the deceased.

to mention though that e.g. inhumation burial 30 was only badly preserved and at least in this case it could be possible that the remains of the deceased had been removed together with the tiles. For the burial 30 see Riis 1979, 27 fig. 84.

⁵⁶⁷ For the urn burial 3 see Riis 1979, 10.

⁵⁶⁸ For altar enclosure and naiskos or “chapel” see Riis 1979, 64-65 pl. 3. This seems in particular very likely for burial 4 and 7, which contained tiles as well and which are located in G 7, the same area as the altar enclosure and the small naiskos of the later sanctuary.

⁵⁶⁹ Note Perreault 1993, 79, who accepted Riis explanation that the tiles belong to the burials.

⁵⁷⁰ Riis 1979, 18-19. 25-27.

⁵⁷¹ Riis 1979, 32.

⁵⁷² Riis 1979, 12- 13 (burial 12). 22 (burial 27).

Vessel type	Cup	Krater	Jug	Aryballos/Lekythos	Askos	Amphora
Urn burial						
No. 2					x	x
No. 10			x			x
No. 12			x	x		
No. 26	x					x
No. 27			x			x
Inhumation						
No. 24			x			
No. 29	xx		x			
No. 30	x			x		
Sacrificial Pyre						
No. 13			x			
Total	4	1	5	2	1	4

Tab. 5

Burials 24, 27 and 30 are interesting. In all burials closed vessels were found that were filled with burnt remains. In the case of burial 24 the vessel is an East Greek jug.⁵⁷³ In burial 27 the burnt remains were housed in a possibly Phoenician or local juglet.⁵⁷⁴ In burial 30 a Corinthian lekythos was filled with burnt material.⁵⁷⁵ The burnt remains can perhaps best be interpreted as offerings that were burnt and then placed into a closed vessel in order to protect them.⁵⁷⁶ Perhaps the burnt remains are the dead's share from the *περιδειπνον* (*perideipnon*), the feast for the dead.⁵⁷⁷ The object's variation (jug, juglet, lekythos) as well as the different origin of the vases (Greek, Phoenician) suggests that neither the origin nor the vessel type was important. A similar custom could already be observed at the LBA/EIA deposit field, where some of the closed vases (amphorae) contained the remains of burnt material. Such a practice is unknown from Greek

⁵⁷³ Riis 1979, 18-19 fig. 43.

⁵⁷⁴ Riis 1979, 22. The tomb was considered by Riis to date to the 7th century BC, although the majority of the finds are of the 6th century BC: Riis 1979, 30.

⁵⁷⁵ Riis 1979, 28.

⁵⁷⁶ For the custom of burning food offerings see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 215.

⁵⁷⁷ For the Greek custom of burning food for the dead, also called *enagizein*, see Burkert 1985, 194.

cemeteries. We can probably observe here the use of foreign Greek vases, which were used in local cult practice after their original intended use had become obsolete. Like at the LBA/EIA deposit field, the container itself did not matter as long as the offerings were protected. The Greek lekythos and the Greek jug obviously did not have any special significance for the inhabitants of Sukas, otherwise they would not have been treated the same way as the Phoenician or local juglet.⁵⁷⁸ On the other hand, the lekythos might have been chosen for the burial because of its importance for the deceased. Whether the fact that the Phoenician jar was found in a cremation burial while the two Greek pots come from an inhumations is significant, cannot be determined since the sample is too small.

10. Tabbat al Hamman

There is little information from the site of Tabbat al Hamman. The site is located just to the north of the Nahr el Kebir river (Eleutheros). It perhaps once belonged to the “12 kings of the sea coast” mentioned in Assyrian sources. Later it was almost certainly part of Hamath and was the most southerly port of the four harbours that lay in its territory.⁵⁷⁹ Braidwood conducted a trial excavation in 1938 and a report was published in 1940.⁵⁸⁰ His work revealed a long occupation of the site ranging from the Chalcolithic to the Byzantine period. Braidwood dug only a few trial trenches and nothing can be said about the extent of the mound, its spatial organization, or its development through the periods of occupation. One characteristic feature is the breakwater installation of considerable size.⁵⁸¹ Its

⁵⁷⁸ Greek perfume vessels are very rare in the Levant and its deposit in a grave perhaps demonstrates that the vessel, which contained probably expensive oil, did not possess any special value beyond the value of the oil.

⁵⁷⁹ Riis 1970, 158.

⁵⁸⁰ Braidwood 1940, 183-221.

⁵⁸¹ Braidwood 1940, 204 fig. 14. pl. 25.

construction has been dated to the 9th-8th century BC.⁵⁸² Unfortunately, the material related to this date has not been published and the construction of the breakwater could also belong to later periods.⁵⁸³ Whatever the exact date, the whole structure is a clear indication for the importance of the harbour.

Despite the relatively large amount of Cypriot imports, the Greek pottery is limited to few pieces.⁵⁸⁴ Apparently only psc-skyphoi were discovered.⁵⁸⁵ Since only one picture of one piece was published (a body fragment) we cannot exclude that some psc-plates also found their way to Tabbat al Hamman. The date of the piece is disputed. Luke dated the piece to SPG III through analogy with the majority of psc-skyphoi found in the region, ignoring the possibility of an earlier import, while Braun considered it to be of 9th century date.⁵⁸⁶

According to Coldstream the Cypriot pottery discovered with the skyphos “defies close dating”.⁵⁸⁷ Under such circumstances the question of the precise date has to be left open.

Nothing is said about the find contexts of the Greek imports. Further information is available only for one building, located in square X on the west slope of the Tell, and dated to the so- called Syro-Phoenician period.⁵⁸⁸ The remains from this building are the best-

⁵⁸² Braidwood 1940, 207-208. The breakwater is dated according to the period of use of the quarry, from where the stones might have come. The quarry must have gone out of use, at the latest by the beginning of floor II-1, since the floor covers the quarry. According to Braidwood floor II-1 produced Phoenician Early Iron Age sherds but apart from this we do not have any information. Therefore the date of the breakwater could easily extend down to the 7th century BC. The question has to be left open until the publication of the floor II-1 material.

⁵⁸³ Raban 1998, 433 seems to date the mole also to the 9th century BC. Apparently the best-documented example comes from Atlit and belongs to the 7th century BC. Maybe one has to consider a lowering of the date for the Tabbat al Hamman example to after the first appearance of such a mole in Phoenicia, the dominant sea power of the region.

⁵⁸⁴ Braidwood 1940, 193. According to Braidwood about 35 % are Cypriot imports.

⁵⁸⁵ Braidwood 1940, 191 Fig. 4, 9. 193: “a few odd sherds of Greek bowls with concentric semi-circle ornament”.

⁵⁸⁶ Luke 2003, 32 Tab. 8; CAH III 3, 7.

⁵⁸⁷ Coldstream GGP, 311.

⁵⁸⁸ Braidwood 1940, pl. 21. 2.

preserved of this period but other structures were apparently found in TT-1.⁵⁸⁹ Thus, the exact location of the Greek imports is unknown.

Tabbat al Hamman is the most southerly harbour in Hamath and Luke used its geographical location together with the changing political situation during the end of the 8th century BC to explain the small number of Greek imports.⁵⁹⁰ While this might be one possible explanation, one has to consider the limited archaeological work done so far. The number might simply be a reflection of restricted archaeological excavations and given the scarce information, we cannot say more than that Greek imports reached the harbour; the means by which they came to be there and who brought them, remains an unsolved puzzle.

11. Hama

Hama was the capital of a Neo-Hittite kingdom of Hamath, which also included Luhuti (Aramaic Lu'ash) during the time of Shalmaneser III.⁵⁹¹ The evidence suggest that Hamath enlarged its territory greatly during the 8th century BC and from this time onwards it included the northern Phoenician coast from Latakiye to the mouth of the Nahr el-Kebir with important harbours such as Ras el Bassit, Ras Ibn Hani, Tell Sukas and Tabbat al Hamman.⁵⁹² The kingdom was a powerful state and appears frequently in Assyrian sources as a member in coalitions against the Assyrians.⁵⁹³ It paid tribute to the Assyrians and lost

⁵⁸⁹ Braidwood 1940, 191.

⁵⁹⁰ Luke 2003, 37.

⁵⁹¹ For an overview of sources and the history of Hamath before its incorporation into the Assyrian empire see Sadar 1987, 185-230; Yamada 2000, 176 no. 346; For its location see Liverani SAATA, 77; Hawkins 2000a, 400; CAH III 1, 389. Later the capital was probably transferred to Hattarika: Sader 1987, 220.

⁵⁹² RIA 4, 68- 69; Sader 1987, 221-226; Riis 1970, 161- 162; Riis and Buhl 1990, 14.

⁵⁹³ CAH III, 1, 372-441; Riis and Buhl 1990, 10. Yamada 2000.

parts of its territory in 738 BC.⁵⁹⁴ A later uprising against the Assyrians resulted in the final destruction of the city in 720 BC,⁵⁹⁵ after which the site was abandoned and not occupied again until the Hellenistic period.⁵⁹⁶

The Tell was excavated from 1931-1938 and revealed a long sequence of occupation, lasting from the Neolithic to the Islamic period.⁵⁹⁷ The most important discoveries were made at the south side of the Tell where a gate and a palace complex of four buildings were revealed.⁵⁹⁸ A fifth building was found at the southwest edge of the Tell.⁵⁹⁹ Buildings I-V belong to period E, which dates from the 10th/9th century BC (perhaps from the time of the king of Irhuleni, 859- 845 BC) until 720 BC.⁶⁰⁰ Fugmann the excavator, interpreted building I as main gate, building II was probably a palace complex. Building complex III was considered a temple and building IV perhaps served as an entrance to the royal quarter.⁶⁰¹

The final publication of the finds from Hama did not appear before 1990.⁶⁰² Despite this, the Greek pottery imported to Hama played an important role in the absolute chronology, and have therefore been widely discussed.⁶⁰³

⁵⁹⁴ RIA 4, 69; Hawkins 2000a, 401.

⁵⁹⁵ RIA 4, 69; Riis and Buhl 1990, 14-15.

⁵⁹⁶ Fugmann 1958, 264. 277 claimed that the site became the seat of an Assyrian governor, which has been rejected by Hawkins in RIA 4, 69-70; CAH III 1, 425 no. 428; Francis and Vickers 1985, 133. Hawkins 2000a, 402; Luke 2003, 37 no. 113. Against an Assyrian governor and a continuous settlement speaks also the fact that towards the end of the 7th century BC both Egyptians and Babylonians used a city called Riblah as base and not Hama: See RIA 4, 69.

⁵⁹⁷ For a brief overview see Hawkins 2000a, 399. 402.

⁵⁹⁸ Fugmann 1958, 151 fig. 185 (building I-IV).

⁵⁹⁹ Fugmann 1958, 151 fig. 185 (building V).

⁶⁰⁰ Fugmann 1958, 171-172. 189-190. 232-236. 244-245. 257-258. 268-269; See also Riis and Buhl 1990, 10-13. 16-26.

⁶⁰¹ Fugmann 1958, 171-172 (building I). 189-191 (building III). 232-236 (building II). 244-245 (building IV). Riis and Buhl 1990, 28 No. 4 (building III). The interpretation of building III as a temple has been challenged. See discussion in Sader 1987, 228. Also Riis 1970, 54. 150 for the interpretation of building IV.

⁶⁰² Fugman 1958, 193 Fig. 245. 236 fig. 310. 261 fig. 344; Riis and Buhl 1990, 184-189.

⁶⁰³ See Coldstream 1968, 310- 313. 423; Desborough 1952, 181. 183. 328; Riis 1970, 150-153; Francis and Vickers 1985; Crielaard 1996, 167-168; Luke 2003, 37.

The Royal Quarter

From the total of 11 Greek imports, nine come from the Royal Quarter. Only two of them have a proper context. One is a psc-skyphos found in the 720 BC destruction context immediately to the west of building II.⁶⁰⁴ Fugmann suggested that the piece comes from building II and was deposited during its evacuation.⁶⁰⁵ The square west of building II probably contained a sanctuary with two platforms.⁶⁰⁶ One skyphos was found at the south-west corner of the southern platform.⁶⁰⁷ Both platforms most likely served a cultic function and, as an alternative to Fugmann's suggestion, the psc-skyphos was interpreted as a votive offering in a sanctuary situated between complex II and IV.⁶⁰⁸ The precise nature of the sanctuary has to be left open but there is no reason to assume that it was a cult place of more "private" character frequented only by court functionaries and the royal guard, as has been suggested by Riis.⁶⁰⁹ This is because its vicinity to the palace (building II) cannot exclude the participation of cultic activities of any group that had access to the royal quarters.⁶¹⁰ The discovery of locally made closed vessels, kraters, bowls and cups in the vicinity of the southern platform also points to eating and drinking rites performed in the sanctuary. Other activities probably included libations and the burning of incense as suggested by the presence of "fruit bowls".⁶¹¹ The psc-skyphos is the only foreign object

⁶⁰⁴ Appendix 3, catalogue Hama no. 2. Fugmann 1958, 232.

⁶⁰⁵ Fugmann 1958, 232.

⁶⁰⁶ Fugmann 1958, 231-232.

⁶⁰⁷ Fugmann 1958, 234 fig. 308 no. 2.

⁶⁰⁸ Riis 1970, 148; Niemeier 2001, 13. The basalt "tripod" found on the northern platform and the Astarte figurines discovered at the southern platform confirm the cultic function of the two rectangular platforms. See Fugmann 1958, 231 fig. 307. 232. 234 fig. 308. The relatively well preserved psc-skyphos suggests that the piece was not moved a lot after its deposition and therefore supports the excavator's belief that it belongs to the destruction context.

⁶⁰⁹ Riis 1970, 150.

⁶¹⁰ Luke 2003, 37 interprets the imports circulating primarily in an elite environment.

⁶¹¹ For the range of objects discovered in the sanctuary and their precise location see Fugmann 1958, 234 fig. 308. 236 fig. 310. For the role of 'fruit- bowls' in cultic activities see Appendix 3, 9 (Sukas).

among the pottery in the sanctuary and it was perhaps precisely its unique exotic appearance, which made it suitable as a diacritical symbol used in the ritual activities.⁶¹²

The second piece consists of several fragments of an Attic MG II krater.⁶¹³ One fragment (6A380) comes from the destruction context in front of building III while the rest is residual and scattered over an area between building II and III.⁶¹⁴ If the interpretation of building III as a temple is correct and the krater can be associated with it, then we could interpret the vessel as an offering or as part of a drinking set used during cultic activities carried out in building III.⁶¹⁵ Riis further associated another LG fragment discovered in a medieval layer with building II but this cannot be confirmed by the excavation report.⁶¹⁶

A second psc-skyphos comes from squ. I 9- I 10, a complex, comparable to the buildings discovered in the palace area.⁶¹⁷ Riis interpreted it as a “patrician” house, while Luke rightly left the question of its function open.⁶¹⁸ The building is important since it seems to belong to the 7th century BC and it has been suggested that it perhaps served as a residence for an Assyrian governor.⁶¹⁹ In this respect, it is important to mention that it is unclear whether the psc-skyphos comes from the first or the second phase. Secondly, what has not

⁶¹² This is only true if we accept that what has been found on the square comprises the full pottery assemblage used in the sanctuary and that nothing was taken away during the course of the Assyrian conquest.

⁶¹³ Appendix 3, catalogue Hama no. 9. Interestingly, the fragment is missing in the account provided by Luke 2003, 35 tab. 8. On the other hand Luke lists one piece twice. Once as an amphora/jug and a second time as one of two kraters: See Luke 2003, 35 tab. 8 no. 102-103.

⁶¹⁴ For the find context of 6A380 see Fugmann 1958, 179. 190; Coldstream GGP, 311; Riis and Buhl 1990, 186.

⁶¹⁵ Crielaard 1996, 167 e.g. suggested that building III had a more public function without clarifying what “public” in this respect entails. For the suggestion that the krater was a votive offering to a deity or a gift to the king deposited by him in the sanctuary see Riis 1970, 154.

⁶¹⁶ Appendix 3, catalogue Hama no. 7. Riis 1970, 154; Riis and Buhl 1990, 22. 25-26. 184. Note that the “jug” was later interpreted as a possible krater. Luke 2003, 35 tab. 8 (amphora/jug).

⁶¹⁷ Appendix 3, catalogue Hama no. 1. See Fugmann 1958, 260-261 fig. 343. 344. b.

⁶¹⁸ Riis 1970, 150; Luke 2003, 33.

⁶¹⁹ Fugmann 1958, 264; Francis and Vickers 1985, 133.

been considered is that the different phases probably do not indicate a later 7th century BC successor but an earlier predecessor.⁶²⁰

The other fragments come from later contexts but all were discovered on the Tell and can therefore be associated with the royal quarter. The “krateriskos” should instead be interpreted rather as a typical Euboean skyphos and comes from an unclear find context.⁶²¹ The find spot and the provenance of the MG krater are ambiguous despite the information provided by Luke.⁶²² Riis compared the black glazed cup from Hama with fragments discovered at Tell Abu Hawam (TAH) and dated it from 750-725 BC although the piece from TAH is usually considered to be of earlier date.⁶²³ The shape of the base is not helpful and comparisons show that the piece could date from the end of the 10th to the 8th century BC.⁶²⁴

The Cemetery

Two psc-skyphoi were discovered in the cemetery belonging to period IV, which equals period E of the Tell.⁶²⁵ One of the two skyphoi was found inside an urn.⁶²⁶ Although one

⁶²⁰ Contra Fugmann 1958, 264; Crielaard 1996, 167-168; Francis and Vickers 1985, 133 uncritically follow the excavators view. The finds associated with the building do not speak against such an interpretation. In my mind, the difference in the orientation of the complex in squ. I 10 is not divergent enough to be considered an argument against assigning it to period E. The variations in height between the different areas of the Tell are considerable and from the given height alone it is impossible to reconstruct whether the building in squ. I 9 belongs to phase E and the building in squ. I 10 to a later phase or whether the remains in I 9 can be associated with an earlier phase and the walls in I 10 with phase E. For the problems related to the theory of an Assyrian governor at Hama see no. 350 supra.

⁶²¹ Appendix 3, catalogue Hama no. 3. For diagonal crosses on skyphoi see Eretria XX, pl. 6. 9. For the findspot see Riis 1970, 154 no. 628 “found near the Little palace”. Riis and Buhl 1990, 184 no. 667.

⁶²² Appendix 3, catalogue Hama no. 5; Riis and Buhl 1990, 184, 668 (H 11) “couche hellenistique or plus recent” (Cycladic perhaps Naxian). Luke 2003, 33 tab. 8: “between palace and temple” (Attic). Riis 1970 154 no. 631: “neighbourhood of the Little palace” (building III?).

⁶²³ Appendix 3, catalogue Hama no. 4. For the fragment from TAH see Appendix 3, chapter 22; Riis 1970, 154 no. 632; Riis and Buhl 1990, 186; Luke 2003, 33 no. 61 (SPG II- III).

⁶²⁴ Cf. Lefkandi III, pl. 62. 6. 17-18; Andreiomenou 1985, 66 fig. 30.

⁶²⁵ Appendix 3, catalogue Hama No. 10-11. For the correlation of the strata of the Tell and the cemetery see Riis and Buhl 1990, 18.

⁶²⁶ Appendix 3, catalogue Hama No. 11. See Riis 1948, 113; Riis 1970, 150.

can only speculate about the owner of grave G XXX 38, one can exclude an association with the ruling elite of Hama.

Conclusion

The few fragments from Hama provide enough information to define the role of Greek pottery in Hamath during the 9th and 8th century BC. Interestingly, the finds from the royal quarter highlight that despite the frequent occurrence of Greek imports in contexts connected with rather ordinary households at places such as Sukas, Bassit or Ras Ibn Hani, the local elite did not refrain from using Greek pots. The appearance of a Greek skyphos in a rather unexceptional grave is an argument against a restricted access to Greek imports. On the other hand, the imports are limited to a few pieces and among the “mass” of local jars, Greek vessels certainly stood out. Thus, cups like the psc-skyphos found in the sanctuary west of building II, in my view do not indicate their function as diacritical tools to symbolize the social order.⁶²⁷ They are better understood as markers of certain important rituals carried out in sanctuaries or in the course of burial regardless of the social status of the attendants. This suggestion is based on the assumption that various people of different social status had access to the small shrine in the royal quarter. Having said this one has to recall that Attic MG kraters are rare in the East. They are usually found in contexts that can be associated with the local elite. It cannot be ruled out that kraters had a different social function than the drinking cups. Given the find context – closely at a probable sanctuary of greater importance and judging from its size – we may have to consider the possibility that kraters were confined to the elite and that they played an important part in diacritical feasts as defined by Dietler.⁶²⁸ Hama therefore highlights one important conclusion: Greek imports obviously circulated among a broad segment of the society – even if only in

⁶²⁷ See Discussion in chapter II 2. 7.

⁶²⁸ See the discussion in chapter II.

limited amounts – but some categories were apparently reserved for the king and his court only. An obviously unrestricted access to these goods, despite their limited amount at Hama, is surprising but the burial contexts point in this direction. Moreover, the interpretation that the majority of the Greek imports were used in so-called *xenia*, or that they functioned as gifts, predominantly for elite members, has to be called into question, even for inland sites such as Hama.⁶²⁹ In any case I do not intend to question their symbolic significance nor their possible use as primary gifts but their consumption might be more varied than previously assumed since ritualized friendships may not be confined only to the elite.⁶³⁰ But it is clear that Greek pots were also used to enhance or to reinforce the social status of their owner. Further, they were used during certain occasions such as particular rites as illustrated by the finds in the small shrine.

12. Phoenicia. Opening Remarks

Phoenicia or Canaan was a fertile region and its city-states were famous for its expertise in trade and seafaring.⁶³¹ In the Greco-Roman world the Phoenicians were also known for their colonies, which were scattered around in the Mediterranean from Cyprus to the Atlantic ocean.⁶³² Only few written Phoenician sources and inscriptions are preserved and the few texts regarding the Phoenician homeland derive either from foreign sources or are much later in date.⁶³³ Among the Phoenician cities, Arwad, Byblos, Sidon and Tyre stand out from the rest. Tyre was perhaps the most powerful state during the 9th and 8th century

⁶²⁹ Luke 2003, 50-53.

⁶³⁰ Against Herman 1987, 34 who concluded that ritualized friendships are confined to the elites. His assumption is primarily based on Greek written sources of later periods, which generally neglect daily life and persons of “humbler” standing.

⁶³¹ Katzenstein 1973, 6. 8. For the term Phoenicia see the recent discussion in van Dongen 2010.

⁶³² Aubet 1995, 403.

⁶³³ Aubet 1995, 403-405.

BC.⁶³⁴ Its territory was believed to have stretched from the Nahe el-Kebir in the north to Acco in the south, a hypothesis that has been challenged recently.⁶³⁵ With king Ethbaal Sidon fell under the supremacy of Tyre although the precise impact on Sidon's autonomy is unclear.⁶³⁶ The same king married his daughter Jezebel to Ahab king of Israel, a marriage, which certainly strengthened the ties between Israel and Tyre, which had been close since the time of Hiram I. Like the other states in the Near East, Tyre and the other Phoenician cities had to face the Assyrian aggression but written documents indicate that i.e. Tyre had a unique position among the Phoenician states and remained relatively autonomous despite that it paid tribute to the Assyrian kings from the early 9th century BC onwards.⁶³⁷ The constant pressure of the Assyrian empire has been considered by Frankenstein as a major driving force for the Phoenician colonisation of the Mediterranean, a view that is generally accepted.⁶³⁸

With Tiglath- Pileser III the grip of Assyrian control became harsher and we know that under Esarhaddon Assyrian governors and tax officers were stationed in Phoenician cities in order to control the trade and taxes.⁶³⁹ The Assyrian expansion of the 8th century BC led to territorial losses and Tyre perhaps lost the Akko plain and eventually all its coastal territories after 701 BC, which also meant autonomy for Sidon.⁶⁴⁰ Sidon's autonomy did not last for long and it was already in the fourth year of Esarhaddon's reign (677 BC) that

⁶³⁴ This is nowhere better expressed than in Ezekiel 27. For an analysis of the passage see Lang and Rollinger 2010; Liverani 1991.

⁶³⁵ Katzenstein 1973, 177-178; Bikai 1978, 74; Luke 2003, 38. This interpretation only holds true if the identification of the Nahr el-Kebir with Ba'li-ra'si mentioned in an inscription by Shalmaneser III is correct. Not all scholars agree on this point though. See lately Yamada 2000, 191-192 who suggested either Mt. Carmel or Ras en-Naqla, a mountain demarcating the modern Israeli-Lebanese border, as the northern border of Tyre.

⁶³⁶ Katzenstein 1973, 129-131; Markoe 2003, 38.

⁶³⁷ Bikai 1978, 74; Yamada 2000, 175-176; Bagg 2011, 193.

⁶³⁸ Frankenstein 1979.

⁶³⁹ Yamada 2005, 69.

⁶⁴⁰ For the loss of the Akko plain see Lehmann 2001, 95. For the incidents at 701 BC see Katzenstein 1973, 246-249. For Tyre's possessions see i.e. Doumet-Serhal et al. 2008, 3.

Sidon was destroyed.⁶⁴¹ According to a treaty between Esarhaddon and king Ba'al, Tyre received two former Sidonian cities from the Assyrian king, among them Sarepta.⁶⁴² Only a few years later, in 671 BC, the Assyrian army even led siege to Tyre and the city lost parts of its coastal territory and after another defection in 663 BC the city was again besieged and captured.⁶⁴³ Despite its disloyalty Tyre was not destroyed or annexed by the Assyrian empire only stripped off its land, which demonstrates the importance of Tyre as a trading agent for the Assyrian empire.

The Phoenicians were also active in North Syria and Cyprus, which is attested by the foundation of the Phoenician colony Kition and the Phoenician inscriptions found at Karatepe and Sam'al- Zincirli, which attest their involvement in Cilicia and North Syria.⁶⁴⁴ Myriandros, a site located in the bay of Iskenderun is considered as Phoenician emporium.⁶⁴⁵ Xenophon reports that Myriandros was inhabited by Phoenicians.⁶⁴⁶ The site has not been located yet with certainty and we do not know whether the place was already occupied during the EIA. Further, it remains unclear whether Xenophon was able to distinguish between north Syrians and Phoenicians.⁶⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Phoenician activities in the region cannot be denied and the few recovered Phoenician sherds led Lehmann to suggest that Tyre played an important part in trade with Al Mina during the late 8th century BC and Phoenician pottery diminishes not before level VI-V (late 7th century BC).⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴¹ Bagg 2011, 254-255.

⁶⁴² Bagg 2011, 255.

⁶⁴³ Lehmann 2001, 96; Bagg 2010, 259. 262.

⁶⁴⁴ Katzenstein 1973, 84-86; Cambel et al. 1999. The inscriptions from Sam'al Zincirli are discussed by Tropper 1993.

⁶⁴⁵ Herman Hansen 2006, 12. 14.

⁶⁴⁶ Xenophon Anab. 1. 4. 6.

⁶⁴⁷ Luke 2003, 51.

⁶⁴⁸ Lehmann 2005, 81. 84.

The excavations carried out so far in Phoenicia revealed only limited evidence for the Iron Age. The majority of the contexts with Greek pottery are burials although the majority of the finds comes from the island of Tyre. The biggest problem for archaeological investigations is certainly the modern occupation of the sites. Most of the settlements that revealed Greek imports are either from badly preserved remains (Tyre, Sarepta) or unpublished (Sidon). The contextual information is therefore limited. In the majority of the cases we possess either evidence from settlements or from burials but no site revealed Greek imports from different contexts. Finds from sanctuaries are totally missing. Conclusions about the function and use, the range of consumer of Greek pottery, are therefore restricted. Nevertheless, the finds should be briefly discussed in order to determine whether Phoenicia shows a different pattern than other regions discussed so far.

13. Beirut-Berytus

After the destruction of Sidon in 677 BC, Beirut became part of the newly formed Assyrian province and although written sources are silent about Beirut's political affiliation before this incident, it seems that Beirut was dependent on Sidon.⁶⁴⁹

Despite recent archaeological works and important discoveries, which tremendously increased our knowledge of the urban city plan, only few Greek imports have been published yet.⁶⁵⁰

One Attic sos-amphora, dated to the 7th century BC, comes from a building made of several rooms and which was interpreted as a warehouse.⁶⁵¹ The building was destroyed by

⁶⁴⁹ Badre 1997.

⁶⁵⁰ For an overview see Markoe 2003, 204.

fire and traces of it were detected in rooms a-c. The latter contained several different amphorae, which were partly found in situ.⁶⁵² The sos-amphora was perhaps not the only one found in this storage room.⁶⁵³ SOS-amphorae are reported from several sites in the Levant, among them Al Mina, Kinet Höyük and Tell Kabri. Apart from the amphora, five Al Mina ware fragments come from a fill on top of the Glacis II.⁶⁵⁴ They were found together with local and Cypriot pottery.

13. 1 Berytus-Khaldé

More Greek and related imports are known from the cemetery of Khaldé. Iron Age pottery was discovered during construction work for an airport and the finds lead to an excavation in which course several tombs were discovered.⁶⁵⁵ Alone during the first two seasons 190 burials were revealed and in total the cremation and inhumation burials amount to 381.⁶⁵⁶ According to the excavator the tombs belong to two different periods: 77 burials can be assigned to period III and 75 to period IV.⁶⁵⁷ Period III was dated from the end of the 9th to the end of the 8th century BC and period IV ranges from the 10th to the 9th century BC.⁶⁵⁸ Inhumation and cremation was apparently practices simultaneously at Khaldé, a practice frequently found at other sites in Phoenicia and the Levant in general.⁶⁵⁹ The character of the grave offerings of the published tombs, which consisted primarily of pottery, is fairly homogeneous and only few of them contained scarabs or fibulae.⁶⁶⁰ We have to conclude

⁶⁵¹ Badre 1997, 76. For the location of the ware house see the topographical map in Finkbeiner and Sader 1997,

⁶⁵² Badre 1997, 79. 80-88.

⁶⁵³ Markoe 2003, 204 mentions that several Attic amphorae come from a storage room near city walls.

⁶⁵⁴ Badre 1997, 63 fig. 31. a; 72.

⁶⁵⁵ Saidah 1966, 53-54 fig. 1 pl. 1.

⁶⁵⁶ Saidah 1967, 169.

⁶⁵⁷ Saidah 1966, 55-56.

⁶⁵⁸ Saidah 1966, 90. Note that the dating of the periods are based on comparisons with other Near Eastern sites, which, since the publication of the tombs from Khaldé in 1966, have been partly revised.

⁶⁵⁹ Saidah 1966, 85.

⁶⁶⁰ Saidah 1966, 84-85.

that the deceased all belonged to the same social class or that burial rites at Khaldé permitted the members of the society to show their wealth publicly.⁶⁶¹

The Greek imports at Khaldé are limited to one psc-skyphos. The shape puts the piece into Kearsley's group 6. A close parallel comes from a LG pit from Eretria and two other similar examples were found in Pontecagnano and in the Valle del Marcellino necropolis.⁶⁶² Characteristic features are the rim and in particular the flat base.⁶⁶³ Since the piece comes from a burial, which has been dated from the end of the 9th to the end of the 8th century BC, the psc-skyphos from Khaldé could either be of SPG III or LG date.⁶⁶⁴ The skyphos is most likely of Euboean provenance.⁶⁶⁵

The other two skyphoi are imports from Cyprus. The decoration of only one piece can be discerned while the other one shows signs of secondary firing.⁶⁶⁶ The better-preserved example is decorated with vertical scribble lines in bichrome technique with the interior fully painted except for one reserved band on the rim.⁶⁶⁷ Such skyphoi of the so-called Al Mina ware workshops are known from Cyprus, Al Mina, Tarsus, Tayinat, Sukas, Tyre and Sidon. The second piece is similar in shape and although no information concerning the fabric is given, the straight rim is typical for the Al Mina ware skyphoi.⁶⁶⁸ However, since the straight rim of the Al Mina skyphoi possibly derives from Euboean originals, an Euboean origin for the burnt skyphos is also possible.

⁶⁶¹ Only the construction of the elaborate stone cist tomb no. 121 stood out from the rest. See Saidah 1966, 64-65. For examples of Phoenician élité burials in the West see Gras et al. 1991, 141-149.

⁶⁶² Eretria XX, pl. 24, 94; Stampolidis 2003, 325 no. 367.

⁶⁶³ Eretria XX, 81.

⁶⁶⁴ Saidah 1971, 194.

⁶⁶⁵ Saidah 1971, 194-195. Note that psc-skyphoi with flat bases are only known from Euboea but are absent in Thessaly and the Cyclades.

⁶⁶⁶ Saidah 1971, 194.

⁶⁶⁷ Appendix 3, catalogue Berytus-Khaldé no. 3. Since not mentioned by Saidah, I assume that no additional white slip was applied on the surface.

⁶⁶⁸ Appendix 3, catalogue Berytus-Khaldé no. 2. See also Saltz 1978, 122.

Apart from the burnt skyphos, which was buried together with two bichrome flasks and one plate of local production, no additional finds are mentioned for the other burials that contained the other two skyphoi.

14. Sidon

Sidon is situated on a small peninsula 35 km to the north of Tyre. One part of the city occupied the higher peninsula while the larger part was situated on the lower plain to the east.⁶⁶⁹ The Greek pottery recovered from Sidon derives primarily from the so-called “College site”.⁶⁷⁰ Seven fragments of Greek imports are known. One psc-plate, two psc-skyphoi, two Al Mina ware fragments and two East Greek cups of late 7th century date were found.⁶⁷¹ One psc-fragment comes from a floor level but unfortunately no IA architectural remains were discovered.⁶⁷² Absence of East Greek imports between the period 675 and 635 BC is no surprise since the city was destroyed in 677 BC. One of the East Greek cups comes from the necropolis “Dakerman”, which is located to the south of the city. This necropolis was in use at least from the 14th century onwards.⁶⁷³ The late 7th century BC imports indicate that Sidon was obviously occupied during the late 7th century BC, long before it regained its status under Nebuchadnezer II.⁶⁷⁴ Psc-skyphoi and plates are frequently found in burials and the 7th century cups find parallels in the necropolis of Akhziv.

⁶⁶⁹ See Markoe 2003, 202-203 for an overview of Sidon’s topography.

⁶⁷⁰ For the location see Doumet- Serhal et al. 2008, 1.

⁶⁷¹ Doumet- Serhal et al. 2008, 64 considers one piece as Euboean LG fragment. The fabric and the rim decoration indicate an Al Mina ware fragment.

⁶⁷² Appendix 3, catalogue Sidon no. 2. Doumet- Serhal 2004, 78.

⁶⁷³ Markoe 2003, 203.

⁶⁷⁴ Badre 2003, 87.

14. 1 Sidon-Tambourit

The necropolis of Tambourit lies ca. 6 km southeast of Sidon and belonged to the city of Sidon.⁶⁷⁵ Five tombs have been uncovered at Tambourit.⁶⁷⁶ The pyxis discovered in a tomb at Tambourit is certainly an exceptional piece. It belonged to a group of 10 other jars that were found in a tomb. The tomb contained five urns indicating that it was used for several burials and Saidah suggested that it was used by two different generations.⁶⁷⁷ Besides the Greek import, one local imitation of a Cypriot amphora was found in the tomb.⁶⁷⁸

The pyxis was dated by Courbin to the end of EG II or the beginning of MG I, perhaps falling into the 3rd quarter of the 9th century BC.⁶⁷⁹ Coldstream recognized a similar pyxis type among the Greek imports from Tyre, which he dated to MG II.⁶⁸⁰ The piece from Tyre comes from Attica and shows stylistic traits, which are missing on the pyxis from Tambourit, therefore the pyxis from Tambourit must be earlier than the Tyrian example.⁶⁸¹ Courbin assigned the piece to a workshop from Argos and if this is true, then the pyxis is the second Argivian export to the Levant after a PG cup from Tell Afis and LG Argivian fragments are known from Al Mina.⁶⁸² Interestingly, the shape of the pyxis is quite similar to the other urns found in the tomb. This similarity might be the reason why it was used as an urn. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the case of the Cypriot kraters used in the Tyre-Al Bass cemetery.

⁶⁷⁵ Saidah 1977, 135-136 f. 1; Markoe 2003, 203.

⁶⁷⁶ Saidah 1977, 146.

⁶⁷⁷ Saidah 1977, 146.

⁶⁷⁸ Saidah 1977, 141 no. 10. 145. 10.

⁶⁷⁹ Courbin 1977, 157; Luke 2003, 33 tab. 8.

⁶⁸⁰ For the piece from Tyre see Coldstream 1988b, 41.

⁶⁸¹ The pyxis from Tambourit still has the decoration field surrounded by black paint without any ancillary decoration below or on the side of the main decoration panel. Only the reserved bands on the body point to a MG date.

⁶⁸² Courbin 1977, 147; Imports from Al Mina see cat.no. 401-402.

15. Sarepta

Sarepta is a Phoenician city, which belonged to Sidon during the 9th century BC and which was conquered by Sennacherib in 701 BC together with other major Phoenician cities.⁶⁸³

Esarhaddon later turned Sarepta over to Tyre.⁶⁸⁴ Sarepta was excavated from 1970 to 1974 and detailed publications of the results appeared in several volumes in the late 80s.⁶⁸⁵

Archaeological excavations were revealed a continuous occupation from the LBA to the Hellenistic period.

Two fragments with psc-decoration are known from Sarepta. Koehl assigned the rim fragment to a skyphos and the wall fragment either to a skyphos or a plate.⁶⁸⁶ Given the rim shape and the apparently flat wall I am inclined to assign the rim fragment to a psc-plate.⁶⁸⁷ The wall fragment on the other hand seems to belong to a vessel with a deep body and therefore a skyphos is the best possible guess.⁶⁸⁸ Due to the bad preservation of the supposedly skyphos fragment, the date cannot be narrowed down more than from 900 to 750 BC. The psc-plate was not introduced until the beginning of the 9th century BC and the production lasted at least until the beginning of the LG period.⁶⁸⁹ The Corinthian aryballos is so fragmented that it cannot be dated more precisely than from the late 7th to the 6th century BC. The Ionian bowls recovered at Sarepta seem to belong exclusively to the 6th century BC and are therefore omitted.

⁶⁸³ Sarepta I, 35-36; Dayagi-Mendeles 2002, 1.

⁶⁸⁴ Sarepta I, 36.

⁶⁸⁵ Pritchard 1988, 33.

⁶⁸⁶ Koehl 1985, 136.

⁶⁸⁷ Appendix 3, catalogue Sarepta no. 1. For a comparison of psc- plates with similar profile see e.g. Tarsus III, fig. 147. 1511-1513; Lefkandi III, pl. 102. T.42,8. See also Kearsley 1989, 194. Luke 2003, 33 tab. 8 dated both pieces to SPG III by analogy with majority of psc-skyphos finds in the East.

⁶⁸⁸ Appendix 3, catalogue Sarepta no. 2.

⁶⁸⁹ See Lefkandi I, 341. Conclusive evidence, which would confirm a LG psc-plate production, is missing so far despite the appearance of psc-plates in LG contexts. See Eretria XX, 70.

The rosette bowl comes from room 58 of a building belonging to period VIII.⁶⁹⁰ It belongs to a building complex, which consists of several rooms.⁶⁹¹ The same area served as an industrial quarter during the earlier periods VI and VII as suggested by two period VI-kilns and the absence of evidence for domestic occupation in period VII.⁶⁹² The pottery kilns prove the existence of a thriving pottery industry in Sarepta during the Iron Age.⁶⁹³ Starting with period VIII the whole area was transformed from an industrial quarter to a primarily habitation district.⁶⁹⁴ The aryballos was discovered in the same area and level but no precise findspot is given. Since further information concerning the social stratification within Sarepta is missing or any evidence from other buildings is available that would allow us to define the character of the aforementioned building complex, the precise status of the house has to be left open. Since it was located in a former industrial quarter of the city, we can exclude that the area constituted the elite quarter of Sarepta.

The pottery from Sarepta indicates sporadic Greek imports during the 9th and 8th century BC. Like in most of the other cities of the Levant, there seems to be a gap between the early 7th and the last quarter of the 7th century BC. The rosette bowl and the Corinthian aryballos are evidence for a revival towards the end of the 7th or the early 6th century BC. Even though quantities are hard to interpret, it seems that Sarepta never belonged to a major importer of Greek pottery. Perhaps its own thriving pottery industry was one reason for the low numbers of imports. Another factor, which needs to be considered is whether the city enjoyed the same frequent contacts with the Aegean as other Phoenician cities like Tyre or Sidon i.e. The low numbers of Greek imports are an argument against it.

⁶⁹⁰ Khalifeh 1988, 208. 234 tab. 1C.

⁶⁹¹ Khalifeh 1988, pl. 10-11.

⁶⁹² Khalifeh 1988, 35. 39. 122 pl. 6.

⁶⁹³ Badre 2003, 83.

⁶⁹⁴ Khalifeh 1988, 51-52.

16. Tyre

The pottery from Tyre comes from the Al-Bass cemetery and from limited excavations conducted by Bikai from 1973 to 1974 on the former island, where the main settlement can be found.⁶⁹⁵ Due to the continuous occupation of Tyre only limited information is available and the recovered structures prevent any closer contextual analysis of the Greek imports even more so since only for a small amount of sherds the precise contextual information is available.⁶⁹⁶ The published information allows the conclusion that the finds from the settlement and from the necropolis come from a non-elite context.⁶⁹⁷ In the case of the latter one may even infer that the excavated burials show no sign of social stratification. The total number of Greek published imports represents at least 108 pieces although this is not the complete amount of excavated material.⁶⁹⁸ After Ashkelon and Al Mina the sherds from Tyre represent the largest published corpus of Greek imports from the Levant. Nevertheless, given the amount of about half a million recovered fragments, it becomes clear that Greek jars constituted only a neglectable amount of pottery among the total assemblage.⁶⁹⁹

Striking about the imports is the large number of PG fragments as well as the frequent numbers of Attic imports. Among the earliest finds are Attic and Euboean imports but the Euboean imports, in particular the psc-skyphoi and plates, clearly outnumber the Attic wares. Nevertheless, the amount of Attic imports is higher than at any other Levantine

⁶⁹⁵ Bikai 1978.

⁶⁹⁶ Coldstream 1988, 37.

⁶⁹⁷ Non-elite context in this respect only means that the excavated section did not belong to the palace area, which was located in the southwest of the island: see Katzenstein 1973, 16. For the excavated area see Bikai 1978, pl.59.

⁶⁹⁸ Coldstream 1988, 37. Note that Luke 2003, 33 tab. 8 lists 59 psc-skyphoi, an amount I failed to reconstruct.

⁶⁹⁹ Bikai 1978, 19 tab. 1.

site.⁷⁰⁰ The high number of psc-plates has already been noted and the remarkable discrepancy between Euboean plates found abroad on Cyprus or Tyre i.e. and their lack on Euboea has led Coldstream to suggest that the psc-plates are a product of Euboean market research.⁷⁰¹ In this respect the absence of psc-plates at Al Mina is worth mentioning, even more so since the large quantity of Greek finds at Al Mina excludes an absence due to a small sample size. Of further interest is the considerably broad varieties in shapes even though drinking vessels outnumber other categories by far. The popularity of the psc-plate is also confirmed by its frequent appearance at other Phoenician sites.⁷⁰²

The majority of the finds seem to date to before 750 BC, which is in clear contrast to the record from Al Mina. The LG and 7th century material from Tyre is confined to a few pieces and contains Euboean, Corinthian and East Greek imports as well as fragments of the Al Mina ware. If the recovered quantities should be representative than we have to assume that Greek pottery lost its importance at Tyre but the unclear publication status calls for a cautious interpretation of the retrieved quantities. The distribution of the recovered sherds from the various levels illustrates that the relative few LG fragments cannot however, be related to a decrease of retrieved pottery in the respective strata (V-I, ca. 760-700 BC), which may indicate that the amount of imports perhaps arrived at Tyre in fewer numbers than during the periods before.⁷⁰³ The Archaic fragments seem all to come from surface finds or later context since no layers dating to after 700 BC were excavated.

⁷⁰⁰ See also Luke 203, 38.

⁷⁰¹ Coldstream 2008, 176.

⁷⁰² Important is that all other sites, apart from Sarepta, are burial grounds.

⁷⁰³ For the distribution of sherds per stratum see Bikai 1978, 19. In fact, the LG period covered by strata I-V revealed 89 713 pieces (ca. 1,5 sherds per year). The SPG levels on the other hand 177 397 (ca. 1,2 sherds per year). The date of the various strata is mentioned in Bikai 1978, 68.

16. 1 Tyre-Al Bass cemetery

The cemetery has so far produced only few Greek imports.⁷⁰⁴ Compared to the local wares and Cypriot imports, Aegean jars are almost insignificant.⁷⁰⁵ Interestingly, among the imported Cypriot vessels, the amphoroid krater stands out from the rest.⁷⁰⁶ It is morphologically close to the local krater commonly used as burial urn.⁷⁰⁷ Perhaps this shape was specifically imported for the use in the necropolis as a burial urn. The Aegean shapes are restricted to plates, one possible skyphos and one amphoriskos. The function of the amphoriskos remains unclear but the psc-plates fit perfectly into the local custom to use the plate as a lid to cover the urns. Such a practice is by no means confined to Phoenicia as demonstrated by finds from Salamis.⁷⁰⁸ The cups served perhaps in the drinking rites carried out during the funerals, as has been suggested by the frequent occurrence of groups of two smashed jugs and one cup.⁷⁰⁹

17. Rachidieh

At least two psc-plates are known from Rachidieh. One piece comes from tomb 2 and perhaps dates to SPG I-II.⁷¹⁰ It was perhaps also used as a lid to cover the burial urn.

⁷⁰⁴ Nunez and Aubet 2009, 412-415.

⁷⁰⁵ Nunez and Aubet 2009, 414 fig. 3.

⁷⁰⁶ Nunez and Aubet 2009, 412; Aubet and Nunez 2008, 98.

⁷⁰⁷ For the local kraters used as burial urns see Tyre-Al Bass, 286-290.

⁷⁰⁸ Dikaïos 1963.

⁷⁰⁹ Tyre-Al Bass, 466.

⁷¹⁰ Important chronological indicators are the high ring base and, more importantly, the thin encircling line, which separates the decoration zone from the painted lower part of the body. See Nitsche 1986-1987. Comparisons can be found at Lefkandi: Lefkandi III, pl. 102.

18. Akhziv

Akhziv is located on the seacoast, about 14 km north of Akko. The town is mentioned in the Bible and in Assyrian records of Sennacherib who conquered the city along with Sidon, Sarepta and Akko in 701 BC.⁷¹¹ During the 8th century BC Akhziv reached its largest expansion.⁷¹² The city had four cemeteries of which one was situated in the city while the other three were located outside.⁷¹³

One of the cemeteries, situated to the east of the city, was excavated by Ben-Dor from 1941-1944. The finds were published in 2002 but the analysis of the burials is limited due to the scanty recording of the excavation and later heavy looting activities.⁷¹⁴

One east Greek cup with everted rim was recorded and dates to the last third of the 7th century BC. It finds parallels in Al Mina level V.⁷¹⁵ It was found in a shaft tomb with a single chamber and a roof with stone slabs. The tomb was in use over a long period of time, perhaps from the 10th/9th centuries BC to the Hellenistic period.⁷¹⁶ The burial contained some unique finds and its architectural features stand also out from the majority.⁷¹⁷ Since it was looted it is hard to define the owners social status but the preserved remains rather point to a family of some wealth. What can be said is that the individuals buried in the Akhziv cemetery are all of comparable social background, perhaps belonging to the middle class.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹¹ Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 1.

⁷¹² Markoe 2003, 197.

⁷¹³ Markoe 2003, 197.

⁷¹⁴ Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 2-3.

⁷¹⁵ Cat.no. **860**.

⁷¹⁶ Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 65.

⁷¹⁷ Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 65.

⁷¹⁸ Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 164. This assumption is based on the nature of the tombs and the offerings. It is important to note that the tombs were partly looted and the picture might be totally misleading in this respect.

19. Tell Kabri

Iron Age remains from Tel Kabri, including Greek imports, come mainly from Area E, a small artificial hill on the south-western corner of the Bronze Age mound.⁷¹⁹ A small fortress with casemate walls erected in phase E3 occupied the hill.⁷²⁰ The fortress was in use until phase E2a, when it was violently destroyed, probably around 604 BC.⁷²¹

The strata, in which Greek pottery occurred (E1-E4⁷²²), range from surface finds to Iron Age II assemblages.⁷²³ The majority belongs to stratum E2 that can be divided into two possible sub-phases connected with destructions: the first one (E2b) can probably be related to the campaign of Ashurbanipal in 644/43 BC and the second one (E2a) with the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar in 604 or in 585 BC.⁷²⁴ Greek Geometric imports are missing at Kabri.⁷²⁵ Only 11 pieces come from original floors, the rest was found in debris or destruction debris, mostly from E2a. The fragments, which could be associated with floors, all belong to phase E2a. Greek imports make up only 2 % of the total ceramic assemblage.⁷²⁶ The context in which the Greek imports were found suggests a military fort in use from phase E3 to E2 that covers the periods from the late 8th to the end of the 7th

⁷¹⁹ Tel Kabri, 3 Fig. 1.3. Some Iron Age finds were also detected in Area D, which is located outside the fortress and where no Greek imports have been found: Tel Kabri, 219.

⁷²⁰ Tel Kabri, 74-76.

⁷²¹ Tel Kabri, 81. 219.

⁷²² According to Niemeier and Neimeier the sos- amphora comes from stratum E4 (Tel Kabri, 235) while Lehmann mentions that it was found in room 1318 associated with E2a (Tel Kabri 84). However, the stratum E4, from which the sos- amphora derives, is a context with pre- 8th century pottery and probably antedates the casemate walls. The sos- amphora is certainly not before the 8th century BC so that it must be considered as residual if from E4.

⁷²³ Tel Kabri, 73. 227. 231. 237.

⁷²⁴ Tel Kabri, 219. 242.; Katzenstein 1973, 293. 328.

⁷²⁵ Tel Kabri, 223 with no. 2. One piece was previously assumed to be of LG or Sub-Geometric date. See Niemeier 1990, 34-35. Given the lack of Geometric finds at Tel Kabri, Niemeier is right to assume that the sos- amphora also belongs to the late 7th or early 6th century BC. Apart from the distribution map in Waldbaum 1994, 59 and Haider 1996, 69. also Luke 2003, 35 tab. 8 mentions LG material from Kabri, which has to be corrected.

⁷²⁶ Tel Kabri, 217 Fig. 5.87.

century BC.⁷²⁷ The discovery of large amounts of transport vessels led to the conclusion that the fortress was used as a storage place for agricultural products from the region before they were shipped to the coastal town.⁷²⁸ It is noteworthy that the Greek imports are confined to the area covered by the fortress, which was probably used by soldiers only. Other groups can most likely be excluded. Further, the Greek imports mainly derive from the same phases or destruction contexts, thus representing an assemblage of the second half of the 7th and the first half of the 6th century BC.⁷²⁹

The recovery of “Assyrianizing” pottery in considerable quantities in stratum E2b or below is interesting. This assemblage mainly consists of drinking vessels including kraters. They were interpreted as prestige objects, copying the life style of the Assyrian centre.⁷³⁰

The assemblage from Tel Kabri can be compared with Al Mina level VI and V but some major differences can be observed (fig. 3). The presence of Greek cooking pots (two different types) is striking as well as the relatively high number of Greek amphorae. Four fragments are of Samian origin. One example comes from Miletos and another one from Attica, while the rest are unidentified.⁷³¹ The absence of Greek kraters or dinoi, a shape that can be found in considerable numbers at Al Mina is worth noting. Simple decorated one-handle cups and small jugs are also absent as are small perfume vessels.⁷³² The

⁷²⁷ Tel Kabri, 85-87.

⁷²⁸ Tel Kabri, 85. Another explanation for the high number of amphorae would be that a fortress such as Kabri had a relatively high demand for stored food in order to survive a lengthy siege or an interruption of the supply chain. This would be a better explanation for the high number of Cypriot amphorae that were certainly not collected from the area. For the Cypriot transport amphora see Tel Kabri, 217.

⁷²⁹ Tel Kabri, 223.

⁷³⁰ Tel Kabri, 201.

Tel Kabri, 201.

⁷³¹ Tel Kabri, 235-236.

⁷³² The wall fragment of what the excavators believed is an EPC aryballos (Niemeier 1994, 31 fig. 19.1) turned out to be of east Cypriot origin: Tel Kabri, 223 no. 3.

difference between the high number of Cypriot transport amphorae and the small quantities of Cypriot fine ware highlights the “selective” character of the imports.⁷³³

In particular the East Greek cooking pots found at Tel Kabri were interpreted as evidence for Greek mercenaries who carried their own culinary equipment with them.⁷³⁴ The Greek fine wares on the other hand could have been imported and were perhaps used by different ethnic groups of the garrison. On the other hand, the Assyrianizing pottery might be seen as an indication that the ruling “class”, the commanders of the garrisons, practiced or favoured Assyrian drinking customs but that does not exclude them as potential users or owners of Greek fine ware. No Greek inscriptions were recovered from the site.

The appearance of fine painted ware in a military context is striking and shows how widespread even fine painted Wild Goat style jugs were. It further indicates that probably a broad range of people had access to these goods.⁷³⁵ Like at Al Mina we can observe the presence of north and south Ionian products side by side. Interestingly, the transport amphorae mainly come from south Ionian production centres and Greek wine jars appear sided by side with Greek drinking cups and jugs. Perhaps the consumption of Greek wine was intimately related with the use of Greek cups, at least in this social climate, which probably included Greek mercenaries.⁷³⁶ A similar situation can be observed at Al Mina, where a few fragments of amphorae were discovered. Except for the presence of an Attic sos- amphora, Attic fine ware is almost completely missing. This might be explained by the diminished role Attic fine ware played in the international market during the 7th century

⁷³³ Tel Kabri, 217.

⁷³⁴ Niemeier 1994, 31-35; Niemeier 2001, 15; Fantalkin 2001, 114-116.

⁷³⁵ Niemeier 2001, 24 argued that the mercenaries employed by different powers in the Near East were members of the Greek elite.

⁷³⁶ A similar situation can be observed at Mezad Hashavyahu, another military fortress, where a Greek garrison has been proposed.

BC or it might reflect different marketing strategies employed by East Greek or Levantine traders, who advertised Greek wine together with the corresponding fine ware. Either way, the lack of Attic pottery cannot be explained through restricted contacts between the two regions. The reasons must be sought in the Attic fine ware industry or in trading mechanisms.

The basic characteristics of the site can be summarized as follows:

Character of the site	Military fortress
Architecture	Phoenician/Levantine ⁷³⁷
Local Pottery	Phoenician or Tyrian character ⁷³⁸
Kitchen ware	Greek ⁷³⁹ , Phoenician ⁷⁴⁰
Pottery imports (fine ware)	Greek, Cypriot ⁷⁴¹ , Etruscan ⁷⁴²
Transport Amphorae	Greek, Cypriot ⁷⁴³ , Phoenician
Imitations	“Assyrianizing pottery” ⁷⁴⁴
Inscriptions	Phoenician Aleph ⁷⁴⁵ , Cypriot Syllabary ⁷⁴⁶

Also worth noting is the absence of kraters or dinoi. Mixing bowls were an essential part of the symposium tableware since Greeks preferred to mix wine with water. The absence of kraters at Tel Kabri might be explained by their size, which prohibited their transport on a

⁷³⁷ Tel Kabri, 87; Niemeier 2001, 15 with further references.

⁷³⁸ Tel Kabri, 189. 219.

⁷³⁹ Tel Kabri, 238 fig. 5.95.

⁷⁴⁰ Tel Kabri, 199-200.

⁷⁴¹ Tel Kabri, 217.

⁷⁴² Tel Kabri, 228 fig. 5.93: 14; 241-242.

⁷⁴³ Tel Kabri, 198- 199. 217.

⁷⁴⁴ Assyrianizing pottery comes mainly from stratum E2b or below and therefore belongs to the first half of the 7th century BC. Tel Kabri, 201.

⁷⁴⁵ Tel Kabri, 198 fig. 5.74; 216. The inscription was perhaps incised before the vessel was sold in Tel Kabri, and therefore one cannot infer from it the ethnic background of the garrison.

⁷⁴⁶ Tel Kabri, 199 fig. 5.75.

military campaign.⁷⁴⁷ It further suggests that their function was supplied by another, perhaps local vessel, or that the inhabitants of the fortress were not acquainted with Greek drinking customs. Finally, Aubet interpreted the presence of Etruscan buchhero at Tel Kabri and their association with East Greek pottery as an integration of Etruscan commercial interests in international long distance trading networks that connected the western Aegean with the eastern Mediterranean.⁷⁴⁸

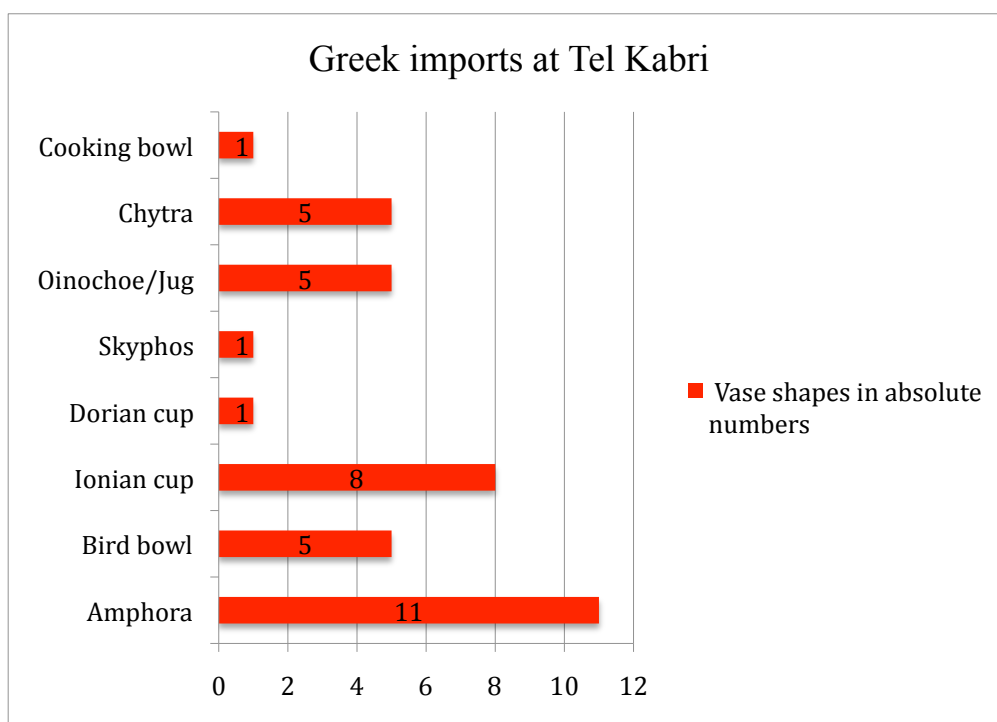


Fig. 3

The numbers of Etruscan imports reported so far are small and given the current state of research, the few fragments can only be considered as exotic paraphernalia that reached the Levant as by- products. Evidence for an organized trade in Etruscan goods on a large scale, is missing so far.

⁷⁴⁷ Compare the situation with Mesad Hashavyahu.

⁷⁴⁸ Aubet 2007, 448.

20. Tell Hadar

Tell Hadar is situated on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee.⁷⁴⁹ It may have belonged to the kingdom of Geshur, a vassal state to king David during the Iron Age, which evolved from the earlier confederation called Gas[su]ru' mentioned in an Amarna letter.⁷⁵⁰ The kingdom of Geshur was later annexed to the kingdom of Damascus, perhaps during the 9th century BC.⁷⁵¹

Tell Hadar revealed one PG vessel interpreted as a lebes of Euboean manufacture.⁷⁵² It certainly belongs to one of the earliest imports to Israel. It was found in stratum IV, dated by the excavator to the 11th century BC.⁷⁵³ Stylistically, the piece would fall into the MPG period, which according to the traditional view is dated to the first half of the 10th century BC.⁷⁵⁴ Two fragments of a similar type were found at Tyre in stratum VIII and IX.⁷⁵⁵

The fragments were collected from a large building, which was divided into two functional wings: an elongated tripartite complex with two column rows and a second wing consisting of square rooms with elevated doors or windows.⁷⁵⁶ The latter is interpreted as a granary while the columned long hall served as a storage room, which contained at least 120 complete vessels before its destruction.⁷⁵⁷ The Greek lebes comes from the latter part of

⁷⁴⁹ Kochavi 1998, 469 fig. 1.

⁷⁵⁰ Kochavi 1998, 469.

⁷⁵¹ Kochavi 1989, 3.

⁷⁵² Coldstream 1998, 357-358 pl. 1.

⁷⁵³ Kochavi 1989, 9-10 (formerly stratum II). Kochavi 1998, 470.

⁷⁵⁴ This does not correspond with the excavator's dating of stratum IV. See Coldstream 1998, 359; Lemos 2005, 54 no. 21. Lemos pointed to the ring foot of the vessel, which is typical of Euboean LPG rather than MPG: Coldstream 1998, 358 no. 25.

⁷⁵⁵ Appendix 3, catalogue Tyre no. 1. 3. See Bikai 1978, 67 for the date of stratum IX and VIII (9th century BC).

⁷⁵⁶ Kochavi 1991, 182; Kochavi 1998, 470 fig. 2.

⁷⁵⁷ Kochavi 1998, 471.

the complex.⁷⁵⁸ Several explanations have been put forward for this building type but the meticulous discussion by Kochavi does not allow any other interpretation.⁷⁵⁹ Such buildings are known from other parts of Israel and usually sit on major trading routes, one of them at the port of Tell Abu Hawam.⁷⁶⁰ If Kochavi is right and the building can be defined as an “entrepot”, a storehouse, commercial centre for import and export and collection and distribution, the lebes may also be interpreted as a trading good. Among the finds recovered from the building, a total of 15 % are imports, which underlines the commercial purpose of the structure.⁷⁶¹

There remains the question of the control or owner of the building. Was it under the authority of the local king or did it belong to a private entrepreneur or a group of merchants? Perhaps it was a public building under the control of the local authority. In such a case we cannot exclude that the stored goods, including the Greek lebes, could have been under influence of the ruler and his administration. This is important in order to define the potential consumer of early Greek imports at inland sites and their social milieu. Coldstream inferred from the peculiar shape of the lebes that it was inspired by bronze cauldron originals insinuating an elite connotation for the vessel. Even if the building and its contents were subject to restricted access, we cannot automatically assume that the goods were only sold to a particular class or the elite. To answer this question, further contexts that provide information about the socio-economic status of the consumers at Tell Hadar are needed. The find context of the lebes however, allows us to conclude that the vessel did not reach the site as a personal gift or as a Greek merchant’s personal belonging otherwise it would not have ended up in a storage room with other commodities. The

⁷⁵⁸ Kochavi 1998, 471.

⁷⁵⁹ Kochavi 1998, 471-476 with further reference.

⁷⁶⁰ Kochavi 1998, 476.

⁷⁶¹ Kochavi 1998, 471.

context, a warehouse filled with 120 storage vessels, cooking pots and other imported vessels also indicates that from the beginning of the 10th century BC onwards, Greek pottery was perhaps nothing more than an ordinary commodity and less valuable than generally assumed.

21. Tell Keisan

Tell Keisan is situated in the Akko plain and lies some 8 km south-east of the city of Akko.⁷⁶² Briend identified the site with Akshaph, a city mentioned in Egyptian documents.⁷⁶³ Lehmann rejected Briens's identification and considers Tell Keisan as part of the hinterland of Akko.⁷⁶⁴

The plain of Akko perhaps came under the control of Tyre during the 10th century BC and Keisan may have been part of it as well.⁷⁶⁵ Later, even before Esarhaddon's treaty with Baal, Akko was perhaps already under the control of the Assyrians and this situation probably lasted throughout most of the 7th century BC.⁷⁶⁶ After the withdrawal of the Assyrian empire, Tyre probably tried to retain control over the territory, which most likely led to conflict with the emerging Babylonian empire and resulted in a series of destructions in the region, among them also Tell Keisan.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶² Briend and Humbert 1980, pl. 1; Lehmann 2001, 67-69 fig. 3.1.

⁷⁶³ Briend and Humbert 1980, 6-9. For references in Egyptian sources see Ahituv 1984, 94.

⁷⁶⁴ Lehmann 2001, 85. For a location of Akshaph close to Tell Abu Hawam see Lipinski 1991, 158.

⁷⁶⁵ Lehmann 2001, 93-94.

⁷⁶⁶ Na'aman 1994, 6; Lehmann 2001, 96.

⁷⁶⁷ Klengel 1992, 232-234; Lehmann 2001, 96.

The site was excavated by Garstang from 1935 to 1936 but WW II ended the work and it was not resumed until 1970.⁷⁶⁸ The results of the second period were published in 1980. The settlement's history goes back into the Bronze Age but for the present purpose only level 4 and, to a lesser extent, level 3 are important. According to the excavator, level 4 dates to ca. 650 to 580 BC and contains two sub-phases.⁷⁶⁹ Level 3 continues from 580 to 380 BC.⁷⁷⁰ Although few in numbers, the retrieved Greek imports seem to confirm the date suggested by the excavator. The Greek imports found at Keisan come to 40 fragments. The majority however, were found out of context.⁷⁷¹ Unfortunately, as at many sites, the pottery was not completely published.⁷⁷²

Level 4

Four fragments can be assigned to level 4. Two come from area A and two from B. In area A remains of two buildings were discovered.⁷⁷³ The southern building, which was interpreted as a dwelling place, consisted of at least three rooms with perhaps one open courtyard.⁷⁷⁴ The ground plan could not be completely reconstructed since the house was partly destroyed by later byzantine buildings while other parts were not excavated.⁷⁷⁵ The pottery fragments come from a pit and a locus, which probably contained a silo, similar to the one found in area B (see below).⁷⁷⁶ The area with the silo was badly preserved but probably formed an open yard.⁷⁷⁷ Both fragments were perhaps dumped at the place after

⁷⁶⁸ Briend and Humbert 1980, 13; Schreiber 2003, 152.

⁷⁶⁹ Salles 1980, 131, 136, 151. The stratigraphy of the site was contested by Humbert 1981. In particular the dates of level 5 and 4 were called into question. I follow here the original proposed view for the reasons outlined in Lehmann 1996, 22-23. Further, raising the end of level 4 to 644/43 BC as proposed by Humbert is problematical due to the SiA Ic-d fragments recovered from that layer.

⁷⁷⁰ Nodet 1980, 127. Level 3 is subdivided into 3a (450-380 BC) and 3b (580-460 BC).

⁷⁷¹ Nodet 1980, 124.

⁷⁷² Salles 1983, 150.

⁷⁷³ Salles 1980, 133 fig. 38.

⁷⁷⁴ Salles 1980, 132.

⁷⁷⁵ Salles 1980, 132.

⁷⁷⁶ Salles 1980, 133 fig. 38.

⁷⁷⁷ Salles 1980, 132.

or before the violent destruction of the area and therefore nothing of the original use context can be said.⁷⁷⁸

In area B another building with an adjacent courtyard of unknown size was detected.⁷⁷⁹

Like in area A, signs of violent destruction could be observed, which can be linked with the end of phase 4 (a).⁷⁸⁰ A pit was discovered in the yard, which contained basket handle amphorae. The excavator interpreted the pit was interpreted as a “grain silo”.⁷⁸¹ The jug from locus 404 together with an unknown number of “Ionian sherds” (perhaps Ionian cups?) might be associated with the building in that quarter.⁷⁸² The whole area was seen as an industrial zone for textile production in a first phase while in the succeeding phase other “commercial activities” were carried out.⁷⁸³

Level 3b

Only two fragments were retained from level 3. One cup comes from pit 5070 that also contained material from the Persian period.⁷⁸⁴ In area B a building was discovered, which consisted of three phases.⁷⁸⁵ The building is ca. 52, 5 m² large and contained several rooms. It is considered to be an important house erected on the debris of the preceding level 4 in a slight different orientation.⁷⁸⁶ The bird bowl comes from locus 301-307, which

⁷⁷⁸ Salles 1980, 32.

⁷⁷⁹ Salles 1980, 134 Fig. 39. If locus 6035 can be identified with a base for a column, the “courtyard” would have been covered with a roof.

⁷⁸⁰ Salles 1980, 135-136.

⁷⁸¹ Salles 1980, 135.

⁷⁸² Salles 1980, 135 considered room 401 and the courtyard to belong to one unit. An unknown number of “tessons ioniens” comes from the same building. One might assume that these Ionian fragments are the unpublished pieces (plusiers fragments d’coupes ioniennes) mentioned by Salles 1980, 150.

⁷⁸³ Salles 1980, 136.

⁷⁸⁴ Nodet 1980, 120.

⁷⁸⁵ Nodet 1980, 120.

⁷⁸⁶ Nodet 1980, 120. The building consisted of three rooms in the first phase and five during the latter two phases. Some problems regarding the interior division remained.

consists of three rooms of a building belonging to phase 3b².⁷⁸⁷ Since later material was also brought to light in the same locus, we have to assume that the Greek fragments belong to level 4 and thus cannot be securely associated with the house.⁷⁸⁸

Non-stratified fragments

The finds from area A and B of both phases only attest that fine Greek pottery was not confined to the ruling elite of the city. The remains from level 4 were badly preserved so it cannot be said whether the access to Greek imports was limited to a wealthy middle class engaged in grain or wine trade or in cloth production, or whether other people also had access to these foreign objects. Furthermore, Keisan is another example where evidence for the import of Greek wine together with Greek vessels is available. Both were perhaps sold together. The aryballos further demonstrates that Greek perfumed oil also attracted the interest of consumers in the East, although only in small quantities. Among the shapes needed for a Greek symposium, only the krater is missing but given the limited excavated area, this could be only accidental.

Also noteworthy is also the already observed correlation between Greek and Cypriot imports. At Keisan, Cypriot wine, or perhaps grain, was imported together with predominantly closed Cypriot vessels.⁷⁸⁹ Additionally, Keisan also revealed a few fragments of the popular mortaria, which can be found at a number of sites such as Al Mina, Mersin, Timnah and Mesad Hashavyahu to mention only a few sites. The amount of

⁷⁸⁷ Nodet 1980, 119-120 fig. 32.

⁷⁸⁸ Nodet 1980, 124-125. From the same locus come further pieces dating from the 5th to the 4th century BC.

⁷⁸⁹ Salles 1980, 140 suggested that the basket handle amphorae were not of local production.

Cypriot imports reinforces the assumed close mercantile relationship between the Akko plain and Cyprus.⁷⁹⁰

Finally, all East Greek imports found at Keisan are also represented at Al Mina. Some of the Greek vessel types collected from Keisan were produced over a longer period of time, thus the precise date is a matter of debate.⁷⁹¹ Therefore, one cannot exclude that some East Greek imports had reached the site before 650 BC. The fragments collected from level 4 however, all belong to the last third of the 7th century BC and as a result, it seems more likely that East Greek imports did not appear at Keisan before 630 BC. This situation is similar to the whole Levant, where East Greek imports dating to before the middle of the 7th century are almost completely absent.

22. Tell Abu Hawam

The site is located in the Akko plain on the foothills of Mt. Carmel close to the mouth of the river Kishon in the bay of Haifa. It occupied a place on an important road, which came from the south, rounding cape Carmel and perhaps crossed the river Kishon just opposite of Tell Abu Hawam (TAH), after which it continued eastwards where it joined the main “highway” to Akko.⁷⁹² Mt. Carmel provided shelter from the south-western winds for the natural harbour and its position on the north-south road together with its location at the entrance to the Jezreel valley was the major factor for the site’s importance in overseas

⁷⁹⁰ Such a close relationship was attested by Schreiber for the 9th- 8th century BC due to the quantities of BoR ware found at the site (Schreiber 2003, 154. 200). Strangely, she concluded that BoR was absent on the Levantine littoral during the 7th century BC despite the appearance of BoR in level 4 at Tell Keisan: Schreiber 2003, 212.

⁷⁹¹ This is true e.g. for the bird bowls that cover the period from 675 to 610 BC or the Cycladic closed vessel of the first or second third of the 7th century BC (see Appendix 3, catalogue Tell Keisan no. 4. 6. 10.). They could have reached the site before or after the middle of the 7th century BC.

⁷⁹² For the road and its precise route see Dorsey 1991, 82-83.

relation between the Aegean and Israel during the Bronze and Iron Age.⁷⁹³ According to Lehmann, the port lay already outside of the territory of Akko and perhaps belonged to Achshaph, a theory that still needs to be proven, but it certainly had an intimate relationship with Megiddo and the Jezreel valley.⁷⁹⁴ The port was abandoned during the 7th century BC, which was probably the result of the Assyrian presence at Akko, the only operating port during that period in the Akko bay.⁷⁹⁵ Today the site is located ca. 1.5 km inland but originally the harbour was certainly situated where the Kishon would flow into the sea.⁷⁹⁶ Despite its modest size, TAH belonged together with Keisan, Achziz and Tell Mimas to the larger settlements in the region during the Iron Age I period.⁷⁹⁷

Hamilton excavated the site from 1932 to 1933 and since then, several re-examinations of the finds as well as the stratigraphy have been undertaken.⁷⁹⁸ TAH initially attracted the attention of classical scholars because of the discovery of two Greek imports, one psc-skyphos and one fully glazed one-handle cup, both said to be from stratum III.⁷⁹⁹ According to Hamilton, stratum IV and III were violently destroyed.⁸⁰⁰ After the re-examination of the site's stratigraphy it has been proposed that stratum III can be divided into 6 phases instead of the initially five, as advocated by Hamilton.⁸⁰¹

The Greek imports at TAH consist of five fragments, all open vessels. One psc-skyphos was found in a pit on the south side of the Tell, which was associated with stratum III, and

⁷⁹³ Balensi 1988, 306.

⁷⁹⁴ Lehmann 2001, 86. 90.

⁷⁹⁵ Lehmann 2001, 95.

⁷⁹⁶ Hamilton 1934, 74.

⁷⁹⁷ Lehmann 2001, 77.

⁷⁹⁸ Most recently see Herrera and Gomez 2004. For a brief overview of past research see Schreiber 2003, 161-162.

⁷⁹⁹ For the two cups Appendix 3, catalogue TAH no. 1. 3. Coldstream GGP, 303.

⁸⁰⁰ Herrera and Gomez 2004, 57.

⁸⁰¹ Hamilton 1935, 68; Herrera and Balensi 1986, 170 "...6th constructional phases of Str. III". For a thorough discussion of the stratigraphy see Herrera and Gomez 2004, 37-57.

which cuts into earlier stratum IV buildings.⁸⁰² Since a large amount of pottery was found together with the psc-skyphos, one might argue that the psc-skyphos really belonged to the stratum III pit and not to stratum IV.⁸⁰³ Unfortunately, it is impossible to define the precise correlation between the pit and the six constructional phases.⁸⁰⁴ From this follows that the piece cannot be assigned to a particular house although it probably came from one of the buildings close by. The date of the piece is disputed. Kearsley assigned it to her type 6, which belongs to the second half of the 8th century BC while other scholars like Lemos, suggested that it could be as early as LPG.⁸⁰⁵ Important in this respect is the profile of the piece, which varies in the different publications. In the first report by Hamilton, the fragment does not contain the offset lip and might therefore be compared with one of Kearsley's type 6 skyphoi.⁸⁰⁶ On the other hand, the drawing provided by Herrera and Balensi, shows a profile that finds good parallels in Kearsley's type 2, which falls between 900 and 800 BC according to Kearsley's chronology.⁸⁰⁷ Coldstream as well as Saltz, drew attention to the high overhanging lip as well as the deep body, all features usually associated with types of the PG or SPG period and alien to Kearsley's type 6.⁸⁰⁸ In conclusion, without examining the piece, the precise shape and therefore its date, have to remain open, although the available evidence favours a LPG to SPG III date.

⁸⁰² Appendix 3, catalogue TAH no. 1. For the location see Hamilton 1934, 24 pl. 3. 4; Herrera and Gomez 2004, 228 no. 61.

⁸⁰³ Judging from the description in Hamilton, it seems that the psc-skyphos together with the other finds were dumped in the pit and formed its fill, hence the accumulation of pottery.

⁸⁰⁴ Herrera and Balensi 1986, 170.

⁸⁰⁵ Kearsley 1986, 85-86; Kearsley 1989, 63 no. 212. 104; Waldbaum 1994, 56 no. 6.

⁸⁰⁶ Judging from Kearsley's publication, she seems to follow Hamilton concerning the profile of the skyphos. Compare Kearsley 1989, 102 Fig. 40, a (cat.no. 3). b (Tell Abu Hawam). It has to be noted, even if one follows Hamilton's initial drawing, that the profile of the fragment does not follow the regular type 6 profile. See also the profile provided by Francis and Vickers, which differs from the drawing provided by Herrera and Balensi: Francis and Vickers 1985, 136 Fig. 6. For a description of the type 6 see recently Eretria XX, 81.

⁸⁰⁷ For the parallel and date of the type see Kearsley 1989, 91 fig. 36. c; 128. Another parallel can be found in a skyphos from pyre 14 at Lefkandi: Lefkandi III, pl. 100. 14, 3.

⁸⁰⁸ Coldstream GGP, 303; Saltz 1978, 147.

One SPG glazed cup comes from stratum III but without clear stratified context. It is said either to belong to the 5th or to the 6th building phase of stratum III.⁸⁰⁹ It's origin and precise date are a matter of controversy. Coldstream believed that the piece is of Cycladic provenance unlikely postdating MG I while Saltz assigned it to Euboean SPG II/IIIa.⁸¹⁰ Parallels can also be found in a LPG grave in the tumba cemetery at Lefkandi.⁸¹¹ The possible date of the cup covers more or less the same period than the psc-skyphos, which was also found in stratum III.

One MG II/LG I skyphos was found below room 42 in stratum IVb, apparently not in its original context.⁸¹² Since the piece was found in stratum IVb and was apparently moved from its original deposition context, it cannot be taken to date the end of stratum III. The discovery of the MG II/LG I skyphos in a layer below stratum III, which contained the possible LPG-SPG III psc-skyphos as well as the LPG-SPG III one-handled cup can only lead to the following possible conclusions: first, to push back considerably the beginning of MG II/ LG I, at least until the end of stratum IVb. This however, would contradict with the results gained from ¹⁴C- samples from Tel Rehov where MG skyphos fragments appeared in the 9th century- level IV.⁸¹³ Alternatively, stratum III must postdate 750 BC but that would be a circular argument since it is the information gained from sites in the Near East, among them TAH, which lead to the establishment of Greek chronology.⁸¹⁴ A

⁸⁰⁹ Herrera and Balensi 1986, 170.

⁸¹⁰ Coldstream GGP, 303; Saltz 1978, 148; Luke 2003, 33 tab. 8 with no. 76.

⁸¹¹ Lefkandi III, pl. 62. 6. 17-18. Desborough put the class with encircling bands on the rim not earlier than SPG I and according to him the type was in use until SPG III: see Lefkandi I, 294-295 fig. 7. j.

⁸¹² Herrera and Balensi 1986, 170; Waldbaum 1994, 55. For a similar piece see Coldstream 1987, 26 no. 14 pl. 14.

⁸¹³ Coldstream and Mazar 2003; Bruins et al. 2003a; Bruins et al. 2003b; Mazar 2004; Contra: Coldstream 2003; Finkelstein and Piasezky 2003.

⁸¹⁴ It seems that this is the conclusion drawn by Kearsley who assigned the psc-skyphos from TAH to the LG period because of the MG II/ LG I skyphos. See Kearsley 1986, 85-86. Even if one is willing to ignore the obviously unclear stratigraphic situation, it seems questionable whether it can be considered as sound methodology to down date a whole stratum based on one piece if the bulk of the material is much earlier. A similar point was raised by Saltz 1978, 159.

final possibility would be to suggest that the whole area must be considered as disturbed and the information provided by the Greek pieces has to be regarded as unreliable for the absolute chronology. In the light of the unsecure stratification of the piece and due to possible disturbances, I am inclined to consider the Greek imports from TAH as not useful in determining absolute dates for the chronology of Greek Geometric pottery.⁸¹⁵

A further fragment possibly comes from a krater.⁸¹⁶ Unfortunately, no information regarding its precise context is available. The piece is small and only parts of the decoration, a meander, can be made out. The preservation of the krater does not allow a more precise date than to assign the piece from MG to LG period. The date hinges also on the provenance of the piece. Gomez and Balensi suggested an Euboean production based on the fabric of the piece.⁸¹⁷ If it comes from Euboea, a MG II or even LG date seems possible as illustrated by an Euboean LG krater with meander decoration discovered at Amathous.⁸¹⁸

The buildings associated with level III published by Hamilton are all of fairly large size, partly with paved interior floors, but in general the quality of the construction was said to be “not remarkable either for stability or design”.⁸¹⁹ Since no further information is provided, and it is totally unclear, which building can be assigned to which period, any further assumptions are pure speculation and have to be postponed until new excavations will reveal further evidence.

⁸¹⁵ See also Coldstream GGP, 480 (supplement).

⁸¹⁶ See Appnedix 3, catalogue TAH no. 5. Strangely, the piece is missing in the list presented by Herrera and Balensi in 2004. Luke 2003 also seemed to have missed the piece.

⁸¹⁷ Gomez and Balensi 1999, 61. It has to be noted though that Euboean fabrics can be very similar to Attic ones and given the small fragment the question of the origin together with the date have to be left open.

⁸¹⁸ Meander decoration is particularly popular on Atticizing MG II-LG I Euboean kraters but the motif continuous to be employed on kraters in LG II Eretria XX, 93 pl.20, 67. 67, 330; Coldstream 1987, 24 No. 9. 26. pl. 12.

⁸¹⁹ Hamilton 1935, 6 pl.3.

None of the Greek imports discovered at TAH can be assigned to a particular building and due to the continuing rebuilding activities on the Tell, even the allocation to a particular stratum seems tentative. What can be said is that Greek vessels started reaching the site perhaps from around the late 10th until ca. the middle of the 8th century BC. Imports though seemed to be only on a small scale. This could also explain the rather limited amounts of Greek imports found at sites such as Megiddo. Other ports were apparently more attractive for foreign traders during the Iron Age period. Perhaps the Phoenician cities to the north of TAH absorbed most of the long distance trade and the few fragments found at TAH reached the port via the big trading ports located further to the north.

The range of shapes is limited to open drinking vases, cups and kraters. The black glazed one- handled cup is a unique piece among Greek imports in the Levant. Simple one- handle cups antedating 750 BC are otherwise only known from Hama, but the fragment from Hama could also be from a skyphos. Larger samples of one- handled cups come from Al Mina but they are of later date. The scarcity of Greek imports at the harbour site of TAH leaves us with different possible interpretations. The krater is perhaps best understood as a commodity sold at TAH but the cups could also be interpreted as the personal belongings of traders of different ethnic backgrounds, including Greeks, who visited the harbour. Regardless of the carrier or the buyer of the pots, the few finds at the harbour certainly speak against an established continuous exchange in Greek pottery at the site. Several explanations for this record can be put forward: one reason for this might be that TAH attracted only regional trade and the Aegean imports reached the site via an intermediary harbour such as Tyre e.g.⁸²⁰ Another possible explanation for the low number could be that the trade of foreign goods and their possession was confined to a specific

⁸²⁰ Wijngaarden similarly explained the low amounts and restricted shape variety of Greek imports at the Levantine coastal sites during the late Bronze Age. See Wijngaarden 2002, 110.

class, which caused the low number of imports. Such a scenario does not necessarily entail restricted access to Greek pottery. The limited amount might be simply a by-product of regulatory mechanisms imposed on more valuable commodities but there is no reason to believe that the distribution of low value products was tied to high value items.⁸²¹ We also have to consider changes in the natural environment that made the harbour less attractive for foreign traders.⁸²² As a last point one could mention that the inhabitants of the region simply favoured other drinking vessels and Greek pots did not play any significant role at TAH as diacritical goods among the elites or other classes such as the traders. Unfortunately, we lack the data to answer these questions but judging from the amount of Cypriot imports, it seems that the number of Aegean products is generally lower than at other sites in the region or in North Syria. From this one can only conclude that whatever the reason was, the Greek imports alone are certainly not the key to the answer, which leaves us with many possible explanations.

23. Tell Qiri

The site itself was excavated between 1975 and 1977 during the course of the investigation of the Jezreel valley. It was an unfortified small village whose occupants were perhaps primarily engaged in farming.⁸²³ The Tell lies ca. 2 km south-east of Yoqne'am on a route that connected Yoqne'am with Megiddo.⁸²⁴

⁸²¹ See e.g. Sherratt 1993.

⁸²² See i.e. Artzy 1998, 441 with no. 5.

⁸²³ Zertal 2001, 48.

⁸²⁴ Ben-Tor and Portugali 1987, Plan 1.

The Dinos fragment comes from area C at Tell Qiri. The piece was found in locus 551, which can be associated with a stratum V/VI- building that was only partly excavated.⁸²⁵

The dinos, which originally contained a spout, is of Euboean origin dating perhaps to the late 8th or early 7th century BC.⁸²⁶

The scant remains of the level V/VI building do not allow determining its function or to say anything about the economic status of the owner.⁸²⁷ The previous building of stratum VA and VB was of considerable size, built of massive walls, one room was plastered with stones and it was not incorporated with other buildings.⁸²⁸ The excavators considered it as a public building.⁸²⁹ The succeeding building however, has a slightly different orientation and narrower walls, so that we have to consider a functional change in the succeeding phase.⁸³⁰ It cannot be stated with absolute certainty whether the dinos was in use during the strata VA and VB or whether it can be associated with building from stratum V/VI.

The dinos is the only Greek import recorded so far from Tell Qiri that dates to the 8th or 7th century BC. Further Greek imports do not appear at the site before the 6th century BC.⁸³¹

⁸²⁵ Ben- Tor and Portugali 1987, Plan 45.

⁸²⁶ Ben- Tor and Portugali 1987, 110 no. 12. 203 no. 100; Wenning 1981, 33-34 refers to pottery from Qiri dating to the 9th century BC or later

⁸²⁷ See Luke 2003, 39 who stated the dinos can be associated with the building from stratum VA and VB.

⁸²⁸ All these mentioned criteria are suggested to be relevant in determining the wealth of the owner. See Panitz- Cohen 2011, 94 with no. 7.

⁸²⁹ Ben- Tor and Portugali 1987, 105-110 Plan 42.

⁸³⁰ It even remains unclear whether the walls revealed in stratum V/VI belong to the same building.

⁸³¹ Ben- Tor and Portugali 1987, 110 fig. 3.13.

24. Tell Rehov

Tell Rehov, one of the largest mounds in Israel, is located in the Beth-Shean valley ca. 5 km south of Tell Beth-Shean. The town name Rehov, mentioned in the bible appears in several written sources and was the name for several cities.⁸³² The identification of the Tell with the town Rehov is based on the preservation of this name in the name of an Islamic shrine.⁸³³

The Tell consists of an upper and a lower mound. Archaeological fieldwork was carried out in six different areas (A-F) from 1997 to 2002. The occupation at the site seems to go back to the 16th or 15th century BC judging from the preliminary results.⁸³⁴

The phases, in which Greek imports appeared range from stratum IV to VI and are limited to Areas B-C, E, G.⁸³⁵ The pottery discovered in them, are an important absolute chronological marker for the established relative Aegean sequence and together with ¹⁴C-samples recovered from the same strata, they are the subject of considerable debate.⁸³⁶ Apart from the SPG II-IIIa pyxis (see below), the current state of research suggests that the results from Rehov do not contradict Coldstream's chronological system.⁸³⁷

The plans, published so far, do not allow correlating the fragments with the exact find-spots and therefore only general assumptions can be reached. Furthermore, none of the

⁸³² Mazar 1999, 3.

⁸³³ Mazar 1999, 4.

⁸³⁴ Mazar 1999, 10-11. 38. The pottery suggests an occupation going back only to the 13th century BC.

⁸³⁵ Coldstream and Mazar 2003, 31 tab. 1.

⁸³⁶ Coldstream and Mazar 2003; Bruins et al. 2003a; Bruins et al. 2003b; Mazar 2004; Contra: Coldstream 2003; Finkelstein and Piasezky 2003.

⁸³⁷ Coldstream and Mazar 2003, 44-45. For a recent overview of the differences between the low and the high chronology see Finkelstein and Piasezky 2011.

pieces was found in situ or on floors. In the case of a pyxis, which was retrieved from Area C (see below), the fragments were scattered across a distance of 15 m.⁸³⁸ This pyxis was apparently found in a stratum B-5 building complex, but the later construction of a massive wall on top of this building in stratum B-4 resulted in the dispersion of the pyxis fragments. Thus, its association with the building of stratum B-5 remains tentative.⁸³⁹ What can be said though is that all pieces come from occupation areas.⁸⁴⁰ In area E, where one krater fragment was found, a small cult installation, a so-called high place (bamah) was detected but an association of the krater with the cult place is unlikely.⁸⁴¹

The fragments from Rehov belong to the earliest Greek imports discovered so far in the Levant. Interestingly, apart from one Attic fragment, the rest of the imports originates from Euboea. Also noteworthy is the appearance of two kraters, a form, which is otherwise rare during that period (LPG-SPG/MG).⁸⁴² The Euboean pyxis, dated from SPG II-IIIa, is the only example of this type found outside of Euboea, and just underlines the unique character of the Rehov finds.⁸⁴³

Although only a few fragments were discovered at Rehov so far, the distribution of the finds among four different areas of the city, speaks against a restricted access to Greek imports. Judging from the excavated remains that contained Greek sherds, nothing indicates that the buildings can be associated with inhabitants belonging to the top of the city's social class or ruling elite.

⁸³⁸ Coldstream and Mazar 2003, 34.

⁸³⁹ Mazar 2004, 26 fig. 2.

⁸⁴⁰ Mazar 1999, 21 Fig. 9 (stratum C1); 33-35 fig. 23 (B5).

⁸⁴¹ Mazar 1999, 25-26.

⁸⁴² See Appendix 3, chapter 16 (Tyre).

⁸⁴³ Lemos 2005, 58 relates them to similar pieces discovered in the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi and suggests that they even belong to the same workshop.

The value of Greek pottery is discussed controversially in the scholarly community and the interpretations of such pieces as the pyxis range from prestigious gifts to cheap insignificant objects.⁸⁴⁴ The rarity of the pyxis-shape in the East suggests that the Rehov example did not reach the site as an ordinary trading good and favours the suggestion that this vessel constituted a prestigious artefact.⁸⁴⁵ The kraters may be interpreted in a similar way.⁸⁴⁶ The find contexts of the Greek imports on the other hand speak against the hypothesis that they reached the site as a gift for a member of the elite although we have to consider that all pieces were not found in their original use context. A similar conclusion can be drawn from a pyxis found at Tell Hadar, which was obviously found in a storeroom among other commodities.⁸⁴⁷

25. Megiddo

Megiddo was a main Israelite city, perhaps fortified under King Solomon during the 10th century BC.⁸⁴⁸ Its importance derives primarily from its location in the Jezreel valley on the crossroad of the main north-south route from Egypt to Syria (Via Maris) and it held this position from the late Bronze to the Iron Age.⁸⁴⁹ Guy was the first to assign the impressive building complexes belonging to stratum IV (now stratum VA-IVB) to the reign of King Solomon, a view, which has been challenged by several scholars.⁸⁵⁰ The city

⁸⁴⁴ Pyxis as gift: Coldstream and Mazar 2003, 39. Generally against pottery as valuable item: Vickers and Gill 1994, 77, 85-88.

⁸⁴⁵ See also Lemos 2005, 58.

⁸⁴⁶ See also the interpretation of kraters from Samaria and Hama.

⁸⁴⁷ For the discussion of the Tell Hadar piece see Appendix 3, chapter 20.

⁸⁴⁸ According to the Bible King Solomon fortified Megiddo see: I Kgs. 9:15; Megiddo III, 558.

⁸⁴⁹ Megiddo I, XIX- XX; Ussishkin 1995, 261-262. For the Via Maris see King and Stager 2001, 176-177; Dorsey 1991, 78-79.

⁸⁵⁰ For a summary of the complicated stratigraphy see Harrison 2004, 11-12. Wright 1950, 59-60, linked stratum VA with IV B.

was sacked by the Assyrians in 733/32 BC after which the city became the capital of the new Assyrian province of Magiddu.⁸⁵¹

Clairmont originally identified five Greek pottery fragments. Of them, only two pieces of Greek skyphoi have been identified with certainty so far.⁸⁵² The best parallels for them can be found in Attic MG I examples.⁸⁵³ Both fragments may belong to the same vessel. As in the cases of the other Israelite sites, the fragments feature in the debate about the absolute chronology of Greek Geometric pottery, with which I am less concerned here. There exist doubts as to the correct stratigraphic association of these sherds.⁸⁵⁴ The other two skyphoi fragments are definitely not of Greek provenance. This is suggested by the bichrome decoration on one of the pieces and by the interior decoration, which consists of encircling lines instead of the usual fully painted surface.⁸⁵⁵ Similar fragments appeared on Cyprus and the bichrome technique together with the interior decoration link the two fragments with the so-called Al Mina ware workshops.⁸⁵⁶ Parallels from Cyprus were considered by Coldstream to be of MG or LG date.⁸⁵⁷ The origin and the shape of the fifth fragment are unclear.⁸⁵⁸ Coldstream considered it to be of Cypriot or even local production while Riis suggested that it possibly derives from a Protocorinthian skyphos.⁸⁵⁹ Given the description published by Clairmont, a Protocorinthian kotyle fragment seems likely. In that case it would be the only Protocorinthian fragment found outside Cilicia and North Syria.⁸⁶⁰

⁸⁵¹ CAH III 2, 336.

⁸⁵² Appendix 3, catalogue Megiddu no. 1.

⁸⁵³ Coldstream GGP, 303.

⁸⁵⁴ For a good overview see discussion in Fantalkin 2001, 119. 122.

⁸⁵⁵ Appendix 3, catalogue Megiddu no. 2. See also Coldstream GGP, 303.

⁸⁵⁶ For a possible parallel see Coldstream 1979, pl. 29, 3. 5-6; 30, 1.

⁸⁵⁷ Coldstream 1979, 259 no. 3. 6; 263, no. 10.

⁸⁵⁸ Clairmont 1955, 100 considered the pieces on pl.20, 5a-b as one piece (exterior and interior). Riis 1970, 146 no. 594 on the other hand considered them to be from two separate vessels.

⁸⁵⁹ Coldstream GGP, 303; Riis 1970, 146.

⁸⁶⁰ The discrepancy between the find context (stratum IV?) and its date led Riis to conclude that the supposedly Corinthian fragment must derive from stratum III. See Riis 1970, 146.

Originally, the Greek skyphoi were published as coming from stratum V.⁸⁶¹ Later, it was proposed that at least one fragment derives from stratum IV.⁸⁶² The fragment associated with stratum IV was unearthed at the “periphery of the town”.⁸⁶³ According to Riis, it comes from an area close to building 338, which was interpreted as a private residence of an important person, perhaps a commander of the city.⁸⁶⁴ Although the skyphos cannot be linked to the building itself, its proximity may indicate that it originally came from the elite residence.⁸⁶⁵

The precise context of the Al Mina ware and the two other fragments are unknown. Clairmont mentioned that the Al Mina ware fragments come from the same context as the Greek skyphos fragment.⁸⁶⁶ The apparently partly false information provided by Clairmont concerning the precise stratum of the skyphoi cast doubts on the remaining contextual information given by her and therefore the findspot as well as the precise stratum of the other pieces have to be left open.⁸⁶⁷ The two Attic MG I imports were associated by Coldstream with stratum VA-IVB, although precise information that is necessary to confirm this view, is missing.⁸⁶⁸ Ussishkin confirmed that the locus 376, which contained at least one piece of the MG I skyphos, cannot be securely associated with stratum VA-IVB. Moreover, since the area containing locus 376 between the wall and building 338 is

⁸⁶¹ Clairmont 1955, 99.

⁸⁶² Riis 1970, 144-145. One piece apparently derives from stratum IV and the others are “likely from the same stratum, IV”.

⁸⁶³ Appendix 3, catalogue Megiddo no. 1. The locus is given in Riis 1970, 144 no. 587. For the locus see Megiddo I, 39 fig. 49 (locus 376).

⁸⁶⁴ Megiddo I, 58-59; Ussishkin 1989, 162.

⁸⁶⁵ Both skyphos fragments perhaps belonged once to the same vase. See Riis 1970, 146 no. 589.

⁸⁶⁶ Clairmont 1955, 100.

⁸⁶⁷ Given the conflicting information concerning the stratum in which the Greek imports have been found and the identification of a “new” stratum (VA-IVB), in my mind its not even clear whether we can associated the Greek imports from Megiddo with stratum VA-IVB. See also the comments concerning the unclear stratigraphic association of building 338 in Megiddo III, 558-559. For the problems concerning the correlation of stratum VA-IVB with previous levels V and IV see the overview in Kempinsky 1989, 91; Harrison 2004, 12 with further references. See also the remarks by Coldstream in the latest edition of his GGP (Supplement): Coldstream GGP, 480.

⁸⁶⁸ This is now also admitted in the latest supplement by Coldstream GGP, 305-307. 480 (supplement).

composed of fills, which in theory could have been deposited much later, it is even possible that the pieces were found out of their original deposition context.⁸⁶⁹

A good example for the use of foreign imports at Megiddo is provided by a building located in area AA, which was originally associated with stratum VA.⁸⁷⁰ In room 2081 of this building an interesting group of objects was detected together with two stone altars.⁸⁷¹ The items found around the altars included also Cypriot imports among them bowls and small juglets, which most likely contained oil.⁸⁷² Further Cypriot vessels are reported from loci 2100 and 2102 of the same building.⁸⁷³ This example demonstrates that Cypriot oil was imported and used for cultic activities. Further, foreign Cypriot vessels were apparently used for cult ceremonies, which included the consumption of beverages, perhaps even Cypriot wine. Although the precise function of the level VA building remains unclear, its size and other objects recovered from it, such as four seals suggests that the owner was a wealthy person, probably an official.⁸⁷⁴ It further demonstrates that foreign goods were not restricted to the royal court although they were perhaps circulating only among the elite.

The aforementioned example serves as a case study to understand the function of foreign imports at Megiddo. Although usage other than ritual cannot be ruled out, the limited numbers of imports might be an indication for their uniqueness at Megiddo, which made them a suitable object to mark special occasions, like ritual performances. Having said this,

⁸⁶⁹ Coldstream 2003, 256. Note that it is also unclear whether building 338 can be associated with stratum VA-IVB.

⁸⁷⁰ Megiddo II, fig. 388.

⁸⁷¹ Megiddo II, 45 fig. 101-102.

⁸⁷² Megiddo II, pl. 88. 8. 18; 89. 6; 90. 1-3.

⁸⁷³ Megiddo II, pl. 88. 18; 89. 7. The relationship between locus 2100 and 2102 to 2081 is unclear. The excavator speaks of two groups of stratum VA rooms. See Megiddo II, 45 fig. 100.

⁸⁷⁴ Kempinsky 1989, 187; Ussishkin 1989, 170-172.

it is clear that the role of foreign pottery may change over the period of time and it also has to remain open, if Greek imports fulfilled the same role as Cypriot imports. The few Greek fragments highlight the restricted access to Greek imports in that part of Israel, despite the location of Megiddo on an important land route and its relatively good connections to the Aegean via the port at Tell Abu Hawam. Tell Abu Hawam has not produced significantly more Greek sherds than Megiddo so far. This might suggest that the limited amount of Greek imports cannot be explained through inadequate access to trading centres that fostered contacts with the Aegean during the 8th century BC.⁸⁷⁵ The low numbers at Tell Abu Hawam and at Megiddo, are best understood as a product of the consumption behaviour at Megiddo resulting in limited demand for foreign clay vessels. As one possible interpretation I suggested sumptuary restrictions imposed by Jehu after his accession to power in 841 BC at Samaria, and a similar situation could have been occurred at Megiddo. If this is the case, such mechanisms could have lasted only for a short period of time since evidence for commercial relations between the Phoenician cities and Megiddo during the 8th and 7th century BC are attested in the archaeological record. Alternatively, one possible reason for the restricted demand for Greek pottery lies in the limited number, or even absence, of a broad class of independent merchants or people who were in contact with foreigners. The prerequisite – competition between a relatively wealthy merchants class and the administrative aristocracy – that stimulated the acquirement of foreign pottery at other places, in particular at the ports on the coast, was perhaps missing at Megiddo.

Interestingly, for the periods following stratum VA-IVB, no Greek imports are reported. The Al Mina ware fragments may have come from the Phoenician cities on the coast,

⁸⁷⁵ As mentioned in chapter 22 (TAH) the port was not occupied during the 7th century BC, which at least would be a possible explanation for the absence of Greek imports at Megiddo during the 7th century BC.

perhaps from Tyre, where Al Mina ware was found in limited amounts.⁸⁷⁶ Cypriot imports are also few after stratum VA-IVB.⁸⁷⁷ A similar picture can be obtained from the period of the Assyrian occupation. Hardly any Assyrian imports are known from Megiddo, despite its important administrative role.⁸⁷⁸ Clearly, during the 8th and 7th century BC, Megiddo's international contacts must have been substantially reduced compared to the LBA and EIA periods, which might be connected with the transformation of the town from a independent city into an administrative centre.⁸⁷⁹ Judging from the pottery, it seems that with the beginning of the 8th century BC Megiddo had close commercial ties with the kingdom of Judah. The Phoenician cities perhaps played an equally important role.⁸⁸⁰ The absence of Greek pottery during the 8th and 7th century BC was apparently not caused by a disruption of commercial relations with the Phoenician cities. Either, the absence is only accidental, something which is not unlikely given the general low numbers of Greek imports in Israel, or we can observe a change of attitude towards foreign imports at Megiddo during the course of the late 9th and 8th century BC, which did not change with the Assyrian conquest. The low number of foreign imports may support the latter view.

26. Samaria

Samaria is one of the sites extensively discussed and therefore the Greek imports are only briefly mentioned here. Samaria was excavated during the course of two expeditions: the

⁸⁷⁶ See Appendix 3, chapter 16.

⁸⁷⁷ Some Cypriot BoR flasks have been reported as coming from stratum V-III: Megiddo I, pl. 17. 87; 29. 107. Further, some mortaria similar to mortaria from Al Mina level V are reported from stratum III-I: Megiddo I, pl. 23. 13-15.

⁸⁷⁸ Kempinsky 1989, 101-103. Kempinsky suggested that the lack of Assyrian material culture derives from hitherto undetected Assyrian governor residence, which must have been situated in the plain.

⁸⁷⁹ Kempinsky 1989, 147; Megiddo III, 558-559. 602.

⁸⁸⁰ Aharoni 1989, 224.

first was conducted by Harvard University from 1908-1910 and the second campaign was conducted by the British expedition under the directorship of Crowfoot.

During the period under consideration, Samaria was the capital of Israel. The city was founded by Omri, who moved the capital of Israel to Samaria around 880/875 BC.⁸⁸¹ Fortification aspects as well as economic reasons might have caused the move.⁸⁸² The Assyrians later conquered the city, perhaps at some time during the autumn of 723 and spring of 722 BC, after a revolt against them.⁸⁸³ The city's fate is documented in the Bible, where it is mentioned as a warning example for unconquered Judah.⁸⁸⁴ During the 7th century BC, Samaria probably served as the seat for the Assyrian governor of Israel.⁸⁸⁵

The chronology and the periodical system proposed by Keynon in 1942 are controversial and have been discussed by several authors. In particular the discovery of one MG II fragment in period V, said to be from an undisturbed context, led Coldstream to set the boundary between MG II and LG at around 750 BC.⁸⁸⁶ The site's stratigraphy is complex and the other Greek finds derive mainly from disturbed contexts, which caused some scholars to doubt Coldstream's conclusion.⁸⁸⁷ Important for the Greek imports is the dating of pottery period V, which has been recently down-dated to the 7th century BC.⁸⁸⁸

⁸⁸¹ CAH III 1, 466-467; Franklin 2008, 45. For a critical assessment of the EIA remains, the stratigraphy and the chronology of the site see Tappy 1992. For a pre- Omird settlement at Samaria see Stager 1990; Franklin 2004.

⁸⁸² Franklin 2004, 200-201.

⁸⁸³ The siege of the city was perhaps by Shalmaneser V. (726-722 BC) but it is unclear whether he died before or after the city was captured. See CAH III 1, 415. For the sources concerning the siege and its date see discussion in CAH III 2, 339-341. For a good overview of the discussion see Tappy 2001, 559-561.

⁸⁸⁴ II Kgs. 18, 34.

⁸⁸⁵ CAH III 1, 425.

⁸⁸⁶ Coldstream GGP, 309. The corpus of Greek imports from Samaria is said to derive from stratum V, VII, Hellenistic and Roman: Crowfoot et al. 1957, 210-212. For the information that one fragment comes from undisturbed stratum V context see Riis 1970, 146.

⁸⁸⁷ Francis and Vickers 1985, 133-134; More recently Fantalkin 2001b, 119-120. 122.

⁸⁸⁸ For an extensive discussion of the pottery period V see Forsberg 1995, 17-49; Tappy 2001, 175-226. For the distinction between pottery period and building period see Wright 1959, 21-22.

The total number of fragments recovered from the site is 12 representing nine different vessels.⁸⁸⁹ They all come from the Tell, which included a palace and other buildings of unclear function.⁸⁹⁰ The proximity of these buildings to the palace suggests that they either had an administrative purpose or they were used as dwelling places for court officials or royal guards.⁸⁹¹ A fortification wall encloses the area from which the pottery comes. Unfortunately, all sherds were recovered in later contexts and it remains doubtful whether their find spot has anything to do with the original place of deposition.⁸⁹² The foundation of Samaria serves as the terminus post quem for all imports discovered at the site.⁸⁹³ Although here is not the place to embark on a lengthy discussion of the date of period V at Samaria, it should be noted that two recent studies concluded that pottery period V ranges from 722 to the first half of the 7th century BC, thus lowering the terminus ante quem for MG II.⁸⁹⁴

⁸⁸⁹ The number presented here differs slightly from the number calculated by previous scholars. This is because firstly, I follow Saltz 1978, 186 in her assumption that there are at least two krater fragments (see no. 630 below) and secondly, one fragment listed as belonging to the psc-plate in fact represents a different open vessel (see Appendix 3, catalogue Samaria no. 4); For other interpretation see Coldstream GGP, 304; Luke 2003, 34 tab. 8.

⁸⁹⁰ For the palace see Reisner et al. 1924, 60-61.

⁸⁹¹ Franklin 2004, 201; Franklin 2008, 46 concluded that the summit became “a strictly administrative centre” during building period II. See further Tappy 2001, 348-349. In the Harvard publication the whole area west to the “Omrid” palace is assigned to Ahab’s “ivory palace”. See Reisner et al. 1924, 61 Plan no. 5.

⁸⁹² Crowfoot et al. 1957, 212; Riis 1970, 146; Saltz 1978, 186.

⁸⁹³ The association of period V with the Assyrian destruction of 722 BC is highly controversial. See Coldstream GGP, 304. 480. Riis 1970, 146. Concerning the deposits containing Greek imports and for the date of period V see Crowfoot et al. 1942, 108. 212. Against a clear identification of an Assyrian destruction see Tappy 2001, 440. For a thorough discussion concerning the problems of the findspot and the interpretations of the MG sherds see Forsberg 1995, 18-19. For an overview of proposed datings of period V see Forsberg 1995, 20 no. 18.

⁸⁹⁴ Forsberg 1995, 23-24; Tappy 2001, 173-226. See also his discussion of pottery period VI (Tappy 2006, 347-350). For a discussion of the problems related to Forsberg studies see the remarks in Tappy 2001, 178-181. At this point I only have to add that Forsberg rejected signs for an Assyrian destruction partly because he believed that the ivories found in period VII deposits overlying period V cannot derive from the Assyrian destruction since the Assyrians would not destroy such valuable objects (Forsberg 1995, 33). Instead, he offered alternatives for the destruction of the ivories, for which, no references in ancient written sources exist (Forsberg 1995, 33-36). Although Forsberg might be right with his suggestion that it is unlikely that the Assyrians would destroy the ivories, he ignores another possibility, which would explain the destruction of the ivories during the course of the Assyrian conquest; that is that the Samaritans destroyed the ivories themselves in order to prevent them falling into the hands of the Assyrians.

Due to the unclear stratigraphic situation and the relocation of the majority of the Greek imports, it is almost impossible to say anything about their original use-context. It seems likely however that they come from the palace itself or from buildings that can be associated with it. We may therefore assume that the Greek imports can be connected with the elite of Samaria if not with the house of the kings itself. In particular the rare appearance of MG kraters in the Near East allows connecting the kraters recovered at Samaria with the aristocracy, perhaps sent as gifts.⁸⁹⁵ A similar situation was observed at Hama, where the Attic MG II krater could probably be linked to a sanctuary in the royal quarter.⁸⁹⁶

Several possibilities for the use of the kraters and the other imports seem likely. A usage in the ritual banquet known also as *marzeah*, a custom that can be traced back to 14th century Ugarit, is one possibility.⁸⁹⁷ As suggested by Forsberg, the custom may have been introduced at Samaria during the reign of king Ahab, who was married to Jezebel, the daughter of the king of Tyre and Sidon.⁸⁹⁸ Despite the expulsion of Phoenician cults with the revolt by Jehu, there is some evidence that the custom of the *marzeah* was still practiced in the following 8th century BC.⁸⁹⁹ The so-called “Ivory house” of king Ahab, which included ivory couches, seems to be the proper environment in which such banquets could have taken place.⁹⁰⁰ The few fragments of Greek imports point to their exotic

⁶²⁸ Coldstream GGP, 480 suggested that the krater(s) could have been sent as prestigious vessels during the reign of Jeroboam II (788-749 BC). For a reconstruction in paper of the krater see Coldstream 2003, 250 fig. 1.

⁸⁹⁶ See Appendix 3 chapter 11.

⁸⁹⁷ For the *marzeah* see Greenfield 1974; King and Stager 2001, 355-356.

⁸⁹⁸ Forsberg 1995, 34.

⁸⁹⁹ Greenfield 1974, 453. For the brutal revolt and the expulsion of Phoenician cults see II Kgs. 9-10.

⁹⁰⁰ Forsberg 1995, 34. For a recent discussion of the ivories discovered at Samaria and their stratigraphic details as well as their historical interpretation see Tappy 2001, 443-495; Forsberg 1995, 31-33 proposes several different possibilities for the historical interpretation of the ivory finds at Samaria.

character, which makes them a suitable commodity used in banqueting at the Samaritan court where feasting in a luxuries environment is even attested in written sources.⁹⁰¹

Unfortunately, we do not possess enough information from the ordinary houses of the site at the moment. Therefore, the question, whether access to Greek imports was restricted to the elite, cannot be answered conclusively.

Interestingly, no Greek imports are reported for the time after 750 BC excluding one piece of uncertain date.⁹⁰² The majority of the finds falls in the period between 850 and 750 BC and therefore covers a long period of time. In principle it is possible that all imports fall into the period shortly after 850 BC, which would coincide with the coup d'état by Jehu in 841 BC.⁹⁰³ Jehu's revolt led to the annihilation of the descendants of the Phoenicophile house of Omri and to a massacre of the Baal priests and workers at Samaria.⁹⁰⁴ Although it is only a hypothesis, the possible absence of Greek imports at Samaria and Megiddo could be explained by Jehu's rise to power, which was certainly accompanied by a renunciation of Phoenician cult practices, and perhaps even followed by the abandonment of Phoenician or foreign cultural practices. With this background, Greek pottery was probably perceived as exotic foreign objects deriving from the Phoenician ports, which after Jehu's accession to power was considered an inappropriate foreign luxury.

⁹⁰¹ Amos 3:9-15.

⁹⁰² Appendix 3, catalogue Samaria no. 4.

⁹⁰³ CAH III 1, 485-487.

⁹⁰⁴ CAH III 1, 487.

27. Yavneh-Yam

The site of Yavneh-Yam or Iamnia Paralios in Greek, is located on the coast between Jaffa and Ashdod and is only 1 km to the north of Mesad Hashavyahu.⁹⁰⁵ The site is not to be confused with a second city of similar name (Yavneh) located ca. 8 km inland east of the harbour city.⁹⁰⁶ Archaeological excavations at the site have been carried out since 1950s and more systematic continuous investigation of the Tell was initiated in 1992. A final publication of the finds is forthcoming. According to archaeological results, the site was occupied from the Middle Bronze Age down to the early Islamic period (7th –11th century AD).⁹⁰⁷ 12 different main strata were detected so far. Relevant for the discussion are stratum X (8th century BC) and stratum IX (second half of the 7th century BC).⁹⁰⁸ Due to the restricted extent of the archaeological work, the information about the outline of the city is limited. What can be said is that the city was protected by a wall on three sides. Further, one gate was identified, which is situated on the southern half of the eastern wall. Excavations inside the city were conducted in three areas (A-C). Signs of a violent destruction were detected in area A (see below). Due to the lack of any historical written information, one can only speculate about its cause. An Egyptian conquest by Pharaoh Necho II in 609 BC or alternatively a destruction during the course of the Babylonian attack against Ashkelon in Kislev 604 BC, are two possibilities for the destruction.⁹⁰⁹

The Greek pottery finds reported so far were all found in a destruction layer that covered the floor of a building detected in area A. The building is constructed in a header and

⁹⁰⁵ For the identification of the site and for references in ancient sources see Fischer 2003, 241-242.

⁹⁰⁶ For the location and history of Yavneh see Kletter et al. 2010, 1-5. For more detailed information about the history of the site and past and current archaeological projects see Fischer and Taxel 2007.

⁹⁰⁷ Fischer 2003, 242. 249.

⁹⁰⁸ Fischer 2003, 242.

⁹⁰⁹ Fischer 2002, 50; Fantalkin 2001, 136.

stretcher technique of elaborately hewn ashlar.⁹¹⁰ The excavator associated the technique as being typical for royal buildings of the region.⁹¹¹ The excavated remains however, are so limited that any suggestion about the function of the building can be no more than mere speculation. Cooking pots found inside the building suggest that it was a dwelling place for a member of the local elite.⁹¹²

As in the case of Tell Miqne- Ekron, where only a proportion of the Greek pottery has been published, the analysis of the finds have to be considered of only preliminary in character.

The fragments derive all from one building. Despite any clear information about the exact assemblage of the destruction layer from the building, the attempt is made here to summarize the most important characteristics of the context:

As at Timnah, nothing from the archaeological record points to the existence of Greeks apart from the pottery. Written sources, which would attest their presence, are also absent. The material characteristics of the building point to inhabitants belonging to the local higher social class. Therefore, the cooking pots have to be considered as part of the local household and the same is true for the rest of the Greek imports. Surprisingly, the destruction deposit from the building in area A at Yavneh-Yam revealed also one LG skyphos, an indication that the site received Greek imports already before the second half

⁹¹⁰ Fischer 2002, 51 Fig. 4.

⁹¹¹ Fischer 2002, 50 with references.

⁹¹² Fischer 2003, 243.

of the 7th century BC.⁹¹³ The rest fits into the excavator's assumption that the destruction occurred at the end of the 7th century BC. One rim fragment has been interpreted as a Chian amphora rim but the short neck, wavy line decoration and shape of the rim, speak against such an assumption.⁹¹⁴ The fragment also lacks the typical white slip of Chian amphorae of the late 7th century BC.⁹¹⁵ All the above mentioned details fit better with a krater, comparable to examples from Al Mina level V.⁹¹⁶ As already noted, Wild Goat style jugs are missing, which was interpreted as a sign for a chronological gap between the arrival of Wild Goat style pottery in the region and the destruction of Yavneh-Yam.⁹¹⁷ Given the few stratum IX-remains excavated so far, the absence of Wild Goat style pottery may simply stem from the lack of archaeological investigation. Mortaria, so frequent at Timnah, and also occurring at a number of other sites, are missing, as well as small perfume vessels. The relative large number of finds from one single room of one building might be related to the social status of the owner. It may further indicate frequent accessibility of Greek imports at the port site during the end of the 7th century BC.

Since no further information about the distribution of the finds exists, any farther reaching conclusions about the use and distribution of the Greek finds among the local population would be too ambiguous.

⁹¹³ The presence of a LG skyphos in an otherwise homogeneous assemblage is surprising but the skyphos could be explained as a heirloom. The other interpretation would be that the assemblage is of mixed nature and therefore cannot be interpreted as an in-situ context. In the latter case, the association of the finds with the building would be uncertain.

⁹¹⁴ Fischer 2002, 51 fig. 3, b.

⁹¹⁵ Cook and Dupont 1998, 146.

⁹¹⁶ Until the publication of a profile drawing, a final assignment to a krater has to remain open. For a krater type that shares the morphological and stylistic characteristics of the published piece see Tarsus III, fig. 149. 1571. Cat.no. **876** from level V.

⁹¹⁷ Fantalkin 2001, 136; Fischer 2003, 244.

28. Mezad Hashavyahu

Mezad Hashavyahu is located in southern Palestine ca. 1.7 km south of Yavneh-Yam, Minet Rubin. The site is situated on a small *kurkar* ridge close to the seashore. It was excavated in three campaigns by Naveh and Reich who published their results in preliminary reports.⁹¹⁸ The importance of the site stems from its high quantity of Greek pottery as well as from a number of Hebrew ostraca.⁹¹⁹ It should be noted that only parts of the site were excavated, while some areas were not touched at all.⁹²⁰ Fantalkin⁹²¹ extensively discussed the architectural remains and the stratigraphy, and he further provided statistical data concerning the finds recovered from Mesad Hashavyahu, something, which was lacking in the initial reports.⁹²²

The Greek pottery, which includes Wild Goat style pottery (EA Id), suggests that the fortress was occupied during the late 7th century BC.⁹²³ The Greek finds were also considered an important piece of evidence to postulate a Greek presence at the fort.⁹²⁴

The site was interpreted as a small fortress that was placed at this location in order to protect the coastal plain and perhaps also the Arabian trading routes.⁹²⁵ The architecture of the fortress, with an L-shaped ground plan and its characteristic piers projecting on the outside of the defensive walls, does not have any clear contemporary local parallel.⁹²⁶

⁹¹⁸ Naveh 1962b, 89; Reich 1989, 203. For a summary of the history of research see Fantalkin 2001, 3-8.

⁹¹⁹ For the ostraca see Naveh 1960.

⁹²⁰ Large parts of the north-west was not excavated. In the unexcavated area the walls are only reconstructed.

⁹²¹ Fantalkin 2001.

⁹²² Naveh 1962b, 89: "No attempt was made to list all finds".

⁹²³ It was the East Greek pottery in particular, which provided the date for Mesad Hashavyahu and in the absence of any written records the finds are the only chronological indicator. Naveh 1962b, 97.

⁹²⁴ Naveh 1962b, 99; Niemeier 2001, 22; Fantalkin 2001, 139-141.

⁹²⁵ Na'aman 1991, 46; Fantalkin 2001, 146.

⁹²⁶ Naveh 1962b, 91 fig. 2.

Fantalkin quotes a fortress from Egypt, which is 1300 years older, an unconvincing parallel, but in the absence of anything more contemporary, it is the best suggestion so far.⁹²⁷

The question of the control of the fortress is significant for the reconstruction of the regional history and further provides additional evidence for the chronology of the site. Several different interpretations have been proposed so far.⁹²⁸ One suggestion is that the fortress was built during the reign of Psammetichus I, who stationed Greek mercenaries there. Later the fortress was conquered by Josiah and abandoned in the wake of his defeat in the battle of Megiddo against Necho II in 609 BC.⁹²⁹ Wenning on the other hand suggested that the fort was erected by King Jehoiakim during a brief period of Judean independence after 600 BC and was abandoned when Nebuchadnezzar II attacked Judah in 598/97 BC.⁹³⁰ Other scholars have suggested that Josiah built the fortress without any Egyptian involvement.⁹³¹ Another theory interprets the fortress as an Egyptian foundation built under Pharaoh Necho II.⁹³² Its later abandonment was related to Nebuchadnezzar's campaign against Ashkelon in the month of Kislev 604 BC.⁹³³

⁹²⁷ Fantalkin 2001, 50-52. The reference given by Fantalkin refers to a Nubian fort, which was built much earlier but existed until the 7th century BC; Wenning 1989, 175-176 places the fortress in a Palestinian context.

⁹²⁸ A good overview of the history of research and the discussion related to the site is given by Fantalkin 2001, 3-8.

⁹²⁹ Naveh 1960, 139; Naveh 1962b, 98; Haider 1996, 75-76. This reconstruction of the history of the site rests partly on the proposal of two building phases at Mesad Hashavyahu by Eshel 1986 (non vidi). Fantalkin convincingly argues against two building phases. For the discussion of Eshel's arguments see Fantalkin 2001, 10-17.

⁹³⁰ Wenning 1989, 189-193. For an overview of the debate see Niemeier 2001, 23; Niemeier 2002, 329; Fantalkin 2001, 143 on the other hand argues against a Judean independence. He interprets Jehoiakim's "independent" policy expressed in Kings 24,1 as a result of Egyptian order.

⁹³¹ This was suggested by Cross 1962, 42. For further references see Fantalkin 2001, 6-7.

⁹³² See for instance Boardman 1964, 75; Na'aman 1991, 46-47; Fantalkin 2001, 7.

⁹³³ Na'aman 1991, 47.

The finds from Mezad Hashavyahu find their closest parallels in the destruction layers of Ashkelon⁹³⁴, Ekron IB⁹³⁵ and Tel Batash II (Timnah).⁹³⁶ Unfortunately, only the destruction of Ashkelon can be related to an historical event mentioned in the Babylonian chronicle.⁹³⁷ In the light of missing secure written references, the other sites were probably abandoned between 609 and 586 BC.⁹³⁸ As Fantalkin has convincingly argued, the foundation and abandonment of Mesad Hashavyahu probably falls between 620 and 604 BC.⁹³⁹ To narrow down the date much further to between 609 and 604 BC would be tempting but this rests on the hypothetically destruction of Yavneh-Yam by Necho II in 609 BC, for which no independent secure historical reference is available.⁹⁴⁰ A final possibility would be to set the construction and abandonment within the brief period of possible Egyptian control during the reign of Pharaoh Necho II between 601/600 and 599/598 BC.⁹⁴¹ What can be said is that the site was probably abandoned at the end of the 7th or beginning of the 6th century BC. The finds in the fortress must be therefore

⁹³⁴ Stager 1996, 61-62.

⁹³⁵ For the latest state of research see Gitin 2001, 30 with no. 2. See also Appendix 3, chapter 30.

⁹³⁶ Tel Batash see Timnah II, 273; Fantalkin 2001, 131.

⁹³⁷ Stager 1996, 61 with no. 1; For the Babylonian chronicle see Grayson 1975, 100.

⁹³⁸ The lower limit is based on the possibility that Mesad Hashavyahu was abandoned during the course of the last Babylonian invasion of Philistia, which perhaps also resulted in the destruction of Timnah (Tel Batash). The destruction layer (stratum II) of Tel Batash is very similar to the finds from Mesad Hashavyahu. Fantalkin 2001, 131 with reference to Kelm and Mazar 1985, 117-118; Na'aman pointed out that Ekron is missing on a list of Philistine and Phoenician kings on a prism written in Nebuchadnezzar II's seventh year (598 BC), which means it must have been destroyed before 598 BC: Na'aman 2003, 85 with no. 8; The destruction of Ekron may be dated to 601/600 BC after Nebuchadnezzar's defeat at the Egyptian border. See Na'aman 1992, 43-44.

⁹³⁹ Fantalkin 2001, 132-136. In particular 132. According to Fantalkin 604 BC seems to be a relatively secure chronological anchor for the abandonment of the site but see below.

⁹⁴⁰ Fantalkin 2001, 136. In particular the question why the fort of Mesad Hashavyahu was not placed on the location of Yavneh-Yam, which would have already been destroyed at the time of the hypothetical construction of Mesad Hashavyahu in 604 BC, but rather 1.7 km further to the south, is an important argument against such an assumption.

⁹⁴¹ Fantalkin 2001, 143-144 no. 76. Fantalkin's arguments against a later date are not convincing, neither his conviction that a period of two years is too short to build a small fortress nor his concerns that the two years contradict his estimated minimum occupational period. The latter is based on the lifetime of cooking pots and the comparison between cooking pots recovered in dwelling units and discarded cooking pots found in rubbish heaps. His conclusion is that the site was occupied for roughly 4.5-5 years: Fantalkin 2001, 126. The problem with his calculations is firstly that they are based on too many unknown variables and secondly, that his assumption is wrong. Instead of 4.5-5 years his calculations reveal that the occupation period theoretically lasted only for a year or even less.

contemporary with Al Mina levels VI and V.⁹⁴² The foundation date of the stronghold is less clear but the argument put forward by Fantalkin that the site was probably founded after the destruction of Ashdod, where Wild Goat style pottery is missing, is convincing.⁹⁴³ Therefore, if one accepts also the possibility that the stronghold could have been built under Necho II between 600/601- 599/598 BC, the occupation of Mezad Hashavyahu probably falls between 620 and 599/598 BC. The latest pottery fragments found at the site are a north Ionian Wild goat shoulder fragment with a stag protome as well as a jug with a decorative belt, which can be assigned to the so-called “Gürtelband” ware.⁹⁴⁴ Both fragments belong to the latest phase of Kerschner’s and Schlotzhauer’s classification system (EA Id, 610- 580 BC).⁹⁴⁵

There can be no doubt about the function of the site. The architecture as well as the ostraca found there, point to a fortress with a garrison, which also housed a local governor.⁹⁴⁶ The garrison was interpreted as a multi-ethnic group of mercenaries consisting of Greeks, Judaeans, Phoenicians and even Egyptians.⁹⁴⁷ The evidence for these individual groups is quite different. While for Judeans and Phoenicians inscriptions on ostraca are available, the evidence for Greeks and Egyptians rests mainly on the pottery.⁹⁴⁸

⁹⁴² As outlined in the discussion of the chronology, the end of VI may fall between 625 and 610 BC and therefore level VI also contains material that should be contemporary with the finds from Mezad Hashavyahu.

⁹⁴³ Fantalkin 2001, 135. The date of the destruction of Ashdod, for which no written record is preserved, remains unclear. Interestingly, Ashdod is recorded in a list of kings on a prism dated to the 7th year of Nebuchadnezzar II so there is some written evidence (598 BC), which raises doubts about the destruction of Ashdod at the end of the 7th century BC. For the list on the prism see Unger 1931, 286. 293-294. Also Na’aman 2000, 40 with no. 25 with further references.

⁹⁴⁴ Naveh 1962b, 111 fig. 9. 1. 3; Wenning 1989, 185-186.

⁹⁴⁵ Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005, 44-45.

⁹⁴⁶ The so-called “reapers letter” is a clear indication that the site was also a local administrative centre protected by a small garrison. For the letter see Naveh 1960.

⁹⁴⁷ Fantalkin 2001, 114-116. One lid of a “possible” Egyptian cooking pot is interpreted by Fantalkin as evidence for Egyptian presence. Considering that the fortress was perhaps built under Egyptian control, this scenario cannot be excluded.

⁹⁴⁸ Judeans or Judean control: Naveh 1960, 139; Naveh 1962a, 29; Na’aman 1992; Contra Fantalkin 2001, 144-145 (with reference to Na’aman 1995, 113; Gitin 1989, 23-58), who concluded that the Hebrew ostraca indicate Judean corvée workers. He also conceded that the governor was probably a local Judean and that

Already in 1962 Naveh raised the question of a possible Greek trading colony at the site.⁹⁴⁹

A stone weight found near the gate may also indicate that Mezad Hashavyahu served as a local centre for commercial activities but the scale and the precise nature of such activities remain open.⁹⁵⁰

Other scholars have suggested that the site functioned as a base for mercenaries and traders.⁹⁵¹ Several reasons may speak against such an assumption: first and foremost the location of Mezad Hashavyahu and its distance from larger harbours or cities has to be underlined.⁹⁵² Further, no storage rooms were identified within the excavated area.⁹⁵³ If one accepts the multipurpose function of the site and considers the actual available space, it seems unlikely that soldiers and traders lived side by side in the fort. Evidence for a settlement nearby the fort, which probably could have housed merchants, is missing so far. Kiln installations and ore fragments, which were probably used for the manufacture of iron tools or weapons, fit into the military setting.⁹⁵⁴ Other arguments put forward by Fantalkin are based mainly on questions related to the Greek pottery finds and should therefore be left out of the discussion for the moment in order to avoid circular arguments.⁹⁵⁵

Judean mercenaries cannot be excluded totally. Greeks: Naveh 1962b, 97; Haider 1996, 75-76; Fantalkin 2001, 114; Niemeier 2001, 22.

⁹⁴⁹ Naveh 1962b, 98.

⁹⁵⁰ Naveh 1962a, 31- 32 fig. 2 pl. 6, d.

⁹⁵¹ Waldbaum 1994, 60; Fantalkin 2001, 6. 137 with older literature; See also Mazar 1997, 9 who suggested that Mesad Hashavyahu was perhaps a trading outpost for Ekron, involved in Ekron's olive oil trade.

⁹⁵² Wenning 1989, 176; Fantalkin 2001, 139.

⁹⁵³ Wenning 1989, 176.

⁹⁵⁴ Naveh 1962b, 93.

⁹⁵⁵ Fantalkin 2001, 137-139.

The Pottery

Statistical analysis has already been carried out by Fantalkin and only a few things need to be added.⁹⁵⁶ As already explained, the mortaria and basket handle amphora are perhaps of Cypriot origin. Comparable mortaria were found at Al Mina level V. Therefore, the ratio between local and imported wares needs to be adapted (fig. 4).⁹⁵⁷

This comparison shows that the different vessel types are equally distributed among local and imported wares, despite some small variations. The only remarkable difference is the predominance of bowls and the absence of cups among local wares (fig. 5). Among the imported wares, cups and drinking bowls constitute a large proportion of the assemblage (fig. 6). The discrepancy between bowls and cups can be explained in different ways: either it is an indication that the Judean and Phoenician mercenaries also used Greek cups or that bowls also covered the functions usually realized by cups.

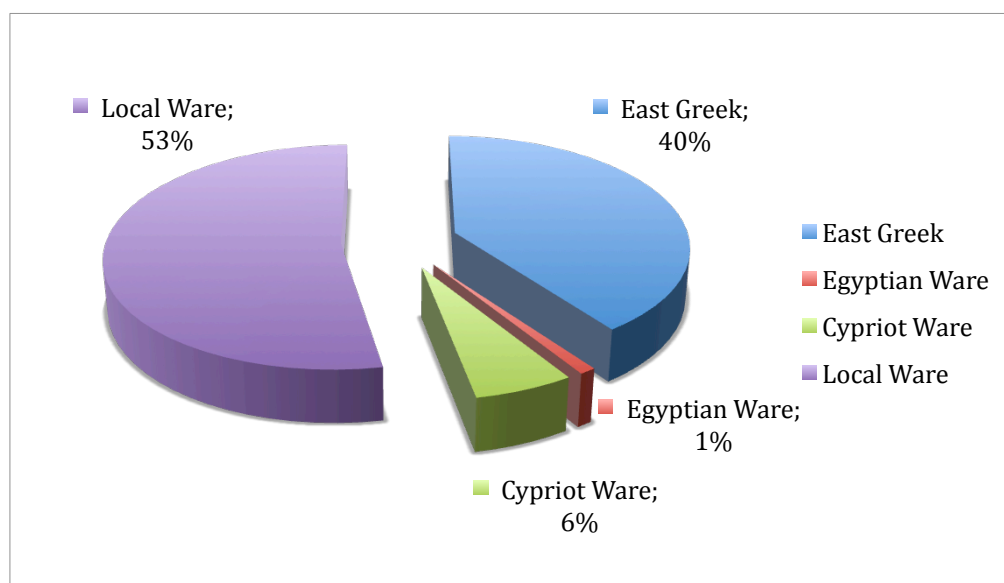


Fig. 4 Distribution of local and imported ware.

⁹⁵⁶ The figures published by Fantalkin 2001 and which are reproduced here, are base on an MNI count (only rim sherds are count).

⁹⁵⁷ Already noted by Niemeier 2002, 330.

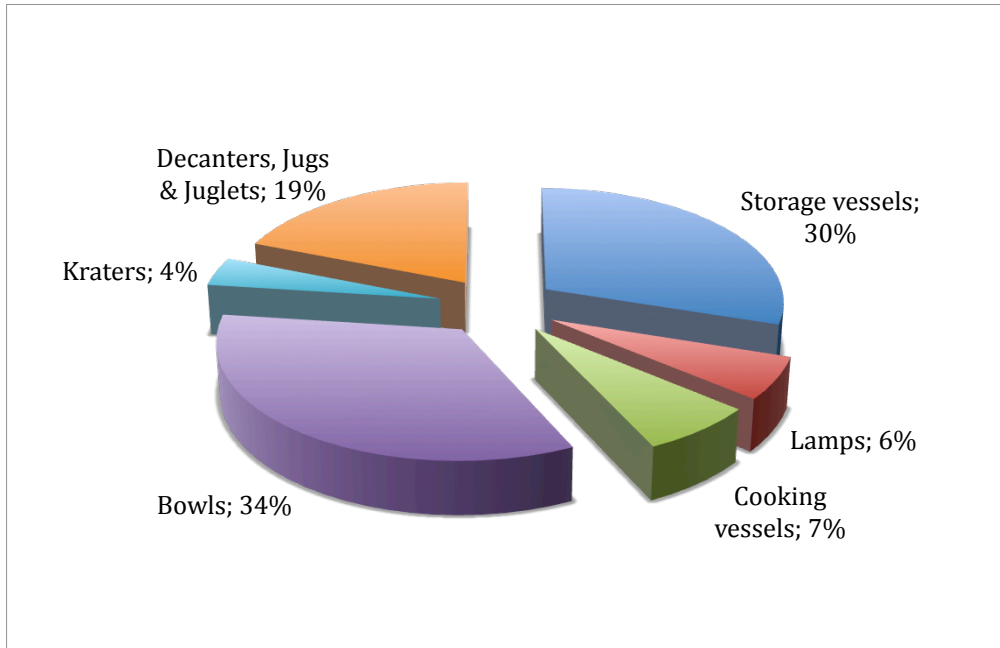


Fig. 5 Division by types of local ware vessel. After Fantalkin 2001, Fig. 37.

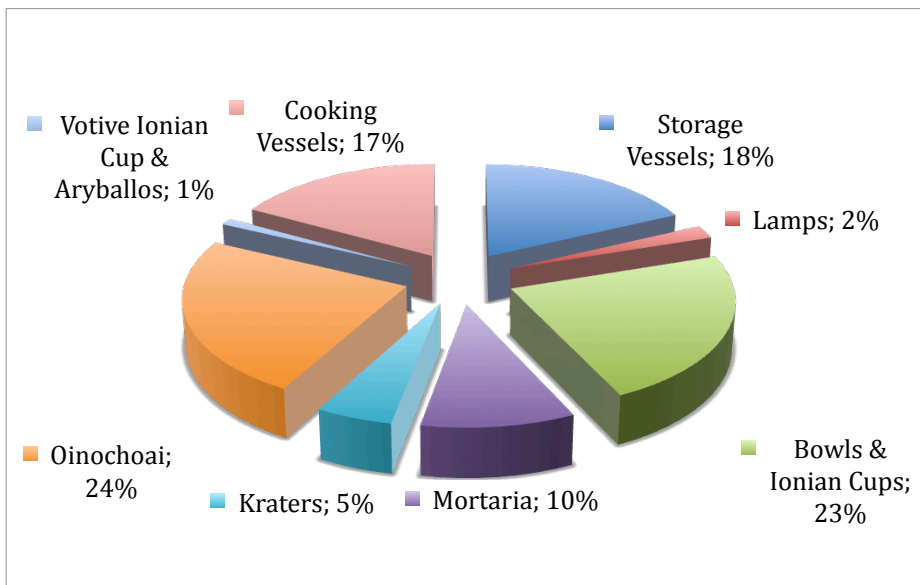


Fig. 6 Division by types of imported vessels. After Fantalkin 2001, Fig. 38.

The latter interpretation is valid if one accepts that Greeks used only their own stock of vessels and Judean and Phoenician mercenaries did likewise, an assumption that cannot be proven. Further, as Fantalkin has pointed out, the pottery assemblage retained from the

fortress resembles only what has been left and does not represent the full pottery range used by the garrison.⁹⁵⁸ Thus, it is impossible to reconstruct the behaviour patterns of.

As in the case of the fortress at Tel Kabri, one can notice the appearance of Greek drinking cups and Greek wine amphorae. Here, the range is similar to Tel Kabri with Samian and Milesian amphorae dominating the spectrum.⁹⁵⁹ Additional to that, Mesad Hashavyahu also revealed one Lesbian and one Clazomenain example.⁹⁶⁰ Unlike Tel Kabri, the assemblage also contains kraters. While the absence of kraters at Tel Kabri could be explained through their size, which is impractical for transport on a military campaign, their presence at Mezad Hashavyahu suggests that size was not a decisive factor. On the other hand, it is impossible to reconstruct the transport circle of these vessels. They could have either arrived at the fortress together with the soldiers, or they were acquired after arrival. In either case, the assemblage consists of a full symposium set with krater, oinochoe and cup. This suggests that the fortress' inhabitants were not only using exotic foreign vessels but that they were also accustomed to Greek drinking habits, or at least they had the opportunity to perform a fully fledged Greek symposium including Greek wine.⁹⁶¹

The absence of north Ionian bird bowls, so frequently found in late 7th century Al Mina, is also noteworthy.⁹⁶² The single north Ionian Wild Goat style fragment (NiA Id) from Mesad

⁹⁵⁸ Fantalkin 2001, 49.

⁹⁵⁹ A fully preserved Samian amphora comes from Tell Batash (Timnah), see Timnah II, 142.

⁹⁶⁰ Fantalkin 2001, 103.

⁹⁶¹ Having said this, one has to point to the possibility that goods other than Greek wine were perhaps transported in these amphorae. Even a secondary use has to be considered, which means that even non-Greek products could have been transported in Greek amphorae to Mesad Hashavyahu.

⁹⁶² Against Fantalkin 2001, 79. 81 fig. 29, who considers one fragment as belonging to a bird bowl despite missing decoration and the base, which does not resemble the characteristic bird bowl bases.

Hashavyahu demonstrates that the absence of this pottery class cannot be attributed to the lack of contacts between the two regions.⁹⁶³

The analysis of the intra site distribution of the pottery recovered from Mezad Hashavyahu revealed an interesting pattern. Certain vessel types were only found in rubbish heaps while they were missing in the dwelling areas.⁹⁶⁴ Fantalkin concluded that these vessels were taken with the garrison when the fortress was abandoned because they were too important to leave behind.⁹⁶⁵ Among the categories missing in the dwelling areas are the Wild Goat style jugs, which occur mainly in the rubbish heaps.⁹⁶⁶ The same is true for oinochoe fragments decorated in a different style.⁹⁶⁷ Only one piece comes from one of the guardrooms from the gate area.⁹⁶⁸ The Wild Goat style jugs had some value and therefore were not left behind. Other, less elaborately decorated, categories were obviously not as important. Perhaps the context from Mesad Hashavyahu provides evidence for the relation between the exceptional decoration and value. In this respect one has to remember that the size of the vases may have played a role as well. Large amphorae for instance were perhaps left behind because of their size. The large number of cups retained from the dwelling units, however, cannot be explained in this way.

The presence of coarse ware imports from Greece such as chytrai, lamps, or the presence of mortaria, has been considered as an important argument for the presence of Greeks at

⁹⁶³ Naveh 1962b, 111 fig. 9. 1.

⁹⁶⁴ Fantalkin 2001, 116.

⁹⁶⁵ Fantalkin 2001, 117.

⁹⁶⁶ A shoulder fragment of EA I c-d date, recovered from the surface on an inspection tour of the site can be added to the already published examples. See Gorzalczany 1999, 107. 151 fig. 217.

⁹⁶⁷ Fantalkin 2001, 117. They all come from Area A locus 15, which was considered as rubbish heap by Naveh. See Naveh 1962b, 108-112. Some fragments however, were recovered in the dwelling areas B, F and G (Fantalkin 2001, 117).

⁹⁶⁸ Naveh 1962b, 108 fig. 8. 6 from area A locus 8.

the site.⁹⁶⁹ Apart from the pottery, no other evidence suggests that the fort also inhabited a small group of Greeks. No Greek graffiti or any material evidence points to their presence. As the discussion of Timnah and Yavneh-Yam will demonstrate, local inhabitants also used Greek cooking pots and they alone cannot be considered as an indication for Greek presence, at least not during the late 7th century BC.

29. Timnah (Tel Batash)

Tel Batash is located in the Sorek valley ca. 6 km east of Ekron and part of the Shephelah region. The site is located in a natural corridor that connects the western coast and the inner coastal plain with the foothills of the Judean mountains and Beth-Shemesh, from where passes provide access to Jerusalem. The identification of the site rests on biblical sources that provide a brief description of the northern border of Judah.⁹⁷⁰ Based on this description, Naveh suggested in 1956 that Tel Batash can be equated with Timnah, a hypothesis which is widely accepted today.⁹⁷¹

The history of the site goes back to the Middle Bronze Age, of which archaeological remains were discovered in several areas of the city.⁹⁷² In Area B even some Neolithic or Aeneolithic finds were discovered.⁹⁷³ The city's destruction at the end of the 7th century BC is associated with the Babylonian conquest of Philistia, although written sources,

⁹⁶⁹ For the closest parallels for the chytrai see the finds from Assesos: Kalaitzoglou 2008, 279-282 pl. 154-155.

⁹⁷⁰ Josh. 15, 10-11.

⁹⁷¹ Naveh 1958, 166-167; Timnah I, 3-6.

⁹⁷² Kelm and Mazar 1995, 29-38. For a detailed discussion of the stratigraphy and the architectural features see Timnah I, 21-23. 34-36.

⁹⁷³ Timnah I, 36.

which would confirm the historical interpretation, are missing.⁹⁷⁴ Throughout its history the site was under the shifting influence of the Judean towns and later perhaps of the Philistine city of Ekron.⁹⁷⁵ However, unlike Ekron, no violent destruction is attested in the archaeological record at the end of the Bronze Age and judging from the current results, Timnah was not much affected by the arrival of the Philistines.⁹⁷⁶

Systematic excavations of the city were conducted during several campaigns from 1977-1989 and the results were published in several volumes. 12 main strata were defined, starting with the Middle Bronze Age (XII) and ending with the Persian period (I).⁹⁷⁷

Evidence for violent destructions were uncovered in stratum III, associated with the campaign of Sennacherib in 701 BC, and at the end of stratum II, defined as the Babylonian destruction at the end of the 7th century BC.⁹⁷⁸ The main strata were further divided by sub-phases that are only of local importance.⁹⁷⁹ Archaeological investigations were carried out on several locations on the Tel. Although only a small proportion of the town was excavated, some important observations could be made. A fortification system, of which remains were detected in area A and C, surrounded the city. Despite alterations in the fortification walls, it seems that walls surrounded the city during most of the Iron Age period down to the end of stratum II.⁹⁸⁰ A massive gate uncovered in area C at the eastern side of the mound erected during Iron Age II (strata III-II) and possibly destroyed at the

⁹⁷⁴ Kelm and Mazar 1995, 170-171. The last record of Timnah in written sources refers to the city's conquest by Sennacherib in 701 BC. After that Timnah is not mentioned anymore: Timnah I, 8. The subsequent history of the city therefore relies entirely on the archaeological record including the Babylonian destruction dated perhaps at some point between 605-603 BC. For the destruction see Timnah I, 8; Timnah II, 273.

⁹⁷⁵ Timnah I, 8; Na'aman 2003, 83.

⁹⁷⁶ Mazar 2006a, 327-328.

⁹⁷⁷ Timnah I, 18.

⁹⁷⁸ Timnah I, 148.

⁹⁷⁹ Timnah I, 18.

⁹⁸⁰ Timnah I, 254-256.

end of the 7th century BC, provided access to the city.⁹⁸¹ The construction of the gate with its two distinct units – an outer and a six-chamber inner gate, which was later modified to a four chamber gate – recalls Iron Age II parallels from Israel but can also be found at Philistine cities such as Tell Miqne-Ekron.⁹⁸² To the west of the gate lay an open square, which was interpreted as a marketplace and dated to the 7th century BC (stratum II).⁹⁸³ The remains of a public building dated to the 8th century BC (stratum III), were uncovered to the south of the square (area H). The same area was later turned into an “industrial zone”, similar to the Iron Age II buildings in areas D, E and F at the northern part of the mound.⁹⁸⁴ In Area D possible administration complexes were uncovered in strata III and II.⁹⁸⁵ Area G revealed only few wall foundations of stratum II and remains of a pebble floor perhaps belonging to the square of area C.⁹⁸⁶ The hypothetical reconstruction of the Iron Age II town suggests a fairly regular town-plan with streets dividing the town into well-defined “insulae”. Such an orthogonal plan is not unknown in the region during the Iron Age but considering that only a small portion of the whole city has been excavated so far, the reconstruction of the town-plan has to be treated cautiously.⁹⁸⁷

Pottery

The Greek pottery from Timnah is restricted to seven pieces only. An additional 24 mortaria, of which 16 are most likely of Cypriot provenance, were recovered from the

⁹⁸¹ Timnah I, 115. 117.

⁹⁸² Kelm and Mazar 1995, 126; Timnah I, 256-257. The excavator considered the strong resemblance to Judean architectural fortification tradition as evidence that Timnah was planned as a Judean town (Timnah I, 257). However, the later 7th century city of Tel Miqne-Ekron was certainly not a Judean town, and highlights that such inferences from architecture to the ethnicity of inhabitants, can be quite misleading.

⁹⁸³ Timnah I, 124-126.

⁹⁸⁴ Timnah I, 258-259. For a detailed discussion of the stratigraphy see Timnah I, 142-161.

⁹⁸⁵ Timnah I, 189. 193. 203. 259.

⁹⁸⁶ Timnah I, 173.

⁹⁸⁷ Timnah I, 259.

city.⁹⁸⁸ From the 16 mortaria of Cypriot provenance, two come from stratum I, postdating the 7th century BC and are therefore omitted.⁹⁸⁹ The mortaria are included in the discussion since they appear at other sites like Mesad Hashavyahu, Tel Mique-Ekron and Ashkelon, always in conjunction with Greek imports.

Building F607 and F608

The majority of Greek and Cypriot imports come from the two adjacent buildings F608 and F607 located in Area F on the northern edge of the town, close to the fortification wall. Both complexes contained industrial installations. The existence of ovens, the evidence of food preparation and the accumulation of loom weights suggest that both complexes served as production and dwelling places.⁹⁹⁰ The fully preserved Samian amphora as well as one Ionian cup comes from F608.⁹⁹¹ The chytrai were found in F607 and derive from locus F605, a floor of beaten earth associated with phase II and a pit (locus F619) that cuts into locus F605 and which was attributed to stratum I. According to the excavator it is impossible to determine whether the cooking pots derive from the Babylonian destruction debris or from the pit that belongs to the later stratum I but the former interpretation is

⁹⁸⁸ For the origin of the mortaria see Appendix 3, chapter 28. The mortaria belong to six different fabric groups. Fabric group 13 is the largest group with 16 vessels. Judging from the description of the fabric, this group does not come from Israel. An eastern Aegean origin was proposed but given that the mortarium was certainly produced on Cyprus, a Cypriot origin is suggested here. For the description of fabric group 13 see: Timnah II, 19-20. That fabric group 13 is not of local provenance is further corroborated by the fact that it is the only fabric group that can only be associated with only one vessel category and that is the mortarium: see Timnah II, 23 tab. 3. The results of the INAA analysis from Timnah are confusing. According to Timnah II, 154 one mortarium (Lab. no. 27; Reg. no. 7506/1) was tested. By referring to the petrographic analysis, it was suggested that it comes from an eastern Aegean source. The piece belongs to fabric group 1b (Timnah II, pl. 32.6), which, according to Timnah II, 16, is either of a coastal origin or was produced at Tel Mique-Ekron. However, an East Greek production cannot be entirely ruled out, since the shape was also produced in Ionia.

⁹⁸⁹ Timnah II, pl. 76. 3; 105. 1.

⁹⁹⁰ Timnah I, 239-241. 243.

⁹⁹¹ The exact find spot of the cup with everted rim is not indicated in the figure but it definitely comes from F608 stratum II. See Timnah II, 180.

more likely.⁹⁹² Since all of them were found to the south of wall F610, their association with building F607 is not certain.⁹⁹³

In addition to the Greek vessels, seven mortaria of probably Cypriot origin (all of fabric group 13) were found in building F608, of which only three were indicated in the distribution plan because some of them come from a disturbed locus (F637).⁹⁹⁴ From building F607 two mortaria of the same fabric group were recovered. Both buildings are below average size and the number of vessels recovered from them is below the average of 88 vessels per building. Other categories of finds recovered from the two buildings fit into the characteristic of a lower middle class dwelling place.⁹⁹⁵

Unit 914

One mortarium of Cypriot origin derives from locus 914 (described as reddish-brown brick debris on white floor) located in unit 914.⁹⁹⁶ The layout of unit 914 suggest that it served a public purpose, consisting of a small square, perhaps with a cultic function and a public storage house.⁹⁹⁷ A second mortarium of probably local manufacture (fabric group 5a) comes from a floor north of wall 926 (locus 931).⁹⁹⁸

⁹⁹² Timnah II, 143.

⁹⁹³ Timnah I, 242. In this respect it is important to note that the southern end of the west wall (F907) of the building was not found and that the eastern wall (F609) continues farther to the south. Thus, wall F610 does not indicate the southern end of building F607.

⁹⁹⁴ Timnah II, 171. 290. For the mortaria (BL 20) see Timnah II, 51. For the distribution in building F608: In total four mortaria are mentioned to derive from building F608 (Timnah II, 171). From the published list and the plates one can deduce however, that in total seven mortaria were found in the complex. Four from locus F637 (Timnah II, pl. 64. 22; 76. 4. 6. 7) and three from locus F632 (Timnah II, pl. 64. 23-25). Interestingly, three of the four bowls from locus F637 are not included. Perhaps the area south of wall F639 was considered as being disturbed (see Timnah II, 290). In that case it remains unclear why the fourth piece (Timnah II, 171 fig. 13 no. 106) from the same locus is not considered as residual as well.

⁹⁹⁵ For the distribution of the small finds see Timnah II, 163. In this respect one has to outline that the low number of small finds may be due to the fact that the inhabitants removed most of the objects before the outbreak of the fire. Alternatively, Babylonian soldiers could have looted the building and took only the most valuable items and left behind what was not so important.

⁹⁹⁶ Timnah I, 288.

⁹⁹⁷ Timnah I, 222.

⁹⁹⁸ Timnah II, pl. 54. 22.

Building 950

Building 950 is the largest in area E close to the northern fortification wall and contained also the biggest assemblage of clay vessels. It belongs to the “four-room house” type encountered also in other cities.⁹⁹⁹ The alabastron found in building 950 is associated with locus 960, which lies west of the monolithic pillars.¹⁰⁰⁰ The size of the building and the amount of finds recovered from it suggest that the owner belonged to the wealthy middle class of the city. The status of the owner is further corroborated by the proximity of building 950 to the public complex 176.¹⁰⁰¹

Building 743

From locus 786, which is located south of building 743, derives a mortarium of Cypriot provenance. Since it comes from a locus that lies outside of the building, the mortarium could have originally belonged to several houses from the area or from an unexcavated house south of building 743. Like in previous examples, it seems unlikely though that the vessel was carried over a long distance only to be deposited in the vicinity of building 743. The building itself is with 51 m² of moderate size but it is the only building where remains of a staircase leading to a second floor were discovered.¹⁰⁰² The house may therefore be associated with a wealthy middle class owner.

Building 176

An oinochoe and another mortarium were recovered from locus 738, an accumulation on the street south of building 176.¹⁰⁰³ Both vessels belonged to a layer with numerous pottery sherds that were deposited on the street in order to raise the level. One can only assume

⁹⁹⁹ For a typology see Braemer 1982, 43; Netzer 1992, 193.

¹⁰⁰⁰ The exact find-spot of the alabastron was not recorded. See Timnah II, 179.

¹⁰⁰¹ Timnah I, 203. For the relation between wealth and location of buildings see e.g. Faust 1999, 186.

¹⁰⁰² Timnah I, 207.

¹⁰⁰³ Timnah I, 199-200. 286.

that the oinochoe and the mortarium must have come from a building nearby. The public building 176 or building 950, where the alabastron was found, are both possibilities but they remain tentative. However, it is unlikely that the sherds found on the street were carried from a place far away. Thus, it seems likely that both imports came from one of the buildings close by.

Two further mortaria, both perhaps of local manufacture (fabric group 5a and 17), were discovered in the same area. One was found on the street in front of building 176 but belongs to a later stage (locus 730).¹⁰⁰⁴ The second one comes from the street further to the west (locus 147), in front of building 743.¹⁰⁰⁵ Like the other finds discussed above, they were part of successive re-pavings of the street.

Piazza (Area C)

Two mortaria of Cypriot provenance were found close to the city gate at the piazza on a pebble floor.¹⁰⁰⁶ The piazza has been interpreted as a market place and it is tempting to interpret the two vessels as items, stocked there waiting to be sold on the local market. Since the city was under attack, it is however hard to believe that the market was opened but it cannot be ruled out. The close proximity to the gate might be an indication that the gate guards used the two mortaria for their daily food preparation. According to the excavator, the piazza was covered by a layer of fallen burnt brick debris so that one can exclude that the two vessels were carried to their final find spot from somewhere else.¹⁰⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰⁴ Timnah I, 200; Timnah II, pl. 60. 10.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Timnah I, 200; Timnah II, pl. 58. 17.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Timnah II, pl. 102. 6-7. For the find spot (locus 587) see Timnah I, 129.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Timnah I, 124.

Area G

The second Ionian cup with everted rim was recovered from locus 614, a stone fill on the surface.¹⁰⁰⁸ Only a few remains were discovered in area G, which do not allow any conclusion about the function of the buildings.¹⁰⁰⁹

The rest of five mortaria are of stratum I and therefore already belong to the 6th century BC. They are perhaps all of local manufacture except for one piece from area C, which is of the suggested Cypriot origin (fabric group 13).¹⁰¹⁰

Apart from chytrai, all shapes are also represented at Al Mina. Greek and Cypriot imports are distributed among the whole city. Only area F stands showed a significant accumulation of Greek and Cypriot vessels. Nothing from the buildings, which revealed Greek or Cypriot imports, suggests the presence of Greeks. Furthermore, no historical written sources attest their presence, neither as traders nor mercenaries. The contextual analysis clearly demonstrates that the local population used the Greek imports. Concerning the social class of the users of Greek pottery, one may argue, bearing in mind the few available examples, which allowed a more detailed analysis, that the material characteristics of the buildings as well as their size and their multi-purpose function, point to a middle class engaged in the production of goods probably intended for export. As argued by Mazar and Panitz-Cohen, the Samian amphora from building F608 might be an indication that the owner was a wealthy man who was involved in trade.¹⁰¹¹ In this respect one has to point out that it is impossible to define the wealth of these inhabitants precisely since we are missing the whole picture of the city. Despite this, it might be possible to say

¹⁰⁰⁸ Timnah II, 143.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Timnah I, 173.

¹⁰¹⁰ Timnah II, pl. 105. 1.

¹⁰¹¹ Timnah II, 171.

that the buildings, which contained Greek imports, did not belong to the top of the local hierarchy. Interestingly, the two smallest houses, revealed the largest number of Greek and Cypriot imports, which suggests that there is no obvious relation between wealth and access to imported Greek pottery. In this respect, the situation at Timnah is quite contrary to Tel Miqne-Ekron, where all published imports come from the elite complex 650.¹⁰¹² Since a similar building complex is missing so far at Timnah, we do not know whether there is a relation between wealth and status and quantity of Greek imports.

From what has been said, one might start questioning the assumption that cooking pots were not traded as objects per se and therefore could serve as an ethnic indicator. The same is true for mortaria, which turned up in relatively large numbers in different contexts (houses, cultic place, market area or gate). Another interesting point, already observed at other sites, is the relation between Ionian (?) cups and Ionian amphorae and the relation between mortaria, cooking pots and Ionian imports. Perhaps the appearance of all these categories of vessels point to the same origin or distribution networks.¹⁰¹³ Also worth noting is the correlation between Greek imports and the mortaria belonging to fabric group 13 of Cypriot or eastern Aegean origin, which appeared always together in the excavated contexts.

¹⁰¹² This situation may change with the full publication of the finds from Tel Miqne-Ekron.

¹⁰¹³ The mortaria have been interpreted here as Cypriot, which is not proven by chemical analysis so that such a scenario cannot be ruled out.

Character of buildings with Greek pottery	Middle class dwelling places with industrial facilities
Architecture	Local tradition
Local Pottery	Judean- and Coastal ware (Ekronite or northern Philistine) ¹⁰¹⁴
Kitchen ware	Judean- and Coastal ware ¹⁰¹⁵
Pottery imports (fine ware)	Greek
Transport Amphorae	Greek, Phoenician ¹⁰¹⁶
Small finds	weights with Hebrew inscr. Judean-, Mesopotamian-, and Phoenician standards ¹⁰¹⁷ ; scarabs (Phoenician imitation? From building 743) ¹⁰¹⁸ ; Zoomorphic spout, Judean tradition (unit 914). ¹⁰¹⁹
Imitations	Cypriot mortaria, Assyrian inspired vessels ¹⁰²⁰ , East Greek or Cypro-Phoenician? ¹⁰²¹
Inscriptions	See weights
Rituals	miniature altar, Judean tradition but part of local culture (from building F607) ¹⁰²²

Tab. 6

The relation between retrieved local and Greek pottery further shows that the use of Greek imports was not a widespread phenomenon at Timnah and the few examples may have arrived in the city as exotic imports bought perhaps together with Greek wine. Absence of

¹⁰¹⁴ Timnah II, 162.

¹⁰¹⁵ Timnah II, 161.

¹⁰¹⁶ Timnah II, 162.

¹⁰¹⁷ Timnah II, 239-240. One weight with *pym* inscription comes from building 743; Unit 914 revealed a weight with an 8 shekel inscription; two weights, one with a two-shekel and a second one with an eight-shekel inscription were found in building 950; building F607 revealed a stone weight with a four-shekel inscription. One weight of Phoenician standard comes from unit 914.

¹⁰¹⁸ Timnah II, 266-267.

¹⁰¹⁹ Timnah II, 210-211.

¹⁰²⁰ Timnah II, 162.

¹⁰²¹ Timnah II, 74-75 pl. 72. 4; 94. 14. This krater class was considered as being influenced perhaps by eastern Greek or Cypro-Phoenician originals. Parallels from Cyprus are missing so far. From East Greek only one shape shows some similarities and this is the stamnos. Examples of late 7th century date are known from Assesos e.g. but the characteristic features – knobs next to handles – are missing and it remains unclear whether the examples from Assesos possessed horizontal handles. There are also some other morphological differences like the pronounced plastic flange on the Assesian parallels. For comparison see Kalaitzoglou 2008, 235-238 pl. 140.

¹⁰²² Timnah II, 244. For the altars see Gitin 1993, 249.

imitations of Greek pottery may be interpreted in the same way. This assumption fits well with the observation that the Greek imports were obviously affordable by a relatively broad part of the society, and thus were not suitable to act as a marker of social distinction, at least not for the ruling elite. This does not mean that the imports were accessible for everyone, or that the imports were not used as a marker of social distinction between other social segments of the society at Timnah. As has been mentioned earlier, value is generated by exchange. Only a limited part of the society has access to and an interest in maintaining relations to international markets. The objects may have served a small class of merchants that lived and “international” lifestyle, which is manifested in material culture through the Greek drinking vessels and exotic Greek wine. The restricted number of shapes, in particular the absence of kraters and oinochoai in building F608 highlights that the local population was perhaps not acquainted with Greek drinking customs and that the vessels were used following local practices.

Finally, the considerably high number of mortaria and the fact that this shape was perhaps locally imitated displays the popularity of this type, which was introduced into the local stock of pottery at the end of the 7th century BC. The popularity of this vessel form is also shown by one example that had repair holes. The fact that the mended vessel is an import, further underlines the significance of these imports.

30. Tel Mique Ekron

Tel Mique- Ekron is one of the Philistine cities located on the border between the inner coastal plain and the Shephelah- region of Judah. The city is well known from the bible

and from Neo-Assyrian sources.¹⁰²³ In 1958 Naveh conclusively identified the site of Khirbat al-Muqanna as Ekron.¹⁰²⁴ The identification has been confirmed by the discovery of an inscription in the sanctuary located in the centre of the site (see below) that refers to Ikausu and Padi, kings of Ekron, who are also known from Assyrian records.¹⁰²⁵

Systematic excavations have been carried out since 1981 and results were published in several articles so far but a final publication of the excavations is still outstanding.

Archaeological research focussed on the period between 1200-600 BC, in which the city faced several transitions throughout its history including significant destructions.¹⁰²⁶ The Tell consists of an upper and a lower town, which were not always occupied simultaneously, but were surrounded by fortification walls since the 12th century BC.¹⁰²⁷

Archaeological investigation was confined to eleven zones (fields I-IX). The excavators of the city identified four major changes including nine main strata that cover the period from the arrival of the Philistines¹⁰²⁸ during the 12th century BC down to the 6th century BC when the city was reduced to a small unfortified settlement.¹⁰²⁹ Strata VII to IV cover the independent Philistine city (ca. 12th to early 10th century BC). The following strata III to IIa span from the 10th century BC to 701 BC, a period, in which the city had a semi-independent status, and when Ekron was subject to foreign powers like Judah, Egypt and Assyria.¹⁰³⁰ The end of stratum IIa was associated with Sennacherib's conquest in 701 BC,

¹⁰²³ Gitin 1989, 41-46.

¹⁰²⁴ Naveh 1958, 166-169.

¹⁰²⁵ Gitin et al.1997.

¹⁰²⁶ Gitin 1989; Dothan 1995; Gitin 1995; Gitin 1997, 86-87.

¹⁰²⁷ Gitin 1989; Gitin 1997. For a completely different interpretation of the settlements history see Ussishkin 2005; Na'aman 2003, 84-87.

¹⁰²⁸ The question of emigrational movements from the Aegean to the region later called Philistia is controversially debated and not accepted by all scholars. For pro- migration theory see Yasur-Landau 2010. For an alternative view see e.g. Sherratt 1998; Sherratt 2003.

¹⁰²⁹ Gitin 1989, 25.

¹⁰³⁰ Gitin1995, 62.

after Ekron became an Assyrian vassal city-state.¹⁰³¹ During most of the time of the 7th century Ekron retained this status until c. 630 BC when it came under Egyptian dominion until its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar in 603 or 604 BC (strata Ic-Ib).¹⁰³² The 7th century is also the phase in which the city flourished into a prosperous town that saw also its largest extension.

According to the preliminary results, the city was separated into different occupation zones surrounded by a fortification wall. Parts of it were detected in field I NE (upper city) and in field III. With the beginning of stratum Ic the area close to the fortification occupied a belt of “industrial buildings”, in which olive oil installations were discovered.¹⁰³³ The total number of 115 installations discovered so far suggests that, starting with the 7th century BC, olive oil was produced on an industrial scale.¹⁰³⁴ The unprecedented number of loom weights recovered at the site suggests that besides olive oil also textiles were produced for export.¹⁰³⁵ The excavators linked the sudden transformation of the city into a large olive oil and textile producer to the incorporation of Philistia into the Assyrian trading network and with the redistribution of former arable Judean land to the city of Ekron.¹⁰³⁶ A similar situation can be observed at Ashdod and Ashkelon. The former perhaps became a pottery

¹⁰³¹ Gitin 1997, 85.

¹⁰³² Gitin 1989, 43-46; Dothan 1995, 59 pl. IV. For a later destruction date at 601 BC see Na’aman 1992, 41-44. For the Assyrian withdrawal from the Levant see Na’aman 1991, 34-41. For an Assyrian withdrawal caused by the Babylonian rebellion at around 622- 619 BC see Na’aman 1991b, 263-265. For a summary of the debate see Gitin and Golani 2001, 30 with no. 2.

¹⁰³³ Gitin 1989, 28-29; Schloen 2001, 144 on the other hand suggested that the “industrial zone” has to be interpreted as an ordinary dwelling area that served both needs, production and housing. The distribution of vessel types, which includes kraters, cooking pots and other sorts of shapes recovered from the industrial building 1 and 2 from field II SE, speak against Gitin’s exclusive interpretation. For the distribution of vessels see Gitin 1989, 37-38.

¹⁰³⁴ Gitin 1997, 87; For a different model that explains the large number of olive oil presses see Schloen 2001, 142.

¹⁰³⁵ Gitin 1997, 87- 90; Lev-Tov 2000, 212; Shamir 2007, 46-47.

¹⁰³⁶ Gitin 1997, 84-85. Contra Fantalkin 2004, 55 who sees close cooperation between Philistia and the Shephelah region during the so-called pax Assyriaca.

production centre and the latter was seen as the hub for Ekron's oil export.¹⁰³⁷ There remains a controversy whether one should link the begin of this process to the Assyrian conquest at the beginning of the 7th century BC or to the later 7th century BC when Egypt ensured control over Philistia.¹⁰³⁸

Another open question is whether the development from subsistence level to surplus economy was a result of direct Assyrian influence.¹⁰³⁹ The former question is significant for the interpretation of the Greek imports at Ekron, in particular for the question of the means through which these imports reached the city.

Another important zone of the city was discovered in field IV located in the centre of the city.¹⁰⁴⁰ The zone was occupied by the monumental building 650 that consists of an Assyrian- type open courtyard enclosed by a portico surrounded by several rooms.¹⁰⁴¹ The long narrow room immediately to the west was interpreted as the "throne room". Further to the west, perpendicular to the throne hall, is another elongated room with two rows of four columns and a platform at its western end, which was partly stone-paved. The two rooms o and p situated to the south of the cella can be connected with olive oil production, perhaps for ritual ceremonies as suggested by the olive oil press in room o. Jewellery, ivory objects and a silver hoard from the building further highlight the elite character of the complex.¹⁰⁴²

¹⁰³⁷ Gitin 1997, 84.

¹⁰³⁸ Gitin 1989, 45 observed a diminution in olive oil production at the transition from stratum Ib to Ic, which coincides with the end of Assyrian dominancy; For an alternative view see Stager 1996, 70- 71; Contra Gitin 2003; For the critic of Gitin's basic assumptions and the archaeological problems related with it see Na'aman 2003, 85- 87; Also Fantalkin 2004, 257 who interprets the increase of olive oil production as the impact of Greek mercenaries in the pay of Egypt and considers olive oil as part of their sold.

¹⁰³⁹ Gitin 1989, 48-49; Gitin 1995, 69; Lev-Tov 2000, 213 speaks about a "forced urbanization into an industrial power" implying direct Assyrian influence; For a more careful approach see Fantalkin 2004, 256-257 with further references. Also Na'aman 2003, 7.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Interestingly, the elite complex occupies almost exactly the centre of the fortified town and lies in the axis of the gate in field III.

¹⁰⁴¹ Gitin 1997, 92.

¹⁰⁴² Gitin 1997, 98-103; Gitin et al. 1997, 7-8.

Final evidence for ritual and administrative activities associated with the building is provided by a series of dedicatory inscriptions on storage jars found on the south side of complex 650.¹⁰⁴³ Besides its ritual character, the complex also had some form of administrative function as suggested by the finds of several inscriptions and by the concentration of holmouth jars discovered in the complex.¹⁰⁴⁴ An inscription found in the cella of the sanctuary provides vivid evidence for the person who founded the sanctuary (the Ekronite ruler *kys* or Ikausu known from Assyrian inscriptions from 667 BC) and the owner of the sanctuary, a goddess of non-Semitic origin.¹⁰⁴⁵ It further helps to establish the terminus post quem of the complex 650 at around 675 BC.¹⁰⁴⁶ The final destruction of the complex can be associated with the Babylonian assault in 603 BC since the building was covered with the destruction debris.¹⁰⁴⁷

Unfortunately, only a few fragments of Greek pottery have been published so that only some preliminary observations are possible.¹⁰⁴⁸

So far no evidence for Greek presence is attested at Ekron. This holds true for the archaeological record as well as for the written sources. The majority of the published finds comes from the elite complex situated at the centre of the city. Although one cannot exclude the presence of Greek mercenaries or Greek merchants in the city, it seems unlikely that they can be associated with the elite building 650. Finds that were recovered

¹⁰⁴³ Gitin 1993, 250-253 Fig. 4; Gitin 2003, 288-289; Gitin and Cogan 1999, 193-197.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Gitin 1997, 92. 8; Gitin et al. 1997, 7.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Gitin et al. 1997, 9-11.

¹⁰⁴⁶ With this view I follow James 2005, 90-92, who rightly pointed out that the terminus post quem for the building 650 is given by the first mention of Ikausu in Assyrian records, which is 673 BC. Contra Gitin et al. 1997, 16, who suggest that the beginning of the building 650 dates no later than the first quarter of the 7th century BC. This would mean Ikausu's reign started before 675 BC, for which no evidence is available. For the kings Padi and Ikausu mentioned in the inscription see Frahm 2000, 508-509. Ambos and Baker 2002, 978. For the relation between Ikausu and biblical Achish see Naveh 1998, 35-37.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Gitin 1997, 98.

¹⁰⁴⁸ The amount of Greek pottery recovered from Ekron remains unclear. According to Gitin and Glani 2001, 38 the sample of the late 7th century BC must be of considerable size. See also Waldbaum 1994, 60.

from building 650 or its surroundings are confined to drinking cups, an oinochoe decorated in the Wild Goat style and one mortarium of probably Cypriot provenance similar to the mortaria found at places such as Mesad Hashavyahu, Tel Keisan, Tell Qasile, Ashdod, Tel Batash, En Gedi, Gezer.¹⁰⁴⁹ Similar types of mortaria appear at Al Mina in level V.¹⁰⁵⁰ At the same time they are absent at Tel Kabri, where an equal range of Greek imports was discovered. Absent from Ekron are Greek amphorae and cooking pots or other clay objects of Greek provenance like lamps.

Although only a part of the Greek imports recovered at Ekron have been published so far, one can conclude that the flow of Greek imports to Ekron was rather limited. The narrow range of shapes together with the focus of the finds at or around the elite centre further highlights the restricted access to Greek imports at Ekron.¹⁰⁵¹

The few cups can be interpreted as curios exotica that found their way to Ekron and their low number speak against a constant demand or significant trade. The absence of the “triad” amphora, cup and krater suggests that the cups were not used in a Greek symposium context or that Greek drinking customs were not prevalent. The mortarium from the elite complex 650 demonstrates that not only fine painted imports were appreciated by the local elites. The mortaria of Cypriot origin must have had a certain quality not found in comparable local vessels, which made them also interesting as a trading good. The aryballos recovered from field I perhaps indicates that also other social classes from Ekron had access to foreign Greek imports but in this respect it is important to

¹⁰⁴⁹ Fantalkin 2001, 82; Mazar et al. 2001, 51.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Lehmann 2005. For further find spots see Appendix 3, chapter 28.

¹⁰⁵¹ This picture may change with the final publication of the finds from the site.

recall that one of the many silver hoards recovered from the site was found in field I.¹⁰⁵²

The hoard contained a substantial amount of silver and demonstrates that the elite of the city was not only confined to the centre of the town.¹⁰⁵³

¹⁰⁵² For a thorough discussion of the silver hoards including hoard no. 4 from field I see Gitin and Golani 2001, 33-34.

¹⁰⁵³ An alternative interpretation would be that the silver hoard comes from a silversmith workshop. In this case the owner cannot be included to the social elite of the city (Pointed out to me by A. Georgiou, Oxford).

Catalogue of Greek Pottery from Site in the Near East

Tell Tayinat

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Classification
1	1	PSC-skyphos	SPG I-III?	Euboean	Royal quarter
2	15	PSC-skyphos	SPG III	Euboean	Royal quarter
3	1	PSC-skyphos	SPG III?	Euboean	Royal quarter
4	1	PSC-skyphos	SPG III?	Euboean	Royal quarter
5	1	PSC-skyphos	SPG III- LG I	Euboean	
6	1	Chevron skyphos	MG II-LG I?	?	Royal quarter
7	1	Skyphos	LG	?	Royal quarter
8	1	Skyphos	LG	?	Royal quarter
9	1	Circle-skyphos	LG-Subgeo?	?	Royal quarter
10	1	Skyphos?	?	?	Royal quarter
11	1	Skyphos (Al Mina ware)	LG?	Cyprus	Royal quarter
12	2	Skyphos (Al Mina ware)?	LG?	Cyprus?	Royal quarter
13	1	Plate	LG Ib ¹⁰⁵⁴	Euboean/Attic ?	Royal quarter
14	1	Plate	LG II? ¹⁰⁵⁵	Euboean?	Royal quarter
15	1	Krater	MG II	Euboean/Attic ?	Royal quarter
16	1	Krater	MG II	Euboean/Attic ¹⁰⁵⁶	Royal quarter
17	1	Krater	LG	Euboean	Royal quarter
18	1	Krater	LG IIb	Attic?	Royal quarter
19	1	Krater	LG II	Euboean	Royal quarter
20	1	Krater	MG-LG?	?	Royal quarter
21	1	Krater	MG-LG?	?	Royal quarter
22	1	Open?	LG?	?	Royal quarter
23	1	Closed?	LG?	?	Royal quarter

¹⁰⁵⁴ See Coldstream GGP, 10, m; Eretria XX, 70 pl. 47. 200.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Eretria XX, 70, pl. 40. 158.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Chain of vertical cross-hatched lozenges: Eretria XX, pl. 10. 25.

24	1	Band bowl	Ca. 620-590 BC	EGr, Nion?	Royal quarter
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No. 1: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 12.

No. 2: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 1-4. 6-9. 1. 14-16. 18-20.

No. 3: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 5.

No. 4: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 17.

No. 5: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 13.

No. 6: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 22.

No. 7: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 10.

No. 8: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 23.

No. 9: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 24.

No. 10: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 21.

No. 11: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 26.

No. 12: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 25. 27.

No. 13: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 28.

No. 14: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 29.

No. 15: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 38.

No. 16: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 36.

No. 17: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 34.

No. 18: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 31.

No. 19: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 30.

No. 21: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 37.

No. 20: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 35.

No. 22: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 32.

No. 23: Osborne 2011, pl. 34. 33.

No. 24: Osborne 2011, pl. 33. 8.

Zincirli

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	1	Aryballos	EC?	Corinthian	“Lower palace”	Elite
2	1	Alabastron	EC?	Corinthian	“Lower palace”	Elite
3	2	Aryballos/alabastron	EC?	Corinthian	“Lower palace”	Elite

No. 1: Sendschirli 5, 45 fig. 42 pl. 22. d (S 4227).

No. 2: Sendschirli 5, pl. 22. e (S 4229).

No. 3: Sendschirli 5, pl. 22. f. g.

Tarsus¹⁰⁵⁷

1. SPG I- SPG III/EG I-MG II (900-750 BC), Al Mina level X

No.	Inv.No.	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Period	Fig.
1.1	1500	PSC-skyphos	Euboean/Cycalidic			146
1.2	1501	PSC-skyphos	Euboean/Cycalidic	Near S 14,5-14,9	Early middle?	146
1.3	1502	PSC-skyphos	Euboean/Cycalidic	Near S	Early middle?	102
1.4	1503	PSC-skyphos	Euboean/Cycalidic		Early	102
1.5	1504 g	PSC-skyphos	Euboean/Cycalidic		Early middle	102
1.6	1504 h	PSC-skyphos	Euboean/Cycalidic	See 1504	Early middle	102
1.7	1504 i	PSC-skyphos	Euboean/Cycalidic	See 1504		102
1.8	1504 k	PSC-skyphos	Euboean/Cycalidic		Early middle	102
1.9	1507	PSC-skyphos	Euboean/Cycalidic	Destruction level		102

¹⁰⁵⁷ Figures and Inv.No. according to Tarsus III.

1.10	1511	PSC- plate	Euboean/Cycaldic	Destruction level		102. 146
1.11	1512	PSC- plate	Euboean/Cycaldic	Oven drift		102. 146
1.12	1513	PSC- plate	Euboean/Cycaldic	Below H		146
1.13	1514	PSC- plate	Euboean/Cycaldic	Destruction level		146
1.14	1515	PSC- plate	Euboean/Cycaldic	Pre-destruction floor		146
1.15	1516	PSC- plate	Euboean/Cycaldic	Unstratified		146

2. SPG III-LG I? (825- 735 BC), Al Mina level X-IX

No.	Inv.No.	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Fig.
2.1	1506	PSC- skyphos	Euboean/Cycladic	Destruction level	101
2.2	1508	PSC- skyphos	Euboean/Cycladic	Unstratified	146
2.3	1509	PSC- skyphos	Euboean/Cycladic	Intrusion	102. 146
2.4	1510	PSC- skyphos	Euboean/Cycladic	Out of context	146

3. LG (750-700 BC), Al Mina level IX-VII

No.	Cat.No.	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Period	Fig.
3.1	1377	Skyphos	?	Unstratified		95
3.2	1378	Skyphos	?	Xb, Xc, Xd	Assyrian	95
3.3	1379	Skyphos	?	South of table unit, under Ia	Assyrian	95
3.4	1380	Skyphos	Cypriot/Local?			95
3.5	1381	Skyphos	?	Unstratified		95
3.6	1382	Skyphos	Euboean?	Unstratified		95
3.7	1375	Al Mina ware	Cypriot?	Ash pit, west of P		95
3.8	1376	Al Mina ware	Cypriot?	Unstratified		95
3.9	1374	Kotyle	Corinthian			144
3.10	1537	Krater	?			103
3.11	1548	Krater	Cycladic	Unstratified		147

4. LG-650 BC, Al Mina level IX-VIII

No.	Cat.No.	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Period	Fig.
4.1	1384	Skyphos	East Greek	Xb, Xc, Xd	Lower Assyrian	95
4.2	1520	Kotyle	Corinthian	Oa		146
4.3	1538	Krater	East Greek?	Under pavement X	Assyrian	147
4.4	1540	Krater	?		Assyrian	103
4.5	1541	Krater	?	Corner of K		
4.6	1545	Krater	East Greek?	Street fill	Assyrian?	147
4.7	1546	Krater	?	Below H	Middle	
4.8	1547	Krater	Cycladic?	Section B, fill of edge		104
4.9	1578	Krater	East Greek	Unstratified		148
4.10	1592	Krater	Cycladic			149
4.11	1595	Krater	?	Xb, Xc, Xd	Assyrian	149
4.12	1550	Dinos	East Greek	Unstratified		104. 152
4.13	1552	Dinos	East Greek			
4.14	1554	Dinos	East Greek			104
4.15	1555	Dinos	?		Early Assyrian	104
4.16	1560	Dinos		X		104-105
4.17	1561	Dinos	?	Xa		105. 152
4.18	1562	Dinos	?	Below H	Middle	
4.19	1632	Dish	Cycladic?	Oc	Middle	108
4.20	1437	Bird jug	North Ionian	Unstratified		98
4.21	1438	Bird jug	North Ionian			145
4.22	1439	Bird jug	North Ionian	Below H		98. 145
4.23	1440	Bird jug	North Ionian	Below H		99
4.24	1441	Bird jug	North Ionian	Unstratified		98
4.25	1442	Bird jug	North Ionian	Unstratified		98
4.26	1443	Bird jug	North Ionian	Street fill		98
4.27	1445	Bird jug	North Ionian			98
4.28	1446	Bird jug	North Ionian	Street fill		98
4.29	1633	Jug	East Greek?	Xa	Early Assyrian	108
4.30	1417	Closed	?	Unstratified		97

5. ca. 650-600 BC, Al Mina level V-VI

No.	Cat.No.	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Period	Fig.
5.1	1523	Kotyle	Corinthian	West street fill	Largely Assyrian	102. 146
5.2	1524	Kotyle	Corinthian	Tablet unit	Assyrian	102. 146
5.3	1525	Kotyle		Tablet unit	Assyrian	102

5.4	1447	Bird bowl	North Ionian	Bottom Jw, in an oven	Middle	99
5.5	1453	Bird bowl	North Ionian	below H		99
5.6	1391	Chalice	Chian?		Early Assyrian	95. 144
5.7	1499	Chalice	Chian?	Below H	Middle	101. 146
5.8	1390	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Intrusion		95
5.9	1399	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Unstratified		96
5.10	1400	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Unstratified	6th century	96
5.11	1401	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Zc	6th century	96. 144
5.12	1402	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Zc		96. 144
5.13	1403	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Q area over east side of Z		96. 144
5.14	1404	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Unstratified		96
5.15	1405	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Unstratified		96. 144
5.16	1406	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	South of Jsw	Late 6th century	144
5.17	1410	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Zf	Late 6th century	97
5.18	1411	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Unstratified		97
5.19	1549	Dinos	East Greek		Middle	104. 152
5.20	1588	Dinos	East Greek?			
5.21	1606	Stamnos	East Greek	Destruction level		107. 149
5.22	1479	Plate		Xa from behind oven 13,62		100
5.23	1566	Amphora/Hy dria	East Greek	Y		105
5.24	1585	Amphora/Hy dria	East Greek/Local?	Sout of Jw		106. 149
5.25	1466	Jug	East Greek	street fill		100
5.26	1467	Jug		X		99
5.27	1468	Jug	East Greek			100
5.28	1469	Jug	East Greek	South of Xa table unit		99
5.29	1470	Jug	East Greek			
5.30	1472	Jug	East Greek			99
5.31	1473	Jug	?			99
5.32	1474	Jug		Street fill		100. 145
5.33	1477	Jug	East Greek	Xc		
5.34	1480	Jug	East Greek	Jw, K, X 13-		100. 145

				14.6		
5.35	1481	Jug	East Greek			100
5.36	1482	Jug				100
5.37	1484	Jug		X		
5.38	1489	Jug	East Greek	Unstratified		101
5.39	1490	Jug	East Greek	Zc	Assyrian- 6th century	101
5.40	1526	Jug	Corinthian	Unstratified		102
5.41	1527	Jug	Corinthian		6th century	103
5.42	1528	Jug	Corinthian			103
5.43	1529	Jug	Corinthian	Unstratified		103
5.44	1519	Aryballos	Corinthian	Oa lowest floor		102. 146

6. Late 7th - early 6th century BC (c. 625-580 BC), Al Mina level V-VI

No.	Cat.No.	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Period	Fig.
6.1	1395	Skyphos		Below H	Before destruction	96. 144
6.2	1449	Bird bowl	North Ionian	Below H		99. 145
6.3	1464	Bird bowl	North Ionian			99
6.4	1451	Bird bowl	North Ionian	Below H		99
6.5	1387	Banded bowl	East Greek	Jw	Middle	
6.6	1385	Banded bowl	East Greek	Below H	Before Assyrian	95. 144
6.7	1414	Cup with everted rim	East Greek			96. 144
6.8	1572	Krater	East Greek			106
6.9	1498	Dish	East Greek	Section A		101. 149
6.10	1497	Dish	East Greek	Unstratified		101. 149
6.11	1493	Stemed dish	East Greek	Zc		101
6.12	1494	Stemed dish	East Greek	Unstratified		101
6.13	1495	Stemed dish	East Greek	Zd		101
6.14	1631	Stemed dish	East Greek	Zc		109
6.15	1415	Situla?	East Greek	Unstratified		97
6.16	1491	Amphora?	?	Z		101
6.17	1620	Amphora	East Greek		Assyrian	108
6.18	1621	Amphora	East Greek			108
6.19	1485	Jug	East Greek			
6.20	1486	Jug	East Greek			
6.21	1487	Jug	East Greek	Ka		100

6.22	1488	Jug	North Ionian	Unstratified		101
6.23	1476	Jug	East Greek	Jw		99
6.24	1465	Jug	East Greek	Burned fill X		145
6.25	1475	Jug	East Greek	X		99
6.26	1532	Pyxis		Unstratified		103
6.27	1533	Indetermined open	?	Zc		103
6.28	1535	Indetermined	Corinthian	Fill		103
6.29	1536	Indetermined	Corinthian			103
6.30	1584	Indetermined closed	East Greek			106

7. ca. 675-600 BC, Al Mina level VII-V

No.	Cat.No.	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Period	Fig.
7.1	1448	Bird kotyle	North Ionian	Floor of Oa		99
7.2	1450	Bird bowl	North Ionian	Below H	Middle	99. 145
7.3	1452	Bird bowl	North Ionian	Jw		99
7.4	1454	Bird bowl	North Ionian	Below H		99
7.5	1455	Bird bowl	North Ionian	Q floor, disturbed		
7.6	1456	Bird bowl	North Ionian		Assyrian	99
7.7	1457	Bird bowl	North Ionian			99
7.8	1458	Bird bowl	North Ionian	Jw		145
7.9	1459	Bird bowl	North Ionian	Jw		99. 145
7.10	1460	Bird bowl?	North Ionian	Unstratified		99
7.11	1461	Bird bowl	North Ionian	Below H		99. 145
7.12	1462	Bird bowl	North Ionian			99. 145
7.13	1463	Bird bowl	North Ionian	Street fill		145
7.14	1373	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Jw, residual		95
7.15	1383	Cup with everted rim?	South Ionian			144
7.16	1386	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Above Jo, residual?	Middle	95. 144
7.17	1386a	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Residual?	Middle	
7.18	1389	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian		Middle	144
7.19	1409	Cup with everted rim	South Ionian	Below H	Before destruction	96
7.20	1471	Jug	East Greek			

8. 7th century BC, Al Mina level VIII- V

No.	Cat.No.	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Period	Fig.
8.1	1505	Drinking vessel	?	Below floor		146
8.2	1517	Dish	?	Below H	Middle	103. 146
8.3	1422	Krater?	?	Room west of K	Assyrian	97
8.4	1544	Krater	?		Assyrian	104
8.5	1587	Krater	Local?	Z		106
8.6	1593	Krater	East Greek	XE- Xd		106
8.7	1594	Krater	East Greek	Unstratified		149
8.8	1596a	Krater	East Greek	Ha		106. 149
8.9	1596b	Krater	East Greek	Ha		106. 149
8.10	1596ac	Krater	East Greek	Ha		106. 149
8.11	1597	Krater		Ha		149
8.12	1598	Krater	East Greek			149
8.13	1612a	Krater	Local?	Under H	Middle	107
8.14	1612b	Krater	Local?	Under H	Middle	107
8.15	1612c	Krater	Local?	Under H	Middle	107
8.16	1579	Krateriskos		K	Assyrian	
8.17	1580	Krateriskos/ Kantharos		Xb	Assyrian	106
8.18	1551	Dinos				
8.19	1553	Dinos				
8.20	1557	Dinos				104
8.21	1626	Amphora	East Greek			108
8.22	1564	Amphora/Hydria	East Greek			105
8.23	1627	Amphora/Hydria	East Greek			150
8.24	1628	Amphora/Hydria	East Greek	Unstratified		108
8.25	1565	Amphora/Hydria	East Greek	Unstratified		105
8.26	1567	Amphora/Hydria	East Greek	Unstratified		105
8.27	1563	Amphora/Hydria	East Greek	Unstratified		105
8.28	1622	Jug	?	Xd	Assyrian	108. 150
8.29	1623	Indetermined closed	East Greek/Local	Streeft fill		108
8.30	1610	Indetermined	Local?	K		107. 150

9. LG-600 BC, Al Mina level IX-V

No.	Cat.No.	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Period	Fig.
9.1	1574	Krater	East Greek		Middle	148
9.2	1575	Krater			Still middle?	106. 148
9.3	1618	Amphora/Hydria	East Greek?	Intrusive		150

9.4	1619	Amphora/Hydria	East Greek	Intrusive		150
9.5	1624	Amphora/Hydria	East Greek			108. 150
9.6	1625	Amphora/Hydria	East Greek	Unstratified	Period	150
9.7	1629a	Amphora/Hydria	East Greek			108
9.8	1629b	Amphora/Hydria	East Greek			108
9.9	1629c	Amphora/Hydria	East Greek			108

Mersin

1. Protoegeometric Period

No.	Barnett 1939, Page	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Level	Fig.
1.1	103	Skyphos	Attic/Euboean?	?	III	pl.46. 3
1.2	103	Skyphos	Attic/Euboean?	?	III	pl.46. 4

2. SPG III/ MG – LG

No.	Barnett 1939, Page	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Level	Fig.
2.1	103	PSC- skyphos?	Cycladic/Euboean	Pit 24	III	pl.76, 15
2.2	104	Open	?	?	?	pl.76. 19

3. LG-Sub-Geometric Period

No.	Barnett 1939, Page	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Level	Fig.
3.1	104	Skyphos	Cycladic	Area 11	IIB- III	pl.79. 7
3.2	104	Skyphos?	Euboean?	?	?	pl.78. 15
3.3	104	Bird kotyle?	EGr	?	?	pl.46. 5
3.4	110	Kotyle	Corinthian	South side	IIB- III	pl.78. 3

				Area A		
3.5	104	Drinking vessel	Local?	?	II	pl.76. 13
3.6	106	Krater	EGr, Sam?	?	?	pl.76. 5
3.7	122	Hydria	EGr	Area 15	III	pl.51. 1
3.8	104	Jug	EGr	?	?	pl.76. 16
3.9	105	Jug	EGr	Pit 25	IV	pl.76. 14
3.10	112	Jug	EGr	Pit 32	III	pl.77. 9
3.11	105	Closed	?	?	?	pl.76. 18

4. 1st half of the 7th century BC

No.	Barnett 1939, Page	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Level	Fig.
4.1	125	Dinos	?	Area 11	IIB- III	pl.79. 3
4.2	105	Dinos	EGr?	?	?	pl.46. 6
4.3	126	Dinos	EGr, Aeolian?	Area 31	IV	pl.52. 8
4.4	126	Dinos	EGr, Aeolian?	Area 32	IV	
4.5	106	Jug?	EGr	?	?	pl.46. 2
4.6	106	Indetermined	Cycladic?	Area 11	IIB- III	pl.76. 17

5. Second half 7th century BC

No.	Barnett 1939, Page	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Level	Fig.
5.1	110	Kotyle	Corinthian	?	?	pl.78. 7. 11
5.2	111	Kotyle	Corinthian	South wall Area 2	IIB- III	pl.78. 4
5.3	115	Bird bowl	EGr, Nion	Area 11	IIB- III	pl.80. 1
5.4	115	Bird bowl	EGr, Nion	?	?	pl.78. 12
5.5	116	Cup with everted rim	EGr, Sion?	Area 11	IIB- III	pl.79. 9
5.6	117	Cup with everted rim	EGr, Sion?	Area 33	III- IV	pl.80. 7
5.7	111	Dinos	Corinthian	?	?	pl.78. 2
5.8	124	Dinos	EGr	Pit 23	III	pl.79. 6
5.9	124	Dinos	EGr?	Area 11	IIB- III	pl.79. 4
5.10	112	Jug	EGr, Sion?	?	?	pl.77. 10
5.11	112	Oinochoe ?	EGr, Sion?	?	?	pl.77. 14
5.12	110	Oinochoe	Corinthian	Pit 52	V-VI	pl.78. 1

Late 7th to early 6th century BC (c. 630- 580 BC)

No.	Barnett 1939, Page	Shape	Provenance	Findspot	Level	Fig.
6.1	116	Cup with everted rim	EGr, Sion?	?	?	pl.80. 5
6.2	117	Cup with everted rim	EGr, Sion?	?	?	pl.80. 8
6.3	117	Cup with everted rim	EGr, Sion?	?	?	pl.49. 2
6.4	118	Cup with everted rim	EGr, Sion?	Room 6	IIB- III	pl.79. 8
6.5	118	Cup with everted rim	EGr, Sion?	?	?	pl.49. 6
6.6	118	Cup with everted rim	EGr, Sion?	?	?	
6.7	118	Cup with everted rim	EGr, Sion?	?	?	pl.49. 7
6.8	118	Cup with everted rim	EGr, Sion?	?	?	
6.9	127	Cup with everted rim	EGr?	Area 25	IV	pl.80. 6

6.10	115	Banded bowl	EGr, Nion	Pit 29	III	pl.80. 2
6.11	116	Banded bowl	EGr, Nion	?	?	pl.80. 4
6.12	116	Banded bowl	EGr, Nion	Area 2	IIB- III	
6.13	116	Banded bowl	EGr, Nion	Area 11	IIB- III	
6.14	116	Banded bowl	EGr, Nion	Area 26	III	
6.15	116	Banded bowl	EGr, Nion	Pit 29	III	
6.16	116	Rosette bowl	EGr, Nion	?	?	pl.78. 13
6.17	120	One-handled bowl	EGr?	Area 15	III	pl.50. 1
6.18	120	One-handled bowl	EGr?	Area 51 and 54	V and VI	pl.50. 5
6.19	121	One-handled bowl	EGr?	Area 12	IIB- III	pl.50. 6
6.20	121	One-handled bowl	EGr?	?	?	pl.50. 2
6.21	121	One-handled bowl	EGr?	?	?	pl.50. 3
6.22	121	One-handled bowl	EGr?	?	?	pl.50. 4
6.23	123	Krater	EGr	Pit 29	III	pl.51. 5
6.24	124	Krater	EGr	Area 11	IIB- III	pl.76. 1
6.25	124	Krater	EGr	?	?	pl.76. 2
6.26	124	Krater	EGr	?	?	pl.76. 6
6.27	114	Dinos	EGr	?	?	pl.77. 6
6.28	113	Dish	EGr	?	?	pl.77. 1
6.29	113	Dish	EGr	?	?	pl.77. 13
6.30	114	Dish	EGr	?	?	pl.77. 3
6.31	114	Dish	EGr	?	?	pl.77. 2
6.32	119	Dish	EGr?	north wall Area 11	IIB- III	pl.49. 10
6.33	119	Dish	EGr?	?	?	pl.49. 8
6.34	119	Dish	EGr?	?	?	pl.49. 9
6.35	113	Stemed dish	EGr	?	?	pl.77. 5
6.36	127	Amphora	EGr	?	III	pl.51. 6
6.37	122	Hydria?	?	Area 11	IIB- III	pl.51. 4
6.38	111	Jug	Corinthian?	?	?	pl.78. 6
6.39	112	Oinochoe	EGr, Sion?	?	?	pl.77. 16
6.40	113	Oinochoe	EGr, Sion?	Area 32	III	pl.77. 11
6.41	113	Oinochoe	EGr, Sion?	Area 14	IIB- III	pl.77. 12
6.42	122	Oinochoe	EGr?	Area 14	IIB- III	pl.79. 5
6.43	123	Oinochoe	EGr?	Pit 29	III	pl.79. 1
6.44	123	Oinochoe	EGr?	?	?	pl.79. 2
6.45	114	Pyxis	EGr	?	?	pl.77. 4
6.46	114	Pyxis	EGr	?	?	pl.44. 7
6.47	111	Aryballos	Corinthian	?	?	pl.78. 10
6.48	111	Alabastron	Corinthian	Walls of area 4	III	pl.78. 5
6.49	111	Alabastron/Aryballos	Corinthian	Pit 23	III	pl.78. 9

6.50	123	Indetermined	?	?	?	pl.76. 11
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Sirkeli Höyük

No.	Qu.	Shape	Provenance	Date	Findspot	Classification
1	1	PSC-skyphos	Euboean/Cycladic	850-735 BC?	?	?
2	1	PSC-skyphos	Euboean/Cycladic	800-735 BC?	?	?
3	1	Skyphos	Euboean	750- 700 BC	Areal 18/1 SO, Grube B 6	?

No. 1: Hrouda 2000, 74 pl. 24. 1 (Si 96, E 115).

No. 2: Novak and Kozal 2010, 43 fig. 1.

No. 3: Hrouda 2000, 74, pl. 24. 3 (Si 96/70).

Kinet Höyük

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	1+	Skyphos	PG	?	OP J/L	?
2	1	PSC-skyphos	850-750 BC?	Euboean?	?	?
3	2	PSC-skyphos	850-750 BC?	Euboean/Cycladic	OP U	?
4	1	PSC-skyphos	800-735 BC	Euboean?	OP F. L	Elite
5	1	PSC-plate	900-750 BC?	Euboean/Cycladic	OP U	?
6	1	Skyphos	750-700 BC?	?	OP E/H	Industrial
7	2	Skyphos?	750-700 BC?	?	OP E/H	Domestic/Elite ?

8	1+	Chevron Skyphos ¹⁰⁵⁸	750-700 BC	Euboean	OP F. L	Elite
9	1	Bird bowl	675-610 BC	East Greek, Nion	OP AII	Domestic, industrial area
10	6	Bird bowl	640- 620 BC	East Greek, Nion	OP E/H	Industrial
11	1	Bird bowl	610-580 BC?	Local/East Greek	OP A; OP AII	Domestic, industrial area
12	1	Plate	600-580 BC?	Local/East Greek	OP E/H	Domestic
13	1	Wild Goat-jug	SiA Ic (late)	East Greek, Sion	OP A	Domestic, industrial area
14	1	Jug	Late 7 th -early 6 th century BC?	Local/Cilicia ?	OP A	Domestic, industrial area
15	1	Amphora	750-700 BC?	“Aegean”	OP E/H	Domestic/Elite ?
16	1	SOS-amphora	Late 8 th -7 th century BC	Attic	OP A	Domestic, industrial area
17	1	SOS-amphora	Late 7 th century BC?	Attic	?	?
18	1	Hydria?	Late 7 th -early 6 th century BC?	East Greek, Mil?	OP AII	Domestic, industrial area
19	1	Amphora	Late 7 th -early 6 th century BC?	Local/Cilicia ?	?	?
20	1	Amphora	Late 7 th -early 6 th century BC?	Local/Cilicia ?	?	?
21	1	Aryballos	625-600 BC (EC)	Corinthian	OP D	Domestic, industrial area

No. 1: Gates 2000, 196.

No. 2: C. Gates 2006, fig. 2. 1 (KT 13437 ‘99D 187 L.499).

No. 3: Gates 2009, fig. 15 (top right).

No. 5: Gates 2009, fig. 15 (bottom right).

¹⁰⁵⁸ Hodos 2000, 147 mentioned several LG skyphoi found in the period 9 “elite” building, of which only one is a chevron skyphos of Euboean manufacture.

- No. 6: Gates 2003, 285 fig. 9 (bottom right).
- No. 7: Gates 2004, 408.
- No. 8: Hodos 2000, 147.
- No. 9: Gates 2000, 197 no. 18; C. Gates 2006, fig. 2. 2 (KT 9325 from OP. AII 251 L. 403).
- No. 10: Gates 2003, 285 fig. 9 (except bottom right).
- No. 11: C. Gates 2006, fig. 4. 3 (KT 7140 (and other sherds) '97A-AII 133 L.221); Gates 1999, 277.
- No. 12: C. Gates 2006, fig. 4. 2; Gates 1999, 271 (KT 7687 '97E/H 171 L.304).
- No. 13: Gates 1994, 199 fig. 6 (right); C. Gates 2006, fig. 2. 3 (KT 585 '92A 22 L.49).
- No. 14: Gates 1994, 199 fig. 6 (left); C. Gates 2006, fig. 3. 1 (KT 664 '92A 16 L.12).
- No. 15: Gates 2004, 408.
- No. 16: Gates 2000, 197 no. 20 (KT 9809, from OP A 420 L.500 (floor lot)).
- No. 17: C. Gates 2006, fig. 2. 6 (KT 8078 '97E/H 194 L.334).
- No. 18: C. Gates 2006, fig. 2. 5 (KT 8218 '97 AII).
- No. 19: C. Gates 2006, fig. 3. 2 (KT 537 '92A 17 L.34).
- No. 20: C. Gates 2006, fig. 3. 3 (KT 8513 '97 AII 183 L.293).
- No. 21: Gates 2000, 197 no. 18 (KT 11104 from OP. D 163 L.400).

Ras el Bassit

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot
1	5 ¹⁰⁵⁹	Amphora	LPG	Lefkandi?	Squ. R 29, P 30
2	1	PSC-plate	850-750 BC ¹⁰⁶⁰	Cyclades ¹⁰⁶¹	settlement, pit
3	1+	PSC-skyphos	850-750 BC?	Euboea/Cyclades	settlement
4	1	Skyphos	750-700 BC	?	settlement
5	2+	Skyphos	750-700 BC	Euboean	settlement
6	1	Oinochoe	750-700 BC	Attic?	settlement
7	1	Skyphos ¹⁰⁶²	700-620 BC	Corinth?	?
8	1+	Krater	Subgeo?	Samian?	settlement
9	2	Kotyle	725-700 BC?	Corinthian	settlement
10	1	Dinos	700-650 BC?	East Greece	settlement
11	1	Oinochoe ¹⁰⁶³	Subgeo?	?	?
12	3	Oinochoe	TR	Corinthian	settlement
13	2+	Bird bowl	640-620 BC?	North Ionia	settlement
14	1	Rosette bowl	620-580 BC	East Greek	settlement
15	1+	Bowl	600-550 BC?	East Greece	settlement
16	3+	Cup with everted rim	630-600 BC	South Ionia	settlement
17	3	Cup with everted rim	625-580 BC	East Greece	settlement
18	1	Cup with everted rim	600-550 BC	East Greece	settlement
19	1	Dinos	600-550 BC?	Aeolic?	settlement
20	2	Dish	610- 580 BC	East Greek	settlement
21	1	Dish	600- 580 BC?	East Greek	settlement
22	1	Stemed dish	610- 580 BC	East Greek	settlement
23	1	Closed	610-580 BC?	East Greek, Nion	settlement
24	1	Cup with everted rim	650-600 BC	East Greece	Burial 25
25	1	Cup with everted rim	625-580 BC	East Greece	Burial 25
26	1	Cup with everted rim	625-580 BC	East Greece	Burial 25
27	1	Kantharos	630-600 BC?	East Greece	Burial 25
28	1	Amphora	625-580 BC?	Laconia	Burial 25

¹⁰⁵⁹ Courbin 1993a, 98 considers inv. C. 6519 a-b and 6519 c as identical in fabric and production. Luke 2003, 32 followed his view. Since the pieces do not join, they are considered as separate vessels.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Courbin 1976, 64 (dated to 775-750 BC).

¹⁰⁶¹ Courbin 1982, 203; Luke 2003, 32 Tab. 8.

¹⁰⁶² Courbin 1986, 198-199 believes that the piece is an imitation of a Corinthian skyphos.

¹⁰⁶³ Courbin 1986, 193-194 fig. 19 (Inv.No. C. 6515); Courbin 1990b, 506; Luke 2003, 34 tab. 3 (Attic?). Luke dates the piece from 760/50 to 700 BC but does not provide any parallel for an Attic example. An East Greek origin of Sub-Geometric date seems also possible without close autopsy of the fabric.

29	1	Amphora	600-550 BC?	Milesian?	Burial 25
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Settlement

No. 1: Courbin 1993a, 95. 97-98 (inv.no. C.1895, C.5235, C.4006, C.6519a-c).

No. 2: Perreault 2003, 97, fig. 4; Courbin 1976, 64; Courbin 1982, 196-197.

No. 3: Courbin 1975, 60; Courbin 1986, 190; Luke 2003, 32 tab. 8.

No. 4: Courbin 1986, 194 fig. 20 (inv.no. C. 7517).

No. 5: Courbin 1986, 193 no. 46 (inv.no. C. 2558, 5768); Luke 2003, 34 no. 89 tab. 8.

No. 6: Courbin 1983, 290.

No. 7: Courbin 1986, 198-199 fig. 28 (inv.no. C.3066).

No. 8: Courbin 1986, 198 no. 64 (inv.no. C.5230); Courbin 1975, 60; Luke 2003, 34 no. 90 tab. 8.

No. 9: Courbin 1978, pl. 15. 1 (Inv.no. C.2077. 7054); Luke 2003, 34 no. 93 tab. 8 (skyphos).

No. 10: Courbin 1978, pl. 15. 2 (Inv.No. C.554).

No. 11: Courbin 1986, 193-194 fig. 19 (inv.no. C. 6515); Luke 2003, 34 no. 91 Tab. 3.

No. 12: Courbin 1986, 199 no. 71 (inv.no. C.1536); no. 72 (inv.no. C.6177); no. 73 (inv.no. C.7066).

No. 13: Courbin 1978, pl. 16. 5; Courbin 1986, 198 no. 65 (inv.no. C.1811. 4046).

No. 14: Courbin 1978, pl. 18, 13.

No. 15: Courbin 1978, pl. 17. 11; Courbin 1986, 198 no. 67 (inv.no. C.1007).

No. 16: Courbin 1978, pl. 15. 3 (inv.no. C.1062); Courbin 1986, 198 no. 68 (inv.no. C.1068); Courbin 1986, 198 no. 69 (inv.no. C.2064).

No. 17: Courbin 1978, pl. 15. 4-6; Courbin 1986, 198 no. 69 (inv.no. C.559. 803. 2014).

No. 18: Courbin 1978, pl. 17. 10.

No. 19: Courbin 1978, pl. 18. 14 (inv.no. C.2490).

No. 20: Courbin 1978, pl. 16. 7. 17. 9.

No. 21: Courbin 1978, pl. 18. 12.

No. 22: Courbin 1972, 60 fig. 26.

No. 23: Courbin 1978, pl. 17. 8.

Burial 25

No. 24: Courbin 1993, pl. 20 (inv.no. C.564).

No. 25: Courbin 1993, pl. 20 (inv.no. C.563).

No. 26: Courbin 1993, pl. 20 (inv.no. C.565).

No. 27: Courbin 1993, pl. 20 (inv.no. C.568).

No. 28: Courbin 1993, pl. 20 (inv.no. C. 567).

No. 29: Courbin 1993, pl. 20 (inv.no. C.566).

Ras Ibn Hani

No	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot
1	2	PSC-skyphos ¹⁰⁶⁴	850-750 BC? ¹⁰⁶⁵	Euboean/Cycladic? ¹⁰⁶⁶	Settlement
2	1	Skyphos ¹⁰⁶⁷	750- 675 BC	Cyprus (Al Mina ware)	Settlement
3	1	Indetermined ¹⁰⁶⁸	Geometric?	?	Settlement
4	1	Krater	LG-Subgeo? ¹⁰⁶⁹	East Greek?	Settlement

¹⁰⁶⁴ Luke 2003, 33 tab. 8.

¹⁰⁶⁵ No profiles are given, which makes it difficult to date the piece. A PG date can be excluded for the rim fragment, which seems to be set back and everted. This points to a date to around 850-750 BC; See also comments by Luke 2003, 33 no. 59.

¹⁰⁶⁶ The assignment to a Euboean/Cycladic origin is by analogy with the majority of psc- skyphoi discovered in the region. Other sources cannot be excluded.

¹⁰⁶⁷ The piece on Bounni et al. 1978, 285 fig. 31. 11 may also be a fragment of the Al Mina ware class.

¹⁰⁶⁸ No illustration given.

¹⁰⁶⁹ The piece is still divided into metopes, thus a LG to Sub-Geometric date is suggested here.

5	1	Skyphos	?	Chios	Settlement
6	1	Bird bowl ¹⁰⁷⁰	675-610 BC?	East Greek, Nion	Settlement
7	1	Bird bowl ¹⁰⁷¹	640-590 BC?	East Greek, Nion	Settlement
8	1	Cup	630-600 BC?	East Greek, Sion?	Settlement
9	1	Cup?	630-600 BC?	East Greek, Sion?	Settlement
10	2	Cup with everted rim	600-550 BC?	East Greek, Sion?	Settlement
11	1	Cup with everted rim	? ¹⁰⁷²	East Greek?	Settlement
12	2	Dinos ¹⁰⁷³	650-600 BC	East Greek	Settlement
13	1	Krater ¹⁰⁷⁴	625-550 BC?	East Greek	Settlement
14	1	Krater	Late 7 th to 6 th century BC?	East Greek?	Settlement
15	2	Krater/Dinos ¹⁰⁷⁵	?	East Greek?	Settlement
16	1	Drinking vessel? ¹⁰⁷⁶	?	?	Settlement
17	2	Dish	600-580 BC?	East Greek	Settlement
18	2	Closed	EC	Corinthian	Settlement
19	1	Closed ¹⁰⁷⁷	?	Corinthian	Settlement

No. 1: Bounni et al. 1978, 283 fig. 29. 1. 6.

No. 2: Bounni et al. 1978, 283 fig. 29. 3.

No. 3: Bounni et al. 1976, 245.

No. 4: Bounni et al. 1978, 283 fig. 29. 13.

No. 5: Bounni et al. 1978, 283 fig. 29. 5.

No. 6: Bounni et al. 1978, 283 fig. 29. 7.

No. 7: Bounni et al. 1978, 285 fig. 30.

No. 8: Bounni et al. 1976, 275 fig. 26. 12.

No. 9: Bounni et al. 1976, 275 fig. 26. 14.

¹⁰⁷⁰ The base probably belongs to another fragment. No profile given. The painted handle zone suggests an early type.

¹⁰⁷¹ Profile and shape unclear. The picture suggests that the piece belongs to a type where solid painted rays are covering the lower part of the body.

¹⁰⁷² The decoration and therefore the date cannot be inferred from the picture.

¹⁰⁷³ Similar to Al Mina cat.no. **566** (level VI- VII).

¹⁰⁷⁴ Wavy line krater. Close to Al Mina cat.no. **888** (level V) but perhaps of different fabric.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Handle fragments of indetermined large mixing bowls. Type cannot be identified through the picture.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Judging from the picture, the fragment seems to be of a cup with everted rim.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Closed small perfume vase.

No. 10: Bounni et al. 1976, 275 fig. 26. 15; Bounni et al. 1978, 283 fig. 29. 2.

No. 11: Bounni et al. 1978, 283 fig. 29. 8.

No. 12: Bounni et al. 1978, 283 fig. 29. 10. 12.

No. 13: Bounni et al. 1978, 283 fig. 29. 16.

No. 14: Bounni et al. 1978, 283 fig. 29. 11.

No. 15: Bounni et al. 1978, 283 fig. 29. 14-15.

No. 16: Bounni et al. 1978, 283 fig. 29. 5.

No. 17: Bounni et al. 1976, 275 fig. 26. 10-11.

No. 18: Bounni et al. 1976, 275 fig. 26. 13. 16.

No. 19: Bounni et al. 1978, 283 fig. 29. 4.

Sukas¹⁰⁷⁸

Sanctuary

1. Late Geometric - Early Archaic (c. 750- 675 BC), Al Mina level IX- VIII

No.	Cat.No.	Type	Origin	TS No.	Square	Fig./Pl.
1.1	46	Skyphos	Euboean?	3828	G15	pl.2
1.2	See 46	Skyphos	Euboean?	3834	G15 SW	
1.3	47	Skyphos	Euboean?	4438	G16 SW	pl.2
1.4	44	Skyphos	Al Mina ware	4044	H14	pl.2
1.5	40	Krater	Cycladic	1394	G15 NE	pl.2
1.6	42	Indetermined closed	Cycladic?	4183	H14	pl.2
1.7	62	Pyxis lid?	Corinthian	520	G15 SE	pl.3

¹⁰⁷⁸ Catalogue numbers, find spot, plates and figures refer to Ploug 1973 unless otherwise stated. The bold numbers refer to the text. Fragments, which were listed by Ploug as belonging to one piece but did not join, were counted separately and given a subnumber e.g. catalogue number 105 consisted out of three pieces but was listed originally as 105. Thus in the following list 105 plus 105.1 and 105.2. For some pieces no catalogue number was provided by Ploug. They can be identified through their TS numbers, which are provided in the list as well.

1.8	64	Aryballos	Corinthian	4416	G15 SE	pl.3
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2. Last quarter of the 7th - last quarter of the 6th century BC, Al Mina level VI- V

No.	Cat.No.	Type	Origin	TS Nr	Square	Fig./Pl.
2.9	103	Cup with everted rim	Egr	3053	G 16 SE	pl.5
2.10	106.1	Cup with everted rim	Egr	3695	G14	fig. A
2.11	128a	Cup with everted rim	Egr	3596	G13	pl.6 fig. C
2.12	128b	Cup with everted rim	Egr	3594	G13	pl.6 fig. C
2.13	128c	Cup with everted rim	Egr	3710	G14	pl.6 fig. c
2.14	128c.2	Cup with everted rim	Egr	3585	G13	fig. C
2.15	260	Krater	Egr Nion	3057	G14	pl.13
2.16	269	Krater	Egr Ion	83	G15 SE	pl.14
2.17	273	Krater	Egr Ion	4913	G/H14	pl.14
2.18	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	3666	G14	
2.19	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	3736	G14	
2.20	See 267	Krater	EGr	4404	G14 NW	
2.21	See 267	Krater	Egr	3610	G 13	
2.22	278	Krater/dinos	Egr Nion	2238	G15 SE	pl.14
2.23	See 297	Dish	Egr Nion	3603	G13	
2.24	See 297	Dish	Egr Nion	3714	G14	
2.25	See 297	Dish	Egr Nion	3048	G16	
2.26	287	Fruit stand	Egr Ion	3067	G14	pl.14
2.27	137	Bowl	Egr?	3777	H13	Pl 7 fig. C
2.28	283	Bowl	Egr Nion	636	G16 SW	pl.14
2.29		Bowl	Egr?	1865	G16 NW	
2.30		Wide bowl	Egr?	3571	G13	
2.31		Wide bowl	Egr?	3657	G14	
2.32		Wide bowl	Egr?	1840	G15 NE	
2.33	174	Amphora	Egr Nion	3632	G 13	pl.10
2.34	175	Amphora	Egr Nion	1836	G15 SE	pl.10
2.35	177	Amphora	Egr Nion	2297	G16 NW	pl.10
2.36	186	Amphora	Egr Nion	1997	G13 SE	pl.10
2.37	187	Amphora	Egr Nion	4912	G14 NE	pl.10
2.38	163	Oinochoe	Egr Ion	671	G16 SW	pl.9
2.39	165	Oinochoe	Egr Ion	3845	G15 SW	pl.9
2.40	192	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	3015	H13	pl.11
2.41	200	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	3282	G13	pl.11
2.42	211	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	2374	G16 NW	pl.11
2.43	225	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	3575	G13	pl.12
2.44	229	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1832	G15 NE	pl.12
2.45	234	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	3652	G 13	pl.12
2.46	See 235	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	3579	G13 NW	
2.47	See 238	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	3744	G14	

2.48	See 244	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	3611	G13	
2.49		Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	3685	G14	

Settlement

3. Middle Geometric I- II/ Sub-Geometric III (ca. 850- 750 BC), Al Mina level X- IX

No.	Cat.No.	Type	Origin	TS No.	Square	Fig./Pl.
3.1	39	Skyphos	Cycladic	3520	G5 NE	pl.2
3.2	37	PSC-skyphos	Euboean?	2018	F8 NW	pl.2 fig. A
3.3	38	PSC-skyphos ¹⁰⁷⁹	Cycladic/Euboean	1012	H5 SE	pl.2

4. Late Geometric- early Archaic (c. 750- 650 BC), Al Mina level IX- VIII

No.	Cat.No.	Type	Origin	TS No.	Square	Fig./Pl.
4.4	45	Skyphos	Al Mina ware	1387	G11 SE	pl.2
4.5	49	Kotyle	Corinthian?	517	P11 SW	pl.2
4.6	100	Cup with everted rim	Egr	4577	G12 SE	pl.4 fig. A
4.7	43	Indetermined closed	Cycladic	1027	G5 SE	pl.2

5. Second half of 7th century BC, Al Mina level VII-V

No.	Cat.No.	Type	Origin	TS No.	Square	Fig./Pl.
5.8	105	Cup with everted rim	Egr	211	H5 NE	pl.5
5.9	105.1	Cup with everted rim	Egr	794	G8 SW	fig. A
5.10	105.2	Cup with everted rim	Egr	4659	G10 SE	fig. A
5.11		Cup with everted rim	Egr	855	G11 SW	
5.12		Cup with everted rim	Egr	925	P11 NW	
5.13		Cup with everted rim	Egr	1947	G7 SE	
5.14		Cup with everted rim	Egr	2700	L8 SE	
5.15		Cup with everted rim	Egr	3432	H11 NW	

6. Last quarter of the 7th - first quarter of the 6th century BC, Al Mina level VI- V

¹⁰⁷⁹ Wall fragment. LG I date seems also possible.

No.	Cat.No.	Type	Origin	TS No.	Square	Fig./Pl.
6.16	101	Cup with everted rim	Egr	5652	H11 NE	pl.4
6.17	102	Cup with everted rim	Egr	1723	H5 SE	pl.5
6.18	104	Cup with everted rim	Egr	4506	G 12 SE	pl.5
6.19	106	Cup with everted rim	Egr	218	P11 SW	pl.5
6.20	128c.3	Cup with everted rim	Egr	2653	L8 SE	fig. C
6.21	129	Cup with everted rim	Egr	1016	H5 NE	fig. C
6.22	129.1	Cup with everted rim	Egr	3521	G5 NE	
6.23	130	Cup with everted rim	Egr	212	H5 SE	pl.6 fig. C
6.24	131	Cup with everted rim	Egr	1008	H5 NE	pl.6 fig. C
6.25	131.1	Cup with everted rim	Egr	653	H5 NE	fig. C
6.26	131.2	Cup with everted rim	Egr	657	H5 SE	fig. C
6.27	131.3	Cup with everted rim	Egr	3522	G5 NE	fig. C
6.28		Cup with everted rim	Egr	127	E8 SW	
6.29		Cup with	Egr	532	P11 SE	

		everted rim				
6.30	95	Krater	Egr	4847	H11 SE	pl.4 fig. A
6.31	254	Krater	Egr Nion	1339	G8 SE	pl.13
6.32	255	Krater	Egr Ion	597	G11 SW	pl.13
6.33	256	Krater	Egr Ion	1452	G11 SW	pl.13
6.34	257	Krater	Egr Nion	2098	P11 NW	pl.13
6.35	See 257	Krater	Egr Nion	302	F5 SE	
6.36	See 257	Krater	Egr Nion	2625	J8 SE	
6.37	258	Krater	Egr Ion	2269	G7 SE	pl.13
6.38	259	Krater	Egr Ion	2324	L8 SE	pl.13
6.39	261	Krater	Egr Nion	662	G8 SE	pl.13
6.40	262	Krater	Egr Nion	667	G8 SW	pl.13
6.41	263	Krater	Egr Nion	2150	P11 NW	pl.13
6.42	264	Krater	Egr Ion	2323	L8 SE	pl.13
6.43	266	Krater	Egr Ion	1284	P11 SW	pl.14
6.44	267	Krater	Egr Ion	1213	G11 SE	pl.14
6.45	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	92	E8 NE	
6.46	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	4802	G10 SE	
6.47	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	269	G11 SE	
6.48	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	678	G11 SE	
6.49	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	821	G11 SW	
6.50	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	29	G5 NE	
6.51	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	3512	G5 NE	
6.52	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	3546	G5 NE	
6.53	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	265	G5 SE	
6.54	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	318	G5 SE	
6.55	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	609	G5 SW	
6.56	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	774	G7 SE	

6.57	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	313	G8 SW	
6.58	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	1110	G8 SW	
6.59	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	2571	H11 NW	
6.60	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	2575	H11 NW	
6.61	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	3383	H11 NW	
6.62	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	2619	J8 SE	
6.63	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	2144	L8 SE	
6.64	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	2723	L8 SE	
6.65	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	2095	P11 NW	
6.66	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	1298	P11 NW	
6.67	See 267	Krater	Egr Ion	1285	P11 SW	
6.68	272	Krater	Egr Ion	4401	G10 NE	pl.14
6.69	275	Krater/Dinos	Egr Nion	2093	P11 NW	pl.14
6.70	276	Krater/Dinos	Egr Ion	1444	P11 NW	pl.14
6.71	277	Krater/Dinos	Egr?	4528	H11 SE	pl.14
6.72	279	Krater/Dinos	Egr Ion	1044	G7 SE	pl.14
6.73	280	Krater/Dinos	Egr Ion	4630	H10 NE	pl.14
6.74	281	Krater/Dinos	Egr Ion	292	F5 w-slope	pl.14
6.75	282	Krater/Dinos	Egr Nion	4620	H10 NE	pl.14
6.76	96	Krateriskos	Egr	1065	G8 SW	pl.4
6.77	97	Krateriskos	Egr	1075	G8 SW	pl.4
6.78	98	Krateriskos	Egr	4846	H11 NE	pl.4 fig. A
6.79	99	One-handed cup?	Egr	97	P11 SW, E8 NE	pl.4
6.80	See 99	One-handed cup?	Egr	531	P11 SW, E8 NE	
6.81	See 99	One-handed	Egr	534	P11 SW,	

		cup?			E8 NE	
6.82	See 99	One-handed cup?	Egr	568	P11 SW, E8 NE	
6.83	See 99	One-handed cup?	Egr	930	P11 SW, E8 NE	
6.84	306	Banded dish	Egr Ion	1076	G8 SW	pl.15
6.85	See 306	Banded dish	Egr Ion	1111	G8 SE	
6.86	307	Banded dish	Egr Ion	1037	G7 SE	pl.15
6.87	308	Banded dish	Egr Ion	1988	G8 NW	pl.15
6.88	309	Banded dish	Egr?	533	P11 SW	pl.15
6.89	285	Fruit stand	Egr Nion	1125	G11 SE	pl.14
6.90	286	Fruit stand	Egr Nion	2928	J8 SE	pl.14
6.91	288	Fruit stand	Egr Ion	595	G11 SE	pl.15
6.92	See 288	Fruit stand	Egr Ion	1179	G11 SW	
6.93	See 288	Fruit stand	Egr Ion	2996	H11 NW	
6.94	See 288	Fruit stand	Egr Ion	3377	H11 NW	
6.95	289	Fruit stand	Egr Ion	4645	G10 SE	pl.15
6.96	290	Fruit stand	Egr Ion	4689	H10 SE	pl.15
6.97	291	Fruit stand	Egr Ion	610	G11 SW	pl.15
6.98	300	Stand/Dish	Egr Ion	1517	G5 SE	pl.15
6.99	293	Stand/Dish	Egr Ion	1052	G8 SW	pl.15
6.100	292	Stand/Dish	Egr Ion	4837	H11 NE	pl.15
6.101	304	Stand/Dish	Egr Ion	5632	H12	pl.15
6.102	296	Stand/Dish	Egr Ion	1015	H5 NE	pl.15
6.103	299	Stand/Dish	Egr Ion	2110	P11	pl.15
6.104	305	Stand/Dish	Egr Ion	1271	P11 SW	pl.15
6.105	294	Stand/Dish	Egr Ion	608	G5 SW	pl.15
6.106	297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	1147	G11 SW	pl.15

6.107	See 297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	85	E8 NE	
6.108	See 297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	304	F5 SE	
6.109	See 297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	4402	G10 NE	
6.110	See 297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	1141	G11 SW	
6.111	See 297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	296	G5 SE	
6.112	See 297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	347	G7 SE/G8 SW	
6.113	See 297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	1079	G8 SW	
6.114	See 297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	1081	G8 SW	
6.115	See 297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	1103	G8 SW	
6.116	See 297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	3465	H11 NE	
6.117	See 297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	3378	H11 NW	
6.118	See 297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	2687	L8 SE	
6.119	See 297	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	1397	P11 NW	
6.120	298	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	1340	H5 NE	pl.15
6.121	301	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	2620	J8 SE	pl.15
6.122	302	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	238	P11 SW	pl.15
6.123	See 302	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	26	E8 NE	
6.124	See 302	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	330	G5 SE	
6.125	See 302	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	810	G8 SE	
6.126	See 302	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	338	H5 NE	
6.127	See 302	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	2497	P11 NW	
6.128	303	Stand/Dish	Egr Nion	1105	G8 SE	pl.15
6.129	284	Bowl	Egr Nion	2152	P11 NW	pl.14
6.130	136a	Bowl	Egr?	4838	H11 SE	pl.7 fig. C
6.131	136b	Bowl	Egr?	3273	J13	pl.7
6.132	See 137	Bowl	Egr?	1145	G11 SE	
6.133	See 137	Bowl	Egr?	1182	G11 SE	

6.134	See 137	Bowl	Egr?	852	G11 SW	
6.135	See 137	Bowl	Egr?	1172	G11 SW	
6.136	See 137	Bowl	Egr?	542	G5 NE	
6.137	See 137	Bowl	Egr?	3205	J13 NE	
6.138	See 137	Bowl	Egr?	3206	J13 NE	
6.139	See 137	Bowl	Egr?	3209	J13 NE	
6.140	See 137	Bowl	Egr?	1291	P11 NW	
6.141		Bowl	Egr?	2330	G19	
6.142		Bowl	Egr?	2694	L8 SE	
6.143	134	Wide bowl	Egr?	1512	G5 NE	pl.7
6.144	135	Wide bowl	Egr?	1144	G11 SE	pl.6
6.145	133a	Wide bowl	Egr?	4758	H11 NW	pl.6
6.146	133b	Wide bowl	Egr?	3272	J13 NE	pl.6
6.147		Wide bowl	Egr?	961	F5 SE	
6.148		Wide bowl	Egr?	1137	G11 SE	
6.149		Wide bowl	Egr?	955	G12 SW	
6.150		Wide bowl	Egr?	551	G5 NE	
6.151		Wide bowl	Egr?	765	G5 NE	
6.152		Wide bowl	Egr?	3271	J13 NE	Riis 1970, fig. 25a pl.4
6.153		Wide bowl	Egr?	3797	J13 NE	
6.154		Wide bowl	Egr?	3805	J13 SE	
6.155		Wide bowl	Egr?	2647	L8 SE	
6.156		Wide bowl	Egr?	2648	L8 SE	
6.157	171	Amphora	Egr Nion	1959	G7 SE	pl.9
6.158	172	Amphora	Egr Nion	2880	J8 SE	pl.10
6.159	173	Amphora	Egr Nion	2870	J8 SE	pl.10
6.160	176	Amphora	Egr Nion	954	G12 SW	pl.10

6.161	178	Amphora	Egr Nion	512	F5 w-slope	pl.10
6.162	179	Amphora	Egr Ion	1514	G5 SE	pl.10
6.163	180	Amphora	Egr Nion	1523	G8 SW	pl.10
6.164	181	Amphora	Egr Nion	3405	H11 NW	pl.10
6.165	182	Amphora	Egr Nion	1516	G5 NE	pl.10
6.166	183	Amphora	Egr Nion	1448	P11 NW	pl.10
6.167	184	Amphora	Egr Ion	5622	H12	pl.10
6.168	185	Amphora	Egr Nion	1058	G8 SE	pl.10
6.169	188	Amphora	Egr Ion	289	G8 SW	
6.170	See 188	Amphora	Egr Ion	829	G11 SE	
6.171	See 188	Amphora	Egr Ion	1138	G11 SE	
6.172	See 188	Amphora	Egr Ion	1084	G8 SW	
6.173	See 188	Amphora	Egr Ion	2594	H11 NW	
6.174	See 188	Amphora	Egr Ion	3237	J15	Riis 1970, 83 No. 107 pl.4
6.175	See 188	Amphora	Egr Ion	2884	J8 SE	
6.176	189	Amphora	Egr Nion	1122	G8 NW	
6.177	190	Amphora	Egr Ion	3523	G5	
6.178	191	Amphora	Egr Ion	1210	G11 NW	
6.179	150	Oinochoe	Egr Nion	1170	G11 SW	pl.7
6.180	151	Oinochoe	Egr Nion	1193	G11 SW	pl.7
6.181	152	Oinochoe	Egr Nion	4467	H11 NE	pl.9
6.182	153	Oinochoe	Egr Nion	1378	G5 SE	pl.9
6.183	154	Oinochoe	Egr Nion	274	G8 SW	pl.8
6.184	155	Oinochoe	Egr Ion	4641	H10 NE	pl.9
6.185	156	Oinochoe	Egr Nion?	4642	G10 SE	pl.9

6.186	157	Oinochoe	Egr Nion?	1087	G8 SW	pl.9
6.187	158	Oinochoe	Egr Nion	640	G8 SW	pl.9
6.188	159	Oinochoe	Egr Nion	1520	G7 SE	pl.9
6.189	160	Oinochoe	Egr Ion	4648	G10 SE	pl.9
6.190	161	Oinochoe	Egr Ion	541	F5 SE	pl.9
6.191	162	Oinochoe	Egr Nion	1099	G8 SW	pl.9
6.192	164	Oinochoe	Egr Ion	651	G11 SW	pl.9
6.193	166	Oinochoe	Egr Ion	677	F5 SE	pl.9
6.194	167	Oinochoe	Egr Nion	658	P11 SW	pl.9
6.195	168	Oinochoe	Egr Ion	1449	P11 NW	pl.9
6.196	170a	Oinochoe	Egr Ion	2270	G7 SE	pl.9
6.197	170b	Oinochoe	Egr Ion	1959	G7 SE	pl.9
6.198	247	Jug	Egr Ion	2251	J8 SE	pl.13
6.199	320	Juglet	Egr Ion	4440	G12 SE	pl.16
6.200	321	Juglet	Egr Ion	235	H5 NE	pl.16
6.201	87	Indetermined closed	Egr	1173	G11 SW	pl.4
6.202	88	Indetermined closed	Egr	1279	P11 SW	pl.4
6.203	90	Indetermined closed	Egr	1481	G11 SW	pl.4
6.204	91	Indetermined closed	Egr	1177	G11 SE	pl.4
6.205	92	Indetermined closed	Egr	1066	G8 SW	pl.4
6.206	93	Indetermined closed	Egr	4843	H11 SE	fig. A
6.207	94	Indetermined	Egr	332	G8 SW	pl.4

		closed				
6.208	193	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	4619	H10 NE	pl.11
6.209	194	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	2692	L8 SE	pl.11
6.210	195	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	315	F5 SE	pl.11
6.211	196	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	830	G11 SE	pl.11
6.212	197	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	1675	P11 NW	pl.11
6.213	198	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	1151	G11 SW	pl.11
6.214	See 198	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	1152	G11 SW	
6.215	See 198	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	1153	G11 SW	
6.216	199	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	638	G11 SW	pl.11
6.217	See 199	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	1266	P11 SW	
6.218	201	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	78	G5 SE	pl.11
6.219	202	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	2094	P11 NW	pl.11
6.220	203	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1149	G11 SW	pl.11
6.221	204	Indetermined	Egr Nion	676	P11 SW	pl.11

		closed				
6.222	205	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	672	P11 NW	pl.11
6.223	206	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	5635	H12	pl.11
6.224	207	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	3426	H11 NW	pl.11
6.225	208	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	549	G5 NE	pl.11
6.226	209	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	3565	G5 NE	pl.11
6.227	210	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	178	F5 SE	pl.11
6.228	212	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	2645	L8 SE	pl.11
6.229	213	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1356	G11 SW	pl.11
6.230	214	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	937	P11 NW	pl.11
6.231	215	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	294	G5 SE	pl.11
6.232	216	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	668	G7 SE	pl.12
6.233	217	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	804	G8 SE	pl.12
6.234	218	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1168	G11 SW	pl.12
6.235	219	Indetermined	Egr Ion	2097	P11 NW	pl.12

		closed				
6.236	220	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1482	G11 SW	pl.12
6.237	221	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1443	P11 NW	pl.12
6.238	222	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	1485	G11 SE	pl.12
6.239	223	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1451	G11 SW	pl.12
6.240	224	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	5628	H11 NE	pl.12
6.241	226	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	1162	G11 SE	pl.12
6.242	227	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1341	G8 SE	pl.12
6.243	228	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	2883	J8 SE	pl.12
6.244	230	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	2096	P11 NW	pl.12
6.245	231	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	3396	H11 NW	pl.12
6.246	232	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	2725	L8 SE	pl.12
6.247	233	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1386	G11 SW	pl.12
6.248	235	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	3513	G5 NE	pl.12
6.249	236	Indetermined	Egr Ion	921	P11 NW	pl.12

		closed				
6.250	237	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	2712	L8 SE	pl.12
6.251	238	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	207	G5 NW	pl.12
6.252	See 238	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	3534	G5 NW	
6.253	See 238	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	2564	H11 NW	
6.254	See 238	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1344	H5 NE	
6.255	See 238	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	529	H5 SE	
6.256	See 238	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1446	P11 NW	
6.257	239	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	669	G8 SE	pl.12
6.258	240	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1683	G8 SW	pl.12
6.259	See 240	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1989	G8 NW	
6.260	See 240	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1080	G8 SW	
6.261	241	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1180	G11 SW	pl.12
6.262	See 241	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	4408	G10 NE	
6.263	See 241	Indetermined	Egr Ion	1877	G19	

		closed				
6.264	See 241	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1800	G7 SE	
6.265	See 241	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	2639	L8 SE	
6.266	242	Indetermined closed	Egr?	1278	P11 SW	pl.12
6.267	See 242	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion?	4409	G10 NE	
6.268	See 242	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion?	1342	G8 SE	
6.269	243	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1186	G11 SW	pl.12
6.270	See 243	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1108	G8 SW	
6.271	See 243	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	2878	J8 SE	
6.272	244	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	611	G5 SE	pl.12
6.273	See 244	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	854	G11 SE	
6.274	245	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1086	G8 SW	pl.13
6.275	See 245	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	536	F5 SE	
6.276	See 245	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1679	F5 SE	
6.277	246	Indetermined	Egr Ion	1681	G11 SW	pl.13

		closed				
6.278	See 246	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1194	G11 SW	
6.279	See 246	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1696	G5 SW	
6.280	See 246	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	379	G8 SE	
6.281	See 246	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1085	G8 SW	
6.282	248	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	849	G11 NW	pl.13
6.283	249	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	3508	G5 NE	pl.13
6.284	250	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1169	G11 SW	pl.13
6.285	See 250	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1192	G11 SW	
6.286	See 250	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1195	G11 SW	
6.287	See 250	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	2688	L8 SE	
6.288	251	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1357	F5 SE	pl.13
6.289	See 251	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	1174	G11 SE	
6.290	See 251	Indetermined closed	Egr Ion	33	G5 SE	
6.291	See 251	Indetermined	Egr Ion	1492	P11 NW	

		closed				
6.292	253	Indetermined closed	Egr Nion	3824	H11 NW	pl.13

Tabbat al Hammam

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot
1	1+	Skyphos	850-750 BC?	Euboean?	Settlement

No. 1: Braidwood 1940, 191 fig. 4. 9.

Hama

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	1	PSC-skyphos	850-750 BC	Euboean/Cyclades	I 9-10	Royal quarter, Palace/elite house?
2	1	PSC-skyphos	850-750 BC	Euboean/Cyclades	P 12/11	Royal quarter, Sanctuary?
3	1	Skyphos ?	800-735 BC?	Euboean	?	Royal quarter, near little palace?
4	1	One-handled cup?	850-700 BC	Cycladic?	K 11	Royal quarter, neighbourhood of little palace?
5	1	Krater	850-760 BC	Naxian?	H 11	Royal quarter, neighbourhood of little palace?
6	1	Krater	750-700 BC	Euboean/Cycladic	K 7	Royal quarter, 40 m west of little palace
7	1	Krater	800-760 BC	Attic	O 14, N, 14, N 16	Royal quarter, between building II and III

8	1	Krater?	750-700 BC	Cycladic, Parian?	O 13	Royal quarter, north of building II
9	1	Krater?	850-700 BC	Cycladic?	M-Q 11	Royal quarter
10	1	PSC- skyphos	900-735 BC	Euboean/ Cycladic	G IX (III)	Cemetery
11	1	PSC- skyphos	900-735 BC	Euboean/ Cycaldic	G XXX 38	Cemetery

No. 1: Riis and Buhl 1990, 184, no. 665 fig. 84 (inv.no. L941).

No. 2: Riis and Buhl 1990, 184, no. 666 fig. 84 (inv.no. 7B23).

No. 3: Riis and Buhl 1990, 184, no. 667 fig. 84 (inv.no. 2E76).

No. 4: Riis and Buhl 1990, 186, no. 671 fig. 84 (inv.no. 2A667).

No. 5: Riis and Buhl 1990, 184, no. 668 fig. 84 (inv.no. 2D724).

No. 6: Riis and Buhl 1990, 184, no. 669 fig. 84 (inv.no. 4C321).

No. 7: Riis and Buhl 1990, 186, no. 673 fig. 85 (inv.no. 6A379-381; 7A45, 7A46).

No. 8: Riis and Buhl 1990, 184-186, no. 670 fig. 84 (inv.no. 7A47).

No. 9: Riis and Buhl 1990, 186, no. 672 (inv.no. 7A921).

No. 10: Riis 1948, 113 fig. 134. A.

No. 11: Riis 1948, 113 fig. 134. B.

Berytus

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	1	SOS- Amphora	Middle of the 7 th century BC	Attic	?	Warehouse
2	5	Skyphoi	750-675 BC?	Al Mina ware	On top of glacis II	Fill

No. 1: Badre 1997, 89 fig. 46. 2; Badre 2003, 85, fig. 4.

No. 2: Badre 1997, 77 fig. 38.

Berytus-Khaldé

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	1	PSC-skyphos	SPG IIIb-LG I?	Euboean?	Burial	Non-elite?
2	1	Skyphos	LG	?	Burial	Non-elite?
3	1	Skyphos	LG	Cyprus (Al Mina ware)	Burial	Non-elite?

No. 1: Saidah 1971, 197 a; Doumet-Serhal et al. 2008, 42 fig. 59.

No. 2: Saidah 1971, 197, c; Doumet-Serhal et al. 2008, 42 fig. 63.

No. 3: Saidah 1971, 197, b; Doumet-Serhal et al. 2008, 42 fig. 60.

Sidon

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	1	PSC-skyphos	900-750 BC	Euboean	College site	?
2	1	PSC-skyphos	800-750 BC	Euboean	College site, floor 1167	
3	1	PSC-plate	SPG I-II?	Euboean	College site	?
4	2	Skyphos	LG	Al Mina ware	?	?
5	1	Cup with everted rim	635-600 BC	EGr, Sion	?	?
6	1	Cup with everted rim	Late 7 th century BC?	EGr, Sion	Dakerman	Burial

No. 1: Coldstream 2008, 173 fig. 6.

No. 2: Doumet-Serhal 2004, 80 fig. 62; Doumet-Serhal et al. 2008, 43 fig. 69.

No. 3: Doumet-Serhal et al. 2008, 43 fig. 68.

No. 4: Doumet-Serhal et al. 2008, 42 fig. 61. 62.

No. 5: Doumet-Serhal et al. 2008, 42 fig. 64.

No. 6: Tyre-Al Bass, 366.

Tambourit

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	1	Pyxis	850-825 BC	Argolis	Burial	?

No. 1: Saidah 1977, 141 no. 11; Courbin 1977, 148 fig. 1-3.

Sarepta

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	1	PSC-plate?	850-750 BC	Euboea?	II-B-5, Kiln V	Industrial area?
2	1	PSC-skyphos?	900-750 BC?	Euboea?	II-B-5, level 6	?
3	1	Rosette bowl	620-590 BC	East Greece, Nion?	II-A-9, level 4 (?) ¹⁰⁸⁰ Room 58	Domestic
4	1	Aryballos	625-550 BC	Corinthian	II-A-8, level 3	Domestic

No. 1: Koehl 1985, 50. 136 no. 248 fig. 12. 22.

No. 2: Koehl 1985, 50. 136 no. 249 fig. 12. 22.

No. 3: Koehl 1985, 51. 137 no. 250 fig. 12. 23; Khalifeh 1988, 208 no. 97.

No. 4: Koehl 1985, 51-52. 138 no. 256 fig. 12. 23; Khalifeh 1988, 208 no. 101.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Despite the indication that the piece comes from level 4 (Koehl 1985 137 No. 250), the list of the loci indicates that the assignment of the piece to level 4 is doubtful. See Pritchard 1988, 212.

Tyre

Settlement

1. Protogeometric period (1050- 900 BC)

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1.1	1	CC-Skyphos	950-900 BC	Attic?	IC-11 A, Area 4 Strat. IX	Habitation
1.2	11	CC-skyphos	950-850 BC	Euboean	Unstratified	Habitation
1.4	1	CC-skyphos	950-900 BC	Euboean?	IC-6 A, Area 10 Strat. XI-XII	Habitation
1.3	1	Lebes	950-900 BC	Attic/Euboean?	IC-6 D, C, Area 4, 5 Strat. IX, VIII	Habitation
1.5	1	Krater	950-850 BC	?	?	Habitation
1.6	3	Amphora	950-900 BC	?	?	Habitation

1. Bikai 1978, pl. 22A. 1 (A 31); Coldstream 1988b, pl. 11. 45.
2. Coldstream 1988b, pl. 10-11 (no. 19. 25-7, 46-7, 49, 51, 60-1, 66).
3. Bikai 1978, pl. 30, 3 (A 101).
4. Bikai 1978, pl. 22A, 7. 14 (A 417. A 33); Coldstream 1988b, pl. 12. 72-75.
5. Coldstream 1988b, 40 pl. 10. 24.
6. Bikai 1978, pl. 30. 1; Coldstream 1988, 40 pl. 12. 69-71.

2. SubPG period (900-750 BC)

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
2.1	1	PSC-skyphos	900-850 BC?	Euboean?	IC-6 D, Area 4 Strat. X-I	Habitation
2.2	1	PSC-skyphos	850-735 BC	?	IC-6 D, Area 4 Strat. IX	Habitation

2.3	22	PSC-skyphos	900-750 BC?	?	?	Habitation
2.4	1	Skyphos	850-700 BC	?	IC-6 C, Area 5 Strat. IX	Habitation
2.5	1	Zigzag skyphos	875-750 BC	Attic	IC-6 A, Area 10 Strat. VIII	Habitation
2.6	1	Zigzag Skyphos	800- 700 BC	Euboean?	?	Habitation
2.7	1	Chevron-skyphos	800- 750 BC?	Euboean?	?	Habitation
2.8	1	PSC-plate	900-850 BC?	Euboean?	?	Habitation
2.9	1	PSC-plate	850-750 BC	Euboean?	IC-6 C, Area 2 Stra. IX	Habitation
2.10	1	PSC-plate	850-750 BC	Euboean?	IC-11 A, Area 4 Strat. IX	Habitation
2.11	1	PSC-plate	850-750 BC	Euboean?	IC-6 B, Area 4 Strat. X-I	Habitation
2.12	19	PSC-plate	850-750 BC?	Euboean?	?	Habitation
2.13	2	Krater	850-800 BC	Attic		Habitation
2.14	1	Krater	800-750 BC?	Attic?	IC-6 C, Area 5 Strat. III	Habitation
2.15	1	Krater	800-735 BC?	?	?	Habitation
2.16	1	Amphora	900- 850 BC?	Euboean	?	Habitation
2.17	1	Pyxis	850-800 BC	Attic	?	Habitation
2.18	1	Pyxis	800-760 BC	Attic	?	Habitation

1. Bikai 1978, pl. 24. 6 (A 450).
2. Bikai 1978, pl. 22A. 4 (A 383).
3. Bikai 1978, 53 (24 fragments); Coldstream 1988b 39 (21 fragments).
4. Bikai 1978, pl. 22A. 2 (A 35).
5. Bikai 1978, pl. 22A. 3 (A 34); Coldstream 1988b, 40 pl.12. 78.
6. Coldstream 1988b, 40 pl. 22. 79.
7. Coldstream 1988b, 40 pl. 22. 80.
8. Courbin 1982, 199 fig. 9.
9. Bikai 1978, pl. 22A. 5 (A 99).
10. Bikai 1978, pl. 22A. 6 (A 523).
11. Bikai 1978, pl. 24. 5 (A 410).
12. Bikai 1978, 53 (Import 4); Coldstream 1988, 38-39 pl. X-XI; Luke 2003, 33 tab. 8.
13. Coldstream 1988b, 40-41 pl. 12. 77. 86.
14. Bikai 1978, pl. 11A. 27 (A 879); Coldstream 1988b, 41 pl. 22. 85.
15. Coldstream 1988b, 41 pl. 12. 97-98.

16. Coldstream 1988b 40 pl. 12. 76.
17. Coldstream 1988b, 41 pl. 13. 90-96.
18. Coldstream 1988b, 41 pl. 12. 87.

3. LG (750-700 BC)

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
3.1	2	Skyphos	750- 700 BC	Euboean	?	Habitation
3.2	4	Skyphos	750-700 BC	Al Mina ware/Euboean	?	Habitation
3.3	2	Skyphos	750-700 BC	Al Mina ware	?	Habitation
3.4	2	Skyphos	735-700 BC	Euboean	?	Habitation
3.5	2	Chevron-kotyle	750-700 BC	Euboean	?	Habitation
3.6	1	Heroon-kotyle	750-700 BC	Euboean	?	Habitation
3.7	1	Soldier bird-kotyle	735-690 BC?	Euboean	?	Habitation
3.8	1	Kotyle	750-700 BC	Corinthian	IC-6 C, Area 8 Strat. II	Habitation
3.9	1	PSC-plate	750-700 BC?	Euboean?	IC-6 C, Area 5 Strat. II	Habitation
3.10	2	Krater	750-700 BC	Euboean	?	Habitation

1. Coldstream 1988b, 41 pl. 13. 102-103.
2. Coldstream 1988b, 41 pl. 13. 99. 105. 109. 111.
3. Coldstream 1988b, 41 pl. 13. 104. 110.
4. Coldstream 1988b, 41 pl. 13. 106. 108.
5. Coldstream 1988b, 41 pl. 13. 100-101.
6. Coldstream 1988b, 41 pl. 13. 112.
7. Coldstream 1988b, 41 pl. 13. 113.
8. Bikai 1978, pl. 11A, 24 (A 877); Coldstream 1988b, 41 pl. 13. 107.
9. Bikai 1978, pl. 11A. 20 (A 559).
10. Coldstream 1988b, 41 pl. 12. 81-84. 88-89.

4. Orientalizing period (700-600 BC)

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
4.1	1	Kotyle	700-650?	?	?	?
4.2	3	Bird bowl	675-625 BC	EGr, Nion	?	?
4.3	1	Rosette bowl	620-590 BC	EGr	?	?
4.4	1	Plate	610-590 BC	EGr, Sion	?	?

1. Coldstream 1988b, 41-42 pl. 13. 122 (no. 119 in text).
2. Coldstream 1988b, 42 pl. 114-117.
3. Coldstream 1988b, 42 pl. 13. 118.
4. Coldstream 1988b, 42 pl. 13. 120.

Al-Bass Necropolis

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	3	PSC-plate	850-800 BC	Euboean	Urn No. ?	Necropolis
2	1	PSC-plate	800-750 BC	Euboean?	Urn No. ?	Necropolis
3	1	PSC-plate/skyphos	800-750 BC	Euboean?	Urn No. ?	Necropolis
4	2	Drinking vessel	850-800 BC	?	Urn No. ?	Necropolis
5	1	Amphoriskos	700- 650 BC?	Euboean	Urn No. 8, 4	Necropolis

No. 2.1: Nunez and Aubet 2009, 410 pl. 4. 1. 6.

No. 2.2: Nunez and Aubet 2009, 410 pl. 4. 2.

No. 2.3: Nunez and Aubet 2009, 410 pl. 4. 7.

No. 2.4: Nunez and Aubet 2009, 410 pl. 4. 4-5.

Tyre-Rachidieh

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	2	PSC-plates	SPG I-III?	Euboean?	?	Necropolis

No. 1: Coldstream 2008, 175 fig. 9.

Akhziv

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	1	Cup with everted rim	635- 600 BC	EGr, Sion?	Tomb ZR XVII	Middle-class?

No. 1 Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 67 fig. 4.14. 21.

Tell Abu Hawam

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	1	PSC-skyphos	LPG-SPG III	Euboean	F G 4 (pit), str. III	Settlement
2	1	Skyphos	MG II/LG I	?	Below room 42, str. IVB	Settlement
3	1	One-handled cup	LPG-SPG III	Euboean?	Str. III	Settlement
4	1	Open	?	?	?	Settlement
5	1	Krater	MG-LG	Attic/Euboean	?	Settlement

No. 1: Hamilton 1935, 24 no. 96 pl. 12; Herrea and Balensi 1986, 170, fig. 1. b; Herrera and Gomez 2004, 228 no. 61.

No. 2: Herrera and Balensi 1986, 170 fig. 1. c; Herrera and Gomez 2004, 227 no. 58 pl. 7.

No. 3: Hamilton 1935, 23-24 no. 95 pl. 12; Herrera and Balensi 1986, 170 fig. 1. a; Herrera and Gomez 2004, 227 no. 60 pl. 7.

No. 4: Herrera and Gomez 2004, 227 no. 59 pl. 7.

No. 5: Gomez and Balensi 1999, 57 fig. 4. 4 a-b.

Tell Keisan

Level 4

No.	Qu.	Shape	Provenance	Date	Findspot	Classification
1	1	Amphora	Samian? ¹⁰⁸¹	Late 7 th -early 6 th century BC	Area A (locus 557)	Industrial/Dwelling zone
2	1	Jug ¹⁰⁸²	East Greek	SiA Ic?	Area A (locus F. 5049)	Industrial/Dwelling zone
3	2	Jug	East Greek	EA Ic-d?	Area B (locus 404)	Industrial/Dwelling zone

No. 1: Salles 1980, pl. 32. 12.

No. 2: Salles 1980, 151 pl. 35. 10. 131, 10 (inv. no. 2.654).

No. 3: Salles 1980, pl. 32. 1-2.

¹⁰⁸¹ Cf. Cook and Dupont 1998, 165.

¹⁰⁸² Salles 1980, 151. The fragment is listed together with two other pieces in the text as being unstratified but in the list, which accompanies the plates, it is said to come from locus F. 5049 (pit).

Level 3b

No.	Qu.	Shape	Provenance	Date	Findspot	Classification
4	1	Bird bowl ¹⁰⁸³	East Greek (North Ionian)	675-610 BC	Area B (locus 301-307), niveau 3b ²	Dwelling
5	1	Cup with everted rim ¹⁰⁸⁴	East Greek (South Ionian)	635-600 BC	Area A (fosse 5070), niveau 3b	Dwelling

No. 4: Nodet 1980, 124 fig. 34 (inv. no. 6.507b).

No. 5: Nodet 1980, 124 no. 5.

Unstratified fragments

No.	Qu.	Shape	Provenance	Date	Findspot	Classification
6	1	Bird bowl	East Greek	675- 610 BC	Level 3?	?
7	2	Bird bowl ¹⁰⁸⁵	East Greek	640- 610 BC	Level 3?	?
8	1	Bowl ¹⁰⁸⁶	East Greek	Late 7 th - early 6 th century BC	Level 3?	?
9	2	Cup with everted rim	East Greek	650- 600 BC	Level 3?	?
10	1	Closed	Cycladic? ¹⁰⁸⁷	1 st - 2 nd third of 7 th century BC	Level 3?	?
11	1	Aryballos	Corinthian?	Late 7 th century BC? ¹⁰⁸⁸	Level 3?	?
12	1	Amphora ¹⁰⁸⁹	East Greek?	Archaic	Level 4?	?
13	1	Jug	East Greek	EA Ic-d?	Level 4?	?
14	1	Jug	East Greek	EA Id?	Level 4?	?

¹⁰⁸³ Nodet 1980, 124 compared the bird bowl with a sherd from Sukas 1973, 40, 136a pl. 7 fig. C, which is of a different type. For the bird bowl type see Kerschner 1995, 16-18 (type I- II).

¹⁰⁸⁴ Nodet 1980, 124 dated it to the first half of the 6th century BC. Such cups appear at several sites in the Near East among them also Al Mina (level VI and V).

- No. 6: Nodet 1980, 125 fig. 35. 1.
- No. 7: Nodet 1980, 125 fig. 35. 2-3.
- No. 8: Nodet 1980, 126 no. 6.
- No. 9: Nodet 1980, 126 no. 1. 4a-d.
- No. 10: Nodet 1980, 125-126 fig. 36 (inv.no. 2.017).
- No. 11: Nodet 1980, 126- 127 fig. 37 (inv.no. 3.380).
- No. 12: Salles 1980, 150.
- No. 13: Salles 1980, 151 (inv.no. 1.669).
- No. 14: Salles 1980, 151 (inv.no. 1.596).

Tell Hadar

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot
1	1	Lebes	950-900 BC	Euboean ¹⁰⁹⁰	Storage room

No. 1: Coldstream 1998, 358 pl. 1; Luke 2003, 35 fig. 14.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Nodet 1980, fig. 35. 3 belongs to a type dated to ca. 640-620 BC (Kerschner 1995, type III). The small fragment may also belong to the second half of the 7th century BC.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Nodet 1980, 126. Dated by Nodet to the second quarter of the 6th century BC. At Al Mina a similar piece comes from level V (cat.no. **845**).

¹⁰⁸⁷ Similar to cat.no. **771-772**.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Nodet 1983, 125.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Salles 1980, 150: fragment of a Greek amphora made of micaceous clay; decoration “S” couché (scroll?) in black paint.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Luke 2003, 32 tab. 32 assigned it to a Chalcidian workshop although material evidence of this period from Chalcis is currently almost totally missing.

Tell Qiri

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	1	Dinos	LG II-Sub-Geo.	Euboean	Locus 551, stratum V/VI	Settlement

No. 1: Ben- Tor and Portugali 1987, 110 no. 12; 203 no. 100.

Tell Rehov

No.	Qu.	Shape	Provenance	Date	Findspot	Classification
1	1	Krater	Euboean	LPG- SPG	Area E, locus 5629, E1b	Settlement
2	1	Krater	Euboean	LPG- SPG	Area G, locus 5021, G3	Settlement
3	1	Skyphos	Euboean	LPG- SPG I	Area C, locus 1405, topsoil	Settlement
4	1	Skyphos	Euboean	SPG I-IIIa	Area C, locus 2405, C1a	Settlement
5	1	Skyphos	Attic	MG I	Area C, locus 5445, 5444, C1a	Settlement
6	1	Pyxis ¹⁰⁹¹	Euboean	SPG II-IIIa	Area B, locus 4242, 42065/7, 6223, 6224. B5	Settlement

No. 1: Coldstream and Mazar 2003, 32 no. 1 (no. 56111/37).

No. 2: Coldstream and Mazar 2003, 32 no. 2 (no. 50305/1).

No. 3: Coldstream and Mazar 2003, 33 no. 3 (no. 14006/10).

No. 4: Coldstream and Mazar 2003, 33 no. 4 (no. 24169/4).

¹⁰⁹¹ Note that obviously the figures are mixed up: no. 5, which is said to be made of three fragments, is depicted on fig. 6b. no. 6 on fig. 6a; An additional three pieces of the pyxis were discovered in 2003: Mazar 2004, 24-25 fig. 1 no. 9-11 (no. 62164, 62196/2, 62196/1).

No. 5: Coldstream and Mazar 2003, 36 no. 7 (no. 54318); No. 8 (no. 54317).

No. 6: Coldstream and Mazar 2003, 34-35 no. 5 (no. 42496/1-2. 42065/7); no. 6. (no. 42320).

Megiddo

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	2	Skyphos	850-800 BC	Attic?	Locus 376	Elite dwelling?
2	2	Skyphos	800-700 BC?	Cyprus	?	?
3	2	Open	?	?	?	?

No. 1: Clairmont 1955, 99 no. 4-5 pl. 20. 1-2.

No. 2: Clairmont 1955, 100 no. 6 pl. 20. 3-4.

No. 3: Clairmont 1955, 100 no. 7 pl. 20. 7.

Samaria

No.	Qu.	Shape	Date	Provenance	Findspot	Classification
1	1 ¹⁰⁹²	Plate	800-750 BC	Cycladic?	S 4 b W, S 8 d N	Elite? ¹⁰⁹³
2	1 ¹⁰⁹⁴	Mug?	850-750 BC	Attic/ Euboean	S 7 NW corner	Elite?

¹⁰⁹² Two fragments with meander decoration were found, both from plates. They are usually considered as belonging to one vessel. One fragment comes from section S 4 b and the other from S 8 d N. The distance between the two areas is roughly 10 metres or more and therefore one cannot exclude that the two fragments belonged to two different vessels.

¹⁰⁹³ This sherds comes from an area of the citadel, which is situated between the so-called “Omrid palace” and the casemate wall. Since the fragments did not come from their original context one cannot rule out that they were originally deposited somewhere else (the distance between the two fragments demonstrates, how far sherds can “travel” assuming that they really belong to the same vessel, which is unclear). Therefore the exact use-context remains unclear. The same is true for the other Greek imports discovered on the citadel. For the palace and the findspot see Reisner et al. 1924, Plan 2. 5.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Coldstream GGP, 304 with no. 2 assigned the piece, like the rest of the fragments recovered by the Harvard expedition, to an Attic or Atticising group and he compared it to an MG I mug from the Kerameikos at Athens. Attic/Atticising/Euboean: Luke 2003, 34 Tab. 8 with no. 79.

3	2?	Krater	850-800 BC	Attic	Qn, Qk, Qy ¹⁰⁹⁵	Elite?
4	1 ¹⁰⁹⁶	Open	750-700BC?	Euboean?	S 4 b W?	Elite?
5	1	?	850-750 BC ¹⁰⁹⁷	Attic/ Atticising	S 7 west of 751	Elite?
6	2	?	850-750 BC ¹⁰⁹⁸	Attic/ Atticising	S 7 near cistern	Elite?
7	1	Closed?	850-800 BC ¹⁰⁹⁹	Cycladic?	S 5 corner	Elite?

No. 1: Reisner et al. 1924, 282 fig. 157,.1.

No. 2: Reisner et al. 1924, 282 fig. 157. 9a.

No. 3: Crowfoot et al. 1957, 211 fig. 34 pl. 18. 1-2.

No. 4: Reisner et al. 1924, 282 fig. 157. 1 (rim).

No. 5: Reisner et al. 1924, 282 fig. 157. 6b.

No. 6: Reisner et al. 1924, 282 fig. 157. 10a.

No. 7: Reisner et al. 1924, 289 fig. 164. m.

¹⁰⁹⁵ For the locations of Qn, Qk and Qy see Crowfoot et al. 1957, XV. The number of fragments is unclear. While Crowfoot suggested that they all come from one krater, which was accepted by Coldstream (Coldstream GGP, 304), Saltz 1978, 186 suggested the presence of at least two kraters. The distance between the rim fragment collected in Qy and the rest of the fragments from Qn and k favours Saltz suggestion. See also Luke 2003, 34 no. 80.

¹⁰⁹⁶ The piece was originally assigned to the plate but its decoration differs from the plate fragments and it is unclear how and where the piece could join the plate.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Coldstream GGP, 304 (MG vase).

¹⁰⁹⁸ Crowfoot et al. 1957, 213 (Rhodian, 7th century BC); Coldstream GGP, 304 dated both fragments to the MG period and further suggested that the fragment published by Crowfoot belongs to an MG pedestalled foot. Only for one fragment the findspot is given.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Riis 1970, 146 (Cycladic, 850- 800 BC); Luke 2003, 34 tab 8 no. 83.

Yavne-Yam

No.	Qu.	Shape	Provenance	Date	Findspot	Classification
1	1	Skyphos	Euboean?	LG	Area A 1100	Elite building?
2	1	Cup	EGr (Ionia?)	650- 600 BC	Area A	Elite building?
3	1	Cup	EGr (Ionia?)	650-600 BC?	Area A	Elite building?
4	1	Cup	EGr (Ionia?)	620-600 BC	Area A	Elite building?
5	7	Cup	EGr (Ionia?) ¹¹⁰¹	Last 3 rd of 7 th cent. BC	Area A	Elite building?
6	1	Cup	EGr (Ionia?)	650-600 BC?	Area A	Elite building?
7	1	Krater	EGr	End of 7 th cent?	Area A	Elite building?
8	3	Chytrai	EGr	7 th century BC	Area A	Elite building?

No. 1: Fischer 2003, 245 fig. 6 (bottom row right).

No. 2: Fischer 2003, 245 fig. 6 (top row).

No. 3: Fischer 2003, 245 fig. 6 (bottom row left).

No. 4: Fischer 2003, 245 fig. 6 (bottom row left).

No. 5: Fischer 2003, 245 fig. 6 (bichrome cup fragments).

No. 6: Fischer 2003, 245 fig. 6 (bottom row middle).

No. 7: Fischer 2003, 245 fig. 6.

No. 8: Fischer 2002, 51 fig. 3. c.

¹¹⁰⁰ One wall fragment published by Fischer 2003, 245 fig. 6 belongs to a bird skyphos, perhaps of LG date. From the publication, it is not clear whether it belongs to the same stratum as the other finds. It is the only piece published so far, which antedates the destruction layer in the house from area A.

¹¹⁰¹ The cups with everted rims painted in a bichrome technique are certainly of south Ionian provenance.

Timnah-Tell Batash

Qu.	Shape	Provenance	Date	Findspot	Classification
1	Amphora	Samos	ca. 600 BC	Building F608	dwelling, middle class
1	Cup with everted rim	Ionia	625-600 BC	Building F608	dwelling, middle class
2	Chytrai	East Greek	7 th century	Building F607	dwelling, middle class
1	Oinochoe	Ionia	650-600 BC?	Area D, street	
1	Alabastron	Corinth?	625-600 BC	Building 950	dwelling, high middle class
1	Cup with everted rim	Ionia	625-600 BC	Area G, stone fill on surface	dwelling area?

Tel Miqne Ekron

No.	Qu.	Shape	Provenance	Date	Findspot	Classification
1	1	skyphos	?	MG II	field IV NW	elite context?
2	1	Cup with everted rim ¹¹⁰²	EGr	630-600 BC	field IV (building 650 and adjacent buildings)	elite context
3	1	Cup with everted rim	EGr	610-600 BC	field IV, (building 650 and adjacent buildings)	elite context
4	1	Cup with everted rim ¹¹⁰³	EGr	610-600 BC	field IV?, room 9	?
5	1	Jug	EGr, Ionian	SiA Ic-d (Ib)	field IV (east of	elite context

¹¹⁰² Same vessel as in Gitin 1997, 94 fig. 12, 16?

¹¹⁰³ According to the table on page 45 the piece comes from room 9. It remains unclear though to which field room 9 is referring to since in the table provided by Gitin pottery from field III SE and field IV NW are listed.

					building 650)	
6	1	Aryballos ¹¹⁰⁴	EGr	late 7 th cent. BC (Ib)	field I NW	fortification?
7	1	Mortarium	Cypriot?	late 7 th cent. BC (Ib)	field III (gate cell 2)	fortification
8	1	Mortarium	Cypriot?	late 7 th cent. BC	field IV (building 650 and adjacent buildings)	elite context

No. 1: Waldbaum 1994, 58 fig. 6 (2/88 IV NW 23.30); Luke 2003, 34 no. 86

No. 2: Waldbaum 1994, 61 fig. 11 (48/90 IV NE 9.41).

No. 3: Gitin 1997, 92. 94 fig. 12. 17.

No. 4: Gitin 1989, 45 fig. 2.13: 8.

No. 5: Waldbaum 2007, 61 fig 1 (field IV, locus 63007, bucket No. IVNE.63.46.1).

No. 6: Waldbaum 1994, 59 fig. 8.

No. 7: Gitin 1989, 44 fig. 2.13: 10.

No. 8: Gitin 1997, 92. 94 fig. 12. 21.

¹¹⁰⁴ Originally the two non-joining fragments were considered as either Corinthian or East Greek imitations. According to Waldbaum 2007, 61 no. 2, the two pieces derive from an East Greek aryballos.