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**Trade between the Aegean and North Syria between the 14th and 6th Centuries BCE.  
A Diachronic Study of Select Coastal and Inland Sites**

By  
*Mark Safranski*  
(A.M. 156120210403)

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Konstantinos Kopanias  
1<sup>st</sup> Assessor: Asst. Prof. Vassilis Petrakis  
2<sup>nd</sup> Assessor: Assoc. Prof. Yiannis Papadatos

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## **1. Introduction:**

The study of trade in the ancient Mediterranean world is an especially important endeavor. It helps one understand the economic conditions and policies of different regions and the cultural circumstances in which this trade took place. Furthermore, by studying regional trade systems, territories are further bound together so that instead of understanding them individually, each region can be understood as a part of a whole, or larger network. That is not to say that each region of the Mediterranean did not develop its own political administrations or customs independently, or that each local community assimilated to the practices and customs to which they were introduced through the import and export of trade commodities. However, as a result of trade, local communities were able to adopt and adapt foreign customs due to direct or indirect influences.

This phenomenon can be demonstrated through trade between the Aegean and coastal north Syria throughout the 14th to 6th centuries.<sup>1</sup> The communities of the Aegean had been trading with those of northern Syria long before and continued to trade long after the determined period for this discussion, nonetheless, this trade network experienced its rise, fall, and revival during this span. The contemporary textual records on this subject are meager, though they do provide some valuable insight. Therefore, when studying trade between the two regions of the Mediterranean, one must turn to the material evidence, which pottery provides the most copious amount due to its permeance and the transience of other traded commodities such as metals, textiles, and people. Yet, the reliance on pottery has caused much debate in itself. As Snodgrass observed, pottery is a prime example of a ‘positivist fallacy,’ or material evidence that assumes importance in antiquity based on the quantity found and studied in modern times.<sup>2</sup>

This viewpoint is further substantiated by scholars like Kearsley who noted that in Iron Age II (IA II) pottery was not a primary object of trade and Sherratt who pointed out that Iron Age I (IA I) Aegean potters tend to be disproportionately represented in the material record.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Muhly notes that of all known shipwrecks, which provide the best evidence of trade, from the Bronze Age to Roman times were not carrying pots, aside from wine amphorae, as main cargo.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, there is truly no reason why pottery should not be considered a trade commodity among the many other goods traded, and Sherratt also argued that pottery can still provide information about social and economic organization and trading relations.<sup>5</sup> One final, and

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<sup>1</sup> Dating is based on the Levantine chronology in Sharon (2014, 62 tab.4.3) and the corresponding Aegean sequence in Vacek (2020, 1164 tab.5.4.1).

<sup>2</sup> Snodgrass 1980, 126.

<sup>3</sup> Kearsley 1995a, 19; Sherratt 2013, 637.

<sup>4</sup> Muhly 1992, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Sherratt 1994b, 35; Sherratt 1998, 294; cf. Luke 2003, 46.

very essential, remark on pottery is the so-called Harvey Axiom. As Harvey astutely stated, “the presence of the pottery of any given state at any given site is no evidence for the activity of traders (or settlers) from that state at that site, i.e. their pottery may have been carried by others.”<sup>6</sup> Hence, Harvey’s theory will form a basis for the discussion throughout this paper of the possible carriers of Aegean goods other than the producers themselves.

In addition, while the Aegean pottery found at the sites to be discussed is a signifier of trade, to end the discussion simply based on quantities of ceramics discovered is a bit myopic. For that reason, a central component of this discussion will be the value local populations might have placed on these imported goods and how they might have consumed them. When analyzing the value and consumption of goods, ceramics included, it is necessary to take both a consumption approach while also bearing in mind the theories of contextual archaeology. Simply stated, a consumption approach focuses on the patterns of use and discards of an object by a culture.<sup>7</sup> Although this approach can offer some basic insight into how an object was used, the use of the consumption approach alone can be highly flawed. For example, especially when dealing with trade, different cultures might have used a similar vessel differently. What is more, a single vessel might have fulfilled multiple functions over its life span.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the function of the vessel cannot be assumed based on its origins and shape alone. Consequently, the context in which the discarded item was found is paramount in understanding the consumption and value of traded goods in a given culture.

Proceeding on, the study of trade between the East and West in antiquity is by no means limited. On the contrary, the publications on this subject are beyond vast, including specifically between the Aegean and the region of northern Syria during the centuries proposed. However, these studies tend to focus on a single period,<sup>9</sup> one specific site at a specific time,<sup>10</sup> or a single site through various periods.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, a wholesale view of trade and consumption is missed.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the purpose of this thesis is to provide a diachronic study of trade and consumption patterns to demonstrate enduring contact between the Aegean and northern Syria and the longstanding local traditions of use and appreciation of Aegean ceramics that coincided with it.

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<sup>6</sup> Harvey 1976, 211; cf. Muhly 1992, 13.

<sup>7</sup> van Wijngaarden 2002, 27.

<sup>8</sup> van Wijngaarden 2002, 15; cf. Stockhammer 2019, 230.

<sup>9</sup> e.g. van Wijngaarden 2002.

<sup>10</sup> e.g. Koehl 2020; Boardman 1999a.

<sup>11</sup> e.g. Riis 1970.

<sup>12</sup> Luke (2003) deals with Al-Mina as a port-of-trade, and applies a similar methodology to understand the distribution patterns of Greek Geometric pottery in the northern Levant but only during IA II (cf. Luke 2003, 42). Vacek (2020) discusses Ugarit and Al-Mina, two sites prevalent during different periods of time to observe trading trends.

Chapter two will discuss the height of trade between the Aegean, specifically mainland Greece, and sites along the coast of northern Syria during the 14th and 13th centuries, or Levantine Late Bronze Age II (LBA II). The distribution of the corresponding Late Helladic IIIA2 (LH IIIA2) and Late Helladic IIIB (LH IIIB) will be analyzed to better understand how they were being consumed by local communities and the resultant value placed on them. Following this analysis, the role of the palatial administrations of Mycenae and the East will be investigated to better recognize the processes of this trade overall and how the commodities imported were being distributed. Finally, the role of Cyprus will be briefly examined since the island will continue to play a vital role in the centuries to follow.

Chapter three will delve into the so-called ‘transition years’ of the 12th and 11th centuries, or IA I.<sup>13</sup> During this period, trade between the Aegean and the East, in general, appears to have ceased, at least according to the archaeological record. Nevertheless, local production of Aegean shapes and styles occurred on a large scale throughout the entire Levant, including the same coastal northern Syrian sites where trade in similar ceramics was once abundant. The economic landscape in which this local production occurred will be briefly discussed as well as the impetus for it, i.e. migration or social memory. The possibility of trade in commodities other than ceramics will also be examined as well as Cyprus’ position in the interactions between the Aegean and northern Syria.

Chapter four will consider the resurgence of trade networks between the Aegean and north Syrian coast during the ensuing 10th through 6th centuries, of the IA II and Iron Age III (IA III). The chapter opens with a discussion of the Assyrian *karu* system as well as the definition of a Greek *emporion*, which in tandem with an analysis of the Greek ceramic evidence, will be used to gain a better understanding of trade and the possibility of an overall Greek presence at these sites. In addition to the ceramic evidence, textual evidence will also be considered to first establish the possibility of Greeks within the Assyrian Empire and second investigate the likelihood of trade between the local northern Syrian communities, now within the Assyrian dominion, and the Greeks. As with the other two chapters, ceramic consumption will be explored as well as the possible role of Cyprus and now the so-called Phoenicians in this trade. The conclusion, therefore, will describe in detail both the consistencies and fluctuations in the patterns of trade throughout the centuries in an attempt to demonstrate the longstanding traditions between the Aegean and the north Syrian coast.

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<sup>13</sup> The term, ‘transition years’ is suggested by Sharon (2014, 59) and is fitting for this discussion on East-West trade throughout the centuries.

### *1.1 Site Overview:*

The chosen sites display well the particular patterns of contact (trade or otherwise) with the Aegean throughout the 14th century through the 6th century (Fig.1). Certain sites (Alalakh, Ugarit, Al-Mina) display an abundance of wares from the Aegean during a specific period, others (Ras Ibn Hani, Tell Tayinat, and Tell Sukas) during specific intervals, and some (Ras Ibn Hani and Tell Sukas) display some type of continuous interaction throughout (albeit some periods more so than others). The sites Alalakh, Tell Tayinat, and Al-Mina can be grouped within the same regional kingdoms, LBA II Mukish and IA II-III Pattin/Unqi, and the sites Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Tell Sukas within the regional kingdoms of LBA II Ugarit and IA II-III Hamath. Thus, the sites chosen serve to highlight both the similarities and differences of trade with the Aegean between the sites themselves and the regions within which they belonged. Furthermore, and more importantly, the sites chosen demonstrate both the continual contact between the Aegean and northern Syria and the consumption and value placed on the goods (namely ceramics) imported. Thus, prior to the discussion of the proposal outlined in the introduction, it is crucial to briefly introduce these sites, which will be further placed within their historical context in each subsequent chapter.

#### *1.1.1 Alalakh (Tell Atchana):*

Woolley was the first to excavate the site of Alalakh (Tell Atchana) from 1936-39 and subsequently after World War II from 1946-49. He believed the mound, which lay along the Orontes River and on the western side of the Amuq plain, was a site of a royal city that commanded principal northern trade routes.<sup>14</sup> What he discovered was a site with extensive periods of settlement that began at the start of the Bronze Age (ca. 3300), however, the first palace period would not begin until the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) during the 18th century (ca. 1780) with the second palace period dating between the 15th and first half of the 14th century.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, excavations ceased until the year 2000 when they were finally resumed by Yener and Akar.<sup>16</sup> Thus far, Alalakh has yielded to date more LH IIIA2 pottery than any other site in the Levant.<sup>17</sup> However, the site's connection with the Aegean predates the 14th century by approximately 300 years as evident by Minoan-style frescoes and a fragment of Kamares ware found from an earlier phase of the palace.<sup>18</sup> The site was abandoned sometime during the first half of the 13th century, although the temple and its

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<sup>14</sup> Woolley 1955, 1-2, 5.

<sup>15</sup> Woolley 1955, 380, 384.

<sup>16</sup> Yener et al. 2020, 4.

<sup>17</sup> Koehl (forthcoming) will detail more of the recent findings of Mycenaean pottery from the 2006-2010 seasons at Tell Atchana that should aid in the discussion of Aegean relations with Alalakh.

<sup>18</sup> Koehl 2020, 202-4; cf. von Ruden 2020, 140-69.

surroundings appeared to be in use until the second half of that same century, and displayed a brief period of reoccupation at the start of the 12th century.<sup>19</sup>

### *1.1.2 Tell Tayinat (Kinalua):*

Tell Tayinat is located at the northern bend of the Orontes River, approximately 700m northwest of Tell Atchana. This proximity has led many, including Woolley, to believe that the two sites were related.<sup>20</sup> The site first underwent excavations conducted by the University of Chicago's Syrian-Hittite Expedition between 1935-38. These expeditions focused mainly on the Iron Age II and III levels, which coincide with the Assyrian occupation.<sup>21</sup> Like Alalakh, excavations came to a halt until the 21st century when the Tayinat Archaeological Project revived excavations, and they have continued throughout the first two decades of this century which has allowed for further analysis of the IA I settlement.<sup>22</sup> The tell has produced a large quantity of Aegean-style pottery, and the use of such seems to have continued into the 8th century when there is some evidence of Euboean ware at the royal palace of Kinalua.

### *1.1.3 Al-Mina:*

The site of Al-Mina lies in the Amuq plain near the mouth of the Orontes River less than 2km inland from the modern-day shoreline of the Mediterranean. Its key position allowed for it to become a hub of not only local but international trade, and according to Woolley, opened the door between the East and West.<sup>23</sup> This gateway between two worlds is precisely what Sir Leonard Woolley set out to find when he began his excavations in the mid-1930s. The objective of his project was to trace connections between the Bronze Age civilizations of the Aegean (specifically Minoan) and the East. However, what he discovered at Al-Mina was an IA II-III site, and he excavated what he labeled as ten levels (ten being the earliest) that he believed dated from the mid-8th century to the end of the 4th century.<sup>24</sup> Woolley's excavations remain the only ones completed and the quality of his excavation and inventory of finds have been the cause of some ambiguity. Al-Mina has produced a large quantity of Greek ware, from Euboean of the 8th century to East Greek of the 7th and 6th, and Athenian from the late 6th century on. This, in combination with Woolley's excavation

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<sup>19</sup> Yener et al. 2020, 6.

<sup>20</sup> Woolley 1955, 6; see section 3.3.

<sup>21</sup> cf. Haines 1971, 66.

<sup>22</sup> Harrison 2013, 64.

<sup>23</sup> Woolley 1938, 28.

<sup>24</sup> Woolley 1938, 1-2, 6; This did not deter Woolley (1938, 7-8) from advocating for his original hypothesis, and according to him the Bronze Age settlement at Al-Mina was washed away by the Orontes River. Pamir (2006, 535-43) explores this possibility further.

methods, has made Al-Mina one of the most debated sites regarding East-West relations of the IA II and III periods.

#### *1.1.4 Sabuniye:*

Woolley, during his excavation seasons in the Amuq plain, conducted a surface survey at the hilltop site of Sabuniye about 5km upstream from Al-Mina. He found LH IIIA2 ceramics, East Greek ware, and both Attic black and red figure pottery. He found some Cypriot pottery as well dating to the 15th century and a cylinder seal which he dated to approximately the 18th century;<sup>25</sup> this provides the site with evidence of long occupation (contemporary with Alalakh). Further survey studies and two excavation seasons have been conducted since then in the 2000s which have yielded Aegean style pottery from IA I as well as Euboean and Corinthian ware in addition to the Athenian and East Greek wares found before.<sup>26</sup> In addition, a paleogeographic study determined that Sabuniye lay not on the coast but was closer to the coastline than is presently situated. Furthermore, the study determined that the area in which Al-Mina was founded rested under sea level during the LBA and IA I. Thus, during the LBA it would appear then that Sabuniye acted as Alalakh's port, as well as perhaps subsequently in the IA I period as Tell Tayinat's, and due to the shifting coastline was replaced with Al-Mina during IA II. This is so far corroborated further by the lesser proportion of known imports at Sabuniye than at Al-Mina.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, due to the limited amount of excavation and consequently of publications, Sabuniye will only be mentioned on rare occasions throughout this text despite its potential relevance.

#### *1.1.5 Ugarit (Ras Shamra):*

The city of Ugarit was originally unearthed by Schaeffer in 1928 and has undergone continuous excavation by the French since.<sup>28</sup> The location itself has displayed evidence of occupation since the Neolithic until its destruction at the end of the Bronze Age. The city was located on a tell, near modern-day Latakia, less than a kilometer from the Mediterranean coast and at a crossroads of overland trade routes.<sup>29</sup> Thus, by LBA II the site was not only a local but also an international trading center. The city was such a prosperous one that Callot noted the standard of living for the urban population appeared to be high, even in the more 'modest'

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<sup>25</sup> Woolley 1938, 8-9; Woolley 1953, 159.

<sup>26</sup> Pamir 2013, 174-75, 177-78.

<sup>27</sup> Pamir 2013, 174, 181-83.

<sup>28</sup> van Wijngaarden 2002, 37.

<sup>29</sup> Yon 2006, 7, 15-24; cf. Schaeffer 1939, 3-52.

houses.<sup>30</sup> Hence, Ugarit could be considered the cosmopolitan center of the Eastern Mediterranean during the LBA. Similar to Alalakh, Kamares ware was found by Schaeffer which indicates that connections with the Aegean were not new to the LBA II site.<sup>31</sup> Overall, the site has produced a considerable number of finds, including Mycenaean pottery which totals over 440 finds from the ceramic assemblage at the city of Ugarit itself, and approximately 170 finds from Minet el-Beida its main port.<sup>32</sup> Since Minet el-Beida's fate was tied to Ugarit's and both went out of use after their destruction at the beginning of the 12th century, for this discussion the sites will be taken together as a whole unless for exemplary purposes.

#### *1.1.6 Ras Ibn Hani:*

The coastal site of Ras Ibn Hani, of which the ancient name is not fully agreed upon,<sup>33</sup> was situated approximately 5km southwest of the city of Ugarit and was excavated by a joint Franco-Syrian team in the mid-70s/early-80s. According to the excavators, the site displayed little evidence of occupation earlier than the 14th century and underwent three phases of occupation until the final LBA destruction at the end of the 13th or early 12th century.<sup>34</sup> The tell at Ras Ibn Hani is divided into two sections, north and south, with a so-called palace as each section's definitive architectural feature.<sup>35</sup> The character of LBA Ras Ibn Hani is hard to determine especially concerning its relation to overseas trade, since a limited amount of LH IIIB ceramics have been found. The city was surely not as significant as Ugarit's main port, Minet el-Beida,<sup>36</sup> however, the occurrence of two large residences, or so-called palaces, would lend to the interpretation that the site was indeed important. For example, the north palace is believed to have been the queen's summer residence.<sup>37</sup> The site demonstrated reoccupation after its LBA destruction and to date has provided the highest ratio of IA I Aegean style ceramics. Its importance appears to have dwindled in the subsequent periods, however, remained part of the Aegean-North Syrian trade network.

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<sup>30</sup> Callot 1994, 199-201.

<sup>31</sup> Merrillees 2003, 127-40; cf. Schaeffer 1939, 22.

<sup>32</sup> van Wijngaarden 2002, 39.

<sup>33</sup> Bordreuil et al. (1984, 435-38) suggests Appu and Arnaud (1984, 20-23) Biruti. Na'aman (2004a, 36-37) cautiously suggests Re'si-suri based on Tiglath-Pileser III's so-called Iran Stele and Astour's (1995, 68) identification of Ras Ibn Hani as Rêshu/Ra'shu.

<sup>34</sup> Bounni et al. 1976, 240.

<sup>35</sup> Bounni et al. 1979, 243.

<sup>36</sup> cf. Curtis 1999, 21.

<sup>37</sup> Klengel 1992, 102; Curtis 1999, 24.

### *1.1.7 Tell Sukas:*

Tell Sukas, ancient Shuksi,<sup>38</sup> was a coastal site approximately 50km from the city of Ugarit located in the present-day Gabala plain. The initial excavation of the site began in 1934 under Forrer before WWII and excavations started back up in the late-50s by a Danish expedition led by Riis. The site displays occupation from the MBA through the IA with a destruction level at the end of the LBA.<sup>39</sup> The site was home to two harbors<sup>40</sup> and in comparison with Ras Ibn Hani, Tell Sukas offers a relatively larger quantity of Mycenaean ceramics. Yet, like Ras Ibn Hani the role of Tell Sukas in the LBA is uncertain. Tell Sukas during the ensuing IA I period displays the least amount of evidence for contact with the Aegean since no such wares were found on the tell, though some limited findings have been found elsewhere at the site. The site continued to host some interaction with the Aegean, however, it would not become prevalent again until the end of the 7th century, when its nature became comparable to that of Al-Mina's.

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<sup>38</sup> Klengel 1992, 102.

<sup>39</sup> Riis 1970, 1, 10, 20, 24.

<sup>40</sup> Riis 1970, 1, 11 fig. 3.

## **2. LBA II: Peak**

At the start of the 14th century, Syria, as a whole, was split under the political control of Mittani and Egypt. The northern kingdom of Mukish, with its capital Alalakh, became integrated into Mittani. The kingdom of Ugarit, including its capital city Ugarit and secondary port Ras Ibn Hani, remained autonomous. However, though autonomous, Ugarit was heavily swayed by Egypt and the Egyptians maintained access to Ugarit's ports which allowed them to hold influence over trade. However, after the death of the king of Mittani, Shuttarna II, a succession conflict arose forcing the new king, Tushratta, to focus on stabilizing his rule in the capital, and as a result, left Mittani's periphery open to attack. In Egypt, Akhenaten's (Amenhotep IV) religious reform led to a series of internal conflicts which weakened Egyptian power abroad, including in northern Syria where it is attested that Egypt's military presence was dwindling.<sup>41</sup> Thus, there was a power vacuum along the Syrian coast that Hatti, under Suppiluliuma I, would insert themselves into, ultimately taking control of a majority of that region.<sup>42</sup>

After having conquered Mukish, installing his son as king of Carchemish, and deposing Tushratta as king of Mittani, Suppiluliuma I introduced a system of control in which the Hittite king became the overlord of all state rulers of the region. Ugarit was allowed to remain semi-autonomous in return for loyalty, military support, and tribute to Hatti.<sup>43</sup> Amurru, the southernmost kingdom in Syria, switched allegiances from Egypt to Hatti, and this defection did not go unrewarded. Suppiluliuma I credited the rank of brother to Aziru, king of Amurru, thus allowing the kingdom to remain autonomous.<sup>44</sup> Amurru's new loyalty was not without consequence for the kingdom was in constant conflict with Ugarit to the north and now had made an enemy of Egypt to the south. Thus, Aziru sought to make peace with Niqmaddu II, the king of Ugarit, and as part of this truce Ugarit gained sole possession of the small, intermediary kingdom of Siyannu and its likely port Tell Sukas.<sup>45</sup>

In the early 13th century, rising tension between Egypt and Hatti resulted in the Battle of Qadesh in 1275, and the subsequent treaty further strengthened Hittite dominion over northern Syria. The treaty also brought along a period of peace between the two empires which allowed for Ugarit to again flourish as the center of eastern Mediterranean trade. During the later years of the 13th century, as Hatti began to deal with internal conflict, Carchemish gained more authority over the territories of northern Syria. Carchemish

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<sup>41</sup> cf. EA 55, EA 90, and EA 103 in Moran 1992.

<sup>42</sup> Klengel 1992, 108-11; Singer 1999, 620-22.

<sup>43</sup> See No.4 in Beckman 1999.

<sup>44</sup> See No.5 in Beckman 1999.

<sup>45</sup> Singer 1999, 627-28, 733; cf. RS 19.68 in Nougayrol 1956. See Miller (2008, 533-54) and Devecchi (2010, 242-56) for a more recent discussion of the relations between Amurru, Ugarit, Hatti, and Egypt.

developed a centralized government that either fully integrated territories ruled by Hittite governors, such as Mukish, or as subordinate kingdoms under its direct control. Ugarit and Amurru were able to remain semi-autonomous, however, Carchemish, to consolidate its power, removed Siyannu from Ugarit to create a buffer state between the powerful Amurru and the wealthy Ugarit.<sup>46</sup> This, in short, was the geopolitical landscape in which the overseas trade between the Aegean and northern Syria occurred during LBA II.

### 2.1 Ceramic Distribution:

The Mycenaean ceramic repertoire found within northern Syria is diverse and includes both open and closed vessels (Fig.2).<sup>47</sup> The most common shapes throughout northern Syria (and the Levant in general) were the stirrup jar (FS 164-185), piriform jar (FS 14-51), and amphoroid krater (FS 53-55). While those shapes also all occurred at Alalakh, the preferred shapes (or those which occurred more frequently) appear to have been the vertical globular flask (FS 189) and amphoroid krater more so than the others. The reason for this discrepancy is not clear, however, Koehl suggests that the globular flasks contained *de-re-u-ko* which he believed would have been mixed with water in the aforementioned kraters.<sup>48</sup> *De-re-u-ko* likely referred to a type of wine made from free-run must, or the juice that is formed naturally from grapes by the force of their own weight. After fermenting, a sweet, rich, and long-lasting wine was produced. This longevity would have been most suitable for trade. Moreover, the volume of free-run must created from grapes is limited, therefore *de-re-u-ko* would have been rare and highly valued.<sup>49</sup>

Perhaps then, based on Koehl's suggestion, either the product was more enjoyed at Alalakh, or Alalakh was the main importer and subsequently the main distributor for the entire region of said product. Evidence, albeit slight, of the latter theory may be found at Carchemish where Woolley found a sherd of what Leonard later classified as a globular flask (FS 189) which was the same shape type found at Alalakh.<sup>50</sup> Carchemish during the MBA was known for being an exporter of wine for Mesopotamia,<sup>51</sup> hence it would not be unbecoming for this flask to have contained a wine product. However, one should be cautious to convey Greek consumption practices onto local north Syrian communities since, in general, drinking customs were different throughout the entire Mediterranean (see section 2.2).

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<sup>46</sup> Klengel 1992 114-120; Singer 1999 646-47, 649.

<sup>47</sup> Shapes are based on Leonard 1994, 12-136. Leonard (1994, 1-3) assembled a collection of LH vessels found in the Levant and arranged them numerically based on Furumark's (Furumark 1941a; Furumark 1941b) numbering and classification of Mycenaean ceramic forms and shapes (FS).

<sup>48</sup> Koehl 2020, 208.

<sup>49</sup> Palmer 1994, 16, 62-63.

<sup>50</sup> Woolley 1952, 235; Leonard 1994, 86.

<sup>51</sup> Laneri 2018 228; Michel 1996, 387-88; cf. McGovern 2007, 169-73.

Unfortunately, the find spots of the pottery found at Alalakh are not well documented. However, Woolley did provide some notes which prove useful. He noted a fragment of a piriform jar found in the palace and one sherd found in a house. A LH IIIA2 stirrup jar (FS 167) that closely resembles stirrup jars found at the Petsas house (see section 2.3) was found in what Woolley labeled as a private house. The house he declared was poorly built compared to the others, yet it provided not only the stirrup jar but also a fragment of a chariot krater. A more complete LH IIIA2 amphoroid krater with a possible chariot scene (FS 53) was found in the temple. Additionally, four globular flasks were found in burials, one in a cremation burial and three together in an inhumation grave.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, it has been speculated the occurrence of LH IIIA2 wares and not LH IIIB at Alalakh was due to Hittite policies, of either mass deportation and/or strict trade embargoes placed on imports from *Ahhiyawa*.<sup>53</sup> The former theory is more fitting since the site displays limited occupation prior to the LH IIIB ceramic period and has produced various LH IIIA2 finds.<sup>54</sup>

Ugarit follows the more expected pattern of pottery preference to the rest of the Levant, in which the piriform jar (FS 36) and stirrup jar (FS 164, 166-67, 171-73, 176, 178-90, 182-83) are more heavily favored. However, that does not mean other shapes were not sought after, such as the amphoroid krater (FS 53-55), conical rhyton (FS 199), and other open vessels such as the semiglobular cup (FS 220) and shallow angular bowl (FS 295-96) were all commonly found (amongst others). Fortunately, the findspots of the Mycenaean ceramics were much better documented at Ugarit than at Alalakh, and the following summary includes some of the more notable discoveries. At the House of the Alabaster Vessels, a large mansion adjacent to the palace, three LH IIIB rhyta were found, two decorated with a bull, in the same room as 67 other vessels which included a vast amount of Egyptian alabaster vases among other local ceramics.<sup>55</sup>

The area of the South Acropolis has yielded two large buildings that might have been connected via a single indoor passageway. In the cellar of the northern building, the so-called House of Agipshari, two LH IIIB conical rhyta were found alongside a stone basin, several pithoi, and some other storage vessels. The connected building, the House of the Magician-Priest, is not well preserved. However, in the cella, or central room, a fragment of an LH IIIB conical rhyton and LH IIIB stirrup jar were found along with many texts, some of which included religious or magical content, a model of a lung and liver, and a libation tube. If the two buildings were indeed connected, perhaps the House of Agipshari served as a storage for the House of the Magician-Priest; this would explain the finding of the rhyta in the former. What is more, an LH IIIA2

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<sup>52</sup> Woolley 1955, 191-93, 370-72.

<sup>53</sup> Janeway 2017, 42; see Shaushgamuwa Treaty in Klengel 1992. The treaty was between Hatti and Amurru, however it is plausible that a similar embargo might have been enacted in Mukish.

<sup>54</sup> cf. Devecchi (2010, 246-50) who notices a similar trend at Tell Kazel.

<sup>55</sup> van Wijngaarden 2002, 54; Yon 2006, 66.

stirrup jar, LH IIIA2 piriform jar, and LH IIIB bull head rhyton were all found within the building complex, but their specific context is unknown. Finally, underneath the central room of an unnamed house was a funeral chamber which included an LH IIIB stirrup jar.<sup>56</sup>

The City Center provided a more domestic context for the findings. In four houses (A, B, C, E) LH IIIB stirrup jars were found mixed amongst an assemblage of local and Cypriot pottery. Most notably in House B, some stirrup jars were found in pits in storage rooms that also contained other eastern ware. In the City Center was also situated the so-called Temple of the Rhytons which contained 13 rooms, twelve rooms with one central room. In the central room, there was an altar with benches with 15 rhyta (eleven of which are LH IIIB and four of the local style) either within the sanctuary or nearby (less than 10m north of the building). Fragments from what are believed to be five separate kraters were also found scattered throughout the sanctuary. As with the other houses in the City Center, the Mycenaean finds were associated with large quantities of Cypriot and Syrian pottery.<sup>57</sup>

At the House of Yabninu (formerly known as the South Palace), directly south of the royal palace, there was a high concentration of Mycenaean pottery that a majority of the findspots are, unfortunately, unknown. Nevertheless, an LH IIIB pictorial amphoroid krater (dubbed the master of horses) was found in the cellar with numerous storage jars, and another one was found in the kitchen. Yet, the majority of the Mycenaean finds at this house were dinner vessels: kraters, kylikes, and a deep bowl. This is curious since roughly only 16% of Mycenaean dinnerware was found in domestic contexts as opposed to funerary contexts which accounted for 35% of the dinnerware found at Ugarit.<sup>58</sup> Most notably, however, over 60 written documents were found in the residence, and this is how the house became to be associated with its last owner, Yabninu. The documents are predominantly economic texts and in conjunction with the material evidence provide the image of Yabninu being in charge of commercial activity.<sup>59</sup> Hence, the quantity and quality of the Mycenaean pottery that was found correspond with its owner's profession. What is more, this could help to explain why at this residence more Mycenaean dinner vessels were found than in any other similar context.

At the palace itself, a large number of Mycenaean sherds were found of all various shapes. Most interestingly they appear to be unconcentrated and thus distributed evenly throughout the complex. Finally, much Mycenaean pottery was found in the tombs at Ugarit which were commonly built underneath the buildings, as was the case of the South Acropolis and House of Yabninu (see section 2.2). In fact, a majority

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<sup>56</sup> van Wijngaarden 2002, 56-57; Yon 2006, 99-102.

<sup>57</sup> van Wijngaarden 2002, 57-62.

<sup>58</sup> cf. van Wijngaarden 2002, 46 tab.5.5, 48 tab.5.7.

<sup>59</sup> van Wijngaarden 2002, 46, 48, 62-64; Yon 2006, 51, 54.

of the published graves have produced some quantity of it. Storage vessels, mostly stirrup jars and some globular flasks, were more abundant in tombs than dinner vessels, yet this is not a consistent pattern. More than half the bowls and almost two-thirds of the cups found at Ugarit came from graves.<sup>60</sup>

As mentioned above (section 1.1.6), both ‘palaces’ at Ras Ibn Hani were destroyed around the same time as the city of Ugarit, yet there was a considerable difference in the amount of material culture left behind from each one. In the north palace, a wide variety of ceramics, tools, and texts were found, however, the south palace was left virtually empty. Therefore, Bounni theorizes that the occupants of the south palace had the opportunity to abandon the structure before its destruction, whereas the destruction of the north palace was sudden.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, not much LH III B pottery has been found at the site and a majority of what has been found is fragmentary. At the southern palace, all that has been found were fragments of an amphoroid chariot krater within the confines of its courtyard.<sup>62</sup> This lack of Mycenaean ceramics at the south palace could further attest to Bounni’s abandonment theory.

Fortunately, the Mycenaean finds at the northern palace were more bountiful, although not by much. The palace was both of an industrial and residential nature with its western section serving as a metal workshop and eastern serving as habitation quarters. In one of the residential quarters an amphoroid krater was discovered, and in the courtyard separating the two, fragments of LH III B stirrup jars were found alongside White-Slip II ceramic cups, several alabaster vases, and cuneiform tablets written in Ugaritic, Sumerian, and Babylonian.<sup>63</sup> Finally, inside a tomb underneath the palace, a Mycenaean amphoroid krater and two stirrup jars were found.<sup>64</sup> Interestingly, Bounni, prior to labeling the building a palace, called it a residence and noted that the presence of royal letters and a wealthy tomb could be an indication that a high-status elite, who perhaps dealt in international affairs, resided at this building,<sup>65</sup> and a comparison might be made to the house of Yabninu in Ugarit.

Despite Tell Sukas being host to a relatively substantial quantity of Mycenaean ceramics, the context of these finds is unknown due to the poor preservation of the LBA architectural features. Likewise, the exact dating of these ceramics can be difficult to ascertain and all dating should be taken with caution. All things considered, the few Mycenaean fragments that can be dated, date to the LH IIIA2 period such as from a piriform jar, stirrup jar, and other closed vessels. Only one fragment from a bell krater can be dated to LH III B

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<sup>60</sup> van Wijngaarden 2002, 43, 66-71; Yon 2006, 72-76.

<sup>61</sup> Bounni et al. 1978, 278; Bounni et al. 1979, 243; cf. Badre 1983, 203.

<sup>62</sup> Bounni et al. 1976, 241; van Wijngaarden 2002, 112.

<sup>63</sup> Bounni et al. 1979, 240-41; Bounni et al. 1981, 292; van Wijngaarden 2002, 112.

<sup>64</sup> Toueir (1975) cf. van Wijngaarden 2002, 112.

<sup>65</sup> Bounni et al. 1979, 242.

along with the arm of a psi-shaped female figurine that Riis believed to have been found in an open area since it was directly on the pavement. In total, of the diagnostic sherds which total 47% of the total discovered, 47% were from closed vessels while the rest came from open vessels (18%) and figurines (35%). The remainder of the sherds have yet to be identified.<sup>66</sup>

Tell Sukas does present evidence of extensive activity during the MBA and it would appear that during that time the site consisted of private residences. The LBA buildings are also speculated to have been private residences and this, according to Riis, was corroborated by the findings within two of the complexes.<sup>67</sup> The area was home to two harbors, and given the adequate amount of Mycenaean sherds, it would be reasonable to speculate that Tell Sukas played a role in trade for Siyannu before its subsumption into Ugarit.<sup>68</sup> Perhaps then it was a settlement of private merchants (cf. Sabuniye, n.327), or even *tamkar* (see section 2.3), who specialized in interregional trade.

## 2.2 Consumption and Value:

As can be concluded from the findings mentioned above, Mycenaean pottery was found in a variety of contexts from palatial to domestic to ritual, and thus experienced a certain multifunctionality in northern Syria. However, it is important to stress that imported ceramics make up only a small proportion of the total ceramic assemblage found at all sites, and, for example, in the case of Ugarit (including its main port Minet el-Beida), the imported ceramics account for only 1% of the total assemblage.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, while other social groups should not be disregarded, especially given the various contexts in which Mycenaean ceramics were found, they appear to have been consumed primarily by elite groups.<sup>70</sup> This can be made evident by the prevalence of Mycenaean pottery in tombs. The most frequently found ceramics in the tombs at Alalakh, Ugarit, and Ras Ibn Hani are storage vessels such as the globular flask and stirrup jar (the globular flask more so in Alalakh than the other two). The stirrup jar, which could contain either scented or unscented oil, was used in both daily consumption and funerary rites,<sup>71</sup> and the use of the globular flask necessitates further discussion.

The majority of dinner vessels found at Ugarit were found in graves as opposed to dwellings, which provides evidence for the importance of the consumption of food and beverage during funerary ritual.

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<sup>66</sup> Riis 1970, 29, 36, 131; Ploug 1973, 6-10; Lund 1986, 17-20.

<sup>67</sup> Riis 1970, 38, 126; Lund 1986, 11, 185.

<sup>68</sup> cf. van Wijngaarden 2002, 34.

<sup>69</sup> Monchambert 1983, 26.

<sup>70</sup> cf. van Wijngaarden 2002, 39.

<sup>71</sup> van Wijngaarden 2002, 71.

Furthermore, due to its commonality in tombs, it would appear that various social groups at Ugarit placed some type of symbolic value on Mycenaean dinner vessels.<sup>72</sup> This phenomenon is also known on Cyprus where dinner and drinking vessels appeared in elite tombs as prestige items.<sup>73</sup> Manning observed that on Cyprus, at the onset of Late Cypriot I (LC I), funerary ritual was prominent for the emergent elite to display status. These rituals included feasting with the use of foreign wares and also the consumption of foreign beverages. This, he states, “accentuated membership in the exclusive group being buried.”<sup>74</sup> Alcoholic beverages were an integral part of feasting and social display<sup>75</sup> and given the commonality of the globular flasks in burials (especially at Alalakh) perhaps then they were indeed filled with *de-re-u-ko* as Koehl suggested (see section 2.1). Moreover, if *de-re-u-ko* was a product of high quality and therefore expensive, subsequently this wine product would have been made available to only those that could afford it, i.e. the elite. Additionally, the elite consumption of wine is known in other regions of the Levant and thus might further substantiate this claim.<sup>76</sup>

However, it should be mentioned that viticulture was practiced by the Hittites, and the climatic conditions necessary for it were present not only in Anatolia but in northern Syria as well.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, the frequent mention of wine in Hittite texts is an indication that to them it was an important beverage, although, there is no clear indication that wine was consumed outside of an elite or ritual context. Perhaps then beer was the beverage of preference for the majority of the population in northern Syria while wine was reserved for elite consumption as it was in the rest of the Near East. Yet, as Gorny notes, one should be careful to assess wine as solely an elite product based on texts alone since the tablets (and writing in general) were tools used only by the palatial administration.<sup>78</sup>

Studies have shown that Hittite households might have contained vines thus allowing for grape cultivation on a much smaller, local scale. Therefore, as in mainland Greece, households could have cultivated grapes for both their own benefit and that of the palaces.<sup>79</sup> Thus the knowledge of production was more widespread in these regions than in Egypt and Mesopotamia where, due to those regions’ limited capacity for viticulture, wine consumption would have naturally been more restricted.<sup>80</sup> This solicits the question, if wine was more available in northern Syria, would it have only been consumed by the elite? Perhaps not, however,

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<sup>72</sup> van Wijngaarden 2002, 69.

<sup>73</sup> Steele 2004, 293-94.

<sup>74</sup> Manning 1993, 44-48.

<sup>75</sup> Steele 2004, 292.

<sup>76</sup> Stockhammer 2012, 25.

<sup>77</sup> Laneri 2018, 226-27.

<sup>78</sup> Gorny 1996, 148-53; cf. McGovern 2007, 181-86.

<sup>79</sup> Klengel 1986, 24-25; Palmer 1994, 189, 194.

<sup>80</sup> Palmer 1994, 187. Poo (1995, 27-37) offers a brief synopsis of Egyptian wine consumption.

if one is to accept *de-re-u-ko* as the traded beverage, then this particular drink was most likely consumed more so by elite groups.

Perhaps this symbolic value placed on dinner vessels and globular flasks developed from the eastern institution of the *marzeah*. It is first attested in Ugaritic texts dating to the 14th century, however, the institution lasted well into the Common Era in different regions of the East (see section 4.5). The *marzeah* of the contemporary Ugaritic texts was a hereditary association of prominent men who owned or leased a house for gatherings and possessed fields and vineyards,<sup>81</sup> the possession of which is attested elsewhere such as Hatti. The main activity of the *marzeah* appears to have been feasting and while it is not certain if the institution had ties to funerary cult there are two contemporary Ugaritic texts (one mythological and one historical) that are suggestive of it. In the story of 'Aqhatu, 'Aqhatu had been killed and his father Dani'ilu pleads to Baal to bring his son back to the land of the living. Baal instructs the father to invite the *rephaim*, or heroic ancestors, into his house of the *marzeah*, and Daniel does so thus providing them with a seven-day feast of food and wine.<sup>82</sup> Likewise, a similar ritual was performed at the accession of Ammurapi where the deceased kings of Ugarit were invoked along with the *rephaim* who received seven sacrifices in order to bless the king, his queen, and the city of Ugarit.<sup>83</sup> Thus, it is imaginable that Mycenaean ceramics in these tombs were utilized to evoke the ancestors of the dead for perhaps a particular feast as well as display their elite status.

Furthermore, Vacek speculates that some locals might have employed Mycenaean pottery in graves as a prestige item to advertise their long-distance trading connections. This theory is further supported by the finding of Egyptian and Cypriot wares together with Mycenaean pottery in the tomb at the South Acropolis (see section 2.1). The tombs found underneath two rooms at the House of Yabninu were looted in antiquity, however, in one of them, an alabaster vase bearing the cartouche of Ramses II was found. Since the tombs were looted and many of the findspots of the known Mycenaean pottery remain a mystery at this building, provided the depiction of Yabninu as a worldly man, it is plausible to suspect that Mycenaean pottery was placed alongside other foreign goods in these tombs.<sup>84</sup> Pertinently, the tombs at Minet el-Beida have revealed the most Mycenaean ware compared to other ceramic styles deposited, and Courtois has noted that these tombs distinguish themselves in their foreign diversity due to the Aegean, Cypriot, Egyptian, and Anatolian

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<sup>81</sup> Greenfield 1974, 451-52.

<sup>82</sup> See no.1.103 in Hallo and Younger 1997 together with no.20-22 in Herdner 1963. The story of 'Aqhatu (no.1.103) ends with his sister seeking to avenge her brother, however, Spronk (1986, 160-61) believes the story to be connected with the so-called *rephaim* texts (no.20-22); cf. Dijkstra and de Moor 1976, 171-215.

<sup>83</sup> See no.1.105 in Hallo and Younger 1997; cf. Carter 1997, 77.

<sup>84</sup> Vacek 2020, 1169; Yon 2006, 53, 102.

objects found within.<sup>85</sup> Likewise, Mycenaean pottery was employed in the tomb underneath the north palace at Ras Ibn Hani, perhaps for a similar reason (see section 2.1).

One vessel that was on occasion found in funerary contexts, but more so outside of tombs, was the Mycenaean pictorial amphoroid krater. This could be because the krater was a more functional vessel, but it could also be due to a symbolic meaning that transcended it.<sup>86</sup> Kraters were found distributed at each site in various social contexts from palatial to domestic. For example, in a pit in a house at Minet el-Beida, sherds from amphoroid kraters were found that had holes drilled in the center and smoothed sides. Thus, perhaps these sherds were repurposed as Schaeffer suggested as *estheques*, or potter tools used to scrape clay, although there is not enough significant evidence for pottery production elsewhere at the port.<sup>87</sup> At the House of Yabninu, a krater with a chariot scene was found in a storage room as well as in a room believed to be a kitchen. Moreover, kylikes were also found, which might suggest a similar drinking custom associated with the kraters as on the Greek mainland. However, it is important to remember that different cultures might have used similar vessels differently, and just because an imported good was acquired does not necessarily mean the accompanying practice was too. This is best exemplified by the kraters found in the Temple of the Rhytons. Stockhammer takes note that despite the presence of Mycenaean kraters in the sanctuary, no drinking vessels were found. Perhaps then in this instance, they were drinking beer (not diluted wine) with straws from the krater, a practice common in the southern Levant and Egypt, in the central room. Thus, the local communities were able to integrate foreign ware into their cultural tradition.<sup>88</sup>

The consumption of liquids was not the only function of the amphoroid krater. The pictorial motifs depicted on the kraters would have been seen by the social groups using it, whether at a banquet or during a ritual. A scene on a painted pottery mug (Fig.3), found at the House of the Magician-Priest, displays two figures gathered around a table on top of which a larger vessel is placed. Although the vessel is not fully preserved, Courtois believed it to be a two-handled krater.<sup>89</sup> Steele proposed the image to be a representation of the god El seated, awaiting a libation from the standing figure.<sup>90</sup> The mug was found buried with ritual objects and given its findspot, in corroboration with Steele's interpretation, it is plausible that one use of the krater was in a ritual

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<sup>85</sup> Courtois 1979, 1283-284.

<sup>86</sup> van Wijngaarden 2002, 69, 72.

<sup>87</sup> Schaeffer 1949, 232-33; van Wijngaarden 2002, 52.

<sup>88</sup> Stockhammer 2012, 19, 23-25; cf. Hodder 1982, 207; cf. Yasur-Landau 2013, 172-80. Xenophon described this as an Armenian custom and mentioned that this beverage was strong unless diluted but good once acclimated (Xen.An.4.5.26-27). This supports a possibility that the kraters might not have been used to dilute just *de-re-u-ko*; perhaps *kaš-geštin* (cf. McGovern 2007, 186-87).

<sup>89</sup> Courtois 1969, 112.

<sup>90</sup> Steele 2004, 294 n. 78.

context. This theory is also bolstered by the finding of the other five kraters in the Temple of the Rhytons, and perhaps this scene was an allusion to the ceremonies performed by the *marzeah*. However, even within one cultural context, a similar object may have a different significance for different groups of people.<sup>91</sup>

A Mitannian warrior class called the *mariannu* resided in Ugarit at this time, and Yon associated this class with a group of chariot warriors. She deduced that since the chariot scene was a popular motif on amphoroid kraters, the *mariannu* could have used these kraters as a status symbol, resulting in the popularity of the Mycenaean vessel at Ugarit.<sup>92</sup> However, the association of chariots with the *mariannu* is not guaranteed. In fact, at both Ugarit and Alalakh, documents have been found that list *mariannu* both with and without chariots. Reviv goes as far as to suggest that the two were sub-classes that held different statuses.<sup>93</sup> All things considered, on the mug from the House of the Magician-Priest, a horse can be seen behind the standing figure which may possibly be an allusion to the use of this object by the *mariannu*. While the mug was found in a ritual context, the scene might be indicative of something else, such as feasting (either ceremonial or funerary). Accordingly, the krater could have been used for ritual, feasting, or status purposes and hence provided a different significance for different groups of people.

The relatively widespread use of Mycenaean pottery has been used to argue that it was a product of little value. Sherratt asserts that Mycenaean pottery was worthless, citing as an argument its simple quality and mass production. She goes on to classify the pottery as an added-value product due to the ease of accessibility to its raw material (clay) and adds that the pottery owed its value to the contents it carried.<sup>94</sup> Although the commodities inside the pottery were indeed desired, the local communities must have placed at least some value on the imported Mycenaean pottery itself. This is actually made evident by the “widespread” use and distribution of Mycenaean ceramics, albeit in primarily elite contexts. Sherratt argues that its widespread distribution was due to the elite using it as a “substitute good” to be sold to the non-elite social climbers in order to maintain their elite status.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> van Wijngaarden 2002, 29; cf. Appadurai 1986, 14-15, 21.

<sup>92</sup> Yon (2000) cf. Koehl 2005, 419.

<sup>93</sup> Reviv 1972, 218-228.

<sup>94</sup> Sherratt 1999, 174, 176-77; Killebrew (1998, 161) also emphasizes the contents of the pottery, however, she does concede aesthetics were still sought after.

<sup>95</sup> Sherratt 1999, 175, 187, 189; cf. Hankey (1993, 104) who believed the acquisition of exotic goods to the lower classes was the result of a trickle-down effect.

Nevertheless, Jung observes that Mycenaean painted pottery was superior to any of the local repertoire, noting the irregular and undecorated surfaces of Levantine pottery. As an example, he provides Levantine shallow bowls which in shape are fairly similar to Mycenaean ones apart from the handles.<sup>96</sup> Thus, he concludes that Mycenaean vessel shapes might have been perceived as a finer equivalent to the traditional, local ones.<sup>97</sup> This could elucidate why no Mycenaean pottery was found at the South Palace at Ras Ibn Hani save a single sherd from an amphoroid chariot krater. As mentioned above (section 2.1), the leading theory for the lack of material culture found at the South Palace is that its occupants took their belongings prior to the palace's abandonment. Along this premise, it is reasonable to deduce that Mycenaean ceramics were of some importance if individuals were willing to put in the effort of transporting them away from the building. Therefore, the prevalent use of Mycenaean pottery should not be taken as due to it being valueless, but instead due to the social value placed on it by the local communities.<sup>98</sup>

### *2.3 Participants and Administration of Overseas Trade:*

Provenance studies have revealed that the majority of LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB Mycenaean ceramics found in northern Syria were produced in the Argolid and, based on the evidence provided above, it would appear that there was a specialized production of pottery geared towards eastern markets.<sup>99</sup> However, how this process was administered and who engaged in this trade is far less certain. Linear B is all but silent on the matter and there is not any known direct mention of Aegean merchants in Ugaritic texts, which comprise one of the largest LBA archives known to date, despite there being many mentions of other foreign merchants. Additionally, there are no known artifacts inscribed with Linear B found in northern Syria despite there being artifacts inscribed in various other languages.<sup>100</sup> Nevertheless, upon further review of certain texts, some indirect evidence for contact between the two regions can be deduced.

At Ugarit, two letters written in Akkadian were found that date to the early 12th century. Suppiluliuma II, king of Hatti, requested that the king of Ugarit pay a debt on his behalf that he owed to the men of *Hiyawa* who were in the land of Lukka. It has been agreed by most scholars that *Hiyawa* is related to the term *Ahhiyawa* and therefore it is most likely that these men were Achaeans in Lycia (Lukka).<sup>101</sup> It is curious then

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<sup>96</sup> Perhaps the handles were intentionally broken off like in the case of LM IIIA cups in the southern Levant (cf. Stockhammer 2019, 236).

<sup>97</sup> Jung 2015, 255, 260.

<sup>98</sup> cf. Vacek 2020, 1170.

<sup>99</sup> Zukerman 2010, 890; Jung 2015, 245.

<sup>100</sup> Singer 1999, 675; Vacek 2020, 1167.

<sup>101</sup> See RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2532 in Singer 2006 cf. Kopanias 2018, 70-71; cf. Bryce 2016, 70-75.

that the king of Hatti, whose lands bordered Lukka, asked the king of a much further vassal to intervene on his behalf. This could be a testament to Ugarit's wealth, evidence of the hostilities between the communities of Lukka and Hatti,<sup>102</sup> and/or evidence of a preexisting relationship between the kingdom of Ugarit and the Mycenaeans. It should also be noted that in a contemporaneous letter written by Ammurapi to the king of Alashia (Cyprus), Ammurapi states that all his troops were stationed in Hatti and his ships in Lukka.<sup>103</sup> While it is likely that Ammurapi's claim is exaggerated, it is indicative of some possible Ugaritic military obligations to Hatti<sup>104</sup> and perhaps Suppiluliuma II's request was related.

In addition, a letter dating to the 13th century was found at Ugarit from the reign of Ammistamru II, who granted a certain Sinaranu, who traded with Crete, to not be taxed when his ship reached port.<sup>105</sup> This letter is important for two reasons, the first being that this letter too could provide evidence for Mycenaean contact with Ugarit since at this time there was a Mycenaean administration on Crete. More importantly, however, is that through this letter (among others) we learn that this Sinaranu was a *tamkar*. The *tamkar* (Akk. *tamkaru*, Ugr. *mkr*) was a merchant class in the East that could conduct their own trading activities while simultaneously acting on behalf of the king, and in some cases assisted foreign merchants in trade.<sup>106</sup> Heltzer describes two subgroups of this class, the *sa mandati* and the *sa sepisu*. The former appears to have been merchants who had to pay a portion of their earnings to the king but made their earnings separately from the palace. They also had their own property and received legal protection from the king. The latter appeared to have been directly subject to the king and were sent wherever the king sought fit. However, Heltzer notes that the texts are not always clear on which subclass was being dealt with.<sup>107</sup>

Sinaranu also provides an adequate case study for the role of the *tamkar* within Ugaritic society and their relationship with the royal administration. His title of *tamkar* along with all his landholdings were inherited by order of the king, and his estate was free from taxation.<sup>108</sup> Furthermore, his influence is demonstrated in a text concerning the sale of land by the king to a certain Sumuyanu where the payment of silver went to Sinaranu and not the king directly.<sup>109</sup> Thus one function of the *tamkar* appears to have been the collection of payment. Finally, as noted, Ammistamru II declared that Sinaranu's possessions not be taxed upon his return from Crete. In this letter, Ammistamru also states that Sinaranu must deliver a gift directly to

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<sup>102</sup> Bryce (2005, 56) gives brief examples of such hostilities.

<sup>103</sup> See RS 20.238 (No.24) in Nougayrol 1968.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Singer 1999, 720-21.

<sup>105</sup> See RS 16.238 in Lackenbacher 2002; cf. Jung 2015, 253.

<sup>106</sup> Vacek 2020, 1168; cf. Killen 1995, 221; Hankey 1993, 103.

<sup>107</sup> Heltzer 1978, 126-30, 32.

<sup>108</sup> See RS 15.138 and RS 16.238 in Nougayrol et al. 1955.

<sup>109</sup> See RS 16.206 in Nougayrol et al. 1955; cf. Heltzer 1978, 134.

him. Therefore, this letter provides direct evidence that Sinaranu, a *tamkar*, conducted business for both the palace and himself thereby confirming an essential role of the *tamkar*. Unfortunately, not much is known about the role of *tamkars* during the LBA at Alalakh. The term appears in a tablet found at the site dating to the 18th century, or MBA, that dealt with a sale of a village to a certain *tamkaru*, Irpada, and Wiseman translated the term as ‘chief merchant.’<sup>110</sup> However, *tamkars* have yet to appear on the tablets corresponding to Level IV of the 14th and 13th centuries at Alalakh.

The function(s) of the *tamkar* also corroborate nicely with what is known overall about exchange systems in the LBA Near East. For example, many coastal sites, such as Ugarit, functioned as gateway communities and therefore, due to their location, could exploit factors of supply and demand. In other words, these sites could utilize the raw materials and finished products from the hinterland and the needs of local or foreign merchants to facilitate the flow of goods within a regional system.<sup>111</sup> Moreover, these states or city-states might become what Renfrew referred to as a ‘central place,’ or a locus for exchange activity. At these centers, merchants from all distances brought their goods to trade which then in turn were redistributed by a central state.<sup>112</sup> Perhaps then, the *tamkars* operated in some way to manage the distribution of the goods that were imported within the Mycenaean pottery and thus the pottery itself.

Furthermore, a ceremonial trade system was also prominent in the LBA Near East. This system was based on gift exchange which in essence was the obligation of reciprocity between individuals of equal status, usually royal.<sup>113</sup> While it is true that this form of exchange was conditioned by a custom-bound ideology, occasionally economic factors might have also been at play. In a letter sent to the king of Egypt by the king of Cyprus in the 14th century, the king of Cyprus agreed to exchange copper, timber, and some ivory for a larger quantity of ivory from Egypt.<sup>114</sup> The exchange of ivory for ivory does not make economic sense, and, as Liverani stated, it appears at first glance “irrational.” However, he then points out that this ivory, as an exchanged gift, was used as a catalyst for economic trade. Thus, he concludes that the exchange of the same raw material was in fact “rational” not only for stimulating commerce but also for maintaining amicable relations in an economic system of ‘brothers’, or kings of equal status.<sup>115</sup>

This is not to say that Mycenaean imports were valued highly enough to be part of this royal gift exchange. On the contrary, the raw material used to create the pottery was neither rare nor restricted, unlike

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<sup>110</sup> See No.57 in Wiseman 1953.

<sup>111</sup> Knapp and Cherry 1994, 135.

<sup>112</sup> Renfrew 1977, 85.

<sup>113</sup> Knapp and Cherry 1994, 146-47.

<sup>114</sup> See EA 40 in Moran 1992.

<sup>115</sup> Liverani 1979, 21-24.

copper, timber, and ivory.<sup>116</sup> The above example, on the other hand, demonstrates the complexity and flexibility of Near Eastern trading systems, one that in a single transaction could combine the ideological with the economical. Consequently, the role of the *tamkar* is then substantiated. The *tamkar* would have been able to coincide and fluctuate between the palatial and private mercantile spheres of these coastal, gateway communities that were the epicenter of long-distance, foreign trade.

Across the Mediterranean in mainland Greece, the situation is even less transparent. Archaeological evidence from the Petsas House hints at the production of ceramics for overseas consumption. A wide variety of shapes were found stored in an organized manner and a vast majority of them were decorated, closed vessels including stirrup jars such as the one found at Alalakh (see section 2.1). Pictorial amphoroid kraters were found in smaller numbers, including one with a chariot scene similar to the ones found in northern Syria. The international character of the building is even more exemplified by the discovery of Canaanite jars, and a fragmentary Egyptian faience plaque inscribed with the cartouche of Amenhotep III. Hence, due to the variety of shapes, specialized knowledge, and international character, Shelton concluded that the ceramics were the work of a single potter.<sup>117</sup> Therefore, while on the one hand, the pottery at Petsas House shows signs of state-controlled, mass production, it also displays signs of a highly specialized, private production based on individual eastern market preferences.

Mycenaean documents are even more obscure regarding foreign trade. However, some commodities from the East were found listed on Linear B tablets, and what is more some of them kept their original Semitic/Akkadian name.<sup>118</sup> Various titles have also been found in Linear B texts that imply some type of status to the individuals holding these titles given their context. If, as Chadwick presumed, these individuals were landowners (*telestes*) then perhaps given the socio-economic and political changes on mainland Greece these landowners might have played a role in the administration of state affairs thus reflecting a more independent region.<sup>119</sup> Furthermore, setting aside specific titles, there appears to have been a non-palatial sector that was much larger overall than that of the palaces.

In addition to the governors and landowners (see n.119), another class of individuals has been identified in the Linear B tablets, the so-called ‘collectors.’ Unlike the former two classes, there is not a definitive title for these ‘collectors.’ This identification has been deduced contextually from various tablets

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<sup>116</sup> Sherratt 1999, 173.

<sup>117</sup> Shelton 2010, 195-97; Shelton 2015, 27-28, 30-33.

<sup>118</sup> Shelmerdine 1998, 291. Cline (1994, 128-129) provides examples such as cumin: *ku-mi-no* (Linear B), *kmn* (Ugaritic), *kamunu* (Akkadian), and gold: *ku-ru-so, hrs* (Ugaritic), *hurasu* (Akkadian).

<sup>119</sup> Bintliff 1982, 108; Chadwick (1976, 70-73) offers a more comprehensive list of titles ranging from *wanax* (king) to *koreter* (governor) to *telestes*.

and it would appear that collectors were prominent members of the elite who worked in part for the palace but also in part for personal benefit.<sup>120</sup> Haskell observed that sometimes instead of the name of the collector the term *wa-na-ka-te-ro* was used. He is unsure whether this was a reference directly to the king or another important individual tied to the king, but regardless the use of the term demonstrated a level of palatial involvement in the affairs of the collectors.<sup>121</sup>

These interpretations fit nicely within the context of the Mycenaean administration, and even more so when parallels can be drawn with the East and the *tamkar*. If indeed the collectors were involved in trade as Killen suggests and were perhaps affiliated with the *wa-na-ka-te-ro* as Haskell carefully proposes, then perhaps these collectors were able to transfer in and out of the palatial sphere, just as the *tamkars* did in the East, to conduct overseas trade which the palaces benefited from. This might explain why the trade itself is not mentioned in the palatially administered Linear B but the commodities obtained are (see n.118 above and n.139 below). Perhaps these commodities were supplying the *ta-ra-si-ja* system, or the acquisition of raw materials for palatial redistribution to be put into production.<sup>122</sup>

Therefore, it is now more evident that the Mycenaean state was more complex than initially believed and that palatial economic involvement varied both by industry and by the palaces themselves.<sup>123</sup> Accordingly, as Killen cautions, while the role of the palaces in the Mycenaean economy was central and dominant, the picture might be skewed and the non-palatial sector therefore must be recognized as an element in the economy as a whole.<sup>124</sup> Consequently, there appeared to be a sort of social hierarchy in place that likely allowed for some “freedom of action” for those involved in this hierarchical administrative system,<sup>125</sup> one that perhaps these collectors benefited from.

However, did these collectors from mainland Greece actually participate in overseas trade? Before examining this, it is necessary to discuss the possibility of non-Aegean carriers of Mycenaean goods to northern Syria. There has been (and continues to be) serious debate over the level of involvement of Cyprus in Aegean trade overseas. To begin, it is important to remember that the presence of pottery does not always indicate the presence of the people who produced it. Therefore, to conclude Cypriot involvement in Mycenaean trade overseas solely based on the finding of Mycenaean pottery accompanied by Cypriot is not a valid argument. Thus, the finding of them together speaks of consumption patterns in the region more so

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<sup>120</sup> Killen 1995, 213; cf. Chadwick 1976, 129.

<sup>121</sup> Haskell 1999, 341.

<sup>122</sup> Killen 2001, 169.

<sup>123</sup> Haskell 1999, 340; cf. Zukerman 2010, 894.

<sup>124</sup> Killen 2008, 180-81.

<sup>125</sup> Dickenson 1994, 81-86.

than trade.<sup>126</sup> The lack of any direct mention of Mycenaeans in any Ugaritic texts and the absence of Linear B at the site is perplexing, although not discounting, when trying to consider direct Mycenaean involvement given the number of ceramics found. The Cypriots (Alashiya), on the other hand, are mentioned frequently, and Singer believes this to indicate that most of the trade between Ugarit and mainland Greece must have been in the hands of the Cypriots.<sup>127</sup>

The relationship between mainland Greece, Cyprus, and Ugarit is enhanced when one considers the potmarks found on some of the Mycenaean pottery on both Cyprus and Ugarit. The potmarks came post-firing and most on the Mycenaean pottery were painted, rather than incised, with symbols that resemble some form of the Cypro-Minoan script. The largest concentration of Mycenaean pottery with these marks on Cyprus was found at Enkomi where the largest percentage of Cypro-Minoan documents was also discovered. The situation at Ugarit is comparable to Enkomi in that a majority of the pottery with potmarks originated from mainland Greece and the greatest number of Cypro-Minoan inscriptions outside of Cyprus were also found there.<sup>128</sup> It is interesting to note that Cypro-Minoan is also attested for at Tiryns where more Cypriot objects have also been found than any other LH III site on the Greek mainland.<sup>129</sup> In addition, the sailing route between Enkomi and Ugarit was direct and explains the special relationship between the two sites geographically (Fig.4).

Zukerman and Jung argue that potmarks should not be an indicator of Cypriot involvement since only a small fraction of Mycenaean vessels found on Cyprus, and even a smaller number at Ugarit, were marked.<sup>130</sup> While the rarity of these potmarks in both areas is true, the number of Mycenaean vessels with potmarks at Ugarit is larger than any other site in the Levant, and at both Cyprus and Ugarit marked pots appear most frequently in a similar context, tombs. For those reasons, the relationship between Cyprus and the mainland should not be overlooked. Trade between mainland Greece and Cyprus is well known based on the references to both alum and copper, of which Cyprus was a rich source, in Linear B.<sup>131</sup> Moreover, it has been proposed by Baurain that the Mycenaeans began to “penetrate” Cyprus as early as the 14th and 13th centuries, which would then coincide around the same time their wares began to appear in both Alalakh and

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<sup>126</sup> Cf. Zukerman 2010, 889-90.

<sup>127</sup> Singer 1999, 675.

<sup>128</sup> On potmarks: Hirschfeld 2004, 99-101; on Cypro-Minoan documents: Bell 2005, 368.

<sup>129</sup> Davis et al. 2014, 91-109; Veters 2011, 1-49; Cf. Cline (1994, 89-90) for distribution of Cypriot wares in mainland Greece. An ivory rod with a cuneiform inscription, believed to be Ugaritic, has also been found at Tiryns (Cohen et al. 2011, 1-22).

<sup>130</sup> Zukerman 2010, 891; Jung 2015, 252.

<sup>131</sup> Chadwick 1976, 157; Sherratt 1999, 183; Shelmerdine 1998, 291-93.

Ugarit.<sup>132</sup> If true, perhaps they were taking advantage of a pre-established trading network between the Cypriots and northern Syria.<sup>133</sup>

Since the involvement of Cyprus in Mycenaean overseas trade must seriously be considered, so too can the appearance of an individual called *ku-pi-ri-jo* in Linear B tablets and his connection to Cyprus. Killen identified this *ku-pi-ri-jo* as a collector, and more significantly as a personal name meaning ‘the Cypriot.’ The former deduction is based on the appearance of *ku-pi-ri-jo* with the term *o-no*, which, while its exact translation is debated, it is agreed that *o-no* is a transactional term.<sup>134</sup> The latter hypothesis is based on the finding and interpretation of *ku-pi-ri-jo* as the adjective ‘Cypriot’ and the comparison of other personal names in various tablets.<sup>135</sup> Whether or not it was a personal name, an ethnic qualifier,<sup>136</sup> or perhaps a collector who managed trade items for the Cypriot market,<sup>137</sup> it is even more clear that Cyprus was somehow involved in Mycenaean overseas trade.

Interestingly, it has been suggested that there were Mycenaean physically on board the Uluburun shipwreck which sank off the coast of Lycia in the late 14th century (Fig.4).<sup>138</sup> It was carrying a variety of goods (for example copper and tin)<sup>139</sup> from various places, including the Aegean, Cyprus, and the Levant (perhaps even Ugarit itself). If one accepts that *ku-pi-ri-jo* was not a personal name, could these individuals on board have been *ku-pi-ri-jo*? Considering the direction the ship was headed (from east to west), the mixed cargo, and the possible role of collectors on mainland Greece, it is plausible. Knapp and Cherry note that the cargo on the Uluburun could be regarded as a royal ‘merchant hoard’, one that was standardized and circulated in such a way that it might have enhanced its prestige value.<sup>140</sup> Thus perhaps these individuals were fulfilling a dual role similar to that of the *tamkar* in the East. Regardless, the evidence shows that the Mycenaean administration, despite not documenting it, likely facilitated overseas trade in a way that simulated and coexisted with exchange systems in the East.

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<sup>132</sup> Baurain 1989, 472. Cf. Sherratt (1992, 325) who believes small-scale migration of Aegean peoples moving from the periphery to the core is highly likely during this time, although archaeologically unseen; contra. Karageorghis (1994, 7) who is unconvinced that there was a substantial Greek presence on Cyprus at that time.

<sup>133</sup> Hankey 1993, 103; cf. Sherratt 1999, 183.

<sup>134</sup> Killen 1995, 216-17; Chadwick 1976, 157.

<sup>135</sup> Killen 1995, 215-16.

<sup>136</sup> Chadwick 1976, 158; Shelmerdine 1998, 295-96.

<sup>137</sup> Killen 1995, 221.

<sup>138</sup> Pulak 2005, 295-312; However, Bachhuber (2006, 351-54) is cautious of this identification.

<sup>139</sup> Shelmerdine (1998, 291) notes that a majority of the goods found in Linear B texts were also on the Uluburun shipwreck, including *ka-ko* or copper/bronze.

<sup>140</sup> Knapp and Cherry 1994, 143-44.

#### *2.4 Summary:*

Overseas trade between the Aegean and northern Syria experienced its peak during the 14th and 13th centuries. How this trade was administered and who specifically engaged in it is uncertain, however textual and material evidence allows for the interpretation that agents (palatial or independent) from mainland Greece, the East, and Cyprus perhaps jointly conducted this exchange or at the very least interacted with one another. Commodities such as metals and spices were likely heading west while oils and wine were heading east. What is visibly left from all this trade are the deposited pottery that carried the goods, as well as some specialized ceramic products such as the amphoroid kraters and perhaps even the dinnerware. It is clear that given the contexts in which these ceramics were deposited, such as in tombs and sanctuaries, the local elite placed value on these imported wares and possibly incorporated them into an existing cultural tradition. As the period came to a close, this interregional trade began to wane and both regions began to face adversities (the two were likely related).<sup>141</sup> The result of which subsequently ended the LBA (by modern concepts) and brought on the transition years of IA I.

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<sup>141</sup> cf. Monroe 2009, 292-94; cf. Singer 1999, 733.

### **3. IA I: Transition**

The events at the close of the LBA were devastating for many cities and states across the eastern Mediterranean, including the kingdom of Ugarit, Hatti, and Mycenae. The great powers of Mesopotamia and Egypt, while being able to outlast the destruction, were overall impacted and went into decline. It would therefore appear that the Aegean, Anatolia, and the coastal Levant were more affected than the inland areas. For example, despite the fall of the Hittite kingdom, Carchemish and its Hittite viceroy survived, yet, the region did not remain unified and several small, independent states began to develop by the start of the 11th century.<sup>142</sup> These states, modernly known as Neo-Hittite, were no longer the heads of a strongly centralized palace economy, but the political leaders of states centered upon smaller household economies.<sup>143</sup> Thus, the economic system of the transition years of the 12th to 10th centuries became more decentralized, and merchants were able to act more for personal advantage than before.<sup>144</sup>

Furthermore, this power vacuum allowed for the migration of foreign peoples into the region as well as internal population movements.<sup>145</sup> The answer to who these immigrants were is well beyond the scope of this paper, however, a prevailing theory is that they were a group of the invading Sea Peoples, the Philistines of who it is believed had Aegean origins.<sup>146</sup> Though, as Muhly duly reflected, “whether we label these invaders Achaeans, Philistines, or Sea Peoples... depends more upon later literary traditions than upon contemporary archaeological or historical evidence.”<sup>147</sup> That being said, what one decides to ethnically label these emigres should not negate the fact that new cultural features were implemented throughout the entire Levant at this time, and that many of these features displayed similarities to those found in the Aegean.

Yet, despite the circumstances, a majority of this change was gradual, and a sense of continuity may be discerned during these centuries. Many of the IA I foundations were placed on top of LBA remains and re-occupied likely by their former residents as well as by migrating peoples. Moreover, the sites appear to have kept certain cultural traditions while developing new ones. This is evident at all sites discussed, although the evidence is stronger at certain sites than others. The bulk of the material culture left available for us to study is ceramics, of which no known Aegean import has yet been determined. Instead, what is found is locally produced pottery influenced by its Aegean counterparts, and it has been observed that this

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<sup>142</sup> van de Mieroop 2016, 180-83. Kuzi-Teshub described himself as the Great King of Carchemish, a title reserved for the king of Hatti, not a subordinate ruler (Bryce 2012, 53).

<sup>143</sup> Klengel 2000, 28; Bryce 2012, 47-63, 195-96.

<sup>144</sup> Liverani 1987, 72.

<sup>145</sup> van de Mieroop 2016, 194; cf. Liverani 1987, 70. See Kopanias (2015, 211-26) for a discussion of population movements in Anatolia.

<sup>146</sup> Dothan 2000, 145-58; Betancourt 2000, 297-303; Killebrew and Lehmann 2013, 1-18.

<sup>147</sup> Muhly 1984, 53.

phenomenon occurred at the very same places where LH IIIA-B and LC II ceramics were imported.<sup>148</sup> The evidence overall for trade is scant, however, what the material remains do provide is a picture of continual contact along the north Syrian coast between peoples either associated or familiar with elements of an Aegean tradition.

### *3.1 On Ceramic Terminology:*

Prior to the discussion of locally made Aegean-style ceramics from the East and their implications, it is pertinent to clarify the copious terminology used to designate and distinguish this type of pottery. The term Mycenaean III C:1b (Myc. III C:1b) was initially used by Furumark to designate ceramics found in the Aegean that demonstrated what he deemed a deterioration in overall quality compared to the periods before (i.e. Myc. III C:1a).<sup>149</sup> However, as Leonard pointed out, this designator frequently became used to describe related shapes and styles found in the eastern Mediterranean, especially Cyprus, resulting in a varying degree of ambiguity that complicated the study of these aforementioned ceramics.<sup>150</sup> This can be best demonstrated by Lehmann's reinterpretation of Killebrew's stylistic phases of Mycenaean pottery in the Levant. His "Group 3" style is comprised of Cypriot-made, closed vessel shapes which he subsequently placed into Myc. III C:1a, whereas his "Group 4," which is comprised of Levantine-made, open shapes, he classified as Myc. III C:1b.<sup>151</sup> This results in the separation of the Myc. III C:1 ceramics found in the Levant as a whole to be either Cypriot-produced imports or locally made Mycenaean ceramics. However, Janeway notes the differences between Myc. III C:1a and III C:1b have not been adequately demonstrated in Levantine contexts to separate the two.<sup>152</sup>

Furthermore, there is debate among scholars as to how to classify the ware Lehmann designates as Myc. III C:1a on Cyprus. In general, pottery from western sites displays more Aegean qualities whereas pottery from eastern sites displays more Levantine characteristics; which makes sense given the proximity of these sites to each region. Nevertheless, throughout the island local, Aegean, and Levantine ceramic features tended to become blended. Thus Kling, following Åstrom, used the term White Painted Wheelmade III (WPW III) as an all-encompassing classification of matt-painted, wheel-made pottery which dates to the end of LC II and through the following LC IIIA period.<sup>153</sup> It should be noted that even within his two groups Lehmann too cautions against the use of Myc. III C:1 since these ceramics share many similar features to that

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<sup>148</sup> Sherratt 2013, 635.

<sup>149</sup> Furumark 1941b, 15; Furumark 1944, 202-9.

<sup>150</sup> Leonard 1994, 9-10; Perhaps this confusion is in part due to Furumark (1941a, 118-22) denoting the similarities between Philistine and Myc. III C:1b ware, and using these similarities to outline the development of the latter.

<sup>151</sup> Lehmann 2013, 307-8; cf. Killebrew 1998, 162-65.

<sup>152</sup> Janeway 2017, 7.

<sup>153</sup> Kling 1989, 91-94,172; cf. Åstrom 1972, 276-89.

of WPW III, which is of Cypriot origin.<sup>154</sup> Yet, though this correctly acknowledges a more gradual transition from the prevalence of handmade Cypriot wares in LC II to externally influenced wheel-made wares, Janeway cautions that the term overemphasizes the Cypriot characteristics to the detriment of the Aegean.<sup>155</sup>

Finally, the classification of LH IIIC has been used to group the above-mentioned ceramics found in the East and has likewise been labeled as “Derivative Mycenaean.”<sup>156</sup> However, the designation Late Helladic is best reserved for relative dating of the Aegean, and should therefore be removed from the locally produced ceramics in the East. Hence, this author will only use the designation LH IIIC when referring to artifacts originating in the Aegean. In sum, given that the term Myc. IIIC:1 was initially meant to be applied to ceramics from the Aegean, the ambivalence of the term WPW III, and to avoid any direct reference to or implication of Mycenaean ethnicity, any Eastern locally produced Mycenaean ceramics henceforth will be referred to as Aegean-style.<sup>157</sup>

### *3.2 Local “Aegean-Style” Ceramics:*

Overall, scientific (when conducted) and stylistic analyses have proven that the vast majority (if not all) of IA I Aegean-style ceramics found in the East were made from local fabric.<sup>158</sup> However, local production of this style was not a new 12th-century phenomenon. A few sherds of Aegean-style pottery have been found at Ugarit that date to the second half of the 13th century. The clay consisted of relatively large inclusions and the finished products were rougher than their imported counterparts, which led the excavators to deduce a local production. The shapes of this locally produced Aegean-style ware include the stirrup jar, piriform jar, and possibly krater,<sup>159</sup> all of which were also popular LH IIIB imports (see section 2.1).

Further evidence is provided for local production during the 13th century from Cyprus where matt-painted, wheel-made pottery has been found that dates to the end of the Bronze Age. A variety of LC IIC Cypriot drinking bowls were discovered that appear to have been modeled on imported Aegean ware along with locally produced kylikes and skyphoi.<sup>160</sup> Moreover, an assemblage of imported, LH IIIB pottery was found in a well at Kalavassos mixed with LC II local imitations.<sup>161</sup> Likewise, Sherratt also notes that there is

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<sup>154</sup> Lehmann 2013, 308.

<sup>155</sup> Janeway 2017, 7; contra. Sherratt (2013, 623-24) who believes that some of these shapes and decorations are mislabeled as Aegean type.

<sup>156</sup> Lehmann 2013, 306-8; Killebrew 1998, 161-62.

<sup>157</sup> cf. Mountjoy (2018, 31-62, 961-1094, 1243-1272) for a further discussion.

<sup>158</sup> Stager 1995, 334; Karageorghis 2000, 256; cf. Swift 1958, 72. Sherratt and Mazar (2013, 353-80) discuss the possibility of some sherds found at Beth Shean to be LH IIIC imports, however, conclude that the sherds were either the result of secondary deposition or Aegean-style wares imports from Cyprus.

<sup>159</sup> Monchambert 2004, 225-26; Sherratt 2003, 40.

<sup>160</sup> Sherratt 1998, 298; cf. Kling 1989, 170.

<sup>161</sup> South 1988, 228; cf. Karageorghis 2000, 256.

evidence of Aegean-style pottery being exported from the island to Ugarit well before its destruction. Therefore, by the start of LC IIIA (IA I), there is already a wide repertoire of Aegean-style ceramics on Cyprus, and thus the spread of this style should be seen as a gradual process not only on the island but also in the Levant.<sup>162</sup>

All things considered, after the disruption of exchange networks and cessation of Aegean imports there was a considerable increase in the local production of Aegean-style wares in many regions of the eastern Mediterranean. This trend is apparent on the north Syrian coast and was especially true at IA I Ras Ibn Hani where Aegean-style ceramics account for roughly half of all ceramics found.<sup>163</sup> In general, the Aegean-style assemblages in northern Syria were predominantly comprised of domestic, open vessels used for the preparation and consumption of food and drink, and it has been noted that these assemblages reflect regional preferences (Fig.5).<sup>164</sup> For example, in northern Syria alone, locally produced stirrup jars appear at both Ras Ibn Hani and Tell Sukas (sites within the former kingdom of Ugarit) but are absent from Alalakh and Tayinat (sites within the kingdom of Patin/Unqi).<sup>165</sup>

As for the make, the presence of small pebble inclusions in the Aegean-style pottery is similar to the inclusions found in local types, and the matt paint is very distinct from the red paint of the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB imports. Thus, for example at Alalakh, Koehl concluded that this style of ware was not imported but instead locally produced.<sup>166</sup> This same conclusion was reached for the Aegean-style ceramics analyzed by Badre at Ras Ibn Hani, who stated that the local production of the ceramics was attested by the nature of the clay and the quality of the matt paint.<sup>167</sup> Conversely, while at Tell Tayinat Aegean-style wares of the earliest IA I phases were typically red matt-painted, they tend to have fewer inclusions and thus appear to have been made of a finer fabric.<sup>168</sup> It should also be noted that local traditional painted ware appeared alongside Aegean-style at Tayinat as well as hybrid forms that ranged between fine and medium coarse in fabric.<sup>169</sup>

Similarly, this hybridity can be found at both Ras Ibn Hani<sup>170</sup> and perhaps at Tell Sukas, since as of yet no certain Aegean-style ceramics have been found at the tell of the latter. The pottery of IA I and even into early IA II at Tell Sukas is all local, Levantine ware, and Aegean pottery would not reappear at the tell until

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<sup>162</sup> Sherratt 2013, 637-39; cf. Muhly 1992, 12-14.

<sup>163</sup> Stager 1995, 334; du Piéd 2008, 181, n.17; cf. Lehmann 2013, 316.

<sup>164</sup> Janeway 2017, 45; Harrison 2013, 67.

<sup>165</sup> Sherratt 2013, 626; du Piéd 2008, 170 ; Buhl 1996, 26, 56.

<sup>166</sup> Koehl 2017, 277.

<sup>167</sup> Badre 1983, 203-04; cf. du Piéd 2008, 169.

<sup>168</sup> Janeway 2017, 46, 50; Welton et al. 2019, 305.

<sup>169</sup> Welton et al. 2019, 308; cf. Janeway 2017, 74-75, 91.

<sup>170</sup> du Piéd 2011, 224.

later in IA II.<sup>171</sup> While the majority of the ceramics found were local in character, some of the pottery, specifically some kraters, share decorative similarities with Aegean-style wares from Cyprus, and also with a krater found at Ras Ibn Hani which its excavators labeled as Myc. IIIC:1.<sup>172</sup> Nevertheless, in the so-called south-harbor of Tell Sukas some fragments of Aegean-style wares have been identified at what Riis believed to be an open-air sanctuary dedicated to Astarte and Melqart.<sup>173</sup> The possible shapes include pyxides, a piece from either a bowl or krater, and the aforementioned stirrup jar. However, it has not yet been determined whether these ceramics were imported or locally produced due to the limited availability of access to the materials.<sup>174</sup> If imported, based on all other contemporary evidence these ceramics are more likely to have come from Cyprus than the Aegean (see section 3.4).

The most common shape locally produced at all the other sites mentioned was the deep bowl (FS 284), which was also common in LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early Aegean domestic contexts.<sup>175</sup> This shape was new to both IA I Alalakh and Ras Ibn Hani, however, remarkably some fragments of the shape were found locally produced at Ugarit.<sup>176</sup> The settlement at Tayinat had been unoccupied since the third millennium,<sup>177</sup> and thus any Aegean-style ceramic assemblage found will by default be considered “new.” The deep bowl assemblage at Tayinat is much more varied than at Ras Ibn Hani or Alalakh and includes short and squat, deep and globular, carinated, and occasionally concave bowls,<sup>178</sup> which in turn provides more evidence for regionality. Other common, open Aegean-style vessels found in the northern Levant, including Alalakh, Tayinat, and Ras Ibn Hani, are the one-handled bowl (FS 242) and shallow angular bowl (FS 295). Again, both shapes are new to their respective sites, however, the shallow angular bowl did make up a relatively large portion of the imported LH IIIB wares at Ugarit<sup>179</sup> and is therefore not new to its region (see section 2.1). Additionally, it has been speculated that the one-handled bowl’s origins came from Cyprus and spread westward towards the Aegean.<sup>180</sup> However, how it came to be prevalent in northern Syria is uncertain.

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<sup>171</sup> Buhl 1983, 6-60; Riis 1970, 126. One fragment, decorated with a pair of “tongue-shaped antitheticals,” may be either locally produced Aegean-style or LH IIIC, but was unfortunately not found in situ (Ploug 1973, 7-8; Lund 1986, 40-41).

<sup>172</sup> Buhl 1983, 115; cf. Bounni et al. 1979, 253, fig. 27.

<sup>173</sup> Riis 1979, 68; Riis 1996, 5-7.

<sup>174</sup> Buhl 1996, 25-26, 55-59.

<sup>175</sup> Alalakh: Koehl 2017, 277, 279, 283, fig. 18.1. Tayinat: Harrison 2013, 66; Janeway 2017, 51-59. Ras Ibn Hani: Badre 1983, 203-4; du Piéd 2008, 169-170; cf. Mountjoy 2020, 187. Mountjoy (1986, 93, 121, 134) discusses the shape’s popularity in the Aegean from LH IIIB to LH IIIC Early; cf. Killebrew 2000, 236-39.

<sup>176</sup> Hirschfeld 2000, 159.

<sup>177</sup> Harrison 2013, 65; Janeway 2017, 46.

<sup>178</sup> Janeway 2017, 52.

<sup>179</sup> Alalakh: Koehl 2017, 280. Tayinat: Harrison 2013, 66; Janeway 2017, 59-61. Ras Ibn Hani: du Piéd 2011, 225-26. Leonard (1994, 123-26) discusses and catalogs the LH IIIB assemblage of shallow angular bowls found across the Levant including Ugarit.

<sup>180</sup> Mountjoy 2015, 546; cf. Leonard 1994, 104.

Before moving on to a more in-depth analysis of the local material assemblages, it is necessary to briefly discuss the existence of Aegean-style kraters along the north Syrian coast. As of yet, there are no known Aegean-style kraters from IA I Alalakh,<sup>181</sup> and, setting aside the possibility of their appearance at Tell Sukas, among sites discussed they appear only at Ras Ibn Hani and Tell Tayinat. Unfortunately, due to poor preservation, the krater forms are difficult to determine at Tell Tayinat, however, Janeway developed a typology of rim style to aid in determining body forms. Overall, the stemmed (FS 7-10), ring-based (FS 281-282), and amphoroid (FS 52-55) krater are most prevalent.<sup>182</sup> At Ras Ibn Hani this shape too was popular, and both the Aegean-style amphoroid krater and the bell krater (the Levantine equivalent to the ring-based)<sup>183</sup> were in use during the first half of the 12th century.<sup>184</sup> However, around the beginning of the second half of the 12th century, the amphoroid krater fully replaced the bell. More importantly, on these kraters, there appears a mixture of Levantine decorations, such as crosshatches and triangular motifs, and Aegean-style ones, such as the wavy line (another regional style specific to the northern Levant and Cyprus).<sup>185</sup> This blending of decorative styles can also be found on the kraters at Tell Tayinat.<sup>186</sup> It is also important to recognize that the discussed ceramics were among the most common Aegean-style shapes, however, they were not the only ones. For example, at Tell Tayinat neck-handled amphorae and spouted jars (found also in the southern Levant) were discovered and two one-handled dippers were found at Alalakh.<sup>187</sup>

Nevertheless, the 12th-century phenomenon of locally produced Aegean-style pottery was neither new to the north Syrian coast nor standardized from region to region. It was a continual process that was expedited by the interruption of Mycenaean imports. Although in some cases, such as at Tell Sukas it is not yet certain if local production of this style occurred, and at Tell Tayinat locally produced Aegean-style ceramics did not appear until the late 12th century.<sup>188</sup> The latter might be able to be explained by the brief reoccupation of Alalakh at the start of the century (see section 3.3). Regardless, this widespread pottery development unlikely occurred in each region independently from the other, and as French aptly stated, there must have been an impetus.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> Koehl 2017, 283, fig. 18.1. Pucci (2020, 253-254) lists three krater variations found at Alalakh that she determines to be styled based on local traditions however notes these variations demonstrate possible Aegean influence.

<sup>182</sup> Janeway 2017, 62, 65-66.

<sup>183</sup> Janeway 2017, 62.

<sup>184</sup> du Piéd 2011, 224.

<sup>185</sup> du Piéd 2008, 180.

<sup>186</sup> Janeway 2017 30, 91.

<sup>187</sup> Tayinat: Harrison 2013, 66. Alalakh: Koehl 2017, 281. The dipper is rarely found outside the Aegean, however, some have also been found at Maa-Palaeokastro on Cyprus (Koehl 2017, 281; cf. Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 251).

<sup>188</sup> Harrison 2021, 340.

<sup>189</sup> French 2013, 345.

### 3.3 *Impetus: Migration or Social Memory:*

It has been suggested by Caubet that the occurrence of locally produced Aegean-style ceramics signifies nothing more than that it was the type of ware being made for everyday use during IA I.<sup>190</sup> Although this helps serve to answer the question as to why this style was prevalent throughout the eastern Mediterranean at this time, it is on the whole too simplistic. It is clear that this pottery was being used for the consumption of food and drink given their shapes. Still, why would local communities choose to produce Aegean-style ceramics alongside their local styles, in many cases blend the two, and in some cases replace the latter with the former as with the case of the amphoroid kraters at Ras Ibn Hani?

Migration(s) from the Aegean is often the central theory from scholars used to explain the emergence of this locally produced Aegean-style ware in the Levant.<sup>191</sup> This is predominately seen in Philistia where evidence for Aegean architectural, craft, and dietary traditions can also be found.<sup>192</sup> Many of these features have yet to be found in northern Syria, however, some small evidence of this tradition has now been discovered at the sites discussed. Yet, Maier once observed that it is not possible to deduce immigration of any scale from pottery alone.<sup>193</sup> Likewise, Sherratt, agreeing with Caubet, asserts that these Aegean-style ceramics are not evidence of immigration due to the ceramic continuity found at Ras Ibn Hani and Tell Sukas, for example.<sup>194</sup> In those two instances, ceramic continuity is present, however in different ways. At Tell Sukas only the local ceramic traditions prevailed from the LBA II to IA I, whereas at Ras Ibn Hani both traditions coexisted. Additionally, within the kingdom formerly known as Mukish (IA II-III Pattin/Unqi), while continuity is apparent so too are some major regional changes. Therefore, in light of newer evidence, it would appear that perhaps smaller-scale migrations, local population movements, or both occurred in northern Syria and that perhaps the social memory of some of these local communities played a role in the decision to produce Aegean-style ceramics resulting in a sort of continuity from the LBA to IA I.

One concern with the migration theory being applied to the north Syrian coast is the lack of a new, intrusive culture that overtook the previous one. It has been noted that evidence for this intrusion is very much apparent in Philistia which is often used as a comparative case study.<sup>195</sup> In regards to the Philistine ceramic culture alone, the locally produced Aegean-style ware had no direct relation to the imported LH IIIA-B wares of the LBA,<sup>196</sup> unlike in the northern Levant where the continual use, and/or development of previously

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<sup>190</sup> Caubet 1992, 130.

<sup>191</sup> Lehmann 2013, 327-28; cf. Killebrew 1998, 166.

<sup>192</sup> Stager 1995, 344-48; cf. Lehmann 2013, 321-22.

<sup>193</sup> Maier 1973, 312.

<sup>194</sup> Sherratt 2013, 628-29.

<sup>195</sup> Killebrew 1998, 166; Yasur-Landau 2010, 13-33; Lehmann 2013, 265-328; Janeway 2017, 134.

<sup>196</sup> Dothan and Zuckerman 2004, 45.

imported shapes is apparent. This is also evident in the architecture, whereas in Philistia new architectural features, such as the hearth, are incorporated in domestic buildings, the domestic architecture in northern Syria relatively remained unchanged and the hearth, for example, does not appear.<sup>197</sup> Finally, Aegean-style cooking pots were also common in Philistia and the southern Levant, however, appeared only rarely in the north.<sup>198</sup>

On cooking pots, one Aegean-style cooking jug (FS 65) has been found to date at Alalakh. This shape was common in Aegean domestic contexts, and due to its popularity in the southern Levant and Philistia, it has been suggested as similar evidence for the presence of an Aegean community at Alalakh.<sup>199</sup> A small amount of Aegean-style cooking vessels have also been found at Tell Tayinat, however, they account for less than 5% of the discovered cookware.<sup>200</sup> Furthermore, it has been noted that this cookware is not as distinct from the local ware as in Philistia.<sup>201</sup> Aegean-style cookware is also rare from Ras Ibn Hani.<sup>202</sup> Consequently, while the existence of this style of cookware should not be overlooked, a large enough proportion of it has not yet been discovered to be used as a clear indicator of Aegean communities. On the contrary, there appears to have been continuity in the type of cooking pots used. At both Alalakh and Tell Tayinat the most common cookware was shell-tempered which was in use in the region since LB I (at Alalakh first then Tayinat in the ensuing IA I period),<sup>203</sup> and at Ras Ibn Hani the common cookware was made of gray steatite/talc, which was also similar to the type used at Ugarit.<sup>204</sup> As a result, there is not sufficient enough evidence to indicate any major dietary changes that occurred in northern Syria at this time due to migratory movements.<sup>205</sup>

Therefore, the most prominent evidence found for Aegean migration to the north Syrian coast, outside of locally produced Aegean-style ceramics, are loom weights. Non-perforated, cylindrical clay loom weights were common in the Aegean, notably at sites in the Argolid such as Mycenae and Tiryns, but they have also been found throughout the entire Levant and more importantly at the same sites that have produced Aegean-style pottery.<sup>206</sup> This style of loom weight has been found in association with both locally made Aegean and Levantine style pottery at Ras Ibn Hani, and at Tell Tayinat concentrated in pits along with other artifacts associated with textile production.<sup>207</sup> Janeway uses the presence of these loom weights as proof of Aegean

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<sup>197</sup> Bonatz 1993, 125-28, 131; du Piéd 2011, 220.

<sup>198</sup> Janeway 2017, 50; Dothan and Zuckerman 2004, 20.

<sup>199</sup> Koehl 2017, 282; cf. Lehmann 2013, 321-22; Killebrew 2013, 98-99.

<sup>200</sup> Welton et al. 2019, 311.

<sup>201</sup> Janeway 2017, 112.

<sup>202</sup> du Piéd 2011, 226.

<sup>203</sup> Harrison 2013, 67.

<sup>204</sup> du Piéd 2011, 220-24.

<sup>205</sup> du Piéd 2011, 227; Mountjoy 2020, 187.

<sup>206</sup> Rahmstorf 2003, 400-6; cf. Stager 1995, 346.

<sup>207</sup> Ras Ibn Hani: du Piéd 2011, 220. Tayinat: Harrison 2013, 65.

settlers at Tell Tayinat.<sup>208</sup> On the contrary, du Piêd, while observing that the introduction of this particular loom weight indicates a change in weaving techniques, questions whether this was the result of contact with people from the Aegean (immigrations or otherwise).<sup>209</sup>

However, the limited evidence outside of locally produced Aegean-style ceramics does not rule out the immigration of Aegean communities to the north Syrian coast. Perhaps these emigres were small groups of individuals of which the evidence for them is relatively limited because they had no interest in preserving their distinct group identity.<sup>210</sup> There is also evidence for movements of local populations in north Syria, for instance between Alalakh and Tell Tayinat. It is believed that Alalakh had been fully abandoned sometime by the end of the 13th century, yet the finding of local and Aegean-style IA I ceramics provides contradictory evidence.<sup>211</sup> Koehl posits that perhaps this pottery was made by potters who accompanied a small group of Aegean migrants that took advantage of Alalakh's abandoned state. He also notes that despite the absence of 12th-century architecture, due to the small number of Aegean-style sherds compared to a large number of local ceramics these migrants co-existed alongside local populations as a minority group, and although they each produced different ceramic assemblages used the same clay.<sup>212</sup>

The resettlement at Alalakh was short-lived and at some point, in the 12th century, it would appear that settlement shifted from Alalakh to Tell Tayinat. The pottery at Tell Tayinat dates later than the assemblage at Alalakh therefore Koehl suggests that some Mycenaean migrants first landed at Alalakh and then moved to Tell Tayinat perhaps joining other Aegean emigres, from Philistia perhaps.<sup>213</sup> However, as been noted, save the non-perforated loom weights, there is not enough archaeological evidence to substantiate claims of Philistines at Tayinat. It has been suggested elsewhere that perhaps there was a population movement from Cilicia into northern Syria around the start of the 12th century.<sup>214</sup> Thus, a similar argument could be made for the region as has been made for the Philistines, perhaps even stronger. At Tarsus, like Philistia, hearths have been discovered in the IA I settlement,<sup>215</sup> as well as a similar Aegean-style assemblage including the predominance of deep bowls. However, what is different from the assemblage at Tarsus compared to Philistia

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<sup>208</sup> Janeway 2017, 123.

<sup>209</sup> du Piêd 2011, 220. Cecchini (2000, 216-17, 230) states that the Aegean origin for these loom weights is debatable, and posits Anatolian influence.

<sup>210</sup> Sherratt 1992, 325.

<sup>211</sup> Aegeanstyle pottery has also been found at Sabuniye, however, since it was unstratified it is difficult to date and is pending further analysis. Pamir (2013, 177) speculates that either these ceramics were locally produced by perhaps Aegean immigrants or imported. However, there is no reason at the moment to believe Sabuniye was a special case, importing Aegean-style ceramics, and therefore it is more likely that these were local imitations as per the rest of the Levant.

<sup>212</sup> Koehl 2017, 284.

<sup>213</sup> Koehl 2017, 285; cf. Harrison 2013, 76. Hawkins (2009, 171-72) posits the equating of the toponym, found on an inscription at Tayinat, *Padasatini* to *Palistin/Walistin* and the Philistines.

<sup>214</sup> Janeway 2017, 119-20.

<sup>215</sup> Bonatz 1993, 131-34; cf. Lehmann 2013, 324.

is that the one-handed conical bowl was also popular in the former whereas it was rare in the latter.<sup>216</sup> Furthermore, like in the northern Levant, there appears to be a continued (albeit brief) tradition of Aegean-style ceramics in Tarsus that began at the very end of the LBA.<sup>217</sup> It could be groups from Cilicia who carried this Aegean-style cultural tradition into northern Syria.

Nevertheless, pottery cannot be the sole indication of population movements or immigration, thus regarding northern Syria, the groups involved could be any combination of the ones mentioned above. Yet, it has also been called to attention that pots, in general, are for use by those accustomed to them.<sup>218</sup> Hence, following that logic, a circular argument begins to develop. The ceramic trend along the north Syrian coast at this time was the local production of Aegean-style ware, alongside local ware, sometimes resulting in hybridization. So it is true that the people producing this pottery must have been accustomed to it, but that does not necessarily mean that they were ethnically tied to it. Moreover, the understanding of the interrelationship between things (the physical object) and techniques (the action(s) that result in the production or utilization of things) informs one about a society or culture since both are embedded in and conditioned by cultural practice and social relations. Thus, one must look first at the way objects were created and used in daily practice to understand how material culture originated in its social contexts and what social role this material culture served.<sup>219</sup> Perhaps, then there was a desire and/or demand for locally produced Aegean-style ceramics due to the social memory associated with it by the local populations.

Social memory, as defined by Maran, is an action that engages with material remains that allow aspects of social and cultural norms to be reinvigorated and assigned significance, or invented tradition, by certain groups in new social and political circumstances which are used to convey a sense of continuity.<sup>220</sup> Maran applied this concept to ruins, monuments, or other landmarks, however, this idea could also be employed through pottery. After the destruction that took place at Ugarit, it is now apparent that the site was re-occupied by squatters, albeit only for a brief period of time, before its re-abandonment until the Persian Period. Yon argues that Ugarit's inhabitants then would have gone inland or sought refuge in the nearby mountains.<sup>221</sup> Ras Ibn Hani too was reoccupied almost immediately after its destruction level, and the reoccupation seems to have been limited to the summit of the tell.<sup>222</sup> Given the proximity of the two sites and

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<sup>216</sup> Mountjoy 2005, 83; cf. Mountjoy 2020, 184.

<sup>217</sup> Mountjoy 2005, 83.

<sup>218</sup> Boardman 2002, 4.

<sup>219</sup> Dietler and Herbich 1998, 235-36; cf. Crielaard 1999, 68.

<sup>220</sup> Maran 2019, 353.

<sup>221</sup> Yon 1992, 119-120; cf. Mountjoy 2020, 178. Similar movements occurred elsewhere in the Mediterranean, for instance on Crete, where groups of people took to so-called refugee settlements in the mountains (cf. Nowicki 2012, 69-76).

<sup>222</sup> Caubet 1992, 124.

the importance of Ras Ibn Hani as perhaps a second royal residence of Ugarit, here too residents of Ugarit might have settled (see section 1.1.6).

The appearance of similar ceramic shapes and styles at Ras Ibn Hani is a strong indication of this resettlement. As already noted similar LH III B ceramics were being both imported and locally produced at Ugarit at the end of the LBA before they even appeared at Ras Ibn Hani at the start of the 12th century. Additionally, local traditions persisted into the Early Iron Age with the continuance of local architectural styles and cookware. Functional similarities such as communal drinking can also be deduced since the majority of the Aegean-style assemblage at Ras Ibn Hani were drinking sets and table wares that likely served similar functions at Ugarit.<sup>223</sup> Thus, it would appear as if there was some continuity between IA I Ras Ibn Hani and LBA Ugarit. However, du Piéd cautions that although continuity is apparent, at Ugarit the imported LH III B ware accounted for less than 1% of the total ceramic assemblage found (cf. n.69), whereas at Ras Ibn Hani locally produced Aegean-style ceramics accounted for roughly half of the assemblage.<sup>224</sup> So even though it is most probable that residents of Ugarit came to Ras Ibn Hani, it is also possible that other communities resettled there as well, although du Piéd elsewhere states there is no reason to suggest a foreign presence.<sup>225</sup>

Nonetheless, if one is to consider that in the LBA imported LH III B ceramics held some value among certain groups at Ugarit (see section 2.2) and that after Ugarit's destruction some of its residents moved to Ras Ibn Hani, it would appear that something larger was at play other than its simple everyday use. At Ugarit, many dinner and drinking vessels were found in tombs alongside closed vessels such as the stirrup jar, and it is possible the locals were employing these LH III B vessels as prestige items to advertise their long-distance connections. Furthermore, the amphoroid krater also might have held a symbolic meaning that transcended its functional use. Moreover, the occasional finding of LH III B drinking vessels alongside these kraters might signify communal drinking/feasting, but it is important to bear in mind the possibility of different drinking customs. It is also important to note that within the former kingdom of Ugarit, only at Ras Ibn Hani is there any significant quantity of Aegean-style pottery, despite the presence of LH III A-B imports at many of the sites, Tell Sukas included.<sup>226</sup>

Therefore it would appear that those at Ras Ibn Hani applied a special meaning to this style of pottery. It is known that during the LBA, traders held an elite status (see section 2.3) and that these traders employed imported Mycenaean pottery as value-added products for prestige display. Perhaps then this tradition

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<sup>223</sup> du Piéd 2008, 170, 181; du Piéd 2011, 225.

<sup>224</sup> du Piéd 2008, 181.

<sup>225</sup> du Piéd 2011, 228.

<sup>226</sup> du Piéd 2011, 226.

continued, albeit in a new way, at Ras Ibn Hani in order to define a new social identity in a changing economic and political landscape.<sup>227</sup> Thus, Aegean-style vessels at Ras Ibn Hani might have been employed in a similar fashion as at Ugarit. Consequently, the demand never diminished for these products, yet the supply had been cut off resulting in the necessity for local production and subsequent emulation of Aegean-style pottery.<sup>228</sup> Perhaps this might serve to explain the lack of Aegean-style pottery at Tell Sukas, since although some LH III imports have been found they are extremely rare. Ugarit was the primary importer of LH III B in the region, so as a result, it would make sense that the local communities would wish to create Aegean-style pottery after they were cut off from their source while at Tell Sukas, there was perhaps not a strong enough invented tradition to adhere to.

However, this theory is more difficult to apply to Alalakh and Tell Tayinat. Trade with the Aegean ceased well before the end of the 13th century at Alalakh, and Tayinat would not become reoccupied until the start of the 12th century with Aegean-style ware not being produced at the site until a few generations later.<sup>229</sup> As Janeway puts it, there was very little for the IA I communities of these sites to emulate. Similarly, Pucci perceives that due to the types of drinking vessels found at Alalakh, the local tradition there remained stronger than the Aegeanizing one. She does observe that wine might have become the drink of preference over beer due to the absence of strainer bowls and straws and the appearance of pilgrim flasks (used for wine transport during the Bronze Age) and kraters.<sup>230</sup> Though this preference for wine might have carried over from the LBA II, and perhaps could have been consumed in emulation of past elite customs (see sections 2.1 and 2.2).

Also, the shapes that were being locally produced were not shapes that are known to have been traded, and closed vessels such as the stirrup jar and globular flask disappeared.<sup>231</sup> Even so, Janeway emphasizes that the decorated kraters found at Tell Tayinat should be understood as part of a wider tradition of LH III B-Submycenaean pictorial vase painting.<sup>232</sup> In Cyprus and the Levant, kraters were preferred to depict a wide range of scenes and motifs due to their large surface area, and it is believed this ornamentation was inspired by frescos painted on the walls of palaces and elite villas.<sup>233</sup> Subsequently, after the collapse of palatial systems throughout the East perhaps then kraters became the new canvas for similar palatial imagery.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> du Piéd 2008, 181-82

<sup>228</sup> cf. Sherratt 1991, 192; cf. Sherratt 1992, 323.

<sup>229</sup> Janeway (2017, 49) briefly mentions seven sherds of possible LH III B imports at the very beginning of the 12th century, however, petrographic analytical results are pending.

<sup>230</sup> Pucci 2020, 254, 258.

<sup>231</sup> Janeway 2017, 118-19.

<sup>232</sup> Janeway 2017, 61.

<sup>233</sup> Petrakis 2011, 222.

<sup>234</sup> Yasur-Landau 2010, 138.

Minoan-style frescoes have been found at the palace of Alalakh,<sup>235</sup> and some of the Aegean-style krater fragments found at Tayinat bear imagery.<sup>236</sup> Was this social memory at play? It is possible, however, a majority of the kraters found were undecorated, particularly at Alalakh, and due to the fragmentary nature of the decorated sherds, it is hard to determine the imagery.<sup>237</sup>

Thus, within the Amuq plain, the Aegean-style ware might better be attributed to migratory patterns rather than a social impetus, although it should not be ruled out. Pamir has noted that Aegean-style pottery had a much wider distribution within the Amuq plain which might indicate circulation among a wider range of social groups or communities.<sup>238</sup> Possibly then while at Ras Ibn Hani this style of pottery was being used as a means of venerating the social status of a specific class, at Tayinat it served a more communal purpose. Notwithstanding, it is evident that this Aegean-style phenomenon played out differently within northern Syria communities and that the production and use of this ceramic style was a choice specifically made for whatever reason.<sup>239</sup>

### *3.4 Trade and the Cyprus Connection:*

It has been well established by now that the LBA trade of ceramics and the goods transported within them had stopped around the beginning of the 12th century. This is further attested by the absence of the globular flask (save one example from Tiryns) and amphoroid krater from the ceramic repertoire in the Argolid during LH IIIC.<sup>240</sup> It also is worth noting that due to an increased understanding of LH IIIC pottery, some of the imported ceramics formerly dated to LH IIIB might truly be of the later LH IIIC Early period, which according to Mountjoy provides evidence for the destruction of Ugarit to be lowered to ca.1185.<sup>241</sup> The implication of which is that trade between the Aegean and northern Syria (Ugarit specifically) was still occurring at the start of the IA I. Albeit, provenance studies of this pottery place it either from the Dodecanese and/or southwest Anatolia and not mainland Greece.<sup>242</sup>

However, despite its prevalence in trade, pottery should not be used as the only indicator of it. Perhaps ceramic imports were no longer desired for trade since both traders and consumers could deal in more valuable goods and materials that had once been controlled by the palatial elite.<sup>243</sup> That is not to say that these ceramics

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<sup>235</sup> Yener 2013, 151; Koehl 2020, 202.

<sup>236</sup> Janeway 2017, 85-91.

<sup>237</sup> Janeway 2017, 91; Pucci 2020, 257.

<sup>238</sup> Pamir 2013, 180.

<sup>239</sup> du Piéd 2011, 227.

<sup>240</sup> Mountjoy 1999, 155-96.

<sup>241</sup> Mountjoy 2020, 174-78; cf. Yon 1992, 120.

<sup>242</sup> Courtois 1973, 151-52.

<sup>243</sup> Sherratt 2003, 45-46; cf. Crielaard 1999, 59.

were no longer desired since the choice was made to locally produce the Aegean-style, but that the change in commodities traded was in direct response to the new socio-economic situation. For example, the fall of central authorities might explain the decline in demand for such elite goods as *de-re-u-ko* (see section 2.2) and perfumed oils which in turn would explain the absence of the globular flask and stirrup jar from the Aegean-style repertoire, especially in the Amuq plain. Hence, perhaps the IA I Mediterranean should be considered more of an environment in which merchants and traders exploited new economic opportunities in part due to the decline of palatial authority.<sup>244</sup>

The goods now likely being traded in more volume were high-value raw materials such as silver and tin.<sup>245</sup> Bronze was also still being circulated at this time and increasingly in the form of scrap metal. This has been interpreted by some to indicate a bronze shortage, however, Sherratt theorizes that this could be indicative of the exact opposite. She states that in fact more bronze was being circulated at this time, due to the decentralized state, at the hands of independent or small groups of traders and metalworkers, and thus bronze was able to reach more social groups than it had before.<sup>246</sup> The Cape Gelidonya shipwreck (Fig.4) has been used as a primary example of such an instance for freelance trade due to the so-called ‘founders’ hoards’ which are characterized by the compilation of scrap metals, in this case, bronze, collected for their value as solely a metal and not for their added-value.<sup>247</sup>

On the other hand, iron trade, although not a new occurrence at the start of the 12th century (conventionally coined the start of the Iron Age) also began to increase. Iron, much like pottery, can be considered a value-added commodity, or a commodity to which its value is added by the craft or manufacturing process (cf. section 2.2). The production of iron, especially before the 12<sup>th</sup> century, was a complicated process which therefore increased its added value. Whereas copper and tin had a convertible value, or, materials that can be used, stored, recycled, and re-circulated in a variety of different forms. Likewise iron, like the clay used to create pottery, is geographically widespread and thus the raw material itself had little value, unlike copper and tin.<sup>248</sup> As knowledge of iron metallurgy advanced, the use of iron became primarily utilitarian and trade of finished iron knives and daggers appeared alongside bronze and finished bronze goods.<sup>249</sup> That is not to say that iron lost any of its added value, and this can especially be seen in warrior tombs on the Greek mainland.

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<sup>244</sup> Muhly 1992, 19.

<sup>245</sup> Sherratt and Sherratt 1991, 374.

<sup>246</sup> Sherratt 2003, 41.

<sup>247</sup> Knapp et al. 1988, 237; Knapp and Cherry 1994, 142-44.

<sup>248</sup> Sherratt 1994a, 62-65.

<sup>249</sup> Sherratt 1994a, 65; Sherratt 1998, 300; cf. Kopanias 2022, 165-70.

At Lefkandi, cremated remains of a male were found under the Toumba that were placed in an LC IIIA bronze amphoroid krater next to a female that was found wearing a gold pendant of Near Eastern origin that has been dated to the second millennium. There was also an iron dagger found by the female's head that Popham believed to have come from the Near East due to its ivory pommel, however, he does not date it.<sup>250</sup> Crielaard refers to these items as antiques due to their great age, however, refrains from calling them heirlooms since it is uncertain how these individuals came into possession of said objects. Hence, it would appear as if Greeks on the mainland employed iron objects as a means of social distinction since they appear only in elite graves during a time when iron metallurgy had just been introduced.<sup>251</sup>

In addition, Popham found in other burials some Aegean-style ceramics that he believes to have come from Cyprus, a Syro-Palestinian vessel, and a faience necklace all of which he dated to around the start of the 10th century. Furthermore, an engraved bronze bowl has been found that dates to around the mid-10th century with Near Eastern iconography such as helmeted griffins facing the 'tree of life.' Popham notes that this bowl is believed to have originated in northern Syria, however, there is not enough evidence to support this. A bronze mace head and bronze wheels have also been found which again Popham notes close Cypriot and Near Eastern parallels. Therefore, the cemetery at Lefkandi provides an excellent case study for the contact between the mainland and the Near East since it received Eastern goods until its abandonment around 825.<sup>252</sup>

Yet, as Crielaard recognized it is hard to determine how these foreign objects made it to Greece, and these individuals could have accumulated them in a variety of ways such as inheritance, intermarriage, plunder, or commerce.<sup>253</sup> If one is to suppose means of acquisition through commerce, the question arises as to what was being traded. During the LBA, LH IIIA-B ceramics from the Argolid were being traded for precious raw material from the East, however, no known LH IIIC Aegean (Argolid or otherwise) ceramic exports have been found in the East and as a result, the commodity(s) being traded must have been perishable. It is possible that slaves were being traded in return for iron. While an increase in the slave trade is noted for the 8th century onwards (see sections 4.3 and 4.4), the trade patterns of the first millennium likely began to form in the centuries prior.<sup>254</sup> Additionally in *Odyssey*, Odysseus and his companions are said to have killed the men and captured the women and children of the villages they pillaged (Od.9.40-42, 14.263-64, 17.432-34). Therefore, since Homer's epics possibly reflect in some way the Mediterranean world of his own contemporary age (and perhaps due to oral tradition the world of the late second millennium; see also section

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<sup>250</sup> Popham 1994, 15.

<sup>251</sup> Crielaard 1998, 189-91; cf. Sherratt 1994a, 75.

<sup>252</sup> Popham 1994, 14, 17-22.

<sup>253</sup> cf. Coldstream 1989b, 332.

<sup>254</sup> Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, 361-62.

4.3), then this might be an indication that slaves were being dealt. This could serve to explain the predominance of loom weights at all sites where Aegean-style pottery was found since it was likely women who operated the looms, and captured women were often sold as slaves.<sup>255</sup> Another possibility is that either lead, which was used as part of the liquation process designed to extract silver from copper,<sup>256</sup> or silver itself was being traded from Laurion in Attica. This is possibly corroborated by the significant quantities of Cypriot imports found at the nearby cemetery at Pearati. Trade in silver could also be attested in Euboea since sites along the coast appear to flourish at this time.<sup>257</sup>

Nonetheless, unless metal objects were deposited, either intentionally or by chance, they generally are invisible in the archeological record. Thus, unfortunately there is very little archaeological evidence for direct trade between the Aegean and the north Syrian coast during IA I. Therefore, it is necessary to turn to Cyprus which provided an important link in this trade network during the prior centuries and the centuries to come. However, before further discussing Cyprus' role in trade during the earliest Iron Age centuries, it is beneficial to examine the evidence for an Aegean migration to the island. The traditional dating for the 'Hellenization of Cyprus' is during the 11th century in large part due to the finding of an inscription written in an early form of classical Cypriot Greek dialect, however, it has been argued that this process began at least a half-century earlier.<sup>258</sup>

It has already been noted that Aegean-style pottery had begun to be produced on Cyprus as early as late LC IIC, however pottery style should also be considered within the context of other cultural changes in order to determine the extent of immigration and population movements.<sup>259</sup> Aegean-style architecture, including Cyclopean-type walls<sup>260</sup> and central hearths, also appeared on the island starting around late LC IIIA at sites such as Enkomi and Maa-Palaeokastro. Other possible Aegean influences include the introduction of certain arms and armor, personal ornamentation such as fibulae, and the appearance of the horns-of-consecration in several sacred places.<sup>261</sup> However, these cultural features did not appear all over the island during the 12th century, and Karageorghis observed that it took about a century to dilute across the entire island (what he refers to as an ethnogenesis).<sup>262</sup> Perhaps then, as Iakovou hypothesized, the Achaeans

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<sup>255</sup> Cf. Radner and Vacek 2020, 144.

<sup>256</sup> Muhly 1988, 263-64.

<sup>257</sup> Sherratt and Sherratt 1991, 375. Vaxevanopoulos et al. (2022, 1-27) discuss the importance of Euboean silver mines throughout antiquity.

<sup>258</sup> Iakovou 1999, 7; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 11, 24; Karageorghis 1994, 1; cf. n.132 above.

<sup>259</sup> Karageorghis 1994, 3.

<sup>260</sup> However, that is not to discount that the Mycenaeans might have adopted the Cyclopean wall from Western Anatolia (Bryce 1989, 13).

<sup>261</sup> Karageorghis 1992, 81; Karageorghis 1994, 3. Karageorghis (2000, 274) posits if some of these newcomers may have come from Crete.

<sup>262</sup> Karageorghis 1994, 4.

had steadily migrated to Cyprus during the 12th century, due to the open sea routes, and were either not strong enough or did not care enough to exert total control over the island at that time.<sup>263</sup>

The further discussion of Mycenaean immigration to Cyprus (and the East as well) is beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, it is important to note similar and different archaeological trends between the southern Levant, Cyprus, and the north Syrian coast that indicate either the presence of peoples from the Aegean or the presence of peoples acculturated with the Aegean,<sup>264</sup> since evidence of trade during these ‘transition years’ between the Aegean and northern Syria is scarce. All things considered, Cyprus in the Bronze Age might have been able to become a key player in the overseas trade between the Aegean and the East in part because of the lack of direct political interference by land-based superpowers such as Egypt and Hatti.<sup>265</sup> This political situation did not change at the beginning of the Iron Age, and in fact, due to the absence of those aforementioned inland superpowers, the role of Cyprus in trade might have exceeded what it was in the prior centuries.

By the end of LC II, however, it would appear as if coastal centers such as Palaepaphos, Kition, and Enkomi became the main power centers as opposed to sites closer to the Troodos mountains, or sites that were centered on copper production and trade.<sup>266</sup> Sherratt believes that these coastal centers were now not only responsible for the import and export of local and Levantine pottery, but also the export of Aegean-style pottery. Therefore, she concludes that the basis for the Cypriot economy was the creation and maintenance of sub-elite markets for added value products (cf. n.95), and thus Cyprus depended on the expansion of low-level, decentralized trade. She further argues that during the twilight of the second millennium the mass movement of pottery, which grew in scale in comparison to the 14th and 13th centuries, is representative of this. It has also been pointed out by Sherratt that local imitations began to be produced on Cyprus around the same time the Mycenaean exports were in decline. Therefore these ceramics filled in importation gaps, furthermore becoming substitutes for some local ware and were also adapted to fit local preferences such as in northern Syria.<sup>267</sup>

Imported Aegean-style Cypriot wares have been found in small quantities at Ras Ibn Hani and possibly Tell Sukas, where Cypriot ceramics constitute a large part of the assemblage, however, it is uncertain if they were imported or locally produced.<sup>268</sup> Similarly, at Tell Tayinat the Aegean-style assemblage displays

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<sup>263</sup> Iakovou 1989, 53.

<sup>264</sup> Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 17-18.

<sup>265</sup> Sherratt 1998, 297.

<sup>266</sup> Sherratt 1998, 297; Karageorghis (1992, 79) believes that the many regional centers based on copper production and trade are one of the reasons why Cyprus did not experience a total economic collapse at the end of the LBA.

<sup>267</sup> Sherratt 1998, 298; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991, 372, 378, n. 18; Sherratt 1994b, 37, 41-42.

<sup>268</sup> Ras Ibn Hani: du Piêd 2008, 177-79. Tell Sukas: Buhl 1996, 26, 59; cf. Lund 1986, 189, n. 26.

stylistic resemblances to that found on Cyprus, however without petrographic analysis it is impossible to definitively determine provenance.<sup>269</sup> Moreover, it is possible that Cyprus was also producing bronze and utilitarian iron objects as well for export to fill import voids as Sherratt suggested with pottery.<sup>270</sup> Utilitarian iron objects that have survived have a similar distribution pattern to sites where imported Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery was found in the 13th century, as well as in some instances where Aegean-style pottery was also found, such as at Ras Ibn Hani where some fragments of iron knives were discovered.<sup>271</sup>

This appears to also be the case for bronze fibulae and Cypriot bronze stands, which Lehmann credits as more evidence for the importance of Cyprus in the continuation of sea trade during IA I.<sup>272</sup> At Kourion-Kaloriziki, inside a LC IIIA shaft grave (Tomb 40) nine fibulae were found and scholars believe the dead to be of Greek origin.<sup>273</sup> If indeed the burial was of a Greek individual perhaps this could then be considered more evidence for Aegean emigres to the island. Karageorghis does note similar, contemporary burial styles in mainland Greece. Additionally, a bronze fibula was also discovered at Ras Ibn Hani and thought to be of the LH IIIC type, however, its origin is far from certain.<sup>274</sup> It is then possible that this bronze fibula arrived at Ras Ibn Hani either by trade directly from the Aegean, trade with an individual(s) from Cyprus of undeterminable ethnicity (they could have been an Aegean emigre, local Cypriot, or something in between), or in the hands of an emigrant of undeterminable ethnicity (conceivably from the Aegean or Cyprus). Albeit the first solution is the least likely due to the dearth of supporting evidence, and thus it seems as if Cyprus did continue its LBA trade network with the Levant.<sup>275</sup>

However, although lacking, there is some relatively more concrete evidence for continued trade (or at least contact) between the Aegean and the East. It has been argued that the LH IIIC Advanced development of the so-called White Ware may have derived from Cyprus and not vice versa and that perhaps Cyprus turned westward for trade due to the collapse of powerful states such as the Hittites and the weakening of others such as Assyria.<sup>276</sup> Similarly, it is believed the carinated krater (FS 282) became popular in LH IIIC Middle at Mycenae and Tiryns only after it was popular on Cyprus in LH IIIC Early 2 (LC IIIA). Thus, Mountjoy suggests this style originated in Cyprus and went from there to Greece. However, it is unknown what this

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<sup>269</sup> Janeway 2011, 177.

<sup>270</sup> Papasavvas 2001 cf. Tsipopoulou 2003, 86. Papasavvas (2001, 272) further suggests that the Cypriots might have exported finished bronze stands to increase the demand for raw Cypriot copper.

<sup>271</sup> du Piéd 2011, 220; Sherratt 1994a, 69.

<sup>272</sup> Lehmann 2013, 325.

<sup>273</sup> McFadden 1954, 134; Niklasson-Sönnerby 1987, 224; cf. Karageorghis 2000, 265.

<sup>274</sup> du Piéd 2011, 220; Bounni et al. 1981, 268-69, n.1; cf. Desborough 1964, 56.

<sup>275</sup> Sherratt 1994a, 70. However, it should also be noted that this fibula might not have made its way to Ras Ibn Hani by trade and could have been obtained in a variety of other ways (cf. n.253 above).

<sup>276</sup> Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 19; Sherratt 1998, 299.

shape derived from and the only parallel on Cyprus was the Rude Style krater. Consequently, Mountjoy suggests that the carinated krater was a hybrid between the Syro-Palestinian and Rude Style krater.<sup>277</sup> Lastly, the possibility of another shape being of Cypriot origin, the one-handled conical bowl, has already been discussed above (see section 3.2). Although, it should be noted here that this shape appeared at Tiryns but not anywhere else in the Argolid.<sup>278</sup>

Excavations at Tiryns have made clear that there was a special relationship between the site and Cyprus (see section 2.3). Therefore it is most interesting that if the one-handled conical bowl was of Cypriot origin that it appeared within the Argolid only at Tiryns. Furthermore, a locally modified Levantine-style bowl lamp, a so-called Cypro-Aegean cylinder seal, and a krater with depictions of Cypriot tripod stands were found in the LH IIIC building horizon of the lower town.<sup>279</sup> French has suggested that after the series of earthquakes at Tiryns at the end of LH IIIB/early LH IIIC some of its residents left for Cyprus due to their prior trading connections, which subsequently resulted in Aegean-style pottery appearing in the Levant, and states that these imports found at Tiryns demonstrate reciprocity.<sup>280</sup> Though these artifacts could signify trade with the Levant, Cyprus, or both, the excavators also speculate the idea of Eastern migrant communities at Tiryns that settled, coexisted, and adopted the local culture while sharing their own.<sup>281</sup>

### *3.5 Summary:*

The beginning of IA I was the also advent of a new socio-economic situation throughout the Mediterranean which impacted both the preexisting trade networks and the commodities traded. Where the ceramic record is concerned, trade between the Aegean and northern Syria halted. However, that is not to say that other commodities such as precious metals and slaves were not being exchanged, especially in a more decentralized state of affairs. Instead, regarding ceramics, a phenomenon (with established roots) emerged and local communities began to produce their own imitations of LH IIIA-B imports, or Aegean-style ware, at a significantly higher rate than before. This trend could be the result of Aegean emigres, local elites attempting to maintain past elite customs, or more than likely a combination of the two. What is more, this was the period when Cyprus' role as an intermediary between the Aegean and the East was magnified. This was perhaps again due to Aegean migrants, or perhaps due to Cyprus' ambition to control the trade market. Yet, once more, the answer probably lies somewhere in the middle. Regardless, more important is that during the

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<sup>277</sup> Mountjoy 2015, 546.

<sup>278</sup> Mountjoy 1999, 170.

<sup>279</sup> Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 103-4, 132.

<sup>280</sup> French 2013, 345-47.

<sup>281</sup> Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 133.

transition years of IA I the use and appreciation of Aegean-style ceramics in northern Syria continued and would continue well into the following periods of IA II and IA III when trade between the Aegean and northern Syria resurged.

#### **4. IA II & III: Resurgence**

The Neo-Hittite states that arose in the wake of the destruction at the end of the Bronze Age, overall, were able to emerge and develop peacefully and without Assyrian intervention save an expedition by Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076) in which afterward Tiglath-Pileser I declared himself the lord of the entire land of Hatti.<sup>282</sup> Nevertheless, this campaign appears to have been a nonviolent one, solely for the pursuit of wealth and resources, and not for an establishment of direct rule. After his return back to Assyria and his subsequent death, Assyria experienced several decades of decline and would not be seen in northern Syria for the next 200 years resulting in their influence diminishing in the region.<sup>283</sup> The two Neo-Hittite states central to this discussion on trade between the Aegean and the north Syrian coast are Pattin/Unqi, with its capital Kinalua (Tell Tayinat), and Hamath, with its capital by the same name.

Pattin and Hamath appear to have been well-established and wealthy kingdoms by the start of the 9th century when Assyrian westward campaigns resumed.<sup>284</sup> The reasons for this wealth are various, including their capital's geographical location along the Orontes river, access to overland trade routes, and ports along the coast. Kinalua had the most advantageous position of the two with its (likely) port Al-Mina right on the mouth of the Orontes delta and its central location in an overland trade route that connected Pattin with Anatolia to the north, Upper Mesopotamia to the east, the southern Levant and Palestine to the south, and the wider Mediterranean to the west.<sup>285</sup> Whereas Hamath was located along the central Orontes, approximately 150km south of Kinalua and 75km inland from the sea, and although its location might not have been as optimal as Kinalua's, it has been suspected that Hamath had four ports which included the former ones of Ugarit: Tell Sukas and Ras Ibn Hanni.<sup>286</sup>

Assurnasirpal II (883-59), in the 9th century, was the first Assyrian king to cross the Euphrates since Tiglath-Pileser I and it appears that the purpose of this sole expedition was to obtain wealth and similarly was met with limited bloodshed. After the submission of Carchemish, he campaigned into coastal Syria, starting with Pattin. He marched onto Kinalua and upon receiving an immense tribute allowed its king to maintain his throne.<sup>287</sup> His successor, Shalmaneser III (858-24), due to the volatile state of the re-established Assyrian empire and the fractured political situation in Syria, felt compelled to campaign into the region, including Pattin and Hamath, in order to re-subjugate it. Shalmaneser III, like his predecessors, did not intend to

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<sup>282</sup> See A.0.87.3: 16-28, A.0.87.4: 24-30 in Grayson 2002a.

<sup>283</sup> Bryce 2012, 200-3.

<sup>284</sup> Cf. A.0.87.3: 70-73 in Grayson 2002a for the wealth of Kinalua; cf. A.0.102.2: 86b-89a, A.0.102.14: 59-66 in Grayson 2002b for the wealth and power of Hamath.

<sup>285</sup> Pamir 2006, 536.

<sup>286</sup> Riis 1970, 152-56; Buhl 1983, 117-18; cf. Luke 2003, 36-37.

<sup>287</sup> Hawkins 1982, 388-89; Bryce 2012, 213-17; cf. A.0.101.1: 62-73 in Grayson 2002a.

incorporate Syria but desired to collect plunder.<sup>288</sup> After Shalmaneser III's expedition, the Assyrians would not campaign into northern Syria again until the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-27), most likely due to a shift in focus because of internal struggles that took place after (and shortly before) the death of Shalmaneser III. Thus, the region was still able to remain autonomous and would remain so for the next few decades.

In the seventh year of his reign (738), Tiglath-Pileser III campaigned into northern Syria in response to a broken oath sworn by the king of Unqi, Tutammu, and conquered the city of Kinalua. He then rebuilt the palace and set up his own official as governor, thus provincializing the region.<sup>289</sup> Additionally, Bryce has observed that Pattin was not included in Tiglath-Pileser III's 738 tributary list, which might indicate that it either had not been subdued at the time this list was made or that the region was already well incorporated into the Assyrian provincial system.<sup>290</sup> On the contrary, after his subsequent conquest of Hamath, Tiglath-Pileser III created two new provinces from northern lands in Hamath but left the rest of the territory to remain his vassal under its king, Eni'ilu.<sup>291</sup> As a result, after this campaign, the Assyrian Empire was now not only in control of major inland centers such as Kinalua and Hamath but also their ports: Al-Mina, Ras Ibn Hani, and Tell Sukas (among others). Hence, any trade that occurred between Greeks and these sites until the end of the 7th century occurred within the now expansive Assyrian Empire, and in the following centuries the Babylonian and Persian Empires respectively (see section 4.2).

#### *4.1 A Note on Chronology:*

Due to the astonishing findings and preliminary analysis from Woolley's excavation of Al-Mina in the mid-1930s, Al-Mina has acted as sort of a type-site for the discussion of Greek contact with northern Syria during the 8th, 7th, and 6th centuries despite the immense debate as to the nature of the site. Likewise, the dating of the levels has been highly disputed due to Woolley's pre-stratigraphic excavation methods and the coarse terrain, made of mostly earth and clay, which caused difficulties when digging.<sup>292</sup> As a result, many foundations were dismantled which caused much ambiguity in the ceramic record and in return has caused much perplexity concerning dating. Therefore, it will be beneficial to establish a chronology that will be used for the following discussion of Greek trade in northern Syria during IA II and III based on several interpretations of Al-Mina's stratigraphy. The initial dating by Woolley for the levels concerned was Level 10 and 9 ca. 750-700, Level 8 ca. 700-675, Level 7 ca. 675-650, Level 6 and 5 ca. 650-550, and Level 4 ca.

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<sup>288</sup> See §599-601, §610-11, §653-655 in Luckenbill 1926; van de Mierop 2016, 228

<sup>289</sup> See no. 12 in Tadmor and Yamada 2011.

<sup>290</sup> Bryce 2012, 268; cf. Tadmor and Yamada 2011 no. 27, no. 32.

<sup>291</sup> Bryce 2012, 268-69; cf. Tadmor and Yamada 2011 no. 12, no. 28.

<sup>292</sup> Boardman 1999a, 137.

520-430.<sup>293</sup> The first to challenge this was du Plat Taylor, who in her seminal work on the non-Greek pottery from Al-Mina, discovered some local red slipware and therefore determined that the dating for Levels 10-8 should be ca. 825-720, and subsequently Levels 6 and 5 should last the entire 7th century. She agreed with Woolley's assessment of the dating for Level 4, yet observed an eighty-year abandonment at the end of the 7th century, contra to Woolley's thirty-year gap, due to the lack of not only Greek ceramics but also the absence of local wares.<sup>294</sup>

Boardman believed du Plat Taylor to be too high and lowers his foundation date to agree with Woolley's initial date of 750.<sup>295</sup> He states that the Greek pottery must define the chronology. He based this on Kearsley's analysis of the Greek pottery and asserted if the dominant type, the pendant semicircle (psc) skyphos (Fig.6), is to be considered a Late Geometric style, it could not be dated earlier than 750.<sup>296</sup> For the ensuing levels, 8 and 7, Boardman commented on the restoration of the walls between the two and suggests a date for the change ca. 720 when he believed Sargon II to have campaigned in the area.<sup>297</sup> Early Proto-Corinthian ware also started to appear around this time, and some sherds have been found at Al-Mina corresponding with Level 8/7 which further corroborates the 720 date.<sup>298</sup> Boardman then placed a brief, yet significant, break between Levels 7 and 6 ca. 696, which he tied to Sennacherib's victory in Cilicia (see section 4.3). Finally, Boardman, similarly to du Plat Taylor, placed Levels 6 and 5 during the 7th century.<sup>299</sup> Boardman and Kearsley made fitting arguments; however, the Eastern pottery should not be disregarded. For this reason and the fact that psc skyphoi might have reached the site before 750 (see n.296), the chronology used hereafter will be Levels 10-8 ca. 800-720, Level 7 ca. 720-696, Level 6 and 5 ca. 696-600, and Level 4 ca. 520-430.<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> Woolley 1938, 16-18, 20.

<sup>294</sup> du Plat Taylor 1959, 79, 87, 91-92; cf. Radner and Vacek 2020, 142, n.193; Lehmann (2005, 64) also adopts a high chronology based on a jug found by Woolley (1938, 154-5) and determined by du Plat Taylor (1959, 83) to be a local type that dates to the mid-9th century. Woolley (1938, 20-21) does not believe this gap in material culture at the end of Level 5 is due to abandonment but to what he referred to as a "clean sweep" of the site before the buildings of Level 4 were erected and thus stresses continuity at the site.

<sup>295</sup> Boardman 1999a, 139.

<sup>296</sup> Kearsley 1995b, 68; The majority of psc skyphoi at Al-Mina correspond with Kearsley (1995a, 19-20) Type 6, of which production and circulation began ca. 750. However, he notes that there is a possibility of an earlier type at Al-Mina; contra Luke (2003, 36) who believes none of the psc skyphoi belong to groups earlier than Type 6.

<sup>297</sup> There is no concrete evidence for such an occurrence. Lauinger and Batiuk (2015, 65-67) discuss the problems of assigning a campaign into northern Syria to Sargon II based on the Tell Tayinat stele.

<sup>298</sup> Coldstream 2008, 312-16; Boardman 1999a, 147.

<sup>299</sup> Boardman 1999a, 158; Boardman 1999b, 44-46.

<sup>300</sup> Cf. Radner and Vacek (2020, 145) for a similar dating method.

#### 4.2 Ports-of-trade: From *Karum* (with an *Enoikismos*) to *Emporion*

Prior to Tiglath-Pileser III's conquest of northern Syria, Assyrian kings from Assurnasirpal II (883-59) to Adad-Nirari III (810-783) built *karu*, which can be interpreted as port, quay place, emporium, or even more simply as a place of trade,<sup>301</sup> along the Euphrates river. This created a trade network along their western front that was able to interact with the established North Syrian-Levantine trade network.<sup>302</sup> Subsequently, after Tiglath-Pileser III's conquest, the Assyrian Empire now controlled the Orontes estuary which included direct passageways from the Mediterranean to northern Mesopotamia and the Assyrian heartland without the need to cross mountains and that passed through more favorable environmental conditions than in the south, thus merging the two networks.<sup>303</sup> Furthermore, part of this network is mentioned in the so-called Iran Stele of Tiglath-Pileser III.<sup>304</sup> In it, he lists place names, *karu*,<sup>305</sup> arranged from south to north, including Resisurri<sup>306</sup> and Ahta, the latter of which might be Al-Mina. Radner and Vacek analyzed both the textual and archaeological evidence and concluded that Ahta if not solely Al-Mina, possibly referred to both Al-Mina and Sabuniye as a whole.<sup>307</sup>

Interestingly, Al-Mina, Ras el-Bassit,<sup>308</sup> Ras Ibn Hani, and Tell Sukas are all a one-day sailing distance from the other. Hence, it certainly appears as if they formed part of this network and likely provided harbors for ships to dock overnight as well as trade connections with inland territories.<sup>309</sup> More importantly, it is evident through the material remains at the sites (both ports and further inland) that trade was occurring, including with the Greeks, and that these *karu* were annexed to supply the Assyrian Empire with revenue from trade and taxation on imported goods.<sup>310</sup> Furthermore, *karu* were essential to the Assyrians' ability to not only control trade but their empire in general, especially areas on the periphery.<sup>311</sup> Yet, a central component of the Al-Mina debate, which subsequently fell unto Tell Sukas and can also be applied to Ras Ibn Hani, is whether Greeks founded and/or inhabited the site from the 8th through 7th centuries.

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<sup>301</sup> Yamada 2005, 68; Yamada 2019, 225; cf. Radner and Vacek 2020, 109, n. 12.

<sup>302</sup> Dezsó and Ver 2013, 352; cf. Yamada 2019, 225 tab. 2.

<sup>303</sup> Radner and Vacek 2020, 124; cf. Dezsó and Ver 2013, 352.

<sup>304</sup> See no. 35, ii, 11-15a in Tadmor and Yamada 2011.

<sup>305</sup> Yamada (2005, 68) and Dezsó and Ver (2013, 352) believe this term in the text to apply to all the coastal sites mentioned; contra. Radner and Vacek (2020, 109-10, 117) who seem to apply this term solely to Ahta.

<sup>306</sup> This might be the ancient name of Ras Ibn Hani (see n.33; cf. Yamada 2019, 226).

<sup>307</sup> Radner and Vacek 2020, 107-57, 117-18; cf. Yamada 2019, 226.

<sup>308</sup> Ras el-Bassit lay on the North Syrian coast, approximately 55km north of Ras Ibn Hani and like Ras Ibn Hani experienced continual occupation throughout the periods discussed including a LBA II destruction layer. Thus far, no significant amount of LH IIIA-B or Aegean-style ceramics have been reported, and it would not be until the late 7th century (like Tell Sukas) that the site displayed significant interaction with the Aegean. Hence, this site was not chosen for this discussion (cf. Courbin 1986, 178, 180, 183, 187, 193, 198; Vacek 2012b, 35-36).

<sup>309</sup> Dezsó and Ver 2013, 349.

<sup>310</sup> Yamada 2019, 226; see also below.

<sup>311</sup> Allen 2005, 87.

Overall, the question as to the nature of the settlement at Al-Mina has yielded three main solutions, with a fourth, interesting alternative: a Greek colony (*apoikia*),<sup>312</sup> a local port with a Greek community (*enoikismos*),<sup>313</sup> a Greek trading station (*emporion*),<sup>314</sup> or a mercenary camp.<sup>315</sup> The first theory has been disproved based on the layout of the settlement and architecture in comparison with other known Greek colonies,<sup>316</sup> and would not apply to the other sites due to the longevity of local occupation. The theory of a mercenary camp, while intriguing, has yet to yield sufficient evidence since in general, contra to Kearsley and Luraghi (see n.315), there is little evidence for Greek mercenaries in the East during the 8th and majority of the 7th centuries.<sup>317</sup> Thus, the debate can be narrowed down to the final two options: a local port with an *enoikismos* or an *emporion*.

However, the term *emporion* first requires some clarification. Hansen noted the *emporion* was a Classical institution that either belonged to a specific, or separate, community (what he refers to as the *polis*). He goes further to remark that some ancient cities were described as both an *emporion* and a *polis*,<sup>318</sup> consequently causing the terms to no longer be mutually exclusive. He then cautioned against the use of the term *emporion* for any trading station founded before the Classical period since the socio-political atmosphere greatly differed.<sup>319</sup> For that reason, a different term should be used. Polyani was the first to recognize this and offered a more neutral term, ‘port-of-trade’. According to Polyani, the port-of-trade was a politically neutral institution that allowed for reliable trading between cultures and regions before the establishment of international markets.<sup>320</sup> Although the sites of Al-Mina, Ras Ibn Hani, and Tell Sukas certainly never remained autonomous, or politically neutral, the term port-of-trade does better to describe the sites more so than *emporion*, for the majority of the periods considered, based on Hansen’s observations.<sup>321</sup> Furthermore,

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<sup>312</sup> Dunbabin 1957, 25.

<sup>313</sup> Boardman 1999b, 43.

<sup>314</sup> Coldstream 2003, 93.

<sup>315</sup> Kearsley 1999, 109-34; Luraghi (2006, 21-47) writes too of evidence for Greek mercenary activity in the East during the Neo-Assyrian Period. For evidence of Greek mercenary activity in northern Syria, Luraghi provides finds of a horse frontlet and blinker from the Samian Heraion and Eretrian Apollon respectively, inscribed as a gift from Hadad (the storm god) to Hazael, king of Damascus, from Unqi. Luraghi observes that this was no doubt booty taken from Unqi during a campaign of Hazael, which in turn was taken some time in the 8th century during Assyrian conquests.

<sup>316</sup> Cf. Coldstream’s (2003, 225-33) brief discussion on the Euboean colony of Pithekoussai.

<sup>317</sup> Boardman 1999b, 50-51. Woolley (1921, 125-26, pl. 24) discovered a bronze Greek shield with a gorgon’s head in a house at Carchemish which he believed to have been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in 605/4 during the battle of Carchemish against the Egyptians. Strabo (Str.13.2.3) wrote that the brother of the Lesbian poet Alcaeus fought alongside the Babylonians, which perhaps explains the bronze shield at Carchemish. However, due to the finding of seals bearing the name of Necho II Egypt, Boardman (1999b, 115) speculates that this shield was carried by a Greek fighting with the Egyptians. It is also possible that Greeks were fighting on both sides. Regardless, there is more substantial evidence for Greek mercenaries abroad in the following 6th century, especially in Egypt (cf. Abu Simbel in Boardman 1999b, 116; cf. Hdt.2.163).

<sup>318</sup> Herodotus (2.178-79) first calls Naukratis a *polis* and then an *emporion*.

<sup>319</sup> Hansen 2006, 4-5, 30.

<sup>320</sup> Polyani 1963, 30-33.

<sup>321</sup> Cf. Luke 2003, 2-4.

since these ports-of-trade were under the dominion of the Assyrian Empire (and later Babylonian and Persian) it is even more fitting to consider them as *karu* that served for benefit of a much larger political entity.

All things considered, Al-Mina has produced the largest quantity of Euboean Greek ware than at any other nearby contemporary site, and based on the surviving ceramic record made up a higher proportion, roughly 60%, of the ceramic assemblage of Levels 10-7 than locally produced wares.<sup>322</sup> Additionally, almost 85% of this style found were drinking vessels, 75% of them being psc-skyphoi, and it is also worth noting that a substantial amount of the assemblage included kraters.<sup>323</sup> Moreover, it is certain, based on both stylistic and petrographic analysis, that these wares came from Euboea.<sup>324</sup> Hence, due to this ware's provenance and morphology, a key component to the debate arises: whether these ceramics were imported for trade or brought overseas by Greek merchants and/or emigres.

The Euboean pottery found at Tell Tayinat (Kinalua) is second only to Al-Mina in quantity, however, a majority of the Greek ceramic assemblage remains unpublished still to this day.<sup>325</sup> The ceramic shapes found at Tell Tayinat are very similar to that at Al-Mina and included psc-skyphoi, bowls, plates, and kraters, however, they only account for 3% of the total ceramic assemblage.<sup>326</sup> Furthermore, all fragments of Greek ware thus far have been cataloged as found in the royal quarter as opposed to the lower city.<sup>327</sup> The psc-skyphos was the predominant shape and the few that have been published, save one, belong to Kearsley's Type 5 (Fig.6) which he dated to the first half of the 8th century and consequently makes his Type 6, frequent at Al-Mina, rare at Tell Tayinat.<sup>328</sup> Thus, it would appear as if Building Period II (ca.800-720) at Tayinat coincided with Levels 10-8 at Al-Mina based on the Euboean ceramic assemblage at both sites, and perhaps the establishment of Tayinat as the Assyrian seat of power in Pattin/Unqi in 738 influenced the presence of Euboean ware.<sup>329</sup> However, as Vacek pointed out, Euboean ceramics were still prevalent after 738 at Al-Mina.<sup>330</sup> So, even if psc-skyphoi went out of style at the capital they remained popular at its port (see section 4.5). Accordingly, the ceramic record at Tell Tayinat signifies that the city had access to Greek wares during the 8th century, most likely imported given their palatial context, and consequently, this further corroborates the theory that Al-Mina likely served as its port.

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<sup>322</sup> Boardman 1990, 150-51, 175; cf. Kearsley 1995b, 71-74.

<sup>323</sup> Luke 2003, 26.

<sup>324</sup> Luke 2003, 25-26 n. 28.

<sup>325</sup> Saltz 1978, 80-81; Osborne 2011, 123, 134; cf. Radner and Vacek 2020, 119 n. 69.

<sup>326</sup> Osborne 2011, 134. Desborough (1952, 181, pl. 26) published a near complete psc-skyphos found at Tell Tayinat.

<sup>327</sup> Vacek 2012b, 143-44.

<sup>328</sup> Osborne 2011, 124-26; cf. n.296 above.

<sup>329</sup> Osborne 2011, 226. Both Osborne and Lehmann (2005, 82) conclude that Building Period II began ca. 825, however, Osborne believes the date could alter give or take a decade, hence the use of ca. 800 here.

<sup>330</sup> Vacek 2012b, 2.

Woolley also believed Al-Mina to be a port where merchants conducted their business, however, due to the overwhelming amount of Greek pottery found he concluded that the merchants themselves were also Greeks who lived at the nearby site of Sabuniye.<sup>331</sup> Riis applied a similar analytical approach to Tell Sukas and believed the site during the 8th and 7th centuries to have been a trading port with an *enoikismos*, that later developed into a full Greek *emporion*, suggesting that the Greek presence at Tell Sukas started around the same time as at Al-Mina (ca. 800).<sup>332</sup> He based this on the relatively few Greek ceramic sherds that can be dated to the 8th century, and perhaps even slightly earlier.<sup>333</sup> This includes several sherds from psc-skyphoi, kraters, dishes, bowls, and even a pyxis and aryballos discovered around the northeast sanctuary, as well as the few sherds of psc-skyphoi found in the habitation quarter.<sup>334</sup> Despite the relatively few 8th-century finds, the assemblage of Greek wares at Tell Sukas is similar to the assemblage found at the city of Hamath, of which Tell Sukas was one of its ports.<sup>335</sup> After Hamath's destruction at the hands of Sargon II in 720, the site appears to have been abandoned, thus any Greek ceramics found at Hamath must be dated before then.<sup>336</sup> This might serve also to explain why there are even fewer Greek ceramics at Tell Sukas at the start of the 7th century than in the years before Hamath's destruction.<sup>337</sup> Luke goes as far as to suggest that imports to Hamath might have stopped after Tiglath-Pileser III provincialized the coast,<sup>338</sup> however as noted in the introduction only some land in northern Hamath was provincialized.

After the destruction of Hamath, Greek ceramics would not appear in any substantial quantity at Tell Sukas until the late 7th/early 6th century.<sup>339</sup> The majority of the shapes then continued to be drinking vessels, yet Euboean imports ceased and East Greek ware accounts for almost 60% of ceramic imports along with Athenian and Cypriot.<sup>340</sup> In contrast, this trend had already begun at Al-Mina by the start of the 7th century. At Al-Mina, Euboean pottery had disappeared and East Greek became not only the predominant Greek ware but began to form a more significant proportion of the total ceramic assemblage. Cypriot ware also declined

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<sup>331</sup> Woolley 1938, 14-16. Recent studies on Sabuniye by Pamir (2013, 183) and Radner and Vacek (2020, 117) have further substantiated Woolley's theory, however, they do not believe the residents of Sabuniye to necessarily have been Greek merchants.

<sup>332</sup> Riis 1970, 129, 158, 162-63. Riis (1970, 127) equates his H1 (850-675) and G3 (675-588) periods to Al-Mina Levels 10-5.

<sup>333</sup> Ploug 1972, 92-93; Vacek 2012b, 40, 163, 165; cf. Luke 2003, 32. The psc-skyphoi found at Tell Sukas appear to belong to Kearsley's Type 5b which would date slightly earlier than those found at Al-Mina (Luke 2003, 36; cf. Kearsley 1989, 100-1).

<sup>334</sup> Ploug 1973, 11-13, 16-17, 44-47.

<sup>335</sup> Saltz, 112, 133.

<sup>336</sup> Hawkins 1982, 415; Coldstream 2008, 311.

<sup>337</sup> Ploug 1973, 93.

<sup>338</sup> Luke 2003, 37.

<sup>339</sup> Ploug 1973, 92-93; Lund 1986, 59, 62; Luke 2003, 32; Vacek 2012b, 40.

<sup>340</sup> Ploug 1973, 95-96; Vacek 2012b, 40-41.

at Al-Mina during this time, which led Boardman to suggest that the Greeks were beginning to gain command over the trade that passed through the port.<sup>341</sup>

A similar situation to Tell Sukas can be observed at Ras Ibn Hani, another one of Hamath's ports. According to the excavators, Ras Ibn Hani demonstrated great activity from the 8th century to the beginning of the 6th century (whether or not after a short period of abandonment is less certain). Psc-skyphoi dating to the 8th century have been found within the settlement context, followed by an absence of early 7th century Greek imports, and culminating with the predominance of East Greek wares including kraters and dinoi of the later 7th and 6th centuries.<sup>342</sup> Still, the quantity of later Greek wares at Ras Ibn Hani pales in comparison to Tell Sukas, and thus Vacek concludes it must not have been an integral part of long-distance trade.<sup>343</sup>

Another major source of evidence used either for or against a Greek *enoikismos* or *emporion* is the architecture preserved at Al-Mina and Tell Sukas. At Al-Mina, the architecture of the earlier levels is poorly preserved, however, does provide some insight as to who the inhabitants might have been at Al-Mina. Woolley documented that the main architectural features throughout these levels were the same. Namely, the floors were of stone or pebble and the superstructure was made of thick mud bricks. He also noted single-story buildings and since there were no roof tiles (what he considered a paramount feature of Greek architecture) the roofs must have been made of layers of matting, reeds, and mud. He deemed the overall quality of the buildings to be poor, and because of this, it is why he deduced the neighboring site of Sabuniye to house the living quarters of the merchants.<sup>344</sup> Luke notes that the majority of early Al-Mina architectural features Woolley described matched those of contemporary Levantine architectural trends.<sup>345</sup> This trend has been observed at Tell Sukas as well.<sup>346</sup> Although, Coldstream observed that there is evidence of Greeks abroad elsewhere employing local building techniques, and argued that not much is left of Archaic Greek architecture on the mainland to be able to make apt comparisons.<sup>347</sup>

Unlike Al-Mina, there is evidence for a sanctuary at Tell Sukas that was built in the 7th century (ca. 675) that Riis believed to be Greek due to its east-facing entrance, use of tiles for the roof, the finding of a few 8th century along with some later 7th/early 6th century sherds, and a fragment with what Riis suspects as a Rhodian dialect of Greek.<sup>348</sup> It has been argued that roof tiling could not have made its way East until the end

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<sup>341</sup> Boardman 1999b, 46-47; cf. Woolley 1938, 18-20.

<sup>342</sup> Bounni et al. 1978, 282-84; cf. Vacek 2012b, 162, 206.

<sup>343</sup> Vacek 2012b, 38.

<sup>344</sup> Woolley 1938, 10-11, 16-18.

<sup>345</sup> Luke 2003, 13-17; cf. Boardman 1990, 183. Braemer (1982, 112-14, 122-24, 137-38) highlights relatable Levantine building techniques.

<sup>346</sup> Lund 1986, 187-89.

<sup>347</sup> Coldstream 2003, 303-5; cf. Kearsley 1999, 128.

<sup>348</sup> Riis 1970, 54-57, 78.

of the 7th century at the earliest, and thus came as part of repairs to a prior phase of the temple that, according to Perreault, displayed more Phoenician and north Syrian qualities. For instance, Perreault observed that instead of an open entrance on the eastern front, there was a small opening in the northeast corner. Furthermore, he does not deny that Greeks must have used the temple due to the pottery and inscription found but notes that the inscription in particular likely dates to the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest.<sup>349</sup> Nevertheless, even Riis himself admits that there is no way of knowing if the original roof was tiled or covered with mud and thatch, but notes a destruction phase at the start of the 6th century and claims the sanctuary was then certainly rebuilt and reshaped in a more Greek architectural style.<sup>350</sup>

It is at the start of the 6th century, that structures that resemble storehouses first appeared at Tell Sukas.<sup>351</sup> It is also during this time that East Greek imports increased and Greek drinking cups were replacing locally produced bowls, Red Slip ware, and Cypriot imports (although the latter not completely at Tell Sukas).<sup>352</sup> In addition, at this time more Greek inscriptions occur on pottery sherds and even one spindle whorl.<sup>353</sup> Thus, despite the establishment of this so-called Greek sanctuary at the beginning of the 7th century, it would seem that Greeks were not abundant at the site until later when more Greek material culture can be found.<sup>354</sup> Alternatively, there was an eighty-year break in settlement at Al-Mina and activity would not resume until 520 during the Persian Period.<sup>355</sup> This discrepancy in activity at these two sites has been attributed to the rise of the Neo-Babylonian empire during the first half of the 6th century, and it has been suggested that perhaps Tell Sukas (and thus by association, Ras Ibn Hani) provided more expedient trade than Al-Mina for the Babylonians. Moreover, the decline in trading activity at Al-Mina during the first three-quarters of the 6th century might further exemplify the site's role within the Assyrian *karu* network.<sup>356</sup> Nonetheless, Level 4 at Al-Mina was laid out in a new plan and the site began to look more like an *emporion*, with buildings and/or warehouses grouped in large rectangular blocks. It was also at this time that Athenian wares became the dominant type at Al-Mina, and while present at Tell Sukas, Athenian ceramics appear to have been much more popular at the former.<sup>357</sup>

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<sup>349</sup> Perreault 1993, 76-77; cf. Vacek 2012b, 45; Ploug 1973, 93-94.

<sup>350</sup> Riis 1970, 58, 60.

<sup>351</sup> Perreault 1993, 80.

<sup>352</sup> Bonatz 1993, 138; Lehmann 1998, 21, 31-32.

<sup>353</sup> Riis 1970, 157-58; Salksou-Roberts 2015, 118-19.

<sup>354</sup> Luke 2003, 37; cf. Ploug 1973, 95.

<sup>355</sup> Boardman (1999, 53) suggests that the Persians presented more favorable conditions at Al-Mina for Greeks than their Babylonian predecessors.

<sup>356</sup> Boardman 1999b, 52; du Plat Taylor 1959, 87; Radner and Vacek 2020, 142 n.193, 156.

<sup>357</sup> Woolley 1938, 21-23; Boardman 1999b, 53; cf. Salksou-Roberts 2015, 10-11 tab.1a and tab.1b.

On the whole, the material evidence available does not suggest that Al-Mina, Tell Sukas, and Ras Ibn Hani were *emporion* from the 8th through the 7th century. It would not be until the beginning of the 6th century that Tell Sukas and towards the end of that century Al-Mina began to display characteristics of this type of trading settlement, and even by then Greek activity at Tell Sukas seems to have been in decline.<sup>358</sup> What is more, if we take Hansen's definition of an *emporion* as a Classical institution, these two sites should be considered ports-of-trade,<sup>359</sup> or better yet local *karum*. Therefore, for the majority of the periods in question, it would appear that at most an *enoikismos* could have been present. However, in the case of Al-Mina, it should be noted that the proportions of Greek to non-Greek pottery might be misleading since Woolley's criteria for pottery selection and how much he discarded is unclear.<sup>360</sup> As for Tell Sukas, only Riis seems to have been adamant that the site was home to a Greek community from the start of the 8th century, whereas other scholars, including some who were part of the excavation team, do not believe there is enough evidence to back this claim.<sup>361</sup>

Furthermore, similar to Ras Ibn Hani and Tell Tayinat, the proportion of Greek to non-Greek wares was small at Tell Sukas during IA II and the majority of IA III, which also might further substantiate the claim that the known proportion at Al-Mina is skewed. So, it is most likely that either these Greek *enoikismoi* were a minority group as Boardman has once suggested,<sup>362</sup> or the occurrence of Greek ceramics at these *karu* was primarily due to trade. The skyphoi found at each site have been used (similar to the architecture) as evidence either for or against a physical Greek presence at these sites. On the one hand, Kearsley notes that skyphoi, especially of the earlier types, rarely appeared in settlement deposits and thus their presence in northern Syria can only reflect trade.<sup>363</sup> On the other hand, Coldstream observed that the Greeks generally brought their skyphoi with them abroad as personal possessions.<sup>364</sup> These two views prove contentious depending on how one views the sites of Al-Mina, Tell Sukas, and Ras Ibn Hani, yet ultimately it is highly plausible that both trade and Greek inhabitation occurred simultaneously. However, given that the architecture found is primarily of local build, the relationship between the Greek assemblages found at the coastal sites and inland centers, and the past trading relationships between the Aegean and northern Syria in general, it seems more likely that

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<sup>358</sup> Boardman 1999b, 53.

<sup>359</sup> Albeit, Al-Mina did persist through the Classical Period into the Hellenistic and thus Level 4 through Level 2 by all accounts can be considered an *emporion* (cf. Woolley 1938, 20-26).

<sup>360</sup> Saltz 1978, 19; Waldbaum 1997, 5-6; Lehmann 2005, 62.

<sup>361</sup> Lund 1986, 59, 62; Ploug 1972, 92-93; Perreault 1993, 81-82.

<sup>362</sup> Boardman 1999b, 44.

<sup>363</sup> Kearsley 1995a, 19. This despite also asserting that pottery was not an object of trade (cf. introduction).

<sup>364</sup> Coldstream 1979, 255-56.

these sites were *karum* that dealt with traders of Greek ceramics. The origins of whom and the potential commodities traded, including pottery, are to be discussed in the following sections.

#### 4.3 Assyrian Texts and Yawnaya Aggression:

The Ionians (*Yawanaya* or *Yawnaya*) appear in texts from the reign of Tiglath Pileser III (744-727) to Esarhaddon (680-669). While it is conventional to associate the ethnic identifier *Yawnaya* with Ionian Greeks,<sup>365</sup> this view is no longer as widely accepted. Brinkman first called attention to the fact that in Assyrian texts the term was most likely used to designate any inhabitant, Greek or non-Greek, from western Asia Minor.<sup>366</sup> Rollinger further developed this theory to note that while it is important to not exclude local communities from this designator, it is problematic to identify the *Yawnaya* at all with the later 6th-century conception of Ionian Greeks, namely those that dwelled on the coast of Asia Minor. Instead, he suggested that the term was used generically by the Assyrians, Babylonians, and the later Persians to indicate Greek-speaking populations.<sup>367</sup> Both Brinkman and Rollinger's interpretations are important to consider when reading Assyrian sources, even if there is, as Kuhrt states, limited archaeological and textual evidence of direct contact between Greeks and those within the Assyrian Empire.<sup>368</sup>

One of the earliest known Assyrian texts to mention the *Yawnaya* comes from a letter to Tiglath Pileser III from Qurdi-Assur-Lamur, the Assyrian governor of Tyre and Sidon. In this letter, written in 738, he attests that the *Yawnaya* (*Ia-u-na-a-a*) have come and made an attack on the cities along the coast. The governor then writes that the *Yawnaya* did not take anyone and that he has pursued them in ships in the midst of the sea.<sup>369</sup> Another Nimrud Letter from an unknown official also mentions an attack made on him from the town of *Yawan* (*Ia-u-na*). The official then states that the perpetrators were spotted, pursued, and captured from inside the town of *Yawan* and, based on Na'aman's restoration, possibly Resi-surri.<sup>370</sup> In Saggs' translation, he translated the group of attackers as being from the town of *Yawan*, however, what survives of the name of this group is incomplete (*L[U<sup>2</sup> x]-ru-ša-me*). Thus, as Na'aman indicates, the relationship between these unknown attackers, *Yawan*, and Resi-surri is not clear. Yet, it is logical to presume that these attackers were affiliated with the towns they fled to, and Saggs' interpretation has generally been accepted.<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>365</sup> For example, Luraghi (2006, 34-25 n.69) remains adamant that the *Yawnaya* were in fact Ionians in the Herodotean sense of the term, in part due to the repeated occurrence of Assyrian dealings with them at Que which is close in proximity to Classical Ionia.

<sup>366</sup> Brinkman 1989, 53.

<sup>367</sup> Rollinger 2001, 248; Rollinger 2011, 268-69.

<sup>368</sup> Kuhrt 2002, 20; cf. Saltz 1978, 109-12.

<sup>369</sup> Braun (1982, 15) offers a more updated translation; cf. ND 2370 in Saggs 2001.

<sup>370</sup> See ND 2737 in Saggs 2001; Na'aman 2004b, 69-70; cf. no. 26 in Lukko 2012.

<sup>371</sup> Na'aman 2004b, 70.

However, it cannot be certain. Nevertheless, if, as has been proposed, that indeed the second town was Resisurri, potentially Ras Ibn Hani (see n.33 with caution), and that these attackers were from the town of *Yawan* then perhaps this text corroborates some of the increased findings of Greek pottery in the region.<sup>372</sup>

Twenty years later, Sargon II (721-705) in his seventh year, wrote in his annals that in order to conquer the *Yawanaya* (*Ia-am-na-a-a*), who were situated in the middle of the sea, he went down to the sea in ships and defeated them. Furthermore, he mentions that these *Yawanaya* had killed people of the city of Tyre and the land Que. It is important to note that this segment from Sargon II's annal is highly fragmentary and the attribution of aggression to the *Yawanaya* was due to Fuchs' reconstruction of this segment through comparison with similar texts.<sup>373</sup> One of these similar texts came from the Sargon Cylinder where Sargon II pronounced that he caught the *Yawanaya*, who live in the midst of the sea, like fishes, and pacified the land of Que and the city of Tyre.<sup>374</sup> From the texts of both Tiglath Pileser III and Sargon II, it would appear that these so-called *Yawnaya* habitually attacked both the Phoenicians and Cilicians. Lanfranchi, therefore, observes that *Yawnaya* restricted this activity to areas that were not annexed by Assyria, but merely vassals during the time of Tiglath Pileser III. However, by Sargon II's seventh year, Que had been annexed as an Assyrian territory, hence why Sargon II might have felt the need to deter *Yawanaya* aggression.<sup>375</sup>

Another (possibly) important text comes from the subsequent reign of Sennacherib (704-681) when, in 696, he campaigned into Que after the governor of Illubru caused the men of Ingirra (possibly Anchiale) and Tarzi (Tarsus) to block the road into the region. Sennacherib defeated the rebels, rebuilt Illubru, and erected a stele in his honor on-site.<sup>376</sup> This text alone is not significant to the overall narrative of Greek dealings in Que. Yet, when taken in conjunction with Sennacherib's so-called Bull Inscription (see below) and the later texts of Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus, of the 1st and 2nd centuries CE respectively, its significance may be great. Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus were quoting earlier 4th-century texts of the Babylonian priest Berossos. Both authors speak of a Greek presence in Cilicia (possibly an invasion), their expulsion at the hands of Sennacherib, Sennacherib's building of a city (Tarsus in both texts, not Illubru), and the erection of a monument commemorating his achievement.

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<sup>372</sup> Yamada 2019, 230.

<sup>373</sup> Fuchs (1994) cf. Lanfranchi 2000, 14. Braun (1982, 16) and Frame (2021, 63) also place the aggression at the hands of Ionians (*Ia-am-na-a-a*). See §16 in Luckenbill 1927 for uninterpreted text.

<sup>374</sup> See no. 43, ll. 21 in Frame 2021; cf. §118 in Luckenbill 1927. Fuchs (1994) cf. Luraghi 2006, 31 offers the translation "gave peace to" in place of "pacified". However, given the agreement in word choice between the former two scholars and major implications from the latter's adaptation, the preference of the author is "pacified".

<sup>375</sup> Lanfranchi 2000, 16-17.

<sup>376</sup> See §286-89 in Luckenbill 1927.

While Alexander Polyhistor's text is relatively less specific, Abydenus explicitly mentioned that Sennacherib defeated a group of Ionian warships.<sup>377</sup> However, Sennacherib made no mention of the Ionians in Cilicia. Thus, the foremost concern when citing these two historians is that they themselves were not writing separate accounts, but the same account passed down from Berossos, through Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus, and finally culminated in Eusebius' *Chronicon*. It has been speculated that since this account originated with Berossos that if he had access to an account that mentioned Ionians he interpreted them as Greek since by his time the word had certainly attained that meaning. It is also possible that intending to appeal to his Greek audience he inserted them into this battle.<sup>378</sup> Hence, one should heed these interpretations with caution.

In the later Bull Inscription, dated to approximately 694/693, Sennacherib mentioned the resettlement of the people from the land of Hatti (northern Syria) in Nineveh, whom he ordered to build ships that in turn captured Tyrians, Sidonians, and *Yawanaya* sailed for his troops.<sup>379</sup> Here, like Sargon II's seventh year of his annals, the text is highly fragmentary which has led to a discussion on whether Sennacherib wrote of *Yawanaya* (*Ia-am-na-a-a*) or *Yadnanaya* (*Ia-ad-na-na-a-a*, or Cypriots). Luckenbill in his translation determined the latter, however, a more recent translation by Frahm supports the use of *Yawanaya* based on the number of signs used (five instead of six) given the size of the void in the text.<sup>380</sup> Furthermore, Luckenbill believed *Yawanaya* and *Yadnanaya* to be synonymous, a point that Lanfranchi refutes given that Assyrian texts differentiate the two.<sup>381</sup>

Overall, the depiction of the *Yawnaya* in the above Assyrian texts presents them as hostile seafarers taking advantage of the political situation in the region. Not much is stated about the aims of these *Yawnaya*, however, they did not seem to be politically motivated. Therefore, given the violence and use of ships, it is reasonable to posit that these *Yawnaya* of the texts were pirates.<sup>382</sup> De Souza defined piracy as armed robbery involving the use of ships that in turn provided greater mobility and range for such a venture. What is more, while de Souza admits it is hard to distinguish between warfare and piracy, warfare had a political objective whereas piracy tended not to.<sup>383</sup>

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<sup>377</sup> Alexander Polyhistor: Jacoby (1958b) cf. Lanfranchi 2000, 24; Abydenus: Jacoby (1958a) cf. Lanfranchi 2000, 25.

<sup>378</sup> Kuhrt 2002, 19-20.

<sup>379</sup> See no. 46, ll.56-62a in Grayson and Novotny 2014.

<sup>380</sup> See §319 in Luckenbill 1927; Frahm (1997) cf. Lanfranchi 2000, 28.

<sup>381</sup> Lanfranchi 2000, 14.

<sup>382</sup> Kuhrt (2002, 18) disagrees with Braun's assessment of Qurdi-Assur-Lamur's letter to Tiglath Pileser III (see n.369) and while acknowledging that it is possible the lines were referring to Ionian piratical activity, it is not explicitly stated.

<sup>383</sup> de Souza 1995, 180.

Moreover, an archaic Greek attitude towards piracy is difficult to determine based on the lack of contemporary historical texts. However, if one is to consider Homer as a (somewhat) useful gauge into contemporary society and culture then insight can be found. For example, in *Odyssey*, both a favorable (Od.14.222-34, 17.418-44) and reproachful (Od.3.71-4, 9.252-5) attitude toward piracy is presented. Subsequently, this contrasting, ambiguous attitude would persist for a long time in the Greek world.<sup>384</sup> Thucydides, during the 5th century, even commented that in earlier times men turned to piracy which was not yet held in disdain but rather glorified (Thuc.1.5).

Furthermore, concerning mercantile activity, the line dividing trade from piracy was blurred during the Greek Archaic period (ca.700-480). Trade and piracy were both ventures involving the transportation of goods by sea over long distances with the goal of obtaining wealth.<sup>385</sup> Strabo noted this when he wrote of Eratosthenes' observation that the earliest Greeks made voyages for the sake of both piracy and commerce (Str.1.3.2). Thus, the only true difference was the means of obtaining said wealth through peaceful trade or violent plunder that differentiated the merchant from the pirate. In other words, one man's capital was another's booty, and even the same man could accumulate wealth in both regards.<sup>386</sup> Yet, as mentioned above, piracy was not entirely frowned upon and the plunder seized would not have been thought of as ill-gotten (the modern connotation associated with the term booty). On the contrary, Odysseus became offended when called a captain of merchantmen (Od.8.159-66) but delighted in part of his false tales of his turn to piracy on Crete (Od.14.222-34).

The line is blurred even further when the slave trade is considered. During the Early Iron Age, the Mediterranean economy was developing in new ways which in turn altered the trading systems that were in place from the Late Bronze Age. The rise of piracy led to new development in naval warfare deemed necessary to combat it, and coincidentally chattel slavery increased in order to meet the demand for large-scale building projects such as shipbuilding.<sup>387</sup> The slave trade was an important component of piracy and the two frequently went hand-in-hand.<sup>388</sup> It was a large source of income for pirates, so much so that pirates would often pose as slave dealers (Str.14.5.2). Thus, Humphreys concludes that the import and export of manpower were of greater importance than of goods and that a rigid distinction between trade and piracy should not be applied.<sup>389</sup>

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<sup>384</sup> de Souza 1995, 181.

<sup>385</sup> de Souza 1995, 181.

<sup>386</sup> Cf. Humphreys 1979, 167.

<sup>387</sup> Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, 362; cf. n.379 above.

<sup>388</sup> Hitchcock and Maeir 2016, 257.

<sup>389</sup> Humphreys 1979, 169.

#### 4.4 *Yawnaya*, *Euboeans*, and *Trade*:

Thus far a similar trend has emerged between the LBA and IA II and III periods, i.e. the relative silence of texts regarding trade between the Aegean and East despite there being material evidence of such an activity. As noted, the vast majority of Greek ceramics during the 8th century came from Euboea and in fact, Euboea appears to be the first region of the Aegean, post-LBA, to have sustained overseas contact.<sup>390</sup> Could then Euboeans have made up part of these *Yawnaya* from the Assyrian texts? Homer in *Iliad* mentions the *Iaones* as a distinct group fighting alongside other groups of Greeks, including Boeotians and Athenians (Il.13.685-89). Burkert suggests that these neighboring tribes are intentionally referred to together due to their geographical location and for that reason, *Iaones* might be referring to the Euboeans. He further deduces that based on the archaeological evidence found in the East that *Yawnaya* may too corroborate this theory.<sup>391</sup> Rollinger also theorizes that these *Yawnaya*, being Greek speakers in general, might have included Greeks from the central Aegean, including Euboea.<sup>392</sup> Finally, as Boardman observed, “the literary record does not contradict Euboeans in the East but rather it says nothing at all.”<sup>393</sup> Nonetheless, given that the term, during the periods in question, likely applied to Greek speakers in general and perhaps even some non-Greek communities, one should consider that these *Yawnaya* from the texts at most consisted only of some Euboeans among other groups.

Euboea was home to many resources including metals, such as copper, iron, and silver (see n.257) which made it a wealthy region throughout antiquity.<sup>394</sup> Therefore, the Euboeans could have been providing such metals to these northern coastal Syrian sites to be distributed further inland. For instance, during the earlier years of the 8th century, Assyria appears to have experienced a shortage in silver, a metal Euboeans had access to. However, this problem appears to have been short-lived since Sargon II boasts that he accumulated silver in his palace and succeeded in making the buying price of copper comparable with that of silver.<sup>395</sup> At the same time, this does not mean that the Euboeans might not have also sought to increase their

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<sup>390</sup> Popham 1994, 14; Luke 2003, 57.

<sup>391</sup> Burkert 1992, 12-13. It is worth noting that Strabo (Str.9.1.5) mentions the Ionians in “former times” to have occupied Megara as well as Attica, and comments that Homer regarded all those dwelling in those areas as Athenians, because Attica was once called Ionia. Thus, when Homer referred to *Iaones* he meant the Athenians. However, Homer does clearly differentiate between the two groups in the above passage.

<sup>392</sup> Rollinger 2001, 249.

<sup>393</sup> Boardman 1999b, 42.

<sup>394</sup> Str.10.1.9; Hdt.5.31.3; cf. Sackett et al. 1966, 110.

<sup>395</sup> See no.1:222-234a in Frame 2012; cf. Aubet 2001, 83-84.

own metal supply through trade as well, perhaps due to the conflict between Chalcis and Eretria, the so-called Lelantine War.<sup>396</sup>

Yet, the Assyrians restricted the trade of iron, which was more likely for strategic military and not commercial reasons.<sup>397</sup> This is best demonstrated by a letter dating to the reign of Sargon II, where it was written that it was not permitted to sell iron to the Arabs (an enemy of the Assyrian empire) but acceptable to sell copper.<sup>398</sup> Conceivably then this restriction in iron trade might have been applied to the Euboeans as well, especially if one considers them to have been part of the hostile *Yamnaya* in Sargon II's inscriptions. Similarly, if one is to (cautiously) consider the combined accounts of the Greek historians and Sennacherib as fact, this could further be corroborated.

Slaves have frequently been considered part of the commodities traded by the Greeks.<sup>399</sup> However, it is not likely that slaves would have been reciprocated in trade since by the end of the 8th century a decree by Sennacherib (made while he was crown-prince) forbade the selling of slaves in *karu*.<sup>400</sup> Dezso and Ver note that slave trade was not prohibited within the greater Assyrian empire and speculate this measure banning slave trade along the coast was to check the export of slaves abroad.<sup>401</sup> There is potential then that these *Yamnaya* pirates were not capturing individuals to be traded as slaves but to be taken back to their homeland as slaves due to the lack of supply. Nonetheless, there was certainly a demand for slaves by the Assyrians, which the Greeks likely helped support. Ezekiel 27:13, while only a near-contemporary source (6th century), does mention the role of *Yawan* (the designator for the place Ionia) in the slave trade in Canann. Perhaps it was only then that the Greeks were able to rejoin the slave trade since by that time the Assyrians had lost their empire.

It has also been suggested that livestock and agricultural products were among the goods traded. Riis noted that Euboea exported sheep to Egypt during the Ptolemaic Period and suggested that they might have done the same several centuries prior.<sup>402</sup> Hesiod in his *Works and Days* (Hes.Op.614-34, 663-82) wrote that in Fall<sup>403</sup> one should not navigate the stormy sea but cultivate the land until better sailing conditions occurred in Spring and only then set sail for profit. One could then infer that agricultural products too might have been

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<sup>396</sup> Boardman 1999b, 42, 65-66; cf. Luke 2003, 57-58.

<sup>397</sup> Dezso and Ver 2013, 356.

<sup>398</sup> See no. 179 in Parpola 1987. Noteworthy are the 160 tons of iron discovered at the palace of Sargon II (Aubet 2001, 82).

<sup>399</sup> Boardman 1999b, 42; Riis 1970, 164. See also above.

<sup>400</sup> See no. 150 in Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990.

<sup>401</sup> Dezso and Ver 2013, 358.

<sup>402</sup> Riis 1970, 164.

<sup>403</sup> cf. Most 2006, 137 n.40 and n.41.

among the commodities traded with the East.<sup>404</sup> Unfortunately, all the possible trade commodities discussed thus far are perishable and therefore are not represented well in the archaeological record, save one.

#### 4.5 Local Ceramic Consumption:

Pottery is at times disregarded altogether as a trade commodity during the 8th and early 7th centuries, or regarded as a supplement, or accompanying good, exchanged with other trade commodities.<sup>405</sup> However, there is no reason why pottery should not be considered a desired import for these northern Syrian communities as it appears to have been in the past. On pragmatic terms, pottery has a high stowage factor, or an inverse of cargo density used to help distribute mass onboard a ship, and itself requires a ballast. Its breakability makes most pottery not ideal as ballast or space-filler, unlike iron or marble which were sturdy, could weigh the ship down, and had marketability themselves. Therefore, it would be sensible to think that a majority of ceramics on board ships were cargo in their own right, except for perhaps cheap stackable cups which could have been used as space-filler.<sup>406</sup>

At all sites, both ports and inland centers, the predominant vessel shapes were those that were used for eating and drinking such as skyphoi, cups, plates, bowls, and kraters (see section 4.2). In addition, apart from Al-Mina (which is likely due to modern circumstances), Greek ceramics made up a small proportion of the total assemblage until the 6th century when it started to dominate not only imported but also local wares. That is not to discount the possibility that Greek, specifically Euboean, ware was more popular in Pattin/Unqi and Al-Mina than in Hamath and Tell Sukas.<sup>407</sup> Moreover, it should also not be overlooked that Greek ceramics were proportionally larger at Al-Mina and Tell Sukas versus the inland centers they supported, which might be an indication that this pottery was in use on a relatively large scale.<sup>408</sup> Whether this large-scale use is determinative of use by a local community or a Greek *enoikismos* is uncertain, and as mentioned above (section 4.2) there is a reasonable likelihood of a small Greek community amongst a larger local one. Although, based on the evidence it is best to think of these ceramics as indicative of trade at least during IA II and the earlier centuries of IA III.

Thus, if these ceramics were acquired by trade, they were acquired with intent by the local non-Greek communities. As seen throughout the prior two periods discussed, local communities placed some value on

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<sup>404</sup> Pagnoux and Zurbach (2021, 273-75) briefly discuss well-known crops, such as barley, lentils, grapes, and olives as well as less known crops such as emmer (a cereal that grows well in winter) or bitter vetch (a pulse good for food or fodder) grown in central and northern Greece from the 12th to 5th centuries; cf. Sackett et al. 1966, 34 n.5.

<sup>405</sup> Riis 1970, 68 n.12; Boardman 1999b, 42; cf. Crielaard 1999, 62.

<sup>406</sup> McGrail 1989, 356-58; cf. Luke 2003, 46; contra Muhly (1992, 13) in the introduction.

<sup>407</sup> cf. Vacek 2012b, 40.

<sup>408</sup> Vacek 2012a, 299.

Aegean ceramics, and assigned them a functional and ceremonial use as well as employed them as prestige objects (see sections 2.2 and 3.3). Coldstream and Courbin have noted that Greek Geometric glazed pottery was superior to the porous, local style, resulting in a higher appreciation for the imported ceramics.<sup>409</sup> This is contra to Riis, who believed that the local populations placed no value on Greek ceramics.<sup>410</sup> Still, the former theory is much more suitable based on past tendencies. Luke suggests that this appreciation was not aesthetic but morphological due to two local imitations found, one at Ras el-Bassit and the other at Tell Rachidieh (south of Tyre), that imitate Geometric shapes but not the decoration. However, she continues to state that imitation ware is extremely rare and it is still uncertain if those two examples were locally produced.<sup>411</sup> Accordingly, it is better to consider all aspects of Greek pottery as desirable qualities.

Due to the ratio of Euboean pottery being smaller than the local and Cypriot wares at most sites along the north Syrian coast during the 8th century, it is possible that these ceramics were consumed primarily by the local elite.<sup>412</sup> This is even more apparent at the major inland centers these ports served since at both Tell Tayinat and Hamath these ceramics were found only in royal sanctuaries or palaces.<sup>413</sup> However, Greek imports dating to the 7th century at Tell Tayinat were sparse and it seems as if not only Euboean wares went out of favor but that East Greek wares subsequently never became popular unlike at Al-Mina. This might explain the difference in skyphoi types found at Tayinat and Al-Mina, and Vacek suggests that once the Assyrian occupation began at Kinalua, the Assyrian elites might have introduced new eastern-oriented fashions.<sup>414</sup> Similar notions are harder to determine for Hamath even if it was left unoccupied by an Assyrian provincial governor since it was destroyed in 720 (see section 4.2).

Consequently, with the near absence of Greek ceramics at those inland centers, it is even more remarkable that at their ports Greek ceramics slowly became more abundant throughout the 7th and culminating in the 6th century. This of course has been used as evidence for Greek settlement at these sites,<sup>415</sup> however, some important observations can be made from findings at Tell Sukas for local communities placing value on Greek ceramics and incorporating them into daily use. It has also already been noted that Euboean, East Greek, and some Athenian wares had been found at the northeast sanctuary, which could allude to Greeks using the temple. Yet, due to the prevalence of drinking and eating vessels, Vacek believes that some of this

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<sup>409</sup> Coldstream 2003, 95; Courbin 1982, 204; cf. Perreault 1993, 74-75; cf. n.97 above.

<sup>410</sup> Riis 1970, 68 n.12.

<sup>411</sup> Luke 2003, 41.

<sup>412</sup> Lanfranchi 2000, 10.

<sup>413</sup> Luke 2003, 42, 47.

<sup>414</sup> Vacek 2012b, 5.

<sup>415</sup> cf. Dezso and Ver 2013, 48. See also above.

assemblage might have come from the nearby houses of the habitation quarter.<sup>416</sup> In the habitation quarter, eating vessels, dishes, and large bowls have the highest distribution range however kraters, dinoi and pouring vessels have also been found. Furthermore, it appears that Greek imports were widely distributed in the settlement and there was no special concentration of shapes, which would also indicate that they were not part of large storage. Thus, the majority of imports were apparently used for local consumption.<sup>417</sup>

Additionally, at the sanctuary at the southern harbor, more closed shapes were found by the end of the 7th century. Greek dinoi and kraters also appeared in larger quantities, which might indicate an increased use in cultic activities since imports of these types were absent from earlier assemblages.<sup>418</sup> The appearance of Greek ceramics at this sanctuary becomes more significant when one considers the Aegean-style ware discovered under the foundations of this temple (see section 3.2). Riis also discovered what he termed a "Graeco-Phoenician" cemetery that was in use from the late 7th century until the 4th century when the area was turned into a sanctuary. Nine graves found from the earliest burials (late 7th/early 6th century) contained Greek pottery alongside local ceramics and Cypriot imports. All of the drinking cups discovered were of Greek origin, and most notably a Corinthian lekythos was found in one of the burials filled with burnt material. This is interesting since the practice of filling vessels with burnt material was an Eastern custom unknown in the Greek world, and as a result, this Greek vessel was being used in a foreign manner.<sup>419</sup> Thus, it can be deduced that a certain value was placed on these ceramics by the local communities.

Coincidentally, local communities, specifically the elite, might have incorporated these Greek eating and drinking vessels into local customs. The *marzeah* (see section 2.2) survived into the Iron Age in the Levant and is attested in Palestine and Syria from the Hellenistic and Roman periods well into the Common Era.<sup>420</sup> Barnett argues that the well-known relief scene from Nineveh of Assurbanipal reclining on a bed (Fig.7) was an allusion to the *marzeah* based on Greenfield's observations on Amos 6.4-7.<sup>421</sup> Amos, an Old Testament prophet during the 8th century from Samaria, condemned the activities of the *marzeah* stating that the participants lay on ivory beds, ate fattened calves, played music on the harp, drank wine from a *mizraq*, and anointed themselves with the best of oils.<sup>422</sup> *Mizraq* is a biblical term that Barnett equated to a phiale.<sup>423</sup> Greer detailed the history of interpretation of the term and noticed the definition ranged from a large krater to a

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<sup>416</sup> Vacek 2012b, 41-45.

<sup>417</sup> Vacek 2012b, 53-54.

<sup>418</sup> Vacek 2012b, 51.

<sup>419</sup> Riis 1979, 12-13, 22, 28, 30, 32; Vacek 2012b, 60-61.

<sup>420</sup> Carter 1997, 76-78; Greenfield 1974, 452, 454. Carter (1997, 76-112) draws comparisons between the Greek *thiasos* and the Levantine *marzeah* (cf. Barnett 1985, 3).

<sup>421</sup> Barnett 1985, 2-3.

<sup>422</sup> Greenfield 1974, 453; cf. Carter 1997, 78.

<sup>423</sup> Barnett 1985, 6 n.30.

metallic shallow bowl. He points to Amos 6.4-7 as an unusual example but admits that this story illustrates that the vessel could have been adopted for drinking purposes. Thus, he concluded that there could have been different variations and functions of the *mizraq*.<sup>424</sup> Therefore, given that the *marzeah* is attested as far back as Ugarit, some possible contemporary or near-contemporary examples of this practice, and not only the prevalence of Greek drinking and eating wares but also the superior quality of them, perhaps local elites were seeking to incorporate them into this ancient tradition.

#### 4.6 Additional Carriers:

Before concluding, it is necessary, as in the centuries prior, to briefly discuss the other potential carriers of Greek imports abroad. It has been established by now that interaction between local and foreign communities at these port sites is certain. Furthermore, it has been discussed how the Euboeans might have carried these goods overseas themselves and how Assyrian restrictions on trade might have affected them. However, two other groups have been hypothesized as possible carriers of Greek ceramics and those are the Cypriots and the Phoenicians. The local northern Syrian communities are not seriously considered since it is believed that they were not sea-faring people.<sup>425</sup> Yet, this was certainly not the case during the LBA, as wealthy cities such as Ugarit obtained said wealth via trade overseas (cf. Uluburun shipwreck, section 2.3). It is also curious that Sennacherib would praise the shipbuilding skills of the people from the land of Hatti if they were not sea-faring (cf. Bull Inscription, section 4.3).

Nevertheless, Cypriot pottery was found in large quantities at Al-Mina in Level 8, so much so that Woolley believed the Cypriot pottery to have overtaken the Greek. However, Boardman has noted that while Cypriot pottery did increase significantly, proportionally the Cypriot pottery was equal to the Greek.<sup>426</sup> Likewise, an ample amount of Cypriot pottery was discovered at both Tell Sukas and Ras Ibn Hani, which has caused both excavation teams to deduce Cypriot involvement.<sup>427</sup> Moreover, Kearsley concluded that the high volume of Type 4 and Type 5 skyphoi found on Cyprus, along with local imitations, is a clear indication that Greeks themselves were visiting the island prior to the increase in psc-skyphoi along the north Syrian coast.<sup>428</sup> Similarly, Boardman observed that Athenian ware arrived on Cyprus before it did on the north Syrian

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<sup>424</sup> Greer 2010, 27-45.

<sup>425</sup> Boardman 1990, 181.

<sup>426</sup> Woolley 1938, 16-18; Boardman 1999a, 143, 151; Boardman 1999b, 44.

<sup>427</sup> Tell Sukas: Lund 1986, 71-76, 190. Ras Ibn Hani: Bounni 1991, 110.

<sup>428</sup> Kearsley 1995a, 19; cf. Kearsley 1989, 171 n.11.

coast, as well as that Corinthian and East Greek ceramics became popular around the same time on both the island and the coast.<sup>429</sup>

Furthermore, an Aegean-Cypriot connection was not a new phenomenon. Cyprus played an important role in the relations between Greece and the East from the Late Bronze Age (see sections 2.3 and 3.4), and the island provided staging posts and meeting places along the main maritime route.<sup>430</sup> Therefore, it is no surprise that both Cypriot and Greek pottery appeared together in high proportions. Furthermore, Boardman observed a hybrid Euboean-Cypriot class of skyphoi at Al-Mina that were Euboean in shape and exterior decoration and Cypriot in their interior lines and bichrome technique. Boardman initially believed these to be made locally at Al-Mina, however, the analysis of the clay determined the origin of the cups to be in Cyprus and hence imported.<sup>431</sup> This ware has also been found at Tell Tayinat, Ras Ibn Hani, and Tell Sukas.<sup>432</sup>

As for the Phoenicians, it is fitting to believe them to be engaged in the trade of Greek ceramics along the north Syrian coast, however, concrete evidence is lacking. Phoenician trade made it as far west as the Iberian Peninsula, yet northern Syrian wares are not known to have made it past Italy. If the Phoenicians had carried northern Syrian goods, would not some have made it farther west? It appears then as if the distribution of Syrian goods corresponded more closely with the Greek sphere of influence than the Phoenician one.<sup>433</sup> Moreover, Euboean wares were not found in nearly the large quantities in the southern Levant as in the north. This begs an additional question, why would the Phoenicians leave Euboean wares at coastal north Syrian sites and not bring much back to Phoenicia?<sup>434</sup> On the contrary, perhaps our concept of who the Phoenicians were and what communities they were comprised of needs to be reconsidered.<sup>435</sup>

Noteworthy is Esarhaddon's Baal Treaty which gave the Assyrians the right to confiscate the cargo of any Tyrian ship that sank along the Philistine coast or within the territory of Assyria. The treaty as well required any Tyrian to pay a tax to enter or depart many coastal cities that belonged to Assyria.<sup>436</sup> This is contrary to the situation under Tiglath Pileser III where it would seem that the Tyrians had free access in and out of all trading posts to buy and sell as they wished.<sup>437</sup> It is possible then that these restrictions curbed the

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<sup>429</sup> Boardman 1999b, 44, 47; cf. Coldstream 2008, 349-51. However, Boardman dates the Athenian ware to before 750, which is well before even the first early Protoattic wares were produced. Thus, this should be taken into consideration with caution.

<sup>430</sup> Coldstream 1989a, 92.

<sup>431</sup> Boardman 1959, 163-69; Coldstream 1989a, 94.

<sup>432</sup> Tell Tayinat: Vacek 2012b, 4. Ras Ibn Hani: Vacek 2012b, 37. Tell Sukas: Ploug 1973, 16-17, 92.

<sup>433</sup> Boardman 1990, 175, 180-84.

<sup>434</sup> Boardman 2002, 7.

<sup>435</sup> cf. Quinn 2018, 65-86, 95-106; contra. López-Ruiz 2021, 15-19.

<sup>436</sup> See no.5 in Parpola and Watanabe 1988.

<sup>437</sup> cf. no.22 in Luukko 2012.

Phoenicians' ability to trade in these Greek ceramics along the coast which as a result conceivably gave a competitive advantage to the Greeks.<sup>438</sup> In addition, this might be the reason the *Yamnaya* no longer appear hostile in Assyrian texts, but rather as part of the Assyrian administrative system.<sup>439</sup> A royal inscription of Esarhaddon mentions a king from Ionia (*Yaman*), as well as a king from Cyprus (*Yadnanaya*) who bowed down at his feet, and another administrative text mentions an Ionian as a payer of silver.<sup>440</sup> Nevertheless, this is not to say that the Phoenicians, whoever they may have been, played no part in the ongoing trading activities. Especially since they had established settlements, such as Kition, in Cyprus by the 9th century which blended the two cultures creating a new style of pottery.<sup>441</sup> Therefore, considering both the Greek and Phoenician relations with Cyprus, it is not all that impossible the three were simultaneously active in the trading activities happening along the north Syrian coast.<sup>442</sup>

#### 4.7 Summary:

Trade between the Aegean and northern Syria gradually resumed over the course of IA II and by IA III had fully resurged to LBA levels (if not exceeded). This trade, of commodities such as metals, slaves, agriculture, and possibly pottery, largely occurred within the Assyrian *karu* system until the fall of the Assyrian Empire at the end of the 7th century. Assyrian texts are mostly obscure when it comes to trade with the Aegean, yet some contact between the two can be cautiously inferred if one is to take the *Yawnaya* of these texts as Greek-speaking peoples from all over the Aegean. Furthermore, in corroboration with the ceramic evidence, trade patterns can be discerned. Euboean ceramic imports reached their zenith around the time of Tiglath-Pileser III's conquest of Syria and slowly declined during the reign of Sargon II and virtually ceased during the reign of Sennacherib. This could be perhaps due to the trade restrictions imposed by the latter two kings which in turn could also have led to an increased level of *Yawnaya* piratical activity.<sup>443</sup> This conceivably led to the compulsion of these Assyrian kings to subdue them, which then concluded per chance with Sennacherib's conquest of Que. It is then possible that after the Euboeans withdrew from the region the

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<sup>438</sup> Yamada 2019, 232.

<sup>439</sup> Yamada 2019 232.

<sup>440</sup> See no.60:10-11 in Leichty 2011 and no.48:6 in Fales and Postage 1992 respectively. Curiously in the latter, the administrative list mentions the queen mother, however, it is unclear whether the payments are for her.

<sup>441</sup> Kearsley 1999, 116; Lehmann (2005, 84) deems that some of the Phoenician pottery found at sites such as Al-Mina, is more likely a local imitation or Cypro-Phoenician. For a further discussion of Phoenicians on Cyprus see Radner (2010, 429-50) and Iacovou (2006, 27-59).

<sup>442</sup> cf. Crielaard 1999, 62.

<sup>443</sup> Deszo and Ver 2013, 359; cf. Yamada 2019, 232. Contra. Lanfranchi (2000, 31-32, 32 n.107) who attributes the growth of Greek trade in the region to a positive Assyrian attitude towards it, and coincidentally believes that Ionian aggression had nothing to do with these trade restrictions.

East Greek communities took advantage of the void left in the trade market and the more favorable mercantile conditions of Esarhaddon.

Moreover, the prevalence of Greek ware, particularly the Euboean at the earliest levels of Al-Mina, at the coastal sites has led some to believe in a physical Greek presence at these sites during IA II. While this is highly plausible, it disregards the possibilities of other carriers of these ceramics such as the Cypriots and Phoenicians, and devalues these ceramics as pursued trade commodities. These ceramics, mostly eating and drinking vessels, made up a small percentage of the total ceramic assemblage at all sites (save Al-Mina) which might indicate elite consumption. Inland, at regional capitals such as Kinalua (Tell Tayinat) and Hamath, these ceramics were found only in royal contexts, however, this consumption did not continue past the 8th century. On the other hand, the use of Greek ceramics persisted at the coastal sites, and these wares were used by the local communities in settlement, ritual, funerary contexts, and perhaps even for elite feasting ceremonies such as the *marzeah*. While our modern-day interpretations are skewed by what material evidence has not only been preserved but also documented and published, what is known about trade between the Aegean and northern Syria attests to a long-standing tradition of contact between the two regions.

## **5. Conclusion:**

Through this general study of trade between the Aegean and northern Syria certain patterns of contact (trade or otherwise) and patterns of ceramic consumption may be observed. Yet, these observations cannot be formulated without stipulation. The foremost is that the limited preserved, excavated, and published material evidence hinders our perception of this past trade network. Thus, for example, when constructing conclusions about ceramic shape preferences, the value placed on them, and consumption practices, it should be done with caution and the understanding that these suppositions are bound to change over time in light of new discoveries. In addition, the contemporary textual records, as they are mostly reticent regarding East-West trade, must too be interpreted with discretion, and the social and geopolitical contexts in which they were written must be taken into account. Nevertheless, both the archaeological and textual record presently available does allow for certain deductions and analyses which may elucidate patterns of the enduring contact between the two regions throughout the four periods (800 years) discussed.

During the 14th and 13th centuries of LBA II, the trade between the two regions appears to have climaxed. Mycenaean ceramics appeared in larger quantities all over the Levant and Cyprus, however proportionally they made up only a small percentage of the total ceramic assemblage. Centers such as Alalakh and Ugarit have provided thus far the largest quantity of LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB ceramics, especially when compared to smaller sites such as Ras Ibn Hani and Tell Sukas which might have acted as auxiliary ports for the latter center. The majority of shapes were closed vessels such as the globular flask, piriform jar, and stirrup jar which is an indication that certain commodities such as oil and wine were also being imported. Additionally, the amphoroid krater, particularly with chariot scenes, was also popular. This trade was most likely centrally organized, yet there appears to have been an opportunity for private gain as in the case of the *tamkars* and possibly collectors from either the Argolid or even perhaps Cyprus.

However, after the start of the 12th century, and the fall of many prominent kingdoms including Hatti and Ugarit, the trade involving ceramics ceased. It is possible that due to the decentralized economic situation the private trade of commodities once controlled by the palatial elite, such as metals, increased, resulting in the demand for the Aegean goods stored in these ceramics diminishing, and consequently, the importation of the ceramics themselves ended in the region. Even so, the demand for Aegean ceramics did not dwindle, and locally produced Aegean-style ware became ubiquitous at many sites occupied during IA I. The local production of some shapes (open vessels used for food and beverage consumption) continued such as kraters, deep bowls, and shallow angular bowls, with the deep bowls becoming more abundant than in the prior centuries. Whereas most of the closed vessel shapes (used for storage) were not produced save some rare

examples of stirrup jars and thus appear to have gone out of fashion. The impetus for this phenomenon has generally been associated with Philistine migrations and it is oft believed that these Philistines had Aegean roots. While emigres from the Aegean are certainly plausible, local population movements might have also desired to produce these ceramics based on past LBA II customs.

In the subsequent centuries of IA II, trade between the Aegean and northern Syria resumed now within the confines of the Assyrian Empire. The trade again appears to have become centralized with port sites (*karu*) such as Al-Mina, Ras Ibn Hani, and Tell Sukas supplying major inland centers such as Kinalua (Tell Tayinat) and Hamath. Once more, during the 8th century, ceramics from the Aegean, primarily Euboea, became the dominant imported ceramic ware, along with the continued trade in metals and possibly slaves and agriculture. However, like in LBA II, the Aegean ceramics made up only a small percentage of the total ceramic assemblage (save, with caution, Al-Mina). The preference for open vessel shapes seems to have continued from IA I traditions, and during the 8th century, the prevalent shape became the Euboean psc-skyphos later followed by other drinking vessels such as the dinos, of East Greek origin, during the 7th and 6th centuries. Curiously, from what has been studied, it appears that despite Aegean ceramics disappearing from these inland centers, they remained in use at their ports. This has caused some to believe that a Greek *enoikismos* inhabited these sites, however, before the 6th century, the evidence for that is questionable. Likewise, this trade (of ceramics and otherwise) was probably facilitated by non-Greeks such as the Cypriots and/or the so-called Phoenicians in addition to the Greeks.

Hence, where the trade in ceramics is concerned, a significant pattern may be observed: there was a demand for Aegean ceramic imports, which were traded alongside other commodities, that began in the LBA, and carried over into IA II and III due to the continued utilization and subsequent value placed on these ceramics by local IA I communities. Mycenaean ceramics were sought after by elite groups as prestige items due to their origin and superior quality and were so utilized in various local traditions including funerary and ritual which is a trend that can also be observed by the local north Syrian communities of IA II and III. It is more difficult to ascertain how regional communities interacted with the Aegean-style ceramics of IA I. However, at Ras Ibn Hani it appears as if Aegean-style ceramics were employed for status display just as they were once at Ugarit. This might have been the case as well at Tell Tayinat, however, due to the settlement patterns in the region between the 13th and 12th centuries, it appears as if there the wares were more communalized.

Historically, the trade pattern between the Aegean and northern Syria appears to have been greatly impacted by the empires that controlled the region. In LBA II, the Hittites controlled the northernmost Syrian

kingdom of Mukish and thus its capital Alalakh. This could serve to explain the preference for globular flasks and amphoroid kraters (perhaps an indication of elite wine consumption) which differed from other Levantine regions, including Ugarit. Furthermore, this could serve to expound the higher quantity of Mycenaean ceramics found at Ugarit than at Alalakh (in addition to the stipulation mentioned above) since Ugarit was able to somewhat maintain its autonomy. The dearth of central powers during the ensuing IA I period would have certainly allowed for population movements, local or foreign, as well as the decentralized movement of goods. It is also during this time that Aegean peoples began to settle on Cyprus (if not slightly sooner) and perhaps their presence stimulated the local production of Aegean-style wares on the island which in turn reached the coast. During IA II, the Assyrians controlled the trading posts along the coast and restricted the trade of certain commodities, for instance, iron and slaves. The result of which might have hindered trading relations between the Aegean and northern Syria during the 8th and early-7th centuries which is not only reflected in the ceramic record, but also perhaps in the textual as (cautiously) made evident by the *Yawnaya* pirates who might have turned to piracy due to Assyrian ascendancy. A more accordant situation began to emerge by the mid-7th century under the reign of Esarhaddon, yet Aegean trade with northern Syria would not fully resurge again until the 6th century under the Babylonian and Persian empires.

In conclusion, the trade contact between the Aegean and north Syria remained continuous from the 14th to the 6th century with only certain variations occurring throughout. These fluctuations in trade were brought on mostly due to imperial reasons, either by design as in LBA II and IA II and III or due to turmoil as in IA I. However, the demand for Aegean goods never ceased as is made evident by the ceramic record, and in particular the locally produced Aegean-style wares. This demand was also not uniform throughout northern Syria and certain regional ceramic preferences may be observed, such as the globular flask at Alalakh in LBA II, the stirrup jar at Ras Ibn Hani in IA I, and the Athenian wares at Al-Mina in IA III. Nevertheless, on the whole, these goods were valued and adapted into various local customs, by primarily elite groups. Furthermore, it is vital to recall that this trade was not necessarily performed by Aegean communities, thus the role of Cyprus, specifically, in this trade must not be overlooked. Thus, the enduring contact between the Aegean and northern Syria and the longstanding local traditions of the use and appreciation of Aegean ceramics are best understood as part of a much larger trade network. A network that through extensive study shall continue to illuminate the interactions between East and West and the impact of trade on the communities engaged in it.

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**7. Figures:**



Fig.1. *Map of sites discussed.* After, Mountjoy 2020, 179 fig. 18.8.

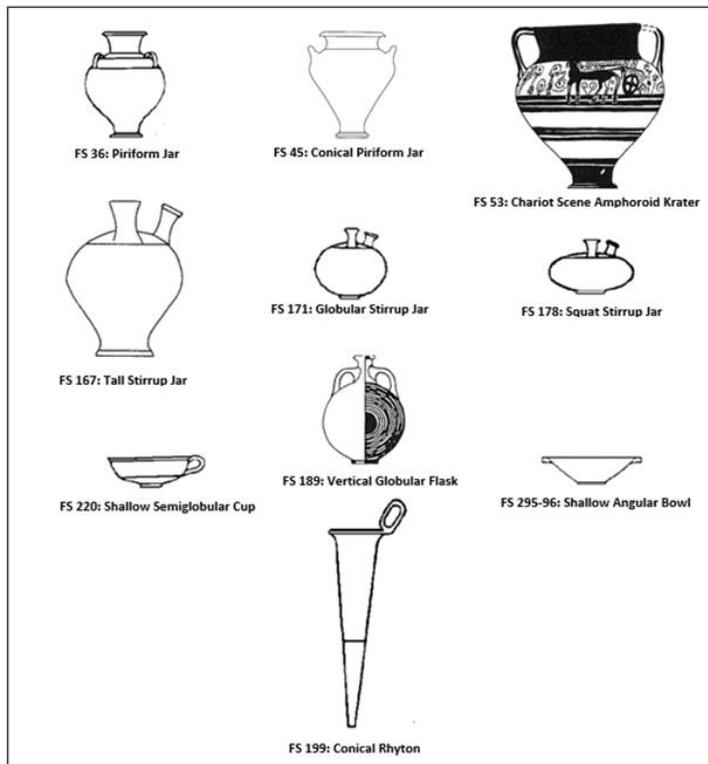


Fig.2. *Common LH IIIA2-B imported pottery shapes, figures not to scale.* After, Leonard 1994, 18 no.59, 23 no.160, 85 no.1253; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 14



Fig.3. Rolled out scene from the House of the Magician-Priest mug. Jung 2015, 259 fig.8.

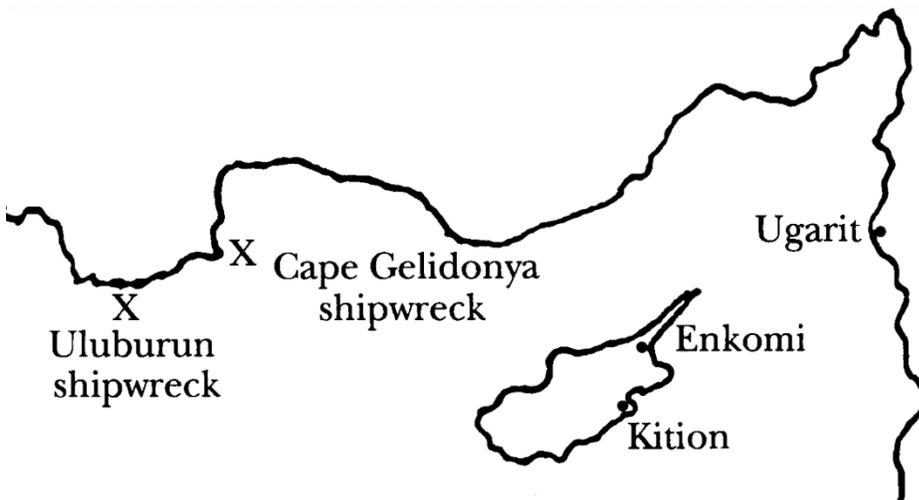


Fig.4. Enlarged map displaying the proximity of Enkomi to Ugarit and the location of the shipwrecks mentioned in text. After, Bachhuber 2006, 348 fig.1.

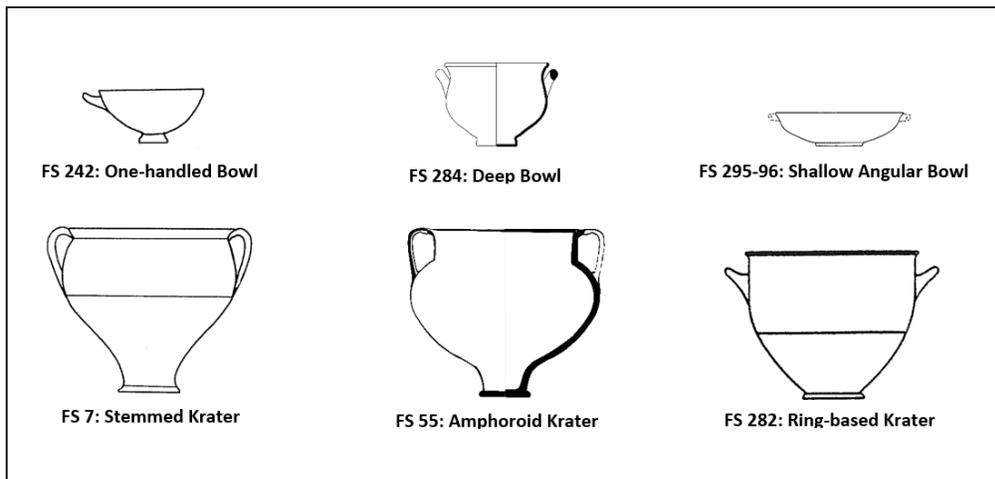


Fig.5. Common open Aegean-style shapes produced during IA I, figures not to scale. After, Leonard 1994, 13 no.7, 33 no.324, 104 no.242, 115 no.282, 119 no.1775, 123 no.295.

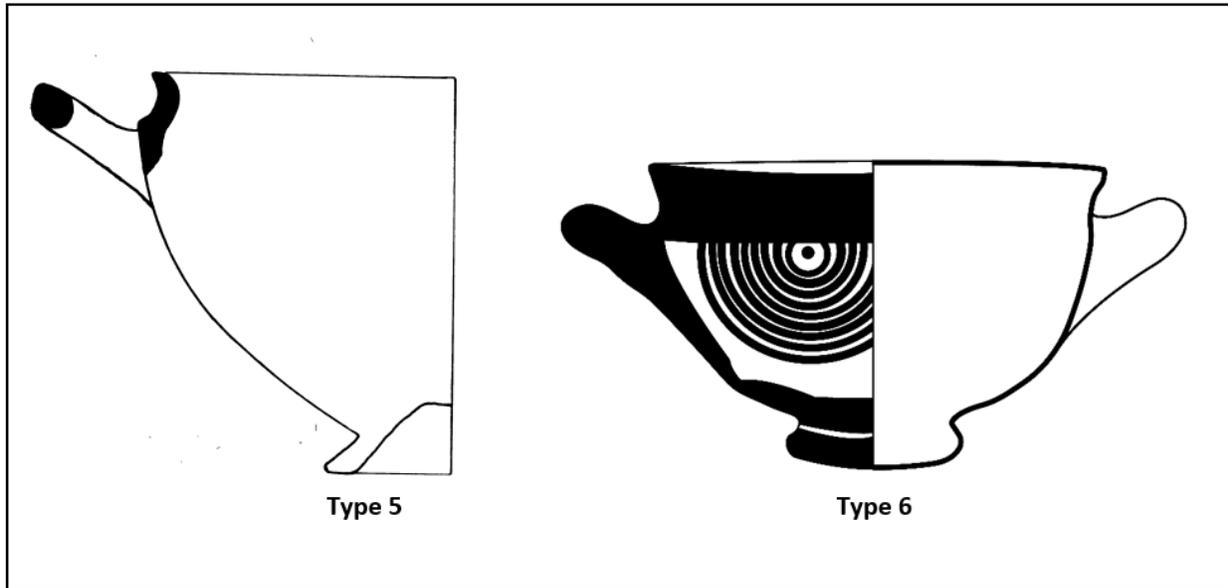


Fig.6. Kearsley's *Type 5* and *Type 6 psc skyphoi*, figures not to scale. After, Kearsley 1989, 98 fig.39; Boardman 1999b, 40 fig.13.



Fig.7. *Assurbanipal's banquet relief*. Barnett 1985, pl.1.