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Exchanges Between Phoenicians and Early Greeks

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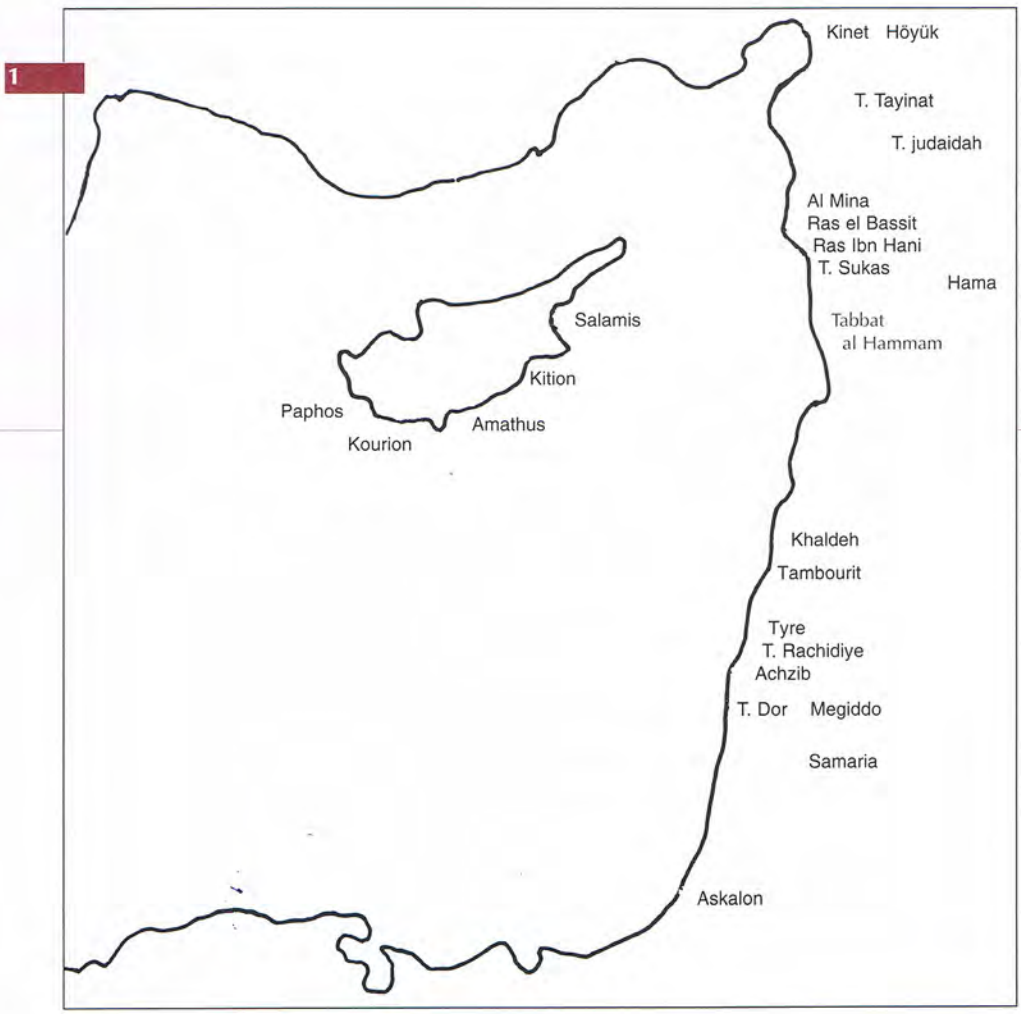
During the tenth, ninth and eighth centuries BC the city kingdoms of the Phoenicians were enjoying their greatest period of prosperity. After the commotions at the end of the Bronze Age, a swift recovery led to a vigorous revival of trade overseas, followed by the foundation of colonial and commercial outpost extending over many coastal areas of the Mediterranean: first in Cyprus, then in Tunisia, Sardinia, western Sicily, and eventually in southern Spain. In the Aegean, in spite of vague references about Phoenician settlers in the 'Histories of Herodotus', no similar Phoenician foundations have become apparent in the archaeological record; there are, however, some hints of skilled Phoenician specialists living among Greeks. The Aegean world, during these three centuries, has been supposed to have endured and eventually recovered from a Dark Age, following the collapse of Mycenaean palace civilisation and a recession more serious than what befell the Levant: an age of poverty, illiteracy and very little contact with the outside world. At any period, to generalise about Greeks is hazardous and in these centuries the "darkness" was far from uniform. Particularly illuminating, and especially upsetting of a Greek Dark Age, has been the recent programme of excavations at Lefkandi on the island of Euboea. Unencumbered by any remains later than 700 BC, Lefkandi provides several miraculously unplundered cemeteries of single graves from the eleventh until the ninth century, all closely datable (in relative terms) through a well-documented sequence of local pottery with painted decoration, assisted at



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1 Map of the east Mediterranean, showing sites mentioned.

many points by an even better documented sequence of fine Attic imports. These interments, often of aristocratic character, offer many signs of contact with the Levant in the frequent import thence of vessels and small articles in metal and faience. Furthermore, the local pottery found in these cemeteries contain the closest parallels for the Early Greek exports to Tyre, establishing Euboea as their most regular source from the tenth century onwards. Thus recent discoveries at Lefkandi, as also at Athens and at Knossos in Crete, have had the effect of undermining and exposing the general concept of a Greek "Dark Age" as a somewhat tendentious term. Instead, let us think more objectively and more positively of an Early Greek period in the first few centuries of the Iron Age - a period when the Aegean world now proves to have been never wholly isolated from the eastern Mediterranean, and by the eighth century was moving towards the evolution of the Greek *polis*. Other signs of swift progress were the recovery of literacy through tuition in the Phoenician alphabet, an ever-increasing volume of exchange with the Levant, a colonial movement of Greek settlers in Italy and Sicily, the coalescence of the Homeric epic poems, and the growth of the panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi, rich in offerings not least of East Mediterranean origin.

In this context the Phoenicians, too invite definition. We cannot deal here with exchanges between Phoenician and Greek settlers in the western Mediterranean - that is another story. In the Levant, the Phoenician coastal homeland extends some way beyond the modern state of Lebanon, northwards at least as far as Arvad (Aradus) in southern Syria. To the south, clearly within the metropolitan Phoenician orbit was the bay of Haifa, where the important cemeteries of Achzib (Ecdippa) still await full publication. Still further to the south, current excavations at the coastal site of Tell Dor are revealing new insights into Early Greek and Cypriot contacts with a settlement at the southernmost limit of the Phoenician homeland.

To what extent did Levantine exports to the Early Greek world come from metropolitan Phoenicia? Various obstacles to excavation at the major Phoenician centres, and in particular to the penetration of their Early Iron Age levels, may still conceal important clues. Even so, it is evident that some categories of exports to Greece came from the north Levant: notably the ivories of the Loftus group defined by R. Barnett in his publication of Nimrud, and also the Lyre Player stone seals produced around the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean. The claims of North Syria, as a leading purveyor of orientalizing ideas in Early Greek art, have more than once been advanced. We need, however, to distinguish between producers and conveyors. In the literary record, no other Levantine people has been credited with a maritime and commercial initiative equal to that of the Phoenicians. The early Israelites were not willing sailors, to judge from their demonization of the sea as Leviathan or Lotan, and the woes of the prophet Jonah. The Aramaean principalities, evolving from the Syrian desert, were remote from the sea. The Neohittite kingdoms, too, were sited well inland, although some possessed outlets on the Levant coast - for example, the kingdoms of Unqi and Hama, respectively, at modern Al Mina and Tell Sukas. At Al Mina, however, the prevalence of fine Samaria ware hints at a resident community of Phoenician merchants prepared to sail overseas in the service of the inland principality. Thus, although many Levantine exports to Greece are not of Phoenician origin, Phoenician mariners have a reasonably strong claim to have been their carriers.

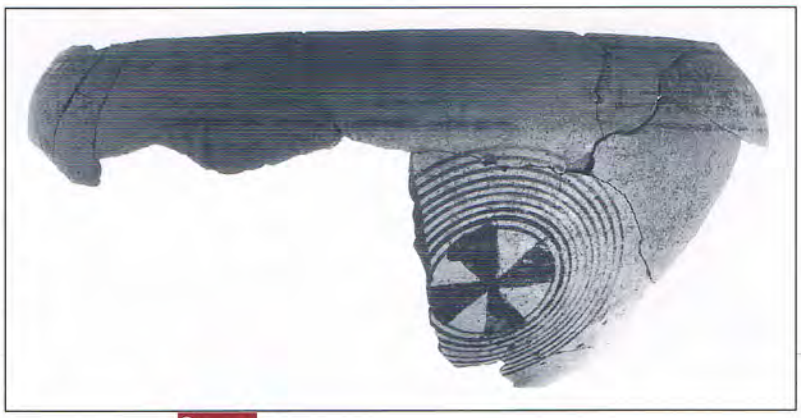
Between objects travelling from the Levant to the Aegean and in the opposite direction, there is a marked contrast. Levantine exports there, apart from a few unguent pots, which perhaps stimulated the creation of expatriate eastern factories in Crete and the Dodecanese, are wholly non-ceramic. They consist chiefly of articles in metal, faience and ivory, luxuries in an Early Greek context, and especially prominent among the richer graves of Lefkandi and among the votives at the Idaean Cave sanctuary in Crete. In return, Early Greek imports to the Levant are confined to painted pottery.

Hard things have sometimes been said about the significance, or otherwise, of the humble clay pot. It has been urged that pottery can have formed only

a negligible item in commercial exchange, in contrast to artefacts in metal (liable to vanish through being melted down) and more precious media (quickly changing hands); putative goods in textile and other perishable materials may also be cited, and even human traffic in slaves. Clay pots, in this line of argument, are alleged to have been over-valued in archaeological reasoning, thanks to their massive quantity and their obstinate capacity for survival[1]. Of course one concedes that exported pottery, robustly indestructible, may often have constituted no more than a "trace element" for the detection of foreign contacts, whether direct or indirect. No other medium, however, is more closely datable, allowing us to estimate the ebb and flow of those contacts. In particular, the rapidly changing styles of Early Greek pottery, produced in several contemporary regional schools each with well-established sequences, respond especially easily to chronological analysis. Furthermore, it can be demonstrated here that some of the largest and most elaborately decorated clay vessels exported from Greece to the east Mediterranean might well have been valued and appreciated for their own same, whether as commercial goods or as articles in gift exchange.

It is no surprise that the Phoenician metropolis of Tyre should have been the recipient of the oldest Early Greek imports in any quantity. Over a hundred Greek fragments, some datable well back in the tenth century, are known from the excavations of the Emir M. Chéhab near the ruined Crusader Cathedral[2]. Especially revealing there is the sounding carefully supervised by Dr. Patricia Bikai, in which continuity of occupation was established between the fourteenth and the eighth centuries BC, with a full series of stratified deposits[3]. But, before considering in detail the earliest exports to Tyre, we should take note of some equally early Greek pottery, more isolated, found at two sites further to the south.

About 70 km. south-east of Tyre, on an inland trade route, lies the site of Tell Hadar, situated on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, within the biblical kingdom of Geshur[4]. A massive destruction deposit there, within a large warehouse building, contained over a hundred whole vessels mainly of Phoenician character, and also a fragmentary Euboean PG vessel of unusual shape (fig. 2)[5]. The excavator dates this stratum mainly to the eleventh century, and considers the destruction to be associated with the capture of the site by king David, fol-



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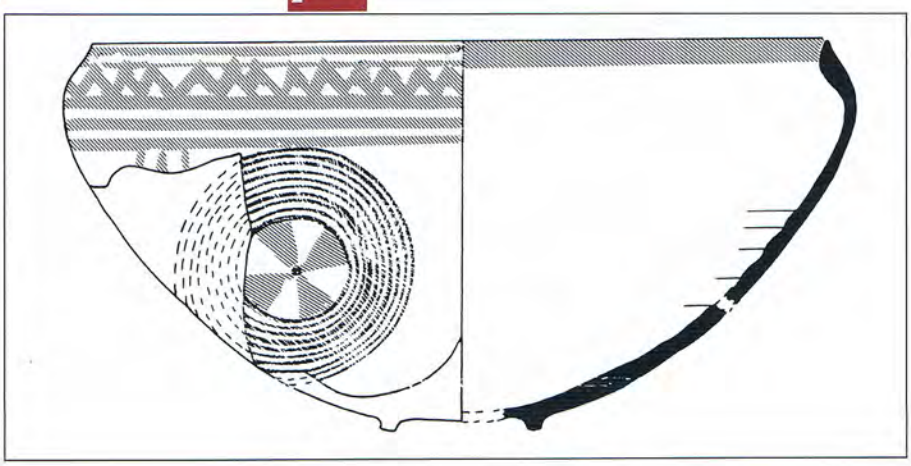


1 R. M. Cook, *Antiquity* 34 (1960) 179; A. M. Snodgrass, in *AGC* 3-5; J. K. Papadopoulos, *JMA* 10.2 (1997) 193-5.
2 P. Bikai , *RDAC* 1988.2, 36.
3 Bikai, *The Pottery of Tyre* (Warminster, 1978) 64-8.
4 M. Kochavi, in *MPT* 468-77.
5 J. N. Coldstream, in *MPT* 357-9.

2 Lebes, fragmentary, Euboean M-LPG. Tell Hadar. D. c. 27 cm. *MPT* 358, fig. 1.

lowed by its annexation to the kingdom of Israel; this event should have occurred not later than 980 BC according to the orthodox chronology of the Old Testament. If this interpretation is correct, and if the biblical date is sound, Aegean specialists will welcome this context as a much-needed fixed point for the dating of Greek PG pottery. Unfortunately, the imported vessel is not easy to place within the Euboean sequence, lacking any close parallel from Lefkandi; one can only estimate that it belongs somewhere near the change from the MPG to the LPG phase. The very rarity of the shape, however, is of considerable interest. It seems to be a clay adaptation of the shallow bronze cauldron or lebes, which, in the Greek world, was always an object of prestige. Such cauldrons, sometimes enlarged to a monumental size and equipped with tripod legs, occur later as major votive offerings at the sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi, and also receive frequent mention in the exchanges of gifts between Homeric heroes. One suspects, then, that the clay version found at Tell Hadar might well have possessed some elite connotation, as a token gift of Greek origin, passing through a Phoenician port to the ruler or a high official of a small inland state lying on a regular trade route. At all events, it must certainly be one of the earliest known post-Mycenaean Greek exports to the Levant.

The other southern site producing very early Greek exports is Tell Dor, the coastal site already mentioned[6]. Dor possesses a special importance in being the only place where Phoenician occupation immediately succeeds Philistine, after a burnt destruction during the eleventh century. With the earliest Phoenician horizon (Iron Age I/IIa) went a considerable amount of vessels in a Cypriot style, both imports and local imitations evidently made by expatriate Cypriot potters. These, in Cypriot terms, conform to CG IB, currently dated to the first half of the tenth century. Found in the same broad context was a rim fragment of an imported Greek vessel with a coated body and a diluted zigzag between lines on a reserved lip, clearly from a common type of high-footed cup well represented in the LPG graves of Lefkandi (e.g. fig. 3). One hopes that the current excavations of Dor will continue to find more Early Greek imports in well-stratified contexts.

Returning to the much greater volume of Early Greek pottery found at Tyre, one should not thereby be tempted into incautious statistical deductions. The greatest centre of Phoenician maritime power would naturally not have been slow to attract commercial exchanges with the West. Even so, hardly more than a hundred Early Greek pieces of the tenth, ninth and eighth centuries should be measured against a total of "between 15 and 30 million sherds"[7] produced by the major excavation from which they came. It may be then, that the flow of Early Greek pottery to Tyre need not have been more copious than to the southern sites. Another preliminary caution should be stated. Owing to

6 A. Gilboa, in *MPT* 418-23; *ead.*, in *Cyprus: the Historicity of the Geometric Horizon* (Nicosia, 1999) 119-39.
7 Bikai, *RDAC* 1988.2, 37.
8 Bikai, *loc. cit.*
9 Coldstream, *RDAC* 1988.2, 38, pl. 10, nos. 19-27.
10 R. W. V. Catling and I. S. Lemos, *Lefkandi* II.1, 21-2, pls. 5h, 11, 48, nos. 120-54.
11 M. Popham, E. Touloupa and L. H. Sackett, *Antiquity* 56 (1982) 169-74.

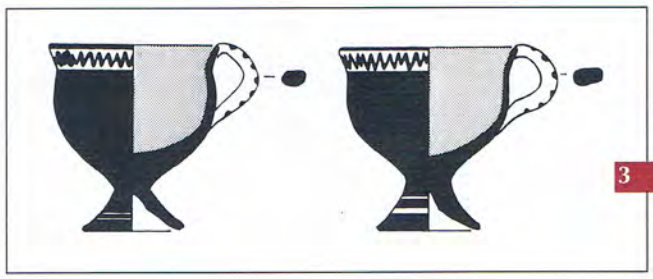
3 Cups, Euboean LPG. Lefkandi, Toumba gr. 17.2-3. Hs. 6.8, 6.7 cm. *Lefkandi* I, pl. 126.

4 Skyphos frs., Euboean MPG. Tyre. *RDAC* 1988.2, pl. 10, nos. 24-7.

5 Skyphos, Euboean MPG. Lefkandi, Toumba Building. H. 17.3 cm. *Lefkandi* II.1, pl. 48.120.

adverse political circumstances in recent years, I have not had the privilege of examining these Early Greek sherds in the Museum of Tyre. My knowledge of them is derived from photographs that Dr P. Bikai kindly sent me in 1987 and invited me to publish; however, comparanda were not difficult to find in publications of Early Greek pottery at home. In her contribution to our joint article Dr. Bikai mentioned the urgency of photographing the Greek imports before further study *in situ* became impossible from 1974 onwards. She also leaves open the possibility that yet earlier Greek imports might be present among the vast corpus of material so far excavated at Tyre and still awaiting detailed study[8].

Even though quantity needs to be appraised in its context, it can nevertheless bring enlightenment. Greek sherds of the tenth and ninth centuries from the Tyrian excavations are plentiful enough to indicate which imported shapes were preferred: overwhelmingly, vessels for drinking and eating – two-handled skyphoi and plates. Their concentric circular ornament deftly executed with compass and multiple brush, and their carefully coated interior surfaces might well have made them seem a pleasantly exotic alternative to their plainer equivalents in the local Phoenician repertoire. Particular attention should be drawn to the earliest type of imported skyphos[9], decorated with full concentric circles under a band of paint on the lip.(fig. 4). These find exact parallels among the debris associated with the dismantling of a vast but short-lived building at Lefkandi, where the skyphoi[10] fall mainly into the MPG phase (fig. 5) currently dated to the first half of the tenth century. This edifice, 45 m. long, enclosed under its floor two burials of royal character[11], accompanied by a team of four chariot horses buried in a separate pit. The king's cremated ashes were placed in a large bronze vessel from Cyprus, decorated in relief with scenes of hunting. The inhumed queen was generously bedecked with gold ornaments of which the metal, at least, is most likely at this time to have come from eastern Mediterranean sources. Two of her gold ornaments deserve special mention, remarkable respectively for their size and their quality of workmanship: first, a massive gold brassiere, probably local work; and second, an exquisitely granulated pendant from Babylonia of the Middle Bronze Age in a technique as yet unknown to the Euboeans; a very ancient object in its context. The contemporary exports of pottery to Tyre invite the possibility that this impressive trinket came to Lefkandi through commercial exchange at the Phoenician metropolis. There is, however, another possible explanation, of a more personal nature.



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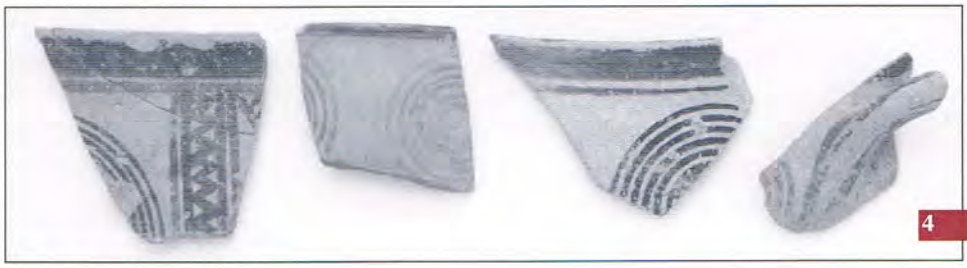

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The construction of the enormous apsidal building at Lefkandi, and its demolition after only a brief interval, have invited alternative explanations. The excavators[12] see here a huge funerary monument, a heroön, built especially to house the royal burials. Others[13] prefer to regard it as a palatial residence, demolished after the untimely demise of the royal couple, who were then interred under its floor. Whatever the correct explanation may be, this local ruler must have been a figure of considerable authority. To have erected this building, he must have commanded a very large labour force. And during his lifetime, Euboean maritime contacts already had the effect of spreading a uniform style of PG pottery over a wide area in the Aegean, extending to the Greek mainland from Thessaly to Boeotia, and out to sea to the Northern Sporades and many of the Cycladic islands[14]. In the contacts of the Euboean MPG exports to Tyre, this chieftain would have been the contemporary of the great king Hiram I who reigned c. 970-940 BC, united the coastal Phoenician cities under his hegemony, and is credited with the beginnings of Phoenician maritime enterprise overseas. No less active, so it seems, were the Euboeans, well equipped to be equal trading partners with the Phoenicians. Commercial exchanges between the two peoples could have been encouraged, or even initiated, by personal links at the highest social level, and elsewhere[15] I have put the suggestion that the queen's Babylonian pendant could have been a very personal possession, indicating her eastern Mediterranean connections, or even kinship. In advancing such a speculation, an element of hindsight must be admitted, in the context of Lefkandi. The later record of the royal clan, known only from its graves, is to be found in the elite cemetery which accumulated outside the entrance to the apsidal building, known locally as Toumba owing to the extensive tumulus heaped up to cover its ruins[16].

Graves in this Toumba cemetery were consistently provided with offerings unusually rich, even by the standards of the exceptionally wealthy and outward-looking community of Lefkandi. During the next four generations, from c. 950 until the abandonment of all known Lefkandi cemeteries around 825, the variety, quantity and quality of Levantine and other Near Eastern imports is outstanding in comparison with any other site in Greece. These imports include two Syrian bronze bowls of the late tenth century with embossed figured scenes, in the earliest closely datable contexts for bowls of that class; also, bronze jugs of Egyptian character with a lotus motif on the handle, and numerous luxurious articles in faience. One grave of the LPG phase, in the late tenth century (Toumba no. 39)[17], contained an Egyptian faience ring with a bust of Amun as a ram's head, an antique made not later than the Twentieth Dynasty, and surely a personal possession. In the same grave were six faience vessels of Egyptian type: a ring vase, a lugged amphoriskos, a duck vase, two vessels shaped like bun-

12 Popham, *Lefkandi* II.2, 97-101.
13 E.g. A. Mazarakis-Ainian, *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100-700 BC), Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 121 (Jonsered, 1997) 48-57.
14 V. Desborough, "The Background to Euboean Participation in Early Greek Maritime Enterprise", in *Tribute to an Antiquary: Essays presented to Marc Fitch* (Oxford, 1976) 25-40.
15 Coldstream, in *MPT* 356.
16 Popham and Sackett, *BSA* 77 (1982) 213-48; *AR* 35 (1989) 117-29; *Lefkandi* III (plates).
17 *BSA* 77 (1982) 219-20, no. 37, fig. 3.
18 *Art. cit.* 244-5.
19 I owe this notion to Professor E. J. Peltenburg's paper "Egyptian Faience from Early Greek Sites" read on 26.3.93 at the Institute of Classical Studies, London.
20 Popham, in *AGC* 22, fig. 2.10.
21 Bikai, in V. Karageorghis, *Alt-Paphos* 3: *Palaepaphos-Skales, an Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus* (Konstanz, 1983) 396-405.
22 Bikai, *Amathonte* II, 1-19; ead., *The Phoenician Pottery of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1987) 63 (tomb contexts), 71-2 (inventory).
23 E. Gjerstad, *OGAPC* 23 nos. 1-2, pl. 1.1-2; Coldstream, *Amathonte* II 22, n. 10, pls. 10 and 17, Limassol 46/3-4.
24 Desborough, *JHS* 77 (1957) 214 ff.
25 Bikai, *op. cit.* (n. 3) pl. 22a, no. 1.

ches of grapes, and a plaque in the form of a recumbent lioness. These are thought to be Egyptianizing work made in the Levant[18] rather than true Egyptian; but, in sheer quality, they are none the worse for that. One wonders, what was the social significance in the Levant at this time of such collections of high-quality faience vessels? Professor E. Peltenburg, a specialist in faience, has put forward an attractive explanation[19], arising from the most formidable Mediterranean state in the political world of the tenth century; that was, surely, the reviving power of Egypt under the Twenty First Dynasty. A particularly influential figure there was the Pharaoh Siamun who reigned c. 978-959 BC, a vigorous promoter of dynastic marriages. One of his daughters became one of the many wives of king Solomon of Israel, and his sister-in-law was married to Hadad II, crown prince of Edom. To help these expatriate Egyptian princesses feel happy and at home in their new surroundings, local artisans would have been commissioned on royal demand to produce luxurious *Aegyptiaca*, including faience vessels of superb quality like those exported to Lefkandi. It is not that the Euboeans themselves had, at that time, any *direct* relations with Egypt: among the grave goods found at Lefkandi, the Amun ring appears to be the only indisputably Egyptian object, and the flow of exported Euboean pottery did not reach Egypt. There remains, however, the possibility that the splendid faience vessels came to Lefkandi through a personal link, perhaps through intermarriage at some point with a leading family of Tyre: a personal link which would enabled the Euboeans to have had a share in the general revival of prosperity during and after the reigns of Hiram I of Tyre and Solomon of Israel, both of whom would have been the contemporaries of the chieftain for whom the huge Toumba building was intended - whether as his palace or as his heroön. This surmise has to be based almost wholly on the fully published *orientalia* from Lefkandi; it remains to be seen whether it will receive confirmation from any correspondence in personal objects from the Phoenician homeland, especially from the as yet unpublished cemeteries of Achzib - for example, in the intaglios of stone and faience seals, of which several occur in the ninth-century graves of Lefkandi[20].

For these early exchanges, the shipping must have passed along the south coast of Cyprus. Already in the CG I phase (c. 1050-950 BC), seven Phoenician jugs and flasks occur in the well-furnished *Skales* cemetery at Kouklia (old Paphos)[21]. The main staging post, however, would have been at Amathus, the recently founded city of indigenous Cypriots where the earliest finds date to the second half of the eleventh century. To judge from the unusually abundant pottery imports from both east and west found in its chamber tombs, Amathus must have been an exceptionally outward-looking place during the Early Iron Age, welcoming maritime visitors from both directions. Phoenician vessels, mainly slow-pouring shapes as at Kouklia, reached Amathus in a steady flow from the tenth century onwards[22]. The Greek imports, by contrast, are almost always of open vessels among which the skyphos, the favourite drinking vessel, is especially prominent[23]. These include the oldest known Early Greek vessel from the island, a Euboean LPG high-footed skyphos from a plundered CG II tomb[24], on which the usual concentric circles enclose Maltese crosses (fig. 6). This type can be closely matched, not only at Lefkandi, but also in a fragment from Stratum XI at Tyre, dated c. 925-850 BC[25].

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6 Skyphos, Euboean LPG. Amathus. H. 13.9 cm. *Amathonte* II, pl. 17.

EXCHANGES BETWEEN PHOENICIANS AND EARLY GREEKS

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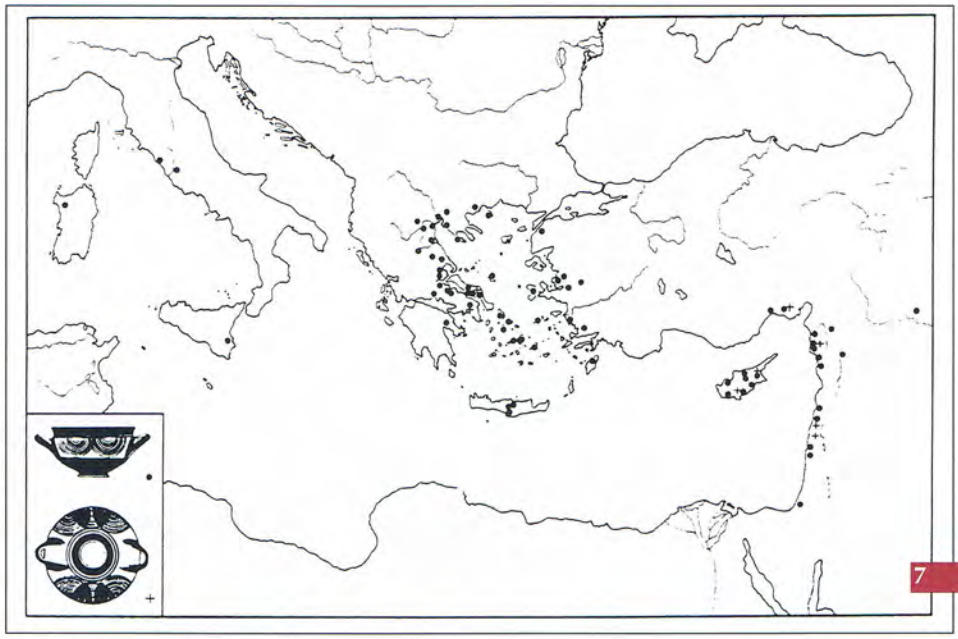

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Over the next two centuries the correspondence with Greek exports to Tyre is so close that, for shipping approaching the Phoenician metropolis from the west, Amathus must have been an indispensable port of call. Thus, for the fragmentary Greek vessels from the settlement of Tyre, their equivalents from the collective tombs of Amathus may often provide a useful complement; Tyre sometimes produces stratified contexts, whereas Amathus offers complete shapes.

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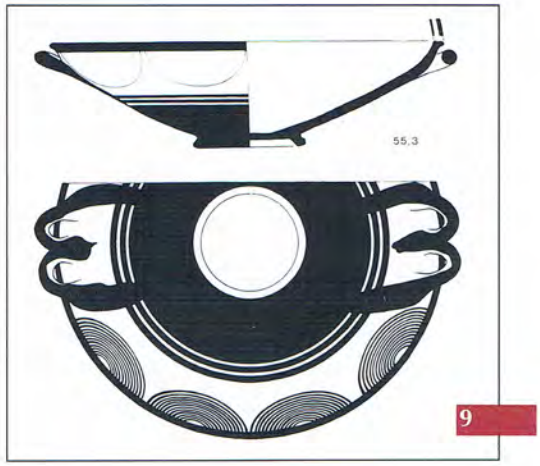
Eteocypriots of Amathus thus perform the role of middlemen, open to commerce and profiting from exchanges in both directions. What is missing, however, is any sign there of the truly aristocratic articles from the Levant, such as the fine vessels in faience and metal. Here the negative evidence from nearly seven hundred excavated chamber tombs must carry some weight, increasing the likelihood that those outstanding luxuries came to Lefkandi not through casual commerce, but rather through some personal connection at a high social level.

26 Distribution map: Popham, in *AGC* 27, fig. 2.12.
27 N. Iacovou, *RDAC* 1990, 94 (on Amathus tomb 521).
28 *Lefkandi* III, graves 42, 55, 79; pls. 46, 61, 75-6, 102-103, 114.
29 Coldstream, *RDAC* 1995, 187-96, fig. 2, pl. 15.
30 P. Dikaios *et al.*, *AA* 1963, 126 ff., esp. 206; Gjerstad, *GGAPC* 25, pl. 2.2-12. On the fabric: Coldstream, *RDAC* 1988.2, 28 n. 38.



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7 Map showing distribution of Euboean SubPG. pottery in Levant and Cyprus.
8 Skyphos, Euboean SubPG. Amathus T.334.61. H.9.5 cms. *Amathonte* II, pl .I
9 Plate, Euboean SubPG. Lefkandi, Toumba gr. 55.3. D. 21.5 cm. *Lefkandi* III, pl. 102.
10 Plate frs., Euboean SubPG. Tyre. *RDAC* 1988.2, pl. 10, nos. 9-18.

10

During the ninth century and the first half of the eighth, the greatest volume of exported Greek pottery was still from Euboea (fig. 7)[26]. Unusually conservative in their approach to ceramic painted decoration, Euboean potters were very slow to abandon the concentric circular decoration of the PG style, at a time when many other parts of Greece had moved on to the rectilinear ornament of the succeeding Geometric; instead, they persisted with a SubPG manner in which pendent semicircles formed the most characteristic motif. Once again it was the skyphoi (fig. 8) with this decoration that were the most frequently exported shape. Almost as wide was the circulation of the pendent-semicircle plates (e.g. fig. 9) whose distribution in the eastern Mediterranean casts an interesting light on what may be a deliberate effort on the part of the Euboeans to cater for Levantine tastes. In Early Greek pottery the plate was a very rare shape, while the skyphos seems to have been used for eating as well as drinking. In the Levant, however, the plate had become an indispensable chattel at least as early as the beginning of the Iron Age, while in Cyprus it was already firmly established in the repertoire of the CG IB phase (c. 1000-950 BC) [27], when that island was looking increasingly towards the Levant for new ideas. As for the very limited Early Greek production of plates, two facts should be emphasized. First, the Euboeans were then the only Greeks to manufacture plates in any quantity - always decorated with pendent concentric semicircles like their contemporary skyphoi, as though forming part of the same dinner services. Second, far more of these plates were exported to the eastern Mediterranean than have been found at home: for example, among a corpus of nearly a thousand vessels from the cemeteries of Lefkandi there are only nine plates, concentrated in three rich graves of the early ninth century[28], each one also containing imports from the Levant. Was it from their eastward travels that some wealthy Euboean merchants acquired the habit of eating off plates? If so, they did not bring back with them plates in the fine "Samaria ware" of Phoenician Red Slip. Instead, the potters of Lefkandi quickly adapted the shape to their own local style, in response to what was to prove a very limited requirement at home but, as soon became apparent, a far more widespread demand among customers in the east Mediterranean, for whom the pendent-semicircle plates might have seemed an attractive alternative to the local versions. Many fragments of them have come from the settlement excavations at Tyre (fig. 10). Others appear in sets among the goods of aristocratic tombs in Cyprus, accompanied by skyphoi with the same pendent-semicircle decoration. A set found in the plundered tomb 194 in the north-west cemetery of Amathus[29] may have been gradually accumulated; another, in Royal Tomb no. 1 at Salamis[30], is more homogeneous, although the plates are imitations of the Euboean prototype in the highly micaceous clay of the Cycladic islands.

The royal tombs of Tyre, as yet, have eluded discovery; but, 4 km. to the south, there may be some signs of aristocratic status in the cemetery of Tell Rachidiye, which served the original Tyrian settlement ("Paleotyre") before it was moved to the offshore island. In tomb 4 there[31], high status is implied by a fine iron sword and seven scarabs; and among over sixty pottery vessels, the numerous plates included a pendent-semicircle import. Two more of these plates were found in tomb 1[32], rich also in scarabs of Egyptian and local origin. Do we, then, already in the ninth century, have a hint of Euboean "market research"? A hint of an active response to an overseas demand for plates, in lands where they were known to be indispensable in daily life? If so, this example of Euboean enterprise should be considered by those extreme sceptics[33] who would deny Euboean traders any active role outside the Aegean before the age of western colonisation in the eighth century, while assigning the commercial initiative before then exclusively to the Phoenicians. But equally open to question is the opposite extreme view, still argued by the excavators of Lefkandi[34], that the Phoenicians had no role at all in the Aegean, and that in both directions the imports and exports travelled invariably in Euboean ships. They have on their side, of course, the argument that the Greeks had an urgent need to travel overseas in pursuit of metal ores and other raw materials lacking at home. At this time, however, it would be absurd to think of the Phoenicians as a home-keeping race, waiting at home to be exploited by Euboean visitors. It is more realistic to view the Phoenicians and the Euboeans as equal trading partners[35], both peoples having been initially driven by a scarcity of arable land to take an active part in maritime commerce and, eventually, colonisation.

There has been much discussion as to how far these early exchanges might have led to expatriate residents in coastal sites, Phoenicians in the Aegean, and Greeks in the Levant. The references of Herodotus to actual Phoenician settlements in Kythera, Thera and Thasos[36] have not been confirmed in the archaeological record. What can be claimed is a vigorous marketing of eastern unguents in the south-eastern areas of the Aegean world, which may have entailed the presence of small Phoenician enclaves living among Greeks[37]. This initiative would have followed the foundation during the ninth century of the Tyrian colony at Kition in southern Cyprus, which would have served Phoenician merchants as a forward base. The evidence for this unguent trade consists of the export of Cypro-Phoenician flasks or juglets in Black-on-Red ware, followed by local imitations in Crete and the Dodecanese, so close as to imply the establishment of unguent factories there, staffed by Phoenician overseers. Furthermore, the sudden mastery by Greek craftsmen of the difficult techniques of granulation, filigree and inlay work in their gold jewellery, during the ninth century, has

31 C. Doumet, *Annales d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* (Beyrouth) 1 (1982) 89-l40.

32 Information kindly supplied by Dr Doumet-Serhal. For the scarabs from Tomb 2 see C. Doumet-Serhal and I. Kawkabani, *Actes du IIIe Congrès des Etudes Phéniciennes et Puniques* (Tunis, 1995) I, 389-92, pls. K, L.

33 E.g. J. Y. Perrault, in *L'Emporion*, edd. A. Bresson, P. Rouillard (Paris, 1993) 59-83. N.B. also the "sceptical archaeologist" envisaged by Snodgrass, *AGC* 3ff.

34 E.g., most recently, Popham, in *AGC* 28-30.

35 A similar partnership between Phoenicians and Euboeans, in the West, has been reasonably argued by M. E. Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West* (Cambridge, 1993) 198.

36 Herodotus i.105 (Kythera), iv.147 (Thera), ii.44 (Thasos).

37 Coldstream, *BICS* 16 (1969) 1-8 (Dodecanese); *RDAC* 1984, 122-37 (Crete); most recently, *EMCDC* (1998) 255-8.

been thought to imply tuition from another type of resident eastern specialist, the Phoenician goldsmith of consummate skill[38].

In the other direction, it is especially the wide distribution of the Early Greek skyphos that has given rise to suppositions of Greek residents on the Levant coast. In the late eighth century, when the Greeks had acquired from the Phoenicians the skill of alphabetic writing after several centuries of illiteracy, some of the earliest Greek graffiti are on skyphoi, personal chattels on which a man would inscribe his own name[39]. Hence arose a surmise that the presence of Greek skyphoi in the Levant, as of Mycenaean kylikes four centuries earlier, indicates the presence there of Greek settlers[40]. The exceptionally large concentration of skyphoi in the North Syrian emporium of Al Mina is reasonably open to this interpretation. Much harder to reconcile with this view is the occurrence of pendent-circle skyphoi in the cemeteries of Neohittite Hama and Eteocypriot Amathus, and the subsequent discovery of numerous Greek skyphoi at Tyre - a discovery which demonstrated that the metropolitan Phoenicians were by no means averse to the use of imported Greek pottery, as had once been thought. These contexts must surely encourage an alternative interpretation: that the skyphoi, like the pendent-semicircle plates, could have been appreciated by Levantine users as exotic luxuries, whose crisp fabric and shiny interior coating might have rendered them in some respects preferable to their local equivalents. In Cyprus, at least, Greek skyphoi were paid the complement of local imitations, first of the pendent-semicircle version, rendered at Amathus in Bichrome ware with the semicircles laboriously executed freehand[41]; later, Euboean LG types were imitated both in Cyprus and possibly also at Al Mina[42].

At this point, mention should be made of another source of Early Greek imports, second only to Euboean in quantity, and usually far superior in technical quality and more varied in their decoration. These are the skyphoi (fig. 11) and kraters of Attic MG (c. 850-760 BC), widely exported throughout the Aegean world, and especially frequent at Lefkandi and Knossos. In the eastern Mediterranean, Attic MG pottery has been found in some quantity at Tyre, Amathus and Salamis.

11

38 R. A. Higgins, *BSA* 64 (1969) 145 (Athens); id., *Greek and Roman Jewellery,* 2nd edn. (London, 1980) 95, 98 (Athens), 106 (Lefkandi), 109 (Crete).
39 E.g. the skyphos of Qoraqos: P. J. Riis, *Sùkàs* I, 174-5, fig. 64.
40 R. M. Cook, *JdI* 74 (1959) 122; Riis, *Sùkàs* I, 129.
41 *Amathonte* II, 22-4, no. 4, pls. 8, 11.
42 Cyprus: Coldstream, *RDAC* 1979, 257-69. Al Mina: J. Boardman, *AS* 9 (1959) 163-9 - but some imitations from Al Mina prove to be of Cypriot clay (R. C. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot Pottery* (BSA, 1986) 694-6).

11 Skyphos, Attic MG. Amathus T.334.26. H.6.8 cm. *Amathonte* II, pl.14.16

EXCHANGES BETWEEN PHOENICIANS AND EARLY GREEKS

26

In Royal Tomb n° 1 at Salamis, an Attic MG II "dinner set" of one krater and twenty skyphoi[43] has been variously interpreted: either as the dowry of an Athenian bride married to a Greek-Cypriot prince [44], or as a gift from a noble Athenian family[45], or, more simply, an indication of prosperity and high status[46] in a tomb also containing numerous pendent-semicircle vessels (three skyphoi, ten plates) and thirty vessels imported from the Phoenician homeland. In general the Attic skyphoi, with their lustrous coating and their neat rectilinear decoration, may have been prized for their exceptionally high quality; but since they were no less popular among the Euboeans at home, and since their occurrences in the east are almost always accompanied by Euboean imports, we do not have to suppose a rival maritime initiative from Athens; the fine Attic pottery could well have been conveyed in Euboean ships.

Especially remarkable, and even surprising, is the import of the grandest of all Attic shapes, the MG pedestalled krater, floridly decorated round a central key meander (fig. 12), and rarely less than 40 cm. high. In Athens the krater was the king of the symposium set, and appears in rich burials as the mixing bowl for symposia bidding farewell to the dead. What was its function in the east Mediterranean? These kraters have been found whole in tombs at Amathus and Salamis, and in fragments at several Levantine sites: Samaria, Tyre and Hama. Since all these places were seats of royal power, one suspects that the kraters were exported as prestigious gifts, rather than as articles of casual trade[47].

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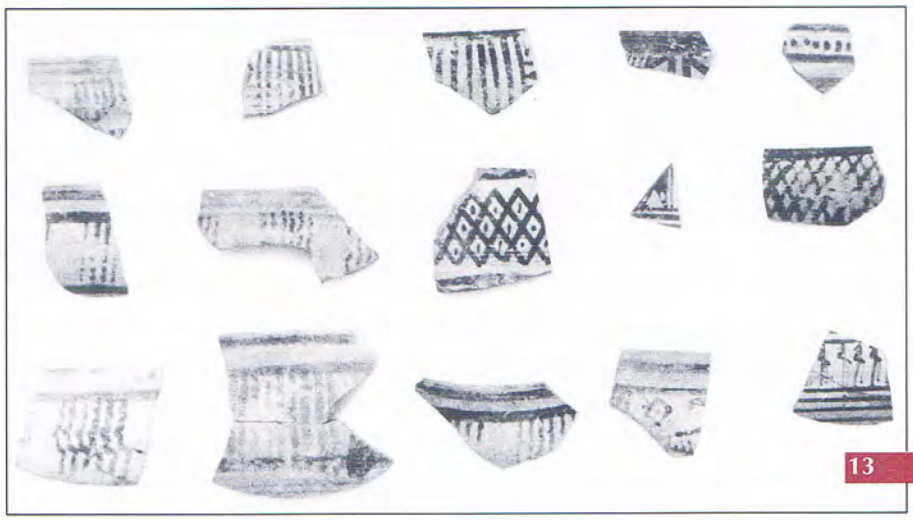
The Attic component declines sharply among the imports of the LG phase (c. 750-700 BC.) which, once again, are almost exclusively from Euboea. Plenty of Euboean LG skyphoi have been found in fragments at Tyre (fig. 13), and whole in the chamber tombs of Amathus (fig. 14)[48]: the traditional pendent-semicircles have now given place to simple rectilinear designs. The prestigious function of the Attic MG krater, as an aristocratic gift, is now taken over by a Euboean LG workshop, source of the largest Greek vase ever to be exported to the eastern Mediterranean. This is the huge ovoid krater (fig. 15) which L. Palma di Cesnola, American consul in Cyprus during the 1870s,

43 *AA*, 1963, 199-206; *GGAPC* 25, nos. 28-48, pls. 3-4.
44 Gjerstad, in *Studies in memory of P. Dikaios* (Nicosia, 1979) 89-93.
45 Coldstream, in *The Greek Renaissance of the 8th cent. BC*, ed. R. Hägg (Stockholm, 1983) 202-03.
46 Coldstream, in *Acts of the International Symposium "Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident"*, ed. V. Karageorghis (Nicosia, 1986) 326-7.
47 *Op. cit.*, (n. 45), 203-06.
48 *Amathonte* II, 24-5, nos. 8, 10, 11, pls. 8-9, 13; *RDAC* 1995, 204-07, nos. 8-12, figs. 3-4.
49 L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus, the Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples* (London, 1877) 332-4, pl. 29. On its Euboean origin: Coldstream, *BICS* 18 (1971) 1-11.
50 D. Christou, *The monumental tomb architecture in Cyprus in the Cypro-Archaic period* (Nicosia, 1996) 176-81; cf. D. Buitron, *BASOR* 308 (Nov. 1997) 29-31.
51 See, most recently, J-R. Gisler, *Archaiognosia* 8 (Athens, 1995) 12 ff., pls. 1-5.
52 Coldstream, *RDAC* 1994, 155-9, pl. 29.


13

claimed to have found in a "treasure house" in the Greek Cypriot kingdom of Kourion[49]. Cesnola's capacity for fantasy is well-known, and his claims should always be taken with a pinch of salt; even so, Kourion remains a likely provenance, since a recently excavated (or re-excavated?) built tomb there[50] has produced items of gold jewellery very similar to those extracted by Cesnola from his alleged "treasure house". This krater, masterpiece of a distinct Euboean workshop, is rich in figured decoration: scenes of horse pasture (suitable for aristocratic clients), and the eastern theme of animals flanking a Tree of Life. It was clearly part of a symposium set. In the same find were two oinochoai from the same workshop, for pouring the wine[51]; and the miniature hydria on the krater's massive lid alludes to the prudent practice of mixing in the waters especially with the heady wine of Cyprus. When used in daily life, this vessel (height 115 cm.) would have served a very large symposium indeed - and it could hardly have been sent to Cyprus merely as an offering at a burial. Its heraldic scenes, showing the sacred Tree flanked by animals, may have had a special attraction for a recipient in Cyprus, where the only other Early Greek import with figured decoration displays a similar theme: a large high-handled[52] kantharos of Attic LG Ia (c. 760-750 BC) from a rich tomb at Phoenician Kition, on which the Tree is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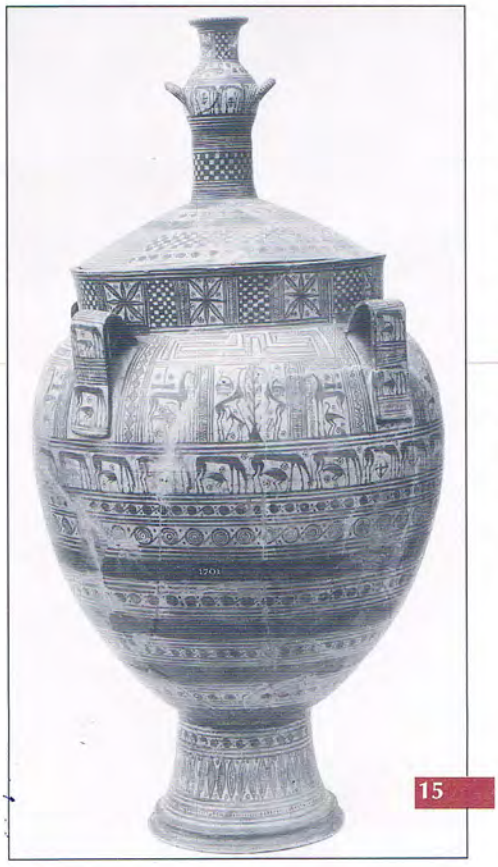
15

12 Krater, Attic MG. Salamis Royal T.I. H. 46cm. *GGAPC* pl. 4. 2.
13 Skyphos frs., Euboean LG. Tyre. *RDAC* 1988.2, pl. 13, nos. 99-113.
14 Skyphos, Euboean LG. Amathus T.9.122. *GGAPC* pl. 6.10.
15 The Cesnola krater, Euboean LG. H. 115 cm.

flanked by birds, with confronted horses on the reverse side (fig. 16).

Exports of eighth-century Greek pottery are widely scattered along the North Syrian littoral, from Tabbat al Hammam as far as Kinet Höyük in the gulf of Alexandretta. They betoken an extension of Early Greek trade towards the North Levant which must have begun in the early eighth century, the date of the Attic MG kraters. This was a time when the military advance of the Assyrian empire was suffering a temporary setback owing to the rise of the powerful Urartian kingdom on its northern frontier. Among its western neighbours, the return to peaceful conditions would have been especially advantageous for the Neohittite and Aramaean states of the North Syrian hinterland, controllers of the long caravan routes to the interior, with their outlets on the Mediterranean coast. In this context we should view the large concentration of Greek pottery in a single tomb at Salamis which, unlike Amathus, had not previously received any Early Greek exports; Salamis was usefully sited on the east coast of Cyprus, as an additional staging post for Greek shipping bound for the coastal terminals of the North Levant.

Several of these coastal emporia - Tabbat al Hammam, Tell Sukas, Ras Ibn Hani, Tell Bassit and Kinet Höyük - have produced only a very thin scatter of Greek eighth-century pottery[53]; at Bassit,

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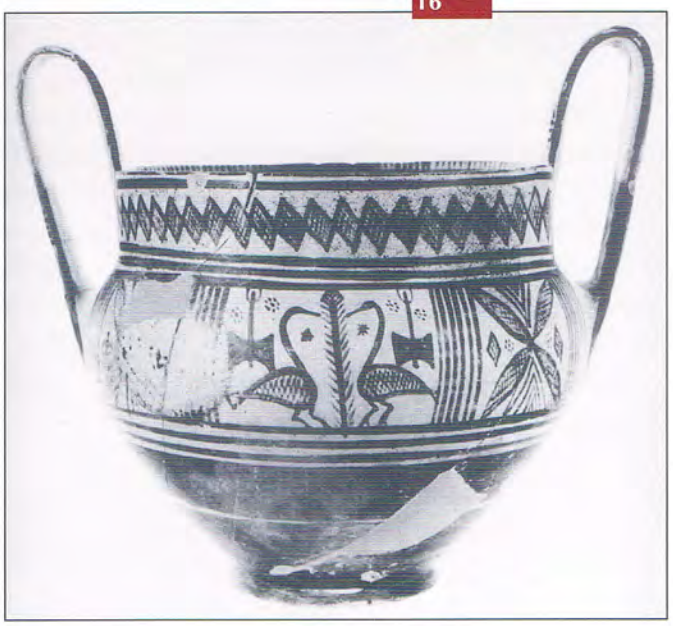

16 Kantharos, Attic LG Ia. Kition T. 11. H. (without handles) 18 cm. *RDAC* 1994, pl. 29.

the ancient Poseideion, the imports seem to have begun with amphorae of PG character[54]. All these sites have a Bronze Age past, and the minute quantity of Greek pottery there could well be put down to casual and intermittent maritime commerce. Altogether different, in both respects, is the archaeological record of Al Mina. Here we see a new foundation, strategically placed at the mouth of the river Orontes, with no finds earlier than the late ninth century. After 750 BC, the unusually abundant Early Greek imports have been interpreted as the domestic chattels belonging to an enclave of Greek (mainly Euboean) merchants actually residing there among a mixed trading community of Syrians, Phoenicians, and Cypriots.

All previous assumptions about the foundation and function of Al Mina have recently been subjected to critical discussion. Differing views on these matters are chiefly due to uncertainties arising from piecemeal and partial publication of L. Woolley's campaigns in the 1930s[55], and also the total lack of any full report on the excavations, in the same decade, at the inland centres of the Neohittite state of Unqi (Tell Tayinat and Tell Judaidah)[56] for which Al Mina would have been the coastal outlet. Until such publication is forthcoming, it will be difficult to form any balanced view about the significance of Al Mina in its political and historical context.

There has been an interesting suggestion that the settlement of Al Mina was first established around and after 750 BC to house a garrison of Greek mercenary soldiers[57], no doubt engaged to aid the kingdom of Unqi when the Assyrians once again, under the leadership of Tiglath-Pileser III, were on the warpath. This theory would offer one explanation for the unusually high proportion of Early Greek imports in the LG phase, but it does not follow that these putative Greek mercenaries were the first inhabitants of Al Mina. The oldest Greek pieces there are not necessarily from pendent-semicircle skyphoi, whose chronology has been disputed. More useful for reckoning the foundation date are a few Atticizing sherds, possibly of Cycladic origin, belonging to the MG I phase (c. 850-800 BC)[58], a date which is consonant with conclusions from the fullest publication, as yet, of the Syrian, Phoenician and Cypriot pottery. A foundation towards the end of the ninth century would be historically plausible, during the happy interval of relative peace when the advance of the Assyrian empire was temporarily halted by Urartian distractions. With regard to the notion of a Greek military settlement, one can only remark that such an establishment would not have been at all welcome to the Assyrians after their annexation of Unqi in 739 BC. On the few occasions when Greek mercenary soldiers are mentioned in Assyrian records - as marauding *Yawani* (Ionians) on the Palestinian coast at Ashkelon (712 BC)or helping the *Muski* (Phrygians) in 696 BC[59], their presence is regarded as a tiresome nuisance.

53 Tabbat al Hammam; *Syria* 21 (1940) 191 ff.; Tell Sùkàs, *Sùkàs* I, 49-50, fig. 15; Ras Ibn Hani, *Syria* 55 (1978) 282-4, fig. 29; Tell Bassit, *Syria* 63 (1986) 193-4, figs. 19-20, 28; Kinet Höyük, T. Hodos in *Periplous: Papers presented to Sir J. Boardman*, edd. G. R. Tsetskhladze, A. J. N. W. Prag and A. M. Snodgrass (London, 2000) 147.

54 P. Courbin, *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 93-113, pl. 15.1-4.

55 Preliminary reports: C. L. Woolley, *AJ* 17 (1937) 1-15 and *JHS* 58 (1938) 1-30, 133-70. Selection of Greek imports: C. M. Robertson, *JHS* 60 (1940) 2-21. First identification of Euboean imports: Boardman, *BSA* 52 (1957) 5-9. Imitations of Greek LG skyphoi: Boardman, *AS* 9 (1959) 163-9. Cypriot and Syrian pottery: J. du Plat Taylor, *Iraq* 21 (1959) 62-92. Greek sherds now in Australia: J-P. Descoeudres, *Eretria* VI (1978) 7-19. Fullest study of Greek Geometric pottery, including sherds in the Antakya Museum, previously unpublished: R. Kearsley, *Mediterranean Archaeology* 8 (1995) 7-81. General survey: Boardman, in *Ancient Greeks, East and West*, ed. G. Tsetskhladze (Leiden, 1999) 135-61.

56 Brief references in Desborough, *Protogoemetric Pottery* (Oxford, 1952) 181, 185, pl. 26; Popham, *AGC* 26, "ninety pendent-semicircle sherds". Cf. Kearsley, *art. cit.*, (n. 55) 73.

57 Kearsley, in *Ancient Greeks, West and East*, ed. G. R. Tsetskhladze (Leiden, 1999) 109-34.

58 Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968) 312; *JHS* 60 (1940) 2-4, fig. 1.1,o, q.

59 See Kearsley, *art. cit.* (n. 57) 120-22. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* II (Chicago, 1926) paras. 286-8.

What, then, was the character and ethnic composition of Al Mina's inhabitants in the eighth century BC? One extreme view would exclude the possibility of Greek residents altogether, assigning all seaborne traffic, including the import of Early Greek pottery, to Phoenician enterprise[60]. Such a view would not easily accord earlier evidence, beginning well before the foundation of Al Mina, of the export of the pendent-semicircle plates to Tyre, here suggested as an instance of active Euboean initiative to satisfy what was known to be a local demand. A more moderate version of this view would allow Greek merchants some access to Al Mina, but only as visitors marketing their fine painted pottery to satisfy the tastes of the lords of the hinterland[61]. In the South Levant the Hebrew prophet Amos (vi. 1-6) mentions with disapproval the enthusiasm of the Samarian nobles for fine sets of symposium crockery. Could the lords of Unqi, followed by the Assyrian nobles of Que when Tell Tayinat became their provincial capital, have displayed a similar enthusiasm for Greek clay vessels? That possibility cannot be properly assessed until the find from the inland sites are eventually published. It should, however, be observed that there is little trace of any similar enthusiasm among the fully published material at the extensively excavated Neohittite capital of Hama, which would have had its maritime outlet at Tell Sukas[62].

Meanwhile, the claims for Greek mercantile residents at Al Mina, based largely on the statistics of imported pottery, deserve some respect. A count of published sherds from levels X-VII (i.e. down to c. 700 BC), when reckoned against square metres of excavated ground, shows Al Mina to have been more than ten times more prolific of Early Greek imports than any other Levantine site[63]. And yet these calculations are based only on "a tip of the iceberg". At a recent Colloquium at the British Museum[64], attention was drawn to about 6,000 more Greek pieces in its reserves, embracing the Early Greek and Archaic periods, and as yet unpublished. What we miss, at present, is any corresponding count of the non-Greek material; it does seem, however, that Greek LG pottery predominated at Al Mina as nowhere else in the Levantine region. We also have some clues to the local attractions for Greek traders there, looking for luxurious raw materials lacking at home: gold dust could be sifted from the bed of the river Melas near by, and a complete elephant's tusk was discovered at Al Mina in a warehouse, ready for shipment[65]. But otherwise, apart from a graffito on one LG sherd which may be part of a Greek proper name[66], it must be conceded that Al Mina offers no other argument for Greek presence apart from the abundance of Greek pottery: no burials at all, where Greek customs might or might not be apparent; no Greek architectural forms among the warehouses; and no signs of any Greek cult. Among the LG pottery, however, one detail that has not received much notice is the presence of figured decoration [67]

60 See n. 33 above.
61 J. Luke, *The nature of Greek contacts with the Levant in the Geometric period, with particular reference to the ceramic evidence*. Cambridge, 1994, unpublished PhD thesis.
62 The exiguous quantity of Greek LG imports found at Hama is illustrated in *Sùkàs* I, 154, fig. 55 b-f.
63 Boardman, *OJA* 9 (1990) 175, table 1.
64 Held on 9-10 December 1997, publication forthcoming.
65 R. D. Barnett, *Nimrud Ivories* (1957) 165; *JHS* 68 (1948) 1, n. 4.
66 Boardman, *OJA* 1 (1982) 365-6.
67 Krater fragments, showing horses grazing, horses at the manger, and birds taking flight: *JHS* 60 (1940) 2-6, fig. 2 f, h, j, k. On their relation to the workshop of the Cesnola krater from Kourion, see Coldstream, *BICS* 18 (1971) 6-8, pls. 2d, 3e.
68 Cf. G. Bunnens, *L'expansion phénicienne en Mediterranée* (1979) 92 ff.

17 Figured krater frs., Euboean LG. Al Mina. *BICS* 18 (1971) pls. 2d, 3c.

almost unique in the Levant, related to the Euboean workshop of the Cesnola krater (fig. 17). On the assumption that figured vessels were made for aristocratic customers, we cannot at present know whether they were intended here for local grandees at Al Mina, or for rich clients in the Neohittite (and, later, Assyrian) interior.

In attempting a historical résumé of exchanges between Phoenicians and Early Greeks, we should begin with the only contemporary Greek reminiscences, however biased they may be: the memories of Phoenicians in the Homeric poems[68]. They have been anachronistically placed in the Greek "heroic" age, but their appearances in Greek epic do at least preserve real human reactions to them, not always favourable. In the Aegean they were remembered as cunning traders, and as consummate craftsmen. Now, thanks to recent discoveries, we can begin to place Phoenician traders in a contemporary historical perspective against the background of their changing fortunes at home, over three centuries. First, under the dynamic leadership of Hiram I, the Tyrians of the tenth century embarked on commercial enterprises overseas. These included some links with the Aegean - perhaps personal or even familial links - whereby they found equally active trading partners in the Euboeans. At Lefkandi, imports of Levantine faience vessels and other eastern exotica, found in the richer graves, were followed in the ninth century by immigrant metalworkers from the Levant, teaching their skills to Greek apprentices.

Such, then, were the fruits of this early period of exchanges. But we do need to be aware of the lopsided nature of the evidence. By miraculous good fortune, the royal cemetery of Lefkandi was found intact, and unencumbered by later remains; and luxury items in faience and metal, imported from Phoenician and other Levantine centres, can be given precise dates from their contexts in single graves. How dearly we would like to know more of contemporary elite burials in the major cities of the Phoenician homeland! As it is, all we have there is a few tombs at Tell Rachidiye, and the deep sounding in the settlement of Tyre where, under a massive Roman overlay, a sequence from the fourteenth to the eighth centuries BC afforded a glimpse of the city's early history, with a trickle of Greek imports coming in from the tenth century onwards, during the city's greatest days. Likewise, in Greece, the unplundered elite graves of Lefkandi might give the impression that the importance of Euboea has been over-emphasised, at the expense of other Greek regions where chances of finding intact burials have been much less frequent. Take, for example, Athens, noted for the excellent quality of its pottery throughout the Early Greek period, exercizing widespread influence on other local styles. Within Athenian territory lay the silver mines of Laurion, one likely attraction for the Phoenicians in opening up trade with the Aegean. Athens, too, has its rich ninth-century burials,

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some containing Levantine imports[69]; but these are widely scattered, and often damaged and plundered, under the later buildings of a city which, unlike Lefkandi, was to enjoy a glorious future. Even so, the discoveries at Lefkandi *did* bring to light the one regional style of Early Greek pottery that is overwhelmingly the most frequent among exports to Tyre. This correspondence singles out the Euboeans as the most energetic initiators of early exchanges with the Levant, carrying back their initiative by at least two centuries before their known record of trade and colonisation in Italy and Sicily.

During a second phase, late ninth to mid eighth century, the Greek visitors spread their activities over the entire Levant coast. During a lull in the advance of the Assyrian empire they paid special attention to opportunities for trade with the Neohittite states of North Syria which controlled the inland caravan routes. At some point within this phase they may have joined Syrians, Phoenicians and Cypriots in setting up a new coastal emporium at the mouth of the river Orontes, at Al Mina. In a third phase, in the later eighth century, the Assyrian conquest of the Levant coast seems to have had no adverse effect on their activities at Al Mina. Perhaps the Assyrians themselves had come to appreciate the usefulness, to them, of the sundry Mediterranean traders at Al Mina who, like the Phoenicians of Tyre, could supply them with various metal resources - the luxury of silver, and the necessity (to them) of iron to supply their war machine[70].

In conclusion, one hardly needs to emphasize that many of the ideas in this paper rest on conjecture; well-known is the paradox that, in archaeology, we know far more about the Phoenicians overseas than at home. In the major cities of their homeland, the period of their greatest prosperity lies buried under the remains of many later ages; and, in any case, recent events have rendered them virtually inaccessible to archaeological exploration, for many years. Let us hope that, in peaceful times to come, we shall be able to learn more about the enterprise of the metropolitan Phoenicians during their most flourishing period.

69 E.g. the figured bronze bowl, *Kerameikos* V.1, grave 42, pl. 162; and numerous *orientalia* in a rich - possibly royal - female cremation on the Areopagus hill, miraculously preserved intact in an aristocratic burial plot otherwise thoroughly plundered, eroded, and cut into by solid structures of later periods: see E. L. Smithson, *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 77-116; Coldstream, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 391-402.

70 S. Frankenstein, in *Mesopotamia 7: Power and Propaganda, a Symposium on Ancient Empires*, ed. M. T. Larsen (Copenhagen, 1979) 263-94; Coldstream, *EMCDC* 257-8.

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Abbreviations

(a) - Periodicals

AA. - *Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AJ. - *Antiquaries' Journal*
AR. - *Archaeological Reports*
AS. - *Anatolian Studies*
BASOR. - *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BICS. - *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
BSA. - *Annual of the British School at Athens*
JHS. - *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JMA. - *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
OJA. - *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
RDAC. - *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*

(b) Other publications:

AGC - *The Archaeology of Greek colonisation: Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, edd. G. R. Tsetskhladze and F. De Angelis (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 40, 1994).

Amathonte II. - *La Nécropole d'Amathonte, Tombes 113-367: II, Céramiques non chypriotes: Etudes Chypriotes* VIII, edd. V. Karageorghis, 0. Picard and C. Tytgat (Nicosia, 1987).

EMCDC. - *Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus - Dodecanese - Crete, 16th - 6th cent. B.C. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Rethymnon - Crete in May 1997*, edd. V. Karageorghis and. N.C. Stampolidis (Athens, 1998).

GGAPC. - *Greek Geometric and Archaic Pottery found in Cyprus*, by E. Gjerstad et al. (Stockholm, 1977).

MPT. - *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition, 13th to early 10th cent. B.C.E. papers in honor of Prof. T. Dothan*, edd. S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E.Stern (Jerusalem, 1998).

SCE. - *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* I-IV, by E. Gjerstad *et al.* Stockholm and Lund, 1934-1972).