Phoenicians, Cypriots and Euboeans in the Northern Aegean

A reappraisal*

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the Phoenician presence in the Northern Aegean basin, as suggested by the ancient Greek authors, in the light of new archaeological discoveries from the area. It examines the few Cypriot, Phoenician and Phoenician-style objects, which were either imported or locally produced in the far north of the Aegean during the late 8th - early 7th c. B.C. This paper views them as reverberations of the active Phoenician commercial and manufacturing involvement in the southern Aegean. Moreover, an emphasis is placed on the role that Cyprus possibly played as a link between Phoenicia and the Aegean. The nature and volume of goods from the Eastern Mediterranean discovered in the Northern Aegean points towards mixed cargo ships. It also indicates a Greek (Euboean)-Phoenician cooperation rather than a direct link with the Levantine coast, although a small number of Phoenician craftsmen could have been resident in the Northern Aegean. It is argued that it's possible to outline different patterns of interaction between Eastern Mediterranean people and Greeks (Euboeans) in the Thermaic Gulf and with local Thracians east of river Strymon.

INTRODUCTION

The northern Aegean (Map 1) is rarely considered in major studies of the Phoenician-Greek commercial and colonising interplay and if so, it is usually mentioned in the context of the Phoenician pursuit of metals and the information related by Herodot (6.47) for Phoenician mines on Thasos.[1] The very term Phoenicians,[2] first attested in Homer, is ambiguous and its use by the ancient Greek authors and in modern scholarship seems to denote fluctuant meanings, often influenced by the ancient Greek perceptions or the research focus of the modern

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1 Markoe 2000, 173; Lipiński 2004, 160-2.

2 Usually explained with the Greek adjective for the red colour (φοίνιος), associated with the purple-dyed textiles as one of the most famous and highly praised Phoenician products in the ancient Mediterranean, cf. Astour 1965, 348-9; Markoe 2000, 10; Aubet 2001, 6-7; Sherratt 2010, 122; Bourogiannis 2012a, 33. Quinn (2017) suggests an association with the Greek word for palm tree (φοίνιξ) which appears on a late 5th century BC Carthaginian coinage.

Map 1. Map of the North Aegean basin and inland Thrace with place-names mentioned in text (author)

scholars. From skilled craftsmen, expert sailors and active traders to stereotype associations with looting, piracy, or as greedy and crafty (exchanging athyrmata for valuable raw materials), they are par excellence the sailing merchants of the Eastern Mediterranean for the ancient Greeks.[3] The definition of the Phoenicians does not appear to be an easier task for the modern scholarship either. There is a general agreement that the Phoenicians are the Early Iron Age (EIA) successors of the second millennium Canaanites. Nevertheless, "Phoenician" objects abroad are often described with more general terms such as Levantine, orientalia, Eastern Mediterranean, betraying our insufficient knowledge to distinguish between different Levantine centres of manufacture, based on the available material record.[4] This makes the archaeological definition of the Phoenicians and, as a consequence, the identification of their presence or involvement in the Aegean in particular,[5] a complicated task reflected in a number of scholarly debates. By using the term Phoenician in this paper, I mean goods that may have come from Cyprus, for example, not necessarily directly from metropolitan Phoenicia.

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3 Markoe (2000, 11) discusses that the "*term "Phoenician" in antiquity was broadly applied to any Semitic sea-trader*." See also Niemeyer 2005, 17: "*For the Greeks, they (Phoenicians, Arameans and other Syrian and Levantine people) all came along under the same flag, inscribed with only one cumulative name:* Φοίνικες." According to Hodos 2006, 25: "*Greeks used the term phoinikes to generalize about all eastern maritime merchants, rather than to specify a particular city-state, much less an ethnic, linguistic or cultural group*." Sommer 2010, 118: "*The ethnikon Phoenicians may have meant, at that stage, little more than sailor merchants, who brought exotic goods, who spoke an exotic language and who behaved in exotic ways.*" Also Bourogiannis 2012a, 39; 2013, 142. Quinn (2017) argues that the notion of these eastern sailor merchants as a coherent ethnic group with shared identity and culture is very much a product of modern ideologies which does not reflect past realities.

4 See discussion in Kourou 2008b, 307 with earlier references; Bourogiannis 2013, 143. The problem is very well formulated by Hodos 2006, 70: "*One of the difficulties of this terminology is the mixed use of cultural designates and geographical regions of production. The term North Syrian does not indicate Aramean or Luwian or even Phoenician, whereas Phoenician is ambiguous and can refer to Phoenicia proper or also extend to Cyprus and North Syria. Similarly, the identification of Cyprus as the origin of a number of metalwork items…may reflect Phoenician production, since Phoenicians were resident on Cyprus and actively engaged in trade at this time…Indeed, much of our understanding of Phoenician art and style is based upon finds from the Phoenician diaspora*."

5 See the brilliantly worded comment in Bourogiannis 2013, 143 about "*the patchy and disparate archaeological record of the Aegean*" regarded as a material manifestation of commercial ventures and presence of Eastern Mediterranean people, Phoenicians in particular. It illustrates well the fact that various objects of Eastern Mediterranean origin have come to light from several Aegean contexts, reflecting the primarily commercial character of the easterners' presence in the Aegean and more rarely residence perhaps integrated in the local communities, by contrast to the pattern of establishment in the central and western Mediterranean.

Another complication, or perhaps simplification, results from the assumption that the Phoenicians were the principal sailors, carriers and traders of Eastern Mediterranean goods in the Aegean. Although their prominence in the EIA Mediterranean exchange networks is unquestionable, the involvement of Cypriots and Euboeans in Aegean commercial ventures was also significant. While the archaeological record from the Aegean illustrating Phoenician activities (trade, resident craftsmen or other people) lacks their clear-cut signature as known from Central and Western Mediterranean Phoenician establishments, the evidence from the Northern Aegean is even less well defined. Represented by a comparatively small number of diverse finds which, however, belong to one chronological horizon, it represents an echo of the exchange networks developed between the Southern Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean that reached the north with a certain delay. Bearing in mind all the complexities of Phoenician studies and ancient manufacturing and trade mechanisms, I will discuss the written testimonies and the archaeological record from the Northern Aegean in order to test the possible patterns of Phoenician, Cypriot and Euboean involvement in the intensification of the commercial opening of the area to the rest of the Aegean.

THE WRITTEN TESTIMONY

If the information related by the ancient literary sources, so vividly describing the nature of the Phoenician presence in the Northern Aegean, was not available today, one would hardly guess any Phoenician involvement in the local social and economic landscape. The *Iliad* (6.289, 23.740-5) provides the two earliest mentions of Phoenicians and Phoenician goods, both associating luxury products with north Aegean locations. *Il.* 6.289 tells us about richly embroidered garments, handiwork of Sidonian women,[6] which Paris-Alexander acquired in Sidon on his way to Sparta and then brought home on the ship in which he and Helen travelled. The finest of these was offered by Hecuba to Athena thus giving the garment a special status, worthy for the divine. It is the distinctive quality, the famous purple colour and the beauty of the decoration that made the Phoenician textiles one of their highly prised products.[7] The second episode referring to Phoenicians in the Northern Aegean (*Il*. 23.740-5) introduces the Sidonians as skilled craftsmen in making metal vessels (*poludaidaloi*). A large silver krater of unrivalled beauty was set by Achilles as a prize in the funeral games of Patroclus. The vessel, however, had a complex history of aristocratic ownership before this event.[8] A deft work of Sidonian craftsmanship, it was taken by the Phoenicians across the sea, displayed in ports (στῆσαν δ' ἐν λιμένεσσι) until it was finally given as a gift to Thoas, the king of Lemnos whose grandson later offered it to Patroclus as a ransom for a son of Priam.

The two episodes prompt various thoughts. In both cases luxury objects of high status are associated with long-distance seaborne journeys although the first item did not reach the

6 For the skills of the Sidonian women, see also the episode on the island of Syrie where the Phoenician servant in the palace came from Sidon and was skilled in handiwork (*Od*. 15: 415-20).

7 Cf. for example Winter 1995, 247-8; Markoe 2000, 93, 163-4; Aubet 2001, 129. The text of Ezek. 27:7, 16 (The Tyrian Prophecy), although of later date, could also be recalled, as he mentions twice the fine embroidered, purple textiles (linen and wool) on the metaphoric Tyrian ship (for its attribution to the Persian period, cf. Jigoulov 2014, 158; for an early 6th c. BC date, cf. Block 1998, commentary on *The Lament over the Shipwreck of Tyre* (27:1-36). Markoe (2000, 92) refers to the text as a testimony for Tyre's trade networks in the 7th c. BC, cf. also Aubet 2001, 120-6 for the prophecy as a reference to earlier Tyrian trade relations, before the actual composition of the text.

8 Cf. Winter 1995, 248. Similarly Menelaos gave a silver krater to Telemachos when he arrived in Sparta (*Od*. 4: 614-9). The vessel itself was gifted to Menelaos from the king of Sidon when he received the Spartan ruler.

north in Phoenician hands. The Phoenician presence in the Aegean in the episode with the silver krater appears to be related to transportation rather than settlement.[9] Both categories of Phoenician goods –fine garments and silver vessels– are associated with royal families of the north-eastern Aegean and acquired the status of prestigious objects, in contrast to the other category of Phoenician goods referred to as *athyrmata* in the *Odyssey*. Their quality is not limited to the basic materials and the craftsmanship, the association with sea voyage from far-away lands adds to the exotic character, while the elite history of the silver krater increases its value. The episode with the silver krater is perhaps more revealing regarding Phoenician practices of exchange.[10] It is suggestive for a form of itinerary trade with the ship cargo displayed at various ports for exchange.[11] The history of the silver vessel presents it as par excellence *keimelion* while its royal associations link the northern Aegean royal houses (Lemnos and again Troy) to the practice of aristocratic gift-exchange well documented in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age (LBA) and EIA[12] and attested in the Homeric epics. The Homeric epics also provide the basis for recently advocated role of Lemnos as a market-place, particularly linked to Phoenician commercial practices, such as exchange of metal products for *biotos* (slaves, wine, agricultural products) and redistributing oriental goods in the Northern Aegean.[13]

Perhaps the most discussed ancient testimony regarding the Phoenician presence in the Northern Aegean comes from Herodotus (6.47). It involves different components: a) mines, and b) the place-names Ainyra and Koinyra. *Hdt.* 6.47 tells us that the Phoenicians led by the eponymous Thasos established themselves on the homonymous island before the Parian settlers and began the exploitation of the mines in the mountain between Koinyra and Ainyra, in the eastern part of the island, facing Samothrace. Ancient mining galleries were discovered in the location suggested by Herodotus, but no evidence for exploitation pre-dating the end of 6th-early 5th c. BC has come to light.[14] Although it could be speculated that the Iliad and Herodotus appear to refer to roughly the same period-the time of the composition of the former (late 8th c. BC) and the time before the arrival of the Parian Greeks on Thasos, i.e. before 670-660 BC,[15] the two texts illustrate significant differences in the way the Phoenician activities in

9 Cf. Aubet 1997, 103, Lipiński 2004, 138. Lipiński (2004, 143), however, calls the Phoenician circumnavigation in the Aegean "*fictitious ….inspired as we are by a passage in the Iliad alluding to Phoenician trade in the Aegean*". Despite the unquestionable fact that the Homeric epics were composed as a literature and not historical or ethnographic accounts, I agree with the scholars seeing actual references to the poet's own time and believe that although these passages may have been included to serve the purposes of the narrative, the core information betrays a familiarity with contemporary practices.

10 Aubet (2001, 130) comments on this episode that it "*allows us to guess at Phoenician trading practices, which are very similar to exceedingly ancient forms of exchange*."

11 The episode on the island of Syrie (*Od*. 15:400-75), usually identified with the island of Syros, adds further details in this regard as it suggests not only rather prolonged calls in some Aegean harbours, but supplying the ship with local merchandise for the return journey. This indicates that the Phoenicians were perhaps frequently carrying mixed cargoes, distributing not only their own craft products. Commercial ventures of such character could account for the isolated nature of the Phoenician and Phoenician-style objects, and even Cypriot ones, from northern Aegean sites which will be discussed further down.

12 Cf. Winter 1995, 248 n. 3 with comments and earlier bibliography. The system of gift-exchange as a way of establishing and maintaining a social status in the LBA and EIA Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean has been a subject of numerous contributions, cf. Zaccagnini 1973; 1987, 47-56; Coldstream 1983, 201-6; Liverani 1990; 2008, 161-8; Aubet 2001, 133-4; Fappas 2013, 157-82, see also Crielaard 1998, 190 for discussion on the intercommunication between local Cypriot and Greek elites during the Iron Age, also Hodos 2011, 38.

13 Ficuciello 2013, 83.

14 Cf. Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 725.

15 The results from the re-examination of the stratigraphy in two deep trenches excavated by Bernard (1964, 77-146) in 1960 in the ancient town of Thasos and the new chronological margins suggested for the preceding precolonial settlement (Kohl *et al*. 2002, 58-70), have as a consequence the dating of the Parian arrival ca. 670-

the Northern Aegean are presented. While the Homeric Phoenicians are involved in sea-borne, itinerant types of trade with shorter or longer calls at various ports, Herodotus refers to a more permanent form of Phoenician establishment on the island of Thasos which, however, still lacks material manifestation. The Phoenicians in the Iliad are skilled craftsmen and women, associated with the manufacture and distribution of luxurious, high-status goods suitable for kings and divinities, while those on Thasos are involved in far more prosaic activities such as mining. It fits well with the search for metals, usually referred to as one of the leading motives for the Phoenician overseas expansion.[16] On the other hand the association between the Phoenicians, luxury goods, gift-giving and aristocratic ownership in the *Iliad* was not intended to offer a historical description. It could be seen rather as an illustration of purposeful selection of bits of information from a broader spectrum of knowledge on the Phoenicians and their ventures, employed to serve the ethos of the narrative.[17]

The place-names Ainyra and Koinyra referred to by Herodotus have repeatedly been recognised as Phoenician and connected to Semitic roots for silver and gold, thus enhancing the impression in favour of Phoenician mining activities on the island.[18] Their postulated presence on the island has also been employed to explain the occurrence of Semitic names in the Thasian prosopography.[19] Alternatively, a possible link with the name of the Cypriot king Kinyras[20] has also been suggested.[21] The archaeological support of the LBA/EIA link with Cyprus will be discussed in the next section.

Herodotus (2.44) also famously credits the Phoenicians with the popularity of the cult of Herakles Melqart on Thasos and claims to have seen the temple of the Thasian Herakles in Tyre. Similarly, Pausanias (5.25.12), whose source, though, seems to be independent from Herodotus, connects the cult of Herakles on Thasos with that of the Phoenician Herakles, but suggests a distinction between the Tyrian and the Greek Herakles, which seem to have mingled later.[22] Again the archaeological record does not match the written sources. The earliest finds discovered in the Herakleion on Thasos date to the end of the 7th-early 6th c. BC,[23] well after the establishment of the Parian settlers on the island. Although some of its architectural features were tentatively associated with Phoenicians, there is not undisputable evidence to confirm a possible Phoenician involvement.[24] The possible role of the Parians in introducing the worship

660 BC (Muller and Mulliez 2009, 135-50 with earlier bibliography) *versus* the older dating ca. 650 BC supported by Graham (1978, 62-98; 2001, 364-402).

16 Cf. Niemeyer 1990, 480; Markoe 2000, 95; Aubet Semmler 2002, 97-112; Lipiński 2004, 160-2, see also the overview in Hodos 2011, 23-45.

17 The *Odyssey* for example offers a contrasting, although stereotype portraying of the same people, cf. Winter 1995, 247-71; Sherratt 2010, 119-42.

18 Cf. Salviat and Servias 1964, 284 n. 203; Pouilloux 1982, 93 n.13; Tiverios 2012, 66 n.14.

19 Cf. Pouilloux 1982, n. 20 with reference.

20 An autochthonous priest-king of Cyprus expelled by the Greeks of Agamemnon and predecessor of the Amathousians according to Theopompos, cf. Iakovou 2006, 42 n. 73 with earlier references.

21 Salviat 1962, 109 n. 7. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (1992, 725-738), when commenting the ancient literary testimony on the pre-Greek peoples of Thasos did not reject or favour any of the suggestions.

22 Paus. (5.25.12): *The Thasians, who are Phoenicians by descent, and sailed from Tyre, and from Phoenicia generally, together with Thasos, the son of Agenor, in search of Europa, …They told me in Thasos that they used to worship the same Heracles as the Tyrians, but that afterwards, when they were included among the Greeks, they adopted the worship of Heracles the son of Amphitryon*.

23 Launey 1944; Roux 1979, 191-211; des Courtils, Pariente 1991, 67-73; des Courtils *et al*. 1996, 799-820; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 142.

24 Cf. Bonnet 1988, 356; des Courtils and Pariente 1991, 67-73; Tiverios 2012, 67 n. 18. The spread of the worship of Herakles Melqart in the eastern Aegean, for example, has been linked to Phoenician presence in the area, cf. van Berchem 1967, 88. Unlike the northern Aegean, however, the archaeological record from its

of Herakles on Thasos has already been suggested.[25] The apparent lack of correspondence between the literary testimonies and the archaeology of Thasos has provoked attempts for explanation, such as equating the Phoenicians mentioned by Herodotus and Pausanias to people moving from eastern Aegean coastal sites after the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system.[26] This suggestion takes into account the narrative in *Hdt*. 2.44.4 that the Phoenicians arrived at Thasos, in search of Europe, five generations before the Greek Herakles was born. Nevertheless, there is no sound evidence for such equation, unless we assume that Herodotus was confused over who the Phoenician were.[27] On the other hand, in 1978 A.J. Graham suggested an opposite pattern of Phoenician presence in the Northern Aegean, ascribing them a dominant position over the sea-routes and seaborne trade ventures in the area before the middle of the 7th c. BC.[28] Again there is not strong archaeological support for such an interpretation. These polarised views on the nature of the Phoenician presence in the northern Aegean, ranging from the total rejection of their historicity to seeing them as masters of the sea in the area are very indicative that a more integrated approach is needed.

The last body of narrated information that links the northern Aegean to Phoenicia comes from much later sources and often has a mythological character. Strabo (14.5.28), for example, attributes the beginning of gold mining in the famous mines of Mount Pangaeon, on the mainland opposite Thasos, to Kadmos. Kadmos is also an important figure in the mysteries of the Great Gods[29] worshiped in the sanctuary on the neighbouring island of Samothrace.[30] It was suggested that the *byblinos oinos* from Oisyme, in the Thasian Peraia, took its name from the vine introduced to the area by the Phoenicians.[31] Torone and Galepsos were believed to owe their names to mythical figures related to Phoenicia,[32] while Graham suggested a Phoenician origin for the name of Abdera.[33]

THASOS AND THE 12th-11th C. BC METALLURGY

Before discussing the models of suggested Phoenician involvement in the Northern Aegean matters, I would like to briefly recall the evidence regarding the LBA and EIA metallurgy on Thasos and its possible Cypriot connection. I perceive it as relevant to the subject, although of earlier date. A link between Cyprus and the Northern Aegean basin, although still poorly manifested in terms of material evidence, seems more promising in the discussion of the Phoenician presence in the Northern Aegean rather than direct connection with the Levantine coast. This does not reject the possibility that Phoenicians were involved in sailing and trading far north, but they may have benefitted from the knowledge on the area that the Cypriots already had. Similar pro-

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south-eastern part illustrates a more clear-cut Phoenician involvement; cf. recently Bourogiannis 2013, 139-89.

25 Cf. Tiverios (2006, 80; 2012, 67 n. 28), who does not reject the possible worship of the Phoenician Herakles, already in existence on the island at the time of the Parian arrival.

26 Cf. Launey 1944, followed by Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 725-9 (with earlier bibliography).

27 See also Tiverios 2012, 68 n. 35 expressing an opinion contra such equation.

28 Graham 1978, 61-98.

29 The Great Gods of Samothrace have been repeatedly associated with the Kabeiroi and the Semitic word Kabir (great), while the spread of their worship in the Aegean was linked to the Phoenician trade enterprise, cf. Burkert 2002, 34, 58-9; Tiverios 2004, 298; 2012, 67.

30 For the collected literary sources on Samothrace with an entry on the Samothracian mysteries, cf. Lewis 1958.

31 Salviat 1990, 457-76; Tiverios 2004, 298; 2012, 67.

32 Steph. Byz., *Torone*, *Galepsos*, cf. Tiverios 2004, 298; 2012, 67.

33 Graham 1992, 44-73.

cess was suggested by J. Boardman in regards to the exploration of the Central Mediterranean: "*Phoenicians followed routes west which had been travelled by Cypriots in the Late Bronze Age*,"[34] while S. Sherratt has already argued that Cypro-Phoenician or Phoenician ships may have followed Aegean routes as far north as the Northern Aegean, used earlier by Cypriots.[35]

Four burial grounds at Kastri and Larnaki on Thasos, spanning chronologically between the late LBA and the 8th c. BC, have produced a number of bronze and bimetal knives. The majority of bronze knives discovered in LBA graves belong to Aegean types. Results from led-isotope analysis indicate that although a local copper was used for some of these, most of the knives were made of imported copper which falls within or close to the Cypriot field, while two analysed artefacts appear to be close to the composition of the Chalkidike copper ores.[36] Bimetallic knives,[37] dating to the final years of the LBA or the transition to the EIA,[38] were also part of the burial equipment of the Kastri and Larnaki graves. They mark the earliest appearance of iron on the island and the chemical composition of their bronze handles indicates a most likely origin of the copper within the Cypriot field.[39] This fact may indicate that the beginning of the metallurgy of iron on Thasos might have been stimulated by external factors, although an imported object does not necessarily mean that the technology for its manufacturing was simultaneously introduced and/or adopted. The situation, however, appears to have changed significantly during the next, EIA phase of the Kastri and Larnaki cemeteries, beginning towards the end of the 10th c. BC. The extraction and processing of iron apparently gained an important role for the local community, judging by the iron objects and the large number of iron slags found in graves.[40] A significant number of slags, found at other inland, EIA settlement sites registered during field surveys on the island,[41] offer an additional support to this observation. Two important points should be emphasised here. The first one is the suggested connection with Cyprus,[42] which perhaps provided the impetus for the beginning of the iron metallurgy on Thasos. Nevertheless, judging by the dates of the earliest bimetal knife and the earliest

34 Boardman 2006, 198.

35 Sherratt 1993, 75.

36 For the comparative led-isotope analysis of bronze objects from the cemeteries at Kastri and Larnaki, cf. Stoss-Gale and Gale 1992, 782-92, while for a broader discussion on the copper-based objects and the metallurgy of copper on Thasos during the LBA-EIA, cf. Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 675-9.

37 The bimetal knives, which had wide circulation in the Aegean, are usually associated with Cypriot workshops, being the first ones to produce utilitarian iron, although Waldbaum (1982, 325-49 with earlier bibliography and discussion on technological details) has argued that an Aegean origin is also a possibility. Sherratt (1993, 65-9; 2000, 88-9) has suggested that they were easy to transport and perhaps relatively cheap, but still socially valued products that were accompanying cargoes of other goods. Regarding their social value it is perhaps not a coincidence that the earliest bimetal knife from Thasos comes from a large built chamber tomb, perhaps a family/clan one, with scattered remains of at least 90 individuals, where a blue glass bead, a Mycenaean jug and a bronze rivet from another knife were also found, cf. Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 201-2.

38 The date, suggested in the final publication for the earliest bimetal knife from the cemetery is not precise - if it does not belong to phase IB (after 1200-1100 BC) it is surely not later than phase IIA (1100-1050 BC), cf. Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 681, 658 fig. 158.

39 For a discussion on the metallurgy of iron, its first appearance on Thasos and the later local production, cf. Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 681, while the social aspects are subject of interpretation in Owen 2006, 357-70.

40 The earliest evidence for local iron smiting (iron slags in graves) goes back to the end of the 10th c. BC according to the chronological chart of the cemeteries suggested by the excavator, Cf. Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 681, 658 fig. 158.

41 The results of the field surveys and a list of these sites are provided in Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 703-22.

42 The Cypriot link can be indirectly illustrated by the compositional analysis of a glass-bead from Kentria cemetery on Thasos, which matches the composition of the glass from the 11th-10th c. BC site of Frattesina in northern Italy (Henderson in Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 804-6). The site appears to have had commercial links with Cyprus which could account for the appearance of the glass-bead on Thasos (Sherrat and Sherratt 1991, 375; Sherratt 1993, 75 n. 24).

evidence for local iron smiting, there is no direct evidence that the development of local iron metallurgy followed immediately the introduction of iron objects. More than twenty years ago S. Sherratt argued that *"…native Greek ironworking began to develop gradually during this century* [10th c. BC]*,…It seems to have develop first ….along the eastern coast of the Greek mainland and possibly in the North Aegean-regions often close to or themselves rich in precious metals such as silver and/or gold as well as copper….., and lying in the path of circum-Aegean routes which we have good reason to suppose Cypriot (or later Cypro-Phoenician and Phoenician) ships were using-or at least articulating with-in the early part of the 1st millennium, in the quest for such materials."*[43] Here comes the second important point in this discussion-the alleged *native Greek ironworking* in the 10th c. BC Northern Aegean and Thasos in particular. Considering the nature of the available archaeological record from the island, which pre-dates the Parian establishment (670-660 BC according to the recently proposed chronology),[44] and the relevant written testimonies, the earliest of which comes from Archilochus, the local pre-Greek population was Thracian.[45] There is no evidence in the material record to support any assumption for a permanent Greek presence on the island before the early 7th c. BC. Thus, the native ironworking on Thasos during the two and a half centuries preceding the arrival of the Parians is hardly Greek.

The identity of the carriers of the Cypriot bronze and bimetal knives is another matter. The likelihood that in the late 12th or early 11th c. BC Cypriot ships were acquainted with the Northern Aegean, Thasos in particular, and their sea-routes were later followed by the Phoenicians sounds very attractive. The available archaeological evidence that could support it, however, is still limited to a few bronze and bimetallic knives suggesting a possible early link with Cyprus. Two more LBA bronze knives from Thasos, one which might have originated from the Laurion copper deposits and another one made of pure copper with composition consistent to that of Ergani Maden in Anatolia,[46] as well as a Frattesina type glass bead,[47] could be seen as an additional indication that the Northern Aegean was part of the 12th and early 11th c. BC long-distance Cypriot maritime networks connecting the Eastern and Central Mediterranean, the Aegean and Anatolia.[48]

Additional confirmation that metallurgy was an important occupation for the local Thracians on Thasos comes from the pre-colonial, late 8th-early 7th c. BC settlement below the Parian *apoikia*.[49] If Phoenicians were ever engaged in metallurgical activities on the island, as

43 Sherratt 1993, 75.

44 See n. 15.

45 For a discussion on the pre-Greek population of Thasos, see Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 729-31; Owen 2000, 139-43; Tsantanoglou 2003, 235-55; Tiverios 2006, 73-85; Muller and Mulliez 2009, 135-50; Ilieva 2009, 109-23; 2018, 231-51; Bouzek and Graninger 2015, 12-22; Graninger 2015, 22-33 (with earlier bibliography).

46 Cf. Stoss-Gale and Gale 1992, 784.

47 See n. 42.

48 Sherratt 1993, 70. For the economic potential and prominent role of Cyprus in the 12th c. BC. exchange networks between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean, and even more so between the eastern and central Mediterranean, cf. (for LBA and EIA Cyprus) Iakovou 2006, 27-59; 2012b, 207-29; 2014, 795-824; Voskos and Knapp 2008, 659-84 (for an overview of the archaeology of LBA Cyprus in light of the discussion on the ethnic identity of its inhabitants); Bourogiannis 2012c, 65-84 (a case-study of the Cyprus-Dodecanese contacts), Kassianidou 2013, 133-45 (on the Cypriot bronze industry and commerce including the 12th c. BC); Steel 2014, 577-91 (with an overview of LBA Cyprus); Georgiou 2015, 129-45 (with a detailed bibliographic reference and an integrated overview of the changes and continuities during the "crisis years," indicating that the island was less affected from the collapse of the LBA centralised polities and became a protagonist in the post-palatial sea-borne trade).

49 According to the re-examination of the stratigraphy and the data that has come to light in the deep trenches excavated by P. Bernard, the abundance of slags, the remains of a pit with a layer of slags on the bottom and the thin layers rich in slags, charcoal and fine iron pieces are indicative for metallurgical activities (mainly extraction

famously postulated by Herodotus, they must have been in contact with the community living in this pre-colonial settlement, or contemporary one/s in other part/s of the island, but such scenario still lacks any material manifestation. One would also expect that the Phoenicians would have been more interested in purchase of ready metal rather than engaged in its laborious extraction, which would also mean some sort of agreement with the local population.

The Phoenicians, Cadmos in particular, were also credited, by the ancient written testimonies, with the exploitation of the Mount Pangaion silver and gold resources.[50] S. Sherratt has argued, that the Phoenician (Tyrian) activities in the Aegean in the late 11th and 10th c. BC were motivated by the acquisition of silver listing a number of silver-rich resources exploited at that time, with Mt Pangaion being one of these.[51] Again, like in the case of Thasos, this is a very attractive hypothesis, but still lacks any archaeological visibility.[52]

What the archaeology of Thasos shows is that while the island was clearly in contact with the Aegean world towards the end of the LBA and the transition to the EIA, there is no evidence that such contacts were maintained during the following three centuries of the EIA. Whether the Cypriot link was a direct one, considering the fact that Cyprus retained its active commercial position after the collapse of the Mycenaean world,[53] or it was organised via Aegean ports of trade, requires further evidence. There seems to be a clear gap between the 12th/early 11th c. BC contacts of the local community on Thasos with the Aegean and the renewal of the contacts with the Aegean neighbours in the second half of the 8th c. BC, when the island becomes part of a locally developed, Northern Aegean exchange network. The early Cypriot and Phoenician commercial ventures, illustrated by the earliest finds at Lefkandi in the late 11th c. BC and by the gradually increasing archaeological evidence from the 10th and 9th century BC Euboea and the Southern Aegean (Dodecanese, Crete),[54] were not echoed in its northern part. The lack of relevant archaeological evidence does not mean, of course, that contacts did not exist or that Cypriot and Phoenician ships were not acquainted with northern Aegean waters as suggested by Sherratt. If they did, however, they are still awaiting an archaeological confirmation.

THE LATE 8th-EARLY 7th C. BC ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

The archaeological definition of a possible Phoenician presence in the Northern Aegean, so

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and processing of iron) undertaken by the local Thracians (Kohl *et al*. 2002, 58-70). The metal ore located at the later acropolis of the Parian settlement must have attracted the establishment of the Thracians at the foot of the hill. The extraction of the ore was done at the site of the acropolis while the later processing of the metal has obviously taken place in the settlement below, cf. Muller and Mulliez 2009, 135-50. Additional argument for the pre-Greek metallurgy at the site of the later *apoikia* is the deforestation of the hill of the acropolis for coal supply necessary for the processing of the metal and the consequent erosions which have changed the environment, cf. Blonde *et al*. 2008, 67-83; Blonde *et al*. 2009, 395-406.

50 Cf. Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 727 n. 110.

51 Sherratt 2010, 130.

52 For the results of field surveys in the Pangaion area, cf. Πούλιος 1988, 344.

53 See n. 48.

54 For summarising discussions on the archaeological and epigraphic evidence for Cypriot and Phoenician commercial ventures in the southern Aegean (with earlier bibliography and excavation reports), cf. Coldstream 1982, 261-75; 1998, 255-63; 2006, 49-55; Shaw 1989, 163-85; 2000, 1107-19; Stampolidis 1990, 99-106; 2003, 217-32; Negbi 1992, 599-615; Jones 1993, 293-303; Crielaard 1998, 187-206; Kourou and Grammatikaki 1998, 1-19; Morris and Papadopoulos 1998, 251-63; Kourou 2000, 1067-81; 2003, 249-62; 2008a, 361-74; 2008b, 305-64; 2012, 24-51; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006, 337-60; Bourogiannis 2007; 2000, 9-23; 2009, 114-30; 2012b, 183-205; 2012c, 67-84; 2013, 139-89; Sherratt 2010, 119-42; Papadopoulos 2011, 113-33; Κοτσώνας 2012, 155-83; Gilboa *et al*. 2015, 75-102; Ioannou 2017, 435-446.

vividly suggested by the ancient literary tradition, is a complicated task. It requires the correct identification of the discussed objects,[55] consideration of the nature of the ancient trade and not last the complexities involved in the use (and misuse) of the very term Phoenician. Nevertheless, a still modest number of artefacts, mainly ceramic vessels, glass beads and some ivories, provide a basis for discussion and reconsideration. These are complimented by a currently small number of Cypriot ceramics. Considering the strong ties between Cyprus and metropolitan Phoenicia, including the establishment of Kition on the island, it seems very likely that some (if not most) Phoenician materials reached the Northern Aegean via or from Cyprus itself. For this reason the Phoenician and Cypriot imports as well as the locally made Phoenician-style ceramics are presented together in the following section.

The ceramic evidence

Fragments of six Phoenician trade amphorae (Fig.1) have come to light from the earliest deposit of a subterranean structure called "Ypogeio," excavated in ancient Methone.[56] The containers belong to the familiar carinated-shoulder amphora type usually defined as "bullet shaped," and also known as "torpedo jars."[57] Their fabric and technological features, the number of parallels from Cyprus and Levantine sites, where kilns with such jars were also found,[58] leave no doubt about their origin in the Phoenician homeland. This makes them the only group of securely identified metropolitan Phoenician ware discovered in the Northern Aegean so far. Following the suggested chronology for the Methone deposit ca. 730-690 BC,[59] based on imported Greek fine wares, the discussed amphorae must have belonged to the early representatives of the type.[60] It has been suggested that the carinated-shoulder amphorae were used for the export of wine,[61] perhaps tied together by ropes in an upright position during the transportation.[62]

Karabournaki, a coastal settlement at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, identified with ancient

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55 Bourogiannis 2013, 143.

56 For a discussion of the structure, see Μπέσιος 2012, 41-61. The Phoenician amphorae were first presented by Athanassiadou 2012, 161 n.109-11 and included in Tiverios' (2012, 65-72) discussion of the Phoenician presence in the Northern Aegean. See also Κοτσώνας 2012, 111. Although the deposit that has yielded the Phoenician transport amphorae is the earliest in the "Ypogeio," it is not representative for the earliest occupation of the site. This goes back to the Late Neolithic, there is a significant LBA cemetery, and EIA pre-colonisation settlement remains.

57 Κασσέρη 2012, 299-308 publishes two almost completely restored examples with detailed discussion on fabric and technological features, shape, parallels, chronological issues and use of the type.

58 Sarepta (Pritchard 1975, 71-8) and Tyre (Bikai 1978, 13) have produced such containers associated with kilns or debris from kilns. A recently published Tell el-Burak excavation report presents ca. 60 such amphorae discovered in a second half of 7th c. BC context, Kamlah *et al.* 2016, 79-130. See also Badreshany *et al.* 2017, 27 presenting the same amphorae at the 1st APPWC 2016, Ghent (abstract book).

59 The Methone "Ypogeio" was filled in three very short phases ca. 700 BC and then was sealed with two terrace walls built on top of it in the first half of the 7th c. BC. The fill of the structure contains mud bricks, timber, stone, pottery and metal debris from nearby workshops, as well as discarded imported fine and transport wares. The suggested chronology is based on fine ware pottery imports from Attica, Corinth and Euboea, cf. Μπέσιος *et al.* 2012, 321-9.

60 Sagona (1982, 77) suggested that the production and distribution of the type reached its peak between 760-700 BC. Recent evidence, however, indicates that the majority of these amphorae date to the second half of the 7th c. BC in the Levant, although earlier and later examples are also known. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for the helpful comments on this topic.

61 Residue analysis of torpedo jars from the shipwrecks at Tanit and Elissa indicates that the interior of the containers was coated with pine resin suggesting that they were used for the transportation of wine, Pritchard 1975, 71-8; Bikai 1978, 13, see also the discussion in Κασσέρη 2012, 303.

62 Stager 2003, 241 fig. 7. Κασσέρη (2012, 303) notes that one of the Methone jars bears traces of what could be interpreted as rope-wear at handle level.

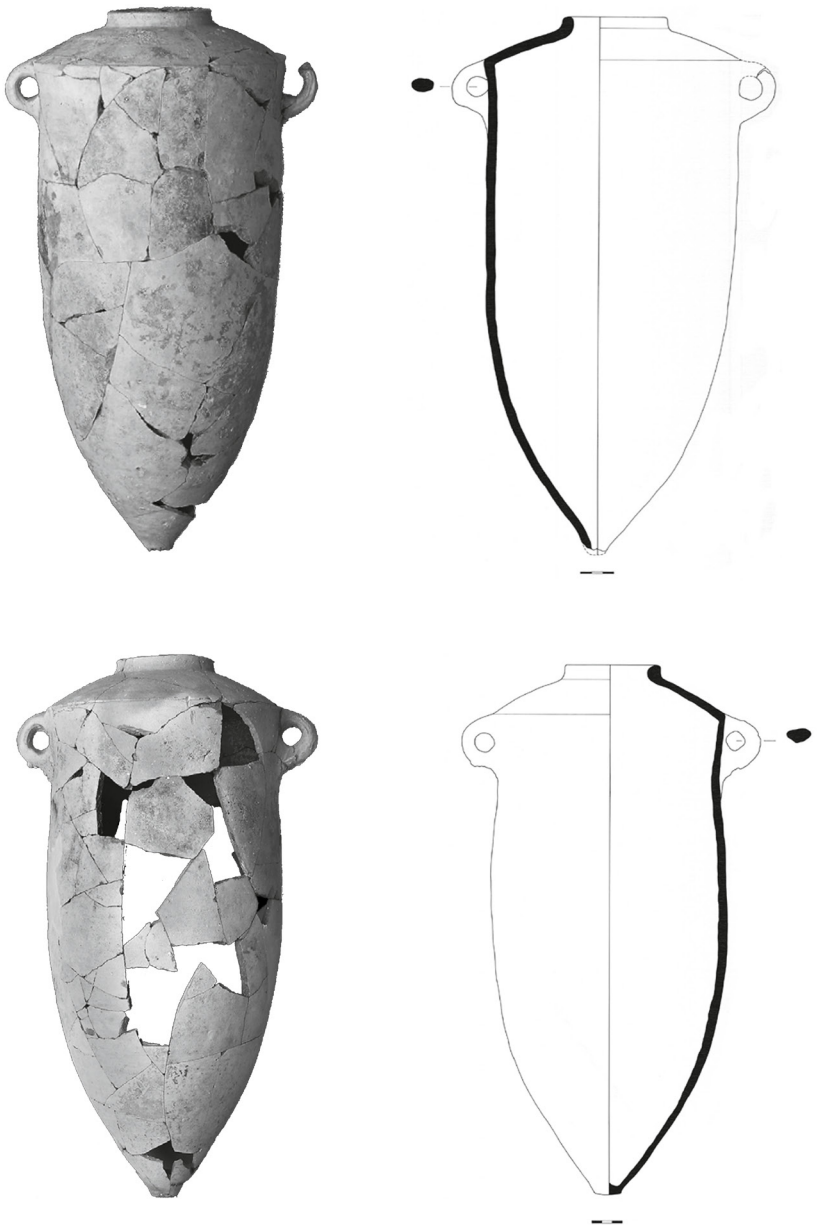

Fig. 1. Restored Phoenician trade amphorae (torpedo jars) from Methone, "Ypogeio" (after Κασσέρη 2012, fig. 1-2)

Therme,[63] is a Northern Aegean port where Phoenician, as well as Cypriot, ceramics were discovered. Two joining mouth and neck fragments from a trefoil-lipped, red-slipped jug were originally published as Phoenician (Fig. 2).[64] The vase appears to belong to the familiar type of Phoenician jugs with almost globular body, relatively short conical neck and high, narrow trefoil lip.[65] Its micaceous fabric, however, led Bourogiannis to see it as a possible Southeastern Aegean version of the Phoenician shape,[66] rather than as an original import from the Phoeni-

63 Tiverios (1995-2000, 314-20) advocates the identification of the site with the ancient Therme.
64 For the original publication of the vase, cf. Tiverios *et al.* 2001, 259, 262 fig. 8; Tiverios 2004, 297 fig. 4.
65 For the identification of the type, see Μπουρογιάννης 2007, 430.
66 For discussion based on examination of the fragments, cf. Μπουρογιάννης 2007, 344.

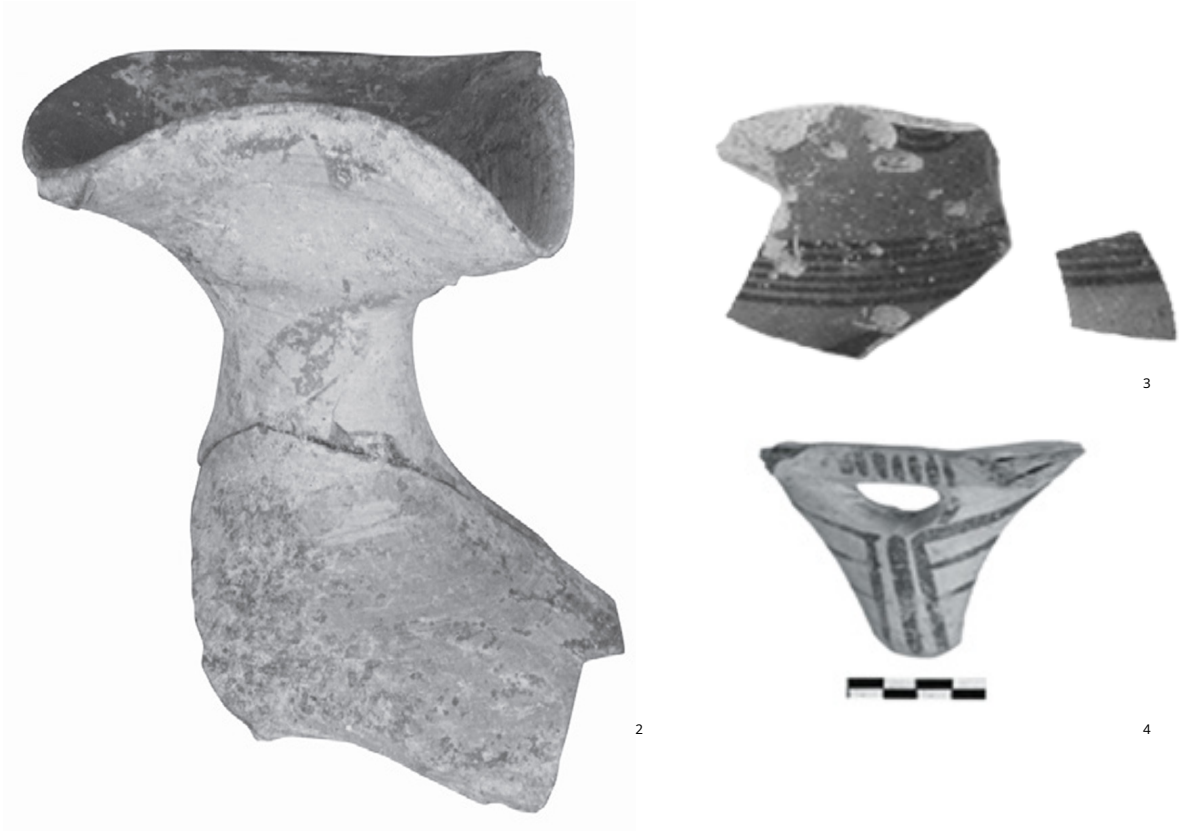

Fig. 2. Mouth and neck fragments from a trefoil-lipped, red-slipped jug from Karabournaki (after Τιβέριος 2017, fig. 5α). Fig. 3. Two wall fragments from BoR neck-ridge juglets from Karabournaki (after Τιβέριος *et al.* 2004, fig. 8) Fig. 4. Cypriot painted pottery fragment from Karabournaki (after Τιβέριος 2017, fig. 5bβ)

cian homeland, supported later by Kotsonas[67] who advocates a possible Eastern Aegean origin of the vase. As a consequence, both of them reject its definition as Phoenician and describe it as Phoenician-type. Recently Tiverios[68] has rightly pointed out that the attribution of a ceramic vessel to a broader ceramic group (such as Phoenician, Attic etc.) should be based on technological features such as the shaping and tectonic/"building" of the form and the ornamental style, since the ancient potters did not work with a single source of clay. Similarly, Fletcher discussed the *"thorny issue of how we define "Phoenician" pottery..... "Phoenician" pottery can be from the Levant, from Cyprus, from the Western Mediterranean, and perhaps even from Rhodes and Kos."*[69] It seems to me that had it not been for the ethnic and geographic term *Phoenician*, which carries much broader and deeper connotations deriving from ancient Greek perceptions and modern studies, there would not be such a hot, ongoing discussion. If, for example, a different, more technical term was in use, similar to *North-West Anatolian Grey Ware*, *G 2-3 Ware*, or *pre-Persian Olynthus-type ware*, it would perhaps be easier for many scholars to see the Phoenician pottery as a ceramic group that follows the same manufacturing traditions in terms of "building"/shaping of the vessel, firing, surface finish, secondary features such as ridges, grooves etc., and ornamental techniques and patterns, that was produced in various centres. That the fabric of a particular pot differs from that of another/other one/s should not make it

67 Κοτσώνας 2012, 303, n. 1620.

68 Tiverios 2017, 422, n. 16. See also earlier, Tiverios 1989, 617-9 on the itinerant potters during the Archaic and Classical periods.

69 He continues his argumentation with the example of the Phoenician pottery from Carthage which originates from many places: Carthage itself, Spain, Pithekoussai and the Levant, Fletcher 2008, 3-7.

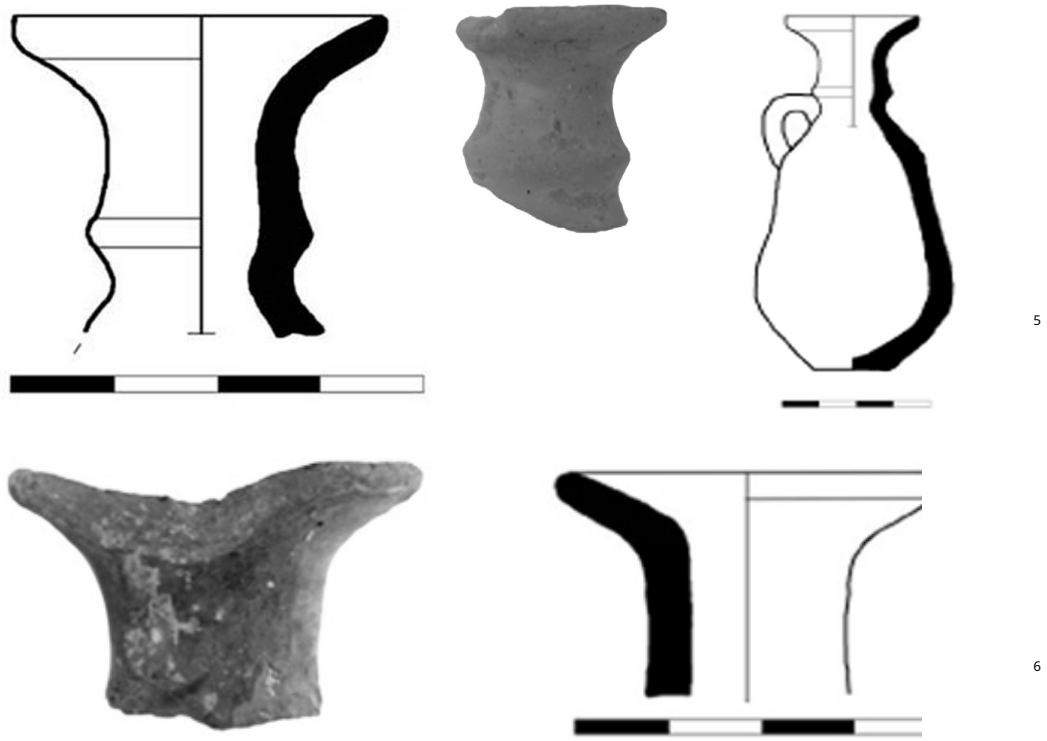

Fig. 5. Mouth and neck fragment from a Phoenician red-slipped neck-ridge juglet from Torone and suggested restoration of the shape (after Fletcher 2008, fig. 3, 5) Fig. 6. Mouth and neck fragment from a Cypriot Grey Polished Ware juglet (after Fletcher 2008, fig. 4)

less *Phoenician*, exactly like one Grey Ware pot from Troy and a Grey Ware pot from Lesbos are equally Grey Ware vessels, no one questions their attribution to the same ceramic group just because they were made of local clays. Since terms such as Metropolitan Phoenician wares, Cypriot Phoenician pottery, and Western Mediterranean Phoenician ceramics are perfectly acceptable and reflect the regional variations within the same broader group, why should a vessel made in the Aegean not be recognised as Phoenician because of its locally sourced clay? It is a different question, if the people at Karabournaki could identify it as Phoenician. It is also true that a Phoenician pot found in the Northern Aegean and manufactured in the Eastern Aegean would point towards a link between these two parts of the Aegean, rather than a direct one between the Northern Aegean and the Phoenician coast. It still does not mean, however, that this link could not have been carried via the agency of Phoenician people resident in the eastern Aegean (Rhodes for example).

Although the two jug fragments were discovered in a surface layer with chronologically mixed ceramics, the assemblage was dominated by 8th and 7th c. BC vases. A number of parallels for the shape familiar from Cyprus,[70] the central and the Western Mediterranean[71] provide support for the chronology suggested for the Karabournaki jug ca. 700 BC.[72]

70 The Cypriot counterparts come from the Kition and Amathus horizons as defined by Bikai 1987, 69. For parallels, cf. Bikai 1987, 31 pl. XVI:373, 32 pl.XVI:384; Μπουρογιάννης 2007, 344.

71 The trefoil-mouthed jug appears to have been a popular shape in the Phoenician ceramic assemblage of the late 8th and mainly the 7th c. BC in the central and western Mediterranean, cf. Aubet 1997, fig. 61, 66-7; Moscati 1988, 496, 501; Stampolidis 2003, n. 10-26.

72 M. Tiverios (2004, 297) suggested a date in the late 8th/early 7th c. BC, followed by Bourogiannis (2007, 430), who narrows it to ca.700 BC on typological basis (Bourogiannis 2007, 344 ΘΕ3, 433).

The settlement at Karabournaki did also yield two body fragments belonging to the distinctive pottery class familiar by the descriptive term Black-on-Red (BoR) (Fig. 3).[73] Originally identified as jug fragments by the excavators, the two shards were tentatively attributed later to neck-ridge juglets.[74] Being a subject of a long-lasted discussion, BoR pottery class is attributed to Cypriot manufacture,[75] while locally produced wares in BoR *style* cover a much wider area of Southwestern Anatolia, North Syria and even Phrygia.[76] The macroscopic identification of BoR fragments discovered in Aegean sites (including the Karabournaki ones) as Cypriot led to the conviction that these represent Cypriot imports.[77] The Karabournaki fragments were stratigraphically related to a plethora of late 8th/ first half of the 7th c. BC ceramics.[78] An additional Cypriot decorated pottery fragment was recently published from Karabournaki (Fig. 4).[79]

Moving to the east, Torone[80] is the only site in the Northern Aegean where mouth and neck fragments of two small perfume vessels (juglets) have been identified so far.[81] The first one presents a squat neck, sharp ridge in the middle of the neck and a flaring rim, while a carinated, pear-shaped body is the suggested restoration for the bottom half of the vase (Fig. 5).[82] Based on the fabric, the dark-red slip and the morphology of the vase Fletcher suggests a Phoenician manufacture for this neck-ridge juglet, although he allows for a possible origin in Cyprus or even the Dodecanese.[83] An origin in Cyprus is quite possible and would support the idea for the involvement of merchants and craftsmen from Cyprus in the Aegean and its northern littoral in particular. The second fragment (**Fig. 6**) represents part of a squat, cylindrical neck opening into a flaring rim and possibly continuing into globular body. No ridge is preserved on the neck, although there could have been one at the level of the break, as pointed out by Fletcher.[84] The dark red fabric with dark grey, polished slip and traces of burnishing, allow for its attribution to Cypriot Grey Polished Ware. Both juglet fragments from Torone come from unrelated and unstratified contexts, leaving the dating entirely on typological grounds. Comparanda for the

73 For the original publication of the shards, cf. Tiverios, Μανακίδου και Τσιαφάκη 2004, 341, 344 fig. 8.

74 See the discussion of fabric, shape and decoration in Bourogiannis 2007, 344 ΘΕ1-2, who suggests a more precise attribution to BoR II.

75 For an overview of the research history of this pottery class and the complexities resulting from its involvement in a Cypro-Phoenician discourse, cf. Bourogiannis (2012b, 183-207) who categorically states its Cypriot origin. Schreiber's (2003) thorough study of the BoR class leaves no doubt regarding its Cypriot manufacture and distribution, yet the title of the study employs the term Cypro-Phoenician which she otherwise successfully deconstructs, as pointed out by Iakovou 2004, 62.

76 Schreiber (2003), however, supports that the *name* BoR should be used for this particular pottery class manufactured on Cyprus. The BoR *style,* on the other hand, was widely imitated in local productions in North Syria and Southwest Anatolia (cf. discussion in Hodos *et al*. 2005, 70-1 with example from Kinet in Cilicia and earlier Melaart 1955, 119, 122-3). Locally produced BoR appears in Pre-destruction and Destruction levels in Gordion cf. Schaus 1992, 152-4.

77 Bourogiannis 2012b, 199, see also Iakovou 2004, 61-6. The possibility of Anatolian *versus* Cypriot origin of the BoR from the Aegean has not been discussed in relevant studies (i.e. Bourogiannis 2007; 2012b, 183-207).

78 Based on stylistic grounds Bourogiannis 2007, 429 attributes the fragments to Cypro-Archaic I and suggests that these belong to the latest BoR imports in the Aegean.

79 For the painted fragment, cf. Tiverios 2017, fig. 5b.

80 For the archaeological research in Torone, cf. Cambitoglou *et al.* 2001; Cambitoglou 2002, 21-45; Papadopoulos 2005 with further references to the original excavation reports.

81 For the identification and discussion of the fabric and shape of the Torone juglets, as well as their origin and the distribution of the type, cf. Fletcher 2008, 3-7.

82 Although Fletcher (2008, 6 fig. 5) admits that a globular body is also a possibility, he observes that the nature of the break "*makes it more likely that the vessel form was that of a pear-shape*".

83 For discussion of the possible production locations, cf. Fletcher 2008, 6.

84 Fletcher 2008, 7.

7 8

Fig. 7. Cypriot basket-handle amphora from the cemetery of Abdera (after Dupont and Skarlatidou 2012, fig. 31). Fig. 8. Grey Ware trefoil-lipped Phoenician-type jug and fragments from double- and triple-rope handles, possibly from similar jugs, from Troy (after Blegen *et al.* 1958, fig. 291:5-7 handle fragments, 292)

Phoenician juglet can be seen in red-slipped examples from Cyprus[85] and the Levant[86] datable to the late 8th and the 7th c. BC, while the Cypriot Grey Polished Ware juglet is attributed to Cypro-Archaic I (750-600 BC).[87] Considering the chronology of the discussed parallels Fletcher suggests that a date in the first half of the 7th c. BC seems plausible for the two Torone examples.[88]

The early Klazomenian cemetery of Abdera has produced an isolated basket-handle transport amphora (Fig. 7) dated to the second half of the 7th c. BC.[89] This type of container originates in Cyprus[90] and represents a comparatively rare find in the early Archaic Aegean, which makes the example from Abdera even more interesting. The Cypriot amphorae discovered in the Aegean come from sites with strong Levantine associations such as Kommos and Rhodes, and Miletus is also the source of ca. 20 fragments of basket-amphorae.[91] In addition, three Archaic shipwrecks off the shore of South and South-Western Turkey with cargoes dominated consistently by Cypriot basket-handle amphorae, but also carrying East Greek transport containers,

85 Amathus horizon (after 700 to after 600 BC), Bikai 1987, 69 nos. 286, 296 in particular.

86 Two vessels of the same form from the cemetery of Achziv dated to the early 7th c. BC, cf. Mazar 2001, Tomb T.C.4, nos. 6-7. Fletcher (2008, n. 16) also points to similar vases from Khalde and Al Mina datable to the late 8th c. BC.

87 It should be noted that the chronological limits of the Cypro-Archaic I followed by Fletcher are 700-600 BC, while the dating of the period between 750-600 BC follows the chronological table in Iakovou 2012a.

88 Fletcher 2008, 3-7.

89 For the final publication of the excavation results of the cemetery and its chronological position in the second half of the 7th c. BC down to the early 6th c. BC, cf. Σκαρλατίδου 2010. For the basket-handle amphora in particular, cf. Σκαρλατίδου 2010, 174-5 fig. 269; Dupont and Skarlatidou 2012, 260.

90 Σκαρλατίδου (2010, 174) attributes the amphora to a Cypriot workshop, although Dupont and Skarlatidou (2012, 260) allow for a Cypriot or Levantine origin. Leidwanger (2006, 24-32) and Greene *et al*. (2013, 21-34) clearly attribute the type to Cypriot manufacture and a compositional analysis of *comparanda* from Tell Keisan suggests that the examples from this settlement are imports from Cyprus. See also Κασσέρη (2012, 299-308) who comments on the container as of Cypriot origin.

91 For the distribution of the type, cf. Greene *et al*. 2013, 21-34.

provide more evidence on distribution and the expanding seaborne relations between the Aegean world and the Eastern Mediterranean in the early Archaic period.[92]

Across the Hellespont, the eighth city of Troy is the source of a probably locally made trefoil mouthed jug and handle fragments from presumably similar jugs (Fig. 8),[93] discovered in the Upper Sanctuary area. The brief description in the publication mentions a dark grey lustrous slip and coarse inclusions in the fabric, detectable on the surface. The vase has wide conical neck with wide base joining the squat globular body with no clear distinction, resulting in "truly biconical"/piriform shape.[94] There is a ridge where the neck joins the body. The relatively small trefoil rim does not project much beyond the neck, and the jug stands on a very low, wide ring base. The handle and part of the mouth are missing. One of the three handle fragments believed to come from similar jugs is of a double-rope type, while the other two represent a triple-rope, the one having a semi-globular knob at base of handle.[95]

The shape of the jug, which is obviously alien to the repertory of the local Grey Ware,[96] can be easily recognised in that of a group of Phoenician Red slip trefoil-lipped jugs from the Amathus horizon on Cyprus.[97] The Trojan vase is smaller in size and the proportions differ from those of the Cypriot examples,[98] which accounts for the visually shorter, heavier look. It faithfully reproduces, however, the ridge at the join of neck to body which the Phoenician vases have. The jug from Troy is closely comparable to a number of vases of the same shape discovered in Central and Western Mediterranean Phoenician sites,[99] as well as to some from the Phoenician homeland.[100] The trefoil-lipped, biconical jugs appear to be more common in

92 For the results of the underwater surveys and discussion on the cargo of the three shipwrecks, cf. Greene *et al*. 2013, 21-34. Based on the chronology of the transport containers, the authors date two of the shipwrecks to mid-7th c. BC or shortly before that, while the third one appears to be slightly later with a date in the late 7th even very early 6th c. BC.

93 Blegen *et al*. 1958, 265 no. 36.722 fig. 291:5-7 (handle fragments), 292. See discussion in Graham 1987, 91 and Κοτσώνας 2012, 176 n.925.

94 Bikai 1987, 49-50.

95 I did not have the opportunity to inspect the discussed vase and the handle fragments personally, so all the descriptions are based on the information provided in the publication and what can be discerned from the relevant photographs.

96 For the repertory of the EIA Anatolian Grey Ware, cf. Bayne 2000, 137-243.

97 For comparison, cf. Bikai 1987, 31-2, 49-50, 62 pl. XVI:373-4, 384, 388. No. 384 is the closest to the Trojan vase.

98 The Trojan vase is 16.3 cm high and has body diam. of 11.3 cm, while Cypriot vases have ranging height, 24.8 cm or 21.2 cm for example, and body diam. 13.5 cm and 13.4 cm respectively. The jug in Bikai 1987, pl. XVI, 384 is the closest to the Troian vase in terms of size and proportions.

99 For examples from the Phoenician cemetery on Motya, offshore Sicily, cf. Sconzo 2016, fig. 4 (two ceramic funerary sets, the trefoil, biconical jugs in the middle of each set), fig. 11 (ceramic funerary assemblage with a trefoil biconical jug to the left). While both jugs on fig. 4 look taller and more elongated, closely comparable to Bikai 1987, pl. XVI, 373 for example, the vase on fig. 11 has heavier, plumper proportions closer to the Troian jug, although still taller than the latter. The shape is present in the funerary ceramic set from the Phoenician cemetery at Laurita (Granada), cf. Núñez 2013, fig. 19: T12, T13, T20, although the three jugs are not identical between themselves and to the Trojan one, again as a consequence from slight variations in the proportions. All the illustrated examples from Motya and Laurita have conical necks with straight sides similar to the jugs from Cyprus and the Trojan vase. A sporadic find from San Giorgo cemetery in Sardinia provides another good parallel for the Trojan vase, cf. Fletcher 2006, fig. 6. Unlike most of the Central and Western Mediterranean jugs which tend to be more elongated and elegant, this particular example has true globular body, heavier proportions and straight-sided neck with very wide base which make it stand very close to the discussed vase from Troy.

100 The Trojan jug is closely comparable to one from Akhziv (cf. Núñez 2013, fig. 22e), which, like the vases discussed above, n. 92 has straight-sided neck. An example from the al-Bass cemetery, period IV (Núñez 2014, fig.3.84b) also has a biconical body, but the neck walls are slightly concave which contributes to the visually more elegant look in comparison to the rest of the discussed examples.

the Central and Western Mediterranean, where more elongated and elegant shape seems to be the norm, while examples from Cyprus and the Phoenician mainland seem to be less frequent and tend towards heavier proportions thus providing closer parallels for the Trojan vase. Although the jug's handle is missing, a partly preserved double-rope vertical handle matches closely the type of handle on comparable biconical jugs from Cyprus,[101] some examples from the al-Bass cemetery, Tyre,[102] and a vase from San Giorgo cemetery, Sardinia.[103]. The Trojan handle fragment was not attributed to the discussed vase.[104] If we accept that it belonged to another vase, it seems reasonable, then, to assume that more than one Phoenician type jugs could have been present at Troy. Two triple-rope handle fragments, published together with the double-rope one, are more difficult to assess. One of these, however, bears an interesting detail-a rounded knob at the base of the handle. Similar feature can be found on a number of Phoenician trefoil mouthed jugs with globular or piriform body from Cyprus,[105] although not necessarily associated with a double-rope type handle.

The chronology of the Trojan jug was not clarified in the publication; neither a clear stratigraphic or contextual setting is available.[106] Parallels from the Amathus horizon on Cyprus (after 700 to after 600 BC)[107] suggest a general date in the 7th c. BC, while a jug from Motya suggests a date "*no later than mid-7th c. BC*."[108] After a detailed discussion on the date of the Laurita graves Núñez proposes the second and third quarters of the 7th c. BC.[109] This chronological position corresponds partly to the Amathus horizon on Cyprus, al-Bass period V (late 8th-early 6th c. BC) and Tyre stratum I.[110] Consequently a date in the first half of the 7th c. BC can be suggested for the trefoil mouthed jug from Troy.

The manufacturing of the Trojan jug, published as a "somewhat timid attempt on the part of a Trojan potter to produce in the local ware an imitation of an imported shape,"[111] introduces the problem of the copies/imitations. A locally made vase that employs the technological features of probably the most popular Trojan fine ware-the North-West Anatolian Grey Ware - was most likely designed for the local market. Unlike the Karabournaki jug, which, even if made in the South-Eastern Aegean, is red slipped, thus reproducing the visual impression of the Phoenician Red-Slipped class, the Trojan vase follows the local tradition in terms of fabric and surface finish. It actually represents more than a "timid attempt" as the shape is very well rendered and details such as the ridge at the neck to body join and the very low ring base are not omitted. The potter must have had a good visual knowledge of this particular form, perhaps

101 Bikai 1987, pl. XVI: middle row.

102 Cf. for example Núñez 2008, fig. 27: U29-2 (period IV); 2014, fig. 3.121 (period V jugs)-like the period IV jugs from this cemetery, the period V ones have slightly concave necks.

103 Compare Fletcher 2006, fig. 6.

104 Blegen *et al*. 1958, 265. They actually publish the handle fragments together with the Phoenician type jug before proceeding to the next vessel from the Upper Sanctuary.

105 Bikai 1987, 31-2, cf. for example nos. 368-9, 371-2, 375.

106 The publication states that fragments of Early Corinthian pottery were found in the same deposit, but it remains unclear if there was actual stratigraphic association between these and the Phoenician type jug. We should also consider the length of the period of use before its final deposition in the Upper Sanctuary.

107 Bikai 1987, 69.

108 Sconzo 2016, 324. The jug illustrated on fig. 11 is closely comparable to the Troian example, cf. n. 98.

109 Núñez 2014a, 80 with a summarising table of previously suggested dates for the individual graves.

110 For the synchronisation of the strata/horizons of the major metropolitan/Levantine Phoenician sites and non-Phoenician ones that have yielded Phoenician materials (mainly ceramics), cf. Núñez 2008, 19-95; 2014b, 261-71 (cf. commentary on the relative and absolute chronology of each of the al-Bass periods).

111 Blegen *et al*. 1958, 265 no. 36.722.

from imported original/s, a ceramic or metal (bronze/silver) version.[112] A metal vase providing inspiration and model for the manufacturing of the Grey Ware jug from Troy can be a plausible assumption.[113] The Phoenicians were master craftsmen and fine metal vessels were one of the areas of their expertise. A silver jug would have been a luxurious, status object with high market value; it is safer[114] to transport than a ceramic original and its colour would be comparable to the grey ware pieces. Unquestionably, however, the jug is an isolated phenomenon. Even if we accept that several vases of this type existed in Troy,[115] they still do not form a representative sequence with an impact on the local ceramic production. It is an important indication, though, that the intensification of Phoenician activity in the southern Aegean manifested in the late 8th and especially early 7th c. BC[116] was echoed, although in a much smaller scale, in the contemporary material record of sites along the northern littoral of the basin.

The non-ceramic evidence

A rare, non-ceramic evidence for Cypriot trade activities was discovered in the LG-Early Archaic coastal cemetery of Mende on Chalkidike.[117] A late 8th/early 7th c. BC Attic SOS amphora was used as a burial container for *enchytrismos* (Fig. 9).[118] Although the type, origin and chronology of this find are unquestionably important for the archaeology of the Northern Aegean, its utmost significance lies in the short inscription incised on its shoulder in Cypriot syllabary.[119] According to one reading of the inscription it contains part of a personal name followed by patronym and the beginning of a place-name.[120] It was interpreted as the name of a trader or the owner of the amphora (]la-si) whose patronym began with Θεμι-(te-mi) and he was Selaminios/ Σελαμίνιος (se) by origin. The reading of the Mende inscription is supported by the fact that

112 Examples of Phoenician bronze and silver jugs with a biconical body, ridge at neck to body join and a vertical handle terminating in palmette are known from Mediterranean sites from Cyprus to the Iberian peninsula, but seems to have been particularly popular in Etruria and Campania in early 7th c. BC, cf. Markoe 2000, 150 fig. 57; Fletcher 2006, 177-8 fig. 5. The piriform shape of the metal jugs relates closely to the discussed ceramic version. For the close stylistic resemblance between such jug and its *bucchero* counterpart, both of early 7th c. BC date, from central Italy, cf. Nijboer 2004, 375 pl. II (middle row). He advocates a "*close relationship between some of the luxury goods of this period both in style and partially in the technology employed*." The type of a three-ridged handle that the metal jugs have (see the handle of the jug illustrated on his plate II, also familiar from other examples), could have provided the inspiration for the three-rope handle fragments discovered in Troy. Fletcher 2006, 177-8 fig. 5 also compares the ceramic and metal examples of the shape from central Italy (the silver jug on fig. 5 has a double-rope handle similar to the discussed ceramic examples). Geographically closer, metal example from the Aegean is a vase from the Idaean Cave on Crete, cf. Kourou 2012, fig. 1a (after Stampolidis *et al.* 1998).

113 The metal examples from Etruria and their bucchero counterparts discussed in the previous note indicate similar process. We should also consider the visual resemblance between Grey Ware and silver vases.

114 We should keep in mind, of course, that a fine metal vase could get bent out of shape if not packed carefully. A cargo with precious metal vases also increases the risk of piracy. I would like to thank Dr. T. Hodos for these remarks.

115 If we assume that the double- and triple-rope handle fragments belonged each to a different vase of this shape, it makes four vessels in total, unless more, unpublished exist.

116 Bourogiannis 2013, 171.

117 For the original excavation report, cf. Βοκοτοπούλου and Μοσχονησιώτη 1990, 411-23.

118 For the late 8th/early 7th c. BC date of the vessel and its Attic provenance, supported by archaeometric analysis, cf. Vokotopoulou and Christidis 1995, 5-12, followed by Bourogiannis 2007, 431. M. Tiverios (2012, 67) advocated a slightly later date within the 7th c. BC. See also Κοτσώνας 2012, 187 n. 1107.

119 Cf. Vokotopoulou and Christidis 1995, 5-12.

120 The whole inscription is transcribed as]la-si//. te-mi| se, la-si being the ending of a personal name, te-mi marking a complex patronym beginning with Θεμι-, popular on Cyprus for a number of personal names and se for the place of origin of the person (Selaminios/ Σελαμίνιος).

Fig. 9. Attic SOS-amphora with Cypriot syllabary inscription from the cemetery of Mende (after Καρναβά 2013, εικ.1-2)

Salamis represents the highest concentration of SOS amphorae on Cyprus.[121] Another reading suggests]la-si-te-mi se, se being the final –s of a personal name in Nom. Sg.[122] The vessel also bears three incised vertical lines on the handle, a practice popular on the island for marking the capacity of the containers.[123] The Mende inscription finds an almost identical, early 7th c. BC parallel in one from Policoro, South Italy.[124] Written in Cypriot syllabary, it was transcribed as (?)-la-si-te-mi[-?, which makes a possible common Cypriot background for the two containers not unlikely. The date of the Mende inscription (via the chronology of the SOS amphora), additionally confirmed by its South Italian counterpart, fits well into the late 8th-first half of 7th c. BC horizon of Cypriot and Phoenician finds in the Northern Aegean littoral.

Two types of glass beads that have been usually associated with Phoenician craftsmanship and trade activities,[125] and possibly part of what Homer calls *athyrmata* (Od. 15.415-6), have come to light from the Methone "Ypogeio,"[126] the Sindos settlement mound[127] and the cemetery at Sedes.[128] Compound three-eye-beads (triangular) made of dark (greenish or blueish) glass with white spiral "eyes" come from the "Ypogeio" (Fig. 10: middle and lower row), one example is known from the Sindos settlement mound (Fig. 11) and more are reported from Dailaki, Kastoria.[129] The narrow dating of the "Ypogeio" deposit (730-690 BC)[130] provides firm chronology for the eye-beads in the late 8th-very early 7th c. BC, while the Sindos find is reported as being from a 7th c. BC stratum.[131] The prevailing view for the Phoenician provenance of these beads or their association with Phoenician craftsmanship[132] was challenged some years ago with arguments

121 Cf. Johnston and Jones 1978, 114.
122 Καρναβά 2013, 162.
123 Cf. Vokotopoulou and Christidis 1995, 10 fig. 3; Bourogiannis 2007, 431.
124 Cf. Cordano 1984, 284, 293 n.14; Martelli 1991, 1054-5.
125 Cf. Tiverios 2004, 299; Τιβέριος and Γιματζίδης 2000, 200-1 with relevant earlier bibliography.
126 Ignatiadou 2015, 82 fig. 1.
127 Τιβέριος and Γιματζίδης 2000, 200-1 fig. 8; Bourogiannis 2007, 435; Gimatzidis 2010, 298-99.
128 Ιγνατιάδου and Χατζηνικολάου 2002, 57-72.
129 Cf. Ignatiadou 2015, 82 who also mentions more beads of this type with an unknown precise provenance, most likely from Macedonia. These are included in the Glass Cosmos exhibition catalogue (2010), which presents finds from Macedonia and Thrace.
130 For the stratigraphy and the chronology of the structure, cf. Μπέσιος 2012, 41-62.
131 It is associated with Phase 4 ceramic material (Sub-Geometric in terms of relative chronology), cf. Gimatzidis 2010, 289, 302-34. See also Gimatzidis 2014, table 1, where Habitation Level 4 is attributed to LG IIB.
132 See for example Markoe 2000, 158 where the glass coloured beads are attributed to Phoenician work-

Fig. 10. Glass beads from Methone (after Ignatiadou 2012, fig. 1)

based on their distribution pattern.[133] While the majority, including the very early, 9th c. BC examples, comes from sites in Greece, the Phoenician homeland and Phoenician establishments in the Mediterranean seem also to be a source. Schmid suggested a link between the distribution of the triangular and the Euboean trade activities and settlements abroad,[134] while a Rhodian workshop, on the other hand, has been also advocated.[135] To complicate matters, the excavation of the Methone "Ypogeio" has produced evidence that a glass-making workshop was active at the site as early as the colony's foundation.[136] In this case a local production stimulated through the Euboian connection or perhaps by early contacts with Rhodes,[137] seems very likely.

The second type, familiar from the Methone "Ypogeio"[138] and the cemetery at Sedes (Thermi),[139] includes undecorated, transparent, greenish and blueish round and biconical beads as well as a ring-bead of blue glass paste (Fig. 10: top row). Similar, undecorated beads appear to

shops in their homeland and Cyprus and distributed to the Aegean.

133 Cf. Schmid 2000-1, 115-7.

134 Cf. Schmid 2000-1, 117.

135 Cf. Triantafyllidis 2002, 26-7 (with earlier bibliography) who advocates that a glass workshop established on Rhodes by immigrant Mesopotamian craftsmen was the source of the rod-formed triangular beads with spiral eyes. For the possible Rhodian workshop attributed to immigrant Mesopotamian glassworkers, cf. Marcoe 2000, 157. See also Fletcher 2004, 64 on the probable role of Rhodes for the local production of Phoenician objects such as glass beads, faience, scarabs and anthropomorphic perfume vases.

136 Μπέσιος 2012, 44.

137 A small number of neck-ridge juglets of late 8th-early 7th c. BC date, most likely of Rhodian origin as well as some Spaghetti Ware aryballoi from the "Ypogeio" suggest a link between Rhodes and the Northern Aegean, cf. Bourogiannis 2007, 435. The attribution of the neck-ridge juglets to Rhodian workshops, suggested by Bourogiannis is based on examination of their technological features.

138 Ignatiadou 2015, 82 fig. 1.

139 Ιγνατιάδου and Χατζηνικολάου 2002, 57-72.

be common in central Macedonia[140] which again could be an indication for the role of one or more local, coastal workshops rather than a direct Phoenician import.

The excavation of the "Ypogeio" has brought to light other classes of artefacts such as glass vases, faience pendants and ivories, which could possibly (but not necessarily) be linked to Phoenician workshops/trade activities. Based on the "Ypogeio" finds, Bessios argued for the existence of an ivory workshop operating from the early days of the colony (Fig. 13).[141] Like the possible evidence for an early glass workshop, the indications for an ivory workshop pose the problem of the local manufacture *vs* imports.

An Egyptianising amulet was also discovered during the "Ypogeio" excavation at Methone, suggesting that it was discarded at the same time as the rest of the finds from the site in the late 8th-early 7th c. BC.[142] Judging by the published photograph of the find (Fig. 12), it appears to represent a standing female figurine with a rounded animal head with small pointed ears and a beginning of a head-gear between them. It looks worn, with no clear details and the fracture

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Fig. 11. Compound three-eye-bead from the settlement mound at Sindos (after Τιβέριος and Γιματζίδης 2000, fig. 8). Fig. 12. Egyptianising amulet from Methone, "Ypogeio" (after Μπέσιος *et al.* 2004, fig. 3). Fig. 13. Ivory artefacts from Methone, "Ypogeio" (after Μπέσιος *et al.* 2004, fig. 4)

at the level of the head-attribute seems to be ancient. It recalls the Sekhmet type figurines with lioness head and uraeus between the ears and could be tentatively identified as representation of this mother-goddess of the Memphis triad.[143] In a recent study on the distribution of the Egyptianising amulets, often associated with Phoenician manufacture and/or trade in the Aegean and the Mediterranean, Fletcher demonstrated that it followed certain patterns.[144] A concentration of figurines of the Memphis triad is clearly noticeable in Tyrrhenian Italy[145] and eastern Aegean sites,[146] while only single ones are known from Spain, North Africa, Sardinia and Sicily.[147] It has also been established that the majority of the Memphis triad amulets date to the eighth and the first half of the 7th c. BC,[148] which accords well with the context date of the figurine discovered in Methone.

Fletcher links the distribution pattern of the Egyptianising amulets to distinctive North Phoe-

140 Cf. Ignatiadou (2015, 82) who comments that these finds have not been subjected to a thorough study.

141 Μπέσιος *et al.* 2004, 369 fig. 4; Μπέσιος 2012, 44.

142 Μπέσιος *et al.* 2004, 369 fig. 3. It is illustrated by a small photograph with no accompanying discussion on its technological features, type etc.

143 It can be compared to Sekhmet figurines from Veii, cf. Fletcher 2004, fig. 4.

144 Fletcher 2004, 51-77 with references.

145 Fletcher 2004, 52: "*214 examples in peninsular Italy, but less than half a dozen in Sardinia, and only 7 in Sicily*".

146 Fletcher 2004, 53: "*there are a total of 289 examples of Sekhmet, Nefertem, or Ptah, of which 200 are from East Greek sites*".

147 By contrast these places show high concentration of Wedjat-eye type amulets as well as Thot, Anubis and Shu.

148 Fletcher 2004, 57, following the chronology suggested by Hölbl 1986, 108-9.

Fig. 14. Egyptian scarab and amber beads from Lyubcha (after magazine "8", cover page)

nician/ Sidonian (manifested through the Memphis triad) and South Phoenician/ Tyrian (represented by the distribution of Wedjat-eyes, Thot, Anubis, Shu) trade routes and contrasting patterns of exchange, cooperation and settlement.[149] Undoubtedly the Methone amulet is a rare find for the northern Aegean;[150] it would thus be inappropriate to put too much weight on it as an argument in the discussion on the Phoenician presence in the area, the mechanisms of exchange and the identity of the carriers. Nevertheless, considering the presence of other Phoenician and Phoenician-type objects discovered in the "Ypogeio" and the fact that Methone was an Euboean establishment, it could be seen in the light of the suggested North Phoenician-Euboean cooperation.

A pair of discs made of gold foil, decorated with concentric circles and triple spirals were discovered in Grave A-CLXXVII in the cemetery of Hephaestia on Lemnos, dated to the late 8th/first half of 7th c. BC.[151] Similar discs come from earlier, MPG and LPG burials in Euboea (Lefkandi) and Skyros and were attributed to a workshop which may have operated in Lefkandi.[152] Based on stylistic similarities, Lemos suggests that the examples from Hephaestia were products of the same workshop.[153] The specimens from Euboea and Skyros, however, are nearly two centuries older than the Hephaestia discs. It implies that if the latter were manufactured in Lefkandi then these must have been ancient at the time of their deposition in the grave and perhaps considered a *keimelion*. The practice is attested in the Aegean and will be discussed further down. On the other side the discs were associated with North Syrian or Phoenician prototypes.[154] Ficuciello, in her discussion on the distribution pattern of these objects rightly points

149 Cooperation between the Northern Phoenicians and Euboeans in the Levant (North Syria) and possibly in places such as Pithekoussai to the west, with the Euboeans following the Sidonian "*method of discretion in their trading ventures*" is opposed to the Tyrian ventures characterised by "*little or no assimilation,….a deliberate maintenance of their individuality and the foundation of colonies*," Fletcher 2004, 60.

150 Unless more, unpublished ones exist.

151 Mustilli 1932-3, 76, 78 fig. 123.

152 Lemos 2002, 130.

153 Lemos 2002, 130.

154 Triester 2001, 8-9, 13-4, 376; Ficuciello 2013, 91.

out that it is not clear if the finished products travelled as part of a commercial cargo or the matrices were used by itinerant craftsmen from North Syria and Phoenicia, similarly to those working on Cyprus and Rhodes.[155] In this case a short-term establishment of travelling goldsmiths on Lemnos, working in the tradition of the Eastern Mediterranean, can be imagined. Such scenario accords well with the possibility that travelling craftsmen may have been present at Methone and active in ivory and glass-making almost from the very beginning of the colony.

An interesting, although indirect support for exchange networks linking the northern Aegean to the eastern Mediterranean can be seen in an unusual grave find from inland Thrace. An Egyptian scarab (Fig. 14), 50 amber beads, ceramic vessels and bronze jewellery were discovered in a cenotaph-type tumular grave dated to the late 8th-early 7th c. BC near the Rhodope mountain village of Lyubcha, in modern Bulgaria (Map 1).[156] The reading of the cartouche as the pharaoh's name Neb Tawi Re is one of the names of Montuhotep IV of 11th Dynasty (1992-1985 BC).[157] The great antiquity of this find, which was offered as a burial gift in a much later grave, and was certainly exotic for the local community, conspicuously reminds of three analogous, although slightly earlier contexts from Lefkandi and more from Cyprus. All these document the practice of offering exotic objects that were already ancient at the time of their deposition. The Lefkandi examples were discussed by Sherratt in the context of Phoenician trade activities in the Aegean reflected in the Homeric and later Greek perceptions of these eastern traders.[158] Perhaps closest to the Lyubcha grave is the mid-10th c. BC female inhumation grave in the so-called Heroon building where a damaged gold granulated pendant was found.[159] It finds precise parallels in Babylonia datable to ca. 1700 BC. The other two burials contain an already broken in antiquity 12th c. BC bronze Cypriot krater containing the cremated remains of the male burial in the Heroon and a bronze plate from a scale armour worn as a pendant, from a 9th c. BC grave in the Skoubris cemetery.[160] Similarly, a grave in the cemetery of Hephaestia on Lemnos,[161] attributed to the late 8th/first half of the 7th c. BC grave group, is the source of a Mycenaean lentoid agate seal (LHII-LHIII1A)[162] which must have been antique at the time of deposition with the burial.[163] Crielaard also reminds us of the ancients' taste of antiquities, listing a number of Cypriot graves containing much older offerings, including a scarab with the Ramses II or Ramses III cartouche and a commemorative scarab of Amenophis III.[164] The common element between these finds is that they are all of eastern Mediterranean origin (the example from Lemnos being an exception), were antique by the time they were deposited in the graves and travelled great distances. The Lyubcha cenotaph follows essentially the same pattern. Both Crielaard's and Sherratt's suggestion that the discussed finds probably came from recently robbed tombs in the Eastern Mediterranean (Cyprus, the Levant, the Nile delta)[165]

155 Ficuciello 2013, 91.

156 Damyanov 2003, 585 fig. 12. The tumulus was excavated in 1976 and is part of a tumular burial ground.

157 For the reading and attribution of the scarab, cf. Vassil Dobrev in the popular scientific journal 8, vol. 10, 2010, 16-19 and personal communication Jan, 24th 2017.

158 Sherratt 2010, 132-4.

159 Popham *et al*. 1993, 15-20; Sherratt 2010, 132.

160 Popham *et al*. 1979-80, 251; 1993, 87; Sherratt 2010, 132.

161 Mustilli 1932-3, grave A-CLXXXII, 80 fig. 126-7.

162 For the chronology of the seal, cf. CMS V, Suppl. 1B, 034.

163 The Mycenaean seal is actually the only piece of burial equipment in the urn, which makes the precise dating of the grave impossible.

164 Crielaard 1998, 189.

165 Crielaard 1998, 190. See Whitley 2002, 225-6 for other likely examples of antique eastern metalwork deposited in Lefkandi tombs. See also Catling 1994, 137-8 for the idea that at least some of the Cyprus antiques were results of tomb looting.

is supported by Near Eastern and Egyptian textual evidence for the practice in antiquity[166] and one may suspect that the scarab was acquired in a similar way. The association between these ancient objects and Eastern Mediterranean traders, instrumental in their transportation to the Aegean, could also account for the appearance of the Egyptian scarab in a Thracian grave.[167] Although the site of Lyubcha is not that far from the Aegean coast of Thrace it still requires an additional land journey, perhaps partly along the Nestos valley,[168] thus extending the Aegean exchange networks with an intersecting regional land route to the north.

Another grave find of late 8th/early 7th c. BC date was discovered even further away from the North Aegean coast, in the heart of inland Thrace (Belish village near Troyan, Map 1).[169] It is part of the burial equipment of a "symbolic grave" (cenothaph) consisting of remains of textile and leather, a rich set of bronze garment elements and jewellery, Baltic amber and mountain crystal beads. Scientifically analysed soil from the grave produced small pieces of hemp cloth, a number of loose, fine, hemp threads dyed in red, blue and pink, as well as traces of dyed leather.[170] While the red colour was most likely derived from local plants (madder), the blue could have been either from local plants or from indigo imported from the east and the pink threads were treated with purple dye extracted from Mediterranean murex shells,[171] and undoubtedly imported. Scholars are traditionally accustomed to think of Phoenicia as the *par exellence* source of high quality textiles coloured with purple dye, in the first half of the 1st millennium BC, due to the existing written testimony. The Homeric episode (*Il.* 6.289) reference to richly decorated textiles, work of Sidonian women, brought to Troy by Paris, suggests that luxury textiles from Phoenicia probably travelled as far north as the Northern Aegean. We should keep in mind, however, that Phoenician textiles are usually associated with fine wool or linen. On the other hand, Herodotus (4.74) tells us that the Thracians were highly skilled in manufacturing hemp textiles which were as good as the linen ones. If we accept the identification of the purple-dyed Belish threads as hemp, then the Phoenician provenance of the textile becomes less likely and one wonders if a locally produced cloth could have been dyed with

166 For textual references, cf. Sherratt 2010, 134.

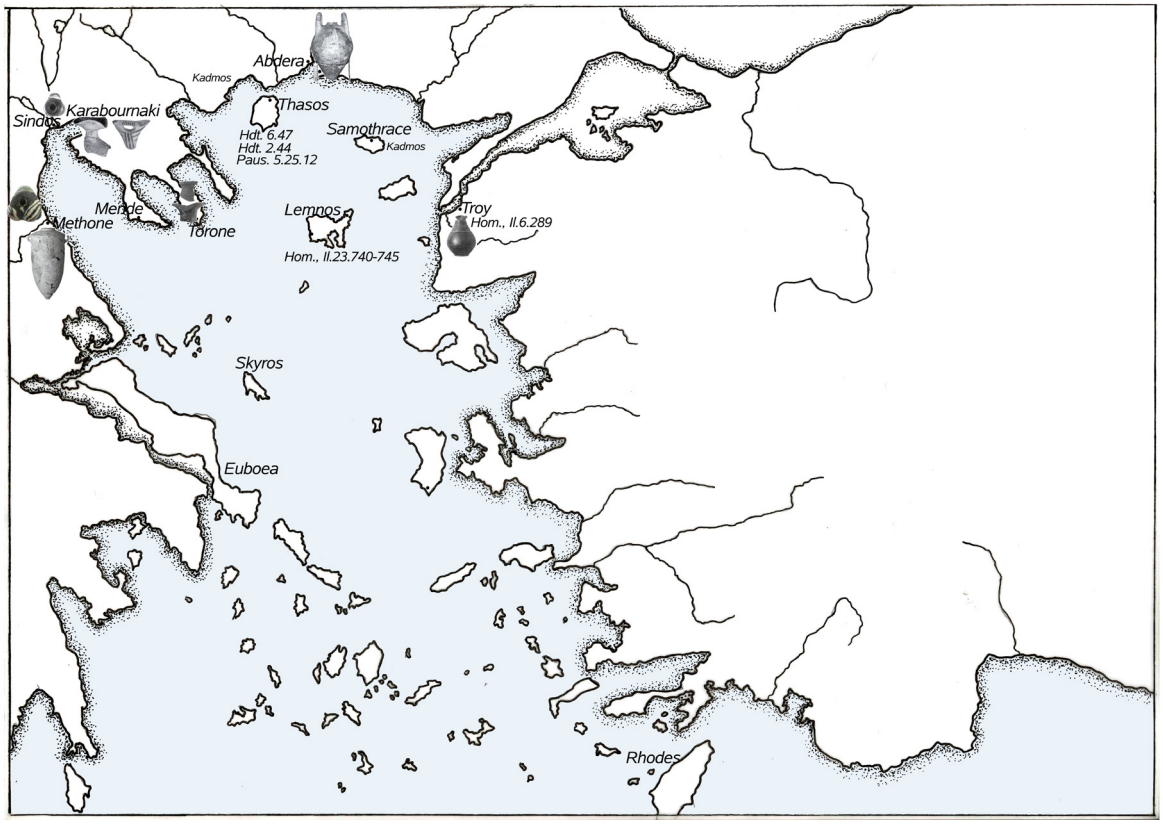
167 I use the term Thracian here as a purely geographical designation.

168 Judging by the Mycenaen and the Subgeometric finds from sites along the Middle Nestos valley, it must have been an important communication corridor with the Aegean coast (perhaps with the Thermaic Gulf and Chalkidike rather than the coast at the river's delta) in the LBA and later in the 7th c. BC, cf. Александров 2002, 61-82 (Koprivlen); Mycenaean alabastron from Bresto (http://infomreja.bg/mikenski-syd-za-parfiumi-otkriha-kraj-selo-banq-32805.html); Bozkova 2002, 133-44; Bozkova and Delev 2012, 69-79 (late 8th and early 7th c. BC ceramics, Koprivlen, Mikrevo); Popov 2015, 109-26. It is not a surprise, therefore, that the scarab was discovered in a relative proximity to the river valley. The chronology and nature of the contacts between the middle Nestos valley communities and the Aegean, as revealed by the current archaeological evidence, reminds of the pattern familiar from Thassos-contacts and exchange with the rest of the Aegean towards the end of the LBA and the transition to the EIA and a new phase, revealed in the late 8th and the early 7th c. BC record, but in a more localised, northern Aegean scale.

169 The finds and the soil from the grave were not discovered during systematic archaeological excavation. These were given to the National Museum of History in Sofia and originally published by Христов 2002, 6-15; 2004, 43-67.

170 Николова 2008, 192-200; Петрова 2015, 115-219, Georgieva: paper presented at workshop *L'aristocratie odryse: signes et lieuxdu puvoir* held on 12-13 June 2015 in Louvre, Paris; Archibald 2013, 189-90. While Николова who analysed the organic remains noted only hemp fibres in the original report, Archibald mentions hemp or linen.

171 According to the dye analysis the red was achieved by the use of alizarin (probably from local plants-*Rubia tinctorum*), the blue derives from idigotin extracted either from *Isatis tinctoria* or imported from the East and the pink from murex shells (*Murex brandaris, Murex trinculus or Purpura haemostoma*), cf. Николова 2008, 192-200. Николова (2008, 193) clarifies that the identification of the purple dye followed the method in McGovern and Michel 1990, 69-76.



Map 2. Distribution map of Cypriot, Phoenician and Phoenician-type artefacts in the Northern Aegean and sites associated with Phoenicians by ancient literary sources (author)

imported purple dye. Alternatively, the purple-dyed fibres could be linen,[172] providing a rare evidence for the import of Eastern Mediterranean textiles in inland Thrace.

What is unquestionable, however, is that the purple-dyed cloth laid in the grave must have been a luxurious item for the local community, not least because of its (or the colour's) remote homeland and the distance involved in its acquiring. The combination with amber and the numerous bronze ornaments may point to the high status of the symbolically buried individual and recalls the Lyubcha cenotaph. The chronology of both graves bonds well with the date of the Cypriot, Phoenician and Phoenician-style artefacts discovered in Northern Aegean coastal settlements.

DISCUSSION: NETWORKS AND CARRIERS

This overview of the archaeological record indicates that, apart from the late 12th/early 11th c. BC bronze and bimetal knives from Thasos suggesting a possible Cypriot link, it is not before the late 8th c. BC, when artefacts of Cypriot and Phoenician origin or associations reached the northern Aegean. The late 8th c. BC also seems to be the likely time that the Homer's mentioning of Phoenicians in the Northern Aegean refers to.

A well-defined horizon of late 8th-early 7th c. BC date finds material expression in a variety of artefacts, concentrated in sites around the Thermaic Gulf and Chalkidike (Map 2), with a single

172 It is well known that very finely spun linen and hemp threads look very similar and their identification is very difficult even with scientific methods.

vase from Troy to the east and possibly the gold discs from Lemnos. The transport amphorae (one Cypriot from Abdera, the Phoenician ones from Methone, and an Attic SOS amphora with Cypriot syllabary inscription from Mende) indicate that processed agricultural goods (wine, olive oil or even some specialised food) must have been delivered to the northern Aegean market at that time, perhaps as part of mixed cargoes. Whether these cargoes were on board of Phoenician, Cypriot or Greek ships would be rather speculative to argue. A plethora of various trade partners may have contributed to a dynamic network of exchange which is far from being ethnically clear-cut and accounts for the blend of Cypriot, Phoenician and Phoenician-type artefacts in the Northern Aegean.

The connections between the Northern Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean become archaeologically visible during that time and it seems that products of Eastern Mediterranean origin travelled further into inland Thrace via the coastal settlements of Chalkidice and the Thermaic Gulf. The still sporadic appearance of Eastern Mediterranean objects in inland Thrace,[173] however, does not allow us to argue for an established distribution network. It currently seems that these objects travelled inland from the Northern Aegean coast perhaps as part of individuals' loads rather than commercially oriented cargoes.

During the Late Geometric and the beginning of the Archaic periods the dynamism of the exchange networks linking the Southern Aegean with the Eastern Mediterranean and established much earlier, reached its apogee. While the Cypriots may have had a protagonist role in the southern Aegean in the 11th c. BC, the Phoenicians become increasingly more involved with the Aegean and appear to have acquired a better articulated commercial and craftsmen presence towards the end of the 8th and the early 7th c. BC especially in the Dodecanese.[174] It is during this same dynamic period of the late 8th and early 7th c. BC when Rhodes begins to enter the already established exchange networks,[175] while the Euboeans, traditionally credited as the earliest Aegean partners of the Cypriot and Phoenician (or more broadly Levantine, if one considers the Syrian and Aramean) merchants are still active and already establishing overseas settlements. There is no doubt, then, that the Aegean of the 8th c. BC focused, as discussed by S. Sherratt and A. Sherratt,[176] an active multi-ethnic exchange of goods, technologies and knowledge, facilitated not just by commercial mechanisms, but by mobility of people as well.[177] It would be, therefore, rather constraining and certainly methodologically inappropriate to try and associate the evidence from the Northern Aegean with a specific ethnic group. The spread of Cypriot and Phoenician finds around the Thermaic Gulf and Chalkidike could be seen in the light of the Euboean activities and interests in the Northern Aegean[178] with Methone providing the richest evidence at present. The area may have been part of a northern branch of Aegean commercial networks connecting the Cyclades, Euboea, and Skyros[179] to the Thermaic Gulf.

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173 Considering that remains of textiles are rarely identified in Thrace (in the territory of modern Bulgaria) due to poor preservation (because of the acidity and chemical content of the soil) and the lack of systematic research and analysis, it is quite possible that more examples similar to the Belish textiles existed, but were never recognised and identified.

174 Cf. Bourogiannis 2013, 139-89, esp. 160-5 (the Phoenician apogee of Rhodes).

175 Bourogiannis 2007, 437, 497.

176 Sherratt and Sherratt 1992, 366.

177 See Bourogiannis (2007, 497) commenting on the presence and manufacturing activities of Cypriots and Phoenicians in important commercial spots of the Aegean.

178 On the Euboean activities in the Thermaic Gulf and Chalcidice, cf. the recent summarising discussion with earlier references in Κοτσώνας 2012, 232-8, also Tiverios 2004, 299; 2012, 67-8; 2017, 427.

179 For a Cypriot pot discovered on the island of Skyros, cf. Bourogiannis 2007, 2:330. The context and distribution pattern of the Cypriot and Phoenician imports and copies in the Aegean provide evidence for the suggested northern and southern branches of the Aegean commercial networks, cf. Bourogiannis 2007, 496.

The evidence for glassmaking and ivory workshops at Methone, however, may imply a possible presence of Phoenician craftsmen almost from the beginning of this Euboean establishment, or very soon after it was founded.[180] Similarly, a short-term presence of goldsmiths working in North Syrian/Phoenician tradition on Lemnos was suggested. The Sekhmet figurine from Methone could also be brought in the discussion. Since it was discovered in the "Ypogeio" deposit we cannot be sure about its original context and how it functioned in the local community. One could speculate, however, that it may have been a personal belonging of an easterner/Phoenician.[181] The growing body of evidence for resident easterners (Cypriots, Phoenicians, Phoenicians from Cyprus or broadly Levantine) in Geometric and early Archaic Aegean places such as Lefkandi,[182] Rhodes,[183] Crete[184] and Corinth[185] suggests that these people (craftsmen in particular) were supplying Levantine style products to the Aegean customers. Although similar pattern in the Northern Aegean must have been on a smaller scale, the presence of some individuals from the Eastern Mediterranean (Cyprus, Phoenicia) is not entirely impossible. The Phoenician presence in the Aegean has been seen as an example of *enoikismos* when Levantine people were integrated in the local communities rather than establishing settlements,[186] and Fletcher has argued that this pattern characterised the North Phoenician (Sidonian) enterprise,[187] possibly in cooperation with Euboeans.[188] A discreet settling among the native community could also provide a useful approach to understanding Herodotus claims regarding the Phoenician presence on Thasos. Although the archaeology of the island has not yielded unquestionable evidence yet, a small number of Eastern Mediterranean people resident or visiting the island and the opposite Thracian coast could be imagined. A long time ago Graham argued for a leading role played by the Phoenicians in the north Aegean exchange networks, connecting the distribution of a regional Subgeometric pottery group known as G 2-3 Ware to their maritime activities.[189] Although this statement is probably going too far, it is an interesting coincidence (if it is a coincidence at all) that the distribution map of G 2-3 Ware overlaps with the map of sites where Cypriot, Phoenician and Phoenician-type finds have come to light or these associated with Phoenicians by the ancient written testimonies (Methone, Karabournaki, Thasos and the opposite coastal sites, Samothrace, Troy, Lemnos).[190] Both sets of evidence

180 I would like to clarify that, by using the term *Phoenician craftsmen* here, I mean people who may have come from Cyprus or Rhodes, for example, not necessarily directly from metropolitan Phoenicia.

181 Papadopoulos 2016, 1238-54 also advocates a possible Phoenician presence in Methone in regard to their contribution to the early development of the Greek alphabet. A 6th c. BC votive statuette of an Eastern deity with Phoenician votive inscription was discovered in ancient Stageira and interpreted as a dedication of a Phoenician visitor to one of the Archaic temples of the city, Vainstub 2014, 345-50.

182 See the discussion in Papadopoulos 2011, 113-33.

183 Bourogiannis 2013, 139-89.

184 See the summarising discussions with earlier references in Shaw 1989, 165-83; Kourou 2000, 1067-81; Markoe 2003, 209-16; Kotsonas and Stampolidis 2006, 337-60.

185 Morris and Papadopoulos 1998, 251-63.

186 Bourogiannis 2013, 175. See also Papadopoulos and Lyons 2002: "*they did not establish colonies or even build settlements, but merely settled among the natives*."

187 It was contrasted to the Tyrian ventures characterised by "*deliberate maintenance of their individuality and the foundation of colonies*," Fletcher 2004, 60, cf. also Pekham 1998, 353.

188 Similarly, Boardman (2006, 195-200) advocates a Greek (Euboean)-Phoenician cooperation in the Central and Western Mediterranean before the 6th c. trade rivalry started and the model of their interaction changed. See also Hodos (2011, 38) who advocates that "*Greeks and Phoenicians working in cooperation with one another or cargo ships was not an uncommon occurrence*" in a broader Mediterranean context.

189 Graham 1978, 61-98.

190 There is still no published G 2-3 Ware from sites in Chalkidike, but judging by its distribution pattern I expect that it will come to light. It is also perhaps a matter of correct identification. For summarising discussions on G 2-3 Ware, cf. Ilieva 2009, 109-23; 2013, 123-31; 2014, 85-96; 2015, 146-57; 2016, 207-23; Ilieva *et al.* 2014, 565-74.

whether put together or viewed separately are certainly indicative of a dynamic regional maritime exchange network.

On the other hand the variety of Eastern Mediterranean finds from the Northern Aegean (Map 2) takes the discussion back to the wider Aegean system of trade networks. The concept of network, which "*functions as networks do-without a centre*,"[191] provides an operative theoretical background for advocating cooperative commercial ventures of Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean (Cypriot, Phoenician, Syrian) traders.[192] The limited volume and diverse nature of finds of Eastern Mediterranean origin or inspiration in the North Aegean suggest that their distribution in the area could be the end result of the activity of intersecting regional exchange networks with ports of trade facilitating mixed merchandise cargoes.[193] Cyprus, with its mixed demographic background, maritime expertise, long-lasting commercial experience and favourable location, provides a natural intersecting point for the Levantine and Southern Aegean trade routes. It is not a surprise, therefore, that Cypriot vases and a Phoenician jug of probably Dodecanese origin were discovered in Karabournaki, that a Cypriot and a Phoenician neck-ridge juglets came from Torone, or an Attic SOS amphora with Cypriot syllabary inscription from Mende. The last one offers an excellent example of a vessel with biography and several possible interpretations. It could have belonged to a literate Cypriot resident in Athens and arrived in Mende via Euboea for example, it could have been imported to Cyprus first, where it was inscribed and transported to the northern Aegean at a later date, or even being inscribed in the Northern Aegean suggesting a Cypriot presence.[194] This complex, mixed nature of the Late Geometric and Early Archaic exchange system could be also illustrated by the slightly later Cypriot basket amphora from Abdera which is indicative for the role of the South-Eastern Aegean and Ionian ports of trade in distributing Eastern Mediterranean goods. A link between the Northern Aegean and East Greece as early as the late 8th c. BC can be illustrated by the ceramic wares originating in a number of Northern Aegean sites,[195] such as, for example, transport amphorae discovered in Methone and Sindos[196] or East Greek fine ware of late 8th c. BC date from Karabournaki.[197]

The limited archaeological evidence from the North-Eastern Aegean, on the other hand, comes from the local Trojan copy of a Phoenician trefoil mouthed jug and possibly the golden discs from the cemetery of Hephaestia on Lemnos. Nevertheless, the literary testimonies for

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191 Papadopoulos 2011, 130. For the network concept cf. also Crielaard 1998, 187-206; Malkin *et al.* 2009, 1-11.

192 Bourogiannis (2007, 494) refers to probably the best material manifestation, although of slightly later date (second half of 7th c. BC), of the complex, mixed nature of the contacts between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean: the Vroulia Sphinx-a Cypriot limestone figure with incised Phoenician inscription, which was offered in a Greek sanctuary. Cf. Hodos 2011, 23-45 on the Greek-Phoenician cooperation patterns in the Mediterranean; Κοτσώνας (2012, 111-299) for a theoretical informed discussion of Aegean networks.

193 Sherratt (2000, n. 3) discusses the similar concept of intersecting trade circles in regard to the circulation of metal goods in the end of the LBA in the Eastern Mediterranean.

194 See Bourogiannis (2007, 439) who suggests that its presence in the Northern Aegean should perhaps be seen in the context of trade activities of Cypriots in the area. Καρναβά (2013, 163) also interprets the inscription as an indication of a Cypriot merchant/captain.

195 For the role of the eastern Aegean centres in the commercial exchange with the northern Aegean and the presence of Ionian and Aeolian Greeks in coastal settlements around the Thermaic Gulf and Chalcidice as early as the late 8th c. BC, cf. Papadopolulos 2005, 586-7; Κοτσώνας 2012, 233; Tiverios 2017, 423-4.

196 Five examples of Chian transport amphorae from the "Ypogeio" come from late 8th-early 7th c. BC context, while examples from Sindos were also dated to the second half of the 8th c. BC, cf. Κοτσώνας 2012, 199. Similar fragments of late 8th c. BC Chian transport amphorae were also discovered at Krania in Pieria: Gimatzidis 2010, 290 n. 1804. Samian, Milesian and Lesbian transport amphorae of late 8th c. BC date are also known from Methone, cf. Κοτσώνας 2012, 180-215; Φίλης 2012, 276

197 Τσιαφάκη 2012, 235.

Phoenicians in that part of the northern Aegean, survived in the Iliad, the Herodotus claims and via the mythology, are much stronger, which may suggest that a different mechanism, in the absence of the Euboeans east of Chalkidike, may have been in operation. We should, perhaps, consider a different pattern of involvement of the local, non-Greek populations, contrasting to that in the western corner of the northern Aegean.

All this leads to the logical question:

DID THE PHOENICIANS REACH THE NORTHERN AEGEAN?

Even with such diverse evidence, we can still offer only generalising conclusions regarding the Phoenician, or broadly Eastern Mediterranean involvement in the Northern Aegean. The archaeological record from the area suggests that a direct link with metropolitan Phoenicia is currently hard to prove. This does not mean, however, that Phoenician people (merchants, craftsmen) did not reach the Northern Aegean. It seems that the process has happened via places such as Cyprus, Euboea, or Rhodes where Phoenicians had already settled (Kition, Rhodes) or their presence is advocated (Euboea). The opening of the Northern Aegean (mainly its western corner) for the Aegean commerce facilitated the appearance of Cypriot, Phoenician and Phoenician-style objects in the area. It probably involved eastern Mediterranean people, Cypriots and Phoenicians who were already present in the Aegean, active in crafts and commercial exchange and extending their activities to the North, likely in cooperation with Greeks (especially Euboeans). I suggest that there is an obvious difference in the volume and nature of the relevant material and written record from and for the western and the eastern parts of the Northern Aegean (Map 2). I believe that if we accept Homer and Herodotus's claims for Phoenician presence in the north-eastern Aegean, the lack of archaeological expression should perhaps be linked to the pattern of interaction with the native non-Greek people. Integration of a small number of easterners among the local communities is not unlikely.[198] The possibility of resident Phoenician craftsmen in places such as Methone or Lemnos, or perhaps a Cypriot in Mende was advocated in the text, while a similar possibility was raised by Fletcher in regard to the Torone finds.[199] The Methone and Karabournaki discoveries, however, illustrate a far more complex picture of exchange flow and interactions. While the instrumental role of the Euboeans as middlemen between the Eastern Mediterranean and the Southern Aegean on one side and its North-Western part on the other, has been repeatedly advocated in relevant discussions, the mobility and presence of Cypriot Phoenician merchants and craftsmen should not be underestimated.

The volume and nature of Cypriot, Phoenician and Phoenician-type products from the Northern Aegean fits better the picture of mixed-cargo ships delivering a variety of goods originating in different parts of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. To attempt an estimation of the scale and significance of the role played by each one of the commercial partners-Euboeans, Cypriots, Phoenicians in the Northern Aegean interplay would be at least unwise, considering the present volume of evidence. While the role of the Euboeans in the area

198 I would like to attract the attention to an analogous example of another group of famous easterners that, according to Herodotus, not only crossed, but established themselves in Aegean Thrace-the Persians. It is a well-known axiom that had the Herodotus text not survived, the archaeological record would never make us guess their presence in the area. Nevertheless, no one questions the validity of this written testimony, while the information on the Phoenicians in the area is frequently scrutinised in comparison and juxtaposition to the material evidence (or more correctly its absence).

199 Fletcher 2008, 7.

around the Thermaic Gulf and the western tips of Chalkidike seems significant, they did not venture much beyond that towards the central and eastern part of the Northern Aegean which was still a non-Greek territory in the late 8th and the very beginning of the 7th c. BC.[200] The lack of material expression of the postulated Phoenician involvement along the coast to the east of river Strymon is perhaps not a mere coincidence. It can be compared to the lack of Mycenaean and Geometric finds in the same area[201] and may point at the strong presence (political and economic) of the local Thracian tribes. It does not necessarily mean, however, that there was no interaction between the local Thracians and Cypriots or Phoenicians from Cyprus reaching the Northern Aegean.

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200 Troy, to the east, could be seen as an exception although its colonisation is far from clear (if there was such process at all) and a mixed population has been successfully advocated, cf. Rose 2008, 399-430.

201 The island of Thasos is a notable exception as Mycenaean wares were discovered there. Although LG ceramics have come to light on Thasos and at a number of sites along the coast between the rivers Strymon and Nestos, these are all products of North Aegean workshops, not imports from Euboea or mainland Greece.

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